

Brexit and Devolved Nations Paradox or How can we explain the difference Brexit
vote in devolved nations of Scotland & Wales?
A critical Analysis

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APPENDIX VII: Sample Author's Declaration

I, the undersigned Aziz Davlatov hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

This is a true copy of the thesis, including final revisions.

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Abstract

The exit of the UK from the European Union, generally referred to as Brexit, became one of the most important political events of our decade and is currently a cause of harsh debates. Resulting of the 2016 Referendum vote to leave, the UK government led by the current Prime Minister Theresa May started the withdrawal process on 29 March 2017 by triggering Article 50 of EU Treaty of Lisbon, which puts the UK on track to leave in two years by 29th March 2019. The final agreement bill between the EU and UK is underway nowadays. These developments make the situation to be more precarious now. A lot has been discussed in the recent scholarly discourse about this phenomenon from the Britain's point of view, but little has been studied about the impact of media coverage of the Brexit on the people's values and opinions in devolved nations of Scotland and Wales. This thesis proposes to study the abovementioned issues. The thesis is organised into eight chapters, abstract and appendices, and it helps in delivering all the aspects of the issue in a manner that are easy to understand for non-expert audiences and to adapt to the research in an appropriate manner.

1. Introduction

On the 23rd June 2016 the whole world was shaken by a news, British people voted to leave the EU, and later the UK government led by the then PM David Cameron announced its respect of people's choice and intention to leave the European Union (The Independent, 2016). This is termed as Brexit ever since (Hunt and Wheeler 2017).

European Union is a political and economic bloc which consists of 28 member-states, and it ensures the free movement of goods, capital and people across all the member countries as if they were all the part of one single country. The European Union has its own supranational governance system, institutions, legislation, and set of rules, currency and single market. United Kingdom's withdrawal is expected to make an enormous impact on the political 'rule of game,' as well as the economic and trade modalities. UK's exit from EU is expected to impact many people from the Continent working and living in Britain and many Britons working on the continent (Hunt and Wheeler 2017).

However, the triumph of the Leave vote on the referendum can be viewed as not an isolated event, but part of a bigger upsurge of populist, anti-establishment uprisings. Populism put in question the current philosophies around economic integrationist projects, free markets and liberal values.

The subject of the thesis is difference in EU referendum vote in devolved nations of Scotland and Wales. Britain-wide vote to leave casted 52% whilst in Scotland this number was just 38% (BBC News, 2016). This staggering difference suggests that referendum campaign in Scotland might have been carried out very differently from that of the rest of Britain.

At the same time Welsh vote can be surprising as 52.5% casted their ballot to 'Leave' the EU. Welsh result is not that different from English result. Since the late 1990s both Scotland and Wales were granted wider 'devolved' powers, this is called the devolution process. Scotland commenced its

Parliament in 2003 which was followed by the Welsh National Assembly in 2006. However, the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) and Plaid Cymru (The Party of Wales) seriously contrast with each other as Scottish political institutions used the devolution process for the renaissance of their national and political identities, which they modestly call ‘civic’ identity. However, in Wales the National Assembly failed to surge something similar to their Scottish counterparts. These evidences suggests that Scotland and Wales have developed very different devolution pattern. (Higgins, Ridge-Newman and McKay, 2018) Historically the narrative of Scotland and Wales was full of rhetoric of mutual affections by some nationalist elites in both Celtic nations. Nonetheless, the Brexit vote strongly opposed the previously held assumptions that Welsh alongside with Scotland is a pro-European Nations and they share common ground with Scots. This fact may lead to a claim that the differences between Scots and Welsh are more profound than we thought before.

Hence, there is a gap in research in regard to this puzzle. This thesis aims to answer the puzzle of difference in vote in Scottish and Welsh contexts as well as it embarks in investigating the impact of political campaign representation and reflection in media and by media. Additionally, the thesis aims at making a contribution to the existing research and theory. The thesis contains eight chapters, an abstract and appendices, which are to facilitate non-expert reader in understanding of the subject, theoretical and empirical notions and complexity of relationships in social world. These chapters include Introduction, Literature Review, The aim and objective of the research, Theoretical Framework, Methodological Design and Analysis and Discussion of Findings and Conclusion as well Appendices chapter. Discourse theory and critical discourse analysis (CDA) will be utilised in theoretical and empirical analysis of the central question of the thesis.

2. Literature Review

This chapter will review and analyse studies that has been carried out on causes and reasons of the UK's 2016 EU Referendum and will attempt in finding a gap in existing literature as well to find answer(s) in regard to the referendum outcomes in the devolved nations of Scotland and Wales. However, before proceeding to the main section of literature analysis, it is may be important for a respected reader to understand and perceive a full complexity of context and prerequisites for the EU Referendum to have a whole 'picture' in regard to the subject of this thesis.

This literature review will start with devolution in the UK and traditional British Euroscepticism before Brexit and then will proceed to analysis of the literature dealing with general nation-wide causal links that explain Brexit vote. Further this chapter will engage closely with academic literature discussing in particular the difference in vote in Scotland and Wales.

2.1. Devolution process in the UK and Political Identity in Scotland and Wales

Devolution in the UK means the process of devolution settlement or decentralisation, which involves some important constitutional changes that stipulate delegation of powers from the Parliament of the UK to the Parliament of Scotland, the National Assembly for Wales, the Northern Ireland Assembly and the London Assembly and to their associated executive bodies the Government of Scotland, the Government of Wales, the Northern Ireland Executive and in England, the Greater London Authority and other joint authorities (Devolution of powers to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, 2013). Devolution is one of the most fundamental constitutional changes that happened in the UK in the last decade of the 20th century, and is still a continuing process which changes decision-making modalities for local areas and involves a change in a way the public services are funded (UK Local Government, 2010). However, devolution does not mean federalism, since the devolved powers of the subnational authority eventually are concentrated in central government, hence, de jure, the state retains its unitary system of government. In cases of constitutional crises, the central government can revoke or amend the legislating powers of devolved parliaments or assemblies (Devolution.gov.uk).

The issue of devolution was put in referenda which were held in Scotland and Wales in 1997, and in N. Ireland in 1998. Idea of devolution were supported by majority of voters in all mentioned nations,

however with some noticeable difference (74.29% casted ballot in support of devolution in Scotland whereas only a very negligible majority of 50.30% did so in Wales). The referenda were followed by endorsement of the Scotland Act 1998, the Northern Ireland Act 1998, and the Government of Wales Act 1998 (replaced by the Government of Wales Act 2006) that passed in the UK Parliament in 1998 and which established the three devolved legislatures, which were given some powers previously held at Westminster. Further powers have been devolved since these original acts, most recently through the Scotland Act 2016 and Wales Act 2017 (Devolution of powers to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, 2013); (BBC guide to devolution in the UK, 2010). The devolved powers were not alike since Scotland, which always had its own legal system obtained some wider powers delegated to its parliament and government by the UK's central government, inter alia, in such policy areas and administrative structures as economic development; agriculture; forestry & fishing; education; environment; health; housing; justice, policing & courts; local government; fire service and some transport. The Assembly and Government of Wales were also given several important policy areas, including agriculture, forestry & fishing; education; environment; health & social welfare; some taxation; housing; local government; fire & rescue services, transport, and economic development (BBC guide to devolution in the UK, 2010). 'Devolution process to Scotland and Wales is perhaps the greatest constitutional alteration in the UK in the 20th century' (Jones and Balsom, 2000). Devolution and following establishment of Welsh National Assembly and reinforcement of the Scottish political institutions and political parties (SNP), brought about a development and recognition of political culture and identities in both of these nations, which was happening especially dynamic in Wales (Howell, 2003). Devolution is therefore being an important political process which develops and shapes the Scottish and Welsh political culture and identity.

2.2. Euroscepticism in the UK as a manifestation of populism

Populism became a highly mentioned and quoted trendy term in political debates and literature in the Western democracies in contemporary times. Populism can be assumed as a kind of political logic that is categorised by a hegemonic divergence between 'the power bloc' and 'the people' (Laclau, 2014).

Mudde (2007) argues that populism can be defined as a “thin-centred ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, the ‘pure people’ and the ‘corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the general will of the people” (Mudde, 2007). This definition avoids the idea that a political actor mobilises a specific social group but still suggests a base to empirically scrutinise the significance of populist political leaders. In a nutshell, such a definition provides an opportunity to accept a concept of populism as a ‘political style’ of discourse that can be qualitatively examined.

Kaltwasser (2014) argues that populism can be characterised as being both democratic or undemocratic phenomenon, and it must be viewed as an ideology (Kaltwasser, 2014). Based on this definition, populism should be analysed as the functional relationship between the people and power holders (political elites), and not merely taking populism as a blatant attempt by populist political leaders to delude the public.

Gifford (2015) further argues that Eurosceptics are consolidated close by their preparedness to call upon ‘the people’ to counter the integration initiatives, and the deceitful political establishment (Gifford, 2015). Hence, populism manifest itself in the phenomenon of Euroscepticism in the UK.

Wellings (2012) suggests that an upsurge of nationalism in England in parallel with a renown of Eurosceptic beliefs puts the British political thought in conflict with contemporary European ideology (Wellings and Baxendale, 2015). This ‘ideological’ conflict was further intensified by the decentralisation (devolution) in the UK that provoked a resurgence of Englishness manifested in ‘a popular culture of nostalgia, football, anti-German sentiment and the tabloid press’(Wellings, 2012).

Taggart (2000) claims that populism gets reinforced in its ability to mobilise masses with further development of European political project (Taggart, 2000). Hence, based upon this argument it could be concluded that there is an expected predisposition for populist political actors to mobilise ‘the people’ against the European project as a result of an antagonistic reaction to the European politics sway on British politics.

2.3. Political communication and media in British politics

Political communications play a key role in modern British politics. “Political communication is an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the media, and the public. The process operates downwards from governing institutions towards citizens, horizontally through linkages among political actors, and also upwards from public opinion towards the authorities” (Caramani, 2011).

There are four types of political communication that exist in democratic political systems (Moran, 2015):

1. Communication from the people to the government (elections, polling, focus groups, sample surveys, written direct communication, petitions, direct action, etc);
2. Communication from the government to the people (commands, information, advice and warnings, etc);
3. Communication from the political parties to the electorate (announcements, public meetings, demonstrations, electorate surveys, ‘packages’ marketing, letters, leaflets, etc);
4. Communication between people (chatting/talking, gossiping/rumour, mobile/internet communication, etc);

Communication in British politics is characterised by strong influence of politicians who manage such communication to gain most out of it in their best interests. However, politicians are not able to fully manage and control mass communication such as newspapers, television and radio, these communication media rather often align themselves with specific political parties or ideologies. Press in form of newspapers is still enjoys a numerous readership in the UK. Historically, England and Wales are dominated by newspapers printed in London, however Scotland and Northern Ireland enjoy their relatively distinctive press (Moran, 2015). That characteristics of the British newspaper industry undoubtedly impacts the political climate in the UK.

British newspapers have a long history of partisanship. All of UK’s major newspapers have some sympathies to one of the two dominant all-national parties. Since the British newspapers are profit-making businesses, they function in very competitive settings, and their loyalty to the political parties are not firm and self-less at all. The Sun which is famous for its strong support of Brexit couple times changed sides in the past during 1997 and 2007 elections (Moran, 2015).

The concept of ‘politics by the media’ is widely examined in political communication and media studies since the late 1990s. It is believed that news is never presented without being framed overtly to indicate the importance of an issue to public attention, problems for society and identity of responsible persons (Blumler and McQuail, 2001). News framing ‘sets the margins of discourse over an issue’ (Entman, 1993).

Mediatisation is a relatively modern process which involves media logic that favours a ‘sensationalist’ approach to news production and is ever more meddlesome with political logic that impairs the position and impact of politicians as advocates and policy makers (Esser and Strömbäck, 2014). Mediatisation theory demands a harmonising presentation by politicians, whereat they accommodate the media logic to get their message through to the voters effectively. Thus, it is not a one-sided process, it operates on the assumption of persistent mutuality between media and political interactions that has some fluctuating effects in regard to the impact on political life (Marcinkowski and Steiner, 2014).

2.4. Explaining the Brexit vote in the UK and in the devolved nations of Scotland and Wales

Matthew J. Goodwin and Oliver Heath (2016), John Curtice (2016) and Sara Hobolt (2016) (Goodwin and Heath, 2016; Curtice, 2017; Hobolt, 2016a) amongst the most authoritative scholars on the subject argue that the ‘leave vote’ and people’s pro-exit sentiments are explained primarily by societal polarisation amid discontent with globalisation and increasing working-class insecurity in England and Wales and to a lesser degree in Northern Ireland and Scotland. The researchers mentioned have labelled the ‘leave’ voters by a relatively newly coined term widely known today as the ‘left-behind.’ The group of ‘Left-behind’ voters are generically described as a marginalised working-class people who generally are people above the age 40, living in middle- and small-size towns and in rural areas, who tend to be less educated and often found in the former industrial areas in the central and the northern England and in the south of Wales.

Such eminent scholars as Goodwin and Heath (2016) define the ‘left behind’ group of electorates as having diverse sets of ideas, ideals and values. ‘Left behind’ group often feels disregarded as their values and opinions contrast with the values and opinions of the leading political parties and elites

(old establishment) as well as the media. Goodwin and Heath point to the ever deepening generational, educational and class lines in Britain which was showcased by the 2016 Referendum vote. The ‘left behind’ pro-leave voters voted to leave because they want policies and responses to the cultural and economic changes in the UK to be addressed considering conservative sentiments, cultural values and national interest, which has nothing to do with ever deepening integration with the EU, socio-liberalism and continental multiculturalism that they increasingly experienced in the last decades at home (Goodwin and Heath, 2016). Thus, this study seeks to prove the economic, political and ideational nature of causes behind the ‘leave’ success on the referendum.

Hobolt (2016) explains the ‘left behind’ phenomenon by justifying the ‘evolutionary’ nature of globalisation, which provides more opportunities to the more educated younger white-collar professionals from urban areas with apparent fact that less educated older blue-collar workers will come out at the losing end. Hence, Hobolt also emphasizes the socio-economic reasons which resulted in ‘leave’ vote in June 2016. Both researches by Hobolt (2016) and Goodwin and Heath (2016) found out the strong correlation between anti-establishment and anti-elites sentiments and the ‘leave’ vote. They argue that basically the so-called ‘left behind’ retaliated against the establishment (elites) and the old political parties they have got disillusioned with in recent decades.

Curtice (2016) argues that those ‘left behind’ in addition to the discontent with effects of globalisation, also have very conservative apprehension of identity which could play a decisive role in the referendum. According to Curtice (2016) the EU generally was perceived by the ‘leave’ voters as a threat to the British (English) national identity. The relationship between economy and national identity, or culture in general, is another important factor pointed out by Curtice. Curtice puts forward the idea of intertwined economic and cultural factors that caused the ‘left behind’ groups in society vote to ‘leave’.

A study carried out by Henderson, Jeffery, Wincott and Jones (2017) focuses primarily on the different perceptions towards the EU membership in England. They have mainly omitted the different parts of the UK such as Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales since they believe that England is a core answer to the question as the Brexit was mainly made in England where 84% of the UK population reside. Henderson et al. (2017) claim that along the ‘left behind,’ the strong national

identity in England, the so-called ‘Englishness’ was, *inter alia*, another main reason behind the ‘leave’ vote. English concerns over immigration played a very significant role in ‘turning the tables’ in 2016 referendum. The English concerns and fear related to ‘a massive’ immigration from the EU and elsewhere were instrumental in turning the tide of support of further EU integration. This proposition of course has more to do with the perceived socio-economic aspects which as we know effected the referendum vote. Apart of socio-economic aspects, the English fears are undoubtedly strongly correlate with the notion of the national identity, which puts clear boundaries between Englishness and being British, as majority of the ‘leave’ voters identify themselves as to be English in contrast to being British (Henderson et al., 2017).

Swales (2016) who claims that the Euroscepticism was on rise between 1975-2016, and finally we have observed the Eurosceptic victory in 2016 Referendum. Throughout this time, depending on different events in the British-EU relations, the anti-EU sentiments were increasing and decreasing. Swales (2016) operates with some survey data which proves that by 2015 Eurosceptic attitudes were prevalent ones in the UK, with 2/3 of residents opposing the UK’s existing relationships with the EU. These attitudes made the PM David Cameron to propose a renegotiation of the UK’s membership and promise to hold a referendum subsequently. However, the number of those who really wanted to ‘leave’ the EU were no more than 26 percent by 2015. Hence, it was only between 2015-2016 when opposing sides started actively their campaigns employing arguments and policies in their respective campaigns. And here the Leave campaign used the arguments such as ‘taking back control’ of borders, law-making, restoration of sovereignty and the UK’s disproportionate contribution to the EU budget, which drew attention and were felt across the political spectrum amongst all the British voters. The Remain campaign used arguments like economic benefits of membership, economic risks of Brexit and British influence in the world (Swales et al., 2016).

Carl (2017) looks into existing academic pieces regarding the relationship between the Eurosceptic attitudes and national identity, and the role of national identity in the Brexit vote. The study supports the claim that national identity (Englishness vs. Europeanness) probably has played a significant role in triumph of the leave vote (Carl, 2017).

A report of Swales (2016) dedicated to analysis of the 2016 Referendum sheds light on some causational links behind the leave vote and cultural values. Swales explores the demographics of the vote, policy issues which influenced the leave voters and the politics of the vote as well as other cultural, social and political factors which resulted in victory of the 'Leave' vote. It is important to note that Swales exposes some cultural cleavages constructed upon the individual grouping of cultural values and ideals both for so-called 'Remainers' and 'Brexiters,' mirroring enduring concerns and attitudes, so frequently linked with diverse economic issues as well as with concrete social and economic clustering. Using latent class analysis technique, Swales makes an extensive analysis using data retrieved from the authoritative British Election Study (BES), the British Social Attitudes (BSA) and NatCen Panel pre- and post-referendum surveys to reveal the cultural traits of 'Leave' and 'Remain' supporters as well as some causal effects on the voting behaviour, demographics and social and political attitudes across the UK. This analysis results in the three groups of 'Brexit' or 'Leave' supporters being identified: "economically deprived, anti-immigration (95% 'leave', 12% of population), affluent Eurosceptics (75% 'leave', 23% of population) and older working classes (73% 'leave', 16% of population). These three groups mostly had fears and concerns about national identity, Britain's independence and immigration" (Swales et al., 2016). Hence, the success of the Leave campaign in 2016 Referendum might be explained not only by so-called 'Left behind' group of voters but rather due to the fact that the 'Leave' voters represented much broader culturally based coalition of voters with a variety of social, economic and political concerns, which Swales (2016) unites into the three large groups mentioned above: influential Eurosceptics, the working class aged 40+, and a group of economically disadvantaged, anti-immigration voters (Swales et al., 2016). Since the 'Leave' voters were undoubtedly a sort of a cultural coalition, their identity goes beyond the traditional political party and class divisions in this case (Henderson et al., 2016). The prevalence of the 'Leave' vote took place thanks to number of following specific factors: (a) increased role of politics of identity; (b) less attention to socioeconomic risks and consequences of exiting the EU; (c) 60% of 'new voters' voted to leave; (d) decreased role of the traditional party lines (party allegiance) and increased public split across the party lines and people's broader social values; (e) higher turnout of more active 'Leave' supporters in polling stations compared to their less active 'Remain' vote counterparts (Swales et al., 2016).

Zhang (2017) argues that the main factors underpinning the success of the ‘Brexiters’ could be explained by the socio-economic backgrounds of voters, economic valuations and what most important, their education levels. A rigorous analysis of factors that impacted voter decision during Brexit referendum revealed that higher education may be ‘the predominant factor dividing the nation.’ (Zhang, 2018). Zhang speculates further that an increase of approximately 3 percent in the adults with higher education in England and Wales could have overturned the outcomes of the referendum, in which voters voted by a mere 3.8% margin in support of the UK exiting the EU. Zhang suggests that regions with higher number of adults with university education had a tendency to vote in favour of ‘Remain: ‘...analysis demonstrates highly significant evidence that university-educated British people tend to vote consistently across the UK for Remain’ (Zhang, 2018). Zhang exposed the facts that factors such as high income and the ‘British-born’ did not significantly impacted voter decision, however, ‘gender’ factor proved to be an influential factor., Zhang also establishes that age-wise ‘a higher proportion of elderly British contributes to a higher percentage of leave votes, but does not lead to leave outcomes on their own’ (Zhang, 2018).

The increased role of politics of identity and decreased role of the traditional party lines (party allegiance) and increased public split across party lines and people’s broader social values partially might explain difference in referendum outcomes in devolved nations of Scotland and Wales. Leith and Soule (2012) support this argument. They argue that the Scottish nationalism was on rise in the last few decades due to re-emergence of the Scottish nationalism and national identity politicisation in both political dimensions, the ‘elite’ and ‘non-elite’. The latter is portrayed as a solely civic and inclusive (tolerant and pluralist) representing ‘a mass voice.’ A substantial data analysis revealed an ever-increased need of non-elites for the ‘Scottishness’ as opposed to the ‘Englishness’ and/or ‘Britishness’ that is not diametrically explained by a vote for the SNP during the recent regional elections (Soule, Leith and Steven, 2012). However, ‘elites’ dimension, represented by political institutions like political parties, also could be instrumental in explaining the increased role of politics of identity as parties (mainly the Scottish National Party) played a key role in Scottish politics and in transmission of nationalism and nationhood in the last 40 years in Scotland.

Hobolt (2016) claims that many voters in devolved nations of Scotland and Wales have voted to ‘remain’ mainly because their preferences were based upon the general line and programme of the regional (national) parties they associate themselves with. Thus, belonging to the left-aligning and

largely pro-EU SNP (Scottish National Party) and Welsh Plaid Cymru (to a much lesser extent) was a decisive factor behind many people's decision to vote to 'Remain.' (Hobolt, 2016b).

A research by Glencross (2015) sheds a light on the opposing perception of the regional and national government. Glencross (2015) argues about conflicting trajectories of the UK national government that backs financial capitalist and is a conductor of neo-liberal policies, and the Scottish regional government, which backs social-democratic economic model and favours the 'anti-austerity' policies. Glencross draws attention to the fact that the central government and parliament were always trying to maintain 'a distance' believing that they can achieve their policy objectives only with the least interference of the EU. In contrast, Scottish regional government always views the ever-closer integration with the EU as an instrument of reaching their economic and political targets (Glencross, 2015). Glencross (2015) claims that most of the British governments after UK's admission to EU in 1973 had very pragmatic approach to the EU which had little to do with ideals of 'United States of Europe' and normative advantages of membership in the bloc. Glencross predicted competing nature of preferences and economic values of the national (British) and the regional (Scottish) governments in the future referendum in 2016. Glencross points out the whole seriousness of the clash of perceptions and preferences of the national and regional government which can not only result in the UK's complete exit from the EU (no matter 'hard' or 'soft') but rather put an end to the United Kingdom unity itself (Glencross, 2015).

Studies which are focusing about devolved nations and Brexit suggest that nations like Wales and Scotland as well as Northern Ireland (to a lesser extent) have pursued their pragmatic agenda to accomplish their local policies and political objectives in their relationships with the EU and the UK central government. Some literature reviewed revealed the strong correlation between the main 'nationalistic' political parties in devolved nations and staunch pro-European sentiments in Scotland, North Ireland and to some significant degree in Wales.

A research by Paul Chaney (2014) focuses mainly on Welsh political developments since the devolution in late 1990s, whereat he proves the Welsh pragmatic approach in dealing with the EU and the UK national government. Chaney (2014) tracks political patterns in Wales since the devolution time and the point in history when the biggest 'nationalist' party called Plaid Cymru (Party of Wales) raised to an unheard prominence ever since. This party pursues several political goals

aligned with the Welsh national interests, inter alia, a complete autonomy and even an independence of Wales from the UK in the EU in the long run. Chaney explains staunch pro-European stance of the Plaid Cymru with party's unique chance to achieve its objectives using its status and role in the EU's Committee of Regions and other common European institutions. Chaney (2014) further examines the manifesto of the party issued in 1999, which used to be the most pro-European manifest among the UK's nationalist parties. Chaney also points out that party's desire to increase a constituency in the time of the devolution played a trick with the party itself as the later elections in 2003 shown very poor results of the party. These developments forced the party to change its agenda priorities, programme and approach, which was reflected in their lesser reference to Europe, and more lobbying the Welsh language rights and education, which again returned its past glory in 2007 elections, when they joined a government coalition with the ruling Labour party (Chaney, 2014).

As it was mentioned above, long before 2016 Referendum, in 2007 Plaid Cymru and Labour Party agreed to form a coalition. This made the party to go deeper into the current commitments to the national voters, hence, making pleas about autonomy and a subsequent independence of a second priority as well as the policy issues were raised in priority at the expense of constitutional issues (Chaney, 2014). Apart from using the EU as a mean of achieving a wider self-governance and even an independence, there are some other mainly economic issues such as social and economic development within the context of the EU, which were emphasised by the Plaid Cymru's political discourse (Marsden and Bestic, 2017); (Winters and Carvalho, 2017).

Similarly, with Wales, several researchers have also established a similar pragmatic approach of politics in Scotland, manifested in the manifestos, political agenda and course of action of the Scottish National Party (SNP), the largest nationalist regional party. For example, Gifford (2009) claims that in the process of the Europeanization of SNP has facilitated nurturing a more all-encompassing Scottish political identity that is well-suited to the EU's multi-faceted and multi-level governance. Also, Gifford emphasizes the increasing differentiation of the mentioned political parties from the English and British Euroscepticism, which also could potentially lead regional parties in Wales and Scotland to pursue the closer connection of their regional role in EU since their re-emerged regional identities have some robust affinity with the EU. An increasing integration of the regional parties with

the EU political system is a precondition to have a better and inclusive regional political parties (Gifford, 2010).

The Scottish political patterns and political climate are well researched by Jolly (2007). Jolly explains the change in Scottish politics in regard to the EU from a very interesting angle. The Scottish National Party's party manifesto issued in 1987 started to recommend independence within wider umbrella of the EU (so-called 'independence in EU'), and party used this approach to differentiate from the other parties with a more radical stance and goals, and simultaneously pursued the objective of gaining independence within Europe as its major agenda (Jolly, 2007). Similarly, the SNP succeeded in securing some economic benefits in major policy areas for Scotland such as agriculture and fishing, using the deepening integration within the EU (Jolly, 2007). The support of further EU integration process could be explained by the fact that the SNP using this approach gained some important political advantages which could bring Scotland closer to its future political and economic independence. The SNP formulated its struggle for more economic advantages outlined in their 1997 party manifesto, which foresees Scotland to be economically self-reliant and prosperous being politically and economically independent within the European Union provided that Scotland could obtain the fair share of offshore North Sea oil after it gains independence. Hence, Kincaid Jolly (2007) claims the regional parties in the UK are pro-EU due to many factors, of which a desire for more independence and national interests (pure pragmatism) of devolved nations do play a greater role (Jolly, 2007).

Nagel (2004) as well as Gifford (2009) also established the pragmatic nature of the British regional parties. According to them, the SNP and Plaid Cymru provided an instrumental support to the EU integration efforts to secure their own particular goals and interests. According to Nagel (2004) a financial support from the European Union could to some certain degree support and uphold the regional national identity in devolved nations such as Wales, since this support could mobilize people for competition over this money, hence created an increasingly shared national identity (Nagel, 2004). It is also worth to mention the significance of the regional parties opposing themselves to the British Euroscepticism that could further be proven on the examples of Scottish 'Remain' vote, which demonstrated that such a regional party like SNP draws upon the positive link between Scotland's

role in Europe since SNP and its electorate perceive and accept the fact that their regional identity have a robust affinity with the ones of the EU (Gifford, 2010).

Analysis above demonstrates that there are increasingly amount of literature on the reasons why Britain voted to leave the EU during the 2016 Referendum. There are different answers to this question in the literature analysed above. There are some studies like the ones by such eminent researchers as Goodwin and Heath (Goodwin and Heath, 2016; Goodwin, 2016; Goodwin and Heath, 2017; Goodwin et al., 2017; Goodwin et al., 2018) and Hobolt (Hobolt, 2016b) which argue that Brexit was the result of a 'left behind' generation of voters. These voters feel increasingly discontented with political elites ('anti-elite revolt') who have encouraged processes of globalisation and European integration which have had a negative impact on many communities in Britain. Others like Curtice (Curtice, 2016b, 2016a, 2017), Henderson, Wincott and Jones (Henderson et al., 2016, 2017) prefer to stress the importance of identity, especially English identity when it comes to explaining Brexit. More generally, the EU conflicts with a sense of Englishness that has grown up in the United Kingdom recently, especially during harsh debates before and after Brexit vote (Hobolt, 2016a; Carl, 2017; Mycock and Hayton, 2014; Henderson et al., 2016, 2017; Skey, 2012).

However, the above-mentioned literature contains a puzzle which needs to be explained. The literature mentioned above explains Brexit in general and leaves questions unanswered concerning a puzzle --- how these arguments (the 'Left-behind' generation; English identity) explain why it was that Scotland did vote to remain in the EU and Wales voted to leave? The 'left-behind' explanation only partly explains the general vote 'to leave' across the UK (especially in England), however, this explanation does not entirely and clearly help to answer the difference in vote in devolved nation of Scotland and Wales. Both Wales and Scotland contain plenty of communities who feel 'left behind' by globalisation, however, Scotland voted unanimously to remain, whilst Wales voted to leave. Perhaps the 'left behind' explanation can partially explain the vote in Wales, but it seems to struggle to explain the vote in Scotland. Also, while an emphasis on English identity to explain Brexit would seem to explain why Scotland voted differently, since the Scottish vote to remain was by far an expression of Scottish identity in opposition to English identity, it does not seem to explain the Welsh vote to leave. If national identity was important to understanding Brexit, should we not have expected

the devolved Welsh to have voted to remain? Arguments about age, higher education and gender also are not convincing since both these devolved nations have similar socio-demographic indicators.

Apparently, the above-mentioned literature has gaps in explaining the puzzle of this thesis in regard to the sharp contrast in results of the UK's 2016 EU Referendum in such seemingly similar in many aspects nations as Scotland and Wales.

3.The aim and objective of research

The literature on UK's 2016 EU Referendum currently lacking a comprehensive explanation of the different outcomes of Brexit vote in Scotland and Wales. The aim of this research therefore is to contribute to the study of Brexit and other political campaigns and referenda by focusing on investigation of the impact of the political (referendum) campaigns as well as the political climate and media 'identity' in Scotland and Wales on the referendum results in each of those nations along with contributing to studies on the UK referendum on EU membership and EU referendums in general.

This thesis seeks to contribute to the existing research on Brexit by focusing on critical analysis of the media coverage of Brexit referendum campaigns in a sample of the regional newspaper articles which were published during the two months of official political campaign. The thesis aims to investigate the impact of media coverage of the Brexit referendum campaign on people's values and opinions in Scotland and Wales respectively which may have predetermined the different vote outcomes. This argument will be examined using the critical discourse analysis (CDA), which will expose the way in which the discourses, language and tone of debates used during referendum campaign by the political forces (power holders) may have obscured the voters, framed and shaped their social reality in regard to their referendum vote.

3.1. Research question and hypotheses:

The central research question of the thesis aims to answer is:

Why did Scotland as a devolved nation vote to ‘Remain’ in the EU and Wales as a devolved nation voted to ‘Leave’ the EU in the 2016 UK referendum on EU membership?

Drawing from the research presented in the literature review, it can be expected that instrumental arguments such as impact of media coverage of political (referendum) campaign, media ‘identity’ and different political climate in Scotland and Wales might be decisive arguments that critically influenced the outcomes of the 2016 EU Referendum. This thesis therefore will embark in investigation of these argument and expects to prove the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis1: The political discourse and language of news media in Scotland were more pro-European, which is the reason behind the success of the ‘Remain’ campaign in Scotland.

Hypothesis2: The political discourse and language of news media in Wales were less pronouncedly pro-European, which is the reason behind success of the ‘Leave’ campaign in Wales.

4.Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, the theoretical approaches will be explored which will serve as a solid theoretical framework to answer potently and comprehensively the central questions of the research around the impact of the political campaigns in Scotland and Wales on the referendum result in each of those devolved nations. Particularly, the discourse theory and analysis will be explored to create a theoretical basis of the research to investigate rigorously and systematically the central research questions of this research, i.e. whether political discourse of referendum campaign in Scotland was more pro-European during the referendum campaign than the one in Wales? Hence, political discourses in media coverage of the referendum campaign (15 April-23 June 2016) will be in the spotlight. The main elements, tenets and approaches of the innovative discourse theory as well as its relevance in use for political analysis and research will be explored in this chapter.

The discourse theory and discourse analysis have wide variety of approaches to analyse written, vocal, or sign language and other types of communication in different contexts across many disciplines,

fields and domains. Discourse theory's approaches were initially utilised within sociolinguistics, and later they assumed increasingly imperative role in other social sciences, including political research and political analysis.

What is discourse? For most people the word discourse means 'conversation' or 'discussion.' Nevertheless, academics and scholars view the discourse in a wider context. In academia, the discourse involves all forms of communication. Specifically, discourse suggests that the truths that we live by are not simply "out there", but that we create those truths through our interactions. This is a controversial concept to accept, particularly for a scientific realist who is interested in exploring the natural world and finding data and facts through scientific tools. Discourse theory is therefore often associated with a postmodernism and its scepticism of the natural sciences.

The discourse theory is focused on human expressions and communications, often in the form of language. It accentuates on how such expressions are related to human knowledge. A common argument is that the things people say or write draw from a pool of generally accepted knowledge in a society, while at the same time drumming into society to shape or reinforce such knowledge. Hence, what a society embraces to be true changes over time, depending on the ideas that members of a society exchange, and on the way in which such exchange happens. Another shared question is how specific people, or groups of people, can shape these 'flows of knowledge'. Certain persons may be in a particularly strong position to define what is true, while others may be excluded from the discussion. In other words, discourse theory touches upon the questions of power and institutional hierarchies. In discourse theory, such hierarchies lead to domination and resistance.

Michel Foucault, a renowned philosopher and sociologist is considered one of the pioneers of the discourse theory. Foucault argued that the contemporary world is structured by knowledge that *'certain people and social groups create and formulate ideas about our world, which under certain conditions turn into unquestioned truths and start to seem normal'* (Potter, 2005). Many other definitions are out there about what the discourse is by the leading discourse theorists, for example: *'the use of language'* (Chilton, 2008); *'whatever policy actors say to each other and to the public in their efforts to generate and legitimise a policy programme...discourse involves both set of policy ideas and values and an interactive process of policy construction and communication'* (Schmidt, 2002); *'anything written or said or communicated using signs'* (Murray, 1994); *'talk and texts as parts*

of social practice' (Potter, 2005); '*social cognitions, socially specific ways of knowing social practices*' (van Leeuwen, 2008).

The issues of epistemology, such as the question of processes through which the social world is constructed and consolidated, have been long drawing attention of scholars. The discourse analysis pays attention to the role that language, texts, conversations, the *media* and academic research play in the formation and developing of institutions and influencing behaviour. Hence institutions in this context can be defined as an established social order comprising organised behaviour bound by rules and norms (Jary and Jary, 1995). Hence, discourse discusses the practices of written and verbal communication. Discourse analysis suggests that institutions as social reality are viewed as being constructed by discourses and social interaction (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). Discourse can be delineated as interconnected texts, conversations and practices related to a specific object. Such developments like policies toward devolution, or political campaign before and during UK's 2016 EU Referendum could serve examples of such objects. The discourses related to those objects can be identified in articles in press, television programmes, texts, debates, politician's speeches, party manifestos and other publications including academic books and articles. Those pieces of communication can be utilised to identify the background and progress of the discourses and how they legitimize some policy initiatives and marginalize others (Burnham et al., 2008).

Scholars by far agree that discourses are systems of signification, which means the reality is socially constructed by people, who give meaning and significance to objects in the material world. Such discourses are often ordered in terms of binary opposition, e.g., the Global South and North, rich and poor, democracy and dictatorship (Milliken, 1999).

Discourses replicate the assumptions of society and those common perceptions and understandings are encouraged and strengthened by those with access to the *media*, for instance politicians, journalists and scholars. Hence, discourses frame and coerce given courses of action, some of which are promoted as reasonable, ethical and lawful, thus gaining wide levels of support, whilst others are discouraged as absurd, immoral and illegal. The grass roots and policymakers are thus directed and coerced as to how they should react to some certain events or crises. It is therefore one of the purposes of discourse analysis to uncover the causes of these common assumptions and to show how they are connected to various interests in society (Burnham et al., 2008).

The first and foremost assumption of the discourse theory is that all objects and actions are sensible and that their objectives are a creation of certain historical circumstances. Hence, the discourse theory suggests researching the backgrounds of institutions and social practices and should critically analyse the discourses that are associated to them and carry on in giving them validity and signification (Howarth, 2000).

Discourse theory suggests that language often utilised to deceive and to manipulate those groups in society to whom it is addressed. Hence, discourse and language are often controlled by the those in power in society who can impose meanings and interpretations of social reality that serve their best interests and undermine interests of the rest of society by spreading confusion and deceit in discourses that tolerates and promotes oppression and exploitation of the weak majority in society. The discourse theory therefore is able to contribute to the understanding of contemporary social processes by determining the loser and winner sides of specific discourses (Fairclough, 2000).

Discourse theory and analysis is one of the most complex concepts and is often a controversial realm which is hard to define. Howarth being one of the leading scholars in discourse theory and analysis suggests that there are five main approaches to define discourses (Howarth, 2000). Howarth argues that empiricists and positivists define discourses as ‘frames or ‘cognitive schemata’ that are “the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action” (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996) (Snow and Benford, 2002). For instance, Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage (as well as many other eminent ‘Brexiters’) using an understanding and sympathizing discursive rhetoric such as taking back control, fear of losing jobs and UK’s contribution to the EU budget towards the ‘baby boomers’ and the poorest electorate convinced most of those voters that they understand and share their concerns, hence legitimizing and framing those discourse and rhetoric which proved to be decisive for the victory of the ‘Leave’ camp back in June 2016. This another definition by Howarth completes a critical approach to the discourse theory and analysis since it inspires investigation into drivers behind the structuring of these shared understandings and concerns as well as on the triumph of some certain groups (‘Brexiters’ or Leave campaigners in this case) in accomplishing their desired results. This is undoubtedly a ‘positivist’ political definition which focuses on efforts of interested and committed political groups to win over their assumptions and values on masses of people or other political groups to advance their peculiar interests (Burnham et al., 2008).

Howarth also compares the ‘positivist’ approach above with a ‘realistic’ approach, which accepts that discourse is an independent structured system. The social sphere is assumed to comprise of sets of objects that exist independently with causal powers and essential properties. Identities and social attitudes do not develop in a vacuum. They are shaped by the societal and political context in which voters live (McEwen, 2018). The events and processes in the real world are caused by the communication and interaction of these objects. Thus, discourses are independent objects, and per se, drive the events and social processes come into being. Hence, the discourse analysis seeks to reveal and explain the role of discourses and to demonstrate how they facilitate the causation of events and processes in social world as well as to manifest their power in real world (Howarth, 2000).

The Marxist approach and critical discourse analysis are amongst other widely used and legitimate approaches to discourse analysis. Marxist approach focuses on the relationship of discourse to the inconsistent processes of economic production and re-production in capitalistic economic system. Marxist approach views the discourses as ‘ideological systems of meaning’ that legitimise economic exploitation in capitalist society (Burnham et al., 2008). The capitalist elites endorse and strengthen these discourses in all spheres, including politics and the press (media) to legitimise their power and control over the society and defend the system of unfair distribution and redistribution of economic resources and political power (Burnham et al., 2008). Thus, the discourse analysis here plays an empowering and liberating role, which is to reveal the role of the dominant discourses in legitimising an extremely unfair economic and political system and offering an egalitarian alternative.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) shares many elements of Marxist approach to discourse analysis but focuses on sociological rather than economic aspects in regard to discourse analysis. CDA views human meanings and understandings as crucial in explaining one or another phenomenon in real world. As a rule, actions in social world trigger interaction and communication, hence language and discourse are integral parts of social world. Social experiences mostly involve language in a combination of action and reflection since people holding power develop constructions to validate their actions (Burnham et al., 2008). Critical discourse analysis views the language as an element of social practice and aims to investigate how it is articulated along with other elements (Fairclough, 2000). CDA is specifically preoccupied with how it relates to social relationship of domination and power. Hence, the role of CDA is to reveal the way in which the discourses are used by the power holders to obscure and exploit the masses of people (Fairclough, 2000).

Post-structuralist and post-Marxists approaches view social structures as inherently vague, inadequate and contingent. Therefore, in their opinion discourses establish nominal social systems, and discourse analysis aims at investigating their historical and political construction as well as their functioning (Howarth, 2000).

Discourse analysis involves four types depending on two dimensions. First dimension is the degree to which the analysis concentrates on the texts or on the context of those texts. The second one depends on whether the research focuses on the role of discourse in the construction of social reality or on revealing the ideology and power relationships exposed by the analysis and demonstrating which groups win or lose as an outcome of the how specific discourses are structured (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). Hence, amongst the four types mentioned above, the socio-linguistic analysis is text-based and constructionist, whereas interpretive structuralism emphasises the social context and its underpinning discourses. As another type of discourse analysis, CDA emphasises the role of discourse in promoting uneven power relations and exposes the ways some groups are exploited and marginalised by power holders, which the discourses give advantage. The fourth type, critical linguistic analysis is focused with individual textual analysis but also emphasises the power relations as well (Phillips and Hardy, 2002).

Figure 1. Taxonomy of discourse analysis (Burnham et al., 2008)

		Focus on context	
Constructionist approach	<i>Interpretive structuralism</i>	<i>Critical analysis</i>	<i>discourse</i> Critical approach
	<i>Social linguistic analysis</i>	<i>Critical linguistic analysis</i>	
		Focus on texts	

Since politics involves a struggle to control the dominant political discourse and language, the political elite or party is in strong position to win elections and form the political agenda if it wins over its ideas and concepts on the media and the electorate. It certainly does not mean that one discourse will be predominant endlessly as new discourses will come into being and compete with

the presently dominant political language. For example, Thatcherism hegemonic discourse in British politics in 1980s was replaced gradually by the dominant New Labour bifurcated rhetoric, which built upon the previous conservative discourse with addition of elements of social democracy (Burnham et al., 2008). Thus, discourses focus on the origins, content and transformation of the dominant political discourses in society. Discourses frame the political agenda and limit possible opposition among groups which may be adversely affected by their political consequences. The role of discourses in politics is therefore to provide legitimacy to political institutions, including the state, and to the policies and actions of politicians and other political forces.

Discourse analysis involves analysing raw empirical data like speeches, interviews, ideologies, policies, and organizations by treating the obtained data linguistically and non-linguistically (Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis, 2000). According to Fairclough (1995), ‘discourse analysis helps to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts with respect to wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power.’ (Fairclough, 1995).

To influence others to a particular agenda or course of action, politicians use political advertising in the media through talk shows, media interviews, political speeches, and party programmes to sell their ideologies. Politics is applied according to individual situation and purpose implicitly and explicitly. One can view it as a struggle for power. In such a battle there are those who seek to maintain it while others try to resist the power that already belongs to somebody or a specific form of body or government (Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis, 2000).

According to the discourse theory, all things and actions have an underlying meaning that is based on traditional rules such as economic, environmental, ethical and social. Discursivity is an element of discourse where a theoretical horizon is formed within which the objects under discourse analysis are constructed using social rules. Other features include idealism and scepticism that are used to obtain contrary perspectives and opinions on a political matter (Chilton, 2004).

One of the elements of political discourse lies in the idea of ‘metarepresentation’ and ‘reciprocal altruism’ where people work together to achieve personal gain. From the views of Howarth, Norval

and Stavrakakis (2000), humans tend to represent ideas, things, events, and actions such that they can agree to a course of action from a general perspective.

In the press (offline and online newspapers and magazines), the campaign for the EU referendum was in front pages for them in most cases during April, May, and June 2016. The issues of immigration and economy received the most focus on the European Union Referendum. More than 195 stories were printed in the first pages of newspapers making up to 35 percent of all front leads (Moore and Ramsay, 2017).

During the two months of the campaign around 15,000 articles were written offline and online that focused on the referendum by twenty news outlets in the U.K. The materials were editorials, opinions, and news that was aimed at reaching the audience and voters (Jane Martinson, 2017) (Moore and Ramsay, 2017).

The economy was highly contested by claims that Brexit would lead to loss of more than £4,300 per annum for households (Anthony Reuben, 2016; Osborne, 2016). During the final stages of the campaign, immigration discourse was linked to the economy in 47 percent of all articles that addressed the issue of the referendum. The effects of immigration were negatively covered where immigrants were blamed for causing social and economic problems to the UK (Berry, 2017).

Sovereignty was frequently referred to by politicians using the media especially in issues that related to the making of laws where the claim to take back control was made (Moore and Ramsay, 2017). According to (Fairclough, (1995), politicians' talk is contextualized based on the event and text such as in campaigns, parliament, rallies, and cabinet meetings to influence political decisions. The aspects of freedom, political affiliation, solidarity, and equality are used to define political discourse.

According to Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis (2000), there are practices and social relations that lead to the formation of internal politics that draw frontiers in political issues by dividing politicians into 'insiders' and 'outsiders.' In most cases, this leads to exercise of the power to exclude some possibilities and change the structure of relations among different political agents. In such consideration, the Scots were more in favour of staying in the EU. The referendum campaign in Wales, which was largely affected by London-based media resulted in Welsh vote to favour the leave vote due to much emphasis in the advantages of leaving the EU (Arnorsson and Zoega, 2018). Discourse theorists reject rationalist approaches to political analysis, which presume that social actors

have given interests and preferences, or which focus on the rational (or irrational) functioning of social systems. In these conceptions of politics, the actions of agents can both be explained and predicted by reference to individual calculations of economic self-interest or relations of power and domination can be inferred from the failure of social agents to recognise and act upon their 'real interests' (Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis, 2000).

According to Fairclough, (1995) language and politics have a vital close link. Political discourse helps in understanding how language is used in politics. According to Aristotle, '*we are all political animals, able to use language to pursue our ends.*' By considering the self-legitimizing language, the relationship between politics and communication is established (Fairclough, 1995).

The EU referendum campaigns led to the exposure of the cultural, social, and economic differences and divisions that existed among Scotland, Wales and the rest of the UK (Moore and Ramsay, 2017; Birrell and Gray, 2017). Although Wales had received the most financial support from the EU, it showed a strong will to leave. The Leave campaigners proved to be more convincing than the citizen's logical reasoning because the majority of the votes were obtained from farmers in rural areas who in most cases received subsidies from the European Union (Exercise and Report, 2018; Dhingra, Machin and Overman, 2017).

The explosion of national identities and nationalism has led to rising and dissolution of political images and corporate agendas (Studlar and McAllister, 1988; Brown, 2017; Leith and Soule, 2011; Hopkin, 2017). The discourse theory argues that social movements and the plurality of social structures and the formation of identities are the epicentres of all political activities. The historical and geographical factors are also considered in the discourse analysis because they influence central issues that affect some people who share a common language (Chilton, 2004).

Thus, discourse theory is a relevant and effective theoretical and methodological tool to apply in political analysis and public policy fields due to its unique characteristics which enables to provide conditions that can lead to the development of objects, practices, and words that can help in understanding the political discourse in Scotland and Wales during the EU referendum campaign and what was its impact on the outcomes of Referendum as well as the impact of media coverage of referendum campaigns in the mentioned devolved nations.

As it was mentioned earlier in the *Aim and Objective of Research* chapter, the critical discourse analysis (CDA) will be primarily utilised to examine the media coverage of the 2016 EU Referendum, hence, to answer the central question of research. Theoretically and methodologically the CDA is the most suitable tool to be used for this kind of research as CDA focuses on the ‘relations between discourse, power and ideology,’ and exposes the way such relations are discursively, linguistically, textually, and socially embedded (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 2001). CDA approach is critical to the degree that it examine and analyse power relations in society and to frame normative perceptions from which an analysis of such relations can be accomplished taking into account the possibilities for social change (Jørgensen W. and Phillips J., 1997). CDA focused in ‘the content and organisation’ of text and the constructive nature of discourse and language (Gill, 1996). CDA examines texts as linguistically organised units and evaluates a discourse as one among different other forms of social practice (Jørgensen W. and Phillips J., 1997) (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002: 7). CDA suggests that the social reality, language and discourse interconnected and reciprocally supporting elements, which is reflected in Fairclough’s multidimensional framework (Fairclough, 1993); (Fairclough, 1995). Fairclough’s approach enables to methodically investigate both written texts and discourse practice that includes the construction and the explanation of text and the ‘social practice’ of the discursive phenomena (Fairclough, 1993). CDA has a relative advantage among other discourse analysis approach as it appreciates and values multidisciplinary approaches by researchers (Dijk, 1993; Jørgensen W. and Phillips J., 1997).

5. Methodological design

5.1. Method

The critical discourse analysis (CDA) will be used to analyse the primary data. This qualitative method focuses on a smaller sample of framed press articles. CDA will help to conduct a discursive analysis of the language, tone and metaphors within news stories. CDA utilises a wide array of approaches. To make it more specific, the approaches by Fairclough (1995) and Fairclough and Wodak (1997) will be utilised. The definitions of discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis were presented in the earlier chapters. CDA is very efficient tool which enables to expose the significance of texts and their power in political discourse. Fairclough claims that “most immediately, texts can bring about changes in our knowledge (we can learn things from them), our beliefs, our attitudes, values and so forth. They also have longer-term causal effects...Overall, texts have causal

effects upon, and contribute to changes in, people (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), actions, social relations, and the material world...these effects are mediated by meaning-making” (Fairclough, 2003).

5.2. Sourcing and selecting primary data

The research will be conducted using the primary and secondary data. The secondary data will include expert and scholarly literature, the newspaper articles, and other literature already available on this issue. The primary data will be collected through the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of newspaper corpora retrieved from the LexisNexis.

There are four newspapers that were sampled for the purpose of analysis: *Scotsman* and *The Herald* for Scotland, and *The Sun* and *Daily Post* for Wales. The timeline includes all of editions of these periodicals printed between 15 April – 23 June 2016, which contain critical debates on EU referendum and other Brexit-related dominant discourses. The initial sample consisted of 330 articles from *Scotsman*, 116 articles from *The Herald* and 126 articles by *The Sun* as well as 31 articles from *Daily Post* (Wales). The rationale behind choosing these specific newspapers was that *Scotsman* is one oldest papers in Scotland, and *The Herald* is one of the most influential ones. *The Sun* is one of the top tabloids in England and Wales. Since Wales has a very weak media ‘identity,’ hence, very negligible indigenous press, *The Sun* was selected into the data analysis sample. *The Sun* has the biggest circulation in Wales, and *Daily Post* is one of the rare Welsh newspapers which has the highest circulation amongst the indigenous news media. Additionally, the newspapers mentioned have different political alignment and allegiance to variety of political parties. These characteristics of choice of data sample will ensure the minimum bias possible and greater objectivity. Furthermore, the wide array of these newspapers will make it possible to analyse variance in the coverage of the referendum campaigns.

Out of plethora newspapers in the sample, a careful selection of 10 articles per newspaper for CDA investigation was made which cover the Brexit referendum. The articles used in analysis as well as the headlines of the entire corpora of sample can be reviewed in the Appendices chapter.

However, the CDA analysis revealed that even though the analysis exposed major discourse and language and tones of Brexit political campaign and its representation in the news media, this

particular analysis is not fully eventual. The sample that was actually analysed was not sufficient enough to provide a better overview of how referendum was articulated in the media and the impact of media coverage on the electorate's decision to vote for one or another rival camp. Nevertheless, this analysis proved to be productive enough. The topic is relatively fresh and still there is a lack of established discursive analysis of media coverage of political campaigns as well as impact of media on electorate's voting behaviour. This opens a lot of room for manoeuvres for future empirical and theoretical researchers. This thesis, therefore, provides a limited but fresh insight into the field of EU Referendum, political campaigns and their representation in the media as well as political communication and devolved Nations study.

6. Analysis and Discussion of Findings

6.1. Quantitative analysis: key pro-European and anti-European influential discourse, language frames and metaphors used in media representation of the EU referendum campaign

According to Greenslade (2011) newspapers have a strong impact on any political process. The Brexit campaign was covered extensively by The Herald and Scotsman in Scotland and The Sun and Daily Post in Wales. Discourses of 'danger' and 'fearmongering' were used throughout the campaign period between 15th April to 23rd June 2016. In total, Daily Post printed out 31 news articles, whilst The Sun had 126 articles on covering Brexit campaign and conveying political actors' messages to the electorate. In Scotland, The Herald produced 116 articles while the Scotsman published an incredible total of 330 publications in regard to the EU referendum campaign. Overall, Scottish newspapers from the sample prove to be more active than their Welsh counterparts that is supported by the total number of articles dedicated to the EU referendum and campaign-related issues. The economy, immigration, sovereignty, housing, local government, foreign policy and trade are the major issues covered in the publications in question.

Newspaper S/W	Number of Articles 15.04-23.06.2016
Scotsman (S)	331
The Sun (W ¹)	126
The Herald (S)	116
Daily Post (W)	31

Fearmongering and frightening words regarding the economy were often used. It was the most talked about issue both in Scotland and in Wales. This extensive coverage is unsurprising because it was one of the contentious issues. The Remain Campaign in Scotland mostly conveyed voices of the elite. Metaphorical words such as 'heart of Europe' 'fighting,' 'war,' natural disaster, divorce, gamble, panic,

Frequency of dominant discursive frames						
Newspaper S/W	Scaremonger	Danger	Independence	Europe	Fear	Attack
Scotsman (S)	35	43	330	1130	160	107
The Sun (W)	16	14	20	189	65	37
The Herald (S)	26	14	194	274	95	42
Daily Post (W)	0	2	2	80	12	12

terror, hysteria, attack, scaremongering, union and independence, prominently featured in their statements. According to Mutz et al. (2014), discursive knowledge and ownership over meaning of these words define the social reality of the way the issue is debated (Mutz, D. and Silver, 2014). The 'icons' of media coverage of the referendum were such political leaders as David Cameron (5,758 appearances in articles Britain-wide), George Osborne (2,355 articles), Nicola Sturgeon, Sir Emyr Jones Parry, Boris Johnson (3,407 articles) and Michael Gove (2,090 articles) and Theresa May (378 articles). These political actors were playing leading roles in both 'Remain' and 'Leave' campaigns. Similarly, the coverage of the economy in Wales centred around prominent individuals. A good example is an article that appeared on page 8 of the Daily Post dated back from 17th June 2016. The article features the opinion of Mr & Mrs Hughes Denbigh who are among the elites in the country.

¹ The Sun is one of the leading tabloids in England and is number one in the magnitude of readership in Wales (auth.)

They claim that: “It comes down to this, we have more to gain than we have to lose by voting leave. I hope you all do likewise on the 23rd” (Hughes & Hughes, 2016). A similar discourse is seen in The Sun, which most of the articles are pro the Brexit campaign. In some articles, The Sun blasted IFM for interfering with democracy.

Words like “Union” and “heart of Europe” were used by the remain campaign to counter the underlying economic benefits of Brexit. The comment made by George Osborne, as recorded by the Daily Post on 22nd April was the most frequently mentioned argument. “The UK households will ‘be poorer’” in 2030 if Brexit succeeds. “Project fear” was a major strategy used by the four newspapers to invoke fear among the residents. The most notable fear-invoking and anti-Brexit campaign appeared to be on the pages of Scotsman from Thursday, 26th May edition. It reads, “The UK to pay billions in trade tariff if Brexit.” This headline aimed at making the Scottish citizens more worried about the economic impact of Brexit. The political and news language for the Brexiters focused on countering the fear propaganda by the ‘Remain’ side. Specifically, The Sun published an article on Sunday, 1st May 2016 that reads: “Project fear number2 is failing.” Economic instability and uncertainty on the Brexit vote established a pessimistic attitude among the Scottish voters. On the other hands, frames such as ‘jobs’ and ‘securing the future’ gave birth to an optimistic environment in Wales, and as noted by Levy et al. (2016) the writing was to an electorate with known political preference.

While statements made by the Remain camp attracted a high-profile rebuttal from the other side, the Brexit campaign, made fewer and specific claims and drew less criticism. It was majorly a criticism of the articles produced by the Remain Campaign. The Brexit camp had a more defensive claim and were put forward as a response to media claims.

While the economy was the most covered political issue, most of the articles touching on the economy also covered the issue of immigration. The Sun had most of the issues to do with immigration linked to immigration and was on the forefront in highlighting the value of Brexit. The Sun had headings such as “Migrant Madness” and “Stop EUR Waffling” that aimed to present the Brexit vote as a vote between locals and outsiders or immigrants. One headline in the Herald published on Wednesday, 22nd June 2016, reads, “Remain supporters should have tackled immigration question much earlier in the campaign” (McCann, 2016). This article aimed at portraying the Remain camp as individuals who had failed to deal with the immigration issue.

The sovereignty of both Scotland and Wales was frequently covered but was a secondary issue address in the context of immigrants and the economy. The word sovereignty never featured in any of the identified headlines, but it was linked to the economy and immigration. The Brexiters “frequently used words such as “taking back” to refer to sovereignty. The Daily monitor had one article on “taking back” the country from foreign forces. The article was published on 16th April 2016, by David Williamson. The Herald also published an article on 16th June 2016, on “Taking back control. “Other two articles on taking back sovereignty featured in the Scotsman. The language used regarding sovereignty was that of calling up the citizens to rise and take back their country from foreign forces. All the article on sovereignty were pro-Brexit and received a sharp rebuttal from the remain elites. Absolute objectivity was not possible during the Brexit Campaign. The Sun and Daily Post claimed that majority of its readers were pro brevity. The Scotsman and The Herald, on the other hand, noted that most of their readers are pro remain. Politicians and the media alike used words such as “too close to call” and “tight race” to demonstrate stiffness of the competition. Hellman (2016) points out that this media framing is a powerful tool that sways the perception of the audience.

Discourses of Danger and Fear

One of the major issue on the run to the 2016 EU vote was the danger caused by Brexit. The following extract from the four newspapers offers excellent examples of these discourses of danger used during the campaign.

Extract: Daily Post, April 16, 2016 (Wales)

1. Leaving the EU and taking back control of our own affairs would be a huge boost to public services in Wales, with more money available for hospitals, schools, and local services.
2. There is no such thing as EU money - it's already yours.
3. Instead of handing over £350m a week to Brussels we should be spending that money on local priorities like the Welsh NHS, which has faced a billion pounds of cuts by the Welsh Labour Government since 2011.
4. the priority is to get a Labour Welsh Government returned and that's vital for Wales
5. We've handed control of our trade policy to the EU

A rhetoric of implications is evident in this text. There is the use of strong words such as “taking back control”, “there is no such thing as EU money,” “we should be spending more money on local priorities” and “we handed control.” These words were used to persuade the Wales votes to consider leaving the EU. However, the next article from the Herald presents an aspect of danger and fear of leaving the EU:

Extract: The Herald, June 21, 2016 (Scotland)

1. Leave vote could have "profound consequences" for Scotland's NHS.
2. EU referendum could have "profound consequences for the future of the health service right across the UK," and she warned: "To protect the NHS, we need to remain."
3. Before you make your choice on Thursday, look at what the leaders of the Leave campaign really think about our NHS.
4. "I wish that people like Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage just once could acknowledge the immense contribution than migrant workers make to our NHS instead of demonising them at every turn.
5. Scotland's budget could be cut by up to £2.3billion by 2019/20 if the UK leaves the EU.

A rhetoric of implication is evident in this text. Strategic use such as “profound consequences” and “to protect” is evident. This article is like a response to the earlier one by the Daily Post. While the

tone and content of the Daily Post focused on the economic value as a result of the Brexit, the Remainers centred on criticising the accuracy of the content and forecasting of their rivals. However, the following article from The Sun continues with the theme of economic sabotage:

Extract: The Sun, April 16, 2016 (Wales)

1. Imagine how much worse it will get if we remain in the EU, as more and more Muslims enter our country not wishing to integrate.
2. OUR churches are closing and new mosques are being built at an extraordinary rate.
3. The majority of Muslims object to our laws on free speech, morality, gay rights and anything else that doesn't fit their requirements.
4. Eventually we will not be a Christian country but one dominated by Muslims and their 12th-century doctrines. What better reason to leave the EU?
5. Instead of being statesman-like and adopting a neutral stance on the EU referendum and encouraging a fair presentation of the facts by both sides, Cameron is cynically manipulating the referendum in favour of staying in.

Like the previous two articles, a discourse of peril dominates this article. Words such as “much worse” and “statesman-like” are used to invoke nationalism and religiosity among the Christian majority in Wales. The argument fronted in this pro-Brexit publication is that immigration was straining resources and affecting societal way of life. Immigrants are accused of taking jobs of the locals and polarising the society with Islam. These press releases shaped public perception towards immigration (Keaveney, 2016). Again, a response to the danger claims in this article is provided in the next post by the Scotsman:

Extract: Scotsman, June 22, 2016 (Scotland)

1. We can make this country and the world a better place if we work with other people.
2. Brexit vote would cause serious disruption" to the trading relationship between the UK and Germany.
3. the referendum vote was a choice of a lifetime.....think of your children and your grandchildren.
4. We don't want to cut them off from opportunity, cut them off from the world, we want to give them the best chance. That's why we should vote Remain.
5. Accept the instructions of the British people and get to work on Friday morning to deliver them.

The article uses tone of trepidation to highlight the dangers of leaving the EU. “Cut them off opportunity” and “think of your children” evokes fear among the Scottish voters and give them the urge to protect the future of their children. This fearmongering challenges voters to turn up in large numbers and vote against Brexit.

Tone of the Campaign

The analysis demonstrated that the tone and language of discourses were quite negative across the entire corpus of newspapers in question, however, the messages by the ‘Remainers’ were slightly more negative than those of Brexiters. The ‘Leave’ camp had more positive messages on issues of immigration, sovereignty and economy. The ‘Remain’ camp went too far with their almost always negative tone, even when they discussed the present issues and were at difficult, especially in the Sun and the Daily Post on the post value of remaining in EU. The Remainers had an almost negative tone even when talking about the present issues and were at difficult, especially in The Sun and the Daily Post on the post value of remaining in EU.

It is worth to mention that all the four newspapers, whatever side their explicitly have taken or regardless of their primary position, had significant number of articles from the other point of view.

Overall, Wales had more pro-Brexit articles with less focus on negative language. Scotland had absolutely more Remain messages, however, the Remainers’ messages conveyed were by far negative.

Therefore, referendum representation in Scotsman and The Herald newspapers prove the expected hypothesis₁ that the political discourse and language of news media in Scotland were more pro-European, which to a large extent might have the Scottish electorate persuaded and significantly contributed to the success of the ‘Remain’ campaign in Scotland.

The coverage of referendum campaign in The Sun and Daily Post confirms our next expected hypothesis₂ that the political discourse and language of news media in Wales were less pronouncedly

pro-European, and the Welsh voters might not have been convinced by news media could be an additional reason behind the success of the ‘Leave’ campaign in Wales.

7. Conclusion

This thesis attempted to answer the puzzle of difference in Brexit referendum vote in the two seemingly similar devolved nations of Scotland and Wales. The aim and objectives of this thesis were to answer the central research question: Why did Scotland as a devolved nation vote to ‘Remain’ in the EU and Wales as a devolved nation voted to ‘Leave’ the EU in the 2016 UK referendum on EU membership?

As a result of the investigation carried out in the previous chapters related to the main argument of the thesis, the following expected hypotheses were verified:

H1: The political discourse and language of news media in Scotland were more pro-European, which is the reason behind the success of the ‘Remain’ campaign in Scotland.

H2: The political discourse and language of news media in Wales were less pronouncedly pro-European, which is the reason behind success of the ‘Leave’ campaign in Wales.

Although to a limited extent, the thesis seeks to contribute to the study of Brexit and political campaigns and referenda by focusing on investigation of the impact of the political (referendum) campaigns as well as the political climate and media ‘identity’ in Scotland and Wales on the referendum results in each of those nations along with contributing to studies on the on EU membership and EU referendums in general.

This thesis designed to contribute to the existing research on EU Referendum by focusing on critical discourse analysis of the media coverage of the Referendum campaigns in a sample of the Scottish and Welsh newspaper articles that were published throughout duration of the official political campaign.

Overall, the findings of the analysis of this thesis on the impact of media coverage of the referendum campaign on people's values and opinions in Scotland and Wales established that referendum campaigns’ message and communication represented through media have been reinforced and might have convinced many hesitating voters to cast their ballot in favour of one of the two rival campaigns.

The thesis viewed the media representation of referendum as a medium for reinforcing political discourse and communication of political actors to ‘the people’ to impact the values and opinions of the latter.

However, the subject requires for more in-depth and large-scale studies. The political communications and discursive aspects of referenda need for further inquiry.

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Appendices

	Results
1.	Bill Jamieson: We'll have winners but no victory in EU war <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (1196 words), Bill Jamieson
2.	Tom Peterkin: Ruth Davidson delivers on the big occasion <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (898 words), Tom Peterkin
3.	Leader comment: Scots must make EU referendum votes matter <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (790 words)
4.	Bill Jamieson: We'll have winners but no victory in EU war <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (1196 words), Bill Jamieson
5.	Tom Peterkin: Ruth Davidson delivers on the big occasion <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (898 words), Tom Peterkin
6.	Leader comment: Scots must make EU referendum votes matter <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (790 words)
7.	EU referendum: Final polls put result too close to call' <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (1142 words), Paris Gourtsoyannis
8.	EU referendum: Voting under way in Scotland <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (306 words)
9.	Sterling hits year-high as traders bet on Remain win <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (428 words)
10.	EU referendum: Final polls put result too close to call' <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (1142 words), Paris Gourtsoyannis
11.	EU referendum: Voting under way in Scotland <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (306 words)

	Results
12.	Sterling hits year-high as traders bet on Remain win <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (428 words)
13.	EU referendum: Final poll puts Remain marginally ahead <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (1142 words), Paris Gourtsoyannis
14.	EU referendum: Voting under way in Scotland <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (306 words)
15.	EU referendum: Final poll puts Remain marginally ahead <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (1142 words), Paris Gourtsoyannis
16.	EU referendum: Voting under way in Scotland <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (306 words)
17.	EU referendum: Final poll puts Remain marginally ahead <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (1142 words), Paris Gourtsoyannis
18.	Sterling hits year-high as traders bet on Remain win <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (783 words), Danica Kirka And Jill Lawless
19.	Brexit supporters back David Cameron to remain as PM <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (379 words)
20.	Remain predicted to achieve victory in EU referendum <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (1272 words)
21.	EU referendum: Final poll puts Remain marginally ahead <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (1142 words), Paris Gourtsoyannis
22.	Sterling hits year-high as traders bet on Remain win <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (783 words), Danica Kirka And Jill Lawless
23.	Brexit supporters back David Cameron to remain as PM <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (379 words)
24.	Remain predicted to achieve victory in EU referendum <i>Scotsman</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, (1272 words)
25.	EU referendum: Map highlights stark divide in voting intentions across UK <i>Scotsman</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, (396 words), Chris McCall
26.	Russell Gunson: EU vote in many ways just as important as indyref <i>Scotsman</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, (1338 words)
27.	Alex Salmond contrasts toxic' EU campaign with uplifting' Scots vote <i>Scotsman</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, (362 words)
28.	EU referendum: Final polls put result too close to call' <i>Scotsman</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, (1115 words), Paris Gourtsoyannis
29.	Leaders: Consider the big picture before casting vote <i>Scotsman</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, (894 words)
30.	Ruth Davidson and Boris Johnson clash in EU debate <i>Scotsman</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, (893 words)
31.	Bill Jamieson: We'll have winners but no victory in EU war <i>Scotsman</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, (1196 words), Bill Jamieson
32.	Factories show growth signs after tricky' start to year <i>Scotsman</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, (369 words), Emma Newlands
33.	EU referendum: First Ministers join forces to back Remain <i>Scotsman</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, (558 words)
34.	EU referendum: Map highlights stark divide in voting intentions across UK <i>Scotsman</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, (396 words), Chris McCall

Appendix 2: The Herald

	Results
1.	Remaining a member of our imperfect European club far outweighs the supposed benefits of leaving <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 7, (815 words), David McCann
2.	Flooding may hit turnout at polling stations <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 7, (175 words), By Richard Wheeler, Press Association Political Staff
3.	Europe can no longer ignore growing clamour for change <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 17, (1106 words), Iain Macwhirter
4.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 19, (405 words), Drew Allan
5.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 19, (127 words), Drew Allan
6.	I can only hope this is the last referendum we have to endure <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 19, (1543 words), Drew Allan
7.	EU membership too big an issue not to have your say <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 19, (302 words), .
8.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 1, (622 words), Michael Settle
9.	Debate has thrown into focus issue of whom to trust to protect rights <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 7, (901 words), Aileen McHarg
10.	FM open to euro talks in event of Brexit <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 7, (686 words), Daniel Sanderson
11.	Brown: Remain supporters should have tackled immigration question much earlier in campaign <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 7, (336 words), David McCann
12.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 17, (127 words), Drew Allan
13.	Sterling is boosted as fears of Brexit ease <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 24, (539 words), By Ben Woods and Holly Williams, Press Association City Staff
14.	Mid-sized firms in favour of remaining in the EU <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 25, (338 words), Ian McConnell
15.	In or out, UK would remain an important actor on the European stage <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 21, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 7, (920 words), Juliet Kaarbo
16.	Both sides of debate claim opposition is bad for NHS <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 21, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 7, (678 words), Magnus Gardham
17.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 21, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 15, (125 words), Drew Allan
18.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 21, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 15, (360 words), Drew Allan
19.	Spotlight on a different kind of nationalism <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 21, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 15, (758 words), Iain Macwhirter
20.	Both sides in the referendum debate have lost the argument <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 21, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 15, (1579 words), Drew Allan
21.	Politicians are not the best-placed to lead the EU referendum debate <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 21, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 23, (429 words), James Bream
22.	Key powers that come into play in our future relationships with Europe <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 20, 2016 Monday, Pg. 7, (912 words), Drew Scott
23.	<i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> June 20, 2016 Monday, Pg. 17, (124 words), Charles Freeland
24.	<i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> June 20, 2016 Monday, Pg. 17, (127 words), Charles Freeland
25.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 20, 2016 Monday, Pg. 23, (308 words), Scott Wright
26.	Workplace protections we enjoy are thanks to Brussels legislation <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 18, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 17, (679 words), Christina McKelvie
27.	Wealth worries may be crucial in determining in/out decision <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 18, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 22, (862 words), Simon Bain

28.	Focusing on EU membership to resolve immigration issues is misplaced <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 17, 2016 Friday, Pg. 7, (926 words), Christina Boswell
29.	Wilson: SNP's been more British than the British and failed to stand up for Scotland against EU <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 17, 2016 Friday, Pg. 7, (346 words), Daniel Sanderson
30.	Clegg: Remain have understated damage of Brexit <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 17, 2016 Friday, Pg. 8, (314 words), By Lynsey Bews, Political Reporter, Press Association Scotland
31.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 17, 2016 Friday, Pg. 15, (124 words), Drew Allan
32.	UK's internal stability is also at stake in Remain or Leave vote <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 17, 2016 Friday, Pg. 17, (1212 words), Charlie Jeffrey
33.	Let's opt to end Britain's identity crisis <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 17, 2016 Friday, Pg. 19, (996 words), David McCann
34.	Fishing and agriculture <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 17, 2016 Friday, Pg. 19, (354 words), James Stockings
35.	The EU referendum is not about Scottish independence... but the issue has certainly not gone away <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 17, 2016 Friday, Pg. 20, (917 words), Magnus Gardham
36.	Bank chief says Brexit would lead to volatility <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 17, 2016 Friday, Pg. 27, (225 words), Scott Wright
37.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 16, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 1, (636 words), Michael Settle Daniel Sanderson
38.	Brexit could boost support for independence among middle-class Scots <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 16, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 7, (913 words), Nicola McEwen
39.	Another late Vow could save day for Remain campaign <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 16, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 8, (423 words), Michael Settle
40.	Time running out for Remain camp <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 16, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 15, (508 words), gsmith
41.	We elected SNP to challenge Establishment, not shore it up <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 16, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 15, (1684 words), Drew Allan
42.	EU referendum aids sales slump <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 16, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 23, (50 words), By Holly Williams, Press Association Deputy City Editor
43.	Ashcroft warns Brexit would harm economy <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 16, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 23, (931 words), Ian McConnell
44.	A Remain vote in Scotland cannot be taken for granted <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 15, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 13, (1155 words), Alison Rowat
45.	Immigration invective could harm race relations long-term <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 15, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 15, (1103 words), Drew Allan
46.	Education Secretary slates pro-Brexit campaign for Orlando tweet <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 14, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 6, (358 words), By Andrew Woodcock, Press Association Political Editor
47.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 14, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 15, (118 words), Drew Allan
48.	We should not blame Brussels or Westminster for our woes <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 14, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 15, (1035 words), Drew Allan
49.	Can Brown save the day for Remain? <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 14, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 15, (507 words)
50.	Banking stocks hit hard amid Brexit fears <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 14, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 22, (521 words), By Ben Woods, Press Association Chief City Correspondent
51.	<i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> June 13, 2016 Monday, Pg. 17, (123 words), Susan Lunn
52.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 11, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 17, (128 words), Drew Allan
53.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 11, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 17, (118 words), Drew Allan

54.	It is time Britain derailed the European Union gravy train <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 11, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 17, (1232 words), Drew Allan
55.	Investors are taking steps to Brexit-proof their portfolios <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 11, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 22, (842 words), Simon Bain
56.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 10, 2016 Friday, Pg. 1, (640 words), Michael Settle
57.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 10, 2016 Friday, Pg. 17, (405 words), Drew Allan
58.	Bellway eyes strong year despite vote <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 10, 2016 Friday, Pg. 25, (133 words), By Holly Williams, Press Association Deputy City Editor
59.	Scottish pro-EU lead could evaporate, finds poll <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 9, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 1, (279 words), Magnus Gardham
60.	Deadline to register for poll put back 48 hours <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 9, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 6, (267 words), Michael Settle
61.	Burnham in call to reject using referendum to cast protest vote <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 9, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 6, (401 words), By Shaun Connolly, Press Association Political Correspondent
62.	Remain camp's Single Market claim is without foundation <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 9, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 15, (1011 words), Drew Allan
63.	SNP argument for staying in Europe is positively negative <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 6, 2016 Monday, Pg. 13, (1162 words), David Torrance
64.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 6, 2016 Monday, Pg. 15, (390 words), Drew Allan
65.	Exposing the fatal flaws in the Leave campaign <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 6, 2016 Monday, Pg. 15, (319 words)
66.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 4, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 1, (626 words), Michael Settle UK Political Editor
67.	Trump set to do whistle-stop tour of all resorts this month <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 4, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 8, (473 words), By Ed Carty, Press Association
68.	Merkel's meddling in the UK's affairs will be boost for Brexit <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 4, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 17, (587 words), Drew Allan
69.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 3, 2016 Friday, Pg. 1, (542 words), Kate Devlin
70.	A disgrace that Vote Leave is using migrants as political footballs <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 3, 2016 Friday, Pg. 15, (479 words), Drew Allan
71.	Unknowns pose major threat amid the deluge of grim economic news <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 3, 2016 Friday, Pg. 23, (924 words), Ian McConnell
72.	SNP activists defy party line and launch campaign for a vote to leave <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 2, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 6, (353 words), Magnus Gardham
73.	Trump in visit to Scotland day after EU vote <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 2, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 10, (466 words), Kate Devlin
74.	Brexit fears and oil slump rattle markets <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , June 2, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 22, (491 words), By Ben Woods, Press Association Chief City Correspondent
75.	If he should lose on June 23, then all bets on Cameron's future are off <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 31, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 6, (411 words), Michael Settle UK Political Editor
76.	Postal vote leaflets are withdrawn <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 31, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 6, (94 words)
77.	Brexit pair's letter says PM's migrant vow 'corroded trust' <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 30, 2016 Monday, Pg. 6, (517 words), Magnus Gardham
78.	Money talks in the debate over Scotland and European Union <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 30, 2016 Monday, Pg. 17, (955 words), Russell Leadbetter
79.	Osborne takes aim as Tories avert disaster <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 27, 2016 Friday, Pg. 6, (216 words), Michael Settle UK Political Editor

80.	Salmond: Remain needs to stop the scaremongering <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 27, 2016 Friday, Pg. 6, (472 words), Michael Settle UK Political Editor
81.	UK food would be cheaper if we exit the EU's farming farce <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 26, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 15, (975 words), gsmith
82.	New lows; reached in the debate on Europe <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 24, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 15, (745 words), Maurice Smith
83.	Tories are determined not to allow SNP to drift <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 21, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 17, (722 words), Magnus Gardham
84.	Cameron left 'humiliated' by U-turn on NHS <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 20, 2016 Friday, Pg. 6, (578 words), Michael Settle UK Political Editor
85.	Political leaders let us down with groundless Brexit fears <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 19, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 15, (916 words), Drew Allan
86.	London Stock Exchange and Deutsche Borse's merger vote after referendum <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 19, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 25, (202 words), By Holly Williams, Press Association Deputy City Editor
87.	Heseltine hits out at 'obscene' Johnson claims <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 18, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 2, (564 words), Michael Settle UK Political Editor
88.	Principal says Brexit would hit universities <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 17, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 6, (569 words), Michael Settle UK Political Editor
89.	FTSE edges up after surge in price of oil <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 17, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 20, (504 words), By Roger Baird, Press Association City Staff
90.	Johnson's Nazi jibe in EU debate is offensive <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 16, 2016 Monday, Pg. 17, (782 words), Marianne Taylor
91.	Dugdale launches Scottish Labour's bid to remain in EU <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 14, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 2, (619 words), By Catriona Webster, Political Reporter, Press Association Scotland
92.	Row over Carney Brexit warning <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 13, 2016 Friday, Pg. 6, (576 words), Michael Settle UK Political Editor
93.	Carney sounds clear warning about Brexit <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 13, 2016 Friday, Pg. 22, (494 words), By Roger Baird, Press Association City Staff
94.	Mundell attacks SNP 'obsessing' over poll <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 12, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 6, (213 words), Michael Settle UK Political Editor
95.	A second referendum could save the Union <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 11, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 15, (727 words), Geoff Beattie
96.	Farmers; split on EU vote due; to lack of; exit plan <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 10, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 7, (256 words), By Catriona Webster, Political Reporter, Press Association Scotland
97.	Cameron goes over the top with talk of war <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 10, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 15, (719 words), Iain Macwhirter
98.	Sell in May? Stock market history tells a different story <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 7, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 22, (822 words), Simon Bain
99.	More alarm bells for the Chancellor <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 6, 2016 Friday, Pg. 13, (519 words)
100.	Large number of Brexit voters 'back Scottish independence' <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 4, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 2, (494 words), Kate Devlin
101.	Heading here <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 3, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 1, (630 words), Kate Devlin
102.	SNP will continue to seek its goal by stealth <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , May 3, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 15, (749 words), Drew Allan
103.	Cameron: I'll campaign with Labour to remain in the EU <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 29, 2016 Friday, Pg. 8, (561 words), Michael Settle UK Political Editor
104.	Aggreko reports revenue decline in 'challenging market conditions' <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 29, 2016 Friday, Pg. 23, (544 words), Victoria Masterson

105.	Firm thanks sport for sales success <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 29, 2016 Friday, Pg. 23, (102 words), Victoria Masterson
106.	Concerns over the economy growing <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 28, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 17, (504 words), gsmith
107.	Obama may prove to be boost for Brexiteers <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 25, 2016 Monday, Pg. 15, (773 words), Marianne Taylor
108.	Many who object to Obama's EU intervention are being hypocritical <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 23, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 17, (322 words), Drew Allan
109.	SNP: From independence to childcare products in a year <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 21, 2016 Thursday, Pg. 17, (1133 words), Iain Macwhirter
110.	Activists bid to axe Coburn <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 20, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 1, (164 words), Kate Devlin
111.	Staff are losing out by working free overtime <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 20, 2016 Wednesday, Pg. 2, (583 words), Gerry Braiden
112.	Leave camp derides Osborne's £36bn Brexit claim <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 19, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 6, (399 words), Michael Settle UK Political Editor
113.	EU is more to be trusted with our interests than Whitehall <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 19, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 13, (533 words), Drew Allan
114.	Darling warns EU referendum result will be too close to call <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 16, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 6, (584 words), Kate Devlin
115.	Staying in the EU would not remove economic uncertainty <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 16, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 17, (776 words), Drew Allan
116.	MPC says economic activity on hold pending EU vote outcome <i>The Herald (Glasgow)</i> , April 15, 2016 Friday, Pg. 23, (354 words), P A

Appendix 3: The Sun

	Results
1.	EU MUST VOTE <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 15, 2016 Sunday, NEWS; Pg. 2, (59 words)
2.	No truck with flag <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 15, 2016 Sunday, NEWS; Pg. 26, (65 words)
3.	SUNDAY ROAST UND BORIS IS [...] <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 15, 2016 Sunday, FEATURES; OPINION COLUMN; Pg. 13, (104 words)
4.	THE EU referendum has not [...] <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 14, 2016 Saturday, FEATURES; OPINION COLUMN; Pg. 10, (47 words), JAMES Forsyth
5.	CAM PLANS 25 NEW EU-TOADY TORY PEERS <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 14, 2016 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 18, (144 words), STEVE HAWKES
6.	APOCALYPSE ROW; IMF chief in economic chaos warning to UK ; Campaigners tell Lagarde to stop interfering <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 14, 2016 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 6, (284 words), HARRY COLE
7.	IMF 'BUTT OUT' CALL <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 14, 2016 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 2, (176 words), HARRY COLE
8.	Fear we go again <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 14, 2016 Saturday, EDITORIAL; OPINION; LEADING ARTICLES; Pg. 10, (253 words)
9.	ITV BREXIT FEARS <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 13, 2016 Friday, FEATURES; OPINION COLUMN; Pg. 49, (85 words)
10.	WW3 claims are new low for Cameron <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 11, 2016 Wednesday, FEATURES; OPINION COLUMN; Pg. 38, (662 words)
11.	PM'S MERKEL PLEA <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 11, 2016 Wednesday, NEWS; Pg. 9, (90 words)
12.	WW3 claims are new low for Cam; Scottish Sun letters@the-sun.co.uk The page where you tell Scotland what you think <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 11, 2016 Wednesday, LETTERS; Pg. 38, (310 words)
13.	TRASHING THE VOTE <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 10, 2016 Tuesday, Pg. 31, (142 words), DAN WOOTTON

	Results
14.	Chilcot's 'delay' to after poll <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 10, 2016 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 8, (124 words), TOM NEWTON DUNN
15.	Japan EU threat is just stunt by desperate Dave; £50 LETTER <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 10, 2016 Tuesday, FEATURES; Pg. 36, (661 words)
16.	CAM'S IN HER HANS; MERKEL BOSSED PM'S EU DEAL <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 10, 2016 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 12, (277 words), TOM NEWTON DUNN
17.	CAM'S MERKY SECRET; GERMANY IN CONTROL OF PM SABOTAGED HIS MIGRANT BLOCKL HAD VETO ON HAD VETO ON ALL KEY ISSUESIDS lifts lid on EU deal <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 10, 2016 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 8,9, (610 words), TOM NEWTON DUNN
18.	Sun THE SAYS True or false? <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 9, 2016 Monday, EDITORIAL; Pg. 10, (234 words)
19.	...and it could well be goodnight from PM <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 9, 2016 Monday, EDITORIAL; Pg. 10, (769 words), TREVOR Kavanagh
20.	BREXIT WOUNDS; 45 DAYS TO GO: RIVALS TURNING UP REFERENDUM HEAT ; Cam and Boris head to head on EU <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 8, 2016 Sunday, NEWS; Pg. 18,19, (690 words), DAVID WOODING
21.	RIVALS TO CAM OUT FIGHTING; PM and Boris in EU shootout ; REFERENDUM HEATS UP <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 8, 2016 Sunday, NEWS; Pg. 2, (241 words), DAVID WOODING ;RYAN SABEY
22.	THE EU referendum moves centre [...] <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 7, 2016 Saturday, Pg. 12, (262 words), JAMES Forsyth
23.	EU 'BRAKE' IS BROKEN; FLAGSHIP DEAL WORTHLESS ; PM's reform won't halt migrants <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 4, 2016 Wednesday, NEWS; Pg. 2, (334 words), CRAIG WOODHOUSE
24.	Remains in balance <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 1, 2016 Sunday, Pg. 12, (120 words)
25.	Project Fear No2 is failing; SAYS 01 05 16 <i>The Sun (England)</i> , May 1, 2016 Sunday, EDITORIAL; OPINION; LEADING ARTICLES; Pg. 12, (183 words)
26.	PM 'chicken' on TV clash <i>The Sun (England)</i> , April 30, 2016 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 2, (210 words), STEVE HAWKES
27.	Out of border <i>The Sun (England)</i> , April 28, 2016 Thursday, NEWS; Pg. 8, (190 words)
28.	YOU WANT SAM?; PM'S WIFE IN SPECTACULAR BREXIT BUST-UP WITH PAL Mrs C gets in an 'effing' fury <i>The Sun (England)</i> , April 26, 2016 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 4,5, (616 words), TOM NEWTON DUNN
29.	SAM& BLAST; PALS' BREXIT BUST-UP ; PM's wife in 'effing' fury <i>The Sun (England)</i> , April 26, 2016 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 2, (263 words), TOM NEWTON DUNN
30.	EU CAN GIVE AN OPINION <i>The Sun (England)</i> , April 25, 2016 Monday, FEATURES; OPINION COLUMN; Pg. 13, (113 words)
31.	HILLARY: STAY IN; NEWU.NEW U.S. MEDDLING ON EUROPE ; Attack on Brexit by Clinton <i>The Sun (England)</i> , April 24, 2016 Sunday, NEWS; Pg. 2, (278 words), DAVID WOODING
32.	BARRIG OBAMA; FURY AT U.S. MEDDLING ; Farage: Question time 'fix' <i>The Sun (England)</i> , April 24, 2016 Sunday, NEWS; Pg. 2, (218 words), RYAN SABEY
33.	Obama helps IN campaign scent victory <i>The Sun (England)</i> , April 23, 2016 Saturday, EDITORIAL; OPINION COLUMNS; Pg. 8, (491 words)

Appendix 4: Daily Post

	Results
1.	Fox and Hain clash on 'Brexit to make Wales better off' claim; EU REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN TAKES OFF ; 'LEAVE' PUTS FOCUS ON STEEL CRISIS AT LAUNCH <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , April 16, 2016 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 4, (521 words), DAVID WILLIAMSON
2.	PM 'must stay even after Brexit' <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , April 18, 2016 Monday, NEWS; Pg. 19, (210 words)
3.	Gove: UK will thrive outside EU <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , April 20, 2016 Wednesday, NEWS; Pg. 19, (200 words)
4.	NFU opposes Brexit option <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , April 21, 2016 Thursday, FARM AND COUNTRY; NEWS; Pg. 2, (117 words)
5.	Osborne right on Brexit risks; LETTERS <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , April 22, 2016 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 8, (214 words)
6.	May: Stay in EU... but quit Human Rights Convention; JUSTICE SECRETARY'S CALL AT ODDS WITH PM <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , April 26, 2016 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 19, (504 words), ANDREW WOODCOCK
7.	Obama jets off to jeers and cheers <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , April 25, 2016 Monday, NEWS; Pg. 19, (186 words)

8.	Demand grows for commercial property in Wales; Contact Owen Hughes on 01492 574493 or email owen.hughes@dailypost.co.uk <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , April 28, 2016 Thursday, NEWS; Pg. 24, (416 words), DAVID POWELL
9.	Make your voice heard <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , April 21, 2016 Thursday, FARM AND COUNTRY;NEWS; Pg. 3, (124 words)
10.	UK turns back on EU school food proposals <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , April 21, 2016 Thursday, FARM AND COUNTRY;NEWS; Pg. 5, (297 words)
11.	Fox and Hain clash on 'Brexit to make Wales better off' claim; EU REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN TAKES OFF ; 'LEAVE' PUTS FOCUS ON STEEL CRISIS AT LAUNCH <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , April 16, 2016 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 4, (521 words), DAVID WILLIAMSON
12.	» FUW arranges Brexit debates [...] <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , May 12, 2016 Thursday, FARM AND COUNTRY;NEWS; Pg. 3, (74 words)
13.	MP to lead Welsh Leave EU campaign <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , May 12, 2016 Thursday, NEWS; Pg. 11, (187 words)
14.	Tougher checks likely at port if UK quits EU; MPS SAY BREXIT SET TO CHANGE LONG-STANDING IRELAND DEAL <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , May 27, 2016 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 22, (380 words), MICHAEL MCHUGH
15.	UK net migration close to highest recorded level; FIGURES SPARK FRESH ROW IN EU POLL DEBATE <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , May 27, 2016 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 27, (531 words), HAYDEN SMITH
16.	Seize chance on EU referendum [...]; LETTERS <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , May 25, 2016 Wednesday, NEWS; Pg. 8, (375 words)
17.	EU wants control of our NHS, claims Brexit campaigner; Rivals counter with warning of £36bn finance black hole <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , May 20, 2016 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 2, (423 words), DAVID WILLIAMSON
18.	PM faces backlash over 'big business stitch-up'; CLAIM LEAKED LETTER SHOWS EU TALKS WERE BOGUS <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , May 18, 2016 Wednesday, NEWS; Pg. 19, (474 words), SAM LISTER
19.	Remain campaign 'consensus' <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , May 17, 2016 Tuesday, NEWS; Pg. 19, (177 words)
20.	Campaigners ready to fight for your EU membership votes <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , May 16, 2016 Monday, NEWS; Pg. 2, (546 words), DAVID WILLIAMSON
21.	Brexit fears hit the pound and send market into meltdown <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , June 15, 2016 Wednesday, BUSINESS POST;NEWS; Pg. 6, (425 words), HOLLY WILLIAMS
22.	Will more migration damage health service or boost our economy?; EU IN/OUT REFERENDUM - THURSDAY JUNE 23 ; Welsh Affairs Correspondent Rachel Flint on one of the EU debate's most emotive issues <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , June 9, 2016 Thursday, NEWS; Pg. 18, (667 words)
23.	Our vote on Europe will define our children's world; Dafydd Wigley Former Plaid MP writes for the Daily Post <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , June 9, 2016 Thursday, NEWS; Pg. 9, (515 words)
24.	House prices set for dip amid Brexit uncertainty <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , June 9, 2016 Thursday, SPORT; Pg. 19, (125 words)
25.	A 'free' Britain or 'security and stability' of the EU?; POLITICIANS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE REFERENDUM BATTLE SET OUT THEIR CASE TO THE PEOPLE OF N.WALES <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , June 6, 2016 Monday, NEWS; Pg. 6, (688 words), RACHEL FLINT
26.	EU vote comes down to jobs, jobs and jobs <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , June 23, 2016 Thursday, NEWS; Pg. 28, (452 words), OWEN HUGHES Business
27.	Rather than abandon Europe we need to make it work for us <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, BUSINESS POST;NEWS; Pg. 7, (628 words)
28.	Remain vote confidence boosts FTSE <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , June 22, 2016 Wednesday, BUSINESS POST;NEWS; Pg. 6, (499 words), BEN WOODS
29.	Why we will opt to leave the EU: LETTERS <i>Daily Post (North Wales)</i> , June 17, 2016 Friday, LETTERS; Pg. 8, (122 words)

30.	Labour MP dies after gun and knife attack; HORROR KILLING HALTS REFERENDUM CAMPAIGNING Daily Post (North Wales), June 17, 2016 Friday, NEWS; Pg. 27, (765 words)
31.	Change needed in the EU whatever the vote; In or Out, the debate must address issues such as climate change and food security says Prof Peter Midmore, Aberystwyth University agri-economist Daily Post (North Wales), June 16, 2016 Thursday, NEWS; Pg. 23, (929 words)

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http://natcen.ac.uk/media/1319222/natcen_brexplanations-report-final-web2.pdf

2. How Britain Voted in the EU Referendum. New York Times

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http://natcen.ac.uk/media/1319222/natcen_brexplanations-report-final-web2.pdf



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Thesis Report

Brexit: a real threat to the future of European
political and economic integration and European unity?

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Mundus MAPP Thesis Report Author's Declaration Form

I, the undersigned Aziz Davlatov hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis report. To the best of my knowledge this thesis report contains no material previously published by any other person except where proper acknowledgement has been made. This thesis report contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

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Abstract

The exit of the UK from the European Union, generally referred to as *Brexit*, became one of the most important political events of our decade and is currently a cause of harsh debates. Resulting of the 2016 Referendum vote to leave, the UK government led by the current Prime Minister Theresa May started the withdrawal process on 29 March 2017 by triggering Article 50 of EU Treaty of Lisbon, which puts the UK on track to leave in two years by April 2019. These developments make the situation to be more precarious now. A lot has been discussed in the recent scholarly discourse about this phenomenon from the Britain's point of view, but little has been studied about the impact of the Brexit on the political and economic integration of EU as well as possible effect to the European unity as a whole. This paper proposes to study the abovementioned issues. The paper is rather well organized and it helps in delivering all the aspects of the issue in a manner that are easy to understand for non-expert audiences and to adapt to the research in an appropriate manner.

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Introduction

In 2016, a slight majority of British people voted to withdraw from the EU, and later the UK government led by the then PM David Cameron announced its respect of people's choice and intention to leave the European Union. This is termed as Brexit ever since (Hunt and Wheeler 2017). European Union is a political and economic union, which comprises of 28 countries and it ensures the free movement of goods, capital and people across all the countries as if they were all the part of one single country. The European Union has its own supranational governance system, institutions, legislation, and set of rules, currency and single market. Britain's withdrawal is expected to make an enormous impact on the political 'rule of game,' as well as the economic and trade modalities. Among other aspects, it is expected to impact many people from the Continent working and living in Britain (Hunt and Wheeler 2017). However, no detailed research has been conducted in terms of the impact of the Brexit on other countries of Europe or European Union as a whole. This paper presents the proposal to study the impact of the Brexit on European Union economic and political integration and on the European unity itself, which is a building block and a driving force for a deeper integration.

It should also be mentioned that Brexit as a concept of exiting of Britain from the European Union family will have an impact on the Britain and the European Union economically and politically. It should also be noted that with the policies of Brexit kept in mind it can be said that the impact could be positive or negative depending on what and how the decisions will be made and carried out in the Brexit period. Here an important aspect is also largely dependent on the fact that Brexit besides having its negatives also has a few positives attached with it, which help in making it a policy which can work for the benefit of the nation and for the benefit of the people. Hence, keeping in mind all the various aspects, this research has been preliminarily conducted and the findings and the results along with limitations have

been presented below. It helps in stating that Brexit is still an ongoing policy and decision and thus all aspects are being considered through it but still much more relevance needs to be laid on the factors, which can have an everlasting impact on the decisions that can be taken in its regards.

Literature review

Announcement of the Brexit had a significant impact on Britain's economy and policies. The share prices had a drastic fall (Reuters 2017), the rate of commercial policies suffered a fall (Stephens 2016), and there are a lot of speculations about the future of the immigrants (Hunt and Wheeler 2017). The policies are about to undergo a change, and it is not yet sure where the negotiations will take the entire process of Brexit. Perhaps, with the Article 50 invoked, there is no turning back for both Britain and/or European Union. The process has already started and the best option for the businesses is to make the best of it (BBC 2017). Neither European Union nor Britain wants a separation that will diminish the power of the Bloc and North Atlantic world as a whole. The shift of power with the Britain's exit should be taken into account from the political point of view (Pisani-Ferry, et al. 2016).

The article 50 has its considerations in terms of giving UK the same place till they do not negotiate on the settlement of divorce within the time frame of two years. This further brings across the opinion that UK is a member of the EU till the time they have taken their decision on the same platform and have either moved further with the negotiation or have given their decision in the same regards (Midgley 2016). It can be explained in terms that no country which is a member of the EU has ever taken a decision of leaving the EU before and thus when UK has decided on this regards the article 50 came into existence where UK would have to negotiate there exit which also means in simple words that the UK will have to present such reasons which can help them exit from the EU (Midgley 2016). This can be

done in two-year timeframe and that also would require the maximum votes of the EU members to be made official. In other words, with Article 50 in action since April 2017, the UK will have a rather challenging time to present reasons enough which can help them leave the EU. Thus, this further leaves the whole in a state where UK can further think about their exit from the EU. It is believed that the whole procedure can take more than two years of time and economically and politically this will leave an impact on the other members of the EU as well (Midgley 2016). Here an important aspect is based on the fact that Brexit is a decision, which still needs to be given due consideration and also very strong reasons and agreement of the members is required for the same.

Moving further the research helps in stating that there is article 49 also a part of the Brexit as it helps in explaining that how the countries can become a member of the EU. Any country needs to provide the application documents and meet the specific criteria for becoming an EU member. Hence after negotiations and consultations and with the agreement of the members the consideration can be said to be done in this regard. Article 49 has an impact on Brexit as it also helps a country to become a member of the EU and thus it also does suggest that with this article in force it could have a political impact on the Brexit policy (Kennedy 2017).

From economic point of view, it can be said that the export market of the UK is being exposed and is feeling jeopardized in terms as 45% of produced goods and services are exported from the UK. It is the largest source of economic returns and thus can be said to be getting jeopardized as it only brings in much more chances that the customers from the continental European countries will not be able to initiate effective business further. Immigration is also a mark of concern in the same regards (Kennedy 2017). Many immigrants from European countries are part of Britain's labour force and thus with Brexit, in turn, it can rather be a threat to their working capacity, which in return can impact the economy of the country in a much stronger manner (Kennedy 2017).

From the economic perspective, one of the papers in 2015 had observed in the research that the economic consequences will be felt throughout the rest 27 states of EU (Boulanger and Philippidis 2015). The financial links between UK and EU are so interwoven that it is hard to see one independent of the other (Pisani-Ferry, et al. 2016). However, there is an idea that withdrawal of UK could help in uniting and reinforcing the continental Europe politically and economically, if the right policies are made and presented (Oliver 2016).

Research helps in stating that many economists in the country talk about Brexit. One of articles, where the Goldman Sachs chief mentioned his views, states that Brexit will definitely take time to adjust with the economy and it will also be time when companies start adjusting with the economic difference, which will surely get created. The main point here is that the result of Brexit will only be formally seen in the year 2019 and consequently it can be said to be the time where how things and economy has adjusted will come in the limelight. It can unquestionably be said that a lot of chaos till then is expected on the economy front keeping the concept of Brexit in mind (Kennedy, Wishart & Ross 2017).

For the time being, the relationships between the EU and Britain cannot be called amicable and this was another discussion which helped in bringing insight by providing answers to certain questions which are very much in demand at this current time. It is quite essential to understand and to know that the UK will leave EU on a stage which has never happened before. But at the same time, it is equally important and essential that EU also stays in a position where it does understand that if Brexit does happen then where EU will be able to stand. Would it face much more political and economic downfall than expected? Experts have shared their opinion, which helps in stating that EU is not making much of an effort to stop Britain from the exit. There are many questions that arise, which help in defining that the EU really needs to play an important part in deciding whether it wants to negotiate on terms with Britain and thus form a better and new relationship with them or it just needs to be on

grounds where the relationship can further savour. The article is an insight to many such interesting questions which still are looking for an answer (Kennedy, Wishart & Ross 2017).

While discussing Brexit it is rather important that the theory associated with Brexit must be rather considered. Some interesting researches has taken place in this regard since this topic has become a worldwide issue. Some researchers in recent articles contributed in stating that Brexit could be researched based on many theories. One such theory relates with the historians' perspectives which help in understating the reasons as to why the people of Britain voted in favour of Brexit. Another critical point that can be added here is rather based on the fact that Brexit is supposed to be more supported by the older generations. It shows that there has been experience and values of people, which is also to a great extent attached to the decisions. It also helps in indicating that Brexit will soon bring in a topic which will be in research in the future generations. This relates Brexit with the past and the future. It also does help in determining that Brexit is being a unique case which is still being enthusiastically researched and more ideas and arguments are being contributed in its regard.

Research question

The issue that the thesis report endeavours to understand is the effect of the Brexit on the EU's political and economic integration as well as on European unity as the whole.

Following are the major research questions that the research will try to answer:

- What kind of economic & political impact the Brexit can have on the EU?
- Whether or not the Britain's withdrawal will be positive or negative for the EU and is it a real threat to European unity or an opportunity to shape a new vector of a deeper integration on the Continent?

Keeping the question in mind the research hypotheses can be listed down as follows:

HA₀: The Brexit will have adverse impact on the political, economic and social integration and policies of the European Union.

HA₁: Brexit will provide a better framework for deeper political, economic and social integration and policies of the European Union in the long run.

Research Methodology - Empirical Strategy

The research will be conducted using the secondary and primary data. The secondary data will be collected through the qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis provided by the expert and scholarly literature, the newspaper articles, and other literature already available on this issue. The data will be collected through the resources and consolidated to present the answer to the questions. Primary data will also be collected through the elite and expert interviews as well as a survey to understand the impact of the Brexit on EU. The key interviewees will comprise of scholars, experts and policy-makers. The interview with these key people will help in predicting and understanding the clear-cut future picture of EU without the UK.

While researching and looking at the qualitative data for the research it can be said that the primary question of the Brexit impact on EU was kept in focus. Finding answers was a tough task but elaborating the answers was rather easier. Many experts who were asked the question had their own opinion but definitely an underlined opinion did lie in front of the researchers. The idea that Brexit will have on EU was so far that it would not have a positive impact. The EU would face a lot of problems which will deteriorate the still recovering economy. In terms of recession, it could be the possible impact, which could have an adverse effect on the EU as the whole. As for Britain, although it is believed that it will also not go scot-free but at the same time Brexit's impact on the European Union would be very substantial. Banking experts do help in quoting that Brexit could have an adverse impact on the banking sector and thus it

could really turn the tables in directions, which is not yet expected and neither are the people much prepared for these occurrences. On the other hand, it would even have an adverse impact on the UK itself. The four freedoms which are essential for the UK and its growth can be said to be rather getting impacted. The free and the unlimited movement of the goods can be said to be the first freedom which would get impacted in this regard. This also further aims at mentioning that the nation would not have the liberty to be able to move the goods freely, which could adversely impact its economy. The people, services and the capital could be said equally to be getting impacted. This will certainly have an impact on the UK itself.

For EU and its impact viewpoint it can be said that it would leave a massive hole in the economy of many its member countries, the dealing with the UK will get impacted heavily and many EU members will see and bear the front affectively. The EU financial services can be said to be taking a high hit. The usage of the passport in the EU which has a right to access the UK will be getting largely impacted and this also helps in showing that the EU would be in political and economic deprivation due to the same.

Trade will get impacted in terms that EU has offered the members many benefits in terms of trade, hence open trade can be said to be among the few benefits that come along. Nevertheless, with Brexit at hand it can be said that the EU will have to design new trade policies and thus would also have to consider variations where trade policies are concerned. The exports and imports especially in terms of food, machinery and automobile industry are likely to impact the EU on a much larger scale.

The health and safety standards will also have to have new and revised regulations. This can further help in stating that many changes on the EU front politically and economically can be said to be faced with Brexit decision which is on the move. Thus, it can be said that the question has had an impact on the interviewees and they all believe that the EU will be

adversely impacted due to Brexit and thus will also have an impact negatively on its economic front largely. This also helps in defining the fact that EU must find alternate improvements and thus negotiation can be said to be much better medium. Thus, on a larger scale one can assume that Brexit will have an impact on the EU in terms of economic and political facets. All this would rather be very impactful on the nation and thus in the end it can be said that forming more negotiation with each other would rather be more impactful and would also help in bringing much better results for the future of both parties.

A survey methodology also has been developed, which further helps in bringing across much better results in the same aspect. With fifty people being questioned randomly on a questionnaire of five questions, which was prepared keeping in mind the primary and the secondary questions a result has been derived, which helps in preliminary claiming the public opinion. It also helps to determine the different perspectives, which can be seen through the same medium.

Case study: Brexit: A debate with after maths

The decision of Britain to exit the EU has been one of the debatable topics that have been much in debate for a long time now. People are discussing this issue at their own level and understanding. The debate that follows the Brexit is largely based on the fact that it is a situation which has occurred for the first time and therefore also requires proper handling for the right moves and decisions. The British who have voted for the Brexit are more in the feel of feeling free in their decision-making and thus believe that this decision would give them more opportunities of a system of free-trade and more free decisions regarding the economic and the political matters of their concern. This case study however explains the facts that how the people and the government are joining hands on the concept of Brexit. Also, here ran in

sight on the aftermath of Brexit has been done, which helps in clearing many issues to the core.

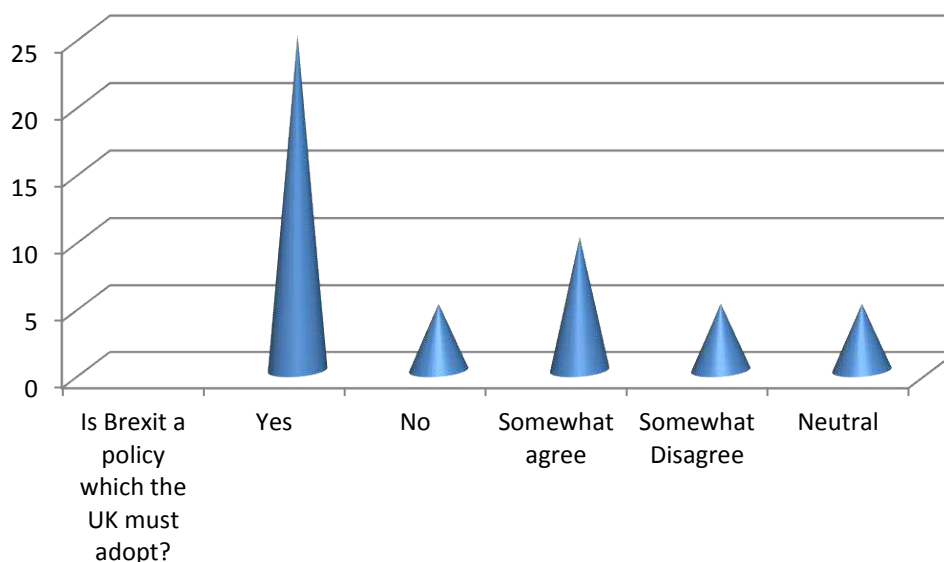
Regarding the aftermaths about Brexit, which took place a year ago, it can be said it have immediately impacted the stock market to a much greater extent. It also impacted the Euro against US dollar, which fell in value along with decrease of its impact on the market. The pound also saw a downsize, which can be said to have impacted the economy of the country to a much greater extend. Along with the economy, the political aspects of the nation also can be said to have got affected with Brexit taking place. However, the after maths can be said to be a decision, which will not work much in favour of the economic standing of the nation. It would rather show a downsize of the economy and will also impact the political sphere to a much greater extend.

However, along with a downfall came the positives of Brexit which helped in showing that the decision was rather an impactful one but had a very mere impact on the trade. It increased the tourism in the nation and had a short-term impact on the trade of the country. This is one of the facets, which helps the British sail through the consequences of Brexit. However, still more research and developments are expected in this regards as Brexit still has two years before it can be formally executed, hence much more can be expected through the same in the future. The topic in question still absolutely keeps the doors open for the research, which will be taken up in the coming years.

Findings

Is Brexit a policy which the UK must firmly adhere to?

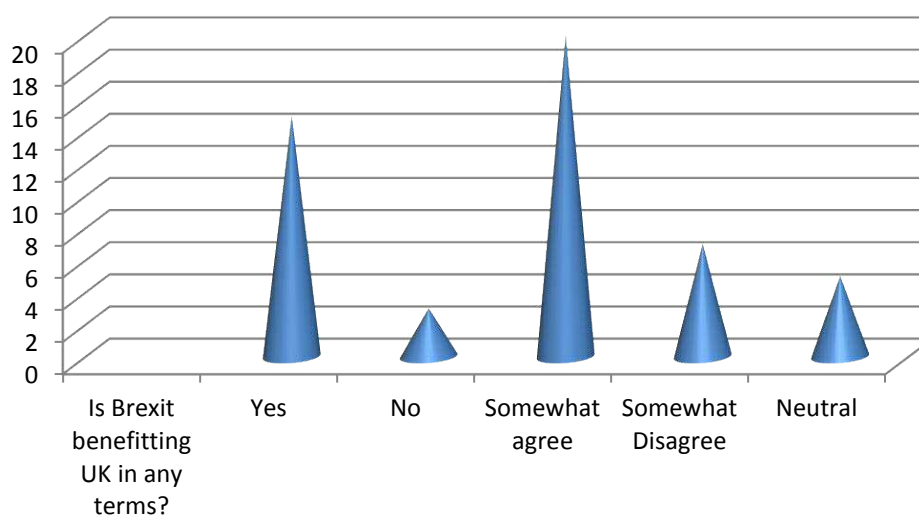
Yes	No	Somewhat agree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral
25	5	10	5	5



The findings here help in demonstrating the fact that most of the people do agree with the fact that Brexit is a policy, which UK must strictly continue adhering to. Having mentioned that one can assume that almost half of the people, which make it around 50% of the total people surveyed agreed with the same. In this the main and the most important aspect is related with the fact that UK is willing to adapt to Brexit and it helps in stating that the positives are being considered in much better manner than the negative impact. Only five respondents disagreed with the this question out of random sample size of fifty. This also indicates that the Brexit process which is being carried out has the consent of the general public. People are looking for opportunities in trade and are considering the opportunities, which they assume has more

Is Brexit benefitting the UK in any terms?

Yes	No	Somewhat agree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral
15	3	20	7	5



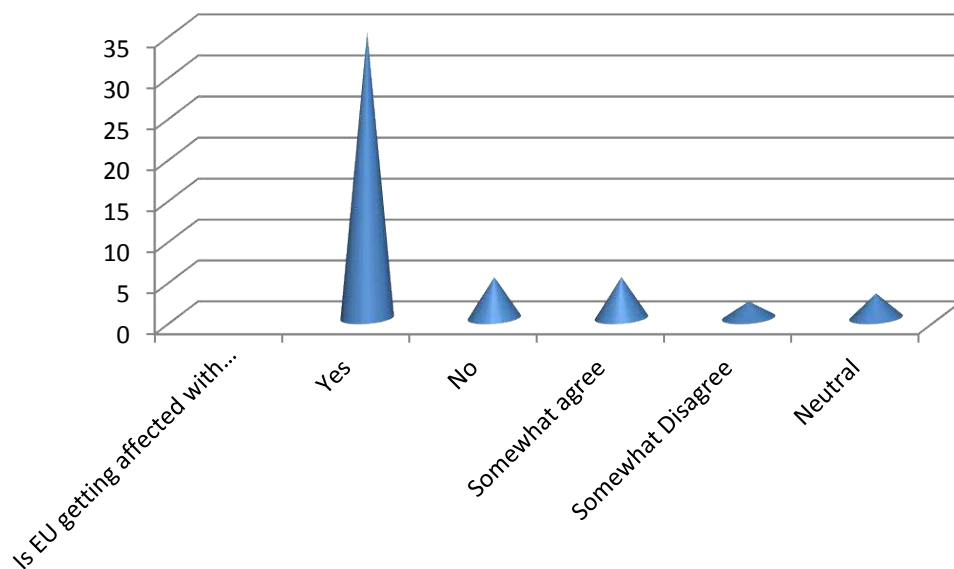
utility value for them in different sectors. As was mentioned earlier with Brexit taking place it is being noted that the tourism is booming, which in other words means that there can be options that people get more involved with the tourism industry and it also shows that EU regulations and policies will no longer have any kind of impact on the trade.

With this question in hand it can be said that Brexit is benefitting the UK is what people agree with. A complete 'Yes' on this question was only derived by fifteen people but twenty almost agreed to the statement. This further helps in stating that Brexit is a policy which is having positive impact on many people and this helps in claiming that there are much lower chances of Britain to exit from the same. However, research has helped in showing that with Brexit at hand, the EU will certainly get impacted economically. It also does help in claiming that with EU getting impacted Britain will also have to face the brunt. However, still the mass agrees that it will benefit the UK in many ways. It can be said to be showing a more positive side of Brexit to the people. It also helps in stating that although economic and political downsides in this policy are there but still more emphasis is being laid on the better part of

the same. Here the most important aspect is that the general public sees personal benefit and the benefit of the country. The main aim is that with people being positive or agreeable with this same makes it sound like Brexit is for the benefit of everyone and thus lesser amount of people agree that it will not bring in the required benefit. This also can be said to be stating that people are much excited about the coming change which Brexit can bring in the life of common man.

Will EU get affected with Brexit economically?

Yes	No	Somewhat agree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral
35	5	5	2	3

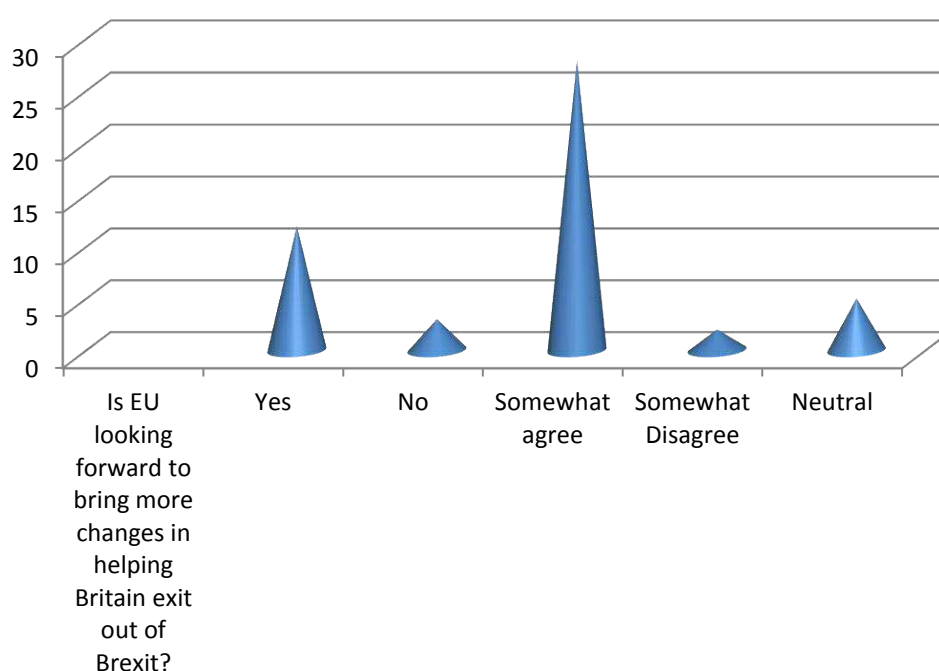


This is a tricky question and it has the maximum votes with people agreeing to the statement that EU is getting impacted and affected with the Brexit at hand. Here the important aspect is the understanding that EU has been formed to keep a control on many nations through the regulations and the policies that it has formed. Here the important part is that with EU being affected it means that the economic damage will be there. It also means that with EU getting affected many more nations will also get impacted. But on the other side the most important aspect is that EU is getting impacted because since the time of formation no nation has ever

opted to exit EU and thus Britain is the first to take the steps. The effectiveness is definitely there because of two reasons. The first reason helps in suggesting that when Brexit will be completed in 2019, if Britain is able to help its economic factors in a better manner, then it would rather be an option which would help other nations to also think on similar lines. This factor could be very pressuring from EU point of view. It largely depends that Britain can benefit from Brexit and even cannot benefit through the same. However, whatever the results would be it would only help in stating that Brexit has been a step which has been initiated by Britain and its results can be seen on other nations as well. This is largely important from all aspects and thus definitely shows the concern of EU in the same regards.

Is EU looking forward bringing more changes in helping Britain exit out of Brexit?

Yes	No	Somewhat agree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral
12	3	28	2	5



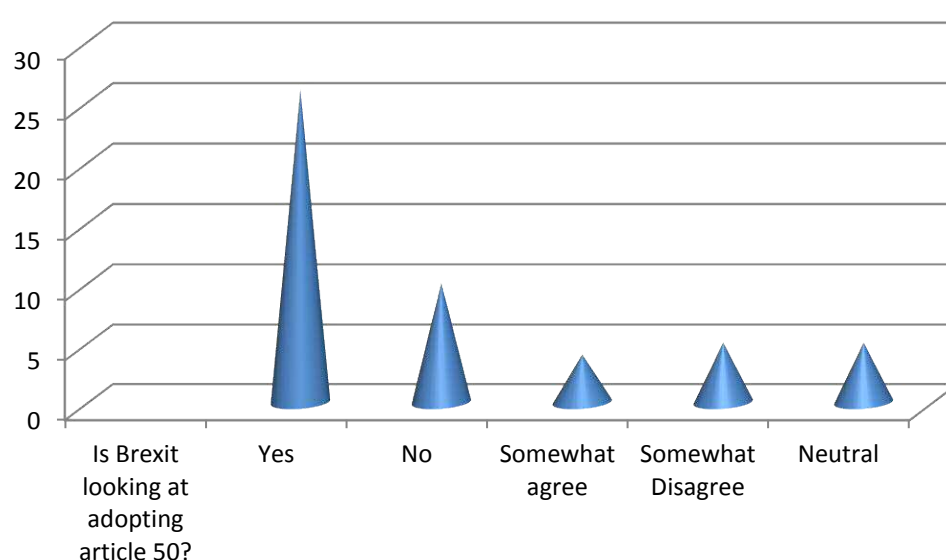
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Well with this question at hand it can be said that EU is working towards bringing some changes which can help Brexit not be continued. In terms that new regulations are being formed and somewhat it is the responsibility of EU to adapt to different measures, which can

help to reverse the Brexit. It is also seen that many do agree to a certain extend but not many agree with the statement completely. This leaves the findings in such a situation where one can say that with this question in hand some research more needs to be done. It could be a possibility that looking at the aspects which do help in stating that EU is going to be impacted economically because of Brexit there could be more chances that EU is considering aspects where it can help and bring Britain out of the same. However, on the other hand, it can be said that EU is rather not going to take any steps in this matter and will only go with the flow.

Is UK triggering of article 50 means 'a point of no return'?

Yes	No	Somewhat agree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral
26	10	4	5	5



1

A very strong part agrees with the opinion that UK's option to trigger the article 50 Treaty of Lisbon, which helps in stating that very strong grounds would be required by Britain to gain an exit from EU. It should have a very strong advocacy in terms of bringing about the agreement on the fact that Britain needs to go forward with Brexit. It also helps in referring to the fact that article 50 can be seen as the last resorts which helps in bringing a relief to the policy of Brexit where there can be chances that exit does not take place and Britain has a much stronger ground for its economic and political standings. It is also being believed that

with the Article 50 adoption Brexit would be able to look more deeply into the exit gate and thus it could mean that it would rather leave an impact where the policy will not be taken over.

Results

The results help in stating that the answer to the first question when asked from different people in terms of interview helped in bringing forward much more impactful result in terms of helping in showing that all the people did believe that Brexit will have a negative impact on the EU. This also helps in stating that with the Brexit at hand the EU can be said to be more in situation where the possibility of bringing much more effectiveness in the trade can be seen as a possibility. This also helps in stating that the question hence being asked in survey form has only helped in stating that most people believe that Brexit will not be an easy move; therefore, it will have a rather very severe impact on the EU politically and more importantly economically. Trade can be said to be a sector, which is being largely impacted in this regard and hence it can also be a factor which needs to be thought about largely as it is the one which can leave other nations also largely impacted with the same (Midgley 2016).

On the second question which more over talks about the positive impact of Brexit it can be said that it helps in showing how the tourism economy is getting impacted through the same. The value of pound is decreasing and this in return is increasing the chances of bringing more tourism in the nation. It also helps in bringing much more economic growth in the country. This in return can be said to be bringing more impactful results in the end. A positive light thus can be said to be seen in the policy of Brexit and with this positivity at hand it can have said to have impacted the Britishers to a much better and greater level (Merrick 2017). Research further helps in stating that a much better and powerful economy can be expected outside the EU with the Brexit. This positive impact is however possible as the tourism which

is growing is bringing more form of development and options of growth in the economic sector. Secondly as per the reports it can also be said to be a medium which further helps in stating how the Britain works towards bringing more economic growth in the economy system is entirely on the choices that the nation makes (Midgley 2016). Hence, in other words the impact or the results could be either ways but this helps in showing how positivity can be seen taking a deeper impact of the economic system as well as some positive attributes can be seen through the same. On the trade front, the economists see the positive side that many more trade options can be seen taking place. With the EU non-interference UK can be said to be freer with the Brexit and thus can have new options of trade. Buying and selling can be done to any and in fact all the nations. New contacts with new nations can be developed with Britain. It will be free from all the regulations and policies of the EU and thus it can be said to be bringing some positive aspects as well (Merrick 2017).

By looking at the findings in the survey it can also be said that many people are taking Brexit with a positive note. Thus, in other words Brexit can be said to be bringing in the maximum benefits to the people of Britain which is being assumed. Especially in the matter of increased tourism and trade opportunities it can be said to be gaining much more success and is gaining much better experience. People are being positive about Brexit while at the same time they are also looking at it with an eye which can help them cover it up through the article 50. Accordingly, mixed result and findings can be seen in its regards. The main reason for this could be the fact that Brexit needs to be more accomplished and justified before any proper assessment of the same. In other words, it can also be said to be considering the real aspects of the economics and thus a lot has to be analysed before the final decision can be taken. With Britain having announced the Brexit in 2016 it has been almost year and the changes are being noticed and are being considered. However, it becomes very much essential that all the changes which are being kept into mind and consideration should be considered carefully

before any kind of decision is taken or made. Brexit to get official has more two years of time in hand and after the research it can be said that this has a positive and negative impact on the economy and the political aspects. Thus, both the impacts should be considered before any final decision is made. It is the matter of economic handling and consequently decisions should be taken keeping and considering all the aspects which are viable in its regards.

Limitations

The limitations of the research can be said to be limited in regards that the research has been able to gain aspects regarding find out the results of the primary and the secondary questions which were raised. But keeping in mind the fact that the topic of research is yet very much in focus an ongoing thus coming to very strong conclusions would be a limitation which can be said to be considered. Still economist and researchers are considering the subject and are trying to find more lucrative aspects, which can help them reach to very solid conclusions. However, as it can be seen that the concept of Brexit is still very much in focus, hence it would require more access to informational and consideration to the informed decision-making before any concrete grounds are laid in these regards. Thus, it should also be noticed that although the research has its limitations but still it has been able to reach a much better conclusion keeping all the aspects in mind. Taking into account the consideration given to all the limitations, still, the research has been able to bring about positive results with an adequate research on the literature that has been provided for the same.

Recommendations

Following analysis of the views and the impacts of Brexit on the EU it should be rather noted that regulation policy might be among the ones, which have been largely voted for but on the other hand it should be considered for negotiation as it will impact the Britain and the EU in terms of bringing much greater impact on them economically and politically.

Recommendations in this regard would be more in favour of bringing negotiations and opting Britain to reconsider its decision in the same regards.

On other points of view, it can be said that Brexit may bring about certain changes in the current *modus vivendi*, which could not have been anticipated otherwise (Nagesh 2016). The changes that are being discussed here are the weakening of the pound, which as was mentioned so far was rather positive for the nudging of tourism industry. It helps in claiming that with British pound getting weaker many more visitors are coming down to the UK and certainly, this increases and impacts the economy on much better grounds. As for the non-European countries, the people are benefitting the impact of Brexit and so to speak view it positively (Merrick 2017).

Conclusion

Brexit is going to be a real challenge for the European Union, which would bring about many significant changes—both in terms of economy and politics. Understanding and predicting the narratives and effect of Brexit can help the EU communities in coping up with the upcoming negative changes and utilizing the positive changes. Thus, the research will be beneficial for variety of audiences inside and outside the European Union.

This also helps in analysing that the economic impact that the EU will have should be largely considered. Trade which will be quite adversely impacted must be seen to gain much more potential than what it is being given now. Here the important part is that the economy is a factor which should be considered in the end. It helps in suggesting that the economic impact on the EU would be largely impacting the other members as well (Merrick 2017). This could further lead to many more members exiting in the same way as the UK, which could result in a much bad facet economically. Hence, the solution needs to be added in this regard and that would be through the medium of the fact that whether Brexit should completely take place or

would negotiation be a better option for all. In the opinion and the result generated by the preliminary research it can be said that having negotiating mediums would be a consideration for a better and growing future for both for the EU and for Britain. Hence, the disagreements should be rather resolved keeping all the sources in mind at the same time (Merrick 2017).

Eventually, even the factor of consideration would be the fact that Brexit is having positive impact as well. The research helps in stating that with Brexit on the run a much more positivity is growing among the options of trade and tourism. The country is benefitting in terms of tourism and trade, which further means that much more tourist can be seen coming to the nation and it also helps in stating that the tourists are getting attracted as the British pound is getting weaker day by day. Visitors enjoy coming to Britain as they can get more value for their money. On the other hand, more options for doing trade with other nations also opens doors with Brexit at hand. This further helps in stating that the policy of Brexit is rather leaving positive impact as well. Some researchers have contributed in claiming that the new options can be very much fruitful for Britain and thus it can give a fresh impetus for development of the nation as well.

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Appendices

Research Work Plan - Thesis Timeline

Following table presents the research work plan for the whole period of research to write a thesis in the second year 2017/2018 along with the start dates, the expected time duration and expected end dates.

<i>Deliverable²</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Start Date</i>	<i>End Date</i>
Literature Review	2 months	October 2017	December 2018
Analysis of findings	2 months	January 2018	February 2018
Methodology Outline, Research using Qualitative/Quantitative methods	1.5 month	February 2018	March 2018
Interpretation and Recommendations	1 month	March 2018	April 2018
Abstract and Introduction	0.5 month	April 2018	April 2018
Thesis Final Draft Submission		May 2018	28 May 2018
Revision, correction and final submission			07 June 2017

² *subject to change*

**List of tentative interviewees for a research using qualitative data collection methods
(Elite & Expert Interviewing)**

<i>Name of Interviewee (tentative)</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Contact information</i>
TBD	Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)	Belgium	+32 (0) 2 229 39 11 info@ceps.eu
TBD	Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies	Belgium	ih@martenscentre.eu
TBD	The European Policy Centre (EPC)	Belgium	+32 (0) 2 231 03 40 info@epc.eu
TBD	The European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS)	EU	https://epthinktank.eu/
TBD	Institute for Public Policy Research	UK	+44 (0)20 7470 6100 +44 (0)20 7470 6111 info@ippr.org
TBD	Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs	UK	+44 (0)20 7957 5700 contact@chathamhouse.org
TBD	Department of Politics & International Relations, University of Oxford	UK	+44 (0)1865 278700 james.baldwin@politics.ox.ac.uk
Nick Sitter	Central European University	Norway	sittern@ceu.hu +36 1 327 3130
Uwe Puetter	Central European University	Germany	puetteru@ceu.edu +36 1 328 3421
Martin Kahanec	Central European University	Hungary/ Slovakia	kahanecm@spp.ceu.edu +361327 3000
László Csaba	Central European University	Hungary	csabal@ceu.edu +36 1 327 3080
Agnes Batory	Central European University	Hungary	batorya@ceu.edu + 36 1 327-3098
Dr. Eli Gateva	University of York	UK	egg509@york.ac.uk
Dr. Signy Gutnick-Allen	University of York	UK	signy.gutnickallen@york.ac.uk
Prof. Martin Smith	University of York	UK	martin.smith@york.ac.uk
Dr. Sofia Vasilopoulou	University of York	UK	sofia.vasilopoulou@york.ac.uk

Survey

Survey is designed and conducted using the SurveyMonkey online survey development cloud-based software with targeted audience in the EU and in the UK (www.surveymonkey.com).

Sample size: 50

<i>Questions</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Somewhat agree</i>	<i>Somewhat disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>
Is Brexit a policy which the UK must firmly adhere to?	25	5	10	5	5
Is Brexit benefitting the UK in any terms?	15	3	20	7	5
Will EU get affected with Brexit economically?	35	5	5	2	3
Is EU looking forward to bringing more changes in helping Britain exit out of Brexit?	12	3	28	2	5
Is UK triggering of article 50 means 'a point of no return'?	26	10	4	5	5