THE CAMPAIGN ARGUMENTS OF LEAVE AND REMAIN DURING THE BREXIT PROCESS

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ABSTRACT

THE CAMPAIGN ARGUMENTS OF LEAVE AND REMAIN DURING THE BREXIT PROCESS

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After the announcement of the former prime minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, about the date of the referendum on remaining in or leaving the European Union in February 2016, it has become official that the Brexit campaigns were starting to be held. The result of the referendum (51.8% in favor of leave, 48.1% in favor of remain) showed that Euroscepticism made a leap since the similar 1975 referendum in which 67.2% voted to remain in the European Economic Community. The campaigns leading to Brexit referendum have been shaped according to public opinion. However, the campaigns were not just the reflection of people's ideas, but also, they were the routers of new perspectives towards Brexit. This thesis will analyze the Brexit campaigns that lasted until June 2016 referendum and present the arguments of leave and remain campaigns based on campaign sources, newspapers, news channels, and academic publications.

Keywords: Brexit, UK Politics, European Union, European Integration, Euroscepticism

ÖZ

BREXİT SÜRECİNDE AYRILMA VE KALMA KAMPANYASI ARGÜMANLARI

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Birleşik Krallık'ın eski başbakanı David Cameron'ın Şubat 2016'da Avrupa Birliği'nde kalma veya AB'den ayrılma referandumunun tarihini açıklamasının ardından, Brexit kampanyalarının yapılmaya başlandığı resmiyet kazandı. Referandumun sonucu (%51.8 ayrılma lehinde, %48,1 kalma lehinde), Avrupa şüpheciliğinin, %67,2'sinin Avrupa Ekonomik Topluluğu'nda kalma yönünde oy verdiği benzer 1975 referandumundan bu yana bir sıçrama yaptığını gösterdi. Kampanyalar kamuoyu görüşlerine göre şekillendirilmiştir. Ancak kampanyalar sadece insanların fikirlerini yansıtmakla kalmadı, aynı zamanda Brexit'e yönelik yeni bakış açılarının yönlendiricisi oldu. Bu tez, Haziran 2016 referandumuna kadar süren Brexit kampanyalarını analiz edecek ve kampanya kaynakları, gazeteler, haber kanalları ve akademik yayınlar temelinde ayrılma ve kalma kampanyalarının argümanlarını sunacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Brexit, Birleşik Krallık siyaseti, Avrupa Birliği, Avrupa bütünleşmesi, Avrupa Şüpheciliği

“There are no hopeless situations. There are only people without hope. I have never lost hope.”

Mustafa Kemal ATATÜRK

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Brexit	British Exit from the European Union
EC	European Communities
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EP	European Parliament
ERM	European Exchange Rate Mechanism
EU	European Union
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
MP	Member of Parliament
MEP	Member of European Parliament
NHS	National Health Service
SEA	Single European Act
TEU	Treaty on European Union
UK	The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The United Kingdom, a country that adopted Euroscepticism in its identity for a long time, embodied its distance and adverseness to the idea of Europeanization by voting leave in the Brexit referendum in 2016.[1] The decision to leave the Union not only reflected the culmination of years of Eurosceptic sentiment within the UK but also marked a significant shift in its geopolitical orientation, signaling a desire for greater sovereignty, control over immigration policies, and an assertion of national identity independent from the supranational framework of the European project.

The two topics of research of this thesis are the relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union, and the arguments of the leave and remain campaigns during the Brexit process. The most remarkable element of this relationship between the two actors has been the rising distance and Euroscepticism in the eyes of the UK's public through the years, and this distance has especially fed by the UK's politicians and mass media. The image of the Union as an increasingly distant and bureaucratic formation, coupled with Eurosceptic notions, has been reinforced by political figures and deepened through the influential role of the mass media in shaping public opinion. Over the years, political discourse and media narratives have played a pivotal role in framing the UK's relationship with the Union, contributing to the growing sense of skepticism and a perceived loss of national sovereignty among the UK public.

After presenting the historical relationship between the two actors which was mainly dominated by the Eurosceptic views and actions, this thesis presents a literature review regarding academic and newspaper articles for both campaign groups. This

[1] This work was prepared in the author's personal capacity, entails her personal views and does not reflect the views of the institution she is employed by.

literature review aims to provide a comprehensive understanding through analysis of scholarly research and media coverage, and seeks to clarify the evolving dynamics, key arguments, and public sentiments that have shaped the discourses of the two campaign groups.

The most emphasized elements of this thesis for the pro-remain campaign are economy, immigration, global credibility, and security. As its primary aim, the pro-remain side conducted its campaign to protect the status quo by showing Brexit as a change with a potential unbalanced and unclear future. Thus, the pro-remain campaign showed the Union as a stabilizing force for economic prosperity, diplomatic collaboration, and social cohesion. The campaign emphasized the importance of existing agreements, trade partnerships, and shared policies that could be disrupted by the withdrawal from the Union.

The most emphasized elements of this thesis for the pro-leave campaign are immigration, economy, and sovereignty. As its primary aim, the pro-leave side conducted its campaign to change the status quo by showing Brexit as a liberating and empowering change for the UK. Thus, the pro-leave campaign showed the Union as an entity that damages the UK's control over its borders, as a burden for the economy, and a force that shakes decision-making autonomy of the UK.

1.1. Primary and Secondary Research Questions

The primary research question of this thesis is "What are the factors behind the success of the pro-leave campaign in terms of campaign strategies?"

There are two secondary research questions addressing this point: Firstly, "How has the relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union evolved over time?". Secondly, "What are the main events, actors, and discussions that formed the leave and remain campaigns during the Brexit process?"

This thesis argues that Euroscepticism has been ingrained in the identity of the United Kingdom for many years, and as a result of this, the public voted yes in the

referendum to leave the European Union, with the guidance of both politicians and the mainstream media over the years.

The main elements of the rhetoric of the pro-leave campaign supporters have been sovereignty, immigration, and economy, which were emerged in hard Eurosceptic perspective of the UK's public for many years, and which were circulated successfully by the political parties and the mass media. Because of the inadequate way of ownership of its arguments, the pro-remain campaign fell behind its rival and could not protect the status quo of the UK. Thanks to its provocative way of handling the referendum process, the pro-leave campaign achieved to change the status quo by referring to Eurosceptic worries of the public such as losing control of sovereignty to a supranational organization, having a less secure country to live in because of the immigrants coming from the other European countries, and having an unbalanced economy because of being dependent to another superior one with rules that it cannot dominate.

1.2. Data, Methodology and Methods

This thesis mainly benefits from qualitative research, which aims to acquire understanding of the arguments and details of the subject through newspaper and academic publishing. In this regard, the main sources of this thesis are the newspaper and academic articles that examine the Brexit campaign process, especially referring to the main arguments, rhetoric, and the actors of both the pro-leave and the pro-remain sides. Thus, besides the academic articles and books, this thesis also benefited from the articles of news sources such as The Guardian, BBC, and The Telegraph.

The main secondary sources of this thesis are party manifestos and political discourses regarding the most effective parties, politicians, and campaign groups that form the pro-leave and the pro-remain sides of the Brexit campaign process. In addition, this thesis has also benefited from online websites and blogs to deep dive into the arguments of both campaign sides.

This thesis adopts an approach that aims to gain an understanding of the Brexit campaign process by analyzing the historical relationship between the United

Kingdom and the European Union firstly. Thus, the thesis starts with an analysis of the relationship between the two actors, starting from the aftermath of the World War II, continues with UK's joining to the Union, and ends with the analysis of the governments which ruled until Brexit.

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

In the second chapter, this thesis examines the arguments of the pro-remain campaign side of the Brexit process in the light of political campaign groups, businesspeople, artists, academics, environmentalists, politicians, and newspapers. In addition, the thesis also refers to advertisements and social media usage of the campaign. At the end, the thesis arrays the reasons behind the failure of the pro-remain campaign.

In the third chapter, this thesis examines the arguments of the pro-leave campaign side of the Brexit process in the light of Euroscepticism, the 1975 referendum, political campaign groups, businesspeople, academics, politicians, and newspapers. In addition, the thesis also refers to advertisements and social media usage of the campaign. At the end, the thesis arrays the reasons behind the achievement of the pro-leave campaign.

CHAPTER 2

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

This chapter will present the historical development of the relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union; by referring to the European Union and the earlier European communities, the United Kingdom's political background, and the development of the Brexit process between the two actors.

2.1. Pre-European Union Period of the United Kingdom

After the World War II, Europe had become a place that must be reshaped and saved from the devastating remnants of the war, both economically and politically.[2] Also, the human losses had reached sixty million at the end of the war.[3] These two facts had formed the ideas of establishing permanent peace and consensus among the European countries to avoid another war in the area. At the beginning of the 1950s, with the changing perspectives towards building consensus and diplomacy, European politicians had started to act with the aim of integrating their countries.

While the British governments had leaned towards intergovernmental cooperation mainly with the support of Scandinavian and Irish governments, the other European governments had been on the side of the establishment of a supranational institution, and they had started to brainstorm for this establishment. One of the most in-demand ideas was the establishment of the European Parliament and this desire to integrate

[2] Centre Virtual de la Connaissance sur L'Europe, "The post-war European idea and the first European movements (1945-1949)" https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/7b137b71-6010-4621-83b4-b0ca06a6b2cb, accessed on 1 March 2022

[3] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "The Blast of World War II" https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-Europe/The-blast-of-World-War-II, accessed on 1 March 2022

the European countries had caused severe divergences between the European countries.

In 1951; in accordance with the Paris Treaty, the European Coal and Steel Community was established with the aim of integrating European countries in terms of industrial relationships and benefits, thanks to the incentives of Robert Schuman, who was the French Minister of Foreign Affairs in that time.[4] This industrial-rooted establishment was a critical step that led to create new opportunities for political integration among the European countries.

The Treaty of Rome had formed the milestones for the formation of the European Union in 1957. The United Kingdom had a good relationship with the USA[5] and it had been opposed to the supranational characteristics of the Treaty of Rome.[6] Despite that it was invited to the signing of the Treaty of Rome, the UK did not respond to the invitation because of these two reasons; thus, the UK had not signed the binding treaties that formed the early European communities.

In terms of economic integration, two critical steps were taken in 1957 and 1958 after signing the Treaty of Rome.[7] With the formation of the European Economic Community in 1957, economic unity of the European states was strengthened,[8] and one of the first steps for the formation of the common market was taken. With the establishment of the European Atomic Energy Community in 1958, the economic integration process was moved further, especially by securing the nuclear use of the member states. Securing nuclear use was achieved by encouraging research, assuring safe procurement for the member states, supervising the civilian use of nuclear

[4] EUR-Lex, "Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, ECSC Treaty"

[5] Julia Clavel, "UK's ambiguous relationship with the EU", Open Diplomacy, 24 March 2016, https://www.open-diplomacy.eu/blog/uk-s-ambiguous-relationship-with-the-eu, accessed on 1 March 2022

[6] UK in a Changing Europe, "Why did the United Kingdom not join the European Union when it started?", 21 September 2020, https://ukandeu.ac.uk/the-facts/why-did-the-united-kingdom-not-join-the-european-union-when-it-started/, accessed on 1 March 2022

[7] European Parliament, "Treaty of Rome (EEC)"

[8] European Union, "History of the European Union 1945-59"

goods, and putting health and security principles forward.[9] Thanks to these security precautions, the Community achieved to ensure peace among the member states.

1961 was a turning point of the UK's attitude towards the European communities. The first talks of the UK's joining the European Economic Community had begun[10] and the application was made same year.[11] The reason for this changing attitude and the aim of the application lie in the fact that the UK had begun to be excluded from a European unity. Moreover, this exclusion has caused disadvantages for the UK, such as staying behind economically, mainly because of the growth of the common market, and not being able to keep up with the changing world balance. Thus, for some scholars, such as Kristian Steinnes, this application was a turning point for the UK's governments' intergovernmental cooperation-based perspective, which was replaced by supranational integration.[12] The UK had realized that the crucial point of preserving its superior status in the world, especially during the rising destructive power of decolonization for itself, was to keep pace with the European communities.[13] Moreover, the trade tendency which would affect the UK's economy had begun to change its route towards Europe; however, de Gaulle, the president of France at that period, has vetoed both applications of the UK that aimed to become a member of the EEC in 1963 and 1967. The reasons behind these rejections lie in de Gaulle's suspicions about the unclear boundaries of sovereignty that the UK's membership may cause. De Gaulle believed that the membership of the UK would bring American domination to their European community.[14] This perspective of de

[9] EUR-Lex, "Treaty on the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom)"

[10] Andrea Tognina, "How the Swiss and Brits have dealt with Europe", SWI, 2 April 2019, https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/politics/history-of-swiss-diplomacy_-it-s-still--merry-old-england---but-without-much-power-or-influence-/44868280, accessed on 1 March 2022

[11] Centre Virtual de la Connaissance sur L'Europe, "First Application Common Market", https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/a125033c-90ee-4355-a320-b38e7aaf4cca, accessed on 1 March 2022

[12] Kristian Steinnes, "The European Challenge: Britain's EEC Application in 1961" in Contemporary European History 7, no.1, 12 September 2008, p.61

[13] Helen Parr, "Saving the Community: The French Response to Britain's Second EEC Application in 1967", Cold War History 6, no.4, 11 December 2006, p.425

[14] The National Archives, "EEC Britain's late entry", 28 November 2008, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/eec-britains-late-entry.htm, accessed on 1 March 2022

Gaulle proves that political reasons have been more crucial for the French government's veto decision rather than the economic ones.[15]

De Gaulle's resignation was another turning point for the UK's will to join the EEC, and with the third application, the UK was finally accepted to the EEC in 1973.[16] The major actor for this joining was Edward Heath, who was the UK's prime minister at that period thanks to his effort to make the relationship more moderate between the UK and France, thus with the EEC members as a whole, especially in the matters of nuclear and defense cooperation. Thus, with the Treaty of Accession, which was signed in 1972, the UK has become a member of the EEC.[17] Moreover, The European Communities Act which was signed in 1972 has also consolidated the joining of the UK[18] and put European law supremacy above all the member states.[19]

2.2. After the United Kingdom Accession to the European Union & 1975 Referendum

After the UK was accepted to the EEC in 1972 and Edward Heath signed the Treaty of Accession the same year, the UK became an official member of the community, a.k.a. the Common Market, in 1973.[20] Joining the community was a success for the Conservatives, and they have aimed to have a more solid union.[21] They named

[15] Helen Parr, "Saving the Community: The French Response to Britain's Second EEC Application in 1967", Cold War History, 11 December 2006

[16] UK Parliament, "The EEC and the Single European Act", https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/legislativescrutiny/parliament-and-europe/overview/britain-and-eec-to-single-european-act/, accessed on 1 March 2022

[17] EUR-Lex, "Council Decision of the European Communities of 1 January 1973 Adjusting the Documents Concerning the Accession of the New Member States to the European Communities", 1 January 1973

[18] Maddy Thimont Jack, "European Communities Act 1972", Institute for Government, 16 January 2017, https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/article/explainer/european-communities-act-1972, accessed on 1 March 2022

[19] Adrian Williamson, "The case for Brexit: lessons from the 1960s and 1970s", History & Policy, 5 May 2015, https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/the-case-for-brexit-lessons-from-1960s-and-1970s, accessed on 1 March 2022

[20] UK Parliament, "Into Europe", https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/tradeindustry/importexport/overview/europe/, accessed on 1 March 2022

[21] Dawn Sellars, "The 1975 Referendum on Europe", Oxpol, 28 September 2016, https://blog.politics.ox.ac.uk/1975-referendum-europe/, accessed on 1 March 2022

themselves the Party of Europe after the accession.[22] They argued that in the modern world, the UK should not be alone and isolated to keep up with the rest of the world and be more secure.[23] They saw the best possible future in the membership of the EEC.[24]

On the other hand, the Labor Party has started to prepare a withdrawal plan.[25] Tony Benn, who was a member of the UK parliament at the time, has started to encourage the idea of a membership referendum with the aim of resolving the fragmentation over the issue of staying in the European Community or not within the Labor Party.[26] He has disparaged the common market idea because it was a capitalist formation and argued that this formation would harm the party's socialist steps. Thus, the change from the Conservative Party to the Labor Party in the government has also changed the course of the UK's relationship with the community. Harold Wilson, who was the prime minister after Heath and the head of the Labor Party, has led the way to a referendum about whether the UK should continue its way within the EEC or not.[27]

Although most of the Conservatives, including Margaret Thatcher, were satisfied with the community membership, some of them were still Eurosceptic.[28] This was an advantage for the Labor Party supporters because the Eurosceptic Conservatives were intermediaries to reach the referendum goal.[29] With the effort of the Labor

[22] Adrian Williamson, "The case for Brexit: lessons from the 1960s and 1970s", History & Policy, 5 May 2015, https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/the-case-for-brexit-lessons-from-1960s-and-1970s, accessed on 1 March 2022

[23] UK Parliament, "Into Europe", https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/tradeindustry/importexport/overview/europe/, accessed on 1 March 2022

[24] Dawn Sellars, "The 1975 Referendum on Europe", Oxpol, 28 September 2016, https://blog.politics.ox.ac.uk/1975-referendum-europe/, accessed on 1 March 2022

[25] UK Parliament, "Into Europe", https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/tradeindustry/importexport/overview/europe/, accessed on 1 March 2022

[26] Dawn Sellars, "The 1975 Referendum on Europe", Oxpol, 28 September 2016, https://blog.politics.ox.ac.uk/1975-referendum-europe/, accessed on 1 March 2022

[27] Adrian Williamson, "The case for Brexit: lessons from the 1960s and 1970s", History & Policy, 5 May 2015, https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/the-case-for-brexit-lessons-from-1960s-and-1970s, accessed on 1 March 2022

[28] Jan-Henrik Meyer, "Jan-Henrik Meyer, the 1975 Referendum on Britain's Continued Membership in the EEC", Centre Virtual de la Connaissance sur L'Europe, 13 September 2013

[29] Adrian Williamson, "The case for Brexit: lessons from the 1960s and 1970s", History & Policy, 5 May 2015, https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/the-case-for-brexit-lessons-from-1960s-and-1970s, accessed on 1 March 2022

Party and the support of Eurosceptic Conservatives, a referendum came into the agenda. The Labor Party's conference in October 1972 and its manifesto for the elections in 1974 were irrefutable proofs of the upcoming referendum.[30]

2.2.1. 1975 Referendum Campaign Discourses

There were three dimensions in which the in-campaigners and the out-campaigners have differed: Conserving the traditional UK identity, food supply, and employment.[31] The ones who campaigned to stay in the EEC have claimed that the membership was meant to establish good relationships with the other European countries, and it would not harm the traditional identity of the UK.[32] Moreover, they have stated that being a member of the EEC would ensure food security and provide food supplies by avoiding possible queues in the country.

On the other hand, those who campaigned to leave the EEC have seen membership as a threat to their national and traditional values.[33] They have blamed the EEC membership for high food prices and argued that the high prices were the results of the Common Market's Common Agricultural Policy. According to the out-campaign, because of the Common Agricultural Policy, the UK was pressured to purchase other member countries' food, and its most concrete proof was the rise in the price of butter in 1975. Thus, the guilty one for these price rises was seen as the Common Market for people who were Eurosceptic at that period. The out-campaigners have also claimed that the food surplus was sold to Russia at low prices and confuted the ideas of in-campaigners who claimed that membership avoid possible food queues.

As the third dimension of the divergences, employment has been another critical point for both in-campaigners and out-campaigners: The ones who wanted to stay in the EEC have argued that the inflation was higher compared to the other European

[30] Jan-Henrik Meyer, "Jan-Henrik Meyer, the 1975 Referendum on Britain's Continued Membership in the EEC", Centre Virtual de la Connaissance sur L'Europe, 13 September 2013

[31] Brian Wheeler, "EU referendum: Did 1975 predictions come true?", BBC, 6 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-36367246, accessed on 1 March 2022

[32] Jan-Henrik Meyer, "Jan-Henrik Meyer, the 1975 Referendum on Britain's Continued Membership in the EEC", Centre Virtual de la Connaissance sur L'Europe, 13 September 2013

[33] Ibid.

countries, so unemployment was not directly related to being a member, and the EEC should not have been blamed for the rising unemployment.[34] Moreover, they argued that leaving the community would affect the economy negatively because leaving the community would mean separating from the Common Market. On the other hand, Tony Benn, who was a politician willing to leave the EEC, claimed that 500.000 people lost their jobs at the time of Britain's EEC membership and drew attention to the difference in export levels between Britain and the other EEC members. He argued that Britain was importing much more than the other community members importing from Britain, and it was related to the rising inflation and unemployment, which was caused by the membership.

According to Jan-Henrik Meyer, there are two reasons for people not wanting to leave the community.[35] Firstly, the UK citizens have not seen the out-campaign's arguments as convincing because the referendum's timing was too early.[36] The reason why people have not trusted the claims of out-campaigners is that it had been only two and a half years since the UK became a member of the community. Secondly, because there were no other options than the community, the UK citizens did not want to jump into an uncertain future and risk their economy.

According to the article by Adrian Williamson, businesspeople in the UK have also supported the in-campaign because they wanted to continue to benefit from the European market's tariff-free treatment.[37]

2.2.2. 1975 Referendum Campaign Sources

The 1975 referendum campaigns were held beyond political parties, and the primary campaign sources of the in-campaign were the mass media, the businesspeople, and

[34] Brian Wheeler, "EU referendum: Did 1975 predictions come true?", BBC, 6 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-36367246, accessed on 1 March 2022

[35] Jan-Henrik Meyer, "Jan-Henrik Meyer, the 1975 Referendum on Britain's Continued Membership in the EEC", Centre Virtual de la Connaissance sur L'Europe, 13 September 2013

[36] Brian Wheeler, "EU referendum: Did 1975 predictions come true?", BBC, 6 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-36367246, accessed on 1 March 2022

[37] Adrian Williamson, "The case for Brexit: lessons from the 1960s and 1970s", History & Policy, 5 May 2015, https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/the-case-for-brexit-lessons-from-1960s-and-1970s, accessed on 1 March 2022

the religious institutions.[38] Thanks to the in-campaign supporters, 1.5 million euros were collected before the referendum, resulting from the professional planning and organization of the supporters.[39] The in-campaign has defended itself by leaning on this support, which was collected in a short time, and by arguing that if the UK does not continue to be a part of the community, it would lessen food security and employment rates in the country.

On the other hand, the out-campaigners, a.k.a. The National Referendum Campaign (NRC) had a disadvantaged position in the campaign because of their political leaders' radical views and these leaders' unpopularity among the British people.[40] Besides the leadership failure, the NRC has been able to collect 250 thousand euros which was much less money than the in-campaign had collected; thus, it caused a necessity for more subsidies even though the government had already donated 125 thousand euros for both campaigns.

According to Colin Seymour-Ure, the press had been a crucial component of the 1975 referendum campaigns in terms of providing sources that may lead the people's attitudes on leaving or staying in the community.[41] With the broadcasts, conferences, articles, and reports, the mass media had become the referendum itself.[42] Moreover, Seymour-Ure argues that the regular speeches and programs that host politicians had been started to be named as news on televisions and radios.[43] Likewise, the newspapers had started to publish the articles that the campaign leaders or politicians wrote as news. According to the article by James Walsh, daily newspapers generally

[38] Jan-Henrik Meyer, "Jan-Henrik Meyer, the 1975 Referendum on Britain's Continued Membership in the EEC", Centre Virtual de la Connaissance sur L'Europe, 13 September 2013

[39] Adrian Williamson, "The case for Brexit: lessons from the 1960s and 1970s", History & Policy, 5 May 2015, https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/the-case-for-brexit-lessons-from-1960s-and-1970s, accessed on 1 March 2022

[40] Ibid.

[41] Colin Seymour-Ure, "Press and Referenda: The Case of the British Referendum of 1975", Canadian Journal of Political Science, September 1978

[42] Jan-Henrik Meyer, "Jan-Henrik Meyer, the 1975 Referendum on Britain's Continued Membership in the EEC", Centre Virtual de la Connaissance sur L'Europe, 13 September 2013

[43] Colin Seymour-Ure, "Press and Referenda: The Case of the British Referendum of 1975", Canadian Journal of Political Science, September 1978

tended to be on the side of the in-campaign, and that was the reason why press media mostly had a negative attitude towards Tony Benn, hence to the Labor Party.[44]

The newspapers, such as The Sun and The Daily Mail, have supported the in-campaign, and they have argued that this referendum would be a choice between a developing independent economy with integration in Europe and a benefit for Communism.[45] The Express has argued that the in-favor vote was the most logical one.[46]

2.2.3. 1975 Referendum Results

In 1975, the membership referendum resulted in 67.2% voting yes, and 32.8 % voting no in the UK.[47] The victory of the in-campaign, which was confirmed by the 1975 referendum, was a result of three understandings of the UK's people at the time: Firstly, the residues from World War II were still new for every society in the world, and the UK citizens have wanted to avoid the potential of another global conflict by the EEC membership.[48] Secondly, the UK citizens have seen being a community member equal to having a voice in international affairs, and they did not want to lose this strength. Thirdly, the UK citizens have voted yes to maintain the stability of their country's economy. The results were seen as a failure of the Left and a success for the Conservatives.[49] After the referendum, with the aim of an ever-

[44] James Walsh, "Britain's 1975 Europe referendum: what was it like last time?", The Guardian, 25 February 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/25/britains-1975-europe-referendum-what-was-it-like-last-time, accessed on 1 March 2022

[45] Adrian Williamson, "The case for Brexit: lessons from the 1960s and 1970s", History & Policy, 5 May 2015, https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/the-case-for-brexit-lessons-from-1960s-and-1970s, accessed on 1 March 2022

[46] James Walsh, "Britain's 1975 Europe referendum: what was it like last time?", The Guardian, 25 February 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/25/britains-1975-europe-referendum-what-was-it-like-last-time, accessed on 1 March 2022

[47] Richard Nelsson, "Archive: how the Guardian reported the 1975 EEC referendum", The Guardian, 5 June 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/from-the-archive-blog/2015/jun/05/referendum-eec-europe-1975, accessed on 1 March 2022

[48] Colin Seymour-Ure, "Press and Referenda: The Case of the British Referendum of 1975", Canadian Journal of Political Science 11, no.3, September 1978

[49] James Walsh, "Britain's 1975 Europe referendum: what was it like last time?", The Guardian, 25 February 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/25/britains-1975-europe-referendum-what-was-it-like-last-time, accessed on 1 March 2022

closer union, the Right of the UK Parliament wanted to get together under the roof of an alliance, which was named the European Democratic Union.

2.3. Margaret Thatcher Era (1979-1990)

1979 has been a turning point for both the UK and the community, and for their relationship. The 1980s were Margaret Thatcher's era for UK governance. Although Thatcher was in favor of in-campaign in the pre-period of her prime ministry, she has approached the subject of EEC in a negative light during her rule and argued that the community has been trying to venture into national areas more than enough while trying to form its economic policies.[50] Despite the fact that she defined herself as pro-European at the beginning of her prime ministry, her mildness toward the Union has been a pragmatic one.[51] Her era as the prime minister was seen as a period of rising Euroscepticism in Britain.[52]

Under Thatcher's rule, the Conservative Party has aimed at monetarism as their macroeconomic system, which needs a liberal flow of money; thus, having a mutual currency with the other European community members would leave the Conservative Party's economic policy helpless.[53] She has particularly focused on national sovereignty and stressed the importance of having independent institutions from the European communities.[54] She believed that the community would threaten the way of life of the British people and their liberty[55]; thus, she implied that she would prefer

[50] Pan Pylas, "Britain's EU Journey: When Thatcher turned all euroskeptic", AP, 23 January 2020, https://apnews.com/article/brexit-business-international-news-europe-margaret-thatcher-64855d1ff67454443db5132bdfb22ea6, accessed on 1 March 2022

[51] Fatih Işık, "Conservative Party of the UK and the European Union: From Euroscepticism to Brexit", Unpublished MA Thesis Submitted to the Middle East Technical University, METU Library, January 2020, p.73

[52] Nicholas Sowels, "From the 'Thatcherisation of Europe' to Brexit", Mutations politiques et économiques du Royaume-Uni, entre perspective britannique et angle écossais, 18 November 2019

[53] Fatih Işık, "Conservative Party of the UK and the European Union: From Euroscepticism to Brexit", Unpublished MA Thesis Submitted to the Middle East Technical University, METU Library, January 2020, p.72

[54] David Ramiro Troitiño, "Margaret Thatcher and the EU", European Integration: Building Europe (European Political Economic and Security Issues), May 2013

[55] Nicholas Sowels, "From the 'Thatcherisation of Europe' to Brexit", Mutations politiques et économiques du Royaume-Uni, entre perspective britannique et angle écossais, 18 November 2019

national cooperation between the European countries rather than having a supranational organization. This approach was proof of the fact that Euroscepticism found itself a considerable place in the Conservative Party in the 1980s.[56] The change in the community's essence from economic to political has been another skeptical point for the UK citizens because they have started to worry about the community's effect on their government.[57] Thus, the 1980s were seen as an era in which the relationship between Brussels and Britain has deteriorated.[58] This deterioration was a result of attempts by Jacques Delors, who was the head of the European Commission at that time, to have a single currency and a more federal formation in Europe.[59] The non-conciliatory responses of Thatcher to these attempts have caused a more strained relationship between Britain and Brussels.

Despite her Eurosceptic thinking, Margaret Thatcher was a contributor to the preparation of a white paper for the Single Market Program in 1985.[60] She appointed members from her ex-cabinet and businesspeople to contribute to the Single Market Program conducted by Jacques Delors.[61] Thanks to her contributions, the base and the white paper of the Program were prepared fast and adequately.[62] Thatcher made a privilege for this Program by accepting it as not just an agreement but as a binding

[56] Richard Nelsson, "Archive: how the Guardian reported the 1975 EEC referendum", The Guardian, 5 June 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/from-the-archive-blog/2015/jun/05/referendum-eec-europe-1975, accessed on 1 March 2022

[57] Pan Pylas, "Britain's EU Journey: When Thatcher turned all euroskeptic", AP, 23 January 2020, https://apnews.com/article/brexit-business-international-news-europe-margaret-thatcher-64855d1ff67454443db5132bdfb22ea6, accessed on 1 March 2022

[58] Sam Wilson, "Britain and the EU: A long and rocky relationship", BBC, 1 April 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129, accessed on 1 March 2022

[59] Pan Pylas, "Britain's EU Journey: When Thatcher turned all euroskeptic", AP, 23 January 2020, https://apnews.com/article/brexit-business-international-news-europe-margaret-thatcher-64855d1ff67454443db5132bdfb22ea6, accessed on 1 March 2022

[60] Richard G. Whitman, "On Europe: Margaret Thatcher's Lasting Legacy", Chatham House, 9 April 2013, https://www.chathamhouse.org/2013/04/europe-margaret-thatchers-lasting-legacy, accessed on 1 March 2022

[61] Helene Von Bismarck, "Margaret Thatcher: The Critical Architect of European Integration", UK in a Changing Europe, 4 May 2016, https://ukandeu.ac.uk/margaret-thatcher-the-critical-architect-of-european-integration/, accessed on 1 March 2022

[62] Richard G. Whitman, "On Europe: Margaret Thatcher's Lasting Legacy", Chatham House, 9 April 2013, https://www.chathamhouse.org/2013/04/europe-margaret-thatchers-lasting-legacy, accessed on 1 March 2022

treaty. Thus, although she has been trying to avoid the idea of the Single European Market, she did not oppose the idea of the Single European Act, which was one of the bases of the Single European Market.[63] As a result, the signing of the Single European Act has expedited European integration thanks to Thatcher's short but effective participation.[64]

According to some thinkers, Thatcher wanted to conduct neoliberal policies regarding the UK's economy; thus, she was happy with being a part of the EEC, which was a large market to put her neo-liberal economic policies and plans into practice.[65] In this way, her discontent about the idea of a Single Market started to lessen.

In 1988, Thatcher implied that she would refuse the Brussel dominance and European super-state over Britain in her speech in Bruges.[66] She criticized the community by arguing that the community was trying to tie Britain up with its regulations. She implied that Europe's shared culture had not started thanks to the Treaty of Rome, but it has started thousands of years ago, and Britain has been a part of this shared culture since their ancestors.[67] Moreover, she refused the idea of the single currency and the European police force, and she aimed to decrease the amount of contribution to the community that Britain has been giving.[68] This negative attitude of Thatcher toward the European community did not bring her positive outcomes.

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[63] BBC, "Thatcher and her tussles with Europe", 8 April 2013, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-11598879, accessed on 1 March 2022

[64] Richard G. Whitman, "On Europe: Margaret Thatcher's Lasting Legacy", Chatham House, 9 April 2013, https://www.chathamhouse.org/2013/04/europe-margaret-thatchers-lasting-legacy, accessed on 1 March 2022

[65] Fatih Işık, "Conservative Party of the UK and the European Union: From Euroscepticism to Brexit", Unpublished MA Thesis Submitted to the Middle East Technical University, METU Library, January 2020, pp.72-73

[66] Margaret Thatcher, "Speech to the College of Europe (The Bruges Speech)", 20 September 1988

[67] Charles Moore, "Margaret Thatcher biography: How the Bruges speech was deemed a declaration of war that caused 'absolute horror' in Brussels", The Telegraph, 29 September 2019, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2019/09/28/margaret-thatcher-biography-bruges-speech-deemed-declaration/, accessed on 1 March 2022

[68] Nicholas Sowels, "From the 'Thatcherisation of Europe' to Brexit", Mutations politiques et économiques du Royaume-Uni, entre perspective britannique et angle écossais, 18 November 2019

In 1990, Geoffrey Howe, the foreign secretary at that time, resigned because of Thatcher's confrontational approach to Europe, and this incident started divisions within the party.[69] Compared to today's Conservative Party, there were still politicians who were in favor of European integration at that time, and this situation put Thatcher in a disadvantaged position in the Party.[70] Most of the thinkers agreed that the UK, under the rule of the Conservative Party era after 1979, was the most uneasy partner of Europe.[71] Besides the Europe issue, Thatcher has also been criticized during her rule because she has limited trade union rights and privatized many factories.[72] As a result of the opponents' voices towards Thatcher, she could not provide the majority in the parliament in the 1990 annual vote of the Conservative Party, and she resigned from her 11 years of duty on November 22.[73]

2.3.1. The United Kingdom Joining to the Exchange Rate Mechanism

In 1979, The European Monetary System (EMS) was formed to make mutual EEC member states' currencies to promote stability in their economy.[74] Also, partnership and trade have become much easier thanks to the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM).[75] With the ERM, the values of European countries' currencies were attached to each other.[76] Although the UK citizens have wanted to stay in the community, they

[69] Pan Pylas, "Britain's EU Journey: When Thatcher turned all euroskeptic", AP, 23 January 2020, https://apnews.com/article/brexit-business-international-news-europe-margaret-thatcher-64855d1ff67454443db5132bdfb22ea6, accessed on 1 March 2022

[70] Fatih Işık, "Conservative Party of the UK and the European Union: From Euroscepticism to Brexit", Unpublished MA Thesis Submitted to the Middle East Technical University, METU Library, January 2020, pp.72-73

[71] Ian Bache and Neill Nugent, "Europe", Blair's Britain, ed. A. Seldon, (Cambridge University Press), September 2007, p.530

[72] History.com Editors, "Margaret Thatcher resigns", 9 February 2010, https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/margaret-thatcher-resigns, accessed on 1 March 2022

[73] Ian Bache and Neill Nugent, "Europe", Blair's Britain, ed. A. Seldon, (Cambridge University Press), September 2007, p.530

[74] CFI Team, "European Monetary System (EMS)", CFI, https://corporatefinanceinstitute.com/resources/economics/european-monetary-system-ems/, accessed on 1 March 2022

[75] History.com Editors, "Margaret Thatcher resigns", 9 February 2010, https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/margaret-thatcher-resigns, accessed on 1 March 2022

[76] BBC, "Euro Moments: UK joins Exchange Rate Mechanism", 19 May 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-politics-27053535, accessed on 1 March 2022

did not want to be a part of the ERM at that time.[77] Just like the Labor Party government, the government under the rule of Thatcher also did not pay attention to the subject of ERM at the beginning.[78] One year before the EMS was established, the UK was skeptical of its establishment, but after it managed to survive, the UK skeptics have warmed up to the idea of the EMS and ERM.[79] As a result, in 1990, the UK became a member of ERM under the rule of Margaret Thatcher.[80]

2.4. Black Wednesday

Up to 1972, the UK governments have achieved a stable exchange rate which includes the pound.[81] However, in 1972, the government's decision was to use the pound to reduce inflation.[82] Then again, after 1973, the pound has loaded under even more pressure because of the high inflation. With the governments' efforts, inflation was brought under control in the 1980s. At the end of the 1980s, the UK government fixed the pound with the German mark with the idea that inflation would not result in the pound losing its value against the mark, and this was seen as the first step for the UK towards the ERM. However, despite its aim of supporting member countries with high inflation, the ERM, especially Germany's central bank, has stayed nonreactive towards the high inflation in the UK because of its post-war reunification expenses.[83] Because of its large amount of debt, the German government has made

[77] Nicholas Sowels, "From the 'Thatcherisation of Europe' to Brexit", Mutations politiques et économiques du Royaume-Uni, entre perspective britannique et angle écossais, 18 November 2019

[78] BBC, "Euro Moments: UK joins Exchange Rate Mechanism", 19 May 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-politics-27053535, accessed on 1 March 2022

[79] Christopher Johnson, "Britain and the European Monetary System", The World Today, October 1986, pp.174-177

[80] BBC, "Euro Moments: UK joins Exchange Rate Mechanism", 19 May 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-politics-27053535, accessed on 1 March 2022

[81] Joshua Warner, "Black Wednesday explained", IG, 17 December 2018, https://www.ig.com/en/news-and-trade-ideas/forex-news/black-wednesday-explained-181217, accessed on 1 March 2022

[82] BBC, "Euro Moments: UK joins Exchange Rate Mechanism", 19 May 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-politics-27053535, accessed on 1 March 2022

[83] Kerrith Britland, "The First Brexit: Part Two – Black Wednesday", UK College of Business and Computing, 24 October 2018, https://www.ukcbc.ac.uk/the-first-brexit-part-two-black-wednesday/, accessed on 1 March 2022

the prime rate higher to avoid inflation.[84] This incident has forced the other ERM countries to take the same precaution as Germany too; as a result, because inflation has already been high in the country, the UK economy has been dealt a worse blow.

Black Wednesday was a critical and disruptive incident for the relationship between the community and the United Kingdom, which took place in 1992.[85] The incident has affected both sides negatively in terms of economy and politics, and this effect can still be seen in today's affairs.[86]

In September, the value of the pound crashed, and with this fall, the pound was no longer able to provide the lower limit conditions of the ERM.[87] The UK could not fulfill the condition of the ERM because it could not keep its inflation rate between the higher and lower limits, which was agreed by the other community members; thus, the pound was withdrawn from the ERM because of the inflation which took place in the UK in 1992. After the government's unsuccessful attempts to manage inflation, Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont announced this withdrawal.[88] The UK was humiliated because of the withdrawal and bad management of the process; Black Wednesday was not only a loss for the relationship, but it was also a loss for the UK itself. According to the UK Treasury, the UK has lost approximately 3.14 billion euros in only five years after Black Wednesday.[89]

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[84] Nicolas Martin, "Black Wednesday", DW, 15 September 2012, https://www.dw.com/en/20-years-of-black-wednesday-how-george-soros-toppled-the-bank-of-england/a-16243427, accessed on 1 March 2022

[85] Sam Wilson, "Britain and the EU: A long and rocky relationship", BBC, 1 April 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129, accessed on 1 March 2022

[86] Joshua Warner, "Black Wednesday explained", IG, 17 December 2018, https://www.ig.com/en/news-and-trade-ideas/forex-news/black-wednesday-explained-181217, accessed on 1 March 2022

[87] Sam Wilson, "Britain and the EU: A long and rocky relationship", BBC, 1 April 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129, accessed on 1 March 2022

[88] BBC, "Britain and Europe: Black Wednesday", 27 March 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/av/magazine-26737006, accessed on 1 March 2022

[89] Hélène Dury, "Black Wednesday", Finance Basics, https://is.muni.cz/el/econ/podzim2011/MPF_AFIN/um/27608616/27608949/Black_Wednesday.pdf, accessed on 1 January 2023

The speculators, such as George Soros, have made Black Wednesday even more disruptive for the UK economy.[90] By showing the incidents worse than they are, some businesspeople have decreased people's trust in their government during the Black Wednesday period. These businesspeople have benefited from people's distrust by making money while worsening UK inflation by exchanging pounds with currencies of other European countries.

2.4.1. Black Wednesday in the Era of John Major

Black Wednesday has also been a failure for the Conservative Party, especially for John Major - who was the prime minister at the time - because of his poor economic management.[91] Major has supported the idea of being a part of the ERM and using the euro throughout his election campaign and the period after he was elected.[92] He has denied that leaving the ERM would be a solution to the economic crisis that the UK has been through.[93] After the rejection of the Bundesbank, which is the German central bank, to reduce the rate of interest, Major has tried to find another solution. Thus, he has led the government to raise the rate of interest from 10% to 12% to avoid the selling of pounds for other currencies.[94] When this action did not give the results he wanted, the government notified people that the rate would be 15% the next day.

However, this announcement was seen as a bluff of the government because the rate of 15% would cause critical damage to the already weakened Britain's economy.

[90] Nicolas Martin, "Black Wednesday", DW, 15 September 2012, https://www.dw.com/en/20-years-of-black-wednesday-how-george-soros-toppled-the-bank-of-england/a-16243427, accessed on 1 March 2022

[91] Will Kenton, "Black Wednesday: Definition, Causes, Role of George Soros", Investopedia, 17 November 2022, https://www.investopedia.com/terms/b/black-wednesday.asp, accessed on 1 January 2023

[92] Nicolas Martin, "Black Wednesday", DW, 15 September 2012, https://www.dw.com/en/20-years-of-black-wednesday-how-george-soros-toppled-the-bank-of-england/a-16243427, accessed on 1 March 2022

[93] Larry Elliott, "Black Wednesday, 20 years on: a bad day for the Tories but not for Britain", The Guardian, 13 September 2012, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2012/sep/13/black-wednesday-bad-day-conservatives, accessed on 1 January 2023

[94] Will Kenton, "Black Wednesday: Definition, Causes, Role of George Soros", Investopedia, 17 November 2022, Black Wednesday: Definition, Causes, Role of George Soros (investopedia.com), accessed on 1 January 2023

When the government saw that the increases were not working, it decided to cut the rate of interest. Despite the recovery after the crisis, the government was seen as the source of economic failure during the Black Wednesday period and Major was seen as the lead actor because he had been the defender of the ERM from the beginning.[95] The loss of the Conservative Party in the 1997 elections was primarily seen because of Black Wednesday and the poor management of Major.[96]

Brexit, according to some of the thinkers, can be seen as a similar incident to Black Wednesday because both have affected the relationship between the UK and European communities radically by reforming the political and economic affairs negatively, and they were the results of the rising number of Eurosceptics among British people.[97] Today, Eurosceptic people in the UK see the time of Black Wednesday and leaving the ERM as a celebration reason.[98]

2.5. The United Kingdom Signing the Maastricht Treaty

After Thatcher's resignation, which was a result of internal conflicts within the party, the way for the ones who were in favor of European integration in the Conservative Party was opened.[99] Thus, in 1992, prime minister John Major signed the Maastricht Treaty.[100] The Treaty was a critical step for the European countries because it

[95] Nicolas Martin, "Black Wednesday", DW, 15 September 2012, https://www.dw.com/en/20-years-of-black-wednesday-how-george-soros-toppled-the-bank-of-england/a-16243427, accessed on 1 March 2022

[96] Will Kenton, "Black Wednesday: Definition, Causes, Role of George Soros", Investopedia, 17 November 2022, Black Wednesday: Definition, Causes, Role of George Soros (investopedia.com), accessed on 1 January 2023

[97] Joshua Warner, "Black Wednesday explained", IG, 17 December 2018, https://www.ig.com/en/news-and-trade-ideas/forex-news/black-wednesday-explained-181217, accessed on 1 March 2022

[98] The Newsroom, "Black Wednesday: The disaster that shaped today's Tories", The Yorkshire Post, 16 September 2017, https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/black-wednesday-the-disaster-that-shaped-todays-tories-1769268, accessed on 1 January 2023

[99] Sam Wilson, "Britain and the EU: A long and rocky relationship", BBC, 1 April 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129, accessed on 1 March 2022

[100] The Newsroom, "Black Wednesday: The disaster that shaped today's Tories", 16 September 2017, https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/black-wednesday-the-disaster-that-shaped-todays-tories-1769268, accessed on 1 January 2023

ensured the formation of the European Union.[101] Thus, it is also known as the Treaty on European Union.[102]

The new name of the European Economic Community became the European Community after the Treaty.[103] The ECSC, the EEC, and the Euratom were gathered under the roof of the EU in 1993.[104] Signing the Treaty meant less sovereignty and more accountability to the member countries; moreover, the Treaty brought the members more cooperation in the matters of economy and politics.[105] It ensured the flow of people and goods through the borders of the member countries.[106] To put it simply, the term European citizen has started to be defined. The member countries were bound by the new security and foreign policies, as well as the euro, the new common currency.[107]

The Common Foreign and Security Policy was defined as the second pillar of the EU after the Treaty.[108] In the second period of his prime ministry, John Major had a critical issue waiting to be solved: The Maastricht Rebellion. A considerable number

[101] Matthew J. Gabel, "European Community", Britannica, 20 July 1998, https://www.britannica.com/topic/European-Community-European-economic-association, accessed on 1 January 2023

[102] Hugh Berrington and Rod Hague, 2007, "Europe, Thatcherism and traditionalism: Opinion, rebellion and the Maastricht treaty in the backbench conservative party, 1992–1994", West European Politics 21, no.1, 1998, p.44

[103] Matthew J. Gabel, "European Community", Britannica, 20 July 1998, https://www.britannica.com/topic/European-Community-European-economic-association, accessed on 1 January 2023

[104] Matthew J. Gabel, "European Union", Britannica, 20 July 1998, https://www.britannica.com/topic/European-Community-European-economic-association, accessed on 1 January 2023

[105] Will Kenton, "Maastricht Treaty: Definition, Purpose, History, and Significance", Investopedia, https://www.investopedia.com/terms/m/maastricht-treaty.asp, accessed on 1 January 2023

[106] Matthew J. Gabel, "European Union", Britannica, 20 July 1998, https://www.britannica.com/topic/European-Community-European-economic-association, accessed on 1 January 2023

[107] European Central Bank, "Five things you need to know about the Maastricht Treaty", 15 February 2017, https://www.ecb.europa.eu/ecb/educational/explainers/tell-me-more/html/25_years_maastricht.en.html, accessed on 1 January 2023

[108] Irina Tsertsvadze, 2017, "Britain and the Common Security and Defense Policy of the European Union", Connections: The Quarterly Journal 16, no.3, p73, accessed on 1 January 2023

of the Conservative Party members were Eurosceptic under Major's rule, and this situation has caused a new division within the party.[109] In fact, Major was seen as the most unpopular one among his counterparts because of this division during the acceptance era of the Treaty.[110] Margaret Thatcher has also been one of the opponent voices towards the Treaty, and she implied that the Treaty was too much than it had to be.[111] In fact, most of the rebels in the UK government have become a member of the Party in the eras of Thatcher's and Major's rule.[112] In time, the government under the rule of Major was drifted to give concessions that would benefit the Eurosceptics, such as guaranteeing opt-outs from the Maastricht Treaty.[113] As a result, some academics stated that Euroscepticism started officially during the time of the Maastricht Rebellion.[114] As a response to the opponent voices, Major announced that he would hold a general election despite the signs that his party may lose the government.[115] The rebel ones among the Conservatives have maintained their negative and opponent attitude toward the government until the devastating defeat of the Party in the 1997 elections.[116]

According to Baker, Gamble, and Ludlam, the ones who opposed the acceptance of the Treaty were the ones who put the national sovereignty of the UK and extended

[109] David Baker, Andrew Gamble and Steve Ludlam, 1994, "The Parliamentary Siege of Maastricht 1993: Conservative Divisions and British Ratification", Parliamentary Affairs 47, no.1, p.37

[110] Irina Tsertsvadze, 2017, "Britain and the Common Security and Defense Policy of the European Union", Connections: The Quarterly Journal 16, no.3, p.73, accessed on 1 January 2023

[111] Hugh Berrington and Rod Hague, 2007, "Europe, Thatcherism and traditionalism: Opinion, rebellion and the Maastricht treaty in the backbench conservative party, 1992–1994", West European Politics, 3 December 2007, pp.44-71

[112] David Baker, Andrew Gamble and Steve Ludlam, 1994, "The Parliamentary Siege of Maastricht 1993: Conservative Divisions and British Ratification Get access Arrow", Parliamentary Affairs, pp.37-60

[113] Paul McMahon, "The Conservatives and Euroscepticism", Irish Brexit Guide, https://brexitlegal.ie/conservatives-and-euroscpticism/, accessed on 7 January 2023

[114] Fatih Işık, "Conservative Party of the UK and the European Union: From Euroscepticism to Brexit", Unpublished MA Thesis Submitted to the Middle East Technical University, METU Library, January 2020, pp.72-73

[115] Academic Kids, "Maastricht Rebels", https://academickids.com/encyclopedia/index.php/Maastricht_rebels, accessed on 7 January 2023

[116] Fatih Işık, "Conservative Party of the UK and the European Union: From Euroscepticism to Brexit", Unpublished MA Thesis Submitted to the Middle East Technical University, METU Library, January 2020, pp.72-73

authority of the government as the first priorities.[117] Similar to the ones who rebelled against the idea of joining the EEC, the rebels to the Maastricht Treaty claimed that it would harm the UK's sovereignty.

2.6. The Referendum Party (1994-1997)

James Goldsmith, who was a member of the European Parliament, formed a party named the Referendum Party in 1994 with the aim of conducting a radical campaign against the UK's membership in the European Union.[118] It is argued that the Euroscepticism which resulted in the emergence of the Referendum Party did not lie in British nationalism, but it lay in English nationalism.[119] According to the British Election Panel Study that involved the era between 1992-1997, the rate of Eurosceptic people in the UK rose to 66% in 1997 compared to the 1992 elections and that Eurosceptic people in the 1997 elections were willing to exit from the Union or at least reduce the Union's power and oppression over the UK.[120] The subject of having a single currency with the other Union member states was one of the most controversial issues for the UK people.

The electorate of the Referendum Party in the 1997 elections were mainly the former voters of the Conservative Party in the 1992 elections.[121] According to the same study, the only issue that separates the supporters of the Referendum Party from the supporters of the Conservative Party is European integration; except for the European integration, the supporters of both parties held similar views on other

[117] David Baker, Andrew Gamble and Steve Ludlam, "The Parliamentary Siege of Maastricht 1993: Conservative Divisions and British Ratification Get access Arrow", Parliamentary Affairs, pp.37-60

[118] Anthony Heath, Roger Jowell, Bridget Taylor, and Katarina Thomson, "Euroscepticism and the referendum party",
British Elections & Parties Review, 8 November 2007, pp.95-110

[119] Academic Kids, "Maastricht Rebels",
https://academickids.com/encyclopedia/index.php/Maastricht_rebels, accessed on 7 January 2023

[120] Anthony Heath, Roger Jowell, Bridget Taylor, and Katarina Thomson, "Euroscepticism and the referendum party",
British Elections & Parties Review, 8 November 2007, pp.95-110

[121] Academic Kids, "Maastricht Rebels",
https://academickids.com/encyclopedia/index.php/Maastricht_rebels, accessed on 7 January 2023

issues, such as economy and unemployment.[122] The supporters of the Referendum Party complained about European integration incredibly much more than the other parties' supporters; moreover, the supporters of the Referendum Party have been Eurosceptics even long before the formation of the Party.[123]

Around 1992, the Referendum Party supporters were close to the Conservative Party's policies and perspective; however, after 1994, they got distanced from them and turned their route to the Referendum Party.[124] It is argued that if the Conservative Party did not accept the Maastricht Treaty, the ones who moved away from the Conservative to the Referendum Party would have been more moderate towards the policies of the government.[125] However, because the Referendum Party did not prove itself effective in any other issues or elections except being known as radical Eurosceptics, it could not take a considerable amount of Conservative Party electorates to its side. Thus, the Referendum Party's only crucial effect has been the fact that it made the Conservative Party take a more Eurosceptic route and decisions for their policies.

2.7. Labor Party Ruling in the United Kingdom (1997-2010)

One of the most outstanding achievements of the Labor Party was seen in the 1997 general elections in the UK, when Tony Blair has come to the seat of John Major as prime minister.[126] With new approaches to the issues such as voting reform and devolution, and its new way of governing with a more professional political marketing the Party started to be named as the New Labor.[127] According to the

[122] Anthony Heath, Roger Jowell, Bridget Taylor, and Katarina Thomson, "Euroscepticism and the referendum party",
British Elections & Parties Review, 8 November 2007, pp.95-110

[123] Ibid.

[124] Academic Kids, "Maastricht Rebels",
https://academickids.com/encyclopedia/index.php/Maastricht_rebels, accessed on 7 January 2023

[125] Ibid.

[126] History.com Editors, "Labour Party returns to power in Britain", 9 February 2010,
https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/labour-party-returns-to-power-in-britain, accessed on 7 January 2023

[127] Paul David Webb, "Labour Party", Britannica, 20 July 1998,
https://www.britannica.com/topic/Labour-Party-political-party, accessed on 8 January 2023

Guardian, Labor's winning was a result of the public's unwillingness to have a Conservative government.[128] This achievement of the Labor Party has been maintained due to hearing the public's needs and forming the Party's policies accordingly to these needs.[129] Besides, the government under the rule of the Labor Party has given much more power to London, Wales, and Scotland compared to the former Conservative Party government and also has established peace in Northern Ireland.

Tony Blair has started to be seen as a strong actor for modernizing the agenda in the UK and for making matters in Europe one of the priorities of his government.[130] The government has aimed to end the isolation of the UK in the international realm and increase cooperation with other countries.[131] The Saint-Malo Summit in 1998 can be seen as one of the indicators of this improving relationship between the UK and Europe because it gathered Britain and France in a shared perspective: The two sides agreed on the significance of having a solid EU security policy in the Summit and signed a declaration to embody this agreement.[132] This agreement made USA happy too because USA wanted Britain to be a member of the Union's security and defense policies to encourage peace in the territory.[133] As a result, the Blair government took the lead role for the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and took steps to act as a bridge between the EU and the USA.

In contrast to these positive steps, the Blair government has failed to challenge the Eurosceptic media in the UK and did not make an effort to change the perspective of

[128] Editorial, "The Guardian view on the 1997 Labour landslide: not what it seemed", The Guardian, 30 April 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/apr/30/the-guardian-view-on-the-1997-labour-landslide-not-what-it-seemed, accessed on 8 January 2023

[129] Paul David Webb, "Labour Party", Britannica, 20 July 1998, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Labour-Party-political-party, accessed on 8 January 2023

[130] Irina Tsertsvadze, 2017, "Britain and the Common Security and Defense Policy of the European Union", Connections: The Quarterly Journal 16, no.3, p.73, accessed on 1 January 2023

[131] Ibid.

[132] Centre Virtual de la Connaissance sur L'Europe, "Franco–British St. Malo Declaration (4 December 1998)"

[133] Irina Tsertsvadze, 2017, "Britain and the Common Security and Defense Policy of the European Union", Connections: The Quarterly Journal 16, no.3, p.73, accessed on 1 January 2023

the Eurosceptic part of the public to the other way.[134] Thus, the pro-European ones within the New Labor Party were not satisfied with the actions of Blair, and this dissatisfaction was reflected in the 1999 elections, with the Eurosceptic Conservative Party members winning more seats than the Labor Party members in the Parliament.

In 2000, Lisbon European Council was a crucial step for the Blair government because of its contribution to the Union with its idea of a new economic agenda.[135] This agenda aimed the Union to catch up with the modernization process of the current economy in the world.[136] The government achieved to encourage this new economic reform that would benefit Britain's economy as well within the Union especially by encouraging to learn mutually and benchmarking with the Union.[137]

Thanks to the acceptance of this new economic reform involving the aim of offering better employment opportunities to the public and encouraging cohesion among the society, the Blair government has achieved to make the relationship between the UK and Europe better and has won most of the member states' favor. The same year, in his Warsaw speech, Blair implied that he wanted the UK to have a strong status within the Union, and he also emphasized the fact that the USA and Britain were not just common in roots but also common in being European.[138] He implied that the UK might work like a bridge between the USA and the Union.

Besides its positive attitude toward European integration, the Blair government has also been a supporter of Atlanticism: In its election manifesto in 2001, the Blair government did not just emphasize its desire to make things better with the Union; it also showed its strong commitment to the USA, which seemed much more accurate than the former desire.[139] By minimizing the problematic issues with the Union and

[134] Julie Smith, "A Missed Opportunity? New Labour's European Policy 1997-2005", International Affairs 81, no.4, pp.703-704, July 2005

[135] Ibid.

[136] European Parliament, "Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March 2000 Presidency Conclusions"

[137] Julie Smith, "A Missed Opportunity? New Labour's European Policy 1997-2005", International Affairs 81, no.4, pp.703-704, July 2005

[138] Tony Blair, "Full text: Tony Blair's speech in Warsaw", The Guardian, 30 May 2003

[139] Julie Smith, "A Missed Opportunity? New Labour's European Policy 1997-2005", International Affairs 81, no.4, p.712, July 2005

not bringing them to the fore, the Labor Party added one more achievement to its record and strengthened its position in the government for another term; also, the government promised the USA to support them after the Twin Towers attacks. Even though the other European countries had made such an offer after the attacks, Washington only accepted the UK's support.[140] This caused a shadow on Blair's promise to make Britain like a bridge between the Union and the USA; thus, the other European countries have distanced themselves from the UK.

Another crucial incident that showed the UK's continuing commitment to the USA was the time of the attacks in Iraq: the UK wanted to back up the USA for its military activities in Iraq despite other European countries not wanting to be a part of these military actions.[141] Thus, the relationship between the UK and the Union was again wounded because of the Blair government's Atlanticist approach.

On the other hand, there have been two issues that cast a shadow on the ruling of Blair: Firstly, the Blair government has not tried to reduce the market forces' superior effect.[142] Secondly, the terrorism rising from Iraq at that time has caused a global effect, including in the UK.[143]

Staying in or leaving the European Monetary Union was another subject that the Blair government was dealing with.[144] Because the economy in Britain was good at that time, people did not want to be a part of the euro entry.[145] Thus, the government kept the plans for the euro entry waiting, and this decision harmed the bridges that

[140] Ibid.

[141] Ibid.

[142] The Guardian, "The Guardian view on the 1997 Labour landslide: not what it seemed", 30 April 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/apr/30/the-guardian-view-on-the-1997-labour-landslide-not-what-it-seemed, accessed on 8 January 2023

[143] Julie Smith, "A Missed Opportunity? New Labour's European Policy 1997-2005", International Affairs 81, no.4, pp.714-715, July 2005

[144] Paul David Webb, "Labour Party", Britannica, 20 July 1998, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Labour-Party-political-party, accessed on 8 January 2023

[145] Sam Wilson, "Britain and the EU: A long and rocky relationship", BBC, 1 April 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129, accessed on 1 March 2022

were built in the era of Blair with Europe.[146] Unlike the Conservative Party's negative attitude and suspicions about losing sovereignty to the European communities, the Labor Party government signed the Treaty on European Union's Social Chapter, which was related to the working conditions framed by European social policies.[147] This incident was a sign of how Blair set things up for the relationship between the UK and Europe to make the relationship better.[148]

In 2001, the Blair government won the elections again with a considerable majority.[149] The current agenda at that time for the UK government consisted of European integration, currency, and the rising immigration to the UK.[150] While the New Labor was dealing with this agenda, the Conservative Party was trying to protect its core elements as a party. As the symbol of modernization in the Party, David Cameron became the head of the Conservative Party in 2005.[151] In the process of increasing the solidarity within the Party, the immigration issue has caused new divisions not just for the Conservative Party but also for the entire country.[152] Because of the rising European integration in the UK, xenophobia became a popular issue in the discussions of politicians and media.

In 2003 and 2004, to discuss the expected order within the EU's constitution, member states conducted both a convention and an intergovernmental conference.[153]

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[146] Paul David Webb, "Labour Party", Britannica, 20 July 1998, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Labour-Party-political-party, accessed on 8 January 2023

[147] The Guardian, "The Guardian view on the 1997 Labour landslide: not what it seemed", 30 April 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/apr/30/the-guardian-view-on-the-1997-labour-landslide-not-what-it-seemed, accessed on 8 January 2023

[148] Paul David Webb, "Labour Party", Britannica, 20 July 1998, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Labour-Party-political-party, accessed on 8 January 2023

[149] Britannica, "The Tony Blair government (1997–2007)", https://www.britannica.com/place/United-Kingdom/The-Tony-Blair-government-1997-2007, accessed on 8 January 2023

[150] Sam Wilson, "Britain and the EU: A long and rocky relationship", BBC, 1 April 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129, accessed on 1 March 2022

[151] Britannica, "The Tony Blair government (1997–2007)", https://www.britannica.com/place/United-Kingdom/The-Tony-Blair-government-1997-2007, accessed on 8 January 2023

[152] Ibid.

[153] Julie Smith, "A Missed Opportunity? New Labour's European Policy 1997-2005", International Affairs 81, no.4, p.717, July 2005

Different from the era of Thatcher and Major rules, the Blair government tried to have a positive and significant status while conducting the convention and the conference by its active participation.[154] The UK strictly wanted to have a Council president in a fixed term, and this decisiveness brought the German and France governments' support to the UK government.[155] Even though this was a success for the Labor Party, the UK was still isolated from the other member countries in matters such as security and defense, foreign policy, and taxation. When the Constitutional Treaty got its final form, the UK seemed to benefit from it because it achieved to be a part of the constructive members which form the new constitutional order of the Union, but there was no certainty that the Treaty would be applied in the UK. To not anger the public about the Treaty issue before the 2004 elections in the European Parliament and with the anticipation of failure, the Blair government stated that there would be a referendum to decide whether the Treaty would be signed or not later.[156]

Like the referendum for the Constitutional Treaty, the Blair government has also thought that a referendum for getting into the euro system would be a failure for itself; thus, Blair put an undated referendum on this matter too.[157] This caused a loss of opportunity for the government because the Eurosceptics in the UK would support this idea of a referendum. Moreover, a division started within the Party because of the divergences in the matter of the euro, and the necessity to have a referendum has increased.[158] One of the members of the Blair government, Gordon Brown, introduced a five-stage test to decide whether it was beneficial for the UK to be a member of the euro system or not.[159] Because the test could not be fulfilled and due to the results of the 2005 general election in the country, it became apparent that the

[154] Britannica, "The Tony Blair government (1997–2007)", https://www.britannica.com/place/United-Kingdom/The-Tony-Blair-government-1997-2007, accessed on 8 January 2023

[155] Ibid.

[156] Matthew Tempest, "Blair confirms EU referendum u-turn", The Guardian, 20 April 2004, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/apr/20/eu.politics6, accessed on 19 November 2023

[157] Britannica, "The Tony Blair government (1997–2007)", https://www.britannica.com/place/United-Kingdom/The-Tony-Blair-government-1997-2007, accessed on 8 January 2023

[158] Julie Smith, "A Missed Opportunity? New Labour's European Policy 1997-2005", International Affairs 81, no.4, p.718, July 2005

[159] Ibid.

UK would not join the euro system soon. Moreover, at that time, Blair implied that joining the euro system was not on the agenda.

In 2007, Gordon Brown's prime ministry started. This era was the last Labor Party government rule in the UK before the Brexit process. Even though Brown did not make his ambitions on the European Union clear, there are certain documents that show his positive attitude towards the Union.[160] Before his rule in the UK, there were two incidents that showed his impact on European matters: Firstly, with his new economic agenda, Brown has aimed to make Europe a competitive actor in the international area and increase employment rates in Europe.[161] His plan was formed on the national ground, aiming to encourage and invest in policies of skills and education, thus, accustoming the public to the change. Although this was a nation-based plan, it enlightened the solution to the same Europe-based education problem. Secondly, he blocked the idea of having a mutual tax system within the EU, and he succeeded in keeping tax policies on a national ground.

On the other hand, there were two matters before his rule in the UK when Brown negatively criticized and aimed to change the Union's structure.[162] Firstly, he stated that the Union's budget must be reformed by putting the poorer countries and people who are in economically disadvantaged positions - such as farmers and workers - at the center of its economic policies. His proposal was not welcomed by the member states, which were already satisfied with the existing budget plan, and the UK started to be seen as the awkward partner of the Union once again.[163] Secondly, Brown's unwillingness to ratify and enforce the Constitutional Treaty has caused slowness in the relationship between the UK and the Union.

The 2008-2009 global financial crisis has put the Brown government on slippery ground. Besides the recession, which made a devastating impact on the UK, a

[160] Clara Marina O'Donnell and Richard G. Whitman, "European Policy under Gordon Brown: Perspectives on a Future Prime Minister", International Affairs 83, no.2, p.253, March 2007

[161] Julie Smith, "A Missed Opportunity? New Labour's European Policy 1997-2005", International Affairs 81, no.4, p.719, July 2005

[162] Ibid.

[163] Clara Marina O'Donnell and Richard G. Whitman, "European Policy under Gordon Brown: Perspectives on a Future Prime Minister", International Affairs 83, no.2, pp.255-256, March 2007

political scandal also showed up at the end of 2009.[164] The scandal was about misusing government sources by the UK's some of the parliament members in Brown's cabinet.[165] Because of both the global economic crisis and the political scandal which took place in Brown's cabinet, the Labor Party suffered a massive loss of votes in European elections in 2009. Some people criticized Brown's ongoing rule and expressed that it would only benefit the Conservative Party.

In 2010, without any party gaining the majority, the Labor Party fell behind the Conservative Party in the general elections of Britain. Four days after the results of the general election showed the failure of the Labor Party, Brown resigned from his post as the prime minister of the UK.[166]

In this era, there have been two incidents that increased the level of Euroscepticism within the UK: Firstly, the worldwide economic crisis which took place in 2008 created insecurity among the UK's public.[167] Secondly, the immigrants from central and eastern Europe started to come into the UK after the accession process to the Union started in 2004.[168] This incident also created displeasure and insecurity among the UK's public, and the reason behind these negative incidents lay in the UK's membership in the Union and European integration.[169] As a result, these two incidents did not just disadvantage the Labor Party ruling but also damaged the process of European integration and increased Euroscepticism within the UK.

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[164] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Gordon Brown", 12 April 2007, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gordon-Brown, accessed on 8 January 2023

[165] Ibid.

[166] Robert Booth, "Gordon Brown resigns", The Guardian, 11 May 2010, https://theguardian.com/politics/2010/may/11/gordon-brown-resigns-prime-minister, accessed on 8 January 2023

[167] Yann Algan, Sergei Guriev, Elias Papaionnau, and Evgenia Passari, "The European Trust Crisis and the Rise of Populism", Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, 2017, p310

[168] Fatih Işık, "Conservative Party of the UK and the European Union: From Euroscepticism to Brexit", Unpublished MA Thesis Submitted to the Middle East Technical University, METU Library, January 2020, pp.80-87

[169] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Gordon Brown", 12 April 2007, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gordon-Brown, accessed on 8 January 2023

2.8. The Rise of the United Kingdom Independence Party

One of the most vital indicators of the rising Euroscepticism in the UK was the foundation and the increasing popularity of the United Kingdom Independence Party.[170] It was established in 1993 and aimed to support the UK's idea of leaving the European communities.[171] One of the major actors who contributed to this Party's foundation was Alan Sked, who was also one of the campaigners against the signing of the Maastricht Treaty. The UKIP won three seats in the European Parliament in 1999.[172] The Party won twelve seats in the European Parliamentary elections in 2004.[173]

In 2006, Nigel Farage, who left the Conservative Party in 1992 and who was seen as a successful media performer, became the head of the UKIP.[174] When the Party won thirteen seats in the European Parliament in 2009, the success of Farage was evident. When the UKIP started to have more and more seats in the European Parliament, it cooperated with the other parties, which consisted of members who were Eurosceptic and anti-immigration.[175] Moreover, it did not confine its policies only to immigration, but it has also started to campaign in contrast to the plans of the government, such as validating gay marriages, forbidding smoking in public houses, and producing wind turbines.[176]

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[170] Michael Ray, "United Kingdom Independence Party", Britannica, 26 April 2011, https://www.britannica.com/topic/United-Kingdom-Independence-Party, accessed on 8 January 2023

[171] Fatih Işık, "Conservative Party of the UK and the European Union: From Euroscepticism to Brexit", Unpublished MA Thesis Submitted to the Middle East Technical University, METU Library, January 2020, pp.80-87

[172] Alex Hunt, "UKIP: The story of the UK Independence Party's rise", BBC, 21 November 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-21614073, accessed on 8 January 2023

[173] Michael Ray, "United Kingdom Independence Party", Britannica, 26 April 2011, https://www.britannica.com/topic/United-Kingdom-Independence-Party, accessed on 8 January 2023

[174] Heather Stewart and Rowena Mason, "Nigel Farage declares himself interim Ukip leader", The Guardian, 5 October 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/05/nigel-farage-says-he-may-technically-still-be-ukip-leader, accessed on 8 January 2023

[175] Michael Ray, "United Kingdom Independence Party", Britannica, 26 April 2011, https://www.britannica.com/topic/United-Kingdom-Independence-Party, accessed on 8 January 2023

[176] Roland Flamini, "The UK Independence Party: Euroskeptics Rattle Cameron", World Affairs, July/August 2013, pp.35-41

The UKIP won a significant achievement in 2013 and 2014 by winning at least 100 and 160 seats in the local councils.[177] When the immigration issue reached its peak among the public in the 2000s, the UKIP became the first Party, except the Conservative and Labor, to win a national election in 2014. The 2015 general election was another achievement for UKIP because it had got four million votes and thanks to its achievements, especially in the national elections, the UKIP started to be seen as an alternative right-winged party to the Conservative Party.[178] The Party has maintained gaining profit from its anti-immigration perspective, and Farage argued that Britain could not deal with the migrant issue if it stayed in the EU.[179] The Party has promised that it would reform the migration law and make sure that no one from other countries could enter the UK unless they have got the necessary paperwork.[180] According to some thinkers, Brexit is partially a result of the UKIP's influence in the UK.[181] Nigel Farage, who was the head of the UKIP also during the period of Brexit, has called leaving the UK as the Independence Day in Britain.[182] Moreover, because of his profound and massive effect on the process, he became known as Mr. Brexit.[183] Andrew Rawnsley from the Guardian argues that David Cameron, the prime minister during the Brexit process, was terrified because of the UKIP's effect and that is why he promised to have the Brexit referendum.[184]

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[177] Fatih Işık, "Conservative Party of the UK and the European Union: From Euroscepticism to Brexit", Unpublished MA Thesis Submitted to the Middle East Technical University, METU Library, January 2020, pp.80-87

[178] Michael Ray, "United Kingdom Independence Party", Britannica, 26 April 2011, https://www.britannica.com/topic/United-Kingdom-Independence-Party, accessed on 8 January 2023

[179] Alex Hunt, "UKIP: The story of the UK Independence Party's rise", BBC, 21 November 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-21614073, accessed on 8 January 2023

[180] Ibid.

[181] Michael Ray, "United Kingdom Independence Party", Britannica, 26 April 2011, https://www.britannica.com/topic/United-Kingdom-Independence-Party, accessed on 8 January 2023

[182] Alex Hunt, "UKIP: The story of the UK Independence Party's rise", BBC, 21 November 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-21614073, accessed on 8 January 2023

[183] Andrew Rawnsley, "One Party After Another: The Disruptive Life of Nigel Farage review – the man who broke Britain", The Guardian, 6 February 2022, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2022/feb/06/one-party-after-another-the-disruptive-life-of-nigel-farage-review-the-man-who-broke-britain, accessed on 8 January 2023

[184] Ibid.

2.9. Conservative Party Ruling (2010-2021)

2.9.1. David Cameron Era in the United Kingdom (2010-2016)

In 2010, with his promises to stabilize the economy and improve public services as his priorities, David Cameron started his post as the prime minister of the UK.[185] According to Agnes Alexandre-Collier, during the Cameron era the Conservative Party converted its Eurosceptic perspective from theoretical skepticism into a practical one.[186] Firstly, European integration has exercised power and control over the parliamentary and national sovereignty of the UK, and this situation has caused a divergence among people regarding whether the sovereignty of their country is weakening or not. The supranational aspects of the EU integration process made the British parliament a weaker actor in the multilateral governing system.

Secondly, the reformation within the Conservative Party's organization through the years has caused Euroscepticism to gain power among the Conservatives.[187] The changes in the power balances within the Party, such as a new decision to unite the parliament, the professionals, and the volunteers within a party board, were seen as a cover-up for an already existing oligarchic authority among the Conservatives, which is dominated by the Eurosceptics. Another example of these internal party changes took place in 1998: A new final election was added to the end of the party leader elections including all the party members, and the election of Cameron as the party leader was a result of this reform.[188] Although the members of the parliament had a divergence about whom to be chosen, Cameron received the majority support in the final election of all party parliament members.

However, with the last reform regarding the addition of a new final election to the party leader elections, the party leader started to feel more pressure on himself

[185] Michael Levy, "The slow rise of the Conservatives", Britannica, 17 February 2010, https://www.britannica.com/topic/British-general-election-of-2010/The-slow-rise-of-the-Conservatives, accessed on 14 January 2023

[186] Agnès Alexandre-Collier, "Euroscepticism under Margaret Thatcher and David Cameron: From Theory to Practice", L'héritage du thatchérisme, November 2015, p.5

[187] Ibid.

[188] Thomas Quinn, "Electing and Ejecting Party Leaders", 2012, p.8

because now, he should satisfy the expectations of the party's grassroots if he did not want them to become Eurosceptic and at the end, to tend to support the UKIP.[189] This means that the party leader should be more moderate than ever to fulfill the expectations of Eurosceptics from now on, who emerged from divergences in the matters of both in-party and Europe. The emergence of Brexit can be seen as one of these moves towards fulfilling Eurosceptic expectations by Cameron and his government.

In 2011, Cameron rejected the Lisbon Treaty's revision, and the UK was excluded from the Union once again.[190] This exclusion was because while the other member states acted together and signed the agreement to avoid economic struggles, the UK isolated itself and acted alone. Cameron accepted that it was slippery ground to be the only one rejecting it, but he argued that the UK would be disadvantaged within the single market by signing it because there were no safeguards for the UK in the revision.[191] He added that the Union should not be an institution which pressures its members to accept new economic reforms.

In 2012, the Cameron government could not gain the majority in the House of Commons related to whether the UK should be charged with only the amount of inflation rate or with the real-term rates when forming the 2014-2020 budget allocated for the Union.[192] Although most of the other member states of the Union agreed to pay the real-terms increase, the Cameron government wanted to proceed with the inflation rate. The results did not turn out as Cameron expected; thus, the vote put Cameron in an awkward position within his party.

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[189] Agnès Alexandre-Collier, "Euroscepticism under Margaret Thatcher and David Cameron: From Theory to Practice", L'héritage du thatchérisme, November 2015, pp.115-133

[190] Nicholas Watt, "Eurozone countries go it alone with new treaty that excludes Britain", The Guardian, 9 December 2011, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2011/dec/09/eurozone-countries-treaty-exclude-britain, accessed on 14 January 2023

[191] Ibid.

[192] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Prime ministership of David Cameron", 12 April 2007, https://www.britannica.com/biography/David-Cameron/Prime-ministership, accessed on 14 January 2023

In 2013, Cameron announced his idea of a referendum about the UK's position and future in the Union.[193] He promised that as the Conservative Party, they would arrange reforms aiming to strengthen the UK's sovereignty compared to the limited authority it has now because of the EU membership if they were still the government after the 2015 elections. He emphasized the UK's fondness for sovereignty and independence in his 2013 speech.[194] He added that the UK is reluctant to deepen European integration in economy and politics. Cameron also mentioned the disappointment of the UK citizens about finding solid political unity while they were looking for economic integration.

Moreover, Cameron stated that until 2018, his government would arrange a referendum due to all the exertion the UK public made and to determine whether they wanted to stay in the Union or not.[195] In the local elections that took place in 2013, when the UKIP emerged as one of the significant right-wing parties in the UK, some of the Conservative Party members switched to the UKIP because of the divergences they had with some of Cameron's social reforms.[196]

Besides the achievement of the 2013 local elections, the UKIP also became the first party in the 2014 parliamentary elections of the EU, and these successes resulted in some of the Conservative Party members wanting to form an alliance with the UKIP.[197] However, Cameron strictly rejected this idea by referring to his concerns about the UKIP ruining the Conservative Party. The same year, when Jean-Claude Juncker, who had been in opposition to Cameron, was selected as the European

[193] Ibid.

[194] Fatih Işık, "Conservative Party of the UK and the European Union: From Euroscepticism to Brexit", Unpublished MA Thesis Submitted to the Middle East Technical University, METU Library, January 2020, pp.91-92

[195] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Prime ministership of David Cameron", 12 April 2007, https://www.britannica.com/biography/David-Cameron/Prime-ministership, accessed on 14 January 2023

[196] Andrew Osborn, "Conservatives turn on UKIP before vote", Reuters, 29 April 2013, https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-politics-election-idUKBRE93R08120130429/, accessed on 14 January 2023

[197] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Prime ministership of David Cameron", 12 April 2007, https://www.britannica.com/biography/David-Cameron/Prime-ministership, accessed on 14 January 2023

Commission's president, Cameron took a crucial step for the relationship between the UK and the Union by assigning ministers who are known as Eurosceptics.[198]

Before the 2015 general elections, Cameron stated that immigration was becoming an annoying issue for the UK because of the Union's rules related to the freedom of movement among European countries; thus, he stated that he would look for a revision of freedom of movement to reduce the risks of immigration in the UK.[199] This revision was a part of his plan regarding the aftermath of the general election and the renegotiation process of the UK's membership to the Union if he gained the majority. Moreover, he repeated his promise to have an in or out referendum if he won the general elections. The election results turned out to be a success for Cameron and the Conservative Party because they have gained a strong majority in the Parliament. Thus, they managed to avoid a possible threat coming from the UKIP thanks to the UK's election system rules, which are based on winner-takes-it-all.

After his party's success in the general elections, Cameron stated that he has a desire to reform the UK's status and role within the Union.[200] Moreover, he announced the four fields of reforms that his government wanted to make regarding the Union: business, migration, national legislatures, and a single currency. Firstly, in terms of business, the government requested to lessen the regulations to encourage competition. Secondly, it requested to lessen the advantages that the migrants would achieve thanks to migration into the UK. Thirdly, to increase the member states' national sovereignty within the Union and to lessen the Union's dominance over the UK, it requested to raise the status of national legislatures. Finally, to protect its economy, the UK government requested to form insurance for the member states which did not accept having a single currency within the Union.

[198] Andrew Osborn and William James, "UK's Cameron turns to women and Eurosceptics in major ministerial shake-up", Reuters, 15 July 2014, https://jp.reuters.com/article/britain-politics-cabinet-reshuffle-idINKBN0FK15920140715, accessed on 14 January 2023

[199] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Prime ministership of David Cameron", 12 April 2007, https://www.britannica.com/biography/David-Cameron/Prime-ministership, accessed on 14 January 2023

[200] Ibid.

In 2016, the Brussels Summit gathered the heads of the member states of the Union, and the European Council has considered Cameron's requested reforms.[201] Regarding the decisions of the European Council, the Cameron government would have the right to reduce the benefits that migrant people have while working, arrange the benefits for migrants' children on the basis of their home countries' living costs, and the UK government would be isolated from the single currency system and be paid all the money it has given for the bailouts of the euro-zone.[202]

After the 2016 Summit, Cameron announced the date of the referendum about staying in or leaving the Union as June 2016, and he stated that he would be in favor of staying in.[203] Because there were members who would favor leaving the Union in the referendum process, a divergence started within the Conservative Party. In April 2016, right before the Conservative Party leadership election, Cameron's credibility was shaken because of the news regarding his holdings in a tax-haven offshore.[204] Even though he had these holding before his premiership, the incident has greatly jeopardized his victory, and when the news added to the rising Euroscepticism in the UK, it began to seem impossible for him to win most votes.

The mayor of London at that time, Boris Johnson, has been the most known Brexit supporter in the political environment of the UK.[205] As a result of the Brexit process,

[201] Alberto Nardelli, Nicholas Watt, and Ian Traynor, "David Cameron faces growing rift at EU summit in Brussels", The Guardian, 18 February 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/18/david-cameron-european-union-summit-brussels, accessed on 14 January 2023

[202] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Prime ministership of David Cameron", 12 April 2007, https://www.britannica.com/biography/David-Cameron/Prime-ministership, accessed on 14 January 2023

[203] Rowena Mason, Nicholas Watt, Ian Traynor, and Jennifer Rankin, "EU referendum to take place on 23 June, David Cameron confirms", The Guardian, 20 February 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/20/cameron-set-to-name-eu-referendum-date-after-cabinet-meeting, accessed on 14 January 2023

[204] Steven Erlanger and Sewell Chan, "David Cameron Clashes With Rivals Over Tax Havens and His Wealth", The New York Times, 11 April 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/12/world/europe/david-cameron-panama-papers-parliament-jeremy-corbyn.html, accessed on 14 January 2023

[205] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Prime ministership of David Cameron", 12 April 2007, https://www.britannica.com/biography/David-Cameron/Prime-ministership, accessed on 14 January 2023

Johnson has become the most dangerous opponent of Cameron for the Conservative Party leadership. However, Johnson could not gain Justice Secretary's support for his candidacy to the 2016 Conservative Party leadership election after Cameron resigned due to the failure in the Brexit referendum.[206] The last names who were seen as suitable to become the next prime minister of the UK were reduced to two: Andrea Leadsom, who was the Minister for Energy; and Theresa May, who was the Home Secretary. In the end, Theresa May started her post as the new prime minister of the UK in July 2016.[207]

2.9.2. Theresa May Era in the United Kingdom (2016-2019)

Despite the various policies that she wanted to implement in her prime ministry, Theresa May did not get a chance to realize these because of Brexit's shadow over her rule. She showed her desire to make social mobility and the lives of poor people easier.[208] However, she could not put this agenda on top because of the expectations of both the political environment and the UK public from her about Brexit. Like the former prime minister, May also favored staying in the Union despite her recognition as the champion of Brexit in the office, especially after her catchword- Brexit is Brexit.[209] Previously, she tried to show the danger of leaving the Union by referring to potential security – such as possibility of rising terrorism in the UK - and economic problems – such as the tariffs that the World Trade Organization would rule to the UK -; also, she implied that there might be structural threats for the UK, such as Scotland's desire to become independent, in 2016.[210] Because of her former

[206] Heather Stewart and Jessica Elgot, "Boris Johnson rules himself out of Tory leadership race", The Guardian, 30 June 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/30/boris-johnson-rules-himself-out-of-tory-leadership-race-brexit-eu-referendum, accessed on 14 January 2023

[207] BBC, "Theresa May vows to be 'one nation' prime minister", 13 July 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-36788782, accessed on 14 January 2023

[208] Jill Lawless, "Theresa May: A prime minister defined and defeated by Brexit", AP, 24 May 2019, https://apnews.com/article/brexit-ap-top-news-theresa-may-international-news-european-union-a9889fc3693848008259be9f1615a05d, accessed on 14 January 2023

[209] Nicholas Watt, Ian Traynor, and Rowena Mason, "EU referendum: David Cameron wins Theresa May's backing", The Guardian, 3 February 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/02/theresa-may-announces-intention-to-back-eu-membership, accessed on 14 January 2023

[210] Euronews, "What is Theresa May's view on Brexit?", 16 January 2019, https://www.euronews.com/2019/01/16/what-is-theresa-may-s-view-on-brexit, accessed on 14 January 2023

statements and actions, which show her tendency toward the Union, some members of the Conservative Party who were pro-leave did not support May at first. Thus, she underlined some crucial points that draw the economy and political based borders between the UK and the Union to gain the support of these Conservative Party members: Firstly, according to May's negotiation items between her and the Conservative Party members, the UK would exit from the single market and the customs union.[211] Secondly, the EU citizens would no longer have the right to live and work in the UK. Thanks to these negotiation items, which are the products of Euroscepticism in the UK, May achieved to end some of the divergences within the Conservative Party for a while.

In 2017, May gave a constructive speech in Florence regarding the relationship between the UK and the Union.[212] She encouraged the partnership between the two actors in the period after Brexit by referring to crucial common challenges such as terrorism, the North Korea issue, and climate change. She also implied that there are positive developments regarding the border issue between Northern and Union-member Ireland, such as negotiating the rights of the Union's citizens who live in the UK and the UK's citizens who live within the Union's borders, and she promised that the judges of the UK would make concessions to respect the decisions of the European Court of Justice.[213] Even if the Union welcomed this speech warmly, the May government had not done anything to keep these promises and the moderate era lasted very short between the UK and the Union. The Union's dissatisfaction benefited Eurosceptics, and they stated their will to have no agreement with the Union easily.

Although May gained some of the Eurosceptics' trust with her negotiation terms regarding Brexit, she has made a mistake by holding an early election to encourage

[211] Jill Lawless, "Theresa May: A prime minister defined and defeated by Brexit", AP, 24 May 2019, https://apnews.com/article/brexit-ap-top-news-theresa-may-international-news-european-union-a9889fc3693848008259be9f1615a05d, accessed on 14 January 2023

[212] Pauline Schnapper, "Brexit, or Theresa May's Headache", Observatoire de la Société Britannique, June 2018

[213] Ibid.

her small supporter group and become more advantageous for the Brexit issue.[214] Because of her new tax agenda, the Party could not gain most of the votes, and her reputation was shaken. She tried to gain the support of the Democratic Unionist Party of Northern Ireland. However, even if she achieved it, this support did not result in the way she expected because of the border issue between Northern and Union-member Ireland.[215]

May announced that there would be an agreement that approved the UK's secession from the Union in 2018, and she noticed Britain's terms of separation from the Union.[216] Moreover, she announced a two-year transition plan for Britain both for the departure from the Union and its relationship with the Union in the future. However, May's plan did not work out. The terms were much more binding for Britain to the Union for pro-Brexit people in May's agreement than they expected; for pro-remain people, the economic aspect of May's plan was unacceptable because it was too sharp and needed to be softened. The dissatisfaction of both groups was a result of the fact that this was the first time the UK was going through such a period that the country leaving a supranational organization, and May had no guidance to follow when governing the process.[217] As a result, the deal of May was rejected, and this rejection has been history's most catastrophic failure for a government in the UK parliament.

Afterward, Theresa May presented her revised Brexit agreements twice more, but she could not achieve the parliament's approval.[218] Her attempts to gain the support of the Labor Party backfired too because, at this time, she started to lose her own

[214] Jill Lawless, "Theresa May: A prime minister defined and defeated by Brexit", AP, 24 May 2019, https://apnews.com/article/brexit-ap-top-news-theresa-may-international-news-european-union-a9889fc3693848008259be9f1615a05d, accessed on 14 January 2023

[215] Tom Edgington and Tamara Kovacevic, "Brexit: What Is the Northern Ireland Protocol?", BBC, 10 January 2023, https://www.bbc.com/news/explainers-53724381, accessed on 14 January 2023

[216] Jill Lawless, "Theresa May: A prime minister defined and defeated by Brexit", AP, 24 May 2019, https://apnews.com/article/brexit-ap-top-news-theresa-may-international-news-european-union-a9889fc3693848008259be9f1615a05d, accessed on 14 January 2023

[217] Ibid.

[218] Ibid.

Party's backing. When she stated that there might be a new vote for the parliament to decide whether to stay as a member of the Union, most of the parliament became sure that May was not a good fit to lead the Brexit process. Then, she brought a renewed version of the agreement to the parliament's agenda for the fourth time again, and it made May much more unwelcome for both the Conservative Party and the other members of the parliament.[219]

The failure of May can be seen as a result of three crucial factors. Firstly, she had few supporters within Parliament.[220] Secondly, the persistence of the ones who were fanatically pro-Brexit put May in a more challenging position because they wanted to end the links between the UK and the Union once and for all.[221] Thirdly, the persistence of the ones who were much less pro-Brexit also forced May because they wanted to stay in the single market to reduce the economic risks for the UK. As a result of these three reasons, May had lost her authority, over the Conservative Party, as well as in the UK Parliament and the international arena regarding the European Union.

Andrea Leadsom, who was a senior member of May's government, resigned when the Brexit pressure became unbearable for her.[222] This incident was a signal for May to resign as well. As a result of constant pressure and opposition to herself within her own Party, Theresa May resigned from her post as the prime minister of the UK in 2019.[223] After her resignation, she continued to express her aim as the prime minister

[219] Claire Hansen, "U.K.'s Theresa May to Put Brexit Plan Up for Fourth Vote, Set Terms for Her Departure", U.S. News, 16 May 2019, https://www.usnews.com/news/world-report/articles/2019-05-16/uks-theresa-may-to-put-brexit-plan-up-for-fourth-vote-set-terms-for-her-departure, accessed on 14 January 2023

[220] Pauline Schnapper, "Brexit, or Theresa May's Headache", Observatoire de la Société Britannique, June 2018

[221] Jill Lawless, "Theresa May: A prime minister defined and defeated by Brexit", AP, 24 May 2019, https://apnews.com/article/brexit-ap-top-news-theresa-may-international-news-european-union-a9889fc3693848008259be9f1615a05d, accessed on 14 January 2023

[222] BBC, "Theresa May resigns over Brexit: What happened?", 24 May 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-48379730, accessed on 14 January 2023

[223] Heather Stewart, "Theresa May announces she will resign on 7 June", The Guardian, 24 May 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/may/24/theresa-may-steps-down-resigns-tory-leader-conservative-brexit, accessed on 14 January 2023

in the Brexit process to sign an agreement while leaving the Union to protect the UK's economy and security.[224]

2.9.3. Boris Johnson Era in the United Kingdom (2019-2022)

After the Brexit referendum resulted in favor of leaving the Union, the way of leading the Conservative Party was opened to Johnson because of his support and influence from the beginning of the leaving process.[225] At the time of Theresa May's prime ministry, especially while she was trying to make progress in looking for solutions for the Brexit issues she had been dealing with, Johnson kept in favor of a hard Brexit and he pressured May with his statements regarding the UK's sovereignty and membership within the common market.[226] He argued that the UK's autonomy could be damaged if the close relationship that emerged from common market membership with the Union continued. Even though Johnson reduced the pressure that he exerted in May from time to time when David Davis - the Brexit secretary - quit his job, so did Johnson as the foreign secretary. They implied their reason to resign was May's giving compromises so easily and fast in the Brexit process.[227] After May's resignation, Boris Johnson, who took the unofficial leader status on the issue of Brexit during David Cameron's prime ministry era, became the new prime minister in July 2019.[228]

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[224] Daniel Boffey and Jennifer Rankin, "Theresa May blames Brexit failure for EU election humiliation", The Guardian, 28 May 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/may/28/theresa-may-blames-brexit-failure-for-european-election-humiliation, accessed on 14 January 2023

[225] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Boris Johnson", 9 May 2008, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Boris-Johnson, accessed on 28 January 2023

[226] Ibid.

[227] Heather Stewart, "Brexit secretary David Davis resigns plunging government into crisis", The Guardian, 9 July 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jul/08/david-davis-resigns-as-brexit-secretary-reports-say#:~:text=David%20Davis%20has%20resigned%20as,the%20EU%20minister%20Steve%20Baker, accessed on 28 January 2023

[228] Rowena Mason, "Boris Johnson becomes PM with promise of Brexit by 31 October", The Guardian, 24 July 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jul/24/boris-johnson-becomes-pm-with-promise-of-brexit-by-31-october, accessed on 28 January 2023

As the new leader of the Brexit process, Johnson promised to have no deal regarding Brexit if the withdrawal agreement would not be acceptable for the UK.[229] The ones who disagreed with Johnson on this idea and the members of the opposing parties acted together and took control of the UK's government temporarily to oppose the no-deal Brexit idea legally. They organized a vote, and the results were very bad for Johnson: As a result of this control over the House of Commons and the vote, the opposing MPs got a chance to organize a bill and force Johnson to postpone the Brexit process.[230]

Within a few months, Johnson achieved to form an agreement that both the UK and the Union would accept.[231] This agreement was very similar to May's; differently, he gave the guarantee that Northern Ireland would act coherent with the Union after four years from the transition process. Even though the House of Commons accepted this agreement in principle, it did not let Johnson take the agreement to the level of legal approval. This was because they thought that accepting a plan legally which was presented just a day ago would be hurrying up.[232] As a result, he could not achieve legal approval, and the Brexit process was extended until 2020 January.[233] Johnson tried to present and get approval for his version of the Brexit agreement three times by organizing snap votes, he told the details of it to the UK's people the fourth time, and he stated that he would deliver Brexit within the time planned. The UK's 2019 general election resulted in the Conservative Party's unexpected success, and the party gained 48 more seats in the Parliament.[234] As a result, there were no

[229] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Boris Johnson", 9 May 2008, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Boris-Johnson, accessed on 28 January 2023

[230] Frances Perraudin, Ben Quinn, and Kevin Rawlinson, "Brexit legislation 'paused' after MPs reject Boris Johnson's timetable - as it happened", The Guardian, 22 October 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2019/oct/22/brexit-boris-johnson-deal-leave-eu-live-news, accessed on 28 January 2023

[231] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Boris Johnson", 9 May 2008, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Boris-Johnson, accessed on 28 January 2023

[232] Amanda Sloat, "Brexit endgame: Parliament agrees to December elections", Brookings, 30 October 2019, https://www.brookings.edu/articles/brexit-endgame-parliament-agrees-to-december-elections/, accessed on 28 January 2023

[233] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Boris Johnson", 9 May 2008, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Boris-Johnson, accessed on 28 January 2023

[234] UK Parliament, "General Election 2019: full results and analysis", 28 January 2020, https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-8749/, accessed on 28 January 2023

obstacles in front of Johnson to get approval for his version of Brexit. This withdrawal bill was named European Union (Withdrawal Agreement) Act 2020 and got the approval from the Parliament on January 22, 2020.[235] Eight days after the Withdrawal Agreement was approved, the UK left the Union. According to the European Union Act 2020, an implementation period in which the current law and business relationship between the UK and the Union would continue was agreed, and this period ended on December 31, 2020.[236] The implementation period – also known as the transition period – meant that the UK was no longer a member of the Union, but a member of the single market and customs union.[237] On December 24, 2020, the two actors agreed on a no-deal scenario despite the long-term negotiation process, and on January 1, 2021, the UK started its new era independently from the Union.[238] Boris Johnson resigned from his duty as prime minister on July, 2022.[239]

[235] Stefano Fella, "Brexit next steps: Ratifying the EU Withdrawal Agreement", UK Parliament, 23 January 2020, https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/brexit-next-steps-ratifying-the-eu-withdrawal-agreement/, accessed on 11 January 2024

[236] Department for Exiting the European Union, "Implementation period", UK Government, 2019, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5dfb9bbee5274a3402297b1d/WAB_Fact_Sheet_-_IMPLEMENTATION_PERIOD.pdf, accessed on 13 January 2024

[237] Georgina Wright, "Brexit transition period", Institute for Government, 2 January 2020, https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/article/explainer/brexit-transition-period, accessed on 13 January 2024

[238] Alasdair Sandford, "Post-Brexit Guide: What's been the impact — and how did it happen?", Euronews, 29 December 2022, https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2022/12/29/brexit-draft-deal-first-of-many-hurdles-to-a-smooth-exit, accessed on 13 January 2024

[239] Rowena Mason, "Boris Johnson resigns as Conservative leader after cabinet revolt", The Guardian, 7 July 2022, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/jul/07/boris-johnson-resigns-as-conservative-leader-after-cabinet-revolt, accessed on 13 January 2024

CHAPTER 3

THE PRO-REMAIN CAMPAIGN

This chapter will present the arguments and actions of the pro-remain campaign; by referring to the crucial actors, establishments, and public views on the Brexit campaign process.

3.1. Pro-Remain Campaign Supporters' Common Arguments

According to the ones who wanted to stay as a member of the European Union, there have been four crucial points that summarize their perspective: Economy, immigration, global credibility, and security.[240] For the economy, firstly, staying as a member of the Union would mean the continuity of the profitable membership to the European Single Market.[241] Secondly, the economic contribution coming from the Union's investments, trade, and nominal prices has been a critical advantage for the country's economy.[242] Thirdly, the employment area that the Union creates within the UK and the businesses it supports and forms mean a rise in the country's economic power.[243] Fourthly, because the Union has been the most critical partner of the UK in terms of trade deals, leaving it would mean an unclear and risky future for the UK.[244]

[240] Sarah Chappell, "Brexit or Bremain: the arguments at a glance", Euronews, 12 May 2016, https://www.euronews.com/2016/05/12/brexit-the-arguments-at-a-glance, accessed on 18 December 2022

[241] Larry Elliot, "UK membership of European single market worth 4% more in GDP", The Guardian, 10 August 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/aug/10/uk-membership-european-single-market-worth-4-more-gdp-eu-referendum-economy, accessed on 18 December 2022

[242] Rafal Kierzenkowski and Nigel Pain, "The UK's heart is wobbling but there are good reasons to Remain in the Union", Ecoscope, 20 June 2016, https://oecdecoscope.blog/2016/06/20/the-uks-heart-is-wobbling-but-there-are-good-reasons-to-remain-in-the-union/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[243] Julia Kollewe, "Brexit could cost £100bn and nearly 1m jobs, CBI warns", The Guardian, 21 March 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/mar/21/brexit-could-cost-100bn-and-nearly-1m-jobs-cbi-warns, accessed on 18 December 2022

[244] Carl Emmerson, Paul Johnson, and Ian Mitchell, "The EU single market: the value of membership versus access to the UK", IFS, 10 August 2016, https://ifs.org.uk/publications/eu-single-market-value-membership-versus-access-uk, accessed on 18 December 2022

For immigration, firstly, people who immigrate among the borders of the Union's member states provide an economic lift regarding the flow of money and taxes they pay within the UK.[245] Secondly, not being a member of the Union would not mean a decrease in migration within the UK because in order to benefit from the advantages of the Single Market, the UK would make concessions in terms of crossing the borders among the member states anyway.[246] For global credibility, because the Union has been one of the most influential global formations since it has been established, leaving it would mean a decrease of opportunities for the UK in terms of presenting and defending its ideas and decisions within the international arena.[247]

For security, emerging from the lack of global credibility which would be the result of the possible leave from the Union, the UK would have less influence on the decisions taken in the international arena regarding transnational actions.[248] Thus, regarding terrorism, the UK would be less secure because it would not be able to affect the decisions and actions of the other member states which would affect the borders of itself.

3.2. Supporters of the Pro-Remain Campaign

3.2.1. Political Campaign Groups of the Pro-Remain Campaign

3.2.1.1. Britain Stronger in Europe

The official and main group supporting the pro-remain campaign, Britain Stronger in Europe, was launched in October 2015.[249] Campaign strategists Stephen Gilbert and

[245] Sarah Chappell, "Brexit or Bremain: the arguments at a glance", Euronews, 12 May 2016, https://www.euronews.com/2016/05/12/brexit-the-arguments-at-a-glance, accessed on 18 December 2022

[246] Ibid.

[247] IG, "Pros and cons of Brexit", https://www.ig.com/en/financial-events/brexit/pros-and-cons-of-brexit," accessed on 18 December 2022

[248] Sarah Chappell, "Brexit or Bremain: the arguments at a glance", Euronews, 12 May 2016, https://www.euronews.com/2016/05/12/brexit-the-arguments-at-a-glance, accessed on 18 December 2022

[249] Josh Noble, "Britain Stronger in Europe: The Key Figures in pro-EU Campaign", Financial Times, 12 October 2015, https://www.ft.com/content/184d7820-70aa-11e5-9b9e-690fdae72044, accessed on 18 December 2022

Craig Oliver led Britain Stronger in Europe.[250] The group's supporters included politicians from Conservative, Labor, and Green Party, and businesspeople and it has been the only organization to apply to the Electoral Commission to become the umbrella group of the pro-remain campaigners.[251] The group has been able to collect seven million euros for its campaigning, and it included a public grant collected with the aim of conducting telecasts and mailshots worth six hundred thousand euros.[252] Besides advertising via TV, the internet, and printed media; the group has also handed out expensive brochures to the public; and this costly advertising, which was funded by the UK's government, has not been welcomed by the UK's people.[253]

Lord Stuart Rose, who is a known businessperson in the UK, has been the chairman of Britain Stronger in Europe.[254] He argued that staying in the Union would mean a safer and stronger future for the UK's people rather than they would have outside the Union and he added that leaving the Union would mean a threatening future for the UK.[255] Will Straw has been the executive director of Britain Stronger in Europe and he argued that leaving the Union would cause unaffordable risks for the UK.[256] Besides the well-known businesspeople and politicians, Britain Stronger in Europe has also received the support of other pro-Union campaign organizations such as Open Europe, Center for European Reform, and the European Movement.[257] Britain

[250] Andrew Mullen, "Leave versus Remain: the digital battle", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, June 2016, p.89

[251] BBC, "The people hoping to persuade UK to vote to stay in the EU", 13 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-34505076, accessed on 18 December 2022

[252] Ibid.

[253] Alice Morby, "Wolfgang Tillmans Designs Posters Opposing Brexit Vote", Dezeen, 28 June 2016, https://www.dezeen.com/2016/04/26/wolfgang-tillmans-eu-referendum-posters-anti-brexit-campaign-uk-remain/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[254] Josh Noble, "Britain Stronger in Europe: The Key Figures in pro-EU Campaign", Financial Times, 12 October 2015, https://www.ft.com/content/184d7820-70aa-11e5-9b9e-690fdae72044, accessed on 18 December 2022

[255] Patrick Wintour, "EU referendum: Stuart Rose will chair campaign to keep Britain in the union", The Guardian, 9 October 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/oct/09/stuart-rose-will-chair-campaign-to-keep-britain-in-the-eu, accessed on 18 December 2022

[256] Ibid.

[257] BBC, "The people hoping to persuade UK to vote to stay in the EU", 13 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-34505076, accessed on 18 December 2022

Stronger in Europe has also tried to include the UK's young people's voices, so it had names like Megan Dunn, who was the head of the National Union of Students and Jude Kelly, who was a theater director, among its board members.[258] Lord Sainsbury, who was the former science minister in the Labor government, has donated 2.3 million euros for Britain Stronger in Europe.[259] David Harding, who was the head of an investment bank in the UK, has donated 750 thousand euros for Britain Stronger in Europe until June 2016.[260] The main arguments of Britain Stronger in Europe regarding the necessity of remaining in the Union included benefits in terms of economy and global recognition, and the future threats that the UK would face if it chose to leave the Union.[261] Will Straw argued that according to a research conducted by the Confederation of British Industry, people of the UK earn 3 thousand euros more thanks to living in a member country of the Union.[262] Thus, he presented this research result as a reason for not leaving the Union and supporting the Britain Stronger in Europe campaign. He also added that thanks to the Single Market, prices can be kept low, and the borders of the UK are kept much more secure than it could be if the UK decides to leave the Union.[263]

3.2.1.2. Labor in for Britain

Labor in for Britain has been the official campaign group of the Labor Party during the Brexit campaign process.[264] Alan Johnson, who has been the Home Secretary and

[258] Ibid.

[259] The Daily Star, "The UK's EU referendum: All you need to know", 24 June 2016, https://www.thedailystar.net/world/the-uks-eu-referendum-all-you-need-know-1245031, accessed on 18 December 2022

[260] Sarah Gordon and Harriet Agnew, "Brexit campaigners out-fundraise their Remain rivals", Financial Times, 11 May 2016, https://www.ft.com/content/684b41e8-1787-11e6-b197-a4af20d5575e, accessed on 18 December 2022

[261] BBC, "The people hoping to persuade UK to vote to stay in the EU", 13 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-34505076, accessed on 18 December 2022

[262] Robert Colvile, "Britain Stronger in Europe: A grassroots army gets to work", Politico, 22 December 2015, https://www.politico.eu/article/britain-stronger-in-europe-a-grassroots-army-gets-to-work/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[263] Ibid.

[264] Pawel Swidlicki, "Labour IN for Britain: the challenges Alan Johnson's campaign faces", LSE, 7 December 2015, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/labour-in-for-britain-campaign/, accessed on 18 December 2022

the Chancellor of Exchequer in former governments, has become the head of the Labor in for Britain.[265] He argued that the UK would be more secure and comfortable within the Union. James Corbyn, the Party's leader at the time, was accused of misdirecting the campaign by Phil Wilson, who was the head of the Labor in for Britain campaign's parliament.[266]

The criticism towards Corbyn was not just about the direction he guides his party, but also the ambiguous position of the Labor Party in the matter of Brexit under Corbyn's rule: According to most of the people in the UK, Corbyn did not support the campaign efficiently and faithfully.[267] His changing attitude towards the Union through the years has also made people think that he is not a good leader for the Brexit campaign process: According to one of the interviews that Corbyn gave in 2015, he voted for staying outside the European Economic Community in the 1975 referendum.[268] He accused Europe of threatening the cause of socialism in the world because of its capitalist identity in 1993, and for reducing nation-states' sovereignty and being irresponsible about it in 1996.

In 2009, Corbyn drew attention to the relationship between NATO and the European Union, by referring to it as a Frankenstein.[269] In addition, right before the 2016 referendum, he rated his wish to stay in the Union as 7.5/10 on a channel and because of these attitudes of his towards the Union, he has not been seen as the ideal leader to manage the pro-remain campaign process of the 2016 referendum.

[265] BBC, "The people hoping to persuade UK to vote to stay in the EU", 13 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-34505076, accessed on 18 December 2022

[266] Anushka Asthana, "Labour In For Britain chair criticises Jeremy Corbyn's campaign involvement", The Guardian, 26 June 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/26/corbyn-labour-in-for-britain-chair-phil-wilson-eu-referendum, accessed on 18 December 2022

[267] Chris Stafford, "Labour's Brexit policy explained", The Conversation, 19 November 2019, https://theconversation.com/labours-brexit-policy-explained-127380, accessed on 18 December 2022

[268] Georgina Lee, "Corbyn's changing Brexit stance", 4 News, 18 September 2019, https://www.channel4.com/news/factcheck/factcheck-corbyns-changing-brexit-stance, accessed on 18 December 2022

[269] Ibid.

3.2.1.3. Lib Dems

The Liberal Democrats who are also the members of the European parliament conducted their pro-remain campaign by especially emphasizing the global dangers that threaten not only the UK but also the world, such as climate change and economic downfalls.[270] They argued that being a member of the Union means putting fight against these kinds of threats together and stronger thanks to European integration; they also drew attention to the specific threats that the UK's public would face if the country left the Union, such as having less opportunities and less effect within the global arena.[271] They added that because they have sixteen people in the European Parliament representing the UK, they are able to lead the agenda of the Union; thus, if the UK leaves, they will also lose this chance of leading and affecting Europe's route.[272]

Andrew Russell argued that the invisibility of Lib Dems in the media has been one of the strangest things about the referendum campaign process.[273] According to the British Election Study, Lib Dems have been the biggest Euro-friend party and the leader of Lib Dems in 2014, Nick Clegg, became the pioneer of the pro-Europe side of the UK thanks to his performance in television discussions up against Nigel Farage; however, in the referendum campaign process, the party did not maintain its leading role and showed inefficient effort.[274]

3.2.1.4. Best for Britain

Gina Miller, who is a businessperson, founded Best For Britain after suing the government for Brexit and her aim was to encourage members of the UK's

[270] Tom Bramwell, "Why Liberal Democrat MEPs are fighting to stop Brexit", Leeds Live, 14 October 2019, https://www.leeds-live.co.uk/special-features/liberal-democrat-meps-stop-brexit-17079694, accessed on 18 December 2022

[271] Ibid.

[272] Ibid.

[273] Andrew Russell, "The Liberal Democrats: the EU Referendum's invisible party", 4 July 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016, p.83

[274] Ibid.

parliament to vote for the sake of the pro-remain campaign; in other words, to vote against the Brexit deal, before the 2017 general election.[275] By being one of the lesser-known pro-remain campaign supporters, Best For Britain aimed to dissuade the public from the idea of leaving the Union completely and donated its funding to candidates who were known as being pro-European before the 2017 general election in the UK.[276]

3.2.1.5. British Indians for IN

Indian politicians who are also British members of the parliament live in the UK formed British Indians for IN to campaign in favor of the pro-remain campaign and they argued that thanks to the Union, the UK has advantages in terms of economics, security, and global prestige.[277] They aimed to represent three parties: Labor, Conservative and Liberal Democrat and the group's coordinator stated that number of British Indians finds 1.2 million and they are a crucial part of the decision-makers of the referendum.[278] He also argued that most of these people were in favor of remaining in the Union because they think that to remain would be the clever decision for both their community and the UK.

One of the members of British Indians for IN drew the attention to the economic advantages of being a member of the single market and stated that it provides lower prices in the market and employment opportunities for the UK.[279] Another member of the group argued that being a member also brings a higher quality of life for the people who live in a member country of the Union.

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[275] Jessica Elgot, "What is Best for Britain – and is there a 'secret plot' to thwart Brexit?", The Guardian, 8 May 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/feb/08/best-for-britain-thwart-brexit-george-soros, accessed on 18 December 2022

[276] Ibid.

[277] Prasun Sonwalkar, "British Indian councillors want to stay in EU", Hindustan Times, 22 June 2016, https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/british-indian-councillors-want-to-stay-in-eu/story-ciizeFThxlEjm1Suo1WpYK.html, accessed on 18 December 2022

[278] Ibid.

[279] Ibid.

3.2.2. Campaigns and Campaigners from the UK's Public

3.2.2.1. Another Europe is Possible

Another Europe is Possible emerged from and funded by the UK's public in February 2016 and became one of the main campaign groups of the pro-remain side.[280] By being a radical left-wing community, Another Europe is Possible group tried to convince people of the necessity of membership to the European Union and they put their exact opposite attitude towards all of the right-wing formations accurately.[281] They aimed to make people volunteer for their case of making Europe a continent whose citizens can cross the member countries' borders freely and put human rights at the center of their ideology; and to bring European institutions more democracy and justice by working with people who share the same perspective with them across the European continent.[282]

The group argued that letting the UK leave the Union and right-wing side to win the Brexit process would mean a decline for the UK's economy because it would mean negotiating with the non-European governments, which have lower standards regarding especially food and environment.[283] Another Europe is Possible aimed to approach the Brexit issue from the side of the workers and migrants who live in the UK, and also the UK's environment.[284] In order to protect the rights of these groups of people during the Brexit process, campaign supporters cooperated with various trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and political parties with the aim of forming solidarity among them.[285]

Another Europe is Possible drew attention to the two political risks of Brexit. The first political risk lies in breaking the Good Friday agreement which was signed in

[280] Another Europe, "About", https://www.anothereurope.org/about/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[281] Ibid.

[282] Ibid.

[283] Another Europe, "Conference 2020 Report", https://www.anothereurope.org/conference-2020-report-and-final-strategy-document/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[284] Another Europe, "About", https://www.anothereurope.org/about/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[285] Ibid.

1998 in the last era of Northern Ireland's peace process, consisted of two documents: A document ensuring the peace among the political parties of Northern Ireland, and a document ensuring peace between Britain and Ireland.[286] Regarding the Brexit process, the crucial part of the agreement was Northern Ireland's becoming one of the UK's parts and the necessity to change this with a referendum if it is wanted. Also, it became legitimate that every person who was born in Ireland could become both an Ireland and a Britain citizen. According to the group, these political points which are negotiated and decided would be at risk if Brexit comes true because of the existing right-wing government's aim to violate the agreement.[287] After Brexit, Northern Ireland would be the only country which is a part of the UK and has a border with a Union member state, the Republic of Ireland.[288] As a result, the political steps emerging from a right-wing party's policies would eventually cause an economic disadvantage for the UK because it would mean controls on the borders between the UK and Northern Ireland regarding the goods coming from the Union member states.

The second risk waiting for the UK if Brexit comes true lies in the independence desire of Scotland: While Scotland's public wants a referendum to have a say on Scotland's independence from the UK, the UK government is not letting them do so.[289] Thus, Another Europe is Possible criticizes the voting mechanism of Boris Johnson's government has and argues that it is an ironic point that while the UK public mostly supported the parties which are in favor of having referendums regarding taking radical social decisions, Johnson has been the one who is elected and in power.

Another Europe is Possible has also tried to show that Brexit is an erroneous project that the right-wing created, by drawing attention to the resemblance between the election of Donald Trump in the USA and the Brexit process in the UK under the

[286] BBC, "Good Friday Agreement: What is it?", 16 December 2022, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-61968177, accessed on 18 December 2022

[287] Another Europe, "Conference 2020 Report", https://www.anothereurope.org/conference-2020-report-and-final-strategy-document/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[288] BBC, "Good Friday Agreement: What is it?", 16 December 2022, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-61968177, accessed on 18 December 2022

[289] Ibid.

supremacy of the right-wing mindset: The group emphasized the similarity between the UK's right-wing government and other leaders around the world: Trump from the USA, Erdogan from Turkey, Kaczyński from Poland, Netanyahu from Israel, and Salvini from Italy.[290]

3.2.2.2. Wolfgang Tillmans

Wolfgang Tillmans, who is a German artist living and practicing his work in the UK, has started his personal campaign against Brexit by publishing posters he designed.[291] In his posters, Tillmans aimed to show how the UK jeopardizes its future by thinking of leaving the Union and he emphasized that Europe is a family, and the UK is one of the parts of this family, and the fact that governments may be temporary but a union like the EU would last forever. He also argued that leaving the Union would mean ruining the peaceful neighborhood between the European countries.[292]

According to Tillmans, the UK's people's financial rights are safe thanks to membership to the Union and that the Union protects people's economic rights by being against monopolies and the business world's unfair actions.[293] He gives his dialogue with Rupert Murdoch as an example: Tillmans asks him about his opposition to the EU, and Murdoch says that while he can make things happen in any way he wants in the UK, the situation is not the same regarding the Union's institutions.

Besides his artwork aiming to form an awareness among the public, Tillmans has also criticized the general appearance of the official pro-remain campaign group and he argued that the official group's attitude and actions were not enough to persuade

[290] Ibid.

[291] Alice Morby, "Wolfgang Tillmans Designs Posters Opposing Brexit Vote", Dezeen, 28 June 2016, https://www.dezeen.com/2016/04/26/wolfgang-tillmans-eu-referendum-posters-anti-brexit-campaign-uk-remain/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[292] Wolfgang Tillmans, "Pro-EU / anti-Brexit campaign", https://tillmans.co.uk/campaign-eu, accessed on 18 December 2022

[293] Ibid.

people to vote to remain, become an active member of their campaign, or meet the campaign schedule before it is too late.[294]

In one of his interviews with the Guardian, Tillmans argued that the most important disadvantage of leaving the Union would be the rising level of isolation and rightwing radicalism in the UK.[295] He agreed with the idea that the formation of the Union emerges from the aim of keeping the world in peace, and leaving it would mean acting oppositely to this sacred aim; also, the radical rightwing in the UK ignores the unifying power that the Union created and the UK adopted through time, and that this radical side dissents to the fundamental values of the Union.[296]

3.2.3. Campaigner Businesspeople

3.2.3.1. Signers of the Letter Sent to The Times

1285 businesspeople sent a message to The Times emphasizing on their concerns about the risk leaving the Union would cause in the UK's economy.[297] They warned that especially small businesses would be damaged because of the economic shock that Brexit would create. They also warned that in case of a Brexit, the trade deal between the two actors would have to be initialized entirely.[298]

3.2.3.2. Tom Dixon

Tom Dixon, who is a businessperson in the UK, has given various interviews where he argued that not only leaving the Union but also the possibility of Brexit, has been

[294] Alice Morby, "Wolfgang Tillmans Designs Posters Opposing Brexit Vote", Dezeen, 28 June 2016, https://www.dezeen.com/2016/04/26/wolfgang-tillmans-eu-referendum-posters-anti-brexit-campaign-uk-remain/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[295] Sean O'Hagan, "Wolfgang Tillmans: 'I See Myself as a Product of European Cultural Exchange'", The Guardian, 8 May 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/may/08/wolfgang-tillmans-eu-referendum-remain-campaign-posters, accessed on 18 December 2022

[296] Ibid.

[297] Ben Quinn, "1,200 business leaders back remain in EU referendum vote", The Guardian, 22 June 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/22/1200-business-leaders-back-remain-eu-referendum-vote, accessed on 18 December 2022

[298] Martin Banks, "Brexit: UK business leaders in 11th hour plea for voters to back Remain", The Parliament, 22 June 2016, https://www.theparliamentmagazine.eu/news/article/brexit-uk-business-leaders-in-11th-hour-plea-for-voters-to-back-remain, accessed on 10 December 2023

damaging the economy of the UK.[299] He emphasized that leaving the Union would bring lots of risks for the UK's future.[300]

3.2.3.3. Confederation of British Industry

In March 2016, Confederation of British Industry's businesspeople announced that 80 percent of them want to remain in the Union.[301] They warned the public in March 2016 by drawing attention to the possible economic disadvantages that the UK will face if it leaves the Union.[302] These disadvantages included nearly 1 million loss of jobs and 100 billion euros loss of income of the public.[303] The Confederation argued that it would be damaging for its business when it does not have a full access to the single market and also for the foreign investments compared to the member countries.[304]

3.2.3.4. Bank of England

In May 2016, the Bank of England warned people about a possible recession era if the country leaves the Union.[305] This warning was unseen since then, and the Bank argued that Brexit would cause decrease in employment rates and the value of

[299] Marcus Fairs, "'Brexit' vote could damage London's design status, says Tom Dixon", Dezeen, 13 April 2016, https://www.dezeen.com/2016/04/13/brexit-vote-could-damage-londons-design-status-says-tom-dixon/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[300] Enrico Zilli, "Influential Designers and Architects Oppose Brexit", ArchiPanic, 21 October 2016, https://www.archipanic.com/brexit/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[301] Phillip Inman, "CBI member survey reveals huge support for remaining in EU", The Guardian, 15 March 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/mar/15/cbi-member-survey-reveals-huge-support-for-remaining-in-eu, accessed on 10 December 2023

[302] Julia Kollewe, "Brexit could cost £100bn and nearly 1m jobs, CBI warns", The Guardian, 21 March 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/mar/21/brexit-could-cost-100bn-and-nearly-1m-jobs-cbi-warns, accessed on 18 December 2022

[303] Ibid.

[304] Phillip Inman, "CBI member survey reveals huge support for remaining in EU", The Guardian, 15 March 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/mar/15/cbi-member-survey-reveals-huge-support-for-remaining-in-eu, accessed on 10 December 2023

[305] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.42

pound.[306] The governor of the Bank, Mark Carney, argued that leaving the Union would cause 2.9 trillion dollars and predicted that foreign investment would also decrease.[307]

3.2.4. Campaigner Artists

3.2.4.1. Signers of the Telegraph's Open Letter

In May 2016, 300 artists in the UK signed an open letter which was published in Telegraph with the aim of showing the public that leaving the Union would be a terrible mistake which would eventually cause the UK's global reputation to decline.[308] This letter had an influence on public more because signers included famous actors and writers of the UK.[309] The artists also emphasized that being a member does not just make the UK stronger but also more creative.[310]

3.2.4.2. Amanda Levete

Amanda Levete, who is an architect in the UK, has been one of the artists against Brexit, and she talked about the risks that a possible leave of the UK from the Union in terms of art in her interviews.[311] She argued that leaving the Union would mean

[306] Katie Allen, "Brexit could lead to recession, says Bank of England", The Guardian, 12 May 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/may/12/bank-of-england-keeps-interest-rates-on-hold-as-brexit-fears-bite, accessed on 2 December 2023

[307] David Milliken and Huw Jones, "Bank of England warns of Brexit risks, angering Eurosceptics", Reuters, 8 March 2016, https://reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-carney-idINKCN0WA16U/, accessed on 2 December 2023

[308] Enrico Zilli, "Influential Designers and Architects Oppose Brexit", ArchiPanic, 21 October 2016, https://www.archipanic.com/brexit/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[309] The Telegraph, "Letters: Actors, artists and writers look in the mirror and see a future in the EU", 19 May 2016, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/05/19/letters-actors-artists-and-writers-look-in-the-mirror-and-see-a/, accessed on 2 December 2023

[310] Steven Erlanger, "Celebrities, in Open Letter, Urge Britons to Stay in E.U.", The New York Times, 20 May 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/21/arts/international/brexit-european-union-arts.html, accessed on 2 December 2023

[311] Enrico Zilli, "Influential Designers and Architects Oppose Brexit", ArchiPanic, 21 October 2016, https://www.archipanic.com/brexit/, accessed on 18 December 2022

losing the diversity it brought to the UK's architecture, so it would cause impoverishment and unvariedness for both architecture and art in general for the UK.[312]

3.2.4.3. Annamaria Anderloni

Annamaria Anderloni, who is an Italian architect living and performing in the UK, mentioned the risks of leaving the Union regarding employment for both employers and employees.[313] She talked about the possible challenge that the UK's architecture sector would face when seeking for people who are qualified and skilled to recruit if Brexit becomes true.[314]

3.2.4.4. Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners

Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners, who are a group of architects, published their view about the Brexit issue on their website.[315] They argued that what makes life in the UK qualified is the relationships it had with its neighbors and other countries of Europe; thanks to these relationships, the UK benefited from other countries' culture and art.[316] Moreover, they argued that thanks to the diversity and civilization of Europe, the UK has gained more of a good quality through time and it may lose this quality if it leaves the Union. They added that the people who work for their company and who are not from the UK originally made their work more enriched and dynamic.[317]

Richard Rogers, who is one of the founders of Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners, has published his idea on the website and argued that if the UK decides to leave the

[312] Ibid.

[313] Ibid.

[314] Ibid.

[315] Ibid.

[316] Anna Winston, "'We love EU' declare UK architects and designers ahead of referendum", Dezeen, 22 June 2016, https://www.dezeen.com/2016/06/22/brexit-british-architects-designers-european-union-eu-referendum-vote-remain-leave/, accessed on 2 December 2023

[317] Enrico Zilli, "Influential Designers and Architects Oppose Brexit", ArchiPanic, 21 October 2016, https://www.archipanic.com/brexit/, accessed on 18 December 2022

Union, it would be a great mistake which would eventually result in disadvantages for not just its sector but also for the UK's whole economy.[318]

3.2.4.5. Architects' Journal

Architects' Journal, which is a website publishing news and articles regarding the architecture world and its perspectives, has been in favor of the pro-remain campaign and showed it on its website.[319] The website has conducted an online survey on Twitter and announced the results in the last week of the campaign process. According to the results of the online survey, to the question of who the UK people are going to vote for in the Brexit referendum, 79.1 percent of the people who answered the question answered as remain, 13.4 percent of them as leave, and 7.5 percent of them as undecided.[320]

Before the Twitter poll Architects' Journal published in June 2016, it also published research in April same year and according to this research, 78 percent of the people said no, 14 percent yes, and 8 percent not sure to the question of whether they want to leave the European Union or not.[321]

3.2.5. Campaign Groups from Academia and Science Community

3.2.5.1. Scientists for EU

Scientists for EU was established by the UK's scientists who are in favor of remaining in the Union in 2015, after it was certain that the UK would have a referendum regarding the Union.[322] The group tried to be active on social media to

[318] Richard Waite and Mary Douglas, "AJ Twitter poll: 79 per cent back Remain in the EU referendum", Architect's Journal, 22 June 2016, https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/aj-twitter-poll-79-per-cent-back-remain-in-the-eu-referendum?utm_source=newsletter, accessed on 18 December 2022

[319] Ibid.

[320] Ibid.

[321] Ibid.

[322] Scientists for EU, "About Scientists for EU", https://www.scientistsforeu.uk/about, accessed on 18 December 2022

spread their perspective of what kind of advantages being a member of the Union brings to the UK and they put science at center while building their perspective about the referendum and argued that the UK is more advantageous in terms of scientific progress when it is within the Union.[323] The group got thousands of followers on their Facebook page in one week and opened Twitter and YouTube pages following.[324] Scientists for EU did not get financial support except the donators from the UK's public.[325] The group got support from various universities and other organizations that were in favor of the pro-remain campaign.[326]

3.2.5.2. The Royal Society

Including the most reputable scientists and engineers, the Royal Society announced their support for the pro-remain campaign in March 2016.[327] Stephen Hawking was one of the scientists who showed his support with the Royal Society, and they warned the UK's public about how the country would be devastated regarding science if it leaves the Union.[328] They argued that the British people's success in science lay in the funds and attraction they find thanks to being European.[329]

3.2.5.3. Historians for Britain

Some of the historians and academics of the UK got together to let the UK's public know the history of the relationship between their country and the Union under the

[323] Ibid.

[324] Scientists for EU, "Supporters", https://www.scientistsforeu.uk/supporters, accessed on 18 December 2022

[325] Scientists for EU, "Funding", https://www.scientistsforeu.uk/funding, accessed on 18 December 2022

[326] Scientists for EU, "Supporters", https://www.scientistsforeu.uk/supporters, accessed on 18 December 2022

[327] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.41

[328] Ian Johnston, "EU referendum: Stephen Hawking and 150 Royal Society fellows warn Brexit would be '"disaster for UK science'"", Independent, 10 March 2016, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-stephen-hawking-and-150-royal-society-fellows-warn-brexit-would-be-disaster-for-uk-science-a6922296.html, accessed on 18 December 2022

[329] Ibid.

name of Historians for Britain. Throughout the campaign process, they started to be named as Historians for Europe because of their support for the pro-remain campaign.[330] The group defined their ideal world as where the UK maintains its membership within a reformed Union.[331]

3.2.6. Campaigner Environmentalists

People including politicians, writers, and activists who are concerned for the UK's environment signed a letter regarding their wish to stay in the Union.[332] Some of the signers were Liz Truss, who was the Environment Secretary; Stanley Johnson, who is a writer; and the associations such as the Countryside Alliance, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, and the Campaign for the Preservation of Rural England.[333] They argued that thanks to being a member of the Union, the UK's environment has become clearer, and wildlife has become more active and they also emphasized on the Union's fund, nearly 600 million euros, which is given to the UK for protecting the environment and countryside.[334]

3.2.7. Politicians

3.2.7.1. David Cameron

By being dragged into the Brexit process without his consent, announcing the date of the referendum, and choosing to be a part of the pro-remain campaign; David Cameron has become the main actor of the pro-remain campaign. Cameron resembled the referendum options to a choice between little England, referring to

[330] David Abulafia, "Britain: apart from or a part of Europe?", History Today, 11 May 2015, https://www.historytoday.com/britain-apart-or-part-europe, accessed on 18 December 2022

[331] Ibid.

[332] Andy McSmith, "EU referendum: Environmentalists stress importance of Remain vote to Britain''s countryside in open letter", Independent, 21 June 2016, https://www.independent.co.uk/climate-change/news/eu-referendum-environmentalists-stress-importance-of-remain-vote-to-britain-s-countryside-in-open-letter-a7093911.html, accessed on 18 December 2022

[333] Ibid.

[334] Ibid.

leaving the Union, and Great Britain, referring to staying in the Union.[335] According to Cameron, while the UK would be interned without the Union, it is able to reach beyond its borders thanks to the Union.[336]

Despite his supportive discourses for the pro-remain campaign, Cameron has been one of the most effective politicians who has played into the pro-leave campaign's hands.[337] There are three proofs for this argument that can be seen during Cameron's premiership era[338]: The first one is the government's deliberate distance from the problems that the Union faced, such as the refugee crisis. The second one is the effort to limit the Union's effect on the UK; because of this inactive approach towards the Union, Cameron led a secession process between the UK's public, and the Union. Being in the Union but putting a distance from its problems and governance led Cameron's pro-remain arguments and his management of the process to hang in the air. The third proof was that the failure of Cameron's government managing issues such as National Health Service and housing reflected on the Union in the public's mind. Cameron did not spend effort to explain that these kind of backsets in the social service system of the UK were not problems emerging from being a member of the Union but the government itself; as a result, he has not been able to persuade voters to support the pro-remain campaign.

3.2.7.2. George Osborne

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in Cameron's government, George Osborne, has been the biggest supporter of Cameron through the pro-remain campaign.[339] He argued that leaving the Union would mean devastation for the UK's economy, in

[335] Frances Smith, "Britishness and Brexit", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.64

[336] Ibid.

[337] Kirsty Hughes, "Neither tackling lies nor making the case: the Remain side", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.65

[338] Ibid.

[339] BBC, "The people hoping to persuade UK to vote to stay in the EU", 13 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-34505076, accessed on 18 December 2022

terms of unemployment, real estate, and the pound. The pro-leave supporters stated that these kinds of arguments about economic risks were only conspiracy theories.[340] As a response, Osborne argued that these risks were calculated facts by economists and scientists; thus, they were not a conspiracy but a consensus.[341]

3.2.7.3. Sadiq Khan

Sadiq Khan, who is a member of the parliament from the Labor Party, was chosen as the Mayor of London in 2016 and he announced his support for Cameron regarding the pro-remain campaign on May 30, 2016.[342] Despite his opponent's expressions toward Khan because of his Muslim identity, Cameron stated that he was happy to campaign with Khan's support.[343] Because of the occupation that the conflicts within the Conservative Party caused in the referendum process, Sadiq Khan argued that the Labor Party could not have enough chance to put their fight on the media.[344] Thus, he claimed that the Labor Party should do more to accomplish its historic responsibility and be the main actor to keep the UK as a member.[345]

3.2.7.4. Enda Kenny

The head of Irish government in the campaign process for the UK, Enda Kenny, has been one of the main supporters of the pro-remain campaign.[346] The mainly emphasized issues within Ireland, in contrast to the rest of the UK during the

[340] The Herald, "George Osborne: Remain campaign 'not conspiracy, but consensus'", 16 May 2016, https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14496491.george-osborne-remain-campaign-not-conspiracy-consensus/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[341] Ibid.

[342] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.43

[343] Rowena Mason and Andrew Sparrow, "David Cameron is 'proud to campaign' alongside Sadiq Khan to stay in EU", The Guardian, 30 May 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/30/david-cameron-sadiq-khan-eu-remain, accessed on 18 December 2022

[344] BBC, "Sadiq Khan: Labour must do more for Remain vote", 9 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36488171, accessed on 18 December 2022

[345] Ibid.

[346] Patrick Wintour, "Irish leader to campaign in UK for remain vote", The Guardian, 13 May 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/13/irish-leader-enda-kenny-campaign-uk-remain-vote-eu-referendum, accessed on 18 December 2022

campaign process were the borders between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.[347] According to Mary Murphy's article, because Northern Ireland did not emphasize sovereignty and migration issues like the rest of the UK, people mostly voted to remain. Enda Kenny argued that Brexit would increase the rate of violence and economic recession in Northern Ireland.[348] The concern of violence emerged from the risk of losing Union's funds which it gave Northern Ireland for the peace process. The concern of the economy emerged from not being a part of Single Market anymore and losing the opportunity of flow of people and goods among the borders; thus, Kenny and the ministers who support him tried to convince the Irish people who live in the UK to vote remain in the campaign process.[349]

3.2.7.5. Nicola Sturgeon

Scotland's first minister Nicola Sturgeon has been one of the supporters of the pro-remain campaign and she announced that her and her government's one of the first priorities would be campaigning in favor of remain vote during the Brexit campaign process.[350] She argued that membership gives various advantages to Scotland, such as worker and maternity rights; thus, Scotland should not take these advantages for granted, and should vote remain to maintain progress in its relationship with the Union.[351]

3.2.7.6. Mark Carney

The Bank of England governor at the referendum campaign process, Mark Carney, argued that leaving the Union would mean a huge domestic threat for the UK's

[347] Mary C. Murphy, "Northern Ireland and Brexit: where sovereignty and stability collide?", Journal of Contemporary European Studies 29, no.3, 2021, p.405

[348] Patrick Wintour, "Irish leader to campaign in UK for remain vote", The Guardian, 13 May 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/13/irish-leader-enda-kenny-campaign-uk-remain-vote-eu-referendum, accessed on 18 December 2022

[349] Ibid.

[350] BBC, "Nicola Sturgeon: EU remain vote 'top priority'", 21 May 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-36341341, accessed on 18 December 2022

[351] Ibid.

financial constancy.[352] Even though he argued that the Bank of England is neutral regarding the referendum, he stated his own ideas by emphasizing on the risk of decreasing investment and increasing household expenses.[353] He also argued that Cameron's renegotiation deal was protective for the UK's economy and would provide stability if the country stays in the Union.[354]

3.2.7.7. Barack Obama

The president of the U.S.A. at the time of the Brexit process, Barack Obama, was also one of the supporters of the pro-remain campaign.[355] Because of the possible critical reflections of the referendum results on the USA, Obama also emphasized and expressed his views on the issue. He argued that if the UK leaves the Union, then the country would lose its prestige and primacy both economically and politically in the global arena on his trip to London in 2016.[356] In terms of economy, according to Obama, the UK will have to be in the queue to have trade deals with the U.S.A. if it is not a member of the Union. In terms of politics, Obama argued that the UK would not have its old political influence over the globe if it leaves the Union.[357]

3.2.8. The Newspapers Supporting the Pro-Remain Campaign

3.2.8.1. The Daily Mirror

The Daily Mirror announced its official attitude towards the Brexit process and its support for the pro-remain campaign two days before the referendum.[358] While

[352] BBC, "Mark Carney: EU exit is 'biggest domestic risk'", 8 March 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/business-35751919, accessed on 18 December 2022

[353] Ibid.

[354] Ibid.

[355] Filippo Trevisan, "The view from across the pond: Brexit on American media", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.44

[356] BBC, "Barack Obama says Brexit would leave UK at the 'back of the queue' on trade", 22 April 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-36115138, accessed on 18 December 2022

[357] Ibid.

[358] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.43

announcing its support, the Mirror stated that they support the pro-remain campaign because of the hostile and divisive environment that the pro-leave side caused throughout its campaigning.[359] According to the Daily Mirror, it was an illusion that the leaders of the pro-leave campaign were regular people who were close and who understood the public's needs.[360]

According to the report they published after the Brexit campaign process in the UK, researchers from Oxford calculated that the greatest number of articles that supported the pro-remain campaign in the UK press were published by the Daily Mirror.[361] Regarding its Union-related articles, the Daily Mirror published half of these articles as supporting articles of the pro-remain campaign.[362] Also, the Daily Mirror had the lowest number of arguments which supported the pro-leave campaign. 43 percent of the articles that the Daily Mirror published were based on the economy. However, the topic the paper mostly emphasized compared to the other newspapers has been regulations, especially the ones regarding the rights of the workers.[363] Despite being a supporter of the pro-remain campaign like the left-wing of the UK, the Daily Mirror has mentioned quotations of politicians from the Conservative Party more than the ones from the Labor Party.[364]

According to research by Dr. Julie Firmstone, the Daily Mirror has been the only newspaper from the pro-remain side which shows its support at the last day of the referendum campaign, in contrast to the silent Guardian, the Times, and the Independent at the last day.[365] Even as they encouraged the voters to vote, they did

[359] Ibid, 19.

[360] Reuters, "Factbox: Britain's newspapers take sides in EU referendum debate", 22 June 2016, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-newspapers-factbox-idUSKCN0Z8194/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[361] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.15

[362] Ibid, 16.

[363] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.21

[364] Ibid, 27.

[365] Julie Firmstone, "Newspapers' editorial opinions during the referendum campaign", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.36

not prefer to emphasize their stance regarding Brexit while the newspapers which support the pro-leave side have uttered their campaign arguments much more the same day. On referendum day, the Daily Mirror warned the voters by implying that if they vote for leave, their country will go into darkness in its headline.[366]

3.2.8.2. The Guardian

According to an article published on Oxford University's website, one of the newspapers that published most articles which defended the pro-remain campaign has been the Guardian.[367] According to Bironzo and Aslan, The Guardian has been the newspaper which published the most articles supporting the pro-remain campaign in the first three weeks of the campaign process.[368] Also, Julie Firmstone adds that the paper has been the newspaper which supported the pro-remain campaign loudly and boldly compared to the other papers supporting the pro-remain side.[369]

The Guardian announced its official attitude towards the Brexit process and its support for the pro-remain campaign in the last week of the campaign process.[370] While announcing its support, the Guardian considered Brexit as being isolated and furious for the UK. It also argued that the UK should remain as an insider and connected by continuing to be a member of the Union. In their report published in 2016, regarding the attitudes of the UK's press through the Brexit process, researchers from Oxford wrote that the Guardian has been one of the newspapers which has shown a friendly attitude towards the European Union.[371] They also

[366] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.33

[367] University of Oxford, "UK newspapers' positions on Brexit", 23 May 2016, https://www.ox.ac.uk/news/2016-05-23-uk-newspapers-positions-brexit, accessed on 18 December 2022

[368] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.33

[369] Julie Firmstone, "Newspapers' editorial opinions during the referendum campaign", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.36

[370] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.18

[371] Ibid, 10-11.

argued that the Guardian had been one of the newspapers that had the longest articles defending the idea that the UK should remain as a part of the Union.[372]

By being one of the newspapers which gives the most space for the Brexit referendum in the UK press, the Guardian had 271 articles about the referendum - which made the Guardian the second newspaper regarding the article number[373] - and it published 14 percent of its referendum - related news on its front page.[374] 46 percent of the Guardian's Union-related articles were supporting articles for the pro-remain campaign.[375] Regarding the dimensions of the campaign arguments, the Guardian has been the newspaper that had sovereignty in its coverage the most.[376] The paper mostly emphasized the UK's being a sovereign country already regardless of being a member of the Union via its articles, for example, Jonathan Freedland's article.[377] In his article, Freedland argued that the UK does not need another establishment to have the power of controlling its own destiny because it already has that power, and he gives an example for it: He writes that without a referendum, the members of the parliament of the UK can always decide to cancel the European Communities Act of 1972 and leave the Union, and this shows how the UK is sovereign when it comes to its own decisions.[378] Freedland also argues that in the modern world, having national sovereignty has become less important compared to being sovereign in an international interdependence.[379]

Secondary to the sovereignty matter, Freedland put the economic matter forward and argued that the UK should not lose its benefits of being a member of the Union by

[372] Ibid.

[373] Ibid, 15.

[374] Ibid, 12-13.

[375] Ibid, 16.

[376] Ibid, 21.

[377] Jonathan Freedland, "The Brexit campaign is wrong: the UK is already a sovereign nation", The Guardian, 26 February 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/feb/26/brexit-campaign-wrong-uk-sovereign-nation-eu-masters-of-our-destiny-power, accessed on 18 December 2022

[378] Ibid.

[379] Ibid.

leaving the Single Market which it has advantageous trade deals with; actually, losing such an advantage in economic matters would mean less sovereignty for the UK, he argues.[380]

Even though by being a supporter of the pro-remain campaign like the left-wing of the UK, the Guardian has mentioned quotations of politicians from the Conservative Party more than the ones from the Labor Party.[381] According to research by YouGov, more than 90 percent of the Guardian's readers have been supporting the idea of remaining in the Union even before the Brexit referendum campaign process officially started.[382] Des Freedman argued that it was not a possible choice for the editors to go to the other way than its readers and support the opposite campaign side.[383]

3.2.8.3. Financial Times

Financial Times announced its official attitude towards the Brexit process and its support for the pro-remain campaign in the last week of the campaign process.[384] By reminding that it is the leading financial newspaper of the UK, Financial Times drew attention to the fact that leaving the Union would mean a strike to the liberal economic system founded after the II. World War.[385] The paper argued that this separation would also turn Great Britain into a Little England.[386]

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[380] Ibid.

[381] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.27

[382] Peter Kellner, "EU referendum: Provincial England versus London and the Celts", YouGov, 24 March 2016, https://yougov.co.uk/politics/articles/14987-eu-referendum-provincial-england-versus-london-and?redirect_from=%2Ftopics%2Fpolitics%2Farticles-reports%2F2016%2F03%2F24%2Feu-referendum-provincial-england-versus-london-and, accessed on 18 December 2022

[383] Des Freedman, "Divided Britain? We were already divided…", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p48

[384] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.18

[385] Reuters, "Factbox: Britain's newspapers take sides in EU referendum debate", 22 June 2016, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-newspapers-factbox-idUSKCN0Z8194/, accessed on 18 December 2022

[386] Ibid.

Despite that Financial Times has officially supported the pro-remain campaign, it included pro-leave campaign supporters' articles more than the pro-remain ones.[387] On referendum day, the paper drew attention to the increasing tension which the referendum caused.[388]

3.2.8.4. The Mail on Sunday

The Mail on Sunday has been a supporter of the pro-remain campaign with its strong opposition to the pro-leave one, with its arguments emphasizing how the pro-leave side is captured by the radical right-wing in the UK.[389] The paper announced its support for the pro-remain campaign four days before the referendum.[390] It argued that the UK would be more secure, wealthier, and freer within the Union.[391] According to the paper, getting forward and alongside the other European countries makes the UK's voice heard more.[392]

3.2.8.5. The Times

In contrast to its sister newspaper the Sunday Times, which is also owned by Rupert Murdoch who supported the pro-leave side, the Times supported the pro-remain campaign.[393] The Times announced its support for the pro-remain campaign six days before the referendum.[394] While announcing it, the paper argued that leading a

[387] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.31

[388] Ibid, 33.

[389] Staff and agencies, "Mail on Sunday backs remain as major papers declare sides in EU referendum", The Guardian, 19 June 2016, https://theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/19/mail-on-sunday-backs-remain-as-major-papers-declare-sides-in-eu-referendum, accessed on 18 December 2022

[390] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.43

[391] Staff and agencies, "Mail on Sunday backs remain as major papers declare sides in EU referendum", The Guardian, 19 June 2016, https://theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/19/mail-on-sunday-backs-remain-as-major-papers-declare-sides-in-eu-referendum, accessed on 18 December 2022

[392] Ibid.

[393] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.17

[394] Ibid, 43.

reform within the Union would be better for the UK instead of leaving it.[395] According to the research of YouGov, more than 60 percent of the Times' readers have been supporting the idea of remaining in the Union even before the Brexit referendum campaign process officially started.[396] Des Freedman argued that it was not a possible choice for the editors to go to the other way than its readers and support the opposite campaign side.[397]

Surprisingly, the Times had 36 percent of its articles in favor of Brexit, while 22 percent of them were in favor of the pro-remain campaign.[398] In the referendum day, the paper drew the attention to the Brexit threat which the last polls point out that it is possible.[399]

3.2.8.6. The Observer

The Observer has been one of the papers which accepted that there are problems in the UK that emerge because of the Union, but this is not a reason to leave it totally.[400] According to the Observer, being a member is a good thing for the UK when you look at the big picture. Staying in the Union would allow the UK to have a voice in the reshaping process of the Union's structure and decisions.[401] If the countries are

[395] Staff and agencies, "Mail on Sunday backs remain as major papers declare sides in EU referendum", The Guardian, 19 June 2016, https://theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/19/mail-on-sunday-backs-remain-as-major-papers-declare-sides-in-eu-referendum, accessed on 18 December 2022

[396] Peter Kellner, "EU referendum: Provincial England versus London and the Celts", YouGov, 24 March 2016, https://yougov.co.uk/politics/articles/14987-eu-referendum-provincial-england-versus-london-and?redirect_from=%2Ftopics%2Fpolitics%2Farticles-reports%2F2016%2F03%2F24%2Feu-referendum-provincial-england-versus-london-and, accessed on 18 December 2022

[397] Des Freedman, "Divided Britain? We were already divided…", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.48

[398] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.17

[399] Ibid, 33.

[400] Staff and agencies, "Mail on Sunday backs remain as major papers declare sides in EU referendum", The Guardian, 19 June 2016, https://theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/19/mail-on-sunday-backs-remain-as-major-papers-declare-sides-in-eu-referendum, accessed on 18 December 2022

[401] Ibid.

together under the roof of the Union, then they will be able to resolve the problems together and easier.[402]

3.3. Reason Behind the Majority of Pro-Leave Articles in the Pro-Remain Supporter Newspapers

One of the common points of the pro-remain supporter newspapers' articles is that they published more articles from the pro-leave campaign supporters than the pro-remain ones. Levy, Aslan and Bironzo explain that this may be an outcome of the insufficient campaign which was conducted by the Labor party's top politicians.[403] The Guardian and the Daily Mirror have quoted Jeremy Corbyn, the leader of the Labor Party in the Brexit process, only in maximum 4 percent of their articles.[404] On the other hand, the political leader of the pro-leave campaign, Boris Johnson, has been quoted three times more than Corbyn in these newspapers.[405] Thus, the report deduced that this situation reflects the insufficiency of the Labor-wing while supporting the pro-remain campaign.

3.4. Pro-Remain Campaign's Advertisements and Social Media Usage

The huge amount of social media usage by the pro-remain side can be seen in the amount of money they spent.[406] The Labor Party spent more than 1 million euros on Facebook and achieved visibility among 13 million people. However, the pro-remain side has been inefficient and slow regarding Twitter usage compared to the pro-leave side.[407]

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[402] Ibid.

[403] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.27

[404] Ibid, 33.

[405] Ibid.

[406] Andrew Mullen, "Leave versus Remain: the digital battle", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, June 2016, p.89

[407] Clare Llewellyn and Laura Cram, "The results are in and the UK will #Brexit: what did social media tell us about the UK's EU referendum?", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media,

In his article, Vyacheslav Polonski argued that it was clear that before the political defeat, the pro-remain side lost against the pro-leave side on the online.[408] He also stated that the pro-remain supporters underestimated the power of social media and did not see online competition as important as on the political ground.[409] According to Polonski, the pro-remain side saw social media as a place for teenagers and trolls; thus, it did not care for building emotional connections with voters, but it drew attention to calculated facts and arguments such as economic foresights.[410]

3.4.1. #VotIn

Britain Stronger in Europe aimed at attracting young voters towards its campaign and formed its social media strategy around this idea. Its online campaign was named #VotIn with the aim of using a language like the current one which the UK's young people use, especially on social media.[411] The g sound at the end was removed because youngsters use words this way such as workin, learnin, or chattin.[412] The #VotIn campaign did not just try to make a progress with naming the campaign in harmony with the language of young people but also with withstanding the argument that youngsters are apolitical when it comes to referendum-related discussions regarding immigration or economy.

The video for the #VotIn did not focus on politics or politicians, it drew attention to the comfortable and youthful lifestyle the UK's young people have when their

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Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.90

[408] Vyacheslav Polonski, "Impact of social media on the outcome of the EU referendum", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.94

[409] Ibid.

[410] Ibid.

[411] Omar Oakes, "EU referendum campaigns' most memorable ads", Campaign, 13 June 2016, https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/eu-referendum-campaigns-memorable-ads/1398404, accessed on 18 December 2022

[412] Jessica Elgot, "'Ravin, chattin, roamin': EU remain campaign video targets youth vote", The Guardian, 24 May 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/24/ravin-chattin-roamin-eu-remain-campaign-appeals-to-young-voters, accessed on 18 December 2022

country is a member of the Union; and also, to the benefits of membership for youngsters such as studying abroad and cheap traveling chances among the other member countries.[413] Sam Gyimah, who was the minister of education in the referendum campaign process, was a supporter of the pro-remain campaign, and he backed up the video of #VotIn and he argued that the current young generation would be a lost one if it loses the advantages that the Union gives them.[414] Also, he warned young people by arguing that they will have a hard time finding a job and traveling abroad; they will struggle with higher prices and have worse wages if the UK leaves the Union.

The video for the #VotIn campaign was designed by the venturethree, which is a brand consultancy company and helped Britain Stronger in Europe to build their communication strategy in the campaign process.[415] From the team which designed the video, Scott Townsin said their aim was to form an anti-establishment image in the eye of young people and by becoming one of the youngsters, the video aimed to build a relationship relying on empathy and closeness with them.[416]

The pro-leave campaign instantly started to criticize this video by accusing it of being insulting to both young people and the English language itself. For example, Chris York from the Huffington Post criticized the video by arguing that Britain Stronger in Europe puts the literacy of the UK in the second place after the aim of staying in the Union.[417] He named #VotIn as "Cringin" in his article. He drew attention to the other critical comments on social media and showed a tweet saying the video of #VotIn does not care about grammar of English and that young EU people are busy having fun.[418] Another tweet which was posted by James Cleverly,

[413] Ibid.

[414] Ibid.

[415] Ibid.

[416] Ibid.

[417] Chris York, "Stronger In's #Votin EU Referendum Youth Campaign Is... 'Interestin'", Huffpost, 24 May 2016, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/votin-eu-referendum-youth-campaign_uk_57442ec9e4b0e71ef36da768, accessed on 18 December 2022

who was a supporter of Brexit and from Conservative Party, said that #VotIn was like a parody made by the pro-leave campaign.[419] Moreover, some of the twitter users criticized the campaign for being patronizing and smarty towards the UK's youth regarding deciding whether to vote or not and to use their language correctly.[420]

3.4.2. Britain Stronger in Europe Poster

Britain Stronger in Europe used a poster designed by adam&eveDDB, a communications company which took a side alongside the pro-remain campaign in October 2015.[421] The company supported the campaign by finding the name and forming the launch film of it; in this poster, three most known politicians for being supporters of the pro-leave campaign were gambling around a table: Boris Johnson, Nigel Farage, and Michael Gove.[422] The voters were warned that their destiny was gambled on by these three men, and the poster suggests the voters withstand and vote for remain.[423]

3.4.3. Britain Stronger in Europe Advertisement

Britain Stronger in Europe campaign broadcast its first television advertisement in the last week of May 2016.[424] The campaign showed a baby in its first ad, and this baby wears a yellow hard hat resembling the one which is used by George Osborne, one of the supporters of the pro-remain campaign. Despite the label that the pro-

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[418] Ibid.

[419] Ibid.

[420] London (AP), "Pro-EU ad urges UK youth to get 'votin,' leaves some fumin", AP, 24 May 2016, https://apnews.com/article/9aa6314ec2ae442a856d82c811e28607, accessed on 18 December 2022

[421] Omar Oakes, "EU referendum campaigns' most memorable ads", Campaign, 13 June 2016, https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/eu-referendum-campaigns-memorable-ads/1398404, accessed on 18 December 2022

[422] Ibid.

[423] Ibid.

[424] Brian Wheeler, "Ad breakdown: Britain Stronger In Europe broadcast", BBC, 25 May 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36377201, accessed on 18 December 2022

leave side created for the pro-remain one, Project Fear, this ad brings cuteness into the forefront and emphasizes the dreams of the baby. The ad shows that if the UK leaves the Union, the baby will not be able to make his dream of having a car like he is playing in the ad come true in the future. Even some people saw this scene as a saving grace under the chaos of the referendum campaign process; according to Dr. Vincent Campbell, it did not have enough effect on neither in the mass media nor to create a friendly environment between the two campaign sides.[425]

In another scene of the ad, the digger that the baby is playing turns into a real life one, and there are seen workers.[426] At this point, the ad draws attention to the fact that more than three million people in the UK find jobs thanks to trade with the Union. According to political reporter Brian Wheeler, who is the author of the article, this ad is too inoffensive that it will not draw the attention of the public; as a result, the ad tries to show that the UK's future would be more secure within the Union, but it fails to represent a persuasive atmosphere for the pro-remain campaign.

3.4.4. Britain Stronger in Europe Poster

M&C Saatchi, a communication network, designed the first poster on behalf of Britain Stronger in Europe.[427] In the poster, the most known two politicians of the pro-leave campaign, Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage were shown as they were cutting the branch of the tree they were sitting on.

3.4.5. Britain Stronger in Europe Twitter Usage

Simon Usherwood and Katharine Wright argue in their article that Britain Stronger in Europe used their Twitter strategy mostly constructed around economy and business

[425] Vincent Campbell, "Referendum campaign broadcasts on television: a generational clash?", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.68

[426] Brian Wheeler, "Ad breakdown: Britain Stronger In Europe broadcast", BBC, 25 May 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36377201, accessed on 18 December 2022

[427] Omar Oakes, "EU referendum campaigns' most memorable ads", Campaign, 13 June 2016, https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/eu-referendum-campaigns-memorable-ads/1398404, accessed on 18 December 2022

dimensions of the campaign process.[428] Thus, it has mostly mentioned domestic issues.

3.4.6. Labor in for Britain Poster

Labor In For Britain campaign used a poster in harmony with its main purpose in the campaign process: To emphasize worker rights.[429] In the poster, there is a paper in which rights that the UK's workers have when their country is a member of the Union are written. Beside this paper, there is the tore up version of it, referring to the time when the UK was no longer a part of the Union, and workers lost all these rights of them.

3.4.7. Lib Dems Poster

Lib Dems chose to publish a poster which recreates the poster published in World War II era by the British government.[430] In the original poster saying Careless Talk Costs Lives with a drawing which shows a couple having dinner and talking, Hitler makes his evil plans in front of them by saying it does not bother him that careless people know his plans because they are not acting against them. In the Lib Dems' version of the poster, instead of the couple, Boris Johnson and Jeremy Corbyn are having dinner and thanking each other for delivering Brexit, and the poster says now that Careless Votes Cost Lives.

3.4.8. Lib Dems Facebook Usage

Lib Dems created a Facebook page putting a picture of their group as the profile picture where they wear Stop Brexit t-shirts.[431] They had almost three thousand

[428] Simon Usherwood and Katharine Wright, "Talking past each other: the Twitter campaigns", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.96

[429] Omar Oakes, "EU referendum campaigns' most memorable ads", Campaign, 13 June 2016, https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/eu-referendum-campaigns-memorable-ads/1398404, accessed on 18 December 2022

[430] Olivia Rose Fox, "Is this the most shocking anti-Brexit poster campaign yet? Lib Dems launch rip-off WWII campaign in Manchester", Manchester Evening News, 25 October 2019, https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/special-features/most-shocking-anti-brexit-poster-17134571, accessed on 18 December 2022

[431] Lib Dem MEPs, Home (Facebook), https://www.facebook.com/LibDemMEPs/, accessed on 18 December 2022

followers and they published other pictures of their group where they attend marches in favor of anti-Brexit protests. Also, they posted the current agenda of Brexit and various articles from the authors in favor of the pro-remain campaign.

3.4.9. Best for Britain and People's Vote Facebook Usage

With Best For Britain, People's Vote published sixteen Facebook advertisements, which means the pro-remain side published two times more Facebook ads compared to the pro-leave side.[432]

3.4.10. Conservatives In Posters

Conservatives In published its advertisement which was designed by M&C Saatchi and conducted its campaign through digital platforms.[433] In the poster, there are two options for voters to choose: Remain or retreat, with a quote from David Cameron implying that Britain does not run from a problem and quit but it stays and fights. Also, the poster says that this choice of the public would be once and for all; and with the design of M&C Saatchi, Conservatives In used another poster showing a woman whose mouth was closed with a tape and warning the voters about not being silent and using their right to stay in the Union.

3.4.11. M&C Saatchi Poster

M&C Saatchi published its last design of a poster on behalf of the pro-remain campaign two days before the referendum.[434] In the poster, there was a door opening to darkness with a note that voting to leave the Union would be irreversible.

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[432] Rowland Manthorpe, "Remain v Leave: Scale of Facebook ad war revealed", Sky News, 21 October 2018, https://news.sky.com/story/remain-v-leave-scale-of-facebook-ad-war-revealed-11530148, accessed on 18 December 2022

[433] Omar Oakes, "EU referendum campaigns' most memorable ads", Campaign, 13 June 2016, https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/eu-referendum-campaigns-memorable-ads/1398404, accessed on 18 December 2022

[434] Ibid.

3.4.12. David Cameron's Meeting with Digital Leaders

One month before the referendum, David Cameron had a meeting with thirty representatives from pioneer technology companies such as Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook.[435] These representatives were chosen from a group who were more likely to vote remain.[436]

3.4.13. Hug a Brit

Hug a Brit, which was a pro-remain campaign wholly conducted on social media, was formed by the people from various European countries, except the UK.[437] Katrin Lock, who was the pioneer of Hug a Brit, aimed to spread love through the Hugs among Europeans and Britons by encouraging Europeans via social media.[438] People from other European countries shared their photos with Briton friends while hugging to support the campaign and the campaign mostly addressed to emotional contents such as friendship, love, and unity.

3.4.14. #CatsAgainstBrexit

Emerging from the UK's public, #CatsAgainstBrexit campaign was supported by the pro-remain supporters and Twitter users who were also cat owners.[439] They posted their cats' photos and added texts which they say their cat is sad or angry about immigrant and workers' rights to unify and go viral on Twitter with the others who also do not want to leave the Union.[440]

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[435] Andrew Mullen, "Leave versus Remain: the digital battle", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.89

[436] Ibid.

[437] Staff and agencies, "Brexit: Hug a Brit campaign aims to convince Britons to remain in EU", The Guardian, 13 April 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/13/brexit-hug-a-brit-campaign-britons-vote-remain, accessed on 18 December 2022

[438] Ibid.

[439] Ben Quinn, "Fur flies as #CatsAgainstBrexit stirs up EU debate", The Guardian, 21 June 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/jun/21/fur-flies-as-cats-against-brexit-stir-up-eu-debate, accessed on 18 December 2022

[440] Ibid.

3.4.15. Pro-Remain Side Twitter Usage

The pro-remain side increased its Twitter posts at the final weeks of the campaign process and according to the article of Laura Cram and Clare Llewellyn, this leap of the campaign on Twitter was because the pro-remain supporters realized that Brexit was not impossible.[441] Also, it was clear that the number of people who tweet for the sake of the pro-remain campaign would not pass the ones who tweet for the pro-leave one; thus, on the referendum day, the pro-remain supporters tweeted almost four times more than the usual frequency they tweet in the other days of the campaign process.[442]

3.5. Reasons Behind Pro-Remain Campaign's Failure

The failure of the pro-remain campaign was a result of three facts. Firstly, Euroscepticism has been rooted in the UK's both public and mass media since the beginning. Secondly, the supporters of the pro-remain campaign remained incapable of informing the UK's public regarding the European Union, its relationship with their country, and the UK's place within it.[443] According to Christoph Meyer, besides the insufficient amount of knowledge that the UK's public had about the Union, the pro-remain campaign side was also insufficient to widen this inadequate knowledge of the public and he argued that pioneers of the pro-remain campaign, such as Jeremy Corbyn, were also imprecise when it comes to elaborate their reasons of arguing that Brexit is an undemocratic aim.[444]

Similarly, Kirsty Hughes, who is a commentator on European politics criticized the communication failure of the pro-remain campaign and argued that the pro-remain

[441] Clare Llewellyn and Laura Cram, "The results are in and the UK will #Brexit: what did social media tell us about the UK's EU referendum?", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.90

[442] Ibid.

[443] Christoph Meyer, "Why facts did matter in the campaign", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.59

[444] Ibid.

side failed to even show the clear misdirection of the pro-leave campaign.[445] For example, the UK giving 350 million euros every week to the Union was an obvious fake news; however, despite its recognition as an anti-Brexit institution, even the BBC did not make an effort to prove that such claims did not reflect the truth.

The third fact that led the pro-remain side fail was their insufficiency to maintain the public attention towards their campaign and arguments in the last month of the campaign process.[446] The pro-remain supporters did not give enough care to present convincing arguments and just repeated their already spoken discourses.

[445] Kirsty Hughes, "Neither tackling lies nor making the case: the Remain side", June 2016, EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.65

[446] Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

THE PRO-LEAVE CAMPAIGN

This chapter will present the arguments and actions of the pro-leave campaign; by referring to the crucial actors, establishments, and public views on the Brexit campaign process.

4.1. Euroscepticism

In 1985, the Euroscepticism term was used for the first time in a British newspaper, referring to a distrustful perspective towards the policies of the European Union.[447] This means the word emerged as a media concept at first, but then it turned into a social science concept, especially referring to Thatcherism in the UK.[448] It has been discussed whether it is beneficial or not to be one of the member states of the Union for decades among both the governments and publics of the member states.[449] European integration has been also considered suspiciously as well by the same actors and resulted in increasing rate of Euroscepticism within the Union.[450]

Euroscepticism has been seen as a British disease for a long time, until two specific events happened: Negation of Constitutional Treaty in France and Netherlands' referendums in 2005, and negation of Lisbon Treaty in Irish referendum in 2008.[451]

[447] Mehlika Ozlem Ultan and Serdar Ornek, "Euroscepticism in the European Union", International Journal of Social Sciences 4, no.2, January 2015, p.52

[448] Agnès Alexandre-Collier, "Euroscepticism under Margaret Thatcher and David Cameron : From Theory to Practice", L'héritage du thatchérisme, 2015, pp.115-133

[449] Mehlika Ozlem Ultan and Serdar Ornek, "Euroscepticism in the European Union", International Journal of Social Sciences 4, no.2, January 2015, p.49

[450] Ibid.

[451] Ibid.

Referring to criticism of the European integration and being unhappy about the Union's certain policies, Euroscepticism has become the main starting point of the Brexit ideas and process.[452]

Especially after 2008, the tendency to research Euroscepticism increased in the academia, and Kaniok and Kominkova define this tendency as the second Eurosceptic wave right after the Eurozone crisis.[453] They argue that Eurozone crisis resulted in Euroscepticism becoming a mainstream in terms of politics because it became crucial to both elites and public in today's world.[454]

Similarly, Petr Kaniok and Magda Kominkova argue that Euroscepticism is associated with the European Parliament now, and this relationship is fed by the differences between the member of the parliaments and the electorate.[455] Even though the pandemic and Ukraine's invasion by Russia strengthened unity within the Union, Eurosceptic attitudes were still about to scale up.[456] According to an analysis made by Othmar Karas in 2021, Euroscepticism is still a critical political tendency.[457] Thus, the Union should be cautious towards this tendency because its consequences affect both borders and the interior structure of the Union, such as in the case of Brexit.[458]

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[452] UKANDEU, "What is a Eurosceptic?", https://ukandeu.ac.uk/the-facts/what-is-a-eurosceptic/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[453] Petr Kaniok and Magda Komínková, "Hard and Soft Euroscepticism in the European Parliament", Cambridge University Press 30, no.1, 6 July 2020

[454] Nathalie Brack and Nicholas Startin, "Introduction: Euroscepticism, from the margins to the mainstream", International Political Science Review 36, no.3, June 2015, pp239-249

[455] Petr Kaniok and Magda Komínková, "Hard and Soft Euroscepticism in the European Parliament", Cambridge University Press 30, no.1, 6 July 2020

[456] Olan McEvoy, "Euroscepticism - Statistics & Facts", Statista, 14 August 2023, https://www.statista.com/topics/10425/euroscepticism/#topicOverview, accessed on 1 September 2023

[457] Michael Kaeding, Johannes Pollak, and Paul Schmidt, "Euroscepticism and the future of Europe: views from the capitals", Consilium, 5 March 2021, https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/documents-publications/library/library-blog/posts/euroscepticism-and-the-future-of-europe-views-from-the-capitals/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[458] Ibid.

According to research made in 2022, one in every eight Union citizens had a negative mindset towards the Union.[459] The reason behind being Eurosceptic for the Union's citizens lies in Union's undemocratic and heavily bureaucratic image; however, the majority of the Union's citizens keep being positive towards the Union's future.[460]

In the literature, there are two terms to indicate the different approaches to Euroscepticism: Soft Euroscepticism and hard Euroscepticism. According to Kaniok and Kominkiva, these two types of Euroscepticism refer to two particular perspectives regarding European integration.[461] Thus, they are not distinctive from each other in terms of the extent of Euroscepticism.[462]

4.1.1. Soft Euroscepticism

According to Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak's article, soft Euroscepticism results from the distrust towards some of the European Union policies regarding national interest and sovereignty.[463] The complaints towards the integration process and policies do not result in fragmentations or strong ideal separations in terms of the relationship between the country and the Union, but they remain as concerns in the level of soft Euroscepticism.[464] Rather than opposing the systematic features and ideologies which the Union has accepted for itself, such as supranationalism or neo-liberalism, the soft Eurosceptics oppose the secondary actions of the Union, such as

[459] Olan McEvoy, "Share of respondents indicating they have a positive, negative, or neutral feelings towards the European Union in 2022, by EU member state", Statista, 31 January 2023, https://www.statista.com/statistics/1359668/euroscepticism-public-opinion-eu-image/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[460] Olan McEvoy, "Euroscepticism - Statistics & Facts", Statista, 14 August 2023, https://www.statista.com/topics/10425/euroscepticism/#topicOverview, accessed on 1 September 2023

[461] Petr Kaniok and Magda Komínková, "Hard and Soft Euroscepticism in the European Parliament", Cambridge University Press 30, no.1, 6 July 2020

[462] Ibid.

[463] Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak, "The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States", Sussex European Institute, University of Sussex, no.51, June 2002, p.7

[464] Ibid.

policies or regulations.[465] A soft Eurosceptic perspective may be reformed according to the changes and regulations that take place in existing policies of the Union.[466]

Soft Euroscepticism can be seen as the first step to indicate the reasons of skepticism towards European integration, and working on soft Euroscepticism helps to define the different phases from soft Euroscepticism to hard Euroscepticism.[467] Moreover, the Union's member states tend to be soft Eurosceptic rather than being hard Eurosceptic and soft Euroscepticism is much more frequent among the political parties compared to hard Euroscepticism.[468]

According to the article of Susannah Verney, Kyriaki Nanou, and Ben Clements, soft Euroscepticism is a base which gathers from all kinds of views regarding perspectives on life and philosophies.[469] This means that soft Euroscepticism is much more of an embracing platform than hard Euroscepticism, thus, it shows a wider variety of views towards the integration process and the Union's policies compared to hard Euroscepticism.[470]

4.1.2. Hard Euroscepticism

Unlike soft Euroscepticism, hard Euroscepticism refers to a much more organized and fully contrasting view towards European integration. Thus, hard Eurosceptics are not only opposed to the policies of the Union, but they are also opposed to being a member of the Union.[471] Enmity towards the Union regarding its core elements, such

[465] Ibid, 4.

[466] European Center for Populism Studies, "Soft Euroscepticism", https://www.populismstudies.org/Vocabulary/soft-euroscepticism/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[467] Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak, "The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States", Sussex European Institute, University of Sussex, no.51, June 2002, p.7

[468] Ibid, 22.

[469] European Center for Populism Studies, "Soft Euroscepticism", https://www.populismstudies.org/Vocabulary/soft-euroscepticism/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[470] Ibid.

[471] Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak, "The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States", Sussex European Institute, University of Sussex, no.51, June 2002, p.7

as being opposed to its neoliberal perspective and supranational structure are parts of the hard Euroscepticism too.[472] As it was mentioned in the Soft Euroscepticism title, because hard Euroscepticism is much unlikely to be found in the political parties compared to soft Euroscepticism, hard Euroscepticism can be seen in the extreme political discourses and actions.[473]

According to the research of Kaniok and Kominkova, public appearance is not a preferred way for hard Eurosceptics to express their ideas, and this characteristic puts them in the category of absentee, created by Nathalie Brack.[474] Absentee category refers to a narrow involvement within the parliament and low level of focus on the voters and national scope.[475]

According to research made in 2020, Eurosceptic parties has doubled their vote share within two decades and this doubling was a result of rising radicalism and populism within the Union's member states; surprisingly, support for the Union maintains its high volume as well.[476] Matthijs Rooduijn, a political scientist, argues that people got more skeptical towards its existence especially after certain events: Migration crisis, eurozone crisis, and Brexit.[477] Thus, it is not surprising that Euroscepticism will maintain its primary place within the political agenda.

4.1.3. Brexit as an Outcome of Hard Euroscepticism

By being the most apparent and strong outcome of both party and public-based hard Euroscepticism, Brexit has radically changed the relationship between the European

[472] Ibid, 8.

[473] Ibid, 25.

[474] Petr Kaniok and Magda Komínková, "Hard and Soft Euroscepticism in the European Parliament", Cambridge University Press 30, no.1, 6 July 2020

[475] LSE Blog Team, "Giving a voice to Eurosceptic MEPs in the European Parliament is an important part of making the integration process more legitimate", LSE, 25 February 2013, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2013/02/25/euroscepticism-in-the-eu-institutions-nathalie-brack-legitimacy-eurosceptic-meps/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[476] Jon Henley, "Support for Eurosceptic parties doubles in two decades across EU", The Guardian, 2 March 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/02/support-for-eurosceptic-parties-doubles-two-decades-across-eu, accessed on 1 September 2023

[477] Ibid.

Union and the United Kingdom.[478] While Brexit meant the necessity of future reforms for some, some others thought that the Union must get stronger to prevent such similar incidents.[479] As it was mentioned in the Hard Euroscepticism part, Brexit began from a soft Eurosceptic perspective because of the complaints about some certain policies of the Union, and then, it has turned to a more solid wish, in other words to a hard Eurosceptic perspective, with the process management of a hard Eurosceptic party - Conservative Party - and with the aim of being separated from the Union.[480]

Taggart and Szczerbiak used the term 'exit-sceptic', which is the highest level of hard Euroscepticism, to define the member states or their citizens that wish to leave the European Union completely.[481] Moreover, Kopecky and Mudde used the term 'Eurorejects' to define the same attitude of people who are against the Union's integration and the Union itself.[482] On the other hand, de Vries drew the attention to another characteristic of exit-sceptics and defined them as people who consider nation states as the only functional political organization.[483] She also identified the profile of an exit-sceptic specifically: elder man having a lower education level and living in a country which has a low unemployment rate.[484] This definition suits well with people who live in the UK and presents the profile of people who have a hard Eurosceptic perspective and support Brexit.[485]

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[478] LSE Blog Team, "Hard choices and few soft options: The implications of Brexit for Euroscepticism across Europe", LSE, 5 August 2016, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2016/08/05/hard-choices-and-few-soft-options-the-implications-of-brexit-for-euroscepticism-across-europe/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[479] Ibid.

[480] Neriman Hocaoğlu Bahadır, "Brexit and the Possibility of 'Domino Effect'", Fırat Üniversitesi İİBF Uluslararası İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi, 24 November 2021, p.4

[481] Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak, "The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States", Sussex European Institute, University of Sussex, no.51, June 2002, p.7

[482] Petr Kopecký and Cas Mudde, "The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe", European Union Politics 3, no.3, September 2002, pp.302

[483] Catherine E. De Vries, "Euroscepticism and the Future of European Integration", Oxford Academic, 18 January 2018

[484] Ibid.

[485] Ibid.

According to Rowena Mason's article, Brexit is not a result of only the successful campaign process of the pro-leave side, but mostly the result of the Euroscepticism rooted strongly in the past of the UK's public.[486] Mason also argued that since 1973, which is the year the UK joined the common market, the anti-European campaigners have been already trying to withdraw the UK's membership to the EU-related institutions and formations.[487] Similarly, Paul Rowinski argued that the anti-EU identity of the UK started to be out when the UK decided to be a friend of Europe but not a part of it after the World War II.[488] Moreover, because the membership to the Union was first economics- related, and then it turned into a more complex membership including politics and foreign affairs, Eurosceptics have become much more uncomfortable with the membership of the UK.[489] In other words, the fact that it was an economic integration at first and then it has become a political one too, made Eurosceptics more disturbed about European integration.[490]

Eurosceptics defended that the thing they agreed when joining the EEC was only the economic merger, not the political association and they accused Brussel's political elites for not being accountable and responsible, and they emphasized the fact that the UK citizens did not choose these policymakers with their democratic right to vote.[491] Moreover, Eurosceptics argued that the Union is highly disconnected with the people it governs by referring to the five presidents that the Union has whose name no one in the UK knows.[492]

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[486] Rowena Mason, "How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?", The Guardian, 24 June 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/how-did-uk-end-up-voting-leave-european-union, accessed on 1 September 2023

[487] Ibid.

[488] Paul Rowinski, "Mind the gap: the language of prejudice and the press omissions that led a people to the precipice", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.52

[489] Rowena Mason, "How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?", The Guardian, 24 June 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/how-did-uk-end-up-voting-leave-european-union, accessed on 1 September 2023

[490] Ibid.

[491] Ibid.

[492] Ibid.

Mason also added that leaving the Union has already been in the agenda of both the Labor and Conservative Party: According to Andrew Crines, the Conservative Party has been having internal conflicts regarding the relationship between the Union and the UK since Margaret Thatcher left the government.[493] When the time of Cameron's rule came, Cameron has shown more tolerance than it was needed to the Eurosceptics to not to harm his authority and when the issue of migration added to the list of the reasons to leave the Union, it strengthened the hands of the Eurosceptics in the UK.[494]

4.1.4. Euroscepticism in Printed Media

In his article, Dominic Wring analyzes the growing process of Euroscepticism in the UK's printed media, starting from the era before the UK became a member of the European Union.[495] He argues that when the idea of European integration was mentioned at the beginning, the possible negative attitude of the working class of the UK has become a main issue for the Herald newspapers, which turned into the Sun later.[496]

According to Prof. Wring, the emphasis on Euroscepticism has been rising gradually since the UK's joining the EEC in the printed media.[497] Similarly, Oliver Daddow argued that the press has been active spreading anti-EU ideas by referring to the Union as an undemocratic Brussels machine which ruins the UK's liberty and institutions.[498] In the early membership era, the EEC was mainly criticized based on

[493] Andrew S. Crines, "The rhetoric of the EU Referendum campaign", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.61

[494] Rowena Mason, "How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?", The Guardian, 24 June 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/how-did-uk-end-up-voting-leave-european-union, accessed on 1 September 2023

[495] Dominic Wring, "From Super-Market to Orwellian Super-State: the origins and growth of newspaper scepticism", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.12

[496] Ibid.

[497] Ibid.

[498] Oliver Daddow, "UK newspapers and the EU Referendum: Brexit or Bremain?", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.50

economic issues in the newspapers supporting the left-wing side, such as the Morning Star.[499] The breaking point of the rising skepticism happened when the Sun published its headline Up Yours Delors in 1990, and after this headline, the issues of European integration and the UK's membership to the EEC have drawn much more attention in the printed media.[500] The Sun continued publishing Eurosceptic articles and in 1992, when Britain left the ERM, the Sun implied that the dream of European integration in the UK was not going to happen. When the Maastricht Treaty was signed and the EEC became the EU, the number of Eurosceptic articles increased once again; then, the Daily Mirror became the only newspaper which supported the pro-European side for a while.[501]

Boris Johnson, who was one of the correspondents of the Telegraph in that time, tried to reduce the trust of the UK's public towards the Commission by implying that Brussels excessively interferes with the UK's business; the newspapers, especially the Times, signified Europe as the biggest issue for the 1997 general elections of the UK and The Times suggested to the public that voting for an Eurosceptic leader would be much better for the UK's sake.[502]

4.1.5. Public Debates which Affected the Campaign Strategies

According to Charlie Beckett, the mass media created a considerable amount of debate and arguments during the campaign process for people to think about and decide which side they will follow.[503] Similarly, Oliver Daddow argued that thanks to the mass media of the UK, especially the newspapers, the public had the chance to see various parameters of the referendum process and form their perspectives

[499] Dominic Wring, "From Super-Market to Orwellian Super-State: the origins and growth of newspaper scepticism", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.12

[500] Ibid.

[501] Ibid.

[502] Ibid.

[503] Charlie Beckett, "Deliberation, distortion and dystopia: the news media and the referendum", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.49

through them.[504] Beckett argues that the role of mass media was limited in a short time, but it has been effective anyway; and there were two things that preceded the role of mass media during the Brexit referendum campaign: The public and the politicians.[505] Beckett argued that the real actors who determined the agenda of the campaign process were the politicians and the public.[506] In terms of politicians' influence, Beckett argues that the politicians were given enough place in the mass media and had the chance to spread their arguments among the public.[507]

According to Andrew Geddes, the Brexit referendum was mainly about immigration and the failures of the UK governments' policies regarding immigration have become motivation for the public to support the idea of leaving the Union.[508] When the number of the immigrants coming from the other member countries of the Union to the UK increased, immigration became a critical problem that needs to be solved for the UK's public.[509]

According to Andrew Glencross, after prime minister Cameron's unsuccessful negotiations with the Union regarding the immigration issue, there were two crucial outcomes.[510] Firstly, it has once again become clear that the immigration issue was a winning tool for the pro-leave campaign; secondly, even the pro-remain campaign supporters, such as the former prime minister Theresa May and a member of Labor

[504] Oliver Daddow, "UK newspapers and the EU Referendum: Brexit or Bremain?", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.50

[505] Charlie Beckett, "Deliberation, distortion and dystopia: the news media and the referendum", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.49

[506] Ibid.

[507] Ibid.

[508] Andrew Geddes, "The referendum and Britain's broken immigration politics", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.18

[509] Ibid.

[510] Andrew Glencross, "The great miscalculation: David Cameron's renegotiation and the EU Referendum campaign", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.19

Party Yvette Cooper, accepted in the final days of the campaign process that the immigration policies of the existing and pro-remain supporter government were not enough and should be discussed and negotiated again.[511] Also, other parties from the pro-remain side such as the Scottish National Party did not want to support Cameron's negotiation strategy, and this decreased the credibility of the pro-remain side in the eyes of the UK's public.[512]

4.1.6. Comparison of 1975 and 2016 Referendums of the UK

According to the article of Jay Blumler, there are three crucial similarities between the 1975 EEC referendum and the 2016 Brexit referendum of the UK: Firstly, the rate of the number of people voting in both referendums was high; secondly, there were umbrella organizations regarding the separation of the pro-remain and pro-leave sides in both referendums; thirdly, the main issues which dominated the campaign era discussions were economy and sovereignty in both referendums.[513]

On the other hand, Blumler argues that there are four crucial differences between the 1975 and the 2016 referendums in the same article: Firstly, the campaign has found a smaller place in the television discussion programs in 1975 compared to 2016; secondly, the extent of trust the UK's public feel towards the lead politicians of the 1975 was much more compared to the 2016 campaign; thirdly, broadcasters of the 1975 referendum tried much more to convey information to the UK's public than the 2016 ones; fourthly, the 1975 campaigners attached much more importance to be seen in the television news.[514]

According to Wring's article, there was one more difference between the 1975 and 2016 referendums: While most of the newspapers in the first one supported

[511] Ibid.

[512] Ibid.

[513] Jay Blumler, "EEC/EU campaigning in long-term perspective", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.11

[514] Ibid.

remaining in the EEC, except the Morning Star; a considerable part of the newspapers has supported leaving the Union in the later one.[515] Thus, the unity among the printed media towards the relationship between the Union and the UK has evolved and broken down through the years and converted into a much more divided sphere.[516]

In their article, Stephen Cushion and Justin Lewis criticize the fact that independent campaigners from both sides, who are not from a specific party or institution, have appeared on televisions very few times; thus, the count of analysis made by the independent actors have also been very few as well.[517] Journalists did not intervene in the arguments of the campaign supporters and they let them share their ideas without checking if the statistics they present were true or not; this resulted in knowledge sharing from both sides of the campaign like a free-argument platform which was provided by the broadcasters.[518]

4.2. Pro-Leave Campaign Supporters' Common Arguments

According to the ones who wanted to leave the European Union, there have been three crucial points that summarize their perspective: Immigration, economy, and sovereignty. Firstly, the pro-leave supporters argued that the intense immigration to the United Kingdom was a consequence of being a member of the Union and was leading the country to be more insecure and unfair. Immigration has been the most mentioned political topic through the campaign process in the media, especially within the last month.[519] Especially three tabloids – The Daily Express, The Daily

[515] Dominic Wring, "From Super-Market to Orwellian Super-State: the origins and growth of newspaper scepticism", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.12

[516] Ibid.

[517] Stephen Cushion and Justin Lewis, "Scrutinising statistical claims and constructing balance: Television news coverage of the 2016 EU Referendum", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.40

[518] Ibid.

[519] Kathryn Simpson and Nick Startin, "Tabloid Tales: How the British Tabloid Press Shaped the Brexit Vote", Journal of Common Market Studies 61, no.2, March 2023, p.311

Mail, The Sun – have spread the negative narratives regarding immigration.[520] Immigration issue has been mentioned in 4383 articles during the campaign process.[521] Sir Lynton Crosby, a political strategist, announced in the Daily Telegraph that 41 percent of the Brexit referendum voters would vote Leave after the pro-leave campaign officially started.[522] Moreover, 52 percent of them was also arguing that if the UK leaves the Union, it would make the immigration system of the country better.[523] Thus, Crosby proposed that immigration should be made a much more wider issue for the discourses of the pro-leave campaign to convince the other 11 percent of the voters.[524]

In terms of insecurity and unfairness, the justice secretary Michael Gove argued that if the UK leaves the Union, then it would mean making the country's borders safer and more controlled.[525] He also warned that if the European integration continues and the UK is still a part of it, there would be 88 million immigrants coming to the UK from the prospective member countries of the Union, especially from the poor ones.[526] Albania, which shares its borders with Montenegro, was seen as the most possible new member of the Union in that time.[527] Security concerns have also been rooted in this possible membership because Montenegro is known for money-

[520] Ibid.

[521] Martin Moore and Gordon Ramsay, "UK media coverage of the 2016 EU Referendum campaign", King's College London, May 2017, p.64

[522] Lynton Crosby, "Remain pulls ahead of Leave in EU referendum poll as David Cameron's leaflet hits home", The Telegraph, 19 April 2016, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/04/18/remain-pulls-ahead-of-leave-in-eu-referendum-poll-as-david-camer/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[523] Ibid.

[524] Ibid.

[525] James Slack and Hugo Duncan, "Brexit would make UK safer, says Gove as he sets out security and border changes that could be made if Britain leaves the EU", Daily Mail, 7 May 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3578036/Brexit-make-UK-safer-says-Gove-sets-security-border-changes-Britain-leaves-EU.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[526] Michael Gove, "Think the EU's bad now? Wait until Albania joins: With piercing logic and passionate eloquence, MICHAEL GOVE warns that EU expansion will open our borders to 88million from Europe's poorest countries", Daily Mail, 30 April 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3566620/Michael-Gove-warns-EU-expansion-open-borders-88-million-Europe-s-poorest-countries.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[527] Ibid.

laundering and narcotics trafficking; moreover, another prospective member Turkey brings the risk of becoming a neighbor of different Islamic states.[528]

Secondly, according to most of the pro-leave supporters, the economy has been another pillar of their perspective which was mostly related to immigration.[529] Economy issue has been mentioned in 7028 articles during the campaign process.[530] According to them, people coming from different countries of the Union were jeopardizing public services of the UK, thus, the economy.[531] They also threaten the citizens of the UK in terms of housing, employment, and wages, at the end, their fundamental life standards.[532] In addition to immigration, poverty was another main economic reason for the UK's public, especially for the ones who have less than 20 thousand euros a year as income and have less education level and job qualities.[533] According to a research of Joseph Rowntree Foundation, there was a direct proportion between people's dependency on the Union regarding economy and their wish to vote leave.[534] Moreover, the financial crash of 2008 and euro-zone crisis of 2009 have also been effective on people's wish to leave the Union, as they affected the economy of the UK worse than the other member states'.[535] Because the UK contributed more than it took from the Union, it also created a feeling of unfairness in the eyes of the UK's public regarding economy.[536]

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[528] Ibid.

[529] Martin Moore and Gordon Ramsay, "UK media coverage of the 2016 EU Referendum campaign", King's College London, May 2017, p.57

[530] Ibid, 8.

[531] Ibid, 57.

[532] Michael Gove, "Think the EU's bad now? Wait until Albania joins: With piercing logic and passionate eloquence, MICHAEL GOVE warns that EU expansion will open our borders to 88million from Europe's poorest countries", Daily Mail, 30 April 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3566620/Michael-Gove-warns-EU-expansion-open-borders-88-million-Europe-s-poorest-countries.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[533] Matthew Goodwin and Oliver Heath, "Brexit vote explained: poverty, low skills and lack of opportunities", JRF, 31 August 2016, https://www.jrf.org.uk/political-mindsets/brexit-vote-explained-poverty-low-skills-and-lack-of-opportunities, accessed on 1 September 2023

[534] Moya Jones, "Wales and the Brexit Vote", The Brexit Referendum of 23 June 2016, 23 June 2016

[535] Helen Thompson, "Inevitability and contingency: The political economy of Brexit", British Journal of Politics & International Relations 19, no.3, June 2017, p.7

[536] Miklos Somai and Zsuzsanna Biedermann, "Brexit: Reasons and Challenges", Acta Oeconomica, p.142

Thirdly, sovereignty has been a secondary issue after economy and immigration for the pro-leave supporters and it has been seen same as taking back control.[537] Sovereignty issue has been mentioned in 1924 articles during the campaign process.[538] The argument that being a member of the Union jeopardizes the UK's sovereignty was mostly used by the intellectuals of the right-wing, such as Boris Johnson and Michael Gove.[539] This argument mostly emerged from the fact that the latest treaties of the Union have given most of the power which belong to the individual member states to the Union itself.[540] Because the UK expected a balance of power while being a member of the Union, the structure of supranational organizations did not match up with the UK's sensibility of sovereignty.[541] Moreover, pro-leave supporters argued that European Commission was not accountable to any of the member states' public; that once the body of the European Commission is chosen, people do not have a right to ask for transparency regarding the decisions that the Union takes.[542]

4.3. Supporters of the Pro-Leave Campaign

4.3.1. Political Campaign Groups of the Pro-Leave Campaign

4.3.1.1. Vote Leave

The official and main group supporting the leave campaign during the Brexit process, Vote Leave, was launched in October 2015 and became official in April

[537] Martin Moore and Gordon Ramsay, "UK media coverage of the 2016 EU Referendum campaign", King's College London, May 2017, p.116

[538] Ibid.

[539] Timothy B. Lee, "Brexit: the 7 most important arguments for Britain to leave the EU", Vox, 25 June 2016, https://www.vox.com/2016/6/22/11992106/brexit-arguments, accessed on 1 September 2023

[540] Ibid.

[541] Miklos Somai and Zsuzsanna Biedermann, "Brexit: Reasons and Challenges", Acta Oeconomica, p.149

[542] Timothy B. Lee, "Brexit: the 7 most important arguments for Britain to leave the EU", Vox, 25 June 2016, https://www.vox.com/2016/6/22/11992106/brexit-arguments, accessed on 1 September 2023

2016.[543] Vote Leave has been supported by six crucial political actors: the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, and five Cabinet ministers.[544] Compared to the other pro-leave campaigns, Vote Leave has been the most supported one by various political parties such as Conservative, Labor and the UKIP.[545] It firstly emphasized economic disadvantages of the Union while it emphasized immigration issue in the last months of the campaign process.[546] In March 2016, the campaign announced fifty immigrants' names who committed serious crimes within the UK and came from the other member countries of the Union.[547] The group used "Take back control" as its slogan and described its prior topics as money, economy, borders, security, and taxes.[548] The group had five main reasons to support Brexit: Avoiding to give 350 million euros to the Union every week, controlling the borders without the Union's superiority on them, managing the high level of immigration to the UK, being free about trading with other countries, and to have more freedom when making laws.[549]

Regarding the first reason, Vote Leave promised that National Health System would be the one receiving 350 million euros if the UK leaves the Union, and this pledge has been the most emphasized one by Vote Leave campaign while convincing the voters[550], which was a false information.[551]

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[543] The Electoral Commission, "Electoral Commission designates 'Vote Leave Ltd' and 'The In Campaign Ltd' as lead campaigners at EU Referendum", 13 April 2016, https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/electoral-commission-designates-vote-leave-ltd-and-campaign-ltd-lead-campaigners-eu-referendum, accessed on 1 September 2023

[544] Matt Dathan, "Nigel Farage snubbed as rival Vote Leave is appointed as official Brexit campaign... but his group immediately launches legal challenge, which could DELAY June's vote", Daily Mail, 13 April 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3537953/Nigel-Farage-snubbed-rival-Vote-Leave-appointed-official-Brexit-campaign.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[545] Ibid.

[546] Nicholas Watt, "EU referendum: Vote Leave focuses on immigration", BBC, 25 May 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36375492, accessed on 1 September 2023

[547] Jonathan Bacon, "How the Brexit campaigns match up", Marketing Week, 11 May 2016, https://www.marketingweek.com/how-the-brexit-campaigns-match-up/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[548] Vote Leave, "The EU already costs us £350 million a week", http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/briefing.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[549] Vote Leave, "Why Vote Leave", https://voteleavetakecontrol.org/why_vote_leave.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[550] The Health Foundation, "2016 UK EU membership referendum", 23 June 2016, https://navigator.health.org.uk/theme/2016-uk-eu-membership-referendum, accessed on 1 September 2023

After being the official campaign, Vote Leave was free to spend 7 million euros until the referendum day, and 6 hundred thousand euros were spent for only advertisement, mailshots, and administration spendings.[552] Electoral Commission stated that Vote Leave was giving the best form of campaigning so that it achieved to be the official one, and the other campaigns had the chance of spending 7 hundred thousand euros in total.[553] Claire Bassett, who was the chief executive of the Electoral Commission, stated that Vote Leave had the required structures to deliver other campaigns' perspectives in theirs, too.[554]

There have been three Eurosceptic groups which supported Vote Leave: Conservatives for Britain, The Labor Leave, and Business for Britain.[555] Conservatives for Britain included 50 members of the parliament who will vote leave if Cameron would not secure a fundamental reform which gives more freedom to the UK regarding its relationship with the Union.[556] The Labor Leave campaign stated their wish to leave the Union by implying that the Union influences the UK's growth, investments, and jobs negatively.[557] Moreover, Labor Leave argued that David Cameron did not have the authority and prestige to procure the reforms that the UK needs.[558] Business for Britain gained supporters over one thousand businesspeople in

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[551] Full Fact Team, "£350 million EU claim 'a clear misuse of official statistics'", Full Fact, 19 September 2017, https://fullfact.org/europe/350-million-week-boris-johnson-statistics-authority-misuse/, accessed on 17 December 2023

[552] Matt Dathan, "Nigel Farage snubbed as rival Vote Leave is appointed as official Brexit campaign... but his group immediately launches legal challenge, which could DELAY June's vote", Daily Mail, 13 April 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3537953/Nigel-Farage-snubbed-rival-Vote-Leave-appointed-official-Brexit-campaign.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[553] Ibid.

[554] Ibid.

[555] BBC, "The battle to be the official EU referendum Leave campaign", 14 March 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-34484687, accessed on 1 September 2023

[556] BBC, "'Conservatives for Britain' pressure PM over EU talks", 7 June 2015, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-33038201, accessed on 1 September 2023

[557] Labour Leave, "Britain is better off LEAVING THE EU.", https://labourleave.org/#numberblock, accessed on 1 September 2023

[558] Brendan Chilton, "Labour Leave has no confidence in David Cameron's EU renegotiation", LabourList, 10 October 2015, https://labourlist.org/2015/10/labour-leave-has-no-confidence-in-david-camerons-eu-renegotiation/, accessed on 1 September 2023

18 months and wanted to make radical changes regarding the relationship between the UK and the Union.[559]

4.3.1.2. Grassroots Out

Grassroots Out was launched in January 2016 and aimed to gather other leave campaigns to act together in local areas, and its biggest supporter has been the head of UKIP, Nigel Farage.[560] Philip Hollobone, who was a member of the parliament and a supporter of Grassroots Out, showed this aim of gathering campaigns by walking in the suburban areas and market towns, talking to people and trying to convince them to join their formation.[561] In February 2016, Grassroots Out had a so-called battle with the other pro-leave campaign, Vote Leave, regarding being the official campaign of the pro-leave side.[562] The group applied for being the official campaign in April.[563]

After Leave.EU joined Grassroots Out group and they formed GO Movement together, the two groups determined to have 500 street stalls in February 2016, and their local organizers handed out various items – including pens, back scratchers, sanitizers – which were GO-branded.[564]

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[559] Ben Marlow, "Business leaders demand cross-party pledge on EU vote", The Telegraph, 8 November 2014, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/11218833/Business-leaders-demand-cross-party-pledge-on-EU-vote.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[560] Grassroots Out, "Who We Are", https://grassrootsout.co.uk/who-we-are/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[561] Robert Booth, "EU referendum: Grassroots Out brings 'a hint of the Trump' to middle England", The Guardian, 15 February 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/15/eu-referendum-grassroots-out-brings-a-hint-of-the-trump-to-middle-england, accessed on 1 September 2023

[562] Emily Ashton, "Grassroots Out Have Just Revealed Their Campaign Strategy", BuzzFeed, 29 February 2016, https://www.buzzfeed.com/emilyashton/heres-how-grassroots-out-will-try-to-win-your-eu-vote, accessed on 1 September 2023

[563] Jim Waterson, "Pro-Brexit Group Grassroots Out Has Sacked A Dozen Staff Ahead Of Referendum", BuzzFeed, 11 May 2016, https://www.buzzfeed.com/jimwaterson/pro-brexit-group-grassroots-out-has-sacked-a-dozen-staff-ahe, accessed on 1 September 2023

[564] Emily Ashton, "Grassroots Out Have Just Revealed Their Campaign Strategy", BuzzFeed, 29 February 2016, https://www.buzzfeed.com/emilyashton/heres-how-grassroots-out-will-try-to-win-your-eu-vote, accessed on 1 September 2023

In March 2016, the group rented a lorry with a sentence written on it, "Say goodbye to Brussels", and presented it in front of the Electoral Commission's head building.[565] In April 2016, a group of businesspeople named Midlands Industrial Council decided to donate 5 million euros to Grassroots Out after the government spent 9.3 million euros for the pro-remain campaign's leaflets.[566] Grassroots Out hired 12 people who would execute the mobile regional campaigns with over 40 volunteers dedicated to fundraising and street stalls.[567] Grassroots Out campaign excluded almost a dozen of its executives two months before the Brexit referendum because allegedly those supporters of the group wanted to work with Vote Leave after their designation.[568] However, the top management of Grassroots Out did not want such a collaboration while those supporters wanted to be a part of an official campaign, Vote Leave.[569] The GO movement was unsuccessful to become the official campaign but it continued to support the pro-leave side afterwards.[570]

Richard Murphy, who was the head of field campaign of the group, determined the aim of Grassroots Out as achieving remarkable appearances at public places such as stations, malls, and stalls with noise and clamor, and having a proper air campaign with a well-established phone line and website where people reach out easily.[571] The group also aimed to have GO tellers in every polling station on the referendum day

[565] Tom Peck, "Tom Peck's Sketch: Grassroots Out's bid to lead the campaign to leave the EU not official until Simon the cabbie arrives", Independent, 31 March 2016, https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/tom-peck-s-sketch-grassroots-out-s-bid-to-lead-the-campaign-to-leave-the-eu-not-official-until-simon-the-cabbie-arrives-a6962691.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[566] Henry Mance, "Vote Leave's designation as official campaign spurs Brexit feud", Financial Times, https://www.ft.com/content/0ed4e14e-0163-11e6-ac98-3c15a1aa2e62, accessed on 1 September 2023

[567] Emily Ashton, "Grassroots Out Have Just Revealed Their Campaign Strategy", BuzzFeed, 29 February 2016, https://www.buzzfeed.com/emilyashton/heres-how-grassroots-out-will-try-to-win-your-eu-vote, accessed on 1 September 2023

[568] Jim Waterson, "Pro-Brexit Group Grassroots Out Has Sacked A Dozen Staff Ahead Of Referendum", BuzzFeed, 11 May 2016, https://www.buzzfeed.com/jimwaterson/pro-brexit-group-grassroots-out-has-sacked-a-dozen-staff-ahe, accessed on 1 September 2023

[569] Ibid.

[570] Ibid.

[571] Emily Ashton, "Grassroots Out Have Just Revealed Their Campaign Strategy", BuzzFeed, 29 February 2016, https://www.buzzfeed.com/emilyashton/heres-how-grassroots-out-will-try-to-win-your-eu-vote, accessed on 1 September 2023

to convince people.[572] Steve Crowther, who was the UKIP's chairman and a supporter of Grassroots Out, stated that the pro-remain side had a miserable campaign and the UK would maintain its place of the fifth largest economy after Brexit, too.[573]

4.3.1.3. Leave.EU / TheKnow.eu

Leave.EU campaign, which is also known as TheKnow.eu, was launched with a budget of 20 million euros in August 2015 by former supporters of the UKIP.[574] Arron Banks, an English businessperson, and a donor of the UKIP, has also been a co-founder of the campaign group.[575] The group argued that even if they share the same ideas as Nigel Farage, he does not fulfill the necessary qualities to lead the pro-leave campaign.[576] The group emphasized being a people's campaign and aiming to gather supporters from the public.[577] The UKIP supporters stated that Leave.EU was a separate campaign group from themselves but worked as a complementary one.[578] Nigel Farage has also been one of the people supporting this idea, and he stated that the UKIP and Leave.EU addressed different target groups.[579] 175 thousand people

[572] Ibid.

[573] Ibid.

[574] Andrew Grice, "EU referendum: Former Ukip backers launch £20m campaign to persuade voters to leave European Union", Independent, 23 July 2015, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-former-ukip-backers-launch-ps20m-campaign-to-persuade-voters-to-leave-european-union-10411699.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[575] Josh Lowe, "What you need to know about Leave.EU", Prospect, 19 November 2015, https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/politics/48238/what-you-need-to-know-about-leave.eu, accessed on 1 September 2023

[576] Andrew Grice, "EU referendum: Former Ukip backers launch £20m campaign to persuade voters to leave European Union", Independent, 23 July 2015, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-former-ukip-backers-launch-ps20m-campaign-to-persuade-voters-to-leave-european-union-10411699.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[577] Josh Lowe, "What you need to know about Leave.EU", Prospect, 19 November 2015, https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/politics/48238/what-you-need-to-know-about-leave.eu, accessed on 1 September 2023

[578] Andrew Grice, "EU referendum: Former Ukip backers launch £20m campaign to persuade voters to leave European Union", Independent, 23 July 2015, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-former-ukip-backers-launch-ps20m-campaign-to-persuade-voters-to-leave-european-union-10411699.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[579] BBC, "UKIP's Nigel Farage: I support both EU 'Out' campaigns", 11 October 2015, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-34499315, accessed on 1 September 2023

attended to Leave.EU from August to October 2015, and the supporters of the campaign argued that this was a proof that their group was nonpolitical and "for people". In February 2016, Leave.EU has joined forces with the Grassroots Out campaign and they constituted an umbrella group, GO Movement, together.[580]

4.3.1.4. Left Leave Coalition

Left Leave Coalition emerged as a reaction to the domination of right-wing in politics of the UK and was supported by 7 organizations including the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party of Britain.[581] Supporters of the coalition argued that the Union was separating countries, and their aim of leaving the Union would avoid this separation and unite people instead.[582] Socialist Worker Party stated that to vote leave would mean weakening the hard right-wing side of the UK politics.[583] Also it argued that people from the working class mostly supported pro-leave side, and the more they get poorer, the more they are devoted to it.[584] On the contrary, people who are managers and professionals mostly want to stay in the Union.[585] Socialist Worker Party accused Nigel Farage for being racist in terms of immigration, and the group tried to campaign away from both pro-leave supporters who are not in favor of immigration to the UK and the pro-remain supporters.[586]

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[580] Emily Ashton, "Grassroots Out Have Just Revealed Their Campaign Strategy", BuzzFeed, 29 February 2016, https://www.buzzfeed.com/emilyashton/heres-how-grassroots-out-will-try-to-win-your-eu-vote, accessed on 1 September 2023

[581] Chris Marsden, "UK: Left Leave campaign lays out its nationalist agenda in Brexit referendum", World Socialist Web Site, 25 May 2016, https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2016/05/25/lexi-m25.pdf

[582] Ibid.

[583] Socialist Worker, "Leave vote will weaken our right wing enemies", 7 June 2016, https://socialistworker.co.uk/what-we-think/leave-vote-will-weaken-our-right-wing-enemies/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[584] Charlie Kimber, "Workers are right to reject Cameron's EU", Socialist Worker, 14 June 2016, https://socialistworker.co.uk/comment/workers-are-right-to-reject-cameron-s-eu/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[585] Ibid.

[586] Socialist Worker, "The ruling class is terrified of leaving the rotten EU", 21 June 2016, https://socialistworker.co.uk/news/the-ruling-class-is-terrified-of-leaving-the-rotten-eu/, accessed on 1 September 2023

The group advocated freedom of movement and wanted to avoid all kinds of immigration controls.[587] Communist Party of Britain's head of communications, Nick Wright, stated their aim as having a government that helps people in terms of health, housing, employment and other living standards without having restrictions from a supranational organization like the Union.[588]

4.3.2. Campaigns and Campaigners from the UK's Public

4.3.2.1. BeLeave

BeLeave was founded by a fashion student, Darren Grimes, and formed a social media campaign supporting the pro-leave campaign.[589] BeLeave mainly focused on young people of the UK and aimed to make their voice heard during the campaign process.[590] Vote Leave donated 675 thousand pounds to BeLeave; however, the campaign could not achieve to have more than 5 thousand followers on Twitter.[591]

4.3.2.2. Ex-Military Officers

Ex-military officers, who also included Now Veterans for Britain campaign group, mainly argued that NATO should be the main actor in Europe's defense, not the Union.[592] These officers, consisting of former generals, commanders, and deputy

[587] Ibid.

[588] The Guardian, "Why communists back Brexit", 3 January 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jan/03/why-communists-back-brexit, accessed on 1 September 2023

[589] Adam Ramsay and Peter Geoghegan, "Revealed: how loopholes allowed pro-Brexit campaign to spend 'as much as necessary to win'", Open Democracy, 18 September 2017, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/dark-money-investigations/new-email-release-shows-how-leave-campaigners-used-vast-loo/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[590] BBC, "Vote Leave: Activist to give MPs evidence of 'rule breaking'", 26 March 2018, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-43535497, accessed on 1 September 2023

[591] Adam Ramsay and Peter Geoghegan, "Revealed: how loopholes allowed pro-Brexit campaign to spend 'as much as necessary to win'", Open Democracy, 18 September 2017, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/dark-money-investigations/new-email-release-shows-how-leave-campaigners-used-vast-loo/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[592] BBC, "EU referendum: Ex-military officers fighting for EU exit", 25 May 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36371104, accessed on 1 September 2023

chiefs; argued that the UK's interest can be served best when it is outside the Union.[593] One of the veterans from the Falklands war stated that people who were not chosen by the UK's public dominates the UK because it is a member of the Union.[594] He also emphasized taking back control and being able to choose the ones who make laws that the UK follows.[595]

4.3.2.3. Fishing Industry

The Common Fisheries Policy, which was agreed by the UK and the Union, has been labeled as the most unsuccessful policy of the Union, even by the European Court of Auditors.[596] One of the north-east universities in the UK, The Aberdeen University, argued that according to their research, approximately 92 percent workers of the fishing industry of the UK would vote for leave in the referendum.[597]

The reason behind this majority for voting leave was that most of the fishermen think that they would catch and land fishes more than they do now if the UK leaves the Union, because of the Common Fisheries Policy.[598] Most of them added that leaving the Union would not affect the trade relations between the UK and the member countries of the Union.[599]

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[593] Ibid.

[594] Press Association, "Former military officers join Brexit campaign", The Guardian, 25 May 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/25/more-former-military-officers-join-brexit-campaign-eu-referendum, accessed on 1 September 2023

[595] Ibid.

[596] The National Federation of Fishermen's Organisations, "Brexit: Resetting the Fisheries Deal", 23 November 2016, https://www.nffo.org.uk/brexit-resetting-the-fisheries-deal/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[597] STV News, "Nine in ten fishermen will back Brexit, survey suggests", 9 June 2016, https://archive.news.stv.tv/politics/1356963-nine-in-ten-fishermen-will-back-brexit-survey-suggests.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[598] Lindsay Razaq, "Study finds 92% of fisherman will vote for Brexit", Press and Journal, 10 June 2016, https://www.pressandjournal.co.uk/fp/news/uk/942753/skippers-want-out-of-eu-according-to-aberdeen-university-research/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[599] STV News, "Nine in ten fishermen will back Brexit, survey suggests", 9 June 2016, https://archive.news.stv.tv/politics/1356963-nine-in-ten-fishermen-will-back-brexit-survey-suggests.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

4.3.3. Campaigner Businesspeople

4.3.3.1. Peter Hargreaves

By donating 3.2 million euros to the pro-leave campaign, Peter Hargreaves has been the biggest donor of the Brexit supporters individually.[600] He also financially covered the expenses of 15 million letters' delivery to the households of the UK to convince people for voting leave.[601] Hargreaves argued that leaving the Union would be an inspiration and the insecurities that leaving may bring would be an opportunity for the UK's economy.[602]

4.3.3.2. Arron Banks

Arron Banks, who has been the financial supporter of the Grassroots Out campaign, is a millionaire businessperson and spent 3.5 million euros to support the pro-leave campaign.[603] Despite the fact that he had supported the Conservative Party, he has donated 1 million euros for the UKIP after he was alienated from the Conservative Party because of his infelicity towards David Cameron.[604] He has also been a co-founder of the Leave.EU campaign.[605]

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[600] Sebastian Mann, "Brexit campaign's biggest donor has lost £400m since the referendum but says: 'I've got no regrets'", The Standard, 28 June 2016, https://www.standard.co.uk/news/politics/brexit-campaigns-biggest-donor-has-lost-ps400m-since-the-referendum-but-says-i-ve-got-no-regrets-a3282416.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[601] Jonathan Yarker, "Peter Hargreaves gives £3.2m to Leave Campaign", City Wire, 11 May 2016, https://citywire.com/funds-insider/news/peter-hargreaves-gives-3-2m-to-leave-campaign/a907486, accessed on 1 September 2023

[602] Will Martin, "BILLIONAIRE STOCKBROKER: Brexit will be an 'inspiration' for the British economy", Business Insider, 18 March 2016, https://www.businessinsider.com/hargreaves-lansdown-founder-peter-hargreaves-backs-brexit-2016-3, accessed on 1 September 2023

[603] Robert Booth, "Arron Banks: the millionaire hoping to bankroll UK into Brexit", The Guardian, 27 March 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/mar/27/arron-banks-the-millionaire-hoping-to-bankroll-uk-into-brexit, accessed on 1 September 2023

[604] Ibid.

[605] Andrew Mayeda, "Mr. Brexit Came to Washington, and Then Things Got a Bit Awkward", Bloomberg, 10 May 2016, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-05-10/mr-brexit-came-to-washington-and-then-things-got-a-bit-awkward, accessed on 1 September 2023

4.3.3.3. Businesspeople Supporting Vote Leave

250 businesspeople who consist of lots of entrepreneurs and the ex-boss of HSBC, announced their support for Brexit - especially Vote Leave - by implying that being a member of the Union brings harm to the UK's economy.[606] They also added that being a member of the Union makes employment processes harder and it is especially harmful for smaller businesses.[607]

4.3.4. Campaign Groups from Academia

4.3.4.1. Historians for Britain

A group of historians from the UK's academia gathered to indicate that there are intellectual justifications for some of the Eurosceptic political stances regarding the upcoming Brexit referendum.[608] They propounded taking back power from the Union to the UK as their priority, and they emphasized how the UK should be isolated and how nationalism is important for the country.[609]

4.3.5. Politicians

4.3.5.1. Boris Johnson

Boris Johnson, who has been a well-known Eurosceptic especially after being a columnist for the Telegraph in 1989, has been the lead actor of the pro-leave campaign and formation process of Brexit idea. According to an author of the New York Times, Johnson was not known for his reporting skills but for being extremely

[606] Phillip Inman, "EU referendum: 250 business leaders sign up as backers of Vote Leave", The Guardian, 26 March 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/mar/26/250-business-leaders-sign-up-as-backers-of-vote-leave, accessed on 1 September 2023

[607] Ibid.

[608] Andrea Mammone, "'Historians for Britain' provide a politically motivated, anti-European reading of the past", 1 July 2015, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/for-britain-and-against-europe/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[609] Ibid.

Eurosceptic in his writings.[610] During the Brexit process, Johnson has been the one who provided star appeal and achievement of surpassing the divisions within his party.[611] He has been the warrior in the battlefield of the pro-leave campaign; he traveled the country on Vote Leave's bus and convinced people.[612] The UK's public has been influenced by Johnson strongly, and made its decision regarding referendum mostly under this influence to leave the Union.[613]

Boris Johnson stated that he would support the pro-leave campaign to lessen the impact of a supranational formation on the UK.[614] He named being a part of the Union as a democracy erosion.[615] Johnson emphasized mostly on immigration issue, like Vote Leave campaign, and argued that as long as the UK is a member of the Union, immigration will continue unrestrainedly.[616] While emphasizing this threat to the UK, he pointed out to possible Turkish membership and argued that this membership would be insecure for the UK's borders, too.[617] He also suggested that it would be better for the UK to leave the Union and negotiate for a trade diplomacy like Canada had with the Union.[618]

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[610] Martin Fletcher, "Who Is to Blame for Brexit's Appeal? British Newspapers", The New York Times, 21 June 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/22/opinion/who-is-to-blame-for-brexits-appeal-british-newspapers.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[611] BBC, "Eight reasons Leave won the UK's referendum on the EU", 24 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36574526, accessed on 1 September 2023

[612] Ibid.

[613] Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin and Paul Whiteley, "Why Britain Voted for Brexit: An Individual-Level Analysis of the 2016 Referendum Vote", 10 September 2016, https://blogs.kent.ac.uk/epop/files/2016/07/Clarke-Goodwin-and-Whiteley.pdf, accessed on 1 September 2023

[614] Nicholas Watt, "Boris Johnson to campaign for Brexit in EU referendum", The Guardian, 21 February 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/21/boris-johnson-eu-referendum-campaign-for-brexit-david-cameron, accessed on 1 September 2023

[615] BBC, "EU referendum: Time to vote for real change, says Boris Johnson", 22 February 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-35626621, accessed on 1 September 2023

[616] Kemal Kirişci and Sinan Ekim, "Brexit, the politics of fear, and Turkey the boogeyman", Brookings, 23 June 2016, https://www.brookings.edu/articles/brexit-the-politics-of-fear-and-turkey-the-boogeyman/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[617] Ibid.

[618] BBC, "Boris Johnson: EU exit 'win-win for us all'", 11 March 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-35783049, accessed on 1 September 2023

4.3.5.2. Nigel Farage

As the leader of UKIP and the supporter of the most well-known pro-Brexit campaign groups, Nigel Farage has been the second most effective actor of the Brexit campaign process in the UK. He acted independently from the Conservative Party and its campaign but achieved to convince lots of people to vote for leave.[619] He has been seen as influential as Boris Johnson regarding the positive image he created in the eyes of the UK's public, especially people who sympathized with the idea of Brexit.[620]

Farage suggested the pro-leave supporters emphasize immigration and accused Vote Leave of not giving the necessary attention to the issue while campaigning.[621] In June 2016, he stated that women of the UK were not safe because of the immigrants' sexual harassments, and they should consider this while voting.[622] He also emphasized sovereignty, implying that staying in the Union means being controlled regarding laws and putting the UK in danger regarding eurozone crisis.[623]

Farage named the Brexit referendum as the UKIP's referendum, implying that without its support, there would be no Brexit.[624] When the results of the referendum

[619] BBC, "Eight reasons Leave won the UK's referendum on the EU", 24 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36574526, accessed on 1 September 2023

[620] Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin and Paul Whiteley, "Why Britain Voted for Brexit: An Individual-Level Analysis of the 2016 Referendum Vote", 10 September 2016, https://blogs.kent.ac.uk/epop/files/2016/07/Clarke-Goodwin-and-Whiteley.pdf, accessed on 1 September 2023

[621] BBC, "EU referendum: Nigel Farage tells Leave campaigners to focus on migration", 29 April 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36167329, accessed on 1 September 2023

[622] Jessica Elgot and Rowena Mason, "Nigel Farage: migrant sex attacks to be 'nuclear bomb' of EU referendum", The Guardian, 5 June 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/05/nigel-farage-migrant-sex-attacks-to-be-nuclear-bomb-of-eu-referendum, accessed on 1 September 2023

[623] Nigel Farage, "Nigel Farage: Why you should vote for Brexit this Thursday", Independent, 20 June 2016, https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/eu-referendum-brexit-nigel-farage-on-why-you-should-vote-to-leave-a7091021.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[624] Rowena Mason, "Nigel Farage: I claim 100% credit for forcing government to poll", The Guardian, 22 June 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/22/nigel-farage-claim-credit-forcing-government-poll-eu-referendum-ukip-slogans, accessed on 1 September 2023

were clear, he likened the referendum campaign process as a fight against bankers and asserted that the victory of the pro-leave side belonged to decent people of the UK.[625]

4.3.5.3. Michael Gove

The then Secretary of State for Justice, Michael Gove, has been as effective as Boris Johnson during the Brexit process by providing intellectual mindset and strategic intellect for the pro-leave campaign.[626] Gove attended television specials regarding the referendum on Sky News and the BBC.[627] He aimed to position the pro-leave politicians among the public by implying that they should not rely on the pro-leave campaign, but on themselves.[628] He also criticized the pro-remain campaign because of their dependency on opinions of the experts.[629]

In his letter mentioning the reasons of supporting the pro-leave campaign, Gove stated that if the UK leaves, it would be a much more free and fair country.[630] He put sovereignty in the first place, and argued that the one who decides for laws, decisions and taxes should come from the public's authority, not the Union's.[631] Also, he supported the idea of the UK being in a free trade area with other non-member states of the Union after leaving it.[632]

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[625] Stephen Coleman, "Referendum night goings on", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.43

[626] BBC, "Eight reasons Leave won the UK''s referendum on the EU", 24 June 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36574526, accessed on 1 September 2023

[627] Ibid.

[628] Sky News, "Gove: Britons 'Have Had Enough of Experts'", Youtube, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GGgiGtJk7MA, accessed on 1 September 2023

[629] Alicia Wanless, "Brexit's Hearts Over Minds: The Tale of Two Campaigns", LinkedIn, 2 July 2016, https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/brexits-hearts-over-minds-tale-two-campaigns-alicia-wanless/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[630] Peter Apps, "EU Referendum: Michael Gove''s full statement on why he is backing Brexit", Independent, 20 February 2016, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-michael-gove-s-full-statement-on-why-he-is-backing-brexit-a6886221.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[631] Ibid.

[632] Roch Dunin-Wasowicz, "Michael Gove is arguing the UK should be like states that want to join the EU", LSE, 20 April 2016, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2016/04/20/michael-gove-is-arguing-the-uk-should-be-like-states-that-want-to-join-the-eu/, accessed on 1 September 2023

4.3.5.4. Daniel Hannan

Daniel Hannan, who was a member of both Conservative Party and European Parliament, is seen as the scenarist of the Brexit process and one of the biggest supporters of British independence in the history of the UK.[633] Hannan has been published Eurosceptic writings of his for twenty years, and in March 2016, he finally published his book: "Why Vote Leave".[634] In his book, he mentioned the failures of the Union, and aimed to show the voters that the Union is an organization with insufficient transparency regarding democracy, and the UK has a restricted role in this organization.[635] Also, he argued that the pro-leave supporters' primary concern has been sovereignty, not immigration.[636]

4.3.6. The Newspapers Supporting the Pro-Leave Campaign

Newspapers that supported the pro-leave campaign had a much greater influence than those of the pro-remain, and they played a leading role in the Eurosceptic relationship between the Union and the United Kingdom.[637] Simpson and Startin argue that three tabloids of the UK – The Daily Mail, The Sun, The Daily Express – implemented a bombardment approach regarding publishing articles that support the pro-leave side in the last month of the campaign process, and they added that thirty percent of the voters decided which side to vote for in the last week of the campaign process; thus, this bombardment has clearly been effective for the voters to be a side of the pro-leave campaign.[638] Simpson and Startin state that readers of the British

[633] Sam Knight, "The man who brought you Brexit", The Guardian, 29 September 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/daniel-hannan-the-man-who-brought-you-brexit, accessed on 1 September 2023

[634] Daniel Hannan, "Why Vote Leave", Financial Times, 2016, https://www.ft.com/content/ecaa3388-1b4f-11e6-b286-cddde55ca122, accessed on 1 September 2023

[635] Ibid.

[636] Sam Knight, "The man who brought you Brexit", The Guardian, 29 September 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/29/daniel-hannan-the-man-who-brought-you-brexit, accessed on 1 September 2023

[637] Kathryn Simpson and Nick Startin, "Tabloid Tales: How the British Tabloid Press Shaped the Brexit Vote", Journal of Common Market Studies 61, no.2, March 2023, p.302

[638] Ibid, 303.

Tabloid Press have been exposed to negative narratives of especially immigration - the key pillar of this bombardment approach - regarding the campaign process, and these newspapers strengthened the idea of taking back the control from the Union.[639]

4.3.6.1. The Daily Mail

The Daily Mail, a known pro-Brexit newspaper, has been in favor of the anti-European Union side even before the Brexit process of the UK.[640] According to the research of YouGov, more than 70 percent of the Daily Mail's readers have been supporting the idea of leaving the Union even before the newspaper announced its official support for the pro-leave side.[641]

The Daily Mail conducted editorial campaigns aiming to spread its anti-European perspective among the public for years.[642] Moreover, the paper has also been known for being too conservative and traditional.[643] Despite the fact that the paper supported staying in the European Commission in 1975 referendum, after its editor changed in 1992, its attitude towards the European integration changed in the opposite direction.[644] Thus, the paper's support for the pro-leave campaign emerged long ago and could be found in its identity.[645] There are four examples that can be showed to this fact: Firstly, in the 1997 general elections of the UK, the Daily Mail showed its opposition towards the possibility of more European integration within the UK.[646]

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[639] Ibid, 307.

[640] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, ""UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.10

[641] Peter Kellner, "EU referendum: Provincial England versus London and the Celts", YouGov, 24 March 2016, https://yougov.co.uk/politics/articles/14987-eu-referendum-provincial-england-versus-london-and?redirect_from=%2Ftopics%2Fpolitics%2Farticles-reports%2F2016%2F03%2F24%2Feu-referendum-provincial-england-versus-london-and, accessed on 1 September 2023

[642] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.10

[643] Kathryn Simpson and Nick Startin, "Tabloid Tales: How the British Tabloid Press Shaped the Brexit Vote", Journal of Common Market Studies 61, no.2, March 2023, p.305

[644] Ibid.

[645] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.10

[646] Dominic Wring, "Going bananas over Brussels: Fleet Street's European journey", The Conversation, 21 June 2016, https://theconversation.com/going-bananas-over-brussels-fleet-streets-european-journey-61327, accessed on 1 September 2023

Secondly, the paper resembled the integration process as Battle for Britain and criticized the political elites with being two-faced.[647] Thirdly, the Daily Mail called the proposed draft regarding the constitution of the Union "blueprint for tyranny" in 2003.[648] Fourthly, the paper accused Germany for trying to make Europe the "Fourth Reich".[649]

In April 2016, the Daily Mail published a headline drawing attention to the immigration issue and argued that police of the UK were hiding a rapist immigrant's identity because the country is a member of the Union.[650] In May 2016, the paper emphasized the fact that the number of immigrants coming from the other member countries of the Union reached its peak, and jobless immigrant number became 77.000.[651] Same month, the Daily Mail warned about the high number of immigrants coming to the UK because this kind of immigration was not continuable and tolerable.[652] As a proof for these risks of high level of immigration, the paper told the story of an Albanian killer, Saliman Barci, who came to the UK regardless of his crimes.[653] In June 2016, the paper published a headline arguing that people full of a lorry from Europe have come into the UK.[654] This was a clear misdirection made deliberately by the Daily Mail because a video taken of immigrants showed that

[647] Ibid.

[648] Kathryn Simpson and Nick Startin, "Tabloid Tales: How the British Tabloid Press Shaped the Brexit Vote", Journal of Common Market Studies 61, no.2, March 2023, p.305

[649] Ibid.

[650] Tammy Hughes, "UK police 'tried to keep Polish rapist's identity a secret in case he was attacked by vigilantes due to tensions between locals and immigrants'", Daily Mail, 29 April 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3564871/UK-police-tried-Polish-rapist-s-identity-secret-case-attacked-vigilantes-tensions-locals-immigrants.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[651] Steve Doughty and James Slack, "Record number of jobless EU migrants in Britain: Hammer blow for PM as 270,000 EU nationals came here last year", Daily Mail, 26 May 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3611697/Record-number-jobless-EU-migrants-Britain-Hammer-blow-PM-270-000-EU-nationals-came-year.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[652] Daily Mail Comment, "Britain cannot keep taking EU's millions", Daily Mail, 21 May 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3601863/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-Britain-taking-EU-s-millions.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[653] Ibid.

[654] Nadia Khomami, "Daily Mail publishes correction to story about 'migrants from Europe'", The Guardian, 17 June 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jun/17/daily-mail-publishes-correction-story-migrants-from-europe, accessed on 1 September 2023

those people were coming from Kuwait and Iraq.[655] However, the paper used a photo from the same video on its front page and wrote that 'We're from Europe'.[656] Same month, the Daily Mail published an online article arguing it will require every six minutes for the UK to build a new house to catch up with the number of immigrants coming from the other member countries of the Union if Brexit will not happen.[657] Moreover, the paper argued that it is more possible for these immigrants in the UK to find a job than the citizens of the UK.[658] In another article published in June, the Daily Mail criticized the pro-remain campaign because of their insufficient answers to the question of how the UK would handle this high amount of immigrants in the country, referring to housing, economy, and sovereignty.[659]

4.3.6.2. The Sun

Besides the Daily Mail, the Sun is also one of the newspapers which has been anti-European long before the Brexit process.[660] It has been a crucial actor with its support for the pro-leave side in the campaign process.[661] According to the research of YouGov, more than 70 percent of the Sun's readers have been supporting the idea of leaving the Union even before the Sun announced its official support for the pro-leave side.[662]

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[655] Ibid.

[656] Ibid.

[657] James Slack, "England will need to build a new home every SIX MINUTES to keep up with runaway immigration if voters reject Brexit, Liam Fox claims", Daily Mail, 2 June 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3622039/England-need-build-new-home-SIX-MINUTES-runaway-immigration-voters-reject-Brexit-Liam-Fox-claims.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[658] Matt Dathan, "The true cost of our open borders revealed: EU migrants are MORE likely to have a job in the UK than British citizens", Daily Mail, 7 June 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3628840/The-true-cost-open-borders-revealed-EU-migrants-likely-job-UK-British-citizens.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[659] Tim Sculthorpe, "Stop reducing it to cartoon politics! Furious voter slams Remain campaign for failing to answer questions on how migrants can be housed, schooled and even given WATER", Daily Mail, 14 June 2016, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3641481/Stop-reducing-cartoon-politics-Furious-voter-slams-Remain-campaign-failing-answer-questions-migrants-housed-schooled-given-WATER.html, accessed on 1 September 2023

[660] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.10

[661] Kathryn Simpson and Nick Startin, "Tabloid Tales: How the British Tabloid Press Shaped the Brexit Vote", Journal of Common Market Studies 61, no.2, March 2023, p.306

[662] Peter Kellner, "EU referendum: Provincial England versus London and the Celts", YouGov, 24 March 2016, https://yougov.co.uk/politics/articles/14987-eu-referendum-provincial-england-versus-

The Sun's front page, which was published in November 1990, saying Up Yours Delors can be shown as a proof to this rooted opposition towards the European Union.[663] Between 1990 and 2000, the editorial approach of the paper to the Union has been negative and 92 percent of editorial contents have been negative about European integration between 1996 and 2016.[664] In 2001, the Sun supported William Hague's arguments regarding his anti-euro perspective which he named Save the Pound.[665]

In April 2016, the Sun mentioned Nigel Farage's arguments on Brexit in its headline and stated that jihadis' coming into the UK can only be stopped with Brexit.[666] In May 2016, the Sun mentioned an immigrant coming from another member country of the Union to the UK by implying that the immigrants have more advantageous living standards than the citizens of the country.[667] Also, the paper stated that in the last five years, there have been 1.6 million immigrants who came to the UK from the other member countries of the Union and they were given 886 million euros for a year by the government.[668] The Sun stated that the schools of the UK were paying 3.2 million euros for the education of the immigrants' children for a year.[669] Also, the

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london-and?redirect_from=%2Ftopics%2Fpolitics%2Farticles-reports%2F2016%2F03%2F24%2Feu-referendum-provincial-england-versus-london-and, accessed on 1 September 2023

[663] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.10

[664] Kathryn Simpson and Nick Startin, "Tabloid Tales: How the British Tabloid Press Shaped the Brexit Vote", Journal of Common Market Studies 61, no.2, March 2023, p.306

[665] Dominic Wring, "Going bananas over Brussels: Fleet Street's European journey", The Conversation, 21 June 2016, https://theconversation.com/going-bananas-over-brussels-fleet-streets-european-journey-61327, accessed on 1 September 2023

[666] Craig Woodhouse, "London could be next: Nigel Farage warns Brexit is the only way to stop rampaging jihadis and Cologne sex attackers from coming here", The Sun, 28 April 2016, https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/politics/1151067/london-could-be-next-nigel-farage-warns-brexit-is-the-only-way-to-stop-rampaging-jihadis-and-cologne-sex-attackers-from-coming-here/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[667] Ben Griffiths, "'I work in the UK but still claim benefits': The payouts to migrants at the very heart of Britain's Brexit row", The Sun, 21 May 2016, https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/politics/1210043/i-work-in-the-uk-but-still-claim-benefits-the-payouts-to-migrants-at-the-very-heart-of-britains-brexit-row/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[668] Ibid.

[669] David Wooding, "Revealed: £3BILLION cost of educating immigrants' kids that is 'eating into' school improvement cash", The Sun, 14 May 2016,

paper stated that the UK pays 3 million euros every day for the immigration expenses, including public service and benefits.[670] In May 2016, the Sun mentioned in one of its articles that the leaders of the pro-remain campaign underrate the citizens of the UK in terms of their worries about immigration issue.[671] Moreover, the paper emphasized extreme spending of National Health Service, 2.45 billion, which caused by the immigrants who visit Accident and Emergency, who calls out ambulances and who were listed in operations.[672] According to the Sun, unrestrained immigration was a social disaster caused by the government of the UK.[673]

In June 2016, the Sun argued in one if its headlines that there were 300 immigrants attempting to cross from France to the UK by attacking the Calais port.[674] Same month, the Sun published a news in its headline regarding a gang which provide fake passports for the immigrants who want to come to the UK.[675] According to the news, thousands of illegal transitions were made because of this criminal network.[676] The Sun's first 10 pages were dedicated to pro-leave side's arguments two days before the

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https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/news/1177029/revealed-3billion-cost-of-educating-immigrants-kids-that-is-eating-into-school-improvement-cash/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[670] Steve Hawkes, "EU Migration costs Britain £3m every day, shock report warns", The Sun, 16 May 2016, https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/politics/1179499/eu-migration-costs-britain-3m-every-day-shock-report-warns/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[671] David Wooding, "Unwise monkeys: 'Sneering' David Cameron, Gordon Brown and John Major branded bananas by Brexit-backing Priti Patel", The Sun, 14 May 2016, https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/news/1177032/unwise-monkeys-sneering-david-cameron-gordon-brown-and-john-major-branded-bananas-by-brexit-backing-priti-patel/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[672] Craig Woodhouse, "NHS faces an £2.45 BILLION black hole — biggest overspend in its history", The Sun, 21 May 2016, https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1198527/nhs-biggest-overspend-in-history/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[673] Trevor Kavanagh, "Uncontrolled mass immigration is a social disaster", The Sun, 29 May 2016, https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/trevor-kavanagh/1223423/trevor-kavanagh-uncontrolled-mass-immigration-is-a-social-disaster/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[674] Jack Royston, "Huge mob of 300 migrants storm port in Calais in violent bid to smuggle their way into UK", The Sun, 21 June 2016, https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1315538/huge-mob-of-300-migrants-storm-port-in-calais-in-violent-bid-to-smuggle-their-way-into-uk/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[675] Jack Royston, "Criminal gang exposed for providing false papers that allow THOUSANDS of illegals to work in UK", The Sun, 21 June 2016, https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1314982/criminal-gang-exposed-for-providing-false-papers-that-allow-thousands-of-illegals-to-work-in-uk/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[676] Ibid.

referendum.[677] The paper named the outcome of the referendum as the Independence Day of the UK.[678]

4.3.6.3. The Daily Express

According to the findings of an article, The Daily Express has been the newspaper which published the most articles supporting the pro-leave campaign in the first three months of the campaign process.[679] According to the research of YouGov, more than 70 percent of the Daily Express' readers have been supporting the idea of leaving the Union even before the newspaper announced its official support for the pro-leave side.[680]

In the 2015 general elections of the UK, the Daily Express adopted an opposite perspective towards the Single Market and showed its support for UKIP.[681] The fact that the paper published the most articles supporting the pro-leave campaign in the first three months of the campaign process did not change for the rest of the campaign process too, and it became the paper which has given the most place to the pro-leave articles in the Brexit campaign era.[682]

Long before the Brexit campaign process, the Daily Express has been publishing mastheads which were anti-EU. In 1992, one of its mastheads was Major's Gamble

[677] Paul McMahon, "The Brexit Referendum Campaign", Brexit (An Irish Guide), https://brexitlegal.ie/the-brexit-referendum-campaign/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[678] Julie Firmstone, "Newspapers' editorial opinions during the referendum campaign", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.36

[679] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.33

[680] Peter Kellner, "EU referendum: Provincial England versus London and the Celts", YouGov, 24 March 2016, https://yougov.co.uk/politics/articles/14987-eu-referendum-provincial-england-versus-london-and?redirect_from=%2Ftopics%2Fpolitics%2Farticles-reports%2F2016%2F03%2F24%2Feu-referendum-provincial-england-versus-london-and, accessed on 18 December 2022

[681] Dominic Wring, "Going bananas over Brussels: Fleet Street's European journey", The Conversation, 21 June 2016, https://theconversation.com/going-bananas-over-brussels-fleet-streets-european-journey-61327, accessed on 1 September 2023

[682] Ibid.

on Euro Treaty, which criticized the decision of John Major to accept the Maastricht Treaty.[683] In 2007, one of the Daily Express' mastheads was Mr. Bean Signs Away Our Freedom, which criticized the signing of the European Treaty which led the Union to take more control over the national courts of the member states.[684] In 2010, the Daily Express became the first newspaper starting a leave-campaign named Get Britain Out.[685] In 2013, the paper announced that Nigel Farage would be publishing articles in a column weekly from then on.[686] In 2014, the political editor of the Daily Express became a member of the UKIP.[687] In 2015, the paper announced in one of the mastheads, Why I'm Giving €1.3M to UKIP, that its owner, Richard Desmond, has donated a considerable amount of money to support the UKIP.[688] In 2016, the paper published a masthead, Cameron's EU Deal Disaster, in order to criticize Cameron's failure of negotiating with the Union for the sake of the UK.[689] Same year in May, the Daily Express addressed immigration in one of its articles by implying that immigrants in the UK were responsible for half of the murder and rape crimes.[690] Same month, the paper drew the attention to an illegal immigrant, Saliman Barci, living in the UK as a result of being a member of the Union, who is also a robber and murderer.[691] In another article, the Daily Express argued that there have

[683] Kate Nicholson, "How the Express secured Brexit with trailblazing 28-year EU crusade", Express, 31 January 2020, https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1234058/brexit-news-daily-express-european-union-britain-referendum-spt, accessed on 1 September 2023

[684] Ibid.

[685] Oliver Daddow, "UK newspapers and the EU Referendum: Brexit or Bremain?", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.50

[686] Kathryn Simpson and Nick Startin, "Tabloid Tales: How the British Tabloid Press Shaped the Brexit Vote", Journal of Common Market Studies 61, no.2, March 2023, p.306

[687] Ibid.

[688] Kate Nicholson, "How the Express secured Brexit with trailblazing 28-year EU crusade", Express, 31 January 2020, https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1234058/brexit-news-daily-express-european-union-britain-referendum-spt, accessed on 1 September 2023

[689] Ibid.

[690] Giles Sheldrick, "Alarm over surge in migrant murder and rape suspects in Britain", Express, 23 May 2016, https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/672735/half-of-British-rape-suspects-are-foreign, accessed on 1 September 2023

[691] Leo McKinstry, "This man is proof we are a nation in moral decline", Express, 23 May 2016, https://www.express.co.uk/comment/columnists/leo-mckinstry/672814/Leo-McKinstry-comment-Immigrant-Saliman-Barci-national-decline, accessed on 1 September 2023

been two million houses special for the new immigrants coming from the other member countries of the Union.[692] It also stated that children of the immigrants were causing pressure on the children of the UK's citizens in schools, and the capacity of these schools started not to fulfill the necessary capacity in the UK.[693] Also in May 2016, the Daily Express argued that because of the decreasing control over its borders, the UK's government could not provide a safe life for its citizens which is eliminated from criminals such as murderers and rapists.[694] Thus, the paper argued that Brexit would mean taking the national identity of the UK back.[695]

Same year in June, the Daily Express argued in one of its articles that gangsters were aiding the unauthorized entry of migrants into Britain, and it costs only 100 euros for the migrants to jeopardize Britain's security.[696] Same month, the paper claimed that some security officers of the UK's ports state that there were immigrants with knives who use the lorries forcefully to get to the UK.[697] Moreover, the paper drew the attention to the cost that was spent for the average and unskilled immigrant families by the UK government, 6.6 billion euros.[698]

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[692] Nick Gutteridge, "MIGRANT HOUSING CRISIS: Britain needs to build TWO MILLION new homes just for EU arrivals", Express, 10 May 2016, https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/668867/Britain-needs-built-two-million-new-homes-EU-immigrants, accessed on 1 September 2023

[693] Caroline Wheeler, "Britain's schools are in crisis as places are 'swamped' by EU children", Express, 7 May 2016, https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/668144/brtiain-schools-crisis-EU-children, accessed on 1 September 2023

[694] Express, "Government has failed to protect its citizens from foreign rapists and murderers", 23 May 2016, https://www.express.co.uk/comment/expresscomment/672813/government-failed-protect-citizens-foreign-rapists-murderers-eu-referendum, accessed on 1 September 2023

[695] Leo McKinstry, "Immigration is the key issue in referendum debate", Express, 26 May 2016, https://www.express.co.uk/comment/columnists/leo-mckinstry/674022/Immigration-EU-referendum-debate-Brexit-British-heritage, accessed on 1 September 2023

[696] Giles Sheldrick, "Migrants pay JUST £100 to get to Britain: Organised gangs ferry them across the Channel", Express, 1 June 2016, https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/675593/Migrants-Britain-gangs-ferry-Channel-boat-trafficking, accessed on 1 September 2023

[697] Express, "Shock revelations British port staff face migrants on a DAILY basis many armed with KNIVES", 14 June 2016, https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/679753/British-port-staff-face-knife-wielding-migrants, accessed on 1 September 2023

[698] Leda Reynolds, "Unskilled EU migrants cost UK taxpayers £6.6BILLION a year, Brexit economists warn", Express, 21 June 2016, https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/681793/Unskilled-EU-migrants-costing-British-taxpayers-6-6-BILLION-year, accessed on 1 September 2023

In the campaign process, the Daily Express had a masthead, Vote Leave Today, by referring to the referendum as the choice of survival or death decision for the country.[699] The paper also included the five issues which caused the UK to result in Brexit in the campaign process: Maastricht Treaty, Black Wednesday, Lisbon Treaty, European debt crisis, and Cameron's failure in negotiation with the Union.[700] When the referendum result was determined, the Daily Express celebrated the outcome and praised itself because it was a victory for the paper to be able to make the public accept the necessity of Brexit.[701]

4.3.6.4. The Telegraph

The Telegraph, a.k.a. the Daily Telegraph, has been one of the newspapers which Euroscepticism rooted in for long years, and Boris Johnson was one of the well-known authors of the paper between 1989 and 1994.[702] In April 2016, the Telegraph featured Priti Patel in one if its headlines, a Cabinet minister of the UK, by referring to her argument that being worried about immigration in the UK is not a racist action but a part of free speech.[703] Patel also drew the attention to the immigrants who take places of the UK's children in schools and warned their parents.[704] In May 2016, the Telegraph stated that there were almost 1 million immigrants who came to the UK between 2011 and 2015 according to the official numbers.[705] However, the paper

[699] Kate Nicholson, "How the Express secured Brexit with trailblazing 28-year EU crusade", Express, 31 January 2020, https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1234058/brexit-news-daily-express-european-union-britain-referendum-spt, accessed on 1 September 2023

[700] Ibid.

[701] Ibid.

[702] Paul McMahon, "The Brexit Referendum Campaign", Brexit (An Irish Guide), https://brexitlegal.ie/the-brexit-referendum-campaign/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[703] Christopher Hope, "Priti Patel interview: It's not 'racist' to worry about immigration", The Telegraph, 16 April 2016, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/04/15/priti-patel-interview-its-not-racist-to-worry-about-immigration/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[704] Ibid.

[705] Allison Pearson, "The gap between ONS migrant figures and the truth is as wide as the Grand Canyon. We are owed an apology", The Telegraph, 12 May 2016, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/12/the-gap-between-official-migrant-figures-and-the-truth-is-as-wid/, accessed on 1 September 2023

argued that the real number of these immigrants were 2.4 million.[706] Also, the Telegraph argued that in the next ten years, there will be four million immigrants who have come to the UK and this will change the identity of the UK forever.[707] Because of this high amount of immigration to the country, the paper argues, the UK will have to rebuild its countryside to have enough housing for the immigrants.[708]

In June 2016, the Daily Telegraph conducted a vote among its own subscribers and the results indicated that 69 percent of them would vote for leave in the referendum.[709] The paper criticized the pro-remain supporters' argument of that UK would have danger in its future if it becomes independent from the Union, and the Telegraph argued that it would be a future full of opportunities for the UK.[710]

4.4. Pro-Leave Campaign's Advertisements and Social Media Usage

4.4.1. Vote Leave App

Vote Leave App has been crucial for the election history of the UK, because that was the first time a mobile app was formed for a campaign process.[711] With the aim of gamifying the referendum process, Vote Leave campaign tried to track its achievement with a mobile app and let Vote Leave supporters connect with the other

[706] Ibid.

[707] John Bingham and Steven Swinford, "Population to surge by four million due to mass immigration that will 'change the face of England forever'", The Telegraph, 26 May 2016, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/25/population-surge-to-change-the-face-of-england-forever/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[708] Tim Ross, "Britain's green fields will have to be built over to provide new homes for migrants, warns Chris Grayling", The Telegraph, 29 May 2016, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/29/britains-green-fields-will-have-to-be-built-over-to-provide-new/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[709] Roy Greenslade, "Daily Telegraph comes out for Brexit", The Guardian, 20 June 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2016/jun/20/daily-telegraph-comes-out-for-brexit, accessed on 1 September 2023

[710] Ibid.

[711] Andrew Mullen, "Leave versus Remain: the digital battle", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.89

ones.[712] As a result, the campaign achieved to spread its arguments among families and friends, and provide valuable data thanks to Vote Leave App.[713]

4.4.2. Vote Leave's Referendum Broadcast

In the last week of May 2016, the pro-leave campaign broadcasted an advertisement on the five biggest channels of UK's televisions: Like the other anti-EU ads, it begins with an attention-grabbing scene to the immigration issue and then continues with an invitation to the website of theirs by pledging the public that they will learn the facts about the referendum process at this site.[714] At the end of the ad, there are two alternatives of treatment implemented on an old lady taking care by the National Health Service of the UK where the UK was still a member in one, and not in the other: In the first scenario where it is still a member, there is a crowd in the waiting room and the person who assumed is an immigrant enters to the doctor's office before the old lady who is a UK citizen.[715] Also, the nurse who is working in the same office is too busy with the paperwork in the first scenario; as a result, the ad tries to show that within the Union, the UK citizens would continue to be in the second line after the immigrants regarding the social services.[716] According to the political reporter Brian Wheeler, who is the author of the article, this ad addresses especially the Labor Party supporters.[717]

4.4.3. The Pro-Leave Campaign's Twitter Usage

According to Clara Llewellyn and Laura Cram, the pro-leave campaign dominated Twitter during the campaign process even if the supporters were split inside

[712] Alicia Wanless, "Brexit's Hearts Over Minds: The Tale of Two Campaigns", LinkedIn, 2 July 2016, https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/brexits-hearts-over-minds-tale-two-campaigns-alicia-wanless/, accessed on 1 September 2023

[713] Andrew Mullen, "Leave versus Remain: the digital battle", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.89

[714] Brian Wheeler, "Ad breakdown: Vote Leave EU referendum broadcast", BBC, 24 May 2016, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36367247, accessed on 1 September 2023

[715] Ibid.

[716] Ibid.

[717] Ibid.

regarding their arguments; thus, they achieved to spread their common motivation on social media and even convince the ones who do not vote normally.[718] Because Twitter users are mainly highly motivated and younger ones, their interaction within Twitter reflects the spontaneous and motivated reactions of the pro-leave side.[719]

Max Hänska and Stefan Bauchowitz argued that there has been a pro-leave side dominance on Twitter after they examined 7.5 million tweets by referring to the fact that pro-leave supporters were more than the pro-remain ones in number and tweeted more than they did.[720] Hänska and Bauchowitz claimed that there was a correlation between this dominance of the pro-leave campaign and the actual results of the Brexit vote and the success of the pro-leave side may have come from the usage of short and direct hashtags like take control and Brexit when spreading the messages.[721]

4.4.4. Brexit Express

Jeremy Hosking, who is a financier and donor of Vote Leave campaign with 1.7 million euros, contributed to the pro-leave campaign with a poster he personally set up.[722] In this outdoor campaign, "Love Europe, not the EU" message was given to the public with a direct direction to the BrexitExpress.com which included Hosking's manifesto regarding Brexit.[723]

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[718] Clare Llewellyn and Laura Cram, "The results are in and the UK will #Brexit: what did social media tell us about the UK's EU referendum?", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.90

[719] Ibid.

[720] Max Hänska and Stefan Bauchowitz, "Tweeting for Brexit: How social media shaped the Referendum campaign", LSE, June 2017, p.27

[721] Ibid.

[722] Michael Savage, "Jeremy Hosking: 'We can't do this Brexit thing with half the Brexiteers outside the tent'", The Guardian, 14 May 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/may/13/brexit-referendum-general-election-jeremy-hosking-conservative-party-mp-europe-eu, accessed on 1 September 2023

[723] Omar Oakes, "EU referendum campaigns'' most memorable ads", Campaign, 13 June 2016, https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/eu-referendum-campaigns-memorable-ads/1398404, accessed on 1 September 2023

4.4.5. The Pro-Leave Campaign's YouTube Usage

There have been various videos on YouTube that supported the pro-leave campaign, aiming to show the Union as a branch of bureaucratic dictatorship of the world especially by the comment videos of the pro-leave supporters.[724]

As a contribution to Vote Leave, a YouTube user Mandy published a Brexit Song which covered Pink's Get The Party Started song ten days before the campaign process, and the video has been viewed 50 thousand times on YouTube.[725] Thanks to this video, some of the people from the UK's public started to find Vote Leave more appealing and fun, and some of them indicated that they find the arguments of Vote Leave more reliable on the comment section.

4.4.6. The Pro-Leave Campaign's Facebook Usage

Natalie-Anne Hall examines Facebook usage of the pro-leave side because it has been crucial for the success of it, and she argues that most of the pro-leave supporters have created various unofficial profiles to spread their populist and Islamophobic arguments on Facebook during the campaign process.[726] Satnam Virdee and Brendan McGeever argue that the pro-leave side showed a divisive language on social media and strengthened the right-wing of the UK in terms of populism and nativism.[727] Lance Bennett adds that this kind of language resulted in propagation of a disinformation order via online platforms such as Facebook.[728] Richard Fletcher and Meera Selva drew the attention to the fact that Facebook is the most favorite channel

[724] Max Hänska and Stefan Bauchowitz, "Tweeting for Brexit: How social media shaped the Referendum campaign", LSE, June 2017, p.30

[725] Mandy, "Get The Party Started (Vote Leave) aka Brexit Song 2", YouTube, 13 June 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VIEt_tZCHbM

[726] Natalie-Anne Hall, "Understanding Brexit on Facebook: Developing Close-up, Qualitative Methodologies for Social Media Research", British Sociological Association 27, no.3, 25 October 2021, p.720

[727] Satnam Virdee and Brendan McGeever, "Racism, Crisis, Brexit", Ethnic and Racial Studies 41, no.10, 2018

[728] Lance Bennett and Steven Livingston, "The disinformation order: Disruptive communication and the decline of democratic institutions", European Journal of Communication 33, no.2, 2 April 2018

for the UK's people to catch up with the news, and it is used by 29 percent of pro-leave supporters which is 3 points more than the pro-remain supporters.[729]

4.5. Reasons Behind Pro-Leave Campaign's Achievement

According to Andrew Geddes, the Brexit referendum was mainly about immigration and there is one incident which comes prior to Cameron's prime ministry era in terms of increasing Euroscepticism before the announcement of the Brexit referendum: The announcement of the increased rate of immigration which was made by the Office for National Statistics one month before the referendum.[730] According to the data, 630.000 immigrants came to the UK in 2015, and 270.000 of these immigrants were from the other members of the Union, and the current rates of immigration to the UK were published every six months by the Office for National Statistics.[731] Thus, the public never forget about it, and increasing Euroscepticism has become a winning tool for the pro-leave campaign.[732]

Kerry Moore drew attention to Nigel Farage's famous poster where he points out to the immigrants and argues that the Union has failed the UK in terms of immigration, by defining it as a securitization strategy.[733] Moore argued that this securitization has also caused violence resulting from xenophobia among the UK's people, such as the murder of a member of parliament, Jo Cox, by one of the supporters of Britain First party, which is a radical right-wing party supporting the pro-leave campaign.[734] She also argues that the pro-leave campaign was not just an outcome of xenophobia but

[729] Richard Fletcher and Meera Selva, "How Brexit referendum voters use news", Reuters Institute, 25 November 2019, https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/how-brexit-referendum-voters-use-news, accessed on 18 December 2023

[730] Andrew Geddes, "The referendum and Britain's broken immigration politics", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.18

[731] Ibid.

[732] Ibid.

[733] Kerry Moore, "Wales, immigration, news media and Brexit", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.28

[734] Ibid.

also the accumulated contrast towards immigration in the UK which has been adopted by the politicians and outspread by the media through time.[735]

Moreover, Des Freedman drew attention to the divisive strategy of the pro-leave newspapers during the Brexit referendum campaign.[736] He argued in his article that especially the Daily Mail, the Sun, and the Daily Express linked social problems of the UK with the arrival of immigrants to the country and blamed them.[737] Mike Berry argued that the press has mostly mentioned immigrants by implying that they abuse the UK's welfare state, especially the health system, and commit various offenses.[738] In fact, because of this image that the press has drawn in the minds of the UK's public, most people began to think that the problems they faced during the 2008 Financial Crisis are an outcome of the immigrants' coming to the UK.[739]

Barnett argued that the anti-Union newspapers - especially the Sun, the Daily Express, the Telegraph, and the Daily Mail - achieved to propaganda with unevidenced arguments and distortions for spreading fear and xenophobia among the UK's public.[740] For example, Liz Gerard argued that millions of people from countries like Turkey, Iraq, and Syria want to come into the Union borders, especially into the UK.[741] These kinds of speculations encouraged the public to accept the pro-leave side's ambitions to leave the Union.[742]

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[735] Ibid.

[736] Des Freedman, "Divided Britain? We were already divided…", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.48

[737] Ibid.

[738] Mike Berry, "Understanding the role of the mass media in the EU Referendum", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.14

[739] Ibid.

[740] Steven Barnett, "How our mainstream media failed democracy", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.47

[741] Ibid.

[742] Ibid.

According to Mike Berry, the pro-leave campaign used the mass media with the Keep It Simple Stupid strategy to dominate the media with one superficial message: Take Back Control.[743] This was a simple strategy because it addressed the large masses of the public including poor, racist, and nostalgic ones; by showing the sovereignty is lost when the UK is a member of the EU.[744]

According to Andrew Mullen, the 2016 referendum should be described as the first digital referendum because the internet, especially the social media was used by both campaign sides to spread their message, collect funds, and finger on the pulse of the society.[745] While shaping the voter profiles, both sides benefited from the social media by trafficking the posts, comments and likes, and rates of newspaper readings.[746] Berry argued that the pro-leave group has both invested a lot on social media and conducted a strategy that achieved to spread its various messages among the specific groups of the public successfully.[747]

According to Berry, media has been able to build an unalterable perspective regarding European Union in the minds of the UK's public in time since the beginning of the membership, and this perspective has become a means for the pro-leave side to form its campaign with well-presented justifications to leave the Union.[748] As proof of this argument, Natalie Fenton drew attention to the complaints of a pro-remain group, In Facts, regarding the false stories published by the pro-leave side in the national press.[749] After the complaints, five of these false

[743] Mike Berry, "Understanding the role of the mass media in the EU Referendum", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.14

[744] Ibid.

[745] Andrew Mullen, "Leave versus Remain: the digital battle", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.89

[746] Ibid.

[747] Mike Berry, "Understanding the role of the mass media in the EU Referendum", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.14

[748] Ibid.

[749] Natalie Fenton, "Brexit: inequality, the media and the democratic deficit", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.57

stories were corrected in the national press and the corrections did not have a place as much as the stories themselves; as a result, these false stories were not new but an outcome of long-lasting Euroscepticism of the UK's mass media.[750] Similarly, Berry argued that as a result of the fact that both the press and the broadcast have knitted a Eurosceptic perspective on the UK's public through the years, people have already been filled with the idea that the UK should not be a part of the Union for its own sake.[751] Moreover, according to the article of three Oxford researchers, there has been a clear pro-leave side domination in the UK's newspapers in the first three months of the Brexit campaign process: 70 percent of spokespeople who are quoted in these articles have been from the Conservatives, 13 percent from Labor side, and 8 percent from UKIP.[752] They also added that 41 percent of the referendum-related articles belong to the pro-leave campaign, while 27 percent belong to the pro-remain campaign.[753]

[750] Ibid.

[751] Mike Berry, "Understanding the role of the mass media in the EU Referendum", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.14

[752] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, "UK Press Coverage of The EU Referendum", Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 3 March 2016, p.33

[753] Ibid, 4.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Even the referendum's name, Brexit, has been a direction during the campaign process by referring directly to the exit of Britain from the European Union, and it positioned the pro-leave campaign at the center.[754] There are three crucial points which gave the pro-leave campaign way to successfully complete the Brexit campaign process: Firstly, the historical relationship between the UK and the EU; secondly, the failure and insufficiency of the pro-remain campaign while supporting their own arguments; thirdly, the achievement of the pro-leave campaign while holding the agenda setting power on its hand throughout the process.

In terms of the historical relationship, the existing tension between the two actors which emerged from the UK's long-lasting Euroscepticism – which can be understood easily from the 1975 referendum which took place just two years after being a member of the ECSC - and enlarged over time with various incidents such as Black Wednesday caused the pro-leave side to start the race with a 1-0 lead. Euroscepticism which first started in mass media in the UK has become concrete with the foundation of political parties such as UKIP and the Referendum Party. The increasing number of anti-EU politicians fed the public's already inclined perspective towards Euroscepticism and resulted in a Brexit referendum at the end.

In terms of the pro-remain side's insufficiency, especially the politicians of the campaign did not give enough attention and effort to defend their arguments and could not convince the public to protect the status quo. The UK's public did not see Brexit as dark or risky as the pro-remain side did because the public was hopeful for

[754] Alicia Wanless, "Brexit's Hearts Over Minds: The Tale of Two Campaigns", LinkedIn, 2 July 2016, https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/brexits-hearts-over-minds-tale-two-campaigns-alicia-wanless/, accessed on 19 December 2023

a future without the Union thanks to the pro-leave side's successful representation of their arguments.

In terms of the pro-leave side's success of holding the agenda setting power on its hand, the campaign side achieved to have a collective pattern while supporting campaign groups, politicians, and their arguments. The pro-leave side succeeded in convincing people to change the status quo with the enthusiasm it created via its propagandas, politicians' travels around the whole country, and the repetitiveness it followed while spreading its simple message – "Take Back Control".

As the supportive arguments to the main research question of this thesis; the pro-leave side's achievement in social media usage, building a relationship based on empathy with the UK's society and dominance on the social media, and the pro-remain side's failure in its rhetoric can be listed. Compared to the main campaign of the pro-remain side, Britain Stronger in Europe, Vote Leave submitted less contents; however, it has been successful enough to spread the messages repeatedly in various channels like mobile platforms and printed media; thus, with less content, Vote Leave achieved to gain more place in people's minds than Britain Stronger in Europe.[755]

James Martin analyzed the rhetoric of the two campaigns in his article and argues that while the pro-leave campaign has been tried to change the current situation of the UK with the Union, the pro-remain campaign struggled to create hesitation among the public towards this kind of change via its rhetoric.[756] Martin argued that the politicians of the pro-leave side must have showed Brexit as a worthy and necessary change; thus, they mostly referred to crucial topics such as sovereignty and immigration.[757] There are three successful examples of this rhetoric: Firstly, Michael

[755] Alicia Wanless, "Brexit's Hearts Over Minds: The Tale of Two Campaigns", LinkedIn, 2 July 2016, https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/brexits-hearts-over-minds-tale-two-campaigns-alicia-wanless/, accessed on 19 December 2023

[756] James Martin, "Rhetoric of excess", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.21

[757] Ibid.

Gove likened the relationship between the UK and the Union to a journey which the UK is a hostage in the back and the Union is the kidnapper; secondly, Boris Johnson likened the Union's aim to integrate and exceed its borders to the geopolitical aims of Hitler; thirdly, Nigel Farage tried to show that the immigrants who have the possibility to come into the UK would eventually sexually abuse the UK's women.[758] In addition, in contrast to the pro-leave campaign, the pro-remain one lacked enthusiasm of changing an existing situation and it could not present an encouraging vision to the UK's public.[759]

In contrast to the pro-remain campaign's concerns of informing and proving, the pro-leave campaign chose to emphasize problems, threats, and its rival; thus, while the pro-remain side mainly referred to experts and statistics, the pro-leave side used a much more simplified strategy and aimed to address average people with recurring messages.[760] Similarly, Andrew S. Crines argued that the pro-leave side achieved to build a character which is close to majority of the UK's public and thanks to this character formation, the side achieved to show its campaign credible and right.[761]

According to John Street, the role of mass media was not only transferring the information and arguments to the public but also constituting the campaign process itself during Brexit process.[762] The duels between the two campaign sides were turned into various shows aiming to affect and attract the public, such as the Great Debate program of BBC.[763]

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[758] Ibid.

[759] Ibid.

[760] Alicia Wanless, "Brexit's Hearts Over Minds: The Tale of Two Campaigns", LinkedIn, 2 July 2016, https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/brexits-hearts-over-minds-tale-two-campaigns-alicia-wanless/, accessed on 19 December 2023

[761] Andrew S. Crines, "The rhetoric of the EU Referendum campaign", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.61

[762] John Street, "Less a soap opera, more a fantasy drama?", EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign, June 2016, Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture & Community Bournemouth University, p.60

[763] Ibid.

As a result, the arguments of the pro-leave campaign have been seen more in number and they created much more enthusiasm among the public compared to the arguments of the pro-remain campaign via its supporters' more persuasive and agitator discourses, its more aggressive approach to the crucial social topics such as sovereignty and immigration, its overachiever usage of mass media and its case to make a radical change to "take back control" in an overly conservative society like the UK's.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Uzun süre Avrupa şüpheciliğini kimliğinde benimsemiş bir ülke olan Birleşik Krallık, Avrupalılaşma fikrine olan mesafesini ve karşıtlığını 2016 yılındaki Brexit referandumunda ayrılma lehinde oy vererek üyeliğini sonlandırma kararı aldığında somutlaştırdı. Brexit kararı yalnızca yıllardır süregelen Avrupa şüpheciliğinin doruk noktası değildi; aynı zamanda Birleşik Krallık'ın jeopolitik yöneliminde de önemli bir değişime işaret ederek, daha fazla egemenlik, göç politikaları üzerinde kontrol ve Avrupa projesinin uluslarüstü çerçevesinden bağımsız bir ulusal kimlik iddiası arzusunun sinyalini de verdi.

Bu tez üç ana bölümden oluşmaktadır ve tezin iki araştırma konusu Birleşik Krallık ile Avrupa Birliği (AB) arasındaki tarihsel ilişkinin gelişimi ve Brexit sürecinde Birleşik Krallık'ta oluşan ayrılma ve kalma yanlısı kampanyaların argümanlarıdır. İki aktör arasındaki bu ilişkinin en dikkat çekici unsuru, Birleşik Krallık kamuoyunun gözünde AB ile kendisi arasında yıllar geçtikçe artan mesafe ve Avrupa şüpheciliği olmuş ve bu mesafe özellikle Birleşik Krallık siyasetçileri ve kitle iletişim araçları tarafından beslenmiştir. Birliğin gittikçe uzaklaşan ve bürokratik bir oluşum olduğu imajı, Avrupa şüpheci görüşlerle birleşince, siyasi figürler ve kitle iletişim araçlarının kamuoyunu şekillendirmedeki etkili rolü aracılığıyla derinleşmiştir. Yıllar geçtikçe, siyasi söylem ve medya anlatıları Birleşik Krallık'ın AB ile ilişkisinin çerçevelenmesinde önemli bir rol oynamış ve Birleşik Krallık'ın kamuoyunda artan şüphe ve algılanan ulusal egemenlik kaybı duygularına katkıda bulunmuştur.

Bu tez ilk bölümünde iki aktör arasındaki, çoğunlukla Avrupa şüpheci görüş ve eylemlerin hakim olduğu tarihsel ilişkiyi sunduktan sonra, ikinci ve üçüncü bölümlerinde Brexit sürecindeki her iki kampanya grubu için akademik ve gazete makalelerine ilişkin bir literatür taraması sunmaktadır. Bu literatür taraması, bilimsel

araştırmaların ve medyadaki yayınların analizi yoluyla kapsamlı bir anlayış sunmayı amaçlamaktadır ve iki kampanya grubunun söylemlerini şekillendiren dinamikleri, temel argümanları ve kamuoyu duygularını açıklığa kavuşturmayı amaçlamaktadır. Böylece bu tez esas olarak gazete ve akademik yayıncılık yoluyla konunun argümanlarının ve ayrıntılarının anlaşılmasını amaçlayan nitel araştırmaya dayanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda bu tezin ana kaynakları, Brexit kampanya sürecini inceleyen, özellikle ana argümanlara, söylemlere ve hem ayrılma yanlısı hem de kalma yanlısı tarafların aktörlerine değinen gazete ve akademik makalelerdir. Bu nedenle bu tezde akademik makale ve kitapların yanı sıra The Guardian, BBC, The Telegraph gibi haber kaynaklarının makalelerinden de yararlanılmıştır. Bu tezin diğer ana kaynakları, Brexit kampanya sürecinin ayrılma ve kalma yanlısı taraflarını oluşturan en etkili partilere, politikacılara ve kampanya gruplarına ilişkin parti manifestoları ve siyasi söylemlerdir. Ayrıca bu tez, her iki kampanya tarafının argümanlarını derinlemesine incelemek için çevrimiçi web sitelerinden ve bloglardan da yararlanmıştır.

Bu tezin temel araştırma sorusu şöyledir: "Kampanya stratejileri açısından ayrılma yanlısı kampanyanın başarısının ardındaki faktörler nelerdir?". Bu noktaya değinen iki ikincil araştırma sorusu vardır: Birincisi, "Birleşik Krallık ile Avrupa Birliği arasındaki ilişki zaman içinde nasıl gelişti?". İkincisi, "Brexit sürecinde ayrılma ve kalma yanlısı kampanyaları oluşturan başlıca olaylar, aktörler ve tartışmalar neler?"
Bu tez, Avrupa şüpheciliğinin uzun yıllardan beri Birleşik Krallık kimliğine yerleşmiş olduğunu ve bunun sonucunda hem politikacıların hem de ana akım medyanın yönlendirmesiyle halkın referandumda Avrupa Birliği'nden ayrılma yönünde evet oyu kullandığını ileri sürmektedir. Bu tez, öncelikle Birleşik Krallık ile Avrupa Birliği arasındaki tarihsel ilişkiyi analiz ederek Brexit kampanya sürecine dair bir anlayış kazanmayı amaçlayan bir yaklaşımı benimsemektedir. Dolayısıyla tezin ilk bölümü, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasından itibaren iki aktör arasındaki ilişkinin analiziyle başlayıp, İngiltere'nin AB'ye katılımıyla devam etmekte ve Brexit'e kadar iktidarda kalan hükümetlerin analiziyle sona ermektedir.

İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın ardında bıraktığı yıkımın yeniden yaşanması riskini ortadan kaldırmak, Avrupa'da huzuru ve barışı sağlamak ve Avrupa ülkelerinin

bütünleşmesini güçlendirmek adına bu ülkelerin aralarındaki dostluk ve dayanışmaya dayalı ilişkiyi özel bir uluslarüstü kuruluşla legalize etmek amacı yolunda kurulan ve evrilen Avrupa Kömür ve Çelik Topluluğu, Avrupa Ekonomik Topluluğu (AET), Avrupa Atom Enerjisi Topluluğu; ve bu amaçlarla imzalanan Roma Antlaşması'nın ardından Birleşik Krallık, 1972'de imzaladığı katılım antlaşması ve Avrupa Toplulukları Akdi ile Avrupa Ekonomik Topluluğu'na üye olmuştur. Birleşik Krallık'ın AET'ye üye olması Muhafazakar Parti'nin bir başarısı olarak görülürken, İşçi Partisi AET'den çekilme yolunda ilk adımları atmaya başladı ve Muhafazakar Parti üyelerinin de içinde bulunduğu Avrupa şüphecileri sayesinde 1974 yılında Brexit'in selefi olan referandumun yapılmasına karar verildi. Referandumun Birleşik Krallık'ın AET'ye katılımından çok kısa bir süre sonrası yapılması ve o yıllarda Birleşik Krallık'ın ekonomik ve uluslarlarası gücünü koruması için AET'den başka seçeneğinin görülmemesi halkın çoğunluğunun kalma lehinde oy kullanmasında etkili oldu. Ancak bu referandum, Birleşik Krallık'ta Avrupa şüpheciliğinin ne kadar yerleşmiş olduğunu gösteren ilk olay olarak tarihte yerini aldı.

1979 ve 1990 yılları arasında Birleşik Krallık'ın başbakanlık görevini üstlenen Margaret Thatcher 1975 referandumunda kalma yanlısı kampanyaya destek vermesine rağmen başbakanlığı döneminde AET'nin ekonomik planlarını oluştururken Birleşik Krallık'ın ulusal konularına gereğinden fazla müdahil olduğunu savundu ve AET'ye olumsuz bir bakış açısıyla yaklaştı; AET'nin uluslarüstü bir güç olmasındansa üyesi olan ülkelerin işbirliğini ifade eden bir kuruluş olmasını tercih edeceğini söyledi (Pylas, 2020). Ayrıca ekonomik boyutunun üstüne geçerek politik bir formasyona evrilmeye başlayan AET, Birleşik Krallık halkının da halihazırda Avrupa şüphecisi olan tavrını pekiştirmiş oldu.

Ünlü Bruges konuşmasında Thatcher Brüksel'in İngiltere'nin üzerinde bir süper devlet olmasını reddettiğini açıkça belirtti ve Roma Antlaşması'ndan çok önce de Birleşik Krallık'ın da parçası olduğu bir Avrupa kültürünün bulunduğunu söyledi (Thatcher, 1988).

1992'de Birleşik Krallık ve AET arasındaki ilişkinin gerilmesine sebep olan Kara Çarşamba krizi Birleşik Krallık'ın enflasyon oranını parasal birliğin sağlanması

yolunda konulmuş alt ve üst seviyelerin içinde tutamaması sebebiyle pound'un bu sistemden çekilmesi sonucu yaşandı. Hükümetin kriz süresince gösterdiği kötü yönetim, pound'un birlikten çekilmesi sebebiyle Birleşik Krallık'ın yaşadığı aşağılanma ve ülkenin neredeyse 3.14 milyar euro'luk kaybı sebebiyle Kara Çarşamba krizi hem Birleşik Krallık hükümetine olan güvenin azalarak Avrupa şüpheciliğinin artması, hem de AET ile olan ilişkinin ciddi şekilde zedelenmesiyle sonuçlandı.

Birleşik Krallık 1992 yılında Avrupa Birliği'nin kuran Maastricht Antlaşması'nı imzaladı. 1993'te tüm Avrupa toplulukları Avrupa Birliği adının çatısı altında birleşti. John Major'ın başbakanlık dönemine damga vuran Maastricht İsyanı, Muhafazakar Parti'nin içindeki Avrupa şüpheciliği taşıyan üyelerin kaydadeğer bir sayıya sahip olduğunu ve parti içinde bu konuda bir bölünme yaşandığını gösterdi. Sonuç olarak bu bölünme partinin 1997 seçimlerinde büyük bir yenilgi almasına sebep oldu.

1994-1997 yılları arasında aktif olan ve Avrupa şüpheciliğinin ilk siyasal örgütlenme ayağını oluşturan Referandum Partisi, Birleşik Krallık'ın AB üyeliğine radikal bir biçimde karşı çıkmak amacıyla kuruldu. British Election Panel Study'e göre 1992'ye göre 1997 yılındaki Avrupa şüphecisi sayısı %66 arttı ve bu kişiler AB'den ayrılmak ya da en azından AB'nin Birleşik Krallık üzerindeki etkisinin azalmasını istediklerini belirttiler. Referandum Partisi'nin çoğunluğunu oluşturan üyeler Muhafazakar Parti'nin eski üyeleriydi ve Maastricht Antlaşması Muhafazakar Parti tarafından kabul edilmese Avrupa konusunda daha ılımlı olabileceklerini ifade ettiler.

1997 seçimlerinde İşçi Partisi'nin büyük başarısı sonucu Tony Blair başbakan oldu ve hükümeti Birleşik Krallık'ı içinde bulunduğu uluslararası arenadaki izolasyondan kurtararak AB ile olan ilişkileri daha ılımlı yapmayı hedefledi. 1998'de Saint-Malo Zirvesi'nde Fransa ile imzalanan deklarasyon ile Birleşik Krallık AB'nin ortak bir güvenlik politikası geliştirmesini kabul etti ve bu, iki aktör arasındaki ilişkiyi güçlendirdi. Bu olumlu gelişmeye rağmen Birleşik Krallık medyasının Avrupa şüpheciliği ağırlıklı bir şekilde devam etti ve Blair hükümeti de halkın bu yöndeki fikirlerini değiştirmekte başarısız oldu.

Blair hükümeti AB'ye olan ılımlı yaklaşımının yanı sıra ayrıca Atlantikçilik fikrine de yakındı ve 11 Eylül saldırıları sonrası Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ni (ABD) destekleyeceği sözünü verdi. Diğer Avrupa ülkeleri de bu sözü vermesine rağmen ABD yalnızca İngiltere'nin yardımını aldı ve bu da Blair'in AB ile ABD arasında kurmak istediği köprü işlevini gölgede bırakarak diğer AB ülkelerinin İngiltere'den uzaklaşmasına sebep oldu.

David Cameron 2005'te Muhafazakar Parti'nin yeni başkanı olurken aynı zamanda Birleşik Krallık'ta hızla yükselmekte olan göç problemi sadece partiler içinde değil, ülkenin kendi içinde de bölünmeler yaratmaya başladı. Birleşik Krallık'ta artarak devam eden göçmen sayısı ülkede yabancı düşmanlığının ve Avrupa şüpheciliğinin hem medyada hem de halk arasında yükselmesine sebep oldu.

2008'de gerçekleşen dünya çapındaki ekonomik kriz ve Birleşik Krallık'ta sayısı hızla artan, diğer AB üyesi ülkelerden gelen göçmenler halkın hem Avrupa entegrasyonuna hem de AB'ye olan şüpheciliğini arttırmaya devam etti.

1993'te kurulan ve Referandum Partisi ile birlikte Birleşik Krallık'ta yükselen Avrupa şüpheciliğinin somut siyasal örneklerinden olan Birleşik Krallık Bağımsızlık Partisi (BKBP) 1999'da parlementoda kazandığı üç koltuğu arttırarak 2004'te on iki koltuk kazandı. 2006'da BKBP'nin başkanı olan Nigel Farage görevine başladıktan sonra BKBP 2009 Avrupa Parlementosu seçimlerinde on üç koltuk kazandı. 2013 ve 2014'te yerel yönetimlerde sırasıyla en az yüz ve yüz altmış koltuk kazanan BKBP, ülkede artmakta olan göçmen sorunuyla paralel olarak büyümeye devam etti. Partinin başkanı Nigel Farage "Bay Brexit" olarak anılmaya başladı ve BKBP Brexit sürecini en çok etkileyen oluşumlardan biri oldu.

David Cameron'ın başbakanlık görevini yerine getirdiği 2010-2016 yılları arasında teorik düzeyde görülen Avrupa şüpheciliği pratik anlamda somutlaştı ve Birleşik Krallık halkı arasında ülkelerinin egemenlik ve siyasi gücünün AB karşısında gittikçe azaldığına dair görüşe destek arttı. Muhafazakar Parti'nin içindeki bölünmeler sonucu otoritesini kaybetmeye başlayan Cameron üzerinde daha fazla baskı hissetmeye başladı ve Avrupa şüphecisi parti üyelerini memnun etme kaygısıyla tavizler vermeye başladı.

2011 yılında Lisbon Antlaşması'nın revizyonunu reddeden Cameron Birleşik Krallık'ın revizyonu reddeden tek AB üyesi ülke olmasına sebep oldu ve AB ile olan ilişkiler yeniden kaygan bir zemine oturdu. Cameron 2013'te Birleşik Krallık'ın AB içerisindeki pozisyonunu ve geleceğini belirleyebilmek için bir referandum yapılması fikrini duyurdu. 2015'te tek başına hükümete gelmeleri koşuluyla bu referandumun gerçekleştirileceği sözünü verdi ve konuşmalarında da Birleşik Krallık'ın egemenliğe ve bağımsızlığa verdiği önemden bahsetti.

2015 genel seçimlerini Muhafazakar Parti'nin kazanmasıyla Cameron, Birleşik Krallık'ın AB'deki pozisyonuna yönelik reformlar hedeflediğini duyurdu. Referandum tarihini Haziran 2016 olarak duyuran Cameron, referendum sonucu olumsuz olduğu ve kendisi AB içinde kalmayı desteklediği için Brexit referandumu sonrası istifa ederek yerini Theresa May'e bıraktı.

Theresa May 2016-2019 yılları arasında süren başbakanlığı boyunca Brexit'in gölgesinde görev yaptı ve AB'yle çeşitli bağların sürmesini öngören planları nedeniyle Muhafazakar Parti içindeki Avrupa şüphecisi üyelerin kendisine karşı hareket etmesine sebep oldu. Brexit sürecine yönelik tutarsız aksiyonları ve kaybettiği destek sonucu Muhafazakar Parti'deki saygınlığını da yitirmeye başlayan May, 2019'da görevinden istifa etti.

2019'da Muhafazakar Parti'nin başkanlığını üstlenen Boris Johnson başından beri Brexit'e olan güçlü desteği ve Brexit'in ayrılma lehine çıkan kararı sonucu Birleşik Krallık siyasetinin en önemli aktörlerinden biri haline geldi. Johnson'ın uzun uğraşları sonucu tavizsiz bir Brexit yerine getirildi ve Birleşik Krallık 1 Ocak 2021 tarihinde AB'den bağımsız hayatına başladı.

İkinci bölümde bu tez, Brexit sürecinin AB'de kalma yanlısı kampanya tarafının argümanlarını siyasi kampanya grupları, iş insanları, sanatçılar, akademisyenler, çevreciler, politikacılar ve gazeteler ışığında incelemektedir. Ayrıca tezde kampanyanın reklamlarına ve sosyal medya kullanımına da değinilmektedir. Tezin sonunda, kalma yanlısı kampanyanın başarısızlığının ardındaki nedenler sıralanmaktadır. Kalma yanlısı kampanya için bu tezin en çok vurgulanan unsurları

ekonomi, göç, küresel güvenilirlik ve güvenliktir. AB'de kalma yanlısı taraf, öncelikli hedefi olarak Brexit'i dengesiz ve belirsiz bir geleceğe sahip bir değişim olarak göstererek statükoyu korumaya yönelik kampanyasını yürütmüştür. Böylece, kalma yanlısı kampanya, AB'nin ekonomik refah, diplomatik işbirliği ve sosyal uyum için istikrar sağlayıcı bir güç olduğunu göstermiştir. Kampanya, AB'den çekilinirse bozulabilecek mevcut anlaşmaların, ticari ortaklıkların ve ortak politikaların önemini vurgulamıştır.

Kalma yanlısı kampanya grubunun ortak argümanlarında yer alan ekonomi alt başlığı, diğer AB üyesi ülkelerden Birleşik Krallık'a gelen göçmenlerin sağladığı para akışı ve ödedikleri vergilerin miktarının ekonomiye olan pozitif etkilerini kapsamaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, Birleşik Krallık'ın AB üyesi olduğu sürece dahil olacağı Avrupa Tek Pazarı da ekonomik avantajlar içerisindedir.

Küresel güvenilirlik alt başlığı AB'nin kurulduğu günden bu yana uluslararası alandaki en kritik aktörlerden olmasına ve Birleşik Krallık'ın AB'yi terk etmesi durumunda bu alanda kaybedeceği prestije ve global arenada kaybedeceği sesine ve söz hakkına atıfta bulunur. Güvenlik alt başlığı ise Birleşik Krallık'ın AB'yi terk etmesi durumunda transnasyonel bağlamda söz hakkı kaybedeceğini ve bunun sonucunda ülke sınırlarının terör saldırılarına karşı daha dayanıksızlaşacağını savunmaktadır.

Bu tezin AB'de kalma yanlısı kampanyaya yer verdiği bölümde kampanyanın en önde gelen destekçileri olarak çeşitli siyasi kampanya grupları, Birleşik Krallık halkının içinden çıkan kampanya grupları, iş insanları, sanatçılar, akademi ve bilim toplulukları, çevreciler, politikacılar ve gazeteler dahil edilmiştir.

Bu bölümde yer verilen siyasi kampanya grupları arasında Britain Stronger in Europe, Labor in for Britain, Lib Dems, Best for Britain ve British Indians for IN yer almaktadır. Kalma yanlısı kampanyanın resmi ve ana grubu olarak Britain Stronger in Europe, diğer gruplarla da paralel olarak Birleşik Krallık'ın AB üyeliği devam ettiği sürece daha güçlü ve güvenli bir ülke olacağını savunmuştur (Wintour, 2015). AB üyeliğinin diğer avantajları olarak Tek Pazar sayesinde elde edilen güçlü

ekonomi (Colvile, 2015), istihdam fırsatları, küresel güvenilirlik ve sınırların güvenliği sunulmuştur (*The people hoping to persuade UK to vote to stay in the EU*, 2016).

Birleşik Krallık halkının içinden çıkan kampanya grupları ve bireysel kampanyacılar arasında Another Europe is Possible ve Wolfgang Tillmans yer almaktadır. Birleşik Krallık halkının finanse ettiği Another Europe is Possible grubu, ülkedeki radikal solcuların da temsilcisi olarak kalma yanlısı kampanyanın en önemli gruplarından biri haline gelmiştir (Another Europe, 2022). Diğer gruplardan daha keskin olarak işçi ve göçmen haklarını kendi argümanlarının merkezi haline getiren grup, sendikalar ve sivil toplum kuruluşları ile işbirliği yapmıştır (Another Europe, 2022). Grup ayrıca Hayırlı Cuma Antlaşması'nı ve bu antlaşmanın Kuzey İrlanda için olan önemini vurgulayarak Birleşik Krallık içindeki uyum ve dayanışmanın AB'den ayrılınması durumunda tehdit altında kalacağını savunmuştur (Another Europe, 2020).

Alman bir sanatçı olan ve Birleşik Krallık'ta çalışan Wolfgang Tillmans, kendi tasarladığı posterlerle Brexit'in ülkenin geleceğini tehdit eden bir fikir olduğunu, Birleşik Krallık'ın bir aile olan Avrupa'nın bir ferdi olduğunu ve AB'den ayrılmanın komşu ülkelerle olan barışı zedeleyeceğini savunmuştur (Tillmans, no date). Birleşik Krallık halkının da eleştirdiği kalma yanlısı kampanyanın yetersizliğine ve kampanyanın halkı ikna edemeyen genel tavrına dikkati çeken Tillmans (Morby, 2016), Brexit'in ayrıca Birleşik Krallık'ı izolasyona ve sağ yanlısı radikalizmin yükselişine iteceğini savunmuştur (O'Hagan, 2016).

Kalma yanlısı kampanyayı destekleyen iş insanları ve toplulukları arasında Times'a gönderilen mektubun imzalayıcıları (Quinn, 2016), Tom Dixon (Fairs, 2016), İngiliz Sanayi Federasyonu (Inman, 2016) ve İngiltere Bankası (Levy, Aslan & Bironzo, 2016) yer almaktadır. Bu iş insanları ve topluluklarının ortak argumanı Brexit'in Birleşik Krallık ekonomisine zarar vereceği ve istihdamı olumsuz yönde etkileyecek olmasıdır (Banks, 2016; Fairs, 2016; Kollewe, 2016; Allen, 2016).

Sanatçılar arasında Telegraph'ın açık mektubunun imzalayıcıları (Zilli, 2016), Amanda Levete (Zilli, 2016), Annamaria Anderloni (Zilli, 2016), Rogers Stirk

Harbour + Partners (Zilli, 2016) ve Architects' Journal (Waite & Douglas, 2016) yer almaktadır. Sanatçılar Brexit'in Birleşik Krallık'ın küresel güvenilirliğini (Zilli, 2016), sanat dünyasının çeşitliliğini (Zilli, 2016) ve istihdamını azaltacağını ve sonucunda ülke ekonomisini kötü etkileyeceğini (Waite & Douglas, 2016) savunmuştur.

Akademi ve bilim toplulukları arasında Scientists for EU (Scientists for EU, no date), The Royal Society (Levy, Billur & Bironzo, 2016) ve Historians for Britain (Abulafia, 2015) yer almaktadır. Bu topluluklar AB üyeliğinin Birleşik Krallık'ın bilimsel süreçlerine ve akademi dünyasına katkıda bulunduğunu (Scientists for EU, no date; Johnston, 2016) ve yapılacak küçük değişikliklerle AB'nin ideal bir organizasyon olacağını savunmuştur (Abulafia, 2015).

Çevreci gruplar politikacılar, yazarlar ve aktivistlerden oluşmaktadır ve Birleşik Krallık'ın yaban hayatının ve çevresinin AB'ye üye kaldıkları sürece daha temiz ve aktif olacağını savunmuşlardır (McSmith, 2016).

Kalma yanlısı kampanyayı destekleyen kritik politikacılar arasında David Cameron (Smith, 2016), George Osborne (*The people hoping to persuade UK to vote to stay in the EU*,2016), Sadiq Khan (Levy, Aslan & Bironzo, 2016), Enda Kenny (Wintour, 2016), Nicola Sturgeon (*Nicola Sturgeon: EU remain vote 'top priority*, 2016), Mark Carney (*Mark Carney: EU exit is 'biggest domestic risk'*, 2016) ve Barack Obama (Trevisan, 2016) yer almaktadır. Bu politikacıların ortak argümanları arasında Brexit'in Birleşik Krallık ekonomisine (*George Osborne: Remain campaign 'not conspiracy, but consensus'*, 2016), Kuzey İrlanda ile olan barışa (Murphy, 2021), işçi ve göçmen haklarına (*Nicola Sturgeon: EU remain vote 'top priority'*, 2016) ve küresel prestijine bir tehdit olacağı (*Barack Obama says Brexit would leave UK at the 'back of the queue' on trade*, 2016) yer almıştır.

Kampanyayı destekleyen gazeteler arasında Daily Mirror (Levy, Aslan & Bironzo, 2016), Guardian (*UK newspapers' positions on Brexit*, 2016), Financial Times (Levy, Aslan & Bironzo, 2016), Mail on Sunday (Staff and agencies, 2016), Times (Levy, Aslan & Bironzo, 2016) ve Observer (Staff and agencies, 2016) yer almaktadır.

Kampanyanın diğer destekçileriyle paralel olarak bu gazeteler de ekonomi (Freedland, 2016), küresel güvenilirlik (Staff and agencies, 2016) ve güvenlik açısından (Staff and agencies, 2016) Birleşik Krallık'ın AB'de kalması gerektiğini savunmuştur.

Tezin bu bölümü kalma yanlısı kampanyanın reklamları ve sosyal medya kullanımı ile devam etmektedir. Bu bölümün kapsamları arasında #VotIn, Britain Stronger in Europe posterleri ve reklamı, grubun Twitter kullanımı, Labor in for Britain posteri, Lib Dems posteri, grubun Facebook kullanımı, Best for Britain ve People's Vote gruplarının Facebook kullanımları, Conservatives In posteri, M&C Saatchi posteri, David Cameron'ın önde gelen teknoloji şirketi liderleriyle buluşması, Hug a Brit ve #CatsAgainstBrexit yer almaktadır.

Tezin kalma yanlısı kampanyayı analiz ettiği bölümün son alt başlığı olarak kalma yanlısı kampanyanın referandum yenilgisinin nedenleri sıralanmaktadır. Bu sebepler arasında Avrupa şüpheciliğinin uzun zamandır Birleşik Krallık kimliğinde, halkında ve medyasında yer etmesi; kampanya destekçilerinin halkı bilgilendirme ve ikna etmede yetersiz kalması ve kampanyanın özellikle kampanya sürecinin son zamanlarında halkın ilgisini yüksek tutamayarak halihazırda savunduğu argumanlarını tekrar etmesi bulunmaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümde bu tez, Brexit sürecinin ayrılma yanlısı kampanya grubunun argümanlarını Avrupa şüpheciliği, 1975 referandumu, siyasi kampanya grupları, iş insanları, akademisyenler, politikacılar ve gazeteler ışığında incelemektedir. Ayrıca tezde kampanyanın reklamlarına ve sosyal medya kullanımına da değinilmektedir. Sonunda tez, ayrılma yanlısı kampanyanın başarısının ardındaki nedenleri sıralamaktadır.

Ayrılma kampanyasını destekleyenlerin argumanlarının ana unsurları, uzun yıllardır Birleşik Krallık kamuoyunun sert Avrupa şüpheci perspektifinde ortaya çıkan ve siyasi partiler ve kitle iletişim araçları tarafından başarıyla yayılan egemenlik, göç ve ekonomi olmuştur. Ayrılma yanlısı kampanya, referandum sürecini provokatif bir şekilde ele alma biçimi sayesinde, egemenlik ve kontrolün uluslarüstü bir örgüte

kaptırılması ve bu sebeple dengesiz bir ekonomiye sahip olunması, diğer Avrupa ülkelerinden gelen göçmenler sebebiyle yaşanacak daha az güvenli bir ülkeye sahip olunması ve bunun getirdiği güvenliksizlik gibi kamuoyunun Avrupa şüpheci endişelerine atıfta bulunarak statükoyu değiştirmeyi başarmıştır.

Tezin bu bölümü referandum sonucunun tarihsel gelişimine ışık tutan en kritik alt başlık olan Avrupa şüpheciliği ile başlayarak Avrupa şüpheciliği teriminin kullanımının 1985'te Birleşik Krallık medyasında başladığına, bu şüpheciliğin bir İngiliz hastalığı olarak görüldüğüne, iki alt başlığı olan "soft" (yumuşak) ve "hard" (sert) Avrupa şüpheciliği kavramlarına ve Brexit'in aslında Birleşik Krallık'taki "hard" (sert) Avrupa şüpheciliğinin bir sonucu olduğuna değinmektedir.

Bu alt başlık sonrasında Avrupa şüpheciliğinin Birleşik Krallık'ta köklenerek gelişip yayıldığı en önemli platform olan yazılı medyanın rolüne değinildikten sonra kampanya stratejilerini etkileyen ve Birleşik Krallık halkının içinde oluşan tartışmalara değinilmektedir. Kampanya süresince en kritik gündemlerden olan göç ve dönemin hükümetinin başarısız göç politikaları medya yayınlarıyla da beslenerek Brexit'e olan olumlu yaklaşımı arttırmıştır.

1975 ve 2016 referandumlarının karşılaştırma analiziyle devam eden bölüm, iki referandum arasındaki benzerlikleri sıralamaktadır: Her ikisinde de katılımın yüksek olması, iki kampanya tarafı için de şemsiye organizasyonların bulunması, ekonomi ve egemenliğin kampanya süreçlerini domine eden iki konu olması. Benzerlikleri takriben farklılıklara da değinilmektedir: 2016 referandumunun Birleşik Krallık televizyonlarında 1975 referandumuna göre daha fazla yer bulması, halkın politikacılara olan güveninin 2016 referandumunda çok daha az olması, 1975 referandumu dönemindeki yayınların halka bilgi aktarımında daha çok çaba sarf etmiş olması, 1975 referandumunun kampanya sürecinde televizyon haberlerinde görünür olmanın kampanya grupları tarafından daha çok önemsenmesi ve ilk referandumda gazetelerin çoğunluğunun Avrupa Ekonomik Topluluğu'nda kalmayı desteklemesi.

Ayrılma yanlısı kampanya grubunun ortak argümanlarında yer alan göç alt başlığı, diğer AB üyesi ülkelerden Birleşik Krallık'a göç eden kişilerin ülkeyi daha

güvenliksiz ve adaletsiz yaptığı argümanlarını kapsamaktadır. Ekonomi alt başlığı, göç konusuna bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan bir başlık olmasının yanı sıra, göçmenlerin Birleşik Krallık'taki kamu hizmetleri, istihdam, barınma ve refah konularını olumsuz etkilediğine değinmektedir. Egemenlik alt başlığı ise ayrılma yanlısı kampanyanın ana mesajı olan "Kontrolü Geri Al" slogan doğrultusunda AB ve Birleşik Krallık arasındaki güç dengesinin bozulduğuna, uluslarüstü bir organizasyona üye olmanın ülkenin kendi egemenliğini tehlikeye attığına ve AB'nin yasama konusunda yeterince saydam olmadığına değinmektedir.

Bu bölümde yer verilen siyasi kampanya grupları arasında Vote Leave, Grassroots Out, Leave.EU/TheKnow.eu ve Left Leave Coalition yer almaktadır. Ayrılma yanlısı kampanyanın resmi ve ana grubu olarak Vote Leave, Brexit'in Birleşik Krallık'ın göçmenlerin artan sayısı sebebiyle bozulmakta olan ekonomisini düzelteceğini (Watt, 2016), mevcut hükümetin ülkesi adına AB ile olan ilişkileri verimli şekilde idare edemeyeceğini (Chilton, 2015) ve bu sebeplerle radikal bir değişimin gerekli olduğunu (Marlow, 2014) savunmaktadır.

Birleşik Krallık halkının içinden çıkan kampanya grupları ve bireysel kampanyacılar arasında BeLeave (Ramsay & Geoghegan, 2017), eski askeri yetkililer (*EU referendum: Ex-military officers fighting for EU exit*, 2016) ve balıkçılık endüstrisi (Razaq, 2016) bulunmaktadır. BeLeave kampanyası oy hakkı olan gençleri kendi taraflarına katmayı (*Vote Leave: Activist to give MPs evidence of 'rule breaking'*, 2018); eski askeri yetkililer AB'den kontrolün geri alınarak kararların yalnızca ülkeleri tarafından verilmeye başlanmasını (Press Association, 2016); balıkçılık endüstrisi ise Ortak Balıkçılık Politikası'nın sonlanarak sektörlerinin daha karlı ve güçlü bir hale gelmesini (Razaq, 2016) amaçlamıştır.

Ayrılma yanlısı kampanyayı destekleyen iş insanları ve toplulukları arasında Peter Hargreaves (Mann,2016) , Arron Banks (Booth, 2016) ve 250 diğer iş insanı (Inman, 2016) yer almaktadır. Ayrılma yanlısı kampanyayı bağışlarıyla destekleyen bu kişiler Birleşik Krallık'ın ekonomisinin AB üyeliğinden ayrılması durumunda güçleneceğini (Martin, 2016) ve küçük işletmelerinden de bundan yararlanacağını (Inman, 2016) savunmuşlardır.

Historians for Britain grubu ayrılma yanlısı kampanyanın akademi tarafındaki karşılığını temsil ederek Birleşik Krallık'ın kontrolü geri alarak daha izole olmasının ve milliyetçiliğin ülke için ne kadar önemli olduğunu vurgulamaktadır (Mammone, 2015).

Ayrılma yanlısı kampanyayı destekleyen kritik politikacılar arasında Boris Johnson (*Eight reasons Leave won the UK's referendum on the EU, 2016*), Nigel Farage (*Eight reasons Leave won the UK's referendum on the EU*, 2016), Michael Gove (Coleman, 2016) ve Daniel Hannan (Knight, 2016) yer almaktadır. Özellikle lider karizmalarıyla Birleşik Krallık halkını etkileyen bu politikacılar, AB ile olan ilişkilerde radikal bir değişimin gerekliliği konusunda ikna edici olarak başarılı bir şekilde kampanyalarını yürütmüşlerdir (*Eight reasons Leave won the UK's referendum on the EU*, 2016; Clarke, Goodwin & Whiteley, 2016).

Kampanyayı destekleyen gazeteler arasında Daily Mail (Levy, Aslan & Bironzo, 2016, s.10), Sun (Levy, Aslan & Bironzo, 2016, s.10), Daily Express (Levy, Aslan & Bironzo, 2016, s.33) ve Telegraph (Greenslade, 2016) bulunmaktadır. Özellikle kampanya sürecinin son haftaları dahil olmak üzere ayrılma kampanyasını destekleyen ikna edici ve provakatif söylemleriyle bu gazeteler politikacılarla birlikte ayrılma yanlısı kampanyanın başarısına en çok katkıda bulunan aktörlerden olmuştur (Simpson & Startin, 2023, s.303).

Ayrılma yanlısı kampanyanın reklamları ve sosyal medya kullanımı bölümünde Vote Leave Uygulaması (Mullen, 2016), Vote Leave'in referandum yayını, kampanyanın Twitter, Facebook ve YouTube kullanımı ve Brexit Express'e yer verilmiştir. Sosyal medyayı aktif şekilde kullanan ve Birleşik Krallık halkına etkili mesajlar ve yüksek etkileşimle ulaşan ayrılma kampanyası başarısını bu platformla da perçinlemiştir.

Ayrılma yanlısı kampanya bölümünün son alt başlığı olarak kampanyanın başarısının ardındaki sebepler analiz edilmektedir: Sebep olarak referandumun yapılmasının da en büyük sebeplerinden olan Birleşik Krallık'ta artan göçmen sayısı, dönemin hükümetinin başarısız göç politikaları, ayrılma yanlısı gazetelerin sayı ve içerik açısından daha güçlü oluşu ve halk arasında yabancı düşmanlığı ve Avrupa

şüpheciliğinin yayılmasında oynadıkları rol, AB sınırlarının genişlemesi durumunda terör sorunu yaşayan ülkelerle komşu olunacak olmasının halka verdiği korku ve ayrılma yanlısı kampanyanın verimli ve nokta atışı sosyal medya kullanımı sıralanabilir.

Tezin sonuç bölümünde temel araştırma sorusu olan "Kampanya stratejileri açısından ayrılma yanlısı kampanyanın başarısının ardındaki faktörler nelerdir?" cevaplanarak Avrupa şüpheciliğine, medyanın rolüne, kampanya sürecindeki hükümetin başarısız yönetimine, ayrılma yanlısı kampanyanın mesajlarını halka etkileyici, ikna edici ve tekrarlayıcı bir yöntemle aktarmasına ve sosyal medyayı ve basını başarılı şekilde kullanmasına atıfta bulunulmaktadır.

B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

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