

UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

School of Global Studies



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

## **Understanding Brexit**

**- mainstream and counterpoint within the United Kingdom**

Master Thesis in Global Studies, GS2534

30 higher education credits

Presented in September 2017

Author: Ragnar Hansson

Supervisor: Hans Abrahamsson

Words: 19928

## **Abstract**

The referendum on Brexit in 2016 revealed a divide within the United Kingdom, with England and Wales voting in favour of leaving the EU, while Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar voted remain. The thesis analyses Brexit through a theoretical framework within Development Theory elaborated by Hettne. This framework understands the societal development of modern human history to be driven by three basic values working in interaction, namely order, freedom, and justice. Building on Polanyi, the theory understands social history as a process of struggle between the first movement (constituting the mainstream), seeking to deregulate the economy through the value of freedom, and the second movement (constituting the counterpoint), seeking to reembed the economy through political means on behalf of order and justice. In a global perspective, the thesis understands the wants for continued EU-membership as the first movement and the decision to leave EU as a consequence of the political strength of the second movement. The aim of the thesis is to identify the dominating values in mainstream and counterpoint, and if there is any difference in the mainstream between Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar, using newspapers and websites as material for research. To conduct the study a methodological framework was constructed using elements of ideological analysis, provided by Freeden, and elements of qualitative content analysis, provided by Altheide. The main contributions of the thesis is empirically to analyze Brexit within the framework of Polanyi and theoretically to concretize the application of Hettne's framework by using Freeden and Altheide.

Keywords: Brexit, counterpoint, European Union, Gibraltar, ideology, mainstream, Northern Ireland, Scotland, United Kingdom, qualitative content analysis.

## **Acknowledgements**

I want to thank my supervisor Hans Abrahamsson for supporting me with feedback and advice, as well as patience, throughout the process of writing, spending your time and reading my text even when I sent it in late. I also would like to thank several of my friends for their help in discussing method and theory in relation to the subject.

Finally, I want like to thank my family for their belief in me and by giving me support to finish this thesis.

# Table of contents

<b>1. Introduction</b> .....	6
1.1. Aim and research questions .....	8
1.2. Delimitations .....	8
1.3. Relevance to Global Studies .....	8
<b>2. Previous research and contextual background</b> .....	9
2.1. The United Kingdom .....	9
2.2. Scotland .....	10
2.3. Northern Ireland .....	12
2.4. Gibraltar .....	13
<b>3. Theoretical framework</b> .....	15
3.1. World order and the development discourse .....	15
3.2. Theoretical framework within the thesis .....	19
3.3. Ideology .....	20
3.4. Defining order, freedom, and justice as analytical tools .....	22
3.4.1. Order .....	22
3.4.2. Freedom .....	26
3.4.3. Justice .....	29
<b>4. Methodology</b> .....	31
4.1. Qualitative content analysis .....	32
4.2. The research material .....	34
<b>5. Results and discussion</b> .....	35
5.1. Order .....	35
5.1.1. Controlling change .....	35
5.1.2. The extra-human social order .....	38
5.1.3. Status quo (Realism) .....	39
5.1.4. Zero-sum game (Realism) .....	42
5.2. Freedom .....	44
5.2.1. Liberty .....	44
5.2.2. Progress .....	45

5.2.3. Free trade (Classical economics) .....	46
5.2.4. Cooperation between states (Liberalism).....	49
5.3. Justice .....	50
5.3.1. The constitutive nature of the human relationship.....	50
5.3.2. Human welfare as a desirable objective.....	52
5.3.3. History.....	54
5.3.4. Structures of equality/inequality (Marxism).....	55
5.4. Mainstream and counterpoint .....	58
<b>6. Conclusion</b> .....	<b>61</b>
<b>7. References</b> .....	<b>64</b>

# 1. Introduction

On June 23, 2016, the United Kingdom<sup>1</sup> voted to leave the EU with the overall vote of 51, 9 for leave and 48, 1 for remain, with a turnout of 72.2 percentage. However, on regional levels the results from the referendum differed, with England voting 53,4 / 46,6, Wales 52,5 / 47,5, Scotland 38,0 / 62,0, Northern Ireland 44,2 / 55,8 and Gibraltar 4,1 / 95,9.<sup>2</sup>

The result revealed a divide within the UK, as Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar voted in favour of continued membership in contrast to England and Wales. The thesis theoretical approach is based on an analytical framework devised by Björn Hettne, which seeks to understand the driving forces behind human social history. This analytical framework understands human societal history to be made up by a development discourse, consisting of three values: order, freedom, and justice, all struggling for dominance. The study seeks to find the dominating values in the development discourse in relation to Brexit, comparing the UK itself with Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar, using a combined method of qualitative content analysis and ideology analysis.

In line with the Polanyian double movement (accounted for in chapter 3) and with a global perspective, the thesis considers the strife to remain in EU as the mainstream and to leave EU as the counterpoint, resulting from the political strength of the second movement. The mainstream and the counterpoint is in Hettne's framework connected to three basic values working in interaction, namely order, freedom, and justice. The societal development of modern human history has been shaped by the balance of these values in the mainstream, with one or two in dominance, and the opposing counterpoint. As such, the mainstream is understood to be represented by Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar through their will to remain in the EU. The counterpoint is interpreted as a second movement, represented by the leave-campaign.<sup>3</sup>

Subsequently, the referendum and the vote for leaving the EU, can be understood in relation to the ongoing globalisation and the current neoliberal policy discourse which is often described as the dominating policy behind the current mainstream.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Officially the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland" this thesis refers to the state of Great Britain as the UK.

<sup>2</sup> BBC News. EU Referendum. Results.

[http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu\\_referendum/results](http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results) (accessed 2017-07-02)

<sup>3</sup> Hettne, Björn. 2009. Thinking about development. London: ZED Books. pp. 8-9, 14

<sup>4</sup> Scholte, Jan Aart. 2005. Globalization: a critical introduction. 2 ed, Basingstoke, Macmillan. p. 39-40

This neoliberal policy, also known as the Washington Consensus, has been dominant since the early 80s when it was first implemented by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, emphasising the principles of removal of obstacles for trade like tariffs, trade unions, and state bureaucracy. These principles disconnect the markets sphere from the social and political sphere, a phenomenon that scholars in academia call disembedding. It is also a fundamental economic policy for the regional projects around the world, seeking to smoothen the conditions for trade amongst their member-states, with the EU being one of them.<sup>5</sup>

This disembedding is by some believed to create a “democratic deficit” as political power moves away from the institutions of the nation-state to multinational companies and international and regional organisations like the UN and the EU, leading to calls for a strengthening of the nation-state by some. Others argue for giving more power to international organisations in order to deal with global issues.<sup>6</sup>

According to Hylland Eriksen, every movement for disembedding is met with a movement for reembedding, often through identity politics.<sup>7</sup> This can be seen in the many political movements that has sprung up in Europe emphasising a national uniqueness, often using a rhetoric of us and them, and national symbols to create support for their politics.<sup>8</sup> Through this perspective, Brexit can be seen as a response to the neoliberal politics within the UK, too which the EU gets the overall blame.

The result for leaving the EU became a reality mainly due to England’s greater population in relation to the other areas within the UK, which in return spawned discontent amongst the ones who had voted for remaining in the EU. In comparison to England and Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar all voted with a strong majority for remaining in the EU, but each for different reasons, further discussed in chapter 2.

The thesis aims to answer the questions by using newspapers as research material. The choice of using newspapers as research material lies in media’s capability of influencing the public discourse in accordance to Michael Freeden’s understanding of ideology, further explained in chapter 3.

---

<sup>5</sup> Hylland Eriksen, Thomas. 2014. Globalization: the key concepts. 2 ed. Bloomsbury, London. p. 33-34

<sup>6</sup> Hylland Eriksen. 2014. p. 36

<sup>7</sup> Hylland Eriksen. 2014. P. 153-154

<sup>8</sup> Hylland Eriksen. 2014. p. 158-160

The method used is a combination of ideology analysis, as Hettne connects the values of order, freedom, and justice, with the ideologies of conservatism, liberalism, and socialism, and qualitative content analysis.

### **1.1. Aim and research questions**

Building on the theoretical framework of Hettne, the aim of the study is to try to apply the theory on a national level in order to find out how the values of order, freedom, and justice was understood and used the mainstream as well as in the counterpoint, and thereby find out which of the three values that dominates in relation to Brexit, by examining the arguments behind the leave-side and the remain-side.

This will be conducted by using the media from Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar which is perceived as the mainstream, and the Vote Leave-campaign, which is perceived as the counterpoint.

- Which of Hettne's three values dominates the mainstream?
- Which of Hettne's three values dominates the counterpoint?
- Does the mainstream/counterpoint in Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar differ and if so how?

### **1.2. Delimitations**

The thesis focuses on Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar as these regions voted in favour of staying in the EU. In this focus, the study is limited to the usage of one newspaper from each of these regions. These newspapers in question are the Herald for Scotland, the Belfast Telegraph for Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar Chronicle for Gibraltar. The material used from these newspapers consists of editorials, chosen on the basis of their representation of the newspapers ideological view.<sup>9</sup>

The regions of England and Wales are represented by articles from the Vote Leave-campaigns website, which contains all the major arguments for leaving the EU.

### **1.3. Relevance to Global Studies**

Within global studies, a major discussion is how globalisation affects the nation-state. Some scholars argues that the ongoing globalisation has made the nation-state obsolete or that it

---

<sup>9</sup> Ekström, Mats & Larsåke Larsson. 2010. Metoder I kommunikationsvetenskap. 2 ed. Lund, Studentlitteratur. p. 277



challenges the autonomy and independence of the nation-state in the world, creating “social and political tensions within and across nation-states” and that it also creates a tension or conflict between market liberalism and liberal democracy, creating what Eriksen calls a democratic deficit. The latter is however understood by some to be created by the neoliberal ideology that many sees as a driving factor in today’s globalisation and not globalisation itself.<sup>10</sup>

Based on these perspectives, neo-realists scholars like Robert Gilpin argues that globalisation “reinforces the importance of domestic policies, as countries engage in regionalization, sectoral protectionism, and mercantilistic competition in response to changes in the international location of economic activities” while others like political historian Robert Cox, who is often associated with the IR discipline of Critical theory, argues that globalisation transforms the state itself and that a shift of power has occurred within the state and not from the state.<sup>11</sup>

## **2. Previous research and contextual background**

This chapter will provide previous research on the relation between the EU and the UK, first focusing on the UK as a whole and then on Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar. This in order to provide the reader with a better historical understanding of why Brexit differed so much between the regions. It also helped the author in the process of formulating a research problem and developing the research questions.

### **2.1. The United Kingdom**

In order to understand public opinions in the UK different regions in relation to the referendum on EU-membership, Alicia Henderson, Charlie Jeffrey, Robert Liñeira, Roger Scully, Daniel Wincott, and Richard Wyn Jones, put together a study too understand how this opinions take shape, how they have changed, and how they differ between the regions.<sup>12</sup>

Using polls on voting tendencies like Europoll and the British Future of England Surveys (FoES), the study looks at how public opinion on the EU has changed from 1975 to 2016. Through the study they found that support for EU-membership as shifted from having the strongest support in England during the 1975 election, during which Scotland, Northern Ireland,

---

<sup>10</sup> Guillén, Mauro F. 2010. Is Globalization Civilizing, Destructive or Feeble? A Critique of Five Key Debates in the Social Science Literature. in *Readings in Globalization: Key Concepts and Major Debates*. George Ritzer & Zeynep Atalay (eds). Malden, Wiley-Blackwell. p. 11-12

<sup>11</sup> Guillén. 2010. p. 12

<sup>12</sup> Henderson, Alicia, Charlie Jeffrey, Robert Liñeira, Roger Scully, Daniel Wincott, & Richard Wyn Jones. 2016. England, Englishness and Brexit. In *The Political Quarter*, Vol. 87, No. 2. p. 190

Wales, and London was more negative against membership, to England in 2016 being the region least in favour of EU-membership, while support has grown in Scotland, Northern Ireland and London.<sup>13</sup>

Focusing on notions of identity, Henderson et al. concludes that the relation towards EU can be divided into three different groups in England itself, where people with a British-English identity was more positive towards the EU, while people who identified themselves as English-only were “overwhelmingly” negative against the EU. Similar results were shown for people who identified themselves as British-only.<sup>14</sup>

This relation could in accordance with the view of the author’s be seen in the slogans of the Vote Leave-campaign which often referred to ‘England’ and that voting Leave was to “speak for England” building on the argument that Brussels poses a threat to Britain as regards to both Englishness and Britishness. Another conclusion was that younger people were overall more positive towards the EU than older generations.<sup>15</sup>

The question also divided Labour and Tory, with politicians from both parties supporting Leave and Remain, while the Liberal Democrats supported the Remain-side and the UKIP supported the Leave-side. What further divides the parties is what shape Brexit should take, a hard Brexit, meaning that the UK leaves the EU completely and thereby loses access to the Single market<sup>16</sup> and all other assets, or a soft Brexit where the UK remains in the Single market but loses the possibility of influencing the EU from within.

## **2.2. Scotland**

According to John M. MacKenzie, Scotland has always had a different position within the United Kingdom due to its own culture and laws which differ from of England and Wales. Before Scotland went into the union with England in 1707, its lesser population and position north of England has historically made it more open towards the European continent, seeking to balance the might of its southern neighbour through alliances with other European powers.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Henderson et al. 2016. p. 192-194

<sup>14</sup> Henderson et al. 2016. p. 194-197

<sup>15</sup> Henderson et al. 2016. P. 198

<sup>16</sup> “The Single Market refers to the EU as one territory without any internal borders or other regulatory obstacles to the free movement of goods and services. A functioning Single Market stimulates competition and trade, improves efficiency, raises quality, and helps cut prices.” Quoted from [http://ec.europa.eu/growth/single-market\\_en](http://ec.europa.eu/growth/single-market_en) (2018-05-09)

<sup>17</sup> MacKenzie, John M. 2016. Brexit: The View from Scotland. In *The Round Table*, The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs. Vol. 105, No. 5. p. 577

Though the region was the most negative against EU-membership in 1975, Scotland was the region that favoured a continued EU membership most (excluding Gibraltar) during the 2016 referendum, with 62 percentage voting remain.

Strange as this seems, MacKenzie argues that EU's positive perception in Scotland began to take shape in the years after the 1975 referendum, as the European Community began to be seen as a new counterweight in Scotland's relation to England by Scottish nationalists in their aim for Scottish independence. In fact, none of the political parties in Scotland supported the Leave-campaign, and with UKIP not being part of the Scottish political picture, the Euroscepticism that shaped the referendum can be seen as an English question rather than a Union-question.<sup>18</sup>

Aileen McHarg and James Mitchel state that not even during the Scottish referendum for independence was a withdrawal from the EU a question. Rather may parts of the vote of remaining in the UK be explained by the uncertainties on whenever Scotland could maintain its membership in the EU after its independence or if it would have to seek membership again.<sup>19</sup>

According to McHarg and Mitchel, the Brexit referendum became transformed into a matter of constitutional power for Scotland since the Westminster Parliament in London<sup>20</sup> devolved parts of its power to regional governments in 1999. To the Scottish government<sup>21</sup> this would make the Scottish vote equal to the English vote and that the Scottish government (as well as Northern Ireland and Wales) should be able to veto a potential Leave-vote in England.<sup>22</sup>

Following this line of thought, the Scottish Government proposed that the referendum should follow the procedures of a "double majority" meaning that the UK should only be able to leave the EU if there was to be a majority vote in every region. The Westminster Parliament, on the other hand, argued that since the relationship with the EU is foremost a matter of foreign policy, it is solely a matter for London and not for Edinburgh nor Belfast.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> McHarg, Aileen & James Mitchell. 2017. In *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Special Issue Article. p. 1-2

<sup>19</sup> McHarg & Mitchell. 2017. p. 2

<sup>20</sup> Also referred to as Westminster, the seat of the UK Parliament.

<sup>21</sup> Also referred to as Holyrood, the seat of the Scottish Parliament and Government.

<sup>22</sup> McHarg & Mitchell. 2017. p. 3-6

<sup>23</sup> McHarg & Mitchell. 2017. p. 7-8

Financially Scotland has also received lots of funding from the EU, not at least in regards of agriculture, funding that now will stop, and so will its access to the Single market which is seen as vital for many Scottish companies.<sup>24</sup>

All three authors argue that the decision to leave the EU has put the union between England and Scotland under strain and will likely lead to tensions in years to come, increasing the likelihood for another referendum on Scottish independence.<sup>25</sup>

### **2.3. Northern Ireland**

For Northern Ireland, the EU has largely played a peacekeeping role as it was through the EU that the negotiation of the Belfast Agreement (or Good Friday Agreement), the peace treaty that brought an end to the Troubles, the violent conflict between Nationalists and Unionist, came to be. The membership into the EU also allowed the UK and the Republic of Ireland to start bilateral diplomatic links, which had been non-existent since Ireland became officially independent in 1948. It was also through the Belfast Agreement that the Republic of Ireland recognised Northern Ireland as a political entity.<sup>26</sup>

According to Henderson et al, Northern Ireland was the first region in the UK where public support for EU membership rose above the levels of England at 1975, with a massive support amongst Nationalists and later also amongst Unionists, with the EU-membership having an overall support in the early 2000s, possibly due to the Belfast Agreement.<sup>27</sup>

But in the 2016 referendum Sinn Féin and the Social Democratic and Labour Party SDLP, and other parties minor parties, supported the Remain-campaign, while the unionist parties such as the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) had shifted to supporting the Leave-campaign. The exception was the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) which supported Remain.<sup>28</sup>

The Belfast Agreement, implemented in 1998 and which saw the creation of a power-sharing form of government over Northern Ireland through the Northern Ireland Assembly and while deepening the bilateral connection between London and Dublin. But the treaty has been fragile and with the UK leaving the EU, concerns regarding the peace as risen, as the diplomatic

---

<sup>24</sup> MacKenzie. 2016. p. 578-379

<sup>25</sup> MacKenzie. 2016. p. 579

McHarg & Mitchell. 2017. p. 13-14

<sup>26</sup> Guelke, Adrian. 2017. The Risk to Northern Ireland. In *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 28, No. 1. p. 42-44. 47

<sup>27</sup> Henderson et al. 2016. p. 192

<sup>28</sup> McCann, Gerard & Paul Hainsworth. 2016. Brexit and Northern Ireland: the 2016 referendum on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union. In *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2. p. 328

relations between London and Dublin mostly goes through the institutional bodies set up by the Belfast Agreement.<sup>29</sup>

A similar concern is if the treaty will live on after Brexit as some of the fighting parties of the Troubles never accepted the treaty and with the UK outside the EU they might see the treaty is invalid. Another concern is the large amount of peace funding that Northern Ireland receives from the EU, aimed at reducing and healing the tensions of the Troubles.<sup>30</sup>

Another fear is that Brexit will undermine the already unstable power-sharing institutions. Twice has London been forced to temporarily take control over the government over Northern Ireland since the implementation of the Belfast Agreement peace, due to tension between the ruling parties Sinn Fein and DUP.

Finally, there is the fear of the return of a hard border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, which might speed up the tensions in Northern Ireland due to Brexit effect on the economy and the movement of people. This is seen as the major reasons to why Northern Ireland voted in favour of continued EU membership.<sup>31</sup>

## **2.4. Gibraltar**

Gibraltar has had a different standing within the EU due to being a British Oversea Territory, but has received EU funding, mostly from the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund, for projects in its public and private sector, and has access to the Single market.<sup>32</sup>

Despite not enjoying the full rights of EU citizenship Gibraltar is a strong supporter of the EU and as tried hard to gain the same amount of status as other citizens within the EU, which has met with critique from Spain. For Gibraltar, being European is, in comparison to the British mainland, a positive value which associated with democracy and equality.<sup>33</sup>

The Gibraltarians also see the EU and its legislation as a guardian against hostile neighbours, which in this case implies Gibraltar's relations to Spain. For instance, has the European

---

<sup>29</sup> Guelke. 2017. p. 46-47

<sup>30</sup> Guelke. 2017. p. 47

<sup>31</sup> Guelke. 2017. p. 50-51

<sup>32</sup> Garcia, Joseph. 2016. Brexit: A View from Gibraltar. in *The Round Table*, The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs. Vol. 105, No. 5. pp. 585

<sup>33</sup> Muller, Karis. 2004. Being 'European' in Gibraltar. in *European Integration*, Vol. 26, No. 1. pp. 43-44

Commission sent representatives to inspect the border between Gibraltar and Spain three times in order to control that Spain does not restrict the freedom of movement within the EU.<sup>34</sup>

Gibraltar's relationship with Spain has been a history of tension and sometimes even hostility. Though Spain due to domestic reasons never tried to regain Gibraltar during the period from the Napoleonic Wars to the Second World War, tensions started to reappear during the years of the Franco regime. The highpoint of these was when Spain called for the decolonisation of Gibraltar. The matter fell under UN Resolution 1514 and was regarded as a colonial issue. The UN committee dealing with the issue stated that "Spain's' right to territorial integrity demands the return of Gibraltar to Spanish rule".<sup>35</sup>

The UN also stated that Gibraltar is a bilateral issue which should be resolved solely between the UK and Spain. London and Gibraltar, on the other hand, claimed that there was no issue over the territory, even though Gibraltar wanted more autonomy from the UK while still be a part of Britain.<sup>36</sup> This led to two more resolutions and in the latest, it was stated that the issue should be resolved with "the interests of the people of the Territory", not by "the will of the people", a formulation that as caused much discussion since.<sup>37</sup>

The discussion culminated when the UK government, in order to fulfil Resolution 2231, gave the people of Gibraltar the right to decide their future status through a referendum in 1967 and two years later gave Gibraltar the right of having its own parliament and government through the 1969 Constitution, stating that "Gibraltar would remain part of Her Majesty's Dominions unless and until an Act of Parliament provides otherwise" and that the British Government will "never enter into arrangements under which the people of Gibraltar would pass under the sovereignty of another State against their freely and democratically expressed wishes."

The Spanish response was a total blockade of all communications between Gibraltar and Spain which for sixteen years, until Spain had to open the border in order to gain membership the EEC, otherwise having its entrance vetoed by the UK.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Garcia. 2016. pp. 586

<sup>35</sup> Lincoln, Simon J. 1994. The Legal Status of Gibraltar: Whose Rock is it Anyway? in *Fordham International Law Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 1.. pp. 287

<sup>36</sup> Gold, Peter. 2010. Identity Formation in Gibraltar: Geopolitical, Historical and Cultural Factors. in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 15, No. 2. pp.

<sup>37</sup> Lincoln. 1994. pp. 294-295

<sup>38</sup> Gold. 2010. pp.371

This history of threats and other incidents has up to the present day left Gibraltar with a deep scepticism towards Spain which they regard as un-democratic due to their recent history as a dictatorship and does not want to become Spanish, even if it would mean continued access to the Single market.<sup>39</sup>

### **3. Theoretical framework**

This section contains an explanation of the Hettne's theoretical framework and describing the role of media and ideology. As Hettne provides no method in regard to his theoretical framework, a methodological framework had to be constructed. This is done by putting together Hettne with the thoughts on ideology as elaborated by Freedon and IR theory.

#### **3.1. World order and the development discourse**

Hettne, in his work *Thinking about development*, elaborates how a transition from the current Westphalian world order to a post-Westphalian world order might take shape, with Hettne defining world order through three dimensions; structure, governance, and legitimisation.<sup>40</sup>

Structure relates to how the units in the system is related to each other due to the distribution of power and resources among them. Governance relates to the ways that one may influence decision and policy-making within the structure, and finally, legitimisation which relates to how the current major power or powers are acceptable to lead the world order according to the other units that are part of the system.<sup>41</sup>

Hettne also assumes that the world system builds upon a development discourse made up by a balance of three values: order, justice, and freedom. In this, order provides the security of the structure, justice the basis for the distribution of resources and freedom is connected to the market forces and innovation. Hettne argues that the discourse is shaped by one or two values, giving the third less potential to influence the discourse. In the current world system, which has been dominant for the last five hundred years, sovereign nation-states have been the highest form of institution, shaping the international order.<sup>42</sup>

To Hettne, *freedom* can in the current world order be viewed as the representation of the market forces and it is in the interest of the market that the structural order provides as much liberation

---

<sup>39</sup> Muller. 2004. pp. 43-44

<sup>40</sup> Hettne. 2009. pp. 19

<sup>41</sup> Hettne. 2009. pp. 19-20

<sup>42</sup> Hettne. 2009. pp. 14

of the market forces as possible. Freedom can then be seen to contain the free movement of capital, commodities, and people.

*Order* is the structure that restricts the market in order to redistribute its resources on the behalf of justice. Using the EU as an example, order can be understood to be constituted by the rules of the EU, with the Single market and other EU laws and directives made to control the market forces and provide justice in the redistribution of the spoils of the market.

*Justice* constitutes the legitimacy of the structure. Call for changes in the redistribution of the resources changes the structure of order, creating a conflict with freedom.

However, this discourse is not static and its content changes over time. Hettne argues that the discourse consists of a mainstream perspective which is the hegemonic perspective of the discourse. The mainstream is challenged and questioned by counterpoints which try to replace the mainstream through a rebalance of the values of order, freedom, and justice.<sup>43</sup>

Counterpoint is understood to challenge the goals of the current mainstream and how the mainstream tries to achieve its goals. It reflects views in social society and often consists of thought of a better past, or lost values.<sup>44</sup> Thus mainstream and counterpoint is part of every development discourse and can change over time, for instance, if the arguments of the counterpoint are strong enough to be integrated within the mainstream.<sup>45</sup>

As mentioned above, Hettne's theoretical framework builds upon Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation*. This great transformation was the rise of the market economy, interlinked with the rise of the modern nation-state, and how it reshaped society throughout the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>46</sup>

For Polanyi, the disembedding of the economy separated the economy from the rest of society, through the emergence of capitalism, which through political means was supported by the modern nation-state. This eroded the social fabric of the traditional society, changing both the mind and nature of humans, a process he calls the first movement.<sup>47</sup> As the social fabrics eroded, a second movement would emerge as a response to the social upheavals brought by the first

---

<sup>43</sup> Hettne. 2009. pp. 16

<sup>44</sup> Hettne. 2009. pp. 16-17

<sup>45</sup> Hettne. 2009. pp. 17-18

<sup>46</sup> Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Beacon Press, Boston. 43

<sup>47</sup> Polanyi. 1944. p. 41



movement, seeking social protectionism. However, this second movement could contain totalitarian and xenophobic tendencies, just as inclusive and emancipating tendencies. Together these two movements constitutes the double movement in Polanyi's thesis regarding the development to modern society.<sup>48</sup>

Referring to Polanyi, Hettne calls the ongoing globalisation the "second great transformation", by which globalisation can be understood as the first movement, caused by an increased expansion of the market system which began during the early 1970s with the abandonment of the fixed exchange-rate which had been a part of Bretton Woods agreement. This deregulated the global financial system and decreased the nation-state's power over the national economy, which ultimately led to political and social tensions around the globe. It is these tensions that Hettne argues could be the foundations for a second movement through which social society will call for the regulation of the market system by political means.<sup>49</sup>

How this second movement will take shape is not yet known as it is dependent on the strength second movement and means of influencing the content and orientation of the first movement. However, Hettne puts forward three likely scenarios; a pre-Westphalian system, neo-Westphalian system, and a post-national system.<sup>50</sup>

With the ongoing globalisation, the structure of the world seems to change from a Westphalian structure, towards a post-Westphalian structure with more loose power structures. In the Westphalian structure, the nation-state legitimised the new centralised states by providing security for the citizens of the state. Problems that arose in this structure was primarily to be solved by the nation-state.<sup>51</sup> On option for a second movement according to Hettne is the revival of the nation-state, a scenario which he calls a neo-Westphalian world order.<sup>52</sup>

In a post-Westphalian world, on the other hand, this guarantee for safety is slowly degrading which lessens the relevance of the nation-state in favour of transnational structures. The problem, for now, is that no such transnational structures are powerful enough to deal with

---

<sup>48</sup> Polanyi. 1944. p. 257

<sup>49</sup> Hettne, Björn. 2002. In Search of World Order. in Hettne, Björn & Bertil Odén (eds). *Global Governance in the 21st Century: Alternative Perspectives on World Order*. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm. pp. 10

<sup>50</sup> Hettne. 2009. pp. 107-108

<sup>51</sup> Hettne. 1997. pp. 84

<sup>52</sup> Hettne. 2009. pp. 107-108

arising problems in the world, but neither is the nation-state, resulting in a period of turmoil of transition.<sup>53</sup>

A post-Westphalian world could according to Hettne develop into three different directions, a pre-Westphalian structure, often called neo-Medievalism, a neo-Westphalian structure, and a post-national structure.<sup>54</sup>

A pre-Westphalian structure is thought to arise as one or several nation-states “fail” and disintegrate due to globalisation, losing control over their territories to local and regional authorities, creating a sundering that spreads to neighbouring countries, undermining and ultimately bringing an end to the Westphalian world order and creating a world order where local, regional and supranational exists at the same time.<sup>55</sup>

A neo-Westphalian structure would largely be based on the old Westphalian structure, but the governance of this world order would be based on a reformed UN or a militarised structure. This structure would be dominated by a unilateral (US) or a multilateral structure of global powers, sustained by cooperating of regional great powers. Hettne states that this would most likely be a violent world, as regional movements of liberation would be suppressed.<sup>56</sup>

A post-national structure on the other hand, would imply that the power of the nation-state shifts towards supranational organisation on both a regional and global scale, with for instance the UN being the highest political institution in the world, supported by regional organisations like the EU, which in turn would receive support from local actors, being nation-states or other forms of power institutions.<sup>57</sup>

Looking at the world from a historical-holistic perspective, Hettne argues that the current world order is the result of five historical transformations, beginning in the eighteenth century which focused on freedom, the discourse being grounded in the progressive beliefs of the Enlightenment, with notions of free trade and the rights of man. But after the turmoil of the French revolutionary wars and the Napoleonic Wars, there was a demand for order, which saw the birth of the Concert of Europe. In this discourse, the economic forces was once again regulated by the nation-state and a race for industrialisation started between the Western

---

<sup>53</sup> Hettne. 1997. pp. 84

<sup>54</sup> Hettne. 2009. pp. 108

<sup>55</sup> Hettne. 2002. pp. 14

<sup>56</sup> Hettne. 2009. pp. 107-108

<sup>57</sup> Hettne. 2009. pp. 108

nations, which in turn destabilised the social order, leading to demands for social justice and the foundation for ‘great transformation’.<sup>58</sup>

But due to the turmoil between 1914 and 1945, this issue was not dealt with until the ‘Great Compromise’ of ‘embedded liberalism’ under the Bretton Woods institutions and US hegemony. With national regulated economy working together with international trade and a social contract between capital and labour, this ‘Golden Age’ was a trade-off between order, freedom, and justice.<sup>59</sup>

However, social justice and prosperity were not brought to the newly decolonised nations who during the 1970s made demands for greater global justice. But instead came a liberalisation of the market, ending the Great Compromise and bringing more economic freedom through market-led globalisation. This has led to increasing economic and social injustice, with deepening tensions and conflicts, making the world order more disordered.<sup>60</sup>

### **3.2 Theoretical framework within the thesis**

In his theory, Hettne uses a macro perspective, understanding the world by describing how the three values as shaped and continue to shape international politics. However, in this thesis, the theory will be implemented on a national level. From an international perspective, the EU and its way of dealing with the market forces can be understood as mainstream, in that the goals of the current world order should be achieved through the market forces.

Within the UK the regions that voted in favour of remaining in the EU is in this thesis understood as being mainstream, for while Brexit opposes the current world order, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Gibraltar advocates for continued access to the EU and the Single market, an option that seems likely to disappear as Britain leaves the EU.

Brexit can be understood as the counterpoint, with some of the British people calling for the return of state control over the economy due to the fear of the globalising forces and migration, which can be seen has a longing to a better past. This can be seen as a call for justice, changing the current order in Britain in favour of what Hettne would call neo-Westphalian structure, restricting the market forces even more, at least in the near future.

---

<sup>58</sup> Hettne. 2009. p. 127

<sup>59</sup> Hettne. 2009. p. 127-128

<sup>60</sup> Hettne. 2009. p. 128

A major question in relation to Hettne's theoretical framework and the three values which it is based upon is that he does not provide a method on how to apply his theory. However, according to Hettne the understanding of the values of order, freedom, and justice can be based on the nineteenth-century ideologies of conservatism, liberalism and socialism, represented by realism, liberalism and Marxism within social science, hence the usage of an ideology analysis.<sup>61</sup>

### **3.3. Ideology**

As the methodologic approach in this thesis in part will be a qualitative ideology analysis, a description of what is ideology is relevant, as it is a loose and unclear term at best, with different meanings and definitions depending on the academic discipline in question. The understanding of what constitutes an ideology in this thesis is based on the definition of Freeden, a professorial research associate at the University of London.

In short, ideology is a shared system of thought made up by more or less clear beliefs and values, which shapes how we look upon humans, society, and the world in order to make sense of the world. The aim of an ideology analysis is to examine the ideological and social function of a specific text, how it wants to shape, change or preserve social structures and power relations in society while finding out the ideology behind the text.<sup>62</sup>

Freeden goes deeper into his explanation of what ideology is, describing it as systems of meaning, shaped by human thought-behaviour in relation to political issues and built upon a mixture of political concepts.<sup>63</sup>

According to Freeden, to understand an ideology and the political concepts one must understand the cultural and historical background of the ideology. This is because ideologies are ways of understanding reality and making sense of it. Thus by understanding the cultural and historical context of the researched material it is easier to understand how and why certain words are used and what meaning they may have in expressing an ideological argument as it is directed to a specific audience.<sup>64</sup> This ideological argument is consumed by the audience and helps to justify certain political decisions and political action.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Hettne. 2009. p. 14

<sup>62</sup> Hellspong, Lennart. 2001. *Metoder för brukstextsanalys*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. p. 131-132

<sup>63</sup> Freeden. 1998. p. 50

<sup>64</sup> Freeden. 1998. p. 50-52

<sup>65</sup> Freeden. 1998. p. 105-106

As such the reception of the consumed ideology differs depending on how close its message is to the recipients own worldview. An audience that shares the same cultural and historical context thus finds it easier to understand the ideological message. If it instead consumed by someone who is unfamiliar with the context or share a different ideological framework, the person might miss parts of the message.<sup>66</sup>

Due to their cultural and historical context ideologies are attached to social groups and produced and consumed by groups, justifying certain political decisions and actions as they reflect shared perspectives and beliefs of the social world, competing with other ideologies about the legitimate way of looking at the world.<sup>67</sup>

As stated above Freedon argues that ideologies are ideational formations of political concepts, which organises these political concepts into a specific form, expressed by the values of the political concepts. Thus when trying to understand an ideology, one must describe the political concepts that build up the ideology and thereby creating an analytical concept to use as one tries to find expressions or other signs of the analysed ideology.<sup>68</sup>

When analysing ideologies, the unit analysed is words, which Freedon calls ‘the outward form of concepts’, arguing that political concepts are expressed through the usage of words. These political concepts can be understood as ‘complex ideas that inspect order and meaning into observed or anticipated sets of political phenomena and hold together an assortment of related notions’.<sup>69</sup>

Ideologies often share the same political concepts but put different weight on their value in regard to their own main focus. However, in order to make the analysis more manageable, it is necessary to define the ideologies in question with clear borders in relation to other ideologies.<sup>70</sup>

An example of this is the way that the Vote Leave-campaign formulates its message towards a mostly English audience, building their arguments on English history and the notion of a broad English identity.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Freedon. 1998. p. 34-36

<sup>67</sup> Freedon. 1998. p. 22-23

<sup>68</sup> Freedon. 1998. p. 75-86

<sup>69</sup> Freedon. 1998. p. 48-54

<sup>70</sup> Freedon. 1998. p. 86-88

<sup>71</sup> Henderson et al. 2016. p. 198

The need and usage of separating ideologies from each other often give rise to the misconception that two or more ideologies stand in opposing positions in relation to each other, this is, however, untrue as they often share some common ground in how they perceive certain matters. For instance, Freedman argues that both liberalism and socialism contains freedom and equality, but they give them different weight and meaning on which one is most important.<sup>72</sup>

Lastly, Freedman states that when doing an ideological analysis and studying real political thinking, one must reflect upon how one is influenced by one's own values and interpretative framework.<sup>73</sup>

### **3.4. Defining order, freedom, and justice as analytical tools**

The following chapter tries to formulate the values of order, freedom, and justice into analytical tools. This will be done by looking at their connection to the political ideologies of conservatism, liberalism, and socialism, and the IR theories of realism, liberalism, and Marxism within social science.

IR theory is used in order to be able to explain themes regarding foreign policy within the domestic debate. The reason for doing this is that some scholars argue that due to globalisation, one should question if international politics and domestic politics could be seen as separate realms and that they instead should be perceived as interconnected.<sup>74</sup>

#### **3.4.1. Order**

##### **3.4.1.1. Conservatism**

Conservatism as a political ideology is often seen to date back to the writings of Edmund Burke and how he envisioned the foundation of society and changes within it. As such conservatives base their ideology on Burke's seven core concepts on the structure of society. These core concepts are: "- the insistence on concrete rights rather than abstract natural ones; - an organic conception of society as an eternal partnership between past, present, and future; - history as the accumulated wisdom of all generations; - the natural inequality of human beings, and hence their status and property; - respect for authority and its institutional manifestations, laws, and

---

<sup>72</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 87-88

<sup>73</sup> Freedman. 1998. Chapter 1.

<sup>74</sup> Clark, Ian. 1999. Globalization and international relations theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press. From Richard Devetak. An Introduction to International Relations: Origins and changing agendas. in *An Introduction to International Relations*, Richard Devetak, Anthony Burke and Jim George (ed.). 35-47. 2 ed. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. p. 15

religion; - the acceptance of gradual change within a framework subservient to the other apparently core concepts”.<sup>75</sup>

However, Burke did not consider himself a conservative. Instead, his work was a response to the developments and events in the late eighteenth century revolutionary France.<sup>76</sup>

Despite this, and contrary to liberalism and socialism, conservatism does not claim to follow a set belief on how society should evolve, perceiving society as a complex structure without an end goal instead. Understanding the world from this point of view conservatives would argue that any problem that occurs in society should be dealt with in the current structure – a view that often provides themselves with a sense of being more practical in their relation to the world than their ideological opponents.<sup>77</sup>

The reason behind this perception of the world lies in that conservatism does not have a basic set of beliefs on how the world or human nature functions. Instead, it is ‘tied to certain beliefs about the activity of governing and the instruments of government’.<sup>78</sup> Governing in this sense means “a specific and limited activity, namely the provision and custody of general rules of conduct, enabling individuals in civil associations to pursue their chosen activities” and the instruments of government being the institutions of traditions and organisations that uphold society.<sup>79</sup>

Due to this both conservatives and critics of the ideology claim that conservatism is generally about upholding status quo. E.g. Samuel Huntington describes conservatism as a “system of ideas employed to justify any established social order, no matter where or when it exists, against any fundamental challenge to its nature or being, no matter from what quarter”.<sup>80</sup>

For Freedman conservatism is instead defined as an ideology focusing on change, rather than preserving status quo. This view on change derives from Burke’s seventh core concept, “the acceptance of gradual change within a framework subservient to the other apparently core concepts”, a concept that conservatives often overlooks or ignore.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 331

<sup>76</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 331, 338

<sup>77</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 327

<sup>78</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 327

<sup>79</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 327

<sup>80</sup> Samuel P. Huntington. 1957. Conservatism as an Ideology. In *American Political Science Review*. 51. p. 455. From Michael Freedman, *Ideologies and Political Theory*. 1998. p. 329

<sup>81</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 331

Through this understanding of conservatism, Freedden puts forward two core concepts, controlling change and the extra-human origins of the social order.

The first concept is about conservatives trying to influence and harness ‘change’ within a tested framework, meaning the institutions, traditions, and practices of the current society, in order to make change less harmful, connecting it to the next concept.<sup>82</sup>

The second concept, ‘the extra-human social order’, refers to supporting the social structure of the current society, and is built on arguments grounded in religion, science, and history in order to provide “harmony, equilibrium, and order”.<sup>83</sup>

### **3.4.1.2. Realism in International Relations**

Realism or, simply realist theory, has long been the dominant theory in the discipline of IR. The theory focuses on the anarchy within the state system and on power politics. It takes its theoretical grounding in the work of Thomas Hobbes and his view on the state of nature and human behaviour. Stating that in the state of nature with no overarching power to uphold any kind of law, Hobbes argues that anarchy would dominate human relation to each other, with everyone being responsible for his or her own safety. To solve this situation humans gave up parts of their freedom to a higher power, a Leviathan using Hobbes definition, which in return upholds law and order in society.<sup>84</sup>

In the Westphalian system, the nation-state took the role of the Leviathan. However, on the international level, no such overarching power exists meaning that every nation-state must focus on its own safety foremost, as there is no one to protect it from a level above and as it have to compete with other nation-states over resources and security.<sup>85</sup>

Therefore the matters of state always come first and give the legitimate right to overrule values like liberty and justice, as they are dependent on the survival of the state. This is called the ‘reason of state’, meaning that when the state’s vital interests or survival is at stake, it obeys its own rules and logic, and stands over morality and law.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup> Freedden. 1998. p. 333

<sup>83</sup> Freedden. 1998. p. 334

<sup>84</sup> Chiaruzzi, Michele. 2012. Realism. in *An Introduction to International Relations*, Richard Devetak, Anthony Burke and Jim George (ed.). 35-47. 2 ed. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. p. 36-38

<sup>85</sup> Chiaruzzi. 2012. p. 38-39

<sup>86</sup> Chiaruzzi. 2012. p. 45



In this view, organisations like the UN and the EU is subordinate to the member states, or at least the more powerful of them. No organisation therefore has the right to implement decisions on the nation-state without its consent.<sup>87</sup>

In relation to the political economy, realism keeps its state perspective, understanding the state as the main actor in the global economy and that the political sphere has an overarching role towards other aspects of social life. In comparison to liberalism, which focuses on the individual, realism takes a collective approach by focusing on the state as a group. This focus makes realism assume that the state shapes the market through political power and that the state is the main instrument through which people can fulfill their goals.<sup>88</sup>

Therefore, as the international arena of nation-states is seen as a system of conflict, the global political economy is seen as a zero-sum game between states as one state increases its share of the global economy on the expense of another. Through the logic of independence and sovereignty, it also lies in the interest of the state to protect parts of its manufacturing industry and oppose importation of certain commodities perceived as a threat to the domestic industry or the state's values and traditions. Ultimately economic policies should thus have the goal of building a more powerful state.<sup>89</sup>

### **3.4.1.3. Conclusion and definition of order as an analytical tool**

When finding themes relating to order, Freedén's two of core concepts will be used as well as two concepts from realism. As such preserving status quo still finds itself to be a core concept but relating to realism.

In conclusion, drawing on the arguments and points forward in the text above the value of order can be understood to be made up by the following four themes:

- **Controlling change**, implying a belief that change can be steered in the right direction by controlling it through existing institutions and practices.
- **The extra-human social order**, the belief that traditions and institutions are vital to uphold a functioning society.
- **Status quo (Realism)**, the aim of upholding the current power structure.

---

<sup>87</sup> Chiaruzzi. 2012. p. 44

<sup>88</sup> O'Brien, Robert & Marc Williams. 2016. *Global Political Economy: evolution and dynamics*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. London, Palgrave Macmillan. p 10

<sup>89</sup> O'Brien & Williams. 2016. p. 11

- **A zero-sum game between states (Realism)**, implying a belief that states compete over resources and power.

### 3.4.2. Freedom

#### 3.4.2.1. Liberalism and classical economics

Liberalism as a political ideology traditionally built on the principles of freedom, reason, progress, toleration, human rights and democracy, and is by many perceived as the political ideology of the West, consisting of both political ideology and political economy.<sup>90</sup>

As a political ideology liberalism is often seen to date back to the writings of John Locke and his thoughts on society and government. Written as a critique against absolute monarchy and other authorial forms of governments, his work was later used by classical liberals such as Adam Smith, James Mill, David Ricardo, and Jeremy Bentham when constructing their views of society which argued for the liberty of man.<sup>91</sup>

The thoughts of these authors were then summarised and built upon by John Stuart Mill in his work *On Liberty*. It is this work, which later liberal writers would build their understanding of liberalism upon, and therefore this work will be used to summarise the core concepts of liberalism.<sup>92</sup>

To Freedman classical liberalism contains the core concepts of liberty, individualism, progress, and rationality. Referring to Mill, Freedman understands liberalism to focus on liberty and the individual in its ideological foundation.

‘Liberty’ in Mill’s sense is the notion of non-constraint, that the human is allowed to act and express herself, ultimately providing for individual development, meaning that anyone should be able to choose and pursue their ‘own good’ in the way they wish, on the basis that it does not harm other people.<sup>93</sup>

‘Individualism’ represents the notion of the person as a separate entity possessing unique attributes and being capable of rational choices, making them able to seek self-development if

---

<sup>90</sup> Richardson, James L. 2012. Liberalism. in *An Introduction to International Relations*, Richard Devetak, Anthony Burke and Jim George (ed.). 48-61. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. p. 49-50

<sup>91</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 142-143

<sup>92</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 142-144

Titlestad, P.J.H. 2010. Liberalism, in *English Academy Review*, 27:2. p. 95-96

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10131752.2010.514989>

<sup>93</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 146-147

provided with the chance, becoming a better human both in relation to herself and society as a whole.<sup>94</sup>

The connection between the two former core concepts serves the foundation for the core concepts of progress and rationality. 'Progress' is understood as the idea of movement from a less desirable to a more desirable form of society, hence the idea of humanity moving forward, while 'rationality' serves as an aspect of the human nature which provides the means for the self-development of the individual. Liberty and the protection of the individual thus creates an environment in which individuals can pursue progress through self-development and in turn push society forward.<sup>95</sup>

For Mill, the power of government should be shared and based on the 'participation of the people' in order to exclude the domination of interests by a particular group. But being a man of his age, Mill also objected to full democracy with the argument that a society in which the uneducated masses has the right to vote would end up with mob rule and harm individualism. Yet Mill also opposed the Victorian society of his time, with its strong aristocratic influence over politics, and rather advocated the governance of an educated elite until a greater part of society had gained the same level of education through self-development.<sup>96</sup>

In classical economics or liberal economics, the core concepts take on a different character, being based on Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* and his understanding of political economy. In liberal economics, the focus is on the market and *laissez-faire*. For Smith, liberty exists only when individuals are left alone from government influence, stating that should the government or the state should rather function as a guarantee of the rule of law and uphold the conditions for free trade, hence making free trade a core concept.<sup>97</sup>

#### **3.4.2.2. Liberalism in International Relations**

Liberalism in International Relations, though sharing the ideological foundation of John Locke and British liberalism, builds its worldview on the work of German philosopher Immanuel Kant and his work *Perpetual Peace*, which argued that increased commerce between nations would reduce the tendencies for war.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> Freedon. 1998. p. 150

<sup>95</sup> Freedon. 1998. p. 145

<sup>96</sup> Freedon. 1998. p. 154-156

<sup>97</sup> Freedon. 1998. p. 280-282

<sup>98</sup> Richardson. 2012. p. 50

In International Relations and Global Political Economy, liberalism, in comparison to realism, focus on cooperation instead of war and looks to a broader range of actors in the international arena. It also assumes that the world is shaped by interdependence rather than anarchy and that individuals and states have the potentiality to cooperate for mutual benefits. The world is thus a positive-sum game where everybody gains by increasing economic relations, an idea that liberal's calls "harmony of interests". As of today, this is the principle that makes up the lion part of the ideological foundation of the global economy.<sup>99</sup>

Believing that the market is the heart of economic life, classical and neoclassical liberalism views the ongoing globalisation is a force for good, opening markets and the letting free the flow of finance, commodities, and people creating and spreading wealth globally.<sup>100</sup>

### **3.4.2.3. Conclusion and definition of freedom as an analytical tool**

Regarding liberalism, three of the core concepts put forward by Freedon will be used, namely liberty, progress, and free trade. The reason for using only three of Freedon's core concepts is due to how close individualism and rationality relates to liberty, so instead of both being a core concept of their own, they will be put together with liberty.

The last core concept comes from the IR theory of liberalism, the notion that states and the international order benefits from cooperation will be used. In conclusion, the analytical definitions regarding the value of freedom are understood to be made up by the following four themes:

- **Liberty**; to be able of expressing one's own thoughts and acts freely, as well as providing for means self-development in that the individual as the ability to be rational and to act and seek their best possible option of life in order too provide their own good, as long as it does not harm others.
- **Progress**; the belief that society is ultimately developing towards a better state.
- **Free trade (Classical economics)**; the belief that the free flow of commodities over borders will increase prosperity and peace through the accumulation of wealth and deeper interaction.

---

<sup>99</sup> O'Brien & Williams. 2016. p. 13-14

<sup>100</sup> O'Brien & Williams. 2016. p. 14-15

- **Cooperation between states (Liberalism)**; resting on the same assumption as free trade, that deeper interaction between states enhances the will peace and provides states with the incitement of solving their problems together.

### 3.4.3. Justice

#### 3.4.3.1. Socialism

Socialism or Marxism is the third great political ideology to shape the Western political discourse. The main difficulty when describing the ideology is to determine which of its several forms that one should consider as its core as it ranges from Marxism, socialism, social democracy etc. Emerging as a response to the industrialisation and the capitalist mode of production by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, socialism protests against the inequalities created by the system but is just like liberalism driven by a progressive belief on human nature and society.<sup>101</sup>

For Freedman socialism contains four core concepts, these being: the constitutive nature of the human relationship, human welfare as a desirable objective, equality, and history.

With the ‘constitutive nature of the human relationship’ Freedman refers to the socialist belief that society is shaped by the connections and relationships that exist between individuals. Socialism, therefore, looks at society with the group as the main unit of focus, stating that humans as “an animal can develop into an individual only in society” and that “community is both historically and scientifically elevated above the individual as the focal unit of analysis”.<sup>102</sup>

‘Human welfare as a desirable objective’ refers to the aim of providing the basic needs for all humans and if possible provide satisfaction on other more aspects of life in order to achieve a high standard of living for all, allowing society to flourish and humans to be happy.<sup>103</sup>

‘Equality’ as a core concept is based on two views within socialist ideology, one that all humans are equal from the beginning, and two that equality between all humans is an ultimate aim for the future society. These views give ideological support for redistribution of means and human welfare, as well as being the natural order for humans.<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 419-420

<sup>102</sup> Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, ed. D. McLellan (St Albans, 1973) p. 89. From Michael Freedman, *Ideologies and Political Theory*. 1998. p. 426

<sup>103</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 427

<sup>104</sup> Freedman. 1998. p. 430-431

Finally comes 'history', as socialism rests on the belief that socio-cultural structures, like economic forces and struggle over resources, determines the course of historical development. Marx took this view on history from Hegel, but changed the main factor for change from the acts of individuals to socio-cultural forces and sets socialism apart from liberalism, even if the two ideologies still share the enlightenment tradition of viewing history as linear.<sup>105</sup>

### **3.4.3.2. Marxism in International Relations**

In International Relations Marxism brings in an emancipatory element through the focus on struggles and the social and economic inequalities within the system between workers and capitalists. Over the course of years, it has gone from a theory that focused mostly on class struggle and the social power relations built by capitalism, to give rise to theoretical offspring such as Critical theory, feminism, environmentalism and other ways of analysing power relations. As such Marxism and critical theories highlight the struggle for justice within and across societies.<sup>106</sup>

With its focus on class struggle and the capitalist exploitation of workers, Marxism sees the state system, with capitalism at its structural core, as unstable and conflictual, leading to greater social injustice. The reason to this is that capitalist states, in their competition with each other, brings forth an uneven development and that this unevenness sow seeds of conflict amongst states as some gains more than others.<sup>107</sup> Marxist theory therefore rejects the liberal notion of a harmony of interests and instead argues that the state is a representative of class interests, going more in line with realists in taking a collective approach.<sup>108</sup>

Marxism criticises capitalism on the modes of production it creates and not the productive forces, which instead might bring forth a more socially just society. The focus lies on the inequalities made by capitalism and the domination by the few over the many, seeking to understand how they came to be, how it works and find ways for the change to a society with more social justice.<sup>109</sup>

As mentioned above Marxism brought about another school of theory in IR, that of Critical theory. Critical theory questions how power structures in the world of today came to be and

---

<sup>105</sup> Freedon. 1998. p. 434-435

<sup>106</sup> O'Brien & Williams. 2016. p. 17

<sup>107</sup> O'Brien & Williams. 2016. p. 17

<sup>108</sup> O'Brien & Williams. 2016. p. 18

<sup>109</sup> Devetak et al. 2012. p. 65

who has paid the price for the structures. Through this Critical theory has the ultimate goal of stimulating change.<sup>110</sup>

Finally, it is said that both Marxist and critical theories “sees in national and transnational civil societies progressive, counter-hegemonic potentials to eliminate inequalities between rich and poor, powerful and powerless and to create new democratic spaces, new forms of self-determination”.<sup>111</sup>

### **3.4.3.3. Conclusion and definitions of justice as an analytical tool**

In the analysis, Freedden’s core concept of equality will be put together with inequalities from Marxist theory in order to use both concepts as one. Conclusively the understanding of justice in relation to the analytical definitions is made up by the following four themes:

- **The constitutive nature of the human relationship;** that the group is the basis for human relations. In the analysis, this will be understood to refer to the common group of the article in question.
- **Human welfare as a desirable objective;** that all humans should have the right to fulfil their basic needs in order for all humans to develop as individuals and to create harmony in society.
- **History;** the belief that developments throughout history is determined by socio-cultural forces and follows a linear design towards a better future.
- **Structures of equality/inequality (Marxism);** the idea that Marxism as a theory highlights inequalities in power and means throughout societies and groups of humans across the world.

## **4. Methodology**

The method used in this thesis is a qualitative ideology analysis. This method is used to find and outline the dominating value in the development discourse in each region, to understand how it is shaped in relation to the other values and ultimately if the regions differ from each other and if so how.

---

<sup>110</sup> Devetak et alt. 2012. p. 69-71

<sup>111</sup> Devetak et alt. 2012. p 73

#### 4.1. Qualitative content analysis

The ideology analysis will be conducted partly by using qualitative content analysis. This form of analysis was chosen for the study in that it helps to discover underlying themes, ideas, and meanings within the text.<sup>112</sup> It also holds the advantage of being transparent due to the usage of a coding scheme which other researchers can replicate in turn.<sup>113</sup>

However, the weakness of the method is that it is dependent on the sources that are used, making it important for the researcher to pay attention to the authenticity, credibility, and representativeness of the sources which are used in order to answer the research questions.<sup>114</sup> Using a qualitative content analysis also requires that the researcher is familiar with the context in which the studied phenomena take part.<sup>115</sup>

The theoretical base for the construction of the coding scheme will be drawn from Altheide's *Qualitative Media Analysis*. In this Altheide provides a model consisting of twelve steps on how to conduct a qualitative content analysis and how to create a coding scheme or protocol as he names it.<sup>116</sup> These steps are:

1. To specify the problem which is to be researched.
2. To become familiar with the context of the problem.
3. To become familiar with the material which is used as the research source.
4. Create a protocol by listing the sources that will be used and formulate the questions that will be asked to the text that is studied. Coding, in comparison to quantitative content analysis, starts and is refined after that the information has been collected and put into categories in tables, in this case being based on the concepts relating to the values of order, freedom, and justice.<sup>117</sup>
5. To test the protocol by collecting data and to find out if it is possible to gain the necessary information to the questions posed to the text. Following this step the analysis of the newspapers used in this study is divided into 12 protocols, three for each newspaper, and three for the website.

---

<sup>112</sup> Bryman, Alan. 2016. *Social Research Methods*. 5 ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 284

<sup>113</sup> Bryman. 2016. pp. 304

<sup>114</sup> Bryman. 2016. pp. 546

<sup>115</sup> Bryman. 2016. pp. 305

<sup>116</sup> Altheide, David L. 2011. Process of Qualitative Document Analysis. in *Qualitative Media Analysis*. Sage Research Methods. (Electronic resource). pp. 2

<sup>117</sup> Altheide. 2011. pp. 4-5



6. Revise the protocol once more in order to refine it and improve the questions.<sup>118</sup>

From the beginning the formulation of the questions were:

- What themes regarding order can be found?
- What themes regarding freedom can be found?
- What themes regarding justice can be found?

But as these questions turned out to be too broad, they were later changed to:

- What themes does the text express in relation to the four concepts of order?
- What underlying themes does the text express in relation to the four concepts of freedom?
- What underlying themes does the text express in relation to the four concepts of justice?

7. Finding sampling strategy as the goal of a qualitative analysis is to find meanings and themes in the messages in the studied texts.<sup>119</sup>
8. Collect the data.
9. Start the actual analysis of the collected information and code the results into categories.<sup>120</sup>
10. Compare “extremes” and “key differences” to each question.
11. Summarise the examples of typical and extreme cases in the analysis.
12. Findings should be concluded in another draft, in this case, they will be discussed in the main paper.<sup>121</sup>

The newspaper articles, as well as the Vote Leave articles and messages, are quoted in the protocols which are found in the appendix. The result from the coding will be presented from the structure of the protocol through the name of the table, the letter of the row, and the number of the column. E.g. Protocol 1. A: IV.

---

<sup>118</sup> Altheide. 2011. pp. 4-5

<sup>119</sup> Altheide. 2011. pp. 9-10

<sup>120</sup> Altheide. 2011. pp. 14-19

<sup>121</sup> Altheide. 2011. pp. 19-21

## 4.2. The research material

The research material used in this thesis consists of editorials from three newspapers, the Herald (Scotland), the Belfast Telegraph<sup>122</sup> (Northern Ireland), and the Gibraltar Chronicle<sup>123</sup> (Gibraltar), as well as the Leave-campaigns website <http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/>.

The main material for the thesis consists of editorials. These are chosen for the reason that editorials represent the political views and stance of the newspaper on the topics discussed in them.<sup>124</sup> Based on Freedén's understanding of ideology, the newspapers themselves are used as representatives of the public in each region as newspapers aim at an audience that shares the newspaper ideological stance, in order to influence the public.<sup>125</sup>

The selection of these newspapers was then determined by the access to their articles, either through their own website and archive, or by the database Mediearkivet, provided through the Gothenburg University Library, and their standing in society at home. For instance was the articles of the Herald and the Chronicle accessed through their own website archive, while the articles of the Telegraph was accessed through Mediearkivet.

In the case of the former two newspapers, the articles used in the thesis was selected through using the search words editor and Brexit in their search engine, finding related articles for each month. When selecting the articles from the Telegraph, they could only be accessed through Mediearkivet. One was then required to read through all of the articles of the studied time-period in order to find the editorial articles which were later used.

The aim was to find an editorial regarding Brexit for each month of the time period, but the final selection ended up with six from each newspaper, ranging from the month of February 2016 to January 2017.

The Herald was chosen as it is one of Scotland's largest national newspapers and considered to be politically independent even though it supported remain in the 2014 referendum for independence.<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> From here on referred to as the Telegraph.

<sup>123</sup> From here on referred to as the Chronicle.

<sup>124</sup> Ekström & Larsson. 2010. p.277

<sup>125</sup> Freedén. 1998. Chapter 2.

<sup>126</sup> The Herald. The Herald's view: we back staying within UK, but only if there's more far-reaching further devolution. 2014-09-14.

[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/13180138.The Herald s view we back staying within UK but only if there s more far reaching further devolution/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/13180138.The_Herald_s_view_we_back_staying_within_UK_but_only_if_there_s_more_far_reaching_further_devolution/) (accessed 2017-05-28)

The Telegraph<sup>127</sup> is one of the two largest newspaper in Northern Ireland, and its political alignment is unclear, but as the readers editor Paul Connolly states “[t]his paper has always regarded itself as serving both Northern Ireland’s two main communities and takes immense pride in the legitimacy of both our cultural traditions”.<sup>128</sup> As such it is a good representative for Northern Ireland, where newspapers usually are divided into nationalist or unionist.

The Chronicle<sup>129</sup> is the largest newspaper in Gibraltar and is as such well suited as the media source for representing Gibraltar.

The Vote Leave-website was selected as it includes all the articles from the Leave-campaign and is considered in this thesis as a representative of the counterpoint in the development discourse on Brexit. The material consists of three messages written by the front figures of the then Secretary of State for Justice Michael Gove (Conservative), MP Gisela Stuart (Labour), and MP Boris Johnson (Conservative), and a common statement from the campaign’s final day.

## **5. Results and discussion**

### ***5.1. Order***

#### **5.1.1. Controlling change**

In line with controlling change, the Herald argues that “[t]he EU does need to be more democratic, it does need to be more cost-effective, and it does need to allow nation states greater freedom within it”, yet that this should be done “from within the organisation”.<sup>130</sup> It also states that there is “a consensus among leading experts and organisations that leaving the EU would be an economic calamity for the UK”.<sup>131</sup>

This in contrast to Vote Leave which argues that by leaving the EU, the UK “can get rid of the regulations which big business uses to crush competition and instead support new start-up businesses and creative talent”, stating that the UK “can forge trade deals and partnerships with nations across the globe” when outside the EU.<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>127</sup> From here on referred to as the Telegraph.

<sup>128</sup> Belfast Telegraph. Readers editor. What’s in a name? Handling the Londonderry/Derry issue. 2011-01-31. <http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/columnists/readers-editor/whats-in-a-name-handling-the-londonderryderry-issue-28756695.html> (accessed 2017-05-28)

<sup>129</sup> From here on referred to as the Chronicle.

<sup>130</sup> Protocol. 4. A: I

<sup>131</sup> Protocol 4. B: I

<sup>132</sup> Protocol 1. A: I

However, after the referendum, the debate is on whether the UK should aim for a hard or soft Brexit and in Scotland, there is hope that the local government might be able to veto Brexit.<sup>133</sup> Brexit also brings the current political structure in the UK under question as “[t]he idea that the UK Government would pursue a hard Brexit in the face of Scotland’s vote to remain in the EU is also a bad omen for the long-term health of devolution”.<sup>134</sup>

For the Telegraph, controlling change mostly refers to the future relationship with the Republic of Ireland and the survival of the Belfast Agreement. To preserve the interests of Northern Ireland, the Telegraph states that the Westminster and the Northern Ireland MPs must “be reminded of the important role of EU funding in peace-building in Northern Ireland“, and “[w]hile some of the current funding is guaranteed, the political parties need to be united in demanding that the same level of funding is continued when Brexit finally happens”.<sup>135</sup>

The newspaper therefore argues that the political parties of Northern Ireland should end their quarrels and “draw up a coherent and cohesive list of issues which will ease the province's path to life outside the European Union”.<sup>136</sup>

The Telegraph also claims that the leaving process could be influenced after the UK High Court’s decision “that Theresa May must consult Parliament before triggering Article 50 and setting the UK on its inevitable exit from the European Union”.<sup>137</sup> This would allow the UK Parliament to vote and to put amendments to the Brexit Bill and “[i]t is during the votes on those amendments that the 14 Northern Ireland MPs at Westminster could play a vital role” could they speak with one voice.<sup>138</sup>

For the Chronicle, controlling change is often synonymous with staying in the EU and the institutions of the organisation, as “the EU Treaties have been the only way we have been able to insist on a legal route to enforce our rights” and in order to safeguard the continued access to these institutions, with the newspaper calling for the Gibraltarians to vote in massive numbers in favour of remaining.<sup>139</sup>

---

<sup>133</sup> Protocol 4. D: I

<sup>134</sup> Protocol 4. F: I

<sup>135</sup> Protocol 7. C: I

<sup>136</sup> Protocol 7. C: I

<sup>137</sup> Protocol 7. D: I

<sup>138</sup> Protocol 7. F: I

<sup>139</sup> Protocol 10. A: I

This view regarding the interests of Gibraltar was shared by the UK Foreign Secretary at the time, who according to the Chronicle stated that “Britain’s ability to protect Gibraltar’s interests will be seriously impaired” with the UK no longer in the EU and “Britain will not be able to solve all the challenges that Gibraltar could face if there was an exit on June 23”.<sup>140</sup>

But in relation to the outcome of the referendum Gibraltar changes the focus to strengthening its ties to the UK, arguing “[i]t is important that we continue to work together to maintain and strengthen the UK-Gibraltar bond as we move together into a bright new future” with Gibraltar’s access to the British financial market already secured.<sup>141</sup> Yet as the Chronicle quotes the Chief Minister of Gibraltar, the territory needs to find new markets as well and that this is something that the UK Government must have in mind for all parts of the UK.<sup>142</sup>

For Vote Leave the theme that relates to the concept of controlling change refers to the UK being able to make its own political decisions, arguing “that the decisions which govern all our lives, the laws we must all obey and the taxes we must all pay should be decided by people we choose and who we can throw out if we want change”.<sup>143</sup>

Arguing that the UK’s “political system is stuck” and that if the British public “want things to change we must take back control”. Brexit therefore is “about whether the British public are able to choose the people who make their laws and spend their money”.<sup>144</sup>

The campaign also states that “[t]he ability to choose who governs us, and the freedom to change laws we do not like”, arguing that as an EU-member, the UK Government is unable to decide over issues like immigration or economic policies.<sup>145</sup>

Claiming that “the time has come to decide what is in the best long term interest of this country”, the campaign argues that through Brexit, the UK “can take back the billions we give to the EU”, and that “the only safe option is to Vote Leave”.<sup>146</sup>

In essence, the Vote Leave is calling for greater transparency, claiming that Brexit “will be a glorious strengthening of our democracy”, but for this to happen “we must take back control”,

---

<sup>140</sup> Protocol 10. B: I

<sup>141</sup> Protocol 10. D: I

<sup>142</sup> Protocol 10. D: I

<sup>143</sup> Protocol 1. A: I

<sup>144</sup> Protocol 1. D: I

<sup>145</sup> Protocol 1. A: I

<sup>146</sup> Protocol 1. B: I

thus controlling change in a line that follows the historical development of British society with a British agenda.<sup>147</sup>

### **5.1.2. The extra-human social order**

The Herald instead put more focus on the regulations that protect the individual and the worker's rights, stating that it is EU laws that guarantees these rights. The Herald then states that leaving the EU gives the opportunity for a British Government to decrease or remove these rights, but also that even if the UK would stay in the organisation "the European Union does need reform".<sup>148</sup>

More so, the Herald argues that "[t]he single market guarantees freedom of movement of people, which Scotland needs more than the rest of the UK" and with the UK Government seeming to favour a hard Brexit, the harm that it would inflict on Scotland would be severe.<sup>149</sup>

For the Telegraph a reoccurring theme in relation to the extra-human social order is the institution of the UK High Court and its decision "that Theresa May must consult Parliament before triggering Article 50".<sup>150</sup> The Telegraph approves of this decision on the basis "that Opposition parties can make amendments to the Bill triggering the negotiations" but states that this "does not mean that MPs will try to frustrate the will of the electorate who voted for Brexit".<sup>151</sup>

For Gibraltar, the Chronicle recognises that "the EU Treaties have been the only way we have been able to insist on a legal route to enforce our rights" and the EU and its institutions can, therefore, be understood to serve as a vital mean for Gibraltar when securing their interests.<sup>152</sup>

For Vote Leave, the belief in the UK's political system is a reoccurring theme, seen in statements as "the decisions which govern all our lives, the laws we must all obey and the taxes we must all pay should be decided by people we choose and who we can throw out if we want change" and "[t]he ability to choose who governs us, and the freedom to change laws we do not like, were secured for us in the past by radicals and liberals who took power from unaccountable elites and placed it in the hands of the people".

---

<sup>147</sup> Protocol 1. A: I

Protocol 1. C: I

<sup>148</sup> Protocol 4. A: II

<sup>149</sup> Protocol 4. A: II

<sup>150</sup> Protocol 7. D: II

<sup>151</sup> Protocol 7. F: II

<sup>152</sup> Protocol 10. A: II

It is also seen in arguments like “[o]ur democracy stood the test of time. We showed the world what a free people could achieve if they were allowed to govern themselves” and “In Britain we established trial by jury in the modern world, we set up the first free parliament, we ensured no-one could be arbitrarily detained at the behest of the Government, we forced our rulers to recognise they ruled by consent not by right”.<sup>153</sup>

The campaign calls for the UK’s withdrawal from the EU based on the argument that “[q]uestions like democratic accountability and economic competitiveness, which are so central for us in Britain, are downgraded in case they become a diversion from the European Project”.<sup>154</sup>

### **5.1.3. Status quo (Realism)**

The Herald approach to preserving status quo contains a focus on social, economic, and political issues. In regards to the social issues, the Herald is worried that by leaving the EU the workers will lose “some of the fundamental rights” and that leaving the organisation “runs the risk of making working conditions in the UK considerably worse”.<sup>155</sup>

On the economy, the Herald expresses that there is a concern “among leading experts and organisations that leaving the EU would be an economic calamity for the UK”. This consensus highlights the uncertainty caused by Brexit and the Herald states that “[s]hould the result be Stay, the uncertainty will go. Should the result be Leave, there will be uncertainty for years to come, with a resulting depressive effect on the economy”.<sup>156</sup>

The interest of Scotland lies in upholding access to the Single market and as the UK is about to leave the EU, the UK Government proposes the creation of a UK Single market. But the Herald argues that this would have both economic and political consequences for Scotland, as “the success of every single market relies on rules being followed - Holyrood would be forced to stick to them even if they made trade in Europe more difficult”.<sup>157</sup>

---

<sup>153</sup> Protocol 1. A: II

<sup>154</sup> Protocol 1. B: II

<sup>155</sup> Protocol 4. A: III

<sup>156</sup> Protocol 4. B: III

<sup>157</sup> Protocol 4. D: III

One reason that the Herald gives for Scotland's need of the Single market is that it "guarantees freedom of movement of people, which Scotland needs more than the rest of the UK", stating that "Scotland needs immigrants".<sup>158</sup>

As such "Scotland's future – both economically and constitutionally - is now more uncertain than ever" as Scotland's devolved power is under risk. In relation to this an independent think tank "believes Holyrood must be given the right to veto Article 50". In view of this, the Herald argues that "[i]t is up to Mrs May as well as Ms Sturgeon to respond to these challenges – indeed it is their responses that will probably determine whether Scotland decides to pursue its future inside or outside the UK."<sup>159</sup>

For the Telegraph preserving status quo is above all concerned about the economy of Northern Ireland, the relation to Ireland, and the fragile peace between Unionists and Nationals. The Telegraph is therefore concerned of how Brexit might "affect the business community and the farmers".<sup>160</sup>

It also argues that there is a "danger that an exit from Europe will recreate border controls with the Irish Republic, leading perhaps to economic challenges" and that unionist should be concerned "that an exit from the EU could lead to [...] the possible break-up of the UK" through another referendum on Scottish independence.<sup>161</sup>

It also argues that the provinces MPs must remind the other UK MPs "of the important role of EU funding in peace-building in Northern Ireland." For "[w]hile some of the current funding is guaranteed, the political parties need to be united in demanding that the same level of funding is continued when Brexit finally happens".<sup>162</sup>

Because through Brexit "EU peace money will dry up, as will the £300m in subsidies to our vital agricultural industry". The Telegraph, therefore, puts its hope to the MPs in London, stating that "[w]hile the DUP has been extremely loyal to the Government [...] the party may feel emboldened to raise more stridently the widely held concerns of people in the province over Brexit".<sup>163</sup> But "[w]hile Northern Ireland voted to remain in the EU, it must abide by the decision of the UK-wide electorate to leave. That poses a dilemma for local politicians as fears

---

<sup>158</sup> Protocol 4. F: III

<sup>159</sup> Protocol 4. D: III

<sup>160</sup> Protocol 7. B: III

<sup>161</sup> Protocol 7. C: III

<sup>162</sup> Protocol 7. C: III

<sup>163</sup> Protocol 7. D: III



are growing of a hard border that would seriously damage trading relations between the two parts of this island”.<sup>164</sup>

In relation to status quo, the Chronicle states that Gibraltar wants to remain a part of the EU and that Gibraltarians therefor “must be able to point to a vote which is as clear and robust as possible to stay in the EU”.<sup>165</sup>

The notion of the UK leaving the EU is of highest concern for the Chronicle and raises fears about Gibraltar’s future. These concerns were also shared by the Foreign Secretary of the time before the referendum, who stated that the UK’s means of protecting Gibraltar’s interests is limited when outside the EU. The Chronicle quoted him saying that he “genuinely believe that the threat of leaving the European Union is as big a threat to Gibraltar’s future security and Gibraltar’s future sovereignty as the more traditional threats that we routinely talk about”.<sup>166</sup>

For Gibraltar, preserving status quo also means preserving their status as a self-governing entity and securing their access to the Single market. Due to this view, the Chief Minister stated that Gibraltar might have to concede to joint sovereignty under Spain in order to preserve access to EU rights and the Single market. Another scenario if the UK decides to leave, is that Gibraltar might “have to go to the United Kingdom because of our economic sustainability not being possible in those circumstances” and that this is something that those who advocate Brexit must have in mind.<sup>167</sup>

But with the referendum resulting in a majority voting for leaving the EU, the Chronicle states that “[i]t is important that we continue to work together to maintain and strengthen the UK-Gibraltar bond”.<sup>168</sup>

In view of this the Chronicle again quotes the Chief Minister, who states that “[w]e’re going to continue to stay British, even if that seems like a very hard choice now”, underlining his argument by stating “[b]oth Remain and Leave voters share the desire to put our economy first. The Government must protect our economic future and address the deep concerns about our unequal country that drove Brexit”.<sup>169</sup>

---

<sup>164</sup> Protocol 7. F: III

<sup>165</sup> Protocol 10. A: III

<sup>166</sup> Protocol 10. B: III

<sup>167</sup> Protocol 10. B: III

<sup>168</sup> Protocol 10. D: III

<sup>169</sup> Protocol 10. D: III

In relation to Vote Leave, the aim of preserving status quo relates to securing trade deals with the EU after Brexit, as stated in “[t]he day after the referendum, nothing changes legally. We will talk to our friends in Europe and discuss the best way to agree a new UK-EU relationship”.<sup>170</sup>

#### **5.1.4. Zero-sum game (Realism)**

The Telegraph, in relation to a zero-sum game, focuses on the arguments and tensions that have led to the referendum, such as “disenchantment with the EU over issues such as human rights legislation, the challenge to British sovereignty, and migration”. Other issues is of financial nature as Leave-supporters argues that “we put more in than we get out”.<sup>171</sup> But the newspaper states that what really hindered continued negotiations with the EU is that “[t]he UK [...] wants tighter controls on immigration” which “runs contrary to European Union policy.”<sup>172</sup>

Gibraltar on the other hand, has relied heavily on the EU in its disputes with Spain, with the Chronicle concluding that “free movement is sometimes hampered by the Spanish Government’s measures at the frontier” and “the EU Treaties have been the only way we have been able to insist on a legal route to enforce our rights”.<sup>173</sup>

With this in mind the Chronicle states “ironically somebody who believes they are being patriotic and supporting Gibraltar by voting to leave the European Union, will be bringing about actually Gibraltar having to face, once again, the prospect of joint sovereignty with Spain” which was “fought tooth and nail against at the time it was last tabled by a Labour government...”.<sup>174</sup>

For the Chief Minister, Spain’s hard line towards Gibraltar may prove positive for Gibraltar, arguing that “[t]his is not stopping Brexit, this is shaping it. The country demands a win-win, smart Brexit, not a lose-lose ideological hard Brexit which will damage the UK, damage Europe and for which there is no need and no mandate”.<sup>175</sup>

But the Chronicle also states that “[t]he prospect of a closed or hard border is the most serious single issue that arises for Gibraltar from Brexit” as “[a] frontier which lacked the necessary

---

<sup>170</sup> Protocol 1. C: III

<sup>171</sup> Protocol 7. B: IV

<sup>172</sup> Protocol 7. C: IV

<sup>173</sup> Protocol 10. A: IV

<sup>174</sup> Protocol 10. B: IV

<sup>175</sup> Protocol 10. D: IV

fluidity for people to be able to access their places of work would, therefore, put directly at risk the jobs of 40% of the entire Gibraltar workforce”.<sup>176</sup>

Regarding the Herald themes regarding this concept is absent in the articles.

The belief of a zero-sum game between the world’s nations is the most prominent of the concepts in the Vote Leave-campaign, seen in statements such as “our country would be freer, fairer and better off outside the EU” and “Britain would be stronger outside the EU.”<sup>177</sup>

In contrast to the liberalist view that cooperation between states creates a safer and better world, the campaign argues in line with realist thought, like “[f]ar from providing security in an uncertain world, the EU’s policies have become a source of instability and insecurity” and that “the reason the EU’s bureaucrats oppose us leaving is they fear that our success outside will only underline the scale of their failure”.<sup>178</sup>

Vote Leave therefore claims that “[t]his referendum is our opportunity to set ourselves free from an organisation that only serves its own interests” and that by doing so the British public “would also regain control over the £350m subscription we pay Brussels every week”, means that instead could be spent inside the UK, like on the NHS.<sup>179</sup>

The NHS is a major issue during the campaign as seen “[i]mmigration is placing the NHS under huge strain and undermining patient safety, and our ability to control the NHS could be further undermined by the way the pressure that could be made worse by the TTIP agreement the EU is negotiating with the US.”<sup>180</sup>

Another recurring issue is democratic accountability. Claiming that “[w]hichever party is in charge, the Government cannot sort out our problems or deliver their promises because they have to follow EU rules” and that the British public is “not able to choose the people who make their laws and spend their money”, finally stating that “Britain is a great country. We will be even greater if we take back control of our own democracy”.<sup>181</sup>

In short, the referendum for Vote Leave can ultimately be understood to be about regaining control both in domestic and international politics, domestically by ending “the supremacy of

---

<sup>176</sup> Protocol 10. F: IV

<sup>177</sup> Protocol 1. A: IV

<sup>178</sup> Protocol 1. A: IV

<sup>179</sup> Protocol 1. B: IV

<sup>180</sup> Protocol 1. B: IV

<sup>181</sup> Protocol 1. C: IV

EU law. We regain control” and internationally by regaining “our seats on international institutions like the World Trade Organisation so we are a more influential force for free trade and international cooperation”. Finally, the last argument provided by the campaign before the referendum is “[a] vote to 'leave' and a better, friendlier relationship with the EU is much safer than giving Brussels more power and money every year”.<sup>182</sup>

## **5.2. Freedom**

### **5.2.1. Liberty**

Looking at themes regarding the concept of liberty the Herald puts its focus on Brexit’s effect on the economy and how it might impact the social life of Scottish citizens. In regards to the latter, the Herald states that workers and individuals rights might disappear if the UK leaves the EU.<sup>183</sup>

The Herald argues that the social and economic effects of Brexit can be seen in consumer habits, because “when they are worried about a threat to their household budgets – they cut their spending or hold back on simple everyday tasks”.<sup>184</sup> The newspaper argues that this will not change “until she [Theresa May] makes clear her vision of what the UK’s future outside the EU will look like - and that Scotland will have a genuine say in the direction of travel - Mrs May and her Tory lieutenants will struggle to persuade many Scots she has their interests at heart”.<sup>185</sup>

One way that that UK Government could ease this effects would be by “[a]llowing Scotland greater freedom of movement of people” in order to deal with “an ageing population”.<sup>186</sup>

In the case of Northern Ireland and Brexit, the Telegraph states that Northern Ireland should put its hope to its MPs in Westminster, as “[t]hey exist only through the will of the people and their job is to express the will of the people”, yet it states that little can be done as the UK as a whole voted for Brexit.<sup>187</sup>

The Chronicle is mostly concerned about Gibraltar’s EU rights as “it allows us freedom of personal movement throughout the EU” and future status as “the EU Treaties have been the only way we have been able to insist on a legal route to enforce our rights”. The Chronicle,

---

<sup>182</sup> Protocol 1. D: IV

<sup>183</sup> Protocol 5. A: I

<sup>184</sup> Protocol 5. B: I

<sup>185</sup> Protocol 5. D: I

<sup>186</sup> Protocol 5. E: I

<sup>187</sup> Protocol. 8. D: I

therefore, argues that people should go out and vote in order to “be able to point to a vote which is as clear and robust as possible to stay in the EU”.<sup>188</sup> The Chief Minister puts his hope to people’s rationality, hoping they will build their judgement by reason and not emotion.<sup>189</sup>

Gibraltar’s stance towards Brexit is therefore clear from the beginning and the Chronicle quotes that Gibraltar has “already given them our shopping list, whilst they are in the process of collecting shopping lists”.<sup>190</sup>

The Chronicle also states that Gibraltar seeks a “multi-faceted deal” and that it is concerned “about the liberty of being able to travel in and out of Gibraltar”. It also states that this concern “is not stopping Brexit, this is shaping it” hoping that the UK will seek a soft Brexit.<sup>191</sup>

In regards to the concept of liberty, Vote Leave put much emphasis on the people’s right to decide who governs them. Using arguments such as the EU interferes with the UK ability to provide for its own good as seen in the quote “the decisions which govern all our lives, the laws we must all obey and the taxes we must all pay should be decided by people we choose and who we can throw out if we want change” and “stops us being able to choose who makes critical decisions which affect all our lives” relates to the liberalist idea of being able to seek own’s greatest option for development.<sup>192</sup>

In accordance with this view, the campaign states that the “referendum is our opportunity to set ourselves free from an organisation that only serves its own interests”<sup>193</sup> and that Brexit “is about whether the British public are able to choose the people who make their laws and spend their money”, arguing that “[i]f we vote leave, it will be a glorious strengthening of our democracy”.<sup>194</sup>

### **5.2.2. Progress**

In term of progress, the Herald is concerned about the potential removal of EU rights, arguing that “[s]taying within the EU means preventing that possibility” but it also “that the European Union does need reform” in order to become more democratic.<sup>195</sup> In terms of the economic

---

<sup>188</sup> Protocol 11. A: I

<sup>189</sup> Protocol 11. B: I

<sup>190</sup> Protocol 11. C: I

<sup>191</sup> Protocol 11. D: I

<sup>192</sup> Protocol 2. A: I

<sup>193</sup> Protocol 2. B: I

<sup>194</sup> Protocol 2. C: I

<sup>195</sup> Protocol 5. A: II

impact of Brexit, the Herald states that Scotland “should hope our politicians and wealth-creators come up with a sober and sensible response”.<sup>196</sup>

Ultimately the Herald states that “there is a glimmer of hope” for Scotland in relation to Brexit, in “that as long as Mrs May has not definitively said where her government is heading, there is still some prospect of a more mature, collaborative deal”.<sup>197</sup>

For the Telegraph, political unity is needed to secure progress after Brexit. It therefore argues that Northern Ireland’s political parties need to “draw up a coherent and cohesive list of issues which will ease the province's path to life outside the European Union.”<sup>198</sup> Especially, the Telegraph argues that “the DUP and Sinn Fein draw up a cohesive plan of action to press our concerns”.<sup>199</sup> It also states that Brexit might inflict political harm on Northern Ireland and hopes that this “will concentrate minds when the parties sit down after the election to begin negotiations on resurrecting devolution”.<sup>200</sup>

For the Chronicle, progress lies in the voting process, hoping that through “a massive turnout” in votes, Gibraltar’s view on Brexit can be made clear, calling everyone in Gibraltar to “ensure you are registered to vote”.<sup>201</sup> The Chronicle also states that “[t]he big difference between Gibraltar and the UK is that Gibraltar has a very clear view of where it needs to be”.<sup>202</sup>

From the Chronicle’s point of view, the UK Government has understood Gibraltar’s concerns, and that Gibraltar’s interests will be taken into account “as the UK looks to establish new trade and investment agreements with the wider world”.<sup>203</sup> But a closer relationship with the UK does not solve Gibraltar’s problems and when talking about the future the Chronicle hopes for a soft Brexit.<sup>204</sup>

### **5.2.3. Free trade (Classical economics)**

Regarding the concept of free trade, Vote Leave sees the EU as an obstacle, rather than an opportunity, arguing that the rules and regulations set up by the organisation “are inimical to creativity, growth and progress”. By leaving the EU, the UK “can get rid of the regulations

---

<sup>196</sup> Protocol 5. C: II

<sup>197</sup> Protocol 5. F: II

<sup>198</sup> Protocol 8. B: II

<sup>199</sup> Protocol 8. D: II

<sup>200</sup> Protocol 8. F: II

<sup>201</sup> Protocol 11. A: II

<sup>202</sup> Protocol 11. C: II

<sup>203</sup> Protocol 11. D: II

<sup>204</sup> Protocol 11. D: II

which big business uses to crush competition and instead support new start-up businesses and creative talent” as well as “forge trade deals and partnerships with nations across the globe, helping developing countries to grow and benefiting from faster and better access to new markets”.<sup>205</sup>

Leaving the EU would, in the campaigns view, provide the opportunity for “a new UK-EU deal based on free trade and friendly cooperation” and give the UK more influence internationally through organisations like the WTO.<sup>206</sup>

The Herald instead states that there is “a consensus among leading experts and organisations that leaving the EU would be an economic calamity for the UK”.<sup>207</sup> It would also affect Scotland, as “the more the UK decided to diverge from EU rules, the harder this would hit Scotland’s trading ability”.<sup>208</sup>

To deal with these issues, the Herald argues that Scotland should have more power to decide on issues like immigration.<sup>209</sup> The reason for this argument is that “[t]he single market guarantees freedom of movement of people, which Scotland needs more than the rest of the UK”.<sup>210</sup>

The Telegraph is also concerned about trade and freedom of movement. It states that “UK firms want tariff-free access to the EU even after Brexit” but that this demand “will be difficult to meet given EU trading arrangements with other non-EU countries”. However, most important for Northern Ireland is “maintaining an open border and tariff-free trading with the Republic” that “local politicians must ensure these demands are uppermost in the UK negotiating team's minds”.<sup>211</sup>

But the Telegraph also states that Brexit will have consequences in terms of global trade as well. One example is the film industry, which “offers the prospect of employment and an economic boost to the province.” But this is under threat from Brexit “with the creation of tax barriers”.<sup>212</sup>

---

<sup>205</sup> Protocol 2. A: III

<sup>206</sup> Protocol 2. D: III

<sup>207</sup> Protocol 5. B: III

<sup>208</sup> Protocol 5. D: III

<sup>209</sup> Protocol 5. E: III

<sup>210</sup> Protocol 5. F: III

<sup>211</sup> Protocol 8. C: III

<sup>212</sup> Protocol 8. E: III

Hence the Telegraph argues that Northern Ireland’s political parties “should be on showing the world that they are capable of working out their political differences” in order to attract business from around the globe.<sup>213</sup>

The Chronicle also shares the same concerns, quoting the Chief Minister; “[m]embership of the EU allows our businesses to sell their services throughout the single market”, and that “it allows us freedom of personal movement throughout the EU”.<sup>214</sup> A view supported by the UK Foreign Secretary at the time of the referendum, who states that “Gibraltar’s future is clearly in the European Union’s single market”, a statement that was followed up by the Chief Minister stating “we want to continue to have access to European Union rights”.<sup>215</sup>

But facing Brexit the Chief Minister states that “[i]t is important that we continue to work together to maintain and strengthen the UK-Gibraltar bond as we move together into a bright new future” and “[w]hen it comes to financial services, there are strong mechanisms already underpinning Gibraltar’s access to the UK market”, concluding that “together we will examine ways to broaden our economic cooperation and increase market access”.<sup>216</sup>

But having access to the UK financial market is not enough for Gibraltar, as “that it’s as much in the interests of the region around Gibraltar and Andalusia to have a Gibraltar that continues to provide jobs” and these are dependent on “the liberty of being able to travel in and out of Gibraltar”.<sup>217</sup>

The Chronicle therefor argues that “[t]he prospect of a closed or hard border is the most serious single issue that arises for Gibraltar from Brexit” and that “[a] frontier which lacked the necessary fluidity for people to be able to access their places of work would therefore put directly at risk the jobs of 40% of the entire Gibraltar workforce”.<sup>218</sup>

Regarding the concept of progress Vote Leave states that the UK through the centuries as “showed the world what a free people could achieve if they were allowed to govern themselves”, By leaving the EU the campaign argues that the UK “can become an exemplar of

---

<sup>213</sup> Protocol 8. F: III

<sup>214</sup> Protocol 11. A: III

<sup>215</sup> Protocol 11. B: III

<sup>216</sup> Protocol 11. D: III

<sup>217</sup> Protocol 11. D: III

<sup>218</sup> Protocol 11. F: III



what an inclusive, open and innovative democracy can achieve” and “show the rest of Europe the way to flourish”, with a better future outside the EU.<sup>219</sup>

This future holds both a “strengthening of our democracy”, making the UK “a fairer country”, and provides the opportunity to “negotiate a new UK-EU deal based on free trade and friendly cooperation.”<sup>220</sup>

#### **5.2.4. Cooperation between states (Liberalism)**

The Herald, in relation to cooperation between states, argues that “[t]he EU does need to be more democratic”, but it still favours a continued membership with the EU, arguing that it is better to deal with the issues while part of the organisation.<sup>221</sup>

For the sake of Northern Ireland, the Telegraph highlights the importance of EU funding in and finds the support amongst politicians for Brexit to be strange, as they are representing “a part of the UK that has had the benefit of large peace-building finance from the EU” and whose business and farmers depends on EU funding, but also states that the EU has been “a diluting factor on the notion of sovereignty for nationalists”.<sup>222</sup>

The Telegraph argues that nationalists and Brexit supporters “must also be reminded of the important role of EU funding in peace-building in Northern Ireland” and “[w]hile some of the current funding is guaranteed, the political parties need to be united in demanding that the same level of funding is continued when Brexit finally happens”.<sup>223</sup> It also argues that in order to secure free access to the Irish market “politicians on both sides of the border must engage earnestly on the way forward”.<sup>224</sup>

The Chronicle in relation to cooperation quotes the Chief Minister who states that “[m]embership of the EU allows our businesses to sell their services throughout the single market”.<sup>225</sup> A view supported by the UK Foreign Secretary at the time, who stated that “Gibraltar’s future is clearly in the European Union’s single market”.<sup>226</sup>

---

<sup>219</sup> Protocol 2. A: II

<sup>220</sup> Protocol 2. C: II

Protocol 2. C: II

<sup>221</sup> Protocol 5. A: IV

<sup>222</sup> Protocol 8. A: IV

Protocol 8. D: IV

<sup>223</sup> Protocol 8. C: IV

<sup>224</sup> Protocol 8. E: IV

<sup>225</sup> Protocol 11. A: IV

<sup>226</sup> Protocol 11. B: IV

But facing the reality of Brexit, the Chronicle argues that Gibraltar will need to deepen its relationship with the UK and “broaden our economic cooperation and increase market access”, while the UK Government needs to “take into account the priorities of Gibraltar and other overseas territories as the UK looks to establish new trade and investment agreements with the wider world”.<sup>227</sup>

Yet Gibraltar is still pro-EU and dependent on workers and an open border, hence the Chronicle argues “that it’s as much in the interests of the region around Gibraltar and Andalucia to have a Gibraltar that continues to provide jobs” and that this issues will hopefully make the British Government strive towards a soft Brexit.<sup>228</sup>

Vote Leave is concerned with cooperation between states, but believes that the UK can do better outside the EU, arguing that “we can shape an optimistic, forward-looking and genuinely internationalist alternative to the path the EU is going down” and b “forge trade deals and partnerships with nations across the globe, helping developing countries to grow and benefiting from faster and better access to new markets”.<sup>229</sup>

### ***5.3. Justice***

#### **5.3.1. The constitutive nature of the human relationship**

In terms of the constitutive nature of the human relationship the Herald starts by focusing on the rights of workers, stating that “[l]eaving the EU has the potential to undermine, and even remove, some of the fundamental rights enjoyed by workers in the UK” and that by leaving the EU “there will be very few workers in the UK, if any, who are unaffected by them for the better”.<sup>230</sup> With this in mind, the Herald argues that “Mrs May and her Tory lieutenants will struggle to persuade many Scots she has their interests at heart”.<sup>231</sup>

In order to strengthen its arguments, the Heralds refers to a study, writing that “[t]he Institute also offers little hope for the so-called JAMs (those who are “just about managing”): inflation will rise, wages will continue to stagnate, and economic growth in Scotland will be weak for the next few years”.<sup>232</sup>

---

<sup>227</sup> Protocol 11. D: IV

<sup>228</sup> Protocol 11. D: IV

<sup>229</sup> Protocol 2. A: IV

<sup>230</sup> Protocol 6. A: I

<sup>231</sup> Protocol 6. D: I

<sup>232</sup> Protocol 6. E: I

As such the Herald states that “[t]he watch word of the Brexit negotiations should be compromise” but instead it seems like the UK Government is aiming at a hard Brexit “with almost all of us paying the price”.<sup>233</sup>

In Northern Ireland, the issues regarding Brexit has, according to the Telegraph, to do “disenchantment with the EU over issues such as human rights legislation, the challenge to British sovereignty, and migration”.<sup>234</sup>

The Telegraph also states that with Brexit being decided, Northern Ireland must accept it as “the people in the UK as a whole voted to leave the EU” and so must the MPs of Northern Ireland, as “[t]hey exist only through the will of the people and their job is to express the will of the people”.<sup>235</sup>

Yet in relation to this the Telegraph argues that in order to preserve the interests of Northern Ireland and maintaining the relationship to the Republic of Ireland, the “politicians on both sides of the border must engage earnestly on the way forward”.<sup>236</sup>

For Gibraltar Brexit is a major setback in the peoples view and the Chronicle states that the Gibraltarians must show “a massive turnout of those eligible to vote here” in order to “make the moral case” in which “exiting the EU is not of our making and that the United Kingdom must, more than ever, assist us in resolving such issues as we may face as a result”.<sup>237</sup>

But despite the strong support for the EU, the Chronicle quotes the Chief Minister in that it is still “a red, white and blue Brexit for us” and that “[w]e’re going to continue to stay British, even if that seems like a very hard choice now”.<sup>238</sup>

The constitutive nature for Vote Leave consists of the notion of true British public who has first of all the UK’s good in mind, arguing that “the decisions which govern all our lives, the laws we must all obey and the taxes we must all pay should be decided by people we choose and who we can throw out if we want change”.<sup>239</sup>

---

<sup>233</sup> Protocol 6. F: I

<sup>234</sup> Protocol 9. A: I

<sup>235</sup> Protocol 9. D: I

<sup>236</sup> Protocol 9. E: I

<sup>237</sup> Protocol 12. A: I

<sup>238</sup> Protocol 12. E: I

<sup>239</sup> Protocol 3. A: I

The view of the campaign is that “[i]t is time for Britain to recognise that Brussels has had enough chances. And that as such the only safe option is to Vote Leave” and that such the referendum “is about whether the British public are able to choose the people who make their laws and spend their money”.<sup>240</sup>

### **5.3.2. Human welfare as a desirable objective**

In terms of the concept of human welfare, the Herald raises the concerns that “[l]eaving the EU has the potential to undermine, and even remove, some of the fundamental rights enjoyed by workers in the UK” and “what is really at stake if the UK leaves [...] is employment rights”.<sup>241</sup>

It also states that several more rights protecting workers and individuals is under threat and even if “Brexit could not totally remove employees’ rights, but it could allow a future UK Government to significantly undermine them by deciding which, if any, of the EU rights it would keep”. For the Herald this is something that the Leave-supporters fails to mention, concluding “that leaving runs the risk of making working conditions in the UK considerably worse”.<sup>242</sup>

The Herald is concerned over how Brexit will affect the economy, stating that “[s]hould the result be Leave, there will be uncertainty for years to come, with a resulting depressive effect on the economy, as the UK and the EU unpick their relationship”.<sup>243</sup>

This could also greatly affect the means of providing welfare with “public service expenditure to be slashed by almost a fifth over the next parliamentary term” and asking “what will the situation look like in 10 years, with more pensioners than ever using up smaller tax revenues?”.<sup>244</sup>

The Herald states that Brexit will affect all aspects of life in Scotland, from jobs, welfare, and criminal justice.<sup>245</sup> An argument that is supported by the Fraser Allander Institute, which the Herald quotes when concluding that “inflation will rise, wages will continue to stagnate, and economic growth in Scotland will be weak for the next few years”.<sup>246</sup>

---

<sup>240</sup> Protocol 3. B: I

Protocol 3. C: I

<sup>241</sup> Protocol 6. A: II

<sup>242</sup> Protocol 6. A: II

<sup>243</sup> Protocol 6. B: II

<sup>244</sup> Protocol 6. C: II

<sup>245</sup> Protocol 6. D: II

<sup>246</sup> Protocol 6. E: II

The Herald concludes that in terms of “the economy, we can see that some of the damage has already been done, with the uncertainty over Brexit casting a pall over growth” and that [t]he Scottish business community has also made it clear that it lacks confidence in the Brexit process”.<sup>247</sup>.

The Telegraph argues that in order to secure the province’s economic future and human welfare, Northern Ireland must have access to the Irish market, through “[f]reedom of movement of people and tariff-free trading”. Therefore “local politicians must ensure these demands are uppermost in the UK negotiating team's minds”.<sup>248</sup> One of the largest issues is that “EU peace money will dry up, as will the £300m in subsidies to our vital agricultural industry”.<sup>249</sup>

But the Telegraph raises hopes in that the DUP “may feel emboldened to raise more stridently the widely held concerns of people in the province over Brexit” as their seats are crucial for the UK Governments small majority in Westminster.<sup>250</sup>

Regarding human welfare, the Chronicle states that “[h]aving voted for a better future, this would be the ultimate betrayal” and that it “is on the Government to ensure a Brexit that is fair to working people”.<sup>251</sup>

However, it can be understood from the Chronicle, that the pressing issue is the border between Gibraltar and Spain, as a border that lacks the “necessary fluidity for people to be able to access their places of work” would affect “40% of the entire Gibraltar workforce” and that “any significant number of these frontier workers would affect direct Government revenue by way of loss of income tax receipts”.<sup>252</sup>

In terms of human welfare, the Vote Leave-campaign frequently uses various forms of basic welfare services and other state-funded areas in their arguments for leaving the EU, stating that “[w]e'll be able to spend our money on the public's priorities, particularly public services”.<sup>253</sup> These public services include “schools, the NHS, the environment” as well as “cutting the deficit” and “science research”.<sup>254</sup>

---

<sup>247</sup> Protocol 6. F: II

<sup>248</sup> Protocol 9. C: II

<sup>249</sup> Protocol 9. D: II

<sup>250</sup> Protocol 9. D: II

<sup>251</sup> Protocol 12. E: II

<sup>252</sup> Protocol 12. F: II

<sup>253</sup> Protocol 3. B: II

<sup>254</sup> Protocol 3. C: II

Protocol 3. D: II

### 5.3.3. History

In terms of the concept of history, the Herald offers hope for a progressive future by hoping that “our politicians and wealth-creators come up with a sober and sensible response”.<sup>255</sup>

But the Herald also claims that “[i]f there is a glimmer of hope, it is that as long as Mrs May has not definitively said where her government is heading, there is still some prospect of a more mature, collaborative deal”.<sup>256</sup>

For the Telegraph the referendum gives credibility, as a common feeling is that “Northern Ireland is regarded as peripheral”.<sup>257</sup> But in order to decrease the potential damage caused by Brexit, it is crucial that Northern Ireland’s political parties “draw up a coherent and cohesive list of issues which will ease the province's path to life outside the European Union”.<sup>258</sup>

For attracting foreign business, the Telegraph argues that “Brexit will force politicians as well as businesses in Northern Ireland to become more outward looking” and “by working out their political differences” in order to show “that Northern Ireland is a place that is open for business with all parts of the globe”.<sup>259</sup>

It offers the same argument in relation to Northern Ireland’s dealings with the Republic of Ireland, stating that “politicians on both sides of the border must engage earnestly on the way forward”.<sup>260</sup>

In terms of the future, the Chronicle argues that because “exiting the EU is not of our making”, the UK must help Gibraltar in resolving future issues.<sup>261</sup> In view of this, the newspaper states that it is “important that we continue to work together to maintain and strengthen the UK-Gibraltar bond as we move together into a bright new future”.<sup>262</sup>

This because “[b]oth Remain and Leave voters share the desire to put our economy first”, which makes the Chronicle continue with the argument that the British Government “must protect our

---

<sup>255</sup> Protocol 6. C: III

<sup>256</sup> Protocol 6. F: III

<sup>257</sup> Protocol 9. B: III

<sup>258</sup> Protocol 9. C: III

<sup>259</sup> Protocol 9. F: III

<sup>260</sup> Protocol 9. E: III

<sup>261</sup> Protocol 12. A: III

<sup>262</sup> Protocol 12. D: III

economic future and address the deep concerns about our unequal country that drove Brexit” as “Parliament and the country will hold them to account in the weeks and months ahead”.<sup>263</sup>

In terms of history, Vote Leave uses the UK’s past as argument for a better future outside the EU. It “believe our country would be freer, fairer and better off outside the EU” and “that both the lessons of our past and the shape of the future make the case for change compelling”. By anchoring the tradition of democracy in the past, the campaign argues that “[t]he ability to choose who governs us, and the freedom to change laws we do not like, were secured for us in the past by radicals and liberals who took power from unaccountable elites and placed it in the hands of the people”.

In the view of the campaign, the main issue behind the referendum is the question of accountability, stating that “[t]his chance may never come again in our lifetimes, which is why I will be true to my principles and take the opportunity this referendum provides to leave an EU mired in the past and embrace a better future.”<sup>264</sup>

The claim of Vote Leave is that “the time has come to decide what is in the best long term interest of this country”<sup>265</sup> and that “[i]f we vote leave, it will be a glorious strengthening of our democracy”, concluding; “[w]e believe that Britain will be a fairer country if we vote leave tomorrow.”<sup>266</sup>

#### **5.3.4. Structures of equality/inequality (Marxism)**

Regarding inequality, the Herald argues that leaving the EU will undermine workers' rights and that this scenario is neglected by the Leave-campaign. The Herald also argues that even if these rights were to remain after Brexit, they could easily be removed by a future Government.<sup>267</sup>

The Herald also states that by losing access to the Single market and replacing this with a ‘UK single market’ “is problematic at best and disingenuous at worst [...] since Westminster would inevitably lay down the rules that would govern this new UK-only trading bloc”. This, according to the Herald, would force the Scottish Government “to be subservient to UK

---

<sup>263</sup> Protocol 12. E: III

<sup>264</sup> Protocol 3. A: III

<sup>265</sup> Protocol 3. B: III

<sup>266</sup> Protocol 3. C: III

<sup>267</sup> Protocol 6. A: IV

legislation in all sorts of spheres, including some that have already been devolved and many that would be repatriated from Brussels following Brexit”.<sup>268</sup>

The Herald therefor argues that “Scotland’s future – both economically and constitutionally - is now more uncertain than ever” and that the Scottish Government should “have the power to veto Brexit altogether”.<sup>269</sup>

The newspaper also states that “[o]n the economy, we can see that some of the damage has already been done, with the uncertainty over Brexit casting a pall over growth. Prices are rising, wages are stagnating and growth for next year is likely to be barely above one per cent” and the “Scottish business community has also made it clear that it lacks confidence in the Brexit process” and that this, in turn, will make life harder for people.<sup>270</sup>

With this in mind, the Herald argues that Scotland is dependent on freedom of movement and immigration “but for the sake of the more extreme Brexiters, the Prime Minister seems prepared to slam the door on them.” Finally, the Herald states that “[t]he watch word of the Brexit negotiations should be compromise”, but that it looks like “the British Government is prepared to dogmatically pursue a hard Brexit, with almost all of us paying the price”.<sup>271</sup>

The Telegraph in relation to inequality, states that part of the issues behind Brexit lies in that people feels that the EU, through the human rights legislation and migration, as proved unjust in relation to the UK.<sup>272</sup> But regarding equality, it states that the referendum as given the people in Northern Ireland a “sense the votes here will be as crucial as those anywhere else in the UK”.<sup>273</sup>

The Telegraph also expresses a concern that the interests of Northern Ireland, such as “[f]reedom of movement of people and tariff-free trading arrangements with the Republic” and that the important role of EU funding in peace” will be decreased or neglected. The newspaper states that there “may be great trading opportunities” after Brexit, “but it is obvious the UK Government's main concerns will be on how Brexit affects the City of London and the affluent

---

<sup>268</sup> Protocol 6. D: IV

<sup>269</sup> Protocol 6. D: IV

<sup>270</sup> Protocol 6. E: IV

<sup>271</sup> Protocol 6. F: IV

<sup>272</sup> Protocol 9. A: IV

<sup>273</sup> Protocol 9. B: IV



areas of south east England”. Therefore, Northern Ireland’s politicians must see that the province’s interests “are uppermost in the UK negotiating team's minds”.<sup>274</sup>

The matter of inequality makes itself apparent in that it was mostly England that favoured Brexit, on the issues of “immigration and Brussels bureaucracy”, thus affecting Northern Ireland in two ways, first the province means of having an open border and free trade with Ireland.<sup>275</sup> But also that Northern Ireland “must abide by the decision of the UK-wide electorate to leave”, which poses a dilemma for local politicians as fears are growing of a hard border that would seriously damage trading relations between the two parts of this island”.<sup>276</sup>

Looking at inequality, the Chronicle highlights the injustice that Brexit means to Gibraltar. Stating that that in the territory’s disputes with Spain “the EU Treaties have been the only way we have been able to insist on a legal route to enforce our rights”.<sup>277</sup>

The Chronicle also states that those who advocate Brexit should realise that it means losing the access to European Union rights”.<sup>278</sup> However, on the positive side, according to the Chronicle, is that “[w]hen it comes to financial services, there are strong mechanisms already underpinning Gibraltar’s access to the UK market which are enshrined in UK law”.<sup>279</sup>

The Chronicle states also that Brexit brings a risk of Spanish aggression, as Gibraltar loses it protection from EU institutions and that Brexit will put a strain on the economy for both low- and high-income takers.<sup>280</sup>

Concerning inequality, Vote Leave uses democratic accountability and economy to build up their arguments. Arguing that “[t]he euro has created economic misery for Europe’s poorest” and that “European Union regulation has entrenched mass unemployment. EU immigration policies have encouraged people traffickers and brought desperate refugee camps to our borders”.<sup>281</sup>

The reason for this is that “[t]he EU is built to keep power and control with the elites rather than the people” and this can be seen in that the UK is subjected to the EU commission “[e]ven

---

<sup>274</sup> Protocol 9. C: IV

<sup>275</sup> Protocol 9. D: IV

<sup>276</sup> Protocol 9. F: IV

<sup>277</sup> Protocol 12. A: IV

<sup>278</sup> Protocol 12. B: IV

<sup>279</sup> Protocol 12. D: IV

<sup>280</sup> Protocol 12. F: IV

<sup>281</sup> Protocol 3. A: IV

though we are outside the euro [...] increasingly using the Charter of Fundamental Rights which in many ways gives the EU more power and reach than ever before.”<sup>282</sup>

In line with this argument, the campaigns reasons for leaving the EU includes “stop sending £350 million every week to Brussels and instead spend it on our priorities, like the NHS and science research.”<sup>283</sup>

The campaign also claims that besides basic welfare schemes “[o]ur children and grandchildren will find it harder to buy a house, to get their kids into a good school, to get a GP appointment, and they’ll be paying for the bailouts of the euro.”<sup>284</sup>

#### ***5.4. Mainstream and counterpoint***

Returning to the research questions the thesis makes the following conclusions, based on the results provided by the analytical framework.

The mainstream in the UK can be understood to contain a will to stay in the EU. Looking at the value of order, the relationship to the EU and Europe and the political structure within in the UK is a repeating concern in the Herald, the Telegraph, and the Chronicle.

For the Herald this concern is about the devolved power-sharing structure between Westminster and Holyrood is under threat, as Westminster might reverse much of the power back to London, giving Scotland less power to deal with its domestic policies, stating that Holyrood should have the opportunity to veto against Brexit. It is also concerned about the potential removal of EU rules concerning the rights of workers and individuals, as well as losing access to the Single market and freedom of movement.

The Telegraph, in relation to order, is concerned over the future relation to Ireland, the disappearance of EU funding which is vital for the continued peace process and Northern Ireland’s agriculture and above all the peace. The newspaper, therefore, hopes that the legal institutions of the UK might reduce the impact or hinder Brexit and that the provinces MPs in Westminster might agree on a common policy towards Brexit.

The Chronicle states clearly that Gibraltar wishes to remain a part of the EU as the territory is very much dependent on EU legislation in order to protect its interests, most of all concerning the border with Spain. The newspaper also states that Gibraltar is dependent on having access

---

<sup>282</sup> Protocol 3. A: IV

<sup>283</sup> Protocol 3. D: IV

<sup>284</sup> Protocol 3. C: IV

to the Single market, yet it prefers to remain part of the UK rather than remaining in the EU under Spanish sovereignty. The Chronicle therefore argues that the UK must ensure that Gibraltar can find other markets after Brexit.

Regarding the value of freedom, the Herald states that the Scottish business model is dependent on the Single market and migration. It therefore states that the only hope left for Scotland – as it is not allowed to veto on Brexit – is that the course for Brexit is not yet finished.

For the Telegraph the most pressing concern in relation to freedom is the border with Ireland, stating that as the global trade will be affected by Brexit, the trade relation with Ireland will become more important and that a closed border might bring back the violence of the Troubles. The newspaper therefore hopes that the politicians can come together with a common policy for Northern Ireland's future, both regarding politics and the economy.

For the Chronicle, the border against Spain is also the largest issue, as it is Gibraltar's only land route to the European continent. It also argues that both Gibraltar and Spain is dependent on this border too be open and in order to secure the interests of Gibraltar, the territory seeks closer ties to the UK.

Regarding the value of justice, the Herald expresses concerns about Brexit's effects on people's everyday living, as Brexit most likely will affect the economy for years, and the potential removal of rules protecting the rights of workers and individuals. The Herald sees Brexit as unjust for Scotland, especially as the country is dependent on EU-regulations on many issues like migration.

The Telegraph focuses more on how Northern Ireland's interests could be secured in relation to southern England and London, knowing that Northern Ireland is often thought of as peripheral. It also states that even if Northern Ireland voted to remain in the EU, the province must accept the referendum result, putting its hope into its MPs and that they might come together on a common policy.

The Chronicle states that Brexit will leave Gibraltar to the political whims of Spain, with a potential hard border which would affect people's lives on both sides of the border. It also sees Brexit as unjust, as Gibraltar economy needs access to the Single market. But despite this Gibraltar seeks closer ties to the UK instead of Spain, hoping that the UK, with Gibraltar's and other UK regions interests in mind, will negotiate a soft Brexit.

The counterpoint within the UK can be understood to be dominated by the value of order. Has seen in the research material, Vote Leave wants to regain control over both domestic, and foreign politics, understanding the EU to be harmful to British democracy, through lack of transparency and accountability, and that EU policy is creating insecurity in the region of Europe.

This view on international relations shapes the value of freedom, with the campaign arguing that trade and the economy will prosper with the UK leaving the organisation, which would also strengthen British democracy. It also argues that trade relations will be maintained with the EU, but on better conditions for the UK.

The arguments of order also shape the value of justice, with Vote Leave claiming that by leaving the EU, the British people will regain control over the domestic politics by removing EU rules and obligations, allowing the UK Government to spend more on UK's welfare system and make it easier for small businesses to prosper.

It also argues that if the UK decides to remain in the EU the UK will lose even more political power to Brussels in an unjust system that downplays the will and interests of the British public.

In conclusion to Vote Leave, the value of order dominates and shapes the values of freedom and order respectively, using arguments related to order too influence the mindset towards the other two values.

The differences in the mainstream perspectives can thus be summarised as followed:

For Scotland, the value of justice can be found in the themes regarding both order and freedom, e.g. the rights of workers and individuals and the economy regarding freedom, and the political structure of the UK with Scotland being unable to have a say in issues important to Scotland, such as migration. Freedom and order shape the Scottish discourse as well, but freedom can still be understood to play a greater role as issues regarding order often is about securing matters that is connected to freedom.

For Northern Ireland order and freedom shapes the discourse, as both is often used in relation to the same issues, such as an open border with Ireland and dependence on actors outside the UK, e.g. EU funding, and in turn, connects to the themes that shapes the value of justice.

In Gibraltar, the values that shape the discourse the most is, somewhat unsurprising given the majority vote for continued membership, freedom, seen in themes relating to Gibraltar's

economic interests. These themes shape the value of order as well, in that the themes in relation to order is about securing trade and EU-rights. However, order is also about securing Gibraltar's political interests, hence its policy of seeking a closer relationship with the UK. Justice part of the discourse is seen in themes regarding people's livelihood and Gibraltar's want to remain in the EU, relating back freedom and the issues of trade and political rights.

The Herald, on the other hand, is concerned about all three aspects, wanting to be part of the EU, fearing a reduction of power regarding Scotland's own domestic policies, and in its worries that England's interests will overshadow those of Scotland when negotiating Brexit.

The Telegraph is worried by the structure, as it relates to the relationship between Northern Ireland and Ireland and the survival of the Belfast Agreement, but through British governance still hopes that this can be preserved. Neither does it question the UK legitimacy.

The Chronicle questions the change in the structure brought by Brexit, but not the legitimacy and governance of the UK, although it fears a hard Brexit.

Ultimately, the British exit from the EU can be seen as a question of governance, were Brexit and the EU forms two different ways of dealing with the problem of a more interconnected world order brought forward by an increasing globalisation. Vote Leave then challenges the structure of the UK being a part of the EU, which to Vote Leave lacks legitimacy.

## **6. Conclusion**

The aim of this thesis has been to try and apply Hettne's theoretical framework in order to find out how the values of order, freedom, and justice was understood and used in the mainstream and in the counterpoint, and thereby find out which of the three values that dominates in relation to Brexit, by examining the arguments behind the leave-side and the remain-side.

In order to achieve this the thesis tried to answer the following research questions:

- Which of Hettne's three values dominates the mainstream?
- Which of Hettne's three values dominates the counterpoint?
- Does the mainstream/counterpoint in Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Gibraltar differ and if so how?

The mainstream and the counterpoint within Hettne's framework is connected to Polanyi's Double movement, in which the first movement (the mainstream) is associated with the

liberation of the market forces and the second movement (the counterpoint) with the social response to the first.

The research material used to answer these questions consisted of three newspapers, the Herald, the Belfast Telegraph, and the Gibraltar Chronicle, and one website, Vote Leave. The three former represented the regions of Scotland, Northern Ireland and Gibraltar, which all three voted in a majority for continued EU-membership. The latter represented the leave-side and England as this was the region within the UK that had the largest majority against EU-membership.

However, a methodical framework was needed in order to analyse the material. Going on Hettne's writings that the three values of order, freedom, and justice could be understood through the ideologies of conservatism, liberalism, and socialism, as well as their counterparts within IR, the methodical framework used for this thesis was put together using the thoughts on ideology and political theories by Freedon, as well as writings on international relations by other scholars.

Using a qualitative analysis method constructed by Altheide, through which the analysis was conducted by looking for themes relating to order, freedom, and justice. The results of the analysis were collected into protocols, with each concept being put into categories named after the three values.

The constructed framework resulted in four core concepts for each value.

For order these were: controlling change, the extra-human social order, status quo (Realism), and a zero-sum game between states (Realism).

For freedom, they were: liberty, progress, free trade (Classical economics), and cooperation between states (Liberalism).

Justice contained: the constitutive nature of the human relationship, human welfare as a desirable objective, history, and structures of equality/inequality (Marxism).

These concepts were the basis for the questions put to the research material:

- What themes does the text express in relation to the four concepts of order?
- What underlying themes does the text express in relation to the four concepts of freedom?
- What underlying themes does the text express in relation to the four concepts of justice?

The findings of the study concluded that the mainstream takes different shapes depending on the region. The mainstream as understood through the articles in the Herald is dominated by justice, as the Herald often focuses on themes regarding social issues and political accountability, which in turn influences order. After justice, freedom is the value receives the most focus, with issues like trade shaping the arguments on order.

For the Belfast Telegraph, the mainstream is shaped themes on order and freedom and refers often to the same issues like having an open border with the Republic of Ireland. Themes regarding justice often referred to Northern Ireland's dependence of EU funding and the province having to accept Brexit despite voting against it.

In the mainstream seen through the Gibraltar Chronicle, freedom was the dominating value with the large focus on trade and Gibraltar's economic interests. Freedom in turn shaped the value of order as themes on this value often referred to securing trade and access to the EU Single market. Justice is also shaped by freedom as it refers to issues of trade, jobs, and political rights.

The counterpoint, on the other hand, was largely shaped by the concept of order, with the value influencing both the values of freedom and justice. This can be seen throughout the writings on the Vote Leave-website, in that nearly all arguments connected to themes on freedom and justice relates back to the value of order, often using notions of taking back control and shifting political and financial power back to the UK from the EU.

As stated previously, Hettne provided no method to his theoretical framework and as such a method had to be constructed for the thesis. In this methodical framework, the thoughts of Freeden regarding the core concepts of the ideologies of conservatism, liberalism, and socialism was used, as well as other texts written by scholars from IR. It also tried to address the ideas that domestic and international policies are interdependent, and throughout the analysis, this seems to be the case as both domestic and international issues is used by both the leave- and the remain-side in their arguments regarding Brexit.

As such the main contribution of the thesis is that it was possible to empirically analyse Brexit within the framework of Polanyi and theoretically concretize the application of Hettne's framework, using Freeden and Altheide.

Because of this, it is the author's belief that the framework would be applicable even without the amount of contextual background that Altheide deems necessary for conducting a qualitative content analysis. The author does not disagree with Altheide on that understanding

that knowledge of the context is important, but believes that the framework might stand on its own if used in other research.

## 7. References

Altheide, David L. 2011. Process of Qualitative Document Analysis. in *Qualitative Media Analysis*. Sage Research Methods. (Electronic resource).

BBC News. EU Referendum. Results.

[http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu\\_referendum/results](http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results) (accessed 2017-07-02)

Editor's Viewpoint. UK playing for high stakes as vote on European future looms. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016a-02-22

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/uk-playing-for-high-stakes-as-vote-on-european-future-looms-34472683.html> (2017-04-25)

Editor's Viewpoint. Our views on Brexit as important as any others in the UK. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016b-03-10

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/our-views-on-brexit-as-important-as-any-others-in-the-uk-34499700.html> (2017-04-25)

Editor's Viewpoint. Northern Ireland parties must unite over best Brexit deal. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016c-10-03

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/northern-ireland-parties-must-unite-over-best-brexit-deal-35097859.html> (2017-04-25)

Editor's Viewpoint. Court's Brexit ruling is good news for us. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016d-11-04

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/courts-brexit-ruling-is-good-news-for-us-35186821.html> (2017-04-25)

Editor's Viewpoint. Our vital film industry must be protected post-Brexit. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016e-12-15

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/our-vital-film-industry-must-be-protected-postbrexit-35295326.html> (2017-04-25)

Editor's Viewpoint. [Northern Ireland MPs must unite to get best out of Brexit](http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/northern-ireland-mps-must-unite-to-get-best-out-of-brexit-35395939.html). *Belfast Telegraph*. 2017-01-25

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/northern-ireland-mps-must-unite-to-get-best-out-of-brexit-35395939.html> (2017-04-25)

Bryman, Alan. 2016. *Social Research Methods*. 5 ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chiaruzzi, Michele. 2012. Realism. in *An Introduction to International Relations*, Richard Devetak, Anthony Burke and Jim George (ed.). 35-47. 2 ed. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Devetak, Richard, Jim George & Martin Weber. 2012. Marxism and critical theory. in *An Introduction to International Relations*, Richard Devetak, Anthony Burke and Jim George (ed.). 48-61. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.



- Ekström, Mats & Larsåke Larsson. 2010. *Metoder I kommunikationsvetenskap*. 2 ed. Lund, Studentlitteratur.
- Freeden. 1998. *Ideologies and Political Theory*. Chapter 1, Staking Out: The Distinctiveness of Analysing Ideologies.  
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/view/10.1093/019829414X.001.0001/acprof-9780198294146-chapter-2> (accessed 2017-07-01)
- Freeden. 1998. *Ideologies and Political Theory*. Chapter 2. Assembling: From Concepts to Ideologies.  
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/view/10.1093/019829414X.001.0001/acprof-9780198294146-chapter-3> (accessed 2017-07-01)
- Freeden. 1998. *Ideologies and Political Theory*. Chapter 3. Applying: The Contexts of Ideological Meaning.  
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/view/10.1093/019829414X.001.0001/acprof-9780198294146-chapter-4> (accessed 2017-07-01)
- Garcia, Joseph. 2016. Brexit: A View from Gibraltar. in *The Round Table*, The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs. Vol. 105, No. 5.
- Gold, Peter. 2010. Identity Formation in Gibraltar: Geopolitical, Historical and Cultural Factors. in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 15, No. 2.
- Guelke, Adrian. 2017. The Risk to Northern Ireland. In *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 28, No. 1.
- Guillén, Mauro F. 2010. Is Globalization Civilizing, Destructive or Feeble? A Critique of Five Key Debates in the Social Science Literature. in *Readings in Globalization: Key Concepts and Major Debates*. George Ritzer & Zeynep Atalay (eds). Malden, Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hellspong, Lennart. 2001. *Metoder för brukstextsanalys*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Henderson, Alicia, Charlie Jeffrey, Robert Liñeira, Roger Scully, Daniel Wincott, & Richard Wyn Jones. 2016. England, Englishness and Brexit. In *The Political Quarter*, Vol. 87, No. 2.
- Herald's view: we back staying within UK, but only if there's more far-reaching further devolution. *The Herald*. 2014-09-14.  
[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/13180138.The\\_Herald\\_s\\_view\\_we\\_back\\_staying\\_within\\_UK\\_but\\_only\\_if\\_there\\_s\\_more\\_far\\_reaching\\_further\\_devolution/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/13180138.The_Herald_s_view_we_back_staying_within_UK_but_only_if_there_s_more_far_reaching_further_devolution/) (accessed 2017-05-28)
- Herald View: A serious threat to workers. *The Herald*. 2016a-02-29  
[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14308292.Herald\\_View\\_A\\_serious\\_threat\\_to\\_workers\\_rights/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14308292.Herald_View_A_serious_threat_to_workers_rights/) (2017-04-27)
- Herald View: The economic consequences of Brexit. *The Herald*. 2016b-05-16  
[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14494455.Herald\\_View\\_The\\_economic\\_consequences\\_of\\_Brexit/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14494455.Herald_View_The_economic_consequences_of_Brexit/) (2017-04-27)
- Herald View: Sobering economic forecast requires creative solutions. *The Herald*. 2016c-09-14

- [http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14740640.Herald\\_View\\_Sobering\\_economic\\_forecast\\_requires\\_creative\\_solutions/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14740640.Herald_View_Sobering_economic_forecast_requires_creative_solutions/) (2017-04-27)
- Herald View: Brexit is ultimate test of devolution. *The Herald*. 2016d-11-23  
[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14921331.Herald\\_View\\_Brexit\\_is\\_ultimate\\_test\\_of\\_devolution/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14921331.Herald_View_Brexit_is_ultimate_test_of_devolution/) (2017-04-28)
- Herald View: Brexit's effect on Scottish economy. *The Herald*. 2016e-12-13  
[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14962185.Herald\\_View\\_Brexit\\_s\\_effect\\_on\\_Scottish\\_economy/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14962185.Herald_View_Brexit_s_effect_on_Scottish_economy/) (2017-04-28)
- Herald View: Danger of turning hard right on EU. *The Herald*. 2017f-01-16  
[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/15025191.Herald\\_View\\_Danger\\_of\\_turning\\_hard\\_right\\_on\\_EU/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/15025191.Herald_View_Danger_of_turning_hard_right_on_EU/) (2017-04-28)
- Hettne, Björn. 2002. In Search of World Order. in Hettne, Björn & Bertil Odén (eds). *Global Governance in the 21st Century: Alternative Perspectives on World Order*. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Hettne, Björn. 2009. Thinking about development. London: ZED Books.
- Hylland Eriksen, Thomas. 2014. Globalization: the key concepts. 2 ed. Bloomsbury, London.
- Lincoln, Simon J. 1994. The Legal Status of Gibraltar: Whose Rock is it Anyway? in *Fordham International Law Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 1.
- McCann, Gerard & Paul Hainsworth. 2016. Brexit and Northern Ireland: the 2016 referendum on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union. In *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2.
- MacKenzie, John M. 2016. Brexit: The View from Scotland. In *The Round Table, The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. Vol. 105, No. 5.
- McHarg, Aileen & James Mitchell. 2017. In *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Special Issue Article
- Muller, Karis. 2004. Being 'European' in Gibraltar. in *European Integration*, Vol. 26, No. 1.
- O'Brien, Robert & Marc Williams. 2016. *Global Political Economy: evolution and dynamics*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. London, Palgrave Macmillan
- Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Beacon Press, Boston.
- Readers editor. What's in a name? Handling the Londonderry/Derry issue. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2011-01-31. <http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/columnists/readers-editor/whats-in-a-name-handling-the-londonderryderry-issue-28756695.html> (accessed 2017-05-28)
- Reyes, Brian. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. Gibraltar will vote to remain in EU – poll. 2016a-04-15  
<http://chronicle.gi/2016/04/gibraltar-will-vote-to-remain-in-eu-poll/> (2017-04-19)

- Reyes, Brian. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. Foreign Secretary warns of Brexit threat to Gibraltar. 2016b-05-11  
<http://chronicle.gi/2016/05/foreign-secretary-warns-of-brexit-threat-to-gibraltar/> (2017-04-21)
- Reyes, Brian. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. Gibraltar can ‘write its Brexit future’, Picardo says. 2016c-09-07  
<http://chronicle.gi/2016/09/gibraltar-can-write-its-brexit-future-picardo-says/> (2017-04-21)
- Reyes, Brian. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. UK confirms post-Brexit market access for Rock’s financial services. 2016d-11-01  
<http://chronicle.gi/2016/11/uk-confirms-post-brexit-market-access-for-rocks-financial-services/> (2017-04-21)
- Reyes, Brian. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. Brexit will be ‘a multi-faceted deal’, Picardo says. 2016d-12-11  
<http://chronicle.gi/2016/12/10305/> (2017-04-21)
- Reyes, Brian. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. Govt’s stark analysis highlights Brexit border challenge. 2017f-01-17  
<http://chronicle.gi/2017/01/govts-stark-analysis-highlights-brexit-border-challenge/> (2017-04-21)
- Richardson, James L. 2012. Liberalism. in *An Introduction to International Relations*, Richard Devetak, Anthony Burke and Jim George (ed.). 48-61. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Scholte, Jan Aart. 2005. *Globalization: a critical introduction*. 2 ed, Basingstoke, Macmillan.
- Titlestad, P.J.H. 2010. Liberalism, in *English Academy Review*, 27:2. p. 95-96  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10131752.2010.514989>
- University of Gothenburg. Education. Courses and Programmes. Master’s Programme in Global Studies, 120 Credits.  
[http://utbildning.gu.se/education/courses-and-programmes/program\\_detail/?programid=S2GLS](http://utbildning.gu.se/education/courses-and-programmes/program_detail/?programid=S2GLS) (accessed 2017-08-18)
- Vote Leave. Home. News. Statement from Micheal Gove MP, Secretary of State for Justice, on the EU Referendum. 2016a-02-20  
[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/statement\\_from\\_michael\\_gove\\_mp\\_secretary\\_of\\_state\\_for\\_justice\\_on\\_the\\_eu\\_referendum.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/statement_from_michael_gove_mp_secretary_of_state_for_justice_on_the_eu_referendum.html) (2017-04-21)
- Vote Leave. Home. News. Gisela Stuart exposes the risks of staying in the EU. 2016b-04-13  
[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/gisela\\_stuart\\_exposes\\_the\\_risks\\_of\\_staying\\_in\\_the\\_eu.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/gisela_stuart_exposes_the_risks_of_staying_in_the_eu.html) (2017-04-21)
- Vote Leave. News. VOTE LEAVE FOR A FAIRER BRITAIN. 2016c-06-22  
[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/vote\\_leave\\_for\\_a\\_fairer\\_britain.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/vote_leave_for_a_fairer_britain.html) (2014c-04-21)
- Vote Leave. About the campaign. 2016d-06-23  
<http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/campaign.html> (2017d-04-21)

## Protocol 1: Vote Leave

Order	I Controlling change	II The extra-human social order	III Status quo (Realism)	IV Zero-sum game (Realism)
A. <sup>285</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “I believe that the decisions which govern all our lives, the laws we must all obey and the taxes we must all pay should be decided by people we choose and who we can throw out if we want change”</li> <li>• “our membership of the European Union prevents us being able to change huge swathes of law and stops us being able to choose who makes critical decisions which affect all our lives.”</li> <li>• “Laws which govern citizens in this country are decided by politicians from other nations who we never elected and can’t throw out. We can take out our anger on elected representatives in Westminster but whoever is in Government in London cannot remove or reduce VAT,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “I believe that the decisions which govern all our lives, the laws we must all obey and the taxes we must all pay should be decided by people we choose and who we can throw out if we want change.”</li> <li>• “The ability to choose who governs us, and the freedom to change laws we do not like, were secured for us in the past by radicals and liberals who took power from unaccountable elites and placed it in the hands of the people.”</li> <li>• “Our democracy stood the test of time. We showed the world what a free people could achieve if they were allowed to govern themselves.”</li> <li>• “In Britain we established trial by jury in the modern world, we set up the first free parliament, we ensured no-one could be</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “I believe our country would be freer, fairer and better off outside the EU.”</li> <li>• “But I think Britain would be stronger outside the EU.”</li> <li>• “Far from providing security in an uncertain world, the EU’s policies have become a source of instability and insecurity.”</li> <li>• “As a minister I’ve seen hundreds of new EU rules cross my desk, none of which were requested by the UK Parliament, none of which I or any other British politician could alter in any way and none of which made us freer, richer or fairer”</li> <li>• “the reason the EU’s bureaucrats oppose us leaving is they fear that our success outside will only underline the scale of their failure.”</li> </ul>

<sup>285</sup> Vote Leave. Home. News. Statement from Micheal Gove MP, Secretary of State for Justice, on the EU Referendum. 2016a-02-20

<http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/statement-from-michael-gove-mp-secretary-of-state-for-justice-on-the-eu-referendum.html> (2017-04-21)

	<p>cannot support a steel plant through troubled times, cannot build the houses we need where they're needed and cannot deport all the individuals who shouldn't be in this country. I believe that needs to change"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "The ability to choose who governs us, and the freedom to change laws we do not like, were secured for us in the past by radicals and liberals who took power from unaccountable elites and placed it in the hands of the people."</li> <li>• "your government is not, ultimately, in control in hundreds of areas that matter"</li> <li>• "But by leaving the EU we can take control."</li> <li>• "We can take back the billions we give to the EU, the money which is squandered on grand parliamentary buildings and bureaucratic follies, and invest it in science and technology, schools and apprenticeships. We can get rid of the regulations which big business uses to crush competition and instead support new start-up businesses and creative talent. We can forge trade deals and</li> </ul>	<p>arbitrarily detained at the behest of the Government, we forced our rulers to recognise they ruled by consent not by right"</p>		
--	---	--	--	--

	<p>partnerships with nations across the globe, helping developing countries to grow and benefiting from faster and better access to new markets”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “take the opportunity this referendum provides to leave an EU mired in the past and embrace a better future.”</li> </ul>			
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
B. <sup>286</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Now the time has come to decide what is in the best long term interest of this country”</li> <li>• “It is time for Britain to recognise that Brussels has had enough chances. And that the only safe option is to Vote Leave”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Questions like democratic accountability and economic competitiveness, which are so central for us in Britain, are downgraded in case they become a diversion from the European Project”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “This referendum is our opportunity to set ourselves free from an organisation that only serves its own interests.”</li> <li>• “We would also regain control over the £350m subscription we pay Brussels every week. We could spend it on schools, the NHS, the environment, cutting the deficit-- the choice will become ours again.”</li> <li>• “Immigration is placing the NHS under huge strain and undermining patient safety, and our ability to control the NHS could be further undermined by the way the pressure that could be made worse by the TTIP agreement the EU is negotiating with the US.”</li> </ul>

<sup>286</sup> Vote Leave. Home. News. Gisela Stuart exposes the risks of staying in the EU. 2016b-04-13  
[http://www.votetakecontrol.org/gisela\\_stuart\\_exposes\\_the\\_risks\\_of\\_staying\\_in\\_the\\_eu.html](http://www.votetakecontrol.org/gisela_stuart_exposes_the_risks_of_staying_in_the_eu.html) (2017-04-21)

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Now the time has come to decide what is in the best long term interest of this country”</li> <li>• “And that the only safe option is to Vote Leave.”</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
C. <sup>287</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Our political system is stuck”</li> <li>• “This vote is about whether the British public are able to choose the people who make their laws and spend their money”</li> <li>• “If we vote leave, it will be a glorious strengthening of our democracy”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The day after the referendum, nothing changes legally. We will talk to our friends in Europe and discuss the best way to agree a new UK-EU relationship. We won’t rush into it. When we do make changes we will make them carefully.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Whichever party is in charge, the Government cannot sort out our problems or deliver their promises because they have to follow EU rules. If we want things to change we must take back control.”</li> <li>• “This vote is about whether the British public are able to choose the people who make their laws and spend their money”</li> <li>• “Britain is a great country. We will be even greater if we take back control of our own democracy.”</li> </ul>

<sup>287</sup> Vote Leave. News. VOTE LEAVE FOR A FAIRER BRITAIN. 2016c-06-22 [http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/vote\\_leave\\_for\\_a\\_fairer\\_britain.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/vote_leave_for_a_fairer_britain.html) (2017-04-21)

	I	II	III	IV
D. <sup>288</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“We end the supremacy of EU law. We regain control.”</li> <li>“We regain our seats on international institutions like the World Trade Organisation so we are a more influential force for free trade and international cooperation”</li> <li>“A vote to 'leave' and a better, friendlier relationship with the EU is much safer than giving Brussels more power and money every year.”</li> </ul>

---

<sup>288</sup> Vote Leave. About the campaign. 2016d-06-23 <http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/campaign.html> (2017-04-21)



## Protocol 2: Vote Leave

Freedom	I Liberty	II Progress	III Free trade (Classical economics)	IV Cooperation between states (Liberalism)
A. <sup>289</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “I believe that the decisions which govern all our lives, the laws we must all obey and the taxes we must all pay should be decided by people we choose and who we can throw out if we want change”</li> <li>• “But our membership of the European Union prevents us being able to change huge swathes of law and stops us being able to choose who makes critical decisions which affect all our lives”</li> <li>• “The ability to choose who governs us, and the freedom to change laws we do not like, were secured for us in the past by radicals and liberals who took power from unaccountable elites and placed it in the hands of the people”</li> <li>• “Individually these rules may be comical. Collectively, and there are tens of thousands of them, they are inimical to</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Our democracy stood the test of time. We showed the world what a free people could achieve if they were allowed to govern themselves.”</li> <li>• “As a result of their efforts we developed, and exported to nations like the US, India, Canada and Australia a system of democratic self-government which has brought prosperity and peace to millions.”</li> <li>• “But by leaving the EU we can take control. Indeed we can show the rest of Europe the way to flourish.”</li> <li>• “Like the Americans who declared their independence and never looked back, we can become an exemplar of what an inclusive, open and innovative democracy can achieve.”</li> <li>• “This chance may never come again in our lifetimes, which is why I will be true to my principles and take the</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Individually these rules may be comical. Collectively, and there are tens of thousands of them, they are inimical to creativity, growth and progress.”</li> <li>• “We can get rid of the regulations which big business uses to crush competition and instead support new start-up businesses and creative talent. We can forge trade deals and partnerships with nations across the globe, helping developing countries to grow and benefiting from faster and better access to new markets.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “we can shape an optimistic, forward-looking and genuinely internationalist alternative to the path the EU is going down.”</li> <li>• “We can forge trade deals and partnerships with nations across the globe, helping developing countries to grow and benefiting from faster and better access to new markets.”</li> </ul>

<sup>289</sup> Vote Leave. Home. News. Statement from Micheal Gove MP, Secretary of State for Justice, on the EU Referendum. 2016a-02-20  
<http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/statement-from-michael-gove-mp-secretary-of-state-for-justice-on-the-eu-referendum.html> (2017-04-21)

	creativity, growth and progress”	opportunity this referendum provides to leave an EU mired in the past and embrace a better future.”		
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
B. <sup>290</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “This referendum is our opportunity to set ourselves free from an organisation that only serves its own interests.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
C. <sup>291</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “This vote is about whether the British public are able to choose the people who make their laws and spend their money.”</li> <li>• “If we vote leave, it will be a glorious strengthening of our democracy.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “If we vote leave, it will be a glorious strengthening of our democracy.”</li> <li>• “We believe that Britain will be a fairer country if we vote leave tomorrow.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>

<sup>290</sup> Vote Leave. Home. News. Gisela Stuart exposes the risks of staying in the EU. 2016b-04-13 [http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/gisela\\_stuart\\_exposes\\_the\\_risks\\_of\\_staying\\_in\\_the\\_eu.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/gisela_stuart_exposes_the_risks_of_staying_in_the_eu.html) (2017-04-21)

<sup>291</sup> Vote Leave. News. VOTE LEAVE FOR A FAIRER BRITAIN. 2016-06-22 [http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/vote\\_leave\\_for\\_a\\_fairer\\_britain.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/vote_leave_for_a_fairer_britain.html) (2014c-04-21)

	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
D. <sup>292</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“We should negotiate a new UK-EU deal based on free trade and friendly cooperation.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“We should negotiate a new UK-EU deal based on free trade and friendly cooperation”</li> <li>“We regain our seats on international institutions like the World Trade Organisation so we are a more influential force for free trade and international cooperation.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“We should negotiate a new UK-EU deal based on free trade and friendly cooperation.”</li> <li>“We regain our seats on international institutions like the World Trade Organisation so we are a more influential force for free trade and international cooperation.”</li> </ul>

---

<sup>292</sup> Vote Leave. About the campaign. 2016d-06-23 <http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/campaign.html> (2017d-04-21)

### Protocol 3: Vote Leave

Justice	<b>I The constitutive nature of the human relationship</b>	<b>II Human welfare as a desirable objective</b>	<b>III History</b>	<b>IV Structures of equality/inequality (Marxism)</b>
A. <sup>293</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“I believe that the decisions which govern all our lives, the laws we must all obey and the taxes we must all pay should be decided by people we choose and who we can throw out if we want change.”</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“I believe our country would be freer, fairer and better off outside the EU.”</li> <li>“I believe that both the lessons of our past and the shape of the future make the case for change compelling.”</li> <li>“The ability to choose who governs us, and the freedom to change laws we do not like, were secured for us in the past by radicals and liberals who took power from unaccountable elites and placed it in the hands of the people.”</li> <li>“This chance may never come again in our lifetimes, which is why I will be true to my principles and take the opportunity this referendum provides to leave an EU mired in the past and embrace a better future.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“The euro has created economic misery for Europe’s poorest people. European Union regulation has entrenched mass unemployment. EU immigration policies have encouraged people traffickers and brought desperate refugee camps to our borders.”</li> <li>“The EU is built to keep power and control with the elites rather than the people. Even though we are outside the euro we are still subject to an unelected EU commission which is generating new laws every day and an unaccountable European Court in Luxembourg which is extending its reach every week, increasingly using the Charter of Fundamental Rights which in many ways gives the EU more power and reach than ever before.”</li> </ul>

<sup>293</sup> Vote Leave. Home. News. Statement from Micheal Gove MP, Secretary of State for Justice, on the EU Referendum. 2016a-02-20  
[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/statement\\_from\\_michael\\_gove\\_mp\\_secretary\\_of\\_state\\_for\\_justice\\_on\\_the\\_eu\\_referendum.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/statement_from_michael_gove_mp_secretary_of_state_for_justice_on_the_eu_referendum.html) (2017-04-21)

	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>B.</b> <sup>294</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“It is time for Britain to recognise that Brussels has had enough chances. And that the only safe option is to Vote Leave.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“We could spend it on schools, the NHS, the environment, cutting the deficit-- the choice will become ours again.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Now the time has come to decide what is in the best long term interest of this country.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“This referendum is our opportunity to set ourselves free from an organisation that only serves its own interests.”</li> <li>“An EU where the priorities of the eurozone will gradually and inevitably take over Brussels institutions.”</li> </ul>
<b>C.</b> <sup>295</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“This vote is about whether the British public are able to choose the people who make their laws and spend their money.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“We'll be able to spend our money on the public's priorities, particularly public services.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“If we vote leave, it will be a glorious strengthening of our democracy.”</li> <li>“We believe that Britain will be a fairer country if we vote leave tomorrow.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Our children and grandchildren will find it harder to buy a house, to get their kids into a good school, to get a GP appointment, and they'll be paying for the bailouts of the euro.”</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>

<sup>294</sup> Vote Leave. Home. News. Gisela Stuart exposes the risks of staying in the EU. 2016b-04-13  
[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/gisela\\_stuart\\_exposes\\_the\\_risks\\_of\\_staying\\_in\\_the\\_eu.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/gisela_stuart_exposes_the_risks_of_staying_in_the_eu.html) (2017-04-21)

<sup>295</sup> Vote Leave. News. VOTE LEAVE FOR A FAIRER BRITAIN. 2016-06-22  
[http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/vote\\_leave\\_for\\_a\\_fairer\\_britain.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/vote_leave_for_a_fairer_britain.html) (2014-04-21)

D. <sup>296</sup>	• -	• “spend it on our priorities, like the NHS and science research”	• -	• “We stop sending £350 million every week to Brussels and instead spend it on our priorities, like the NHS and science research.”
-------------------	-----	---	-----	--

---

<sup>296</sup> Vote Leave. About the campaign. 2016d-06-23  
<http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/campaign.html> (2017-04-21)

### Protocol 4: The Herald

Order	I Controlling change	II The extra-human social order	III Status quo (Realism)	IV Zero-sum game (Realism)
A. <sup>297</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“The EU does need to be more democratic, it does need to be more cost-effective, and it does need to allow nation states greater freedom within it. But it would be better to tackle those issues from within the organisation”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“The list of protections offered by the EU is a long one: the right to work no more than 48 hours a week on average, the right to 20 days of paid holidays every year, the right to equal treatment for part-time workers and agency staff, as well as protection from discrimination on the grounds of age, religion, or sexual orientation.”</li> <li>“Staying within the EU means preventing that possibility, although the argument to stay should not avoid the fact that the European Union does need reform”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Leaving the EU has the potential to undermine, and even remove, some of the fundamental rights enjoyed by workers in the UK.”</li> <li>“supporters of Leave do not say is that the rules offer many fundamental protections to British workers and that leaving runs the risk of making working conditions in the UK considerably worse.”</li> <li>“All of these rights, and more, have come from Europe and there will be very few workers in the UK, if any, who are unaffected by them for the better.”</li> <li>“Brexit could not totally remove employees’ rights, but it could allow a future UK Government to significantly undermine them by deciding which, if any, of the EU rights it would keep.”</li> <li>“Staying within the EU means preventing that possibility”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>

<sup>297</sup> Herald View: A serious threat to workers. *The Herald*. 2016a-02-29

[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14308292.Herald\\_View\\_A\\_serious\\_threat\\_to\\_workers\\_rights/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14308292.Herald_View_A_serious_threat_to_workers_rights/) (2017-04-27)

	I	II	III	IV
B. <sup>298</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “It is all starting to look like a consensus among leading experts and organisations that leaving the EU would be an economic calamity for the UK”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “It is all starting to look like a consensus among leading experts and organisations that leaving the EU would be an economic calamity for the UK”</li> <li>• “Should the result be Stay, the uncertainty will go. Should the result be Leave, there will be uncertainty for years to come, with a resulting depressive effect on the economy, as the UK and the EU unpick their relationship.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>
	I	II	III	IV
C. <sup>299</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>

<sup>298</sup> Herald View: The economic consequences of Brexit. *The Herald*. 2016b-05-16

[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14494455.Herald\\_View\\_The\\_economic\\_consequences\\_of\\_Brexit/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14494455.Herald_View_The_economic_consequences_of_Brexit/) (2017-04-27)

<sup>299</sup> Herald View: Sobering economic forecast requires creative solutions. *The Herald*. 2016c-09-14

[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14740640.Herald\\_View\\_Sobering\\_economic\\_forecast\\_requires\\_creative\\_solutions/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14740640.Herald_View_Sobering_economic_forecast_requires_creative_solutions/) (2017-04-27)



	I	II	III	IV
D. <sup>300</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Devolution is also at the heart of the analysis provided by another expert in these pages today, think tank leader Nicolas de Santis, who believes Holyrood must be given the right to vote on the triggering of Article 50 – and will thus have the power to veto Brexit altogether.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “UK-only trading bloc – the success of every single market relies on rules being followed - Holyrood would be forced to stick to them even if they made trade in Europe more difficult.”</li> <li>• “Devolution is also at the heart of the analysis provided by another expert in these pages today, think tank leader Nicolas de Santis, who believes Holyrood must be given the right to vote on the triggering of Article 50”</li> <li>• “Scotland’s future – both economically and constitutionally - is now more uncertain than ever.”</li> <li>• “It is up to Mrs May as well as Ms Sturgeon to respond to these challenges – indeed it is their responses that will probably determine whether Scotland decides to pursue its future inside or outside the UK.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>

<sup>300</sup> Herald View: Brexit is ultimate test of devolution. *The Herald*. 2016d-11-23

[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14921331.Herald\\_View\\_Brexit\\_is\\_ultimate\\_test\\_of\\_devolution/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14921331.Herald_View_Brexit_is_ultimate_test_of_devolution/) (2017-04-28)

	I	II	III	IV
E. <sup>301</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Allowing Scotland greater freedom of movement of people would be one way to help an economy that is increasingly imbalanced by an ageing population.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>
F. <sup>302</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“The idea that the UK Government would pursue a hard Brexit in the face of Scotland’s vote to remain in the EU is also a bad omen for the long-term health of devolution.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“The single market guarantees freedom of movement of people, which Scotland needs more than the rest of the UK, and yet Mrs May seems to see an end to freedom of movement as the be all and end all.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“The single market guarantees freedom of movement of people, which Scotland needs more than the rest of the UK, and yet Mrs May seems to see an end to freedom of movement as the be all and end all.”</li> <li>“Scotland needs immigrants, but for the sake of the more extreme Brexiters, the Prime Minister seems prepared to slam the door on them.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>

<sup>301</sup> Herald View: Brexit’s effect on Scottish economy. *The Herald*. 2016e-12-13  
[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14962185.Herald\\_View\\_Brexit\\_s\\_effect\\_on\\_Scottish\\_economy/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/14962185.Herald_View_Brexit_s_effect_on_Scottish_economy/) (2017-04-28)

<sup>302</sup> Herald View: Danger of turning hard right on EU. *The Herald*. 2017f-01-16  
[http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/15025191.Herald\\_View\\_Danger\\_of\\_turning\\_hard\\_right\\_on\\_EU/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/15025191.Herald_View_Danger_of_turning_hard_right_on_EU/) (2017-04-28)

## Protocol 5: The Herald

Freedom	I Liberty	II Progress	III Free trade (Classical economics)	IV Cooperation between states (Liberalism)
A. <sup>303</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Leaving the EU has the potential to undermine, and even remove, some of the fundamental rights enjoyed by workers in the UK”</li> <li>• “The list of protections offered by the EU is a long one: the right to work no more than 48 hours a week on average, the right to 20 days of paid holidays every year, the right to equal treatment for part-time workers and agency staff, as well as protection from discrimination on the grounds of age, religion, or sexual orientation.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Staying within the EU means preventing that possibility, although the argument to stay should not avoid the fact that the European Union does need reform”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The EU does need to be more democratic, it does need to be more cost-effective, and it does need to allow nation states greater freedom within it. But it would be better to tackle those issues from within the organisation”</li> </ul>

<sup>303</sup> *The Herald*. 2016a-02-29

	I	II	III	IV
B. <sup>304</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “what consumers do when they are worried about a threat to their household budgets – they cut their spending or hold back on simple everyday tasks such as buying money for their trips abroad.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “It is all starting to look like a consensus among leading experts and organisations that leaving the EU would be an economic calamity for the UK”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>
	I	II	III	IV
C. <sup>305</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Let’s hope our politicians and wealth-creators come up with a sober and sensible response.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>

---

<sup>304</sup> *The Herald*. 2016b-05-16

<sup>305</sup> *The Herald*. 2016c-09-14

	I	II	III	IV
D. <sup>306</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “But until she makes clear her vision of what the UK’s future outside the EU will look like - and that Scotland will have a genuine say in the direction of travel - Mrs May and her Tory lieutenants will struggle to persuade many Scots she has their interests at heart.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “the more the UK decided to diverge from EU rules, the harder this would hit Scotland’s trading ability.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>
	I	II	III	IV
E. <sup>307</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Allowing Scotland greater freedom of movement of people would be one way to help an economy that is increasingly imbalanced by an ageing population.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Allowing Scotland greater freedom of movement of people would be one way to help an economy that is increasingly imbalanced by an ageing population.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>

---

<sup>306</sup> *The Herald*. 2016d-11-23

<sup>307</sup> *The Herald*. 2016e-12-13

	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
F. <sup>308</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“If there is a glimmer of hope, it is that as long as Mrs May has not definitively said where her government is heading, there is still some prospect of a more mature, collaborative deal.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“The single market guarantees freedom of movement of people, which Scotland needs more than the rest of the UK”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>

---

<sup>308</sup> *The Herald*. 2017f-01-16

## Protocol 6: The Herald

Justice	<b>I The constitutive nature of the human relationship</b>	<b>II Human welfare as a desirable objective</b>	<b>III History</b>	<b>IV Structures of equality/inequality (Marxism)</b>
A. <sup>309</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Leaving the EU has the potential to undermine, and even remove, some of the fundamental rights enjoyed by workers in the UK”</li> <li>• “All of these rights, and more, have come from Europe and there will be very few workers in the UK, if any, who are unaffected by them for the better.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Leaving the EU has the potential to undermine, and even remove, some of the fundamental rights enjoyed by workers in the UK”</li> <li>• “what is really at stake if the UK leaves - and right at the top of the list is employment rights”</li> <li>• “But what the supporters of Leave do not say is that the rules offer many fundamental protections to British workers and that leaving runs the risk of making working conditions in the UK considerably worse.”</li> <li>• “The list of protections offered by the EU is a long one: the right to work no more than 48 hours a week on average, the right to 20 days of paid holidays every year, the right to equal treatment for part-time workers and agency staff, as well as protection from discrimination on the grounds of age, religion, or sexual orientation.</li> <li>• “All of these rights, and more, have come from Europe and there will</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Leaving the EU has the potential to undermine, and even remove, some of the fundamental rights enjoyed by workers in the UK”</li> <li>• “what is really at stake if the UK leaves - and right at the top of the list is employment rights”</li> <li>• “But what the supporters of Leave do not say is that the rules offer many fundamental protections to British workers and that leaving runs the risk of making working conditions in the UK considerably worse.”</li> <li>• “Brexit could not totally remove employees’ rights, but it could allow a future UK Government to significantly undermine them by deciding which, if any, of the EU rights it would keep.”</li> </ul>

<sup>309</sup> *The Herald*. 2016a-02-29

		<p>be very few workers in the UK, if any, who are unaffected by them for the better.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Brexit could not totally remove employees’ rights, but it could allow a future UK Government to significantly undermine them by deciding which, if any, of the EU rights it would keep.”</li> </ul>		
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
B. <sup>310</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Should the result be Leave, there will be uncertainty for years to come, with a resulting depressive effect on the economy, as the UK and the EU unpick their relationship.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
C. <sup>311</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “What follows could be a real-terms cut to Scotland’s central resource budget of an eye-watering £1.6 billion (up from £937m), requiring public service expenditure to be slashed by almost a fifth over the next parliamentary term.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The Fraser of Allander report may be concerning, but it could not have been more prescient. Let’s hope our politicians and wealth-creators come up with a sober and sensible response.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Brexit, the UK’s weakening fiscal position, ongoing Westminster welfare reform and the increasingly fragile nature of the Scottish economy - which is lagging behind other parts of the UK – are all taking their toll.”</li> </ul>

<sup>310</sup> *The Herald*. 2016b-05-16

<sup>311</sup> *The Herald*. 2016c-09-14



		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “If we are already struggling to quality deliver health and social care packages now, what will the situation look like in 10 years, with more pensioners than ever using up smaller tax revenues?”</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “All this will be compounded, according to the report, by the new framework required by the Smith Commission, which saw tax and welfare policy largely devolved to Holyrood; a weakening economy will only result in meagre revenues to the Scottish exchequer.”</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
D. <sup>312</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Mrs May and her Tory lieutenants will struggle to persuade many Scots she has their interests at heart.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “the possible consequences for areas that affect our everyday lives, from jobs and personal finance to health, education and criminal justice”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘UK single market’ replacing the EU single market is problematic at best and disingenuous at worst, since the former does not currently exist. And should it have to come into being, since Westminster would inevitably lay down the rules that would govern this new UK-only trading bloc – the success of every single market relies on rules being followed - Holyrood would be forced to stick to them even if they made trade in Europe more difficult.”</li> <li>• “In effect, the Scottish Government would be forced to be subservient to UK legislation in all sorts of spheres, including some that have already been devolved and many that would be</li> </ul>

<sup>312</sup> *The Herald*. 2016d-11-23

				<p>repatriated from Brussels following Brexit.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Devolution is also at the heart of the analysis provided by another expert in these pages today, think tank leader Nicolas de Santis, who believes Holyrood must be given the right to vote on the triggering of Article 50 – and will thus have the power to veto Brexit altogether.”</li> <li>• “the possible consequences for areas that affect our everyday lives, from jobs and personal finance to health, education and criminal justice, it’s hard to argue with this view. As our articles has underlined, Scotland’s future – both economically and constitutionally - is now more uncertain than ever.”</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
E. <sup>313</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The Institute also offers little hope for the so-called JAMs (those who are “just about managing”): inflation will rise, wages will continue to stagnate, and economic growth in Scotland will be weak for the next few years.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The Institute also offers little hope for the so-called JAMs (those who are “just about managing”): inflation will rise, wages will continue to stagnate, and economic growth in Scotland will be weak for the next few years.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The Institute also offers little hope for the so-called JAMs (those who are “just about managing”): inflation will rise, wages will continue to stagnate, and economic growth in Scotland will be weak for the next few years.”</li> <li>• “When he delivers his budget, Mr Mackay will no doubt do</li> </ul>

<sup>313</sup> *The Herald*. 2016e-12-13

				what he can with little room for manoeuvre but only Theresa May can tell us what Brexit means and shine some light and heat on a struggling economy.”
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
F. <sup>314</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The watch word of the Brexit negotiations should be compromise. Instead, it is increasingly looking like the British Government is prepared to dogmatically pursue a hard Brexit, with almost all of us paying the price.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “On the economy, we can see that some of the damage has already been done, with the uncertainty over Brexit casting a pall over growth. Prices are rising, wages are stagnating and growth for next year is likely to be barely above one per cent. The Scottish business community has also made it clear that it lacks confidence in the Brexit process”.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “If there is a glimmer of hope, it is that as long as Mrs May has not definitively said where her government is heading, there is still some prospect of a more mature, collaborative deal.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “On the economy, we can see that some of the damage has already been done, with the uncertainty over Brexit casting a pall over growth. Prices are rising, wages are stagnating and growth for next year is likely to be barely above one per cent. The Scottish business community has also made it clear that it lacks confidence in the Brexit process.”</li> <li>• “The idea that the UK Government would pursue a hard Brexit in the face of Scotland’s vote to remain in the EU is also a bad omen for the long-term health of devolution. The single market guarantees freedom of movement of people, which Scotland needs more than the rest of the UK, and yet Mrs May seems to see an end to freedom of movement as the be all and end all.”</li> </ul>

<sup>314</sup> *The Herald*. 2017f-01-16

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• “Scotland needs immigrants, but for the sake of the more extreme Brexiters, the Prime Minister seems prepared to slam the door on them.”</li><li>• “The watch word of the Brexit negotiations should be compromise. Instead, it is increasingly looking like the British Government is prepared to dogmatically pursue a hard Brexit, with almost all of us paying the price.”</li></ul>
--	--	--	--	--

## Protocol 7: Belfast Telegraph

Order	I Controlling change	II The extra-human social order	III Status quo (Realism)	IV Zero-sum game (Realism)
A. <sup>315</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Nevertheless, if we do withdraw from Europe and turn off the tap, how will that affect the business community and the farmers”</li> <li>• “There is also the very real concern for unionists that an exit from the EU could lead to another Scottish Independence referendum, and the possible break-up of the UK.”</li> <li>• “There is also the danger that an exit from Europe will recreate border controls with the Irish Republic, leading perhaps to economic challenges of increased bureaucracy and other factors.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “However, the vote here may depend finally on local issues. The DUP will point to the money that we pour into Europe — Nigel Dodds repeatedly claims that we put more in than we get out.”</li> <li>• “The public mood here may reflect some disenchantment with the EU over issues such as human rights legislation, the challenge to British sovereignty, and migration.”</li> </ul>

<sup>315</sup> UK playing for high stakes as vote on European future looms. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016a-02-22

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/uk-playing-for-high-stakes-as-vote-on-european-future-looms-34472683.html> (2017-04-25)

	I	II	III	IV
B. <sup>316</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “In that sense the votes here will be as crucial as those anywhere else in the UK.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>
	I	II	III	IV
C. <sup>317</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “They must also be reminded of the important role of EU funding in peace-building in Northern Ireland, and in building up the province's infrastructure. While some of the current funding is guaranteed, the political parties need to be united in demanding that the same level of funding is continued when Brexit finally happens. After all, the UK is set to make considerable savings when it leaves the EU as it is a net contributor to Brussels' coffers.”</li> <li>• “So it is imperative that Northern Ireland's parties avoid pointless bickering and draw up a coherent and cohesive list of issues which will ease the province's path to life outside the European Union.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Freedom of movement of people and tariff-free trading arrangements with the Republic are important also to Northern Ireland, and local politicians must ensure these demands are uppermost in the UK negotiating team's minds.”</li> <li>• “They must also be reminded of the important role of EU funding in peace-building in Northern Ireland, and in building up the province's infrastructure. While some of the current funding is guaranteed, the political parties need to be united in demanding that the same level of funding is continued when Brexit finally happens. After all, the UK is set to make considerable savings when it leaves the EU as it is a net contributor to Brussels' coffers.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The UK also wants tighter controls on immigration, another demand that runs contrary to European Union policy.”</li> </ul>

<sup>316</sup> Our views on Brexit as important as any others in the UK. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016b-03-10

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/our-views-on-brexit-as-important-as-any-others-in-the-uk-34499700.html> (2017-04-25)

<sup>317</sup> Our views on Brexit as important as any others in the UK. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016b-10-03

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/our-views-on-brexit-as-important-as-any-others-in-the-uk-34499700.html> (2017-04-25)

	I	II	IV	IV
D. <sup>318</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The High Court judges in London have certainly created a storm by ruling that Theresa May must consult Parliament before triggering Article 50 and setting the UK on its inevitable exit from the European Union. In one respect this was a good ruling, emphasising the sovereignty of Parliament, the very thing those who campaigned for Brexit wanted.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The High Court judges in London have certainly created a storm by ruling that Theresa May must consult Parliament before triggering Article 50 and setting the UK on its inevitable exit from the European Union. In one respect this was a good ruling, emphasising the sovereignty of Parliament, the very thing those who campaigned for Brexit wanted.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “EU peace money will dry up, as will the £300m in subsidies to our vital agricultural industry - points made by this newspaper, which was in favour of remaining within the EU, chiefly for financial reasons, but which accepts the reality of Brexit.”</li> <li>• “So where does this leave Northern Ireland? While the DUP has been extremely loyal to the Government, conscious that its eight MPs could be crucial to an administration with a slim majority at Westminster, the party may feel emboldened to raise more stridently the widely held concerns of people in the province over Brexit.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>

<sup>318</sup> Court’s Brexit ruling is good news for us. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016d-11-04

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/courts-brexite-ruling-is-good-news-for-us-35186821.html> (2017-04-25)

	I	II	III	IV
E. <sup>319</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“But this feelgood factor could be under threat because of Brexit, which could hamper production companies crossing the border with the creation of tax barriers.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>
F. <sup>320</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“It is during the votes on those amendments that the 14 Northern Ireland MPs at Westminster could play a vital role, but they will not speak with one voice. The DUP will back the Government. The UUP and Independent MP Sylvia Hermon, who supported Remain, will likely do so too in recognition of the referendum result. The SDLP will be the only voices from here in opposition.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“The Supreme Court's decision to force the Government to seek the approval of Parliament before beginning formal negotiations on leaving the EU does not mean that MPs will try to frustrate the will of the electorate who voted for Brexit.”</li> <li>“What it does mean, however, is that Opposition parties can make amendments to the Bill triggering the negotiations, and this is something that Theresa May obviously wished to avoid.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“While Northern Ireland voted to remain in the EU, it must abide by the decision of the UK-wide electorate to leave. That poses a dilemma for local politicians as fears are growing of a hard border that would seriously damage trading relations between the two parts of this island.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>

<sup>319</sup> Our vital film industry must be protected post-Brexit. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016e-12-15

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/our-vital-film-industry-must-be-protected-postbrexit-35295326.html> (2017-04-25)

<sup>320</sup> Northern Ireland MPs must unite to get best out of Brexit. *Belfast Telegraph*. 2017-01-25

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/opinion/editors-viewpoint/northern-ireland-mps-must-unite-to-get-best-out-of-brexit-35395939.html> (2017-04-25)



### Protocol 8: Belfast Telegraph

Freedom	I Liberty	II Progress	III Free trade (Classical economics)	IV Cooperation between states (Liberalism)
A. <sup>321</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The support from Villiers for withdrawal is noticeable in that she is Secretary of State for a part of the UK that has had the benefit of large peace-building finance from the EU, which has been an encourager of peace and also a diluting factor on the notion of sovereignty for nationalists.”</li> <li>• “Nevertheless, if we do withdraw from Europe and turn off the tap, how will that affect the business community and the farmers, many of whom are DUP supporters?”</li> </ul>
	I	II	III	IV
B. <sup>322</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>

<sup>321</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016a-02-22

<sup>322</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016b-03-01

	I	II	III	IV
C. <sup>323</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“So it is imperative that Northern Ireland's parties avoid pointless bickering and draw up a coherent and cohesive list of issues which will ease the province's path to life outside the European Union.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Ideally, UK firms want tariff-free access to the EU even after Brexit, a demand that will be difficult to meet given EU trading arrangements with other non-EU countries.”</li> <li>“Freedom of movement of people and tariff-free trading arrangements with the Republic are important also to Northern Ireland, and local politicians must ensure these demands are uppermost in the UK negotiating team's minds.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“They must also be reminded of the important role of EU funding in peace-building in Northern Ireland, and in building up the province's infrastructure. While some of the current funding is guaranteed, the political parties need to be united in demanding that the same level of funding is continued when Brexit finally happens.”</li> </ul>
	I	II	III	IV
D. <sup>324</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“They exist only through the will of the people and their job is to express the will of the people. And the people in the UK as a whole voted to leave the EU.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“It is now more crucial than ever that the DUP and Sinn Fein draw up a cohesive plan of action to press our concerns.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“maintaining an open border and tariff-free trading with the Republic.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“EU peace money will dry up, as will the £300m in subsidies to our vital agricultural industry - points made by this newspaper, which was in favour of remaining within the EU, chiefly for financial reasons, but which accepts the reality of Brexit.”</li> </ul>

<sup>323</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016c-10-03

<sup>324</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016d-11-04

	I	II	III	IV
E. <sup>325</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“It is seen as a good location for making movies or television dramas with a core of excellent technical and acting talent, and the industry offers the prospect of employment and an economic boost to the province. But this feelgood factor could be under threat because of Brexit, which could hamper production companies crossing the border with the creation of tax barriers.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“It is unexpected consequences like this which means that politicians on both sides of the border must engage earnestly on the way forward.”</li> </ul>
	I	II	III	IV
F. <sup>326</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Hopefully that will concentrate minds when the parties sit down after the election to begin negotiations on resurrecting devolution.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Their focus should be on showing the world that they are capable of working out their political differences and that Northern Ireland is a place that is open for business with all parts of the globe.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>

---

<sup>325</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016e-12-15

<sup>326</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2017f-01-25

<b>Protocol 9: Belfast Telegraph</b>				
<b>Justice</b>	<b>I The constitutive nature of the human relationship</b>	<b>II Human welfare as a desirable objective</b>	<b>III History</b>	<b>IV Structures of equality/inequality (Marxism)</b>
A. <sup>327</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The public mood here may reflect some disenchantment with the EU over issues such as human rights legislation, the challenge to British sovereignty, and migration. Without doubt there are some crucial areas which do need reform and renegotiation.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The public mood here may reflect some disenchantment with the EU over issues such as human rights legislation, the challenge to British sovereignty, and migration. Without doubt there are some crucial areas which do need reform and renegotiation.”</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
B. <sup>328</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “So often Northern Ireland is regarded as peripheral. However, the visit of Cameron and Johnson is a reminder that every view in this referendum is important. In that sense the votes here will be as crucial as those anywhere else in the UK.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “So often Northern Ireland is regarded as peripheral. However, the visit of Cameron and Johnson is a reminder that every view in this referendum is important. In that sense the votes here will be as crucial as those anywhere else in the UK.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “So often Northern Ireland is regarded as peripheral. However, the visit of Cameron and Johnson is a reminder that every view in this referendum is important. In that sense the votes here will be as crucial as those anywhere else in the UK.”</li> </ul>

<sup>327</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016a-02-22

<sup>328</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016b-03-10

	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
C. <sup>329</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Freedom of movement of people and tariff-free trading arrangements with the Republic are important also to Northern Ireland, and local politicians must ensure these demands are uppermost in the UK negotiating team's minds.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“So it is imperative that Northern Ireland's parties avoid pointless bickering and draw up a coherent and cohesive list of issues which will ease the province's path to life outside the European Union.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Freedom of movement of people and tariff-free trading arrangements with the Republic are important also to Northern Ireland, and local politicians must ensure these demands are uppermost in the UK negotiating team's minds.”</li> <li>“They must also be reminded of the important role of EU funding in peace-building in Northern Ireland, and in building up the province's infrastructure. While some of the current funding is guaranteed, the political parties need to be united in demanding that the same level of funding is continued when Brexit finally happens. After all, the UK is set to make considerable savings when it leaves the EU as it is a net contributor to Brussels' coffers.”</li> <li>“The worry remains that no one is certain of what the future outside the EU will be like. There may be great trading opportunities, but it is obvious the UK Government's main concerns will be on how</li> </ul>

<sup>329</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016c-10-03

				Brexit affects the City of London and the affluent areas of south east England.”
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
D. <sup>330</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “They exist only through the will of the people and their job is to express the will of the people. And the people in the UK as a whole voted to leave the EU.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “While the DUP has been extremely loyal to the Government, conscious that its eight MPs could be crucial to an administration with a slim majority at Westminster, the party may feel emboldened to raise more stridently the widely held concerns of people in the province over Brexit.”</li> <li>• “EU peace money will dry up, as will the £300m in subsidies to our vital agricultural industry”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “We know that England, which was the driving force behind the Brexit vote, is mostly concerned about immigration and Brussels bureaucracy, but our worries are more pragmatic - maintaining an open border and tariff-free trading with the Republic.”</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
E. <sup>331</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “It is unexpected consequences like this which means that politicians on both sides of the border must engage earnestly on the way forward.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “It is unexpected consequences like this which means that politicians on both sides of the border must engage earnestly on the way forward.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>

<sup>330</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016d-11-04

<sup>331</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2016e-12-15

	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
F. <sup>332</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Their focus should be on showing the world that they are capable of working out their political differences and that Northern Ireland is a place that is open for business with all parts of the globe.”</li> <li>• “Brexit will force politicians as well as businesses in Northern Ireland to become more outward looking and avoid the parochial mindset that often suggests the world owes us a living.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “While Northern Ireland voted to remain in the EU, it must abide by the decision of the UK-wide electorate to leave. That poses a dilemma for local politicians as fears are growing of a hard border that would seriously damage trading relations between the two parts of this island.”</li> </ul>

---

<sup>332</sup> *Belfast Telegraph*. 2017f-01-25

## Protocol 10: Gibraltar Chronicle

Order	<b>I Controlling change</b>	<b>II The extra-human social order</b>	<b>III Status quo (Realism)</b>	<b>IV Zero-sum game (Realism)</b>
A. <sup>333</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Although our free movement is sometimes hampered by the Spanish Government’s measures at the frontier, the EU Treaties have been the only way we have been able to insist on a legal route to enforce our rights.”</li> <li>“We must be able to point to a massive turnout of those eligible to vote here,” he said. “So please ensure you are registered to vote and that you make arrangements to vote if you will be away from Gibraltar.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“the EU Treaties have been the only way we have been able to insist on a legal route to enforce our rights.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“And we must be able to point to a vote which is as clear and robust as possible to stay in the EU.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Although our free movement is sometimes hampered by the Spanish Government’s measures at the frontier, the EU Treaties have been the only way we have been able to insist on a legal route to enforce our rights.”</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
B. <sup>334</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“But I have to say this. Britain’s ability to protect Gibraltar’s interests will be seriously impaired if we are no longer</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Britain’s commitment to Gibraltar is absolute, it’s unshakable and it will endure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“So ironically somebody who believes they are being patriotic and supporting Gibraltar by voting to leave the European</li> </ul>

<sup>333</sup> Reyes, Brian. Gibraltar will vote to remain in EU – poll. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016a-04-15  
<http://chronicle.gi/2016/04/gibraltar-will-vote-to-remain-in-eu-poll/> (2017-04-19)

<sup>334</sup> Reyes, Brian. Foreign Secretary warns of Brexit threat to Gibraltar. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016b-05-11  
<http://chronicle.gi/2016/05/foreign-secretary-warns-of-brexit-threat-to-gibraltar/> (2017-04-21)



	<p>members of the European Union, if we are no longer sitting around the table in Brussels when the decisions are made.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “We need to recognise that, with the best will in the world, Britain will not be able to solve all the challenges that Gibraltar could face if there was an exit on June 23.”</li> </ul>		<p>whatever the decision in the referendum,”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “But I have to say this. Britain’s ability to protect Gibraltar’s interests will be seriously impaired if we are no longer members of the European Union, if we are no longer sitting around the table in Brussels when the decisions are made.”</li> <li>• “I genuinely believe that the threat of leaving the European Union is as big a threat to Gibraltar’s future security and Gibraltar’s future sovereignty as the more traditional threats that we routinely talk about”</li> <li>• “Something upon which those who advocate Brexit should reflect is that they don’t just say in Spain that our rights in Europe would come to an end ... but also that if we want to continue to have access to European Union rights, we would have to consider the concept of joint sovereignty, which would be back on the table”</li> <li>• “If we were to find ourselves in the situation that we have to go to the United Kingdom because of our economic sustainability not being possible in those circumstances, then those who might have listened to the argument that they should leave</li> </ul>	<p>Union, will be bringing about actually Gibraltar having to face, once again, the prospect of joint sovereignty with Spain, something which most of the friends of Gibraltar in the Brexit side of the argument fought tooth and nail against at the time it was last tabled by a Labour government...”</p>
--	--	--	---	---

			the EU have a lot to answer for,” he said.	
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
C. <sup>335</sup>	• -	• -	• -	• -
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
D. <sup>336</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “It is important that we continue to work together to maintain and strengthen the UK-Gibraltar bond as we move together into a bright new future”</li> <li>• “When it comes to financial services, there are strong mechanisms already underpinning Gibraltar’s access to the UK market which are enshrined in UK law”</li> </ul>	• -	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “It is important that we continue to work together to maintain and strengthen the UK-Gibraltar bond as we move together into a bright new future”</li> </ul>	• -

<sup>335</sup> Reyes, Brian. Gibraltar can ‘write its Brexit future’, Picardo says. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016c-09-07  
<http://chronicle.gi/2016/09/gibraltar-can-write-its-brexit-future-picardo-says/> (2017-04-21)

<sup>336</sup> Reyes, Brian. UK confirms post-Brexit market access for Rock’s financial services. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016d-11-01  
<http://chronicle.gi/2016/11/uk-confirms-post-brexit-market-access-for-rocks-financial-services/> (2017-04-21)

	I	II	III	IV
E. <sup>337</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “the United Kingdom is made up of various nations, it’s made up of different industries, it’s made up of different interest groups, so that negotiation is going to result in one UK deal, but a UK deal is not going to be binary”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “It’s a red, white and blue Brexit for us,” he said.</li> <li>• “We’re not going to change our view on whether we stay British or not.”</li> <li>• “We’re going to continue to stay British, even if that seems like a very hard choice now.”</li> <li>• “Both Remain and Leave voters share the desire to put our economy first. The Government must protect our economic future and address the deep concerns about our unequal country that drove Brexit. Parliament and the country will hold them to account in the weeks and months ahead.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “If they play that card, they will be doing the things that they’ve done before on aviation and in other areas of the European acquis applied to Gibraltar.”</li> <li>• “This is not stopping Brexit, this is shaping it. The country demands a win-win, smart Brexit, not a lose-lose ideological hard Brexit which will damage the UK, damage Europe and for which there is no need and no mandate.”</li> </ul>

<sup>337</sup> Reyes, Brian. Brexit will be ‘a multi-faceted deal’, Picardo says. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016d-12-11  
<http://chronicle.gi/2016/12/10305/> (2017-04-21)

	I	II	III	IV
F. <sup>338</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The prospect of a closed or hard border is the most serious single issue that arises for Gibraltar from Brexit”</li> <li>• “A frontier which lacked the necessary fluidity for people to be able to access their places of work would therefore put directly at risk the jobs of 40% of the entire Gibraltar workforce.”</li> </ul>

---

<sup>338</sup> Reyes, Brian. Govt’s stark analysis highlights Brexit border challenge. *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2017f-01-17  
<http://chronicle.gi/2017/01/govts-stark-analysis-highlights-brexit-border-challenge/> (2017-04-21)

## Protocol 11: Gibraltar Chronicle

<b>Freedom</b>	<b>I Liberty</b>	<b>II Progress</b>	<b>III Free trade (Classical economics)</b>	<b>IV Cooperation between states (Liberalism)</b>
<b>A.</b> <sup>339</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “And it allows us freedom of personal movement throughout the EU.”</li> <li>• “Although our free movement is sometimes hampered by the Spanish Government’s measures at the frontier, the EU Treaties have been the only way we have been able to insist on a legal route to enforce our rights.”</li> <li>• “And we must be able to point to a vote which is as clear and robust as possible to stay in the EU.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “We must be able to point to a massive turnout of those eligible to vote here,” he said. “So please ensure you are registered to vote and that you make arrangements to vote if you will be away from Gibraltar.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Membership of the EU allows our businesses to sell their services throughout the single market,” Mr Picardo said.”</li> <li>• “And it allows us freedom of personal movement throughout the EU.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Membership of the EU allows our businesses to sell their services throughout the single market,” Mr Picardo said.</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>B.</b> <sup>340</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “I’m confident that by making those arguments clearly and dispassionately, appealing to people’s sense of reason, their judgement, rather than just emotions”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Gibraltar’s future is clearly in the European Union’s single market.”</li> <li>• “we want to continue to have access to European Union rights”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Gibraltar’s future is clearly in the European Union’s single market.”</li> </ul>

<sup>339</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016a-04-15

<sup>340</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016b-05-11

	I	II	III	IV
<b>C.</b> <sup>341</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “We can tell them now what is essential for us going forward, whilst they are still collecting the list of essentials”</li> <li>• “We’ve already given them our shopping list, whilst they are in the process of collecting shopping lists.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The big difference between Gibraltar and the UK is that Gibraltar has a very clear view of where it needs to be”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>
	I	II	III	IV
<b>D.</b> <sup>342</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “We have also agreed that together we will examine ways to broaden our economic cooperation and increase market access, and will take into account the priorities of Gibraltar and other overseas territories as the UK looks to establish new trade and investment agreements with the wider world.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “It is important that we continue to work together to maintain and strengthen the UK-Gibraltar bond as we move together into a bright new future”</li> <li>• “When it comes to financial services, there are strong mechanisms already underpinning Gibraltar’s access to the UK market which are enshrined in UK law”</li> <li>• “We have also agreed that together we will examine ways to broaden our economic cooperation and increase market access, and will take into account the priorities of Gibraltar and other overseas territories as the UK looks to establish new trade and</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “We have also agreed that together we will examine ways to broaden our economic cooperation and increase market access, and will take into account the priorities of Gibraltar and other overseas territories as the UK looks to establish new trade and investment agreements with the wider world.”</li> </ul>

<sup>341</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016c-09-07

<sup>342</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016d-11-01

			investment agreements with the wider world.”	
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>E.</b> <sup>343</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “For Gibraltar, we have to have that multi-faceted deal provide the facet that is applicable to us.”</li> <li>• “We’re talking really about the liberty of being able to travel in and out of Gibraltar in the day”</li> <li>• “This is not stopping Brexit, this is shaping it. The country demands a win-win, smart Brexit, not a lose-lose ideological hard Brexit which will damage the UK, damage Europe and for which there is no need and no mandate.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “This is not stopping Brexit, this is shaping it. The country demands a win-win, smart Brexit, not a lose-lose ideological hard Brexit which will damage the UK, damage Europe and for which there is no need and no mandate.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Because remember that it’s as much in the interests of the region around Gibraltar and Andalucia to have a Gibraltar that continues to provide jobs”</li> <li>• “We’re talking really about the liberty of being able to travel in and out of Gibraltar in the day”</li> <li>• “Freedom of movement in Gibraltar doesn’t imply immigration like it implies in the United Kingdom.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Because remember that it’s as much in the interests of the region around Gibraltar and Andalucia to have a Gibraltar that continues to provide jobs”</li> <li>• “This is not stopping Brexit, this is shaping it. The country demands a win-win, smart Brexit, not a lose-lose ideological hard Brexit which will damage the UK, damage Europe and for which there is no need and no mandate.”</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>F.</b> <sup>344</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The prospect of a closed or hard border is the most serious single issue that arises for Gibraltar from Brexit”</li> <li>• “A frontier which lacked the necessary fluidity for people to be able to access their places of work would therefore put directly at risk the jobs of 40% of the entire Gibraltar workforce.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>

<sup>343</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016d-12-11

<sup>344</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2017f-01-17

## Protocol 12: Gibraltar Chronicle

<b>Justice</b>	<b>I The constitutive nature of the human relationship</b>	<b>II Human welfare as a desirable objective</b>	<b>III History</b>	<b>IV Structures of equality/inequality (Marxism)</b>
<b>A.</b> <sup>345</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “We must be able to point to a massive turnout of those eligible to vote here”</li> <li>• “And we must be able to point to a vote which is as clear and robust as possible to stay in the EU.”</li> <li>• “That will help us to make the moral case, if it happens, that exiting the EU is not of our making and that the United Kingdom must, more than ever, assist us in resolving such issues as we may face as a result.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “that exiting the EU is not of our making and that the United Kingdom must, more than ever, assist us in resolving such issues as we may face as a result.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Although our free movement is sometimes hampered by the Spanish Government’s measures at the frontier, the EU Treaties have been the only way we have been able to insist on a legal route to enforce our rights.”</li> <li>• “We must be able to point to a massive turnout of those eligible to vote here”</li> <li>• “And we must be able to point to a vote which is as clear and robust as possible to stay in the EU.”</li> </ul>
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>B.</b> <sup>346</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• -</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Something upon which those who advocate Brexit should reflect is that they don’t just say in Spain that our rights in Europe would come to an end ... but also that if we want to continue to have access to European Union rights”</li> </ul>

<sup>345</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016a-04-15

<sup>346</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016b-05-11



	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>C.</b> <sup>347</sup>	• -	• -	• -	• -
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>D.</b> <sup>348</sup>	• -	• -	• “It is important that we continue to work together to maintain and strengthen the UK-Gibraltar bond as we move together into a bright new future”	• “When it comes to financial services, there are strong mechanisms already underpinning Gibraltar’s access to the UK market which are enshrined in UK law”
	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>E.</b> <sup>349</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “It’s a red, white and blue Brexit for us”</li> <li>• “We’re not going to change our view on whether we stay British or not.”</li> <li>• “We’re going to continue to stay British, even if that seems like a very hard choice now.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Having voted for a better future, this would be the ultimate betrayal. The onus, therefore, is on the Government to ensure a Brexit that is fair to working people.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Both Remain and Leave voters share the desire to put our economy first. The Government must protect our economic future and address the deep concerns about our unequal country that drove Brexit. Parliament and the country will hold them to account in the weeks and months ahead.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Both Remain and Leave voters share the desire to put our economy first. The Government must protect our economic future and address the deep concerns about our unequal country that drove Brexit. Parliament and the country will hold them to account in the weeks and months ahead.”</li> <li>• “If they play that card, they will be doing the things that they’ve done before on aviation and in other areas of the European acquis applied to Gibraltar.”</li> </ul>

<sup>347</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016c-09-07

<sup>348</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016d-11-01

<sup>349</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2016e-12-11

	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>F.</b> <sup>350</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“A frontier which lacked the necessary fluidity for people to be able to access their places of work would therefore put directly at risk the jobs of 40% of the entire Gibraltar workforce.”</li> <li>“The loss of any significant number of these frontier workers would affect direct Government revenue by way of loss of income tax receipts.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“A frontier which lacked the necessary fluidity for people to be able to access their places of work would therefore put directly at risk the jobs of 40% of the entire Gibraltar workforce.”</li> <li>“The majority of them are in the lower paid sectors and will not be able to afford to reside in Gibraltar [while] those in the higher paid sectors may be unlikely to want to move to Gibraltar, and, in any event, there is presently a shortage of space and housing stock in Gibraltar to be able to accommodate any significant number of them.”</li> </ul>

---

<sup>350</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*. 2017f-01-17