

Below are papers on the Brexit referendum presented at major European conferences this year as part of the REDO project. For papers on referendums in EU member states see [Referendums on Europe](#).

**Anarchism After Brexit (and Before IndyRef 2): On Anarchist Engagements with Constitutionalism**, Benjamin FRANKS, University of Glasgow, Benjamin.Franks@glasgow.ac.uk

Anarchism has frequently been distinguished from other members of socialist tradition through its hostility to constitutional activity. Criticisms of state-centred decision-making have been a core feature of anarchism from Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin and Emma Goldman to the present day. Anarchist critiques concentrate not only on the deficiencies of representative politics: generation of hierarchies, corruption of benevolent, productive social practices but also the benefits of anarchism's diverse, fluid and accessible forms of political decision-making across diverse terrains for local and trans-national social organisation. The critique of electoralism is highlighted in anarchist abstentionist and anti-election campaigns (for instance from the Anti-Elections Alliance and Angry not Apathetic). However, there have been minority traditions within anarchism that has engaged in democratic activism. This paper examines the three main positions on anarchist engagements in representative democracy: 1. *Horizontal, Structural Reformism*; 2. *Revolutionary (Anti-) Representation* and 3. *Guerrilla Activism*. In particular it examines these models of anti-state constitutional engagement as to how they apply to direct rather than representative elections. The paper uses the debates around the Scottish Independence referendum (2014) and the referendum on membership of the European Union (2016) as key examples, but also draws on anarchist engagements in referendum campaigns in other EU and continental European countries such as the Irish Republic and Switzerland. It concentrates on answering the questions as: whether forms of anti-state electoral engagement can successfully avoid the criticisms anarchists make of state-centred democracy? And what are the impacts of electoral participation on formally diverse, anti-hierarchical social organisation?

Key Words: Brexit, political decision-making, activism, Ireland, Switzerland, UK, anarchism

Council for European Studies, 24th International Conference of Europeanists, 12-14 July 2017, Glasgow, UK

**Brexit and EU Citizenship: The Construction of European Solidarity in Germany Following the UK Referendum**, Charlotte GALPIN, University of Copenhagen, c.galpin@hum.ku.dk

The 'Leave' vote in the UK referendum on EU membership shocked the continent. Already beset by a number of crises, EU leaders quickly moved into crisis management mode. The first priority for the EU was to maintain unity amongst the remaining member states. Discussion immediately turned to 'solidarity between the EU27' and the need to ensure the UK left the EU as quickly as possible. Through political claims-making analysis of public sphere debates, using Germany as a case study on account of the important role it will play in Brexit negotiations, this paper will

analyse elite actor claims about European solidarity in the months following the referendum. While intended to assuage uncertainty and prevent contagion, these moves raise fundamental questions about European solidarity and EU citizenship at this unprecedented time. In legal terms, EU citizenship is derived from national citizenship. The EU has, however, stated that EU citizenship is a tool for the development of European identity. In practice, many British EU citizens have taken advantage of these rights and become reliant on freedom of movement and the principle of non-discrimination. Until the UK formally leaves, it remains a full member of the EU. This paper therefore examines the public opinions about Brexit made by EU actors in Germany and, by analysing actor frames, identify models of European solidarity constructed in the Brexit debate. Are there public expressions of solidarity with British EU citizens as Europeans? Alternatively, are conceptions of European solidarity limited to the EU27?

Key Words: Brexit, Germany, citizenship, European identity, freedom of movement, referendum, attitudes towards EU

Council for European Studies, 24th International Conference of Europeanists, July 2017, Glasgow, UK

**Brexit and the Problem of European Disintegration**, Ben ROSAMOND, University of Copenhagen, bf@ifs.ku.dk

This paper uses Brexit as a platform for thinking through some key issues associated with what might be called 'European disintegration'. The result of the referendum in the UK held on 23 June 2016 certainly poses many more questions than it answers, but at the very least it raises the very real prospect of a member state leaving the European Union. What that might mean for both the UK and the EU has very quickly become one of the defining questions of contemporary European politics. At the same time, scholars working on the EU are arguably very poorly prepared to grasp analytically the mechanics of disintegration that Brexit has unleashed (or of which it is a symptom). This paper revisits some key currents in EU Studies to show that the absence of a worked through concept of disintegration is not necessarily a failing of extant theory as a few scholars have suggested, but rather reflective of a general tendency to divorce the analysis of the EU from broader discussions about the dynamics of capitalist democracy in Europe. Bringing political economy 'back in' in this way allows us to develop a more systematic understanding the meaning of disintegration, the dynamics of disintegration and the associations between disintegrative tendencies and the unravelling of the European democratic capitalist compact.

Key Words: Brexit, referendums, European integration

Council for European Studies, 24th International Conference of Europeanists, July 2017, Glasgow, UK

**Brexit and the Role of the Press and Online Media in Re-Narrating Europe's Discourse Before and After the Referendum**, Marzia MACCAFERRI, Goldsmiths College, University of London, email missing

Present-day debate seems less intellectually-driven and academic in his language, and more in touch with the public opinion with evidence of the penetration of populist attitude into the traditional political space.

Starting from here, this paper will question the role of traditional and online media in narrating and re-narrating the Brexit discourse and the European question, both before and after the referendum. Sources will be traditional British quality press, newspaper and magazines, and online media.

Drawing from Historical Discourse Analysis and Critical studies and built upon a historical approach, this paper will examine how the current re-narration of the European question is reproducing and reinterpreting historical arguments vis-à-vis old clichés. Does Brexit debate shape a new form of British Euroscepticism based on a new sense of economic confidence? Does the new discursive construction of Europe consist in a confrontation between this new sense of confidence in the nation's potentialities, and the pursue of a new international role for Britain as a champion of freedom and as an example of democracy? How important is the discourse of historical categories as British 'splendid isolation' or 'special relationship', and 'British cultural peculiarity' or 'political traditions'? Does the discursive construction of Brexit parallel the widely held view of populism as a consequence of economic insecurity? Or, alternatively, can Brexit populist discourse be explained as a retro reaction by a once-predominant traditional political culture to progressive value changes? Does Brexit represent a new 'cultural cleavage' dividing Populists from Cosmopolitans?

Key Words: Brexit, referendums, media, Euroscepticism, European integration, discourse analysis, attitudes towards EU

Council for European Studies, 24th International Conference of Europeanists, July 2017, Glasgow, UK

**Brexit in the Classroom: Teaching the EU in the UK after the Referendum,**  
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WAMBACH, Newcastle University

Teaching European Studies has long been an exercise in teaching crises - from the 'No' votes to the Constitutional Treaty, to the Eurozone crisis, to the ongoing refugee crisis - and in discussing how the EU is, or is not, dealing with them. Is Brexit yet another crisis to incorporate into our teaching, or will it redefine how European Studies is taught, at least in the UK? This paper showcases results of an online survey of UK-based academics teaching university EU modules. It investigates how teaching practices are evolving in the post-referendum UK, in terms of module content (reading lists, assessment format, teaching innovations), collaboration across disciplines, student participation in the classroom, module enrolment numbers and institutional support. As UACES celebrates its 50th anniversary, this paper contributes to reflections on the future of European Studies in the UK - is Brexit a boon or a bane? - and to a broader literature in teaching political science and IR with suddenly newsworthy topics.

Key Words: education, Brexit, media

UACES, 47th Annual Conference, 4-6 September 2017, Krakow

**The Brexit Paradox: How Leaving the EU Just May Mobilize Pro-European Support in Britain,** Kristine MITCHELL, Dickinson College,  
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Italy has Alcide De Gasperi and Altiero Spinelli; France, Jean Monnet and Jacques Delors; Belgium Paul-Henri Spaak and Guy Verhofstadt. But prominent, ardent pro-Europeanists, willing to make the pro-integration—even the federal—case for Europe have been hard to find in British national debate. Ironically, the shock referendum result has inspired Britain’s “closet Europeanists” to declare themselves. In petitions, marches, and other demonstrations, significant numbers of British citizens have joined forces to resist “Brexit”. The paradox of Brexit just may be that, by emboldening a long-subdued pro-European constituency, preparing Britain to leave the EU may just give rise to its first prominent Euro-federalists: figures prepared to argue persuasively and passionately for a British future in an integrating Europe. Could a “British Delors” or an “English Spinelli” yet convince Britons that their future lies with the EU?

Key Words: Brexit, Euroscepticism, European integration, attitudes towards EU

Council for European Studies, 24th International Conference of Europeanists, July 2017, Glasgow, UK

**Brexit’s Contested European Pasts**, Rieke TRIMÇEV, Universität Greifswald, rieke.trimcev@uni-greifswald.de, Félix KRAWATZEK, Nuffield College, University of Oxford

In the wake of the Brexit vote, the Independent warned about the short institutional memory which contributed to forgetting the EU’s “staggering achievements”. The referendum on Britain’s future relationship with the EU exposed domestic as well as continental audiences to a politics of contingency: before and after the vote, ‘Brexit’ signified a future beyond political imagination, a rupture in time. “Brexit means Brexit” is only the most prominent attempt to cover this great unknown. References to a shared past became an important means in negotiating the meaning of and response to the referendum. However, Brexit is itself part of a gradual divide between Britain and the EU and diverging narratives about the idea and memory of Europe. This paper builds on a larger research which compares the role of ‘Europe’ in memory discourses in six different European countries between 2004 and 2016. Our corpus consists of articles from major daily newspapers and is analysed through a combination of qualitative content analysis and quantitative text analysis. The combination of these methods allows for an analysis of continuous and changing discursive patterns. Studying this corpus allows us to shed light on three questions in particular: How does the image of Europe presented in Britain differ from that in other EU countries? Which other memory strategies became visible in the UK? How can a comparison with the discourses around the earlier EU referenda of 2005 in France and the Netherlands contribute to our understanding of Brexit?

Key Words: Brexit, media, attitudes towards EU, referendums

Council for European Studies, 24th International Conference of Europeanists, July 2017, Glasgow, UK

**Culture and Dis-Integration: Religion and the Brexit Vote**, Brent F. NELSEN, Furman University, brent.nelsen@furman.edu, James L. GUTH, Furman University

Scholars have known for some time that religion, more precisely “confessional culture,” exerts a deep and independent effect on attitudes toward the European

Union and the formation of a European identity. In this paper we use several recent surveys of British respondents to demonstrate the impact of religion on the June 2016 vote to leave the EU. One of the data sets used in the study features an unusually detailed religious identity question that allows us to analyze the impact of Protestant denomination on the Brexit vote. The findings of the paper are consistent with the results of past studies. Protestants remain less enthusiastic about European integration than other religious traditions, with sectarian Protestants most resistant to the EU. Religious divisions, however, remains complicated and must be interpreted carefully. The primary implication for the future of European integration, however, is clear: the EU member states most likely to withdraw from the EU or strongly resist further integrative efforts will be member states shaped by Protestant confessional culture.

Key Words: Brexit, religion, Protestantism, EU integration  
 Council for European Studies, 24th International Conference of Europeanists,  
 July 2017, Glasgow, UK

**Digital Architectures and Deliberative Potentials: Citizen Debate on Facebook and Twitter During the Brexit Campaign**, Anamaria DUTCEAC SEGESTEN, Lund University, [anamaria.dutceac\\_segesten@eu.lu.se](mailto:anamaria.dutceac_segesten@eu.lu.se), Michael BOSSETTA, University of Copenhagen

Because of social media, traditional models of campaigning are undergoing a transformation: information is abundant, misinformation goes unchecked, and citizens' voices are more salient in the public sphere. However, social media platforms have different 'digital architectures' - the technological structures that facilitate and constrain user behavior. While much academic focus has been given to studying political campaigning on social media, few studies focus on citizens and even fewer take into account how the digital architectures of a medium impact the quality of deliberative debate online. Using the 2016 Brexit campaign as a case study, the proposed paper compares how the Leave and Remain positions were discussed on Facebook and Twitter. We argue that these platforms' potential for acting as deliberative arenas varies depending on their digital architectures (i.e. their feed algorithms, the 'Friend' or 'Follower' relationship, and the degree of visibility of their posts). We test this argument by comparing, over the entire duration of the campaign, citizens' comments made to the public Facebook pages of the Leave and Remain campaigns, as well as citizens' Twitter messages using the corresponding hashtags on Twitter. Using supervised machine learning methods in R, we identify discursive frames indicating homophily among users (e.g. agreement) or heterogeneity (e.g. disagreement). We expect to find that Facebook is more likely to host discussions among like-minded users (homophily), whereas Twitter debates are more likely to be more confrontational, taking place between users holding opposing views (heterogeneity). The results are discussed in light of social media's democratic potential.

Key Words: Brexit, media, social media, Facebook, Twitter, democracy  
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 July 2017, Glasgow, UK

**The Emerging Constitutional Crisis in the UK**, Soeren KEIL, Canterbury Christ Church University, [soeren.keil@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:soeren.keil@canterbury.ac.uk)

This paper will focus on the evolving constitutional crisis in the United Kingdom, which is a result of the differentiated outcome of the vote in the different parts of the UK. While voters in England and Wales voted for the UK to leave the EU, nearly two-thirds of voters in Scotland, and over 55% of voters in Northern Ireland voted to remain in the UK. This has resulted in deeper divisions in Northern Ireland, where Sinn Fein supported EU Membership but their coalition partner, the DUP supported BREXIT. These deepening divisions, amongst other main issues, have resulted in the breakdown of the power-sharing agreement in Belfast in January 2017. In Scotland, First Minister Nicola Sturgeon has made it clear that she will not watch as Scotland is being dragged out of the EU against its will. She has openly discussed the option of either a special status for Scotland (so it could remain a part of the Single Market), or the possibility of a second independence referendum. However the Brexit negotiations between the UK and the rest of the EU will unfold, the Brexit vote has already had a profound impact on UK politics. A constitutional crisis is glooming, with power-sharing in Northern Ireland put in questions and relations with the Republic of Ireland hanging in the balance. In Scotland, a renewed interest in independence has also resulted in a more confrontations between elites in Westminster and Holyrood. This paper will look at the emerging constitutional crisis in the UK and highlight which challenges this poses to the UK government, which not only needs to find common ground with their European partners in the Brexit negotiations, but also needs to be able to sell any deals to their home nations. It will evaluate what the framework of such a solution could be and what the prospects of the UK breaking-apart as a result of the Brexit vote are.

Key Words: Brexit, Scotland, Northern Ireland  
 UACES, 47th Annual Conference, 4-6 September 2017, Krakow

**Europeanisation of Media Discourse? Brexit Discourses in the Polish Press,**  
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The results of the United Kingdom EU membership referendum in June 2016 have met with great media resonance abroad. The aim of the presentation is to analyse the discourse about Britain's exit from the European Union in the Polish press. Scrutinised will be the diversification of topics and social/political meanings associated with Brexit. The Brexit was mostly analysed from the perspective of Poland's state interests and potential losses and gains on the national (Polish and UK) levels. The most visible topics included the anticipated changes in migration patterns to/from the UK, challenges to freedom of movement of goods and services, meaning of Brexit in the context of political shift to the right wing parties and populist movements. The analysis will encompass the discourses presented in the press titles associated with various sides of the left-right political spectrum. The question will be asked whether the dominant press discourse demonstrated a pro-European approach to the political turmoil, or it was more mixed depending on the political views represented by certain media.

Key Words: media, Brexit, Poland, Europeanisation  
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**Europe's Britain: Brexit Through the Eyes of the Rest of Europe**, Tim OLIVER, LSE IDEAS, t.l.oliver@lse.ac.uk

Britain's relations with the EU and Europe more broadly have often been written about from the perspective of the UK. Current debates about the UK's new relationship with the EU – a Norway, Switzerland or free trade model etc – all focus on what is best for the UK. What does the rest of Europe think about Britain and its place in Europe? How has the British vote to leave the EU changed European integration? Has it made it more likely that the EU will disintegrate or integrate? Or will the EU muddle through Brexit as it has so many other challenges, coping with it but not solving the problems it presents? This paper builds on two ongoing projects: a book project on European views of Britain's place in European politics and a series of reports compiled through a network across the EU in which contributors outline national views of ongoing UK-EU relations, with a particular focus on the recent renegotiation, referendum and now Brexit. The paper will look at views of the UK in terms of national debates and pan-European debates, and look at views from other European states such as Russia and Turkey. The paper will examine how important Britain has been for the rest of Europe in pushing forward or limiting European integration and shaping European politics more broadly.

Key Words: Brexit, European integration, Norway, Switzerland, attitudes towards UK

Council for European Studies, 24th International Conference of Europeanists, July 2017, Glasgow, UK

**Euroscepticism in the Brexit Era: Anxiety, Rage and Uncertainty**, Simona GUERRA, University of Leicester, gs219@leicester.ac.uk

'*Quo vadis Europa?*' addressed Joschka Fischer, in a personal speech, as German Foreign Minister at Humboldt University in Berlin, in May 2000. It was a call to Europeans, as they 'would have to give... onwards to the completion of European integration. A step backwards, even just stand still or contentment with what has been achieved, would demand a fatal price of all EU Member States and of all those who want to become Members.' A few years on, the EU enlarged eastwards and southeastward, but Europeans seem to lag behind or, simply, did not follow. While studies examine the spiral of Euroscepticism emerging across traditional and new media, with negativity bias and misrepresentation, the persistence and embeddedness of Euroscepticism, alternative forms and understandings of opposition to the EU, this paper investigates the role of emotions on public attitudes towards the EU. An analysis of original data on the British referendum (23 June 2016) shows that the 'Remain' campaign seemed not to gain momentum, while the 'Leave' campaign was successful in evoking citizens' emotions. Leave voters seem to be more driven by anger, while uncertainty spreads among those who are likely to have voted 'Remain', and young people feel both uncertain and anxious. This paper examines the role of subjective evaluations and emotions on attitudes towards the EU and to what extent these can drive Euroscepticism and behaviours.

Key Words: attitudes towards EU, Brexit, Euroscepticism, European integration

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**Examination of Discourses in the Referendums, and How They Built up, or Questioned, Romanticised Nationalisms**, Leigh FRENCH, Glasgow School of Art, L.French1@student.gsa.ac.uk

During the referendum, from an anti-capitalist standpoint, Gordon Asher and Leigh French denounced the consensus whereby independence and participation in the campaign were 'posited as ipso facto "progressive"' in ways that elided struggles for social justice and empowerment. I am interested in examining the ways in which both pro-independence discourses produced in the run-up to the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence and discourses in favour of Brexit before and after the 2016 referendum share common ground in furthering such elision on two points. On the one hand, through the pursuit of nation-states as independent / insulated from supra-national institutions of governance as the emancipatory way out of austerity they both put the national(ist) aspect of capitalism beyond contestation. On the other hand, both sets of narratives empty out class a category of struggle at multiple scales while elevating institutions are the terrain and agents of conflict, and thus as the recipient of citizens' loyalty. Consideration of the ways in which autonomous movements and collectives have been operating in Scotland within (post-)referendum contexts – in terms of the limits, tensions, and possibilities involved – affords a way of putting pressure, from an anti-capitalist autonomist perspective, on the logics and politics that clash with those informing pro-independence and Brexit discourses. <with Arianna Introna>

Key Words: referendums, nationalism, attitudes towards EU, Scotland, Scottish independence

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**Gendering Brexit: Is There Room for Equality?**, Roberta GUERRINA, University of Surrey, r.guerrina@surrey.ac.uk

This paper explores the gendered nature of the EU Referendum Campaigns and the impact of gender framings in the campaign rhetoric on determining the position of gender equality policies in Brexit negotiations. Considering the EU is widely accepted as a gender actor, particularly in the context of employment policy, the marginality of these issues in the debate reflect a hierarchy in the value attributed to different policy areas that crystallizes the high-low politics binary. European led initiatives have undoubtedly changed the nature of equality policies in the Member States. European Directives and Regulations have created a safety net that safeguards women's access and position in the labour market, whereas soft policy measures provided opportunities for norm diffusion and transfer of best practice. Recent studies have also outlined how, and to what extent, EU policy contributes to shifts in gender regimes, gender policy and gender relations at the national level (Lombardo & Forrest, 2012; Annesley & Scheele, 2011). Women in the UK have benefited greatly from membership of the EU/EEC in as far as it expedited the ratification of equal pay legislation in the early 1970s and provided a framework for the expansion of maternity rights in the 1990s (Guerrina, 2005; Caracciolo di Torrella & Masselot, 2010). The Brexit referendum therefore provides a unique opportunity to reflect on the relationship, and patterns of influence, between European and national legislation.

Key Words: Brexit, gender, women, EU membership  
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**‘Let’s Take Back Control’ and Other Effective Bullshit: Immigration in the European Union Referendum Campaign**, James HAMPSHIRE, University of Sussex, J.A.Hampshire@sussex.ac.uk

Immigration was central to the EU referendum campaign, and played an important if not decisive role in the outcome. This paper examines public statements on immigration during the campaign through the lens of political bullshit. As defined by Harry Frankfurt, bullshit is a mode of discourse unrelated to truth-values, and it is prevalent in politics. While the liar pays indirect homage to truth by consciously telling untruths, the bullshitter speaks without regard for truth-values. Hopkin and Rosamond argue that political bullshit is often effective because it is difficult to refute empirically. This paper traces the EU referendum campaign from its focus on the Remainers’ preferred territory of the economic effects of Brexit – in which empirical claim and counter-claim predominated – through to a debate centred on the Leave campaign’s key message of ‘taking back control’, which became increasingly focused on immigration control. The paper investigates how the debate shifted not only in terms of issues but also qualitatively: away from empirical claims and predictions, towards an explicitly anti-expert and post-truth form of politics in which the Leave campaign successfully articulated a Brexit narrative in empowering and emotionally reassuring language, largely impervious to factual refutation; in other words, as bullshit. This proved to be an effective strategy for the Leave campaign, while Remain were unable to mount a compelling counter-argument. The argument draws on analysis of a corpus of public statements from the campaign, including speeches and interviews by leading politicians, televised debates, campaign posters and leaflets, and press releases.

Key Words: Brexit, discourse analysis, immigration, political bullshit  
 Council for European Studies, 24th International Conference of Europeanists,  
 July 2017, Glasgow, UK

**Making Sense of Brexit: The Implications for Domestic Social Policy**, Kathryn SIMPSON, Manchester Metropolitan University, k.simpson@mmu.ac.uk

For the first time in the history of the European Union (EU) a member state has voted to leave the Union. The UK has often been coined 'an awkward partner' a catch-all term to encompass the UK's troubled relationship with the European integration process and the recent vote to leave the EU reiterates the UK's ambivalence towards its place in the wider European family. While a full analysis of electoral data from the EU referendum on 23rd June ensues, what is immediately evident is that the UK electorate is inherently fragmented and that leave voters in particular voted for a range of issues that went beyond EU issues per se. Throughout the referendum debate these issues encompassed a range of domestic social policies such as immigration, the economy and health. However, in light of Brexit there are many social policy areas which will be directly impacted yet did not feature predominantly in the referendum debate. This article examines the impact of Brexit across three key domestic policy areas; immigration and free movement, the

devolved legislatures and the economy using data from the British Election Study (BES) post-EU referendum survey.

Key Words: Brexit, EU integration, social policy, British Election Study  
UACES, 47th Annual Conference, 4-6 September 2017, Krakow

**Northern Ireland and Brexit: An Opportunity to Consolidate the Peace Process?**, Mary MURPHY, University College Cork, maryc.murphy@ucc.ie

In contrast to other parts of the UK, Northern Ireland voted in June 2016 to remain in the EU. This result conflicts with the overall UK vote to leave the EU. The discrepancy has led to calls (mainly by nationalists) for Northern Ireland's democratic preference to be respected. There is some justification for such appeals. Being the only territory of the EU (bar Gibraltar) which shares a land border with the EU, Northern Ireland will likely face the worst consequences of Brexit, whatever form it takes. The economic and political ramifications are likely to be negative and possibly severe. The Prime Minister has - unsurprisingly - ruled out any asymmetrical approach to the UK exit process, but she has committed to giving consideration to the specific needs and interests of particular parts of the UK. Northern Ireland, however, is not a priority for a UK government. There is therefore, a need for the devolved Northern Ireland authorities to press the region's case at multiple levels both within the UK and beyond. This is a strategically important means of getting the best deal for Northern Ireland during the exit process. Pursuing such a strategy, however, is not straightforward for a post-conflict society and a power-sharing political system. Nationalists were far more likely to vote remain while approximately one third of unionists also supported this position. More significantly, however, the two parties to the Northern Ireland Executive expressed contrasting positions on the EU referendum.. Designing a Northern Ireland strategy which satisfies both parties' political sensitivities demands political maturity. It requires the Northern Ireland authorities to confront challenging issues related to sovereignty and the UK's constitutional future. This political challenge represents a serious test for Northern Ireland's power-sharing arrangement. The ability of the Northern Ireland Executive to meet this challenge represents a potentially defining moment in the maturation of Northern Ireland politics and society. Creative and constructive ambiguity played a role in facilitating agreement on the 1998 Belfast Agreement. It is needed now more than ever.

Key Words: Brexit, Northern Ireland, referendums  
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**A Qualitative Inquiry into How Europe is Narrated in the Context of the 'Brexit'**, Loredana RADU, College of Communication and Public Relations, loredana.radu@comunicare.ro, Flavia DURACH, College of Communication and Public Relations

In a context marked by numerous overlapping European crises, europeanization processes might be subject to an extreme pressure exerted by national proxies, which might denounce EU's lack of vision. Subscribing to a constructivistic approach of European integration, where discourse is a means by which europeanization is designed and built, we focus on the key narratives and frames exposed by the online media when discussing about the "Brexit". The aim of

our paper is to explore the complex interactions between frames and narratives, which fortify the architectural structure of the mediatized discourse on the European Union. Our research builds on H.-J. Trenz's narratives of Europeanization - as variants of affirmation or disruption, and the extraordinary and the ordinary, respectively (2014), but, also, on research dedicated to news framing as a means to convey a certain type of meaning to the mediatized discourse. By turning to Romanian and "Pan-European" online media outlets, we explore the two-way relationship by hypothesizing that frames and narratives of Europeanization overlap in an orderly manner, creating meaningful patterns and associations. We expect to find proof of the sudden transition from positive accounts of Europeanization to the activation of disruptive discourses (de-sacralization and crisis), with a long term negative impact over the European project at such.

Key Words: Brexit, Europeanisation, media

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**Scotland's Place in Europe After Brexit: Between a Rock and a Hard Place? A Legal Scoping Exercise**, Tobias LOCK, Edinburgh Law School, tobias.lock@ed.ac.uk

For lawyers and political scientists alike, the United Kingdom's (UK) decision to leave the European Union (EU) following a referendum held on 23 June 2016 is probably the most exciting drama to be observed and commented on in a generation. While the main focus is understandably on the intricacies of the divorce settlement and the exact ramifications of any future relations between the EU and the UK, these questions are somewhat more complex from a Scottish viewpoint. The main reason is that while the whole of the UK voted to leave the EU by a margin of 51.9% to 48.1%, the Scottish electorate voted to remain in the EU by a margin of 62% to 38% with not a single council area backing 'leave'. This led Scotland's First Minister Nicola Sturgeon to announce immediately after the referendum that she wished 'to take all possible steps and explore all options to [...] to secure our continuing place in the EU and in the single market in particular'. The aim of this paper is to explore how, legally speaking, such a continuing place can be secured, if it can be at all.

Key Words: Brexit, Scotland, attitudes towards EU

European Union Studies Association, 15th Biennial Conference, May 2017, Miami, FL, USA

**A 'Tipping Point' Already Reached? Tabloid Portrayals and Other Influences on the Brexit Vote**, Nicholas STARTIN, University of Bath, n.j.startin@bath.ac.uk

The result of the June 2016 UK referendum on EU membership sent shockwaves through the UK, European and global political establishments. This paper argues that the outcome of the plebiscite should not be viewed through this lens given the historical context of the UK's at best ambivalent or at worst hostile relationship with the EU. The paper illustrates this by analysing a number of significant historic and contemporary demand-side and institutional variables that played into Vote Leave's favour prior to the campaign. It then discusses the supply-side variables that influenced the result of the campaign. The paper focuses on the role of the media and in particular the UK's uniquely hostile Eurosceptic press as a

major influence on the outcome. By drawing on a content analysis of the front pages of the UK's main tabloid newspapers, it demonstrates, firstly, the severity of the lopsided pro-Brexit discourse evident prior to and during the campaign before linking the discussion to the extent to which this 'bombardment' approach influenced the electorate. It concludes that, given the high level of 'knowledge deficit' on the European question in the UK, the tabloid's bombardment approach had a significant bearing on tipping the vote towards Brexit.

Key Words: Brexit, attitudes towards EU, attitudes towards UK, Euroscepticism, media

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**Where Will It End? Towards a New Scottish Devolution Settlement in the Aftermath of Brexit**, Tomasz CZAPIEWSKI, Szczecin University, tomekczapiewski@gmail.com

In the aftermath of the Brexit vote in June 2016, reform of the devolution settlement in Scotland seems to be inevitable. This paper will examine the scope of this change and its likely influence on the Scottish political system. The paper begins with by analysing the current devolution settlement, including the changes resulting from the Scotland Act 2012 and the Scotland Act 2016. The UK's withdrawal from the EU is likely to result in significant policy responsibilities being transferred to Scottish Parliament, most probably the ambits of justice, home affairs, agriculture, fisheries and the environment. In addition, it seems, that Scotland may have rather negligible influence on the process and the final shape of Brexit. Moreover, transfer of powers will require serious renegotiation of Scotland's fiscal framework. This paper explores the possible variants of constitutional reform for Scotland and focuses not only on the devolved matters repatriated from EU, but also on "repatriated competences in reserved area" and "additional powers to protect Scotland's interests" as the Scottish Government's paper 'Scotland's Place in Europe' put it. Are these Scottish Government's proposals politically possible? The answer to this question will be illustrated by analysing the relationship between the Scottish and British governments after the Brexit referendum. The Paper concludes that rethinking devolution would find more friendly reception in Westminster than any type of asymmetrical bespoke arrangement for Scotland in the context of the EU. For Westminster, and indeed the territorial politics of the UK as a whole, the success of this reform is of indisputable importance; it may be the most important factor in averting another independence referendum.

Key Words: Scotland, Brexit

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