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Should We Pool or Should We Nationalize? A Quantitative Assessment of the Role of Sovereignty in Brexit

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Should We Pool or Should We Nationalize?

A Quantitative Assessment of the Role of Sovereignty in Brexit

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Senior Honors Thesis

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Abstract

The announcement of Brexit on June 23, 2016 shocked Europe as well as the greater global community. Political scientists continue to debate the causes of Brexit, but this paper argues that the debate over sovereignty, particularly the tension between national and pooled sovereignties, played a substantial role in the outcome of the referendum. This paper evaluates the extent to which the Brexit referendum was a rejection of pooled sovereignty and a reprioritization of national sovereignty. This paper conducts a discourse analysis on 4109 sources from the Leave and Remain campaigns, which were all assessed for the use of nineteen terms associated with national or pooled sovereignty. My data analysis indicates that the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty but the Remain campaign was not representative of pooled sovereignty. Therefore, I argue that Brexit was a signal to the British government to reclaim national sovereignty, but not necessarily a complete rejection of the EU system. These results highlight the unpredictable and even confusing nature of EU referendums as well as the persistent difficulties of synthesizing a national and European system of government and sense of identity.

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Introduction

On June 23, 2016, the United Kingdom (UK) narrowly voted to leave the European Union (EU). Invoking Article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon, the UK became the first EU member state to formally leave the bloc on January 31, 2020. The results of the 2016 referendum and the bitter negotiation process that followed sent shockwaves across Europe and caused many observers to question how the situation had arisen in the first place. Various scholars have blamed the tide of Eurosceptic populism (Hobolt 2016), underlying British cultural differences (Adler-Nissen et. al 2017), or the combination of misinformation and fear tactics used by the Leave campaign (Spencer and Oppermann 2020). However, there is a substantial lack of attention to the role of sovereignty and its divergent conceptions in Brexit, which will be the main focus of this paper.

With a focus on the concept of sovereignty, the Brexit referendum therefore can be interpreted as a choice between national sovereignty and pooled sovereignty. The concept of sovereignty, as theorized by Thomas Hobbes, traditionally refers to the absolute power of an institution within a defined territory (Hobbes 1994). National sovereignty, or Westphalian sovereignty, refers to the concept that the government of a territory is the sole legal and rightful source of authority within the territory (Krasner 1999). While the concept of national sovereignty was never absolute in practice, Westphalian sovereignty was the governing norm of the European nation state system until the twentieth century. After the devastation of World War II, European states became more willing to reduce their national sovereignty in exchange for peace. Pooled sovereignty, or the combining of state sovereignties on interdependent issues, became the basis of European integration (Bickerton 2019). The ongoing tension between national sovereignty and pooled sovereignty within the UK became the main source of the Brexit debate.

This paper argues that the debate over different conceptions of sovereignty, particularly national and pooled, was the main underlying factor in the outcome of the 2016 Brexit referendum. Under this argument, this paper associates the Leave campaign with national sovereignty, as the Leave campaign argued for reinstating traditional notions of national or Westphalian sovereignty. This paper also associates the Remain campaign with pooled sovereignty, as the Remain campaign advocated for remaining in the EU, which was founded on the principle of pooled sovereignty.

The research question driving this paper is: “To what extent was the Brexit referendum a rejection of pooled sovereignty and a reprioritization of national sovereignty?” This paper argues that as the Leave campaign represented national sovereignty and, conversely, the Remain campaign represented pooled sovereignty, the outcome of the 2016 Brexit referendum can be interpreted as a popular uprising against pooled sovereignty and a return to traditional national sovereignty. To test this hypothesis, this paper will perform a discourse analysis using 4109 sources collected from both the Leave and Remain campaigns as well as additional supplementary materials. There are two main hypotheses addressed by the discourse analysis: 1) the Leave campaign represented national sovereignty and therefore Brexit was a reprioritization of national sovereignty; and 2) the Remain campaign represented pooled sovereignty and therefore Brexit was a rejection of pooled sovereignty. The results of the data analysis support the first hypothesis and find that Leave materials sufficiently provide a narrative of national sovereignty. The results of the discourse analysis, however, do not support the second hypothesis as Remain materials do not sufficiently create a strong narrative of pooled sovereignty. Therefore, the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty while the Remain campaign was not representative of pooled sovereignty. This paper concludes that Brexit was a

reprioritization of national sovereignty, as the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty and won the referendum vote, but not necessarily a complete rejection of pooled sovereignty, as the Remain campaign was not representative of pooled sovereignty.

Structure of the Paper

Chapter 1 includes necessary background information for analysis. The chapter begins with a literature review of previous scholarly work on the context of sovereignty in the 2016 Brexit referendum as well as literature on the role and character of the referendum campaigns. The chapter then explains the methodology used in later data analysis sections including an overview of the discourse analysis, list of sources, and lists of key terms. This section also presents the hypotheses and criteria used to evaluate these hypotheses.

Chapter 2 includes an overview of national sovereignty. The chapter begins with a historical and theoretical discussion of the concept of national or Westphalian sovereignty as well as the Westphalian state system. The chapter then addresses the shift away from traditional notions of Westphalian sovereignty in the modern era as well as attempts to return back to Westphalian sovereignty. The chapter also includes an overview of traditional understandings of British national sovereignty.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to pooled sovereignty. The chapter begins with a historical and theoretical overview of this concept of sovereignty from the end of World War II to the modern EU. The role of pooled sovereignty in the process of European integration is also addressed. The chapter concludes with an overview of recent challenges to the concept of pooled sovereignty in Europe, including Brexit.

Chapter 4 is the data analysis section of the Leave campaign and its relationship with national sovereignty. After a brief review of key terms and sources, the section summarizes data

collection findings of different sources and categories of sources to address the hypothesis that the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty. The results of this data analysis indicate that the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty during the Brexit referendum, indicating that Brexit was a reprioritization of national sovereignty.

Chapter 5 is the data analysis section of the Remain campaign and its relationship with pooled sovereignty. After a brief review of key terms and sources, the section summarizes data collection findings of different sources and categories of sources to address the hypothesis that the Remain campaign was representative of pooled sovereignty. The results of this data analysis indicate that the Remain campaign was not representative of pooled sovereignty during the referendum, indicating that Brexit was not necessarily a complete dismissal of pooled sovereignty.

The conclusion summarizes all five chapters and reiterates the major results and relevant conclusions to address the research question. This paper finds that the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty, but the Remain campaign was not fully representative of pooled sovereignty. Therefore, Brexit was a reprioritization of national sovereignty, but not necessarily a complete rejection of pooled sovereignty. The paper concludes with references to greater implications, potential limitations, and suggestions for future research on this topic.

An appendix is attached with relevant figures and tables utilized in Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 1: Literature Review and Methods

Literature Review

This paper seeks to contribute to existing literature on Brexit; sovereignty, particularly in the context of the UK and the EU; and the Brexit referendum campaigns. By connecting the role

of sovereignty to the campaign strategies utilized during the referendum, this paper plans to demonstrate that Brexit occurred due to the appeal of national sovereignty, as depicted by the Leave campaign, to the majority of the British electorate in comparison to pooled sovereignty, as represented by the Remain campaign. This literature review begins with a debate on the role of sovereignty in the 2016 referendum. Then, the different strategies and narratives used by the Leave and Remain campaigns are analyzed along with their effectiveness in persuading the British electorate.

Sovereignty in the Brexit Debate

This paper argues that the central issue of the Brexit referendum was the tension between national sovereignty, which was embodied in the Leave campaign, and pooled sovereignty, which was represented by the Remain campaign. Under this argument, Brexit can be interpreted as the British public deciding to reclaim traditional notions of national sovereignty and shun the system of pooled sovereignty in the EU. Other previous scholarly works have addressed the issue of sovereignty in the context of the 2016 Brexit referendum, though with different methodology and focal points than those discussed later in this paper.

This paper seeks to contribute to work on the role of sovereignty in the 2016 Brexit referendum. Previous scholarly papers have also suggested that the issue of sovereignty was central to the Brexit referendum outcome (Gordon 2016; Bickerton 2019). While several variations of sovereignty are topics of previous works, the two main conceptions of sovereignty that are relevant to this paper are national and pooled sovereignties. The concept of national sovereignty includes synonymous terms, such as popular and territorial sovereignty as well as parliamentary sovereignty in the context of the UK, and generally refers to the British government being the sole authority within Britain. Pooled sovereignty refers to some degree of

sharing sovereignty with other states in an international institution, which is the EU in the case of the UK.

The role of national sovereignty in the Brexit referendum is more closely studied by previous researchers. The Leave campaign had a clear message of national sovereignty during the referendum campaign, especially with the slogan of “Take Back Control” or “Take Control” (Agnew 2020; Richards and Smith 2017). The Leave campaign particularly focused on how the reclamation of British sovereignty would allow for a return to previous British excellence and end to current troubles, which was heavily persuasive among voters (Auer 2017; Menon and Wager 2020). While sovereignty is relevant in all states, the particular case of the UK presents a unique structure of national sovereignty, which contributed to the outcome of the referendum.

Previous scholars have cited the particular character of British national sovereignty as a potential contributing factor to the Brexit outcome. The traditional concept of national sovereignty in the context of the UK is parliamentary sovereignty, which argues for the supremacy of the UK Parliament independent of all external powers (Bickerton 2019). However, Brexit complicated understandings of parliamentary sovereignty, as Parliament did not decide on the UK’s status in the EU, but rather followed the people’s will. Former Prime Minister Theresa May’s “Brexit means Brexit” statement reinforces that Parliament was only allowed to carry out the public will, not direct or shape it (Bickerton 2019; Gordon 2016). British national sovereignty was also complicated by the rise of English nationalism in particular despite the UK being a state of four nations (Bickerton 2019; Wind 2017). While several scholars have questioned the relevance or applicability of national sovereignty in the modern world, the issue of national sovereignty was a key issue during the Brexit referendum (Agnew 2020; de Ruyter

and Nielsen 2019). In addition to national sovereignty, the concept of pooled sovereignty also played a significant role in the Brexit referendum.

The concept of pooled sovereignty was associated with the Remain campaign and general pro-EU sources during the referendum. The Remain campaign essentially argued that the UK needed to pool its sovereignty with other EU states to effectively address interdependent European issues (Auer 2017; Heuser 2019). However, nation states, especially in the recent swell of Eurosceptic populism, have argued that their interests are often snubbed in these institutions, which became a key issue in the Brexit referendum raised by the Leave campaign (Bickerton 2019). While the concept of pooled sovereignty was important in the Brexit referendum, the concept of national sovereignty gained greater attention during the campaigning period.

This paper argues that the 2016 Brexit referendum was heavily influenced by the debate over which conception of sovereignty the UK should be governed under, either national or pooled. While some scholars may argue against the importance of sovereignty in the Brexit outcome, other researchers have maintained that the debate over sovereignty, whether it was directly or indirectly addressed during the campaign, significantly contributed to the outcome of the referendum. This paper also asserts that sovereignty is a dynamic concept that continues to shift. Brexit can therefore be interpreted as a change in British sovereignty with a reprioritization of national sovereignty and reduction of pooled sovereignty. In spite of conflicting opinions on the cause of Brexit, the role of sovereignty and debate over its conceptions in the context of the UK undoubtedly contributed to the outcome of the referendum.

Referendum Campaigns

While the role of sovereignty is the primary concern of this paper, the character and narratives of the referendum campaigns also heavily contributed to the outcome of the

referendum. This paper argues that the particular character of the Leave campaign, especially with its focus on themes of national sovereignty, contributed to its success during the 2016 Brexit referendum. The Remain campaign, on the other hand, with its focus on pooled sovereignty, was less persuasive to British voters. This paper also recognizes that additional factors related to the character and narratives of the campaigns, such as the role of David Cameron and the media, likely contributed to the outcome of the referendum as well.

The Leave campaign and its rhetorical strategies have been the source of considerable interest among political scientists. Most Leave campaign rhetoric during the campaign was focused on three main issues: immigration, the state of the economy, and how reclaiming national sovereignty would help solve the two previous issues. While immigration was the primary focus of the Leave campaign, especially the more radical factions like Leave.EU, the Leave campaign still managed to connect issues of immigration and the economy back to the narrative of “Taking Back Control” to improve the lives of average Britons, which was heavily persuasive among the electorate.

According to the Leave campaign, immigration posed a threat to UK security as well as the distinct British identity. The Leave campaign pointed to the Migrant Crisis as evidence that continued EU membership would threaten the security of the UK and its citizens (Gietel-Basten 2016; Gilmartin et al. 2018). Arguments about preserving the distinct British identity were directed against both asylum seekers and EU immigrants, especially those from Eastern Europe. In both cases, the Leave campaign argued that immigrants were moving into the UK and bringing their controversial lifestyles with them. Specifically, when discussing EU immigrants, the Leave campaign targeted the freedom of movement within the EU as the particular source of British suffering and a threat to the British identity (Adler-Nissen et al. 2017; Vasilopoulou

2016). Nigel Farage and Leave.EU took this narrative a step farther and directly played on British fears of immigrants from a more xenophobic perspective (Clarke et al. 2017; Meleady et al. 2017). The anti-immigrant message was effective, as immigration was a commonly cited concern in exit polls (Golec de Zavala et al. 2017; Viskanic 2017). While pulling on fears of uncontrolled immigration, the Leave campaign offered a nostalgic alternative to the British electorate that reflected previous British excellence and supremacy.

The Leave campaign promised a Britain that was more reminiscent of the British Empire and Anglosphere. With the loss of the British Empire and relative decline of the UK, the mindset of especially older Britons was focused on the better days of the past (Agnew 2020; Oliver 2018). This nostalgia combined with subsequent English nationalist spikes contributed to growing UK Euroscepticism and therefore Leave support (Henderson et al. 2016; Wellings 2019). The mixture of nationalism and Euroscepticism, while common in other Eurosceptic movements, was exacerbated by the existing nature of Britain as an “awkward partner” in the EU and weak European identity among Britons (Carl et al. 2019; Heuser 2019). In addition to issues of immigration, the comments of the Leave campaign on the state of the economy drew significant attention from voters.

The Leave campaign argued that the EU regulatory sphere was an inefficient and elite-biased system that threatened the wellbeing of everyday Britons. The Leave campaign argued that while EU membership previously benefitted the UK economy, the Eurozone Crisis demonstrated that the UK would be better off outside of the EU (Kott 2019; Vasilopoulou 2016). The Leave campaign drew on longstanding pain within the lower echelons of British society, who had been most impacted by the austerity measures passed in response to the Eurozone Crisis, to win the more blue-collar sections of the UK (Gietel-Basten 2016; Fetzer 2019). Leave

support was also high among the “losers of globalization” or individuals who felt left behind by the continued momentum of the EU and were routinely ignored by both British and EU elites (Wellings 2019; Fetzer 2019). With its narratives on both immigration and the state of the economy, the Leave campaign argued that leaving the EU would allow Britain to regain its sovereignty and adequately address national issues.

The Leave campaign played on the anger of the British electorate against the EU to gather support in the 2016 referendum. The democratic deficit was not a new concern among the British electorate, but the Leave campaign effectively capitalized on this longstanding frustration (Dallago and Rosefielde 2019). The Leave campaign suggested that leaving the EU would allow the UK to regain control of its immigration and economic policies, which would then benefit the British public (Agnew 2020; de Ruyter and Nielsen 2019). Calls for addressing issues with immigration and the economy, which were the main factors behind Prime Minister David Cameron’s renegotiations, were also relatively mainstream British political concerns in 2016 (Hobolt 2016; Carl et al. 2019). In addition, the Leave campaign utilized the growing resentment against elites and blamed both British elites, particularly David Cameron, and EU elites for ignoring the concerns of the British people (Richardson 2018; Wellings 2019). By appealing to longstanding frustrations and sources of anger within the British electorate, the Leave campaign created a diverse coalition of supporters.

The narrative style of the Leave campaign additionally contributed to its success. Unlike the Remain campaign, the Leave campaign presented a stable narrative and utilized the same charismatic public figures, including Boris Johnson and Michael Gove, in campaign appearances and debates (Shaw et al. 2017; Spencer and Oppermann 2020). The Leave campaign also created a more emotional message by discussing the impact of economic decline or anti-immigrant fears,

which was heavily persuasive among the British electorate (Spencer and Oppermann 2020; Goodwin and Milazzo 2017). The Leave campaign, in response to accusations of prejudice and racism, also attempted to bridge the gap in their narrative by including references to various progressive values, such as democracy, and providing economic data, though most data were fabricated (Andreouli et al. 2020). The consistent and targeted narrative structure of the Leave campaign contributed to its success and appeal during the referendum.

Less literature has been dedicated to the strategies and rhetoric of the Remain campaign, likely due to its loss in the 2016 referendum. The Remain campaign advocated for staying in the EU to avoid disastrous economic consequences, which were supported by several economic projections and expert testimonies (Clarke et al. 2017; de Ruyter and Nielsen 2019). While the Remain campaign was supported by intellectuals and scholars, the sporadic message and poor organization across party and ideological lines contributed to confusion over the Remain message and ultimately to its lack of persuasion among the British electorate (Shaw et al. 2017; Spencer and Oppermann 2020). The Remain campaign also dedicated significant attention towards attacking the Leave campaign as prejudiced and xenophobic, though these comments did not seem to be effective (Andreouli et al. 2020). The Remain campaign, while having the support of most academics and business leaders, was unable to create a compelling and consistent narrative, which likely contributed to its defeat.

Outside the campaigns themselves, the particular character of the media coverage surrounding the referendum appeared to impact the outcome. The press, particularly tabloids and newspapers, had a substantial bias towards the Leave campaign and utilized the Leave campaign's narrative of taking back sovereignty more frequently than any Remain message (Carl et al. 2019; Khabaz 2018). Twitter, which was an important realm of debate for the referendum,

seemed to have a negligible impact on the results despite leaning heavier towards the Leave campaign (Bastos and Mercea 2019). However, tabloids, such as *The Sun*, which were heavily followed by older Britons, likely contributed to the Leave vote among the older generations of the British electorate (Bastos and Mercea 2019; Norris and Inglehart 2019). While each campaign played a significant role in their own successes and failures, the media culture surrounding the 2016 Brexit referendum may have additionally impacted the outcome of the referendum in favor of the Leave campaign.

The 2016 Brexit referendum was heavily influenced by the tactics and narratives of both the Remain and Leave campaigns. The Leave campaign, drawing on a consistent message of nostalgia and solving sources of frequent frustration, was able to create a diverse coalition of Leave voters. However, the narrative of the Leave campaign was routinely criticized by the Remain campaign for blatant xenophobia and fabrication of economic data. While the Remain campaign had a stronger factual base to its narrative, the campaign was unable to adequately capitalize on its advantage and presented an inconsistent technocratic explanation for staying in the EU, which was not as persuasive as the emotional Leave campaign message. The external media coverage of the referendum may have also contributed to the success of the Leave campaign.

Conclusions

This paper builds off previous work on the 2016 Brexit referendum, particularly on the role of sovereignty in the referendum and the character of the referendum campaigns. I will utilize a discourse analysis of collected campaign materials to assess the role of sovereignty, particularly national and pooled sovereignties, in the campaign narratives of the Leave and Remain campaigns. I argue that the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty,

indicating that the outcome of the Brexit referendum was, at least in part, a reprioritization of national sovereignty. This result is consistent with previous literature on the issue of sovereignty in the 2016 Brexit referendum. However, the Remain campaign was not similarly representative of pooled sovereignty, which signals that Brexit was not necessarily a full rejection of pooled sovereignty. While less literature was dedicated towards the Remain campaign, this result appears to parallel comments that the Remain campaign had an inconsistent message.

Methods

Discourse Analysis

To assess whether the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty and whether the Remain campaign was representative of pooled sovereignty, this paper utilizes a discourse analysis of collected sources. Discourse analysis refers to a method of analysis for studying different texts that involves translating texts into quantitative measures. For this paper, the discourse analysis centers on quantifying the number of terms associated with both national and pooled sovereignties in campaign sources to make conclusions about the role of sovereignty in the campaign narratives and subsequently the outcome of the 2016 Brexit referendum. This method will help provide clear results as well as statistical evidence to answer the research question and test the hypotheses.

Source Collection

In order to evaluate the hypotheses, a diverse set of sources were collected based on two criteria. First, all collected sources were from English companies or organizations. All European, American, and otherwise global news sources and posts were excluded from analysis. Sources from Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales were excluded as well due to limited time and lack of availability. Second, all collected sources were created and published during the official

campaign period of April 15, 2016 to June 23, 2016. All sources outside of this time period were excluded from analysis.

The primary set of sources was collected directly from the Remain and Leave campaigns. The official Remain campaign was Britain Stronger In Europe or simply Stronger In. The official Leave campaign was Vote Leave. Sources from the Leave.EU campaign, a notable Leave faction led by Nigel Farage, were also included in analysis, though sorted separately from Vote Leave sources. From each of these campaigns, the following sources were included in data analysis: leaflets or pamphlets, official tweets, speeches by official campaigners, and letters. For pamphlets and letters for both campaigns, sources were collected from the London School of Economics (LSE) public database on the 2016 referendum. Tweets were collected directly from Twitter for both Vote Leave and Leave.EU. Tweets for Stronger In were collected from an archived sample created by Ernesto Priego due to the deletion of the official Stronger In account. For tweets, all replies were excluded from analysis. Speeches for Vote Leave were collected directly from the Vote Leave campaign website. Speeches for Stronger In were collected on an individual basis from separate sources.

The second set of sources was collected from British newspapers. Four newspapers were included in analysis including *The Observer*, *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Daily Telegraph*. These newspapers were selected based on both reputability and availability. *The Observer*, *The Financial Times*, and *The Guardian* officially supported Stronger In and *The Daily Telegraph* officially supported Vote Leave during the referendum. All newspaper sources were coded based on the support of the newspaper brand and not the personal statements of the authors of each article. All newspaper articles were collected through the ProQuest Global Newsstream database available via Colby College Libraries.

In total, 4109 sources were collected and used in this discourse analysis. From each source, the number of key terms for both national and pooled sovereignties was assessed and utilized in further data analysis. The key terms for both national and pooled sovereignties are discussed below.

Key Terms for National Sovereignty

There are ten terms that I consider representative of national sovereignty and therefore used in data analysis. The ten national sovereignty terms include:

- Control
- Free(dom)
- Decide / Determine
- Democracy (tic)
- Autonomy
- Authority
- Dominance (t)
- Power
- Rule of Law
- Jurisdiction

In cases such as “Decide / Determine,” there was no distinction made in the data analysis process between the two indicated words. All instances of each of these terms were counted in the same column for each source.

Key Terms for Pooled Sovereignty

There are nine terms that I consider representative of pooled sovereignty and therefore included in data analysis. The nine pooled sovereignty terms include:

- Interdependence
- Global(ization)
- Share(d)
- Movement
- Trade

- Mutual
- Common
- Support
- Joint

In cases such as “Global(ization),” there was no distinction made in the data collection process between the two indicated words. All instances of each of these terms were counted in the same column for each source.

Data Analysis

Data analysis began with evaluating each of the 4109 sources for the nineteen sovereignty terms. All data collection and coding were completed in Microsoft Excel. Sources were described by three categorical variables: type of source, source, and campaign. Type of source refers to general categories of sources. There are five types of sources: tweets, speeches, letters, newspaper articles, and pamphlets. Source refers to the creator of the material, including Stronger In, Vote Leave, and newspaper companies. Pamphlets and letters, unless they were associated with Stronger In, Vote Leave, or Leave.EU, were separated into two categories, LSE – Leave and LSE – Remain, to simplify data analysis. The variable campaign was simplified to Remain and Leave. Remain included Stronger In and all sources that openly supported Stronger In, such as *The Guardian*. Leave included Vote Leave, Leave.EU, and all sources that openly supported Vote Leave, such as *The Daily Telegraph*.

In addition to the three categorical variables, each source was evaluated for the use of the ten national sovereignty terms and the nine pooled sovereignty terms regardless of which campaign the source supported. Any present text in a source, including hashtags, titles, and abstracts, were assessed for the nineteen sovereignty terms, and included in data analysis. Plural or similar forms of any of the terms were included in analysis. For example, the word “Interdependent” would be counted for the pooled sovereignty term “Interdependence” and the

word “Autonomous” would be counted for the national sovereignty term “Autonomy.” However, proper nouns, such as Commons as part of House of Commons, were excluded from analysis. In addition, similar forms were strictly limited to containing the same unchanged word stem and meaning as the listed term. For example, the word “Predominantly” would not count for “Dominance (t).”

The total number of national sovereignty terms and total number of pooled sovereignty terms were then calculated for each source. These two values were added to determine the total number of sovereignty terms used in a source. Analysis involved three categorical variables and twenty-two numerical variables for a total of twenty-five variables. All 4109 sources were assessed along this procedure regardless of type of source or supporting campaign. The Excel spreadsheet of all data was then exported to R data analysis, specifically the desktop 1.4.1103 version of R. All statistical tests, figures, tables, and related data analysis were completed in R.

Criteria for Hypothesis Testing

Three criteria were created to assess how the quantitative data analysis results address the hypotheses. While each campaign had a separate hypothesis, as this thesis is examining whether the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty and whether the Remain campaign was representative of pooled sovereignty, both campaigns were evaluated based on the same three criteria.

First, each campaign must provide more evidence for their associated concept of sovereignty. Therefore, the Leave campaign must have higher usage of the ten national sovereignty terms than the nine pooled sovereignty terms. On the other hand, the Remain campaign must have higher usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms than the ten national sovereignty terms. This criterion was included to determine whether the campaigns effectively

focused on their concept of sovereignty, which is treated as a binary conception by this paper. For example, the Leave campaign needs to use more national sovereignty terminology than pooled sovereignty terminology if the Leave campaign is going to be considered representative of national sovereignty.

Second, each campaign must have more evidence for their designated conception of sovereignty in comparison to the other campaign. Therefore, the Leave campaign must have higher usage of the ten national sovereignty terms than the Remain campaign. On the other hand, the Remain campaign must have higher usage the nine pooled sovereignty terms than the Leave campaign. This criterion was included to determine whether the campaigns produced a stronger narrative of their particular concept of sovereignty than the other campaign. For example, if the Remain campaign is considered representative of pooled sovereignty, then the Remain campaign should not have a weaker narrative of pooled sovereignty than the Leave campaign. Most of the data analysis section will be dedicated to assessing this criterion.

Third, each campaign must have substantial usage of their respective sovereignty terms. To assess this criterion, there are two main areas of concern. First, each campaign must have at least half of the usage of each of their respective terms. For example, the Leave campaign should account for at least 50% of all usage of “Control” and the other nine national sovereignty terms. This requirement was included to demonstrate that each campaign used their terms at a greater rate than the other campaign. The Leave campaign should account for most of the usage of the national sovereignty terms in this sample if it is going to be considered representative of national sovereignty. Second, each campaign should have at least half of their respective terms appear in at least 10% of their sources. For example, the term “Movement” should appear in at least 10% of all Remain sources. To be considered representative, the Remain campaign should have this

criterion fulfilled for at least five pooled sovereignty terms. This requirement was included to determine whether the campaigns effectively utilized terms that I associate with sovereignty in their campaign materials. If a campaign is considered representative of a concept of sovereignty, then the campaign should effectively utilize the terms associated with the concept in their campaign materials.

Chapter 2: National Sovereignty

Before proceeding into data analysis sections of the Leave and Remain campaign materials, this section will provide necessary background information about the concept of national sovereignty, which was part of the Leave campaign's narrative during the 2016 referendum, and how the concept is relevant in the UK specifically. This section will begin with a historical overview of the traditional understanding of national sovereignty, Westphalian sovereignty, before proceeding into more modern interpretations of national sovereignty. The theoretical concept of national or Westphalian sovereignty, as well as its application to the European state system, will also be discussed. After the historical and theoretical overview, this chapter will review current challenges and returns to national sovereignty in the context of the European Union and the UK specifically. This chapter will conclude with a section on the particular context of national sovereignty in the UK with discussions of parliamentary sovereignty as well as a brief overview of complications to UK national sovereignty as the UK is a state of four nations. This chapter will highlight and discuss important tenets of national sovereignty, which informed the data analysis section on the Leave campaign.

Traditional Notions of National Sovereignty

Sovereignty as a concept has governed the realm of international relations for centuries, though the exact definition of the term sovereignty varies depending on time and context. However, this section will focus primarily on Westphalian sovereignty and its historical context as well as impact on the interactions of states since its inception. The goal of this section is to provide a foundation of the historical and theoretical context in which European states understood the concept of sovereignty before the formation of the EU. With this information, the perspective of the Brexiteers or pro-Leave campaigners will be clarified.

Before the conception of Westphalian sovereignty, states were not defined by strict territorial limits and routinely interfered in each other's internal matters (Kratochwil 1986; Osiander 2001). The issue of religion was particularly explosive in Europe and prompted the start of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), which began as a conflict over the religion of Holy Roman states before expanding to involve various European powers (Osiander 2001; Straumann 2008). The Peace of Westphalia, which marked the end of the conflict, sought to address the issues that had started the conflict originally, including the insecure balance of power between the European states. While the Peace of Westphalia also afforded religious freedom to various European entities, the role of the Peace of Westphalia in the development of the concept of sovereignty and the modern state system is the main focus of this section.

Westphalian sovereignty, or territorial sovereignty, marked the beginning of the modern state system and governing principles for the international order. While some scholars, including Osiander, argue that the significance of the Peace of Westphalia is overstated if not incorrect, the use of 1648 as the narrative starting point for the concept of sovereignty and the modern state system has been indoctrinated into the field of international relations (Straumann 2008). The concept of Westphalian, or territorial sovereignty, refers to the idea that territorially defined

states have exclusive control within their territorial boundaries and are the primary actors in the international arena. External actors are not allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of other states (Krasner 1999; Caporaso 1996). In terms of the structure of the state itself, a Westphalian state has a monopoly on the legitimate use of force within the state (Pierson 2011; Kratochwil 1986). European rulers during this time drew on this conception of national sovereignty to explain and establish their internal and external legitimacy (Keohane 2002). In the Westphalian system, therefore, the presence of legitimacy, rather than physical or military power, was most important and created a system of self-restraint, at least in theory (Osiander 2001; Krasner 1999). Sovereignty, in a sense, became the requirement for the existence and recognition of a state after the Peace of Westphalia.

The theory of Westphalian sovereignty was expanded into two areas, the internal and external arena. The importance of internal sovereignty, or the existence of an authoritative decision-making structure within a political entity that is legitimate and effective (Krasner 2007), was the focus on Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651). Hobbes prescribed an absolute and unitary sovereign to ensure peace and avoid the state of war (Hobbes 1994). While Hobbes advocated for an absolute monarchy, his prescription for a strong sovereign governing body to prevent the outbreak of war became a foundational understanding of sovereignty in the context of Europe. While some scholars focused on sovereignty within the internal territorial boundaries of a state, others connected the concept of sovereignty to the external international arena. The international community was founded on the mutual recognition of internal sovereignty and therefore noninterference into the internal affairs of other states (Kratochwil 1986; Krasner 1988). External sovereignty refers to the idea that the sovereign state is not subject to the authority of any other external state. Therefore, all sovereign states are considered equal, in theory (Keohane

2002; Kratochwil 1986). However, the Westphalian system is anarchic as there is no final authority to enforce these rules, meaning that, in practice, internal and external sovereignty were routinely violated (Caporaso 1996; Krasner 2007). Frequent violations of the notion of Westphalian sovereignty have led various scholars to criticize the applicability of Westphalian sovereignty to the modern state system.

There are two main tenets of Westphalian sovereignty that are frequently violated in the modern international system: territoriality and autonomy. Territoriality refers to the idea that political authority is exercised over a defined geographic space (Krasner 1995). The concept of territoriality has been violated by the creation of the EU, which was created from existing sovereign states. In the EU, states limit their own freedom of action and pool their sovereignties to cooperate on common issues (Krasner 1995). The issue of autonomy or noninterference into the internal affairs of other states is also a major concern. The concept of autonomy refers to the idea that no external actor enjoys authority within the borders of the state (Krasner 1995). States have routinely violated the norm of noninterference, such as through imperialism and invasion, as there is no formal mechanism to prevent infringements (Krasner 1995). Therefore, the concept of Westphalian sovereignty has been routinely violated by the international system, which has caused some scholars to argue that Westphalian sovereignty is not the governing assumption of the international order.

While Westphalian sovereignty may not be completely applicable to the modern international state system, Westphalian sovereignty and the Westphalian system are cornerstone features of traditional international relations theory. The Peace of Westphalia is routinely considered the start of the concept of sovereignty (Krasner 1995). As such, the Westphalian model provided the foundation of major international relations theories, including realism and

neorealism (Krasner 1995; Krasner 1999). Also, the Westphalian model has not been replaced because all other attempts at describing the international system have failed to provide greater explanatory power (Krasner 1988). Therefore, Westphalian sovereignty did and continues to shape the international system as well as the internal structure of sovereign states.

Modern Notions of National Sovereignty

While national sovereignty, or Westphalian sovereignty, has traditionally governed the international state system since the Peace of Westphalia, the modern political system has had some substantial challenges to the notions of national sovereignty through the process of globalization and the creation of entities such as the EU. However, there has also been evidence of recent attempts to return to more traditional understandings of national sovereignty, such as Brexit. The goal of this section is to clarify the current status of national sovereignty, particularly in the context of the UK and the EU.

Challenges to National Sovereignty

The biggest challenge to national sovereignty in the modern era is globalization and its impacts. Globalization is the process whereby power is located in global social formations and expressed through global networks rather than through territorially based states (Clark 1998). Globalization assumes that all states, or at least relevant states to a particular issue, are interdependent in these issues. Therefore, every state must take adequate action to effectively handle the problem as one state acting alone is not enough (Clark 1998). As such, modern states have been transformed theoretically as well as in practice to accommodate these changes to the international system.

In terms of practical changes to states and the state system, the issue of interdependence has altered state action in the international community. Economic interdependence has been a

significant area of change as states have collectively decided to sacrifice some traditional notions of national sovereignty to adequately provide the goods and services that their state needs (Kratochwil 1986). The best example of economic interdependence is the EU (Caporaso 1996). In the EU, the collective body of the European Commission sets the economic policy goals of the EU and the Council of Ministers, with input from the European Parliament, decides on legislation related to achieving these economic policy goals (Berend 2016). Even beyond the EU, globalization has increased the connections and the importance of these connections between various sovereign states (Linklater 1998). In response to these changes, many scholars argue that the importance of nation states in the international arena has decreased as modern issues, including global health and climate change, continue to move beyond the control of one state. Modern states have also joined or participated in formalized international institutions and informal coalitions of states to address these international problems (Clark 1998). Therefore, within the realm of international relations, there have been calls for a new and better descriptive theory of the modern state system to adequately address the impact of globalization (Clark 1998; Linklater 1998). However, the applicability of Westphalian sovereignty to the modern state system has recently been reinforced by attempts to return to more traditional notions of national sovereignty, particularly in Europe.

Returns to National Sovereignty following the Eurozone Crisis

While the issues of globalization and growing interdependence have shifted the narrative of the international arena away from the traditional state system, there has been substantial backlash, particularly in Europe, against globalization and its impacts. The EU has always been dependent on the intergovernmental associations of the sovereign member states. Therefore, in certain areas of particular sensitivity, such as immigration and security, the EU has been

ineffective due to infighting or unwillingness of member states to cooperate and effectively administrate (Caporaso 1996). A series of crises in the twenty first century, including the Eurozone Crisis in 2008 and the Migrant Crisis in 2015, placed increasing strains on the ability of the EU to adequately handle certain issues that impact member states. As a result, several Eurosceptic political parties, which oppose the EU and its current direction, including the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), have gained increasing electoral support and influence (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2018; Clarke et al. 2017). These political parties and various other organizations have advocated for some degree of control to be returned to nation states, though there is significant variation in the objectives of these organizations. Soft Eurosceptics typically want reforms within the EU, but not necessarily the dissolution or removal of the EU. Many of these groups are critical of the democratic deficit, or lack of accountability within EU institutions (Caporaso 1996; Taggart and Szczerbiak 2018). Hard Eurosceptics, including UKIP, advocate for the withdrawal of their member state from the EU and hope that these changes effectively end the EU (Evans and Mellon 2019). These Eurosceptic parties and their rhetoric helped contribute to the outcome of the Brexit referendum in 2016.

The Brexit referendum in 2016 was the greatest victory of Euroscepticism in the history of the EU as a slim majority of UK citizens voted for the UK to formally leave the EU. While Euroscepticism was certainly not the only cause of the UK voting to leave the EU, Eurosceptic tensions and rhetoric did contribute to the outcome of the referendum. Euroscepticism in general as well as the particular context of the 2016 Brexit referendum primarily focused on the issue of immigration of EU nationals and refugees from developing countries (Abrams and Travaglino 2018; Clarke et al. 2017). Euroscepticism in the context of the UK argued that the EU had forced the UK to accept too many immigrants and, as a result, the British economy was harmed, and

ordinary Britons were forced to pay the price. The theme of Euroscepticism was part of previous Conservative Party rhetoric and promises to the electorate, which amplified an already weak European identity in the UK (Carl et al. 2019; Clarke et al. 2017). The rise of Euroscepticism, as well as calls to return to more traditional notions of national sovereignty, therefore played a significant role in the 2016 Brexit referendum.

National Sovereignty in the UK

This section will discuss the context of national sovereignty in the UK specifically. First, this section will discuss the concept of parliamentary sovereignty, which is when the national sovereignty of a state is invested in a parliament, and how parliamentary sovereignty has changed in the UK over time. Second, this section will discuss the UK as a state of four nations as well as the process of devolution with concern towards how this Brexit will complicate UK national sovereignty.

Parliamentary Sovereignty

In the United Kingdom, the sovereign power is located in the UK Parliament. Therefore, when discussing national sovereignty in the context of the UK, references of sovereign power and authority are typically referring to the concept of parliamentary sovereignty. Parliamentary sovereignty refers to the concept that the UK Parliament, as determined by the British electorate, is the sole national authority and no other parliament or body outside of the UK can bind or interfere with Parliament (Bickerton 2019). While in theory the UK parliament is the sole sovereign body in the UK, parliamentary sovereignty has been reduced over time.

The sole power and sovereignty of the UK parliament has been impacted by the EU as well as general modernization. With regards to the EU, the decision to join the EU necessarily changed the traditional understanding of parliamentary sovereignty as Parliament had to then

contend with EU officials in certain policy sectors (Bickerton 2019). With regards to the impact of the modern era on the UK parliament, the need to fulfil the “people’s will” has forced parliament to cede some control back to the UK electorate, such as the use of public referendums when ratifying EU treaties or membership agreements (Bickerton 2019). In the case of Brexit, the UK parliament was not heavily involved in the referendum. Individual members of Parliament could become involved in either campaign, but, in the end, Parliament’s only role was to uphold the results of the people’s vote. As Theresa May argued, “Brexit means Brexit,” meaning that Parliament would deliver the decision of the people without question or delay (Bickerton 2019; Kendrick 2016). The reduction in the power of the UK Parliament over time has led to some scholars questioning the relevance of parliamentary sovereignty in the modern UK. Ewing (2017) maintained that Parliament is sovereign and had sufficient authority to invoke Article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon while Ringeisen-Biardeaud (2017) argued that parliamentary sovereignty has never been absolute and is largely unapplicable to the modern UK. While the concept of parliamentary sovereignty has questionable relevance in the modern UK, the notion of parliamentary sovereignty largely dictated government actions during the modern era.

Devolution: The UK as a State of Four Nations

The complexity of national sovereignty in the UK is further exacerbated by the process of devolution and the UK as a multinational state. The UK contains four nations, including England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. However, the separate sovereignties and authorities of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland have historically been limited by English dominance. The UK government is based in London, and the three subservient nations generally have more limited power within the UK government (Bickerton 2019). However, the issue of inequality within the UK became a major political issue in Scotland and Wales, which led to the

rise and success of the Scottish National Party (SNP) and Plaid Cymru (Party of Wales) in the early 1970s. In the late 1990s, under the Blair government, devolution was granted to the three constituent states of the UK (Minto et al. 2016). Devolution refers to the process of England returning some sovereignty to the constituent states (Bickerton 2019; Minto et al. 2016). While the process of devolution has been marked by problems, including threats of sectarian violence in Northern Ireland and a failed Scottish referendum in 2014, the UK arrangement remained relatively stable until the 2016 Brexit referendum.

The 2016 Brexit referendum outcome threatened the stability within the UK due to the different voting patterns in the four nations. The Scottish and Northern Irish voted strongly to remain in the EU while the English and Welsh voted to leave the EU. Despite the process of devolution, Northern Ireland and Scotland are bound by the majority decision of the 2016 referendum (Bickerton 2019). As a result, Scotland and Northern Ireland raised concerns about identity, sovereignty, and economics with regards to the referendum. With the issue of identity, the Brexit referendum drew on appeals to English nationalism, which is potentially threatening to the distinct cultures of the other nations (de Ruyter and Nielsen 2019; Wellings 2019). On the issue of sovereignty, the EU treated each of the four UK nations as relatively separate entities, which has now ended due to Brexit. Sovereignty is also only being returned to London and not the other constituent nations (Minto et al. 2016; Bickerton 2019). Concerns for the economy may additionally harm the intra-UK relationships between nations as Northern Ireland and Wales are particularly at risk for economic downturn (Chen et al. 2017). There are also growing concerns of a flare up of sectarian violence around the Irish border and another Scottish independence referendum as a result of Brexit, though neither concern has yet to materialize (Bickerton 2019). These issues indicate that revisions may be required for the current UK system to avoid further

antagonization (de Ruyter and Nielsen 2019; Wellings 2019). The issue of sovereignty in the UK is heavily complicated due to the presence of four nations, which may only get worse as the impacts of Brexit become more apparent over time.

Conclusions

This section focused on the concept of national sovereignty, which was the main focus of the Leave campaign during the 2016 Brexit referendum. The first part of this section dealt with the historical and theoretical conception of national or Westphalian sovereignty and the Westphalian model. Then, the section addressed the shortcomings of the Westphalian model. The next part discussed the modern conception of national sovereignty, including its challengers and defenders, particularly in Europe. The last section of this chapter briefly discussed the situation of national sovereignty in the UK with a focus on the concept of parliamentary sovereignty and devolution as well as how these concepts will be impacted by Brexit.

Chapter 3: Pooled Sovereignty

This chapter focuses on the concept of pooled sovereignty, which is hypothesized to be the main narrative of the Remain campaign during the 2016 referendum. This section will start with a historical overview of the foundation of the European Union, or the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) at the time, and pooled sovereignty in the context of Europe. The process of European integration from the ECSC to the modern EU will then be described to demonstrate the growth in relevance of the concept of pooled sovereignty over the traditional notions of national sovereignty. The theory of pooled sovereignty will then be discussed with regards to relevant Remain narrative arguments. This chapter will conclude with a section on current challenges to pooled sovereignty, including nationalist backlash across Europe as a result

of the Eurozone and Migrant Crises and ultimately Brexit. This chapter will serve to highlight important tenets of the concept of pooled sovereignty and how pooled sovereignty and the context of the EU informed the narrative structure of the Remain campaign during the referendum.

Historical Context of Pooled Sovereignty

While the concept of national sovereignty is the most commonly discussed form of sovereignty, pooled sovereignty has also had a profound impact on the international state system, particularly in Europe. This chapter will focus on the concept of pooled sovereignty, which began after the end of World War II with European integration. The process of European integration and creation of pooled sovereignty are intimately connected as pooled sovereignty was theorized and built around the process of European integration.

The end of World War II marked a new era in European willingness to cooperate on issues of interdependence. European powers in the aftermath of World War II were fragile and highly vulnerable to potential Soviet or German aggression. The UK and France signed the Treaty of Dunkirk in 1947, which was a military alliance against Germany, before expanding to the Treaty of Brussels with Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands (Siousiouras and Nikitakos 2006; Kaplan 1999). While these pacts were limited and reminiscent of old military alliances, the concern for Germany initiated future German integration into Western Europe. Reintegration of West Germany into the West began with NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) before expanding into European-only alliances and structures (Kay 1998). France, which still felt insecure against Germany despite NATO, later announced the Schuman Plan, which integrated the coal and steel industries, the traditional war-making sectors, of France and Germany. The Schuman Plan was later expanded to also include Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg,

and the Netherlands to form the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). These six European states became known as the “Original Six” and marked a transition away from security pacts to economic policy as the main focus of European integration (Treverton 1992). The ECSC effectively began the European integration project.

The Treaty of Rome in 1957 started the process of economic and political integration as well as the institutionalization of the concept of pooled sovereignty. The Treaty of Rome created the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) with the objective of building an “ever closer union” among the six signatories (Berend 2016). The Treaty of Rome sought to eliminate trade barriers between signatories to eventually create a customs union and common market. As a result, the European Commission, Council of Ministers, European Court of Justice, and European Parliament were institutionalized (Berend 2016). The Treaty of Rome is also credited with constitutionalizing the concept of pooled sovereignty, as the treaty created a set of binding rules between sovereign states (Caporaso 1996). The Treaty of Rome was largely used as the governing document of the EEC and began to prepare the “Original Six” for the path towards a customs union and eventually a common market.

European integration efforts were revitalized again in 1970 with the Werner Plan, which suggested the introduction of a common currency. While the Werner Plan’s recommendation for a common currency was not put into effect immediately, the Werner Plan did significantly contribute to greater economic integration towards a customs union and single market, or collectively the Economic Monetary Union (EMU) (Berend 2016). Three countries joined the EEC in 1973, including the UK, which pushed the EEC further in the direction of a truly European economic bloc (Bickerton 2019). Other supplementary efforts were also made towards

the EMU and a single currency through the elimination of customs between the nine EEC member states as well as the creation of the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), which the UK opted out of (Berend 2016). While there were successes in the 1970s and early 1980s towards a true economic union, European leaders were relatively unhappy with the pace of the integration and signed the Single European Act (SEA) in 1986 to reestablish their goal of a single market.

The SEA created a stricter timetable for the process of integration towards a single market and eliminated existing barriers towards that goal. The SEA reformed the already existing Treaty of Rome to a stricter and more progressive document for the European integration project with an end goal of 1992 for a single market. The SEA was primarily focused on removing barriers to trade and promoting the freedom of movement of goods and materials to facilitate greater and smoother trade between member states. The SEA also strengthened the powers of the European Parliament and European Council as well as made greater steps towards a formalized political union (Berend 2016). While the single market did not appear overnight as part of the SEA, the SEA provided the foundation for the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, thereby meeting the original SEA deadline.

The Maastricht Treaty of 1992 is the foundational document of the European Union and, as such, is sometimes referred to as the Treaty of the European Union (TEU). Maastricht was based around three pillars, including a single market with a common currency and central bank, a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and an intergovernmental Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) division (Berend 2016). However, there were some difficulties in getting Maastricht ratified in Denmark and France, which ended the permissive consensus that had governed the European integration project since its foundation. In the end, Maastricht was successfully ratified by all members, but there were still greater calls towards democratic

accountability. In response to these concerns, the Treaty of Lisbon increased the power of the EP and increased the transparency and democratic accountability of the Commission (Berend 2016). With the Maastricht Treaty and its revisions in the Treaty of Lisbon, the modern EU was born. The EU today remains a semi-state that is reliant on the cooperation of member states to effectively administrate (Caporaso 1996). The EU is not a fully supranational institution, as nation states retain control over certain policy areas as well as the ability to leave the EU, which the exercised UK in 2016. While the EU has a need to balance the opinions of the different member states, the individual member states themselves must be careful to find an equilibrium between the needs of their publics and their obligations to other EU member states, which has led to recent backlash (Bickerton 2019). The process of European integration is necessarily treated as the expansion and institutionalization of the concept of pooled sovereignty.

The Theory of Pooled Sovereignty

The EU is the primary example of pooled sovereignty in the international system. Pooled sovereignty refers to the process by which the states' legal authority over internal and external affairs is transferred to the community as a whole, such as in the EU. Also, actions are authorized through procedures that do not involve state vetoes (Keohane 2002). The EU is an example of pooled sovereignty as European states pool their sovereignty in areas of interdependence, starting with coal and steel in 1951 and expanding to wider economic and fiscal policies. These areas continue to expand and contract with public opinion (Keohane 2002). The development of pooled sovereignty in the EU, has led some scholars to suggest that the Westphalian state is no longer relevant. Instead, these scholars argue that European states are examples of post-modern states, or a state with a weak core or centralization, many spatial locations, and a multilevel polity (Caporaso 1996). However, the EU is not a superstate. The institution is still heavily

reliant on intergovernmental bargaining to accomplish its major goals. The EU is therefore an example of limited pooled sovereignty, as all states remain autonomous in many traditional regards but pool their sovereignty on common issues. Traditional nation states are limited by the principle of pooled sovereignty, but still retain the final say in all major decisions (Keohane 2002). The EU therefore demonstrates that there is a gradient to sovereignty; sovereignty can be more than just an absolute principle. As such, pooled sovereignty implies that nation states do not necessarily have a long-term goal of regaining their national sovereignty (Keohane 2002), though this idea was contradicted by Brexit in 2016.

Challenges to Pooled Sovereignty

While Brexit is the clearest example of a challenge to the concept of pooled sovereignty, other European states have also had continued criticisms of the EU and pooled sovereignty. The democratic deficit, or the idea that the EU is led by unelected and unaccountable Eurocrats who do not care about the people of Europe, has been a common criticism of the EU (Caporaso 1996). Along with concerns about accountability, the EU has faced continued accusations of fraud and wasting money, which has somewhat undermined the legitimacy of the EU. While the EU has a Court of Auditors to prevent fraud and most wasted money is due to member state indiscretions, the EU remains an intergovernmental institution that is unable to hold its constituent member states heavily accountable for their own actions (Peterson 1997). As such, the EU has become a common source of blame for issues within member states, even if the EU has no role or power over the particular issue. The EU has also been criticized for moving into increasingly sensitive areas of policy, including security and defense policy, which are traditionally reserved for sovereign states (Martill and Staiger 2018). The EU and pooled sovereignty were therefore seen as threats to the prosperity of individual member states in the

eyes of Eurosceptics (Keohane 2002; Bickerton 2019). The conflict between conceptions of sovereignty, as seen in Brexit, ultimately have and will continue to lead to conflict within EU member states.

Conclusions

This section has briefly covered pooled sovereignty as well as the relation of the concept relates to the process of European integration. The section began with a historical overview of the process of European integration, starting with the ECSC in 1951 and proceeding through the Lisbon Treaty to the modern context of the EU. Through each of these steps, the power of the EU and its previous iterations were explained and related to the growing desire to increasingly pool sovereignty on interdependent issues. The theory of pooled sovereignty was then explained within the realm of the EU and in the context of European integration. This section concluded with a brief discussion of current challenges to the notion of pooled sovereignty with Brexit presenting the most severe backlash to date.

Chapter 4: The Leave Campaign and National Sovereignty

The Leave campaign sought to convince the British electorate that the UK would be better off outside of the EU during the 2016 Brexit referendum. The main organization within the Leave campaign was the official Vote Leave campaign, which received government recognition and participated in debates and public events as the representative of the anti-EU side. However, additional campaigns and organizations also contributed to the Vote Leave campaign's message, especially Leave.EU. These supplementary campaigns and additional organizations, including pro-Leave newspaper outlets, were included in analysis to better assess the Leave campaign and generally the pro-Leave rhetoric during the 2016 Brexit referendum.

In this chapter, the degree to which the Leave campaign and specifically the Vote Leave campaign perpetuated a narrative of national sovereignty will be evaluated. Before analyzing the collected Leave materials, this section will briefly review the sources and terms used in data analysis. Then, this section will assess the Leave campaign materials for the ten national sovereignty terms. The analysis will progress from studying all Leave sources to the official Vote Leave campaign specifically and various types of sources within the campaign, including tweets, pamphlets, and speeches. After assessing Vote Leave sources, this chapter will then discuss supplementary sources from unofficial Leave sources, including Leave.EU materials, articles from *The Daily Telegraph*, and pamphlets from other pro-Leave organizations. These results will be used to test the hypothesis that the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty.

Review of Sources and Terms

Various sources are included in analysis to accurately assess the character of the Leave campaign and its connection to national sovereignty. With regards to the official Vote Leave campaign, all tweets from the official Vote Leave twitter account during the official campaign period, speeches from the official Vote Leave website, and pamphlets collected from the LSE 2016 Brexit referendum database are included in analysis. For the Leave.EU campaign, sources include 50 featured tweets from the official Leave.EU twitter account during the official campaign period as well as pamphlets and letters collected from the LSE 2016 Brexit referendum database. Newspaper articles from *The Daily Telegraph*, a pro-Leave news outlet, and additional pro-Leave pamphlets and letters from the LSE database are included as well. Examples of these materials can be found in the Appendix.

With these collected sources, the following ten national sovereignty terms are quantified for analysis:

- Control
- Free(dom)
- Decide / Determine
- Democracy (tic)
- Autonomy
- Authority
- Dominance (t)
- Power
- Rule of Law
- Jurisdiction

Leave sources will also be assessed for the nine pooled sovereignty terms, but this section is focused primarily on the ten national sovereignty terms. In addition, the total usage of national sovereignty terms is calculated for each source. The next section of this chapter will summarize the sources collected and utilized in data analysis for the Leave campaign.

Summary of Data Collection

Data collection of Leave materials included both official Vote Leave materials as well as supplementary materials from other pro-Leave organizations. Analysis will begin with all pro-Leave materials. Table 1 below summarizes all collected sources that were associated with the Leave campaign. There is a total of 2277 sources included in analysis for the Leave campaign, which is 445 more sources than the Remain campaign.

Table 1. Summary of all sources associated with the Leave campaign sorted by type of source (n = 2277). Types of sources included letters, newspaper articles, pamphlets, speeches, and tweets.

Source Type	Leave
Letter	2
Newspaper	260
Pamphlet	50
Speech	22
Tweet	1943
Total	2277

Sources from Vote Leave will be assessed separately to focus on the narrative of the official Leave campaign. Table 2 below summarizes the collected sources that were produced by the official Vote Leave campaign. No letters are included in Vote Leave campaign analysis. In total, 1927 official Vote Leave sources are included in analysis.

Table 2. Collected sources from the official Vote Leave campaign sorted by type of source (n = 1927). Types of sources included pamphlets, speeches, and tweets.

Type of Source	Number of Sources
Pamphlets	12
Speeches	22
Tweets	1893
Total	1927

Leave sources will first be assessed for the use of the ten national sovereignty terms. Then, Vote Leave, Leave.EU, and other supplementary sources will be separately evaluated for the use of the ten national sovereignty terms. Within the Vote Leave subset, tweets, pamphlets, and speeches will also be analyzed to test the hypothesis. These different examinations will be synthesized to assess the extent to which the Leave campaign created a narrative of national sovereignty during the 2016 Brexit referendum.

Summary of Data Analysis

With these various Leave sources, the process of data analysis will begin with a comparison of all Leave sources and all Remain sources. These sources will be assessed for their use of the ten national sovereignty terms as well as overall national sovereignty term usage. After comparing all campaign sources, analysis will focus on comparing the official campaigns, Vote Leave and Stronger In, for their use of the ten national sovereignty terms. Then, analysis will compare types of sources within the official campaigns, including tweets, pamphlets, and speeches. Letters are excluded from analysis due to an extremely limited sample. Data analysis will then examine additional materials, including Leave.EU sources, unofficial pro-Leave pamphlets, and pro-Leave newspaper articles. These sources will be assessed for national sovereignty term usage but also evaluated for their contribution to the Leave campaign and thereby the narrative surrounding the Leave campaign. All of these separate analyses will be combined to determine the extent to which the Leave campaign created a narrative of national sovereignty during the referendum.

Comparison of All Sources

In this section, all Leave sources will be compared to all Remain sources for usage of the ten national sovereignty terms and the total usage of national sovereignty terms. If the results of

this section are consistent with the hypothesis, the Leave campaign sources should have higher usage of the ten national sovereignty terms compared to the Remain campaign sources.

National Sovereignty Terms by Campaign

Comparisons of the usage of ten national sovereignty terms between the campaigns do not support the hypothesis. Only two national sovereignty terms, “Control” and “Jurisdiction,” provide evidence in favor of the hypothesis with higher usage in Leave campaign materials. The other eight national sovereignty terms provide evidence against the hypothesis with higher usage in Remain sources. Based on comparisons of all Leave and all Remain sources for the use of ten national sovereignty terms, the evidence does not support the hypothesis.

Statistical analysis confirms that comparisons of all sources do not provide evidence in favor of the hypothesis. Only one term, “Control,” provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis with significantly higher usage in Leave sources. However, five terms, including “Free(dom),” “Decide / Determine,” “Authority,” “Dominance (t),” and “Power,” provide evidence against the hypothesis with significantly higher usage in Remain sources. Four terms, including “Democracy (tic),” “Autonomy,” “Rule of Law,” and “Jurisdiction,” do not have statistically significant results, and therefore do not provide evidence for or against the hypothesis. Therefore, as only one term has significantly higher usage in Leave sources while five terms have significantly higher usage in Remain sources, the comparison of all sources for national sovereignty term usage provides evidence against the hypothesis.

While the comparisons of all sources do not support the hypothesis, these results can, in part, be contributed to the collection of sources. The Leave campaign may have more sources than the Remain campaign in this study, but the Remain campaign has substantially more newspaper articles, which are longer than tweets or pamphlets and therefore likely have higher

usage of terms in general. This discrepancy could explain why five national sovereignty terms have surprising significantly higher in Remain sources. The only national sovereignty term that is used at a significantly higher rate in Leave sources is “Control,” which was part of the main slogan of the Vote Leave campaign, “Take Control” or “Take Back Control.” Therefore, the term “Control” is able to overcome the discrepancy due to frequent and routine usage in Vote Leave or pro-Leave materials.

Total National Sovereignty Term Usage by Campaign

The comparison of the total average usage of national sovereignty terms does not provide evidence for or against the hypothesis. Leave sources, on average, have lower usage of national sovereignty terms in comparison to Remain sources. However, the difference between campaigns is not statistically significant. These results do not support or provide support against the hypothesis, which would predict that the Leave sources would have higher usage of national sovereignty terms on average. While these insignificant results do not support the hypothesis, official Vote Leave analysis may yield different results due to exclusion of supplementary sources.

Conclusions

The Leave campaign is not representative of national sovereignty when evaluating all campaign sources. One term, “Control,” supports the hypothesis with significantly higher usage in Leave sources, but five terms, including “Free(dom),” “Decide / Determine,” “Authority,” “Dominance (t),” and “Power,” provide evidence against the hypothesis. The Leave campaign also used less national sovereignty terms on average in comparison to the Remain campaign, although this result is not significant. While the hypothesis is not supported at this point in analysis, the results are likely due the inclusion of various types of sources. This analysis

included 1147 sources that were not created by an official campaign, including newspaper articles, and therefore likely not as committed to a strict narrative as the official campaigns. Therefore, further analysis into the usage of national sovereignty terms in official campaign sources is necessary to better illustrate the narrative of the Leave campaign.

Official Vote Leave Analysis

This section will analyze the subset of Leave sources that were created by the official Vote Leave campaign to further test the hypothesis of whether the Leave campaign successfully presented a narrative of national sovereignty. In this section, Vote Leave sources will be compared to Stronger In sources, the official Remain campaign. If official Vote Leave sources are compatible with the hypothesis, then Vote Leave sources should have significantly higher usage of national sovereignty terms in comparison to Stronger In sources. Both the Vote Leave and Stronger In campaigns do not have any usage of the term “Autonomy,” which is therefore excluded from analysis. In addition, Stronger In does not have any usage of “Authority,” “Rule of Law,” or “Jurisdiction.” However, these three terms are still included in analysis as the Vote Leave campaign uses each of these terms.

Comparisons of official campaign sources for national sovereignty term usage provides stronger evidence in favor of the hypothesis. Five terms, including “Control,” “Free(dom),” “Decide / Determine” “Democracy (tic),” and “Power,” have higher usage in Vote Leave sources, which supports the hypothesis. The three terms that only appear in Vote Leave sources, including “Authority,” “Rule of Law,” and “Jurisdiction,” also support the hypothesis. Only the term “Dominance (t)” has higher usage in Stronger In sources, which provides some evidence against the hypothesis. Therefore, comparisons of national sovereignty term usage between Vote Leave and Stronger In sources provide evidence in favor of the hypothesis.

Statistical analysis provides strong support in favor of the hypothesis. Four terms, including “Control,” “Free(dom),” “Democracy (tic),” and “Authority,” have significantly higher usage in Vote Leave sources, which provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis. No national sovereignty terms provide evidence against the hypothesis with significantly higher usage in Stronger In sources. The other five terms, including “Decide / Determine,” “Dominance (t),” “Power,” “Rule of Law,” and “Jurisdiction,” do not have statistically significant results and therefore do not provide evidence for or against the hypothesis. These statistical results provide strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis.

Comparisons of all official Vote Leave and Stronger In campaign sources provide strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis. With a greater focus on the official campaigns, the influence of supplementary sources, such as newspapers, is eliminated and therefore this analysis provides clearer insight into the narratives of the official referendum campaigns. The Vote Leave campaign has significantly higher usage of four national sovereignty terms, which provides strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis. This result also indicates that the Vote Leave campaign overall provides a stronger and more distinct narrative of national sovereignty in comparison to the Remain campaign. The next three sections of this chapter will examine three subsets of Vote Leave sources, including tweets, pamphlets, and speeches.

Tweets

Official Vote Leave and Stronger In tweets will be compared for the usage of national sovereignty terms to test the hypothesis that the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty. If tweets as a subset of Vote Leave sources are compatible with the hypothesis, then the Vote Leave tweets should have significantly higher usage of the ten national sovereignty terms. For the subset of tweets, neither the Vote Leave nor Stronger In campaign has any usage

of the terms “Autonomy,” “Authority,” “Rule of Law,” or “Jurisdiction,” which are therefore excluded from analysis. Also, the national sovereignty term “Dominance (t)” is not present in any Stronger In tweets but is still included in analysis.

Comparisons of official campaign tweets for national sovereignty term usage provide strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis. All six national sovereignty terms that are present in at least one campaign, including “Control,” “Free(dom),” “Decide / Determine,” “Democracy (tic),” “Dominance (t),” and “Power,” have higher usage in Vote Leave tweets. Therefore, comparisons of national sovereignty term usage in official campaign tweets provide strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis.

Statistical analysis confirms that the tweets subset of Vote Leave sources provides strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis. Five terms, including “Control,” “Free(dom),” “Decide / Determine,” “Democracy (tic),” and “Power,” support the hypothesis with significantly higher usage in Vote Leave tweets. No national sovereignty terms provide evidence against the hypothesis with significantly higher usage in Stronger In tweets. The one remaining national sovereignty term that appears in at least one campaign, “Dominance (t),” does not have statistically significant results and therefore does not provide evidence in favor or against the hypothesis. Comparisons of official tweets for the use of national sovereignty terms provide strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis.

The tweets subset of official Vote Leave sources provides strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis, which argues that the Leave campaign presented a strong narrative of national sovereignty on social media. While the tweets subset does not include the usage of four national sovereignty terms, “Autonomy,” “Authority,” “Rule of Law,” or “Jurisdiction,” the Vote Leave campaign has significantly higher usage of five out of the other six terms. The lack of usage of

these four terms can be contributed to the sophistication of the terms, which are not commonly used in everyday life. Tweets were also limited to 140 characters at the time of the referendum, which therefore would limit the word usage in Vote Leave tweets to more common and direct terms, such as “Control” or “Decide / Determine.” Despite these limitations, the Vote Leave campaign demonstrates a clear narrative of national sovereignty in their tweets, which provides strong support in favor of the hypothesis.

Pamphlets

Official Vote Leave and Stronger In pamphlets will be compared for national sovereignty term usage to further test the hypothesis. If pamphlets as a subset of Vote Leave materials are compatible with the hypothesis, then the Vote Leave pamphlets should have significantly higher usage of the national sovereignty terms. Neither the Vote Leave nor Stronger In campaign has any usage of the terms “Autonomy,” “Dominance (t),” “Rule of Law,” or “Jurisdiction,” which are therefore excluded from analysis. The terms “Democracy (tic),” “Authority,” and “Power” are not present in any Stronger In pamphlets but are still included in analysis.

Official Vote Leave pamphlets provide some evidence in favor of the hypothesis. The three terms that only appear in Vote Leave pamphlets, including “Democracy (tic),” “Authority,” and “Power,” provide support to the hypothesis. Of the other three present terms, “Control” provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis with higher usage in Vote Leave pamphlets. However, the terms “Free(dom)” and “Decide / Determine” have higher usage in Stronger In pamphlets, which provides evidence against the hypothesis. Therefore, comparisons of national sovereignty term usage between the pamphlets of the official campaigns provides some evidence in favor of the hypothesis with four terms supporting the hypothesis and two terms providing evidence against the hypothesis.

Statistical analysis clarifies that the official pamphlets subset of Vote Leave sources provides support for the hypothesis. Two terms, “Control” and “Power,” are used at significantly higher rates in Vote Leave pamphlets, which supports the hypothesis. No national sovereignty term provides evidence against the hypothesis with significantly higher usage in Stronger In pamphlets. The four other present national sovereignty terms, including “Free(dom),” “Decide / Determine,” “Democracy (tic),” and “Authority” do not have statistically significant results and therefore do not provide evidence for or against the hypothesis. Statistical comparisons of national sovereignty term usage between official campaign pamphlets provides support to the hypothesis.

The pamphlets subset of Vote Leave sources provides evidence in support of the hypothesis with two terms having significantly higher usage in Vote Leave pamphlets. In a similar manner to tweets, the pamphlets subset has no usage of four national sovereignty terms. Pamphlets are relatively short and are created as marketing or promotion tools, which requires creators to be more direct with their message. Therefore, it is unsurprising that pamphlets lacked any usage of more sophisticated terms, such as “Jurisdiction” or “Rule of Law,” which would not have been effectively persuasive to the general British public. However, despite not using all ten national sovereignty terms, the Vote Leave campaign created a significant narrative of national sovereignty in their pamphlets, which provides further support to the hypothesis.

Speeches

Official Vote Leave and Stronger In speeches will be compared for usage of the ten national sovereignty terms to evaluate the hypothesis. If speeches as a subset of Vote Leave sources are compatible with the hypothesis, then Vote Leave speeches should have higher usage of the ten national sovereignty terms. In the case of speeches, neither the Vote Leave nor

Stronger In campaign has usage of the term “Autonomy,” which is excluded from analysis. Vote Leave speeches do not have any usage of “Dominance (t)” and Stronger In speeches do not have any usage of “Authority,” “Rule of Law,” or “Jurisdiction.” However, these four terms are still included in analysis as at least one campaign used the terms in their speeches.

Official Vote Leave speeches provide some evidence in favor of the hypothesis. The terms “Authority,” “Rule of Law,” and “Jurisdiction” provide evidence in favor of the hypothesis as these terms do not appear in any Stronger In speeches. Also, the terms “Control,” “Free(dom),” and “Democracy (tic),” provide evidence in favor of the hypothesis with higher usage in Vote Leave speeches. On the other hand, the term “Dominance (t)” provides evidence against the hypothesis as the term does not appear in any Vote Leave speeches. The two other present national sovereignty terms, “Decide / Determine” and “Power,” provide evidence against the hypothesis with higher usage in Stronger In speeches. While there was some evidence against the hypothesis, as three terms have higher usage in Stronger In speeches, six terms have higher usage in Vote Leave speeches, which provides more evidence in favor of the hypothesis.

Statistical analysis reflects the mixed evidence of the speeches subset and provides equal evidence in favor of and against the hypothesis. One national sovereignty term, “Control,” is used at a significantly higher rate in Vote Leave campaign speeches, which provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis. Another term, “Dominance (t),” is used at a significantly higher rate in the Stronger In campaign speeches, which provides evidence against the hypothesis. The other present terms do not have statistically significant results, which does not provide evidence for or against the hypothesis. Therefore, these results for official speeches do not provide clear evidence in favor of or against the hypothesis.

Analysis of official Vote Leave and Stronger In campaign speeches provides equal evidence in favor of and against the hypothesis, which ultimately does not support the hypothesis. The results of analysis on the speeches subset of official campaign sources may have been impacted by the discrepancies in speech collection. The Vote Leave campaign had more easily accessible speeches, which created a large difference in the sample sizes of campaign speeches. However, despite these sampling differences, the speeches subset used more terms on average than the tweets and pamphlets subsets. Speeches are much longer than tweets or pamphlets and therefore are open to more extensive term usage. Also, speeches are performative media and therefore speakers may throw around more sophisticated terms, such as “Rule of Law,” because they have more space to compensate for the confusion of listeners. The use of sophisticated terms might also excite or inspire audiences, who are likely more heavily supportive to begin with if they have already gone through the trouble of going to the event.

Summary of Vote Leave Analysis

Analysis of Vote Leave sources provides strong support for the hypothesis. The subsets of all Vote Leave sources, Vote Leave tweets, and Vote Leave pamphlets provide strong support in favor of the hypothesis with at least two terms having significantly higher usage in Vote Leave sources in comparison to Stronger In sources. However, the speeches subset provides mixed results as one term has significantly higher usage in Vote Leave speeches and one term has significantly higher usage in Stronger In speeches. Overall, the Vote Leave campaign has significantly higher usage of the national sovereignty terms and therefore a strong narrative of national sovereignty.

The Vote Leave campaign, as the official Leave campaign during the referendum, presented a clear message of national sovereignty across different media tools. The most decisive

results of the Vote Leave campaign are found in the tweets subset, which has five national sovereignty terms that are used at a significantly higher rate in Vote Leave tweets. Twitter and other social media platforms have played large roles in the mobilization of political and apolitical campaigns as these platforms are easily accessible, short, and direct. Therefore, Twitter users during the referendum were presented with a narrative of national sovereignty in a clear manner, which may have contributed to the outcome of the referendum. However, the Vote Leave campaign overall managed to create a distinct narrative of national sovereignty, with the exception of speeches. As the official Leave campaign, the clear message of national sovereignty that is present in Vote Leave materials provides substantial evidence in favor of the hypothesis at this stage in analysis.

Additional Sources Associated with Leave

Other organizations beyond the official Vote Leave campaign contributed to the narrative of national sovereignty from the Leave campaign. To provide additional insight into the narrative of the general Leave campaign around the referendum, three outside sources are incorporated into analysis, including the Leave.EU campaign, newspaper articles from *The Daily Telegraph*, and additional pro-Leave pamphlets from the LSE 2016 Brexit referendum database. These additional sources will be assessed for their usage of the ten national sovereignty terms and compared to national sovereignty term usage in the official Vote Leave campaign and all Leave sources. The level of contribution of these outside and additional sources to the Leave campaign narrative in this study will also be determined to understand the role of these sources in the Leave narrative.

Leave.EU

The Leave.EU campaign was a pro-Leave and Eurosceptic political campaign that did not receive official government endorsement, but still impacted the referendum. The Leave.EU campaign is therefore a separate entity from the Vote Leave campaign. While the two campaigns agreed on the end goal of convincing the British public to abandon the EU, the Leave.EU campaign produced more controversial and xenophobic remarks. These Leave.EU materials are included in analysis to contribute to the understanding of general Leave sentiments during the referendum. Leave.EU sources in this section will be assessed for their usage of national sovereignty. The Leave.EU campaign does not have any usage of six national sovereignty terms, including “Decide / Determine,” “Autonomy,” “Authority,” “Dominance (t),” “Rule of Law,” and “Jurisdiction.”

The Leave.EU sources do not have higher usage of any national sovereignty terms in comparison to the Vote Leave sources. All four present national sovereignty terms, including “Control,” “Free(dom),” “Democracy (tic),” and “Power,” are used at higher rates in Vote Leave sources. The six national sovereignty terms that are not used in any Leave.EU sources are also used at higher rates in Vote Leave sources. Therefore, the Leave.EU sources do not contribute to the usage of national sovereignty terms in the Leave campaign narrative at a greater rate than the official Vote Leave campaign.

The Leave.EU sources also do not have higher usage of any national sovereignty terms in comparison to all Leave sources. All four present national sovereignty terms, including “Control,” “Free(dom),” “Democracy (tic),” and “Power,” are used at higher rates in all Leave sources. The other six national sovereignty terms that are not used in any Leave.EU sources are also used at higher rates in all Leave sources. Therefore, the Leave.EU campaign does not utilize the national sovereignty terms at a rate above the Leave campaign average.

Leave.EU sources are also assessed for their contribution to the total Leave campaign usage of the ten national sovereignty terms. Leave.EU sources contribute less than 3% of the Leave usage of the four present national sovereignty terms. The greatest contribution of the Leave.EU sources is 2.19% of the Leave usage of “Democracy (tic).” Therefore, the Leave.EU campaign does not heavily contribute to the Leave narrative of national sovereignty.

The Leave.EU campaign does not have higher usage of any national sovereignty terms and also does not heavily contribute to national sovereignty term usage in the Leave campaign narrative. There are two potential explanations for this discrepancy: small sample size and the nature of the Leave.EU campaign. The Leave.EU sources that are included in analysis only constitute a small portion of Leave sources. A larger sample therefore might present different results. However, the Leave.EU campaign was generally considered a more fringe movement during the referendum if not merely an extension of UKIP that openly spouted racist and xenophobic remarks. While the Leave.EU campaign claimed to seek sovereignty and stated this point in some materials, the Leave.EU campaign was poorly managed and more focused on spouting off catchy phrases than advancing any clear policy agendas. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the Leave.EU campaign does not have any usage of six national sovereignty terms or higher usage of any of the remaining four terms in comparison to the more centralized Vote Leave campaign as well as the overall Leave campaign.

Newspapers – *The Daily Telegraph*

The Daily Telegraph is a British newspaper headquartered in London that openly supports the Conservative Party and supported the Leave campaign during the 2016 Brexit referendum. *The Daily Telegraph* is also considered one of the highest quality newspaper organizations in the UK. Newspaper articles from *The Daily Telegraph* are included in this data

analysis to evaluate the outside news and media coverage of the pro-Leave side during the referendum. *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper articles will be assessed for their usage of the ten national sovereignty terms in comparison to the Vote Leave and all Leave campaign sources as well as their contribution to the Leave campaign narrative.

The Daily Telegraph newspaper articles have higher usage of most national sovereignty terms in comparison to Vote Leave sources. Nine national sovereignty terms have higher usage in *Daily Telegraph* sources. Only one national sovereignty term, “Control,” is used at a higher rate in Vote Leave sources. Therefore, *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper articles have higher usage of national sovereignty terms in comparison to Vote Leave sources.

The Daily Telegraph newspaper articles also have higher usage of most national sovereignty terms in comparison to all Leave sources. Nine national sovereignty terms have higher usage in *Daily Telegraph* sources. Only one national sovereignty term, “Control,” is used at a higher rate in all Leave sources. Therefore, *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper articles utilized most national sovereignty terms at a higher rate than the general Leave campaign average.

The Daily Telegraph newspaper articles additionally provide high contribution to the Leave campaign narrative. *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper sources account for 50% or more of Leave usage of six national sovereignty terms, including “Decide / Determine,” “Autonomy,” “Authority,” “Dominance (t),” “Power,” and “Jurisdiction,” in all Leave sources. The largest contribution of *The Daily Telegraph* sources to the Leave campaign is 86.96% of Leave usage of “Dominance (t).” Also, *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper articles account for 30% or more of the Leave usage of three other terms, including “Free(dom),” “Democracy (tic),” and “Rule of Law.” Therefore, *The Daily Telegraph* sources heavily contribute to the usage of the ten national sovereignty terms, with the exception of “Control,” in all Leave sources.

The Daily Telegraph newspaper articles demonstrate considerable usage of national sovereignty terms as well as contribution to the Leave campaign narrative of national sovereignty, with the exception of “Control.” The term “Control” is likely the only term that does not fit the pattern due to its part in the Vote Leave slogan and therefore intense usage in Vote Leave materials. Also, newspaper articles in general are much longer than tweets or pamphlets, which are the majority of Leave campaign materials, and therefore have more space to utilize national sovereignty terms. *The Daily Telegraph* is also a highly reputable newspaper organization and can present a more sophisticated narrative or argument due to a different and likely more educated target audience than the general Vote Leave campaign. *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper articles have substantial usage of the national sovereignty terms and contribute heavily to the narrative around the Leave campaign.

Additional Pamphlets

Additional pro-Leave LSE pamphlets that were not associated with either Vote Leave or Leave.EU are included in the Leave campaign analysis as well. These pamphlets were created by a variety of organizations, including labor unions and political organizations, that wanted the UK to formally leave the EU. Additional pro-Leave LSE pamphlets will be evaluated for their usage of the ten national sovereignty terms and compared to the Vote Leave and all Leave sources. Also, pro-Leave LSE pamphlets will be assessed for their contribution to term usage in the Leave campaign narrative. The terms “Rule of Law” and “Jurisdiction” are not used in any pro-Leave LSE pamphlets.

Pro-Leave LSE pamphlets have higher usage of most national sovereignty terms in comparison to the Vote Leave campaign. All eight national sovereignty terms that are present in the pro-Leave LSE pamphlets have higher usage in pro-Leave LSE pamphlets in comparison to

Vote Leave sources. The two terms that are not used in any pro-Leave LSE pamphlets, “Rule of Law” and “Jurisdiction,” have higher usage in Vote Leave sources. These results indicate that pro-Leave LSE sources heavily utilize national sovereignty terms, especially in comparison to the official Vote Leave campaign.

Pro-Leave LSE pamphlets also have higher usage of most of the national sovereignty terms in comparison to all Leave sources. Seven national sovereignty terms have higher usage in pro-Leave LSE pamphlets in comparison to all Leave sources. Three terms, including “Decide / Determine,” “Rule of Law” and “Jurisdiction,” are used at higher rates in all Leave sources. However, pro-Leave LSE pamphlets do not have any usage of “Rule of Law” or “Jurisdiction.” The pro-Leave LSE pamphlets utilize seven national sovereignty terms at higher rates than the average Leave campaign rate of usage.

The pro-Leave LSE pamphlets also heavily contributed to the use of the ten national sovereignty terms in the Leave campaign narrative. Pro-Leave LSE pamphlets account for more than 10% of the total Leave usage of four terms, including “Free(dom),” “Democracy (tic),” “Autonomy,” and “Power.” While these levels of contribution are much lower than the equivalent amounts in *The Daily Telegraph* sources, the pro-Leave LSE pamphlets do clearly contribute to the use of national sovereignty terms in the Leave campaign narrative.

Pro-Leave LSE pamphlets demonstrate effective utilization of national sovereignty terms and thereby substantially add to the Leave campaign narrative, though at lower rates than *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper articles. However, the pro-Leave LSE pamphlets contributed more to the Leave narrative in comparison to the Leave.EU campaign, which is not surprising. Pamphlets are relatively short and therefore do not have the space that newspaper articles do to provide a message to readers. The purpose of pamphlets also contributes to the lack of use of the

terms “Rule of Law” and “Jurisdiction” in pro-Leave LSE pamphlets, as pamphlets need to provide a simple and easily interpreted message to a wide audience. However, pamphlets are longer than tweets, which constitute most of the Leave.EU subset. Both Leave.EU and pro-Leave LSE pamphlets subsets are also much smaller than *The Daily Telegraph* subset, which would help explain the discrepancies as well.

Summary of Supplementary Leave Analysis

Analysis of supplementary Leave sources demonstrate that several other organizations, such as the news outlets represented by *The Daily Telegraph*, contributed to the Leave narrative of national sovereignty. Three different sources of additional pro-Leave materials are provided, including the Leave.EU campaign, *Daily Telegraph* newspaper articles, and pro-Leave LSE pamphlets. The Leave.EU campaign does not have higher usage of any national sovereignty terms in comparison to Vote Leave or all Leave materials and also does not contribute heavily to the use of any term. *The Daily Telegraph*, however, contributes heavily to the Leave narrative and utilizes nine terms at higher rates in comparison to Vote Leave and all Leave sources. The pro-Leave LSE pamphlets additionally heavily utilize the national sovereignty terms and substantially contribute to the Leave narrative, though at lower rates in comparison to *The Daily Telegraph* sources.

These additional Leave materials demonstrate that the Leave narrative of national sovereignty was not exclusive to the Vote Leave campaign. *The Daily Telegraph* in particular, which represents the pro-Leave side of the mainstream British news, heavily uses the national sovereignty terms in newspaper articles. While *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper articles likely reflected the narrative of national sovereignty presented by the Vote Leave campaign, these results further suggest that the Vote Leave narrative of national sovereignty was present and

successfully disseminated to the British public outside of Vote Leave outreach. Newspapers are also typically read by older individuals, which may have contributed to the generational divide in voting patterns during the referendum. Overall, this section demonstrates that the narrative of national sovereignty was present in the outside coverage of the Vote Leave campaign as well as general Leave sentiments.

Hypothesis Testing: Was the Leave campaign representative of national sovereignty?

This section will determine whether the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty. To conduct this hypothesis testing, first a review of all major data analysis results will be conducted to reiterate important data analysis results. Second, a review of the three criteria for hypothesis testing will be provided. The next sections will then conduct hypothesis testing by criterion. The conclusion of this section will determine whether the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty.

Review of Leave Campaign Analysis

This section will highlight the important and relevant data analysis results found in the previous sections, including from all Leave sources, Vote Leave sources, and supplementary Leave sources. Comparisons of all Leave and all Remain sources provides evidence against the hypothesis. Only one national sovereignty term, “Control,” is used at a significantly higher rate in Leave sources. On the other hand, five national sovereignty terms are used at significantly higher rates in Remain sources, including “Free(dom),” “Decide / Determine,” “Authority,” “Dominance (t),” and “Power.” There is no significant difference between campaigns for the total usage of national sovereignty terms, which does not provide evidence for or against the hypothesis.

Analysis of Vote Leave sources provides more substantial evidence in favor of the hypothesis. Four terms have significantly higher usage in Vote Leave sources, including “Control,” “Free(dom),” “Democracy (tic),” and “Authority.” There are no national sovereignty terms that are used at significantly higher rates in Stronger In sources. Vote Leave sources are also assessed by their source type, including tweets, pamphlets, and speeches. For tweets, five terms are used at significantly higher rates in Vote Leave tweets, including “Control,” “Free(dom),” “Decide / Determine,” “Democracy (tic),” and “Power.” There are no national sovereignty terms that are used at significantly higher rates in Stronger In tweets. For Vote Leave pamphlets, two terms are used at significantly higher rates in Vote Leave pamphlets, including “Control” and “Power.” No national sovereignty terms are used at significantly higher rates in Stronger In pamphlets. For Vote Leave speeches, one national sovereignty term, “Control,” is used at a significantly higher rate in Vote Leave speeches but one term, “Dominance (t),” is used at a significantly higher rate in Stronger In speeches. Vote Leave sources therefore provide strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis, except in the subset of speeches.

Additional pro-Leave materials, including the Leave.EU campaign, *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper articles, and pro-Leave LSE pamphlets, contributed to the Leave campaign narrative, particularly in the comparisons between all Leave and all Remain sources. The Leave.EU campaign does not have higher usage of national sovereignty terms in comparison to Vote Leave and all Leave sources, nor does the Leave.EU campaign heavily contribute to national sovereignty term usage in the Leave narrative. On the other hand, *The Daily Telegraph* sources use nine national sovereignty terms at higher rates than Vote Leave and all Leave sources. *The Daily Telegraph* sources also contribute 50% or more of all Leave term usage for six national sovereignty terms and 30% or more of all Leave term usage for three other national sovereignty

terms. Pro-Leave LSE pamphlets use eight terms at higher rates than Vote Leave sources and seven terms at higher rates than all Leave sources. Pro-Leave LSE pamphlets also account for 10% or more of all Leave term usage for four terms. Therefore, additional pro-Leave sources substantially contribute to the Leave narrative of national sovereignty, except in the case of the Leave.EU campaign.

Review of Criteria for Hypothesis Testing

Before testing the hypothesis, a brief review of three criteria is included below. The following three criteria will be used to determine whether the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty.

First, the Leave campaign must have more evidence for national sovereignty than pooled sovereignty. Therefore, the Leave campaign must have higher usage of the ten national sovereignty terms in comparison to the nine pooled sovereignty terms. This criterion will be assessed through three comparisons between the two conceptions of sovereignty: average usage values of the nineteen sovereignty terms, presence values of the nineteen sovereignty terms, and total sovereignty term usage.

Second, the Leave campaign must have more evidence for national sovereignty compared to the Remain campaign. Therefore, the Leave campaign must have higher usage of the ten national sovereignty terms in comparison to the Remain campaign. The five subsets of data analysis, including all campaign materials, official campaign materials, official tweets, official pamphlets, and official speeches, will be summarized and evaluated to determine if the Leave campaign has higher usage of the ten national sovereignty terms in comparison to the Remain campaign.

Third, the Leave campaign must have notable usage of national sovereignty terms. To assess this criterion, there are two main areas of concern. First, the Leave campaign must have at least half of the usage of each of the national sovereignty terms. For example, the Leave campaign should account for at least 50% of all uses of “Control” and the nine other national sovereignty terms to be considered representative of national sovereignty. Second, the Leave campaign should have at least five national sovereignty terms appear in at least 10% of their sources. For example, the term “Power” and four other national sovereignty terms should appear in at least 10% of Leave sources for the Leave campaign to be considered representative of national sovereignty.

Hypothesis Testing

Criterion #1: Higher Usage of National Sovereignty than Pooled Sovereignty

The first criterion will evaluate whether the Leave campaign used national sovereignty terms more often than pooled sovereignty terms. To assess this criterion, three comparisons will be conducted. First, the average usage of all nineteen terms will be ranked and compared between sovereignties. Second, the presence values of all nineteen terms will be ranked and compared between sovereignties. Third, total term usage of national and pooled sovereignty terms by the Leave campaign will be compared. For all three comparisons, the Leave campaign should have higher values for national sovereignty than pooled sovereignty if the Leave campaign is representative of national sovereignty.

The first requirement of higher average usage of national sovereignty terms is met. All nineteen sovereignty terms are ranked based on their average usage in Leave materials and given points based on their rank. As there is one more national sovereignty term, the lowest national sovereignty term, or “Autonomy” in this case, is excluded from the total points count. The first

term, or “Control,” is given eighteen points while the eighteenth term, or “Interdependence,” is given one point. Terms that have the same average usage value, such as “Rule of Law” and “Mutual,” receive the same number of points. Based on these guidelines, national sovereignty terms have 95 points and pooled sovereignty terms have 77 points. Therefore, the Leave campaign has greater average usage of national sovereignty terms than pooled sovereignty terms. The first requirement of this criterion is met by these results.

The second requirement of higher presence values in national sovereignty terms is met. All nineteen sovereignty terms are ranked based on their presence in Leave materials and given points based on their rank. As there is one more national sovereignty term, the lowest national sovereignty term, or “Rule of Law” in this case, is excluded from the total points count. The first term, or “Control,” is given eighteen points while the eighteenth term, or “Interdependence,” is given one point. Terms that have the same presence value, such as “Authority” and “Joint,” receive the same number of points. Based on these guidelines, national sovereignty terms have 94 points and pooled sovereignty terms have 79 points. Therefore, national sovereignty terms have a greater presence in Leave materials than pooled sovereignty terms. The second requirement of this criterion is met by these results.

The third requirement of higher total usage of national sovereignty terms is also met. The Leave campaign uses an average of 1.35749 national sovereignty terms per source and 0.58410 pooled sovereignty terms per source. Therefore, the Leave campaign uses national sovereignty terms more often than pooled sovereignty terms on average. The third requirement of this criterion is met by these results.

Therefore, all three requirements of the first criterion are met, which provides strong evidence that the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty. The Leave

campaign clearly demonstrates stronger use of national sovereignty terms in comparison to pooled sovereignty terms.

Criterion #2: Higher Usage of National Sovereignty than the Remain Campaign

The second criterion will evaluate whether the Leave campaign has higher usage of national sovereignty terms in comparison to the Remain campaign. To assess this criterion, previous data analysis results will be synthesized and evaluated. In total, there are five levels of comparison between campaigns: all campaign materials, official campaign materials, official tweets, official pamphlets, and official speeches.

For the comparison of all campaign materials, the criterion is not met. Only one national sovereignty term, “Control,” has significantly higher usage in Leave sources. On the other hand, five national sovereignty terms, “Free(dom),” “Decide / Determine,” “Authority,” “Dominance (t),” and “Power,” have significantly higher usage in Remain sources. The comparison of the overall national sovereignty term usage and the other four national sovereignty terms have insignificant results. Therefore, for all campaign materials, the criterion is not met.

For the comparison of official campaign materials, the criterion is met. Neither campaign has any usage of the term “Autonomy.” Four national sovereignty terms, including “Control,” “Free(dom),” “Democracy (tic),” and “Authority,” are used at significantly higher rates in Vote Leave sources. No national sovereignty terms are used at significantly higher rates in Stronger In sources. The other five national sovereignty terms have insignificant results. Therefore, for official campaign materials, the criterion is met.

For the comparison of official tweets, the criterion is met. Neither campaign has any usage of the terms “Autonomy,” “Authority,” “Rule of Law,” or “Jurisdiction.” Five national sovereignty terms, including “Control,” “Free(dom),” “Decide / Determine,” “Democracy (tic),”

and “Power,” are used at significantly higher rates in Vote Leave tweets. No national sovereignty terms are used at significantly higher rates in Stronger In tweets. The other term, “Dominance (t),” has insignificant results. Therefore, for official tweets, the criterion is met.

For the comparison of official pamphlets, the criterion is met. Neither campaign has any usage of “Autonomy,” “Dominance (t),” “Rule of Law,” or “Jurisdiction.” Two national sovereignty terms, “Control” and “Power,” are used at significantly higher rates in Vote Leave pamphlets. No national sovereignty terms are used at significantly higher rates in Stronger In pamphlets. The other four national sovereignty terms have insignificant results. Therefore, for official pamphlets, the criterion is met.

For the comparison of official speeches, the criterion is not met. Neither campaign has any use of “Autonomy.” One national sovereignty term, “Control,” is used at a significantly higher rate in Vote Leave speeches. However, the term “Dominance (t)” is used at a significantly higher rate in Stronger In speeches. The other seven national sovereignty terms have insignificant results. Therefore, for official speeches, the criterion is not met because the amount of evidence in favor of the hypothesis is equivalent to the amount of evidence against the hypothesis.

The second criterion is met by these results with three out of five subsets meeting the necessary requirements. Official campaign materials, official tweets, and official pamphlets support the hypothesis. All campaign materials reject the hypothesis. Official speeches do not support nor reject the hypothesis but did not meet the criterion requirement. With three out of the five requirements of the criterion met, the second criterion is met by these results.

Criterion #3: Term Usage

The third criterion will evaluate whether the Leave campaign used the national sovereignty terms adequately. To assess this criterion, the Leave campaign must both account for at least half of the usage of all national sovereignty terms and must use these terms in at least 10% of their sources for at least five terms.

The first requirement of the criterion is not met with overall usage of terms. The Leave campaign only accounts for 50% or more of the usage of three national sovereignty terms including “Control,” “Democracy (tic),” and “Jurisdiction.” The Leave campaign accounts for 84.28% of “Control,” 56.25% of “Jurisdiction,” and 50.18% of “Democracy (tic).” Therefore, the first requirement for term usage is not met.

The second requirement of the criterion is not met with usage of national sovereignty terms in Leave sources. Only the term “Control” appears in more than 10% of Leave sources with a presence in 46.38% of all Leave sources. All other national sovereignty terms are present in less than 10% of Leave sources. Therefore, the second requirement for term usage is not met.

The third criterion is not met by these results as neither requirement for the criterion is achieved. The Leave campaign only accounts for 50% or more of the usage of three national sovereignty terms. Also, only one national term, “Control,” appears in more than 10% of Leave sources. Therefore, the third criterion is not met.

Conclusions

Two out of three criteria are met, confirming that the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty. The Leave campaign has higher usage of the national sovereignty terms in comparison to the Remain campaign. The Leave campaign also has higher usage of national sovereignty terms in comparison to pooled sovereignty terms. However, the Leave sources do not thoroughly utilize the ten national sovereignty terms across all Leave sources. With two out

of three criteria met for the Leave campaign, the Leave campaign is considered representative of national sovereignty based on my analysis.

Conclusions

The Leave campaign and its official campaign Vote Leave successfully constructed a narrative of national sovereignty during the 2016 Brexit referendum and meets two out of three criteria of this thesis. The Leave campaign has greater usage of national sovereignty terms in comparison to pooled sovereignty terms. The Leave campaign also has greater usage of national sovereignty terms in comparison to the Remain campaign. These two criteria demonstrate that the Leave campaign had a strong narrative of national sovereignty during the referendum. However, the Leave campaign does not meet either of the two requirements for term usage. While these results may seem contradictory, these results indicate that the Leave campaign had a strong narrative of national sovereignty that was highly focused and succinct.

The Leave campaign had a concise and clear argument during the referendum, which likely contributed to their victory as well as the discrepancy in this data analysis. The term “Control” is used consistently across all subsets, but the term was also part of the Vote Leave campaign slogan “Take Back Control” or simply “Take Control” and is therefore more of an outlier. However, two of the other terms that are used most frequently by the Leave campaign, “Free(dom)” and “Democracy (tic),” are used in everyday discussions about the government, especially in Western democracies such as the UK. The Leave campaign therefore was capitalizing on baseline knowledge or perceptions of the British people, which also carried over into the structure of their campaign. The two main subsets of materials where the Leave campaign has higher usage of national sovereignty terms are tweets and pamphlets, which are both more direct means of interacting with an electorate. More people mindlessly scroll through

Twitter or read the posters plastered on the side of the bus station than go out to campaign rallies and listen to long speeches. Tweets and pamphlets are also substantially shorter, which would explain the infrequent use of more sophisticated terms, such as “Autonomy,” but heavy usage of “Democracy (tic)” or “Control.”

The focus of the Leave campaign on providing a strong and focused narrative of national sovereignty would explain some unexpected results in the data analysis. For example, the Remain campaign accounts for most of the usage of seven national sovereignty terms, which is surprising given that the Leave campaign is considered representative of national sovereignty. However, the Remain campaign, on average, used 1.275 terms more per source than the Leave campaign. The Remain campaign therefore used more sovereignty terms in general, which is likely due to more news articles in the Remain campaign subset. The Leave campaign, on the other hand, focused their message on taking control and returning freedom and democracy to the UK rather than more convoluted narratives. The direct and simple message of the Leave campaign resonated with the British public and helped the Leave campaign present a strong narrative of national sovereignty during the referendum.

Chapter 5: The Remain Campaign and Pooled Sovereignty

The Remain campaign attempted to convince the British electorate of the benefits of staying in the EU during the 2016 Brexit referendum. Stronger In was the official government recognized and active campaign for the pro-Remain side of the referendum. While the Stronger In campaign was the main representative for the pro-EU side, other organizations and groups also contributed to the narrative of pooled sovereignty and are therefore included in analysis as well, such as pro-Remain newspaper sources and additional pamphlets.

In this chapter, the extent to which the Remain campaign, and specifically the Stronger In campaign, successfully provides a narrative of pooled sovereignty will be evaluated. This chapter will start with a brief review of the sources included in data analysis as well as the nine pooled terms that are used to evaluate the hypothesis. Data analysis will start with a comparison of all Remain and all Leave sources for usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms. This section will also include comparisons of the total usage of pooled sovereignty terms by campaign. After assessing all Remain sources, the Stronger In campaign materials will be evaluated separately and compared with Vote Leave sources. Within the official Stronger In campaign, three subsets of sources, including tweets, pamphlets, and speeches, will be also analyzed, and compared with equivalent Vote Leave sources. In addition, supplementary sources, such as newspapers and additional pamphlets, will be evaluated for pooled sovereignty term usage to understand the characteristics of the pro-Remain media culture. This chapter will utilize these results to test the hypothesis that the Remain campaign was representative of pooled sovereignty.

Review of Sources and Terms

A diverse set of sources are included in analysis to accurately understand the narrative created by the Remain campaign during the 2016 Brexit referendum. For the official Stronger In sources, all tweets were collected from an archive created by Ernesto Priego as the official Stronger In Twitter account was deleted. All letters and pamphlets were collected from the LSE 2016 Brexit referendum database. Speeches were collected on an individual basis from separate sources. Newspaper articles were collected from three British newspapers, *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, and *The Financial Times*, from the Colby College Libraries Global Newsstream database. All three of these newspaper outlets openly supported the Remain campaign during the referendum. Examples of these materials can be found in the Appendix.

With these collected sources, the following nine terms are used to evaluate Remain campaign materials for a narrative of pooled sovereignty:

- Interdependence
- Global(ization)
- Share(d)
- Movement
- Trade
- Mutual
- Common
- Support
- Joint

All Remain sources will also be assessed for the ten national sovereignty terms, but primary analysis is focused on pooled sovereignty terms in this section. In addition, the total usage of pooled sovereignty terms is calculated for each source. The next section of this chapter will summarize the sources collected and utilized in data analysis for the Remain campaign.

Summary of Data Collection

Before beginning data analysis, this section will briefly discuss the included sources. Analysis will start with all Remain sources. Table 3 below summarizes all Remain sources, including official Stronger In and supplementary sources, which are sorted by their source type. In total, 1832 sources are included from Remain or pro-Remain sources. The Remain campaign has 445 less sources than the Leave campaign.

Table 3. Summary of sources associated with the Remain campaign sorted by type of source (n = 1832). Types of sources include letters, newspaper articles, pamphlets, speeches, and tweets.

Type of Source	Number of Sources
Letter	7
Newspaper	749
Pamphlet	67
Speech	4
Tweet	1005
Total	1832

The next set of analysis will focus primarily on official Stronger In sources. Table 4 below summarizes all sources collected from the official Stronger In campaign. In total, 1035 Stronger In sources are included in analysis.

Table 4. Collected sources from the official Stronger In campaign sorted by type of source (n = 1035). Types of sources include letters, pamphlets, speeches, and tweets.

Type of Source	Number of Sources
Letter	1
Pamphlet	25
Speech	4
Tweet	1005
Total	1035

Remain sources will first be assessed for their usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms before analysis will focus on separate subgroups within the Stronger In campaign, including tweets, pamphlets, and speeches. Secondary analysis will be conducted on additional Remain sources, including pro-Remain newspaper articles and LSE pamphlets. These different analyses will be combined to accurately assess the extent to which the Remain campaign created a narrative of pooled sovereignty during the 2016 Brexit referendum.

Summary of Data Analysis

The process of data analysis for Remain sources will begin with the comparison of all Remain and all Leave sources. These sources will be assessed for their use of the nine pooled sovereignty terms as well as overall pooled sovereignty term usage. Analysis will then focus on the official Stronger In campaign, which will be assessed for usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms as well. Stronger In analysis will contain all official Stronger In sources and its three subgroups, including tweets, pamphlets, and speeches. Letters are excluded from analysis as the official Vote Leave campaign does not have any letters. Data analysis will then turn to additional sources, including pro-Remain newspapers and other pamphlets. These sources will also be assessed for their usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms and compared to Stronger In and all Remain sources to determine the contribution of these additional sources to the Remain campaign narrative of pooled sovereignty. These separate analyses will be combined and synthesized to assess the extent to which the Remain successfully created a narrative of pooled sovereignty during the 2016 Brexit referendum.

Comparison of All Sources

All Remain sources will be compared to all Leave sources for the usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms as well as the total usage of pooled sovereignty terms. If the results of

this section are consistent with the hypothesis, the Remain campaign sources should have higher usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms compared to the Leave campaign sources.

Pooled Sovereignty Terms by Campaign

Comparisons of the usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms between the campaigns provide support to the hypothesis. All nine pooled sovereignty terms have higher usage in Remain sources. Comparisons of the usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms between all Leave and all Remain sources provides evidence in support of the hypothesis.

Statistical analysis confirms that comparisons of pooled sovereignty usage between campaigns provide support to the hypothesis. Eight pooled sovereignty terms have significantly higher usage in Remain sources, which provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis. No pooled sovereignty terms are used at significantly higher rates in Leave sources, which would provide support against the hypothesis. The remaining pooled sovereignty term “Mutual” does not have statistically significant results, which does not provide support for or against the hypothesis. The results of the comparison of all Remain and all Leave sources for pooled sovereignty term usage provides strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis.

Comparisons of all Remain and all Leave sources provides strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis that the Remain campaign was representative of pooled sovereignty. While the Leave campaign has more sources than the Remain campaign in this study, the Remain campaign is still able to effectively create a narrative of pooled sovereignty through the inclusion of diverse sources. The Remain campaign in this study included a substantial amount of newspaper articles, which are long and therefore have more space to utilize pooled sovereignty terms. However, if the hypothesis that the Remain campaign was representative of pooled

sovereignty is supported by the evidence found in this study, then the Stronger In campaign materials should also heavily contribute to the narrative of pooled sovereignty

Total Pooled Sovereignty Term Usage by Campaign

The comparison of the overall average usage of pooled sovereignty terms by campaign provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis. The Remain sources, on average, have higher usage of pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to the Leave sources. These results are also statistically significant. Therefore, the comparison of the overall average usage of pooled sovereignty terms between campaigns provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis.

Conclusions

The Remain campaign presents a narrative of pooled sovereignty when assessing all collected sources. Eight pooled sovereignty terms provide support for the hypothesis with significantly higher usage in Remain sources. No terms provide evidence against the hypothesis with significantly higher usage in Leave sources. The Remain campaign also has significantly higher pooled sovereignty term usage on average when compared to the Leave campaign. While this point in analysis demonstrates clear support for the hypothesis, all Remain sources is only one of the subsets of collected materials that must demonstrate a clear narrative of pooled sovereignty for the Remain campaign to be considered representative of pooled sovereignty. Further analysis of the official Remain campaign, Stronger In, is necessary to better determine the nature of the narrative presented by the official Remain campaign during the referendum.

Official Stronger In Analysis

This section will analyze the official Stronger In campaign sources to further test the hypothesis of whether the Remain campaign successfully presented a narrative of pooled sovereignty. For this section, Stronger In sources are compared to Vote Leave sources, the

official Leave campaign. If official Stronger In sources are compatible with the hypothesis, then Stronger In sources should have higher usage of pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to Vote Leave sources. Neither campaign has any usage of “Interdependence,” which is subsequently excluded this analysis.

Comparisons of pooled sovereignty term usage between the official campaign sources provides heavily mixed evidence. Four terms, including “Global(ization),” “Share(d),” “Trade,” and “Joint,” have higher usage in Stronger In sources, which provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis. The four other terms, including “Movement,” “Mutual,” “Common,” and “Support,” have higher usage in Vote Leave sources, which provides evidence against the hypothesis. Due to these mixed results, further statistical testing is necessary to assess the significance of these differences between the two official campaigns.

Statistical analysis clarifies that comparisons of pooled sovereignty term usage between the official campaigns provides evidence against the hypothesis. No pooled sovereignty term is used at a significantly higher rate in Stronger In sources. However, one term, “Movement,” has significantly higher usage in Vote Leave sources, which provides evidence against the hypothesis. The other seven present pooled sovereignty terms do not have statistically significant results. This statistical evidence provides support against the hypothesis as the only pooled sovereignty term that has statistically significant results, “Movement,” has higher usage in Vote Leave sources.

Comparisons of all official Stronger In and Vote Leave campaign sources provides evidence against the hypothesis. According to the hypothesis, the Stronger In campaign should have significantly higher usage of pooled sovereignty terms. However, the only term that has statistically significant results provides evidence against the hypothesis. While there are still

other subsets of materials to evaluate before hypothesis testing, the Stronger In campaign overall does not appear to offer a stronger narrative of pooled sovereignty in comparison to the Vote Leave campaign. The next three sections of this chapter will assess three subsets of Stronger In sources, including tweets, pamphlets, and speeches.

Tweets

Official Stronger In and Vote Leave tweets will be compared for the usage of pooled sovereignty terms to test the hypothesis. If tweets as a subset of Stronger In sources are compatible with the hypothesis, then Stronger In tweets should have significantly higher usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to Vote Leave tweets. Neither the Stronger In nor Vote Leave campaign tweets have any usage of the pooled sovereignty terms “Interdependence” or “Mutual,” which are therefore excluded from analysis. In addition, Stronger In tweets do not have any usage of “Share(d)” or “Common,” but these two terms are still included in analysis as Vote Leave tweets utilize these terms.

Comparisons of official campaign tweet usage of pooled sovereignty terms provides evidence against the hypothesis. Two pooled sovereignty terms, “Global(ization)” and “Joint,” provide support for the hypothesis with higher usage in Stronger In tweets. The other five present pooled sovereignty terms provide evidence against the hypothesis with higher usage in Vote Leave tweets. However, the terms “Common” and “Share(d)” have higher usage in Vote Leave tweets because these terms do not appear in any Stronger In tweets. Therefore, comparisons of pooled sovereignty term usage in official campaign tweets provides evidence against the hypothesis.

Statistical analysis confirms that comparisons of official campaign tweets for pooled sovereignty term usage provides evidence against the hypothesis. No pooled sovereignty terms

have significantly higher usage in Stronger In tweets. However, two terms, “Share(d)” and “Movement,” have significantly higher usage in Vote Leave tweets, which provides evidence against the hypothesis. The remaining five present pooled sovereignty terms, including “Global(ization),” “Trade,” “Common,” “Support,” and “Joint,” do not have statistically significant results, which neither supports nor provides evidence against the hypothesis. Comparisons of official tweets for pooled sovereignty term usage do not support the hypothesis.

The tweets subset of official Stronger In sources provides evidence against the hypothesis, which suggests that the Remain campaign was not representative of pooled sovereignty on social media platforms. The two terms with significant results have higher usage in Vote Leave tweets. Stronger In tweets also lacked any usage of four pooled sovereignty terms, including “Interdependence,” “Mutual,” “Share(d),” or “Common.” Tweets in general are short and therefore severely limited the scope of a message to more simple arguments, which may explain the lack of use of “Interdependence.” However, the terms “Mutual,” “Share(d),” and “Common,” would refer to how the Remain campaign viewed the UK in relation to the EU. For example, a shared history or mutual interests. The lack of use of these terms in Stronger In tweets may relate to greater narrative differences between the message of the Remain campaign and the notion of pooled sovereignty. However, additional analysis of other Stronger In sources is necessary before making any decisive conclusions.

Pamphlets

Official Stronger In and Vote Leave pamphlets will be compared for the usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms to further test the hypothesis. If pamphlets as a subset of Stronger In sources are consistent with the hypothesis, then the Stronger In pamphlets should have higher usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to the Vote Leave pamphlets. In the

case of pamphlets, neither the Stronger In or Vote Leave campaign has any usage of the terms “Interdependence,” “Mutual,” or “Common,” which are therefore excluded from analysis. In addition, no Vote Leave pamphlets have any usage of the terms “Share(d),” “Support” or “Joint,” though these terms are still included in analysis.

Comparisons of the usage of present pooled sovereignty terms in official pamphlets provides more evidence in favor of the hypothesis. The terms “Share(d),” “Support,” and “Joint” provide evidence in support of the hypothesis as these terms only appear in Stronger In pamphlets. In addition, the terms “Global(ization)” and “Trade,” have higher usage in Stronger In pamphlets, which provides evidence in support of the hypothesis. The other present pooled sovereignty term, “Movement,” has higher usage in Vote Leave sources, which provides evidence against the hypothesis. Therefore, comparisons of pooled sovereignty term usage between official campaign tweets provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis.

However, statistical analysis of official pamphlets does not provide evidence in favor of or against the hypothesis. All six pooled sovereignty terms that are present in pamphlets for at least one campaign do not have statistically significant results. Therefore, statistical analysis does not provide any support for or against the hypothesis.

The pamphlets subset of official Stronger In sources does not provide any evidence for or against the hypothesis, which further questions whether the Remain campaign was representative of pooled sovereignty during the referendum. However, unlike the tweets subset, the pamphlets subset of Stronger In sources does not provide clear evidence against the hypothesis with no pooled sovereignty terms being used at significantly higher rates in Vote Leave pamphlets. In addition, Stronger In pamphlets lacked any usage of the pooled sovereignty terms “Interdependence,” “Mutual,” and “Common,” which are also not present in any Stronger In tweets.

This pattern does not provide support to the hypothesis and suggests that the Remain campaign may not have employed a strong narrative of pooled sovereignty.

Speeches

Official campaign speeches will also be compared for the usage of the eight present pooled sovereignty terms. If speeches as a subset of Stronger In materials are consistent with the hypothesis, then the Stronger In speeches should have higher usage of the eight present pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to the Vote Leave speeches. In the case of speeches, neither the Stronger In campaign nor the Vote Leave campaign has any usage of the pooled sovereignty term “Interdependence,” which is excluded from analysis. Also, the pooled sovereignty term “Joint” does not appear in any Stronger In speeches but is still included in analysis.

Comparisons of the usage of the eight present pooled sovereignty terms between official campaign speeches provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis. Of the eight present pooled sovereignty terms, six terms have higher usage in Stronger In speeches, including “Global(ization),” “Share(d),” “Trade,” “Mutual,” “Common,” and “Support,” which provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis. The two other present pooled sovereignty terms, “Movement” and “Joint,” provide evidence against the hypothesis with higher usage in Vote Leave speeches. Comparisons of pooled sovereignty term usage between official campaign speeches provides support to the hypothesis.

Statistical analysis of official campaign speeches provides some support to the hypothesis. One pooled sovereignty term, “Share(d),” is used at a significantly higher rate in Stronger In campaign speeches, which provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis. No pooled sovereignty terms are used at significantly higher rates in Vote Leave speeches. The other seven present pooled sovereignty terms do not have statistically significant results, which does not

provide evidence for or against the hypothesis. Therefore, comparisons of pooled sovereignty term usage between official campaign speeches provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis.

The speeches subset of Stronger In sources provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis. These results differ from the previous three sections of Stronger In sources, all of which do not provide any evidence in support of the hypothesis. While these results may be encouraging, caution should be applied due to the small sample size of the Stronger In speeches group. However, beyond potential statistical influences, speeches are typically much longer than tweets or pamphlets and therefore can have higher usage of terms based purely on more space. The term “Interdependence” continues to not be present, possibly due to the level of sophistication of the term. The significantly higher usage of “Share(d)” in Stronger In speeches is particularly useful as the term can refer to the British connection to the EU. Analysis of official campaign speeches is the only subset of Stronger In sources to provide evidence in favor of the hypothesis, which may suggest that the Stronger In campaign overall does not have a strong narrative of pooled sovereignty.

Summary of Stronger In Analysis

The analysis of Stronger In sources provides more evidence against the hypothesis than in favor of the hypothesis. The subset of speeches provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis with one pooled sovereignty term having significantly higher usage in Stronger In speeches. However, all official campaign sources and official tweets provide evidence against the hypothesis with at least one term being used at a significantly higher rate in Vote Leave sources. The subset of Stronger In pamphlets does not have any statistically significant results, which does not provide any evidence for or against the hypothesis. Overall, the Stronger In campaign does not have significantly higher usage of the pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to Vote

Leaves sources, except in the subset of speeches, and therefore does not have a strong narrative of pooled sovereignty.

The Stronger In campaign was the official Remain campaign during the Brexit referendum and is a key portion of Remain sources in this study. The fact that the Stronger In campaign sources do not provide strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis suggests that the Remain campaign did not have a strong narrative of pooled sovereignty during the referendum. However, this implication is surprising given the decisive higher usage of pooled sovereignty terms in all Remain sources compared to all Leave sources. The results of the comparison of all Remain and all Leave sources therefore appear to be heavily influenced by the inclusion of additional sources that were not created by the official Stronger In campaign. The next sections of this chapter will examine these sources in more depth to clarify the discrepancy between a strong narrative of pooled sovereignty when all sources are included and a subsequent lack of a narrative of pooled sovereignty in the Stronger In campaign.

Additional Sources Associated with Remain

Other organizations beyond Stronger In contributed to the narrative and strategy of the Remain campaign during the referendum. To further examine the narrative of the Remain campaign, two groups of outside sources are included in analysis, including pro-Remain newspaper articles from *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times*, and *The Observer* as well as additional pro-Remain pamphlets from the LSE 2016 Brexit referendum database that were not officially associated with the Stronger In campaign. These supplementary materials will be assessed for their usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms and compared to Stronger In and all Remain sources. The contributions of these supplementary sources to the Remain narrative in this study and also the general Remain frame of pooled sovereignty will also be evaluated.

Newspapers

Three British newspapers that are included in this analysis, *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times*, and *The Observer*, are all headquartered in London and openly supported the Remain campaign during the 2016 referendum. These sources are also all considered high quality newspaper outlets in the UK. Newspaper articles from pro-Remain newspaper outlets are included in this study to evaluate and determine the character of the pro-Remain media coverage during the referendum. The pro-Remain newspaper articles will be assessed for their usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to Stronger In sources as well as all Remain sources. The contribution of these sources to the Remain narrative will also be calculated. The pro-Remain newspaper articles use all nine pooled sovereignty terms.

Pro-Remain newspaper sources have more substantial usage of pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to Stronger In sources. All nine pooled sovereignty term are used at a higher rate in pro-Remain newspaper sources in comparison to Stronger In sources. However, the term “Interdependence” is not used in any Stronger In sources. The pro-Remain newspaper sources therefore have higher usage of the pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to the Stronger In campaign.

Pro-Remain newspaper sources also have more substantial usage of the pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to all Remain sources. All nine pooled sovereignty term have higher usage in pro-Remain newspaper sources in comparison to all Remain sources. Therefore, the pro-Remain newspaper sources use all nine pooled sovereignty terms at rates that are above the average for the Remain campaign.

Pro-Remain newspaper sources contributed heavily to the Remain campaign usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms. Pro-Remain newspaper sources contribute over 70% of the use of

all nine pooled sovereignty terms in the Remain campaign. Also, pro-Remain newspaper sources account for 90% or more of the usage of the terms “Share(d),” “Mutual,” “Common,” and “Support” in all Remain sources. The largest contribution of the pro-Remain newspaper articles is 95.35% of all Remain usage of “Common.” Therefore, the pro-Remain newspaper sources heavily contribute to the usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms in the Remain campaign.

Pro-Remain newspaper substantially contribute to the usage of all nine pooled sovereignty terms in the Remain narrative. Pro-Remain newspaper sources use all pooled sovereignty terms at higher rates than both Stronger In sources and all Remain sources. In addition, pro-Remain newspaper articles contribute 70% or more of the total Remain usage of all nine pooled sovereignty terms. Newspaper articles are generally longer than tweets and pamphlets, which would explain the higher usage of terms in newspaper articles. These news outlets are also heavily followed by a more educated audience than general Twitter feed and therefore the contributors of these newspaper articles can utilize more sophisticated terms, such as “Interdependence,” without harming their arguments. The high level of contribution from the pro-Remain newspaper sources also can explain why the Stronger In subsets do not heavily support the hypothesis while all Remain sources strongly support the hypothesis, as all Remain sources includes these newspaper articles. Therefore, the pro-Remain newspaper sources contribute heavily to the usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms in the Remain narrative.

Additional Pamphlets

Additional pro-Remain LSE pamphlets that are not associated with Stronger In are also included in the Remain campaign analysis to understand the narrative and sentiments of the general Remain campaign. These pamphlets were created by a variety of organizations, including railway unions and the Liberal Democrats political party, that wanted the UK to remain in the

EU. Additional pro-Remain LSE pamphlets will be evaluated for their usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms and compared to the Stronger In and all Remain sources. Pro-Remain LSE pamphlets will be assessed for their contribution to the Remain narrative as well. The term “Mutual” does not appear in any pro-Remain LSE pamphlets, but is still included in analysis.

Pro-Remain LSE pamphlets have higher usage of pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to Stronger In sources. Eight pooled sovereignty terms have higher usage in pro-Remain LSE pamphlets including “Interdependence,” which does not appear in any Stronger In sources. The other pooled sovereignty term, “Mutual,” has higher usage in Stronger In sources as the term is not used in any pro-Remain LSE pamphlets. These results indicate that pro-Remain LSE sources heavily utilize pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to Stronger In sources, though at lower rates than pro-Remain newspaper sources.

Pro-Remain LSE pamphlets also have higher usage of most pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to all Remain sources. Six pooled sovereignty terms have higher usage in pro-Remain LSE pamphlets, including “Interdependence,” “Global(ization),” “Movement,” “Trade,” “Common,” and “Joint.” The three other pooled sovereignty terms, including “Share(d),” “Mutual,” and “Support” are used at higher rates in all Remain sources. Therefore, the pro-Remain LSE pamphlets heavily utilize pooled sovereignty terms above the average of all Remain sources, though at lower rates than pro-Remain newspapers.

Pro-Remain LSE pamphlets also substantially contribute to the Remain campaign usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms, though at lower rates than the pro-Remain newspaper sources. Pro-Remain LSE pamphlets account for over 25% of Remain usage of “Interdependence.” However, the pro-Remain LSE pamphlets contribute less than 7% of Remain term usage of the other eight pooled sovereignty terms. The pro-Remain LSE pamphlets therefore

contribute to the Remain campaign narrative, though at lower rates than the pro-Remain newspaper articles.

Pro-Remain LSE pamphlets do heavily utilize pooled sovereignty terms, even at higher rates than Stronger In or all Remain sources, and therefore contribute substantially to the narrative of pooled sovereignty. However, the pro-Remain LSE pamphlets do not contribute more than the pro-Remain newspaper articles in this study. The purpose of pamphlets is to provide a quick and catchy message to readers, which would explain the lower usage of terms in comparison to newspaper articles. Despite this difference, the pro-Remain LSE pamphlets heavily contribute to the use of sophisticated terms, such as “Interdependence,” which is surprising given the results of previous sections. Therefore, the pro-Remain LSE pamphlet sources contribute heavily to the usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms, but not more than the pro-Remain newspaper sources.

Summary of Additional Remain Analysis

Analysis of supplementary Remain sources demonstrates that these additional sources heavily contribute to the narrative of pooled sovereignty in the Remain campaign. Two groups of pro-Remain sources, including newspaper articles from three news outlets and additional LSE pamphlets, are included in this analysis. The pro-Remain newspaper articles utilize all nine pooled sovereignty terms at higher rates than Stronger In and all Remain sources as well as substantially contribute to the use of all nine pooled sovereignty terms. The pro-Remain newspaper articles also heavily utilize the pooled sovereignty terms with higher usage in eight terms in comparison to Stronger In sources as well as six terms in comparison to all Remain sources. These results indicate that the pro-Remain newspaper sources and pro-Remain LSE

pamphlets substantially contribute to the usage of pooled sovereignty terms in the Remain campaign narrative.

These additional Remain sources provide a strong narrative of pooled sovereignty that is not found in the Stronger In campaign materials. While the supplementary Remain sources are not compared with equivalent Leave sources in the same manner as the various subsets of Stronger In materials, the pro-Remain newspaper articles in particular account for nearly all Remain usage of four pooled sovereignty terms, which is astounding. The Stronger In campaign subset includes tweets and pamphlets, which are much smaller than newspaper articles and therefore have less space to use the terms. However, these sources still cannot compete with the equivalent Leave sources that are also similarly limited. The high usage of pooled sovereignty terms in these sources helps explain the discrepancy between all Remain sources strongly supporting the hypothesis while some Stronger In subsets actually provide evidence against the hypothesis. Overall, this section demonstrates that the narrative of pooled sovereignty found in the Remain campaign is heavily reliant on the additional pro-Remain sources.

Hypothesis Testing: Was the Remain campaign representative of pooled sovereignty?

This section will determine whether the Remain campaign was representative of pooled sovereignty. To conduct this hypothesis testing, first a review of all major data analysis results will be conducted to reiterate important results. Second, a review of the three criteria that will be used to assess the hypothesis will be provided. The following sections will conduct the hypothesis testing by criterion. Once all criteria have been assessed, the conclusion of this section will determine whether the Remain campaign was representative of pooled sovereignty.

Review of Remain Campaign Analysis

This section will highlight the important and relevant data analysis results found in the previous sections. Five subsets of materials are part of this review, including all Remain sources, all Stronger In sources, Stronger In tweets, Stronger In pamphlets, and Stronger In speeches. Comparisons of all Remain and all Leave sources provides strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis as eight out of nine pooled sovereignty terms are used at significantly higher rates in Remain sources. Remain sources also have significantly higher usage of pooled sovereignty terms on average in comparison to Leave sources.

Comparisons of Stronger In and Vote Leave sources do not provide strong evidence in favor of the hypothesis. No terms are used at a significantly higher rate in Stronger In sources, but one term, “Movement,” is used at a significantly higher rate in Vote Leave sources, which provides evidence against the hypothesis. Stronger In sources are also evaluated based on their type of source, which includes tweets, pamphlets, and speeches. For Stronger In tweets, no term is used at a significantly higher rate in Stronger In tweets. However, two pooled sovereignty terms, “Share(d)” and “Movement,” are used at significantly higher rates in Vote Leave tweets, which provides evidence against the hypothesis. For Stronger In pamphlets, no pooled sovereignty terms are used at significantly higher rates in either Stronger In or Vote Leave pamphlets, which does not provide evidence for or against the hypothesis. For Stronger In speeches, one pooled sovereignty term, “Share(d),” is used at a significantly higher rate in Stronger In speeches, which provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis. No terms are used at a significantly higher rate in Vote Leave speeches. Therefore, Stronger In sources do not provide strong support for the hypothesis.

Supplementary pro-Remain materials, including pro-Remain newspaper articles and LSE pamphlets, substantially contribute to the usage of pooled sovereignty terms in the Remain

campaign. Pro-Remain newspaper sources have higher usage of all nine pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to both Stronger In and all Remain sources. These sources also contribute 70% or more of all term usage for all nine pooled sovereignty terms and 90% or more of all term usage for four terms, including “Share(d),” “Mutual,” “Common,” and “Support.” Pro-Remain LSE pamphlets also heavily contribute to the Remain campaign with higher usage for eight pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to Stronger In sources and six pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to all Remain sources. In addition, pro-Remain LSE pamphlets account for more than 25% of the total usage of the term “Interdependence.” Supplementary pro-Remain sources therefore substantially contribute to pooled sovereignty term usage in Remain sources.

Review of Criteria for Hypothesis Testing

Before testing the hypothesis, a brief review of the three criteria for hypothesis testing is included below. The following three criteria will be used to determine whether the Remain campaign was representative of pooled sovereignty.

First, the Remain campaign must have more evidence for pooled sovereignty than national sovereignty. Therefore, the Remain campaign must have higher usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms than the ten national sovereignty terms. This criterion will be assessed through three comparisons between the different conceptions of sovereignty: average usage values of the nineteen sovereignty terms, presence values of the nineteen sovereignty terms, and total sovereignty term usage.

Second, the Remain campaign must have more evidence for pooled sovereignty compared to the Leave campaign. Therefore, the Remain campaign must have higher usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms than the Leave campaign. The five subsets of data analysis, including all campaign materials, official campaign materials, official tweets, official pamphlets,

and official speeches, will be summarized and evaluated to determine if the Remain campaign has higher usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to the Leave campaign.

Third, the Remain campaign must have notable usage of pooled sovereignty terms. To assess this criterion, there are two main areas of concern. First, the Remain campaign must account for at least half of the usage of the nine pooled sovereignty terms. For example, the Remain campaign should account for at least 50% of all uses of “Trade” and all of the eight other pooled sovereignty terms to be considered representative of pooled sovereignty. Second, the Remain campaign should have at least five pooled sovereignty terms appear in at least 10% of their sources. For example, the term “Common” and four other pooled sovereignty terms should appear in at least 10% of all Remain sources for the Remain campaign to be considered representative of pooled sovereignty.

Hypothesis Testing

Criterion #1: Higher Usage of Pooled Sovereignty than National Sovereignty

The first criterion will evaluate whether the Remain campaign uses pooled sovereignty terms more often than national sovereignty terms. To assess this criterion, three comparisons will be conducted. First, the average usage of all nineteen terms will be ranked and compared between sovereignties. Second, the presence values of all nineteen terms will be ranked and compared between sovereignties. Third, total term usage of pooled and national sovereignty terms by the Remain campaign will be compared. For all three comparisons, the Remain campaign, if representative of pooled sovereignty, should have higher values for pooled sovereignty than national sovereignty.

The first requirement of higher average usage of pooled sovereignty terms is not met. All nineteen sovereignty terms are ranked based on their average usage in Remain materials and

given points based on their rank. As there is one more national sovereignty term, the lowest national sovereignty term, or “Jurisdiction,” is excluded from the total points count. The first term, or “Trade,” is given eighteen points while the eighteenth term, or “Interdependence,” is given one point. Terms that have the same average usage value, such as “Rule of Law” and “Autonomy,” receive the same number of points. Based on these guidelines, pooled sovereignty terms have 85 points and national sovereignty terms have 87 points. Therefore, the Remain campaign does not have greater average usage of pooled sovereignty terms than national sovereignty terms. The first requirement of this criterion is not met by these results.

The second requirement of higher presence values in pooled sovereignty terms is met. All nineteen sovereignty terms are ranked based on their presence in Remain materials and given points based on their rank. As there is one more national sovereignty term, the lowest national sovereignty term, or “Jurisdiction,” is excluded from the total points count. The first term, or “Trade,” is given eighteen points while the eighteenth term, or “Interdependence,” is given one point. Terms that have the same presence value, such as “Mutual” and “Autonomy,” receive the same number of points. Based on these guidelines, pooled sovereignty terms have 89 points and national sovereignty terms have 83 points. Therefore, pooled sovereignty terms do have greater presence in Remain materials than national sovereignty terms. The second requirement of this criterion is met by these results.

Total average usage values of pooled and national sovereignty terms are also compared within the Remain campaign. The Remain campaign uses an average of 1.69542 pooled sovereignty terms per source and 1.52511 national sovereignty terms per source. Therefore, the Remain campaign uses pooled sovereignty terms more often than national sovereignty terms on average. The third requirement of this criterion is met by these results.

Therefore, two out of three requirements for the criterion are met, which provides evidence in support of the hypothesis that the Remain campaign was representative of pooled sovereignty during the referendum. The Remain campaign uses pooled sovereignty terms more often than national sovereignty terms.

Criterion #2: Higher Usage of Pooled Sovereignty than the Leave Campaign

The second criterion will evaluate whether the Remain campaign has higher usage of pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to the Leave campaign. To assess this criterion, previous data analysis results will be reviewed. Analysis will be conducted for five subsets, including all campaign materials, official Stronger In sources, official tweets, official pamphlets, and official speeches.

For the comparison of all campaign materials, the criterion is strongly met. Eight out of nine pooled sovereignty terms have significantly higher usage in Remain. The comparison of total pooled sovereignty term usage demonstrates that the Remain campaign has significantly higher usage of pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to the Leave campaign. Therefore, for all campaign materials, the requirement is met.

For the comparison of official campaign materials, the criterion is not met. No pooled sovereignty terms are used at a significantly higher rate in Stronger In sources. However, one pooled sovereignty term, "Movement," is used at a significantly higher rate in Vote Leave sources, which provides evidence against the hypothesis. Therefore, for official campaign materials, the requirement is not met.

For the comparison of official tweets, the criterion is not supported either. No pooled sovereignty terms are used at significantly higher rates in Stronger In tweets. However, two pooled sovereignty terms, including "Share(d)" and "Movement," are used at significantly higher

rates in Vote Leave tweets, which provides evidence against the hypothesis. Therefore, for official tweets, the requirement is not met.

For the comparison of official pamphlets, the criterion is not met. No pooled sovereignty terms are used at a significantly higher rate in either Vote Leave or Stronger In pamphlets. Therefore, for official pamphlets, the requirement is not met because no pooled sovereignty terms are decisively or significantly used more in Stronger In pamphlets.

For the comparison of official speeches, the criterion is met. One pooled sovereignty term, “Share(d),” is used at a significantly higher rate in Stronger In speeches, which provides evidence in favor of the hypothesis. No pooled sovereignty term is used at a significantly higher rate in Vote Leave speeches. Therefore, for official speeches, the criterion is met.

The second criterion is not met by these results with only two out of five subsets meeting the necessary requirements. All campaign materials and the speeches subset meet the requirements. Official campaign materials, tweets, and pamphlets do not meet the requirements. With only two out of the five subgroups providing evidence in favor of the hypothesis, the second criterion is not met by these results.

Criterion #3: Term Usage

The third criterion will evaluate whether the Remain campaign uses the pooled sovereignty terms adequately. To assess this criterion, the Remain campaign must first account for 50% or more of all usage of the pooled sovereignty terms and second must utilize at least five pooled sovereignty terms in at least 10% of their sources.

The first requirement for accounting for 50% or more of usage is met. All nine pooled sovereignty terms account for over 50% of the usage of the pooled sovereignty terms. The Remain campaign accounts for 87.5% of all “Interdependence” usage, 71.87% of all

“Global(ization)” usage, 73.95% of all “Share(d)” usage, 63.64% of all “Movement” usage, 67.23% of all “Trade” usage, 71.43% of all “Mutual” usage, 77.48% of all “Common” usage, 71.21% of all “Support” usage, and 71.88% of “Joint” usage. Therefore, the first requirement for term usage is met.

However, the second requirement for presence in 10% of sources is not met. Only three pooled sovereignty terms, “Global(ization),” “Trade,” and “Support,” appear in more than 10% of Remain sources. “Global(ization)” appears in 12.83% of Remain sources, “Trade” appears in 26.09% of Remain sources, and “Support” appears in 17.41% of Remain sources. All other pooled sovereignty terms are present in less than 10% of Remain sources. Therefore, the second requirement for term usage is not met.

The third criterion is not met by these results. The requirement for Remain usage of pooled sovereignty terms to account for more than 50% of each term is met. The requirement for the Remain campaign to use at least half of the pooled sovereignty terms in at least 10% of Remain sources is not met with only three terms meeting this threshold. Therefore, the third criterion is not met by the results of this data analysis.

Conclusions

With only one out of the three criteria being met by the results, the Remain campaign is not considered representative of pooled sovereignty. The Remain campaign has higher usage of pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to national sovereignty terms. However, the Remain campaign does not have higher usage of pooled sovereignty terms in comparison to the Leave campaign and also does not meet the full requirement for individual term usage. With only one out of three criteria being met for the Remain campaign, the Remain campaign is not considered to be representative of pooled sovereignty.

Conclusions

The Remain campaign and its official representative Stronger In did not successfully create a narrative of pooled sovereignty during the 2016 Brexit referendum according to this data analysis. The Remain campaign has higher usage of pooled sovereignty terms than national sovereignty terms and accounts for most of the usage of individual pooled sovereignty terms in this study. However, the Remain campaign does not have a significantly stronger narrative of pooled sovereignty in comparison to the Leave campaign nor high usage of pooled sovereignty terms across Remain sources. While these results may seem contradictory, these findings reflect an underlying problem in the Remain campaign narrative as well as the concept of pooled sovereignty in the Brexit referendum.

The Remain campaign does have high usage of pooled sovereignty terms, but pooled sovereignty terms and narratives in general are less frequent in the referendum campaign. On average, pooled sovereignty terms are used less frequently than national sovereignty terms. Also, unlike the Leave campaign, the Remain campaign has relatively similar usage of pooled and national sovereignty terms. These results indicate that while the Remain campaign was dedicated to the narrative of pooled sovereignty, the narrative was more convoluted and beyond the interpretation of many Britons. The most frequently used pooled sovereignty terms are “Trade,” “Support,” and “Global(ization),” all of which relate to more technical issues, such as the disruption of trade or the role of Britain in the global economy. While these arguments are important, the Remain campaign only seems to present an economics project rather than a narrative that resonated with the British people. This pattern is also reflected in the low usage of terms that relate to values or identity, such as “Mutual” or “Common.” If the Remain campaign wanted to argue against Brexit based on identity, arguing for the common goals of the EU states

or mutual interest would have been used more frequently. On the other hand, the Leave campaign message focused on freedom and democracy reflects values of British citizens.

The presence of a complicated economics message in the Remain campaign is also reflected in the subsets of Remain sources. While the Remain campaign does support the hypothesis with all sources and in the speeches subsets, these results can be contributable to sampling. Comparisons of all sources include newspaper sources, which are substantially longer and a significant portion of Remain sources. Speeches also are a smaller sample and therefore not heavily indicative of a stronger Remain narrative. The Remain campaign lacked pooled sovereignty term usage in tweets and pamphlets, which are more frequently read by everyday Britons in comparison to speeches. Also, while the pro-Remain newspapers certainly support the Remain message of pooled sovereignty, the Stronger In campaign lack clear direction and appears to be drowning in economic projections rather than reaching into the heart of the issues at stake, which ultimately may have contributed to their loss in 2016.

Conclusion

This thesis sought to address the question: “To what extent was the Brexit referendum a rejection of pooled sovereignty and a reprioritization of national sovereignty?” To answer this question, I first examined the concepts of national and pooled sovereignty in the context of the EU and the UK. With this theoretical basis, I prepared a discourse analysis to quantitatively assess the research question. In total, 4109 different campaign sources and supplementary materials were collected and evaluated for nineteen sovereignty terms, including ten terms for national sovereignty and nine terms for pooled sovereignty. These materials were assessed by

campaign for three criteria to test two hypotheses: 1) The Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty, and 2) The Remain campaign was representative of pooled sovereignty.

This discourse analysis presents mixed results. The first hypothesis is supported with two out of three criteria being met by the data analysis, meaning that the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty during the 2016 Brexit referendum. The second hypothesis, however, is not supported with only one out of three criteria being met by the data analysis, meaning that the Remain campaign was not representative of pooled sovereignty during the 2016 Brexit referendum. The answer to the research question therefore becomes more complicated. This paper argues that because the Leave campaign was representative of national sovereignty, the outcome of the 2016 Brexit referendum can be interpreted as a reprioritization of British national sovereignty. However, because the Remain campaign was not representative of pooled sovereignty, the outcome of the 2016 Brexit referendum was not necessarily a rejection of pooled sovereignty.

Limitations and Future Research

While this discourse analysis was conducted and created to best assess the research question, there are inevitable limitations to this paper. By reducing all text down to individual words, quantitative analysis of term usage was not necessarily completely accurate with the tone of each material. Time posed an additional limit as a larger data set may yield different results. Also, the issue of several Stronger In materials being deleted or missing may have impacted the results of this discourse analysis. While there are several limitations to the scope and methodology of this paper, I continue to argue that the role of sovereignty in the Brexit referendum is a relevant and underassessed case of political science research and that the methodology used in this thesis was adequate for assessing the research question.

Future research building off this thesis could focus on additional categories of sources that impacted the Brexit outcome, including, but not limited to, televised debates, nightly news shows, and additional Twitter and newspaper outlets. Also, future research could move to include sources from areas other than England such as the three other constituent nations of the UK as well as the greater European or global news coverage of the Brexit referendum. I would also be interested in how the public perceptions of the campaigns played a role in the outcome of the Brexit referendum and whether public perceptions are consistent with my conclusions.

Implications and Concluding Thoughts

While the data analysis of this paper has been thoroughly examined and explained, this concluding section will expand upon these quantitative results and provide a more extensive explanation of these phenomena during the 2016 referendum and beyond. My thesis focused on the role of sovereignty in an EU membership referendum and therefore contributes to two general areas of political science research, political campaigns and the connection between sovereignty and identity.

Political Campaigns

The results of this thesis reflect different techniques and strategies utilized by political campaigns in referendums. The Leave campaign won in part because the Leave campaign was direct in their messaging and focused on the emotional argument. Referendums are known to be volatile and therefore easily swayed by the actions of campaigns or campaign organizers. Therefore, the key to success in referendum campaigns is direct and emotional messaging. The Remain campaign lost in part because they were bogged down by economic figures and did not reach out to the common British citizen. I could also argue that the Brexit referendum was not even about the EU necessarily, but rather the EU was used as the source for blame. The time

around the referendum was one of political instability and relative economic stagnation in Europe and globally. The EU merely became a target because British politicians had long blamed the EU for their own mismanagement and the average British citizen did not know enough about the EU or care to learn in order to challenge that system. Referendum campaigns therefore need to have a focused message, effectively utilize commonly consumed media such as social media platforms, and recognize the relevant and underlying issues in their constituencies.

Sovereignty and Identity in the Context of Europe

The concept of sovereignty is not a new phenomenon and will continue to be relevant in political science literature for the foreseeable future. National or Westphalian sovereignty has decreased over time, especially through the impacts of globalization, and given rise to new theories of sovereignty such as pooled sovereignty. However, the concept of national sovereignty remains ingrained in Western democracies even if individual citizens cannot provide an adequate political science definition of the phrase. The terms “Democracy (tic)” and “Free(dom),” elicit a nostalgic or familiar response. Pooled sovereignty terms like “Interdependence” do not, at no fault to the EU or member state governments. Pooled sovereignty as a concept is still new and has not yet been integrated into at least the British identity. The Remain campaign was therefore at a disadvantage from the start because the Remain campaign could not utilize the historical narratives that were available to the Leave campaign.

The distinct British identity also appeared to heavily influence British politics before and during the referendum campaign. While the Remain campaign elites may have liked to think that Britain was attached to Europe, I argue differently. The majority of the British public viewed the British relationship with Europe as one of convenience. The terms “Trade” and “Movement,” which were used frequently by both campaigns, relate to issues of necessity. Britain was

connected to Europe because Britons wanted cheaper goods and shorter waiting lines at customs, not because they felt distinctly European. The British public lacked an emotional connection to Europe, which showed in the Remain campaign messaging. Emotional ties would have been reflected in heavier usage of “Common” or “Mutual,” but instead the Remain campaign focused on trade because the Remain campaign elites recognized that the British relationship with the EU was primarily about trade and not identity.

While Brexit is the only case of a member state formally leaving the EU at the current moment in time, I think that the EU and prominent EU member states would be irresponsible to think another attempt at exiting will never happen. The benefits of trade and movement are not strong enough to hold the EU together in times of crisis, such as in 2016 after the fallout of the Eurozone and Migrant Crises. The EU lacks the strong ideological or binding identity that would hold the institution together when the economic benefits are declining. The final step of European integration, a common European identity, needs to be taken seriously, especially with the threat of COVID-19 and further national retrenchment.

I can only imagine that building a common identity is extremely difficult, especially in the case of the EU as a collection of individual nation states, but a first step in the right direction would be to throw out the attachment to technocratic explanations when addressing the public. The EU and its member states need to frame the EU as an institution differently. Constituents do not care about economic models and trade statistics—constituents want a narrative. They want to know if the economy will be good enough for their children to get a job. They want to know that their healthcare systems will be there if they get sick. They want to know if life will go on as normal or get worse or get better. And I completely understand the side of the EU bureaucrats, who dedicate their lives to building these economic projections and calculating the necessary

statistics. The originally draft of this thesis was laden with statistics and technical information and severely limited in narrative structure. But, I learned, as the EU bureaucrats should learn, that readers and constituents do not care about the numbers, they care about the outcomes and the storyline. Therefore, the EU and European state governments need to change the narrative around the EU, build a stronger sense of connection to the institution, and foster a European identity to prevent another Brexit from happening again.

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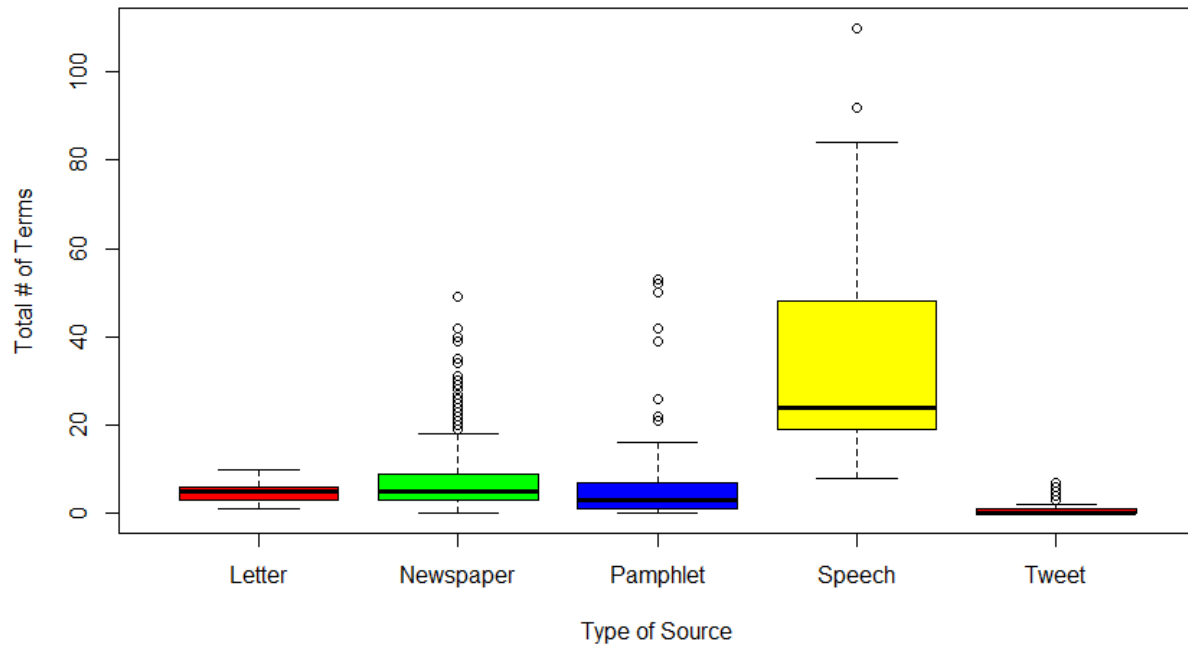


Figure 1. Boxplot of total number of terms in collected materials sorted by type of source.



Figure 2. Example of a tweet collected and coded from the official Vote Leave (@vote_leave) account.

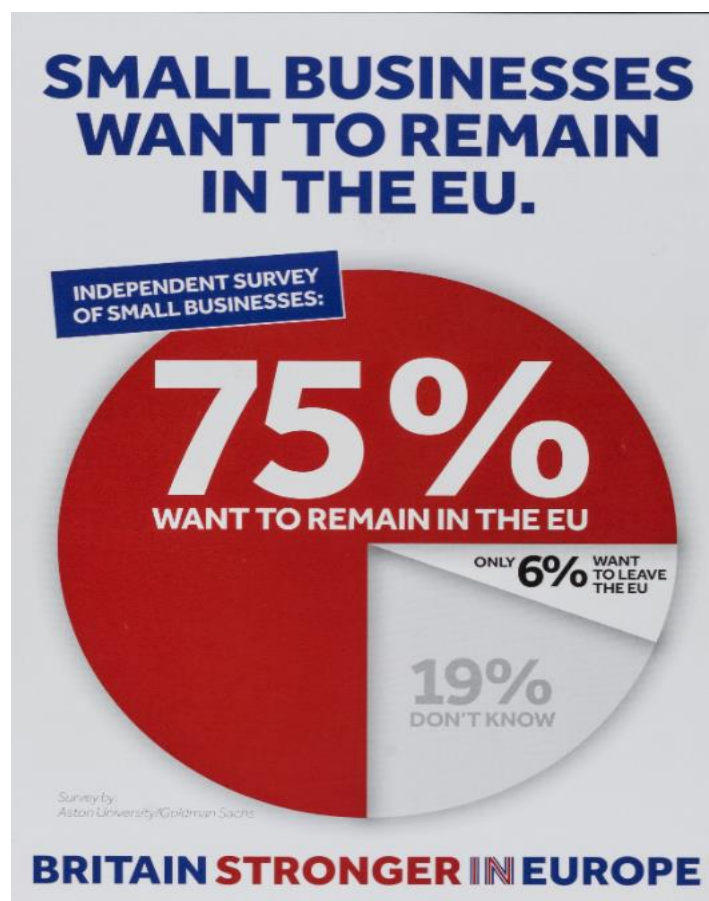


Figure 3. Example of pamphlet collected and coded for Stronger In campaign from the London School of Economics 2016 Brexit Referendum database.

Tables

Table 1. Totals of collected sources sorted by associated campaign and type of source (n = 4109).

Red indicates the Leave campaign, blue indicates the Remain campaign, and black indicates totals for all sources. Bolded columns are totals for their respective categories.

Type of Source	Vote Leave	Leave.EU	Leave	Stronger In	Remain	All
Letter	0	1	2	1	7	9
Newspaper	0	0	260	0	749	1009
Pamphlet	12	6	50	25	67	117
Speech	22	0	22	4	4	26
Tweet	1893	50	1943	1005	1005	2948
Total	1927	57	2277	1035	1832	4109

Table 2. Average usage of national sovereignty (NS) terms, pooled sovereignty (PS) terms, and all terms in the Leave campaign, Remain campaign, and all sources (n = 4109).

	Total NS	Total PS	Total
Leave	1.35749	0.5841	1.94159
Remain	1.52511	1.69542	3.21615
All	1.43222	1.07958	2.50986

Table 3. Output from Welch Two Sample t-tests, including t statistics, degrees of freedom (df), and p-values, comparing total national sovereignty (NS), total pooled sovereignty (PS), and total number of terms between campaigns. Significant p-values ($p < 0.05$) are bolded.

	Total NS	Total PS	Total
t stat	-1.5884	-12.244	-7.1852
df	3966.3	3027.7	3631.9
p-value	0.1123	2.2E-16	8.105E-13

Table 4. Ten national sovereignty terms and corresponding mean, standard deviation, and presence in collected materials. Red indicates the Leave campaign, blue indicates the Remain campaign, and black indicates all sources. Mean refers to average appearance per cell. Presence refers to the number of sources the term was found in (n = 4109).

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Presence	Mean	Std. Dev.	Presence	Mean	Std. Dev.	Presence	Mean	Std. Dev.	Presence
Control	0.78568	1.30320	1056	0.20579	0.76638	197	0.52714	1.13395	1253			
Free(dom)	0.20202	0.99760	217	0.38155	1.16575	308	0.28206	1.07938	525			
Decide / Determine	0.13307	0.68651	156	0.48417	1.30862	410	0.28961	1.02706	566			
Democracy (tic)	0.12648	0.84616	137	0.16048	0.89870	136	0.14164	0.87003	273			
Autonomy	0.00176	0.04189	4	0.00655	0.09893	10	0.00389	0.07371	14			
Authority	0.01054	0.13215	18	0.02620	0.20738	37	0.01752	0.17001	55			
Dominance (t)	0.01142	0.11802	23	0.05404	0.31145	71	0.03042	0.22674	94			
Power	0.07949	0.50941	98	0.19560	0.93089	174	0.13142	0.73031	272			
Rule of Law	0.00220	0.06284	3	0.00655	0.10431	9	0.00414	0.08392	12			
Jurisdiction	0.00483	0.08629	9	0.00437	0.07377	7	0.00462	0.08094	16			

Table 5. Output from Welch Two Sample t-tests, including t statistics, degrees of freedom (df), and p-values, comparing the use of ten national sovereignty terms by campaign. Significant p-values ($p < 0.05$) are bolded.

	t stat	df	p-value
Control	17.757	3784.1	2.2E-16
Free(dom)	-5.2288	3614.7	1.8E-07
Decide / Determine	-10.391	2628	2.2E-16
Democracy (tic)	-1.2371	3813.6	0.2161
Autonomy	-1.9388	2357.7	0.05265
Authority	-2.8062	2968	0.005045
Dominance (t)	-5.5451	2254.2	3.282E-08
Power	-4.8074	2693.8	1.613E-6
Rule of Law	-1.5719	2860.4	0.1161
Jurisdiction	0.18578	4091.9	0.8526

Table 6. Ten national sovereignty terms and corresponding means, standard deviations, and presences in collected materials. Red indicates the official Vote Leave campaign, blue indicates the official Stronger In (Remain) campaign, and black indicates all collected materials.

		Mean	Std. Dev.	Presence	Mean	Std. Dev.	Presence	Mean	Std. Dev.	Presence	Mean	Std. Dev.	Presence
	Control	0.81111	1.29766	947	0.01256	0.18875	7	0.52714	1.13395	1253	0.28206	1.07938	525
	Free(dom)	0.11624	0.89766	104	0.05410	0.54309	18	0.28961	1.02706	566	0.14164	0.87003	273
	Decide / Determine	0.05034	0.53444	38	0.04928	0.77714	15	0.00389	0.07371	14	0.03042	0.22674	94
	Democracy (tic)	0.07577	0.76899	70	0.01159	0.18623	5	0.01752	0.17001	55	0.13142	0.73031	272
	Autonomy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00414	0.08392	12	0.00462	0.08094	16
	Authority	0.00259	0.05089	5	0	0	0						
	Dominance (t)	0.00052	0.02278	1	0.00097	0.03108	1						
	Power	0.03788	0.39218	36	0.02995	0.64342	7						
	Rule of Law	0.00156	0.05093	2	0	0	0						
	Jurisdiction	0.00311	0.07887	4	0	0	0						

Table 7. Output from Welch Two Sample t-tests, including t statistics, degrees of freedom (df), and p-values, comparing the use of ten national sovereignty terms in sources from the official Vote Leave and Stronger In campaigns. Significant p-values ($p < 0.05$) are bolded.

	t stat	df	p-value
Control	-26.497	2074.7	2.2E-16
Free(dom)	-2.3433	2919.8	0.01918
Decide / Determine	-0.03926	1571.6	0.9687
Democracy (tic)	-3.4782	2318.1	5.141E-4
Autonomy	NA	NA	NA
Authority	-2.2384	1926	0.02531
Dominance (t)	0.4078	1643.2	0.6835
Power	-0.36207	1456.7	0.7174
Rule of Law	-1.3419	1926	0.1798
Jurisdiction	-1.733	1926	0.08326

Table 8. Ten national sovereignty terms and corresponding means, standard deviations, and presences in collected tweets. Red indicates tweets from the official Vote Leave campaign, blue indicates tweets from the official Stronger In (Remain) campaign, and black indicates all collected tweets.

	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean
	917	0.82066	0.46201	3	0.07720	0.00398	913	0.92939	0.71685	Control		
	89	0.19221	0.03256	8	0.08891	0.00796	80	0.22875	0.04596	Free(dom)		
	23	0.08710	0.00780	3	0.05458	0.00298	20	0.10227	0.01057	Decide / Determine		
	55	0.15170	0.02001	1	0.03154	0.00010	53	0.18576	0.03011	Democracy (tic)		
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Autonomy		
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Authority		
	1	0.01842	0.00034	0	0	0	1	0.02298	0.00053	Dominance (t)		
	22	0.09177	0.00780	3	0.05458	0.00299	19	0.10731	0.01057	Power		
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Rule of Law		
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Jurisdiction		

Table 9. Output from Welch Two Sample t-tests, including t statistics, degrees of freedom (df), and p-values, comparing use of ten national sovereignty terms in tweets from the official Vote Leave and Stronger In campaigns. Significant p-values ($p < 0.05$) are bolded.

	t stat	df	p-value
Control	-33.158	1940.9	2.2E-16
Free(dom)	-6.3769	2708.8	2.118E-10
Decide / Determine	-2.6016	2895.9	0.009327
Democracy (tic)	-6.6417	2091.5	3.941E-11
Autonomy	NA	NA	NA
Authority	NA	NA	NA
Dominance (t)	-1	1892	0.3174
Power	-2.52	2891.4	0.01179
Rule of Law	NA	NA	NA
Jurisdiction	NA	NA	NA

Table 11. Output from Wilcoxon rank sum tests with continuity corrections, including W statistics and p-values, comparing use of ten national sovereignty terms in pamphlets from the official Vote Leave and Stronger In campaigns. Significant p-values ($p < 0.5$) are bolded.

	W stat	p-value
Control	2.5	4.286E-08
Free(dom)	148	0.9503
Decide / Determine	167.5	0.4624
Democracy (tic)	137.5	0.1659
Autonomy	NA	NA
Authority	137.5	0.1659
Dominance (t)	NA	NA
Power	112.5	0.01121
Rule of Law	NA	NA
Jurisdiction	NA	NA

Table 12. Ten national sovereignty terms and corresponding means, standard deviations, and presences in collected speeches. Red indicates speeches from the official Vote Leave campaign, blue indicates speeches from the official Stronger In (Remain) campaign, and black indicates all collected speeches.

Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean
24	5.03724	6.42308	2	2.38048	1.5	22	4.89301	7.31818	Control		
24	5.36484	5.69231	4	3.16228	4	20	5.67367	6	Free(dom)		
20	5.17152	4.23077	4	9.66092	9	16	3.65859	3.36364	Decide / Determine		
20	5.44073	3.80769	4	1.25831	2.75	16	5.89592	4	Democracy (tic)		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Autonomy		
4	0.36795	0.15385	0	0	0	4	0.39477	0.18182	Authority		
1	0.19612	0.03846	1	0.5	0.25	0	0	0	Dominance (t)		
18	4.33110	2.96154	4	8.75595	7	14	2.77629	2.22727	Power		
2	0.43146	0.11538	0	0	0	2	0.46756	0.13636	Rule of Law		
4	0.65163	0.23077	0	0	0	4	0.70250	0.27273	Jurisdiction		

Table 13. Output from Wilcoxon rank sum tests with continuity corrections, including W statistics and p-values, comparing use of ten national sovereignty terms in speeches from the official Vote Leave and Stronger In campaigns. Significant p-values ($p < 0.5$) are bolded.

	W stat	p-value
Control	79.5	0.01246
Free(dom)	52	0.5923
Decide / Determine	25	0.1827
Democracy (tic)	38.5	0.7183
Autonomy	NA	NA
Authority	52	0.3941
Dominance (t)	33	0.02518
Power	23	0.1362
Rule of Law	48	0.5905
Jurisdiction	52	0.3953

Table 14. Ten national sovereignty terms and corresponding mean, standard deviation, and presence in collected materials from the Leave campaign. Red indicates the Official Vote Leave campaign, green indicates the Leave.EU campaign, and black indicates all Leave sources. Mean refers to average appearance of each term per cell. Presence refers to the number of cells the term was found in.

Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean
1056	1.30320	0.78568	4	0.25771	0.07018	947	1.29766	0.81111	Control											
217	0.99760	0.20202	3	0.39100	0.08772	104	0.89766	0.11624	Free(dom)											
156	0.68651	0.13307	0	0	0	38	0.53444	0.05034	Decide / Determine											
137	0.84616	0.12648	3	0.22523	0.05263	70	0.76899	0.07577	Democracy (tic)											
4	0.04189	0.00176	0	0	0	0	0	0	Autonomy											
18	0.13215	0.01054	0	0	0	5	0.05089	0.00259	Authority											
23	0.11802	0.01142	0	0	0	1	0.02278	0.00052	Dominance (t)											
98	0.50941	0.07949	2	0.18564	0.03509	36	0.39218	0.03788	Power											
3	0.06284	0.0022	0	0	0	2	0.05093	0.00156	Rule of Law											
9	0.08629	0.00483	0	0	0	4	0.07887	0.00311	Jurisdiction											

Table 17. Output from Welch Two Sample t-tests, including t statistics, degrees of freedom (df), and p-values, comparing the use of nine sovereignty terms between all Remain and all Leave sources. Significant p-values ($p < 0.05$) are bolded.

	t stat	df	p-value
Interdependence	-2.2082	2069.5	0.02734
Global(ization)	-7.6275	2682.6	3.3E-14
Share(d)	-6.8414	2829.8	9.574E-12
Movement	-4.0629	3587.7	4.311E-6
Trade	-8.1612	3109.2	4.765E-16
Mutual	-1.8444	2366	0.06524
Common	-4.6724	3035.1	3.106E-6
Support	-10.081	2773.4	2.2E-16
Joint	-3.8285	2650.9	1.319E-4

Table 19. Output from Welch Two Sample t-tests, including t statistics, degrees of freedom (df), and p-values, comparing the use of nine pooled sovereignty terms in sources from the official Vote Leave and Stronger In campaigns. Significant p-values ($p < 0.05$) are bolded.

	t stat	df	p-value
Interdependence	NA	NA	NA
Global(ization)	0.81782	1539.5	0.4136
Share(d)	0.32234	1780.2	0.7472
Movement	-2.4476	2940.2	0.01444
Trade	0.61945	1817.6	0.5357
Mutual	-0.69513	2956.2	0.487
Common	-1.3743	2883.6	0.1695
Support	-1.1844	2678.3	0.2364
Joint	0.39182	2182.5	0.6952

Table 20. Nine pooled sovereignty terms and corresponding means, standard deviations, and presences in collected tweets. Red indicates tweets from the official Vote Leave campaign, blue indicates tweets from the official Stronger In (Remain) campaign, and black indicates all collected tweets. Mean refers to average appearance of each term per cell. Presence refers to the number of cells the term was found in.

	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean	Presence	Std. Dev.	Mean
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	33	0.12158	0.01221	13	0.11305	0.01294	16	0.11222	0.00951
	7	0.04868	0.00237	0	0	0	6	0.05622	0.00317
	44	0.14979	0.01730	10	0.09930	0.00995	34	0.17001	0.02166
	156	0.25538	0.05767	55	0.23987	0.05672	99	0.26173	0.05811
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3	0.03189	0.00102	0	0	0	3	0.03979	0.00158
	36	0.11435	0.01255	9	0.09425	0.00896	26	0.12298	0.01426
	4	0.03682	0.00136	2	0.04459	0.00199	2	0.03250	0.00106

Table 21. Output from Welch Two Sample t-tests, including t statistics, degrees of freedom (df), and p-values, comparing use of nine pooled sovereignty terms in tweets by the official Vote Leave and Stronger In campaigns. Significant p-values ($p < 0.05$) are bolded.

	t stat	df	p-value
Interdependence	NA	NA	NA
Global(ization)	0.77857	2033.9	0.4363
Share(d)	-2.4527	1892	0.01427
Movement	-2.3196	2877.3	0.02043
Trade	-0.14405	2206.5	0.8855
Mutual	NA	NA	NA
Common	-1.733	1892	0.08326
Support	-1.2939	2538.6	0.1958
Joint	0.58621	1583.3	0.5578

Table 23. Output from Wilcoxon rank sum tests with continuity corrections, including W statistics and p-values, comparing use of nine pooled sovereignty terms in pamphlets from the official Vote Leave and Stronger In campaigns. Significant p-values ($p < 0.5$) are bolded.

	W stat	p-value
Interdependence	NA	NA
Global(ization)	150.5	1
Share(d)	174	0.157
Movement	138	0.4885
Trade	166	0.6011
Mutual	NA	NA
Common	NA	NA
Support	174	0.1571
Joint	156	0.5254

Table 25. Output from Wilcoxon rank sum tests with continuity corrections, including W statistics and p-values, comparing use of nine pooled sovereignty terms in pamphlets from the official Vote Leave and Stronger In campaigns. Significant p-values ($p < 0.5$) are bolded.

	W stat	p-value
Interdependence	NA	NA
Global(ization)	23	0.1047
Share(d)	15	0.02677
Movement	39.5	0.7649
Trade	35.5	0.5629
Mutual	39.5	0.6503
Common	36	0.5293
Support	36	0.5823
Joint	46	0.7491

