

Brexit as Politic Discourse in Examining the Social Construction of Crisis

Vidi Regina Juliana Yusuf

Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta, Indonesia
vidiregina81@gmail.com

Abstract

Brexit, the United Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union following the 2016 referendum, represents one of the most impactful political events in contemporary European history. This article aims to contribute theoretically by expanding the application of constructivism in the study of international relations, while also offering practical insights into how crisis discourse can be utilized to shape public opinion and direct national policy. Using Alexander Wendt's constructivist approach and the method of Critical Discourse Analysis, this study demonstrates how political actors such as Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage reconstructed the meaning of the UK's EU membership as a threat to national sovereignty. Through emotional rhetoric such as "take back control" and media support that amplified fears about immigration and foreign interference, the crisis was positioned as an existential struggle over identity and national independence. The analysis confirms that political reality is not solely determined by material structures but is shaped by socially constructed meanings through interaction, language, and identity.

Keywords: Brexit; Crisis; Constructivism; Refefendum

Introduction

British Exit (Brexit), or commonly known as the United Kingdom's (UK) decision to leave the European Union (EU) following the 2016 referendum, represents one of the most consequential political events in contemporary European history. While its legal and institutional implications have been extensively debated, Brexit must also be understood as a deeply social phenomenon. The campaign and the aftermath revealed deep fractures within British society, across age groups, regions, education levels, and even families, indicating that Brexit was not merely about policies or institutions, but about competing visions of identity and belonging (Saeid Abadi & Mohammadpour, 2020). The Leave campaign mobilized narratives of national sovereignty, control over immigration, and cultural autonomy, resonating particularly with voters who felt left behind by globalization and supranational governance.

Meanwhile, the Remain side struggled to articulate an equally compelling narrative, relying instead on economic rationality and institutional stability (Pencheva & Maronitis, 2018). Beyond the political mechanics of Article 50 and trade negotiations, Brexit triggered existential debates about what it means to be British, the role of the UK in the world, and the future of liberal democracy. Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union provides the legal basis for a member state to withdraw from the Union (Saeid Abadi & Mohammadpour, 2020). Thus, Brexit transcended the legal-political framework of EU membership, becoming a societal rupture shaped as much by emotions, perceptions, and identity politics as by treaties or tariffs.

From a rationalist standpoint, the UK's membership in the EU had been relatively stable and pragmatic. The country secured numerous opt-outs and retained monetary sovereignty through the pound sterling. Economically, it benefited from access to the single market while maintaining its own fiscal autonomy. Despite sporadic skepticism from certain segments of the Conservative Party and the right-wing press, EU membership was largely seen as a manageable compromise that allowed the UK to

balance cooperation and independence. Against this backdrop, the emergence of Brexit as a full-blown political and societal crisis appears puzzling (Carl dkk., 2019). In the case of Brexit, portraying the EU as an intrusive and illegitimate authority constructed an antagonistic interpretation of the EU-UK relationship. This interpretation was not imposed by the structure of the EU but actively produced through discourse, exemplifying how Wendt's theory helps us understand how perceptions of international order are formed and transformed (Zauzah, 2023).

In the Brexit context, politicians like Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage, along with pro-Leave media outlets, played a central role in shaping public understanding of the EU and the meaning of sovereignty. Through repeated narratives, visual framing, and symbolic slogans like "Take Back Control", they redefined EU membership not as a shared cooperative venture but as an existential threat to British autonomy (Norman, 2024). This narrative did not merely respond to structural grievances but actively restructured how those grievances were perceived. Meanwhile, EU institutions were largely reactive, unable to counter the emotional and symbolic potency of the Leave campaign's messaging (Finnemore & Wendt, 2024). This highlights the asymmetry between structural inertia and agent-driven discursive innovation. Understanding this balance is key to interpreting how crises are not simply experienced but constructed, often with strategic intent, in the realm of international relations.

The Brexit campaign offers a compelling example of how political elites can make anarchy through discursive practices, turning interdependence into perceived chaos and cooperation into domination (Mattlin, 2021). The Leave campaign did not merely argue for policy change; it fundamentally reconstructed the meaning of the UK's relationship with the European Union. Through repeated rhetorical strategies, politicians portrayed the EU as an unelected, unaccountable, and intrusive bureaucracy that eroded British sovereignty and democratic control. In this discursive framing, the EU was not simply a multilateral institution but a chaotic, oppressive force that undermined national identity and self-determination. This portrayal was a strategic act of constructing anarchy. These narratives invoked fears of loss, invasion (e.g., migration discourse), and systemic disempowerment, thereby destabilizing prior intersubjective understandings of the EU as a community of mutual benefit (Haydock, 2023).

The slogan "Take Back Control" encapsulates the discursive core of Brexit's populist message, which is a promise of emancipation from a constructed disorder. By framing the UK's EU membership as a loss of control political elites crafted a compelling binary between chaos (EU rule) and order (British sovereignty). This was not an objective description of institutional realities, but a narrative designed to resonate emotionally with voters who felt disempowered by globalization, austerity, or cultural change. The slogan functioned as a symbolic anchor, mobilizing latent anxieties into political action by giving them a target and a remedy. Constructivist analysis reveals that this was not simply about policy withdrawal, but about redefining the UK's identity and international role. Brexit was thus articulated as a reclaiming of agency. The EU became the external Other against which British identity could be purified and reaffirmed. Through this narrative, elites did not respond to an already anarchic world, they discursively produced a crisis that reconstituted both domestic and international meanings. This confirms constructivism's insight that power lies not only in coercion but in the authority to define what is real (Norman, 2024).

Much of the existing literature on Brexit has approached the phenomenon through rationalist lenses, emphasizing material interests, economic calculations, and institutional constraints. Betti presents a two-level analysis of Brexit by situating it within both international and domestic political contexts (Betti, 2021). While her approach effectively

maps the interplay between the UK's adaptation to European integration and internal political dynamics, it largely rests on explanatory models grounded in rationalist assumptions, namely that political behavior is a response to structural incentives or domestic preferences. Similarly, Figueira & Martill (2021) critique the flawed assumptions that guided the UK's negotiating stance during the Brexit process, attributing them to cognitive biases and limited expertise rather than discursive dynamics.

A number of scholars have begun to move beyond strictly economic or institutional explanations of Brexit, yet still fall short of addressing the crisis as a discursively constructed phenomenon. Milstein introduces the concept of a justification crisis to describe how Brexit reflects systemic breakdowns in democratic legitimacy (Milstein, 2021). While his argument highlights the ideological fractures within deliberative systems, it lacks a sustained engagement with the symbolic and rhetorical practices that gave these fractures meaning. Likewise, Donoghue & Kuisma examines the Brexit campaign's deployment of welfare chauvinist discourse, revealing how notions of social citizenship were leveraged to delegitimize the EU (Donoghue & Kuisma, 2022). Although his study employs Critical Discourse Analysis, it remains anchored in domestic political sociology and is concerned with policy impacts and ideological shifts rather than with the broader international meanings of sovereignty, order, and identity. Both studies acknowledge that Brexit was more than a rational policy decision, yet neither fully explores how Brexit came to be experienced and narrated as a crisis. They treat discourse as an instrument rather than as a constitutive force in international politics. What remains underexplored is how these symbolic constructions reconfigured the UK's identity and role within the international system.

Clift & Rosamond offers a valuable contribution by analyzing the marginalization of economic expertise during the Brexit debate, suggesting that plebiscitary politics replaced evidence-based policy discourse with more emotive, populist forms of counter-expertise (Clift & Rosamond, 2024). While Clift's analysis recognizes the performative dimension of Brexit discourse, it remains focused on the contestation between technocratic and populist knowledge claims, rather than on the deeper processes through which meanings of sovereignty, legitimacy, and Europeanness were socially constructed. Across these studies, the dominant trend is a reliance on rationalist or behaviorist frameworks, either emphasizing bounded decision-making, legitimacy deficits, or ideological realignments. What is notably missing is a comprehensive investigation into the discursive construction of crisis within international relations theory. Brexit has been analyzed as a policy failure, a populist backlash, or an institutional anomaly, but seldom as a socially constructed rupture that reshaped Britain's identity in the international system. This article seeks to address this gap by applying Alexander Wendt's constructivism to Brexit, treating the crisis not as a pre-given reality but as a product of intersubjective meaning-making. By doing so, it reframes Brexit not merely as a national departure from the EU, but as an ontological crisis constructed through discourse and political agency.

This study offers both theoretical and practical contributions. Theoretically, it enriches International Relations (IR) by advancing the application of constructivist insights to the analysis of populist political crises, an area that remains underexplored. While constructivism has been influential in demonstrating how identities, norms, and meanings shape state behavior, its utility in understanding how political actors manufacture crises through discourse has not been sufficiently leveraged. To unpack the emergence of Brexit as a socially constructed crisis, this article draws on the theoretical framework of constructivism in international relations, particularly Alexander Wendt's seminal claim that anarchy is what states make of it. In contrast to neorealist and

neoliberal assumptions that anarchy is an objective feature of the international system, Wendt argues that the meaning of anarchy is shaped by the identities and interests that states develop through social interaction. The international system is not merely a material structure but a realm of intersubjective meanings shaped by norms, discourse, and collective understandings (Wendt, 1992). Applying Wendt's insight to Brexit suggests that the UK's perception of the EU was not fixed but subject to redefinition through language and political practice. Political elites, through rhetorical strategies and symbolic actions, reconstructed the EU not as a partner but as an adversary. In doing so, they did not merely respond to an existing crisis; they actively produced it (Zauzah, 2023). This article, therefore, treats Brexit not as a reaction to structural inevitabilities, but as a discursive project where politicians remade the meaning of anarchy and reimagined the UK's place in Europe.

At the heart of constructivist International Relations (IR) theory lies the concept of the social construction of reality. Intersubjectivity refers to the mutual understanding and expectations that actors develop through social interaction, which guide their behavior. For instance, what constitutes a threat or an ally is not objectively defined but arises from historically and culturally embedded perceptions (Zeli, 2024). In the Brexit context, the identity of the UK as a sovereign nation was not simply inherited but discursively constructed and reinforced. This framework allows us to see how political narratives, rather than merely reflecting material conditions, serve to produce and reproduce the meanings that underpin political choices, alliances, and conflicts. Brexit thus becomes a product of contested social meanings, not objective necessity (Putra, 2023).

This study aims to explain how British national identity is reconstructed through the political discourse of Brexit, analyze how political actors redefine Britain's membership in the European Union from a cooperative partnership to a form of subordination, reveal the role of the mass media in reinforcing and popularizing the narrative of crisis, examining the mobilization of national identity as a discursive strategy to frame the referendum as a moral and existential struggle, and assessing the impact of this discursive construction on UK-EU international relations and its implications for the orientation of UK foreign policy (Ogunbanjo, 2021).

Method

This study employs a qualitative research design, utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its primary methodological approach. This study uses a qualitative research design, utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its main methodological approach to examine the relationship between language, power, and ideology, making it an effective tool for analyzing how political actors construct Brexit as a crisis. This study is a qualitative study with a critical discourse analysis approach that aims to understand the social construction of Brexit as a political crisis. The research data sources consist of primary data in the form of speeches, interviews, campaign slogans, official documents, and mass media reports, while secondary data was obtained from academic literature, digital archives, and related publications. Informants were determined purposively, focusing on key political actors in the Brexit campaign, key figures who influenced public opinion, and the media most active in framing this issue. The research instruments consisted of text analysis guidelines and code categories developed to explore the issues of sovereignty, immigration, and national identity. Data was collected through documentation studies, archive searches, and systematic recording from various online and print sources. The analysis technique involved data reduction, thematic categorization, discourse interpretation, and triangulation between sources to ensure the validity of the

findings. Through these steps, this study revealed the language patterns, rhetorical strategies, and political symbols used to frame Brexit as a crisis, while also interpreting its implications for British national identity and international relations.

Results and Discussion

1. Brexit as a Social and Political Identity Construction

National identities are shaped by historical, political, and cultural contexts, as well as through interactions with other actors. These identities have the potential to both unite and divide. In the case of the United Kingdom, its unique history as a former empire and leader of the Commonwealth led to stronger global connections outside Europe. As a result, deep European integration was not initially viewed as aligned with Britain's national interests. Over time, as Britain's global influence declined, economic considerations encouraged it to pursue membership in the European Economic Community. Despite initial resistance from other European leaders, Britain eventually joined. A public referendum later confirmed its continued membership. However, as the European Union expanded its scope and policy areas, the British national identity (rooted in its history and traditions) began to diverge from the evolving European identity. This divergence contributed to Britain's resistance to further EU integration (Saeid Abadi & Mohammadpour, 2020).

Anti-European sentiment grew within the UK, particularly in the early 2010s, with increased political support for parties opposing EU membership. This atmosphere laid the groundwork for the 2016 referendum, which became a national debate on sovereignty, immigration, and identity. The outcome of the vote reflected the tension between a strong sense of British national identity and a more integrated European identity. Those who identified more closely with being exclusively British were more likely to vote to leave, whereas those who held a dual British-European identity tended to support remaining in the EU (Saeid Abadi & Mohammadpour, 2020).

The role of British identity in the Brexit decision can be understood not only historically but also geopolitically. The UK's status as an island nation contributed to a distinct perception of foreign policy and security needs, often reinforcing a preference for autonomy over integration. This identity influenced how the public and political elites approached the question of EU membership. Brexit thus emerged from the friction between a constructed British national identity and the broader European identity. While European identity does not replace national identity, it exists alongside it and influences how citizens relate to EU integration. The extent to which individuals embraced this Europeanized identity affected their stance in the referendum (Saeid Abadi & Mohammadpour, 2020).

Following the decision to leave the EU, the UK experienced significant political turbulence. Multiple elections and internal disagreements over the nature of Brexit (ranging from calls for a second referendum to debates over soft versus hard Brexit) complicated the negotiation process with the EU. The lack of internal consensus contributed to delays and uncertainties, including the postponement of the official departure date. Brexit negotiations were also shaped by international legal norms, particularly Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, which outlines the procedures for a member state's withdrawal. While this legal framework provided structure, domestic political conflicts in the UK significantly affected how the withdrawal process unfolded.

National Identity as a Central Discursive Resource a core element in the discursive construction of Brexit was the mobilization of national identity as a means to frame the crisis. Britishness was constructed in opposition to what was portrayed as an intrusive, overbearing European bureaucracy. Through metaphors such as "Brussels shackles" and

descriptions of Britain as “held hostage” by EU officials, political discourse simplified the institutional complexities of the EU into a binary of freedom versus oppression. This identity-based framing served multiple purposes. It created a clear adversary in the EU, which allowed political actors to position Brexit as a symbolic act of reclaiming British sovereignty and dignity. The referendum was thus transformed from a policy debate into a performative gesture of national self-assertion, resonating deeply with voters’ emotional and cultural attachments (Tamsin Parnell, 2023).

The invocation of national identity also drew upon historical narratives and collective memories of Britain’s imperial past, reinforcing a sense of exceptionalism and separateness. This historical dimension added legitimacy and urgency to the crisis narrative by linking Brexit to longstanding notions of British independence and global stature (Edmunds, 2013). Moreover, the construction of identity in opposition to the EU served to delegitimize the European project as a whole. By framing the EU as a foreign, illegitimate entity, political discourse undermined the possibility of compromise and cooperation, encouraging a zero-sum approach to the referendum and its aftermath.

2. Redefining EU Membership: From Cooperative Partnership to Subjugation

Before and during the lead-up to Brexit, the economic relationship between Great Britain and the European Union remained significant. For example, the trade volume graph between Great Britain and the EU from 2009 to 2022 demonstrates continued economic engagement and interdependence. This sustained trade activity shows that, despite political tensions, the UK and EU maintained a close economic partnership, benefiting from the single market and cooperation.

This graph illustrates the persistent economic interdependence between Great Britain and the European Union from 2009 through 2022.

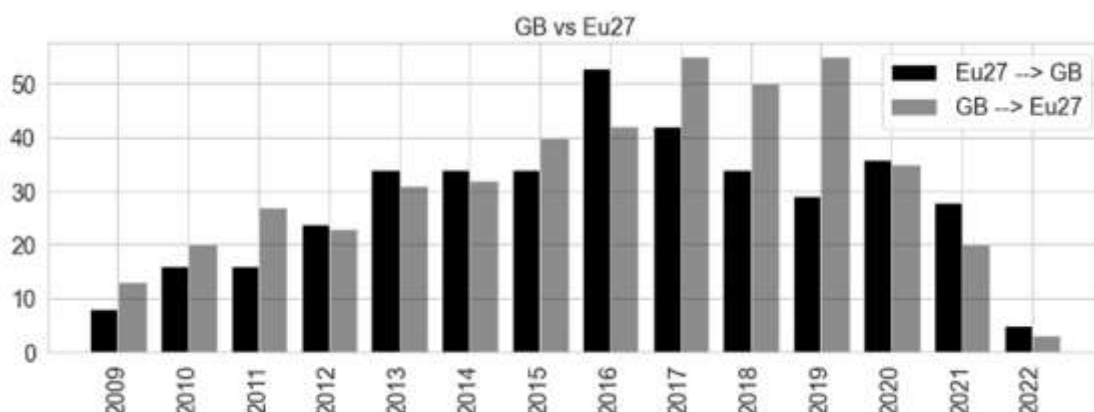


Figure 1. Trends in Trade Volume between Great Britain and the European Union (2009–2022)

Even as political rhetoric increasingly framed the EU as a source of constraints on UK sovereignty, the data reveal sustained levels of trade and economic interaction. This contrast underscores the argument that the Brexit crisis was not solely a response to economic factors but was socially constructed through political discourse emphasizing threats over realities (Sîrbu dkk., 2024). Trade statistics show that economic ties remain strong despite political rhetoric emphasizing disconnection. CDA analysis of political texts indicates that these material data are not used as primary references, but are overshadowed by narratives of threat. Thus, the construction of crisis does not arise from economic conditions, but from the power of political discourse.

However, in the years leading up to the Brexit referendum, British political actors engaged in a deliberate discursive effort to redefine the United Kingdom’s relationship

with the European Union. Rather than framing membership as a mutually beneficial partnership, political leaders and campaigners emphasized narratives of loss, control, and subordination. Slogans such as “take back control” encapsulated this rhetoric, suggesting that EU membership limited British sovereignty and imposed unwanted constraints on national decision-making. This reframing was strategic, aiming to mobilize public sentiment by presenting Brexit as a necessary corrective to an imbalanced relationship (Martill & Rogstad, 2024).

This shift was not merely a matter of rhetoric but represented a profound discursive transformation of political meaning. The EU ceased to be perceived as a collaborative institution and instead came to symbolize external domination and loss of autonomy (Sîrbu et al., 2024). By focusing on sovereignty as a core issue, political discourse positioned the referendum as a battle to restore British self-determination. The complexity of economic or political integration was sidelined in favor of a more accessible and emotionally charged narrative of liberation from control. Moreover, this reframing served to polarize the political landscape, creating a clear divide between proponents of continued EU membership and advocates for departure. The discourse simplified a multifaceted international relationship into a binary choice: either maintain subjugation or reclaim independence. In doing so, political actors effectively constructed Brexit as a moral imperative rather than a mere policy decision, demanding urgent action to “restore” the nation’s rightful place.

The consequences of this rhetorical strategy were significant, as it shaped the terms of public debate and influenced voting behavior. By emphasizing themes of control, loss, and sovereignty, politicians and campaigners helped to manufacture a crisis perception, making Brexit appear not only necessary but inevitable. This discursive construction laid the foundation for the referendum’s eventual outcome, demonstrating the power of language in shaping political realities. Finally, this reframing illustrates the central claim of constructivist theory: political realities are socially constructed through discourse. The UK’s relationship with the EU was not fixed or predetermined but was continually (re)defined by political actors’ representations and interpretations, highlighting how identity and meaning are essential to understanding international politics.

3. Media Amplification and the Popularization of Crisis Narratives

Mass media played a crucial role in amplifying the crisis discourse surrounding Brexit, transforming elite political rhetoric into widespread public narratives. Tabloid newspapers such as *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail* became key actors in disseminating emotionally charged messages that portrayed the EU as an external threat to British values, democracy, and social order. Their coverage employed sensationalist language, including metaphors of “invasions” and “hostage-taking,” which simplified complex political realities into dramatic and accessible stories (Tamsin Parnell, 2023).

This media amplification contributed to the affective dimension of Brexit discourse, heightening public fears and insecurities. The frequent repetition of crisis narratives across various outlets helped to normalize the idea that Britain was under siege by foreign bureaucrats and uncontrolled immigration. This created an atmosphere where political disengagement transformed into urgent demand for national sovereignty, aligning with Leave campaign rhetoric (Tamsin Parnell, 2023).

Critical Discourse Analysis suggests that media did not merely reflect existing opinions but actively shaped public understanding by framing the EU in antagonistic terms. The tabloid press, through selective framing and emphasis, marginalized alternative perspectives that advocated for cooperation and integration, thereby

constricting the space for reasoned debate. This dynamic helped to create a feedback loop in which crisis narratives were both produced and reinforced. Furthermore, the media's role in constructing Brexit as a crisis intersected with broader societal anxieties about globalization, identity, and social change. The discursive environment shaped by mass communication tapped into these latent concerns, giving them concrete political expression through the referendum debate. This highlights the media's function not only as a conveyor of information but as a powerful site of political meaning-making.

The mass media, especially tabloids, play an important role in reinforcing the discourse of crisis. Through sensationalist language, the media not only reproduce the narratives of the elite, but also simplify issues so that they are easily accepted by the public. The repetition of crisis headlines makes the threat from Europe feel real, regardless of the actual complexity of the policies involved.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) shows that the media not only reproduces the messages of the elite, but also filters issues to make them more emotional, easier to digest, and able to penetrate the wider community. However, the media also functions as a discursive arena where the public negotiates meaning. While some readers directly absorb the crisis narrative put forward by the elite, others reject or even mock it through alternative media and online conversations. Thus, the media is not merely a one-way mouthpiece, but an interactive channel that mediates, reinforces, and opens up new spaces for interpretation of the Brexit discourse.

A similar pattern can be seen in the mobilization of national identity. The political elite campaigning for Leave emphasized Britishness as opposed to Europeanness, with the aim of framing the referendum as a moral and existential struggle. However, the meaning of national identity is not singular among the public. Post-referendum surveys show sharp differences: younger groups, the urban middle class, and the highly educated tend to reject the exclusive narrative of Britishness, while older groups, rural communities, and those who feel left behind by globalization are more likely to internalize it. This means that the public is not passive; while most accept the elite's construction, there are also those who reinterpret or reject the legitimacy of the crisis narrative. These findings confirm that national identity in the context of Brexit is not merely a product of the elite, but rather a dynamic arena of meaning contested between the elite, the media, and the public.

4. Discursive Impact on UK–EU International Relations

The social construction of Brexit as a crisis had profound implications for the subsequent diplomatic relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union. The antagonistic framing of the EU as a hostile, illegitimate actor constrained the political space for negotiation and cooperation during the withdrawal process. Diplomatic efforts were not conducted solely on the basis of pragmatic interests or legal frameworks, but were also deeply influenced by the need to maintain consistency with the crisis narrative that had been presented to the public (O'Reilly dkk., 2016).

This discursive legacy complicated the Brexit negotiations, as British political leaders had to navigate internal divisions and public expectations shaped by the earlier construction of the EU as an existential threat. The politicization of the EU membership question transformed technical trade and policy discussions into symbolic contests over sovereignty and identity. Furthermore, the reframing of UK-EU relations through crisis discourse reshaped the UK's foreign policy orientation more broadly. The emphasis on national autonomy and skepticism towards multilateral institutions influenced subsequent policies, signaling a shift away from integrationist approaches. This shift highlights how discursive practices can have lasting effects on international alignments and state

behavior. Importantly, the Brexit case demonstrates that political outcomes are not solely the product of material interests or institutional constraints but are significantly shaped by the evolving narratives and meanings constructed by political actors. The social construction of crisis, in this case, had tangible consequences for the direction of international relations and domestic politics alike.

Conclusion

Brexit demonstrates how national identity and political crises are socially constructed rather than purely driven by material interests. The United Kingdom's unique historical background and geopolitical context fostered a national identity often at odds with the European Union's evolving integration. Despite strong economic ties between the UK and the EU, political actors reshaped the public discourse to portray EU membership as a loss of sovereignty, using emotive slogans like "take back control" to galvanize support for leaving. This discursive shift transformed Brexit from a complex policy issue into a moral and identity-driven crisis, polarizing public opinion and simplifying the referendum choice into a binary between independence and subjugation. The media played a crucial role by amplifying crisis narratives, reinforcing fears about immigration and loss of control, and framing the EU as an external threat. The strategic invocation of British national identity against the EU helped legitimize Brexit as a symbolic reclaiming of sovereignty and national dignity. The social construction of Brexit had lasting effects on UK politics and international relations, complicating negotiations and signaling a shift towards greater skepticism of multilateral institutions. This case clearly illustrates the constructivist view that political realities emerge from discourse, identity, and meaning, not just material conditions. Understanding Brexit thus requires recognizing the power of language and narratives in shaping political outcomes and international alignments.

Reference

- Betti, A. (2021). Examining Brexit: Level of Analysis and Explanations. *Comillas Journal of International Relations*, 21, 071–089.
- Carl, N., Dennison, J., & Evans, G. (2019). European but Not European Enough: An Explanation for Brexit. *European Union Politics*, 20(2), 282–304.
- Clift, B., & Rosamond, B. (2024). Technocratic Reason in Hard Times: The Mobilisation of Economic Knowledge and the Discursive Politics of Brexit. *New Political Economy*, 29(6), 886–899.
- Donoghue, M., & Kuisma, M. (2022). Taking Back Control of the Welfare State: Brexit, Rational-Imaginations and Welfare Chauvinism. *West European Politics*, 45(1), 177–199.
- Edmunds, J. (2013). Human Rights, Islam and the Failure of Cosmopolitanism. *Ethnicities*, 13(6), 671–688.
- Finnemore, M., & Wendt, A. (2024). When "Old" Constructivism Was New: Reflections on Classical Constructivism. *Perspectives on Politics*, 22(4), 1248–1268.
- Haydock, J. (2023). The Use of Political Narratives to Legitimise Domination and Exclusion: A Critical Analysis Relating to Asylum Seekers in Post-Brexit United Kingdom [Thesis, Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington].
- Martill, B., & Rogstad, A. (2024). A Debate of the Highest Order: The Brexit Referendum as Second-Order Role Contestation. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 20(3), orae013.
- Mattlin, M. (2021). Anarchy Is What Students Make of It: Playing Out Wendt's Three Cultures of Anarchy. *Journal of Political Science Education*, 17(sup1), 226–236.

- Milstein, B. (2021). Justification Crisis: Brexit, Trump, and Deliberative Breakdown. *Political Theory*, 49(4), 554–583.
- Norman, K. P. (2024). Leveraging Selective State Capacity: Understanding Changing Responses to Migration and Refugees. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 9(3), ogae025.
- Ogunbanjo, M. A. (2021). Neo-Realism and Neo-Liberalism in Global Politics: Towards Assessing the Intellectual Siblings. *NIU Journal of Social Sciences*, 7(2), 57–76.
- O'Reilly, J., Froud, J., Warhurst, C., Morgan, G., Grey, C., Wood, G., Boyer, R., Frerichs, S., Rona-Tas, A., Le Galès, P., Johal, S., Williams, K., Wright, M., & Sankari, S. (2016). Brexit: Understanding the Socio-Economic Origins and Consequences. *Socio-Economic Review*, 14(4), 807–854.
- Pencheva, D., & Maronitis, K. (2018). Fetishizing Sovereignty in the Remain and Leave Campaigns. *European Politics and Society*, 19(5), 526–539.
- Putra, B. A. (2023). International Relations and the Concentric Hermeneutic Circle: Wendt's Constructivism and the Inevitability of Circular Interpretations. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 9(2), 2272325.
- Saeid Abadi, M. R., & Mohammadpour, S. (2020). Brexit and the English School of International Relations: A Theoretical Study. *World Sociopolitical Studies*, 4(2).
- Sîrbu, A., Goglia, D., Kim, J., Magos, P. M., Pollacci, L., Spyrtos, S., Rossetti, G., & Iacus, S. M. (2024). International Mobility Between the UK and Europe Around Brexit: A Data-Driven Study. *Journal of Computational Social Science*, 7(2), 1451–1482.
- Tamsin Parnell. (2023). Constructing British and European Identities in Brexit Britain: A Critical Linguistic Analysis of Press, Political, and Personal Discourses [Doctoral Dissertation]. University of Nottingham.
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), 391–425.
- Zauzah, N. Z. (2023). Analyzing Alexander Wendt's Statements Regarding "Anarchy Is What the State Makes It." *SIYAR Journal*, 4(1), 45–58.
- Zeli, A. (2024). Postmodern International Relations: Postmodernism Beyond Social Constructivism. *International Journal of Social Science and Education Research Studies*, 04(08).