

Department of International Relations and Diplomacy

The Brexit negotiations 2016-2020: redefining the United Kingdom's foreign policy towards Europe

MASTER THESIS

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ABSTRACT

One of the most important parts of politics and diplomacy is surely the study of foreign policy and its analysis. This has been subject to analysis for a long period of time and various research methods have been used to get data and present it to the readers. One of the important events in recent history was surely a referendum for Brexit held in 2016 and the final United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union happened on 31st January 2020. Many research articles and books were already written on this topic and the main aim of this master thesis was to present research already done and propose some implications for further study. The main research hypothesis was if the Brexit negotiations will redefine the United Kingdom's foreign policy towards Europe and it has been approved since various research confirmed it, with the focus on fields such as migrations, security, economy & foreign trade as well as travel and goods transport. By using methods such as case study, comparative method and, process tracing, this master thesis provided data related to the importance of foreign policy in general and then in the context of Brexit. The main part of the thesis provided information regarding the period of negotiations (2016-2020), the way in which the UK left the European Union and, ultimately what impact it had / will have on foreign policy towards European countries. The aim of the thesis was to present data and facts that indicate the pros and cons of Brexit and to give readers a clear picture of all the events that preceded the country's exit from the European Union.

KEY WORDS: European Union, United Kingdom, Brexit, Foreign Policy Analysis

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU European Union

FPA Foreign Policy Analysis

FP Foreign Policy

IR International Relations

MS Member State

UK United Kingdom

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One of the most important parts of the politics and diplomacy is surely the study of foreign policy and its analysis. This field is highly fluctuating and it gives numerous insights into events and changes related to the states, people and institutions. Foreign policy dictates the relations between two or more countries and it is used by the state for the purpose of achieving national interest and other goals. According to Encyclopedia Britannica, foreign policy can be defined as a set of general objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states. The development of foreign policy is influenced by domestic considerations, the policies or behaviour of other states, or plans to advance specific geopolitical designs. Along with the foreign policy, foreign policy analysis (FPA) is a crucial part for one state and it encompasses factors such as trade negotiations, intelligence, cultural and other exchanges as well as decision making. It must be noted that this field is very complex task and it requires understanding of various international politics tasks; it comprises of several questions such as the question of the influence which ideas, identity and history might have and if they are on the same level with material power, is there any relationship between leader's experience in decision making or if bureaucracy affect decisions in foreign policy. In order to come up with the full explanation for the foreign policy solutions, researcher need to consider boundaries between the state's internal and external environment (Alden & Aran, 2016).

Among various events, the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union was the one which marked both EU's and UK's histories. This event can be described as the proof of democracy, however, on the other side, there are a lot consequences for UK's foreign policy. Therefore, this master thesis will shed light on United Kingdom's foreign policy towards Europe, by highlighting the period of Brexit negotiations from 2016-2020. A withdrawal of the United Kingdom which is more known as a portmaneu *Brexit*, blended from the words Britain and exit, has officially started on 29th of March 2017, followed by the UK government's initiative. Prior to this, the referendum was held in June 2016 in which 52% of the residents voted to leave the European Union (EU) and 48% voted to remain in the

European Union. This event triggered many debates within the EU and UK itself, but also other countries all around the world. Brexit was was a long-term process and it raised various questions mostly related to the economy, immigration, resident's right which might be a subject to change. Surely, one of the biggest query for the researchers is the one related to the UK's trade. By taking into account that the European Union is the UK's largest trade partner and that around half of the UK's trade is within European Union (Dhingra, Swati, et al.2016), the major concerns and debates are associated with the goods and services which were more competitive for UK's purchasers and permitted this states' businesses to export in a wider range. Despite the fact that it is not so easy to predict the trade future due to the large number of uncertainties, Dhingra, Swati, et al. (2016, p.2) stated that they have found that "by reducing trade, Brexit would lower UK living standards." Since it is difficult to anticipate the consequences of the UK's, their research was based on two scenarios: an optimistic scenario in which the increase in trade costs (Dhingra, Swati, et al. (2016, p.3). These scenarios will be elaborated further in the literature review section.

Furthermore, opinions related to the UK's withdrawal from the EU were divided. For instance, the UK's ex prime minister David Cameron was the leading voice in the Remain campaign and claimed that, by just adjusting the terms of Britain's membership, the state would have a "special" status and be beneficial in terms of sorting out various issues such as immigration. Barack Obama (ex president of the United States of America) also supported the idea of remaining a member of the EU along with the countries including Germany and France (Hunt & Wheeler, 2016). There are many ongoing discussions about the withdrawal as well as the transition period which lasts for one year, but might be extended. With the UK's withdrawal, European Union has lost about 66 million of residents and it has lost a country which was one of the biggest among other EU member states. Before explaining the period of the negotiations 2016-2020, there will be a short introduction about UK's foreign policy in general and their previous attempts and desire to leave the European Union and become an independent country. This master thesis will consist of 6 sections including introduction, literature review, methodology, results and discussion, conclusion and references. The main part (discussion and results) will be divided into several sub-sections explaining the main and auxiliary hypotheses. This research study will be based on the hypothesis The Brexit negotiations will redefine the United Kingdom's foreign policy towards Europe and there will be three auxiliary hypotheses (1) the Brexit will have a significant impact on economy and foreign trade, (2) the Brexit will have a significant impact on migrations and security and (3)

the Brexit will have a significant impact on travel and goods transport. The main aim of the stud y is to get a wider picture of the UK's withdrawal from the European Union by presenting main events, current and future advantages and disadvantages. Three research questions (combined in one) are to be answered in the results & discussion section and those are related to the relation between the Brexit and economy, migration, security, foreign trade, goods transport as well as travel. This will be done by using several research methods including case study, comparative method and process tracing.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will bring an insight into the main research hypothesis and three auxiliary hypotheses as well as research design and means of data collection. It will give reasons for choosing particular research methods, the descriptions of the methods and the aim of the research study.

2.1 The Aim of the Study

This master thesis aims to present the importance of foreign policy in general and then in the context of Brexit; The main part of the paper will talk about the period of negotiations (2016-2020), the way in which the UK left the European Union and ultimately what impact it has / will have on foreign policy towards European countries. The aim of the thesis is to present data and facts that indicate the pros and cons of Brexit and to give readers a clear picture of all the events that preceded the country's exit from the EU. Furthermore, different aspects will presented and research already done in this field. By looking into different research articles and opinions, final conclusion will be made in order to give readers summary of the past and present events related to the UK's withdrawal from the European Union. In addition to the aforementioned, the study also aimed to (by using various qualitative research methods) present events (their causes and consequences) in the chronological way so it can be understood better.

2.2 Research question

RQ: Will Brexit have a significant impact on economy, foreign trade, migrations, security, travel and goods transport?

2.3 Research hypotheses

Main research hypothesis: The Brexit negotiations will redefine the United Kingdom's foreign policy towards Europe

Auxiliary hypotheses:

H1: The Brexit will have a significant impact on economy and foreign tradeH2: The Brexit will have a significant impact on migrations and securityH3: The Brexit will have a significant impact on travel and goods transport

2.4 Data collection and instruments

It is very important to carefully choose one or more instruments when working on a research study, all with the aim of getting as much as possible data, but data which will be productive for the readers and other researchers working in the certain field. This research study will be (mostly) based on qualitative types of research including *case study*, *comparative method and* process tracing. Case study is a qualitative method whose basic procedure is to consider all the important aspect of a phenomenon or situation, it this particular case - Brexit. It will provide detailed (rich qualitative and quantitative) information, an insight for the further research and it helps to generate new ideas that might be tested by other methods). Furthermore, a *comparative method* will be used which aims to develop greater political understanding through a scientifically constrained methodology¹. Finally, a process tracing will be used as a research method and it can be described as a fundamental instrument of qualitative analysis. According to Collier (2011, p.1), this method can be it defined as the systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analyzed in light of research questions and hypotheses posed by the investigator. All events which happened prior to Brexit, Brexit itself and up to date situation should be analyzed in this master thesis with the help of this research method.

¹ Comparative Analysis Within Political Science, Alexander Stafford (November, 2013) https://www.e-ir.info/2013/11/14/the-value-of-comparative-analysis-within-political-

science/#:~:text=Comparative%20analysis%20(CA)%20is%20a,regional%2C%20national%20and%20internatio nal%20scale.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This section briefly elaborates on the data and provides detailed explanations of the concepts mentioned in the introduction part, aiming to give better clarification of the topic. The first part will give an insight into international theories as well as foreign policy analysis. Second part will be related to various research articles and books already written about the UK's withdrawal from the EU and the 'new foreign policy' of the UK. It will be followed by the section about the importance of being a member of the European Union. Third part will focus on the causes of the withdrawal, Brexit referendum along with all sub-topics which led to the withdrawal. Previous attempts to leave the EU will be also mentioned including an overview of the negotiation process 2016-2020 and overviews of the Prime Ministers' (Cameron, May and Johnson) mandates and their roles during this process.

3.1 Key terms and concepts

3.1.1 International relation theories and foreign policy analysis

International relation theories serves as a tool which help in understanding the ways in which international relations and diplomacy function. Those theories are also inevitable for the professionals in the field in order to better discern the motivations and goals which are driving policy decisions worldwide. As mentioned in the book *Theories of International Relations*, written by Burchill, S. et al. (2013) theories might have various aims including following:theories explain the laws of international politics or repeated patterns of national behavior (Waltz, 1979), theories draw on history and historical sociology (Linklater, 2011a; Rosenberg, 1994; Teschke, 2003), theories can be used either to explain and predict behaviour or to understand the world 'inside the heads' of the actors (Hollis and Smith 1990), they can criticize forms of domination and question perspectives but also reflect on how the world should be organized and analyse ways in which various concepts of human rights or global social justice are constructed and defended. International relation theories do share a lot of

presumptions and characteristics, but also can differ in many ways - they can be even conflicting. Theories can aid policy since it guides one's understanding of the past and historical interpretations which usually often what policy makers do later. Policy makers inevitably rely on different forms of knowledge, but the theory is the one which helps them decide what sort of information is necessary. This section will give an insight into main theories of IR - realism, liberalism, constructivism and marxism.

- Realism is an approach which was dominant throughout the Cold War and it states that all nations' aim is to increase their own power and stability; ''classical'' realists such as Morgenthau and Nieburh believed that states, like human beings, had an innate desire to dominate others which led them to fight war. In the eyes of realist scholars, human being is, by his nature, egoist, interest oriented, aggressive and sinful (Tayyar, et al., 2018). On the other hand, there is a neorealist theory - Kenneth N. Waltz gave a shape to this approach which was discussed in his book Theory of International Relations (1979). The most important characteristic of this theory is that it ignores human nature and it was focused on the effect of the international systems - Waltz, in contrast to Morgenthau, claimed that bipolarity was more stable than multipolarity. In terms of the collapse of the Soviet Union, realist theories assumed that this event would weaken existing alliances. In general, this approach is pessimistic about the prospects for eliminating conflict and war.
- Liberalism is an approach which is also called "liberal internationalism" and it focused on international cooperation as a mean of achieving each nation's respective interests rather than using direct force like military action². One of the main characteristics of this approach is the belief in the human mind power and other values which ought lead to global peace and stability. Therefore, this theory is usually called idealist and it is sometimes denounced to be utopian. In general, liberalists tend to use social or economic power to accomplish their national goals which means that bilateral or trilateral agreements can be more successful when compared to the threatening force. In contrast to realism view of the Soviet Union collapse, liberal theorists offered more optimistic predictions and proposed that the fall of communism and the spread of Western - style institutions and forms announced an unexpected peaceful era.
- Constructivism is a type of the theory which emphasizes the impact of ideas and identities, how they are created, how they evolve and how they shape the way states understand and acknowledge to the certain situation. This theory is based on the idea that

²Key Theories of International Relations by Norwich University Online, October 16th, 2017

states are not the most important actors in the international relations, but that international institutions and other non-state actors are of great importance, especially in terms of lobbying and acts of persuasion.³ Furthermore, the significance of this theory might be find in non-state actors such as Amnesty International, OXFAM and Greenpeace which obtain political influence and encourage the promotion of human rights and making them an international standard.

Marxism is a theory which originates from the works of German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. It tends to give an insight into relations between classes, social conflicts and, finally, to provide possibilities for the social transformation. This theory can be described as a substitute for liberal and realist theories and it is also called radical approach. There are two theories - orthodox and neomarxist theory where the first one looks on capitalism as the main cause of international conflict and where capitalist states fight each other for the sake of profit. On the other hand, neomarxist theory is more concentrated on relations between less developed states and those developed; their idea is to bring down elites and focus on a government which main focus will be on autonomous development (Little, R., & Smith, M., 2006)

3.1.2 Foreign Policy Analysis

As every theoretical discipline has its ground, so does international relations. According to Hudson, V. M., & Day, B. S. (2019, p.3), this term 'ground' relates to to the conceptualization of the fundamental or foundation level at which phenomena in the field of study occur. It can be said that international theories ground is the same ground which all other social sciences use - how is the world and society shaped, what types of relation might occur among certain states or how the decisions are made. Two most important factors of international theories are surely states and decision-makers. However, as mentioned by Hudson, V. M., & Day, B. S. (2019) there are some opinions that international relations are not the study of foreign policy making which is not accurate. By writing the book Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory, those authors emphasized the significance of human decision makers rather than the state itself. There are four main advantages lacking in international relations and the first one is related to the engine of the theoretical integration in IR which is actually a definition of the certain situation generated by the human decision makers. Second advantage is related to the probability of incorporating a

³Key Theories of International Relations by Norwich University Online, October 16th, 2017

more robust concept of agency into theory of international relations. Third advantage is associated with moving beyond description or postulation of natural law:

We believe that the phenomena normally studied in the field of international politics can be interpreted and meaningfully related by means of (the decision - making approach) as we shall present it. It should be clearly understood that this is not to say that all useful work in the field must or can be done within the decision - making framework...However, and the qualification is crucial, if one wishes to probe the 'why'' questions underlying the events, conditions, and interaction patterns which rest upon state action, then decision - making analysis is certainly necessary. We would go so far as to say that the 'why'' questions cannot be answered without analysis of decision making. (R.Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin, 1962,33; emphasis in original).

The fourth advantage which comes from the foreign policy analysis research that it can be viewed as a natural bridge from international relations to non-international relations fields such as comparative politics and public policy. Moreover, foreign policy analysis has a common language with public policy researchers and the main origins of foreign policy analysis are three paradigmatic work out of which *Decision - Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics* written by Snyder, R.C., Bruck, H.W., & and Sapin, B (2002), *Pre - Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy* written by Rosenau, J. N. (1966) and Man - Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics by Sprout, H. H., & Sprout, M. (1956). As per Hudson, V. M., & Day, B. S. (2019), when taking into consideration those three works mentioned above, the main conclusion is that, in order to understanding foreign policy decisions, human beings making national foreign policy are of great significance. There should be several levels of the analysis, beginning from the most micro to the most macro and the process of foreign policy making should be at least as significant as the FP policy decision itself.

Living in a globalized world means being aware that the nations are ruled, regulated and organized. Within every state there is similar or unique way of ruling (it depends under which regime the state is functioning) and states are engaged in different international relations, which include international organizations, economy, military cooperation or the last favorable relationship, so called the war. Looking from the above the world is organized place with different international actors. In that way, Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) can be explained as the study how states, or individuals that lead them, make foreign policy, execute foreign policy, and react to the foreign policies of other states. ⁴ Foreign policy analysis is widespread, and has many branches that are used in consideration when the analysis is needed. Four, basic methods which are rated as the "central": archival research, content analysis, interviews, and focus groups. Through these ways foreign analyst can acquire, collect, analyze, compare and give the results. Very often, foreign analysis means the complexity of analysis, difficult ways of collecting data, but today foreign policy analysis is rated as a very successful field of study. Reasons for successful analysis can be found in the broad possibilities to find data and information, fast and secure make analysis which can be helpful to make predictions at national, as well as the international level (i.e. economic crisis, conflicts, developments). If we look back at the Cold War, and the generally period after 1950s, it is possible to realize that it was period of history that shaped early methodological development of foreign policy analysis. From that period of time till today, analysis changed a lot, in a sense that achieved drastic changes to the better. Foreign policy analysis can be helpful to understand (from different point of views) nations' actions, leaders' decision making processes, states' organization, relations and cooperation between states, as well as to have possibility to predict near future based on the historical analysis. (Šoljanin, 2011)

3.1.3 The European Union

The main goal of the European Union foundation was to end the frequent and bloody wars that culminated during the World War II. The European Coal and Steel Community wanted to unite European countries in both economical and political way with the sake of lasting peace. The six founding countries were Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The Treaty of Rome in 1957 established the European Economic Community (EEC) or the so-called Common Market. Later on, the period from 1960 to 1969 can be described as a period that was fruitful for the economy and trade; the main reason was as the European countries decided to stop taking custom duties when they cooperate with each other. Furthermore, they agreed to control together a food production so that it might be assured that everybody has enough to eat.

The first enlargement happened in 1973 when the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland joined the European Union. At that time, the number of the EU members was nine. The period of 1970-1979 was characterized by the bloody Arab-Israeli war which caused huge economic and security issues all along the Europe. Another important event that

⁴ INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION AND OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS: *Methods of Foreign Policy analysis*, more on the website: https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-34_, retrieved on 18th July, 2020

happened in this period was the overthrow of the Salazar regime in Portugal and the death of General Franco of Spain in 1975. Following these and similar event, the European Union policy was to ensure enough money that can be helpful in creating jobs and improving the infrastructure in the poverty-stricken regions. Later on (in 1981), Greece, followed by Portugal and Spain joined the European Union and the Single European Act was signed in 1986. One of the important events is surely the reunification of East and West Germany that happened in October 1990, followed by the Berlin wall fall in 1989. Free movement of services, goods and people was established in 1993 and one of the causes is definitely a fall of communism in the Middle and East Europe where the European people become closer to each other. 1990s were marked by the very significant treaties including *the Maastricht Treaty* on European Union in 1993 and the *Treaty of Amsterdam* in 1999.

*The Maastricht Treaty*⁵ - is the international treaty related to the creation of the European Union which was signed by twelve states (Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, France, Netherlands, West Germany, Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom, Greece, Portugal, and Spain) in 1991, but became effective in 1993. There are many advantages of this treaty, but the most important ones are: *granted citizenship* to every person with citizenship of a member state, joint economic and monetary union including central banking system and common currency which is EUR (19 of 28 countries use the euro as the official currency) as well as the greater policy cooperation and coordination (including policing, environment demands, social policy etc).

The Treaty of Amsterdam - the Treaty of Amsterdam was signed on October 2, 1997, but it entered into force on May 1, 1999. This treaty was focused on the ways of bringing Europe closer to its citizens; the creation of an area of freedom, security and justice; strengthening the common and foreign security policy (CFSP); reforming the institutions and the functioning of the Union in order to make it more democratic and efficient in preparation for the enlargement to include the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEECs), Malta and Cyprus⁶. Furthermore, the Treaty of Amsterdam was based on the previous treaties, but there were some changes and the main focus was on underpinning human rights, the incorporation of the Schengen *acquis* into the EU, revoke of the United Kingdom's derogation on social policy, as well as the working on various fields including security, justice and freedom. Finally, one of

⁵ Investopedia by Will Kenton, updated May 14, 2020 https://www.investopedia.com/terms/m/maastricht-treaty.asp

⁶ https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/56e15a9a-7508-4a2b-9bbe-b5c3d2605ae4/Resources#ab5d8747-e9fb-4b7c-b3cf-38815a519248

the main changes was the increased use of the ordinary legislative procedure (the ordinary legislative procedure gives the same weight to the European Parliament and the Council of the European

Union on a wide range of areas (for example, economic governance, immigration, energy, transport, the environment and consumer protection); the vast majority of European laws are adopted jointly by the European Parliament and the Council⁷).

The Treaty of Lisbon - the Treaty of Lisbon was signed on December 13, 2007 and took an effect from December 1, 2009. This new treaty represents changes to both the Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty) and the Treaty establishing the European Community (Rome Treaty). The main changes coming with this treaty were change of voting procedures in the Council, more power to the European Parliament, a permanent president of the European Council, a new European Union diplomatic service. Finally, the Treaty of Lisbon highlights which powers belong either to the European Union, EU member countries or are shared⁸.

It might be concluded that the European Union is highly significant actor - an economic superpower as it has its own currency (the euro) and it has a crucial role in the international negotiations related to the trade, economy, security and migrations. As per the Cameron's (2007, p.) words, the EU as an actor can be described in the following way:

"...Clearly it is not a state such as Britain or Italy. It has no prime minister to order troops into was, yet there are thousands of EU soldiers engaged in various peace-keeping and crisis management operations around the world. The EU has no seat at the UN yet it is the strongest supported of the UN system, and its member states increasingly vote together in New York. In other areas the EU is a direct actor. It is an economic giant, the largest supplier of development and technical assistance in the world. Its internal market is a magnet for foreign investors and for the EU's neighbors that desire access to a rich market of nearly 500 million citizens. The EU is thus a strange animal, not quite a state but with more powers than many nation states in the international system."

Why is important to be a member state of the European Union, or a better question is what are the pros and cons of being a member of the EU? According to an analysis made by Keith Miller, there are more advantages than the disadvantages of membership in the EU. On

⁷ https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/powers-and-procedures/legislative-powers

⁸ https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en

the list the are advantages such as: The European Union creates an allied front against outside aggression; There are more jobs and higher wages across Europe because of the EU; The European Union takes eco-friendly policies seriously; Industrialization's evolution has evolved dramatically because of the European Union; It stops the aggression from other countries outside of Europe; The European Union allows for resources to be invested instead of fought over; The EU makes it easier for people to travel all over the world; The economic benefits of the European Union extend to the rest of the world; The presidency of the EU rotates every six months; It creates high food standards and consumer benefits that support consumer safety; There is more consistency in the protection of human rights; Consumers have access to all services throughout the EU-28. On the other hand the list of disadvantages, according to Miller, is shorter, and it is stated that membership in the EU: It is easier to cross borders in Europe today because of the EU; There are still many problems with division in Europe despite the EU; The EU can suffer from a lack of transparency at times; European countries must pay to play in the EU; The EU favors the larger countries at the expense of the smaller; Europe's taxation structure doesn't encourage the development of new businesses.⁹

3.2 The European Union & Britain relations

What did it mean for Great Britain to be a member of the European Union, what was changed in views and attitudes from the referendum to the moment of leaving the European Union? Looking back in the history, the UK did not sign the three original treaties that were basic pillars for creation of than the European Communities, including the Treaty of Rome (1957) - formation of the European Economic Community. Years later, the UK first began to negotiate about joining the EEC in July 1961. Complications occurred during the negotiation process with France, however, the Treaty of Accession was signed in January 1972, and the next year UK's membership of the EC comes into effect on 1 January 1973.¹⁰ Just few years later, in 1975 the United Kingdom held its referendum on whether they should leave the European Communities. At the end, as a result, all the major political parties supported the membership in the European Community. This means that the great Britain at that time enjoyed the benefits of the membership of the European Community, but at the same time opened up large number of doubts and potential departures from the community. Here is

⁹ Future of Working: *18 Advantages and Disadvantages of the European Union*, more on the website: <u>https://futureofworking.com/11-advantages-and-disadvantages-of-the-european-union/</u>, retrieved on 21st July, 2020

¹⁰ BBC: 1973: *Britain joins the EEC*, more on the website: <u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/january/1/newsid_2459000/2459167.stm</u>, retrieved on 2th July, 2020

possible to discuss about the first wishes of leaving the Community, which are recognize. as the roots for further development till today. From that period of turbulent history till today, European Union changed a lot, which consequently means that the UK's position and views were changed, which was approved by using in consideration of leaving the European Union. European Union today known as the international organization, which is created to primarily promote peace, security, its values and the well being of its citizens; offer freedom, security and justice without internal borders sustainable development based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive market economy with full employment and social progress, and environmental protection combat social exclusion and discrimination; promote scientific and technological progress; enhance economic, social and territorial cohesion and solidarity among EU countries; respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity; establish an economic and monetary union whose currency is the euro.¹¹ UK used and shared same values and rules as any other member state of the European Union, as an unique international community. According to the Perisic (2010), there is no doubt that the relations between Britain and the EU were difficult. Reasons for such "difficult" relations between the EU and Britain are founded in history, which was developed until today. Some of the reasons began already when Britain, as a former imperial power, finds difficulties to adopt its political interests only to Europe. On the other hand, international issues were recognized in the relations with France, as well as affiliation with the USA. Also, it is important to mention that the Labour Government showed keen interest in and close relations and more interests in Europe (Perisic, 2010).

It is important to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the European Union as an international organization, because of the position of Great Britain within it. Consequently, it means that deep analysis and understanding of the European Union from the position of British are not satisfactory and beneficial, and the best way to deal with the EU was to leave it and to continue with the sole way of functioning.

Another important question for debate about Brexit and its relations with the European Union is related to the causes. Actually what lead and motivate the British to vote for leaving the EU as it looks today? Writer Timothy B. Lee was focused on the description of Brexit causes. According to Timothy B. Lee, there are several "main" reasons why the British decided to exclude themselves from the processes in the EU. He argued that some of causes are:

✤ The euro disaster has made Brits more skeptical of the EU

¹¹ EUROPEAN UNION: *Goals and values of the EU*, more on the website: <u>https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief_en</u>, retrieved on 20th July, 2020

- ✤ Advocates argued that Britain would be better outside the EU
- Support for Brexit was strongest among older and less educated voters ¹²

A great contribution to the topic of Brexit and analysis about causes gave the group of writers who published the book named "Brexit: causes and consequences", where they developed their views and analyzed possible causes for Brexit. In their analysis, some of the reasons why the British decided to leave the EU are related primarily to different Britain's history. They arguing that Britain's history differs a lot from that of its European neighbors. However, history is not the only reason why the British thinking that for them is better to be out of the European Union. Other reasons are related to the number of common worries, concerns, and anger about the European Union across the continent. Looking in the field of economy and the failure of the European the European that extremely damaging fiscal policies in Frankfurt and Brussels have a direct impact on the UK.¹³

3.3 The Foreign Policies of European Union Member States (Britain)

As per Forster (2000), the Europeanization of the United Kingdom foreign policy might be considered as an outcome of the importance of the EU to the governance of the United Kingdom. As per Fligstein (2001, p.5), the Europeanization can be defined as the creation of new social arenas where groups (be they states, nonprofit organizations, sets of individuals, or firms) from more than two countries meet to interact on a regular basis. The UK's membership of the European Union significantly influenced agriculture, economic and commercial policy, but also affected, if not all government departments. It is almost impossible to differentiate between European foreign and domestic policy since both are truly related to each other. Moreover, Forster (2000) indicated that the United Kingdom's membership in the European Union has steadily and quietly changed not only the process of making foreign policy but also in certain important fields the options for achieving goals. There is no enough data that can affirm that the UK's membership in the EU led to the crucial transformation when it comes to their national objectives as it has been predicted by some researchers. At the time when this book was published (in 2000), 27 years passed as the UK was the member of the EU and it was concluded that the European foreign policy cooperation did not left much influence of the British foreign policy. Forster (2000) stated that there are two important features related to the British engagement from other international obligations;

¹² VOX: *Why did Britain vote to leave the EU*?, more on the website: <u>https://www.vox.com/2016/6/25/12029962/why-did-britain-leave-the-eu</u>, retrieved on 21st July, 2020

¹³ Riley, Alan, and Francis Ghilès. "Brexit: causes and consequences." *Notes internacionals CIDOB* 159 (2016): 1-4.

the first one is related to the breakdown of the domestic and foreign distinction. The European Union has direct competence for various agricultural, economic and commercial issues that mark out the EU as *sui generis*¹⁴. Second feature is a connection between foreign policy collaboration in the European Union and the broader European integration project. Finally, Forster (2000) stated that the United Kingdom is actually using EU membership to manage and modify changes in the international system, but it is hesitant to accept the outcomes for the integration project.

3.4 Why did Britain join the European Union?

In late 1950s, the United Kingdom avoided a membership in the European Union, but this has been changed in the early 1960s and it finally became a member in 1973. As many other states, Britain decided to join the European Union in order to escape from the economic downfall (Campos and Coricelli, 2015). They've stated that the UK's per capita GDP relative to the EU founding members' was falling down continuously. On the other hand, when looking into the period from 1973 to 2010, it might be seen that it is relatively stable and the reason for that is the membership in the European Union (numerous benefits from being a part of the EU). If looking deeply into the World War II, we can come to the conclusion that this war was noteworthy as it was the period marked by massive ruination but also the period of the recovery that was really rapid. As highlighted in their article, the Golden Age of European economic growth is related to the period from 1950 to 1973. When looking into economies, the UK's economy was the one that grew during the World War II. As per Maddison data,¹⁵ GDP per capita in the United Kingdom (1945) was almost 90 percent larger than the average for the six founding members of the European Union. The economic decline of the United Kingdom that started approximately in 1870 has been presented by the economic historians and it usually discounts the period of the World War II 'as an outlier and downplays European integration' (Crafts, 2012 as cited in Campos and Coricelli, 2015). After the massive deconstructions that were left after the WWII, George C. Marshall requested a call for a program that will reconstruct Europe. This is called Marshall Plan and it is related to the rebirth of the industrialization in the Europe as well as the extensive investment in the

¹⁴ Latin for of its own kind, and used to describe a form of legal protection that exists outside typical legal protections -- that is, something that is unique or different.

¹⁵ For international comparisons, the Penn World Tables (PWT) is considered the superior data source. However, it starts in 1950. Data from Maddison goes back much further, so we use his estimate for 1945. Note that the behaviour of the UK-EU6 ratio of per capita GDPs between 1950 and 2010 is unsurprisingly similar in these two data sources and that, differently from PWT, the Maddison data set does not include Luxembourg.

region. Furthermore, the Marshall Plan also institutionalized and legitimized the concept of U.S. foreign aid programs, which have become a integral part of U.S. foreign policy.

In 1950, the British Labour government refused to be a part of the Schuman Plan's European Coal and Steel Community (Dell 1995). By 1950 the difference in per capita GDP between the UK and EU6 was 28 percent. It should be noted that there were significant failures and successes in between. The main failures were the proposals for a political and a defence union. Rome was the major success. The British Conservative government refused to take a part, but in 1960 unveiled an organization embodying rival ideals, the European Free Trade Area (EFTA).

Next important event was a launch of the EFTA (European Free Trade Association) that happened in 1960. Founding members were the UK, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and Portugal. Next year, the difference in per capita GDP between the United Kingdom and EU6 reached 10 percent. One of George Pompidou's first foreign policy actions was to encourage the UK to apply for membership for the third time (Young 1998). Pompidou is also credited with establishing a system of individual country contributions to the Community budget. When the UK applied in 1969, per capita GDP was 2% below the EU6 average. Finally, this article's conclusion is that, when taking into consideration all UK Prime Ministers, Heath was the one who was most devoted to the EU membership. Above all reasons, the UK became a member state of the EU in 1973 since they wanted to stop relative economic decline. In 1950, UK's per capita GDP was almost a third larger than the EU6 average; in 1973, it was about 10% below; it has been comparatively stable ever since. On this basis, joining the EU worked – it helped to halt Britain's relative economic decline.

	KEY DATES			
9 May 1950	French foreign minister Robert Schuman proposes the creation of a European Coal and Stee Community (ECSC)			
June 1950	UK refuses to join the ECSC			
July 1952	ECSC enters into force			
1955-1957	Negotiations leading to the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC)			
Nov 1955	UK representative pulls out of EEC negotiations (Spaak committee)			
1956-1958	Failed negotiations over the creation of a Free Trade Area (FTA)			
January 1958	EEC enters into force			
May 1960	Establishment of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), including the UK as a found ing member			
July 1961	First UK application to the EEC			
14 Jan 1963	De Gaulle's first veto to the UK application			
October 1964	Victory of Labour in the general elections; Harold Wilson becomes UK prime minister			
May 1967	Second UK application to the EEC (Harold Wilson's government)			
19 Dec 1967	De Gaulle's second veto			
1 July 1968	Completion of the EEC common market 18 months ahead of schedule			
Dec 1969	The Hague summit of EEC heads of state and government paves the way for enlargement negotiations			
June 1970	Victory of the Conservatives in the general elections; Edward Heath becomes prime minis ter; Third UK application to the EEC			
Summer 1971	Negotiations between UK and EEC clearly leading to a successful outcome			
January 1972	Signature of the Treaty of Accession to the EEC for the UK, Denmark and Ireland			
23 April 1972	French referendum on the enlargement of the EEC			
1 January 1973	UK joins the EEC			
February 1974	Victory of the Labour Party in the UK general elections (hung Parliament)			
October 1974	Victory of the Labour Party in the UK general elections (majority of 3 seats)			
9-10 Dec 1974	Paris summit of EEC heads of state and government: creation of the European Council			
March 1975	Dublin European Council; Creation of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)			
6 June 1975	UK referendum on continued EEC membership			
December 1978	Creation of the European Monetary System (EMS), UK does not join the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM)			
1979-1984	UK prime minister Margaret Thatcher's budgetary question			

Figure 3.1: Key dates in the UK's history related to the ECSC and EE, adopted from Campos and Coricelli, 2015

3.5 UK's membership of the European Union

It should be highlighted that the connection between the United Kingdom and the European integration was really tangled. A discomfort in this relationship erupted in 2016 when the referendum on the membership of the EU was held in which nearly 52 percent majority vote to leave the EU. Previously, as per the research of Wallace (2012), it could be concluded that the United Kingdom was among the leading proponents of more far reaching collective action by the European Union and that their policy has firmly advocated greater trade liberalization both within Europe and internationally. Furthermore, it is interesting that the British policy supported the enlargement of the European Union with the aim of enabling other European states to get advantages from EU policies as well as to stabilize the security of the continent. Additionally, in the past decade, the UK has been among the stronger supporters of measures

related to the environment protection as well as the to combat climate changes. Beside that, the United Kingdom has continuously led the way in pressing Europeans to consider seriously their foreign and defence policy responsibilities. At the time when this research article was written (2012), the conclusion was that the the UK engaged re-actively rather than proactively. Moreover, Britain decided not to join the Eurozone nor to enter the Schengen¹⁶ Agreements. It is also important to highlight the fact that there has been repeated UK's criticism of different EU politics such those related to the agriculture, fisheries and employment measures, but also to the budgetary arrangements. By taking all into consideration, it might be concluded that the UK has found very difficult to settle into a steady patter of engagement within the European Union.

Alongside the reasons related to the economy and budgetary issues, there are other reasons behind the UK's membership of the European Union and its role in the EU. The UK has recognized the importance of the EU membership enlargement and defined it as a keystone of EU policy towards its neighbouring countries, especially during 1970s and 1980s (a period when southern European countries escaped from the dictatorship and when Soviet Union collapsed). The UK has been the forefront of the EU debate when it comes to the full membership of candidates,, especially subject to sensible conditionality. A commissioner from the UK, Leon Brittan was of great help to steer this forward with the3 proposals adopted at the Copenhagen European Council of 1996 which led to the 2004 enlargement in the teeth of French opposition. Furthermore, the UK has also supported the possible membership for Turkey. Among many other EU member states, Britain has been tested by the breakdown of Yugoslavia and the wars happened in the ex Yugoslavia states. UK forces were actively engaged along with the UK government that was highly involved in the Dayton Agreement to end a war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They gave a huge support to the EU contribution to peace-making and peace-keeping; it is of great importance to mention the EU High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period 2002-2006 - Paddy Ashdown, a British politician and diplomat. Moreover, Lynton Blair is a British politician who served in a humanitarian intervention during the Kosovo War in 1999. Afterwards, as a member of the EU, the United Kingdom supported the process of stabilization and the prospect of EU membership for the countries of the Western Balkans. When it comes to the Mediterran, the UK has been concerned more about Middle East than North Africa - the UK was actively engaged during the Arab Spring in 2011 (especially in Libya, a very known intervention by a

¹⁶ The Schengen Agreement is a treaty which led to the creation of Europe's Schengen Area, in which internal border checks have largely been abolished.

'coalition of the willing' with the aim of preventing the crushing of the anti - Gaddafi movement).

In spite of not being a member of the Schengen Agreement, the Britain has supported the efforts of the European Union to battle cross- border crime and terrorism. They have been also involved in Eurojust (president Aled Williams) and Europol (director Rob Wainwright).

When it comes to the UK pre-accession, accession and post-accession in the EU, it has been quite complicated; as per Wallace (2012), there has been the emergence on the scene of the hard Euro-sceptical UK Independence Party which has made inroads into especially the otherwise Conservative-voting electorate, the continuing steps being taken by other EU countries to support deeper integration against the widespread British preference for shallower integration and the increasingly loud calls for resorting to referendum to resolve EU controversies. It is important to highlight that the Britain has a multi-party system in which the EU issue became an important element in political competition.

British public opinion reflects and conditions these controversies. As the Tables below show, British public opinion exhibits a three-way split on EU membership and on whether EU membership benefits the UK. At one end of the spectrum is a core constituency of support for the EU; at the other end of the spectrum is a core 'hard' Eurosceptical segment; in between lies a more volatile constituency which has over the years shifted back and forth between the two ends of the spectrum. This last has sometimes shifted towards a more pro-European position, as in the 1975 referendum on the terms of renegotiation; latterly more of this constituency has moved to a 'soft' Eurosceptical position. These developments beg the question as to whether it is the stances of the political parties which frame and drive public opinion or the constraints of public opinion that box the parties into their defensive positions on EU policies. Question: "Generally speaking, do you think that UK membership of the European Community (Common Market) is ...?" 1973-2010

Date	A good thing	A bad thing	Neither good or bad	Don't know
Sep-73	31%	34%	22%	13%
May-75	47%	21%	19%	13%
Apr-80	23%	49%	22%	6%
Apr-84	25%	48%	20%	7%
Apr-85	37%	30%	28%	5%
Apr-90	52%	19%	24%	5%
May-95	44%	20%	31%	5%
Jun-00	25%	24%	29%	22%
Jun-05	36%	27%	28%	9%
Jun-10	29%	33%	31%	7%

Source: *Eurobarometer*, used because it asked this same question from 1973-2011.

Figure 3.2: UK Public Opinion on the EU, adopted from Eurobarometer

Question: "Which of these statements do you agree with most, even if you don't agree with any entirely?"

Britain would be better off leaving the EU	33%
Britain would be better off staying in the EU but only as a member of a free trade area	36%
Britain would be better off staying in the EU as it is currently but not taking part in any further integration, even if other countries did	18%
Britain would be better off staying in the EU and playing a full role in any further integration	14%
NET: Staying in under varied scenarios	67%
Source: Penulus for Policy Notwork	

Source: Populus for Policy Network

Figure 3.3: UK Public Opinion in April 2012, adopted from Populus for Policy Network

3.6 Main causes of the UK's withdrawal from the EU

(Shifting Public Opinion in the UK from 2010)

After Gordon Brown lost the general election in 2010, the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats together received more than two times more votes than Labour, David Cameron established a coalition government with the Liberal Democrats. This has triggered a pressure on the UK's withdrawal from the European Union. Furthermore, this pressure was a key for Cameron's Bloomberg speech held in 2013 and finally a referendum for leaving the EU held in 2016. According to Adam (2019) the main questions are what triggered this swing in public opinion, what lent the camp of EU critics so much credence, what made EU bashing so fashionable and what was it that made EU membership so intolerable. As per Adam (2019), the UK's membership in the European Union had almost no effect on the everyday lives of most UK's citizens, but they have been worried about mortgages, housing, rents, pensions, the

NHS (National Health Service) wages, public transportation as well as professional qualification. However, the European Union had almost no direct effect on the things mentioned above. Furthermore, Adam (2012) in his book mentioned a poll that has been conducted between 2010 and 2012 that showed that EU membership is in a very low position when it comes to the political priorities of average British voters.

A huge number of British citizens have a little knowledge about the non-transparent procedures in Brussels, the vast undergrowth of committees and subcommittees, the eternal internal rivalries, the morbid jealously between institutions and the labyrinthine ways of lobbies and pressure groups. As previously mentioned, the main issues for the British people include employment, wages, security from terrorism as well as housing. By taking the polls into consideration, it might be concluded that the EU as it is was not loved, but not hated either. Finally, it might be concluded that the opposition to the European Union lied in the Conservative Party, and the Conservatives are a predominantly English party (the Conservatives were and still are the party of rural England, of the Anglican High Church and of bankers and financiers; the party is seen as the guardian of English traditions and English social values).

When it comes to the arguments against the membership in the European Union, opponents of the Treaty of Maastricht mentioned four arguments as follows:

- The European Union was pursuing an aim to which the United Kingdom could never subscribe: a gigantic federal state, in which today's national states would be but provinces. Most Britons did not accept this mediatisation of the national state. A particular thorn in their flesh was the idea that British courts had to apply laed that were made outside British institutions and that were not part of the Common Law tradition.
- The EU was undemocratic in their eyes. Unelected functionaries, responsible to nobody, ran the show. They thrived on bureaucratic interference in the traditional liberties of British people, and consistently jarred spanners into the well-oiled wheels of British business.

- They complained that the UK had to carry a disproportionately large burden of the common budget. It did not get a *juste retour*¹⁷.
- Finally, they bristled tat the EU had betrayed its original commitment to liberalism, competition and free trade. It was transforming itself into a scheming monster, intent on winning control over more and more aspect of the daily life of ordinary people. Eurocrats were about to turn into something like Plato's guardians an elite class of individuals watching over ordinary people and treating free citizens as subjects in need of guidance. There was only one way to escape this gravitational pull: to break free from the orbit to which membership condemned their country.

Three further arguments were added after 2015 including:

- The EU stand accused of having done nothing to stop and uncontrolled flood of immigration. EU legislation was preventing the British government from taking effective measures against the rising tide of foreigners inundating the country.
- With its separate institutions and a much closer interdependence of its members, the Eurozone was bound further to marginalize those members that were not able to join or refused to do so. The UK was in danger of becoming an outsider, being bypassed in important decisions and faced with a *fait accompli* ¹⁸ that might deeply and irreversibly affect the performance of its economy and its financial institutions.
- The 2008 financial crisis had hit the United Kingdom hard and had laid bare the structural deficits of the common currency. In 2010, discussions in London focused on the prospect of Grexit¹⁹, on the role of the ECB as a potential lender of last resort, on ring-fencing and on releasing the 'great bazooka' of unlimited liquidity. Some researchers compare Brexit (possible financial crisis) and huge financial crisis from 2008, however, Driver (2016, as cited in Raconteur) said that the main difference between 2008 and Brexit is the level of uncertainty. When comparing 2008 financial crisis and Brexit now, the things happened suddenly and really quickly back in 2008. When taking Brexit into consideration, the author said that there is a limbo effect. People did not invest and businesses weren't sure what might happen. Moreover, a lesson from 2008 is that all businesses should have a

¹⁷ Concept of 'Juste retour', a general understanding that member states should not pay an. unfair price for policies and programmes that mostly benefit other member states.

¹⁸ A thing that has already happened or been decided before those affected hear about it, leaving them with no option but to accept it.

¹⁹ The potential exit of Greece from the Eurozone, and potentially from the EU

crisis plan - previously, businesses relied on 2020 and 2030 strategies and they knew how to expand, however, they had no precise focus and answer if something goes wrong. Currently, businesses have a plan B, and very often a plan C and D.

Semchuk and Petryk (2019) wrote an article on the topic *Brexit: Causes and Consequences* and gave an insight into the issue of the UK's withdrawal from the European Union and analyzed most important causes of the withdrawal. During the David Cameron mandate the position of euro-skeptics took a place and he promised that if a conservative party won in the elections of 2015, the new government will work on negotiations with the European Union on more advantageous conditions for the UK's continuation in the EU. After that, the referendum will be held so that the final decision about the UK's membership in the EU might be given. Semchuk and Petryk (2019) highlighted the important fact - the time chosen for the London's pressure on the European Union leadership. At that time, the struggle to preserve Greece's membership in the European Union was to encourage the leadership of the EU as well as the governments of the leading member state to make concessions to London.

An announcement regarding the referendum has been given on 28th May 2015 by the new governemnt of the premier David Cameron and introduced to the House of Commons. Later on, on 10th November 2015, the president of the European Council (Donald Tusk) has been informed about the United Kingdom's demands for the EU reforms, and as per Semchuk and Petryk (2019), they are as follows:

- Integration and sovereignty: London demanded from Brussels that the main goal of integration the creation of an "ever closer union"did not extend to the UK, which allowed the latter not to participate in further political integration. In addition, the British government has demanded the creation of a so-called "red card" system, which would allow national parliaments to cancel or veto the Brussels directives;
- Competitiveness: London demanded expansion of the scope of the common market and the restriction of "Brussels bureaucracy";
- social assistance: the Cameron government has demanded the introduction of a "emergency braking" mechanism that would allow Britain, as well as any other EU country to restrict access to social benefits of migrants from other Union countries, if it is substantiated that the social system of the state concerned is excessive load;

relations between the euro area and the rest of the EU: London, which kept its own currency, demanded, first, the veto power of the monetary decisions made in the euro area, and secondly, guarantees that measures to establish a financial union would not be third countries that are not part of the euro, thirdly, guarantees that London will not be obliged to provide emergency financial assistance to the countries of the euro area. In fact, Britain wanted to introduce the principle of multicountry of the EU. If Brussels were to accept this, it would mean recognizing that it is impossible to bring all EU member states into the euro area.²⁰

Semchuk and Petryk (2019) also highlighted that the position of the majority of EU members was expressed by German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who believed that all the European Union member states are willing to maintain the United Kingdom membership, but not everyone is ready to accept its terms. The negotiation process took several months and, finally, the David Cameron Government was successful in achieving an agreement with the European Union when it comes to the special status of the United Kingdom on 19th February 2016. According to the Data protection and Brexit (Hasan, 2016), the result of the referendum was that 51.9% of Britons (17.41 million people) voted to leave the United Kingdom with the EU, while 48.1% (16.14 million people) supported European integration.

One of the main reasons for voting was a dissatisfaction of the majority of British citizens when it comes to the direction of the European Union policy, the one to which it had been moving since 1973. As per Semchuk and Petryk (2019) article, the United Kingdom has been trying several times to step in in the first instance of the European Community and later on of the European Union itself. The government of the United Kingdom was really cautious about the EU membership and they remained almost far away from it. Related to that, we have a fact that the United Kingdom never joined the Schengen area and introduces the currency of the European Union in the country quite convincingly confirms this. British people regarded the *migration* as the most important cause for the European Union is very risky and that the consequence might be a massive arrival of migrants and immigrants from the European Unions, more specifically from the acceded countries including Slovakia, Romania and Poland.

²⁰ "EU Referendum: Results." BBC.URL: http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/ results

According to the data present by the Office for National Statistics²¹ (release date 21st May 2020), in the year ending December 2019, long-term international migration continued to add to the UK population as an estimated 270.000 more people came to the UK with an intention to stay 12 months or more than left the UK (net migration). Over the last year, 677.000 people moved to the UK (immigration) and 407.000 people left the UK (emigration). Since the end of 2016, long-term net migration, immigration and emigration have remained broadly stable, although in the latest year we have seen a slight increase in immigration. The most common reasons for the migration to the United Kingdom included work (from the year ending September 2012 to year ending December 2018 the most common reason to move, but since then study has gone back to being most common reason, formal study remains the most common reason for non-EU citizens coming to the UK, at 174.000 in the year ending December 2019 (50% of total estimated non-EU immigration). Next significant reason for the withdrawal from the European Union was standardization. It is related to the standards for sizes, forms of things etc, and the British were not happy about that fact. European Union lawyers are convinced that the availability of one European standard is much more convenient and advantageous that the twenty-eight national standard. On the other hand, opponents of the European Union membership are convinced that the country should have a national control of everything, with the focus on security, employment and health. Additionally, it is often believed that the UK's withdrawal from the European Union might cause a 'domino effect'. This means that other member states might want to withdraw from the European Union that can weaken the position of the European Union in general. Moreover, that will mean that the Russia's position in a geopolitical sense will be strengthen. Countries such as Denmark, Austria, the Netherlands or even Poland and the Czech Republic were criticizing the EU policy (Peers, as cited in Semchuk and Petryk, 2019).

The UK White Paper 12 principles Source: Based on HM Government, White Paper (2017) are:

- 1. **Provide certainty and clarity** Brexit negotiations will be conducted as transparently as possible. Initially, EU law will continue to apply as national law after Brexit. Any Brexit agreement with the EU will be put before both Houses of Parliament for ratification
- 2. **Take control over own laws** Laws applicable in the UK will be made in the UK and interpreted only by UK courts, not by the European Court of Justice

²¹ The Office for National Statistics, Long-Term International Migration (LTIM), LTIM with preliminary adjustments based on Department for Work and Pensions and Home Office data

- 3. Strengthen the union of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales The governments of England, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales will work closely together to implement Brexit
- 4. **Protect ties with the Republic of Ireland and maintain the common travel area** The freedom to travel between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland will be maintained
- 5. **Control immigration** The UK intends to control the number of immigrants from the EU
- 6. Secure rights of UK and EU nationals The rights of EU citizens living in the UK and of UK citizens living in the EU will be guaranteed
- 7. **Protect workers' rights** The level of protection provided workers under EU law will be maintained and extended
- 8. Ensure free trade with European markets The UK will seek the greatest possible access to the EU single market for goods and services, and be willing in return to make financial contributions to the EU
- 9. Secure new trade agreements with third countries The UK aims to conclude its own free-trade agreements with third countries
- 10. **Ensure continued science and innovation excellence** The UK aims to continue to collaborate with the EU in the areas of basic science and research and development
- 11. Cooperate with Europe on crime and terrorism The UK aims to continue to collaborate with the EU in the areas of foreign and defense policy and in combating crime and terrorism
- 12. Achieve an orderly and smooth exit The UK seeks to have a transition period, which will allow government and business time to adapt

3.8 David Cameron before 2010 (Fighting the EU and His Own Party; Preparing for Brexit)

David Cameron was born on 9th October 1966 in London, England. He is a British Conservative Party leader and he served as a prime minister of the United Kingdom from 2010 to 2016. He attended Eton College and Brasenose College (Oxford) from which he graduated in 1988 with a first-class degree in philosophy, politics and economics. He has been described as a young, moderate and charismatic who quickly attracted attention as the leading

member of a new generation of Conservatives. He has been often compared to Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair as he had similar characteristics and reputation when he was in Parliament. According to Britannica, his idea was to modernize the party and shed its rightwing image. He highlighted that the economic stability and strong public services should be prioritized over tax cuts. However, an interesting fact mentioned by Adam (2019) is that David Cameron does not speak any foreign language and he showed almost no interest in foreign countries nor in foreign civilizations. Moreover, he has been described as an avid expert in modern communication, but less interested in factual issues. He was really addicted to media and public attention and he spent a lot of his time with his directors of communication Andy Coulson and later on Craig Oliver who had greatest influence on him. In 2010, he became the second youngest Prime Minister in the history of the UK and he succeeded in bringing his party back into power. A coalition with the Liberal Democrats has been formed and he tried to pacify the EU-skeptics by using series of concessions and promises. Finally, Adam (2019) mentioned that David Cameron had declared his own position in 2007 by the following words:

"We put it in our manifesto that there should b a referendum, Labour put it in their manifesto that there should be a referendum and it is one of the most blatant breaches" (Adam, 2019, p.48)

As per BBC, ten important key events that marked David Cameron's time as a leader included:

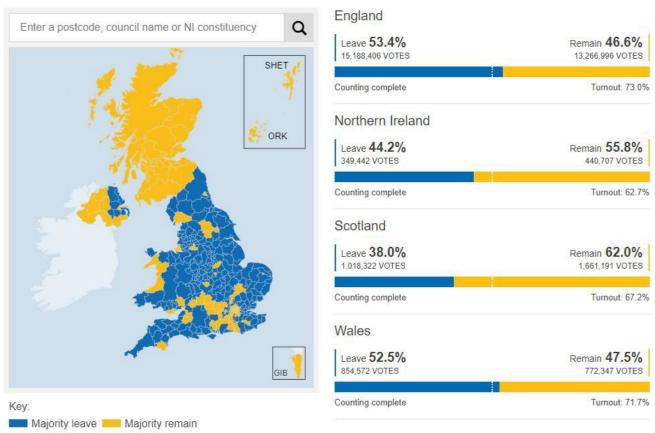
- Hugging huskies in the Arctic for a fact-finding mission on global warming which was a dramatic way of announcing himself as a new kind of Conservative - a person who cares about the environment
- David Cameron stunned Westminster by making a "big, open and comprehensive" offer to the Liberal Democrats on the morning after a May 2010 general election that nobody won.
- David Cameron's ability to look and sound prime ministerial when the occasion demanded it was one of his biggest strengths. It was never more evident than during his Commons statement on the Bloody Sunday inquiry in June 2010, which drew praise from across the political spectrum. He described the findings of the Saville Report into the shooting dead of 13 marchers on 30 January 1972 in Londonderry as "shocking" - an action that was "unjustified" and "unjustifiable", and for which he was "deeply sorry".

- Libya was David Cameron's first, and in terms of its long-lasting impact arguably most disastrous, foreign policy intervention. Mr Cameron was greeted as a hero when he visited Libya with then French President Nicolas Sarkozy, in September 2011, after Gaddafi had been ousted. He pledged not to allow Libya to turn into another Iraq, but critics say that is exactly what happened, as it it rapidly descended into violence.
- On 21st May 1013, it was voted to allow same-sex couples in England and Wales and David Cameron showed of being tolerant and wanting to have inclusive country, however, he lost support of majority of Conservatives who did not agree with it
- He dramatically announced a referendum on the withdrawal from the EU which is knows as a Bloomberg speech in January, 2013. It has been said that it kicked the can down the road and helped him to win the elections in 2015, but that was also the vote that ended his career.
- In August 2013 he became the first PM in more than 100 years to lose a Commons vote on military action - he failed to persuade enough MPs that the UK should take a part in air strikes again the regime of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad
- Scottish independence referendum (September, 2014) provoked the biggest panic of his first term in office
- Unexpected election victory Mr Cameron had been criticized for running a negative, fear-based campaign, but it had succeeded. The pledge to hold an EU referendum if elected also helped gain votes.
- Resignation statement he has been marked as the PM who took Britain out of the EU. Despite insisting he would stay on as PM whatever the result, he announced his departure in an emotional statement in Downing Street within hours of the result becoming clear, with wife Samantha at his side.

A previous attempt to leave the EU - The lessons of the 1975 referendum in light of the 2016 referendum

A first referendum held in the United Kingdom was held on 5th June 1975 and the question was related to the continued membership in the European Community (EC). The electorate expressed significant support for EC membership, with 67% in favour on a national turnout of 64%. 41 years later, another referendum was held in the United Kingdom and the question was "Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the

European Union?" It was held on 23th June 2016, but the results were different when compared to the first referendum - 51.9% voted to leave the European Union, while 48.1% voted to remain in the European Union (Figure 3.4).



Tie Undeclared

Figure 3.4. UK votes to leave the EU - results, adopted from BBC

As per Towle (2017), older people usually vote against the change - therefore, a referendum held in 2016 was a surprise as the younger people often supported the 'remain campaign', while many older people voted to leave the EU. When comparing a a referendum from 1975 with the one happened in 2016, it might be concluded that the migration was not an issue in 1975 as it was in the recent years. Additionally, according to BBC (as cited by Acharya, 2016, p.16) almost 41.000 people left Britain at that time and the economy was really back then while Europe was a lot richer and more successful when compared to the Britain. British citizens were worried about prices and jobs were in the second place. During the referendum campaign, Cameron sold Britain's place in the EU as a pragmatic marriage of convenience rather than a place where Britain's heart lies. When appearing in TV debates, he constantly insisted that he was frustrated by the EU policy and wanted to reform it but stressed that membership was good for Britain's economy. Most political scientists agree that the referendum held in 1975 was held in "*the age of innocence*" as compared to the campaigning

today. One of the major reasons why Britain voted to stay in the EU back in 1975 was because three major political parties stuck together. Analysts had cautioned the Cameron government that even though business and non-political voices would be far more important in the forthcoming referendum, it is vital to keep broad, cross-party political support intact.

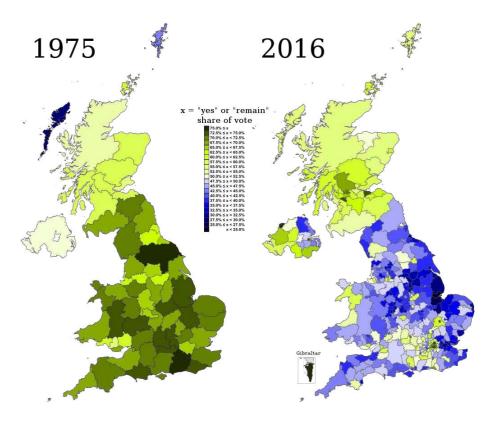


Figure 3.5: A comparison in referendum results 1975 - 2016, adopted from Firstpost Bush (2016) commented David Cameron's premiership and his idea about referendum as 'doing what (Harold) Wilson did, only a little bit worse'. Both leaders were worried about EU policy and wanted the withdrawal from the European Community/European Union. The main difference was in the final result of the referendum as the last referendum held in 2016 brought a final exit from the EU. Furthermore, Wilson had won more than two-thirds of the popular vote, while Cameron has presided over the biggest policy failure by a British government since the 1930s (Saunders, 2016). Additionally, David Cameron's premiership was destroyed and British policy has been shaken. Another difference mentioned by Saunders (2016) is that Harold Wilson had a clear idea of what he wanted to achieve with the referendum and re-negotiations - his re-negotiations left untouched what he called 'theology' of EEC, but he targeted very cautiously the complaints of moderate skeptics in his party. On the other side, David Cameron had only one purpose - to provide his own party members a permission to change their minds and the goal was not to transform the European Union.

David Cameron - Pre-Brexit Period

It might be said that the Brexit is one of the events that has received very great media coverage in recent years and sparked the interest of the wider public and researchers all around the world. No matter if they are 'remain' or 'leave' supporters,, many British politicians used various strategies and delivered many speeches with convincing arguments during their campaigns. Researches are interested in the causes and consequences of the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union. One interesting article is the one written by Rabrenović (2019) that analyzed the pride of the British People and David Cameron's speeches prior to the Brexit. The author wanted to analyze how David Cameron discursively constructs authentic British pride in his pre-Brexit speeches by analyzing the cotext of the word *proud*. The results showed that the word *proud* has been used to highlight Britain's achievements and role in the contemporary world and to remind the British that Britain has always been a European power (Rabrenović, 2019). She also mentioned that, despite having the European blood in their veins, the British people find it hard to perceive themselves as Europeans are more oriented to former colonies (this was noticed in Tony Blair speech in Warsaw in 2000, but also David Cameron's speech -the Bloomberg speech in 2013).

With this speech, he actually evoked the same notion of the islandness that contributes to the character of the British people being not only independent, but also open and part of the European Continent:

We have the character of an island nation – independent, forthright, passionate in defence of our sovereignty. We can no more change this British sensibility than we can drain the English Channel.[...] But all this does not make us somehow un-European. The fact is that ours is not just an island story – it is also a continental story. For all our connections to the rest of the world of which we are rightly proud, we have always been a European power and we always will be. [...] We have helped to write European history, and Europe has helped write ours. [...] And contained in this history is the crucial point about Britain, our national character, our attitude to Europe. Britain is characterized not just by its independence but, above all, by its openness (the Bloomberg Speech held on 23rd January 2013, retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/announcements).

Rabrenović (2019) analyzed pre-Brexit speeches from David Cameron, the period from 10th November 2015 to the one delivered on 24th May 2016. Rabrenović (2019) analyzed 6 speeches out of 26 delivered during this period in which the word *proud* is used for describing the British nation 17 times in total.

David Cameron's position towards the EU can be described as very ambiguous; Wodak (2016) highlighted that the Bloomberg Speech showed two extremes out of which being its maximum distance to the EU as a political union, the other one being its proximity to its economic policies (Rabrenović, p.141, 2019). This difference might be seen in the two parts of the speeches held in November 2015 and another one held at easy Jet in May 2016:

We are a proud, independent nation. We intend to stay that way. So we need to be honest about this. The commitment in the Treaty to an ever closer union is not a commitment that should apply any longer to Britain. [...] That will mean that Britain can never be entangled in a political union against our will or be drawn into any kind of United States of Europe.

I don't believe those people who say, "Well, my head says we ought to stay in the European Union but my heart says somehow, we would be a prouder and more patriotic country if we were outside." I don"t think that is right. I think this is an amazing country. [...] And we"re members of the European Union. Being in these organizations doesn't diminish our standing and our strength in the world, in my view. It enhances it. So I think the big, bold, patriotic case is to stay in a reformed European Union, to fight for the sort of world that we want, rather than to stand back and be on the outside.

Furthermore, Rabrenović (2019) mentioned another two abstracts from the speeches held in May and March 2016 where David Cameron mentioned EU-UK relations:

We're proud. We"re independent. We get things done. So let's not walk away from the institutions that help us to win in the world. Let"s not walk away from the EU, any more than we would walk away from the UN, or from NATO.

We are both strong proud nations [the British and the French] who are clear about our influence in the world and clear that our membership of the European Union enhances that role, rather than detracting from it. We believe we are safer, and better off in a reformed European Union.

From the abstracts mentioned above, it might be concluded that the word proud is used in two different ways, sometimes intertwined even in one speech: a) to highlight Britain^{**}s accomplishments (its economy, democratic institutions, historical achievements and elements of popular culture) and role in the contemporary world (its position in powerful unions and alliances that favour Britain's influence in the world); b) to remind the British that Britain has

always been a European power throughout its history – the topoi of history that are employed in PM David Cameron"s speeches are supposed to override the fear of Britain losing its independence and sovereignty in a superstate i.e. the EU (Rabrenović, p. 145, 2019).

Theresa May and Brexit

Theresa May was born on 1st October 1956 and she is a British politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom as well as the Leader of the Conservative Party from 2016 to 2019. During the tenure, Theresa May was responsible for the reform of the Police Federation, she implemented a harder line on drugs policy including the banning of khat and brought in additional restrictions on immigration. After David Cameron's resignation in 2016, she was elected as a Conservative Party leader and became a second female prime minister (after Margaret Thatcher) in the history of the United Kingdom. She is responsible for the process of withdrawing the UK from the European Union, triggering Article 50 in March 2017.

Theresa May led the Brexit negotiations with the European Union, sticking to the Chequers Agreement, which resulted in the Brexit withdrawal agreement. She also oversaw a £20 billion increase in funding to the National Health Service through the NHS Long Term Plan, established the first-ever Race Disparity Audit and launched a 25-Year Environment Plan, amending the Climate Change Act 2008 to end the UK's contribution to global warming by 2050. Unemployment in the United Kingdom fell to record lows, the lowest jobless rate since 1975.²² After versions of her draft withdrawal agreement were rejected by Parliament three times, she resigned and was succeeded by Boris Johnson, her former Foreign Secretary. She remains in the House of Commons as a backbencher. ²³ Atkins and Gaffney (2020) in their article 'Narrative, persona and performance: The case of Theresa May 2016-2017' analyzed the period between 2016 EU referendum and the 2017 general election that gave an empirical and theoretical contribution to understanding personalized politics at the present time. In their research article, Atkins and Gaffney (2020, p. 305) concluded that the Theresa May who entered the Conservative leadership contest in 2016 was regarded as a strong, down-to-earth politician who would heal the divisions wrought by the EU referendum. However, her failure as prime minister to articulate a vision of Brexit led to accusations of weak leadership, while her neglect of the 'just about managing' cast doubt on her healer credentials and on the One

²² "UK Labour Market, July 2017". ONS. 12 July 2017. Retrieved 12 July 2017

²³ (In the UK) a Member of Parliament who does not hold office in the government or opposition and who sits behind the front benches in the House of Commons.

Nation narrative. Finally, it has been concluded that the conditions of failure were present even before May called the general election.

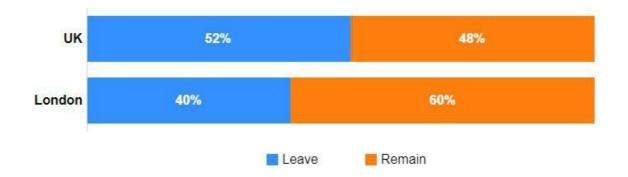
When it comes to the Theresa May's conceptualization and consistency of Brexit, Cross (2019) in his thesis investigated whether Theresa May has been consistent and transparent in her outline of Brexit and he assessed whether the PM has lived up to the ideal of open society when conceptualizing Brexit, has she provided clarity and taken a friction-less position in what future Brexit she espouses herself to see. By using content analysis method, he confirmed that Theresa May has been consistent in some aspects but on major points, she has espoused several conflicting aims for the outcome of Brexit. Finally, that led to the conclusion that she has been consistent in providing two different positions. On the other side, Meislova (2019) noted that Theresa May will go down in the history not only as a second female British prime minister, but a person who was in charge over one of the most chaotic and challenging periods in the country's modern political history. Furthermore, the author mentioned that May will be remembered for failing to deliver Brexit. Theresa also mentioned that and stated following: "*It is, and will always remain, a matter of deep regret to me that I have not been able to deliver Brexit.*²⁴

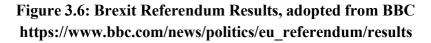
Moreover, Meislova (2019, p.681) highlighted that May's handling of Brexit had been widely criticized - for lacking any coherent and credible vision, poor execution of the withdrawal negotiations, inadequate planning thereof and adopting a too hard Brexit stance. Finally, the conclusion of Meislova's article (2019) was that Theresa May was in highly challenging, unfavourable and controversial environment. The author described her approach as a schism between her rhetoric on Brexit and reality, fostering a perception of distrust and betrayal. Unfortunately, she failed to use her political and diplomatic capital to re-frame the debate around goals that were more achievable and politically feasible. Alternatively, the European Union was seen as an arena for fighting political battles for domestic consumption.

²⁴ (T. May, Prime Minister's statement in Downing Street, UK Government, 24 May 2019; https://www.gov.uk/government/speechprime-ministers-statement-in-downing-street-24-may-2019 (accessed 11 July 2019).

Referendum for Brexit (demographic data explained)

On June 23rd 2016, residents of the United Kingdom were asked whether the United Kingdom should remain a member of the European Union or leave. The results came in with 52% choosing to leave the EU; however this narrative wasn't consistent across the country. Londoners in particular were much more likely to favour the UK remaining in the EU, with 60% choosing to do so.





Even within London there was significant variation. On one end of the scale, some 70% of Havering's residents voted to Leave – one of the highest rates in the country – while only Gibraltar had a higher rate voting to Remain than the Inner London boroughs of Lambeth, Hackney and Haringey. In fact, 8 of the top 10 highest Remain rates were found in Inner London boroughs²⁵. By comparing the characteristics of local authorities with their vote share we can get an idea of how demographic differences relate to how people voted. When it comes to age, those living in local authorities with a higher proportion aged 40 or under were more likely to vote remain. This correlation was even stronger when looking at just London's local authorities. 'Younger' boroughs including Tower Hamlets and Islington had a much higher remain rate while areas with a comparatively smaller percent aged under40 (such as Bexley and Havering) were more inclined to vote leave.

When looking into qualification level, the strongest correlations seen were between areas that voted remain and areas where a high proportion have a degree level qualification. This was again reflected in London where capital's most highly educated boroughs (such as Richmond and Westminster) had high remain rates. As for the occupation & industry, areas where residents were more likely to undertake high skilled occupations also tended to be areas where

²⁵ https://data.london.gov.uk/blog/eu-referendum-results-a-demographic-breakdown/

the remain rate was highest. Therefore, London, with it's highly skilled workforce favoured remain. Industries correlated with voting leave were manufacturing, construction, wholesale and retail while industries correlated with voting remain were information and communication as well as professional, scientific and technical activities.

Boris Johnson's mandate and UK's withdrawal from the EU

"We are going to fulfil the repeated promises of Parliament to the people and come out of the EU on October 31, no ifs or buts." – Boris Johnson

Boris Johnson was born on 19th June 1964 and is a British politician who serves as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the leader of the Conservative Party since 2019. He became a prominent character in the successful Vote Leave campaign for Brexit in the 2016 EU membership referendum. In the 2019 general election, Johnson led the Conservative Party to its biggest parliamentary victory since 1987, winning 43.6% of the vote – the largest share of any party since 1979. The United Kingdom withdrew from the European Union under the terms of a revised Brexit withdrawal agreement, entering into a transition period. Since February 2020, Johnson has led the United Kingdom's ongoing response to the COVID-19 pandemic. It is important to mention that Boris Johnson in his first speech as prime minister that the United Kingdom will leave the EU on 31st October 2019, however, the withdrawal happened on 1st January 2020. Owen et al (2019, p.2,3,4) prepared a report in July 2019 and included obligations for the new prime minister Boris Johnson; before a no-deal exit, immediately following a no-deal exit and in the months following a no-deal exit.

Before a no-deal exit obligations included:

- The whole of government must shift onto a no-deal footing if the new prime minister believes there is a serious prospect that the UK will leave the EU on 31 October, he will need to kick-start the government's no-deal preparations immediately – moving thousands of civil servants into operational centers and starting extensive communications to business
- Peak readiness may have been and gone the PM cannot assume the UK and UK business is ready for no deal. Indeed, it may be less ready for no deal in October than it was in March.

- Key Brexit bills are not needed for October 31 the prime minister does not need to complete the passage of the Brexit bills currently stuck in Parliament in order to leave without a deal. These can be brought back after 31 October.
- New legislation will be needed to introduce direct rule in Northern Ireland Johnson cannot avoid legislating entirely. Given the scale and the speed of the interventions likely to be necessary, the government should bring in legislation to introduce direct rule in Northern Ireland with immediate effect from 31 October if the Executive has not been restored.
- An emergency Budget may be needed the prime minister may also wish to hold an emergency Budget. If this is done in September it will need to be voted on before the UK leaves.

Immediately following a no-deal exit obligations included:

- No deal is a step into the unknown the prime minister's second 100 days will even more unpredictable than his first. There can be little certainty about exactly how no deal will play out.
- There is no such thing as 'managed no deal' it is unlikely that the EU will agree to negotiate a 'managed no deal', or any 'side deals', to soften the impact. It has continually ruled this out. The EU will take unilateral measures.
- It will be much harder and more complex to strike a deal with the EU a quick deal with the EU, even one identical to the current deal, will not be possible once the UK has left. This is because the EU will no longer be negotiating under Article 50.
- No deal means losing deals with many other non-EU countries the UK will immediately lose access to a large number of important trade and co-operation agreements with other non-EU countries. It will take time to reinstate these, and in some cases countries may have little incentive to conclude a deal.
- A showdown in Parliament cannot be avoided the PM will not be able to avoid testing his majority in Parliament for long, as he will have to bring forward a Queens Speech, a Budget and, in time, new bills.

In the months following a no-deal exit obligations included:

- Brexit will dominate Whitehall: Brexit is likely to preoccupy the work of the civil service for years to come. There will be at least 16,000 officials working on it by the autumn, and that number could still increase.
- The government will have to support struggling and failing businesses: the government is more likely to be occupied with providing money and support to businesses and industries that have not prepared or are worst affected by a no-deal Brexit as well as dealing with UK citizens in the EU, and EU citizens here, who have been similarly caught out.
- The Union will come under unprecedented pressure: Johnson may well find that having left one political union, he spends an increasing proportion of his time trying to keep another together. All nations will look to Westminster to help cushion them against any economic fallout from no deal. Northern Ireland, in particular, will face significant and lasting disruption to its economy and there is a potential for that to translate into increased political tension, particularly if direct rule has been reimposed. In Scotland, a no-deal exit will increase pressure to grant a second independence referendum as relations between Westminster and Holy-rood deteriorate. Although the political fallout in Wales will be less acute, farming and manufacturing are both at risk.

Owen et al concluded that there was a high pressure to settle Brexit - an event that has dominated UK politics for more than three years. However, they have pointed out that it would be wrong to see no deal as the end point or finish line. As per their article, Prime Minister Johnson has said he wants move on from Brexit to focus on social care, increasing police numbers, hospital upgrades and education funding – to name a few. On the other hand, Theresa May was focused on 'burning injustices' and spent most of her time on Brexit and very little time doing anything except that.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results and discussion part is structured in the way that it presents analyses and comments on the research questions and research hypotheses. When presenting results, various opinions (from books and research articles) will be compared and discussed.

R1: Will Brexit have a significant impact on economy and foreign trade?

Countries trade with each other when they do not have resources or capacity to satisfy their own needs and wants and this tradition dates back at least 9000 years. Currently, foreign trade is crucial for the global economy and it is related to the development and prosperity of the modern industrialized world.

Latorre et al (2019) wrote a paper titled Brexit: Everyone Loses, but Britain Loses the Most and their paper examined 12 economic simulation models that estimate the impact of Brexit. They have used macroeconomic models, computable general equilibrium (CGE) models as well as mixed approach. Most of the studies find adverse effects for the United Kingdom and the EU -27. The UK's GDP losses from a hard Brexit (reversion to World Trade Organization rules due to a lack of UK-EU agreement) range from -1.2 to -4.5 percent in most of the models analyzed. According to their research, the UK's withdrawal from the European Union will damage both the UK and the EU, but the damage will be far worse for the UK than for the rest of the EU (EU-27). Furthermore, Latorre et al (2019) emphasized that Brexit is related to the shrinking of the EU market in which each of the partners will have more difficulties to reach the other Brexit partner's customers. As the EU-27 size is much larger, the process is more harmful for the United Kingdom. In all the scenarios with CGE models, the UK experiences much greater losses in industry productivity, foreign trade, production, wages, private consumption, capital remuneration, and value-added creation than EU-27. Moreover, authors stated that a great number of the studies related to the Brexit showed that EU-27 firms will be able to recover much of the lost exports to and imports from the UK through increased intra- EU trade and by trading more with third nations. This is applicable in both hard ans soft Brexit scenarios, however, a soft Brexit scenario (e.g., Norway model, similar to the political declaration on the future EU-UK relationship of November14, 2018) is less harmful than a hard Brexit for both the EU-27 and the UK.

Another research related to the economic effects of the UK government's proposed Brexit was done by Hantzsche et al (2019). They have stated that there is a little clarity on the future relationship between the EU and the UK when it comes to the transition period, but they have mentioned three possible options that should involve a high degree of alignment between the EU and the UK: (1) extension of the transition period - the UK would stay in the customs union and single market, any trade agreements with non-EU countries signed by the UK would not be able to enter into force until the transition ended, (2) an agreed free-trade deal where the UK leave the EU Single Market and customs union - the free- trade area would include zero tariffs, no fees, charges or quantitative restrictions across all goods sectors. The UK would be free to enter into trade agreements with non-EU countries under this arrangement and (3) a single customs territory to avoid the introduction of a hard border on the island of Ireland - the UK would stay in a customs union with the EU but not in the Single Market. Under this arrangement, there would be no tariffs or quotas for goods traded between the UK and the EU, and no need for proof or origin, but there would be restrictions on services trade.

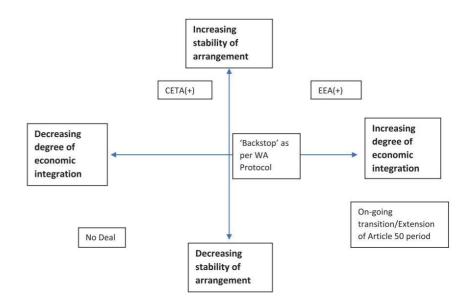


FIGURE 4.1: The level of economic integration and stability of the EU–Great Britain economic relationship. Adopted from authors' elaboration.

De Ville and Siles-Brügge (2019) discussed the potential impacts of Brexit on EU trade policy and they have highlighted that the conventional wisdom is that the Brexit will push the EU in a less liberal policy direction. Additionally, when looking into the response of EU trade policy since the referendum, it can be concluded that there was no radical change materialized. Instead of interpreting UK's withdrawal as a sign that EU trade policy needs a fundamental rethink, the European Commission has framed it as demonstrating the need to 'hold the line'. Finally, De Ville and Siles-Brügge (2019) highlighted that EU Commission has even used UK's withdrawal and the reinforcing presence of Donald Trump to portray the EU as the champion of global free trade. McGrattan and Waddle (2020) used simulations from a multicountry neoclassical growth model and analyzed several post-Brexit scenarios. They have estimated the influence of tightening regulations on trade and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) of foreign multinationals following the UK referendum to withdraw from the European Union. They have found that the influence on investment, production, and welfare depends on whether the UK acts unilaterally to block flows from the EU or jointly with EU nations to erect cross-border barriers on each other. In case that the UK unilaterally tighten regulations, UK firms will be responsible for the investment on their own and that means that UK citizens will be significantly worse off. McGrattan and Waddle (2020) also noted that the EU benefits from increased investment by UK firms despite its exports and outward Foreign Direct Investment face higher costs. Finally, they esteemed the optimal response if the UK and EU firms face the same stricter regulations, but estimated significant welfare gains for UK citizens if their government were to simultaneously reduce current restrictions on major investors outside of the EU.

Bisciari (2019) wrote an article summarizing the main findings from a review of a sample of studies on the long-term impact of Brexit on GDP and welfare for both the United Kingdom and 27 members of the European Union. He stated that uncertainty is a crucial word when it comes to Brexit. When considering all possible scenarios, the UK's withdrawal from the EU is a lose-lose situation for both sides as well ass the EU economies in that GDP of welfare that will grow by less under Brexit scenarios than if the UK remains EU member. Bisciari (2019, p.10) concluded following: "Under all scenarios, the economic losses due to Brexit are estimated at unchanged policies. However, one of the main aims of Brexit for the UK is to take back control of its borders and policies. The UK could thus mitigate the economic losses by activating new trade and/or regulatory policies. The UK would be more able to do so in hard Brexit scenarios (such as the WTO) where it will regain more autonomy than in soft Brexit scenarios since a closer relationship with the EU would require less independent policies." By taking into consideration a few research articles mentioned in this chapter, it might be concluded that the UK's withdrawal will significantly impact the EU policies as well as the trade of the UK. By this, the hypothesis The Brexit will have a significant impact on economy and foreign trade is approved.

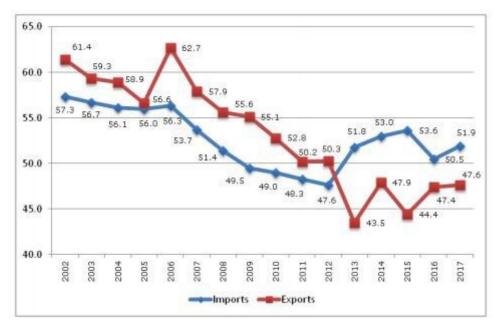


Figure 4.2: Trade between UK and EU (% of total import/export), adopted from Ferrando et al - Author's elaboration based on EUROSTAT data (2018).

R2: Will Brexit have a significant impact on migrations and security

Office for National Statistics²⁶ (prepared by Mike James) issued a quarterly report for migration statistics. The release was in May 2020 and the research team made use of all available data sources to provide a richer and deeper understanding of migration. Data collection was completed by the end of December 2019 meaning that is not affected by recent developments with the corona virus (Covid-19).As per the statistics provided by this Office, in the year ending December 2019, long-term international migration continued to add to the UK population. An estimated 270.000 more people moved to the UK with an intention to stay for 12 months or more than left the UK (net migration) while over the year, 677.000 people moved to the UK (immigration) and 407.000 people left the UK (emigration). It is important to say that there was a decrease in immigration for work while immigration for study has been gradually increasing. As per BBC, a goal to reduce net migration to the 'tens of thousands' was repeated several times by Conservative-led governments since 2010. Net migration is the number of people coming to live in the UK, minus the number of people leaving to live elsewhere. While there has been a considerable fall in net migration from European Union countries since the referendum in June 2016, net migration from elsewhere (the type the UK currently has more control over) is at its highest level since 2004.

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https://www.ons.gov.uk/people population and community/population and migration/international migration/bulletin s/migration statistic squarterly report/may 2020

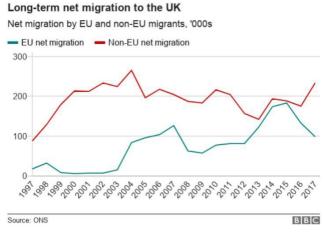


Figure 4.3: Long-term net migration to the UK, adopted from BBC, source ONS

When it comes to the most recent research, net migration to the UK from countries outside the European Union has been increased to the highest level for 45 years (the Office for National Statistics). Jay Lindop, director of the Centre for International Migration at the ONS, said: "Overall migration levels have remained broadly stable in recent years, but new patterns have emerged for EU and non-EU migrants since 2016. "For the year ending December 2019, non-EU migration was at the highest level we have seen, driven by a rise in students from China and India, while the number of people arriving from EU countries for work has steadily fallen. (BBC, May 2020).

Migration to the UK can be considered as one of the very debatable issues as far as the Brexit is concerned. Simionescu et al (2017) in their research paper examined the influence of Brexit on migration in the UK by using the example of Polish migrants. They have researched the recent trends and developments in order to elaborate on the future of EU migrants int the UK and UK citizens residing in the EU. According to Tilford (2015) as mentioned in Simionescu et al (2017), the Brexit would leave significant impacts on the European migration cycle. Simionescu et al (2017) found that the Brexit is not only complicated, but will also a lot of time to be finalized. The United Kingdom has always been an attractive place for the young EU citizens who wished to learn better English, experience the British way of leaving and to find jobs in catering, services, or academia. The research showed that the migrants in the UK (Polish migrants) were actually not attracted by the increases in wage and salaries, they wanted event lower wages as there is a huge gap between salaries in Poland and the United Kingdom. Finally, Simionescu et al (2017) stated that new agreements and policies should be negotiated between the European Union member states and the UK and the UK legal system would have to include regular changes as far as migration is concerned. A mass immigration might be solved at the expense of creating an economic downturn. Moreover, there is a

significant research published by the Policy Department for Citizen's Rights and Constitutional Affairs (2018) that focused on the future relationship between the UK and the EU following the UK's withdrawal from the EU in the field of migration (not including asylum), future movement of EU citizens and UK nationals between the EU and UK. It has been found that the Withdrawal Agreement (WDA) provides a continuation of existing free movement rights, and for the procedural safeguards on compliance with those rules. In case of a no deal Brexit, the WDA provisions on citizens' rights and their judicial protection and monitoring could also be used in a separate EU-UK agreement dealing solely with the issue of EU citizens' rights in the UK and UK nationals rights in the (other) 27 Member States.

Furthermore, this research took social security into consideration and it has been stated that the coordination of the social security has been an important instrument to stimulate free movement of workers and persons. In the future a correlation between the EU and the UK a new arrangement to guarantee this has to be made. If there is no deal after the transition period UK nationals either in a cross-border situation between two or more EU Member States (excluding Denmark) or just working and residing in a single Member State will stay in a more advantages position based on Regulation 1231/2010 and the various EU migration Directives than EU citizens who are in a cross-border situation in which the UK is involved or who work and reside exclusively in the UK. The UK could seek to secure bilateral social security agreements on reciprocal rights with individual EU or EFTA states, but negotiations could be difficult and protracted. And it is questionable whether the EU would be interested in the EU coordination rules in a range of aspects. A complicating factor will be that when an EU Member State concludes a bilateral agreement with a third country, the fundamental principle of equal treatment requires that Member State to grant nationals of other Member States the same advantages as those which its own nationals enjoy under that agreement (the Policy Department for Citizen's Rights and Constitutional Affairs, 2018, p.78).

Black et al (2017) prepared a compendium report on understanding the possible implications of the UK' decision to leave the EU (defence and security after Brexit). As per the authors' words, Brexit has raised concerns that it could further strain attempts to build common EU responses to complex transnational issues, including the migrant crisis. There is a concern that the Brexit could deteriorate the ongoing crisis and some of them are: (a) **potential for Brexit to strengthen centrifugal forces that undermine collective solutions -** the Greek Deputy Defence Minister Dimitris Vitsas has characterized UK's withdrawal as a 'serious setback that would undermine Europe's collective handling of the crisis while allowing some states to

instead act independently...or not at all'27, (b) risk of EU being distracted by Brexit negotiations - the administrative complexity and political wrangling involved in Brexit negotiations might dominate EU politics at the expense of proactive responses to other issues, including the migrant crisis, (c) possible loss of UK contributions to Operation Sophia - : The UK has contributed a number of military assets to counter migration and peoplesmuggling in the Mediterranean, however, the UK Government has indicated it may still contribute to CSDP missions after Brexit, or could alternatively shift its contributions to similar NATO-led efforts in the region and (d) uncertainty over future UK aid budget there is also a high degree of uncertainty about what effect Brexit will have on UK Government spending, including the international development budget. With the UK among the few countries in the world to meet the UN target of spending 0.7 per cent of GDP on foreign aid, and a major donor to important refugee hubs such as Jordan, any reduction in spending could have knock-on effects for migration flows across the Mediterranean. Black et al (2017) also highlighted that Boris Johnson (UK foreign secretary at that time, currently prime minister) emphasized that the UK will continue to help the EU tackle the migrant crisis and that Brexit might be seen as an opportunity to forge a wider transnational 'partnership' to confront the issue. Moreover, European Commission President Juncker and other leaders have similarly called for the European Union to use the UK referendum decision as an opportunity to move towards more integrated European responses to the crisis. By taking a look into the research articles mentioned, it might be concluded that the hypothesis The Brexit have a significant impact on migrations and security is approved.

R3: Will Brexit have a significant impact on travel and goods transport

When it comes to transport supply and travel it might be said that they are subject to change, whether there is agreement or not. Kerridge (2018) wrote a research article 'The Impact of Brexit on the Transport Industry' - he gave an insight in likely effects of Brexit on the transport industry. He also researched an effect of UK's withdrawal from the EU in terms of economies of the UK and the remainder of the EU. The results showed that the most affected EU country might be Ireland, but the economy of the remaining EU-27 as a whole might suffer as a result from the UK's withdrawal. As per this research, both demand and supply will be lower under most assumptions - the EU and its eastern and southern neighbors may

²⁷ https://deeply.thenewhumanitarian.org/refugees/executive-summaries/2016/05/09

increase supply within the EU-27 to compensate for the lower British contribution. Kerridge (2018) also found that transport vehicles (including ships and aircraft) can be moved elsewhere, and relocated in the UK or the EU-27 as appropriate. However, with lower demand, this might slow down new purchases and reduce the rate of modernization. The author also concluded that there will be a return of customs brokers, and higher transport costs because of the slower cross-border journeys and lower investment. Intra EU-26 journeys will not be affected by the border issues as there may be more road and air competition in the smaller EU, due to surplus vehicles, vessels and aircraft Kerridge (2018, p.41). Ferrando et al (2018) prepared a research for TRAN Committee - Brexit:transport and tourism - the consequences of a no - deal scenario. A no-deal Brexit would imply losses for the two parties involved, although within the EU-27 the intensity of the impact would vary among member states. In general terms, a no-deal Brexit would mean that the UK exits the EU internal market for aviation, road, rail and maritime transport. As a result, new customs, regulatory authorizations and license procedures, as well as border controls would impact operations and all current EU law-based rights and obligations would cease.

Regarding air transport, a no-deal scenario would mean no traffic rights for UK airlines and, consequently, no access to the Single European Sky. Indeed, to ensure basic connectivity between the EU and the UK in this context, special arrangements could be made so as to avoid leaving relevant issues unsolved, such as the operation of air routes between the EU and the UK by EEA and UK air carriers after a no-deal Brexit. In a no-deal scenario, the EU legal framework encouraging tourism flows between the UK and the rest of the EU would no longer be applicable and as a result the tourism industry would be jeopardized. In a no-deal scenario, EU tourism would suffer the negative effects of the restrictions to the movement of people, goods and services. This would mean facing new customs checks, delays and possible unilateral controls on immigration (Ferrando et al, 2018). Finally, it might be concluded that the Brexit will have a significant impact on travel and goods transport which means that the third hypothesis has been approved too.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FURTHERY STUDY

This master thesis aimed to present the importance of foreign policy in general and then in the context of Brexit; The main part of this thesis presented the period of negotiations (2016-2020), the way in which the UK left the European Union and ultimately what impact it has / will have on foreign policy towards European countries. The aim of the thesis was to present data and facts that indicate the pros and cons of Brexit and to give readers a clear picture of all the events that preceded the country's exit from the EU. Furthermore, different aspects had been presented and research already done in this field.

There are different research articles and books written on this topic and it is still an ongoing process which is getting a great deal of public attention (Dijkstra, 2016; Whitman, 2016; Wright, Nichola, 2017; Sacerdoti, Giorgio, 2017. Different things came into question, starting from the very beginning of the Brexit negotiations up to date. One of the major questions are certainly foreign, security and defence policy after Brexit. G.Whitman (2016) in his article discussed the inferences of UK's withdrawal from the EU and stated that the UK government shall define an assessment of Brexit's inferences. He mentioned that the article 50, known as the Treaty on European Union does not provide an explanation for the foreign, security and defence policy between the UK and the EU. Moreover, he explained that shared borders and a common neighbourhood will govern the need for working in partnership. Furthermore, it must be noted that there are many other fields including trade, aid, environment, energy, development policy, immigration, asylum, cross-border policing etc which will be affected by the withdrawal from the EU. By reading this and similar articles, it might be concluded that the Brexit brought a brand new foreign policy model and the changes are yet to come. Another article written by Sacerdoti (2017) highlighted the perspectives and constraints which are consequences of the Brexit - he explained that it will be really challenging for this country to achieve an agreement with the European Union when it comes to the trade and he mentioned that "any UK-EU Free Trade Agreement will offer a second-best solution, the price that the UK will have to pay to be able to freely negotiate trade relations across the world." (Sacerdoti, 2016, p.926). However, the UK will remain the member of the World

Trade Organisation (WTO) and the trade agreements will be negotiated with other countries which are also part of the WTO.

Currently, following the UK's withdrawal from the EU which happened on 31st of January 2020, this ex member state entered a transition period. This is actually time-limited period which expires on 31st of December 2020, but might be extended up to one or two years, if needed (European Commission, 2020). Until that date, this state and the EU will try to negotiate a new partnership which is based on the Political Declaration²⁸ from October 2019. During this period, the UK cannot take a part into the EU's decision making, but will be able to apply the international agreements of the EU as well as to prepare new international arrangements of its own. Most recent information is that the UK's Prime Minister Boris Johnson will not extend the transition period, but this will be surely revised, especially due to the corona pandemic which is widely spread all around the country (The New York Times, 2020). The aim of this research was to check if the Brexit negotiations will redefine the United Kingdom's foreign policy towards Europe - a hypothesis was approved by taking into consideration several articles and book written up to date. It will definitely affect major fields such as trade, migration, security as well as travel and goods transportation.

When it comes to the economy and foreign trade, if considering all possible scenarios, the UK's withdrawal from the EU is a lose-lose situation for both sides as well ass the EU economies in that GDP of welfare that will grow by less under Brexit scenarios than if the UK remains EU member. By this, the hypothesis The Brexit will have a significant impact on economy and foreign trade was approved. Same goes for the hypothesis The Brexit will have a significant impact on migrations and security that has been approved as there has been a considerable fall in net migration from European Union countries since the referendum in June 2016. Simionescu et al (2017) and Tilford (2015) stated that the Brexit would leave significant impacts on the European migration cycle and European Commission President Juncker and other leaders have similarly called for the European Union to use the UK referendum decision as an opportunity to move towards more integrated European responses to the crisis. Finally, travel and goods transport will be significantly impacted by the Brexit as both demand and supply will be lower under most assumptions - the EU and its eastern and southern neighbors may increase supply within the EU-27 to compensate for the lower British contribution. In case of no-deal, EU tourism would suffer the negative effects of the restrictions to the movement of people, goods and services. Therefore, the third hypothesis

 $^{^{28}}$ A revised text of the Political Declaration setting out the framework for the future relationship between the EU and the UK as agreed at negotiators' level on 17 October 2019, to replace the one published in OJ 66I of 19.2.2019

has been approved too. An implication for the further study on this topic would be to conduct a longitudinal study and include observations and research during the transitional period and period after it so that the assumptions made previously could be checked again.

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