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Surviving Brexit social economic impact on the UK
a narratical study (2016- 2020)

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Abstract

My dissertation deals with the issue of Brexit as a major event in the contemporary history of the United Kingdom. The aim of this study is to examine the socio-economic impacts of Brexit on the United Kingdom. The study adopts a qualitative, descriptive, and analytical approach. The first finding of the study is that the relationships of the UK with the European Union were ambivalent since the UK joined the EU in 1973. The investigation shows that European immigration is a major cause of Brexit. Another finding suggests that Brexit allows the UK to maintain a socio-cultural stability. This study has found that generally the UK has gained more independence and more prosperity as regards its economy. Although this study has focused on the positive impact of Brexit on the UK, the findings may well have a bearing on Scottish independence, the impact of Brexit on the EU, and even the future of the EU.

Keywords: Brexit; European Union; referendum on Brexit; socio-economic

المخلص:

تهتم هذه المذكرة بمسألة البريكس باعتبارها حدث مهم في التاريخ المعاصر للمملكة المتحدة وتهدف الدراسة الى فحص الآثار السوسيو-اقتصادية للبريكس على المملكة المتحدة. تعتمد الدراسة على المنهج الوصفي-التحليلي. النتيجة الأولى للدراسة تتمثل في كون العلاقة بين المملكة المتحدة والاتحاد الأوروبي علاقة مترددة منذ أن التحقت المملكة المتحدة بالاتحاد الأوروبي سنة 1973. يبين البحث أن الهجرة الأوروبية هي أحد أهم أسباب البريكس. تقترح نتيجة أخرى للدراسة أن البريكس يسمح للمملكة المتحدة المحافظة على استقرار سوسيو-ثقافي. توصلت هذه الدراسة إلى أنه عموماً كسبت المملكة المتحدة استقلالاً أكبر وازدهاراً أقوى فيما يتعلق بالاقتصاد. بالرغم من أن هذه الدراسة ركزت على الأثر الإيجابي للبريكس على المملكة المتحدة، ولكن نتائج الدراسة تشير إلى إمكانية تأثير البريكس على استقلال اسكتلندا وعلى الاتحاد الأوروبي ومستقبله .

الكلمات المفتاحية: البريكس، الاتحاد الأوروبي، الاستفتاء على البريكس، سوسيو-اقتصادي

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dedication

I dedicate my work to my parents, my brothers, my sister, my wife and my children, Nadjia, Belkacem, Youcef, Fatima Zahra, Basma and Abdelhak.

General Introduction

In 1947, the National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party declared in a publication: ‘Britain herself is unwilling to join such a union for fear of losing her independence outside Europe.’ (Berend 45). The problem I explore in the present dissertation is the impact of Brexit on the United Kingdom from a socio-economic perspective.

The purpose of this research is to show that Brexit is particularly advantageous for the United Kingdom. In order to conduct this research, a qualitative, descriptive, and analytical approach will be adopted.

The fundamental concept discussed in this study is ‘Brexit’. Garcia defines ‘Brexit’ as ‘the proposed withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union, and the political process associated with it.’ The term ‘Brexit’ is ‘sometimes used specifically with reference to the referendum held in the UK on 23 June 2016, in which a majority of voters favoured withdrawal from the EU.’ (12)

This topic was chosen out of personal curiosity and because of its recent impact on the contemporary history of the United Kingdom. Furthermore, it can help understand not only British contemporary history, but also the British mindset concerning the British people’s insularity and independence.

This dissertation tries to answer the main question, which is what are the social and economic impact of Brexit on UK during the period 2016-2022?

In order to answer the above question, we divide it into three sub-questions. First, why had the United Kingdom not joined the European Union until 1973? Second, how were the relationships of the United Kingdom with Europe? Third, why did Brexit occur?

In order to answer the main question and the sub-questions, we based on testing a set of hypothesis. First, Britain had not join the EU until 1973, because it did not want to lose its independence outside Europe. Second, Britain relationships with Europe were ambivalent and not clear. Third, Brexit occurred as a result of economic and social causes.

Several studies have been conducted on the topic of Brexit. First, Winston W. Chang's article 'Brexit and its Economic Consequences' (2018) analyses some significant treaties which have contributed to the development of the European Union. Chang gives arguments for leaving Brexit, describing the economic consequences of Brexit for Britain. In fact, Chang's study is an economic forecast depending on uncontrolled factors. Second, in a study entitled 'The Brexit Vote: A Divided Nation, a Divided Continent' (2016), Sara B. Hobolt shows that the choice of leaving the European Union was common among less educated, poorer and older voters and those who were against immigration and multiculturalism, whereas younger and highly educated professionals were for membership in the European Union. Hobolt considers that Brexit has an impact on both the UK and the EU. However, Hobolt's study focuses only on the social aspect of Brexit. Third, the study by Ulrich Schoof et al. 'Brexit-Potential Economic Consequences if the UK Exits the EU.' (2015) is a study from a mere economic perspective. The study emphasizes the economic disadvantages of leaving the European Union for the UK. Fifth, 'The Paradox of Brexit and the Consequences of Taking Back Control' by Paul Agu Igwe (2022) explores Brexit and post-Brexit impact on economy and society. The study demonstrates that Brexit reflects the generation gap and the result of internationalization. For the author, it is difficult to expect the impact of Brexit on economy and society.

This dissertation will be divided into three chapters. Chapter one will describe the historical evolution of the European Union and the position of Britain within this organization. Chapter two will discuss Brexit and its causes. Chapter three will examine the socio-economic impact of Brexit on the United Kingdom.

Chapter One

The Historical Evolution of the European Union and Britain

Introduction

The establishment of the European Union was a continuous process; actually, it began after the Second World War. The founding countries were looking for a set of objectives from integration, but the most important ones were peace and other economic objectives. The foundation of the European Union went through different stages, from the second half of the twentieth century until the beginning of the twenty-first century. This period was marked by the establishment of several organizations, starting by Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) before the foundation of the European Union as we know it today. This chapter will discuss European integration, its founding treaties, its organizations, the European Union (EU), European Union enlargement and the relationships of the United Kingdom with the EU before Brexit.

1. The Commencement of European Integration

The European Union had gone through stages before it came into being. One of its early stages had been European integration.

1.1. What is Economic Integration?

The Oxford Business English Dictionary for Learners of English defines integration as a process of combining two or more companies, organizations or systems so that they work together well. (Noble and Parkinson 288)

1.2. European Integration

The idea of European integration among European states went through various stages and worked out various strategies. Some European leaders, such as Napoleon and Hitler tried to impose European integration by force. For example, Napoleon tried to unify European states under French hegemony, whereas Hitler wanted Europe to be under the dictatorship of the third Reich. However, other European leaders such as the Austrian leader of the Pan-European Movement, Count Coudenhove Kalergi tried to unify Europe peacefully after the First World War to no avail. (Borchardt 5)

Several factors contributed to the promotion of integration among European countries. First, Europeans realized their own weakness as a result of their internal dissensions and the wars they had lost caused them to lose their central old position at the world stage. Europe's position was taken over by two new superpowers, i.e., the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Each of these superpowers now wielded far greater military, political and economic might than a divided patchwork of European individual states could muster. Second, European nations did not want to live a third experience of a world war; therefore, they all adopted the motto 'never again!' Third, they harboured the earnest desire for a better, freer and more just world in which social and international relations would be conducted in a more orderly way.

Cini and Borragan define European integration as the process that was initiated in the 1950s largely as a consequence of the negative experiences of the founding member states during and in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War (2). For Borchardt, there are two types of integration: economic integration and political integration. The first is based on establishing a common market where people and goods can move freely as in a domestic market. The second is not meant to be an end in itself, but merely an intermediate stage on the road to political integration (20).

Additionally, economic integration is based on a common market, in which the member states have combined to create a unified economic territory undivided by either customs or trade barriers. This common market rests on the pillars of the four fundamental freedoms: the free movement of goods, persons, capital and freedom to provide services. It allows capital and labour to develop their potential untrammelled and unhindered. Workers can move freely to seek jobs where demand is higher and wages and working conditions accordingly better. They can settle with their families and go to work anywhere in the Community. Companies can produce and sell their goods in free competition wherever suits them best. No Member State may give its own nationals preferential treatment over those of its community partners (Borchardt 31-32).

European integration included the customs union and free movement of goods because the first stage in the creation of the common market was to eliminate all customs duties levied on imports and exports between the member states. Second, it included free movement of workers apart from a few exceptions. The rights enshrined in the treaties guaranteeing Community workers equality of treatment in terms of employment, wages and other working conditions were comprehensively dealt with in a Council Regulation of 1968. Third, European integration involved free movement of capital and liberalization of payments. Two Directives were adopted at a very early stage to liberalize transactions such as the purchase of listed shares or direct investments and commercial credits. However, the world monetary problems of the late 1960s and early 1970s forced some Member States to impose a partial freeze on this liberalization process. This they justified by reference to the provision in the treaty allowing the free movement of capital to be curtailed in the event of serious balance-of-payment problems. But with the return to broader economic equilibrium, notably through the European Monetary System, the Commission was able to renew its action against the Member States concerned.

Cini and Borragan assert that in the beginning European integration pursued two principal objectives which were maintaining peace and cooperation with neighbouring states. (2)

Berend claims that European integration was an American plan at the beginning. The United States of America tried to force recipients of the Marshall Plan aid towards integration. The idea of economic integration as a road to political integration was genuinely present during the preparation of the Marshall program. The Marshall Plan's aid policy successfully forced some cooperation among West European countries, but did not reach its final goal of establishing a West European Common Market, which was supposed to be the start of the federative reorganization of Europe. Americans were not satisfied with the results of the Marshall Plan regarding its impact on integration. Americans found a new plan, which was military integration. (40-43)

1.3. Founding Treaties of European Integration

After the Second World War, a set of treaties were signed to speed up European integration. First, the Treaty of Paris (1951) set up the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). It came into force in 1952. Second, the Treaty of Rome (1957) set up the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or Euratom). It came into force on 1 January 1958. Third, the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), which came into force in November 1993, created the European Union. (Cini and Borragan 5)

1.4. The Organizations of European Integration

After the Second World War, the idea of European integration started with the birth of certain organizations, such as the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), the European Community of Steel and Coal (ECSC), the European Atomic Energy (EURATOM) and the European Union (EU).

1.4.1. Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC)

Zeff and Pirro claim that Europeans established the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) in 1947 to facilitate co-operation among states and meet the prerequisites to receive the Marshall Aid. In 1948, the Council of Europe opened another attempt at European integration. Decision making in these two organizations remained intergovernmental following a more 'unionist' rather than federalist pattern. Monnet and others recognized that relations between Germany and France had to be normalized and co-operative before any meaningful union could develop. By 1958, it became obvious that the OEEC had failed to further unite Europe as had been hoped, but efforts at integration continued with the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris in 1948. (Cini and Borragan 3)

1.4.2 The European Community of Steel and Coal (ECSC)

European governments had transferred their powers to a supranational organization. The (ECSC) main objectives were to reduce tariff barriers, abolish subsidies, fix prices and raise money by imposing levies on steel and coal production. However, the ECSC failed to achieve a set of goals. First, the ECSC failed to create a single market for coal and steel. Second, it failed to establish the European Defence Community (EDC) which was intended to develop cooperation on defence and to tie west Germany into a European defence system. Third, a European political community was planned as the first stage towards a European federation, but the plan failed in the 1950s as a result of the failure of the EDC. (McCormick 52)

1.4.3. The European Economic Community (EEC)

The EEC treaty promised the six member states to create a common market within 12 years by removing step by step all restrictions on internal trade, setting a common market tariff for goods coming outside the EEC. In addition, it promised to reduce states barriers to

the free movement of people, money, goods and services between the members, developing common agricultural and transport policies and creating a European social fund and a European investment bank (McCormick 53). In 1986, the EEC faced the obstacle of barriers to the free movement of people and capital, in addition to different national technical, health, and quality standards and different rates of indirect taxation. These obstacles led European leaders to think about a common European currency. (57)

1.4.4. Euratom

The treaty which established Euratom aimed at creating a common market for atomic energy, but Euratom focused on research only. (53)

2. The European Union

The European Union (EU) is a political and economic partnership that represents a unique form of co-operation among sovereign countries. The EU is the latest stage in a process of integration begun after World War II, initially by six Western European countries, to foster interdependence and avoid another war in Europe. The European Union is a family of liberal-democratic countries, acting collectively through an institutionalized system of decision making. When joining the EU, members sign up not only to the body of EU treaties, legislation, and norms, but also to set of shared common values, based on democracy, human rights and principles of social justice (Cini and Borrigan 4).

Furthermore, the European Union integration was initiated in the 1950s as a consequence of the negative experience of the founding states aftermath the Second World War. The principal objective at that time was maintaining peace, in addition to economic reconstruction. One of the main concerns of the European Union is welfare. Welfare is linked to the concept of the welfare state. In a welfare state, the state takes responsibility for the well-being and social condition of its citizens. (Cini and Borrigan 2)

At the beginning, the criteria for joining the European Community were vague. States had to be European, but there was no real definition of what 'European' mean. There was also an assumption that member states had to be democratic, but it was not included in any treaty. In 1993, the Copenhagen European Council agreed that countries wishing to join the union had to meet political and economic criteria. They must have working market economies and liberal democracies and be able to take on board the community. These conditions of membership became known as the Copenhagen criteria and they have served ever since as the template for assessing a country's readiness to join the European Union. Some writers saw the European integration as the first step to a wider integration, which exceeds the economic aspect. For example, Borchardt claims that Economic integration is not meant to be an end in itself but merely an intermediate stage on the road to political integration. (5)

2.2. Enlargement of the European Union

The European Community was open to new members, but the conditions for joining it were not clear. Nonetheless, the fundamental prerequisite for membership was to be geographically situated in Europe. In addition, the country willing to join the European Union had to be democratic, but this condition was not in any treaty. In 1993, the Copenhagen European Council decided that states willing to join the EU had to meet political and economic standard. In other words, these states must have market economies, be liberal democracies, accept EU treaties, adopt European legislation and conform to European norms. These standards became known as the Copenhagen Criteria. (Cini and Borrigan 5-6)

Since the 1970s, the EU has been enlarged. In 1973, the UK, Ireland, and Denmark joined the EU. The second enlargement occurred in the 1980s when Greece, Portugal and Spain became members of the EU. The third enlargement was in 1995 when Sweden, Finland and Austria became members in the EU. The fourth enlargement was in 2004. Then the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia joined the EU.

The fifth enlargement was in 2007 when Cyprus, Malta, Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU. In 2013, Croatia was the last European state to join the EU. Both Montenegro and Albania have applied to join the EU whereas Turkey is still negotiating with the EU for membership (Cini and Borrigan 6-7). (See figure 1 below.)

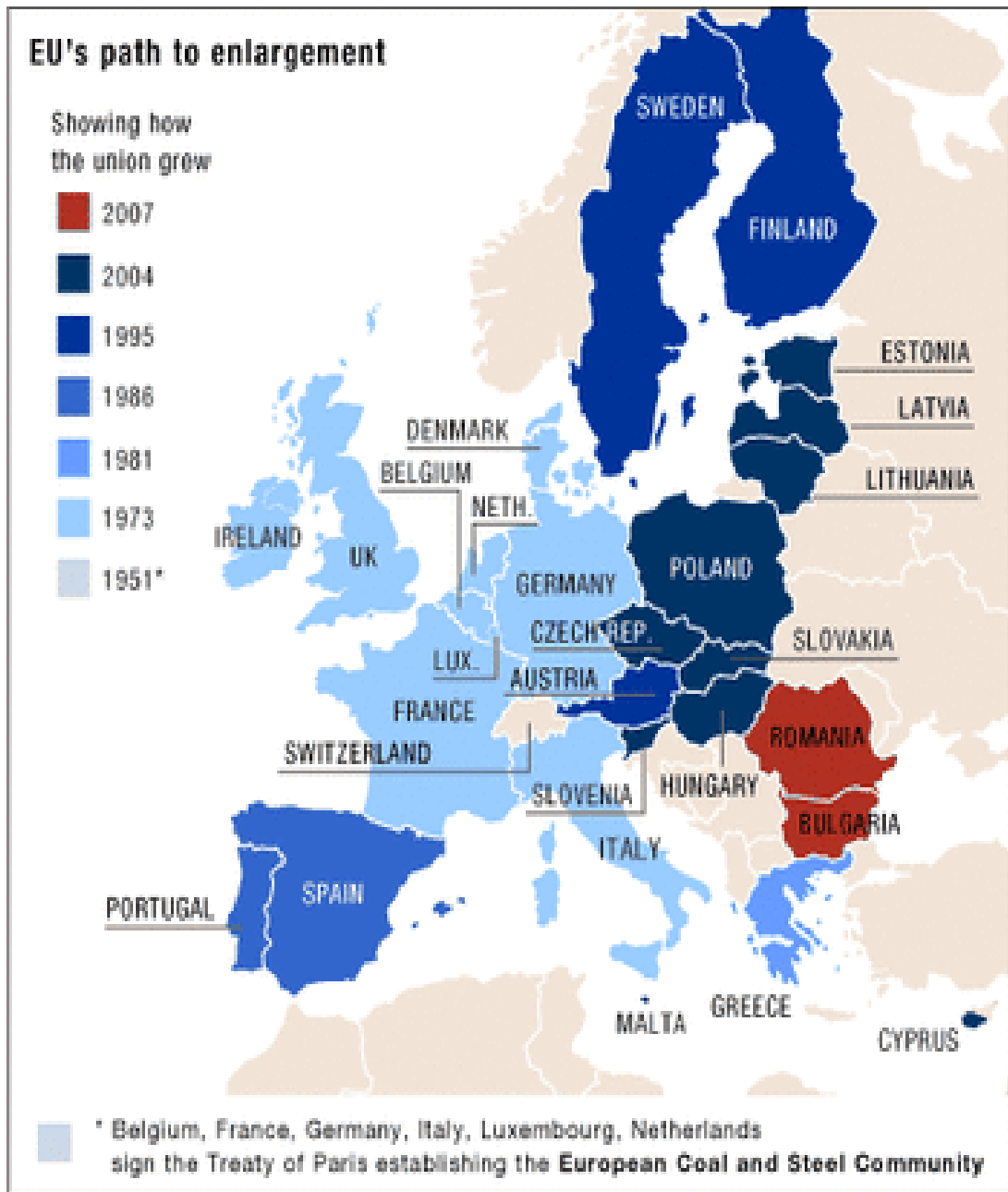


Fig. 1. Map of European Enlargement¹

¹ <https://www.ft.com/content/33930b58-8929-11db-a876-0000779e2340>

3. Britain and European Integration

In the beginning, European integration was an American idea because Americans designed a plan to integrate European countries together economically and militarily in order to face the Communist bloc after the Second World War. Americans tried to convince British political elites about the advantages of a European federation. In fact, American presidents from Truman to Kennedy tried to convince Britain first to lead this federation and then at least to join the already-established European Economic Community. President Kennedy believed that if Britain had joined, the market could have become the basis for a true political federation. Berend claims: ‘Even in 1962, senator William Fulbright emphasized that only Britain... has the long experience, the ancient institution, and the overall political maturity for leading Europe into a new era.’ (Cini and Borragan 43)

Likewise, Europeans themselves wanted European integration to be under Britain’s leadership. The French, West Germans, and the countries of the Benelux considered Britain as the missing point in European integration. In 1960, the West German President of the European Commission, Walter Hallstein, declared to the European Parliament that it would be an act of historical importance if other European States, and in particular Great Britain were to join. In 1966, West German Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger repeated: ‘the community of six is open for all European states that accept its goals. We should especially welcome the joining of Great Britain.’ However, Prime Minister Churchill disagreed because ‘the idea of an organization of Western Europe did not appeal to’ Churchill. (Berend 44)

Instead, the British preferred a customs union with a number of countries with a wide diversity of unexploited resources. This type of union would be likely to be at the advantage of the UK (Berend 44). In 1947, the Labour government declared their goal which was ‘to reestablish Britain’s position in the world ... one way to do this was ... drawing the raw material

resources of the Commonwealth and empire.’ In 1949, the Americans realized that the British government would continue to refuse the participation in West European integration. France was the alternative leader for the Americans. (Berend 45)

3.2. Britain’s Attempt to Join the European Union

Britain started negotiations with the EEC in 1962, but Charles de Gaulle’s Franco-German policy had plans for an EEC built around a Franco-German axis. As a matter of fact, De Gaulle considered Britain as a competitor to French influence in the community. Besides, he felt extremely unsatisfied with the fact that France had not been given equal status to the victorious allies in the wartime summits. Moreover, De Gaulle did not accept Britain’s lack of enthusiasm for the beginning integration moves of the 1950s. He felt that Britain’s membership would give the United States too much influence in Europe. Nevertheless, Britain tried to join again in 1967, but De Gaulle vetoed its application. After De Gaulle’s resignation in 1969, Britain applied again for the third time and this time its application was accepted. Negotiations for membership lasted from 1970 to 1971, and Britain finally joined the EEC in January 1973. (McCormick 54)

Conclusion

In sum, this chapter has traced the gradual historical evolution of the European Union, especially from the end of the Second World War. It has discussed the causes that originated European integration, and has introduced the various organizations of European integration. Besides, this chapter has described various stages of European enlargement. An important section in this chapter has discussed the early relationships of the United Kingdom with the European Union and how the UK joined the EU in 1973. After a little more than four decades (1973-2016) of membership in the EU, Brexit took place in 2016. This will be the subject of the subsequent chapter.

Chapter Two

Brexit as a Significant Landmark in Contemporary British History

Introduction

Members of the British society were divided on the issue of the vote concerning whether to remain in the European Union or to leave it. Some wanted to remain in the European Union, whereas others wanted Britain to exit the Union. This chapter will discuss the unique experience of the British with Brexit in their contemporary history.

1. What Is Brexit?

The term 'Brexit' is a contemporary term in English because it is appeared in the beginning of the twenty-first century. It describes a special event in the history of the United Kingdom; in other words, the exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union after Great Britain had joined it for three decades. Scholars define the term 'Brexit' in different ways.

First, A. Martín García (*The Aftermath of Brexit: Implications for the United Kingdom and the European Union*) defines the term as 'The proposed withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union and the political process associated with it. Sometimes used specifically with reference to the referendum held in the UK on 23 June 2016, in which a majority of voters favoured withdrawal from the EU.' (12)

Brexit occurred in Britain, and the British voters were the only ones who were able to sanction it, or refuse it. The term describes the future relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union in different fields and sectors. Second, 'Brexit is a portmanteau of the words British and exit coined to refer to the UK's decision in a June 23, 2016 referendum to leave the European Union.' (Glencross 8)

The idea of Brexit was not a new issue in the British mood because a like-idea had appeared in the 1970s. In other words, in 1975 British politicians asked the British people (for the second time) to decide about Britain's relationship with Europe through a referendum on whether to stay in the European Economic Community or leave it. Two years after the UK joined the EEC, the outcome of a vote on the same issue was a two-thirds majority for staying in the EEC (8). Glencross claims that since the first referendum in 1975, there have been repeated demands from British politicians to withdraw from the European Union, especially because of certain European issues such as specific treaties and the euro, as well as because of membership as a whole. (9)

2. The Referendum on Brexit

The main question asked in the referendum was 'Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?' (Clarke et al., 1). On 23 June 2016, the rate of participation in the referendum reached 72.2 per cent (2). When the ballots were counted, 51.9 per cent of the electorate had voted to leave the European Union, a figure that jumped to almost 54 per cent in England. The result sent shockwaves around the world. (4)

3. The British Mood

This section discusses the British mood concerning the referendum in three sub-sections: the mood of the British public, the mood of politicians in the Conservative Party and the mood of politicians in the Labour Party.

3.1. The Public Mood

Britain's relationship with Europe was always ambivalent because of the imperial past of the United Kingdom and Britain's special relation with the United States since the Second World War. Britain tried many times to sabotage European unification. However, Britain joined the European Union for its own interests. The British were interested by the economic opportunities supplied by Europe. Nevertheless, they were not enthusiastic about the

supranational ambitions of the European Union. But did Brexit reflect economy or culture? Some argue that both aspects are the product of globalization or technological change or impersonal economic factors. However, others consider Brexit a product of racism, xenophobia, and nationalism. (O'Rourke 143)

A study conducted in May 2015 showed that British voters considered that European integration had gone, and about a quarter of them supported Brexit, not being influenced by the campaigns. The British felt uncertainty about the European Union. This case of uncertainty was reflected in people's answers on how they would vote in the referendum. The study that was conducted from 3 September 2015 to 14 March 2016 showed that there was no clear winning camp. (Vasilopolou 219-227)

Furthermore, the British mood concerning the referendum was affected by a set of factors. In 2015, a sample of British electorate were asked to determine the most factor facing Britain. The result showed that the prominent factor was immigration by 63 per cent, then healthcare by 39 per cent, and the economy by 33 per cent. The British people were anxious about immigration and its negative impact on the economy, especially on domestic workers, culture, and security. Just a few months before the referendum, the British government declared that the net immigration had reached 336000. Most people in Britain felt that this was too much. (Clarke et al. 11-12)

3.2. The Conservative Party

The Conservatives promised to be officially neutral. However, some Conservatives supported reform in Europe and Britain's membership in the European Union whereas other Conservatives supported Brexit. The Prime Minister at that time, David Cameron and the Chancellor for the Exchequer, George Osborne, were against Brexit. On the other hand, other Conservatives like Justice Secretary Michael Gove and Mayor of London Boris Johnson were with Brexit. (Glencross 36)

Boris Johnson considered Brexit the suitable choice for the country as a whole, not only for his party.

3.3. The Labour Party

The labour party declared its support for the membership of the United Kingdom in the European Union. However, some in the Labour Party were Eurosceptic and supported Brexit. The Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn supported the Union, his argument being based on seeking social Europe. (Vasilopolou 219-227)

In earlier years, when the working classes had been dominant, the Labour Party could win power by mobilizing its core working-class support, while the Conservatives had to cultivate cross-class appeal. By the 1990s, however, the shift in the country's class structure had reversed this calculus. The Labour Party was compelled by repeated electoral defeats and a shrinking working-class core vote to develop a new cross-class appeal. This strategy was explicitly acknowledged and pursued by Tony Blair, who went on to enjoy a record three successive election victories. Traditional working-class values and ideology were downplayed in Blair's rebranded 'New Labour', which focused instead on building a managerial, centrist image designed to appeal to the middle classes.

Between 1997 and 2010, New Labour sought to attract the middle class and university-educated professionals, whose numbers were growing rapidly and whose social values on issues such as race, gender, and sexuality were a natural fit with liberalism. This proved highly successful in the short run, keeping Labour in power for 13 years. But this success came at a price. During the same period, socially conservative, working-class white voters with few educational qualifications gradually lost faith in the Labour Party as a political representative body. The result was lower turnout, falling identification with Labour and growing disaffection with the political system more generally. (Goodwin 59-60)

Therefore, both parties did not show a clear view on Brexit. They were not able to give voters clear signals where to stand. Nevertheless, party leaders may have affected the result of the referendum by providing information and statistics influencing voters. An online survey in October 2015, showed that Cameron and Corbyn had played an important role in rising public support for the Union. More importantly, Corbyn's effect was strong on lower middle-class and working-class voters (Vasilopolou 219-227). In this context, Vasilopolou writes: 'There is fundamental ambiguity regarding where the conservatives and labour parties stand on the issue, the heuristic influence of their leaders should be taken into consideration in understanding the referendum outcome.' (219-227)

Prior to the referendum on Brexit, a dramatic social change occurred in Britain. This change resulted in the shift in the structure of British voters. In other words, the working class declined while the dominance of the middle class and liberal university graduates grew substantially. In the 1960s, more than half of those with jobs in Britain had done manual work, and less than 10% of the electorate had got a university degree. But by the 2000s, the working class dwindled to around a fifth of the employed electorate, while more than one third of voters were graduates. These changes gradually altered the electoral calculus for the two main parties, Labour and Conservative, whose traditional dividing line had been social classification. (Goodwin 59)

4. The Campaign of the Referendum

At any election, we may find at least two opposite sides competing each other to win the majority. The referendum on Brexit was like any election in the world. It had two main campaigns: the campaign by the Remainers and the campaign by the Leavers.

The contending forces in the referendum campaign were organized into two broad camps. The first camp included the Remainers who were struggling to uphold Britain's EU membership. The Remainers came from different political homes, but were unified to keep

Britain in the EU. The second camp included the Eurosceptics or the leavers who were fighting to extricate Britain from the EU. (Clarke et al. 14-15)

Arnorsson and Zoega assert that the arguments of the supporters of Brexit were based on immigration and national autonomy. The supremacy of European laws over British laws was unacceptable to the leavers, especially when the United Kingdom became unable to prevent the flow of immigrants coming from EU, especially from Western Europe. The leavers were seeking to get access to the single market in goods, services and capital and to prevent the flow of immigrants. In contrast, the Remainers considered that free migration was a part of the four freedoms that shape the single market established by the treaty of Maastricht in 1993. (3-4) **5. The Turnout**

The electoral commission declared that more than 72% of those eligible to vote participated in the referendum. However, the turnout at the previous four general elections was below this level (Curtice 4). About 52% from 72% voted to leave the European Union, whereas 48% voted to remain in the European Union. While the Leave vote was highest in England (53.38%) and Wales (52.53%), the Remainers had support in Scotland (62%) and Northern Ireland (55.78%) (Mintchev and Moore 4). The rate of participation in the referendum shows that British people seemed particularly and passionately interested in the referendum on Brexit as well as in the future relationship of the United Kingdom with the European Union although the results of the referendum differed from one region to another in the Kingdom.

5.1. The Deciding Factors Determining the Turnout

Age and educational level had a prominent significance in the results of the referendum. Among voters, younger voters were more likely than older voters to say they voted 'remain'; however, graduates were more likely to do so than others without any educational qualifications. If a link is made between voters' choices and the main causes of Brexit (which

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are immigration and economic independence), we notice that graduates and younger people were less interested in the economic and cultural consequences of immigration. Rather, they were interested in social and moral issues. Undoubtedly, those with less educational qualifications tended to be less interested in politics. On the whole, the result of the referendum on Brexit was affected by voters' culture and identity towards the implications of European membership. But people's attitudes towards government played only a small role in shaping the outcome of the referendum on Brexit. (Curtice 4)

Subsequent to the referendum, political analyses made it clear that the profiles of Leave and Remain voters differed in age, education, ethnicity and economic status. The Leave electors were on average older, less educated and predominantly White English and Welsh. These electors were also less well-off economically. On the one hand, much of the support for Brexit came from White English working-class communities, whose economic and social status underwent sustained decline over the past four decades. (Mintchev and Moore 4)

Despite the differences in their economic status and occupation, one thing that middle-class Leave voters shared with working-class Leave supporters was a perception of personal economic decline and poverty. What mattered with respect to middle-class Brexit voters was not that they were poor, but rather that they felt poor – what mattered was 'a person's narrow feelings about his or her own financial situation'. This is in contrast to Remain voters, who were on average better educated and thus had better employment opportunities, but who also felt more financially comfortable and lived in well-off areas, especially in multicultural urban centres. (5)

The relationship between voting patterns and socio-economic factors intersects with another pattern which is primarily based on culture and identity as defined in relation to the nation state. Gerard Delanty (2017) argues that the Brexit divide is an expression of a newly

emerging social cleavage, not just within the UK but across Europe and elsewhere, between what he refers to as ‘nationals’ and ‘cosmopolitans’, or in other words between those who are ‘nation-centred’ and those who are positively engaged with ‘wider horizons’ beyond the nation state. (5)

6. The Fundamental Causes of Brexit

Various causes originated the Brexit process. Below, the fundamental causes of Brexit are discussed.

6.1. Immigration

The British were annoyed more and more from immigrants coming to the United Kingdom, whether as European Union citizens or as refugees from the Middle East and Northern Africa. Both Theresa May and David Cameron were against the free movement of labour. They argued that over the past years, migrants were taking advantage of state-funded services and putting a strain on social services, like schools and healthcare. (Day 31-38)

Following the refugee crisis, which began after the Arab Spring in 2011, thousands of people from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq started to cross the Mediterranean to look for refuge in Europe. The fear of the British people justified xenophobia as a key measure to protect British security and economic stability. The leavers argued that high percentage of immigration led to fewer jobs, lower wages and insufficient provision of public services for the natives. The ex-prime minister David Cameron used the fear of economic insecurity as a result of immigration. In his report on immigration, he declared that the British social system could be exploited by EU immigrants. The leavers described the refugees as a threat to British security. David Cameron described them as a foreign invasion. The issue of immigration increased due to the number of refugees entering the EU continued to increase. (31-38)

Concerning the issue of the refugees, O’Rourke claims that Britain is an island and the United Kingdom is not a member of the Schengen area. Brexiteers always avoid discussing the

difference between the free movement of European citizens between member states and the immigration of non-Europeans to the United Kingdom. Undeniably, this was always a pressing matter for the British government. Likewise, the refugee crisis was a pressing matter for the European Union, but it seemed easier for them to maintain the confusion in the European public mind. Both the refugee crisis and the Euro zone helped to create the idea that the European Union was incompetent and crisis-ridden. It was not an organization that Britain should be scared to leave. The timing of the referendum was beneficial to the Brexiteers. (Day 149)

The debates over immigration have long been intertwined with public anxieties over race and identity, with public hostility in earlier decades directed at black and South Asian migrants from former imperial territories in the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent. These immigrants began arriving in large numbers from the 1950s onwards. Yet starting in 2004, the focus of anxiety moved to the large new flow of migrants from EU states in Central and Eastern Europe. As a result, anti-immigration voters came to see migration (and the social changes that it brought) as an issue closely bound up with Britain's EU membership—a development that made the 2016 referendum very different from the only previous referendum on Britain's relationship with Europe, held in 1975. The majority of voters in favour of reduced immigration realized that the EU was a key obstacle to achieving that goal and consequently became more sceptical about the merits of continued EU membership. (Goodwin 21)

6.2. Economic Independence

Leavers saw Britain's membership in the EU as an obstacle to the growth of the British national economy. They argued that the EU imposed too many rules on business and charged billions of pounds a year in membership fees for little in return. The leave campaign considered that the EU was framing the British economy. The leave campaign used the European debt crisis, which began in 2009, to convince voters of the inability of the EU economic policies

because of the massive debt and high unemployment, especially in Greece and Spain. As a result, leavers wanted greater economic independence (O'Rourke 31-38).

Moreover, the United Kingdom was not a member of the Eurozone, so it was not forced to adopt austerity policies by Brussels. More importantly, the United Kingdom had a central bank that was much more proactive in combating the great recession than the European Central Bank and recovered much more quickly as a result. (148)

6.3. Other Causes

Brexit shocked the world, but it was expected by observers and some scholars as a result of a set of factors. Britain has been considered one of the most Eurosceptic countries in the EU. It did not choose to take part in four major EU projects on issues such as, the Schengen agreement, the euro currency, the area of freedom security and justice and the charter of fundamental rights. (Evans et al. 3). Two main factors contributed to repeated calls for a referendum. The first was the concern about the nature of the membership in the European Union. Eurosceptics thought that this was somehow unfair and too restrictive for the more free-commerce and totally oriented British trade. The second factor was lack of popular consent for membership within British society. (Glencross 10)

One of the most comprehensive studies on the referendum has found extensive evidence that the Brexit vote was related to austerity and the poor provision of public services. Austerity was much more important in driving the Brexit vote than immigration from eastern Europe. While even a very large reduction in the inflow of immigration would have been insufficient to overturn the result, a modest reduction in austerity could have sufficed to produce a different outcome. (O'Rourke 155-156)

7. Arguments for Remaining in the European Union

Unlike the leavers, the remain camp has a set of arguments to support their choice. The remain camp has many counterpoints against the leave camp. On the immigration issue, the

remain camp argues that immigration actually promotes economic growth in the UK. The migrants into the UK tend to be young and are likely to be employed. They contribute more to the UK public finances than they receive. Moreover, Britain has more immigrants from non-EU countries than from the EU. According to a report in *The Financial Times* (2017), studies concluded that there was no indication that immigration reduced wages, although a study by the Bank of England found a small effect on the lower-paid group—a 10% increase in the share of low-skilled migrants reduced the lower-paid wages by 2%. The increase in migration from the EU, however, has been only about 2% between 2008 and 2015, suggesting the low-pay wages were only reduced by about 0.4% over the 7-year period. Some have argued that migration of high-skilled workers actually raises the overall wages. Some UK firms are already struggling to find new workers. Industries, such as engineering and health care are desperately in need of hiring migrant workers. It is also important to note that Brexit could jeopardise the ability of British citizens to live and work in other EU countries. (Chang 5)

More importantly, the EU is the UK's largest export market and is also the UK's largest source of imports. Leaving might have a severe effect on the British economy. If there is no free trade between them, the bilateral trade volumes would shrink, harming both sides' export sectors and raising the prices of importables. The national welfare on both sides would decline. Furthermore, by staying in the EU, global companies would locate in the UK because they can sell into other EU nations without tariffs. With the huge EU market, Britain can enjoy the expansion of industries in which it has comparative advantages such as the financial service industry and some industrial goods.

Some have warned that Brexit could break up the UK. The Scottish government is moving to call a second independence referendum. It could also unravel the EU, potentially creating adverse effects on British national security. In addition, Brexit could presage a broader nationalist, anti-establishment, anti-immigration backlash in many of the world's democracies.

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It could harm the liberal international order painstakingly built by American and European leaders since World War II, especially now as it faces the threats from Russia and terrorist organizations.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the referendum on Brexit referendum. Additionally, it has discussed the main causes that originated Brexit. Next, it explored the arguments of the British for remaining in the European Union. The definite conclusion that the current study has come to is that the principal reasons that could explain Brexit were economic. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

The United Kingdom in the Aftermath of Brexit

Introduction

The impact of Brexit on the United Kingdom will be the subject of this chapter. This impact has occurred on the internal as well as the external level as far as the United Kingdom is concerned. Therefore, the current chapter will primarily focus on the post-Brexit era. In other words, a number of ideas will be discussed in this section: British national integrity, British economy, British national security, and British trade.

1. The United Kingdom in the Aftermath of Brexit

After the resignation of the British prime minister David Cameron on 24 June 2016, a competition for leadership between Boris Johnson and Theresa May took place. Many Conservative Remainers supported Theresa May because she was the home secretary in the then government. In addition, she was against illegal immigration which she had thought to be part of the legal immigration of European immigration to the United Kingdom. So, May was elected prime minister on 13 July 2016. (O'Rourke 169)

After her election as prime minister, Theresa May gave a speech reminding her audience of the historical links of the United Kingdom with the Commonwealth on 47 January 2017. She added that many Britons had always felt that the United Kingdom's place in the European Union had come at the expense of Britain's global ties, and of a bolder embrace of free trade with the wider world. She also added that the United Kingdom would bring an end to the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice in Britain, since the British would not have truly left the European Union if they were not in control of their own laws. The UK would not be a member of the single market, since it could not accept the regulations that had been decided

elsewhere in Europe. The UK would therefore no longer pay huge sums of financial contributions to Brussels every year. Furthermore, since the UK wanted to make free trade deals across the world, it would no longer be bound by the EU Customs Union's common commercial policy and common external tariff. (162)

2. The Impact of Brexit on the United Kingdom

Brexit has exerted a considerable impact on the United Kingdom internally and externally. The section below will discuss the main aspects of this impact.

2.1 . The Impact of Brexit on British National Integrity

Evans et al. assert that after David Cameron's resignation in June 2016, the Scottish First Minister Nicola Sturgeon declared that it was 'democratically unacceptable' for Scotland to be taken out of the EU against its will. Moreover, a second Scottish independence referendum was then 'highly likely', just two years after a large minority (45 per cent) of Scottish voters had voted in favour of leaving the United Kingdom. However, 62 per cent of Scottish voters were indeed in favour of remaining in the EU. Sturgeon added that she would only hold a second independence referendum if there were sustained evidence of a pro-independence majority. (15)

Nonetheless, the future of Northern Ireland, which has the UK's only land border with another EU member state and whose peace process is built on the premise that all parties would remain in the EU, is less clear. In particular, there are thus far no obvious methods whereby the UK could halt free movement of European citizens into Britain without erecting border controls with the Republic of Ireland or between Northern Ireland and Great Britain. (16)

2.2 The Impact of Brexit on British Economy

The most dramatic impact of Brexit on the long term will be economic because of the limitation of the free movement of people. During the last decades, Britain was open to

labourers from abroad. As a result, Britain became the centre of international business. Cosmopolitan London was built by the French, Czechs and Italians and its large service sector will not grow without European labourers. (Day 35)

Just after the referendum on Brexit, the crucial issue concerning the future relationship of the United Kingdom with the EU was vigorously debated. This intense debate centred on economic matters par excellence. Clark et al. assert that the UK Treasury produced a report on the long-term effects of the membership of the UK and the consequences that might follow from leaving the EU. The report examined three alternative scenarios for the consequences for the economy after Brexit. The first, referred to as the ‘Norwegian’ option, was based on the assumption that Britain would join the European Economic Area¹ (EEA) in much the same way as Norway. The latter is not an EU member state but has full access to the single market and has to pay for this privilege by contributing to the EU budget and accept free movement of labour. The second scenario is based on the option of negotiating a bilateral agreement with the EU in a similar way to Switzerland and Canada. For example, the Comprehensive Trade Agreement between the EU and Canada lowers tariff barriers, co-ordinates trade regulations and promotes cooperation. However, it does not involve free movement of labour. The third scenario is referred to as the World Trade Organization (WTO) option arising from trade agreements negotiated by Organization over many years between a large number of countries that are designed to reduce tariffs and other barriers to trade. (176)

The Treasury document provided an overall evaluation of these scenarios and concluded that:

The analysis in this document shows that under all 3 models, the UK’s economic openness and interconnectedness would be reduced. Trade and investment flows would

¹ Provides access to a single market in exchange for payments. It has emergency brake on free movement of people.

be lower. The UK would be permanently poorer if it left the EU and adopted any of these models. Productivity and GDP¹ per person would be lower in all these alternative scenarios, as the costs substantially outweigh any potential benefit of leaving the EU. (Day 177)

Next, the question of whether a British exit from the EU would increase or decrease Britain's economic growth and its real income as measured by the gross domestic product (GDP) is controversial. A number of studies have examined the economic advantages and disadvantages of EU membership, and have yielded a variety of different results. First, a study by the Open Europe Think Tank concluded that if the UK exited the EU on January 1, 2018, the GDP in 2030 would be 2.2 per cent lower than if it remained in the EU (in its least favourable scenario). In the most favourable case, a higher GDP of around 1.6 per cent was possible. The politically realistic range of growth effects from exiting the EU would come in between 0.6 per cent higher and 0.8 per cent lower GDP. Second, the Centre for Financial Studies calculated a loss of prosperity for the UK even under optimistic assumptions. According to the Centre, the real GDP losses—taking into account the savings from payments not made to the EU budget—would lie between 1.1 and 3.1 per cent. If dynamic effects were also taken into consideration, meaning low productivity growth resulting from exiting the EU, income would drop of 6.3 to 9.5 per cent were conceivable. (Schoof et al. 3)

2.2.1. The Impact of Brexit on British Trade

Another important economic issue related to Brexit is trade. The European Union and the United States have no free trade zones², but talks have already begun. It is clear that after the release of Britain, it is necessary to negotiate with the USA independently. However, Britain

¹ GDP: Gross Domestic Product: the total value of all the goods and services produced by a country in one year.

² A free trade zone is a system of trade in which there are no restrictions or taxes on imports and exports.

alone has much less influence. At the same time, because of decades of integration with the EU, Britain will have nothing to do with targeting the European market. Probably, this was not expected by supporters of Brexit. (Semchuk and Petryk 54)

Scholars have presented three scenarios which illustrate the effect of Brexit on British trade. First, in the most favourable case from the British perspective ('soft exit'), the UK receives a status similar to that of Switzerland or Norway; thereby, it has a trade agreement with the EU, with no tariffs. Second, in another favourable scenario ('deep cut'), this trade agreement does not exist. As a result, there are higher tariffs in trade between the UK and the EU. These tariffs reach the level found in foreign trade relations between the EU and the USA. Third, in the least favourable scenario ('isolation of the UK'), the UK loses all privileges arising from the EU's 38 existing trade agreements with other countries. Although the UK can reach new trade agreements through independent negotiations. Experience has shown that this is a lengthy process. Moreover, the UK's negotiating power would be less than that of the EU. (Schoof et al. 3)

2.2.1.2. Imports and Exports

The value of British imports from EU countries will increase as a result of tariff barriers, but the UK can avoid this situation by importing from outside these countries, especially from the countries of the Commonwealth and the United States. However, the UK is a developed country in need of raw material because of its geographical situation. This exchange with other countries instead of the EU countries will reduce the negative impact of the Brexit.

Brexit will plunge British economy into deep recession as British exports to European countries will decrease because of tariff barriers by the EU. However, British exports to other parts of the world, such as Africa, Asia, America and Oceania will increase. Therefore, the impact of Brexit in this field will be positive.

2.2.2. Impact of Brexit on Public Finance

Brexit will impact public revenue when large numbers of immigrants move to Britain because wages will decrease. This will affect the sum of taxes, but only in the short term. It will also lead to lower public revenue. This is a negative impact of Brexit on British economy, but only on the short term. However, this impact will be positive on British economy in the medium and long terms. Nevertheless, when Britain receives a large number of immigrants, it will be forced to increase its public expenditure to meet its public needs.

3. The Social Impact of Brexit

Brexit has had a number of social effects on British society. These will be discussed in brief in the following section.

3.1. The Rate of Unemployment

Brexit will result in a reduction of the total number of immigrants, especially those seeking for jobs. This will contribute to an increase in the opportunity for British citizens to find jobs. Therefore, this situation will reduce the rate of unemployment in Britain in the long term.

3.2. Wages

The reduction of the number of immigrants due to Brexit will result in an increase in the supply of work. In other words, the supply will be more than the demand of work. This situation will lead to an increase in wages. The augmentation in wages contributes to an increase in the demand of goods and services, both domestic and foreign products. In turn, this will result in an increase in employment.

3.3. The Reduction in the Number of Crimes

It is believed that the number of crimes is more important in multicultural societies. So, the limitation and control of immigration in Britain (due to Brexit) will contribute significantly to the reduction of crimes in British society, especially when good numbers of immigrants who come to Britain are homeless and jobless. This situation may eventually undermine the national integrity and stability of the United Kingdom.

4. The Impact of Brexit on British National Security

Each country has its own, culture, way of life and language which make it completely unique. These characteristics contribute largely to the internal stability of any given society. Because the UK received large numbers of immigrants as a result of its membership in the EU, many British thought that this would undermine the stability of British society. Therefore, immigration was the most important cause of Brexit. What the British fully expected from their government was a strict restriction of the number of immigrants coming from or through Europe.

Black contends that foreign and security policy considerations were not significant drivers of the referendum result. Only one third of leave voters said that leaving offered the best chance for the UK to regain control over immigration and borders of the UK. However, voters were divided along social and generational lines—with 69 per cent of those aged 18–24 believing that the UK would be best protected against terrorism inside the EU, compared with only 42 per cent of voters aged 65 and over. (3)

Since 23 June 2016, the impact of the UK's decision on defence and security has remained unclear. On the British side, a number of commentators have suggested that the vote invalidates the key strategic assumptions of the recent National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review, or that the British military could struggle to implement its

ambitious procurement plans if defence is not exempted from possible government spending cuts in case the economy falters. Others have suggested that close collaboration between Britain and its European allies will endure despite Brexit, whether at a bilateral level or through NATO, given the EU's already limited defence role. Some argue that the UK Government may, in fact, be spurred to invest more time and resources in Europe's defence as part of efforts to placate Europhile elements at home and buy goodwill abroad as Brexit negotiations unfold. (Black 3)

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the post-Brexit era in British contemporary history. Therefore, it has generally discussed the socio-economic effects of Brexit on the United Kingdom. In other words, the socio-economic effects of Brexit on Britain have been positive in the strategic sectors in British economy such as trade and public finance. As for the social positive effects of Brexit, we can cite the increase in employment and wages, and the reduction of the amount of criminality due to illegal immigration.

General Conclusion

The current research has dealt with the issue of Brexit as a major event in the contemporary history of the United Kingdom. The study has focused on the social, cultural, and economic impact of Brexit on British society. This dissertation has discussed the main causes of Brexit and its impact on the UK. In this investigation, the aim was to assess the positive aspects of Brexit with regard to the UK.

The findings of this study clearly indicate that the relationship of the United Kingdom with the EU was ambivalent from the beginning when the UK had joined the EU in 1973. The second major finding was that the pressing issue of Brexit of 2016 was not new to the British, but there had been previous attempts to leave the European Union. The most obvious finding to emerge from this study is that the critical issue of European immigration and particularly illegal immigration to the UK through European countries was a major cause of Brexit. Immigration to the UK was considered by the British to be a matter of national security because it undermined the stability of British society. Moreover, one of the more significant findings to emerge from the study was that Brexit was necessary for the British to maintain a certain socio-cultural stability within British society, achieve more economic prosperity and true economic as well as political freedom. The findings of this study complement those of earlier studies; therefore, they make several contributions to the current literature on Brexit. Although this study has focused on the positive impact of Brexit on the UK, the findings may well have a bearing on Scottish independence, the impact of Brexit on the EU and even the future of the EU.

Glossary

Article 50 TEU: provides that ‘Any member state may decide to withdraw from the European Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements. The Prime Minister may notify, under Art 50 (2) of the Treaty on the European Union, the UK’s intention to withdraw from the EU. (O’Neil 89)

Backstop: is a guarantee that whatever happens during the negotiations between the EU and UK on the future relationship, the open border between Ireland and Northern Ireland will be maintained, and the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement respected. It is often described as an ‘all weather insurance policy’. (Gadd 28)

Blind Brexit: because we do not know what the future relationship between the EU and UK will be before the UK leaves the EU, this situation has been referred to as a ‘blind Brexit’. (Gadd 9)

Brexiety: is a state of heightened anxiety triggered by concerns about Brexit. (*Collins English Dictionary Online*)

Brexiter/ Brexiteer: is a supporter or architect of Brexit. (*Collins English Dictionary Online*)

Brexit in Name Only (BRINO): is coined by Jacob Rees-Mogg MP. It refers to a very ‘soft’ Brexit in which the UK leaves the EU, but aligns with EU Single Market rules including freedom of movement. It would keep the Irish border open and facilitate trade and travel much as at present. (Gadd 9-10)

Brexit: is the characteristic of Brexit or its supporters. (*Collins English Dictionary Online*)

Brextension: is an extension to the deadline set for the withdrawal of Britain from the European Union. (*Collins English Dictionary Online*)

Chequers plan: is the Prime Minister's plan for the UK's future relations with the EU agreed by the Cabinet at Chequers in July 2018 and then published in a White Paper 'The future relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union'. (Gadd 10-11)

Cliff edge: This means the UK leaving the EU without a withdrawal agreement. Terms used to describe a 'no deal' outcome to the negotiations include 'cliff edge' Brexit, 'hard Brexit' and the UK 'crashing out' of the EU. (Gadd 29)

Customs union: The EU is a customs union: there are no duties on trade between Member States and there is a common external tariff on imports from countries outside the EU. In other words, goods coming into the union pay the same tariff irrespective of which Member State they are imported into. (Gadd 14)

Exit bill/ divorce settlement/ reste à liquider: This is the sum of the UK's outstanding financial commitments – those which have been agreed to in past EU budget negotiations, but have not yet translated into payments. Defining this amount – the UK's exit bill or divorce settlement – could be a major issue in the article 50 talks. (*Brexit Phrasebook: A guide to the Talks' Key Terms*¹)

Facilitated customs arrangement (FCA): includes an independent trade policy, trade in goods, services and investment, the digital sector, future mobility, competition, the environment, transport and energy; new arrangements for services, financial services and the digital sector; a Facilitated Customs Arrangement; no hard Irish border. (Gadd 10)

Four freedoms: The fundamental pillars of the EU's single market: free movement of goods, capital, services and people. (*Brexit Phrasebook: A guide to the Talks' Key Terms*²)

¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/19/brexit-phrasebook-a-guide-to-the-talks-key-terms>

² <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/19/brexit-phrasebook-a-guide-to-the-talks-key-terms>

Free trade agreement (FTA): is an agreement between countries to reduce barriers to trade between them. FTAs have generally concentrated on trade in goods with less liberalization of trade in services. Free trade agreements generally do not go as far in removing barriers to trade as the Single Market. A free trade agreement differs from a customs union in not requiring its members to set the same tariffs on trade with countries outside the agreement. (Gadd 27)

Great repeal bill: was the term used to describe the Bill the Prime Minister announced on 2 October 2016 to repeal the ECA and convert EU law into domestic law ‘wherever practical’ (Gadd 24)

Hard Brexit: is a situation in which the UK leaves the EU swiftly and probably with a basic free trade agreement (FTA) with the EU. A very hard Brexit would involve resorting to WTO rules with no agreement with the EU in place (a no deal Brexit). (Gadd 9)

No deal: is used to describe a situation where the UK does not conclude a Withdrawal Agreement with the EU, but negotiates so as to prevent a legal vacuum from exit day onwards. Despite being called a ‘managed no deal’, in its usage it normally describes a situation where a variety of ‘smaller’ deals are reached with the EU so as to avoid a cliff-edge withdrawal. (Gadd 26)

Northern Ireland protocol: Northern Ireland Protocol’s ‘Backstop’ comes into effect after the end of that period. (Greer 18)

Norway model: This would see the UK out of the EU and customs union (so able to negotiate independent free trade agreements with third countries) but with enhanced access to the single market and selected EU programmes. But it would entail continued financial payments and acceptance of the core principles and legislation of the single market, with no participation in

EU decision-making, so is seen by Brexiters as a betrayal of the referendum vote. (*Brexit Phrasebook: A guide to the Talks' Key Terms*³)

Red, white and blue Brexit: Prime Minister May used this phrase to describe the kind of Brexit she hopes to achieve, continuing: ‘the right Brexit for the UK, the right deal for the UK.’ But its precise meaning has been debated. (Gadd 9)

Single Market: The EU’s single market is more than a free-trade area. It aims to remove not just the fiscal barriers to trade (tariffs) but also the physical and technical barriers (borders and divergent product standards) by allowing the freest possible movement of goods, capital, services and people. In essence, it is about treating the EU as a single trading territory. (*Brexit Phrasebook: A guide to the Talks' Key Terms*⁴)

Smooth Brexit: is an orderly, negotiated, prepared Brexit. (Gadd 9)

Soft Brexit: is a situation in which the UK leaves the EU but negotiates, for example, continued membership of the European Economic Area (EEA) or largely staying in the single market and customs union while giving up influence over single market rules. (Gadd 9)

Transition period: The UK will remain a member under EU schedules should a UK-EU withdrawal agreement be approved and there is a transition period. (Gadd 6)

Withdrawal agreement: is the legal agreement that sets out the terms and conditions applicable to the UK’s withdrawal from the EU; drafts of it have been circulating since 2018 and a draft legal text was published on 14 November 2018. The final negotiated text was approved by EU leaders on 25 November 2018. (Gadd 38)

³ <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/19/brexit-phrasebook-a-guide-to-the-talks-key-terms>

⁴ <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/19/brexit-phrasebook-a-guide-to-the-talks-key-terms>

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