

Dedication

This work is dedicated to:

our dear parents for their endless support, guidance and patience

our highly respected supervisor for his encouragement and precious advice,

all our teachers,

all the members of our families,

our relatives and closest friends,

all those who care about us.

Acknowledgement

Without the grace of Allah the Almighty, this work could not have been achieved. We, first of all, thank Him for His guidance when we thought that there is no further to go.

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Abstract

This dissertation attempts to shed light on the recent political episode that the UK witnessed, namely, the Brexit. It points out the history of the UK with the European Union, the reasons that drove Britain to leave the European Union, the referendum results, and the options that were available for Britain. In doing so, this study traces back the membership obstacles of the UK in the EU, being one of the Union founders, Britain leaving the European Union, Britain against the world, and beyond Brexit. For this reason, the analytical historical approach has been used to analyse the data gathered from Oxford scholarly articles and politicians' speeches. The study reveals that the British citizens were against the being attached to the Union and voted for leaving it. Apparently, the Brexit impacted significantly on both sides, basically the citizens.

Keywords: Brexit, UK, European Union, referendum, options, results.

List of Abbreviations

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

Brexit: British Exit

BSA: British Social Attitude

CNBC: Consumers News and Business Channel

DW: DeutscheWelle

EC: European Community

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community

EEA: European Economic Area

EEC: European Economic Community

EFTA: European Free Trade Association

EU: European Union

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

FTA: Free Trade Agreement

FTAs: Free Trade Areas

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GNI: Gross National Income

MFN: Most Favour Nation

MP: Member of Parliament

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PM: Prime Minister

TFA: Teach For America

TFP: Trade For Print

UK: United Kingdom

UKIP: United Kingdom Independent Party

WTO: World Trade Organisation

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General Introduction

1. Background of the Study

After the Second World War, the whole world started to reshape its identity and new relationships were built in all domains. The UK colonial period has ended now and Britain began to lose its position, its economic strength, and international influence that led Britain to start to see itself threatened by political isolation within western Europe. On that ground, the UK fought for joining the EEC. Another reason why Britain sought the EEC membership is the Commonwealth's willingness to manage deals with the new bloc as well as having the support of the United States. Unfortunately, The United Kingdom struggled to join the EEC and applied for it in 1961 and 1967, but both applications were rejected for many reasons. Finally, the EU gave the green light to negotiate British membership in 1969.

Although the UK officially joined the EEC in 1972 along with Denmark and Ireland, there was a doubt about this membership which led the Labour Party to ask a renegotiation to their membership and required a referendum on whether the UK should remain a part of the EEC or leave it. The result of this referendum was 67% voted in favour of being a member of the community. This was the first referendum that had been carried out by the UK about the European Economic Community Issue.

The relations between the UK and the EU were complicated in the last few years. Britain seemed like it would lose control over many things in its own country; the series of crises due to the continuity of conflict with Europe made the British people unable to think clearly about this crisis, which led to the second referendum. The decision this time was left to the people. The result of 2016 referendum shocked not only Britain, but the whole world. According to the government polls, the main reason for this result was considered

on the economic behalf, but there were some other reasons such as sovereignty, immigration, and fear of terrorism.

For the first time in its history, Britain faces such a situation; it is considered as one of the powerful members “the economic centre of the EU”, it is not pretty ready for the consequences of this decision, negotiations are severe for both sides. The UK now is in front of enormous challenges in all aspects either nationally or internationally.

2. Statement of the Problem

Britain faced many difficulties during its attempt to join the EU. It also struggled after joining it. Because of the declined relations, Britain reconsiders its membership in the EU. New phases in its history become to appear after leaving the EU; politicians express their concerns about the consequences of Brexit that may affect the United Kingdom’s future and study the possible options for Britain and Europe after the referendum back to 2016.

3. Aims of the Study

The motivation behind this study is to trace back the history of the UK and its relation with the EU. Furthermore, it seeks to uncover the driving forces that led to the Brexit. It also analyses the best deals that the UK received after that era. Additionally, it analyses politicians' and writers' points of view and expectations about the possible economic and political effects at both the national and international levels.

4. Research Questions

Three questions arise from the current research:

1. What were the driving forces to the Brexit?
2. What were the options available for Britain in case of leaving or staying in the EU?

3. What are the political and economic consequences of Brexit on the EU and Britain?

5. Research Methodology

In order to find answers to the research questions, this dissertation uses the analytical- historical approach. The main characteristic of this approach is the examination of the evidence related to the past events (history). Its main advantage is that it permits to investigate topics that could not be studied in another way. In other words, the analytical- historical perspective does not passively restate past events, but it allows us to interpret and better understand the historical phenomena in order to make a logical connection between them. The historical method collects and evaluates data to make a comparison of early, late, and non-respondents results of any phenomenon; while the analytical one analyses the collected data to come up with appropriate answers to the questions of the study. Accordingly, this approach will help us carry out a deep analysis of the Brexit as well as analyse and discuss the founded results about the nature of this incident.

Since the Brexit was a parliamentary decision in the first time and a popular decision in the second time, it is basically a vote result. For that reason, we use statistics as a major tool of research in this study. This tool enables us to analyse, comment, and interpret the statistics of Ipsos MORI and Lord Ashcroft and finally we report the findings.

The purpose of using statistical analysis is to simplify the results of the statistics. The statistical analysis works basically on manipulating those results in order to recapitulate them to better understand the case of study. It grants us rational explanations, interpretations, and results; even if it is hard to isolate the problem or phenomenon under study.

As a corpus for this research, we counted heavily on the polls that were done by the two leading research Institutes in the UK which are Ipsos MORI and Lord Ashcroft. Ipsos

MORI is a market research company in the United Kingdom established in 2005 and is considered as the second largest statistic organization. It examines and investigates the attitudes of the British people on many issues such as identity, social cohesion, physical capital, and the impact of place on attitudes. Also, the company is a member of the British Polling Council and Market Research Society. On the other hand, Lord Ashcroft, which is owned by the former deputy chairman of the Conservative Party Lord Michael Ashcroft. It is an institute which deals mainly with political issues and it started its official work—organizing polls—in 2010.

6. Significance of the Study

The reason for conducting this research topic is that the British single-mindedness aroused our curiosity. The British first struggled to join the EU; then, it struggled to leave it. This contradiction drives us to take the challenge to understand the British EU relation, the British options, consequences as well as what may happen after the Brexit. By doing so, this study will pave the way for further studies about the British exit such as the future relations with international territories, Britain immigration and economy.

7. Structure of the Study

In addition to the general introduction and general conclusion, this dissertation is written three in chapters. The first chapter is mainly a historical review of the UK and EU relations in addition to the key factors leading to the Brexit. The second chapter tends to provide the possible options and deals which took an amount of time to negotiate the agreement and arrangements. The third chapter uncovers the impact of the Brexit on the economy and politics.

Chapter One: History of the European Union and UK Membership

Introduction

After the Second World War, many European countries sought to join the EU in order to establish powerful relationships. They needed to reform their statuses and rebuild their identities. The UK was one of those countries but its case was different. The following chapter traces back the emergence of the EU and examines the dilemma that the United Kingdom passed through in order to join it. Moreover, it discusses the main reasons that led the British to vote for "Remain" in the 1975 referendum and "Leave" in the 2016 referendum. In this chapter, we will focus on three focal points, which are the core of this study: the EU birth, the UK membership and the Brexit circumstances.

1. The Emergence of the European Union

The emergence of the European Union (EU) dates back to 1950's when six European countries thought of ending the neighbors' conflict and build a nation by avoiding the disastrous effect of World War 2, which would eventually make them the leaders of the world. France and West Germany were the first to start the cooperation followed by the decision of Pooling Coal and Steel Industries by France, West Germany, Netherlands, Luxemburg, Italy, and Belgium. The idea of the union was based on the principle of super nationalism, which stands for gathering multiple nations to present a political and economic entity. Indeed, The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was the first international organization that later led to the birth of the European Union thanks to the Treaty of Paris in 1951, which was signed by the above-mentioned countries.

2. The UK and European Economic Community (EEC)

The ECSC Organization had been successfully created in 1951, and later the six countries decided to expand the cooperation among other economic sectors. In 1955, Jean Monnet, a French entrepreneur and the president of the high authority of the European

Coal and Steel Community from 1952 to 1955, created the Action Committee, and was behind the famous ‘Schuman Declaration’ of 9 May 1950, which led to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community, which was considered the true beginning of the European Union; and again by creating a common market. The Common Market was a formal agreement where a group is formed among several countries in which each member country adopts a common external tariff. Tariffs are the common element in international trading. The primary goals of imposing tariffs included (1) the depression in the importation of goods and services by increasing their prices and (2) the preservation of domestic producers (“what is the common market?,” n.d.). The Treaty of Rome gave birth to the European Economic Community (EEC) and European Atomic Energy community (EAEC) on March 25, 1957. In both treaties (the Treaty of Paris, the Treaty of Rome), the UK was invited to participate in the establishment of the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy community, but Britain did not engage in any significant way and did not sign both of treaties. In that time, Britain refused to join the EEC for the following reason stated by Burke (1967):

However, Britain considers herself a world power, and will only join “Europe” if she feels that by so doing she will not be frustrated in her world-power role. Britain will not accept a federal solution which presupposes that the interdependence between the countries of the federated state is overwhelming more important than any ties which may bind them or some of them, to other communities outside the federation.(p. 163)

In 1967, all three communities, ECSC, EEC, and EAEC merged in one set of institutions referred to as the European Communities (EC).

Although Britain suffered a lot after WWII and lost its international prestige, it preferred to pursue one world economic system policy and refused to join the Community.

Many reasons prevented it from surrendering in the first phases. First of all, the British were still thinking that they were powerful on their own. In addition, Britain-Commonwealth relationship was not an issue that could fall apart because of the EU. Besides, the British rejected many of the supranational and technocrats' elements in the treaties ("Why did the United Kingdom not join the European Union," n.d.).

3. The EEC Membership Obstacles against Britain

The danger of being politically isolated led Britain to rethink its membership within the EU. So, the British politician Winston Churchill supported the idea of the community. He thought that the UK was part of Europe. He said, "a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety, and in freedom...." ("Winston Churchill: Calling for a United States of Europe", 1946, para.2). He believed that the EEC was a frame that would gather the European countries in freedom, which allows people to travel or buy goods from different European countries with neither visa nor expensive taxes. He claimed that when they became unified, security would be easier to pursue. Thus, the UK applied in order to be a member of the EEC, but France rejected its membership two times (in 1963 and 1967).

Charles de Gaulle, a French politician and one of the founders said in a press conference in 1963 at the Elysée palace: "nakedness was natural enough: for those around her, it was satisfying enough...but I have never said that about England" (Roberts,1967, para1). In his press conference, De Gaulle (1965) stated his reasons clearly behind refusing Britain's membership. He refused even to open a negotiation for British entry to the EEC because he was considering the UK as an enemy for his country and apparently he was not ready for peace. He once said, "Belgium is a country invented by the British to annoy France" (p.66-71). He expressed his fear because the UK was incompatible with the economy of EEC because of its deficiencies in the balance of payments. He used his veto to argue that the UK commitment was still prejudice, considering the UK as Atlanticist.

The strong relationship between the commonwealth and the UK as well as the American special relationship was seen as a threat to the European Community. De Gaulle believed the entry of Britain, as a colossal Atlantic community under the USA leadership, would undermine the European cohesion; thus, the British entry to the EEC means the explosion of the community which they had just started to build. On the other hand, the UK needed a shift from the commonwealth to Europe for a better future, but the French President was the only barrier. In that context, the British Prime Minister, Harold MacMillan, said that he expected De Gaulle would prevent the entry of Britain, but he never thought he would simply say “NON” in a public television. In 1969, De Gaulle resigned, the barrier had vanished and the United Kingdom had the green light to reapply for joining the EEC.

4. Britain Joins the EC

After De Gaulle vetoed the UK membership twice in the 1960s, the community finally opened the negotiation of the UK after his resignation. In January 1973, The UK finally joined the EC by the Conservative Prime Minister, Edward Heath. The EC was also known as the Common Market. The Daily Meal introduces the EC as “a free association of nations drawn together by a common will to bury the sword” (“When did the UK join the EEC,” 2020, para2). In addition to the founder members—Luxembourg, Italy, France, West Germany, Netherlands, and Belgium—Britain joined the EC along with Denmark and Ireland.

5. The 1975 Referendum

The government of the UK saw that it was a good idea to make a referendum whether it should keep its membership or it is better to withdraw. On June 5th 1975, the UK held a referendum called the United Kingdom European Communities Membership Referendum, the Labor Party manifesto promised that the British would decide their

country's destination. 67% of the British said yes to the 'Remain' option within the EC out of 99.79% valid votes (See Table 1.1)

Table 1.1

United Kingdom European Communities Membership Referendum 1975

Choices	Votes	Percentage
Yes	17,378,581	67.23%
NO	8,470,073	32.70%
Valid Votes	25,848,654	99.78%
Invalid or blank votes	54,540	0.22%
Total votes	25,903,194	100.00%
Registered voters and turnout	40,086,677	64.67%

Note. Adapted from “ Statista Research Department” (2015).

The table 1.1 above represents the results of country's referendum in 1975. The British government asked its citizens to vote whether to stay within the EC or not. Total votes were collected from 40,086,677 registered voters. The number of valid votes was 25,848,654. 17,378,581 of the valid votes voted for remaining within the EC while 8,470,073 refused the EC and preferred to be an independent entity. Only 54,540 votes were invalid or blank votes.

5.1. Reflections after the 1975 Referendum

Two views describe the complex reaction of the country: some considered remaining within the EC may be a department. They believed that it may be a gaining power. Prime Minister Harold Wilson (1975) commented that the vote was totally honest and clear:

The verdict has been given by a vote with a bigger majority than has been received by any Government in any general election. Nobody in Britain or the wider world should have any doubt about its meaning. It was a free vote, without constraint, following a free democratic campaign conducted constructively and without rancor. It means that fourteen years of national argument are over. (as cited in Bogdaron, 2014, p. 9).

It means that all those who have had reservations about Britain's commitment should now join wholeheartedly with our partners in Europe, and our friends everywhere to meet the challenge confronting the whole nation.

Others saw it as a commitment to other countries which will make them loyal to others who may control the country and the people. Among these others, John Enoch, a writer and a political candidate who expressed his anger and disappointment toward this commitment after a few days of the referendum as Mark Baimbridge (1957) states:

Never again by the necessity of an axiom, will an Englishman live for his country or die for his country: The country for which people live and die was obsolete and we have abolished it. Or not quite yet. No, not yet. The referendum is not a "verdict" after which the prisoner is hanged forthwith. It is no more than provisional ... This will be so as long Parliament can alter or undo whatever that or any other Parliament has done. Hence those Golden words in the Government's

Referendum pamphlet: "Our continued membership would depend on the continuing assent of Parliament. (as cited in Butler & Kitzinger, 1996, p. 274)

6. From the European Communities to the European Union

The foundation of the EU went through four main phases: a) ECSC in 1951 (Treaty of Paris), b) EEC and EURATOM in 1957 (Treaty of Rome), c) EC in 1967 (Merger Treaty), and EU in 1993 (Maastricht Treaty), which appeared as a final amendment to the EC. The Maastricht Treaty confirmed by heads of government of the states making up the European Community (EC) in December 1991. The treaty requested voters in each country to accept the European Union, which demonstrated to be a hotly debated topic in many areas at that time. The agreement had finished with the creation of the European Union and it has been amended by other treaties. Thus, The Maastricht Treaty was signed on February 7, 1992, by the leaders of 12 member nations, the treaty entered into force on November 1, 1993 (Kenton, 2020).

7. The Achievements of the UK in the EU

Since its entry to the EC, the UK had been a winning card. It had been one of the most contributors to the EU budget. According to CNBC, the UK was the fourth large contributor to the EU in 2014. It paid a complete of 11.34 billion Euros. In 2015, the contribution increased to 18.20 billion Euros. According to a document prepared by CNBC for the EU lawmakers: "in 2015, the UK was the 3rd largest net contributor to the EU budget after Germany and France. The UK was the 6th largest recipient of EU expenditure total in 2015, but its EU expenditure share measured in percentage of the GNI was the lowest at 0.30 percent" (Amaro, 2017, para 7). The UK played a major financial impact on the EU. Several areas benefited from these contributions basically agriculture and regional

development. The EU funds were also oriented to boost employment and projects in non-EU countries. Moreover, the United Kingdom contributions were used to fight terrorism. All in all, it played the role of a robust country within the EU; it was a reason for the prosperity of it since its entry.

8. The Parliamentary Negotiations of the EU Referendum Act 2016

The withdrawal from the EU is a legal political process that permits any EU member state cease to be a member of the union. According to article 50 of the treaty on the European Economic Community, The Consolidated Version of The Treaty on European Union informs that "Any member state may commit to withdrawing from the union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements" (Consolidated Version of the Treaty, 2012, p.43). Accordingly, the UK became the first country to ask for splitting from the EU. Its membership has been always a subject of debate which raises a form of political instability among the British. A question was raised in the British Parliament: Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union, or leave the European Union? For this reason, the British people were given the chance to say their word again since 1975 when 67% of them accepted to remain within the EEC. The British government formally submitted a bill to the parliament by Philip Hammond on 28 May, 2015. The bill had been approved on 10 June 2015 by 544 deputies and only 53 deputies opposed. June 23, 2016 was set as a date for the referendum.

8.1. The Result of June 2016 Referendum

Should the UK remain a member of the EU or leave the EU? Two main views have clashed in order to answer this question. Yet, the day to answer it has finally arrived. The referendum was released within the UK and Gilder. The British voted on 23 June 2016 on whether Britain should leave the EU. The British people went beyond the expectations.

The result was shocking for the government as it opposed its will. It was announced on the following day of 24th June 2016. The British voted to depart the EU ignoring the recommendation of the Westminster Party. In line with the guardians: "The decision in favour of Brexit, following a bitterly close electoral race, represents the largest shock to the political establishment in Britain and across Europe for many years, and can threaten the leadership of both the Prime Minister, David Cameron, and also the Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn" (Asthana et al., 2016, para. 2). The British voted by 51.89 percent to "leave" and 48.11 percent voted to "remain" (See Table 1.2).

Table 1.2

United Kingdom European Union Membership Referendum 2016

Choice	Votes	%
Leave	17,410,742	51.89%
Remain	16,141,241	48.11%
Total votes	33,577,342	100.00%

Note: Adapted from Statista Research Department (2016)

The results of the referendum were almost the same; which highlights the fears of some British people and their attachment to the European Union. The total number of voters was 33,577,342 including both the UK and Gibraltar.

With reference to subsequent regions, the results of the referendum showed that on the national capital, the European Nation, and Scotland the people preferred to stay within the global organization, whereas the other regions voted to leave (See figure 1.1).

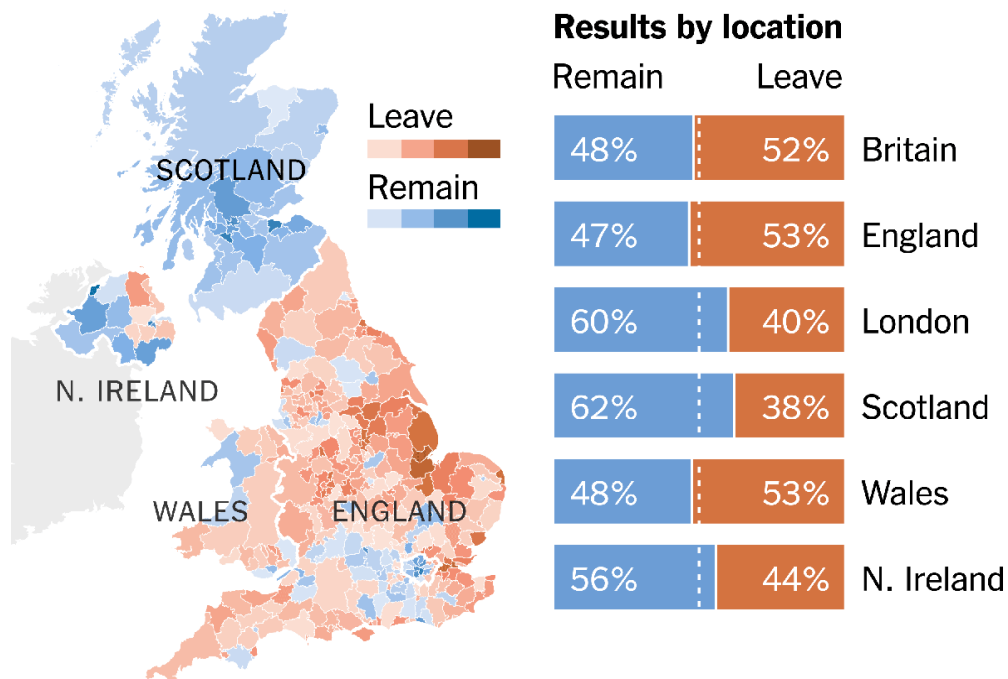


Figure 1.1. A detailed map of the results of the 2016 Referendum. (New York Times 2020)

According to the map above, the contradiction between the two sides is obvious. On one hand, Britain, England, and Wales voted for ‘leave’. On the other hand, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and London voted for ‘remain’.

After the referendum, the financial markets acted negatively, which led the Prime Minister David Cameron to resign. On the other side, Theresa May succeeded to become the Prime Minister after she was elected because of her support to Brexit.

9. Brexit

Brexit refers to British Exit from the EU. Since the very beginning of Britain within the EU, the United Kingdom had raised a debate on whether it should remain a member or leave the EU. Some were against the attachment because they believed that this unity would weaken the British leadership and sovereignty. Others believed that joining the EU would offer much power to the UK. The conflict as mentioned above ended up with the voters decision of leaving the EU.

9.1. Why Brexit?

According to Benjamin Mueller, a New York Times journalist, (2020) “A portmanteau of the words Britain and exit, Brexit caught on as shorthand for the proposal that Britain split from the European Union and change its relationship to the bloc on trade, security, and migration”(para. 6). Britain was discussing the pros and cons of the membership to finish the controversy. Therefore, a referendum was taken in 2016 to choose the last word. Over 50 percent of the people voted to leave because they wanted to be an independent nation, which marked the beginning of the transitional period in the EU-UK relationship. Although the results are clear, the parliament can oppose it. In doing so, they will oppose the public will. In fact, the UK will take time to be officially withdrawn from the UK because of the pre-signed agreements and commitments which the UK must adhere to. But in this phase, it will not participate in any decision issued by the Union. Above all, the EU-UK relationship will be based on a framework that enforces and defines the regulations that must be followed by both of them to guarantee the cooperation(Political Declaration Setting , 2019).

9.2. Brexit Driving Forces

On Thursday 23 June 2016, 26.3 million people in the UK headed to their nearest place to cast a vote in a national referendum. The UK shocked the planet by voting to depart the EU. Many reasons may explain the result. Some believe that this was driven chiefly by the public concern of losing national sovereignty. Others focus, instead, on the role of public anxiety over immigration, which has specifically moved to the forefront of the problem agenda since 2004 (Clarke et al, 2017). Consistent with the polls done by Ipsos MORI (Britain's largest survey companies), Lord Ashcroft's polling team, there were about four core causes of the Brexit.

9.2.1. Sovereignty and International Influence

According to Lord Ashcroft's polling team on the day of the referendum, 49% of the Brexit supporters argued that the most important reason for leaving the EU was the principle that decisions about the United Kingdom should be taken within the UK. In other words, they believed that the UK should be the only responsible for its people-related matters. They opposed any kind of external control over them. The nation was convinced that the Brexit would offer more power to British people's laws. Thus, health care, security, and employment laws can be again in check of the United Kingdom. Voters also expected that the UK's parliament would be given more authority to practice the laws which are in favour of the British, but it's indeed against the EU laws (Lord Ashcroft, 2016).

On June 19th, 2016, *The Sun*, a famous newspaper within the UK, asked people to opt for 'vote leave,' stating that: "they have progressively tied us up in millions of new regulation. Brussels has bogged down our small business with red tape and milks Britain for billion each year as a membership fee, preventing our natural spirit of enterprise. Its courts over-rule ours, and our elected government. Unless we vote leave this Thursday, all of this will get much worse." (A Vote for Brexit is all takes to set Britain free", 2016, para. 1).

The British insist that the Brexit is their opportunity to constrain the EU's interposition in national and international sovereignty. They believe that the United Kingdom cannot be a part in other international organizations like the World Trade Organization because of its commitments to the EU. In other word, the EU prevents the UK from having greater opportunities.

9.2.2. Immigration

It is argued that immigration occupied the people's minds in that period. According to Lord Ashcroft's(2016) poll team, 33% of the Brexit supporters believe that immigration can be decreased if the UK leaves the EU. They also think that they will obtain a better control of their borders. For Clarke(2017), the British were anxious about immigration impact on the economy and national culture, especially, after 2004 when a number of EU workers started to arrive in the country.

By the end of 2015, the government revealed that the difference between the number of people arriving and leaving the UK had reached a record level of 336,000. As a result, these immigrants will cause additional burdens on the British economy, and they will change the social and cultural structure of the country.

9.2.3. Fears of Terrorism

According to the Ipsos MORI poll (2016), about 37% of leave voters believe that there is a strong link between immigration and the increase of terror threat. In fact, this can be linked to the rise of terrorist organizations such as ISIS. The increase of terrorist attacks in European countries such as the November 2015 Paris attacks, which resulted in the death of 130 people including 89 at the Bataclan theatre, doubled the fears of a good number of the British people from similar attacks in their country. Also, some extremist terrorists from some Muslim countries had forced their way into the offices of the Charlie Hebdo magazine in Paris in 2015 and killed 11 people. The bad memories of the British due to the events of July 2005 in which bombs were disrupted in London's public transport system made the British insist heavily on Brexit. They believe that Brexit will hinder any terrorist threat by controlling over the borders (Clarke et al, 2017).

9.2.4. Economic Boom

Tetlow and Stojanovic (2018) revealed that 32% of leave voters believed that the trade and the economic circumstances of the UK within the EU Common Market and Eurozone were not fair enough. There are lower trade and foreign investment which means a lower average in UK incomes. So, the United Kingdom would leave the single market and trade under World Trade Organization rules, rather than staying in the single market like Norway. They claim that Brexit should bring benefits such as reducing immigration, better regulations, and more trade deals with non-EU countries.

10. Brexit Potential Side Impact

Britain officially left the EU on January 31, 2020. Consequently, it passed immediately through an 11 months transitional period. Till the final withdrawal, most of the regulations, commitments, and contributions will be valid such as EU subsidies, border control, migration rights, trade, and the EU bills should be paid (Brussels, 2020). During this episode, economic and political concerns should be discussed for overcoming and addressing any potential problems.

According to Financial Times (2016), Martin Wolf said that the British will be less open to trade because 50 % of their trade is taken by Europe. So, less trade means less productivity. To go farther, the problem of the transitional period is that nobody knows his position after the Brexit. Also, the partners in the EU could be very brutal and the investment will be hit because the UK is the biggest recipient of Foreign Direct Investment in the European Union.

Politically speaking, the Channel 4 News reported that there would be chaos, economy crash, and huge delay in the UK and the EU borders, which can spark a food crisis and depriving the hospitals of medical supplies (2018).

Conclusion

Three main phases faced Britain during its struggle to join the EU. It was rejected by France for Charles de Gaulle's own reasons which were pre-mentioned. After De Gaulle's resignation, Britain was able to convince the ECC and won its membership. The EC replaced the EEC, and the EU is the new title of the former EC. Thus, new regulations and rules were set to govern it. The English expressed their discomfort toward the new terms and conditions. Consequently, a referendum was made to negotiate the withdrawal from the EU. Due to the result of the vote which was against the government's willingness, David Cameron had resigned and Theresa May became the next Prime Minister. Finally, the UK is officially out of the Union, and a transitional period begins in Britain. Leaving the EU generated a new state of fear of what may happen next. The British government stated their concerns about losing economic, commercial, and political power.

Chapter Two: Analysis of Britain's Brexit Options

Introduction

Since Britain was a member in the EU for 47 years, it was hard for it to withdraw its membership. Thus, it is a must for Britain to hunt an agreement that fits each side. The British parliament intends to argue on a deal as soon as possible before the end of the transition period; therefore, the Prime Minister Theresa May imposed the motions to select the parliament. May's Brexit deal has been rejected twice; she was insisting if her defeated plan passed at a 3rd attempt, she would quit. She said: "I do know there is a desire for a brand new approach—and new leadership—within the second phase of the Brexit negotiations, and that I won't exchange the way of that" (Laurel, 2019, para,1).

Hence, Theresa May has tried so hard to come back with a satisfied Brexit deal, but British lawmakers have voted down eight nonbinding motions on possible alternatives to the prime minister's Brexit deal. Meanwhile, the United Kingdom includes a limited time to return up with a new plan, or face leaving the EU with no deal (Mueller, 2020). Through this chapter, we are going to present the motions and Theresa May's struggles within the parliament to achieve an agreement and avoiding the large loss which will happen to the united kingdom after leaving the EU without a deal.

As the British MPs will vote to leave the EU parliament, there will be a great challenge in the transition period until the end of 2020; while the UK and EU negotiate additional arrangements to reach a deal. In this period, everything will stand-still the same such as EU subsidies, borders control, trade, and migration rights. At the time, the MPs will vote on the eight alternative Brexit options that are imposed by the Prime Minister and others after the parliament drew control of the commons agenda to push a series of indicative votes. The following options were appointed for a vote by the speaker John Bercow.

1. Remain in the EU

According to Elliott (2016), the Chief Executive of the Vote Leave, the risks of staying within the European Union have been detected by Michael Gove, Boris Johnson, Gisela Stuart and John Longworth, they hint to the danger of continued EU membership to the economy, security, democracy and borders of the United Kingdom. The leave campaign grasps that voting to remain could be a vote to latch Britain permanently during a broken system with 'free movements', dysfunctional euro, and the Euro zone. Vote leave chair Gisela Stuart has described how uncontrolled migration will put further pressure on the general public services and have a negative impact on those that have all-time low incomes.

For them, the bank of England has calculated that every 10% increase in migration leads to a 2% fall in wages. They are the one who has to worry most if they can get a doctor's appointment, school place or home—and who face the constant undercutting of their wages by migrant workers. Justice Secretary, Michael Gove made the following statement: “The European Court of Justice is not a normal court, as we in Britain understand and have understood courts for centuries. It is not overseen by independent judges who seek to interpret and enforce laws agreed by a democratically-elected legislature.” (as cited in “Voting to stay in the EU”, 2016, para. 10)

Boris Johnson has indicated the links between the arguments about democracy and economy, stating that the number of controls they need given over to the EU has disastrous economic consequences for both the United Kingdom and also the EU. He stated that “the risks of remaining in this over-centralising, over-regulating job-destroying machine are becoming more and more obvious, which is why I believe we are winning the arguments today. It is time to take back control, and speak for freedom in Britain and around the whole of the EU. (as cited in “Voting to stay in the EU”, 2016, para. 11)

John Longworth chair of the vote leave business council and former director general of the British chambers of commerce, has clarified how further Euro zone integration creates real economic risks for the United Kingdom (as cited in “Voting to stay in the EU”, 2016).

2. Common Market 2.0

Common Market 2.0 (a group of UK’s MPs containing Labour and Conservative parties who encouraging the Common Market 2.0 as a new model after the Brexit) it is also referred to Norway plus option which insist on the UK should have the same tie relationship with the EU as Norway in addition to custom union .On the other hand, according to James and Hanne, The UK would leave the bloc's as well the democratic and decision-making structures (the European Parliament, the Council of the EU and the European Commission), but it would remain inside the single market and customs union. It would also join the European Free Trade Association, whose current members are Norway, Liechtenstein, Switzerland and Iceland. This proposal finds the support of soft Brexiteers on the lorry and Labour Party.

In addition to this, the parliament MPs believe that it is better to keep a sort of economic relationship between the UK and EU, and keep the UK politically independent. John Howarth explained the plan as a Norway plus presented on 20th March 2018 on a debate on Brexit in which the MPs practically Labour Party consider it as an alternative solution that fit the desire of people. John Howarth clarified that the idea is based on leaving the European Union partially but remaining in the European Union economic area. The idea will benefit from the European single market which will minimize losing business and jobs for people in both areas. The ideas were sorted to keep the right of people economically, and reduce the harm the hard Brexit that may happen.

Robert Halfon an MP from the conservative party said that it allows the British to the single market and save the economy specially for people who are already managing business with Europe or in Europe. He went further by saying that the UK will be out of the European court of justice and it will get them out of many policies as the fishery policy, and the farming policy. As a result, the common market will not give the ability to the UK to strike its own market, but on other hand it will provide the freedom of movement for goods and people. The UK still buy to the EU budget and eventually solve the Irish borders' issue. The compromise aims to keep the UK apart from the European free trade area (EFTA) in the same time they will be politically free. The plan was not new for Britain, because common market 1.0 originally set up in 1950, by the founders of EU, when Britain joined in 1973; the market was economic unity for European countries and later updated to be as a political one too.

The British shows scepticism regarding the common market plans under the justification that UK is not Norway; comparing to Norway, UK's population is doubled. Indeed, the unemployment rate is less than UK which make Norway economically stable than UK. Thus, EFTA members are not allowed to be in the custom union with EU. The British already knows that the union will not accept this plan. Regardless to the arrangements which could be negotiated with the EU, it might influence negotiations nearer to home. If MPs do indeed back the plan, it could put pressure on Brexit-supporting Conservatives who have so far refused to vote for the Prime Minister's deal. In this sense, Theresa May could put Common Market 2.0, or some other rendition of Brexit MPs to select. Her adaptation of Brexit would be the hardest on offer—what might MPs do at that point? However, for the present a few dissidents are diving in profound. Bringing down Street won't choose its best course of action until MPs have made theirs, which ought to be uncovered after 10pm on Monday night (Joe&Jill, 2020).

3. Customs Union

Customs Union is an arrangement between countries which agree not to impose tariffs on each other's goods. It has no internal tariffs and common external tariffs, whereas a Free Trade Agreement has no internal tariffs but crucially no common external tariffs. Therefore, any country entering an FTA is free to conduct other trade agreements with 3rd countries in their own right. The UK joined the EEC in 1973; then the UK became a part of the EEC's Customs Union with its common external tariff.

The UK will practically assume the current EU external tariffs as MFN status on Brexit (at least initially, though there is flexibility to alter them later). If there is no Brexit deal, all goods entering the UK would be subject to these tariffs (including goods from the EU), as would UK goods entering the EU. In effect, the World Trade Organization (WTO) rules (under the TFA) denote that developed countries with adequate resources are expected to install state-of-the-art border system (computerized with best technological practice), this implies most exchange showing up from nations that are individuals from neither the single market nor the EU Customs Union endure next to zero hold up at the fringe when entering the EU (Lea, 2018).

The UK government has been clear about its willingness to enter into a customs union agreement with the EU customs union, for an interim period following withdrawal. If the transitional arrangement only involved re-joining or copying the EEA, this would not entail customs union agreement. If the UK did not have a customs agreement with EU following withdrawal, significant barriers to trade in goods would arise, such as costly tariffs and rules of origin checks as well as a full customs border in Ireland. Since the EU does have a separate customs union agreement with Andorra, San Marino and Turkey; that means membership of the EU customs union is not possible without EU membership (Eeckhout & Patel, 2017).

As Theresa May states that the UK cannot possibly remain within the European single market, as staying in it would not mean leaving the EU at all; she said that: We will be leaving the European Union, we will be coming out of the customs union and coming out of it means we can do free trade deals with the rest of the world. We will be negotiating trade agreement within EU for the future (“Brexit: UK to leave”, 2017).

4. May’s Deal

Theresa May and the other 27 European countries reach an agreement on a deal to put in front of The UK after days of negotiation. The treaty contains a political declaration on the future relationship; the deal mainly focuses on the citizens, the divorce deal and the problem of Ireland borders. Thus, Theresa May declared that the deal will save the citizen, rights in both places; they will continue their life as it is and stay in the place they choose to be home. The scope was limited of the deal for who arrived to the UK until the 29th March 2019. In the same document, May introduced the bill of divorce. In this sense, Daniel and Jennifer (2019) wrote there had been fears; the UK will damage the negotiations.

David Davis (2017), the former Brexit secretary, said that the EU owns no money for the UK. Also, Jean-Claude Juncker, the European Commission responded, clarified that Britain should stay good to the commitments it made as a member. Another issue was tackled by the document introduced by Theresa; the Irish borders were the biggest fear of Brexit. The UK had at first proposed an innovative arrangement; however, this was repelled by Ireland and EU authorities as a mysterious reason. The EU initially proposed that Northern Ireland should in effect stay in the single market and customs union, prompting a furious response from the British prime minister.

The EU moved its position. The core of the solution is the so-called backstop, an insurance plan that kicks in if future trade talks fail to avoid a hard border on the island of Ireland. The backstop means the whole of the UK will remain in the EU customs union, while Northern Ireland will have to follow single market rules. Brexit supporters loathe the backstop, fearing it will leave the UK “shackled” to EU rules. Wary EU countries think the plan benefits the UK, so insisted the UK respect EU social and environmental rules to avoid undercutting their companies (Daniel& Jennifer, 2018). Theresa May also promised to make the easiest trade deal in the history of Britain. Britain agreed on a joint of 26 papers describing the future outlines of the UK-EU relationship with two main pillars, "trade" and “security.” Thus, the paper explained all possibilities that may happen if May's deal was approved by the parliament, but it only had few concert plans which made it more suspicious for the British parliament

5. The Contingent Preferential Arrangement

As it is called motion 'O' or planned no deal, contingent preferential arrangement is a plan proposed by hard Brexiteers, the plan calls for the government to seek to agree on preferential trade arrangements with the EU, in case the UK is unable to implement a withdrawal agreement with the bloc (“Alternative Brexit,” 2019).

The Majesty's government should look for immediate agreement with the EU. In order to reach a trade agreement that fits the UK, the conservative party has suggested the following: First, to put forward a trade agreement plan or join the trade preference which guarantees 100 percent coverage of the goods between the EU and the UK. Therefore, there will be no tariffs or quantitative restrictions applied between the parties and full accumulation of rules of origin which will be applied for a period of up to two years after the UK leaves the EU, however, these arrangements may be superseded or extended by further mutual agreement. Second, there should be a standstill period of mutual recognition

of standards and conformity assessment in limited time which is supposed to be for up to two years. In which, the UK will guarantee compliance and commitment with the EU legislative acquires in this time, as it is adopted in Retained EU law under the EU Withdrawal Act on the day of leaving the EU, despite of all this, arrangements may be superseded or extended by further mutual agreement. Third, there must be a customs arrangement composed of advanced trade facilitation measures, in which these facilitations allow, make full and widespread use of conventionalized and subsidized procedures to execute customs, regulatory declarations, and associated control processes far away from UK/EU borders. Fourth, to put a provisional plan for the payment of sums to the European Union in amounts of time that is equivalent to the UK's current net annual financial contribution, which must be given to the EU for up to two years. Hence, all of this must be in respect to the agreements and arrangements that have been mentioned before (Motion (O) — Contingent Preferential Arrangements, 2019).

6. No-Deal Option

The UK have decided to leave the EU which means that UK will also leave the single market, customs union and all other structures and arrangements with no trade deal in place. Therefore, the freedom of movement would come to an end, tariffs and controls would be required between the UK and EU together with the Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Though the EU would be powerless to prevent this, European Commission Secretary-General Martin Selmayr has stated that the trade talks would be meaningless before the London clear up its financial obligations to the bloc, secured the protection of EU citizen's rights in the UK, and granted to safeguards to protect the Good Friday Agreement in Ireland (James & Hanne, 2019).

Accordingly, Theresa May has pushed the prospect for a third vote on the deal after the two attempts have failed. The House of Commons will vote only if the motion grants to

the government a chance for “one-off extension” for the Brexit deadline from the EU, if Parliament concurs to a deal. Some of the conservative MPs tend to support the prime minister by voting for her motion in order to avoid any possibility of no-deal Brexit. According to a government source, May has tried her best even though she aimed to whip against her own motion. Unfortunately, this whipping has failed after MPs voted for it 321 to 278. Now, the British prime minister has no plan to come up with for further negotiation after lawmakers voted to avoid a no deal Brexit. Also, the UK government has no backup plan for indicative votes. Her spokesman added: “What you have seen in parliament in recent weeks is a series of plans being put before parliament by opposition parties and they have all been rejected” (Bianca & Eliza, 2019, para. 5).

The Labor Party MP Jeremy Corbyn (2019) stated that the parliament now must take a further step to control the Brexit process. Adding that, his party will hold cross-party meetings to come up with a compromised solution that can command support in the house. He said that MPs have to find out a solution to deal with the crisis facing the UK and the deep concern of the British public (as cited in A delay to Brexit, 2019).

The European Union spokesperson stated that there are only two ways for the United Kingdom to leave and this will happen with or without a deal. Adding that, the EU is well prepared for both cases either with a deal or no deal at all (Erin, 2019).

7. European Economic Area/European Free Trade Association

The European Economic Area (EEA) is composed of the EU member states in addition to the three EEA EFTA States (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland), which have an internal market controlled by the same basic rules of the EEA. Thus, these rules point to empower goods, services, capital, and persons to move freely in an opened

and competitive environment. This concept is referred to as the four freedoms or flexibilities (“EEA EFTA States,” n.d.).

The EEA EFTA motion is held by the conservative party, the MP George Eustice abandoned his job as an agriculture minister to devote himself for Brexit. Therefore, he suggests remaining within the EEA and rejoining EFTA, with the exception of remaining outside the customs union with the EU. That is, There were other conservative MPs who signed this motion such as the former minister Nicky Morgan and the head of the Brexit delivery group, Simon Hart (“Alternative Brexit,” 2019). This option tends to keep the UK as a member in the EEA by joining the EFTA, apart from the EU’s decision-making institution. In this case, the UK will accept the free movement, and remain in the single market. Besides, it would not be able to rejoin a customs union, taking off it free to seek after its claim exchange arrangement that’s the standout contrast with the common market 2.0 and labors arrange. The proposition would rather seek for further agreements on new protocols connected to the Northern Ireland borders and their agri-food trade. As with common market 2.0, this proposal envisions that it would be acceptable to the EU considering that it included the backstop (James & Hanne, 2019).

Recently, the ambassadors of the EEA EFTA held a meeting to sign an amendment to the surveillance and court agreement. In the light of this amendment, the EFTA surveillance authority and the EFTA will continue to treat the UK as if it is still a member of the EU for the purpose of the EEA agreement during the transition period.

As reported by the agreement on the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the EU, the UK stays, in the course of the transition period which starts on 1 February and ends on 31 December 2020, bound by the European Union law. This covers worldwide agreements such as the EEA agreement. By marking the amendment

done the EEA EFTA States check the last step in planning for the beginning of the transitional period (“EEA EFTA States,” n.d.).

8. Boris Johnson’s Brexit Deal

Boris Johnson is the British prime minister who was appointed instead of Theresa May, because she failed to emerge the Brexit deal. The PM has succeeded in what his beleaguered predecessor couldn’t do; the leader of the conservative party found that his EU-agreed framework for leaving the EU backed by 330 members of parliament with 231 opposed, that will pave the way for the UK’s official departure from the EU.

As Steve Jones(2020), a journalist, posted that the Labor’s Paul Blomfield, opposition shadow minister for exiting the EU, denounces this deal. He states that this step is heartless because it tends to neglect the guarantees of the refugees children’s rights to be reunited with family residing in the UK. In addition, he laments that this bill is an inevitable passage since the conservative government refuses to restore child refugee protection rights into the Brexit agreement. Also, some commons opposition disagree with this deal, as Tim Bale, professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London, who says, “Johnson has taken a party and a government that was on the edge of a nervous breakdown in the summer of 2019 to an overall majority in a legislature than now stands little chance of stopping it doing pretty much whatever it wants”(as cited in Soussi, 2020, para. 6).

In spite of his Commons triumph, potential Brexit problems remain for Johnson as he looks ahead and beyond. Soussi(2020) also stated that “the big challenge for the PM is the fact that there are still a bunch of Conservative MPs who would like to see what they call 'a clean break' from the EU, rather than a comprehensive free-trade deal which maintains a degree of alignment with the EU” (para.13).

Moreover, the academic and deputy director of the UK in a Changing Europe think-tank, included:

“If they don't like whatever deal Johnson comes up with—or they object to an attempt on his part to renege on his promise not to ask for an extension to trade talks—they could effectively force the UK into some kind of minimalist 'World Trade Organization Brexit' that might seriously damage the economy, and, with it, Johnson's electoral coalition” (para14)

The PM's bill will go to the UK legislature's upper chamber and the House of Lords for supplemental examination (Soussi, 2020).

Conclusion

The British parliament has been discussing the motions for a long time and they asked the EU parliament for an extension, because they could not agree on a deal. Since the voting rate was approximately the same, there will be a hard negotiation. As we have seen Theresa May could not succeed to come up with a plan which gains the acceptance of the majority, the British MPs know that if they could not reach a deal in the right time Britain will leave the EU without a deal, even this option is not accepted in the parliament, in addition to a second referendum. So, the parliament asked those who voted for leaving to prepare a deal that can persuade them.

As the course of events related to the Brexit issue is still happening, the prime minister Boris Johnson finally succeeded to present a Brexit deal that is accepted by the majority. Now, Britain is ready to leave and the EU will rethink its system by improving its conditions and agreements. As a result, EU will work on strengthening the ties between its member states and enhancing the trust in the Union so that no other member will try to leave the EU like Britain.

Chapter Three: Discussion of Brexit Possible Consequences

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with discussing the possible consequences that may be caused by Brexit. Also, it provides an analysis of major politicians, analysis's writings and speeches; It describes economic political shifts which caused by Brexit on both areas EU and UK. Moreover, it sheds light on the consequences of immigration, immigrant's life, movements across the EU and UK's trade areas. Furthermore, the chapter deals with the political impacts of Brexit; it analysis the circumstances the UK is or going to leave after Brexit. Besides, Brexit impacts on the European Union. This chapter provides under the collective approach, the Brexit national fears in the two main cases of the north; Ireland and Scotland. It raises an important question on whether the two powers - UK and EU- will remain the same high positions or not.

1. Economic Consequences

Britain has already suffered from Brexit. Since it was a member of the EU for a long time, the UK gained a lot of benefits that cannot be denied. As a result of Brexit the economic side, in particular, has seen a slowing down, and many businesses have moved their headquarters to the EU. As well known, any country in the world relies heavily on its GDP and GDP per capita to rate its economy. Here are some of the impacts and different consequences of Brexit on the economy in general.

1.1 Immediate Impact on the UK Economy

According to a recent research (Breinlich et al., 2019), since the UK voted to leave the EU on 23 June 2016, the result of the referendum led to the UK inflation by 1.7 percentage points in 2017. Also, the financial markets have seen a sharply depreciated in the sterling exchange rate. Thereafter, the UK imports have become more expensive because of the weakness of the sterling, which led to an increase in the UK consumer

prices by 1.7% after one year of the referendum. The analysis of the recent data shows that consumer prices keep increasing and the cost of living has reached £870 per year, which means the British people have to work harder to afford the same goods and services (Breinlich et al.,2020).

The cost of Brexit is hard to be calculated, in view of the fact that the counterfactual is not clear. The results of a previous research published in November 2017 suggested a loss of 1.3% of the GDP or near to£300 million per week since the vote took a place. As mentioned by the latest updates which belong to OECD, data propose that the negative drag from the Brexit vote shows up to be generally £350 million a week, but beneath current OECD forecasts the expectations seem the output loss rising to be almost 4% of GDP by the end of 2020(Benjamin et al,2019).

In this sense, the economists said that it took so long time for the UK to release the Brexit. It would be a hard separation and the negotiations will take a longer time. In addition to that, they might be not able to do a free trade agreement. Besides, the British banks which seek for commerce within the EU may lose the pass porting rights, and even the landing rights for the British aircraft could be refused. The costumers also have seen that the pound depreciates. Thus, they save their money for the second half of the year because they understood that import prices would rise and they are not in a position that allows them to spend money easily as before. Moreover, Sterling's substantial depreciation will lead the banks to start to raise interest rates. In this case, the results for growth will not be good and the banks will not have a friendly relation with Brexiters(Eichengreen,2017).

1.2. Long-Term Impact on the UK Economy

In the course of negotiations, Brexit has a negative impact on the UK's trade over time, which led to the rise of trade costs. Some exchange relations with abroad companies would be damaged. Furthermore, the continuous loss of export toward foreign direct investment, particularly in manufacturing and financial services, would hit the export capacity. Hence, the UK access to the EU internal market led it to become an attractive destination for foreign direct investment. As a result, the UK has the largest share of FDI inflows in the EU. Over time the FDI position has increased in the UK for both EU and non-EU investors. The large FDI inflows have contributed to more noteworthy trade integration of the UK with the EU and reinforced its comparative advantage in numerous divisions.

The immigrants give some sorts of aid to the GDP of the UK. They have a higher employment rate in comparison to the natives. Also, they have better education, although they gain low wages they have been the key factor to a strong labor market. After Brexit, the UK will put a limit to decline the immigration movements, which will not affect unemployment, but it will affect the growth of wages. The immigrants increase the housing demand which creates low pressure on house price, but after they leave the prices will be high again. The UK tightens control the immigration movement from the EU and non-EU countries, which will have a huge impact on the inward investments. In this regards, labor market conditions, and the income levels in the UK relative to those in other European countries.

For the long term impact of Brexit on the UK's economy, it would generate substantial structural changes. Furthermore, it shows the modern relationships with the EU, in addition to the new policies and adverse supply-side shock. These changes led to reduce exchange openness; the reduction of attractive for FDI, less investment in research and

development, a net decline in inward migration, lower managerial quality and additional regulatory reform. The changes in trade openness, regulatory performance, and both management quality and R&D intensity (via inward investment) would have a long-run supply-side have a big influence on the Total Factor Productivity(TFP). The reduction of migrants is a cause of the low rate of the labor force, which led to an adverse impact on the capital stock and would add further supply-side challenges (Kierzenkowski et al.,2016).

1.3. Movement of Companies

About three years since the June 23 referendum and Britain's future were still unclear. This situation has forced companies to prepare themselves for the worst situations. Thus, they put a prospect of Britain leaving the bloc without a deal which will determine future relations. Accordingly, Brexit has already affected negatively on economic growth, discourages investments, and damaged the reputation of the nation as a haven of commerce. Furthermore, the Japanese automakers have rejected the plans to expand in Britain, because Brexit undetermined the country's excellence as a center of European trade. The Japanese automakers have invested in Britain's factories because it was like a good chance to the country's duty-free access to Europe. Also, Nissan warned that if the UK leaves the EU that is may force it to reformulate its plan in Britain. William Wright, the founder and managing director of New Financial, stated that: 'The whole Brexit process, from the referendum itself to the way in which the government has responded since, has very significantly damaged the reputation of the U.K. as a pragmatic and sensible place to do business'(Peter, 2019, para. 31). That is, even if Britain gets a smooth divorce, it will lose its significance and position as a haven for sensible governance(Peter,2019).

According to the independent research institute New Financial, in March 2019 reposts identified that 269 of companies that specialized in banking or financial services

have removed to other places taking its businesses and staff. In addition, Brexit is also responsible for 239 of these moves. As a result, the greatest moves were toward Dublin (30%) followed by Luxembourg (18%), Frankfurt (12%), Paris (12%), and Amsterdam (10%). Despite the huge number of moves, there is no possible chance for London to lose its position as the dominant financial center in Europe. However, these moves seem to be the starting of a progressive spillage of commerce from London to the EU for the predictable future(Wright et al,2019).

1.4. Contribution to the EU

By the exit of the UK, the EU would be a direct impact on the public finance. Therefore, it would be a direct impact in public sector net borrowing which would come as a result of the existing contribution to the EU budget. This would reduce public spending even though it replaced some of the spendings that is undertaking by the EU in the UK would obtain some offsets. Furthermore, if the UK wanted to keep accessing the EU's single market, it would add some contributions to the EU's budget.

However, the overall EU budget accounts for about 1% of gross national income (GNI) across the 28 member states. Hence, In 2014 the UK's contribution to the EU budget was £18.8 billion, it was about 1% of the GNI; it is over £350 per week. Since the UK had received GDP per capita less spending than other member states of the EU, there will be a rebate of negotiation in this concern. After the net rebate, the contribution was £14.4 billion, approximately 0.8% of GDP, or £275 million a week. In case the EU's investments in Britain are taken into consideration, the average of the net contribution for the upcoming five years is assessed approximately £8 billion a year, which is almost 0.4% of national income, or £150 million per week. It is obvious that this direct impact on the budget would be by only modest changes to national income arising from a decision to leave the EU(Emmerson et al,2016).

1.5. Foreign Direct Investment

Brexit will have a reasonable impact on the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) financial markets with respect to the capital flows including FDI dynamics. In addition to FDI, the trade dynamics are the key component of the relations linkage in Europe, North America, and Asia. Therefore, the multinational companies stand for firms with ownership-specific advantages; one may anticipate that FDI inflows moreover bring universal technology transfers. Within the case of green field speculation, inflows also have a positive impact on capital accumulation with Brexit, the economic that relates between the United Kingdom and EU / EEA will be weakened. Besides, the British future access to the EU single market will be a part of the new system for the UK and 27 states of the EU.

Another important perspective is that the geographic composition change could affect the UK FDI inflows, the impact on sectorial FDI inflows, and outflows in banking and finance in particular. The OECD countries properly bring a positive international technology transfer that could influence both economic growth and the long-run current account position of the host countries. The significance of the UK's participation in the EU as a lure for the FDI has been stressed by the supporters of the UK's proceeded association within the EU. In this aspect, the foreign firms see the UK as the gateway to other EU markets; the UK has used its attractive location to be a major recipient of the FDI. That is, the UK is the clear front-runner among major economies with a stock of FDI around three times bigger than the level in other major European economies and 50% bigger than within the US(Welfens& Baier,2018).

1.6. Stock Markets and Business

The Brexit consequences have a far-reaching impact on the financial markets. However; this affection will depend on the last agreement which is under negotiation. In

this time, the financial services could be given across borders beneath simple conditions. Without an agreement, the EU passports will stop recommending applying for business activity in the UK after Brexit. The EU third-country regimes for non-EEA companies are both few and unsecure for intensive relations in trade and services. Knowing that London is the leading global financial centre in Europe, so they must ensure affordable and sufficient financial services for business, investors, and consumers. Unfortunately, it seems like there will be no agreement on contrary interests and various thematic areas. As a result, market participants have begun to adjust new structures and forms, by replacing certain functions to the 27 EU. In spite of that, it is referred to as the negotiators reach an agreement which accomplishes the finest possible outcome for all influenced parties. Also, the agreement will take into consideration the opportunity costs of a disappointment in present Brexit transactions(Hohlmeier&Fahrhlz,2018).

1.7. Consequences For the EU

The consequences of Brexit have triggered the worst political and economic crisis that both the UK and the EU have ever faced. On the economic side, the EU will lose the second large economy which represents 18% of the GDP and 13% of its population. In addition, it will lose its global financial center since the UK is an attractive place for the businesses and investments. The exports of the EU toward the UK are just 8% whereas the UK exports are 44% which goes to EU countries. However, on the political side the EU will lose some of its military power which the UK is responsible to cover and it has one of the nuclear weapons. Also, the EU will lose one of its two veto-wielding members of the UN Security Council. In the end, the EU sees that the UK is still the big loser of Brexit(Matthijs,2017).

2. UK Trade Areas

Since the UK is a member in the EU, it benefits from the free trade deal. However, the deal is among the European countries, precisely the countries under the control of the EU or the ones which are members of the EU. They will benefit the free movements of their goods and will reduce or eliminate tariffs and charges on goods. The free trade made it easier for the UK since almost of its goods destination in European countries. Brexit made the country in desperate need to find a deal to keep the trade agreement as it is or at least to reduce the loss. The following chart describes the percentage of UK's trade areas in 2018.

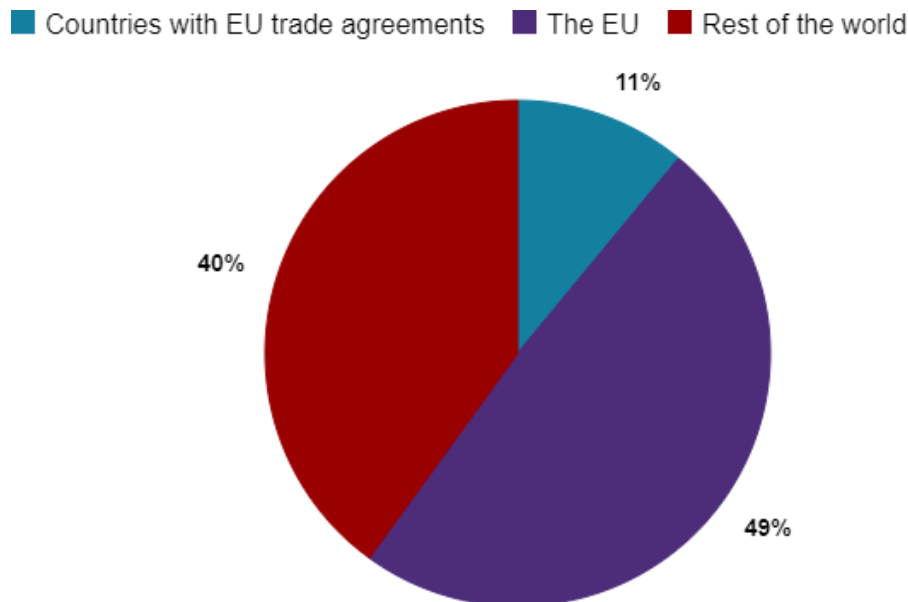


Figure 3.1. UK's Trade Areas 2018. Department of International Trade. BBC

(<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-47213842>)

The pie chart shows that 49 percent of the UK trade is going to the EU. This explains the importance for UK to have a free trade deal. Adding 11 percent of the trade is done in countries with European trade deal. To conclude, The European- United Kingdom trade is number one must deal with the problem. As a consequence, they must find a free trade deal if the UK desire to continue trading to the EU without taxes and quotas.

However, in both cases the free trade deal will not eliminate all checks between EU and UK. According to Tom Edgington(2020), a Senior Broadcast Journalist at BBC News, in 2018, total UK trade (goods and services) was valued at £1.3 trillion, of which the EU made up 49%.

3. Political Consequences

The United Kingdom left the European Union at 23:00 GMT on 31 January, 2020. But the Brexit is not done yet. It is not the end of the British-European story. The UK officially has entered a period; which is the transitional period or implementation period. That is, the UK will remain in both, the EU customs union and single market. Specifically, most of the things will remain as it is before Brexit. Some of these things are the freedom of movement, Immigration from to UK and EU-UK trade.

The transitional period gives the UK time to settle the situation; the time is giving from the EU. Thus, the European Union now is imposing its rules on the British government. On the other hand, the UK is no longer an EU member; automatically, it does not have the right to vote. In Addition, The European court of justice will also continue to have the final decision over any legal disputes. Indeed, UK lost its membership of the EU's political institutions; including the European parliament and European Commission. The transitional period gave breathing space to allow negotiations to take place. This period will determine the future relationship between the UK and EU. The exit will eventually affect politically both of the EU and UK.

3.1 The UK after Brexit

The story of Brexit will not be ending sooner. Even though the Brexit has been discussed since 2016,both sides should work out on their new relationship rules. This includes migration, trade...

Brexit was meant to happen on 29 March 2019. However, the British government faced some problems such as the Irish borders. The UK focused on arranging deals before leaving the EU as a way to prevent the possibility of awake wars or problems. Specifically with Irish checkpoint. After securing the changes, the prime Minister called for an early election. The election happened on 19 December 2019. It resulted in a conservative majority of 80. This passed the Brexit legislation to allow UK to leave the European Union after four years of the 2016 referendum.

There are several things that need to be considered. The British government should consider several things related to politics and economy:

- **Trade:** as discussed above, leaving the union will make trade with EU more difficult and expensive. Indeed, the UK will be no longer required to make a financial contribution to the EU, which insists on policymakers should consider and recreate some of the EU funds.
- **Regulation:** exiting the union; indeed means the end of the European regulation on UK. which will be expensive for the UK to create public sector organizations that need the adaptation of employees such as "policymakers" to create and design new regulations.
- **Sub-sectors:** some British public sectors relied on the EU single market for talent mobility; such as education and health. In transition that's happening, the government needs to figure out another independent plan.
- **Labor market:** migration policies will be changed. For EU living in the UK specifically. The government will need to reset this policy and employers across sectors need to adjust their talent policies.
- **Uncertainty:** the biggest problem the British are facing now is uncertainty. This major changed the UK's position in the world, because it is seen as an unstable country. The latter affected the investments, the growth and the public finance.

- **Devolution:** while returning power from the EU; Scotland is likely calling for a referendum to try its chances in staying in the EU. LEPs and other authorities may also lose the EU funds. The deals may also slow as attention in government focuses on Brexit negotiations(The impact of Brexit on government and public sector, n.d).

3.1.1 Brexit Outcomes

At the end of the transitional period, there will be three possible deals which will be suitable for both sides:

a. A Forced UK-EU Deal : if the deal was ready at the end of the year, the UK will begin the new trading relationship. The British government is optimistic about the deal, but the European commission warned them that the time table will be challenging. Thus, reaching the deal will not guarantee solving problems in other areas- like the security co-operation.

b. No deal exit: this prospect brings in to the table the fear that the negotiations will end up to a close door. This means the UK will remain the world trade organization, all the goods sold in Europe will be subjected to tariffs until the right deal is found.

c. Extending the transitional period: if they found a deal but it was not finalized yet, Boris Johnson the Prime Minister could ask to extend the transitional period under the acceptance of the European Union for sure. The withdrawal arguments allow the right of extending the transitional period by 12 to 24 months under the acceptance of both sides. The Brexit changed and affected the British government and people.

3.2 The European Union Future after Brexit

Since the creation of the EU, the British are the first to vote by more than 50 % to leave the European Union. Since the start of Brexit Europe raised the debate on how to deal with this withdraw. Politically speaking and according to analysts, the union is having a negative image nowadays across Europe. Brexit is considered as a brave move for some

Europeans. Indeed, anti-immigration parties had been strengthened over Europe especially in Germany and France. These movements gain enough ground which put the possibility of forcing the EU vote to stop; if the latter countries left the European Union, the union will be dissolved. Thus, the British people vote strengthened the European to question if they want to be under the union rules. However, more than 70 % of Europeans support the union. Brexit raised the questions over the union and that results the social lives and prosperity of the union(as cited in Statista Research Department, 2016)

3.2.1. The Brexit Impact on the Union

Losing a great powerful member will cause instability in the union. The major losses of the union will be on the side of the economy and politically specially in security and making policies.

- **Budget:** the union will lose more than 20 billion Euros by losing the membership of UK. In addition to other economic sectors will be affected as discussed in section one .
- **Policies:** The UK has played a major role in making policies in the European parliament; its absence will impact the balance. Which will make a challenge above the European other members to create rules and make policies powerful like the UK used to do. The UK has (with France) the major military powers. Brexit will unsettle the security stability of Europe(Brexit to cost billions in incomes losses across Europe, 2019).

3.3 Brexit and the UK Constitution

Britain unlike other countries; it does not have a codified constitution as well known in the world. The constitution is a document of significant principles setting out the structure of the government and its relationships with its citizens. On the other hand, it has an unwritten constitution which depends on the Acts of Parliament, law reports of court judgments and conventions. So that, in the absence of a codified constitution, and given the

application of Art 50, a treaty provision that has never been used before, the constitutional requirements are unclear(Blackburn,2015).

However, there will be an economic, social, cultural, and diplomatic effect on the national life of the UK as a result of untangling and re-establishing a relationship with the EU. Nevertheless, Brexit is a crucially constitutional phenomenon and the lawful and political choices taken and acted upon as the process of negotiation departure from the EU. Brexit will be the big challenge for the UK constitution. Also, it will affect it on the levels of the core constitutional institutions of the UK central government especially the executive, the legislation, and the court. Also, it will affect it on the level of the relationships between decisions taken by the people and decisions taken by the institution operating in the UK's fragmented constitutional arrangements. The UK's constitution seems like in crisis because it is a political constitution, and the force which led to Brexit tends to challenge this traditional and distinctive constitution in two ways. First, it is like they discovered the limitations and flaws in the structure and fabric of the constitution. Secondly, the dynamic of the UK's constitutional arrangements may be involved in the decision of leaving the EU(Gordon,2016).

Brexit is an uncommon occasion, constitutionally unforeseeable, presenting a potential unusual transformation into UK law and society. However, the British constitution has been vaunted for its flexibility and its capacity to adapt with new circumstances, for its adaptability and persevering nature. Moreover, the challenges of Brexit uncover the Constitution's 21st-century weaknesses the event as momentous as a British withdrawal from the EU requires clear and principled constitutional law as a guide But it does not have that. The British constitution has ended up to be contested and uncertain object, in some cases ghostly and moving form. As a result, it is thrown back onto politics, where for most powerful tend to be dominated(Douglas-Scott, 2016)

3.4 The British Exit National Challenges

The Brexit may cause national conflicts on the British behalf. Many citizens were questioning the biggest fears that may occur such as keeping the Northern Ireland peace. The European people's party (n.d.) said:

There is no doubt as far as we can tell that Britain's exit from the European Union isn't useful for either Britain or the European Union. England has profited extraordinarily from its enrollment of the EU: access to the Single Market has permitted British residents the opportunity to live, work and resign anywhere in Europe; it has upgraded Britain's exchanging power by permitting it to send out products duty allowed to mainland Europe and to one of its greatest exchanging accomplices, Ireland; its residents have profited by EU regulations which protect consumers' rights, workers' rights and the environment. (para3)

Indeed, the UK has benefited from EU especially in the case of Northern Ireland. Therefore, leaving the EU concerned many people of expecting and fearing what will happen and what the destination for their beloved country. The problem of Northern Ireland and Scotland must be resolved through the Brexit negotiation.

3.4.1 Northern Ireland

The citizens fear of hard borders between the Northern Ireland and the republic of Ireland. The tension goes back further than the Brexit; the problem is back between unionists, Protestants against the loyalist or Catholics who wanted a united Ireland. The problem took the lives of thousands of victims; until 1998 of the peace assignments called "the Belfast agreement". Part of the agreement was about opening the borders between the Northern Ireland which is part of the United Kingdom; and the republic of Ireland. However, the government and citizens fear the struggle will be on again and no-deal Brexit

means the Northern Ireland will leave the EU. Pointing to Ireland, the republic will remain a member which means the borders will be closed again. The return of border checkpoints and strict security will revive the almost 20 years of calmed conflict.

3.4.2 Scotland

In September 18th, 2014 the Scottish voted on a referendum on whether they stay with the United Kingdom or split and be an independent country. At that point, voters decided to remain a part of UK. But the number of against independence voters 53 percent is confusing. Politicians and analysts suspect that the scotch already has the idea of being independent. Back to 2016 referendum major of Scottish constituencies voted to remain in the EU. Leaving the EU may make the Scottish rethink of being a part of UK; especially the votes were against their desire. Being part of the EU is more valuable and safer than being a part of UK. However, the Scottish national party, led by Nicola STURGEON, has promised a new referendum called INDYREF2; which will take place later in this year if the party received more votes in the general election.

Conclusion

The three main sections of this chapter attempt to collect and analyze the consequences of Brexit on the UK and the EU at the same time. The chapter dealt with two main fields which are economy and politics. The chapter tends to find answers for the nowadays drama of two world powers .The first section implies the study of the economic consequences. It attempts to analyze the immediate and long term Brexit impact; thus, it highlights the main damaged sections. It also studies the contributions to EU, investments and foreign markets and businesses. The section indeed investigates the impact of Brexit on EU. The second section is mainly concerned with UK's trade areas. The aim of the section is to mention the need of creating or keeping a free trade deal for the British

government. Finally, the last section discusses the political impacts of Brexit. It analyzes the damaged political fields of the British government. It also explains the transitional period; moreover, it discusses politician's point of view and future expectations. On the other hand, it highlights the political damages on EU. In addition, the Brexit national fears, the cases of Northern Ireland and Scotland.

General Conclusion

The present dissertation set out to study the late phenomenon which is called Brexit. This study contained three chapters. The first chapter tended to present history of the European Union, the application of UK to join, and the reasons that lead to Brexit. The second chapter clarified the most important deals for the UK. The third chapter analyzed the possible consequences for the UK and EU economically and politically.

The European started as EC at first with 6 founders in order to revive Europe after the wars that destroyed everything. The UK did not engage at first, after the prosperity of the European community, the UK asked to be a member because the British government was desperately in need. The community refused the application of the UK. The French leader DE GAULLE was against the idea of the existence of the British in the community. In 1973 the UK officially joined the common market after 10 years of negotiation. The British felt the need to hold a referendum to ask their folk whether they continue an EU member or not. In 1975 was hold, the British voted to be EU member.

The UK played a great role on the European Union especially in economic and security. Many reasons lead the British to think leaving the EU such as: immigrations and works opportunities.

The government held a second referendum on whether stay in the EU or leave. In June 2016 people voted to leave more than 50 %.

The Brexit has put the European Union and the British government in hard situation. Thereafter, the desire of its folk by leaving the union was done. The government started the journey of finding the best deal for both sides. From the deals mentioned above, remaining a member in the European Union will solve the problem with no lose, but it will go against the people's will. The common market 2.0 is an option that maybe is going to do

well. Indeed, it will solve the problem partially. Till the moment the UK did not find the best deal that will reduce the loss for both sides, UK and EU.

Finally, the dissertation takes into consideration the consequences that impact the economy and the politics. Economically speaking, leaving the EU. Trading for UK will be much expensive since most of its goods are sold in EU. On other hand, the EU will lose UK budget. Politically, the UK will face problems in finding political stability; EU will hire new people with more money. Besides, the fears of reviving old conflicts in the case of Scotland and Northern Ireland.

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المخلص

تسلط هذه المذكرة الضوء على الأحداث السياسية الأخيرة التي شهدتها المملكة المتحدة حيث تشهد ثلاث مراحل أساسية لإثبات مكانتها. وعليه ، يشير هذا البحث إلى علاقة المملكة المتحدة بالاتحاد الأوروبي ، والأسباب التي دفعت بريطانيا إلى مغادرته، ونتائج الاستفتاء، بالإضافة الى الخيارات المتاحة لبريطانيا. ارتأينا أن نشير الى العوائق التي واجهت بريطانيا خلال محاولة انضمامها للاتحاد كونها أحد أهم وأقوى الأعضاء وكذلك خروجها من الاتحاد وما بعد الخروج. لهذا السبب ، يسعى هذا البحث إلى الإشارة الى خيارات وعواقب خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي من منظور تاريخي تحليلي. يتم استخدام المنهج التاريخي التحليلي لتحليل البيانات التي تم جمعها من المقالات العلمية في جامعة أكسفورد وخطب السياسيين (تيريزا ماي ، ديفيد كاميرون) لكونهم الشخصيتين الرئيسيتين في تلك الحقبة. كشفت الدراسة أن المواطنين البريطانيين كانوا ضد الارتباط بالاتحاد وصوتوا لتركه. لماذا استغرقت بريطانيا كل هذه المدة للخروج من الاتحاد الأوروبي وماذا سيحدث إذا اختارت بريطانيا الخيار X هذا ما تم الاجابة عليه في هذه الدراسة. كما تم كشف توقعات وعواقب هذا الخروج على كل من الاتحاد الأوروبي وبريطانيا فعلى ما يبدو ، أثر خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي بشكل كبير على كلا الجانبين ، وبشكل أساسي على المواطنين.

الكلمات الرئيسية: خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي، المملكة المتحدة، الاتحاد الأوروبي، الاستفتاء، الخيارات، النتائج.