



Hellenic Military Academy



Technical University of Crete

Interdisciplinary MBA

Applied Operational Research and Analysis

Thesis

**Brexit: Progression and Perspectives in Organizational –  
Operational Framework and To the Relations Between  
the United Kingdom and The European Union**

NICKOLAOS ROUSSOS

Dr. Dionysios D. Gerontogiannis  
Supervisor

2021

«Σήμερα, 17/03/2021 η παρούσα μεταπτυχιακή εργασία εγκρίνεται από την επιτροπή αξιολόγησης, όπως παρακάτω:



Δρ. Διονύσιος Δ. Γεροντογιάννης .....



Καθηγητής Νικόλαος Ιω. Δάρας .....

**Nikolaos**

**Matsatsinis**

Digitally signed by  
Nikolaos Matsatsinis  
Date: 2021.03.18  
09:16:28 +02'00'

Καθηγητής Νικόλαος Ματσατσίνης .....

*The Happy Life*

*Martial, the things for to attain  
The happy life be these, I find:  
The riches left, not got with pain;  
The fruitful ground, the quiet mind;  
The equal friend; no grudge nor strife;  
No charge of rule nor governance;  
Without disease the healthful life;  
The household of continuance;  
The mean diet, no delicate fare;  
Wisdom joined with simplicity;  
The night discharged of all care  
Where wine may bear no sovereignty;  
The chaste wife wise, without debate;  
Such sleeps as may beguile the night;  
Contented with thine own estate;  
Neither wish death, nor fear his might.*

*Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*

## **Acknowledgments**

First and foremost, I am grateful to God for allowing me to reach the point of presenting the thesis. Without His support, help, and encouragement, it would never have come together.

Also, I would like to thank my supervisor for giving me many degrees of freedom to conduct this project and present the original thought out in the open.

The motivation to write this thesis is two-fold. Firstly, "Brexit" is a matter that is still in progress and its variables change dynamically from day today. Secondly, it gives the chance to examine the relations between the United Kingdom and the European Union and produce original thoughts and practice forecasting abilities essential for the Hellenic Army officer.

From a bird's eye view, the purpose is to analyze the factors and the variables influencing the relations and procedures of the United Kingdom and the European Union from now onwards and deepen the ability to analyze real-time events.

Hopefully, our times offer many opportunities to deal with matters that occur in real-time. Our lives are becoming more challenging, and indeed it will be a season for those who are ready to see through the changes and seize them.

It is the time that Visioning the Life Afterwards really begins to have meaning again.

## Table of Contents

Abstract	9
CHAPTER ONE: AN INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Brexit, European Integration and World Order	10
CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF HISTORY	
2.1 Brexit	14
2.2 United Kingdom	17
2.3 European Union	21
2.4 The Historical Context	28
CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	
3.1 The Transition Period Conflict	34
3.2 Conflict Investigation	39
3.3 Objective Purposes (OP), Desired End State (DES), Operational Lines (OL)	41
3.4 Preventing A Crisis	46
3.5 Strategic – Operational Analysis	47
3.6 Interviews	61
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK	
4.1 Research Questions	66
CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS, OBSERVATIONS, FINDINGS	
5.1 First Research Question	68
5.2 Second Research Question	73
5.3 Third Research Question	75
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS	
6.1 Retrospective on the First Research Question	78
6.2 Retrospective on the Second Research Question	80
6.3 Retrospective on the Third Research Question	81
6.4 Conclusions	83
References	88

## Tables

### CHAPTER FIVE

Table 5.1.1: Number of Valid Records	68
Table 5.1.2: Crosstabulation Region-Nation	69
Table 5.1.3: Chi-Square Test Region-Nation	69
Table 5.1.4: Symmetric Measures Region-Nation	70
Table 5.1.5: United Kingdom's Constituencies	70
Table 5.1.6: United Kingdom's Constituencies by Region	70
Table 5.1.8: United Kingdom's Constituencies by Nation	71
Table 5.2.1: Correlations between 2016 Leave Vote and the Votes to the winner of the 2019 General Election	73
Table 5.2.2: Correlations between 2016 Leave Vote and the Votes to the Labour Party in the 2019 General Election	74
Table 5.2.4: Results of the 2019 General Election (House of Commons)	75
Table 5.3.5: Correlations between Christian population and Vote in General Election (2019)	78
Table 5.3.6: Correlations between White Ethnicity population and Vote in General Election (2019)	76

## Figures

### CHAPTER TWO

Figure 2.1: Results of the 2016 Referendum	15
Figure 2.2: The Four Countries of the United Kingdom	17
Figure 2.2.1: The Crown Dependencies	18
Figure 2.2.2: The British Overseas Territories	19
Figure 2.3: The European Political System	23
Figure 2.3.1: The Relationship Between Various Multinational European Organizations and Agreements	25
Figure 2.3.2: The European Neighborhood Policy	26

### CHAPTER THREE

Figure 3.3: Objective Purposes and Strategic DES (United Kingdom)	42
---	----

Figure 3.3.1: Objective Purposes and Strategic DES (European Union)	43
Figure 3.3.2: Operational CoG (United Kingdom)	43
Figure 3.3.3: Operational CoG (European Union)	44
Figure 3.3.4: Decisive Points and CoG (United Kingdom)	45
Figure 3.3.5: Decisive Points and CoG (European Union)	45
Figure 3.3.6: Operational Lines and Desired End State	46
Figure 3.5: Process of Strategic-Operational Analysis	48
CHAPTER FIVE	
Figure 5.1.7: United Kingdom's Constituencies by County	71
Figure 5.1.9: United Kingdom's Constituencies by Nation	72
Figure 5.1.10: United Kingdom's Electorate by Nation(2019)	72
Figure 5.1.11: United Kingdom's Electorate (2019)	73
Figure 5.2.3: Frequencies between the Leave Vote in 2016 and the Vote in 2019 General Election	74
Figure 5.2.5: Vote share in 2019 General Election	75
Figure 5.3.1: United Kingdom's Christian population (2011)	76
Figure 5.3.2: United Kingdom's White Ethnicity population(2011)	76
Figure 5.3.3: Conservative share of the Vote in 2019	77
Figure 5.3.4: Labour share of the Vote in 2019	77

#### Abbreviations

AFSJ	Area of Freedom Security and Justice
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CJEU	Court of Justice of the European Union
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
CTA	Common Travel Area
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
ECB	European Central Bank
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECRIS	European Criminal Records Information System
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDA	European Defence Agency

EDC European Defence Community  
EDPS European Data Protection Supervisor  
EEC European Economic Community  
EFTA European Free Trade Association  
EMU Economic and Monetary Union  
EP European Parliament  
EPC European Political Cooperation  
EU European Union  
EU27 The 27 Member States of the European Union  
FAC Foreign Affairs Council  
FCO Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
HRA Human Rights Act  
ICBM Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles  
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
NCA National Crime Agency  
NHS National Health Service  
PNR Passenger Name Record  
PSC Political and Security Committee  
SIS II Schengen Information System  
TTIP Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership  
UK United Kingdom  
UKIP UK Independence Party  
UN United Nations  
UNGA United Nations General Assembly  
UNSC United Nations Security Council  
US United States  
USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
WTO World Trade Organization



## **Abstract**

*This thesis examines the evolution of the "Brexit" process since it began in 2016, considering the historical framework of the relations between the United Kingdom (UK) and Britain in general, with the dominant, at times, continental European institution, which today is the European Union (EU).*

*This research examines the development and perspectives in both the Organizational and Operational Framework and the relations between these two state entities. Brexit will have significant consequences for the United Kingdom and the European Union, and the existing world order. For this reason, this piece of research inevitably offers an insight into the future of both state entities.*

*The thesis consists of six chapters. In Chapter One, we will review key elements of the literature.*

*In Chapter Two, we review the History of The United Kingdom and the European Union as state entities.*

*In Chapter Three, we conduct PESTLE-SWOT and PORTER Analysis from both the United Kingdom and the European Union perspectives.*

*In Chapter Four, we introduce three Research Questions.*

*Chapter Five analyzes the results, observations, and findings from the Analysis to answer Chapter Four's Research Questions.*

*In Chapter Six, we provide the conclusions of this research.*

**Keywords:** *Brexit, United Kingdom, European Union*

## **CHAPTER ONE: AN INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Brexit, European Integration and the World Order**

The United Kingdom's (UK) secession from the European Union (EU) creates new challenges in development and organization and operation perspectives between these two international state entities.

The United Kingdom has been a part of the European Economic Community (EEC), now European Union, since 1973. Its acceptance in the EEC came after it had been rejected twice from entering the community, both times after France's opposition.

In 2016 the United Kingdom voted "Leave" from the European Union, mainly under the British perception of Germany's rising intervention and uncompromising leadership. German Chancellor Angela Merkel adopted that in almost all European matters, especially in the Eurozone and Migration Crises.

Whether Brexit is absolutely a British tendency or represents a wider discontent within the European Union is an important issue.

De Burca (2018) claims that a referendum result on any number of occasions over the four decades of the United Kingdom's membership in the European Union would have been the same as in June 2016, due to Britain's imperial history, its (*laissez-faire*) economic preferences and the distinctiveness of its legal and political systems.

Bickerton (2018) sees Brexit as the "tip of the iceberg," reflecting a much broader widespread disenchantment with the European Union's policies, rooted in the negative implications of economic and monetary integration. He also states the great discontent of the European public after the mismanagement of the never-ending migration crises.

Glencross (2016) regards the result of the British Referendum as a symptom of the voter's rejection of the status quo, given the examples of the French and the Dutch opposition to the Constitutional Treaty, the Irish rejection of the Lisbon Treaty, the Greek bailout and the Dutch rejection of the Association Agreement with Ukraine.

Understanding European integration is another crucial area of debate to look forward to in the European Union's future.

Gillingham (2017) argues that, given the direction that European integration has taken over the previous years, the only alternative to deepen integration is consensus between the 27 Member States (EU27). Emphasis on the EU27 as the driving force of integration is powerful in references considering a foreign policy.

Van Middelaar (2018) notes that the European Union historically is on balance between economic freedom and social protection and that in recent years the balance skewed towards economic freedom at the expense of protection. The European Union must find a new balance in promoting economic freedoms and its role as a social protector. The pro-European camp will need to increase its voter's base to more solid majorities by winning back the moderate and the undecided voters with a new strategy.

Nugent (2017) states that recently disrupted the European integration path: the eurozone crisis, the migrant crisis, governance crises, and the rise of Euroscepticism. The eurozone crisis peaked in 2015 when the tensions between creditor states and the most indebted state –Greece– almost saw the latter leaving the eurozone. That same year hundreds of thousands of migrants reached the European soil, and the Union did not have a viable system to cope with it. These crises created divisions between the north and south about how the EU should be governed and resulted in the resurgence of Eurosceptic populism in most member states.

Brexit is not a strictly British phenomenon, but rather a specific reminder that its long way of integration the European Union faces many tensions and crises amongst its member states.

Moravcik (1993) states that inside the European Union exists the tension between supranational control and national sovereignty. The conceptual conflict inside the Union is between a "Europe of States" that pursues common national interests versus a fully-fledged "United States of Europe." The importance of unintended consequences from the decisions made in the European Union is critical. It is also essential to supranational officials' ability to provide leadership at all times, even in matters that seem less important. Policy preferences of EU governments always rely on domestic and private groups' expected benefits within each member state. The convergence of policies is inherently problematic in the European Union.

Majone (1994) indicates that administrative regulations, both economic and social, have become the new norm of public policy in the industrialized world, including the European Union. Agencies operate outside the line of hierarchical control or oversight from the central administration, promoting the technocratic, depoliticized governance with the so-called "regulatory state." There are increasing calls for more significant popular contestation and democratic control of the policy agenda (Hix & Follesdal, 2006).

Reynolds (2016) remarks that historians date the start of Britain's decline as the world's leading power from the end of the nineteenth century when economic difficulties and the emergence of Germany, Russia, and the United States of America as potential rivals began to expose the fault lines in the country's hegemonic position.

De Tocqueville (1835) had already predicted the rise of Russia and America as the world-leading powers.

McCourt (2009) states that after 1945, it took several decades for British Governments to absorb their geostrategic decline and rethink the country's role in global affairs only after the economic crisis of 1967, which saw the devaluation of the pound sterling and the withdrawal from Suez in 1969. The United Kingdom finally joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973.

Thatcher (1993), in her memoirs, praised President Mitterand for accepting the divergence of opinion from Britain in major European issues and especially about the Single European Market. For some UK politicians, the idea of the country's Great Significance exists even in post-modern times.

Wellings (2017) states that the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) provoked in 2015 the official appearance of the Anglosphere, affecting the result of the 2016 referendum. "Britain is not merely a European country," claimed UKIP, "but part of a global community, the Anglosphere." The manifesto continued:

Beyond the EU and even the Commonwealth is a network of nations that share our language and common law, democratic traditions, and global trading interests. From India to the United States, New Zealand to the Caribbean, UKIP would want to foster closer ties with the Anglosphere.

This manifesto explains the fact that many British, especially in England and Wales, voted for "Leave," thinking that as a historic opportunity for the UK to restore its global position and influence and that even if significant economic losses occurred from exiting the European Union, they would compensate by their country's participation in the Commonwealth and the Anglosphere.

However, Kissinger (1994) reminds us that pragmatic policies "must be based on some fixed principles to prevent tactical skill from dissipating into a random thrashing about." Policymakers tend to operate on

relatively less fixed requirements of cost-benefit Analysis and strategy construction, often requiring swift changes in the practice of statecraft (Hadfield, 2018).

Hill (2018) analyses the implications of Brexit in Britain's destiny at three levels: economic, politico-military, and sociocultural. On an economic level, he admits that the UK will be able to conclude bilateral agreements with more vibrant economies than those of the European Single Market and diversify its economic life, although this will take a long time to realize and cost along the way.

On the politico-military front, the United Kingdom still has a global role by possessing nuclear weapons and Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM). It is a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), a vital player of the Commonwealth, and a European nation that can project its power outside its borders.

Finally, on the sociocultural level, even if the use of the English language is worldwide, today, the United Kingdom has nothing to offer as a global role model. In the past, that role model was the British Monarch or a strong personality in Statesmanship as Winston Churchill in the twentieth century. The United Kingdom's influence has shrunk dramatically, and it seems too tiny to oppose a personality to the leaders of Russia, China, and the United States of America.

## **CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF HISTORY**

### **2.1 Brexit**

The word "Brexit" is a portmanteau of the words "Britain" and "Exit" and translates to the process of the United Kingdom's (UK) secession from the European Union.

In 2013 the British Prime Minister promised a referendum on the European Union (EU) membership, settling a 40-year-old debate. The options offered were Remain or Leave.

On 23 June 2016, Britons went to the polls, and the "Leave" Vote succeeded by 51.89 percent.

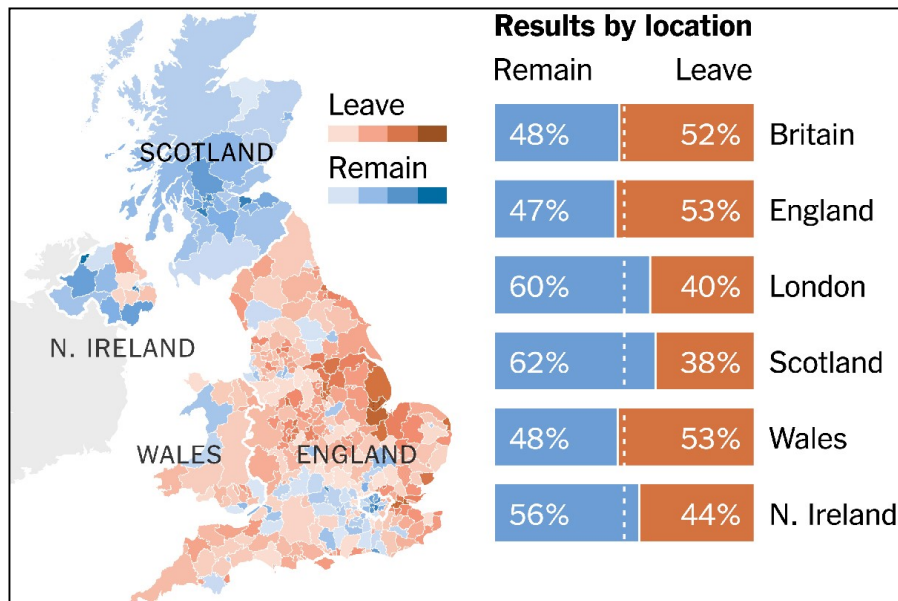


Figure 2.1: Results of the 2016 Referendum

(Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/world/europe/what-is-brexit.html>)

Following the Referendum results, David Cameron resigned as Prime Minister on 24 June 2016, and Theresa May became the Tory Party leader and Prime Minister on 11 July 2016.

Theresa May began the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union on 29 March 2017, triggering Article 50 of the European Union Treaty (TEU), the legal and political process whereby an EU member state ceases to be a member of the Union.

In April 2017, May announced a snap general election, intending to strengthen her leadership in the Brexit negotiations for a new trade deal with the European Union. However, these election results led to a hung

parliament and forced May to enter a confidence and supply arrangement with the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), resulting in a minority government. The Brexit date was transferred to 31 October 2019.

May resigned as Conservative leader on 7 June 2019, paving the way for Boris Johnson to become Prime Minister on 24 July 2019.

On 17 October 2019, a treaty was published officially titled "Agreement on the withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community" and signed on 24 January 2020, taking effect 01 February 2020.

On 12 December 2019, Boris Johnson won the General Election, and he continued as Prime Minister.

The United Kingdom entered a transition period from 01 February 2020 until 31 December 2020, during which time occurred ongoing negotiations for the future EU-UK relationship.

A Trade Deal was agreed on 24 December 2020, and the United Kingdom started a new relationship with the EU on 01 January 2021. Negotiations will continue after Brexit, along with new trade deals on a series of matters.

The review of History always allows us to understand deeper the causes of the events that occur. By examining both British and European History closely, we are enlightened about the framework of relations between the British Isles and Continental Europe.



## 2.2 The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is commonly known as the United Kingdom or Britain. It is a sovereign state entity in the northwestern region of Europe. It consists of four constituent countries: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.



Figure 2.2: The four Countries of The United Kingdom

(Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Kingdom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom))

The United Kingdom is a unitary state under a constitutional monarchy. It has a parliamentary government, which meets in the Palaces of Westminster and has two houses: the elected House of Commons and the appointed House of Lords.

The prime minister of the United Kingdom is the person most likely to command the House of Commons. Typically, is the leader whose the party or coalition holds the most significant number of the 650 available seats in the House of Commons.

The prime minister chooses the cabinet and has the monarch's approval to form His / Her Majesty's Government. All bills are given Royal Assent before becoming law.

The major political parties in the United Kingdom are the Conservative and Unionist Party (known as the Tories), the Labour Party, the Liberal Democrats, the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP), which favors the Scottish Independence from the United Kingdom, Plaid Cymru (Wales Only) a welsh nationalist party, the Democratic and Unionist Party and Sinn Fein from Northern Ireland.

The Parliament of The United Kingdom is the supreme legislative body of the United Kingdom, the Crown Dependencies, and the British Overseas Territories.

The Crown Dependencies are three island territories off the coast of Great Britain that are possessions of the Crown: The Bailiwick of Guernsey, the Bailiwick of Jersey, and the Isle of Man.

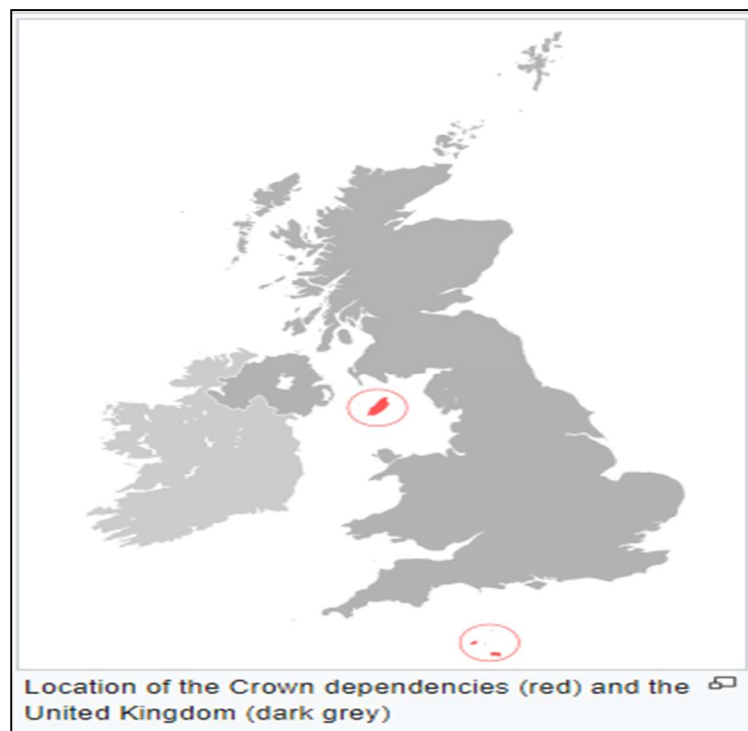


Figure 2.2.1: The Crown Dependencies

(Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Kingdom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom))

The British Overseas Territories are fourteen territories with a constitutional and historical link to the United Kingdom.

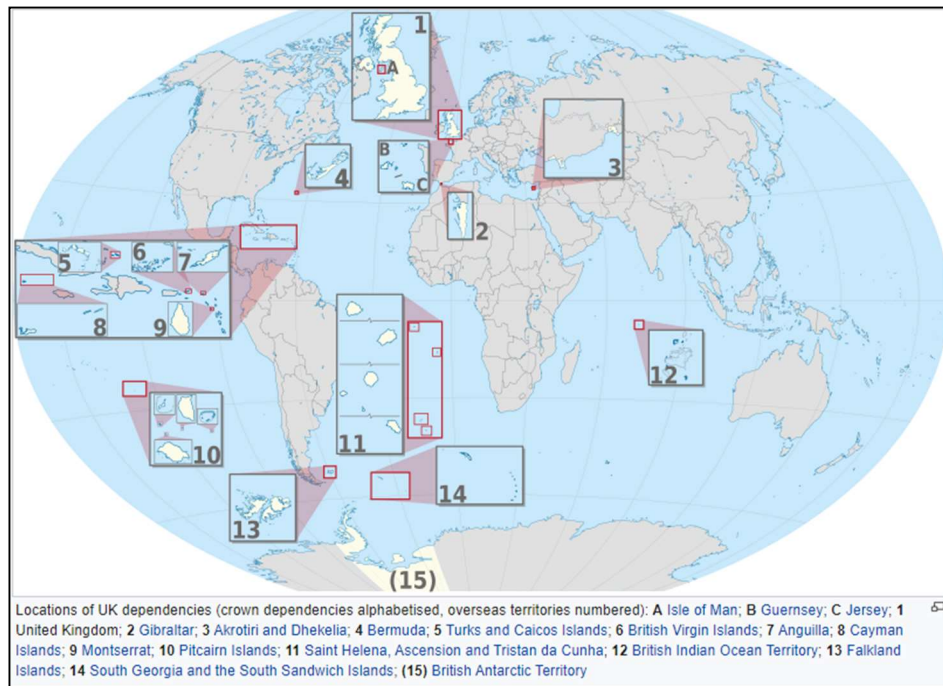


Figure 2.2.2: The British Overseas Territories

(Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Kingdom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom))

Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland each have their government or executive led by a First Minister and a devolved unicameral legislature. England has no devolved legislature or executive, and the United Kingdom's Government administers it on all issues.

The Scottish Government has a great range of powers on education, healthcare, Scots Law, and local government. The Northern Ireland Executive decides on matters that are not for the UK Parliament. The Welsh Government has more limited powers than the other two countries.

The United Kingdom does not have a single legal system but three different law systems: English Law which applies to England and Wales, Scots Law, and Northern Ireland Law. In 2009 the Supreme Court of the United Kingdom came into being, and it is the highest court

of appeal for several independent Commonwealth countries, the British Overseas Territories, and the Crown Dependencies.

The United Kingdom is a member of the United Nations Security Council, the Commonwealth of Nations, a political association of 54 member states that constituted regions of the former British Empire, a member of the NATO Alliance, and the G-7 Economic Ministries.

The British Armed Forces consist of three branches: The Naval Service (Royal Navy and Royal Marines), the British Army, and the Royal Air Force. The United Kingdom's armed forces are managed by the Ministry of Defense, controlled by the Defense Council, and chaired by the Secretary of State of Defense.

The United Kingdom has a partially regulated market economy based on market exchange rates. Today it is the fifth-largest economy in the world and the second-largest in Europe after Germany. The Bank of England since 27 July 1694 is the model for almost every modern central bank.

England and Scotland have been leading centers to the 17th century Scientific Revolution and the 18th century Industrial Revolution. The United Kingdom continues to produce scientists and engineers with fundamental advances. Scientific research remains essential in British Universities.

The United Kingdom has a transport network of almost 400,000km of roads of all kinds and a railway network of 16,500km. The UK airports handled, until recently, almost 210 million passengers per year.

The United Kingdom is the ninth-largest consumer of energy worldwide and the 15th largest producer. The United Kingdom generates about 20% of its electricity from nuclear power, 40% from gas, 30% from coal, and 5% by wind, hydro, biofuel, and waste. Almost

half of its current nuclear capacity is to be retired by 2025. Construction has commenced on the first of a new generation of nuclear plants.

In the 2011 census, the United Kingdom population was approximately 64 million people, with 53 million living in England, one of the world's most densely populated countries.

The United Kingdom's *de facto* official language is English, spoken by almost 95% of the population. In religious matters, the UK is a mainly post-Christian, multi-faith, secular society.

Education in the United Kingdom is a devolved matter. Considering the four systems together, about 38 percent of the population has a college degree, which is the highest in Europe and one of the world's highest.

### **2.3 The European Union**

The European Union consists of 27 member states. Through successive enlargements, the European Union has grown from the six founding states (Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) to the current 27.

Countries acceding to the Union become a party to the founding treaties, thereby subjecting themselves to the privileges and obligations of EU membership and the partial delegation of sovereignty to the institutions in return for representation within those institutions, a practice often referred to as "pooling of sovereignty."

The total population of the European Union is approximately 450 million people. The European Union has 40 urban areas with a population of over 1 million.

The European Union has 24 official languages. Important documents such as legislation exist in every official language. Due to the high number of official languages, most of the institutions use only a handful of working languages.

The European Commission conducts its internal business in three languages: English, French, and German. Similarly, the Court of Justice of the European Union uses French as the working language, while the European Central Bank conducts its business primarily in English. All institutions promote multilingualism among their citizens. Besides its 24 official languages are also spoken 150 regional languages by 50 million people.

The European Union has no formal religion. The preamble to the Treaty on European Union mentions the "cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe." Discussion over the European Constitution's draft texts and later the Treaty of Lisbon included proposals to mention Christianity or a God, or both, in the text's preamble, but the idea faced opposition.

The European Union operates through a hybrid system of supranational and intergovernmental decision-making.

The European Union legislates in various forms and into two groups: those that come into force without the necessity for national implementation measures (regulations) and those that require national implementation measures (directives).

Constitutionally, the European Union resembles a confederation and a federation but has not formally defined itself as either.

The European Union has principal decision-making bodies, its institutions: the European Parliament, the European Council, the

Council of the European Union, the European Commission, the Court of Justice of the European Union, the European Central Bank, and the European Court of Auditors.

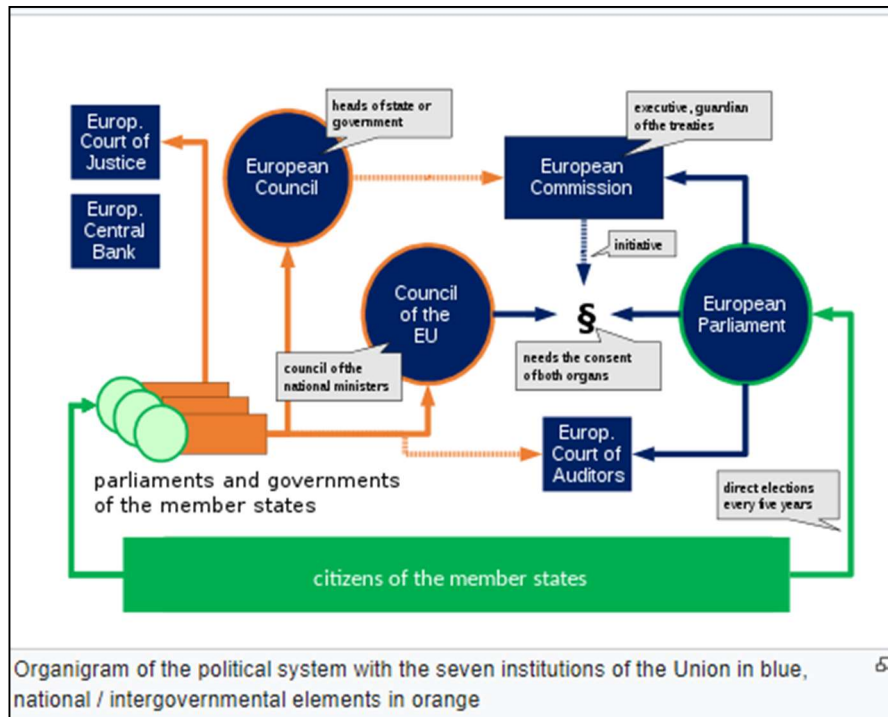


Figure 2.3: The European Political System

(Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European\\_Union](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Union))

The European Council is based in Brussels and sets the general political directions and priorities of the Union by gathering its member states. The conclusions of its summits are adopted by consensus.

The Council of the European Union is based in Brussels and brings together ministers of member state government departments. It represents the various governments directly and approves any proposal to enter into law.

European Parliament consists of 705 elected representatives in Strasbourg. It has equal legislative powers with the European Union Council to amend, approve or reject Commission proposals for most EU legislation areas. Its powers are limited in affairs that sovereign states view as primary (i.e., defense). It elects the Commission's

president and approves or removes the College of Commissioners collectively.

European Commission in Brussels proposes legislation as the "Guardian of the Treaties." It consists of an executive cabinet of public officials, led by a President they elect. The College of Commissioners manages and directs the commission's permanent civil service. It turns the consensus objectives of the European Council into legislative proposals.

The Court of Justice of the European Union—consists of two courts: The Court of Justice and the General Court. The Court of Justice primarily deals with cases taken by member states, the institutions, and cases referred to it by the courts of member states.

The General Court mainly deals with cases taken by individuals and companies directly before the EU's courts, and the European Union Civil Service Tribunal adjudicates in disputes between the European Union and its civil service. Decisions from the General Court can be appealed to the Court of Justice but only on the point of law.

The European Central Bank (ECB) is the central bank of the Eurozone, a monetary union of 19 EU member states which employ the euro. Established by the Treaty of Amsterdam, the ECB is one of the world's most important central banks.

The European Court of Auditors (ECA) was established in 1975 in Luxembourg to improve EU financial management. Despite its name, the ECA has no jurisdictional functions. It is instead a professional external investigatory audit agency.

The main legal acts of the EU come in three forms: regulations, directives, and decisions. Regulations become law in all member states



when they come into force, without the requirement for any implementing measures, and automatically override conflicting domestic provisions. Directives require member states to achieve a specific result while leaving them discretion regarding how to achieve the result. Decisions offer an alternative to the two above modes of legislation. They are legal acts that only apply to specified individuals, companies, or a particular member state.

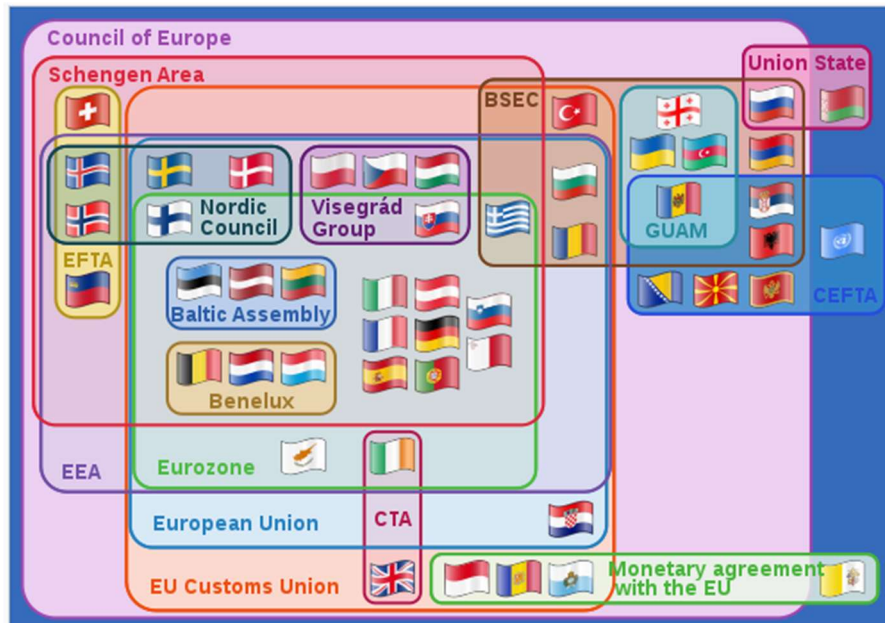


Figure 2.3.1: The Relationship Between Various Multinational European Organizations and Agreements

(Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European\\_Union](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Union))

The European Union's predecessors were not devised as a military alliance because NATO was appropriate and sufficient for defense purposes. Twenty-One EU members are members of NATO, while the remaining member states follow policies of neutrality. The Western European Union, a military alliance with a mutual defense clause, was disbanded in 2010 as its role transferred to the European Union.

The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) is a foreign relations instrument of the European Union (EU) that seeks to tie those countries to the east and south of the European territory of the EU to the Union.

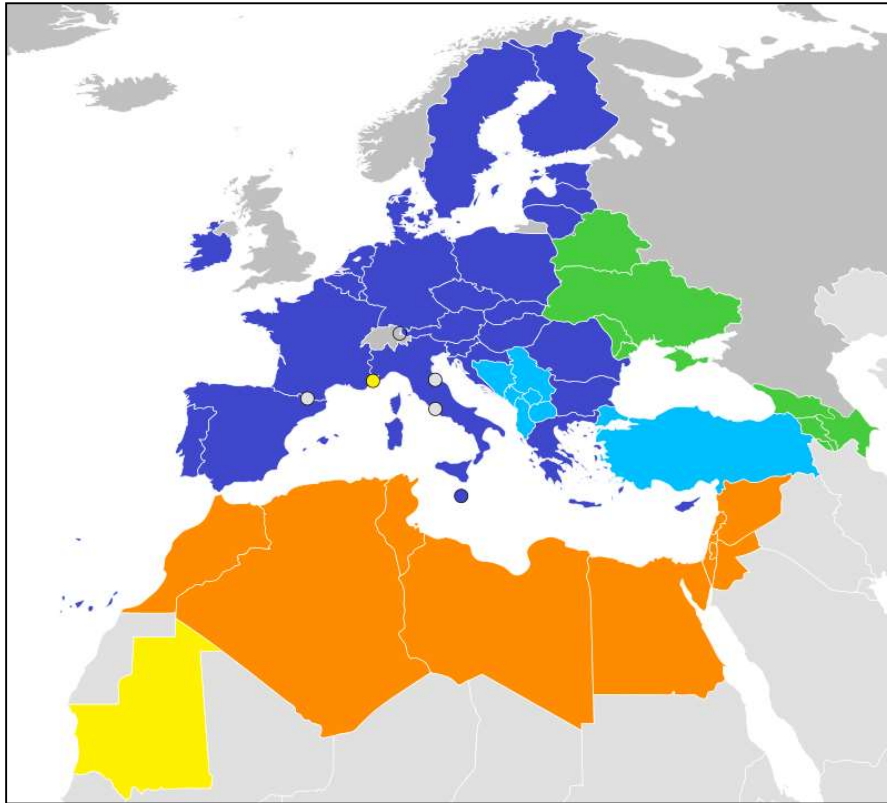


Figure 2.3.2: The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP)

(Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European\\_Union](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Union))

The European Union is the largest exporter globally and, as of 2008, the largest importer of goods and services. Internal trade between the member states removes trade barriers such as tariffs and taxation, and currency differences among nineteen member states. As a political entity, the European Union represents all its members at the World Trade Organization (WTO) and acts on behalf of member states in any disputes.

EU member states own the estimated second largest after the United States net wealth in the world, equal to around 20% global wealth. Nineteen member states have joined a monetary union known as the eurozone, which uses the euro as a single currency. The currency union represents 342 million EU citizens. The euro is the second largest reserve currency and the second most traded currency after the United States dollar.

The EU has five critical points in its energy policy: increase competition in the internal market, encourage investment and boost interconnections between electricity grids; diversify energy resources with better systems to respond to a crisis; establish a new treaty framework for energy co-operation with Russia while improving relations with energy-rich states in Central Asia and North Africa; use existing energy supplies more efficiently while increasing renewable energy commercialization, and finally increase funding for new energy technologies. In 2007, EU countries imported 82% of their oil, 57% of their natural gas, and 97.48% of their uranium demands.

The European Transport Network covers approximately 75,000km of roads, 78,000km of railways, 330 airports, 270 maritime harbors, 210 inner harbors.

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is one of the long-lasting policies of the European Community. The policy aims to increase agricultural production, provide certainty in food supplies, ensure a high quality of life for farmers, stabilize markets, and ensure reasonable prices for consumers.

The European Union has had a significant positive economic impact on most member states. According to a 2019 study of the member states who joined from 1973 to 2004, "without European integration, per capita incomes would have been, on average, approximately 10% lower in the first ten years after joining the EU." Greece was the exception reported by the study, which was analyzed up to 2008, "to avoid confounding effects from the global financial crisis."

The European Union has contributed to peace in Europe, particularly by pacifying border disputes and the spread of democracy, especially by encouraging democratic reforms in aspiring Eastern European member states after the USSR collapsed. At the same time, the Union

provides an external constraint that prevents soft authoritarian regimes from progressing into brutal dictatorships.

#### **2.4. The Historical Context**

The Tudor Dynasty is undoubtedly the most known in British History, one of Welsh origin. In 1535 and 1542, King Henry VIII enacted the Laws in Wales Act with which England annexed Wales.

On 24 March 1603, King James I of the Scottish Stuart family ascended to the English throne in an act known as the Union of The Crowns, but the crown of England and Scotland remained separate.

On 1 May 1707, the Acts of Union came in effect between England and Scotland, which were in words of the treaty "United in One Kingdom by the name of Great Britain." On this date, the Parliaments of Scotland and England united to form the Parliament of Great Britain, based on Westminster's Palace in London.

The Acts of Union 1800 were parallel acts of the Parliament of Great Britain and the Parliament of Ireland to create the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The acts came into force on 1 January 1801.

The Irish Free State Constitution Act 1922 was an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament passed in 1922 to enact the Irish Free State's Constitution in UK law. The Irish constituent assembly had approved the Irish Act on 25 October 1922.

On 7 December 1922, the day after establishing the Irish Free State, the Parliament of Northern Ireland addressed the King's secession from Irish Free State. The King replied shortly after that to say that he had caused his Ministers and the Irish Free State's Government that Northern Ireland was to do so.

Britain as a region always was both inside and outside of Europe. It has always faced Continental Institutions with great skepticism since at least the 15th century.

In the 15th century, the most dominant European Institution was the Roman Catholic Church which controlled most of Europe's rulers and even divided their spheres of influence.

In the 16th century, after the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Church's influence appeared to be waning. In the debate over his divorce from Queen Katherine of Aragon, King Henry VIII of the Tudor Dynasty limited the Roman Catholic influence over England and founded the Church of England in 1534.

Moreover, in 1588 the Spanish Armada moved against England to overthrow Queen Elizabeth I and end Protestantism in England.

In the 17th century, England was absent from the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), a Pan-European War over religion between Catholics and Protestants. However, it had its internal strife and civil war.

In the 19th century, Napoleonic France emerged as European Continental Power, threatening the United Kingdom's economy with continental blockade for English ships over European Ports. This struggle between England and France resulted in many conflicts worldwide in 15 years, ending in Waterloo's battle in 1815.

In the 20th century, the threat came two times in twenty years from Germany and resulted in two World Wars. The end of World War II saw the USA and the USSR's rise and the decline of the United Kingdom's influence.

In 1973 the United Kingdom became a member of the ECSC and seceded from the European Union on 31 January 2020.

The central concept of Britannic attitude towards Continental Europe is that of the balancer. The United Kingdom is involved in European matters until one state entity gains unprecedented power in Continental Europe. It distances itself from Europe to counterbalance the one player's influence over the continent (e.g., France in the 19th and Germany in the 20th and 21st centuries.)

During the centuries following the fall of Rome in 476, several European states viewed themselves as *translatio Imperii* ("transfer of rule") of the defunct Roman Empire.

The Frankish Empire (481–843) and the Holy Roman Empire (962–1806) attempted to resurrect Rome in the West.

This political philosophy of a supra-national rule over the continent, similar to the example of the ancient Roman Empire, resulted in the early Middle Ages in the concept of a *renovatio Imperii* ("restoration of the empire"), either in the forms of the *Reichsidee* ("imperial idea") or the religiously inspired *Imperium Christianum* ("Christian empire").

The political power of the Papacy in the Middle Ages was conducive to European integration and unity.

In the oriental parts of the continent, the Russian Tsardom, and ultimately the Empire (1547–1917), declared Moscow to be Third Rome and inheritor of the Eastern Roman tradition after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

The gap between the Greek East and Latin West by the Roman Empire's political scission in the 4th century and the Great Schism of 1054 would eventually widen by the Iron Curtain (1945–1991).

Pan-European political thought emerged during the 19th century, after Napoleon's Empire's demise (1802–1815). In the decades following the Congress of Vienna's outcomes, European unity ideals flourished across the continent.

The term United States of Europe was used at that time by Victor Hugo (1802–1885) during a speech at the International Peace Congress held in Paris in 1849:

A day will come when all nations on our continent will form a European brotherhood. A day will come when we shall see the United States of America and the United States of Europe face to face, reaching out for each other across the seas.

During the interwar period, the consciousness that national markets in Europe were interdependent though confrontational and the observation of a more significant and growing US market on the other side of the ocean nourished the urge for the continent's economic integration.

In 1920, British economist John Maynard Keynes advocated the creation of a European economic union.

During the same decade, Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi, one of the first to imagine a modern political union of Europe, founded the Pan-Europa Movement.

The idea of a unified Europe was embraced even by Winston Churchill in a radio speech in 1943.

The end of World War II saw Europe wholly devastated. The cause of such an immense catastrophe identified in extreme nationalism.

The idea of a pan-European unification became imperative. In a speech at the University of Zurich in 1946, Winston Churchill advocated creating the United States of Europe.

The 1948 Hague Congress was a pivotal moment in European federal history, as it led to the creation of the European Movement International and of the College of Europe, where Europe's future leaders would live and study together.

It also led directly to the founding of the Council of Europe in 1949, the first significant effort to bring the nations of Europe together, initially ten of them. The Council focused primarily on values—human rights and democracy—rather than on economic or trade issues as a forum where sovereign governments could choose to work together, with no supra-national authority.

The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was an organization of six European countries created after World War II to regulate industrial production under a centralized authority. It was formally established in 1951 by the Treaty of Paris, signed by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany.

The ECSC was the first international organization to be based on the principles of supranationalism and started the process of formal integration, which ultimately led to the European Union. French foreign minister Robert Schuman first proposed the ECSC on 9 May 1950 to prevent further war between France and Germany.

The Treaty of Rome created the European Economic Community (EEC) treaty on 25 March 1957 with Belgium, France, Italy,



Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. It came into force on 1 January 1958, under the name "Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union," and it remains one of the two most important treaties in the European Union (EU).

The Single European Act (SEA) was the first significant revision of the 1957 Treaty of Rome. The Act set the European Community to establish a single market by 31 December 1992 and codified European Political Cooperation, the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) forerunner, signed at Luxembourg on 17 February 1986 and at The Hague on 28 February 1986. It came into effect on 1 July 1987, under the Delors Commission.

The Maastricht Treaty, concluded in 1992 between the twelve Member States of the European Community, is the European Union's foundation treaty (EU). Formally the Treaty on European Union announced "a new stage in the process of European integration" chiefly in provisions for shared European citizenship, the eventual introduction of a single currency, and (with less precision) for standard foreign and security policies.

The Treaty of Lisbon (initially known as the Reform Treaty) is an international agreement that amends the two treaties that form the European Union's constitutional basis (EU).

The Treaty of Lisbon was signed by the EU member states on 13 December 2007 and entered into force on 1 December 2009. It amends the Maastricht Treaty (1992), known in updated form as the Treaty on European Union (2007) or TEU, and the Treaty of Rome (1957), known in updated form as the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (2007) or TFEU. It also amends the attached treaty protocols and the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).

The most recent enlargement of the European Union saw Croatia become the European Union's 28th member state on 1 July 2013.

On 31 January 2020, the United Kingdom withdrew from the European Union, leaving it with 27 member states.

A Trade Deal came into place between the United Kingdom and the European Union, setting up their new relationship on 01 January 2021.

The general concept of a European Union is almost 1500 years old. It began with the desire of the Roman Restoration in the European West until 1806.

Afterward, it continued with the idealism of perpetual peace and co-existence among the Europeans, and the idea even enhanced by the United Kingdom.

There is a struggle between idealist views of progress and prosperity and the realist views of a continent dominated by one power in today's European Union.

## **CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **3.1 The Transition Period**

Britain and the European Union were intense negotiations over a deal or no-deal Brexit from 01 February 2020 until 24 December 2020 when they reached an agreement over a new Trade Deal.

The two negotiators wanted to retain their privileges established from the Union and to prevent their counterparts gain more than they can tolerate.

These procedures were in danger of digressing into a mercantilist approach. Mercantilism is not a cooperative form of negotiation but a vindictive one. The two sides had to catch up with their mutual grievances and try to create a viable relationship for the years to come.

Brexit undoubtedly created an environment offered for conflict. The implications of Brexit affect most of the British and European agreements on the movement of goods, traveling, and immigration policies.

The main reason for the conflict was that both state entities perceived their interests balancing each other and wanting mutually to minimize their losses.

#### Trade Deal and the Level Playing Field

European Union: Both sides wanted a free-trade agreement with zero tariffs and zero quotas, i.e., no restrictions on the number of imports or exports. The European Union said "zero-zero" was only available if the United Kingdom made a legally binding pledge not to undercut European companies. That meant following EU rules on state aid, which would stop the UK government from showering British companies with large subsidies. On social and employment law, environmental standards, and tax, EU standards should be a reference point meaning the government would have to match the spirit when the EU upgrades its regulations.

United Kingdom: The government stated it would not agree to any obligations for its laws to be aligned with the EU's. The British position for post-Brexit talks sprinkled with references to trade agreements the EU has signed with Canada and Japan to the point that the EU was making unprecedented demands on the UK.

#### Fisheries

European Union: Eight EU member states fish most in UK waters and have a maximalist position on fishing rights in the future. The EU effectively seeks the status quo to protect the member states' historical fishing catches in British waters. The EU's leverage was in the link Brussels had made with the broader trade deal. Unless a mutually satisfactory agreement took place, the EU stated it could block British fishers from selling their products into the European market.

United Kingdom: The EU's annual negotiation with Norway was the model for the British government. London also insisted that the issue was not part of the more comprehensive trade talks. It was an attempt to decouple the fish caught in UK waters from fish sales in EU markets. The UK rejected the EU's "relative stability" principle within the standard fisheries policy, which sets national shares based on the patterns of the catch of the early 1970s. They want a lot more fish. EU vessels licensed to fish in UK waters would work under UK rules.

#### The European Court of Justice and dispute settlement

European Union: The bloc sought a blockbuster agreement covering everything from trade to transport, foreign policy to fish. All disputes would go to an independent arbitration panel, which would issue binding rulings. Nevertheless, if there were a dispute about EU law interpretation, only the European court of justice would answer the question.

United Kingdom: The purpose was a "comprehensive free trade agreement," plus separate deals on fishing, security, transport, and energy. The government does not want a single dispute resolution panel but "appropriate governance arrangements" for various deals. For the trade agreement, the UK had not ruled out an independent panel – a standard trade deal feature. However, it feared the ECJ's right to interpret EU law. That was -from its point of view- unacceptable, the government insisted: the ECJ could not have any jurisdiction in the UK.

### Financial services

European Union: The emphasis of the EU's position was on its power to make "equivalence decisions in their interest," about the ability to cut off the City of London from the European market at whim. The EU allows actors in non-member states to provide services in its market because it judges the regulatory and supervisory environment of that foreign power to be in line with its own. However, past evidence shows that it is a stick that the EU can deploy to get what it wants on other issues. The EU cut off investor access to the Swiss stock market when talks floundered in a broader renegotiation of its relationship with Switzerland.

United Kingdom: With financial services accounting for 6.9% of the UK gross domestic product in 2018, maintaining access to European clients for the City of London is a big deal. Furthermore, the City hates surprises. The UK needs to convince the financial services sector that it remains a predictable and stable environment in which to work. To that end, the government is seeking to cushion any equivalence withdrawal decisions in the future through "appropriate consultation and structured processes to facilitate the enduring confidence which underpins trade in financial services."

### Law Enforcement and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters

European Union: The bloc aimed for a "broad" and "comprehensive" agreement but has warned that a non-EU country, outside the EU's passport-free Schengen zone, cannot expect the close-knit arrangement of an EU member. The crime-fighting agreement would end immediately if the UK chose to quit the European convention on human rights.

United Kingdom: The British government called for fast exchange of criminal records, DNA, and fingerprints, as well as information sharing on criminal suspects, as it sought to replicate existing EU databases and

programs. The UK is not seeking to join the EU police agency Europol nor EU law enforcement agency Eurojust but wants to work with both. The UK also wants to sign an extradition agreement to replace the European arrest warrant. Nevertheless, Boris Johnson's government has not repeated Theresa May's pledge to remain in the European Convention on Human Rights in an official document on post-Brexit ambitions. A government spokesperson said: "The UK remains committed to the European convention on human rights."

### Foreign policy and Defense

European Union: Brussels laid out plans for "ambitious, close and lasting" cooperation with an invitation to the UK to join its missions and operations on a case-by-case basis. The level of UK input into their leadership would depend on the level of British contribution. There would be structures for intelligence-sharing and involvement in joint defense research and innovation.

United Kingdom: The issue of defense cooperation does not emerge once in the UK's negotiating mandate. Moreover, on foreign policy, the UK merely suggests "friendly dialogue and cooperation." These areas "do not require an institutionalized relationship," the paper adds. The UK is the pre-eminent actor in European defense in terms of intelligence and defense spending. It is not offering to give the EU anything before seeing how the trade talks proceed.

### Transport

European Union: British lorry drivers would no longer have the same rights as their EU counterparts to deliver goods between EU member states, although they would be able to transport items between the UK and EU. However, this access would depend on the government maintaining EU-level standards on workers' rights. In contrast, the UK wanted British haulers to provide services without restrictions, which it

acknowledges has no direct EU precedent, although it argues that some EU countries have similar bilateral treaties.

United Kingdom: British aviation companies should operate flights between the UK and EU, without barriers. To protect British Airways and its owner IAG, the UK argued against "unnecessary restrictions" on the nationality of who can control a British or EU airline. The EU stresses that the UK cannot have the same rights and benefits as an EU member state.

### Science and research

European Union: The UK is the third most popular destination for Erasmus students, and its scientific hubs constitute a significant driver of EU research programs. Involvement will all come down to hard cash – of which the EU is decidedly short following the UK's exit.

United Kingdom: The British government is equally coy and says it will "consider a relationship in line with non-EU member state participation" in essential research programs such as Horizon Europe, which brings together European scientists, Euratom Research and Training, and Copernicus, the program for monitoring the Earth from space. The two sides will have to engage in a tough negotiation in terms of payments into the programs and the level of leadership UK actors will have. The United Kingdom is one of the significant contributors to science. It is considered a model country in matters of Health Management.

## **3.2 Conflict Investigation**

We will analyze the conflict between the two-state entities according to the methodology given by Gerontogiannis (2019). The leading causes for the conflict were: Differences in perception between the

stakeholders (EU-UK) and limited resources for satisfying the needs of both sides (i.e., fisheries, level playing field).

This conflict was between two state entities. It was a distribution conflict, with two stakeholders (EU-UK) competing to secure their interest and take the most considerable portion of the benefit.

However, in the latter stages of their negotiations, both sides realized that it was in their best interest to make mutual concessions and finally to reach an agreement on 24 December 2020, known as Trade and Cooperation Agreement Between the European Union and The European Atomic Energy Community, Of the One Part, And the United Kingdom of Great Britain And Northern Ireland, Of the Other Part.

The EU Parliament and the 27 Member States gave their support for the treaty to be provisionally applied. The Agreement came into effect on 01 Jan 2021, and it will be reviewed in 10 years by both parties. In the meanwhile, committees and working groups will strive to secure the best for their part.

In the first stages, it was a conflict that both stakeholders acted with aggression toward each other primarily, from the writers' point of view, to show their counterpart that they will be uncompromising to their demands and to appease their voters in the interior, showing them that they had the willingness to fight.

As the negotiations went forward and considering the coronavirus pandemic's breakout, the stakeholders realized that it was not in their best interests to pursue a mercantilist approach and gradually avoided further aggression by finding a creative and beneficial road to reach an agreement.



The United Kingdom left the European Union on 31 January 2020. The time of reaching a deal for life afterward was concise lasting only 11 months. This relatively short amount of time created an environment that the general public did not readily perceive the conflict. Nevertheless, during this period, negotiations got high tense on various occasions reaching a critical stage on 7 December 2020, when the two sides argued intensely regarding fishing rights and business competition rules (level playing field) and posed threats of walking away from negotiations.

In the end, both sides came to an agreement weighing their options and concluding that they would benefit more from an initially consensual agreement rather than imposing taxation on each other's goods, preventing each other's fishing products from accessing the markets and trying to gain advantages only for their businesses in each other's regions.

A Partnership Council meets for all matters that arise from the agreement and with the ability to propose supplementary measures for better implementation. The Council meets after mutual agreement, has agenda by mutual consent, and oversees the deal's implementation.

### **3.3 Objective Purposes (OP), Desired End State (DES), Operational Lines (OL)**

#### **Political DES**

United Kingdom: A new positive and constructive partnership between the United Kingdom and the European Union.

European Union: Establish new terms maintaining its internal cohesion.

#### **Strategic DES**

United Kingdom: Seceding from the European Union with minimizing its losses and maintaining the privileges of the participation in it.

European Union: Minimizing the losses of the United Kingdom's secession and establishing a new relationship having the advantage for life afterward, especially for the member states adjacent to the United Kingdom.

### **Strategic Objective Purposes (OP)**

United Kingdom: Provide certainty about the process of leaving the European Union.

European Union: Provide an orderly process for Brexit and phased implementation.

### **Operational Objective Purposes (OP)**

United Kingdom: Maintain its position in the European Market in matters of goods, services, and its citizens' rights.

European Union: Improved terms for the member states trading with the United Kingdom.

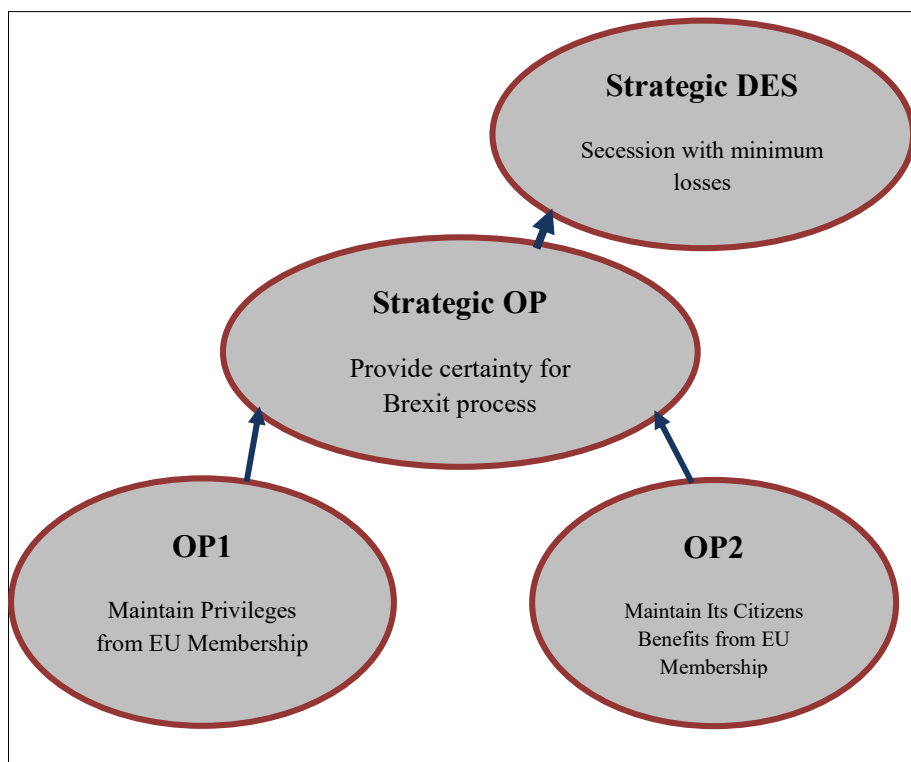


Figure 3.3: Objective Purposes and Strategic DES  
(United Kingdom)

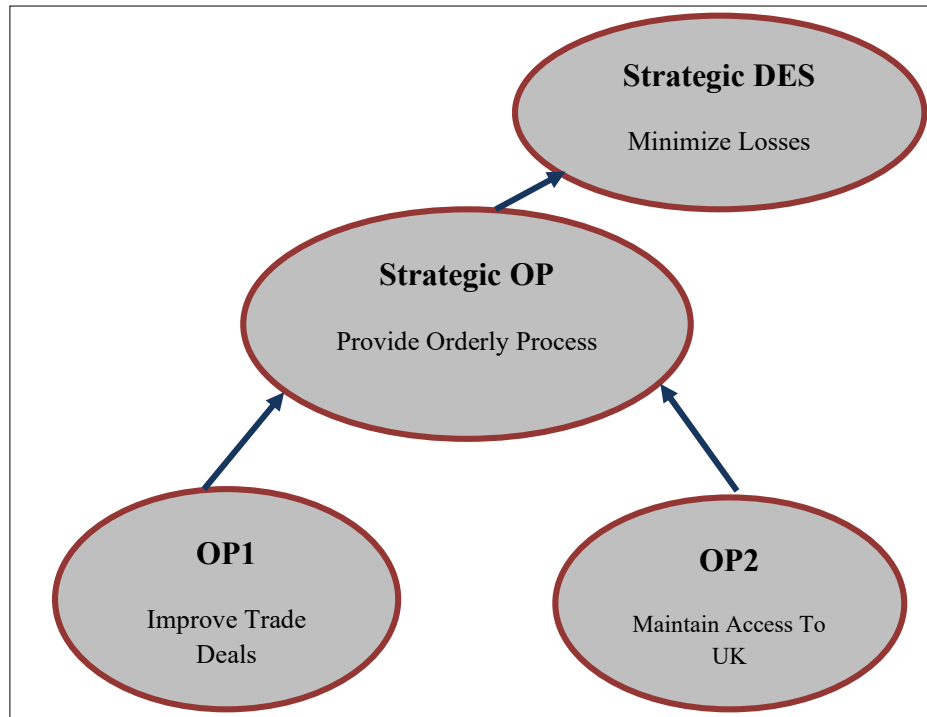


Figure 3.3.1: Objective Purposes and Strategic DES  
(European Union)

### Operational Center of Gravity (CoG)

#### United Kingdom

Center of Gravity (CoG): Safeguard the freedom of movement in the European continent for its citizens, goods, and services.

Critical Capabilities: Trade deals with countries outside the EU.

Critical Requirements: Credibility of British goods, products, and services and threat to impose tariffs on continental goods.

Critical Vulnerabilities: No influence on European Institutions after withdrawal.

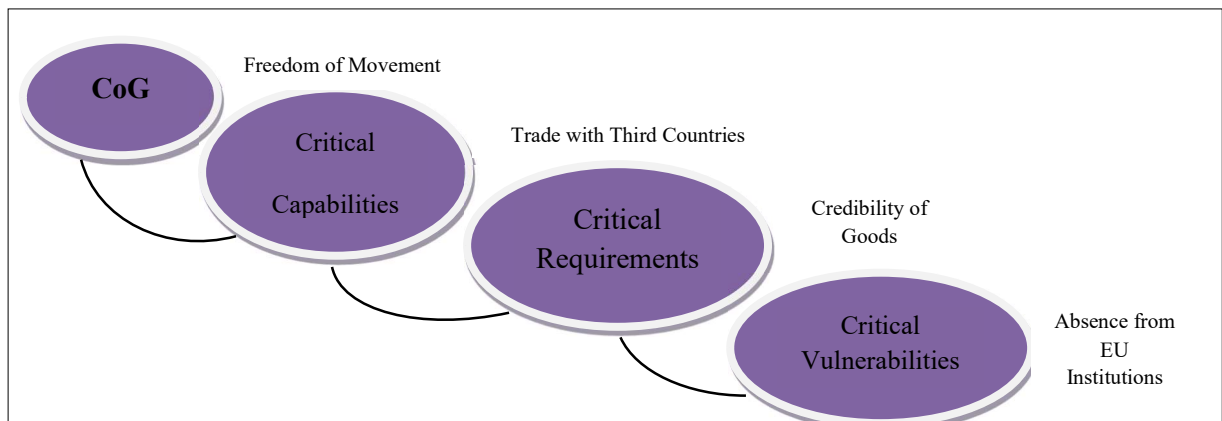


Figure 3.3.2: Operational CoG (United Kingdom)

European Union

Center of Gravity (CoG): Counterbalance economic loss from the withdrawal of a net budget contributor.

Critical Capabilities: Impose tariffs and border control to British goods and taxation on British services in the continent.

Critical Requirements: Achieving profits in the level playing field.

Critical Vulnerabilities: Involvement of adjacent member states in the British economy.

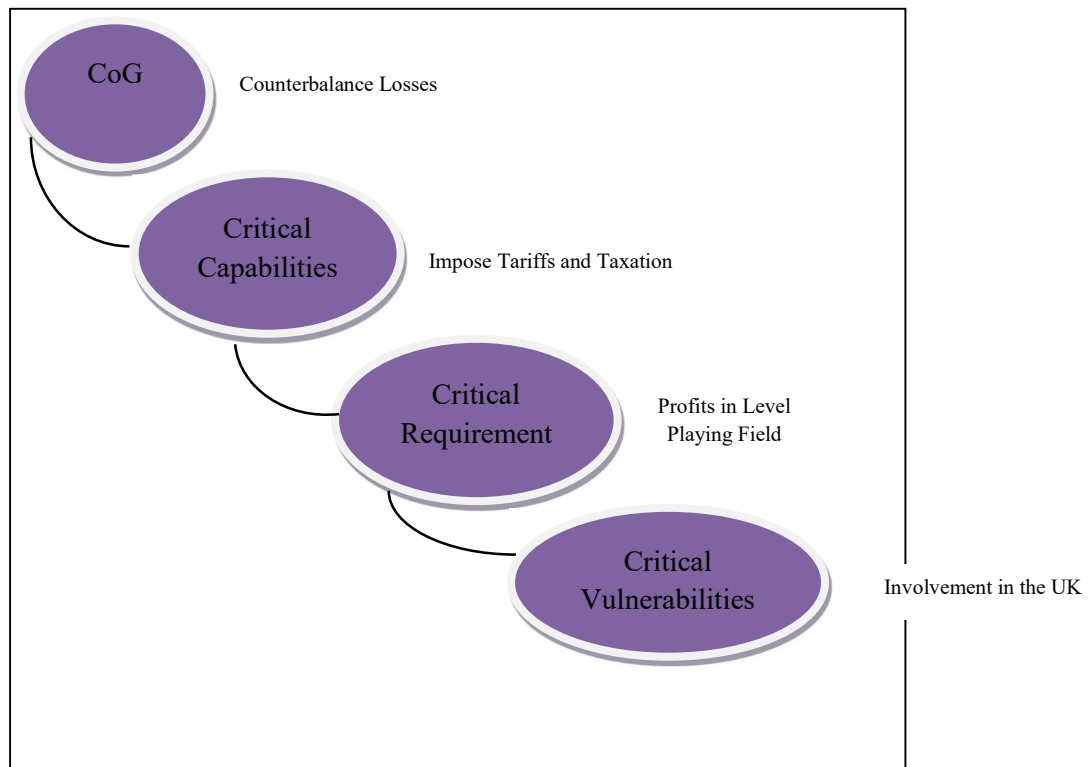


Figure 3.3.3: Operational CoG (European Union)

**Decisive Points (DP)**

United Kingdom

Decisive Point 1(DP1): Internal Political Stability

Decisive Point 2(DP2): Cohesion of Negotiating Team

Decisive Point 3(DP3): Balancing Measures

Decisive Point 4(DP4): International Coalitions

Center of Gravity (CoG): Safeguard the freedom of movement in the European continent for its citizens, goods, and services.

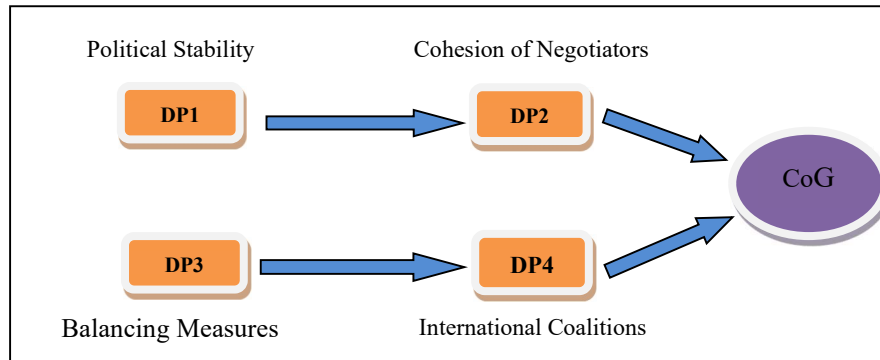


Figure 3.3.4: Decisive Points and CoG(United Kingdom)

### European Union

Decisive Point 1(DP1): Imposing tariffs and taxation

Decisive Point 2(DP2): Maintain Negotiating Unity

Decisive Point 3(DP3): Balancing Measures

Decisive Point 4(DP4): Winning on the level playing field

Center of Gravity (CoG): Counterbalance economic loss from the withdrawal of a net budget contributor.

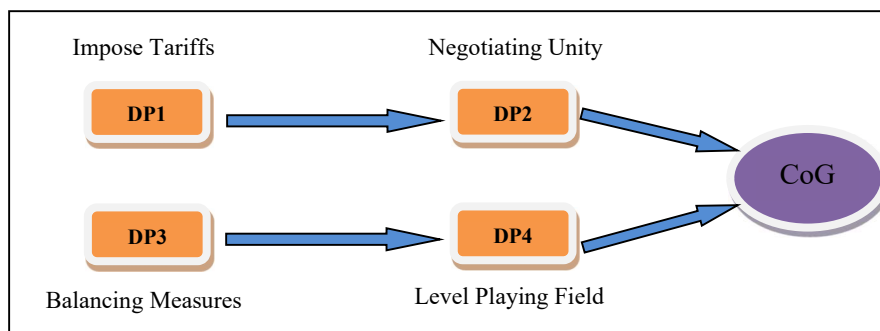


Figure 3.3.5: Decisive Points and CoG(European Union)

### Operational Lines (OL) and Desired End State (DES)

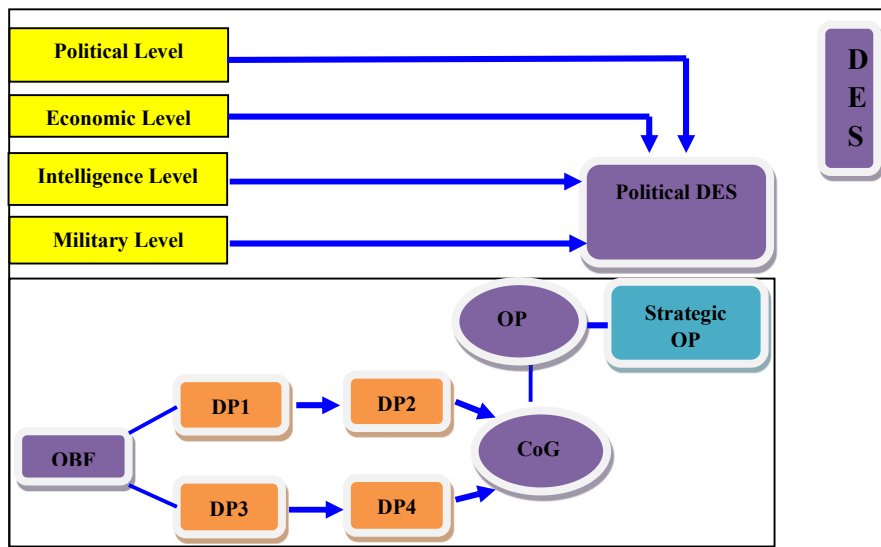


Figure 3.3.6: Operational Lines and Desired End State

### Operating Levels and Desired End State

#### United Kingdom

Political Level: Political Stability

Economic Level: Negotiation with Anglosphere countries

Intelligence Level: Establishment of National Cyber Security Center

Military Level: Separate Military Budget from the EU

#### European Union

Political Level: Cohesive Negotiating Tactics

Economic Level: Managing withdrawal of a net contributor

Intelligence Level: Common sharing of intelligence

Military Level: Develop military Capabilities separate from NATO

### 3.4 Preventing A Crisis

Brexit is a long way process. The Trade Deal establishes Committees and Working Groups between the United Kingdom and the European Union to implement it better.

The articles of the Trade Deal have different adjustment periods and different ways of application. The fact is that both organizations will face various challenges in reaching permanent solutions during at least the current decade.

Given that the coronavirus pandemic caused significant disruption to the global economic sectors, the United Kingdom and the European Union leaders have critical issues to manage inside a framework that becomes unpredictable and unstable daily.

The relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union was an "unhappy marriage." Now the two stakeholders are obliged to "become friends after a divorce." It is not going to be easy. On the one hand, the European Union functions through an institutionalized framework with clear goals from member states in specific timetables. On the other hand, the United Kingdom, after its secession, will not have the institutional pressure from the European Union to solve problems both domestic and international.

The successful management of issues is the best way to prevent a crisis in the relationship. Furthermore, the management must take place every day.

### **3.5 Strategic – Operational Analysis**

Strategic Analysis refers to the process of researching an organization and its working environment to formulate a strategy.

Operational Analysis is a method of examining the operations and maintenance investments' current and historical performance and measuring that performance against an established set of cost, schedule, and performance parameters.

We extract variables from the bibliography and compose factors and procedures, and we interview a bank and a pharmaceutical executive.

Furthermore, we set three research questions in Chapter 4, and we use the Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS) for quantitative analysis in Chapter 5. The purpose of the research questions is to lead us to proper conclusions about the nature of the future relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union. Finally, in Chapter 6, we make some concluding remarks.

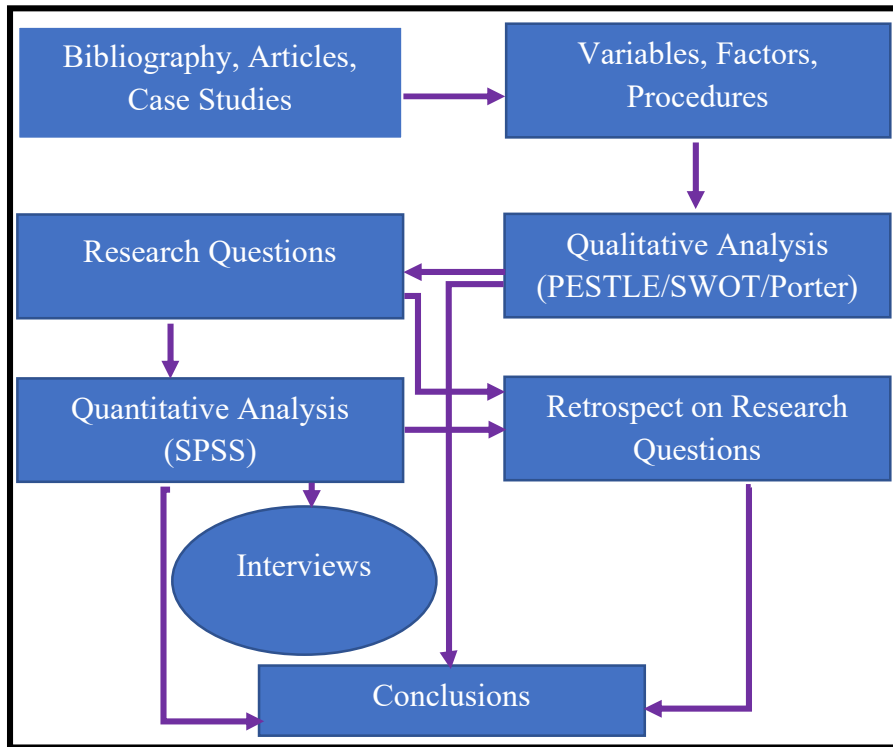


Figure 3.5: Process of Strategic-Operational Analysis

### PESTLE Analysis

A PESTLE analysis is a framework to analyze the key factors (Political, Economic, Sociological, Technological, Legal, and Environmental) influencing an organization from the outside. It offers professional insights into the external factors impacting the two-state entities. The Analysis is flexible in a range of different scenarios. The results can guide strategic decision-making.

The PESTLE Analysis for the United Kingdom is in the Matrix below:

Factors	Variables	Procedures
Political	Immigration	UK Policies



	Internal Balance of Power	
	Political Alliances	
	Voting Patterns	
	Policy Directions	
	Populism	
	Regain National Sovereignty	
	Imperialism	
	Decision Making	
	Euroscepticism	
	Political Grievances	
	Governance Crisis	
	Russia	
	China	
	Anglosphere	
	United States of America	
	Visegrad Countries	
	Soft-Hard border between Ireland and Northern Ireland	
	Self Determination	Domestic Sovereignty
	The desire of taking back control	
	The frustration of voters with the political establishment	Internal Politics
	The frustration of non-British nationals in the UK and London	
	Non-inclusion of Wales and Scotland in Brexit Negotiations	
	UK's uneasiness with EU since 1973	
	UK's uneasiness with an uncompromising Germany	
	Groups lobbying against EU	

	UK's opposition to EU integration	
Economic	Financial Regulations	Economy
	The imbalance between economic freedom and social protection	
	EU Disciplinary Methods	
	Irish problem	
	Eurozone Crisis	
	Debt Crisis	
	Financial contribution to the EU	
	UK's external debt	
	USA's trade deal with EU	
	Global Financial Crisis	
	Banking Crisis	
	Laissez Faire approach to economic matters	
	Fiscal consolidation-Austerity	
	Trade Deals	Trade Deals
	Agreements and Treaties	
	Economic Indexes	
	Industrial Capabilities	
Social	Popular Disenchantment	Social Dynamics
	Differences in opinion (Democracy vs. Technocracy)	
	Structural Problems	
	Refugee Crisis	
	Internal Migration	
	NHS Funding	
	The distinction between political and legal power	
	Past failed political promises	
	Criticism of EU function	

	Retain National Identity	
	Cosmopolitanism	
	Migration Crises	
	Impact of social media in spreading opinions	
	Inherent skepticism of British society	
	Historical and social context	
Technological	Development of AI	Inventions and Innovations
	Progress in science and technology	
	Licensing and patents	
	Funding of Research and development	
Legal	Criminal Justice	Rule of Law
	Laws	
	UK Constitution	
	Repatriation of legal powers	
	Alteration of UK Government legal powers	
	Delegation of powers to UK Nations	
	Losing Rights deriving from EU Citizenship	
	Free Movement Laws for residents from third countries	
	Reduction of English Common Law	
	Commercial - Contract Disputes	
	Costly Services from the Legal Sector for dealing with Brexit	
	The difference in economic approach	

Environmental	Agricultural Policy	Environmental Policies
	Extended use of nuclear power	
	Maintain environmental standards	
	Addressing of new Environmental Bill	
	Environmental Improvement Plans	
	Creation of Office for Environmental Protection	
	Policies of Devolved Nations	
	Different policies for Genetic Modified Organisms	
	English standards will dominate the United Kingdom	

The PESTLE Analysis for the European Union is in the Matrix below:

Factors	Variables	Procedures
Political	Immigration	EU Policies
	Balance of Power between member states	
	Political Alliances	
	Policy Directions	
	Rise of Populism among Europeans	
	Restrain National Sovereignty	
	Rigid Decision Making	
	Rise of Euroscepticism among Europeans	
	French Grievances after Brexit	
	Governance Crisis	
	Maintenance supranational control	

	Restoration of relationship with the USA	
	Restriction of influence of the Visegrad Countries	
	The frustration of voters with the political establishment	European Politics
	EU is uneasy with people's active participation in policymaking	
	Uncompromising leadership of Germany	
	EU integration will halt	
	Change in EU Doctrine	
	Grievances against the UK	
	Loss of Britain's Global influence in foreign policy	
	Increased neutrality on matters between its member states and third countries	
Economic	Financial Regulations	Economy
	Increase of Imbalance between economic freedom and social protection	
	Stricter Disciplinary Methods	
	Debt Crisis	
	Loss of a net budget contributor	
	Covering UK's contribution	
	Increase contribution from member states	
	Banking-Economic-Sovereign Debt Crisis	Banking Sector
	Banking Crisis	

	Regulated approach to economic matters	
	Fiscal consolidation-Austerity	
	New Trade Deal with the UK	
Social	University Students Fees	Social Dynamics
	Popular Disenchantment	
	Differences in opinion (Democracy vs. Technocracy)	
	Structural Problems	
	Refugee Crisis	
	Internal Migration	
	The distinction between political and legal power	
	Voters disbelief of elites	
	Past failed political promises	
	Criticism of EU functions	
	Will to retain National Identity	
	Migration Crises	
	Impact of social media in spreading opinions	
	Increased skepticism for the EU	
	The various historical and social context between member states	
Technological	Development of AI without UK services	Inventions and innovations
	Progress in science and technology	
	Licensing and patents	
	Research funding and development without UK contribution	
Legal	European Court of Justice	

	The UK considered a third country	The rule of law
	Restriction on free movement in the UK	
	Losing Rights of EU Citizens in the UK	
	Free Movement Laws for residents from third countries	
	Commercial Disputes	
	Contract Disputes	
	The difference in economic approach	
Environmental	Funds from Common Agricultural Policy released	Environmental Policies
	Maintain environmental standards	
	Implications of COVID-19	

### SWOT Analysis

SWOT analysis is a strategic tool comprised of organizational strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. The purpose of the SWOT analysis is to understand the internal strengths and weaknesses of the two-state entities and external opportunities and threats that they could take advantage of or should avoid. The factors are distinguished as follows: Internal (Strengths, Weaknesses), External (Opportunities, Threats), Positive (Strengths, Opportunities), Negative (Weaknesses, Threats).

The SWOT Matrix for the United Kingdom is as follows:

Internal Factors	
Strengths	Weaknesses
Global Influence	Lack of providing Role Models

High skilled workforce	Abolition of the Christian paradigm
Diplomatic Strength	Contradicting Interests among devolved nations
Good Financial Position	Extremely Liberal Mindset in Ethos
Flexibility in interior affairs	Industry exposed to European competition
Four hundred years of Union	Restrictions for British Nationals in the EU
City of London	Not having posts on EU Institutions
Proven Survivability	No Influence in EU Economic Policies
Pragmatic Approach on Issues	Businesses cannot lobby in EU institutions
Attractive for Investment	Public and Private Debt
Long term Stability	Inability to shape the future of Europe directly
Globally Respected Universities	Regional Disparities
International Banking Sector	Household Debt
Public Institutions	Low Productivity and Creativity
Position in Global Markets	Training Not Conducive to innovation
Bank of England	Foreign Assets and Liabilities
Cutting Edge Sectors	The decline of Influence in EU
Financial Services	Need more resources to satisfy needs
Competitive Tax Regime	Wealth distribution gap
Decision making without EU constitutional pressure	Poor Industrial Transportation
<b>External Factors</b>	



Opportunities	Threats
Better Deals with Third Countries	Concessions on the level playing field
Examine issues without European pressure	The loss for the tourism industry
Deals with Asian markets	Losses for cutting edge sectors
Start new tech culture	Difficult Relationship with EU
Adjust Laws to common perception	French Grievances
Increase defense budget	Competitive Neighbors
Negotiate better prices for wholly obtained products	Expensive markets for local small business
Firm protection of consumer and citizen rights	Economy vulnerable to external influences
Closer relations with other member states	Tension in the relationship of the devolved nations
Rollback environmental standards and gain competitive advantage	Easing EU Regulations on Environment
Flexibility in setting financial regulations	Losing EU Citizenship Benefits
Reduction of trade deficit with significant member states	Losing "special relationship" with EU
Reassess its regulations on animal health and welfare	The difference in environmental standards in devolved nations
Explore more innovative methods in food production	Insecure access of British goods to the single market
Bank of England taking control of Economy	Probable reduction of financial sector exports
Drug authorization from domestic institutions	Pressure from the United States to lower food standards
Retirement Programs controlled by Bank of England	Weaker negotiating position outside the EU

The SWOT Matrix for the European Union is as follows:

<b>Internal Factors</b>	
<b>Strengths</b>	<b>Weaknesses</b>
Global Influence	Lack of providing Role Models
High skilled workforce	Abolition of the Christian paradigm
Diplomatic Strength	Contradicting Interests among member states
Secure Financial Position	Extremely Liberal Mindset in Ethos
Strong Institutions	Rigid Institutional System
Offers protection from unfair contracts, unsafe goods, doorstep selling	A short period in existence
Free Movement of citizens, goods, and services	Lack of Central Government
Limit Restricting Practices and Monopolies	Perceived to undermine national sovereignty
Funding from ECB	Accused of being undemocratic
Attractive for Investment	Unelected officials in Commission
High Environmental Standards	Pressing Decision Making Procedures
High Food Standards	Regional Disparities
International Banking Sector	Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs)
Position in Global Markets	Vulnerable to adverse economic events in member states
Favoring the use of international institutions	The inefficiency of Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)
A significant contribution to member states budgets	Slow Process in Negotiating Agreements with third countries

Detailed Regulations for Businesses	Dysfunctional Immigration Policy
Conduct policies in trade, tax, and foreign affairs area	Slow Decision Making
Maintenance of Peace	Difficult to secure consensus
Promoting Democracy	Limited competence in energy policy
<b>External Factors</b>	
<b>Opportunities</b>	<b>Threats</b>
Extend consumer protection laws	Unexpected and unwelcome judgments from ECJ for member states
Increase competitiveness	Rollback consumer protection laws
Reduce regulations	Member states not wanting to invest in closer relations with the UK
The gain in the Level Playing Field	Deepening Economic Crisis

### **PORTER Analysis**

Porter's Five Forces Analysis Framework analyzes competitive forces acting in grouped operational lines of operational actions in organizations or state entities to specify strengths, weaknesses, and the competition between the United Kingdom and the European Union.

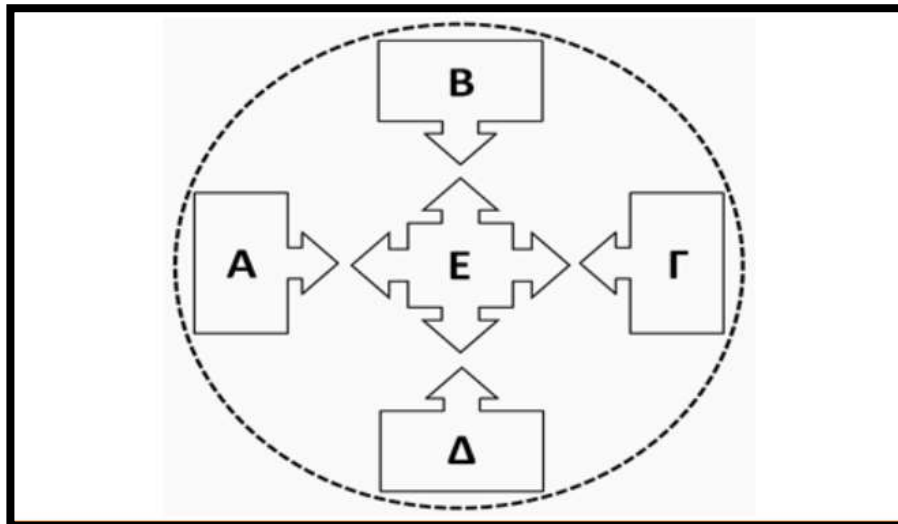


Figure 3.6.3: Porter's Five Forces

Force A: Threat of New Entrants

Force B: Negotiating Power of stakeholders with external influence

Force C: Threat of using substitute means or methods

Force D: Negotiating Power of stakeholders with internal influence

Force E: Competition Between Stakeholders

### **Brexit Porter Analysis**

#### Force A: Threat of New Entrants

Brexit will be a timely procedure. During its implementation, challenges will occur from Member States of the EU according to their best interests, United Kingdom's devolved nations, Non-European Great Powers (USA, China, Russia).

#### Force B: Negotiating Power of stakeholders with external influence

Stakeholders who project external power are Lobbying Groups in the United Kingdom, Lobbying Groups inside the European Institutions, Oil/ Gas Companies, NATO, International Banking Institutions, Global Investment Funds.

#### Force C: Threat of using substitute means or methods

The Trade Deal between the United Kingdom and the European Union signed 24 Dec 2020 set the two-state entities' framework to move forward. However, this does not mean that a derailment of the procedure is impossible. The greatest threat for life afterward is the mismanagement of the disruptions that may take place in the future. The easiest way of bouncing back from possible failures is to impose tariffs and value-added tax (VAT) on the counterpart's services and goods.

#### Force D: Negotiating Power of stakeholders with internal influence

The most significant internal influence for the governments, both of the United Kingdom and the European Union, comes from citizens who have the right to vote. The United Kingdom faces more restrictive frameworks to act or not to act from its voters than the European Union. From the EU27, the voter's opinion matters the most in the Union countries adjacent to the United Kingdom.

#### Force E: Competition Between Stakeholders

The United Kingdom and the European Union will continue to secure their mutual interest and minimize their secession losses.

### **3.6 Interviews**

#### Interviewing a Bank Executive

In September 2020, we asked a bank executive to help us trace the Brexit implications specifically for the banking sector. The major of these implications will have a significant impact, especially in the United Kingdom.

Brexit is going to affect London's attractiveness as a financial center. Some companies have already moved their offices from the City, fearing that a more nationally oriented United Kingdom will put restrictions on their country's activities. However, London will continue to be one of the major financial centers worldwide.

Banking and Payment Services are the payments made from bank to bank. All the imported and exported goods and services are paid between the UK and the EU through banking payments. The significant implication of Brexit is that from now on, the EU will ask for supporting documents from British companies to pay for the products and services they provide because the United Kingdom is now considered a third country.

Post Trade Financial Services are provided between banks to ease capital transfer from one bank to another and help companies move money from one country to another. Brexit will not affect this sector.

The ties between Correspondent Banks will not be affected. As to Insurances and Reinsurances, the matters are more complex. The impact of Brexit will differ on how a loan is serviceable, whether a bond is overdue or not, how the borrowers pay loans and bonds, who is the creditor, and who is the borrower.

The significant difference in Credit Rating Agencies after Brexit is that the European Central Bank will not evaluate the Bank of England. Furthermore, the European Central Bank will not evaluate the British credit system, loans, and bonds. In the European Union, the credit ratings will continue from the European Central Bank.

Considering Asset Management, the British Investment Agencies will not be obligated to sign the ECB's MiFID (Markets in Financial Instruments Directive), which negotiates the deals made between investors and banks. MiFID II/MiFIR entered into force on 3 January 2018. This legislative framework strengthened investor protection and improved financial markets' functioning, making them more efficient, resilient, and transparent.

Occupational Retirement Programs will not follow the terms set by the ECB when we refer to private insurance. The British Private Insurance Companies will have their terms.

Brexit will not impact Investment/Market trading, relations of Credit Institutions with British Banks, Passporting, and Interconnection/Interoperability between Banks.

The British Banks will lose Common Market Benefits such as Freedom of Money, Free Movement of Capital, Buy/Sell Products between Countries, Ability to change trade agreements, Ability to change tariff headings.

As for contract renewals, the terms will vary between the stakeholders according to insurances and reinsurances.

Capital Movements will become more taxing for both state entities because they will require proof about the source of capital. However, Euribor-the standard European interest rate- and Libor, the US Dollar's interest rate, will not affect the Pound Sterling.

Bank Investments in the United Kingdom will have terms imposed from the Bank of England. It is nearly impossible that the United Kingdom will maintain the terms issued by the ECB. A significant tax adjustment will take place in the Kingdom.

Electronicization of both banking systems will diminish COVID-19's impact on bank transactions. The Bank of England will determine Profit Margin and Lending Rates. Finally, our Bank Executive believes that the United Kingdom chose to secede from the European Union for reasons of Self-Governance and Independence.

#### Interviewing a Pharmaceutical Executive

In February 2021, we interviewed a pharmaceutical executive to trace the Brexit implications specifically for the pharmaceutical industry.

In Research and Development matters, the significant implication is that the British Research Institutions will no longer be a part of the European Research Council. British Institutions will not receive European funding and will have to find alternative funding sources.

Pricing in medicinal products will continue to be monitored by the United Kingdom's Government, as it was during the UK membership in the European Union. Pricing in the United Kingdom had already been determined independently from prices in other member states.

Annex B of the Trade Deal signed on 24 December 2020, between the United Kingdom and the European Union, determines the legal framework for Good Manufacturing Practices (GMP) in each state entity.

Medicinal products manufactured in either state entity and destined to the counterpart must meet the relevant legislative requirements.

The United Kingdom and the European Union have agreed that both GMP certificates will be equally valid. The only exception occurs when continuous inconsistencies take place. The damaged part has the right to send a committee of inspectors to the other part for GMP's to be verified.

Marketing Authorization is the license given to a medicinal product from the European Union to enter the Single Market. (EC/726/2004). After Brexit, the United Kingdom is considered a third country for the European Union. Thus, a medicinal product manufactured in the United Kingdom will circulate through a European Union company called a Marketing Authorization Holder (MAH). British Pharmaceutical Companies must conduct deals with European MAH's for their products to be available in the common market.

The National Health System (NHS) will not be under the supervision of the European Medicines Agency, an advantage for the United Kingdom because the National Health System will act independently in regards to approving medicinal products, which means that the time needed for approval will be shorter for the benefit of the patients.

Clinical Trials as a procedure will not change. However, the clinical trial results in the United Kingdom will not be taken into account in the European Union after Brexit. When the European Union wants to



approve a medicinal product's circulation, it will not consider clinical trials for this specific product in the United Kingdom.

In producing generic drugs, when a member state wants to manufacture a generic drug, it must request EMA an original drug in circulation in the common market. Additionally, the member state cannot include the request, effectiveness, and safety data from clinical trials in the United Kingdom, a significant contributor in clinical research besides France, Germany, and Switzerland.

According to the latest Trade Deal, Medicinal products do not need a special import license. The free movement of medicinal products is still in use.

The United Kingdom has lost the benefit of retailing medicinal products in the common market and receiving medicinal products from the European Union in retail, except for bilateral agreements between a member state and the United Kingdom.

The United Kingdom loses the benefit of parallel export of medicinal products. British pharmaceutical stores do not have the ability to wholesale a drug to another European country and profit from pricing differences. A member state's pharmaceutical store cannot wholesale a drug to the United Kingdom and benefit from pricing. In due time some member states will lose profit, but the drugs will remain in their storage.

The biggest accessible market for the United Kingdom and its medicinal products has been the common market. The market remains critical but is becoming more challenging to access due to bureaucratic procedures.

The United Kingdom has the opportunity to shift its exports to other markets. The best example of this mentality is that recently Medicines and Healthcare Products Regulatory Agency joined a consortium with Australia, Canada, Singapore, and Switzerland.

The United Kingdom has been a good base for American and Asian Pharmaceutical Companies to access the European Market. It will not be easy for these companies to remain in the United Kingdom given the restrictions imposed for the movement of goods and products, rather than decide to move their bases in the Continent.

Finally, the two sides' direction is to retain a good relationship and cooperation in the movement and sale of medicinal products to benefit patients, both European and British.

In a joint statement on 24 December 2020, Richard Torbett, Chief Executive of the Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry (ABPI), and Nathalie Moll, Director General, European Federation of Pharmaceutical Industries and Associations (EFPIA), together representing the EU and UK pharmaceutical industry, said:

"We have always said that a deal is in the best interest of patients in the UK and the EU. This means ongoing collaboration in key areas including scientific research and cooperation in areas like medicines safety. We will now take the time to look at the detail to understand what it means for our members and the future of the pharmaceutical industry.

"Regardless of a deal, the end of the transition means there will be a significant change in how border and customs arrangements work come Jan 1st, and companies have been working on contingency plans to mitigate any disruption. We will continue to do everything in our power to maintain the flow of medicines to all parts of the UK and the EU."

The impact of COVID-19 in transactions between pharmaceutical companies will be of none importance.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **4.1 Research Questions**

This chapter will be reviewing the methodology used for writing the thesis. The thesis's writing is the formal model (APA), using both Descriptive and Analytical Models. Secondary Data were used, such as articles in academic and professional journals, reports, case studies,

theses, and articles on the Internet. Qualitative Analysis was conducted by extracting factors, variables, and procedures from the bibliography.

Quantitative Analysis took place using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), combining datasets retrieved from elements provided freely on the Internet by the Electoral Commission of the United Kingdom and the Bank of England. These datasets concern the total of constituencies in the United Kingdom and provide elements from the 2011 Census.

The purpose of the research questions is to lead us to proper conclusions about the nature of the future relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union

First Research Question: Is there a statistical significance between Nation and Region in the United Kingdom so that the national vote influences the electoral or referendum results?

Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ): There is no statistical significance between Nation and Region in the United Kingdom so that the national vote influences the electoral or referendum results.

Alternate Hypothesis ( $H_1$ ): There is statistical significance between Nation and Region in the United Kingdom so that the national vote influences the electoral or referendum results.

Objective: Prove that the English Electorate mainly influences the decisions made in the United Kingdom.

Second Research Question: Are the voters of Leave in 2016 mostly correlated with the General Election winner of 2019?

Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ): There is no correlation between the voters of Leave in 2016 and the 2019 General Election winner voters.

Alternate Hypothesis ( $H_1$ ): There is a correlation between the voters of Leave in 2016 and the 2019 General Election winner voters.

Objective: Prove that the voters of Leave in 2016 are strongly correlated to the winner's Votes in the 2019 General Election.

Third Research Question: Is there a correlation between the winner of the 2019 General Election and White Ethnicity and Christians' religion?

Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ): There is no correlation between the winner of the 2019 General Election and people who are of White Ethnicity and Christians in religion.

Alternate Hypothesis ( $H_1$ ): There is a correlation between the winner of the 2019 General Election and people who are of White Ethnicity and Christians in religion.

Objective: Prove that the voters of the winner of the 2019 General Election are strongly correlated with White Ethnicity people and Christians.

## CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS, OBSERVATIONS, FINDINGS

### 5.1 First Research Question

In Table 5.1.1, we observe 650 accurate records in our dataset.

Case Processing Summary						
	Valid		Cases Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Nation * Region	650	100,0%	0	0,0%	650	100,0%

Table 5.1.1: Number of Valid Records

In Table 5.1.2, we see the crosstabulation between Region and Nation in the United Kingdom.

Region * Nation Crosstabulation						
Count		Nation				Total
		England	Northern Ireland	Scotland	Wales	
Region	East Midlands	46	0	0	0	46
	East of England	58	0	0	0	58
	London	73	0	0	0	73
	North East	29	0	0	0	29
	North West	75	0	0	0	75
	Northern Ireland	0	18	0	0	18
	Scotland	0	0	59	0	59
	South East	84	0	0	0	84
	South West	55	0	0	0	55
	Wales	0	0	0	40	40
	West Midlands	59	0	0	0	59
	Yorkshire and The Humber	54	0	0	0	54
Total		533	18	59	40	650

Table 5.1.2: Crosstabulation Region-Nation

In Table 5.1.3, we have the results of the Chi-Square Test between Region and Nation. Since 60,4% of the cells have an expected count less than 5, we will consider the Asymptotic Significance of the Likelihood Ratio, which is less than 0.05, so we conclude that Region and Nation in the United Kingdom are statistically significant.

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1950,000 <sup>a</sup>	33	,000
Likelihood Ratio	846,847	33	,000
N of Valid Cases	650		
a. 29 cells (60,4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,50.			

Table 5.1.3: Chi-Square Test Region-Nation

In Table 5.1.4, we observe the symmetric measures for Region and Nation. Cramer's Value is 1,000, which means a complete association between Region and Nation in the United Kingdom, with Nation to be determined entirely by Region and vice versa.

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	1,732	,000
	Cramer's V	1,000	,000
N of Valid Cases		650	

Table 5.1.4: Symmetric Measures Region-Nation

In Table 5.1.5, we observe a total of 650 records for the United Kingdom's constituencies. Each Constituency belongs to a region, and the region belongs to a devolved nation.

Statistics			
		Region	Nation
N	Valid	650	650
	Missing	0	0

Table 5.1.5: United Kingdom's Constituencies

In Table 5.1.6, we observe a total of 650 records for the regional occurrence according to the number of its constituencies.

Region					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	East Midlands	46	7,1	7,1	7,1
	East of England	58	8,9	8,9	16,0
	London	73	11,2	11,2	27,2
	North East	29	4,5	4,5	31,7
	North West	75	11,5	11,5	43,2
	Northern Ireland	18	2,8	2,8	46,0
	Scotland	59	9,1	9,1	55,1
	South East	84	12,9	12,9	68,0
	South West	55	8,5	8,5	76,5
	Wales	40	6,2	6,2	82,6
	West Midlands	59	9,1	9,1	91,7
	Yorkshire and The Humber	54	8,3	8,3	100,0
	Total	650	100,0	100,0	

Table 5.1.6: United Kingdom's Constituencies by Region

Figure 5.1.7 shows the Histogram of the United Kingdom’s Counties according to their number of Constituencies.

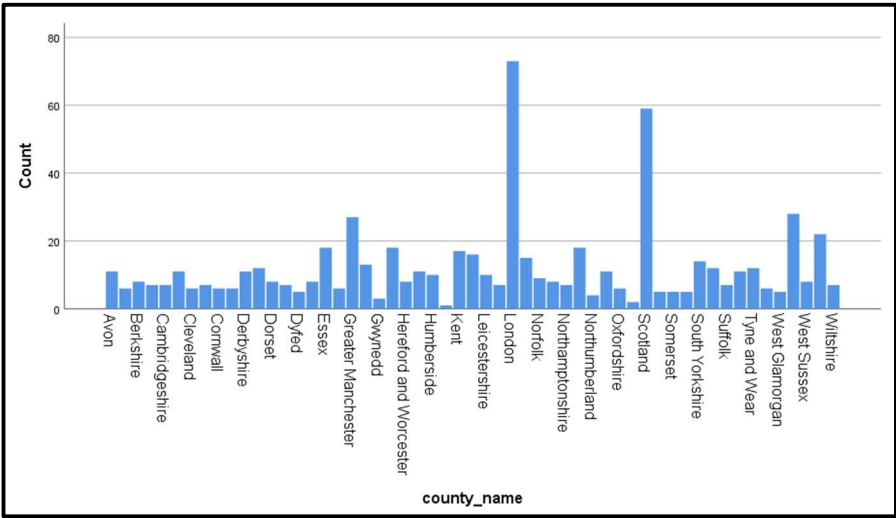


Figure 5.1.7: United Kingdom’s Constituencies by County

In Table 5.1.8, we observe that England has the vast majority of voting influence in the United Kingdom.

		Nation			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	England	533	82,0	82,0	82,0
	Northern Ireland	18	2,8	2,8	84,8
	Scotland	59	9,1	9,1	93,8
	Wales	40	6,2	6,2	100,0
	Total	650	100,0	100,0	

Table 5.1.8: United Kingdom’s Constituencies by Nation

In Figure 5.1.9, we observe the difference in the number of occurrences in constituencies of the United Kingdom, and we can see England’s distance from the other devolved nations.

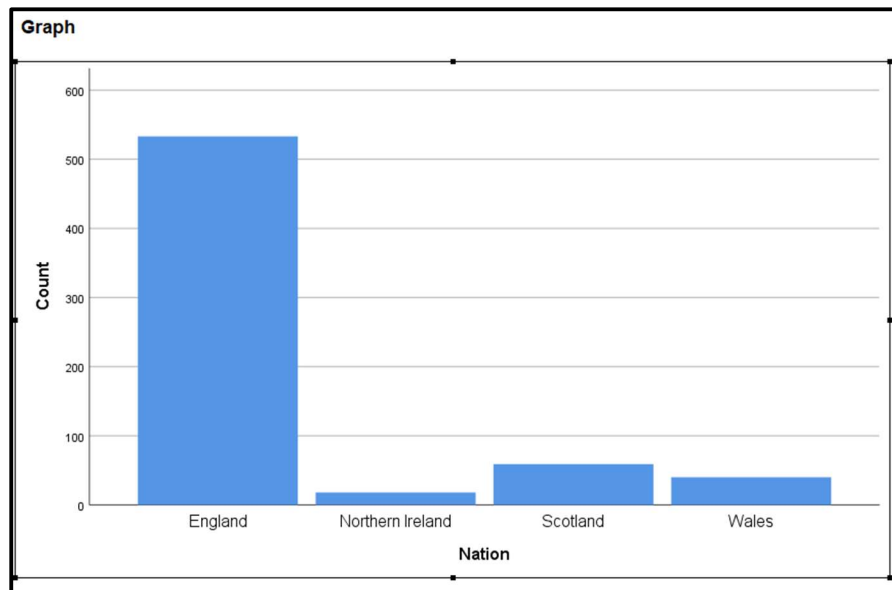


Figure 5.1.9: United Kingdom's Constituencies by Nation

In Figure 5.1.10, we observe that England has the most outstanding share of the United Kingdom's Electorate.

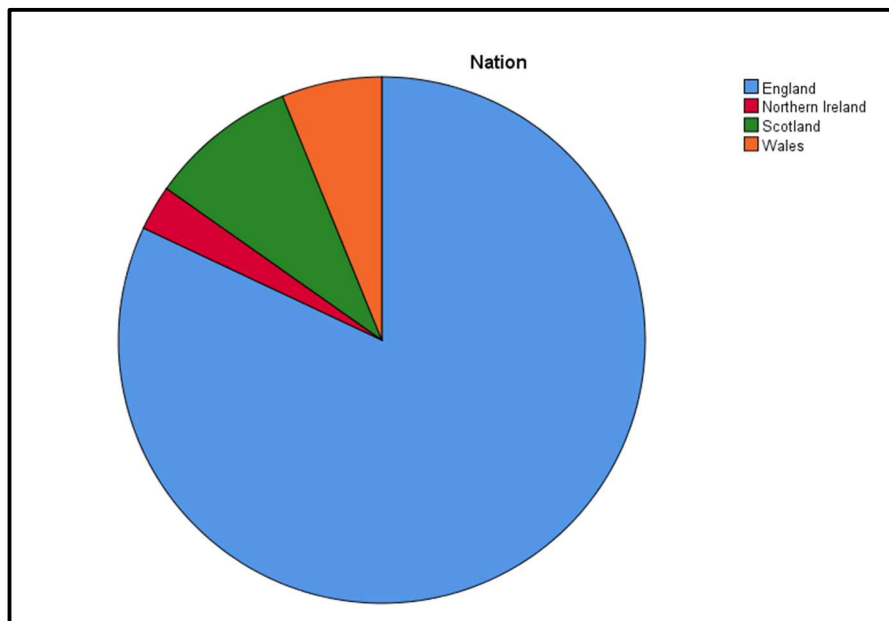


Figure 5.1.10: United Kingdom's Electorate by Nation (2019)

Figure 5.1.11, we observe that the United Kingdom's Electorate (2019) frequencies follow the Normal Distribution.



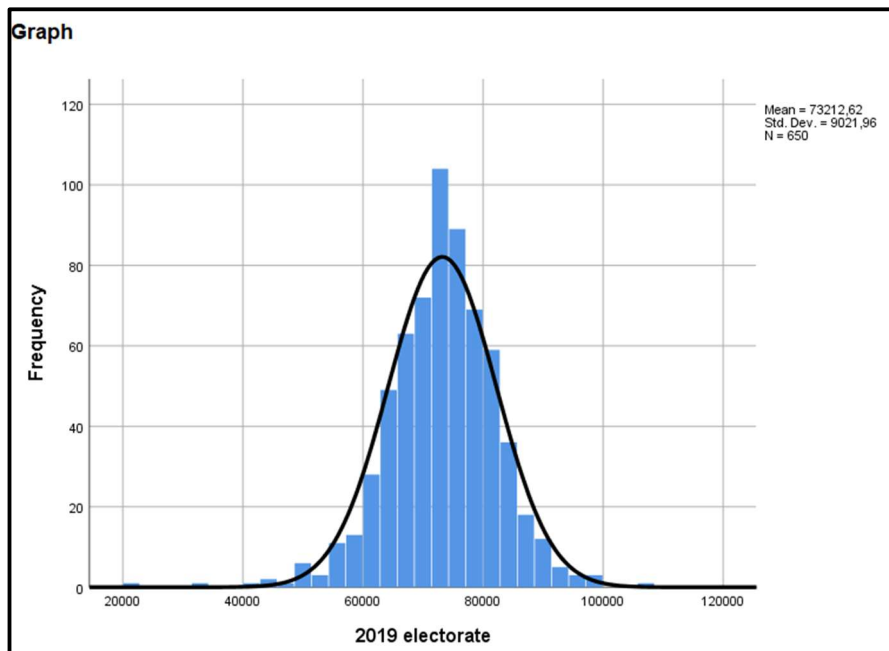


Figure 5.1.11: United Kingdom's Electorate (2019)

## 5.2 Second Research Question

In Table 5.2.1, we observe a solid positive correlation between the votes of Leave in 2016 and the winner's votes in the 2019 General Election in the United Kingdom, i.e., the Conservative Party.

Correlations			
		2019 Conservative share of the vote	Brexit Leave Vote Share June 2016 Est Chris Hanretty
2019 Conservative share of the vote	Pearson Correlation	1	,582**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	636	632
Brexit Leave Vote Share June 2016 Est Chris Hanretty	Pearson Correlation	,582**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	632	632

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.2.1: Correlation between 2016 Leave Vote and the Votes to the winner of 2019 General Election

In Table 5.2.2, we observe a negative correlation between the votes of Leave in 2016 and the Labor Party's votes in the 2019 General Election.

Correlations			
		Brexit Leave Vote Share June 2016 Est Chris Hanretty	2019 Labour share of the vote
Brexit Leave Vote Share June 2016 Est Chris Hanretty	Pearson Correlation	1	-,134**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,001
	N	632	631
2019 Labour share of the vote	Pearson Correlation	-,134**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,001	
	N	631	631

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.2.2: Correlation between 2016 Leave Vote and the Votes to the Labour Party in the 2019 General Election

In Figure 5.2.3, we observe the frequency of vote between those who voted Leave in 2016 and those who voted for the Conservatives in 2019 is the biggest concerning other parties.

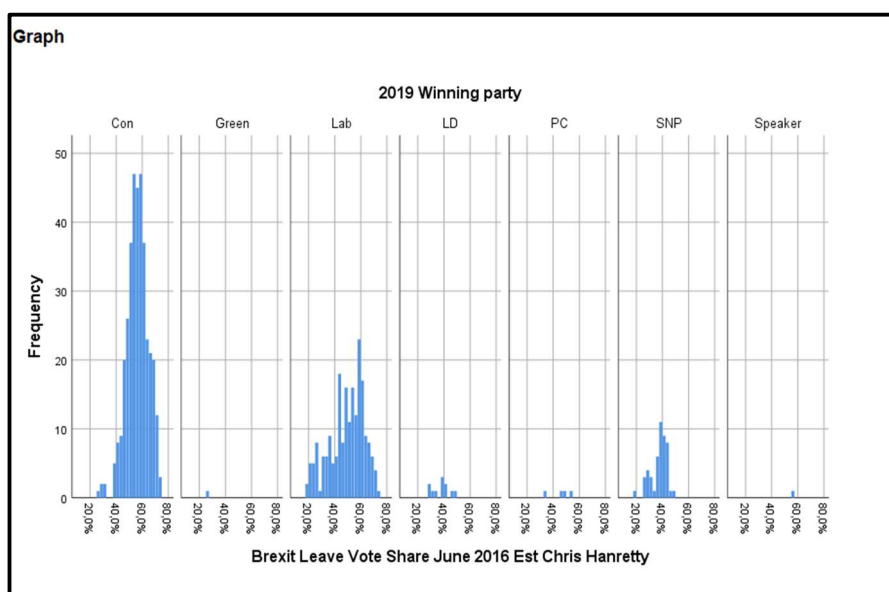


Figure 5.2.3: Frequencies between the Leave Vote in 2016 and the Vote in the 2019 General Election.

In Table 5.2.4, we see the 2019 General Election Results in the United Kingdom by seats won in the House of Commons.

2019 Winner					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Con	365	56,2	56,2	56,2
	Lab	202	31,1	31,1	87,2
	LD	11	1,7	1,7	88,9
	SNP	48	7,4	7,4	96,3
	PC	4	,6	,6	96,9
	Other	20	3,1	3,1	100,0
	Total	650	100,0	100,0	

Table 5.2.4: Results of the 2019 General Election  
(House of Commons)

In Figure 5.2.5, we see that the Conservatives gained the majority of the Electorate in the 2019 General Election.

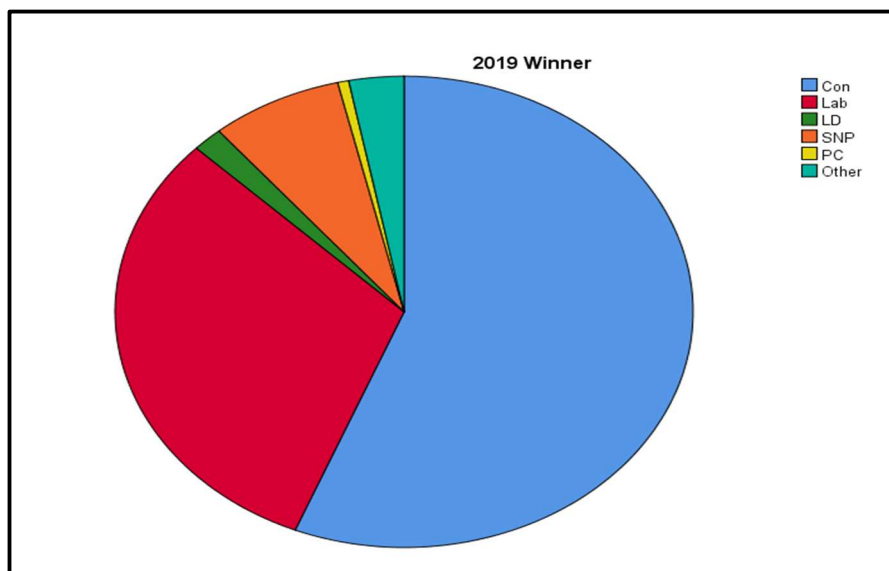


Figure 5.2.5: Vote Share in 2019 General Election.

### 5.3 Third Research Question

In Figure 5.3.1, we can observe the frequencies of the Christian population according to the 2011 Census. The frequencies follow the Normal Distribution.

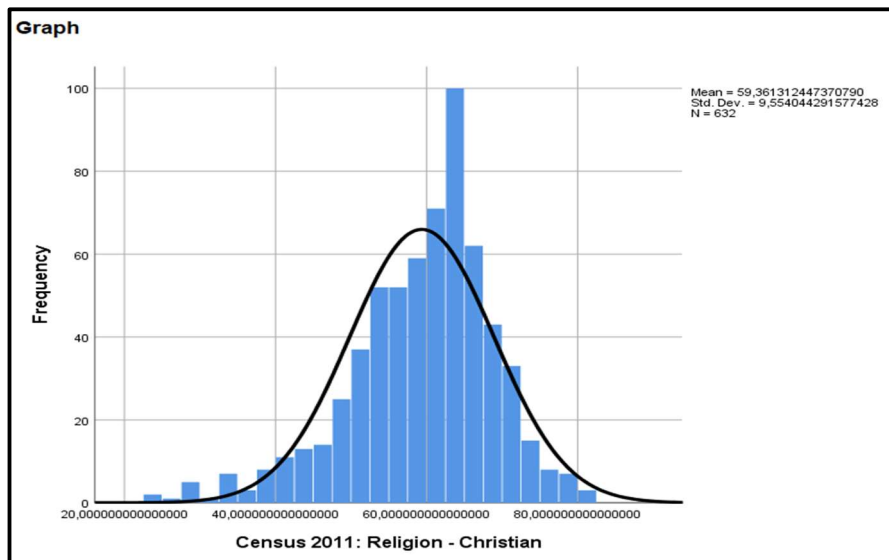


Figure 5.3.1: United Kingdom's Christian population (2011)

In Figure 5.3.2, we can observe the frequencies of the White Ethnicity population according to the 2011 Census. The frequencies do not follow the Normal Distribution.

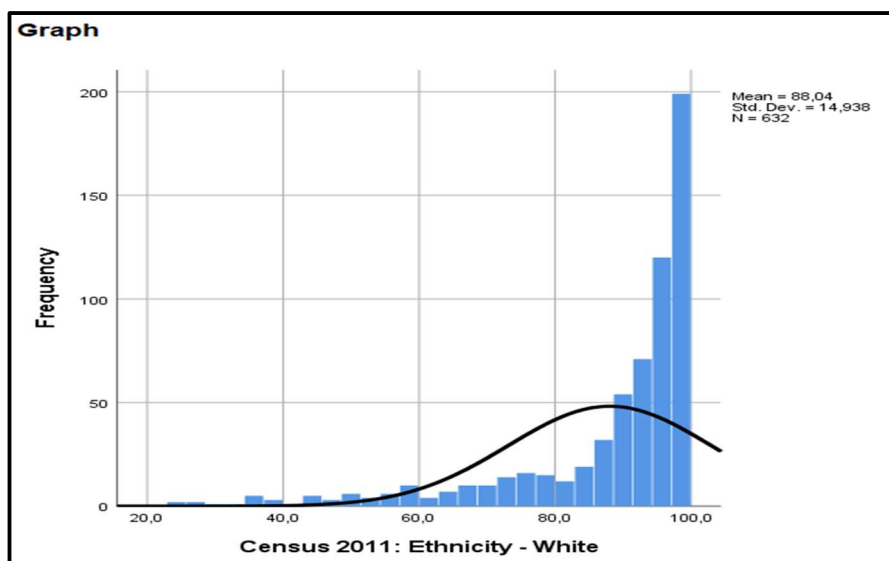


Figure 5.3.2: United Kingdom's White Ethnicity population (2011)

In Figure 5.3.3, we can observe the frequencies of the 2019 Conservative share of the vote. The frequencies roughly follow the Normal Distribution.

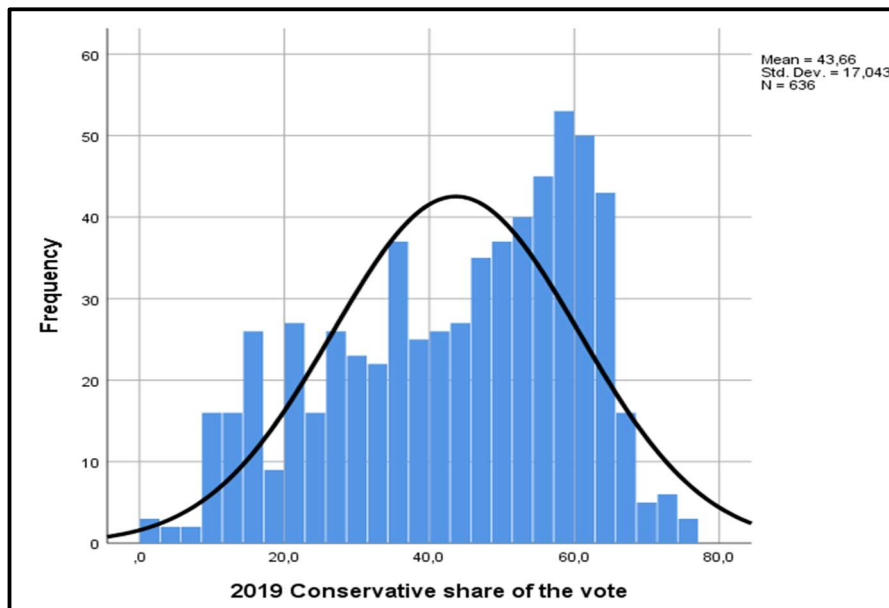


Figure 5.3.3: Conservative share of the Vote (2019)

In Figure 5.3.4, we can observe the frequencies of the 2019 Labour share of the vote. The frequencies roughly follow the Normal Distribution.

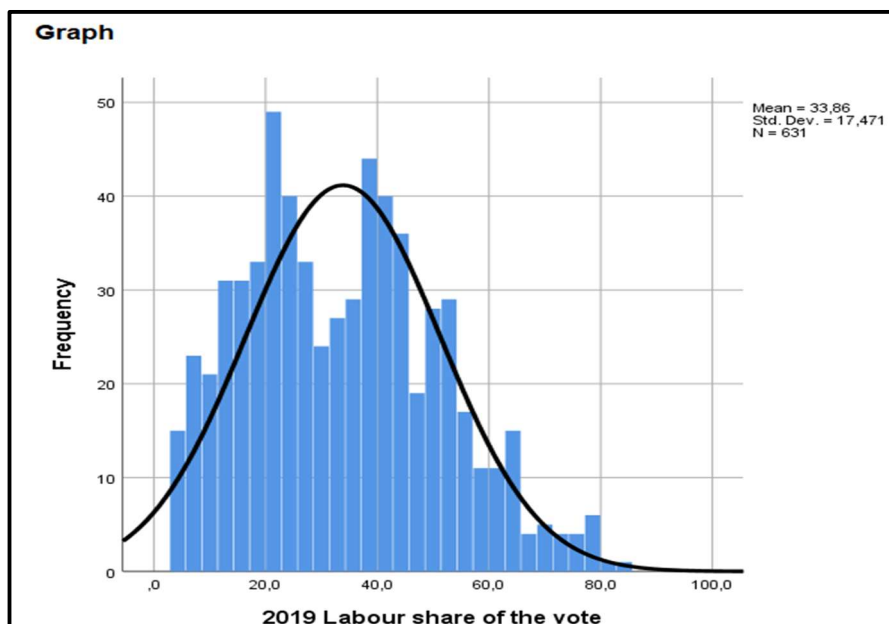


Figure 5.3.4: Labour share of the Vote (2019)

In Table 5.3.5, we can observe that the Christian population has a strong positive correlation with the Conservative Vote, and it has a negative correlation with the Labour vote.

Correlations				
		2019 Conservative share of the vote	2019 Labour share of the vote	Census 2011: Religion - Christian
2019 Conservative share of the vote	Pearson Correlation	1	-,621**	,479**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000	,000
	N	636	631	632
2019 Labour share of the vote	Pearson Correlation	-,621**	1	-,354**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000		,000
	N	631	631	631
Census 2011: Religion - Christian	Pearson Correlation	,479**	-,354**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	
	N	632	631	632

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.3.5: Correlations between Christian population and Vote in General Election (2019)

In Table 5.3.6, we can observe that the White Ethnicity population has a strong positive correlation with the Conservative Vote and has a negative correlation with the Labour vote.

Correlations					
		2019 Conservative share of the vote	2019 Labour share of the vote	Census 2011: Ethnicity - White	Census 2011: Religion - Christian
2019 Conservative share of the vote	Pearson Correlation	1	-,621**	,420**	,479**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		,000	,000	,000
	N	636	631	632	632
2019 Labour share of the vote	Pearson Correlation	-,621**	1	-,603**	-,354**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	,000		,000	,000
	N	631	631	631	631
Census 2011: Ethnicity - White	Pearson Correlation	,420**	-,603**	1	,707**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	,000	,000		,000
	N	632	631	632	632
Census 2011: Religion - Christian	Pearson Correlation	,479**	-,354**	,707**	1
	Sig. (1-tailed)	,000	,000	,000	
	N	632	631	632	632

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Table 5.3.6: Correlations between White Ethnicity population and Vote in General Election (2019)

## CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

### 6.1 Retrospective on the First Research Question

In Chapter 6, we retrospect the three research questions of Chapter 4 and the results, findings, and observations from Chapter 5. In the end, we make some concluding remarks.

First Research Question: Is there a statistical significance between Nation and Region in the United Kingdom so that the national vote influences the electoral or referendum results?

Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ): There is no statistical significance between Nation and Region in the United Kingdom so that the national vote influences the electoral or referendum results.

Alternate Hypothesis ( $H_1$ ): There is statistical significance between Nation and Region in the United Kingdom so that the national vote influences the electoral or referendum results.

Objective: Prove that the English Electorate mainly influences the decisions made in the United Kingdom.

To examine our hypothesis, we use the SPSS Program to extract the answers from our dataset.

Firstly, we conduct a Chi-Square Test between Nation and Region in the United Kingdom to see if they are statistically significant and associated.

We have 650 records representing the United Kingdom's Constituencies that offer a seat in the House of Commons.

The Chi-Square Test results between Region and Nation show Asymptotic Significance of the Likelihood Ratio, which is less than 0.05, so we conclude that Region and Nation in the United Kingdom are statistically significant.

Cramer's  $V$  based on Pearson's Chi-Square is 1,000, which means complete association between Region and Nation in the United Kingdom, with Nation to be determined entirely by Region and vice versa.

The Region with the most significant number of Constituencies (84) is the South East with 12,9%. Remarkably, London has the third-highest percentage with 11,2% and 73 Constituencies more than the percentage of Scotland with 9,1% and 59 Constituencies. Constituencies by County show us the paramount importance of London in the British Vote and Decision Making.

Observing Constituencies by Nation guides us to the overwhelming 82% of England in the total number of Constituencies, leaving no doubt about which devolved nation has the significant voting power. This percentage identifies with the percentage of the English population in the United Kingdom (82%).

The United Kingdom's Electorate by Nation confirms the overwhelming English voting power's previous statement, which mostly coincides with the Conservatives' vote. On the other hand, London gives many votes to Labour Party, confirming its significant influence in voting matters, which is greater than that of Scotland's.

The research objective is complete, and we reject the Null Hypothesis.

## **6.2 Retrospective on the Second Research Question**

Second Research Question: Are the voters of Leave in 2016 mostly correlated with the General Election winner of 2019?

Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ): There is no correlation between the voters of Leave in 2016 and the 2019 General Election winner voters.



Alternate Hypothesis ( $H_1$ ): There is a correlation between the voters of Leave in 2016 and the 2019 General Election winner voters.

Objective: Prove that the voters of Leave in 2016 are strongly correlated to the winner's Votes in the 2019 General Election.

To examine our hypothesis, we use the SPSS Program.

Firstly, we conduct a Pearson Correlation Test between the Votes of Leave in 2016 and the Conservative and the Labour Party's votes in the General Election of 2019. The Electorate of 2019 follows the Normal Distribution, so we conduct a two-tailed Pearson Correlation Test.

Testing the Vote Leave 2016 with the Vote Conservative 2019 gives us a strong positive correlation more significant than 58%.

Testing the Vote Leave 2016 with the Vote Labour 2019 gives us a minor negative correlation of -13%

Examining the frequencies of the Vote Leave 2016 with the votes in United Kingdom's General Election in 2019, we observe that Vote Leave 2016 is more frequently identified with the vote in the Conservative Party.

Conservatives won with 56,2% the General Election of 2019, a percentage that is remarkably close to that of the Vote Leave 2016 and the Vote Conservative 2019 (58%) correlation.

The research objective is complete, and we reject the Null Hypothesis.

### **6.3 Retrospective on the Third Research Question**

Third Research Question: Is there a correlation between the winner of the 2019 General Election and White Ethnicity and Christians' religion?

Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ): There is no correlation between the winner of the 2019 General Election and people who are of White Ethnicity and Christians in religion.

Alternate Hypothesis ( $H_1$ ): There is a correlation between the winner of the 2019 General Election and people who are of White Ethnicity and Christians in religion.

Objective: Prove that the winner's voters in the 2019 General Election are strongly correlated with White Ethnicity people and Christians.

To examine our hypothesis, we use the SPSS Program.

We observe that the Christian population follows the normal distribution, unlike the population of White Ethnicity.

The English Electorate follows the Normal Distribution, and roughly that goes for the Vote Conservative 2019 and the Vote Labour 2019.

We conduct a two-tailed Pearson Correlation Test for the Christian population and the Conservative and Labour Vote share in 2019.

The results show a strong positive correlation between the Christian population and the Conservative Vote in 2019 (48%). Also, we have a strong negative correlation between the Christian population and the Labour Vote in 2019 (-35%).

Remarkably, the negative correlation between Vote Conservative and Vote Labour is robust (-62%), which indicates the mutual antipathy between the two parties' voters.

We conduct a one-tailed Pearson Correlation Test for the White Ethnicity population and the Conservative and Labor Vote share in

2019 because the White Ethnicity population does not follow the Normal Distribution.

The results show a strong positive correlation between the White Ethnicity population and the Conservative Vote in 2019 (42%).

The results show a strong negative correlation between the White Ethnicity population and the Labour Vote in 2019 (-60%), remarkably very close to the correlation between the Conservative and Labour Vote.

Finally, the results show a robust positive correlation between the White Ethnicity and the Christian population (71%).

The research objective is complete, and we reject the Null Hypothesis.

## **6.4 Conclusions**

From the extractions from the three research questions, we can conclude that: the English Electorate primarily influences the United Kingdom's decisions, the voters of Leave in 2016 are strongly correlated to the Vote in the General Election winner of 2019, the voters of the 2019 General Election winner are strongly correlated with White Ethnicity people and Christians.

English, Ethnicity White, Christians strongly support the Conservative Party. No significant change will occur in the United Kingdom in the years to come in matters of decision-making. Governing the United Kingdom means to keep satisfied its English, Ethnicity White, Christian population, even if the United Kingdom is considered post-Christian, multireligious, and Constitutionally Secular.

Seceding from the European Union was a desire of the people with these traits (English, White, Christian). These people will remain the vast

majority of the British Electorate in the coming years. All decisions will take into account their opinion, regardless of the governing party. London has a significant amount of influence in election results, far greater than Scotland. The devolved nations will remain in the United Kingdom for the years to come.

Even if the British Electorate changes its mind about Brexit will hardly desire to rejoin the European Union. Brexit will have for the United Kingdom the following consequences: The Bank of England will not face evaluation by the European Central Bank, Bank Investments in the United Kingdom will have terms imposed from the Bank of England, the National Health System (NHS) will not be under the supervision of the European Medicines Agency (EMA), and the United Kingdom will have the opportunity to shift its exports to other markets.

Brexit is going to affect London's attractiveness as a financial center. The European Union will ask for supporting documents from British companies to pay for the products and services they provide. The United Kingdom is now considered a third country. The British Banks will lose Common Market Benefits such as Freedom of Money, Free Movement of Capital, Buy/Sell Products between Countries, Ability to change trade agreements.

The British Research Institutions will no longer be a part of the European Research Council. The British Institutions will not receive European funding.

Medicinal products manufactured in the United Kingdom will circulate through companies based in the European Union which are Marketing Authorization Holders (MAH). The United Kingdom has lost the benefit of retailing medicinal products in the common market.

The United Kingdom loses the benefit of parallel export of medicinal products. The American and Asian companies may move their bases from the United Kingdom in the Continent.

For Insurances and Reinsurances, the impact of Brexit will differ according to whether a loan is serviceable, whether a bond is overdue or not, how the borrowers pay their loans and bonds, who is the creditor, and who is the borrower.

The medicinal clinical trials that occur in the United Kingdom will not measure in the European Union.

Brexit will be a continuous process for the years to come. It will be challenging for both sides to find a *modus vivendi* to be cooperators and not opponents.

The United Kingdom chose to exit the European Union because it wanted back its national sovereignty. This choice is costly in economic terms, but the British prefer minor economic strife rather than not being their masters.

It will be crucial for the United Kingdom to compensate for Leave's economic losses with new deals with the Commonwealth and Anglosphere countries (Canada, Australia, New Zealand). It will be able to conclude bilateral agreements with more vibrant economies than those of the European Single Market and diversify its economic life, although this will take a long time to realize and cost along the way.

The United Kingdom still has a global role by possessing nuclear weapons and Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM). It is a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), a vital player of the Commonwealth, and a European nation that can project its power outside its borders.

The United Kingdom will remain united because it has already been there four hundred years, with the Union taking place under a Scottish King in 1603. The devolved nations clearly understand the significance of the United Kingdom's brand name and that through their ties with London can access markets with better terms than they ever would have been on their own.

The central concept of Britannic attitude towards Continental Europe is that of the balancer. The United Kingdom is involved in European matters until one state entity gains unprecedented power in Continental Europe. It distances itself from Europe to counterbalance the one player's influence over the continent.

The European Union will remain in its present form. Neither will integrate to a more considerable degree nor fall apart. The reason for this is apparent. No member state wants to submit itself to more European integration by sacrificing, even more, its national sovereignty. Deeper integration means more commitment to pan-European obligations and abolishing the national interest, which no European electoral body wants anymore.

On the other hand, it is also apparent why the European Union will not disintegrate but will remain a loose confederation, as it is today.

The reason comes with the European Central Bank's existence. It can distribute large quantities of currency to everyone in need of a fiscal boost. Things would have been much worse for the European countries for a decade of economic crises (2010-2020) followed by the Coronavirus pandemic without the European Central Bank's help.

The European Union has the immense challenge to compensate for the British contribution to the European budget. It will either diminish the total contribution with fewer funds distributed to the member states or

increase the member's contribution to tackling the deficit from the United Kingdom's secession. In either way, it will be a decision that will cause complaints from member states.

The European Union contributes to peace in Europe, particularly by pacifying border disputes, spreading democracy, and providing an external constraint that prevents soft authoritarian regimes from progressing into brutal dictatorships.

The general concept of a European Union is almost 1500 years old. It began with the desire of the Roman Restoration in the European West until 1806.

Afterward, it continued with the idealism of perpetual peace and co-existence among the Europeans, and the idea even enhanced by the United Kingdom.

There is a struggle between idealist views of progress and prosperity and the realist views of a continent dominated by one power in today's European Union.

In conclusion, the United Kingdom and the European Union will remain major powers in Global Affairs, separate but not hostile to each other. The greatest threat for life afterward is the mismanagement of the disruptions that may take place in the future.

## References

- Brexit and EU social policy. (2019). *What Brexit Means for EU and UK Social Policy*, 83–105. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvbqs48t.9>
- European Commission. (2017). *White Paper on the Future of Europe: Reflections and Scenarios for the EU27 by 2025*. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/white-paper-futureeurope-reflections-and-scenarios-eu27\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/white-paper-futureeurope-reflections-and-scenarios-eu27_en) (Accessed on 10 December 2020)
- European Council. (2017). *European Council (Art. 50) Guidelines for Brexit Negotiations*. <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/04/29eucobrexitguidelines/> (Accessed on 10 December 2020)
- European Integration and the Treaty on European Union. (2019). *European Union Law*, 156. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108654173.002>
- European Commission (2020). <https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regdoc/rep/1/2020/EN/COM-2020-857-F1-EN-ANNEX-1-PART-1.PDF> (Accessed on 10 December 2020)
- Fabbrini, F. (2020). The Future of the EU after Brexit, and Covid-19. *The Law & Politics of Brexit: Volume II*, 274–296. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198848356.003.0013>
- Gerontogiannis D. (2019). *Crisis Management: Touchstone of Strategic & Operational Analysis*, Athens, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, p.112-120.
- Gerontogiannis D. (2019). *Crisis Management: Touchstone of Strategic & Operational Analysis*, Athens, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, p.145-168.
- Gerontogiannis D. (2019). *Crisis Management: Touchstone of Strategic & Operational Analysis*, Athens, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, p.169-173.



Gerontogiannis D. (2019). *Crisis Management: Touchstone of Strategic & Operational Analysis*, Athens, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, p.189-190.

Hix, M & Follesdaal, A (2006) Why There Is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik 44(09):533-562  
DOI:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2006.00650.x Source RePEc.

[http://aei.pitt.edu/74895/1/European\\_Court\\_Auditors.pdf](http://aei.pitt.edu/74895/1/European_Court_Auditors.pdf) (Accessed on 27 August 2020)

[http://bib.univoeb.dz:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/6008/1/SERRA\\_DJ%20Memoire.pdf](http://bib.univoeb.dz:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/6008/1/SERRA_DJ%20Memoire.pdf) (Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<http://danaklein3.qwriting.qc.cuny.edu/2010/11/22/prescriptive-forgetting/> (Accessed on 22 November 2020)

[https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/brexit\\_files/info\\_site/com\\_2020\\_855\\_final\\_annexe2\\_v1.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/brexit_files/info_site/com_2020_855_final_annexe2_v1.pdf) (Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://efpia.eu/news-events/the-efpia-view/statements-press-releases/joint-eu-uk-pharmaceutical-industry-response-to-brexit-deal/> (Accessed on 21 February 2021)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/EU\\_28](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/EU_28) (Accessed on 11 December 2020)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European\\_Bank](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Bank) (Accessed on 10 December 2020)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European\\_Coal\\_and\\_Steel\\_Community](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Coal_and_Steel_Community) (Accessed on 10 December 2020)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European\\_Union](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Union) (Accessed on 10 December 2020)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maastricht\\_Treaty](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maastricht_Treaty) (Accessed on 27 August 2020)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Single\\_European\\_Act\\_1986](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Single_European_Act_1986) (Accessed on 27 August 2020)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty\\_of\\_Rome](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Rome)(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Kingdom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom) (Accessed on 28 August 2020)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Kingdom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom)(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://encyclonetcultuland.blogspot.com/2018/11/european-union.html> (Accessed on 10 December 2020)

[https://everything.explained.today/European\\_Union/](https://everything.explained.today/European_Union/)(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

[https://newikis.com/en/European\\_Union](https://newikis.com/en/European_Union)(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://ocio.commerce.gov/page/operational-analysis-performance-reporting>(Accessed on 23 February 2021)

<https://rdnewsnow.com/2021/02/14/commons-must-decide-whether-to-accept-reject-senate-amendments-to-maid-bill/> (Accessed on 01 June 2020)

[https://thekingdomofprussia.fandom.com/wiki/European\\_Union](https://thekingdomofprussia.fandom.com/wiki/European_Union)(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://ukandeu.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Data-protection-intelligence-sharing-and-Brexit-the-path-ahead-1.pdf>(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

[https://ultimatepopculture.fandom.com/wiki/European\\_Union](https://ultimatepopculture.fandom.com/wiki/European_Union)(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

[https://wikimili.com/en/European\\_Union](https://wikimili.com/en/European_Union)(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://wrestlingnews.co/other/sami-callihan-gets-into-legitimate-altercation-with-venue-security-nearly-shuts-down-indy-show/>(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.abacademies.org/articles/brexit-what-next-a-critical-analysis-8550.html> (Print ISSN: 1078-4950; Online ISSN: 1532-5822). (Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/how-will-brexit-impact-intelligence-sharing-2/>(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/statistics/research-datasets>(Accessed on 22 February 2021)

<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887>.(Accessed on 21 Aug 2020)

<https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-artslaw/law/iel/leaving-EU-legal-impact-brexit-gee-rubini-trybus.pdf>(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.cigionline.org/interactives/2018annualreport/complexitys-embrace-a-timely-look-at-international-law-and-brexit>(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://www.coursehero.com/file/78509354/20-01-2021-STEEPLE-Analysis-Level-3pptx/> (Accessed on 20 January 2021)

<https://www.coursehero.com/file/p6ib13cp/Introduction-In-1973-the-United-Kingdom-became-a-member-of-the-European/>(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.deezer.com/en/album/452218>(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.efpia.eu/news-events/the-efpia-view/statements-press-releases/joint-eu-uk-pharmaceutical-industry-response-to-brexit-deal/>(Accessed on 23 February 2021)

<https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/who-we-are-and-what-we-do/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/eu-referendum/results-and-turnout-eu-referendum>(Accessed on 22 February 2021)

<https://www.euopereloaded.com/united-states-race-global-hegemony-part-2/>(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/agreements-reached-between-the-united-kingdom-of-great-britain-and-northern-ireland-and-the-european-union>(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.historyhit.com/facts-about-queen-anne/> (Accessed on 20 November 2020)

[https://www.iiea.com/euexplorer/?gclid=Cj0KCQiA13yBRCmARIsAN7B4H1GH1onJnqNgVKnX3Qd6N1x2nuQGI0XUg\\_3G61Jh6m4SeiTG9G1A8aAhbcEALw\\_wcB&location=at-budget](https://www.iiea.com/euexplorer/?gclid=Cj0KCQiA13yBRCmARIsAN7B4H1GH1onJnqNgVKnX3Qd6N1x2nuQGI0XUg_3G61Jh6m4SeiTG9G1A8aAhbcEALw_wcB&location=at-budget).  
(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.itv.com/news/2016-06-02/eu-referendum-how-would-a-brexiteffect-food> (Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/world/europe/what-is-brexiteffect.html>. (Accessed on 29 Aug 2020)

<https://www.rt.com/business/iceland-banks-collapse-crisis-405/>(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.schengenvisainfo.com/eu-countries/> (Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://www.scholarsarena.net/royal-commonwealth-society-usa-scholarship-apply-now/>(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.teletrader.com/uk-says-brexiteffect-deal-is-done-report/news/details/54152761?ts=1612076625175>

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/21/brexit-euroscepticism-history>(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/mar/01/brexit-what-are-the-key-flashpoints-as-eu-uk-trade-talks-begin> (Accessed on 01 June 2020)

<https://www.theparliamentmagazine.eu/news/article/eu-member-states-and-european-parliament-provisionally-approve-brexit-deal>(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://www.timetoast.com/timelines/isms-and-revolutions-19th-century>(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.tmaworld.com/our-thinking/global-britain-objectives-brexit-negotiations>(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://www.trustedreviews.com/news/what-is-a-hung-parliament-general-election-2017-result-explained-2951379>(Accessed on 27 August 2020)

<https://www.wionews.com/world/eu-has-vaccinated-2-of-its-population-how-does-it-compare-to-rest-of-the-world-360728>  
(Accessed on 10 December 2020)

<https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articlesreports/2021/02/02/britons-would-vote-remain-are-less-sure-about-re-j>(Accessed on 23 February 2021)

<https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/surveyresults/daily/2021/02/05/6a060/1>(Accessed on 23 February 2021)

Lieber, R. J. (2002). The Tragedy of Great Power Politics by John J. Mearsheimer. *Political Science Quarterly*, 117(2), 321–322.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/798192>

- Majone, G. (2017). The European Union Post-Brexit: Static or Dynamic Adaptation? *European Law Journal*, 23(1-2), 9–27.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/eulj.12206>
- Majone, G. (1994). *The rise of the regulatory state in Europe*, West European politics, 17:3, 77101, DOI:10.1080/01402389408425031
- Moravcik, A. (1993). *Preferences and power in the European Community: A liberal intergovernmental approach*. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 31 (4): 473–524. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.1993.tb00477.x
- Newsinger, J. (1994). Thatcher, Northern Ireland and the downing street years.’ *Irish Studies Review*, 2(7), 2–6.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09670889408455434>.
- Saunders, M. Lewis, P. Thornhill, A. (2009). *Research Methods for Business Students* (Fifth Edition). First published under the Pitman Publishing imprint in 1997. ISBN: 978-0-273-71686-0
- Schweiger, C. (2018). *Germany’s Role in the EU-27. Leadership Constellation After Brexit*. *German Politics and Society*, Issue 127 Vol.36, No2. Georgetown University and Berghahn Books doi:10.3167/gps.2018.360207.
- Staiger, U., & Martill, B. (2018). Rethinking the futures of Europe. *Brexit and Beyond*, 260-265. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt20krxf8.34>
- Wellings, B. (2017). The Anglosphere in the Brexit Referendum. *Revue Française De Civilisation Britannique*, 22(2).  
<https://doi.org/10.4000/rfcb.1354>