# The multiple crises of Brexit

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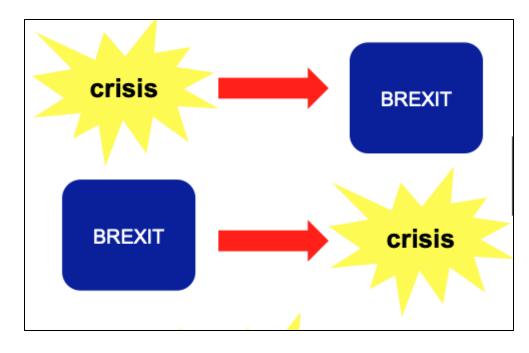




UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN







- ✓ <u>Politicization</u> of European integration
- ✓ Representative democracy in peril
- ✓ Declining <u>trust</u> in politicians /institutions
- ✓ Weakening of party government
- ✓ Erosion of expert authority
- ✓ Rising socioeconomic <u>inequality</u>



More general 'crisis' phenomena with UK expressions

	Fast burning	Slow burning
Exogenous (external)		
Endogenous (internal)		





Turtles photos coming tomorrow only in your **S** 

## **POLITICIZATION**

# 

At midday tomorrow Sun readers are urged tell the French fool where to stuff his ECU



its patriotic family of readers to tell the feelthy French to FROG

They INSULT us, BURN our lambs, FLOOD our country with dodgy food and PLOT to abolish the dear old pound.

Now it's your turn to kick
THEM in the Gauls.
We want you to tell
Froggie Common Market
chief Jacques Delors exactly

#### By NICK PARKER, PETE WALSH and LIZ DUXBURY (Sun Diplomatic Staff)

what you think of him and his countrymen. At the stroke of noon tomorrow, we invite all true blue Brits to face France and yell "Up Yours, Delors." The ear-bashing from our the EC President up to the EC With the face that he will NEVER run our country.

His bid to replace the £ with the faceless ECU is the last straw after centuries of

BURNED alive British lambs earlier this year because they couldn't match our quality;

JEERED Mrs Thatcher when she visited Paris to boost celebrations for the bi-centenary of the French Revolution last year;

#### FOUL

BANNED British beef after falsely claiming it had mad cow disease;

BLEATED when we found their foul soft cheese was riddled with listeria bugs;

GAVE IN to the Nazis during the Second World War when we stood firm;
TRIED to conquer Europe until we put down Napoleon at Waterloo in 182 to 182 to

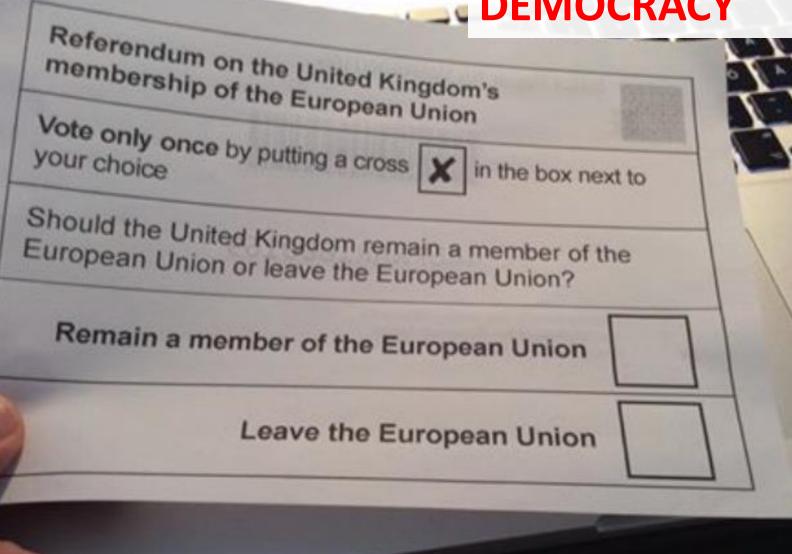
The Guardian

# \*Opt out' of social chapter curbs is expected to be magnet to Japanese investment EC unites on historic treaty with Britain in the slow lane



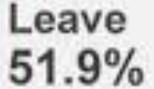






# **UK Votes Leave**





17,410,742



Remain 48.1%

16,141,241 VOTES

Turnout

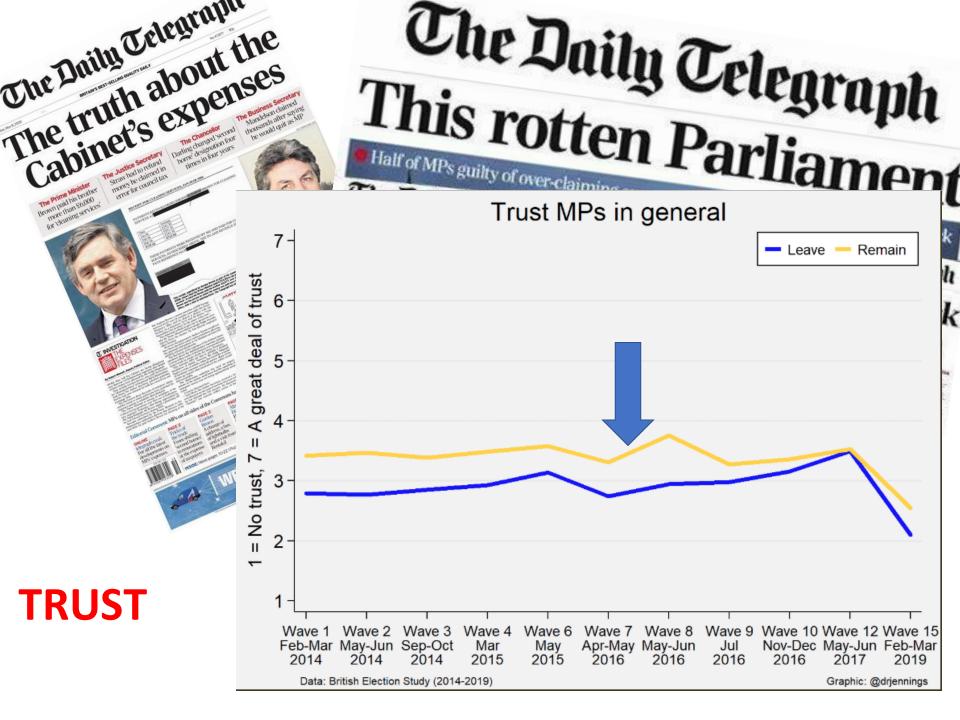
Rejected ballots 72.2%

26,033







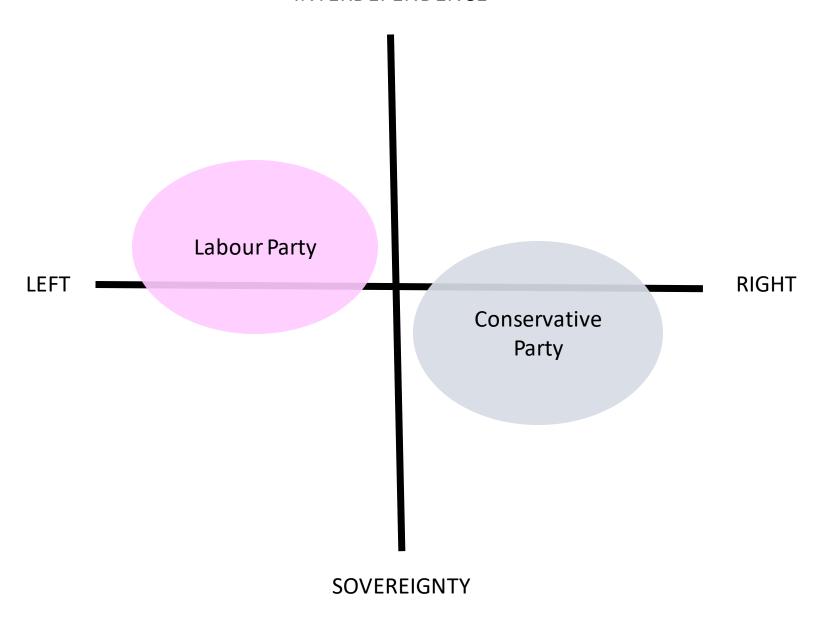








#### INTERDEPENDENCE



## **EXPERTS?**

Figure 1: Forecast long-term impact of Brexit on GDP, relative to remaining in the EU

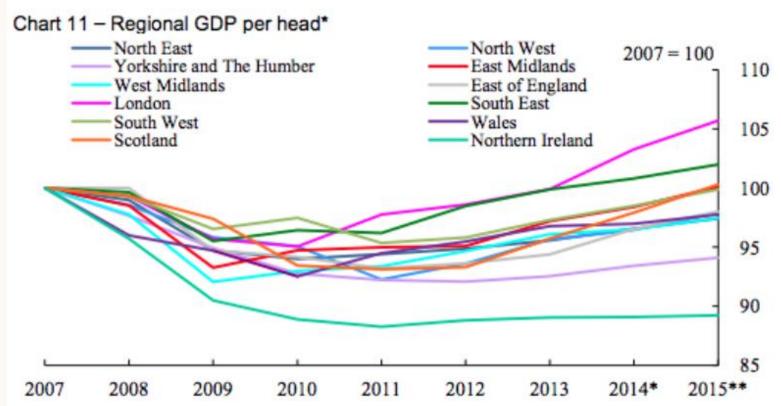


#### Trading scenario

European Economic Area
 Swiss bilaterals
 Free Trade Agreement
 World Trade Organization
 Unilateral Free Trade
 Source: Institute for Government analysis

CEP – Centre for Economic Performance, CPB – Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis, EFT – Economists for Free Trade, HMG – HM Government, NIESR – National Institute of Economic and Social Research, OE – Open Europe, Oxford – Oxford Economics

# **INEQUALITY**



Sources: ONS, Bank calculations.

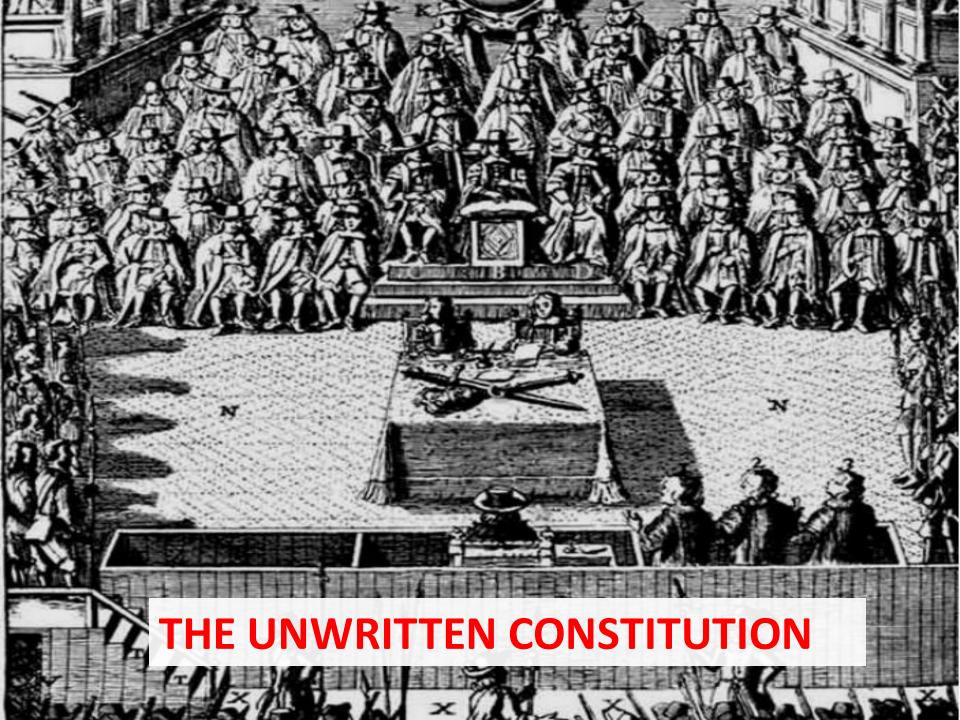
▲ Andy Haldane's study of GDP variation: 'one of the most revealing graphs I have seen'. Photograph: Bank of England

Regional GVA (income approach) deflated using the GDP deflator. 2014 is provisional ONS estimate. 2015 figure is indicative, estimated using the average annual growth rate from the preceding two years.

- ✓ The unwritten constitution
- ✓ The territorial constitution of the UK

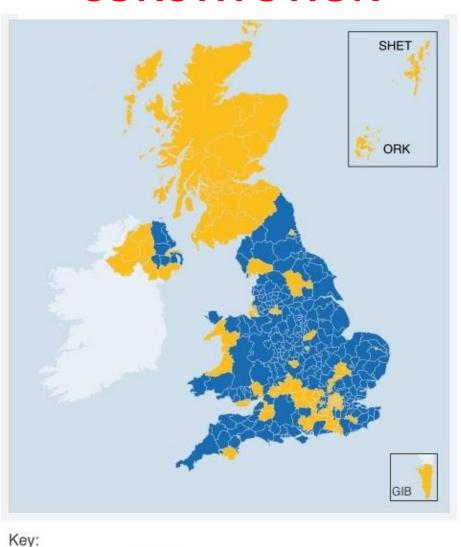
Two of many examples

	Fast burning	Slow burning
Exogenous (external)		
Endogenous (internal)		





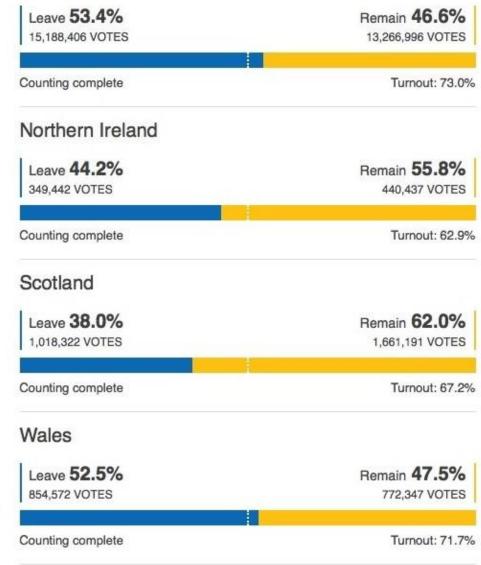
# THE TERRITORIAL CONSTITUTION

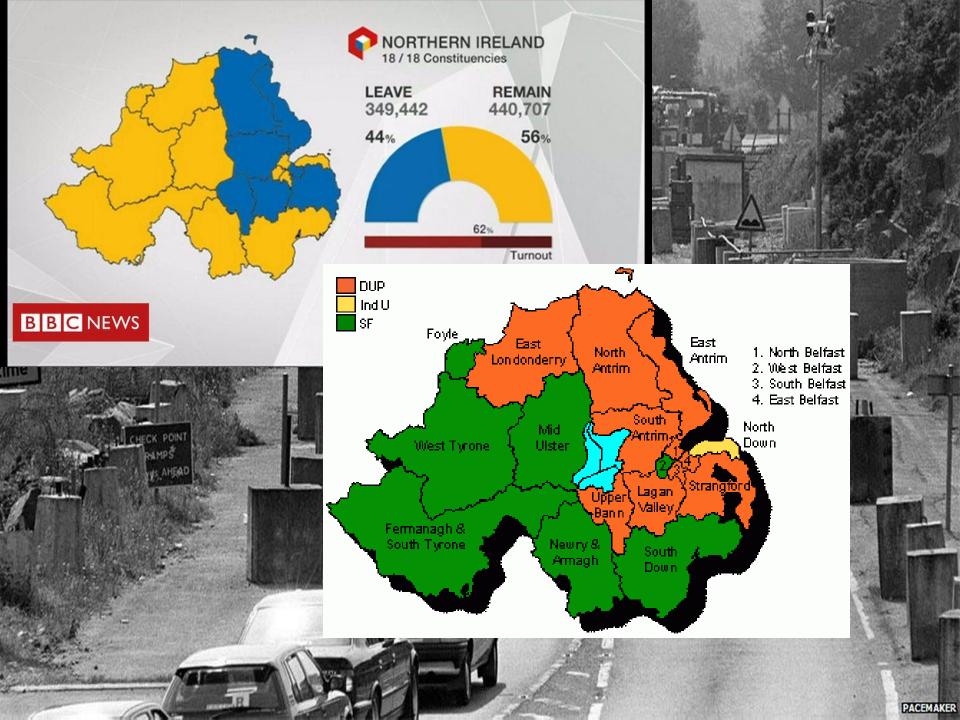


Majority leave Majority remain

Tie Undeclared

#### England





# Boris Johnson's Brexit Trilemma

(same as Theresa May's Brexit Trilemma)

Like May, Johnson has made 3
promises that are incompatible. If UK
leaves Single Market & Customs
Union there will have to be a border;
the only question is where.

Ultimately, UK can only have 2 of the 3 things Johnson has promised.

Promise 1: Leave Single Market and Customs Union D Promise 3: Promise 2: No Border No Border Between N. Between Ireland and N. Ireland and Ireland Great Britain

Option A: Break promise to DUP that N. Ireland would remain in UK customs territory. Border in Irish Sea. Lose DUP support needed for majority & government falls.

Option B: Break promise to Ireland & EU. Violate Good Friday Agreement w/border on Ireland. No Deal Brexit & ensuing economic disaster for UK (though Boris will lie & try to blame EU.)

Option C: Break promise to deliver Brexit on Oct 31. Brexit ultras abandon Johnson & government falls.

Option D: Does not exist. Based on magical thinking, unicorns, and unspecified, non-existent "technologies"

Source: R. Daniel Kelemen, Rutgers University, 23 July 2019 On Twitter @rdanielkelemen



## Scotland results

People in Scotland voted in favour of the UK staying in the EU by 62% to 38% with all 32 council areas voted to Remain

Turnout: 67.2%

Leave 1,018,322 VOTES

Remain 1,661,191 VOTES

BBC NEWS



