

The EU Referendum 2016

Brexit Topic Update



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Teacher's Introduction

Very few political events in the UK provide as much valuable evidence for examination topics, and not simply in the area of voting systems and Parliament. The 2016 referendum caused historic changes and the shock waves are likely to be felt for years to come. These grids provide occasional opportunities to reflect on knowledge and understanding. The grids marked give students the chance to analyse and evaluate parts of the process.



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Section 1 – Background to Holding the EU

Background to UK Relationship with EU

The history of the United Kingdom (UK) has been intricately linked with Europe for centuries. The Second World War (1939–1945) was a major watershed in this relationship. Leading French politicians such as Robert Schuman sought to bring Western European countries closer together in the 1950s. The European Coal and Steel Community (ESCC) was set up in 1955, interlocking the heavy industries of France, Germany and other countries, with the aim of rendering war between them impossible. This culminated in the European Economic Community (the Common Market) in 1957 when the Treaty of Rome was signed by six countries.

Britain's wartime Prime Minister, Winston Churchill supported Western Europe's economic and social integration, with its inevitable political side effects. However, he wished to keep the UK free from European entanglement. Highlighting his key role as an Allied leader at the end of the war, Churchill coined the phrase: 'An iron curtain has descended across the map of Europe.' This referred to the Soviet Union's imposition of sympathetic regimes in central and eastern European countries which they had liberated from Nazi Germany – entailing the division of Europe in



Winston Churchill
the UK entry



Ted Heath, the PM who led the campaign
to get the UK to join the EEC

Churchill was ousted from Downing Street by a radical Labour government focused on social reform. According to political scientist, Daniel Brumberg, the UK's relations with the EEC and its success are defined by its unique historical understanding of Europe. The UK, despite standing aloof for a long time, was drawn to what started out in 1958, the European Community (the Common Market).

In the 1960s, the attraction to the Common Market. However, France's wartime counterpart, General Charles De Gaulle blocked UK entry. His successor, Georges Pompidou was not. This coincided with the coming to power of the Conservative government in the UK led by Ted Heath. He spearheaded British entry into the European Community (EEC) in 1973.

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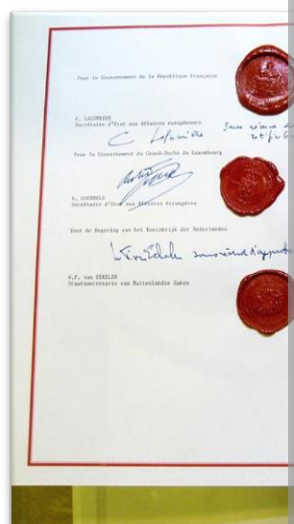
The UK joins, the First UK Referendum

In 1973, seeing the potential benefits of the European Economic Community, in 1975 a referendum was held on the issue to ensure the British public agreed to join. In 1975, the prospect of being closer to Europe economically had many benefits. Britain was in the middle of a recession and needed a stronger economy, and the solution. The 'In' side won with a resounding majority of 67% to 33%, and with its membership of the EU and joined Ireland and Denmark in a now expanded

It's important to take stock at this point and realise that the UK joined mostly because of economic reasons. A greater political union, or greater political control, was not considered. Also, Britain did not share some of the concerns of the founding members of the EU. Having been involved in WWII it hadn't felt the same devastation as these countries. It had always felt detached from the rest of Europe historically. It's these factors that would fuel the Leave argument in years to come.

1985 Schengen Agreement

In 1985 the Schengen Agreement was signed, which allowed freedom of movement across Europe for all citizens of participating countries. This meant that it was far easier for people to work and live in other countries as they no longer had to obtain a work visa, and was seen as another good economic move. For those in Britain and Ireland, however, who had always been separate from the European continent, the idea of freedom of movement didn't appeal, and so, as part of the agreement, both countries were allowed to opt out. Although the UK still has this opt-out, the freedom of movement, and the impact of immigration on the UK, was one of the Leave campaign's biggest arguments for leaving the Union, stating that the UK could 'take back control' of its borders and stop 'uncontrolled' migration into the UK. This issue of migration, which wasn't considered during the 1975 referendum, grew and grew in the following years.



The Schengen Agreement signed in 1985

1986 Single European Act

In 1986 the Single European Act looked to make the common market more effective for countries. Rather than having decision-making meetings between countries' leaders, it decided to put these decisions into the hands of a parliament. Therefore, the big growth in the power of the European community had over the direction of policies, which would inevitably have an impact on the other social policies.

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1992 Maastricht Treaty

The Maastricht Treaty came after a number of important events had happened throughout Europe. In 1989–1991, the Cold War in Europe had come to an end, with many former Soviet states becoming independent. They looked to the European Economic Community as a way of improving their economy. To try to avoid countries with ‘weak’ economies joining the Union and potentially having a negative effect on the European economy, this treaty set out strict economic criteria each country had to pass if they wanted to join. It also paved the way for a single European currency to be introduced in the future. This was seen as a way of avoiding the difficulties of fluctuating exchange rates that could make trade much harder. The members of the community already had a system to stop currency fluctuation being too high, called the **European Exchange Rate Mechanism**; however, in 1992 the UK was forced to withdraw from this system when the pound didn't keep the value of the pound within the limits. This again put Britain at odds with the rest of Europe as it made the possibility of the UK joining the euro almost impossible. Also, along with economic integration there came more political integration, with the establishment of two other ‘pillars’ alongside the economic one. These were justice and in a common security policy. These two pillars meant that all member states had common foreign policy goals and had a level of justice that went above and beyond national interests. Again, you can see how the power of the EU was spread beyond that which was joined in 1975.

2001 Treaty of Nice

In the years that followed, a number of important events happened. By 1995, 15 countries were in the Union, and it now ran from Spain all the way to Sweden, and with this came more problems to solve. Voting would have to be reworked in Parliament as now countries that had a large population could be outvoted by very small countries, leading to a potential crisis. The Treaty of Amsterdam in 1998 also agreed to devolve more powers to the EU, such as justice and common foreign policy. This is what many who were keen to get out of the EU wanted. Powers out of their nation and towards the EU. In 1999, the euro came into effect, and out of the 15 members of the EU, with only Sweden, Denmark and the UK not joining. The UK was the ‘odd one out’ in Europe as it didn't go along with the policies of the vast majority of the EU and its increased levels of economic integration, would play a big part in the future economic crisis. Then in 2001 the Treaty of Nice was signed in order to solve some of the problems of enlargement, and prepare for future enlargement. It made voting fairer within the EU, so that smaller and less-populated countries than before. These changes to the treaty were seen by many at the time to be an attempt to help Eastern European countries.

2004 Enlargement

In 2004, 10 new states joined the EU; these were mostly from old Eastern Bloc countries. This enlarged the EU to 25 countries in total. With this enlargement came more challenges for Europe. With freedom of movement now being at the heart of EU policy, there were more migrants as some moved to more prosperous countries, looking to benefit from a better quality of life. This issue has been especially contentious in the UK, where the EU did fuel a growing anti-EU sentiment in some parts of the UK. There was likely that the EU system of government would need further reform in order to be more democratic, and to balance the needs of 25 member states. A much harder task than the original six states who just signed up to exchange coal and steel! The answer to this was that was passed in 2009.

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2009 Treaty of Lisbon

The Treaty of Lisbon created the EU we now see today; overriding the Maastricht and Rome treaties, it redefined the function of the EU. It merged the three 'pillars' of economy, justice and security into one organisation, the EU, that now covers all of these matters in one body. In order to do this and in order to balance powers between 25 member states, it involved devolving more powers to the EU Parliament, and establishing a 'fundamental rights' charter, which ensured all members were held to high levels of human rights. The treaty was controversial as it increased EU powers. The treaty was signed by France in 2007, and it took Ireland two referendums.



Therefore, maybe the most controversial factor is that the UK signed the treaty without a referendum on the issue. If you compare the provisions of this treaty with the one the UK signed in 1972, the differences are incredible, and the fact the UK hasn't had their say on the issue is a clear indication of why many were upset with membership of the EU with so many powers would be devolved over 40 years. The economic crises that followed led to UK discontent with the EU, and because of this, it was dangerous to enter the matter when public opinion on the EU may be at its lowest.

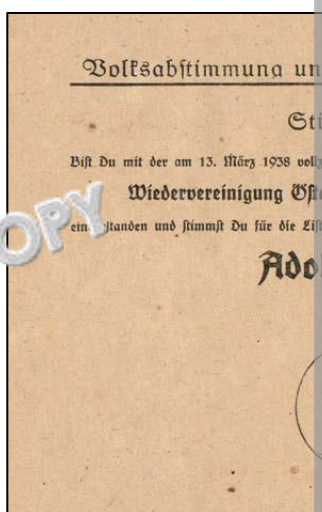
And so the UK's European question, a key component of British politics for decades, led to a referendum of 23 June 2016, when the UK voted to leave the EEC's contemporary successor, the European Union (EU).

What is a referendum?

A referendum is when a designated electorate is consulted on a single issue. Usually there are two clear answers or options – often yes or no. With the Scottish independence referendum (18 September, 2014) and the UK's vote on European Union (EU) membership (23 June 2016), the UK has undergone two of its most significant historical events since the Second World War.

These referendums have had a dramatic impact on British politics. The referendum on EU membership has also had huge implications for Europe and the world, as its impact has been felt globally.

Referendums are sometimes referred to as plebiscites, although in some countries this term is reserved for the consultation of the electorate when constitutional change is involved. In other countries, it is the other way around. Therefore, there are semantic, as well as legal and cultural variations.



Referendums were used in a format that was not as fair as the example above the box for 'Yes' and the box for 'No' which showed the outcome of the vote.

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Ironically, presented as the most democratic way of consulting the people, it was used by dictators such as Nazi Party leader, Adolf Hitler. This is because opinions were not freely expressed, and results manipulated.

Why did David Cameron decide to hold the referendum?

David Cameron assumed the leadership of the Conservative Party with a new style. The Eton and Oxford educated Prime Minister, the youngest for 105 years, sought to unite deep Eurosceptic forces within the Conservative Party and the country at large.

In a swashbuckling, 'kick the can down the street' strategy, he sought to ne placate such forces. He promised that he would seek sweeping reforms to European Union (EU), followed by an in/out referendum. He voluntarily r question. This cost the youthful prime his glittering career, generating a June referendum on the UK's EU membership.

It is widely acknowledged that internal Conservative Party politics was the major factor shaping Cameron's referendum strategy. Increasing Conservative disquiet over Europe interacted with the meteoric rise of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). This anti-EU party was led by the acerbic and incisive Nigel Farage, a former stockbroker who dedicated 17 years of his life to getting the UK out of the EU. 'Renegotiate and referendum', and ultimately Brexit, were also fostered by EU moves towards ever closer political union and a raft of other EU policies.

In 2012, David Cameron proposed the referendum idea to a few senior colleagues as a way of placating the party's Eurosceptic wing. The full blown 'renegotiate and referendum' strategy was revealed in the HQ of media organisation, Bloomberg, in London.

David Cameron declared that if the Conservatives were to win a majority in the 2015 general election, reaching negotiations would be opened with the UK's European partners. The 2013 White Paper was quickly converted into draft legislation only five months later. Both the 2013 White Paper and the draft bill were fully reflected in the Conservative Party's 2015 general election manifesto.



David Cameron and his party won the May 2014 European election, obtaining a majority of 18 seats. The Conservatives came to power and renegotiated and referendum was held on his decision to implement the deal after his surprise victory in the 2015 general election. His referendum strategy was voted down by a Conservative, Ken Clark, who said 'feeding crocodiles then you get buns'. The former prime minister was offering a straight in-out referendum which was widely perceived as the 'buns' of the deal.

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Attempted negotiation of a new relationship

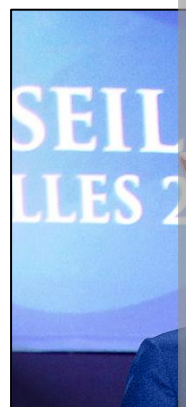
David Cameron's referendum pledge, combined with the Conservative Party's victory in the 2015 general election, triggered intensive negotiations with the European Union (EU) and with fellow member states.

The prospect of EU reform enabled Cameron to campaign to Remain in the referendum.

Euroscepticism within the Conservative Party and mounting pressure from within the party led to a referendum pledge. This was held on 23 June 2016, and the result was to Remain in the EU (Brexit), resulting in David Cameron's resignation as prime minister. Following the referendum, the Conservative leader immediately entered a period of meetings with EU leaders and institutions. This culminated in talks with the President of the European Council, Donald Tusk, and Donald Tusk, President of the European Council of Ministers.

Following these negotiations, Tusk, a former Polish prime minister, offered terms, triggering Cameron's campaign to remain. Many in his own party argued that the EU concessions were much less than had been sought. David Cameron's commitments made in the Conservative Party's manifesto had been honoured.

The then prime minister claimed that Britain could enjoy 'the best of both worlds' if it stayed within a reformed EU. This was said in a speech in Chippenham shortly before an EU summit on 18 February 2016, where the Tusk plan was on the agenda. This speech was a strong indication that a June referendum was on the cards and the unofficial start of the Remain campaign.



EU Summit

Cameron granted his cabinet colleagues the freedom to campaign according to their own point of view, but not until after the EU summit. This allowed the Prime Minister to pave the way for the UK to remain in the EU. The Tusk plan offered an 'emergency break', allowing the UK to stop paying into the EU budget while claiming benefits. The plan contained a number of key caveats. For instance, the UK would be stripped of all 'in-work benefits' for a full four-year period as Cameron had promised.

This was seen by many as a fudge, and Cameron was exposed as not being serious about the negotiations that are a hallmark of the EU. The Poles and the Czechs, who had enjoyed freedom of movement since joining the EU in 2004. They were outraged that their right to British benefits, which they considered would be 'diluted', was being threatened by the default leadership of the Visegrad Four, which also included the Czech Republic and Hungary.

French President Francois Hollande, also took a tough stand against the UK's agenda, warning that the City of London from any eurozone 'overreach'. He was apprehensive about granting non-eurozone countries any influence over eurozone matters, stating that there 'can be no veto by countries outside the eurozone' regarding the UK's position.

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The UK also had its allies, such as Denmark, in the frenzied negotiations in the lead-up to the referendum campaign. Germany too was keen to claw back many of the rights to benefits that citizens of Central European countries had accrued. In-work benefits and the right of Polish and other workers to child benefits for children living in Poland came into sharp focus.



Boris Johnson was

With the huge number of Polish and other workers that came to the UK after 2004, the Germans and others quietly appreciated that welfare systems and public services as a whole were being put under immense pressure. Despite differences between the British and the Visegrad position on the eurozone, Cameron accepted the Tusk plan.

Under this plan, benefits were index-linked to the standard of living in the children living in the UK, which meant smaller payments for those workers whose families were in Europe. This was a small concession in the direction of the British delivering the top of the EU hierarchy.

It was also noteworthy that a senior EU official involved in the negotiations said 'fundamental rights in Europe [were] not unconditional'. The benefits were a thorny one, inextricably linked with the free movement of workers, where a country had the right to work in another EU member state, a crucial component of the Single Market.

Now that such issues have been exposed to intense scrutiny and the gaze of other member states, the potential for Brexit to trigger a broader unravelling, affecting enlargement, exists.

The coming Brexit negotiations and events in other countries, such as French elections scheduled for 2017, will be of intense interest. It is possible that this is a sequence of similar storms facing the EU going forward.

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Highlight the mistakes and correct them, giving your justification below.

The British Government entered the EU in 1973 under Margaret Thatcher. Her victory of 52% in favour 44% against and the decision has been contentious. One of the most controversial acts made by the EU was the Single European Agreement on movement and has meant that the UK cannot control the number of migrants into Europe. This has led some parties that campaign for stronger immigration controls to rise in popularity in recent years. Others have been upset at a perceived loss of sovereignty. The Treaty of Nice passed in 2001 gave the EU more power over foreign policy.

This move was a risk, but it was a key part of the Conservative Manifesto election and contributed to a widely expected victory for Cameron.

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Learning Grid 1

Background to the UK relationship with the EU	What does ECSC stand for?	
	Which other two countries joined the EU with the UK in 1973?	
	What is the name of the agreement that allows freedom of movement with the EU?	
	Why did the UK withdraw from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1992?	
	In 1999, how many countries adopted the euro as their currency?	
	By 2004, how many countries had joined the EU?	
	Which treaty was signed to make the EU more democratic in 2009?	
What is a referendum?	What are referendums also called?	
	What motive did Cameron have for calling a referendum?	
	What event made people think UKIP were gaining popularity?	
Attempted negotiation of a new relationship	Who was President of the EU Council of Ministers in 2016?	
	What controls of migrants did David Cameron secure?	
	When was the EU referendum going to be held?	
	Why did the renegotiated position never happen?	
	What is the name for the cultural and political alliance of Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia?	

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Section 2 – The Campaign (March to June 2016)

Leavers and remainers – politicians and parties

The referendum on the United Kingdom's (UK) membership of the European Union (EU) was a close-run cast of thousands. A few household names, such as Nigel Farage and Boris Johnson, were associated with the campaign to get the UK to leave the European Union (EU) – now part of the evolving Brexit process. The then Prime Minister, David Cameron, was the architect of the Remain campaign as architect of the referendum.

Outside of the political establishment, Nigel Farage, the leader of UKIP and a Member of Parliament (MEP), shot to fame as a result of his obsession with getting the UK out of the EU. He established UKIP in 1993 with this sole purpose in mind.



The Conservative and Labour parties were the two main factions going into the referendum. The Eurosceptic wing of the Conservative Party was instrumental in making the campaign. The Conservatives have always had a range of Eurosceptics. But it was the flamboyant Boris Johnson who, by coming to the EU, added immense impetus to the campaign. Johnson's playful style was ameliorated by one of the more sober and erudite members of the cabinet, Michael Gove. Thus the Conservatives stumbled on a heavyweight dream team. Gove's touch, abrasive, incisive and informal, was a perfect fit. A Leave trinity, if not a holy trinity, the Remain side simply had no answer to the popular and populist appeal.

The Leave side had two campaign organisations: *Vote Leave* was the more prominent, run by Matthew Elliot. UKIP and those outside the Westminster bubble ran a campaign called *Stronger in Europe*, the Remain organisation, was headed by Will Straw, brother of the then Prime Minister, but as a 'policy wonk' he lacked the bruiser capacity that the Leave side mustered.

The Labour Party was more anomalous. The party's left wing has always opposed the EU. In the 1975 referendum, Tony Benn, a prominent and articulate socialist, campaigned fervently to get the UK out of the Common Market, as the EU was then known. The current Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn, adhered to the Bennite position until assuming the Labour leadership in 2015. Probably because of immense pressure from the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP), Corbyn supported Remain. But his

Leader of the Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn



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lacklustre campaigning is believed by many to have sent a sublime signal to victory. Ironically, Tony Benn's son Hilary – unlike father, unlike son – was Kate Hoey, the Vauxhall MP, a convicted and tenacious backbencher, was a stalwart – certainly among the PLP, the bulk of whom strongly supported the referendum effected during the Blair era.

Most other major UK parties, such as the Liberal Democrats and the Green Party, supported Remain. The Scottish Nationalist Party was also strongly pro-Europe, while having an anti-EU strain in the recesses of its DNA. Plaid Cymru in Wales was a pro-Remain party of staying in the EU. In Northern Ireland, the Democratic Unionist Party was the most vocal and visible Leave supporting party, informed by its



staunch and inward brand of British nationalism. Their coalition partner in the Executive, Sinn Féin, which actually means Ourselves Alone, were once far more ideologically agile than the Labour Party. Their ideological agility allowed them to shift to support for the EU well before the Labour Party. The mild-mannered Social Democratic and Labour Party are unconditional and unconditional. The Ulster Unionists are much less so, but for the purposes of the referendum party. The Alliance Party, like their Liberal Democrat cousins, were unambiguously

Of course, George Osborne, while circumspect about David Cameron's referendum on-side and on-message when the campaign got underway. Indeed he was press-ganging big economic hitters to flag up the possibility of economic meltdown in the event of a Brexit vote. Daniel Hannan, an articulate conservative MEP, had the Leave campaign a good war, enjoying an extremely high media profile. David Davis and Liam Fox, Conservative leavers, who are now at the coalface of the Brexit process that has been led by Kenneth Clark, Conservative Party grandee and leader of its affable tendency.



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Of course, this is only a broad sweep of the cast of many that were involved in the UK in a perilous place or be the start of a sequential domino effect on the outcome of which only a fool acting the wise man would even try to predict.

Arguments for and against

As with almost anything there are arguments for and against. So it is with the EU. Two of the most pressing issues that came to the fore during the referendum were immigration and sovereignty. There were others.

The UK joined the EU in 1973 mainly to be in a free trade area as the EU's then Common Market, implied. Since then the Common Market has evolved and involved a rapid sequence of treaties from around the mid-1980s onwards, which enhanced the powers and authority of the European Economic Community, and what today is the European Union. In 1992, the European Single Act was passed. This entailed a number of fundamental principles such as the free movement of goods and capital.

The European Single Currency, the euro, was launched in 2003. In 2004, 10 countries in central and eastern Europe joined the EU. Another three of the all of this came dramatic change. An increasing amount of legislation, policy emerged. There was a massive wave of immigration into the UK from the EU as soon as they joined. All of this has had a huge impact on crime, the legal system, finance, defence and other areas.

Sovereignty

The Leave side in the referendum, held on 23 June 2016, which voted for the UK to leave the EU, put huge emphasis on sovereignty, claiming that the British parliament and other institutions were increasingly being superseded by the EU's institutions. They were concerned that most of the legislation being enacted in the UK came from Brussels and that the European Court of Justice was taking precedence over British courts in an increasing number of areas. Countering this view and the sort

of argument the Remain side used was that the EU involved 'pooled sovereignty' passed in Brussels by the European Council of Ministers and other bodies, and that ministers and other representatives participated.



The European Court of Human Rights

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Migration

The Leave side has been vexed by the influx of people. This, they believe, puts immense strain on public services, such as health and education, and fundamentally changes the character of certain communities. The Leave side also spoke a lot about an abundant supply of cheap labour deflating wages in the UK. The issue of migrants having equal access to the UK benefits systems was of concern, even to many on the Remain side, as evidenced by it being a key plank in David Cameron's pre-referendum negotiations with the EU and its member states.

The Remain side was keen to emphasise the economic benefits of inward migration, insisting that it boosts the economy. And EU membership, they argued, was responsible for around three million UK jobs.



Crime and security

Crime is another issue that both sides in the EU membership debate alluded to. A European Arrest Warrant which facilitates ease of extradition throughout the EU came in for discussion on both sides in the debate. Leavers expressed their deep reservations about the prospect of being arrested and quickly sent to countries where legal and detention standards are lower. The Remain side regarded this judicial tool as a vital instrument in the fight against crime across borders.

Economy

The UK's international influence was also rigorously debated. Remain supporters argued that a large bloc of around 500 million people gave the UK real global reach. Leavers argued the exact opposite effect. They insisted greater global presence could best be achieved by dealing with Commonwealth countries such as Australia, Canada and India and with major powers of Asia, South America and elsewhere. This ties in with the issue of international trade. Leavers argued a lot about being the world's fifth largest economy and about it being better to negotiate independent trade agreements with the likes of the USA and others instead of being part of a cumbersome bloc of 28 different countries.

The Remain side, moreover, saw remaining within the European Single Market as a vital economic interest. The UK conducts 44% of its trade as a vital economic interest.

Questions about finance and how the City of London would be affected by Brexit were strongly contested by both sides. Defence too was another hotly debated issue. Leavers articulated fears about being drawn into an EU military structure that would require the UK to contribute troops and command forces, while the Remain side emphasised the need for a strong security apparatus in an unstable world given the mounting threats emanating from terrorism, cyberspace and elsewhere.

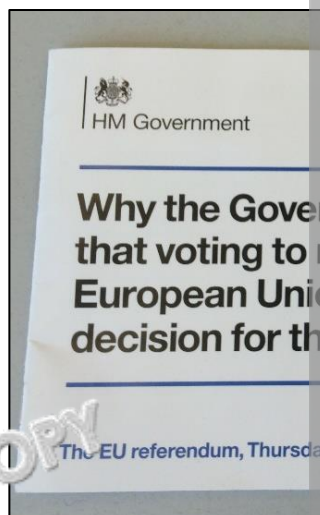
Campaign methods and their impact

Preceding an election or a referendum vote there is a fixed period in which the major parties put out their stall, presenting their positions and policies. It is a marketing pitch to the media and voter. How a message is packaged and communicated is crucial. This is particularly so in the Internet with instant communication and social media.

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The sophistication of political campaigns has evolved exponentially in the last 30 years. The advent of the internet and social media is an integral part of, and instrumental in, campaign methods. Still important is traditional electronic media, especially television, and particularly a politician's ability to perform on it. At the base of all this is communication. Towards the close of the twentieth century it seemed that political communication had superseded ideology and policy. The era of super spin had arrived. Tony Blair and New Labour were virtually attributed with having invented this. They did not, but they took it to unsurmountable heights. David Cameron learnt much from his former, ostensible political opponents, but on the other side.



Against this backdrop the European Union (EU) referendum campaign commenced by David Cameron, who kick-started the campaign on conclusion of his decision. Three organisations were established: one on the Remain side, two on Leave.

Early in the campaign David Cameron's decision to spend approximately £10 million on a Remain leaflet attracted considerable flak. Campaign buses, televised debates, and literature, and the normal doorstep canvassing typical of any political campaign. These elaborate means and methods existed only as support systems and strategies. In the event of the EU referendum it was evident that the Leave side accrued a significant human front, landing heavier charismatic and populist punches. The appeal of the profile protagonists and the emotionally charged immigration issue overrode the economics factor were cause, effect and ultimately impact factors that determined the referendum.

Key moments in the campaign

The UK vote to leave the EU on 23 June 2016, has a long history. The start of the campaign began when David Cameron became leader of the Conservative Party in 2005, and became more intense when he became Prime Minister at the head of a Conservative – Liberal Democrat government in 2010. The crescendo was reached when he led the Conservative Party to victory in the 2015 general election.

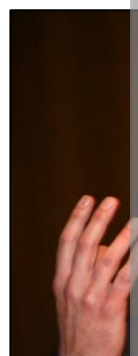
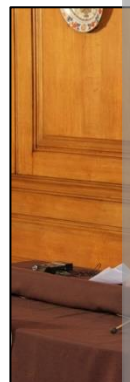
From hindsight, it can be observed that a rift within the Conservative Party existed, and David Cameron in turn reacted. In the words of that useful cliché: 'the rest is history'.

- On 24 November 2011, David Cameron suffered the largest postwar rebellion by Conservative MPs revolted and called for a referendum on the EU.
- In January 2013, David Cameron made his Bloomberg speech, documented as a high-profile examination of Brexit. In what was a hostage to fortune, it was the high point of his penchant for political gambling. David Cameron played to the Eurosceptic demand for 'fundamental and far-reaching change' in the UK's relationship with the EU, and this demand to an 'in-out' referendum.
- David Cameron's Bloomberg speech acquired real significance when, on 17 May 2015, the Conservative government in 23 years was elected.

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- Soon after, on 29 May, David Cameron commenced a nine-month tour of European capitals in Berlin at the start of a renegotiation aimed at keeping the UK in the EU.
- Early in February 2016, the British Prime Minister was ready to reveal the outcome of this terse process. At this point the cracks began to show as many in his own party were unhappy with what he brought back from Europe. It soon became clear that the deal he struck with the EU was insufficient to secure the total support of his party colleagues.
- The cracks widened when, on 18 February, a cabinet big-hitter, Justice declared that he supported leaving the EU.
- The next day David Cameron did a deal in Brussels on reform of the EU referendum would take place on 23 June, saying that he would campaign the UK in the EU.
- In a falling situation, on 20 February, another four ministers joined the Remain side.
- The next day, which was a Sunday, a bombshell for David Cameron came when he announced that he was also siding with Leave, giving them a figure with which to campaign.
- With campaigning well underway, Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn made a intervention in the EU debate. On 14 April, in a speech at the Senate House, he urged Labour voters to back Remain, which many saw as half-hearted.
- On 17 April, the Treasury claimed that each family would be £4,300 worse off by leaving the UK. This was roundly ridiculed by Leave supporters who regarded it as part of a 'Project Fear' strategy.
- On 22 April, United States President Barack Obama, in a joint press conference with David Cameron, talked about trade deals and other issues. This was interpreted as interference and was immediately seized upon by the Leave side.
- Boris Johnson, in a move that highlighted his tendency to embellish, launched the Big Bus in Cornwall on 11 May. Its livery proclaimed that £350 million was being lost by the UK. This claim was roundly challenged and remained controversial throughout the campaign.
- On 26 May an almost record level of migration to the UK in 2015 was announced. It was experienced an immediate surge, as leaving the EU was seen as the path to a more open border.
- By early June, David Cameron showed signs of concern. He convened a cabinet meeting. Later that day, the Prime Minister and Nigel Farage appeared on a programme on ITV.
- Two days later, Boris Johnson, in a televised discussion, was accused of using the referendum as a campaign tool. He was seen at Downing Street. While on 15 June, Nigel Farage and Sir Bob Geldof berated each other as their campaign flotillas passed each other in the Thames.
- On 16 June, the campaign ground to a halt when Labour MP Jo Cox was murdered in her West Yorks constituency by a right-wing fanatic. The campaign remained on hold for a number of days.
- The last television showdown took place at Wembley Arena on 21 June. The referendum campaign was also marked by controversy surrounding a UKIP poster with the slogan, 'Breaking Point'. This was widely seen as distasteful and as propaganda.
- Finally, the UK voted on 23 June, voting to leave the EU in an event that would unfold for many years to come.



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Media coverage

Media coverage plays a significant role in any political event. At its best, the media enlightens. The media can also have a subjective impact, reinforcing prejudice.

The Internet has dramatically changed the media landscape in the twenty-first century. Social and mainstream media: publishing, communications sites and platforms have moved their news and information from online sources, including digital versions of print media.

Interactive with the media are opinion polls which attempt to predict the outcome of referendums by surveying cross-sections of voters. The referendum on EU membership was a weakness of political polling – essentially they failed to predict the outcome.

The Loughborough University Centre for Research in Communication and Culture (CRCC) provides valuable insight and interpretation of media coverage of the EU referendum. They produced a sequence of reports commencing on 6 May and concluding on 22 June – all of weekday media coverage.

All major UK television news programmes and national newspapers were examined.

According to the Loughborough studies, three issues: ‘the drama and dynamics of the campaign’, economic implications of leaving the EU, and immigration and border controls, were the principal news themes of the referendum campaign. They were described as ‘consistently evident in TV news, Pro-Remain newspapers and Pro-Leave newspapers’. But it was economic news that received most media attention.

It was also pointed out that some issues only received significant coverage of the referendum. The impact of the referendum on devolution and the unity of the UK was a prime case in point. ‘Women were consistently marginalised’ in coverage, and in televised debates, the CRCC also pointed out.

National press coverage was highly polarised, it was assessed. Pro-Remain newspapers featured Remain arguments and campaigners, and vice versa. A coverage gap was identified for the Brexit Party, which received 60% of press coverage. When circulation was factored in, Leave’s newspapers received more coverage.



It was also revealed that certain politicians, such as Theresa May and Boris Johnson, on both sides, received most media attention. The main protagonists that dominated British media were David Cameron, the Prime Minister, the European Council President Donald Tusk, Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission, and the Chancellor. Only the Brexit Party received high-level media coverage, mainly featuring its leader, Nigel Farage.

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Unsurprisingly, the *Financial Times* emerged as the most consistently pro-R according to the NRCC referendum surveillance.

Ancillary to media coverage are opinion polls, as their results often provide a frenzy of poll activity that accompanied the EU referendum was What the U It was based on the average share of the vote for Leave and Remain in the s intentions in the EU referendum. Fieldwork was carried out between 16 an online and telephone polls by TNS, YouGov and Ipos-Mori.

The polls failed to predict the Leave vote, taking pollsters, pundits and othe



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Learning Grid 2

Leavers and remainers	Which side did David Cameron take in the referendum campaign?	
	Name two high-profile Leave campaigners who were members of the Conservative cabinet.	
	Name the two official campaigns for the Leave and Remain sides.	
	What was Labour's official position? Why was this disputed by some?	
	Name three political parties that said they would remain.	
Arguments for and against	Define sovereignty.	
	Outline one argument used by the Leave campaign that stated Britain's sovereignty was under threat from the EU.	
	What was the counterargument by the Remain side about sovereignty?	
	Name one anti-migration argument used by the Leave side.	
	Name one pro-migration view promoted by the Remain campaign.	
	What scheme did Remain campaigners say increased security? How did it work?	
	What major economic argument did Leave use to advance their campaign?	
Campaign methods and media coverage	How much was spent by the government to send a pro-Remain leaflet?	
	What charismatic advantage did the Leave side have over Remain?	
	According to the Loughborough University Centre for Research, what two main themes got the most attention from the public?	
	Which issues received the least attention?	
	Which side of the argument received the most press coverage? By what percentage margin?	
	Which newspaper was the most pro-Remain during the campaign?	

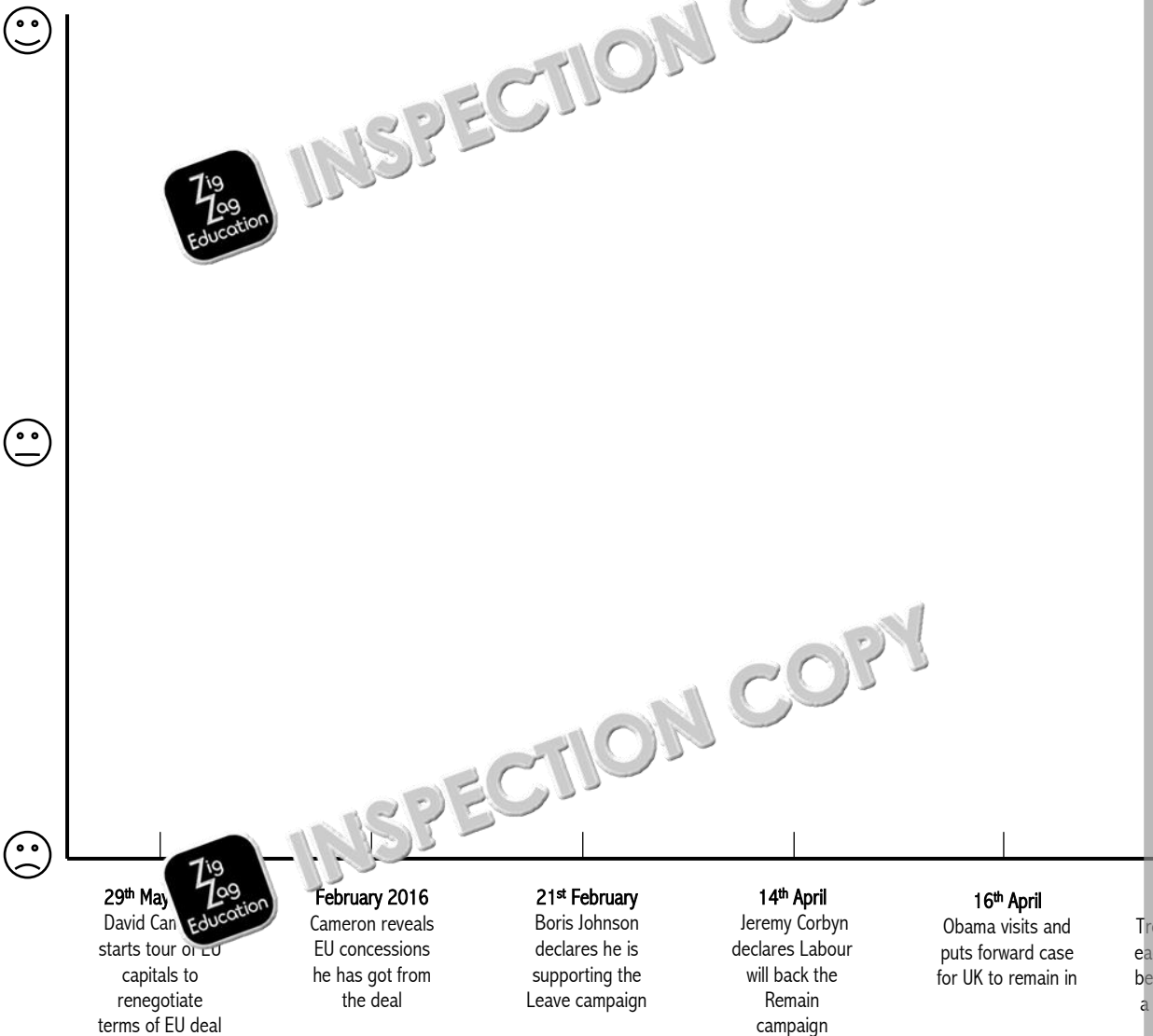
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Activity 2: Campaign mood graph

The referendum had a few key moments that had a clear impact on public opinion. Complete the graph showing the positive or negative effect on the public opinion of each campaign. (Note: This is totally unscientific, it's just a guess about the fortunes of each campaign!) Once you have completed your graph, compare it with the answer version.



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Section 3 – The Referendum Result

Polling Day

Voting in the referendum took place on Thursday 23rd June 2016. As for any election, polling stations were open between 7am and 10pm, although many postal votes had already been cast. The electorate for this referendum totalled 46,500,001. The ballot paper contained the question 'Should the UK remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?' Voters were required to mark a box to remain or a box to leave.



The Count

At the close of the polls, ballot boxes were taken to one of the 382 local areas across the regions of the UK. Each centre carried out an overnight count. Each region reported the results from their local centres and in turn passed them on to the Electoral Commission based in Manchester where the final overall result was declared.

In the first hour or so after the polls shut pundits were suggesting Remain was winning, but this was coming from an exit poll being carried out privately on behalf of the BBC. Many people wanted to know what dealing they should be doing overnight on the open market. Nigel Farage had been quoted as saying it looked as if the Remain vote had started to be much more circumspect when the first results started to come in. The first result from Sunderland particularly stood out. It was not so much the result for Remain that was large, but the result for Leave was so large.

The Result

Around 7am on the morning of the 24th June the chief counting officer declared the result.

Remain	16,141,241 (48.1%)
Leave	17,410,742 (51.9%)
Rejected papers	25,359

Leave

51.9%

33.6 million citizens had voted, giving a turnout of 72.2%. This was the highest turnout for a UK-wide poll since the 1992 general election. However, the clear result was that the country had voted to leave the EU.



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The breakdown of the result

1. Voting by country

	Electorate (ml)	Electorate (%)	Turnout (%)	Remain vote	
				Millions	%
England	38.98	83.83	73	13.27	46.6
Scotland	3.99	8.58	67.2	1.66	62.0
Wales	2.27	4.88	71.2	0.77	47.5
Northern Ireland	1.26	2.71	62.7	0.44	55.8
UK	46.5	100	71.2	16.14	48.1

The key points to note from this table are that:

- The overall result of the referendum in the UK was always likely to be determined by how England voted because it makes up the bulk of the electorate.
- The turnout in the two countries that voted to leave (England and Wales) was higher than in the two countries that voted to stay (Scotland and Northern Ireland).
- Every one of the 32 counting areas in Scotland voted to remain, which strengthens the SNP's argument that a second independence referendum could be justified.
- In England, 230 of the counting areas voted to leave and 80 to remain. In Wales, the split was 17 leave and 5 remain while in Northern Ireland the figures were 7 to leave and 11 for remain.

There was a very significant difference in the range of the remain/leave split as the following tables show.

(a) Top five areas voting Remain

Local count area	Remain %
Gibraltar*	95.9
London Borough of Lambeth	91.6
London Borough of Hackney	78.5
Foyle (Northern Ireland)	78.3
London Borough of Islington	75.6

*Gibraltar has been given the right to take part in European parliamentary elections in 2022. Their vote is included in England's South West regional constituency in 2016 to allow them to take part in the referendum. Membership of the single market and movement over its land border with Spain is seen as a vital economic interest.

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(b) Top five areas voting Leave

Local count area	Remain
Boston (Lincolnshire)	24.4
South Holland (Lincolnshire)	26.4
Castle Point (Essex)	27.3
Thurrock (Essex)	27.7
Great Yarmouth	28.5

At the same time many areas were split down the middle; for example, East of England voted Leave and 42,372 voted Remain on a 80.5% turnout, and High Peak (Derbyshire) voted Leave and 27,116 Remain votes on a 57.7% turnout. All local area votes were recorded although Moray came very close to stopping the full house. 23,992 voted Leave and 23,992 voted Remain on a 67.5% turnout.

2. Voting in the English region

Region	Electorate (millions)	Turnout (%)	Remain (millions)
East	4.40	75.7	1.1
East Midlands	3.38	74.2	1.1
London	5.43	69.7	2.7
North East	1.93	69.3	0.1
North West	5.24	70.0	1.1
South East	6.47	76.8	2.7
South West	4.14	76.7	1.1
West Midlands	4.17	72	1.1
Yorkshire and Humberside	3.88	70.7	1.1
England	38.98	73	13

The key points to note from this table are:

- London was the only region in England to vote Remain. 27 of the London boroughs voted to remain (together with the City of London which was counted separately and also voted to remain), with eight recording figures in excess of 10,300. Five boroughs voted to leave.
- Within the nine English regions there were 310 local counts, of which 230 voted to leave and 80 to remain. 52 of the 80 were either in London or in the South East region. This means that just 22 local authorities across the rest of England recorded a majority in favour of remaining in the EU.
- However, these 22 local areas were mainly in densely populated urban areas, including the cities of Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Leicester, Leeds, Bristol and Norwich.
- The Leave areas dominate any map of England showing how the country voted. The Leave vote had a virtual clean sweep across the shire counties such as Cornwall, Wiltshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire. They won in the Northern and Midlands.

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Wolverhampton, Wigan and Sunderland. Majorities were won in cities like Bradford, Hull, Sheffield and Nottingham. Some of the biggest margins were in the coastal areas stretching around the coast from East Sussex, through East Anglia.

A note of caution about the areas used for local counts. They cannot be treated as representative of the UK as a whole. Firstly, there were only 382 separate counts whereas the UK has 533 constituencies. Secondly, and more importantly, the local areas were nowhere near even in size. The range ran from the City of London with an electorate of 5,987 to Birmingham with 1,000,000. However, the nine English regions together with Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland make up the 12 areas used to elect MEPs to the European Parliament.

3. Voting by age group

Statistics of how the different age groups voted began to appear within hours of the referendum being called. Unlike the sections above, which are based upon official figures, the statistics heading are based upon estimates arrived at using various methods including sample polls. They therefore come with a health warning.

What all estimates do appear to agree upon is that:

- the older the voter the more likely they supported Leave
- the older the voter the more likely they turned out to vote

In the first four weeks after the referendum, the estimates most quoted on the internet for the first four weeks after the referendum are indicated in the table below:

Age group	% voting Remain (range)	% voting Leave (range)
18–24	70–75	25–30
25–34	56–62	38–44
35–44	52–60	40–48
45–54	43–52	48–57
55–64	40–43	57–60
65+	38–40	60–62

In the first 4 weeks after the referendum the most quoted estimates for the turnout by age group are indicated in the table below.

Age group	Turnout range%
18–24	36–41
25–34	50–65
35–44	66–72
45–54	66–75
55–64	74–81
65+	83–90

The results shown above for turnout highlights the reason to be very careful with the data. To have two estimates for the turnout of 18–25 year olds that are so far apart shows that depth research is required before conclusions can be drawn.

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4. Voting influenced by socio-economic factors

In the immediate aftermath of the referendum result the media and others sought to identify factors that influenced voting behaviour. The approach that proved the most popular was to correlate socio-economic data for the local count areas with the referendum results. The patterns that emerged. The necessary socio-economic data was readily available from the 2011 census, which was carried out in 2011. The census collects information on all residents including age, occupation, place of birth, educational qualifications and nationality. However, the picture which emerges is not founded on evidence of actual voting data. Correlations do not prove anything although they may provide direct evidence of a link.

Within a day or so of the result, national media outlets such as the BBC, *Guardian* and *Times* were publishing the main points arising from this analysis.

They agreed with the link that point 3 above highlights of age-based voting with the highest proportion of over 65s, 28 voted to leave.

They also noted the correlations that existed between the level of education and voting. For instance, in the 35 areas where over 50% of the residents had a degree, 32 voted to remain. In areas where there was a high proportion of residents with no formal qualifications, the area tended to vote to leave.

National background and ballot results also suggested a possible link. Almost 30% of the residents had not been born in the UK voted to remain. Of those identifying as English, all 30 voted to leave.

Income level and class also threw up significant correlations, which will not be explored in this investigation. The highest Leave votes tended to come from low income areas and the highest proportions of residents having a DE socio-economic class background.

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Activity 3: Your results

The referendum result varied greatly across the country. Find out your referendum area and answer the questions below. You can use zzed.co.uk/7119-refresu

Complete the referendum fact file, then answer the questions that follow.

Referendum fact file

The name of your local area:

The name of your MP before the election:

What side did you support in the referendum?

The result in your region and local area:

Name of local area	Remain vote	Lea
.....		
Name of region	Remain vote	Lea
.....		

Looking back

- Does the result in your local area reflect the national picture? If so, explain why.
- Which side of the campaign did your local MP campaign on? Were there any other factors?
- What are the demographics of your local area? Do you think this matches the national picture?
- Which factor do you think affected the vote the most in your local area? Justify your answer.

Looking forward: Discussion

- Has your MP changed their point of view since the referendum? What are the reasons for this?
- Did they vote for the 'Brexit' or 'Remain' side?
- What are your predictions for what will happen to your local area once the UK has left the EU?

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Learning Grid 3

The result	What events made it seem as if Remain had won the referendum?	
	What early night result indicated that Leave may have won?	
	What was the result of the referendum (in percentages)?	
	Which country voted entirely to stay in the EU?	
	Which area had the highest percentage vote to remain in the EU?	
	Which area had the highest percentage vote to leave the EU?	
	Which was the only English region to have a majority vote for Remain?	
	How was age seen as a defining factor in the referendum outcome?	
	How did education appear to affect voting intention?	

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Section 4 - The Immediate Impact of

1. David Cameron resigns

The final result of the referendum was declared at just after 7am on Friday. David Cameron was outside Number 10 Downing Street declaring his intention of resigning as Prime Minister.

He stated 'I was absolutely clear about my belief that Britain is stronger, safer and better off inside the EU. I made clear the referendum was about this, and I'm alone, not the future of any single politician, including myself. But the British people have made a very clear decision to take a different path and as such I think the country requires fresh leadership to take it in this direction.'



Other prime ministers have resigned because they have lost a general election, for personal reasons (e.g. Macmillan, Wilson) or because of divisions and pressure (e.g. Thatcher, Blair). David Cameron became the first UK prime minister to resign as a result of a referendum. Most political commentators, when asked how Cameron's resignation would affect the country's history, said as the prime minister who took the UK out of the EU as a result of the referendum.

Cameron said he would stay on to lead the government until a successor was elected. This meant the Conservative Party deciding on a new leader. This led to the Conservative Party's 1922 Committee immediately putting into effect the process for electing a new leader.

2. Theresa May becomes leader of the Conservative Party

The Conservative Party's process for electing a new leader involves their Members of Parliament (MPs) nominating two candidates who are then put forward to the party members for a vote. In the immediate aftermath of David Cameron's resignation statement, the party was



mainly of one mind that Theresa May and Boris Johnson were the two candidates going forward. When nominations closed on 6 June, five names had been put forward. Theresa May, Boris Johnson, Michael Gove, Stephen Crabb and David Davis. Gove's nomination was the most headline-grabbing. This was because right up to the morning of the vote, he was seen as the main backer of an alternative campaign manager for leadership. The move by Gove resulted in Johnson and Davis being called to announce his resignation. The Mayor of London said he was not running. Exactly what scenes will no doubt emerge over the coming year.

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The result of the first round of voting on the 5th of July was:



Theresa May	Andrea Leadsom	Michael Gove	Stephen Crabb
165	121	48	34

In line with the rules, Liam Fox as the bottom candidate was eliminated and moved to the next round of voting. Stephen Crabb decided to withdraw.

The second round of voting took place on the 7th of July and the result was:



Theresa May	Andrea Leadsom	Michael Gove
199	84	46

Michael Gove was eliminated and May and Leadsom therefore went forward to the final where the party members had to decide between.

The 1922 Committee decided that ballot papers would be sent out in mid-August and close at noon on the 9th of September. The result would be announced shortly after. It was estimated there were between 130,000 and 150,000 members of the party who had to have joined by the 9th of June. A series of hustings were planned which would make their case to become the new leader of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister.

Andrea Leadsom started making her case straight away by giving an interview to the BBC on the 9th of July. It created headlines over the weekend of the 9/10th of July, mainly because she had a special stake in wanting the country to be successful. This, she argued, was her advantage over Theresa May.

On Monday 11th July Andrea Leadsom withdrew from the leadership contest and said her action 'was in the best interests of the country'. She went on to say that

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contest, the support of less than 25% of the parliamentary party was insufficient to lead a strong and stable government.

It does appear there was pressure from within the Conservative Party for May to stand. The reasons varied. Some felt she was an unsuitable candidate both in her view of the world and in her personality. A *Times* interview had helped to confirm this. Others felt that nine weeks of the divisions in the party were best avoided. Sections of the party felt the party was not fit to govern the country and that Theresa May was the clear choice of MPs. It was also felt that the majority of members may have voted for Andrea Leadsom, creating a situation where the new leader was supported by relatively few MPs, a situation in common with the Labour Party. In the Conservatives' case it would be even worse as the leader would also

3. Theresa May becomes the new prime minister

Theresa May was declared the new Conservative leader and this allowed David Cameron to go to Buckingham Palace and offer his resignation as Prime Minister. He was then appointed as Head of the Civil Service. This was arranged for Wednesday the 13th of July. A day after he carried out his last constitutional function as Prime Minister by recommending Theresa May as his successor.

Later that afternoon Theresa May was summoned to Buckingham Palace where the Queen appointed the new Conservative leader as Prime Minister.

Theresa May went straight to Number 10 Downing Street where she made a statement about the type of government she intended to lead and the values which would underpin it. She started by saying: 'David Cameron has led a one nation government, and it is that spirit that I also plan to lead'. She then went on to develop a theme that seemed to accept a widespread criticism of Cameron's governments that the better off in society had gained the most from their policies. Mine is '... the mission to make Britain a country that works for everyone...' 'The government I lead will be driven not by the interests of the privileged few, but by yours.'

By this time David Cameron, with his family by his side, had made a farewell speech and then driven away.

In the space of 20 days from Friday 24th of June when the EU referendum was held to Wednesday 13th of July, a series of events saw the British Constitution change hands without any involvement of the people.

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4. New cabinet appointed

Within 36 hours of being appointed Prime Minister, Theresa May had a new cabinet. Of the 23 members survived but only four remained with the same portfolios. The members of the cabinet were carrying a responsibility they had not had two years before. Below demonstrates the scale and ruthlessness of the changes carried out by May. Oliver Letwin were among the nine cabinet members sacked by the new prime minister. New Departments of State were created (Brexit and International Trade) and one was abolished (Climate Change). The appointment of Boris Johnson as Foreign Secretary was a surprise. It was noticeable that the main responsibility for negotiating the Brexit terms was given to a trio of party MPs who had played a prominent role in the Leave campaign.

Cabinet Post	Thursday 12 th July 2016	
Prime Minister	David Cameron	
Chancellor of the Exchequer	George Osborne	
Secretary of State for Education	Theresa May	
Foreign Secretary	Philip Hammond	
Brexit Secretary	-	
Defence Secretary	Michael Fallon	
International Trade	-	
Justice	Michael Gove	
Health	Jeremy Hunt	
Education	Nicky Morgan	
Transport	Patrick McLoughlin	
Culture	John Whittingdale	
Environment	Liz Truss	
Work and pensions	Stephen Crabb	
Communities and Local Government	Greg Clark	
Northern Ireland	Theresa Villiers	
Welsh	Alun Cairns	
Scottish	David Mundell	
Leader of the Commons	Chris Grayling	
Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy	Sajid Javid	
International Development	Justine Greening	
Party Chairman	Lord Feldman	
Leader of the Lords	Baroness Stowell	
Cabinet Office	Oliver Letwin	
Energy and Climate Change	Amber Rudd	

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5. Challenge to Jeremy Corbyn's leadership of the Labour Party

In the immediate aftermath of the referendum result Jeremy Corbyn's position as leader of the Labour Party came under new and sustained pressure from Labour MPs. Ever since the September 2015 general election, sections of the party had continued to feel they could not win under his leadership. The result of the referendum gave renewed and wider energy to the campaign for staying in the EU and, although a small section had joined the 'Labour In for Britain' organisation led by Alan Johnson was given a key role in getting party supporters to vote Remain. There were criticisms that Corbyn was not putting his full effort into the 'Britain Stronger in Europe' campaign. He refused from the outset to share any platform with Conservative leaders and allowed his office to stop Labour playing a full part. Jeremy Corbyn and his supporters argued that he had made many speeches around the country urging people to vote Remain, particularly as it was the only way of ensuring that workers' rights and conditions were kept in place. The accusation that significant numbers of Labour voters in the party's urban heartlands of Wales, the North of England and the Midlands voted Leave because he had failed to make the case for voting Remain was wrong. These voters were delivering a message to Cameron that they were fed up with his leadership and his austerity programme.

The move against Corbyn began on the evening of 26th June when Hilary Benn, Secretary of State for International Trade, told his leader that he felt the party could not win a general election. Corbyn sacked Benn and this was the signal for a series of coordinated resignations from Labour MPs and other front bench spokespeople. Two days later, 20 of the 30 cabinet had resigned together with 17 other frontbenchers. Corbyn found it difficult to run the cabinet but found it increasingly difficult to fill all the other posts and had to take on many of the responsibilities or leaving posts unfilled.

On the 28th of June, the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP) held a vote on a motion of no confidence in Jeremy Corbyn. In a secret ballot the motion was approved by 170 to 40. Corbyn argued that saying the motion had 'no constitutional legitimacy' and the only way to challenge his leadership was by following the rules of the party.

The majority of the Labour MPs clearly wanted Corbyn to resign because a resignation was much less likely to be successful. Various attempts were made behind the scenes to get Corbyn to resign with the argument that, although as a person he was fine and the Labour Party were not at issue, he was not a leader and the party would not win under his leadership. This would result in no opportunity to put policies into effect.

None of this worked. Corbyn pointed to the mandate he had won from the 2015 general election, the fact that he had won the leadership less than a year earlier and his record so far in electing Labour MPs to the House of Commons. He pointed to the fact that Labour had won but increased their share of the vote in all three by-elections they had fought since the referendum. He pointed to the fact that Labour had won the elected mayors contests including a very convincing win over the Conservatives in London. He pointed to the fact that they had won a greater share of the vote than the Conservatives in the May 2017 local elections. He pointed to the fact that the media forecasting significant losses. Corbyn also argued that being a 'catalyst' was ideally placed to lead the party in the aftermath of Brexit. John McDonnell argued that the Brexit negotiations should contain, making it clear this is what they were doing, not trying to overthrow the leader.

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On 11th July, Angela Eagle, the former shadow Business Secretary, formally for the leadership by submitting her nomination papers to the General Secretary, Owen Smith, the former shadow Work and Pensions Minister, added two candidates appear to have made an agreement that the one who receives Labour MPs/MEPs would carry on with the challenge to Corbyn and the other. On 19th July, Angela Eagle withdrew from the leadership when she accepted Owen's support.

On 12th July, the Labour Party's National Executive Council met to give a ruling on Corbyn as the current leader was required to obtain the nomination of 20% of the party to be allowed in the leadership contest. This was a difficult decision because it seemed unlikely he could get the necessary 51 nominations, given that only 40 had recently voted in his favour in a recent no confidence vote. If he did not obtain this support to stand then he would be losing his winning again given his support among the 500,000 plus party members. It would be a real chance of the party splitting in two.

This issue arose because party rules had been changed during Ed Miliband's leadership and there were different legal views on how they should be interpreted. A secret vote was taken following a long discussion and the NEC decided by 18–14 that Jeremy Corbyn had the right to be automatically on the ballot. As the current leader he did not need to be nominated by any MPs/MEPs.

The contest between Corbyn and Smith for the Labour Party leadership was set for a very acrimonious battle. However, in the end it was Corbyn who came out on top with a vote of 61.8% to 38.2%. Corbyn's power among the wider membership was confirmed; however, his troubles as Labour leader seem far from over.

6. UKIP and the resignation of Nigel Farage

Within two weeks of the referendum result, Nigel Farage, the leader of UKIP, stood down as party leader. Declaring 'his political ambition had been a failure' he argued there was still great potential for the party in British politics and he was backing any particular candidate to replace him.

A timetable for the leadership election was set. Nominations for leader had to be submitted by 11th and 31st of July. Ballot papers were to be sent out by the 1st of September, with voting to take place on the 15th September. The Electoral Commission controls the process and has already decided that only people who have been a member of the party for at least five years are allowed to stand.



The party rules state that a candidate must have the support of 10% of the party members and the signatures of 50 party members from at least 10 different branches to be eligible.

The leadership election in September caused some controversy. One of the candidates, Pauline Bennett, was unable to get his papers in to register on time, was forced to withdraw.

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eventual winner, Diane James, would then go on to resign just two weeks later, stating that she felt she didn't have the support from within the party to lead. A by-election was called, but between contests Stephen Woolfe was hospitalised after a fall, and the party seemed to be in chaos. The eventual winner of the November contest was David Davies, who led a steady the party and they still command around 10% popularity in the polls. The party is on a platform to make sure the 'hard Brexit' they want is delivered, but once the election appeal may diminish.

7. Scotland and the EU

Within hours of the referendum result being declared, Nicola Sturgeon, the First Minister of Scotland and leader of the SNP, held a news conference to make two key points in response to the UK voting to leave the EU.

Firstly, that following a 'strong and unequivocal' vote in Scotland to remain in the EU, a second Independence referendum was 'highly likely'. Secondly, she 'had a duty as first minister to find a way to give effect to the democratic will of Scotland'.

The first point followed from the SNP commitment contained in their 2016 manifesto for the Scottish Parliament. This stated that the Scottish Parliament should have the right to hold another referendum if there was a significant and material change in the circumstances that prevailed in 2014. Scotland being taken out of the EU against its will is a significant change, therefore a statement of the obvious that a second referendum must be on the table', Sturgeon said.

With regard to the second point, Nicola Sturgeon moved quickly to start exploring what might be open to Scotland. She seemed to suggest there may be some way to remain in EU membership while their relationship with the rest of the UK was resolved. Following the referendum she was in Brussels for meetings with the EU Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker and the European Parliament President Martin Schulz. However, while the Sturgeon, they made it clear they were not in a position to enter into discussions separately from the UK. The message seemed to be that the EU would only consider Scotland if they applied for membership. That could only occur if they were

Theresa May met Nicola Sturgeon in Edinburgh on 1st July. This was just the first time the Prime Minister and she had made it her first official visit. This was clearly a priority she gave to maintaining Scotland as part of the UK. It appears May believed Scotland had nothing to fear from a post-Brexit UK and wanted the Scottish Government to continue the negotiations for membership.

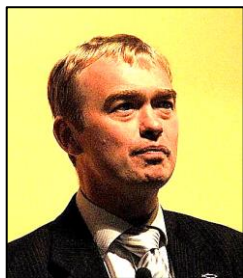
In a speech on the 25th July Nicola Sturgeon confirmed that Theresa May was not in a position to offer a solution on Scotland's future relationship with the EU. The Scottish First Minister said '... a solution that enables Scotland's distinctive voice to be heard and our interests protected within the UK. Or we can consider again the option of independence. I do not see the challenge of finding such a solution.'

This is another area to keep an eye on. Developments here could shape the future relationship between the EU and UK or the future make-up of the UK.

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8. Liberal Democrats commit to rejoin EU



Tim Farron, Leader
of the Lib Dems

Within days of the referendum result, Tim Farron, the Liberal Democrat leader, said that voters should be offered the opportunity of staying in the EU. He committed to rejoining the EU: 'The Liberal Democrats are committed to a clear promise to restore British prosperity and role in the European Union not out of it.' Within two weeks of the result being declared, the party was claiming 15,000 new members.

9. Impact on the economy and economic policy

In the immediate aftermath of the referendum result to leave the EU the following occurred:

- The value of the £ fell sharply against the \$ and euro. There was some recovery but values stayed significantly below pre-Brexit levels.
- The FTSE 100 and FTSE 250 fell sharply and, while the former quickly recovered to levels at or above pre-Brexit levels, the 250 index did not. Most commentators consider the FTSE 250 movement reflects investors' sentiment better because it is mainly made up of British-based companies, whereas the FTSE 100 is dominated by multinationals.
- Mark Carney, the Governor of the Bank of England, made a statement on the 24th of June intended to calm financial markets and discourage withdrawals of cash. The monetary authorities were ready to take any action to ensure economic and financial stability. Already an extra £250bn had been injected to ensure financial institutions did not run short of cash.
- George Osborne, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced he had changed his target of achieving a budget surplus by 2020. This was followed up by Philip Hammond and Theresa May to replace Osborne, stating that he was looking to 'reset' the government's economic strategy. This was a clear sign of a major shift in how the Conservative government viewed the economy. With the likelihood of a downturn in the economy, measures to stimulate growth became the priority rather than achieving a budget surplus through an overall reduction in spending. The Government borrowing to finance investment seemed ready to make a return.
- The UK credit rating was downgraded by the ratings agencies. Maintaining a high credit rating has long been prized by George Osborne and used in part to justify his austere policies. The downgrade reflects the view of the agencies that lending money to the UK is now riskier as a result of leaving the EU.

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Learning Grid 4

The Conservative Party	What made Cameron's resignation different to all others in history?	
	What is the name of the group that started the formal search for a new Conservative leader?	
	Who were the main two candidates expected to be the frontrunners by the media at the time?	
	Whose bid to become leader forced another potential candidate not to run?	
	Who were the final two candidates in the election?	
	Why did a candidate pull out before a vote could take place?	
	Why were some in the Conservative Party glad that one candidate withdrew?	
	How many days did it take from the result of the election to the UK getting a new PM?	
	Which cabinet positions were created by the PM and which was abolished?	
	What was notable about those MPs put in charge of departments most affected by the referendum result?	
The Labour Party	What key decision do some feel affected Corbyn's ability to speak to the public in the campaign?	
	Who was the first shadow cabinet minister sacked by Corbyn? Why?	
	What was the result of the motion of no confidence vote by the Labour Party?	
	How did Corbyn react to the vote? What did his decision trigger?	
	Why could Corbyn argue his leadership had been a success? Give two reasons.	
	Name the two leadership challengers to Jeremy Corbyn.	
	What was the result of this election?	

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Other parties	Which party leader resigned just two weeks after the election result?	
	Who won their leadership contest?	
	What happened just two weeks after the result?	
	Who replaced the last leader?	
	What gave the SNP a strong case for independence?	
	What promise did the Lib Dem make that caused them to gain 15,000 new members?	
The immediate economic impact	What happened to the value of the pound the day of the result?	
	Why were there two different effects for the FTSE 100 and FTSE 250?	
	How did Mark Carney steady the economy?	

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Activity 4: What now for the political parties?

The referendum result affected political parties in a lot of different ways. Using what you've read in the past chapter, fill in the fact files underneath for each party.

The Conservatives
<p>Did their leader change or not? Why do you think this was?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
<p>Do you think this party is happy or disappointed with the referendum result? Explain why.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
<p>What do you think the party intends to do over the next five years? Give an example of a policy to bring up in Parliament.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
<p>What do you think will happen to this party in five years' time? Consider their own opinion and your own opinion. Make sure you give three justifications for your answer.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>

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Labour
<p>Did their leader change or not? Why do you think this was?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
<p>Do you think this party is happy or disappointed with the referendum result?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
<p>What do you think the party intends to do over the next five years? Give an example of a policy to bring up in Parliament.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
<p>What do you think will happen to this party in five years' time? Consider their policies and your own opinion. Make sure you give three justifications for your answer.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>

The Lib Dems

Did their leader change or not? Why do you think this was?

.....

.....

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.....

.....

Do you think this party is happy or disappointed with the referendum result? Explain.

.....

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What do you think the party intends to do over the next five years? Give an example of a policy they try to bring up in Parliament.

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What do you think will happen to this party in five years' time? Consider their policies and your own opinion. Make sure you give three justifications for your answer.

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UKIP
<p>Did their leader change or not? Why do you think this was?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
<p>Do you think this party is happy or disappointed with the referendum result?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
<p>What do you think the party intends to do over the next five years? Give an example of a policy they try to bring up in Parliament.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
<p>What do you think will happen to this party in five years' time? Consider their policies and your own opinion. Make sure you give three justifications for your answer.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>

Section 5 - Brexit's Impact over the Long Term

1. What will the UK's relationship with the EU be?

Leaving the EU will necessitate the UK developing a new relationship with the EU in regard to trade. It could take some time before the new arrangement is in place. The UK first of all submitting a formal notification of their intention to cease membership would be followed by a period of up to two years whereby the two sides sort out what the new relationship will be. All this is referred to as the Article 50 process. In the interim, the UK remains a member of the EU. The UK plan to submit formal notification of leaving or the two-year discussion transition period could be extended if both sides agree. It is unlikely to be operational for some time.

The UK could bring about a relatively rapid break from the EU if it was prepared to accept an arrangement based upon World Trading Organization rules (WTO model). This arrangement would match those of all other WTO members, such as the USA. The UK does not have special arrangements with the EU. The EU accepts goods from the UK without a tariff and these countries impose a similar tariff on imports from EU member states. This arrangement is that at present around 50% of UK's exports go to the EU. Leaving the EU could possibly bring a sharp drop in trade, with a major impact upon the UK economy.

During the referendum the Leave campaign always argued that the UK would be better off under the WTO model because the EU had a vested interest in doing a much more favourable deal. This is because their total exports exceed their imports from Britain. They would not suffer the economic impact if they faced a UK tariff. Nigel Farage in particular always argued that the UK would both want a comprehensive free trade deal. Many on the Remain side have argued along with this for a variety of economic and political reasons. Even if a free trade deal was agreed, many commentators and business interests doubt if it would save the UK from the economic impact of leaving the EU. A free trade deal is very different from being a member of the single market. Free trade deals do not deal with non-tariff barriers to trade nor have a mechanism for dealing with disputes like the European single market does, through the activities of the European Court of Justice.

Some supporters of Leave seem to have been aware of this issue as well. During the referendum campaign, Boris Johnson seemed to suggest that the trade arrangements Canada was close to agreeing with the EU could form the type of model which the UK might follow. Canada has gained low tariff access to the goods of the single market (and in return, and farm products), and services are allowed to operate under licence and some companies will be allowed to compete for public sector contracts in each other's country. Whether this model can serve as the basis for a new relationship will depend upon many factors. The UK is particularly interested in wanting access to the service sectors of the single market, but whether the EU will want this seems doubtful. The talks have taken seven years so far and the final agreement is yet to be signed.



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For Norway and Switzerland, two non-EU members, much wider or even complete access to the single market on a non-tariff basis has been seen as a vital economic interest. The UK has been under stringent conditions. Norway is integrated into the whole single market and must accept all the rules of the market including the free movement of people and the EU budget. Norway is not an EU member and, therefore, has no means of influencing EU decision making.

It seems doubtful that the Norwegian model could ever be accepted as the basis for the UK's relationship with the EU. The 'leavers' would see this as virtually ignoring the result of the referendum. The UK government will find it very difficult to live up to her commitment that 'Brexit means Brexit' under the considerable pressure from a variety of interests to ensure there is a close relationship with the EU politically and economically.

There are still those in the UK who consider that the next two years or so will be a period of transition for the UK had from being a full member of the EU. The arguments that will be put forward for the relationship to be close will show that a free trade agreement, or even access to the single market, are very different from being a full member of the single market.

Developments in 2017

One of the biggest developments in 2017 was the court case brought by Gina Miller. Before this court case, it was believed by many in government that Theresa May had the right to enact Article 50 and start the process of leaving the EU without consulting Parliament. However, the court thought this was too big a decision to be taken without the will of Parliament. The government without MPs getting a vote was unconstitutional. However, those in favour of leaving the EU gave MPs (who before the vote had been overwhelmingly in favour of staying in the EU) the chance to 'block Brexit' and overturn the referendum result.

At first, the high court agreed that the government should be consulted, but then the government argued that this and it was taken to the Supreme Court to decide the matter once and for all. Tensions were high between the 'Leave' and 'Remain' sides with the *Daily Mail* attacking the high court judges as 'Enemies of the People', a phrase that new Justice Secretary Michael Gove had condemned. However, the Supreme Court ruled against the government, saying that the government had to be consulted, but that the bill only had to express the will to leave the EU. The government had to vote on the terms on which it would leave. Importantly, the high court judgment said that the Scottish and Welsh devolved assemblies would not have to be consulted as the UK as a whole and, therefore, final responsibility lay with Parliament.

On 1st February 2017, the House of Commons voted by 498 votes to 114 votes to pass the European Union (Notification of Withdrawal) Bill 2015–2017. Those voting were 12 Conservative MPs, 12 LibDem MPs, 47 Labour MPs (who had defied Corbyn's three-line whip and voted against the Bill) and 477 Conservative MPs. Attempts to amend the Bill also failed; however, the House of Lords rejected the government's amendments to the Bill (arguing that the rights of EU nationals living in the UK would be lost if Parliament were to vote over the outcome of the Brexit talks). When the House of Commons accepted these amendments, most of the Lords who wanted the changes gave their dissent. The House of Commons accepted the constitutional principle of the superiority of the elected Lower House to have the final say and gave royal assent on 16th March 2017 which allowed Theresa May to announce that the UK would leave the EU on 29th March 2017.

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On February 2nd, the government laid out its Brexit plan in a White Paper, which set out the principles the UK would pursue in its negotiations.

1. Providing certainty and clarity;
2. Taking control of our own laws;
3. Strengthening the Union;
4. Protecting our strong historic ties with Ireland and maintaining the Common Market;
5. Controlling immigration;
6. Securing rights for EU nationals in the UK and UK nationals in the EU;
7. Protecting workers' rights;
8. Ensuring free trade with European countries;
9. Securing new trade agreements with other countries;
10. Ensuring the United Kingdom remains the best place for science and innovation;
11. Cooperating in the fight against crime and terrorism; and
12. Delivering a smooth, orderly exit from the EU.

This plan, outlined by May in a speech before the Brexit bill was put before Parliament, was seen by many to be a pursuit of 'hard Brexit' rather than the 'soft Brexit' some predicted. However, if Europe wasn't willing to come to an arrangement on the terms set out in the White Paper, the government's 'no deal' stance was better than a bad deal' made some in business uneasy. Students may be interested in how Europe reacts to these 12 points and how Parliament reacts throughout the process.

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2. Will there be a general election before 2020?

The Fixed Term Parliament Act 2011 provides for a general election five years after the previous one unless:

- (i) Two-thirds of all MPs vote for an early election
or
- (ii) A simple majority of MPs pass a vote of no confidence in the government and an alternative administration cannot be formed within 14 days.

The argument that there should not, and will not, be another election until the following analysis.

The Conservative Party won an overall majority in 2015 on a manifesto which included a referendum. The referendum has now been held and, despite a change of leadership, the government still have the right to carry out their manifesto, including putting into effect leaving the EU. In terms of the constitution there is no justification for Parliament to call an early election. Theresa May and others have also said that the country requires some stability and that an early election would cause an unsettling effect. The Labour Party has not led calls for an election, mainly because they are in the midst of an internal struggle over the future direction and leadership of their party.

The argument why a new election should be called before 2020 or may provide two main possibilities.

Firstly, on becoming prime minister, Theresa May has said and done things which represent some significant changes to the policies and approach contained in the Conservative Party manifesto. This manifesto was driven by Cameron and Osborne with a central theme of national accounts by 2020. The new prime minister has already made it clear that this is a priority and, in reacting to the vote leave referendum result, has declared her intention to make decisions on the basis of helping the many not the few. This has been interpreted as a change from the approach adopted by the governments led by recent predecessors. If significant changes are going to be made, she may well feel she needs her own mandate by 2020, although not necessarily in the next 6–12 months. If Theresa May can secure a great majority of the Conservative Party for this move, it seems unlikely that she will give up the opportunity to fight an election. This would then ensure the requirement for voting for an early election.

The second possibility arises from the need of the UK to agree a new relationship with the EU after the referendum. Theresa May has appointed David Davis to the new cabinet as Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union. At some point during the Article 50 process, the UK will have to tell Parliament what sort of relationship the UK Government will be seeking. In making this decision, many commentators feel that the government either will need a new mandate of the electorate before it is put to the EU or takes effect. Another possibility is that an election would be the means to achieve the citizens' approval. Alternatively, Parliament could make the final decision, but May could find that her party is not strong enough and she has to fall back on the use of another referendum.

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3. Will Brexit lead to the breakup of the UK?

(a) The situation in Scotland

The immediate reaction of the SNP to the EU referendum result has already been mentioned. Nicola Sturgeon announced that a second independence referendum in Scotland is a real possibility. Even though the SNP lost their overall majority in the May 2016 election for the Scottish Parliament, it appears that the Green Party are likely to provide them with a majority if they wanted to set up another independence referendum. The UK government has said although they are strongly against a second referendum given the clear decision made in 2014 to remain in the UK, they will not block a second referendum if the Scottish people desire it.

It seems unlikely there will be any movement in this direction over the next year or two. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, Theresa May has not yet quickly to promise Scotland a voice in the process of shaping the UK's position on the relationship with the EU post-Brexit. She wants to incorporate the vital interests of Scotland into Sturgeon has started to identify these. Secondly, it is by no means clear that the electorate would vote for independence post-Brexit. A YouGov poll a month ago indicated a majority preferred to stay in the UK even if there was no access to the EU.

It does look as if the SNP will want to wait and see what sort of deal emerges from the process. Until a clear picture emerges about the likely new relationship and how Scotland's interests are protected, the SNP will find it difficult to judge whether a referendum is worth it. Deciding on a referendum is too politically risky at present but it will remain a possibility. Scotland consider it has more to gain than lose by the UK not being a member of the EU.

(b) The situation in Northern Ireland

In Northern Ireland, Brexit will create a land border between an EU member state and a non-member (the UK). This raises questions about what controls may be needed at the border which at present is completely open. The current reasons it is an open border are that both countries are at present members of the EU and also that it was seen as a key part of bringing about the Good Friday Peace Agreement in 1998. Since this agreement the Common Travel Area (CTA) has existed along this border without the need to show passports or movement of goods and services. The Irish government, the UK government, the Northern Ireland government and the political parties of Northern Ireland have all indicated a preference for the return of a 'hard border' with all the associated checks.

Despite these expressed views there remain concerns that border controls could be a decision whether controls are imposed on the Irish Republic side rests ultimately with the UK. In all cases of border between member and non-member countries, there will be a need for controls. Secondly, a central part of the Leave case was that the country should be able to control its borders, not just to control migration. Without controls, EU citizens could enter the Irish Republic, in to Northern Ireland and then to anywhere in the UK.

The 1998 Peace Agreement in Northern Ireland was a carefully constructed balance the aspirations of the Nationalists and Unionists. The open border was a key part of it who ideally wanted a united Ireland, to feel there were no restrictions to deal with the Irish Republic. The Unionists, who ideally wanted to maintain their British identity, in the Irish Republic, have the satisfaction of remaining formally part of the UK.

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In response to the EU referendum result, Sinn Fein, the main nationalist party, has called for a referendum on Irish unity. They have used a similar argument to the SNP in the 2014 referendum, Northern Ireland had a majority vote to remain and should not be taken against their wishes and best interests. By becoming part of the Irish Republic, they can remain part of the EU. It would, of course, mean leaving the UK. It appears there is a concern that the political balance struck in the 1998 Peace Agreement has been upset. Unlike the SNP, however, Sinn Fein do not appear to have the political power to make their place. As with Scotland, Theresa May has been quick to visit political leaders to say that their interests must be protected and be reflected in the new relationship with the EU.

4. How will the political parties be affected by Brexit?

(a) The Conservative Party

The party has quickly sorted out its leadership problem. As the governing party, they have to tackle the process of separating the UK from its membership of the EU and determining what it wants the new relationship to be.

The party has to decide how to respond as a governing party to the underlying forces that resulted in the electorate voting to leave the EU. Theresa May has already started the process but there will be an ongoing debate within the party about what made so many voters reject the advice of the great majority of the political establishment, the overwhelming number of experts and the weight of opinion from allies in the Western world. To what extent will policies followed since winning the general election in 2015 need to be changed? The commitment to have the public accounts in balance by 2020 has already gone. Theresa May's government will make decisions which benefit the many not the few. What will be the result of this and what policies will be put forward?



Ken Clarke, Conservative MP

The party have for a long time had deep divisions over the issue of the EU. The decision to remove Europe from their agenda once and for all by calling and then conducting a referendum has failed. It is difficult to see how the divisions will go away. The referendum was seen largely as a very public civil war within the Conservative Party, with accusations of betrayal, lying and personal ambition. Deep scars have no doubt been left by the other side's arguments.

The divisions may be under control now as they seek to develop an agreed relationship with the EU. The divisions may also not surface if the economy improves. However, if the economy shows real signs of being adversely affected, then the party may start pushing for delaying the submission of Article 50 and for a relationship that maximizes UK involvement with the single market.

Over the coming years the Europe issue could well continue to divide the party. The roles will be reversed with anti-Europeans pushing to maintain the status quo and Europeans pushing for closer association with the EU. Could we even see the 'rebels' label is reserved for Conservative MPs who want a referendum to give them an opportunity to reverse the 2016 decision?

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(b) The Labour Party

The Brexit vote brought to a head the fight for 'the soul of the party'. At a time when the EU referendum campaign and result should have provided the party with the opportunity to hold the government to account and show itself as a government in waiting, it led to infighting on a major scale. The fight is being played out as a contest over who should be leader, but at heart it is a split about the sort of party it should be – in policies, organisation and strategies to gain power.



*Hilary Benn
instigated the*

The Brexit campaign and result of the referendum was seized upon by critics of Jeremy Corbyn as decisive evidence that the party was never going to win power under his leadership. It was argued he had been seen as half-hearted in promoting remaining in the EU as he had not reached and inspired enough Labour supporters. The thought that he demonstrated his lack of skills to be considered a leader, let alone a government in waiting.

Opposition to Corbyn was led by a large majority of Labour MPs and this led to a challenge to Jeremy Corbyn for the leadership. Most commentators predicted a narrow victory for Corbyn, but his support among grass root members, many of whom joined the party attracted by his approach to politics and the policies he promotes.

Corbyn remains leader of the party and many MPs have decided that unity is paramount. The party has started to reflect on the lessons to be learned from why so many people voted to leave and what sorts of responses are required. Those who feel that Labour cannot win under Corbyn might decide they have to wait while this plays out at the next election.

The biggest problem for Labour is how they approach Brexit. Remain supporters argue that so it makes sense for Labour to try to resist the UK leaving the EU. However, many working-class voters in the North voted for Brexit, which has led Corbyn to change direction, under the guise of getting a Brexit deal that works for 'working people'. This has caused dissent among Corbyn's core support and now Labour and his popularity are under pressure. Labour's performance in by-elections, especially those in formerly safe north-east seats, will show if Labour's approach to Brexit is correct.

(c) The Liberal Democratic Party

As the national party with the longest and most consistent claim to back UK membership of the EU, the Brexit vote has been welcomed by the Liberal Democrats as a 'disaster' for the party. It has a clear and constructive political role to assume – they become the party which should reject Brexit and the EU. As they are not hampered by internal divisions on the issue, they have fared badly in the 2015 general election, the party feel that Brexit has opened a door for them to return to power.

Their leader, Tim Farron, quickly indicated his party will campaign at the next election for the UK returning to EU membership. Like the other parties, they must come up with a plan to win the million people voted to leave. Their approach, however, is fairly clear. Having lost the referendum campaign, the Liberal Democrats will press the positive case for remaining in the EU.

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How much success they have will depend upon a range of factors. These will include how the Conservatives and Labour appeal to the electorate, how the British economy performs, and how the EU reacts to the UK voting to leave.

Farron has also started to push the view that there should not be an early general election but the country should take its time in considering what relationship it now wants with the EU. Once Article 50 has been submitted and the subsequent negotiations taken place with the EU, the government should not sign any agreement until the electorate have passed judgment. This could take place either through the 2020 general election or through a referendum prior to this. The Liberal Democrats appear to see this as an opportunity for the electorate to reverse the 2016 Leave result before the country actually leaves.

The Lib Dems have also seen big gains in the number of council seats since the referendum result, winning over 30 since 9th February (in the meantime Labour have lost 12!). They were also able to win an election in an area that had previously been a relatively safe Conservative seat, a protest vote from a strongly remain-leaning constituency, against how the Brexit. Look out for future Lib Dem success in by-elections as an indicator of the party recovering.

(d) UKIP

For UKIP, the 2016 referendum result allowed them to fulfil their main aim and the question of their future role. They could just disband but there are no signs of that.



Stephen Woolfe was a frontrunner to be UKIP leader. But after his high profile punch-up at the European Parliament, he was out of the running.

It seems to be to ensure that there is only a partial exit or 'Brexit Lite' to occur. Over more recent years, other policies and aims that re-appeal supporters – immigration, NHS, mobility, taxes and national identity – have been added. The common cause of all these problems is that up to now they could not start making a case for other policies. The UKIP leaders and members are now faced with the question of what policies to go and what policies to stay.

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5. Other possible impacts

(i) How might the EU react?

The UK Brexit vote has clearly had an impact within the EU and among member countries. Political parties on the far right reacted by demanding their countries hold similar referendums to the UK. Some commentators felt the UK decision to leave could prove terminal to the 'European project'. Debate within the EU has focused on the ongoing issue about the future direction the Union should take in light of the dissatisfaction being shown by so many citizens. Some consider present difficulties can be overcome while others feel a more pragmatic approach is required and a step back from the federal model. The outcome of this debate is likely to be important to the future of the relationship the UK seeks with the EU in the future. The EU will have to decide what it wants the UK to have.



(ii) Will there be a major fall in immigration?

A major focus of the Leave campaign was that immigration into the UK was too high unless we freed ourselves from the EU's freedom of movement policy. This would allow the UK to control all immigration as EU citizens could no longer enter as a right. If it were implemented, high then applications for entry would be refused and numbers would drop. During the referendum campaign, the number of immigrants coming in from outside the EU was higher than those from within the EU. This number is in the UK from outside EU countries have to apply to enter. This suggests how a judge might determine an appropriate level of immigration. Many argue it is the number of jobs that the needs and state of the UK economy which has been the main determinant. Future immigration numbers will be influenced strongly by the state of the economy. A major change of approach.

(iii) Will Brexit encourage or discourage the use of referendums?

Referendum on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union	
Vote only once by putting a cross <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> in the box next to your choice	
Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?	
Remain a member of the European Union	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leave the European Union	<input type="checkbox"/>

The use of referendums in the UK has increased in recent years. The arguments for and against the use of referendums in the 2016 In/Out EU referendum were complex to which they are used in the future. They encourage a high participation rate when they had to decide an important direction of travel for their country. There was concern about the complexity of both sides and the simplification of the issue.

(iv) Will Brexit lead to a realignment of political parties?

The divisions within political parties that have deepened following Brexit may lead to a realignment in British politics. It is based on the argument that a new party could emerge which is focused upon a strategy to deal with the EU. It could draw support from present members of the Conservatives, Labour, and the Liberal Democrats. Even if a new party does not emerge, it is possible that some kinds of alliances will develop inside and outside Parliament which reflect the changing divisions within the political system. Voting patterns in the 2016 referendum.

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Learning Grid 5

Long-term developments	What is the name of the Article that needs to be triggered in order for the UK to leave the EU?	
	What model of trading could the UK adopt?	
	Why might this be a problem for the UK?	
	Who brought a high court bid to debate how Article 50 should be triggered?	
	What phrase was used by the newspapers against judges during the court case?	
	Who has the ability to start the process of leaving the EU, according to high court judges?	
	Who significantly didn't have a right to start the process of leaving the EU, according to high court judges?	
	What was the result of the vote in the House of Commons on the European Union (Notification of Withdrawal) Bill 2016 - 17?	
	For what two reasons may a general election be called under the fixed term Parliament Act?	
	Give two reasons why Scottish independence seems unlikely.	
	What is the biggest problem with Brexit in Northern Ireland?	
Political parties	Name two problems the Conservatives face after Brexit.	
	Why is Labour's Brexit stance controversial?	
	What successes have the Liberal Democrats already seen?	
	Name two problems for UKIP post-Brexit.	

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Activity 1: Spot the mistake

The Floating Voter

The British Government entered the EU in 1963 (**1973**) under Margaret Thatcher with a narrow (**large**) margin of victory of 52% (**66%**) in favour 44% again has been contentious ever since. One of the most controversial acts made the European Agreement (**Schengen Agreement**) that allowed freedom of movement that the UK cannot control the number of migrants it takes from Europe. That campaign for stronger immigration controls, such as the Lib Dems (UKIP) in recent years. Others have been upset at a perceived loss of sovereignty passed in 2011 gave the EU more power over criminal laws and for

All of these concerns led to a growing number of people wanting a referendum called. The Conservative Party has always been united (**divided**) over the referendum. The referendum was meant to help unite the party and convince the more European voters. It was also a reaction to the growth in support for UKIP after they were the largest party in the (2014) European elections.

This move was a risk, but it was a key part of the Conservative Manifesto for the 2015 election and contributed to a widely expected (**surprise**) victory for Cameron.

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Learning Grid 1

Background to the UK relationship with the EU	What does ECSC stand for?	<i>The European Coal and Steel Community</i>
	Which other two countries joined the EU with the UK in 1973?	<i>Denmark and Ireland</i>
	What is the name of the agreement that allows freedom of movement with the EU?	<i>The Schengen agreement</i>
	Why did the UK withdraw from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1992?	<i>It couldn't keep its currency within the limits of the ERM.</i>
	In 1999, how many EU countries adopted the euro as their currency?	<i>12</i>
	By 2004, how many countries had joined the EU?	<i>25</i>
	Which treaty was signed to make the EU more democratic in 2009?	<i>Treaty of Lisbon</i>
What is a referendum?	What are referendums also called?	<i>Plebiscites</i>
	What motive did Cameron have for calling a referendum?	<i>To win over UKIP voters, to secure the election.</i>
	What event made people think UKIP were gaining popularity?	<i>Their EU election victory in 2009.</i>
Attempted negotiation of a new relationship	Who was president of the EU Council of Ministers in 2016?	<i>Donald Tusk</i>
	What controls of migrants did David Cameron secure?	<i>An 'emergency break' that would allow the UK to control its borders.</i>
	When was the EU referendum vote to be held?	<i>23rd June 2016</i>
	Why did the UK's negotiated position never materialise?	<i>The UK left the EU before the negotiations could conclude.</i>
	What is the cultural and political alliance of Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia?	<i>The Visegrad Four</i>

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Learning Grid 2

Leavers and remainers	Which side did David Cameron take in the referendum campaign?	<i>The 'Remain' side</i>
	Name two high-profile Leave campaigners who were members of the Conservative cabinet.	<i>Pick any from</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Boris Johnson</i> <i>Michael Gove</i> <i>Chris Grayling</i> <i>Priti Patel</i> <i>John Whittingdale</i> <i>Theresa Villiers</i>
	Name the two official campaigns for the Leave and Remain sides.	<i>Leave: 'Vote Leave'</i> <i>Remain: 'Britain Stronger in Europe'</i>
	What was Labour's official position? Why was this disputed by some?	<i>Labour wanted to remain in the EU</i> <i>But Jeremy Corbyn had previously said he was in favour of leaving the EU</i> <i>Some criticised his campaign</i>
	Name three political parties that supported Remain.	<i>The Lib Dems</i> <i>The SNP</i> <i>Plaid Cymru</i> <i>The Alliance Party</i>
Arguments for and against	Define 'sovereignty'.	<i>The right that a nation has to make its own decisions without interference.</i>
	Outline one argument used by the Leave campaign that stated Britain's sovereignty was under threat from the EU.	<i>Choose one from:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>EU Court of Justice could overrule UK laws.</i> <i>The EU parliament could force the UK to follow, even if the UK disagreed.</i>
	What was the counterargument by the Leave side about sovereignty?	<i>That the UK did have input into decisions made by the EU.</i>
	Name one anti-migration argument used by the Leave side.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Migrants might disrupt British culture changing their values.</i> <i>Threat to jobs, forcing UK citizens out of work.</i> <i>Fear those who weren't British.</i>
	Name one pro-migration argument promoted by the Remain campaign.	<i>Migration had been proven to boost the economy.</i> <i>It increased the number of jobs.</i>
	What scheme did Remain campaigners say increased security? How did it work?	<i>The European Arrest Warrant. It meant criminals could be arrested and tried to escape to another country.</i>
	What major economic argument did Leave use to advance their campaign?	<i>That the UK could increase trade with countries outside of the EU more than before.</i>

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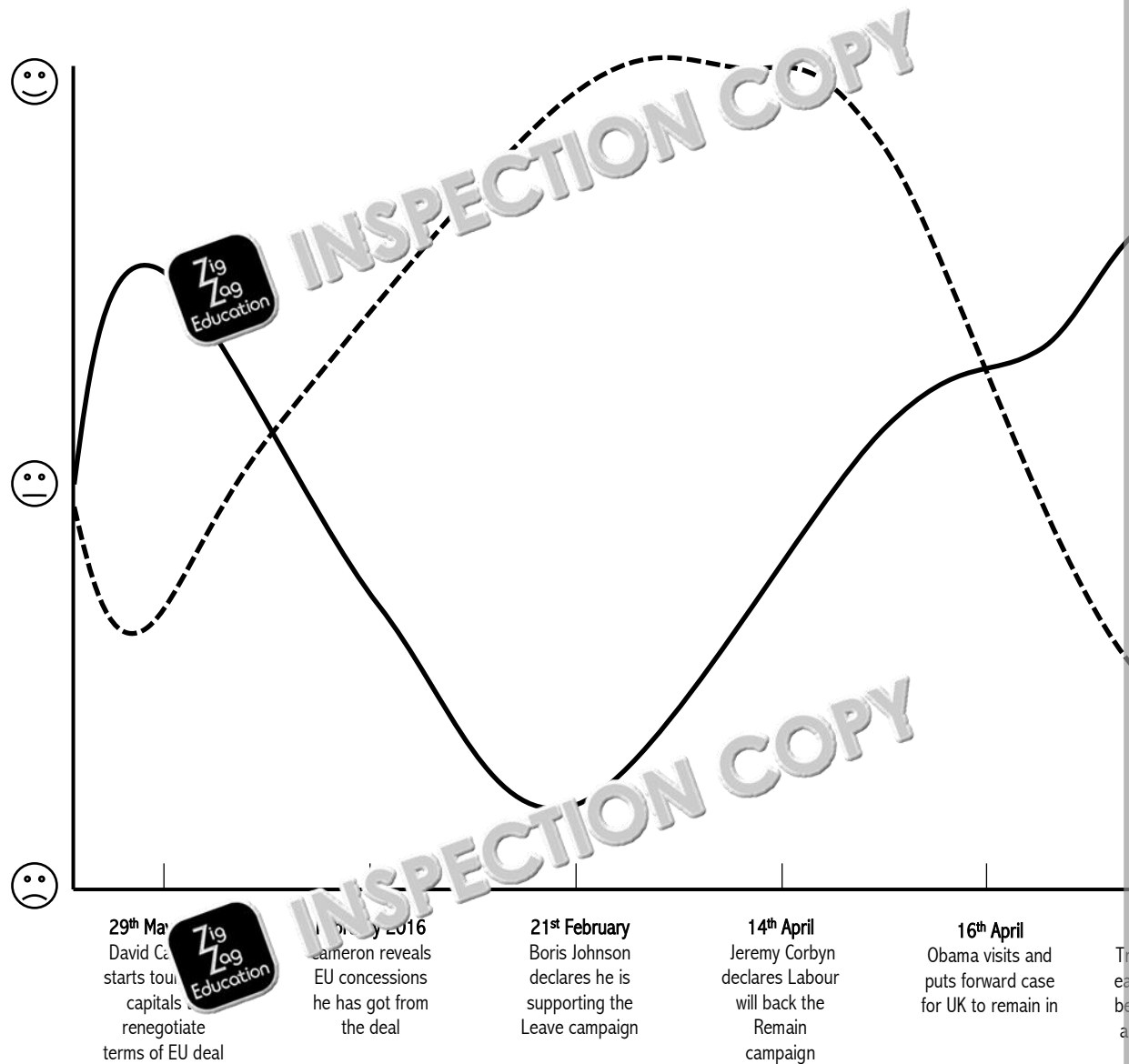


Campaign methods and Media Coverage	How much was spent by the Government to send a pro-Remain leaflet?	<i>£9 million</i>
	What charismatic advantage did the Leave side have over Remain?	<i>Leave had both Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage as populist figures. Remain had David Cameron's approval rating.</i>
	According to the Loughborough University Centre for Research, what two main themes got the most attention from the general public?	<i>Economic arguments Immigration and border control</i>
	Which two issues received the least attention?	<i>Women in both campaigns (issues that may arise in dependence)</i>
	Which side of the argument received the most press coverage? By what percentage margin?	<i>Leave did Accept either 60% or 80%</i>
	Which newspaper was the most pro-Remain during the campaign?	<i>The Financial Times</i>

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Activity 2: Campaign mood



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Learning Grid 3

The Result	What events made it seem as if Remain had won the referendum?	<i>Early exit polls suggested Remain would win</i>
	What early night result indicated that Leave may have won?	<i>The vote in Sunderland was thought would vote Remain</i>
	What was the result of the referendum (in percentages)?	<i>Remain: 48.1% Leave: 51.9%</i>
	Which country voted entirely to stay in the EU?	<i>Scotland</i>
	Which area had the highest percentage vote to remain in the EU?	<i>Gibraltar</i>
	Which area had the highest percentage vote to leave the EU?	<i>Boston</i>
	Which was the only English region to have a majority vote for Remain?	<i>London</i>
	How was age seen as a defining factor in the referendum outcome?	<i>If you were older you were more likely to vote to remain If you were younger you were more likely to vote to leave</i>
	How did education appear to affect voting intention?	<i>If you were university educated you were more likely to vote to remain If you were not university educated you were more likely to vote to leave</i>

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Learning Grid 4

The Conservative Party	What made Cameron's resignation different to all others in history?	<i>He was the first PM to resign after a referendum.</i>
	What is the name of the group that started the formal search for a new Conservative leader?	<i>The 1922 Committee</i>
	Who were the main two candidates expected to be the frontrunners by the media at the time?	<i>Boris Johnson Theresa May</i>
	Whose bid to become leader forced another potential candidate not to run?	<i>Michael Gove. His bid for a second campaign.</i>
	Who were the final two candidates in the election?	<i>Theresa May and Andrew Turner</i>
	Why did one candidate pull out before a vote could even take place?	<i>A disastrous interview where she was asked to question her suitability for the role.</i>
	Why were some in the Conservative Party glad that one candidate withdrew?	<i>She lacked support within the party and they worried she'd be unable to lead with authority.</i>
	How many days did it take from the result of the election to the UK getting a new PM?	<i>20 days</i>
	Which cabinet positions were created by the PM and which was abolished?	<i>New: Minister for Leaving the EU International Trade Abolished: Energy and Climate Change</i>
	What was notable about those MPs put in charge of departments most affected by the referendum result?	<i>All had supported the 'Leave' campaign.</i>
The Labour Party	What key decision do some feel affected Corbyn's ability to speak to the public in the campaign?	<i>He refused to share a platform with the opposition leaders.</i>
	Who was the first shadow cabinet minister sacked by Corbyn? Why?	<i>Hillary Benn, as he had been a vocal critic of Corbyn under his leadership.</i>
	What was the result of the motion of no confidence vote by the Labour Party?	<i>Corbyn lost by 170 votes.</i>
	How did Corbyn react to the vote? What did his decision trigger?	<i>He refused to resign; the Labour Party elected a new leader against him.</i>
	Why could Corbyn argue his leadership had been a success? Give two reasons.	<i>Any two from: • Won all four mayoral elections • Increased vote share from 2015 to 2019 • Had a more successful campaign than many predicted</i>
	Name the two leadership challengers to Jeremy Corbyn.	<i>Angela Eagle Owen Smith</i>
	What was the result of this election?	<i>Corbyn won by 61.8% of the vote.</i>

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Other parties	Which party leader resigned just two weeks after the election result?	<i>Nigel Farage</i>
	Who won their leadership contest?	<i>Diane James</i>
	What happened just two weeks after the result?	<i>She resigned, citing family</i>
	Who replaced the last leader?	<i>Paul Nuttall</i>
	What gave the SNP a strong case for independence?	<i>All of Scotland voted to remain in the EU, leaving an independent Scotland to be part of the EU.</i>
	What promise did the Lib Dems make that caused them to gain 15,000 new members?	<i>They promised to fight to bring back the pound.</i>
The immediate economic impact	What happened to the value of the pound the day of the result?	<i>It fell very sharply.</i>
	Why were there two different effects for the FTSE 100 and FTSE 250?	<i>The FTSE 100 rose, as this is made up of big British companies. The FTSE 250 has just British companies and is more liable to uncertainty after the result.</i>
	How did Mark Carney steady the economy?	<i>He injected £250 billion into the economy to help banks running out of money.</i>

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Learning Grid 5

Long-term developments	What is the name of the Article that needs to be triggered in order for the UK to leave the EU?	Article 50
	What model of trading could the UK adopt?	The WTO model
	Why might this be a problem for the UK?	A 10% tariff on goods traded with Europe. Current trade with the EU.
	Who brought a high court bid to debate how Article 50 should be triggered?	Gina Miller
	What phrase was used by newspapers against judges during the court case?	They were called 'enemies of the people'
	Who has the ability to start the process of leaving the EU, according to high court judges?	Parliament
	Who significantly didn't have a right to start the process of leaving the EU, according to high court judges?	Accept Just the PM and Cabinet or Devolved assemblies
	What was the result of the vote in the House of Commons on the European Union (Notification of Withdrawal) Bill 2016 - 17?	The government won
	For what two reasons may a general election be called under the fixed term Parliament Act?	1. Two-thirds of all MPs support a vote or 2. A simple majority of MPs support a vote confidence in the government administration can be lost
	Give two reasons why Scottish independence seems unlikely.	1. May has promised to start negotiations. 2. Recent polls suggest referendum would lead to independence
Political parties	What is the biggest problem with Brexit in Northern Ireland?	They share a land border with the EU this may affect businesses
	Name two problems the Conservatives face after Brexit.	Any two from: Party risks splitting over Brexit past. If they mismanage Brexit blame. Problem balancing opposition
	Why is your Brexit stance controversial?	They support it, which alienates class voters. But may alienate those who are strongest supporters.
	What successes have the Liberal Democrats already seen?	Local council election victory A by-election victory.
	Name two problems for UKIP post-Brexit.	1. Internal divisions may weaken 2. They may be obsolete

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