



## DYNAMICS OF BREXIT NEGOTIATIONS FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION 2016-2020 PERIOD

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### *Abstrak*

*Artikel ini membahas dinamika negosiasi keluarnya Inggris dari UE atau Brexit. Negosiasi antara Inggris dan UE berlangsung lama, mulai dari kepemimpinan PM Theresa May hingga PM Boris Johnson. Pada masa Theresa May, upaya Brexit gagal terwujud dan berhasil di bawah Boris Johnson yang berani bermanuver dengan mengabaikan parlemen. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan menggunakan teori negosiasi dan konsep kepentingan nasional. Sumber data diperoleh melalui e-book, berita, jurnal dari Scopus dan Google Scholar. Temuan penelitian ini adalah penyebab yang dapat dilacak, aktor dan pihak yang terlibat selama proses negosiasi terjadi. Selain itu, salah satu alasan Inggris ingin keluar dari UE adalah keengganan UE untuk mengontrol dominasinya atas Inggris dalam aktivitas domestik, baik dari segi ekonomi maupun kebijakan pergerakan bebas pekerja.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Brexit, dampak, dinamika, Inggris, negosiasi, Uni Eropa*

### **Abstract**

This article discusses the dynamics of negotiating Britain's exit from the EU or Brexit. Negotiations between the UK and the EU took a long time, from the leadership of PM Theresa May to PM Boris Johnson. During Theresa May's time, Brexit efforts failed to materialize and succeeded under Boris Johnson who dared to maneuver by ignoring the parliament. This study uses a qualitative method using negotiation theory and the concept of national interest. Sources of data obtained through e-books, news, journals from Scopus and Google Scholar. The findings of this study are traceable causes, actors and parties involved during the negotiation process. In addition, one of the reasons the UK wants to leave the EU is the reluctance of the EU to control its domination over the UK in domestic activities, in terms of the economy and the policy of free movement of workers.

**Keywords:** *Brexit, dynamics, European Union, impact, negotiations, UK*

## Introduction

Brexit is a referendum on the UK leaving the European Union (EU) or the name given to the United Kingdom's departure from the European Union. It is a combination of Britain and exit. As is well known the UK exit decision also includes Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This referendum contains suggestions regarding Britain's presence in the European Union which revolves around two options whether to and stay or immediately leave the EU. Previously, the idea of Brexit had been echoed since Theresa May served as Prime Minister. However, the realization and completion of the final stages succeeded in the era of the next Prime Minister, namely Boris Johnson. This referendum was successfully carried out in a democratic manner by holding a poll of the British public as a whole (Monk 2019).

The values contained in the formation of the EU based on the Lisbon agreement include human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, rule of law, and human rights. As for those relating to human dignity, namely giving respect and tolerance between countries with inviolability by making efforts to protect each EU entity. Then freedom of movement by giving citizens the right to express expression and opinion by moving and living freely within the EU union. Then, in democracy, a citizen who is a member of the EU will automatically enjoy political rights and determine opinions. Every adult EU citizen has the right to stand as a candidate and to vote in elections to the democratically European Parliament. EU citizens also have the right to stand as candidates and to vote in their country of residence, or in their country of origin (Hughes 2017).

Then the value of equality, this value relates to equal rights for all citizens of EU member states before the law. Even the principle of equality also applies to the gender of women or men to obtain equal rights. Likewise, equality in the field of employment though. Next, namely the value of the EU's rule of law which is based on the rule of law. Everything the EU does is based on agreements, which are voluntarily and democratically approved by the EU countries themselves. Law and justice are upheld by an independent judiciary and all decisions must be respected by other EU member states. What is most striking in the EU is the existence of human rights values, this includes the right to be free from discrimination based on gender, race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation, the right to protection of personal data, and the right to access justice in EU (Kemlu.go.id, 2018).

In addition, the reason for the establishment of the EU is as a forum for European international organizations that bring together countries to realize social, political and economic integration. Economic integration in the EU has the main goal of realizing the concept of unification of currencies, or the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) by introducing one Euro as the European currency under the auspices of the EU. In this case it was England that did not use the currency and kept the pound as currency. This is not surprising considering that the pound sterling is very strong, so the resulting exchange rate is also quite high compared to the euro currency. Nonetheless, the value of equality in economic matters continues to be developed and pursued for the benefit of the European regional group (Anshari & Rusdiyanta 2020).

As mandated in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, one of the main objectives of EU foreign policy is to develop democratic values as mentioned above by prioritizing a multilateral rather than unilateral approach. From these two, the EU's motivation emerged in developing its democracy as a foreign policy objective. First, democracy is a requirement for prospective countries wishing to join the EU. That is, these conditions require that nominating candidate countries demonstrate their democratic commitment before membership can be accepted as part of the EU. Second, democracy is an important EU foreign instrument to maintain and guarantee regional stability. According to Djumala, close neighbors who are also democratic will contribute to stability in the region. So it is not surprising that the UK carried out the referendum with the spirit of democratic values, because with that the interests of all elements of society can be achieved (Djumala 2021). In the past, much research has explained the phenomenon of the Brexit referendum with various perspectives, implications for a broad scope in the European region and beyond. So with this research we try to simplify the understanding of the issue by focusing on a question, what are the dynamics of the Brexit referendum negotiations that took place in the 2016-2020 period?

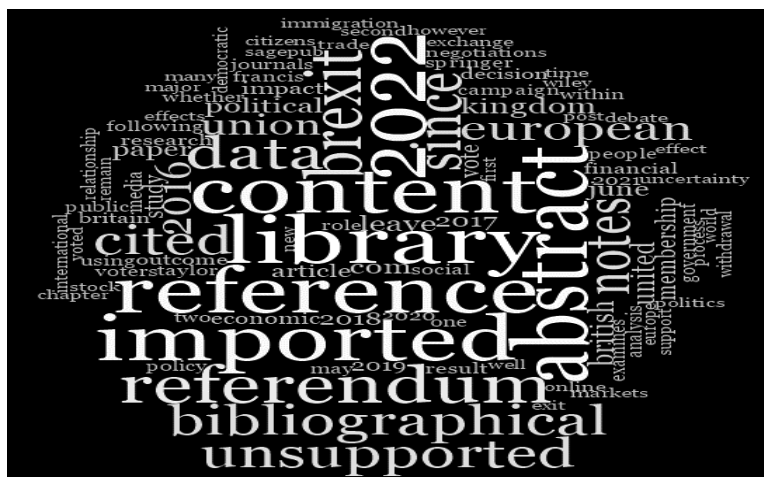
## **Literature Review**

### ***State of the Art***

Research by Pettifor on Brexit and its post-referendum consequences (Pettifor 2017). Then Beech's research discusses a decentralized country due to Brexit (Beech 2020). Then Walter's research discusses the domino effect and the effect of political contagion

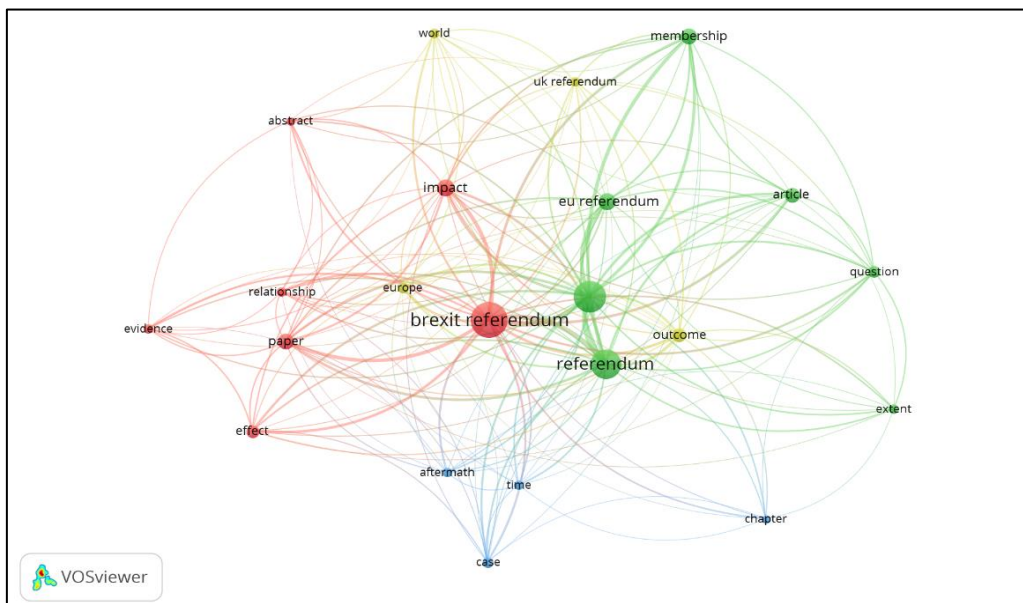
from the withdrawal of Brexit voters who are supported by international institutions (Walter 2021). Then Forslid and Nyberg's research discusses efforts to reach a divorce in an amicable way (Forslid & Nyberg 2021). Then Howell's research discusses the possibility of a post-Brexit financial governance framework for the UK and the EU (Howell 2021). Then the Ewers-Peters research discusses the militaristic approach which has implications for post-Brexit EU-NATO cooperation (Ewers-Peters 2020). Furthermore, Martill's research discusses Brexit in the era of PM Theresa May, which experienced agreement tugs and Non-Ratification Politics (Martill 2021). Schuette's research discusses the role taken by the leadership of the European Commission in the Brexit Negotiation process (Schuette 2021). This is in line with Colantone and Stang's research which discusses the potential and challenges of global competition that are currently occurring during Brexit (Colantone & Stanig 2018). Hansson and Kroger's research discusses the phenomenon of manipulation of the negotiation process which has caused damage and decreased democratic representation after Brexit (Hansson & Kröger 2020). This is then in line when Walter's research discusses how the EU-27 public perceives the Brexit Negotiations (Walter 2020). Then James and Quaglia's research discusses it from an economic and financial perspective (James & Quaglia 2018). Then more complex research from Patel which discusses the European Union and the Brexit Negotiations in terms of institutions, strategies and goals (Patel 2018). Then the last one is research from Fuller which discusses the impact of Brexit which is reviewed from the point of view of the Case of Foreign Software Corporations in Scotland and South East England (Fuller 2021).

**Figure 3 - Word Cloud Brexit Negotiation from NVivo**



From the 14 studies taken regarding Brexit, the authors try to narrow the scope of discussion through the NVivo application and aim at the scope of the dynamics of the Brexit negotiations. As a supporter, the author provides views on the causes and effects of the post-Brexit referendum. This is felt to be very important in studying the negotiation process as a lesson that a country that is economically independent dares to leave the international community to prioritize its domestic needs.

Figure 4 - Network Visualization dari Aplikasi VOS Viewer



From the 14 journal articles mentioned above, when displayed through the VOS Viewer application, it will be seen how dominant research is in impact, referendum, and outcome. In this paper, we will examine the dynamics of the negotiations.

### *Negotiation*

Unterman defines negotiation as an interaction or relationship that is carried out to form a new or different configuration, without focusing too much on expanding or branching out the interaction (Kuula & Stam 2008). The types of negotiations when viewed from their objectives are integrative negotiations or win-win negotiations and distributive negotiations (Wan, Jin, & Sui 2019). In interrogative negotiations, parties who aim to leave with at least the perception of gaining more advantage than they could through the approach and strategy it uses. However, these parties are still trying to reconcile their positions so that the result can reach an agreement that benefits both parties, so that the

agreement can be carried out in full peace (Copeland & Griggs 2012). Win-win negotiations are characterized by open communication and empathy and are commonly known as partnership agreements. Meanwhile, distributive negotiations, commonly known as win-lose negotiations. In these negotiations, each side seeks maximum gain and usually imposed maximum loss on the other party. As such, this approach often results in agreements that are inherently unstable. There are also destructive negotiations or lose-lose negotiations where these negotiations tend not to fully benefit both parties because the winning party must bear the consequences of the loss from the victory (Copeland & Griggs 1993).

In international relations, Bridge stated that in the contemporary era, the practice of negotiation is more used without having to go through coercion, propaganda, to other legal issues which will directly or indirectly lead to negotiations. Negotiation orientation is more for the benefit of two parties (win-win) so that conflicts can be resolved peacefully. In addition, negotiation can be said as a crucial tool for diplomacy (Boivin 2004). In order for negotiations to run effectively, important elements in negotiations must be understood and studied properly. In addition, the ability to communicate also determines whether the diplomacy process fails or succeeds (Cadilhac et al. 2013).

### *National Interest*

National interest is an accumulation of goals to be achieved in accordance with the aspirations of the needs of the nation or state. National interests are often used as a benchmark for decision makers by each country before formulating and determining attitudes or actions. In fact, every step of foreign policy needs to be based on national interests and directed to achieve and protect what is categorized or expressed as a need felt by a country in relation to other countries which are its external environment (Suhito 2014).

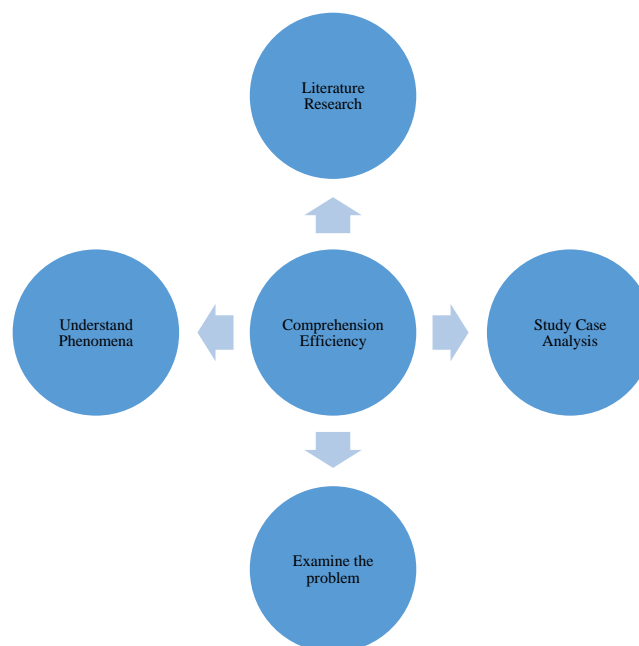
The national interest according to Nuechterlein is divided into four points, which are referred to as the basic interests of the state (Basic Interest), namely Defense of Homeland (Security Interests) The protection in the nation state and citizen from the threat of physical violence by another country and or protection from an externality inspired threat to the national political system. Economic Well-being Enhancement of national interest economic well-being in relation. Favorable World Order The

maintenance of an international political and economic system in citizens and operate peacefully outside their own borders. Promotion of Values (Ideological Interests) The protection and furtherance of set values with the citizens of a nation state and believe to be universality good (Nuechterlein 1976).

## Method

This research uses a qualitative method with an explanatory pattern. Explanatory research is a method developed to investigate a phenomenon that has never been researched before or has not been well explained before in an appropriate manner. Its main purpose is to give us details about where this small amount of information can be found. With this method, researchers get an overview and use research as a tool to guide them more quickly to issues that are likely to be discussed in the future. The goal is to find why and for what an object of study. Qualitative research is research that is descriptive in nature and tends to use analysis. In the end, process and meaning (subject perspective) are emphasized in this study. In another opinion, according to Bogdan and Taylor, Moleong suggests that qualitative research is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observable behavior (Moleong 2017).

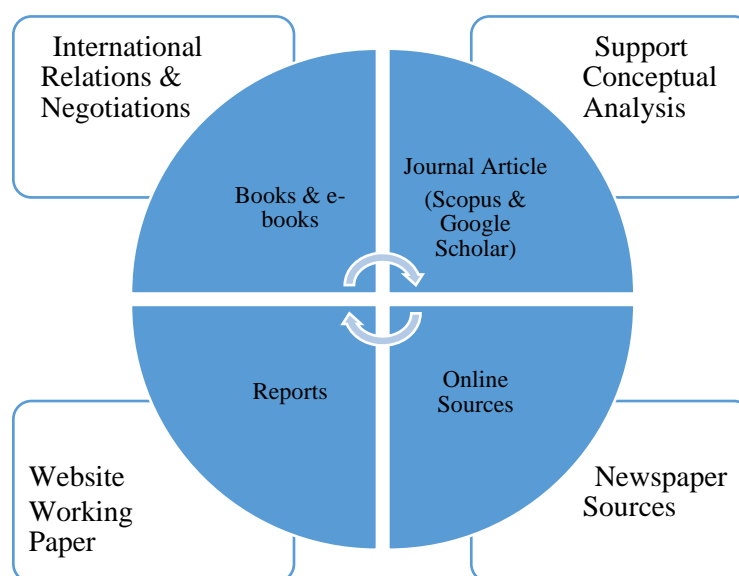
Figure 1 - Illustrations from Researchers about Explanation Patterns



Source: Mulyadi, 2011

Meanwhile, according to Nazir in his book *Research Methods*, the descriptive method is a method that examines the status of human groups, a subject, a condition, a system of thought or even a class of events in the present. The purpose of descriptive research is to make systematic descriptions, drawings or drawings as well as the relationships between phenomena that have been investigated based on data that have been obtained by previous researchers (Nazir 2009). In addition, in Mukhtar's view, descriptive research is useful for producing an accurate picture of a group, describing the mechanism of a process or relationship, providing a complete picture either verbally or numerically, providing basic information about a relationship, creating a set of categories and classifying research subjects (Mukhtar 2013). The author analyzed secondary data to answer the existing problem formulation. The data sources used are books or e-books on international relations that support conceptual analysis, journals from Scopus and Google Scholar, as well as articles, reports, online sources, and coverage or related news sources.

**Figure 2 - Illustration from a Researcher about Collecting Research Data Sources inspired by Mohammad Mulyadi (Mulyadi, 2011)**



In his opinion, Sugiyono explained that the qualitative research method is a research method based on naturalistic or natural setting, used to examine the conditions of natural objects, where the researcher is the key instrument, data collection techniques by



triangulation, data analysis is inductive or qualitative, and the results of qualitative research are more emphasizing meaning rather than generalization (Sugiyono 2015).

## **Finding and Discussion**

### ***Causes of Brexit***

As we know, the EU highly upholds the value of equality in every sector of the dynamics of social and state life. According to them, equality is the same right for every EU citizen and society. This then also applies to the equality between men and women's rights, which makes this value the basis for integration in Europe. Not enough with that, the principle of equality and equality extends to various spheres of life. One of them is the equality of wages and jobs for every citizen and community who are members of the EU based on the 1957 Rome Agreement. From the principles contained in the agreement, a regulation was issued that regulates employment in the European regional scope. In the end, this regulation materialized and was realized as the Free Movement of Workers (Maulidiyah 2016).

There are many reasons why the UK decided to leave the European Union, one of which is the notion that the EU controls Britain too much in its daily activities. Bearing in mind that the EU is an international organization that was deliberately formed on the basis of the economy as the principle of its goal. Britain feels compelled to feed the EU, which in fact is an organization. Automatically the organization does not stand alone, but is supported by members totaling 28 member countries. Considering that the UK is one of the countries with a strong economy in Europe. According to Najiyah, the UK feels that its high economic supremacy is not comparable to what it got after its participation as a member of the EU. Apart from that, there is also the issue of immigrants which is the strong cause of Great Britain leaving the EU, considering that at that time the EU was in an uproar promoting the free movement of workers (Martill 2021).

Free movement of workers is a European Union Regulatory policy relating to the freedom of movement by workers which is permitted for every citizen of an EU member state to get a job in another EU member country. This policy was more precisely experienced when the British government was under the rule of Prime Minister David Cameron who served in the period 2010-2015. Then, after Cameron's leadership, Theresa May stepped up and reopened Brexit negotiations, which were permitted by parliament.

Regarding Britain's exit from the EU, Britain must automatically comply with these regulations by opening the widest possible border gates to welcome waves of migration of workers from EU member countries. So that since the enactment of this regulation, the surge in citizens of EU member countries who live in England has always increased massively. Given that at that time the UK was one of the EU member countries that had high prospects in the issue of labor wages (Maulidiyah 2016).

There is some evidence that immigration can negatively affect the UK's lowest skilled workers. According to Arnorsson citing Dustmann, he found that every 1% increase in the share of migrants in the UK-born working-age population leads to a 0.6% decrease in the wages of the lowest paid 5% of workers and an increase in the wages of the higher paid workers (Arnorsson & Zoega 2018). Nickell & Salaheen meanwhile, found that a 1% increase in the share of migrants in the unskilled and semi-skilled services sector reduced the average wage in that job by 0.5%. In their paper Arnorsson & Zoega cite Nickell & Salaheen's opinion exploring the effect of immigration on average wages (not native wages) in 2015 while considering different occupational groups at the regional level rather than skill levels. They measure wages by the average hourly wages of full-time employees (Arnorsson & Zoega 2018).

The findings suggest that an increase in the immigrant-indigenous ratio has a small negative effect on British average wages. Moreover, the results reveal that the effect of immigration on wages is greatest in the semi-skilled and unskilled service occupations group where a 10 percentage point increase in the proportion of immigrants working in the semi/unskilled service sector leads to a 1.8 percent reduction. However, Nickell and Salaheen note that part of this decline could be due to a composition effect as immigrants tend to earn less than natives and estimate this composition effect to lead to a 0.54% decline in wages. Finally, the authors find that there is no effective difference between EU and non-EU immigrants with native wages in the UK (Arnorsson and Zoega 2018).

### ***Impact of Brexit on the UK***

The existence of a decision will attract the fact that afterwards there will be a separate consequence, as is the case with the UK leaving the European Union (Anshari & Rusdiyanta 2020). Like a coin, there are always two different sides to describe an event.

So the authors provide views on the positive and negative impacts after the UK left the EU. As for seeing the positive impact that can be found, the authors cite Alunaza & Sherin entitled "The Influence of British Exit (Brexit) on British Government Policy Regarding Immigrant Issues," (Alunaza & Sherin 2018) and Anshari & Rusdiyanta's article entitled, "Potential Impact of Brexit on the British Economy," (Anshari & Rusdiyanta 2020) namely:

(a) That Britain has absolute sovereignty over the policies to be implemented without the intervention of the EU's executive branch, or what is called the European Commission; (b) Britain is free from suffocating policies that would have burdened Britain's steps to continue advancing in the economic sector; (c) England can provide jobs for domestic citizens following the enactment of regulations on free movement for workers; (d) The UK can reduce annual budget costs to be remitted to the EU as membership dues and allocate the money for the domestic needs and development of the country; (e) As for the negative impact of Britain's exit from the European Union, the author will quote from (Brexit Paper 01-07, CEP, LSE, London), cited by Hartanto, namely as follows; (f) The decline in FDI (Foreign Direct Investments) that will enter the UK. As is known, currently there are around 1 trillion pounds and around 50% of this amount comes from EU member countries; (g) The decline in UK productivity or Growth Domestic Product (GDP) in economic development as a result of declining FDI; (h) In terms of migration, the UK will experience a loss of productive educated workforce from EU member states. Considering that the UK is experiencing a decline in terms of birth rates, a productive workforce at a young age is invaluable; (i) Declining living standards in the UK, it is then alleged that the cost of living will increase, such as the need for transportation, food and drink and clothing. In particular, this impact may be felt more in the lower middle class considering that a consumptive lifestyle will present a new problem (Hartanto 2016).

According to Pettifor, Brexit has harmed British society in other ways, but by voting as an effort to benefit, according to him it is a form of social self-protection from the market that regulates the economic, financial, trade and labor sectors (Pettifor 2017). This is the author's overview of the positive and negative impacts after the departure of the United Kingdom through the Brexit Referendum which was carried out with a poll of the British public during the reign of Prime Minister Boris Johnson.

### *Negotiation Process*

To understand how the Brexit process really works, and how it might end up, the EU's perspective must be carefully considered. Here the author cites three opinions according to Patel in his article "The EU and the Brexit Negotiations: Institutions, Strategies and Objectives." As for institutionally, first, the Commission is responsible for negotiations, as well as forging close relations with the council which provides leadership and political oversight. This institutional dynamic resembles how the EU usually conducts international negotiations. In addition, the European Parliament has assumed a stronger and more influential role than usual in such negotiations and so it feels more dominant (Curtice 2016).

Second, the EU's strategic approach is to exercise control over negotiations and further enhance its already strong bargaining power by manipulating the structure and sequence of negotiations, by ensuring that all negotiations are conducted through a single, inflexible channel, and by trying to control the public narrative through the use of transparency. These strategies have been supported and made possible by the high-level union between EU27 and EU institutions.

Third is the EU's position on Brexit, that there must be a cost to exit, and that any future relationship must include a balance of rights and obligations. Regarding future economic relations, it is in line with the EU that the UK should be treated like any other third country. In other domains such as security, the EU is less rigid, but still demands a balance of rights and obligations. Despite some diverging interests, the EU27 union is likely to last long into negotiations on future ties, which will occur during a transitional period (Patel 2018).

### *Brexit Negotiation Actor*

The actors involved in the Brexit negotiation process range from the middle class in the economy to actors who have influential political roles so that they can determine their position. As for the table of poll results, the authors quote from the research by Arnorsson & Zoega from the journal *European Journal of Political Economy* (Arnorsson & Zoega 2018).

**Table 1 - The Table of the Results of the Brexit Referendum**

Region	Exit	Stay	Region	Exit	Stay
<b>Ingggris</b>			Surrey, East & West Sussex	49.29	50.71
Bedfordshire & Herfordshire	51.93	48.07	Tees Valley & Durham	60.89	39.11
Berkshire, Buckinghamshire & Oxfordshire	46.84	53.16	West Mindlands	58.64	41.36
Cheshire	51.67	48.33	<b>Average</b>	<b>56.29</b>	<b>43.71</b>
Cornwal & Islas of Scilly	56.46	43.54			
Cumbria	56.43	43.57	<b>London</b>		
Derbyshire & Nottinghamshire	58.53	41.47	Ineer London	28.09	71.91
Devon	55.34	44.66	Outer London	43.97	56.03
Dorset & Somerset	56.20	43.80	<b>Average</b>	<b>36.03</b>	<b>63.97</b>
East Anglia	55.45	44.55			
East Yorkshire & Northern Lincolnshire	64.75	35.25	<b>Northern Ireland</b>	<b>44.24</b>	<b>55.76</b>
Essex	62.34	37.66			
Gloucestershire, Withsire, & Bristol	49.12	50.88			
Greater Manchester	53.46	46.54			
Hampshire & Isle of Wight	54.58	45.42			
Herefordshire, Worcestershire & Warwickshire	56.56	43.44	<b>Scotland</b>		
Kent	59.25	40.75	Eastern Scotland	35.82	63.18
Lancashire	59.03	40.97	South Western Scotland	36.78	63.22
Leicestershire, Rutian, & Northamptonshire	59.03	40.97	Highlands & Islands	43.96	56.04
Lincolnshire	65.16	34.84	<b>Average</b>	<b>39.19</b>	<b>60.81</b>
Merseyside	48.82	51.18			
North Yorkshire	51.89	48.11	<b>Wales</b>		
South Yorkshire	61.56	38.44	West Wales & The Valleys	53.89	45.11
West Yorkshire	54.78	45.22	East Wales	50.25	40.75
Shropshire & Staffordshire	62.53	37.47	<b>Average</b>	<b>52.07</b>	<b>47.93</b>

Source: Brexit vote highlighted UK's discontent with EU, but other European countries are grumbling too, oleh Bruce Stokes <sup>1</sup>

The results show that the percentages obtained indicate that the British people want their country to leave the EU as an effort to realize Brexit in the Prime Minister Boris Johnson's era by acclamation through a poll of the British people. On June 23, 2016,

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/06/24/brexit-vote-highlighted-uks-discontent-with-eu-but-other-european-countries-are-grumbling-too/>

British citizens completed their position statement regarding whether the UK should "Remain a member of the European Union" or "Leave the European Union." Finally the option to leave the EU wins points by almost 4 points with a percentage of 51.9% vs 48.1% (Colantone & Stanig 2018).

The area to watch is Wales. Wales chose to leave based on voter sentiment, Wales which is the poorest area in the region and at the same time 'abandoned', in other words, was dumped by political activities. In this regard Wales tends to be unstable, there are no decent jobs, and the region is dominated by the Labor Party. If this election will lead to an improvement in conditions and get the attention of politicians, then Wales will still be on the vote choice. Voters prefer to leave due to the failure of the European Union to overcome economic problems since 2008 where there is still a lot of unemployment in Southern Europe by 20%. The difference between life for southern Europeans and Germans—who enjoy 4.2% unemployment—is profound. Europe as a whole has stagnated economically. Then the issue of sovereignty and the emergence of nationalism. There is a growing distrust of the multinational financial, trade and defense organizations created after World War II. The European Union, the IMF and NATO are all good examples of this. European Union institutions are believed to no longer serve a purpose. Not only that, these organizations took over control from each country. Mistrust and fear of losing control make Brexit a plausible solution for them. The last factor is the immigration crisis in Europe is the trigger. Some EU leaders argue that helping refugees is a moral obligation. But Britain views immigration as a national issue, because it affects the internal life of the country (Vasilopoulou 2016). The actors involved are from domestic, international, to political parties.

**Table 2 - Actor Leaders as Representatives for the Brexit Referendum**

<b>Actor</b>	<b>Leaders</b>
Ingggris (EU Representative)	David Davis (Secretary of DExEU), Liam Fox, Departement of International Trade (DIT), Boris Johnson (Minister of Foreign Affairs), dan Theresa May (Prime Minister)
International	Angela Merkel (Chancellor of Germany), Francois Hollande (President of France), Jean-Claude Juncker (European commission president and former prime minister of Luxembourg)

Source: "Brexit Means Brexit": Theresa May and Post-Referendum British Politics" (Allen 2018).

In negotiations regarding Brexit with the European Union itself has three representatives from Britain to negotiate. The first is led by veteran conservative MP and

campaigner to leave the European Union, David Davis. Second, the former defense secretary, Liam Fox, who now works as international trade secretary. Third, Boris Johnson, who is the leader of the official campaign to leave the European Union, also serves as foreign secretary. The three of them are each set to play a role in negotiations with the European Union and seeking a new international agreement. Their presence is so crucial because it is judged that their position and position are very strategic in playing a domestic political role in England. Although Theresa May, as prime minister, will have the final decision (Allen 2018).

Theresa May is a powerful political actor because she has control over Brexit in the British government. He has a chance to decide when to trigger Article 50, what the UK's stance on the negotiations will be and what conclusions are acceptable. May reportedly announced a deadline of late March 2017 to trigger Article 50 without notification or at least consulting the cabinet.<sup>2</sup> The three representatives chosen by May themselves are important actors in England. David Davis, secretary for the newly created Department for Exiting the European Union (DExEU). DExEU is the department responsible for overseeing the negotiations leading to the UK's 'leave' option from the European Union and establishing a new post-Brexit EU-UK relationship. The early stages of Brexit preparations have been marked by media coverage of the battle between Davis, Liam Fox, who was appointed the new Cabinet Secretary for International Trade, headed to the Department of International Trade (DIT), and Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson. The interests came from third parties in three departments. The Department of International Trade brief was complicated by uncertainty over the desired future economic and trade relationship with the European Union, and the extent to which the UK has a bridge to pursue all aspects of trade policy, including the freedom to enter into trade agreements with third countries. It is therefore clear that dealing with Brexit is likely to cause many problems at the ministerial level and overlapping bureaucracies (Offe 2017).

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<sup>2</sup> Article 50 is a clause in the European Union's (EU) Lisbon Treaty that outlines the steps to be taken by a country seeking to leave the bloc voluntarily. Invoking Article 50 kick-starts the formal exit process and allows countries to officially declare their intention to leave the EU. The United Kingdom was the first country to invoke Article 50 after a majority of British voters elected to leave the union in 2016 (Kenton, Scott, & Kvilhaug 2021).

Some political actors outside the UK are Angela Merkel as chancellor of Germany, French President Francois Hollande, Jean-Claude Juncker as president of the European Commission and former prime minister of Luxemburg, all three of them reject the Brexit decision and consider that Britain and the European Union are an inseparable part and if it happens would be bad news politically, economically and socially in Britain and Europe. In addition there is also the influence of the parties in the British parliament. These parties then influence the tendency of people's choices in the vote.

**Table 3 - Voter List for the Brexit Referendum**

Vote	Party	Actor
Stay	Laborer	Jeremy Corbyn
	Scottish National Party	Nicola Sturgeon
Exit	Conservative	David Cameron, George Osborne, Theresa May, Boris Johnson
	The United Kingdom Independence Party	Nigel Farage
	The Democratic Unionists	Arlene Foster

Source: "Explaining Cooperation in the Council of the EU before and after the Brexit Referendum (Johansson 2021)."

The chart above shows that there are two dominating parties, namely the Labor and Conservative parties. The Labor Party voted to remain in the EU, and the Conservatives voted to leave the EU. The claims put forward by them indicate important constituent reasons, but these issues are actually very much related to how these important middle class actors perceive European Union integration. This integration and disintegration lead to the organization of economic interests, even in matters of identity. On the one hand, the group that voted out wanted an economic order that was more exclusive for British people, and on the other hand, the group that voted still wanted an economic order that was more inclusive, not only for British people. These two claims can still be read as a way for the British middle class to maintain and maximize profits. Both with more exclusive and inclusive paths (Johansson 2021).

### ***Negotiation Results***

Quoting from Forsild & Nyberg, there were three results from the Brexit negotiations. First, the EU has incentives to claim trade and mobility as inalienable freedoms of its own country, regardless of whether or not such manifest preference is manifested. Second, although it may seem advantageous for the UK to finalize trade relations before tackling



labor mobility. Third, the UK's contribution to the EU budget can replace trade restrictions and allow for more efficient outcomes (Forslid & Nyberg 2021).

## Conclusion

Free movement of workers is a European Union Regulatory policy relating to the freedom of movement by workers which is permitted for every citizen of an EU member state to get a job in another EU member country, this is the main problem and it can lead to the initiation of the referendum. As for institutional dynamics, first, the Commission is responsible for negotiations and forging close relations with the council which provides leadership and political oversight. This institutional dynamic resembles how the EU usually conducts international negotiations. In addition, the European Parliament has assumed a stronger and more influential role than usual in such negotiations and so it feels more dominant. Second, the EU's strategic approach is to exercise control over negotiations and further enhance its already strong bargaining power by manipulating the structure and sequence of negotiations, ensuring that all negotiations are conducted through a single, inflexible channel, and trying to control the public narrative through the use of transparency. Third is the EU's position on Brexit, that there must be a cost to exit, and that any future relationship must include a balance of rights and obligations. Then, voting was carried out massively across the UK region with an average majority of the people voting to decide to leave the European Union. Whereas, the actors involved in the Brexit negotiation process range from the middle class in the economy to actors who have influential political roles so that they can determine their position. The actors involved are from domestic, international, and also from political parties.

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