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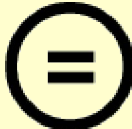
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**FROM INTEGRATION TO DISINTEGRATION OF THE EUROPEAN  
UNION: FOCUSED ON THE CASE OF BREXIT**

**By**

**Patience BUKURU**

**Department of International and Area Studies,**

**The Graduate School,**

**Pukyong National University**



**August, 2019**

**FROM INTEGRATION TO DISINTEGRATION OF THE EUROPEAN  
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지역통합에서 지역해체로의 변환: 브렉시트사례를 중심으로

Advisor: Prof. Sang Wuk Ahn

by

Patience BUKURU

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

In the Department of International and Areas Studies, The Graduate School,

Pukyong National University

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Patience BUKURU

Approved by:

---

Professor Chang-bae Seo  
(Chairman)

---

Professor Sang Wuk Ahn  
(Member)

---

Professor Heejin Han  
(Member)

---

August, 2019

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## Acronyms

BAME: Black and minority ethnic backgrounds

Benelux: Belgium, Netherland, Luxembourg

BES: British Election Study

Brexit: British Exit

CAP: Common Agricultural Policy

CET: Common External Tariff

CU: Customs Union

DAC: Development Assistance Committee

EAC: Eastern African Community

ECB: European Central Bank

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community

ECU: European Currency Unit

EDC: European Defence Community

EEC: European Economic Community

EMS: European Monetary System

EU: European Union

EURATOM: European Atomic Energy Community

FTA: Free Trade Area

GNI: Gross National Income

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

ODA: Official Development Assistance

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

ONS: Office for National Statistics

SEA: Single European Act

TFEU: Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

UK: United Kingdom

UKIP: UK Independence Party

USA: United States of America

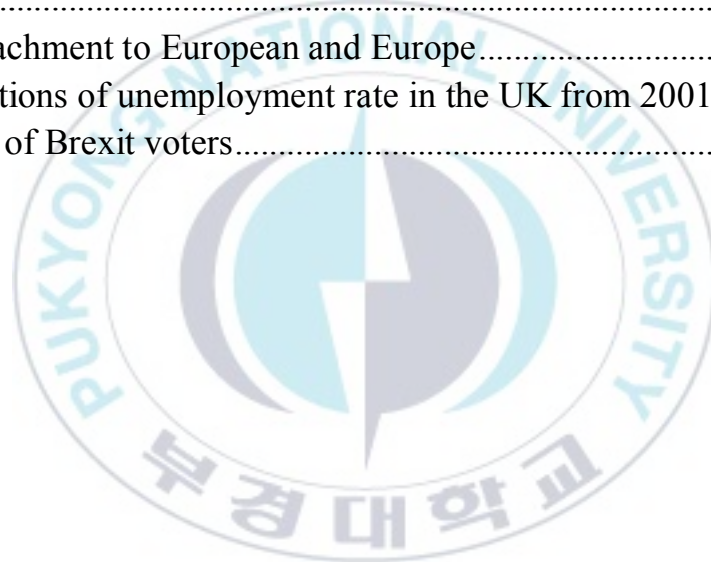
VAT: Value Added Tax

WTO: World Trade Organization



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# **From integration to disintegration of the European Union: focused on the case of Brexit**

Patience BUKURU

Department of International and Area Study, The Graduate School,

Pukyong National University

## **Abstract**

The study aims at understanding the causal logic of disintegration of the United Kingdom from European Union. Brexit is the eloquent expression of the failure of European identity especially since a great number of British citizens decided to be no longer in European Union through the referendum. As the main objective of regional integration is to facilitate and increase the trade among two or more neighboring countries, the statistics of Eurostat obviously show that there is economic interdependence between the United Kingdom and European Union. The main cause of the disintegration could be the discomfort of the voters, Britain citizens, vis-à-vis to European integration. By using the theory of constructivism, we can understand more how the United Kingdom is socially constructed and find out the identities of the groups of voters and their perception of European integration. The results show that some socio- demographic groups (the unemployed, those on low incomes or in low-paid work, those with low qualifications and poor job prospects) find themselves in competition with workers from EU member states. Obviously, the free movement of labor leads to limits job opportunities and to the decrease of the wages. And as for old people with more than 66 age, (white British), they focus considerably on the national identity by taking for the immigration issue as the factor that jeopardizes their identity.

**Keywords:** regional integration, constructivism, identity, free movement, European integration, Brexit, the United Kingdom

# 지역통합에서 지역해체로의 변환: 브렉시트사례를 중심으로

Patience BUKURU

## 초록

이 연구는 영국의 유럽연합 탈퇴의 원인을 이해하기 위함이다. 브렉시트는 영국 국민들의 국민투표를 통해 유럽연합에서 떠나기로 결정하였다. 이는 유럽 정체성 형성의 실패를 보여주는 사례이다. 지역통합의 가장 중요한 목표가 두 국가 또는 그 이상의 이웃국가들 사이에서 무역을 활성화하고 증가시키는 것이기 때문에 Eurostat에서는 영국과 유럽연합간의 경제적 상호의존성이 있다는 것을 보여준다. 탈퇴의 가장 큰 이유는 유럽연합에 대한 영국 시민인 투표자의 불안때문이었다. 구성주의 이론을 사용하여 우리는 영국이 사회적으로 어떻게 구성되어 있는지 더 잘 이해할 수 있으며 투표자 집단의 정체성을 확인할 수 있고 유럽 통합에 관련한 그들의 인식을 확인할 수도 있다. 이 결과는 일부사회계층(실업자, 저소득 또는 저임금 노동자, 비고급인력 등)이 다른 유럽 국가와 경쟁에 있는 것을 발견했다. 노동의 자유로운 이동은 이들 사회계층의 취업기회를 제한한다.

## CHAP I. INTRODUCTION

According to existing literature on regional integration, the European Union is recognized as the most developed project of regional integration in the world. This is largely because it has a mature set of institutions (**Rosamond, 2002**). The current advanced stage of EU institutional development is the culmination of more than six decades of integrative efforts involving growing numbers of countries, increasing from six to twenty-eight over the last six decades before the United Kingdom withdrew from this union (Brexit), since integrative attempts began in 1952 with the inauguration of the European Coal, Steel and Community. Over the last sixty years, EU has pursued multiple economic, cultural, security, and political goals, leading now to an advanced state of regional integration.

Throughout for almost seven decades, and particularly since the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the European Union has gone through a mixed process of expansion and consolidation. They built the European identity which is recognizable from the framework of the nation-state that can be assessed through two dimensions:

What we have in the case of the European Union, is both the objective dimension: there is a territory, and there are sets of common legal rights and duties, which are manifest through the agency of institutionalized state-like structures, and the subjective one: loyalty to the political community is being constructed through the employment of the same elements for symbolic selection, reinforcement and reproduction (historical myths, symbols, etc.). (Llobera, 2003)

Neo-functionalism desired to explain the reason and process of state cooperation aimed at solving conflicts between each other and gradually giving up on national sovereignty. The theory

had its base on the assumption that the role of nation states would decrease, and did not see the state as single unified actor on the international stage (**Ian Bache, 2011**).

Therefore, the more member states are economically interdependent, the more effective is the process of regional integration. The removal of trade barriers and increasing of the freedom movement, once they are regulated, they enhance the interdependence among member states. The effectiveness of the latter depends on both how is beneficial to member states and how is perceived by the population of the member state.

The United Kingdom has been a counterexample of the theory of regional integration above mentioned. On June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union and, according to the Treaty on European Union, article 50, the withdrawal of a member state will be effective by the end of two years from the date the European Council has been notified. The UK was scheduled to leave the EU on March 29<sup>th</sup>, 2019. However, a transition period of 7 months has been concluded between the UK and 27 European Union member States and therefore October 31<sup>st</sup>, 2019 has been so far decided as the final UK exit.

The United Kingdom is not in Eurozone, that is, apart from being regulated by both supranational and intergovernmental institutions, the large integration stage, agreed in 1992 by the treaty of Maastricht, is the single market. Then, the free movement of goods, labor, services and capital had been the great achievement of the United Kingdom.

The decision to leave the European Union has been taken by the Britain citizens through the referendum. As the main objective of regional integration is to facilitate and increase the trade among two or more neighboring countries. It would be seemingly apparent that this disintegration is mainly due to the fact that UK does not take advantage of the economic

interdependence and the discomfort of the Britain citizens.

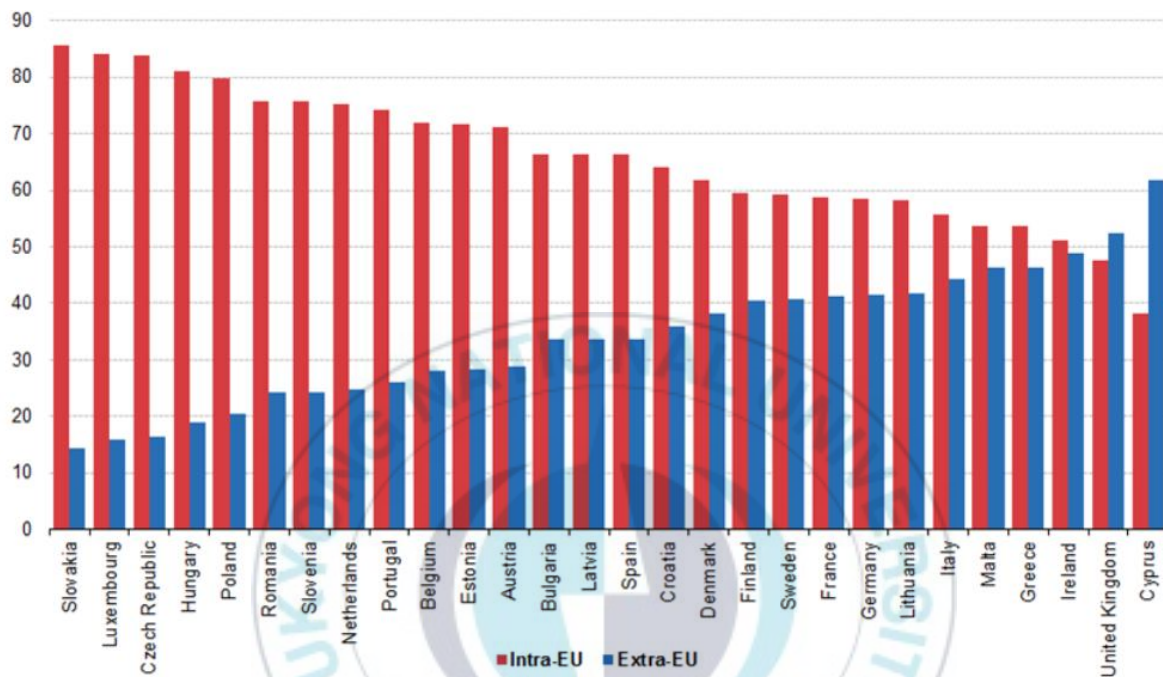
The most important sectors of the UK's economy in 2016 were wholesale and retail trade, transport, accommodation and food services (18.6 %), public administration, defense, education, human health and social work activities (18.2 %) and industry (13.0 %) (Eurostat, 20...).

Intra-EU trade accounts for 47% of the United Kingdom's exports (Germany 11%; France, Netherlands and Ireland, all combined 6%), while outside the EU 15% go to the United States and 5% to Switzerland.

In terms of imports, 51% come from EU Member States (Germany 14%, the Netherlands 7% and France 5%) while outside the EU 9% come from both the United States and China. (<https://europa.eu>)

The following graphic shows the Intra-EU exports of goods compared with exports of goods by member states, 2017 (share in %)

Figure 1. Intra-EU exports of good



Source: Eurostat

The figure above shows that there is economic interdependence among the UK and EU member states. Once it lacks the opportunity to access to this nearer market, it will affect the UK's economy. However, Britain citizens voted to leave the European Union on June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2016.

Throughout this study, we will bring out the reasons why the Britain citizens made the choice to withdraw the United Kingdom from the European Union.

## **I.1. Problem statement**

Regional integration is an answer for many challenges between or within states as shown by the success of European Union. Four decades later after having joined European integration process, the United Kingdom has built a solid framework whereby it carried on the cooperation through common institution and rules. Apart from the economic objectives, the UK made agreements, treaties and regulations related to different fields with other European Union Member States.

According to **Hirschman (1945)** economic interdependence is a function of the alternatives states face with respect to economic ties. A lack of alternatives in the market leads to interdependence. The lack of diversity of trading partners and the high degree of international trade relative to the overall economy of a state compound the problem.

More than a half of the United Kingdom imports are arriving from the European Union and it exports much less than it imports. Anyway, economically, it has benefits from the mutual and economic cooperation with the 27 remaining member states.

However, despite those significant benefits, the United Kingdom held, on 23 June 2016, a referendum on whether to remain in the European Union or to leave it. As result, the proponents of brexit won by 51.9% to 48.1% which led to David Cameron, Prime Minister, to resign.

Referendum provides the people with a means of expressing their opinion on proposed legislation before it becomes operative. Throughout this research, we will find out the real motives of choosing to leave European Union.

## **I.2. Research objective**

The study aims at:

Understanding the causal logic of disintegration of the United Kingdom from European Union.

## **I.3. Research questions**

- Which are the groups of voters that voted for disintegration of the United Kingdom from European Union?
- Why did European identity fail in the United Kingdom?

## **I.4. Hypothesis**

The European integration created negative impacts to Britain citizens

## **I.5. Theoretical framework/ methodology**

The theories of international relations approach differently the role played by the State vis-à-vis the international cooperation. Paul Viotti and Mark Kauppi (2012) define the realism as a theory considering the States as the only or the main actors of international cooperation; the state is by nature unitary; the state is rational and aims constantly to maximize its national interest, which resort eventually to force; security and political issues as the sole or the main purpose toward the foreign policy. By contrast, for liberals, the fundamental actors of international politics are rational individuals and private groups, which organize and exchange to promote their interests. Liberal theory is based on a "bottom-up" political vision, in which the demands of individuals and groups of society are treated as exogenous causes of the interests underlying the behavior of the state. Socially differentiated individuals define underlying material and ideational tastes and preferences concerning future "states of the world," and advance them through political exchange and collective action. The central intuition is that we cannot understand the exercise of interstate power or promotion of interstate collective action unless we first understand what fundamental social purposes each state seeks. (Jeffrey W, 1996)

Liberalism advocates a political regime that places individual freedoms above all else: democracy. It is by making the individual the only possible unit of analysis, the main unity of value that liberalism acquires a revolutionary character or contrarily to the realism for which the essential actor is the sovereign state. The neoliberalism seems to be the extension of the theory of liberalism since that, according to Harvey (2005), it is a theory of economic and political

practices that promotes human well-being by releasing the freedoms and skills of individual entrepreneurs in an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free

markets and free trade. Its main characteristics fit relatively with the importance of regional integration; that are: free movement of capital, labor, goods and services.

This study is based on the theory of how a state is socially constructed by finding out ideologies and identities of groups within a state and their role in foreign policy making. The theory supporting this study is constructivism theory. Accordingly, the constructivism is, somehow, a completion of the liberalism.

Constructivism consists in theorizing the distribution of identities rather than power in international politics but these identities are the ones of states constructed through the interaction among states. The social construction of state identities in interaction with their own societies is ignored. **(Ted Hopf, 2013).**

Jean Piaget can be considered as the father of the theory of constructivism but **Alexander Wendt**, a German political scientist, is the best known advocate of constructivism in the field of international relations.

**Dunne (1995)** terms it that the ‘social construct’ of each of the facts inherent in each of them and others. Social meaning is created or constructed from a mix of history, ideas, norms, identities and beliefs that should be studied if we are to explain the behavior of states.

For the case of Brexit, any understanding of the latter required an explanation of the way in which the UK and the remaining EU’s proponents constructed their identities and how these played out vis-à-vis each other.

In doing so, this theory, first, helps us to understand more how the United Kingdom was socially constructed and finds out the identities of the groups of voters and their perception of

European integration. We referred to document analysis such as the surveys just conducted by Euro barometer (Opinions poll on behalf of the European Commission since 1973) and other statistics institutions.

After, we have shown how those identities underscored had been the causal logic of the disintegration of the United Kingdom from European Union. Brexit is the eloquent expression of the failure of European identity especially since a great number of British citizens decided to be no longer in European Union through the referendum. Similarly, the case of Brexit should occur and spread across the European Union. A case in point, Marine Le Pen, leader of the extreme right-wing party “Front National”, and Dutch Geert Wilders called for the organization of referenda in their respective countries.

This theory can be useful for both twenty-seven remaining member states of European Union and for other regional integration in other continents because it can help member states to safeguard fairly their identities constructed through the interaction among themselves, then they cannot lose the original motivation for their unification.

## CHAP II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### II.0. Introduction

Regionalization refers to a similar process in a specific region, most often between neighboring countries. It refers to the growth of the integration of societies within a region and the phenomena of economic and social interactions; the latter often takes place in the absence of any action or will of governments. The country itself is made of communities of people whose identities are different, but the essential issue is how to guarantee regional integration while preserving cultural identities, or to prevent the defense of identities from being rendered into a fragmentation of national identity. The emergence of a fragmented society, where disparities are widening and where an increasing number of people are constrained to living within the society, is one of the main challenges to social cohesion. The solution consists in taking into account the responsibility of the people and giving them the means to engage actively in democratic processes.

Social constructivism essentially acknowledges that human relations, including international relations, consist of thoughts and ideas. Hence, its core ideational element focuses on intersubjective beliefs (ideas, conceptions, perceptions, etc.) which are widely shared among people. These shared beliefs compose and construct the identities and the interests of people that are by this way rendered socially constructed. **(Jackson and Sorensen, 2003)**

It is important to find out the different components of a state before assessing its interaction in terms of international relations.

## **II.1. Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States**

According to the Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States of 1933, the State as a person of international law must have the following qualifications:

- a. population;
- b. territory;
- c. government; and
- d. capacity to enter into relations with other States.

### **II.1.1. Population**

Population "as a human whole located within a demarcated geographical area and with a certain social meaning. This human group most commonly corresponds to the population of a country or a group of countries with certain common features from a point of view political or socio-economic. It can also correspond to the population of a part of the territory of a country with a political meaning, sociological or economic (provinces, boroughs, rural areas, regions, linguistic, geographical regions, etc.) (Gérard, M. & Wunsch, G, 1973)

We sometimes distinguish the "population" of a country (all natural persons who reside on the national territory, permanently or temporarily) of the people who designate the community of individuals within this population, often seen from the political angle.

To understand more the behavior of both citizens and aliens, these factors can show intrinsically how a state is socially constructed: Norms, culture, ideology and identity.

#### **II.1.1.1. Norms**

Norms are what socialization has imprinted on the psyches of the members of a given society but in response to the social pressures to which they are made subject by others.

**(Hilbert,1986).**

Each society has various behaviors which need to be regulated so that order can be guaranteed.

Then, norms are the means by which appropriate behaviors are safeguarded. Norms are made of:

- ❖ Folkways that are the traditional behavior or customs; standards of behavior that are socially accepted;
- ❖ Mores are stricter in folkways, as they determine what is considered moral and ethical behavior. (<https://www.thoughtco.com>)
- ❖ Taboo is a very strong negative norm; it is a strict prohibition of a behavior that society holds so strongly that violating it results in extreme disgust or expulsion. ( <https://www.thoughtco.com>)
- ❖ Law is Rules of conduct approved and enforced by the government of and over a certain territory. ([www.duhaime.org/LegalDictionary/L/Law.aspx](http://www.duhaime.org/LegalDictionary/L/Law.aspx))

#### **II.1.1.1.2. Culture**

Culture in the sense that Durkheim understands it is a network of representations emerging, comprehensively encompassing the deep values, beliefs and symbolic systems of a natural community, such as the tribal societies to which it has paid such attention. Society binds individuals inextricably to it, and (more clearly in the primitive case), it represents the totality of their reality. Culture is the sum total of human beings' collective efforts to come to grips

symbolically with a complex and uncertain world. (James R. Lincoln and Didier Guillot, 2004)

#### **II.1.1.1.3. Ideology**

Ideology implies the crafting of ideas and values for the purpose of advancing a specific agenda. As long as such ideas and values are clearly identified with a “special cadre within a society,” they “will resist being absorbed into common sense,” i.e., transformed into culture. (Swidler ,1989)

#### **II.1.1.1.4. Identity**

Identity “serves the practical needs and interests of the members of the community. The durability of an identity is contingent upon its ability to provide security, social status, and economic benefits for its members more than do other existing alternatives”. (Emile Sahliyah, 1993)

#### **II.1.2. Territory**

The meaning of the concept “territory” varies according to the field it is related. For politicians, the territory refers to the population and resources found there, and sometimes also the point of honor irredentist claims. For the army, the territory is a topography that conditions tactical and strategic considerations as well as the distance or space with which to play; occasionally they are also local procurement resources. For the jurist, the territory is jurisdiction and delimitation; to the specialists of the international law, it is at the same time an attribute and the spatial extent of the sovereignty. To the geographer, it is the portion of space enclosed by boundary lines, the location and internal characteristics of which are to be described

and explained. (S. Elden, 2013)

The notion of the territory of the State means to take into consideration three things. The determination and the delimitation of its territory on the one hand, the relations which exist between the territory and the State on the other hand, the legal nature of the territory of the State, finally.

Territoriality is intrinsically connected to the state sovereignty. It should be difficult to understand the real meaning of the concept “sovereignty without first defining what the “state” is. By the way the two concepts do not contradict themselves but, on the contrary, they complete each other.

Sovereignty as a term has its origin in the Latin word ‘Superanus’ meaning supreme. (Ray, B.N., Political Theory: Interrogations and Interventions, Published by Authors Press, Delhi, 2006)

J.W.Garner defines the state as:“ ... a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of a territory, independent or nearly so of external control and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience. (Garner, J.W., 1955)

### **II.1.3. Government**

The third condition for the creation of a state is the existence of a government capable of exercising an independent and effective authority over the population and the territory. The importance attached to the criteria of independence and efficiency is understandable given the essentially decentralized nature of international law. As international law does not have a central executive body with the power to enforce international obligations, compliance with

international obligations must often be guaranteed by the States themselves. (**Hobach, Lefeber & Ribbelink 2007**)

The government is the body (persons or services) invested with the executive power to run a state. In modern states, it is the constitution that defines the terms of appointment of members of the government (ministers).

The term governmentality sought to draw attention to a certain way of thinking and acting that was embodied in all these attempts to know and govern the wealth, health and happiness of the people Foucault argued that, since the eighteenth century, this way of reflecting upon power and seeking to render it operable had achieved pre-eminence over other forms of political power. (**M. Foucault, 'On governmentality', I&C, 1979**)

#### **II.1.4. Capacity to enter into relations with other States**

According to this criterion, an entity must have jurisdiction, within its own constitutional system, to maintain international relations with other States, as well as the political, technical and financial capacities to do so. (**Restatement (Third) of Foreign Relations Law (n 23) § 202(2), Comment**)`

The international legal personality of the State means that it has, as a legal entity or human collectivity with a territorial base and individuals qualified to act on its behalf, rights and obligations with an international scope and dimension. Therefore, the state can set an international legal acts, whether they may be unilateral acts of international treaties or agreements, become a member and to participate fully in the life of international intergovernmental organizations, and maintain diplomatic relations with other States.

The regionalization and globalization are the contemporary illustrations. According to (**Arie M.**

**Kacowicz, 2018**), Regionalization can be conceived as the growth of societal integration within a given region, including the undirected and spontaneous processes of social and economic interaction among the units. However, Godden ( **in McGrew, 2008**) says that globalization is the “intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.”

To the four requirements of statehood as they had been released by the Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States of 1933, four principles of international law can be added: Independence, sovereignty, self-determination and recognition.

- a. The principle of self-determination is a principle of international law that states that nations have the right to freely choose their sovereignty and international political status without any constraint or outside interference. (**Unterberger, B. M., Self-Determination, Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy (2002),**);
- b. Sovereignty is the supreme power of the state over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law. Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780) considers sovereignty to be, “... the supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority in which the jura summi imperii reside”. (Garner, J.W., Political Science and Government, (**World Press, Calcutta 1955**);
- c. The ultimate foundation of international law is the assumption that states possess rights and are subject to duties corresponding to the facts of their postulated nature. Under this assumption, it is considered that to the extent that states exist and are independent beings possessing property, they have the right to do all that is necessary to pursue and develop their existence, to give effect to and preserve their independence from holding and acquiring property, subject to the fact that they are required to respect these rights in other. It is also considered that their moral nature imposes on them duties of good faith,

of compensation for wrongs, of respect for the personal dignity of their peers and, to a certain extent, of sociability.( **International Law, 6th. ed., p. 4**)

- d. Recognition transforms from an instrument of bilateral diplomacy which governs state-to-state relations into a legal act of a collective nature, based on a normative value judgment regarding whether a new political entity conforms to basic normative underpinnings of the international legal order (and the international community). It becomes a collective tool deciding upon the position of political entities in the structures of the community of states. (**Self-Determination and Secession in International Law Christian Walter, Antje von Ungern-Sternberg, and Kavus Abushov, 2014**)

## **II.2. Democracy**

Democracy is a system of government put in place by the entire population or by all eligible members of a state, usually through elected representatives. (**Oxford English Dictionary**)

“The government of the people, by the people, for the people” is Abraham Lincoln's famous formula for defining democracy. This definition is, moreover, close to its etymological meaning, democracy coming from the Greek *demokratia* that can be translated by the expression "power of the people" (*demo*: people, *kratos*: power). According to **Jean-Jacques Rousseau**, in “**Contrat social**”, the holder of sovereignty is the real people, that is, all citizens. Thus, every citizen holds a parcel of sovereignty.

**“S’il y a 10 000 citoyens, chaque citoyen a pour sa part la dix-millième partie de l’autorité suprême”**

### **II.2.1. Athenian democracy**

In the year 507 B.C., the Athenian leader Cleisthenes introduced a system of political reforms that he called demokratia, or “rule by the people.” This system was comprised of three separate institutions: the ekklesia, a sovereign governing body that wrote laws and dictated foreign policy; the boule, a council of representatives from the ten Athenian tribes; and the dikasteria, the popular courts in which citizens argued cases before a group of lottery-selected jurors. (<https://www.history.com>)

In fact it was the manner by which Athenians took part in discussing, thinking out, and voting the laws that regulate the society.

### **II.2.2. Modern theories of democracy**

The liberal democracy and the people's democracy are the modern theories of democracy.

Liberal democracy is a democratic system of government in which individual rights and freedoms are officially recognized and protected, and the exercise of political power is limited by the rule of law. (<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com>).

By this definition, the people are at the center of power and use it in many ways:

- Direct democracy: it assumes that the people can come together to decide important acts of national interest;
- Representative democracy: the citizens do not take part directly in governing or in discussing or adopting acts that involve both interaction with their own societies and international politics. Then they elect representatives to govern. ( Eg: President, Members

of Parliament);

- Semi-representative democracy: semi-direct democracy is a combination of representative institutions and institutions of direct democracy. Semi-direct democracy, thus, gives people the opportunity to directly exercise the powers attached to their sovereignty over a few points, that is to say during a referendum, an element of democracy par excellence, that the doctrine of sovereignty popular advocates.

A referendum is defined as a direct vote by the electorate of a country to advise or decide on a specific issue, in contrast to votes for individual candidates to national or local elections.

(<http://opil.oup.com>)

People's democracy is a regime in which the socio-economic and political organization is dominated by a single political party. It is the Communist Party which represents the interests of all the people and whose objective is to create an equal society.

The expression of the sovereignty requires a right to vote for every citizen. Voters are influenced by sociological factors such as income, occupation, education, gender, age, religion, ethnic background, geography, and family. Voters are also influenced by psychological factors such as political party identification, specific candidates, and key issues. **(Joshua Harder and Jon A. Krosnick, A Psychological Analysis of the Causes of Voter Turnout, 2008)**

### II.3. Regional integration

Regional integration describes in a general way the process of concluding a regional agreement by States to achieve specific objectives, linked to the agreement, by strengthening regional cooperation. In history, there has not been another case as strong of regional integration as the

European Union (EU). **(Council on Foreign Relations: September 2010)**

The European Union is acknowledged as the most advanced and developed project of regional integration in the world. The current stage of EU institutional development is the culmination of more than five decades of integrative efforts involving growing numbers of countries, increasing from six to twenty-eight over the last six decades; before that the United Kingdom withdrew from this union (Brexit), since integrative attempts began in 1951 with the inauguration of the European Coal and Steel and Community. Over the last sixty years, EU has pursued multiple economic, cultural, security, and political goals, leading now to a state of regional integration.

Two of the main theories related to regional integration are Neofunctionalism that was developed by Haas in the 1960s and Intergovernmentalism from the 1960s, pioneered by Hoffmann (**Ian Bache: 2011**).

### **II.3.1.Theories of regional integrations: Neofunctionalism**

This approach places major emphasis on the necessity of a federal organization. More than relying on functional integration in the economic and social sectors, this form of integration should be based on acts of political will (Vieira-Posada, 2006). Moreover, neo-functionalism emphasizes the role of institutions to achieve further integration. A number of extensions have been proposed to this approach. (i.a., Haas, 1968; Nye, 1970; Schmitter, 1970)

Neofunctionalism focuses on institutions as the means that should solve conflicts between states and gradually giving up on national sovereignty. According to (**Ian Bache: 2011**), The theory had its base on the assumption that the role of nation states would decrease, and did not see the state as single unified actor on the international stage.

Therefore, other states should be interested by the advantages of regional integration of their

neighbors what (Lindberg 1963) called “spillover” and, thus, it leads to further the process of integration. According to this author, Spillover, the central metaphor of neo-functionalist theory, is the process whereby “a given action, related to a specific goal, creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which in turn create a further condition and a need for more, and so forth”

Neofunctionalism has four main features:

- Neo-Functionalism focuses upon process: integration is the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states...’ (Haas, 1958)
- The Centrality of Supranational Institutions: ‘potential agents of integration’ (Haas, 1958) A central government which stood apart from those of the member states, that are supranational institutions and the development of a European consciousness;
- As the process of integration proceeds, it is assumed that values will undergo change, that interests will be redefined in terms of regional rather than purely national orientation and that the erstwhile set of separate national group values will gradually be superseded by a new and geographically larger set of beliefs. (Haas, 1958)
- Spillover describes how regional integration evolved: In order to fulfill and satisfy one goal of integration it is necessary to take actions in another area, which then set other actions in motion. (Daniel Justin Kleinschmidt, 2013)

### II.3.2. Stages of regional integration

#### I.

Formal regional integration efforts among states can be seen as an effort to overcome two fundamental problems in the relations among sovereign states, namely those of defection and distribution. According to classical international law, states are sovereign. They do not have to accept supranational institutions. States can, of course, conclude agreements with one another, bilaterally or multilaterally feel bound by such agreements. ( **Finn Laursen, 2016**)

According to (**Bela Balassa,1961**), five steps process of economic integration are to be regarded: Free Trade Area, Customs Union, Common Market, Economic Union and Economic and Monetary Union.



### II.3.2.1. Free Trade Agreement

A free trade area is a grouping of countries within which tariffs and non-tariff trade barriers between the members are generally abolished but with no common trade policy toward non-members. (<https://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=3128>)

The efficiency and profitability of a country consist in producing goods or service at a cheaper opportunity cost than others, that is what David Ricardo called comparative advantage in 1817 in “On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation”. Accordingly, the country takes advantage to specialize itself in production of goods and services with a lower opportunity cost. Then, it is understandable that it will import goods and services that it does not produce from either its neighboring countries or other countries.

Essentially, Free Trade Areas are designed to reduce or to remove the barriers to trade between two or more countries, that is, to overcome to the protectionism policy which restricted import from other countries through tariffs on imported goods or import quotas in order to protect local markets and industries from foreign competitors.

Aside from a commitment to a reciprocal trade liberalization schedule, FTAs place few limitations on member states. Although FTAs may contain provisions in these areas if the signatory countries agree to do so, no further harmonization of regulations, standards or economic policies is required, nor is the free movement of capital and labour a necessary part of a free trade agreement. FTA signatory countries also retain independent trade policy with all countries outside the agreement. However, in order for an FTA to function properly, member countries must establish rules of origin for all third-party goods entering the free trade area.

Goods produced within the free trade area (and subject to the agreement) may cross borders tariff-free, but rules of origin requirements must be met to prove that the good was in fact produced in the exporting country. In the absence of rules of origin, third-party countries seeking trade access to the FTA area will choose the path of least resistance – the country where they face the lowest opposing tariff – in order to gain effective entry to the entire FTA region.

**(Michael Holden, 2003)**

#### II.3.2.1.1. Positive effects of Free Trade Agreement

Free Trade Areas opens the borders between countries in terms of international trade, and that has a positive impact to the trade zone.

##### II.3.2.1.1.1. Increase of competition

The Free Trade Areas aims at reducing or removing completely the trade barriers between two or many countries and even continent level. The more intensive the trade is, the more domestic firms will face competition from abroad. Hence, there will be pushed on reducing costs and, consequently, increase efficiency.

##### II.3.2.1.1.2. Increase of economic growth

The economic case for an open trading system based on multilaterally agreed rules is quite simple and largely based on common sense. But it is also supported by evidence: the experience of world trade and economic growth since the Second World War. Tariffs on industrial products have fallen sharply and are on average less than 5% in the industrialized countries. In the first 25

years after the world war, global economic growth averaged about 5% a year, a high rate partly due to reduced trade barriers. World trade grew even faster, averaging around 8% over that period. ([https://www.wto.org/english/thewto\\_e/whatise/tif\\_e/fact3\\_e.htm](https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatise/tif_e/fact3_e.htm))

#### II.3.2.1.1.3. More dynamic business climate

The business climate shows how states, regional and local policies, relationships and local communities support business development. In the end, a good business climate allows businesses to manage their business with minimal interference while having access to quality inputs and low-cost customers. While no business climate is perfect for all types of companies, certain attributes of the regional or local economy allow investors to limit risk and earn returns that are superior to those of other countries. (**International Economic development council, 2000**)

Before FTA, businesses were protected by the government. The local firms could become stagnant and less competitive; comparatively to the regional market. After to remove the protectionism, they have become real regional competitors.

#### II.2.1.2. Negative effect of Free Trade Agreement

Free trade hurts some people, most particularly the shareholders and employees of industries who lose money and jobs because they lose sales to imported goods. Some of the groups that are hurt by foreign competition wield enough political power to obtain protection against imports. Consequently, barriers to trade continue to exist despite their sizable economic costs. (**Douglas A. Irwin, 2005**)

### II.3.2.2. Customs union

#### I.

A customs union (CU) builds on a free trade area by, in addition to removing internal barriers to trade, also requiring participating nations to harmonize their external trade policy. This includes establishing a common external tariff (CET) and import quotas on products entering the region from third-party countries, as well as possibly establishing common trade remedy policies such as anti-dumping and countervail measures. A customs union may also preclude the use of trade remedy mechanisms within the union. Members of a CU also typically negotiate any multilateral trade initiative (such as at the World Trade Organization) as a single bloc. Countries with an established customs union no longer require rules of origin, since any product entering the CU area would be subject to the same tariff rates and/or import quotas regardless of the point of entry. ( **Michael Holden, 2003**)

Customs Union can enhance economic growth among partner States because by abolishing tariff and non-tariff barriers, domestic firms will produce by increasing economic efficiency. According to the (**Protocol on the establishment of the of the EAST AFRICAN CUSTOMS UNION**) the objectives of the Customs Union are:

- further liberalize intra-regional trade in goods on the basis of mutually beneficial trade arrangements among the Partner States;
- promote efficiency in production within the Community;
- enhance domestic, cross border and foreign investment in the Community; and
- promote economic development and diversification in industrialization in the Community.

Customs Union, comparatively to the Free Trade Area, has the Common External Tariffs as its add value. It is a rate uniformly applied by all the community to imports from countries which are non-members.

#### II.3.2.2.1. Positive effects of customs union

##### II.3.2.2.1.1. Increase trade flows

The removal of trade barriers between members will encourage trade between them and this is explained by improving regionally trade facilitations. Then, customs union increase trade among member states by applying the same Common External Tariff.

##### *II.3.2.2.1.2. Trade creation and trade diversion*

Countries gathered in a Customs Union enlarge their market and do not have the same efficiency in producing different items. As there is any more trade barriers, each member state has the interest to sell its efficiency products to other member states that are less efficient ; this is the trade creation. However a non-member state that is more efficient exporter may export towards a member state of the customs union zone that is less efficient. Accordingly, the latter may increase their sales as well as a trade diversion.

##### *II.3.2.2.1.3. Avoid the trade deflection*

Trade deflection occurs when non-member exports its products at a cheap tariff to a FTA member and then re-exports at a high tariff to a FTA member. Then, even though two member states in FTA are supposed to enhance their trade, some should be disadvantaged while others

are capitalizing on their FTA. A Common External tariff is the key by which FTA member overcome that disproportion.

#### *II.3.2.2.1.4. Closer integration and cooperation*

There are many possible reasons for choosing a CU rather than an FTA, including political and economic reasons. Some regional groupings consider the creation of a CU as a precondition for the future creation of a political union, or at least some deeper form of economic integration, such as a common market.

**(<https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRANETTRADE/Resources/C5.pdf>)**

#### *II.3.2.2.2. Negative effects of a Customs Union*

##### *II.3.2.2.2.1. Loss of economic sovereignty*

The customs union supposes the establishment of Common External Tariff. Then, no member state is allowed to negotiate individually any trade agreement with non-member state.

##### *II.3.2.2.2.2. Allocation of tariff revenue*

There is also a potential disadvantage to a single member in how the tariff revenue is allocated. Members who trade relatively more with countries outside the Customs Union may not get their 'fair share' of tariff revenue.

**([http://economicsonline.co.uk/global\\_economics\\_/customs\\_union.html](http://economicsonline.co.uk/global_economics_/customs_union.html))**

### II.3.2.3. Common market

A common market is a type of trade bloc made of a customs union with common policies on product regulation and the free movement of factors of production (capital and labor) and enterprise. The goal is the movement of capital, labor, goods and services among members. A single market has many benefits. With full freedom of movement for all the factors of production between the member countries, the factors of production become more efficiently allocated, further increasing productivity. **(Béla Balassa, 1960s)**

#### II.3.2.3.1. Free movement of goods

The free movement of goods implies the following: elimination of internal tariffs, application of common external tariffs, application of uniform rules of origin, elimination of non-tariffs barriers and the application of common external trade policy. **(Article 6 of the EAC Common Market Protocol)**

The European Union is recognized as the most developed project of regional integration in the world. This is largely because it has a mature set of institutions **(Rosamond, 2002)**. The free movement of goods in EU lays both harmonized and non-harmonized goods. The harmonized goods have rules that can be applied both by the manufacturers and sellers. The rules can be required standards or technical specifications. (Fertilizers, pharmaceutical products, electronic equipment,...). However, Non-harmonized sectors are not subject to common EU rules and may come under the national rules. These sectors should still benefit from Treaty provisions governing free movement of goods. (<https://ec.europa.eu/growth/single-market/goods/free->

## **movement-sectors\_en)**

In most of regional organizations, there are standard bureaus to regulate the rules related to the technical standard.

The main objective of the free movement of goods is not only limited on the technical aspects but the economic one as well. Then, goods that are made in regional bloc can freely be sold within member states without any restriction.

### **II.3.2.3.2. Free movement of capital**

The free movement of capital occurs when the Partner States agreed among themselves to remove restriction between the Partner States on the movement of capital belonging to the partner resident in the community, remove any discrimination based on nationality or on place of residence of the persons or the capital is invested, remove any restriction and not to introduce any new restriction on the movement of capital, payments and transfers or apply more restrictions or regulations, remove restrictions relating the current payments connected with the movement of goods, persons and services or capital between Partner States in accordance with the provisions of Common Market Protocol. **(Article 24 of the EAC Common Market Protocol)**

The free movement of capital, in a given regional bloc, consists in developing, harmonizing and integrating the financial systems. It is the key of regional development in the sense that, not only it can favour the projects and investment in the community by removing barriers to the foreign investment. Accordingly, Free movement of capital is fundamental to open and make

competitive the financial regional market.

For citizens of the European Union, this means the ability to perform many operations abroad, such as opening bank accounts, buying shares of foreign companies, investing where the return is optimal and the purchase of real estate. For companies it principally means being able to invest in and own other European companies and take an active part in their management.

**(<https://www.eubusiness.com/topics/single-market/capital>)**

#### II.3.2.3.3. Free movement of labor

There is free movement of workers in situation where the citizens of the community Partner States have the right to apply for employment and accept of employment actually made move freely within the territories of Partner States for the purpose of employment, conclude contracts and take up employment in accordance with the contracts, stay in the territory of the other Partner States for the purpose of employment in accordance with national laws and the administrative procedures governing the employment of workers of that Partner State, enjoy the freedom of association and collective bargaining for better working conditions in accordance with national laws of the host Partner State and the right to be accompanied by a spouse, child and dependents. **(Article 10 of the EAC Common Market Protocol)**

In the situation of free movement of labor, qualifications are harmonized and acknowledged across the community and, consequently, citizens are free to look for a job wherever in the regional block without worrying about any kind of discrimination from the foreign firm, concretely, they are no differentiation of native from migrant workers.

#### II.3.2.3.4. Free movement of services

The free movement of services covers both the freedom of establishment for individuals and companies to provide services in another Member State on a ‘permanent’ basis and the freedom to provide cross border services to a recipient established in another Member State on a ‘temporary’ basis. The latter may involve cross-border movement by the service provider or the recipient, or, in the case of services delivered online or at a distance, no cross-border movement by either party. (HM Government, **The Single Market: Free Movement of Services, 2014**)

#### II.3.2.4. Economic and monetary union

The Economic and monetary union is the following stage of the common market and further to include the latter in itself, it consists in coordinating and harmonizing the economic, fiscal and monetary policies in a regional with the common currency and central bank. The free movements of goods, services, capital and labor become more effective in the sense that the financial transactions are made easier by institutions that set common rules across the community.

Countries benefit in various ways from belonging to a currency union, a group of countries that share a single currency. Businesses can trade and invest across borders more easily. Member countries gain access to larger markets without facing currency risk. And in some circumstances, currency unions can help support their members when they are hit by external shocks.

But there are also costs to membership: countries relinquish the independence to formulate monetary policy, which can complicate a country’s adjustment to a shock. At the same time, currency union institutions face their own constraints. Currency unions have a responsibility to

serve the interests of all of their members; accordingly, changes to policies with a union-wide impact, like monetary policy, are guided by the needs of the union rather than any one single member. (<https://blogs.imf.org/2018/03/16/a-framework-for-currency-unions-and-imf-lending/>)

#### **II.3.2.5. Political union**

A political union is a larger and consolidated group of nations or states that share a joint government that is internationally acknowledged. For instance, European leaders must make three choices about what type of political union they want. The first choice is between a limited economic federation aimed at stabilizing the euro and a full economic federation taking on traditional nation-state tasks such as taxation, social welfare, and redistribution. The second choice is between a rules-based federation with a very small margin for policy innovation and flexibility and one with ample discretionary powers and policy instruments. The third choice is between a political system that relies on indirect legitimacy and is governed mostly through intergovernmental mechanisms and one that draws on direct legitimacy instruments and confers ample executive authority to supranational institutions such as the European Commission. ([http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR70\\_POLITICAL\\_UNION\\_BRIEF\\_AW.pdf](http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR70_POLITICAL_UNION_BRIEF_AW.pdf))

On the stage of political union, independent states are gathered into a single union which has a central political body ( authority) that coordinate economic, social, and foreign policy for the members.

### II.3.3. Regional disintegration

According to **Hirschman (1945)** economic interdependence depends on the alternatives that States face in terms of economic links. A lack of alternatives in the market leads to interdependence and the lack of diversity of trading partners and the high degree of international trade relative to the overall economy of a state compound the problem.

The main objective of regional integration is to facilitate and increase the trade among two or more neighboring countries. The disintegration consists, then, in withdrawing from the regional community if, economically speaking, there is not benefit comparing in the situation of non-integration.

Baldwin (1980) explains more economic interdependence occurs when the reciprocal cost-benefit of an economic link between interstate relations exceeds the possibilities. It manifests itself in reciprocal opportunity costs. These costs refer to the breakdown of existing economic links. When it comes to leave the community, the state can balance its benefits both to leave or to remain in the community and give up the alternative of which the state does not take advantage.

Empirically, the trends in trade within the community can be used as the tool whereby the economic interdependence is measured.

Further, the other reason that disintegration could occur would be the member states' loss of sovereignty. The latter can lead to an inclination by the citizens of the states to vote against the Union and therefore for that state to leave.

In addition, the disintegration occurs when in the supranational institutions such as the parliament, the electoral system of representatives is the proportional representation and to determine the magnitude, they regard the area in size. Therefore, the smaller states do not have

a considerable voting power. This gap in terms of voting should be a discontent origin.

Furthermore, the unstable country, economically speaking, can turn down the economies of the power countries. In fact, if one or some countries of the same union face a crisis, other countries will also face the crisis and try to overcome it by injecting their own resources that should have been invested in their productive sectors.

### **CHAP III. EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

On 19 September 1946 in Zurich, an address given by Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, advocated the tragedy of the Second World War that happened in the Europe and proposed the idea of creating the united states of Europe. Two years later, the congress of Europe was held in Hague and different delegates from Europe as well as USA and Canada and they had as their agenda to discuss about the development of political cooperation of Europe. In 1949, the council of Europe had been created with mainly two objectives, namely, to promote the principles of human rights and the common democratic and legal region. The economic development of the continent was in the center of their agenda since that there were many efforts to restore European economy under Marshall Plan such as removing trade restrictions. Then, to remove trade barriers supposes the processes of regional integration which is materializing by different treaties.

### III.1. Treaty of Paris

“There will be no peace in Europe if the States rebuild themselves on the basis of national sovereignty, with its implications of prestige politics and economic protection (...). The countries of Europe are not strong enough individually to be able to guarantee prosperity and social development for their peoples. The States of Europe must therefore form a federation or a European entity that would make them into a common economic unit.” (**Jean Monnet**). The latter emitted the pioneering idea of establishing a common European market for coal and steel and on 9 May 1950, the French foreign Minister declared “Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity.”

This idea had been well welcomed by further more five founding countries namely: West Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Italy and Luxembourg. Consequently, on 18 April 1951, Treaty of Paris, establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, was signed by the six founding countries.

This project, European Coal and Steel Community, aimed at locking together the industries across the different member countries, not only to boost their economic fortunes but to tie them together in the hope that this might yet another European war. (**TIM BALE, 2017**). It restored diplomatic relation in Western Europe after the Second World War because the enemies during the recent war were sharing resources, that is, coal and steel that was before the conflict center.

### **III.2. Treaty of Rome**

The previous treaty was regarded as the first stage of regional integration because of the removing of the trade barriers among the founding countries of ECSC. Six years later, after having experienced free trade area, they decided to go forward to the following stage of removing customs duties and harmonizing external tariffs; the stage of customs union.

The customs union was impeded by the economic interests of the member states. On one hand, there were West Germany, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg that supported the reduction or abolition of customs duties and the establishment of a low common external tariff because in terms of competitiveness their industries were strong. On the other hand there were France and Italy whose industries were less competitive, preferred the high external tariff in order to protect their products against competition from the third countries.

Furthermore, other issue to establish the customs union was the position of the Common Assembly to extend the powers of European Coal and Steel Community by introducing other sources of energy such as: gas, electricity and atomic energy.

On 25 March, in order to end their divergence, the two positions concluded by setting up two communities: European Economic Community and European Atomic Energy Community. The two communities were included in the one treaty called “Treaty de Rome”.

However, the customs union became effective twelve years later in 1968 when they adopted the common external tariff and abolished customs barriers.

### III.3. Treaty of Merger

The Merger Treaty, also known as the Brussels Treaty, was signed on 8 April 1965 in Brussels; it came into force on 1 July 1967. It created a single commission and a single council of the three European Communities at the time by bringing together the executive bodies of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the European Economic Community (EEC). ([https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en))

The following stage of regional integration, after the customs union, was the single market but different economic and monetary challenges slowed down the process.

Indeed, in 1970s, there were the increasing inflation at 6 %, the oil shock of 1971 and that of 1979 and the monetary instability. Therefore, to overcome the problem of money instability, the member states first created first the European Currency Snake after the collapse of the Bretton Woods system in 1971 but it failed. It had been replaced by the European Monetary System (EMS) which was based on a common accounting unit: European Currency Unit (ECU) but the UK did not participate in the exchange rate mechanism. Sixteen years later, seeing that to stay out of the EEC would cause serious and weighty consequences on its economies, then UK changed its mind and joined the community with Denmark and Ireland on 1 January 1973 and raising to nine the number of member states.

The enlargement of Europe went on and Greece became members of European community in 1981 while Spain and Portugal joined the European Community in 1986.

### **III.4. Single European Act**

The Community sought European unity several times prior to the passage of the Single Act. The Community failed to attain European unity, however, largely because member states were unwilling to transfer their sovereignty to supranational institutions. This fear of transferring power to the Community dates back to the crisis surrounding the Luxembourg Compromise of 1966. Until 1965, the Council made all decisions by unanimous vote. (Kathryn Good, 1988).

Since the creation of European Economic Community in 1957, a full single market was in the center of its aims. For each decision-making, a unanimous consensus among Member States was required through different institutions either intergovernmental or supranational. Accordingly, the community had many challenges how to introduce changes or work toward further integration. Almost thirty years, the single market above cited was not achieved due to the lack of unanimous agreement among Member States. . Thus, Member States progressively became aware of the necessity of modifying the Treaty of European Economic Community which dated from 1957 by well-defining its legal bases and introducing the notion “qualified majority” in order to make more decisions. After many dealings and negotiations among countries which entered in the process of integration, the Single European Act came into force on 1st July 1987. According to Jacques DELORS, president of European Commission (1985-1995) , : “ The Single European Acts means the commitment of implementing simultaneously the great market without frontiers, more economic and social cohesion, an European research and technology policy, the strengthening the European monetary system, the beginning of an European social area and significant actions in environment”. ([www.historiasiglo20.org](http://www.historiasiglo20.org)).

### III.5. Treaty on European Union

The Treaty on European known as the Treaty of Maastricht was signed in Maastricht on 7 February 1992. This treaty looks like the materialization and enlargement of the “The Single European Acts” especially since that the objectives of the latter were discussed, concluded and enlarged by the heads of the Member states.

This Treaty had 5 objectives:

1. to promote balanced and sustainable economic and social progress, in particular through the creation of an area without internal frontiers, the strengthening of economic and social cohesion and the establishment of an economic and monetary union, including in the long term a single currency in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty;
2. to assert its identity on the international scene, notably through the implementation of a common foreign and security policy, including the possible definition of a common defense policy, which could eventually lead to a common defense;
3. to strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of nationals of its Member States by introducing a citizenship of the Union;
4. to develop close cooperation on justice and home affairs;
5. to fully maintain and develop the *acquis communautaire* with a view to determining to what extent the policies and forms of cooperation established by this Treaty should be reviewed with a view to ensuring the effectiveness of the Union's mechanisms and institutions of the Community. **(Treaty on European Union)**

For the first time since 1957, the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community was amended in order to establish the European Community. The objectives

above-mentioned defined clearly the guidelines of further stages of regional integration. As result, the single market was fulfilled with freedom of: movement of goods, service, people and money. In 1995, the accession of Sweden, Finland and Austria occurred and European members became 15.

### **III.6. Treaty of Amsterdam**

The Treaty of Amsterdam was approved by European Council held in Amsterdam on 16-17 June 1997 and signed on 2 October 1997 by the Foreign Minister of the fifteen member countries of the European Community. On 1 May 1999, it came into force having been ratified by all the Member States. (<http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/amsterdam.htm>).

It made important changes to the Treaty on European Union in the sense that member states bequeathed certain powers from the national governments to the European Parliament such as legislating on immigration, adopting civil and criminal laws and foreign and security policy. For instance, Schengen agreements allowed to citizens of Member States of European Community to travel without having their domestic passport checked at the borders. Accordingly, social and economic development has increased among countries among others the introduction of the Euro to the world financial markets as an accounting currency on 1 January 1999. It is used both in Europe and overseas territories of European Union members.

### **III.7. Treaty of Nice**

The Treaty of Nice was signed by European leaders on 26 February 2001 and entered into force on 1 February 2003. The major changes at Nice and the declarations and protocols annexed to it concerned further reform of institutions and the decision making progress. In preparation for enlargement it altered the composition of the European Parliament and the Commission, as well as increasing the jurisdiction of the Court First Instance to mitigate the work load of the Court of Justice. **(testpolitics.pbworks.com)**

The treaty of Nice had significant implications for justice and home affairs, defence, social policy, environment and trade. Hence, one year after that the Treaty came into force, i.e 2004, ten new states joined the European Community: Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Malta and Cyprus; it is obvious that membership of the European Union became 25 countries and 3 years after, that is 2007, Bulgaria and Romania joined the Union.

### **III.8. Treaty of Lisbon**

The Lisbon Treaty (originally called the Reform Treaty) is an international agreement that amends the two treaties constituting the constitutional basis of the European Union (EU). The Treaty of Lisbon was signed by the EU Member States on 13 December 2007 and entered into force on 1 December 2009. It amends the Treaty on European Union (Treaty on European Union), as well as the Treaty establishing the European Community also known as the Treaty of Rome. During this process, the Treaty of Rome was renamed the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). **(Treaty of Lisbon)**

The objective of this Treaty was to preserve most of the achievements of the European Union by amending two treaties that of Maastricht and Rome and, consequently, change the manner the Union exercises its existing powers. Notable changes include the transition from unanimity to double majority voting in several policy areas of the Council of Ministers, a more powerful European Parliament, its role in forming a bicameral legislature alongside the Council of Ministers constituting the ordinary procedure, a consolidated legal personality for the EU and the creation of a long-standing President of the European Council and a High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy fundamental rights, legally binding (<http://actineurope.forumattivo.com/t18-the-treaty-of-lisbon>)

In 2013, Croatia joined the European Union and was the 28<sup>th</sup> country of this Union. Three years after, i.e 2016, United Kingdom organized the membership referendum in order to let its citizens vote either they can remain in European Union or leave. Finally, they voted in favour of leaving under a simple majority of 51.9%. (<https://www.theguardian.com/international>).

Throughout this long way of integration, EU has set up supranational institutions and intergovernmental ones.

- ❖ Supranational institutions are bodies that have been appointed by governments or elected directly by peoples in their respective countries, but those who are chosen or elected work for the European Union not for member states. They include the following:

1. European Commission: Based in Brussels, the European Commission is the executive branch of the EU. Its main duty is to initiate legislation, to ensure that EU law is enforced in the Member States and other institutions, to determine

objectives, priorities, monitoring and evaluation of all activities of the EU commission. It also plays the role of representative of EU before other international organizations.

2. European Court of Justice: It hears cases involving disputes between member states and the Commission and also cases referred to it by domestic courts for clarification of European law which may be relevant to cases those courts are trying. **(TIM BALE, 2017)**
3. The European Parliament is an important forum for political debate and decision-making at EU level. Members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the electors of all Member States to represent the interests of the population in terms of EU law-making and making sure that other EU institutions are working democratically. It is made of 751 members. **(<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en>)**
4. European Central Bank, based in Germany's financial capital, is possibly the EU's most supranational institution. **(TIM BALE, 2017)** Its main roles are to manage the Euro, keep the stability of prices and conduct EU economic and monetary policy.

❖ The European Union's intergovernmental institutions

1. The Council of Ministers, apart from ministers are EU member governments, discusses, amends and adopts laws and coordinate policies of the whole Union. According to the old dictum "the Commission proposes and the Council disposes". (<https://www.revolvy.com/main/index>).

2. European Council has emerged as the center of political gravity in the field of economic governance. (**Uwe Puetter, 2001**). The European Council is made of all the heads of State or government of the Union's member States and the president of European Commission.

The European Union member states gather together with the main objective of removing trade barriers within the community. Accordingly, the economic interdependence increased.

The following table displays the ratio exports/imports for each member states of EU. It is obvious that there is economic interdependence. Some of them export more than their imports, that is, their trade balances are positive while others have the negative one.

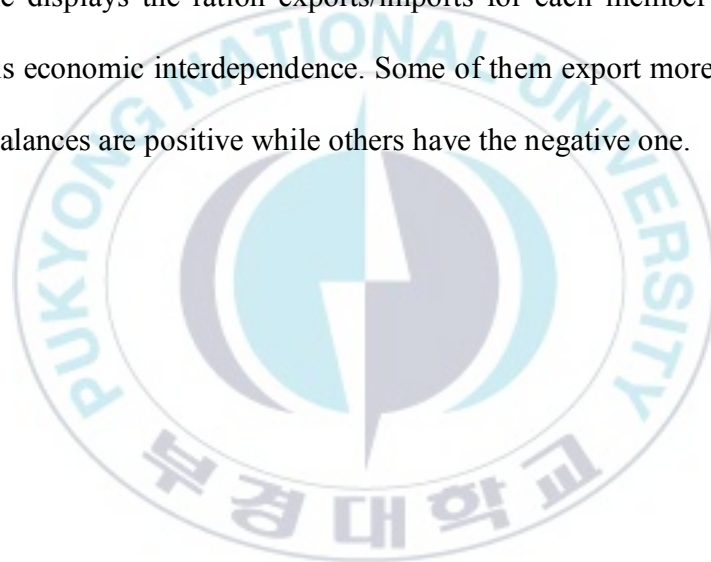
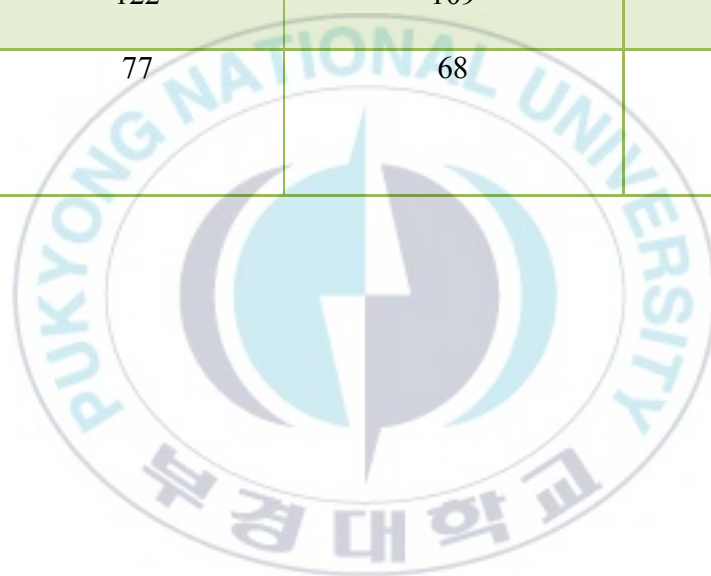


Table 1 Ratio of exports/imports intra EU member states, 2002-2016

	2002	2009	2016
<b>Belgium</b>	109	105	107
<b>Bulgaria</b>	72	69	92
<b>Czech Republic</b>	94	108	114
<b>Denmark</b>	114	113	111
<b>Germany</b>	126	121	126
<b>Estonia</b>	72	89	88
<b>Ireland</b>	168	185	161
<b>Greece</b>	31	34	58
<b>Spain</b>	76	78	93
<b>France</b>	101	86	88
<b>Croatia</b>	46	49	63
<b>Italy</b>	103	98	114
<b>Cyprus</b>	12	16	38
<b>Latvia</b>	56	79	85
<b>Lithuania</b>	70	90	92
<b>Luxembourg</b>	81	84	73
<b>Hungary</b>	91	107	109
<b>Malta</b>	77	64	49
<b>Netherlands</b>	111	112	113

<b>Austria</b>	100	96	96
<b>Poland</b>	74	91	103
<b>Portugal</b>	65	62	82
<b>Romania</b>	78	75	85
<b>Slovenia</b>	95	98	108
<b>Slovakia</b>	87	101	103
<b>Finland</b>	132	103	95
<b>Sweden</b>	122	109	99
<b>United Kingdom</b>	77	68	64

Source: Eurostat



## **CHAP IV. EXISTING ANTI-COMMUNITY MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM**

### **IV.1. Before accession into European Economic Community**

The process of European integration faced different oppositions related to national interests of member states. The first of all dissonance was the proposal of Robert Schuman, leader of the Mouvement Republicain Populaire, to ratify the Treaty establishing the European Defence Community (EDC).

EDC supporters also saw it as an effective way for European countries to stand out from their rather humiliating position as protected and dependent allies, the only object of competition between East and West. (<https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content>)

However, Charles de Gaulle, the leader of the Mouvement Republicain Populaire, was against this position considering that as the loss of national sovereignty and feared that the project could push aside the United Kingdom, allied country of France, since it was not yet the member of European Coal and Steel Community. On 30 August 1954 the France parliament rejected that project.

In 1961, General Charles de Gaulle, the founder of the fifth French Republic, launched the project of forming an intergovernmental organization whose mission could be to coordinate the foreign and defence policy of the six founding member states of European Economic Community. This task was committed to Christian Fouchet, French ambassador to Denmark; the reason why this plan was called Fouchet Plan.

Fearing French domination over the foreign policy of the Six, the French partners opposed the draft treaty as presented. They also rejected any strengthening of the intergovernmental

character of the institutions, which they considered it as a threat to the independence and supranational character of the Community bodies. (<https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/a70e642a-8531-494e-94b2-e459383192c9>)

After, Fouchet submitted a new version that was the second Fouchet plan. The latter did not include the defence policy but becoming subordinate to the intergovernmental cooperation body. It had been rejected by other five member states.

Its most immediate consequences were three-fold: a further hardening of de Gaulle's attitude towards European integration; a new French commitment to press ahead with a strengthening of relations with West Germany bilaterally (to the exclusion of the Benelux states and Britain); and most dramatically the largely unexpected decision of the French President in January 1963 to veto UK membership of the Community. In short, the Fouchet reverse induced in de Gaulle an appetite for vindication and revenge. **(Teasdale, 2016)**

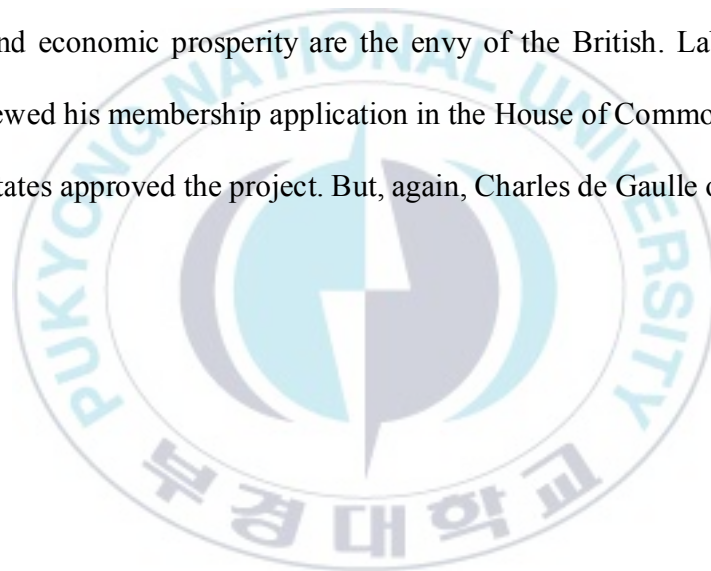
Charles de Gaulle had a tense relationship with the United Kingdom. This was mainly due to the fact that he did not like the UK's close relationship with the United States of America.

From 1965 to 1966, there was the issue of permanently financing the Common Agricultural Policy due to the crisis called "empty chair". De Gaulle was in favour of financing it; however, he made it clear to the powers that he was very much against the increase in power of the European Commission and Parliament.

Under the Treaty of Rome, 1957, agricultural and budget issues were to be determined by majority decision-making after a transition period during which they would be decided by unanimously. At the end of the transition period De Gaulle refused to accept the abolition of unanimity voting, and so began a French boycott. ( <http://en.euabc.com/word/640>)

The most important outcome out of all this, however, was the reaching of a consensus on an extra-legal document this being the "Luxembourg Compromise" in which the powers recognised the disagreements between them. This compromise stated that if there was a majority vote which threatened the "vital interests" of a particular country, then there should be prolonged discussions among the powers on the matter. In fact the "Luxembourg Compromise" acknowledged de Gaulle's will: "...discussion must be continued until unanimous agreement is reached". (**Bulletin of the European Communities, March 1966**)

In 1967, the EEC was still composed of six states. This was the time of the glorious Thirties: full employment and economic prosperity are the envy of the British. Labor Prime Minister Harold Wilson renewed his membership application in the House of Commons in 1967. As four years earlier, five states approved the project. But, again, Charles de Gaulle opposed it.



## **IV.2. After accession into European Economic Community**

Charles de Gaulle resigned in 1969 and he was replaced by Georges Pompidou. From June 1970, discussions were opened. In 1973, Europe grew to nine members: Denmark and Ireland joined the EEC and the United Kingdom, as well, at the same time. A British referendum still took place in 1975: 67% of the British vote for membership. But the integration of the United Kingdom, after more than a decade of waiting to join EEC, did not happen as expected. The governing rules the EEC had been established before its accession; consequently they were not necessarily favorable to them.

For example, the means by which Britain fed its people, that is, the importation of cheaper food from America or the former Dominions, while still giving considerable subsidies to the farmers, this means was obviously incompatible with the system which the Six had naturally established for themselves. Whereas the system of the Six founding countries consists in taking altogether the agricultural products of the whole Community, to rigorously fix their prices, to forbid that the State individually subsidize them, to organize their consumption between all the participants and to impose on each of them these participants to pay to the Community any economy that it would make by bringing food from outside rather than eating those provided by the Common Market.

The UK had a small agricultural sector with a large proportion of farm produce imported from outside the Community. As a result, very little of the Community's agricultural spending benefited the UK. On the other hand, the UK contributed a relatively large amount to the financing of the Community budget mainly because its VAT base represented a higher percentage of GNP compared to other Member States. This structural imbalance in the UK's financial links with the Community became a major political headache for the Community as

early as 1974. It was the issue underlying the 1975 referendum on the question of the UK's continued membership of the Community. (<http://ec.europa.eu>)

On 4 March 1974 Harold Wilson became the Prime Minister of a minority Labour Government and he was returned to power with a majority of three in the election on 10 October 1974.

Both Labour's 1974 election manifestos promised a renegotiation of UK terms of entry, which would be subjected to a national referendum to determine whether the UK should remain in the EEC on the new terms. (UK parliament)

The referendum was held on 5 June 1975. The turnout was 64.03% (registered electorate 40,456,877) and the results were as follows:

- Yes: 17,378,581 (67.2%)
- No: 8,470,073 (32.8%)

The EU was plagued by budgetary crises in the early 1980s, when the common agricultural policy (CAP) was absorbing as much as 70 per cent of the budget. At the time, the GNI factor was not included and the VAT proportion was capped at a maximum of one per cent.

Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher argued from 1979 that the UK contributed too much to the EU Budget, on account of the small size of the UK farming industry. At the Fontainebleau summit in 1984, she famously 'hand bagged' EU leaders into agreeing a rebate arrangement. (<http://www.politics.co.uk>)

Member of the European Economic Community (EEC) since 1973, the United Kingdom very quickly realized that its contribution to the European budget was too high. The center of the problem was the participation in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) budget, which then represents 70% of the total EEC budget, while the UK, with its modest agriculture, received little benefit from it.

The European Summit in Fontainebleau in 1984 agreed upon a special refund (rebate) for Britain from the then Community budget. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said she wanted "her money" back, and she got it.

The British rebate is fixed every year as a reduction in her VAT contribution for the following year. Britain is one of the big net payers to the EU budget paying each year more than they receive. (<http://news.bbc.co.uk>)

The eloquent event anti-European community is Brexit. It means 'Britain exiting' the European Union. Britons created Brexit by combining the beginning of the word Britain and adding the word Exit. The word started becoming popular during the 2015 General Election campaign. In his campaign, Conservative Party leader David Cameron promised an EU referendum. In other words, Britons could choose whether to leave or stay in the EU. EU stands for the European Union. (<http://marketbusinessnews.com/financial-glossary/brexit-definition-meaning/>)

Etymologically speaking, the word "brexit" takes its origin from the attempt of Greece to leave the European Union after having faced the serious financial crisis without any way out because, as a Eurozone member, it might not make any its own monetary policy. They used the word "Grexit".

The United Kingdom held, on 23 June 2016, a referendum on whether to remain in the European Union or to leave it. As result, the proponents of brexit won by 51.9% to 48.1%. David Cameron, the prime minister, who has campaigned hard in the divisive referendum on Britain's relationship with the EU resigned after that referendum results were to withdraw UK from European Union.

The following table shows the geographical sharing of votes

Table 2 Geographical sharing of brexit votes

Location	Leave	Remain
South East	51.8%	48.2%
London	40.1%	59.9%
North West	53.7%	46.7%
East	56.5%	43.5%
South west	52.6%	47.4%
West midlands	59.3%	41.7%
Yorkshire and Humber	57.7%	42.3%
Scotland	38.0%	62%
East Midlands	58.8%	41.2%
Wales	52.5%	47.5%
North East	58.0%	42%
Northern Ireland	44.2%	55.8%

Source: euro barometer

Geographically, Scotland and London have voted obviously for remain. However, South West, Yorkshire, East Midlands and North East have voted largely for leave.

The UK had joined the European integration in 1973, then 43 years later, many regional

agreements have been implemented across the EU and economically for instance, according to **(Stashlearn, 2017)** The UK is the third largest economy in the 28member EU after Germany and France. Hence, predictably, this choice of leaving the EU will bring about significant and different changes both in UK itself, in EU and in partner countries.

According to the theory of neofunctionalism, the more member states are economically interdependent, the more effective is the process of regional integration. The removal of trade barriers and increasing of the freedom movement, once they are regulated, they enhance the interdependence among member states. The effectiveness of the latter depends on both how is beneficial to member states and how is perceived by the population of the member state.

The United Kingdom is not in Eurozone, that is, apart from to be regulated by both supranational and intergovernmental institutions, the large integration stage that it agreed in 1992 is the single market. Then, the free movement of goods, labor, services and capital had been the great achievement of the United Kingdom.

The decision to leave the European Union has been taken by the Britain citizens through the referendum. As the main objective of regional integration is to facilitate and increase the trade among two or more neighboring countries, this disintegration consists, then, to wonder whether its main cause was that it does not take advantage of the economic interdependence or the discomfort of the Britain citizens.

The most important sectors of the UK economy in 2016 were wholesale and retail trade, transport, accommodation and food services (18.6%), public administration, defense, education, human health and social work (18.2%) and industry (13.0%).

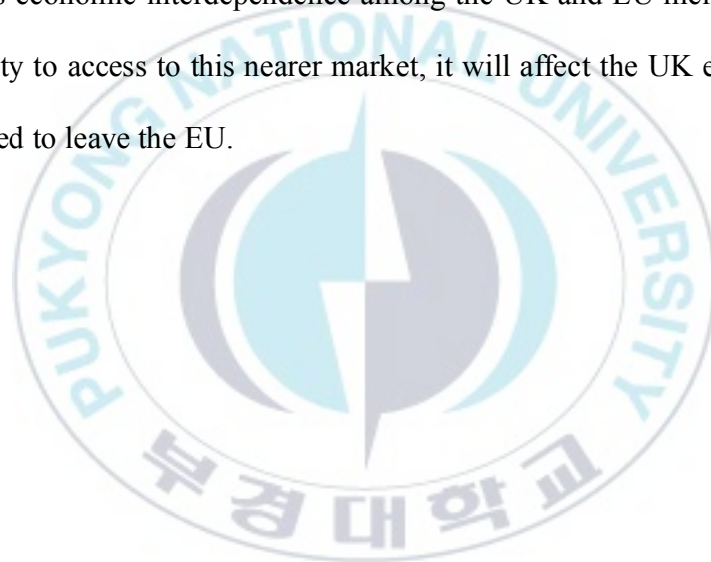
Intra-EU trade accounts for 47% of the United Kingdom's exports (Germany 11%, France and the Netherlands and Ireland all 6%), while outside the EU 15% go to the United States and 5%

to Switzerland.

In terms of imports, 51% come from EU Member States (Germany 14%, the Netherlands 7% and France 5%), while outside the EU 9% come from both the United States and China. ([https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries/member-countries/unitedkingdom\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries/member-countries/unitedkingdom_en))

As we saw above, all along the period from 2002 up to 2016 the ratio exports/imports of the UK was less of 100 what means that it imports from EU much more it exports.

Concretely, there is economic interdependence among the UK and EU member states. Once it lacks the opportunity to access to this nearer market, it will affect the UK economy. However, Britain citizens voted to leave the EU.



## **CHAP V. DISTINTEGRATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION: BREXIT**

### **V.1. Description of the United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom (UK) is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary democracy with a head of government (the prime minister), and a head of state (the monarch). The UK consists of 4 countries: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The three latter have devolved administrations with varying powers. The UK also has varying degrees of links with three dependencies, the Isle of Man, Guernsey and Jersey. These are not part of the UK, but the British government is responsible for their defense and international representation. The country has also 14 overseas territories which are not formally part of the UK or (except Gibraltar) the EU (<https://europa.eu/european-union>)

The United Kingdom is a parliamentary democracy based on universal adult suffrage. Ministers govern in the name of the sovereign, who is the head of state and government, commander-in-chief of all the armed forces of the Crown and the supreme governor of the established Church of England. The constitution is unwritten, and relies on a combination of statutes, common law and convention.

(<http://www.commonwealthofnations.org>)

In external geopolitics, the country displays a coherent image and vision, driven by its global vocation. United Kingdom has inherited of its past power of an exceptional diplomatic network, of a universal language (English) and participation in all international organizations. From his empire, there are, so far, also political and economic link with the commonwealth member States and the United Kingdom exercises hegemony to the latter.

In 1961 Britain applied for membership of the EEC. This was vetoed by French President Charles de Gaulle, who was concerned that British membership would weaken the French voice within Europe. He also feared that close Anglo-American relations would lead to the United States increasing its influence in Europe. Charles de Gaulle also vetoed a second application from Britain in 1969. However, Denmark, Ireland and Britain joined the EEC in 1973, after Charles de Gaulle's resignation in 1969. (<https://www.parliament.uk>)

On 23 June 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union and as result, the proponents of brexit won by 51.9% to 48.1%. According to the Treaty on European Union, article 50, the withdrawal of a member state will be effective by the end of two years from the date the European Council has been notified. It has been scheduled to leave the EU on 29 March 2019 but they are still dealing with the EU their relations after Brexit.

#### **V.1.1. The United Kingdom's population and demographics**

The United Kingdom's 2018 population is 66.57 million according to the most recent UN estimates. The last full UK census was carried out in 2011, showing a population of 63,181,775, up from 2001's census figure of 58,789,194. The UK is the world's 21st largest country by population. The United Kingdom is currently growing at a rate of .61% per year. (<http://worldpopulationreview.com>)

The ethnic groups in the United Kingdom include white, black British or Afro-Caribbean, and Indian:

- White Europeans, or the White British people, are a racial classification for the people belonging to various ethnic European ancestries. In 2011, the White British population

accounted for 87.1% of the entire United Kingdom's population. The white European population included the population in the Northern Ireland. The majority of the white European (64%) in the United Kingdom is between the age of 16 and 64. White European (65%) are predominantly Christians, mostly Anglican while 25% have no religion. The unemployment rate among the White European is lower than the other ethnic group. The White European also dominates other ethnic groups in the political, social and economic sectors in the Great Britain. **(John Misachi, 2018)**

- Black British and the Afro-Caribbean are groups of people of the Caribbean and former British colonies who have their origins to Africa. The Africans who moved into Europe intermarried with the native Europeans leading to the formation of the Afro-Caribbean. They are 3% of the total population. **( Census 2011 - Office for National Statistics)**
- The British Indian community is one million, representing 2.3% of the national population. The Indian people in the United Kingdom are of Indian origin or have their forefathers coming from India. **(Census 2011 - Office for National Statistics)**

Table 3 The ethnic groups in the United Kingdom

Ethnic group	2001		2011		2001-2011
	Number	%	Number	%	
<b>White: Total</b>	54,153,898	92.12	55,073,552	87.17	1.7
<b>White: Irish Traveller</b>			63,193	0.10	
<b>Asian or Asian British: Total</b>	2,578,826	4.39	4,373,339	6.92	69.58
<b>Asian or Asian British: Indian</b>	1,053,411	1.79	1,451,862	2.30	37.82
<b>Asian or Asian British: Pakistani</b>	747,285	1.27	1,174,983	1.86	57.09
<b>Asian or Asian British: Bangladesh</b>	283,063	0.48	451,529	0.71	59.51
<b>Asian or Asian British: Chinese</b>	247,403	0.42	433,150	0.69	75.08
<b>Asian or Asian British: Asian Other</b>	247,664	0.42	861,815	1.36	247.98
<b>Black or Black British:</b>	1,148,738	1.95	1,904,684	3.01	65.80
<b>British Mixed</b>	677,117	1.15	1,250,229	1.98	84.64
<b>Other: Total</b>	230,615	0.39	580,374	0.92	
<b>Total</b>	<b>58,789,194</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>63,182,178</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>7.47</b>

Source: Office for National Statistics, Census 2011

National Population Projections and structure published by the UK Office for National Statistics for 2016 suggest that the UK population will continue to age, with the number of people aged 85 and over doubling from 1.6 million mid-2016 to 3.2 million in the middle of 2041.

#### **V.1.2. Capacity to enter into relations with other States**

Britain was the world's leading power in the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially during the so-called "Pax Britannica", a period of supreme supremacy totally unparalleled and unprecedented international peace from the mid-to-late nineteenth century. The country remained largely considered as "superpower" until the Suez crisis in 1956, and this embarrassing incident, coupled with the loss of the empire, left the UK's dominant role in world affairs gradually diminishing (<https://ipfs.io/ipfs>).

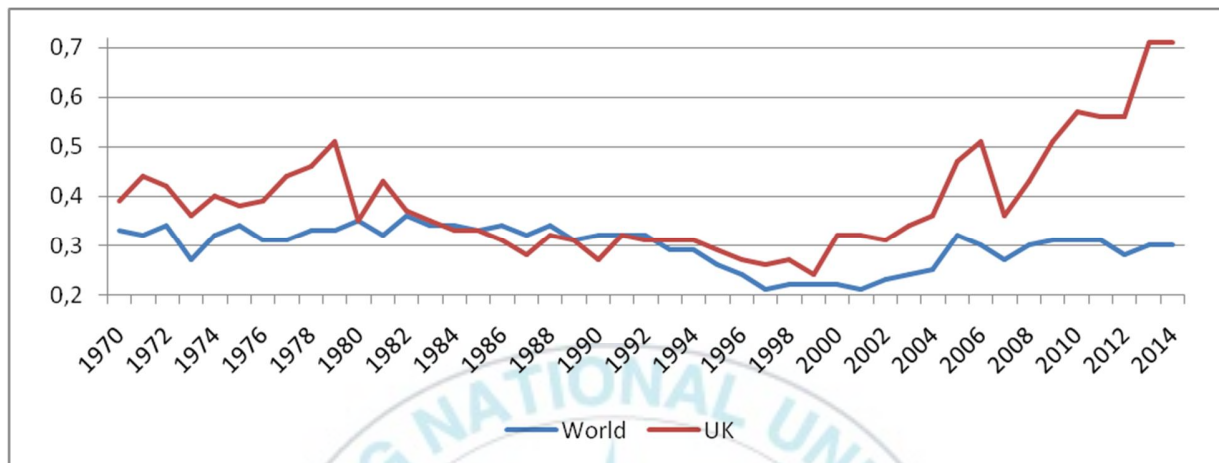
The United Kingdom is a founding member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, a member of NATO, the Commonwealth of Nations, the G7, the G20, the OECD, the WTO, the United Nations of Europe, the Organization for Security, Co-operation in Europe and a Member State of the European Union as well.

Britain's hegemony across the world is further raised by its trading relations, foreign investments, official development assistance and military engagements.

For example, The UK is one of the few countries to have actually achieved the target of ratio ODA: 0.7% of GNI. It did so for the first time in 2013. The DAC (Development Assistance Committee) average ratio is roughly 0.3. The other countries to have ever reached the 0.7 target are Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg, Sweden and the Netherlands. For the period 2008 to 2014, the ODA: GNI ratio for the UK progressively increased while the aforementioned countries

maintained their aid budgets above 0.7% of their GNI, amidst fluctuations, with the exception of the Netherlands which slipped below the mark in 2013 and 2014.

Figure 2 Fluctuations of ODA in the UK



Source: OECD

## V.2. Referendum of Britain's withdrawal from European Union: Brexit

### V.2.1. Introduction

Regional integration typically describes the process by which states enter into a regional agreement to achieve specific treaty-related objectives by strengthening regional cooperation. In history there has not been another equal strong case of regional integration as the European Union (EU) (**Council on Foreign Relations: September 2010**).

On September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1946 in Zurich, an address given by Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom advocated the tragedy of the Second World War that happened in the Europe and proposed the idea of creating the United States. Two years later, the congress of Europe was held in Hague and different delegates from Europe as well as USA and Canada and

they had as their agenda to discuss about the development of political cooperation of Europe. In 1949, the council of Europe had been created with mainly two objectives, namely, to promote the principles of human rights and the common democratic and legal region. The economic development of the continent was in the center of their agenda since that there were many efforts to restore European economy under Marshall Plan such as removing trade restrictions. Then, to remove trade barriers supposes the processes of regional integration which is materializing by different treaties.

According to **(Bela Balassa, 1961)**, five steps process of economic integration are to be regarded: Free Trade Area, Customs Union, Common Market, Economic Union and Economic and Monetary Union and Political Union.

The current advanced stage of EU institutional development is the culmination of more than six decades of integrative efforts involving growing numbers of countries, increasing from six to twenty-eight over the last six decades before the United Kingdom withdrew from this union (Brexit), since integrative attempts began in 1952 with the inauguration of the European Coal and Steel and Community. Over the last sixty years, EU has pursued multiple economic, cultural, security, and political goals, leading now to an advanced state of regional integration.

### **V.2.1. From integration to disintegration of the United Kingdom from the European Union**

The United Kingdom had joined the European Union 1973. Four decades later after having joined European integration process, United Kingdom has built a solid framework whereby it carried on the cooperation through common institution and rules. Apart from the economic objectives, the UK made agreements, treaties and regulations related to different fields with other European Union Member States.

The last but not least stage of regional integration that the United Kingdom has just reached is the common market which gives rise to the free movements of the factors of production: free movement of goods, capital, labor and services.

As we saw above, the United Kingdom is a parliamentary democracy based on universal adult suffrage with twelve political parties: Conservative Party, Co-operative Party, Democratic, Unionist Party, Green Party, Labour Party, Liberal Democrats, Plaid Cymru, Scottish National Party, Sinn Féin, Social Democratic and Labour Party, UK Independence Party, Ulster Unionist Party.

However there are two main political parties, that are conservative Party and Labour Party because their visibility in parliament is much sensitive with respectively 315 and 257 out of 650.

**Table 4 Political parties and their seats in the UK parliament**

Party	Seats
Conservative	315
Labor	257
Scottish National Party	35
Liberal Democrat	12
Democratic Unionist Party	10
Independent	8
Sinn Féin	7
Plaid Cymru	4
Green Party	1
Speaker	1
<b>Total number of seats</b>	<b>650</b>

Source: [www.parliament.uk](http://www.parliament.uk)

### **V.2.2. Referendum towards Britain Exit and the profiles of voters**

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a “Eurosceptic” as “a person who is opposed to increasing the powers of the European Union”. Central to the current comparative literature on the topic is the definition of Euroscepticism proposed by Paul Taggart. (Taggart, 1998)

The United Kingdom has never entered in Euro zone; then its last regional integration is the single market. The latter supposes the freedom of movement. According to ( **Harold D. Clarke, 2016**) “These items tap perceptions of being either better off or worse off from leaving the EU

with regard to a large number of issues, including personal finances, immigration, terrorism, foreign affairs, sovereignty and the economy”

A case in point is the survey conducted by Euro barometer in 2006 to measure the attachment of EU citizens to the latter; it was found that while the European average was a reasonably substantial 59%, only 33% of British citizens declared themselves to be proud to be European, the lowest response of all 25 member states at that time. (Eurobarometer, 2006)

In 2009, European elections were held and the UK Independence Party (UKIP), which calls for a referendum on EU membership, came second with 16% of the vote. The Populist Party then improved its score by nearly 10 points in the 2014 elections.

Meanwhile, David Cameron, strongman of the conservative party, must choose his side: at first , he recognizes that he cannot hold a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty, signed by all the other European countries, but he plans limiting the transfer of power. (**Le monde**)

But as new elections approached, David Cameron changed his speech and said that if the Conservatives won the Parliament he would renegotiate relations between the United Kingdom and the Union. He also gave a date for a referendum on keeping in the EU: 2017.

On 23 June 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union and as result, the proponents of brexit won by 51.9% to 48.1%. According to the Treaty on European Union, article 50, the withdrawal of a member state will be effective by the end of two years from the date the European Council has been notified. The UK has scheduled to leave the EU on 29 March 2019 however they are still dealing with the EU their relations after Brexit.

Our study aims at understanding the causal logic of the disintegration of the United Kingdom

from the European Union by responding to the two following questions:

- Which are the groups that voted for the disintegration of the United Kingdom from the European Union;
- Why did European identity fail in the United Kingdom?

To find out the identities of brexit voters is the key approach to respond to the previous questions. The theory of Constructivism is useful since that it consists in theorizing the distribution of identities rather than power in international politics but these identities are the ones of states constructed through the interaction among states. The social construction of state identities in interaction with their own societies is ignored. **(Ted Hopf, 2013).**

According to social constructivists, material interests, such as military and economic power, are not sufficient to explain the behavior of its citizens vis-à-vis the international cooperation. Ideas also play a very important role in shaping interests so that foreign decision-makers take them into account.

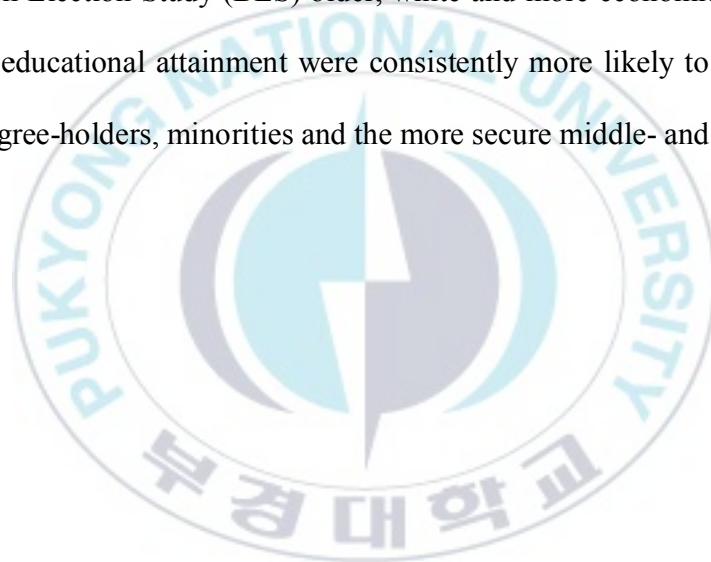
Specifically, constructivist interpretation would emphasize that while some members clearly benefits from the union, representatives from other states have begun to protest that their countries' individual identities are being compromised, and have expressed concern for the future development of their countries. This was certainly the case for the United Kingdom.(guardian,2016)

During the referendum debate on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union (EU), one of the major arguments of the Leave campaign is that Brexit would allow greater control of the flow of immigrants to the United Kingdom from the rest of the EU. Many people are concerned that high levels of immigration may have hurt their jobs, wages and quality of

life. (The Centre for Economic Performance (CEP), 2016)

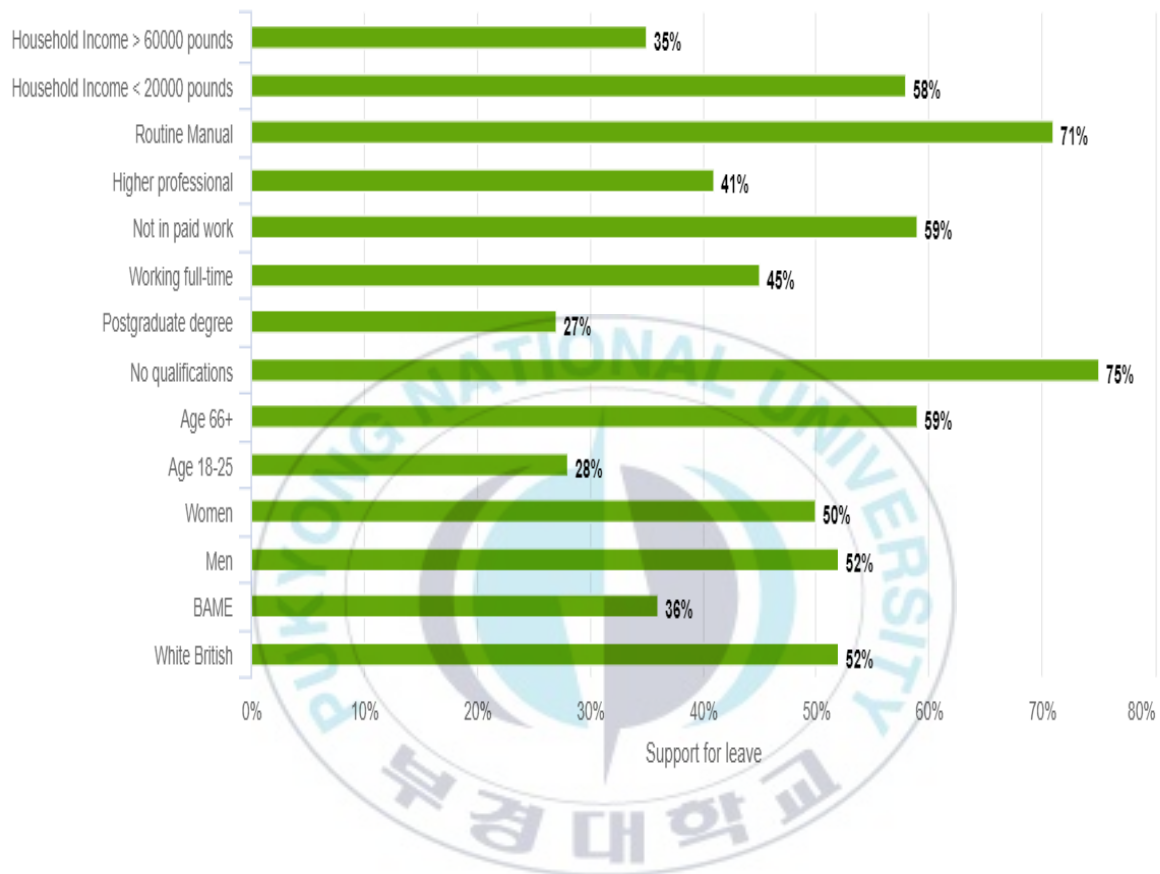
The socio-demographic profiles of the voters for brexit play a great role in leaving of UK from the European Union. According to **Joshua Harder and Jon A. Krosnick** (2008), voters are influenced by sociological factors such as income, occupation, education, gender, age, religion, ethnic background, geography, and family. Voters are also influenced by psychological factors such as political party identification, specific candidates, and key issues.

According to British Election Study (BES) older, white and more economically insecure people with low levels of educational attainment were consistently more likely to vote for Brexit than younger people, degree-holders, minorities and the more secure middle- and upper-classes.



## Support for leave among different demographic sub-groups

Figure 3 Socio-demographic status of Brexit voters



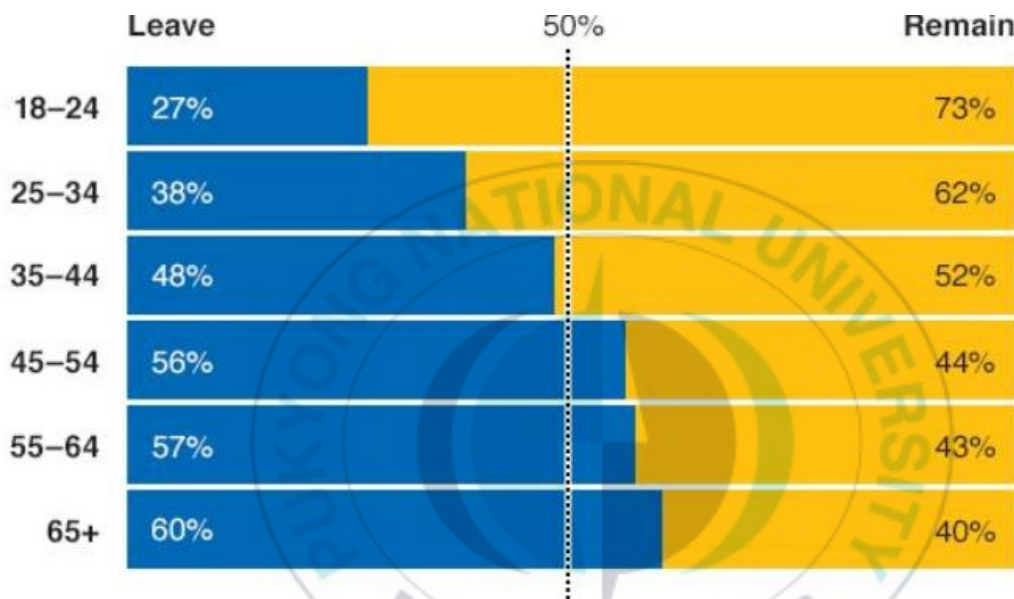
Source: British Election study EU Referendum Internet Panel Wave

**BAME: Black and minority ethnic backgrounds**

### V.2.2.1. Age structure of brexit voters

The gaps are very important according to the age categories. On the one hand, there are young voters who were largely in favor of “remain”, and the old people who voted for leaving the EU. That is how the votes are divided:

Figure 4 Age structure of Brexit voters



Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls

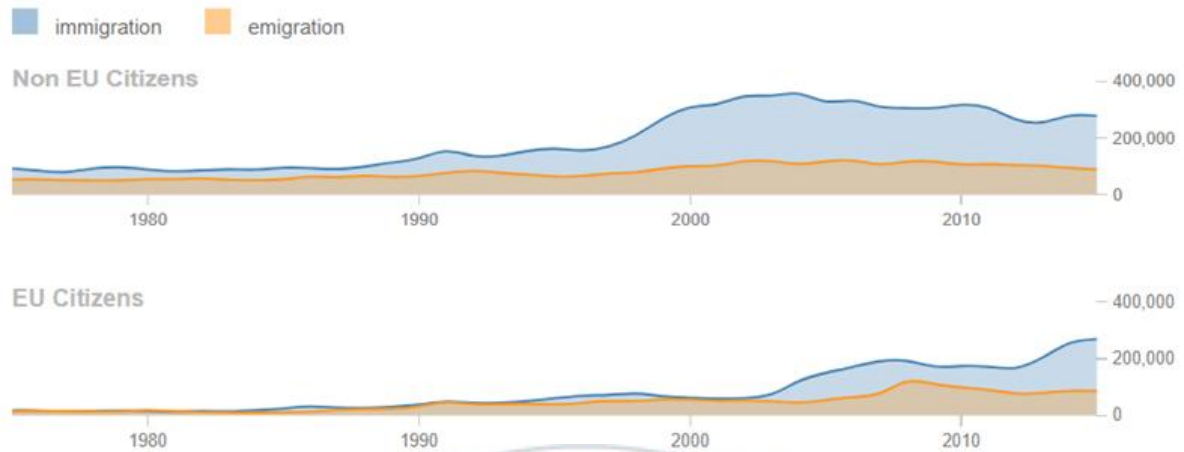
Almost three quarters (73%) of 18 to 24-year-olds voted to stay in the EU, 62% of 25 to 34s and 52% of 35 to 44s. from the age of 45, those who voted for brexit increase. it is to say that people in old age have much more voted for Brexit, peaking at 60% among those aged 65 and over.

Similarly, comparing data from the 2011 Census with the referendum results indicate a pattern, says Rob Ford, professor of political science at the University of Manchester. It's evident that "places with lots of older voters voted for Brexit while places with younger voters voted Remain", he says.

According to the survey conducted by the Independent in June 2016, national identity is a powerful force in all this and it comes into play when thinking about why older people seemed more inclined to vote to leave the EU. They see the withdrawal of the UK from EU as the right way to overcome the immigration issue and accordingly they can preserve their national identity. The majority of people who were identified as British opted for remaining, while the people who identified as English were strong supporters of Brexit. In fact no less than 44% of people over 65 consider themselves English, but only 21% of those under 26 think this way. The perception of being English increases with age, and this is one of the reasons why older people have supported Brexit. However young people see the European integration as the opportunity since that most of them are highly skilled which make them more competitive both in the UK and even across the entire EU. In the survey, 21% of under-26s voted for Brexit, compared to 69% of over-65s. ([www.independent.co.uk](http://www.independent.co.uk))

Furthermore, the immigration issue concerns mainly threats to identity and culture resulting from the entry into the country of EU citizens without any clear control. As it is well shown in the following figure, it is clear that the great number of immigrants from the European Union began to increase from the 2000s. It results of an enlargement of the European Union. In fact, one year after that the Treaty of Nice came into force, i.e 2004, ten new states joined the European Community: Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Malta and Cyprus; it is obvious that membership of the European Union became 25 countries and 3 years after, that is 2007, Bulgaria and Romania joined the Union. Most people saw Brexit as the best way of tackling the immigration.

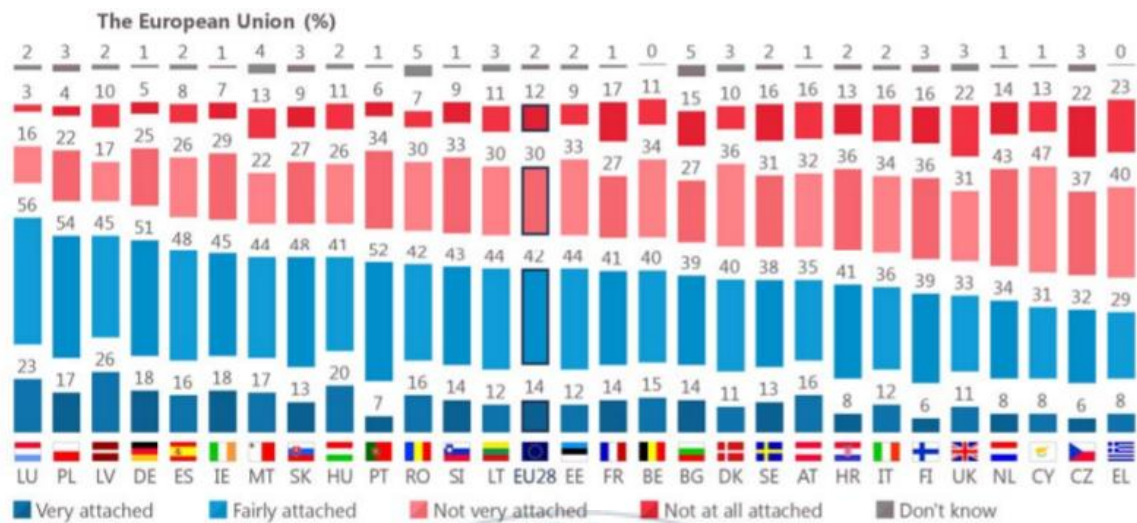
Figure 5 Fluctuations of migration to and from the UK and EU citizens, 1975 to 2015



**Source: Long-Term International Migration and International Passenger Survey, ONS**

European integration does not only concern, or even primarily, trade and the single market, but also a pooling of sovereignty that could potentially erode national self-determination and blur the boundaries between distinct national communities (Carey 2002; Hooghe and Marks 2005, 2009; McLaren 2006). Therefore, citizens of the European Union are strongly and respectively attached to their nation and their perceptions of people from other cultures influence their attitudes towards European integration. Carey (2002) showed that people with a strong national identity were less supportive of European integration. The following figure shows the respective attachment of European citizens to EU and Europe. Obviously, in the UK both not very attached and not at all attached people are in all 53%.

Figure 6 The attachment to European and Europe



Source: Euro barometer 2018

#### V.2.2.2. Socioeconomic status of brexit voters

Socioeconomic status is a complex phenomenon predicted by a broad spectrum of variables that is often conceptualized as a combination of financial, occupational, and educational influences. (Mueller CW, Parcel TL. Measures of socioeconomic status: alternatives and recommendations. Chil Dev. 1981)

In 2003, after the coming into force of the treaty of Nice whose main objective was to reform the institutions and the functioning of the European Union in order to adapt them to an enlarged Union.

During the process of drafting and ratifying the Lisbon Treaty, many hoped to see the Treaty as a sound legal basis, allowing the European Union to enter a new period of institutional stability with institutional rules of many years. This treaty made it possible, among other things, to modify the rules inherited from the original Treaty of Rome, thus adapting to 27 States a mode of

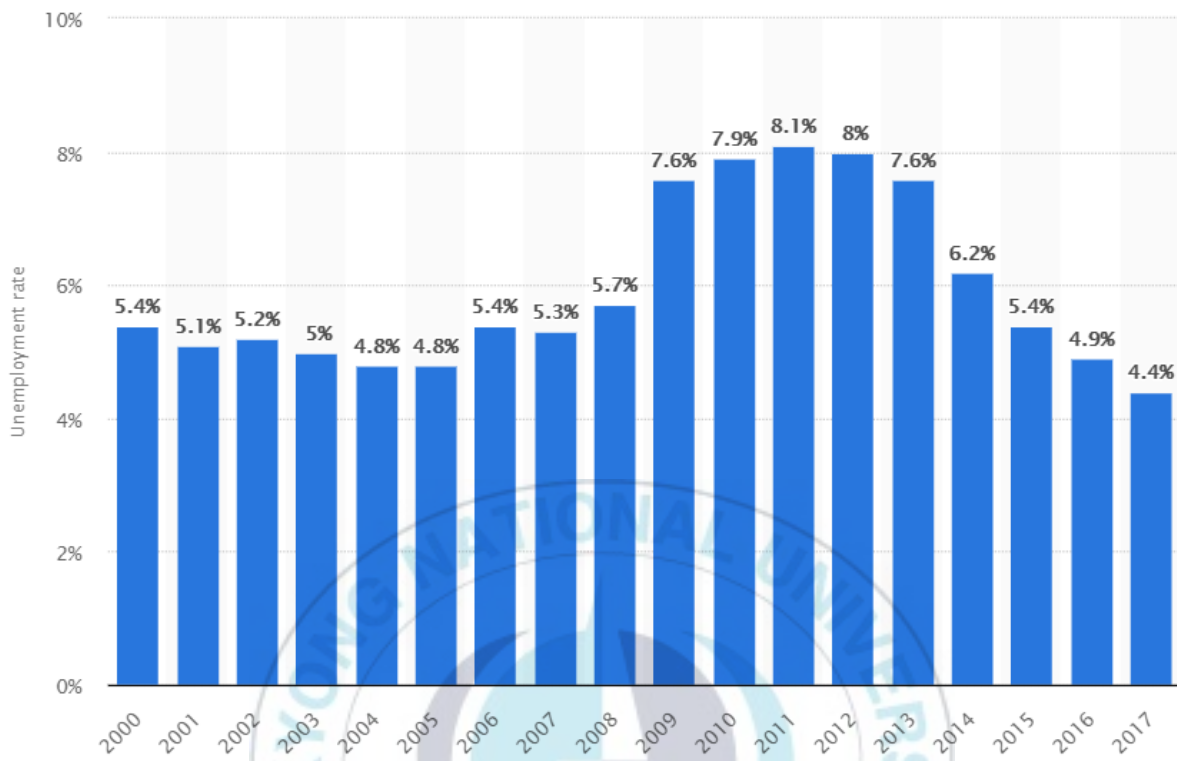
operation originally planned for six.

The conclusion of this treaty had been long and difficult, the European Union being, as always, torn between national interests on the one hand, and the will to operate as efficiently as possible. It will take about twenty years between the fall of the Soviet bloc, leading very quickly to the recognition of the need for an enlargement of the Union to the East, and the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. The Amsterdam and Nice Treaties, the Convention for Europe and the Constitutional Treaty had all been missed appointments, which had nevertheless paved the way for this progress. During this same period, 15 new Member States of the Union had been counted in three enlargements, making the search for unanimity indispensable to the reform of the Treaties ever more difficult.

There is a relationship between household income and brexit support. People living in the poorest households much voted for brexit than those belonging to the richest households. In households earning less than £ 20,000 a year, 58% of them voted for brexit, but in households earning more than £ 60,000 a year, were 35%. Unemployed people were also much more likely to support Brexit than people with full employment; the voting rates for brexit are respectively 59% and 45%. Furthermore, people with no qualification and routine manual were much more likely to want to leave the EU than those in safer occupations. They voted respectively at the peaking rates of 75% and 71%.

For instance, the financial crisis in 2009 set off a shortage on the labor market, and the unemployment rate occurred in 2011 peaked 8.1%. It was the highest rate in the last decade, and therefore, it shocked seriously British people.

Figure 7 Fluctuations of unemployment rate in the UK from 2001 to 2017



Source: <https://www.statista.com/>

The unemployment rate in August 2015 fell in twenty-three European Union Member States increased in four and remained stable in Romania. The largest decreases were registered in Slovakia (from 13.2% to 11.1%), Spain (24.2% to 22.2%), Estonia (7.6% to 5.7% between July 2014 and July 2015), Bulgaria (11.4% to 9.7%), Ireland (11.1% to 9.5%) and Poland (8.7% to 7.2%). The increases were registered in Austria (5.6% to 5.7%), Belgium (8.6% to 8.8%), France (10.4% to 10.8%) and Finland (8.8% to 9.7%). (<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat>)

Citizens with low status, poorly paid job and low qualifications find themselves in competition with similarly low-skilled workers from EU member states because of the free movement of labor. According to the law of supply and demand, the UK labor market is saturated which leads

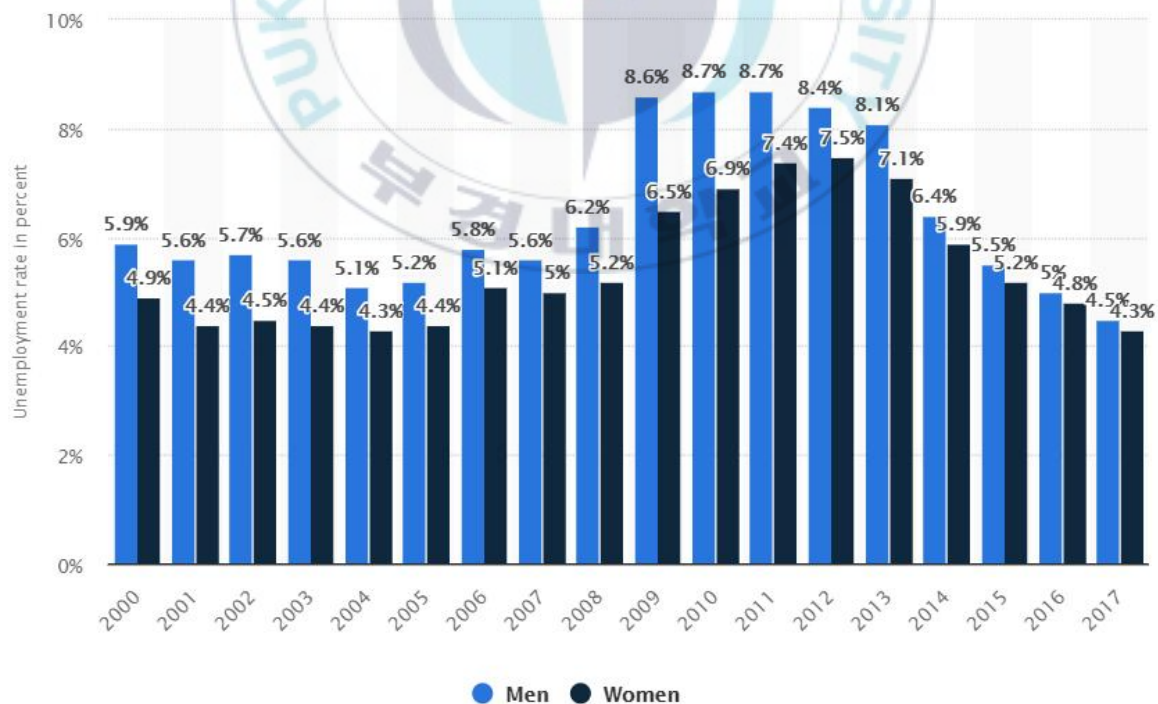
to limits job opportunities and to the decrease of the wages. Consequently, high status people are likely to support the remaining of the UK in EU integration, whereas lower status people are likely to oppose it.

### V.2.2.3. Gender of brexit voters

Men voted more for brexit than women, respectively 52% and 50%. This difference in voting according to the gender of voters can be explained by the constant higher unemployment rate for men that make them more uncomfortable.

The following graph illustrates the unemployment rate as a percentage of the total workforce, by gender, in the United Kingdom (UK) from 2000 to 2017.

Figure 8 Gender of Brexit voters



Source: <https://www.statista.com/>

#### V.2.2.4. The geographical sharing of votes

According to the Center for Development and Strategy (<https://www.thinkcds.org/2016/06/27/why-did-older-voters-choose-brex-it-its-a-matter-of-identity/>), people in relatively prosperous regions such as London supported remain, whereas people in poorer areas such as the North-East of England opted to leave. The evidence is pretty clear that reducing tariff barriers and harmonizing regulations across countries stimulates trade and creates jobs and prosperity. But if most of the gains from this go to the affluent and skilled and many of the rest are left behind, then the losers in the globalization process will challenge the whole idea.

According to Wales Governance Center, the areas where “leaving EU” had a peaking rate of voting for brexit are made of specifically working-class objection to immigration. Immigrants make the job market much more competitive, and the wages of locals have been pushed down. Thus, immigration was perceived as benefiting much more for the benefit of managers and companies than ordinary workers. Immigrants who were willing to work with low wages were also seen as contributing to the decline of some cities, including the growth of charities and low-value stores that met the needs of a low-wage economy. **(Wales Governance center, 2016)**

At that period, the unemployment rate in the United Kingdom was 5.4%, and was low comparatively to that of some European Union member states. Accordingly, the UK labor market became more attractive to workers from other member states. Citizens with low status, poorly paid job and low qualifications find themselves in competition with similarly low-skilled workers from EU member states because of the free movement of labor.

In addition, old people focus considerably on the national identity by taking for the immigration issue as the factor that jeopardizes their identity.

The more immigrants both legal and illegal populate the United Kingdom, the more the English people lose gradually their identity since that their birth-rate is so low. Originally, the English people have their culture, norms, mores, ideology, religion which can be inhibited by the growing number of immigrants. Then most old people see Brexit as a way of tackling the immigration.

Furthermore, the main campaigns on each side of the EU referendum have not spent a great deal of effort in trying to win the support of traditionally marginalized groups. This has been the case with women and to an even larger extent with so-called BAME (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic) groups. With the exception of a few individuals, white middle-aged men have dominated the majority of the campaign itself. On the whole, campaigning from both sides has been lacking in diversity despite the important role that BAME voters could play in deciding whether the UK stays in or leaves the European Union. (<http://ukandeu.ac.uk/how-do-britains-ethnic-minorities-view-the-eu-referendum/>)

## **Chap VI. CONCLUSION**

The study aims at understanding the causal logic of disintegration of the United Kingdom from European Union, and answering the following questions:

- Which are the groups of voters that voted for disintegration of the United Kingdom from European Union?
- Why did European identity fail in the United Kingdom?

Neofunctionalists argue that the economic interdependence is the key to success in terms of regional integration. As the main objective of regional integration is to facilitate and increase the trade among two or more neighboring countries, the statistics of Eurostat obviously show that there is economic interdependence between the United Kingdom and European Union. However, on June 23, 2016, 51.9% of the UK citizens voted for the UK's exit from the European Union.

In fact, the Brexit victory was as striking as it was unexpected. By using the theory of constructivism that consists in exhibiting how a state is socially constructed by finding out ideologies and identities of groups within a state and their role in foreign policy making. Regarding the Brexit electorate profile, the results show a particularly strong link between the level of education and the vote: in short, the more educated brexit voters are, the more they vote for the Remain. Education appears to be the key criterion for voting, and the main element of cleavage between the two camps, which is reflected in terms of social classes. The least favored

socio-professional categories, thus, voted in favor of Brexit.

Age is also a key factor, the data above sets the breaking point at the 45-54 age groups, from which the Brexit vote becomes the majority, and people over 65s voted overwhelmingly for Brexit. In contrast, young people largely voted for Remain.

The results of the referendum crystallized the feeling of social, economic, and cultural insecurity of a part of the electorate that no longer feels represented by its political elites, whether they are British or European.

Three main reasons implied the success of the Leave:

- Unfavorable consequences of globalization and neo-liberal policies for large sectors of the population, mainly for unskilled workers, the unemployed and retired people;
- The second reason is the poorly regulated immigration, first from Central and Eastern Europe, from the Middle East and Africa. The first great number of immigrants is a direct result of an enlargement of the European Union. In fact, one year after that the Treaty of Nice came into force, i.e 2004, ten new states joined the European Community: Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Malta and Cyprus; it is obvious that membership of the European Union became 25 countries and 3 years after, that is 2007, Bulgaria and Romania joined the Union. Clearly, the enlargement of the European Union increases the human migration.
- The third major reason for the success of Leave is to be found in the crisis of English national identity.

The results show that some socio- demographic groups (the unemployed, those on low incomes or in low-paid work, those with low qualifications and poor job prospects) find themselves in

competition with workers from EU member states because of the free movement of labor which leads to limits job opportunities and to the decrease of the wages and as for old people with more than 66 age, (white British), they focus considerably on the national identity by considering the immigration issue as the factor that jeopardizes their identity. These findings upset the theory of neoliberalism that advocates the free flow of capital and labors with open borders between neighboring countries.

Therefore, our study confirms the hypothesis, according to which, the European integration created negative impacts to Britain citizens

The referendum that led to the brexit should give rise to wondering how people could be asked to decide on very complex issues that require very in depth knowledge to think about their impact. Ignoring the threats of economic disaster wielded by international institutions, the British decided to leave the European Union, opening an era of unprecedented uncertainty. The country should soon be overtaken by the concrete consequences of its choice.

This research can be useful for both twenty-seven remaining member states of European Union and other regional integration across the world. In fact, by finding out how the member states are socially constructed, safeguarding fairly the identities, and avoiding any kind of discomfort toward their citizens due to regional integration, then they cannot lose the original motivation for their unification.

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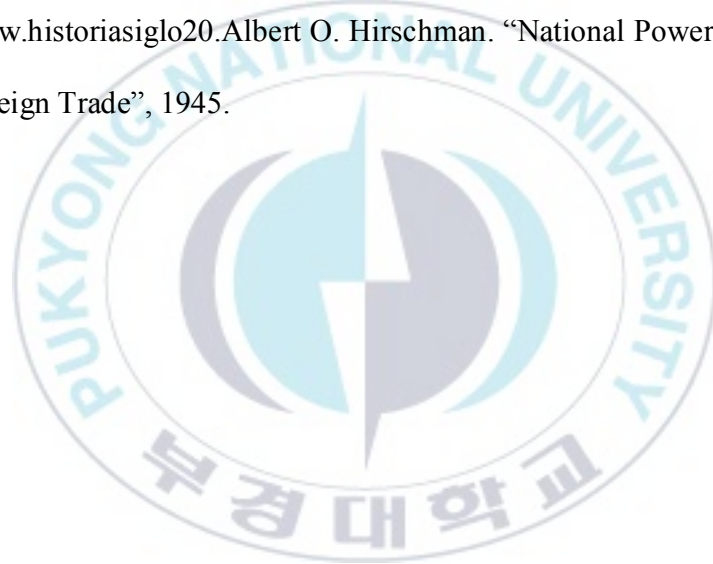
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