

# GE2019: Post-Election Analysis and Implications for Brexit

17 December 2019

@QUBPolicy

[qub.ac.uk/brexit](https://qub.ac.uk/brexit)

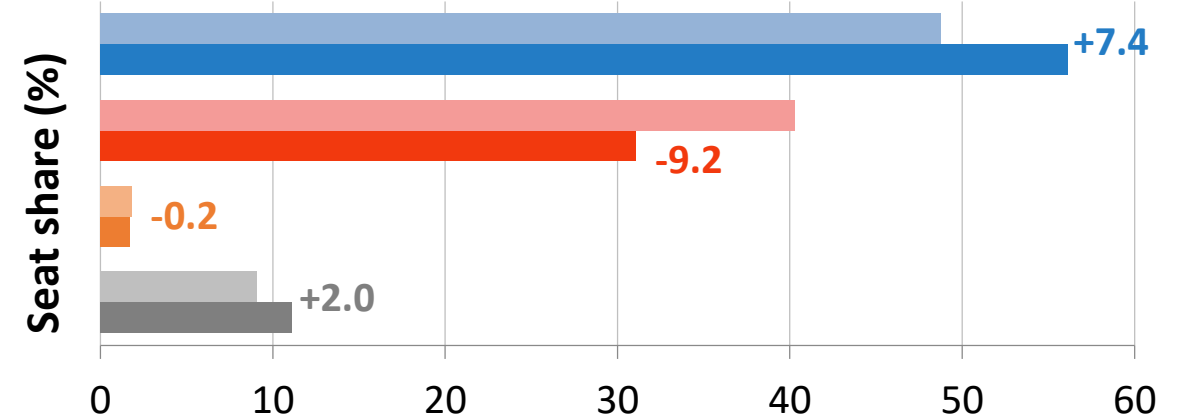
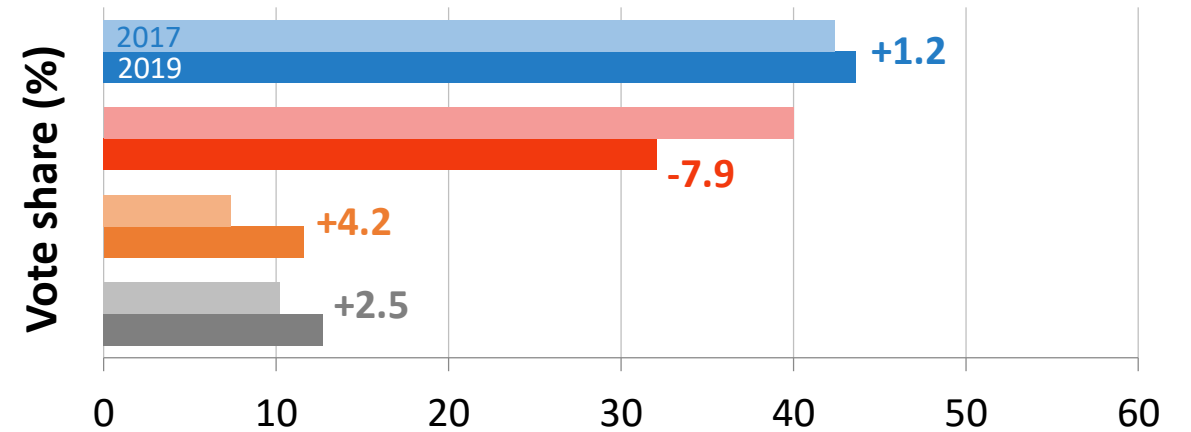
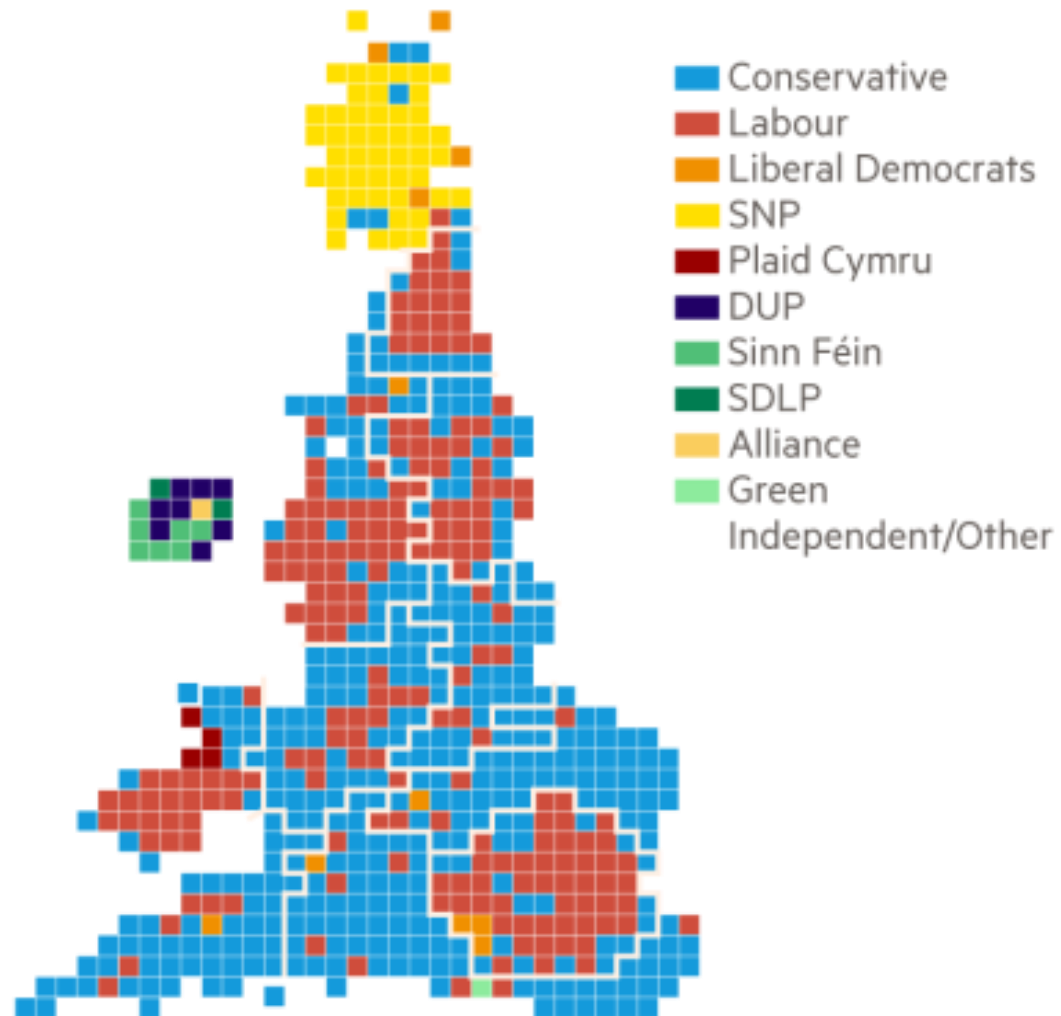


# A Brexit election?



Dr Jamie Pow (@JamiePow)

# A new political landscape

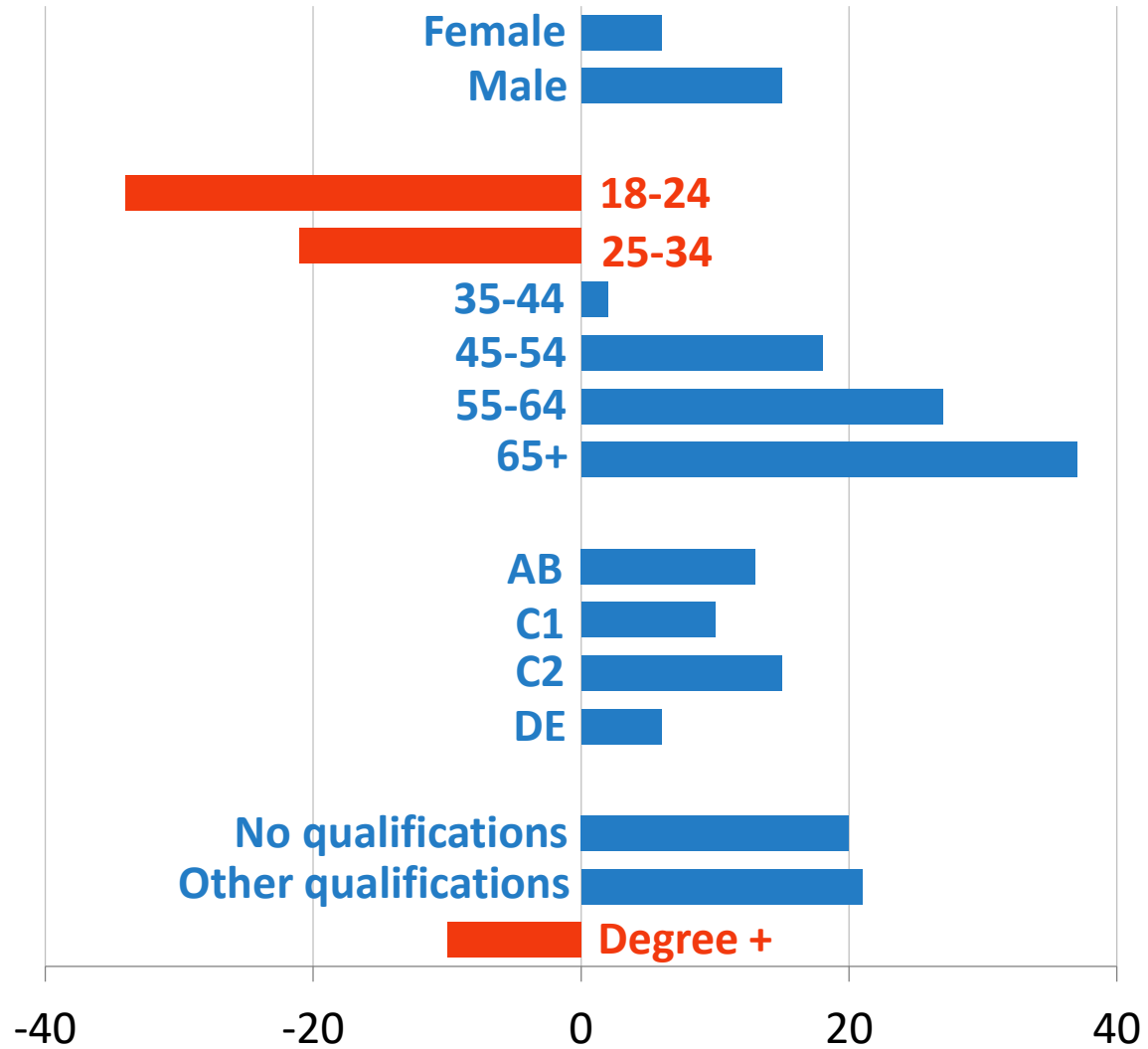


# Was it a surprise?

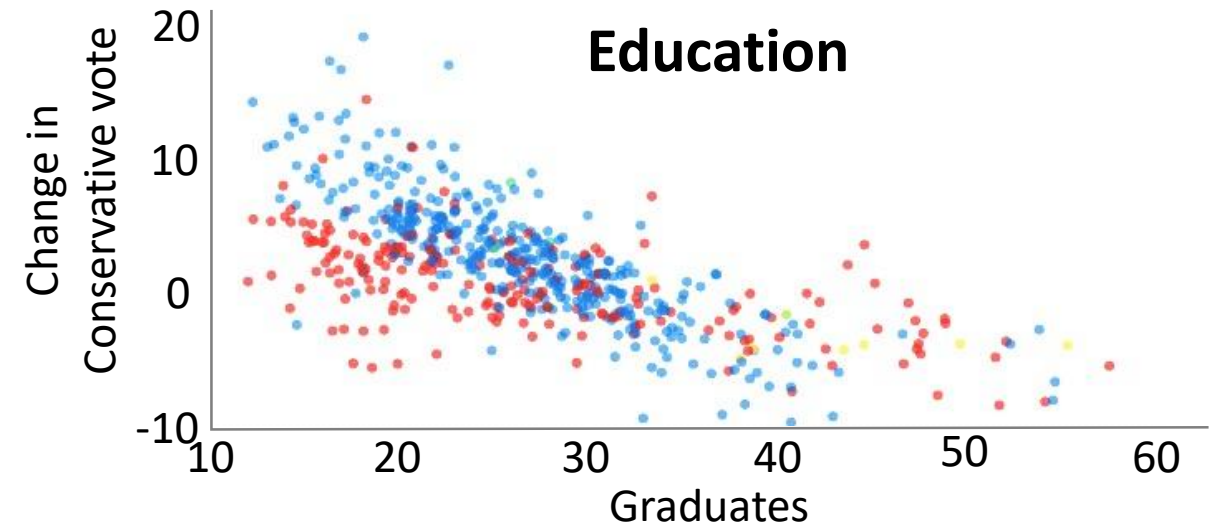
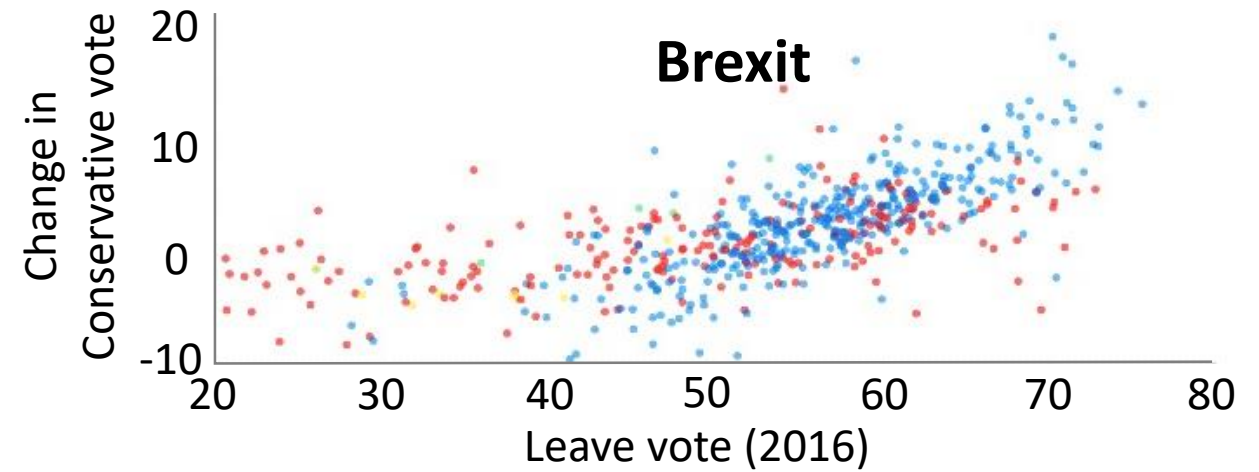
GB Company	Fieldwork	CON	LAB	LDEM	GRN	BXP
Opinium	10-11 Dec	45	33	12	2	2
Ipsos-MORI	9-11 Dec	44	33	12	3	2
YouGov	4-10 Dec	43	34	12	3	3
Deltapoll	9-11 Dec	45	35	10	3	3
Survation	10-11 Dec	45	34	9	3	3
Actual result (GB)	12 Dec	45	33	12	3	2

NI Company	Fieldwork	DUP	SF	ALL	SDLP	UUP
LucidTalk	27-30 Nov	32	25	17	14	12
Actual result (NI)	12 Dec	31	23	17	15	12

# What explains the result?



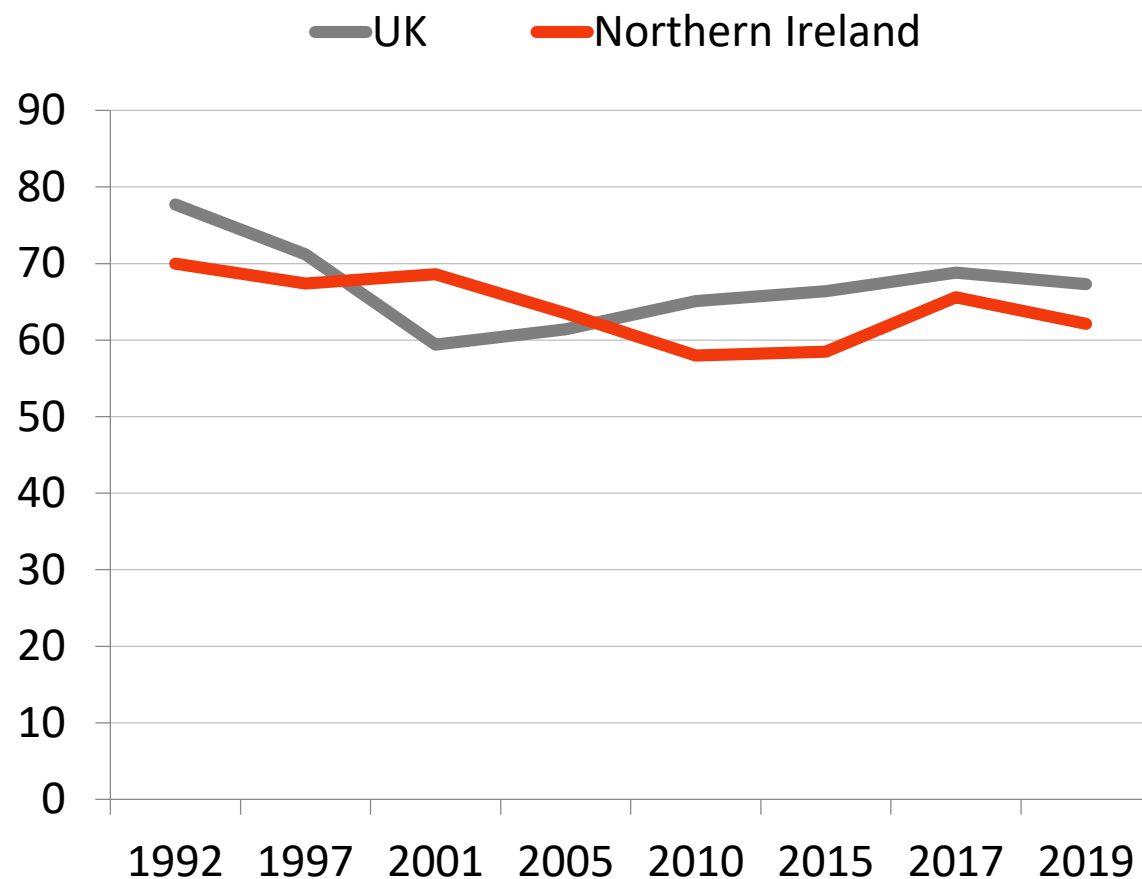
Source: Ipsos-MORI



Source: Will Jennings & Sky News

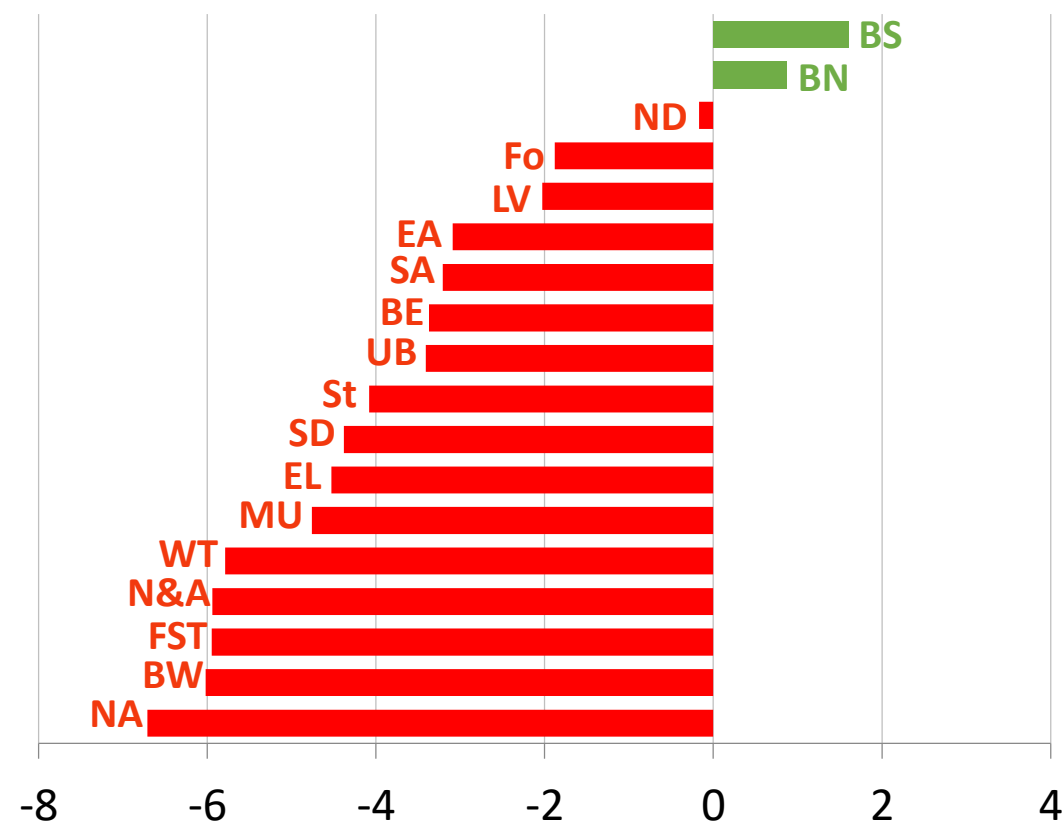
# Were people engaged?

## Voter turnout



Source: House of Commons Library, EONI

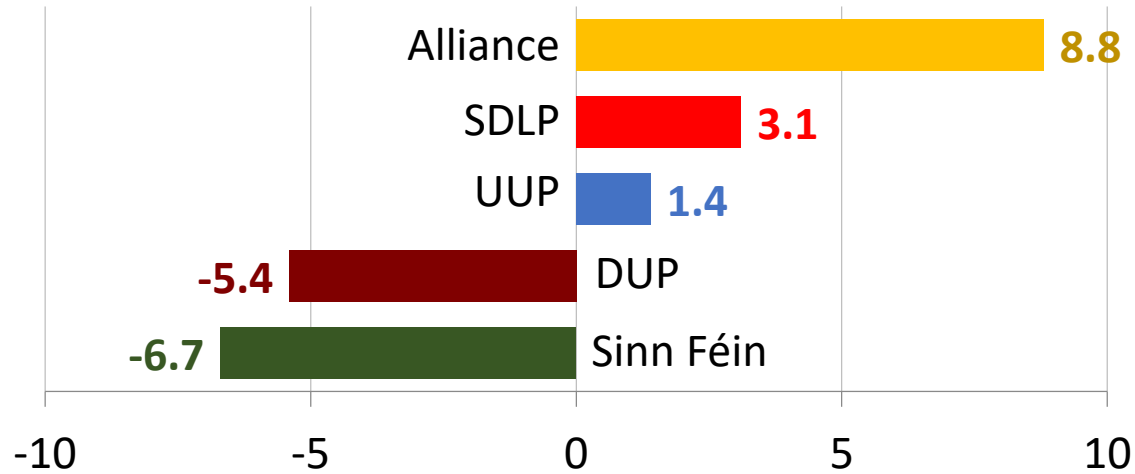
## Turnout change (NI)



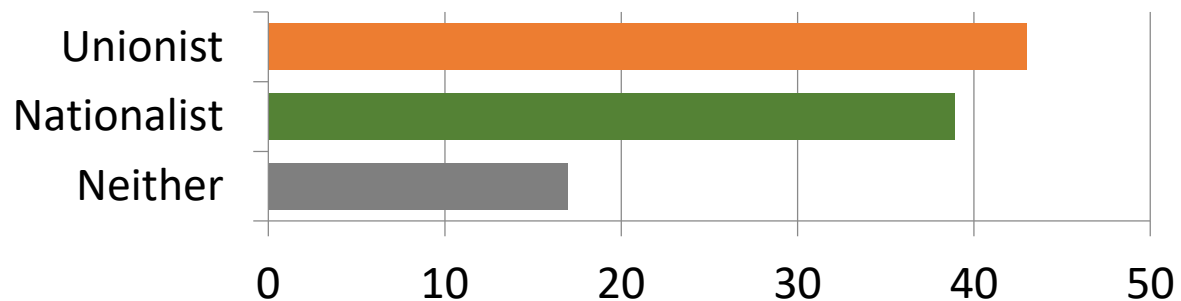
Source: EONI

# The (electoral) rise of the 'neithers'

## Vote share change

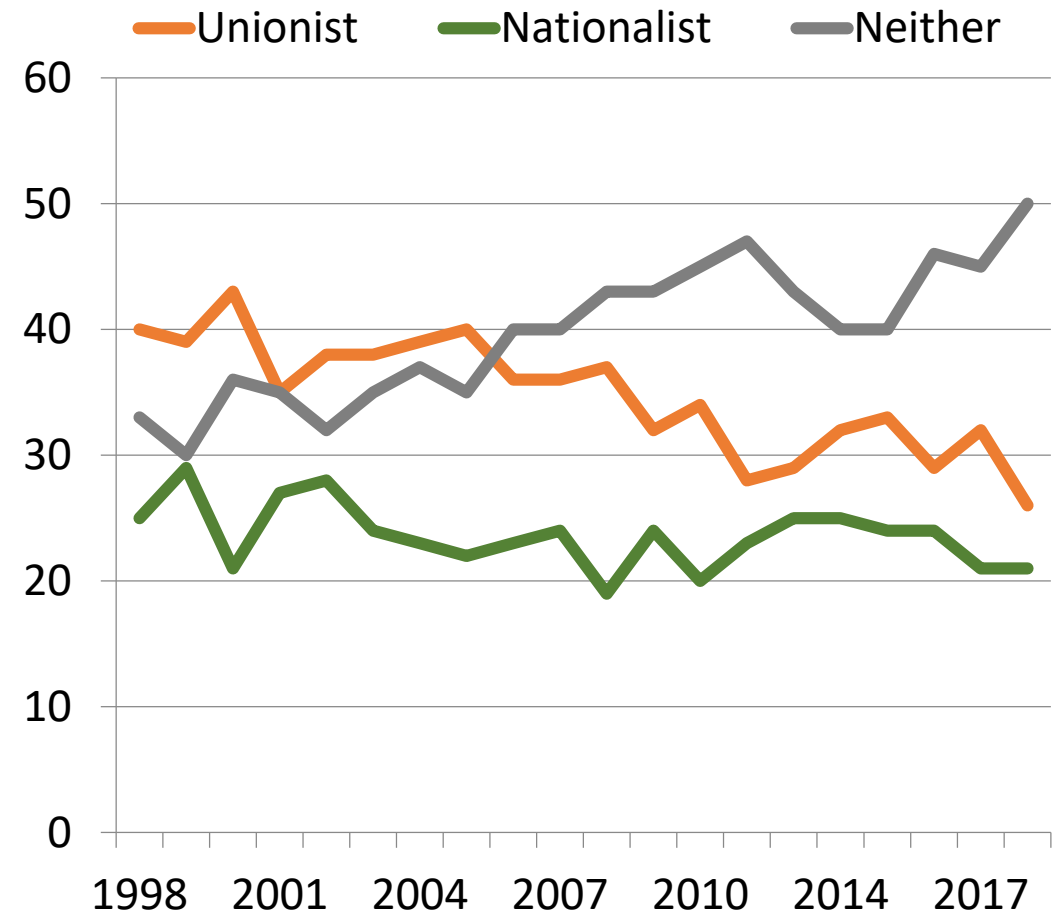


## Vote share by designation



Source: EONI

## Ethno-national identity



Source: NI Life & Times Survey



# Brexit: what next?



Prof David Phinnemore (@DPhinnemore)

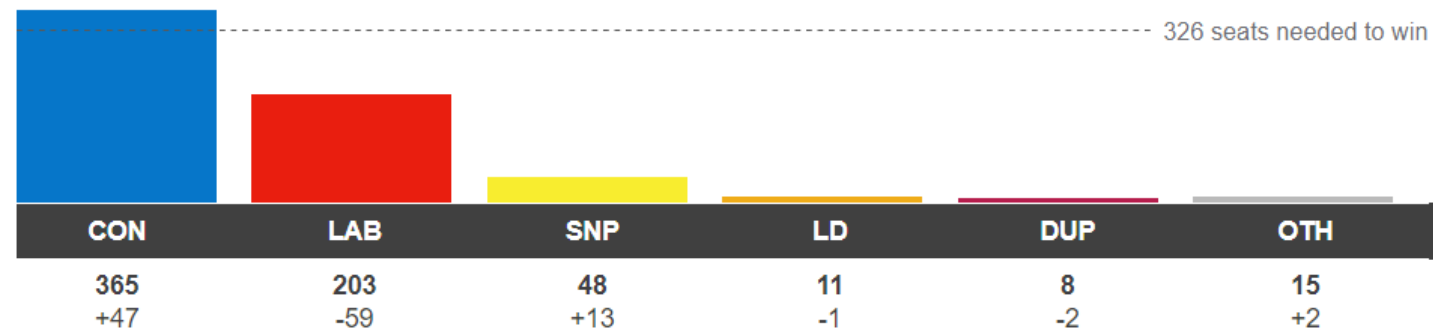


# Where are we with Brexit?



## UK results: Conservatives win majority

After 650 of 650 seats declared



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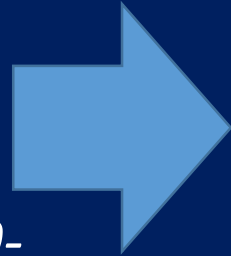
# Where next with Brexit?

## December 2019

- *Withdrawal Agreement Bill – second reading?*

## January 2020

- *Withdrawal Agreement Bill – to House of Lords and third reading*
- *European Parliament Consent (plenary meetings: 13-16 and 29-30 January)*
- *Withdrawal Agreement signed*
- *Council Decision approving Withdrawal Agreement*

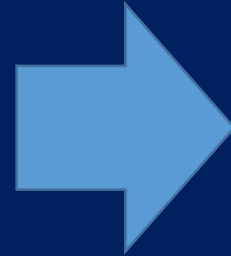


**31 January  
2020**

**(2300 GMT)**

***UK Withdraws  
from EU***

***Brexit ‘done’?***



**Transition**

**to 31 December  
2020**

**extendable once by  
one or two years**

**decision needed by  
1 July 2020**



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# Transition: Agreeing the Future UK-EU Relationship

## UK-EU Political Declaration

“In that spirit, this declaration establishes the parameters of an ambitious, broad, deep and flexible partnership across trade and economic cooperation with a comprehensive and balanced Free Trade Agreement at its core, law enforcement and criminal justice, foreign policy, security and defence and wider areas of cooperation”

*17 October 2019*

**Deal before 31  
December 2020**



## UK-EU negotiations on future relationship

“The European Council reconfirms its desire to establish as close as possible a future relationship with the UK in line with the Political Declaration and respecting the previously agreed European Council’s guidelines, as well as statements and declarations, notably those of 25 November 2018. The future relationship will have to be based on a balance of rights and obligations and ensure a level playing field”

*European Council, 13.12.19*

# Future UK-EU Relationship: a deal during transition?



# The (revised) Protocol on Ireland/N.Ireland

Dr Katy Hayward (@hayward\_katy)

# What's new?

*First, note the change in anticipated direction of travel...*

As per the Political Declaration on the Future Relationship

19. The Parties envisage having an ambitious trading relationship on goods on the basis of a Free Trade Agreement, with a view to facilitating the ease of legitimate trade.
20. These arrangements will take account of the fact that following the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the Union, the Parties will form separate markets and distinct legal orders. Moving goods across borders can pose risks to the integrity and proper functioning of these markets, which are managed through customs procedures and checks.

# How does it differ from the backstop?

## Preamble

- No mention of the intention to replace the Protocol, so *the default*.
- No expression of a common UK-EU objective of a close future relationship.
- No mention of the fact that the transition period may be extended by mutual consent.

## Customs

- NI is part of customs territory of the UK.
- Yet **Article 5 (4) All EU goods laws in Annex 2 apply to NI. Annex 2= Union Customs Code**
- NI collects tariffs on behalf of EU, then rebated.
- NI applies the EU's VAT rules, which will not apply in GB.

## Single Market for Goods

- NI follows the EU's rules & regulations which affect trade in goods, *inc. Sanitary & Phytosanitary standards; environmental standards; & State Aid.*
- NI follows EU regulations governing electricity markets.

## Democratic consent

- 4 years after the end of transition, NI MLAs will vote on whether to continue the operation of Arts.5-10, i.e. customs/SM.
- If there is cross-community vote in favour, the next vote will be in 8 years.
- If there is just a simple majority, there will be a review process and next vote in 4 years.
- **If vote against, ????**

# Unilateral declaration on the operation of democratic consent

- The Assembly will be voting on the motion put forward that Arts 5-10 will continue to apply in NI i.e. the rest of the Protocol will endure regardless
- The purpose of the MLA vote is for 'affording or withholding consent'.
- Objective is 'to achieve agreement that is as broad as possible in NI'.
- The intention that this will have been done by a process led by the NI Executive via 'a thorough process of public consultation' supported by UK govt.
  - Inc. businesses, civil society groups, representative orgs, TUs
  - + The NSMC and BIIGC 'should be involved'
- *But choice could get more not less invidious over time...*



# The UK internal market

## *Article 6*

### *Protection of the UK internal market*

1. Nothing in this Protocol shall prevent the United Kingdom from ensuring unfettered market access for goods moving from Northern Ireland to other parts of the United Kingdom's internal market. Provisions of Union law made applicable by this Protocol which prohibit or restrict the exportation of goods shall only be applied to trade between Northern Ireland and other parts of the United Kingdom to the extent strictly required by any international obligations of the Union. The United Kingdom shall ensure full protection under international requirements and commitments that are relevant to the prohibitions and restrictions on the exportation of goods from the Union to third countries as set out in Union law.
2. Having regard to Northern Ireland's integral place in the United Kingdom's internal market, the Union and the United Kingdom shall use their best endeavours to facilitate the trade between Northern Ireland and other parts of the United Kingdom, in accordance with applicable legislation and taking into account their respective regulatory regimes as well as the implementation thereof. The Joint Committee shall keep the application of this paragraph under constant review and shall adopt appropriate recommendations with a view to avoiding controls at the ports and airports of Northern Ireland to the extent possible.

# So, will there be an Irish Sea border?

- Third country access to the EU is very different to EU membership.
  - Entire **EU-UK alignment** at the moment is underpinned by CJEU, which UK wants to remove.
- There could be **tariffs on GB-NI goods** which are **at risk** of entering the single market
  - If the goods are finally used in NI there will be a rebate system.
- **Products of Animal Origin** GB-NI will have to be subject to documentary and physical checks, even if not a tariff issue.
- **All commercial goods GB-NI will need to be subject to declarations** even if no tariff to be paid
  - Article 271 of UCC = Exit summary declarations compulsory in absence of customs declarations