

Northern Ireland's Dilemma after the Brexit Referendum

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I. Introduction

Northern Ireland is a unique area. It is located on the island of Ireland and belongs to Britain, not Ireland. In addition, Northern Ireland is fraught with many religious conflicts, the former United Kingdom has not offered a clear solution, and its weak economic base has provided much support from regional policies pushed by the European Union. However, UK's decision to leave the European Union has led to great economic and social uncertainties in Northern Ireland. NI has had a single market with Ireland in the EU, but Britain's withdrawal has sent Northern Ireland's economy into turbulence. In the end, the decision to leave London has put Belfast's economic problems more seriously.

UK's status in the international community, her declaration to leave the EU was likely to have a big impact, immediately. Brexit, which refers to Britain's exit from the Union, is itself adding

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to regional instability and has come as a shocking result for both the UK and the EU, and, with UK's decision to leave the country, Northern Ireland has emerged as the most vulnerable area, and has been burdened in economy amid a lack of complete closure of historical and religious conflicts.

The study of Brexit is already going on in many ways. But considering that current issues, not easy, there is still not specific difficulties in the study. Moreover, the British government's withdrawal plan has not yet been drafted, which has not achieved a complete Brexit, so there are many limitations to do studies. Into that period of Brexit, "Hot Topic" is by far Northern Ireland. NI is separated from the British mainland and sits on the island of Ireland. There is considerable reliance on the Irish economy. But if the withdrawal takes place, Northern Ireland will face Ireland and, unlike before Brexit, a country-to-country. If this happens, it will have a huge impact on the local economy.

I hope to use a neo-functional approach to analyze this issue. The theory is that functionalism will ultimately result in political integration as a result of integration that excludes the political sector. But neo-functionalism puts more emphasis on cooperation and integration in the political sector. That is, Brexit can soon translate Britain's exit from the EU as a failure of neo-functionalism, meaning that it needs to merge some markets or tariffs with Northern Ireland and Ireland again becoming functional.

The composition of this paper is as follows. Chapter 2 refers to a broad understanding of Brexit. Prior to Brexit explanation, after a brief look at European integration and Britain, it explains the background of Brexit and the various events that have occurred since the referendum from a political, economic and local perspective. Chapter 3 gives an overview of the economic and social situation in Northern Ireland that it will face after the Brexit referendum. First of all, based on Northern Ireland's history, it will briefly address the current situation it faces, followed by an intensive look at the various economic and social problems it will face after the Brexit referendum. Finally, Chapter 4 presents the conclusion of the main article.

II. Understanding of Brexit : UK-EU Relations

1. European Integration and the United Kingdom

Before Brexit, there is a need to briefly understand the European integration. Historically, Europe has been in ruins since World War II as the place where all the world wars had taken place. Moreover, politically, the region was smaller in size than the United States and the Soviet Union, and economically, regional trade was frequent. In response, France and Germany decided to share their first military supplies, coal and steel, followed by ECSC and EURATOM, the predecessor of the European Union, with nuclear power included in the integrated goods. Since then, Europe has established an economic community, which has since combined ECSC, EURATOM and EEC to launch the European Community. The EC was the originator of the EU and then, Brussel has made an architect a more complete phase with the subsequent introduction of the Euro.

Since its inception, Britain has sought to join the EU, but it has not been able to meet France's opposition. Eventually, France's President Charles de Gaulle stepped down, and the UK joined the EEC in 1973. Then, Britain has become a powerful member in the EU along with Germany and France. UK joined the EU, leaving the EFTA, but held a referendum on its membership status after three years of membership. In a referendum held in 1975, the majority of the British people wanted Britain to remain in the EU. Britain enjoyed the advantage of trade in the European Union. As though they did not spend as little as they benefited, Britain, as one of the most advanced countries in Europe, naturally had a lot of regional trade, which benefited the EU a lot. While France and Germany are competing for supremacy as European Union leaders, UK has not intervened much in the leadership fight, while wielding its influence.

UK is a rather passive member of the Union, a must-have factor when referring to Britain's position in the EU, also, is linked together in a Single Market and Customs Union, as is the case with existing member states, but is an exception in the Economic and Monetary Union and the Schengen Agreement, which is called Open-Border Treaty. Even after existing member states reduced their currency losses, London did not combine the currency union. In addition, it

excluded from the Schengen Agreement, which allows labor, goods, capital and services to move freely. This means that if a single market, monetary union and customs union are tools on the way to economic integration, the opening border treaty has become a more complete country, beyond the economic sector and even the social sector, but it has also been mentioned earlier. Britain is also not included from the agreement.

2. Background of the Brexit

It should be viewed in two main ways in terms of immigration/refugees issues, which is that Britain did not want an influx of immigrants into the UK and people of UK did not want to incur the financial burden of refugees flowing into the European Union. Finally, the British public did not stay in the EU as a member state due to the spread of European skepticism. The division within the political elite over Brexit reflects a broader tension between contemporary democracy and capitalism that can be traced back to the political developments that followed the global economic crisis of 2008.¹⁾

First, It is a problem for immigrants and refugees. In the 2010s, the “Arab Spring” sparked pro-democracy movements in the Middle East (West Asia) and North African countries. But since the democratic movement began, no government has been in place, which has added to the political turmoil. Furthermore, the region has been robbed by European colonies in the past and has not been economically stable. Political confusion to mounting instability in the region rose sharply, As a result, the majority of refugees tried to break into the EU. With more refugees, the EU's burden has increased. Brussel is in trouble as refugees are added to the influx of many immigrants into the EU before the outbreak. In the end, German Chancellor Angela Merkel decided to accept refugees residing in the European Union, which made it inevitable for the EU to inject money.

Previously, there were many people with anti-immigrant sentiments in the EU, and they expressed dissatisfaction with the EU's decision based on Germany. Among other things, Britain, which is far from mainland Europe, did not hide its considerable displeasure with accepting

1) David J. Bailey (2019) Neither Brexit nor remain: disruptive solidarity initiatives in a time of false promises and anti-democracy, *Contemporary Social Science*, 14:2, 256-275, DOI:10.1080/21582041.2018.1559349

refugees. If Brussels accepts refugees, it could have reduced the chance of money going into the EU to return to other member states, as well as increased contributions from Britain. Most of all, public sentiment in Britain still expressed a relatively closed view of accepting refugees as well as immigrants, which made the immigrant/refugee issue the biggest topic in the face of a Brexit referendum. In the end, the British public voted to leave the EU, adding to anti-immigrant sentiment and even negative perceptions of refugees.

However, there were also many errors about specific information about immigrants/refugees. Not only were there a flood of misinformation, but the later talk of Turkey joining the European Union, led the British people to decide their national fortunes with unnecessary information. According to 'The Economist', Britain has lost control of its borders. In fact anyone entering Britain (except from Ireland) must pass through border checks. Or they point to Europe's refugee mess, although since Britain is not in the EU's Schengen passport-free zone, the country has largely escaped it. Some warn that the accession of Turkey will let in hordes of Turks. Yet Turkish membership is many years off and, if it were agreed, would come with tight migration limits.²⁾

The number of EU migrants in the UK in 2015 was 3 million (5% of UK's population) approximately. The estimations on UK citizens in the EU are more problematic. Eurostat and the OECD provide a rather reduced number (700,000), which would be around 0.15% of total EU population.³⁾ Otherwise, the problem of immigrants facing Britain was not a big problem. Rather, a surge in refugees entering the EU than immigrants in Britain has prompted the EU to accept it, and Britain has lodged a strong complaint. However, Cameron has already pledged to stop the influx of immigrants from non-EU countries ahead of the last general elections (WSJ, 2018). The number of EU employees is larger than that of Non-EU employees working in the UK, since 2011. If EU migrants leave, Britain will suffer about -2.50 percent of GDP losses, while the European Union, on the other hand, is up 0.36 percent. This means that if immigrants do not come in, it will affect Britain's economy (Valverde & Latorre, 2019).

2) The Economist (2016) The Brexit Briefs : Our Guide to Britain's EU Referendum, Immigration, 5. April 2nd 2016 file:///C:/Users/owner/Downloads/EconomistBrexitBriefs16.pdf

3) Gabriela Ortiz Valverde & María C. Latorre (2019) The economic impact of potential migration policies in the UK after Brexit, Contemporary Social Science, 14:2, 208-225, DOI: 10.1080/21582041.2018.1558278

Second, the financial crisis was also a big issue. An economic crisis has also been detected in southern Europe before and after the US-sparked financial crisis. Already unable to cover Greece's overflowing national debt, even Italy, which belongs to the G7, could not avoid an economic crisis. In addition, Portugal and Spain, southern European countries are all in financial crisis. Support from other countries had to follow as member countries faced an economic crisis. This is because if countries in financial crisis fail to find a breakthrough, the nation may collapse and further be followed by a large immigration procession. Brussels has come to a final decision on financial aid to them.

The problem was the UK's position. Britain, like France and Germany, was one of the countries that had more donations than benefits.⁴⁾ Britain did not want more money to go into the economic suffering zone that was created by the financial crisis. Britain, as a member of the European Union, paid the largest amount of contributions after Germany, France and Italy. Since the European Union budget has taken up a large portion, it is only natural to speak out.⁵⁾ It has spent more on donations than on benefits, and Britain has consistently maintained its membership status as it can reduce the burden of regional trade along with political stability within the EU. However, I mentioned earlier, along with the issue of refugees, the financial crisis has caused people in Britain to disagree about the European Union.

Third, it is the sovereignty of the UK. Already, the British people had a feeling that, emotionally, they were different from Europe. Moreover, Euroscepticism spread rapidly as the refugee issue and the financial crisis coincided. The British, as a member status in EU, are not interested. Especially in England, which boasts a larger population than other countries in the UK, there were still many people with old-fashioned views, which were strongly reflected in the votes. In the end, many of those who decided to leave wanted to exist on their own rather than on integration with Euroscepticism, which added to anti-immigrant sentiment, resulting in more votes to withdraw.

4) BBC (2016) UK and the EU: Better off out or in?

<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32793642>

5) Official for National Statistics (2015) How are EU budget contributions calculated?

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/governmentpublicsectorandtaxes/publicspending/articles/howdoestheukcontribute-totheeubudget/2015-06-26>

3. Post-Brexit Referendum Issues

UK Prime Minister David Cameron appealed for support from the ruling conservative party ahead of the 2016 general elections. If the Conservative party becomes the largest party again, it will hold a referendum on whether Britain will leave the European Union or not.⁶⁾ In the referendum campaign twists, with the approval and opposition of the withdrawal sharply divided, The referendum was more complicated as the ruling conservative party showed different opinions over Brexit. Breminers was consist of most of ruling party were formed, on the other hand, Brexiteers starting with London Mayor Boris Johnson. Unfortunately, during the campaign, a member of the House of Representatives was killed, and there were a series of reports of irregularities.

There was an issue after the referendum. Britain's exit from the EU was finally decided as the results edged ahead.⁷⁾ It was confirmed that the withdrawal was slightly ahead of 51.9 percent. The British public wanted a UK that had its own existence rather than one in the European Union. However, on the day after the vote, the topic in the UK was "What is the EU?".⁸⁾ People in Britain voted in a lack of concrete understanding of the European Union, leading to a major upheaval in the country. Furthermore, after the referendum, it has not avoided a more divergent political confrontation and regional interests. First of all, London has never been at the forefront of trade since joining the EU in 1973. Determined from the existing countries and will also be an obligation that must be in trade negotiations, the future, UK has to face greater and unavoidable uncertainties. Immediately, after the withdrawal was decided, the pound began to plunge, which has had enormous repercussions on the global economy. The decline in value with the pound was naturally negative for the British economy.

Politically, after the referendum, Cameron decided to step down as prime minister, taking

6) BBC (2013) David Cameron promises in/out referendum on EU
<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-21148282>

7) BBC (2016) Result of Brexit Referendum,
https://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results

8) The Washington Post (2016) The British are frantically Googling what the E.U. is, hours after voting to leave it <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-switch/wp/2016/06/24/the-british-are-frantically-googling-what-the-eu-is-hours-after-voting-to-leave-it/>

responsibility for the outcome of the vote.⁹⁾ The British people's sentiment was broken down by the Brexit referendum, and even the resulting political turmoil weighed on them. After Cameron resigned, the conservative party held a party meeting to select its next leader of party and a new prime minister of the Kingdom. The vote gave Prime Minister Theresa May¹⁰⁾ the lead in Britain. Following Cameron's footsteps, May took office and expressed willingness to stick to "Hard Brexit," which refers to Britain's outright withdrawal. Cameron's promised vote really left him out of work, and Britain faces a rough and turbulent period. To make matters worse, Britain's turmoil has grown even more as the withdrawal bill has repeatedly failed to pass Congress since May became prime minister.

Economically, the worth of pound was diminished only a foregone conclusion. The UK have been subject to secular stagnation, and the diminish of real income at an aggregate level (Bank of England, 2018). If Britain finally withdraws from the EU, it will be reduced to a remote European mainland in trade. It is given that the deal takes some time to complete even if it is signed, uncertainty is even greater. Also, young generations in UK are finding jobs lessened, and the benefits of choosing other schools from their studies have been reduced slightly. If Britain leaves the Union, it can no longer share the benefits it drives. Even as a simple nation, if Britain withdraws from the customs union without having to remain in the hard-Brexit, the UK faces tariff barriers again when trading with EU member states, and the possibility of losing money if it starts a series of trade was also considerable. Above all, considering, the United Kingdom is mired in a monetary union and the Schengen agreement allows, the UK has a special position in profit-taking. However, with the decision to withdraw, Britain has lost its exceptional and unique geographical advantage in the EU.

Domestically, the narrative to suggest Brexit regarding 'left behind' places and people is a

9) UK Government (2016) EU referendum outcome: PM statement, 24 June 2016

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/eu-referendum-outcome-pm-statement-24-june-2016>

10) See, her speech, "The Telegraph (2016) Theresa May's conference speech in full,

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/05/theresa-mays-conference-speech-in-full/>,

she mentioned "If you're a citizen of the world, you're a citizen of nowhere". It means she pursued Britain will be exited from the EU, not softly related. Initially, her political position at the referendum period, was at the backside of Cameron, however, she would be a prime minister, based on the result of referendum, she has to lead the Brexit.

manifestation of the historic tensions between capitalism and democracy (Bailey & Budd, 2019). the referendum turned out to be a starkly different opinion on Brexit from region to region. England and Wales wanted to leave the European Union, while, relative to Scotland and Northern Ireland, they hoped to stay in the Union. In England and Wales, where the service sector has developed relatively, they wanted to withdraw on profit basis, not only did it not want to accept many immigrants, but it did not want financial works from the EU's capacity of refugees. On the other hand, Scotland and Northern Ireland's position is different, and Scotland is EU the beneficiaries of the Common Agriculture Policy and NI is an area of many support to Regional Policy. Besides, relatively underdeveloped Scotland and Northern Ireland have suffered huge losses in the United Kingdom as the result of the vote in England decided to withdraw. Of course, there were certain residents who voted to leave the EU, but if we analyze the votes by region in the UK, Scotland and NI, which had hoped to remain, faced even greater problems. In addition, Gibraltar, a British overseas countries & territories (OCT), decided the majority of its residents wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but because of its small population, there was no room for votes to be reflected. To sum up, the Brexit referendum, based on the countries in the UK, can be seen as England's lead in the exit. The territorial distribution of the votes explains that withdrawal was adamantly an English phenomenon often reflecting a cultural sentiment of 'taking back control', it seems to be partly based upon a psychological yearning for a 'plucky' England distinct from Europe (Simpson, 2016).

III. NI's Dilemma : UK-NI Relations

UK is consisted of four countries (England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland) within the Kingdom, at the center of the Queen and the royal family. UK is a multi-ethnic nation and utilize a quasi-federal system. It gave Scotland and Northern Ireland autonomy since 1999, and national issues, such as diplomacy and defense, take the form of England-led system. Granting autonomy has recently been done, but the foundation of the governing is based on history. This governance structure developed into a temporary one, with a series of arrangements determined

and structures asymmetrical(Mullen, 2019). Historically, it has been greatly weakened, in terms of ethnic composition in the UK, England is composed of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic in part of the non-England countries.

Whatever happens beyond Brexit, a more regional industrial strategy at the center of a more decentralized and ceded governmental system would appear in addressing socio-economic and spatial imbalances (McCann & Ortega-Argiles, 2019). The complex nature of the UK means that unresolved issues of territorial governance have been exacerbated by Brexit. The conventional theory of the UK as a unitary state has been displaced by that of the union state, both as a result of history and events that resulted in devolution.¹¹⁾ Given its special constitutional status and its political position it can be argued that NI requires a bespoke deal going beyond Brexit(Brownlow & Budd, 2019).

Northern Ireland is part of island of Ireland, not the Great Britain. Considering Brexit's impact on the territorial governance of the four nations, it suggests that Northern Ireland present the most complex challenges for different but related reasons(Baily & Budd, 2019). NI is separated from the mainland, so May and her successor, Johnson, wanted to make exceptional in drafting a withdrawal proposal for Belfast. This is because Northern Irish relies heavily on the Irish economy. Ireland is a member state of the European Union, but It will have a "Hard Border" between Ireland and Northern Ireland if Britain withdraws from the EU in a final move. So since May, London has tried to make an exception, defining the NI's exception as a "backstop," but the bill has failed to pass through Congress, which Johnson later proposed to the British Parliament after reaching a deal with the European Union first after taking office.

1. Northern Ireland's position : Historical Flow

Initially, Northern Ireland wanted to remain in England when Ireland gained independence from Britain, while Northern Ireland remained part of the United Kingdom. However, with Northern Ireland remaining in the UK, there was an another problem. Northern Ireland has a major conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism, and the because of border issue between

11) David Bailey & Leslie Budd (2019) Brexit and beyond: a Pandora's Box?,
Contemporary Social Science, 14:2, 157-173, DOI: 10.1080/21582041.2019.1621365

Britain and Ireland has lost economic momentum. Nor was it clear that the industrial group representing the region, which caused the regional slowdown. The religious strife was not over, which meant that Britain had a powder keg. In addition to the Church of England, Northern Ireland has become seriously troubled by religious issues.

Religiously, Northern Ireland is separated by Protestantism and Catholicism. Terrorism has continued over religion, and with the involvement of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), NI has become a disputed area representing Europe. While ideological confrontation between the two religions has developed seriously, it has become more difficult to resolve the situation as there is a mix of politics and religion, including terrorism on whether NI should become independent or not. Belfast lacked administrative power to conclude this problem and had to get help from London. However, the London failed to provide a clear solution, making Northern Ireland a place where Britain and Ireland are at odds with Ireland, with Protestant and Catholicism, and colonialism and anti-colonialism. And then, Belfast Agreement was signed in 1997. It was not fundamentally resolved, though, the decision not to wage any more wars against terrorism has led to peace in Northern Ireland but to avoid psychological and spatial division over religion.

Socio-economically, I mentioned earlier, NI is considered the most popular low-power regions. It is not economically feasible, and the current generation has suffered indirect damage from the terrorist attacks of the previous generation. The elder generation suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder, and those living in the current generation faced another social problem for their children. Parents' falling social and psychological stability affected their children's mental state, which has emerged as the biggest social issue in NI.¹²⁾

2. NI's Economic Consideration between UK and EU

Northern Ireland presents the greatest threat to the stability of current arrangements for territorial governance. It is faced with greater objective difficulties than any other part of the UK in adapting to Brexit.¹³⁾ If a national boundary is established between Ireland and Northern

12) NowThis World (2018) What's Behind Northern Ireland's Mental Health Crisis?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tz8GiayTeb8>

13) Tom Mullen (2019) Brexit and the territorial governance of the United Kingdom, Contemporary Social

Ireland, the loss to NI is enormous. When Northern Irishes go to work, they have to go through procedures they didn't have before, such as passport verification, and when they buy goods or start trade, it is natural that tariff barriers are set up. In addition, public sentiment was divided between the unionists and the nationalists after the referendum, which led to the loss of political stability in NI. So, Northern Irishes have already faced with an unnecessary turbulent period again, as such, the increase in political and economic uncertainty has risen. In other words, peace is on the verge of being broken again in NI after the Belfast Agreement.

At the time of the 2016 Referendum, the role of Northern Ireland was not seen as central to resolving the challenges of Brexit. Also somewhat overlooked is that Brexit in whatever form will more negative impact on the Northern Ireland economy than other regions of the UK (Budd, 2015, 2017). Michel Barnier, EU's chief negotiator, explained that any future UK arrangement with the single market would necessarily have to cater for problems of regulatory divergence (Barnier, 2017). With a detailed approach, first, the desire to preserve the integrity of the single market means the EU excludes sector-by-sector participation. Next, any potential transition period, or what the EU guidelines call a 'a time-limited prolongation of Union *acquis*', is dependent on upholding 'existing Union regulatory, budgetary, supervisory, judiciary and enforcement instruments and structures'.¹⁴⁾

In NI, there is a socio-political issue, which is already divided between the nationalist and unionists(Gary 2017). It is still a difference between whether Northern Ireland will reunify with Ireland or remain in Britain. Also, It's economy has suffered from an enlarged version of the UK's productivity matters. Each person of Gross Value Added in NI has never reached the UK's average and the gap has not narrowed, despite the UK-wide productivity slowdown of recent years(MacFlynn, 2017). Low investment, wages and skills are interconnected sources of both UK and NI productivity woes. Furthermore, the structure of NI, with a greater dependency on public spending and agriculture than the rest of the UK, has dangers of magnification.¹⁵⁾

Science, 14:2, 276-293, DOI: 10.1080/21582041.2018.1563802

14) Ed Turner, Andrew Glencross, Vladimir Bilcik & Simon Green (2019) Negotiating as One Europe or several? The variable geometry of the EU's approach to Brexit, *Contemporary Social Science*, 14:2, 226-241, DOI: 10.1080/21582041.2018.1492145

15) Graham Brownlow & Leslie Budd (2019) Sense making of Brexit for economic citizenship in Northern

The key is, by all mean, a border issue. A hard border will be set if Brexit is passed by the No deal, which is expected to further amplify NI's economic vulnerability soon. In other words, NI wants Soft-Brexit and does not build a hard border with Ireland. Former PM May created a "Backstop" to make NI an exception in the face of Brexit negotiations, a plan that the EU is building in Northern Ireland and would like to remain in a single market or customs union that previously included Britain. However, as May's proposal was repeatedly rejected by Congress, Belfast's position was bound to be embarrassed, which soon served as a decisive opportunity for the prolonged Brexit negotiations. May's agenda, which is called "Checkers Plan"¹⁶, was not finally complete, and she decided to resign from her post.

With May deal's failure, the Conservatives elected Boris Johnson as their party leader, and he became the next prime minister. Even before he got prime ministership, Johnson had been a strong advocate of Hard-Brexit, and he said he needed to achieve a "No deal Brexit," among other things, leaving the EU without any relationship. However, London has already done with Brussel, which is an other strategy for making a deal, first, government of UK made a slight agreement with delegation of EU, next, tried to ask the Westminster. Into the deal with EU, London pursued that NI stay at the single market and customs union. First of all, whether to pass the British Parliament's ratification, the reason why May deal failed is because Congress voted it down. While the government's proposal was partly attributable to the government's failure to guarantee multiple interests at the same time, it was easy to pass the bill as opinions on Brexit were so sharply different. Then, even if a bill is passed, the subsequent legislative process is quite complicated. If Northern Ireland remains in the EU's single market and customs union, it is unclear to what extent Northern Ireland should comply with UK law and in what line it should follow EU law in that matter. In other words, even if PM Johnson's plan passes Congress, the difficulty of future projects is formidable.

Ireland, Contemporary Social Science, 14:2, 294-311, DOI:10.1080/21582041.2019.1585564

16) The future relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union (more commonly known as the Chequers agreement, deal or plan) is a UK Government white paper concerning Brexit, published on 12 July 2018 by the Prime Minister, Theresa May. The paper was based on a three-page cabinet agreement from 6 July and laid out the type of future relationship between UK and European Union (EU) that the UK sought to achieve in the Brexit negotiations.

However, London reached an agreement with Brussels on a timeline, the British Parliament was also negative about the plan, and in the end, Johnson decided to delay reaching the Brexit agreement.¹⁷⁾ With the Liberal Democracy (Lib Dem) showing strong dissatisfaction with the government,¹⁸⁾ the main opposition Labor Party has said Johnson Deal is not as perfect as May Deal.¹⁹⁾ Even the Labor Party expressed negative opinions whenever May submitted her proposal, saying in May that she had “no supporting it.”²⁰⁾ It must be considered a significant possibility that the impasse over Northern Ireland could prevent an agreement on the future relationship of the UK and the EU being made at all leading to a chaotic Brexit.²¹⁾

IV. Conclusion

UK's decision to leave the EU may be a simple accident, but it is the most representative event to see the world view of the British people. Even though she was an exceptional member of the EU, UK did not stay at the Union as a member state, and rather felt burdened by regional integration. Simultaneously, Britain failed to properly negotiate with the European Union for withdrawal agreement, and again after the invocation of Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, as London's withdrawal proposal repeatedly failed to even exceed the threshold of House of Representative, demonstrating what British exceptionalism is.

While other parts of the UK were benefiting, England wanted a sovereign UK, in the end, Scotland and Northern Ireland faced shortages of support by EU. Among them, NI received

17) CNN (2019) Brexit extension announced as Boris Johnson pushes for December election, <https://edition.cnn.com/uk/live-news/brexit-delay-boris-johnson-election-monday-dle-gbr-intl/index.html>

18) BBC (2019) Lib Dems say they'll cancel Brexit if they win general election, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/49708376>

19) BBC News (2019) Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn: Don't give PM a blank cheque - BBC News, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oaycpPcBquU>

20) The Guardian (2019) Jeremy Corbyn says Labour will not support May's 'new' Brexit deal - video, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/video/2019/may/21/jeremy-corbyn-says-labour-will-not-support-mays-new-brexit-deal-video>

21) Tom Mullen (2019) Brexit and the territorial governance of the United Kingdom, Contemporary Social Science, 14:2, 276-293, DOI: 10.1080/21582041.2018.1563802

much support from the EU's regional policy, Either, if it withdraws, it will be separated from the policy. Even though London's draft with Brussels has led to some agreement on the remnants of the single market and customs union, there are still many problems in consideration of the process of having to pass the Westminster and the subsequent legislative issues. After all, the confusion in Northern Ireland caused by the Brexit referendum continues, and the dilemma still remains over whether to belong to the EU or to the UK.

To that end, from a neofunctional point of view, Britain's exit from the European Union and the situation facing Northern Ireland indicate that it is never easy for economic issues to lead to political decisions, and that politicization has intensified with more consumptive debate and time without commitment. Northern Ireland should consult with the British government more closely, and Belfast is not easy to decide because of its decision with the council. Of course, as the passage of the British Parliament is the biggest threshold, the remnants of the NI's single market and customs union are important, but it is also regrettable for Northern Ireland that it does not benefit from EU regional policy.

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<Abstract>

Northern Ireland faces a new crisis after UK's exit from the European Union was voted into a referendum. Northern Ireland's economy has been dealt a more severe blow by not belonging to the EU. This has increased the political risk, which has further surged the geoeconomical risks of NI. Although the British government recently decided on the EU's single market and customs union in NI at the timeline with EU representatives, the dilemma facing Northern Ireland remains unresolved as there are still many political challenges left.

Keywords : Brexit, United Kingdom, European Union, Northern Ireland, Single Market,
Economic & Monetary Union, Customs Union, Schengen Agreement

<국문초록>

브렉시트 국민투표 이후 야기된 북아일랜드의 딜레마

이 재 승

영국이 유럽연합에서 탈퇴하기로 하면서 북아일랜드는 새로운 위기에 직면해 있다. 영국 본토가 아닌 아일랜드섬에 위치한 북아일랜드의 경제는 이미 상당 부분 아일랜드에 의존하고 있다. 영국의 탈퇴로 아일랜드와 북아일랜드에 국경이 생길 시 북아일랜드가 안게 되는 경제적 불확실성은 더욱 커지게 된다. 북아일랜드는 유럽연합의 지역정책의 가장 많은 수혜를 입는 지역이다. 이미 EU로부터 지원이 끊기게 되면서 북아일랜드의 불확실성은 훨씬 더 고조됐다. 영국 정부는 최근 EU 대표들과 함께 연대표에서 EU 단일시장과 관세동맹을 NI에서 결정했지만, 아직 정치적 과제가 많이 남아있어 북아일랜드가 직면한 딜레마는 해결되지 않고 있다.

주제어 : 브렉시트, 영국, 유럽연합, 북아일랜드, 단일시장, 통화동맹, 관세동맹, 쉥겐협정