

**BREXIT DEAL PROCESS, A WAY TO MAKE BRITAIN GREAT AGAIN
AND THE INFLUENCE OF BORIS JOHNSON
(GAME THEORY APPROACH)**

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Background

It is widely debated that withdrawal of the United Kingdom, Brexit, (British Exit) from the European Union would bring more drawbacks to the UK, while some experts and analysts of global affairs are rather sceptical about the survival of the EU itself. This still became heated issue until the EU Ministers Gathering on 15 October 2019 and since the Brexit deal is extended until 31 January 2020 deal with the ended with hard-brexit (give up participation in the EU single market and its legal rules) or soft-brexit (any number of possible arrangements that might be negotiated with the EU).

Introduction

This essay will examines the Brexit negotiation porcess with game theory "Two Level Game : Domestic and International level" by Robert. D Putnam, "Chicken Game" : the braver and loser, as well as "Madman Theory : strategy to win and decison" by Nixon. In term of domestic, this essay will explores the causes and relation of domestic pressure and the UK Government to pass the Brexit deal and how the UK official especially Boris Johnson seek to maximise their ability in negotiation table to satisfy domestic audience and implement the Brexit agreement. While in the international level, this essay will explain how the UK negotiates in the European Parliament and investigate the issues brough by UK as the reason to expell. In addition, the writer also would investigate further about the success or failure of ratifying the deal by analyzing the determinant factors of decision such distribution of power, preferences and coalitions among domestic group in the Britain (Putnam, 1988). By Madman Theory, the writer will further explain how the UK Government convinces and forces the EU Parliament to end with UK. While, Chicken Game Approach will explain each strategic interest between UK and EU. Writer also would like to analyze Boris Johnson's leadership style with Leadership Style by Herman which interesting to discuss because of his vocal characteristic.

Keywords : Brexit, Game Theory, Leadership Style

**Analysis : The Occurance of Brexit Decision
(Referendum, Conservative Party Influence, and the Role of Media)**

The history of brexit could be traced back to 2016 in which 51.9 % voted to leave. Then, the Government of the UK formally announced the country's withdrawal in March 2017. However, it is interesting to note that the result to leave was made by majory voters who consisted of older people and people from lower education backgorund. According to Opinium, 64% of eligible people aged 18–24 voted, whereas 90% of over 65 voted. It is argued that older voters were more likely to vote 'leave' due to having experienced life in the UK prior to 1973, when the UK joined the European

Economic Community which later became the EU, and this memory could influence for their decision. While, YouGov found that 68% of voters with a university degree voted "remain", whereas 70% of voters educated only to GCSE (Secondary level) or lower voted "leave". Similarly, Curtice reports that "university graduates voted by around three to one in favour of remain, whereas nearly four in five of those without any educational qualifications voted to Leave (Curtice, 2017). Moreover, it was believed that framing media also play a big role before the referendum in influencing the choice to leave from Government to public especially in social media. The social feed of an avid Eurosceptic for example had been filled with stories on how inimical the EU was to British democracy, with confident assertions millions of pounds would be saved by leaving the EU (Hanksa, 2017, pp.28).

Moreover, the formulation of the UK government's Brexit policy can be seen as a product of the demands of party management. Prime Minister in that time, Theresa May, calculated that she had to secure the support of her *eurosceptic* backbenchers by considering a hard Brexit strategy. The UK Government interpreted that the referendum result as a clear signal where voters wanted the government to end freedom of movement and European Court of Justice jurisdiction, as outlined in Prime Minister's Conservative party conference speech in October 2016. In February 2017, the Prime Minister speech set aside membership of the single market and customs union after Brexit which was written in the government's White Paper. Senior government ministers (notably Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson) also strengthen the UK's bargaining position by making a positive case for no agreement, based on the UK's comparative advantage in financial services and the possibility of trading under World Trade Organization rules (Hanksa, 2017).

The Reason behind Brexit : Politic, Euroscepticism, and Economic Consideration

Looking into detail, in term of politic, domestic pressure toward brexit came as the consideration for sovereignty and national security. Many political analysts attributed the Brexit to the rise of populism. Emphasizing nativist, nationalistic and xenophobic discourse embodies by the right-wing populism in Europe and particularly in the UK. Most of the right-wing populists are nativist who claims the belonging to a pure nation has been altered by the migrants. They are hostile to other cultures, minority groups, immigrant and reject EU itself. In fact, between 2009 and 2014, two millions of UK-born individuals suffer from unemployment due to the fact that 5% of migrant against 7% UK citizens were at work. In that respect, the populists contend that these migrants occupy the work which normally belongs to a UK citizen (Ababakr, 2018, pp.6).

In term of Euroscepticism, since Thatcher's leadership until come to David Cameroon in conservative party, Eurosceptism emerged questioning the Economic Integration of EU as single market. During 1990s, it became familiar amongst Eurosceptics that the EU had developed in a manner (economically, politically, and constitutionally) that went beyond that which had been accepted by the 1975 referendum. It was realised that national economic policy decision would be further

restricted and should be dictated by Brussels (Crowson, 2010) where actually it was assumed as the reason of limitation of UK's independent regulation.

Under economic consideration, it is obvious that Brexit would allow the UK to focus in maintaining their own power without controlled by the EU parliaments or the other prominent actors such as France, Germany, and Belgium. In fact, it is evident that the UK is financially and economically has given huge contribution to EU (Ababkr, 2018, pp.7). Brexit would lead the UK to be independent in multilateral relations. The UK itself could gain better advantages outside the EU's regulation such as engage with its closest diplomatic partners as well as reach more deals. This means there is a big hope that UK could broaden their power particularly in trade and economic. The UK could join the World Trade Organization / WTO membership without any form and specific agreement with the EU, like Russia or Brazil. In this case, the UK could set the best for them such eliminate the trade barriers in prioritized sectors ; manufactures, hi-tech industries, and many more. The UK also could set their own bilateral agreement such Foreign Trade Agreement which could more concern on their business. Thus, the UK Government would lead the industries of the future and seize the opportunities of global trade (Secretary of State of the UK, 2019).

Two Level Game : Brexit Process in the International Stage

The UK Government Position in the Era of Boris Johnson

Continuing the predecessor particularly May. Boris Johnson as new Prime Minister make same commitment to exit from EU. It had been sounded since his election campaign, Boris said :

"After three years and two missed deadlines, we must leave the EU on October 31st. We must do better than the current Withdrawal Agreement that has been rejected three times by Parliament — and let me clear that I am not aiming for a no-deal outcome. I don't think that we will end up with any such thing. But it is only responsible to prepare vigorously and seriously for no deal. Indeed, it is astonishing that anyone could suggest dispensing with that vital tool of negotiation"(BBC News, 2019).

Brexit Proposal

Beside insisting the entire U.K. should leave the EU customs union on the current Brexit deadline of October 31, the British prime minister proposed creating two new borders around Northern Ireland in a bid to break the Brexit deadlock with Brussels. Brexit would create an "all-island regulatory zone", meaning that Northern Ireland would essentially still stay in the European Single Market for agricultural and industrial goods, but sanitary and phytosanitary controls would be needed between Northern Ireland and Great Britain. The proposal also declared that Northern Ireland, along with the rest of the UK, would leave the Customs Union, meaning that customs controls would be needed for cross-border goods trade (Casalicchio, 2019).

Level I : Negotiation Process in the EU Ministers Meeting, 17-18th October 2019

In the EU Ministerial Meeting in October, most of the exit agreement negotiated by Boris Johnson was exactly the same to what May had proposed. The same financial settlements, treatment of EU citizens in the U.K. and U.K. citizens in the EU (Foreign Policy, 2019). However, Britain and EU Parliament / Brussels still have different objectives in negotiating Brexit. It is generally considered that Britain did not want freedom of movement and free trade. Britain's decision to leave the European Union (EU) was as much based on factual arguments as idealised visions of independence. Brussels, on the other hand, wanted Britain to keep freedom of movement and generally wants to keep the status quo of free trade.

Game Theory (Chicken Game) : Under 'the chicken game' approach each party, UK and EU, could be seen were careful with their movement to not worsen their move. In this case, it was obvious that Britain pursue the strategy of no freedom of movement in the hope that Brussels will 'swerve' and offer free trade, whilst Brussels pursues the strategy of no free trade in the hope that Britain will 'swerve' and accept freedom of movement in return for free trade (Exton, 2016, pp.3). In fact, during the meeting, British government wanted to secure the U.K.'s status as a distinct economic unit which after Brexit the Northern Ireland is still part of the U.K but shares an island with the Republic of Ireland. (Foreign Policy, 2019). On the other hand, EU officials argued that the proposals would not provide enough reassurance for Ireland and other EU members that their single market was protected against price dumping, unfair competition and smuggling at the border's roughly 270 crossing points.

Therefore, the UK plan and the possible win-set or overlap agreement between UK and EU were not easy because EU and the Irish government want to ensure that the border remains open and unobstructed, in line with the 1998 Good Friday peace settlement, which largely brought an end to the 30-year sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland known as the Troubles. However, Johnson was helped by the President of European Commission, Jean Claude Juncker's statement about possibility of further Brexit delay and stated that the deal would mean there is no prolongation, testament to commit to find solution, provide certainty and to protect peace and stability on the island of Ireland. (The Guardian, 2019).

The role of negotiator

Madman Theory : In the language of game theory "Madman" as the study of strategy and decision making, we could analyze how Johnson attempted to scare the opponent which were EU members, into making concession. In the EU Ministers Meeting he warned that UK would leave the EU on October 2019 with a deal. It could be seen as strategy to avoid a stalemate as previous negotiation. Moreover, It also created a possibility of a potential hard Brexit where it caused a pressure for the EU into securing a better deal. Therefore, everyone could assume that Johnson was

overconfident even mad with his decision but what he actually would like to show is UK has firm decision and it should be realized.

Discourse Analysis : In fact, by using basic discourse analysis, we could see how Boris Johnson optimistically told the press by stressing and repeating if there will be a great deal of Brexit without delay and the MPs will make it done as a strategy to attain his goal in the EU Ministers Meeting (The Guardian, 2019). His eagerness could be seen on the way he explained by the facial expression and hand movement. He also showed he was a goal-oriented by arguing and convincing that the deal will be good for both parties, the UK as well as agreed the EU, to prioritize the British people, and to Jean-Claude, about protecting the peace process in the island of Ireland and in the Northern Ireland, where a real Brexit will achieve their real objectives. He was also confident and believe with the credibility of MPs in the Westminster if he and his parliament representatives can negotiate and get excellent deal.

Furthermore, during the meeting, in the negotiation table, Johnson brought the issue of Irish and asked EU to remove the Irish backstop as a tool on how he attempted to convince them that he would go for a no-deal Brexit if his demand is not met. However, it was inevitable that Johnson faced a serious credibility problem and challenge to convince the various players in the Brexit game including the EU as a whole, Ireland, MPs in the House of Commons, the public and businesses. Whereas, the risk of no-deal was projected to be very potentially costly for the UK economy. Thus, until the end of the meeting, he still re-affirmed his previous argument of leaving the EU with the deal and emphasized a polarization that We “The UK” can come out from the EU “Them” as one of the United Kingdom (Volpicelli, 2019).

Johnson Leadership Style

Based on his behavior, it is interesting to note that Johnson exhibits an expansionistic leadership and evangelist style. Expansionist means that this leader attempt to expand their idea not only to his domestic society but also international society where Johnson is known to be a strategic political player that he is actually serious about leaving the EU on October 31 with or without a better deal. Johnson’s leadership depicted a vocal and high profile. One of Johnson’s commitment devices has been to repeatedly insist on the October 31 deadline as unmovable in his words, Brexit would have to absolutely happen by that date, “do or die”. In addition, Mr. Johnson could be said as crusader where his deal differs from those of his predecessor, Theresa May, primarily in its treatment of Northern Ireland. Needing to avoid physical border checks, Mrs. May opted to keep the entire United Kingdom in the European Union’s customs union, which was unacceptable to hard-line Brexiteers. Mr. Johnson sought to satisfy them by keeping Northern Ireland subject to the bloc’s rules in a practical sense, but legally outside it with the rest of Britain. His deal is at the extreme end of divorce settlements that Britain could have negotiated with the European Union. By keeping the European

Union at arm's length, Mr. Johnson and his lieutenants contended that Britain can set out to transform into lightly regulated competitor in the global economy or "Singapore-on-Thames," to use a phrase coined by Brexit evangelists (The Guardian, 2019).

Negotiation Result

Although France clashed with the rest of the EU over the length of a Brexit extension, ultimately the Withdrawal Agreement was eventually approved by EU leaders at the summit and it needed to pass U.K. lawmakers. The EU Parliament will also have to ratify the deal at an as yet unspecified date. Then the European Council has adopted a decision to extend the period under Article 50.3 (of the Treaty on the European Union), in the context of the UK's intention to withdraw from the EU (Reuters, 2019).

Level II (Domestic Stage : The Turbulance)

In the domestic, the Brexit's win-set (possible outcome which are likely to be accepted) also met with many critics even rejection. After negotiating Brexit in the EU Ministers Meeting, it could be said not easy to goal that in domestic level either in the mids of society or congress. The agreement threw British politics into chaos and caused confussion for public, with any number of outcomes possible: a no-deal exit from the European Union, a second referendum on whether to leave at all, or a general election that could shift the balance in Parliament. For instance, for the hardest part, Johnson have to win approval for his draft deal in the fractious British Parliament (British TV, 2019). Whereas, Jeremy Corbyn, leader of the opposition Labor Party, said the agreement was an "even worse deal" than May's and that the best way to get Brexit sorted is to give the people the final say in a public vote. Regarding this, under May, the Britain would leave the bloc but would continue to apply E.U. rules until the end of 2020. However, under Johnson's plan, only Northern Ireland is committed to remaining largely aligned with the bloc, even though it is leaving the E.U. along with the rest of the United Kingdom (New York Times, 2019).

The Process of Ratification in UK Parliament (The distribution of power) : Unexpectedly, when Johnson had repeatedly said Brexit would happen at the end of October, claiming he would rather be "dead in a ditch" than extend the deadline, however, after parliament voted down the timetable for his EU withdrawal bill to be scrutinised, he was forced to request an extension until 31 January. After a rebuke by lawmakers in Parliament, the British prime minister warned that an extension would be bad for both sides. Johnson suffered a stinging defeat on as Parliament rebuffed his campaign to take Britain out of the European Union by the end of October and forced him to seek an extension. Johnson eventually sent letter to President of the European Council Donald Tusk for the extention until the end of January 2020 (New York Times, 2019).

The UK Parliament Decision : Ultimately, the bill was passed in the final stage in the House of Commons rewarded Boris Johnson a Conservative's victory where majority of Members of Parliament (MPs), 124, voted heavily in favor of his Brexit deal, paving the way for the UK to leave the European Union on January 31. This sees the UK legally bound to leave the EU and to negotiate an agreement on future relations with the EU by the end of 2020, called "transition period.". If these stages at Westminster all go to plan, the European Parliament is expected to ratify the withdrawal agreement on January 29. Whereas, the Brexit deal covers separation issues such as EU citizens' rights and Britain's financial settlement, and sets out an 11-month transition period in which to agree a wider partnership (Washington, 2019).

Conclusion

The process of Brexit deal could be concluded as prolonged and complicated. Its issue started since 1975 whether join EU or not until the decision to leave with hard or soft Brexit. This decision comes as the consideration of sovereignty & security, Euroscepticism, and the importance is economic interest to be independent. This deal also could not be separated by the influence of Conservative Party under Cameron until Boris Johnson's leadership who attempted to succeed it in the EU Parliament as well as UK Parliament which faced many critics until it was eventually passed. However, this is not the end but a starting to re-negotiate all agreements with EU as well as to realize all UK's missions to make Britain great again.

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