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The Jigawa Journal of Politics (JJP), a biannual peer review publication of t Department of Political Science, Federal University Dutse. The jour contains a well-researched article written from a political Science perspecti or show relevance to contemporary politics in Nigeria, Africa and the ent globe.

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1. An article submitted for publication must have an abstract of not more than 250 words, 5 key words, and must be typed in Times News Roma with 12 font size and double line spacing. It should not exceed 20 pag (A4).
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Brexit: Potential Implications for Great Britain and Nigeria

Taiye .A. AWOTUNDE
Department of Political Science,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin,
awotunde.ta@gmail.com, +2348033815757.

Abubakar **ABDULRAHMAN**
Department of Political Science,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin,
abdulrahman.unilorin@gmail.com, +2347036120503

Abstract
The formation of association of countries at global, regional and sub-regional levels is regarede as a matter of necessity by nation-states in order to promote political, economic and socio-cultural unity among them. It has also been realised that this would help reduce discord and conflict among states. It was on this premise that the European Union (EU) was formed. The main objective of this paper is to analyse the political, economic and social implications of Great Britain's exit from the EU, while Britain would be able to assert its sovereignty, its trading activities would be adversely affected. Anti-immigration laws that Britain may propose would impact negatively on Nigeria. The research methodology used is qualitative. The work was exploratory in nature. It made use of secondary sources like textbooks, internet materials, magazines and newspapers. The study found out that Brexit had lots of negative consequences for Nigeria, while in the case of Britain; the negative consequences are not overwhelming. The paper concluded that integration among nation-states is an essential ingredient of development. The paper recommends that Britain should still maintain close links with the members of the EU since no country can claim self-sufficiency. It was also recommended that Nigeria as a stakeholder should come up with an economic blueprint that would mitigate the impact of Britain's decision to exit the European Union.

Keywords: Brexit, Political, Social, Economic and Development.

Introduction

The formation of associations or unions among countries of the world is a development that became rampant after the World War II. Prior to this time, the League of Nations was established shortly after World War I, with the mandate of promoting peace and security among member states. It was also to help nip in the bud situation that could escalate into war of a high magnitude (Ola, 1997). The formation of the League of Nations was the first step towards integration in international politics.

Another step was taken towards integration with the formation of United Nations in 1948 following the outbreak of World War II which was even more destructive than World War I. The objectives can be seen as basically the same as those of the League of Nations. Among these objectives, as contained in its charter, is the promotion of peace by preventing outbreaks of wars and resolution of disputes that might engender violent conflicts. It was also to facilitate conditions that are conducive to peaceful co-existence of nations of the world (Ayeni-Akeke, 2008). Suffice it to say that, these measures of integration at global level promoted political, economic and social cooperation among countries of the world. With the existence of the United Nations Organisation, the benefits of cooperation among states were further realised. Regional and Sub-regional organisations were formed by countries within the same region or sub-region to promote their economic, political, social, and even military interests. Worthy of mention is the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (AU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), formed to help protect the members against military attacks.

As observed by Eichengree (2016: 2), "Since World War II, countries have reduced barriers to trade, mainly through multilateral negotiations such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade". With the establishment of the European Union, the Europhiles have been able to forge ahead as a common market, enjoying the benefits of free movement of goods, services and people and also a unified currency. In other words, "after centuries of war and despite divisions of language and culture, Europeans have built, over five decades a truly supranational political-economic unit that makes substantial in-roads into national sovereignty" (Goldstein & Pavehouse, 2011: 353). As further asserted, "With the success of the Euro currency introduced in 2002, the EU members' states have carried out one of the boldest monetary experiments ever" (Goldstein & Pavehouse, 2011: 353).

This no doubt made integration process a worthwhile venture. It was against this background that Britain decided to exit the union with the determination to move on in spite of the challenges that may confront it in future. It is instructive to note that majority of British (about 52%) voted to leave EU. The main arguments of the opponents hinge around the fact that EU had become a dysfunctional economic entity, just as the rise of nationalism across the world is also a motivating factor. Suffice it to say that Britain's decision is not a peculiar one as some African states like South Africa, Burundi and Kenya have decided to exit the International Criminal Court (ICC).

Also at the sub-regional level there had been the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975. This was at the

instance of a former Head of the Nigerian State, General Yakubu Gowon. The 16-member organisation was formed with the "aims of promoting cooperation and development in all fields of economic activity and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living for its people, of increasing stability, of fostering closer relation among its members" (Ebobrah, 2015:12). In view of the above, therefore, the imperative of integration cannot be overemphasized at the global, regional and sub-regional levels. Countries integrate for some cogent reasons that are considered beneficial to the members. The paper examines Great Britain's decision to exit from the European Union and its possible implications for both Britain and Nigeria, with some recommendations.

Statement of the Problem

Over the years, the needs for interaction among countries of the world have been realised. This is because of the benefits that these countries derive from such interactions. However, in the course of relations with one another, countries are bound to come into conflict. Britain's decision to exit the European Union borders on its perception of not benefiting much from the Association. That is, by its membership, it is incurring more costs than benefits. The paper therefore seeks to examine the implications of Britain's exit from the European Union on both Britain and Nigeria, her erstwhile colony.

Research Questions

i. What are the potential implications of Brexit for the development of Britain?

ii. Does Brexit have potential implications for Nigeria as a former colony and close ally of Britain?

iii. Are there ways to mitigate the envisaged negative impact of Brexit on Nigeria?

Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is an analysis of the implications of Britain's decision to exit from the EU, for Britain and Nigeria. Specific objectives are to:

i. undertake an examination of the history and evolution of the European Union;

ii. examine the potential political, economic, and socio-cultural implications of Brexit for Britain;

iii. examine the potential political, economic and socio-cultural implications of Brexit for Nigeria; and

iv. make appropriate recommendations that would assist the two countries in their developmental efforts in case the Brexit deal succeeds.

Research Methodology

The research method employed for this research work is qualitative. This is because the study is exploratory in nature. Qualitative study attempts to picture current situations or attitudes or behaviours as the researcher embarks on rigorous analysis of events, issues or situations in the examination of the possible implications of Brexit to the socio-political development of Great Britain and Nigeria (Daramola & Daramola, 2011).

Theoretical Framework

Since this paper is concerned with Britain's exit from the European Union, the theories that would be chosen for analysis are the Integration theory and Group theory. Integration theory is a theory that has become prominent in the field of International Relations. It is a theory that has as its base in David Mitterany's Functionalism (Dougherty & Pfaltzgrafez, 2000). Integration is a process in which political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states (Dougherty & Pfaltzgrafez, 2000). According to Dougherty & Pfaltzgrafez (2011:354), international integration "refers to the process by which supranational institutions replace national ones - the gradual shifting upward of sovereignty from state to regional or global structures".

Integration, therefore, implies the coming together of states or institutions with a view to promoting cooperation in the political, economic or social spheres of human endeavour in order to enhance the living standard of its members. The idea of supranationalism is not something that is limited to interaction among states but also relates to transnational corporations as actors in the international system. The theory of international integration seeks to justify state's choice of supranationlism, which invariably challenges the foundations of realism, which are state sovereignty and territorial integrity (Goldstein & Pavehouse, 2011).

Integration theory is concerned with bringing together of two or more states so that they can form a larger body in order to be able to defend themselves and contribute to the promotion of world peace (Johari, 2012). In spite of the lofty ideals of the Integration Theory, it has its own shortcomings. With integration, states and their citizens are exposed to a lot of world challenges and conflicts (Goldstein & Pavehouse, 2011). This can be seen in the case of Venezuela in the 1990's whose open borders with Columbia resulted in the largest shipment of cocaine en route the United States. Over the years, terrorism had always made it difficult for states to open their borders to other state's citizens. Where there is unrestricted movement into a state, such a state has made itself vulnerable to terrorist attacks.

Integration may imply greater centralisation which can be inimical to freedom for individuals, local groups and the general populace (Goldstein, 2004). This situation can stifle initiatives on the part of countries involved, and also generate tension among the citizenry. This is because of the tendency towards dictatorship on the part of some countries that may become domineering within the group or association. Lastly, there is the tension and struggle between nationalism and supranational loyalty, which is regionalism or globalism (Goldstein, 2004). As countries aspire to promote a sense of belonging and loyalty among the citizens, they also seek to be committed to supranational bodies which they belong.

The Plural Theory falls within the general ambit of Political Science, as a discipline, thus making it relevant. The origin of the group theory can be traced to Arthur F. Bentley in his book; "The Process of Government" (Olaniyi, 2001). Among the assumptions of the theory are the believe belief that the society is nothing other than the complex group that comprise of it; that any group of people has a goal or interest, the purpose being to see to their own betterment. The theory places undue emphasis on the group, underestimating the value and importance of the individual as well as the society (Mahajan, 2014). In other words, it does not recognize the importance of the individual in political analysis and political action. The group theory is relevant to this paper in the sense that the European Union is a group of countries that have come together to promote their economic and political interests in which they believe that they have a lot to gain from one another as a group.

The European Union

It was on March 25, 1957 that six European countries namely France, West Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, Luxembourg and Belgium signed a treaty establishing the European Economic Community (ECC), which is also known as the European market (*This Day in History*, 2016). Each state felt that, "the benefit of integration, as opposed to just cooperation, would outweigh what appeared to be major disadvantage and some loss of sovereignty" (Nugent, 1999: 23) The former European Economic Community commenced its activities in 1958. It later metamorphosed into European Union precisely in 1993. This was as a result of the desire for more economic cooperation among the members.

In terms of numerical strength, the European Union's membership has grown from the initial six to 27 in 2007 with Romania and Bulgaria. Turkey's membership is still pending based on lack of consensus of members in admitting Turkey into its fold (Goldstein & Pavehouse, 2011), Croatia became the 28th member in 2013 (Europa, 2016). Apart from the six foundation members of the European Union, the other members currently, are Bulgaria,

Croatia, Republic of Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Malta, Sweden, Latvia, Lithuania, Ireland, Austria, Hungary, and the United Kingdom (Adurotoye, 2016).

It must be established that the United Kingdom did not join the commonwealth initially because of its conservativeness; instead, it formed the European Free Trade Association in 1960, with some other countries. It was when the common market nations showed signs of significant economic growth that Britain changed its mind and joined the European Community (now European Union) in 1973. Prior to its formation, the perennial economic problems of Western Europe were already realised while the markets of Europe were already polarised, coupled with the threat posed by the Soviet Union. Over the years, the EEC's impact has been significant in terms of free movement of labour and capital, abolition of trade restrictions and the development of joint and reciprocal policies on labour, social welfare, agriculture, transport and foreign trade (The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 2012). The Euros had also been adopted as the official currency for the members. The European Union provides a good example of trade liberalisation efforts among the European countries. This is in the sense that it has served as a free trade zone which has even encouraged free movement of labour among the member states but Great Britain believes that it has not benefitted much from the alliance, hence the reorientation towards 'exiting' the union of strange-bed fellows.

"Brexit" and its Potential Implications for Great Britain

Brexit simply means "Britain Exit" or "British Exit". It is simply "a political goal that was pursued by various individuals, advocacy groups and political parties since the United Kingdom joined European Economic Community (EEC); the precursor of the EU in 1973" (Adurotoye, 2016: 65). Brexit is thus a household name signifying Britain's exit from the European Union. The debate as to whether or not the UK should exit the EU bothers on what it has been benefitting from the organisation and what culminated into a referendum, which was conducted on Thursday, 23rd June, 2016, as the countries that were strongly advocating for Brexit won by 52% to 48%. England voted strongly for Brexit and likewise Wales, Scotland & Northern Ireland. The voters (referendum) turnout was 71.8% (Hunt & Wheeler, 2017).

The voters affirmed the desire of majority of the Britons for the UK to exit the EU, and this had been done in principle. Though, the former Prime Minister, David Cameron and his successor, Theresa May are in support of staying back in the Union, Theresa May, the new Prime Minister said "Brexit means Brexit and we are going to make a success of it" (Hunt & Wheeler, 2017). This implies that they have no choice than to support the will of the people as indicated in the referendum. The Britons very much believe in democratic

ideals. However, it must be noted that for the UK to leave the EU an agreement called Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty must be invoked and this would give the two sides two years to agree on the terms of split (Hunt & Wheeler, 2017). The two years period would afford a country exiting the body the opportunity to embark on a gradual process of opting out. Britain is expected to exit the EU in March, 2019. Brexit has significant implications for Great Britain. Suffice it to say that, these implications are political, economic and social in nature. In the first place, before Brexit could be effective or legal in nature, the British Parliament must pass laws that would give effect to the exit.

In terms of UK's sovereignty, it has been realized that Brexit would give it more freedom and it would be able to exercise its sovereignty better as an independent state within the comity of nations, since treaties often limit the abilities of countries to act independently. In addition, the British exit from the EU would result in an immediate cost saving measure as the country would no longer contribute to the EU budget. In 2015, its net contribution was £8.5bilion, which was about 7 per cent of what the Government spends on the NHS each year (*The Week Junior Magazine,* 2017). This money would have been channeled to other uses that might have met up with the wishes of the people.

Furthermore, British exit would lead to a reduction in the number of immigrants coming to the country. That is to say, it would be able to exercise control over immigrants finding their way to UK. This is because under the EU, it cannot prevent citizens of member states from going into the UK based on the EU Treaty allowing free movement of goods, people and services (*The Week Junior Magazine,* 2017). This is an area that has given the citizens concern especially with the increase in spate of terrorism. However, Britain may not be able to go far with stopping immigrants, as its citizens are also all over Europe. In addition, in the sphere of Trade, more than 50 per cent of British exports go to EU countries. Membership of the body also gives it a say over how trading rules are drawn up. Britain like the others also benefits from trade drawn between the EU and other world powers. By leaving the EU, Britain would lose some of these benefits though; it would be able to have its own trade agreements (*The Week Junior Magazine,* 2017).

Brexit plan is imparting negatively on the Pound Sterling, as observed, "(Pound) Sterling has lost more than 10% of its value against the United States' Dollar since Brexit with the Pound worth about $1.32, and this is down to the lowest level since 1985 and it has also fallen in value against the Euros" (Hunt & Wheeler, 2017:7). This implies that travelers from UK and those desirous of goods from other European countries would have to pay more when they convert their Pound Sterling to Euros. This will also have negative

impact on investment and UK generally. Investment in Britain from the other developed countries can also be adversely affected. This will be so if investors seeking to export their products from Britain to any of the European Union countries have to pay tax on the goods to be exported. They may want to relocate to countries where they would not pay on export goods. It should be noted that Brexit had also led to the demand for medical personnel of commonwealth countries like Nigeria, because medical personnel of the EU countries hitherto in Britain are also leaving the country (*The Pointer*, 2018). Great Britain's exit from the European Union can also affect relations between Britain and some other members of the EU, like France. This is because it would no longer be regarded as an 'associate' and the issue of trust would no longer be there, even though there is the phrase in international politics that there are no permanent friends or enemies but permanent interest. These factors are certainly expected to be subjected to serious debates in the UK Parliament on the future of Britain in the European Union.

"Brexit" and its Potential Implications for Nigeria

The decision to consider the implications of Brexit on Nigeria is based on the fact that Nigeria is a former colony of Britain and there exists strong ties between the two. As had been established, "Nigeria has strong ties with Britain. After South Africa, Nigeria is Britain's second largest trading partner in Africa, with £6 billion in bilateral trade volume last year" (Hile, 2016:2). "The UK is also Nigeria's largest source of foreign investment with assets worth over $1.4billion" (*Vanguard*, 2016:5). These trade volumes no doubt are on the high side. Brexit's impact on Nigeria can be seen in many ways.

To begin with, its economy could further deteriorate. The Nigerian economy for some time was in recession due to the fall in crude oil production and the activities of Niger Delta Militants (*The News*, 2016; *Vanguard*, 2016). The insurgency in the Niger Delta was perpetrated by the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) and the Joint Niger Delta Liberation Force (JNDLF) among others. The groups had claimed responsibility for most of the pipeline vandalisation in the past, due to perceived neglect and marginalisation of the South-South by the Federal Government. The crude oil price keeps on fluctuating and with Brexit, the economy may still slip into recession if care is not taking by the Nigerian government because a global crash in the price of crude oil, which is the main source of foreign exchange, is largely responsible for recession in an oil-producing state like Nigeria.

Brexit will also impact negatively on Nigeria's monetary policies which obviously is not good for the unstable economy. As far as Nigeria banks are concerned, a lot of pressing issues would come up, like lending and borrowing relationship entered into on the strength of Europe and its impact on bank customers whose deposits and assets are in affected countries. "It also throws

up issues such as treatment to be given to the differentials in currency values in the books of banks under the International Financial Reporting System" (Abioye, 2016:33). A lot of monetary policies would have to be revised so as to be in tandem with the realities on ground.

There is the adverse effect of Brexit on migrants to United Kingdom. Since Britain has the intention of reducing the population of migrants to UK for economic and other reasons, Nigeria would definitely be affected over time. Akinterinwa (2016) posited that since migrants are seen as nuisance or perceived as people creating problems for the European countries and also the fact that lot of Nigerians would like to make Britain their second home, then they must be prepared for harder days to come. He further asserted that there is likelihood of Brexit weakening the European Union especially in terms of financial capabilities which would ultimately lead to reduction in aids and assistance to Nigeria (Akinterinwa, 2016). The problem with migration has to do with illegal migration of Nigerians to Britain (*Daily Trust*, 2018). Nigeria is both a member of the Commonwealth of Nations had benefited from aids and donations from the United Kingdom in the past.

In terms of investment it has also been asserted that Nigerians having business in Britain would find the place less attractive, with the exit of Britain from the EU since Nigeria would no longer have full access to the European market (Hile, 2016). However, this has been debunked by the British High Commissioner to Nigeria, Paul Arkwright. He gave assurance that, trade ties between UK and Nigeria would not change. Instead, there would be a stronger relationship between the two countries *(The Punch*, 2016). As could be recalled, a strong trade relationship had existed between Nigeria and Britain right from the early 1960s. A large chunk of Nigeria's exports are taken to Britain. It is, therefore, not a surprise to see Prime Minister Theresa May on a tour of three African countries, namely: South Africa, Kenya and Nigeria, ahead of the proposed 'March 29, 2019 exit'. This tour that was undertaken in August 2018 and was aimed at strengthening ties between Britain and African countries (Oke, 2018).

In terms of security, the UK all along has been involved in security issues in Nigeria. It has not only played a significant role in drawing international attention to the activities of the dreaded Boko Haram sect, operating in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria, but had also long been involved in training Nigerian soldiers to fight insurgency (Muhammed, 2015). With the UK's departure from the EU, there are international security threats that linger, like the issue of terrorism and kidnapping because the firm grip of Great Britain by acting as checks and balances will be greatly reduced, though the US and France have proven more assertive than the UK in the fight against terrorism (*The News*, 2016). This implies that military assistance from Britain to

developing countries like Nigeria is also likely to be adversely affected with Brexit.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it would be seen that, countries of the world consider the formation of regional economic groupings like EU as beneficial. Member counties have derived mutual benefits in terms of infrastructure, foreign aid, trade and military aid. The use of peace keeping forces to maintain peace in war-torn states like Liberia and Sierra Leone in the past is also a cogent reason for integration. It would also be seen that the decision of Britain to leave the EU was a decision of the majority of Britons. However, these decisions no doubt, would have its positive and negative consequences on Great Britain, Nigeria and their allies.

Recommendations

Nigeria as a stakeholder should come up with policies that would help to absorb the shock of the exit. The Government should develop infrastructural facilities like roads, so as to encourage investments in Nigeria which would promote increase in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The development of infrastructures in both urban and rural areas can even make the rural areas attractive to a lot of Nigerians.

Efforts should be made by the Nigerian Government to enhance the development of small scale and medium scale enterprises. This can be achieved through institutions like Small and Medium Scale Development Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN) and the Bank of Industry (BOI). This would help to reduce the unemployment challenge in the country and stimulate growth of the economy. This would in turn make developed countries less attractive and mitigate the adverse effect of Brexit on Nigeria. Infrastructural development should be a priority of any responsible government. Even if Brexit does not succeed, Nigerian government still needs put in place, solid infrastructure that will put the country on the path of self-sustaining development.

Nigeria should maintain good trade relations with the 'Asian Tigers', led by China. This is because the Asian nations have penetrated the economies of both developed and developing countries of the world (Akinboyo, 2015). "Available records have shown that all the tangible and intangible sectors of the Nigerian economy have been substantially taken over by the Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Korean and other Asian Tigers" (Akinboyo, 2015: 17). Outside the Union, Britain should try to maintain good relations with member states of the European Union. This is necessary so as to secure some benefits from such relations in spite of its exit from the Union. There should be

sincerity of purpose in her dealings with these countries; this is especially with regards to immigration issues and trading activities.

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