#### **Brexit: Six Months Later**

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AEA Meetings, Chicago
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#### Reasons for Brexit Vote

- Brexit Referendum followed
  - Years of fiscal austerity.
  - Flat GDP per capita for almost a decade.
  - Multi-decade campaign from many newspapers against the EU.
- Remain was a vote for the status quo with no promises of any great improvement.
- Leave was a vote against status quo and "the establishment" that meant different things to different people.
- In many cases, Leave was a protest vote linked to "pet issues" rather than a vote for a coherent economic plan for leaving the EU.

# Many Reasons for Voting Leave

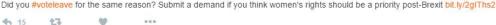
# "I VOTED LEAVE DUE TO THE SEXIST ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN WITHIN THE FIL"













# Benefits of Leaving Largely Illusory

#### Reducing Immigration

- Largely blamed on EU but (controllable) non-EU immigration was always higher than from EU.
- Forgotten were the 1.25 million UK citizens living in the EU.
- Pressure on public services was due to austerity, not immigration.

#### "Taking Back Control"

- Unclear which EU laws the UK would like to repeal.
- Energy-saving lightbulbs often mentioned ...
- Some enthusiasm for regaining the ability to undertake bad policies like subsidising failing industries (which may not be possible anyway due to WTO rules).

# Benefits of Leaving Largely Illusory

#### EU as a bloated bureaucracy with ridiculous rules.

- EU has 43,000 employees, less than many English county councils.
- The "ridiculous" rules setting specifications for various types of products will still be around after Brexit because they are also a feature of WTO trading rules.
- As will most of the health, safety and environmental regulation.

#### €350 million per week to spend on the NHS.

 Will largely be spent on replacing regional funding, research funding, transitional payments and future payments for access to the single market.

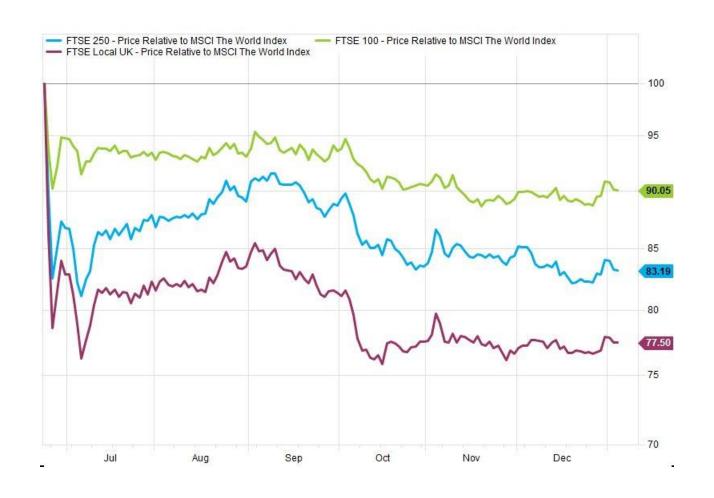
### WTO Tariff Schedules for Rubber

	40 -	RUBBER AND ARTICLES THEREOF
±	□ shee	4001 - Natural rubber, balata, gutta-percha, guayule, chide and similar natural gums, in primary forms or in plates, ts or strip.
±	□ prod	4002 - Synthetic rubber and factice derived from oils, in primary forms or in plates, sheets or strip; mixtures of any uct of heading 40.01 with any product of this heading, in primary forms or in plates, sheets or strip.
±		4003 - Reclaimed rubber in primary forms or in plates, sheets or strip.
±		4004 - Waste, parings and scrap of rubber (other than hard rubber) and powders and granules obtained therefrom
±		4005 - Compounded rubber, unvulcanised, in primary forms or in plates, sheets or strip.
	□ unvu	4006 - Other forms (for example, rods, tubes and profile shapes) and articles (for example, discs and rings), of cleanised rubber.
±		4007 - Vulcanised rubber thread and cord.
±		4008 - Plates, sheets, strip, rods and profile shapes, of vulcanised rubber other than hard rubber.
	□ exam	4009 - Tubes, pipes and hoses, of vulcanised rubber other than hard rubber, with or without their fittings (for aple, joints, elbows, flanges).
±		4010 - Conveyor or transmission belts or belting, of vulcanised rubber.
±		4011 - New pneumatic tyres, of rubber.
±		4012 - Retreaded or used pneumatic tyres of rubber; solid or cushion tyres, tyre treads and tyre flaps, of rubber.
±		4013 - Inner tubes, of rubber.
±	□ witho	4014 - Hygienic or pharmaceutical articles (including teats), of vulcanised rubber other than hard rubber, with or out fittings of hard rubber.
±	□ vulca	4015 - Articles of apparel and clothing accessories (including gloves, mittens and mitts), for all purposes, of mised rubber other than hard rubber.
±		4016 - Other articles of vulcanised rubber other than hard rubber.
±		4017 - Hard rubber (for example, ebonite) in all forms, including waste and scrap; articles of hard rubber.

#### No Post-Referendum Recession

- Perhaps consistent with textbook macro:
  - Brexit reduces UK potential GDP but hasn't happened yet.
  - Huge uncertainty over the range of potential negative effects and they will play out over many years.
  - Vote triggered an immediate exchange rate depreciation & easing of monetary policy which has a positive short-run impact.
- We will see reductions in investment in some sectors but gross effects (negative and positive) larger than net effects.
- We may never see a Brexit recession, just a negative supply-side shock restraining growth over a number of years.

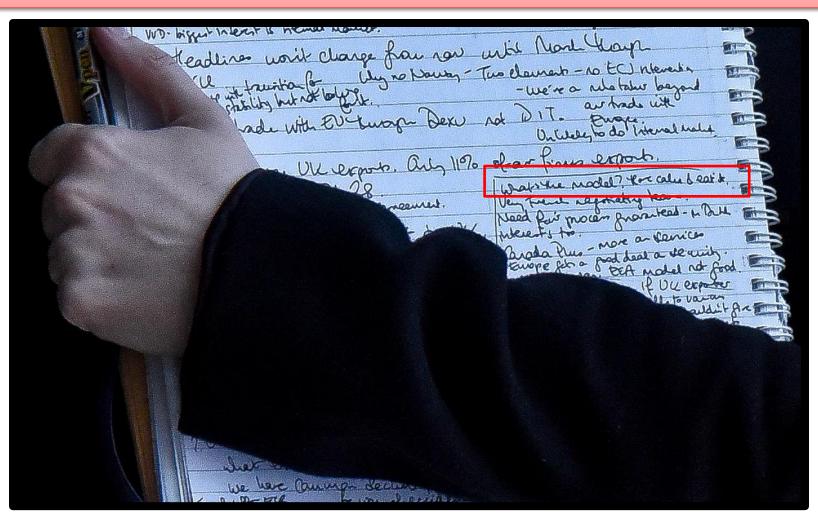
# The Market's Judgement on Effect of Brexit on UK Companies



## What Is the UK's Approach?

- Ivan Rogers (just resigned as UK ambassador to the EU): "We do not yet know what the Government will set as negotiating objectives for the UK's relationship with the EU after exit."
- Four apparent "red lines".
  - 1. "Take back control" of immigration
  - Leave the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice
  - 3. Reduce money going to Brussels
  - 4. Allow Britain to strike new trade deals

# Starting UK Position: Have Cake and Eat It



#### **EU27 Position**

- An "a la carte" Brexit could represent an existential threat to the EU.
  - Would encourage anti-EU parties in France, Italy and elsewhere.
- Freedom of movement an important principle for many (in particular Eastern) EU states.
  - Swiss example largely ignored by the UK.
- EU27 not inclined to offer UK an "a la carte" option involving single market membership with restrictions on freedom of movement.

### Most Likely Outcome: Very Hard Brexit

- Tory party red lines appear to rule out EEA, Swiss options or membership of customs union.
- Temporary EEA membership (Norway option)? Unlikely, given Conservative political rhetoric.
- Range of practical problems:
  - Limited negotiating time after Article 50 notification (maximum of 18 months).
  - Extension of Article 50 beyond two years also unlikely.
  - Need for UK to renegotiate its position within the WTO.
- Baseline Scenario: UK leaves EU in 2019 and trades with the EU under WTO trading rules.
- UK may later attempt new trade deals with the EU (and other regions) but these will take years to negotiate and pass.

#### Large Potential Sectoral Adjustments

100% 90% 80% 70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% & fruit Flours Meat Hats Wadding, felt & ropes Silk products Beverages Man-made staple fibres Man-made filaments Clocks & watches Other fabric products feathers Raw hides & leather Frees and plants Tanning & dyeing extracts Umbrellas Fertilisers **Explosives & matches** Coffee, tea & spices Wool products products Fruits & nuts Food residues & animal. Albuminoidal substances Fish & crustaceans Vegetables Coated fabrics Tobacco Cotton products Veg. Textile fibres Fats & oils Special fabrics Carpets **Knitted fabrics** Cereals Footwear Vehicles eggs, honey Cocoa & chocolate Other edible preparations Processed cereals Processed meat & fish Sugars & confectionary Clothes - not-knitted Clothes - knitted Processed veg Base metál <sub>I</sub> Prepared hair & Aluminum

■ EU-UK ■ UK-EU

Figure 8: Sectors with Trade Reductions over 20%

#### Financial Services

- London will continue to be a major centre for global financial services.
- But many financial institutions are looking to redeploy resources out of London and towards other European cities.
- One particular type of business that will leave is eurodenominated clearing.
  - EY estimates 83,000 job losses in banking and related sectors over the next seven years if euro-denominated clearing is forced out of London.
- Lots of longer-term complications due to loss of "passporting" and requirements for regulatory equivalence.

#### Scotland

- Ian Wooten: "Scotland is very attached to its European membership, perhaps more so than its membership of the UK."
- Scottish enthusiasm for EU could lead to a new independence referendum with Scotland leaving the UK to join\remain in EU.
- But post-Brexit, Scotland getting independence and joining EU would mean a hard border with England. This could reduce enthusiasm for leaving UK.
- Complex issues:
  - Can Scotland prevent Brexit via Sewel convention?
  - Special status for Scotland inside single market post-Brexit?

#### **Ireland**

- Irish PM, Enda Kenny: Brexit vote "the greatest economic and social challenge for this island in fifty years"
- Many complex issues
  - Ireland & UK have historically had a "free travel area". Can this survive UK ending freedom of movement with the EU?
  - UK is Ireland's largest export market and economy would be heavily affected by WTO tariff levels.
  - Intra-island trade of huge importance for both North and South.
  - Loss of CAP and EU regional funding for Northern Ireland.
  - Will Ireland attract FDI previously going to UK?
  - Will Dublin attract City of London financial businesses?