"The affect of UKIP on the Brexit "

The Abstract:

The Brexit considered as one of the most important recent issues, as it had preoccupied all the world, especially the politicians and businessmen, so, this research will examine the UK referendum to exit from European union on 23 June 2016 which was held mainly to curb immigration and objected to the position of UK in European union, and also will examine the role of UKIP in determining the future of UK by encouraging the UK government to exit from EU and what is the short and long impacts of Brexit in future .

Through the above , our research problem is seeking to explore the effect of the rise of UKIP on the Brexit .

The research started from **main hypothesis** which is: there is a positive or direct relationship between the rise of UKIP and the Brexit.

And to prove that hypothesis, the research will use **economic voting approach** focusing on the **"selection model"**.

The conclusion: this study Proved the validity of the hypothesis that the rise of UKIP affect the Brexit, when the UKIP get increased support and get the largest number of votes (26.77%) in the 2014 European Parliament elections, and the largest number of seats (24 seats), so when UKIP call it's supporters and all people to vote for leaving the EU because of the increasing immigration and unemployment, so people vote in the referendum to leave the EU with the percentage(51.9%).

Keywords : UKIP, Brexit and Euro skepticism .

Introduction

On 23June 2016, the electorate of UK made sovereign choice to leave the EU[1] As the UK government made a referendum to remain or exit from EU because it saw that its position in EU, made it suffering from unemployment because of immigration (as EU facilitates the free movement of people), and after this decision, Europe's trajectory has become a matter of choice, and one of the factors that ease the Brexit process is the rise of UKIP party role in the British society.[2] SO, we choose this article because it's one of the important topics on the international arena, and it was noted that although the UKIP is a small party. But it achieved a clear superiority over the 2 biggest parties in UK, so the political system in UK became 2 and half party system, by adopting the issue of Brexit and the advocacy to reduce the preparation of immigration that caused the problem of unemployment.

Through the above, the research question is what the effect of UKIP on Brexit is?! From this question, the research will discuss 3 main topics (the rise of UKIP, Brexit, Eurosceptcism) concentraiting on unemployment and immigration.

The scientific hypothesis

The main hypothesis of this study is that there's a positive relationship between the rise of UKIP and the Brexit.

The division of the research

This study divided into three main topics
1- The rise of UKIP.
2- The Brexit.
3- The euro skepticism.

---

[1] ferry. jean pisani and others ، (25 August 2016) ، Europe after Brexit: a proposal for a continental partnership , *journal of democracy*.

[2] James. McBride ، (21october 2016) ،the debate over Brexit , Retrieved: www.cfr.org/united-kingdom/, acssed : December 2016 .

Literature review

Literature review:

To answer our main question and find the relation between UKIP and Brexit , a variety of literature could be reviewed to show and analyse the different opinions about our subject. **This subject contains three main trends as following** :

1\ Literature studying the UKIP, its originations, history, ideology, object and manifesto…etc. As UKIP's priority is total withdrawal from the European Union. Its manifesto, Empowering the People, Claims that Britain "has lost control of its borders". Control can only be regained by leaving the EU, tripling the UK Borders Agency, freezing immigra tion for settlement for five years and repatriating illegal immigrants. After the five year freeze all immigration for settlement should be on the strictly controlled points system used by Australia. All asylum seekers should be held on "secure and humane centres" and all travelers to the UK must obtain a visa overseas. "Bogus educational establishments" should be cracked down on. The doctrine of multiculturalism should be ended by all publicly funded bodied, the Human Rights Act (1998) repealed and Britain should withdraw from the European Convention on Human Rights[1]. Later, it broadened its appeal [2].

For more details in this trend, see:A[3]and B[4].

This trend can be criticized for not to indicate the destiny enough of information and statistics, and that what will be included in this paper.

[1]) James Jupp, (APRIL-JUNE 2010), Immigration and Race in the British General Election, *Australian Quarterly,* Vol. 82, No. 2, p1.

[2] Roland Flamini, (JULY / AUGUST 2013), THE UK INDEPENDENCE PARTY: Euroskeptics Rattle Cameron, *World Affairs,* Vol. 176, No. 2, pp. 35-41.

[3] JACK H. NAGEL and CHRISTOPHER WLEZIEN, (April 2010), Centre-Party Strength and Major-Party Divergence in Britain, 1945-2005, *British Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 279-304.

[4] Tracy Craggs and Emma King, (SPRING 2013) , Sharing European memories in school: exploring historical memory in the classroom, *Oral History,* Vol. 41, No. 1, pp. 108-112.

2/The second variable in this thesis is the Brexit, as they indicated the history of brexit and its reasons[1], and the referendum steps[2].

The most literatures show the supporting of Brexit because of EU's negative effects on economy, immigration, sovereignty and independence, Now that the UK has opted for a 'hard Brexit', will it survive its removal? At least now we have an inkling of what the British negotiating position is and that the exit process will start in March 2017[3].

Some other literatures saw that Brexit is a bad idea, as In the wake of the result of the so-called 'Brexit' referendum the future of the division of the island of Ireland is called into question. It is felt that the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union may have many unintended consequences for an island where the authorities are trying to promote a peaceful resolution to the conflicts that have haunted our existence for the last 100 year[4]. Some opposed to specific purposes such as the rights of publishing [5].

For more details in this trend, see:A[6]and B[1] ·

---

1) Monica CONDRUZ-BĂCESCU,(6-2014), Euroscepticism Across Europe: Drivers and Challenges, *European Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, Vol. 6 , pp.2-3.

2) Alex Hunt & Brian Wheeler,(24 November 2016), Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU*, BBC News*, Available on*:* http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887, Accessed on[2-12-2016].

3) GEORGE BOYCE, (November–December 2016), FROM THE EDITOR Peace processes and complacency, *History Ireland ,* Vol. 24, No. 6, p. 3.

4) Tom Condit, (autumn 2016), ARCHAEOLOGY, HERITAGE AND BREXIT*, Archaeology Ireland,* Vol. 30, No.3, p. 3.

6) Tony Canavan, (September/October 2016), EDITORIAL*, Books Ireland,* No. 369 , p. 3

1) Julie Smith, (Jul., 2005), A Missed Opportunity? New Labour's European Policy 1997-2005, *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944),* Vol. 81, No.4, pp. 703-721.

3/The most analytic part in this thesis is finding the relation between UKIP and Brexit, which can be seen in Euroscepticism concept, as the UKIP party mainly established to support the Britain exit from European Union for different reasons.The main drivers of eurosceptics stands include: disagreement with EU policies, economic challenges associated with the enlargement process, as well as the extent of national sovereignty within the EU. Thus while European leaders develop policies to improve economic crisis, ordinary citizens are beginning to question the legitimacy of the EU, feeling they have been forced to accept things they did not want. This EU member states' citizens confirm the fears of political actors [٢]. Those reasons are the same reasons of calling for Brexit, and themselves are the reasons of establishing the UKIP party, from here we can understand the relation.

For more details in this trend, see: A[3], B[4] , C[5].

This trend can be criticized for only mentioning the theoretical information about eurosceptcism and omissioning the empirical aspects, so this research will solve this proplem.

---

[2] Charles Flanagan, TD, (2016), Identity and Values in Irish Foreign Policy, *Irish Studies in International Affairs,* vol.27, pp. 1-5.

[3] Nicolò Conti, (2011), The radical right in Europe, between slogans and voting behavior, *Análise Social*, Vol. 46, No. 201, pp. 633-652.

[4] Michael Minkenberg and Pascal Perrineau, (Jan., 2007), The Radical Right in the European Elections 2004, *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique,* Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 29-55.

[5] Anand Menon, (Oct., 2003), Britain and the Convention on the Future of Europe, *International Affairs,* Vol. 79, No.5 ,pp. 963-978.

Research methodology

This study will use economic voting approach, focusing on the **"selection model"**.

Main assumptions

1) theory of economic voting stems from the assumption that voters are instrumentally rational, it assumes that voters make cost and benefit analysis and vote to the candidate that maximizes expected utility.

2) There's a direct relationship between economy and voting behavior, so voters will vote to the incumbent party if it improves the economic performance, or vote against it if it doesn't improve the economic performance.

The application of this theory on this case study

1) voters in the United Kingdom vote to the UKIP, because it is a single issue party and it seeks to reduce immigration which causes unemployment, so it tries to solve economic problems and to improve economic performance, as a result of that, it got most of seats in the European Parliament's election 2014.

2) people in the United Kingdom vote for Brexit in the referendum that hold on 23 June 2016, because they saw that economic disadvantage of remaining in the EU like immigration and unemployment are more than the advantages of the EU like the single market.

The rise of UKIP

➢ **(1)The rise of UKIP:**

UKIP: is the short cut of UK independence party .It's a single issue party and also campaign against government which planned to increase spending on defense and the British armed forces and push Uk to make barriers to immigration to reduce or actually prevent it.

It was founded in 1993 at a meeting held at the London school of economics with the aim of opposing the Maastricht treaty, the historic agreement on which European integration is based. Its leader is Nigel Farage and he is a British member of Europe parliament but he was resign in June 2016 as he failed in the election of party.[1]But in 2013 Cameron announced that he is negotiating with Brussels to rewrite agreements linking London and the European Balthad he would present Britain's membership in the Union for the Referendum in 2017 (case continued to power after election in 2013) a referendum seems to have come out of Britain already Europe.[2]

➢ **What does UKIP stand for ?**

UKIP is a single issue (Brexit) and radical right party wants to prevent the Immigration but as the party has sought to broaden its appeal beyond that single issue, it has developed a full range of policies in all areas such as:

- **EUROPE:** Nigel Farage says he wants an "amicable divorce" from the European Union.
- **IMMIGRATION:** An end to the age of "mass uncontrolled immigration". It wants a five year freeze on immigration for permanent settlement - and any future migration must be strictly limited to those who can "clearly be shown to benefit the British people as a whole and our economy". Immigrants would not be able to apply for public housing or benefits until they had paid tax for five years. In order to achieve these goals Britain would have to leave the EU because there are no restrictions on other EU citizens moving to the UK while it remains a member.[3]

---

[1] Taylor (2008) the UK independence party Retrieved :: www.journal of democracy.com, accessed on : 10December2016 .

[2] (2014) UKIP backs direct democracy and use of referendum Retrieved : www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics accessed :10December2016 .

[3] Abedi, amir, and thomas carl (2009) doomed to failure? UKIP and the organizational challenges facing righting populist anti-political establishment parties *parliamentary affairs* p.p. 72-87.

- **TAX:** UKIP favors a flat tax - a single combined rate of income tax and national insurance paid by all workers.
- **EDUCATION:** UKIP backs selection by ability and would encourage the creation of new grammar schools ، and also It also advocates the return of the student grant system.
- **DEFENCE:** According to a recent policy paper, UKIP would increase defense spending.
- **DEMOCRACY:** The party wants binding local and national referendums on major issues.
- **LAW AND ORDER:** UKIP would double prison places and protect "frontline" policing to enforce "zero tolerance" of crime.
- **THE ECONOMY:** UKIP is proposing "tens of billions" of tax cuts and had set out £77bn of cuts to public expenditure to deal with the deficit.[1]
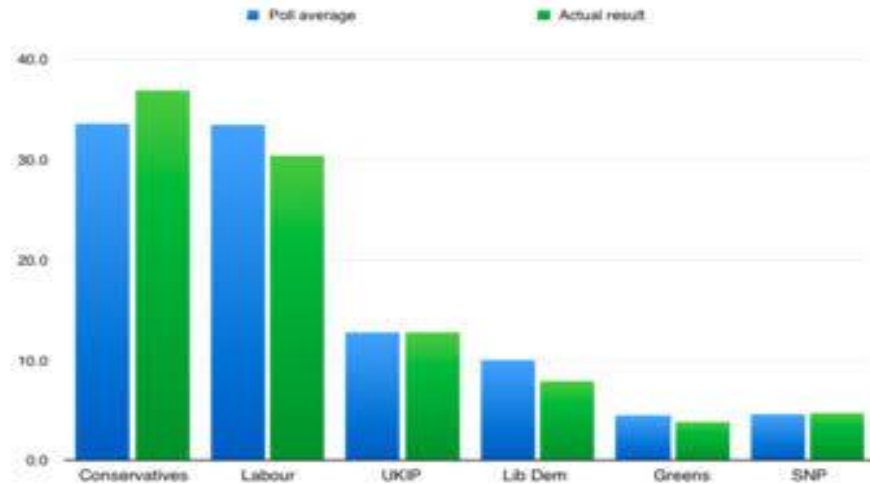 - **And we saw all these in its election program**

➢ **The election program of the UKIP:[2]**

a) Get out of Europe.

b) Control Border and reduce the number of immigrants.

c) Increase spending on the health service (About three billion sterling).

d) Reduce the outside British aid and directed it to the outside.

e) Stop taxes for all those who earning the minimum wage.

After election the UKIP become the third political force in Britain ، it got 3.8 Million votes about 12.6% ، after the conservative party (330 seats about 36.8%) ، and the labour party (232seats about 30.4%) ،But UKIP has only on seat in the parliament .

([1]) (٢٠١٣)، Local elections : What does UKIP stand for, retrieved : http://www.bbc.com ، accessed:12 December2016 .

([2]) (2016 November) ،Paul Nuttall elected as UKIP leader, *BBC News*.

- Poll average
- Actual result

(Bar chart comparing Poll average and Actual result for: Conservatives, Labour, UKIP, Lib Dem, Greens, SNP)

➢ **Who voted for UKIP?**

- o Older – less well educated – working and lower _middle class men.

➢**Leadership: ([1])**

a) Alan Sked (1993: 1997).

b) Craig Mackinlay (1997).

c) Leffrey Titford (2000: 2002).

d) Roger Knapman (2002: 2006).

e) Nigel Farage (2006:2009).

f) The lord Pearson of Rannoch (2009:2010)

g) Nigel Farage (2010: 2016).

h) Diane James (2016 only 18 days)

i) And now it's leader is Paul Nuttall.

([1])(2010 November) ‹Nigel Farage re-elected to lead UK Independence Party ‹ *BBC News* .

➢ **Regions :**

UKIP's organization is divided into twelve regions: London, South East, South West, Eastern, East Midlands, West Midlands, Yorkshire, North East, North West, Wales, Northern Ireland, and Scotland .An additional, thirteenth branch, operates in the British Overseas Territory of Gibraltar; it held its first public meeting at the Lord Nelson pub in April 2013.

- o Results of the European Parliament election, 2014 in Great Britain. Districts where UKIP received the largest number of votes are shown in purple. :
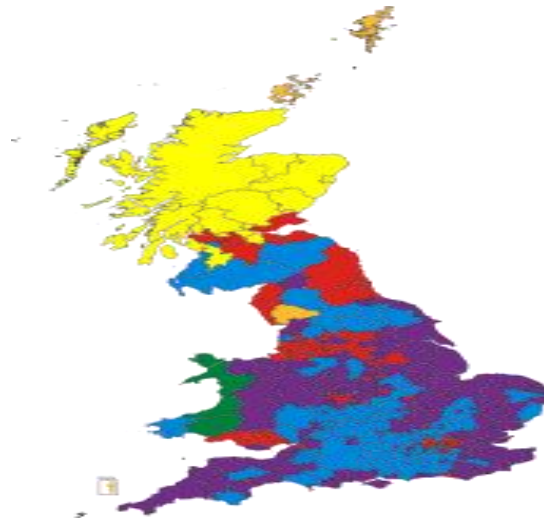
➢ **The Brexit**

➢ **What does Brexit mean.**[1]

It is a word that has become used as a shorthand way of saying the UK leaving the EU - merging the words Britain and exit to get Brexit. It was a result of immigration, Euro skepticism, unemployment, and some English people felt that there country lost sovereignty, and old people refused some new phenomena such as liberalism, culuturalism, and feminism.

➢ **British referendum**[2]

Cameron promised to hold a referendum on the UK's EU membership if his Conservative Party won the 2015 elections, which it subsequently did.

In November 2015, Cameron announced that before holding a referendum, he would seek EU reform in four major areas: national sovereignty, immigration policy, financial and economic regulation, and competitiveness. In February 2016, EU leaders agreed to a number of changes, including protections for non-euro currencies within the EU, new limits on migrants' benefits, a commitment to reducing EU regulation, and official recognition that the push for "ever closer union" does not apply to the UK.

Referendum already was helded and it decided that United Kingdom should leave the European Union after voters in the UK made a choice on the following question: "Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?"

Advocates for a Brexit, from the union argued that by reclaiming its national sovereignty, the UK would be better able to manage immigration, free itself from onerous regulations, and spark more dynamic growth.

➢ **The referendum results**

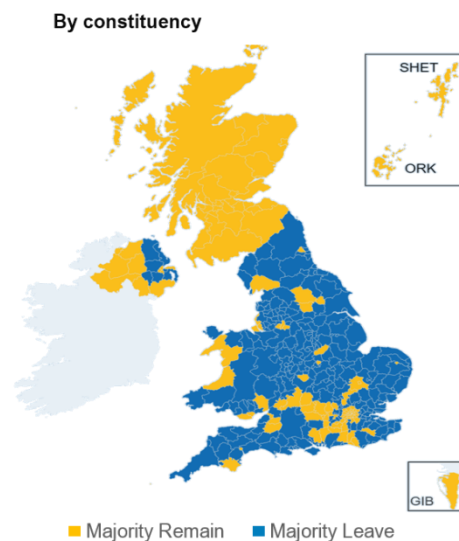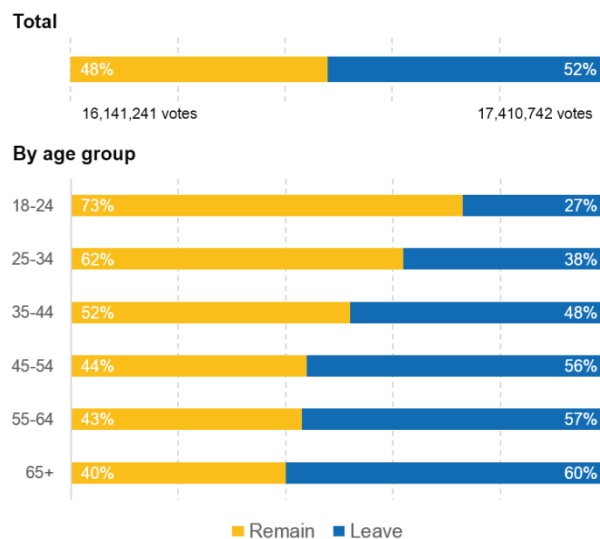The participation was 72.20%, it is the big participation in the UK history (33, 56 million), and Ratio of supporters to stay in the European Union was 51, 9% when the other was 48.1%.

([1])Alex Hunt & Brian Wheeler, (24 November 2016)، Brexit : All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU, *BBC news*.
([2]) James McBride، (٢١October 2016) ،the debate over brexit, *Council of foreign relation*.

The UK divided on many level which following:

1- The geography level: Scotland and Ireland supported remain, when England and Wales supported leave.
2- Education level: highest level of education voted to remain when low level of education voted to leave.
3- Age: young people voted to remain, when the old people voted to leave.
4- Ethnicity: areas with the higher number of immigrants voted to leave, when areas with the lower number of immigrants voted to remain.

Total

| 48% | 52% |

16,141,241 votes   17,410,742 votes

By age group

Age	Remain	Leave
18-24	73%	27%
25-34	62%	38%
35-44	52%	48%
45-54	44%	56%
55-64	43%	57%
65+	40%	60%

■ Remain ■ Leave

By constituency

SHET
ORK
GIB

■ Majority Remain ■ Majority Leave

5- Parties: Voting percentages were divided within each party, some in favor of staying in the EU, and some in favor of leaving.

How Britain voted

By 2015 GE vote

Remain   Leave

42% 🇬🇧 58%

63% 🌹 37%

70% 🕊 30%

4% £UKIP 96%

75% 🌻 25%

64% ✕ 36%

Lord Ashcroft Polls
🐦 @LordAshcroft
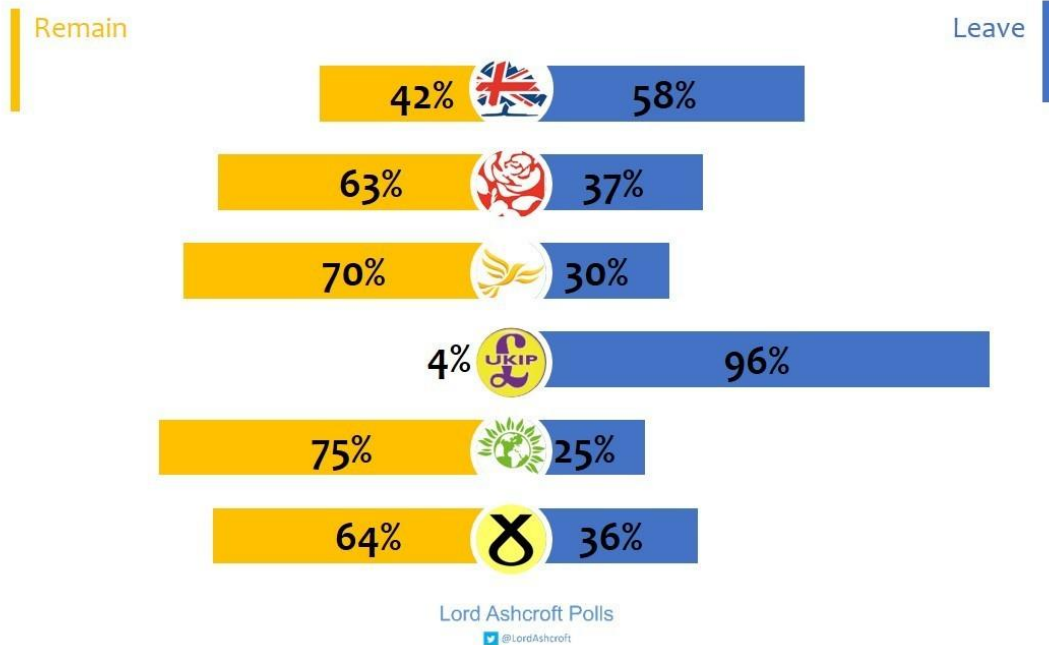
➤ **Reasons for Brexit[1] :**

1- Leave vote tended to be bigger in areas of the country where wage growth has been weakest since 1997. This would seem to support the popular theory that this was essentially a giant protest vote against the political class by people who feel economically "left behind" in modern Britain.

2- Immigration matters: Opposition to membership of the EU is particularly high among those who are concerned about immigration. Around half of those who think immigration is bad for the economy want to leave the EU. Compared with around one in ten of those who think it has been good for Britain's economic fortunes. Support for leaving the EU varied similarly between those who think immigration undermines vs. enriches Britain's cultural life[2].

3- Opposition to the EU is higher among those with a strong sense of national (rather than European) identity who consequently question the legitimacy of

---

[1] (2016 June) ‹Ben chu ‹ Why did people really vote for Brexit? If we don't face the psychological reasons, we'll never bring Britain together‹ *independent*.
[2] John Curticeand & Geoffrey Evans ‹ (2016) ‹ Britain and Europe ‹ *british social attitude*.

rule from Brussels and who may also be concerned about the cultural consequences of migration that is fostered by the Union's freedom of movement provisions.

4- Pressure on the NHS sector: When NHS was established in 1948, it was the first universal health care system, NHS became invaded by foreign doctors and nurses (101,000 doctors born overseas who work in Britain, and the 140,000 nurses, and the 64 million of British people who depend upon them), In addition to the increased migration, which accounted pressure on this important sector, so it need an increasing spend and maintenance[1], so Leaders of the cross-party campaign that persuaded the British people to leave the EU have dropped their pre-referendum pledge of a £350m-a-week spending bonanza for the NHS[2].

([1]) Carole Cadwalladr ، (October 2016) ، Could Brexit prove terminal for the NHS؟، *the guardian,*.

([2]) Toby helm، (September 2016) ، Brexit camp abandons £350m-a-week NHS funding pledge, *the guardian* .

Euro Skepticism

➢ (3) **Euro Skepticism:**
➢ **Definition[1]:**

Euro skepticism is defined as expressing the idea of contingent or qualified opposition to the EU, as well as outright and unqualified opposition to the further economic and political integration of EU member states.

➢ **Approaches:[2]**
- **Utilitarian approach:**
Voters will be influenced by their calculation of the economic costs and benefits that come with EU membership. In member states like Britain, the single market and growing European integration mainly benefits citizens who are well positioned to take advantage of them, (the economically secure), more highly educated, highly skilled and socially mobile. Standing opposite are social groups that are distinctly unlikely to perceive the EU as bringing any benefits,(the financially insecure) who have few or no qualifications and little flexibility, who are more exposed to competition as a result of the single market and the free movement of labour , and who feel under threat from rapid economic change.

- **Identity approach:**
According to this approach the vote will be driven more strongly by concerns over cultural issues like immigration and perceived threats to identity, culture and values. The argument is that skepticism over European integration are less about trade, regulation and economics than about a pooling of national sovereignty and communities. The EU and it's enlargement drives public concerns because it leads to the integration of different people and national cultures. It depends on how perceived 'threats' to national identity are strong drivers of Eurosceptic attitudes, and electoral support for Eurosceptic parties like UKIP.

(`) Charles Grant,(2011), why is Britain eurosceptic, *center of European reform* , Retrieved from : https://www.cer.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/pdf , accessed:16 Decmber 2016, p1.

([2]) Matthew Goodwin and Caitlin Milazzo,(2015), the European Union and the referendum: what derives Euro skepticism? , *Economic, social and research council* , retrieved : https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/publications/research ,p5,6 .

- **Political approach :**

  People may be influenced more strongly by domestic politics, such as their feelings towards the government of the day. According to this perspective, citizens see the referendum as an opportunity not to pass judgment on the EU, but rather to voice their discontent with the incumbent party of government or politicians more generally.

  ### Roots of euro skepticism in UK: [1]

  Unlike other European states, Britain has a long tradition of Euro skepticism. This historical sense of Britain being different and distinct from the other states of the continent, British governments have often used their influence to slow down European integration, so Britain has opted out of the euro and the Schengen agreement.

  Britain had roots of euro skepticism, but From the 1970s, the British have been less enthusiastic about the EU, so these ratings show the difference between other EU members and UK about euro skepticism .

Figure 1: Net good/bad ratings of EU membership, 1973–2011
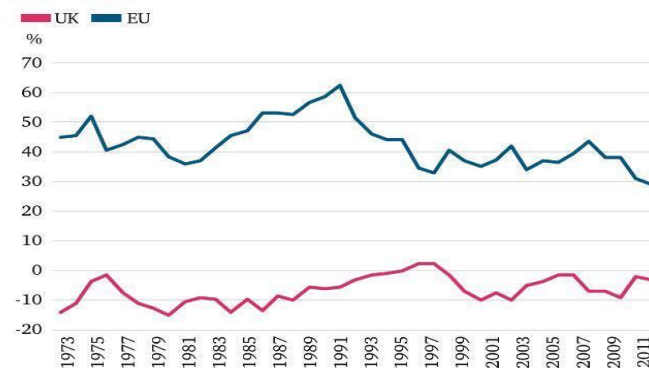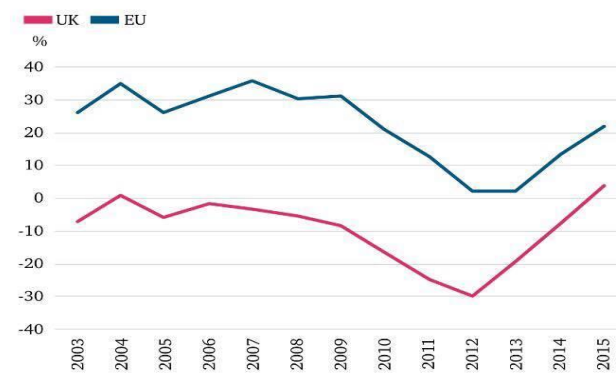
Source: Eurobarometer (annual average).

[2]

  The ratings among British respondents have lagged behind the EU average, which mean that people think EU membership is bad than good, The gap was narrowest in 1997, but even then it was still 30 points.

([1]) Charles Grant, Op.cit ,pp2-4.

([2]) Matthew Goodwin and Caitlin Milazzo,op.cit, p6.7.

Figure 2: Net positive/negative ratings of EU image, 2003–15

Source: Eurobarometer (annual average).

This ratings show the downturn in ratings of the EU after the financial crisis in 2008, but the British have become more favorable towards the EU.

➢ The key derivers of Euro-skepticism:

There are two main derivers that stimulate the Euro skepticism in the UK which are:

• The rise of UKIP:[1]

The first has been the rise of organized Euro-skepticism in domestic politics. From 2013, and in the context of the fragmentation of British politics which reflected in weakening opportunities to established parties, the openly Euro-skeptic UK Independence Party (UKIP) which was established in 1994, has attracted growing support, replacing the Liberal Democrats as the third most popular party in national opinion polls.

The rise of UKIP was a major reason for David Cameron to offer a referendum on EU membership, the UKIP merging concerns over immigration with Euroscepticism.

At the 2014 European Parliament elections in the UK, the party won the largest share of the overall vote (and the largest number of seats), reflecting strong results for anti-EU parties across the continent.)
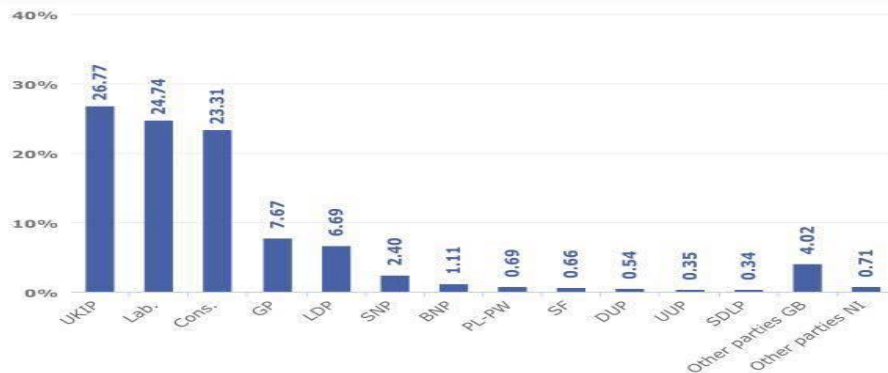
---

[1] Matthew Goodwin and Caitlin Milazzo**, op.cit**.p3.

United Kingdom

Result by national party

Final results

28/05/2014 14:09 CEST

UKIP : United Kingdom Independence Party | **Lab.** : Labour Party | **Cons.** : Conservative Party
GP : Green Party | **LDP** : Liberal Democrats Party | **SNP** : Scottish National Party
BNP : The British National Party | **PL-PW** : Plaid Cymru – Party of Wales | **SF** : Sinn Féin
DUP : Democratic Unionist Party | **UUP** : Ulster Unionist Party \ Conservative & Ulster Unionist Alliance
SDLP : Social Democratic & Labour Party | **Other parties GB** : Other parties Great Britain
Other parties NI : Other parties Northern Ireland

Source: TNS/Scytl in cooperation with the European Parliament

United Kingdom

Summary table

2014 opening session

Parties	%	Seats	EPP	S&D	ECR	ALDE	GUE/NGL	Greens/EFA	EFDD	NI
UKIP	26.77	24							24	
Lab.	24.74	20		20						
Cons.	23.31	19			19					
GP	7.67	3						3		
LDP	6.69	1				1				
SNP	2.40	2						2		
BNP	1.11	0								
PL-PW	0.69	1						1		
SF	0.66	1					1			
DUP	0.54	1								1
UUP	0.35	1			1					
SDLP	0.34	0								
Other parties GB	4.02	0								
Other parties NI	0.71	0								
Total	100	73	0	20	20	1	1	6	24	1

EPP : Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats)
S&D : Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament
ECR : European Conservatives and Reformists | **ALDE** : Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
GUE/NGL : European United Left/Nordic Green Left | **Greens/EFA** : The Greens/European Free Alliance
EFDD : Europe of freedom and direct democracy Group
NI : Non-attached Members – Members not belonging to any political group

UKIP : United Kingdom Independence Party | **Lab.** : Labour Party | **Cons.** : Conservative Party
GP : Green Party | **LDP** : Liberal Democrats Party | **SNP** : Scottish National Party
BNP : The British National Party | **PL-PW** : Plaid Cymru – Party of Wales | **SF** : Sinn Féin
DUP : Democratic Unionist Party | **UUP** : Ulster Unionist Party \ Conservative & Ulster Unionist Alliance
SDLP : Social Democratic & Labour Party | **Other parties GB** : Other parties Great Britain
Other parties NI : Other parties Northern Ireland

[1]

Although UKIP emerged from the 2015 general election with only one seat in the House of Commons, but the appeal of its anti-EU and anti-immigration message
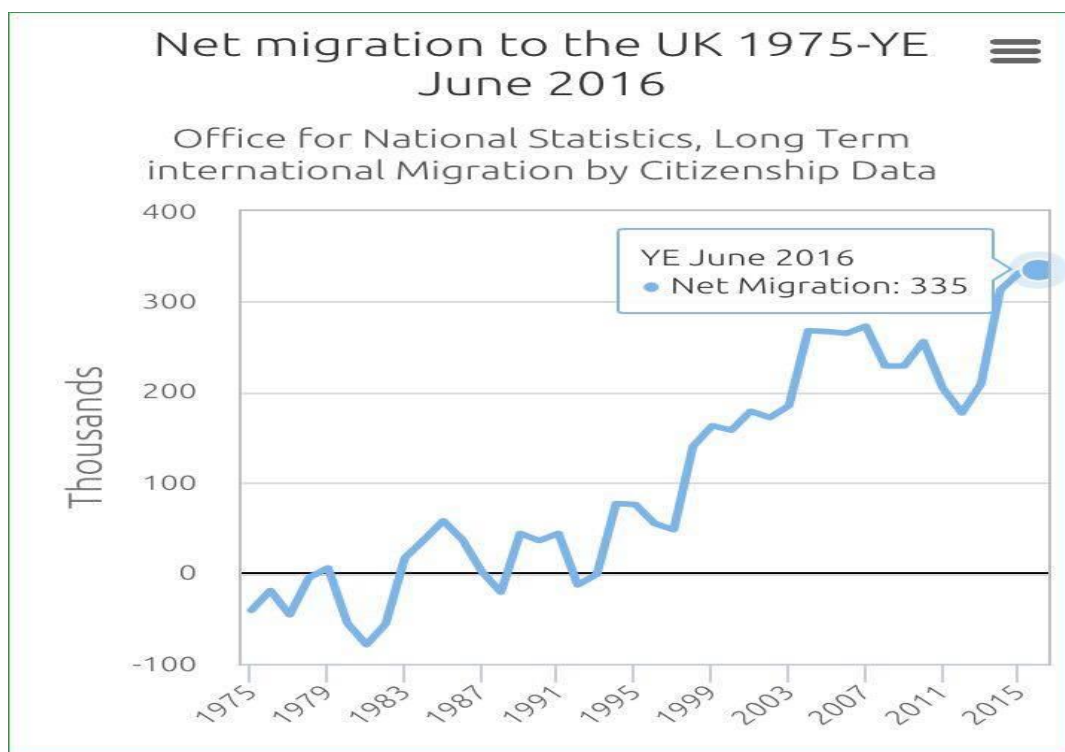
---

[1] European parliament, available on : http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections. ,15 December2016 .

has got the support of more than 12.5 percent of the electorate. It's not only about seats but also electoral pressure from UKIP was a major factor influencing the prime minister's to hold a referendum on EU membership.

❖ Immigration[1]

According to UKIP, attitudes toward immigration are the strongest predictor of whether somebody will vote to leave the EU or not, Those who feel most negatively towards immigration who feel that migration is having negative effects on Britain's economy, culture and welfare state vote to leave EU, In contrast, those who hold more positive attitudes towards immigration who feel that migration is good for Britain's economy and culture vote to remain as EU member.

Between August and October 2015 more than 50 per cent of the electorates identified immigration as being among the most serious issues facing Britain, There are many statistics that explain the increasing number of immigrants in UK **such as :**

Net migration to the UK 1975-YE June 2016

Office for National Statistics, Long Term international Migration by Citizenship Data

[2]

---

[1] **Ibid**.,p8.
[2] Euro stat , https://europa.eu/european-union/documents-publications/statistics_en , 16 december 2016.

o **The relationship between immigration and unemployment :**

There's some people feel that immigration has negative effects on the economy, and those who are less-qualified and less educated, so they believe that immigration will increase the percentage of unemployment, but the statistics of the European Union show that the percentage of unemployment didn't increase.

eurostat

Harmonised unemployment rate by sex
The unemployment rate represents unemployed persons as a percentage of the labour force ... more

Code: teilm020

sex Total

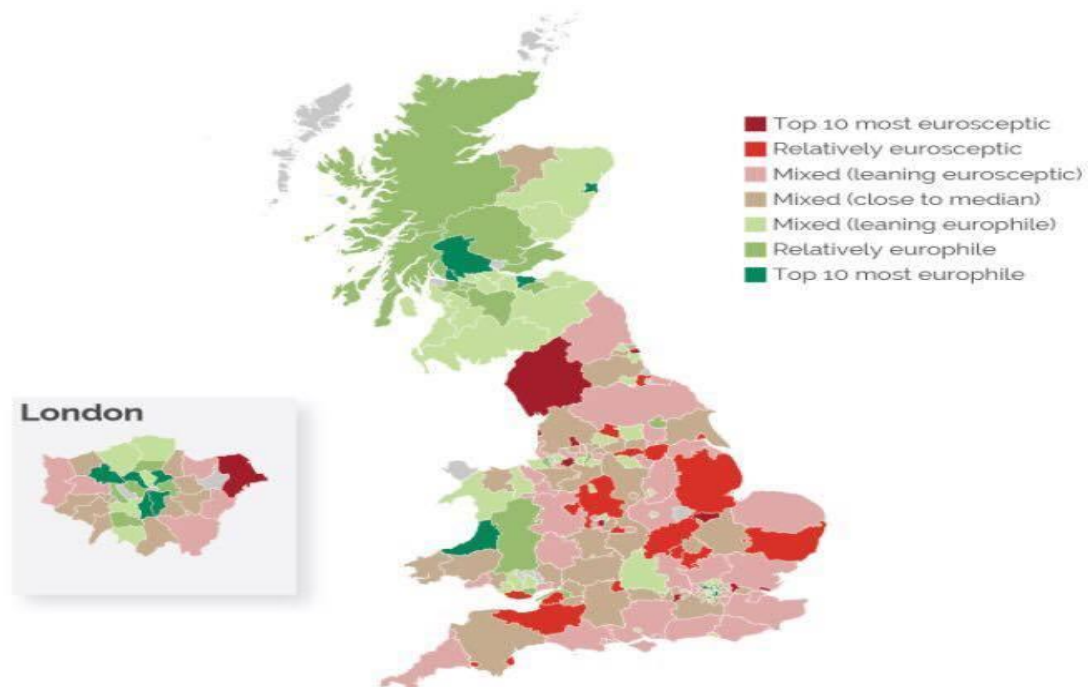| geo \ time	2016M04	2016M05	2016M06	2016M07	2016M08	2016M09	2016M10	2016M11
Euro area (changing composition)	10.2	10.1	10.1	10.0	10.0	9.9	9.8	:
Euro area (19 countries)	10.2	10.1	10.1	10.0	10.0	9.9	9.8	:
Euro area (18 countries)	10.2	10.1	10.1	10.0	10.0	9.9	9.8	:
EU (28 countries)	8.7	8.6	8.6	8.5	8.5	8.4	8.3	:
EU (27 countries)	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.5	8.5	8.4	8.3	:
Belgium	8.2	8.2	8.3	8.2	8.2	8.0	7.9	:
Bulgaria	8.0	7.9	7.9	7.8	7.7	7.5	7.4	:
Czech Republic	4.0	4.0	4.2	4.2	3.7	3.9	3.8	:
Denmark	6.1	6.2	6.1	6.3	6.3	6.5	6.5	:
Germany	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.1	:
Estonia	6.4	6.6	7.0	7.0	7.6	7.2	:	:
Ireland	8.4	8.4	8.3	8.0	7.9	7.7	7.5	7.3
Greece	23.5	23.6	23.5	23.3	23.3	23.1	:	:
Spain	20.3	20.1	19.9	19.5	19.4	19.3	19.2	:
France	9.9	9.9	9.9	10.1	10.2	9.9	9.7	:
Croatia	13.6	13.2	13.1	13.0	12.9	12.7	12.7	:
Italy	11.6	11.5	11.6	11.5	11.5	11.7	11.6	:
Cyprus	12.6	12.4	12.3	12.1	12.1	12.0	12.0	:
Latvia	9.5	9.5	9.7	9.9	9.8	9.7	9.5	:
Lithuania	8.0	8.2	8.4	7.8	7.6	7.6	7.6	:
Luxembourg	6.3	6.2	6.2	6.2	6.3	6.3	6.2	:
Hungary	5.4	5.2	5.1	5.1	5.0	4.9	:	:
Malta	4.9	4.8	4.9	4.9	4.8	4.8	4.9	:
Netherlands	6.4	6.3	6.1	6.0	5.8	5.7	5.6	5.6
Austria	5.9	6.1	6.2	6.2	6.2	6.1	5.9	:
Poland	6.3	6.3	6.2	6.0	5.9	5.8	5.7	:
Portugal	11.6	11.2	11.0	10.9	10.9	10.9	10.8	:
Romania	6.1	6.2	6.0	6.0	5.8	5.8	5.8	:
Slovenia	8.0	8.0	8.0	7.8	7.8	7.7	7.6	:
Slovakia	10.0	9.9	9.7	9.6	9.5	9.3	9.1	:
Finland	9.0	8.9	8.9	8.8	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.8
Sweden	6.7	7.1	6.6	7.0	7.2	6.7	6.9	6.8
United Kingdom	4.9	4.9	4.8	4.8	4.7	4.8	:	:
Iceland	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	:

✓ ١)**The most euro skeptic and Europhile areas of Britain** [1]

✓ The data of 80.552 adults reveals the top 10 euro skeptic and Europhile areas of Britain.

Top 10 most eurosceptic	Top 10 most europhile
1. Havering	1. Ceredigion
2. Peterborough	2. Aberdeen City
3. Bracknell Forest	3. Stirling
4. Blackpool	4. Lambeth
5. Blackburn with Darwen	5. Camden
6. Southend on Sea	6. West Dunbartonshire
7. Warrington	7. Southwark
8. South Tyneside	8. Hackney
9. Sandwell	9. City of Edinburgh
10. Cumbria	10. Brent

2)the Euro skeptic map of Britain :

The data of 80.552 adults reveals the level of euro skepticism in 188 area of Britain, measured by net support for leaving or remaining in the EU.

---

[1] Will Dahlgreen , (February 2016) , The skeptic map of Britain , *Europe and politics profiles* ,retrieved :https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/02/28/eurosceptic-map-britain , accessed:19 December 2016 .

Legend:
- Top 10 most eurosceptic
- Relatively eurosceptic
- Mixed (leaning eurosceptic)
- Mixed (close to median)
- Mixed (leaning europhile)
- Relatively europhile
- Top 10 most europhile

London

The Euro skepticism of various areas partly correlates with lower. and support for remaining in the EU almost always is concentrated in geographically smaller, urban areas.

Conclusion

1- this study Proved the validity of the hypothesis that the rise of UKIP affect the Brexit, when the UKIP get increased support and get the largest number of votes (26.77%) in the 2014 European Parliament elections, and the largest number of seats (24 seats), so when UKIP call it's supporters and all people to vote for leaving the EU because of the increasing immigration and unemployment, so people vote in the referendum to leave the EU with the percentage(51.9%).

2- the immigration doesn't affect unemployment, because statistics of unemployment illustrate it as fixed or decreased, but the British people have an ideological perception that immigration will increase unemployment.

3- there's a weakness in the affiliation of parties, although the UKIP is a single issue party which is the Brexit, statistics illustrate that 5% of the supporters of UKIP want the division of power between the EU and national states to remain the Same, but 93% support that some powers of EU should returned to national governments.

References:

Periodicals:

- BOYCE GEORGE, (November–December 2016), FROM THE EDITOR Peace processes and complacency, *History Ireland ,* Vol. 24, No. 6.

- Cadwalladr Carole ، (October 2016) ، Could Brexit prove terminal for the NHS?، *the guardian,*.

- Canavan Tony, (September/October 2016), EDITORIAL*, Books Ireland,* No. 369 ,

- Conti Nicolò, (2011), The radical right in Europe, between slogans and voting behavior, *Análise Social*, Vol. 46, No. 201.

- Craggs Tracy and King Emma, (SPRING 2013) , Sharing European memories in school: exploring historical memory in the classroom, *Oral History,* Vol. 41, No. 1.

- Curticeand John & Evans Geoffrey ، (2016) ، Britain and Europe ، *british social attitude*.

- Flamini Roland, (JULY / AUGUST 2013), THE UK INDEPENDENCE PARTY: Euroskeptics Rattle Cameron*, World Affairs,* Vol. 176, No. 2.

- Flanagan Charles, TD*,* (2016), Identity and Values in Irish Foreign Policy*, Irish Studies in International Affairs,* vol.27

- helm Toby ، (September 2016) ، Brexit camp abandons £350m-a-week NHS funding pledge, *the guardian.*

- J. Sack James, (December 2010), BRITAIN CAUGHT BETWEEN TWO WORLDS, *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 38, No. 4.

- jean pisani ferry. and others ، (25 August 2016) ، Europe after Brexit: a proposal for a continental partnership , *journal of democracy*.

- Jupp James, (APRIL-JUNE 2010), Immigration and Race in the British General Election, *Australian Quarterly,* Vol. 82, No. 2.

- McBride James ، (٢١October 2016) ،the debate over brexit, *Council of foreign relation*.

- Menon Anand, (Oct., 2003), Britain and the Convention on the Future of Europe, *International Affairs,* Vol. 79, No.5 .

- Smith Julie, (Jul., 2005), A Missed Opportunity? New Labour's European Policy 1997-2005, *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944),* Vol. 81, No.4.

♦ Articles and News:

- Condit Tom, (autumn 2016), ARCHAEOLOGY, HERITAGE AND BREXIT*, Archaeology Ireland,* Vol. 30, No.3.
- H. NAGEL JACK and WLEZIEN CHRISTOPHER, (April 2010), Centre-Party Strength and Major-Party Divergence in Britain, 1945-2005, *British Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 40, No. 2.
- CONDRUZ-BĂCESCU Monica,(6-2014), Euroscepticism Across Europe: Drivers and Challenges, *European Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, Vol. 6.

♦ Websites :

- Grant Charles,(2011), why is Britain eurosceptic, *center of European reform* , Retrieved from : https://www.cer.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/pdf , accessed:16 Decmber 2016.
- Dahlgreen Will , (February 2016) , The skeptic map of Britain , *Europe and politics profiles* ,retrieved :https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/02/28/eurosceptic-map-britain , accessed:19 December 2016.
- McBride James , (2016, October 21), The Debate Over Brexit , For more details: http://www.cfr.org/united-kingdom/debate-over-brexit/p37747 , accessed on :5/12/2016.
- Hunt Alex & Wheeler Brian,(24 November 2016), Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU*, BBC News*, Available on*:* http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887, Accessed on[2-12-2016].