



Universiteit Utrecht

**Rule Britannia: the Consequences of Britain Rulings its
Waves**

The unintended consequences and framing of the Brexit process

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Abstract

This research will use the law of unintended consequences in complex systems and framing analysis in order to understand the developments within the Brexit process regarding the fisheries. The fisheries were one of the largest supporting groups of Brexit, and the negotiations surrounding them was one of the biggest hurdles of the process. This is why it is important to understand how the fisheries were impacted because of the Brexit process, and if the Leave Campaign had delivered on their promises. Unintended consequences are outcomes of a purposeful action that were unforeseen or unanticipated by the actors involved. Using this in conjunction with framing analysis can show how the fisheries were impacted by Brexit, as well as clarify to what extent the Brexit process was path dependent. Using these techniques together will provide new insights for the Brexit debate and add to existing literature regarding Brexit.

Keywords: Brexit, Fisheries, Framing analysis, Unintended Consequences

Table of contents

Introduction -----	4
Historiography -----	5
Analytical concepts -----	8
Structure -----	9
Theoretical Framework -----	11
Methods-----	13
The Referendum Campaign-----	15
The Framing -----	15
The Unintended Consequences -----	18
Chapter Conclusion -----	20
May’s Withdrawal Agreements-----	22
The Framing -----	22
The Unintended Consequences -----	25
Chapter Conclusion -----	27
Johnson’s Brexit Deal-----	29
The Framing -----	29
The Unintended Consequences -----	32
Chapter Conclusion -----	36
Conclusion-----	37
Bibliography-----	39
Primary source -----	39
Secondary sources -----	44
Appendix -----	48
Plagiarism Rules Awareness Form form-----	48

Introduction

Ever since the Brexit referendum was announced, many promises were made regarding the outcome of the United Kingdom (UK) leaving the European Union (EU). Former MEP for the Brexit Party, June Mummery, promised the UK to get the finest fishing industry in the world as she stated that "*I have no doubt in my mind, with a strong, honest Government and true grit, the UK will have the most sustainable and finest fisheries in the world.*"¹. She insisted that regaining full control of their waters will allow for a revival of the British fishing industry and create jobs in areas where unemployment is prevalent.

However, the past few years, many of the promises that were made have been backtracked upon or changed to suit the situation at hand. Because of this, the question beckons whether what is going on in the aftermath of Brexit regarding the fisheries and the political landscape in the UK, and if everything was planned and known beforehand. This research will examine how unintended consequences and rhetorical framing have affected the Brexit process. Studying the impact of the fisheries as an industry and how Brexit has impacted it is quite important, because the fishing industry was one of the biggest supporting groups of Brexit and simultaneously one of the biggest hurdles when it came to negotiations for a withdrawal agreement. This research aims to understand the developments within the fishing industry as a result of the Brexit process using framing and the law of unintended consequences.

To examine this question, this thesis will use the idea of unintended consequences in complex systems to analyse whether the withdrawal agreement and its consequences in the political and economic sphere were foreseen by Boris Johnson and were part of a larger plan. This will be combined with frame analysis of the rhetoric surrounding the Brexit process in order to understand how Brexit was framed and how the public was persuaded to vote against the EU. The law of unintended consequences, in Layman's terms, states that any legislation or political decision will result in consequences that are not intended or foreseen by the legislator. It was popularised by Robert Merton in the 20th century. Merton argues that any intended consequences of legislation are always desirable for the actor imposing them, even if it is seen to be the lesser of two evils. This does not mean that unforeseen consequences must therefore always result in a negative consequence for the actor or the people it affects, nor that the intended consequence is always positive. Unintended consequences can generally be categorized in three ways: unintended benefits, unintended drawbacks and perverse reactions.² Furthermore, the framing of Brexit is important within this research as frames

¹ Bosotti, A. (2020). UK to become 'finest fishing industry in world' as 'true grit' to push us after Brexit. Retrieved 13 January 2022, from <https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/1376832/UK-news-fisheries-EU-trade-deal-Brexit-June-Mummery-for-ecast-fish-latest-vn>

² Tomasovic, B. (2018). TRADEOFFS IN ENVIRONMENTAL LAW. *Journal of Land Use & Environmental Law*, 34(1), 94–6. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26896699>

enable journalists and politicians to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient. An example of this is taking back control, used in conjunction with British sovereignty. This is important to research as it will not only help uncover unintended consequences, but also as it clarifies what the British public understood from Brexit and how it would affect their lives.

Literature since 2016 has changed frequently to predict the outcome of the Brexit deal, as well as warn for a no-deal scenario. Many parties attempted to predict the outcome of Brexit. The leave campaign seemed to have the most definite answers during the Brexit process about the future of the UK, as well as the consequences it would face. However, the question remains how the framing of Brexit and the consequences it carried, intended or not, impacted the Brexit process as a whole. Thus, the following research question is asked:

How have the unintended consequences and rhetorical framing surrounding the Brexit process and British fisheries, from June 2016 until February 2020, affected the fishing industry and the Brexit process itself?

The unintended consequences of Brexit will be analysed in three different periods during the Brexit process. Firstly, the period surrounding the Brexit referendum campaign, from May 2016 to July 2016 will be research. The second period is regarding Theresa May's failed withdrawal agreements from February 2019 until April 2019. The third period concerns the 2019 general election campaign and Johnson's successful withdrawal agreement in the period of November 2019 until February 2020. Hence, the research will be split up into three main chapters: the Brexit referendum campaign, Theresa May's attempts to pass the withdrawal agreement and the election of Boris Johnson and his withdrawal agreement. To each period, the same sub-questions apply:

1. How did the main political agents use frames to create a perceived reality regarding Britain's future in the EU?
2. Are the unintended consequences that occurred classified as unintended benefits, unintended drawbacks or perverse reactions?

Historiography

The research of this proposal is positioned within debates surrounding Brexit itself and around uncertainties of the future for the fisheries after the Brexit deal has been signed. These uncertainties are created due to the framing of the Brexit debate and the unintended consequences. Specifically, over time, as the agreement came closer, and predictions and reasoning for the deal became more prevalent, uncertainties arose about the future relationship between the EU and the UK.

The problem that will be solved with this research is about the unintended consequences of Brexit and whether the people who have campaigned for Brexit had an idea as to what was going to happen after the vote came in, and after the deal was eventually signed. It will be researched how these consequences came to be as a result of the framing of the situation, and how the framing of Brexit created expectation and intent for the fisheries and the politicians at play. As this will have created unintended and unanticipated consequences for the fisheries.

Academics discussing Brexit and the fisheries had varying opinions regarding the situation. Claire Dunlop of the University of Exeter asked what the British government learned during the Brexit negotiations. While also asking how the scope of knowledge was hindered due to a lack of open attitudes and negotiations, a lack of a culture of trust as well as lacking legitimacy of expertise within the British camp.³

Barrie Deas, chief executive of The National Federation of Fishermen's Organizations, felt sold out by the UK government regarding the new deal with Norway after Brexit. Thousands of tonnes of additional quota was promised to the fishermen while having exclusive access to the 6-12 nm of territorial seas.⁴ The deal in reality does still grant the EU passage in the territorial seas, and the small increases in stock quotas only helps a small part of the British fishing industry while still being tied to EU regulations.⁵ Although a new deal with Norway was signed in December 2021, the British industry is reportedly unhappy with the deal due to the unbalanced nature of the quotas. Under the EU, the British fishermen were allowed to catch 14,000 tonnes of cod, now only 7,000 tonnes, of which, 6550 tonnes did not require renegotiation after Brexit.⁶ Trond Bjørndal, of the SNF Centre for Applied Research, pointed out prior to the signing of the deal, if the UK wanted to maintain access in the Barents Sea and the Norwegian Economic Zone, they could exchange this for access in the North Sea. However, he states that currently an outcome is hard to predict due to Norway departing from a 35-year-old practice by reducing EU cod quotas from 2020 to 2021.⁷ This shows the uncertainty regarding Brexit and provides an indication of the UK government having no clear path going forward. These uncertainties will create unintended consequences, and therefore raises the question further how these consequences will impact the Brexit process further.

³ Dunlop, C., 2019. *Can't get no learning: the Brexit fiasco through the lens of policy learning*. [online] Taylor & Francis. Available at: <<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13501763.2019.1667415>> [Accessed 10 June 2022].

⁴ Williams, C., 2021. *A raw deal for UK fishers*. [online] New Economics Foundation. Available at: <<https://neweconomics.org/2021/01/a-raw-deal-for-uk-fishers>> [Accessed 28 February 2022].

⁵ Townsend, M. (2020). The fisherman's verdict on Brexit: Boris Johnson sold us down the river – again. Retrieved 13 January 2022, from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/dec/26/deal-fishing-industry-boris-johnson-betrayal-eu-demands>

⁶ King, J., 2021. *Boris's Brexit fishing deal with Norway 'devastating' - 'could not be much worse'*. [online] Express.co.uk. Available at: <<https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1540462/boris-johnson-brexit-norway-uk-arctic-fishing-deal>> [Accessed 28 February 2022].

⁷ Bjørndal, Trond, Torben Foss, Gordon R. Munro, and Mogens Schou. 2021. "Brexit And Consequences For Quota Sharing In The Barents Sea Cod Fishery".

As David Khabaz, of the university of Westminster, points out, the idea of ‘political socialization’, where voters are exposed to repetitive messages within the media, has created a large anti-EU narrative within the UK during the time of the referendum. Thus influencing the British people with buzzwords like ‘take back control’, ‘sovereignty’ and ‘democracy’ when reporting on the EU and the Brexit referendum. The idea of taking back control of their country and waters was brought up frequently by the Brexit camp, and is often used together with the idea of national sovereignty as a main reason to leave the EU.⁸ Tatiana Coutto further points out that the exit from the EU can be seen as an uncoordinated attempt of parties to handle the polarization of politics and find alternate ways to counter populism.⁹

This further brings up the structure of the political process and path dependency theory when discussing the political process. Historical institutionalism talks about path dependence, where past events or decisions constrain later events or decisions.¹⁰ Regarding Brexit, Patrick Bijsmans says that ever since joining the European Communities, the UK had been on a path to leave them again while calling Brexit a self-fulfilling prophecy dating back to the 1970s. This self-fulfilling prophecy was created due to the different, clashing legal cultures and societal factors at play within the EU compared to the UK. The EU’s attempt to harmonize legislation and laws along all its members, while the UK is staunchly opposing this idea, has furthered the idea of this self-fulfilling prophecy.¹¹ This is important to the research as it can mean that despite the Brexit process itself not being path-dependent, the UK actually leaving the EU would have been inevitable. Unintended consequences and framing analysis can provide insights into the linearity of the Brexit process. If the consequences itself have shown to impact the process, it can create linkages between these consequences and developments of Brexit. This can then show to what extent the path Brexit took was planned out, or if the actors involved were simply rolling with the punches.

It is the aim of this research to add to the existing literature by combining unintended consequences of Brexit with the political framing of the referendum and how this then in turn affected the process itself. Further, this research aims to answer the question if the Brexit process was path dependent, or if the politicians were simply ‘rolling with the punches’. Or if, despite the actors involved and despite the chaos of the Brexit process, the UK leaving the EU was inevitable and if different people had been in power recently, the UK would have left regardless, with a similar deal.

⁸ Khabaz, D. 2018. Framing Brexit: The role, and the impact, of the national newspapers on the EU Referendum. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 39(4), 496–508. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739532918806871>

⁹ Coutto, T., 2020. *Half-full or half-empty? Framing of UK–EU relations during the Brexit referendum campaign*. [online] www-tandfonline-com.proxy.library.uu.nl. Available at: <https://www-tandfonline-com.proxy.library.uu.nl/doi/full/10.1080/07036337.2020.1792465> [Accessed 4 April 2022].

¹⁰ Mahoney, J., & Schensul, D. 2006. Historical context and path dependence. In *The Oxford handbook of contextual political analysis*. Oxford University Press. p. 507

¹¹ Bijsmans, P. (Author), & Kawakami, M. (Author). (2018). In *Varietate Concordia: How Path Dependency Affects the Brexit Negotiations*. Web publication/site, E-International Relations Publishing. <http://www.e-ir.info/2018/04/20/in-varietate-concordia-how-path-dependency-affects-the-brexit-negotiations/>

Moreover, this research aims to add to existing research by analysing how the intent and anticipation surrounding the outcome of Brexit was created because of the framing that was used during specific moments. This adds value to the academic debate because it combines the ideas of unintended consequences and framing while relating that to path dependence. Moreover, it will provide new insights on the Brexit timeline and the debate that surrounds Brexit.

Analytical Concepts

This thesis will rely on the law of unintended consequences in complex systems, framing theory and underlying theories on political processes like path dependence. The law of unintended consequences assumes that within a complex system, which is a system such as a nation, government, or world order which has many parts, each interacting with each other and all being connected, not every outcome or possibility can be accurately predicted or thought about in advance.¹² The idea of complex systems can be compared to the butterfly effect for simplicity. Robert Merton outlined two pitfalls that need addressing, first regarding rationalization of the consequences and secondly, the extent of which certain consequences can be attributed to a certain political action.¹³ When looking at Brexit and British fisheries, the intended consequences would be the deal itself, as well as the Common Fisheries Policy articles which outline the future of the EU-UK relations, while unintended consequences would be how these affected created further bureaucracy for the fishermen and how the fishing industry was affected depending on anticipation.¹⁴

When thinking about the law of unintended consequences, what was intended and what was anticipated by the group affected is important and is often used interchangeably by scholars discussing unintended consequences. This is because what is intended is also almost always anticipated within political policy. Craig Mc Angus of the University of Aberdeen conducted two surveys in 2016 regarding the opinion of British fishermen about their opinion of Brexit, what they expect from Brexit and how they believe their industry will be affected. In a survey for Scottish fishermen, 93% had stated that they intend to vote for Brexit.¹⁵ Scotland is an important factor within the fishing industry, due to it landing over 60% of all fish in Scottish ports and employing 42% of British fishermen. Another survey by Mc Angus showed that out of all British fishermen, 92% intended to vote for

¹² Merton, Robert K. "The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action." *American Sociological Review* 1, no. 6 (1936): 897. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2084615>.

¹³ Merton, Robert K. "The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action." *American Sociological Review* 1, no. 6 (1936): 897. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2084615>.

¹⁴ Government of the United Kingdom. 2020. "Trade and Cooperation Agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, of the one part, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, of the other part (https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/948119/EU-UK_Trade_and_Cooperation_Agreement_24.12.2020.pdf)

; European Commission. 2021. "Common Fisheries Policy (CFP)". *Oceans And Fisheries*. Accessed December 6. https://ec.europa.eu/oceans-and-fisheries/policy/common-fisheries-policy-cfp_nl.

¹⁵ McAngus, C. 2018 A survey of Scottish fishermen ahead of Brexit: political, social and constitutional attitudes. *Maritime Studies* 17, 41–54. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40152-018-0090-z>

Brexit, as well as showing that most fishermen of the UK have a very negative image of the EU and that they do not believe that the EU take the UK's interests to heart. It further showed that the fishermen anticipated the amount of fish traded with the EU would not change, the amount of fish they would be able to catch would slightly increase and that the industry would be greatly improved.¹⁶ It is important to understand the expectations of the fishermen in order to understand what they were anticipating if Brexit would occur and what they would get out of it, as this will allow for unintended consequences to be established.

Framing analysis is frequently used in research of communication analysis. Goffman suggests that people are unlikely to understand particular aspects of certain events happening around them, and thus apply interpretive schemes to be able to understand them in order to categorize events and have a meaningful idea about them.¹⁷ It is important to note that most authors seem to regard frames as unavoidable in any communication process, and as such, they should not be seen as purposefully constructed propaganda tools.¹⁸ Every debate including an attempt to convince a group of people to act a certain way will include frames in order to present their idea to be the better option, sometimes despite falsehoods within the frames. When talking about the effectiveness of framing in regard to referendums and general elections, Hänggli discusses three important factors. The salience of frames, their power, and the multiplication of the frames by media and other political actors.¹⁹ It thus shows that media is a very powerful tool in affecting the public when it comes to political choices through framing.

The political process can be seen in many ways. Whether it is a purposeful direction the politicians tend to aim towards, or if it is simply a series of happy accidents which politicians then turn into a coherent policy plan using framing. Historical institutionalism brings forwards path dependency, which suggests that past decisions and events construe future decisions²⁰. This research will analyse to what extent this has happened during the Brexit negotiations, and research to what extent the political process was influenced by the unintended consequences that have occurred regarding the British fisheries.

Structure

The structure of the research will be divided into four chapters. The first chapter relates to the theory and framework used for this thesis, as well as methodology employed. The other three chapters relate to the moments in time that have created Brexit. The first chapter will therefore delve into the law of

¹⁶ McAngus, C. 2016. Report on initial analysis of a survey of UK fishermen ahead of the referendum on the UK's membership of the EU p. 4

¹⁷ Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 9-20. p. 11

¹⁸ Khabaz, D. 2018. Framing Brexit: The role, and the impact, of the national newspapers on the EU Referendum. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 39(4), <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739532918806871>

¹⁹ Hänggli, R. (2012). Key Factors in Frame Building: How Strategic Political Actors Shape News Media Coverage. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(3), 300–317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211426327>

²⁰ Mahoney, J., & Schensul, D. 2006. Historical context and path dependence p. 507

unintended consequences in complex systems, framing theory and the political process of Brexit. The second chapter will analyse the referendum campaign in June 2016 and how it was framed by the leave and remain camps. The second moment will be the end of Theresa May's spell as prime minister in March 2019, before and after the second and third deal had been rejected in close succession by parliament. The third moment will be the signing of the Withdrawal agreement in January 2020 as well as Johnson's re-election in December 2019. Each of these moments had significant impact on the Brexit process and influenced the period thereafter. For each moment, the same subsidiary questions shall be answered to find an answer to the overall research question.

The questions each outline and deal with the idea how the Brexit process was framed at the time, the type of unintended consequences that had occurred, and will answer the overarching question about how this influenced the Brexit process. To answer the question of the research, this research will examine government publications, promises and rhetoric used by the Leave campaign, May's government and the Johnson administration. Hereby analysing the consequences that were intended to happen and what was not anticipated to happen. To examine the framing used during the Brexit process regarding fisheries, this research will use statements by public officials as well as what experts had written about the impact of Brexit on the fisheries. Journalistic evidence will be checked using evidence from the international agreements at play and reports regarding the fisheries. This will allow for the frames to be understood and their aims to be clarified

Theoretical Framework

The lens through which the promises and the consequences of the Brexit referendum will be analysed is through the law of unintended consequences in complex systems and framing analysis. Through these two ideas, it will analyse the impact Brexit had on the fishing industry of the UK and how it affected the Brexit process.

The first subsidiary question will be answered using framing analysis. This is a form of analysis that allows the researcher to understand how people perceive people and actions. It is an important form of analysis when discussing politics, as the framing of political actions and actors influences the opinion of the public on those topics. It further examines why these frames are important and why they were chosen.²¹ Framing analysis is usually used when examining media outlets, which will also be a way in which it will be used for this research. It is also useful when analysing political figures, as everyone uses framing to shape the interpretation of events towards their views.²² Framing speeds up the process of presenting information as well as influencing the interpretation of events by individuals. If one is aware when framing is used, for example, one can deduce political ambition and aims from it and understand what the political actor is trying to achieve. During political campaigns there are several techniques that can be used like: slogans, metaphors and catchphrases.²³

David Snow proposes four main types of frame analysis. The first is 'frame bridging' which refers to two political issues, which are overlapping in an ideological sense but worlds apart in a structural sense, but yet are made to look to be related to one another.²⁴ The second type of frame alignment is 'frame amplification', which relates to how a political actor would clarify and embroider their framework within that context. Value amplification is a part of this idea, meaning that the values and ideology of the political actor are elevated above others.²⁵ The third type of frame alignment is 'frame extension'. This entails that a group, company or political party would enlarge the scope of their frame to encompass the boundaries of the views, sentiments and ideas of the targeted group.²⁶ The final type of frame alignment used in frame research is 'frame transformation', which refers to how certain frames despite being far apart or opposite to the target group are transformed to fit with the targeted support group. This means that new values and ideas are included or created in order to

²¹ Matthes, J. (2009). What's in a Frame? A Content Analysis of Media Framing Studies in the World's Leading Communication Journals, 1990-2005. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, p. 361. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900908600206>

²² Goffman, E. (1986). *Frame analysis*. p. 21. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

²³ Matthes, J. (2009). What's in a Frame? A Content Analysis of Media Framing Studies in the World's Leading Communication Journals, 1990-2005. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, p. 349

²⁴ Snow, D. A., Rochford, E. B., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review*, 51(4), p. 467 <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095581>

²⁵ Snow, D. A., Rochford, E. B., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review* p. 469

²⁶ Snow, D. A., Rochford, E. B., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review* p. 469

secure support and participation.²⁷ These ideas regarding how frames are used within political speech allows this research to try and uncover what was intended by using frames and how these frames should impact the population. Using frame analysis for this research helps to find unintended consequences of the Brexit process, as it acts as a tool to analyse what was actually expected and anticipated by a targeted group. In this case: the British fisheries.

This research will mainly focus on three types of unintended consequences: unintended benefits, unintended drawbacks and perverse reactions. The first meaning that the unintended consequence had positive impacts on the party involved, while unintended drawbacks mean the opposite, with the unintended consequences creating negative impacts for the involved parties. However, in each of these cases the intended goal is reached, which is not the case for perverse reactions. These are unintended consequences that caused the opposite of what was intended to happen. One of the key elements of the law of unintended consequences is outlining what the consequences were of the action done by politicians in charge of Brexit. To examine this, primary sources such as agricultural reports regarding fisheries and how it is being governed and controlled will be used.²⁸ Other primary sources such as reports from the Marine Management Organization from the years during the Brexit process, as well as reports from during the COVID-19 pandemic published by the Scottish government will be utilized. These reports show the growth or shrinking of the fishing industry during the years of Brexit, and how the COVID-19 pandemic impacted the industry in 2020.

The content of these sources will show to what extent the campaigners for Brexit were right with their predictions, and therefore if the fishing industry knew what to anticipate. If the outcome of these reports were unanticipated by the fishing industry and unintended by the politicians, they can be classified as unintended consequences. Further sources such as the surveys published by the University of Aberdeen allow the unintended and unanticipated consequences to be established. These survey by Craig Mc Angus asks the British fishermen what they expect from Brexit, how their industry will change and how the future relationship with the EU will benefit or harm them. This establishes what was intended and anticipated regarding Brexit by the fishermen. Using the survey in conjunction with reports on the fishing industry and interviews with fishermen, the unintended consequences can be further established as the reality of Brexit can be compared with the promises of the Leave campaign and the expectations of the fishermen.

Robert Merton and Richard Vernon point out several pitfalls when using unintended consequences in academics. Firstly, assessing intentionality can be variable.²⁹ Merton describes this

²⁷ Snow, D. A., Rochford, E. B., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review* p.473

²⁸ Harrison, J. (2021). *Fisheries governance after Brexit* [E-Book]. Edinburgh: Scottish Parliament. Retrieved from <https://digitalpublications.parliament.scot/ResearchBriefings/Report/2021/10/27/5e3aba93-488a-4fb2-bcb6-7c0f0a1081e3-1#Appendix-A>

²⁹Merton, Robert K. "The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action." *American Sociological Review* 1, no. 6 (1936): p. 894. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2084615>. ;

phenomenon using the metaphor of a man falling off his horse and stating he was merely dismounting.³⁰ Purpose and motive is often more obvious retrospectively, and therefore more susceptible to continuous reassessment and rationalisation.³¹

The second pitfall has to do with the question if certain consequences can be attributed to a certain actor. To examine this, primary sources will be used, such as agricultural reports regarding fisheries and how it is being governed and controlled.³² Depending on the consequences, such as extra red-tape, lower quotas or higher tariffs when exporting fish it can be quite obvious that it is due to Brexit, while with other factors such as sales of fish or quality of the fish other factors can be considered as well. In order to ensure that causality can be established. Events such as the COVID-19 pandemic can also be a factor when discussing the economic consequence of Brexit after Johnson's deal, and must be taken into account and analysed.

Methods

During this research, it will be assumed that the Brexit negotiations and what happened after is all part of a complex system. Thus, in a system of where every action acts upon one another, with the scope of all these interacting parts being incredibly difficult to outline in totality. Analysing every impact the deal has had prior to its signing and afterwards can not be known to its fullest extent because of this, but will become clearer over time.³³ Furthermore, due to the complex systems, the assumption is made that there will always be unintended consequences, especially after a big political choice with vast ramifications like Brexit. One way of finding out what they exactly are is by analysing what has been said by the Leave campaign and the Conservative Party and what does not fit in the future sketched by them. This research will use the framing from the Brexit process, combined with the unintended consequences, and analyse what impact these had on the process and if Brexit in its current form was inevitable.

This research will first look at the moments itself and how they were framed by the journalistic sources and the politicians involved, using primary sources such as parliamentary sessions and Prime Minister Questions directly before and after the event.³⁴ This approach allows for the framing to be analysed in conjunction with the unintended consequences of the event, as it shows

Vernon, R. (1979). Unintended Consequences. *Political Theory*, 7(1), p 61. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/190824>

³⁰Merton, Robert K. "The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action." *American Sociological Review* 1, no. 6 (1936): p. 894. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2084615>.

³¹Baert, P. (1991). UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES: A TYPOLOGY AND EXAMPLES. *International Sociology*, 6(2), 202 <https://doi.org/10.1177/026858091006002006>

³²Harrison, J. (2021). *Fisheries governance after Brexit* [E-Book]. Edinburgh: Scottish Parliament. Retrieved from <https://digitalpublications.parliament.scot/ResearchBriefings/Report/2021/10/27/5e3aba93-488a-4fb2-bcb6-7c0f0a1081e3-1#Appendix-A>

³³Ladyman, J., Lambert, J. & Wiesner, K. What is a complex system?. *Euro Jnl Phil Sci* 3, 33–67 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13194-012-0056-8>

³⁴House of Commons. (2019). *Fisheries and Brexit*. London: House of Commons Library. Retrieved from: <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8396/CBP-8396.pdf>

intent and anticipation by the political actors. Once the unintended consequences are established, the framing of these consequences play a large role in the continuation and evolution of the Brexit process. The unintended consequences themselves will be examined and classified as unintended drawbacks, unintended benefits and perverse reactions by looking at the framing and rhetoric of the event and contrasting that to the consequences that happened in order to establish intent. This analysis of the framing of unintended consequences also allows for mitigation of the rationalization pitfall, as it will outline whether a consequence was intended prior or if rationalization occurs after the fact.

By using primary sources, the rationalization of events can be seen negated, as a timeline can be created about the predictions and consequences.³⁵ For instance, when discussing the unintended consequences that had occurred regarding fisheries during the three moments concerning this research, one can use what politicians promised prior to each moment and what the fishermen had reported directly after. In order to prevent selection bias within this research, all interviews and Prime Minister Questions (PMQ's) just before and after each moment will be looked at to establish unintended consequences, allowing this research to analyse what had been promised by British pro-Brexit politicians and what was the expected outcome of a deal. Parliamentary sessions soon after the Brexit referendum can show what the politicians of the Remain campaign believed and warned about when it came to the consequences of Brexit, and if this correlates with what has been seen in reality. For instance, the parliamentary session of the 29th of June already debates the concerns of Scotland and its fisheries and asks Prime Minister David Cameron how he will solve the concerns and what to expect.³⁶ Journalistic sources used in this research will be backed up by using information from the final withdrawal agreement, the UN convention of the Law of the Seas and reports from institutions like the Marine Management Organizations. This is necessary for two main reasons. It firstly allows the quotes and claims to be verified when it comes to unintended consequences, and secondly it allows for the impact and aim of frames to be tested.

After unintended consequences are established, these can then be used in order to analyse their impact on the process and how framing was used to link to the later moments of the Brexit process and thus link to the later chapters of the research itself. For example, how did David Cameron's call for a deal as close as possible with the EU in 2016 in response to questions in parliament result in Theresa May's third rejection of the withdrawal agreement which was about as close as both parties could permit with established red lines in negotiation, which led to the ultimate withdrawal agreement that was signed under Boris Johnson in 2020.³⁷

³⁵ EU Energy and Environment Sub-Committee. (2022). *Access to the UK fisheries post Brexit*. London: House of Lords. Retrieved from: <https://committees.parliament.uk/work/17/access-to-uk-fisheries-postbrexit/>

³⁶ UK Parliament, 2016. *Prime Minister's Questions: 29 June 2016*. [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZJgz5oQpP_A [Accessed 1 May 2022].

³⁷ UK Parliament, 2016. *Prime Minister's Questions: 29 June 2016*. [video] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZJgz5oQpP_A [Accessed 1 May 2022].

The Referendum Campaign

The Brexit referendum campaign started as a promise by David Cameron after growing pressures in the United Kingdom for a referendum about the British exit of the European Union. Cameron promised in the Bloomberg speech that, if the Conservatives got a parliamentary majority after the 2015 general election, a referendum determining the future of the UK and its membership of the EU would be held. The referendum was held on the 23rd of June in 2016 with 51.89% of the votes were to leave the EU.³⁸ The referendum itself was a non-binding referendum, but Cameron promised that the outcome would be honoured. His successors furthered this with the famous phrase “Brexit means Brexit”³⁹. The Leave campaign promised a well-faring United Kingdom, with newly created trade deals quickly after the UK left the EU, and hence a booming economy once freed from the shackles of the European Union.

Framing of the Brexit Referendum

The British fisheries and the future of the fishing industry and access to British waters was a contentious topic. The British fisheries were promised by the Leave campaign that the British economy and their industry would be boosted by leaving the European Union and in extension by leaving the common fisheries' policy (CFP). These promises were largely made by the Leave campaign, and significantly by MEP June Mummery and MP Boris Johnson.⁴⁰ The act of leaving the EU would give the UK immediate control and responsibility over every aspect of fishing activity and management within its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ).⁴¹ Thus, all fishing activity, regardless of the ships being British or not, will be subject to British regulations. This does have a relatively large impact on European fishing markets, as analysis by Ian Napier shows. In 2014 more than half of the monetary value, and over two thirds of the weight of fish caught within the UK EEZ were taken by non-UK vessels.⁴² Belgian fleets were most heavily reliant on British waters with more than half of their catches coming from UK waters, while Dutch, German and Danish ships caught around one third

³⁸ Hughes, L. 2016.. "EU referendum results live: Brexit wins as Britain votes to leave European Union". *The Daily Telegraph*.

³⁹ May, T., 2016. 'Brexit means Brexit': Theresa May. [video] Available at: <<https://www.cnb.com/video/2016/06/30/brexit-means-brexit-theresa-may-.html>> [Accessed 6 June 2022].

⁴⁰ BBC News. 2016. *PM and Boris clash over EU fishing laws*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-36453416>> [Accessed 6 June 2022].;

; Bosotti, A. (2020). UK to become 'finest fishing industry in world' as 'true grit' to push us after Brexit. Retrieved 13 January 2022, from

<https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/1376832/UK-news-fisheries-EU-trade-deal-Brexit-June-Mummery-for-ecast-fish-latest-vn>

⁴¹ Phillipson, J., 2018. *A Sea of Troubles*. [online] Science Direct. Available at: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0308597X17307376?casa_token=xVYgqFpL9cYAAAAA:bJG6v077eEut8VvQOzGRuAv5dZX2FDeI9zNgznuBlKLHyEy05VRxOrDIWxNIP4xax17lzGgyQ> [Accessed 12 May 2022].

⁴² Napier, I., 2017. *Fish Landings from the UK Exclusive Economic Zone and UK Landings from the EU EEZ*. [online] Port Arthur: NAFC Marine Center, p.1. Available at: <https://www.sff.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/uk_eez_2017-01-31_final-1.pdf> [Accessed 14 June 2022].

of their total landings from within the UK EEZ. Thus, despite the UK and EU fishing industry being relatively small, for the industry itself the British EEZ and being able to access and land fish in British territory is an important part of the fishing industry. Through this factual idea, the rhetorical “*they need us more than we need them*”⁴³, first said by John Moynihan came partially about. The more nuanced approach was worded in 2017 by the Conservatives' policy paper on the UK exit from the European Union. This paper stated that: “*In 2015, EU vessels caught 683,000 t (£484 m revenue) in UK waters and UK vessels caught 111,000 t (£114 m revenue) in Member States' waters. Given the heavy reliance on UK waters of the EU fishing industry and the importance of EU waters to the UK, it is in both our interests to reach a mutually beneficial deal that works for the UK and the EU's fishing communities.*”⁴⁴. Within this paper, the more extreme rhetoric of “*they need us more than we need them*”⁴⁵, which was employed by British politicians and Vote Leave Campaigners, can clearly be recognised. During the campaign itself, Moynihan, member of the British Eurosceptic campaign group Business for Britain, argued that due to Britain's large economy and vast amount of trade with the EU meant that the EU should be more scared of the economic consequence for them after the UK had left.⁴⁶ This is the first proper example of frame amplification within the Brexit referendum campaign. In this case it shows a semi-prominent Leave campaigner using certain statistics like the size of the British economy, or the EU - UK trade without taking into account the size of the respective economy of the UK compared to the EU. Nor the imports into Rotterdam, which would then subsequently be transported to other places in the world. This type of framing is used in order to popularize the standpoint of the Leave campaign claiming that there is nothing to fear when the UK leaves the EU as the EU would desperately need a deal, while similarly diminishing the fears and argumentation of the Remain campaign.⁴⁷

In terms of framing during the campaign itself, and the way the frames were used prior and directly after the referendum, it is also crucial as it shows how the politicians of the UK have evolved during the Brexit process. This is important for this research when it comes to unintended consequences and the rationalisation pitfall. In the period of the referendum itself, the framing of the campaign can be seen when looking at the interviews, statements and slogans of both sides. Labour Party Member of Parliament Chuka Umunna, a leading figure of the Labour In campaign at the time,

⁴³ BBC, 2016. *EU needs us more than we need it, says Vote Leave*. [online] BBC News. Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-35409274>> [Accessed 12 May 2022].

⁴⁴ Her Majesty's Government, 2017. *The United Kingdom's exit from, and new partnership with, the European Union*. [online] GOV.UK. Available at: <<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-united-kingdoms-exit-from-and-new-partnership-with-the-european-union-white-paper/the-united-kingdoms-exit-from-and-new-partnership-with-the-european-union--2#fn:51>> [Accessed 12 May 2022].

⁴⁵ BBC, 2016. *EU needs us more than we need it, says Vote Leave*. [online] BBC News. Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-35409274>> [Accessed 12 May 2022].

⁴⁶ BBC, 2016. *EU needs us more than we need it, says Vote Leave*. [online] BBC News. Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-35409274>> [Accessed 12 May 2022].

⁴⁷ Kotios, V., & Braithwaite, A. (2017). Investigation of the supply chain impacts and opportunities for the UK of Brexit. In *Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Logistics Research Network Conference, Southampton* (pp. 1-12).

was a staunch supporter of the Remain camp. Labour In was the Labour Party's campaign to stay within the EU. Umunna employed frame bridging using his campaign in order to persuade voters. Frame bridging is the technique of using two ideas similar in ideology but apart from each other in practicality, and creating a bridge between them using rhetoric. Umunna links Le Pen, Trump and Farage in order to create a bridge between the prominent right-wing politicians and the Leave campaign. He did this, despite unclarity about what the true stance of his party leader, Jeremy Corbyn, was regarding the referendum. Corbyn is historically Eurosceptic and undoubtedly more left-wing than the politicians Umunna mentioned. Therefore, the entire party's stance was shrouded in doubt. Umunna stated to the Guardian that "*Those of us on the left and centre-left carry a huge responsibility. If we don't ensure we win, we will be handing the likes of Farage, Le Pen and Trump – who stand against so much of what we believe in – a huge victory. We cannot afford to let this to happen.*"⁴⁸. It is a clear example of frame bridging between the ideology of the right wing politicians in the West and the beliefs Umunna believes his following to have. He attempts to sway the undecided voters who lean more towards the British left away from the Leave campaign by using this framing technique in a way to ensure that the undecided voters, but those that disagree with the mentioned politicians, to vote for his side to prevent extensive future dealings with them.

When it comes to the fisheries and the framing of the debate, a lot of promises can be analysed. If one looks to just prior to the referendum, and especially to Nigel Farage's Brexit flotillas campaign on the 15th of June 2016 which he justified simply with "*We want our waters back!*"⁴⁹, several promises can be found. Farage's statements about British fisheries in regard to the EU and the problems the industry faces shift the blame entirely to the EU, as he states that the fishing industry was "*literally being destroyed as a result of EU membership*"⁵⁰. The framing Farage uses to persuade fishermen can be seen as frame transformation, where he shifts blame entirely to the EU to fit his narrative about the fishing industry, which were contested by experts and organizations like Greenpeace. Farage blames the EU entirely for the problems regarding the fishing quotas in the British EEZ. The flaws in Farage's argument are pointed out during the Questions to the Prime Minister (PMQ) session on the same day, where Jeremy Corbyn points out that three years prior changes were made to the CFP, where the EU would still control the size of the total quota, but the member states are responsible for policing and distributing the quota among fishing fleets and

⁴⁸ Mason, R., 2016. *Labour voters in the dark about party's stance on Brexit, research says*. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/30/labour-voters-in-the-dark-about-party's-stance-on-brex-it-research-says>> [Accessed 3 June 2022].

⁴⁹ Carrell, S., 2016. *Nigel Farage to lead pro-Brexit flotilla up Thames*. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/03/nigel-farage-pro-brex-it-flotilla-thames-eu-referendum-leave-campaign>> [Accessed 14 May 2022].

⁵⁰ Booth, R., 2016. *Nigel Farage and Bob Geldof's rival EU referendum flotillas clash on the Thames*. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/15/nigel-farage-bob-geldof-rival-eu-referendum-thames-flotilla-s>> [Accessed 11 June 2022].

companies.⁵¹ This is set out in article 19, 20 and 22 of the CFP, where it states that member states may take non-discriminatory steps to maintain conservation and management, can take measures to ensure conservation providing it meets conditions and that member states put in plans on a yearly basis regarding fishing opportunities. Corbyn showed that Farage's framing of the situation was not true. Corbyn states that power has actually been put back in the hands of member states when it comes to fishing policy, and that the UK government itself gave almost two thirds of its available English and Welsh quota to large companies such as Interfish LTD, Cornelis Vrolijk and Andrew Marr International.⁵² These companies hold 61% of the English and Welsh fishing quotas, leaving 39% for all other companies and fleets. Hence, excluding smaller communities along the coast. The monthly quota set for the smaller fishermen, is for some small businesses barely enough to live off.⁵³ Although Farage may have a point about the way the fishing quotas are distributed among fishermen being a large problem for the smaller fishermen of the UK, the problem came about due to the UK government allocating the fishing quotas of its waters to disfavour the smaller boats and fleets. Hence, his framing and rhetoric is not only a form of frame transformation but also factually false.

However, the frame transformation did have an effect on the fishing industry. Reportedly, 92% of British fishermen were in favour of the UK referendum in order to take back control of their waters. As Mc Angus showed using his surveys, where 93% of the surveyed participants said they intend to vote for the UK not to remain in the EU, most British fishermen have a very negative view of the EU. They believe the EU does not take British interests to heart, that trade would hardly be affected, and their fishing catch would significantly improve.⁵⁴ This created expectations and a form of anticipation within the industry that led to unanticipated consequences.

Unintended Consequences of the Brexit Referendum

Cameron himself stated in an interview that he let the people of the UK to believe that they could "pick-and-choose"⁵⁵ what European laws to follow if they started a negotiation with the EU, setting certain expectations he could never meet when renegotiating the UK's membership.⁵⁶ It is important to note these expectations together with the framing of the UK's fishing industry when analysing the

⁵¹ "Regulation (EU) No 1380/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2013 on the Common Fisheries Policy" Signed on 11 December, 2013. *Treaty Series Common Fisheries Policy*, Document 52013AG0009 (2013) p. 25

⁵² UK Parliament, 2016. *Prime Minister's Questions: 15 June 2016*. [video] Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9BjtP00IRPA>> [Accessed 14 May 2022].

⁵³ McClenaghan, M. and Boros, C., 2016. *Big Fish quota barons squeeze out small scale fishermen*. [online] Unearthed. Available at: <<https://unearthed.greenpeace.org/2016/05/15/investigation-big-fish-quota-barons-squeeze-out-small-scale-fishermen/>> [Accessed 14 May 2022].

⁵⁴ McAngus, C. 2018 A survey of Scottish fishermen ahead of Brexit: political, social and constitutional attitudes. *Maritime Studies* 17, 41–54. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40152-018-0090-z>

⁵⁵ Martin, M., 2019. *David Cameron Talks Brexit And His 'Greatest Regret' In New Book 'For The Record'*. [online] Npr.org. Available at: <<https://www.npr.org/transcripts/764199387>> [Accessed 16 May 2022].

⁵⁶ Martin, M., 2019. *David Cameron Talks Brexit And His 'Greatest Regret' In New Book 'For The Record'*. [online] Npr.org. Available at: <<https://www.npr.org/transcripts/764199387>> [Accessed 16 May 2022].

unintended consequences. Mc Angus' survey portrays the expectation and wishes of the British fisheries and what they perceive to get out of Brexit and how they will move forward in a nation outside the EU. Hence, in order to properly understand what was intended or not and anticipated or not, knowing the fishermen their expectations as a collective group is crucial. When establishing what was unintended or not, what needs to be known first is what the expected outcome was for the fishermen when they were voting. Did they think the referendum would go through or not? Was the result generally expected? And what was expected from a future deal with the EU, and what would the fishing industry look like going forward. Depending on the anticipation of the referendum and the expected outcome in fishing communities, one can classify it as an unexpected or unanticipated result.

When one looks at the voting result in Scotland, and especially the areas where fishing is most important, one can identify the anticipated result for the region. It is important to take Scotland into account due to it being the largest landing area for British fish and employs over 40% of fishermen. The entirety of Scotland, meaning every voting area, voted to remain in the EU, with the percentages between 50.1% in Moray and 74.4% in the City of Edinburgh. When translated to regular constituencies, only one would have voted to leave the EU, which is the constituency of Banff and Buchan.⁵⁷ Due to the total voting percentage for remaining in the EU was an overwhelming 62% it can be said that the result for the Scottish fishermen was unanticipated.

The idea of Scotland remaining in the EU after the referendum floated around with senior figures of the Labour Party as well as the First Minister of Scotland Nicola Sturgeon.⁵⁸ Had the Scots managed to remain in the EU after the referendum, that would have been a perverse reaction as an unintended consequence for the fishermen due to them desperately wanting out of the EU. Due to the unexpected nature of the Scots regarding the Brexit result, and that Cameron himself also did not believe the referendum would happen initially, let alone that the vote would go the way it did, the entirety of Brexit was unanticipated.⁵⁹ Thus, the entire Brexit result itself, and being taken out of the European Union with the rest of the UK can be classified as an unanticipated consequence altogether. Using the classification of unintended consequences, and the survey of how Scottish and British fishermen felt towards the EU and what would happen if the UK left the EU, it is at least an unanticipated benefit, if the promises that were made towards them turned out to be true.

The fishermen expected trade to remain the same and the value of their goods to increase as a result of Brexit, these promises were made by the Leave campaign. Brexiteers said a sea of opportunity would come their way if they voted to leave. Paired with the Project Fear rhetoric, the British fishermen were promised and were expecting a bright future for their industry which had been

⁵⁷ Rosenbaum, M., 2017. *Local voting figures shed new light on EU referendum*. [online] BBC News. Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-38762034>> [Accessed 15 May 2022].

⁵⁸ Carrell, S., 2016. *Scottish Labour seeks possibility of federal UK in Brexit aftermath*. [online] the Guardian. Available at:

<<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jun/27/scottish-labour-seeks-possibility-federal-uk-brexit-aftermath>> [Accessed 15 May 2022].

⁵⁹ Cameron, D., 2019. *For the Record*. Harper: London, p.657. *E-book*

in decline. This decline, according to them, was because of the EU. Statistics from the years after the referendum and ultimately once the UK actually left the EU tell a different story. The decline in the fishing industry and the value and quantity of fish landed and sold had been in decline since basically official recordings started in 1938, and declined faster after Brexit.⁶⁰ Thus, blaming Brexit or the EU for the decline altogether would be unfair. However, the fishermen anticipated, as shown by Mc Angus' survey, that their industry would flourish and were promised by the Leave campaign an industry with a more sustainable future. This is quite clearly an unintended consequence for the fishing industry, as they were anticipating their industry to grow, but instead the opposite had happened in the years directly after, and the decline even accelerated. The problems were likely exacerbated due to the COVID-19 pandemic, but regardless the industry declined rapidly after the UK left the EU. This undoubtedly is a perverse reaction as an unintended consequence, as the exact opposite had occurred compared to what was intended.

Chapter Conclusion

When considering the overarching research question, it can be said that the framing of the Brexit referendum had a large impact on how the referendum played out and why people voted the way they did. Especially within the fishing industry. The framing and rhetoric of the referendum itself of both camps tried, just like with any political movement, to get people on their side, but in this case the more romantic and patriotic side had won, and the UK left the EU. The framing of the original referendum, and the promises that were made, left an impression with the people of the UK about how to perceive the future relationship with the EU, and thus also the future of the fishing industry depending on how the negotiations pan out. Cameron's influence here is massive. He initiated the Brexit campaign and if it was not for him winning the election, the referendum would likely not have taken place. He states that how he handled the campaign is one of his biggest regrets, and if he clarified what the British public was actually supposed to expect the outcome of the referendum might have been different.⁶¹ As Cameron stepped down after losing the referendum as he wanted to allow a

⁶⁰Marine Management Organization, 2019. *UK Sea Fisheries Statistics 2019*. London: Marine Management Organization, pp.1-5
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/920679/UK_Sea_Fisheries_Statistics_2019_-_access_checked-002.pdf
; Marine Management Organization, 2017. *UK Sea Fisheries Statistics 2017*. London: Marine Management Organization, pp.1-5. Available from
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/742793/UK_Sea_Fisheries_Statistics_2017.pdf
;Marine Management Organization, 2018. *UK Sea Fisheries Statistics 2018*. London: Marine Management Organization, pp.1-5. Available from
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/920110/UK_sea_fisheries_statistics_2018_002.pdf
; Leiva, M., 2021. *Who killed the British fishing industry?*. [online] Investment Monitor. Available at: <<https://www.investmentmonitor.ai/sectors/agribusiness/who-killed-the-british-fishing-industry>> [Accessed 16 May 2022].

⁶¹ Martin, M., 2019. *David Cameron Talks Brexit And His 'Greatest Regret' In New Book 'For The Record'*. [online] Npr.org. Available at: <<https://www.npr.org/transcripts/764199387>> [Accessed 16 May 2022].

Prime Minister who would deliver the promise of Brexit. He stated in the speech announcing his resignation that he “*was absolutely clear about my belief that Britain is stronger, safer and better off inside the EU*”⁶², and that “*the British people made a different decision to take a different path. As such, I think the country requires fresh leadership to take it in this direction*”⁶³. If one were to compare Merton’s original metaphor for unintended consequences as a rider falling off a horse while claiming to be merely dismounting, Cameron’s actions can be seen in a similar light as a politician wanting to renegotiate their position in the UK and subsequently leaving it altogether. This allowed Theresa May to lead the UK out of the European Union and trigger Article 50 on the 24th of January 2017. May attempted to get three deals through parliament, which were all rejected. However, the impact of these deals, laid the path for Boris Johnson to take over and ultimately ‘get Brexit done’.

⁶² BBC News, 2016. *Brexit: David Cameron resigns as UK votes to leave*. [video] Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXNV3Ad0qQ0>> [Accessed 16 May 2022].

⁶³ BBC News, 2016. *Brexit: David Cameron resigns as UK votes to leave* [video]

Theresa May's Withdrawal Agreements

Under Theresa May, the United Kingdom officially triggered Article 50 of the Treaty of the European Union on the 20th of March 2017. Thus, formally requesting for the UK to leave the European Union, as it simply states that “*Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.*”⁶⁴. This initiated the UK's exit of the EU and properly started negotiations between the two parties. May had three different proposals for the deal with the European Union after the Brexit referendum. As aforementioned, each of these deals had failed to go through the British parliament, and it led to the end of her reign as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. The second and third withdrawal agreement that May proposed to British parliament happened in quick succession, with the latter being rejected on the deadline-day to ask for an extension. This is noteworthy, as despite the looming fear of a no-deal scenario which became ever greater at the time due to the time ticking away, Parliament still decided that the deal was not good enough.

Simultaneously, the Conservative Party showed that they were finished with May due to the 33 MPs of the Conservatives and the DUP, voting against May's deal.⁶⁵ Unlike the Brexit referendum itself, there were not a lot of new promises made about the negotiations and the withdrawal agreement, other than May believing that a getting a deal as close as possible with the EU was the most beneficial for the UK, just like David Cameron believed after the Brexit campaign.⁶⁶ However, despite fewer promises, expectations were made for what the withdrawal agreement would be like and how the UK's relation with the EU would be going into the future. The failure of Theresa May to get a Brexit deal through parliament led to the end of her Premiership as support dwindled, and her own party started calling for her to step down.

The Framing of Theresa May's Withdrawal Agreements

The framing of this period heavily implied that May was not the right person for the job she should accept defeat and resign. May's second withdrawal agreement proposal, went into parliament only a few weeks before the third deal and was soundly rejected. Especially Conservative MP's that were a

⁶⁴ Council of the European Communities, and Commission of the European Communities. 1992. *Treaty on European Union*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities p. 43. Available from

https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:2bf140bf-a3f8-4ab2-b506-fd71826e6da6.0023.02/DOC_1&format=PDF

; May, T., 2017. *Prime Minister's letter to Donald Tusk triggering Article 50*. London: Her Majesty's government, pp.1-6. Retrieved from:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prime-ministers-letter-to-donald-tusk-triggering-article-50>

⁶⁵ May, T., 2017. *Prime Minister's letter to Donald Tusk triggering Article 50*. London: Her Majesty's government, pp.1-6. Retrieved from:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prime-ministers-letter-to-donald-tusk-triggering-article-50>

⁶⁶ May, T., 2019. *PM May's statement on Brexit assurances*. [online] Reuters. Available at:

<<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-on-new-brexit-deal-21-may-2019><https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-on-new-brexit-deal-21-may-2019>> [Accessed 27 May 2022].

part of the European Research Group (ERG), a very Eurosceptic research support group of the British parliament, showed their distrust in May and the deal she had proposed. They thought a new PM would be needed to move forward. Boris Johnson stated that the second deal was “woeful”⁶⁷, “lamentable”⁶⁸, “a deal that represents the worst of both worlds”⁶⁹ and that “in legal terms, they will be our colonial masters, and there will not be a damn thing we can do about any of it”⁷⁰. Johnson clearly vividly opposes the proposed deal of Theresa May and shows it using frame bridging and frame amplification simultaneously here. Thus, he connects two frames that may be congruent but mostly unconnected with the Brexit deal and the European continent’s colonial past. Further, he amplifies the frames with the proposed deal as a type of colonization, where the UK would essentially become the victims of the colonial power of the EU. Johnson here attempts to take the role of the losing party being forced to take a dreadful deal. While in reality, the extent to which the EU and UK could compromise was known beforehand. As well as this, the UK was the party wanting out of the EU. They were not being forcefully removed. Thus, unlike real colonialism, the UK could not only renegotiate, but they also chose to no longer be a part of the ‘colonizing’ power in the first place.

Other notable Brexiteers and members of the ERG, such as David Davis and Jacob Rees-Mogg, had also acknowledged their discontent and even stated that the withdrawal agreement does not coincide with the referendum result and thus the wishes of the British people.⁷¹ Making these claims is a form of frame transformation, as claiming that the deal they were presented does not respect the result of the referendum is not true. The referendum simply asked: “*Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?*”⁷². Hence, it never

⁶⁷Johnson, B., 2019. *The British people won't be scared into backing a woeful Brexit deal nobody voted for*. [online] The Telegraph. Available at: <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2019/01/06/british-people-wont-scared-backing-woeful-brexit-deal-nobody/>> [Accessed 15 June 2022].

⁶⁸Johnson, B., 2019. *If the PM is ready to fight back against Brussels then her deal could yet be fixed*. [online] The Telegraph. Available at: <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2019/01/27/pm-ready-fight-back-against-brussels-deal-could-yet-fixed/>> [Accessed 15 June 2022].

⁶⁹ Johnson, B., 2019. *No-deal is our Brexit bargaining chip and we must hold our nerve now more than ever*. [online] The Telegraph. Available at: <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2019/03/10/brussels-has-treated-british-government-condescension-bordering/>> [Accessed 27 May 2022].

⁷⁰ Johnson, B., 2019. *No-deal is our Brexit bargaining chip and we must hold our nerve now more than ever*. [online] The Telegraph. Available at: <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2019/03/10/brussels-has-treated-british-government-condescension-bordering/>> [Accessed 27 May 2022].

⁷¹ Davis, D., 2019. *By preparing for no deal properly, we will get the good Brexit democracy demands of us*. [online] The Telegraph. Available at: <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2019/01/02/preparing-no-deal-properly-will-get-good-brexit-democracy-demands/>> [Accessed 27 May 2022].;

Crerar, P., 2019. *McVey and Raab quit as May addresses MPs over Brexit deal*. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/nov/15/dominic-raab-quits-as-brexit-secretary-over-eu-withdrawal-deal>> [Accessed 27 May 2022].

⁷² Her Majesty’s government, 2016. *EU referendum*. [online] GOV.UK. Available at: <<https://www.gov.uk/government/topical-events/eu-referendum/about>> [Accessed 27 May 2022].

explicitly asked about what type of deal the UK would leave the EU with. The politicians in question transform the debate about a deal back to the concept of Brexit itself, despite there not being a proper linkage between the referendum question and what type of deal the UK will eventually sign, if any at all.

The discontent was also greatly felt among the British fishing industry after May's third deal was proposed. The fishermen held a demonstration and parade on the river Tyne in England. As established, the British fishermen were very Eurosceptic and thus the deal proposed by May, which meant the UK to remain very close partners with the EU, was not welcomed by the fishermen. The fishermen also talk about a betrayal of Brexit or a "*Brexit in name only*"⁷³. A deal of the nature which Theresa May proposed would not be a betrayal of Brexit as the referendum never inquired about what type of relationship, if any, the UK and the EU would have going forward. Thus, similarly to David Davis of the ERG, the British fishermen use frame transformation in order to get support for their argument and lobby for a deal that they think would be good for them.

Aaron Brown, founder of Fishing for Leave (FFL) stated that "*The EU has every incentive to enforce any and all detrimental legislation to cull what's left of the UK fleet.*"⁷⁴. This statement about the EU's incentive to eviscerate the British fishing fleet creates the idea that the EU is actively wanting to harm the UK with the deal of Theresa May. Brown uses frame amplification here in order to create the idea that the EU is actively wanting to harm the UK and its fishermen in order for the EU to gain from it. Brown further argues that "*if we no longer have the fleet capacity to catch our own resources, the EU can then claim these resources using international law under article 62.2 of UNCLOS.*"⁷⁵. This article of the United Nations Conventions on the Law of the Sea states that if a state is not able to catch the entire allowable catch, it can then make arrangements to allow other states to land the fish.⁷⁶ If good faith is assumed during negotiations due to statements of Theresa May and David Cameron on the British side, the argument of Brown can be negated.⁷⁷ Moreover, according to the UNCLOS agreement, the state will still be able to control its total capacity and determine that the state will be in control as to whom can fish in their EEZ, if they are unable to land their total

⁷³ Fishing News. 2019. *Fishing vessels join Tyneside Brexit protest* | *Fishing News*. [online] Available at: <<https://fishingnews.co.uk/features/fishing-vessels-join-tyneside-brexit-protest/>> [Accessed 28 May 2022].

⁷⁴ Fishing News. 2019. *Fishing vessels join Tyneside Brexit protest* | *Fishing News*. [online] Available at: <<https://fishingnews.co.uk/features/fishing-vessels-join-tyneside-brexit-protest/>> [Accessed 28 May 2022].

⁷⁵ Ibid

⁷⁶ *United Nations Convention of the Law of the Seas*, Montego Bay, 10 December 1982, *United Nations Law of the Seas*, Chapter XXI, p. 46, available from https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf

⁷⁷ European Economic and Social Committee, 2019. *Michel Barnier calls for a close economic and strategic partnership between the EU and the UK after Brexit*. [online] European Economic and Social Committee. Available at:

<<https://www.eesc.europa.eu/en/news-media/press-releases/michel-barnier-calls-close-economic-and-strategic-partnership-between-eu-and-uk-after-brexit>> [Accessed 30 May 2022].

allowable catch themselves.⁷⁸ Thus, the EU will not simply be able to just go into British waters to catch the fish the UK's fleet is unable to catch.

Conventionally, one would assume that a trade deal would be beneficial for both sides and that neither party would desire harm to befall the other, despite the circumstance that have made the parties fall out or be forced to negotiate the deal in the first place. The British fishermen attempt to place a link between the new trade deal and the UNCLOS. This link transforms the EU into the villain of the situation, wanting to cull the British fleet. The deal being sent to parliament in the first place would suggest that the UK and the EU's negotiating team were happy with the proposed deal, and not necessarily think either party is damaged significantly, and so countering Brown's claims. This is further back up by Article 311 of the UNCLOS agreement, which states that two or more states may override sections of the UNCLOS agreement if they agree on "*modifying or suspending the operation of provisions of this Convention, applicable solely to the relations between them*"⁷⁹. Therefore, the UK and EU would likely agree upon a bilateral way to ensure that neither power nor fleet would abuse the other for their own gain.

The Unintended Consequences of Theresa May's Withdrawal Agreements

The failed deals of May meant that her time as Prime Minister came to a close, and it meant that going forward a new deal would have to be discussed with a new negotiating strategy. The rhetoric used by the fishermen as well as the opposing Conservative politicians creates an insight to the expectations that they have going forward. These expectations and anticipated results can be mapped in order to uncover the unintended consequences of Theresa May's failed withdrawal proposals. The reasoning why the Conservative members and the fishermen opposed the deal is an important gauge in order to properly examine what was intended by them when May stepped down and when the withdrawal agreement was rejected. Hence, when it comes to the fisheries the difference between the deal of Johnson, which was ultimately passed through parliament and May's deal must be understood. This allows for an understanding if the Conservative opposition got what they had intended and if the fishermen were right in protesting the withdrawal agreements.

When trying to understand the unintended consequences of this, one must also understand the difference between the deal signed, and if these follow the wishes of Eurosceptic politicians and the fishermen. Johnson's deal in writing is barely different to the deal May negotiated, only around 5% of the deal has been altered after Johnson's agreement.⁸⁰ The main changes were regarding the

⁷⁸United Nations Convention of the Law of the Seas, Montego Bay, 10 December 1982, *United Nations Law of the Seas, Chapter XXI, p. 140*, available from

https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf

⁷⁹United Nations Convention of the Law of the Seas, Montego Bay, 10 December 1982, *United Nations Law of the Seas, Chapter XXI, p. 140*, available from

https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf

⁸⁰ Holder, J., 2019. *How much of Johnson's 'great new deal' is actually new?*. [online] the Guardian. Available at:

backstop and how goods and services would transfer between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The Irish backstop was unacceptable to Johnson as it would force the UK to follow certain EU rules without creating a border between Northern Ireland and Ireland and thus breaking the Good Friday Agreement. Albeit this is not directly related to the fisheries, apart from the transportation of goods, the fact that anything largely relating to the fisheries industry or access to waters was not renegotiated does not bode well for the fishermen in their expectations. Annex 2 of the agreed withdrawal agreement outlines the laws that Northern Ireland would still have to follow when it comes to fisheries and aquaculture. This annex had not been changed when comparing Johnson's and May's respective deals.⁸¹ Thus going against the will of the fishermen and their anticipations not being met.

The annex points out that the fisheries would still have to comply with a community control system set up in the Common Fisheries Policy. As well as this, the documentation of the catch by the fisheries and the organization of the fishing market, among other regulations stated in the CFP, would still have to be followed.⁸² This goes quite drastically against the idea of taking back control of British waters within the spirit that was envisioned by the Brexiteers and the fishermen. They expected Johnson to provide them with a deal that was different for them compared to Theresa May, but instead it had only provided a pseudo-internal border as a replacement of the Irish backstop agreed upon by the EU and May's negotiation team. The soft border between Northern Ireland and Ireland. It can not be imagined that the protestors in Tyne were intending for this to happen, as they wanted changes regarding the fisheries. Thus, it can be argued that the ramifications and the regulations that still have to be followed as well as the regulatory checks in between Northern Ireland and Great Britain were unintended and a negative outcome for the fisheries. Therefore, this must be an unintended drawback if not a perverse reaction within the scope of unintended consequences of the deal of Theresa May.

Furthermore, when Theresa May did not pass her deal through parliament, the risk of a no-deal Brexit became closer to reality. In hindsight, it seemed unlikely, however, after this withdrawal agreement failed to get through parliament, the no-deal scenario started being discussed more within the EU and the UK. This in itself would be a big unintended consequence, not only for the fishing industry but for the British economy as a whole, bearing in mind the British parliament voted against a no-deal Brexit on the 13th of March 2019.⁸³ The government had widespread concerns

<<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/ng-interactive/2019/oct/18/how-much-johnson-great-new-deal-actually-new>> [Accessed 30 May 2022].

⁸¹“Agreement on the withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community” Signed on 24th January, 2020. *Treaty Series: Relations with the United Kingdom*, Document 12019W/TXT(02) (2020) p. 123-124

⁸² “Agreement on the withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community” Signed on 24th January, 2020. *Treaty Series: Relations with the United Kingdom*, Document 12019W/TXT(02) (2020) p. 123-124

⁸³ Her Majesty's Government, 2019. *House of Commons vote on no-deal Brexit*. [online] UK Parliament. Available at:

<<https://www.parliament.uk/business/news/2019/march/house-of-commons-to-vote-on-no-deal-brexit/>> [Accessed 31 May 2022].

about a no-deal scenario, including within the fishing industry, as described in Operation Yellowhammer.⁸⁴ This document leaked from the UK government describes the short term ramifications of a potential no-deal scenario regarding several sectors and aspects of British life. Operation Yellowhammer predicted for the fishermen that an estimated 282 EU vessels would enter the British waters illegally or will already be present at that moment. The UK government thought that this would cause anger and frustration among the British fleet and could potentially lead to a clash between the fishing fleets. Further, there would be an increased likelihood for illegal fishing, illegal border crossing and potential violent disputes or the blocking of ports.⁸⁵ Regardless of opinions on a no-deal scenario by the public, the Operation Yellowhammer gives insight as to how the UK would be running for the first days after Brexit and in the immediate short term.

With the situation described, and a no-deal scenario coming ever closer at the time due to the failure of the third withdrawal agreement. The no deal scenario would have been a horrendous consequence for the fishing industry, and the fears surrounding them are rightly justified when analysing Operation Yellowhammer. Also, when it comes to the fishing industry, the situation described would harm the fishing industry quite significant as a result of the failed withdrawal agreement. Presumably more so than any deal could, as either way UNCLOS Article 62.2 would still be in effect if the British fleet would collapse as a result of a no-deal. The fears of Aaron Brown are more likely to be realized in this situation, compared to any deal signed in good faith.⁸⁶ This is undoubtedly an unintended and unanticipated consequence for the fishing industry and the British economy as a whole, and would be a massive unintended drawback due to the vast negative ramifications it brings.

Chapter Conclusion

When one looks at the overarching research question as to how the framing and unintended consequences influenced the Brexit debate, this was a significant moment of the Brexit timeline. As one would expect, the withdrawal agreement of Theresa May failing and then subsequently stepping down as Prime Minister had large ramifications on the Brexit process as a whole and shows that the entire process was not particularly straightforward nor planned. This is because of the lack of consensus within the ruling party about the future relationship between the EU and the UK. The deal May attempted to strike with the EU would have steered the entire process in a very different direction compared to what occurred afterwards. When thinking about path-dependence and the inevitability of

⁸⁴ Her Majesty's Government, 2018. *Operation Yellowhammer*. [online] Assets.publishing.service.gov.uk. Available at:

<https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/831199/2019_0802_Latest_Yellowhammer_Planning_assumptions_CDL.pdf> [Accessed 30 May 2022].

⁸⁵ Her Majesty's Government, 2018. *Operation Yellowhammer*. [online] Assets.publishing.service.gov.uk. Available at:

<https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/831199/2019_0802_Latest_Yellowhammer_Planning_assumptions_CDL.pdf> [Accessed 30 May 2022].

⁸⁶ UNCLOS article 62

the Brexit deal, this moment was therefore a major turning point. The framing during this period was extremely antagonistic towards May, causing her support from within her party to diminish. This essentially meant that the writing was on the wall, and she had to make way for a new Prime Minister, with their own, new take on Brexit and the fisheries. With hindsight, especially, the different routes that May administration took compared to Johnson's already show a lack of path dependence or clear route towards Brexit.

After May's resignation, Boris Johnson took over as Prime Minister and in his first speech as PM, he announced that he would get rid of the backstop, and leave the EU with or without a deal. Drastically changing policy compared to previous rhetoric about Brexit and the no-deal scenario.⁸⁷ He then asked the queen to prorogue parliament a few weeks later in August 2019 in order to prevent the blocking of a no-deal by UK parliament.⁸⁸ In October of the same year he dissolved parliament and asked for a new general election, which the Conservatives and Johnson won with 43% of the votes, giving them a landslide victory and a majority in parliament, thus practically full control.⁸⁹ The election campaign was largely run and won using the slogan "*Get Brexit Done*"⁹⁰. His approach and beliefs regarding Brexit and negotiations were vastly different compared to May and Cameron, and thus impacted the Brexit process as a whole during his time as Prime Minister. His views on the backstop coming back in 2022 with the threat of the UK pulling out of the Northern Ireland Protocol as the UK government announced to potentially legislate domestic laws to override parts of contention of the Northern Ireland Protocol.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Johnson, B., 2019. *Boris Johnson's first speech as Prime Minister: 24 July 2019*. [online] GOV.UK. Available at: <<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/boris-johnsons-first-speech-as-prime-minister-24-july-2019>> [Accessed 31 May 2022].

⁸⁸ Crowie, G. and Cygan, A., 2019. *The Prorogation Dispute of 2019: one year on*. [online] London: House of Commons Library. Available at: <<https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-9006/CBP-9006.pdf>> [Accessed 15 June 2022].

⁸⁹ Curtis, J., 2022. *General Election 2019: What's behind the Conservative victory?*. [online] BBC News. Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/election-2019-50774061>> [Accessed 31 May 2022].

⁹⁰ Perrigo, B., 2019. '*Get Brexit Done*.' *The Slogan That Won Britain's Election*. [online] Time. Available at: <<https://time.com/5749478/get-brex-it-done-slogan-uk-election/>> [Accessed 31 May 2022].

⁹¹ Truss, L., 2022. *Northern Ireland Protocol: Foreign Secretary's statement, 17 May 2022*. [online] GOV.UK. Available at: <<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/northern-ireland-protocol-foreign-secretarys-statement-17-may-2022>> [Accessed 31 May 2022].

Johnson's Brexit Deal

Boris Johnson was appointed as Prime Minister on the 24th of July 2019. Because Theresa May resigned, there was no new general election for the whole parliament. But instead, only members of the Conservative Party would only vote for who becomes Prime Minister. During this there were five voting rounds, all of which Johnson won, and thus he became the new Prime Minister. There were threats from other Conservative Members of Parliament to prevent a no-deal Brexit, and so Johnson unsuccessfully called for a general election on the 3rd of September 2019 and again on the 9th of September, both failed as neither met the two-thirds majority in parliament required by the Fixed Terms Parliament Act⁹². Because of this, the government passed a short bill to hold a general election, which only needed a simple majority in parliament. This bill passed, and a new general election was held on the 12th of December 2019. Despite the Conservatives only having amassed 43.6%, they got an overwhelming majority in parliament due to the First Past the Post electoral system the UK uses.⁹³ For a simple majority 326 seats in parliament are required, after this election, 365 seats in parliament were taken by Conservative Party members. A large part of Johnson's successful campaign was heavily related to the Brexit deal and how the UK would leave the EU. His slogan "*Get Brexit Done*"⁹⁴ gained widespread popularity and helped him and his party to remain the biggest party in the UK and take full control of parliament. The re-election of Johnson and his version of the withdrawal agreement was the most influential moment in terms of Brexit negotiations and consequences of the Brexit process. Thus, this moment was also the most important for the fishermen due to the changes that were made becoming tangible, as this deal would be enacted. Therefore, analysing this closely can give the most insights for the future of the fishing industry and the consequences it faces. The final withdrawal agreement itself was signed on the 24th of January 2020 and went into effect the 1st of February 2021.

The Framing of Johnson's Brexit Deal

The framing surrounding this deal and regarding the fishermen was significant. Starting with Johnson and how he spoke about the Scottish National Party's (SNP) and the Scottish fishing industry. He stated that "*We want to turbocharge the Scottish fishing sector; they would allow Brussels to charge for our turbot.*"⁹⁵ He was essentially blaming the SNP for potentially slowing down their own fishing industry with deals done with the EU, while the Conservative Party wants to ensure that the Scottish fishing industry is saved and improved over time. Furthermore, he is framing the SNP to be the

⁹² Fixed terms Parliament act section 2011 (UKHL) s. 2.1b (UK) available at: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/14/pdfs/ukpga_20110014_en.pdf

⁹³ Her Majesty's Government, 2019. *General Election 2019: full results and analysis*. [online] UK Parliament. Available at: <<https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-8749/>> [Accessed 15 June 2022].

⁹⁴ Perrigo, B., 2019. '*Get Brexit Done.*' *The Slogan That Won Britain's Election*. [online] Time. Available at: <<https://time.com/5749478/get-brexite-done-slogan-uk-election/>> [Accessed 31 May 2022].

⁹⁵ Reuters. 2019. *Prime Minister Johnson's speech to Conservative conference*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-eu-johnson-text-idUSKBN1WH192>> [Accessed 2 June 2022].

villains of the story, and he finds it surprising that “*in spite of being called names like Salmond and Sturgeon, they are committed to handing back those fish to the control of the EU.*”⁹⁶ Johnson is using frame extension, where he would enlarge the scope of his frame to encompass the boundaries of the targeted group their views, sentiments and ideas. Using these statements, he attempts for the British fishing industry as well as the public of Scotland and the rest of the UK to stand with him and his party to get Brexit done. This frame extension was targeted mostly towards the people outside of Scotland, due to the Scots having largely voted to remain within the EU. Furthermore, when thinking about the fisheries, the campaign was largely focused on taking back control of the British waters.

One of the successful slogans of the election campaign was “*take back control of the fishing waters*”⁹⁷. This slogan, together with the aforementioned “*Get Brexit Done*”⁹⁸ were the most prominent slogans of the election campaign. The idea of taking back control implies that the UK will get full control of its waters and take that away from Brussels. The framing of this slogan creates the idea that the UK will be entirely independent of the EU’s laws and its Common Fisheries Policy. The Conservative Party and Johnson used frame amplification as he clarifies and embroiders his framework within the context of fishing, despite the fact that what he is stating is not entirely true. After Brexit, the UK would be free from the EU and the CFP and takes responsibility for management and sustainability of its EEZ extending 200 nautical miles from the British shores. However, the UK will still be bound to some rules of the CFP during the transition period after the deal has been signed. This transition period lasted until the end of 2021. Further, legislation had already been passed aimed at ensuring that existing rules will continue from the moment the UK leaves the EU, which was clarified in a political declaration of the UK.⁹⁹ This declaration states that “*the Parties should cooperate on the development of measures for the conservation, rational management and regulation of fisheries, in a non-discriminatory manner.*”¹⁰⁰. This shows the extension of reality that is used

⁹⁶ Reuters. 2019. *Prime Minister Johnson's speech to Conservative conference*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-eu-johnson-text-idUSKBN1WH192>> [Accessed 2 June 2022].

⁹⁷ Rossiter, K. and Telford, W., 2019. *Tories' Liz Truss vows to take back control of fishing waters*. [online] Business Live. Available at: <<https://www.business-live.co.uk/economic-development/tories-liz-truss-vows-take-17292014>> [Accessed 2 June 2022].

⁹⁸ Perrigo, B., 2019. *'Get Brexit Done.' The Slogan That Won Britain's Election*. [online] Time. Available at: <<https://time.com/5749478/get-brex-it-done-slogan-uk-election/>> [Accessed 31 May 2022].

⁹⁹ Her Majesty's Government, 2019. *Fisheries and Brexit*. London: HM Government, p.13. Available at <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8396/CBP-8396.pdf>; European Commission & Her Majesty's Government, 2019. *Political Declaration setting out the framework for the future relationship between the European Union and the United Kingdom*. London: HM Government, p.14. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/840656/Political_Declaration_setting_out_the_framework_for_the_future_relationship_between_the_European_Union_and_the_United_Kingdom.pdf

¹⁰⁰ European Commission & Her Majesty's Government, 2019. *Political Declaration setting out the framework for the future relationship between the European Union and the United Kingdom*. London: HM Government, p.14. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/840656/Political_Declaration_setting_out_the_framework_for_the_future_relationship_between_the_European_Union_and_the_United_Kingdom.pdf

during Johnson's political campaign, as he creates the illusion that the UK will have full and total control of its territorial waters. While in reality, the UK will still work together with the EU on matters regarding fishing and sustainability of aquaculture. Moreover, as discussed in the previous chapter, Northern Ireland would still have to follow certain EU rules regarding fishing more strictly, because of the Northern Ireland Protocol. While the UK is no longer a part of the CFP, its membership of other international institutions like the UN, and the obligations it gave itself with the withdrawal agreement did not show the UK to be taking control of their waters. Johnson is misleading the fishermen, one of his largest support groups during the Brexit campaign, and fabricates stories of how their industry will change after Brexit. While in reality, the changes are not close to how the fishermen envision it.

Another peculiar way framing is used during the 2019 election campaign is how the opposition, the Labour Party and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), opposed the government and worked together in order to attempt to force the government to explain if the Northern Irish fishing waters will be controlled by London with Johnson's proposed deal.¹⁰¹ This is an unprecedented step in British politics due to the DUP and Labour being quite far apart when it comes to political beliefs, and thus their shared concern about the lack of clarity regarding the deal during the campaign is noteworthy. Labour's concerns were outed when Luke Pollard, member of Parliament for the Labour Party, shared his concerns about the fishing deal that Johnson had negotiated. He states that "*What this Bill does confirm is that the future of fishing will be determined not by this new law but by the EU trade negotiations where fishing access could be sold out for financial services, automotive or aerospace.*"¹⁰² Pollard implies a lack of care by the government regarding the fishing rights, and states that the fishing rights can be sold off in the future in order to soften the EU when it comes to other sectors, like the financial services, automotive and aerospace sectors. Hereby further implying that the government does not truly care as much about the fishing as they claim, but instead use it as a bargaining chip in future negotiations with the EU. He further talks about how the government should focus more on its redistribution of its available fishing quotas, which is primarily distributed among large multinationals like Interfish LTD, Cornelis Vrolijk and Andrew Marr International, as clarified by Corbyn during the referendum campaign.¹⁰³ Pollard uses frame bridging here in order to link the fishing agreement with the faults made by the government regarding quota distribution in order to amplify his point about the government fishing policy. This, combined with the unclarity that was created and pointed out in the joint letter of the DUP and Labour, casts serious doubts on the British

¹⁰¹ Syal, R., 2019. *Labour and DUP demand clarity on Northern Ireland fishing*. [online] the Guardian. Available at:

<<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/nov/11/brexit-labour-and-dup-demand-clarity-on-northern-ireland-fishing>> [Accessed 2 June 2022].

¹⁰² Pollard, L., 2020. *Future of fishing determined not by new law but by EU trade negotiations – Luke Pollard - The Labour Party*. [online] The Labour Party. Available at:

<https://labour.org.uk/press/future-of-fishing-determined-not-by-new-law-but-by-eu-trade-negotiations-luke-pollard/?bsearch_highlight=fish> [Accessed 2 June 2022].

¹⁰³ UK Parliament, 2016. *Prime Minister's Questions: 15 June 2016*. [video] Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9BjtP00IRPA>> [Accessed 14 May 2022].

government's knowledge regarding the future of the fishing industry and Brexit as a whole. Overall, the framing of Johnson's re-election and the final withdrawal agreement is contrasted by the opposition's uncertainty about the bill. The government itself said it would do right by the fishermen and take back control of its waters and get Brexit done. Meanwhile, Johnson's claimed his deal was "oven-ready"¹⁰⁴ and to just stick it "in the microwave"¹⁰⁵. These statements are contrasted by the consequences the fishing industry faces as a result of the deal and how the government reacted to the problems of the fishing industry.

The Unintended Consequences of Johnson's Brexit Deal

When discussing the unintended consequences of the final withdrawal agreement, it is again important to understand what the British fishermen were expecting from it in the future and how their lives would look like as a result of this deal. Therefore, the promises that Johnson made to the fishermen must be known. Johnson pledged several ideas. First and foremost, that the UK would be out of the CFP by December 2020, and that no deal with the EU in the future would trade away access to UK fishing waters.¹⁰⁶ Further, fisheries chief executive of the UK, Jane Sandell, promised them "to catch and eat quite prodigious quantities of extra fish"¹⁰⁷. As well as this, during the initial campaign, the British fishermen were promised a prospering and growing fishing industry, and that their sea of opportunities would be realised. The department of Food and Agriculture stated that the fishing industry could expect an increase in quotas worth 146 million pounds over 5 years.¹⁰⁸

The first unintended consequence that will be looked at is to what extent the British fishermen got control over their seas, and to what extent they anticipated the consequences that occurred because of it. Firstly, Jim Portus, ex-representative for fishermen in Devon and Cornish stated that he expected a fantastic victory but ultimately the results of Brexit for him and who he represents have been disappointing.¹⁰⁹ According to Portus, many promises were not fulfilled and the idea that they would control their own waters and set the regulations have also been realized. One of his biggest

¹⁰⁴ Johnson, B. @BorisJohnson. 2019. *Tweets [We've got the deal. It's oven ready. Vote Conservative tomorrow to get Brexit done]* Retrieved from: <https://twitter.com/borisjohnson/status/1204763516256710658>

¹⁰⁵ Johnson, B. @BorisJohnson. 2019. *Tweets [We've got the deal. It's oven ready. Vote Conservative tomorrow to get Brexit done]* Retrieved from: <https://twitter.com/borisjohnson/status/1204763516256710658>

¹⁰⁶ Fishing News. 2019. *PM Brexit fishing pledge | Fishing News*. [online] Available at: <https://fishingnews.co.uk/features/pm-brexit-fishing-pledge/> [Accessed 2 June 2022].

¹⁰⁷ Townsend, M., 2020. *The fisherman's verdict on Brexit: Boris Johnson sold us down the river – again*. [online] the Guardian. Available at:

<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/dec/26/deal-fishing-industry-boris-johnson-betrayal-eu-demands> [Accessed 2 June 2022].

¹⁰⁸ Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 2022. *Outcomes of annual negotiations for UK fishing opportunities in 2021 and 2022*. [online] HM Government, p.22. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1059641/Outcomes_of_annual_negotiations_for_UK_fishing_opportunities_in_2021_and_2022.pdf [Accessed 6 June 2022].

¹⁰⁹ Townsend, M. (2020). *The fisherman's verdict on Brexit: Boris Johnson sold us down the river – again*. Retrieved 13 January 2022, from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/dec/26/deal-fishing-industry-boris-johnson-betrayal-eu-demands>

disgruntlement is a system of penalties and fines to be paid to foreign fishermen if they try to prevent foreign fishing vessels from accessing British fishing waters from within 12nm off the coast. The promise of Johnson was broken and appeared hollow, as it became clear that the British fishermen, or the British government, would not take full control of their waters. Furthermore, the promise of British fisheries flourishing and catching a prodigious amount of extra fish also appeared to be a fairytale. This is shown by the 2020 UK fishing statistics, as they reported a 16% decrease in fish landed in the UK.¹¹⁰ Moreover, a report from the National Federation of Fishermen's Organization (NFFO) shows the extra costs the fishermen have to endure because of Brexit. The NFFO points out that the industry lost 24 million pounds due to red tape, 30 million due to not having a deal with Norway and several more millions due to having no deals with the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Svalbard. Overall, the estimate of losses is around 79 million pounds due to Brexit. The NFFO also estimated a gain of 75 million pounds due to the TCA and not having to give quotas to Greenland and Norway. However, this is still a net loss of just under 5 million pounds, with the majority of the actual gains going to a small number of fleets. Considering the expected increase of 146 million pounds, this is an incredibly negative consequence for the industry, and can be classified as a perverse reaction, because rather than taking full control of their waters and earning more money, just about the opposite occurred.

Furthermore, in 2020 the UK was a net importer of fish, meaning that they imported more fish from abroad than they exported. When comparing its trade figures to years prior, the imports and exports remained very stable, thus not showing any particular change because of Brexit in the favour of the fishermen, although, also no negative change.¹¹¹ However, a report from the Marine Management Organization regarding 2020 fishing statistics show a 16% decrease in fish landed. Due to the expectations of the fishermen of the UK, the vast decrease in amount of fish landed would definitely be seen as an unintended or unanticipated drawback regarding the fishing industry. However, it must be noted that a large part of this can be contributed to the lockdown due to the Covid-19 pandemic that started in March 2020, which naturally affected the fishing industry. Reports show that of the three main fish types that are landed; pelagic, demersal and shellfish, the latter two were down by around 50%, while pelagic fish like cod and mackerel were up by 214% and, 3632% in the months of February and May respectively.¹¹² Pelagic fish is yearly the type of fish that is caught

¹¹⁰ Marine Management Organization, 2020. *UK Sea Fisheries Statistics 2020*. London: Marine Management Organization, pp.1-5.

¹¹¹ Marine Management Organization, 2020. *UK Sea Fisheries Statistics 2020*. London: Marine Management Organization, pp.1-5.

¹¹² Marine Analytical Unit, 2021. *Impact of Covid-19 on the Marine Economic Sector Research and Analysis Survey of Businesses*. [online] Scottish Government, pp.6-12. Available at: <<https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/research-and-analysis/2021/01/covid-19-business-survey-scottish-marine-sectors/documents/impact-covid-19-marine-economic-sector-research-analysis-survey-businesses/impact-covid-19-marine-economic-sector-research-analysis-survey-businesses/govscot%3Adocument/impact-covid-19-marine-economic-sector-research-analysis-survey-businesses.pdf>> [Accessed 3 June 2022].

the most in British waters, amounting to about 57% of the total catch, however it is caught by a relative low amount of fleets.¹¹³ Therefore, the entire loss of value can not be just blamed on Brexit, due to the largest type of fish landed in quantity had a very decent year.¹¹⁴

The fishing industry still feels betrayed by Boris Johnson due to the legislation that was enacted and the red tape the industry is now forced to follow as a result of the Brexit deal when it comes to exporting their fish. Fishing companies face new bureaucratic hurdles when exporting to the EU, with customs declarations and border checks. This additional red tape had been added as a result of the Brexit deal, and was not a part of the fishing industry when it was still within the European Customs Union. It causes delays to the export of their product and causes further concern about expiry dates and the rotting of the fish. Britain exports most of the fish they catch, as the fish swimming in the North Sea is not consumed in great amounts in the UK.¹¹⁵ The UK's primary exporting regions are still within the EU, with the largest countries it exports fish to being France, the Netherlands, the Republic of Ireland and Spain.¹¹⁶ Due to all these nations being part of the EU, customs and border checks are mandatory when trading fish. Liberal Democrat lawmaker Alistair Carmichael, who represents Scotland's Orkney and Shetland islands, claimed the problems the fishing industry was facing is all the fault of the government. He stated that the sea of opportunity that was promised had not been delivered and that their "*boats are tied up in harbour, their propellers filled with red tape manufactured in Whitehall*"¹¹⁷.

¹¹³ Harvey, M. and Witteveen, A., 2020. *Review of Covid-19 impacts on the UK seafood industry: January-June 2020*. Review of Covid-19 impacts on the UK seafood industry. [online] Seafish, pp.19-20. Available at: <https://archive2021.parliament.scot/S5_Rural/Meeting%20Papers/Review_of_Covid-19_impacts_on_the_UK_seafood_industry_January-June_2020_.pdf> [Accessed 2 June 2022].;

;Harvey, M. and Witteveen, A., 2021. *Review of Covid-19 impacts on the UK seafood industry: October-December 2020*. Review of Covid-19 impacts on the UK seafood industry. [online] Seafish, pp.19-20. Available at:

<http://file:///C:/Users/6496296/Downloads/Review%20of%20Covid-19%20impacts%20on%20the%20UK%20seafood%20industry_%20October-December%202020.pdf> [Accessed 2 June 2022].;

;Marine Management Organisation, 2021. *UK sea fisheries annual statistics report 2020*. UK sea fisheries annual statistics report. [online] Marine Management Organisation, p.18. Available at:

<https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1020837/UK_Sea_Fisheries_Statistics_2020_-_AC_checked.pdf> [Accessed 2 June 2022].

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<<https://www.nffo.org.uk/nffo-demands-transparency-over-tca-deal/>> [Accessed 14 June 2022].

¹¹⁴ Harvey, M. and Witteveen, A., 2021. *Review of Covid-19 impacts on the UK seafood industry: October-December 2020*. Review of Covid-19 impacts on the UK seafood industry. [online] Seafish, pp.19-20. Available at:

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¹¹⁵ Marine Management Organisation, 2021. *UK sea fisheries annual statistics report 2020*. UK sea fisheries annual statistics report. [online] Marine Management Organisation, p.55. Available at:

<https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1020837/UK_Sea_Fisheries_Statistics_2020_-_AC_checked.pdf> [Accessed 2 June 2022].

¹¹⁶ Marine Management Organisation, 2021. *UK sea fisheries annual statistics report 2020*. UK sea fisheries annual statistics report. [online] Marine Management Organisation, p.55. Available at:

<https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1020837/UK_Sea_Fisheries_Statistics_2020_-_AC_checked.pdf> [Accessed 2 June 2022].

¹¹⁷ Lawless, J., 2021. *UK fishers cry foul as Brexit red tape leaves catch rotting*. [online] AP NEWS. Available at:

This discontent about the regulations that have to be followed clearly show that the UK's fishing industry did not receive the benefits they were promised, and that their situation had only become worse due to the new Brexit deal. This increase in regulation and the problems the industry is facing were unanticipated and is a clear perverse reaction when it comes to unanticipated consequences. They expected a similar trade environment with the EU, similar to what it was before Brexit, but now they would be able to set the rules and regulations. Most fishermen were not prepared and did not anticipate needing to make any major precautions regarding Brexit. A survey from the Marine Analytical Unit shows the percentage of British fishermen that made preparatory precautions regarding the end of the transition period. When looking at the salmon and trout sector, 94% of fishermen made no preparations anticipating the end of the transition period, for trout fishers 84% of businesses made no preparations. For shellfish and demersal fisheries, 47% and 72% of businesses made no preparatory plans regarding Brexit.¹¹⁸ They did not anticipate having to make changes because of Brexit, because they were told it was not needed. The problems the industry now faces are a clear unintended drawback, and the government itself is the one to blame because of unclarity and hollow promises.

The consequences of the withdrawal agreement being passed in the form it took, and Johnson's re-election in 2019, changed Brexit greatly and set the stage for the fishing industry going forward. Fishermen are now worried that access to their waters will be sold off in order for the British government to gain access to other European sectors that are more profitable, and have seen their quantity of fish caught and landed greatly diminish during the first full year of Brexit. The British fishermen are now significantly worse off due to the withdrawal agreement, with the industry shrinking further, even though they were promised and expected a sea of opportunity and that their industry would be revived and flourish. The problems the industry faced in 2020 and 2021 were put down as '*teething problems*'¹¹⁹ by the UK government, however certain aspects like border checks and customs controls seem unlikely to go anywhere any time soon. The idea of teething problems shows a clear instance of rationalisation as described by Merton. All the problems surrounding the Brexit deal and the fisheries were not mentioned during the referendum campaign by the Leave campaign, nor was it mentioned during the time Johnson was negotiating his withdrawal agreement. Yet as they are

<<https://apnews.com/article/brexit-europe-london-global-trade-europe-b9022a3900ad8e9f5c4fec730b92db8a>> [Accessed 3 June 2022].

¹¹⁸ Marine Analytical Unit, 2021. *Impact of Covid-19 on the Marine Economic Sector Research and Analysis Survey of Businesses*. [online] Scottish Government, pp.6-12. Available at: <<https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/research-and-analysis/2021/01/covid-19-business-survey-scottish-marine-sectors/documents/impact-covid-19-marine-economic-sector-research-analysis-survey-businesses/govscot%3Adocument/impact-covid-19-marine-economic-sector-research-analysis-survey-businesses.pdf>> [Accessed 3 June 2022].

¹¹⁹ Lawless, J., 2021. *UK fishers cry foul as Brexit red tape leaves catch rotting*. [online] AP NEWS. Available at: <<https://apnews.com/article/brexit-europe-london-global-trade-europe-b9022a3900ad8e9f5c4fec730b92db8a>> [Accessed 3 June 2022].

occurring now, he is putting it away as short-term issues. When looking at the metaphor of the dismounting horse-rider, the similarities are quite profound with the UK leaving the EU. Johnson claims to be ‘dismounting’ off the EU, but is more likely to be just falling off.

Chapter Conclusion

Boris Johnson had by far the largest impact on Brexit, and the current predicament of the British fishermen compared to his predecessors can be traced back to his deal. He got a deal passed through parliament and somewhat put an end to the saga. His impact on the British fisheries during the Brexit process is shown by the consequences that have been reported by the NFFO and the Marine Management Organization. The framing he used set the expectations for the fishermen, which created the idea that the future would be much better for them. When thinking about the overarching research question and how path dependent the entire Brexit process, this moment of the Brexit timeline has shown that it was anything but planned. When contrasting Johnson’s time as Prime Minister with Theresa May and David Cameron, the chaos of Brexit truly showed. Johnson attempted to prorogue parliament in order to prevent parliament voting against a no-deal. It is not hard to imagine that if May or Cameron was in charge from the beginning until the end of Brexit, the entire process would have been drastically different and the deal itself would have looked different as well.

Recently, the British government has become unhappy about the Northern Ireland protocol. This is shown by the British government’s announcement to potentially legislate domestic laws to override parts of contention of the Northern Ireland Protocol.¹²⁰ This would hamper the fishing industry even further, as it could start a trade war between the UK and the EU, which the EU would likely win. Meanwhile, the United States, the 5th largest export nation for British fish, has also expressed its discontent. Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, stated that rewriting the protocol unilaterally, would kill any chance of a free trade deal with the United States.¹²¹ In regard to the Northern Ireland, Johnson admitted he had hoped for the EU not to apply the trade barriers that were discussed.¹²² Problems with the Northern Ireland protocol are damaging the relations with the US and the UK and can only result in further problems for the British fishing industry. The Brexit that they voted for has not been delivered, and any promise that was made along the way was either postponed or broken. Thus, the entire Brexit process has only been damaging for the fishing industry and will likely to remain harmful for the foreseeable future.

¹²⁰ Truss, L., 2022. *Northern Ireland Protocol: Foreign Secretary's statement, 17 May 2022*. [online] GOV.UK. Available at: <<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/northern-ireland-protocol-foreign-secretarys-statement-17-may-2022>> [Accessed 31 May 2022].

¹²¹ *Pelosi warns UK over Good Friday Agreement and Brexit*. 2022. [video] RTE News. available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rs-1EeLpnxM>

¹²² Merrick, R., 2022. *Boris Johnson admits agreeing Northern Ireland Protocol rules but 'hoped' EU would not apply them*. [online] The Independent. Available at: <<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/boris-johnson-northern-ireland-protocol-b2080813.html>> [Accessed 3 June 2022].

Conclusion

Brexit was a rollercoaster ride for the entirety of the United Kingdom. The promises that were made during the campaign, seemed lavish and almost too good to be true. As Cameron admitted, he may have led the people to believe certain things about Brexit that were not true. For example, how the future relationship would look like and how this deal would be negotiated and the strength of the UK in the negotiations. The framing of the referendum by the Brexiteers amplified their rhetoric by stating things that were not entirely true, in order to sell their stance to the British population and by extension its fishermen. The fishermen expected that they would finally be unshackled from Brussels laws because that is what was promised, and thus it became what they were expecting. These promises boiled down to increased trade with fewer regulations, but no real serious side effects. However, the unanticipated consequences of Brexit show the opposite. Their industry is shrinking faster than before, and they have to follow more regulations.

The framing from the Remain camp mainly attempted to link the idea of Brexit with populist leaders through Europe in order to entice people to vote to stay within the EU. For Theresa May's deal, the framing was heavily against the deal she proposed, especially regarding the backstop. The fishermen believed this deal would simply ensure that they would remain within the legislative world of the EU and that they would be used as a bargaining chip. This failure of May's three withdrawal agreements led to Johnson taking over and leading the UK out of the EU. Again, the fishermen were expecting an improved industry after leaving the EU, but the prospering industry and increased amount of fish caught and revenue has not materialised since. The British fishermen feel left behind by the withdrawal agreement, as all promises that were made to this industry that was key to get Brexit done in the first place have all but been broken. Overall, the unintended consequences the industry faced as a result of the Brexit timeline, are almost all perverse reactions or unintended drawbacks.

Despite the ultimate goal for the fishermen of leaving the EU which was an unanticipated benefit due to the unexpected nature of the result, everything that happened since had not been what they intended or anticipated. The expectations and framing of the Brexit process as a whole affected the outcome and current opinion surrounding Brexit, as it set the expectations of what the future of the UK would look like after leaving the EU. None of the Prime Ministers have been able to deliver the promised potential of Brexit, especially for the fishing industry. The Brexit process was not a smooth process with an 'oven-ready' deal and careful planning throughout the years, but instead the governments presiding over the Brexit negotiations seemed to go from broken promises and changes of rhetoric at all times to cover up their mistakes and rationalise the idea of Brexit. The British fishermen were promised the world and waters to be their oyster, but it did not have a pearl inside and the oyster they were given had already rotten.

When thinking about path dependency and Brexit being a self-fulfilling prophecy, this research ultimately argues the opposite. The changes in leadership and rhetoric regarding Brexit have shown no clear path or consensus within the Conservative Party about what Brexit should be. If the leadership throughout the Brexit process had been different, it is very likely that the entirety of Brexit and the final deal would have been drastically different as well. Overall, this research has added to the academic debate by showing how the unintended consequences of Brexit affected the entire process, as well as how politicians and the fishing industry itself was affected as a result. The chaotic nature of the Brexit process as well as the changes of the guard within British government has shown that the Brexit process was not a path-dependent process but was heavily dependent on the politicians, public opinion and the situation at hand. The political actors of Brexit were mostly simply rolling with the punches thrown at them, rather than having a concrete plan from the moment the Leave campaign won in 2016. As well as this, this research showed that the intent and anticipation created, furthered the unintended consequences, as the lack of preparation and anticipation of the fishing industry only harmed it when Brexit went into effect.

This research does have several points of improvement. Due to time constraints, interviewing and surveying fishermen and experts within the field was not possible, and thus the research was dependent on sources from journalists, newspapers and surveys done by others in order to know what was expected and anticipated and how the fishermen perceive the current situation. To combat this, sources from the Marine Management Organization, for example, were used to verify quotes. Future research can solve this by designing their own survey for fishermen and using that as a baseline for research. As well as this, further research can focus on different sectors of the British economy to uncover unintended consequences and the impact for varying industries. As well as this, doing this research again at a later time could allow for more unintended consequences to be shown, as some may take a long time to materialise. A vast amount of unintended consequences seen through history are seen in the medium and long term, as the true extent of consequences becomes clearer as time passes. It is currently unknowable to what extent the situation regarding Brexit will evolve over time. Therefore, to keep analysing the unintended consequences that have occurred as a direct result of Brexit is an important continuation of this research, as only then the true extent and impact of Brexit can be known. Short-term analysis such as this research is still a very useful tool when it comes to analysing the immediate impact of an event and how it directly impacted the actors at play. When combining this with later research on the long-term unintended consequences, a more complete overview of Brexit's consequences can be outlined.

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Appendix

Plagiarism rules and Awareness Form

Faculty of Humanities

Version September 2014



Universiteit Utrecht

PLAGIARISM RULES AWARENESS STATEMENT

Fraud and Plagiarism

Scientific integrity is the foundation of academic life. Utrecht University considers any form of scientific deception to be an extremely serious infraction. Utrecht University therefore expects every student to be aware of, and to abide by, the norms and values regarding scientific integrity.

The most important forms of deception that affect this integrity are fraud and plagiarism. Plagiarism is the copying of another person's work without proper acknowledgement, and it is a form of fraud. The following is a detailed explanation of what is considered to be fraud and plagiarism, with a few concrete examples. Please note that this is not a comprehensive list!

If fraud or plagiarism is detected, the study programme's Examination Committee may decide to impose sanctions. The most serious sanction that the committee can impose is to submit a request to the Executive Board of the University to expel the student from the study programme.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the copying of another person's documents, ideas or lines of thought and presenting it as one's own work. You must always accurately indicate from whom you obtained ideas and insights, and you must constantly be aware of the difference between citing, paraphrasing and plagiarising. Students and staff must be very careful in citing sources; this concerns not only printed sources, but also information obtained from the Internet.

The following issues will always be considered to be plagiarism:

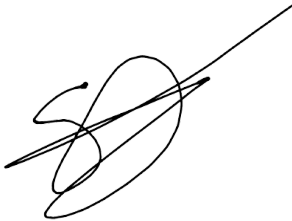
- cutting and pasting text from digital sources, such as an encyclopaedia or digital periodicals, without quotation marks and footnotes;
- cutting and pasting text from the Internet without quotation marks and footnotes;
- copying printed materials, such as books, magazines or encyclopaedias, without quotation marks or footnotes;
- including a translation of one of the sources named above without quotation marks or footnotes;
- paraphrasing (parts of) the texts listed above without proper references: paraphrasing must be marked as such, by expressly mentioning the original author in the text or in a footnote, so that you do not give the impression that it is your own idea;
- copying sound, video or test materials from others without references, and presenting it as one's own work;

- submitting work done previously by the student without reference to the original paper, and presenting it as original work done in the context of the course, without the express permission of the course lecturer;
- copying the work of another student and presenting it as one's own work. If this is done with the consent of the other student, then he or she is also complicit in the plagiarism;
- when one of the authors of a group paper commits plagiarism, then the other co-authors are also complicit in plagiarism if they could or should have known that the person was committing plagiarism;
- submitting papers acquired from a commercial institution, such as an Internet site with summaries or papers, that were written by another person, whether or not that other person received payment for the work.

The rules for plagiarism also apply to rough drafts of papers or (parts of) theses sent to a lecturer for feedback, to the extent that submitting rough drafts for feedback is mentioned in the course handbook or the thesis regulations.

The Education and Examination Regulations (Article 5.15) describe the formal procedure in case of suspicion of fraud and/or plagiarism, and the sanctions that can be imposed.

Ignorance of these rules is not an excuse. Each individual is responsible for their own behaviour. Utrecht University assumes that each student or staff member knows what fraud and plagiarism entail. For its part, Utrecht University works to ensure that students are informed of the principles of scientific practice, which are taught as early as possible in the curriculum, and that students are informed of the institution's criteria for fraud and plagiarism, so that every student knows which norms they must abide by.

I hereby declare that I have read and understood the above.	
Name: Steijn van Doorne Student number: 6496296	
Date and signature: 15/06/2022	

Submit this form to your supervisor when you begin writing your Bachelor's final paper or your Master's thesis.

Failure to submit or sign this form does not mean that no sanctions can be imposed if it appears that plagiarism has been committed in the paper.