The Brexit Scare: Why wasn't Brexit as Consequential as Anticipated?


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**Key Words:** Brexit, United Kingdom (UK), European Union (EU), Fragmentation

**Abstract**

Currently, there is little scholarship surrounding the economic and political implications on other European Union (EU) nations in the aftermath of Brexit. Despite many dire predictions, we are yet to see any kind of appreciable drop in commerce between the UK and the three largest EU economies in the wake of Brexit. These results contradict the pre-Brexit theories of many who believed the UK and its major trade partners would suffer greatly. By analyzing the health of these economies and comparing it to the research done surrounding Britain's post-Brexit economy, we can analyze the importance or lack thereof, the European Union has on the economies within it. With great emphasis on the suffering that was expected pre-Brexit, it is imperative to understand why there were minimal economic repercussions despite expectations and how this could lead to further fragmentation of the European Union.

## I. **Introduction**

Pax Europaea, or the European peace, is regarded as the longest period of relative peace the European continent has ever seen. Before the war in Ukraine brought on by Russia, the continent had remained relatively peaceful, except for the Yugoslav Wars and The Troubles of Northern Ireland. Much of the peacetime arguably came as a result of the European Union (EU) and the continued expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). However, a new era of European politics began with the United Kingdom invoking Article 50 of the European Charter via a ballot referendum. In doing so, they have introduced the first fragmentation and annexation of a nation in the history of the EU. Tabloids around the United Kingdom and most of Europe were titled "Brexit Earthquake" or "Brexit vote stuns the world." The uncertainty that followed the referendum left many to question what may happen to the remainder of Europe as other anti-EU movements began rising up in the wake of Brexits "success."

While some scholars may argue that the United Kingdom was never truly at the center of contemporary European politics or truly a member of the EU, there is no doubt that its intentions to join were, initially, economic. In the years following the fall of Nazi-controlled Germany and the continued unification of the continent, the United Kingdom slowly incorporated itself further into Europe with its signature on numerous treaties, agreements, pacts, and other packages that would further their domestic economic profitability. In the end, the United Kingdom was delayed in joining what we know today as the EU until January 1973. Even with their integration into the greater European Continent, however, they remained unequivocally British. In fact, in a survey conducted in 2019, "just 15% freely chose to describe themselves as 'European'" (Economic & Social Research Council). While their choice to keep the British pound came years after their induction into the EU, it is a prime example of Britain wishing to keep its national sovereignty while reaping the economic benefits of a free-trading Europe.

The current scholarship surrounding Britain's exit from the EU depicts the Brits as having alternative motives to the economic health rhetoric many senior politicians of their country expelled. Additionally, many polls say that Brexit is not to blame for the economic turmoil the country is experiencing today. Instead, those who voted in favor of Brexit did so because of a deep-rooted anti-immigration and anti-establishment feeling. (Hobolt, 2016) While Brexit may not be blamed for the current state of the economy in Britain, much is still unclear. Because of their close timeline (Brexit happening at the end of January 2020, and the first positive Covid cases being reported on the 29th of January 2020), the withdrawal may have been cushioned by the remaining nations also seeing a decrease in economic activity.

Despite the turmoil that economists, politicians, and onlookers believed Brexit would cause Britain, there are few scholars who have looked to analyze the health of the United Kingdom in its post-Brexit era. As the United Kingdom continues its journey independent of the European Union, it will be important to look at the health of the overall nation. Naturally, economic indicators such as trade deficits, employment figures, and immigration are all vital. These statistics can allow for a better understanding of whether or not the United Kingdom did in fact make the right decision to leave the European Union. As of 2022, polls have been conducted claiming that 51% of people in Great Britain felt it was wrong to leave the European Union, while just 34% believe the decision was justified. (Statistica Research Department, 2022) This is quite compelling, given the fact that 51.2% of voters chose to leave just six years ago. This shift in feelings may come as a result of the numerous issues the continent has been facing as a whole. As mentioned previously, the war in Ukraine has significantly strained the supply of goods and resources in the region. Additionally, as Europe looks to make a comeback from Covid-19, many economies are rebuilding in what looks to be a different era of the business sector. With all of this in mind, it is intriguing to understand whether the United Kingdom may have found the ideal time period to leave the EU or if they will fall from their prestige status in the worldwide free market. This exit from the EU could spark future fragmentation of the continent as more nations look to act in their own best interest if they see a net benefit from the United Kingdom. On the other hand, because of the supplemental events that led to economic and social struggles, nations will be less likely to follow in their footsteps.

While most of their predictions hold negative connotations on the post-Brexit European Era, it is difficult to understand what really caused the downturn of these economies. It would be illogical to cast the blame on one particular event, such as Brexit. However, if the Covid-19 pandemic had ceased to cause the turmoil it did, or if Russia was able to solve its issues with Ukraine diplomatically, would the United Kingdom still be suffering as a result of Brexit alone?

The following sections will review the previous literature published on Brexit and the potential causes of the decline in economic health in the United Kingdom. This study will look at economic indicators as a way to measure the decline in economic indicators and compare the United Kingdom to other EU nations using data from the International Monetary Fund and the European Commission. This data and its figures will also be compared against the overall trends in the world economy in an effort to look at significant dips beyond global recessions happening, particularly during the timeline of March 2020 to June 2020, when Covid was most prevalent globally.

## II. Research Question

While Brexit itself may have fallen out of the media light for now, there is a great deal of scholarship surrounding its origin and why it happened in the first place. It is important to understand what caused these feelings as they will likely begin to rise in other nations that wish to leave the EU. On the other hand, the disorganization and economic turmoil that has happened in the United Kingdom since the official separation in January 2021 will likely turn any country looking to leave away. Regardless, those in the UK felt that they were putting in more than they received from the EU. A key resource scholars look to when interpreting why citizens voted for Brexit is a poll conducted by Lord Ashcroft on the day of the vote in 2016. While it is simply a poll and likely overstates the true feelings of citizens, it provides a more nuanced understanding of the feelings citizens had as they headed to the voting booths that day. The poll gathered 12,369 responses from UK voters as they left the polls and asked a series of questions to gain overall feelings about Brexit on election day. Given the close margin of the final decision to leave the EU, this poll is useful for social scholars as they look to further understand the feelings within the country during this time period. The Ashcroft poll allows for this and gives fundamental background information as to what may have led to the referendum in the first place.

A key trend in voters of the UK was the sentiment that they were putting more in than they were receiving from the European Union. Along the lines of this was the consistent economic uplift of nations in the EU that ran deficits so high they could not keep a functioning economy. These feelings in the UK began to boil in 2015 when there was a European Plan to fund bridging loans to Greece. Many of those in the UK, including Prime Minister David

Cameron, voiced their disinterest in supporting failed economies with EU funds raised by member states. It is important to note that this issue came just months before the referendum made its way to the ballot and these anti-EU sentiments that were looming in many UK voters' minds. Luckily for the UK, they were successful in negotiating that their money was not used to fund nations with handouts, yet the feeling still remained in the country.

In the last year of its membership in the EU, the United Kingdom ranked 3rd among member states with a contribution of just over 17 billion Euros (roughly 14 billion Pounds) to the European Budget. The UK ranked behind Germany and France, each contributing 28 billion and 23 billion, respectively (Statista, 2022). Italy ranked 4th and contributed a total of 16.5 billion Euros in 2020. The European Union boasts that its nearly 1.8 trillion dollar budget goes to helping to build a greener and more resilient Europe, ensuring a successful digital transition, strengthening cohesion policies (to help poorer regions in the EU), nurturing innovation, combating illegal migration, improving border management, and enhancing security (European Commission, 2019). For the United Kingdom, however, they felt the EU was mishandling the use of funds, and it would be beneficial for their pocketbooks to step out of their EU agreement.

The EU also had an immigration policy that required the UK to take in more immigrants than it wished. This caused an increase in distrust and anti-EU sentiments among citizens in the UK, particularly those in the older age range. There was concern that an increase in immigrants would take jobs away from UK-born citizens. Despite economist research into the effects of immigration on economies typically being beneficial, the attitude remained and is likely a significant factor when citizens took to the polls to vote on Brexit. Again citing the poll conducted by Lord Ashcroft, among voters that chose to leave, the second most recorded response was “Voting to leave offered the best chance for the UK to regain control over its immigration and borders” (Ashcroft, 2016). While this feeling was mainly among the elderly population that was no longer at risk of losing their jobs to immigrants, they had an anti-immigrant feeling that ran beyond the risk of losing jobs. Instead, they felt unsettled at the sight of possibly losing their culture and historical values.

The idea of fragmentation of the EU is not something that has a great deal of scholarship surrounding it. This is partly because of the recency of Brexit, as well as the idea that if the EU dissolves, it will create a net negative rather than a positive. The exit of the United Kingdom is the first real example of how a nation would go about leaving the European Union, and the process was no easy feat. Scholars have begun dissecting the effects of Brexit on particular industries. For example, authors Martin Heneghan and Sarah Hall discussed the effects of Brexit on the financial services industry and the turmoil it has caused as the industry navigates the new landscape. In fact, they claim that the financial sector’s shift to being London based could cause significant shake-ups in key European financial hubs such as Frankfurt (Heneghan & Hall, 2020).

While scholarship may be limited, the fear of a divided Europe is nothing new to the citizens living within its borders. A study done by the European Council on Foreign Relations found that most Europeans “thought it likely that the union in its current form would fall apart in the next 10-20 years” (ECFR, 2019). A key distinction is the wording in its current form. As shown throughout history, the European continent has held many different forms, yet its current form has remained remarkably consistent since the end of World War II. Among the questions in the poll administered by the ECFR was the question: “If the European Union were to fall apart, what would be the biggest loss?” (ECFR, 2019).  Of the 13 responses, there were three heavily reported feelings that respondents agreed upon. These were “being able to trade freely across Europe” (38%); “Being able to travel freely across Europe” (37%), and “Freedom to live and work in other countries” (35%)(ECFR, 2019).These responses shed light on the key issues Europeans find with a divided Europe and give some anecdotal context.

The question then becomes, how could Brexit lead to the divide of the European continent? Given that it is the first nation to choose to leave the EU, this question is left unanswered and up for deliberation. The EU, at its core, is an economic relationship among nations that agree to have free trade, along with other beneficiating factors such as open borders and security support. However, when these principles begin to become a detriment instead of an advantage, nations may choose to leave, just as the United Kingdom did. In this thesis, I look to answer the question of why weren’t the effects of Brexit economically significant and how these effects could persuade another nation to follow in its footsteps.

## III. Argument/proposed answer

Given the complexity of the European Union and its trade deals, many avenues could have been used to mitigate the repercussions of Brexit. With the United Kingdom leaving, a hole was left to be filled by different nations with similar exports. The UK’s biggest exports in 2020 were cars, packaged medicaments, gas turbines, gold, and crude petroleum (OEC, 2020). Larger nations that produce complementary or even substitute goods may step into these markets and make up for the losses created by Brexit. For example, Germany or the United States, the two leading manufacturers of automobiles, may compete to fill the void created by the United Kingdom exiting the market. While these exports accounted for over 371 billion dollars in exports, the report did not take into account the service industry that the United Kingdom supplies. According to a report by the House of Commons on the UK’s economy, nearly 80% of output contributing to GDP in 2021 were services (House of Commons, 2023). Key jobs such as retail, financial services, and business administration all fall under this category and are a large part of the economic backbone the UK relies on.

With this in mind, it can be understood why the effects of Brexit had a minimal impact on the UK economically. Because of the Covid-19 Pandemic, many service industry workers were required to move to a virtual format and work from home. In doing so, many employers may have solved their issues of finding ways to integrate service industry jobs outside UK borders. If Brexit had an additional effect on the service industry, we would likely see a large decrease in its employment from January 2020 to March 2020. After this period, the pandemic begins to affect industries, and there may be a decline. The revitalization of this industry after the lifting of some pandemic restrictions would also show the effects Brexit may have had. Specific service industries may have been affected more than others, and figure 1.3 should show the employment levels and their trends. Additionally, neither party was looking for a "hard exit," as they claimed. A hard exit would have meant that at the end of 2020, the United Kingdom would exit the EU with no contingency plan in place. Instead, the two parties met a total of nine times before the end of 2020 and agreed to a final trade and cooperation agreement on the 30th of December, 2020. The soft exit that was finally proposed and agreed upon is outlined below and is likely the reason the United Kingdom economy didn't see a drastic decline with the additional pandemic effects.

This agreement ensured three key components. Naturally, the first key component of the partnership was a free trade agreement that outlined the inter-nation relationship moving forward. The UK and the EU agreed not to place tariffs or quotas on "all goods that comply with the appropriate rules of origin" (European Commission, 2020). Additional provisions were put in place to protect transport workers' rights, the environment, fishing rights, and fishing stocks in shared waterways. The United Kingdom also agreed to participate in a number of European Unions programs for a conditional period of 2021-2027.

The second component encapsulated the updated security policy between the two parties. Given the long and recent security and terrorism threats within the region, the UK and EU recognized the importance of an established law enforcement framework for cross-border criminal and civil law matters. The agreement also allows the security cooperation to be suspended in case the UK violates the European Convention of Human Rights within its borders. This could prove important as many speculate that those who pushed for Brexit in the first place were ill-intentioned with plans to limit certain immigrants from entering their borders because of their race, ethnicity, or prior home nation. While speculatory, this statute placed in the agreement is unlikely to be utilized and is there to ensure the UK still retains the same level of human rights it did before leaving the EU.

The third component established the Joint Partnership Council. The Council is responsible for interpreting how the agreement will be operated and controlled. With this established, both parties can settle disputes that ensure the rights of businesses, consumers, and individuals. It ensures a level playing field for parties from both sides of the agreement in an effort to protect and ensure an unbiased decision is made. This Council also allows for retaliation if the agreement is violated. These retaliatory actions are not limited to areas of economic partnership, which has sparked controversy over business dealings that cross between nations.

Outside of the dealings between the UK and the EU, as they slowly worked through their separation, the United Kingdom also looked to expand into additional global markets. As previously mentioned, it is likely that with the separation from the EU, many industries that rely on trade with the United Kingdom may be disrupted. To combat this, the United Kingdom and European Union created their free trade agreement to assist in the fluid transition of moving goods to and from the UK border. Regardless of this, in the time leading up to the final agreement, there was a great deal of uncertainty for consumers and producers. It would be expected that this uncertainty would cause producers to begin to look to other nations to sell their goods as they expect to lose the UK as a market. Additionally, there may be a drop in consumer and producer imports of goods as import costs begin to rise too high. If either of these factors is true, they will likely show up in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 as large increases or decreases, respectively.

While these components of the Trade and Cooperation Agreement certainly laid out the groundwork for economic partnerships moving forward, it lacked a policy on immigration and monetary contributions funneling from the EU to the UK. This was largely because the UK negotiators weren't willing to come to the table if these issues were to be discussed. As previously cited, these very issues were the underlying cause of why many of those in the United Kingdom decided to vote for Brexit in the first place. Figure 1.4 points to why the United Kingdom may wish to reduce its immigrants as they began taking in high numbers of immigrants each year. While it has been coming down significantly since the vote for the referendum, it is expected that an influx may come from Ukraine as the war continues and causes further displacement of Ukrainian citizens. The United Kingdom is not unique in this fashion, as many European nations are seeing an influx of Russian and Ukrainian citizens.

While many of the negotiations that took place between the United Kingdom and the European Union likely benefited both parties when compared to a hard-Brexit, the majority of what they established already existed under their previous partnership. As previously stated, what they established was a free-trade agreement, which further solidifies the argument that the UNited Kingdom's main interest in belonging to the EU was economical. When they ultimately decided to leave, they cared less about their immigration or crime policies and more about ensuring the status of their economic agreements remained on par with pre-Brexit norms.

**V. Methodology**

To further understand the effects of Brexit on the United Kingdom it is imperative to analyze a number of different metrics. The graphs used to chart the data provided by the International Monetary Fund will show import and export data from the United Kingdom to the EU's three largest remaining economies of Germany, France, and Italy. For the purpose of this thesis, the time frame used will be 2014-2022. In an effort to control for global and regional trends, figures 1.1 and 1.2 will also include additional data sets such as imports and exports for the European continent as well as the advanced economies[1]. These additional data sets will show the global economic trends happening in order to assist in understanding why a fall or rise in imports or exports may have occurred. Additionally, the data will be averaged from monthly reports to quarters, each consisting of 3 months.

These graphs will also include data for "Emerging and Developing Economies." As mentioned, one of the reasons the UK wanted to leave the EU was to be able to expand its trade to other areas outside of Europe. While they were trading with nations outside the EU prior to Brexit, their new strategy of employing further foreign direct investment means they may be able to import goods from these nations at a more cost-effective rate. This dataset will allow us to see if imports and exports increased as anticipated in the periods following Brexit.

[1] The IMF World Economic Outlook classifies 39 economies as "advanced," based on such factors as high per capita income, exports of diversified goods and services, and greater integration into the global financial system. The remaining countries are classified as "emerging market and developing" economies.

It could also be that they declined as some of these economies adjusted differently to the ongoing pandemic. Additionally, a static change would mean that there have not likely been any real developments made between these developing nations and the United Kingdom, and their claims were simply a facade for their true intentions to leave the European Union.

This data is simply a singular dimension of the UK economy and is not representative enough to comprehensively analyze the effect. Because of this, it is important to also look at the effects of the service industry labor for a similar time frame. Given the service industry contributes significantly to the UK economy, this ensures a more complete picture of the potential effects of Brexit. Additionally, because of the close relationship in time with the Covid-19 pandemic, the data shows worldwide and similar nations figures surrounding the service industry employment. Figure 1.3, depicting the service industry, provides a nuanced view of the UK economy and how Brexit may have affected it, given the economic significance the service sector has on the UK's gross domestic product (GDP).

While economic mobility and freedom to trade with markets outside the European Union was a key goal of Brexit, it was not the only reason many voters chose to vote yes on the referendum. As previously mentioned, the role of immigration had a substantial impact on the decisions many voters made. Because of this, it is important to look at immigration trends since Brexit was finalized. Doing so may provide insight into understanding if an exit from the European Union can give nations the autonomy they desire or if it would be more beneficial for nations to attempt reform in the EU parliament. This is an important aspect of understanding the influences that may make a nation wish to leave the European Union, especially in nations such as Germany. Given their regional economic prowess, it is interesting to understand if they would benefit from leaving, but a key factor could be the recent influx of immigrants they are receiving as a result of being an EU member. The Pew Research Institute found that in 2017, between 1.0 and 1.2 million unauthorized immigrants were living in Germany (Pew Research Institute, 2019). While these numbers make up only a fraction of the total population, when published and politicized, they can have profound effects on voter feelings, just as they did in the UK. Figure 1.4 shows the immigration patterns into the United Kingdom before and after Brexit.

**VI. Analysis and Result**

In Figure 1.1, the quarterly exports for the United Kingdom are represented from a number of different geographical sources. Among them are advanced economies, developing economies, and the three most prominent EU members; Germany, France and Italy. There is a drastic drop in the data around the period of interest in 2020. This is most certainly due to the global pandemic that broke out during that time period and affected a number of supply chains, thus causing a shortage of exports into the United Kingdom. For the key trading partners of the United Kingdom, that drop is much less significant. As shown, there is a minimal drop from Germany, France and Italy despite being affected by both the pandemic and the effects of a post-Brexit EU. If Brexit had a significant impact on the exports of the United Kingdom, we would likely see a more appreciable drop in exports for the specific nations shown.

Additionally, as previously mentioned, the United Kingdom was looking to expand to markets outside of the European Union. As shown, their exports to developing nations took a hit during the pandemic period yet saw a record high in the third quarter of 2022. Running parallel with this logic, there was a drop in exports to the EU area as a whole. Despite this only being exports to developing countries there is also a slight upward trend in world exports. The

United Kingdom has also started to increase its foreign direct investment after having less than 1% of its GDP allocated to foreign direct investment for three years (World Bank, 2021). While it has been a slow uptick, it could be a promising figure for UK citizens hoping prices begin to reduce as more markets open to UK consumers and producers.

The import statistics in Figure 1.2 also tell a story about the United Kingdom's trade policy as they transitioned through Brexit. Similar to the UK's exports, an observation can be made regarding the increase in imports from developing economies while also seeing a slight decrease in the later years of the data coming from the Eurozone. Additionally, there are little to no adjustments, even during the periods of early transition and the pandemic in early 2020. Again, if it were considered to be an extremely immediate detriment to the UK economy, there would likely be a compounding effect with imports going down due to both Covid-19 and Brexit. Instead, we see a drastic decrease across all metrics and a steady increase across most of the world. Despite this steady increase, there really is no increase in imports from Germany, France or Italy and exports remain essentially unchanged.

The service sector employment data shown in Figure 1.3 provides a rather interesting effect of Brexit. Given the timeline of Brexit and its relation to the Covid-19 Pandemic, it is expected that there would be a large decline in employment in the months of March-June of 2020. In reality, the data provided shows that the employment trends for these industries have remained steadily increasing. This goes against the large trend around the globe and is a likely result of many service industry workers transitioning to a virtual or remote format for work. Some sectors, such as the support services sector, did begin to fall and have yet to recover since this period.

Finally, figure 1.4 shows the immigration patterns of the United Kingdom from 1950 to 2021. This data set shows some of the reasons why some citizens of the United Kingdom may have been more apt to vote for Brexit based upon the idea of regaining their autonomy for decision-making, specifically when it came to immigration policy. The period from 1998 to 2010 saw a sizable influx of immigrants coming to the United Kingdom. This number maxed out around 2010-2011 and saw steady decreases since then. While it is expected that immigration will continue to decrease in the coming years, there is a possibility for another wave of immigration in the future. With the disruption of the Ukrainian economy and overall nation, many Ukrainian citizens are fleeing across Europe seeking asylum. This could create a number of immigrants trying to come into the UK, although this number will be much less as most refugees are likely to settle in Eastern Europe (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2023).

## VII. Conclusion

While the data provided shows that there may not have been appreciable drops in all sectors of the UK economy, it would be difficult to ignore the divide the referendum caused, to begin with. Not only was there a large amount of turmoil among the UK populace about the decision to leave, but a number of other factors would likely turn any nation wanting to leave away. For example, the amount of time it took for the UK and EU to come to an agreement about what policy would follow their annexation took nearly four years and put immense strain on the relationships between both parties.

It is difficult to predict another nation leaving for the European Union given the disruption Brexit caused. Given their high contribution to the EU budget, as well as the amount of immigration put on them by EU agencies, it could be understood why citizens in Germany may fear that they are handing their autonomy over to this international government. However, this annexation of Germany is highly unlikely because of the evidence proposed in this study. Not only would the prolonged negotiations deter Germany, or any nation for that matter, from leaving the EU, but the lack of real economic or social upside also provides little benefit. While the economic and immigration data used in this study shows there was not an appreciable drop, there was also not a vast increase in any of the metrics either. Without any measurable upside, at least thus far, it would be unlucky to see the continued fragmentation of the EU.

Additionally, the recent security needs of many nations hinge on their economic partnership. Given the region's instability with the recent war between Russia and Ukraine, it is likely that nations would not look to leave the European Union in fear of being ostracized by not only the EU but other nations around the globe that are looking to reinstate peace in the region. These multitude of factors are not conducive for another nation to leave the EU anytime soon. The remaining 27 nations are likely to look upon Brexit as a disaster, and an example of what not to do when invoking Article 50. It would be difficult to imagine a world where a continental European nation would choose to leave. All of this is to say that while many critics and news outlets cast doubt upon Brexit, it was not as detrimental as many expected it to be.

This study has merely scratched the surface of what is to be analyzed in the European Union and the United Kingdom context in regard to Brexit. Future research on this topic is quite bountiful as Brexit is a rather recent event in the overall history of the context of European politics. Regarding the relationship between the two parties and how it may have affected the unification of the EU, future research could look at the unification of votes in the EU parliament and analyze its unified consensus before and after Brexit was finalized. In doing so, researchers may better understand how the UK affected the voting power structure in the EU parliament and thus may cause more disagreement among EU lawmakers. Other research could continue to research the well-being of UK citizens before and after Brexit. In doing so, a deeper understanding of how likely they may be to invoke Article 49 and re-enter the EU after their hiatus may be possible.

# VIII. Figures

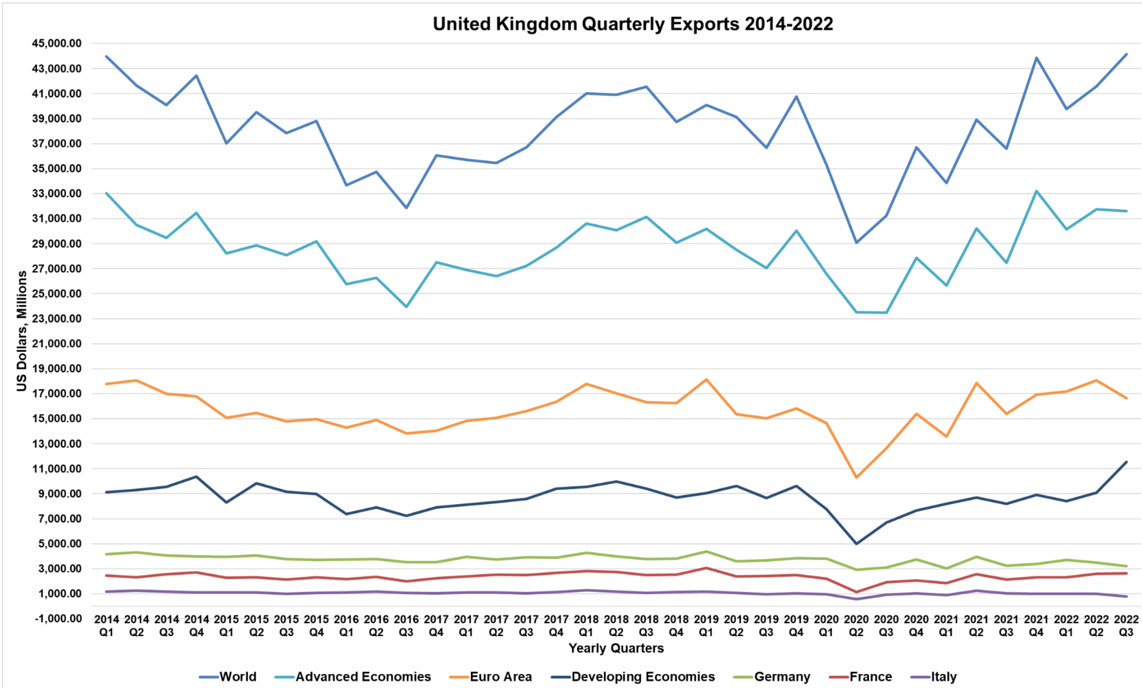



Figure 1.1 - United Kingdom exports to the world, advanced economies, the Euro area, France, Germany, and Italy from 2014-2022

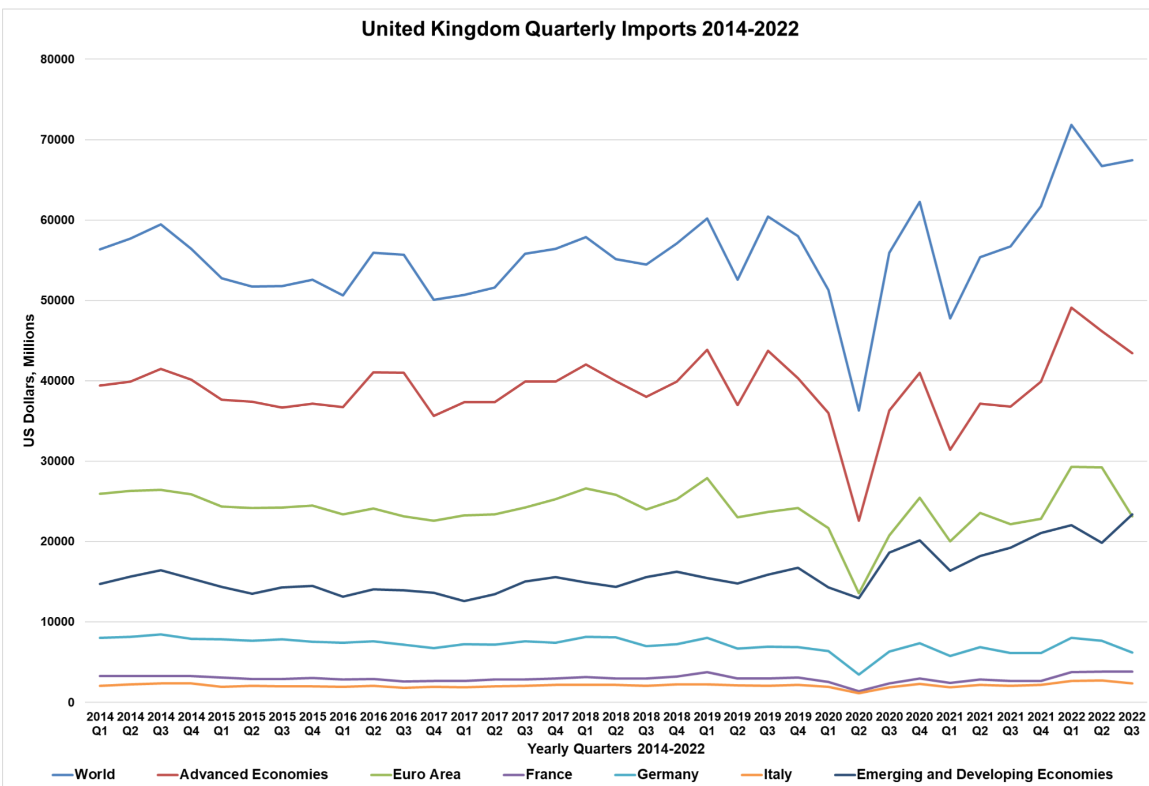



Figure 1.2 - United Kingdom imports to the world, advanced economies, the Euro area, France, Germany, Italy, and emerging and developing economies from 2014-2022

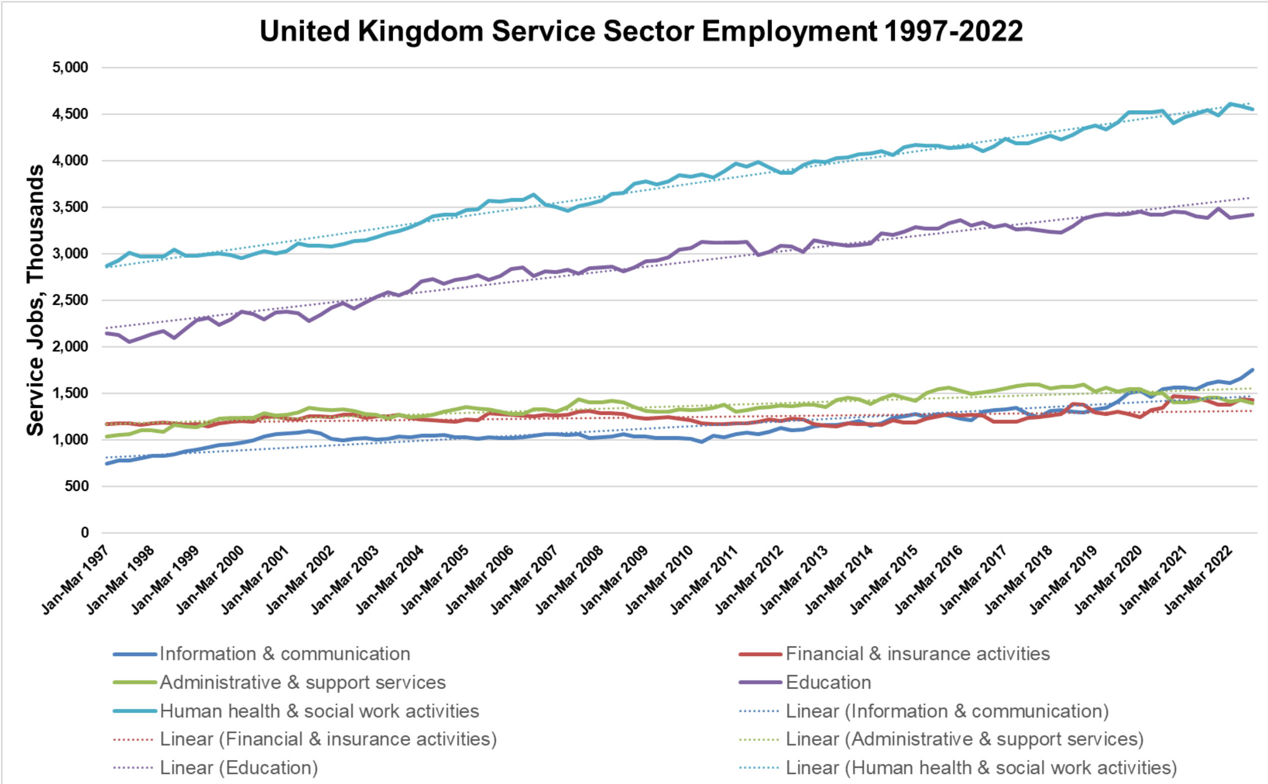
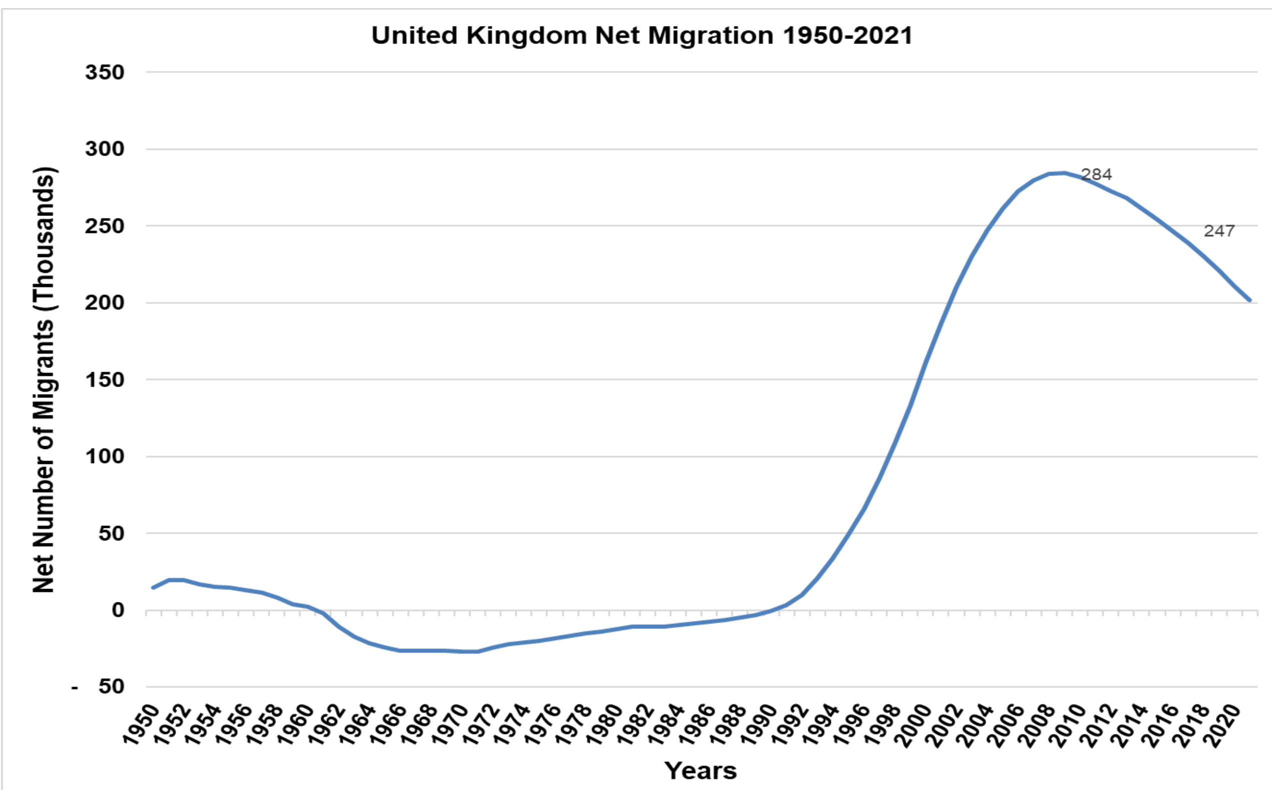



Figure 1.3 - United Kingdom service industry employment from 1997-2022




Figured 1.4 - United Kingdom net migration from 1950-2021

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