

Institution: University of Kent		
Unit of Assessment: 19: Politics and International Studies		
Title of case study: Enhancing Understanding of the Foreign and Security Policy Implications of Brexit for Government and the Wider Policy Community		
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 1 September 2011 – 31 July 2020		
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:		
Name(s): Richard G. Whitman	Role(s) (e.g. job title): Professor of Politics and International Relations	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI: 1 September 2011 – present
Period when the claimed impact occurred: 1 August 2013 – 31 July 2020		
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? No		
1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words)		
<p>Through his direct and sustained engagement with parliamentary committees and foreign policy-making communities in the UK and overseas, Professor Whitman's research has significantly improved Government understanding of, and directly informed policy debate on, the implications of Brexit for UK-EU foreign, security, and defence policy collaboration.</p> <p>Whitman's research has also been widely used and cited by UK and European think tanks in conveying to policy-making communities the foreign, security, and defence policy consequences of the UK's departure from the European Union.</p>		
2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words)		
<p>Whitman's research provides the first systematic analysis of the changing EU-UK relationship in foreign, security, and defence policy as a consequence of Brexit. This builds on his extensive research and publications, conducted since the early 2000s, that have connected the issues of EU foreign, security, and defence policy, the interrelationship between national and European foreign and security policies, and the UK's European foreign policy.</p> <p>The research underpinning this case study has been carried out by Professor Whitman through the University of Kent's Global Europe Centre, which is dual-sited at the University's Canterbury and Brussels campuses. During the REF2021 period, his work has been underpinned by EU and UK research awards, including an ESRC UK in a Changing Europe Senior Fellowship, which provided a key pathway to impact.</p> <p>The insights generated by Whitman's work span three main areas:</p>		
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The implications of Brexit for the UK's European foreign policy. Whitman's research, conducted since 2016, addresses the impacts and effects of Brexit on the UK's national foreign, security, and defence policies. His extended and extensive analysis of the interrelationship between EU and UK foreign, security, and defence policy has demonstrated the complexities faced by the UK in recalibrating this relationship in the context of Brexit [R1, R2, R6]. 2. The EU's foreign policy-making system. Whitman's work has contributed significantly to the conceptual, theoretical, and empirically based understanding of the EU's international role. He has conducted extensive analysis of the evolution of the EU foreign policy decision-making 		

and implementation systems, and the role of the UK within the EU foreign, security, and policy-making processes [R4, R5]. The research has drawn comparisons between the UK and other member states regarding the interrelationship between national foreign and security policies and those of the EU. It demonstrates the challenges presented by Brexit to the EU's foreign, security, and defence policies, and provides insight into the process of negotiating Brexit from the perspective of the EU [R1, R3].

3. **The UK's European diplomacy.** Whitman's analysis explores how the UK has sought to combine UK and EU policy instruments in its European diplomacy. His work since 2016 has assessed the intermeshed nature of UK-EU foreign, security, and defence policy, and explored issues of UK policy effectiveness within the EU [R3, R4]. This research has highlighted the high degree of consistency in UK European foreign policy across successive UK governments since the 1990s and the extent to which evolving practices of UK participation within the EU have made UK foreign and security policy intermeshed with the EU decision-making practices and policies, and the challenges this presents for Brexit [R1, R5].

A hallmark of Whitman's work has been his ongoing collaboration with practitioners and policy experts within international affairs policy institutes, including Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs) in the UK, and overseas (Belgium, Norway, Sweden).

3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

[R1] Richard G. Whitman, 'The UK's European diplomatic strategy for Brexit and beyond', *International Affairs* 95, 2 (2019), pp. 383-404. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz031>

[R2] Richard G. Whitman, 'Avoiding a Hard Brexit in Foreign Policy', *Survival* 59:6 (November 2017), pp. 47-54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2017.1399724>

[R3] Richard G. Whitman, 'The UK and EU Foreign, Security and Defence Policy after Brexit: Integrated, Associated or Detached', *National Institute Economic Review* 238: 1 (2016), pp. 43-50. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002795011623800114>

[R4] Richard G. Whitman, 'The UK and EU foreign and security policy: an optional extra', *Political Quarterly*, Special issue: 'Britain and the European Union', 87: 2 (April-June 2016), pp. 254-261. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12249>

[R5] Richard G. Whitman, 'Brexit or Bremain: What future for the UK's European Diplomatic Strategy?', *International Affairs* 92:3 (May 2016), pp. 509-529. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12607>

[R6] Richard G. Whitman, 'Epilogue: European Security and Defence in the Shadow of Brexit', *Global Affairs* 2:5 (online: March 2017), pp. 521-525. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2017.1300066>

Grants and Awards:

ESRC Senior Fellowship, 'The interrelationship of UK and EU foreign policy: costs and benefits', UK in a Changing Europe Programme (1 Jan.–31 Dec. 2016), Award number: ES/N015444/1.

4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

Whitman's research on UK and EU foreign and security policy has impacted Britain's policy approach to Brexit both directly, through his work with parliamentary committees and Whitehall departments, and indirectly, through his sustained collaborations with think tanks, policy communities, and specialist journalists in the UK, Europe, and internationally. It has also enhanced understanding of the issues amongst the wider public, through his extensive media engagement.

Different stakeholder groups have benefited from Whitman's research, and illustrative examples of impact across three constituencies, including evidence of key claims, are as follows:

Parliamentarians, select committees, and senior civil servants within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Ministry of Defence

Since 2016, Whitman has directly contributed to the UK Government's understanding of the implications of Brexit by assisting Parliament in its work on Brexit-related foreign and security policy issues, and providing by-invitation briefings to senior civil servants, both in the UK and overseas. In particular, Whitman has advised on the challenges posed by detaching the UK from EU foreign, security, and defence policy arrangements and institutions, and explained the limitations of existing third-country arrangements (such as with Canada and Norway) as future models for the UK.

Whitman has been invited to provide oral evidence to House of Commons select committees, including several appearances before the Foreign Affairs Committee and Committee for Exiting the EU [e, f]. Hillary Benn MP, Chair of the Committee for Exiting the EU, described Whitman's insights in January 2018 as: 'extremely helpful [...] [his evidence] will really assist us with our work'.

In addition to giving public evidence, Whitman has taken part in in-camera knowledge exchange activities with the International Development and Public and Constitutional Affairs Committees, and his written evidence was utilised in select committee reports of both the House of Commons and the House of Lords in 2018 [g, h].

Whitman's evidence has been cited by the Chairs of Parliamentary select committees. His analysis was directly quoted by the Chair of the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee when questioning the Foreign Office's Permanent Secretary during an evidence session (**November 2016**):

<https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2016/11/there-gaping-hole-where-britains-foreign-policy-should-be>

<http://parliamentlive.tv/Event/Index/af258076-813e-49e9-857b-cbc14dfb750e>

Similarly, the Chair of the Committee for Exiting the EU Committee referenced Whitman's ideas in an opinion piece (**March 2017**):

http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/hilary-benn/brexit-patriotism_b_15079646.html.

Whitman has been asked to brief senior civil servants in the UK and overseas on his findings, and has delivered master classes to staff responsible for developing policy on Brexit within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Ministry of Defence, and House of Commons committee since 2016.

Internationally, he has been invited to provide briefings on his research to the US State Department (**January 2017**), the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Australia (simulcast from the Australian Diplomatic Academy to all overseas diplomatic missions) and New Zealand (**2019**); and to provide specialist briefing for state government in Australia and lectures to specialist public policy-making audiences in Australia, New Zealand, and Japan (**2019 & 2020**).

UK and European international affairs think tank communities

Whitman's research on EU-UK foreign, security, and defence relations and their Brexit-related aspects has deepened and enhanced the understanding of think tanks and policy institutes and their audiences. Central to these activities with the wider policy community was his appointment as an Associate Fellow of Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs) (**since 2014**). Through this by-invitation role he initiated, coordinated, and delivered a range of workshops, sandpits, briefings and publication activities, making a significant contribution to the

Institute's work on the Brexit-related aspects of EU-UK foreign, security, and defence policy relations.

Published work based on these activities have included a set of Chatham House *Expert Comments* and a policy paper on the external affairs of the UK Devolved Administrations in the context of Brexit [d]. As the testimonial from Chatham House notes:

'Richard Whitman played a key role in our work on Brexit. His research has helped drive forward the agenda on important policy issues, such as the external affairs of the Devolved Administrations and the future of the E3 [...]. Richard's work has reached a key policy audience, with our partners in government and elsewhere noting the value and influence of the work.' [a]

A number of research institutes outside the UK have commissioned Whitman to deliver briefings and policy papers, including Egmont and the European Policy Centre (Brussels) in 2016 [c], the Swedish Institute of International Affairs in 2018 [b], the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) in 2018 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kiMG70dBf98>), the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Aussenpolitik (Berlin) in 2017, the Australian Institute for International Affairs (AIIA) in 2019 and 2020, and the New Zealand Institute for International Affairs (NZIIA) in 2019.

Enhancing public understanding

Through his media work, Whitman has also influenced the broader public discourse and understanding of Brexit-related issues. He has worked to build close relationships with specialist journalists to ensure that media comment is authoritative and factually correct, and the findings of his research have been cited by specialist correspondents in major print publications such as the *Financial Times* [i, j].

In addition, Whitman has produced by-invitation op-ed and other commentary pieces to stimulate comment and debate on the UK-EU foreign policy-making system, relating this to appropriate news and other EU referendum and Brexit developments. As indicative, see the *Times Red Box* commentary Open Access version:

<https://ukandeu.ac.uk/a-smoothly-run-nato-summit-may-signal-that-britains-diplomatic-brain-is-alive/>

5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

Testimonial on deepening and enhancing the understanding of think tanks and policy institutes and their audiences:

[a] Testimonial: Head, Europe Programme, Royal Institute for International Affairs (Chatham House), 10 St James's Square, London, SW1Y 4LE.

Invited think tank publications [selected]:

[b] Briefing Paper: 'UK foreign and security policy post-Brexit: The search for a European Strategy', UI Brief No. 1 (Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, 2018). 10pp. <https://www.ui.se/globalassets/ui.se-eng/publications/ui-publications/2018/ui-brief-no1.-2018.pdf>

[c] Briefing Paper: 'The UK's foreign and security policy: What's at stake in the referendum?', *Security Policy Brief*, Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations, No. 73, May 2016. <https://www.egmontinstitute.be/the-uks-foreign-and-security-policy-whats-at-stake-in-the-referendum/>

[d] Richard G. Whitman, *Devolved External Affairs: The Impact of Brexit*, Chatham House, February 2017.

<https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2017-02-09-devolved-external-affairs-brexit-whitman-final.pdf> [policy paper]

Invitations to present oral evidence to House of Commons select committees (selected):

[e] Oral evidence to the Committee for Exiting the EU inquiry into the progress of the EU withdrawal negotiations examination of the EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic & Trade Agreement (CETA) and the Strategic Partnership Agreement. 10 January 2018.

<https://old.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/exiting-the-european-union-committee/news-parliament-2017/canada-plus-deal-progress-negotiations-evidence-17-19/>

<http://www.parliamentlive.tv/Event/Index/21cc800b-a4ad-4d44-8116-d38b038ee8fa>

[f] Transcript: Invitation to present oral evidence to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons inquiry 'Article 50 negotiations: Implications of "no deal"'. Public evidence session with members of the Committee and evidence published in the report: House of Commons, Foreign Affairs Committee Article 50 negotiations: Implications of "no deal", Ninth Report of Session 2016-17, HC 1077, Published on 12 March 2017.

<http://data.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/foreign-affairs-committee/implications-of-leaving-the-eu-for-the-uks-role-in-the-world/oral/44453.html>

<http://www.parliamentlive.tv/Event/Index/762755d9-23b5-4def-9ee1-ff7317f5c313>

Written evidence cited in House of Commons reports (selected):

[g] Written evidence to the EU Sub-Committee on External Affairs of the House of Lords, inquiry into the Brexit: Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions inquiry, 22 February 2018 as named Global Europe Centre evidence author (BSD005 submission). Evidence referenced (pp. 11, 14, 16, 17, 35, 36, 43, 44, 45, 47, 52, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 67, 68, 78) and used in the Committee report: House of Lords, Brexit: Common Security and Defence Policy missions and operations, 16th Report of Session 2017-19, HL 132. Published on 14 May 2018.

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201719/ldselect/ldecom/132/132.pdf>

[h] Written evidence to the Foreign Affairs Committee inquiry into the future of Britain's diplomatic relationship with Europe inquiry, November 2017 (EUR0016). Evidence referenced (on pp. 8, 9, 15, 16) and used in the Committee report: House of Commons, The Future of UK Diplomacy in Europe, Second Report of Session 2017-19, HC 514. Published on 30 January 2018.

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmcaff/514/514.pdf>

<http://data.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/foreign-affairs-committee/the-future-of-britains-diplomatic-relationship-with-europe/written/74310.pdf>

Journalist attribution of understanding through research findings (selected):

[i] *Financial Times* article by James Blitz, reference to the Devolved External Affairs report **[R6]**.

[j] *Financial Times* article by James Blitz, reference to the 'The Interim European Economic Area' option (see blog piece: The EEA: A Safe Harbour in the Brexit Storm).