



THE UNITED KINGDOM'S DEPARTURE FROM THE EU: THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

31 OCTOBER 2016

This regular paper produced by SPICe sets out developments in the UK's negotiations to leave the European Union which are expected to formally begin early in 2017.

Ahead of the UK Government's triggering of Article 50, the updates will provide information on the UK Government's approach to leaving the EU, along with details of the Scottish Government and the other Devolved Administrations positions. The updates will also provide information on developments within the EU with regard to the UK's departure. Finally the update will provide information on the key issues likely to be at play during the negotiations and in developing the UK's future relationship with the European Union.

As was clear during the referendum campaign and since the decision to leave the EU was taken, there is an abundance of information and analysis available, and this SPICe paper will try to cover the key issues by drawing on that information and analysis. This week's update includes the follow-up from last week's Joint Ministerial Committee meeting and the Secretary of State for Scotland's appearance at the Scottish Parliament's Culture, Tourism, Europe and External Relations Committee.

Joint Ministerial Committee Meeting

Last week's [update](#) provided details on the build-up to the first Joint Ministerial Committee (JMC) meeting since the European referendum. Ahead of the meeting, the UK Government issued a [press release](#) stating that the devolved administrations will "be offered the chance of a direct line to the Brexit secretary to allow them to help shape the UK's EU exit strategy".

Following the meeting held on 24 October the Prime Minister's office published a [press release](#) outlining the outcome of the meeting. The statement said:

"Prime Minister Theresa May today told the devolved administrations she would strike a bespoke Brexit deal that works for the whole of the UK.

Speaking at the first meeting of the Joint Ministerial Committee (JMC) for 2 years, the Prime Minister told leaders from Scotland, Wales and

Northern Ireland that how the UK leaves the EU should not be seen as a series of binary choices.

The Prime Minister also told the devolved administrations that she wanted their input in shaping the negotiations to leave the EU – and that the final agreement will make a success of Brexit for everyone in the Union.”

The Prime Minister’s office also reported that a new cross-nations forum on Brexit talks will be set up, to be chaired by Brexit secretary David Davis. The forum, to be known as the Joint Ministerial Committee on EU Negotiations (JMC(EN)) will meet for the first time in November to agree a work programme. According to the [Communique](#) summarising the JMC, the Terms of Reference for the new group are:

Through the JMC(EN) the governments will work collaboratively to:

- discuss each government’s requirements of the future relationship with the EU;
- seek to agree a UK approach to, and objectives for, Article 50 negotiations; and
- provide oversight of negotiations with the EU, to ensure, as far as possible, that outcomes agreed by all four governments are secured from these negotiations; and,
- discuss issues stemming from the negotiation process which may impact upon or have consequences for the UK Government, the Scottish Government, the Welsh Government or the Northern Ireland Executive.

The Scottish Government issued a [news release](#) following the conclusion of the JMC in which the First Minister said clarity was needed from the UK Government. The First Minister’s said:

“This was a long overdue meeting but unfortunately it was, in large parts, hugely frustrating.

"I set out Scotland's key interests in protecting our place in the single market, securing continued freedom of movement and ensuring social and employment rights are protected. However, despite a full and frank exchange of views around the table we know no more about the UK Government's approach to the EU negotiations now than we did when we went into the meeting.

"Four months on from the referendum we finally have agreement on a sub-committee of the JMC for the devolved administrations and the UK Government to discuss the issues raised by Brexit, but there is a significant amount of work to do to make sure that the engagement we have is meaningful.

"As a first step we agreed that there must be a detailed work programme developed ahead of the first meeting of the sub-committee. Crucially we agreed that this must be integrated with the wider process so that the devolved administrations can influence key Cabinet Sub-Committee decisions. We also agreed that there will be a further meeting of heads of government in the New Year.

"The Scottish Government is fully committed to engaging with the UK Government and we will seek to use our influence to ensure that the UK does not pursue a hard Brexit. However it is clear from today's discussions that we must also continue to pursue alternative options, including bringing forward proposals to protect Scotland's place in the single market even if the rest of the UK leaves, and continuing to prepare for the option of a referendum on independence if that is what is necessary to prevent the UK taking Scotland over a hard Brexit cliff edge."

The Welsh First Minister also made a [statement](#) following the JMC. Carwyn Jones said:

"There is still huge uncertainty about what success will look like from the UK Government. That makes it difficult for the devolved administrations to positively influence the process, but we are still committed to working for the best deal for Wales.

"I argued very strongly for full and unfettered access to the single market – my key priority remains the Welsh economy and securing more and better jobs for Wales. For us, that must be the starting point for negotiations.

"I welcome the fact the UK Government has conceded to the demands of the devolved administrations to meet more frequently, and for us to have a meaningful role in developing the future work programme relating to Brexit."

[Speaking for the Northern Ireland executive](#), the First Minister Arlene Foster and deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness said:

"We have today emphasised to the Prime Minister in the clearest possible terms the need for the Northern Ireland Executive to be fully represented in the negotiating process regarding future relationships with EU countries.

"That must mean nothing less than high level and ongoing involvement in the process on a continuing basis.

"We also underlined our joint determination to secure the best possible outcomes for the people we represent.

“We are heartened at the widespread support for our position that we are facing unique circumstances in this unfolding situation. We are the only region represented here today with a land border with an EU state.

“Commitments have been made by Theresa May’s Ministers on the priority being attached to our unique circumstances.

“Those words must be translated into action with a meaningful and clearly established role in negotiations. There must be no democratic deficit when it comes to our region’s voice being heard and its interests defended.

“Our joint letter to the Prime Minister in August outlined our agreed key priorities looking ahead. These included: cross-border movement of people, goods and services; trading costs and business competitiveness; uncertainty on drawdown of EU funding; and support for our agri-food sector.

“We reiterated these points in today’s discussions and also sought greater detail and clarification on the Prime Minister’s reply to our letter.

“It is no secret that our parties come from very different positions on Brexit, as indeed on other issues. But we are jointly determined to work together to secure the best possible arrangements and outcomes. We have no doubt that this determination was well understood in the room today.”

Institute for Government - four nation Brexit

Akash Paun and George Miller writing for the Institute for Government have published [Four nation Brexit - How the UK and devolved governments should work together on leaving the EU](#). The briefing looks at how the four administrations of the UK can work together on Brexit. The summary for the briefing states:

“Negotiating the terms of Brexit with the EU will be a highly complex task and, from a UK Government perspective, it would simplify matters if the existence of the devolved governments could be ignored. But Brexit cannot be treated as a simple matter of foreign relations. Leaving the EU will have a significant impact on the powers and budgets of the devolved bodies. This means the devolved parliaments will almost certainly seek to vote at some point on whether to give consent to the terms of Brexit.

Imposing a Brexit settlement in the absence of consent from the devolved bodies may be legally possible, given that the UK Parliament remains sovereign. However, this would run contrary to convention and to the spirit of devolution, which recognises the right of the three devolved nations to determine their own form of government. It would also be a reckless strategy for a government committed to the Union, since it would seriously undermine relationships between the four

governments, and increase the chances of Scottish independence and rifts in Northern Ireland's fragile power-sharing arrangements.

The devolved governments should be treated as partners in the Brexit process, not as mere consultees alongside business or other lobby groups. However, this does not mean the four governments of the UK will have equal influence. The UK Government will lead the Brexit process, and Westminster will retain the right to have the final say.

Now that a firm deadline for triggering Article 50 has been set, the governments must collectively step up a gear and establish the necessary systems for joint working on this issue. Working in partnership in this way will naturally require all sides to compromise. If agreement proves elusive, then each of the four governments should be held to account for their contribution to this failure.

Recent developments have not been reassuring. The Prime Minister initially committed to agreeing on 'a UK approach and objectives' before Article 50 is invoked, but has now announced that the trigger will be pulled by March 2017 regardless, and that negotiations are for her government alone. And the Scottish First Minister has set her government on a collision course with Westminster by publishing a bill to hold a second independence referendum. It is possible that, in the end, consensus will not be found on a four-nation Brexit deal. In that case, the Scottish people may indeed have to choose between their membership of the UK and the EU. But this is not inevitable."

Prime Minister's statement following the European Council

Last week's update reported on Theresa May's attendance at her first European Council meeting as Prime Minister. Following the summit, the Prime Minister made a [statement to the House of Commons](#) on 24 October reporting back on the outcomes of the meeting. On Brexit, the Prime Minister said:

"I went to this Council with a clear message for my 27 European counterparts.

The UK is leaving the EU but we are not leaving Europe – and we are not turning our backs on our friends and allies.

For as long as we are members of the EU, we will continue to play a full and active role.

And after we leave, we will be a confident, outward-looking country, enthusiastic about trading freely with our European neighbours, and co-operating on our shared security interests, including on law enforcement and counter-terrorism work.

That is the right approach for Britain to take."

Trade was also discussed as an agenda item at the European Council. During her statement to the House of Commons, the Prime Minister picked up on this issue in relation to the UK's departure from the EU.

“Turning to trade, I am determined that as we leave the EU, Britain will be the most passionate, the most consistent and the most convincing advocate of free trade anywhere in the world.

So as we look beyond our continent, we will seize the opportunities of Brexit to forge an ambitious and optimistic new role for Britain in the world.

And as part of this I have been clear that the UK is already discussing our future trading relationships with third countries.

As I made clear to the other member states last week, this will not undermine the EU's trade agenda. In fact, it is not even in competition with it: and for as long as we remain a member of the EU, we will continue to back the EU's free trade negotiations.

So, Mr Speaker, I share everyone's disappointment over the stalled talks between the EU and Canada. And we will, of course, do anything we can to try and help get these discussions back on track.

But to those who suggest that these difficulties have a bearing on our own future negotiations, I would remind them that we are not seeking to replicate any existing model that any other country has in relation to its trade with the European Union.

We will be developing our own British model – a new relationship for the UK with the EU – to be there for when we're outside the EU. A deal that is ambitious and bold for Britain.”

Finally, the Prime Minister returned to the theme of Brexit and made a commitment that the UK Parliament will have a role in discussing the UK's approach to leaving the EU. Stating that the Government will trigger Article 50 no later than the end of March 2017 the Prime Minister said:

“Mr Speaker, the government will also give Parliament the opportunity to discuss our approach to leaving the European Union.

So in addition to regular updates from My Rt Hon Friend the Member for Haltemprice and Howden (David Davis), my own statements following Council meetings, and the deliberations of the new Select Committee on Exiting the EU, the government will make time available for a series of general debates on the UK's future relationship with the EU.

These will take place before and after the Christmas recess, and I expect will include debate on the high-level principles that the government will pursue in the negotiations.

Mr Speaker, Members on all sides will recognise that the government must not show its hand in detail as we enter into these negotiations. But it is important that Members have this opportunity to speak on the issues that matter to their constituents as we make our preparations to leave the EU.”

Following the statement, the Prime Minister took [questions](#).

Statement by the Minister for UK Negotiations on Scotland’s Place in Europe

On 26 October, the Minister for UK Negotiations on Scotland’s Place in Europe made a [statement to the Scottish Parliament](#) providing an update on actions following the outcome of the European Union referendum. The statement included a report back from the Joint Ministerial Committee which took place two days earlier. On the negotiations with the EU, the Minister said:

“Let me make this clear to Parliament. The Scottish Government, the Scottish Parliament and indeed the people of Scotland are—and must be—equal partners in this multinational United Kingdom. The Scottish Government will not be—and is not—simply a consultee or a stakeholder. That is not what the Parliament—or the country—asked us to do.

There is a huge amount of work to do to satisfy the Prime Minister’s own requirement for

“a UK approach and objectives for negotiations”

before she triggers article 50. As the Welsh First Minister said after Monday’s meeting, “time is against us”, given that there are only 18 weeks between the first meeting of the JMC (EN) and the UK Government’s self-imposed March deadline for triggering the article 50 process. Eighteen weeks—126 days. We cannot afford to lose a single one of them, given the vital importance of a task that includes ensuring that the UK—and Scotland—does not drive straight off a hard Brexit cliff.”

The Minister also confirmed that the Scottish Government would publish detailed proposals to protect Scotland’s interests by the end of the year. According to the Minister:

“A key part of those proposals will be ways in which we can maintain membership of the single market for Scotland, even if the rest of the UK leaves.”

Following the statement, the Minister took questions.

Secretary of State for Scotland gives evidence to Scottish Parliament Committee

On 27 October, the Scottish Parliament's Culture, Tourism, Europe and External Relations Committee [took evidence](#) from the Rt Hon David Mundell MP, the Secretary of State for Scotland. The Secretary of State began by setting out his role in the Brexit process:

“My priority is to ensure that Scottish voices and interests are at the centre of the negotiations to come. The UK Government is committed to engaging widely across Scotland. My colleague Lord Dunlop and I have already held more than 50 meetings with groups and sectors from all parts of Scotland, to hear directly from them about their priorities. Those organisations include NFU Scotland, the Scottish Fishermen's Federation, the Scottish Retail Consortium, the Scotch Whisky Association, the Church of Scotland and the Law Society of Scotland, as well as young people's representatives and a range of organisations from energy and tourism sectors. David Davis and I also had an extremely useful meeting with representatives from business, law and culture during his visit to Scotland last week.”

The Committee discussed with the Secretary of State what Cabinet sub-Committees he would attend and how he would represent Scotland's interests. The Secretary of State also set out his thoughts on priorities:

“My view is that we want to maximise our involvement in the single market. That is the objective that the Government wants to achieve, but the Prime Minister and I have also said that it is not appropriate to look at existing structures because the UK is looking to achieve a bespoke deal—a deal that is the best for the UK, including the best for Scotland, but one that is bespoke. It is not about having an arrangement that already exists; it is about doing something new and different. That is the outcome that we are looking for. I am looking for an outcome that allows UK businesses to participate in the single market without tariffs and barriers.”

The Secretary of State also reiterated the Prime Minister's statement following the Joint Ministerial Committee meeting when he said there should be a single deal for the United Kingdom, however, he then added:

“but that does not mean that, within that agreement, there cannot be specific issues relating to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. There will not be a Scotland-only, Wales-only or Northern Ireland-only agreement; there will be a United Kingdom agreement, but that agreement can include differential arrangements in different parts of the United Kingdom if that is seen, as part of the negotiation process, as the best way forward.”

The Secretary of State added:

“As I indicated in my initial remarks, a number of issues that impact on Scotland also impact on other parts of the United Kingdom. For example, there are other sparsely populated areas of the United Kingdom where in-migration would be desirable. There are also areas of the United Kingdom where seasonal agricultural work is important, just as it is here in Scotland. Those sorts of issues can be dealt with on a UK-wide basis at the same time as addressing the specific Scottish issue.”

The Committee also questioned the Secretary of State about powers being repatriated to Scotland when the UK leaves the EU. The Secretary of State commented both on the powers that would be returned and the way in which those powers might be exercised. He told the Committee:

“There will be no change to existing arrangements other than that the context of leaving the EU automatically changes the devolved settlements because the devolved settlements are predicated on the basis that the UK is a member of the EU.

It is clear that a range of changes will flow from that in terms of relationships, as well as a range of options. I am committed to engage with all those interested parties in Scotland on those options. It is very important that we do that. That is what we have done in relation to previous devolution settlements, including the settlement that preceded the establishment of this Parliament, the Calman commission and the Smith commission. All those were heavily consulted on and proceeded on the basis of engagement.”

He added he could not envisage any change to the existing devolution arrangements and then addressed the issue of how Scottish legislation might be amended as a result of leaving the EU:

“On the Scots law issues, I envisage the two Governments working very closely together to ensure that there are no legal difficulties—firstly, that the body of existing EU law continues to apply from the day that the UK leaves the EU, so that we do not reach a situation where there is any uncertainty as to what the law is. That will be a key component of the great repeal bill.

There have already been initial discussions with the Scottish Government’s legal advisers on how that process can best be taken forward, because it is complex. The process will go forward on the basis of co-operation. There is no suggestion that laws that have been passed here at Holyrood would in some way be overridden by decisions taken at Westminster...

...I am happy to give you an undertaking that no laws will be changed of the type that you refer to without consultation with this Parliament. We would want to work through the process. As Professor Page mentioned, a range of instruments that refer to the EU may need to be changed. We need to find a way in which to ensure their continued validity while not changing their substance.”

Scottish Parliament debate on Environment and Climate Change (European Union Referendum)

On 27 October, the Scottish Parliament debated [Environment and Climate Change \(European Union Referendum\)](#). Following the debate, the Parliament passed the following motion by 82 votes to 31:

“That the Parliament agrees that membership of the EU has ensured progress on a wide range of environmental issues in Scotland and continues to underpin vital environmental protection; recognises the importance of the EU in securing collective action and progress on climate change and in driving forward collective action for the sustainable development of the marine environment; notes the significant role played by collaborative research across the EU in developing the scientific evidence that underpins protection and enhancement of a healthy environment; further recognises that a healthy environment supports prosperity and allows the promotion of Scottish produce and tourism around the world; notes that the value of the natural environment to the people of Scotland must be recognised by the UK Government in any future trade negotiations; notes that, like the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), the final Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) text contains an arbitration court that sits outside of the domestic court system and is only accessible to foreign investors, mechanisms that might create a downward pressure on environmental regulations and risks to public service provision; believes that the passing of CETA might result in significant negative implications for environmental protection in Scotland; calls therefore on the UK Government to act to address these concerns; welcomes that the Scottish Ministers will pass on in full the EU funding guaranteed by the UK Government so far, which is vital to protecting, maintaining and enhancing the natural environment; believes that Scotland must protect its position as a climate change leader, and calls on the UK Government to ensure that Scotland has a role in the decision-making, as well as full involvement, in all UK negotiations.”

Scottish Parliament Information Centre (SPICe) Brexit Briefings published

On 26 October, the Scottish Parliament Information Centre (SPICe) published a briefing on [Brexit: the impact on equalities and human rights](#). The briefing considers the impact Brexit will have on equalities and human rights. The focus is on legislation which has a basis in EU law, the protections currently offered, and what this could mean in the future

On 27 October, [Brexit: Impact on the Justice System in Scotland](#) was published. This briefing outlines developments in the EU's civil and criminal justice policies and provides a brief overview of initial arguments on the impact that leaving the EU might have on the UK's and Scotland's policies in this field.

SPICe briefings in relation to Brexit are all available on the [EU and International Affairs section](#) of the SPICe Briefings page.

Article 50 legal challenge in Northern Ireland

The Brexit update on [3 October](#) provided details of the legal challenge to triggering Article 50 in Northern Ireland. In their legal challenge, the MLAs (including former Alliance leader, MLA David Ford, SDLP leader Colum Eastwood along with Sinn Féin Assemblyman John O'Dowd and Steven Agnew of the Green Party) argued that legislation would have to be passed by the Commons, with the consent of the Northern Ireland Assembly, before Article 50 could be triggered.

On 28 October, the High Court in Belfast [dismissed the judicial review challenges](#) to the way the UK Government intends to invoke Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union to trigger withdrawal from the EU.

The challenges ultimately failed because the Court did not agree with the petitioners claim that

“Article 50 TEU cannot be triggered without the consent of the people of NI and it is asserted that the Good Friday Agreement has created a substantive legitimate expectation that there would be no change in the constitutional status of NI without the consent of the people of NI.”

In response, Mr Justice Maguire who heard the case) said:

“he was not aware of any specific provision in the Good Friday Agreement or in the 1998 Act which confirms the existence of the limitation which the applicant contends and which establishes a norm that any change to the constitutional arrangements for the government of NI and, in particular, withdrawal by the UK from the EU, can only be effected with the consent of the people of NI. Further, the Court could not identify material which would cause it to imply such a limitation. The judge said this was not surprising as if such a limitation exists it would be reasonable to have expected it to have been highlighted in the run up to the Referendum. Further, it would have the most unusual result of requiring a second Referendum to be held in NI within a short time of the people of NI having gone to the polls in respect of the same issue in a national referendum where the national outcome was in favour of withdrawal.

Mr Justice Maguire said that section 1 of the 1998 Act is of no benefit to the applicant as it is clear that this section (and the relevant portion of the Good Friday Agreement) is considering the issue only in the particular context of whether NI should remain as part of the UK or unite with Ireland. He said it was also difficult to see how the Court can overlook the importance of the terms in which the 1998 Act are cast or to deviate from what to date has been plain, namely that the UK Parliament has retained to itself the ability to legislate for NI without the need to resort to any special procedure: “Any suggestion that a legitimate

expectation can overwhelm the structure of the legislative scheme is not viable". The judge rejected the applicant's submissions in this area."

The UK Parliament's response to the decision to leave the European Union

A number of Committees in both the House of Commons and House of Lords have established inquiries linked to the UK's decision to leave the European Union. Upcoming Brexit related work includes:

On 1 November, the European Union Select Committee will take evidence from the Rt Hon David Jones MP, Minister of State Minister of State, Department for Exiting the European Union on the outcome of the October European Council meeting. In relation to Brexit, the Committee will focus on the question "Has the Government encountered any resistance to its intention to "play a full and active role" in the EU for as long as the UK is still a member?" The evidence session will be broadcast on [Parliament TV](#).

The House of Lords European Union Committee has produced an update covering its on-going [Brexit inquiry work](#).

On-going Brexit related work in the UK Parliament includes:

[House of Commons European Scrutiny Committee Post Referendum Consultation](#)

[House of Commons Scotland Affairs Committee Scotland's Place in Europe](#)

[House of Commons Welsh Affairs Committee Implications for Wales of the EU Referendum Result](#)

[House of Commons Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee Lessons Learned from the EU Referendum](#)

[House of Commons Environmental Audit Committee The Future of the Natural Environment after the EU Referendum](#)

[House of Commons Energy and Climate Change Committee Leaving the EU: Implications for UK Energy Policy](#)

[House of Commons Brexit and health and social care inquiry](#)

[House of Lords European Union Committee Brexit: UK-Irish Relations](#)

[House of Lords European Union Committee Brexit: Parliamentary Scrutiny Inquiry](#)

[House of Lords EU External Affairs and EU Internal Market Sub-Committees Brexit: future trade between the UK and the EU inquiry](#)

[House of Lords EU Internal Market Sub-Committee Brexit: future trade between the UK and EU in services inquiry](#)

The [sub-committees](#) of the House of Lords European Union Committee are also conducting a number of evidence sessions following the UK's decision to leave the EU including:

[Fisheries Policy after Brexit](#)

[Brexit implications for environment policy examined by committee](#)

[Brexit implications for energy and climate change policy](#)

[Brexit and Financial Services](#)

[Brexit: environment and climate change.](#)

The UK Parliament has also produced [impartial analysis](#) of the UK's referendum for remaining in or leaving the European Union. This page sets out useful research on the impact of Brexit on key policy areas. It also explains the process for leaving the EU.

The Comprehensive Economic Trade Agreement with Canada

Last week's update reported that the proposed trade agreement between the European Union and Canada which took seven years to negotiate has hit a snag at the ratification stage as a result of the Walloon Parliament's decision not to support the deal.

A week later, following detailed negotiations the Walloon Parliament lifted its objection leaving the Comprehensive Economic Trade Agreement (CETA) to be formally [signed by the EU and Canada](#) on 30 October. The agreement is now temporarily in force but still requires formal ratification across the EU's 28 Member States.

The European Commission has published a [fact sheet](#) outlining what it included in the CETA agreement.

The Guardian published an [article](#) suggesting what the UK Government could learn from CETA to inform the Brexit negotiations.

Four principles for the UK's Brexit trade negotiations

A [blog](#) on the London School of Economics website by Thomas Sampson, an Assistant Professor in the Department of Economics at LSE examined the four principles which should underscore the UK's negotiations for adopting new trading arrangements post Brexit. Thomas Sampson suggests the key principles are:

You get what you give

To reap the benefits of trade agreements, the UK must be willing to give its trading partners something they value. In general, the more countries are willing to concede and the more policy control they give up, the bigger are the potential gains from reaching an agreement.

Where negotiations start from matters

The outcome of any bargaining game depends on where negotiations start from. Trade agreements are no exception. The policies each country will adopt if no agreement is reached provide a reference point – or ‘threat point’ – for the negotiations. Countries make concessions starting from this reference point.

Bargain from a position of power

Bargaining power affects the outcome of trade negotiations. Countries that have little bargaining power are less likely to achieve their objectives. Unfortunately, the UK is starting from a weaker position than the EU. Because UK-EU trade accounts for a much larger share of the UK’s economy than the EU’s economy, the UK needs a deal more than the EU does.

Invest in negotiating capacity

Trade agreements involve many simultaneous policy changes making it difficult to analyse their economic consequences. Smart negotiators use this uncertainty to their advantage by ensuring they are better informed than their opponents about who stands to gain and who stands to lose from any policy proposal.

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