

THE IMPACTS OF BREXIT ON THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SECURITY OF NORTHERN IRELAND

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Abstract

This research examines the effects of Brexit in 2016 on the economic and political security of Northern Ireland. The primary objective of this study is to identify how a policy of a certain group of countries can have a significant impact on other countries such as Northern Ireland. To analyse this issue, the research employs the concept of national security, with a specific focus on economic and political security. A descriptive qualitative method is employed to collect data through a review of relevant literature. Authors find that Brexit brought about Northern Ireland's economic and political security which has led to a disrupted supply of goods, a rise in prices, a decline in people's welfare, and a clash between Unionists and Nationalists, resulting in the overthrow of the Northern Ireland Prime Minister.

Keywords: Brexit, Economic Security, Northern Ireland, Political Security.

I. INTRODUCTION

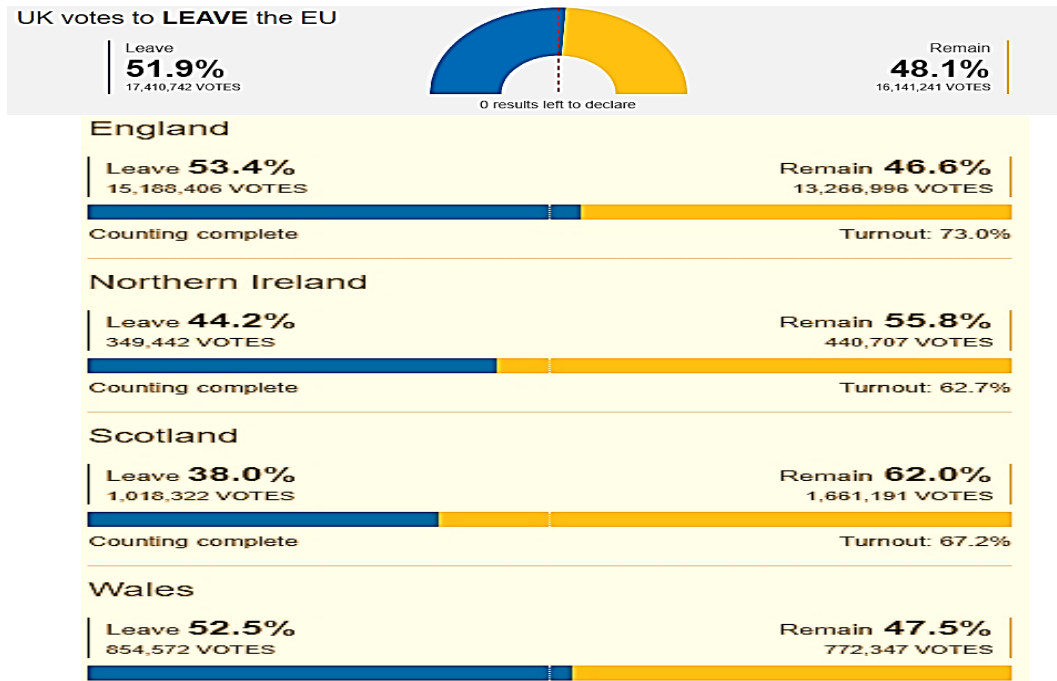
Regionalism has become somewhat a problematic concept in the era of globalization. As globalization has made the world smaller geographically, regionalism has led to the grouping of countries into smaller units [1]. Despite globalizing or grouping within the region, Brexit introduced a new model in 2016, known as Brexit. Brexit is a phenomenon describing the withdrawal of England and Wales from the regional organization, the European Union, and can be seen as a form of deglobalization. Deglobalization is a policy or decision that positions a country's policies to be more independent from other countries [2]. Brexit, based on the Oxford English Dictionary, is "the withdrawal of the United Kingdom (UK) from The European Union," meaning the term describes the exit of the UK (England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland) from the regional organization, the European Union. This policy was gone through a referendum in June 2016. Brexit itself caused controversy among the countries of the UK. Two countries agreed to Brexit, while two others chose to remain members of the European Union. Statistics show that most British and Welsh citizens agreed to leave the European Union, with respective vote percentages of 53.4% and 52.5%. Meanwhile, Scotland and Northern Ireland preferred to remain members of the European Union, with respective percentages of 62% and 55.8% [3].

The UK's exit (represented by England and Wales) from the European Union was caused by its ineffectiveness within the organization. The first reason as the strongest cause of this issue is the European Union's policy that requires member states to assist in handling immigrants and refugees who have entered Europe. Some immigrants who have already been in the European Union, such as in Belgium and France, were commanded to be moved to the UK via the railway. Because the policy has been decided and become a joint agreement, the policy will bind all parties involved in the policy-making process. UK in particular England government accepted the rules and became the second largest to receive immigrants after Germany. Yet, most of their people opposed this. They argued the wave of immigrants entering the UK has exceeded the expected limit. For the British people, with the UK, leaving the European Union, the issue of immigration is expected to be resolved [5]. The second reason is that in integrating the region through the European Union, the UK has experienced economic burdens and fears of increased unemployment as immigrants can grab available job force for local people [6]. The third indicator is that the UK wants to change its international trading system by cutting ties with the European Union, so they can freely trade with advanced countries outside the European Union or developing countries. In addition, they will be free from tax burden rules and free to import cheap products from all over the world [7].

The withdrawal of the UK from the European Union has significant impacts on EU member states, particularly those bordering or adjacent to the UK. One of these countries is Northern Ireland, a constituent country of the UK that chose to remain a member of the European Union. The dynamics of the referendum in Northern Ireland showed that 85% of Catholic nationalists voted to remain in the European Union. Sinn Fein with 27 seats and the Social Democratic and Labour Party with 12 seats chose to remain in the European Union. On the other hand, the Democratic Unionist Party with 28 seats, and the Ulster Unionist Party with 10 seats opposed Brexit but accepted the referendum result. The Green Party with 2 seats and the Alliance with 8 seats also had their stance on Brexit.

This article aims to focus on Northern Ireland since Northern Ireland is the only constituent country of the UK that shares a land border with the European Union and decided to remain a member of the European Union. We seek to analyse the impact of Brexit 2016 on the economic and political security of Northern Ireland. Of Brexit, Northern Ireland is caught having problems dealing with economic and political security. Furthermore, Northern

Ireland is the lowest economy among the UK countries and has a very sensitive political situation as it resides in nationalist and unionist parties. To analyse this matter, the authors use the national security theory proposed by Barry Buzan.



Source: BBC, n. d [4]

FIGURE 1. UK VOTES ON BREXIT

II. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Research on Brexit has been conducted by several previous researchers. The first study by Maharani, Akim, and Dermawan explains that the solution to overcoming the economic trade problem in Northern Ireland is by implementing a backstop policy which is a regulation that regulates the flow of goods or services in and out of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland using the same regulations and tariffs so that there is no need for further monitoring. This policy received a negative response from the UK because they feared that it would cause the disintegration of the UK [8]. The study by Maharani, Akim, and Dermawan discusses Brexit from the perspective of Northern Ireland's economic strategy, while the second study by Doyl & Connolly explains the issue of the border in Northern Ireland. This study explains that closing the border will be a narrative to oppose the peace process that has been going on. The peace process carried out by Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland has been carried out since the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, which then created a more peaceful life on the island of Ireland. After Brexit, tensions arose between the Nationalists and Unionists who had their views on the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, which could trigger tensions between groups [9]. Furthermore, the third study by Fajar Mahardika and Ahmad Fuadi outlines that there are at least four implications that occur after Brexit. First, the UK increased security at the border with the Republic of Ireland, causing tension at the Irish border. Second, the UK violated the Belfast Agreement on security in Article 2(2), which called for the removal of security installations at the border. Third, the decline in the value of the pound and the weakening of tourism had an impact on the economy of Ireland. Fourth, the UK designed the Chequers Plan policy after leaving the European Union, which set tariffs on the export and import sectors [10].

Based on several studies that have been explained above, the authors see that there has not been a specific study on the economic and political security in Northern Ireland post-Brexit 2016. The first study focuses on economic strategies dealing with rules of trade, while the second study highlights about rising tension of political domestic after Brexit. The last study explains in detail the UK's actions after Brexit. Therefore, the authors will analyse the impact of Brexit on Northern Ireland in terms of economic and political security specifically. This is a differentiator from previous studies. The authors seek to further discuss how the economic and political security of Northern Ireland as the only UK country directly bordering the European Union on land. Based on this, the

authors are interested in conducting further research on how economic and political security in Northern Ireland is affected by Brexit 2016.

National security is of paramount importance to all countries. It encompasses the actions taken by a nation to protect its citizens, infrastructure, institutions, and economy from both external and internal threats. Over the years, scholars have proposed various theories and frameworks to assist policymakers and security experts in comprehending the dynamics of national security. National security is traditionally defined as a national policy of a state aimed at protecting and defending its territory [11]. Yet, national security is a complex and multi-dimensional concept. It encompasses not only military defence but also various other sectors that are crucial for a nation's stability and well-being. One of the leading theoretical experts on national security is Barry Buzan. According to Buzan (1991), security is divided into five areas: **Military security** encompasses two levels of management of a country's weapon capabilities, both offensively and defensively, as well as the country's perception of intensity towards one another. **Political security** focuses on the stability of the state organization, ideology systems, and the ideology that legitimizes governance. **Economic security** encompasses access to resources, finance, and markets to support an acceptable level of national well-being and power [12]. **Societal security** includes the sustainability of traditional patterns of language, culture, religion, national identity, and customs, including acceptable evolutionary conditions. **Environmental security** pays attention to the preservation of the environment, both locally and globally, as an important support for the system upon which human life depends. Each sector has a strong connection with one another and does not run alone [13].

In this study, the authors use two areas of national security: economic security and political security. The reason is that Northern Ireland has a high sensitivity to economic and political issues due to the Brexit policy compared to military, social, and cultural issues (areas).

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative research design with a descriptive qualitative approach. This descriptive qualitative research aims to generate a comprehensive conclusion about a specific event. Using the descriptive approach, the researcher will gather information and supporting data related to the economic and political security of Northern Ireland resulting from the 2016 Brexit. The data will be described clearly and understandably to answer the research questions. The authors use data collection techniques from literature studies obtained from journal articles, books, and websites. The authors will analyse relevant literature sources to support the research questions. The time limit for this study is from 2016 to 2021. This time limit is since the Brexit referendum was held in 2016, while the end limit of the study is 2021, which is related to the impact of economic and political security in Northern Ireland resulting from the 2016 Brexit.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. *Economic Security in Northern Ireland: Disrupted Supply of Goods, Rise in Prices, and Decline of People's Welfare*

Economic security is one of the most crucial aspects of post-Brexit Northern Ireland. The economic security of Northern Ireland causes problems. Northern Ireland is the only UK country that shares a direct land border with the European Union. It makes Northern Ireland a special focus of Brexit policy and in fact Northern Ireland decides to remain a member of the EU. Shortly, after Brexit a new policy on trade between mainland Britain and Northern Ireland was established and implemented. The policy, called the "Northern Ireland Protocol," regulates how goods enter and exit Northern Ireland.

Northern Ireland Protocol is a rule that requires goods shipped from mainland Britain to Northern Ireland to be checked first. The protocol aims to maintain free trade between Northern Ireland and Britain while maintaining the integrity of the EU's single market. According to the rules, all goods entering Northern Ireland from Britain must be checked to ensure they meet EU standards [14]. This means that goods that could previously enter Northern Ireland without inspection must now be inspected.

In the agreement, there are exceptions to trade activities in Northern Ireland. They remain within the EU's single market rules based on EU single market rules in several areas as product requirements and safety (chemicals and medicines), animal and plant health and welfare, food safety and standards for animal products, and agriculture. Special regulations on trade in Northern Ireland automatically create a sea border between mainland Britain and the island of Ireland. This entails two main aspects. First, when importing goods from mainland Britain, residents of Northern Ireland must undergo inspections. Second, when exporting goods from Northern Ireland to mainland Britain, they must comply with European Union customs policies. In another context, trade policies in Northern Ireland are a commitment by the British government to Northern Ireland. During the Brexit process, the British government agreed that the top priority in Northern Ireland was to protect the Good Friday Agreement and minimize smuggling into the Republic of Ireland. As a result, trade in Northern Ireland follows the EU single market to avoid a hard border on the island of Ireland. The Northern Ireland Protocol also preserves the good relationship between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, which was previously implemented

through the Common Travel Area (CTA) policy, allowing citizens of both countries to travel, receive healthcare, work, and security services freely [15] based on the protection of rights in the Good Friday Agreement.

In practice, there are at least two important rules that have become new habits in economic relations: customs duties and inspection regulations. The creation of the Northern Ireland Protocol after Britain's exit from the European Union has brought new habits in Northern Ireland's trade, especially in terms of the inspection of goods from the UK to Northern Ireland. Article 5 of the Protocol regulates customs and the movement of goods. The article governs goods entering Northern Ireland directly from a third country or non-UK, such as the EU or another country in the world. The UK is not subject to tariffs and inspections when shipping directly to Northern Ireland or without a UK intermediary because it participates in EU trade customs regulations. The exception to goods subject to tariffs and inspections is if they will be marketed again in the EU [16]. Documents required for moving goods from Great Britain to Northern Ireland include security and safety declarations, customs declarations, tariffs, and rules of origin (ROO).

Secondly, there are regulations in the Northern Ireland Protocol that govern how goods entering Northern Ireland are inspected. These regulations are found in Annex 2 of the Northern Ireland Protocol. Inspections in these regulations include food, medicine, chemicals, and industrial goods. Inspections in the agri-food sector are the most time-consuming and costly. Animal products and meat crossing the border must submit full certification from a veterinarian. This certification requirement is a barrier for business owners who face higher shipping costs to Northern Ireland. With these regulations, 100% of live animals, 30% of minced meat, eggs, dairy products, poultry meat, and 15% of other meat products undergo physical inspections. In contrast, inspections of pharmaceutical, chemical, and industrial products do not require physical inspections. Goods brought from Great Britain only need to comply with the letter of authorization for the goods they carry, which must be submitted before shipping. Product shippers must have an authorization letter based on EU standards and be responsible for carrying dangerous goods [17].

Businesses and consumers in Northern Ireland are very sensitive to the implementation of these trade rules because of their significant need for goods from Great Britain. The Northern Ireland Protocol is the best effort to preserve the Good Friday Agreement, minimize smuggling, and maintain a good relationship between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Customs regulations and cargo inspections applied in the Irish Sea have resulted in delays in shipping goods to Northern Ireland from the UK. It disrupted market availability and resources. Figure 2 is one of the examples that trade rules "Northern Ireland Protocol" have brought about a disrupted supply of goods.



Source: Gant, 2021 [18]

FIGURE 2. EMPTY SHELVES IN NORTHERN IRELAND SUPERMARKETS (SAINSBURY'S, M&S, AND TESCO)

This disrupted supply of goods in the form of delays of goods has become a problem for businesspeople in Northern Ireland because it has resulted in a decrease in the availability of goods in their wholesale markets. A decrease in availability could lead to fluctuations that can cause a rise in market prices, thereby reducing market demand and profits [18]. Furthermore, it would certainly make it more difficult for people to meet their needs. Some of the needs that have experienced price increases in Northern Ireland can be seen in the Table I.

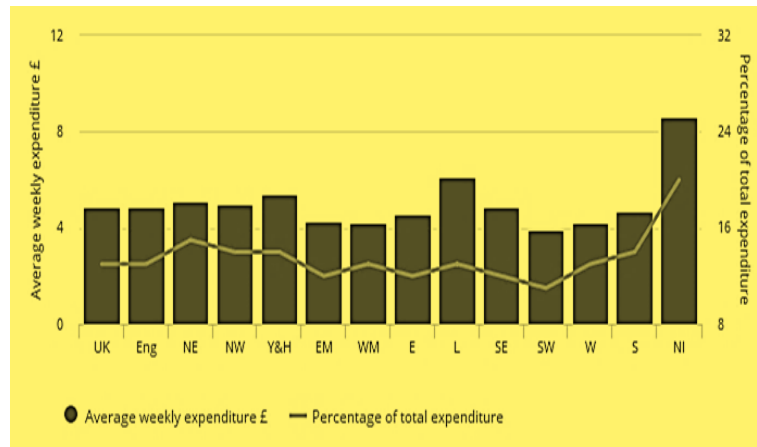
The table shows the price increases in Northern Irish supermarkets. The highest increase in the table is for mild French brie, which has increased by 204%. This is a significant increase as it is almost twice the original price. The people of Northern Ireland are certainly impacted by the price increases, with an average increase of around 50%. The data above is a sample of several products from Sainsbury's, which is one of the leading wholesale market players in Northern Ireland.

TABLE I. INCREASING PRICES IN NORTH IRELAND

Products	Early Price	Increasing Price	Percentage Increase
Fresh asparagus	£15 /kg	£19,90 /kg	32,6%
Chilled tomato and mascarpone sauce	£1,25 /g pot	£1,89 /350g pot	51,2%
Pork Sausages	£6,88 /kg	£7,48 /kg	8,7%
Mild French Brie	£5 /kg	£15,21 /kg	204%
Spinach & Ricotta Tortelloni	£5 /kg	£7,16 /kg	43,2%
Greek Feta	£6,75 /kg	£9,95 /kg	47%
Cooking salt	£80 /1,5 kg	£84 /1,5 kg	5%
Broccoli	£1,60 /kg	£2,18 /kg	36,2%

Source: McBride, 2021 [19]

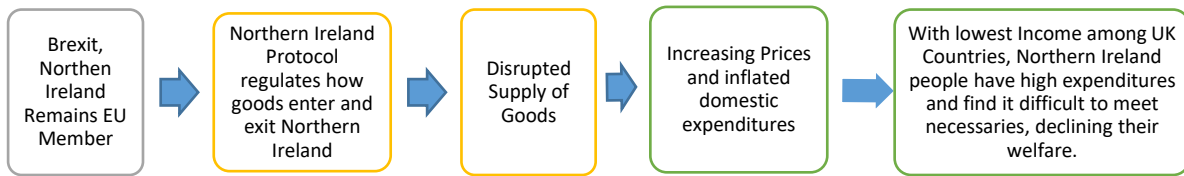
The increasing prices in turn influence people's welfare of Northern Ireland. It has something to do with Finance related to people's purchasing power in meeting their needs. Furthermore, Northern Ireland's people have the lowest disposable household income compared to other countries in the UK. Northern Ireland only has 2.3%, while England has 86.3%, Scotland has 7.6%, and Wales has 3.8%. However, the increase in the prices of consumer goods can make it difficult for the people of Northern Ireland because if we look at their low income, they must spend the highest weekly cost among other countries. The lifestyle patterns of the people of Northern Ireland are more consumptive than other UK countries because the people of Northern Ireland also spend more weekly costs buying food [20]. This can be seen from the Figure 3.



Source: ONS, 2019 [20]

FIGURE 3. WEEKLY EXPENDITURES OF NORTHERN IRISH SOCIETY

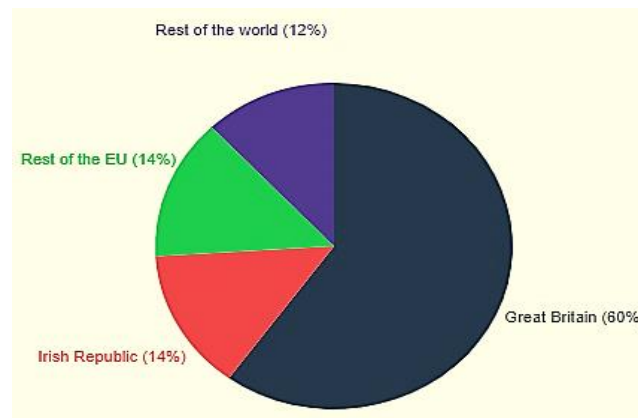
Based on the above figure, Northern Ireland's population has a high level of consumption. This is not proportional to their lowest income in the UK region. The consumptive behaviour of Northern Ireland's population needs to be changed into being more frugal in their expenditure, as the occurrence of empty shelves in supermarkets is a sign of economic problems in their country. The community and the government must work together continuously to manage their finances to face economic problems. The implementation of the Northern Ireland protocol has a significant impact on the economic condition of Northern Ireland. On the other hand, dependence on the UK market has caused Northern Ireland to experience a shortage of supply of goods, resulting in a reduction of goods in supermarkets or wholesalers. Regardless of the price increases, the reduction of goods is due to UK retailers or sellers cancelling or delaying shipments due to shipping constraints. Another obstacle to these shipments is customs regulations and declaration requirements that require shippers to take time to send goods to Northern Ireland [21]. Food product sellers or companies are most affected by these regulations. This is because food products that will be exported to Northern Ireland must be held for inspection, which can ultimately damage the quality of the product. Damaged products cannot be shipped because they are no longer considered safe for consumption. Many companies have suffered losses due to these occurrences and have given up on selling products to Northern Ireland. These losses can reach up to 1.2 USD [22].



Source: Illustrated by authors

FIGURE 4. HOW BREXIT DISRUPTS NORTHERN IRELAND'S ECONOMIC SECURITY

Another problem Northern Ireland encounters after Brexit is a fact showing that Ireland's dependence on Great Britain's (England, Wales, and Scotland) market has been going on for a long time, and even though they are on the same landmass as the Republic of Ireland, it has not made the Republic of Ireland or the EU a major supplier of goods. Northern Ireland's dependence on Great Britain reaches 60% compared to other countries such as the EU at 14% and the rest of the world at 12%. This can be seen in the Figure 5.



Source: Bogle & Jordan, 2021 [23]

FIGURE 5. THE PERCENTAGE OF MARKET DEPENDENCE OF NORTHERN IRELAND ON GREAT BRITAIN (UK)

The dependence on the Great Britain market seems to have backfired on Northern Ireland. As explained that Northern Ireland protocol restricts Northern Ireland to trade with UK countries and in turn it yields from disrupting supply of goods to declining people's welfare whereas Great Britain countries are the biggest partners in trade with Northern Ireland. This may hinder their ability to develop a modern economy by seeking other trading partners beyond Great Britain. This traditional approach to managing the economy is no longer relevant in the modern era. The financial welfare of society should be a serious concern to avoid disparities within the community. Northern Ireland is in a position where the welfare of its people is becoming unstable, and this blatantly affects the economic security of Northern Ireland.

B. Political Security in Northern Ireland Due to Brexit: Conflict between Unionists and Nationalists and Efforts to Overthrow the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland has a long history of domestic conflict involving two predominant groups: Protestant and Catholic Groups. This conflict seemed to have reconciled after the settlement through Good Friday Agreement. Yet in recent years, another conflict arose involving different conflicting groups, nationalists, and unionists. Brexit has brought about political differences regarding political security based on the Good Friday Agreement and the Northern Ireland Protocol. They have different views regarding if Northern Ireland remains European Union or decides to its membership in European Union following Brexit. They seem to engage in conflict inter-community even trigger a national conflict that in turn jeopardizes the political security of Northern Ireland. Generally, unionists opposed the Northern Ireland Protocol because they feel isolated by the UK due to restrictions in the Irish Sea. Meanwhile, nationalists welcomed this Northern Ireland Protocol because they essentially want to remain in the European Union single market. These differences of opinion have triggered tension that will affect the peace based on the Good Friday Agreement. Previously, unionists won 65% of the vote in the Brexit

referendum to leave the European Union [24], but the overall result of Northern Ireland was to remain in the European Union. This was good news for nationalists but not for unionists. Unionists feel betrayed by the UK government because of the Northern Ireland Protocol. They believe that the UK government no longer considers them as an identity. This is in line with the opinion of the English population, with 54% not being bothered if Northern Ireland leaves the UK [25].

The differences in viewing the Northern Ireland Protocol between unionists and nationalists generally occur because of their different interests. Unionists have a strong belief in their identity as members of the UK. Meanwhile, nationalists see this protocol as a very good step in building close relations with the Republic of Ireland and other European Union countries. These differences in interests in the field of national security politics are the beginning of a conflict, especially with the involvement of government actors and parties.

The relationship between the UK and Northern Ireland has long been strained. The relationship depends on how the UK government behaves in its interests. The government's stance is an action that results in political instability in Northern Ireland. Brexit, including the Northern Ireland Protocol, is an example of the continuation of UK government policies that result in guaranteed damage to politics in Northern Ireland [26]. The fear of unionists towards the Northern Ireland Protocol is a result of obstacles to goods from the UK. In protesting the United Kingdom government, unionists, represented by the Loyalist Community Council (LCC) as a paramilitary representative, withdraw support for peace in the Good Friday Agreement [27]. This is very dangerous for political stability in Northern Ireland because opposing the Good Friday Agreement means that the political system in Northern Ireland becomes problematic. This is considering that politics in Northern Ireland adheres to strong identity politics and has the potential to disrupt national political stability if not managed properly.

The post-Brexit political conflict in Northern Ireland is becoming more serious with the deployment of paramilitary forces. Unionist groups opposing the Northern Ireland Protocol have mobilized the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), Ulster Defence Association (UDA), and Red Hand Commando to protest the protocol in early April 2021. The presence of paramilitaries in Northern Ireland is a double-edged sword. In the government's view, they are seen as troublemakers because the funds used by paramilitaries to operate are believed to be the proceeds of crime. Meanwhile, Unionists see these paramilitaries as protective bodies against external and internal threats, even though they are involved in criminal activities [28]. On the other hand, the Northern Irish community sees the presence of paramilitaries as triggering concerns, as if they are not managed properly, they could be used as a tool for political activities that benefit certain parties. Paramilitaries in the conflict in Northern Ireland are a sign of dangerously unstable political stability if there is a conflict between nationalists and unionists. This is evident, as paramilitaries have caused riots since the Northern Ireland Protocol was introduced, as they oppose the policy, as it is seen as a barrier to the identity between Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom. These riots were initiated by loyalist groups who, as supporters of the UK government, feel betrayed [29]. This conflict is a dangerous event for the security situation in Northern Ireland. It recalls the bad history of Unionists and Nationalists, and this event creates political insecurity in Northern Ireland that will have an impact on peace.

The opposition to the Northern Ireland Protocol has become a conflict in Northern Ireland. Unionists are using their political power to oppose the protocol, which they believe should not be enforced. This could trigger dangerous conditions for political stability in Northern Ireland, given the sensitivity of the politics. Nationalists, as Unionist political opponents in this situation, are vulnerable to attacks because of the conflict created by Unionists as the party that feels the most disadvantaged by Brexit policy. This has caused political chaos in Northern Ireland. The political conflict created between actors in Northern Ireland poses a threat to political security in Northern Ireland.

In addition to the conflict between nationalists and unionists, in early June 2021, there was also an attempt to overthrow the Prime Minister, Arlene Foster, who was removed by her party, the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), for not being successful in handling the Northern Ireland Protocol issue [30]. In the government system, Northern Ireland has two executive leaders, the Prime Minister, and the Deputy Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is held by the representative of the largest party, and the Deputy Prime Minister is held by the largest party elected by the community. Since 2003, the Prime Minister has been held by the DUP as the largest party, and the Deputy Prime Minister has been held by the Sinn Fein party.

These two parties have different interests in the Northern Ireland government, where the DUP focuses more on UK unity, while Sinn Fein focuses more on Irish unification. After the resignation of Prime Minister Arlene Foster, her successor was considered more hard-line and less pragmatic, aiming to prevent support for traditional Unionist groups. This could make politics more difficult, especially regarding the Northern Ireland Protocol. This has weakened the influence of labour unions on politics in Northern Ireland. Sinn Fein, which is very ambitious about the unification of Northern Ireland, has a chance to become the largest party in the legislature, thereby becoming the representative of the Prime Minister. The ousting of Prime Minister Arlene Foster serves as a warning for politics in Northern Ireland, as it could pose a threat to the political security in Northern Ireland and potentially impact Irish unification [31].

V. CONCLUSION

Based on qualitative research using the literature study technique on the impact of Brexit on the economic and political security of Northern Ireland, several conclusions can be drawn. First, there is an impact that leads to the economic security of Northern Ireland being compromised, namely the empty shelves in Northern Irish supermarkets. This is due to the Northern Ireland Protocol that imposes checks and regulations on shipments of goods from Great Britain to Northern Ireland, causing obstacles in the delivery of goods. The empty shelves in Northern Irish supermarkets can cause market fluctuations and price increases, which can reduce people's purchasing power. The price hikes in Northern Ireland can lead to poverty among low-income households compared to other parts of the United Kingdom. In addition, the high level of spending by the people of Northern Ireland also has an impact on their well-being. This is a problem that must be faced by the people of Northern Ireland due to the Brexit policy that has impacted their economic security.

Second, There is an impact of Brexit on the political security of Northern Ireland, namely the tension between the Unionist or Loyalist group and the Nationalist group. Both groups have two major parties that have significant influence in Northern Irish politics, namely the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) (Unionist) and Sinn Fein (Nationalist). The two parties have different views on Brexit. DUP supports Brexit while Sinn Fein opposes Brexit. The difference in views has caused a division between the two groups, which also impacts the division in society. The division between Unionists and Nationalists has worsened with the Northern Ireland Protocol which acts as a trade barrier in the Irish Sea. Unionists oppose the protocol because they feel isolated by the government due to the trade border. Meanwhile, Nationalists support the Northern Ireland Protocol because it will make it easier for Northern Ireland to engage in free trade. This difference in views has caused political insecurity in Northern Ireland and has led to riots using paramilitary force. In addition, there was the overthrow of Prime Minister Arlene Foster, which poses a threat to political security that will be exploited by Nationalists for the unification of Ireland.

Our research could conclude clearly albeit with some shortages. First, it deals with the concept. Some variables we elaborate on and explain in the discussion may not meet Buzan's variables of national security. The next researchers can employ another national security concept or propose different views on the issue. Second, with the overwhelming and various data we have explored, we also found different data and it in turn yields different conclusions.

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