

Why Euroscepticism Won: The UK's EU Referendum

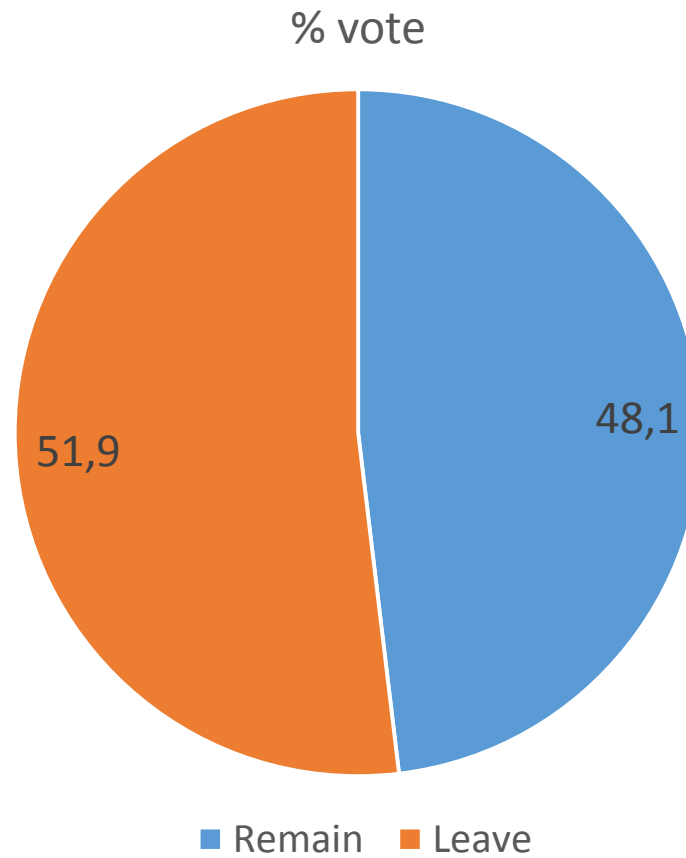
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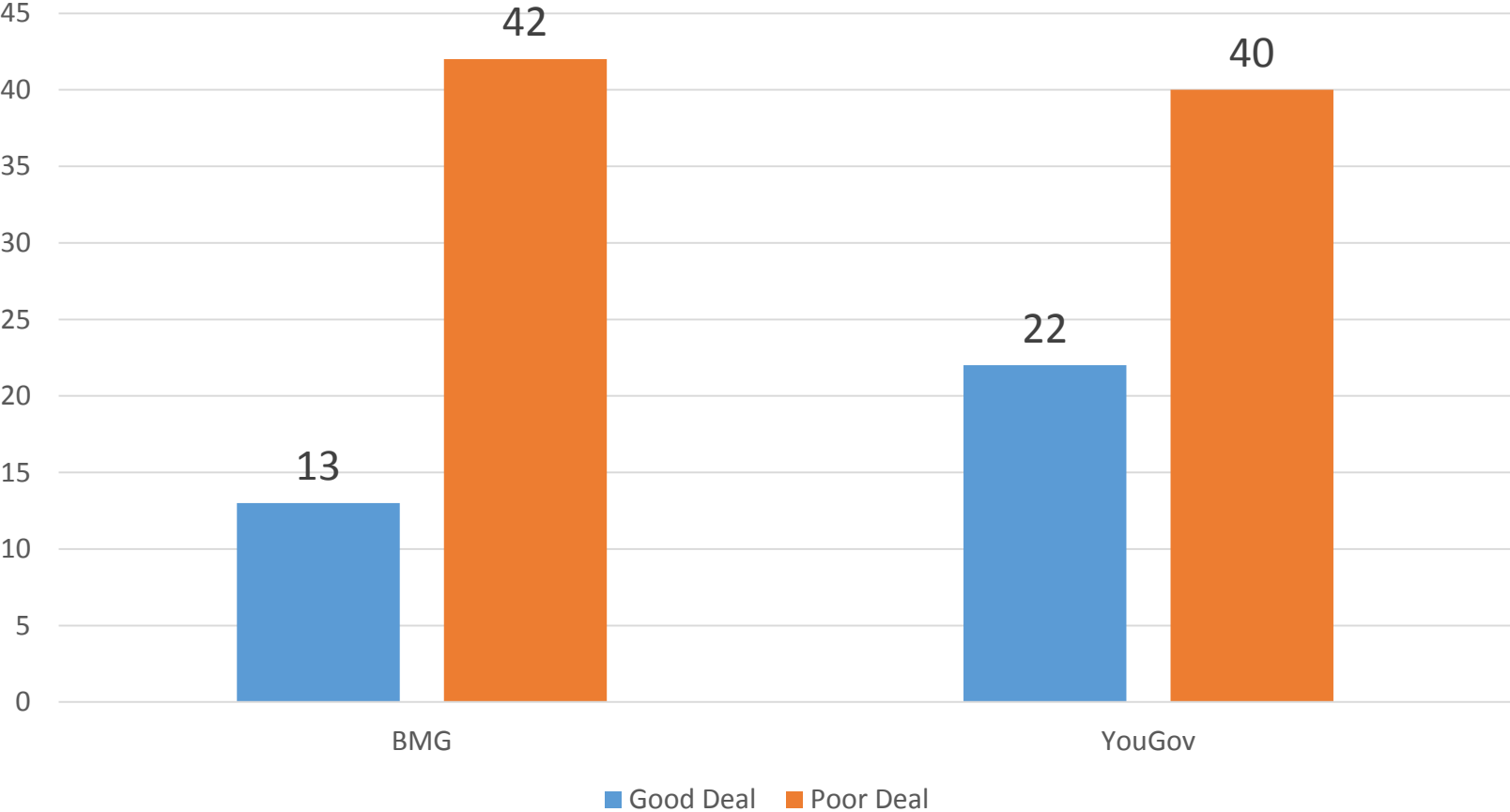
The Outcome



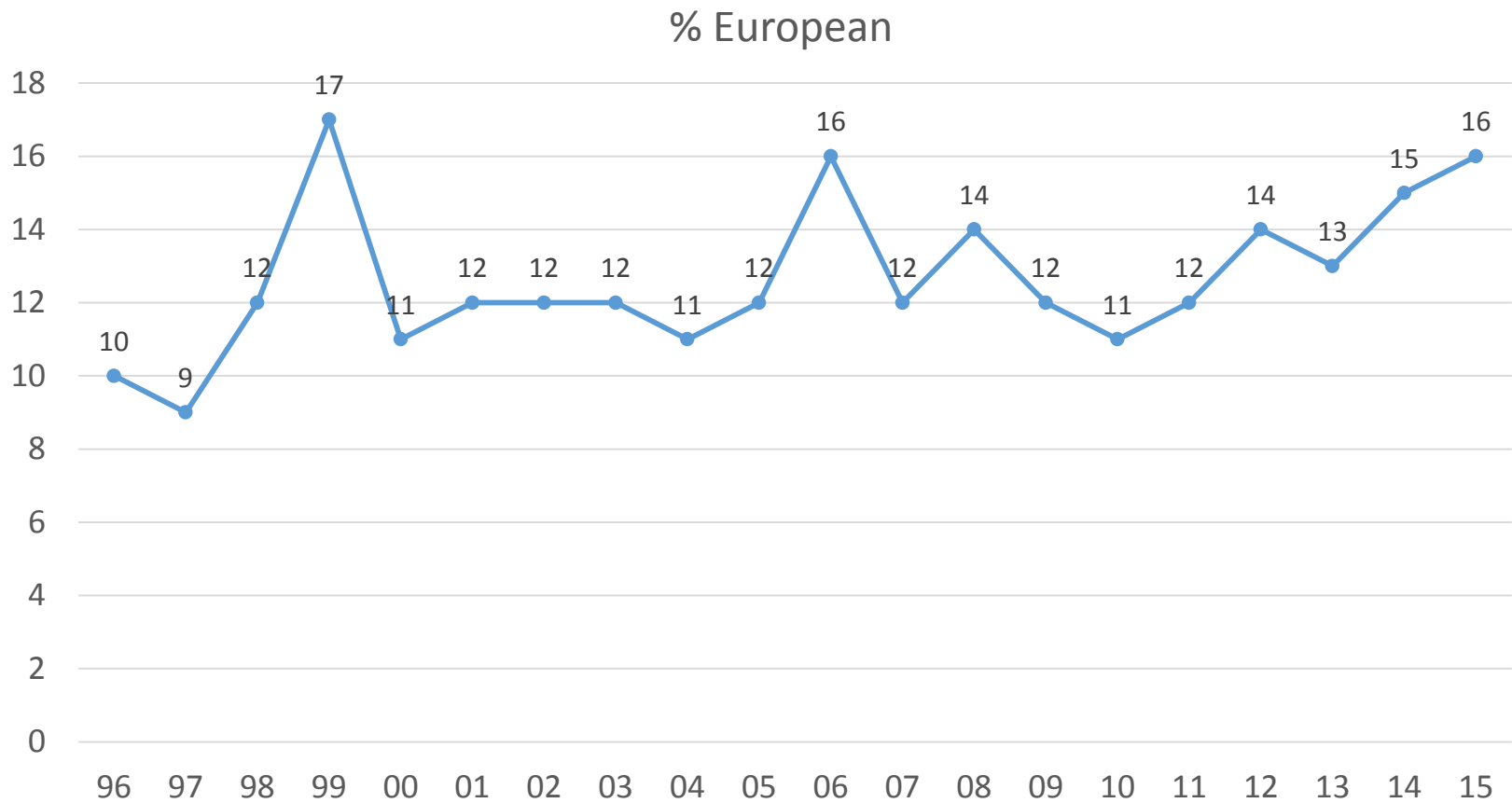
A Brief Backdrop

- From early 1990s: Conservative party becomes increasingly Eurosceptic
- Jan 2013: Following rise in UKIP support, Prime Minister Cameron promises – if the Tories win a majority in 2015 - an in/out referendum following renegotiation of Britain's terms of membership
- May 2015: Tories (unexpectedly) win a majority
- Feb 2016: Renegotiation terms agreed at EUCO
 - Some limitation on EU migrant welfare
 - UK not committed to further integration

Good or Bad Deal?



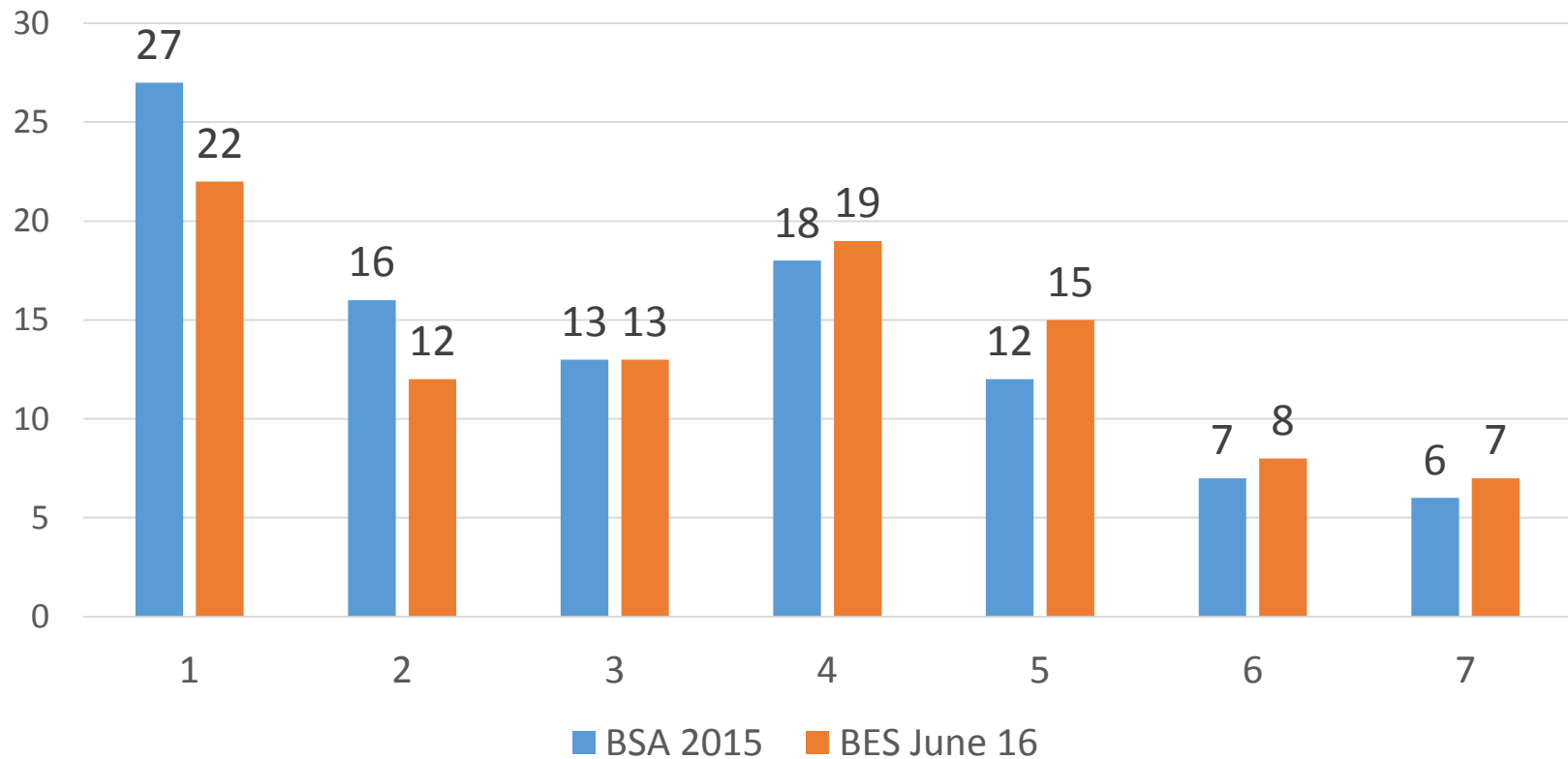
Few have ever identified as European



Source: British Social Attitudes

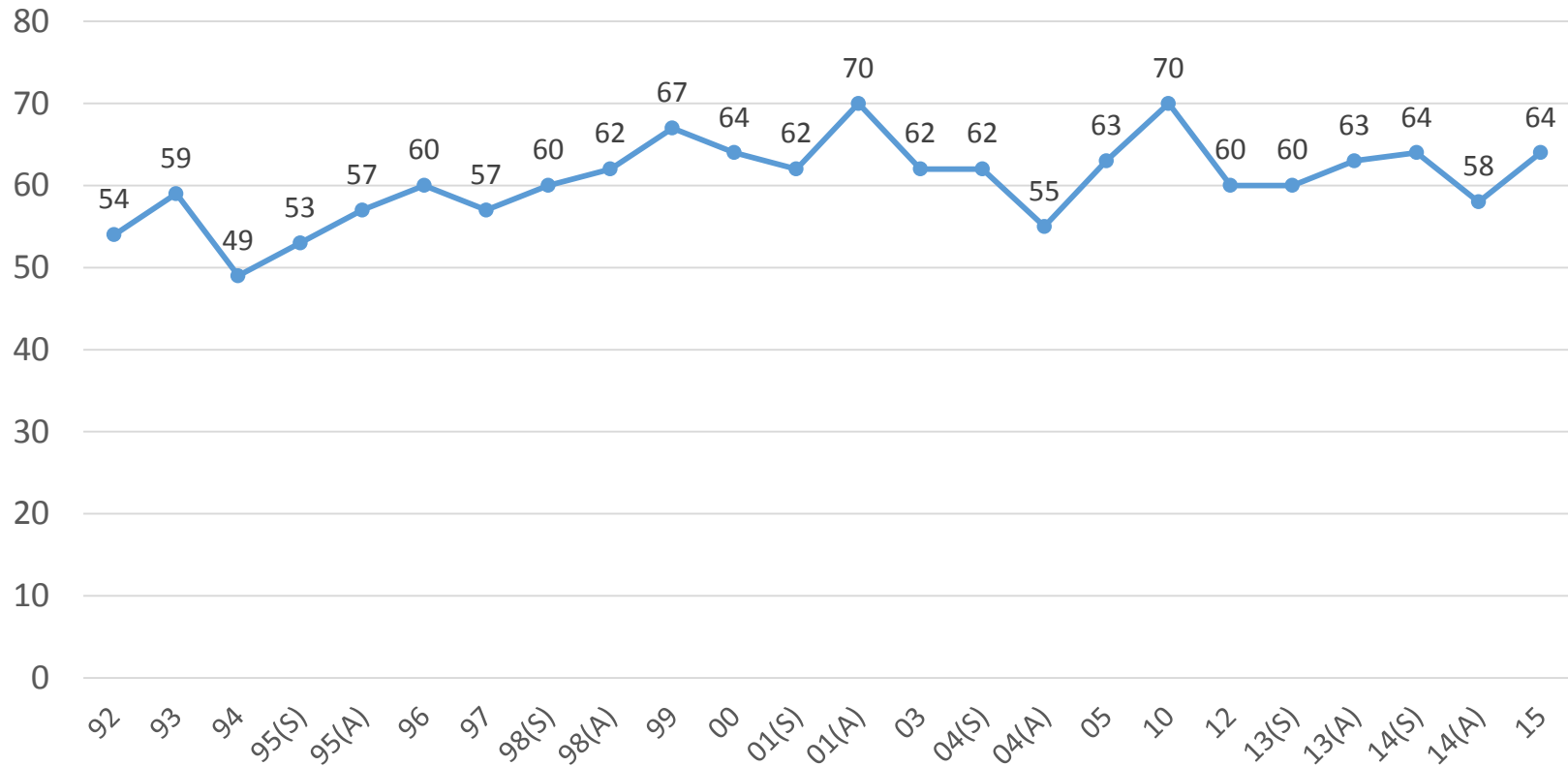
An Asymmetric Distribution of European Identity

Strength of European Identity



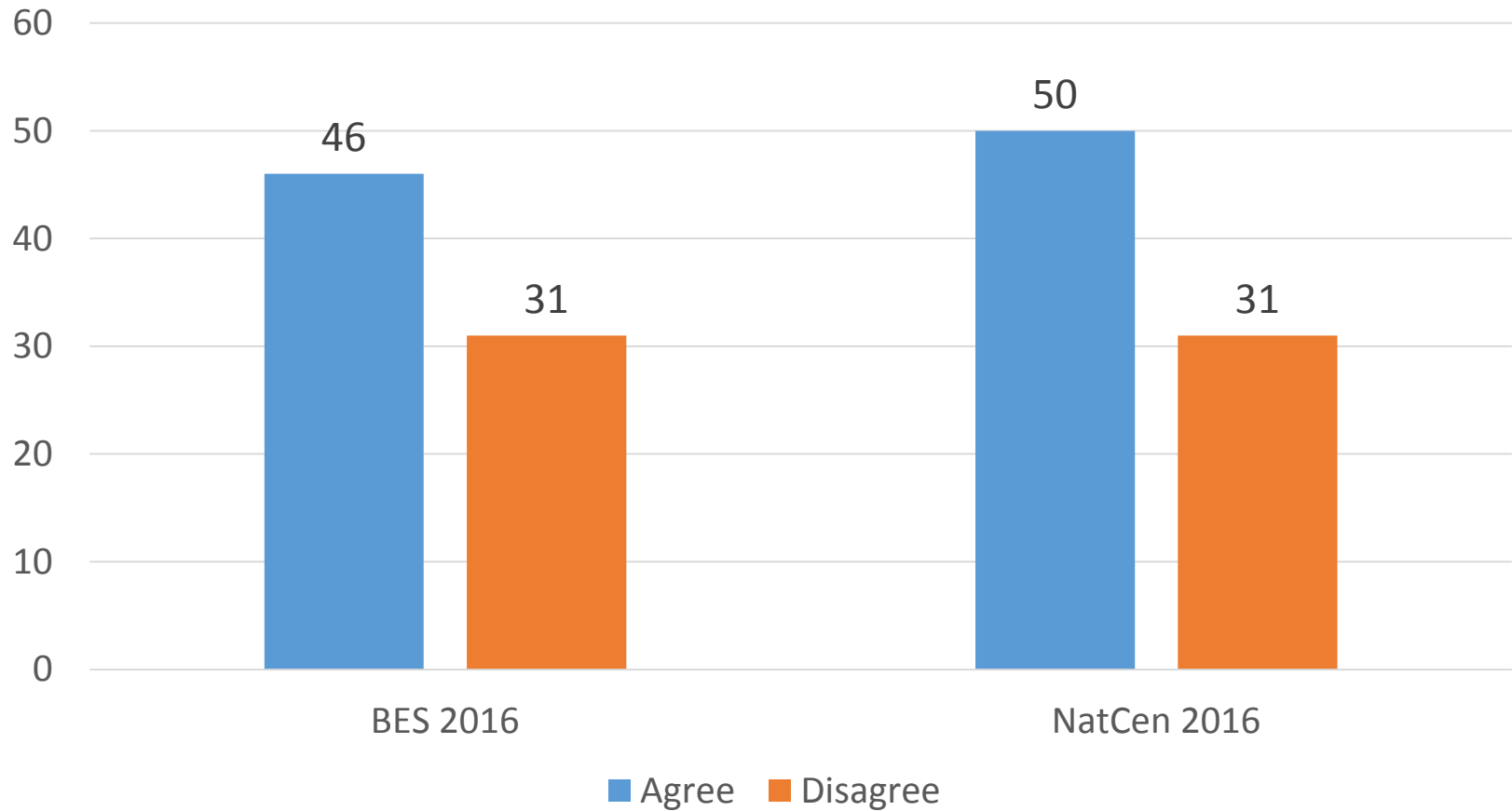
Britishness has persistently been a mostly exclusive identity

% Moreno identity: British, not European



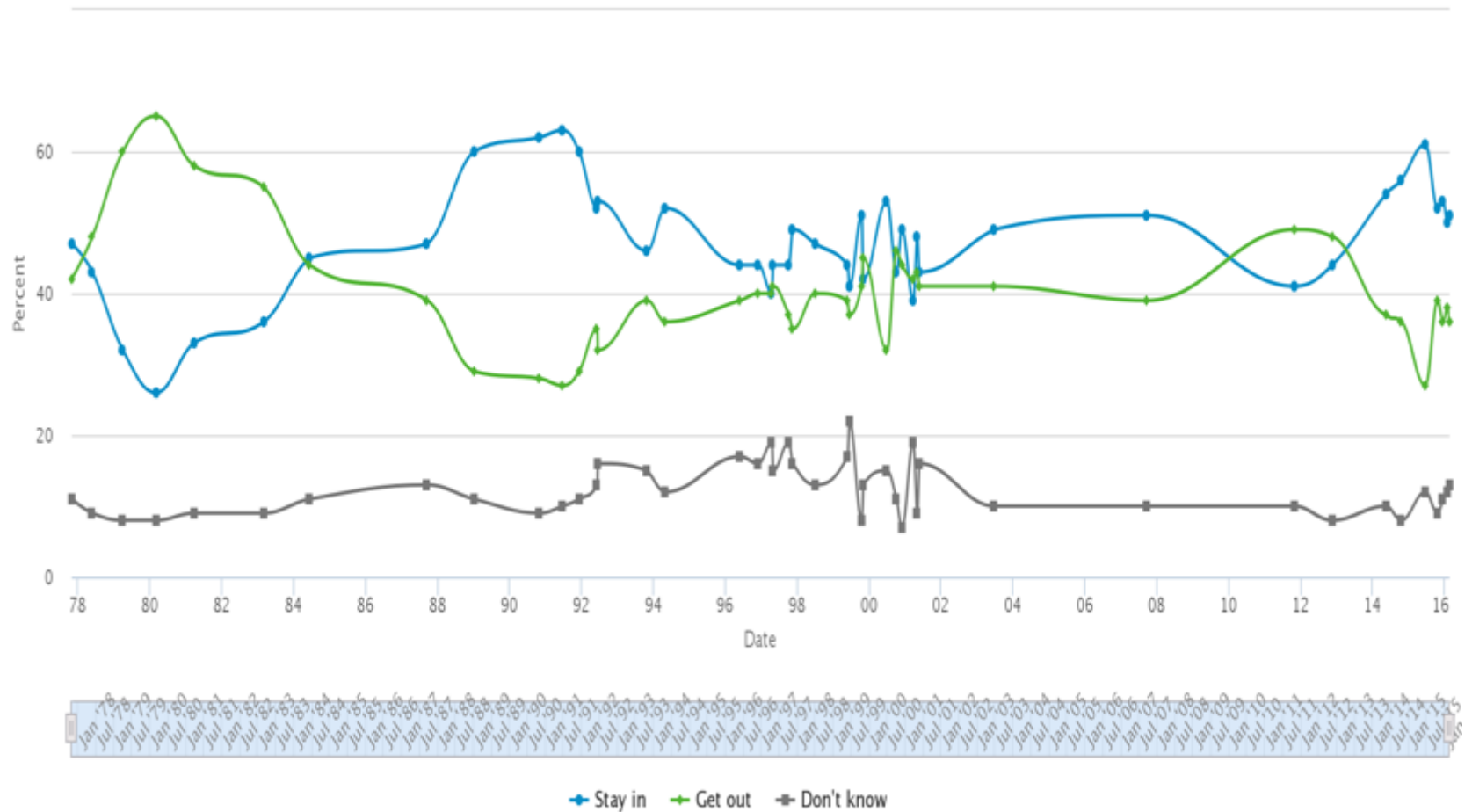
Source: Eurobarometer

EU a Threat to British Identity?



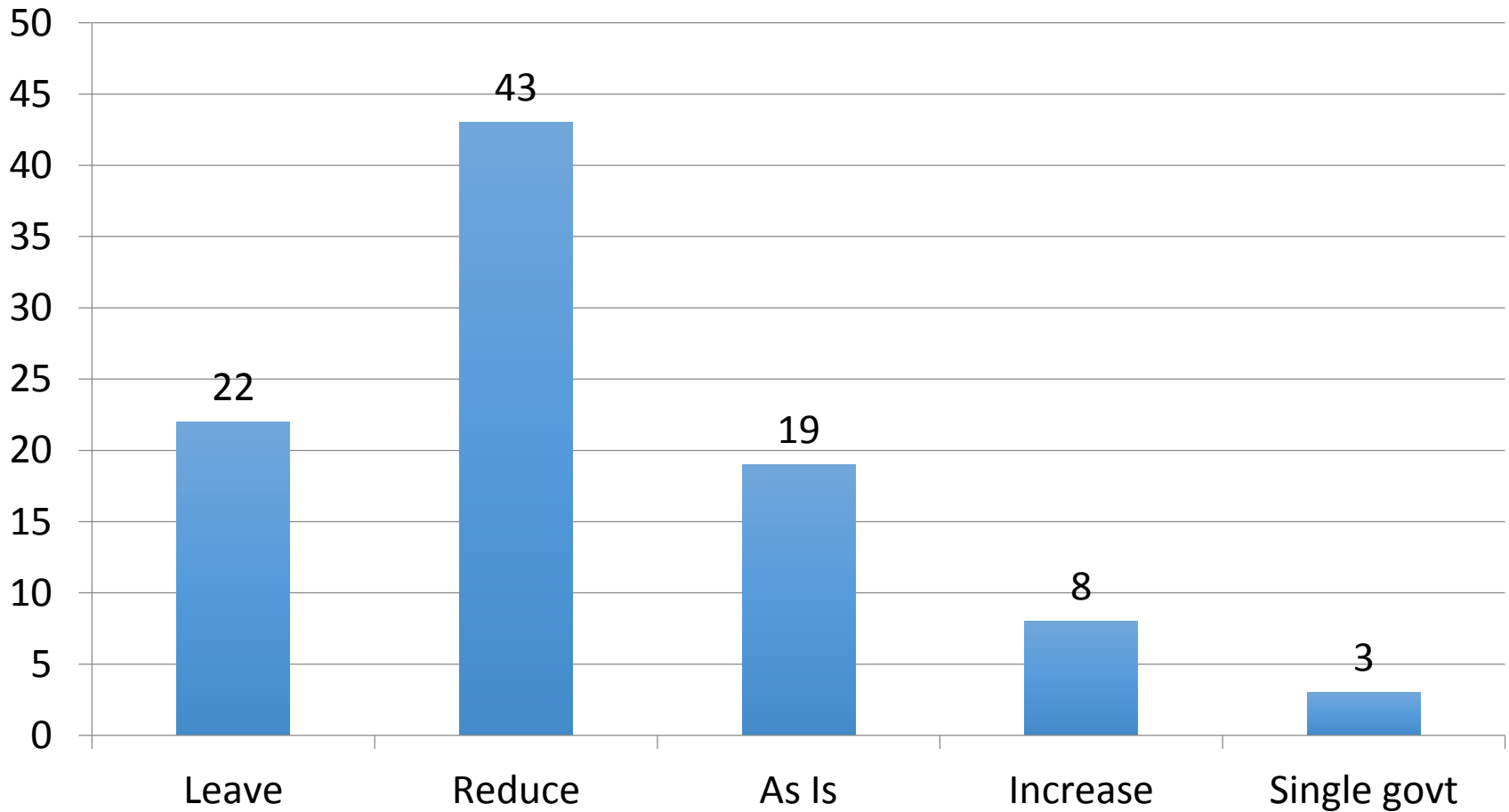
A Volatile Relationship

How would you vote in a referendum now on whether Britain should stay in or get out of the EU?



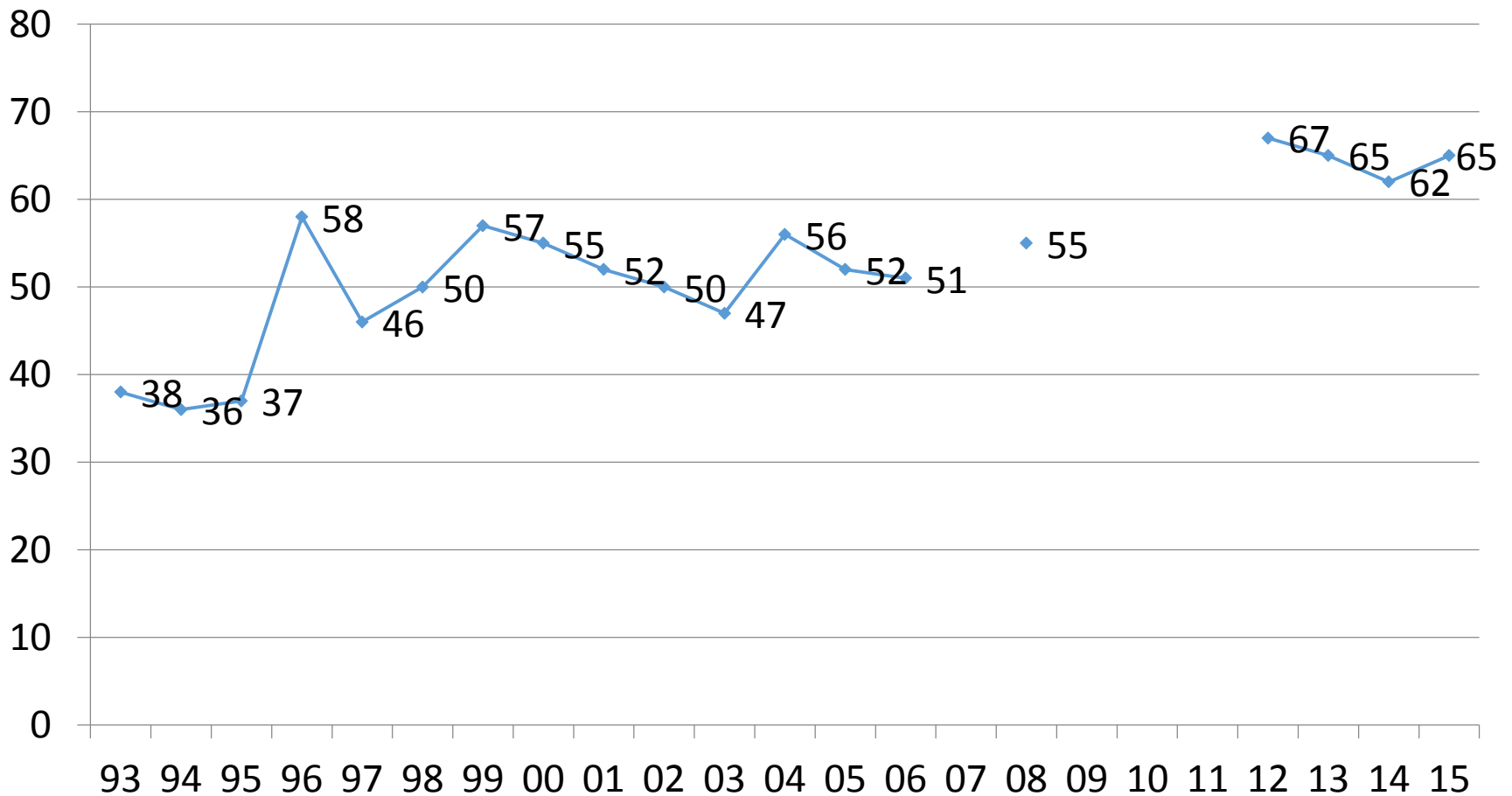
Source data at www.WhatUKthinks.org/EU run by NatCen Social Research

Widespread Euroscepticism



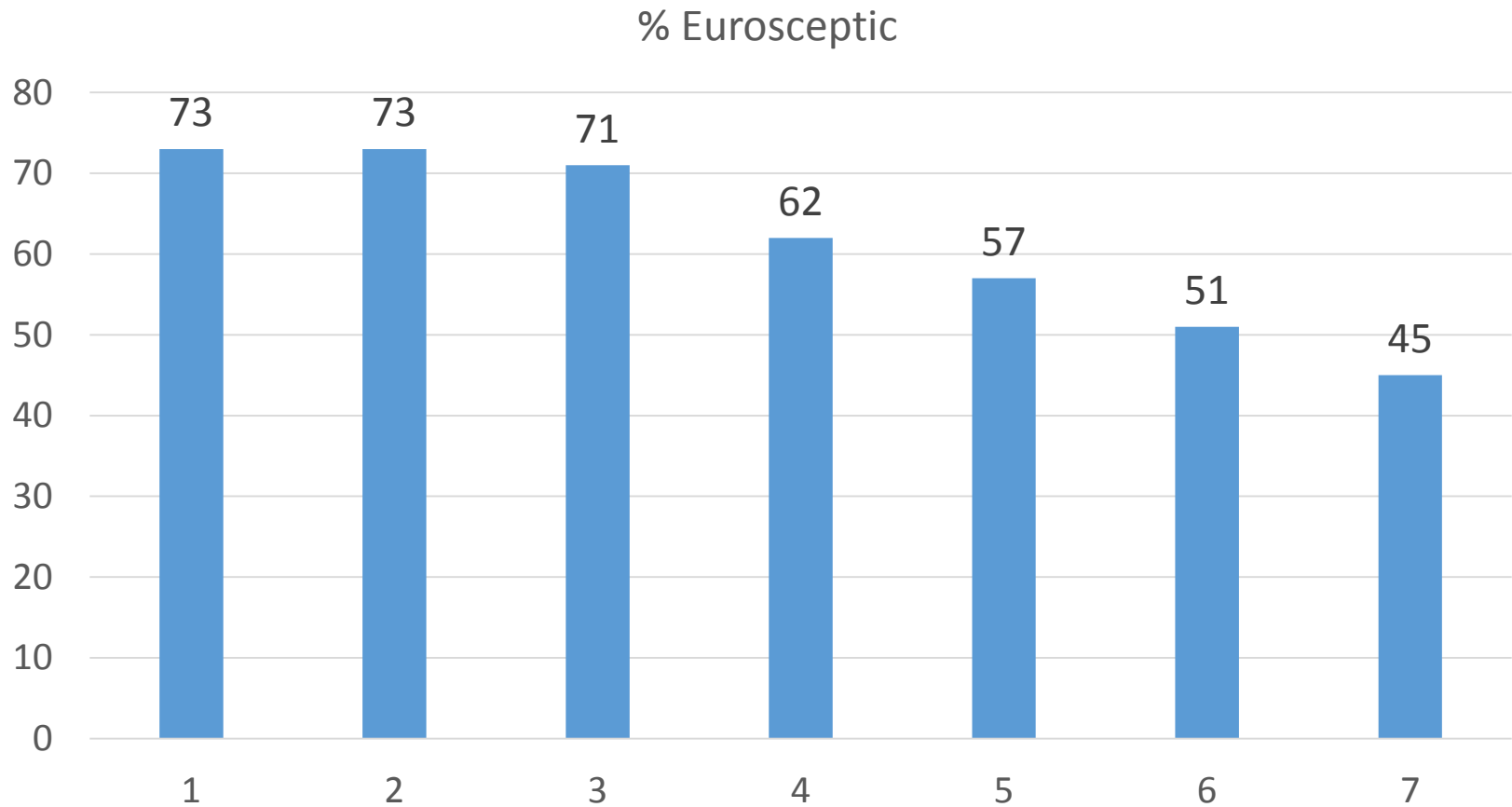
Source: British Social Attitudes 2015

The Rise of Euroscepticism



Source: British Social Attitudes

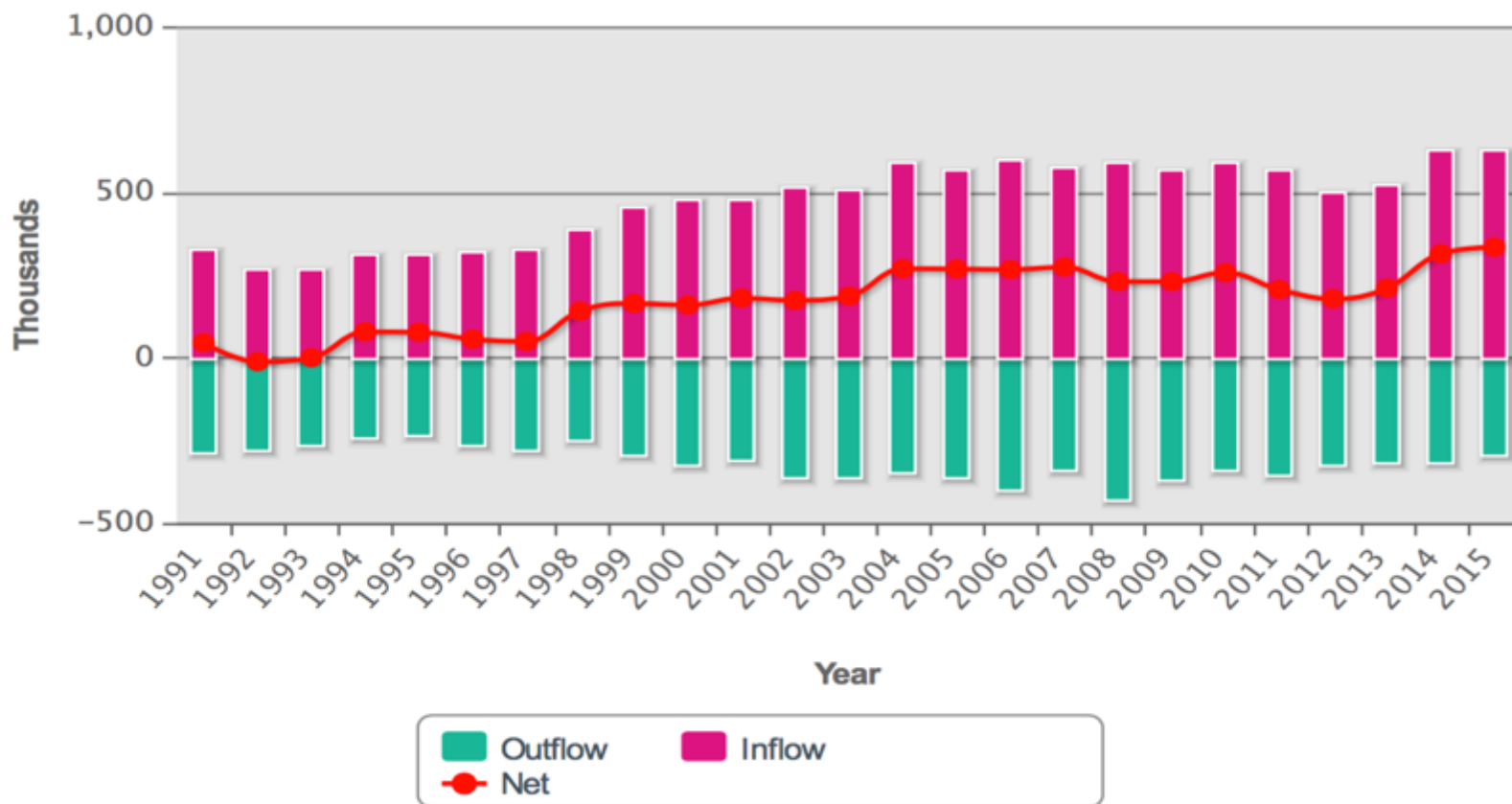
European Identity And Euroscepticism



UK Migration 1991-2015

Emigration, immigration and net migration in the UK

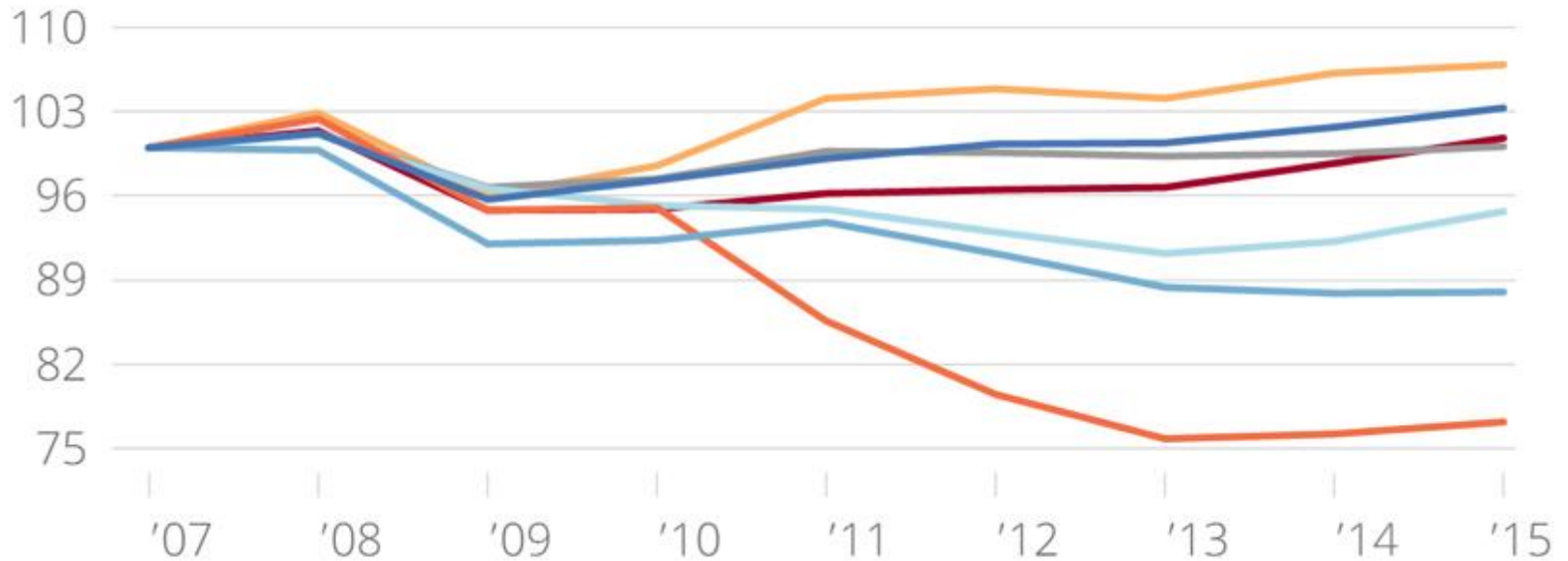
Chart provided by www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk



Comparative Economic Trends

GDP per capita (Index, 2007=100)

■ UK ■ Germany ■ France ■ Spain ■ Greece ■ Italy
■ OECD total



Some Remain Campaign Messages

- Brexit would cost £4,300 per household by 2030
- 'Leaving the EU could mean your shopping costs £220 more'
- Emergency budget to plug £30bn 'black hole'
- 'Best of both worlds'
- 'Leaving Europe would be a leap in the dark: Don't risk it'

A Remain Poster



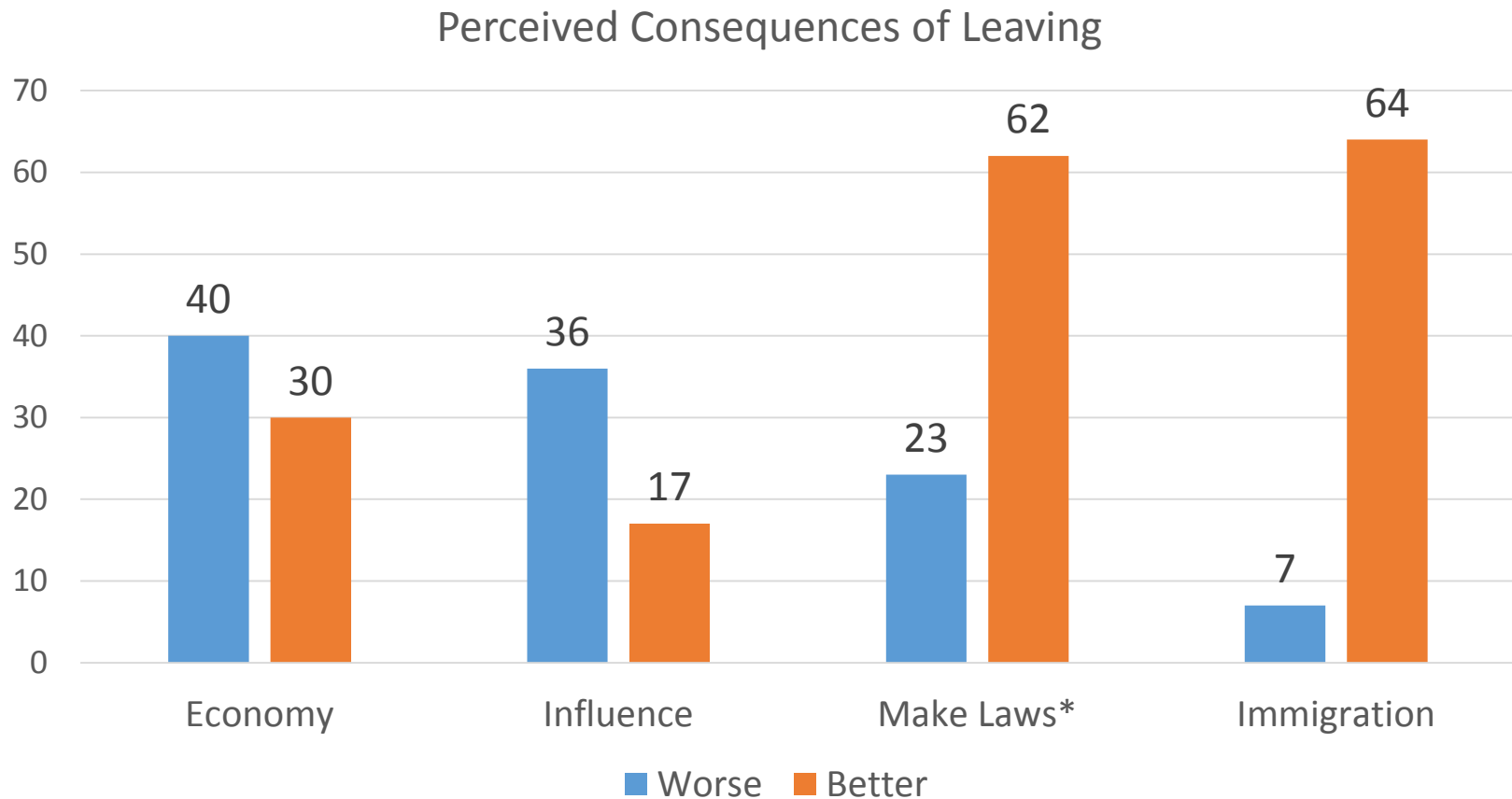
Some Leave Messages

- 'Take Back Control' (esp. borders/immigration)
- 'We send the EU £350 million a week; let's spend it on the NHS instead'
- Introduce a points-based immigration system
- Negotiate free trade deals across the world (including with the EU)

The Leave Battlebus



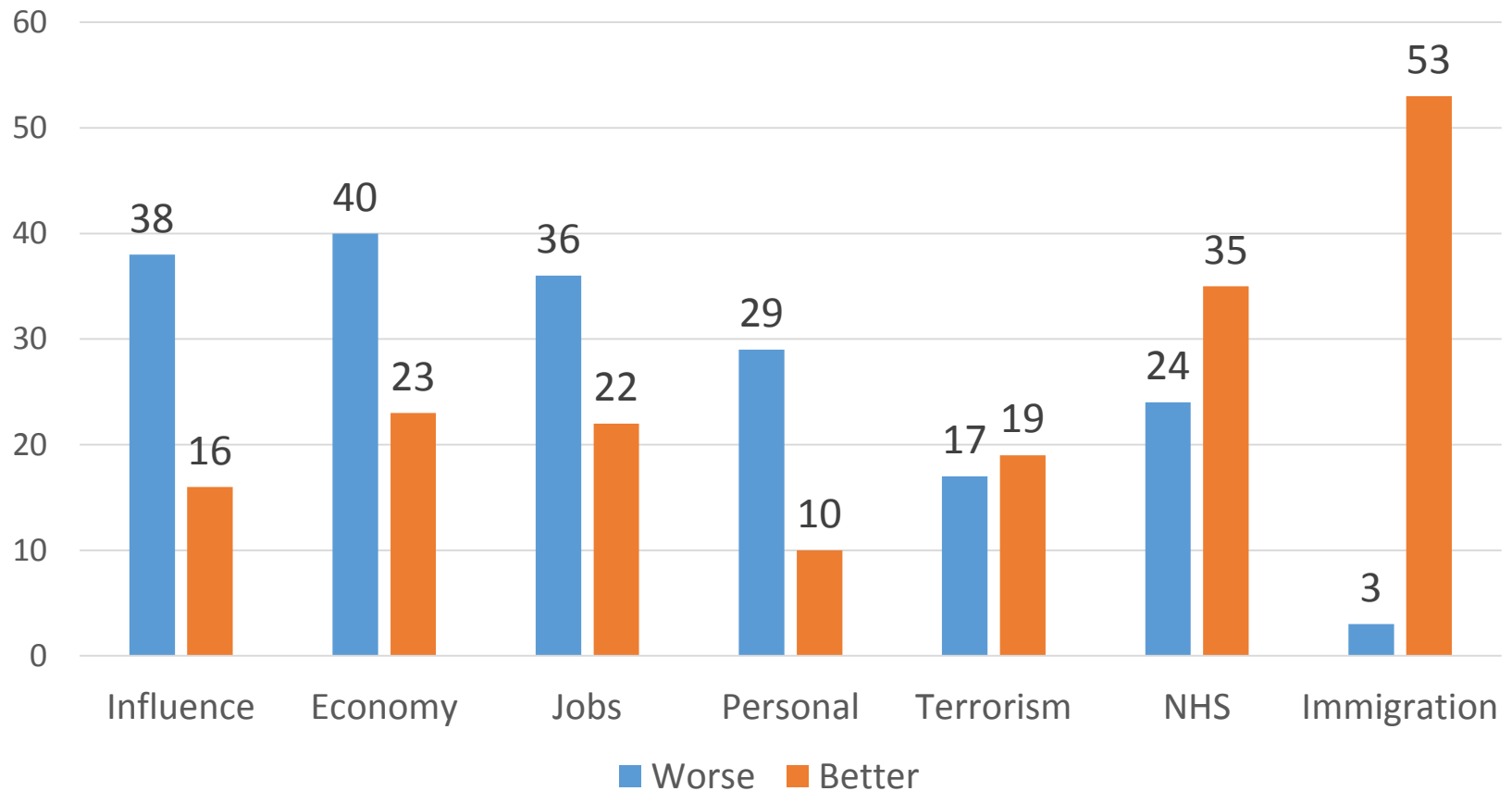
The Transactional Bargain - 1



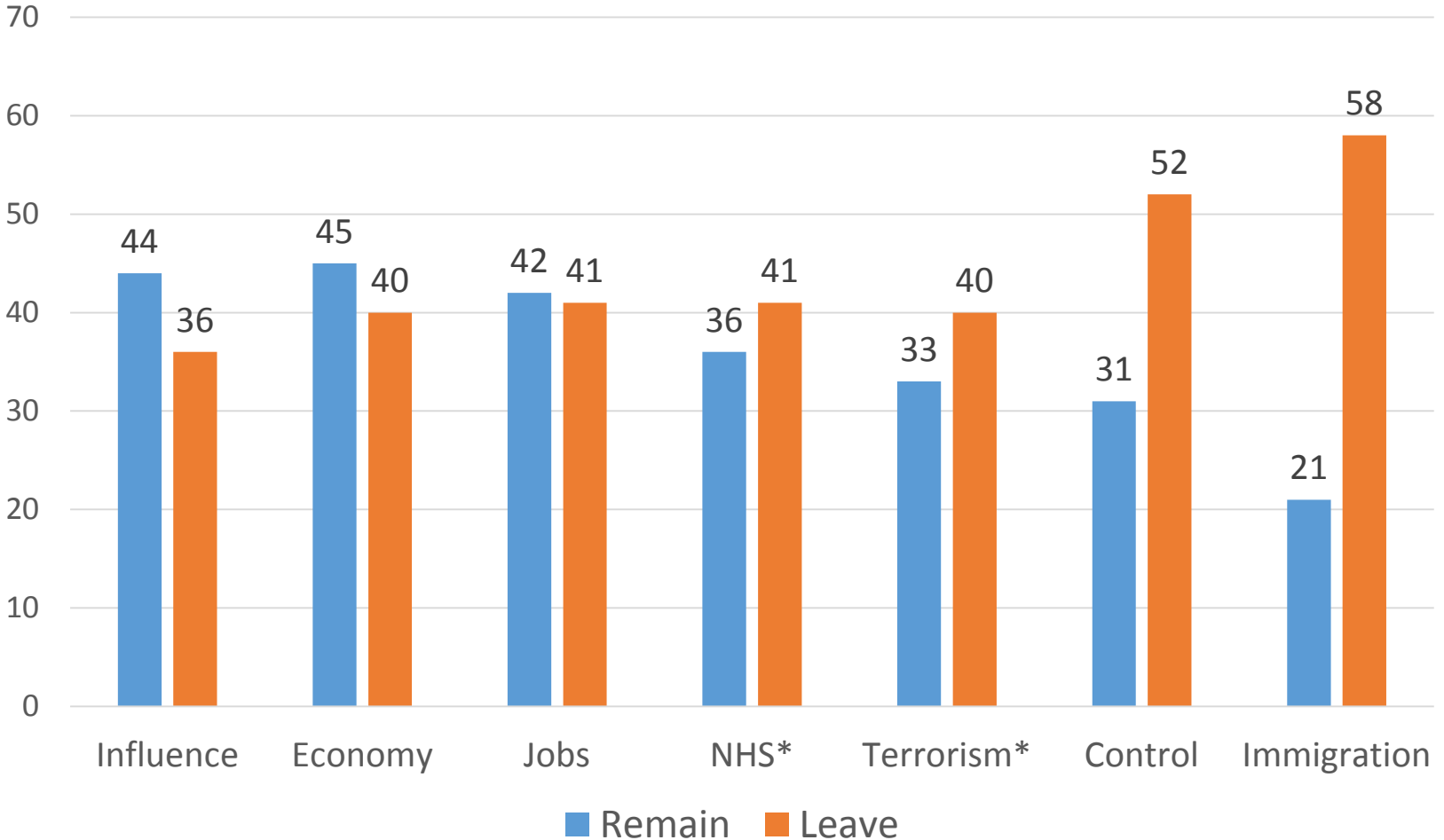
Source: NatCen Internet Panel May 2016 * Question about being a member; direction of responses reversed

The Transactional Bargain - 2

Perceived Consequences of Leaving



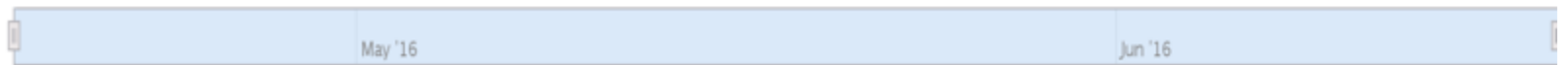
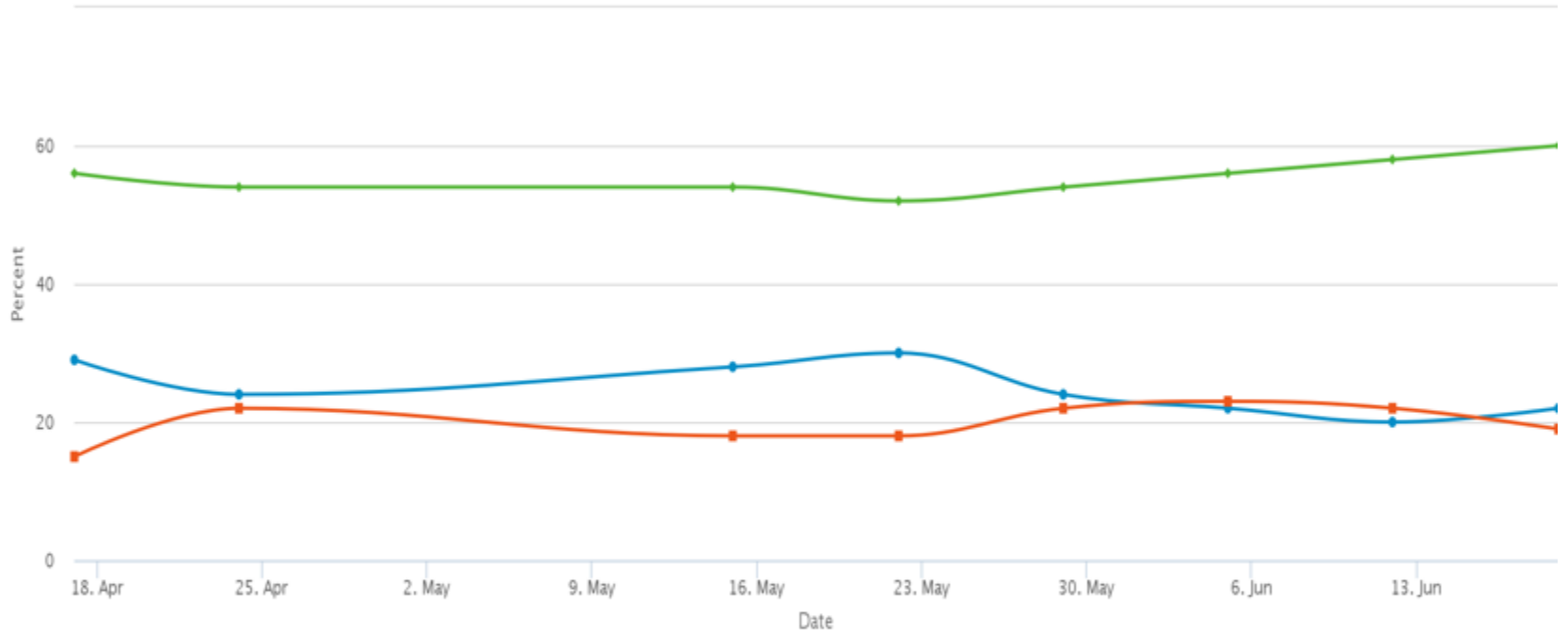
Which Campaign Offered the Better Deal?



Source: ORB 9-12.6.16 * Direction of responses reversed

How Leave Increasingly Owned Immigration

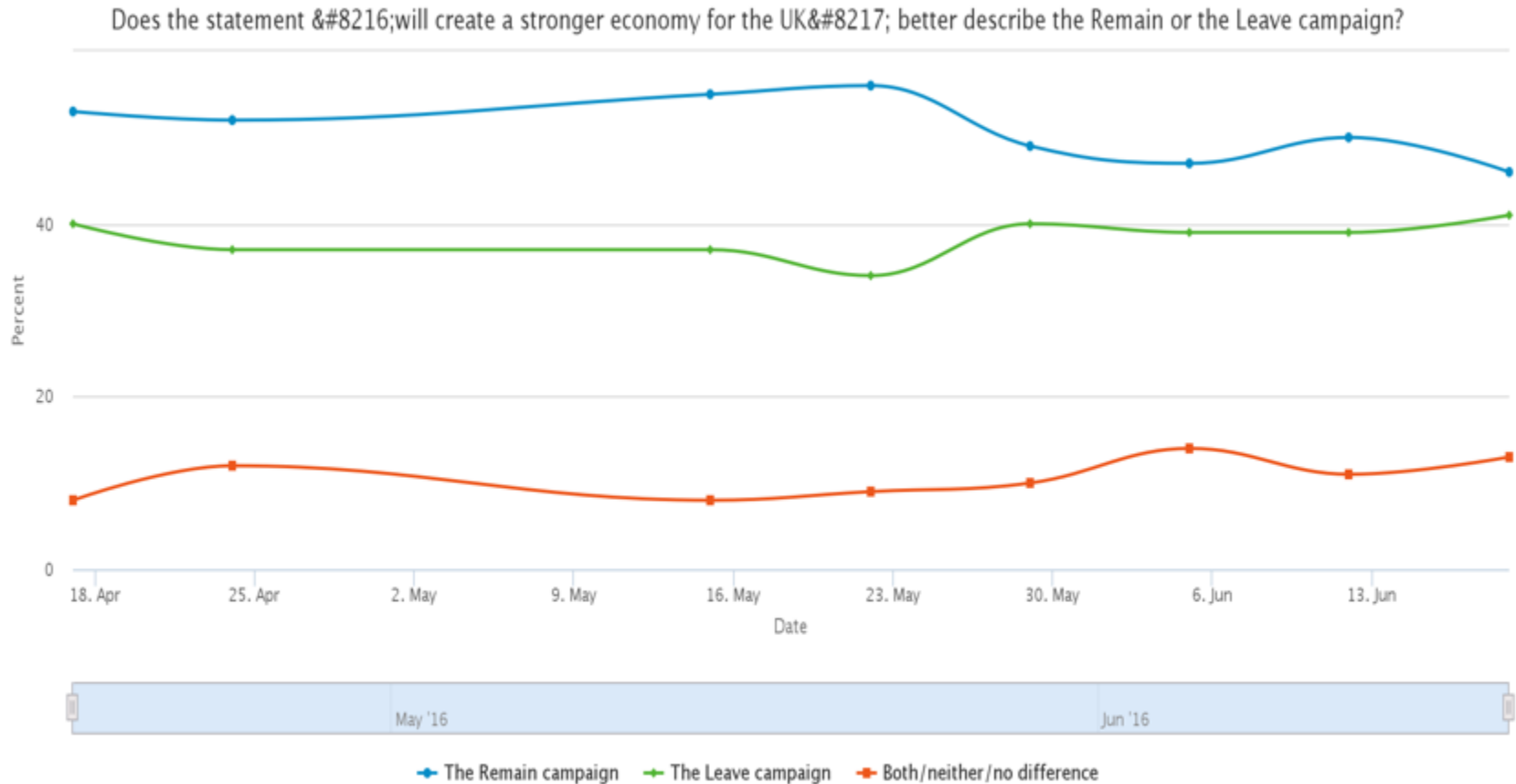
Does the statement 'will improve the UK's immigration system' better describe the Remain or the Leave campaign?



◆ The Remain campaign ◆ The Leave campaign ◆ Both/neither/no difference

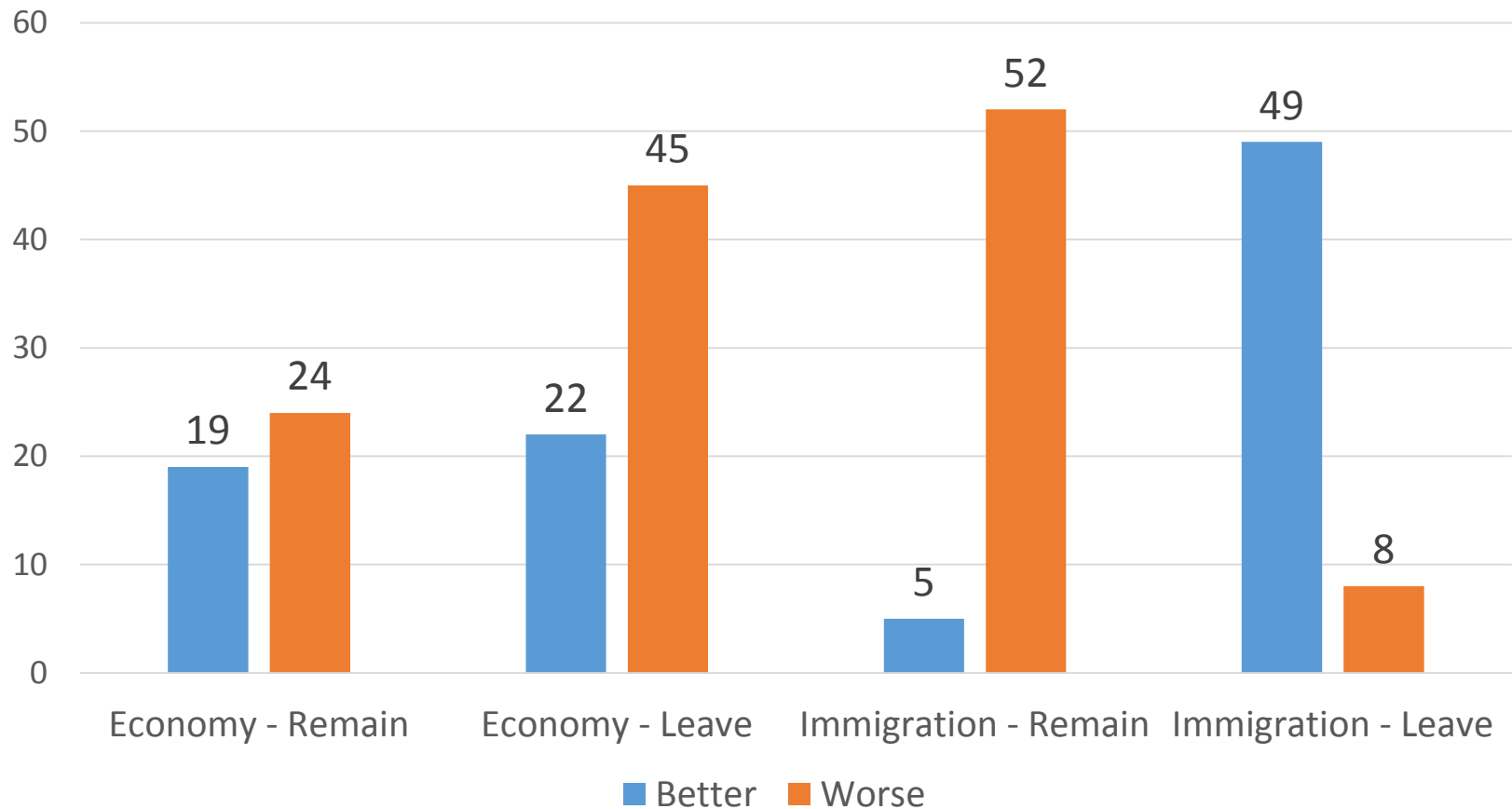
Source data at www.WhatUKThinks.org/EU run by NatCen Social Research

While Remain Lost Control of the Economy



Source data at www.WhatUKThinks.org/EU run by NatCen Social Research

The Absence of Economic Optimism about Remaining



Source: YouGov 9-10.6.16

The Arithmetic of Economic Perceptions

Perception of Impact of Leaving	% Holding that view	Of whom % vote Remain	Of whom % vote Leave	Value to Leave
Better Off/ No Difference	54	13	87	47
Worse Off	46	95	5	2
Total				49

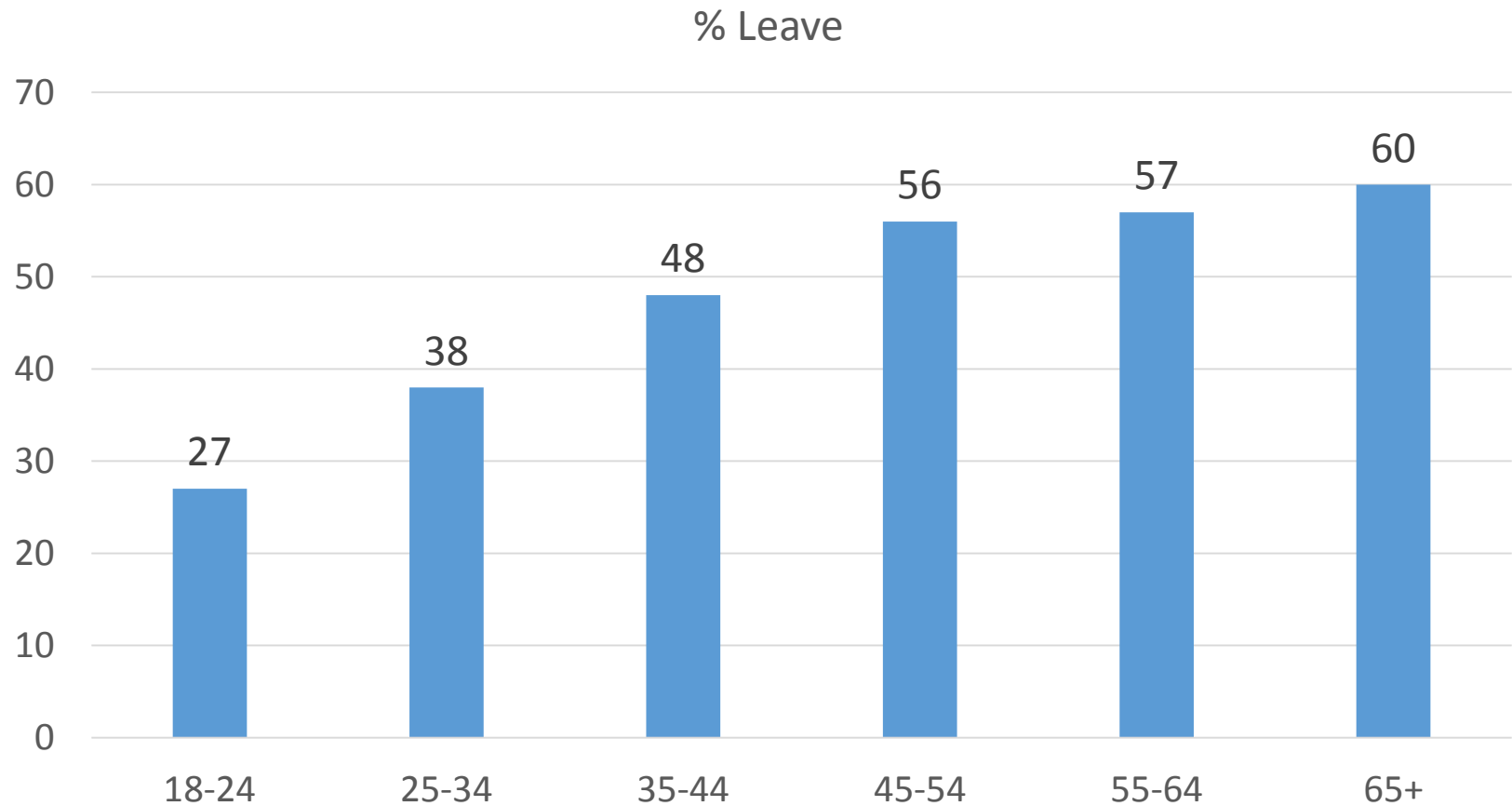
Source: Calculated from YouGov 20-22.6.16

The Arithmetic of Immigration Perceptions

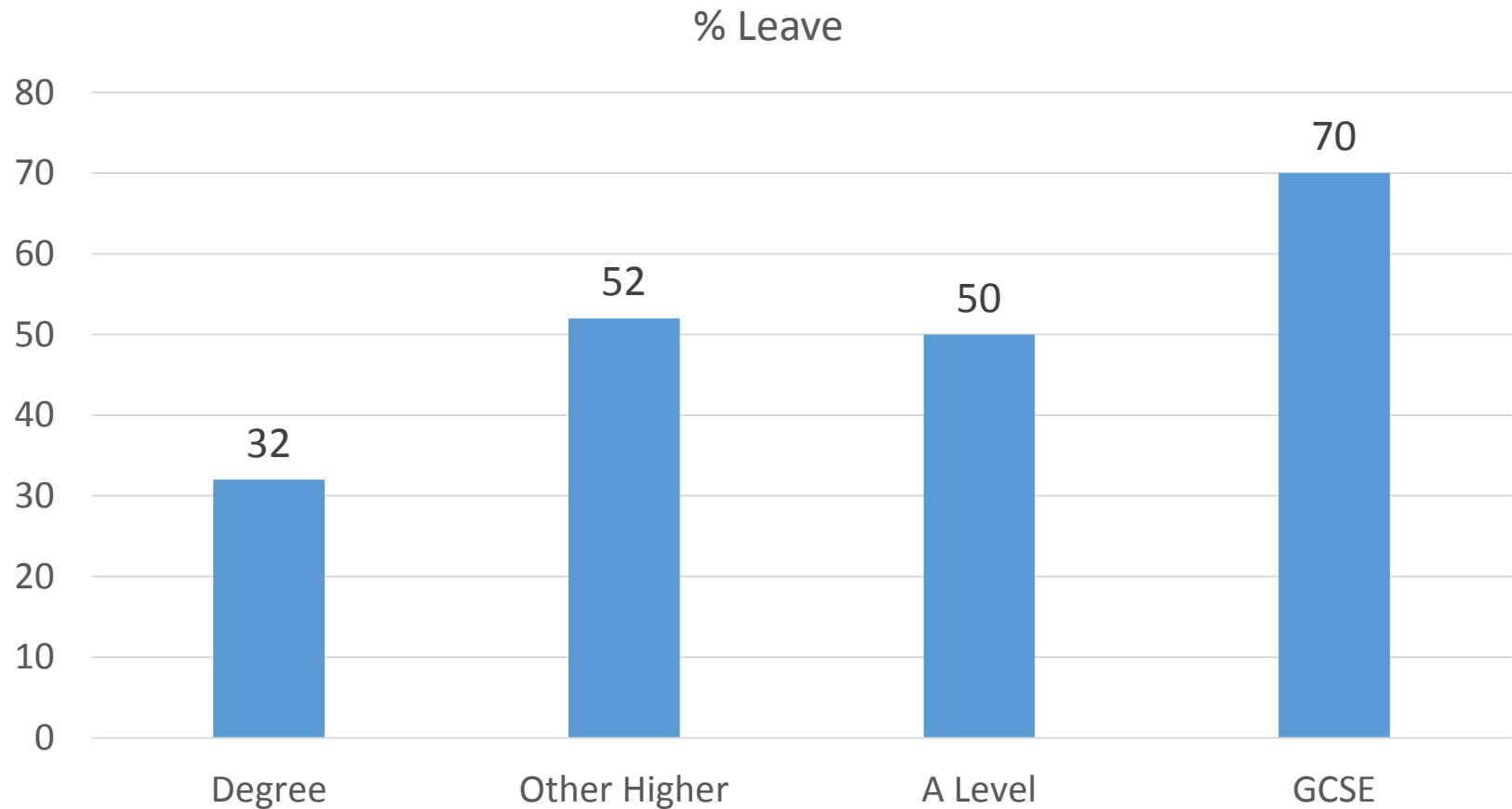
Perception of Impact of Leaving	% Holding that view	Of whom % vote Remain	Of whom % vote Leave	Value to Leave
Less	59	25	75	44
More/No Difference	41	84	16	7
Total				51

Source: Calculated from YouGov 20-22.6.16

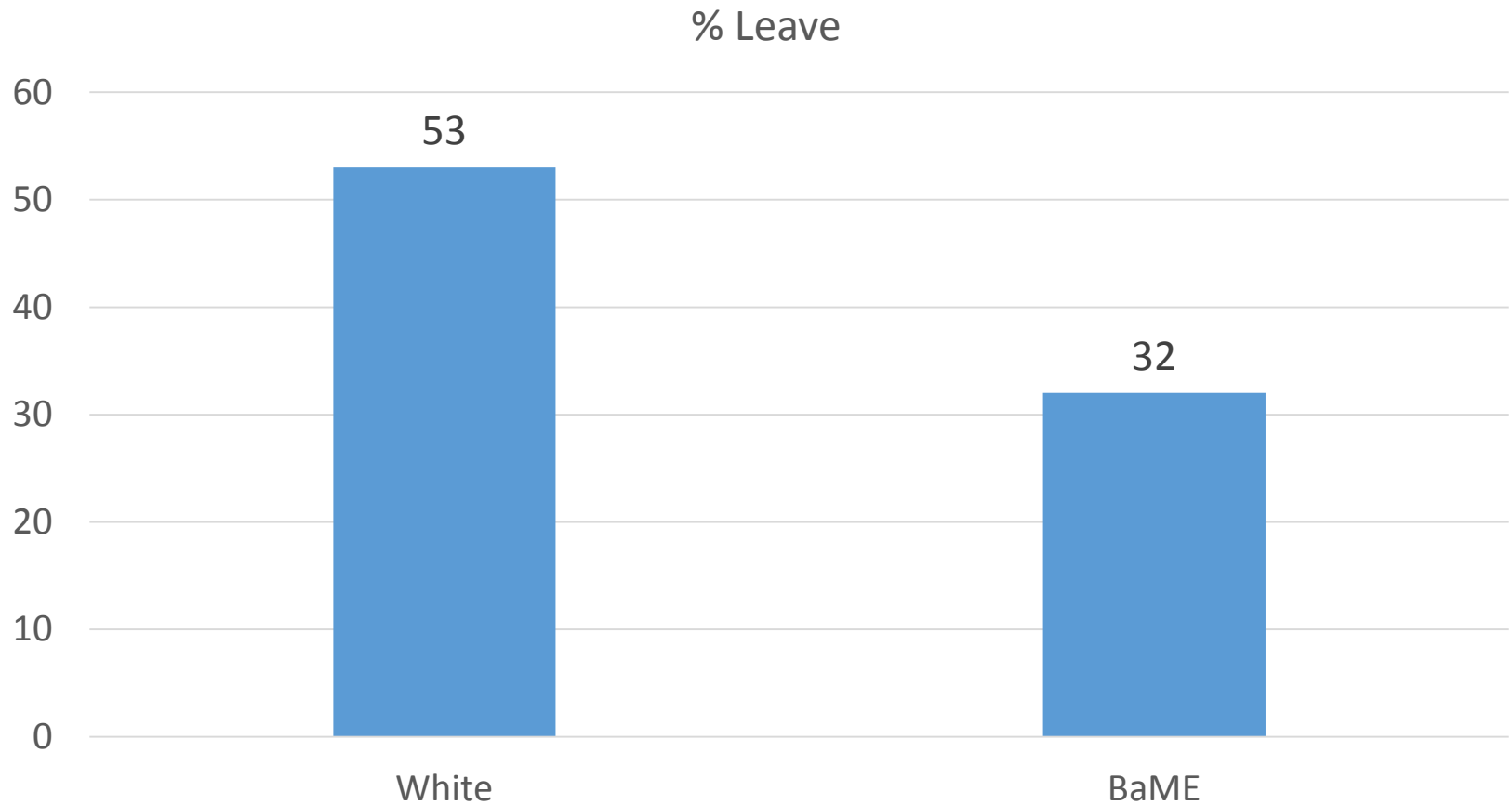
The Age Difference



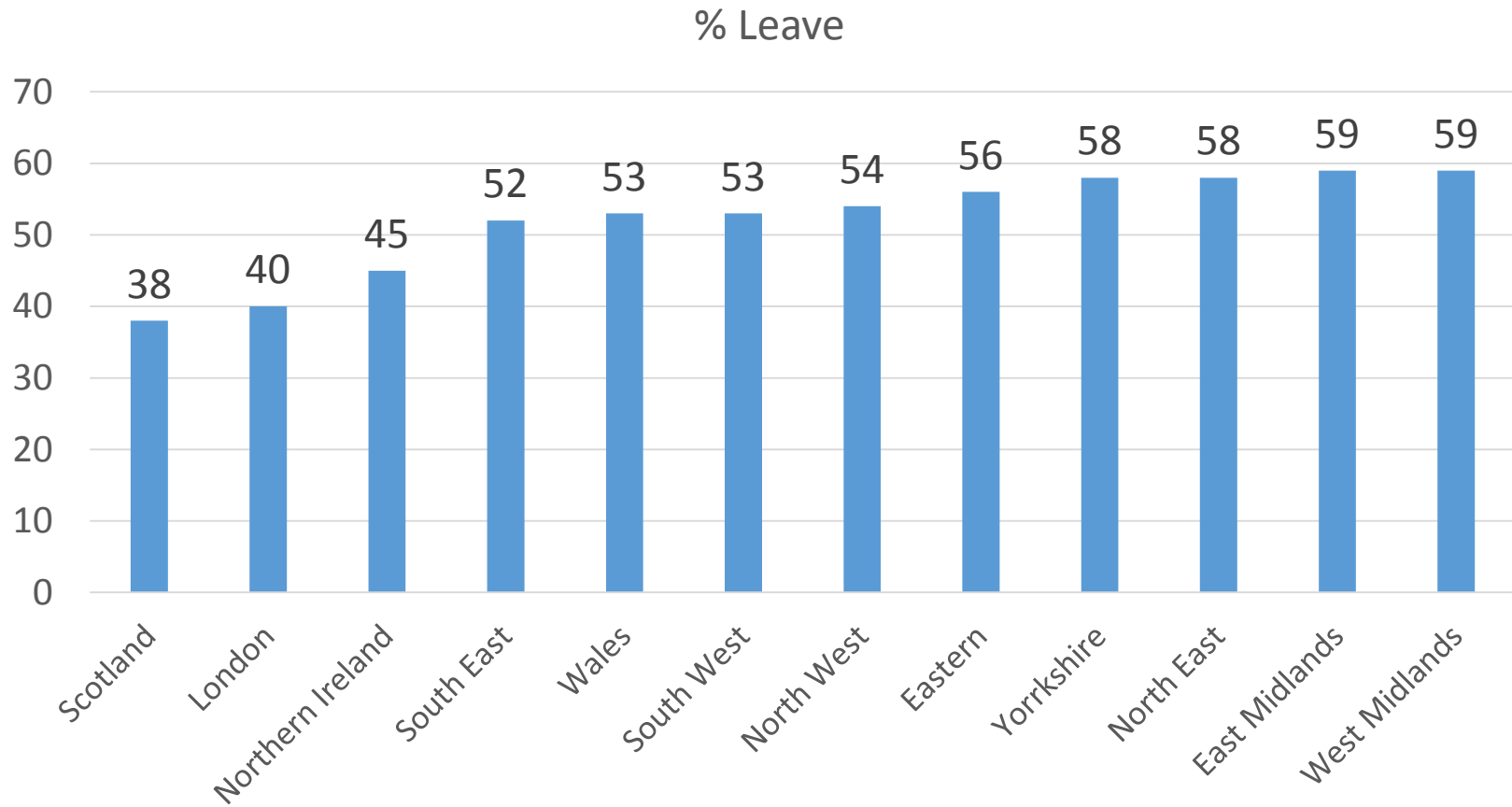
The Education Gap



An Ethnic Difference



Geographical Division



Conclusion

- Britain has never taken Europe to its heart
- Support for EU membership has always been conditional; thus the character of the campaign
- The economic arguments did draw people towards Remain – but many were not (sufficiently) convinced
- These arguments were counterbalanced by ones about about ‘immigration’ (and ‘sovereignty’)
- Leaving the perceived merits of the transactional deal hanging in the balance – and on the campaigning
- The Leave side had the better tunes(?) – in a ballot that exposed a sharp social divide (about globalisation?)