All Party Group for Social Science and Policy

What does the result of the European Elections mean for the UK?
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- Welcome
- Sir Peter Bottomley MP
- Chair
- All Party Group for Social Science and Policy
What does the result of the European Elections mean for the UK?

Welcome

Paul Nightingale
Director of Strategy and Operations
Economic and Social Research Council
The Implications of the European Elections for British Politics

Professor Sir John Curtice
Professor of Politics
University of Strathclyde and Senior Fellow, UK in a Changing Europe
The Implications of the European Elections for British Politics

John Curtice
Senior Fellow, ‘The UK in a Changing Europe’ and NatCen Social Research

whatukthinks.org/eu  @whatukthinks
Key Features of Euro-elections

- Second – order contest
- Less likely to vote
- Opportunity to protest against the government
- More willing to vote for smaller parties
- Especially so for anti-EU parties
Where Do The Parties Stand?

Source: Opinium 8-10.5.19
The Remain/Leave Divide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Remain</th>
<th>Leave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brexit Party</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64</td>
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<td>UKIP</td>
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<td>Conservatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>Change UK</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greens</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberal Democrats</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls 23-24.5.19
Voting About Brexit?

Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls 23-24.5.19
The Pattern of Switching Since 2017

Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls 23-24.5.19
The Views of Con Switchers

Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls 23.24.5.19
The Views of Lab Switchers

Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls 23-24.5.19
### Westminster & Europe Compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Westminster</th>
<th>Europe</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Con</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lab</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>Lib Dem</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Change</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>UKIP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brexit</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Average of most recent poll that asked both European and Westminster vote intention up to 22.5.19: ComRes, Hanbury, Opinium, Panelbase, Survation, YouGov
The Westminster Trend

Source: Average of most recent poll conducted by each of BMG, ComRes, Deltapoll, Hanbury, Ipsos MORI, Kantar, Opinion, Survation, YouGov up to 15.11.19/25.3.19/12.4.19/22.5.19/9.6.19. UKIP/Brexit split is now 1/21.
# The Remain/Leave Divide for Westminster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Remain</th>
<th>Leave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brexit Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>UKIP</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Conservatives</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Change UK</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greens</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democrats</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Average of most recent poll by BMG, ComRes, Opinium, Survation and YouGov up to 20.6.19
Westminster Vote of Leavers

Source: Average of most recent poll conducted by each of BMG, ComRes, Deltapoll, Hanbury, Ipsos MORI, Kantar, Opinimum, Survation, YouGov up to 15.11.19/12.4.19/22.5.19 (DO)/20.6.19.
Westminster Vote of Remainers

Source: Average of most recent poll conducted by each of BMG, ComRes, Deltapoll, Hanbury, Ipsos MORI, Kantar, Opinium, Survation, YouGov up to 15.11.19/12.4.19/PRE-EP/20.6.19
The Pattern of Switching for Westminster

Source: Average of most recent poll by BMG, ComRes, Opinium, Survation and YouGov
Two Seat Extrapolations

- **Con**: 250 (2015/17), 59 (2019)
- **Lab**: 270 (2015/17), 185 (2019)

Legend:
- Blue: From 2015/17
- Orange: From 2019
Two Different Geographies

Standard Deviation of % vote across Constituencies

The Immediate Implications

• Voters were never inclined to vote in a Westminster contest in the way they did in the Euros.
• Con & Lab support were both already slipping before the Euro-election.
• Meanwhile, the ‘spill-over effect’ of the Euro-election so far shows no sign of abating.
• Voters are being attracted from Con & Lab to parties with a firmer pro-/anti-Brexit stance.
• Creating a 4-party politics where the outcome in seats would be highly uncertain.
The European elections, Brexit and British politics

Professor Anand Menon
Director
UK in a Changing Europe
The European elections, Brexit and British politics
Anand Menon

@anandMenon1

www.UKandEU.ac.uk
Labour’s effective ambiguity

**FIGURE 1:**
Vote changes in the 2017 versus 2015 general elections in English and Welsh constituencies by share of support for "Leave" in the 2016 EU referendum.

- **Change in Labour vote 2015-17**
- **Change in Conservative vote 2015-17**
- **Swing from Conservative to Labour 2015-17**
- **Change in UKIP vote 2015-17**

Source: Ford/Sobolewska
How Labour Party’s 2017 electoral coalition would vote today

- Labour: 47%
- Liberal Democrat: 25%
- Green: 13%
- Brexit Party: 10%
- Conservative: 2%
- SNP: 2%
- Plaid Cymru: 1%

Source: YouGov, Weighted Average
European Election constituency estimates, 26 ‘no referendum’ letter constituencies

- Brexit Party: 41%
- Labour: 21%
- Lib Dem: 11%
- Green: 8%
- Cons: 6%
- UKIP: 6%
- Change UK: 3%

Source: Chris Hanretty
Imagine that Britain ended up leaving the European Union without any deal - how would you feel?

- Delighted
- Pleased
- Relieved
- Wouldn't mind either way
- Disappointed
- Angry
- Betrayed
- None of these
- Don't know

Source: ESRC Party Members Project
Conservative party members see the Brexit Party as a much bigger threat than Labour

How big a threat do you see each of the following parties as being to the Conservative Party? % of 892 Conservative party members

- Brexit Party: 67% A big threat, 20% A moderate threat
- Labour: 34% A big threat, 45% A moderate threat
- Liberal Democrats: 10% A big threat, 34% A moderate threat
- SNP: 7% A big threat, 17% A moderate threat
- UKIP: 3% A big threat, 6% A moderate threat
- Greens: 8% A big threat, 0% A moderate threat

YouGov | yougov.com
11-14 June 2019
Cutts, Heath, Goodwin, Milazzo (2019)
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANSWER CHOICES</th>
<th>RESPONSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boris Johnson</td>
<td>32.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominic Raab</td>
<td>14.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Gove</td>
<td>8.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please name)</td>
<td>Responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremy Hunt</td>
<td>6.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sajid Javid</td>
<td>4.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rory Stewart</td>
<td>3.01%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Truss</td>
<td>2.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Rees-Mogg</td>
<td>2.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Cleverly</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amber Rudd</td>
<td>2.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Davis</td>
<td>1.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matt Hancock</td>
<td>1.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priti Patel</td>
<td>1.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esther McVey</td>
<td>1.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Tugendhat</td>
<td>1.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penny Mordaunt</td>
<td>1.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip Hammond</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MORI: General Election Vote Intention

6 September 2000

- Conservative: 30%
- Labour: 45%

22 September 2000

- Conservative: 35%
- Labour: 30%

Source: MORI Archive
Parliament emerging from Brexit in good light
Current generation of politicians not up to the job
British political system needs complete overhaul
Brexit process has shown politicians are in touch with the country
Current British political system enables my voice to be heard
Written constitution?

ComRes poll, 14-15 January 2019

Agree  Disagree

Parliament emerging from Brexit in good light
Current generation of politicians not up to the job
British political system needs complete overhaul
Brexit process has shown politicians are in touch with the country
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N=2,01
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