

Scotland, Brexit, and the union

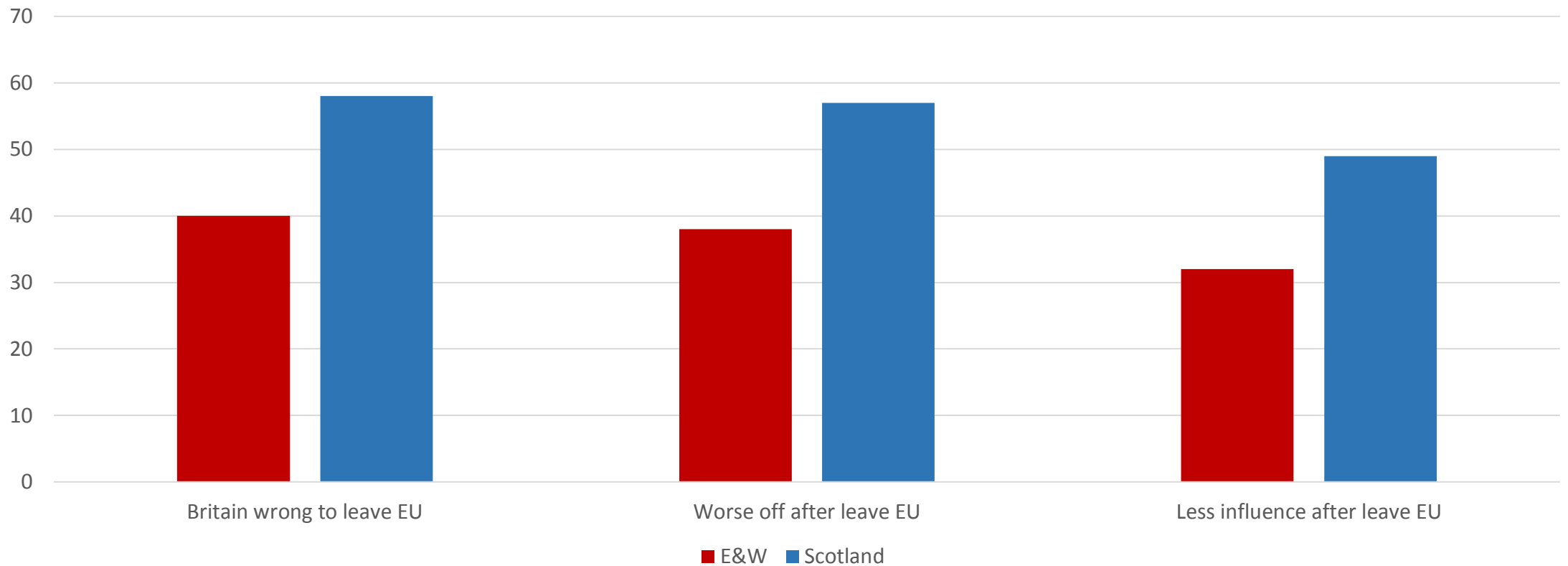
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THE UNIVERSITY
of EDINBURGH

Divergent attitudes to Brexit in the UK

YouGov Jan 2017



Remain vs Leave

Top 20 Remain Areas

- 45% of voters with uni degree
- 42% professionals
- 26% non-white
- 11% pensioners
- Median income £27,000

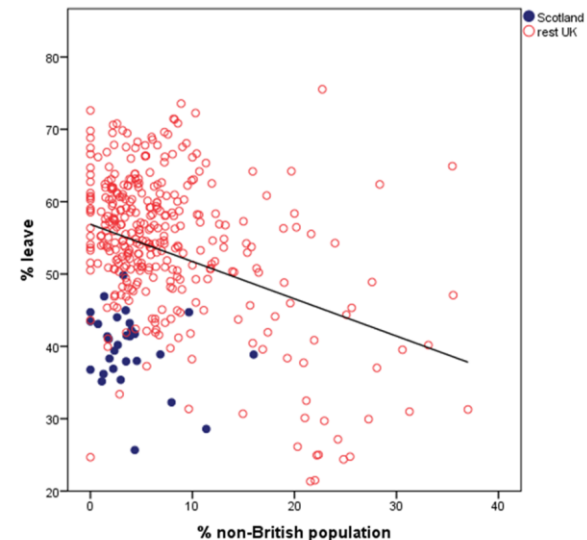
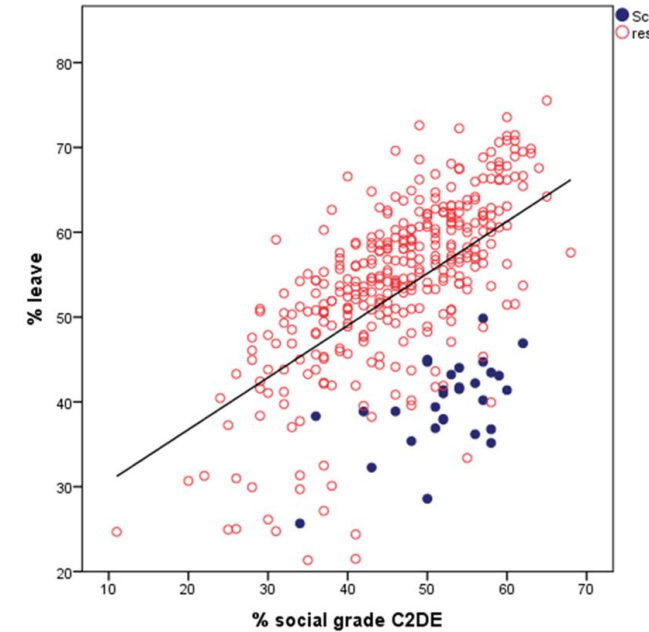
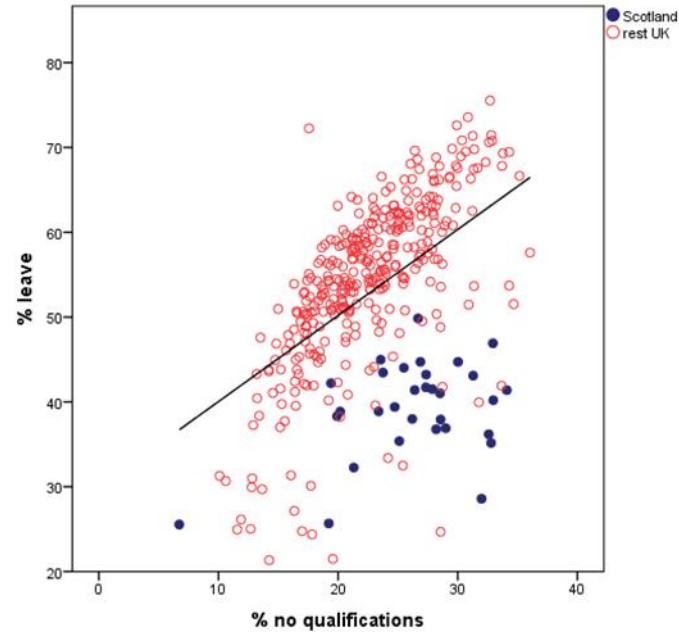
Top 20 Leave Areas

- 16% of voters with uni degree
- 23% professionals
- <5% non-white
- 20% pensioners
- Median income £18,000

- The 'Left-Behinds'

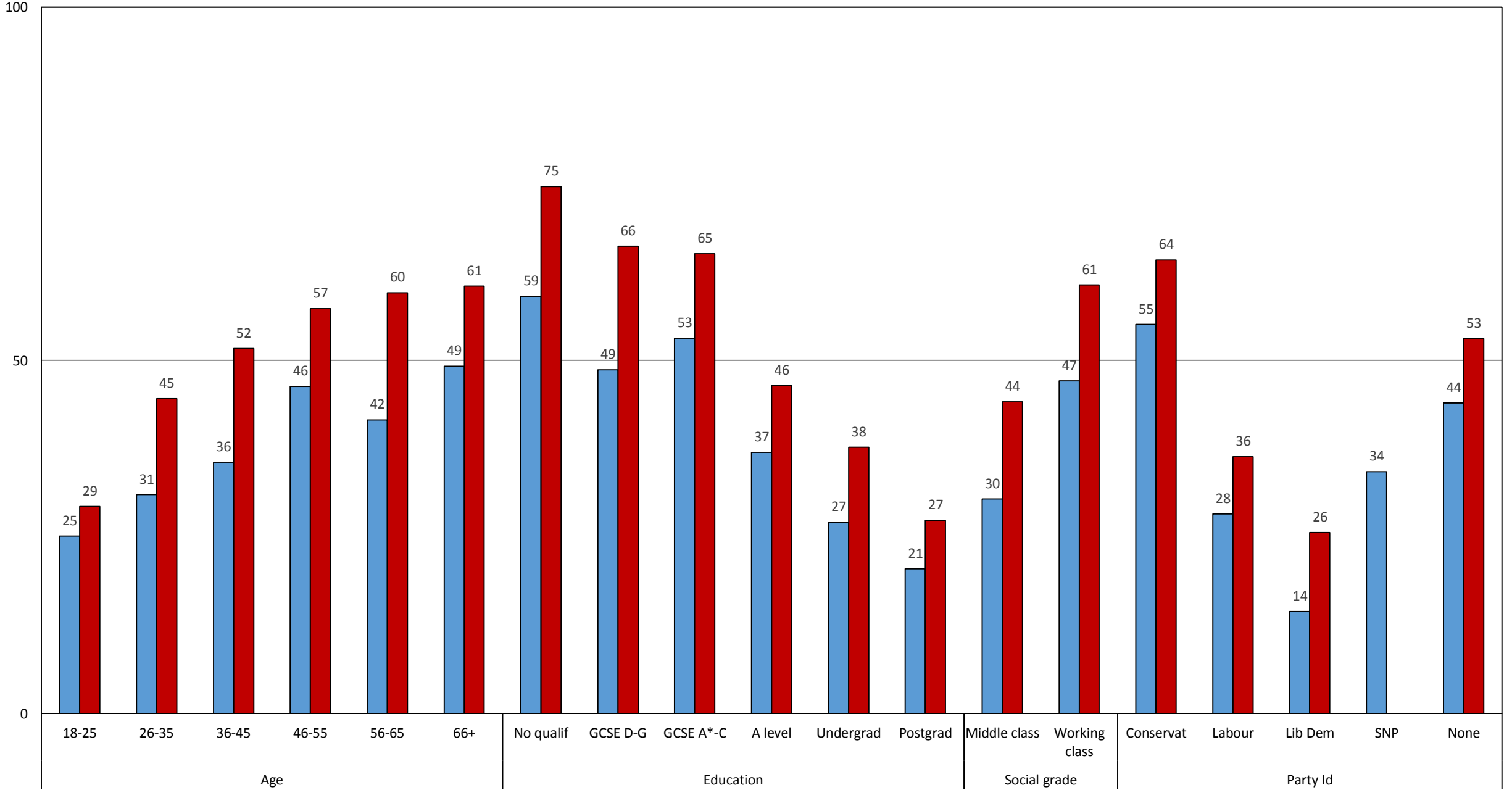
Aggregate predictors of support for Brexit

- Left behinds
- Levels of immigration
- By its aggregate indicators, Scotland should appear more supportive of Leave than it is ...



Support for Leave (%)

Scotland England



When we controlling for other variables, individual predictors are different in England and Scotland

- Age matters in England (older more Leave) but no significant variation by age in Scotland
- Having a university degree matters in England (more Remain) but not in Scotland
- Class doesn't matter in England but matters in Scotland (middle class more Remain)
- Conservatives in England more likely (than those with no party id) to vote Leave but Conservatives in Scotland significantly more likely to vote Remain

Aggregate predictors of support for Brexit

- Left behinds
- Levels of immigration
- By its aggregate indicators, Scotland should appear more Eurosceptic than it is
- One caveat and two explanations

Caveat

- Scottish attitudes to the EU are not markedly different to those in England ...

Euro-scepticism scale

	England N=3705	Scotland N=1014
European human rights law helps guarantee the basic freedoms of British citizens (% disagree)	29	28
Britain has a great deal in common with the cultures and peoples of other EU countries (% disagree)	36	33
The EU helps to promote freedom and democracy across Europe (% disagree)	26	22
The EU produces too many regulations interfering with the lives of ordinary people (% agree)	66	59
The EU has made migration between European countries too easy (% agree)	67	58
As an island, Britain has less reason to belong to the EU than other European countries (% agree)	39	29
Britain's special relationship with the USA makes EU membership less important for it than for other European countries (% agree)	31	21
British people benefit greatly from being able to live and work in other EU countries (% disagree)	21	13

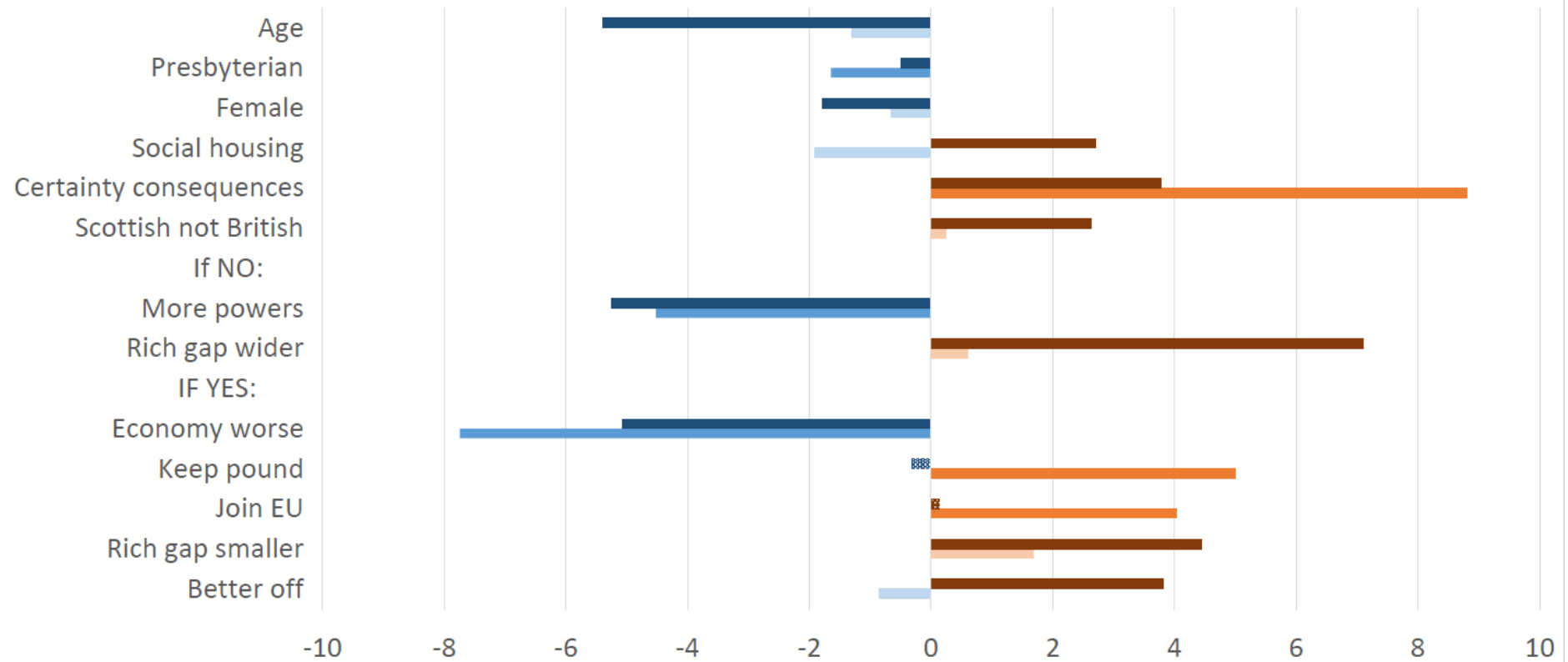
Future of
England Survey
2014

Why?

- Political discourse
 - Most popular party in Scotland is resolutely pro European in its rhetoric (even if that view not held by all members, MSPs and MPs)
 - All other Scottish parties are more pro-European than their UK counterparts
 - Davidson: Choice between “a nasty vision of a backward-looking, introspective Britain” and moving forward (5 Dec 16)
- 2014 Yes vote as outlet for ‘left behind’
 - Scottish Referendum Study data showed attitudes to gap between rich and poor determinant
 - ... and gaining traction as referendum approached

September 2014

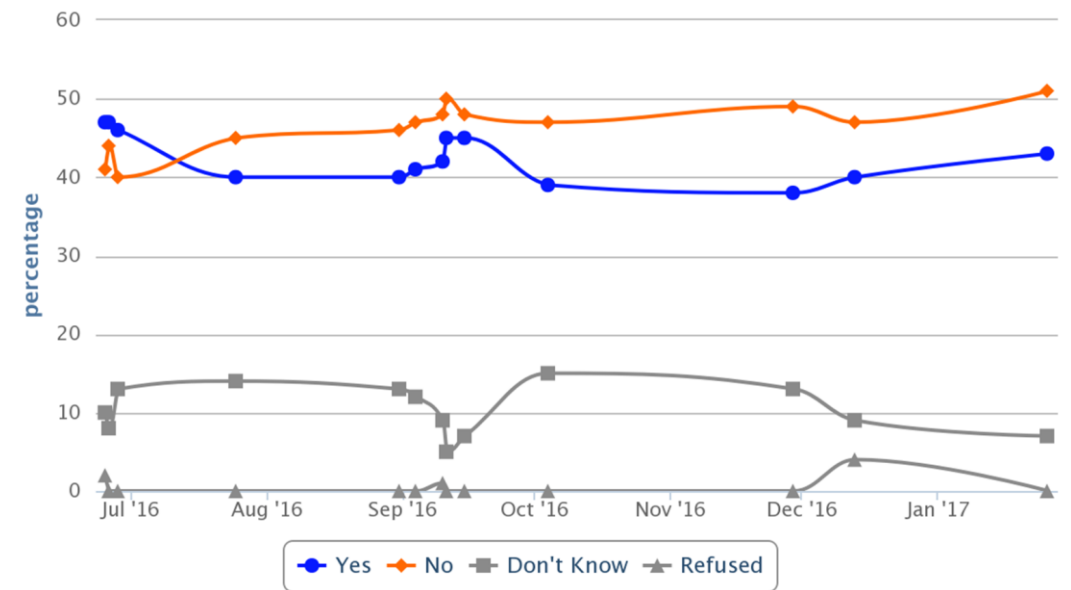
Impact of campaign on vote choice (SRS weeks 1 & 4)



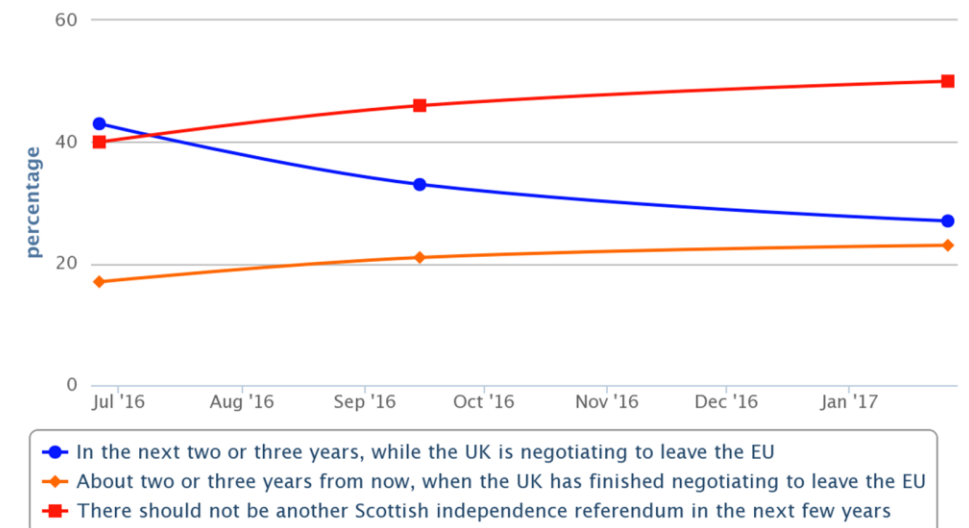
Scottish attitudes to indyref2

- Limited aggregate change in support for independence
- Limited support for indyref2 ...

How would you vote in a Scottish independence referendum if held now? (asked after the EU referendum)



When do you think another Scottish independence referendum should be held? (asked after the EU referendum)



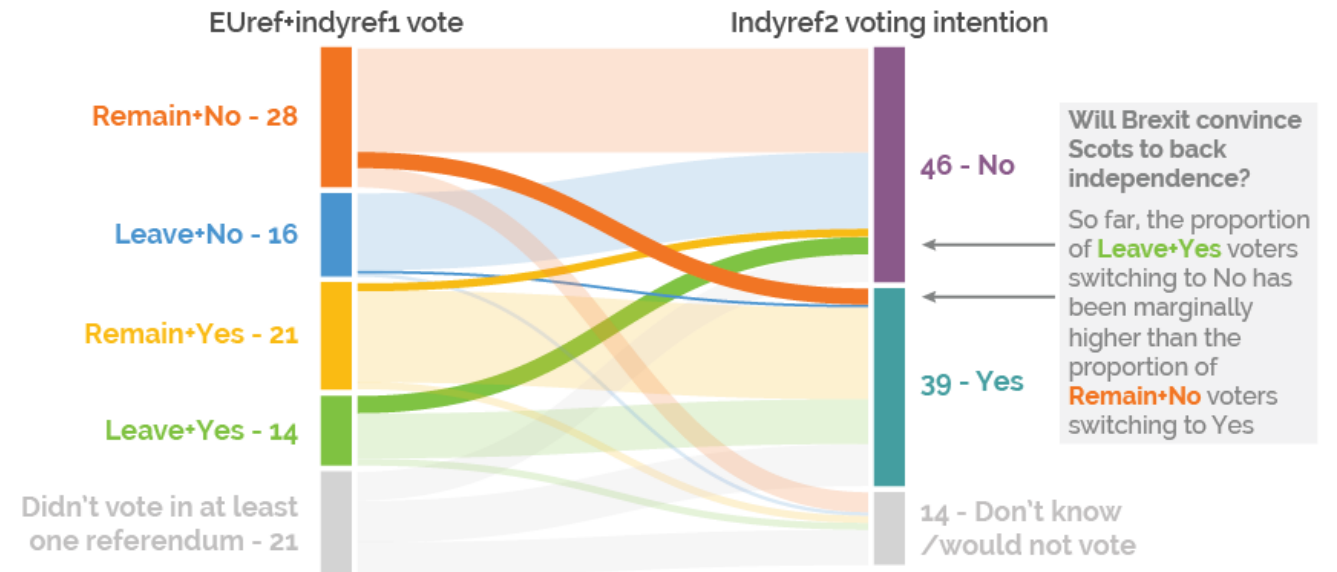
Scottish attitudes to indyref2

- Limited aggregate change in support for independence
- Limited support for indyref2
- **But ...**

Aggregate stability masks individual volatility

- SES 2016
- If Leave wins
 - No switch to Yes 6.5
 - Yes switch to No 5.3
 - Yes both 85.4
- If Remain wins
 - No switch to Yes 3.6
 - Yes switch to No 8.5
 - Yes both 81.7
- More volatility if Leave wins
- Volatility in direction of Yes
- But ...

Scottish Remain voters who now want independence are being offset by Scottish Leave voters who now want to remain part of the UK



Who are the switchers? (SES 2016)

	Yes stable	Yes to No	No stable	No to Yes
AB	27.5	27.5	35.6	23.3
Women	48.9	47.3	51.8	57.9
University	30.5	18.7	28.4	33.1
Age (ave)	47.3	50.9	52.4	42.3

- At present, issue is amount of movement but also the **TYPE** of person switching
- Evidence that picking up the very constituencies in which were weak (women, university educated) and shoring up support among demographic groups in which were already strong (younger voters, CDE)

Does Brexit change indyref preferences?

- In general, aggregate stability
 - Individual churn but is largely cancelling itself out
 - Some expansion into demographic groups
- That said, demographic group for whom Brexit seems to have changed indyref preferences: young people
 - In general electorate does not want Scottish Government to spend next 2 years debating independence (although majority want UK Government to allow them to hold referendum if they ask for one)
 - But
 - 56% of young people want the SG to campaign for indyref
 - And they want an independence referendum
 - And they want another Brexit referendum

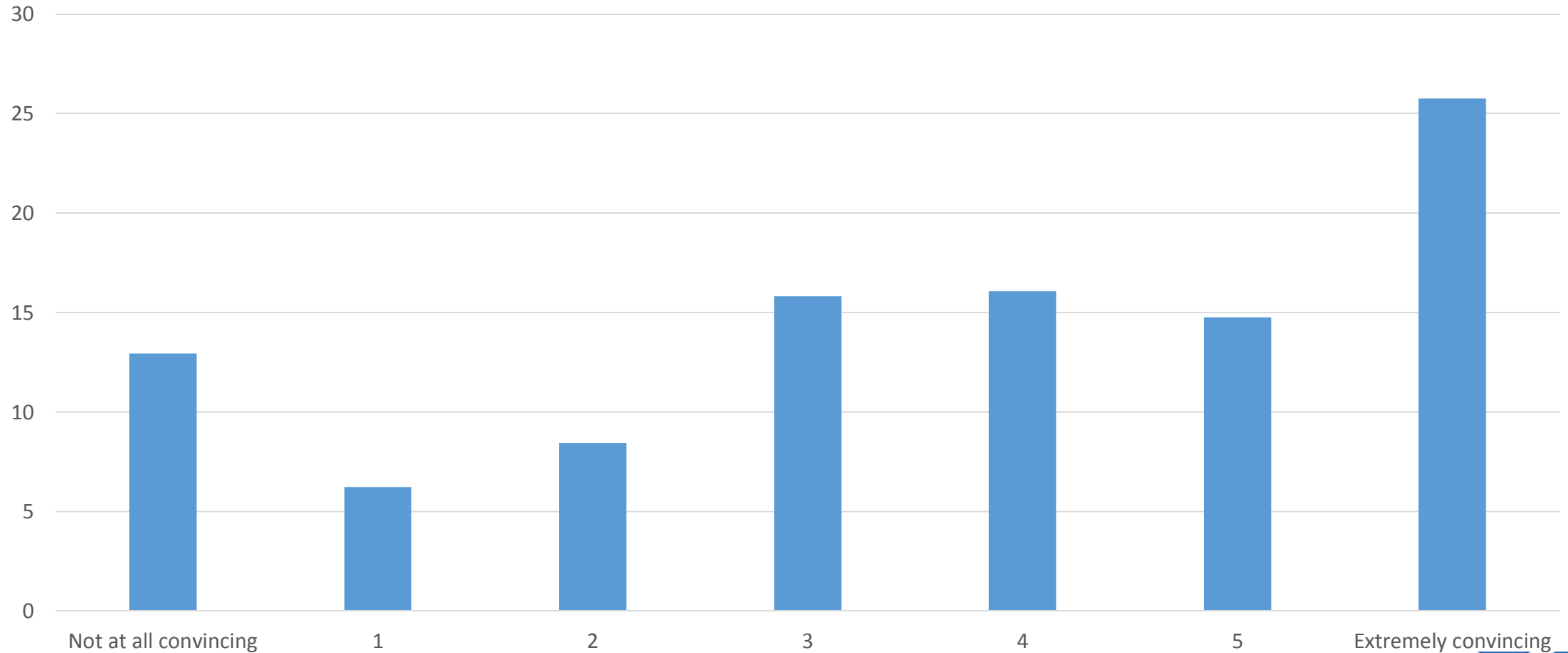
Cause for concern?

- Existing perception of regional grievance
- Existing perception of distinct values
- Partisan dealignment in Scotland

Regional grievance: fair share

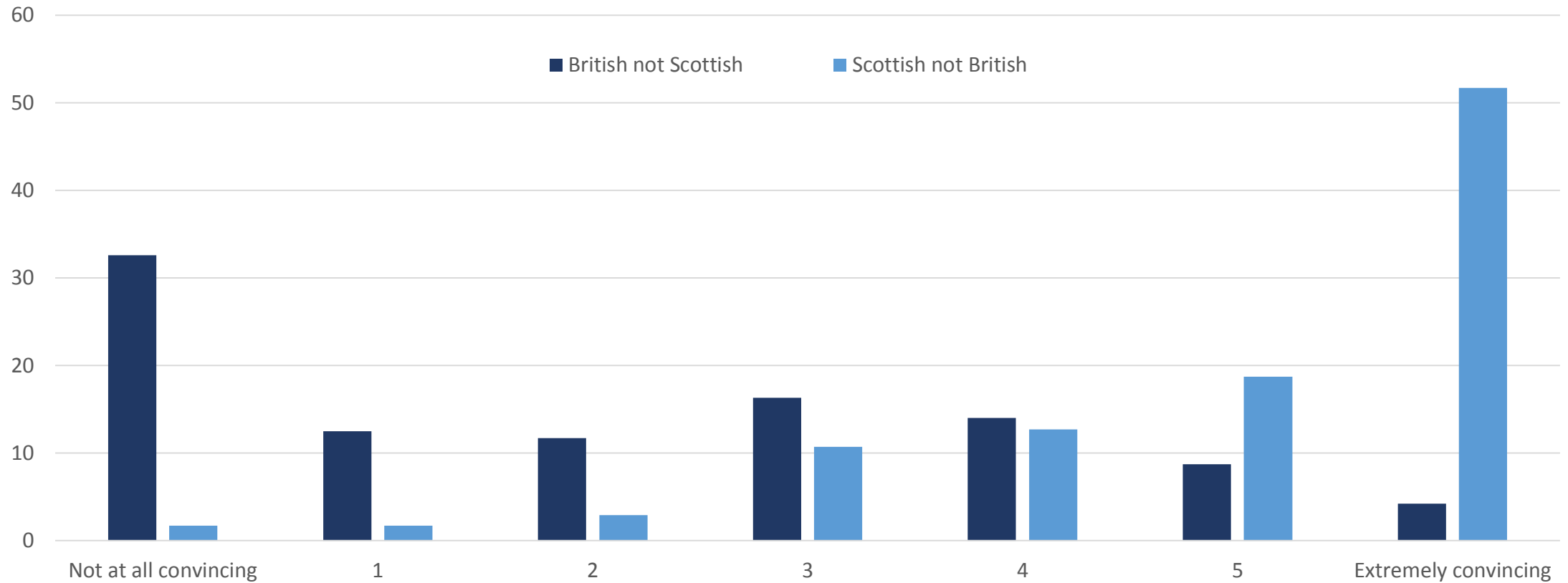
		Scotland N=5355	Wales N=2898	England N=21773
Scotland gets ...	More than its fair share	25.0	55.0	57.0
	Its fair share	34.4	19.0	18.3
	Less than its fair share	32.7	13.4	7.1
Wales gets ...	More than its fair share	8.0	8.2	23.7
	Its fair share	28.8	14.5	30.2
	Less than its fair share	46.8	66.5	23.9
England gets ...	More than its fair share	35.3	39.7	7.1
	Its fair share	39.5	30.7	30.9
	Less than its fair share	15.9	19.8	45.0
Northern Ireland gets ...	More than its fair share			15.0
	Its fair share			22.0
	Less than its fair share			9.0

“Scottish political values are different from those in the rest of the UK”



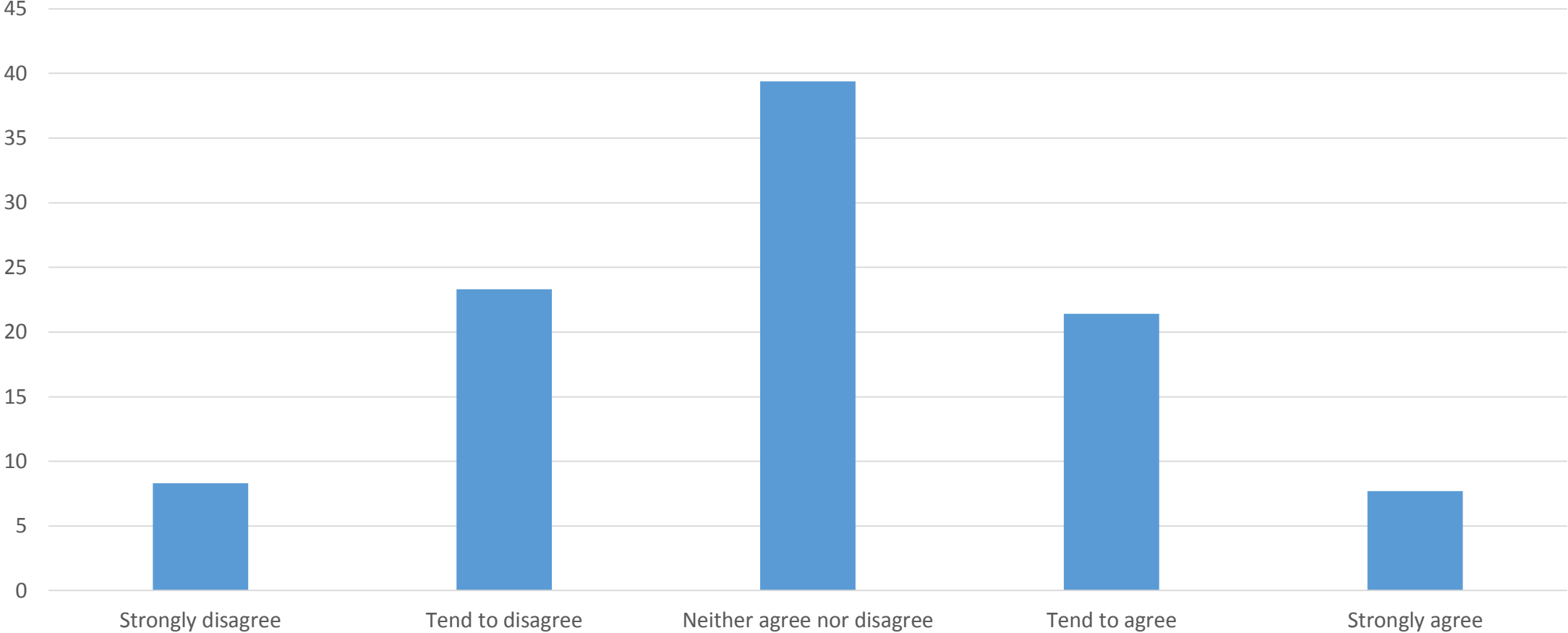
SRS wave 1 n=2370

“Scottish political values are different from those in the rest of the UK”

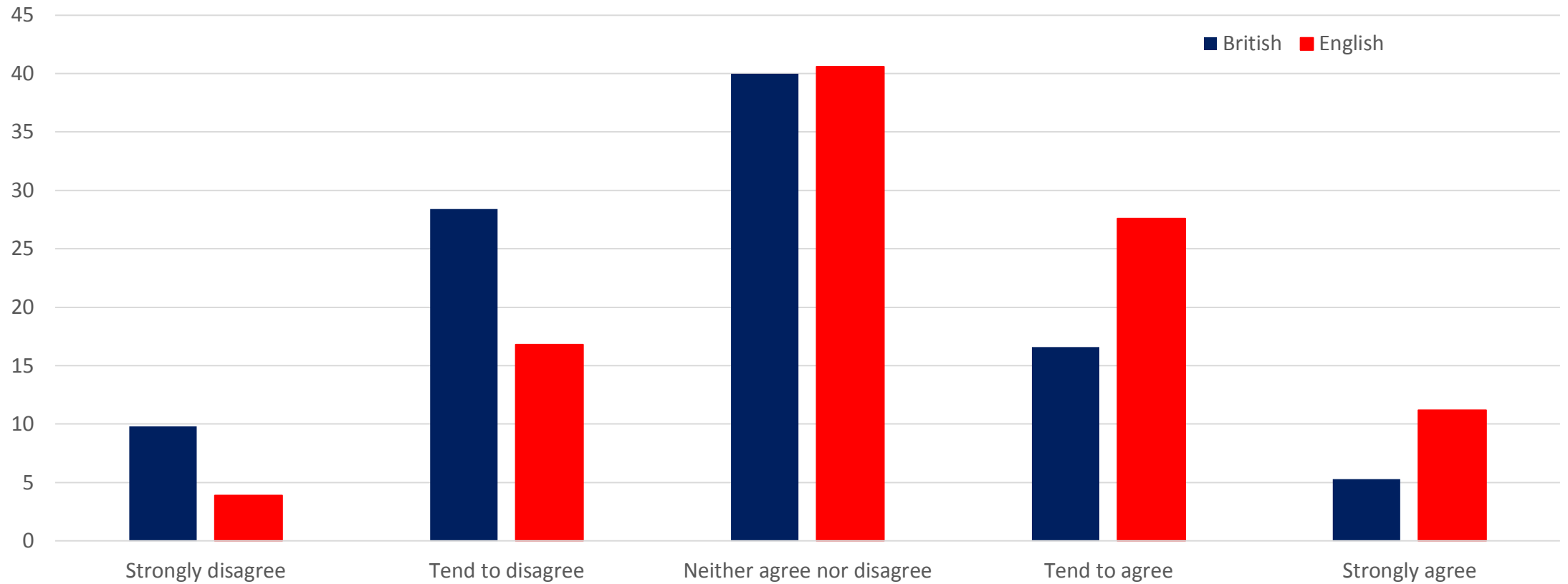


SRS wave 1 n=2370

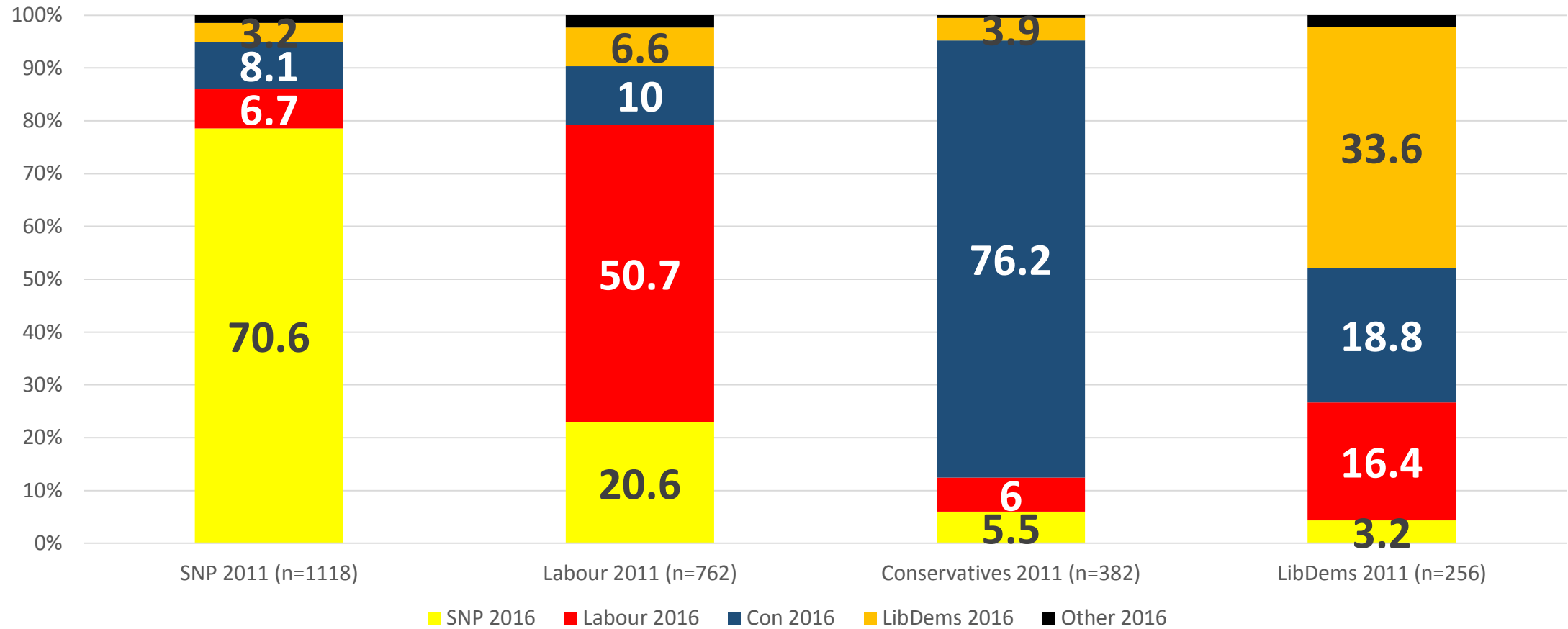
“In England our values make us different from the rest of the UK”



“In England our values make us different from the rest of the UK”



2011 constituency vote and 2016 constituency vote



The end of split-level identification?

