

# Scotland, Brexit, and the union

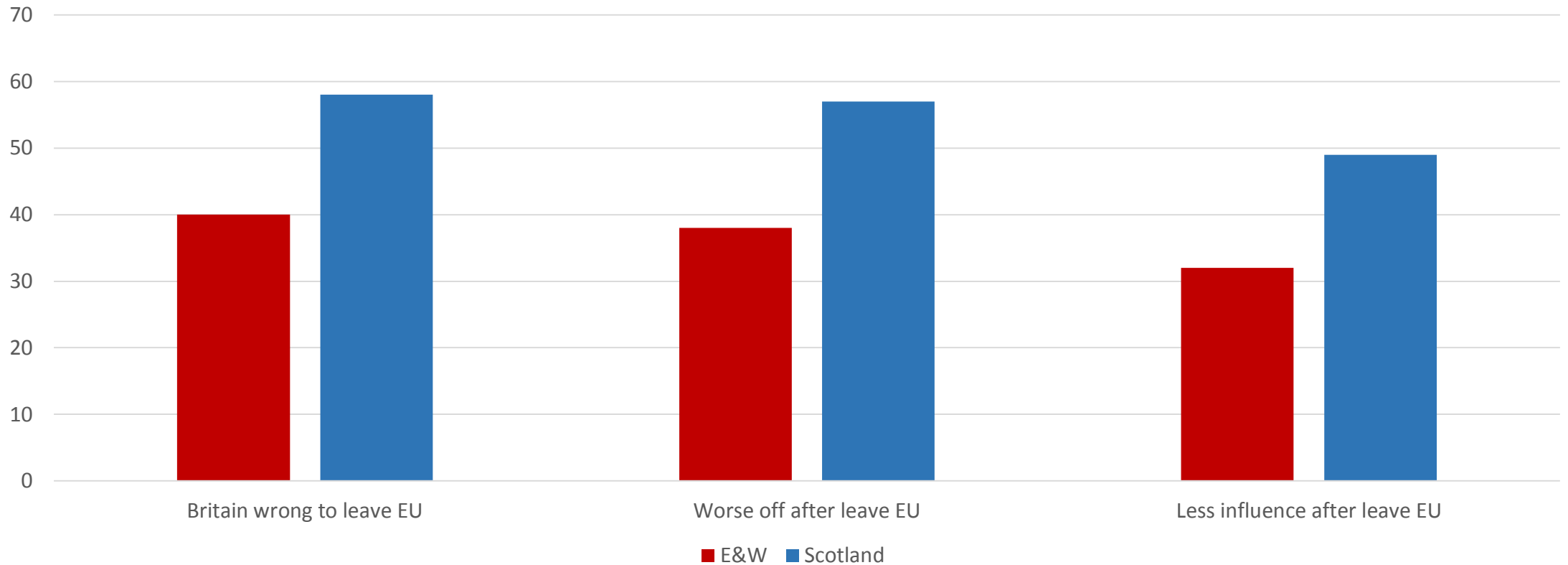
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THE UNIVERSITY  
*of* EDINBURGH

# Divergent attitudes to Brexit in the UK

YouGov Jan 2017



# Remain vs Leave

## Top 20 Remain Areas

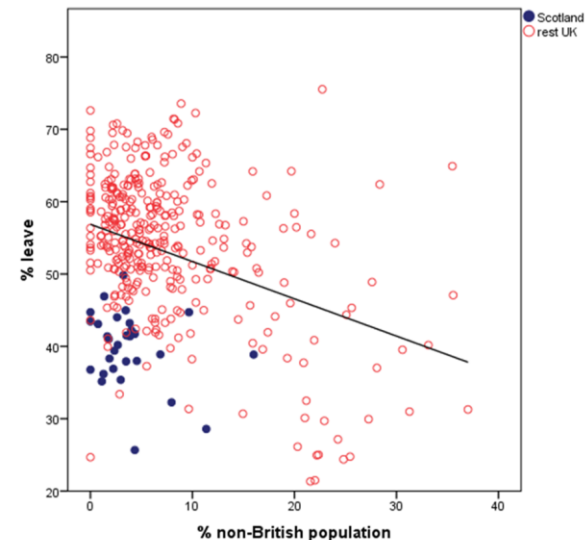
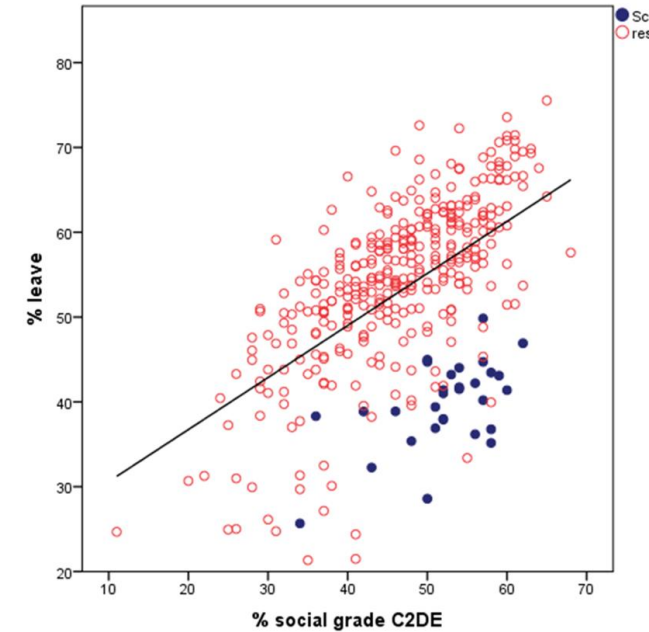
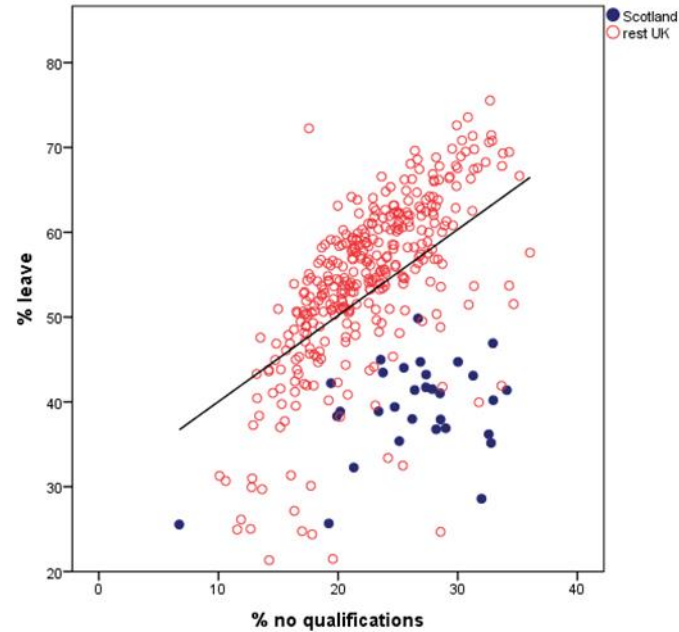
- 45% of voters with uni degree
- 42% professionals
- 26% non-white
- 11% pensioners
- Median income £27,000

## Top 20 Leave Areas

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

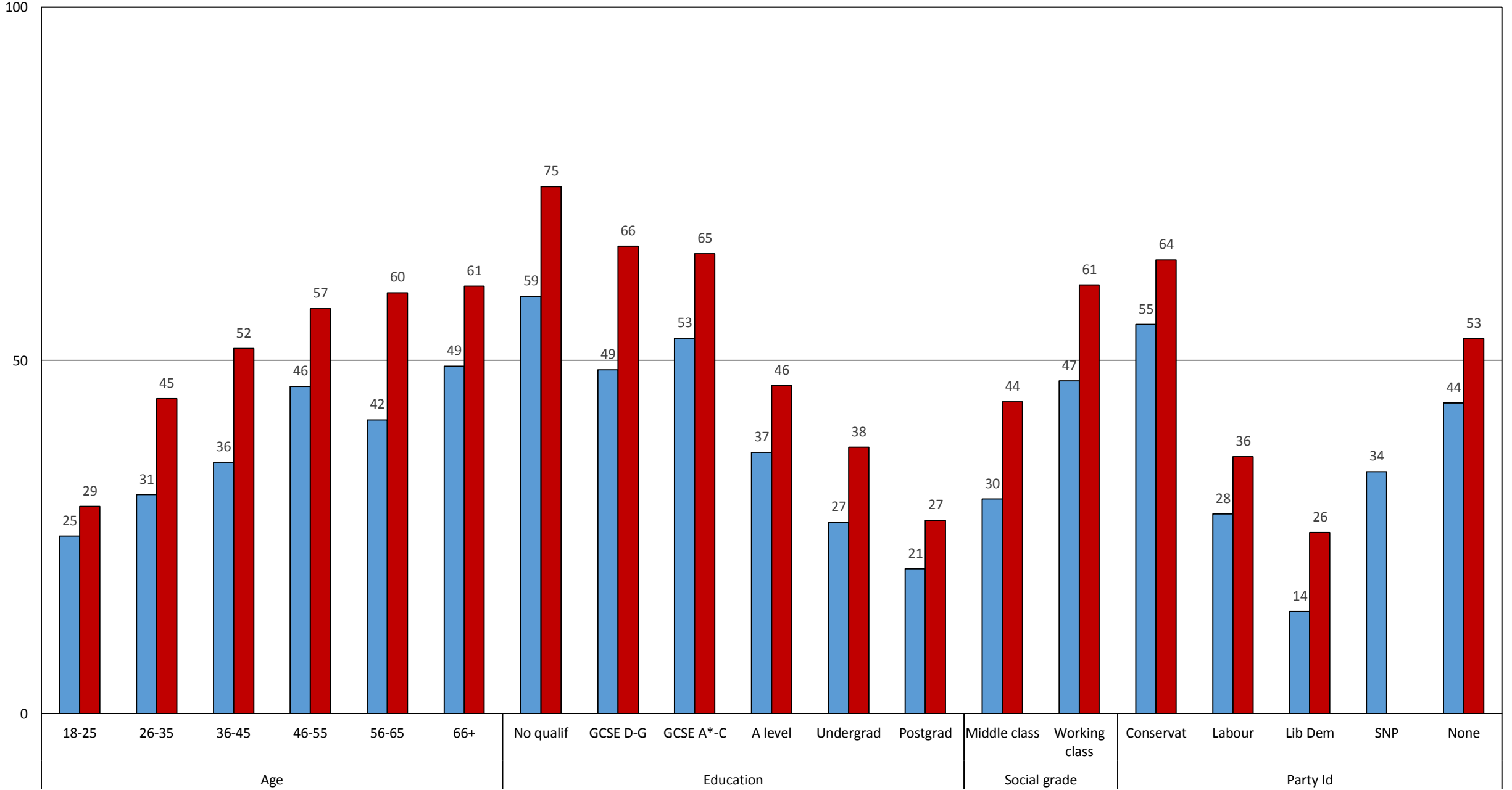
# Aggregate predictors of support for Brexit

- 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

Future of England Survey 2014

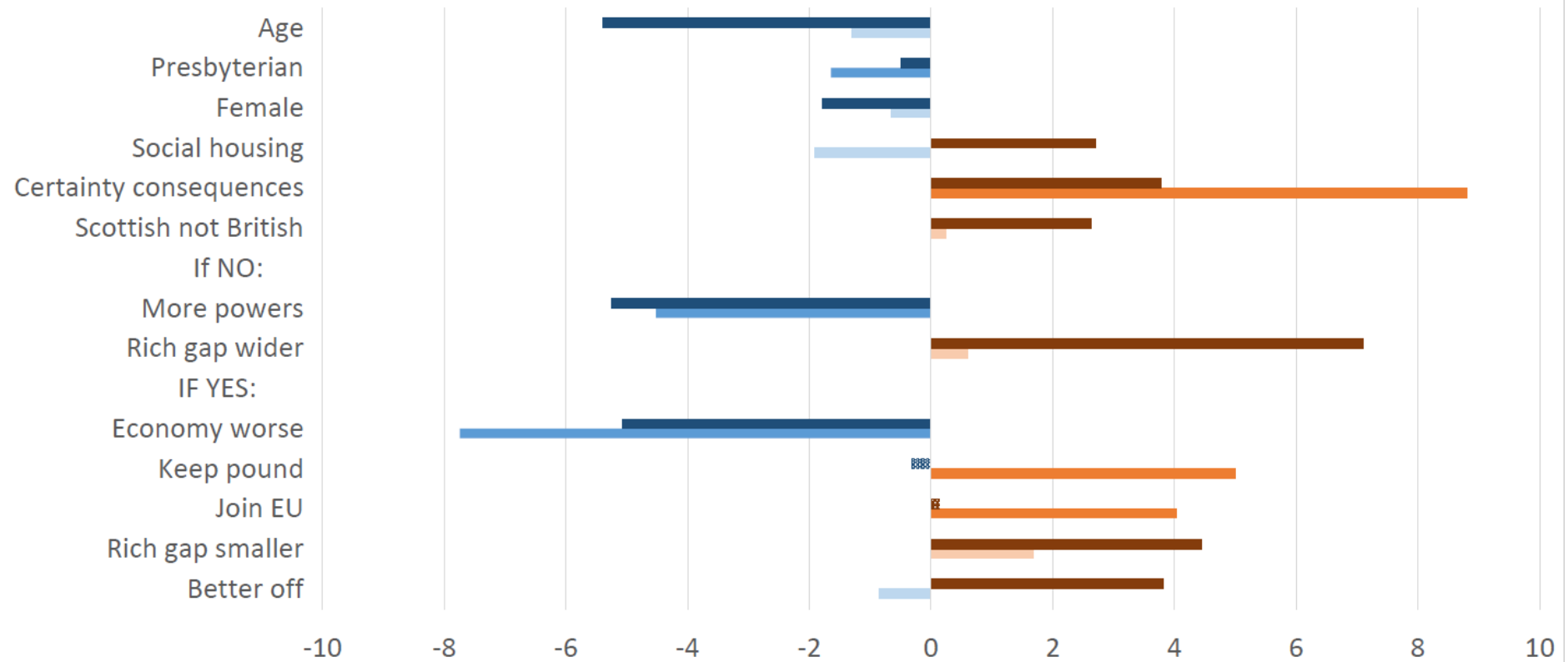
	England N=3705	Scotland N=1014
European human rights law helps guarantee the basic freedoms of British citizens (% disagree)	29	28
Britain has a great deal in common with the cultures and peoples of other EU countries (% disagree)	36	33
The EU helps to promote freedom and democracy across Europe (% disagree)	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

# 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

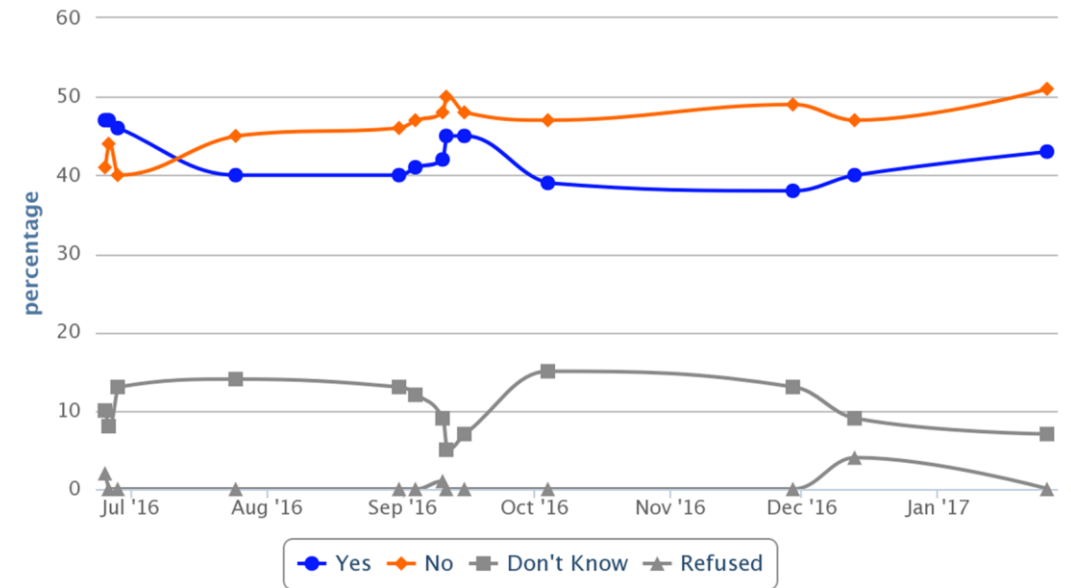
Impact of campaign on vote choice (SRS weeks 1 & 4)



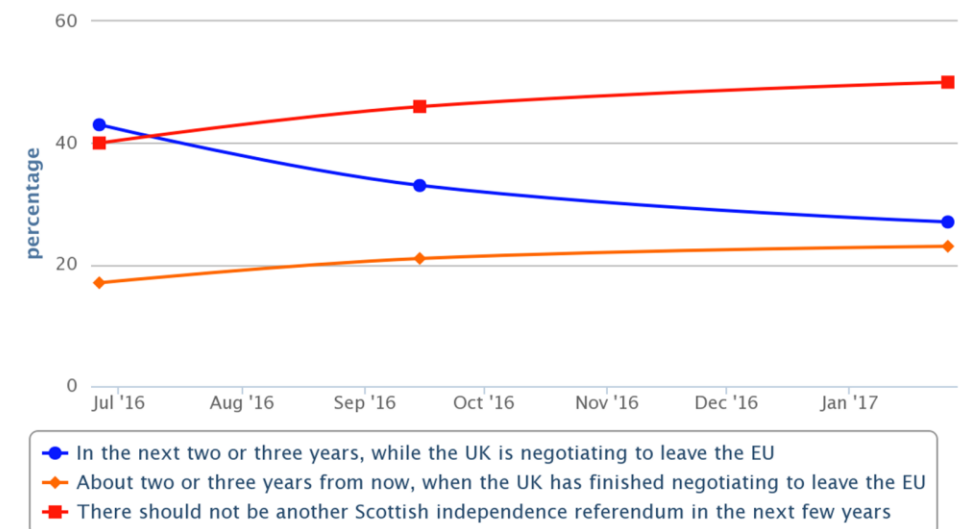
# Scottish attitudes to indyref2

- 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)



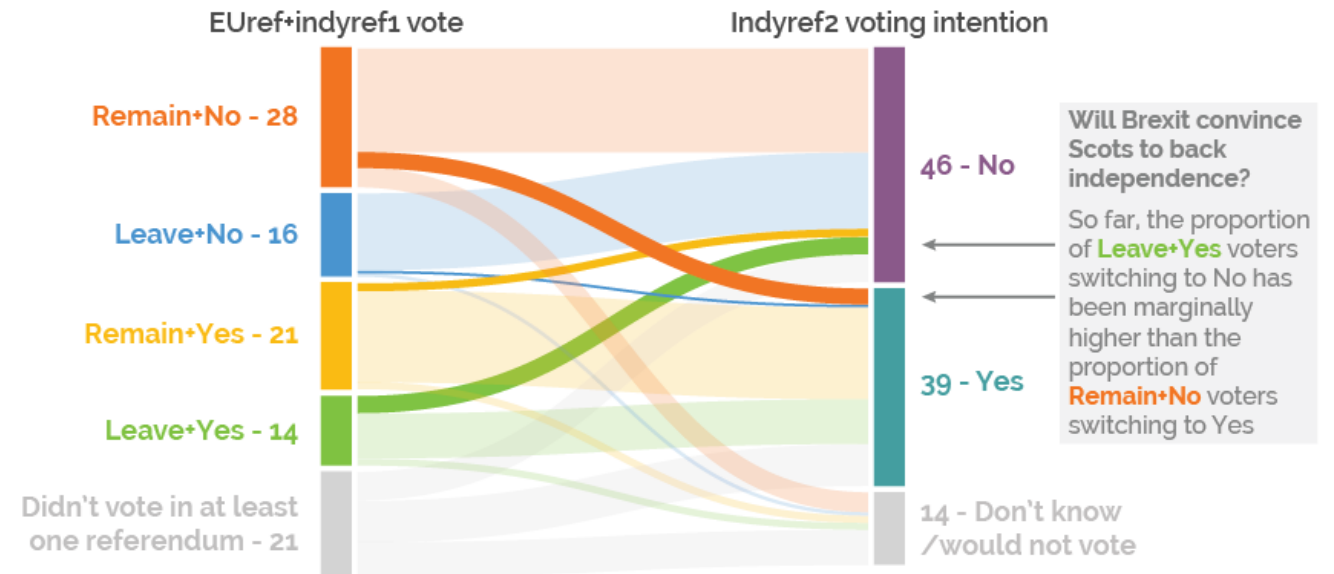
# Scottish attitudes to indyref2

- 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	<b>23.3</b>
Women	48.9	47.3	51.8	<b>57.9</b>
University	30.5	18.7	28.4	<b>33.1</b>
Age (ave)	47.3	50.9	52.4	<b>42.3</b>

- 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



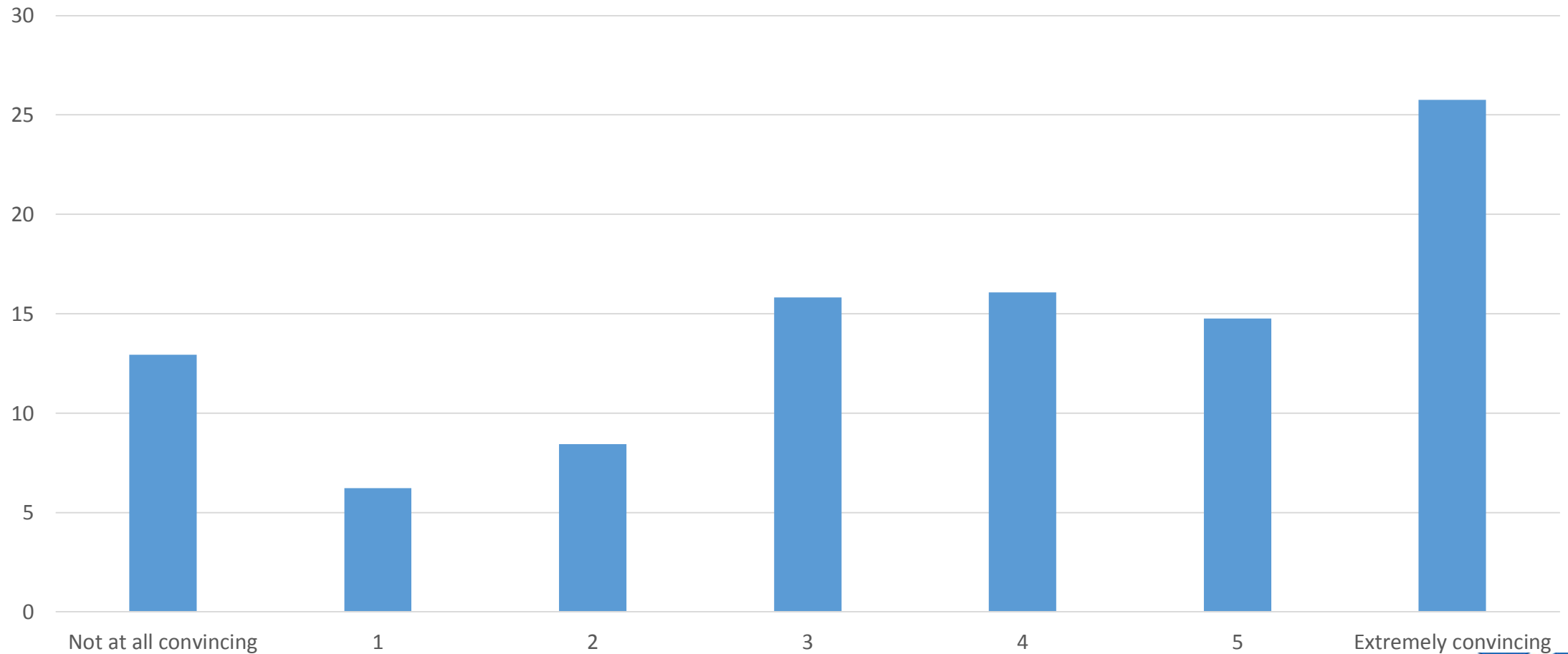
# Cause for concern?

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

# Regional grievance: fair share

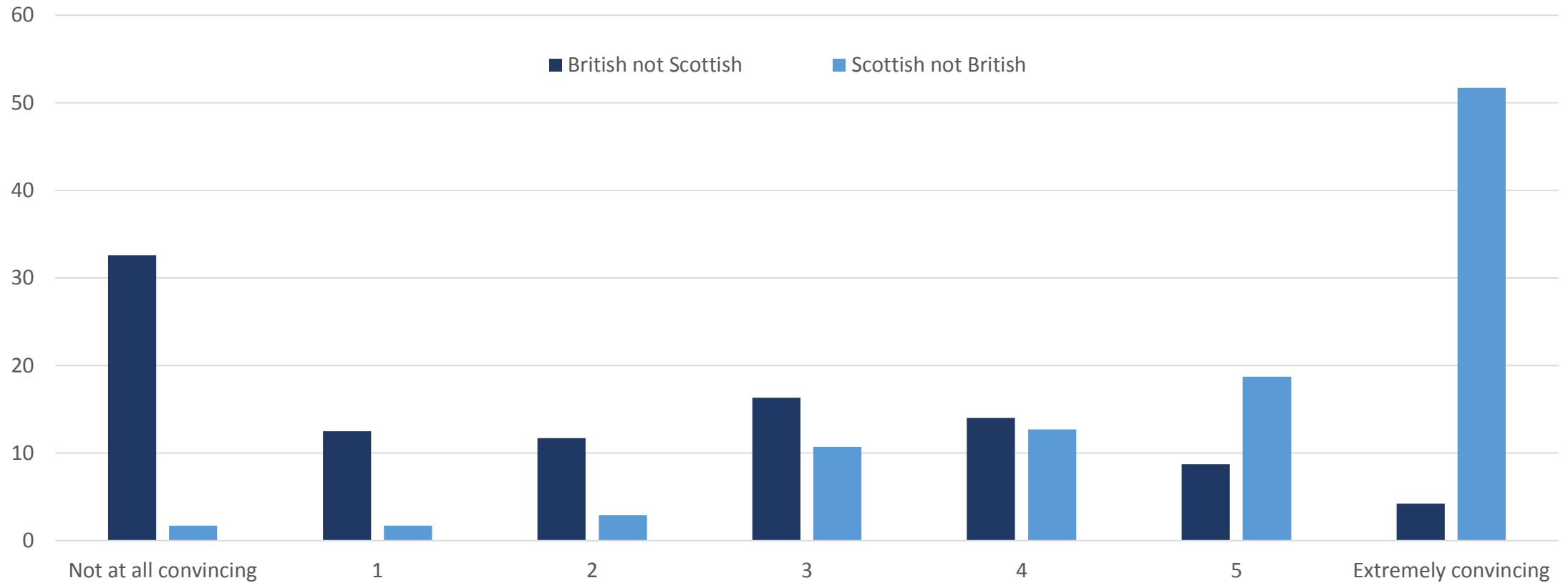
		Scotland N=5355	Wales N=2898	England N=21773
Scotland gets ...	More than its fair share	25.0	<b>55.0</b>	<b>57.0</b>
	Its fair share	34.4	19.0	18.3
	Less than its fair share	<b>32.7</b>	13.4	7.1
Wales gets ...	More than its fair share	8.0	8.2	23.7
	Its fair share	28.8	14.5	<b>30.2</b>
	Less than its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



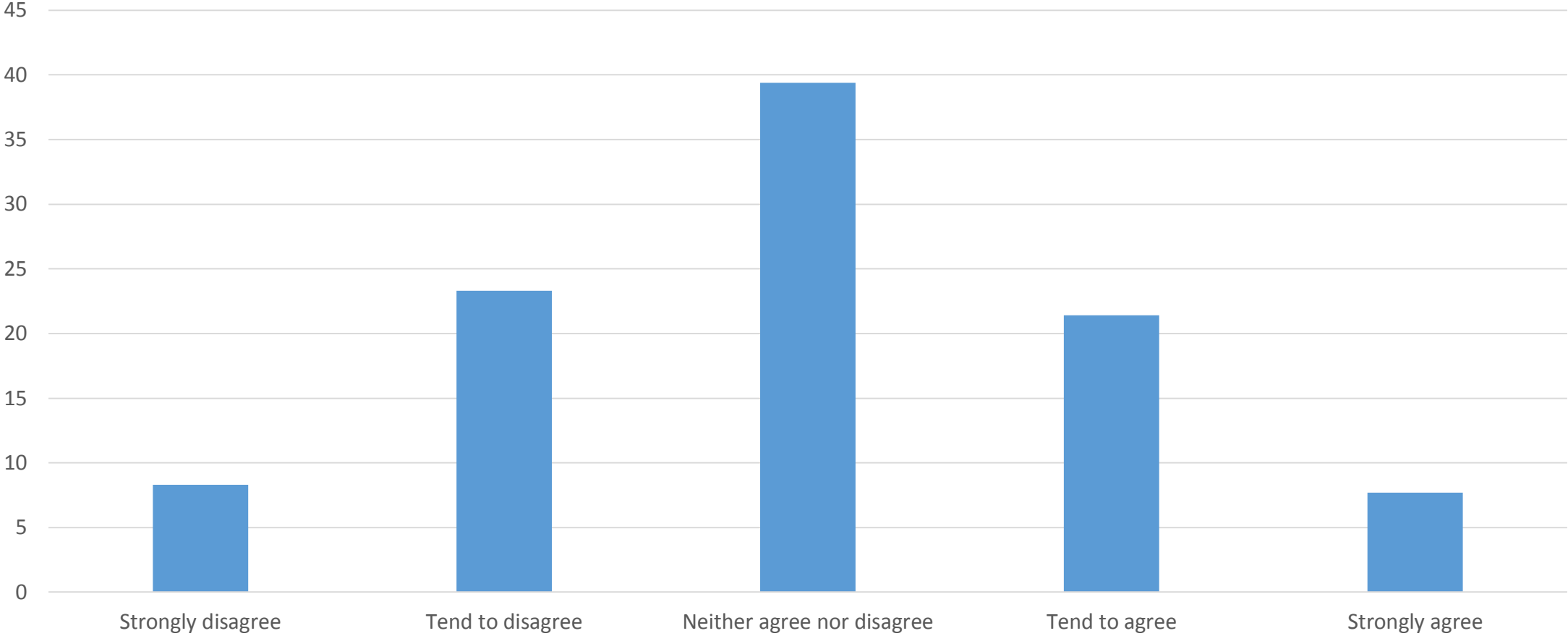
SRS wave 1 n=2370

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

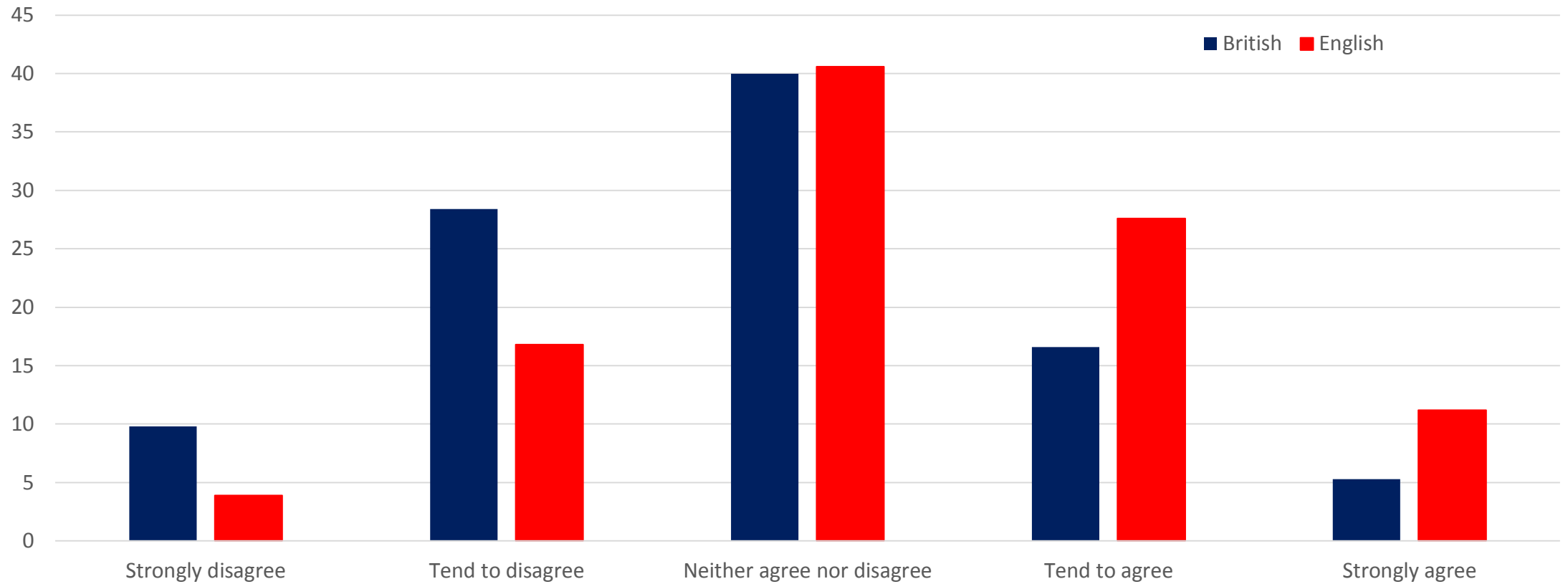


SRS wave 1 n=2370

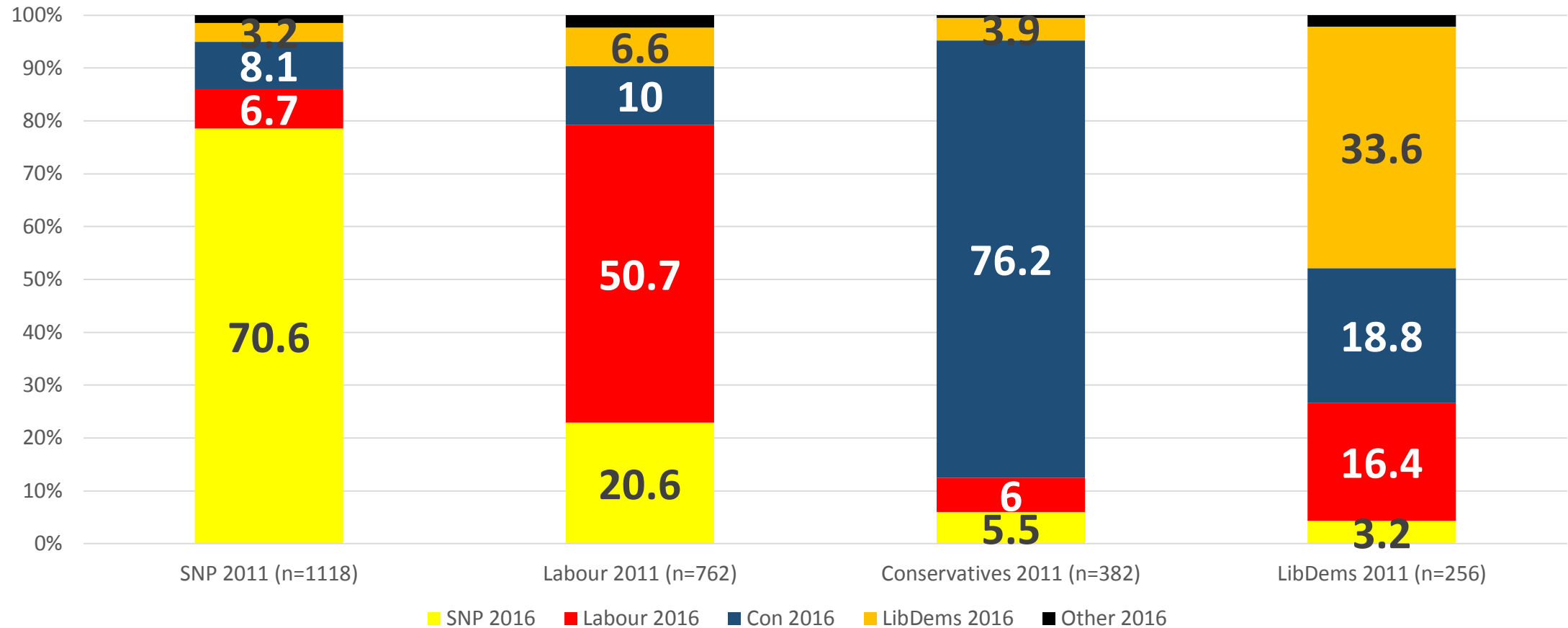
# “In England our values make us different from the rest of the UK”



# “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?

