



THE UNIVERSITY  
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# This Other Eden: Brexit, England and the Future of the Tory Party

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2 October 2018

# Brexit and the Union

- Brexit consequentialials
- What type of union is this?
  - The policy union
  - The sharing union
    - With whom will we share?
    - Who gets fair share?
- Challenges for the Conservative Party

# The Future of England Surveys, 1

- Most detailed body of research into political attitudes in England
- Conducted by University of Edinburgh and Cardiff University team; all fieldwork by YouGov (NI by Lucid Talk)
- Surveys conducted in 2011-2012, 2014-2018
  - 2014 and 2018 have surveys in England, Scotland and Wales
  - 2018 samples England 2741, Scotland 1502, Wales 2016, Northern Ireland 1089
- Several key findings in previous work...

# The Future of England Surveys, 2

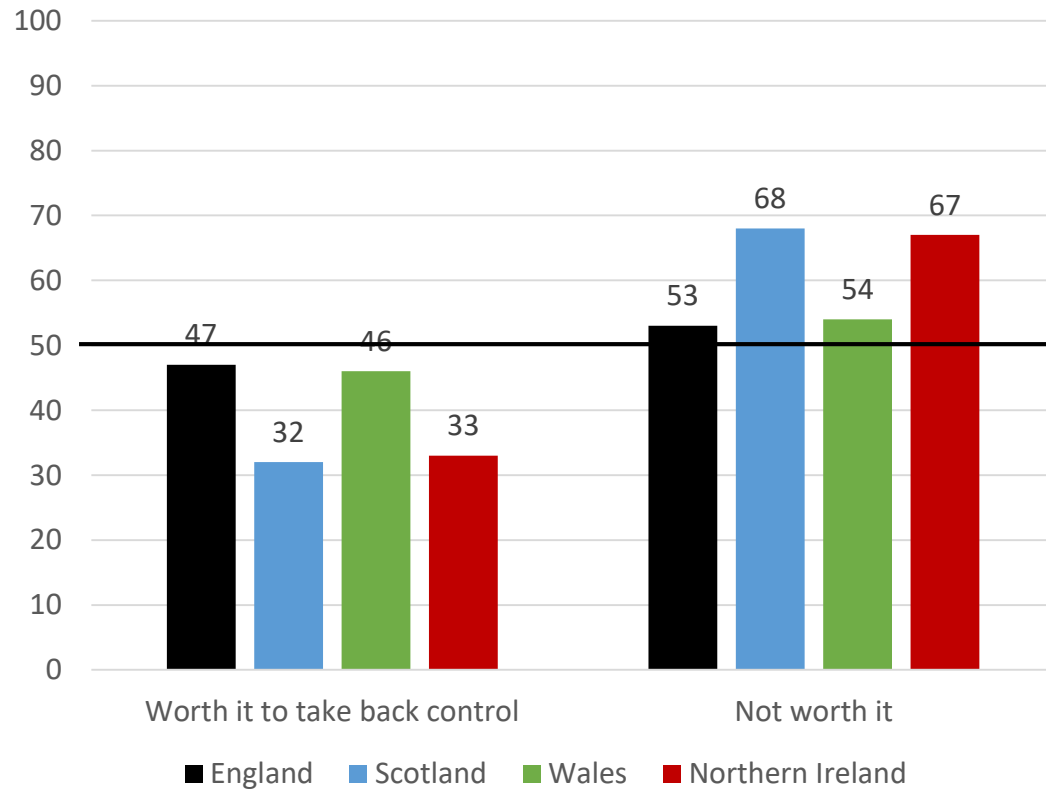
## England and its Two Unions

- Considerable dissatisfaction with the EU
- But also unhappiness with how England treated within the UK, and ‘Devo-anxiety’ – sense that constitutional change has unfairly advantaged others, particularly Scots
- Close relationship between attitudes to the two unions AND close relationship between attitudes to both unions and an *English* identity that has become more prominent
- All findings reinforced and supported by latest evidence

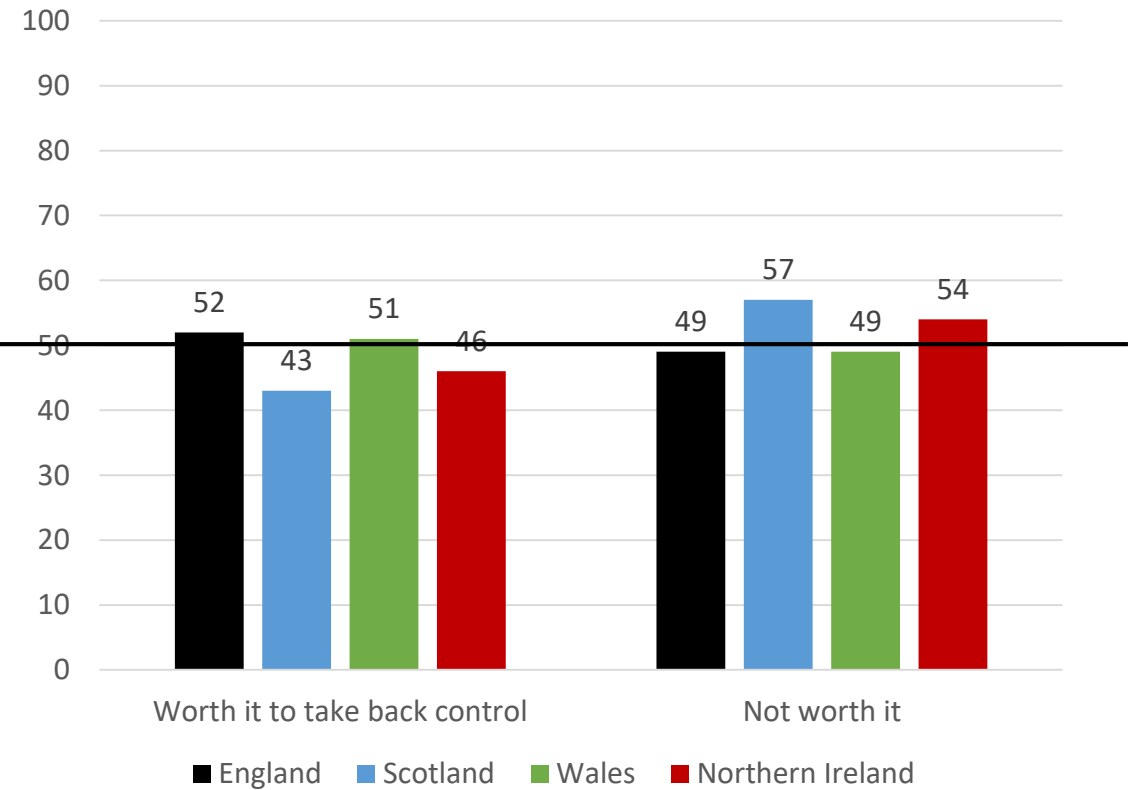
# Brexit consequentialia

# Brexit: is it worth it?

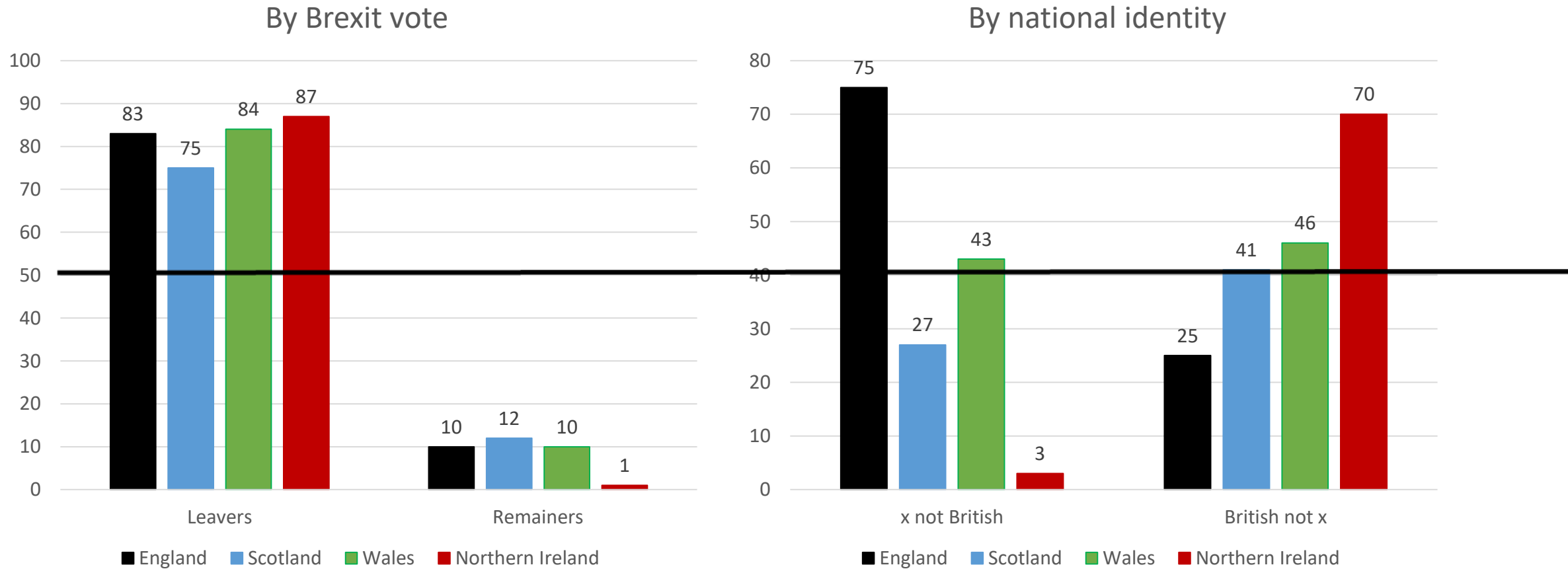
## Jeopardising peace in Northern Ireland



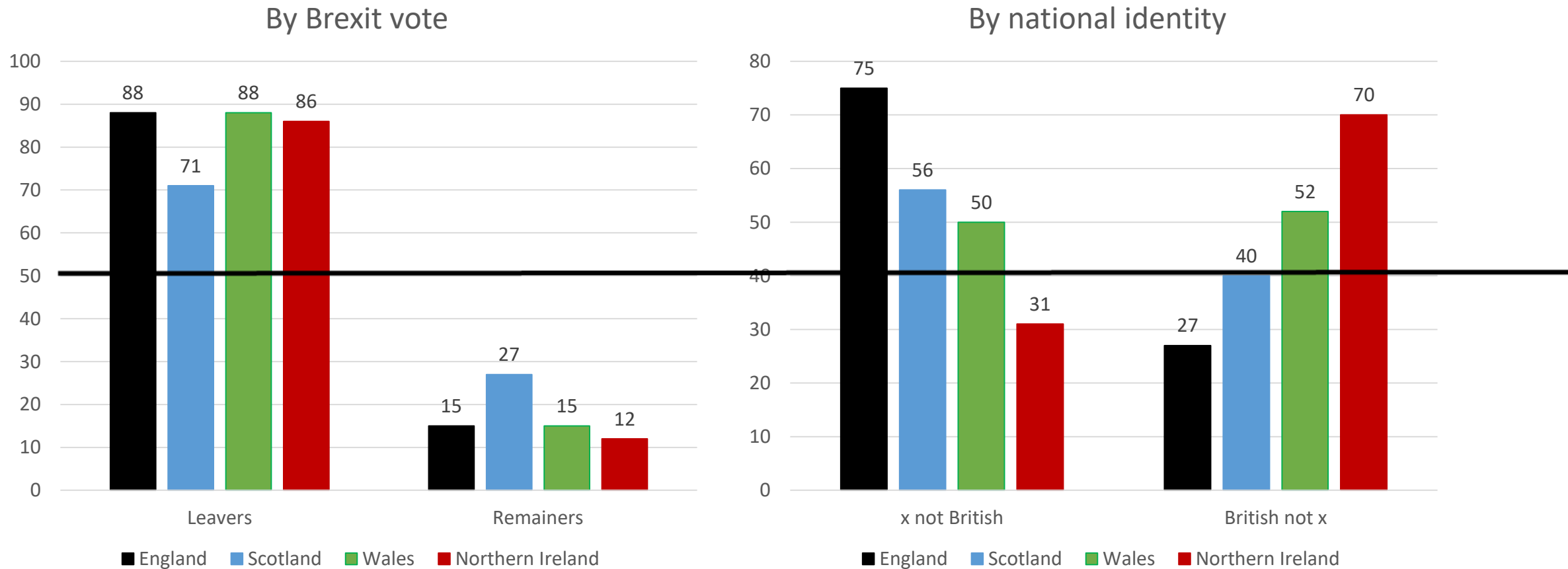
## Yes vote in indyref2



# Price worth paying for Brexit: peace in NI



# Price worth paying for Brexit: Yes in indyref2

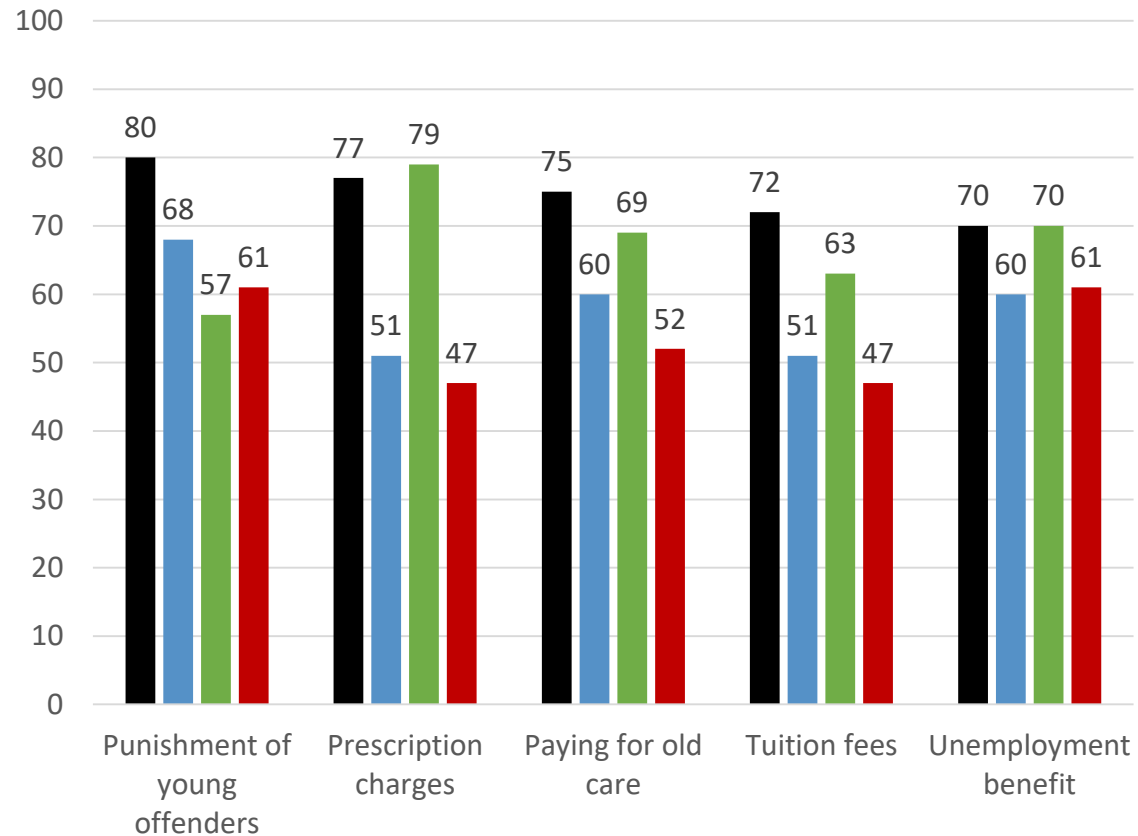




Policy union

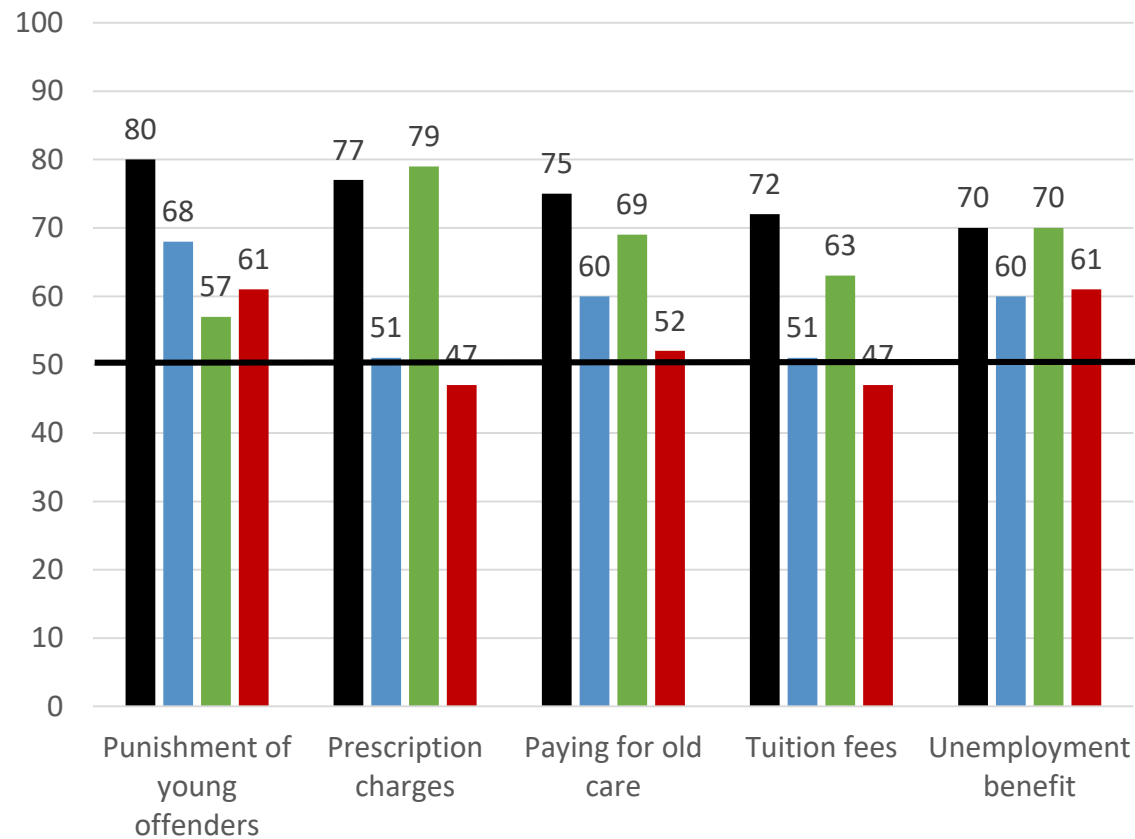
# Support for policy uniformity

Should be the same across the UK

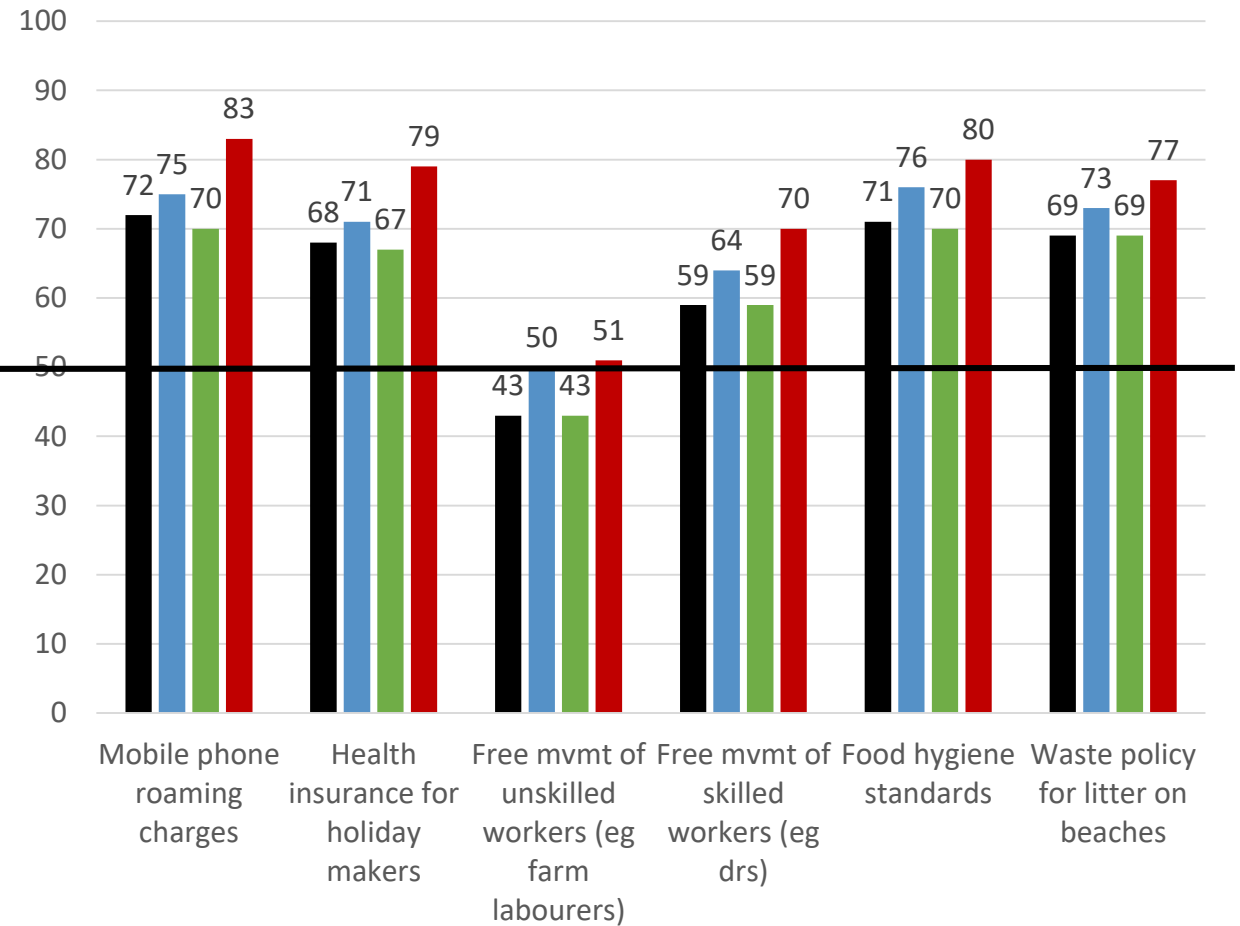


# Support for policy uniformity

Should be the same across the UK



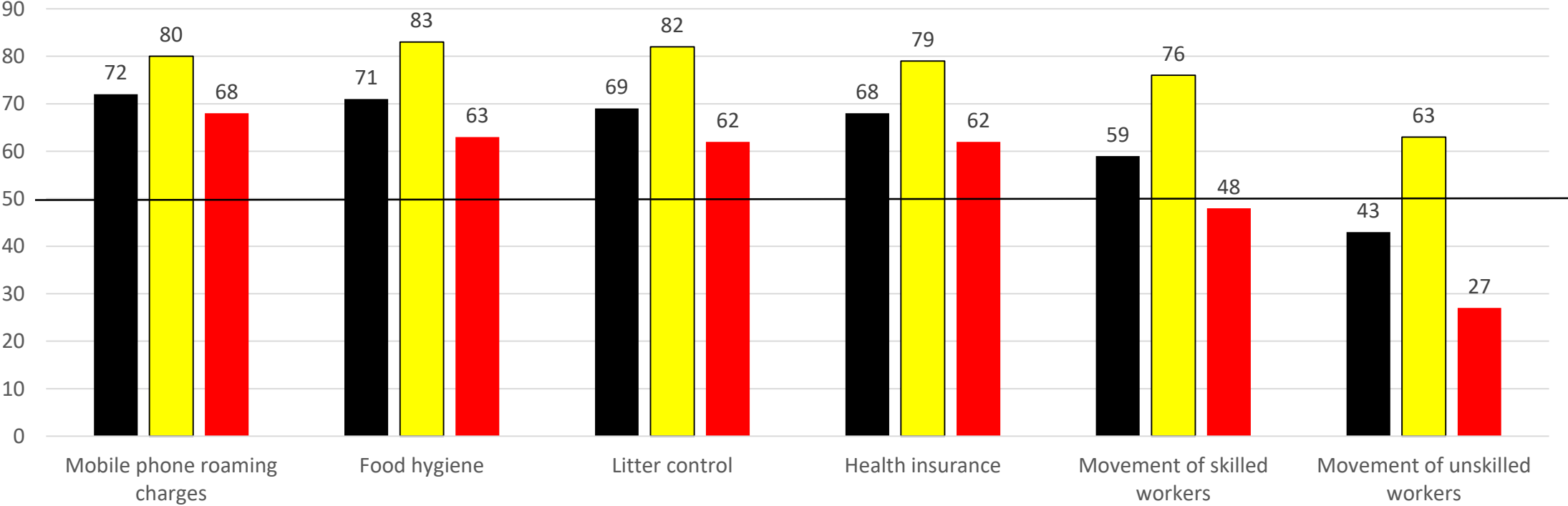
Should be the same between EU and UK (after it leaves)



# The take back control paradox? ENGLAND

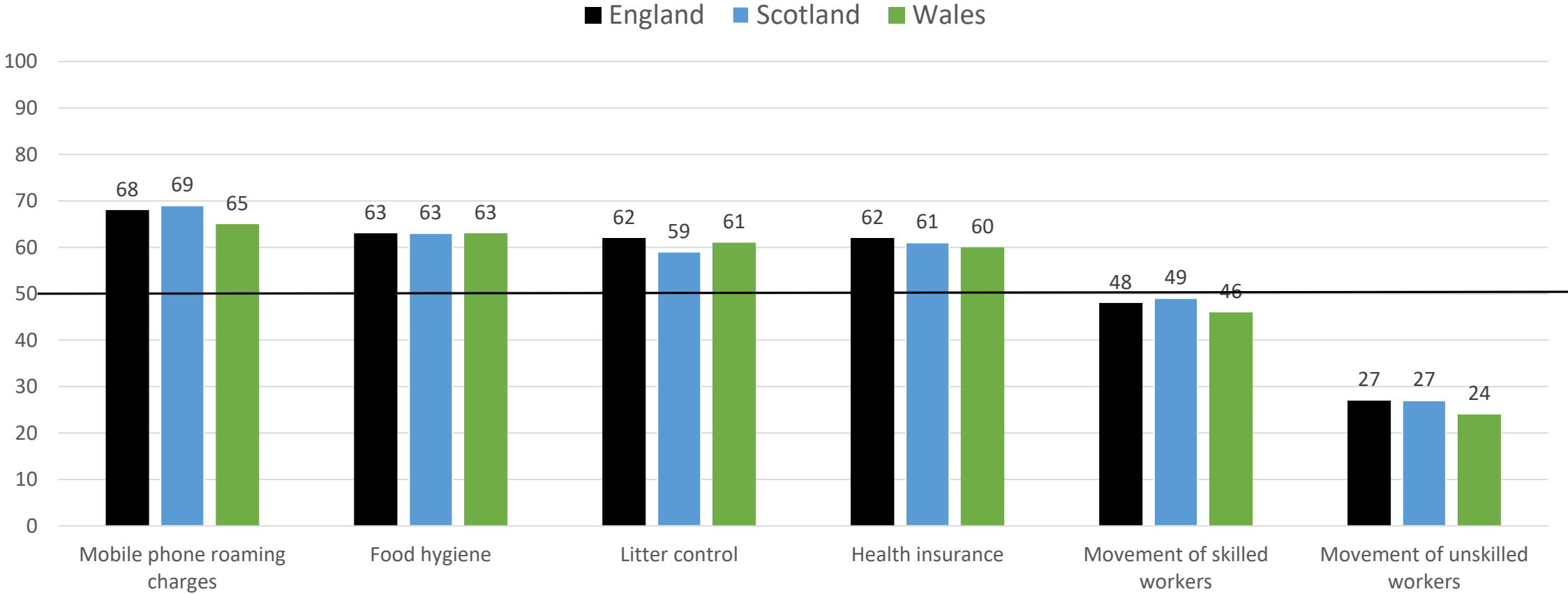
Should be the **same** between the UK and the EU (after it leaves)

■ All ■ Remain ■ Leave



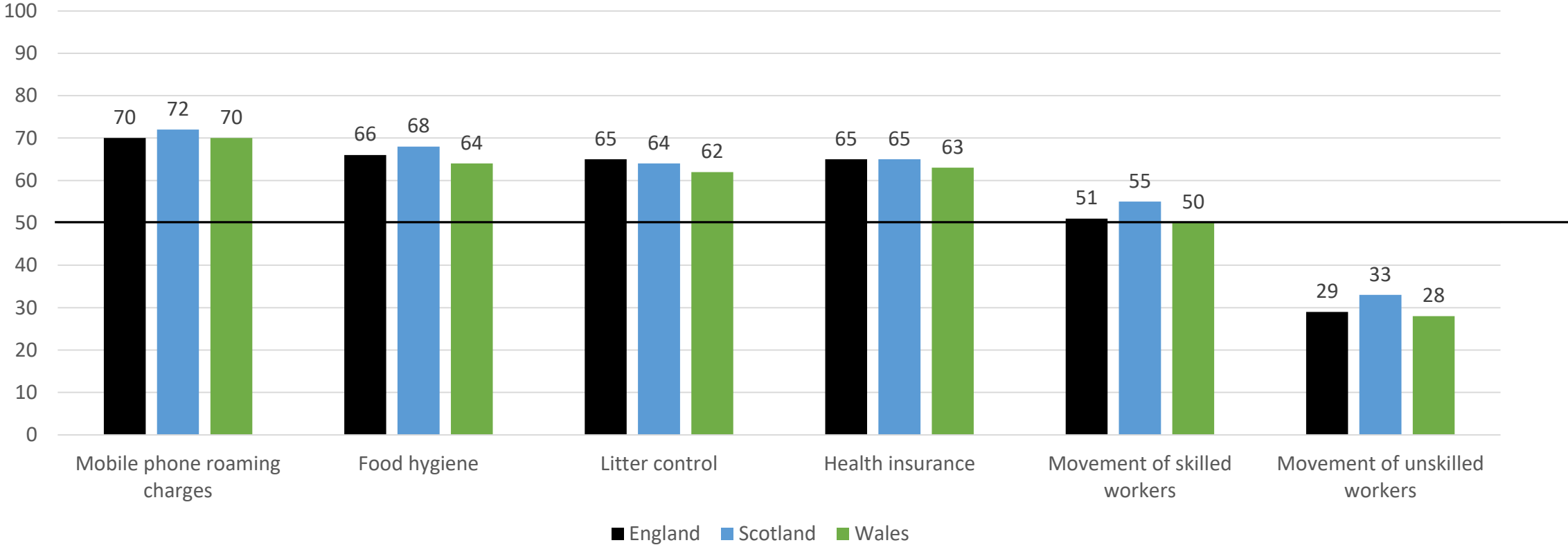
# The take back control paradox? **LEAVE** voters

Should be the **same** between the UK and the EU (after it leaves)



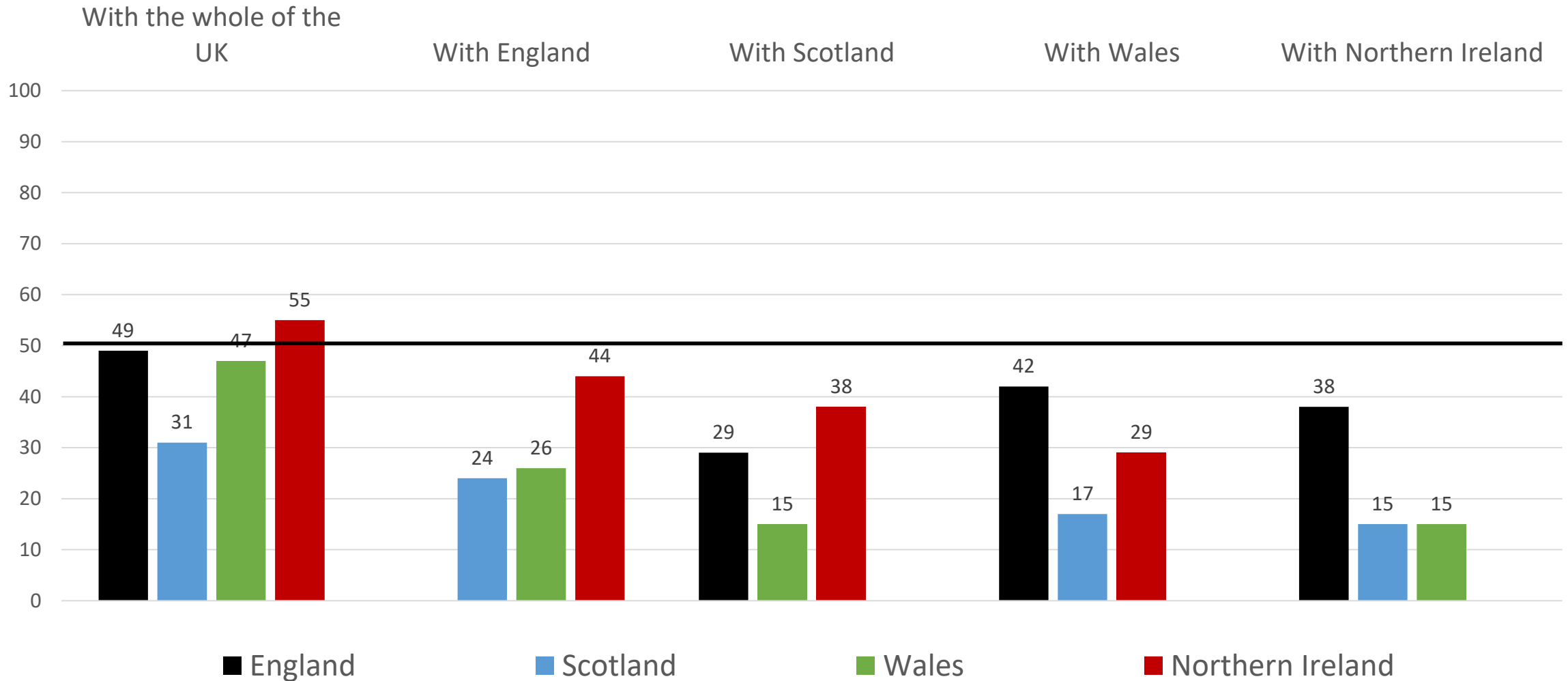
# The take back control paradox? Conservative voters

Should be the **same** between the UK and the EU (after it leaves)



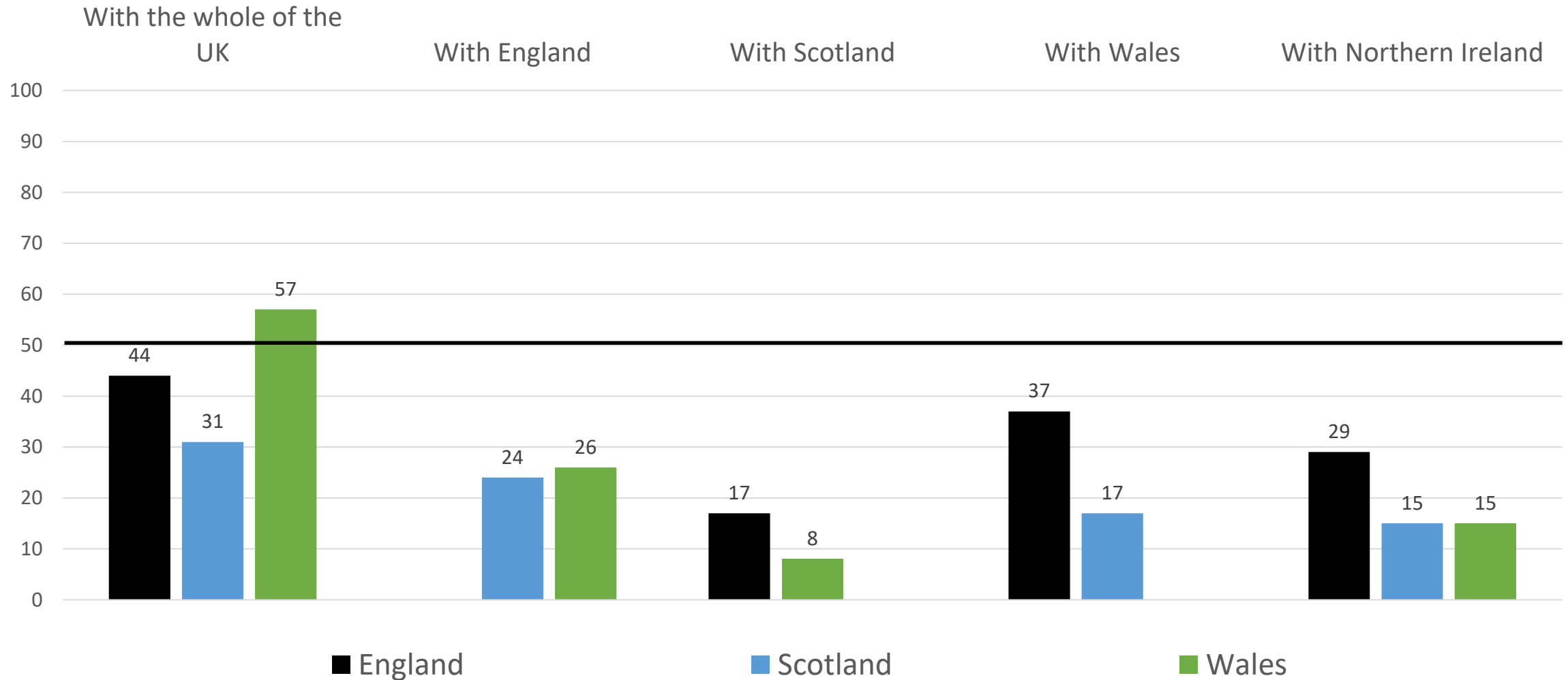
Sharing union

# Who will share ...?

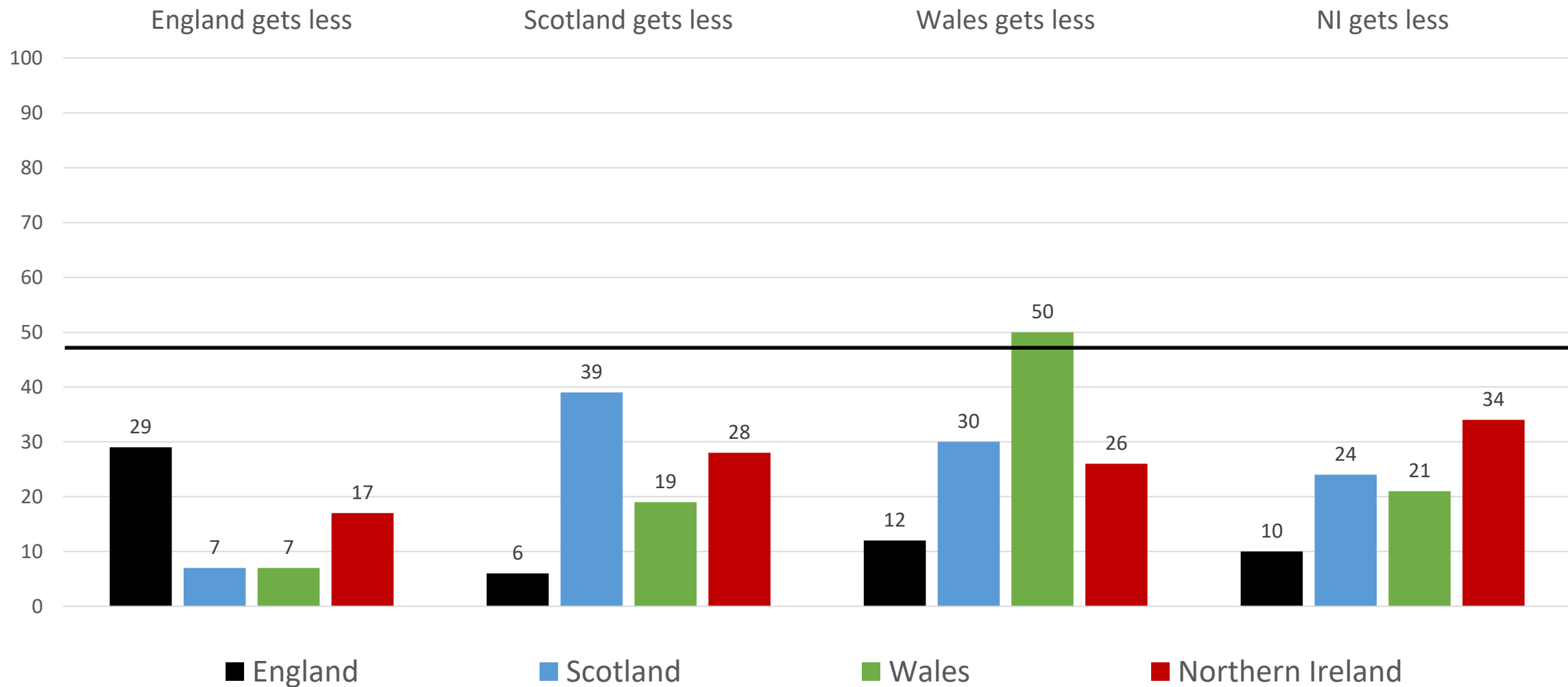




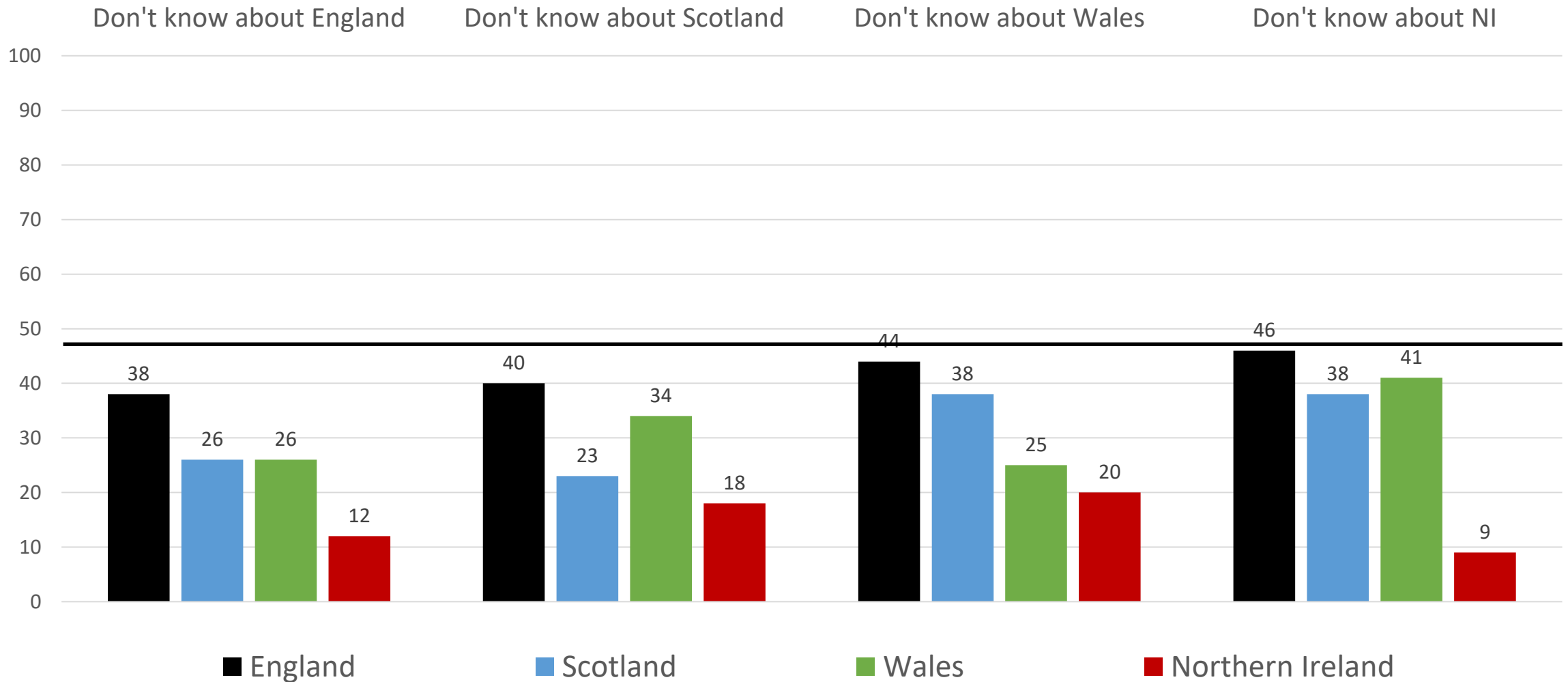
# Who will share ...? Conservative voters



# Who gets LESS than their fair share...?



# Union of ignorance?



# Conclusions

- Brexit serves to highlight how much voters value (or not) certain aspects of the union
  - Losing Scotland, and peace in NI seen as price worth paying for Brexit (esp for Leave voters and Conservative voters)
- Policy union?: Greater support for policy uniformity between UK and EU than within UK (even for Leave voters, Conservative voters across GB)
- Sharing union? No particular support for sharing resources with particular parts of UK
- Union of grievance (and at times union of ignorance)
- Challenges for Conservatives
  - Divided in terms of vision of union (sharing)
  - And, on some questions, don't seem particularly unionist (on policy uniformity or sharing, or Scottish independence)
  - Their own supporters want policy uniformity with the EU once the UK leaves