





1. Voting for the Brexit Party in the 2019 EU Election

Harold Clarke

Matthew Goodwin

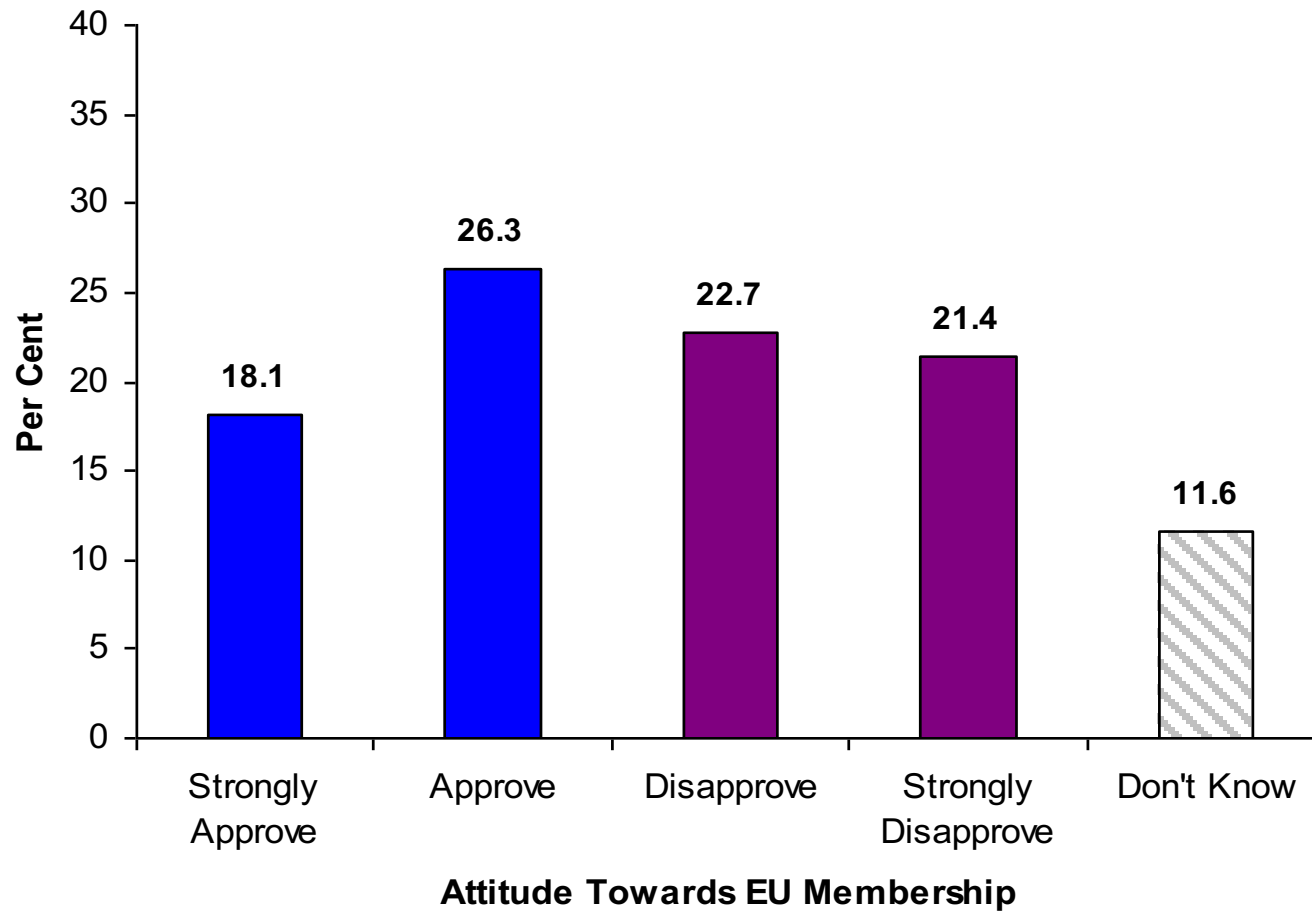
Marianne Stewart

Paul Whiteley

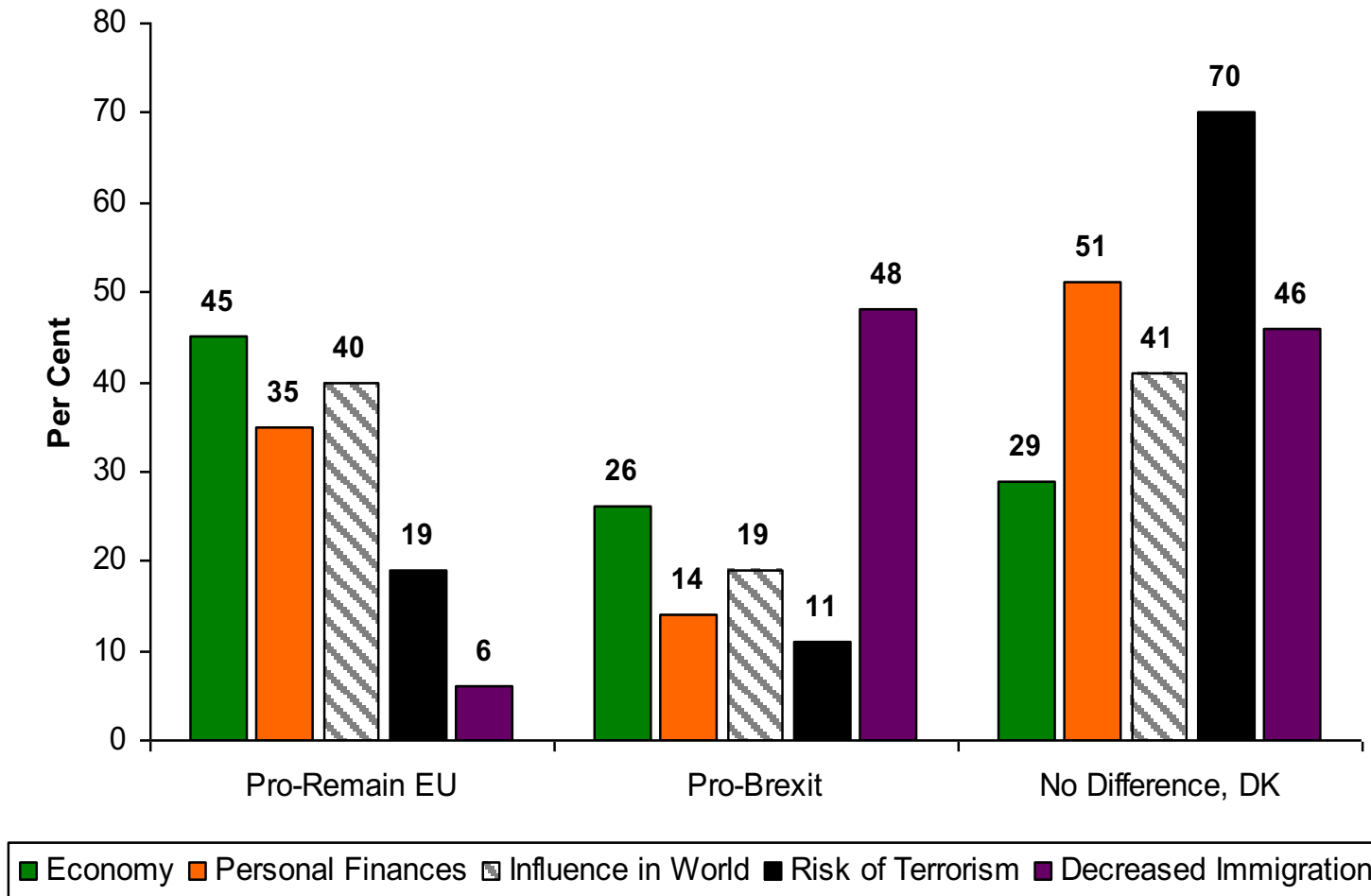
2. Studying Voting in the 2019 EU Election

- Representative national surveys conducted in weeks before and after the 2019 EU election
- Surveys conducted by Deltapoll under supervision of Joe Twyman
- Pre-post include election panel
- Pre-election N = 2525
- Post-election N = 2180
- Pre-post election panel N = 1584
- Surveys funded by grants from British Academy and University of Texas at Dallas
- We thank these organizations for their support

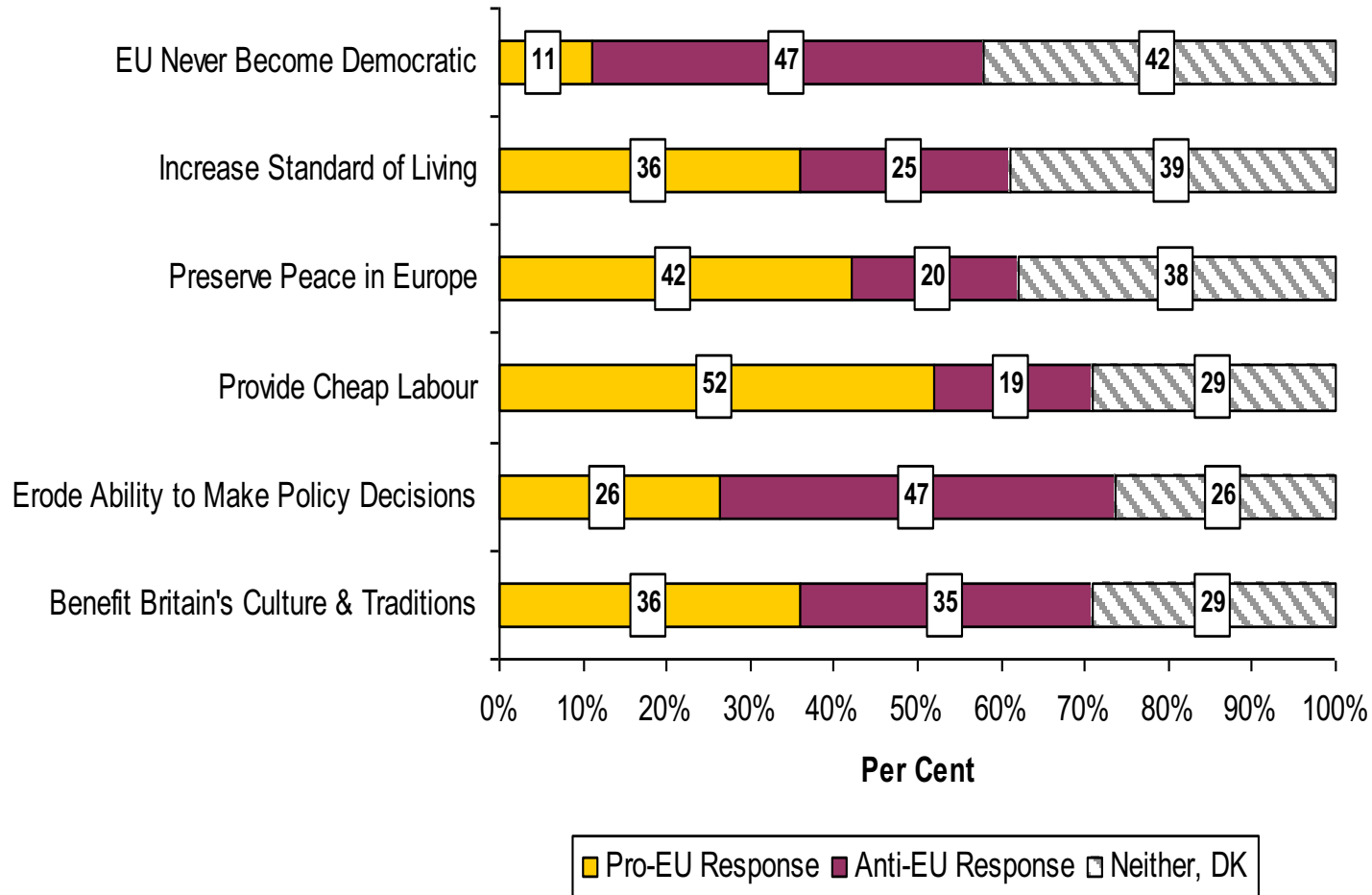
3. Dead Heat! Attitudes Towards EU Membership in Pre-Election Survey 44.4% Approve, 44.1% Disapprove



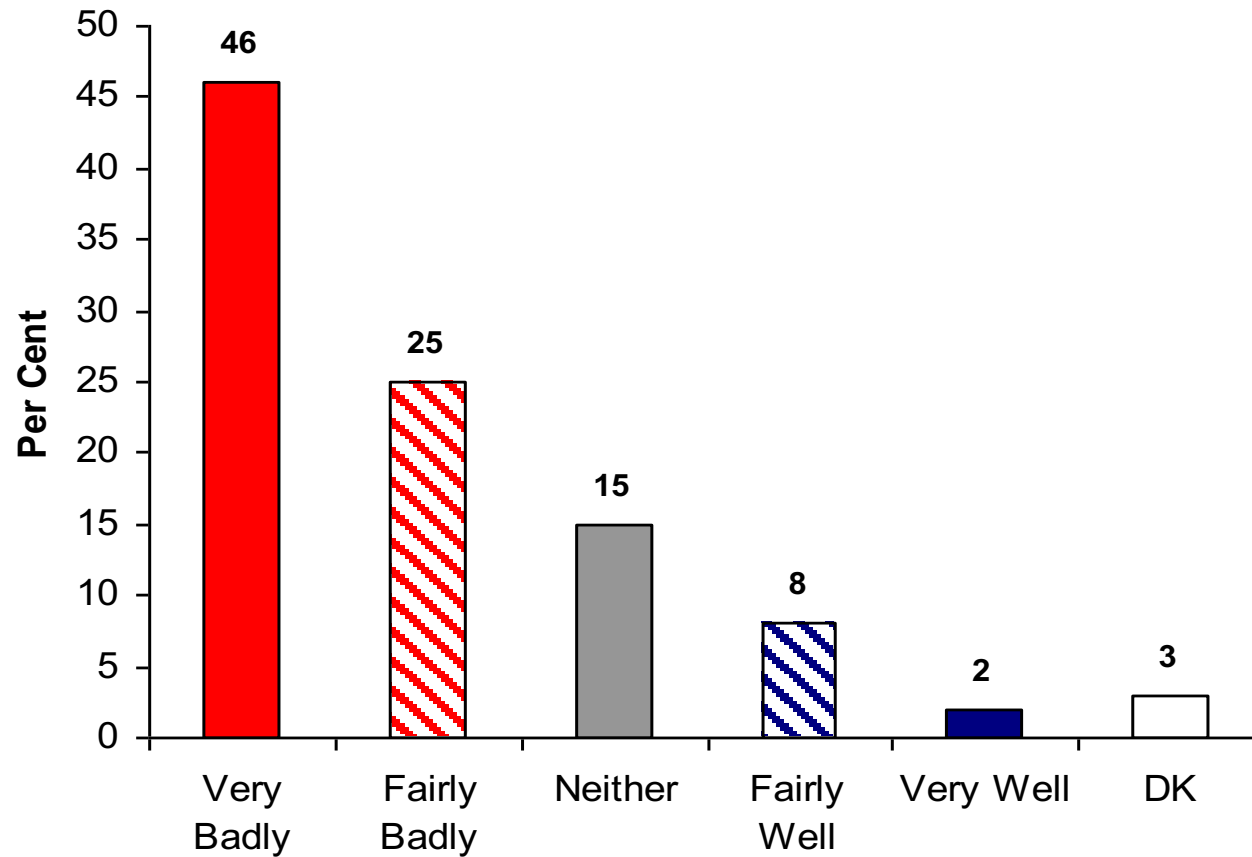
4. EU Attitudes: Perceived Consequences of Leaving EU – *Economy Versus Immigration*



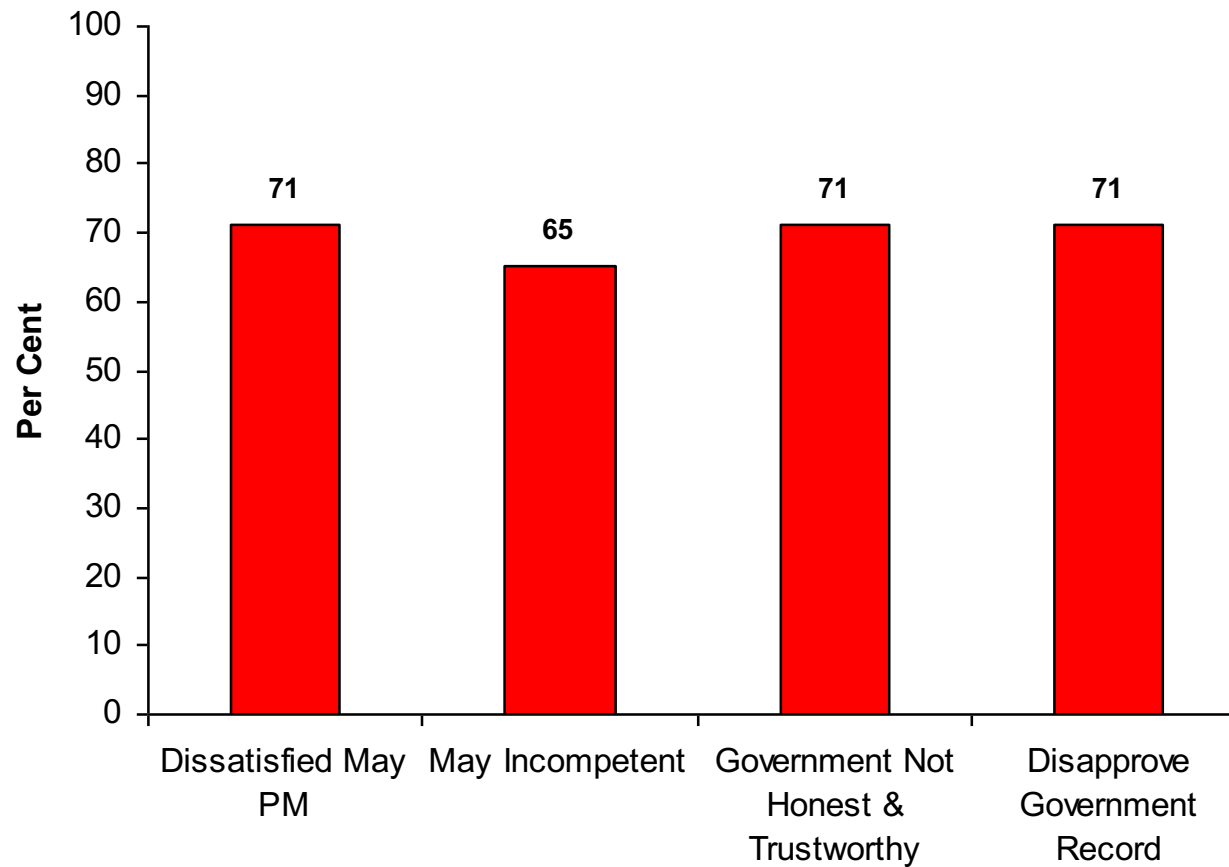
5. Perceived Effects of EU Membership, Prosperity & Peace v. Democracy, Sovereignty



6. Brexit Negotiations Judged Harshly - *How Has Conservative Government Handled Brexit Negotiations?*



7. Widespread Unhappiness with Theresa May and Her Government

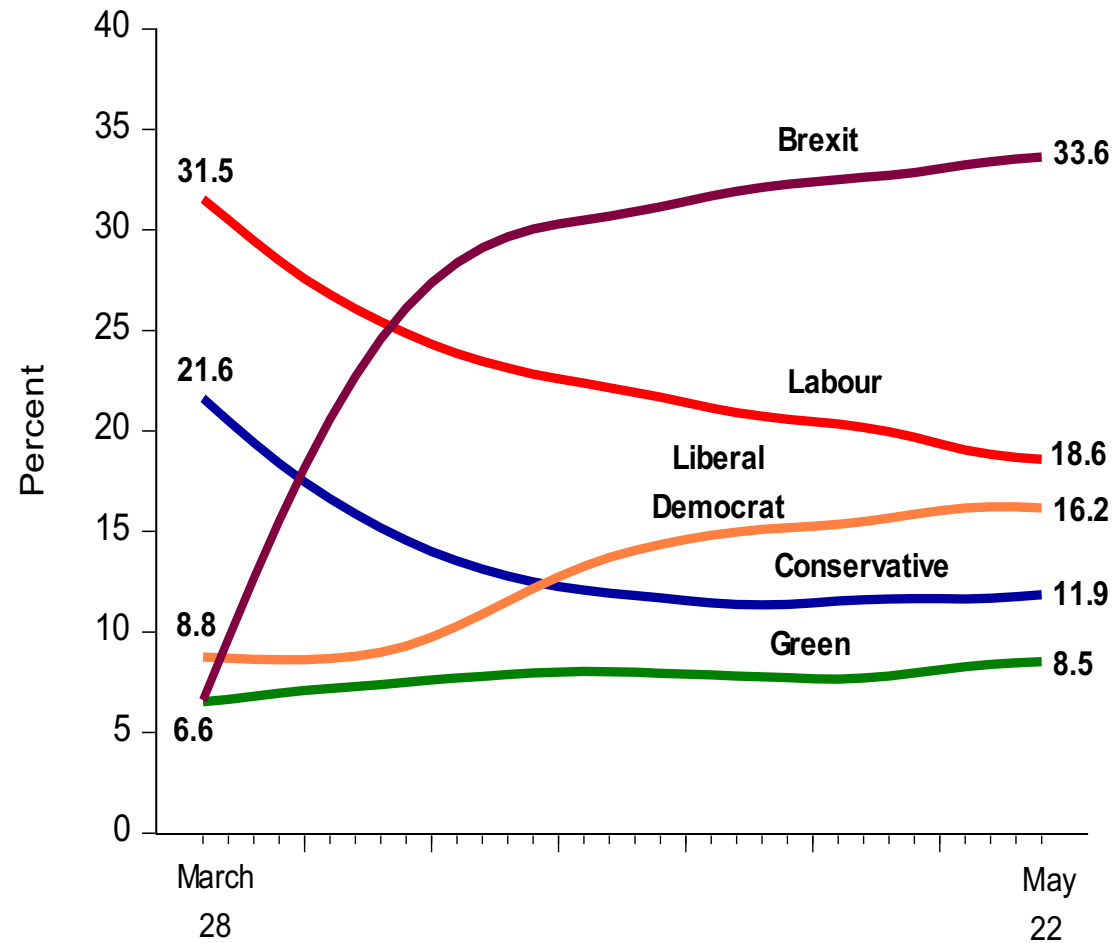


8. Brexit Party and Nigel Farage Suddenly Change Political Landscape

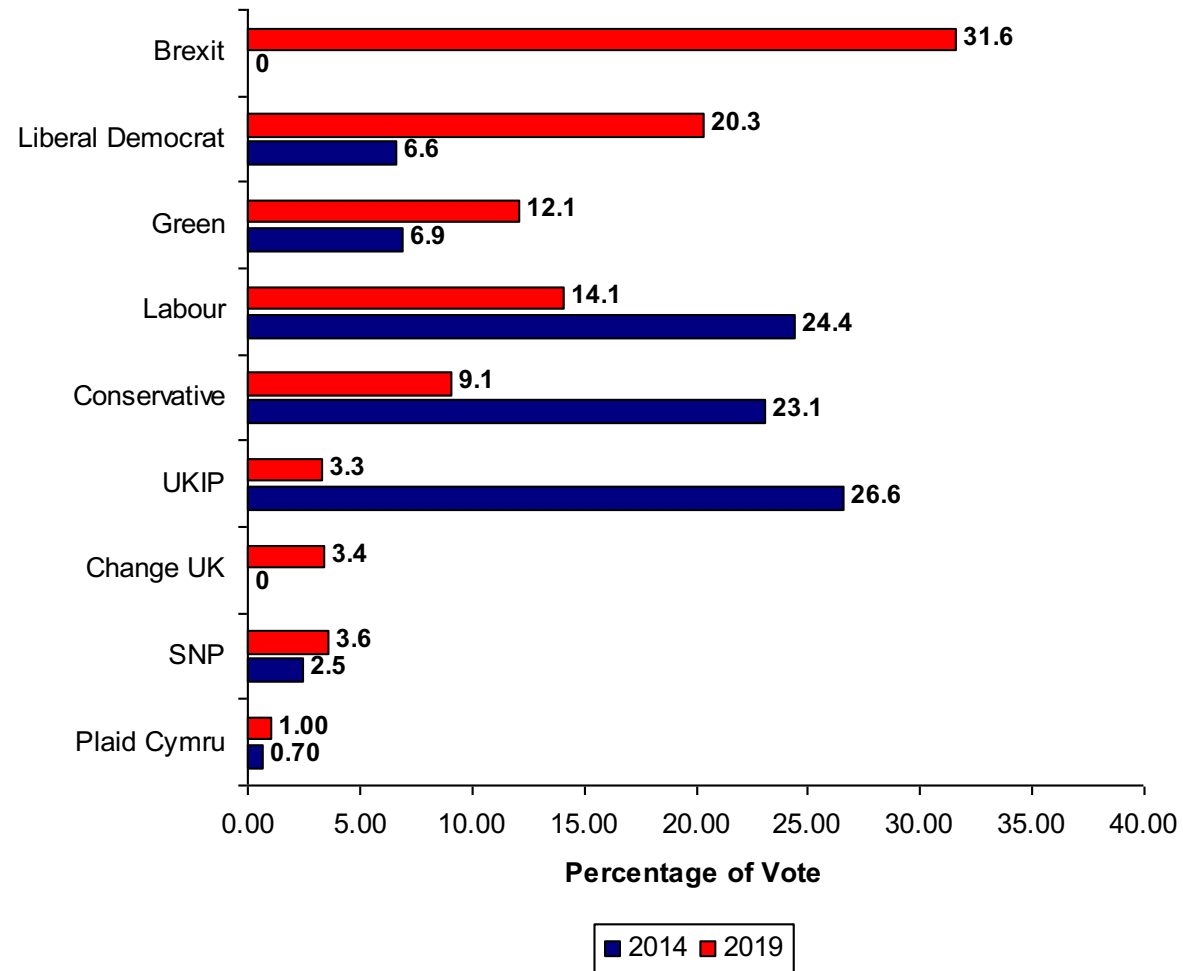


9. Trends in EU Election Vote Intentions After Nigel Farage Becomes BP Leader & Brexit Deadline Fails

34 Polls, Trends Estimated with Hodrick-Prescott Filter

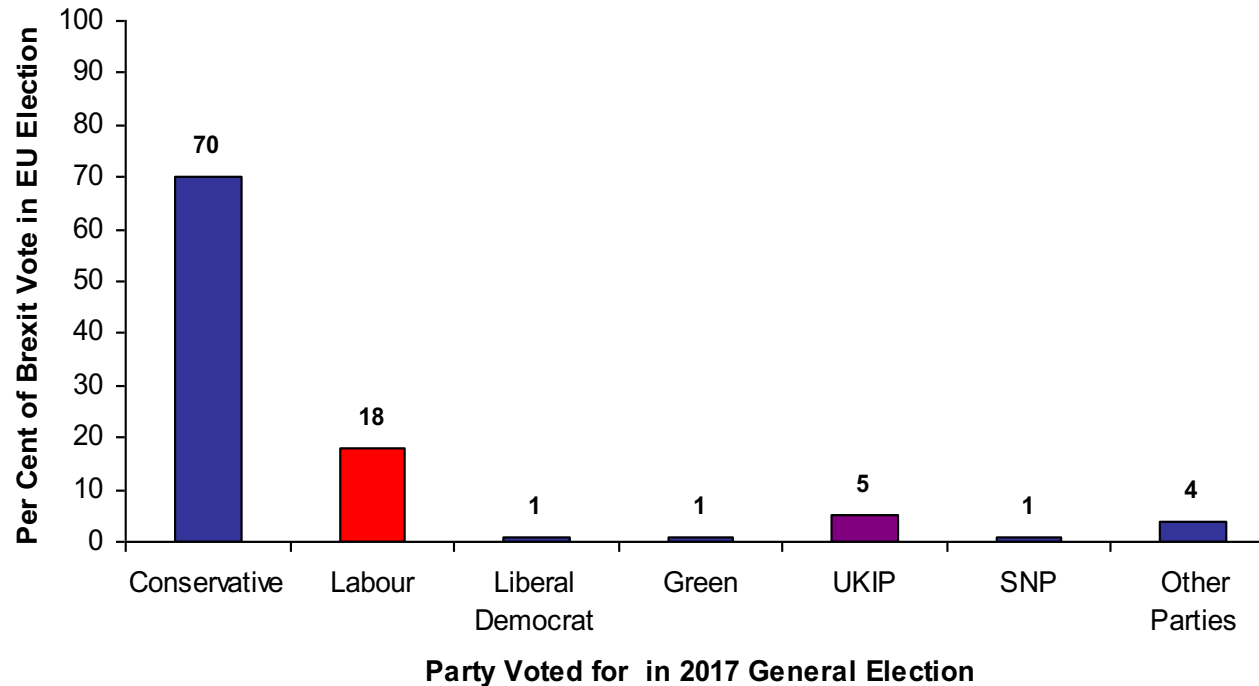


10. EU Election Results – Brexit Party Easy First, Lib Dems & Greens Also Run Well, Conservatives & Labour Lag Far Behind

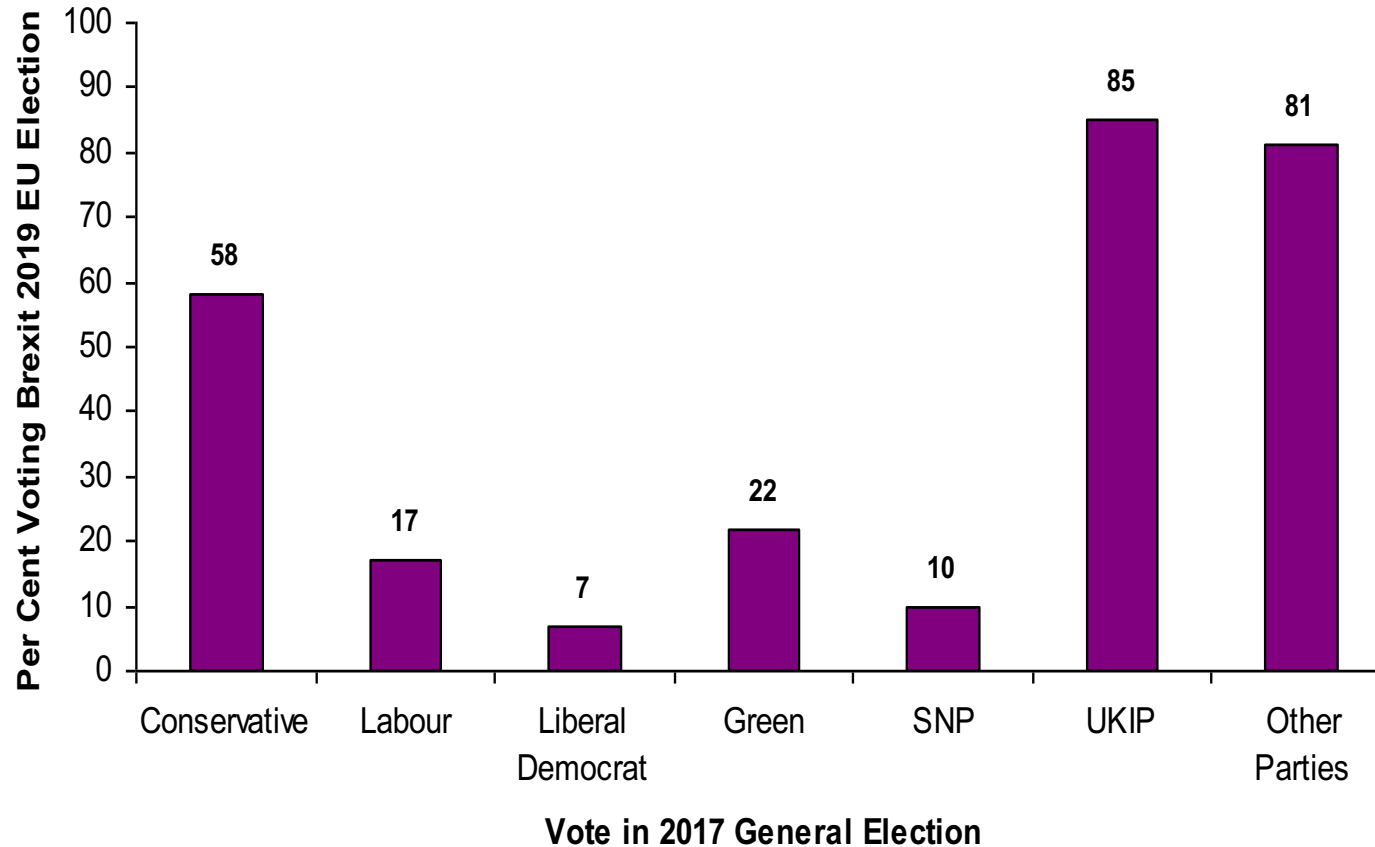


11. Which Parties Did the BP Vote Come From?

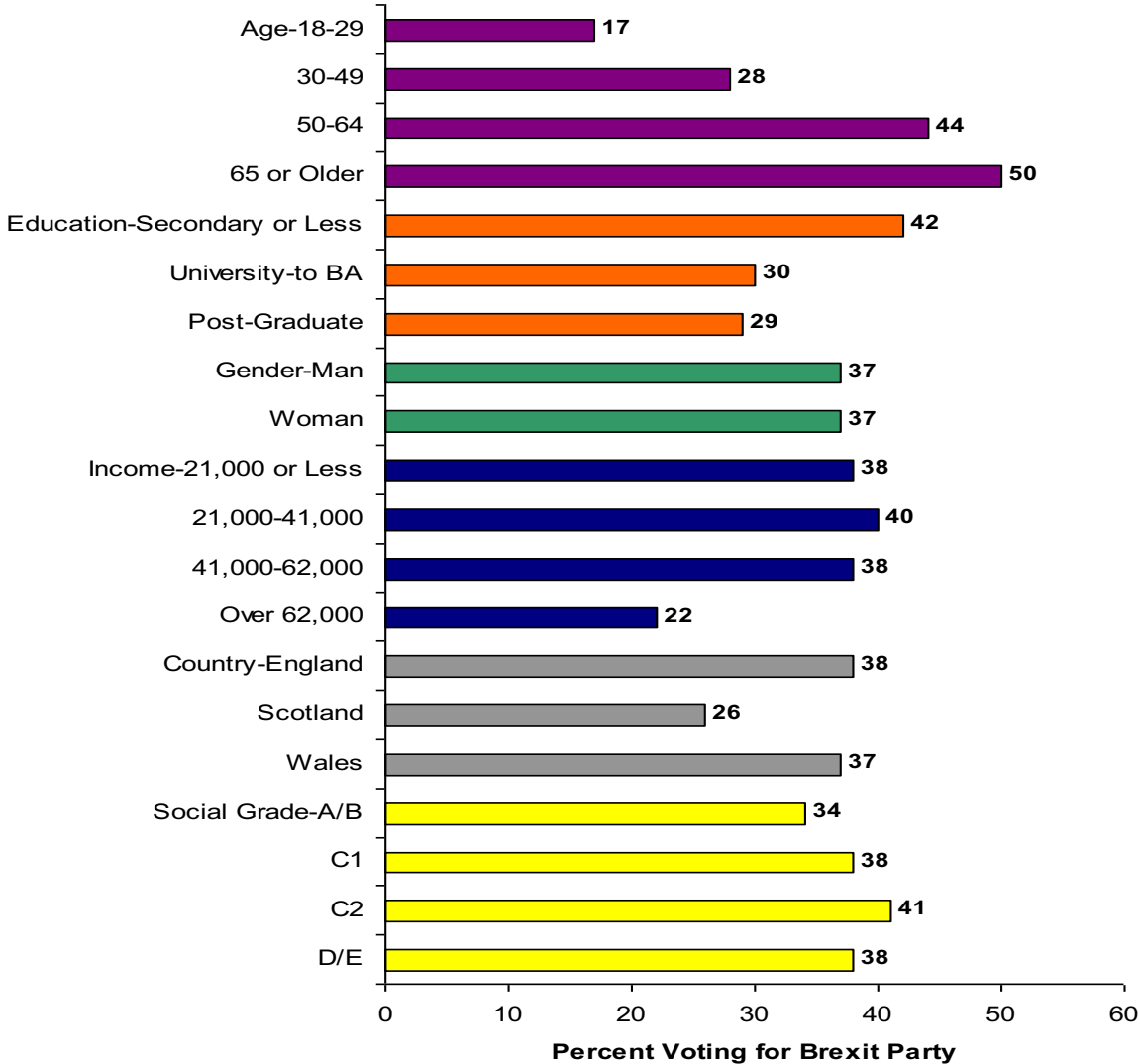
70% of BP Voters Supported Conservatives in 2017



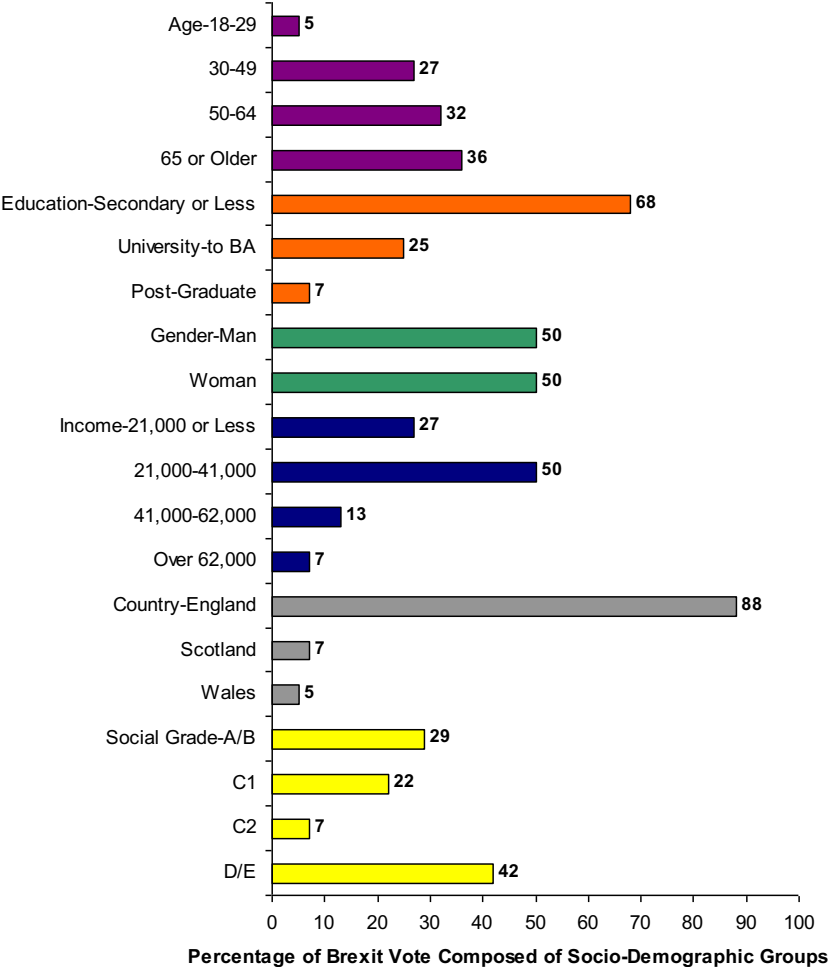
12. Brexit Vote in 2019 by Party Voted for in 2017 General Election – 58% of 2017 Conservative Supporters Voted BP in 2019



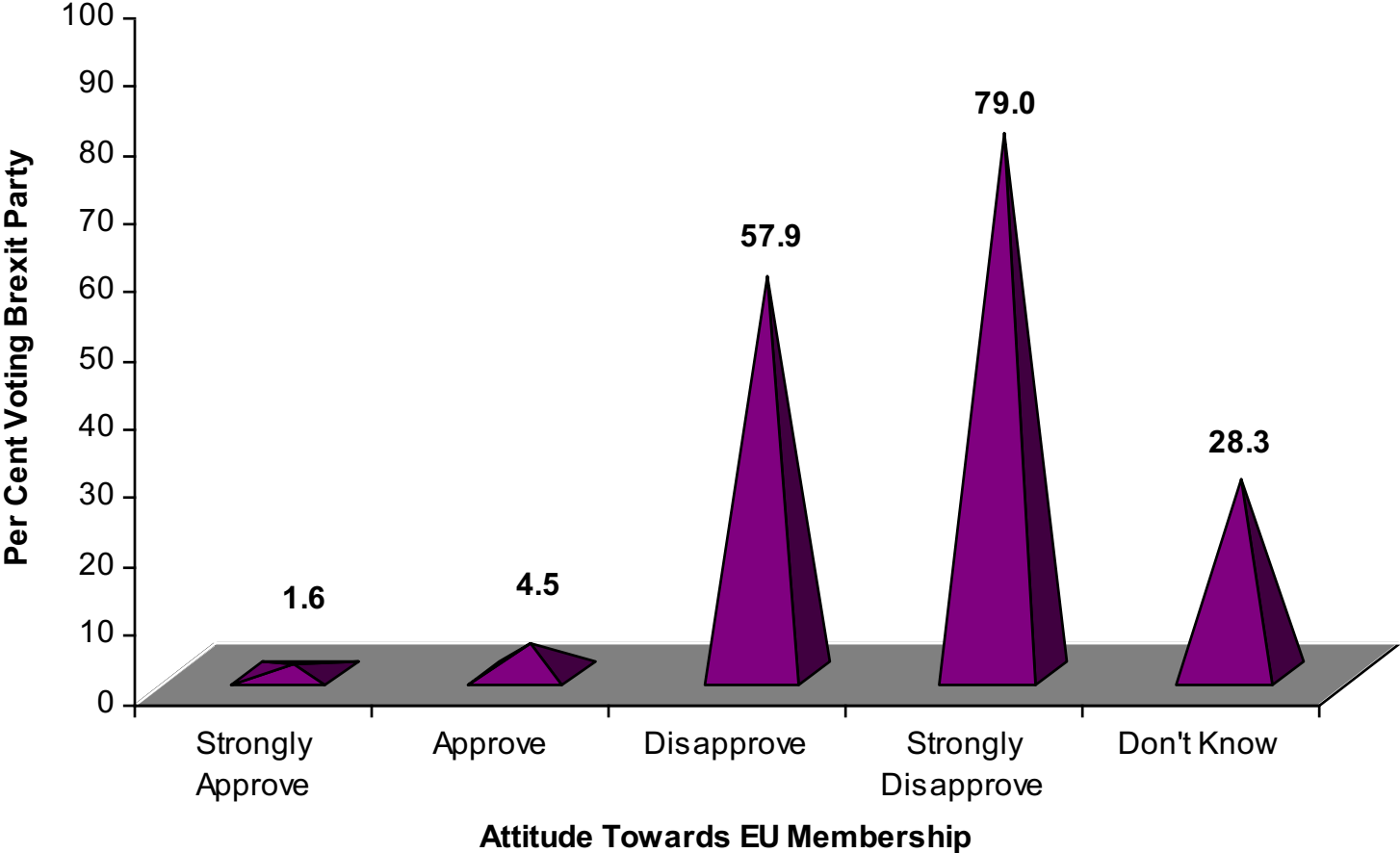
13. Brexit Party Vote by Membership in Various Demographic Groups



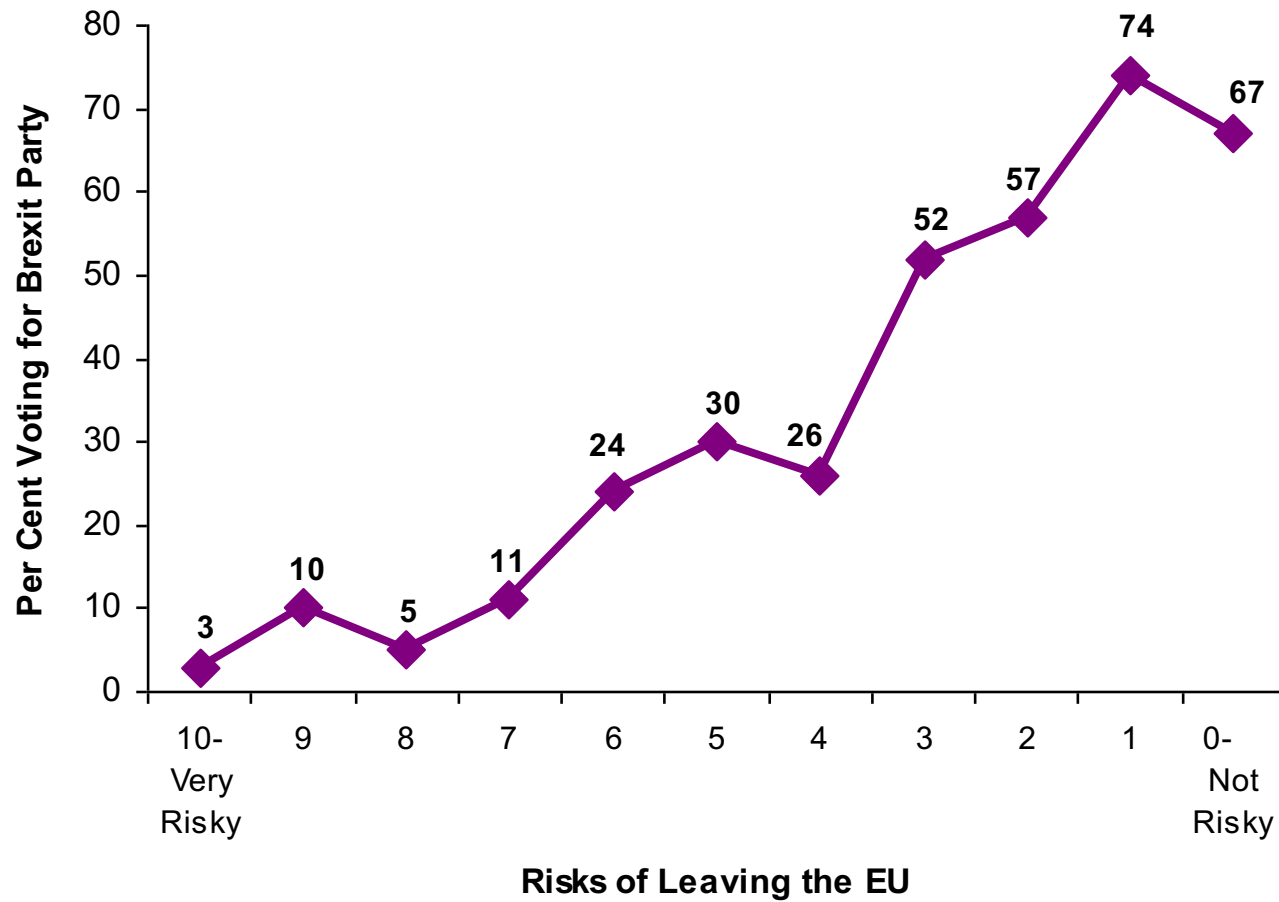
14. Demographic Composition of Brexit Party Vote



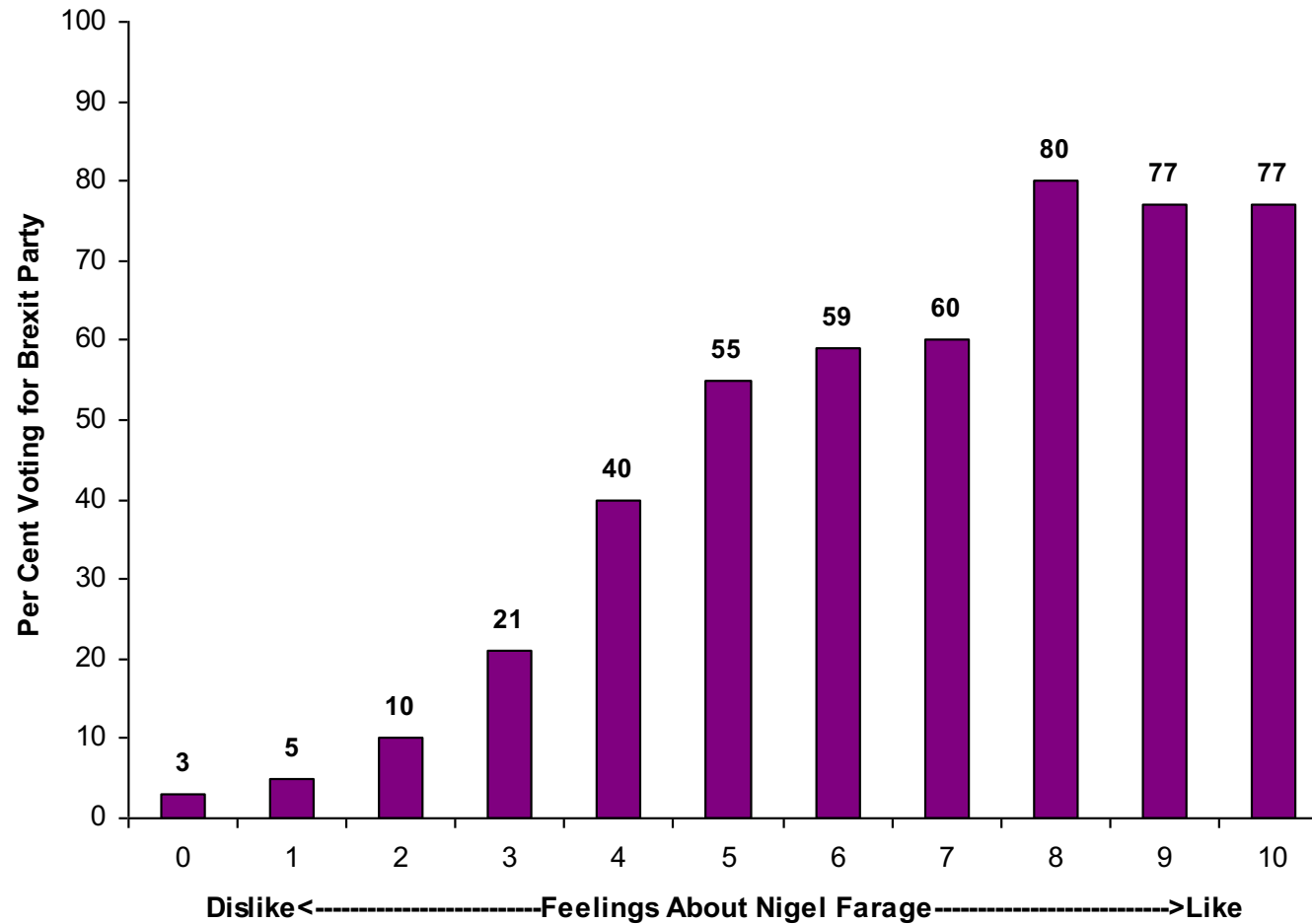
15. The Fundamental: Brexit Party Vote by Attitudes Towards EU



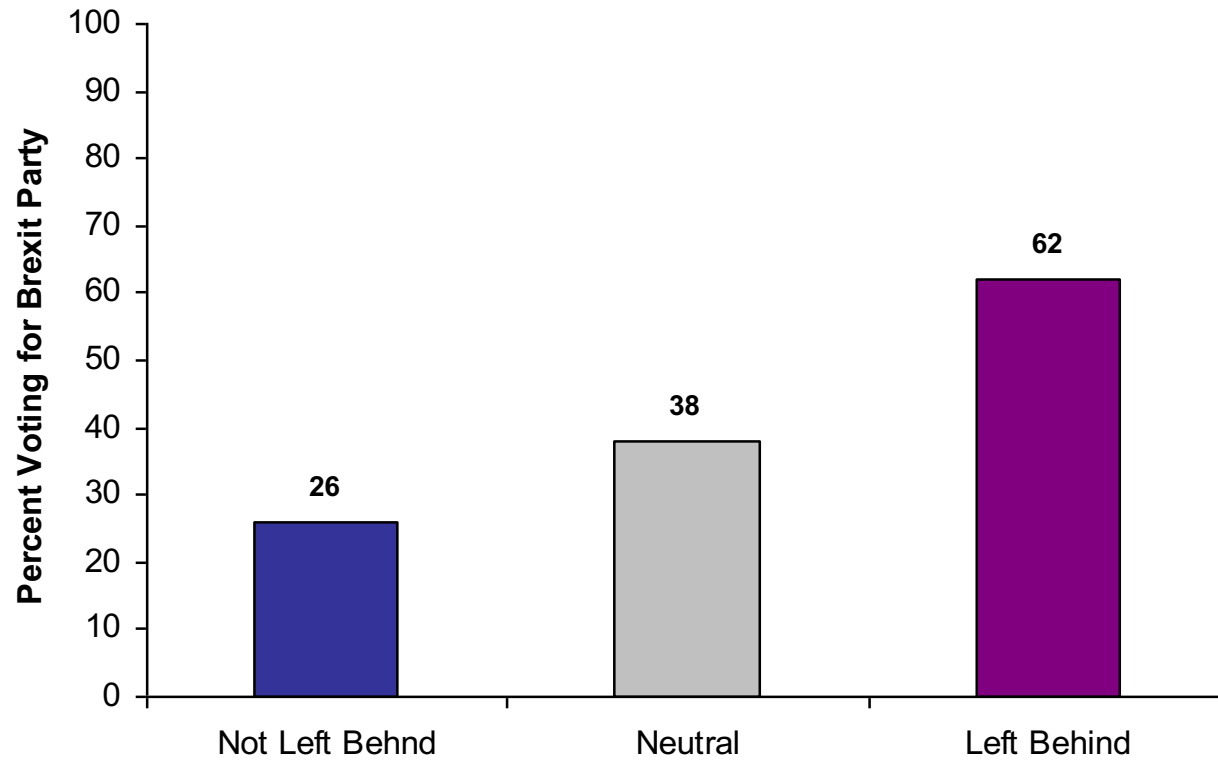
16. Project Fear Continues! Brexit Party Vote by Perceived Risks of Leaving EU



17. Having Nigel as Leader Important - Brexit Party Vote by Feelings about Farage



18. Other Factors at Work – Example - Vote for Brexit Party by Judgments About Being Left Behind Economically



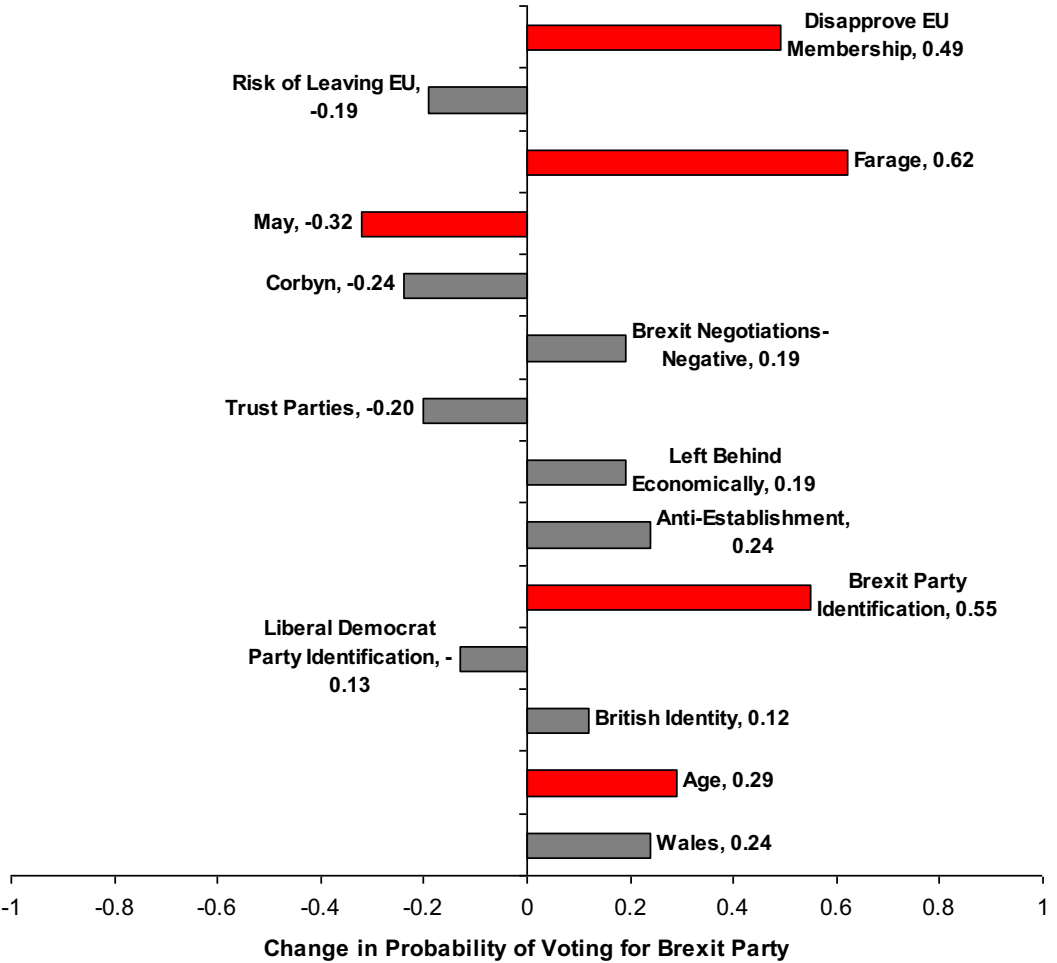
19. Bringing It Together - Multivariate Model of Brexit Party Voting

- **Dependent Variable:** Brexit Party Vote (1) versus Other Party Vote (0)
- **Independent Variables:**
 - Attitudes towards EU Membership
 - Perceived Risks of Leaving EU
 - Reactions to EU Negotiations
 - Economic Evaluations & Feelings of Being Left Behind Economically
 - Trust Political Parties & Anti-Establishment Attitudes
 - Feelings About Party Leaders
 - Party Identification
 - Left-Right Ideological Orientations
 - Demographics – Age, Education, Gender, Income, Country (England, Scotland, Wales)
 - Model Parameters Estimated Using Logistic Regression - Stata 15

20. Logistic Regression Analysis of BP Vote

| <i>Predictor</i> | <u>b</u> | <u>s.e.</u> |
|--|-----------|-------------|
| Approve-Disapprove EU Membership | .740*** | .155 |
| Risk of Leaving the EU | -.106* | .047 |
| Negative Evaluation of Brexit Negotiations | .237* | .128 |
| Feel Left Behind Economically | .231* | .121 |
| Anti-Establishment Attitudes | .344*** | .116 |
| Trust Political Parties | -.131** | .052 |
| Economic Evaluations | -.063 | .130 |
| Feelings about Party Leaders: | | |
| Theresa May | -.208*** | .054 |
| Jeremy Corbyn | -.174*** | .053 |
| Vince Cable | .042 | .050 |
| Nigel Farage | .341*** | .041 |
| Party Identification: | | |
| Conservative | -.411 | .350 |
| Labour | -.372 | .374 |
| Liberal Democrat | -.953* | .568 |
| Brexit Party | 2.640*** | .588 |
| Green | -.750 | .662 |
| Other Party | -.573 | .496 |
| Left-Right Ideological Orientation | .110 | .072 |
| Age | .024*** | .007 |
| Education | .122 | .168 |
| Gender | -.202 | .215 |
| Income | .028 | .039 |
| Country: | | |
| Scotland | .119 | .404 |
| Wales | 1.141* | .519 |
| Constant | -5.673*** | 1.063 |
| McKelvey R2 = .78 | | |
| Percentage Correctly Classified = 89.8 | | |
| N = 1326 | | |

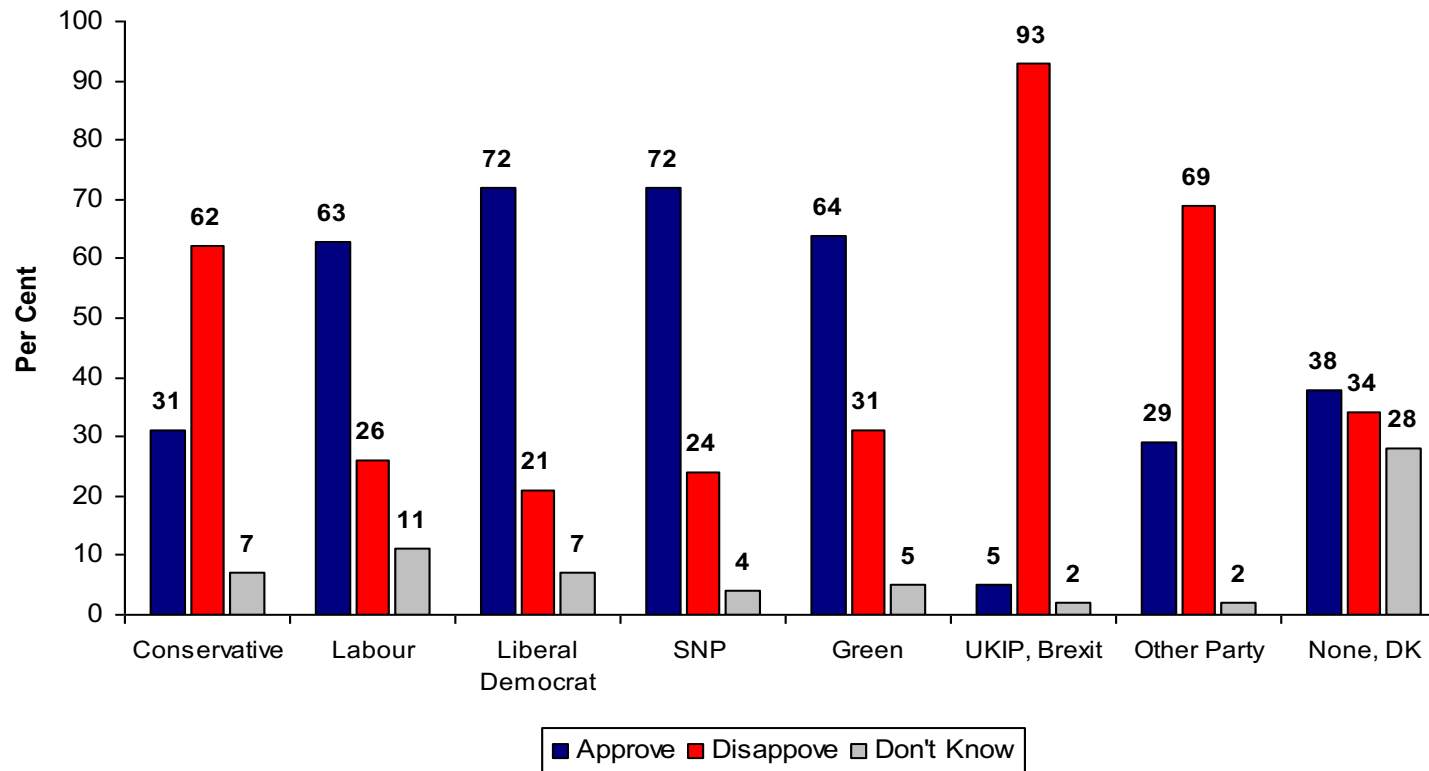
21. Size of Effects - Change In Probability of BP Vote by Changes in Significant Predictors



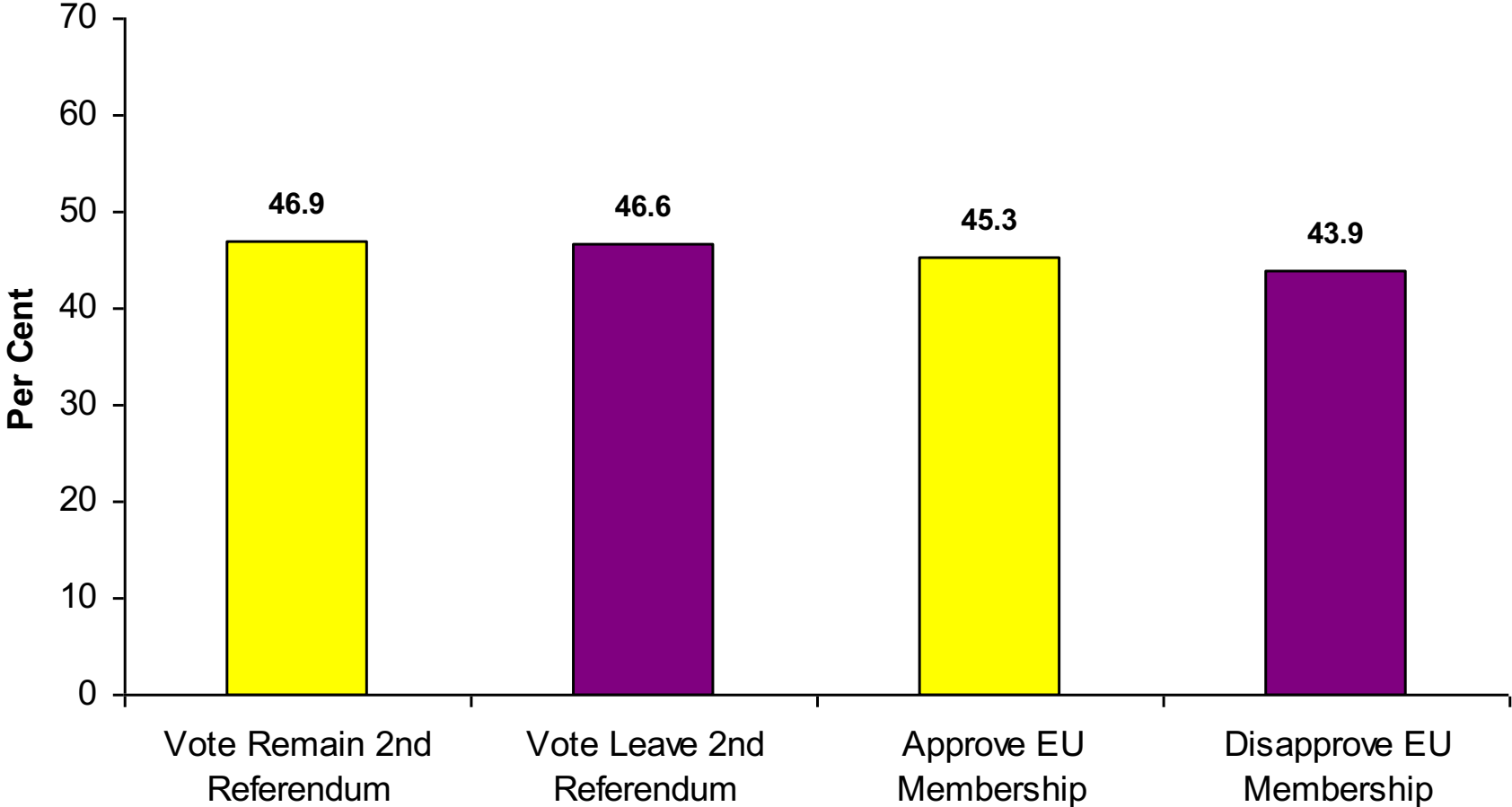
22. Battle of Brexit Continues



23. Party Divisions on Brexit - Attitudes Towards EU by Party Identification



24. Attitudes Towards EU & Vote if 2nd Referendum, Essex-UTD Post-Election Survey



25. Multi-Party Competition Next General Election? Trends in 105 Polls, Nov 25, 2018 – July 2, 2019

