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

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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude Towards EU Membership</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Approve</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disapprove</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. EU Attitudes: Perceived Consequences of Leaving EU – *Economy Versus Immigration*

![Chart showing perceived consequences of leaving EU based on attitudes: Pro-Remain EU, Pro-Brexit, No Difference, DK. The chart indicates the percentage of respondents who believe leaving the EU could have different impacts on the economy, personal finances, influence in the world, risk of terrorism, and decreased immigration.](chart_image)
5. Perceived Effects of EU Membership, *Prosperity & Peace v. Democracy, Sovereignty*

- **EU Never Become Democratic**
  - Pro-EU: 11%
  - Anti-EU: 47%
  - Neither: 42%

- **Increase Standard of Living**
  - Pro-EU: 36%
  - Anti-EU: 25%
  - Neither: 39%

- **Preserve Peace in Europe**
  - Pro-EU: 42%
  - Anti-EU: 20%
  - Neither: 38%

- **Provide Cheap Labour**
  - Pro-EU: 52%
  - Anti-EU: 19%
  - Neither: 29%

- **Erode Ability to Make Policy Decisions**
  - Pro-EU: 26%
  - Anti-EU: 47%
  - Neither: 26%

- **Benefit Britain's Culture & Traditions**
  - Pro-EU: 36%
  - Anti-EU: 35%
  - Neither: 29%

![Bar chart showing the percentage of responses to how the Conservative Government handled Brexit negotiations.]

- Very Badly: 46%
- Fairly Badly: 25%
- Neither: 15%
- Fairly Well: 8%
- Very Well: 2%
- DK: 3%
7. Widespread Unhappiness with Theresa May and Her Government

- Dissatisfied with May PM: 71%
- May Incompetent: 65%
- Government Not Honest & Trustworthy: 71%
- Disapprove Government Record: 71%
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

[Graph showing trends of different political parties over time]
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

![Chart showing the percentage of Brexit vote per party in the EU Election compared to the parties voted for in the 2017 General Election. Conservatives received 70%, Labour 18%, Liberal Democrats 1%, Greens 1%, UKIP 5%, SNP 1%, and Others 4%.]

Vote in 2017 General Election

Per Cent Voting Brexit 2019 EU Election

- Conservative: 58%
- Labour: 17%
- Liberal Democrat: 7%
- Green: 22%
- SNP: 10%
- UKIP: 85%
- Other Parties: 81%
13. Brexit Party Vote by Membership in Various Demographic Groups
14. Demographic Composition of Brexit Party Vote

- **Age-18-29**: 5%
- **30-49**: 27%
- **50-64**: 32%
- **65 or Older**: 36%
- **Education-Secondary or Less**: 68%
- **University-to BA**: 25%
- **Post-Graduate**: 7%
- **Gender-Man**: 50%
- **Woman**: 50%
- **Income-21,000 or Less**: 27%
- **21,000-41,000**: 50%
- **41,000-62,000**: 13%
- **Over 62,000**: 7%
- **Country-England**: 88%
- **Scotland**: 7%
- **Wales**: 5%
- **Social Grade-A/B**: 29%
- **C1**: 22%
- **C2**: 7%
- **D/E**: 42%

Percentage of Brexit Vote Composed of Socio-Demographic Groups
15. The Fundamental: Brexit Party Vote by Attitudes Towards EU

![Bar chart showing the percentage of people voting for the Brexit Party based on their attitude towards EU membership.

- Strongly Approve: 1.6%
- Approve: 4.5%
- Disapprove: 57.9%
- Strongly Disapprove: 79.0%
- Don't Know: 28.3%]
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

Dislike<--------------------------Feelings About Nigel Farage--------------------------->Like

Per Cent Voting for Brexit Party

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
3 5 10 21 40 55 59 60 80 77 77
18. Other Factors at Work – Example - Vote for Brexit Party by Judgments About Being Left Behind Economically

- Not Left Behind: 26%
- Neutral: 38%
- Left Behind: 62%

- **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

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

- Risk of Leaving EU, -0.19
- May, -0.32
- Corbyn, -0.24
- Trust Parties, -0.20
- Liberal Democrat Party Identification, -0.13
- British Identity, 0.12
- Age, 0.29
- Wales, 0.24
- Farage, 0.62
- Brexit Negotiations-Negative, 0.19
- Left Behind Economically, 0.19
- Anti-Establishment, 0.24
- Brexit Party Identification, 0.55
- Disapprove EU Membership, 0.49
- Risk of Leaving EU, -0.19
- May, -0.32
- Corbyn, -0.24
- Trust Parties, -0.20
- Liberal Democrat Party Identification, -0.13
- British Identity, 0.12
- Age, 0.29
- Wales, 0.24
- Farage, 0.62
- Brexit Negotiations-Negative, 0.19
- Left Behind Economically, 0.19
- Anti-Establishment, 0.24
- Brexit Party Identification, 0.55
- Disapprove EU Membership, 0.49
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

- Vote Remain 2nd Referendum: 46.9%
- Vote Leave 2nd Referendum: 46.6%
- Approve EU Membership: 45.3%
- Disapprove EU Membership: 43.9%
25. Multi-Party Competition Next General Election?
Trends in 105 Polls, Nov 25, 2018 – July 2, 2019