

A quick plug for our forthcoming book...

What is really driving populism?

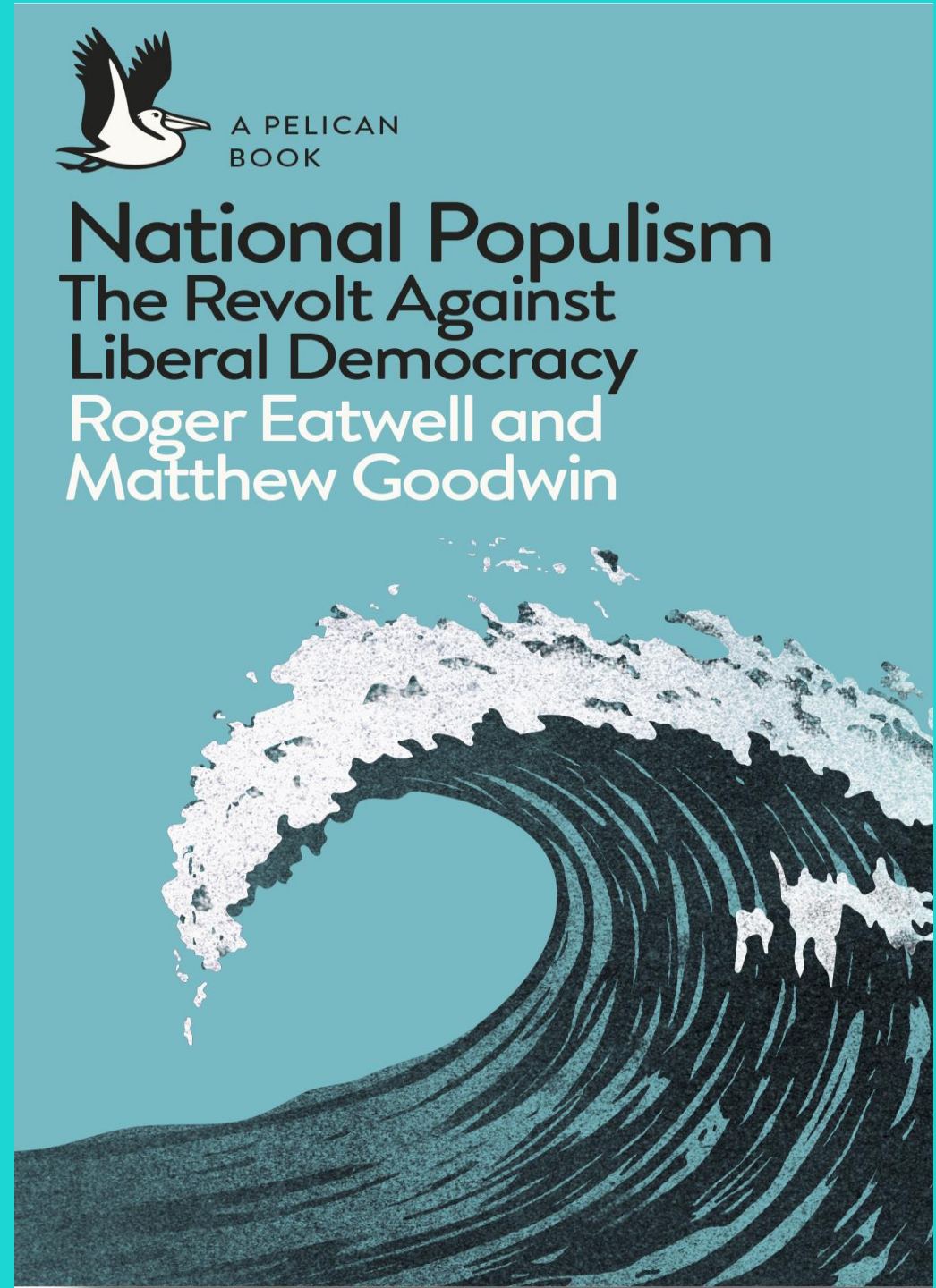
What are the key trends?

Where are people going wrong?

What is coming next?

Brexit, Trump, Europe....

October 2018





University of
Kent



Brexit Cause and Consequence

Matthew Goodwin
@GoodwinMJ



EU REFERENDUM

BBC FORECAST: UK VOTES TO LEAVE

LEAVE 13,055,523

REMAIN 12,207,708

309/382 declared

BBC NEWS 04:40

Dumfries

47% 53%

Hinckley

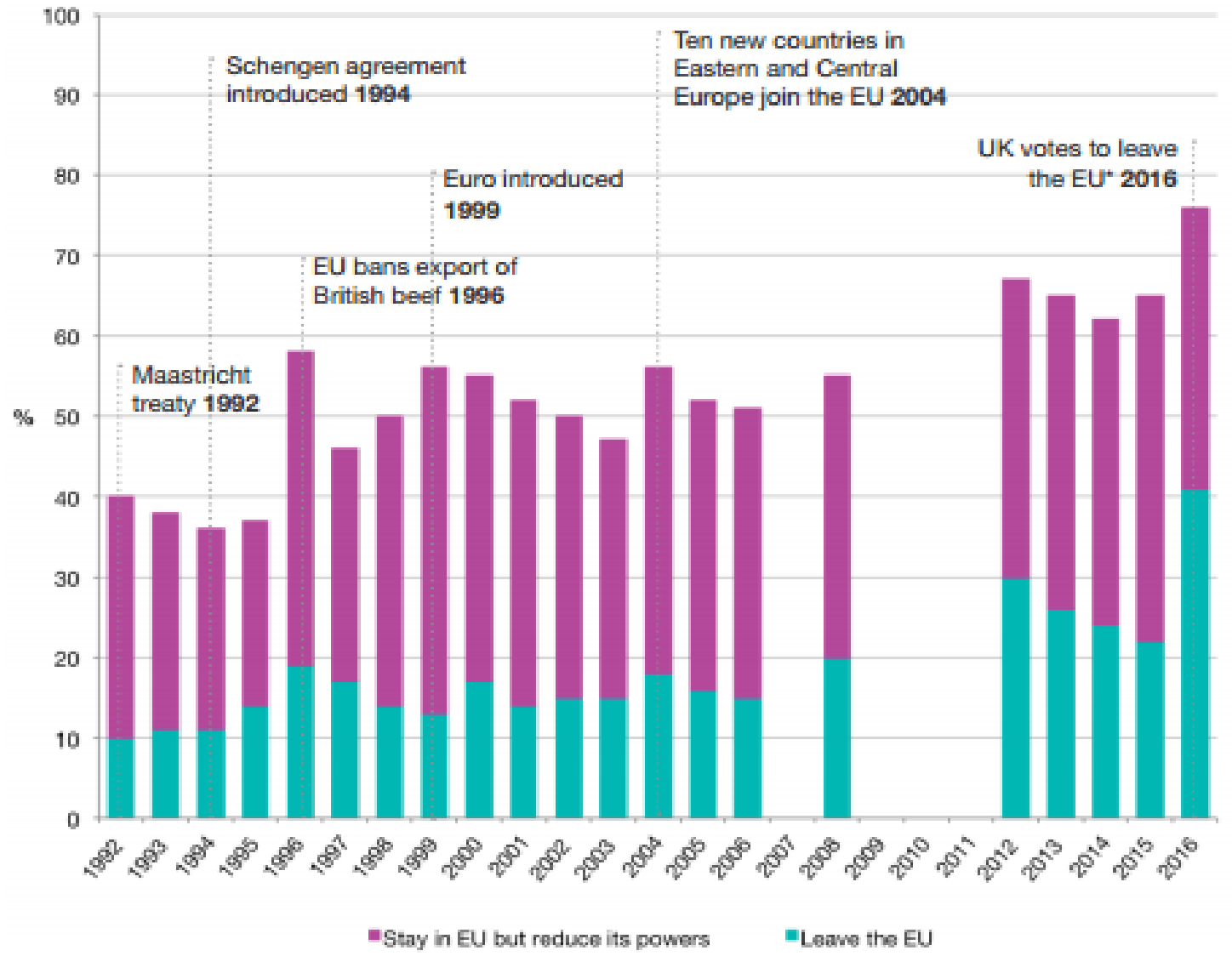
60% 40%

Brexit

A long-time coming

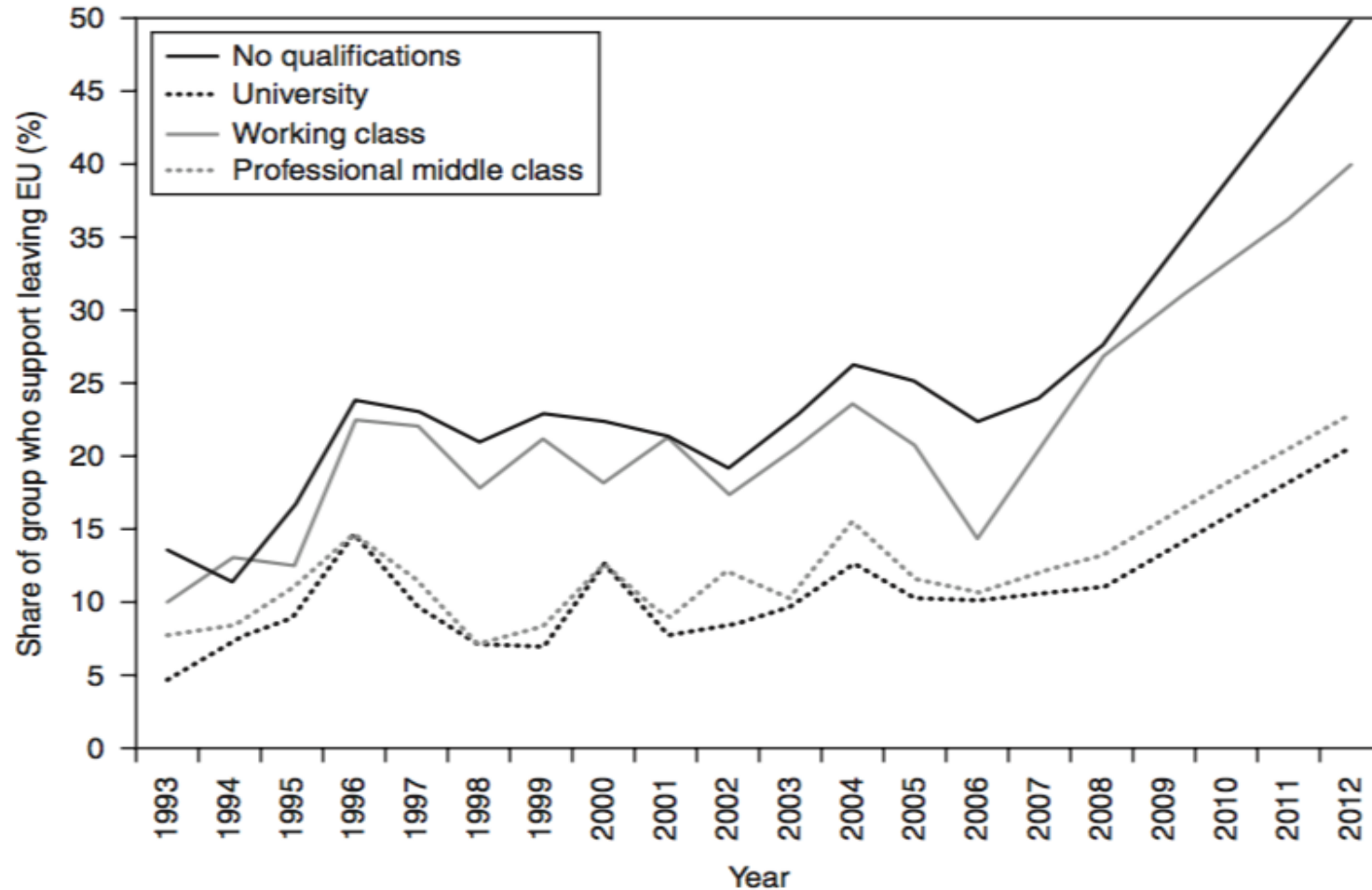


British public support for reducing powers of the EU or leaving altogether 1992-2016

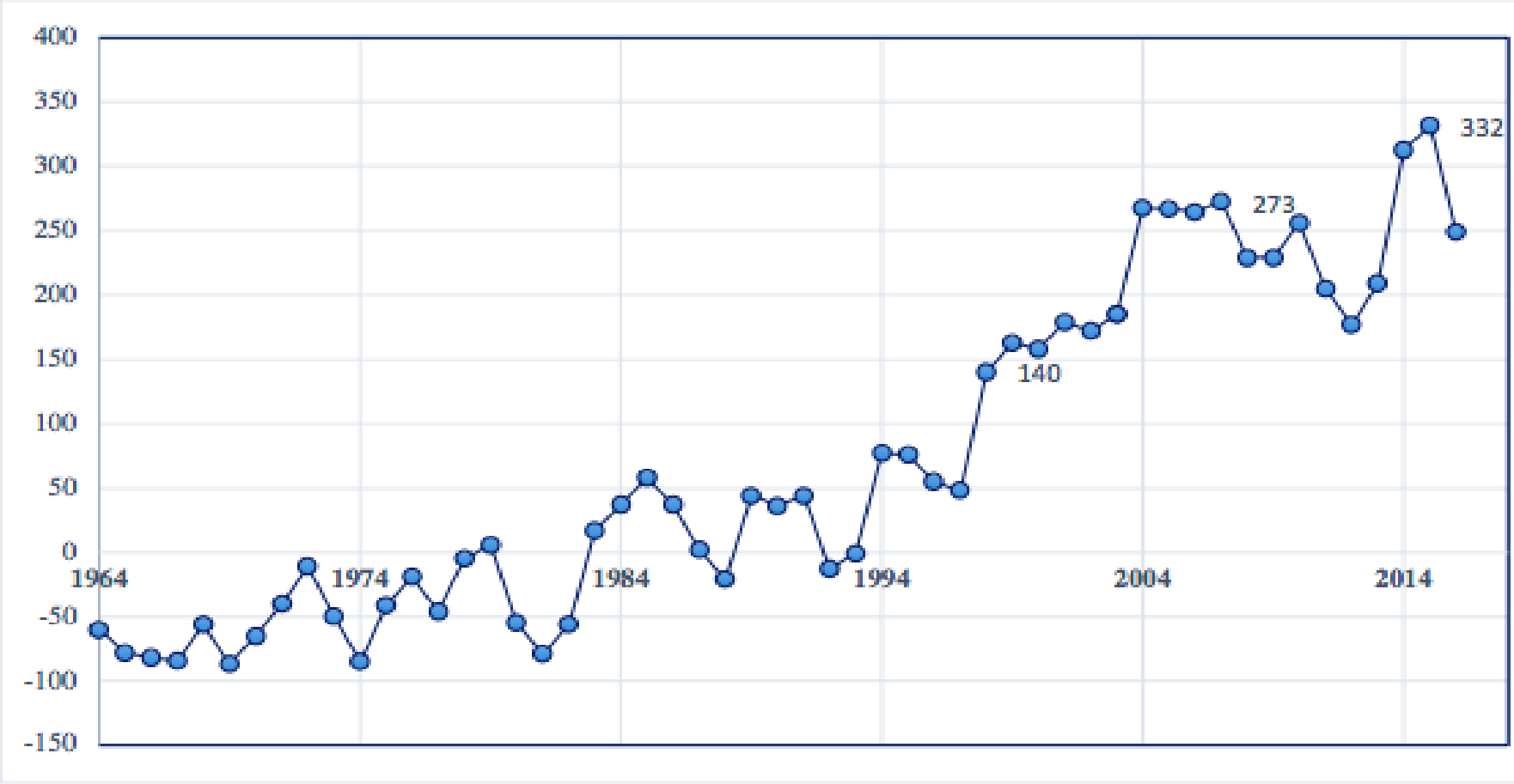


*Data collected between July and November 2016

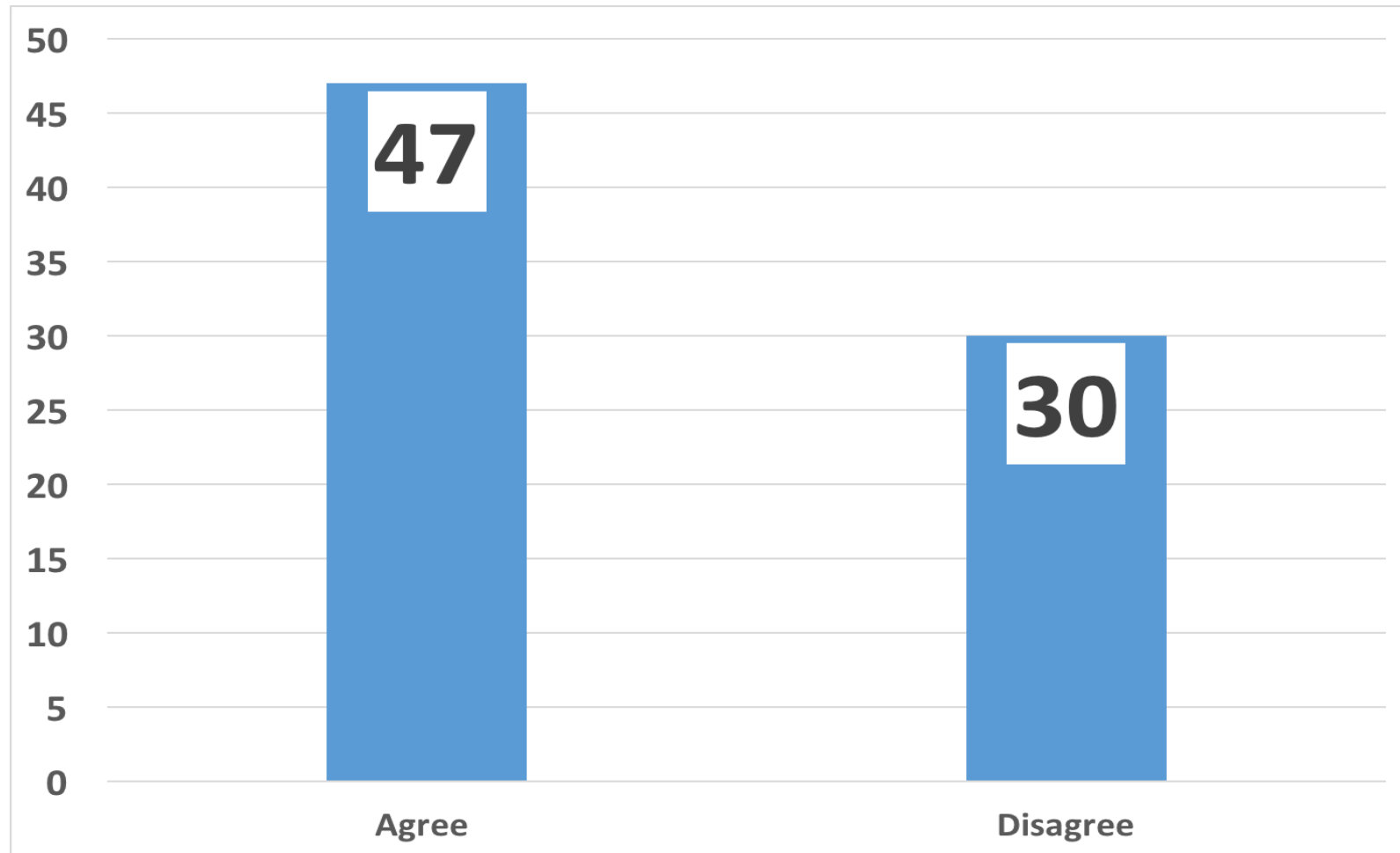
The deep social divides behind those numbers



The immigration 'shock' – net migration 1964-2016



Is being in EU undermining Britain's distinctive identity?



British Social Attitudes Survey

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SIR PETER O'SULLIVAN
TRIBUTES AS THE VOICE OF HORSE RACING DIES AT 97

SEND IN ARMY TO HALT MIGRANT INVASION

Call for action to end chaos in Calais

THE escalating migrant crisis in Calais prompted demands yesterday for troops to be sent in. As one migrant died and 1,500 attempted to storm Eurotunnel trains, officials on both sides of the Channel bickered over how to sort out the mess. The ferry and train terminals are now under nightly siege as some 3,000 migrants in a nearby camp dubbed the "jungle" attempt to enter the UK illegally. The crisis has caused travel chaos, with motorists reporting long queues to get into terminals. Kent Police said Operation Stackis - where freight traffic is parked at nearby camps - has been suspended.

TURN TO PAGE 5



Zoe Ball: Secret of my happy life

expressyourself PAGE 29

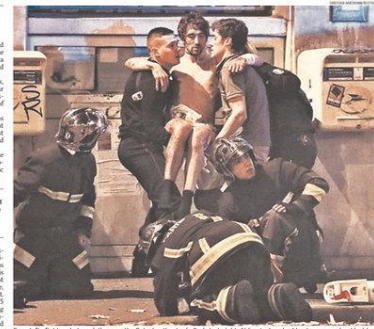
124-page food magazine
Nadiya joins The Times
Recipe guide from Bake Off winner

Massacre in Paris

Dozens die in seven terror attacks • More than 100 people held hostage • French president closes borders

Adam Sage Paris
Deborah Frenkel Defence Editor
Franca Hamilton, Michael Savage, Michael Evans, Sean O'Neill

Muhammed Emwazi believed to have died in the square where his killed prisoners



French firefighters help a victim near the Bataclan theatre in Paris last night. At least a hundred hostages remained inside the stadium between the radicalism and World Champions. German. He was evacuated and taken to hospital. At least one gunman began shooting into the audience on their way into the gig by the Eagles of Death Metal, a California rock group. Ben Coust, a British

The first restaurant to be attacked was Le Petit Cambodge, in the 13th arrondissement, a favourite of young American and French hipsters. The attack then moved to Le Carillon bar and restaurant, next door to Le Petit Cambodge. Later that night, two schools were attacked using automatic weapons. The attacks came within hours of the apparent killing of the world's most renowned terrorist, in a drive-in after British and American open flights discovered by police last night two weeks ago. The Times can reveal. Muhammed Emwazi, who beheaded two British hostages, was tracked down in Islamic State Syria stronghold of Raqqa and placed under close surveillance before the suicide strike late on Thursday. The British intelligence and the operation and data from Emwazi's mobile phone is likely to have been key in pinpointing his movements. It came out reports that Anas Bey Daviz, a British jihadist and respect- ed journalist of Emwazi, was detained in Turkey. He is believed to have worked as a guard at an Isis prison holding foreign hostages in Syria. Emwazi, believed to be responsible for seven British deaths, was in an car close to the city's clocktower where his car rammed into a crowd and exploded. The Pentagon said last night that it was "99 per cent" certain it had killed the terrorist, who was known as "Abu al- Juhay" after his market and menacing figure appeared in videos in which he threatened to kill his victims. The reports were repeated in a broadcast by the Pentagon on Friday. The names of the victims of the attacks were revealed. The names were repeated in a broadcast by the Pentagon on Friday. The names of the victims of the attacks were revealed. The names were repeated in a broadcast by the Pentagon on Friday.



'What we feared has happened'
Belgian prime minister Charles Michel

Attacks How events unfolded in Brussels' day of horror
Analysis Belgium's growing problem with jihadis
Aftermath Security intensified across Europe

the guardian
At least 31 killed after terror attacks rip through Brussels

Up to 250 hurt in double attack on city
Hunt for third man behind airport blasts
Isis claims responsibility for murders

At least 31 killed after terror attacks rip through Brussels

At least 31 people were killed and more than 250 injured in a series of terror attacks in Brussels on Saturday. The attacks, which began at a concert in the city's Maelbeek district, spread to a shopping centre and a busy street. The Belgian prime minister, Charles Michel, said: "What we feared has happened." He said the attacks were the most serious since the 2015 Paris attacks. The Belgian government has declared a state of emergency and has closed its borders with France and the Netherlands. The Belgian government has also announced that it will be sending troops to the area to help with the search for the attackers. The Belgian government has also announced that it will be sending troops to the area to help with the search for the attackers. The Belgian government has also announced that it will be sending troops to the area to help with the search for the attackers.

Threat Amplified

Brexiteers – Who and Why

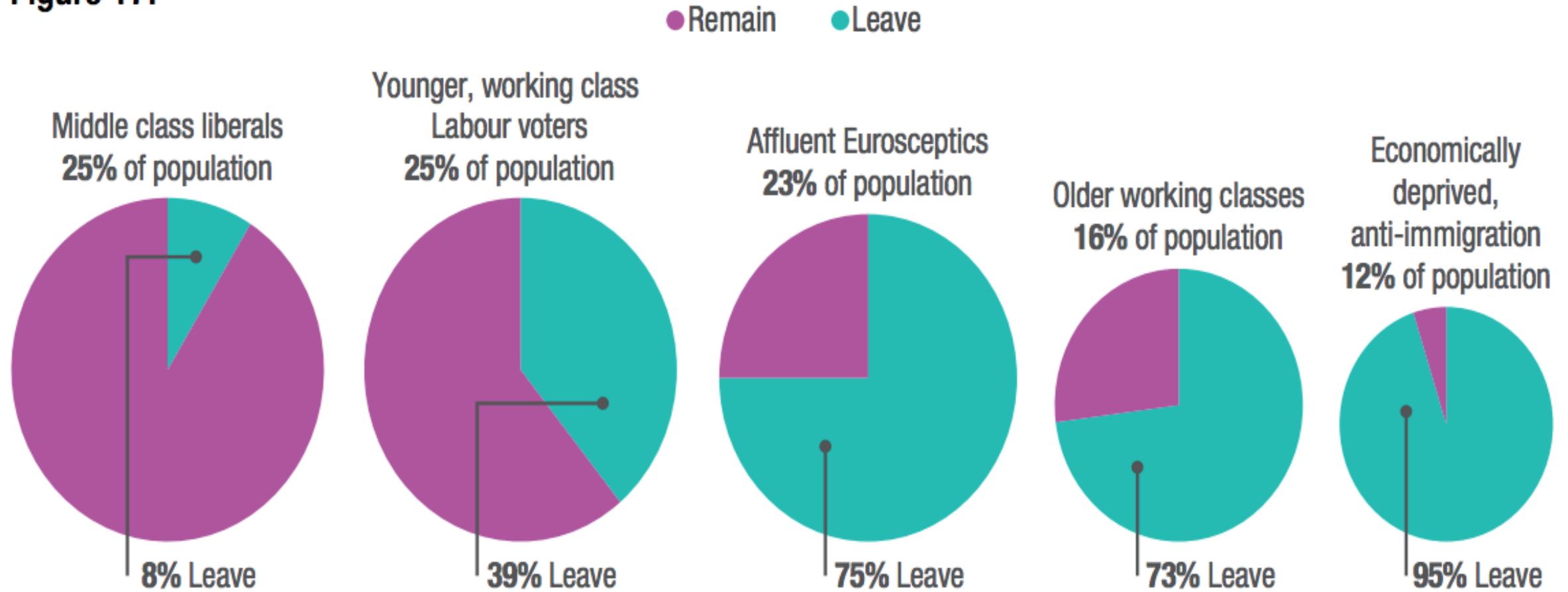
A summary of the evidence part I

Three key groups to the Leave electorate – a broad and fairly diverse alliance

- (1) Left Behind Leavers:** working-class; struggling financially; low education; forties or fifties; low-income households; 91% felt immigration 'made things worse'; only 1 in 4 aligned with Lab or Con; remainder apathetic or UKIP; unconvinced economy would suffer – status quo had failed to improve their lives so why listen to Remain?
- (2) Blue-Collar Pensioners:** working-class, low-income households but retired; not struggling financially; low education but more due to age than opportunity; nearly half Con, one quarter Labour; 69% unhappy with immigration; only small minority felt economy would suffer
- (3) Affluent Eurosceptics:** only half working-class; one-third had degree; less likely to live in low-income households or struggle financially; two-thirds Con; also unconvinced economy would be worse off; nearly two-thirds felt immigration had damaged Britain

National Centre for Social Research

Figure 17.



Brexiteers – Who and Why

A summary of evidence part II

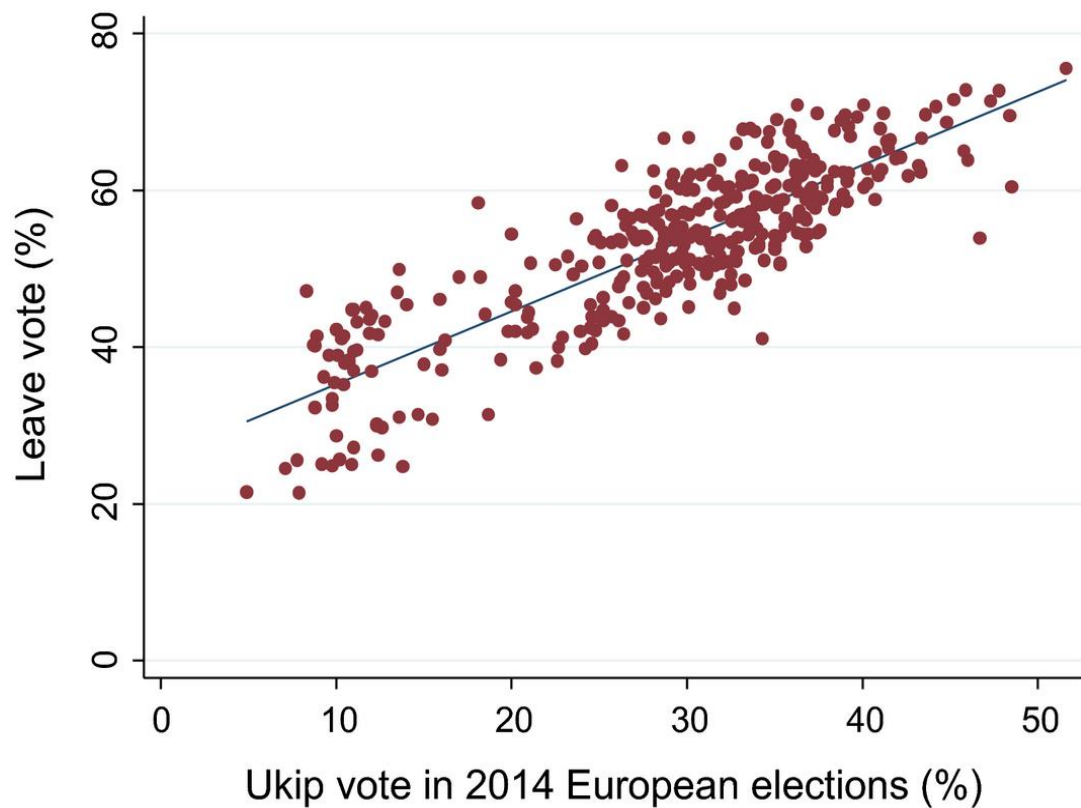
Studies #EURef studies shown people who voted Leave....

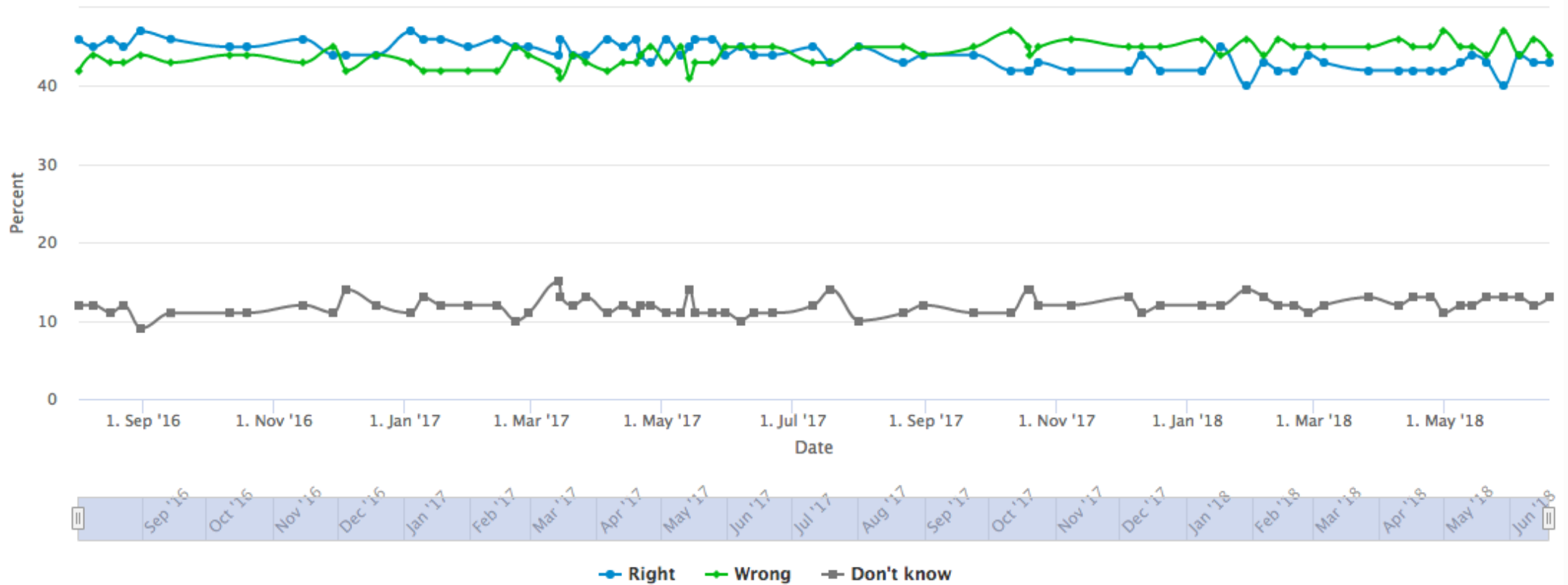
- Felt dissatisfied with how democracy works in EU and/or felt immigration has had negative effects on Britain (Goodwin & Milazzo 2015)
- Felt EU undermined Britain's identity, felt little affective attachment to EU identity and wanted lower immigration (Curtice)
- Wanted to 'strike better balance between Britain's right to act independently and co-operation with other countries' and deal with immigration (YouGov)
- Felt 'decisions about UK should be taken in the UK' and believed Brexit offered best chance to regain control over immigration (Lord Ashcroft)
- Wanted to reduce EU influence over Britain's economy lower immigration (Clarke et al. 2016)
- Leavers chiefly concerned about immigration –want to reduce net migration below 50,000 (Hix, Kaufmann & Leeper)
- Self-reported their main reasons were 'to regain control over EU immigration' and 'didn't want EU to have any role in UK law-making' (Centre for Social Investigation)

**Leavers in their own
words....**

And Remainers...

ENTER UKIP





Are 'Leavers' Changing their Minds?

The Economist explains

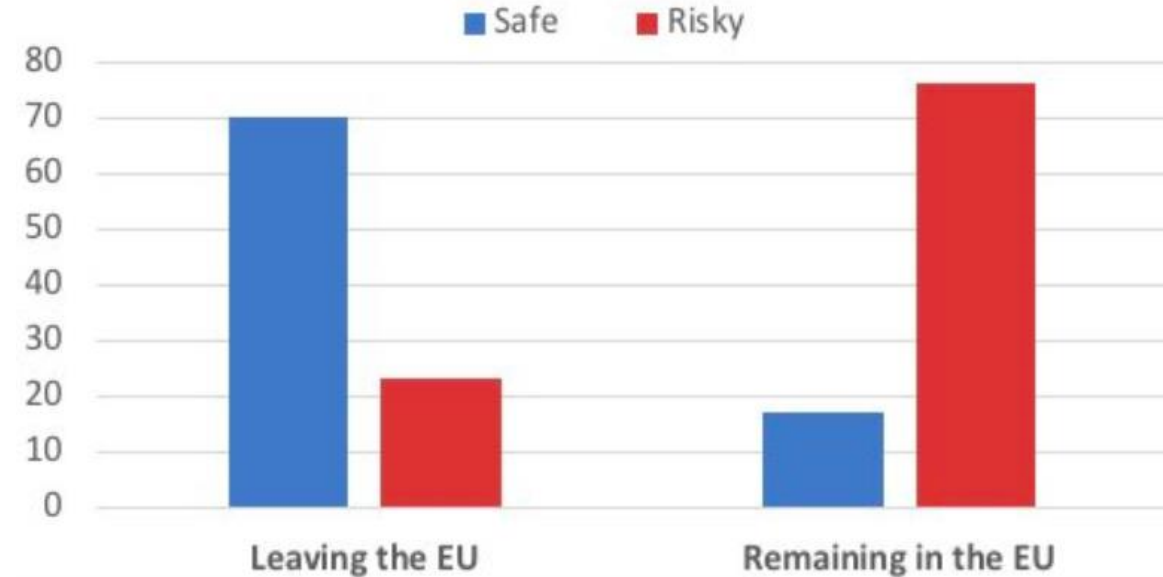
Why the British economy has done better than expected since the Brexit vote

House prices are steady, unemployment has dropped, recession has been avoided. This was not meant to happen



Leavers always saw the risk on the other side...

How safe or risky do you think it would be for Britain to Remain in/Leave the EU?



The question is *why* no change of minds?

What do Remainers & Leavers want MOST from Brexit deal?

Remainers

1. British people still allowed to live and work in EU
2. British companies having tariff-free access to EU market
3. Britain continuing to co-operate with EU on security/policing

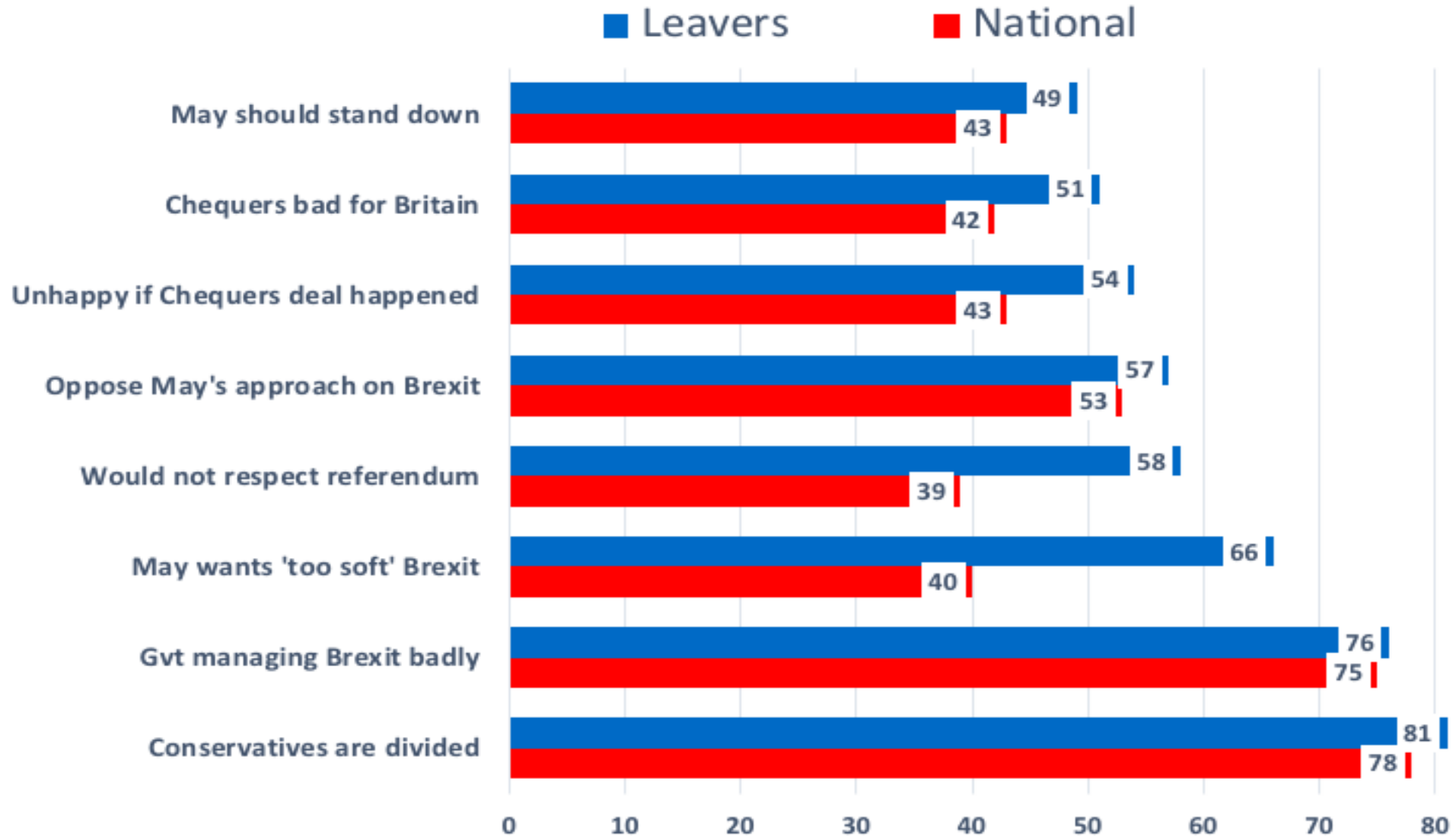
Leavers

1. Britain having control over immigration
2. Britain not having to follow EU rules & regulations
3. Britain not having to pay to costs of EU membership
3. Britain being able to negotiate own trade deals

What should be the priority for Britain?

Leavers	Remainers
1. Leave the EU	1. Increase NHS spending
2. Sharply reduce immigration	2. Build more affordable homes
3. Increase NHS spending	3. Raise tax on high earners
4. Sharply reduce overseas aid	4. Increase minimum wage to £9 per hour
5. Strengthen armed forces	5. Abolish tuition fees

But we have a more immediate problem... Chequers



The image features a dark grey background with three overlapping blue circles. A white horizontal band runs across the center, containing the text "Three questions going forward".

Three questions going forward

**1. How to reform
Britain's immigration
system?**

**2. How to address
political inequality?**

**3. How to close Britain's
widening social and value
divides?**

Thanks!

Matthew goodwin

@goodwinmj

Should Should not Don't know

