

CSPP



IS THE ENGLISH CHANNEL WIDENING?

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The UK in a Changing Europe*

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIOS

ASYMETRICAL DIVERGENCE

- * UK is drawing away from an unchanged EU

OR

- * EU is becoming more and more integrated while Britain remains as it is

SYMETRICAL DIVERGENCE

- * EU becomes more integrated while UK wants pre-Maastricht or 1973 EC

SYMETRICAL/ASYMETRICAL CONVERGENCE

- * One or both are changing in ways bringing them closer together such as:
Protest parties, 2nd thoughts widespread in Eurozone
Resigned UK acceptance that being in is less risk than being out

NO CHANGE

- * Notwithstanding ups and downs in both UK and EU no significant trend in relations.

THE EVIDENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION

PUBLIC OPINION IMPORTANT BECAUSE:

- *UK public now will vote in an In/Out Referendum

- *UK public can also vote on any move toward greater EU integration covered by the 2011 EU referendum act

- *The 2016/17 EU referendum just one event in a Neverendum campaign widening the gap between EU and UK

EUROBAROMETER DATA

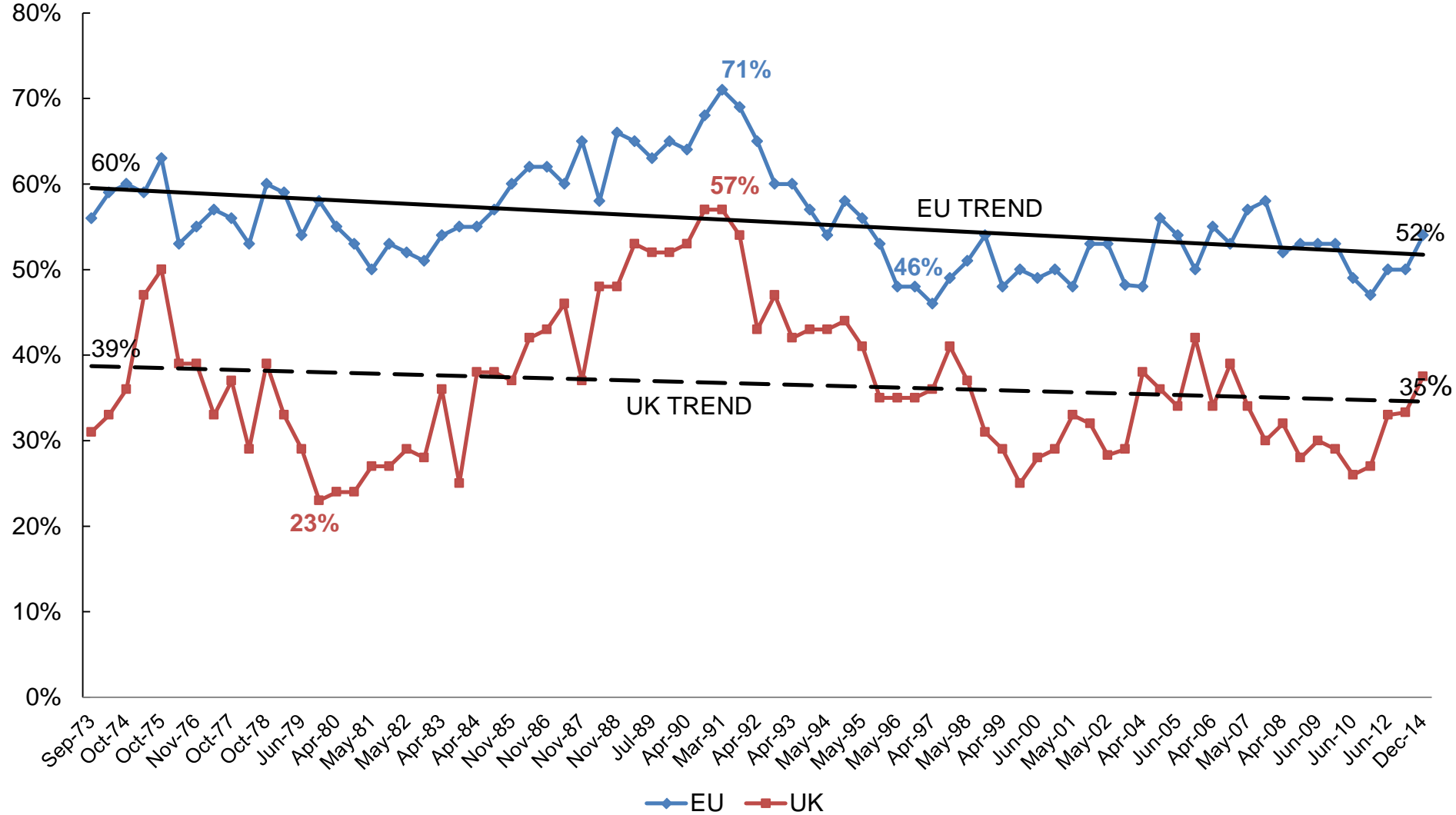
- * Decades of data on public opinion in the UK and the EU

- * To control for the very substantial effect of volatility, the following graphs present trends in EU public opinion

IS EU MEMBERSHIP A GOOD THING? 1973-2014

Generally speaking, do you think membership of the EU is a good thing, a bad thing or neither good not bad?

% Good thing



SLIGHT CONVERGENCE ABOUT EU A GOOD THING 1973-2014

Lots of volatility

EU range: 46% to 71 %

UK range: 23% to 57%

No significant trend

EU R^2 : 0.16

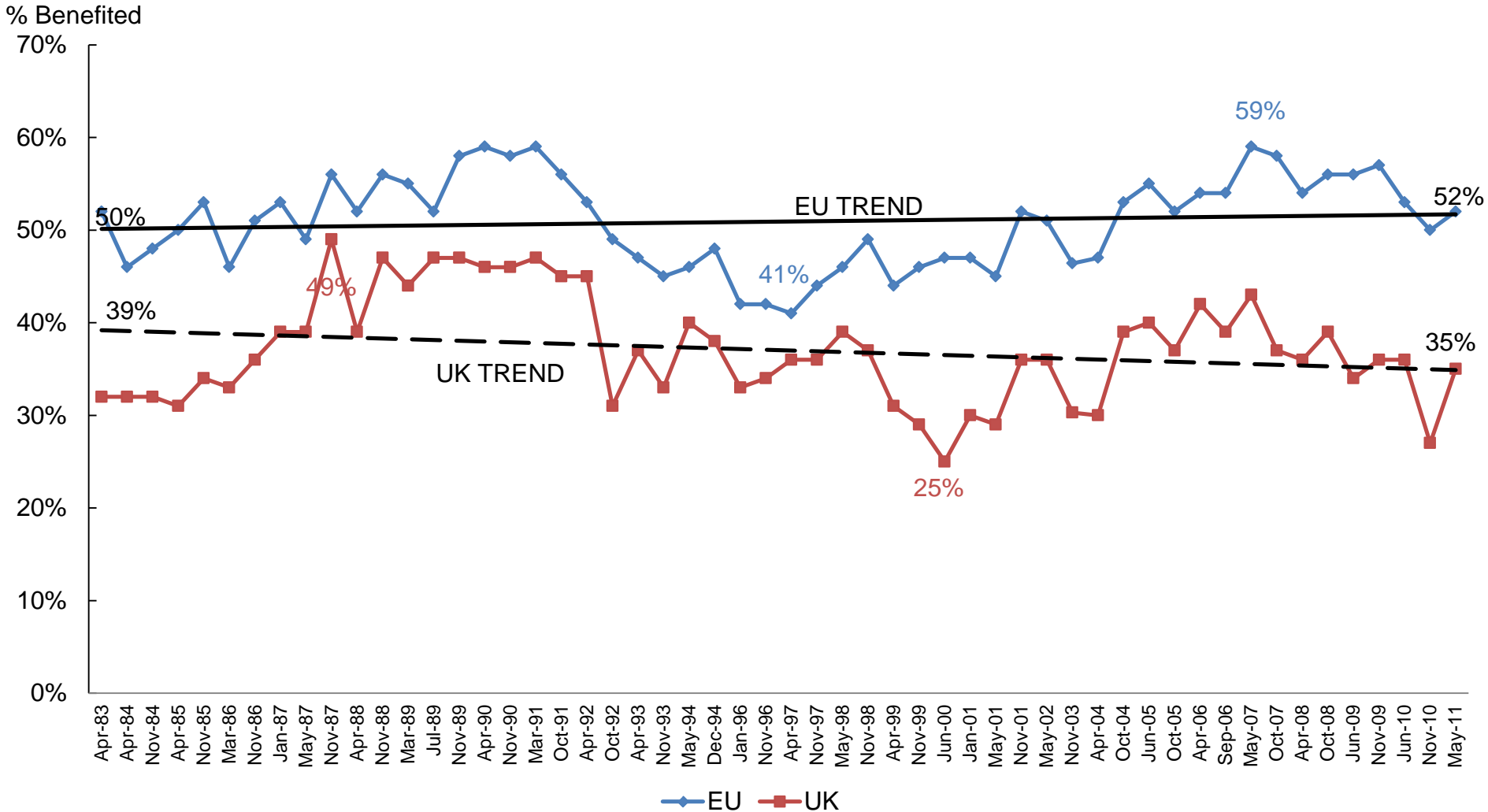
UK R^2 : 0.02

Mild convergence

Gap between EU and UK falls from 21% to 17%

COUNTRY HAS BENEFITED FROM EU MEMBERSHIP

Taking everything into consideration, would you say that your country has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Community (Common Market)/ European Union?



SLIGHT DIVERGENCE IN VIEWS OF EU BENEFITS, 1983-2011

Lots of volatility

EU range: 41% to 59%

UK range: 25% to 49%

An unpredictable trend

EU R²: 0.01

UK R²: 0.05

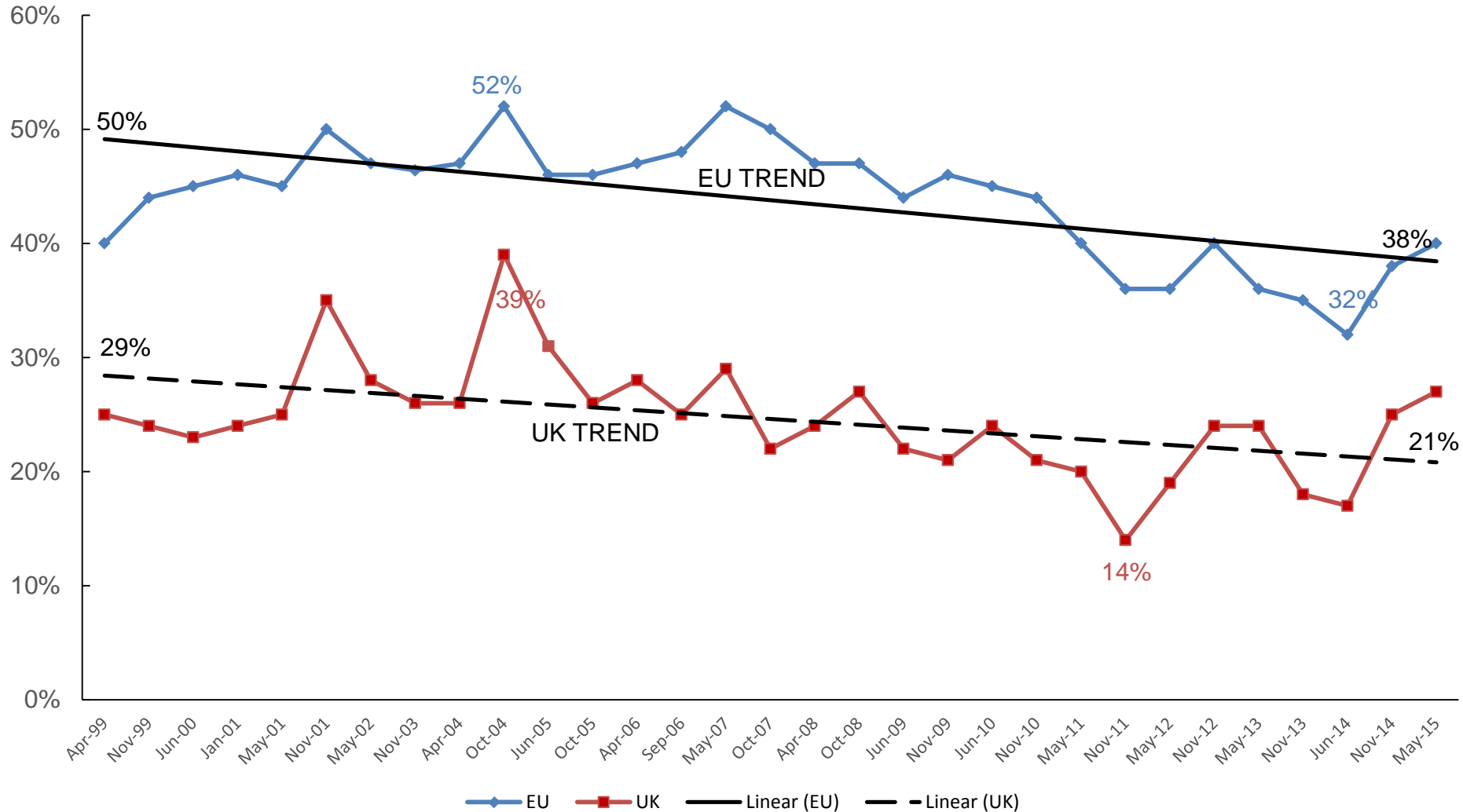
Mild divergence

Gap between EU and UK benefiting rises from 11% to 17%

TRUST IN THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION DECLINING, 1999-2015

Please tell me if you tend to trust or tend not to trust... The European Commission? (% of EU and UK respondent who answered 'Tend to Trust').

% Tend to Trust



DECLINING TRUST IN EU COMMISSION SHARED

Lots of volatility

EU range: 38% to 52%

UK range: 14% to 39%

Significant loss of trust

EU R²: 0.39

UK R²: 0.22

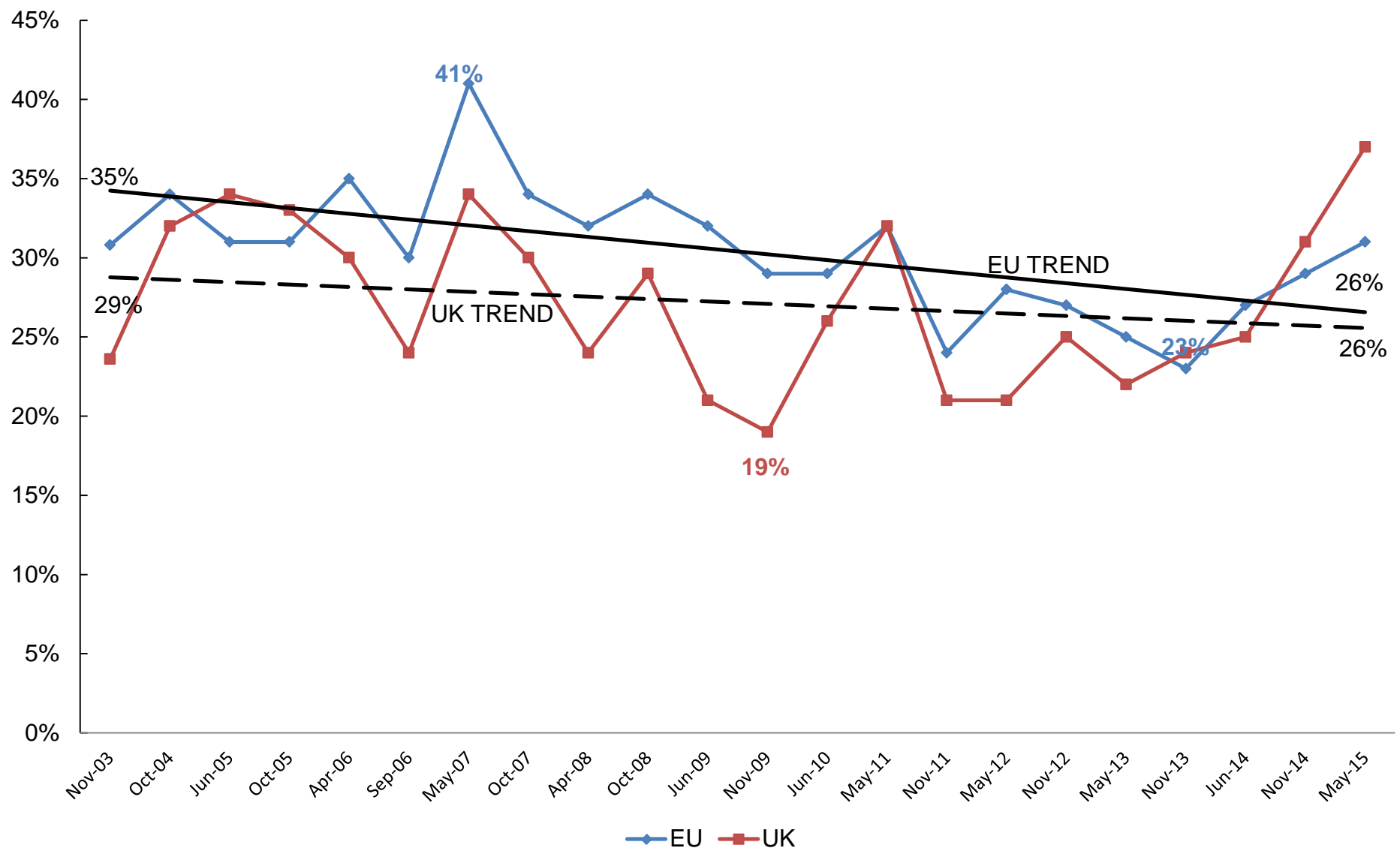
Mild convergence

Gap between EU and UK falls from 21% to 17%

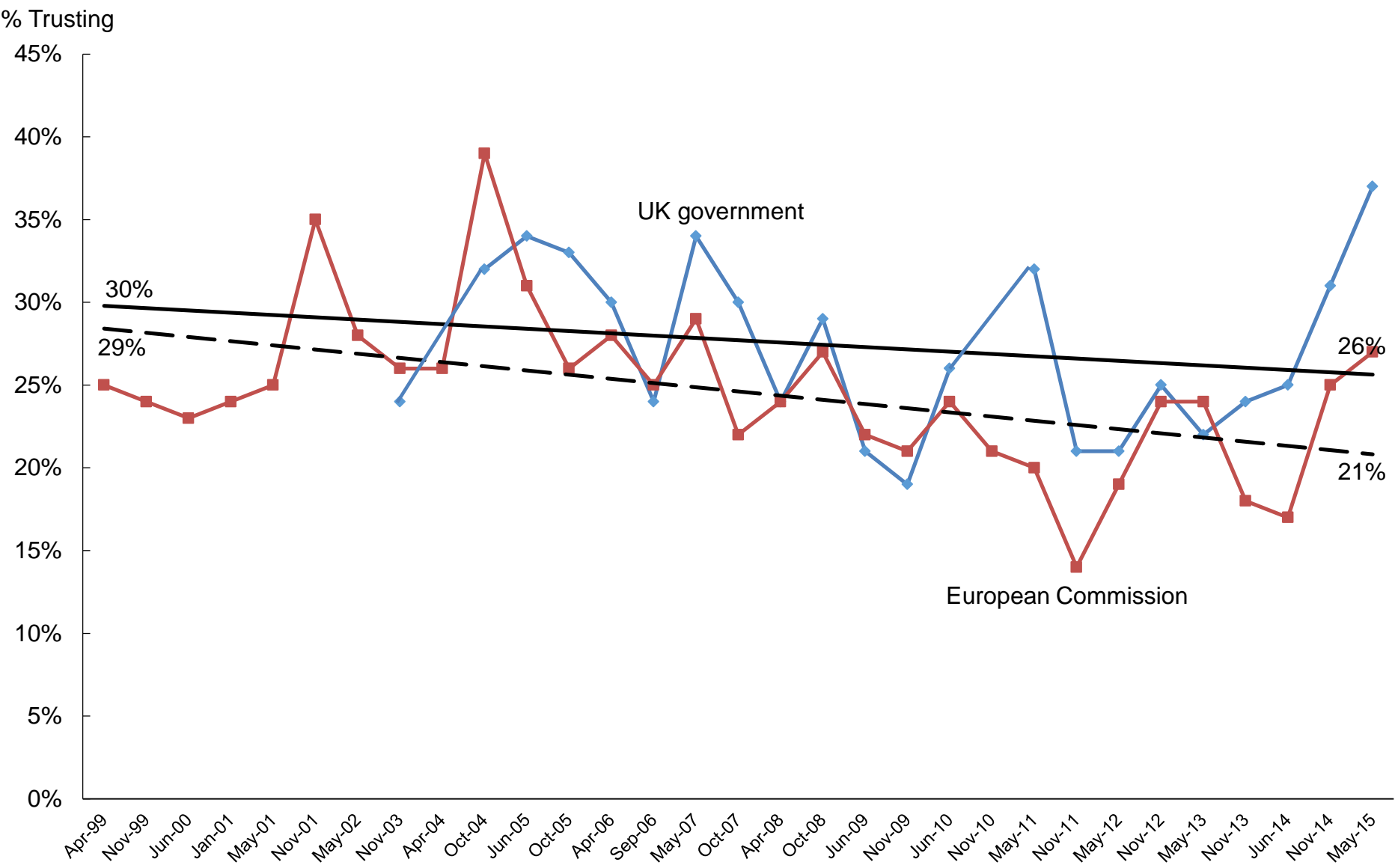
TRUST IN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT DECLINING TOO, 2003-2015

*Do you tend to trust or tend not to trust your national government?
(% of EU and UK respondents who answered 'Tend to Trust')*

% Tend to Trust



UK TRUST LOW IN BOTH NATIONAL GOVERNMENT & EUROPEAN COMMISSION



IMPLICATIONS

- *Volatility stronger than trends
- *Should not project poll results or tend 12 months ahead
- *Referendum outcome **not** an expression of stable UK opinion
- *Persisting gaps between EU mass opinion
- *Any trend a limited change in degree of differences

Generally speaking, do you think membership of the EU is ...
(% answering 'A Good Thing')

EB date	EU	UK	% difference
Sep-73	56%	31%	25%
Apr-74	59%	33%	26%
Oct-74	60%	36%	24%
May-75	59%	47%	12%
Oct-75	63%	50%	13%
May-76	53%	39%	14%
Nov-76	55%	39%	16%
Jun-77	57%	33%	24%
Oct-77	56%	37%	19%
May-78	53%	29%	24%
Oct-78	60%	39%	21%
Apr-79	59%	33%	26%
Jun-79	54%	29%	25%
Oct-79	58%	23%	35%
Apr-80	55%	24%	31%
Nov-80	53%	24%	29%
May-81	50%	27%	23%
Oct-81	53%	27%	26%
May-82	52%	29%	23%
Oct-82	51%	28%	23%
Apr-83	54%	36%	18%
Nov-83	55%	25%	30%
Apr-84	55%	38%	17%
Nov-84	58%	37%	21%
Apr-85	57%	38%	19%
Nov-85	60%	37%	23%
Mar-86	62%	42%	20%
Nov-86	62%	43%	19%
May-87	60%	46%	14%
Nov-87	65%	37%	28%
Apr-88	58%	48%	10%
Nov-88	66%	48%	18%
Mar-89	65%	53%	12%
Jul-89	63%	52%	11%
Nov-89	65%	52%	13%
Apr-90	64%	53%	11%
Nov-90	68%	57%	11%
Mar-91	71%	57%	14%
Oct-91	69%	54%	15%
Apr-92	65%	43%	22%
Oct-92	60%	47%	13%

Generally speaking, do you think membership of the EU is ...
(% answering 'A Good Thing') cont.

EB date	EU	UK	% difference
Apr-93	60%	42%	18%
Nov-93	57%	43%	14%
May-94	54%	43%	11%
Dec-94	58%	44%	14%
May-95	56%	41%	15%
Jan-96	53%	35%	18%
May-96	48%	35%	13%
Nov-96	48%	35%	13%
Apr-97	46%	36%	10%
Nov-97	49%	41%	8%
May-98	51%	37%	14%
Nov-98	54%	31%	23%
Apr-99	48%	29%	19%
Nov-99	50%	25%	25%
Jun-00	49%	28%	21%
Jan-01	50%	29%	21%
May-01	48%	33%	15%
Nov-01	53%	32%	21%
May-02	53%	28%	25%
Nov-03	48%	29%	19%
Apr-04	48%	38%	10%
Oct-04	56%	36%	20%
Jun-05	54%	34%	20%
Oct-05	50%	42%	8%
Apr-06	55%	34%	21%
Sep-06	53%	39%	14%
May-07	57%	34%	23%
Oct-07	58%	30%	28%
Apr-08	52%	32%	20%
Oct-08	53%	28%	25%
Jun-09	53%	30%	23%
Nov-09	53%	29%	24%
Jun-10	49%	26%	23%
May-11	47%	27%	20%
Jun-12	50%	33%	17%
Jun-13	50%	33%	17%
Dec-14	54%	38%	17%
Average	56%	37%	
b	-0.001	-0.0005	
R ²	0.1585	0.0186	

Source: Eurobarometer, 1999-2015

Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (your country) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Community (Common Market)?
(% answering 'Benefited')

EB date	EU	UK	% difference
Apr-83	52%	32%	20%
Apr-84	46%	32%	14%
Nov-84	48%	32%	16%
Apr-85	50%	31%	19%
Nov-85	53%	34%	19%
Mar-86	46%	33%	13%
Nov-86	51%	36%	15%
Jan-87	53%	39%	14%
May-87	49%	39%	10%
Nov-87	56%	49%	7%
Apr-88	52%	39%	13%
Nov-88	56%	47%	9%
Mar-89	55%	44%	11%
Jul-89	52%	47%	5%
Nov-89	58%	47%	11%
Apr-90	59%	46%	13%
Nov-90	58%	46%	12%
Mar-91	59%	47%	12%
Oct-91	56%	45%	11%
Apr-92	53%	45%	8%
Oct-92	49%	31%	18%
Apr-93	47%	37%	10%
Nov-93	45%	33%	12%
May-94	46%	40%	6%
Dec-94	48%	38%	10%
Jan-96	42%	33%	9%
Nov-96	42%	34%	8%
Apr-97	41%	36%	5%
Nov-97	44%	36%	8%
May-98	46%	39%	7%
Nov-98	49%	37%	12%
Apr-99	44%	31%	13%
Nov-99	46%	29%	17%
Jun-00	47%	25%	22%
Jan-01	47%	30%	17%
May-01	45%	29%	16%
Nov-01	52%	36%	16%
May-02	51%	36%	15%
Nov-03	46%	30%	16%

Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (your country) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Community (Common Market)?
(% answering 'Benefited') cont.

EB date	EU	UK	% difference
Apr-04	47%	30%	17%
Oct-04	53%	39%	14%
Jun-05	55%	40%	15%
Oct-05	52%	37%	15%
Apr-06	54%	42%	12%
Sep-06	54%	39%	15%
May-07	59%	43%	16%
Oct-07	58%	37%	21%
Apr-08	54%	36%	18%
Oct-08	56%	39%	17%
Jun-09	56%	34%	22%
Nov-09	57%	36%	21%
Jun-10	53%	36%	17%
Nov-10	50%	27%	23%
May-11	52%	35%	17%
Average	51%	37%	
b-value	0.0003	-0.0008	
R ²	0.0092	0.0483	
<i>Source: Eurobarometer, 1983-2011</i>			

Please tell me if you tend to trust or tend not to trust... The European Commission?
(% answering 'Tend to Trust')

EB date	EU	UK	% difference
Apr-99	40%	25%	15%
Nov-99	44%	24%	20%
Jun-00	45%	23%	22%
Jan-01	46%	24%	22%
May-01	45%	25%	20%
Nov-01	50%	35%	15%
May-02	47%	28%	19%
Nov-03	46%	26%	20%
Apr-04	47%	26%	21%
Oct-04	52%	39%	13%
Jun-05	46%	31%	15%
Oct-05	46%	26%	20%
Apr-06	47%	28%	19%
Sep-06	48%	25%	23%
May-07	52%	29%	23%
Oct-07	50%	22%	28%
Apr-08	47%	24%	23%
Oct-08	47%	27%	20%
Jun-09	44%	22%	22%
Nov-09	46%	21%	25%
Jun-10	45%	24%	21%
Nov-10	44%	21%	23%
May-11	40%	20%	20%
Nov-11	36%	14%	22%
May-12	36%	19%	17%
Nov-12	40%	24%	16%
May-13	36%	24%	12%
Nov-13	35%	18%	17%
Jun-14	32%	17%	15%
Nov-14	38%	25%	13%
May-15	40%	27%	13%
Average	44%	25%	
b-value	-0.0036	-0.0025	
R ²	0.3934	0.2186	

Source: Eurobarometer, 1999-2015

Please tell me if you tend to trust or tend not to trust... The (NATIONALITY) Government?
(% answering 'Tend to Trust')

EB date	EU	UK	% difference
Nov-03	31%	24%	7%
Oct-04	34%	32%	2%
Jun-05	31%	34%	-3%
Oct-05	31%	33%	-2%
Apr-06	35%	30%	5%
Sep-06	30%	24%	6%
May-07	41%	34%	7%
Oct-07	34%	30%	4%
Apr-08	32%	24%	8%
Oct-08	34%	29%	5%
Jun-09	32%	21%	11%
Nov-09	29%	19%	10%
Jun-10	29%	26%	3%
May-11	32%	32%	0%
Nov-11	24%	21%	3%
May-12	28%	21%	7%
Nov-12	27%	25%	2%
May-13	25%	22%	3%
Nov-13	23%	24%	-1%
Jun-14	27%	25%	2%
Nov-14	29%	31%	-2%
May-15	31%	37%	-6%
Average	30%	27%	
b-value	-0.0037	-0.0015	
R ²	0.3462	0.0363	

Source: Eurobarometer, 2003-2015