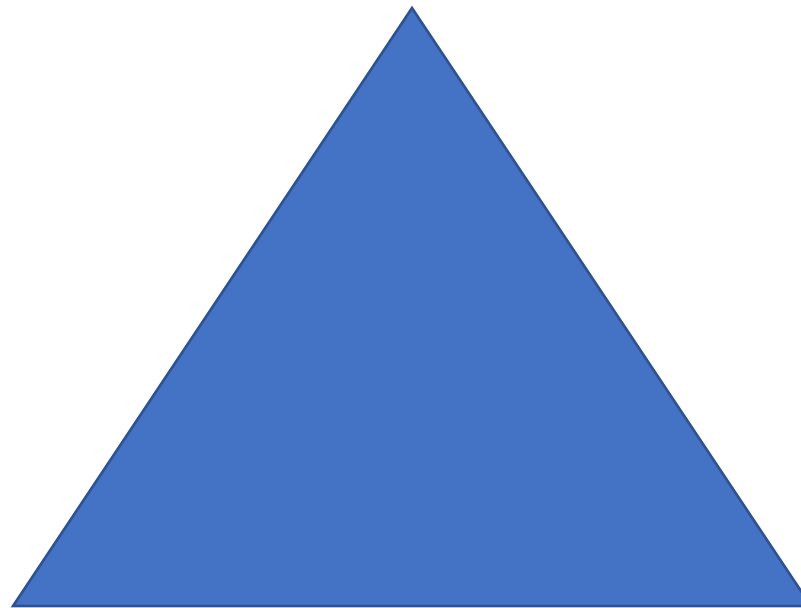


# Is Brexit Working? An Audit of UK-EU Relations

Anand Menon  
Director, UK in a Changing Europe

## Single market and customs union exit



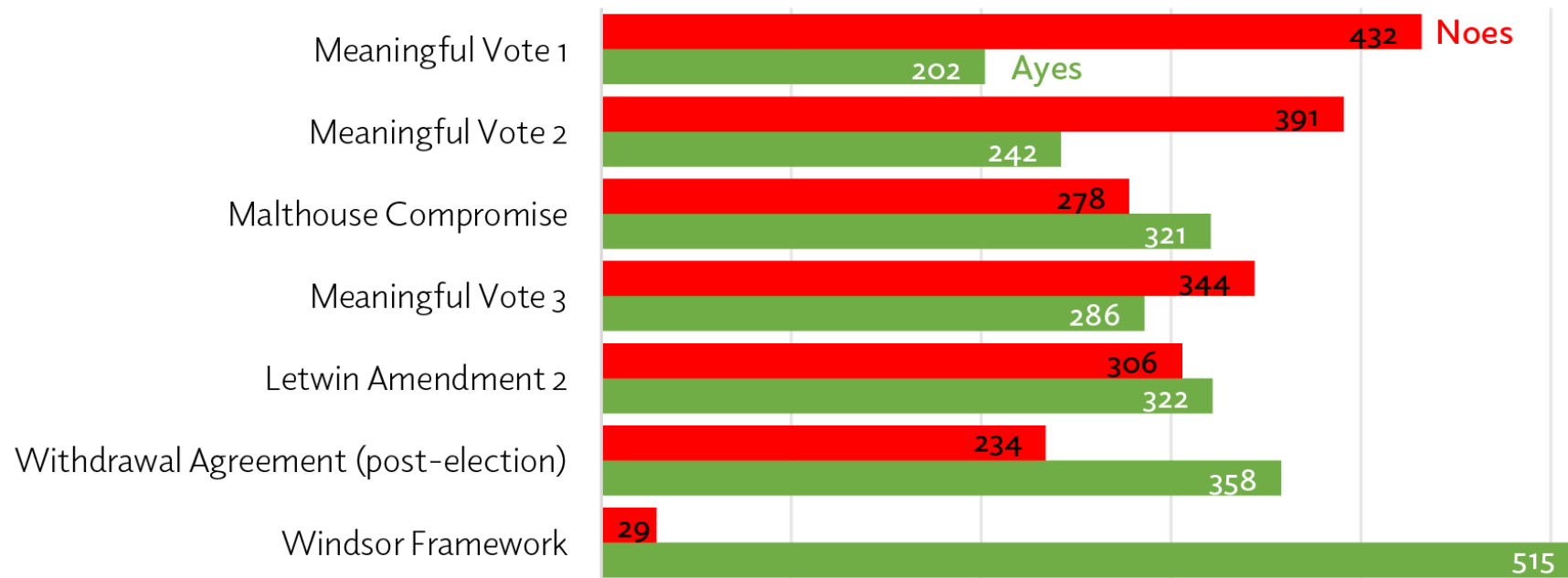
Whole UK Brexit

No Irish border

## Parliamentary votes on Brexit since 2019

### Parliamentary votes on Brexit since 2019

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## The Retained EU Law Bill at a glance

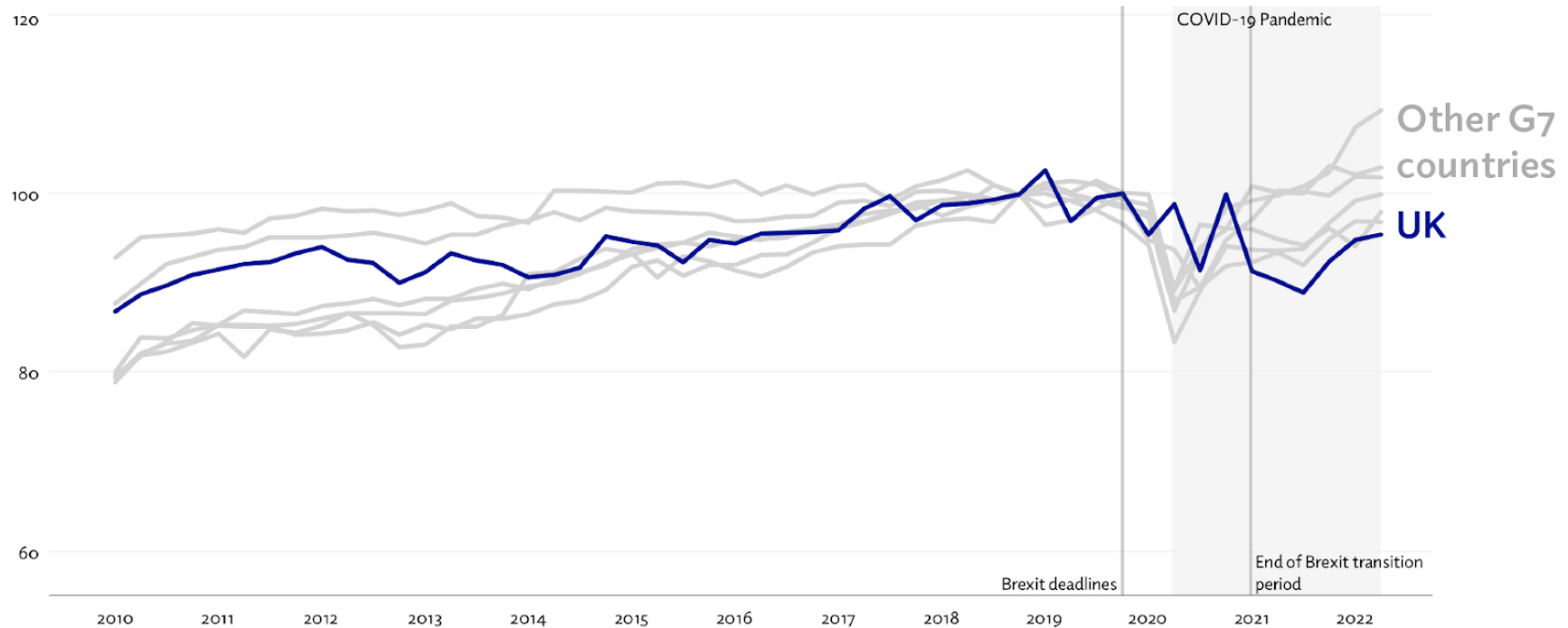
**REUL:** ‘Sunsets’ (i.e. turns off) secondary retained EU law by the end of 2023. In simple terms, this means scrapping legislation and regulation in a variety of areas, from food standards to airline safety, which has not yet been assimilated into UK law. This will not affect primary legislation (e.g. Acts of Parliament), legislation on financial services, tax or customs, or any law relating to the UK’s international obligations.

### **BUT**

- We don’t know if all pieces of retained EU law have yet been identified
- If passed, the Bill will lead to wholesale deregulation in a number of sectors, without any consultation with stakeholders
- It isn’t clear what the role of government departments/civil service will be when it comes to deciding whether to save or scrap EU law
- Many regulations are now in areas of devolved competence, which could lead to internal market divergence

## Trade openness

*Comparing the UK and other G7 economies, Q1 2010 to Q2 2022*



Source: Office of National Statistics

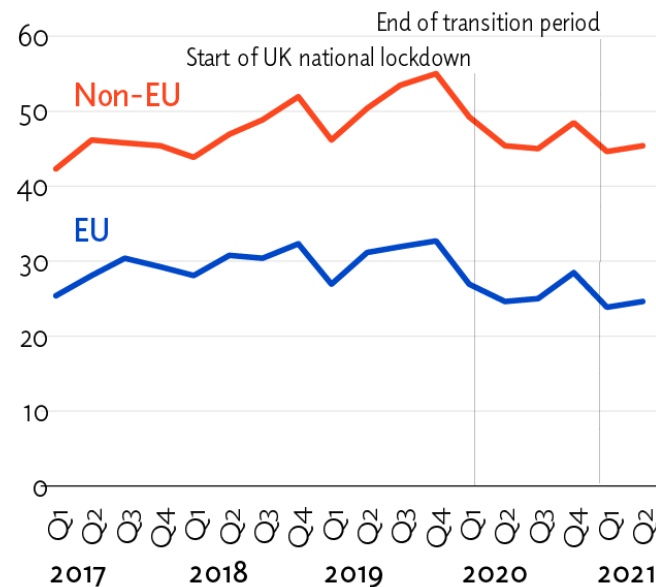
## Financial Services

**UK service exports and imports have decreased since 2019 to both EU and non-EU countries.**

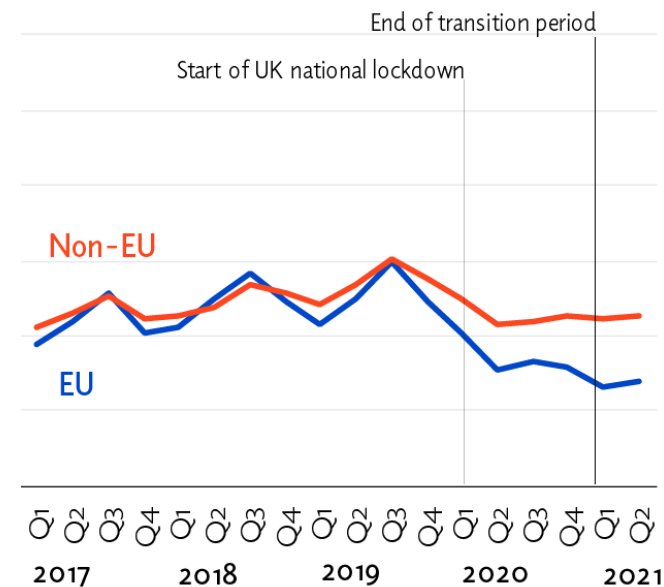
*Figure 3: UK exports and imports of services to EU and non-EU countries, Quarter 1 2017 to Quarter 2 2021 (£ billion).*

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### Exports



### Imports

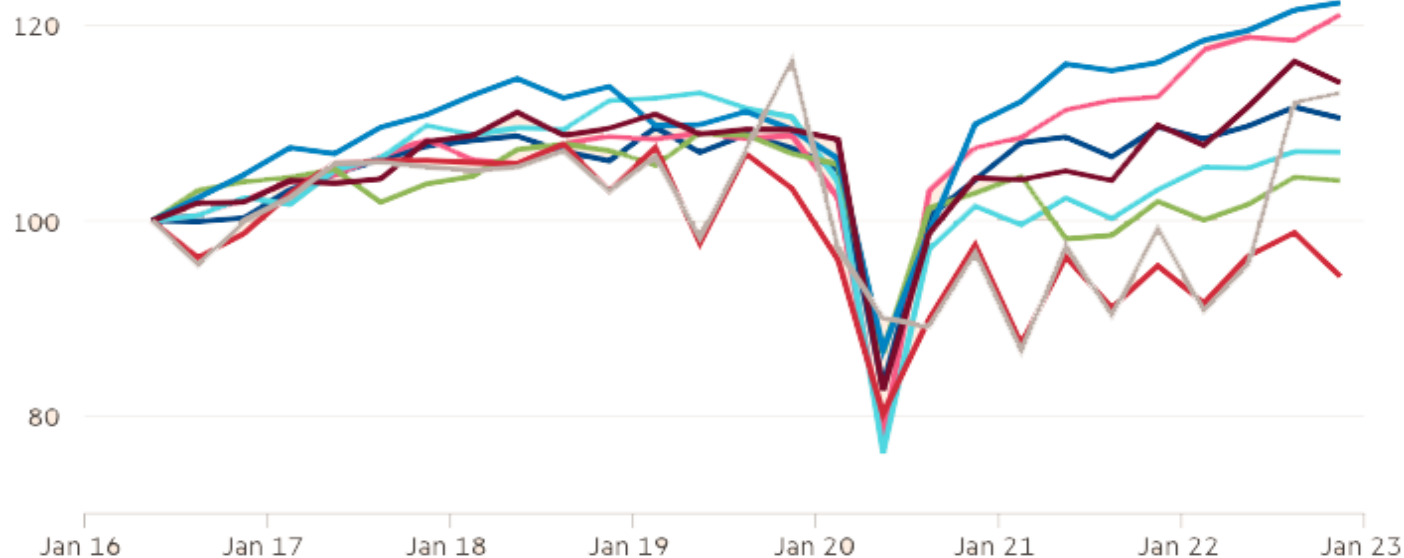


## Goods Exports

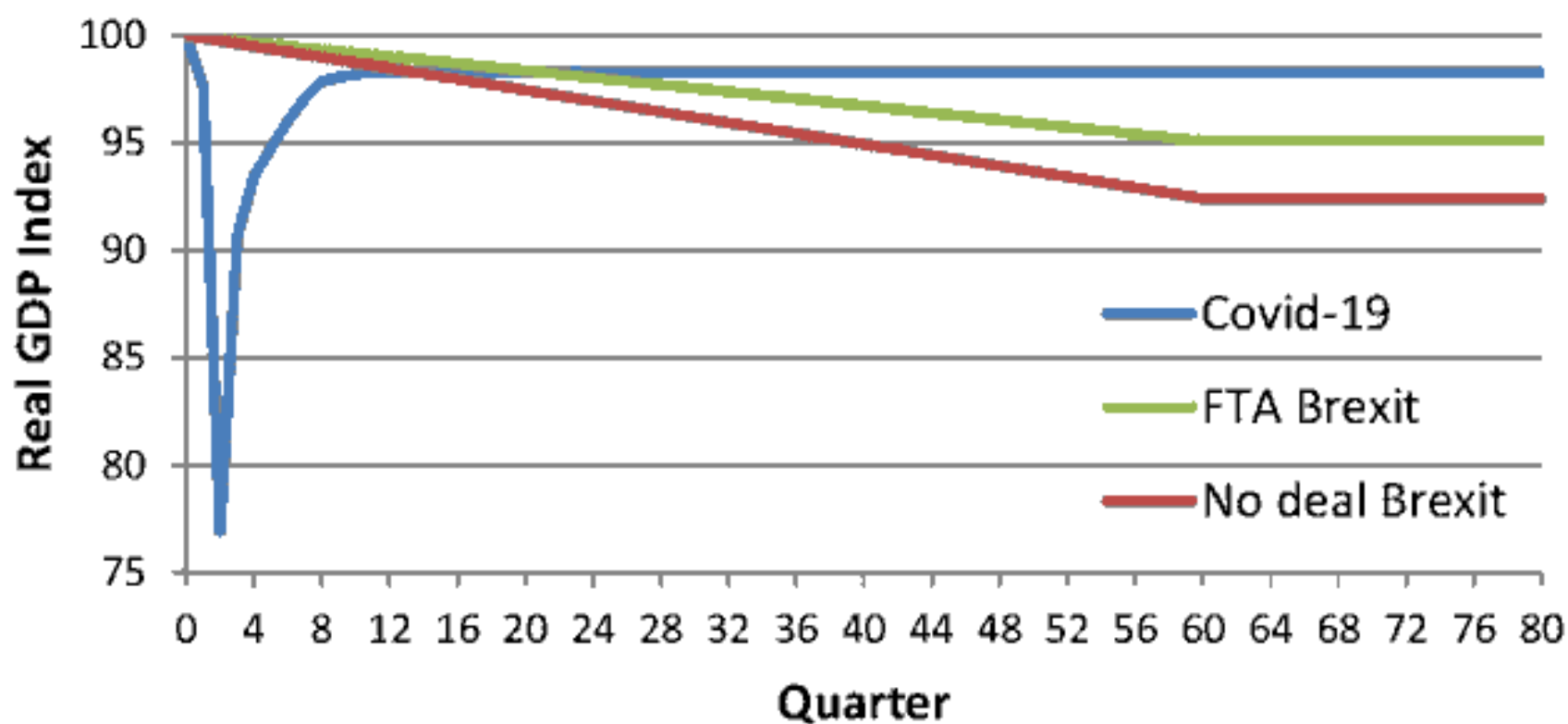
### The UK's goods export performance worst in G7

Goods export volumes, rebased

Germany Italy France Canada Japan US UK (excl. precious metals)  
UK (incl. precious metals)



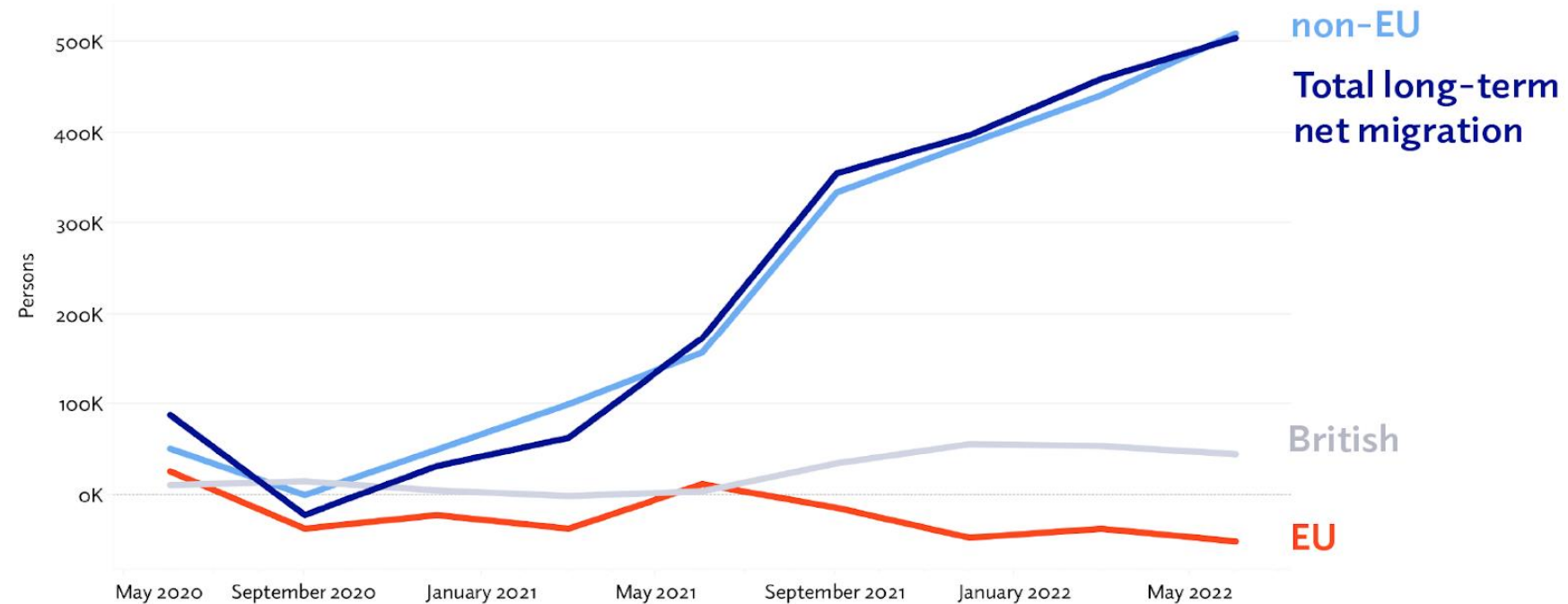
## Forecast Shocks to UK GDP





## Long-term net migration

*Net migration of non-EU, EU, and British nationals in the UK, between the year ending June 2020 and the year ending June 2022*



Source: Office for National Statistics, Department for Work and Pensions, Home Office

## Saliency

**Voters no longer say that immigration is one of the most important issues facing the country**

*What do you see as the most/other important issues facing Britain today?*

*Response: Immigration/immigrants*

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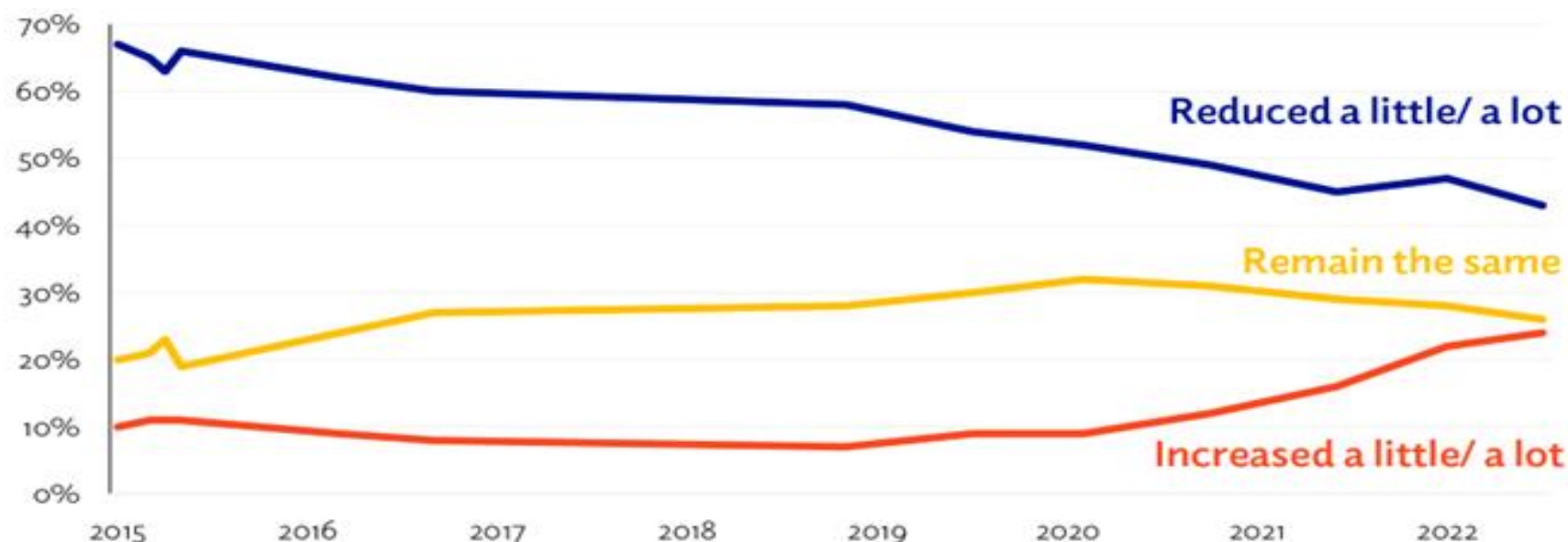
Source: Ipsos Issues Index, December 2022

## Should immigration go up or down?

**Voters have become less likely to say immigration should be reduced since the referendum**

*Do you think the number of immigrants coming to Britain nowadays should be increased a lot, increased a little, remain the same, reduced a little, or reduced a lot?*

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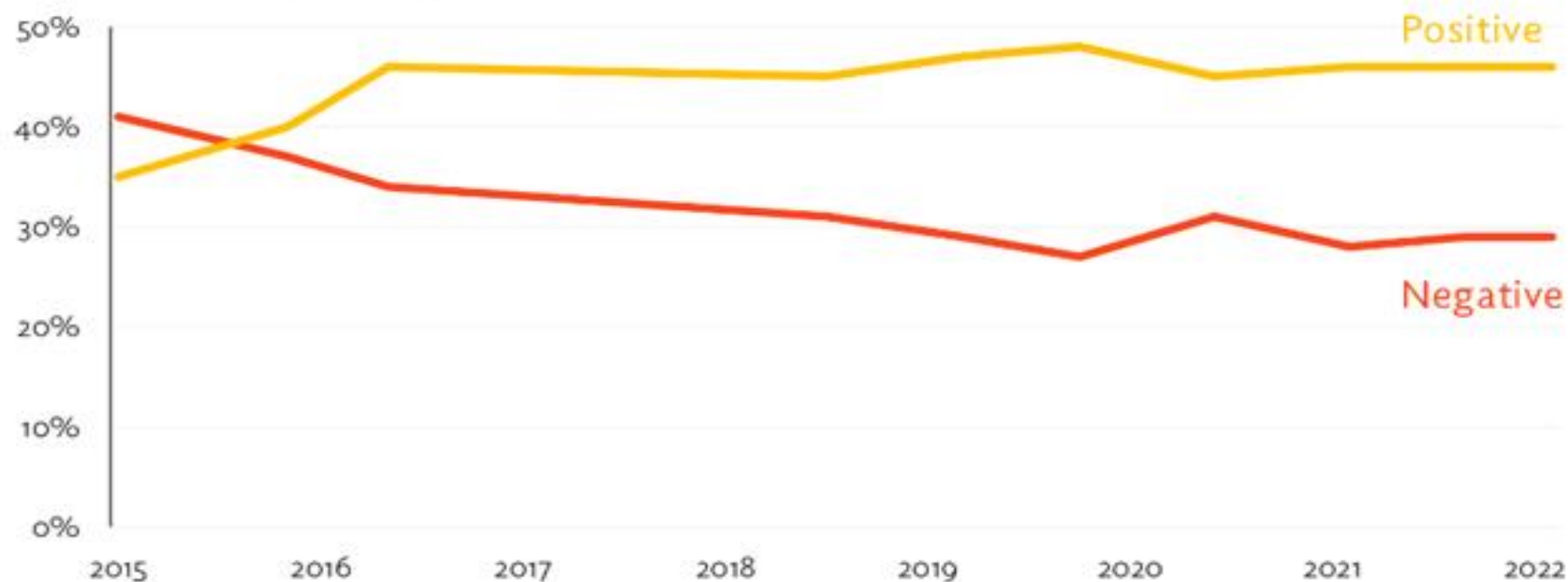
Source: Ipsos and British Future, Attitudes towards Immigration survey wave 14, August 2022

## Positive / Negative impact of immigration

**Voters are now more likely to say that immigration has had a positive impact on the UK than a negative one**

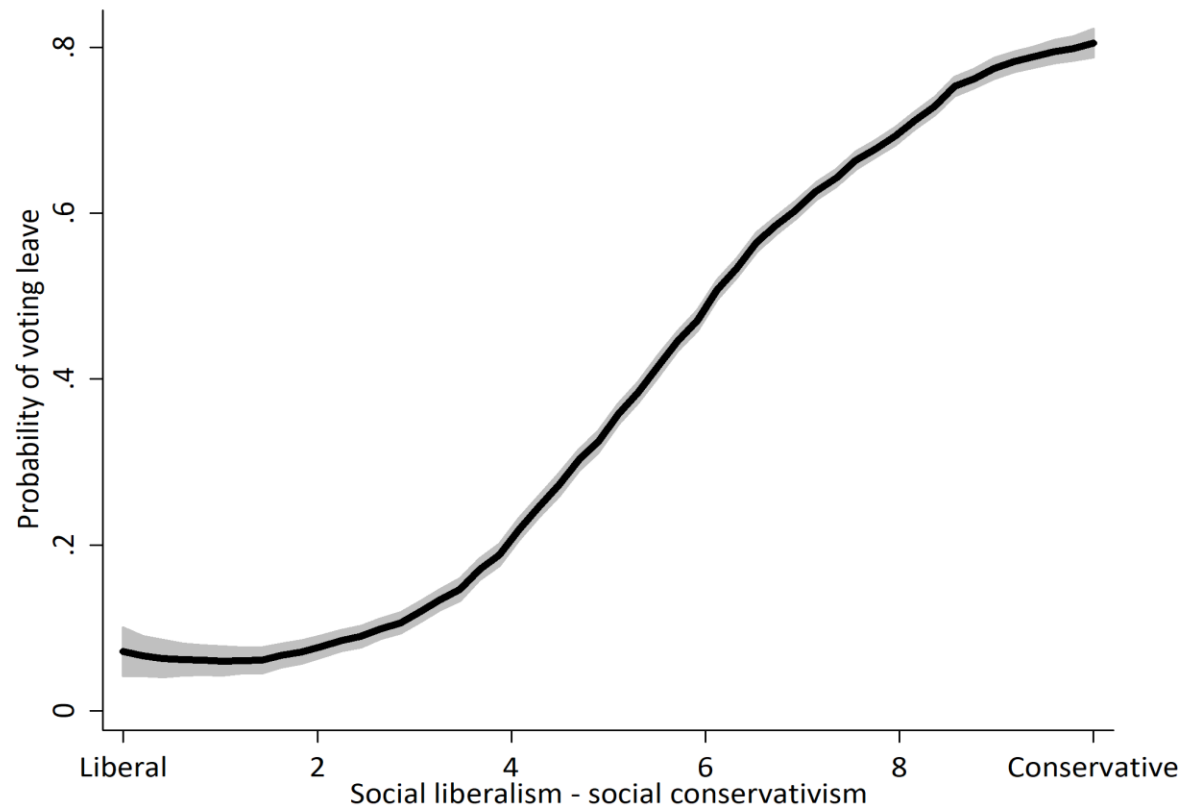
*On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is 'very negative' and 10 is 'very positive', has migration had a positive or negative impact on Britain?*

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Source: Ipsos and British Future, Attitudes Towards Immigration survey, wave 14 August 2022. Responses 0-4 are classed as 'negative', responses 6-10 are classed as 'positive'

## Social identity: the driver of Brexit



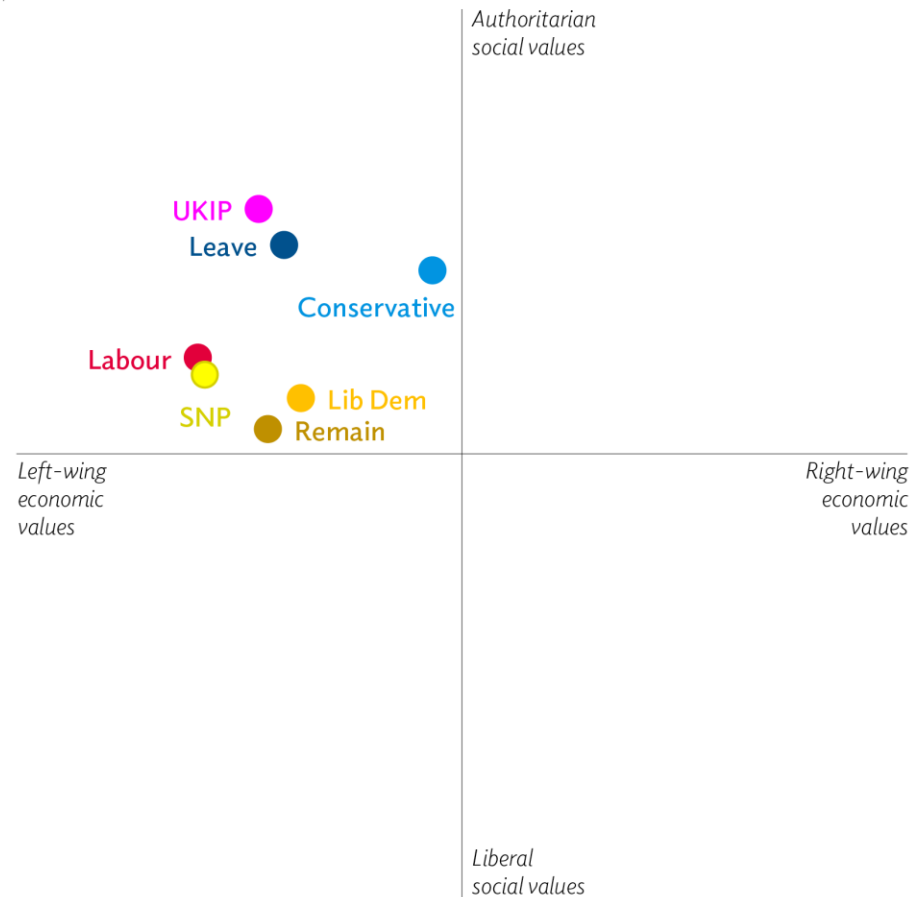
Source: British Election Study

## Voter Realignment: Social vs Economic values

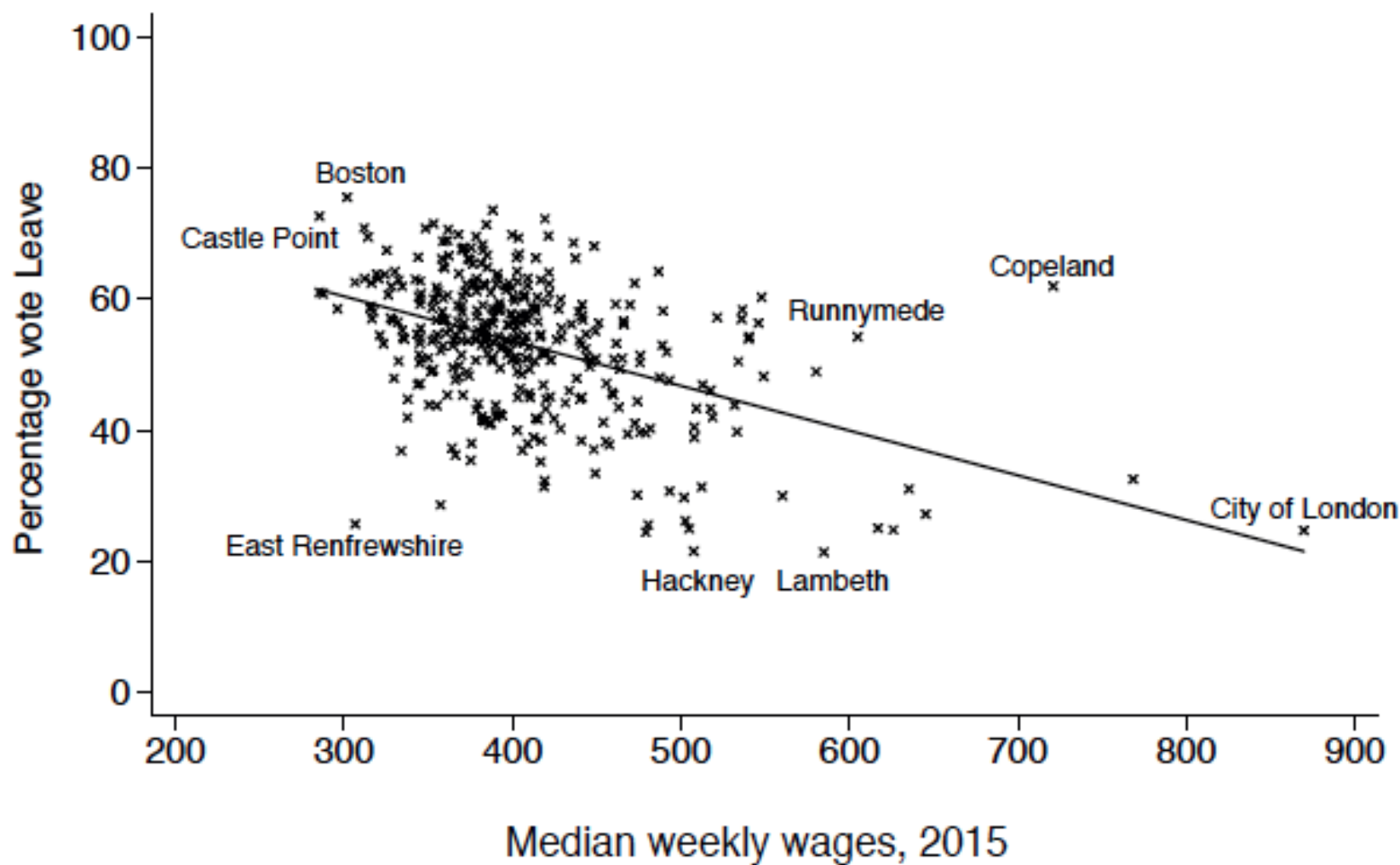
**The values of leave and remain voters differ more for social issues than economic ones**

*Position of the average voter in the value space, by political party in 2015 and referendum vote in 2016.*

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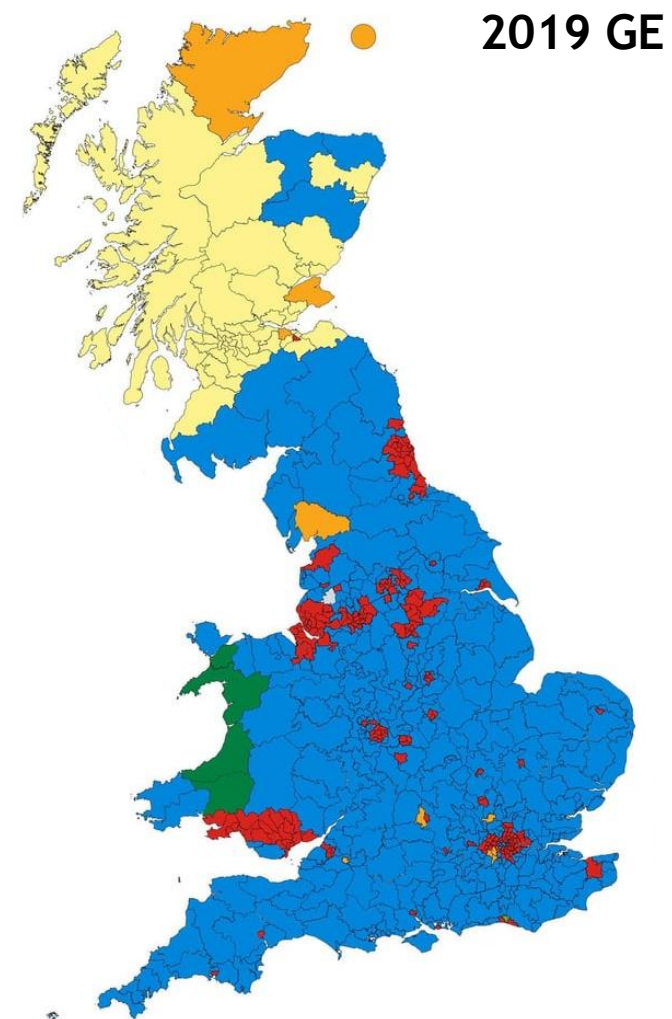
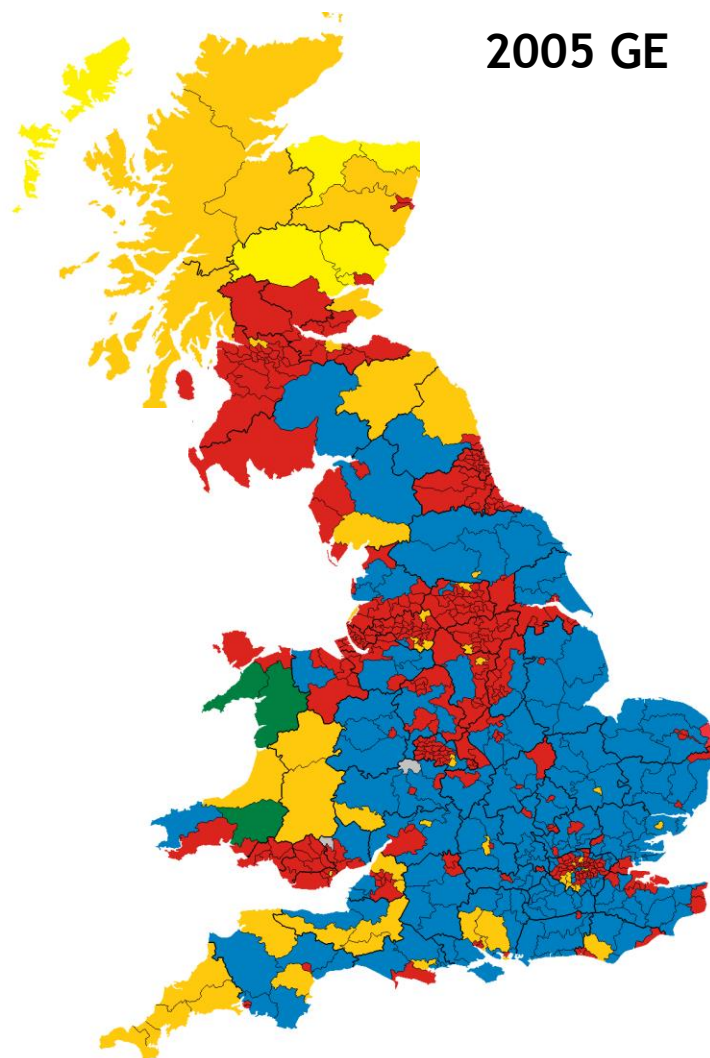


Source: British Election Study Internet Panel.





## Comparing the results of the 2005 and 2019 elections



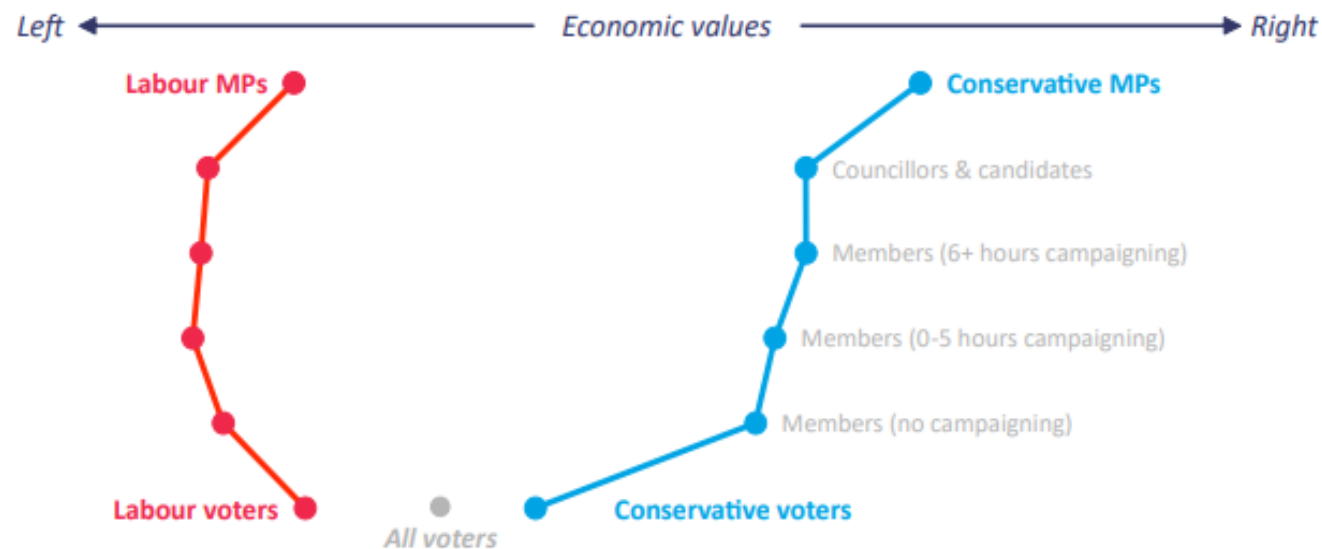


## Divided parties

**Figure 2: Labour MPs and voters have similar economic values, but Conservative MPs and voters do not**



*Economic values of Conservative and Labour MPs, councillors and candidates, members, and voters, 2020.*



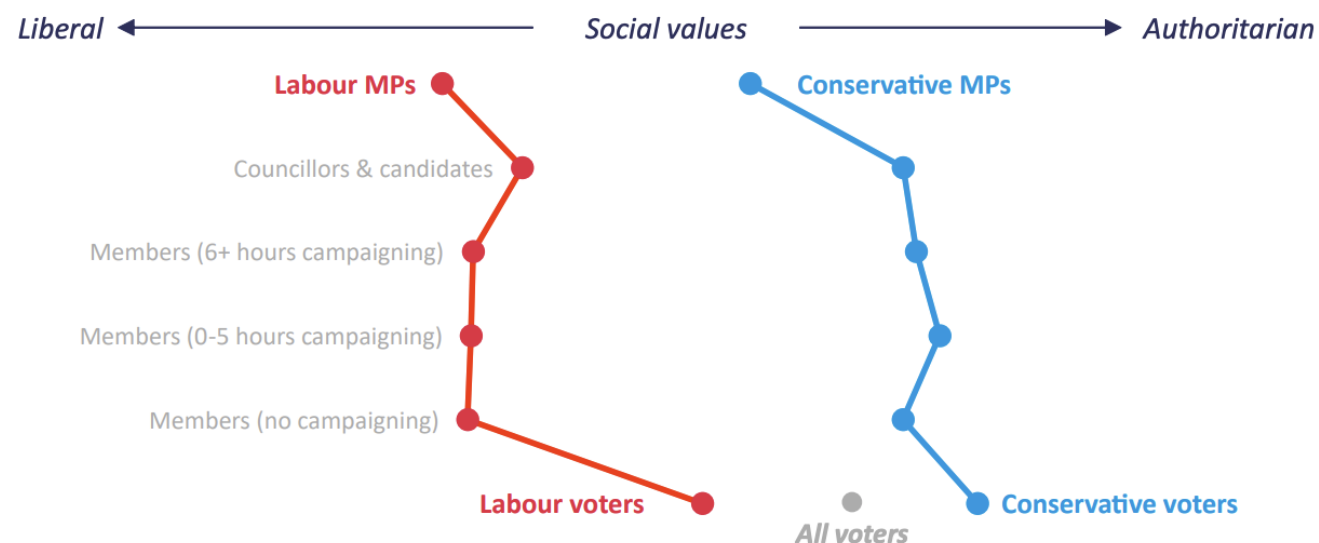
Source: ESRC Party Members Project survey, YouGov, fieldwork Dec 2019; UK in a Changing Europe MPs survey, Ipsos Mori, fieldwork Jan-Feb 2020; BES Internet Panel Wave 17, fieldwork Nov 2019, and Wave 19, fieldwork Dec 2019.

## Divided parties

**Figure 4: For both Labour and the Conservatives, MPs and party members are more socially liberal than their voters**

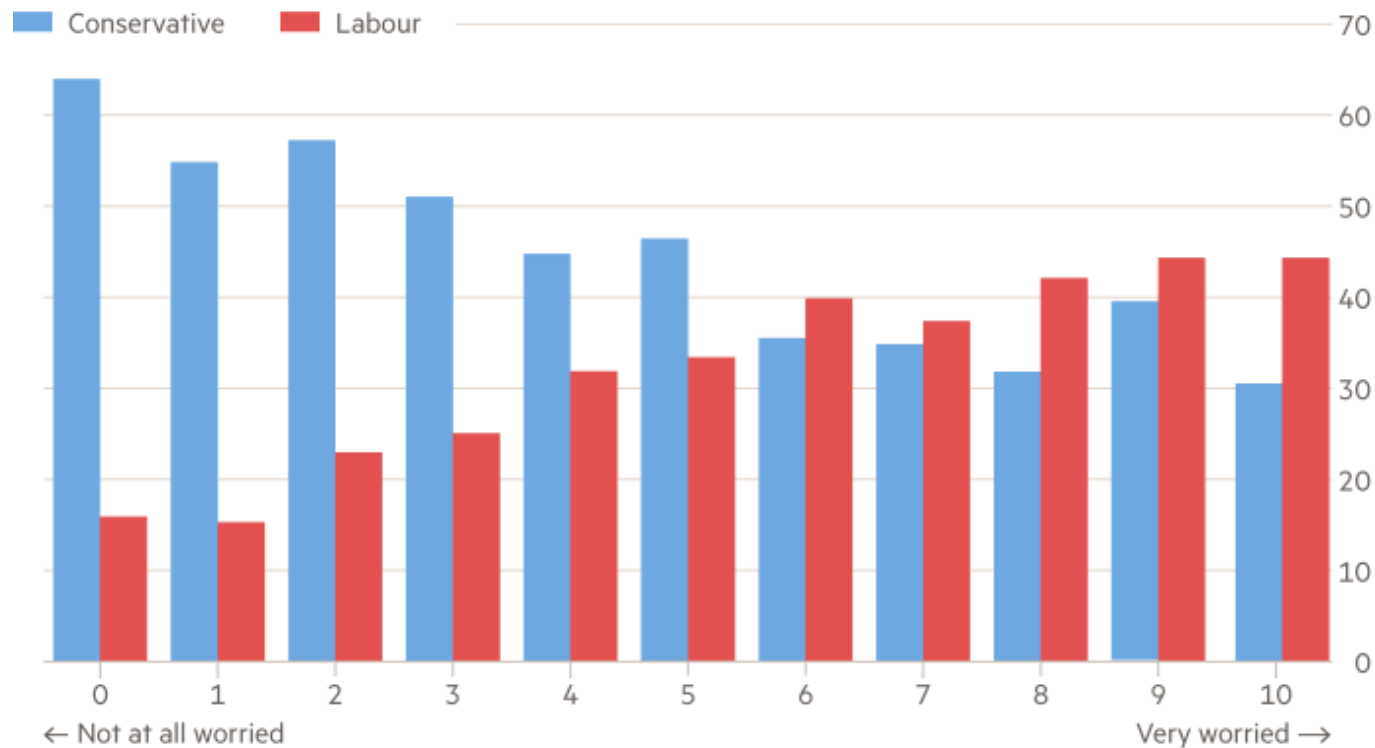


*Social values of Conservative and Labour MPs, councillors and candidates, members, and voters, 2020.*



Source: ESRC Party Members Project survey, YouGov, fieldwork Dec 2019; UK in a Changing Europe MPs survey, Ipsos Mori, fieldwork Jan-Feb 2020; BES Internet Panel Wave 17, fieldwork Nov 2019, and Wave 19, fieldwork Dec 2019.

## Economic insecurity (how worried about personal finances) and vote choice



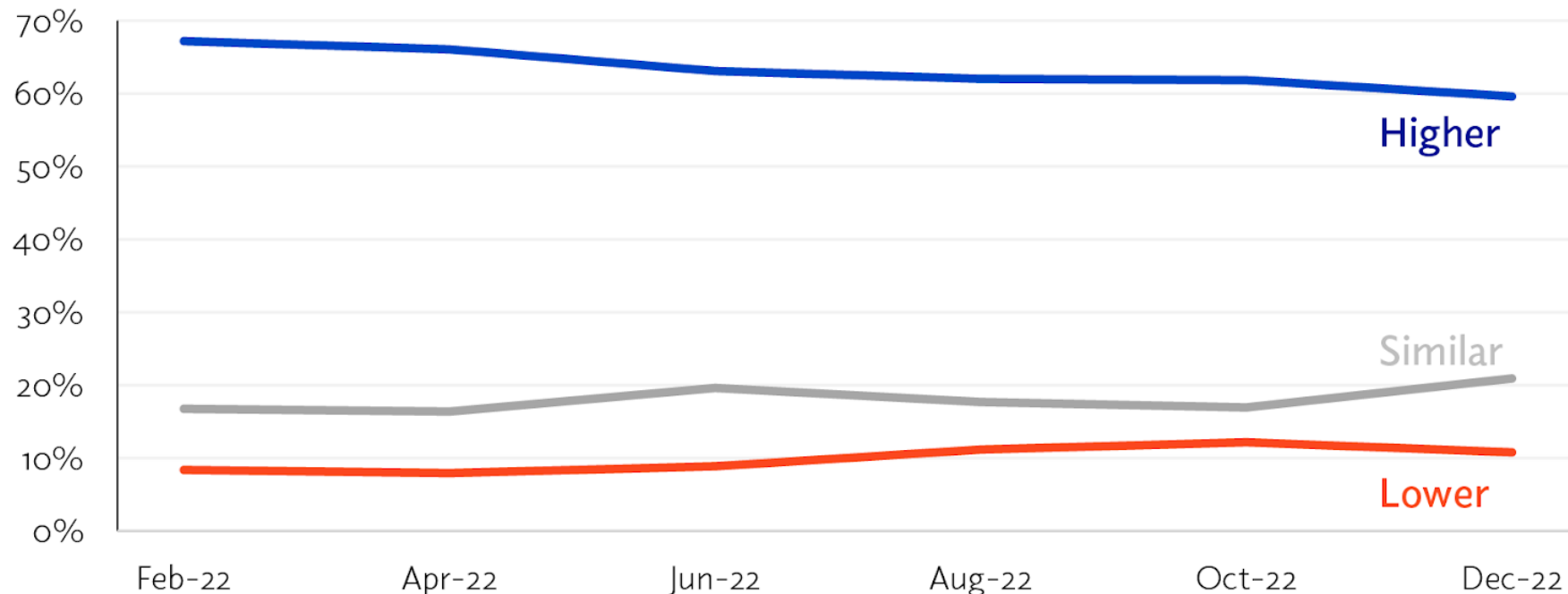
Source: Professor Jane Green from the British Election Study

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## A majority of voters say that that being outside the EU has worsened the impact of the cost of living crisis

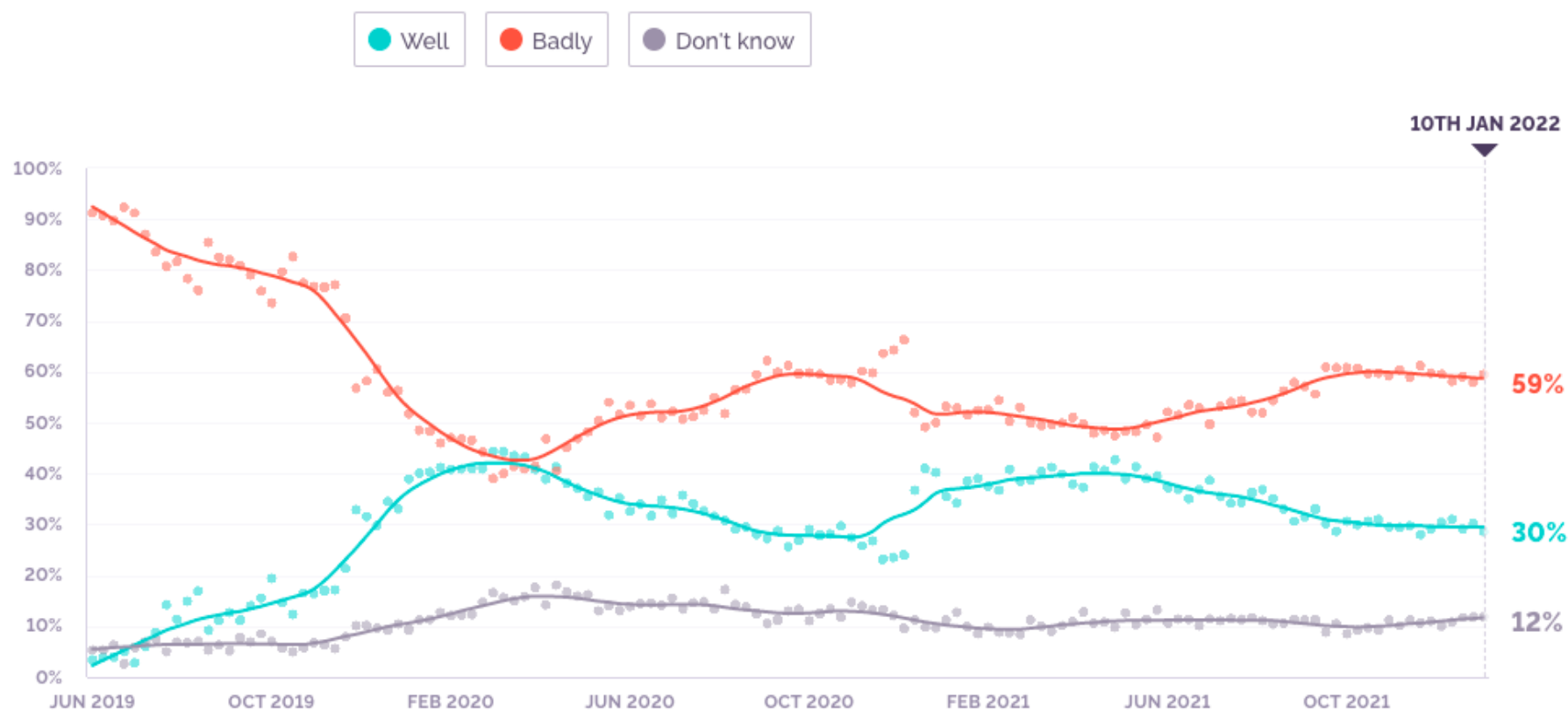
*In your opinion, with the United Kingdom outside of the European Union, is the cost of living in the United Kingdom now higher, lower, or similar to what it would be?*

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Source: UK in a Changing Europe and Redfield and Wilton monthly polling, February to December 2022

# How well or badly do you think the government is handling Britain's exit from the EU?



Source: YouGov