

The view from the continent

What people in other member states think about the UK's EU referendum

Jan Eichhorn, Daniel Kenealy, Christine Hübner

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Edinburgh

Outline

- Views on the UK in the EU
- Renegotiations and policy options for Britain
- Proposed policy changes at EU level
- Views on civic processes in other countries
- Conclusion and discussion

Views on UK

Policy for UK

Policy at EU Level

Civic processes

Discussion

Project background

- Survey conducted in six countries (Germany, France, Poland, Spain, Ireland, Sweden)
- 1000-1500 respondents per country
- Online survey conducted 22 January – 8 February 2016 simultaneously
- Detailed stratification process (sex, age, region, education, income)
- Good demographic representation, some weighting to adjust for deviations from population data
- Overrepresentation of voters (EP elections), but limited effect on results in sensitivity checks
- Master questionnaire developed in English with multiple iterations and expert feedback and detailed translation process

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Views on the UK in the EU

Views on Britain's EU membership

"Do you think Britain should continue to be a member of the European Union or should it withdraw?"

Views on UK

	Continue	Withdraw	Don't know
Germany (N=1500)	58	23	19
France (N=1500)	42	33	25
Poland (N=1500)	65	11	24
Spain (N=1500)	65	14	21
Ireland (N=1000)	68	15	17
Sweden (N=1002)	50	21	29

Policy for UK

Policy at EU Level

"Should Britain remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?"

Civic processes

	Remain	Leave
Germany (N=1500)	73	27
France (N=1500)	56	44
Poland (N=1500)	80	20
Spain (N=1500)	81	19
Ireland (N=1000)	79	21
Sweden (N=1002)	67	33

Discussion

Views on consequences of #Brexit for the UK

Views on UK	Britain's Economy			
	A lot/a little better	No difference	A lot/a little worse	
Policy for UK	Germany N= 1330/1349	22	22	56
	France N= 1277/1307	30	43	27
Policy at EU Level	Poland N= 1280/1259	28	40	32
	Spain N= 1365/1378	20	47	33
Civic processes	Ireland N= 891/920	23	25	52
	Sweden N= 833/862	34	37	29
Discussion	Excludes don't knows			

Views on consequences of #Brexit for the UK

Views on UK	Britain's Economy			Britain's Voice in the World		
	A lot/a little better	No difference	A lot/a little worse	A lot/a little better	No difference	A lot/a little worse
Policy for UK						
Germany N= 1330/1349	22	22	56	17	33	50
France N= 1277/1307	30	43	27	30	42	28
Policy at EU Level						
Poland N= 1280/1259	28	40	32	30	40	30
Spain N= 1365/1378	20	47	33	21	43	36
Civic processes						
Ireland N= 891/920	23	25	52	23	34	43
Sweden N= 833/862	34	37	29	20	42	38
Discussion	Excludes don't knows					

Economic expectations and views on membership

Views on UK

Policy for UK

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Economic expectations and views on membership

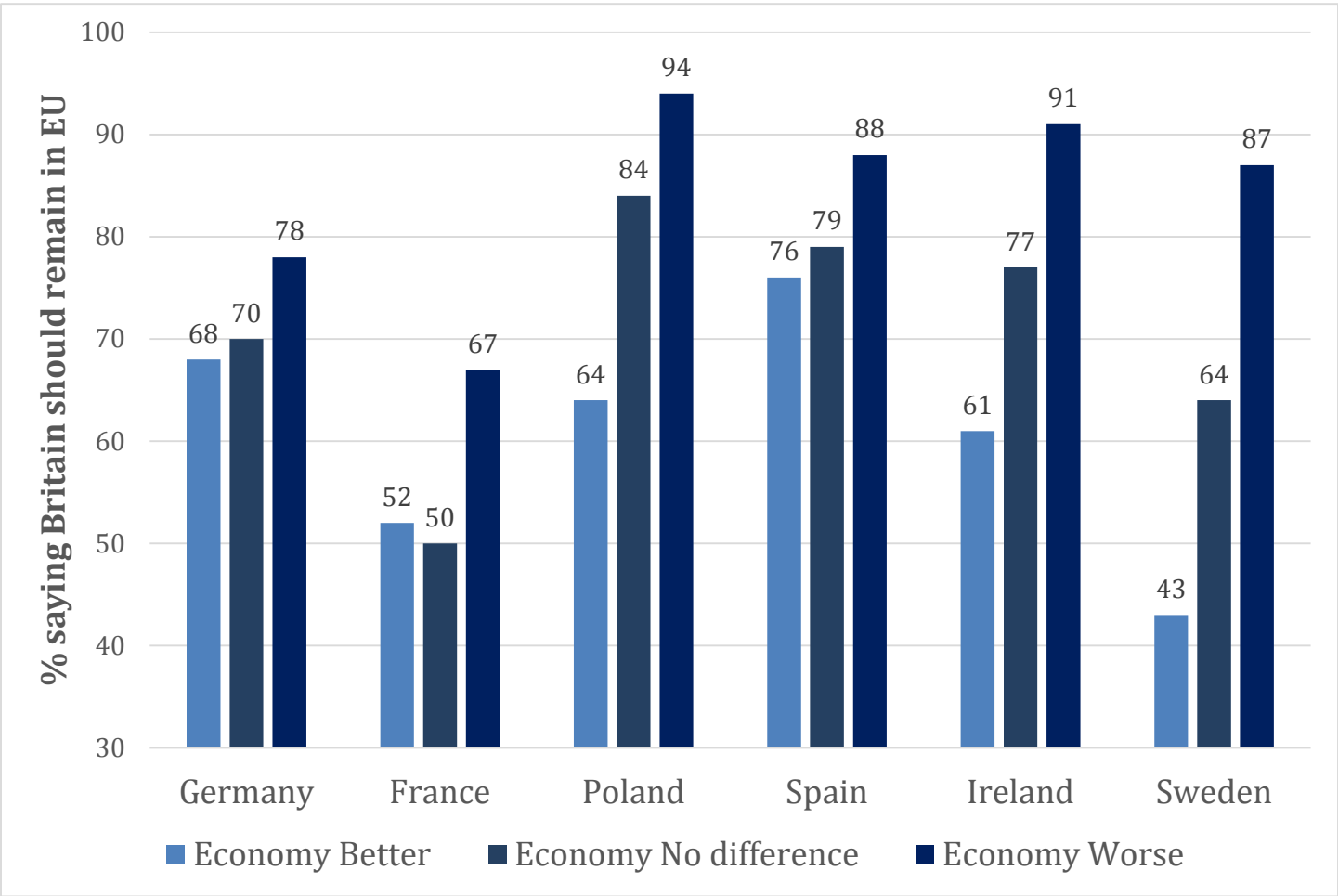
Views on UK

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Economic expectations and views on membership

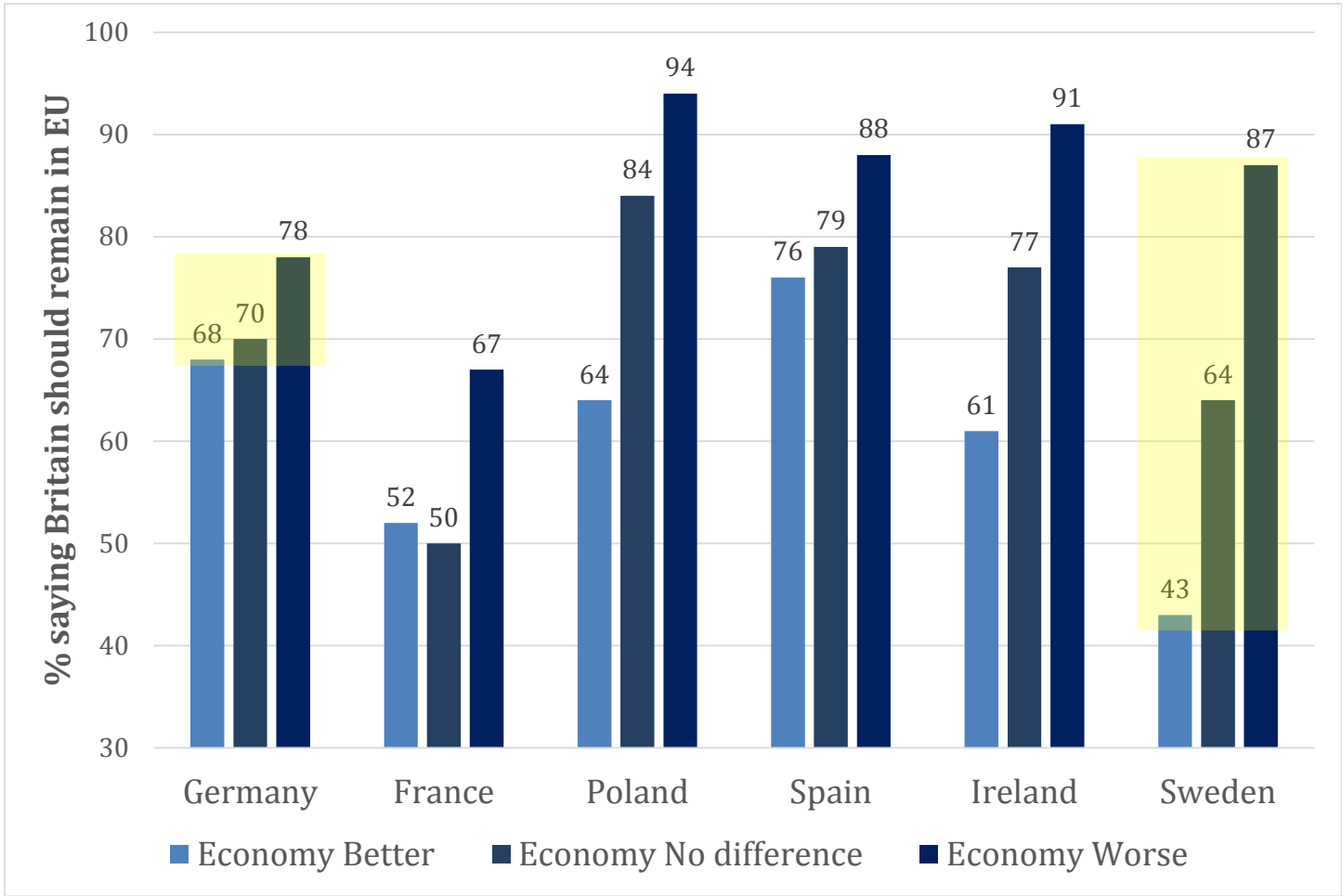
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Voice expectations and views on membership

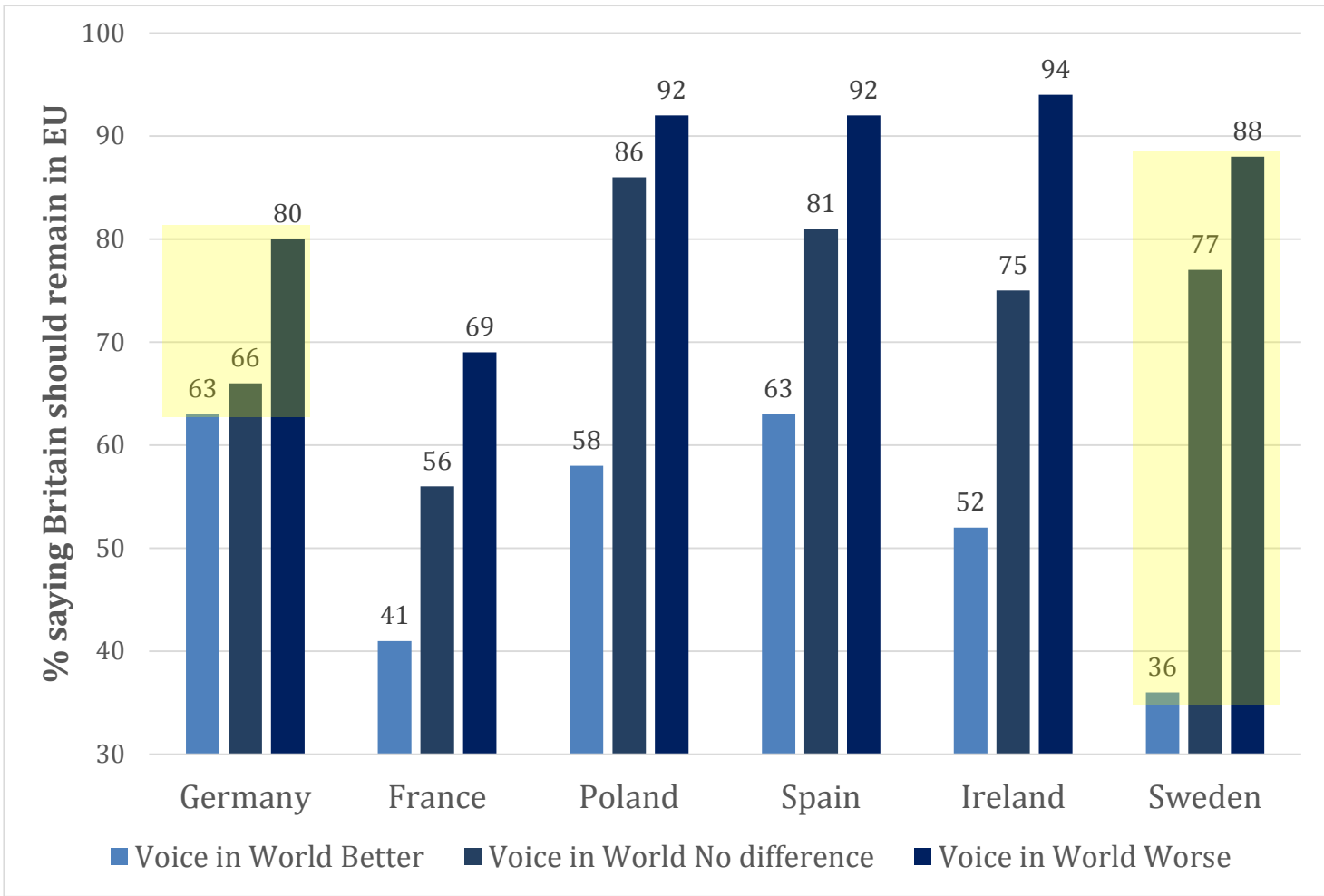
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Evaluation of British EU membership

Views on UK	Effect of British membership						
	For Britain			For EU			
	Very/ rather good	Neither	Very/ rather bad	Very/ rather good	Neither	Very/ rather bad	
Policy for UK	Germany N= 1362/1374	59	27	14	48	34	18
	France N= 1300/1333	45	37	18	40	40	20
Policy at EU Level	Poland N= 1269/1306	52	33	15	66	29	5
	Spain N= 1357/1367	51	37	12	51	37	12
Civic processes	Ireland N= 917/928	62	26	12	68	28	4
	Sweden N= 819/852	45	29	26	65	28	7
Discussion	Excludes don't knows						

Evaluation of British membership and view on desirable referendum outcome

Correlation coefficient (Cramer's V)

Views on UK

View on whether Britain should remain or leave by

Evaluation of membership for Britain

Evaluation of membership for EU

Policy for UK

Germany
N= 1362/1374

.304

.407

France
N= 1300/1333

.331

.464

Policy at EU Level

Poland
N= 1269/1306

.445

.250

Spain
N= 1357/1367

.217

.241

Civic processes

Ireland
N= 917/928

.534

.174

Sweden
N= 819/852

.644

.285

Discussion

View on UK membership by own country view

Views on UK membership in EU (forced choice) by attitudes towards own country's long-run strategy towards the EU, by country

Views on UK

	Own country's long-run strategy towards EU (% saying UK should remain within each category)					
	Leave	Reduce powers	Status quo	Increase Powers	Single EU gov.	Don't know
Policy for UK						
Policy at EU Level	Germany N= 1500					
	France N= 1500					
Civic processes	Poland N= 1500					
	Spain N= 1500					
Discussion	Ireland N= 1000					
	Sweden N= 1002					

View on UK membership by own country view

Views on UK membership in EU (forced choice) by attitudes towards own country's long-run strategy towards the EU, by country

Views on UK

Policy for UK

Policy at EU Level

Civic processes

Discussion

	Own country's long-run strategy towards EU (% saying UK should remain within each category)					
	Leave	Reduce powers	Status quo	Increase Powers	Single EU gov.	Don't know
Germany N= 1500	27	78	83	89	83	72
France N= 1500	23	61	75	74	60	68
Poland N= 1500	24	79	93	95	90	74
Spain N= 1500	35	87	88	91	87	80
Ireland N= 1000	14	87	97	92	77	76
Sweden N= 1002	19	88	91	97	78	72

Views on UK

Policy for UK

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Renegotiations and policy options for Britain

Exceptionality for Britain

Views on UK

	Britain should be allowed to negotiate specific changes for itself	Any changes would have to apply to all member states	Don't know
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Policy for UK

Germany N= 1500	25	62	13
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France N= 1500	24	55	20
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Policy at EU Level

Poland N= 1500	30	55	14
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Spain N= 1500	30	55	15
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Civic processes

Ireland N= 1000	26	62	12
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Sweden N= 1002	25	53	22
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Discussion

Acceptability of policy exceptions for Britain

Views on UK	% saying the exception should be granted rather than not granted					
	Delay welfare payments	No child benefits abroad	Charge for NHS access	Do not pay JSA to EU migrants	Restrict extent of EU migrants	
Policy for UK	Germany N= 1292-1315	35	39	32	35	41
	France N= 1180-1222	39	47	50	43	58
Policy at EU Level	Poland N= 1204-1242	26	36	24	34	43
	Spain N= 1313-1336	19	22	23	21	32
	Ireland N= 851-887	43	58	42	43	50
Civic processes	Sweden N= 743-805	35	47	33	42	45
	Mean	33	42	34	36	45

Excludes don't knows

Mean number of acceptable policy exceptions for Britain (0 to 5)

	Mean number	Standard error	95% Confidence Interval
Views on UK			
Germany N= 1500	1.57	.042	1.49 – 1.61
Policy for UK			
France N= 1500	1.88	.048	1.79 – 1.903
Poland N= 1500	1.35	.039	1.27 – 1.39
Spain N= 1500	1.02	.036	0.95 – 1.06
Policy at EU Level			
Ireland N= 1000	2.06	.056	1.95 – 2.12
Sweden N= 1002	1.56	.056	1.45 – 1.62
Civic processes			
Discussion			

Prevalence of personal experiences with Britain

	% saying that this applies to them					
	Has visited Britain as tourist or guest	Had a family member who lived in Britain	Has worked in Britain	Has studied in Britain	Has received British benefits (or a family member)	
Views on UK						
Policy for UK						
	Germany N= 1500	52	13	7	4	3
Policy at EU Level	France N= 1500	47	16	5	6	5
	Poland N= 1500	27	45	6	2	7
Civic processes	Spain N= 1500	34	27	6	8	6
	Ireland N= 1000	86	72	25	16	22
Discussion	Sweden N= 1002	61	21	8	7	5

Prevalence of personal experiences with Britain

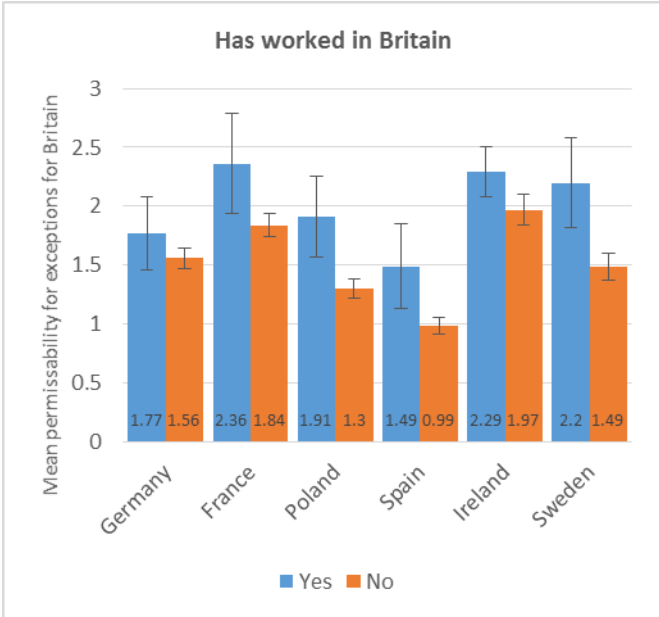
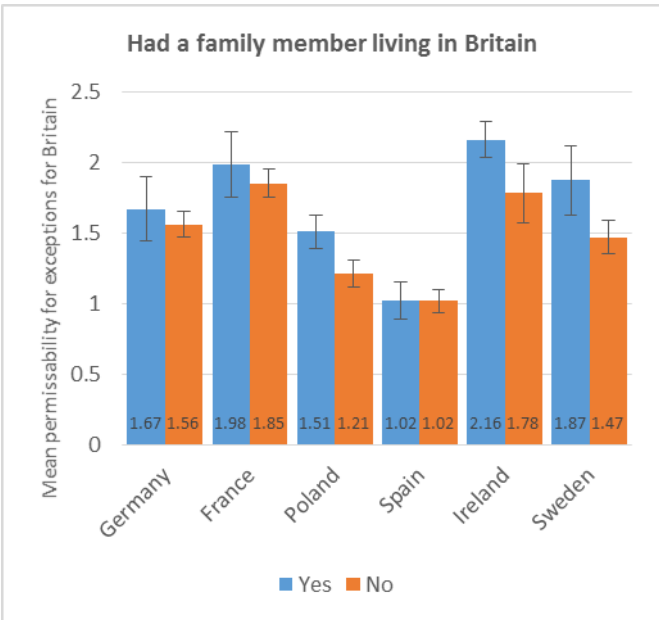
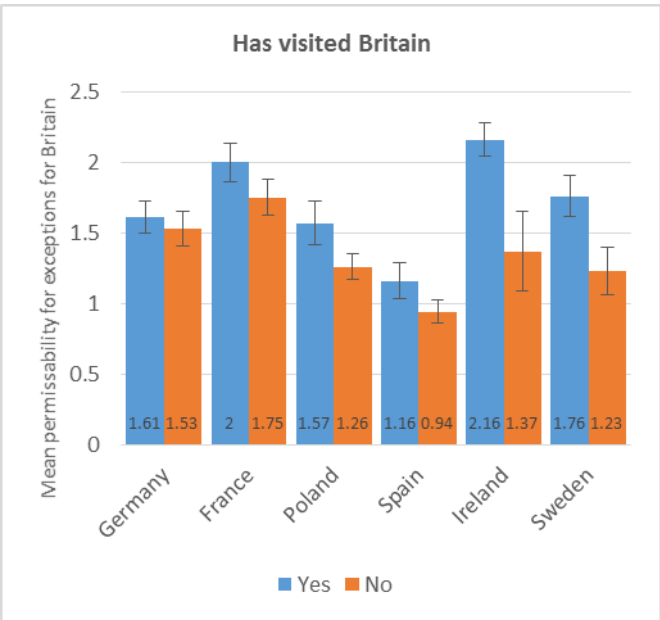
Views on UK

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Prevalence of personal experiences with Britain

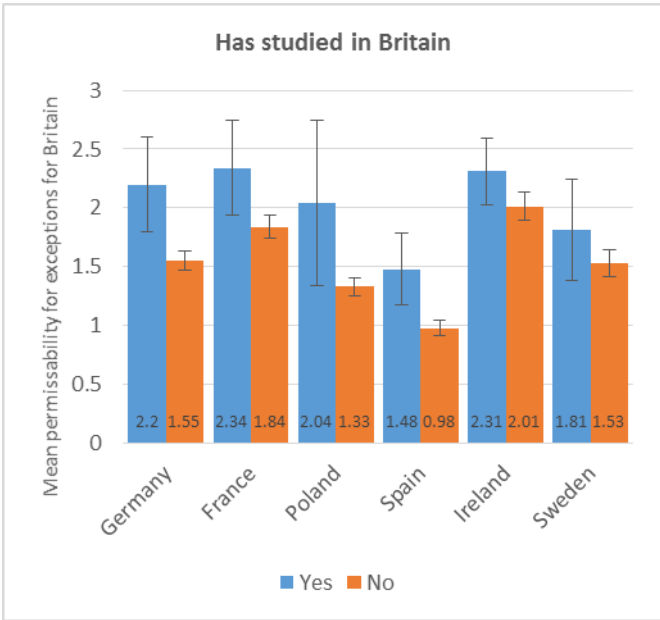
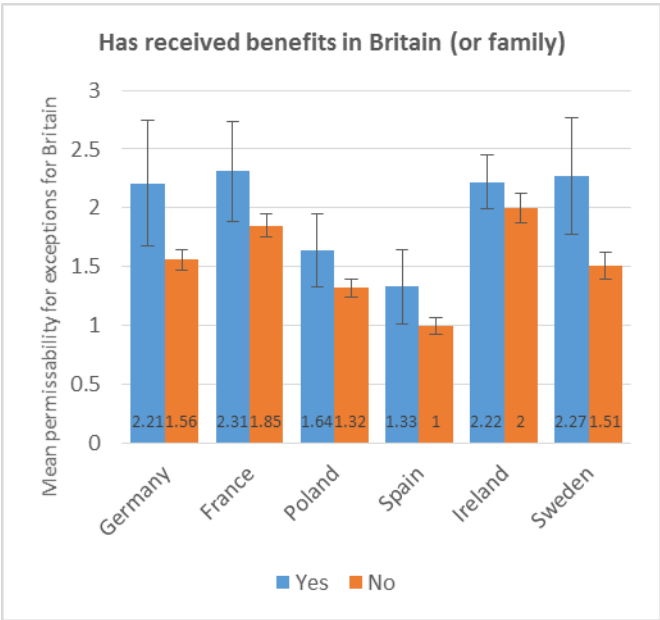
Views on UK

Policy for UK

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Views on UK

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Proposed policy changes at EU level

Influence of own gov. head on renegotiations

Views on UK

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	A lot of influence	Some influence	Rather little influence	No influence at all	Don't know
Germany N= 1500	18	38	25	9	10
France N= 1500	3	20	34	30	13
Poland N= 1500	6	16	29	34	15
Spain N= 1500	6	18	34	35	7
Ireland N= 1000	2	15	38	34	11
Sweden N= 1002	1	10	41	35	13

Views on EU policy options

	Strongly/ Somewhat in favour	Neither in favour nor opposed	Somewhat/ Strongly opposed	Can't choose	
	End automatic free movement to live and work elsewhere in EU				
Views on UK	Germany	16	18	62	4
	France	25	33	35	7
	Poland	12	27	57	4
	Spain	17	23	58	2
Policy for UK	Ireland	23	22	52	3
	Sweden	21	20	50	9
	Reduce access to welfare benefits for EU migrants				
	Germany	46	24	24	6
Policy at EU Level	France	53	23	18	6
	Poland	37	27	31	5
	Spain	29	28	41	2
	Ireland	51	17	29	3
Civic processes	Sweden	32	25	33	10
	Reduce EU business regulations				
	Germany	45	26	22	7
	France	40	33	18	9
Discussion	Poland	34	38	22	6
	Spain	33	38	25	4
	Ireland	39	29	28	4
	Sweden	44	25	18	13

Desirability of reducing EU powers correlations

	Correlation coefficient with mean agreement score on EU reduction			
	Left-right position	Migrants impact on economy	Trust in national parliament	Trust in EU parliament
Views on UK				
Policy for UK				
	Germany N= 1245-1315	0.33**	-0.30**	-0.20**
	France N= 1156-1261	0.28**	-0.39**	-0.23**
	Poland N= 1175-1328	0.26**	-0.27**	0.12**
Policy at EU Level				
	Spain N= 1321-1389	0.18**	-0.15**	0.04
	Ireland N= 833-906	0.16**	-0.46**	-0.15**
Civic processes				
	Sweden N= 776-813	0.24**	-0.42**	-0.26**
Discussion	Significance values: **p<0.01, *p<0.05 Excludes those saying "can't choose" or "don't know"			

Opinions on renegotiation policy options for EU I

Views on UK		Commitment to creating an 'ever closer union' in Europe			Core Europe: all member states to make decisions together	
		Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Policy for UK	Germany N= 1221/1326	48	43	10	71	29
	France N= 1243/1204	41	43	17	69	31
Policy at EU Level	Poland N= 1294/1315	51	39	10	82	18
	Spain N= 1374/1336	65	30	5	85	15
Civic processes	Ireland N= 870/888	49	37	14	67	33
	Sweden N= 796/803	52	35	13	63	37
Discussion						

Opinions on renegotiation policy options for EU II

Views on UK

Policy for UK

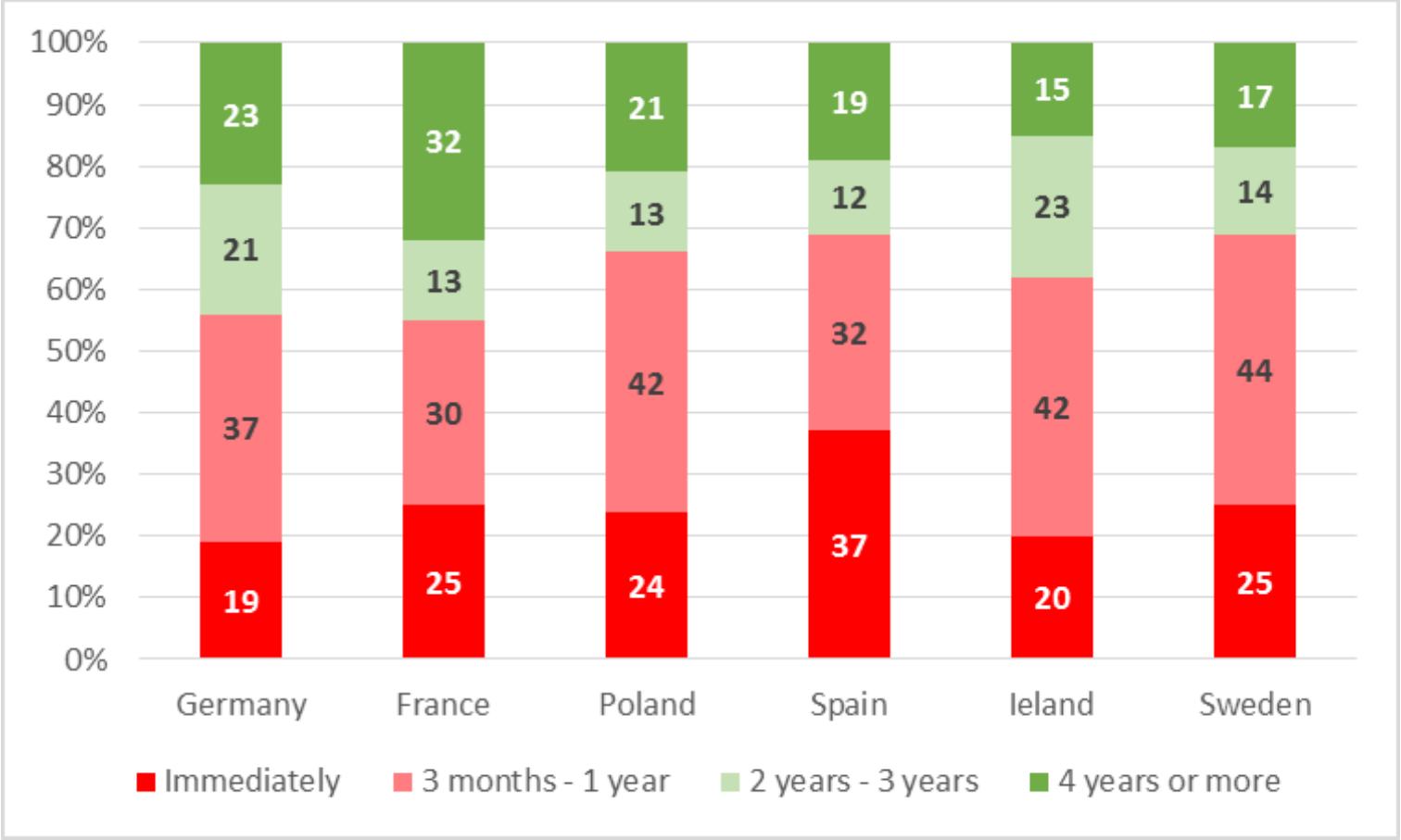
Policy at EU Level

Civic processes

Discussion

	National parliaments should play a stronger role in EU			Alter EU decision making process to address non-Euro-members concerns	
	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Germany N= 1278/1210	41	40	19	37	63
France N= 1239/1035	49	40	11	42	58
Poland N= 1306/1135	51	36	14	68	32
Spain N= 1371/1195	55	36	9	46	54
Ireland N= 866/750	58	31	11	38	62
Sweden N= 730/677	47	37	16	59	41

Delay in paying working migrants same assistance



Views on UK

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View on UK single market access if leaving EU

Views on UK

Policy for UK

Policy at EU Level

Civic processes

Discussion

		Britain should be a member of the EU's single market	Britain should not be a member of the EU's single market	Don't know
Views on UK				
Policy for UK	Germany N= 1500	46	22	31
	France N= 1500	25	39	36
	Poland N= 1500	50	19	31
Policy at EU Level	Spain N= 1500	30	42	28
	Ireland N= 1000	41	26	33
Civic processes	Sweden N= 1002	32	30	38

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Views on civic processes in other countries

Desire for EU referendum in own country

Views on UK

Policy for UK

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Discussion

“Now thinking of [YOUR OWN COUNTRY], what do you think about holding a similar type of referendum as in Britain in which people would be asked whether they wanted [OWN COUNTRY] to remain part of the EU or to leave the EU?”

Desire for EU referendum in own country

	I would like [my country] to hold a referendum on its EU membership	I would <u>NOT</u> like [my country] to hold a referendum on its EU membership	Don't know	
Views on UK				
Policy for UK	Germany N= 1500	45	40	15
	France N= 1500	53	29	18
Policy at EU Level	Poland N= 1500	39	45	16
	Spain N= 1500	47	39	13
Civic processes	Ireland N= 1000	38	49	14
	Sweden N= 1002	49	33	18

“Now thinking of [COUNTRY OF RESPONDENT], what do you think about holding a similar type of referendum as in Britain in which people would be asked whether they wanted [COUNTRY OF RESPONDENT] to remain part of the EU or to leave the EU?”

Discussion

Vote on membership if referendum were held

Views on UK

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“If a referendum on [YOUR COUNTRY]’s membership in the EU were to be held, would you vote for [YOUR COUNTRY] to remain a member of the EU or to leave the EU?”

Vote on membership if referendum were held

Views on UK

	Would vote to remain	Would vote to leave	Don't know
Germany N= 1500	60	27	14
France N= 1500	45	33	22
Poland N= 1500	66	20	14
Spain N= 1500	68	18	14
Ireland N= 1000	69	18	13
Sweden N= 1002	42	37	21

Policy for UK

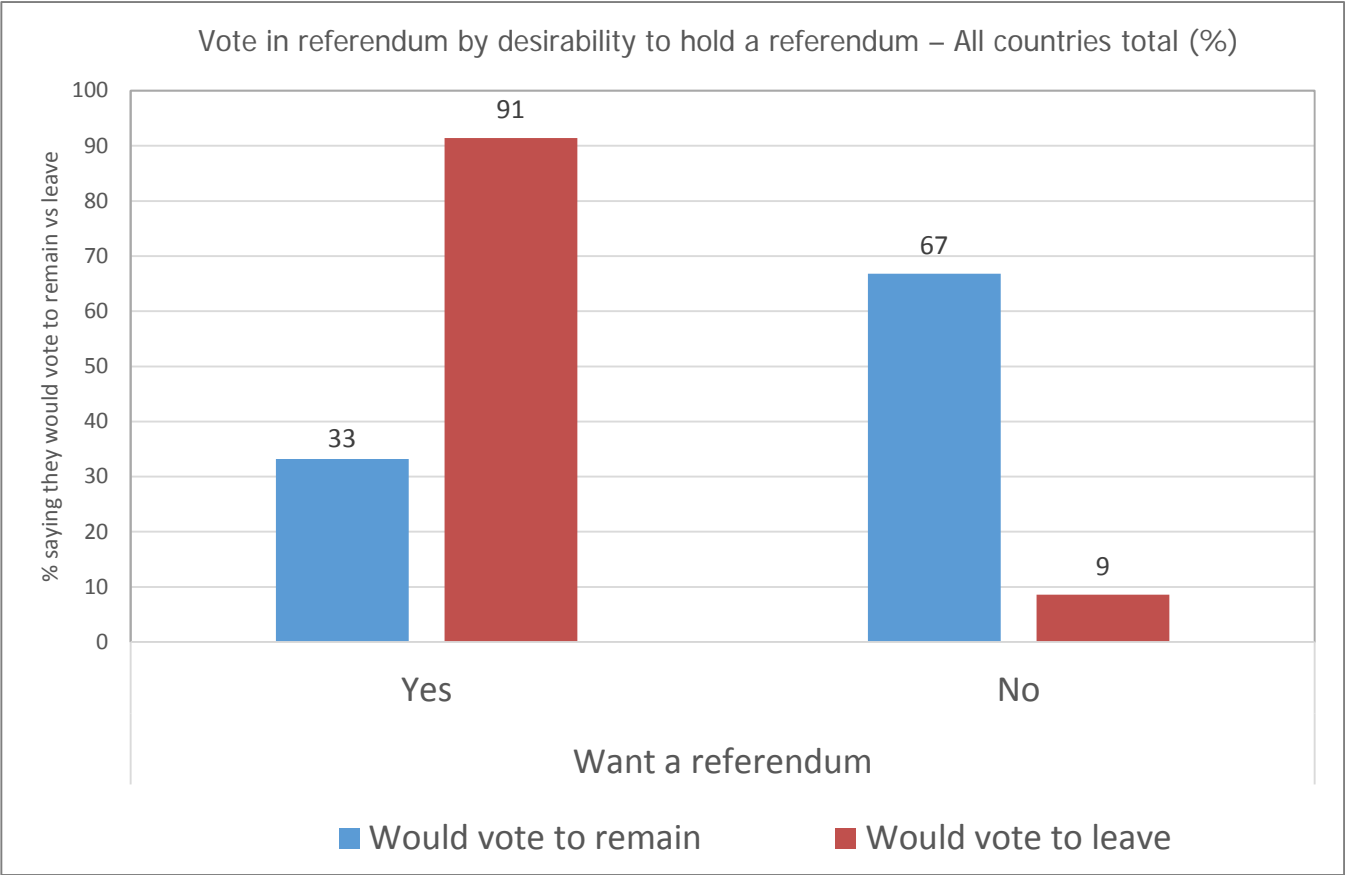
Policy at EU Level

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Discussion

"If a referendum on [COUNTRY OF RESPONDENT]'s membership in the EU were to be held, would you vote for [COUNTRY OF RESPONDENT] to remain a member of the EU or to leave the EU?"

Vote in referendum by desirability to have one



Views on UK

Policy for UK

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Vote in referendum by desirability to have one

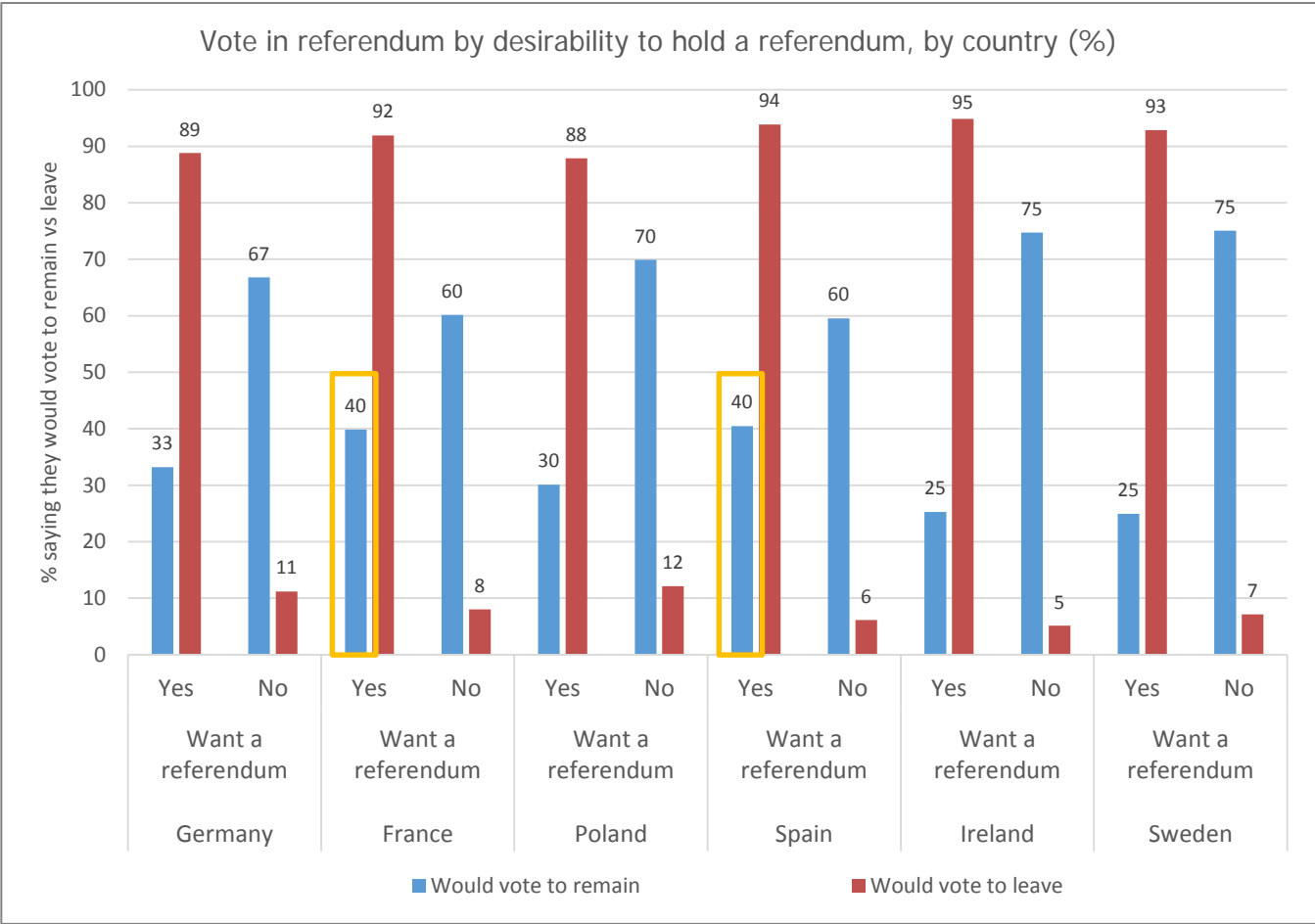
Views on UK

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Wish for own country's long-term EU strategy

Views on UK		Leave the European Union	Stay in the EU and try to reduce the EU's powers	Leave things as they are	Stay in the EU and try to increase the EU's powers	Work for formation of a single European government	Don't Know
		"Eurosceptics"			"Eurofans"		
Policy for UK	Germany N= 1500	16	20	9	27	17	10
	France N= 1500	24	23	8	16	14	16
Policy at EU Level	Poland N= 1500	9	26	22	22	6	14
	Spain N= 1500	11	22	14	24	18	11
Civic processes	Ireland N= 1000	11	34	19	15	9	11
	Sweden N= 1002	27	25	14	12	5	18

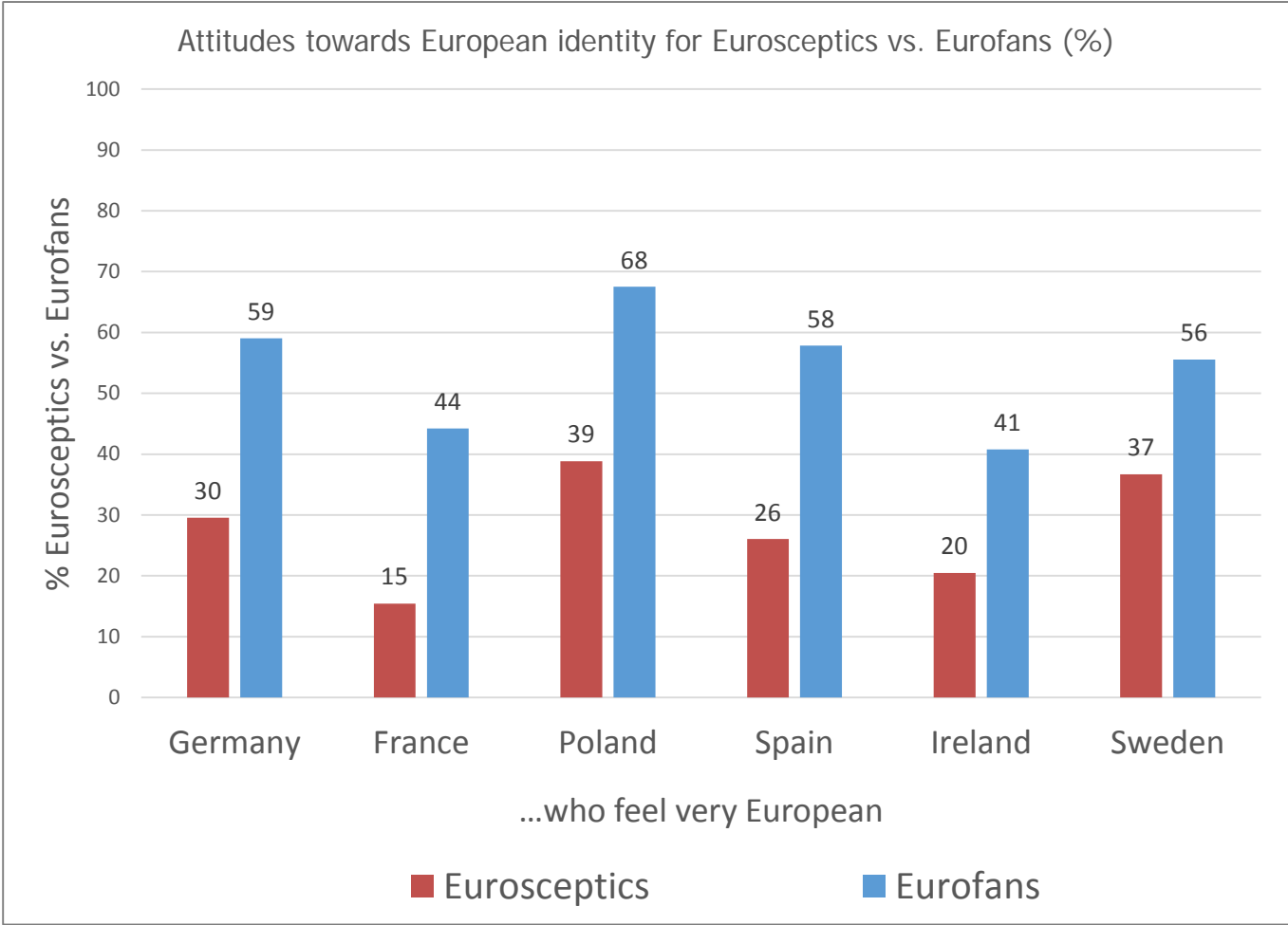
"Do you think [COUNTRY OF RESPONDENT]'s long-term policy should be to... ?"

Wish for own country's long-term EU strategy

Views on UK	Leave the European Union	Stay in the EU and try to reduce the EU's powers	Leave things as they are	Stay in the EU and try to increase the EU's powers	Work for formation of a single European government	Don't Know
	"Eurosceptics"			"Eurofans"		
Policy for UK	Germany N= 1500	36	9	44	10	
	France N= 1500	47	8	30	16	
Policy at EU Level	Poland N= 1500	35	22	28	14	
	Spain N= 1500	33	14	42	11	
Civic processes	Ireland N= 1000	45	19	24	11	
Discussion	Sweden N= 1002	52	14	17	18	

"Do you think [COUNTRY OF RESPONDENT]'s long-term policy should be to... ?"

Distinguishing "Eurosceptics" from "Eurofans"



Distinguishing "Eurosceptics" from "Eurofans"

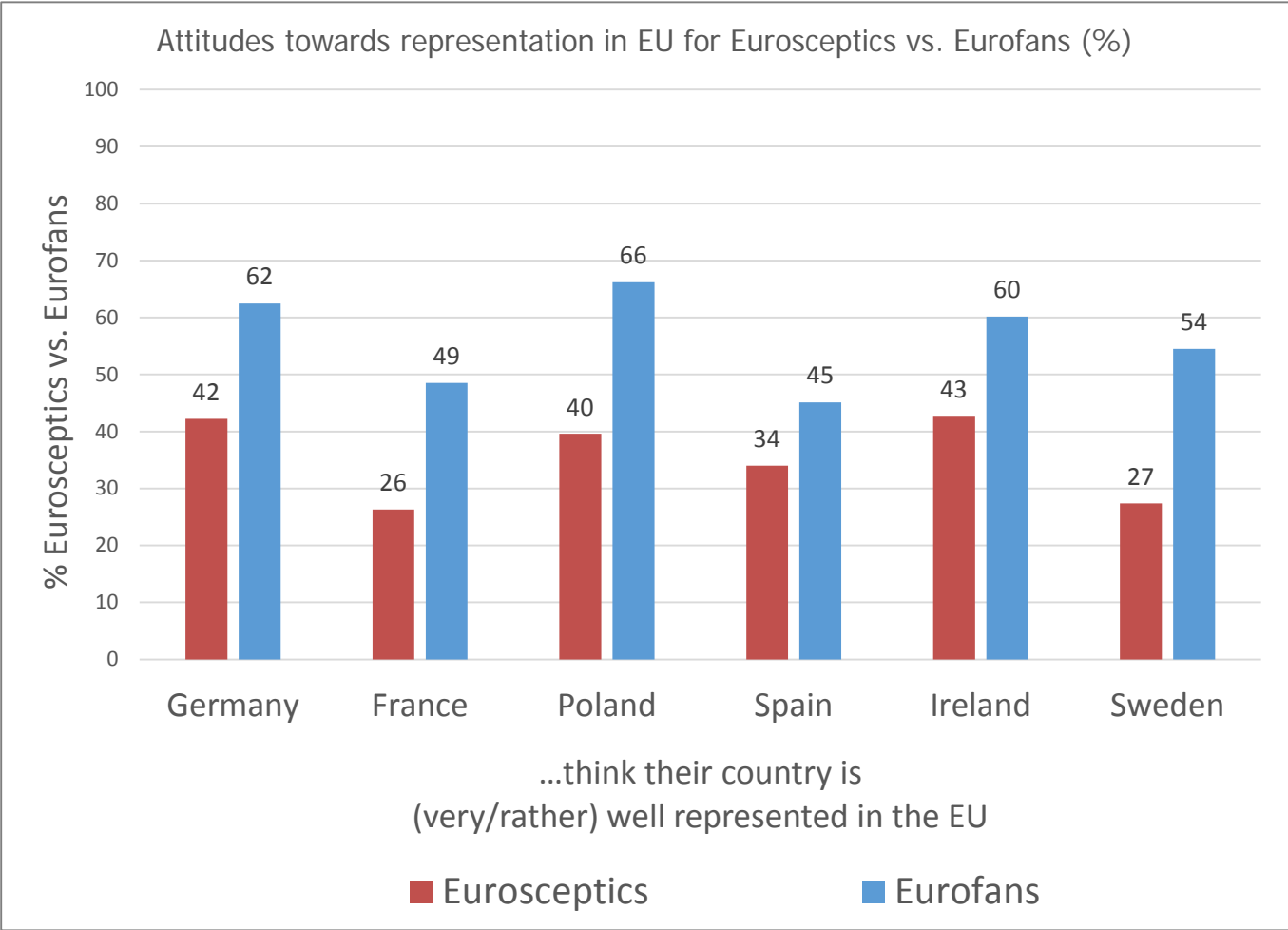
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Distinguishing "Eurosceptics" from "Eurofans"

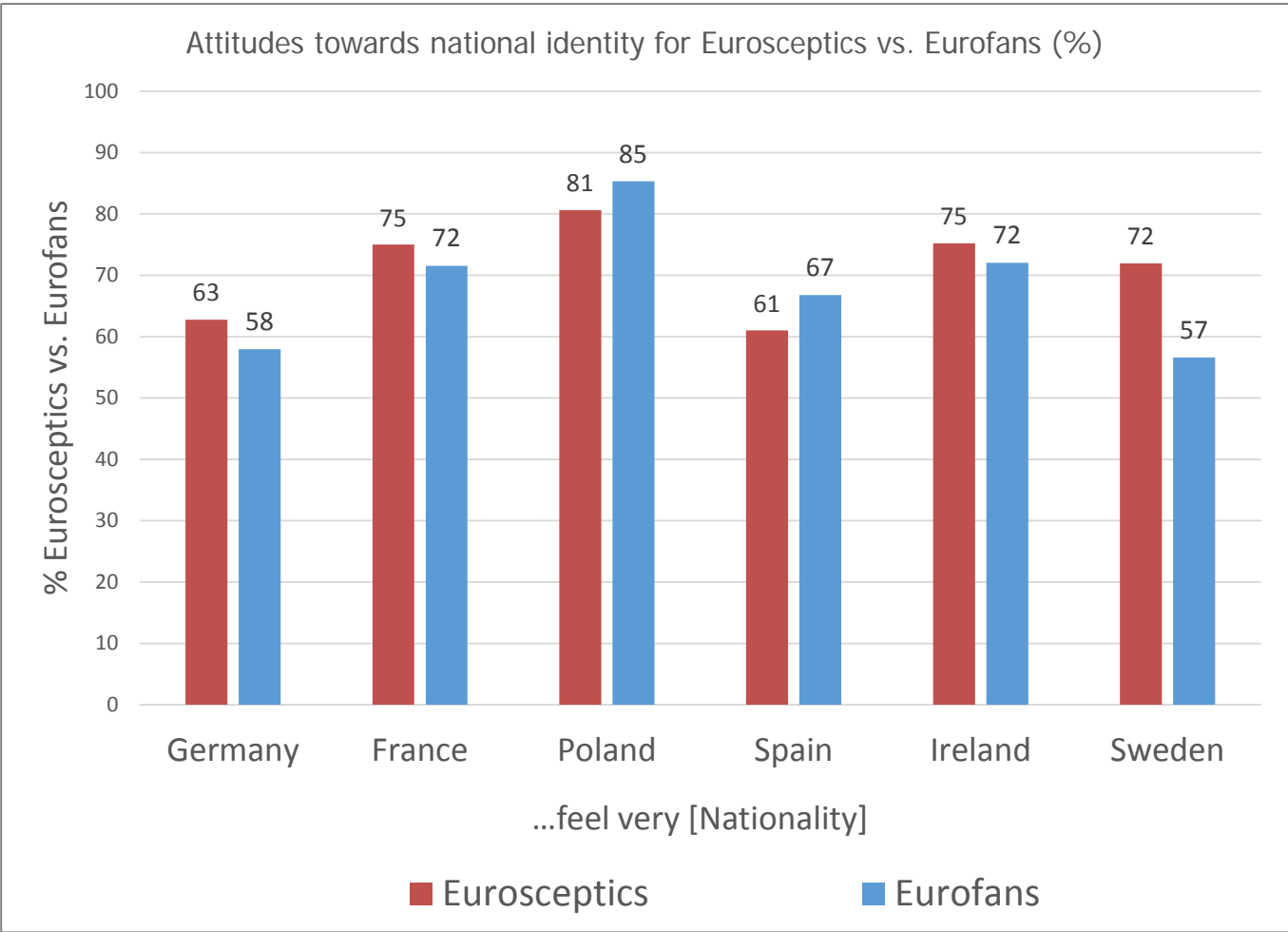
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Conclusion

The view from the continent

What people in other member states think about the UK's EU referendum

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