

The UK: Explaining the Inexplicable

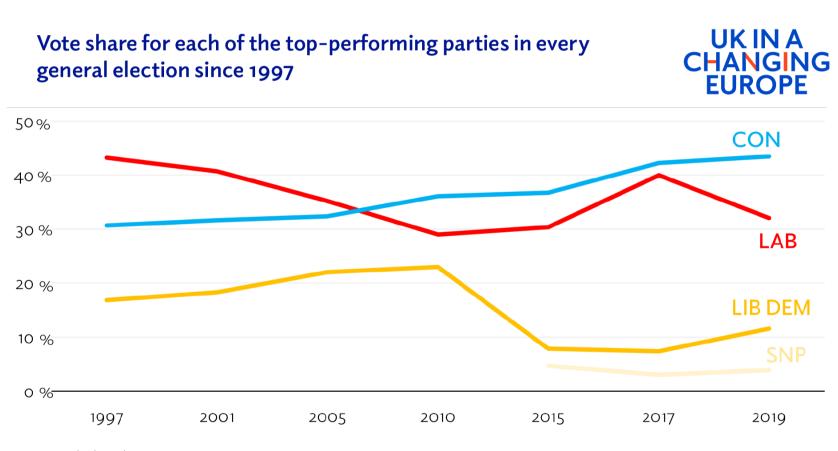
Anand Menon
Director, UK in a Changing Europe

Outline

- Long term trends
 - Politics
 - Economics
- What does Brexit add to the mix?
- What might future hold?



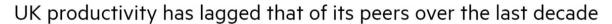
Changes in party support since 1997



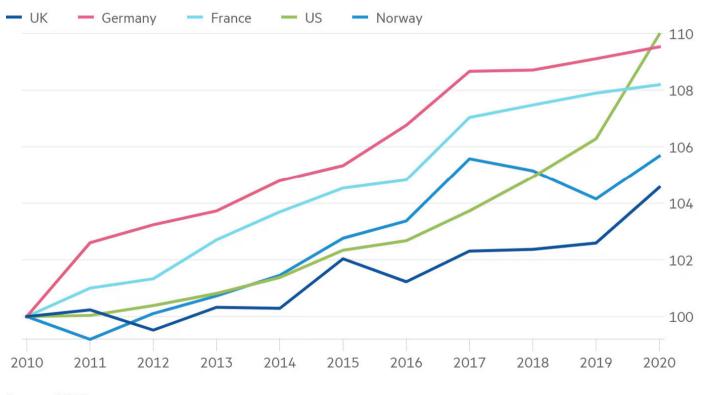
Source: The Electoral Commission



UK Productivity compared to other advanced economies



GDP per hour worked (2010 = 100)



Source: OECD

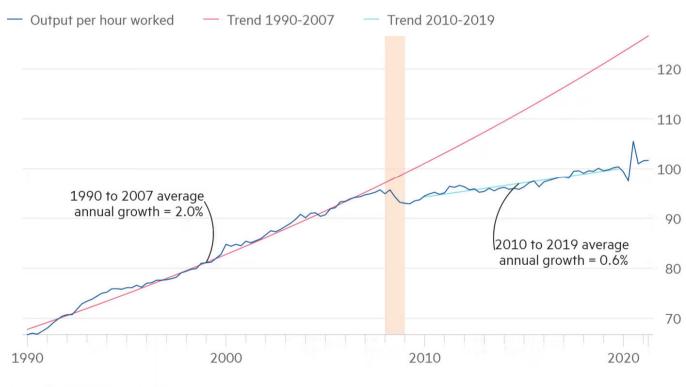
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UK productivity stagnation

UK productivity growth has been dire since the financial crisis

Index, 2019=100



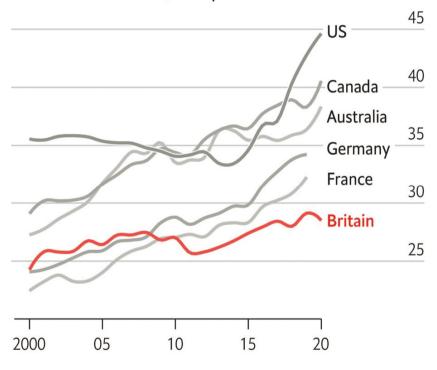
Sources: ONS, FT calculations

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UK median pay compared to advanced economies

Median household income per person†

Annual \$'000 at PPP*, 2019 prices



*At purchasing-power parity [†]After taxes and transfers

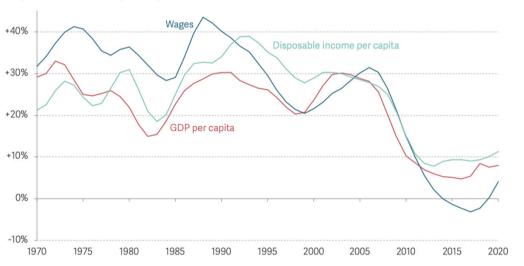
The Economist



Wage decline over the past few decades

Figure 6: Historically weak wage growth has been the defining feature of the past decade

Annualised decadal growth rates of real wages, real GDP per capita, and real disposable income per capita: GB/UK



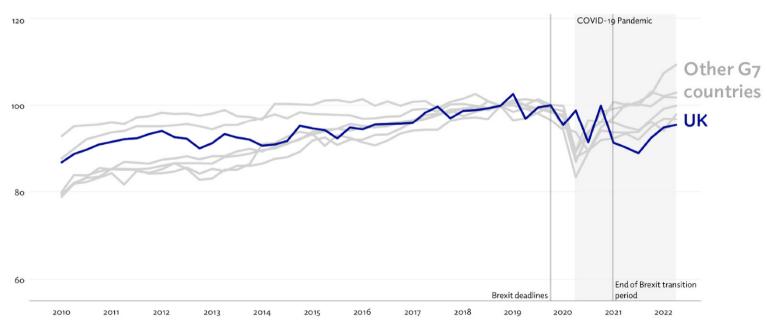
Notes: Rolling average of each variable in the three years centred on the date shown, compared to the three years centred on the date 10 years previous. For example, 2020 shows growth between 2009-2011 and 2019-2021. UK data for GDP and incomes, GB data for wages.

Source: Analysis of Bank of England, Millennium of Macroeconomic Data; OBR, Economic and Fiscal Outlook, March 2022; ONS, RHDI; ONS, UK resident population.

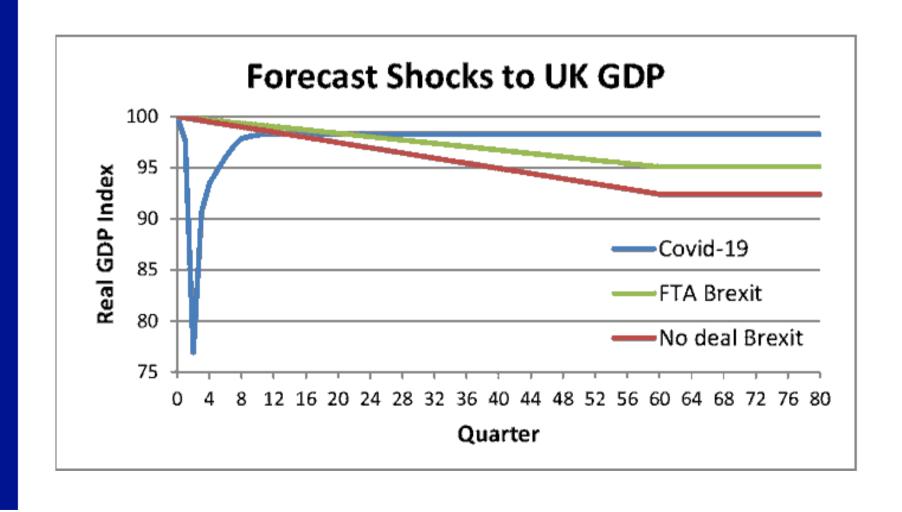
Trade openness

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

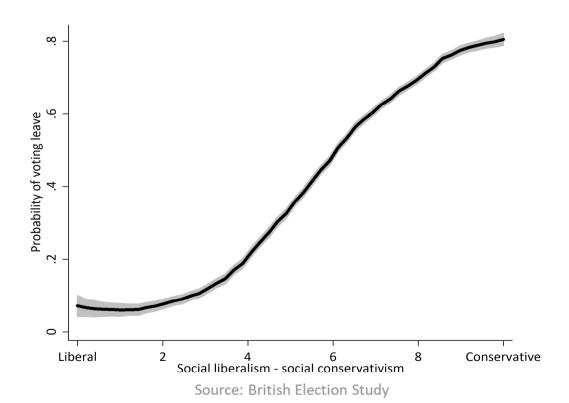




Source: Office of National Statistics

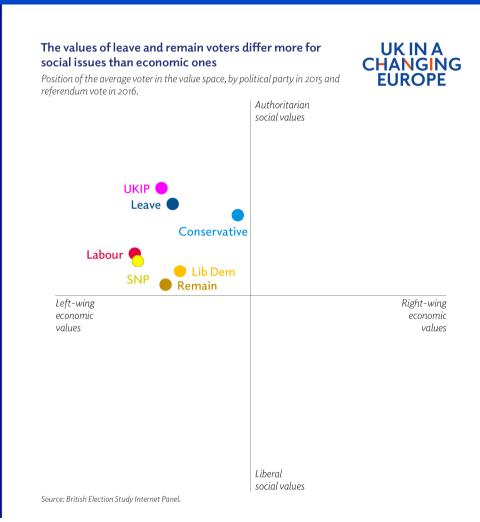


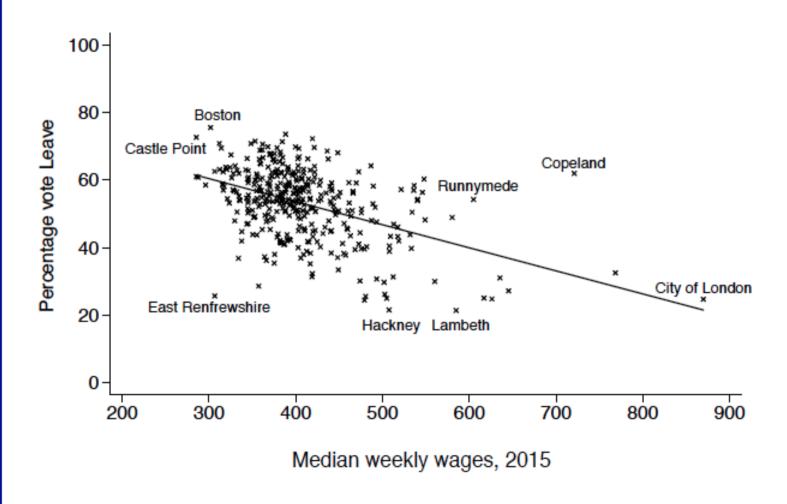
Social identity: the driver of Brexit





Voter Realignment: Social vs Economic values

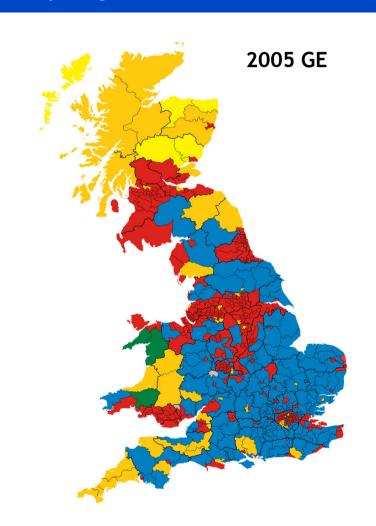


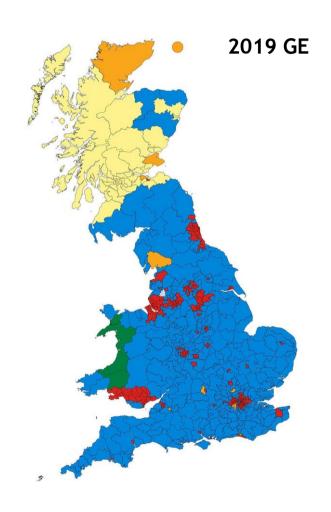




Comparing the results of the 2005 and 2019 elections







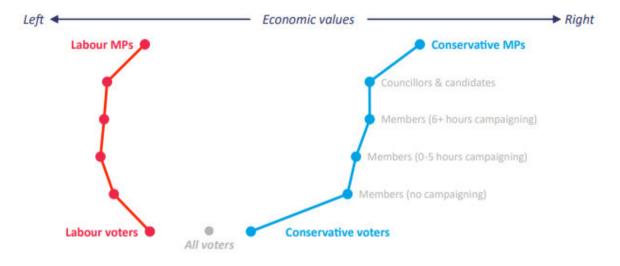


Divided parties

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.



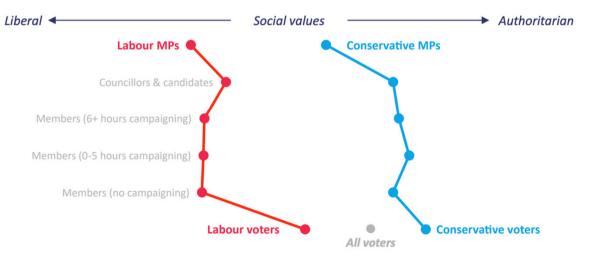
Source: ESRC Party Members Project survey, YouGov, fieldwork Dec 2019; UK in a Changing Europe MPs survey, Ipsos Mori, fieldwork Jan-Feb 2020; BES Internet Panel Wave 17, fieldwork Nov 2019, and Wave 19, fieldwork Dec 2019.

Divided parties

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

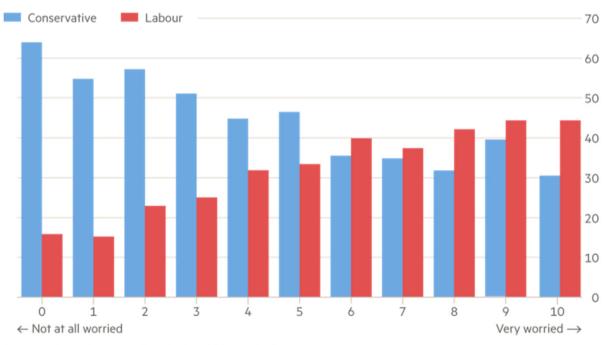


Social values of Conservative and Labour MPs, councillors and candidates, members, and voters, 2020.



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

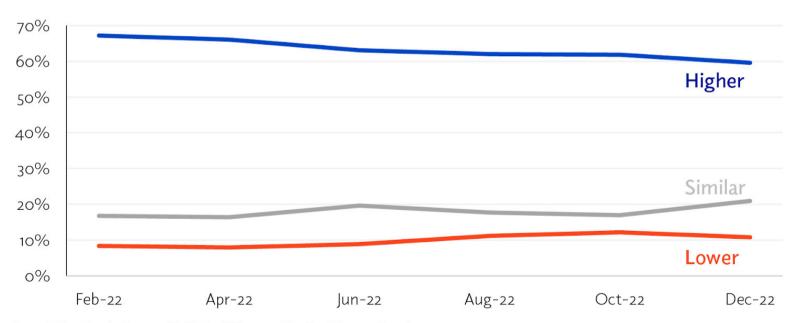


Source: Professor Jane Green from the British Election Study $\ensuremath{\mathbb{C}}$ FT

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 **EUROPE** living in the United Kingdom now higher, lower, or similar to what it would be?



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?

