



Canolfan Llywodraethiant Cymru
Wales Governance Centre



England and its Two Unions

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Outline of Presentation

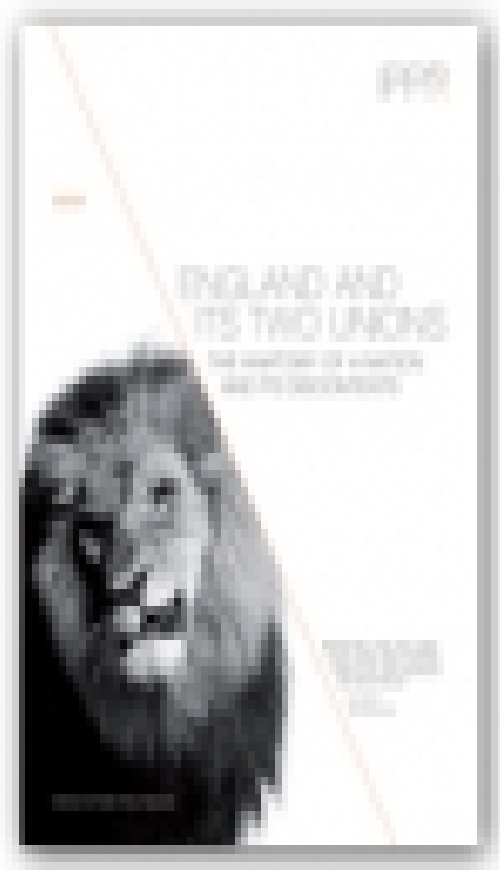
1. Introduction: the Future of England Surveys (FoES) 2011 & 2012
2. English Identity and the Constitution
3. England's Two Unions: the EU and Englishness
4. Conclusion

'The Dog that Finally Barked'



- Report on FoES 2011 Survey
- Key message: the end of English passivity
- But what of impact of 2012 events: the 'Jubilympics?'

'England and its Two Unions'

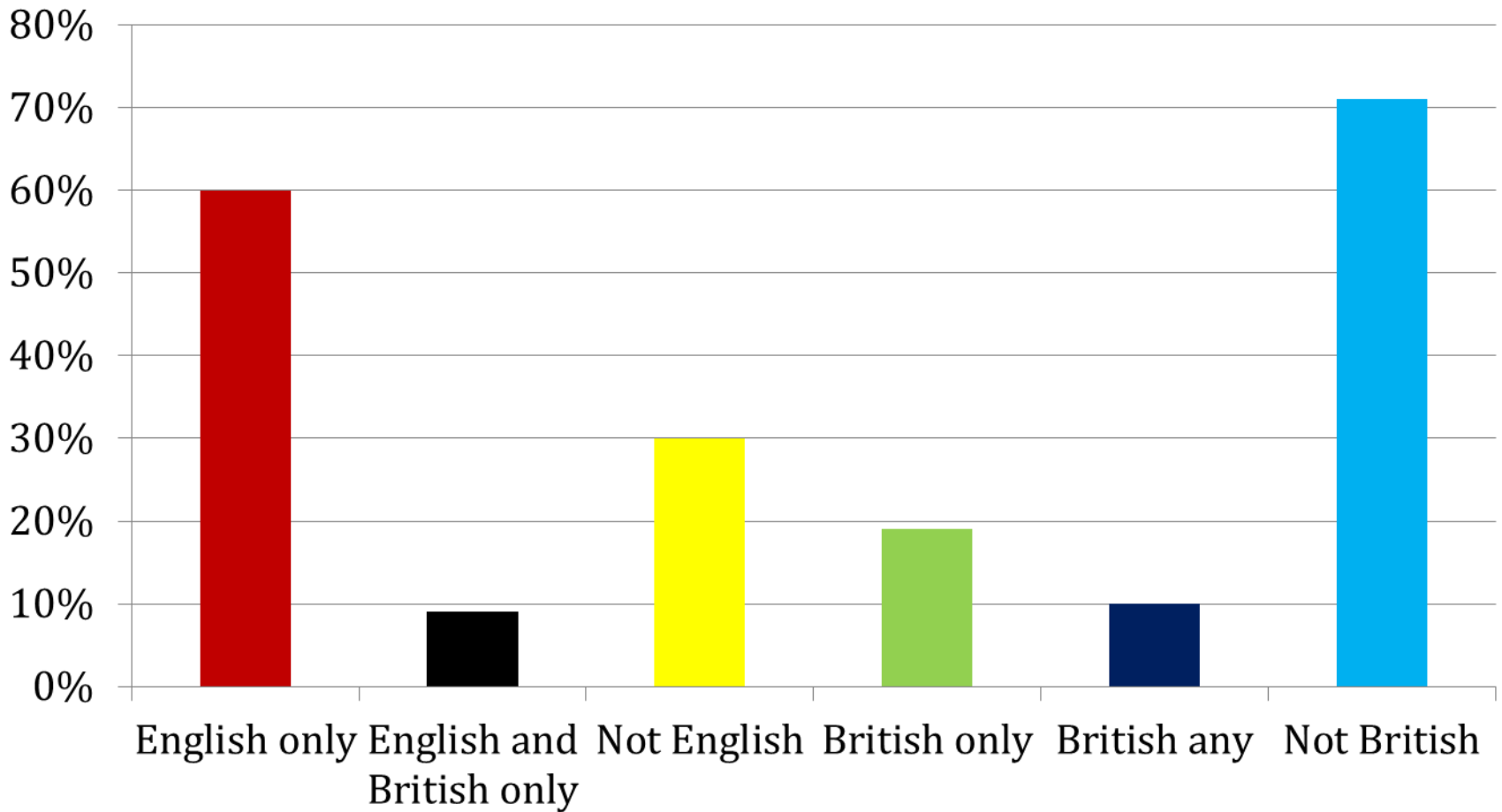


- Second wave of survey; deliberately timed after Jubilee/Olympics –revitalised British sentiment?
- Many questions repeated from FoES I; but also additional questions, notably on England's 'Other Union' – the EU

Some key FoES I findings **confirmed** by FoES II data

- Englishness an increasingly important identity; clearly stronger than Britishness
 - Surprisingly uniform socially and geographically
 - London and BMEs partial outliers
- English increasingly unhappy with implications of devolution and with status of England in UK
- English increasingly want England recognised as a political unit – but no consensus on *how*

2011 Census: NatID, England (%)



2011 Census: NatID in England by Region (%)

	English Only	English and British only	Not English	British Only	British any	Not British
North East	70	11	20	15	11	74
North West	66	10	24	17	11	73
Yorkshire+Humber	66	10	24	17	11	72
East Midlands	66	9	25	17	10	73
West Midlands	63	9	28	19	10	71
East	65	9	25	16	10	74
London	37	5	56	31	7	62
South East	62	10	28	18	11	71
South West	65	10	24	16	11	73
ENGLAND	60	9	30	19	10	71

‘Devo-anxiety’ in England, 2012 (%)

	England	NE	NW	York & Humb	E Mids	W Mids	East	Lon	EW	SW
Scotland gets more than fair share of spending	52	55	49	44	54	53	56	51	54	53
Scottish Parliament should pay for services from own taxes	78	76	76	74	87	78	79	75	80	77
Scottish MPs should no longer vote on English laws	81	82	78	80	84	81	82	76	83	81
Don't trust UK Government to work in English interest	62	62	65	63	61	67	59	56	59	58

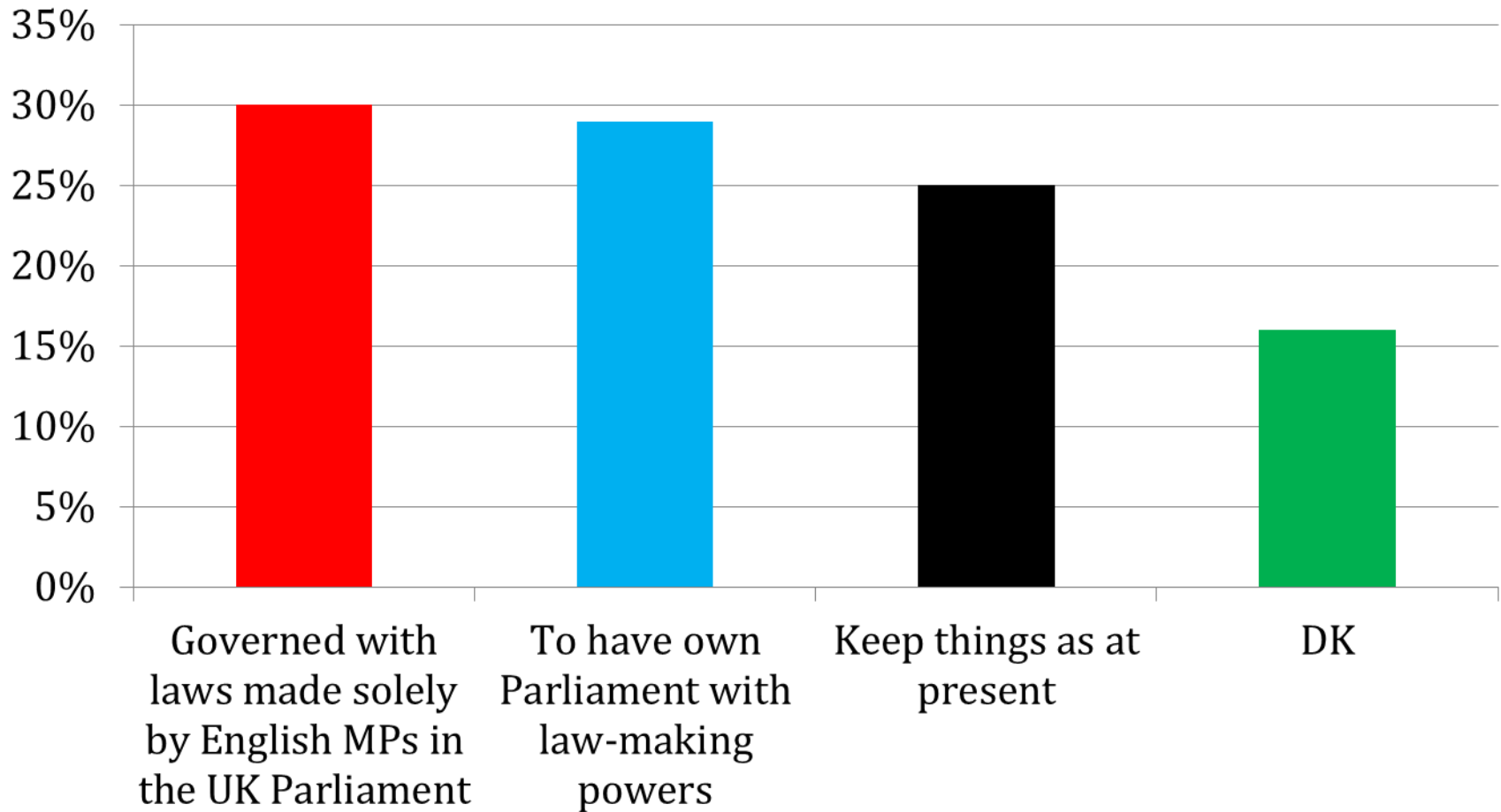
England Constitutional Preferences, 2012 (%): Limited Support for Status Quo

England should be governed as it is now with laws made by all MPs in the UK parliament	22
England should be governed with laws made solely by English MPs in the UK parliament	33
England should have its own new English parliament with law-making powers	18
England should be an independent state inside the EU	7
England should be an independent state outside the EU	8
Don't know	12

Alternative Constitutional Preferences question, 2012 (%): Very little support for Regionalism

England should be governed as it is now with laws made by all MPs in the UK parliament	21
England should be governed with laws made solely by English MPs in the UK parliament	36
England should have its own new English parliament with law-making powers	20
For each region in England to have its own elected Assembly	8
Don't know	16

But no consensus on *how* England should be recognised

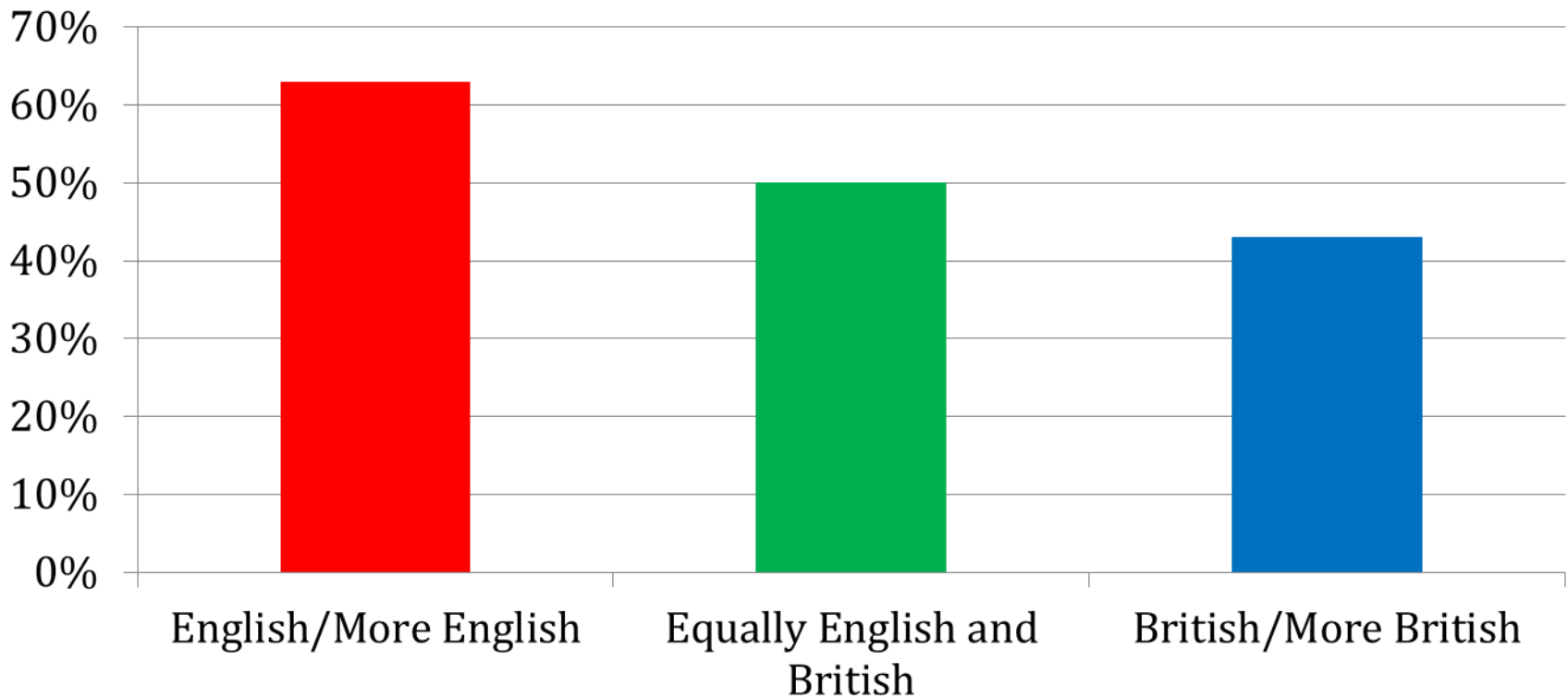


Salience of 'English question': Which issues should be a priority? (2012, %)

	%
The UK's relationship with the European Union	59
How England is governed now Scotland has a Parliament and Wales has an Assembly	42
A more proportional system for electing MPs at Westminster	29
Strengthening local government	27
Reforming the House of Lords	26
Scotland's future relationship with the UK	25
The future of Northern Ireland	5
None of these	4
Don't Know	11

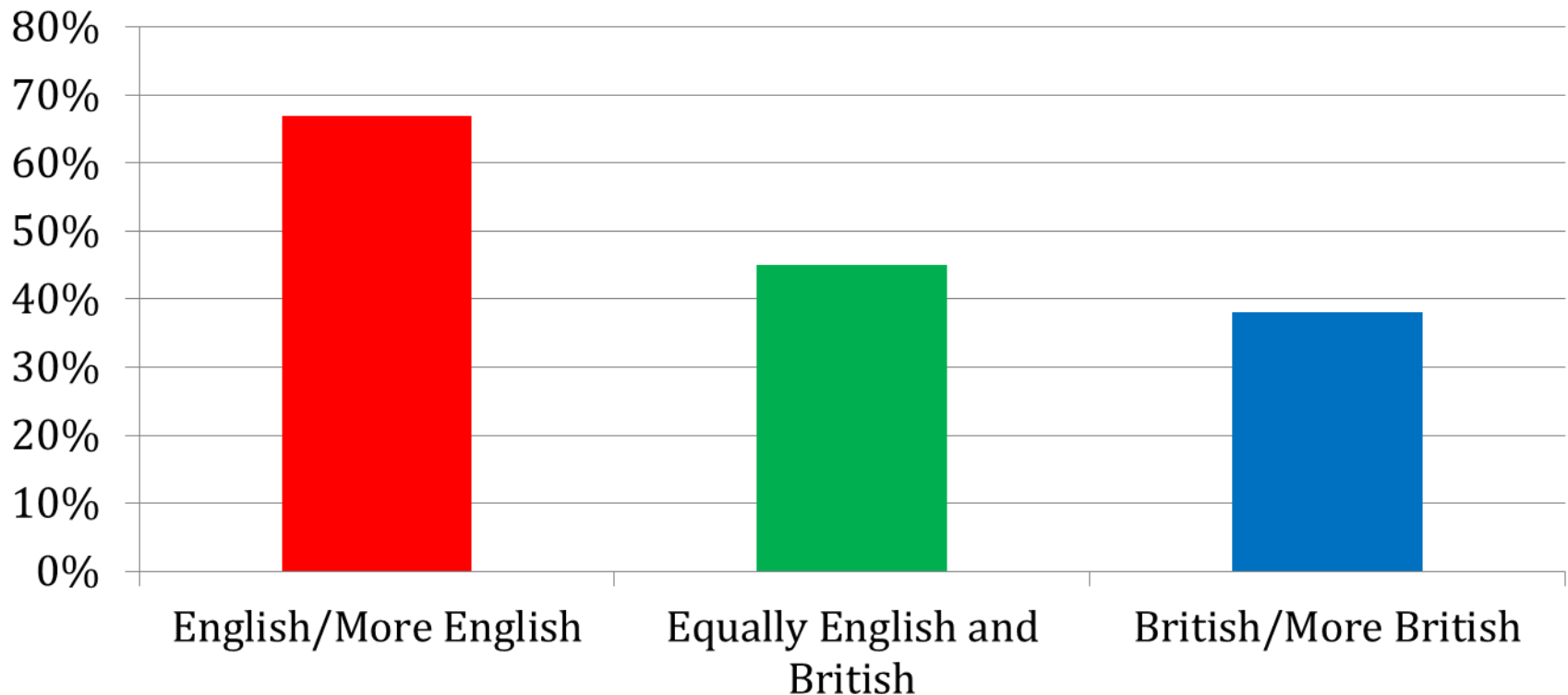
'Devo-anxiety' by NatID (2012), I

Scotland gets more than its fair share of public spending', % Strongly Agree/Agree



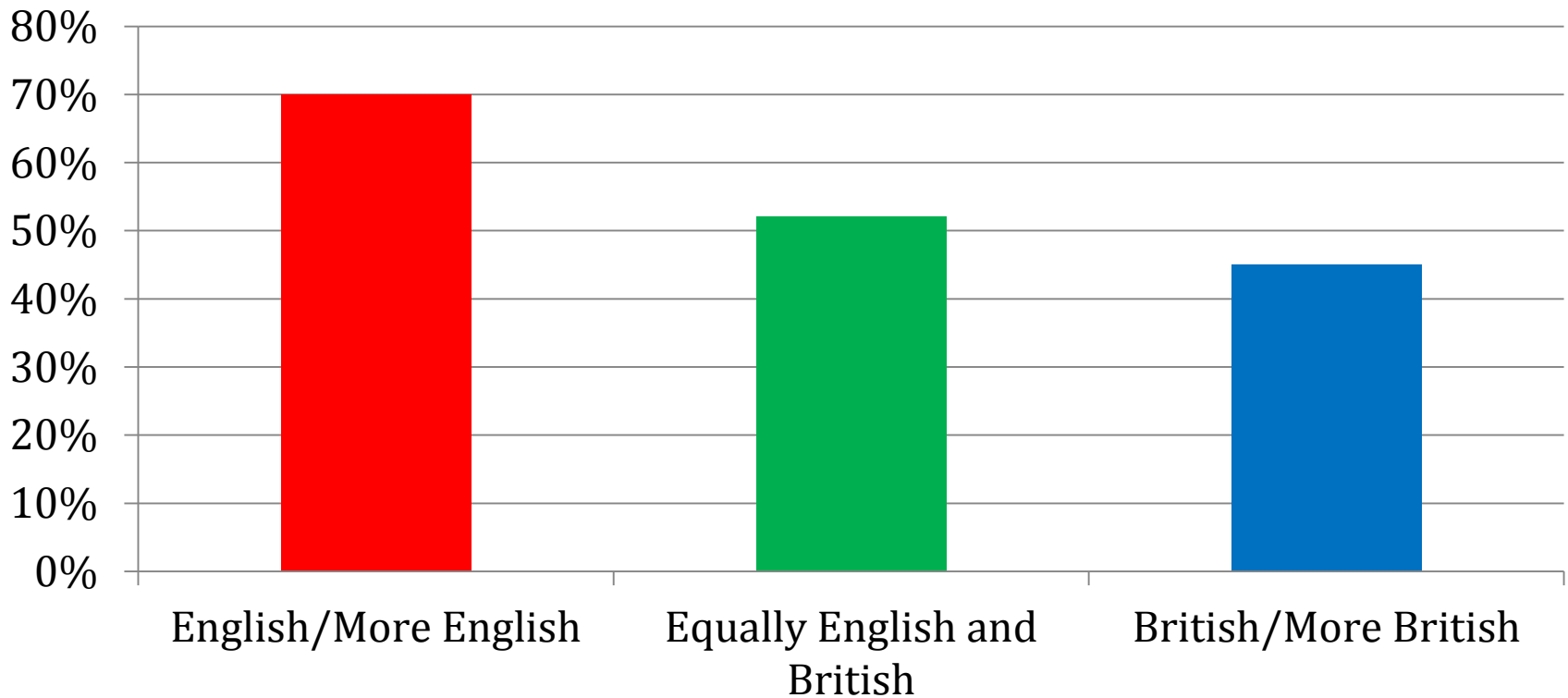
'Devo-anxiety' by NatID (2012), 2

The Scottish Parliament should pay for services from its own taxes', % Strongly Agree

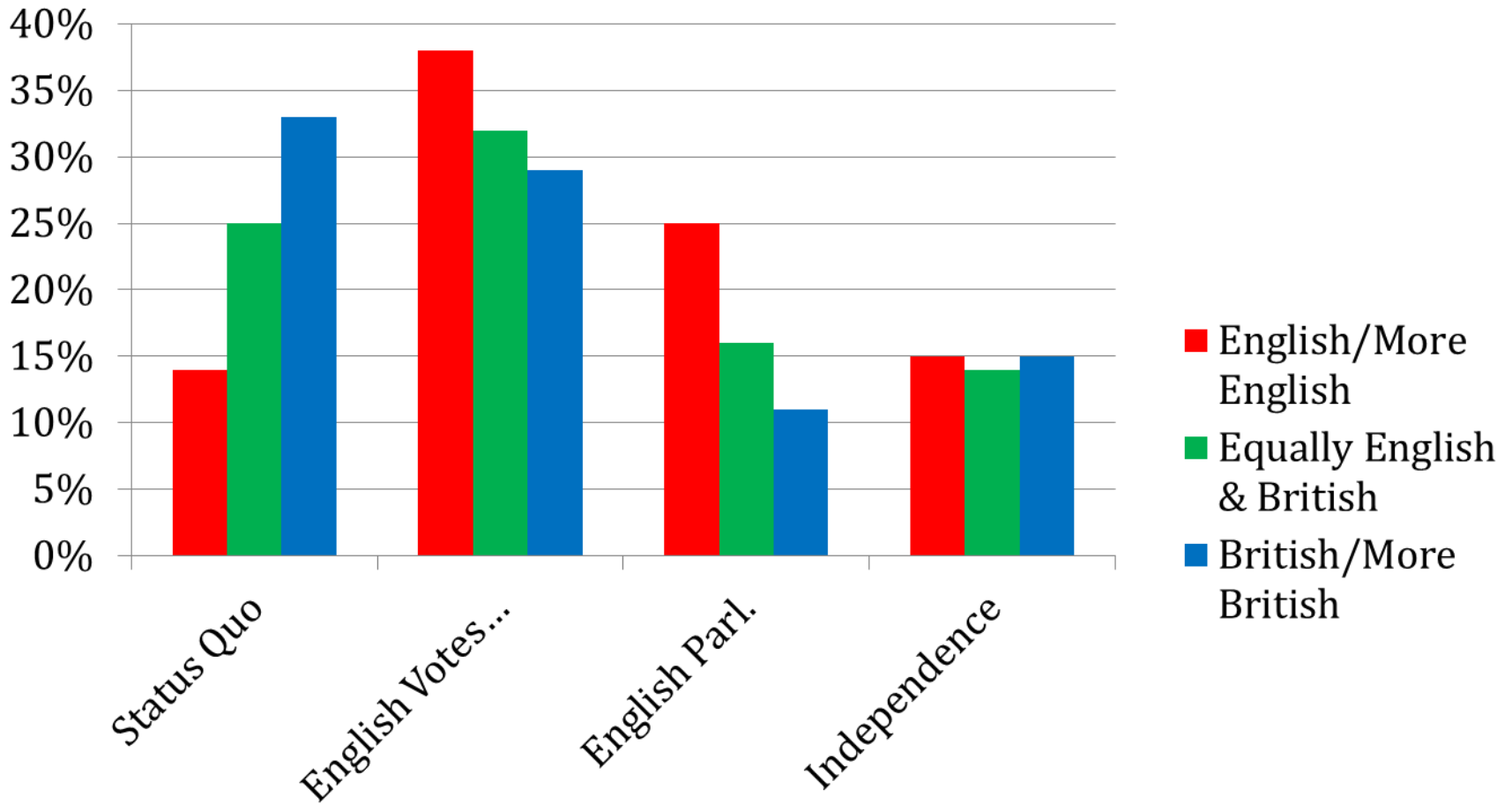


'Devo-anxiety' by NatID (2012), 3

'Scottish MPs should no longer vote on English Laws', % Strongly Agree



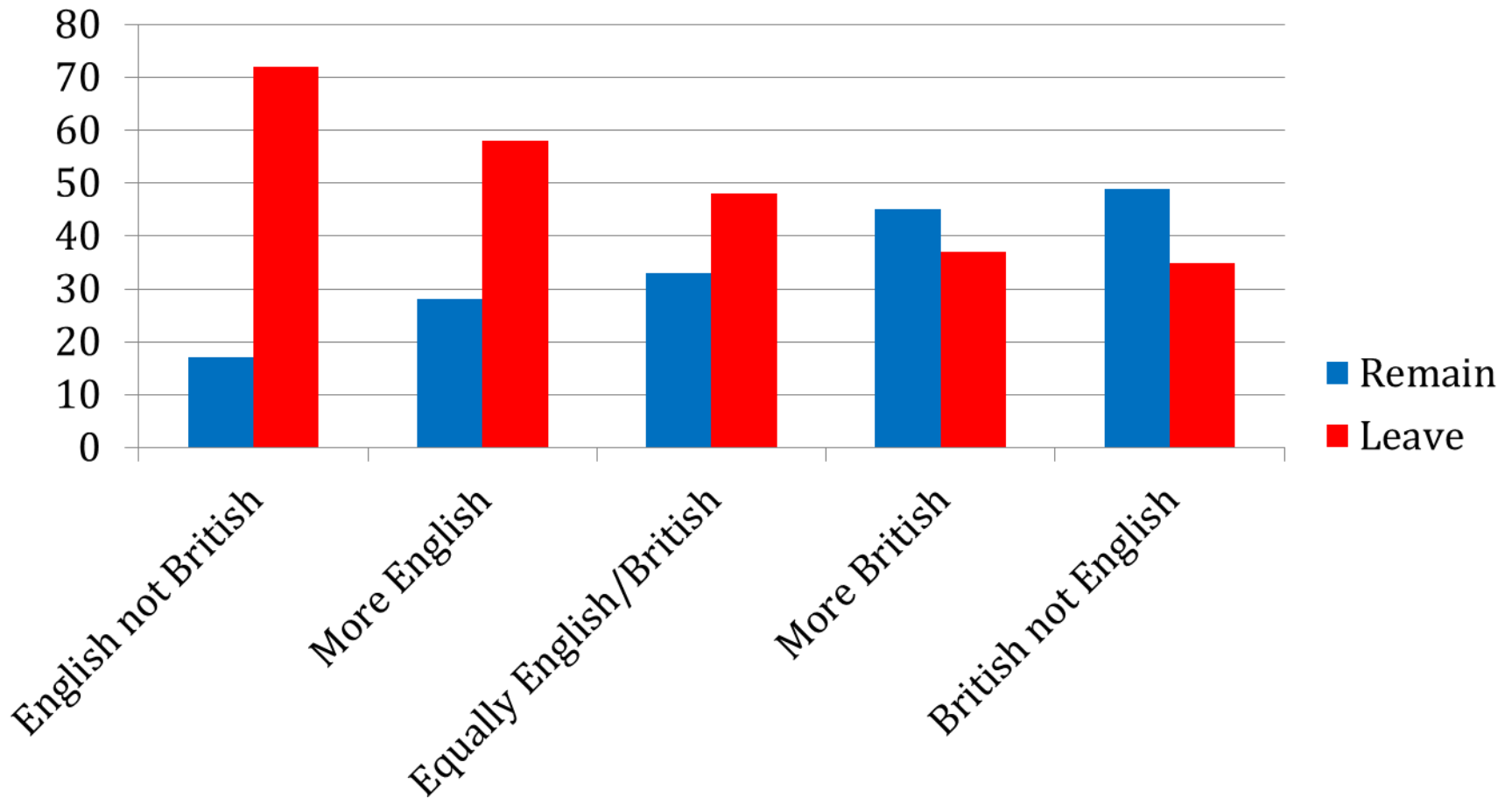
Constitutional Preferences by NatID (2012, %)



Key findings of FoES II: England's Two Unions

- Euroscepticism very strong in England; is an English phenomenon, **not** a British one
- Euroscepticism closely linked to 'Devo-anxiety': the same people. Generalised anxiety about England's place in the world...
- Eurosceptics **are not constitutionally conservative**. Don't favour status quo in UK – want England recognised
- Despite rhetoric, UKIP in England the *de facto* English National Party
- BMEs more British and more content with territorial status quo (in EU and UK) than white respondents

EU referendum vote by Moreno NatID (2012)

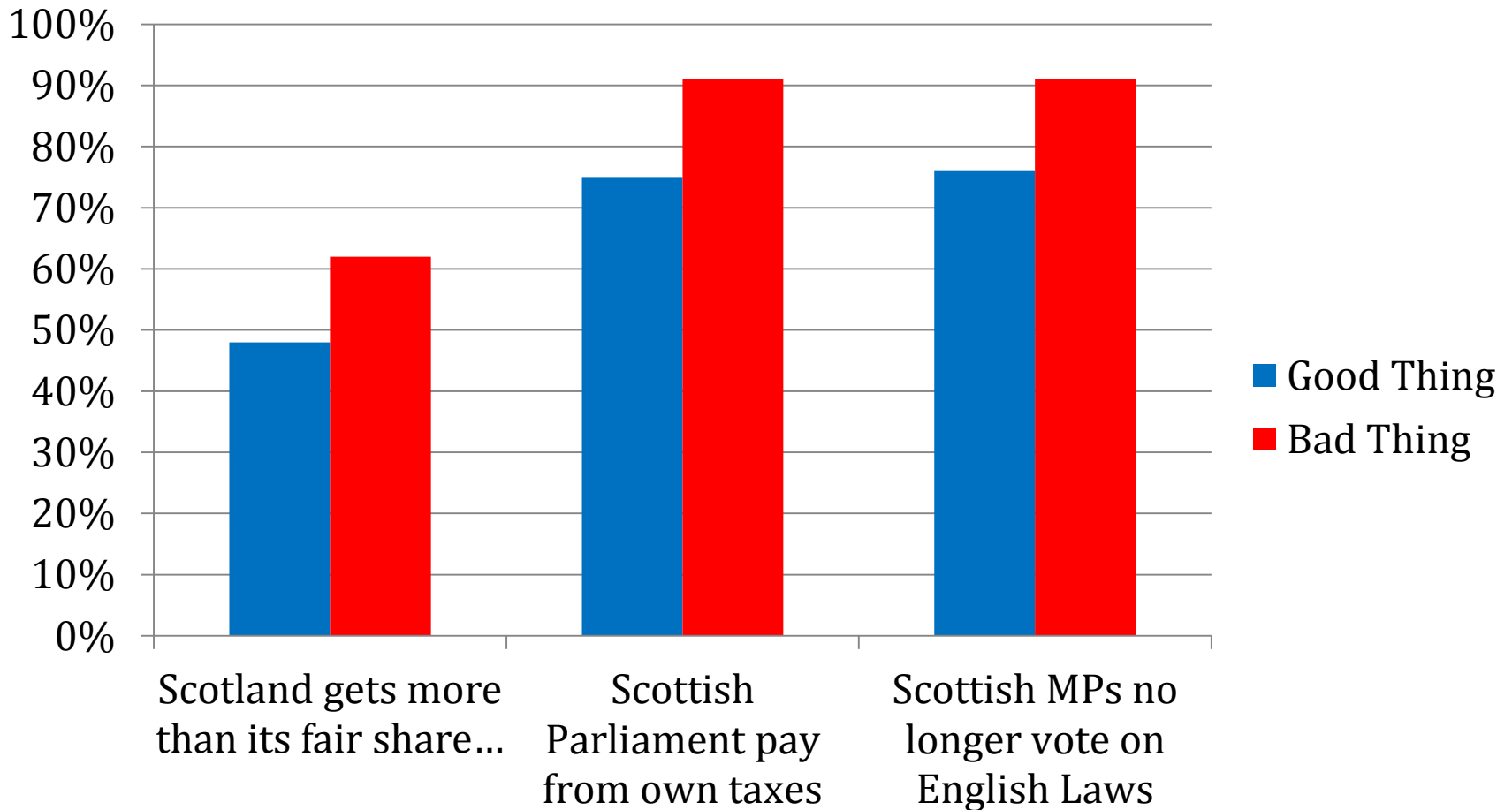


Which level of government HAS most influence over how England is run? (2012, %)

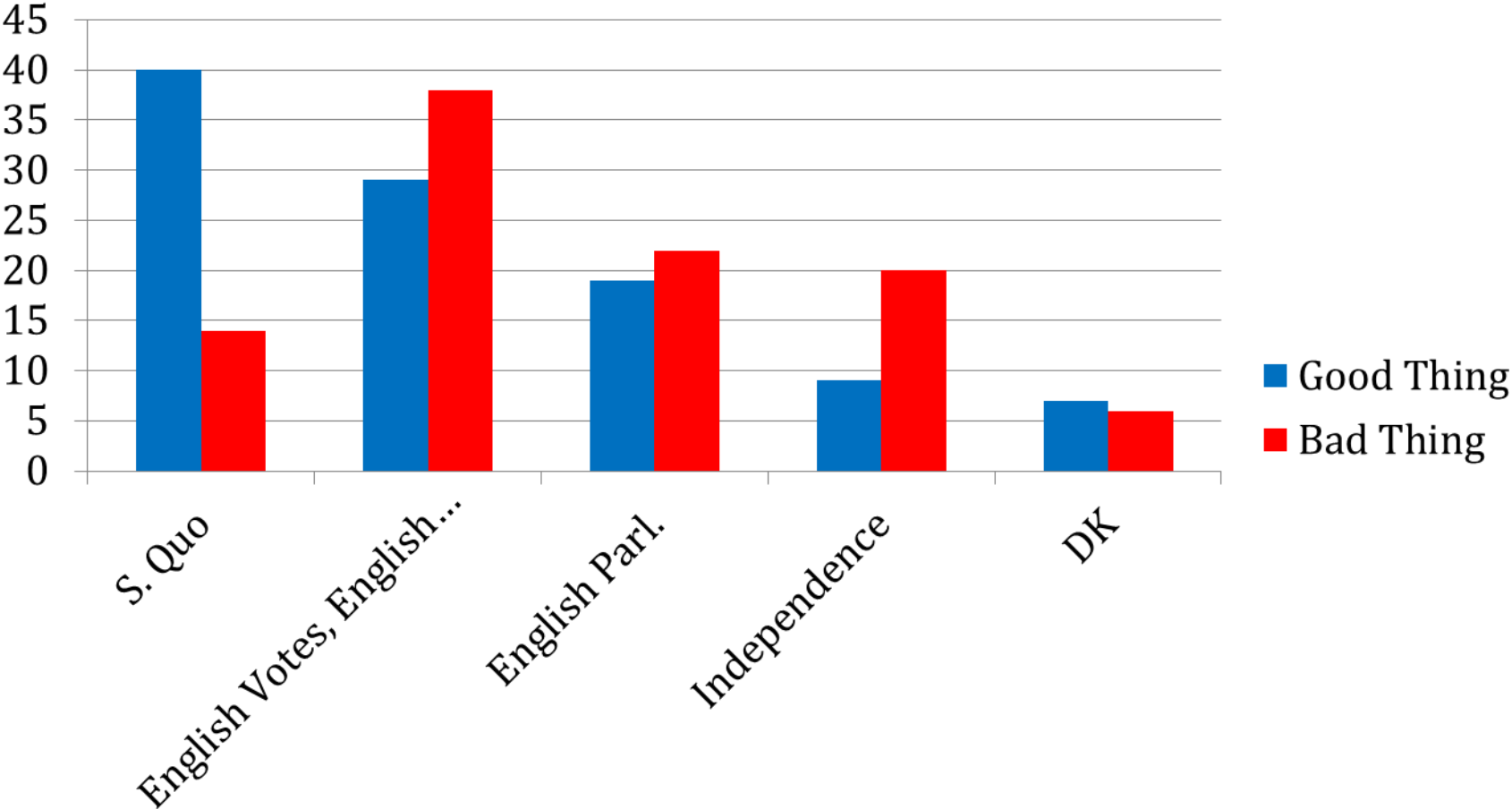
Local Councils	3
UK Government	55
European Union	31
Other/DK	10

- 2009 CANS survey in 14 European regions: in no region did EU score higher than 9% on 'most influence' question
- Perceptions of EU influence **strongly** correlated with hostility to EU: people think EU is important and don't like it!

'Devo-anxiety' by EU membership 'Good Thing' / 'Bad Thing' (2012, % agree)



Constitutional preferences by EU Membership 'Good Thing'/'Bad Thing'



Conclusions, I

- Political attitudes undergoing major transformation in England
- Support weak for both territorial status quo in UK and EU membership: both Unions (as currently constructed) are unpopular
- Two phenomena are directly related: devo-anxiety and Euroscepticism concentrated in the same people, who are mainly those identifying as English rather than British