

## Twitter Thread by Anand Menon



**Anand Menon**

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**IT'S HERE** The new bumper @ukandeu report that tells you all you need to know – or at least all the questions you need to ask – about the UK after Brexit.

<https://t.co/S1IHP6TBJ1> 1/27



# UK IN A CHANGING EUROPE

# BREXIT AND BEYOND

A disclaimer. What follows is a selection of randomly selected highlights, nothing more nothing less. There's far, far more in this report than I can possibly cover here. And the cricket got exciting so I ran out of steam. 2/27

It is made up of 70-odd pieces (I counted twice and came up with diff numbers) by an eye watering collection of eminent social scientists . Explaining the big issues from housing to dealing with China, from prospects for the economy to the prospects for the Labour Party 3/27

In what follows, a group of leading social scientists explore these themes, explaining what has happened in the past, the situation the UK finds itself in now, and the issues that might confront us going forward. The collection is intended as a guide to the big questions confronting the country in the years to come. Intentionally or not, Brexit, and the Brexit process have, and will continue to have, enormous implications for politics, economics and society in the UK, and their effects will be compounded by those of the pandemic. Understanding these, on the basis of evidence-based analysis, will be crucial to ensure that public and political debates and policy responses meet the challenges and make the most of the opportunities of the post-Brexit era.

It's intended as a guide to the key questions that will confront us over the years to come. Each contributor ponders, where we've come from, where we are now and where we're headed. And because we're really kind, we've divided things up into a number of sections. First: 4/ 27



POLICY

And oh, my Lord do we have a stellar line up of people, including inter alia, [@\\_Paul\\_Tobin\\_](#) [@tcstvns](#) [@watsonjim2](#) [@CharlieBEU](#) [@drsarah\\_hall](#) [@BD\\_Stew](#) [@Antovalvanka](#) [@PRT1969](#) [@IvanRajicUK](#) [@cartelsman](#)  
Download it, tell your boss your wifi has crashed, and have a read. 5/27

## POLICY

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And then we turn our attention to 6/27



# PUBLIC OPINION



With yet another all-star line-up addressing all the issues you really want to know about, including [@sarahobolt](#) [@drjennings](#) [@GoodwinMJ](#) and of course [@whatukthinks](#) 7/27

## PUBLIC OPINION

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Here's a few graphic highlights, from [@BobbyDuffyKings](#) 8/27

## The public expects geographic and income inequalities to increase due to COVID

"Which types of inequality, if any, do you think will increase as a result of the coronavirus crisis? Please tick all that apply."

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Source: The Policy Institute, King's College London, UK in a Changing Europe.

And [@drjennings](#) 9/27

## Trust in MPs has fallen among remain voters

Trust in MPs in general among leave and remain voters.

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EUROPE



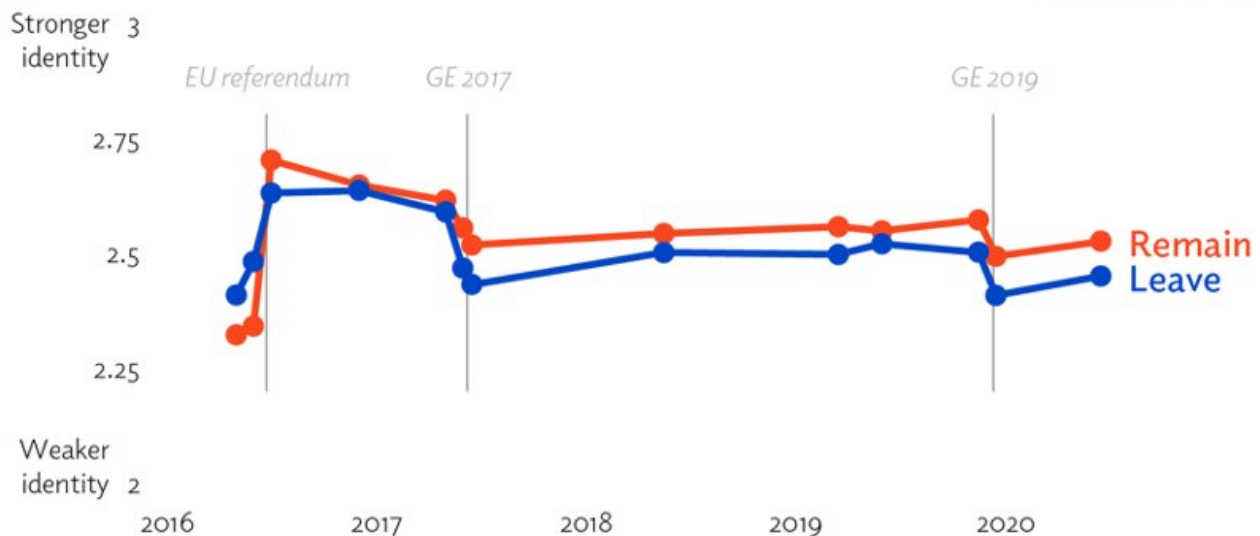
Source: British Election Study Internet Panel, waves 1 to 4, waves 6 to 10, wave 12, and waves 15 to 20 (February 2014 to June 2020).

And Ed Fieldhouse 10/27

## Brexit identities became stronger after the referendum

Average strength of Leave and Remain identities among those identifying as Leavers and Remainers

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Source: British Election Study Internet Panel, waves 7-17, wave 19 and wave 20 (April 2016 to June 2020).

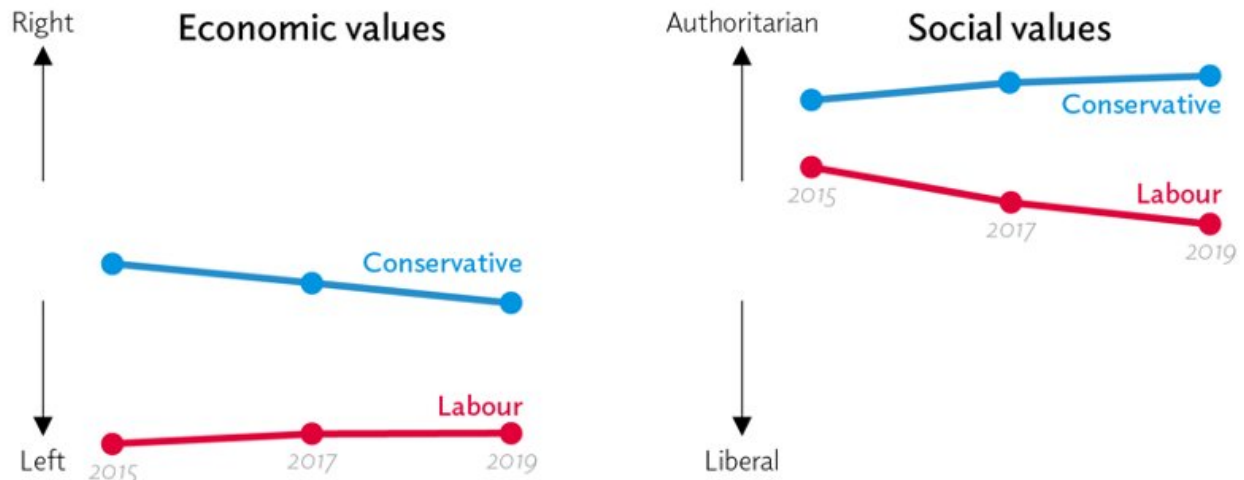
And our new deputy Director @p\_surr ridge 11/27



## Conservative and Labour voters have moved closer on economic issues but further apart on social issues

Conservative and Labour voters' positions on the economic and social values scales at the 2015, 2017 and 2019 general elections.

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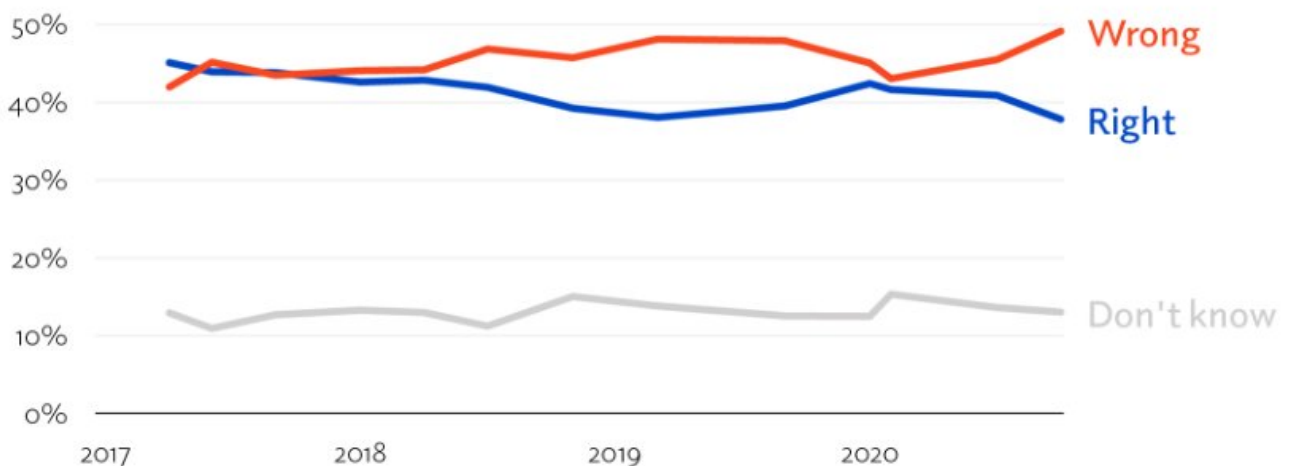
Source: British Election Study Internet Panel, wave 6 (May 2015), wave 13 (June 2017), and wave 19 (December 2019).

And @sarahobolt and James Tilly 12/27

## More people now think Brexit was a mistake

"In hindsight, do you think Britain was right or wrong to vote to leave the EU?"

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Source: YouGov tracker survey (Hobolt and Tilley).

How strong those leave and remain identities will remain is one of the key issues when it comes to our politics which, funnily enough, is what the next section is about. 13/27

## POLITICS

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Some really cracking stuff here, including salutary thoughts from [@redhistorian](#) 14/27

Finally, Parliament itself must recognise the extent of democratic disengagement exposed by the referendum. Many voters felt that the Brexit referendum was the first time in years that their voices had been heard at Westminster. If MPs wish to avoid such ruptures in future, they should urgently consider ways of bringing Parliament into a closer relationship with the electorate. Failure to do so risks more dangerous assaults in years to come, not just on Parliament, but on the claim of any institution to democratic legitimacy.

Meg Russell of [@ConUnit\\_UCL](#) has some salutary words for the Prime Minister 15/27

So, this turbulent period ends much as it began: with a desire by many Conservatives to see Parliament ‘take back control’. This time, however, their target isn’t the external threat of the EU, but the internal threat of an overweening and unchecked executive. Boris Johnson’s seeming disregard for scrutiny has unwittingly fuelled insurrection among many key figures who put him in his job, and — perhaps more surprisingly — among new MPs whose own jobs were built on his election victory.

This presents a perilous situation for a Prime Minister. Johnson and his allies rebelled against Theresa May, ultimately bringing her down; they can hardly complain if other MPs grasp parliamentary opportunities to give the executive a kicking. Discomfort is worsened by many highly capable Conservatives having been excluded from Johnson’s administration, various of whom now chair the select committees. This situation breeds resentment and frustration when policy is poorly handled, which feels increasingly unsustainable.

As too does [@ProfRosieCamp](#) 16/27

The PM's pivot towards the parliamentary party and away from his cohort of advisors is a sensible survival strategy, and the ERG's endorsement of the Brexit deal suggests the new approach might be working. However, the lesson that public criticism rather than private negotiations reap rewards for disaffected backbenchers is not easily unlearned and we can expect a highly vocal and demanding Conservative backbench for the lifetime of this government.

The first half of 2021, which will be dominated by both Covid-19 and the end of transition, could make for rough terrain for the Prime Minister. Beyond that, the inherent tension between reducing the unprecedented level of peace time Government borrowing and delivering on the levelling up agenda, could well prove a recipe for a period of sustained Conservative infighting. Potential demands for a second referendum on independence after next year's Scottish elections, will fan the flames further. All this will continue to make it much more difficult for Johnson to govern than his 80 seat majority would suggest.

Meanwhile [@ProfTimBale](#) and [@robfordmanacs](#) consider the challenges facing the Tories and Labour respectively, while [@michaelthrasher](#) and Colin Rallings provide some fascinating insights into what is at stake in the local elections this year:

17/27

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The contests originally due in May 2020 will see Labour defend almost half the seats across a swathe of mainly urban England. Most of the seats falling vacant were last fought weeks before the EU referendum in June 2016.

Most interest this coming May lies in whether Conservative breeches of Labour's 'Red Wall' at the last general election can be sustained — not in the big cities of course (it's been a long time since either Liverpool or Manchester, or Cambridge or Oxford come to that, have elected more than a single Conservative councillor), but in Brexit-supporting areas outside the main conurbations.

Labour control in Bury is vulnerable to a seven per cent adverse swing since 2016. In Dudley, whose two constituencies the Conservatives won decisively last year, they need just two gains for a majority. However, there — and in other places like Burnley and Lincoln which once seemed ripe for the taking — the picture is perhaps now less rosy, particularly given there were so few votes being cast for UKIP candidates last time.

Against the background of their success in 2017, the Conservatives are probably braced for losses. Counties such as Cambridgeshire, East Sussex, Hampshire and Hertfordshire will be good proving grounds for any sign of a Liberal Democrat revival. The party remained in second place to the Conservatives in all of them even during the dark days of coalition.

And, of course, the local elections are not the only ones due next year, which is a superb segue to the next section, on the Union featuring [@ProfCopusLG](#) plus a number of people I've cunningly tagged 18/ 27



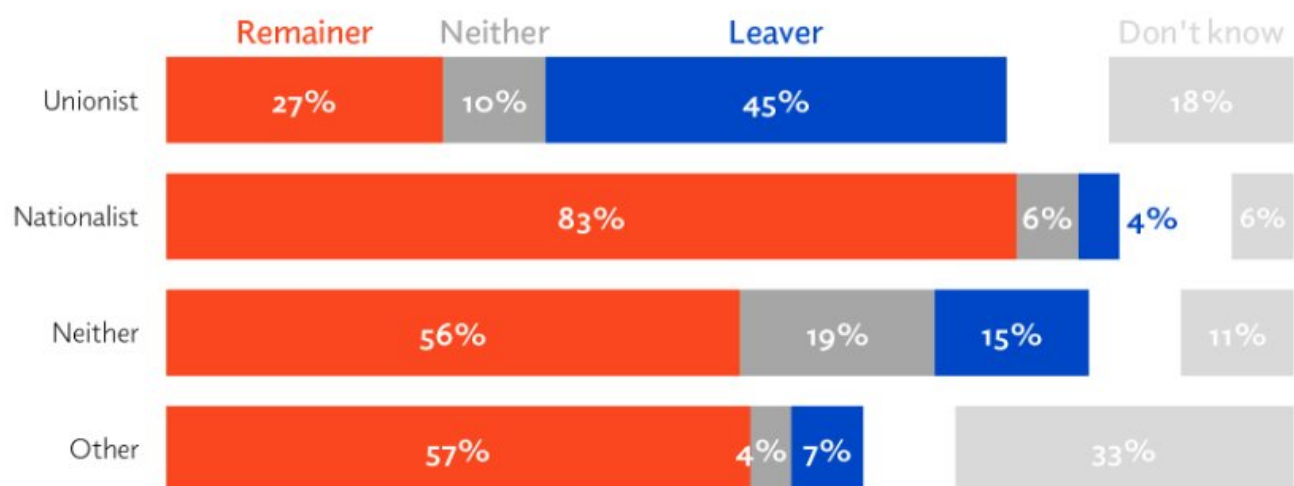
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More fantastic contributions here, looking at England as well as Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. On Northern Ireland, [@hayward\\_katy](#) provides plenty of food for thought: 19/ 27

## Almost two-thirds of Northern Ireland residents identify as either leavers or remainers

Brexit identity among different Northern Ireland communities, 2019.

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Source: Northern Ireland Life & Times survey, 2019.

And then we turn to the economy. This reports just keeps on getting better... (@dannydorling can't be tagged, so here's a special mention...) 20/27

## ECONOMY

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First, [@jdportes](#) ponders the macroeconomic outlook 21/27

Under a positive scenario, a clear reduction in infections would allow a gradual loosening of restrictions early this year, and the relatively speedy roll-out of a vaccine would allow a return to normality in a few months. This would likely lead to a strong recovery in the short term but one which was substantially differentiated between sectors. The very large overhang of 'forced saving' among some middle and upper-income households (those whose incomes did not fall much during the crisis but who could not spend as normal) could lead to very high demand for some discretionary spending (for example, high value consumer goods, up-market tourism).

But at the same time some sectors may remain weak for a prolonged period, in particular commercial real estate and customer-facing services that rely on office workers for demand, since at least some of the shift to working from home is likely to be permanent. And while the initial impact of the Brexit deal on confidence will be positive, over the medium term there will be significant adverse impacts on some sectors, including pharmaceuticals, chemicals, business and financial services.

Modelling by [@thom\\_sampson](#) provides significant food for thought 22/27



## The economic impact of the Brexit deal after 10 years, compared to...

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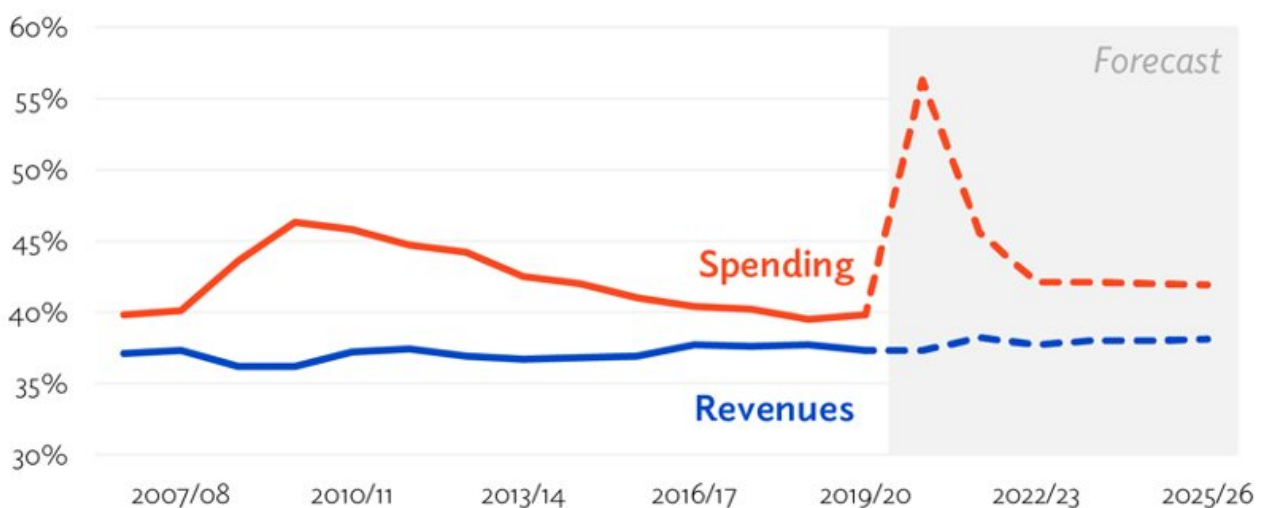
Source: UK in a Changing Europe, 'The economic impact of Boris Johnson's Brexit proposals'.

And then [@isabel\\_stockton](#) and Carl Emmerson ponder the state of the public finances. 23/27

## Additional Covid-19 spending has led to a sharp increase in public sector borrowing

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Public spending and tax revenue as a percentage of national income.



Source: Public Finances Databank, [obr.uk/data](https://obr.uk/data).

And [@MikeBrewerEcon](#) provides some fascinating insights into inequality 24/27

The unique nature of this crisis means, though, that we need to go beyond income to look at household balance sheets to get a true picture of the distributional nature of the pandemic. On average, household spending has fallen in 2020, and aggregate saving rates have risen, as we have gone out less, taken fewer holidays, and spent less on commuting. But this average hides a clear social gradient. The crisis has seen low-income families more likely to run down their savings or borrow money to cover everyday costs, while high-income families have been improving their balance sheets, benefitting from the enforced cut in spending from the various lockdowns.

The impact of the UK's new trading relationships on inequality will be overshadowed in the short-run by the aftermath of the pandemic. So far, the pandemic has worsened inequalities between the rich and the poor. A lot now depends on how much better-off and older households spend down their additional savings as vaccines are rolled out through 2021: there is a close link between the spending patterns of the better-off and older households, and the health of the labour market for low-paid and younger workers. Meanwhile, the impact of Brexit on jobs might act to reduce inequalities if it hurts higher-paid sectors like finance and manufacturing, albeit by levelling down rather than levelling up. But any price rises on traded goods, whether due to tariffs on EU imports or additional costs of crossing borders, are likely to weigh more on lower-income households than better-off households.

AND THERE'S MORE, on government and the state by the best thinkers on these issues, including [@JoePTomlinson](#) [@Brigid\\_Fowler](#) [@cambridgelaw](#) [@CSBarnard24](#) [@conorgearty](#) (Lot of lawyers here...) 25/ 27

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And last but not least, there's the world outside our borders. Where you'll be surprise to hear that we've assembled an all-star cast.

## EXTERNAL RELATIONS

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I mean what more is there to say? This has been simply a snapshot of what I think is one of our best pieces of work to date.  
To reiterate, you can find it here: <https://t.co/S1IHP6TBJ1>