

**HATE**  
**HOPE**  
**HATE**

**BREXIT BRIEFING:**  
**NO TO A CHAOS BREXIT**

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# NO TO A CHAOS BREXIT

**HOPE not hate launches a civil society campaign to persuade our politicians to stop any attempts to take Britain out of the EU without a deal**



# HOPE NOT HATE STANDS AGAINST A NO DEAL CHAOS BREXIT

HOPE not hate believes a No Deal Brexit will be a disaster for Britain. The Office for Budget Responsibility last week predicted that leaving the EU without a deal would create a £30bn hole in public finances and plunge the country into recession. Other forecasts think the consequences will be even worse. The Treasury has predicted that the economy will be 9.3% smaller after 15 years. The Bank of England has warned that a No Deal Brexit could trigger a massive economic shock and widespread disruption.

The horrific numbers being bounded around by economists translate into jobs losses, reduced tax receipts and a further hit on public spending. And, of course, it is those communities that are already struggling from decades of

industrial decline and ten years of austerity that will be hit most.

As the economic impact bite, resentment is likely to grow, especially among those who were promised that Brexit would deliver a better future for them and their families. The backlash is likely to provide fertile ground for right-wing demagogues and populists to exploit this anger and resentment – whilst also of course denying any responsibility for their own hard Brexit agitation.

HOPE not hate's mission is to provide an antidote to the politics of hate. A hard Brexit backlash will create fertile ground for the far right. HOPE not hate cannot allow this to happen and so that's why we have decided to stand up and oppose a radical right-led hard Brexit.

## SUMMARY

Voters do not want a Chaos Brexit. They think it will be bad for Britain: for jobs, for the NHS, for trade, and for our standing in the world.

For too long the whole Brexit debate has been centered around an opaque negotiating approach in Downing Street, and the views of 650 MPs in Parliament. The British people have become increasingly frustrated that they have been shut out of the process. We want to ensure that the people are heard when the issue gets debated again.

We need politicians to bring the country together to resolve the Brexit crisis, not have the Government crash us out of the EU without our consent, and without a care about the consequences.

- **By a margin of over two to one, the British public think leaving the EU without a deal will be worse for Britain than those who believe it would be good.**
- **Almost one in five people (17%) who voted Leave in the 2016 EU referendum think leaving without a deal would be bad for Britain. This equates to 2,959,000 people. A further 14% of 2016 Leave voters (2,400,000 people) say they do not know whether it would be good or bad.**
- **Our advanced data analysis, using Multilevel Regression with Post-Stratification (MRP), shows that there is not a single constituency in the country where more people think that a Chaos Brexit would be good for the country than think it would be bad for the country.**
- **According to our poll, more Labour Leave voters think that leaving the EU without a deal would be bad for Britain (24%) than think it would be good (23%) for Britain.**
- **Two thirds of Conservative Remain voters say that a Chaos Brexit would be bad - just 6% think it would be a good thing for Britain.**
- **Voters think the Chaos Brexit price tag isn't worth the cost. When given the Government's economic projections that Brexit will cost the British economy at least £60bn and a hard 'no deal' Brexit at least £100bn, our poll finds only 10% of people think it's worth the cost. Even among those with the most hard-line views of Brexit, just 20% think the cost of a no deal Brexit is worth it.**
- **When framed as a choice between no deal and staying in the EU past 31 October, people opted to stay in the EU by a margin of 53% to 47%.**

- **By large margins, Britons think that their own personal economic situation, the wider economy, the NHS, international investment, opportunities for the next generation, facing the Russian threat and dealing with international terrorism will be worse if the UK leaves the EU without a deal.**
- **There is no room for complacency or a belief that at the end of the day the British public would simply refuse a Chaos Brexit. Support for leaving the EU on 31st October without a deal is growing amongst Brexiteers and a third of the population have distrust the economic forecasts predicting a Brexit chaos.**

## THE NO TO NO DEAL CAMPAIGN

HOPE not hate is launching a civil society campaign against a No Deal Brexit to give a voice to the majority of Britons who are rightly concerned about leaving the EU without a deal. A no deal Brexit would be a double devastation to areas already struggling from the last 30 years and create a fertile breeding ground for the far right.

This campaign will include:

- Encouraging civil society, faith and community groups, businesses and trade unions to speak out against a No Deal Brexit
- A highly targeted online campaign engaging with Labour Leave voters, Tory Remainers and those who are undecided as to whether a No Deal Brexit will be good or back for Britain
- Eight regional events to raise awareness over the impact of a No Deal Brexit. Each event will focus on a different theme and provide a platform to bring people from different backgrounds and political views together against a No Deal
- Encourage people opposed to a No Deal Brexit to make their views known to their local MPs
- Challenge those who are distrustful of No Deal economic predictions by explaining the numbers in a more meaningful way

**For more information on the campaign or to get involved, contact Matthew McGregor (McGregor@hopenothate.org.uk)**

## **NO TO A NO DEAL BREXIT**

*Boris Johnson was in his element. “The way to get our friends and partners to understand how serious we are is finally, I’m afraid, to abandon the defeatism and negativity that has enfolded us in a great cloud for so long and to prepare confidently and seriously for... a no-deal outcome.” He exaggerated delivery laid on for effect how unseriously serious he is about this. He is determined to keep No Deal Brexit as an option.*

With little progress on securing a deal, and Johnson not expected to be able to secure a better deal than is currently on the table, a no deal Brexit is becoming an ever more realistic outcome. But this isn’t a matter of negotiating games and Westminster politics; the impact of Brexit without a deal would be shattering, and despite all the noise from Johnson, Farage and the ERG, the public know it.

By a no deal, we are referring to a situation in which the UK and the EU fail to sign a withdrawal agreement under the terms of the Article 50 process. This is the default outcome if MPs cannot agree anything else and there are no further extensions beyond 31 October.

If this were to happen, the impacts would be immediate, long lasting and devastating.

The short term impacts of the pound plummeting, gridlocked roads, food and medicine shortages and uncertainty over citizens’ rights are scary enough. But many of these impacts will have a lasting effect. The Office for Budget responsibility has warned that Britain would immediately be pushed back into a full blown recession, adding £30bn a year to borrowing from 2020-21 onwards and 12% of GDP to net debt by 2023-24.

It is not just economic and logistical damage that a no deal would bring. The social impacts, too, would be catastrophic. And this is where Brexit becomes not just of interest to HOPE not hate, but core to our work. Not only would the impacts of a no deal Brexit affect those already among the most precarious in society, the chaos unleashed by a no deal Brexit would likely see spikes in hate-spurred attacks on minorities and migrants, by individuals emboldened by the outcome.

In the long term, the impacts of a no deal Brexit would feed resentment and bitterness, and those who felt more optimistic about Brexit and expected to see greater prosperity will have their hopes shattered, feeding further mistrust in ‘the establishment’ and anger towards the political class will spill over.

There has been a lot of talk about a far right backlash if the UK fails to leave the EU by the October 31<sup>st</sup> deadline, as frustrated, angry people band together to protest a sense of betrayal by politicians and ‘the elite’. That is possible, of course. But the potential for a far right backlash over the economic impact of a no deal is far, far greater.

Our fight against the far right over the last 15 years, our consistent monitoring of the far right and our research that digs deeply into the drivers of hate has understood that when times are hard, people lose hope. When people lose hope, the door opens up for hatred to spread. A no deal Brexit offers fertile conditions for hate to take seed and flourish. e

## **NO DEAL BREXIT**

The British public clearly do not want to leave the EU with no deal. There is a stable majority want to avoid a no deal Brexit – our MRP data, considered more accurate than traditional polling, finds 47% of people say that this would be a bad thing for Britain, with just over 21% considering a no deal Brexit a good thing. 16% think a no deal Brexit would make no difference to Britain, and 15% don’t know.

The rejection of a no deal Brexit is not only a preoccupation of Remain voters (of whom 73% think a no deal Brexit would be bad). 17% of those who voted leave in 2016 referendum say that leaving the EU without a deal would be bad for Britain. This equates to 2,959,000 people. A further 14% of 2016 Leave voters say they do not know whether it would be good or bad and presumably could be won over to opposing such a move.

This rejection of a no deal Brexit spreads across the political spectrum. Only Conservative voters buck the trend, with the majority of support for all major parties – and non-voters – saying that a no deal Brexit would bring more harm than good. And even among Conservative voters, there is not a clear margin of support.

### **A no deal Brexit would be good/bad for Britain (MRP, July 2019)**

Political party (General Election 2017)	Bad	Good
Conservative	27%	36%
Green or Other	58%	13%
Labour	65%	11%
Lib Dem	78%	7%
Non voters	44%	20%
Plaid Cymru	48%	20%
SNP	64%	10%

26% of Labour Leave voters think a no deal Brexit would be bad for Britain, while 29% think it would be good. And many Conservative voters are unwilling to accept their party's flirtation with a no deal exit. 64% of Conservative Remain voters say that a no deal Brexit would be bad – just 6% think it would be a good thing for Britain.

Women are much less likely to think that leaving without a deal is good for Britain. Only 17% it would be good, compared to 26% of men.

Young people are most concerned about the potential impacts of a no deal Brexit – 59% of 18-22s think a no deal Brexit would be bad for the country – just 8% think it would be good. But there is not one age group where more people think that a no deal Brexit would be good for Britain.

Across all regions too, a majority rejects a no deal Brexit. UK regions with weaker economies will be more adversely affected<sup>1</sup>. These are areas with large manufacturing, production, operations and logistics sectors, whose their trade structures are relatively more integrated with the rest of the EU. The North East is expected to feel the greatest impacts of a no deal Brexit – where 44% already think this would be a bad thing for Britain.

**A no deal Brexit would be good/bad for Britain (MRP, July 2019)**

Region	Bad	Good	No Difference	Don't Know
North East	44%	23%	18%	15%
North West	46%	22%	17%	16%
Yorkshire & Humberside	44%	21%	18%	16%
East Midlands	41%	24%	18%	17%
West Midlands	41%	25%	18%	16%
East England	44%	23%	18%	15%
London	55%	18%	11%	16%
South East	47%	23%	16%	14%
South West	46%	23%	16%	15%
Wales	46%	22%	17%	15%
Scotland	54%	14%	16%	16%

**CONSTITUENCY BREAKDOWN**

Our MRP data shows that there is not a single constituency in the country where more people think that a no deal Brexit would be good for the country than think it would be bad for the country.

To put this astounding fact in context: in South Holland and the Deepings, where 73.6% of voters

backed Brexit, only 31% of voters think that No Deal would be a good thing.

In high-Leave voting constituencies the numbers of people saying that No Deal would be a bad thing are lower than in Remain voting areas, but in no constituency in the country are those who think it would be a good thing in the majority,. Maybe that's no surprise: looking at the economic projections, there will be a huge negative impact that will certainly be felt by people in these constituencies.

For example, in Grimsby, a town heavily reliant on fishing and seafood production where 90% of fish is imported from the EU and 150 businesses produce and sell seafood, 5,000 jobs will be put at risk<sup>2</sup>, while a no-deal Brexit risks a loss of 900 oil refinery jobs<sup>3</sup>. Or Hull, which has a high proportion of jobs in the manufacture of rubber and plastic products and nonmetallic minerals. The Humber currently manages 40% more freight from the EU than Dover<sup>4</sup>.

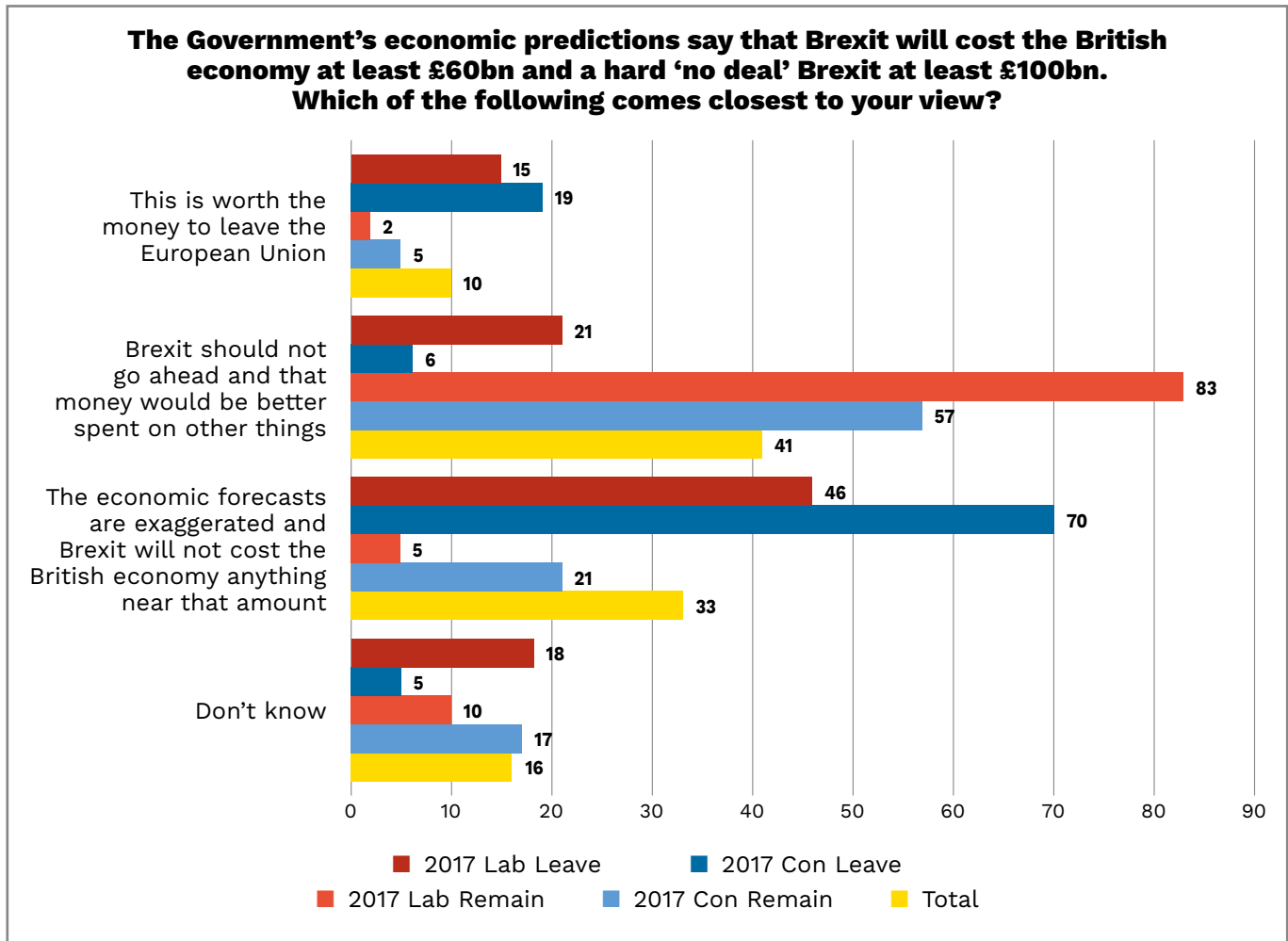
A no deal Brexit threatens not just economic problems but also huge social problems in all of these areas, as the realities of a no deal Brexit break the hopes of those who felt breaking all ties with Europe would bring them prosperity and opportunity, and allow people greater control.

A potent mix of national economic decline, the loss of jobs and industry, unaffordable increases in the cost of living, swelling anti-establishment mistrust and false hope for a prosperity-delivering Brexit present fertile conditions for hateful narratives to explain away these problems. Chaos over piles of rotting produce, a shortage of food and medicines and pile-ups along all main transport routes will add a dangerous environment for angry and hateful sentiments to take off.

Many who are putting their fingers in their ears to the concerns of economists are among those most likely to be impacted. Their optimism paves the way for a huge backlash of hate, anger and bitter disappointment if a no deal Brexit becomes a reality.

**NO DEAL: NOT A PRICE WORTH PAYING**

In focus groups we ran through the summer of 2018, there was a resounding sense that people just wanted Brexit to be 'over and done with'. But it is clear that the threat of a no deal Brexit undermines this. Our polling finds that even when faced with an extended deadline past October 31st, people do not want to risk a no deal Brexit. More people would oppose Britain leaving the EU with no deal on 31st October (44%) than would support it (39%).



Remain voters, unsurprisingly are most opposed to leaving at the end of October with no deal – just 9% would accept this. Younger people – 60% of 18-24 year olds and 49% of people aged 25-49 – are most opposed to leaving the EU in October without a deal while just 15% of 18-24s would support it. A quarter of Labour Leave voters and 59% of Conservative Remain voters would oppose leaving on the 31st October with no deal.

When given the Government's economic projections that Brexit will cost the British economy at least £60bn and a hard 'no deal' Brexit at least £100bn, only 10% of people feel that leaving the European Union would be worth this cost. Even among Leave voters, just 18% think Brexit would be worth this cost.

This rejection of paying the price for Brexit runs across political divides. Among Conservative Leave voters 19% said it would be worth these costs, while a meagre 15% of Labour Leave voters felt the same way. Even among those with the most hard-line views of Brexit, most supportive of a no-deal scenario, 2015 UKIP voters, just 20% think leaving the EU is worth these costs.

Instead, most people (41%) think that it would be better if Brexit didn't go ahead so that this money would better be spent on other things. More than ten times as many Labour voters (63%) think this money should be spent on other things than think leaving the EU with no deal would be worth that cost (6%). Conservative voters, too are more likely to want this money spent on other things than feel leaving the EU is worth this cost.

**ECONOMY AND TRADE**

The role of business and trade unions in talking about the risks of a no-deal Brexit has made an impact on the public. People are most concerned about the impacts of a no-deal Brexit on the economy, trade and investment. 45% of people are concerned that a no deal Brexit will have a damaging effect on Britain's economy, while less than a quarter of people think it will be better (23%).

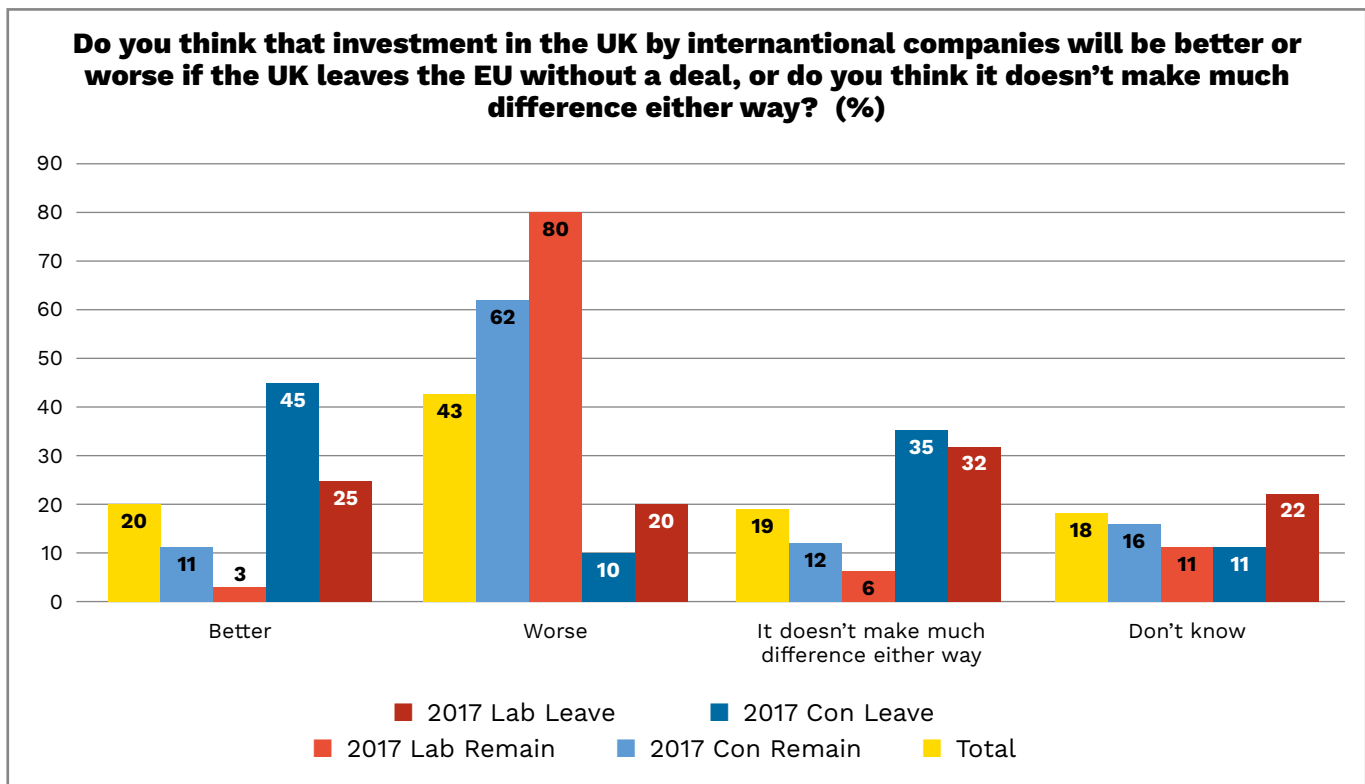
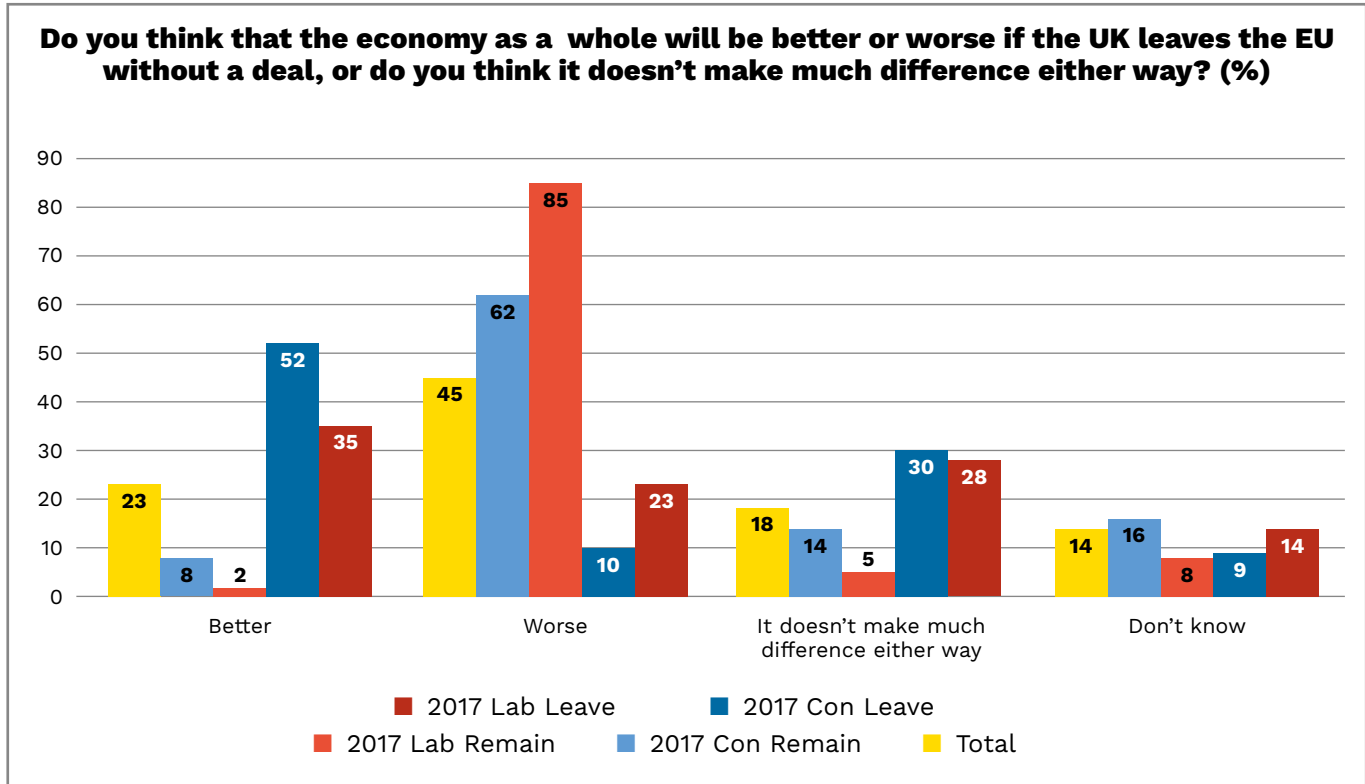
More than twice as many people (43%) think that investment in the UK would be worse in a no-

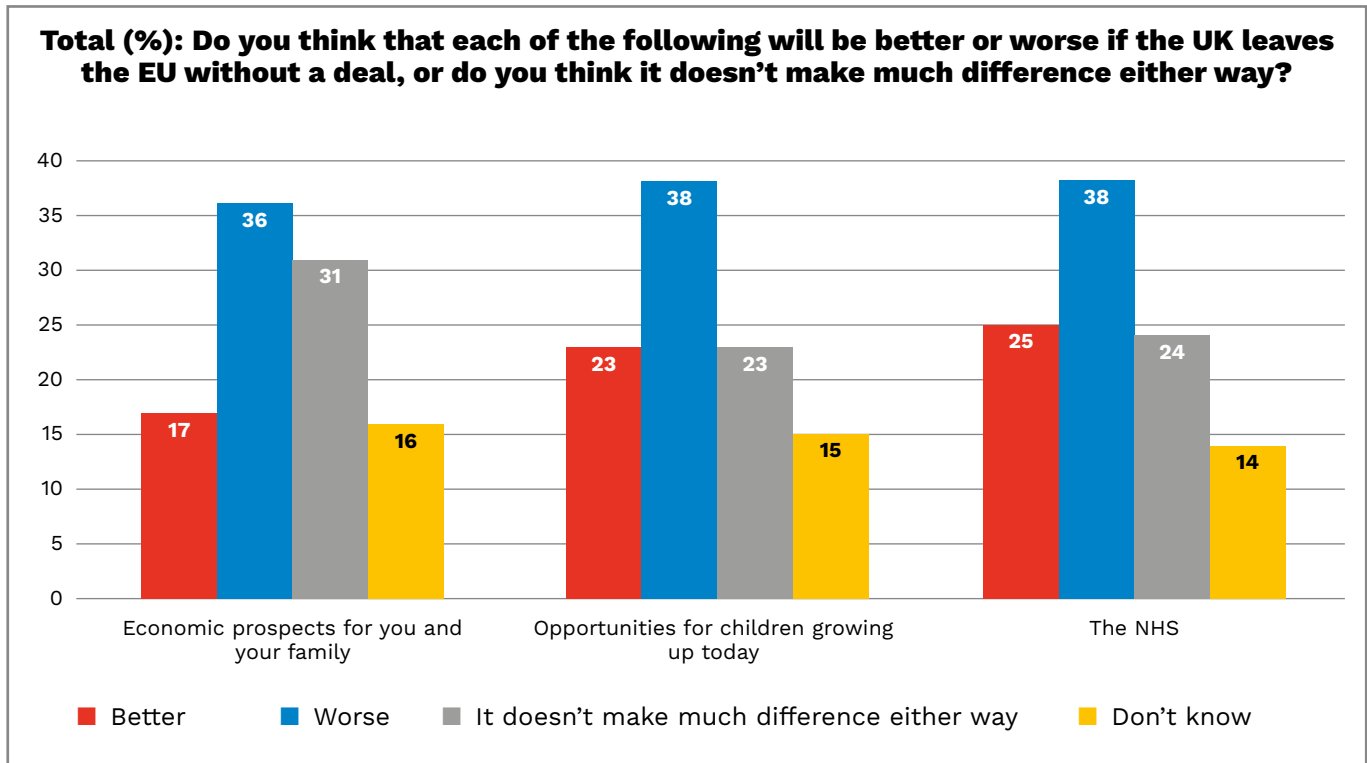
deal scenario than think international investment would be better (20%). 27% of people think that British industry would be better off if the UK leaves the EU, but a far greater proportion of people (42%) think it would be worse.

Fears about the economic impact of Brexit are,

unsurprisingly, most profound among Remain voters and those who voted Labour or Lib Dem in the 2017 General Election.

However, fears of an economic crash are also profound among Conservative Remain voters. 62% think that the economy will be worse off





under a no deal Brexit, and that investment in the UK by international companies will decline. 59% think British industry will be worse off as a result.

**QUALITY OF LIFE**

Our latest polling shows that people are worried about the impacts of a no deal Brexit on their own lives. 36% of people worry that they will personally be worse off if Britain leaves the EU with no deal, with just 17% expecting to be better off in a no deal outcome.

38% of people say that opportunities for children growing up today would be worse off if the UK left the EU with no deal, while 23% think they would be better off.

Labour Leave voters are most concerned about the impact of a no deal Brexit on their own economic situation. Only 1% more think their personal economic prospects would be better off in a no deal situation (20%) than think they would be worse off (20%).

While 38% of people believe that the NHS will be worse off if the UK leaves with no deal, the broken promises that adorned the Leave campaign's bus still resonate with many. 25% think the NHS would be better off if the UK leaves the EU with no deal, while 38% do not see the connection between leaving the EU and NHS funding- 24% think it would make no difference either way and 14% are unsure.

In our summer 2018 focus groups, many participants were annoyed and felt let down that the Leave campaign had lied to them about a 'Brexit dividend' for the NHS. But people also struggled to make a connection between economic decline and how this would affect NHS funding, or how a trade deal with the U.S.A. might pose a threat of privatisation.

**TERRORISM AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY**

Police chiefs in the UK and the EU have made significant warnings about the threat of a no deal Brexit to the UK's protection and security. In the EU, the UK has access to participate in 32 different national security and law enforcement measures, such as the European Arrest Warrant, the Schengen Information System, the European Criminal Record System, Europol and Eurojust. Under a no deal exit from the EU, Britain could lose these overnight.

There are more people who are concerned about this than not, but there is also a high degree of uncertainty around what would happen to security and defence in a no-deal situation.

Just 17% of people think that our protection against terrorism would be better if the UK left the EU with no deal, while 9% feel that the UK would be more equipped to deal with the growing threat from Russia if we left with no deal. People are largely ambivalent about the



role of the EU in maintaining good protection from international and terrorist threats – 41% think our response to Russia would be unchanged by a no-deal Brexit, while 37% think it would make no difference to our protection against terrorism.

Conservative Remain voters are among the most concerned about this – just 6% think our protection against terrorism would be better in a no deal outcome compared to 48% who think it would be worse. More Labour Leave voters think our protection against the growing threat from Russia would be worse off (16%) in a no deal situation than think it would be better off (11%).

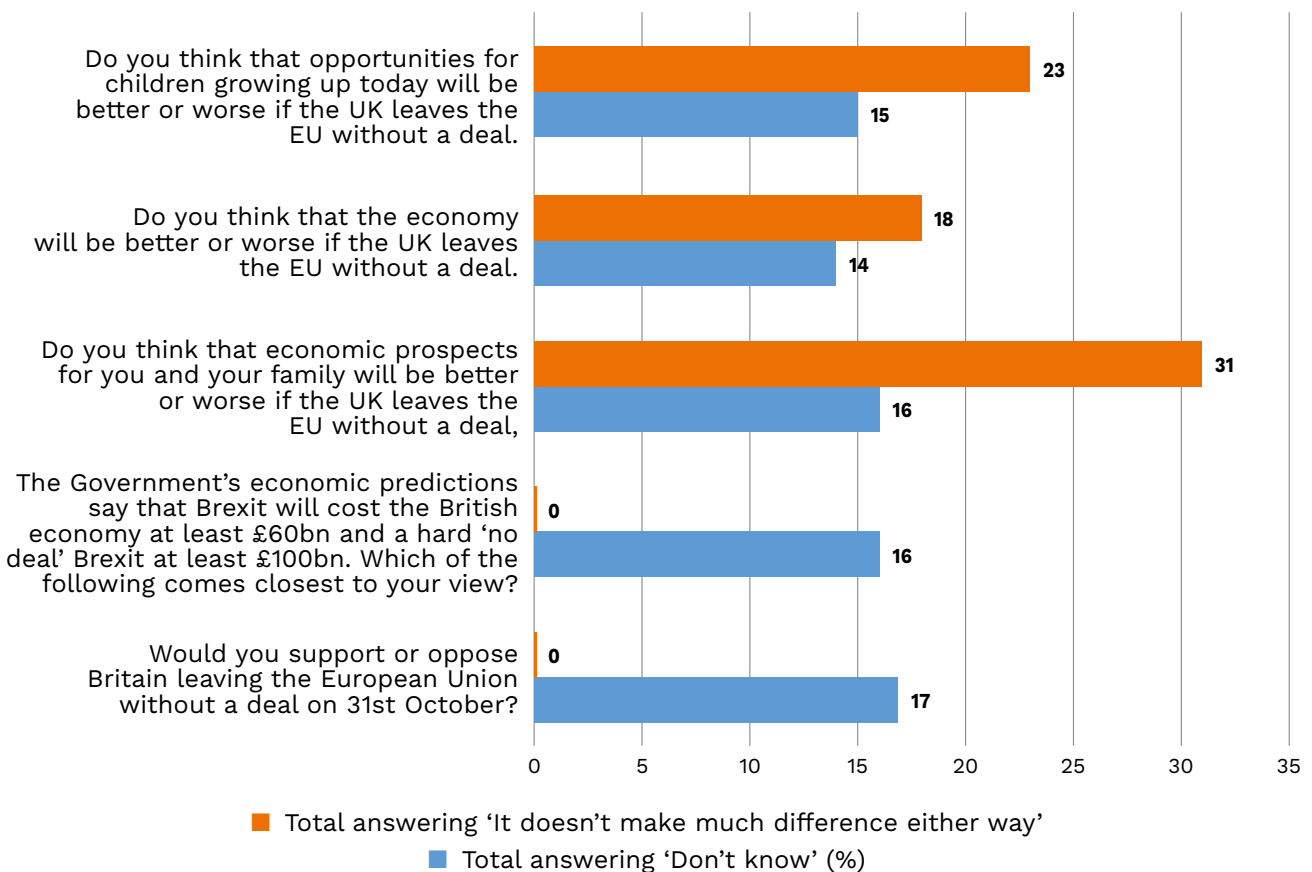
Older people tend to be more optimistic about the economic impacts of a no deal Brexit, but are pessimistic when it comes to international relations and crime. More people over 65 think that our protection against terrorism and ability to deal with the growing threat from Russia would be worse off in a no deal outcome than would be better off.

## DENIAL, UNCERTAINTY AND AMBIVALENCE

Deep in the data, there is a challenge for opponents of a No Deal Brexit. Our polling finds that many people simply do not believe that there is a threat to the economy. A third of people think that the Government’s economic forecasts are exaggerated and Brexit will not cost the British economy anything near the amount estimated by experts.

Voters views on Brexit itself continues to shape how they filter information, with Remain voters more likely to believe information about projected economic downturn and job losses, and Leave voters unlikely to think this is true. Our latest polling shows a sustained false hope among Leave voters. Conservative Leave voters (70%) and UKIP 2015 voters (64%) are all most likely to think that the Government’s projections are overstated. 62% of all Leave voters think the same. Men (36%) are far more likely than women

**Ambivalence and uncertainty around a no deal Brexit**



(29%) to dismiss these figures as exaggeration. However, Labour leave voters are far less likely to think the Government's figures are exaggerated (46%). Just 9% of Remain voters thought the threat of economic downturn was overstated, including just 21% of Conservative Remain voters.

It is abundantly clear that the British public do not want to crash out of Europe with no deal in place. Despite the optimism of some Leave voters that the UK would be better off cutting all ties with the EU, the majority of people think that leaving the EU is not worth the high cost of a no deal Brexit – even if this means missing the October 31<sup>st</sup> deadline.

## **LABOUR LEAVE VOTERS**

On all projected issues, Labour Leave voters are less convinced that things will get better if Britain leaves the EU with no deal than the average Leave voter. They are 10% more likely to think that a no deal Brexit will damage the economy as a whole, 10% more likely to think the NHS will be worse off and 10% more likely to think there will be fewer opportunities for children growing up today.

And Labour Leave voters are most concerned about the direct impact to their own lives. Only 1% more think their personal economic prospects would be better off in a no deal situation (21%) than think they would be worse off (20%). A huge 42% think it wouldn't make much difference either way. But this pessimism also reflects the socioeconomic position this group, who are more likely to be economically precarious – and so feel the impacts of a no deal Brexit most.

At the same time, many feel both overwhelmed with information and kept in the dark by politicians. Avoiding a no deal situation necessitates that the public have a better understanding of what is really at risk. Those peddling lies and dismissing the very real danger need to be called out. And rather than assuming people understand the scale of what the UK is facing, those campaigning to remain, or to secure a less damaging Brexit deal for the UK, need to reach out further to those who have detached from the process, to bring the realities of a no deal situation home to people who will be directly affected.

## **CONCLUSION**

The threat of a no deal Brexit is very real. It is abundantly clear, as our polling shows, that this is a threat people in the UK do not want to see made reality.

Taking the threat of a no deal off the table needs to be a priority, and we all need to do everything in our power to ensure that there is no chance of a no deal outcome. That is why HOPE not hate are launching our civil society campaign against a no deal Brexit.

We will be targeting our messaging, delivering specific messages to different audiences, to mobilise those who already see the dangers of a no deal outcome and to engage those who are uncertain and ensure that they do not just sit by in silence as Britain makes a decision that will affect generations to come.

## **METHODOLOGY**

All figures, unless otherwise stated, are from YouGov Plc. Total sample size was 4,917 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken between 30th June – 4th July 2019. The survey was carried out online. The figures have been weighted and are representative of all GB adults (aged 18+).

Our MRP data was compiled by Focalddata, using a statistical method called Multi-level regression with poststratification (MRP) for the poll listed above.

MRP has two main elements. The first is to use a survey to build a multi-level regression model that predicts opinion (or any quantity of interest) from certain variables, normally demographics. The second is to weight (post-stratify) your results by the relevant population frequency, to get population level (or constituency level) estimates.

At the end of this process you get more accurate, more granular (thus more actionable) estimates of public opinion than traditional polling. There are however significant technical challenges to implementing it effectively. These include large data requirements, dedicated cloud computing resources, and an understanding of Bayesian statistics.

### NOTES

- 1 <https://ukandeu.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Cost-of-No-Deal-Revisted.pdf>
- 2 <https://www.grimsbytelegraph.co.uk/news/grimsby-news/brexit-exemption-sought-grimsby-seafood-736984>
- 3 <https://www.grimsbytelegraph.co.uk/news/grimsby-news/lindsey-oil-jobs-brexit-deal-2727772>
- 4 <https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/our-region/east-yorkshire/hull/humber-leaders-warn-of-economic-damage-over-no-deal-road-jams-1-9560400>