

The 21 things you need to know to understand why Britain voted Leave

Findings from poll conducted for the TUC

Fieldwork took place Friday 24th- Mon 27th June

Total GB sample: n=2716

Weighted by age, gender, class, region, and political behaviour

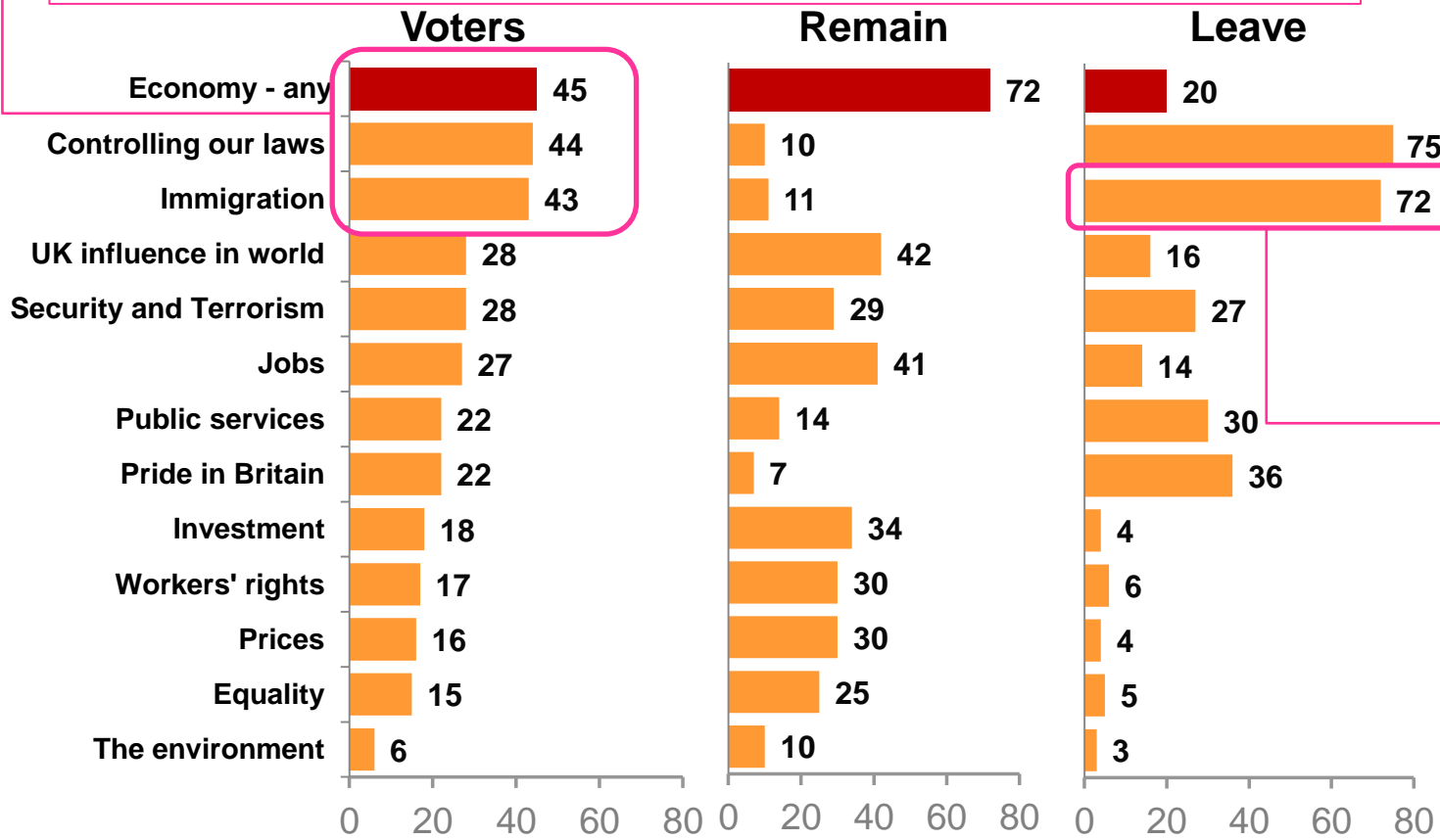
Contact: jmorris@gqrr.com

@jamesdmorris

1) About immigration, but not all about immigration

Which *THREE* of the following were most important in helping you decide which way to vote?

Overall, 40% said immigration was a key issue – level w/ sovereignty and economy

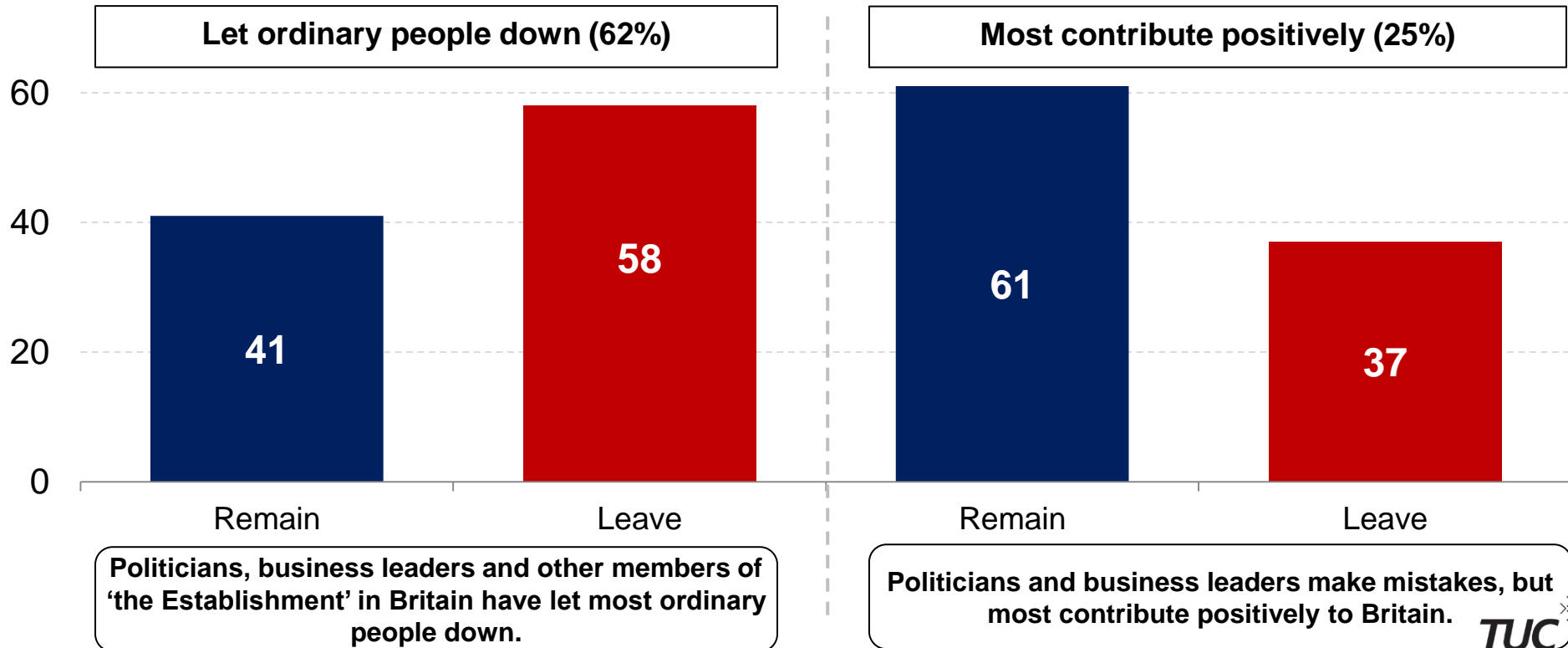


28% of Leave voters did not say immigration was a top 3 issue

2) The result was in part a verdict on the establishment

- The 62% of voters who think the establishment let ordinary people down voted to leave 58 to 41
- Those who think the establishment contribute positively, voted Remain 61:37

Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?



Let ordinary people down n=1382; Most contribute positively n=551

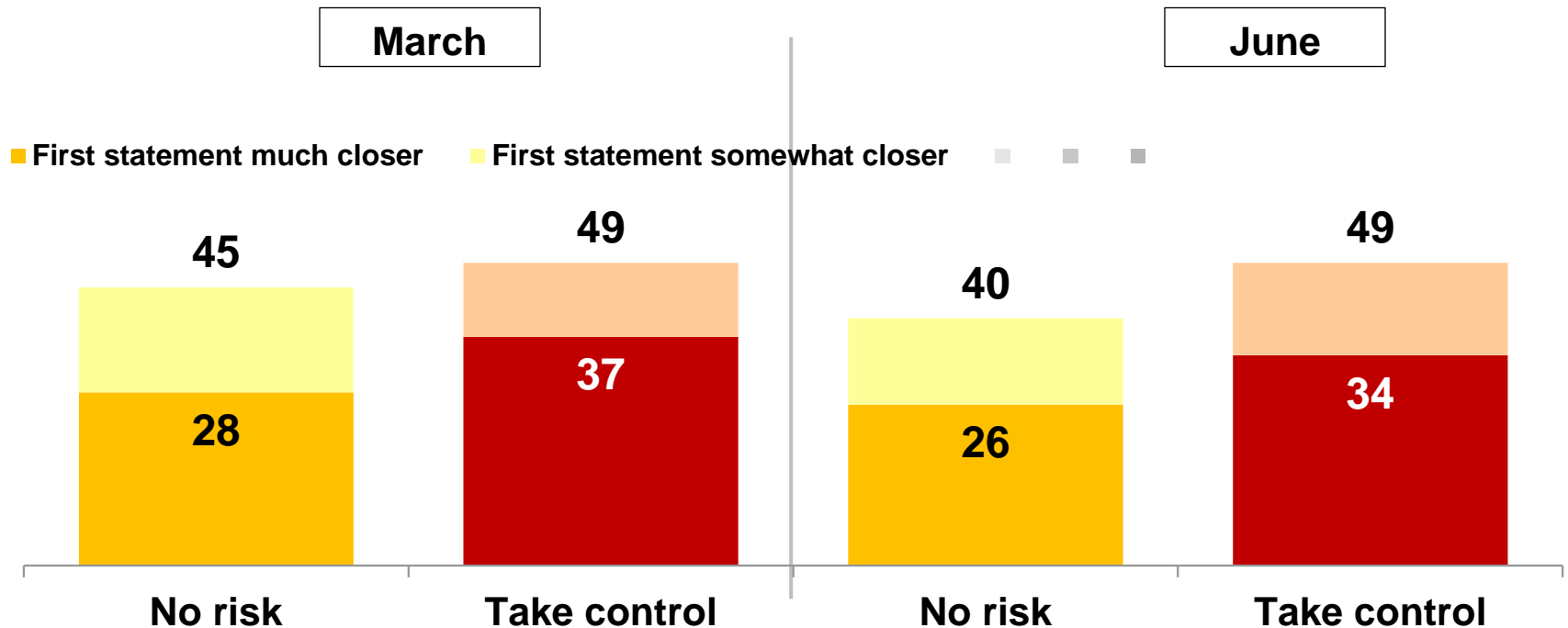
GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

3) Leave had a stronger frame going into the campaign, and amplified their lead as it went on

Please indicate whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right.

The most important thing at this referendum is making sure we don't risk Britain's economy, security and influence in the world.

The most important thing at this referendum is getting control of Britain's borders, laws and economy.



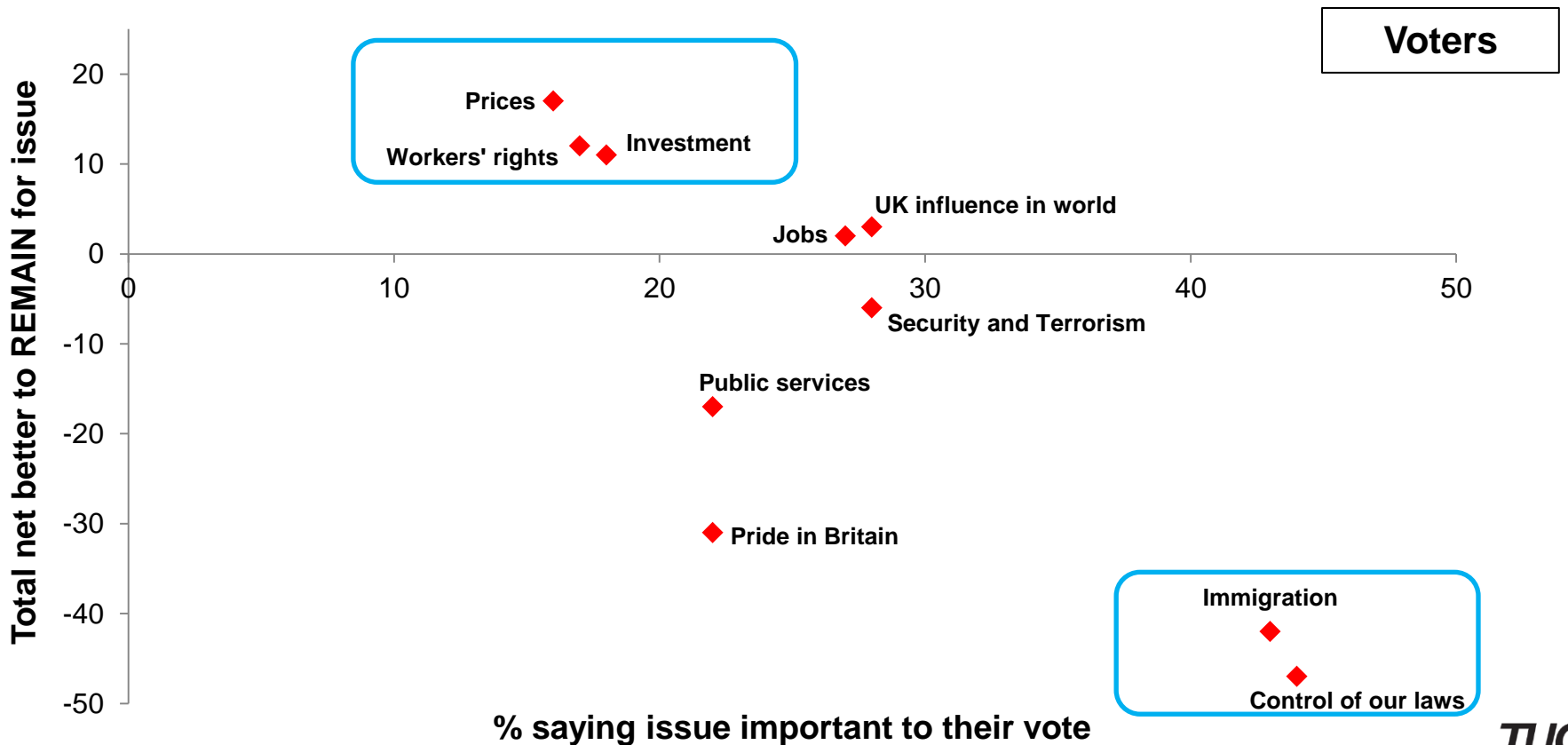
March very likely voters n=1017; June voted n=2216

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH TUC

4) Voters *did* think Remain best for prices, but this wasn't a retail vote. Leave won key issues by a distance.

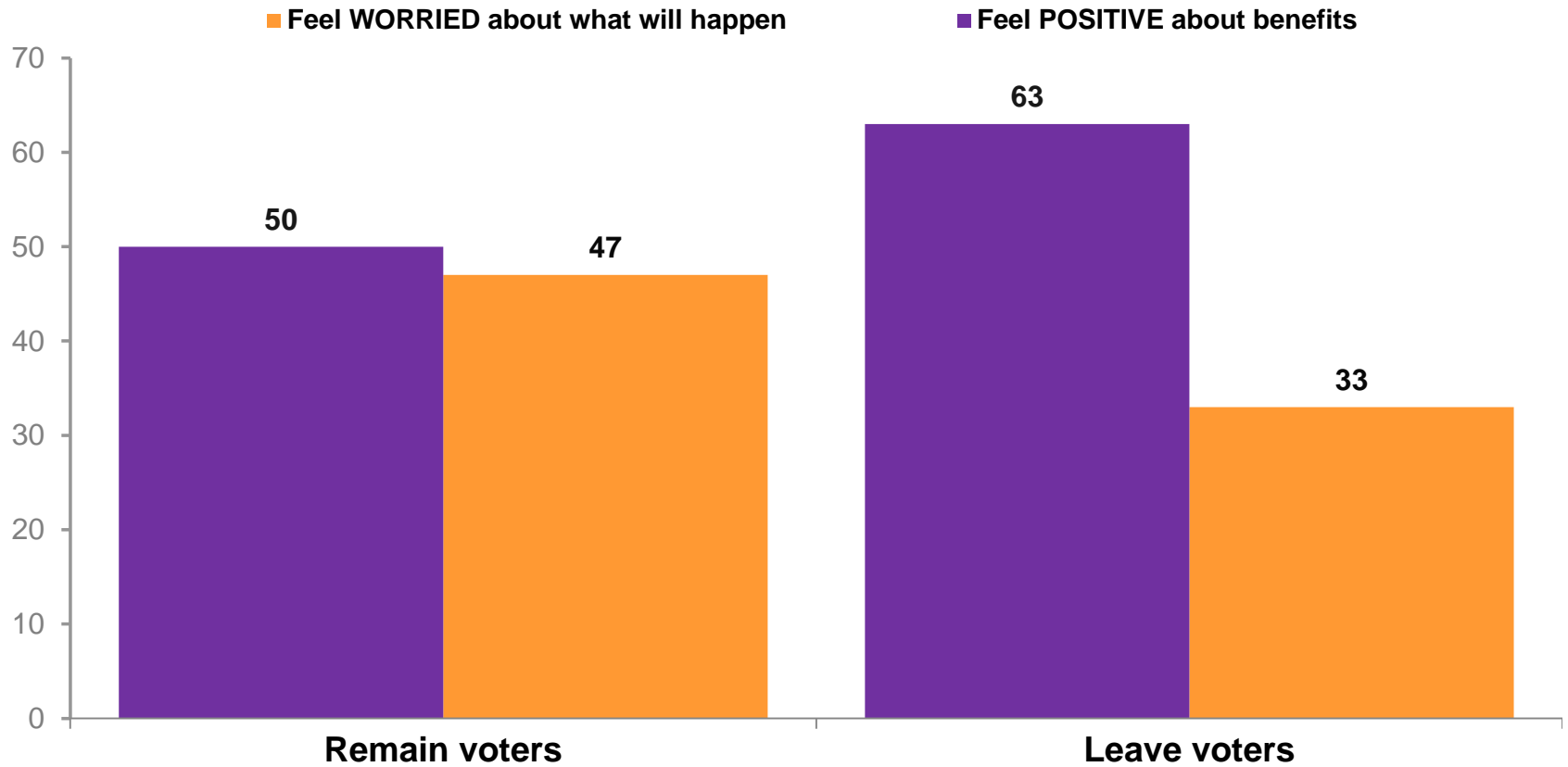
(X AXIS) Which THREE of the following were most important in helping you decide which way to vote?

(Y AXIS) Putting aside how you voted in the referendum, do you think leaving the EU or staying in the EU would be better for each of the following issues? (% answering better to Remain)



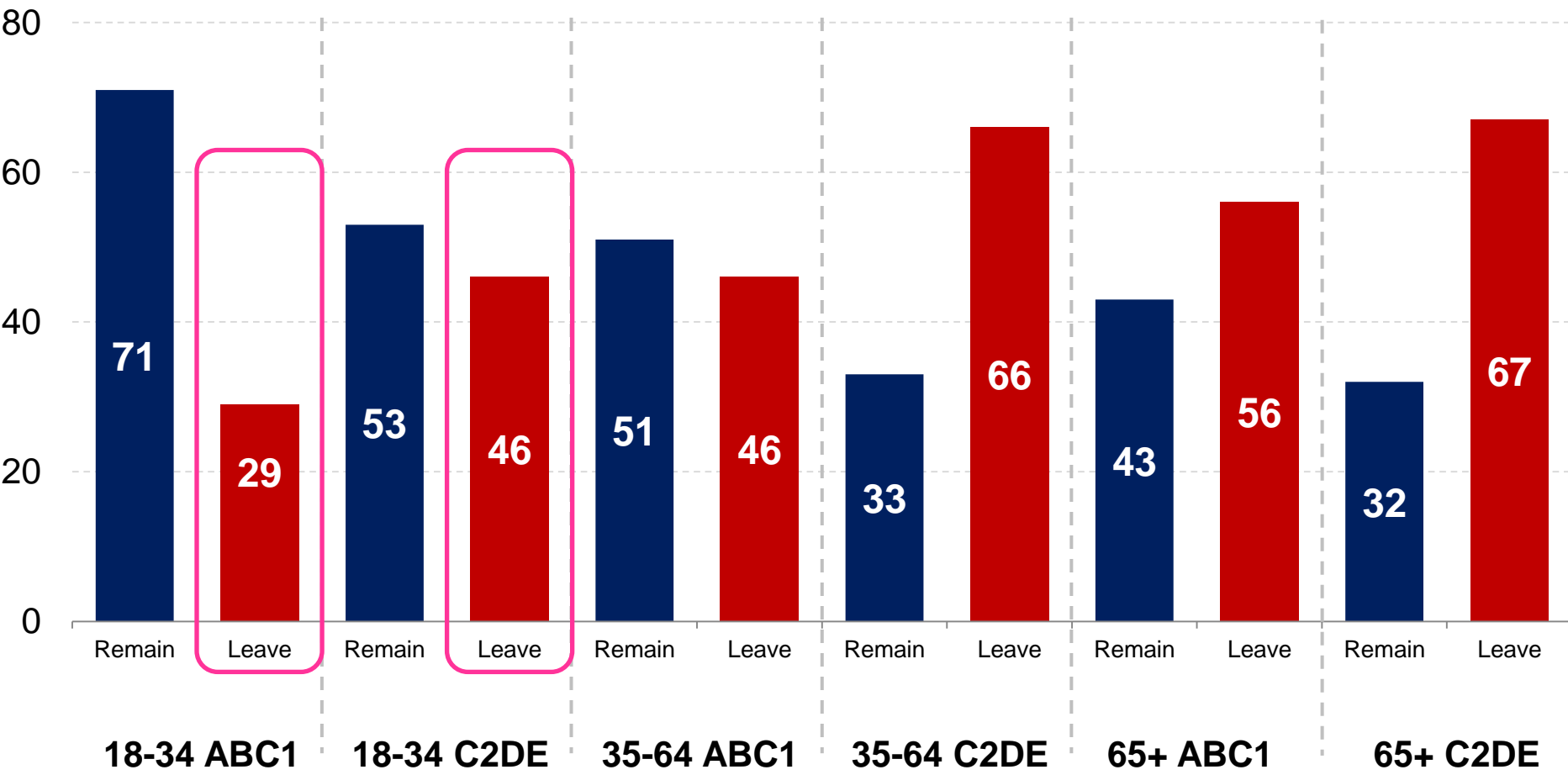
5) A Leave vote was overwhelmingly a vote of optimism. Remain voters more fearful

Which of the following best explains why you voted for the UK to LEAVE/REMAIN a member of the European Union?



6) Class and age tell the story – but don't confuse 'young' with 'young middle class'

Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?

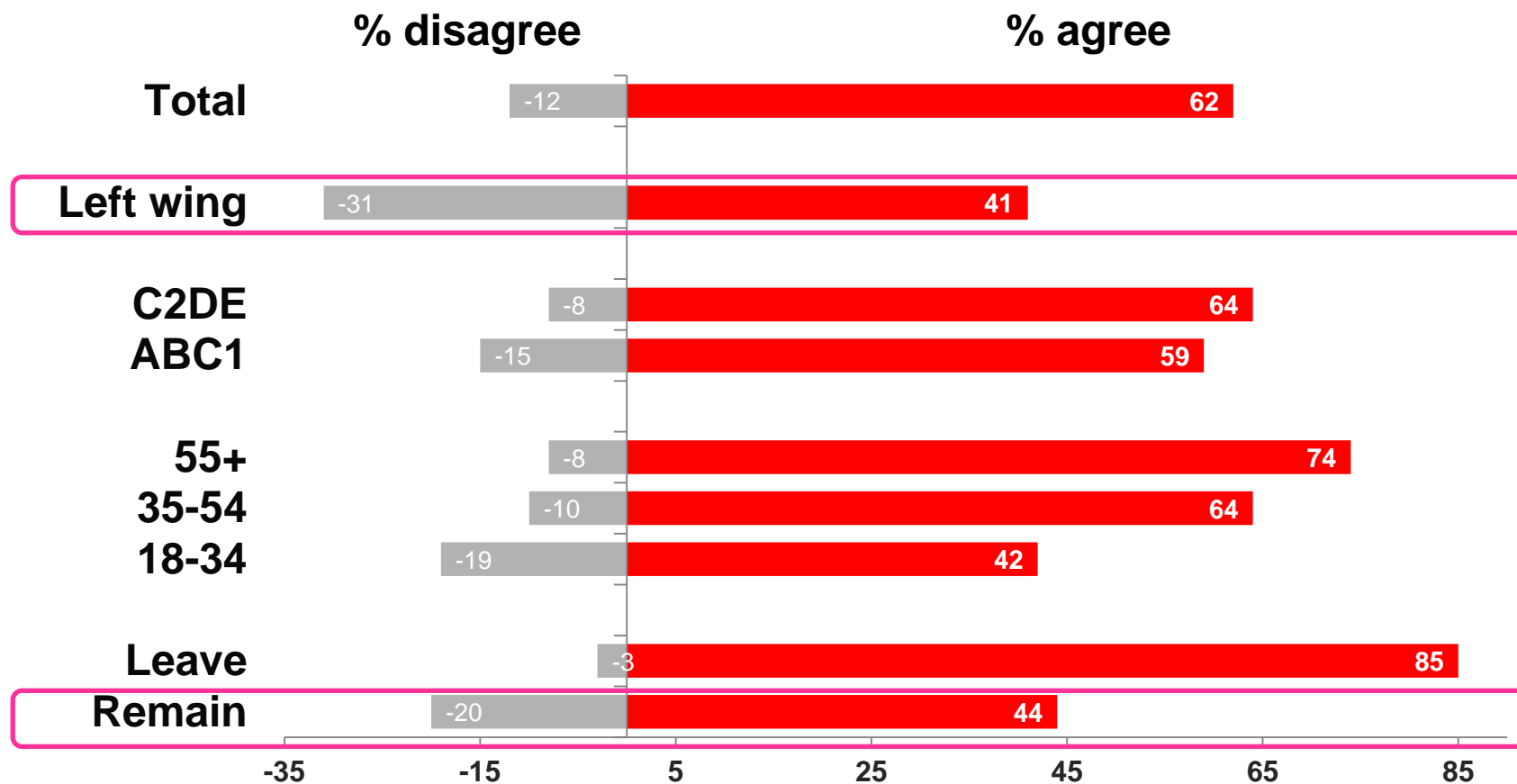


18-34 ABC1 n=316; 35-64 ABC1 n=631; 65+ ABC1 n=334; 18-34 C2DE n=257; 35-64 C2DE n=482; 65+ C2DE n=197

Understanding role of immigration

7) Vast majority think reducing immigration essential – including most left wing voters and most Remainers

It is essential for the immigration system to reduce the number of migrants coming to Britain



Total Post-ref n=2716; Left wing n=355; C2DE n=1209; ABC1 n=1507; 55+ n=975; 35-54 n=959; 18-34 n=782; Leave n=1136; Remain n=1045

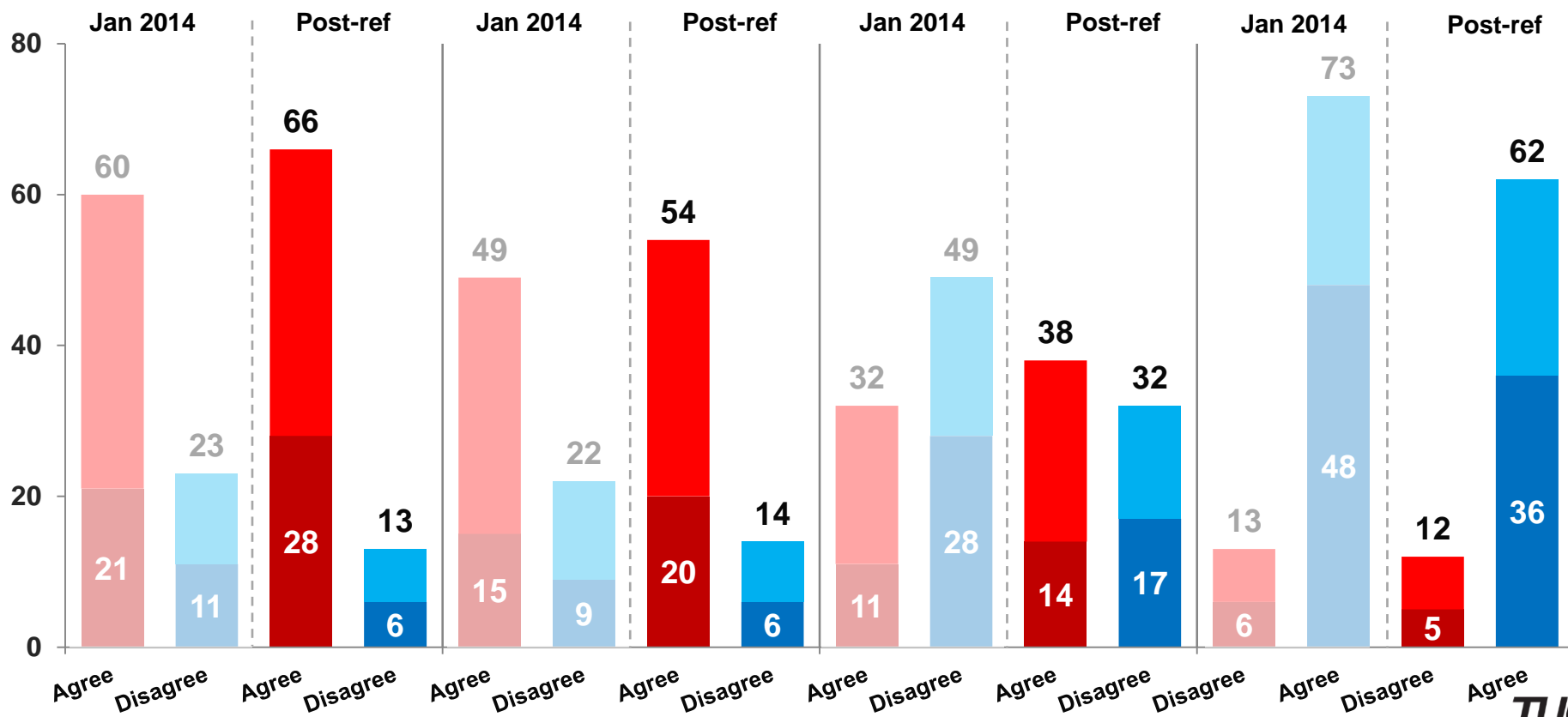
8) But, referendum *not* high point of immigration concern— positivity is up, negativity *down* since 2014

As long as the system is well managed, immigration can be good for Britain

Immigrants tend to work hard and make a contribution to Britain

Recent immigrants should be able to use the NHS if they fall sick

It is essential for the immigration system to reduce the number of migrants coming to Britain



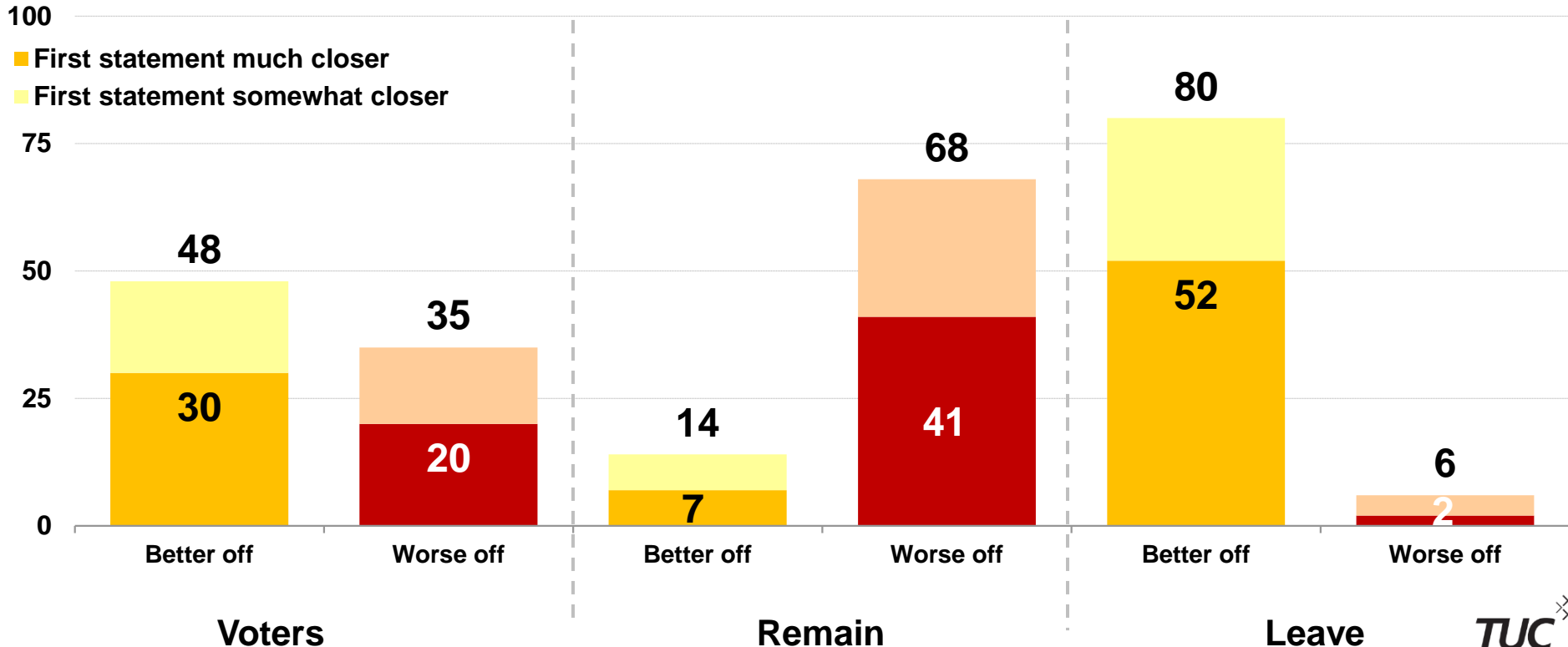
Total Post-ref n=2716; Total Jan 2014 n=3027

9) Majority believe migration and EU a major drag on public services, including 1 in 6 Remain voters

Now you will see some pairs of statements. For each, please indicate whether the *FIRST* statement or the *SECOND* statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right.

The NHS will be **BETTER** off if the UK LEAVES the EU because migrants would not have a right to use NHS services, and because the NHS could get the money we currently send to the EU.

The NHS will be **WORSE** off if the UK LEAVES the EU because it relies on migrants who work as doctors and nurses; and because the recession created by leaving will mean there is less money for the NHS.

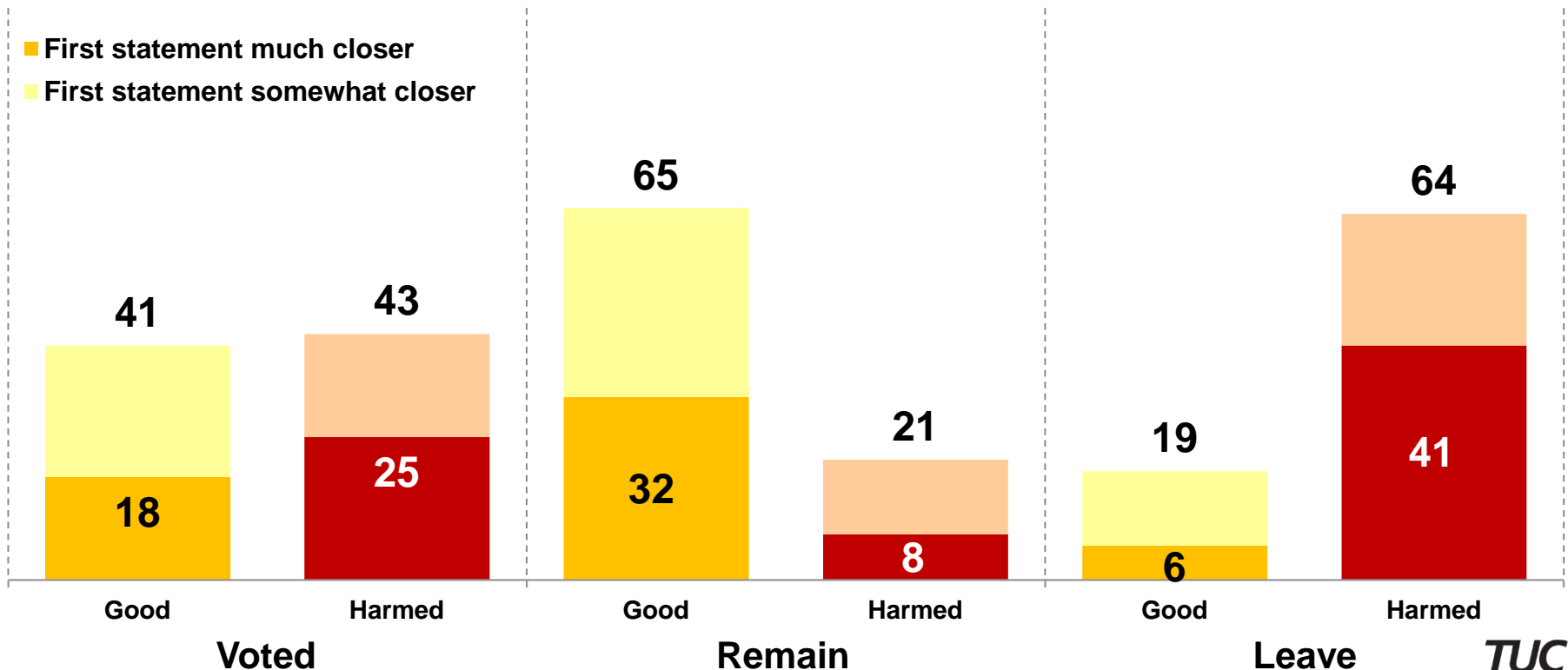


10) Country divided on whether immigration been good for national culture.

Please indicate whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right.

On balance, immigration has been good for our national culture.

On balance, immigration has harmed our national culture.



Voters n= 2216, Voted Remain n= 1045, Voted Leave n=1136

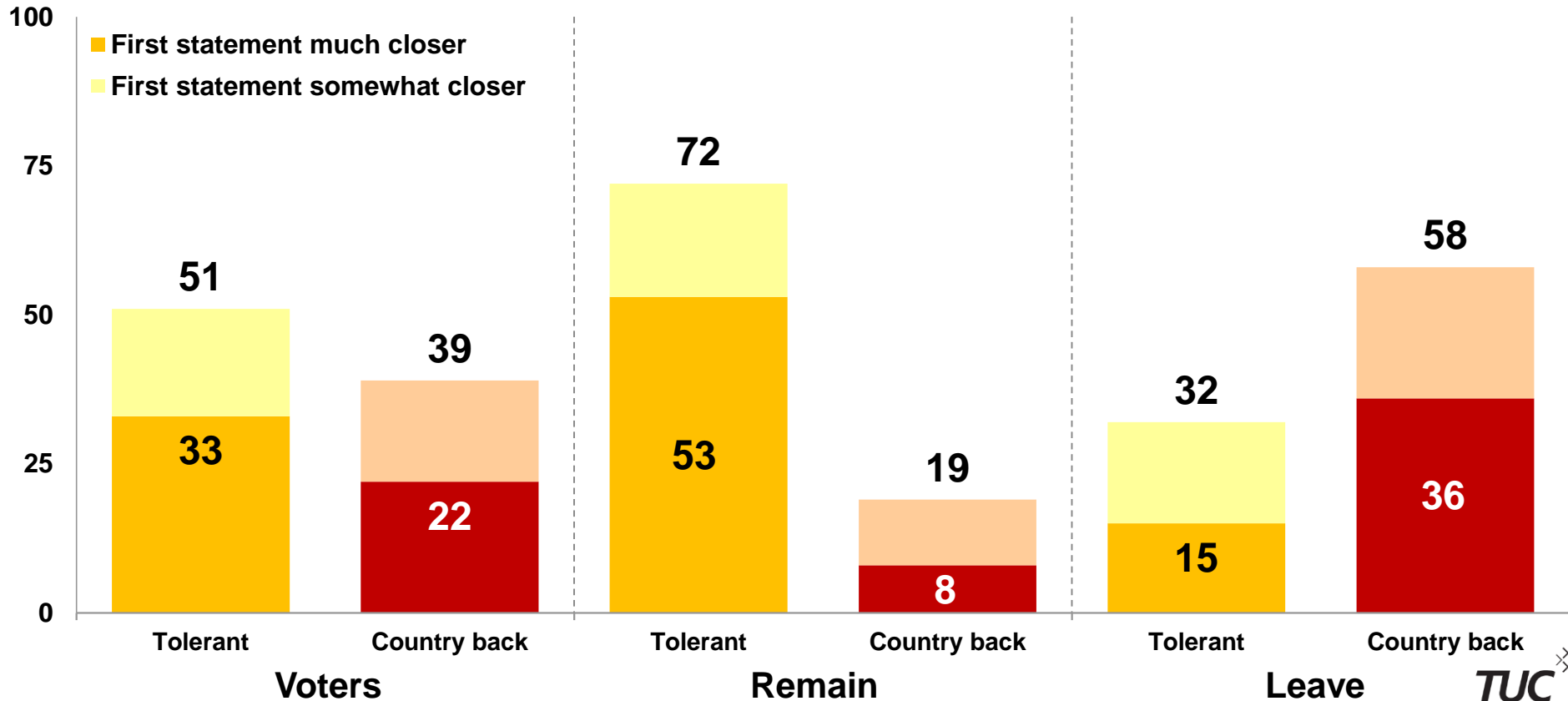
GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH TUC

11) In forced choice between v liberal and v socially conservative position, half the country are liberals

Now you will see some pairs of statements. For each, please indicate whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right.

I want Britain to be a tolerant country where people of different faiths and cultures have equal rights.

Britain's efforts to accept other cultures have gone too far and this is a chance to take our country back.



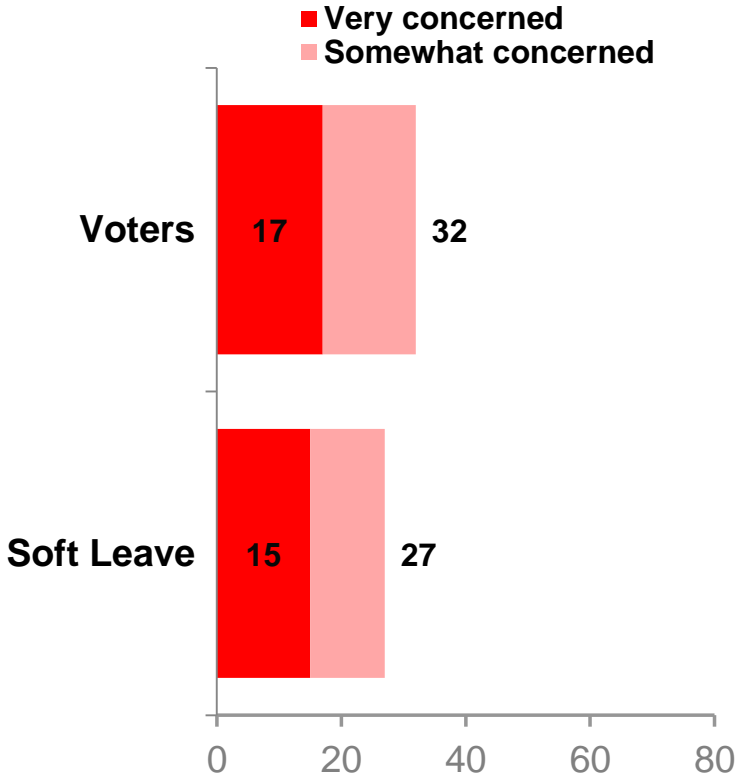
Voters n= 2216, Voted Remain n= 1045, Voted Leave n=1136

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

12) Accusations of racism hurt the Remain campaign more than the Leave campaign

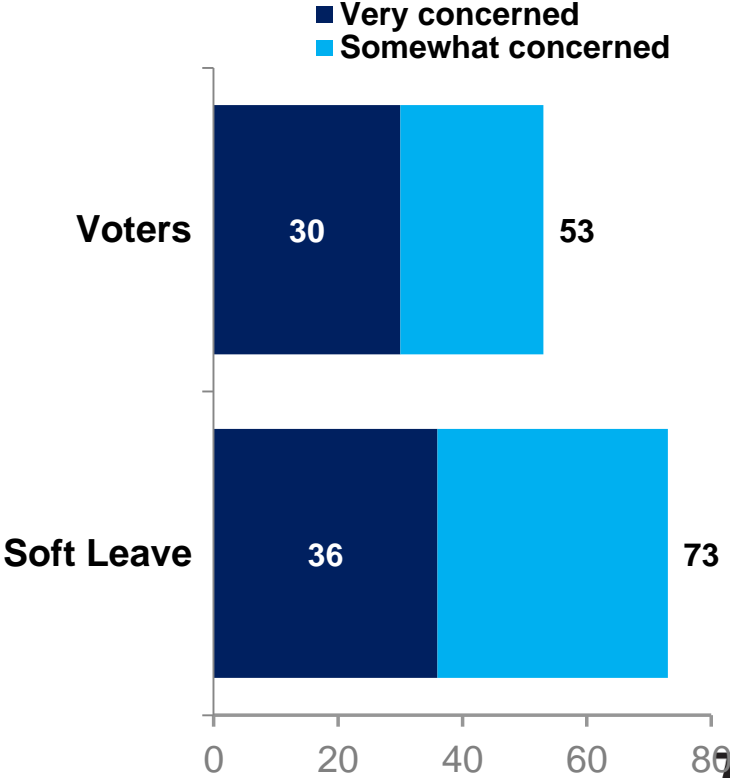
Below is a list of concerns some people had about voting to LEAVE the EU. How concerned were you about each?

A vote to leave would put me on the same side as racists



Below is a list of concerns some people had about voting to REMAIN in the EU. How concerned were you about each?

The Remain campaign dismiss legitimate concerns about immigration



Voters n= 2216, Soft Leave (voted Leave but seriously considered Remain) n= 209

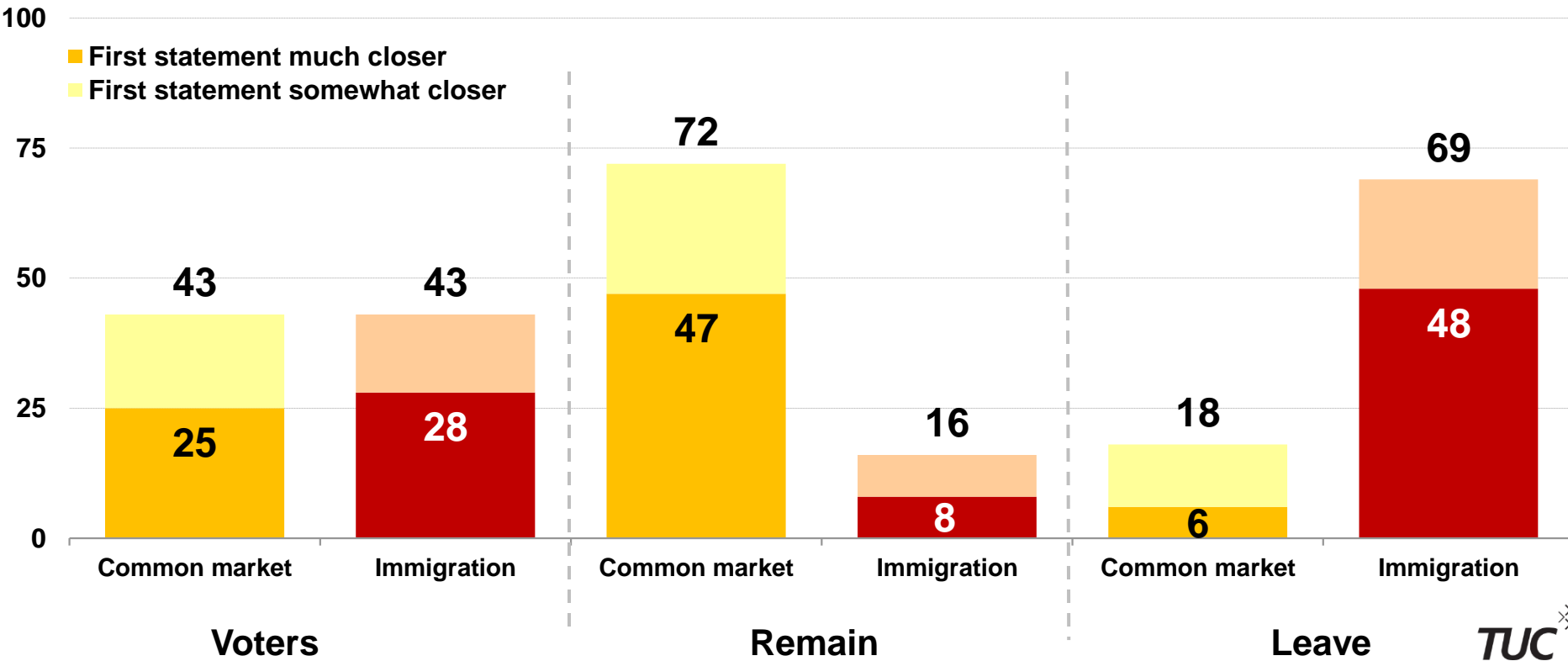
Brexit policy and trade offs

13) As they voted, voters were divided on whether to prioritise market access or free movement

Now you will see some pairs of statements. For each, please indicate whether the *FIRST* statement or the *SECOND* statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right.

The most important thing is that Britain keeps its access to the common market in Europe.

The most important thing is that Britain gets complete control over its immigration policies



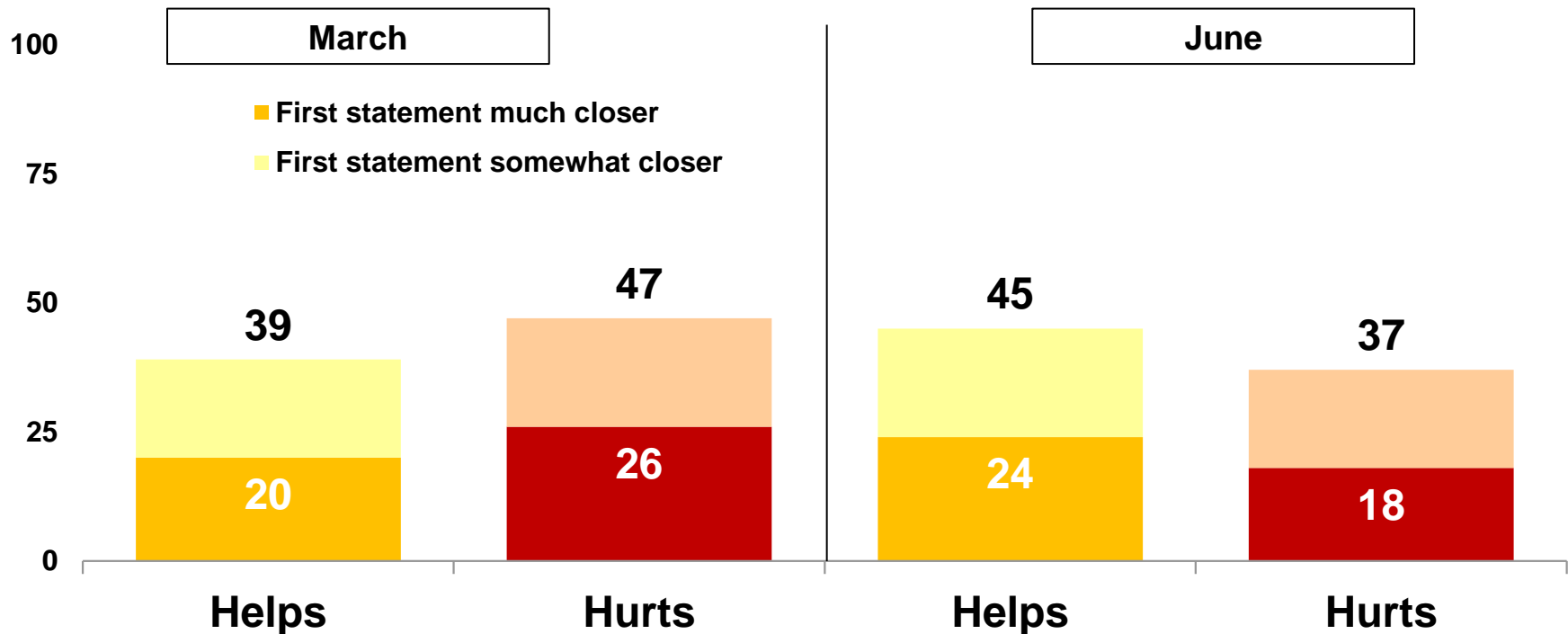
Voters n= 2216, Voted Remain n= 1045, Voted Leave n=1136

14) If anything, the campaign made people more open to free movement

Please indicate whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right.

Free movement of labour in Europe is good and benefits the British economy and British workers.

Free movement of labour in Europe is bad and hurts the British economy and British workers.



March very likely voters n=1017; June voted n=2216;

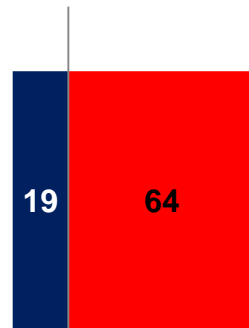
15) Most accept migrants already can stay, new rules should ignore whether potential migrants from EU or not

As you know, Britain voted to Leave the EU. Below are some policies that are being considered now that Britain has voted to Leave. Which do you support and which do you oppose?

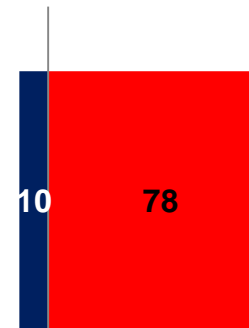
■ Oppose ■ Support

Guarantee that people from the EU who currently live in the UK are allowed to stay.

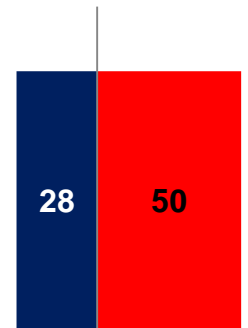
Voters



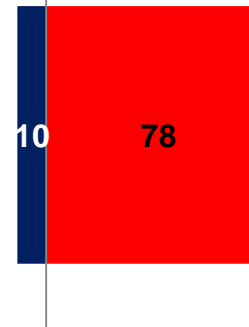
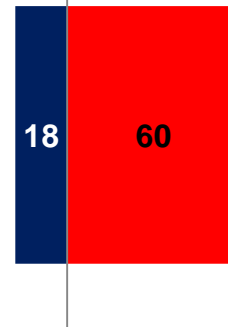
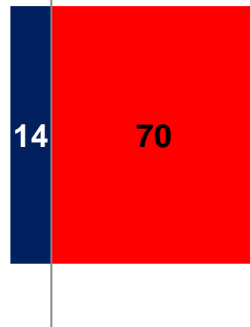
Remain



Leave



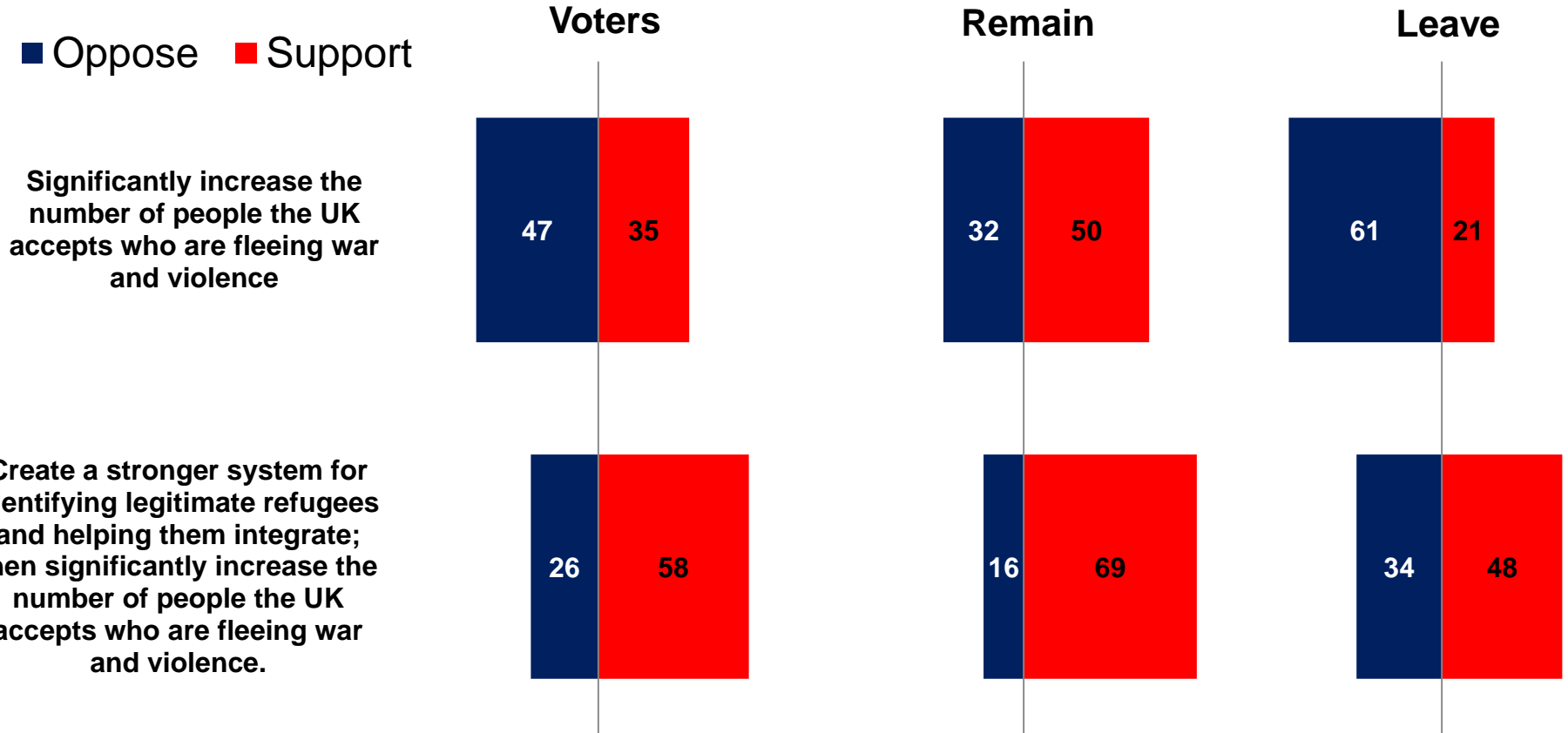
Change the rules for who is allowed to live in the UK, so EU citizens and non-EU citizens have to meet the same criteria.



16) Emphasising 'control' massively increases support for liberal policies

As you know, Britain voted to Leave the EU. Below are some policies that are being considered now that Britain has voted to Leave. Which do you support and which do you oppose?

■ Oppose ■ Support



17) Leave or Remain, workers' rights are sacrosanct

As you know, Britain voted to Leave the EU. Below are some policies that are being considered now that Britain has voted to Leave. Which do you support and which do you oppose?

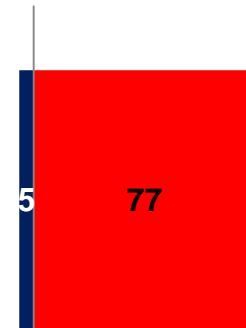
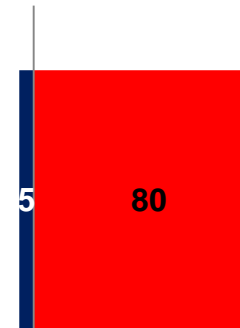
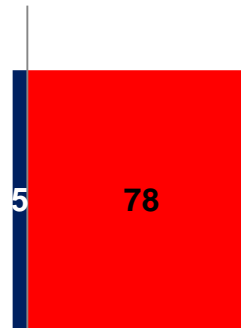
■ Oppose ■ Support

Voters

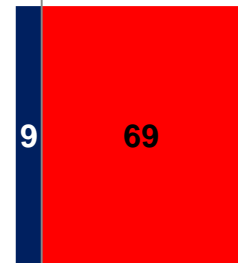
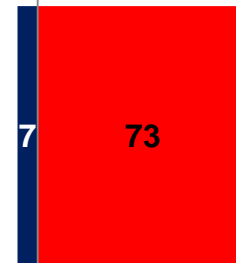
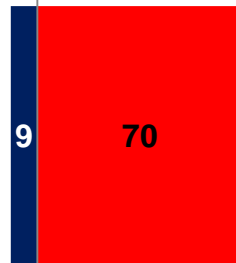
Remain

Leave

Guarantee the right to freedom from discrimination at work will be protected even after we leave the EU.



Guarantee the automatic right to maternity leave will be protected even after we leave the EU



18) Brexit should be handled by cross-party group and experts

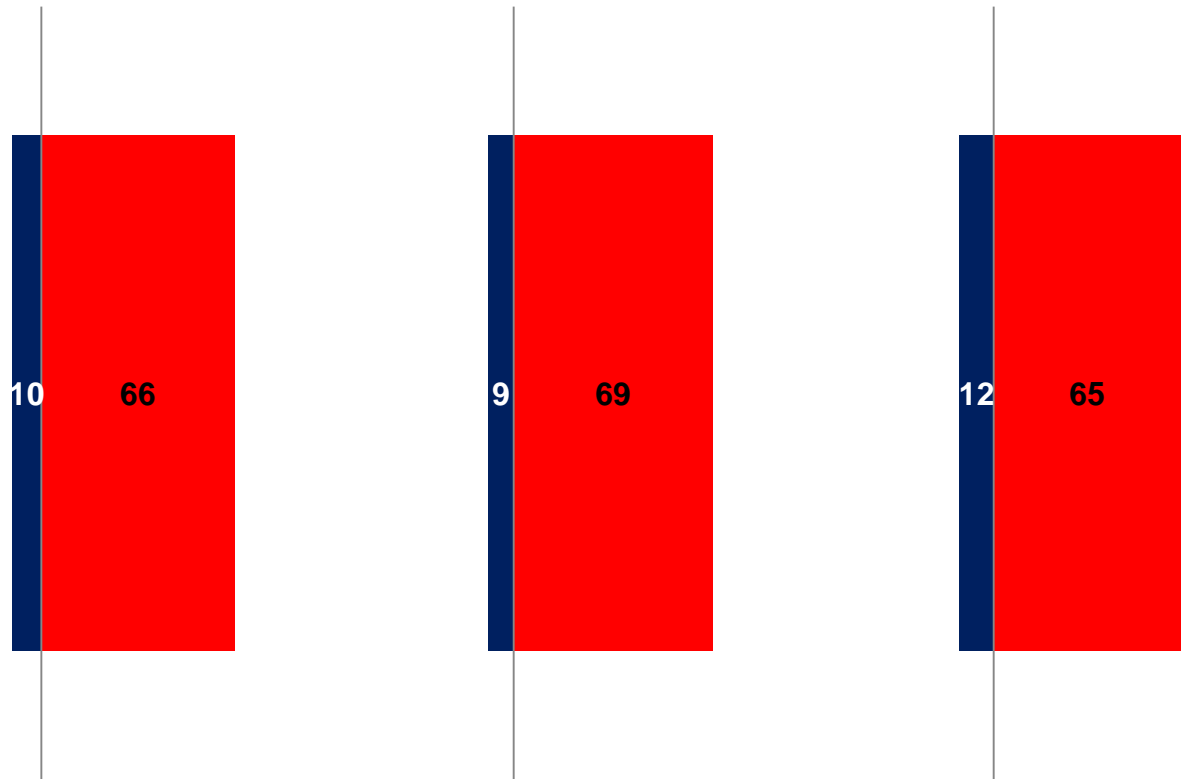
As you know, Britain voted to Leave the EU. Below are some policies that are being considered now that Britain has voted to Leave. Which do you support and which do you oppose?

■ Oppose ■ Support

Voters

Remain

Leave



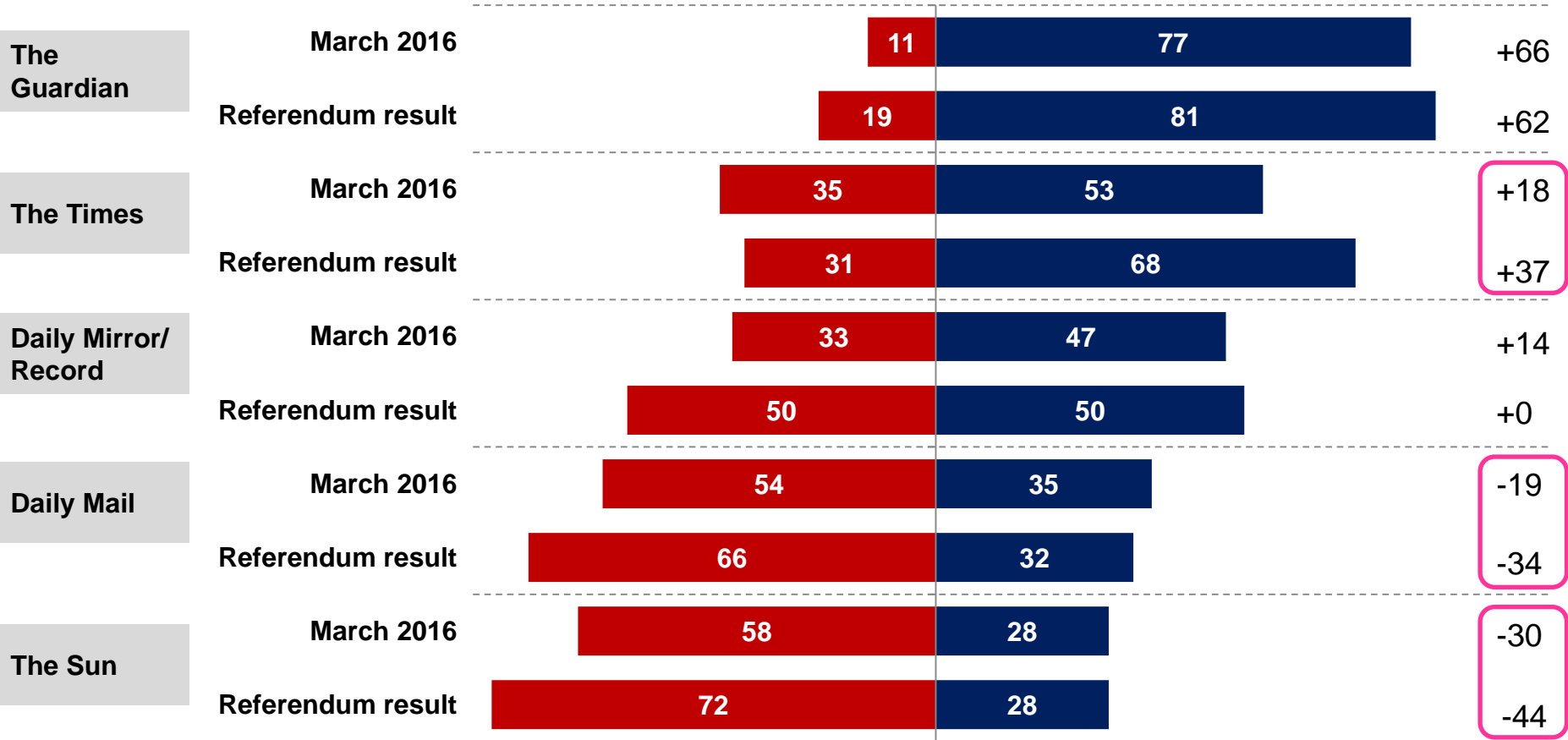
Put a wide group of cross-party MPs, experts, business people, trade unions and others in charge of negotiating the UK's exit from the EU

Media and field campaign

19) The Sun, Mail and Times seem to have moved voters towards editorial line – Unlike Guardian or Mirror

Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?

■ Leave ■ Remain



20) Remain had higher contact rates by region, especially in London

During the campaign, which - if any - of the campaigns...

... delivered leaflets or newspapers to your home?

... did you hear from on Facebook?

... did you hear from face-to-face, for example they knocked on your door or were at a street stall?

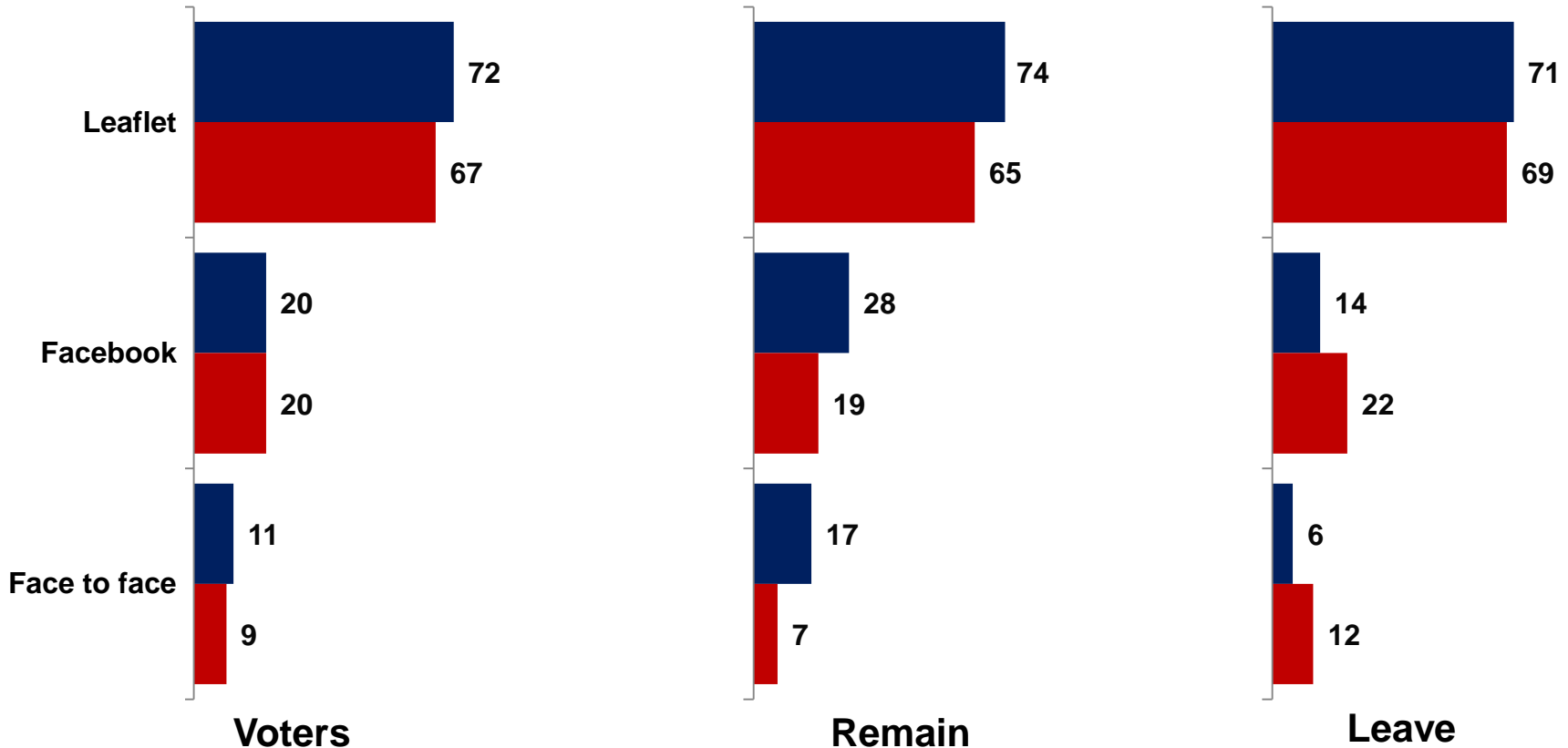


Wales n=136, East of England n=258, Greater London n=359, Scotland n=239, North n=429, Midlands n=445, Yorkshire and Humberside n=234, South East/South West n=617

21) Social media and F2F contact skewed in direction people voted – effective comms or self-selection?

During the campaign, which - if any - of the campaigns...
 ... delivered leaflets or newspapers to your home?
 ... did you hear from on Facebook?
 ... did you hear from face-to-face, for example they knocked on your door or were at a street stall?

■ Remain campaign ■ Leave campaign



Voters n= 2216, Voted Remain n= 1045, Voted Leave n=1136

So what?

So what?

1. Not two tribes – Remain voters want to control immigration, Leave voters not all obsessed by immigration, lots of policy overlap
2. Immigration was key to the vote though. Remain failed because it conceded immigration and sovereignty. Should have attacked Leave's propositions on these issues.
3. Most challenging immigration-related issues are around culture
4. Like Labour in 2015, Remain had more contact in the 'ground game', while losing the newspaper battle. Didn't work out well
5. Broad sense establishment has let people down is a potentially powerful majoritarian motivating force, but only if campaigns respect voters' core values and desire for effective government

The 21 things you need to know to understand why Britain voted Leave

Findings from poll conducted Friday 24th- Mon 27th June

Total national sample: n=2716, weighted by age, gender, class, region, past vote and referendum vote

The poll was supported by the TUC

Contact: jmorris@gqrr.com

@jamesdmorris

