

# Europe on Trial

Public opinion and Britain's relationship with the EU



**Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC**

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# Contents

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<b>Introduction</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Methodology</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Key points</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Britain and the EU: Five schools of thought</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>EU membership: The benefits</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>EU membership: The costs</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Politics, parties and the referendum</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Expert Question Time</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>The experts reflect</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Full poll results</b>	<b>39</b>

# Introduction

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The European Parliament elections are just weeks away. Depending on the result of the next general election, we are perhaps three years from an in-out EU referendum.

Yet despite the politicians' furious debate the subject generates among politicians, huge numbers of people do not know what to think about our relationship with Europe. The research documented here, including a poll of more than 20,000 people, shows Britain is split down the middle. Four in ten want Britain to stay in the EU – the same number as want to leave. One in five say they don't know.

There is no shortage of complaints. Most people think other countries seem to get more out of the Union than we do. Many associate the EU with excessive immigration, unnecessary rules and regulations, and paying for other countries' economic problems. Even pro-Europe voters are exasperated by the waste and inefficiency of Brussels institutions.

People see an upside, too: free trade, unrestricted travel and – at least in theory – better relations between European countries. And with an increasingly uppity Russia on Europe's borders, many feel safer as part of a team.

But on some of the biggest questions people are uncertain. Does being in the EU help trade with countries outside Europe by letting us negotiate as a bloc, or hinder it by stopping us hammering out deals of our own? And if we left, would we be able to do as much trade with Europe as we do now – since the French would still want to sell us their wine and the Germans their BMWs – or would we suffer from being out of the club? Britain is divided on these things, and large numbers do not know what to think. Three in ten can't decide whether being a member gives us more clout when dealing with China and the USA, or less.

My poll found that when it comes to Europe there are five types of people in Britain. A fifth of the country are in the "Committed Hostility" group who see nothing good about Europe and overwhelmingly want to leave – though immigration worries them more. Just over a quarter are "Discontented Sceptics", thinking the costs outweigh the benefits but less certain that we should head for the exit. Another quarter of the population make up the "Relaxed Status Quo", who are happy as things are and hardly give the subject a thought, while the smaller group of "Global Progressives" strongly support the EU and even welcome its influence on Britain. Finally there are the "Disengaged", one in seven of the population who know little and care even less.

In all these groups, many like David Cameron's plan to negotiate better terms for Britain. The trouble is, three quarters of them doubt it will work. Most of the pessimists think other countries will not be prepared to make concessions to Britain however well the PM argues the case. Others question his ability to persuade or think he wants Britain to stay in the EU regardless.

But those who say the whole country is clamouring for a referendum are wrong. Some, certainly, think it is the greatest question of our time. But even among the most hostile voters, only a third put Europe among the most crucial issues facing the country, and only a quarter think it important to them and their families. That is why Cameron's "negotiate and decide" policy will please some voters but won't win the election all by itself.

More to the point, many people say they do not know enough to make such a fundamental choice about Britain's future. Two thirds think what happens in the European Parliament matters to Britain, but three quarters have hardly a clue what goes on there. They do not feel in a position to decide.

Part of the problem is that sceptics think the EU appeals most to a remote and privileged few, while many pro-Europeans think their opponents are narrow-minded and jingoistic. To everyone else, it seems a noisy argument in which facts are hard to come by and most of the participants seem more than a bit bonkers. As one participant in our research told us, “I don't want to be the sort of person who has views about Europe”.

Many are not even sure where the parties stand. Only just over half think most Labour and Liberal Democrat politicians want to stay in the EU, but only four in ten say the same of the Tories – three in ten say they seem to want to leave, while the same number do not know what their position is.

For now, the sceptics are making the running – many said the “anti” voices seemed to dominate the debate. One lesson from this research is that the better-off-outers need to take particular care not to sound too batty. The polling also shows that many people will want to be reassured about our prospects outside the EU before making the leap. Many people saw a parallel with the Scottish independence referendum, usually interpreting both cases as a conflict between the ideal of independence on the one hand and its practical risks on the other. Though by no means conclusive, it was instructive that in our discussion event, many of those who started the day as neutral edged towards the devil they knew and away from the inescapable uncertainty of exit.

The pro side, meanwhile, seem hesitant about their case. Those most in favour of UK membership were frustrated by the apparent absence of positive and confident arguments on their side. Fear of the unknown is the greatest ally of those campaigning for continued British membership, but many voters want to hear more than a defensive message that Britain can't survive alone.

MAA  
March 2014

# Methodology

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## Quantitative

20,058 adults were interviewed online between 7 and 20 January 2014. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Great Britain.

Using discriminant analysis, five segments of opinion towards the European Union were identified within the population:

- Committed Hostility (19% of the population)
- Discontented Sceptics (27%)
- Relaxed Status Quo (26%)
- Global Progressives (12%)
- Disengaged (15%)

These segments are described in detail on page 9.

## Qualitative

A day-long deliberative research event was held in London on 6 March 2014.

80 members of the public took part, recruited to ensure that the Committed Hostility, Discontented Sceptics, Relaxed Status Quo and Global Progressives segments were represented.

The participants took part in moderated round-table discussions with others of the same segment, as well as plenary exercises and an 'Expert Question Time' session.

## Acknowledgments

Charles Grant of the Centre for European Reform, Stephen Booth of Open Europe and Ruth Lea of Global Vision formed the panel of our 'Expert Question Time' session, which was ably chaired by Anne McElvoy, Public Policy Editor of *The Economist*.

Their contributions achieved the aim of introducing new facts and perspectives into the debate and I am grateful to them all for their participation.

Each of the three panellists has written a reflection on the polling and the discussion, which can be found on page 35.

## Key points

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- Voters are precisely divided over whether, all things considered, Britain should remain a member of the EU (41%) or not (41%).
- More people think the costs of EU membership outweigh the benefits (49%) than that the benefits outweigh the costs (31%). One in five (20%) say they don't know.
- A clear majority (62%) think other countries get more out of EU membership than Britain does. Less than a quarter (23%) think Britain gets at least as much out of being a member of the EU as other countries do.
- Only one in five voters is confident that David Cameron will be able to renegotiate a better deal for Britain in the EU. Of those who do not have confidence, half doubt that other member states will be prepared to make concessions however well Cameron argues the case, a quarter doubt Cameron's ability as a negotiator, and a quarter think he wants to stay in the EU regardless.
- Seven out of ten say they would rather live in Britain than in any other country in Europe. One in five UKIP voters would rather live in a European country other than Britain.
- Voters are evenly divided over whether leaving the EU would damage trade between the UK and other EU countries (43%) or whether we could do just as much trade with them as we do now (42%). They are also evenly split over whether EU membership gives Britain more opportunities to trade outside Europe (37%) or fewer (35%).
- People are slightly more likely to think being an EU member means Britain has more influence when dealing with China and the USA (40%) than less influence (31%). Nearly three in ten say they don't know.
- Half of UKIP voters disagree that a vote for UKIP makes it more likely that Ed Miliband will become Prime Minister and makes an EU referendum less likely. Just under a quarter agree but say this will make no difference to how they vote. One in ten of those who say they would vote UKIP tomorrow say the idea of increasing the chance of Miliband becoming PM could make a difference to their decision.
- Fewer than one in five voters (19%) say "defending Britain's interests in Europe" is one of the three most important issues facing the country – including a quarter of Conservative voters and one third of UKIP supporters. 16% say it is one of the most important for themselves and their families.
- People are four times as likely to think most migration into Britain comes from within the EU (49%) as to think it comes from outside (12%) – though most migration does in fact come from non-EU countries.
- Free trade and travel are seen as the biggest advantages of Britain's EU membership. The scale of immigration and the perception that we pay for other countries' economic problems are regarded as the biggest costs.
- Three quarters of people say they know "not very much" or "hardly anything" about what is done in the European Parliament – but two thirds think it has "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of impact on Britain. Only one in ten say they could name an MEP in their area.
- A majority think that most Labour and Lib Dem politicians want Britain to remain a member of the EU. However, only 41% say the same of the Conservatives – three in ten think most Tories want to leave, and another three in ten say they don't know.



# Britain and the EU: Five schools of thought

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## ‘Committed Hostility’

### 19% of the population

This is the oldest segment and is made up of people from lower social grades. They are predominantly white and Christian and more likely than average to be married. Many are owner occupiers.

Immigration is very important issue for this group, with 86% of them naming it in the top three issues facing the country – far higher than even the economy and jobs (54%) in second place. Defending Britain’s interests in Europe is the fourth most important issue with 32% of Committed Hostility naming it in their top three. Importantly, given their concern about immigration, three fifths of the group believe that most of our immigration comes from other European countries. During our deliberative event, this segment described the UK as being “like a three-bedroom house overflowing with people, with an enormous ‘welcome’ mat outside the front door”.

*“The whole point of EU is you’ve got uncontrolled immigration of European people into the country, and we’re a small, little island, and we’re full up.”*

Committed Hostility

Three quarters of them believe that being part of the EU reduces Britain’s influence when dealing with other countries like the USA and China and that leaving the EU would not harm trade with non-EU countries. Moreover, 83% say there are no important benefits of Britain being a member of the European Union. Unsurprisingly then, 95% of them believe that the UK should leave the EU.

*“It would be easier to trade with people like Australia and New Zealand where we had the old Commonwealth ties. They don’t trade much with the EU because of EU regulations so they’ll be much freer to deal directly with us if we leave.”*

Committed Hostility

A majority of this segment believes that most politicians in all the mainstream parties want to remain in the EU. Very few of them have any confidence that David Cameron will be able to negotiate better membership terms for Britain. Almost half think this is because other EU countries will not be prepared to make any concessions, while two-fifths think that Cameron wants to remain in the EU regardless; one fifth doubt his ability as a negotiator.

*“From what I hear a lot of the ordinary population in countries like Germany are very anti the EU themselves. It’s really only the politicians and this huge inflated bureaucracy that really want it and want this power.”*

Committed Hostility

More than half of those intending to vote UKIP at the next general election (56%) fall into the Committed Hostility group. The segment includes two-fifths of the voters who voted for the Conservatives last time but say they would not do so in an election tomorrow. More than half (58%)

of the Committed Hostility group believe that UKIP would do the best job of managing Britain's relationship with the EU.

## 'Discontented Sceptics'

27% of the population

*"I don't think I've ever met anyone who's pro-Europe."*

Discontented Sceptic

This group is demographically very similar to the country as a whole but they are more likely than average to vote Conservative and slightly more likely to vote for UKIP.

Nearly nine out of ten (88%) of them think that the costs to Britain of being a member of the EU outweigh the benefits and 68% of them want to leave the EU. However, they rate "defending Britain's interests in Europe" as only the sixth most important issue facing the country. Top of their list is the economy and jobs, followed by immigration and cutting the deficit.

*"I think the EU has too much control, far too much control."*

Discontented Sceptic

Although two thirds want to leave the EU, only 3% of this group think membership has no important benefits for Britain. Free trade and the freedom to travel and live abroad were seen as the most important advantages. The scale of immigration and loss of national sovereignty were rated as slightly bigger costs than unnecessary rules and regulations and paying for other countries' economic problems.

*"I think a lot of people who would vote to stay in would be people who are maybe working for international companies and benefitting from the EU trade agreements. The impression I get is that the trade benefits people who are working in large corporations but it just wouldn't help smaller businesses."*

Discontented Sceptic

Around half of Discontented Sceptics believe that most politicians from the biggest three parties want to remain in the EU. While they have little confidence in David Cameron's ability to negotiate a better deal for Britain, for most this is because other EU countries will not be prepared to make concessions, rather than any shortcomings on his part.

Conservative Joiners (who did not vote Conservative in 2010 but say they would do so in an election tomorrow) are disproportionately represented in this group, as are UKIP voters who have defected from the Conservatives. Just under two fifths (38%) of Discontented Sceptics believe the Conservative Party would do the best job of managing Britain's relationship with the EU, while 30% name UKIP.

## ‘Relaxed Status Quo’

### 26% of the population

Relaxed Status Quo tend to be younger and from higher social grades. They are disproportionately likely to be graduates.

For them, the most important issues facing Britain today are economic: the economy and jobs, cutting the deficit and reforming welfare. Defending Britain's interests in Europe comes sixth. When we asked about the important issues facing them and their families, Europe came last.

*“It’s not that [Europe]’s not important. I just think that things like getting jobs and the economy going are more personal and pertaining to ourselves.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

Just under two thirds (65%) of this segment say that the benefits to Britain of being a member of the EU outweigh the costs and four fifths think that being part of Europe gives Britain more influence and opportunities to trade. However, half of them say that other countries seem to get more out of being in the EU than Britain does.

According to this segment, the most important benefit of EU membership is free trade, followed by freedom to travel and the promotion of good relations with other member countries. Important disadvantages are the imposition of unnecessary rules, having to pay for other countries’ economic problems and immigration. They are generally positive about international institutions and other countries.

More than four fifths (83%) say that all things considered, the UK should remain a member of the European Union.

*“People that vote to stay in the EU tend to be people that run small businesses. People that run small businesses want that control of being able to export to the EU.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

This group believe most Labour and Lib Dem politicians want to remain in the EU but are more divided about Conservatives. Most of those who are not confident of David Cameron’s ability to negotiate a better deal with Europe cite the reluctance of other EU countries to make concessions.

## ‘Global Progressives’

### 12% of the population

This segment is slightly younger and drawn from higher social grades than average. They are also more likely than average to work in the public sector and almost twice as likely to be Labour voters. For them, the most important issues facing Britain are job creation and improving public services. Defending Britain's interests in Europe comes second from bottom of the table – just above controlling immigration.

Global Progressives see freedom to travel and free trade, as well as promoting good relations between member countries, as the greatest benefits of being part of the EU. Nearly one third (32%) of them say there are no important disadvantages to Britain’s EU membership. The same proportion also agreed that unnecessary rules and regulations was the more important downside but this was the highest recognition of any negative effect. This group are the most positive about the European Union as an entity: in our qualitative work Global Progressives described the EU as reliable, safe and sturdy, compared to a UK that is small, eccentric and arrogant.

*“I’m attracted to the EU more, I’m more liberal. I hear about housing, rent control that you have in Europe, that we previously had here, but we don’t, so now it’s just a property owner’s market. That European model is attractive to me, so I would want to align myself with that personally.”*

Global Progressive

Global Progressives are the only segment among whom a majority believe Britain gets at least as much out of being a member of the EU as other member countries do: 86% of them agree with this statement, compared to 23% of the population as a whole. 98% of them say Britain should remain a member of the EU.

Almost two-thirds of the segment believe that the Labour Party would do the best job when it comes to managing Britain's relationship with the European Union. Global Progressives are the only group within which a majority think most Conservative politicians want to leave the EU, while four-fifths think that Labour politicians want Britain to remain a member. Of those who lack confidence that David Cameron will be able to negotiate better membership terms for Britain, 44% doubt that other countries will be prepared to make concessions and 42% doubt his negotiating ability.

*“I would definitely not go for a party that was saying we're going to come out of the EU.”*

Global Progressive

## **'Disengaged'**

### **15% of the population**

This is the youngest of all the segments and 73% female. They are more likely than average to be in the DE social grade. They are also much more likely than average to have children under the age of 18. If there was a general election tomorrow, 28% of them don't know how they would vote, 18% would not vote and among those who say they would vote, Labour supporters outnumber Conservatives two to one. Nearly two fifths (39%) of them did not vote at the last election.

This group believes that the most important issues facing the country and facing them and their families are getting the economy growing and creating jobs; controlling immigration; and improving the NHS. Defending Britain's interests in Europe comes bottom of their list of priorities for both questions.

More than four fifths (82%) of them say that they do not know whether the costs to Britain of being a member of the EU are greater than the benefits or vice versa. Similar numbers give the same response when asked to say whether Britain gets as much out of the EU as other countries, or whether we benefit through increased influence and trade.

Just over six in ten (61%) of the Disengaged group say they do not know whether the UK should remain a member of the European Union.

## EU membership: The benefits

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In our poll, just under one third (31%) said the benefits to Britain of being a member of the EU were greater than the costs. Half (49%) thought the costs outweighed the benefits and a fifth (20%) said they didn't know.

Younger age groups were more likely to think the benefits outweighed the costs than their elders (43% for 18-24 years olds compared to 26% for those aged 65 or older) and also more than twice as likely to say they didn't know (26% compared to 11%). Higher social grades were also more likely to think that the benefits of membership outweighed the costs: two fifths of ABs thought this, compared to 22% of the DE group. However, a quarter of DEs said they did not know, compared to 15% of ABs. Scots (37%) and Londoners (40%) were more likely than those in other regions to say that the benefits of EU membership outweighed the costs.

When prompted with a list of potential benefits, just over one fifth (22%) said being in the EU brought no important benefits to Britain. This compares to 9% among 18-24 year olds and 14% among ABs. The youngest groups most valued free trade, freedom of movement and being able to live and work in other EU countries. Older respondents valued these benefits but also chose the promotion of good relations between countries in order to reduce the likelihood of conflict.

### Trade

*"So many things have been added and added. I just think we should get on with trading."*

Relaxed Status Quo

There was an even split between those who thought leaving the EU would risk damaging trade between Britain and other EU countries (43%) and those who thought we would be able to do just as much trade with these countries if Britain were outside the EU (42%).

*"We've got free trade with the EU so if we weren't part of that we'd get blocked out. There are huge tariffs on non-EU and I think half our foreign export is with the EU as well."*

Relaxed Status Quo

*"Being part of the larger community gives us wider access to markets."*

Committed Hostility

*"To be able to influence what those trade agreements are, you need to be at the table to cause those agreements, rather than just being on the receiving end of those agreements."*

Discontented Sceptic

Women and men were both evenly split but women were much more likely to say they didn't know (21%, compared to 9% of men). Younger respondents and higher social grades were more likely to think trade could be damaged, as were Labour and Liberal Democrat voters, Scots and Londoners.

People with higher levels of education were more concerned about the loss of trade links than those with lower levels of attainment, and those still in full time education were the most concerned of any demographic group: 70% of students are worried that leaving the EU would damage trade between Britain and other EU countries.

Among the political parties, only one in ten UKIP voters were unconcerned about risks to trade. Among Conservatives, loyalists were more evenly split (39% thought leaving would bring risks to trade while 53% did not) while Conservative joiners were their mirror image (51% concerned, 39% not concerned). The risks to trade from leaving the EU were often mentioned in the qualitative research. Many felt other European countries would take umbrage at Britain leaving the Union and delay or obstruct reasonable trade deals. Members of the Committed Hostility group were less worried by this, sometimes seeing tariffs and regulations as part of life for exporters.

The costs of trading outside the EU were a particular worry to many qualitative participants, most of whom felt it was naïve to expect that other European countries would not be ‘offended’ by Britain leaving the EU, and consequently they would either drag their feet or deliberately obstruct reasonable trade deals. Committed Hostility were less troubled by this prospect, seeing tariffs and regulations as a part of all international trading.

*“Will the EU think, ‘oh well, they’ve left’? Won’t they start snubbing Britain? The mentality will be ‘if they can go it alone, go on then’, and they could close ranks.”*

Global Progressive

*“It’s going to cost us a lot more to trade if we’re out of the club.”*

Global Progressive

*“Wherever you go, whatever country you deal in has got rules. The Chinese have rules, the South Americans have rules, if you’re an exporter you know the rules of every single country.”*

Committed Hostility

Beyond the arguments over tariffs and regulation were concerns about the effect that leaving the EU might have upon large companies with headquarters or operations in the UK. Most participants agreed that EU membership made Britain more appealing for both EU and non-EU companies, offering simplicity for the former and access to European markets for the latter.

*“If America wants to open up a factory they’d rather do it in the EU so you’re available to more countries. If Britain wasn’t part of it no-one would trade with Britain because you’re not getting the benefits of being part of the EU.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

*“If we leave, EU companies will pull out and go to another EU country. There’ll be jobs lost. The City banks will move out.”*

Global Progressive

This topic led to comparisons with the Scottish referendum and recent declarations by large firms that they would withdraw from Scotland in the event of a pro-independence vote. However, some argued that the relative importance of the UK market to Scotland meant this was not a good comparison.

*“The UK’s a big market. Scotland is different: Scotland’s a small insignificant country.”*

Committed Hostility

## Freedom of movement

*“Travelling to the States is a pain. To Russia the visa process is drawn out, whereas travelling to anywhere in Europe is as simple as getting on a bus.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

*“EU travel, that’s obviously a massive benefit.”*

Discontented Sceptic

In the poll, 29% said the opportunity to work in another EU country was one of the most important benefits of being in the European Union. A further 37% said the ability to travel freely was one of the most important advantages, though only 16% said they would rather live in a European country other than Britain.

However, few in the discussion groups thought the current situation would be altered much if Britain left the EU. As the UK is not part of the Schengen agreement, most people seemed to think that process for entry to Europe would remain broadly similar, requiring passports but probably not visas.

*“I don’t expect that [travelling to the EU] would be much different, I very much doubt we’d need visas anywhere in Europe, but we will still need passports, like we do today.”*

Committed Hostility

## Diplomacy

Almost a third of the population (29%) said they did not know whether being part of the EU gave Britain more or less influence when dealing with other countries like China or the USA. Four in ten said it gave us more clout and 31% said it gave us less.

*“China, the size they are, can easily negotiate deals with Africa, which is what they are doing. That would be much harder for us to do, as the UK to negotiate deals with countries in Africa than it would be if we were part of the EU. Or even negotiate deals with Brazil and South America.”*

Relaxed Status Quo



Three in ten said promoting good relations between member countries and reducing the likelihood of conflict was among the most important benefits of EU membership.

*“One of the reasons for the common market originally was to stop wars so I really do believe it’s an important initiative to maintain a peaceful world.”*

Global Progressive

Asked whether Britain needed to choose between a relationship with the EU or USA, more than three quarters (77%) said there was no reason we could not have a close relationship with both.

The qualitative work revealed that even relatively pro-European people did not think the EU was very effective at co-ordinating joint action. Several groups cited Ukraine, Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan as failures by the EU to solve foreign policy dilemmas in a way that satisfied all member states.

*“In theory [we’re supposed to] back each other up and we can unite against specific forms of evil. But only if we can agree on that – and I don’t think the EU really does agree on very much. I think it’s fairly disorganised and it’s not really as diplomatic as it would like to be.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

*“The USA are our biggest allies, not Europe, as far as I’m concerned. So I don’t believe the whole of Europe getting together is going to stop anything. Barack Obama is speaking with Putin now.”*

Discontented Sceptic

## Strength and safety in numbers

The discussion groups showed that for all segments of opinion, Britain’s role in the world had changed – albeit for different reasons according to outlook. For Committed Hostility, Britain’s strength had been compromised by a rampant Europe and it was time for the UK to stand as the world’s sixth largest economy independently. Other groups saw this change differently: the UK was no longer a great power, so being part of something larger gave the country a strength that we could not otherwise project.

*“Britain’s place has changed in the world. It’s no longer a global power.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

*“I think there is an element in the anti-Europe lobby of harking back to the days when we ruled the seas and two thirds of the globe was pink. It’s unrealistic. I don’t think it reflects where we are today with the world’s economies.”*

Discontented Sceptic

*"We are part of a greater whole. I don't think we can be this tiny island punching above its weight. We're not going to have the influence, the control, the power that [Eurosceptics believe] self-determination will allow us to have."*

Global Progressive

On a similar theme, many commented on the safety of being in a big club. This included some quite Eurosceptic participants. Societal and political changes at home, as well as international developments such as the rise of China and an increasingly assertive Russia on the borders of Europe created a feeling of uncertainty or even threat that was touched upon by participants in all groups. The EU, for all its faults, was the devil we knew and being inside the gang felt safer than being outside on our own.

*"I don't know why but I feel safer in than out because I don't really trust what's happened at home. So you're like, well, at least somebody – Big Brother – is looking in."*

Discontented Sceptic

*"I think that's why I'm pro Europe: the western decline. This whole issue with Ukraine is a clear message to the west that the east is no longer going to be bossed around. So it's better that we're together... protected together. I don't know about culturally but financially we're definitely better off; we can't be blown around."*

Relaxed Status Quo

## Values

One of the speakers at the Question Time part of the qualitative event, Charles Grant of the Centre for European Reform, mentioned the importance of the EU as a way of spreading European values. This imperative resonated with all of the segments except Committed Hostility. Global Progressives, in particular, were enthusiastic about the "European project", seeing it as an exercise in promoting equality, fairness and liberal values as much as much as an economic enterprise.

*"Forget about trade and economics for the moment, it's about creating that fairer society."*

Global Progressive

*"There is a moral imperative for Britain to maintain membership of the EU to ensure a leading role in promoting political and economic stability and, more importantly, peace and equality in an ever-growing Europe."*

Global Progressive

But Global Progressives were not the only participants to think that the EU had spread positive values and remained useful in this role.

*"Keep up with the progressive, liberal global community."*

Relaxed Status Quo

*"It's a fact that countries that lived for 50 years under the Soviet Union will have different values from the countries that weren't. So the likes of Poland, Czech and all that, do have different values. So applying European values is a good thing, right? It's like changing or reversing the damage."*

Discontented Sceptic

Nonetheless, doubts were expressed about the wisdom or practicality of imposing a single set of values, especially as EU borders stretch further South and East.

*"One size doesn't fit all."*

Discontented Sceptic

*"But if we're considering letting Turkey enter, it would almost be forcing western values... I think that's a very individual place and to suggest that it should have comply with the same laws as Sweden is very unrealistic."*

Relaxed Status Quo

This, in turn prompted participants to note that they did not themselves feel particularly European. Even the most Europhile groups noted that when they think or speak of "Europeans", they mean continental Europeans. Nor, when away from Europe on holiday or business, would they ever describe themselves as European, rather than British.

*"I don't think most British people think of themselves as European."*

Global Progressive

*"I'm pro staying part of the EU but I don't feel European and actually if you go to mainland Europe we are really different, everything, the culture. Not just food but we are really different. I don't see myself as European."*

Relaxed Status Quo

*"I think of myself as English and all those people on the continent who speak different language – they're Europeans."*

Discontented Sceptic

*"I've got an affinity with Europe but I do find myself saying, oh, the Europeans would say this. So it's interesting to me that I still separate myself a little bit."*

Global Progressive

## EU membership: The costs

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In our poll nearly two thirds (62%) thought that other countries seemed to get more out of being in the EU than Britain. Less than a quarter (23%) thought Britain got at least as much out as other member countries. Even groups that were generally more positive about the EU echoed this: 59% of ABs, 53% of Londoners and 47% of young people thought other countries were getting a better deal but they remain more positive than other groups. Older people (72%), UKIP supporters (90%) and Conservative loyalists (77%) were the most likely to think other countries did better out of the EU than Britain.

Global Progressives were the only group among whom a majority (86%) thought Britain gets as least as much out of being a member as other countries.

When prompted with a list of potential disadvantages, only 8% said there were none – fewer than the 22% who say that there are no important *benefits* of being in the EU. The scale of immigration (48%), paying for other countries' economic problems (46%), unnecessary rules and regulations (45%), and loss of national sovereignty (43%) were seen as the primary disadvantages of being an EU member.

Younger age groups saw paying for the economic problems of others as the biggest disadvantage (56% for 18-24s and 51% for 25-34s). Others were slightly more troubled by the scale of immigration (51% among 35-44s and 50% for 45-54s) and older participants were more likely to cite the imposition of unnecessary rule and loss of sovereignty (55% and 52% respectively for 55-64s, 59% and 59% for those aged 65 or over).

The Midlands (50%) and the North of England (50%) are more troubled by the scale of immigration than other regions, the South East, South West and Eastern regions are more concerned about the rules and regulations and the loss of national sovereignty that are occasioned by EU membership.

### Immigration

In order to measure people's perceptions of the relative scale of immigration into Britain from inside and outside the EU, we asked in the poll whether they thought around a third of migrants came from other EU countries, about half, or about two thirds. People were much more likely to think the majority of migrants came from the EU (49%) than to think the majority came from outside (12%). One fifth said they thought it was about half and half. Conservative (57%) UKIP (59%) voters were more likely than others to think most of Britain's immigration comes from within the EU.

In the qualitative research, immigration was an important issue for all segments of opinion but for different reasons. The most pro-European groups were not troubled by immigration itself but by the commentary that surrounded it. Others were worried by competition in the labour market and pressure on public services.

*"A lot of the debate surrounding Europe seems to be on immigration. I'd like to hear how immigration from Europe really affects Britain because I feel like I've heard a lot of propaganda about immigration being bad."*

Relaxed Status Quo

*"The thing that worries me the most is that people now are starting things like the National Front and racist politics which is disgusting. They're getting seats now because people are in such an uproar about immigration and are getting so far removed from rational thinking that they're actually voting along with out-and-out racists."*

Discontented Sceptic

*"It's propaganda. It's feeding anger. That's what it is."*

Discontented Sceptic

*"I think a lot of what's happening at the moment is straightforward racism. It's disguised as being a political debate, but it's not. It's straightforward racism."*

Global Progressive

Among the more Eurosceptic groups, immigration at its current level is seen as heightening competition for jobs and benefits. However, while Discontented Sceptics tended to believe this could be balanced by regulations that prevent abuse of the benefits system and ensure a living wage for all workers, the Committed Hostility group regarded what they saw as the undesirable effects of immigration as an inevitable consequence of broadening the EU.

*"They're rolling out to all European countries, like Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, and so the difference in economies is huge. The standard of living here is that much better. That's why they want to come here. Some of them want to work, because they're going to do a lot better. Some of them want to claim benefits and scrounge, or steal."*

Committed Hostility

*"How can you compete when the wages have been driven down because there's people who can live eight to a two-bedroom house, which brings down your living costs. It's simple economics. But somebody might have been doing a job, supporting a kid or whatever and now that job, instead of being £20 an hour, is £6, and it's not getting cheaper to live here."*

Discontented Sceptic

*"My view on immigration is that a person should be free to travel to wherever they want to be and then exchange with whoever they want to exchange with. But you have to be, as that individual, able to support yourself and have something to exchange. You couldn't turn up and then expect people to pay for you."*

Discontented Sceptic

## Costs and other countries' economic problems

*"It's unfortunate to be penalised for the mismanagement of other countries and their governments."*

Relaxed Status Quo

Almost half of respondents in our poll (46%) thought that paying for other countries' economic problems was one of the most important disadvantages of membership of the EU. The qualitative work found that many were worried about the cost of bailouts. However, some saw this as a legitimate use of European money, at least compared to the waste and bureaucracy with which they also associated European institutions.

*"There's no point in maintaining our strong economy if everyone else is weak and we can't trade with them."*

Relaxed Status Quo

*"What's happened is that you get countries with poor economies joining. So then they tend to drag the whole thing down and then they need bailing out. We're a strong economy so we wouldn't need bailing out but what about if we were a poor economy? If we joined the EU, we'd expect them to bail us out, wouldn't we?"*

Discontented Sceptic

Even some Discontented Sceptics understood the need for the EU, as a club, to benefit everybody and involve the sharing of resources.

*"It's not what they do for us. It's what we do for everyone. We are part of making these decisions. Some of the decisions that we make that benefit us don't do other people very well. It's supposed to benefit everyone and we don't win on everything."*

Discontented Sceptic

Even the most pro-European participants criticised the efficiency of EU institutions. Even Global Progressives were scathing about the bureaucracy and apparent ineptitude of the Union's machinery, believing this undermined the EU's reputation in Britain.

*"You know the accounts have never been signed off by the auditors for about the last ten years because there's been such gross fraud and corruption the auditors just refuse to sign the accounts. A normal company would have been struck off but the EU carries on."*

Committed Hostility

*"What is visible now is this huge incredibly dysfunctional expensive bureaucracy at the centre of Europe... they just seem to be have a huge amount of money on their expense accounts and having a great time, and endless tiny bureaucratic laws popping out every now and then which everyone's making a fuss of."*

Global Progressive

## Trade

Our poll found a great deal of uncertainty about the effects being in the European Union has upon British trade with countries outside the EU. People were evenly divided between thinking EU membership gives us more opportunities to trade further afield (37%) and thinking membership restricts our ability to do so (35%). 28% said they did not know.

These views vary between groups: younger people, higher social grades, more educated groups and those in full time employment are more positive about the opportunities for trade that EU membership confers.

The discussion groups revealed that even some generally pro-European participants felt EU membership might be preventing the UK from doing more trade with countries outside the Union.

*“The EU restricts trade with non-EU countries that the UK has a special relationship with.”*

Global Progressive

*“Our involvement with the EU restricts our relationships with newly developed countries like Singapore and Brazil.”*

Discontented Sceptic

*“We had lots of trade relationships with all these little countries who probably need it a bit more than France and Germany. Yet we were told, oh, no, you can’t buy your bananas or coffee from there, you have to buy them from these EU-approved partners.”*

Discontented Sceptic

Some felt that recent food price rises might be linked to a combination of EU protectionism and the inefficiency of European (especially French) farmers.

*“Food has never been so expensive really. Our food shopping has gone through the roof. It’s not the most efficient way of us eating if we’re buying everything in from the places where we’re allowed to buy it but it’s costing us more. It’s not really logical to be trading this way.”*

Discontented Sceptic

These kinds of anecdotes, and the conviction that the EU is not doing enough to forge links with the BRICs and other up-and-coming economic powers, lead even some members of the Relaxed Status Quo group to question the idea that leaving the EU would necessarily be disastrous for the UK. The more sceptical segments wondered whether leaving the EU might, in fact, prove more positive for our balance of payments.

*“I think there is a bit of scaremongering amongst politicians that want to scare us off by saying, ‘you have to be allied to other people, or else we won’t have such great trade with other countries’, and I actually don’t necessarily believe that.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

## Rules and regulations

*“They pass stupid laws that affect us, and interfere.”*

Committed Hostility

In our poll nearly half (45%) named the imposition of unnecessary rules and regulations as an important disadvantage of EU membership. Many of our deliberative event participants were quick to argue that this was partly our own fault for following those rules “more than the French do”, and some wondered how many of the examples often cited were in fact myths. Nonetheless, the idea that Europe routinely “interferes” without necessarily understanding or caring about the effect it will have upon British business was endemic within the more Eurosceptic groups and had some traction within Relaxed Status Quo.

Despite this, participants from across the spectrum did appreciate that as members of a club we should be bound by its rules. At the more pro-Europe end of the spectrum, this was framed by a discussion of the more positive aims of Europe in creating regulation – particularly protection of workers’ rights – while more sceptical groups noted pragmatically that there are always going to be some rules that grated.

*“A lot of the regulations a lot of anti-EU people are critical of, they’re actually there to improve the quality of life for normal, ordinary working people.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

*“When you’re part of a club you’ve got to abide by the rules. Some of them you’re going to like. Some of them you’re not going to like and if you want to stay as part of that club you have to accept that.”*

Committed Hostility

Some of our participants believed that since such rules would continue to be made, and would continue to apply to the UK as part of a single market even if we left the Union, it was important to be present when the rules were made.

*“We have to stay in order to be able to influence policy on regulation.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

*“We will have to follow EU rules and policies in many areas anyway so we may as well have a voice.”*

Committed Hostility

However, many of the less EU-friendly participants were extremely doubtful that Britain really had very much influence over the creation of EU regulation. They noted the far larger group of countries now sitting around the EU table and wondered whether this had diluted British influence to the point where we were unable to prevent new laws that were not in Britain’s interest.



*“We’ve got very small influence in the EU in reality now because we’re one country out of how many, 27, 28... And as more countries come into the EU, in reality if we’re in the EU the idea that we’re actually going to be hoping to write the laws is going to become more and more insignificant.”*

Committed Hostility

*“Being at the same table does not mean to say that you have any influence. You can be shouted down by the bigger economies. Angela Merkel can shout you down and you’re back to square one.”*

Discontented Sceptic

Some thought other EU members might be deliberately obstructive to Britain’s interests, either because the British took a different political and economic approach, or even because they envied the pre-eminence of the City of London.

*“You do get the impression that there’s an element of spite that London is the leading financial capital of the world. When there’s a conflict of interest that Frankfurt is a rival, Paris is a rival, they’re going to say ‘we’ll nail them with regulations to bring them down a peg’. You just wonder whether there’s a bit of a gang thing going on.”*

Discontented Sceptic

## Loss of national sovereignty

For most segments of opinion, the idea that the EU made laws that affected Britain was troubling, and there was a widespread view that the Union in its present form was not what we had signed up for. However, some left-leaning Global Progressives were not concerned about any loss of national sovereignty – indeed if it meant more socialistic laws were taking effect in the UK, this was a good thing.

*“Whatever we try and do here, we still have to run it past Brussels.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

*“I think the EU has too much control, far too much control.”*

Discontented Sceptic

*“As a country we never agreed to be part of anything other than the common, single market, but we somehow got dragged into being ruled by the laws of the EU, which we never, as a country, signed up to.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

In our poll, out of a range of institutions the European Parliament was rated second after the Parliament in Westminster for impact upon the country. Considering the relatively high impact

people felt the European Parliament had upon Britain, the public felt they knew very little about what is actually going on in the institution.

<i>Impact: % "a great deal" + "quite a lot"</i>	<b>Impact on life in Britain</b>	<b>Impact on you and your family</b>
<b>Parliament in Westminster</b>	80	75
<b>European Union</b>	67	53

<i>How much do you know: % "a great deal" + "quite a lot"</i>	<b>ALL</b>	<b>Con GE voters</b>	<b>Labour GE voters</b>	<b>Lib Dem GE voters</b>	<b>UKIP GE voters</b>
<b>Parliament in Westminster</b>	53	66	55	60	55
<b>Welsh Assembly</b>	46	44	48	38	43
<b>Scottish Parliament</b>	59	64	57	56	49
<b>Your Council</b>	50	56	53	56	52
<b>European Parliament</b>	23	23	27	27	26

Poll respondents were also less likely to say that we can name an MEP than any other representative: 60% said they could name an MP in their area, 46% a councillor, and 10% an MEP.

The qualitative research highlighted the different appeal of rational and emotional arguments, especially about the notion of “independence”. The Committed Hostility group were the most enthusiastic about the idea of an independent Britain free from the shackles of Europe, able to determine its own way in the world, while other segments were more interested in the consequences for the economy and trade prospects.

Participants often raised parallels between this debate and the campaign for Scottish independence. Discontented Sceptics, in particular, seemed slightly worried that by not wanting to leave the EU, they might be framed as unpatriotic or that voting to stay in implied they thought Britain could not survive alone.

## Not feeling part of the club

*“Does the rest of Europe want us?”*

Global Progressive

As well as feeling different from other Europeans, many participants in our discussions questioned whether other EU countries were keen for Britain to remain members. Discontented Sceptics, in particular, thought other member states underestimated Britain’s importance and economic strength.

*“The other major partners have never treated Britain as a proper member.”*

Discontented Sceptic

*"I find it embarrassing. I have a lot of friends in Europe and I travel back and forth to Europe all the time and it is embarrassing because we are not appreciated at all for anything."*

Global Progressive

Some participants felt that this may, in part, be due to Britain giving the impression that it considers itself superior to other EU nations.

*"We are not in the Eurozone so I always feel that we are somewhat excluded, sometimes isolated in Europe and those meetings in Brussels, you often see David Cameron sitting by himself, no one wants to talk to him. And that's the price we pay."*

Relaxed Status Quo

Nonetheless, respondents across all segments said that one of the more powerful arguments they could hear to persuade them to vote to remain in the EU would be voices from across the EU saying that they would like us to stay.

*"I'd want to hear about maybe some people from the other parts of Europe and see what their views are."*

Committed Hostility

*"Merkel said last week: 'we're not going to break our backs to keep Britain in the EU, we'd love you to stay'. That's like saying to Britain, if you've got any problems you can bugger off. That's what annoys people, I think. Hold on a minute, are we not a senior partner?"*

Discontented Sceptic

# Politics, parties and the referendum

*“Do we trust our politicians; the people that are saying that they’re going to represent us do we trust them to represent us? I don’t know. I think that’s probably one of the issues.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

## Parties

In our poll, just over one third (34%) thought Labour would do the best job of managing Britain’s relationship with the European Union. 30% chose the Conservatives, 24% UKIP and 11% the Liberal Democrats. These choices are closely associated with current general election voting intention: 84% of Labour voters thought their own party would do the best job, 85% of Conservative voters, 87% of UKIP voters and 71% of Liberal Democrats.

## Politicians

<i>Do most politicians want to...</i>	<b>Conservative politicians</b>	<b>Labour politicians</b>	<b>Liberal Democrat politicians</b>	<b>UKIP politicians</b>
<b>Stay in</b>	41%	57%	53%	4%
<b>Leave</b>	30%	13%	10%	77%
<b>Don’t know</b>	30%	30%	38%	19%

There is considerable uncertainty as to where politicians of different parties stand on Britain’s EU membership. Three in ten said they did not know whether most Conservative and Labour politicians wanted to stay or leave, 38% did not know about the Lib Dems, and nearly one fifth (19%) said the same about UKIP. Conservative voters were more likely than average to think most Conservative politicians want to stay in the EU.

*“Tory backbenchers want to be out of Europe. They want to hold a referendum. And then you’ve got the Liberal Democrats who are pro Europe and then you’ve UKIP.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

*“I definitely wouldn’t vote Liberal Democrats, who do want a lot of those ties with Europe. I think Labour are swaying the same way as well. The Conservatives are the first mainstream party to promise a referendum on the EU, I think that is a big step, and I think it should happen. It just surprises me that the other two haven’t fallen into line.”*

Discontented Sceptic

## Renegotiating

We asked the British public how much confidence they have that David Cameron will be able to negotiate a better deal for Britain within the EU. One fifth said they had a great deal or quite a lot of

confidence, while 72% said they did not have a great deal of confidence, or that they had very little or none. Conservative voters were the most likely to think Cameron would achieve his aim (51%).

In the discussion groups, participants often welcomed the idea of trying to renegotiate terms but were not optimistic about the EU's willingness to change. Some also worried about the impression Britain was conveying by seeming so doubtful about our membership. They felt our position must make us look weak and fickle in the eyes of other European countries.

However, they were not optimistic about the ability of the EU to change, nor about the image Britain conveyed while it was openly wracked with doubt about its position within Europe. Many agreed that our wavering made us look weak and fickle in the eyes of our European allies.

*"It feels like this massive oil tanker you can never turn anyway."*

Discontented Sceptic

*"We should do more bargaining and we'll get a better deal so that we can remain in the EU."*

Relaxed Status Quo

*"I think leaving completely and renegotiating are two different things. Isn't that what the democracy is all about, being able to renegotiate. So if we go with the fact that they are very decent people and they sit round a table and do it in the best possible taste, then renegotiation doesn't necessarily lead to disaster. Everything can be renegotiated. I think leaving completely makes me feel like it could be a disaster."*

Relaxed Status Quo

Of those who lacked confidence that Cameron would succeed in negotiating a better deal, just over half (51%) doubted that other EU countries would be prepared to make any concessions to Britain however well the PM argued the case. The remainder either doubted his ability as a negotiator (26%) or thought he wanted to remain in the EU regardless (23%).

Discontented Sceptics (58%) and Relaxed Status Quo (59%) were the most likely to doubt that other EU countries would be prepared to make concessions; Committed Hostility were more likely than other segments to think that David Cameron wants to remain in the EU regardless and Global Progressives were the most likely to doubt David Cameron's ability as a negotiator (42%).

*"To fix problems you need allies. From watching the news, I know that's one of the things that David Cameron struggles with, building a coalition and all that."*

Relaxed Status Quo

*"The rest of Europe are going to say, 'no, you're not. This is it. You signed up to it, and you're not going to change any terms'."*

Discontented Sceptic

*"If Britain left the EU, that's quite damning for the EU. So they're hardly going to say 'okay fine, that's fine.' They'll be gutted."*

Discontented Sceptic

*"I think we need a referendum first and then based on that if we vote to come out it gives us a position of power to negotiate with the EU. If they want us to stay in they will agree some relaxed terms otherwise they know we're going to leave, whereas now they'll just play hardball. They won't give us anything we want that means anything and then it puts it onto our politicians to have the backbone to live up to it and pull us out or not, and I have a few doubts that they will."*

Committed Hostility

UKIP loyalists (47%) and joiners (41%) were more likely than average to think Cameron wants to stay in the EU regardless. Conservative voters were the most likely to cite resistance from other countries (82%).

## The referendum

*"Just the fact that we're even considering, is a bit of two fingers up to everyone else, isn't it?"*

Global Progressive

In the discussions we found Eurosceptics doubtful that a referendum would be held even if the Conservatives won the election, while Global Progressives hoped it would not be. Committed Hostility and Discontented Hostility felt they had been denied a referendum thus far and that it was high time that the other parties also agreed to hold one.

*"At the last election [David Cameron] said we'd have a referendum and we never did."*

Committed Hostility

*"It'll never happen."*

Discontented Sceptic

In contrast, the Global Progressives saw the referendum promise as a sign of weakness on David Cameron's part, since he had "given in to the Tory Right".

*"I think David Cameron doesn't really want to have a referendum... He's been forced into a corner because the Government isn't strong enough, doesn't have the numbers to say to the Eurosceptics, 'stuff it, we don't care if you don't want to be in Europe'."*

Global Progressive

Strikingly, though, all segments of opinion were united in a distrust of other voters to make the right choice if they are offered a referendum. Some were not even comfortable making a decision themselves.

*"I don't trust the British public."*

Discontented Sceptic

*"Somebody could spend hours giving me a list of facts of economic reasons to go into Europe and against and I probably wouldn't understand an amount of it and would come out even more confused. So whilst there's a desire to fully understand everything it's never possible. And for me to then go and vote about it... it's not comfortable."*

Relaxed Status Quo

*"Some people aren't informed, you know.... Some people don't care. They're too involved in their own lives that it's not on their radar. It's not on their agenda."*

Committed Hostility

*"People are going to be voting from a position of being misinformed, voting from a gut level on passion. I don't think that's a great idea, do you?"*

Global Progressive

According to our poll, public opinion is remarkably finely balanced on this issue. When asked 'All things considered do you think that the United Kingdom should remain a member of the European Union?' 41% said yes, 41% said no and 18% say that they didn't know.

Liberal Democrats and students were the most likely to say yes (62%), and UKIP voters the most likely to say no (89%), followed by Conservative defectors (69%) and retired people (52%). Women were nearly twice as likely to say they didn't know (23%) as men (12%). Women's preferences also varied dramatically with age: 57% of the youngest women would stay in the EU compared with 29% of the oldest. Men were slightly less variable: 57% of 18-24 males would stay, as would 41% of men aged 65 or older.

People in London and Scotland were slightly more likely than average to say they would rather stay (51%).

## ‘Expert Question Time’

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As part of our qualitative research we convened a “Question Time” panel to which participants could put their questions about Britain’s membership of the EU. The participants were as follows:

**Charles Grant, Director of the Centre for European Reform** – a think tank devoted to making the European Union work better and strengthening its role in the world. The organisation describes itself as “pro-European but not uncritical” of the EU.

**Stephen Booth, Research Director of Open Europe** – a think tank that argues for a “slimmed down” EU and rejects the idea of “ever closer union” between European countries.

**Ruth Lea, founder of Global Vision** – a campaign group that believes Britain should negotiate a looser relationship with the EU based on trade, while opting out of political and economic union.

The panel was chaired by Anne McElvoy, the Public Policy Editor of The Economist.

During their previous discussions participants had listed the questions to which they wanted to know the answers. These included:

*How big will the EU become? Is the UK’s membership of the EU the equivalent of Scotland’s membership of the UK? Why do we only hear the “anti” side of the argument? Why do European laws trump our laws? Why do we always “gold plate” European regulations? What are our financial contributions to the EU compared to what we get back? What do the Europeans think about us? Do we benefit from EU migration? Could we trade freely with Europe if we were outside the EU? How do we sort the facts from the rhetoric?*

The reflections of our panel upon the event are included here and many of the participants’ responses are included in the analysis above. However, there were two topics of discussion that sprang directly from the Question Time itself: a lack of objective facts and facts they could relate to their everyday lives, and a lack of “sane” voices on the topic of Europe.

### Lack of objective and relatable ‘facts’

Respondents reiterated again and again their frustration at a lack of concrete, objective “facts” about the EU and the potential results of British actions, whether renegotiation, exit or sticking to the status quo. Many noted that the panel had in fact offered a refreshing change from the views they were used to hearing, giving useful information and measured opinions – some participants said they wished politicians would speak as straightforwardly as that.

*“Exactly how much do we put in and what do we get out? Because I’m sure if you ask different people they’d tell you to look at different statistics.”*

Relaxed Status Quo

*“There’s never anything defined as to what Europe is, what our agreements are, what our political agreements are, what our economic agreements are. There are no actual details whatsoever.”*

Discontented Sceptic



In the Europe debate generally, it was not only a preponderance of rhetorical and idealistic arguments that infuriated them but the sense that nobody's figures could be trusted, that everybody had an agenda and a bias. However, respondents also accepted that they were always going to be more likely to trust sources that concurred with their personal prejudices.

This was particularly the case for those who tended to support Britain leaving the EU, but wanted some authoritative-sounding reassurance that the country would prosper outside the Union.

The discussion had echoes of earlier research on immigration, when many people demanded objective facts but readily admitted that they would probably not believe them if they were presented.

*"[Charles Grant's] argument was, actually, quite persuasive and it made sense. I'm not saying the others didn't, but because I initially thought that we should remain in the EU anyway, his arguments gave me more of a reason to accept that."*

Relaxed Status Quo

*"I have my views, and I don't think any specific, odd information, which could usually be whenever you ask any so-called experts in they'll easily factor in some statistics to back up their argument in which way they feel, so I don't really feel that anybody telling me anything is going to change much about how I feel."*

Committed Hostility

*"Even if there was a direct line of communication from the government and they published something that was emailed to everyone in the country, would I believe those statistics? No, they're going to be just as biased as the media."*

Global Progressive

A further grievance was the lack of information which meant much in the daily experience of British people. Though Global Progressives considered the idealistic and values-driven nature of the EU project important, and little would sway Committed Hostility from their anti-EU stance, the middle segments were anxious to understand how the macro-economic arguments usually fielded on either side of the debate related to their own lives. Would leaving the EU increase food or fuel prices or decrease them? How would it affect tax rates?

*"The best way for me would be if my lawyer says look if we join the EU you're going to be taxed at 60% not 40, or 20 rather than 40. Next time you want to go to Greece for a holiday it's going to be a real problem getting currency. The basic things that directly influence my life so the people who employ me they would certainly be people I would look to get understanding from."*

Relaxed Status Quo

*"It was an awful lot of stuff about Land Rovers in China and not an awful lot of stuff about the kind of things that I'm personally interested in."*

Relaxed Status Quo

And, as Scottish voters have complained, the potential outcomes of leaving are all too unclear for most voters. They know what it is like inside the EU – for good or ill – but there are few assurances about what the UK would look like outside of the EU.

*“We’ve been in it for years now, that’s what we know. If we come out of it what’s going to happen? No one’s told us that.”*

Global Progressive

## Lack of ‘sane’ voices

Participants (except the Committed Hostility segment) were also troubled by a lack of “sane” voices on the Eurosceptic side of the argument and a lack of any voices at all on the Europhile side. Charles Grant spoke about a reluctance on behalf of Labour politicians to make positive arguments about the EU. This both resonated with and angered our groups, who felt they were being denied access to one side of an important debate – and one on which they were potentially going to have to vote.

*“It doesn’t help that the only person you ever seem to see on the news and in the media in relation to the European parliament is Nigel Farage.”*

Global Progressive

For the groups other than the Global Progressives, there was also concern that the sceptical views they heard often sounded extreme. This tended to put them off identifying with the sceptical camp, and often meant they disengaged from the debate altogether. In particular there seemed to be no reasonable voices on the moderately sceptical side. Participants felt the polarisation of the debate was both a cause and a consequence of the lack of reasonable argument and information on which they would rely to make a decision.

*“The only people who talk about it are nutters, which means I don’t want to talk about it”.*

Discontented Sceptic

*“We all stay in the European Union, we slim it down and make it fit, make it fit us, who’s is going to represent that for us?”*

Relaxed Status Quo

*“You associate anti-European arguments with the UKIP. I don’t want to be part of that – even though it might bring up a point that relates very much to you – because of who’s saying it...”*

Relaxed Status Quo

*“I don’t want to have an opinion on it. I don’t want to be like Kilroy or Farage.”*

Discontented Sceptic

## Our experts reflect

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We asked the three experts who took part in our Question Time panel for their reflections on the research, and what they thought the findings said about the state of the European debate in Britain. Their responses are below.

### **Charles Grant**

#### **Director, Centre for European Reform**

*As someone who is in favour of Britain remaining in the EU, I have long had some doubts about my side's ability to win a referendum on that question. However, having read the latest polling from Lord Ashcroft, and participated in a Question Time-style session with his sample of British voters, I have become somewhat more optimistic, for three reasons.*

*First, as the audience made clear during the Question Time panel, a lot of people want to learn more about the EU. They know that some of the media cannot be relied upon to give straight facts, that the issues concerning membership are complicated, and that they would like to be better informed. If and when a British referendum comes, I would imagine that there would be some support for emulating what the Irish did during their referendum on the Lisbon treaty, in 2009. Ireland's independent Referendum Commission, which took responsibility for providing both sides of the argument, and the key facts about the Lisbon treaty, won the respect of both sides of the campaign.*

*Second, several of the audience made the point that very few people in the UK are making the case for the EU. Though the British people are in some respects Eurosceptic, they have noticed that the country's European debate has been rather one-sided. On the anti-EU side there are a lot of outspoken politicians in UKIP and the Conservative Party, many tabloid newspapers and some well-funded lobbies. On the other side are a small number of newspapers, the Liberal Democrat Party, a few ageing Conservatives and some business lobbies.*

*I recall Labour ministers telling me during the years that they were in power (1997-2010) that they were pro-EU but had been advised not to make the case for Europe because so many voters were either hostile or indifferent. I believe that more senior Conservatives than one would imagine are sympathetic to the EU, but – for the sake of their careers – keep quiet about their heretical beliefs. To some extent, pro-Europeans have lost the argument by default. In a referendum campaign, hopefully, politicians of all persuasions would have to come clean about what they really thought.*

*My third reason for optimism is that Lord Ashcroft's polling reveals that a key group of voters in the referendum campaign will be so-called 'discontented sceptics', about a quarter of the electorate. Most of them want to leave the EU but their priority is jobs and the state of the economy. And they see that the EU does bring some benefits. They don't like the EU because of the migration that stems from membership, the loss of sovereignty, the regulations and the cost. They also think that other EU members gang up on the British. But if significant numbers of this group can be persuaded that the EU is good for jobs, and that the problems may be less acute than they had imagined – a task that should not be insurmountable – the referendum is winnable.*

*I would advise those campaigning to keep Britain in the EU to make five points. The first three, and the most important points, are economic. First, if Britain leaves the EU it will lose foreign direct investment. In recent months companies such as Nissan, Siemens, Hitachi and Goldman Sachs have all said they were keen for the country to stay in the EU and that they would review their investments in Britain if it were to leave.*

*Second, membership of the EU provides access to world's biggest single market, in terms of value. Quitters have yet to explain a viable alternative for the British economy. Norway and Switzerland have access to parts of the market but have to accept the EU's rules for the market, without having a vote on those rules.*

*Third, the EU is forging trade-liberalising deals with many other parts of the world. For example, since the EU-South Korean free trade agreement went into force in 2011, British exports to South Korea have roughly doubled. Deals are in the pipeline with Canada, India, Japan, Thailand and – thanks to the UK and Germany pushing to get talks started – the United States. Of course small countries that are on their own can also negotiate trade deals, but only a big trading bloc like the EU has the leverage to extract major concessions from trading giants like the US or China. For example, the Scottish whisky industry knows very well that it needs the EU to open up protected markets.*

*The final two points are more political, and flow from the argument about trade. The West no longer dominates the world. China, Russia, India, Brazil and many other powers have increasing amounts of influence, which is natural as their economies become larger. The US, these emerging powers and the EU are the key players in shaping global rules, on trade, financial regulation, climate change and security. If a middle-sized European country like Britain wants to have a say on the emerging global order, it needs to be a leading member of the EU. On its own it does not have great deal of clout.*

*It makes sense for the British to work with the other European countries because, despite our differences, we share not only many interests but also – and this is the fifth point – values. Just about everybody in the EU is committed to democracy, the rule of law and a free press. So when Russia threatens other European countries, as it has done recently, we instinctively draw together to stand up for what we believe in. A country like Russia is more likely to take account of what the whole EU says than just one of its members. The bottom line is that we are stronger when working with our partners.*

## **Stephen Booth** **Research Director, Open Europe**

*The first question that was raised in the interactive session was whether the In/Out EU debate had any parallels with the arguments made by either side in the Scottish Independence referendum campaign. The fact that the level of economic integration between Scotland and the rest of the UK is far higher than that of the UK with the EU and that Alex Salmond has said he wants to keep Sterling means there are clear differences, but I expect there will still be similar arguments deployed in any In/Out EU referendum campaign, particularly by the In side.*

*The group also asked how they should weigh the various economic statistics thrown around in the debate. The majority of people will probably pay less attention to whether leaving or staying in would add to or reduce GDP by a few percentage points and largely take their cue from business leaders' interventions on whether leaving will potentially affect their jobs. I suspect they will also be led by their gut feelings about the political figureheads for both the In and Out campaigns – a huge unknown that could be determined by the result of the next General Election if the Conservatives are consigned to Opposition and opt for a firmly Outist leader.*

*While the public is currently split right down the middle on whether the UK should remain a member of the EU, apart from the committed Outers, all of those polled, whether they are 'discontented sceptics' or 'global progressives', recognise that there are important benefits as well as drawbacks to EU membership. Only 3% of the 'discontented sceptics' think there are no important benefits to British membership. This suggests that in a referendum campaign many people will be weighing the arguments for and against EU membership and be open to persuasion.*

*The polling reveals that the people think that the most important disadvantages to EU membership are the lack of national control over immigration, the EU setting unnecessary rules and regulations, having to pay for other countries' economic problems and the loss of national sovereignty. While the Out camp will no doubt argue that Brexit would free Britain from these disadvantages, given the tendency for swing voters to opt for the status quo in referendums, there will also need to be a clear blueprint for what post-withdrawal Britain might look like. This is the challenge Alex Salmond is currently facing in Scotland.*

*In contrast, it is likely that the In camp will play on fears that important advantages of EU membership, such as access to EU markets and the ability to live and work in other European countries, could be at risk.*

*It is interesting that the polling found that even among the 'discontented sceptics', the ability to travel freely and live and work anywhere in the EU were cited as the first and third most important advantages of EU membership. This suggests that the 'EU immigration' issue could actually cut both ways in a campaign, particularly since most people instinctively overestimate the level of EU immigration as a share of overall immigration to the UK.*

*The broad concern about EU immigration and the imposition of unnecessary rules and regulations suggests that David Cameron's EU reform agenda's emphasis on tightening rules on EU migrants' access to state welfare, making the EU more competitive and strengthening national parliaments' powers to block EU laws all chime with the public's concerns about Europe. However, the scepticism across the board as to whether Cameron will be able to negotiate better terms of membership for Britain should worry him, since if there is a referendum in 2017 under his leadership, the public's trust in his pitch to remain in the EU is likely to be hugely important.*

## **Ruth Lea**

### **Founder, Global Vision and Economic Adviser, Arbuthnot Banking Group**

*The poll results provided some fascinating information on people's attitudes to the EU. The main messages for me were:*

- *The EU as a stand-alone issue tends to figure down the list of people's main concerns, which is sometimes interpreted as the "EU doesn't really matter". But issues significantly higher up the "concern scale", not least of all controlling immigration, are inextricably connected with EU membership. The EU and issues connected with the EU, therefore, matter a great deal.*
- *Many of the poll findings indicated a fairly strong Eurosceptic bias. There was a widespread scepticism about the net benefits of EU membership with a sizeable balance believing the costs outweighed the benefits (49% to 31% believing the benefits outweighed the costs). Similarly, a good majority believed the UK did not get as much out of the EU as other countries (62% to 32%). Other questions showed that, whilst 22% said there were no important benefits of membership, a mere 8% thought there were no important disadvantages (costs). On balance, there was significantly more concern voiced on the disadvantages of membership than support for the benefits. Another question showed that, whilst the Commonwealth and the USA scored quite positively highly in general perception, the EU did not.*
- *Interestingly, respondents were fairly balanced as to whether EU-UK trade would be damaged by leaving the EU (43% to 42% not damaged). Given the scaremongering from big business about the damage to trade if we were left "the Single Market", I expected a greater proportion to be concerned about the potential damage to trade.*
- *Equally interestingly, a strong majority (77%) said Britain did not have to choose between the*

## *EU and the US.*

- *Specifically there was little confidence that the PM could negotiate better terms (72% biased towards little/no confidence, 20% biased towards some confidence), which rather undermines the potential traction of the “reform-renegotiation” agenda. For those who remember 1975, it could be a matter of “once bitten, twice shy.” A majority (51%) doubted the preparedness of other EU countries to make concessions to Britain.*
- *But for all the Eurosceptic bias, the polls suggested that 41% wanted the UK to stay in the EU, whilst 41% wanted the UK to leave, with 18% don’t know. This result suggests a strong bias to the status quo (“fear factor?”), which could be a major problem for any “out” referendum campaign.*

*The debate on 6 March was wide-ranging and fascinating. Britain’s membership with the EU was something that mattered to the participants who wanted open and informed discussion (“facts not rhetoric”). Negative campaigning (specifically on the immigration issue) appeared to be widely disliked.*

*Putting aside technicalities (e.g. “Qualified Majority Voting”), I suspect that for many participants, and indeed the electorate at large, EU issues can be boiled down to two main themes. Firstly, there is the issue of democracy, independence and freedom. Do we wish to be in an EU which heavily influences our lives by imposing regulations and costs? Or do we wish to be out of the EU, with Westminster determining our laws within a wider international context? Secondly, there is the issue of the “unknown” post-EU settlement. Just what would a post-EU UK look like? How would we relate to EU countries and to the rest of the world? People need reassurance about the “unknown”.*

*Turning to a potential referendum campaign, the polling strongly suggests the former issue would favour the “out” campaign. But, I suspect, the latter issue, the “unknown”, would favour the “stay in” campaign.*

*So the “stay in” campaign would have to persuade the electorate the creeping and anti-democratic influence of the EU was tolerable and preferable to any alternative. However dreadful EU membership may be perceived to be, life outside would be “isolated” and worse. And the “out” campaign, whilst benefitting from the electorate’s Eurosceptic bias, will have to work very hard persuading people that there is nothing to fear, indeed all to gain, from leaving the EU.*

## Full poll results

20,058 adults were interviewed online between 7 and 20 January 2014. Results were weighted to be representative of the population of Great Britain.

Which of the following do you think is the most important issue facing Britain as a whole?

<i>% naming issue in top three</i>	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Getting the economy going and creating jobs	73	71	79	78	60
Controlling immigration	51	55	41	33	85
Cutting the deficit and the debt	41	57	34	49	32
Improving the NHS	38	22	53	37	26
Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency	33	46	24	31	39
Defending Britain's interests in Europe	19	25	15	17	32
Dealing with crime	15	11	18	15	13
Improving schools	15	8	20	17	5
Protecting the environment	10	4	11	17	3
Other	4	1	5	5	4

<i>% naming issue in top three</i>	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Getting the economy going and creating jobs	73	54	74	84	82
Controlling immigration	51	86	61	36	3
Cutting the deficit and the debt	41	30	42	56	27
Improving the NHS	38	31	30	33	65
Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency	33	36	38	41	9
Defending Britain's interests in Europe	19	32	24	16	7
Dealing with crime	15	15	12	13	17
Improving schools	15	5	10	11	42
Protecting the environment	10	3	6	8	30
Other	4	5	2	2	12

Which of the following do you think is the most important issue facing you and your family?

<i>% naming issue in top three</i>	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Getting the economy going and creating jobs	67	64	73	56	56
Improving the NHS	52	43	61	55	41
Controlling immigration	38	42	30	21	72
Cutting the deficit and the debt	35	48	29	40	29
Dealing with crime	24	20	26	22	22
Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency	23	29	17	18	29
Improving schools	21	16	27	24	9
Defending Britain's interests in Europe	16	23	11	13	28
Protecting the environment	16	11	17	26	7
Other	6	3	6	7	6

<i>% naming issue in top three</i>	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Getting the economy going and creating jobs	67	47	48	51	69
Improving the NHS	52	47	48	51	69
Controlling immigration	38	70	44	24	5
Cutting the deficit and the debt	35	28	37	44	25
Dealing with crime	24	23	22	25	22
Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency	23	28	25	23	9
Improving schools	21	11	18	23	36
Defending Britain's interests in Europe	16	26	21	13	7
Protecting the environment	16	7	12	17	36
Other	6	7	4	4	12

Here are some pairs of statements about Britain's membership of the European Union. Please can you say in each which of the statements is closest to your own view, even if you don't completely agree with either.

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
The benefits to Britain of being a member of the EU are greater than the costs	31	27	46	50	4
The costs to Britain of being a member of the EU are greater than the benefits	49	59	36	34	91
Don't know	20	14	18	16	6



%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
The benefits to Britain of being a member of the EU are greater than the costs	31	1	4	65	97
The costs to Britain of being a member of the EU are greater than the benefits	49	96	88	16	1
Don't know	20	3	8	19	2

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%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Britain gets at least as much out of being a member of the EU as the other member countries do	23	16	36	38	3
Other countries seem to get more out of being in the EU than Britain does	62	75	50	48	90
Don't know	16	9	14	13	7

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Britain gets at least as much out of being a member of the EU as the other member countries do	23	1	5	37	86
Other countries seem to get more out of being in the EU than Britain does	62	95	90	51	7
Don't know	16	4	5	11	7

\*\*\*\*\*

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Being part of the EU gives Britain more influence when dealing with other countries like China and the USA	40	41	53	59	13
Being part of the EU means Britain has less influence when dealing with other countries like China and the USA	31	36	24	20	63
Don't know	29	23	23	21	24

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Being part of the EU gives Britain more influence when dealing with other countries like China and the USA	40	3	21	81	92
Being part of the EU means Britain has less influence when dealing with other countries like China and the USA	31	74	53	7	2
Don't know	29	23	26	12	6

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	%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
If Britain were to leave the EU, this would risk damaging trade between Britain and other EU countries	43	41	58	63	10	
If Britain were to leave the EU we would be able to do just as much trade with other EU countries as we do now	42	49	29	27	84	
Don't know	15	9	13	10	6	

	%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
If Britain were to leave the EU, this would risk damaging trade between Britain and other EU countries	43	1	22	89	96	
If Britain were to leave the EU we would be able to do just as much trade with other EU countries as we do now	42	95	71	8	2	
Don't know	15	4	7	4	1	

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	%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Being part of the European Union gives Britain more opportunities to trade with countries outside Europe	37	35	51	54	9	
Being party of the European Union restricts Britain's ability to trade with countries outside Europe	35	43	26	24	70	
Don't know	28	22	23	22	20	

	%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Being part of the European Union gives Britain more opportunities to trade with countries outside Europe	37	3	16	75	88	
Being party of the European Union restricts Britain's ability to trade with countries outside Europe	35	79	61	10	2	
Don't know	28	18	23	15	10	

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%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
I would rather live in Britain than anywhere else in Europe	69	81	70	69	71
I would rather live in another European country than in Britain	16	10	17	16	19
Don't know	15	9	13	14	10

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
I would rather live in Britain than anywhere else in Europe	69	73	74	76	58
I would rather live in another European country than in Britain	16	16	17	14	22
Don't know	15	11	8	10	20

All things considered, do you think that the United Kingdom should remain a member of the European Union?

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Yes	41	40	57	62	5
No	41	46	29	25	89
Don't know	18	14	14	13	6

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Yes	41	1	15	83	98
No	41	95	68	6	1
Don't know	18	4	17	11	2

What proportion of current immigration into Britain do you think comes from other European Union countries, and what proportion from outside the EU?

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
About two thirds comes from other EU countries, and about one third from outside	49	57	48	48	59
It's about half and half	21	20	22	22	19
About two thirds comes from outside the EU, and about one third from other EU countries	12	11	13	12	13
Don't know	17	12	17	17	9

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
About two thirds comes from other EU countries, and about one third from outside	49	58	55	53	45
It's about half and half	21	19	23	22	22
About two thirds comes from outside the EU, and about one third from other EU countries	12	13	13	13	13
Don't know	17	11	9	13	21

Which of the following would you say are the most important benefits of Britain being a member of the European Union – or do you think there are no important benefits?

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
<i>SUM: Any</i>	78	82	86	90	50
Free trade between Britain and other EU countries	44	51	47	54	25
Being able to travel freely throughout other European Union countries	37	39	37	42	27
Promoting good relations between member countries and reducing the likelihood of conflict	30	32	33	35	17
Being able to live and work in other EU countries	29	27	33	32	17
Giving the UK more clout when negotiating big trade deals with other big countries than it would have on its own	19	20	23	28	8
Enabling countries to help each other out in times of economic crisis	15	13	21	18	5
Co-operating with other EU governments on important policy areas	15	14	19	22	5
Other	1	1	1	1	*
There are no important benefits	22	18	14	10	50

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
<i>SUM: Any</i>	78	17	97	99	100
Free trade between Britain and other EU countries	44	5	54	66	56
Being able to travel freely throughout other European Union countries	37	5	59	40	40
Promoting good relations between member countries and reducing the likelihood of conflict	30	4	37	39	43
Being able to live and work in other EU countries	29	1	41	33	45
Giving the UK more clout when negotiating big trade deals with other big countries than it would have on its own	19	1	13	39	27
Enabling countries to help each other out in times of economic crisis	15	1	13	25	22
Co-operating with other EU governments on important policy areas	15	*	13	24	31
Other	1	1	*	*	2
There are no important benefits	22	83	3	1	*

Which of the following would you say are the most important disadvantages of Britain being a member of the EU – or do you think there are no important disadvantages?

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
<b>TOTAL: Any</b>	92	97	89	90	98
The scale of immigration from other EU countries	48	50	44	38	64
Having to pay for other countries' economic problems	46	46	46	45	41
The imposition of unnecessary rules and regulations	45	56	40	50	50
Loss of national sovereignty with laws and decisions being made by people we did not elect	43	55	34	40	60
The size of Britain's contribution to the EU budget	35	38	33	34	41
Restricting Britain's ability to negotiate individual trade deals with non-EU countries	11	11	12	13	9
Other	1	1	1	1	1
There are no important disadvantages	8	3	11	10	2

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
<b>TOTAL: Any</b>	92	97	99	98	68
The scale of immigration from other EU countries	48	62	56	49	11
Having to pay for other countries' economic problems	46	42	51	53	29
The imposition of unnecessary rules and regulations	45	46	53	54	32
Loss of national sovereignty with laws and decisions being made by people we did not elect	43	54	56	44	21
The size of Britain's contribution to the EU budget	35	38	43	40	17
Restricting Britain's ability to negotiate individual trade deals with non-EU countries	11	8	12	13	14
Other	1	1	1	*	3
There are no important disadvantages	8	3	1	2	32

Overall, how positive or negative do you feel towards each of the following? (Mean score: 0-10 scale where 0 is very negative and 10 is very positive)

<i>Mean score out of 10</i>	<b>ALL</b>	<b>Con GE voters</b>	<b>Labour GE voters</b>	<b>Lib Dem GE voters</b>	<b>UKIP GE voters</b>
<b>Canada</b>	7.23	7.63	7.23	7.58	7.46
<b>Sweden</b>	6.77	7.09	6.83	7.28	6.75
<b>Switzerland</b>	6.63	7.03	6.58	6.87	6.73
<b>Norway</b>	6.52	6.88	6.53	6.98	6.59
<b>Japan</b>	5.98	6.24	6.13	6.30	5.85
<b>THE COMMONWEALTH</b>	5.95	6.71	5.99	6.43	5.82
<b>The United States of America</b>	5.73	6.47	5.73	5.82	5.69
<b>Germany</b>	5.74	5.99	6.03	6.41	4.86
<b>Italy</b>	5.70	5.77	5.95	6.15	4.99
<b>Spain</b>	5.69	5.69	6.01	6.07	4.93
<b>France</b>	5.08	5.07	5.48	5.77	3.90
<b>Brazil</b>	4.90	4.97	5.18	5.32	4.28
<b>MY LOCAL COUNCIL</b>	4.79	5.27	5.07	5.38	3.80
<b>China</b>	4.77	4.98	4.98	4.84	4.36
<b>Poland</b>	4.74	4.90	5.03	5.41	3.80
<b>Greece</b>	4.63	4.45	4.97	5.06	3.84
<b>PARLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER</b>	4.61	6.11	4.53	5.37	3.23
<b>South Africa</b>	4.60	4.84	4.84	5.00	3.90
<b>India</b>	4.55	4.69	4.84	5.08	3.65
<b>EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS</b>	4.38	3.66	5.56	5.61	1.89
<b>Russia</b>	4.07	4.14	4.25	4.19	3.63
<b>THE EUROPEAN UNION</b>	4.00	3.88	4.87	5.25	1.46
<b>Israel</b>	3.97	4.41	3.94	4.10	3.95
<b>THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT</b>	3.50	3.44	4.23	4.47	1.31
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	3.46	3.75	3.61	3.63	2.84
<b>Iran</b>	2.69	2.48	3.00	3.01	1.73
<b>North Korea</b>	2.40	2.02	2.72	2.51	1.68

<i>Mean score out of 10</i>	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Canada	7.23	7.07	7.47	7.52	7.66
Sweden	6.77	6.29	6.86	7.16	7.72
Switzerland	6.63	6.31	6.81	6.99	6.94
Norway	6.52	6.09	6.60	6.88	7.47
Japan	5.98	5.49	6.03	6.39	6.62
<b>THE COMMONWEALTH</b>	5.95	5.56	6.12	6.45	6.22
The United States of America	5.73	5.50	5.90	6.17	5.33
Germany	5.74	4.45	5.67	6.48	7.03
Italy	5.70	4.77	5.61	6.22	6.58
Spain	5.69	4.73	5.58	6.17	6.67
France	5.08	3.69	4.81	5.81	6.44
Brazil	4.90	4.06	4.76	5.36	5.81
<b>MY LOCAL COUNCIL</b>	4.79	3.89	4.69	5.40	5.42
China	4.77	4.19	4.73	5.21	5.10
Poland	4.74	3.50	4.53	5.30	6.29
Greece	4.63	3.67	4.36	5.02	5.78
<b>PARLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER</b>	4.61	3.55	4.64	5.47	4.74
South Africa	4.60	3.72	4.54	5.06	5.41
India	4.55	3.49	4.38	5.10	5.63
<b>EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS</b>	4.38	1.91	3.53	5.52	7.54
Russia	4.07	3.55	3.98	4.39	4.33
<b>THE EUROPEAN UNION</b>	4.00	1.28	3.04	5.60	6.80
Israel	3.97	3.60	3.9	4.25	4.00
<b>THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT</b>	3.50	1.35	2.73	4.66	5.59
Saudi Arabia	3.46	2.81	3.47	3.84	3.44
Iran	2.69	1.74	2.37	3.01	3.64
North Korea	2.40	1.91	2.08	2.52	2.59

Which of the following three statements comes closest to your own view, even if you don't completely agree with any of them?

	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Britain has to choose between having a close relationship with Europe or a close relationship with the USA, and it should choose the USA	9	10	11	7	14
Britain has to choose between having a close relationship with Europe or a close relationship with the USA, and it should choose Europe	6	4	10	10	2
There is no reason why Britain can't have a close relationship with Europe and the USA at the same time	77	83	74	80	82
Don't know	7	3	6	4	3

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Britain has to choose between having a close relationship with Europe or a close relationship with the USA, and it should choose the USA	9	16	11	7	7
Britain has to choose between having a close relationship with Europe or a close relationship with the USA, and it should choose Europe	6	2	5	9	15
There is no reason why Britain can't have a close relationship with Europe and the USA at the same time	77	78	83	82	76
Don't know	7	5	2	2	2

### How much do you feel you know about what is done in each of the following?

A great deal / Quite a lot / Not very much / Hardly anything

% "a great deal" + "quite a lot"	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Parliament in Westminster	53	66	55	60	55
Welsh Assembly	46	44	48	38	43
Scottish Parliament	59	64	57	56	49
Your Council	50	56	53	56	52
European Parliament	23	23	27	27	26

% "a great deal" + "quite a lot"	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Parliament in Westminster	53	50	57	59	71
Welsh Assembly	46	43	47	54	65
Scottish Parliament	59	59	63	63	77
Your Council	50	49	54	53	59
European Parliament	23	23	19	24	42

### How much impact do you think each of the following has on life in Britain overall / on you and your family?

A great deal / Quite a lot / Not very much / Little or none

% "a great deal" + "quite a lot"	Impact on life in Britain	Impact on you and your family
Parliament in Westminster	80	75
European Union	67	53

#### a) in Britain overall?

% "a great deal" + "quite a lot"	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Parliament in Westminster	80	87	81	86	79
European Union	67	74	63	68	83



% "a great deal" + "quite a lot"	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Parliament in Westminster	80	76	84	87	88
European Parliament	67	78	72	67	68

**b) on you and your family?**

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Parliament in Westminster	75	79	78	78	78
Welsh Assembly	62	60	68	64	62
Scottish Parliament	70	78	66	72	57
Your Council	70	71	73	75	72
European Parliament	53	58	50	51	76

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Parliament in Westminster	75	74	79	79	82
European Parliament	67	78	72	67	68

**Do you think you could name an MP in your area?**

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Yes	60	68	61	65	70
No	40	32	39	35	30

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Yes	60	64	64	62	72
No	40	36	36	38	28

**Do you think you could name a councillor in your area?**

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Yes	46	51	47	50	53
No	54	49	53	50	47

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Yes	46	52	50	45	53
No	54	48	50	55	47

**Do you think you could name a Member of European Parliament in your area?**

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Yes	10	10	13	15	11
No	90	90	87	85	89

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Yes	10	9	9	10	23
No	90	91	91	90	77

**Which party do you think would do the best job when it comes to managing Britain's relationship with the European Union in the country's best interests?**

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
The Labour Party	34	2	84	7	2
The Conservative Party	30	85	4	15	9
The UK Independence Party (UKIP)	24	12	8	7	87
The Liberal Democrats	11	2	4	71	1

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
The Labour Party	34	16	24	41	62
The Conservative Party	30	23	38	38	12
The UK Independence Party (UKIP)	24	58	30	6s	2
The Liberal Democrats	11	4	7p	15	24

**Do you think most Conservative politicians want to Britain to stay in the European Union, or leave?**

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Stay in	41	48	37	42	59
Leave	30	27	39	33	24
Don't know	30	24	24	25	18

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Stay in	41	50	45	47	27
Leave	30	27	29	30	55
Don't know	30	23	25	23	18

**Do you think most Labour politicians want to Britain to stay in the European Union, or leave?**

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Stay in	57	63	61	58	74
Leave	13	13	16	15	10
Don't know	30	24	23	27	16

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Stay in	57	59	59	63	79
Leave	13	18	17	13	6
Don't know	30	24	24	24	15

**Do you think most Liberal Democrat politicians want to Britain to stay in the European Union, or leave?**

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Stay in	53	61	50	65	75
Leave	10	9	12	13	5
Don't know	38	30c	37	22	20

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Stay in	53	60	56	55	72
Leave	10	8	12	12	6
Don't know	38	31	31	33	22

**Do you think most UKIP politicians want to Britain to stay in the European Union, or leave?**

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
Stay in	4	3	4	4	2
Leave	77	85	76	80	93
Don't know	19	12	20	16	5

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Stay in	4	2	3	5	5
Leave	77	86	84	78	84
Don't know	19	12	13	16	11

The Prime Minister, David Cameron, has said that he will attempt to negotiate better terms of membership for Britain in the European Union, and that if the Conservatives win the next general election, there will be a referendum in 2017 on whether Britain should remain a member of the EU on the new terms he has negotiated. How much confidence do you have that David Cameron will be able to negotiate a better deal for Britain within the EU?

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
<b>TOTAL: A great deal/ quite a lot</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>5</b>
A great deal of confidence	4	11	2	4	*
Quite a lot of confidence	17	40	10	21	5
Not a great deal of confidence	40	38	41	50	34
Little or no confidence	32	7	41	20	60
<b>TOTAL: Not a great deal/ little or none</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>93</b>
Don't know	7	3	5	6	2

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
<b>TOTAL: A great deal/ quite a lot</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>17</b>
A great deal of confidence	4	2	4	6	4
Quite a lot of confidence	17	9	19	25	13
Not a great deal of confidence	40	33	44	46	38
Little or no confidence	32	53	31	19	39
<b>TOTAL: Not a great deal/ little or none</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>78</b>
Don't know	7	3	2	4	5

You said you lack confidence that David Cameron will be able to negotiate a better deal for Britain in the EU. Which of the following is the most important reason for your view? [All respondents who lack confidence that David Cameron will be able to negotiate a better deal for Britain in the EU]

%	ALL	Con GE voters	Labour GE voters	Lib Dem GE voters	UKIP GE voters
I doubt the other EU member countries will be prepared to make any concessions to Britain, however well David Cameron argues the case	51	82	40	62	46
I doubt David Cameron's ability as a negotiator	26	6	40	22	12
I think David Cameron wants Britain to remain part of the European Union regardless of the deal he's able to negotiate	23	12	20	15	42

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
I doubt the other EU member countries will be prepared to make any concessions to Britain, however well David Cameron argues the case	51	44	58	59	44
I doubt David Cameron's ability as a negotiator	26	18	19	28	42
I think David Cameron wants Britain to remain part of the European Union regardless of the	23	39	23	13	13

deal he's able to negotiate					
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For the following statements please say whether you agree with them or not and if you do whether or not they make any difference to how you currently plan to vote at the next general election? [Those saying they would vote for UKIP in a general election]

**“A vote for UKIP at the next General Election makes the prospect of Ed Miliband becoming Prime Minister more likely” [All who intend to vote UKIP in a general election]**

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Disagree	51	53	51	47	56
NET: Agree	33	32	36	38	36
Agree but makes no difference	23	23	22	25	36
Agree and makes a difference	10	9	13	13	-
Don't know	16	15	13	15	8

**“A vote for UKIP at the next General Election makes the prospect of an in/out referendum on the UK's membership of the EU less likely because only the Conservatives have promised to hold one if they win the election outright” (All who intend to vote UKIP in a general election)**

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives
Disagree	50	55	50	31	49
NET: Agree	36	34	40	51	40
Agree but makes no difference	23	21	27	35	40
Agree and makes a difference	13	13	14	17	-
Don't know	13	11	10	18	11

## SEGMENT DEMOGRAPHICS

%	ALL	Committed Hostility	Discontented Sceptics	Relaxed Status Quo	Global Progressives	Disengaged
Male	49	52	53	52	56	27
Female	51	48	47	48	44	73
18-24	12	3	10	17	18	15
25-34	16	8	15	18	18	23
35-44	19	16	17	20	17	26
45-54	17	19	18	15	15	18
55-64	15	21	16	13	13	9
65+	21	33	24	17	18	9
<i>Average age</i>	<i>46.84</i>	<i>54.46</i>	<i>48.64</i>	<i>44.05</i>	<i>44.16</i>	<i>40.67</i>
AB	27	19	28	34	36	17
C1	29	24	29	31	35	28
C2	21	27	22	19	13	22
DE	23	31	22	17	15	32
Public Sector	26	23	25	25	30	28
Private Sector	74	77	75	75	70	72

