

Lord Ashcroft Polls

Leave to Remain

Public opinion &
the EU referendum

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC

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Introduction

Within two years, the UK will have decided whether or not it wishes to remain a member of the European Union. Indeed, two years is the outer limit: the issue could be settled within a matter of months. Yet it is only in the chronological sense that the nation is any closer to making up its mind.

Recent polls suggest the country is closely divided on the referendum question. In this research we have tried to understand the spread of opinion – from Leave to Remain, and the many shades of indecision in between. We have explored what people think is at stake in the referendum, whether and why those things matter, and what could end up shifting opinion in one direction or another.

Rather than replicate the referendum question itself we asked people to place themselves on a scale between zero, meaning they would definitely vote for the UK to remain in the EU, to 100, meaning they would definitely vote to leave. Just under four in ten (38 per cent) put themselves between zero and 49, showing they were inclined to remain, and nearly half (47 per cent) gave themselves a score between 51 and 100; 14 per cent placed themselves at 50, meaning they were completely undecided.

Many of those opinions were held only lightly. Around two fifths of the population put themselves firmly at one end of the spectrum or another, between zero and nine or between 91 and 100. On both halves of the scale, a quarter of voters said they did not have a strong view and could easily be persuaded to change their minds.

My research for *Europe On Trial*, conducted in early 2014, found that people were divided or uncertain about various aspects of the UK's relationship with the EU, such as whether our membership helps or hinders our trade with the rest of the world, whether a decision to leave would affect our trade with other EU countries, or how decisions are made at a European level and who makes them.

This latest research shows that many people are no less unsure what they think, but the looming referendum makes them feel their confusion all the more keenly. There are two main reasons. First, even (or perhaps especially) those who are completely undecided feel a weight of responsibility for making a decision whose consequences will last a generation or more, and which therefore seems to many a much more serious business than a mere general election. Second, they do not believe they know enough about the issues in question, and thus feel ill-equipped to make the choice.

In our focus groups, then, the constant refrain was a demand for “facts”. Why, people asked, was there not an independent commission which would provide the public with solid, unimpeachable information to help make the decision? But the discussions quickly confirmed, even to the participants, that facts were not really what they wanted – or at least, not all they wanted.

One fact that was mentioned spontaneously in nearly every group was that the UK pays £55 million a day to be a member of the EU. But this simply raised more questions. What do we get in return – doesn't our trade with the EU amount to much more than that? Well yes, but they would want to do just as much trade with us if we left. Isn't that a big risk to take – and by being a member, don't we at least get to help set the rules? In theory, but only as one of 28, so we hardly ever get our own way – if we left we could do our own trade deals with the rest of the world and have more control over immigration and our borders. But with the world as it is, isn't it safer to be part of a bigger group working together?

And so on. What people want, they quickly realise, is not facts so much as answers to questions which will always be disputed because they are not only unknown but unknowable. Undecided voters want to know what the future holds if we stay and if we leave, but nobody is going to be able to tell them.

For many people, then, the question will come down to the balance of risk. The risks of leaving are obvious: however confident we are about our qualities as a nation, we cannot be certain what the consequences of exit would be for trade, for security, for the economy, or for our international relationships in Europe and the wider world.

But people see risk on the other side too: the EU is still evolving, and not necessarily for the better. Given what has changed since we signed up to the Common Market, where is the EU heading? Would further expansion mean further dilution of our influence, not to mention more unrestricted immigration? Would we be compelled to help bail out failing economies? Would we face pressure to join the euro?

Our poll found the country closely divided on this question: voters thought leaving carried a bigger risk than remaining by just 53 per cent to 47 per cent.

How people assess the relative risks, and the whole question of EU membership, will not come down to a dispassionate evaluation of facts but to their own priorities and their outlook on politics. In our research we tried to understand this better by asking people what issues they thought could be at stake in the referendum, why these were important, and how they mattered to them both personally and more broadly. Thus we started from a list of more than forty disparate points suggested by our focus group participants – ranging from trade, sovereignty and human rights to migration, national security, our contribution to the EU budget, and that European health insurance card you take on holiday but nobody can remember the name of – and identified five overarching principles and priorities that ultimately lay behind their concerns. These were Security, Freedom, Independence, Belonging, and wanting to get things right For Future Generations.

This exercise, explained at length in this report, demonstrates that the voters are not a blank slate. Their decision will be determined less by what they take from the campaign than what they bring to it. The “facts”, of which there will not be a drought but a blizzard, will be filtered through people's existing attitudes, not the

other way round. As they choose the facts that fit, we will see in practice Paul Simon's dictum: a man hears what he wants to hear and disregards the rest.

That is not to say the campaigns don't matter. Quite the reverse. Voters' views about what ultimately matters are firmer and more enduring than their opinion on whether or not the UK should be a member of the EU. The task for the Leave and Remain camps is to show that their side represents the best means to those ends. Is our physical and economic security better served through independence from Europe or as part of a wider union? Do we want freedom from interference in the making of our laws, or the freedom to work and travel throughout the EU with rights that are guaranteed whichever party rules in Westminster? Do we wish to belong to an exceptional (and, come on, superior) island nation, or to a broader civilisation of diverse cultures but shared values? Were we to leave, would the future generations for whom we want to do the right thing find themselves isolated or liberated?

The electorate will look at these questions in a variety of ways. Our 20,000-sample poll enabled us to identify seven "segments" of voters. Two groups – I have called them Nothing To Lose and Global Britain – are currently committed to leaving, though from different motives; three smaller groups – If It Ain't Broke, I'm Alright Jacques and Global Citizens – are drawn to remain, again for different if overlapping reasons.

In between are two very distinct groups. One segment, Hard-Pressed Undecideds, is disproportionately likely to work in the public sector, thinks life in Britain is worse than it was thirty years ago and that the country is on the wrong track, that immigration has on balance been a bad thing and that remaining in the EU represents a bigger risk than leaving. The other, Listen To DC, is made up of younger people and particularly women, is more optimistic, thinks life is better than it was thirty years ago and that the country is heading in the right direction, that immigration has been a positive thing overall and that leaving the EU seems to present a bigger risk than staying. Crucially, this latter group say they could be swayed if David Cameron is able to persuade them that he has successfully negotiated better membership terms for Britain. Both groups put themselves close to the centre of our zero to 100 scale, and both are up for grabs, but will not respond in the same way to the same arguments.

Immigration will clearly be central to the debate, since it touches many of the broader themes behind the debate, including prosperity, security and identity. But the argument that only Brexit allows Britain to take full control of its borders may not be the clincher that many Outers hope: while nearly four in ten in our poll thought "we'll never be able to bring immigration under control unless we leave the EU", almost as many thought "we won't be able to bring immigration under control *even if* we leave the EU". For one thing, immigration from the rest of the world would be unaffected – and for another thing, a much stricter limit on the numbers coming to live in Britain sounds to many people like the kind of political promise that never quite gets delivered.

With so many complicated issues at stake, and so many competing claims about each of them, much will come down to questions of trust. David Cameron is the

central figure here. Though people have gathered that the PM is trying to renegotiate Britain's membership terms, the details of what he is and is not asking for have barely registered. Most say they have little confidence that he will be able to win a significantly better deal for Britain. But more than a third of the population, including two thirds of the more optimistic undecided group, said they would be more likely to vote to remain in the EU if Cameron announced that he had secured better terms.

Related to the question of trust is the question of association. People note that only one party and one prominent politician seem to be in favour of leaving the EU, and this weighs with many undecided voters. By no means every non-UKIP voter is worried about finding themselves on the same side as Nigel Farage, but some undoubtedly are. The way people see the respective campaigns is also instructive: in our poll, people thought the words "moderate", "normal", "reasonable", "sensible" and "trustworthy" applied more to those campaigning to remain in the EU than to their opponents. Only two descriptions applied more to the Leavers, and by bigger margins: "patriotic" and "fanatical".

Those who put Cameron back in Downing Street in May hold the key to the referendum's outcome. More than half of 2015 Conservative voters put themselves on the "leave" side of our 100-point spectrum, and they currently see staying in the EU as a bigger risk than remaining. But even though they are pessimistic about Cameron's chances of achieving much in the renegotiation, they are by far the most likely to respond if he is able to claim victory convincingly. Much will depend on whether the PM is able to persuade his own supporters that continued membership is an asset, rather than a threat, to the security, freedom and independence they prize.

In the political world, these arguments have been going on for generations, or feel as though they have. For many voters, they are only just beginning.

Methodology

An online poll of 20,054 adults was conducted between 20 November and 2 December 2015. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in the United Kingdom.

Twelve focus groups were held between 10 November and 8 December 2015 in London, Leeds, Manchester, Glasgow, St Austell and Newcastle. Participants said they were likely to turn out in the referendum but were undecided which way to vote.

Key Points

- On a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 means “will definitely vote to remain” and 100 means “will definitely vote to leave”, 38% put themselves between 0 and 49 (lean towards remaining) and 47% between 51 and 100 (lean towards leaving). 14% put themselves on exactly 50 (completely undecided).
- 19% put themselves between 0 and 9 (strongly inclined to stay), including 35% of 2015 Lib Dems, 29% of those who voted SNP and Labour, and 13% of Conservatives.
- 22% put themselves between 91 and 100 (strongly inclined to leave), including 67% of 2015 UKIP voters, 27% of Conservatives, 22% of SNP voters, 16% of Labour voters and 11% of those who voted Lib Dem.
- 18-24 year-olds gave themselves a mean score of 38.81; those aged 65 and over had a mean score of 59.15.
- Those leaning towards leaving (51-100) gave themselves a slightly greater likelihood of turning out to vote (8.02 out of 10) than those leaning towards staying (7.39 out of 10). Those who were completely undecided were also the least likely to say they would turn out (5.18 out of 10).
- People were quite evenly divided over whether the biggest risk lay with leaving the EU (53%) or remaining a member (47%). Those who were completely undecided on how to vote in the referendum said leaving was the bigger risk, by 61% to 39%.
- While 39% thought “we’ll never be able to bring immigration under control unless we leave the EU”, a further 37% thought “we won’t be able to bring immigration under control even if we leave the EU”.
- Just over one third (35%) said they would be more inclined to vote to remain if David Cameron announced he had secured a better deal for Britain as a result of his renegotiation. This included 46% of those inclined to stay, 27% of those inclined to leave, and 51% of those who voted Conservative at the general election.
- However, only 19% (including 36% of 2015 Conservatives and 15% of those inclined to leave) were confident that Cameron would succeed in negotiating a better deal for Britain.
- Asked whether a number of descriptions applied more to those campaigning to remain in the EU or leave, respondents were more likely to say the remain campaign was more “moderate”, “normal”, “reasonable”, “sensible” and “well-intentioned”. Those campaigning to leave were considered more “patriotic” and “fanatical”.

- For those inclined to leave, the issues most often mentioned as being at stake in the referendum were immigration, control of borders, migration/refugees and the UK's contribution to the EU budget. (This list matched that of those who voted Conservative at the 2015 election). For those most inclined to stay, the biggest issues at stake were trade, free movement and economic security.
- Respondents were then asked why each of the issues they had chosen were important, why they mattered to them personally, and which of their own principles or priorities they most reflected. Overall, the most important priority was "Security", followed by the importance of doing the right thing "For Future Generations". Labour and Lib Dem voters were more likely than most to prioritise the idea of "Belonging". Conservative and UKIP voters were more likely than most to choose "Freedom" and "Independence".
- Those inclined to vote to leave are more likely than "stayers" (and more likely than average) to think that for most children growing up in Britain today, life will be worse than it was for their parents; that changes in society and the economy threaten their standard of living; that immigration has been a bad thing for the country; that changes in society in recent years have been mostly for the worse; and that life in Britain today is worse than it was thirty years ago. They are also less likely to think that feminism, globalisation, the green movement, multiculturalism and social liberalism have been forces for good.

The Voters

Analysis of our 20,000-sample poll identified seven “segments” of voters with different backgrounds, motivations, priorities, and views on EU membership covering the spectrum from Leave to Remain. The issues they think are at stake in the referendum are discussed at greater length in the chapter on The Thought Process, but their composition and general attitudes are as follows:

“Nothing To Lose”

23% of the population
Declared likelihood to vote to leave: 95/100

This group is the most likely to say they will vote to leave the EU. On the scale from zero (definitely remain) to 100 (definitely leave) they give themselves a mean score of 95. 99 per cent say they are fairly sure of how they will vote and would take a lot of persuading to change their minds, and nearly nineteen out of twenty say remaining in the EU would be a bigger risk than leaving.

The group has the oldest membership, is more likely to be male and to be in social groups C2DE. Members are also more likely than average to be retired, not working, or to have a disability.

At the 2015 general election the group divided between the Conservatives (36 per cent) and UKIP (35 per cent), with 18 per cent voting Labour. Even so, they are unlikely to listen to David Cameron on the referendum: nearly two thirds say his recommendation to stay on the basis of a successful renegotiation would make no difference; the remainder are more likely to say it would be more determined to leave than the reverse.

This group thinks Britain is a worse place to live than it was thirty years ago, that the country is on the wrong track, and that for most children growing up today life will be worse than it was for their parents. They are more likely than most to admit to being personally pessimistic, to say they are disappointed with how their own lives have turned out so far, and that the way the economy and society are changing will bring more threats to them than opportunities. They think changes in society in Britain over the last few years have been mostly for the worse. They think immigration has been bad for the country by nearly nine to one, and much less likely than most to say that multiculturalism, social liberalism, feminism and the Green movement have been forces for good.

“Global Britain”**13% of the population****Declared likelihood to vote to leave: 81/100**

The Global Britain group is also very likely to vote to leave, with a mean score of 81 on the 100-point scale, and think remaining in the EU presents a bigger risk than leaving. However, its members have different characteristics and attitudes from the other heavily out-leaning group.

The Global Britain group is younger, more likely to be in social group ABC1, and the most likely to be from an Asian background. At the 2015 election they voted heavily for the Conservatives (52 per cent) over Labour (26 per cent). Nearly half say that David Cameron announcing a successful renegotiation would make them more likely to vote to stay, but they are less confident than average that a better deal will be forthcoming and nearly nine out of ten say they are unlikely to change their minds on the referendum question.

This group thinks Britain is heading in the right direction, that it is a better country to live in than it was thirty years ago and will be better in thirty years' time than it is today. They tend to be happy with the way life has turned out for them, are more likely than most to see opportunities rather than threats in the changing economy, and think changes in society in Britain in recent years have been mostly for the better.

Members of the Global Britain group are slightly more likely than most to say we need leaders who will stick to what they think is right even if they think it is unpopular, that it should be easier for firms to hire people and lay them off when they need to, and that people expect too much from the government. They have a more positive view than most of globalisation, multiculturalism, immigration and (especially) capitalism.

“Hard-Pressed Undecideds”

19% of the population
Declared likelihood to vote to leave: 52/100

This group backed Labour (42 per cent) over the Conservatives (31 per cent) at the general election, with 9 per cent voting UKIP. Its members are the most likely to work in the public sector and to have children at home.

They are close to the centre of the 100-point scale, with a mean score of 52, but most currently think remaining in the EU is a riskier option than leaving. However, they are the least likely to say that they will probably turn out and vote, with an average likelihood of 5.2 out of ten.

Members of the Hard-Pressed Undecideds group see immigration and border control as the most important issues at stake in the referendum, but are as likely to think “we won't be able bring immigration under control *even if* we leave the EU” as to think we won't be able to do so *unless* we leave the EU.

Though undecided on EU membership, they are less likely than most to say they would be more likely to vote to remain if David Cameron recommends it claiming he has negotiated a better deal for Britain: two thirds of them say this would make no difference.

Hard-Pressed Undecideds are more likely than most to say that the country is on the wrong track, that Britain will be a worse place for most people to live in thirty years than it is today, that for most children growing up today life will be worse than it was for their parents, that changes in the economy bring more threats to their standard of living than opportunities to improve it, that immigration has been bad for the country, and that they are disappointed with the way their own lives have turned out so far.

They are the group most likely to say that it matters very little which party wins an election because they end up doing the same things in government and nothing changes for people like them.

“Listen To DC”

**13% of the population
Declared likelihood to vote to leave: 49/100**

Though close to Hard-Pressed Undecideds on the 100-point scale – almost exactly in the middle, with a mean score of 49 – the Listen To DC segment is very different in demographics and attitudes. Its members are younger and more likely to be female, and voted Conservative over Labour by 54 per cent to 27 per cent; only 4 per cent voted UKIP.

Crucially, they are the group with the highest proportion saying they would be more likely to vote to remain if David Cameron recommended it on the basis of a successful renegotiation: nearly two thirds said this would encourage them to vote to stay.

When it comes to issues at stake in the referendum, the Listen To DC group is almost as likely to mention free movement as immigration, and free trade as border control. These concerns were ultimately linked to security and doing the right thing for future generations. Three quarters of the segment currently think leaving the EU represents a bigger risk than staying.

Members of this group think the country is on the right track and that life in Britain is better than it was thirty years ago. They are happy with the way life has turned out so far and are optimistic about the future: they see changes in the economy bringing more improvements than threats to their standard of living, believe it is possible for someone who works hard to be successful in Britain whatever their background, and that recent changes in society have been for the better. They are more likely than most to think multiculturalism, globalisation and immigration have been forces for good.

“If It Ain’t Broke”

**12% of the population
Declared likelihood to vote to leave: 14/100**

Demographically, this group looks like the rest of Britain, though it backed Labour over the Conservatives by 41 per cent to 33 per cent, with just 3 per cent voting UKIP.

Members of the If It Ain’t Broke group lean heavily towards voting to remain, say they are unlikely to change their minds, and see leaving the EU as the riskier option by a wide margin.

This group is the most likely of all to say we won’t be able to control immigration even if we leave the EU. Half of them – more than average – say they will be more likely to vote to remain if David Cameron recommends it.

The If It Ain’t Broke segment is divided over whether or not Britain is on the right track, but its members are more likely than most to think it matters little which party wins an election.

“I’m Alright, Jacques”

**11% of the population
Declared likelihood to vote to leave: 11/100**

The I’m Alright, Jacques segment is similarly likely to vote to remain as the If It Ain’t Broke group, but is different in composition and outlook: more affluent, more male, more likely to work in the private sector and more engaged.

This group voted Conservative over Labour by 47 per cent to 29 per cent, with only one per cent supporting UKIP. They say a recommendation from David Cameron would make it (even) more likely that they would vote to stay, and overwhelmingly think leaving the EU would be riskier than remaining.

They are less likely than most to see leaving the EU as a way of controlling immigration, being more likely to think we won’t be able to get immigration under control even if we leave the EU, and that immigration is under control.

Members of the I’m Alright, Jacques group think Britain is on the right track, are happy with the way life has turned out for them so far, and are optimistic about the future both for themselves and the country. They are much more positive than most people about multiculturalism, globalisation, capitalism and immigration, and the most likely of all to say it matters a great deal which party wins elections.

“Citizens Of The World”

**9% of the population
Declared likelihood to vote to leave: 7/100**

The Citizens Of The World segment contains the most 18 to 24 year-olds, and a higher than average number of students, recent graduates and ABC1s.

At the general election they voted heavily for Labour (58 per cent), and more of them voted Liberal Democrat (13 per cent), SNP (9 per cent) or Green (9 per cent) than Conservative (7 per cent).

They are the most likely of all to say they will vote to remain, are unlikely to change their minds, and all currently think leaving the EU is a bigger risk than staying. A large majority says David Cameron will make no difference to how they vote.

Citizens Of The World do not mention immigration among the biggest issues at stake in the referendum: they are more likely to mention free movement, human rights, free trade and economic security. They value the opportunity to travel and work abroad and fundamental rights guaranteed by Europe, and think Britain benefits from strength in numbers and co-operation within the EU.

Though Citizens Of The World think life in Britain is better than it was thirty years ago and that recent changes in society have been mostly for the better, they think the country is on the wrong track and that life for most children growing up today will be worse than it was for their parents. They are more likely than most to think people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to succeed no matter how hard they work.

Of all the segments, the Citizens Of The World have the most positive view of immigration, multiculturalism, social liberalism, feminism and the Green movement, but the most negative view of capitalism.

The Thought Process

What campaigners say and what voters hear are often very different. So what reactions are the protagonists likely to trigger with the threats, promises and appeals they make in the run up to the referendum?

In our focus groups, which mixed people of all opinions and none while excluding the partisans on both sides, we asked people what they thought was at stake in the referendum, how those things might affect their families and the country more widely and what broader principles these brought into play.

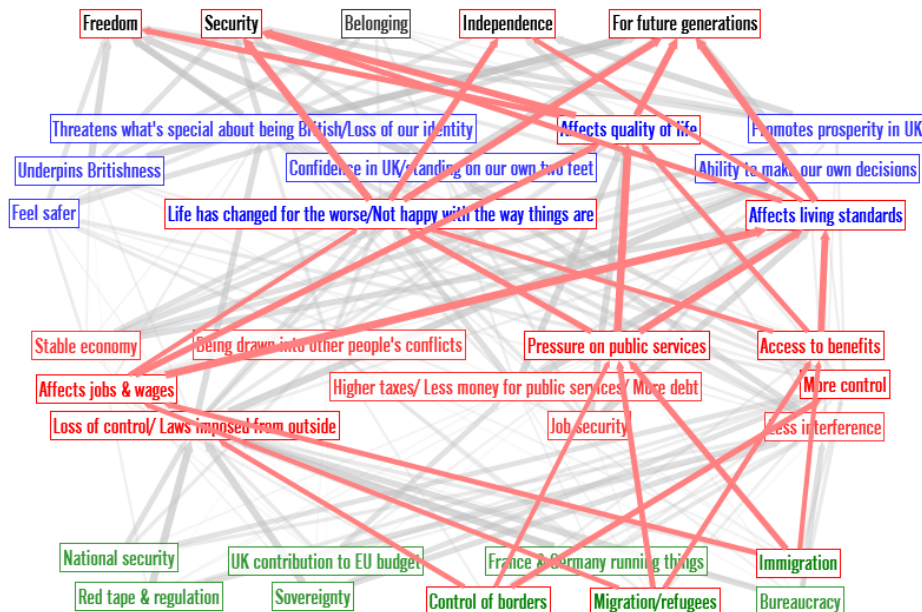
Overall, our participants suggested more than eighty issues, personal and national benefits and challenges, and values. We then presented these to the 20,000 respondents in our poll and invited people to choose the issues that mattered most, to associate them with direct consequences, and these in turn with higher level consequences and principles.

This so-called “laddering” approach has been commonly used in commercial market research and political polling for many years. But it has almost certainly never before been attempted on this scale, which allows a highly accurate as well as nuanced analysis of what is likely to move voters.

What emerges is a series of mind maps: diagrams that reveal the internal political wiring of the different voter types we have identified. We have lit up the “neural pathways” that most commonly link the most commonly-mentioned issues, consequences and values for different voter types. This is the “baggage” that the public will be bringing to the referendum campaign and it will go a long way to determining how voters respond to the arguments and information pumped out by both sides.

Below are the diagrams describing four of our seven segments: those most inclined to vote to leave (the Nothing To Lose segment), those most inclined to remain (Citizens Of The World), and the two groups in the middle of the spectrum (Hard-Pressed Undecideds and Listen To DC).

Nothing To Lose

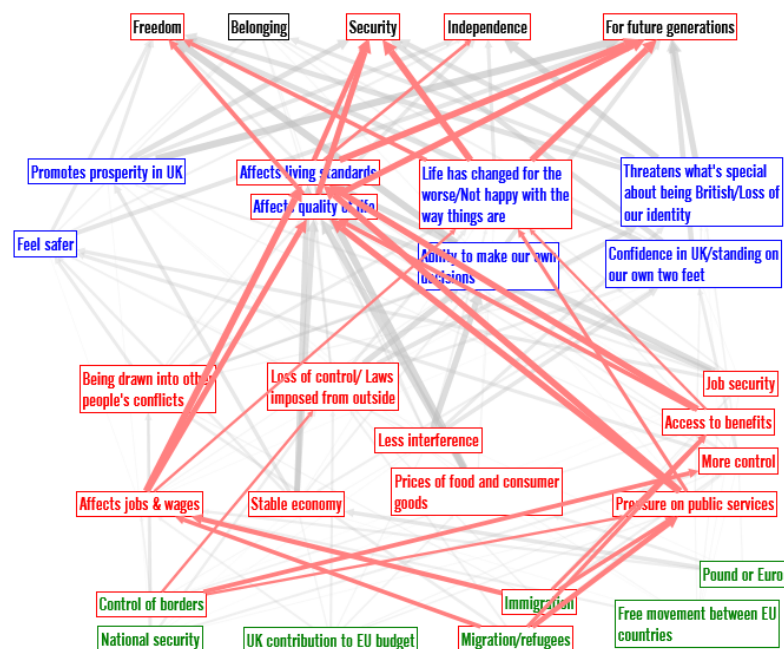


Members of the Nothing to Lose segment are primarily concerned about the impact of the EU on border controls. What is at stake in this referendum is immigration (chosen by 45 per cent of the group), migration/refugees (33 per cent) and the control of our borders (32 per cent). Next comes the UK's contribution to the EU budget (25 per cent).

For the Nothing To Lose group the personal impact of these things are a feeling of loss of control, pressure on public services, the effect on jobs and wages, and entitlement to benefits.

More generally, the group thinks of the referendum in terms of our ability to make our own decisions (66 per cent) and our quality of life and living standards (both 64 per cent). Because of the importance of the EU as an issue to this group, Nothing to Lose members relate the impacts of the EU back to all of the main principles and values at the top of our tree, most importantly Independence (76 per cent), then Security (71 per cent), doing the right thing For Future Generations (70 per cent) and Freedom (65 per cent).

Hard-Pressed Undecideds



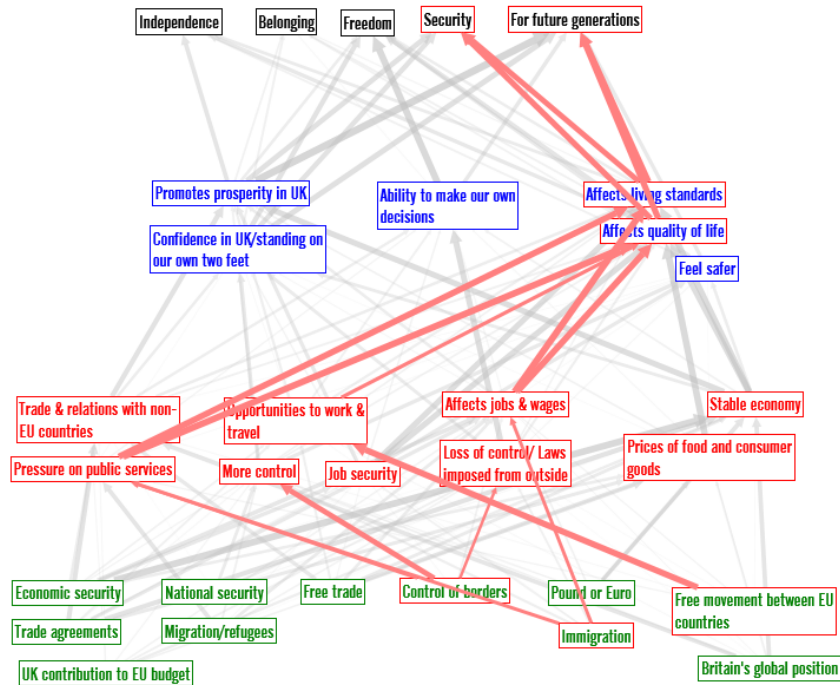
At first glance, this segment appears to be a less motivated version of Nothing to Lose: immigration, migration/refugees and control of borders are the issues they think are at stake, and they believe these aspects of EU membership directly impact their jobs and wages and public services.

However, the Hard-pressed Undecideds are also more interested than Nothing to Lose in the macro-economic impacts of the EU: they are more likely to think of membership in terms of its impact on economic stability and the price of food and consumer goods.

Hard-pressed Undecideds are motivated primarily by the effect they believe the EU has on their living standards and quality of life. Control and the ability to make our own decisions is less important for Hard-Pressed Undecideds than for the Nothing to Lose group, but they are more likely to connect the question of EU membership to safety.

The most important values or principles motivating the decisions of this segment are Security and Future Generations.

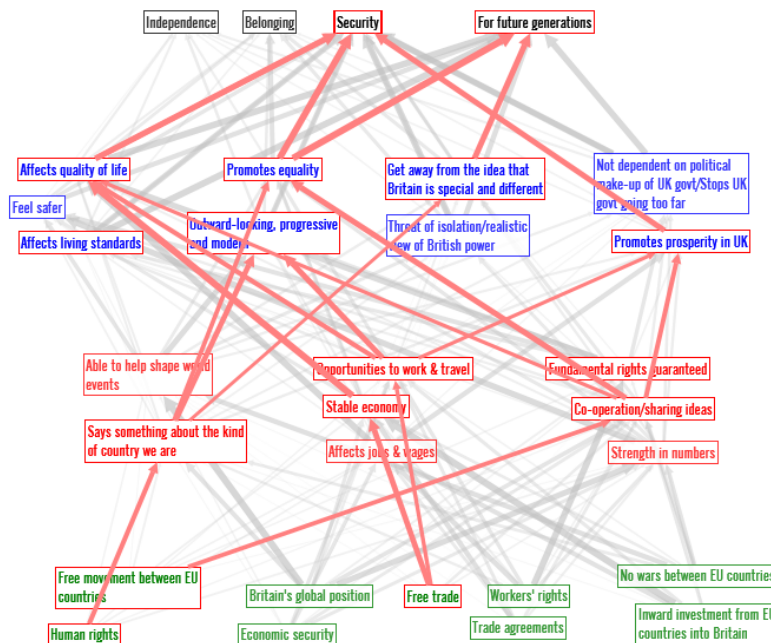
Listen To DC



People in the Listen To DC segment are almost as likely to cite free movement between EU countries (16 per cent) as an issue at stake in the EU referendum as to mention immigration (19 per cent). Next came control of our borders (15 per cent) and free trade (15 per cent). These were connected to economic stability (39 per cent), jobs and wages (38 cent) and the idea of having control (33 per cent).

The Listen to DC segment think that these issues are important because of their impact on quality of life (58 per cent), living standards (57 per cent) and prosperity (47 per cent). Ultimately, the decision that they make in the referendum will be about Future Generations (67 per cent) and Security (66 per cent).

Citizens of the World



Citizens of the World do not mention immigration among the biggest issues in question in the referendum. For them, the most important matters at stake are free movement between EU countries (29 per cent), human rights (27 per cent), free trade (22 per cent) and economic security (22 per cent).

This segment thinks of these aspects of EU membership in terms of opportunities to travel and work abroad (60 per cent), economic stability (56 per cent) and guarantees to underpin fundamental rights (51 per cent). They also believe the UK gains from strength in numbers, and cooperation and the sharing of ideas (both 51 per cent).

Despite the very different picture painted by this segment about the concrete impacts of the EU, the debate matters to them for the same reasons as everybody else: living standards (73 per cent) and quality of life (76 per cent), alongside prosperity (72%); they also value the promotion of equality (72 per cent). The key values or principles motivating the decisions of Citizens of the World are Future Generations (82 per cent), Security (81 per cent), and Freedom (77 per cent).

The Issues

The EU referendum: Why?

Asked what political news had caught their attention since the election, and what priorities the government would have to deal with in the coming months and years, the most frequent answers were Jeremy Corbyn, immigration, the refugee crisis, “Labour in meltdown”, terrorism, cuts, tax credits and the junior doctors’ dispute. Few spontaneously mentioned the EU referendum, and those who did were usually prompted by David Cameron’s speech and letter to European Council President Donald Tusk marking the start of the renegotiation process, which were in the news at the time.

Few participants had a clear idea of why the government was holding a referendum, or why David Cameron has promised to do so. Those who did have an explanation nearly always said it was a response to tensions among Conservative MPs, or an attempt to stop Tory voters switching to UKIP.

“The main thing was for David Cameron to shut his Eurosceptics up. He didn’t really want a referendum. It was because his party was split down the middle”.

“It was just a backbench issue. The old guard were pushing for it more than Cameron”.

“He had to do it to stop UKIP. I think he panicked.”

Similarly, very few said the Conservative promise of a referendum had influenced their vote in the general election – and among those for whom it did make a difference, several said they considered it an off-putting factor rather than a point in the Tories’ favour.

Accordingly, the debate over whether or not to remain part of the EU did not feel to many to be particularly urgent, given the other issues at hand (“they should get the terrorism and immigration and all that out of the way first”). Then again, “there is always something happening” and there would never be a time free of competing priorities.

Whether or not it was urgent, to most people in the groups the decision felt very important. Indeed many said it felt a good deal harder than making a choice at a general election.

“It’s a good thing that we’re having a say. I will definitely vote. I don’t know which way, but I will definitely vote.”

“In a general election, if you vote one way or another it’s only a few more years and you can change your vote. If you vote to come out and it

happens and it's not a good thing, it's tough isn't it, you're out. They won't let us back in if we make a mistake".

"It feels a bit more serious than a general election. There's a lot more to think about."

People found the question daunting for three main reasons: that it was a once-in-a-generation decision, not like choosing a government you could throw out again in five years; that it was not clear what the consequences of outcome choice would be; and that they did not feel qualified or equipped to decide on such a huge and complicated matter (though some were more worried about other people's ability to make the choice responsibly).

The absence of facts

Many people felt that they (or other people) did not really understand what the EU was and what it did, and what the decision therefore entailed.

"People don't understand. I'm not being disrespectful, because I don't either."

"I'm a Daily Mail reader but I'm worried about what all the other Daily Mail readers will do. They will read it and say 'well, if it's in the Daily Mail it must be true'."

"No-one really knows what Europe is. Is it trade, human rights, migration – people don't really know what they are being asked to sign up for."

Participants did not expect much enlightenment from the media, most of whose coverage would inevitably favour one side or the other ("it's hard to know what's real and what's not"). This often led to a demand for information, or more elusively, "facts" ("we haven't been given as much information as we ought to have been... I'm hoping when we get nearer they'll say what the benefits are"; "there should be an independent commission").

However, when asked what questions they would ask of an impartial commission if they had the chance, it was clear – including to participants themselves – that they did not want facts so much as answers to questions about which there would be competing claims but no definitive answers. (As one put it, "I'd want to ask, 'what does the future hold?'").

"Would we be safer as a nation? Better off? How is the economy going to work? Would we be working for less if we came out? Is our kids' future safe?"

“I don’t think even the politicians and economists know what the difference would be between staying and leaving. It’s just guesswork.”

One fact that participants in most groups had come across was that the UK pays £55 million a day to be a member of the EU. However, people found it difficult to put this figure in context, and especially to quantify it against whatever benefits EU membership brought. Very few thought that if Britain voted to leave, the £55 million a day would find its way back into taxpayers’ pockets.

“What do we get for our £55 million? We can’t be shelling out all this money and getting zip back, but I want to know what it is.”

*

Asked what issues were connected with the EU and were therefore at stake in the referendum, participants mentioned a very wide range of things, including trade, immigration, border control, budget contributions, human rights, employee and consumer rights, free movement, and the UK’s global position.

We explored in the research how these surface issues were connected with people’s deeper concerns and motivations, and this process is described in the chapter on The Thought Process. However, the groups also discussed some of the policy issues at greater length.

Immigration, migration and security

The issues of immigration into Britain, migration into Europe from overseas in order to escape war and persecution, and national security were closely connected in participants’ minds and many made no distinction between the three. This perception had been heightened since the Paris attacks of 13 November, and particularly the news that the terrorist ringleader was believed to have entered Europe in the guise of a refugee from Syria. Participants often noted that the huge numbers entering southern Europe combined with free movement within the EU amounted to an obvious threat to the UK.

This led some to conclude that EU membership made Britain less safe: “we could have better control of our borders if we were not part of the EU”.

Most, however, did not think it was as straightforward as this. Many felt there was “safety in numbers”: even though (they hoped) different national intelligence and security agencies would work together irrespective of EU membership, the kind of co-operation between countries needed to counter the security threat would happen more smoothly within the existing EU structure. (A few, though, doubted that other European countries felt the same sense of solidarity towards the UK

that we had shown after the Paris attacks: “I don’t think they’d have the Union Jack flying over the Eiffel Tower if it had happened here.”)

Moreover, dealing with the threat of terrorism – which would exist whether we were members of the EU or not – was more to do with effective security than with independent policy making.

“I was thinking we need to get out but now I’m thinking maybe we need to stick together.”

“Most of Europe has a common goal and a common interest – you don’t have to be part of the EU for that but it’s just more likely to happen, just because they know each other. You co-operate more effectively if you have that common ground.”

“For me it’s more that we need to improve security – one of the attackers got through on a fake passport. We need to be able to check they are who they say they are.”

“We wouldn’t stop visitors coming [if we left] so I don’t know how it would make a difference to security.”

“I think it’s us, the Western world, the civilised world against the terrorists... It’s just us and them – I don’t think it matters whether we’re in Europe or not.”

“It’s people living here being brainwashed rather than people coming into the country. That would be the same whether we were in the EU or not.”

Some argued that leaving the EU would allow the UK more control over the volume of immigration – no least because a few were under the misapprehension that Britain had been set a quota for the number of migrants it was obliged to take. It was also noted that non-EU countries like Switzerland and Australia seemed to exercise stricter control over who was and was not allowed to enter the country to live and work.

“People are coming in to Greece who can’t support themselves. We’ve got to decide whether we want to carry on supporting that.”

“If we were a member we would have more control over the volume of migration. Switzerland have stricter controls.”

“Australians are much stricter and we are probably envious of that.”

“We don’t have a choice about taking European citizens and when Turkey joins there will be even more.”

“If we weren’t in the EU we wouldn’t have to take as many. We were told we had to take a certain amount of them. It was going to be

5,000 then we were told it had to take 25,000. Where are we going to put them?"

However, many did not believe that leaving the EU would necessarily lead to a fall in net immigration into Britain. There was no guarantee that a UK government, left to its own devices, would be any tougher on immigration than it was at the moment, and people would still come from other parts of the world. The idea that EU exit would mean much stricter immigration control sounded like the sort of political promise that never quite materialises in practice.

Many put recent levels of immigration down to the idea that the government was a "soft touch" when it came to benefits, rather than European rules. Meanwhile, membership or otherwise of the EU would not affect the numbers claiming asylum.

"People will think it would reduce immigration, but I don't think that is necessarily true. That needs to be dealt with separately."

"If we weren't in the EU, migrants would still have the right to come. People would still be claiming asylum."

"They can walk in and get a house. People can come from other countries and claim more than we're entitled to."

"It depends who's in charge. That what's his name, Corbyn, he'd let them all in if he could."

This was reflected in the results of our poll. While 39% thought "we'll never be able to bring immigration under control unless we leave the EU", nearly as many agreed "we won't be able to bring immigration under control *even if* we leave the EU."

When it comes to migration into Britain, which of the following do you think lies closest to the truth?

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
We'll never be able to bring immigration under control unless we leave the European Union	84	55	37	27	11	5	2
We won't be able to bring immigration under control even if we leave the European Union	11	27	36	37	62	58	55
Immigration is already under control	2	11	3	7	9	19	29
Don't know	3	8	24	29	18	18	14

Influence and trade

Participants were divided, and many were deeply uncertain, as to whether EU membership gave the UK more or less influence in the wider world. Though people understood the argument that 28 states together carried more weight than any one could carry alone, many doubted that Britain had much influence within the EU itself – both because we were only one country among 28, and because the other members did not seem to like us very much.

“We get bullied. Everyone’s against us. We’re marginalised. It’s like, ‘sorry, and you are?’”

“Before it was twelve member states. So it was the real European countries, not the Baltic states, so we had a big say in it. No we have hardly any say because there’s so many countries come into it.”

“Merkel is effectively the head of the EU. Everything seems to have to pass through her.”

“Bit of joke but in the Eurovision Song Contest, for instance, no-one votes for us. I don’t think anyone likes us in the European Union. They all vote for one another and we’re just a little island off to the side. You think, why don’t you vote for us? We won the war for you lot.”

For a few, this state of affairs was largely Britain’s own fault – they argued that we had an over-inflated view of our own importance and had always been an awkward partner for other European countries to deal with.

“It took ages to get us in because de Gaulle didn’t want us and now we’re trying to dictate.”

“It’s like when you go for a curry with your mates. We are the one who always says when the bill comes ‘but I didn’t have any poppadoms’.”

Similarly, there was a great deal of uncertainty about the potential consequences for trade of a decision to leave the EU. Many felt intuitively that since we were members of a single market, and facilitating trade was one of the main functions of the EU, leaving carried at least the risk that we could not continue on the same terms. Some argued that it would not be in the EU’s interests to impose trade barriers on the UK and it would therefore not do so – though others countered that even if we remained part of the single market we would not be in a position to influence its rules.

“My dad is a business owner and he can do business with the EU so that helps him. Would not being in the EU mean having access to the market but not a seat at the table? I don’t know what it means. It could not make a difference to me and my family but mean that we don’t have a national seat at the table.”

“Fifty per cent of our trade goes to European countries. I don’t know how leaving would affect that, but I’m guessing it would be negative.”

“But if they imposed trade tariffs, so would we on them.”

“We buy more from them than they do from us. They would still want to do business.”

“Switzerland gets a better deal for less money. According to the internet.”

Participants were also unsure what the effect would be on Britain’s trade outside the EU – whether we would be free to negotiate more advantageous bilateral trade deals of our own, or whether overseas investors would be deterred from using Britain as their European base. This was one area in which people felt they lacked knowledge and in which certainty would be hard to come by.

“Does it shut the gateway if US companies use this country as a gateway to Europe? Or does it make no difference?”

“The question for me is are we more or less flexible, to get inward investment, in or out of the EU?”

“Business people say it’s important to be in the EU but you don’t know. We were promised cheap food and it never happened.”

“Germany is one of the most successful economies in the world and it obviously hasn’t done them any harm being in.”

“We’re the fifth biggest economy in the world. We’d probably do alright.”

“Haven’t we just made a big trade deal with China?”

Freedom and sovereignty

Some of our participants were exercised about the loss of sovereignty that EU membership entails. For them, consequences included bureaucrats imposing rules about “chocolate and bananas”, instructions that prisoners should be allowed to vote, and the prospect that the UK might one day be “dragged into wars we didn’t start”. The fact that “we’ve had human rights since Magna Carta” meant we did not need to take lessons from Europe on how to protect our liberties.

Others argued that it was a good thing for the EU to take a broader view of things like environmental policy than countries were able to do individually, and that the question was not whether any sovereignty had been lost but whether this was a price worth paying for the benefits of membership.

“Independence and sovereignty means nothing if we would be weaker by coming out. It is a question of whether we would be stronger or weaker.”

“It’s quite good to be having that conversation. Intelligent people coming together from across Europe to discuss things.”

“You’ve got to be in it to win it. It’s better to have some voice rather than none.”

“The upside is the trade, and the downside is the bureaucrats. It’s a question of what we have sacrificed in order to be heard.”

However, many saw the EU as the guarantor of consumer and employee rights, and found it comforting, rather than frustrating, that the UK government was sometimes answerable to a higher European authority. For a few, the idea of “ever closer union” was simply a “relic” of the EU’s founding ideals with no practical consequences.

“Women are paid more because legislation is enforced... The EU helps secure British rights as a British citizen.”

“Without the EU I would be terrified. There would be untrammelled Tories. If Thatcher and Cameron and the hardliners had had their way, we might have lost workers’ rights.”

“Ever closer union is more of a fossil that was worded decades ago. It’s still there because nobody can agree how to change the constitution but it’s just a relic.”

The renegotiation

Though most participants knew David Cameron was aiming to negotiate better membership terms for the UK which he would put before the country in a referendum, very few had any idea what his demands were or how they would be received by other EU leaders. When prompted, some remembered (and strongly approved of) the aim that EU migrants should only be entitled to some benefits after being in the country for four years.

Only a handful had picked up on the accusation that Cameron’s actual demands, as set out in his letter to the President of the European Council, did not match

some of his earlier rhetoric. Nobody expected big changes – at best, there might be small improvements at the margins.

“I’ve heard the phrase but I’ve no clue what it means.”

“Cameron seems to be blowing both ways at once. Does he really want to stay? Is he trying to blackmail Europe into getting us to stay? There is not a lot of straight talking.”

“From what I’ve heard it’s a bit watered down, a bit woolly – “Do you mind if...?” Typical Cameron – strong when he wants to win popularity but when he’s sitting round the table...”

“The four year thing is fantastic. They should earn that right to be entitled to it.”

“I don’t think I’d believe it, to be honest [if Cameron announced a better deal]. Who’s going to police it?”

“One problem is that people don’t know what the current deal is. So I wouldn’t know if the new one was any better.”

“I don’t think things like migration and immigration are going to be open for negotiation. It will be maybe 0.5% of this or that.”

According to our poll, just over a third of voters – including more than half of those who voted Conservative at the general election, more than a third of Labour voters and nearly three in ten SNP supporters – would be more likely to vote for the UK to stay in the EU if David Cameron recommended this on the basis of the new terms he has secured. However, fewer than one in five said they were confident that Cameron would be able to secure a better deal.

If David Cameron announces that he has secured a better deal for Britain within the European Union, and he recommends that Britain should remain in the EU on these new terms, would this:

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain’t Broke	I’m Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
Make you more likely to use your vote in the referendum for Britain to stay in the EU	6	46	24	65	50	61	21
Make you more likely to use your vote in the referendum for Britain to leave the EU	30	26	9	3	3	1	-
Make no difference to how you are likely to vote in the referendum	64	28	68	31	46	38	79

How much confidence do you have that David Cameron and the government will be able to negotiate a better deal for Britain within the EU?

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
A great deal of confidence	1	7	-	3	3	8	1
Quite a lot of confidence	5	23	46	27	17	40	9
Not a great deal of confidence	33	42	42	45	44	35	48
Little or no confidence	59	22	32	9	23	8	32
Don't know	3	5	16	16	12	9	9

Risks of leaving, risks of remaining

Most people felt there was more uncertainty attached to leaving the EU than there was in remaining a member. This was particularly true, and had the most direct potential personal impact, when it came to trade and the economy. There was also a fear of isolation and, for some, of what future UK governments might do without Europe keeping them in order.

"I don't know where I will be in ten years' time. I might want to go and live in Spain."

"It's not wanting to be isolated. It's not wanting to be out there on our own."

"I would feel less confident in the government. The EU is a presence you can't ignore. There would be no-one to answer to. Someone like David Cameron you could rely on to consider things properly but if someone was elected who wasn't so straight..."

"Europe needs to reform itself vastly but there is an element of safety there."

"We've never known anything other than being in Europe. It's fear of the unknown."

"My problem is that no-one's left before and we don't know what will happen. It could be a disaster, it could be brilliant. Nobody knows."

However, the uncertainty was by no means all on one side – a decision to remain in the EU would bring its own risks. Though few thought there was any chance of the EU evolving into a United States of Europe, some thought the evidence of the last 40 years was that the direction of travel was towards further integration, with results that could not yet be foreseen. Practical consequences in the medium term could include the effects of continued higher immigration, further dilution of UK influence as more countries join, a requirement to contribute to bailouts of

weaker European economies, loss of our current opt-outs, and pressure to join the euro.

“In Europe we were 15% of the total, now we’re 3 or 4%; Europe is an ever-changing face. Who knows how it is going to change, who is going to join, and what rules will change to accommodate them. The dynamics could change again.”

“Originally it was more of a coming together of equals. Now they are bringing in weaker economies, and we will have to support them. We might have to pay for the bailouts.”

“I’m worried that we’d be dragged along if we stayed in it. It would depend how strong a government we had. They don’t like to be said no to. With 28 in there, one isn’t going to make a lot of difference.”

“We could be forced into the Eurozone.”

“I’ve got grandkids and I can see how the area has changed over the last 20 years. I don’t like the way it’s going, it’s destabilising. And with the borders they don’t know who they’re letting in.”

“If we stay, our quality of life would be diminished to the lowest common denominator in Europe because we would have to bring up Turkey and other places. They want what we have and the only way for them to get it is for us to give it to them.”

“Would it be the In we’ve got, or In-In? All-In?”

This sense that uncertainties existed on both sides of the decision also emerged in our poll. Just over half (53%) said leaving the EU carried the greater risk to Britain, with 47% saying the bigger risk came from remaining a member.

Which do you think carries the bigger cost or risk to Britain – remaining a member of the EU, or leaving the EU?

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
Remaining a member of the EU	55	36	29	86	37
Leaving the EU	45	64	71	14	63

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
Remaining a member of the EU	94	74	55	26	10	7	-
Leaving the EU	6	26	45	74	90	93	100

Forward or back?

Despite their uncertainty on many fronts, to most of our participants a decision to leave the EU would feel more like a step backwards than a step forward. Some argued that leaving the EU would demonstrate the UK's strength and independence, and that the country would be able to hold its own in the world ("some of our history has been a bit dubious but we've always been on the world stage").

More often, though, people argued that leaving would seem more like a step towards isolation and away from the modern world.

"It would be inward-looking. Turning our back on things, even xenophobic. It would mean that in the collective consciousness there was an anti-liberal perspective. That would make me sad."

"A lot in European countries is better than what goes on here. I don't want to cut ourselves off from that. It seems a backward step to leave."

"If we wanted to leave the EU it would be because we wanted to be less multicultural."

"If we left it would mean we were a bit selfish, for ourselves, not supporting other countries. 'We're alright Jack – you look after your own problems'."

"We could have an island mentality and go back to colonialism. We had the great British empire, but it's not there now."

Trust and association

Given their uncertainty, and the absence of reliable and decisive "facts", many participants conceded that their decision would depend largely on which individuals in the campaign they most trusted (or distrusted least). Whatever their disdain for politicians, the fact that UKIP were the only party campaigning for Britain to leave the EU was telling for some.

"David Cameron and Nicola Sturgeon and Ed Miliband and probably Jeremy Corbyn are in favour of staying. The people who want out are UKIP, the extreme right wing. I don't know enough about the arguments but it's about whom you trust."

"Farage and UKIP are the only party who want to leave the EU. There must be a reason why other parties don't think that."

Some were also guided by the kind of people who seemed to be on each side of the argument. Younger people who were comfortable in a diverse society and had had the opportunity to travel would probably be inclined to remain. Meanwhile, if wanting to leave the EU did necessarily imply that someone was small-minded or

racist, small-minded people or those with racist tendencies would probably want to leave the EU.

“I’m a bit older and a lot of my friends are quite racist, and they’re the ones that want to come out.”

“The kind of people who say Cornwall’s Cornwall, Cornwall’s not England.”

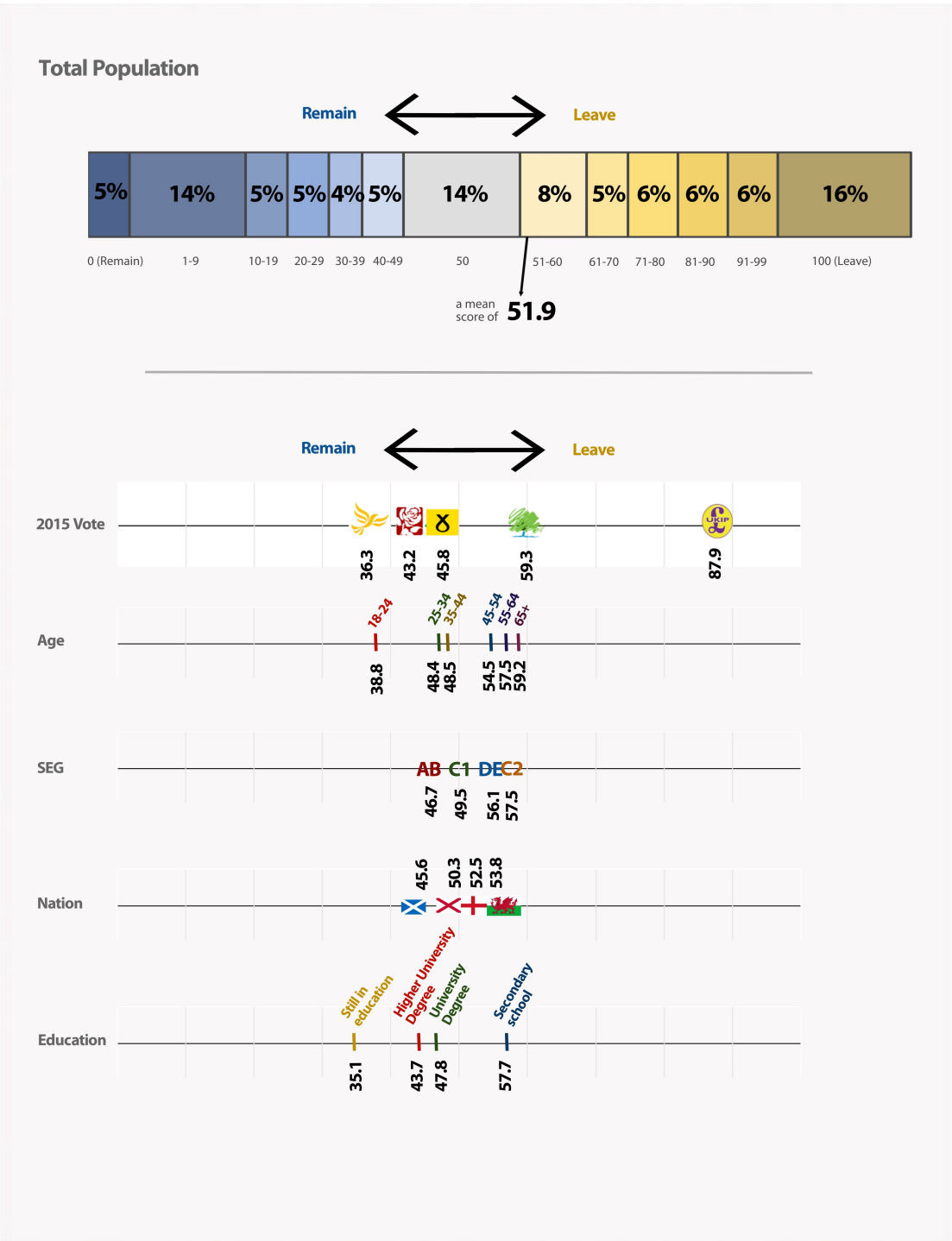
Most people thought Nigel Farage would lead the Leave campaign. There was also an assumption that after the negotiation, David Cameron would lead the campaign to remain. Very few participants knew of any other figures involved.

“That Stuart Rose from Next. Or is it Marks & Spencer? He’s heading up the campaign to get out of Europe. Or is it to stay in?”

Full Poll Results

20,054 adults were interviewed online between 20 November and 2 Remain 2015. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in the United Kingdom. Full data tables are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com

1. As you may know, the government is committed to holding a referendum on the UK’s membership of the European Union before the end of 2017 – that is, within the next two years. Using a scale from 0 to 100, please indicate how likely you are to vote one way or the other, where 0 means “I will definitely vote for the UK to *remain* a member of the EU, and 100 means “I will definitely vote for the UK to *leave* the EU”, and 50 means “I am completely undecided”. (A number between 0 and 50 means you lean towards voting for Britain to remain a member, and a number between 50 and 100 means you lean towards voting for Britain to leave).



In the following results, figures are given for those answering 0-49 (inclined to remain), 50 (completely undecided) and 51-100 (inclined to leave).

2. You gave a score of [X], meaning you [will definitely/lean towards Britain remaining a member of the EU/leaving the EU]. How likely do you think it is that you could be persuaded to do the opposite?

%	ALL	Men	Women	0-49	51-100
I don't have a strong view and could easily be persuaded to change my mind	32	26	38	23	26
I am fairly sure I will vote this way and would take a lot of persuading to do otherwise	68	74	62	77	74

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
I don't have a strong view and could easily be persuaded to change my mind	1	13	83	100	9	1	3
I am fairly sure I will vote this way and would take a lot of persuading to do otherwise	99	87	17	-	91	99	97

3. Why does it matter whether the UK remains in the European Union or leaves? What's at stake?
[Respondents chose three answers from a selection of 41 options which had been suggested by focus groups]

Top Ten – ALL	0-49	50	51-100
Immigration (23%)	Free trade (22%)	Immigration (22%)	Immigration (35%)
Control of borders (18%)	Free movement (22%)	Control of borders (16%)	Control of borders (26%)
Migration/refugees (16%)	Economic security (20%)	Migration/refugees (15%)	Migration/refugees (26%)
Free movement (15%)	Trade agreements (19%)	Pound or euro (15%)	UK contrib'n to EU budget (20%)
UK contribution to EU budget (13%)	UK's global position (16%)	Free movement (14%)	National security (12%)
Free trade (13%)	Human rights (13%)	UK contrib'n to EU budget (12%)	Red tape & regulation (11%)
Economic security (12%)	Inward investment (13%)	Trade agreements (10%)	Sovereignty (10%)
Trade agreements (11%)	No wars btw EU countries (13%)	Free trade (10%)	Pound or euro (10%)
National security (11%)	National security (11%)	National security (9%)	Bureaucracy (9%)
Human rights (10%)	Workers' rights (9%)	Economic security (9%)	Free movement (9%)

Con voters' top 10	Lab voters' top 10	LD voters' top 10
Immigration (28%)	Immigration (18%)	Free trade (19%)
Control of borders (23%)	Free trade (16%)	Economic security (18%)
UK contrib'n to EU budget (18%)	Free movement (16%)	Trade agreements (17%)
Migration/refugees (18%)	Economic security (15%)	Free movement (16%)
Free trade (14%)	Control of borders (14%)	UK's global position (15%)
Trade agreements (13%)	Trade agreements (13%)	Immigration (15%)
National security (13%)	Human rights (13%)	Control of borders (12%)
Economic security (12%)	Migration/refugees (12%)	UK contrib'n to EU budget (11%)
Free movement (12%)	UK's global position (11%)	Inward investment (11%)
Sovereignty (12%)	National security (11%)	National security (11%)

UKIP voters' top 10	SNP voters' top 10
Immigration (47%)	Free trade (18%)
Control of borders (34%)	Free movement (17%)
Migration/refugees (34%)	Human rights (17%)
UK contrib'n to EU budget (24%)	Immigration (16%)
Sovereignty (14%)	Migration/refugees (16%)
National security (12%)	Control of borders (15%)
Red tape and regulation (10%)	Economic security (14%)
France & Germany running things (10%)	Trade agreements (13%)
Bureaucracy (9%)	Workers' rights (13%)
Ever closer union/federalism (6%)	Inward investment (10%)

Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC
Immigration (45%)	Immigration (27%)	Immigration (26%)	Immigration (19%)
Migration/refugees (33%)	Control of borders (22%)	Control of borders (17%)	Free movement (16%)
Control of borders (32%)	Migration/refugees (19%)	Migration/refugees (17%)	Control of borders (15%)
UK contrib'n to EU budget (25%)	UK contrib'n to EU budget (18%)	Pound or euro (14%)	Free trade (15%)
Sovereignty (13%)	National security (12%)	Free movement (11%)	Economic security (13%)
Red tape & regulation (13%)	Red tape & regulation (11%)	National security (11%)	Trade agreements (13%)
National security (11%)	Bureaucracy (10%)	UK contrib'n to EU budget (11%)	Pound or euro (13%)
France & Germany running things (11%)	Free movement (10%)	Free trade (8%)	UK contrib'n to EU budget (13%)
Bureaucracy (10%)	Free trade (10%)	Trade agreements (8%)	Britain's global position (10%)
Human rights (8%)	Pound or euro (10%)	Economic security (7%)	National security (10%)

If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
Free trade (20%)	Free trade (28%)	Free movement (29%)
Free movement (19%)	Economic security (25%)	Human rights (27%)
Economic security (17%)	Trade agreements (24%)	Economic security (22%)
Trade agreements (17%)	Free movement (23%)	Free trade (22%)
Britain's global position (13%)	Britain's global position (22%)	Trade agreements (19%)
No wars btw EU c'tries (12%)	Inward investment (17%)	Workers' rights (17%)
National security (11%)	No wars btw EU c'tries (15%)	Britain's global position (16%)
Inward investment (10%)	Global voice (11%)	No wars btw EU c'tries (15%)
Control of borders (10%)	National security (11%)	Inward investment (15%)
Immigration (10%)	EU funds for UK infrastructure (10%)	Global voice (9%)

4. When it comes to migration into Britain, which of the following do you think lies closest to the truth?

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
We'll never be able to bring immigration under control unless we leave the European Union	39	11	28	65
We won't be able to bring immigration under control even if we leave the European Union	37	56	34	22
Immigration is already under control	9	16	5	5
Don't know	15	17	33	8

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
We'll never be able to bring immigration under control unless we leave the European Union	51	29	26	83	33
We won't be able to bring immigration under control even if we leave the European Union	34	43	49	12	42
Immigration is already under control	5	14	12	2	14
<i>Don't know</i>	10	14	13	4	11

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
We'll never be able to bring immigration under control unless we leave the European Union	84	55	37	27	11	5	2
We won't be able to bring immigration under control even if we leave the European Union	11	27	36	37	62	58	55
Immigration is already under control	2	11	3	7	9	19	29
<i>Don't know</i>	3	8	24	29	18	18	14

5. The Prime Minister, David Cameron, has said that he and the government will attempt to negotiate better terms of membership for Britain in the European Union. There will then be a referendum before the end of 2017, the year after next, on whether Britain should remain a member of the EU on the new terms he has negotiated. If David Cameron announces that he has secured a better deal for Britain within the European Union, and he recommends that Britain should remain in the EU on these new terms, would this:

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
Make you more likely to use your vote in the referendum for Britain to <i>stay</i> in the EU	35	46	35	27
Make you more likely to use your vote in the referendum for Britain to <i>leave</i> the EU	13	3	5	23
Make no difference to how you are likely to vote in the referendum	52	50	60	50

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
Make you more likely to use your vote in the referendum for Britain to <i>stay</i> in the EU	51	35	44	13	28
Make you more likely to use your vote in the referendum for Britain to <i>leave</i> the EU	11	12	6	30	11
Make no difference to how you are likely to vote in the referendum	38	54	50	57	61

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
Make you more likely to use your vote in the referendum for Britain to <i>stay</i> in the EU	6	46	24	65	50	61	21
Make you more likely to use your vote in the referendum for Britain to <i>leave</i> the EU	30	26	9	3	3	1	-
Make no difference to how you are likely to vote in the referendum	64	28	68	31	46	38	79

6. How much confidence do you have that David Cameron and the government will be able to negotiate a better deal for Britain within the EU?

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
A great deal of confidence	3	4	2	3
Quite a lot of confidence	16	22	11	12
Not a great deal of confidence	41	43	42	40
Little or no confidence	30	20	25	39
<i>Don't know</i>	10	11	21	6

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
A great deal of confidence	7	2	3	1	0
Quite a lot of confidence	29	12	21	5	10
Not a great deal of confidence	43	43	50	31	42
Little or no confidence	17	36	19	60	42
<i>Don't know</i>	5	7	7	3	6

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
A great deal of confidence	1	7	-	3	3	8	1
Quite a lot of confidence	5	23	46	27	17	40	9
Not a great deal of confidence	33	42	42	45	44	35	48
Little or no confidence	59	22	32	9	23	8	32
<i>Don't know</i>	3	5	16	16	12	9	9

7. Which do you think carries the bigger cost or risk to Britain – remaining a member of the EU, or leaving the EU?

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
Remaining a member of the EU	47	13	39	77
Leaving the EU	53	87	61	23

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
Remaining a member of the EU	55	36	29	86	37
Leaving the EU	45	64	71	14	63

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
Remaining a member of the EU	94	74	55	26	10	7	-
Leaving the EU	6	26	45	74	90	93	100

8. Overall, do you think the UK at the moment is heading in the right direction, or is it on the wrong track?

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
Right direction	47	53	43	44
Wrong track	53	47	57	56

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
Right direction	79	33	59	28	29
Wrong track	21	67	41	72	71

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
Right direction	31	64	28	69	49	81	26
Wrong track	69	36	72	31	51	19	74

9. And would you say you are happy or disappointed with the way your life has turned out so far?

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
Happy	63	70	60	59
Disappointed	37	30	40	41

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
Happy	80	58	74	50	59
Disappointed	20	42	26	50	41

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
Happy	50	73	48	76	64	88	63
Disappointed	50	27	52	24	36	12	37

10. Now thinking about the UK in 30 years' time, will it be a better or worse country for most people to live in than it is today?

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
Will be better	38	48	33	31
Will be worse	62	52	67	69

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
Will be better	51	36	49	18	37
Will be worse	49	64	51	82	63

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
Will be better	14	63	2	69	27	98	27
Will be worse	86	37	98	31	73	2	73

11. Below are some pairs of statements. Please say which statement in each pair you most agree with, even if you don't completely agree with it.

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
It doesn't make much of a difference whether Britain is a member of the EU or not	13	8	17	17
It matters hugely whether Britain is a member of the EU or not	81	88	69	79

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
It doesn't make much of a difference whether Britain is a member of the EU or not	13	12	9	16	9
It matters hugely whether Britain is a member of the EU or not	83	84	88	81	86

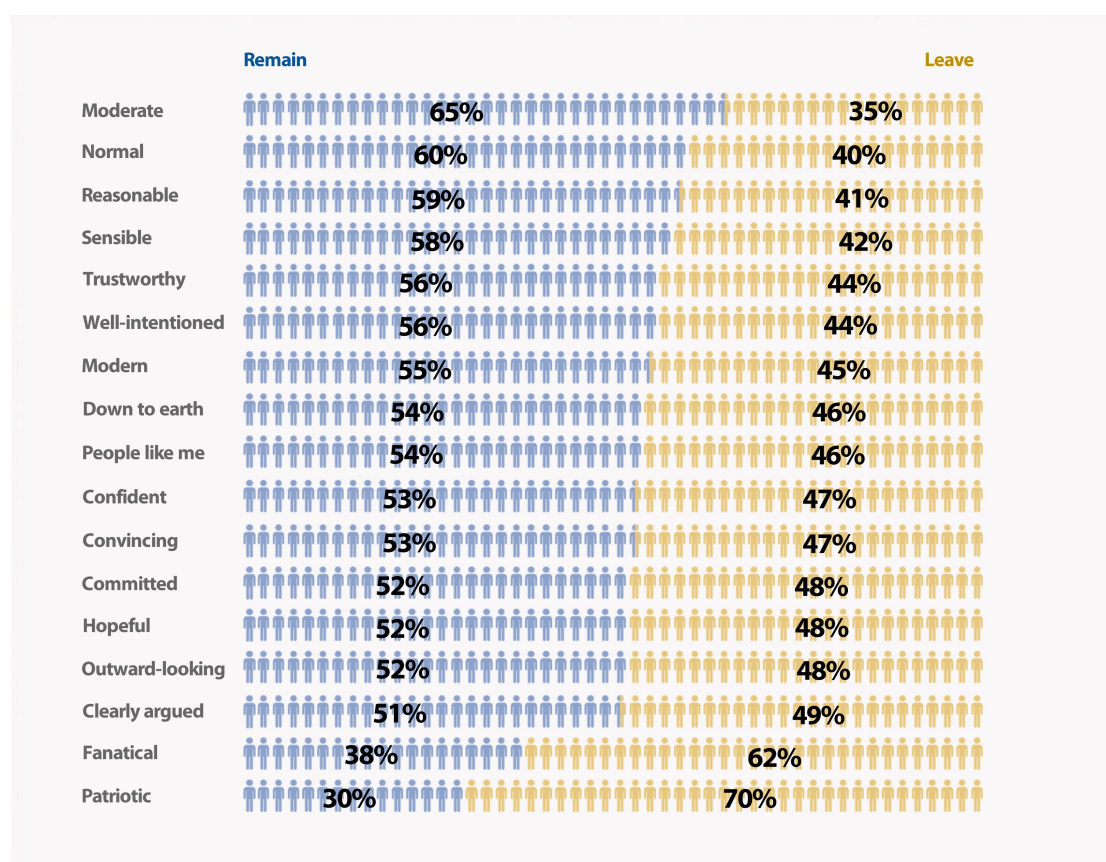
%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
It doesn't make much of a difference whether Britain is a member of the EU or not	16	15	20	13	10	4	3
It matters hugely whether Britain is a member of the EU or not	81	81	68	76	85	94	96

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%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
Britain's referendum on EU membership is much more important than Scotland's referendum on independence in 2014	64	61	55	68
Britain's membership on EU membership is much less important than Scotland's referendum on independence in 2014	26	27	27	25

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
Britain's referendum on EU membership is much more important than Scotland's referendum on independence in 2014	79	61	55	56	61	67	59
Britain's membership on EU membership is much less important than Scotland's referendum on independence in 2014	16	33	30	29	28	24	28

12. Thinking about those who are campaigning for Britain to leave the EU, and those campaigning for Britain to remain a member, which side do you think sounds more...



13. Below are some pairs of statements. Please say which statement in each pair you most agree with, even if you don't completely agree with it.

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
If you work hard, it is possible to be very successful in Britain no matter what your background	57	59	55	57
In Britain today, people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to be successful no matter how hard they work	43	41	45	43

%	ALL	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
If you work hard, it is possible to be very successful in Britain no matter what your background	57	78	44	61	49	43
In Britain today, people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to be successful no matter how hard they work	43	22	56	39	51	57

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
If you work hard, it is possible to be very successful in Britain no matter what your background	51	67	46	69	56	80	41
In Britain today, people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to be successful no matter how hard they work	49	33	54	31	44	20	59

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%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
For most children growing up in Britain today, life will be better than it was for their parents	39	47	37	32
For most children growing up in Britain today, life will be worse than it was for their parents	61	53	63	68

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
For most children growing up in Britain today, life will be better than it was for their parents	48	36	46	21	37
For most children growing up in Britain today, life will be worse than it was for their parents	52	64	54	79	63

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
For most children growing up in Britain today, life will be better than it was for their parents	21	52	20	59	34	79	29
For most children growing up in Britain today, life will be worse than it was for their parents	79	48	80	41	66	21	71

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%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
With the way the economy and society are changing, there will be more threats to my standard of living in future than there will be opportunities to improve it	71	65	73	75
The way the economy and society are changing will bring more opportunities for me to improve my standard of living than threats to it	29	35	27	25

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
With the way the economy and society are changing, there will be more threats to my standard of living in future than there will be opportunities to improve it	61	76	67	84	77
The way the economy and society are changing will bring more opportunities for me to improve my standard of living than threats to it	39	24	33	16	23

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
With the way the economy and society are changing, there will be more threats to my standard of living in future than there will be opportunities to improve it	87	55	87	56	81	23	89
The way the economy and society are changing will bring more opportunities for me to improve my standard of living than threats to it	12	45	12	44	19	77	11

*

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
On the whole, immigration into Britain has been a good thing for the country	44	68	39	27
On the whole, immigration into Britain has been a bad thing for the country	56	32	61	73

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
On the whole, immigration into Britain has been a good thing for the country	41	56	69	13	58
On the whole, immigration into Britain has been a bad thing for the country	59	44	31	87	42

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
On the whole, immigration into Britain has been a good thing for the country	13	43	28	53	54	82	89
On the whole, immigration into Britain has been a bad thing for the country	87	57	72	47	46	18	11

*

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
Changes in society in Britain over the last few years have been mostly for the better	34	45	32	26
Changes in society in Britain over the last few years have been mostly for the worse	66	55	68	74

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
Changes in society in Britain over the last few years have been mostly for the better	47	29	45	13	25
Changes in society in Britain over the last few years have been mostly for the worse	53	71	55	87	75

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
Changes in society in Britain over the last few years have been mostly for the better	13	44	19	52	33	74	31
Changes in society in Britain over the last few years have been mostly for the worse	87	56	81	48	67	26	69

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%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
Overall, life in Britain today is better than it was 30 years ago	53	66	50	44
Overall, life in Britain today is worse than it was 30 years ago	47	34	50	56

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
Overall, life in Britain today is better than it was 30 years ago	66	50	67	30	51
Overall, life in Britain today is worse than it was 30 years ago	34	50	33	70	49

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
Overall, life in Britain today is better than it was 30 years ago	32	60	37	70	54	89	61
Overall, life in Britain today is worse than it was 30 years ago	68	40	63	30	46	11	39

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%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
It matters a great deal which party wins an election, since the parties have different principles, priorities and policies that they can put into practice in government	56	63	45	53
It matters very little which party wins an election, since the parties end up doing the same things once in government and nothing improves for people like me	44	37	55	47

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
It matters a great deal which party wins an election, since the parties have different principles, priorities and policies that they can put into practice in government	77	63	63	45	50
It matters very little which party wins an election, since the parties end up doing the same things once in government and nothing improves for people like me	23	37	37	55	50

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
It matters a great deal which party wins an election, since the parties have different principles, priorities and policies that they can put into practice in government	46	69	29	69	51	80	73
It matters very little which party wins an election, since the parties end up doing the same things once in government and nothing improves for people like me	54	31	71	31	49	20	27

*

%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
We need leaders who listen to the people and do what they want	67	66	69	68
We need leaders who will stick to what they believe is right, even if it is unpopular	33	34	31	32

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
We need leaders who listen to the people and do what they want	55	73	62	74	76
We need leaders who will stick to what they believe is right, even if it is unpopular	45	27	38	26	24

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
We need leaders who listen to the people and do what they want	73	61	70	64	66	58	76
We need leaders who will stick to what they believe is right, even if it is unpopular	27	39	30	36	34	42	24

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%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
It should be easier for firms to hire people and lay them off when they need to	35	32	29	39
There should be more protection for employees even if that costs firms more and fewer jobs are created overall	65	68	71	61

%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
It should be easier for firms to hire people and lay them off when they need to	55	20	37	37	21
There should be more protection for employees even if that costs firms more and fewer jobs are created overall	45	80	63	63	79

%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
It should be easier for firms to hire people and lay them off when they need to	38	45	27	40	31	42	15
There should be more protection for employees even if that costs firms more and fewer jobs are created overall	62	55	73	60	69	58	85

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	%	ALL	0-49	50	51-100
People expect too much from the government		30	32	26	30
People are entitled to expect more from the government		70	68	74	70

	%	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP
People expect too much from the government		49	19	39	22	19
People are entitled to expect more from the government		51	81	61	78	81

	%	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
People expect too much from the government		25	38	23	38	32	45	17
People are entitled to expect more from the government		75	62	77	62	68	55	83

14. Do you think of each of the following as being a force for good, a force for ill, or a mixed blessing? Please give each one a score between 0 and 10, where 0 means they are very much a force for ill, and 10 means it is very much a force for good, and 5 means a mixed blessing.

Mean %	ALL	Voted Con	Voted Lab	Voted LD	Voted UKIP	Voted SNP	0-49	50	51-100
The internet	7.36	7.45	7.51	7.51	7.15	7.49	7.56	7.31	7.22
Feminism	6.13	5.72	6.73	6.73	5.20	6.60	6.65	6.16	5.70
Social liberalism	5.60	4.96	6.50	6.75	4.22	6.35	6.38	5.62	4.96
The Green movement	5.89	4.93	6.54	6.58	4.41	6.90	6.66	6.21	5.18
Globalisation	5.61	5.87	5.72	5.85	4.53	5.47	6.10	5.67	5.19
Multiculturalism	5.59	5.08	6.41	6.48	3.10	6.02	6.78	5.95	4.53
Capitalism	5.23	6.32	4.61	5.58	5.20	4.41	5.13	4.88	5.40
Immigration	4.28	4.00	5.07	5.56	2.01	5.05	5.64	4.23	3.21

Mean %	Nothing To Lose	Global Britain	Hard-Pressed Undecideds	Listen To DC	If It Ain't Broke	I'm Alright Jacques	Citizens Of The World
The internet	6.95	7.76	6.92	7.57	7.13	8.1	7.81
Feminism	4.97	6.72	5.73	6.47	5.21	6.8	8.62
Social liberalism	4.65	6.08	5.19	5.92	5.56	6.54	7.76
The Green movement	4.39	6.03	5.8	6.23	5.94	6.62	8.09
Globalisation	4.39	6.35	5.06	6.2	5.48	6.93	6.11
Multiculturalism	3.04	6.39	4.97	6.52	5.26	7.53	8.65
Capitalism	4.89	6.48	4.38	5.89	4.66	6.45	3.99
Immigration	1.95	4.83	3.4	4.95	4.54	6.42	7.19