The new Blueprint

The Conservative agenda in post-Brexit Britain

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Lord Ashcroft Polls

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Introduction
by Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC

A year after the coalition government was formed I embarked upon a research exercise which I called *Project Blueprint*. It looked at how the Conservatives could win an overall majority, and rested on the premise that if the party did not want to govern in coalition, it would need to build a coalition of voters big enough to allow it to rule on its own.

Just over a year since the 2015 election – and five years since the first instalment of *Project Blueprint* – the political landscape seems at first glance to be almost unrecognisably different. We have a new government led by a new Prime Minister, with no opposition in sight – whether from Labour, who are engaged in a bizarre drama of their own, from the Liberal Democrats, who have all but vanished, or from UKIP which, having accomplished its founding mission, will need to articulate a new purpose for itself. Oh yes, and the UK has voted to leave the EU.

But if the context is different, the Tories' political mission is the same. Whatever the new administration may want to change from David Cameron's time, there is one thing they need to keep: his electoral coalition. This may look today like a safe bet. But if there is one lesson from the last sixteen months – which have seen an unexpected Conservative majority, an unexpected new Labour leader, an unexpected Republican nominee for president, an unexpected vote for Brexit and an unexpected new PM – it is that nothing in politics can any longer be taken for granted, if it ever could.

Still, the current signs could hardly be more encouraging for Theresa May and her team. Two thirds of voters see her as the best available Prime Minister. People in our focus groups spontaneously described her as capable, grounded, smart, tough, feisty, realistic, tenacious, statesmanlike, confident, sharp – and stylish. Some even said that when she took over they had sighed with relief to have a leader who was right for the times. Nearly three quarters including nearly half of those who voted Labour last year, said they trust May and Philip Hammond to manage the economy more than Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell.

The Tories were seen as the best party on the economy, negotiating Britain's EU exit, cutting the deficit, dealing with crime, and reforming welfare, as well as being competent, willing to take tough decisions for the long term, and clear about what they stand for. Labour were still thought to be the most committed to fairness, and retained their traditional lead on the NHS (though no other policy area). But they were described by our focus group participants – including despairing Labour voters – as a shambles, a catastrophe, a basket case and a farce. The party had been taken over by "students, extremists, the far left", and so had no prospect of returning to government. Mr Corbyn might be a decent enough person – though he had been damaged by the "traingate" controversy, which showed he was "just like other politicians" – but he was an activist rather than a leader. As one frustrated supporter put it, Labour have got to be "more than just a social movement – you've got to be able to get in and make the changes."

Fortunately for Labour, there was very little appetite for a general election despite the change at the top – the general view was that everyone had had enough of politics for the time being.

Altogether pretty benign circumstances, then, for a new government. But lack of any effective opposition can make it harder to spot pitfalls, and this research gives some clues as to where to look for them.

The first is in tone. People in our groups noted with approval that there seemed a more formal, businesslike air to things, with less emphasis on PR than we had been used to in recent years. But they also often said there was something about Cameron that made them feel that they could relate to him, and which they felt must be reflected, in turn, in his political agenda. While people heard and welcomed Mrs May's commitment to spreading opportunity to people from all backgrounds, many said they would wait to see whether this materialised in practice – and that they hoped her admirable drive and determination did not turn over time into stridency and refusal to listen.

The second potential pitfall is to do with priorities. Not surprisingly, when asked about the most important issues facing the country, negotiating Brexit on the right terms topped the list, with two thirds of voters naming it in their first three. But when it came to what concerned them and their families, it came fourth behind tackling the cost of living, improving the NHS and getting the economy growing. Securing Britain's exit on the right terms will inevitably dominate the government's agenda, but voters will not be impressed if it seems to do so at the expense of everything else.

The government's third potential pitfall lies in the degree to which it succeeds in bringing the country back together after a bruising referendum debate and what was, for many people, a troubling result. The government is right to insist that Brexit means Brexit, and to act accordingly. But it should remember that many people are apprehensive about the future, including many whom the Tories need to keep in their coalition: "you lost, get over it" would not be a good message for them to hear from a party that will soon enough need their votes.

Achieving the right Brexit deal is the key. This would be a good deal easier if everyone agreed what the right deal looked like. The question of how to balance the aims of controlling immigration and securing access to the single market illustrates the point. Three quarters of those who voted to leave say immigration control should be the priority if it comes to a trade-off; those who voted to remain say it is more important to keep access to the market, by a 22-point margin.

To add to the pressure, we found that many people simply don't accept that any such trade-off exists. Even most remainers agree that new EU citizens having the automatic right to come to live and work in Britain would be incompatible with Brexit (as would continuing to pay into the EU budget). Unless the government can decide who can and cannot enter the UK, they feel, we would not really have left at all.

But whatever the technicalities of the single market, many are baffled as to why there should be any obstacles to carrying on trading as now, let alone why it should be the subject of tough negotiations. Since Europe benefits from free trade by selling more to us than we do to them, they ask, why in the world should we need to make concessions for it to continue?

The agenda is clear enough: immigration control, free trade, and reunite the country by proving you understand there is more to life than Brexit. No-one said government was easy.

MAA
September 2016

Methodology

An online poll of 8,011 adults was conducted between 11 and 22 August 2016. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in the United Kingdom. Full data tables are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com.

Focus groups were held between 12 July and 31 August in Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle, Glasgow, Birmingham, Peterborough, Nottingham, London, Taunton, Southampton and Cardiff. Separate groups were held of men and women, and those who had voted Leave and Remain in the EU referendum.

Key Points

- 67% named Theresa May as the best Prime Minister of the three main party leaders. This included three quarters of those who voted to leave the EU, 58% of those who voted to remain, and 42% of those who voted Labour at the 2015 election.

- 72% said they most trusted Theresa May and Philip Hammond to manage the economy in the best interests of Britain, compared to 28% for Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell. Nearly half (46%) of 2015 Labour voters said they most trusted May and Hammond.

- Nearly two thirds (64%) of respondents said they thought "negotiating Britain's exit from the EU on the right terms" was one of the most important issues facing the country as a whole, followed by "getting the economy growing and creating jobs", mentioned by 56%. However, asked which were the most important issues facing them and their families, negotiating Britain's EU exit was fourth, behind "tackling the cost of living", "improving the NHS" and "getting the economy growing and creating jobs".

- The Conservatives were thought to have the best approach to the economy, negotiating Britain's EU exit, cutting the deficit and the debt, dealing with crime, and reforming welfare. Labour led on the NHS. The two parties were tied on tackling the cost of living and improving schools. UKIP had a narrow lead on controlling immigration.

- Poll respondents were most likely to see Theresa May as "principled", "determined", "competent" and "up to the job". Jeremy Corbyn, though also "principled", was also described as "out of touch", "out of his depth" and "weak". The descriptions applied most to Nicola Sturgeon were "stands up for her country" and "arrogant".

- Among the main parties the Conservatives were seen as the party most "willing to take tough decisions for the long term", "competent and capable", and "clear about what they stand for". Labour remained the most likely to "want to help ordinary people get on in life", to "stand for opportunity for all", to have their "heart in the right place" and stand for "fairness" (though only 33% thought the latter two descriptions applied even to Labour).

- A majority (59%) said Britain was on the right track, including 88% of those who had voted to leave the EU; 71% of remain voters said the country was heading in the wrong direction. By party, 2015 UKIP voters were the most likely to say Britain was on the right track. (Previous surveys had found them to be pessimistic: in January 2015, 76% of UKIP supporters said they thought Britain was heading in the wrong direction.)

- 57% thought the economy would do well over the next year, including 82% of leave voters but only 30% of remainers. Again, 2015 UKIP voters were the most optimistic, with 83% expecting the economy to do well, compared to 72% of Conservatives.

- Asked how the government should balance the goals of controlling immigration and securing continued access to the EU single market in the Brexit negotiations, just over half (52%) said controlling immigration was the more important priority. This included 76% of those who had voted to leave, compared to 28% of those who had voted to remain.

- More than four fifths (81% – including 88% of leavers and 74% of remainers) said a deal which resulted in the UK continuing to pay into the EU budget would not be compatible with Brexit. 79% (including 88% of leavers and 71% of remainers) said the same for any deal giving new foreign nationals the automatic right to live and work in the UK. However, clear majorities said allowing EU nationals already living and working in Britain to stay (77%) and continued access to the single market (61%) would be compatible with Brexit.

All change

He was the future, once

Most in our focus groups took a fairly positive view of David Cameron's time as Prime Minister. Many said they liked him, related to him, felt comfortable with him in charge, and saw him as a safe pair of hands. The groups credited him with getting the economy back on its feet, leading the coalition government in difficult circumstances, and policies including the introduction of same-sex marriage, help for first time buyers, free schools, the higher minimum wage and, indeed, delivering on his promise of a referendum. Those who criticised him tended to mention austerity and unfair cuts.

There were very mixed views, even among his supporters, about Cameron's decision to announce his resignation the morning after the referendum. Some were unimpressed, feeling he had been petulant and had "spat his dummy out", and by going so quickly he had added to the air of instability rather than calming things down: "he could have said he was not going to disrupt the country at this turbulent time;" "he should have stuck by the people. I thought that was what being Prime Minister was about. He's not Winston Churchill, is he?" Some thought he should have remained neutral in the referendum, promising to implement whatever decision the people made, in which case he would still be in place.

"If he was leading it now, the British public would be saying his heart's not really in it. He was too far to the remain side for us to expect him to do a fully committed job."

On balance, however, most thought his departure was inevitable in today's "unforgiving" political environment, and the right thing to do. He had recognised that his position was "untenable" after "the biggest defeat for a British Prime Minister ever – it was more than just his tail between his legs." He had also seen that "no-one would trust him" to lead the effort to get the best exit deal for Britain after being such a vocal advocate of remaining: "If he was leading it now, the British public would be saying his heart's not really in it. He was too far to the remain side for us to expect him to do a fully committed job."

The new regime

It seemed to many that Theresa May had become Prime Minister almost by default, since all the other candidates – most conspicuously Boris Johnson – had "done a runner". However, this willingness to take on the job at such a time demonstrated a certain strength of character, and most people's early impressions of her were very positive: "capable", "grounded", "smart", "tough", "feisty", "realistic", "tenacious", "balanced", "direct", "statesmanlike", "confident", "stylish", "sharp".

Some even said they had felt a "sigh of relief" on hearing she had taken over, as she was the right leader for the times: "We needed someone who had been around, who had

experience like her, because of everything that is happening at the moment." Above all, she was serious: "I liked it when she said 'this isn't a game – the decisions we make affect people'."

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Recollections of her time as Home Secretary were sparse: she had "got the hook man out of the country" and "stood up for a lot of people, fought against people being extradited to America and things". Those who had connections to the police recalled her tenure less fondly, but there was also some grudging admiration: "She went to the Police Federation conference and told them what she thought. I totally opposed what she said, but that was real strength of character, and that's a sign of what's to come, I think."

Though it was still very early days, her early actions had been promising: "I'm very impressed that she sacked lots of people. But the best thing of all is that she put a brake on that nonsense at Hinkley;" "She did well going to see Angela Merkel. Imagine sending bloody Boris Johnson, she'd have had him for lunch. At least they were on an equal footing."

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Some non-Conservatives were also encouraged by her emphasis on spreading opportunity, though they would wait to see whether her government delivered on this: "In her takeover speech she attempted to touch base with the regular person. It's too early to say, but I acknowledge that she made an attempt. It's been a while since that happened because they've been in a different world."

Though it was too soon to say how much Theresa May's agenda would differ from that of her predecessor, there were signs of a change in approach, both in terms of process and presentation: "She won't do sofa government. Doesn't have her pals with her, doesn't mix work with pleasure... It's nice to move away from the old boys' network;" "You looked at Cameron and thought, Tory Boy, millionaire, not in the real world. And I think she's a very serious, deep-thinking politician, not into soundbites;" "She's harder, not bothered about the press. Cameron was 'look at me, I'm eating some sausages', but she just gets on with it;" "Cameron was a very good PR man, and I don't think she's bothered with that. She's not going to sugar-coat things."

"She won't do sofa government. Doesn't have her pals with her... It's nice to move away from the old boys' network"

The groups were impressed with her first performance at Prime Minister's Questions ("I thought she was brilliant. It got to the point where I felt sorry for the bloke"), which

showed she would be able to "stand up to Tusk and Juncker and get the best for the country."

Though she was clearly able to hold her own in the House of Commons, some of the women in the groups regretted "that culture of politicians. She's probably got to do it but I don't like it." But "you've got to give them something, you've got to own the room;" "if she showed a smidgen of weakness they'd annihilate her."

"I hope she won't end up steamrollering and being hard-nosed and not listening."

Several detected echoes of Margaret Thatcher ("she's going to be the new Iron Maiden!"), and for most in our groups this augured well, though some were less sure: "She has an aura of strength and power. I don't know if that's a good thing or a bad thing yet." In particular, they hoped that May's confidence and determination would not harden into stridency: "I hope she won't end up steamrollering and being hard-nosed and not listening."

Some also worried that May might represent a move away from the fairly liberal approach that they identified with Cameron, who they felt able to identify with despite his wealth and class: "She seems more to the right, from bits and bobs I've read. Cameron was fairly liberal in some ways, which made it more of a party I identified with;" "Cameron was a family person, which is why I thought he wasn't so right wing. I like a bit of warmth, someone I can relate to. You want someone who's on your side, not just for a certain group of people."

Theresa v. the rest

In our poll, we gave respondents a long list of words and phrases and asked them to choose the three that they most associated with five politicians: Theresa May, Boris Johnson, Jeremy Corbyn, Tim Farron and Nicola Sturgeon. The answers are summarised below:

Which of the following words and phrases most closely describe...

...Theresa May?

…Boris Johnson?

…Jeremy Corbyn?

…Tim Farron?

…Nicola Sturgeon?

Best Prime Minister? No contest

Which of the following do you think would make the best Prime Minister?
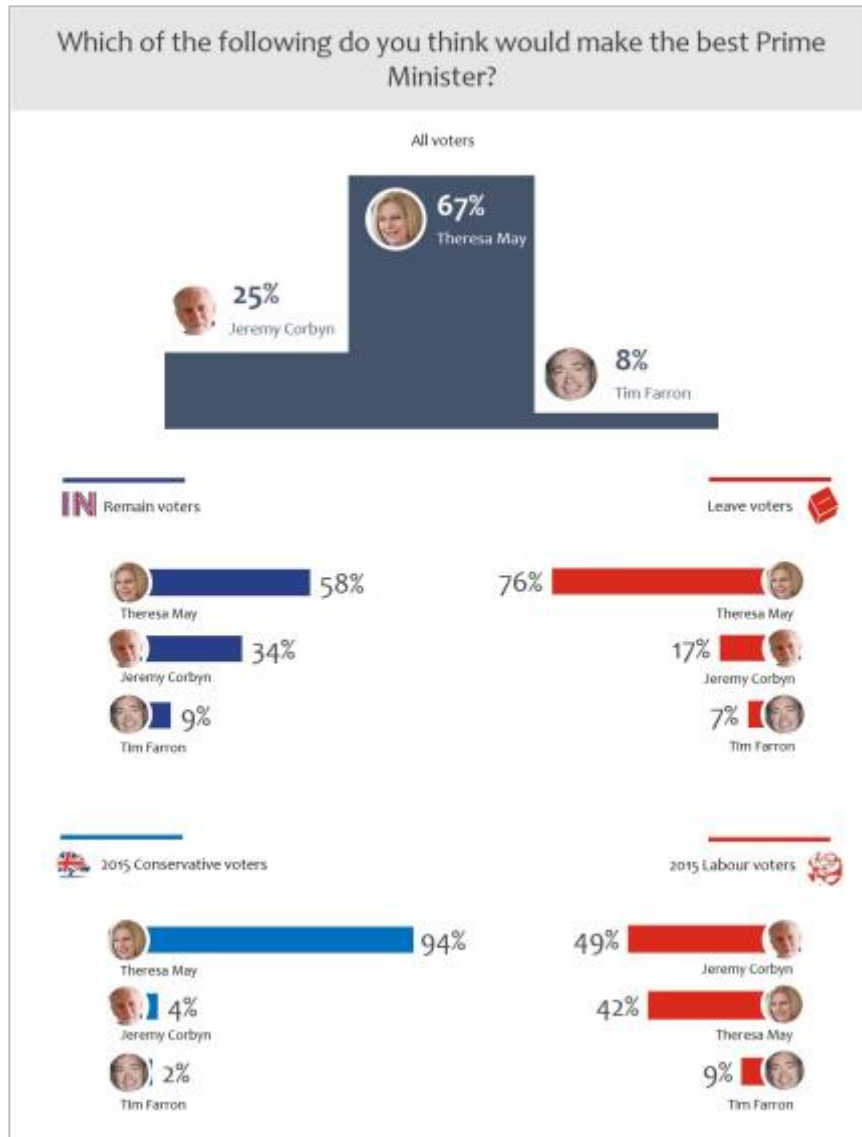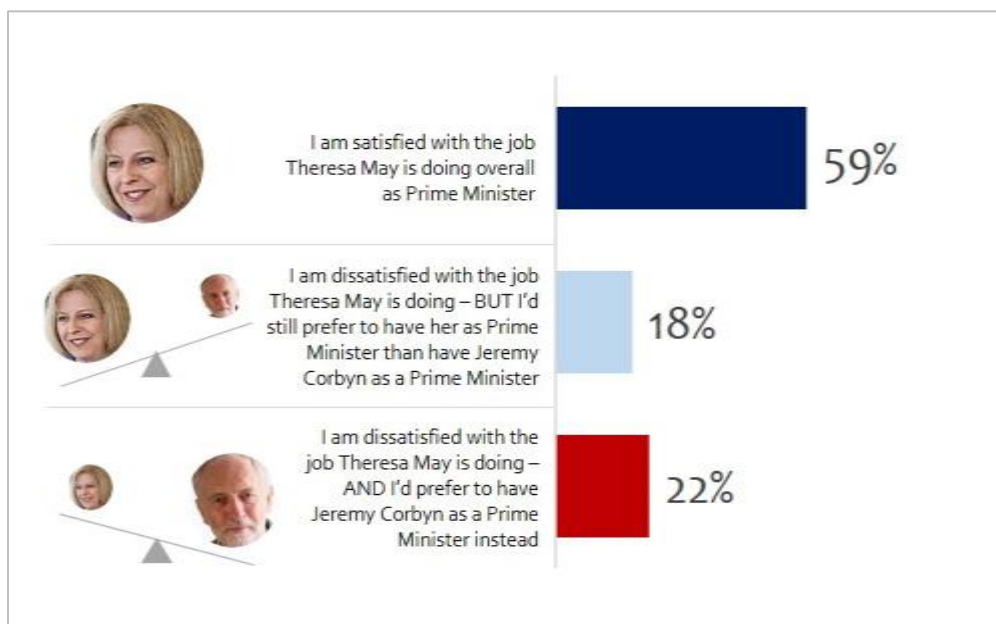
In our poll, two thirds of respondents (67%) named Theresa May as the best available Prime Minister, with 25% choosing Jeremy Corbyn and 8% naming Tim Farron. Three quarters of Leave voters, 58% of Remain voters, and more than four in ten of those who had voted Labour in 2015 chose May. Those who had voted SNP were equally divided between May and Corbyn, with 45% choosing each.

Asked to compare Theresa May directly with Jeremy Corbyn, a majority (59%) said they were happy with the job she was doing as PM. A further 18% said they were dissatisfied but still preferred to see her in Number Ten than Jeremy Corbyn. Just over one in five (22%) said they would rather see Corbyn as Prime Minister.

Best economic team

Whom do you most trust to manage the economy in the best interests of Britain, Theresa May and the Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Hammond, or Jeremy Corbyn and the Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell?

%	Total	Leave	Remain	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
Theresa May & Philip Hammond	72	81	63	96	46	76	87	50
Jeremy Corbyn & John McDonnell	28	19	37	4	54	24	13	50

Nearly three quarters of respondents in our poll said they most trusted Theresa May and Philip Hammond to manage the economy in the best interests of Britain, rather than Jeremy Corbyn and Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell.

This included four in five Leave voters, nearly two thirds of Remain voters, and nearly half (46%) of those who voted Labour at the 2015 election. Again, SNP voters were equally divided between the two teams.

Party attributes

In our poll, respondents were most likely to name Labour as the party that "wants to help ordinary people get on in life", that has its "heart in the right place", and that stands for "fairness", and "opportunity for all".

Labour also held a very narrow lead on being the party that "shares my values" and is "on the side of people like me", though no party scored highly on these measures.

Here are some things that people have said about the main political parties. Please can you say in each case whether, on balance, you think the statement is true of the Conservative Party / the Labour Party / the Liberal Democrats / UKIP?

%	Con	Lab	Lib Dems	UKIP
On the side of people like me	28	<u>32</u>	16	18
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	27	<u>44</u>	23	19
Willing to take tough decisions for the long term	<u>50</u>	21	9	16
Shares my values	29	30	15	18
Competent and capable	<u>41</u>	22	10	10
Will do what they say	<u>27</u>	20	8	17
Clear about what they stand for	<u>34</u>	23	12	32
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	24	27	16	13
Its heart is in the right place	23	<u>33</u>	29	18
Stands for fairness	23	<u>33</u>	24	14
Stands for opportunity for all	25	<u>37</u>	24	12
None of these	37	41	51	53

The Conservative Party was more than twice as likely as any other party to be thought "willing to take tough decisions for the long term", and twice as likely to be thought of as "competent and capable". Respondents were also most likely to name the Tories as being "clear about what they stand for".

The Opposition (such as it is)

Our focus group participants were unanimous about the state of the Labour Party, whatever their usual political allegiance. "Where do you start? I've never seen a party like it. It's a farce." Labour voters complained that it was "a right mess", "a catastrophe", "a basket case", "a shambles". The party was no longer representing its traditional supporters: "The membership is students, extremists, the far left;" "There is a massive disconnect. As a Labour voter, would I ever have considered Jeremy Corbyn as leader? No, never."

"Labour are self-obsessed. I think, why is my MP being paid? They are supposed to be the opposition party, but there is no opposition."

Labour's disintegration had left "a massive chasm at the centre of politics. If there was a new party, I'd give them a go." It also meant the party was failing to do its job: "Labour are self-obsessed. I think, why is my MP being paid? They are supposed to be the opposition party, but there is no opposition;" "I'm not a Tory and I had always voted Labour but I'd vote for Theresa May in an election because Labour are bordering on farce;" "They were clearly unelectable under Miliband but now they have gone even further in the wrong direction."

"Corbyn is the greatest thing for the Tory party that ever happened. He's the gift that keeps on giving."

Jeremy Corbyn himself was "the greatest thing for the Tory party that ever happened. He's the gift that keeps on giving. Totally unelectable;" "unprofessional", "too far to the left;" "like a student leader at Keele". Some praised his values and personal decency, but for most these were not good enough qualifications for the job: "He seems to be a humble man but he's got no charisma and he's not leading anyone to power." (And not everyone was impressed even by these qualities: "He turns me right off. He's an earnest little twerp. Reminds me of Clegg.")

"He's like a student leader at Keele."

Most also took a dim view of the "traingate" incident, in which he had sat on the floor of a London to Newcastle service claiming that no seats were available, despite CCTV footage revealing that there were plenty. A few defended him on the grounds that he was trying to make a wider point ("Virgin can't claim that everyone gets a seat"), but most thought he had damaged his reputation for integrity: "he was caught out lying;" "it showed he was just like other politicians;" "He walked through a carriage of empty seats… The fact he was so annoyed when the question was raised shows he knows he has ballsed it up." In any case, "I don't really want to see a prospective Prime Minister sitting on the floor of a carriage."

"[The train incident] showed he was just like other politicians."

Several were mystified as to why he thought he was right for the job ("How could he see himself winning the election and leading the country internationally?"), or why he carried on when it was so clear his MPs wanted him to go ("You'd just resign, wouldn't you?")

"It's interesting that Blairite has become a dirty word. It got them into power and kept them in power for a long time."

Labour supporters in particular were frustrated that Corbyn and his party had no prospect of winning, or any apparent interest in doing so. Corbyn was not really a politician but "an activist, a CND man." Sticking to outdated values was "the dinosaur approach. If you don't progress, you will die out." To do any good, Labour needed to be more than "just a social movement. You've got to be able to get in and make the changes;" "you can do nothing in opposition;" "voters have got to vote Labour for them to be in power, and at the moment they are not a party people are minded to vote for."

Some were puzzled at how much the party had changed in recent history: "It's interesting that Blairite has become a dirty word. It got them into power and kept them in power for a long time;" "Corbyn is very militant left wing. It's not Britain. Tony Blair said the way Labour went wrong was not understanding the aspirational side of the British people and how they want to get on in their lives. Two hundred thousand Labour people voted for him, but they're the hard core."

Few had paid much attention to the Labour leadership election, and most could not name the challenger, Owen Smith. The few who had formed a view were not much impressed: "He is trying to be more Corbyn than Corbyn. The negotiating with ISIS business was ridiculous." None expected Corbyn to be deposed. Some wondered why Labour's "big hitters" were not standing for the leadership; they concluded that they had already conceded the next election. Though most thought a new leader was needed, it would take more than this for the party to recover: "Labour as a whole are too weak."

UKIP: job done?

Several people in our focus groups remarked that "we've got Nigel Farage to thank for Brexit. He frightened David Cameron into promising a referendum." There was some debate, however, as to UKIP's role now that it had achieved its stated aim: "UKIP is the United Kingdom Independence Party. Why would you vote for it now? We've got Brexit;" "They are a one-policy party. The other bits of the manifesto look like they have been written by people meeting in a pub."

"UKIP is the United Kingdom Independence Party. Why would you vote for it now? We've got Brexit."

But this view was far from universal. UKIP supporters were not alone in arguing that the party still had a role in ensuring the government pursued the best possible deal for Britain: "If the government shows any sign of weakness or steering away from what we voted for…" "They should be there chipping away, making sure we stay on track." They could also continue to fulfil their function of being "an alternative to Labour and the Conservatives", saying the things that needed to be said that no-one else would say: "They balance some arguments. It's good to have opinions on the table."

"They should be there chipping away, making sure we stay on track."

Nobody was able to name any of the party's leadership candidates ("there was the guy who couldn't stand because he didn't have the paperwork, and the woman who was sacked who's always on *Question Time*"). Indeed it was hard to imagine the party under anyone new, and some doubted it could survive without him: "Farage was the face, heart and soul of it."

That's enough voting, thanks

Despite the installation of a new Prime Minister and other momentous changes, very few said they wanted an early general election. A handful of people argued that "a leader needs a personal mandate" and that "we haven't put her there, the people." But most argued that the country needed stability, not more upheaval, and – more often – that they had simply had enough of politics for now: "People are not interested. Burnt out;" "We're fed up with elections, especially up here [in Scotland]. We've got election fatigue."

"Can't we be done with politics for a little while?"

In any case, "the Labour Party don't know what they're doing. It would be unfair to do one until they've sorted themselves out." Since another Conservative government would be a foregone conclusion, the idea of another election "seems like a waste of time."

The agenda

More to life than Brexit

When asked to name the top three most important issues facing Britain as a whole, nearly two thirds (64%) mentioned "negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms". This included a majority of both leave and remain voters (71% and 59%).

Getting the economy growing and creating jobs received the second highest number of mentions (56%). Remainers (67%) were more likely than leavers (48%) to name the economy as one of the most important issues facing Britain.

Which of the following do you think is the most important issue facing <u>Britain as a whole</u>? And which is the second most important? And the third?

% naming in top three	Total	Leavers	Remainers	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms	64	71	59	74	56	66	76	59
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	56	48	67	58	61	65	39	63
Improving the NHS	47	45	50	37	58	52	44	50
Controlling immigration	46	67	24	54	35	25	80	40
Tackling the cost of living	26	17	31	12	35	27	15	35

Overall, improving the NHS and controlling immigration were considered equally important, as issues facing the country as a whole, with 47% and 46% respectively naming them in the top three. However, remainers (24%) and Labour voters (35%) were far less likely to mention controlling immigration as an important issue.

When it came to issues facing "you and your family", the priority list was different. Tackling the cost of living topped the list, closely followed by improving the NHS, with the economy in third place. Negotiating Britain's EU exit was the fourth most important issue on this measure (though it was still top of the list for 2015 Conservative voters).

Which of the following do you think is the most important issue facing <u>you and your family</u>? And which is the second most important? And the third?

%	Total	Leavers	Remainers	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP'15	SNP '15
Tackling the cost of living	56	50	61	46	64	56	46	70
Improving the NHS	55	55	56	50	63	61	51	54
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	47	39	57	49	50	51	31	52
Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms	44	50	41	54	37	46	54	39
Controlling immigration	30	47	13	34	21	16	64	22

Our poll respondents were divided as to which party would do the best job on the five most important issues they thought the country faced. The Conservatives had a 23-point lead over Labour when it came to negotiating Britain's EU exit on the right terms, and a 19-point lead on getting the economy growing and creating jobs.

Labour led by 44% to 31% on improving the NHS, while UKIP had a narrow two-point lead over the Conservatives on controlling immigration. Labour and the Conservatives were thought equally likely (or unlikely) to do a good job of tackling the cost of living.
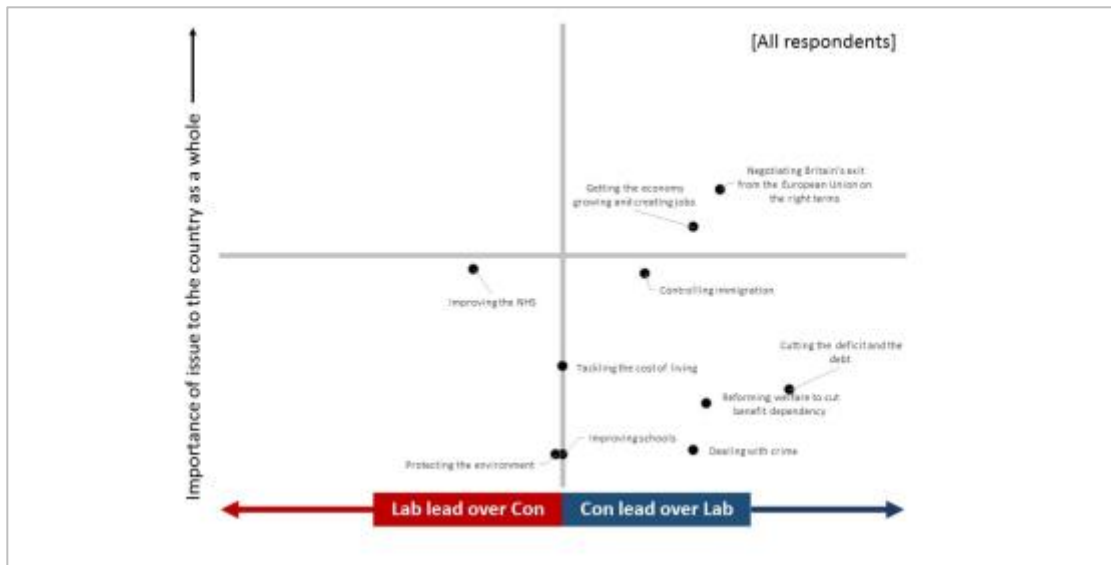
The quadrant diagram above shows the issues facing the country as a whole and the relative advantage to the Conservatives and Labour on each issue. The higher the issue on the chart, the more important voters think it is; the further to the right, the bigger the Tory lead over Labour on that issue.

The diagram below shows the same issues in order of importance to "you and your family".
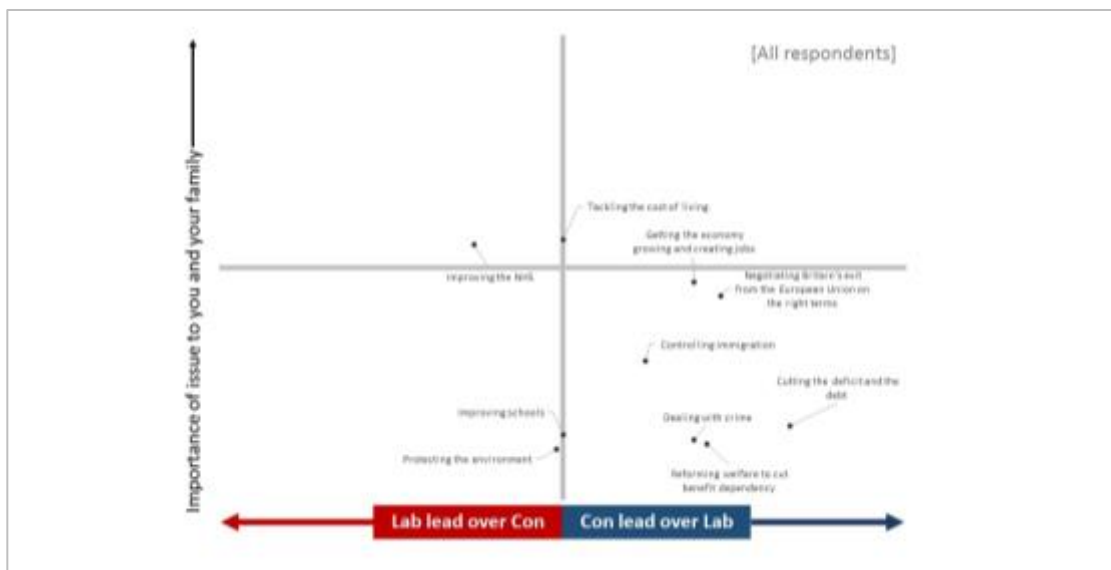
This diagram shows the change in importance and party advantage for each issue since February 2015, when we conducted a comparable poll. "Defending Britain's interests in Europe" has been replaced by "negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms"; otherwise the descriptions are identical. In nearly all cases, the relative Conservative advantage over Labour has increased. (The only exception is controlling immigration, on which the shift is negligible and the Tories retain a strong lead over Labour, though they trail UKIP by a narrow margin).
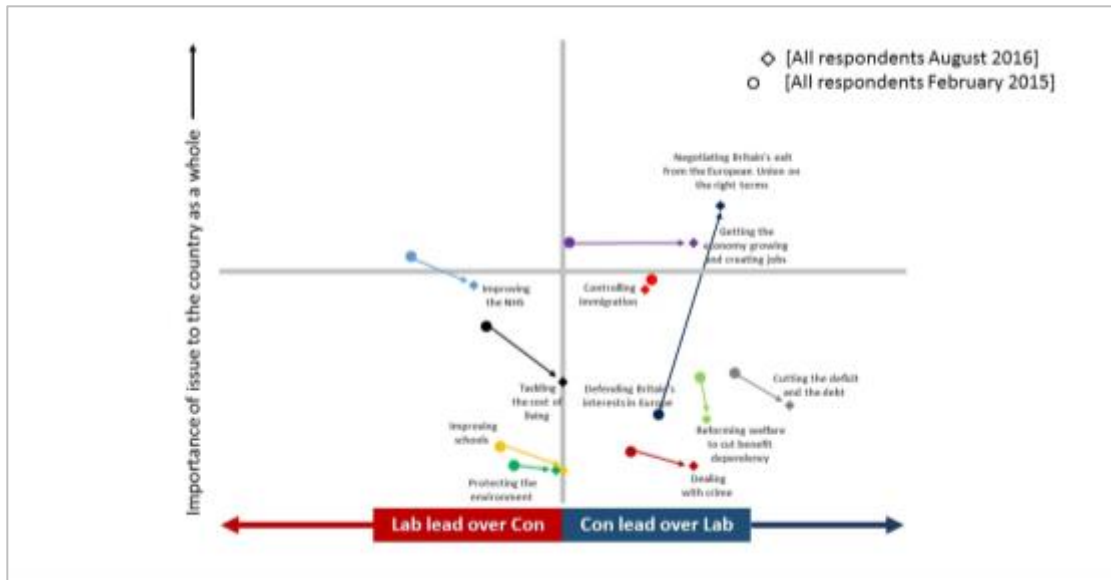
The diagram below shows the importance of different issues, and the relative party advantage on each issue, to remain and leave voters.
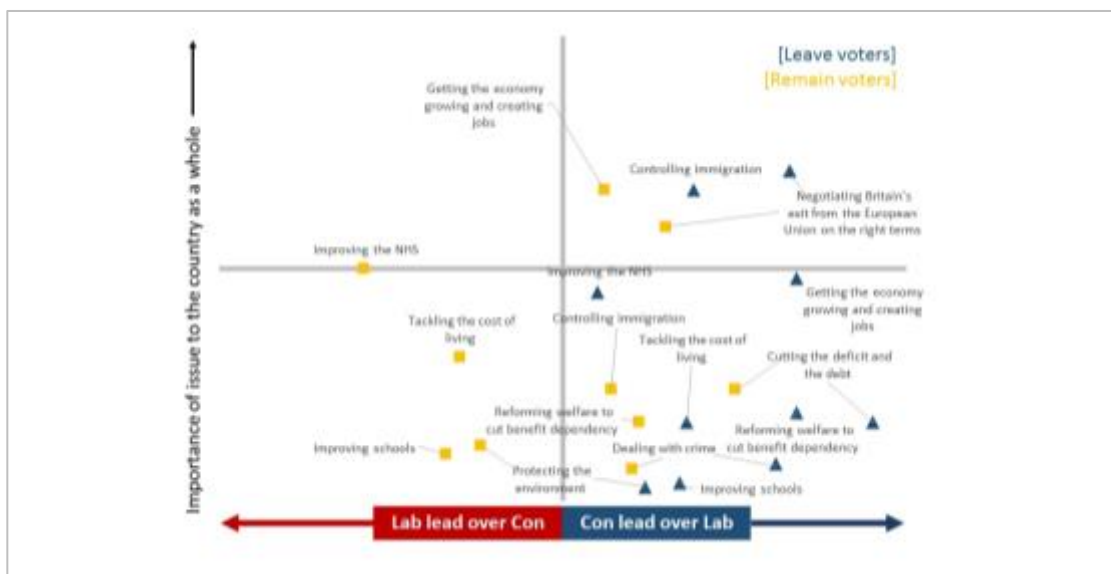
Leaving well

So, that happened

Nearly all the focus group participants who had voted to remain had been shocked by the referendum result ("it still seems inconceivable"). A few sounded bitter ("the most uneducated vote in history;" "a frightening reflection of society"), and rather more were still gloomy and apprehensive: "I still feel quite sad. I'm uneasy about the whole situation."

"I still feel quite sad. I'm uneasy about the whole situation."

But especially in the later groups, people were more likely to have reconciled themselves to the outcome: "It's time to shut up and get on with it. We've had the debate and the decision's been made." The initial panic had subsided, and so far there were no horrifying consequences to speak of: "As the weeks have gone on, I think maybe not that much is going to change that quickly… It could even be beneficial."

"I was really pleased it was over. I was sick of listening to it. We can't go down that road again."

Several remainers complained that voters had been misled by lies from the leave side (though some also said that scaremongering had cost the remain camp credibility). Even so, few called for a re-run of the referendum, and even fewer thought it was a realistic prospect. Apart from anything else, the process had been so grim they could not face a repeat: "I was really pleased it was over. I was sick of listening to it. We can't go down that road again."

Some had noticed that Owen Smith had talked about a second referendum, and most thought this a disastrous strategy for Labour: "If that referendum is discarded, Labour will be destroyed and UKIP will take the North. It will damage people's confidence in politics for generations." More to the point, "doesn't that defeat the object of democracy? We didn't vote that way, but the majority did."

Those who had voted to leave were, for the most part, very cheerful about the result, especially given the dire warnings from the remain campaign: "Everyone was saying it would be pandemonium, but it actually seems a bit more steady that that;" "I'm still waiting for the world to end. I've been chuckling a lot;" "It was like the Millennium Bug – all those threats and dire warnings of what will happen if we vote for Brexit, but nothing has happened."

"I'm still waiting for the world to end. I've been chuckling a lot."

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Only a couple of participants in the whole project said (or admitted) that they wished they had voted to remain instead ("I think I made a mistake. I was carried along. It was only afterwards I realised what we'd lose. I felt terrible. But I don't think remain gave us enough information. They were just scaring.") Several also complained that some of what they thought they had heard from the leave campaign had turned out not to be true: "The only thing that concerned me was when Nigel Farage said the next day that there wouldn't be funding for the NHS. I think false promises swayed a lot of people."

Others had been alarmed by the markets' immediate reaction, and especially by the fall in the pound, or were still cautious about the longer term impact: "I wouldn't say I was bullish. There is still a lot to come, economically speaking." We were, after all, "facing the unknown".

> ### *"I'm sick and tired of all those London luvvies saying they're better than us."*

Many leavers strongly resented the way they had been portrayed in parts of the media ("They say anyone who voted leave is uneducated, racist or ignorant") and by the attitude of "smug remain voters" who "think us lowly people made a mistake": "I'm sick and tired of all those London luvvies saying they're better than us."

The post-Brexit economy

Most felt the immediate economic impact of the referendum result had subsided, though there was disagreement on how much damage had been done to the "real" economy. Some said their own employers were cutting jobs or freezing recruitment, or that they had seen a slowdown in sales. Others were sceptical about this: "I think it's a good excuse for companies to get rid of staff. I think they were going to get rid of people in the first place, but now they can blame Brexit."

> ### *"I think it's a good excuse for companies to get rid of staff. I think they were going to get rid of people in the first place, but now they can blame Brexit."*

For most leavers, though, the immediate impact had "come and gone", and had been nothing like as serious as some had warned: "People knew the financial situation would be a temporary thing, people aren't silly. But they were saying there would be World War Three and a plague of locusts. Things are settling down quite nicely;" "Everyone was acting like it was doomsday. I was like, 'get a grip'."

> ### *"The fall in the pound hurts people going on holiday but it is extremely beneficial for the UK economy. It makes us very competitive. The Germans will be very cross about it."*

Some argued that the effect had already been positive: "The fall in the pound hurts people going on holiday but it is extremely beneficial for the UK economy. It makes us very competitive. The Germans will be very cross about it."

> **"The real pain will come when we're physically unplugged. I think it will be batten down the hatches time. I'm not looking forward to it."**

Though few were worried about the IMF's decision to downgrade its UK growth forecast ("they always get it wrong anyway"), there was a feeling among some on both sides of the debate that the full impact had yet to be felt: "The real pain will come when we're physically unplugged. I think it will be batten down the hatches time. I'm not looking forward to it;" "We're waiting to find out, when we do actually leave, how it will affect trading with other European countries."

> **"If we've got a say on what happens in this country, and we're not being told what to do by Europe, we will take the benefits of it and the downsides too."**

Most of those who voted to leave were optimistic about Britain's long term prospects outside the EU but, as in the campaign, this was secondary to the aim of regaining sovereignty. It might turn out that Brexit brought some economic costs – in which case, these would be a price worth paying for the country to run its own affairs: "Every ten years we have a recession anyway and we soon get out of it. We just want our country back and to be ruled by our own rules;" "If we've got a say on what happens in this country, and we're not being told what to do by Europe, we will take the benefits of it and the downsides too."

How do you think the British economy will fare over the next year for the country as a whole?

Well — Badly

	Well		Badly
All	57%		43%
IN	30%		70%
(Leave)	82%		18%

2015 vote

	Well		Badly
Con	72%		28%
Lab	42%		58%
Lib Dem	41%		59%
UKIP	83%		17%
SNP	39%		61%
Green	21%		79%
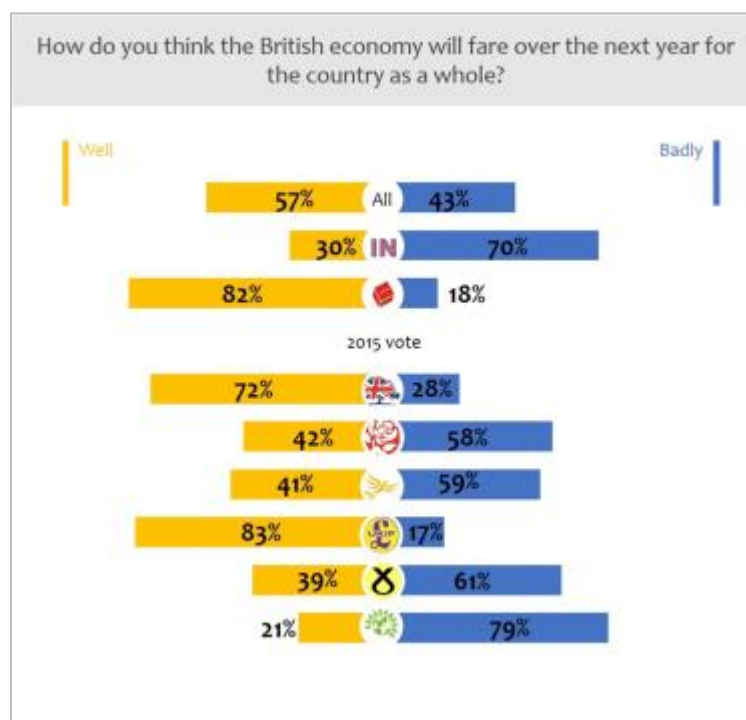
In our poll, respondents were more likely to say that the British economy would fare well over the next year (57%) than that it would fare badly (43%). However, there was a stark divide between leave and remain voters. While 82% of leavers voters optimistic about Britain's economic prospects, 70% of those who had voted remain thought the economy would fare badly.

The most optimistic group of all were those who had voted UKIP at the 2015 election: 83% of them thought the economy would do well over the next year, compared to 72% of Conservatives (usually the most optimistic group). Labour voters were more likely to be pessimistic (58%) than optimistic (42%).

More broadly, a majority of respondents said they thought Britain was "on the right track". Again, there was a sharp contrast between leavers, nearly nine in ten of whom thought the country was on the right track, and remainers, 71% of whom thought it was heading in the wrong direction.

Those aged 65 or over were much more likely to think Britain was on the right track (74%) than those aged 18 to 24 (38%).
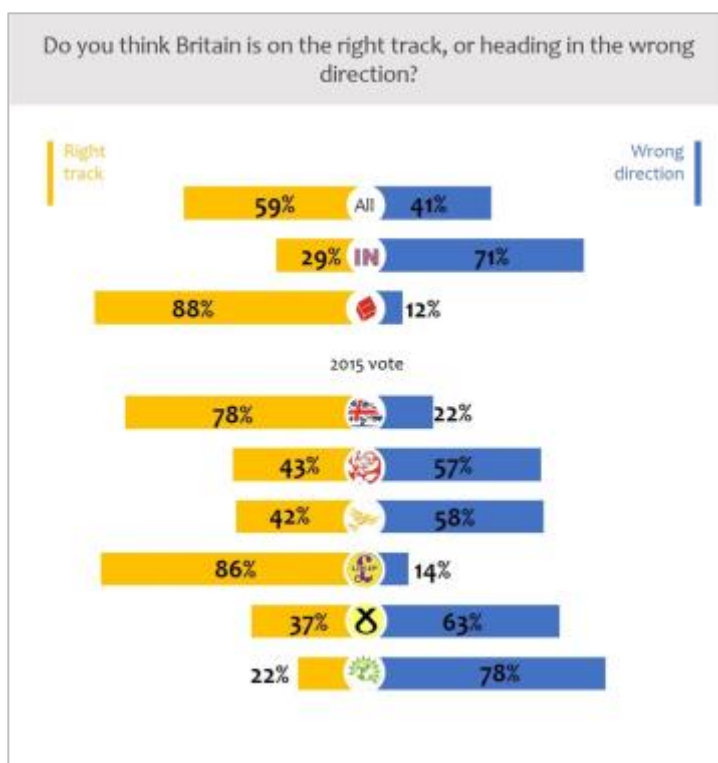
Edging towards the exit

The groups agreed that progress on planning for Brexit seemed to be rather slow (to the frustration of some leavers: "I didn't think we'd leave on the Friday, but it's been weeks now and we're still in the EU"). There were three overlapping theories as to why this was the case.

The first was that, having got what they wanted, the leaders of the leave campaign had "gone AWOL" and failed to follow through: "We've been sold a package and now it turns out it doesn't exist".

The second was that politicians were deliberately dragging their feet, or that elements were preparing to frustrate the process: "There is bound to be a challenge. Look at all the people who are trying to get round it. They are bound to try something."

"I don't think for one minute that when they took us into a referendum they thought there was going to be an Out."

But the third view – that the government had been caught completely by surprise and had no idea what to do – was by far the most widely held. Though "they should have had a plan for either eventuality," they had been caught by surprise: "I don't think for one minute that when they took us into a referendum they thought there was going to be an Out."

"It's like a messy divorce with legal aid."

Even so, most in our groups – including most of those who had voted to leave – were happy for the government to take its time and get it right, rather than rush: "I'm not fussed by the timetable. It needs to be done correctly, not quickly;" "Two years to sort out the economy and immigration and taxes and things is not enough. We should give ourselves as much time as we can." The process would inevitably take a long time, and probably ("because everything overruns in the public sector") longer than expected: "Look at how long it takes to do anything. It's like a messy divorce with legal aid."

"You could keep kicking the can down the road. 'Hold on, Slovenia's got elections coming up…'."

The suggestion from Sadiq Khan that negotiations should wait until France and Germany had had their elections initially sounded sensible to many. On further reflection, though, people questioned its wisdom. For one thing, it was not only before elections that politicians tried to impress voters with their toughness: "I think they will try and hurt us either way. They might try and look big and bold before the elections, but a new leader might try and look good at the beginning of their term and do something early on." Moreover, it was an excuse for endless delay (as, some reasoned, it was probably intended to be): "If you plotted a graph of the 27 countries' elections, you could keep kicking the can down the road. 'Hold on, Slovenia's got elections coming up…'."

Immigration control v. the Single Market

Asked whether the government should prioritise controlling immigration or access to the single market in the EU exit negotiations, just over half (52%) said immigration control was the more important priority. Just under three in ten (28%) said access to the single market mattered more, and one in five were neutral.

Just over three quarters (76%) of those who had voted leave said the government should prioritise immigration control, while those who had voted remain favoured single market access by 50% to 28%. Six in ten of those who had voted Conservative at the 2015 election thought immigration control the more important priority; 2015 Labour voters also thought this by 44% to 36%.
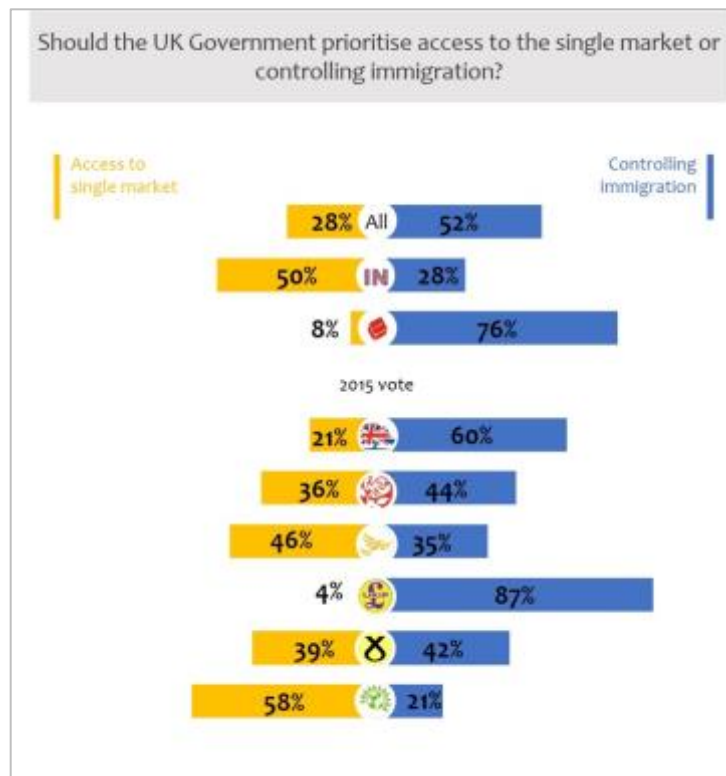
The focus groups revealed mixed feelings about the relative priorities of controlling immigration and continuing to trade as freely as possible (though even many remainers thought the emphasis should be on controlling immigration if it came to a choice).

However, people on both sides repeatedly asked why securing a good trading relationship while taking control of immigration policy should be at all difficult. It was surely in the EU's interest to maximise trade with the UK: "I can't understand why we've got to kowtow to Europe to enter the single market when they sell more to us than we do to them."

"I can't understand why we've got to kowtow to Europe to enter the single market when they sell more to us than we do to them."

If it really was a matter of negotiation, it seemed to many in our groups that Britain was in a stronger position than the current debate would suggest: "I don't really understand what is behind the single market. They are making out we won't be able to do deals with people in Europe unless we have full immigration, but that is baloney. Let's not doubt ourselves, let's get to the table, not necessarily in the next three weeks, but we've got more to bring to the table than Norway;" "We all know they weren't going to reward us for leaving. But we're the second biggest economy in the EU and we carry a lot of weight."

Nearly all those who voted to leave, and most of those who had voted to remain, felt that Brexit would not really mean Brexit unless the UK ended up with full control over immigration policy. This had less to do with numbers than with sovereignty: "If they are still able to dictate the rules on who can come to Britain I don't think that counts as leaving. And that was one of the main reasons people voted for it."

> **"If they are still able to dictate the rules on who can come to Britain I don't think that counts as leaving."**
>
> **"The government has got to be able to say 'yes you can' or 'no you can't'."**

Crucially, "the government has got to be able to say, 'yes you can' or 'no you can't'." This was central to the idea of taking control: "Being in control means we now have someone we can blame. Before it was all, 'oh, it's Brussels'. Now, if they don't control immigration, I can vote them out. They don't have that scapegoat."

Our participants overwhelmingly felt that EU citizens already living in Britain should be allowed to stay. Some said they understood why this had not yet been declared: "Theresa May hasn't guaranteed it because the other side hasn't guaranteed it;" "Not particularly ethical, but in terms of negotiating power, perhaps it would be a bargaining tool."

> **"You can't kick people out, it's wrong, morally wrong. They are part of who we all are now."**

But most thought it would be unthinkable to try to deport people who had entered the country legally and had settled, both on moral and practical grounds: "Just stick to our values. We don't do awful things to people. It's part of our civilisation. We don't chuck people out, no matter what the Europeans do;" "Half our office would be removed from the country. You can't do that to business, let alone people;" "If they're here and working here and paying their taxes already, that's fine. You can't chuck people out. It's new people coming in we have to look at;" "I think regardless of whether people are working. You can't kick people out, it's wrong, morally wrong. They are part of who we all are now."

Brexit means Brexit. But what does Brexit mean?

Large majorities in our poll, across party lines and among both leave and remain voters, said that Britain would not really have left the EU and the referendum result would not have been honoured if the final Brexit deal involved the UK continuing to pay into the

EU budget. The same would be true if new EU nationals had the automatic right to live and work in the UK.

Overall, just over three in five said that retaining full access to the single market would be compatible with Brexit – indeed, leave voters were slightly more likely to think this (64%) than remain voters (59%).

More than three quarters of voters, including large majorities of both remainers and leavers, thought allowing EU nationals already living and working in Britain to stay was compatible with Brexit.
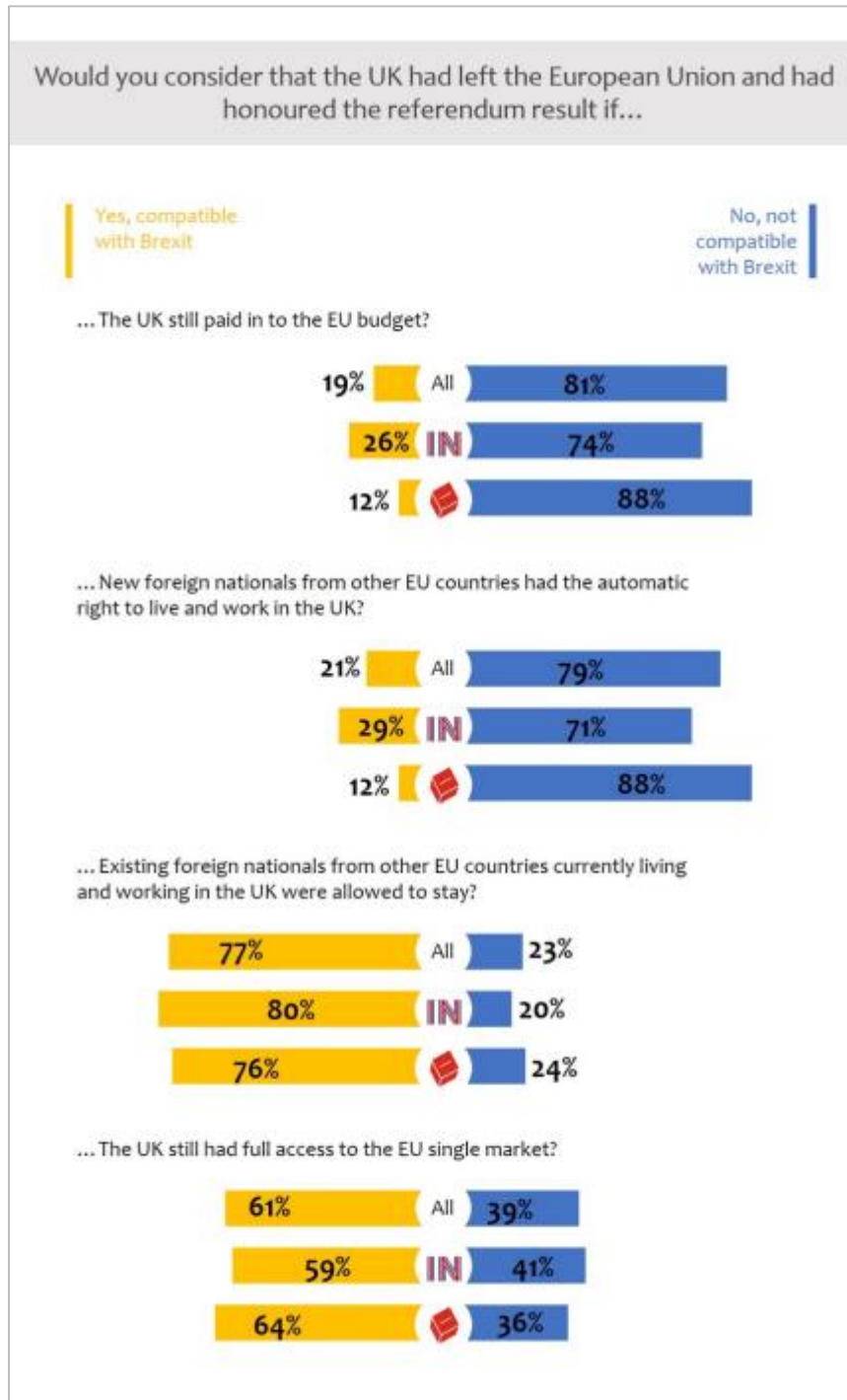
Full Poll Results

8,011 adults were interviewed online between 11 and 22 August 2016. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in the United Kingdom. Full data tables are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com.

Here are some things that people have said about the main political parties. Please can you say in each case whether, on balance, you think the statement is true of the Conservative Party / the Labour Party / the Liberal Democrats / UKIP.

%	Con	Lab	Lib Dems	UKIP
On the side of people like me	28	<u>32</u>	16	18
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	27	<u>44</u>	23	19
Willing to take tough decisions for the long term	<u>50</u>	21	9	16
Shares my values	29	30	15	18
Competent and capable	<u>41</u>	22	10	10
Will do what they say	<u>27</u>	20	8	17
Clear about what they stand for	<u>34</u>	23	12	32
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	24	27	16	13
Its heart is in the right place	23	<u>33</u>	29	18
Stands for fairness	23	<u>33</u>	24	14
Stands for opportunity for all	25	<u>37</u>	24	12
None of these	37	41	51	53

Which of the following do you think would make the best Prime Minister?

%	Total	Male	Female	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
Theresa May	67	67	67	76	58
Jeremy Corbyn	25	25	25	17	34
Tim Farron	8	9	8	7	9

%	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Theresa May	53	57	62	67	72	82
Jeremy Corbyn	40	34	27	24	21	11
Tim Farron	7	8	11	9	7	7

%	Voted Con 2015	Voted Lab 2015	Voted Lib Dem 2015	Voted UKIP 2015	Voted SNP 2015
Theresa May	94	42	62	77	45
Jeremy Corbyn	4	49	16	10	45
Tim Farron	2	9	22	13	9

%	Leave voters				Remain voters			
	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15
Theresa May	96	49	77	78	92	37	56	66
Jeremy Corbyn	3	41	10	10	5	54	18	20
Tim Farron	1	9	13	13	4	9	27	14

Which of the following statements do you most agree with?

%	Total	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
I am satisfied with the job Theresa May is doing overall as PM	59	66	53
I am dissatisfied with the job that Theresa May is doing overall as PM – BUT I'd still prefer to have her as PM than to have Jeremy Corbyn as PM	18	20	16
I am dissatisfied with the job that Theresa May is doing overall as PM – AND I'd prefer to have Jeremy Corbyn as PM instead	22	14	31

%	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
I am satisfied with the job Theresa May is doing overall as PM	87	38	61	55	33
I am dissatisfied with the job that Theresa May is doing overall as PM – BUT I'd still prefer to have her as PM than to have Jeremy Corbyn as PM	10	19	21	35	22
I am dissatisfied with the job that Theresa May is doing overall as PM – AND I'd prefer to have Jeremy Corbyn as PM instead	3	43	18	10	46

Whom do you most trust to manage the economy in the best interests of Britain, Theresa May and the Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Hammond, or Jeremy Corbyn and the Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell?

%	Total	Male	Female	Leave	Remain
Theresa May & Philip Hammond	72	72	72	81	63
Jeremy Corbyn & John McDonnell	28	28	28	19	37

%	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
Theresa May & Philip Hammond	96	46	76	87	50
Jeremy Corbyn & John McDonnell	4	54	24	13	50

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

% naming in top three	Total	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms	64	71	59
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	56	48	67
Improving the NHS	47	45	50
Controlling immigration	46	67	24
Tackling the cost of living	26	17	31
Cutting the deficit and the debt	21	17	24
Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency	18	19	17
Dealing with crime	8	8	7
Protecting the environment	7	3	12
Improving schools	7	4	10

% naming in top three	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms	74	56	66	76	59
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	58	61	65	39	63
Improving the NHS	37	58	52	44	50
Controlling immigration	54	35	25	80	40
Tackling the cost of living	12	35	27	15	35
Cutting the deficit and the debt	28	16	20	13	20
Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency	24	12	16	18	10
Dealing with crime	6	8	7	9	6
Protecting the environment	4	8	13	2	11
Improving schools	4	10	9	3	6

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

%	Total	Male	Female	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
Tackling the cost of living	**56**	53	60	50	61
Improving the NHS	**55**	52	58	55	56
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	**47**	49	46	39	57
Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms	**44**	46	43	50	41
Controlling immigration	**30**	32	28	47	13
Cutting the deficit and the debt	**16**	18	14	14	18
Improving schools	**14**	13	15	12	15
Dealing with crime	**13**	14	13	14	12
Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency	**12**	12	12	13	11
Protecting the environment	**11**	11	12	7	16

%	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP'15
Tackling the cost of living	46	64	56	46	70
Improving the NHS	50	63	61	51	54
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	49	50	51	31	52
Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms	54	37	46	54	39
Controlling immigration	34	21	16	64	22
Cutting the deficit and the debt	21	13	14	12	14
Improving schools	12	16	16	9	16
Dealing with crime	13	13	13	16	11
Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency	15	10	9	12	9
Protecting the environment	7	12	20	5	13

Which party do you think would have the best approach to each of the following issues – the Conservatives, Labour, the Liberal Democrats or UKIP?

%	Con	Lab	Lib Dems	UKIP
Tackling the cost of living	39	39	9	9
Improving the NHS	31	44	11	9
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	51	32	5	7
Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms	48	25	7	18
Controlling immigration	34	22	6	36
Cutting the deficit and the debt	58	25	6	8
Improving schools	37	37	13	9
Dealing with crime	48	29	7	13
Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency	50	29	8	10
Protecting the environment	27	28	33	8

From the following list of words and phrases please select the 3 that most closely describe your view of Theresa May / Boris Johnson / Jeremy Corbyn / Tim Farron / Nicola Sturgeon?

%	Theresa May	Boris Johnson	Jeremy Corbyn	Tim Farron	Nicola Sturgeon
Determined	54	13	16	5	38
Competent	34	11	6	9	18
Principled	24	6	23	9	16
Up to the job	23	8	4	3	12
Stands up for their country	21	24	9	5	33
Ruthless	16	5	3	1	17
Fair	11	5	11	12	5
Out of touch	11	16	22	8	8
Arrogant	10	20	12	3	24
Down to earth	10	16	17	8	6
Smug	7	15	7	3	12
Out of their depth	7	21	33	13	8
Doesn't listen	6	8	16	4	13
Dishonest	5	13	5	2	6
Likeable	4	28	6	8	4
Shares my values	3	4	9	4	2
Weak	3	9	27	14	3
Indecisive	2	11	12	7	2
Weird	2	25	10	3	4
On my side	1	2	5	2	1

Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union may come down to striking a balance between having continued access to the EU single market and having control over who can enter, live and work in the UK from Europe, which should the UK Government prioritise? On a 0-10 scale where 0 means securing access to the EU single market at all costs and 10 means being able to control immigration at all costs, where do you think the balance should lie?

%	Total	Leave	Remain
6-10 (controlling immigration)	52	76	28
5 (neutral/equally important)	14	11	16
0-4 (single market access)	28	8	50
Don't know	6	4	5

%	Leave voters				Remain voters			
	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15
6-10 (controlling immigration)	77	73	63	89	38	25	23	50
5 (neutral/equally important)	11	13	22	6	18	15	15	21
0-4 (single market access)	8	9	13	3	38	55	60	22
Don't know	4	5	1	2	5	5	2	7

The Prime Minister has said that as far as she is concerned "Brexit means Brexit". Would you consider that the UK had left the European Union and had honoured the referendum result if the UK still paid into the EU budget?

%	Total	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
Yes, compatible with Brexit	19	12	26
No, not compatible with Brexit	81	88	74

%	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
Yes, compatible with Brexit	17	23	23	7	19
No, not compatible with Brexit	83	77	77	93	81

%	Leave voters				Remain voters			
	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15
Yes, compatible with Brexit	11	18	11	6	25	27	27	15
No, not compatible with Brexit	89	82	89	94	75	73	73	85

…if new foreign nationals from other EU countries had the automatic right to live and work in the UK?

%	Total	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
Yes, compatible with Brexit	21	12	29
No, not compatible with Brexit	79	88	71

%	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
Yes, compatible with Brexit	18	26	25	8	23
No, not compatible with Brexit	82	74	75	92	77

%	Leave voters				Remain voters			
	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15
Yes, compatible with Brexit	12	17	11	8	25	31	30	16
No, not compatible with Brexit	88	83	89	92	75	69	70	84

…if existing foreign nationals from other EU countries currently living and working in the UK were allowed to stay?

%	Total	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
Yes, compatible with Brexit	77	76	80
No, not compatible with Brexit	23	24	20

%	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
Yes, compatible with Brexit	83	77	80	68	74
No, not compatible with Brexit	17	23	20	32	26

%	Leave voters				Remain voters			
	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15
Yes, compatible with Brexit	81	77	83	68	85	78	79	74
No, not compatible with Brexit	19	23	17	32	15	22	21	26

...if the UK still had full access to the EU single market?

%	Total	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
Yes, compatible with Brexit	61	64	59
No, not compatible with Brexit	39	36	41

%	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
Yes, compatible with Brexit	67	59	62	61	54
No, not compatible with Brexit	33	41	38	39	46

%	Leave voters				Remain voters			
	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15
Yes, compatible with Brexit	67	64	69	61	67	56	60	62
No, not compatible with Brexit	33	36	31	39	33	44	40	38

Do you think Britain is on the right track, or heading in the wrong direction?

%	Total	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
Right track	59	88	29
Wrong direction	41	12	71

%	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Right track	38	48	57	63	65	74
Wrong direction	62	52	43	37	35	26

%	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
Right track	78	43	42	86	37
Wrong direction	22	57	58	14	63

Thinking about Britain's economy – including things like jobs, wages, prices, taxes and interest rates– how do you think the British economy will fare over the next year <u>for the country as a whole?</u>

%	Total	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
Very/quite well	57	82	30
Very/quite badly	43	18	70

%	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Very/quite well	40	49	57	57	60	69
Very/quite badly	60	51	43	43	40	31

%	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
Very/quite well	72	42	41	83	39
Very/quite badly	28	58	59	17	61

Thinking about Britain's economy – including things like jobs, wages, prices, taxes and interest rates– how do you think the British economy will fare over the next year for you and your family?

%	Total	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
Very/quite well	59	79	39
Very/quite badly	41	21	61

%	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Very/quite well	47	55	61	57	58	71
Very/quite badly	53	45	39	43	42	29

%	Con '15	Lab '15	LD '15	UKIP '15	SNP '15
Very/quite well	75	45	49	80	42
Very/quite badly	25	55	51	20	58

How much attention do you generally pay to politics, where zero means that you pay no attention and 10 means you pay a great deal of attention?

%	Total	Male	Female	Voted Leave	Voted Remain
8-10	38	47	30	39	42
4-7	46	42	50	48	46
0-3	13	9	17	12	10
Don't know	*2*	*2*	*3*	*2*	*2*

%	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
NET 8-10	30	32	36	37	41	48
NET 4-7	49	49	47	46	46	43
NET 0-3	17	15	13	15	12	9
Don't know	*4*	*4*	*4*	*1*	*1*	*<1*