

Shifting Ground: new political dividing lines?

The interaction between leave/remain and

Conservative/Labour supporters

Introduction

- **This study tries to understand the relationship between how people voted in the EU Referendum and their support for the two main political parties.**
- **We look at the post EU Referendum wave of our long-term longitudinal study supported by Unbound Philanthropy (this wave was conducted Oct 2016), which explores a very wide range of issues facing Britain and social attitudes among a large sample**
- **We have divided the data into four groups: i) Conservative Leavers, ii) Conservative Remainers, iii) Labour Leavers and iv) Remainers**

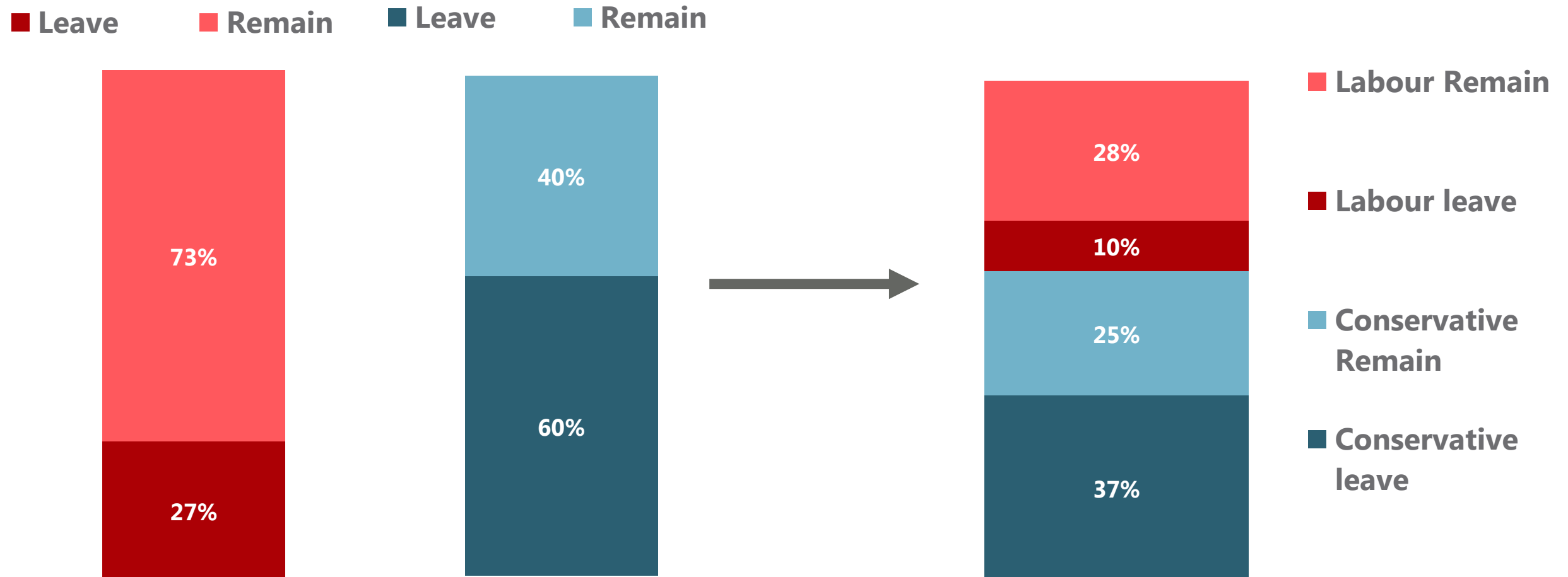
Overview: continuity and change...

Three distinct groups of issues...

1. Leavers and Remainers united: on nostalgia for past, anxiety about change, immigration, pressures on public services and jobs, scepticism of experts, faith in ordinary people and distrust in globalisation
2. Conservative and Labour divided: Labour more “left behind”, affected by austerity, struggling financially, think life getting worse, believe economy rigged, want more income equality, while both Conservative Leave/Remain groups emphasise different rewards to reflect effort, most proud of our history and democracy
3. Interaction issues: gradient that runs from Conservative Leavers to Labour Remainers on support for collective provision of welfare, opposition to political correctness, support for gay marriage, opposition to death penalty

Referendum vote by party

% Conservatives and Labour who voted in the referendum



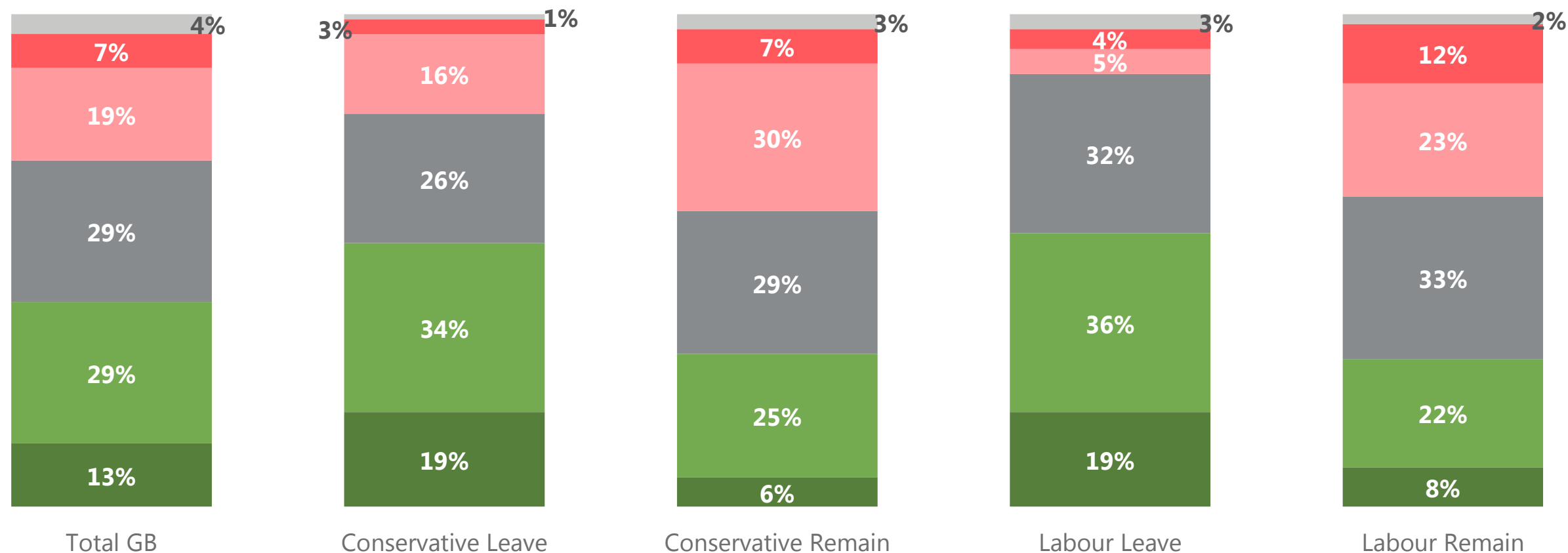
1. On some attitudes leavers and remainers are united across the political divide

**Leavers are more nostalgic for the past,
feel a sense of alienation and an anxiety
that things are changing too fast**

Leavers more likely to agree things were better in the past...

To what extent to you agree or disagree...Things in Britain were better in the past

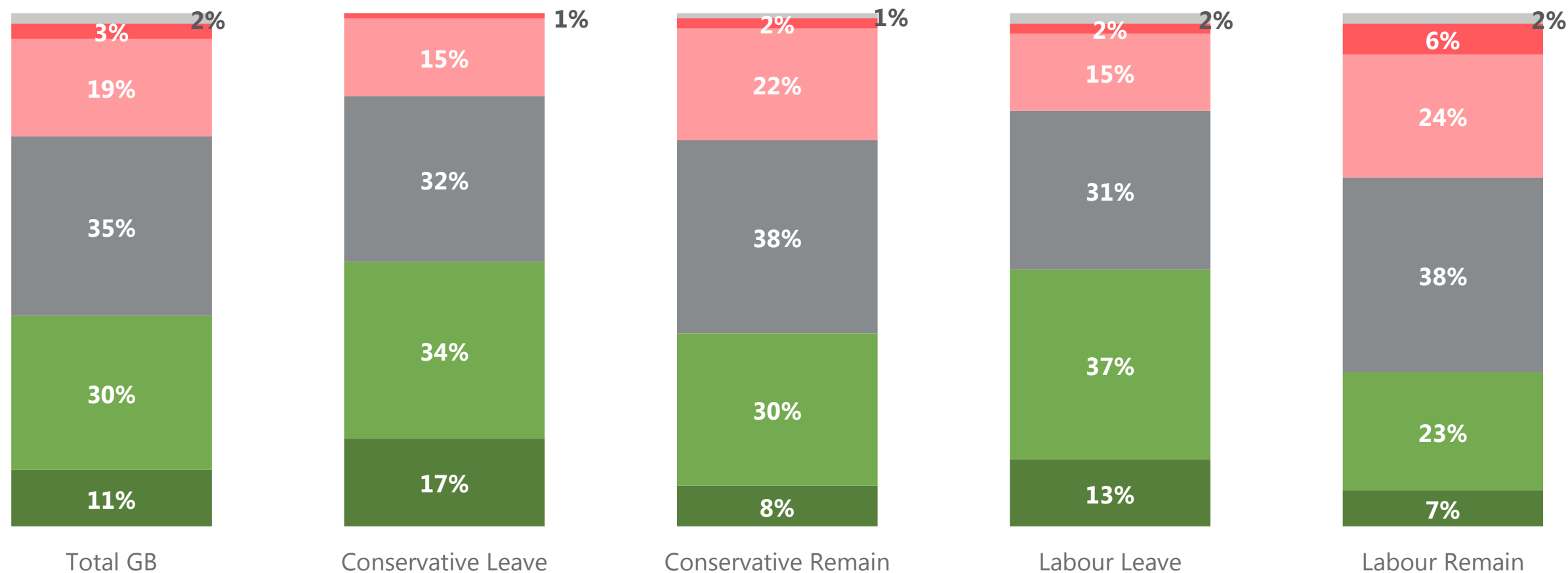
■ Strongly agree ■ Tend to agree ■ Neither agree or disagree ■ Tend to disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know



...and think that Britain is changing too fast...

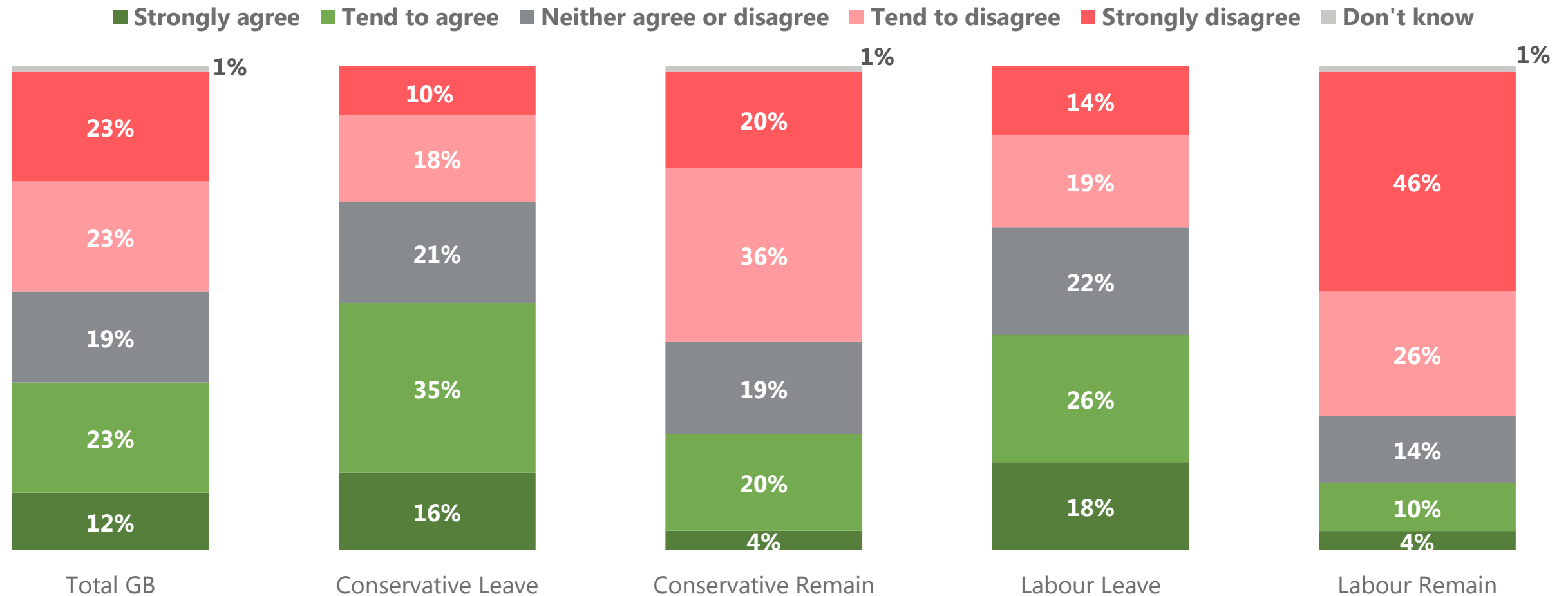
To what extent to you agree or disagree...Britain today is changing too fast

■ Strongly agree ■ Tend to agree ■ Neither agree or disagree ■ Tend to disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know



...and feel anxious that they are strangers in their own country

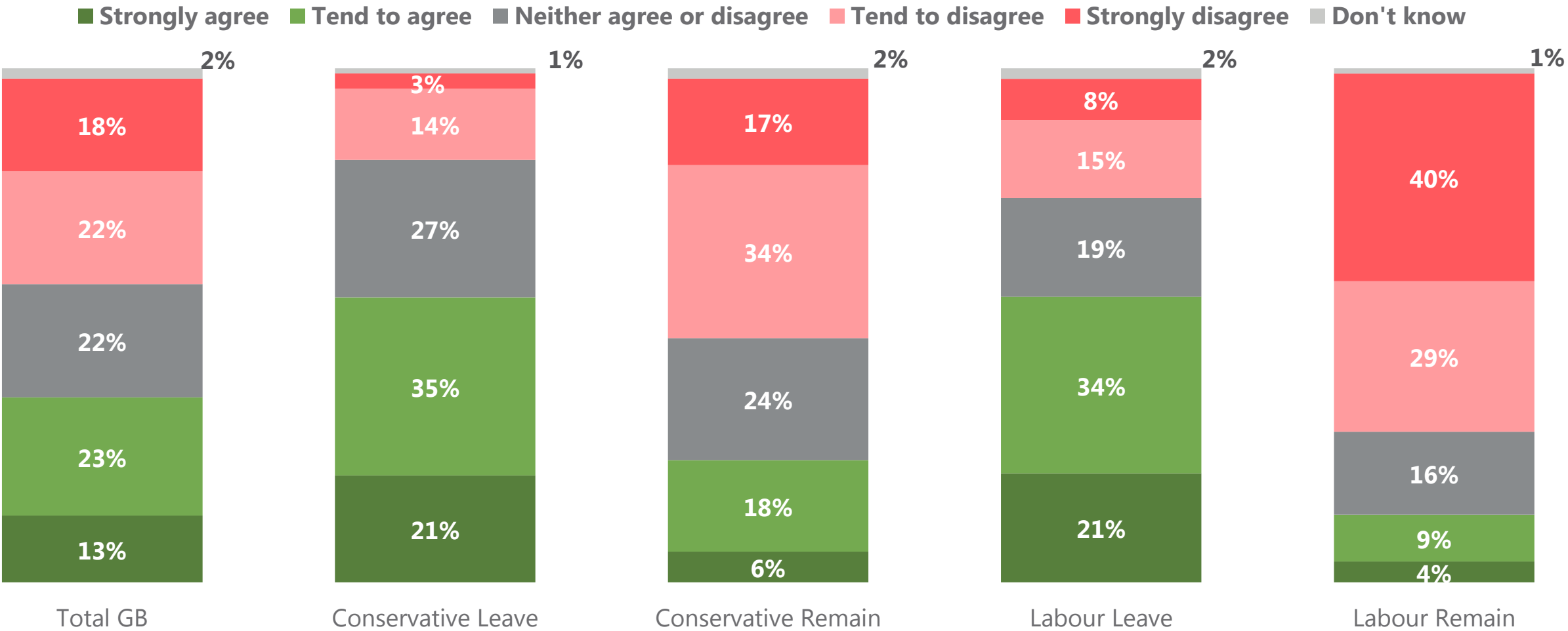
To what extent do you agree or disagree...These days I feel like a stranger in my own country



Leavers are much more concerned about immigration than remainers; they are concerned about the pressures immigration puts on jobs and public services and feel that others get priority over them

Leavers more likely to think immigrants take jobs from Brits...

To what extent do you agree or disagree...immigrants take away jobs form real Britons

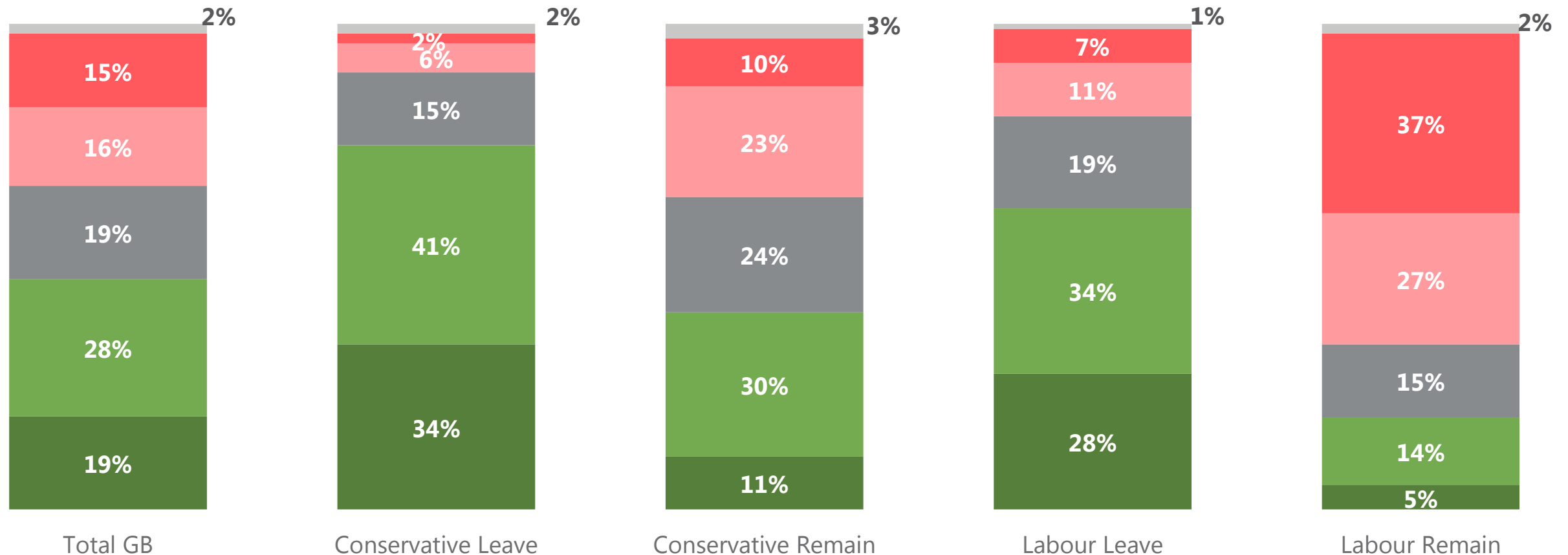


...and welfare services...but this is more of a concern for Conservatives across groups

To what extent do you agree or disagree...immigrants take away important welfare services from real

Britons

■ Strongly agree ■ Tend to agree ■ Neither agree or disagree ■ Tend to disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know



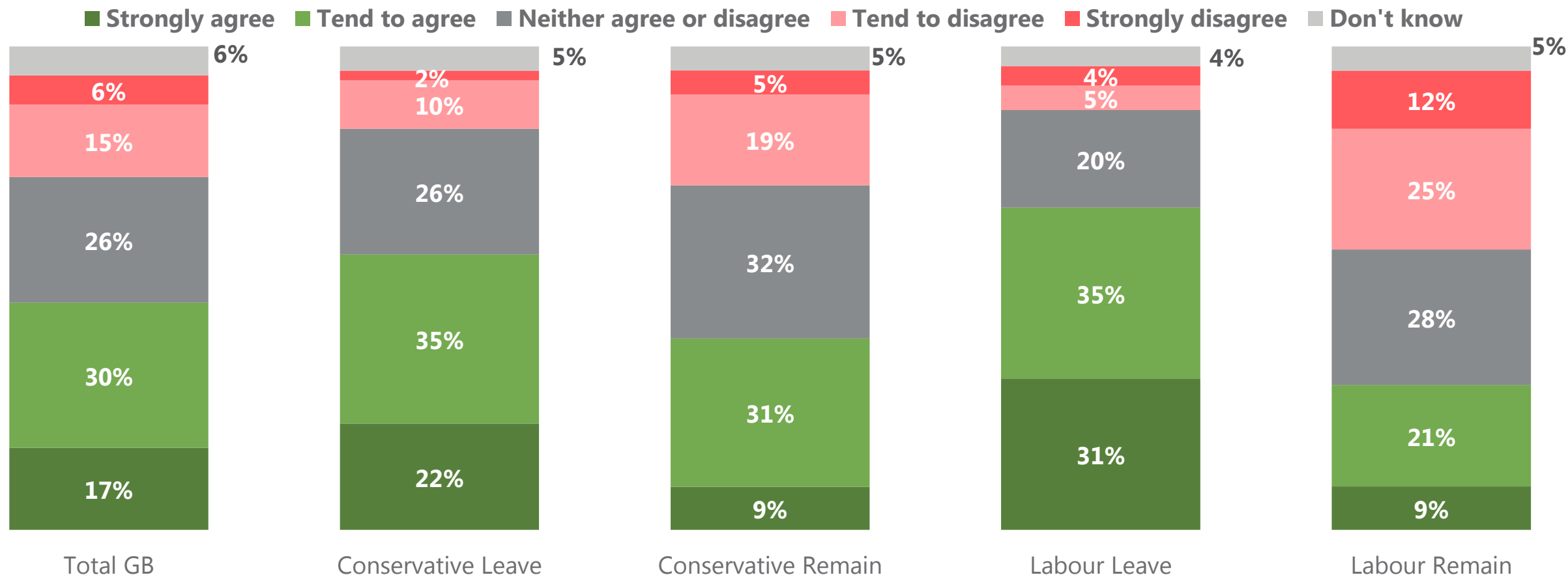
Ipsos MORI
Social Research Institute

Base: 599 Conservative voters who voted leave in the referendum, 401 conservative voters who voted remain in the referendum, 171 Labour voters who voted leave in the referendum, and 464 Labour voters who voted remain in the referendum, completing an online panel survey between the 13-20th October 2016

...and they are more likely to think some groups

get unfair priority over them when it comes to public services

To what extent do you agree or disagree...some groups of people in Britain get unfair priority over me when it comes to public services like housing, health and schools



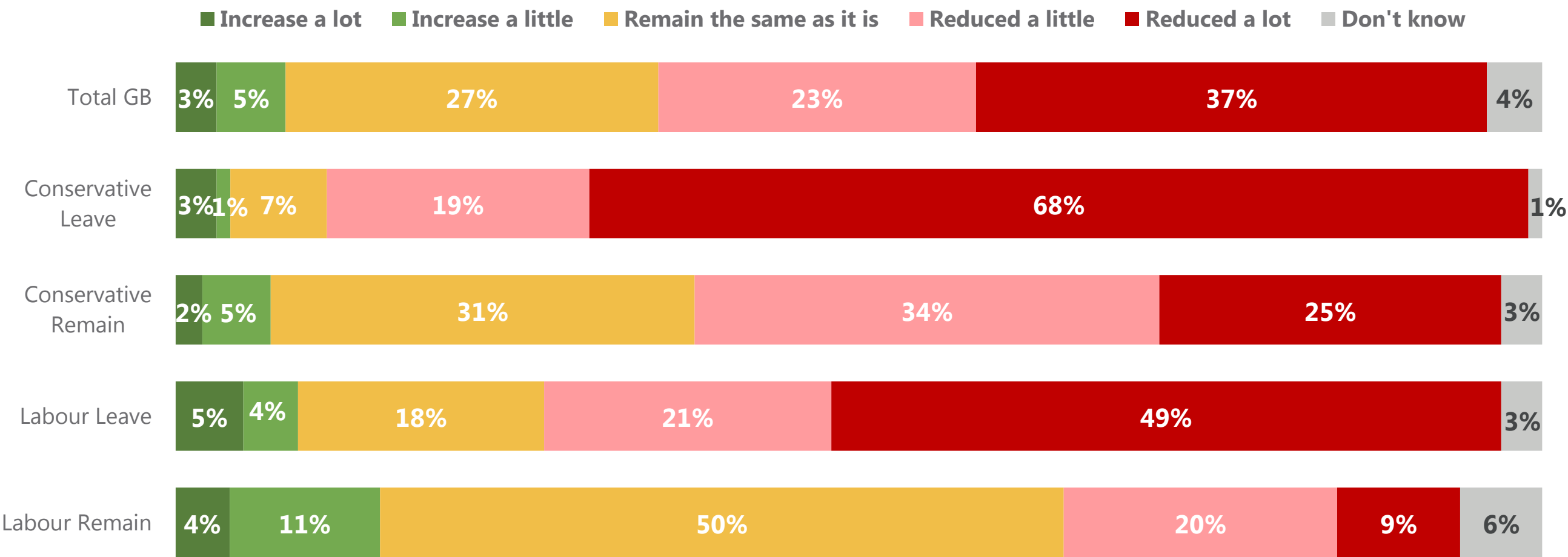
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**Immigration concerns mean that leavers
most want immigration
reduced A LOT
– particularly Conservative leavers**

Leavers strongest proponents of wanting immigration reduced a lot

Do you think the number of immigrants coming to Britain nowadays should be increased a lot, increased a little, remain the same as it is, reduced a little, or reduced a lot?

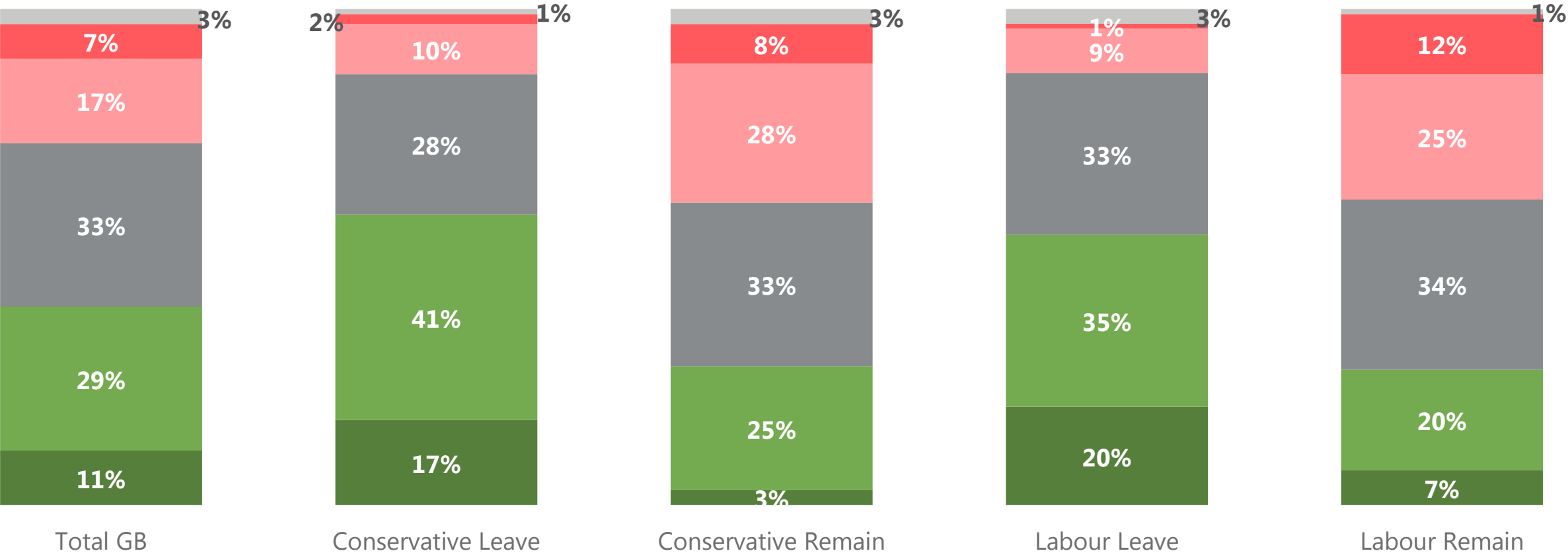


**Leavers are sceptical of experts
and more likely to have faith in ordinary
people when it comes to complex
decisions**

Leavers are more likely to put their trust in ordinary people than experts

To what extent do you agree that.... I'd rather put trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts and intellectuals

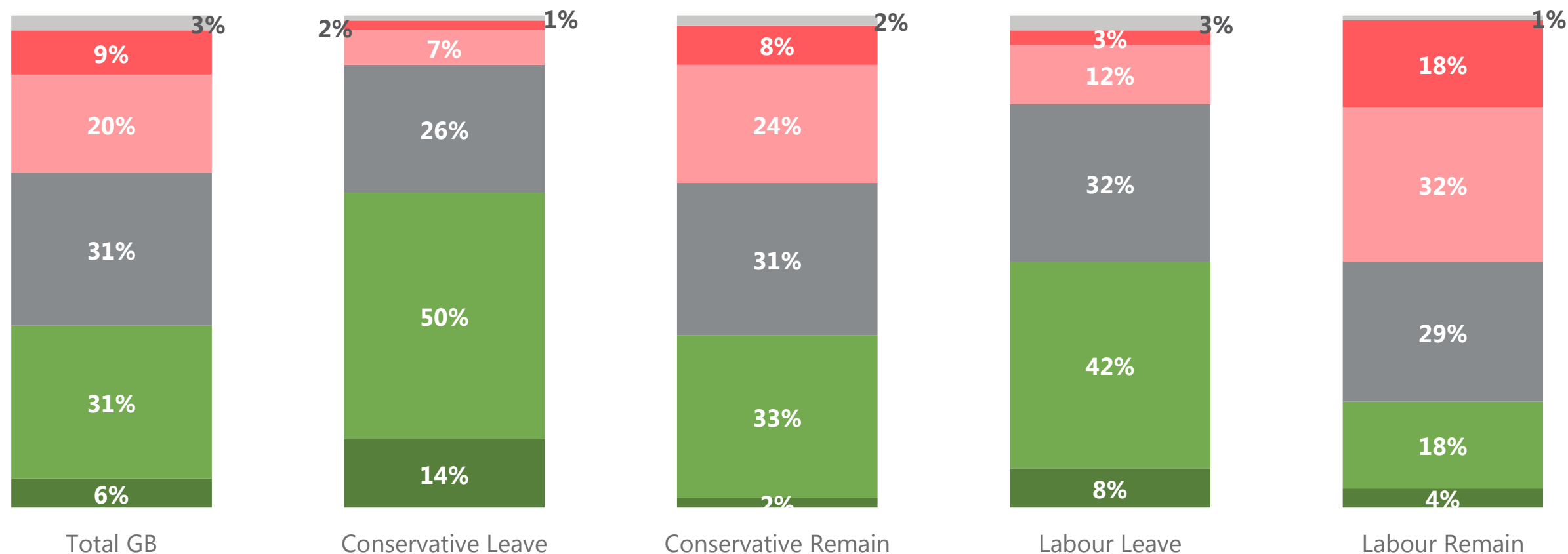
Strongly agree Tend to agree Neither agree or disagree Tend to disagree Strongly disagree Don't know



And have more trust in people's judgement on complex issues

To what extent do you agree that.... I generally trust the judgements of the British people,
even for complicated political issues

■ Strongly agree ■ Tend to agree ■ Neither agree or disagree ■ Tend to disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know

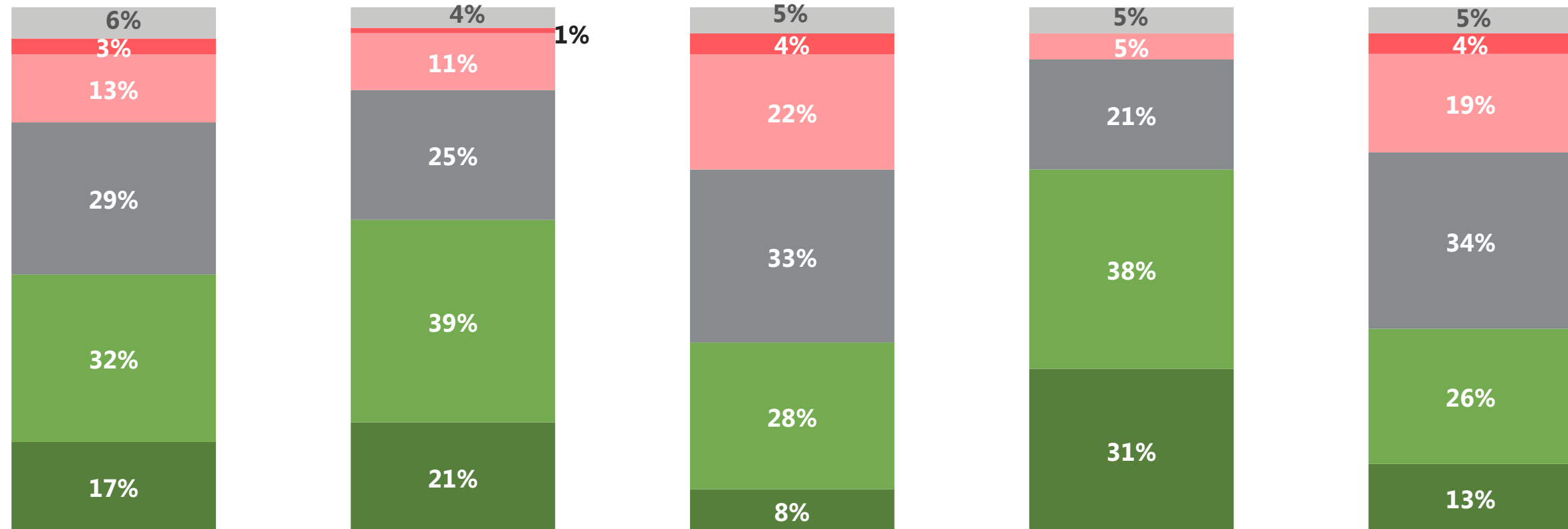


**Leavers are far more negative about the
influences of
globalisation than remainers**

Both leave groups most likely to think foreign companies have too much control over the economy in Britain, particularly Labour

Foreign companies have too much control and influence over the economy in Britain

■ Strongly agree ■ Tend to agree ■ Neither agree or disagree ■ Tend to disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know



Total GB
Ipsos MORI
Social Research Institute

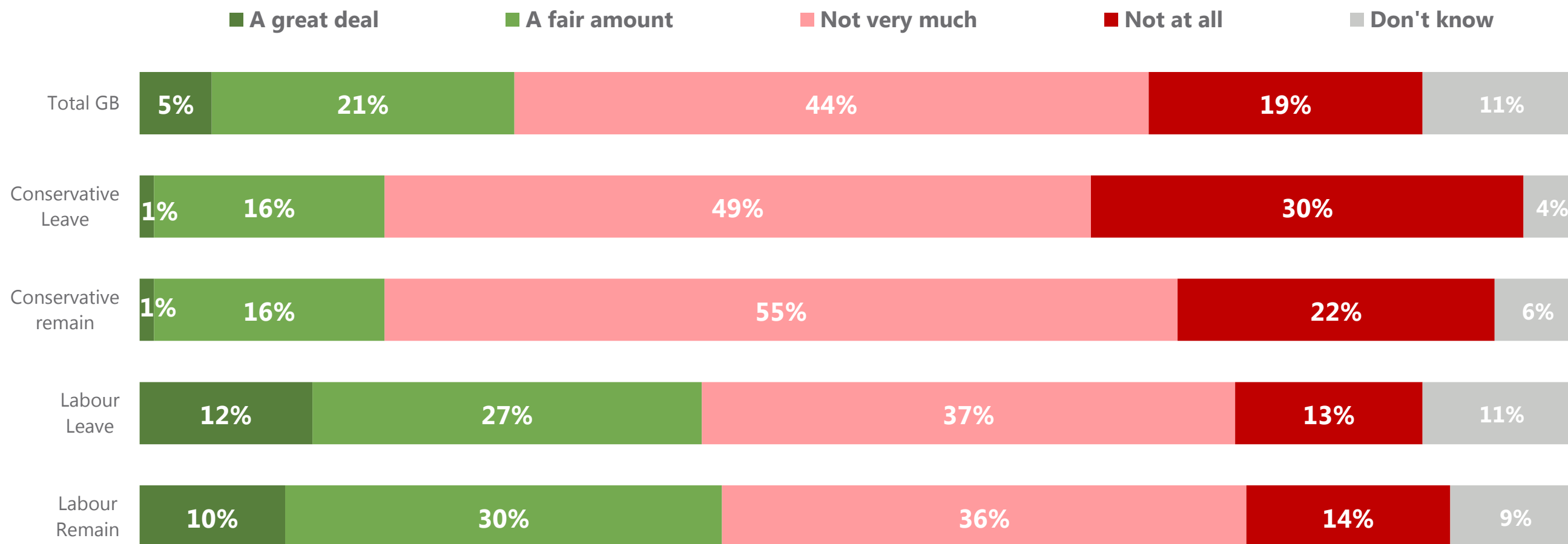
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**2. But on some issues and attitudes,
party lines are still strongly defined**

**Labour supporters feel more 'left behind'
than Conservative supporters –
they are more affected by
austerity, struggling financially,
feel they can't get ahead in life and that
the economy is rigged towards the rich**

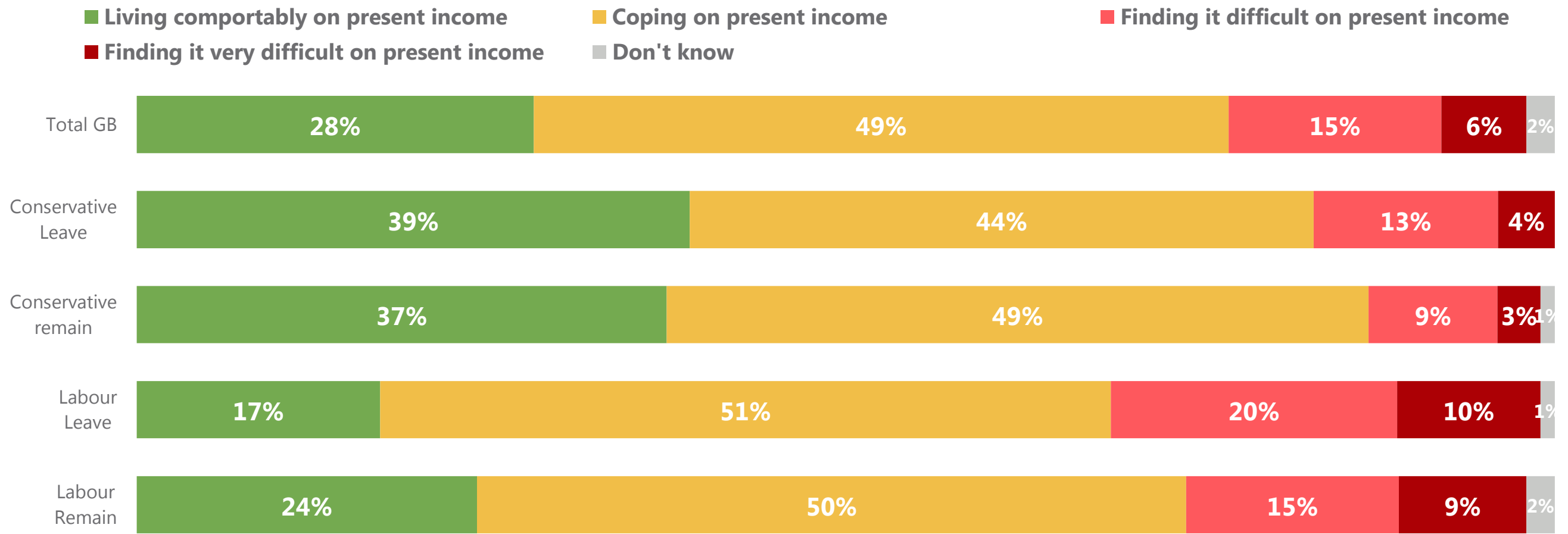
Labour supporters most likely to have been affected by spending cuts

To what extent, if at all, have you and your family been affected by the spending cuts so far?



Labour supporters – particularly Labour leavers most likely to say they are financially struggling

Would you say that you are....



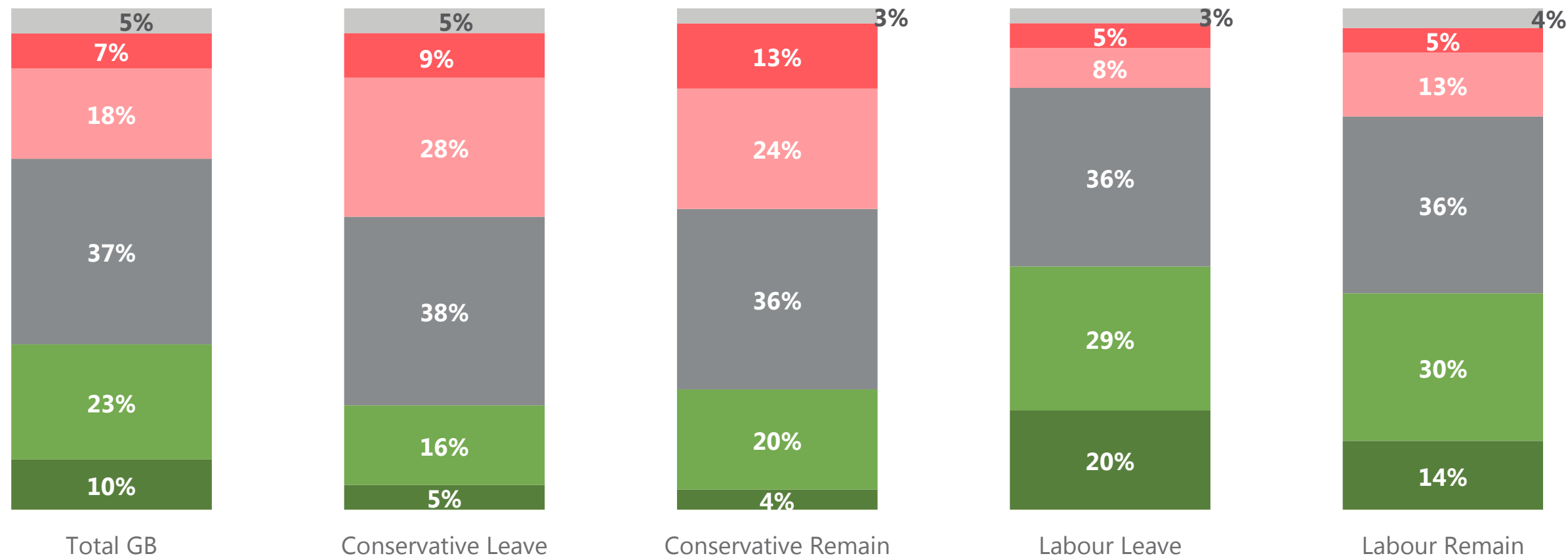
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And Labour voters most likely to think it is tough for them to get ahead

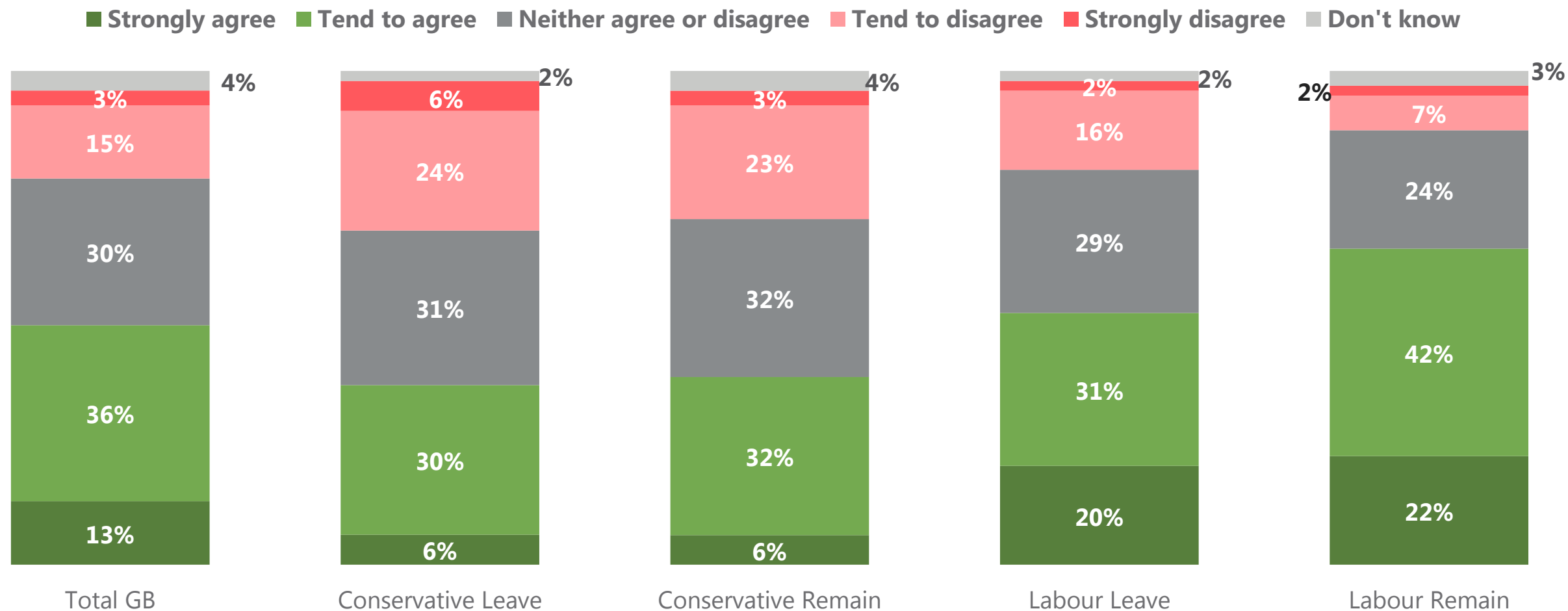
To what extent do you agree or disagree...it is increasingly hard for someone like me to get ahead in Britain

■ Strongly agree ■ Tend to agree ■ Neither agree or disagree ■ Tend to disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know



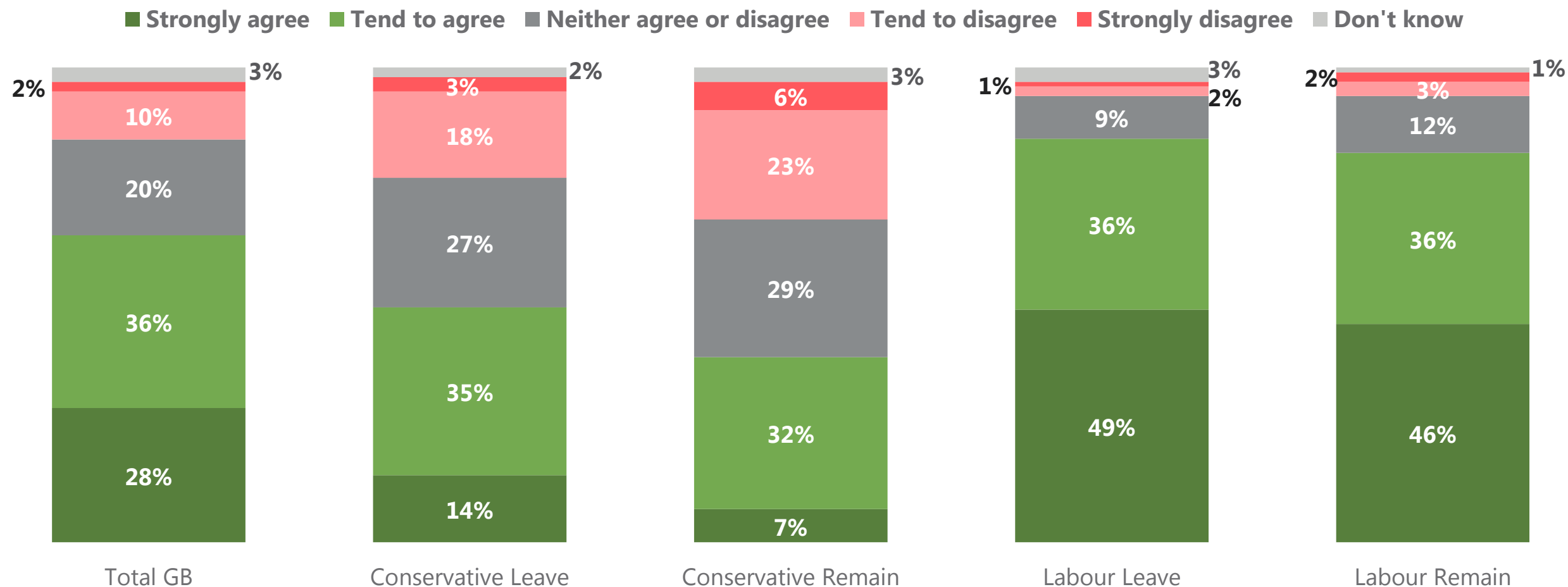
And are more pessimistic about life in Britain

To what extent do you agree that...for most people in Britain, life is getting worse rather than better



..and Labour supporters think that the economy being rigged towards the rich and powerful

To what extent to you agree or disagree... the British economy rigged towards the rich and powerful



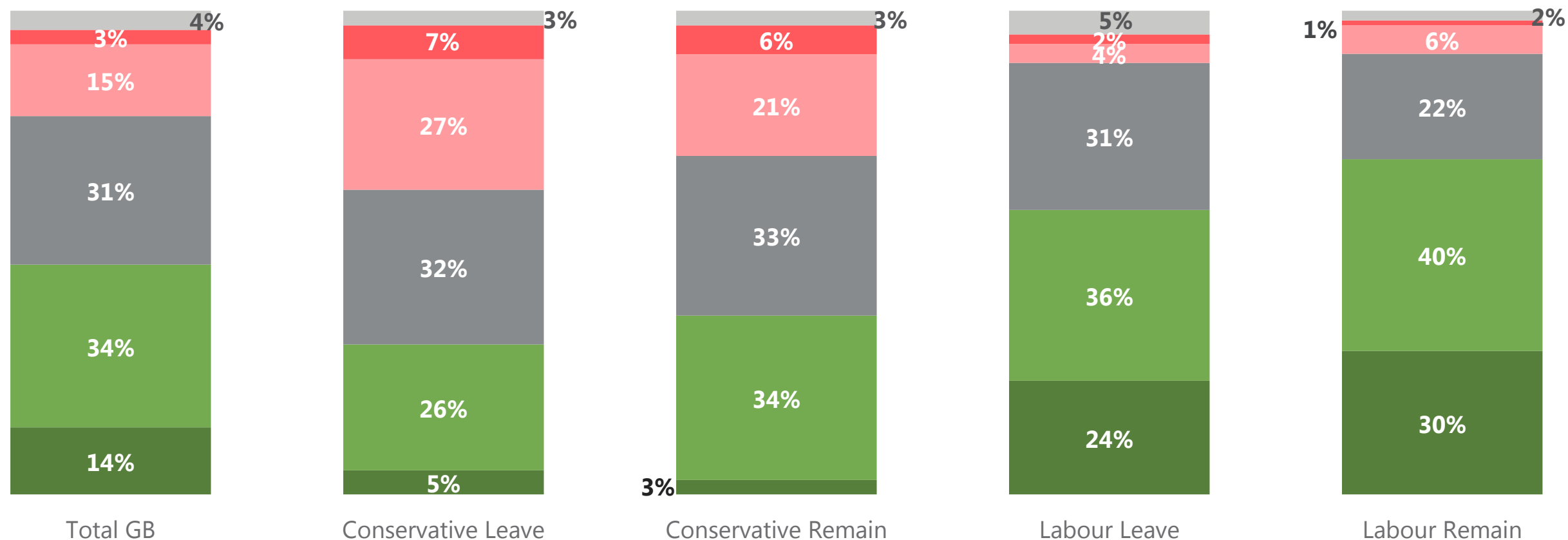
Labour and Conservative supporters have very different views on what type of society they want to live in.

Labour supporters favour a society with greater income equality

Labour supporters want fairer, more equal society..

Top what extent do you agree or disagree...For society to be fair, differences in peoples living standards should be small

■ Strongly agree ■ Tend to agree ■ Neither agree or disagree ■ Tend to disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know



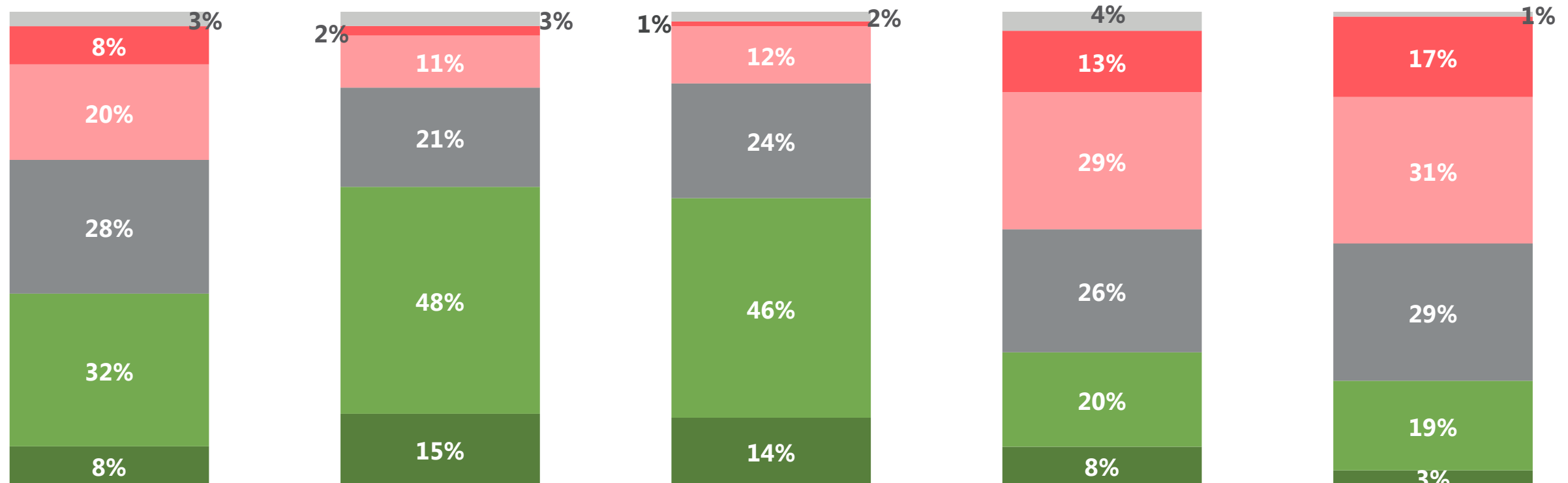
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...whereas Conservative supporters think income inequality is acceptable to reward talent and effort

To what extent do you agree that...large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts

■ Strongly agree ■ Tend to agree ■ Neither agree or disagree ■ Tend to disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know



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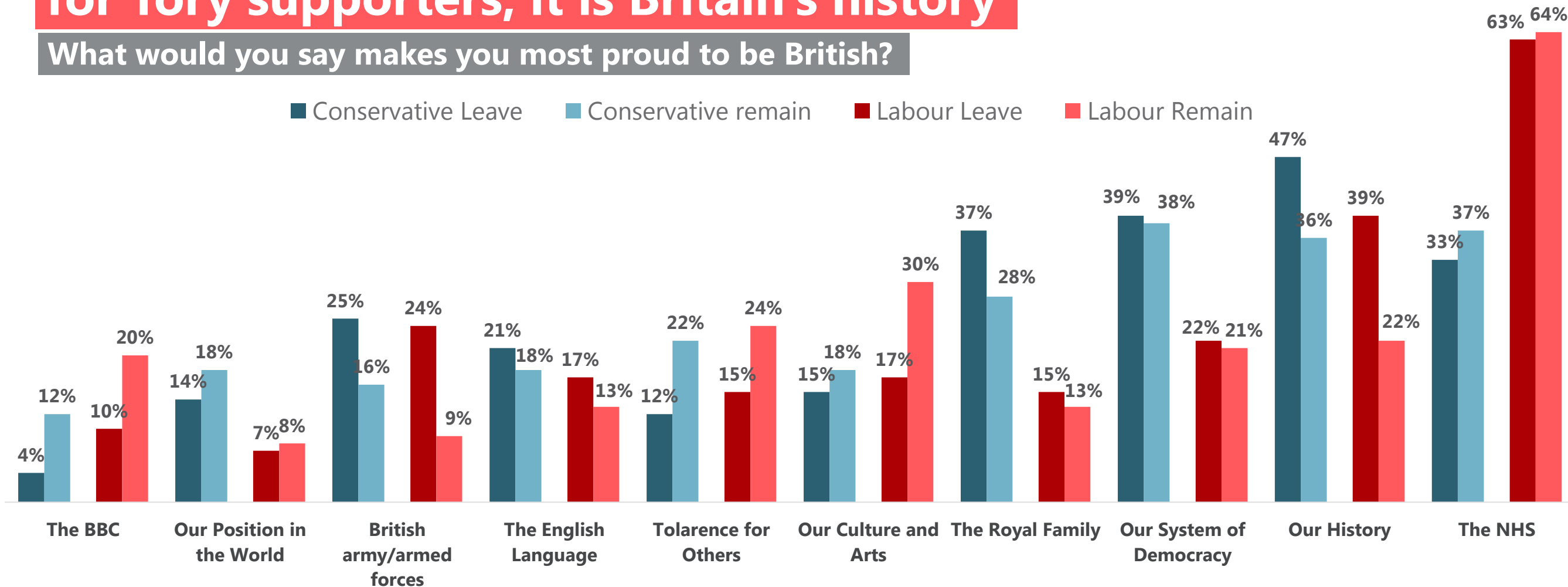
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Labour supporters are most proud of the NHS, whereas Tory supporters tend to emphasise our system of democracy, history as well as institutions such as the Royal Family

The NHS is by far and away what Labour are most proud of – for Tory supporters, it is Britain's history

What would you say makes you most proud to be British?

■ Conservative Leave
■ Conservative remain
■ Labour Leave
■ Labour Remain



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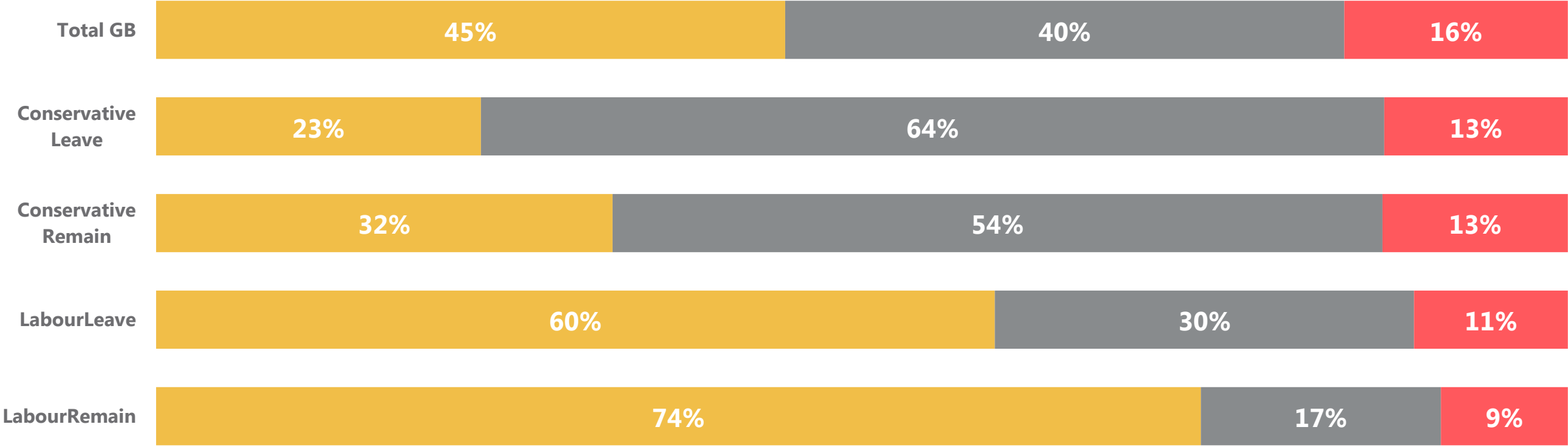
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3. But there are some issues where the picture is more of an interaction, with differences by party support AND whether people voted Leave or Remain – creates a clear gradient from Conservative Leavers to Labour Remainers

Labour voters think society should emphasise collective welfare - particularly Labour Remainers, whereas Conservative Leavers favour individualism

Which of the following statements comes closest to your ideal?

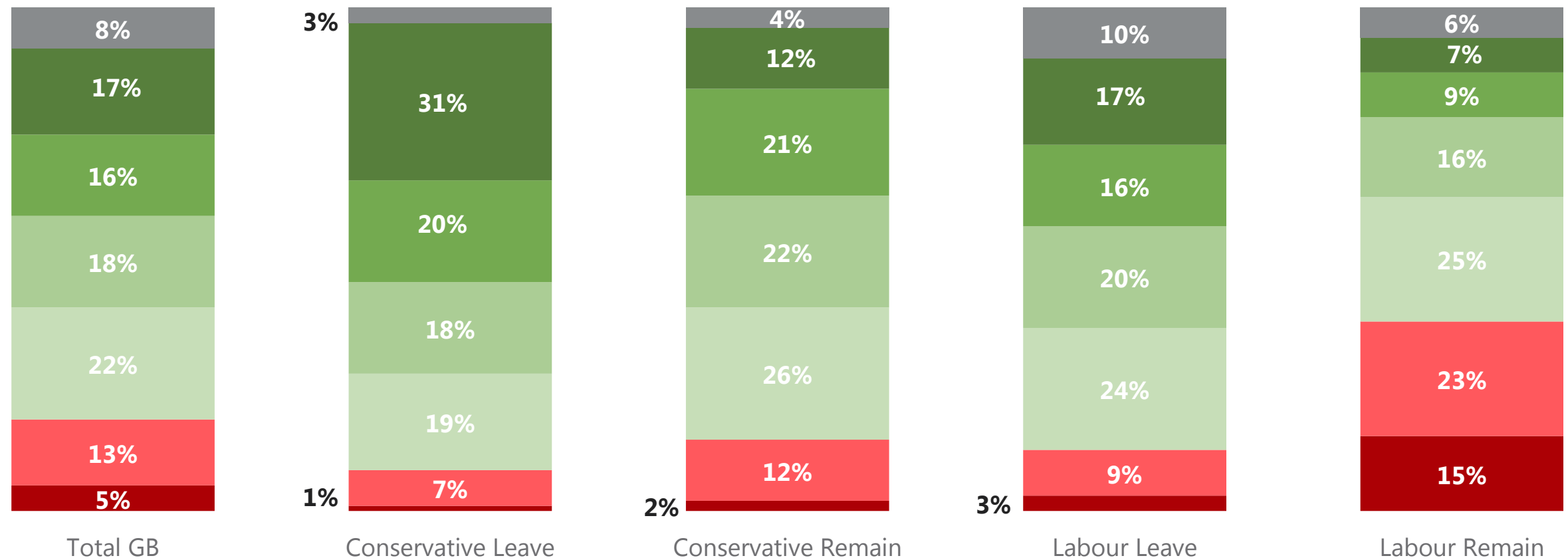
- I would like to live in a society which emphasises the social and collective provision of welfare
- I would like to live in a society where the individual is encouraged to look after him or herself
- No Opinion



Conservative leavers most likely to oppose political correctness – BUT there is similarity among Conservative remainers and Labour leavers

How much does the following describe the REAL you...I am opposed to political correctness

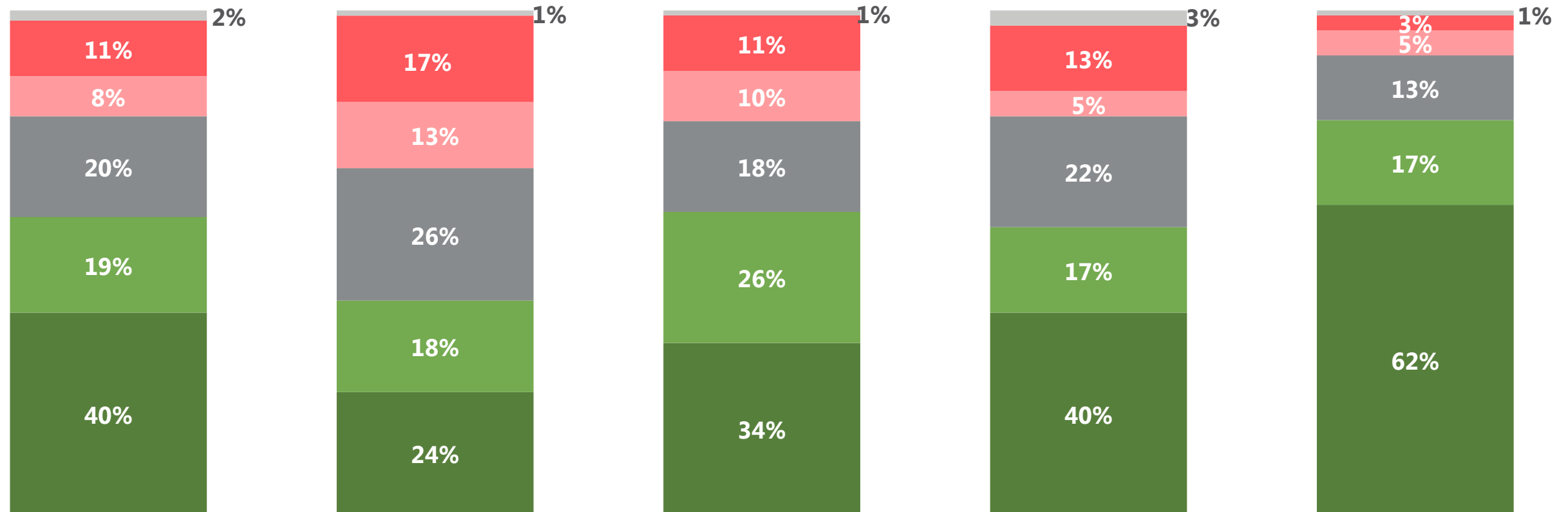
■ Not at all like me ■ Not like me ■ A little like me ■ Quite like me ■ Like me ■ Very much like me ■ Don't know



And there is a similar picture when it comes to gay marriage

How strongly do you agree or disagree...Homosexuals should be allowed to marry each other

■ Strongly agree ■ Tend to agree ■ Neither agree or disagree ■ Tend to disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know



Total GB

Conservative Leave

Conservative Remain

Labour Leave

Labour Remain



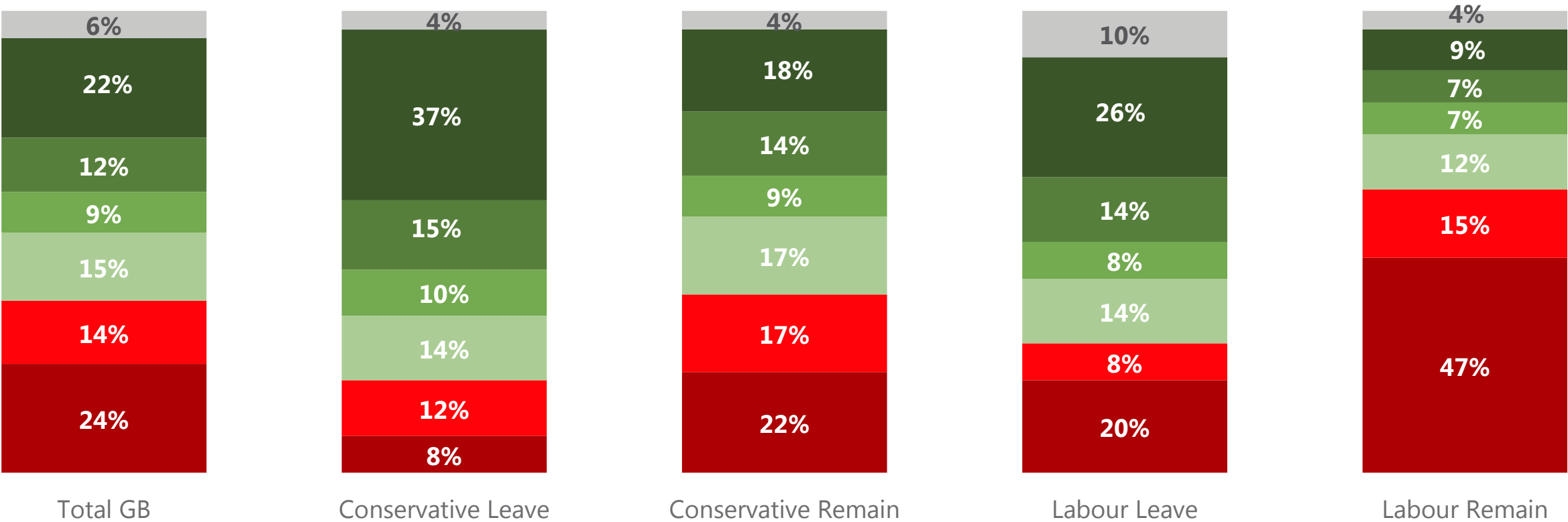
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Both Conservative and Labour leavers much more likely to think death penalty is an appropriate sentence but significant support among Conservative remainers too

How much does the following describe the REAL you...For some crimes, I believe death penalty is the most appropriate death sentence

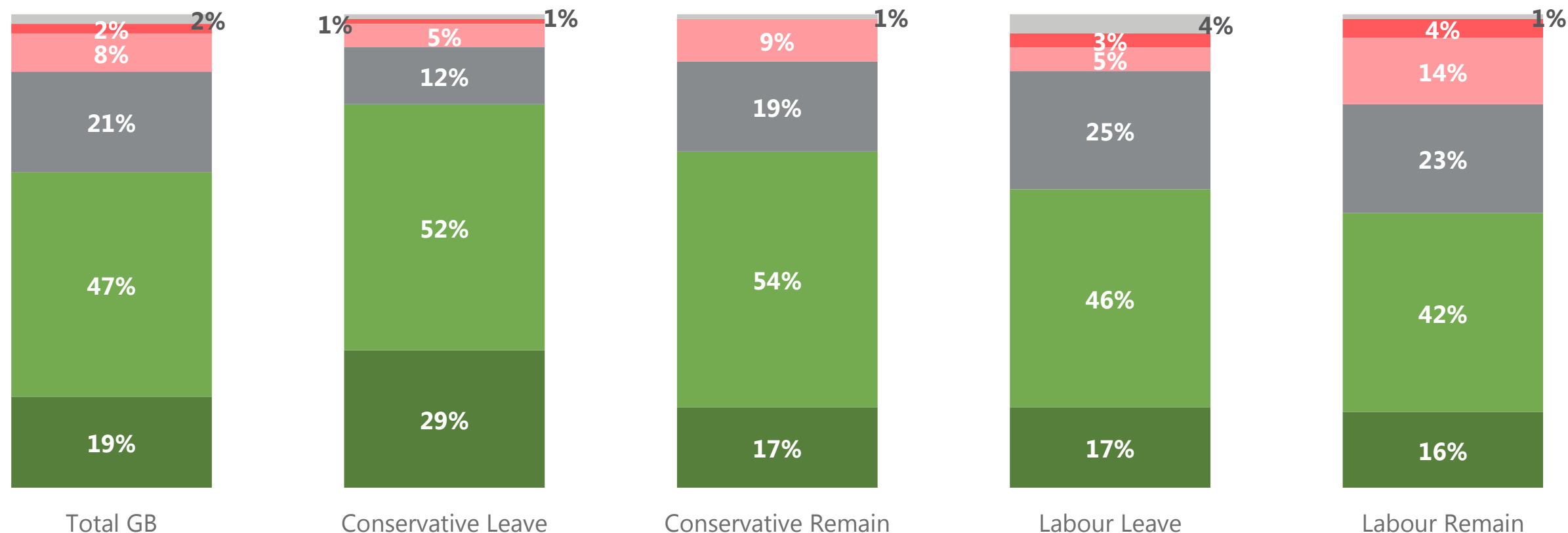
■ Not at all like me ■ Not like me ■ A little like me ■ Quite like me ■ Like me ■ Very much like me ■ Don't know



Most Conservatives – esp Leavers, think politicians should speak their minds - but still strong agreement among Labour supporters

To what extent to you agree or disagree...Politicians should be able to say what's on their minds, regardless of what anyone else thinks about their views

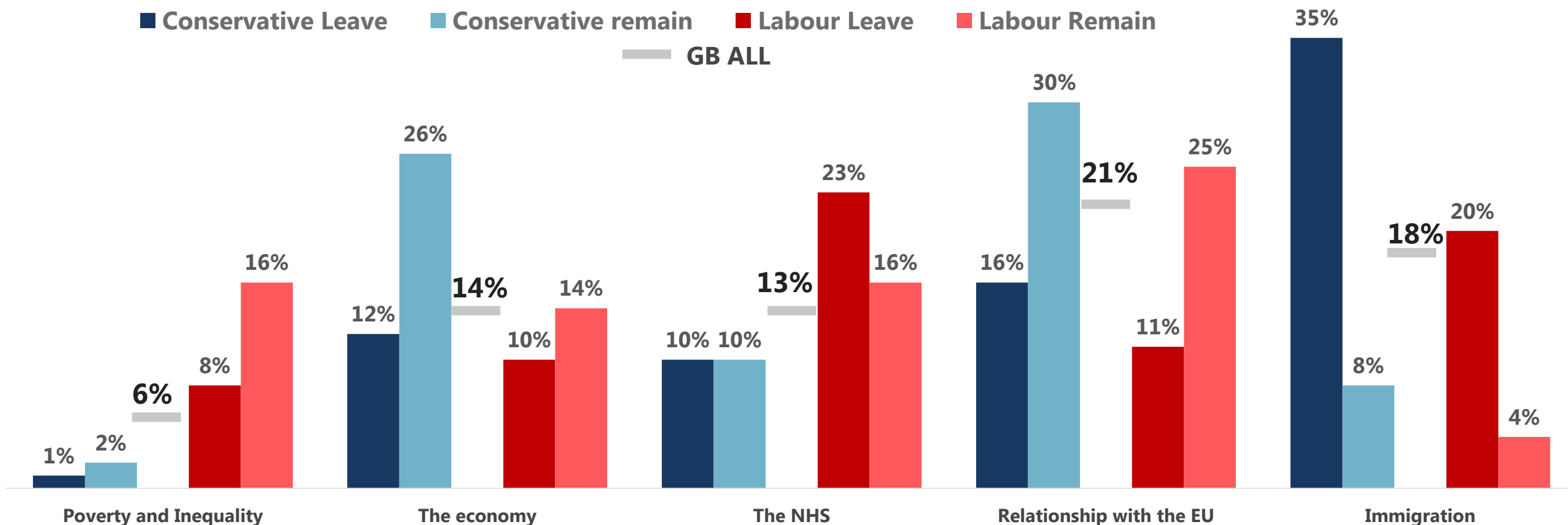
■ Strongly agree ■ Tend to agree ■ Neither agree or disagree ■ Tend to disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know



And a real mix on issues that are the most important to the different groups...

Issues a mix of effects: Remainers united on relationship with the EU, Leavers way ahead on immigration but less concerned about EU, Labour Leavers focused on NHS

What would you say is the most important issue facing Britain today? TOP FIVE SHOWN



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