Dead Centre: redefining the centre of British politics

07 Op Opinium

SMF Social Market Foundation

FOREWORD

Opinium

If one thing was made clear by the result of the EU referendum, it was the weakness of the traditional 'centre ground', defined for a generation by social and economic liberalism with a balance between commitment to the free market and social programmes to mitigate its disruptive effects. EU membership typified this, embedding liberal economics and limiting state interventions in the economy but also providing a buffer against full throated competition from the outside world in the form of "social Europe" and protections for consumers and workers.

Given the crossparty nature of the EU vote, with a sizeable block of Conservatives voting Remain and a large minority of Labour voters opting for Brexit, and the ensuing debate about what Brexit means, our understanding of the "centre" therefore needs redefining. The two main parties historically represented the interests of capital vs. labour. But if, as Tony Blair noted a decade ago, the new "left vs. right" is "open vs. closed", are our political parties able to adequately represent both sides? We hope that this analysis by Opinium and SMF goes some way towards mapping this new reality.

SMF

You might ask why a think-tank is polling on Britain's political tribes and views. After all, our business is policy, not politics. But policy doesn't emerge from a vacuum - it's shaped by the views of the electorate, and most critically by the politicians who interpret and anticipate those views.

Our strapline is 'ideas and analysis from the radical centre', and after one of the most eventful periods in recent British political history, it felt like a good time to take a look at whether the centre ground really is as barren politically as it seems currently. As you will see from the analysis here, there are bright points for those in centre, not least the fact that almost half of those polled self-identify as being in the political centre. but there is much else which will give centrists, especially those on the centre-left, pause for thought, if not sleepless nights.

We hope you enjoy this snapshot and the picture which emerges of Britain's underlying political tribes. We look forward to helping to inform the debate between those tribes, and the politicians who navigate between them, in the months ahead.

INTRODUCTION

There was a time after last year's general election and Labour's move to the left when it seemed that the Conservatives would govern from the centre ground. Broadly speaking, on the basis of their manifesto and then David Cameron's speech at the party conference in Manchester, the expectation was that they would manifest a broadly cosmopolitan, liberal and pro-market worldview while managing concerns about immigration tactically and, in a more thoroughgoing way, make some progress on social mobility.

How things have changed. Now, after a long referendum campaign focused on sovereignty and immigration, the Leave vote, the demise of David Cameron's political project, the failure of the Liberal Democrats to mount much of a comeback and the resilience of Corbynism and Scottish nationalism, the centre looks barren.

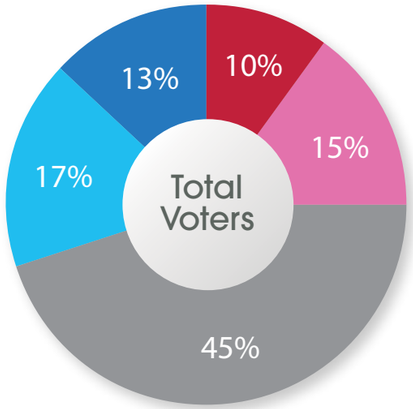
There is a hopeful view that suggests the recent defeats for political centrists have been down to hubris (did David Cameron need to hold a referendum?) or bad technique (why weren't the tactics on managing immigration better?). This is a hopeful view because it assumes that voters are on the centre ground. What if they've moved on?

This is the question we've sought to answer. Working together, Opinium and the SMF carried out polling in the second half of August, asking voters to place themselves on a left-right continuum, do the same for a range of politicians and tell us their views on some top issues and policies.

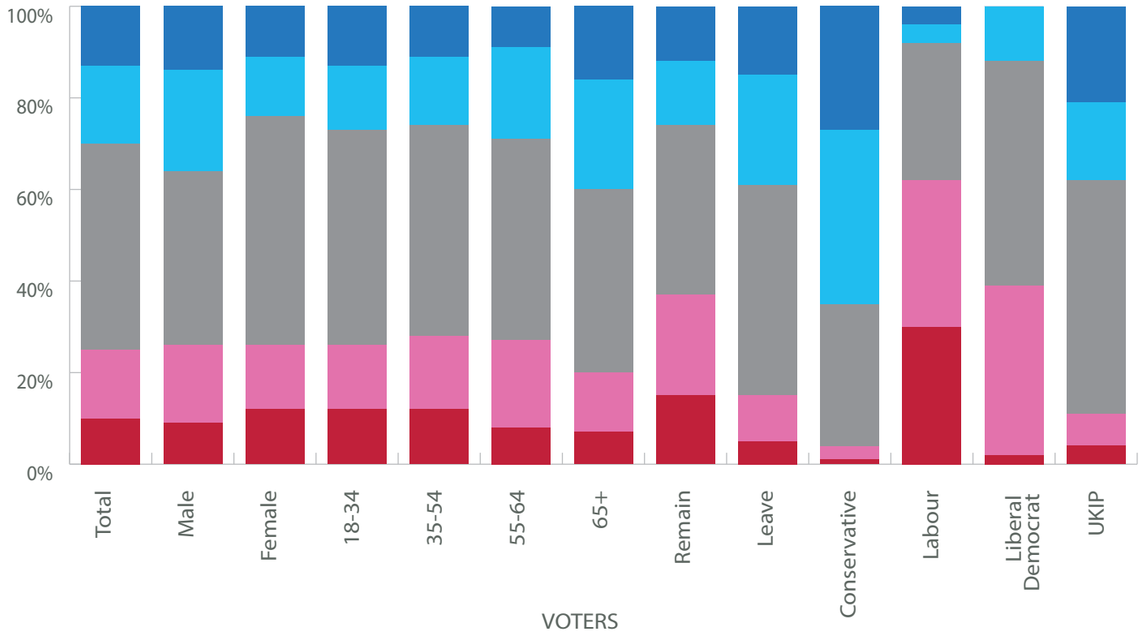
This note describes our top findings and the outlook they suggest for the left, the right and the centre in politics; as well as the idea that popular attitudes no longer fit comfortably into those categories.

IS THE CENTRE EMPTY?

At a headline level, the centre is thriving. Asked for their own political positioning, 45% of voters put themselves in the centre, as opposed to 25% on the left and 30% on the right.



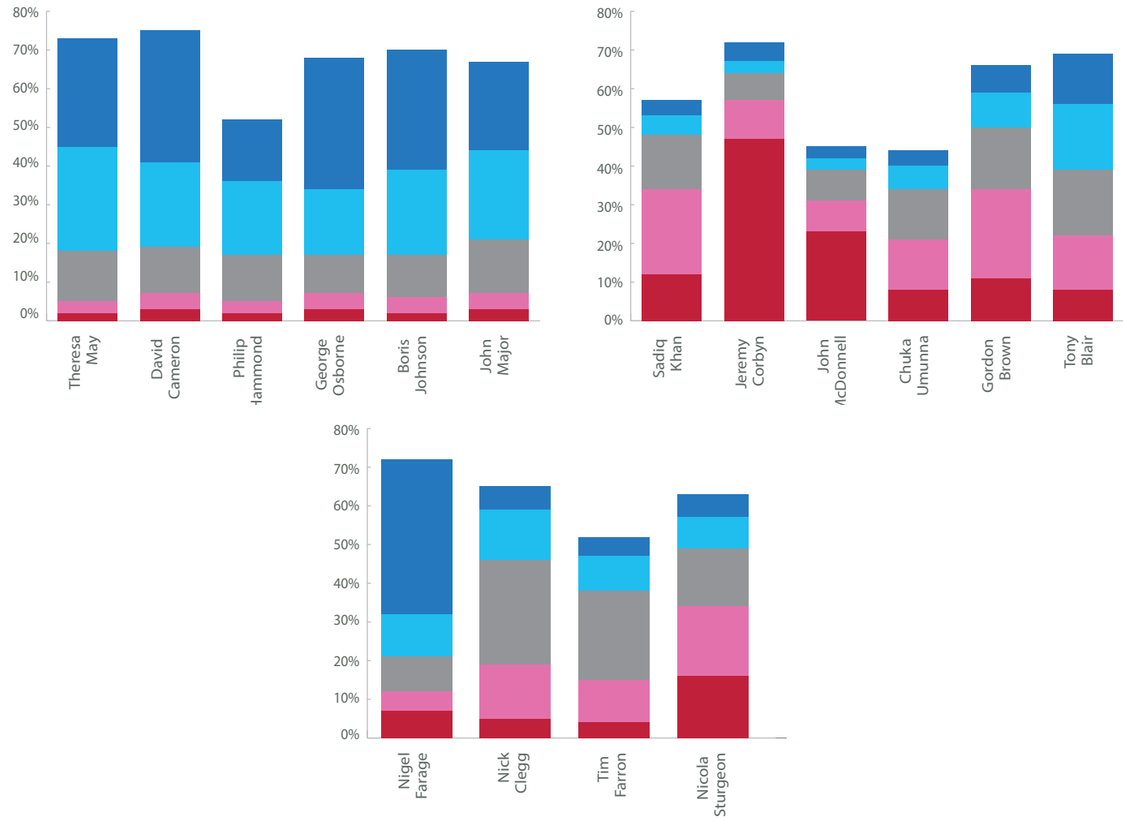
Where do you see yourself on the political spectrum?



Left wing (0-2) Centre left (3-4) Centre Centre right (6-7) Right wing (8-10)

There is even evidence that political centrists are rising not falling. When asked to place politicians on a left-right scale, respondents identify Theresa May as less right wing than David Cameron; and the same is true for key members of her Cabinet - Philip Hammond for example is placed closer to the centre than his predecessor as Chancellor.

Where would you place each of these politicians on the political spectrum?

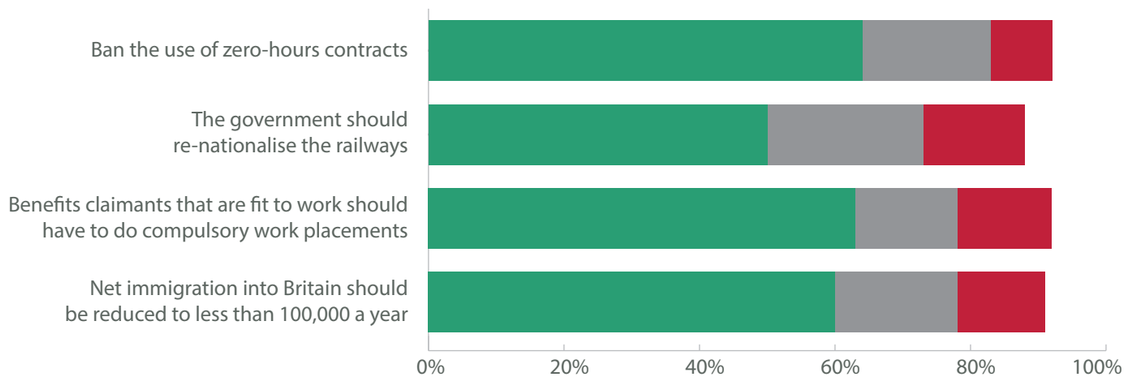


Left wing (0-2) Centre left (3-4) Centre Centre right (6-7) Right wing (8-10)

But this positive outlook for the centre begins to fade when we take a closer look at respondents' views on key issues and policies.

There is firm support for many policies that would be traditionally thought of as right wing such as reducing immigration to the tens of thousands, changing human rights law, requiring benefits claimants to do compulsory work and allowing new grammar schools to be built. But this is where the categories of right and left begin to lose their value. Some of the same people who support these right wing policies disapprove of others such as allowing businesses to run some NHS services.

Equally, a number of policies that would be typically thought of as left wing - such as banning zero hours contracts or introducing a mansion tax - are supported by similar margins among our respondents as the right wing ones. And those taking left wing opinions also express right wing ones - for example, many of them want to reduce immigration too.



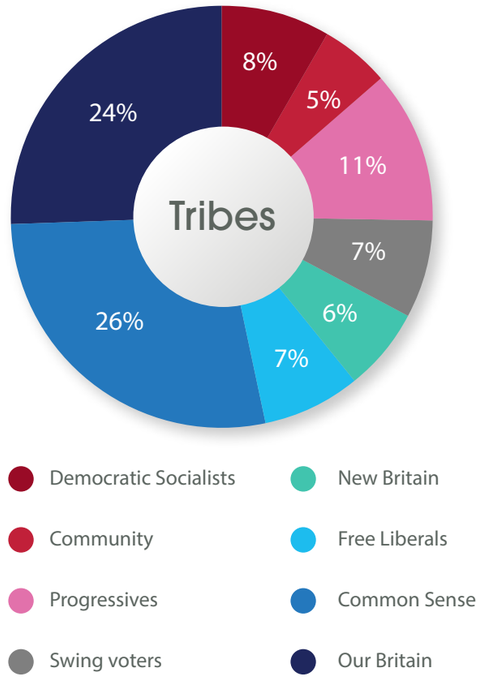
TRIBES RATHER THAN WINGS

Reflecting on these findings from the polling, we took a closer look at how people holding combinations of such attitudes might be grouped.

To do this, we asked people whether they supported or opposed a series of topical policy proposals, ranging from introducing a mansion tax and re-nationalising the railways to reducing net immigration to less than 100,000 a year. As well as asking about specific policies, we also showed our voters a series of more fundamental propositions and asked them to place themselves on a scale depending on whichever side they felt closer to. These propositions included: whether immigration was broadly a benefit to or a burden on society; whether "British" is a civic identity open to anyone who comes to the UK or an ethnic identity available only to those born here; whether benefits should be universal or contributory; and whether they are optimistic or pessimistic about the future.

Through a cluster analysis of the responses, we sorted the population into groups of those who share similar views, giving us eight political "tribes".

Our eight political tribes range from 'ethnic nationalists' - what we're calling the Our Britain tendency and people with more traditionally Conservative views - Common Sense in our words - on the right; through to a range of groups across the centre and the left.



These tribes, and the divisions between them, might shed some light on the political strategies and policy choices open to the two main parties.

On the whole, our analysis makes more cheerful reading for those on the right, than on the centre or the left. The two largest tribes, making up around 50% of the population, hold a range of traditionally right wing views, offering a solid foundation on which to aim for the 40-42% of the vote which normally guarantees a healthy majority under our electoral system. These groups share a desire to see immigration reduced to below 100k a year and were both solidly pro-Leave in the EU referendum.

Beyond these groups, voters are much more fragmented. None of the other groups approaches the size or homogeneity of these two.

In the centre, or centre-right, are 13% of voters in two groups, which we have described as New Britain and Swing Voters. They have differing views in relation to increasing income tax to reduce inequality, for instance, but their views on Europe and openness to the world are broadly in accord – they are in favour of remaining in the single market rather than restricting immigration.

At present, no party is led by a figure from these centrist groups – the days of Cameron and Blair are past. Yet our analysis suggests that the centre ground could still prove fertile territory for a leader, perhaps from the centre-right, who hoped to reap an electoral harvest by appealing to them.

On the other hand, if Theresa May continues to be identified as a centrist, even after her 'honeymoon period' is over, then she might add these groups to her coalition. Indeed both currently favour the Conservatives over Labour by significant margins.

To appeal to these voters though, Theresa May would have to lean more towards a 'soft Brexit', remaining in the single market, at the cost of tighter controls on immigration, which could drive many of the Our Britain group away from the Conservative camp, perhaps towards UKIP. There is a trade-off - in policy and electoral terms - to be made here.

For Labour, the task seems harder, even without taking into account its ongoing troubles regarding leadership. The groups in the centre, centre-left and left are smaller in aggregate terms and more fissiparous. In particular, the groups on the left are split in relation to immigration, with the Solidarity group of older and poorer voters at odds with the Progressives and Democratic Socialists. The last time an enduring, successful electoral coalition was assembled from the centre-left was before the increase in immigration which took place in the mid-2000s, and one wonders whether another can be put together while the issue of immigration retains its current salience.

CONCLUSION

The centre is not dead, not rhetorically anyway. People are still more likely to identify with the centre ground than one of the wings in politics. This suggests that there is a dividend to be gained from identifying as a centrist.

But what should a centrist politician do in order to sustain the support of voters? From our analysis of the tribes, it is easier to hold together a winning coalition broadly speaking on the right or centre-right than on the left. It is not that the left is vanishing; though it is fragmented.

Next it will be the right that faces the same risk, most notably when politicians work out - and voters discover - what it is that Brexit means. The traditional left-right divide is overlaid with some others: open-closed; optimistic-pessimistic; and forbidding-forbearing. We found eight tribes in our analysis. In the future, there may easily be a few more.

		DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS	COMMUNITY	PROGRESSIVES
SUMMARY OF VIEWS		Pro-immigration, pro-welfare state, pro-redisitribution of wealth, internationalist outlook.	Redistribution of wealth, scepticism of business and capitalism. More closed off view of Britain and broadly anti-immigration.	Open, internationalist and inclusive view of Britain, comfortable with immigration. Belief in the welfare state, balanced view towards tax and the economy.
% OF POP.		8%	5%	11%
VOTING INTENTION	Con	2%	12%	22%
	Lab	60%	50%	50%
	Lib Dem	8%	3%	12%
	UKIP	1%	9%	1%
	Other/DNV	30%	26%	15%
EU REFERENDUM VOTE	Remain	85%	47%	74%
	Leave	3%	39%	12%
	DNV	12%	14%	14%
	Leave lead	-82%	-8%	-62%
HOW THEY DESCRIBE THEIR POLITICAL LEANING	Left	81%	39%	52%
	Centre	17%	48%	33%
	Right	2%	13%	15%
				VIEWS
IMMIGRATION	Benefit to society	94%	16%	77%
	Neither	6%	22%	23%
	Burden on society	0%	62%	0%
EU	Pro-single market	95%	20%	74%
	Neither	2%	47%	24%
	Anti-immigration	3%	33%	2%
BUSINESS	Protect workers	86%	67%	48%
	Neither	8%	33%	34%
	Make life easy for business	7%	0%	19%
BENEFITS	Benefit of the doubt	80%	57%	60%
	Neither	8%	35%	23%
	Hardline on benefits	13%	8%	17%
TAX / EQUALITY	Equal incomes	68%	73%	31%
	Neither	6%	24%	21%
	Earn what you like	26%	3%	48%
BENEFITS	Based on need	90%	52%	65%
	Neither	4%	34%	28%
	Based on contributions	6%	14%	7%
IDENTITY	Multicultural Britain	90%	20%	67%
	Neither	7%	38%	28%
	British means 'born here'	3%	43%	5%
GOVERNMENT APPROACH	Treat all fairly	97%	22%	85%
	Neither	1%	37%	14%
	Britons come first	1%	41%	1%
BRITAIN IN THE WORLD	Interventionist	70%	19%	80%
	Neither	11%	36%	18%
	Isolationist	19%	44%	2%
BRITAIN'S FUTURE	Pessimistic	70%	60%	38%
	Neither	26%	33%	50%
	Optimistic	4%	7%	12%
FAMILY FUTURE	Pessimistic	41%	61%	15%
	Neither	37%	28%	51%
	Optimistic	22%	10%	34%

SWING VOTERS	NEW BRITAIN	FREE LIBERALS	COMMON SENSE	OUR BRITAIN
Mixture of views. Support an equal society, internationalist outlook, hard stance on benefits, support a low tax economy.	Open capitalist economy, pro-immigration, pro-single market, supportive of a low tax economy. Business friendly, internationalist, compassionate view of society.	Strong faith in the market, little interest in socially conservative ideas. Strongly pro-business, the most opposed to the welfare state. The most personally optimistic.	Don't think of themselves as having particularly strong political opinions, despite supporting similar policies to the "Our Britain" segment. Clear preference for low tax economy, opposition to immigration.	Closed perception of what Britishness is. Anti-immigration, government should put Brits first at all costs, broadly isolationist in outlook.
7%	6%	7%	26%	24%
37%	56%	58%	62%	38%
33%	2%	27%	15%	19%
7%	6%	7%	3%	2%
2%	4%	2%	13%	37%
21%	32%	5%	7%	4%
51%	66%	62%	34%	11%
31%	26%	32%	59%	80%
17%	8%	6%	7%	9%
-20%	-40%	-30%	+25%	+69%
20%	14%	18%	14%	15%
63%	49%	23%	42%	52%
17%	37%	60%	44%	33%
IN DETAIL				
34%	74%	76%	9%	5%
53%	6%	14%	44%	8%
13%	20%	10%	47%	88%
48%	77%	78%	19%	5%
45%	6%	8%	39%	8%
7%	17%	14%	42%	87%
36%	32%	5%	31%	50%
38%	4%	23%	34%	18%
25%	64%	73%	35%	32%
27%	35%	25%	39%	51%
17%	7%	11%	28%	12%
55%	59%	63%	33%	36%
25%	11%	11%	16%	37%
8%	0%	12%	17%	10%
67%	89%	77%	67%	53%
43%	42%	23%	37%	47%
26%	6%	11%	31%	12%
31%	53%	65%	32%	40%
42%	81%	88%	34%	20%
32%	4%	9%	30%	12%
26%	14%	3%	36%	68%
71%	89%	89%	26%	12%
27%	1%	4%	35%	11%
2%	10%	7%	39%	77%
58%	88%	80%	45%	31%
22%	3%	8%	40%	18%
20%	10%	12%	15%	51%
17%	27%	6%	17%	22%
59%	1%	16%	37%	21%
24%	71%	77%	46%	57%
8%	25%	4%	13%	28%
54%	0%	14%	40%	30%
38%	75%	82%	47%	42%

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS

% OF POPULATION		**8%**
VOTING INTENTION	Con	2%
	Lab	60%
	Lib Dem	8%
	UKIP	1%
	Other/DNV	30%
EU REFERENDUM VOTE	Remain	85%
	Leave	3%
	DNV	12%
	Leave lead	-82%
HOW THEY DESCRIBE THEIR POLITICAL LEANING	Left	81%
	Centre	17%
	Right	2%
	Summary	Left
PREFERRED PM	May	15%
	Corbyn	48%
	None	30%
	DK	7%
	May Lead	-34%
KEY POLICIES SUPPORTED	1st	Stay in single market after Brexit
	2nd	Increase income tax for higher earners to reduce inequality
	3rd	Introduce a mansion tax
	4th	Re-nationalise the railways
KEY POLICIES OPPOSED	1st	Allowing businesses to run some NHS services
	2nd	Reduce net immigration to less than 100,000 a year
DEMOGRAPHICS		
DEMOGRAPHIC	SUMMARY	Mostly ABC1s, living in urban areas or in Scotland and Wales.
CLASS	ABC1	66%
	C2DE	34%
GENDER	Male	40%
	Female	60%
REGION	Strongest	Scotland & Wales
	Weakest	England outside of London
AGE	18-34	38%
	35-54	37%
	55+	25%
WORKING STATUS	Full Time	40%
	Part Time	23%
	Student	4%
	Retired	19%
	Unemployed	4%
	Other	10%
OTHER ATTITUDES		
ROLE OF GOVT	Providing law and order	20%
	National defence and security	16%
	Promoting equality	22%
	Growing the economy	18%
	Providing public services	58%
	Protecting human rights	59%
	Other	2%

COMMUNITY

% OF POPULATION		**5%**
VOTING INTENTION	Con	12%
	Lab	50%
	Lib Dem	3%
	UKIP	9%
	Other/DNV	26%
EU REFERENDUM VOTE	Remain	47%
	Leave	39%
	DNV	14%
	Leave lead	-8%
HOW THEY DESCRIBE THEIR POLITICAL LEANING	Left	39%
	Centre	48%
	Right	13%
	Summary	Left
PREFERRED PM	May	26%
	Corbyn	36%
	None	23%
	DK	16%
	May Lead	-10%
KEY POLICIES SUPPORTED	1st	Increase income tax for higher earners to reduce inequality
	2nd	Introduce a mansion tax
	3rd	Ban zero-hours contracts
	4th	Reduce net immigration to less than 100,000 a year
KEY POLICIES OPPOSED	1st	Allowing businesses to run some NHS services
	2nd	Build new nuclear power plants
DEMOGRAPHICS		
DEMOGRAPHIC	SUMMARY	The working class in Northern England and the Midlands.
CLASS	ABC1	32%
	C2DE	68%
GENDER	Male	41%
	Female	59%
REGION	Strongest	Northern England
	Weakest	London
AGE	18-34	29%
	35-54	37%
	55+	34%
WORKING STATUS	Full Time	40%
	Part Time	15%
	Student	3%
	Retired	23%
	Unemployed	8%
	Other	12%
OTHER ATTITUDES		
ROLE OF GOVT	Providing law and order	30%
	National defence and security	30%
	Promoting equality	16%
	Growing the economy	34%
	Providing public services	46%
	Protecting human rights	30%
	Other	2%

PROGRESSIVES

% OF POPULATION			11%
VOTING INTENTION	Con		22%
	Lab		50%
	Lib Dem		12%
	UKIP		1%
	Other/DNV		15%
EU REFERENDUM VOTE	Remain		74%
	Leave		12%
	DNV		14%
	Leave lead		-62%
HOW THEY DESCRIBE THEIR POLITICAL LEANING	Left		52%
	Centre		33%
	Right		15%
	Summary		Left
PREFERRED PM	May		43%
	Corbyn		19%
	None		24%
	DK		14%
	May Lead		+24%
KEY POLICIES SUPPORTED	1st	Stay in single market after Brexit	
	2nd	Increase income tax for higher earners to reduce inequality	
	3rd	Introduce a mansion tax	
	4th	Ban zero-hours contracts	
KEY POLICIES OPPOSED	1st	Allowing businesses to run some NHS services	
	2nd	Allow new grammar schools to be built	
DEMOGRAPHICS			
DEMOGRAPHIC	SUMMARY	A scattering of professional groups across the UK.	
CLASS	ABC1		63%
	C2DE		37%
GENDER	Male		45%
	Female		55%
REGION	Strongest	No regional focus	
	Weakest		
AGE	18-34		34%
	35-54		34%
	55+		31%
WORKING STATUS	Full Time		48%
	Part Time		18%
	Student		4%
	Retired		22%
	Unemployed		1%
	Other		8%
OTHER ATTITUDES			
ROLE OF GOVT	Providing law and order		30%
	National defence and security		24%
	Promoting equality		18%
	Growing the economy		41%
	Providing public services		48%
	Protecting human rights		33%
	Other		1%

SWING VOTERS

% OF POPULATION			7%
VOTING INTENTION	Con		37%
	Lab		33%
	Lib Dem		7%
	UKIP		2%
	Other/DNV		21%
EU REFERENDUM VOTE	Remain		51%
	Leave		31%
	DNV		17%
	Leave lead		-20%
HOW THEY DESCRIBE THEIR POLITICAL LEANING	Left		20%
	Centre		63%
	Right		17%
	Summary		Centre
PREFERRED PM	May		51%
	Corbyn		19%
	None		12%
	DK		18%
	May Lead		+32%
KEY POLICIES SUPPORTED	1st	Ban zero-hours contracts	
	2nd	Benefits claimants should have to do compulsory work	
	3rd	Introduce a mansion tax	
	4th	Increase income tax for higher earners to reduce inequality	
KEY POLICIES OPPOSED	1st	No policies opposed strongly	
	2nd		
DEMOGRAPHICS			
DEMOGRAPHIC	SUMMARY	A scattering of demographic groups spread across England outside of the capital.	
CLASS	ABC1		50%
	C2DE		50%
GENDER	Male		39%
	Female		61%
REGION	Strongest	Nation-wide outside of London	
	Weakest	London	
AGE	18-34		31%
	35-54		36%
	55+		33%
WORKING STATUS	Full Time		38%
	Part Time		21%
	Student		6%
	Retired		24%
	Unemployed		1%
	Other		10%
OTHER ATTITUDES			
ROLE OF GOVT	Providing law and order		30%
	National defence and security		27%
	Promoting equality		17%
	Growing the economy		48%
	Providing public services		37%
	Protecting human rights		21%
	Other		3%

NEW BRITAIN

% OF POPULATION			6%
VOTING INTENTION	Con		56%
	Lab		2%
	Lib Dem		6%
	UKIP		4%
	Other/DNV		32%
EU REFERENDUM VOTE	Remain		66%
	Leave		26%
	DNV		8%
	Leave lead		-40%
HOW THEY DESCRIBE THEIR POLITICAL LEANING	Left		14%
	Centre		49%
	Right		37%
	Summary		Right-of-centre
PREFERRED PM	May		53%
	Corbyn		24%
	None		11%
	DK		12%
	May Lead		+29%
KEY POLICIES SUPPORTED	1st	Reduce spending to control the deficit	
	2nd	Reduce corporation tax	
	3rd	Allowing businesses to run some NHS services	
	4th	Stay in single market after Brexit	
KEY POLICIES OPPOSED	1st	Increase income tax for higher earners to reduce inequality	
	2nd	Re-nationalise the railways	
DEMOGRAPHICS			
DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARY		Younger successful professionals, many of them managerial, living in London.	
CLASS	ABC1		62%
	C2DE		38%
GENDER	Male		62%
	Female		38%
REGION	Strongest	London	
	Weakest	Scotland & Wales	
AGE	18-34		47%
	35-54		28%
	55+		25%
WORKING STATUS	Full Time		55%
	Part Time		12%
	Student		7%
	Retired		21%
	Unemployed		3%
	Other		3%
OTHER ATTITUDES			
ROLE OF GOVT	Providing law and order		33%
	National defence and security		30%
	Promoting equality		17%
	Growing the economy		46%
	Providing public services		23%
	Protecting human rights		25%
	Other		1%

FREE LIBERALS

% OF POPULATION			7%
VOTING INTENTION	Con		58%
	Lab		27%
	Lib Dem		7%
	UKIP		2%
	Other/DNV		5%
EU REFERENDUM VOTE	Remain		62%
	Leave		32%
	DNV		6%
	Leave lead		-30%
HOW THEY DESCRIBE THEIR POLITICAL LEANING	Left		18%
	Centre		23%
	Right		60%
	Summary		Right
PREFERRED PM	May		61%
	Corbyn		22%
	None		9%
	DK		8%
	May Lead		+39%
KEY POLICIES SUPPORTED	1st	Benefits claimants should have to do compulsory work	
	2nd	Allowing businesses to run some NHS services	
	3rd	Reduce spending to control the deficit	
	4th	Build new nuclear power plants	
KEY POLICIES OPPOSED	1st	Re-nationalise the railways	
	2nd		
DEMOGRAPHICS			
DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARY		Young, mainly male, professionals living in London.	
CLASS	ABC1		75%
	C2DE		25%
GENDER	Male		79%
	Female		21%
REGION	Strongest	London	
	Weakest	Northern England	
AGE	18-34		40%
	35-54		24%
	55+		35%
WORKING STATUS	Full Time		61%
	Part Time		5%
	Student		1%
	Retired		27%
	Unemployed		3%
	Other		3%
OTHER ATTITUDES			
ROLE OF GOVT	Providing law and order		42%
	National defence and security		42%
	Promoting equality		11%
	Growing the economy		48%
	Providing public services		24%
	Protecting human rights		19%
	Other		1%

COMMON SENSE

% OF POPULATION			26%
VOTING INTENTION	Con		62%
	Lab		15%
	Lib Dem		3%
	UKIP		13%
	Other/DNV		7%
EU REFERENDUM VOTE	Remain		34%
	Leave		59%
	DNV		7%
	Leave lead		+25%
HOW THEY DESCRIBE THEIR POLITICAL LEANING	Left		14%
	Centre		42%
	Right		44%
	Summary		Right
PREFERRED PM	May		71%
	Corbyn		5%
	None		17%
	DK		7%
	May Lead		+66%
KEY POLICIES SUPPORTED	1st	Reduce net immigration to less than 100,000 a year	
	2nd	Benefits claimants should have to do compulsory work	
	3rd	Change human rights law	
	4th	Allow new grammar schools to be built	
KEY POLICIES OPPOSED	1st	Stay in single market after Brexit	
	2nd	Introduce proportional representation for UK wide elections	
DEMOGRAPHICS			
DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARY		Older Southern Englanders, either advanced in their career or retirees.	
CLASS	ABC1		56%
	C2DE		44%
GENDER	Male		47%
	Female		53%
REGION	Strongest	Southern England	
	Weakest	London	
AGE	18-34		21%
	35-54		35%
	55+		44%
WORKING STATUS	Full Time		46%
	Part Time		17%
	Student		0%
	Retired		29%
	Unemployed		1%
	Other		5%
OTHER ATTITUDES			
ROLE OF GOVT	Providing law and order		45%
	National defence and security		43%
	Promoting equality		6%
	Growing the economy		50%
	Providing public services		32%
	Protecting human rights		14%
	Other		1%

OUR BRITAIN

% OF POPULATION			24%
VOTING INTENTION	Con		38%
	Lab		19%
	Lib Dem		2%
	UKIP		37%
	Other/DNV		4%
EU REFERENDUM VOTE	Remain		11%
	Leave		80%
	DNV		9%
	Leave lead		+69%
HOW THEY DESCRIBE THEIR POLITICAL LEANING	Left		15%
	Centre		52%
	Right		33%
	Summary		Not on scale
PREFERRED PM	May		59%
	Corbyn		7%
	None		24%
	DK		10%
	May Lead		+52%
KEY POLICIES SUPPORTED	1st	Reduce net immigration to less than 100,000 a year	
	2nd	Change human rights law	
	3rd	Benefits claimants should have to do compulsory work	
	4th	Ban zero-hours contracts	
KEY POLICIES OPPOSED	1st	Stay in single market after Brexit	
	2nd	Allowing businesses to run some NHS services	
DEMOGRAPHICS			
DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARY		The older working class and retirees, living mainly in the Northern England and the Midlands.	
CLASS	ABC1		42%
	C2DE		58%
GENDER	Male		48%
	Female		52%
REGION	Strongest	Midlands	
	Weakest	London	
AGE	18-34		15%
	35-54		37%
	55+		48%
WORKING STATUS	Full Time		38%
	Part Time		15%
	Student		1%
	Retired		32%
	Unemployed		3%
	Other		10%
OTHER ATTITUDES			
ROLE OF GOVT	Providing law and order		45%
	National defence and security		49%
	Promoting equality		7%
	Growing the economy		42%
	Providing public services		30%
	Protecting human rights		13%
	Other		1%

What people think, feel and do.

About Opinium

Opinium is an award winning strategic insight agency built on the belief that in a world of uncertainty and complexity, success depends on the ability to stay on the pulse of what people think, feel and do. Creative and inquisitive, we are passionate about empowering our clients to make the decisions that matter. We work with organisations to define and resolve commercial issues, helping them to get to grips with the world in which their brands operate, by ensuring we develop the right approach and methodology to deliver robust insight, targeted recommendations, and address specific business challenges.

www.opinium.co.uk :: research@opinium.co.uk :: 0207 566 3190

SMF Social Market Foundation

About SMF

The Social Market Foundation (SMF) is a non-partisan think tank. We believe that fair markets, complemented by open public services, increase prosperity and help people to live well. We conduct research and run events looking at a wide range of economic and social policy areas, focusing on economic prosperity, public services and consumer markets. The SMF is resolutely independent, and the range of backgrounds and opinions among our staff, trustees and advisory board reflects this.

www.smf.co.uk :: enquiries@smf.co.uk :: 020 7222 7060