

Appendix

HAVE THE POLITICIANS DELIVERED? VOTERS' JUDGEMENT ON THE BREXIT PROCESS

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Appendix A: Detailed Tables

This appendix accompanies the report, ‘Have the Politicians Delivered? Voters’ Judgement on the Brexit Process’.

It includes the detailed results of five waves of survey research on attitudes towards Brexit that have been conducted among members of the NatCen Panel, a unique mixed-mode random probability panel maintained by NatCen Social Research (Cabrera-Alvarez et al, 2016; Jessop, 2018). All of the members of this panel were first interviewed for the annual British Social Attitudes survey (Phillips et al., 2018), the respondents to which were chosen at random, and who then agreed to undertake further short interviews, either online or over the phone.

The data for each wave have been weighted so that they reflect the known demographic character of the population and the distribution of responses to key variables on the original British Social Attitudes surveys. Details of both weighted and unweighted bases are supplied.

Reference is made to the following waves of data collection:

Survey	Fieldwork dates	<i>n</i>	Response (%)
Sept 16	22 September – 24 October 2016	1391	54
Feb 17	2 February – 5 March 2017	2322	60
July 17	6 July – 6 August 2017	2184	60
Oct 17	28 September – 29 October 2017	2168	61
June 18	7 June – 8 July 2018	2048	56
Feb 19	24 January – 17 February 2019	2654	57

Notes on tables:

- Unless stated, figures for ‘Don’t Know’ / ‘Refused’ are included in the denominator upon which the percentages below are based
- ‘*’ indicates a figure less than 0.5 per cent but greater than zero
- ‘-’ indicates that no respondents gave this answer
- All figures are rounded to the nearest whole number (from 2 decimal places, such that 0.49 rounds down and 0.51 rounds up)

Table 1: Following the decision to leave the European Union, the UK will have to negotiate a new agreement with the EU. Would you be in favour or against 'allowing companies based in the EU to sell goods and services freely in Britain in return for allowing British companies to sell goods and services freely in the EU' being part of the agreement? (%)

	Sept 16	Feb 17	July 17	Oct 17	June 18	Feb 19
Strongly in favour	65	61	57	57	54	57
Somewhat in favour	25	27	31	31	32	27
Neither in favour nor against	8	9	10	9	10	11
Somewhat against	1	2	1	2	2	2
Strongly against	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654

Table 2: Following the decision to leave the European Union, the UK will have to negotiate a new agreement with the EU. Would you be in favour or against 'allowing companies based in the EU to sell goods and services freely in Britain in return for allowing British companies to sell goods and services freely in the EU' being part of the agreement? by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Sept 16		Feb 17		July 17		Oct 17	
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave
Strongly in favour	72	65	66	61	65	54	64	56
Somewhat in favour	22	25	25	28	26	32	30	33
Neither in favour nor against	4	8	7	9	7	11	5	8
Somewhat against	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2
Strongly against	-	1	*	1	-	1	-	1
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	563	593	960	956	909	882	912	892
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	635	605	1083	968	1029	911	1019	906
	June 18		Feb 19					
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave				
Strongly in favour	65	46	66	54				
Somewhat in favour	27	37	26	30				
Neither in favour nor against	6	12	7	9				
Somewhat against	1	2	*	4				
Strongly against	*	1	*	2				
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	881	765	1073	899				
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	978	796	1214	966				

Table 3: Following the decision to leave the European Union, the UK will have to negotiate a new agreement with the EU. Would you be in favour or against 'requiring people from the EU who want to come to live here to apply to do so in the same way as people from outside the EU' being part of the agreement? (%)

	Sept 16	Feb 17	July 17	Oct 17	June 18	Feb 19
Strongly in favour	47	38	33	30	28	28
Somewhat in favour	27	30	35	34	31	31
Neither in favour nor against	12	16	14	15	20	20
Somewhat against	7	8	10	12	11	10
Strongly against	6	7	7	8	9	10
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654

Table 4: Following the decision to leave the European Union, the UK will have to negotiate a new agreement with the EU. Would you be in favour or against 'requiring people from the EU who want to come to live here to apply to do so in the same way as people from outside the EU' being part of the agreement? by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Sept 16		Feb 17		July 17		Oct 17	
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave
Strongly in favour	28	67	26	55	20	48	17	45
Somewhat in favour	34	22	32	27	33	35	32	37
Neither in favour nor against	14	8	18	11	18	8	20	10
Somewhat against	13	2	12	4	16	5	19	6
Strongly against	11	1	10	3	11	3	12	2
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	562	592	959	955	909	883	913	893
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	635	605	1083	968	1029	911	1019	906
	June 18		Feb 19					
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave				
Strongly in favour	16	42	14	50				
Somewhat in favour	32	33	32	30				
Neither in favour nor against	23	15	24	11				
Somewhat against	16	6	14	4				
Strongly against	15	3	15	4				
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	882	766	1070	903				
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	978	796	1212	970				

Table 5: Following the decision to leave the European Union, the UK will have to negotiate a new agreement with the EU. Would you be in favour or against 'allowing Britain to put a tax on goods imported from the EU, while allowing the EU to put a tax on goods imported from Britain' being part of the agreement? (%)

	Oct 17	June 18	Feb 19
Strongly in favour	5	7	6
Somewhat in favour	18	15	18
Neither in favour nor against	26	30	28
Somewhat against	27	24	22
Strongly against	22	23	24
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	2168	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	2168	2090	2654

Table 6: Following the decision to leave the European Union, the UK will have to negotiate a new agreement with the EU. Would you be in favour or against 'allowing Britain to put a tax on goods imported from the EU, while allowing the EU to put a tax on goods imported from Britain' being part of the agreement? by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Oct 17		June 18		Feb 19	
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave
Strongly in favour	4	7	4	9	4	9
Somewhat in favour	14	23	11	21	11	24
Neither in favour nor against	23	30	25	33	25	29
Somewhat against	29	26	27	22	25	18
Strongly against	29	14	33	14	33	17
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	912	893	882	766	1067	883
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1019	906	978	796	1207	956

Table 7: Do you think Britain should or should not allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work in return for allowing British firms to sell goods and services freely in the EU? (%)

	Sept 16	Feb 17	July 17	Oct 17	June 18	Feb 19
Definitely should allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	21	22	30	23	28	27
Probably should allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	28	32	34	31	32	32
Probably should not allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	29	24	23	27	23	22
Definitely should not allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	22	20	12	20	16	17
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654

Table 8: Do you think Britain should or should not allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work in return for allowing British firms to sell goods and services freely in the EU? by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Sept 16		Feb 17		July 17		Oct 17	
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave
Definitely should allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	34	10	37	9	48	13	39	7
Probably should allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	36	20	37	27	38	32	37	25
Probably should not allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	21	34	18	28	11	31	17	34
Definitely should not allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	8	36	6	36	2	23	6	34
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	563	594	960	956	909	882	911	892
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	635	605	1083	968	1029	911	1019	906
	June 18		Feb 19					
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave				
Definitely should allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	42	11	42	13				
Probably should allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	36	27	35	25				
Probably should not allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	16	30	15	28				
Definitely should not allow people from the EU to come here freely to live and work	6	30	6	33				
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	881	767	1057	897				
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	978	796	1205	964				

Table 9: Do you think that as a result of leaving the EU Britain's economy will be better off, worse off, or won't it make much difference? (%)

	Sept 16	Feb 17	July 17	Oct 17	June 18	Feb 19
A lot better off	11	11	9	9	9	8
A little better off	19	19	15	16	16	11
Won't make much difference	25	23	26	22	23	22
A little worse off	28	29	28	32	26	26
A lot worse off	17	17	21	20	25	32
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654

Table 10: Do you think that as a result of leaving the EU Britain's economy will be better off, worse off, or won't it make much difference? by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Sept 16		Feb 17		July 17		Oct 17	
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave
A lot better off	1	23	2	21	3	19	1	19
A little better off	5	36	6	32	3	28	5	26
Won't make much difference	15	32	13	30	14	35	11	34
A little worse off	48	8	46	11	39	15	44	17
A lot worse off	31	1	32	4	40	3	38	3
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	562	595	960	956	910	882	912	891
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	635	605	1083	968	1029	911	1019	906
	June 18		Feb 19					
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave				
A lot better off	1	18	1	20				
A little better off	3	33	3	21				
Won't make much difference	15	30	12	32				
A little worse off	35	15	28	19				
A lot worse off	45	2	55	6				
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	882	767	1071	898				
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	978	796	1208	961				

Table 11: Do you think that as a result of leaving the EU immigration to Britain will be higher, lower, or won't it make much difference? (%)

	Sept 16	Feb 17	July 17	Oct 17	June 18	Feb 19
A lot higher	3	2	4	2	3	4
A little higher	4	5	6	4	4	5
Won't make much difference	53	48	52	50	53	50
A little lower	27	32	30	34	29	30
A lot lower	11	11	8	9	9	10
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654

Table 12: Do you think that as a result of leaving the EU immigration to Britain will be higher, lower, or won't it make much difference? by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Sept 16		Feb 17		July 17		Oct 17	
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave
A lot higher	2	1	3	2	4	3	3	1
A little higher	4	3	6	4	5	5	5	3
Won't make much difference	67	39	58	38	60	42	57	41
A little lower	20	38	27	37	27	38	29	41
A lot lower	6	17	6	17	4	11	7	13
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	561	594	960	956	909	882	912	891
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	635	605	1083	968	1029	911	1019	906
	June 18		Feb 19					
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave				
A lot higher	3	3	2	3				
A little higher	2	5	5	5				
Won't make much difference	57	48	57	44				
A little lower	28	34	26	38				
A lot lower	8	9	8	11				
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	881	766	1073	901				
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	978	796	1211	968				

Table 13: Would you say that the UK government is handling Britain's exit from the EU well or badly? (%)

	Feb 17	July 17	Oct 17	June 18	Feb 19
Very well	5	2	2	1	1
Fairly well	23	17	14	11	6
Neither well nor badly	28	25	24	22	11
Fairly badly	21	31	34	31	26
Very badly	20	23	27	33	55
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654

Table 14: Would you say that the UK government is handling Britain's exit from the EU well or badly? by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Feb 17		July 17		Oct 17		June 18	
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave
Very well	3	9	1	3	2	2	1	2
Fairly well	15	33	9	25	7	19	8	19
Neither well nor badly	26	29	21	32	19	28	16	24
Fairly badly	26	14	35	25	36	32	32	28
Very badly	28	12	33	14	35	18	43	26
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	<i>959</i>	<i>957</i>	<i>909</i>	<i>883</i>	<i>913</i>	<i>892</i>	<i>881</i>	<i>767</i>
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	<i>1083</i>	<i>968</i>	<i>1029</i>	<i>911</i>	<i>1019</i>	<i>906</i>	<i>978</i>	<i>796</i>
	Feb 19							
	Remain	Leave						
Very well	*	1						
Fairly well	5	9						
Neither well nor badly	10	9						
Fairly badly	23	28						
Very badly	62	52						
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	<i>1079</i>	<i>898</i>						
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	<i>1218</i>	<i>967</i>						

Table 15: Would you say that the EU is handling Britain's exit from the EU well or badly? (%)

	Feb 17	July 17	Oct 17	June 18	Feb 19
Very well	2	3	3	2	3
Fairly well	15	18	14	14	13
Neither well nor badly	35	31	25	25	22
Fairly badly	29	29	34	33	27
Very badly	17	18	23	24	35
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	<i>2322</i>	<i>2184</i>	<i>2168</i>	<i>2090</i>	<i>2654</i>
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	<i>2322</i>	<i>2184</i>	<i>2168</i>	<i>2090</i>	<i>2654</i>

Table 16: Would you say that the EU is handling Britain's exit from the EU well or badly? by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Feb 17		July 17		Oct 17		June 18	
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave
Very well	2	2	5	2	4	2	3	1
Fairly well	15	14	21	13	19	8	19	9
Neither well nor badly	38	28	33	28	27	19	29	18
Fairly badly	30	31	28	31	34	38	31	37
Very badly	12	23	10	25	16	33	17	32
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	959	956	910	882	912	894	881	767
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1083	968	1029	911	1019	906	978	796
	Feb 19							
	Remain	Leave						
Very well	5	2						
Fairly well	19	7						
Neither well nor badly	26	12						
Fairly badly	26	26						
Very badly	22	53						
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1070	901						
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1211	969						

Table 17: How good or bad a deal do you think Britain has got out of the Brexit negotiations with the EU so far? *(%)

	Feb 17	July 17	Oct 17	June 18	Feb 19
Very good deal	4	2	2	2	*
Fairly good deal	28	23	18	15	6
Neither a good nor a bad deal	27	29	28	25	28
Fairly bad deal	30	35	40	40	35
Very bad deal	7	9	12	17	28
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654

† Before February 2019, the question was worded as follows:

'How good or bad a deal do you think Britain will eventually get out of the Brexit negotiations with the EU?'

Table 18: How good or bad a deal do you think Britain has got out of the Brexit negotiations with the EU so far?† by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Feb 17		July 17		Oct 17		June 18	
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave
Very good deal	1	8	1	3	2	2	1	3
Fairly good deal	16	42	10	36	9	25	9	23
Neither a good nor a bad deal	25	27	24	33	20	33	18	33
Fairly bad deal	43	17	49	22	53	30	49	30
Very bad deal	13	3	14	5	15	8	23	9
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	<i>959</i>	<i>958</i>	<i>909</i>	<i>883</i>	<i>913</i>	<i>892</i>	<i>882</i>	<i>765</i>
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	<i>1083</i>	<i>968</i>	<i>1029</i>	<i>911</i>	<i>1019</i>	<i>906</i>	<i>978</i>	<i>796</i>
	Feb 19							
	Remain	Leave						
Very good deal	1	*						
Fairly good deal	5	6						
Neither a good nor a bad deal	28	25						
Fairly bad deal	40	32						
Very bad deal	24	35						
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	<i>1056</i>	<i>890</i>						
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	<i>1197</i>	<i>959</i>						

† Before February 2019, the question was worded as follows:

‘How good or bad a deal do you think Britain will eventually get out of the Brexit negotiations with the EU?’

Table 19: Would you say that the deal the UK has got out of the negotiations with the EU so far would mean that in future Britain’s relationship with the EU would be... (%)

	Feb 19
Much too close	6
Somewhat too close	15
About right	25
Somewhat too distant	37
Much too distant	14
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	<i>2654</i>
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	<i>2654</i>

Table 20: Would you say that the deal the UK has got out of the negotiations with the EU so far would mean that in future Britain’s relationship with the EU would be... by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Feb 19	
	Remain	Leave
Much too close	1	14
Somewhat too close	8	24
About right	18	31
Somewhat too distant	47	21
Much too distant	23	6
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	<i>1049</i>	<i>870</i>
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	<i>1188</i>	<i>938</i>

Table 21: Would you support or oppose holding a referendum in which voters decided whether Britain leaves the EU on the basis of the deal negotiated so far or remains a member of the EU? (%)

	Feb 19
Strongly support	26
Support	16
Neither support nor oppose	17
Oppose	14
Strongly oppose	25
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	2654

Table 22: Would you support or oppose holding a referendum in which voters decided whether Britain leaves the EU on the basis of the deal negotiated so far or remains a member of the EU? by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Feb 19	
	Remain	Leave
Strongly support	42	8
Support	25	7
Neither support nor oppose	12	12
Oppose	10	20
Strongly oppose	9	52
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1066	892
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1211	965

Table 23: If you had to choose between the following three options, which would be your first choice? (%)

	Feb 19
Remaining in the EU	55
Leaving the EU on the basis of the deal negotiated so far	17
Leaving the EU without any deal	27
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	2654

Table 24: If you had to choose between the following three options, which would be your first choice? by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	Feb 19	
	Remain	Leave
Remaining in the EU	85	14
Leaving the EU on the basis of the deal negotiated so far	9	26
Leaving the EU without any deal	5	59
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1069	893
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1210	960

Table 25: If you had to choose between the following three options, which would be your second choice? (%)

	Feb 19
Remaining in the EU	9
Leaving the EU on the basis of the deal negotiated so far	64
Leaving the EU without any deal	24
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	2654

Table 26: If you had to choose between the following three options, which would be your second choice? by If you had to choose between the following three options, which would be your first choice? (%)

	Feb 19		
	Remaining	Leaving with deal	Leaving with no deal
Remaining in the EU	n/a	30	12
Leaving the EU on the basis of the deal negotiated so far	75	n/a	84
Leaving the EU without any deal	22	69	n/a
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1407	449	682
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1377	450	702

Table 27: Thinking about Britain's relationship with the European Union, do you think of yourself as a 'Remainer', a 'Leaver', or do you not think of yourself in that way? (%)

	June 18	Feb 19
Remainer	45	49
Leaver	34	35
Do not think of self in that way	21	15
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	2090	2654

Table 28: Do you think of yourself as a little closer to one side or the other? (%)

	June 18	Feb 19
Remainers	24	19
Leavers	21	20
No	55	61
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	435	410
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	435	410

Base: Those who selected 'Do not think of self in that way' at 'Thinking about Britain's relationship with the European Union, do you think of yourself as a 'Remainer', a 'Leaver', or do you not think of yourself in that way?' (see Table 27 above)

Table 29: Brexit identity (combined) (%)

	June 18	Feb 19
Remainer	50	52
Leaver	38	38
No Brexit identity	11	9
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	2090	2654

Table 30: Would you call yourself a very strong {Remainer/Leaver}, fairly strong or not very strong?

	June 18	Feb 19
Very strong	49	51
Fairly strong	37	37
Not very strong	13	12
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1848	2390
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1848	2390

Base: Those who selected 'Remainer' or 'Leaver' at 'Thinking about Britain's relationship with the European Union, do you think of yourself as a 'Remainer', a 'Leaver', or do you not think of yourself in that way?' (see Table 27 above), or 'Remainers' / 'Leavers' at 'Do you think of yourself as a little closer to one side or the other?' (see Table 28 above)

Table 31: Would you call yourself a very strong {Remainer/Leaver}, fairly strong or not very strong? by 2016 referendum vote (%)

	June 18		Feb 19	
	Remain	Leave	Remain	Leave
Very strong	55	47	54	50
Fairly strong	37	39	32	34
Not very strong	8	15	9	10
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	822	711	1035	854
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	919	737	1173	923

Base: Those who selected 'Remainer' or 'Leaver' at 'Thinking about Britain's relationship with the European Union, do you think of yourself as a 'Remainer', a 'Leaver', or do you not think of yourself in that way?' (see Table 27 above), or 'Remainers' / 'Leavers' at 'Do you think of yourself as a little closer to one side or the other?' (see Table 28 above)

Table 32: Hypothetical Repeat Referendum Vote (%)

	Sept 16	Feb 17	July 17	Oct 17	June 18	Feb 19
Remain	49	47	51	49	53	55
Leave	44	44	42	43	37	35
Would not vote	6	8	7	7	10	10
Don't know / Refused	*	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654

Table 33: Reported Referendum Vote (%)

	Sept 16	Feb 17	July 17	Oct 17	June 18	Feb 19
Remain	40	41	42	42	42	41
Leave	43	41	40	41	37	34
Did not vote	17	17	17	16	20	25
Don't know / Refused	*	1	1	1	1	*
<i>Base (weighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654
<i>Base (unweighted)</i>	1391	2322	2184	2168	2090	2654

References

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