# What 'Brexit Means Brexit' Means to Citizens

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6 December 2017

Research funded by ESRC UK in a Changing Europe Initiative

LSE

Poll Trends

Conjoint Analysis

Brexit Identities

Conclusions



This is an atypical academic talk.

We want to know:

- What does the British public want from Brexit?
- What is Brexit doing to political life in Britain?





2 Conjoint Analysis

3 Brexit Identities





2 Conjoint Analysis





Brexit Identities

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# Summarising Trends in One Word



Brexit Identities

Conclusions

### Summarising Trends in One Word

# Stability!

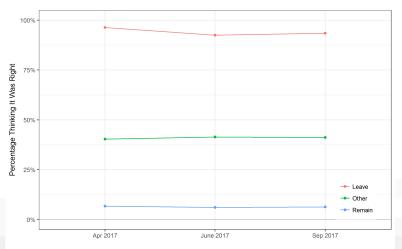


# Tracking Public Opinion

- Custom tracking poll
- 25-26 April, 13-14 June, 25-26 September
- Fielded by YouGov (n=1600 per wave)
- Go beyond the standard polling questions



## Trend in Right/Wrong



Source: Hobolt, Leeper, and Tilley (YouGov)

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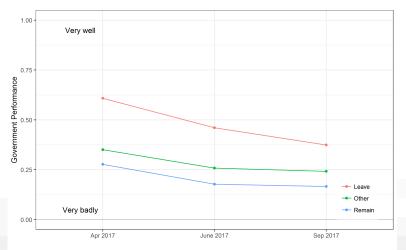
**Brexit Identities** 

Conclusions

#### Stability! Except...



# Trend in Government Performance



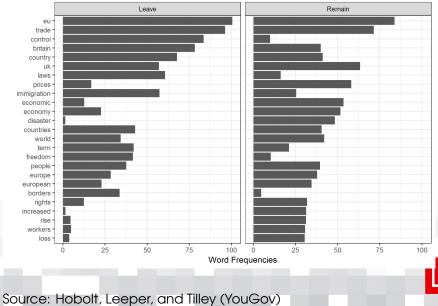
Source: Hobolt, Leeper, and Tilley (YouGov)

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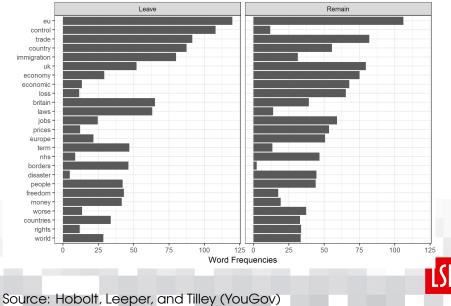
#### **Open-ended** Question

In a few sentences, please describe below what you think will be the consequences of Britain leaving the European Union

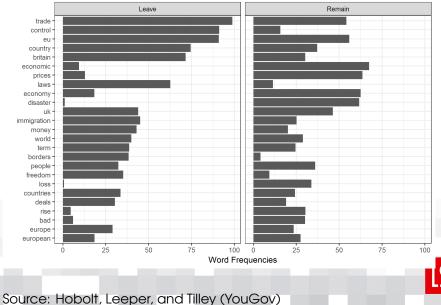
#### What Voters Say (Apr 2017)



#### What Voters Say (Jun 2017)



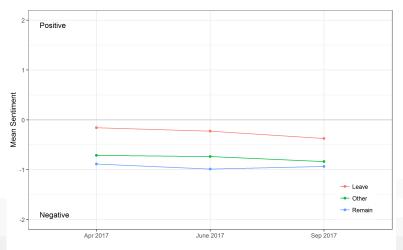
#### What Voters Say (Sep 2017)



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#### Trend in Sentiment



Source: Hobolt, Leeper, and Tilley (YouGov)

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#### Perceived Effects of Brexit

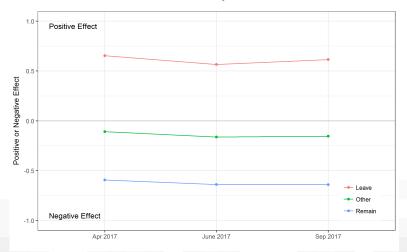
- Do you think leaving the European Union will have a positive or negative effect on Britain?
- Do you think leaving the European Union will have a positive or negative effect on you personally?



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Conclusions

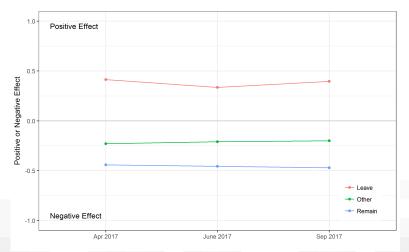
#### Sociotropic Effects



Source: Hobolt, Leeper, and Tilley (YouGov)

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#### Personal Effects



Source: Hobolt, Leeper, and Tilley (YouGov)

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2 Conjoint Analysis

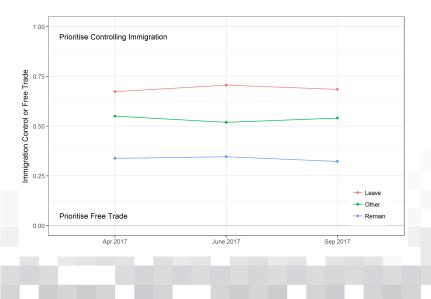


# What don't the polls tell us?

- What kind of Brexit does the public support or oppose?
- When forced to choose, which aspects of the negotiations are prioritised?

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# Trend in Trade/Immigration Tradeoff



# Conjoint Analysis

- Bundle features of Brexit
- Force respondents to choose between bundles
- Revealed preferences emerge from those choices
- Estimate relative importance of features

# Differences from Traditional Polling

#### Advantages

- Reduces "cake and eat it" results
- Lower social desirability biases
- Mimics decision of negotiators/government

#### Disadvantages

- More cognitively complex than traditional polling
- No straightforward "% support" statistics

# What goes in the conjoint?

- Immigration/freedom of movement
- 2 Jurisdiction of the ECJ
- 3 Rights of EU (UK) citizens in UK (EU)
- <sup>4</sup> `Divorce bill'
- 5 Ongoing payments to EU budget
- 6 Trade agreement
- 7 Northern Ireland border
- 8 Timeline for implementation

#### Implementation

#### 26–27 April 2017

■ YouGov sample (n=3,293)

- Median age 49; 56% women
- 51.3% report voting remain
- 8.1% support Liberal Democrats
- Weighting inconsequential
- Respondents make 5 discrete choices
   Effective sample of n=16,465



# Features: Immigration

- Full control over EU immigration and little to no EU immigration
- No control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now
- Some control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now
- Some control over EU immigration and lower levels of EU immigration than now
- Full control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now
- Full control over EU immigration and lower levels of EU immigration than now

# Features: EU Law/ECJ

- Britain is not subject to EU laws or decisions by the European Court of Justice
- Britain is subject to all EU laws and all decisions by the European Court of Justice
- Britain is subject to some EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice
  - Britain adopts some EU laws but is not subject to decisions by the European Court of Justice

# Features: EU/UK Citizen Rights

- All must leave
- All can stay indefinitely
- Can stay if they continue to work while all others must leave
- Must apply for leave to remain under less restrictive terms than people from non-EU countries
  - Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries

## Features: Future Payments

- No contribution and no access
- £12 billion per year for access
- £6 billion per year for access
- £1 billion per year for access

Brexit Identities

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#### Features: "Divorce Bill"

- No payment
- £10 billion
- £20 billion
- £50 billion
- £70 billion



# Features: Trade

- Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods
- Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods
- Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods
- Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods
- Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods
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- Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods
- Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods
- Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods

## Features: Ireland/NI Border

- Full passport and customs checks
- No passport checks and no customs checks
- Customs checks but no passport checks
- Passport checks but no customs checks

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#### Features: Timeline



Brexit Identities

#### YouGov

We are interested in your opinions about the negotiations between Britain and the European Union regarding Britain's exit from the EU and future relationship with the EU.

Please look carefully at these two possible outcomes:

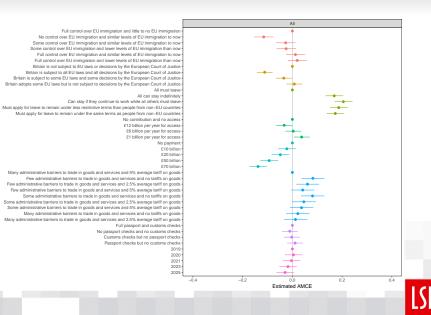
	Outcome A	Outcome B
Britain's one-off payment to the EU to settle outstanding commitments	No payment	£10 billion
When this will come into effect	2025	2023
Border checks between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland	No passport checks and no customs checks	Full passport and customs checks
EU's legal authority in Britain	Britain adopts some EU laws but is not subject to decisions by the European Court of Justice	Britain is subject to all EU laws and all decisions by the European Court of Justice
Britain's future payments to the EU budget to access science and regional development programmes	£1 billion per year for access	£1 billion per year for access
Trade agreement with the EU	Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods	Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods
Policy on immigration from the EU	Full control over EU immigration and little to no EU immigration	Some control over EU immigration and lower levels of EU immigration than now
Future rights of current EU nationals in Britain and British nationals in the EU	All can stay indefinitely	Must apply for 'leave to remain' under the same terms as people from non-EU countries

Which of these two outcomes do you prefer?

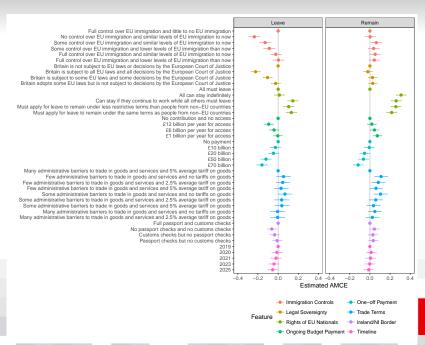
Outcome A

Outcome B

Conjoint Analysis



### Conjoint Analysis



Poll Trends

Conjoint Analysis

**Brexit Identities** 

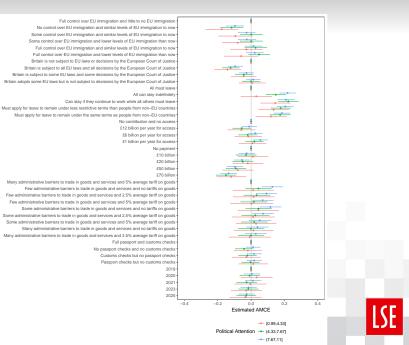
Conclusions

## Differences in views?



### Brexit Identities

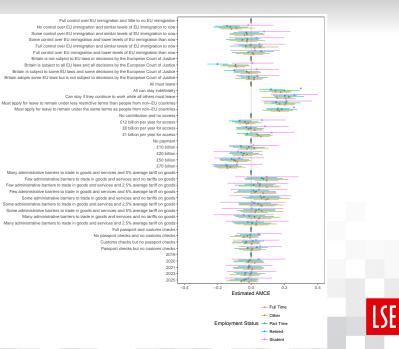
### Conjoint Analysis



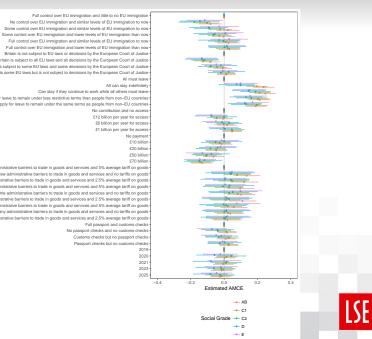
### Conclus

### Brexit Identities

### Conjoint Analysis



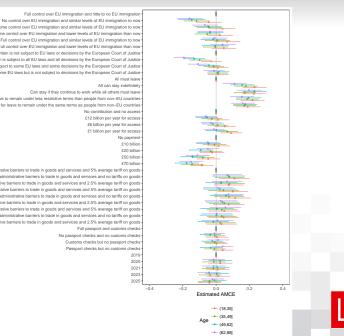
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Customs checks but no passport checks Passport checks but no customs checks

### Conjoint Analysis



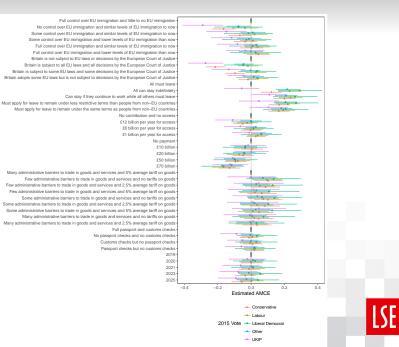
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### Brexit Identities

### Conjoint Analysis



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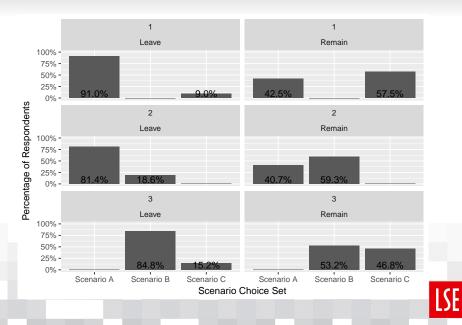
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## Boiling it down to a decision

- We also included a "fixed scenario" experiment
- Respondents choose between 2 alternative bundles

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	Scenario A ("No deal")	Scenario B ("Hard" Brexit)	Scenario C ("Soft Brexit")	
Policy on immigration from the EU	Full control over EU immigration and lower levels of EU immigration than now	Full control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now	No control over EU immigration and sim- ilar levels of EU immigration to now All can stay indefinitely Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods	
Future rights of current EU nationals in Britain and British nationals in the EU $\ensuremath{EU}$	Must apply for 'leave to remain' under the same terms as people from non-EU coun- tries	All can stay indefinitely		
$Trade \ agreement \ with \ the \ EU$	Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods	Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods		
EU's legal authority in Britain	Britain is not subject to EU laws or deci- sions by the European Court of Justice	Britain adopts some EU laws but is not subject to decisions by the European Court of Justice	Britain is subject to all EU laws and al decisions by the European Court of Jus- tice	
Britain's future payments to the EU bud- get to access science and regional develop- ment programmes	No contribution and no access	£1 billion per year for access	£6 billion per year for access	
Britain's one-off payment to the EU to settle outstanding commitments	No payment	£20 billion	£10 billion	
Border checks between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland	Full passport and customs checks	Customs checks but no passport checks	No passport checks and no customs checks	
When this will come into effect	2019	2023	2021	
When choice is between: Scenario A and Scenario B Scenario A and Scenario C Scenario B and Scenario C	60.3% choose Scenario A 66.5% choose Scenario A –	39.7% choose Scenario B - 67.9% choose Scenario B	- 33.5% choose Scenario C 32.1% choose Scenario C	



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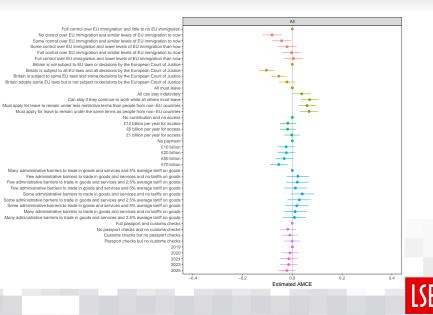


## What respects the referendum?

- Beyond preferences, what does the public think would respect the referendum?
- "Which option(s) do you think would respect the result of the referendum?"
  - Option A would respect the result
    Option B would respect the result
    Both would respect the result
    Neither would respect the result
    Don't know

Conjoint Analysis





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Estimated AMCE

- Ongoing Budget Payment - Timeline

Rights of EU Nationals

-0.2 0.0

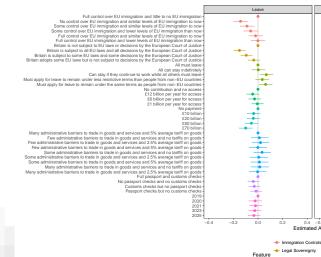
- One-off Payment

--- Ireland/NI Border

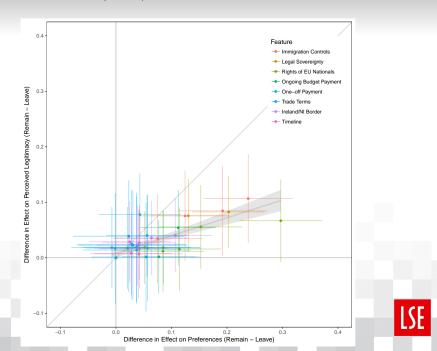
Trade Terms



0.4



	Remain-Leave Difference	
Full control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now Some control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now Full control over EU immigration and ismilar levels of EU immigration to now Full control over EU immigration and ismilar levels of EU immigration to now Full control over EU immigration and ismer levels of EU immigration to now Full control over EU immigration and ismer levels of EU immigration to now Britain is not subject to EU laws and al decisions by the European Court of Justice Britain is subject to all EU laws and all decisions by the European Court of Justice Britain is subject to all EU laws and all decisions by the European Court of Justice Britain is subject to all end to decisions by the European Court of Justice Britain adopts some EU laws but is not subject to decisions by the European Court of Justice Britain adopts some EU laws but is not subject to decisions by the European Court of Justice Britain adopts some EU laws but is not subject to event while all others must leave Must apply for leave to remain under less restrictive terms than people from non-EU countries Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries Must apply for leave to imministrative barriers to trade in goods and services and to tariffs on goods Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods Some administrativ		LSE



# **Conjoint Summary**

## Key dimensions are:

- Immigration
- Citizens' rights
- Legal sovereignty
- Budget contributions

## Leave–Remain differences are sometimes large

## Evidence of "losers' consent"

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**Brexit Identities** 

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# But wait, there's more!





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## New Identities?

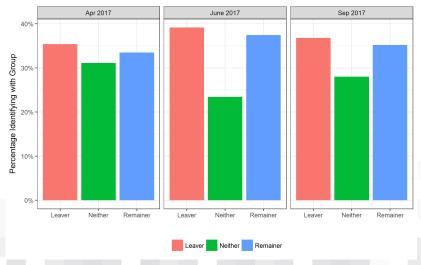
Since the EU referendum last year, some people now think of themselves as `Leavers' and `Remainers', do you think of yourself as...

- A Leaver
- A Remainer
- Neither

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## New Identities?



Source: Hobolt, Leeper, and Tilley (YouGov)



## The ability to politicise identities



## The ability to politicise identities

## Motivated reasoning



## The ability to politicise identities

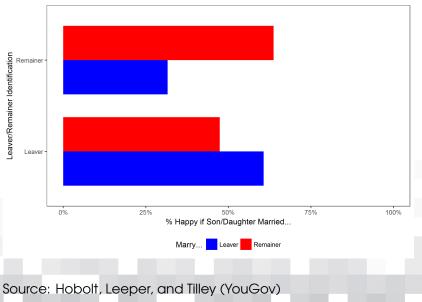
- Motivated reasoning
- Prejudice and animus



Conclusions

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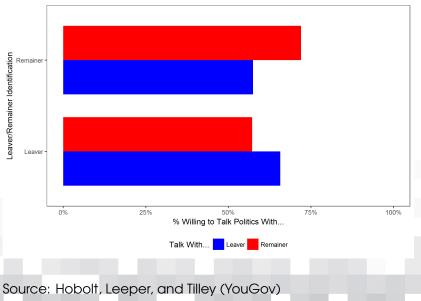
## Out-group animus, already



Conclusions

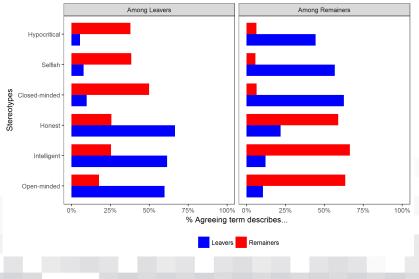
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Source: Hobolt, Leeper, and Tilley (YouGov)

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Conclusions

## Conclusions



Conclusions

## Conclusions

## Opinion stability and little regret



## Conclusions

- Opinion stability and little regret
- Only a few key differences in views between Leave and Remain voters
  - But some apparent "losers' consent" among Remain voters



## Conclusions

Opinion stability and little regret

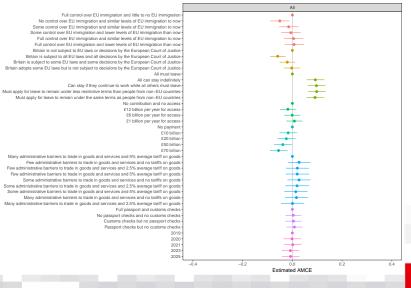
- Only a few key differences in views between Leave and Remain voters
  - But some apparent "losers' consent" among Remain voters
- "Brexit identities" may become defining feature of British politics

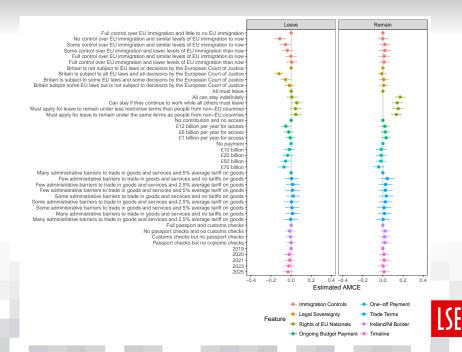
## Conclusions

- Opinion stability and little regret
- Only a few key differences in views between Leave and Remain voters
  - But some apparent "losers' consent" among Remain voters
- "Brexit identities" may become defining feature of British politics
- What does this mean for the government and negotiations?

# Support (Q2)







### Mean Support

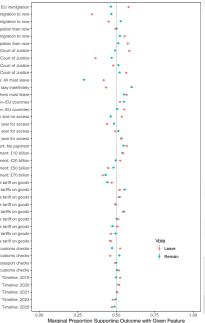


	Mean Support	
All can stay indefinitely	• •	
No control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now	• •	
Britain is subject to all EU laws and all decisions by the European Court of Justice	• •	
£12 billion per year for access -	••	
Some control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now	**	
Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods	••	
Must apply for leave to remain under less restrictive terms than people from non-EU countries		
No passport checks and no customs checks	•	
£50 billion -	•	
2025 -	•	
Britain is subject to some EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice	•	
£70 billion -	•	
Some control over EU immigration and lower levels of EU immigration than now	•	
E6 billion per year for access -	•	
Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods	•	
2020 -	**	
Customs checks but no passport checks -	••	
2021 -	**	
£20 billion -	••	
2023 -	••	
Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods -	••	
Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries	••	
Passport checks but no customs checks	*•	
£1 billion per year for access	••	
Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods	•	
Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods		
Can stay if they continue to work while all others must leave Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods		
Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods. Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods.		
Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and to tarries or goods.		
Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods -		
No payment		
£10 billion -	Vote	1000000
Full passport and customs checks	• • Leave	
Britain adopts some EU laws but is not subject to decisions by the European Court of Justice	• • • Remain	
Full control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now	•	
2019 -	• •	
Full control over EU immigration and lower levels of EU immigration than now-	• •	
No contribution and no access	• •	
Full control over EU immigration and little to no EU immigration -	• •	
Britain is not subject to EU laws or decisions by the European Court of Justice	• •	
All must leave	• •	
		.00
	Marginal Mean Support for Outcome with Given Feature	

## Marginalised Proportions (Preferences, Q1)

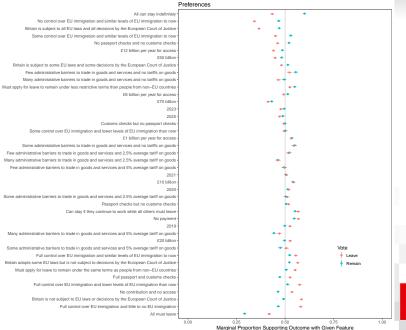






Immigration Controls: Full control over EU immigration and little to no EU immigration Immigration Controls: Normatic ower EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now-Immigration Controls: Some control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now-Immigration Controls: EUI control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now-Immigration Controls: Full control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now-Immigration Controls: Full control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now-Legal Sovereigny: Britain is subject to EU immigration and similar level for EU immigration to now-Legal Sovereigny: Britain is subject to all EU laws and all decisions by the European Court of Justice-Legal Sovereigny: Britain as subject to some EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice-Legal Sovereigny: Britain as subject to some EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice-Legal Sovereigny: Britain as subject to some EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice-Legal Sovereigny: Britain as budgets to some EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice-Legal Sovereigny: Britain as budgets to some EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice-Robot of EU Nationals: All on statement EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice-Robot of EU Nationals: All on statement EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice-Robot of EU Nationals: All on statement EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice-Robot of EU Nationals: All on statement EU laws and some decisions and some decisions and the decisions by the European Court of Justice-Robot of EU Nationals: All on statement EU laws and some decisions and some decisions and some decisions and some decisions and and some decisions and somed

Rights of EU Nationals: Can stay if they continue to work while all others must leave Rights of EU Nationals: Must apply for leave to remain under less restrictive terms than people from non-EU countries Rights of EU Nationals: Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries Ongoing Budget Payment: No contribution and no access Ongoing Budget Payment: £12 billion per year for access Ongoing Budget Payment: £6 billion per year for access Ongoing Budget Payment: £1 billion per year for access One-off Payment: No payment One-off Payment: £10 billion One-off Payment: £20 billion One-off Payment: £50 billion One-off Payment: £70 billion Trade Terms: Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods Trade Terms: Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods Trade Terms: Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods Trade Terms: Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods Trade Terms: Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods Trade Terms: Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods Trade Terms: Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods Trade Terms: Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods Trade Terms: Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods Ireland/NI Border: Full passport and customs checks Ireland/NI Border: No passport checks and no customs checks Ireland/NI Border: Customs checks but no passport checks Ireland/NI Border: Passport checks but no customs checks Timeline: 2019 Timeline: 2020 Timeline: 2021



No control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now Britain is subject to all EU laws and all decisions by the European Court of Justice -Some control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now

Britain is subject to some EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice

Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods

Some control over EU immigration and lower levels of EU immigration than now -

Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods -

Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods

Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods

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Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries

Full control over EU immigration and lower levels of EU immigration than now

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# Marginalised Means (Preferences, Q2)



### Mean Support

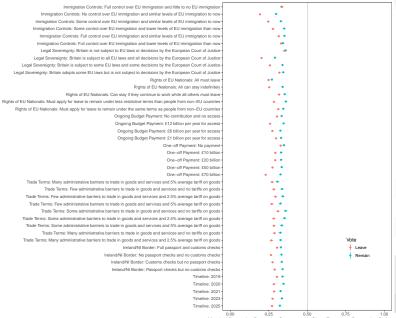


	Mean Support	
All can stay indefinitely	• •	
No control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now	• •	
Britain is subject to all EU laws and all decisions by the European Court of Justice	• •	
£12 billion per year for access -	••	
Some control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now	**	
Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods	••	
Must apply for leave to remain under less restrictive terms than people from non-EU countries		
No passport checks and no customs checks	•	
£50 billion -	•	
2025 -	•	
Britain is subject to some EU laws and some decisions by the European Court of Justice	•	
£70 billion -	•	
Some control over EU immigration and lower levels of EU immigration than now	•	
E6 billion per year for access -	•	
Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods	•	
2020 -	**	
Customs checks but no passport checks -	••	
2021 -	**	
£20 billion -	••	
2023 -	••	
Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods -	••	
Must apply for leave to remain under the same terms as people from non-EU countries	••	
Passport checks but no customs checks	*•	
£1 billion per year for access	••	
Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods	•	
Few administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods		
Can stay if they continue to work while all others must leave Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods		
Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 2.5% average tariff on goods. Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and no tariffs on goods.		
Many administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and to tarries or goods.		
Some administrative barriers to trade in goods and services and 5% average tariff on goods -		
No payment		
£10 billion -	Vote	1000000
Full passport and customs checks	• • Leave	
Britain adopts some EU laws but is not subject to decisions by the European Court of Justice	• • • Remain	
Full control over EU immigration and similar levels of EU immigration to now	•	
2019 -	• •	
Full control over EU immigration and lower levels of EU immigration than now-	• •	
No contribution and no access	• •	
Full control over EU immigration and little to no EU immigration -	• •	
Britain is not subject to EU laws or decisions by the European Court of Justice	• •	
All must leave	• •	
		.00
	Marginal Mean Support for Outcome with Given Feature	

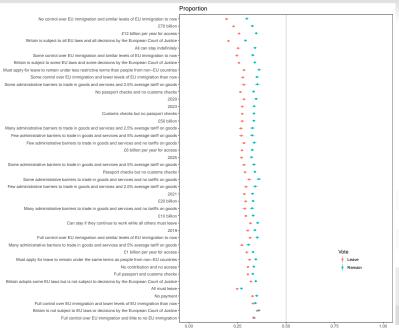
## Marginalised Proportions (Respect)



#### Proportion



Marginal Proportion Perceiving Outcome with Given Feature as Respecting Referen



Marginal Proportion Perceiving Outcome with Given Feature as Respecting Referendum