

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

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17 May 2010

# The change election – what voters were really saying

Special Post-Election Survey

Presented at RSA

17 May 2010

## Special post-election survey

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**This national post-election survey of 1,000 general election voters across England, Scotland and Wales was conducted immediately after the election between the 7th and 9th of May, 2010. Similar to the brand of survey conducted following elections in the United States, this is the first in Great Britain.**

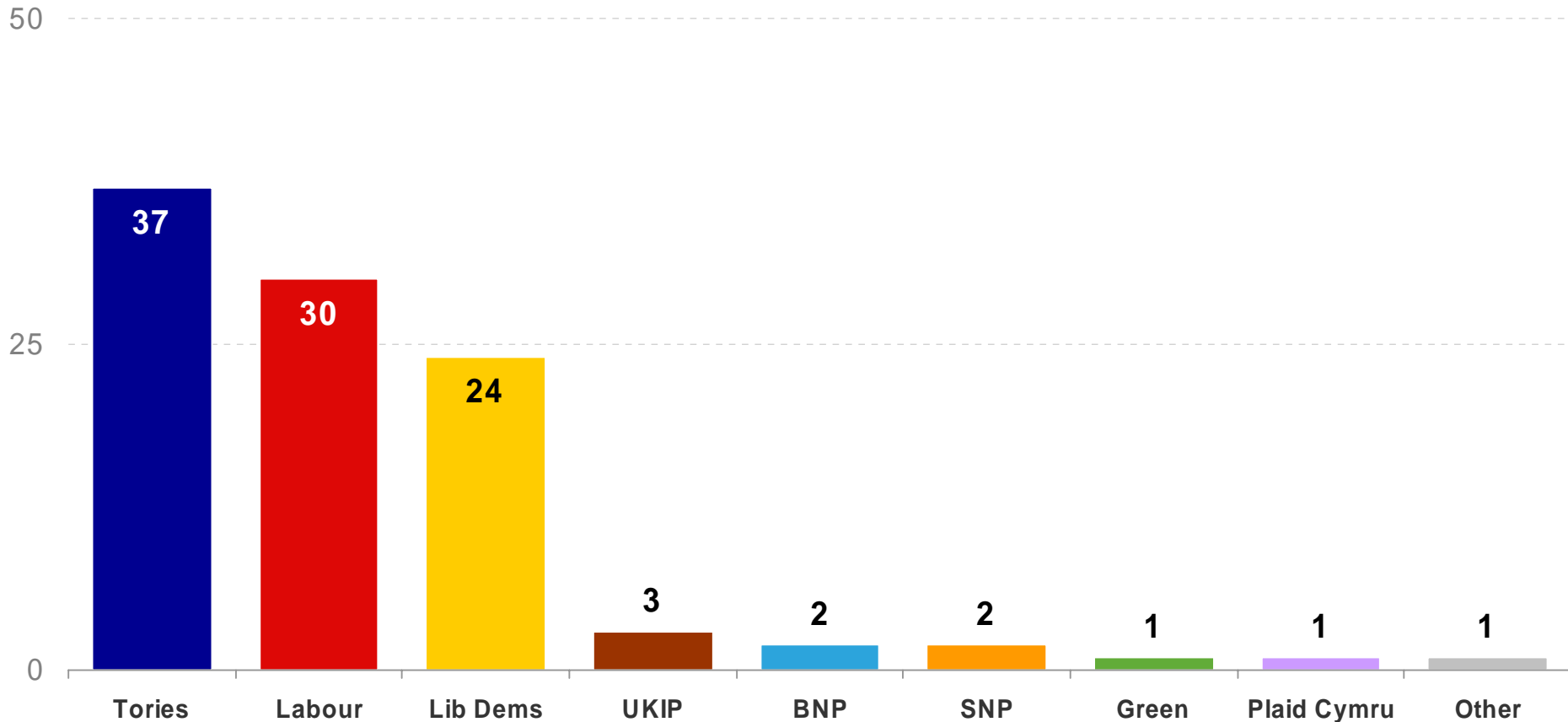
**Designed in its content and timing to preserve the mandate and capture what voters actually felt and believed when they cast their votes, this survey goes beyond the exit polls to present rich and colourful content about who voted in this election and why.**

# 2010 – what really happened

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## The final general election vote

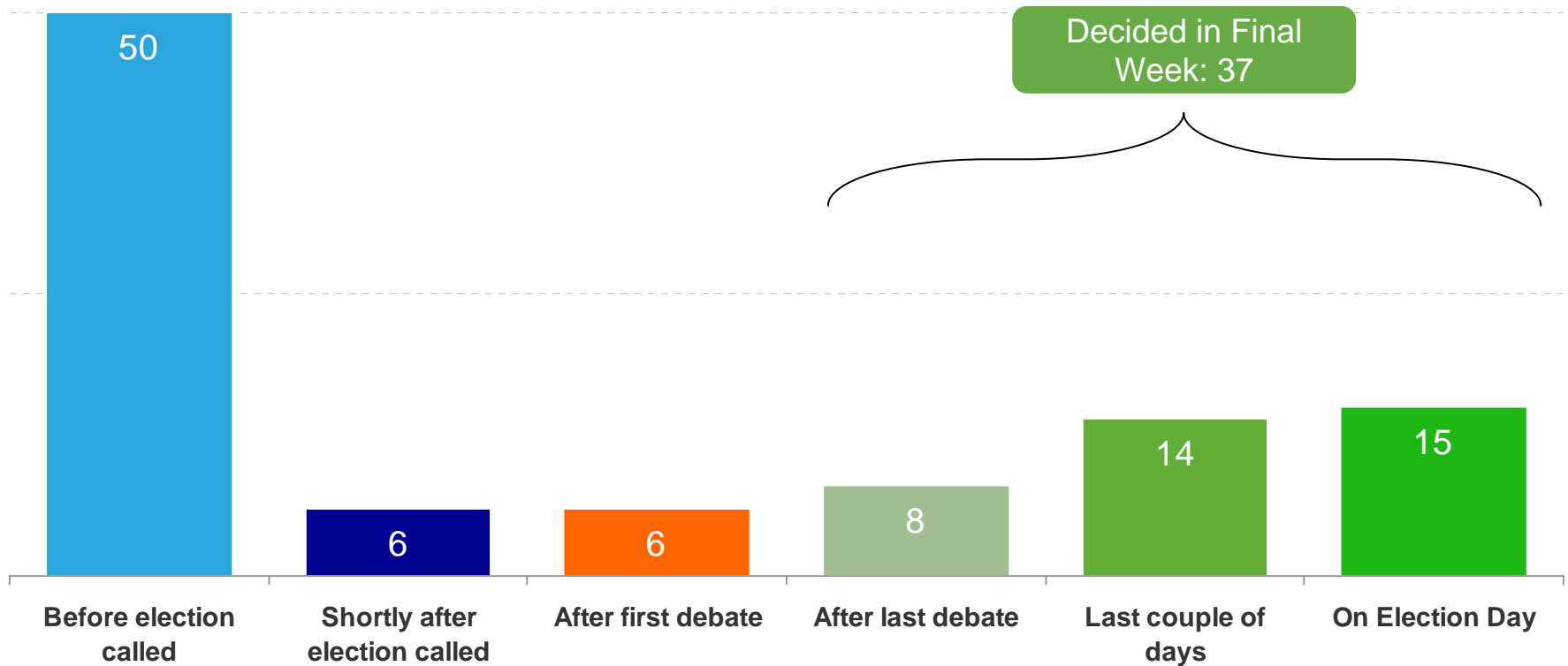
And in the general election yesterday/Thursday, which party did you vote for -- the Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats?



Note: Vote totals based on allocation of those who refused to answer.

# Half knew vote before election, but over 1/3rd decided in final week

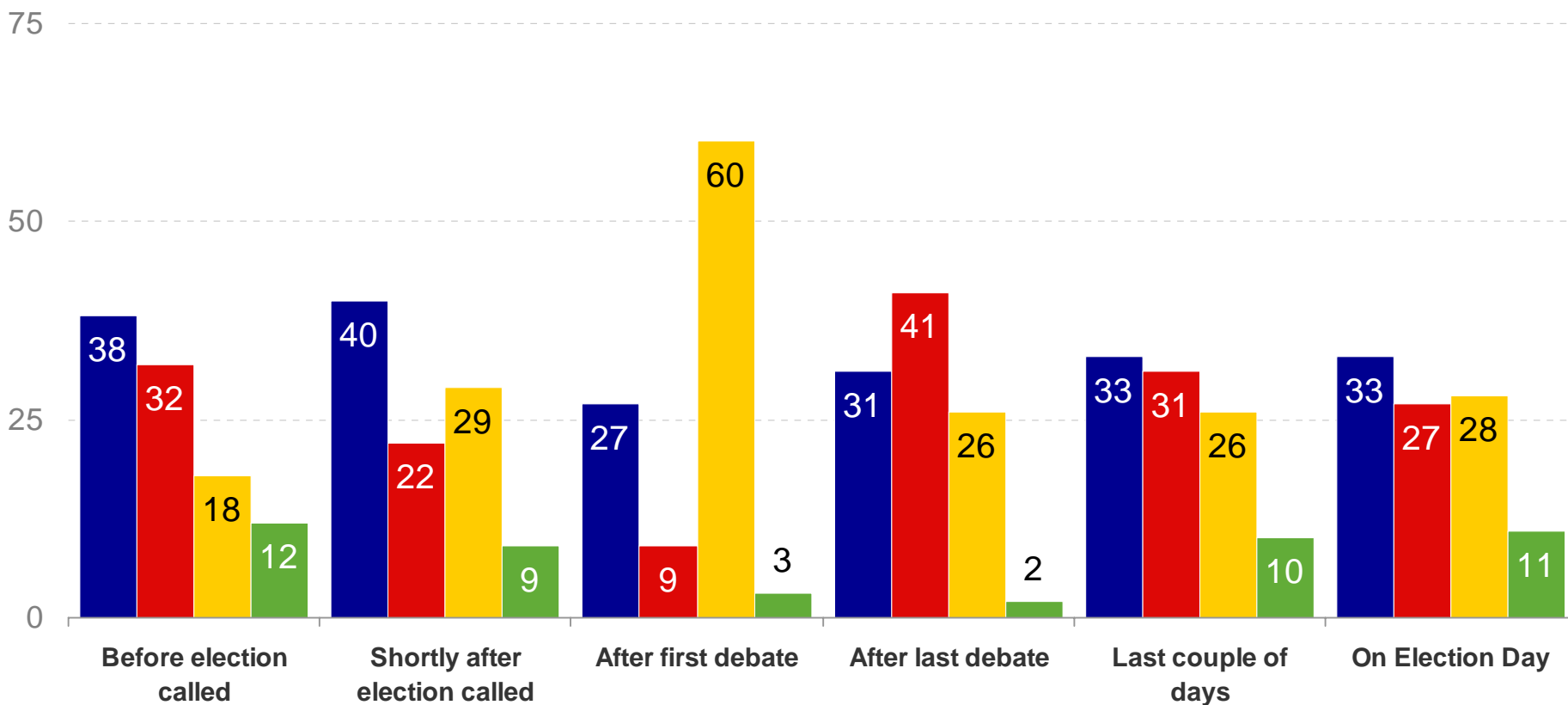
*When did you finally decide to vote for (Chosen Party): on Election Day, in the last couple of days, right after the last debate in the last week, after the first debate, shortly after the elections were called, or did you know who you would vote for even before elections were officially called?*



# The vote amongst those who made up their mind when

And in the general election yesterday/Thursday, which party did you vote for -- the Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats?

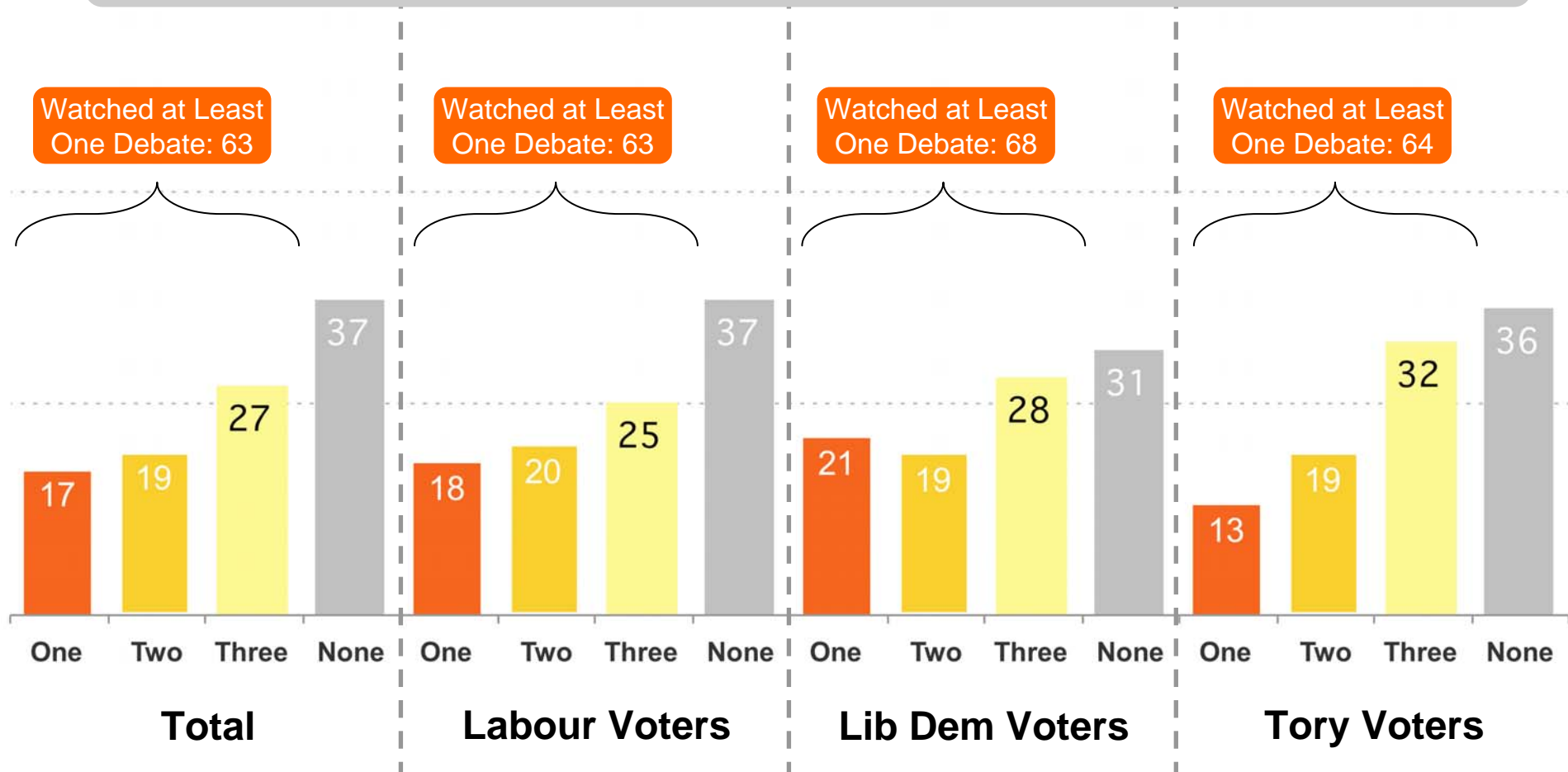
■ Conservatives ■ Labour ■ Liberal Democrats ■ Other Parties



Note: Vote totals based on allocation of those who refused to answer.

## Six in ten watched at least one debate

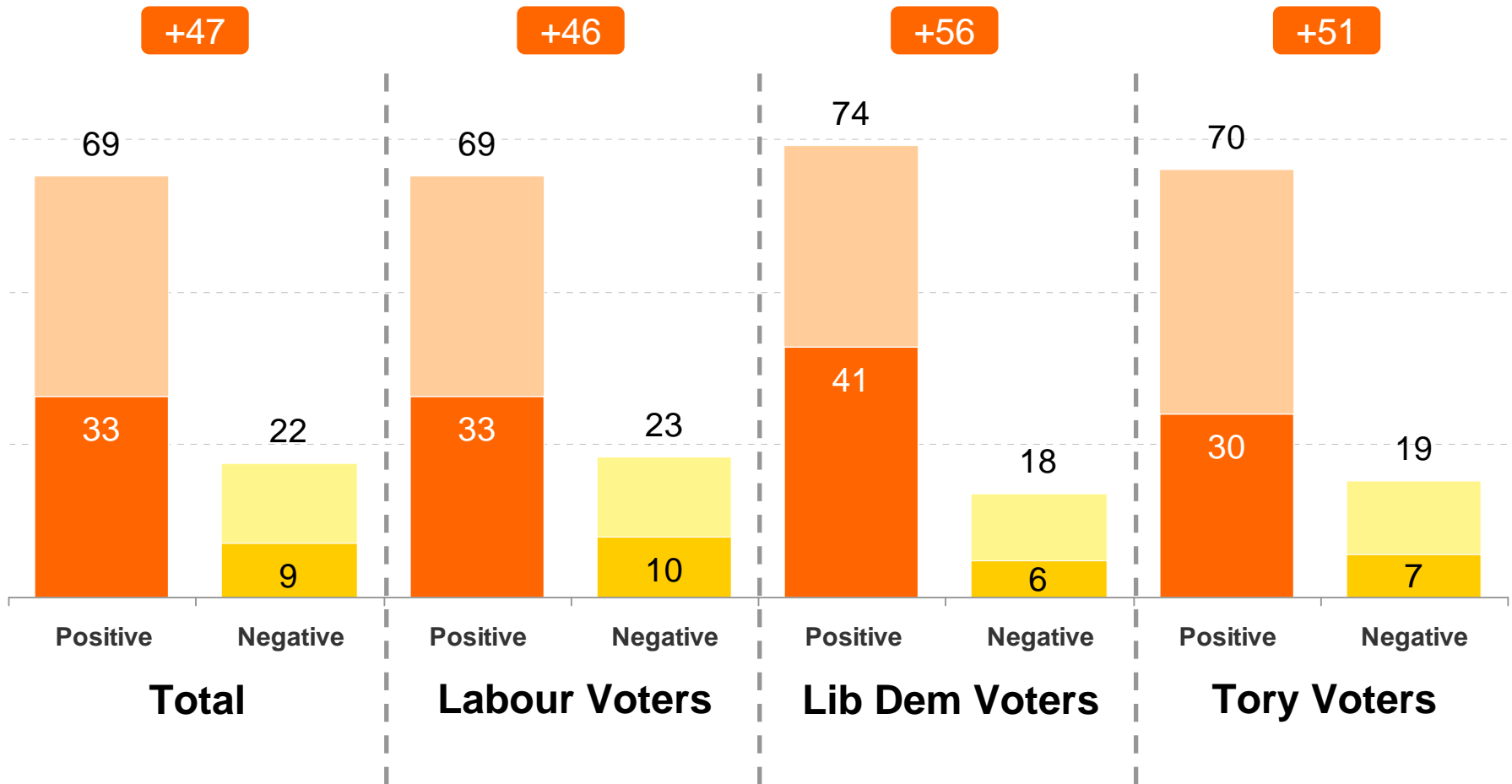
*As you probably know, there were three debates between Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Nick Clegg over the month prior to Election Day. Many people were not able to watch these debates. How about you? Were you able to see any of the debates?*



# Debates a positive addition

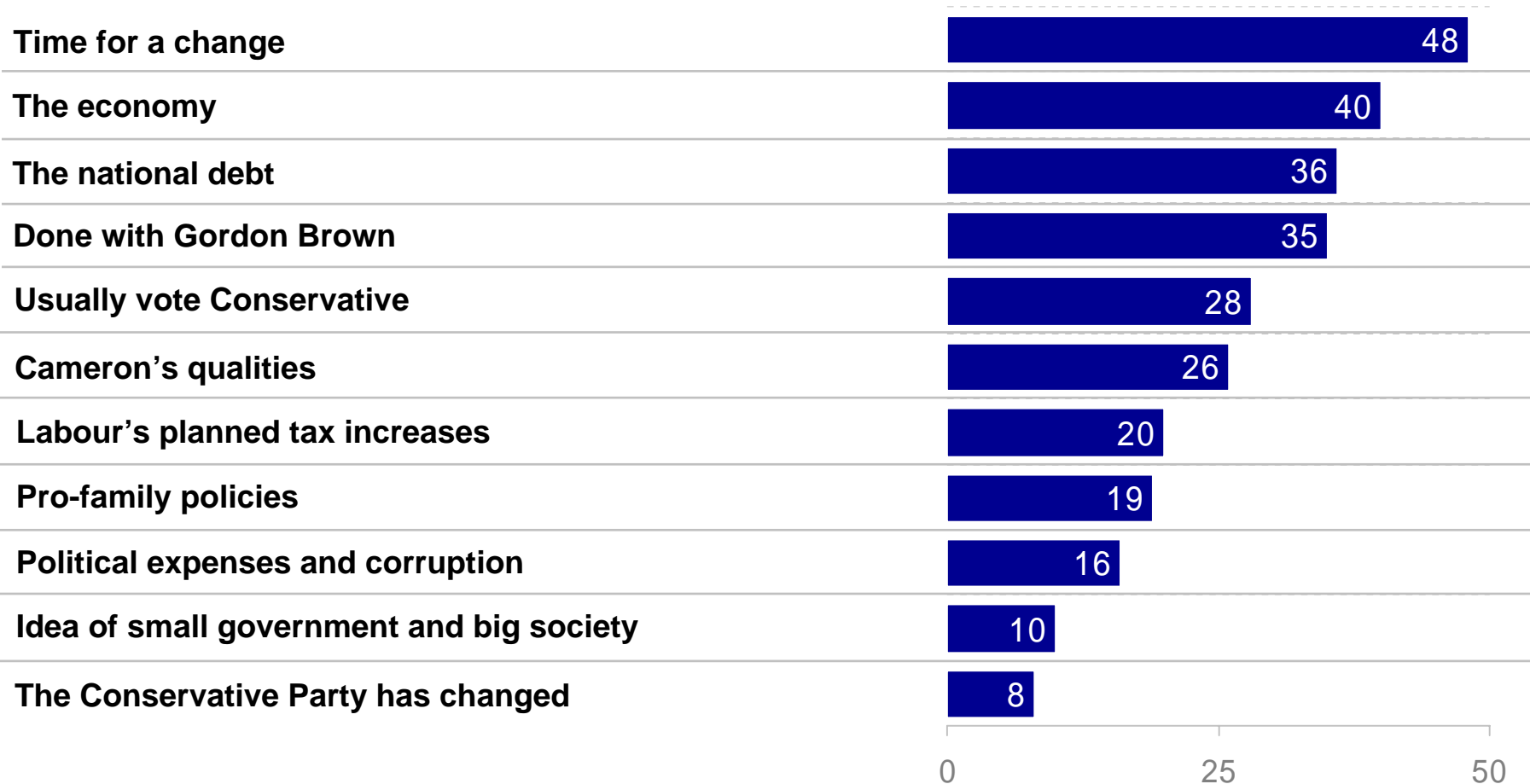
*And whether or not you watched the debates, do you think that they were a positive or negative addition to the process?*

■ Very Positive    ■ Very Negative



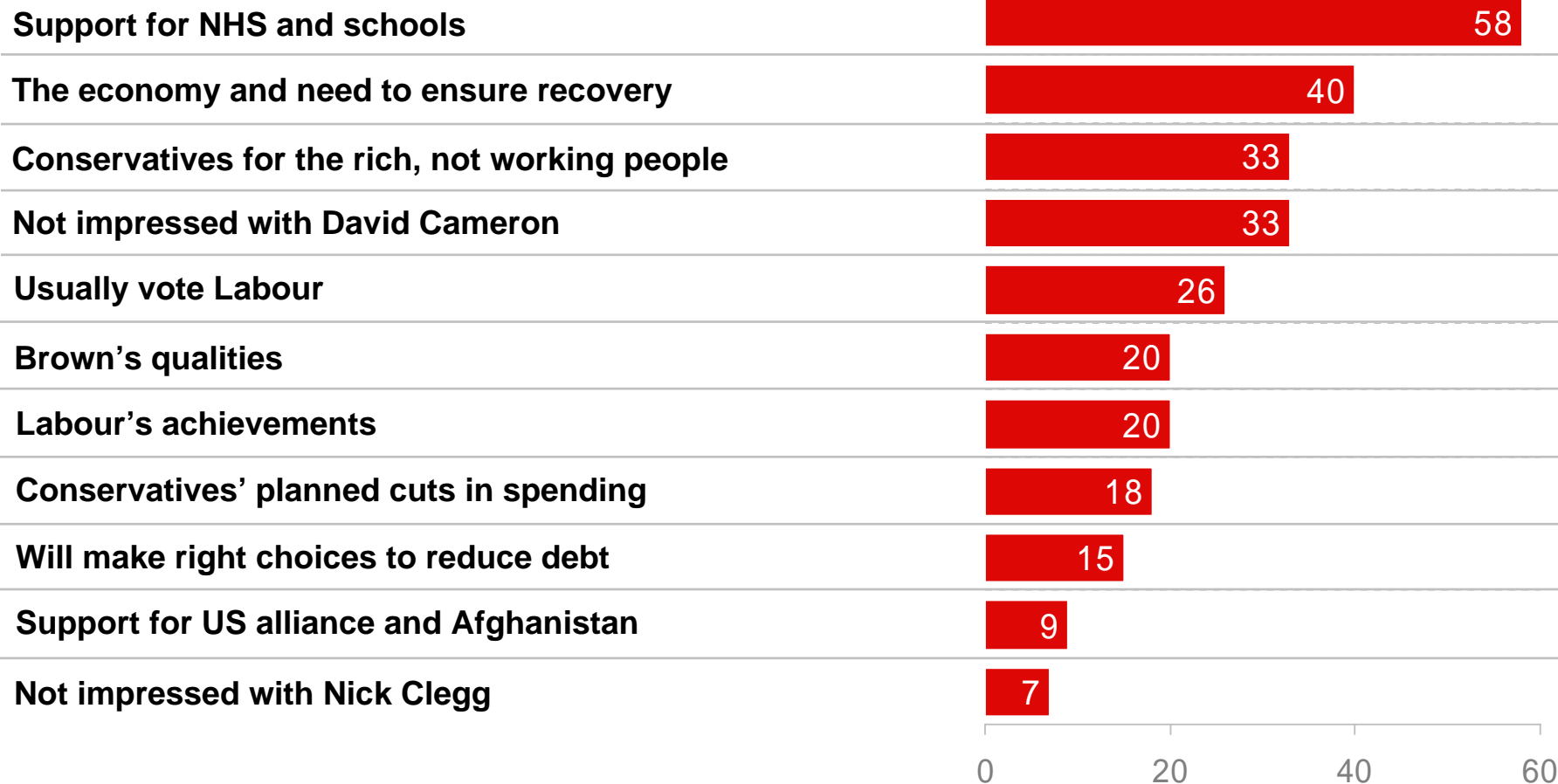
## Conservative vote motivated by change, economy, debt, and Brown

*Now I am going to read you a list of reasons some people may say were the deciding factors in voting the way they did. After I read this list please tell me which three describe the most important reasons you voted the way you did for the Conservative Party.*



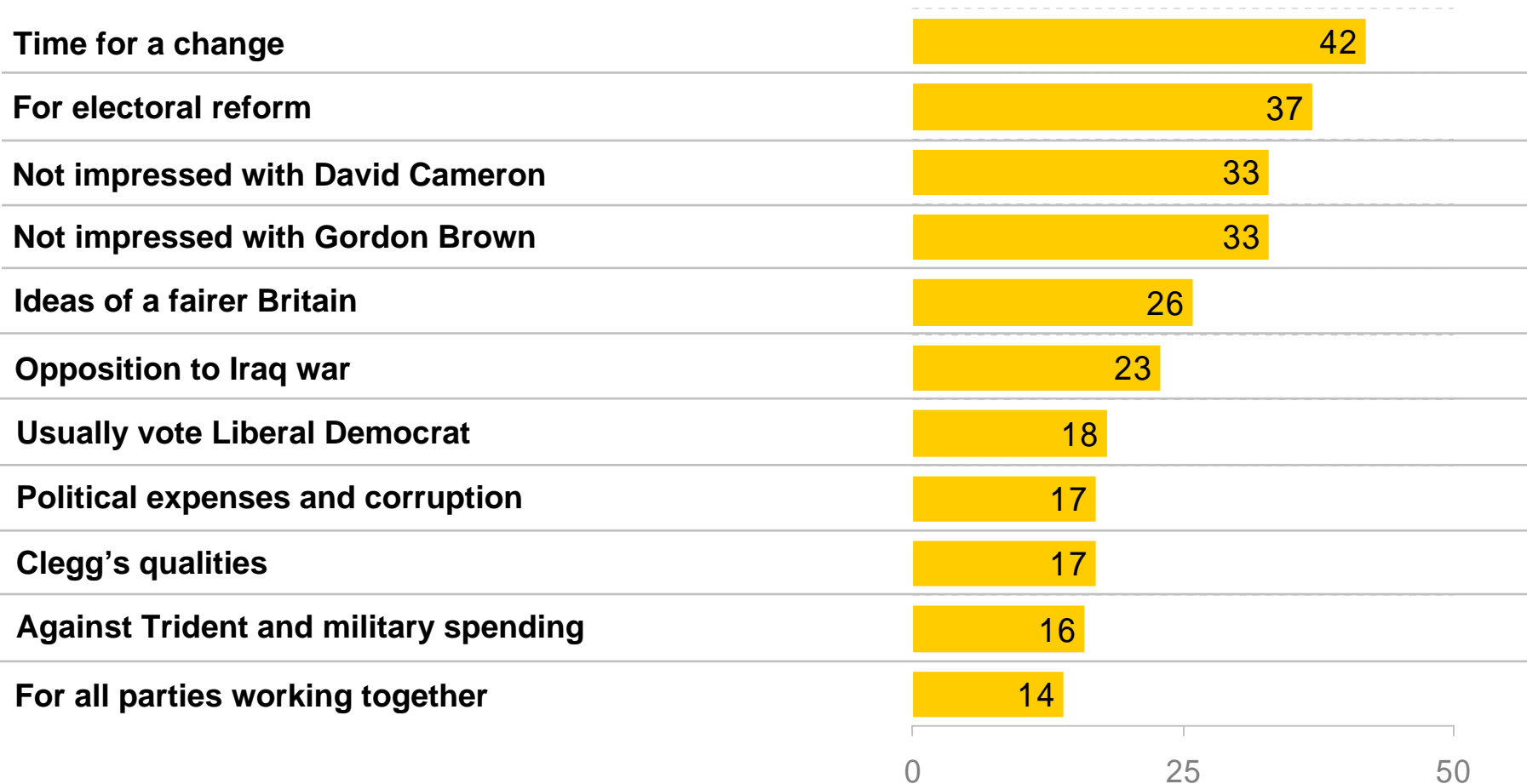
## Labour vote driven by NHS/schools, recovery, rich Tories & Cameron

Now I am going to read you a list of reasons some people may say were the deciding factors in voting the way they did. After I read this list please tell me which three describe the most important reasons you voted the way you did for the Labour Party.



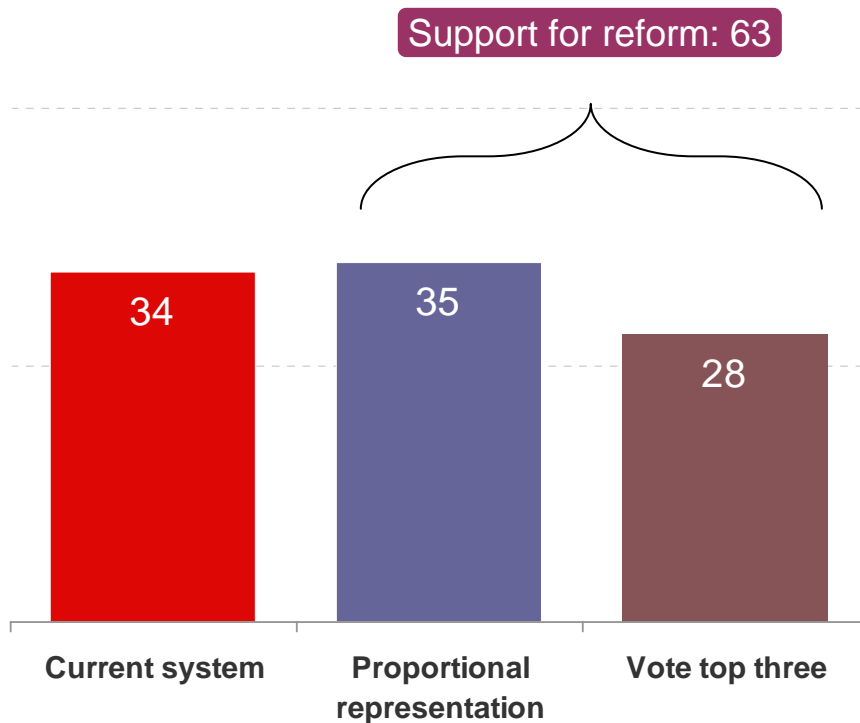
## Liberal Democrats also wanted change, electoral reform

*Now I am going to read you a list of reasons some people may say were the deciding factors in voting the way they did. After I read this list please tell me which three describe the most important reasons you voted the way you did for the Liberal Democrats.*



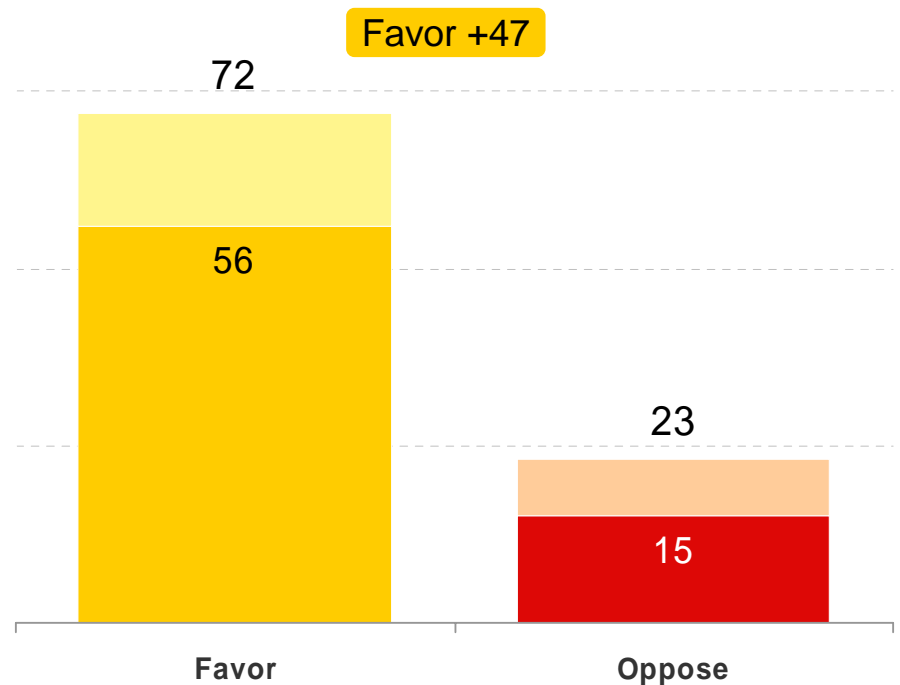
## Large majority of voters for electoral reform

Some people have proposed changing the way people get to vote for parliament. Which would you like to see?



Reform of vote for parliament

Would you favor or oppose having all parliamentary elections financed out of public funds, with strictly enforced limits on how much each candidate could spend, or not?

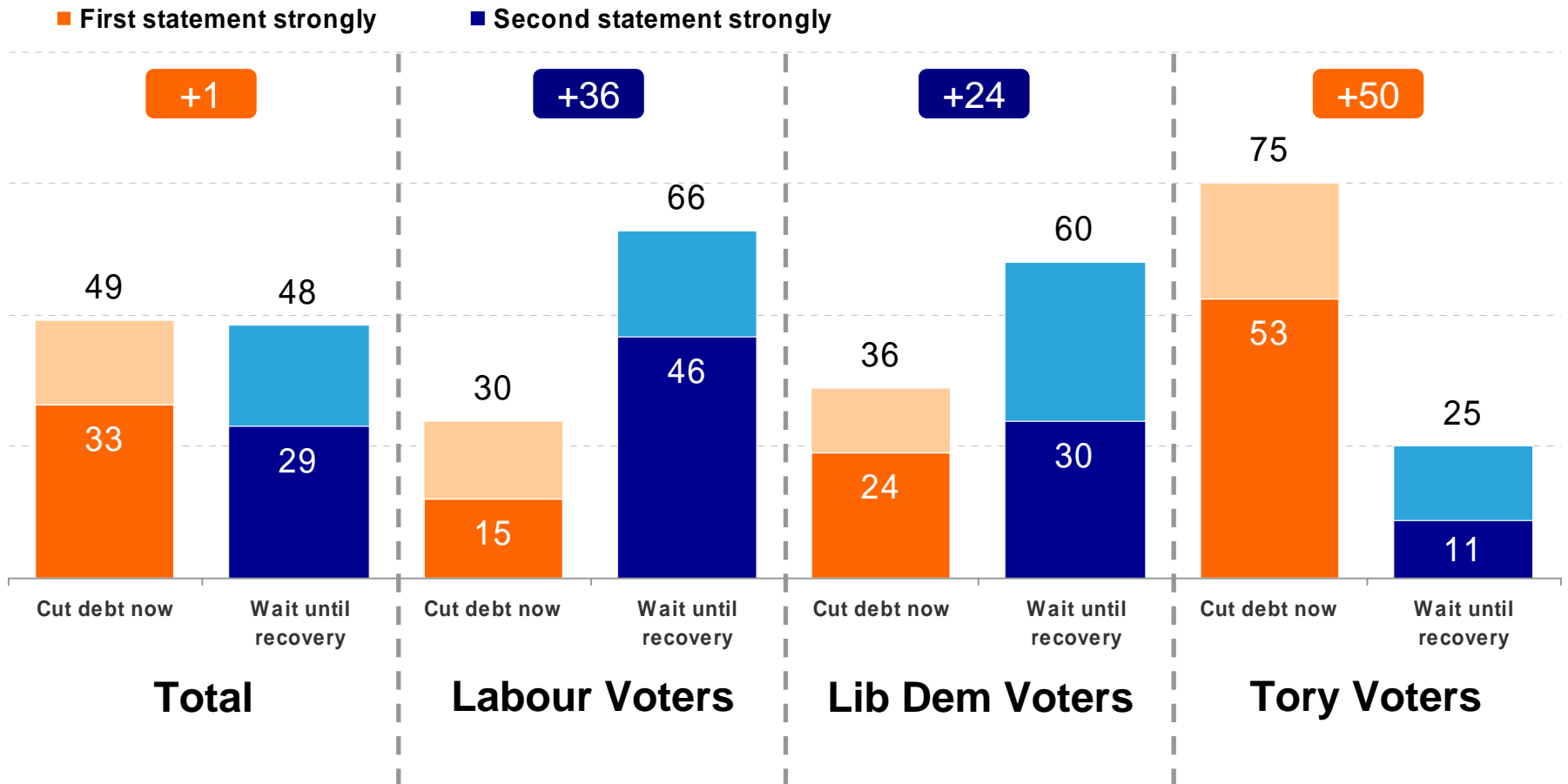


Reform of financing elections

# The voters split on campaigns' economic debate: cut now or not

**First Statement:** We must start cutting the national debt right away.

**Second Statement:** We must wait to cut the debt until the economic recovery is underway.

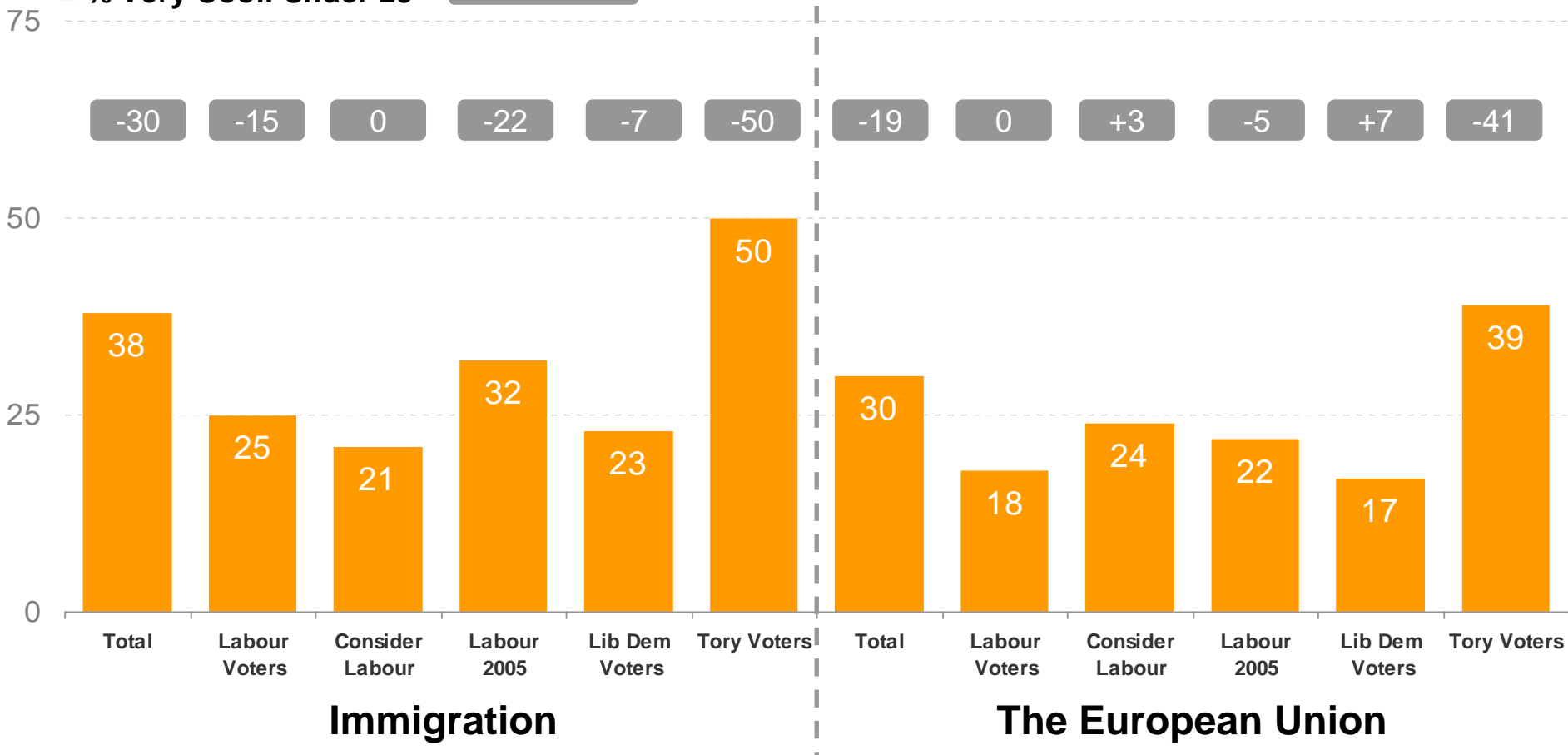


# Anti-immigration and anti-EU: % very hostile

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVOURABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVOURABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold... **immigration... the European Union.**

■ % Very Cool: Under 25

Warm – Cool



## New Labour's leaders in background

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVOURABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVOURABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

**Therm. Mean**

**Warm - Cool**

■ Cool ■ Warm

**The Conservatives**

42

44

48.8

+2

**The Liberal Democrats**

37

38

49.0

+1

**The Labour Party**

47

38

44.1

-9

**David Cameron**

41

44

49.4

+3

**Nick Clegg**

33

40

49.6

+7

**Gordon Brown**

55

33

39.3

-22

**Tony Blair**

60

25

36.2

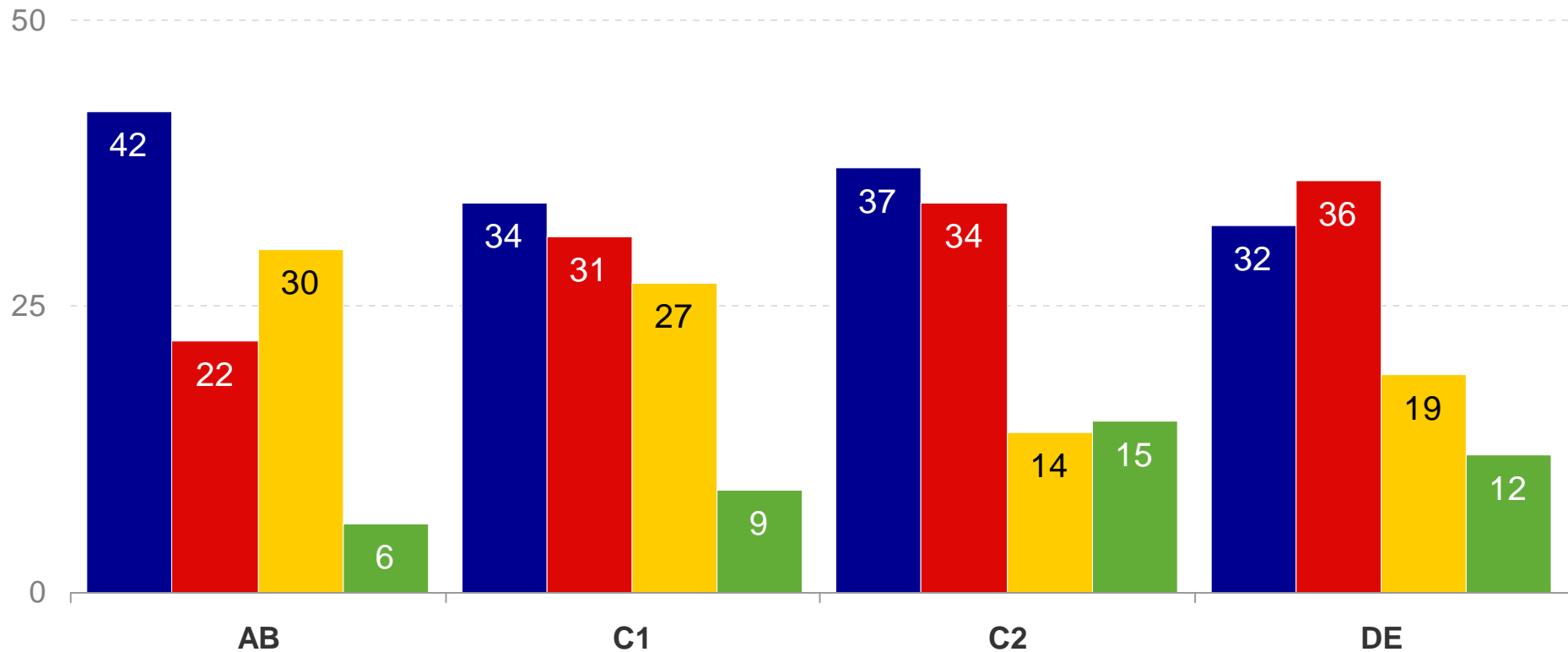
-35

75 50 25 0 25 50 75

## The final general election vote by class

And in the general election yesterday/Thursday, which party did you vote for -- the Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats?

■ Conservatives ■ Labour ■ Liberal Democrats ■ Other Parties



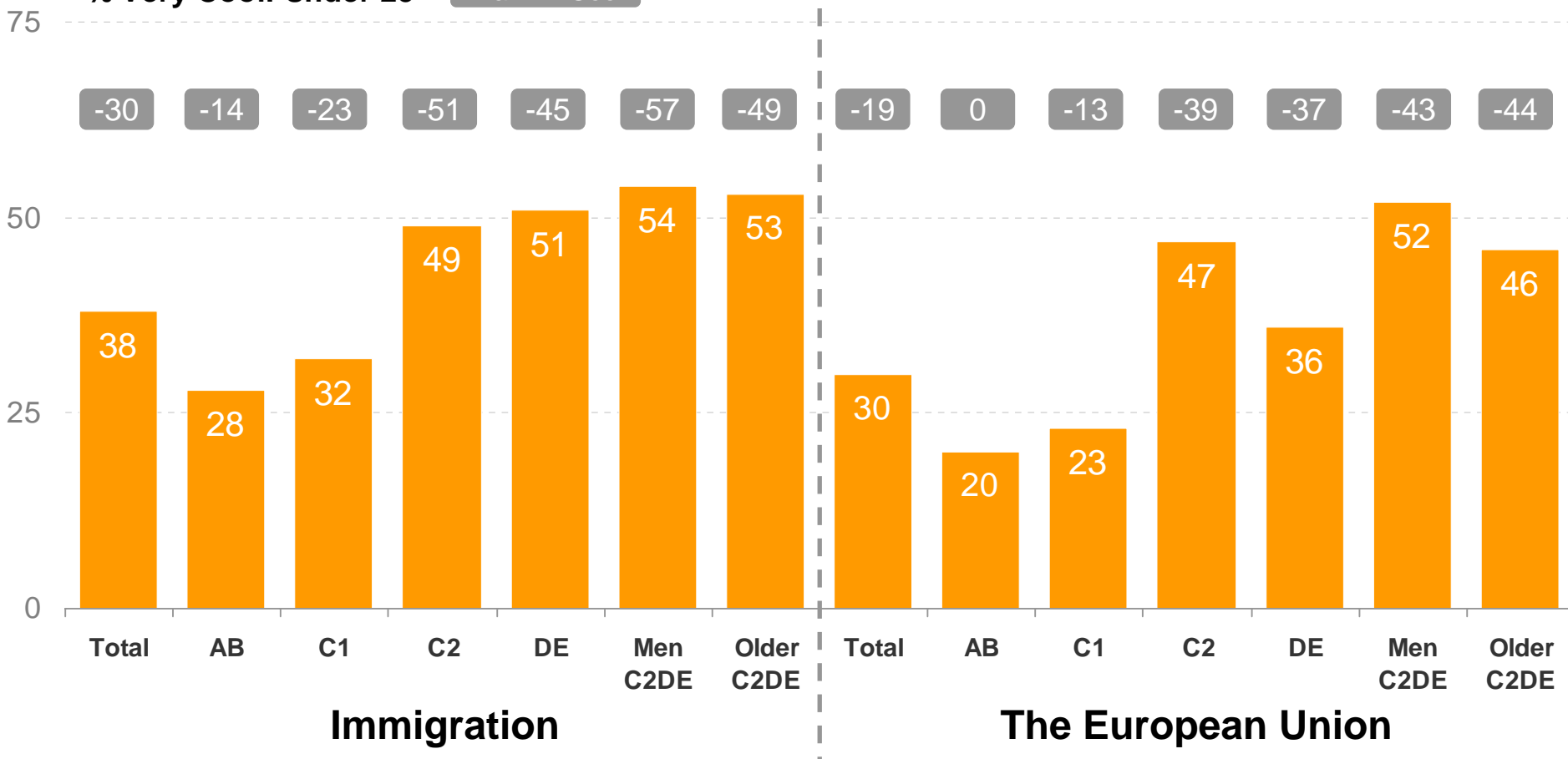
Note: Vote totals based on allocation of those who refused to answer.

# Working class hostility to immigration and EU: % very hostile

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVOURABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVOURABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold... **immigration... the European Union.**

■ % Very Cool: Under 25

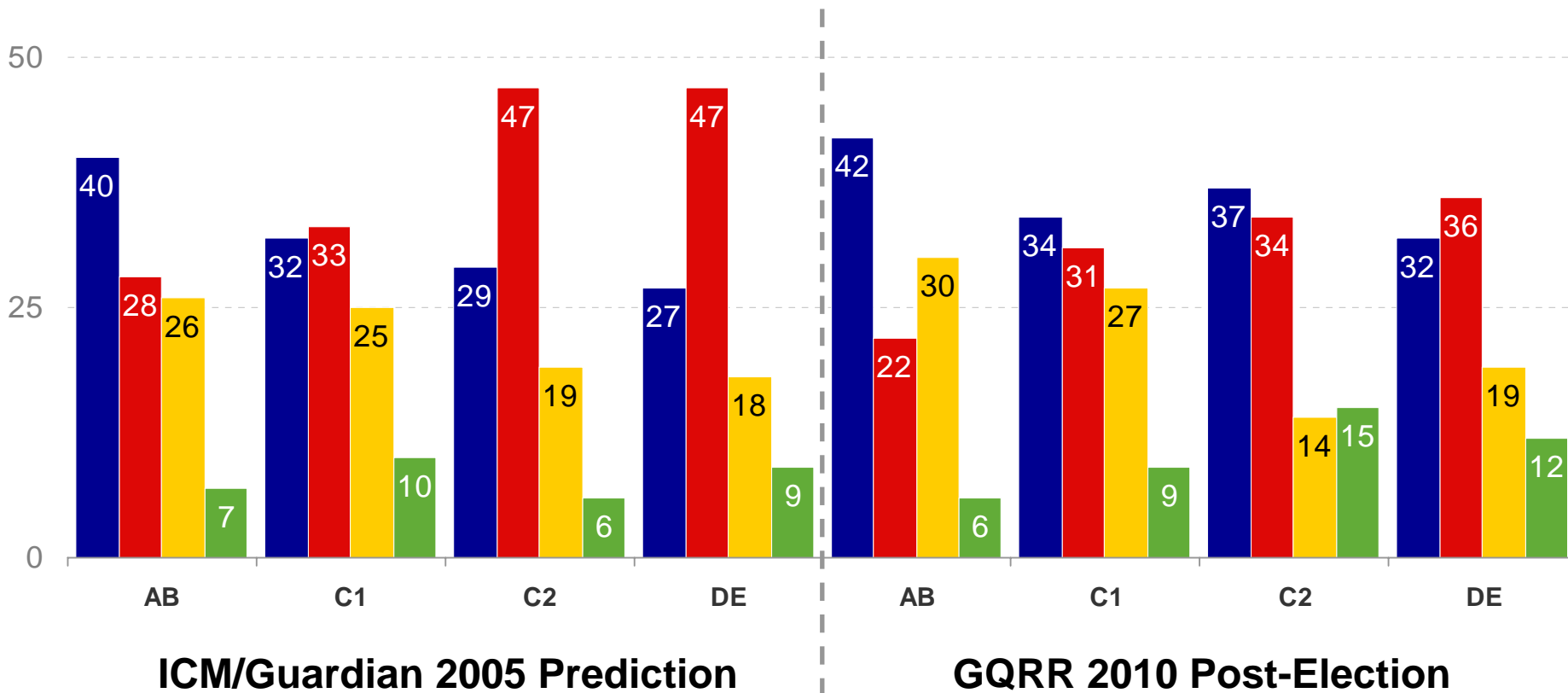
Warm – Cool



# General election vote by class: 2005 and 2010

And in the general election yesterday/Thursday, which party did you vote for -- the Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats?

■ Conservatives ■ Labour ■ Liberal Democrats ■ Other Parties

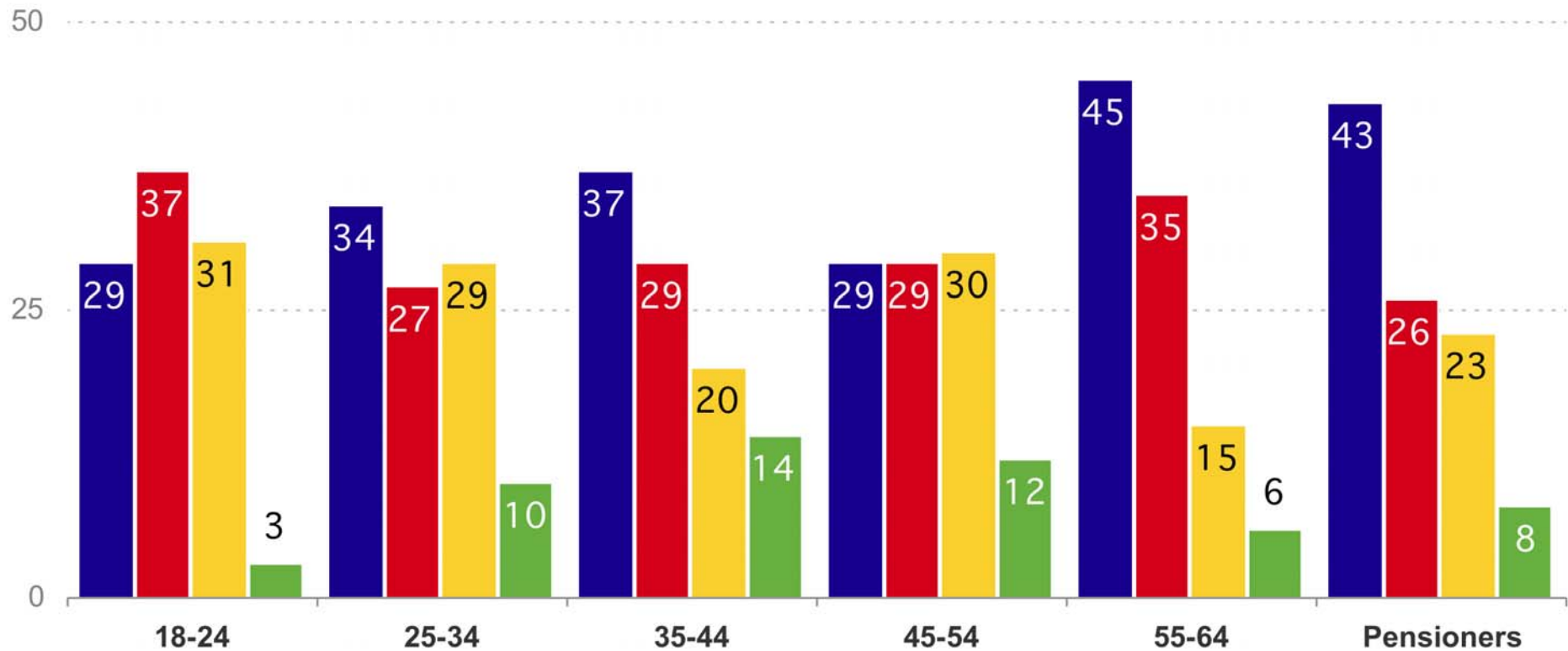


Note: GQRR vote totals based on allocation of those who refused to answer. ICM/Guardian numbers from pre-election poll dated May 1-3<sup>rd</sup>, 2005. ICM/Guardian data excludes those who will not vote, don't know, or refuse to answer.

## The final general election vote by age

And in the general election yesterday/Thursday, which party did you vote for -- the Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats?

■ Conservatives ■ Labour ■ Liberal Democrats ■ Other Parties

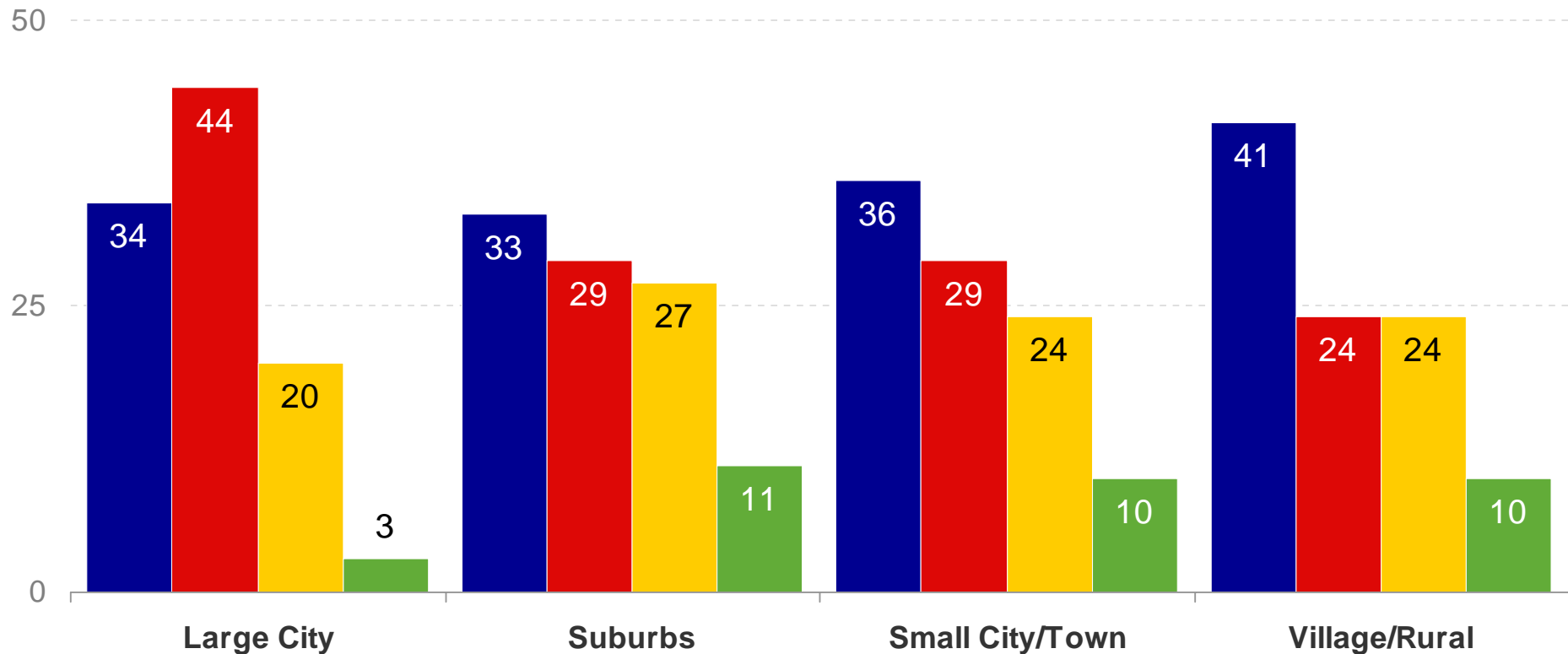


Note: Vote totals based on allocation of those who refused to answer.

## The final general election vote by type of area

And in the general election yesterday/Thursday, which party did you vote for -- the Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats?

■ Conservatives ■ Labour ■ Liberal Democrats ■ Other Parties

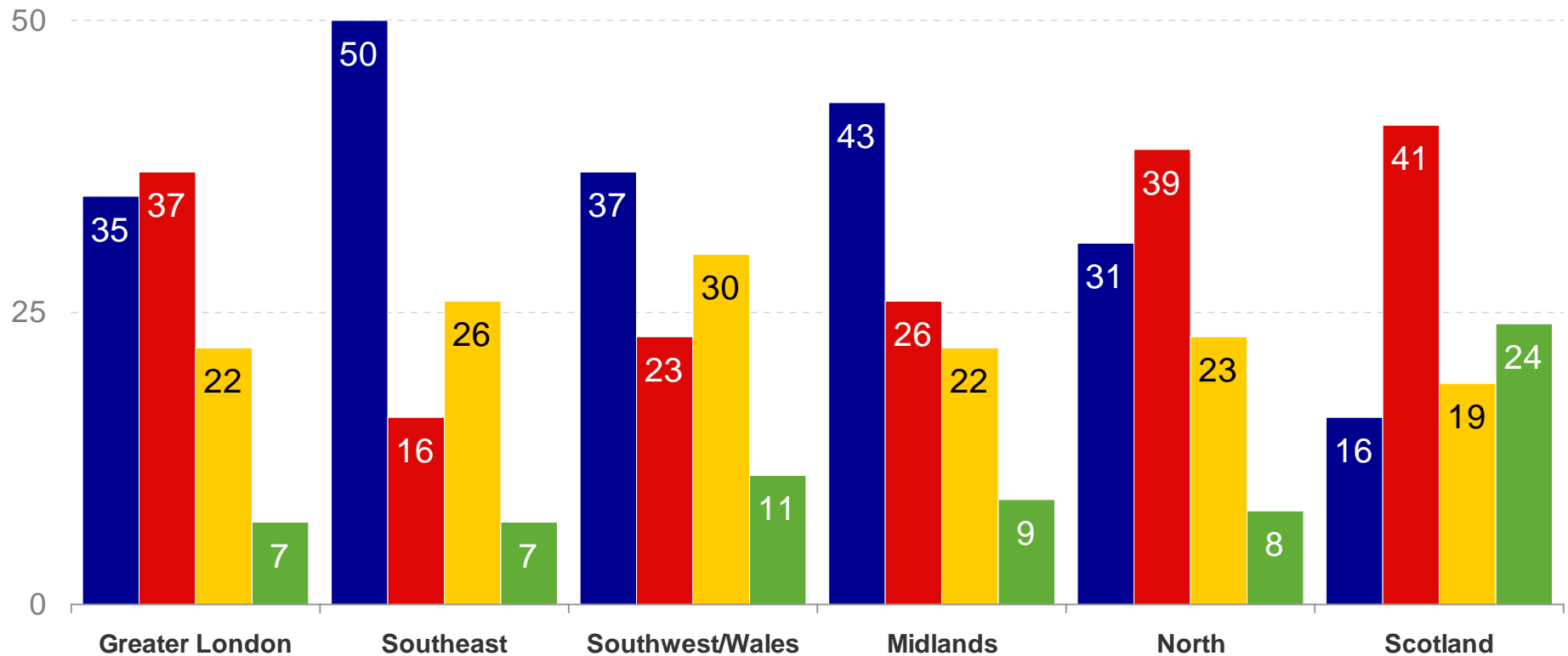


Note: Vote totals based on allocation of those who refused to answer.

## The final general election vote by region

And in the general election yesterday/Thursday, which party did you vote for -- the Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats?

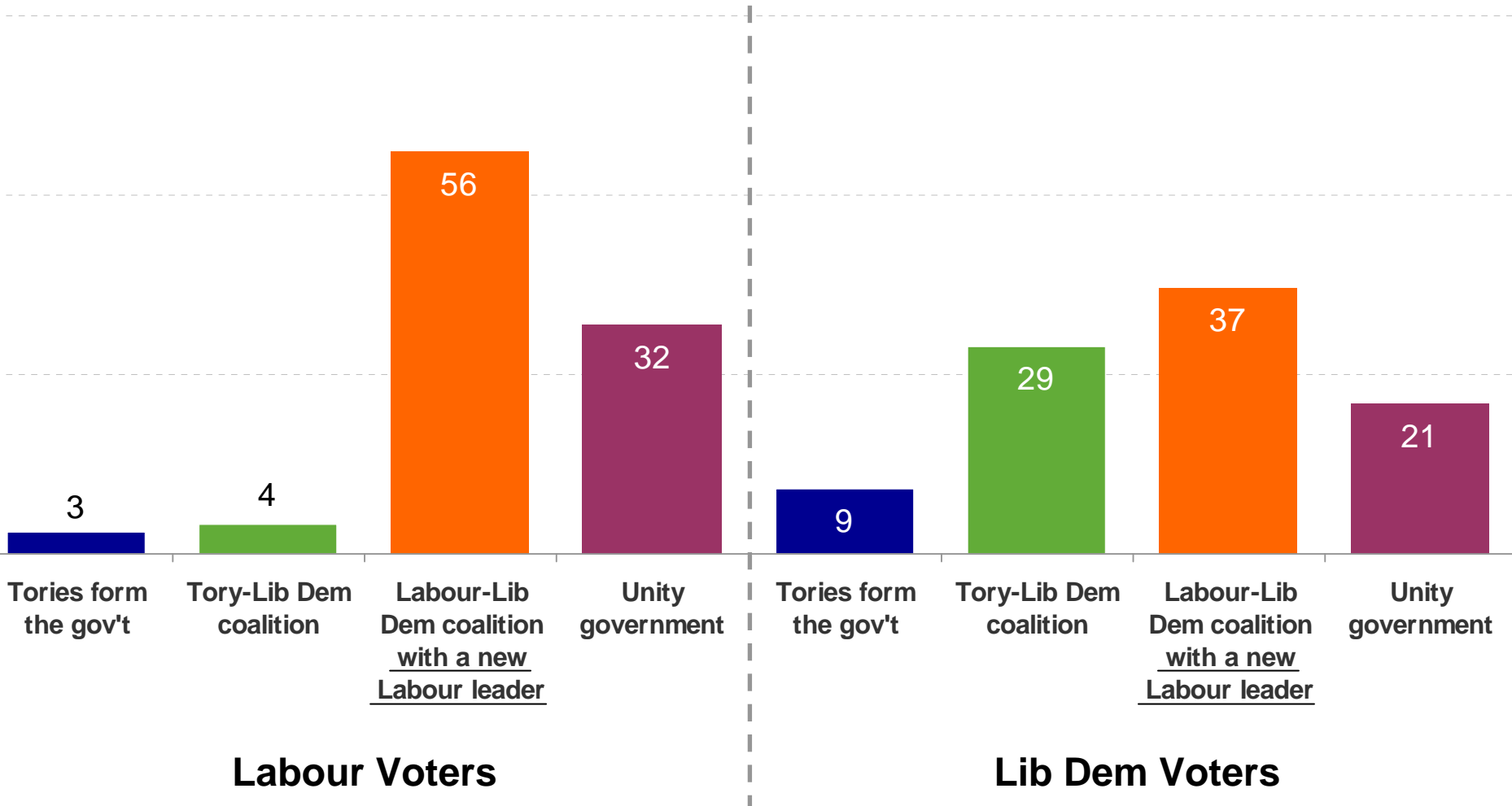
■ Conservatives ■ Labour ■ Liberal Democrats ■ Other Parties



Note: Vote totals based on allocation of those who refused to answer.

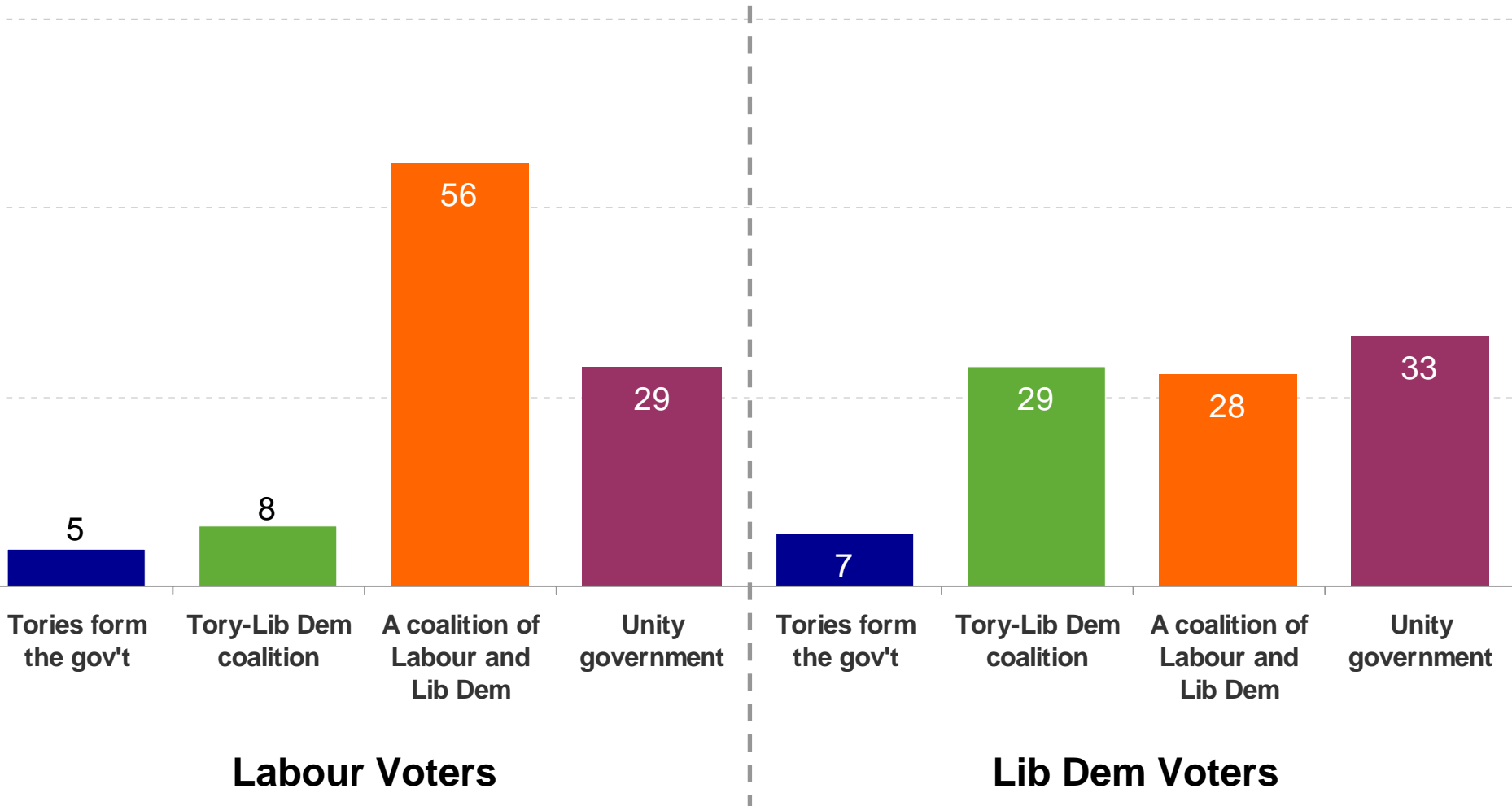
# Labour and Lib Dem voters wanted a different government

*With a hung parliament, what would you like to see happen?*



# Preferred government without a change of Labour leader

*With a hung parliament, what would you like to see happen?*



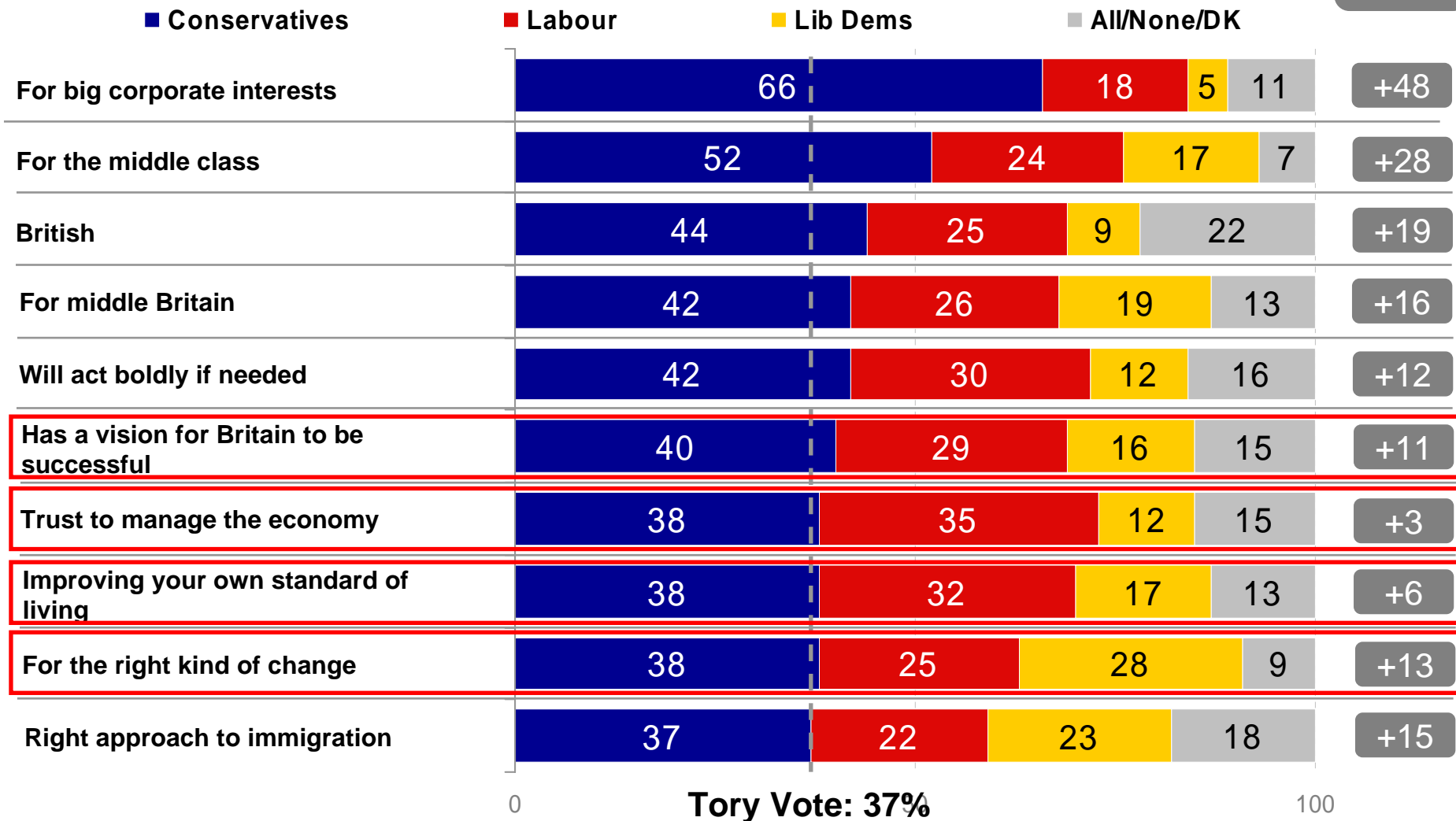
# The position of the Conservative Party

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# Value associations: Conservatives chosen above or at their vote

Now, let me ask you something a little different, but again about values. After I read each one, please tell me which party you associate more with the term: Labour, Conservatives, or the Liberal Democrats?

**Tory – Labour**



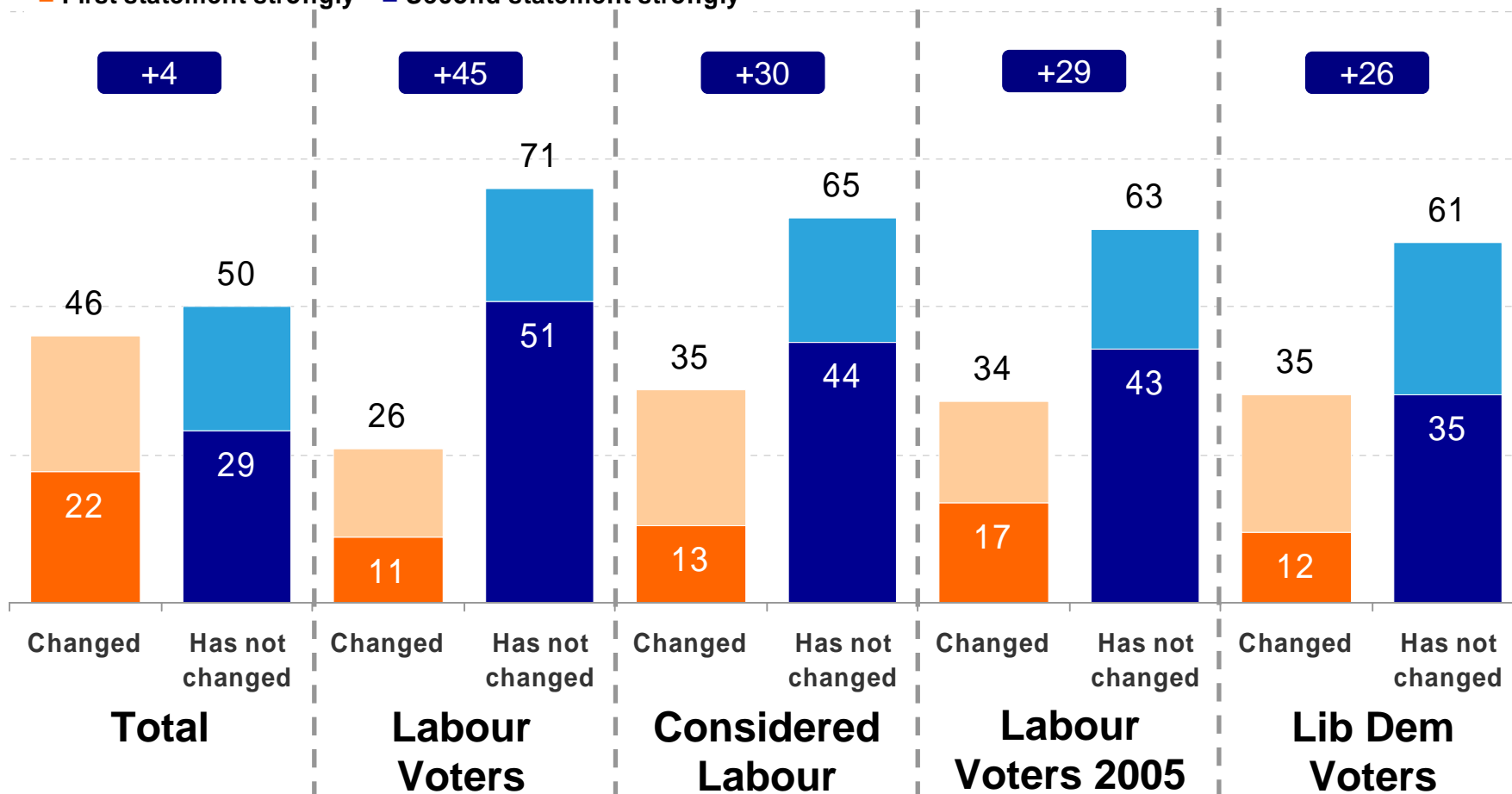


# Non-Tories unconvinced of Conservative Party's changes

**First Statement:** David Cameron changed the Conservative Party.

**Second Statement:** The Conservative Party has not changed very much.

■ First statement strongly ■ Second statement strongly



# The position of Liberal Democrats

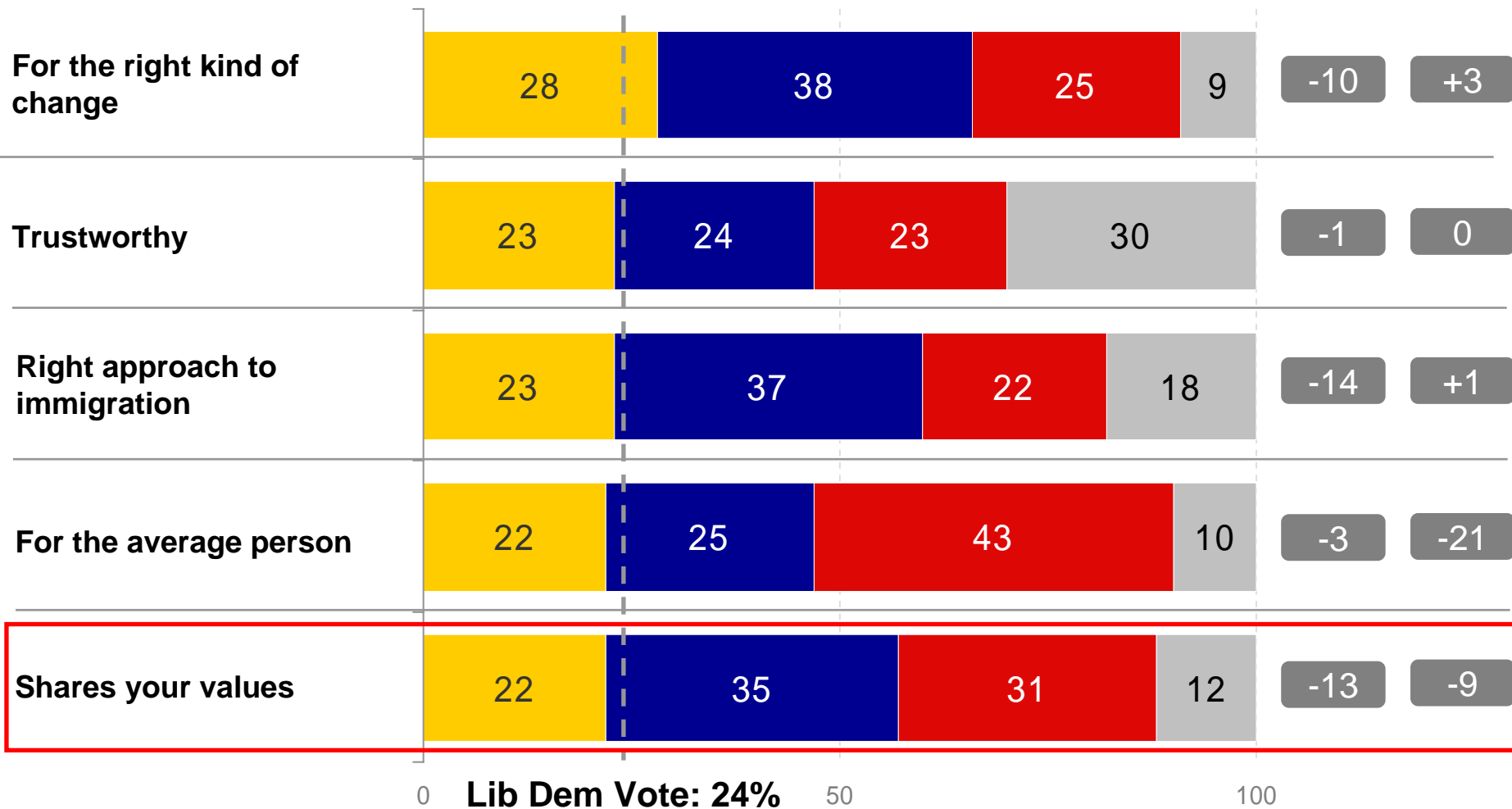
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# Value associations: Lib Dems chosen at or near their vote

Now, let me ask you something a little different, but again about values. After I read each one, please tell me which party you associate more with the term: Labour, Conservatives, or the Liberal Democrats?

LD - Cons    LD - Lab

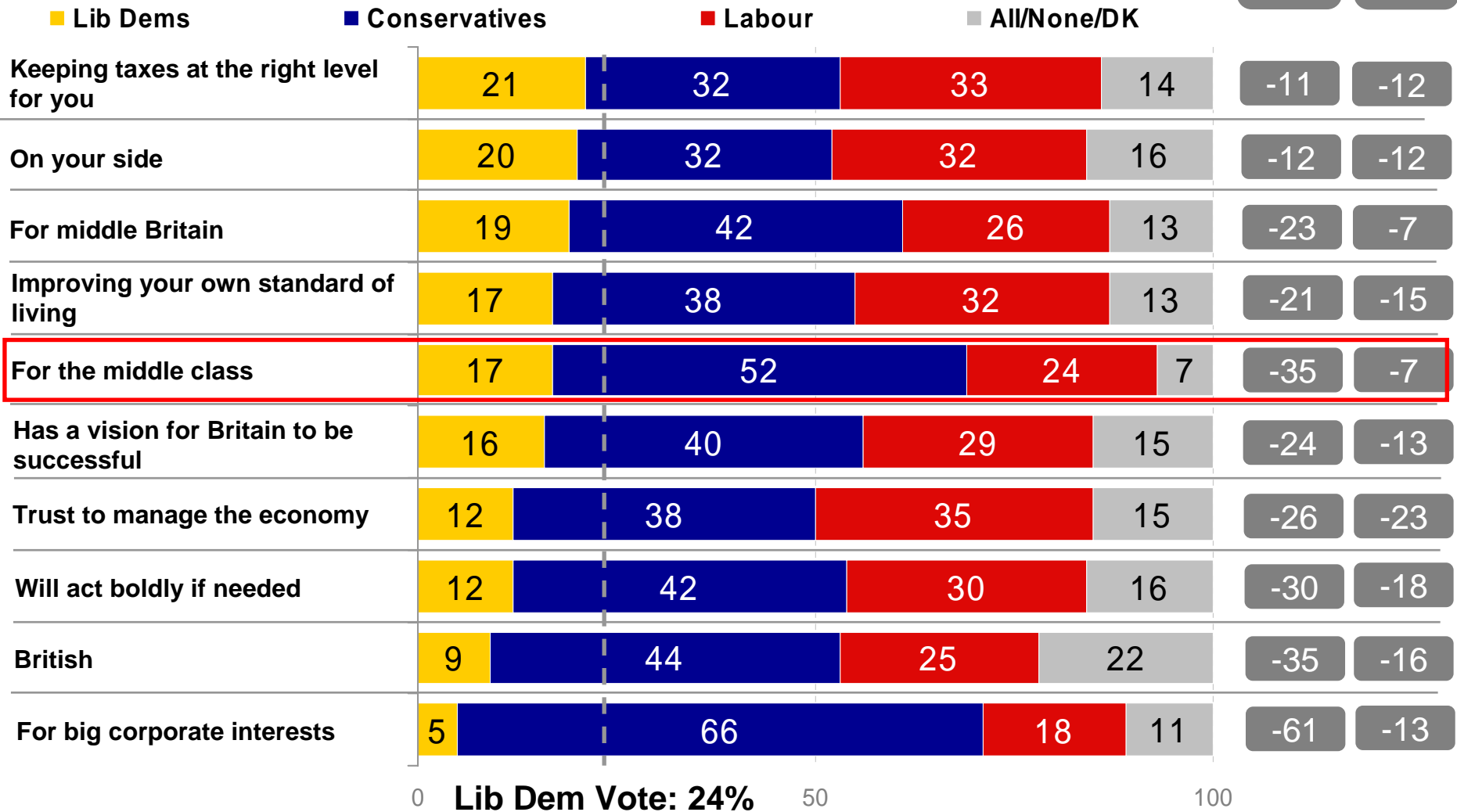
■ Lib Dems    ■ Conservatives    ■ Labour    ■ All/None/DK



# Value associations: Lib Dems chosen below their vote

Now, let me ask you something a little different, but again about values. After I read each one, please tell me which party you associate more with the term: Labour, Conservatives, or the Liberal Democrats?

LD – Cons    LD – Lab

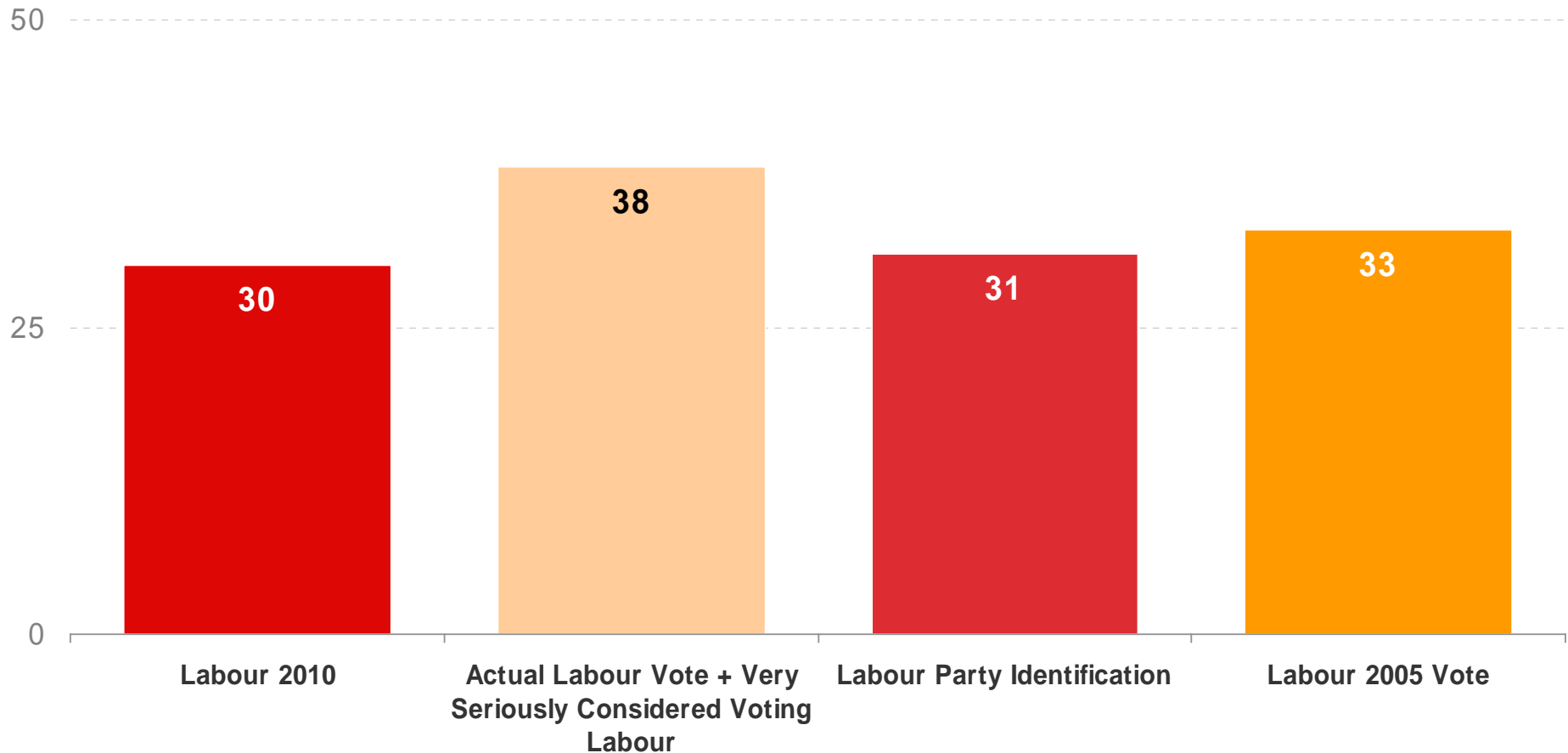


# The position of Labour

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## The Labour vote

*And in the general election yesterday/Thursday, which party did you vote for -- the Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats?*

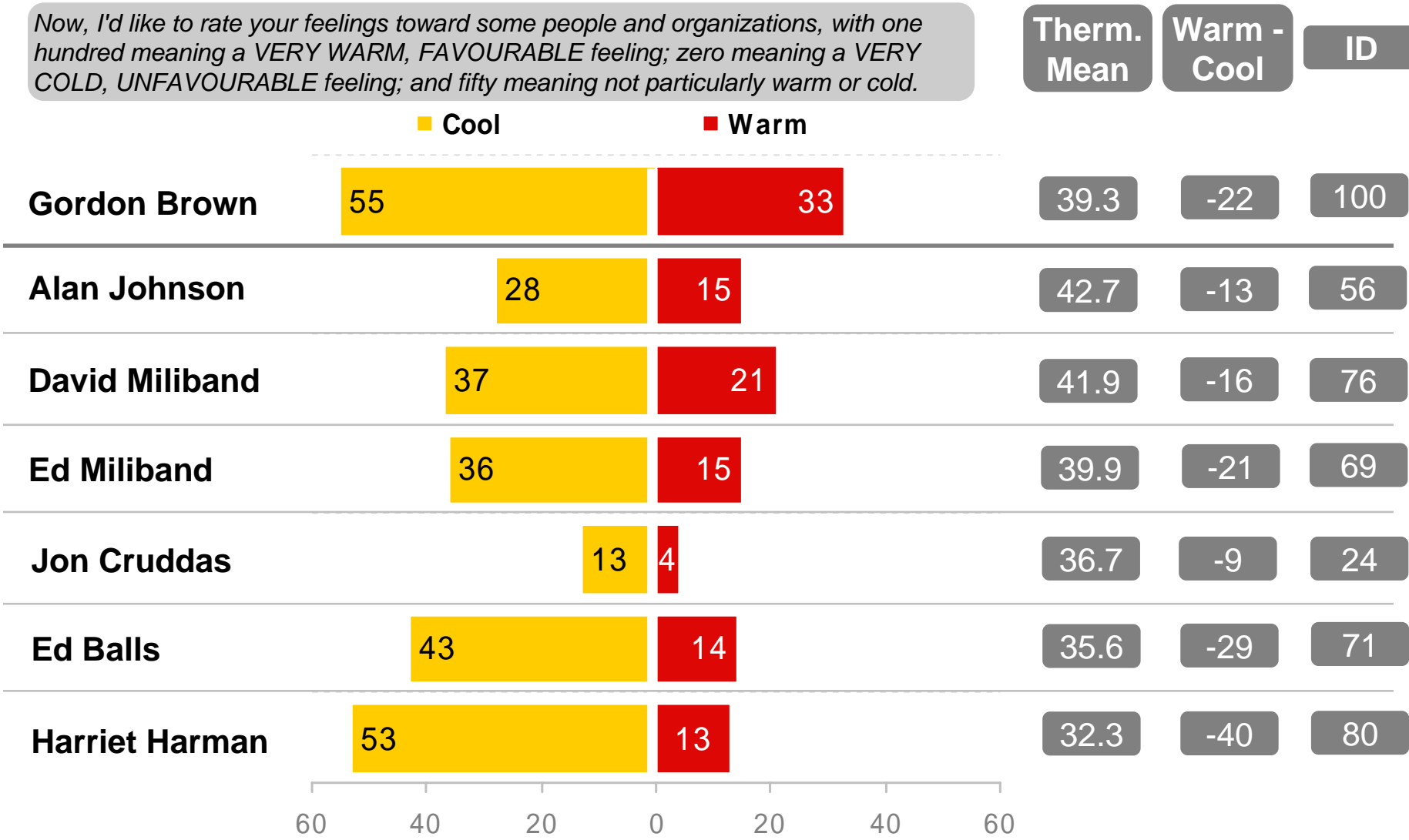


*Note: Vote totals based on allocation of those who refused to answer.*

# Labour leaders

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVOURABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVOURABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

■ Cool                      ■ Warm

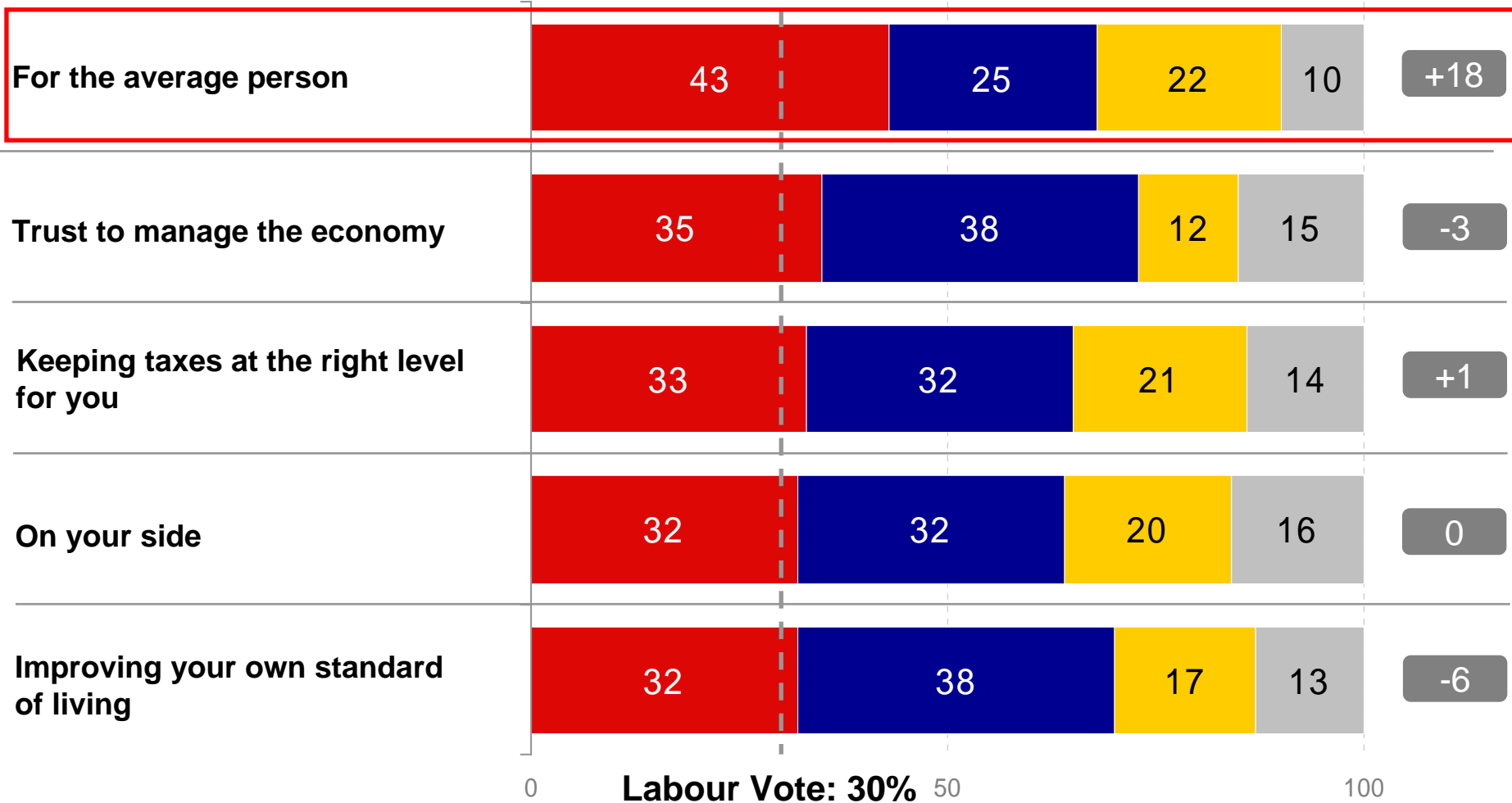


# Value associations: Labour chosen above their vote

Now, let me ask you something a little different, but again about values. After I read each one, please tell me which party you associate more with the term: Labour, Conservatives, or the Liberal Democrats?

**Labour  
- Tory**

■ Labour      ■ Conservatives      ■ Lib Dems      ■ All/None/DK

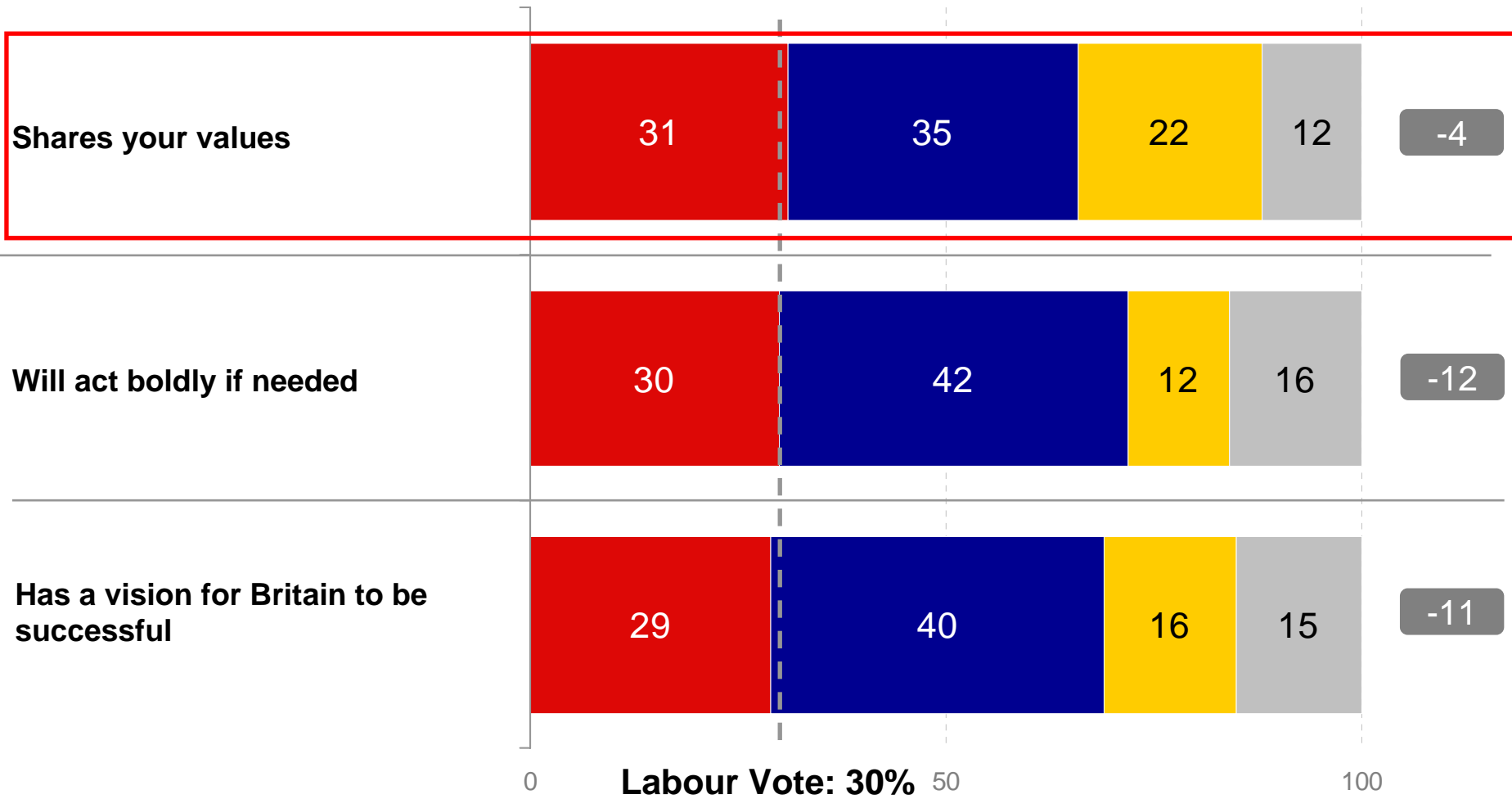


# Value associations: Labour chosen near their vote

Now, let me ask you something a little different, but again about values. After I read each one, please tell me which party you associate more with the term: Labour, Conservatives, or the Liberal Democrats?

**Labour  
-  
Tory**

■ Labour      ■ Conservatives      ■ Lib Dems      ■ All/None/DK

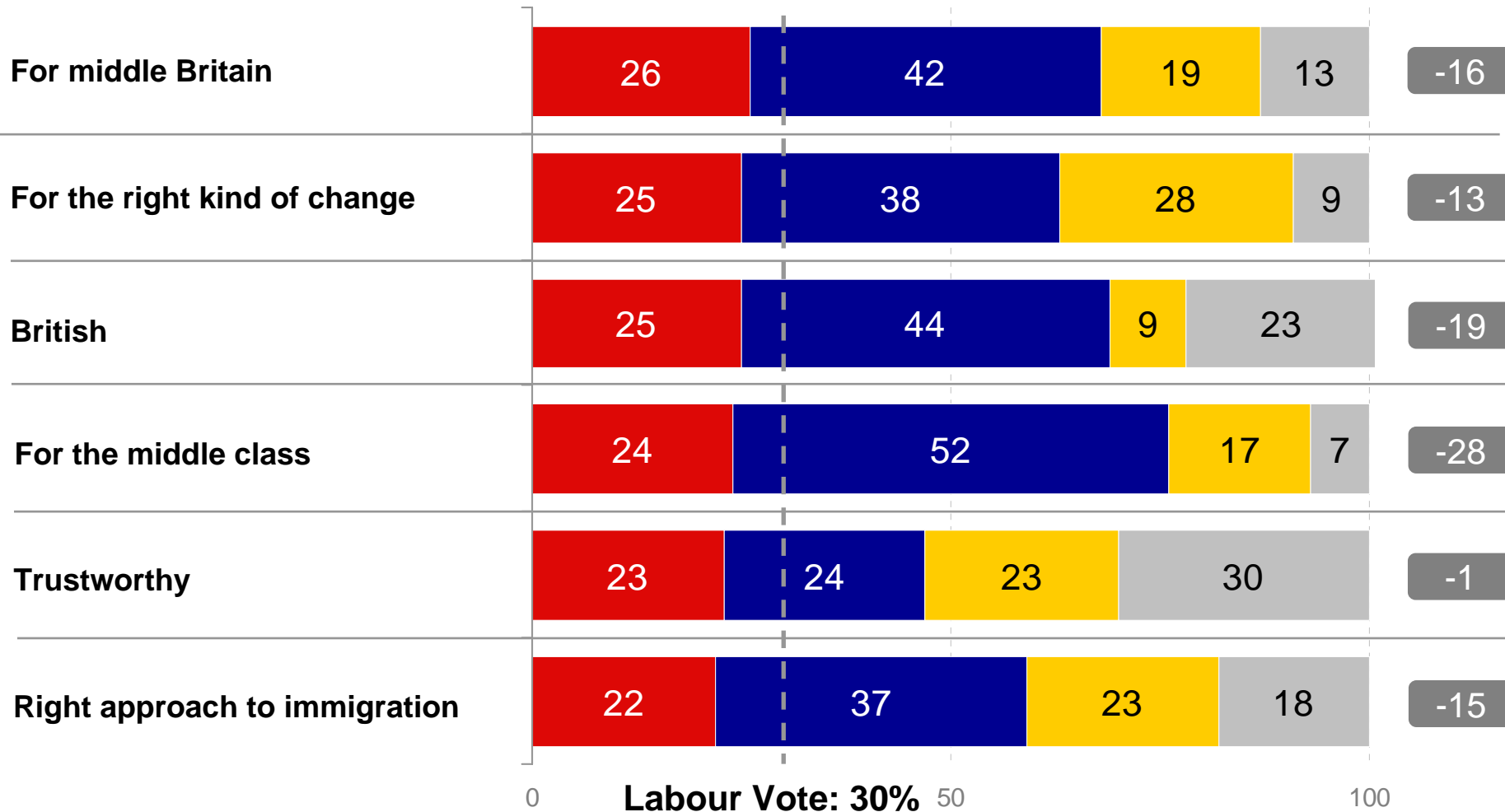


# Value associations: Labour chosen below their vote

Now, let me ask you something a little different, but again about values. After I read each one, please tell me which party you associate more with the term: Labour, Conservatives, or the Liberal Democrats?

**Labour  
- Tory**

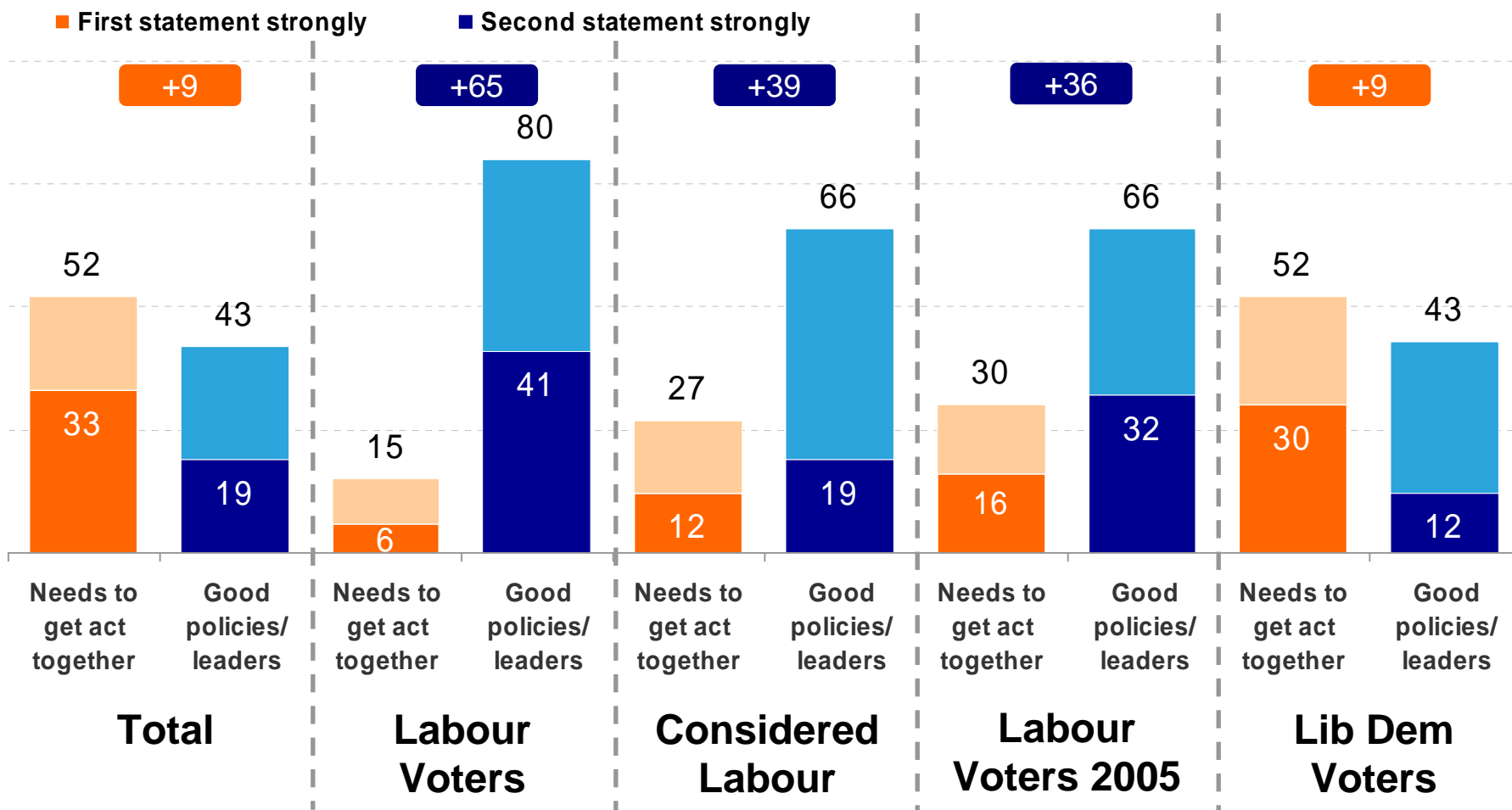
■ Labour ■ Conservatives ■ Lib Dems ■ All/None/DK



# Labour believes it has good policies and new leaders

**First Statement:** Labour needs a long time in the wilderness to get its act together.

**Second Statement:** Labour has good policies and new leaders.



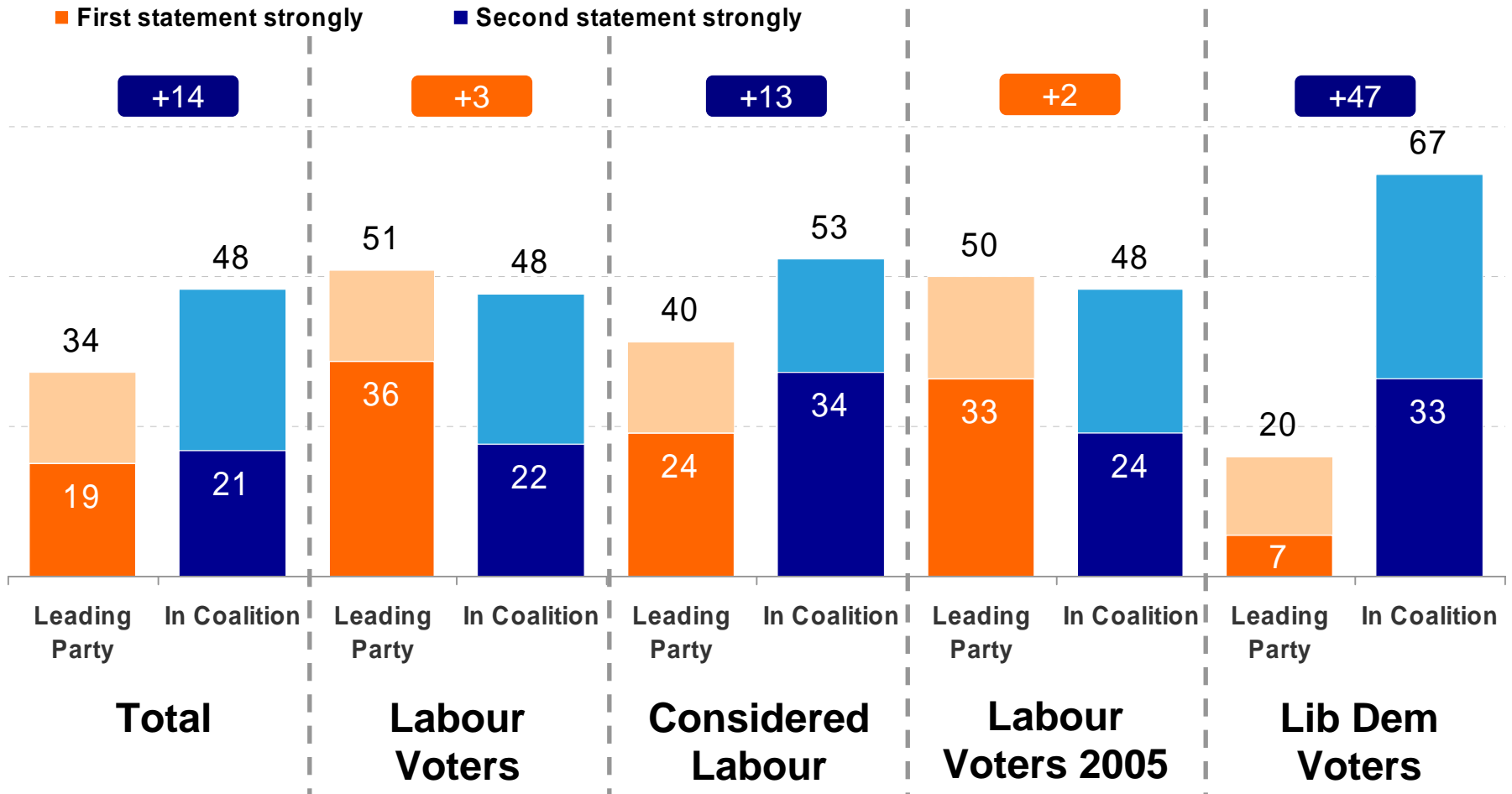
# Labour divided on whether party should be leading or in coalition

**First Statement:** The Labour Party should work to be the leading party again.

**Second Statement:** The Labour Party should work to lead in coalition with the Liberal Democrats.

■ First statement strongly

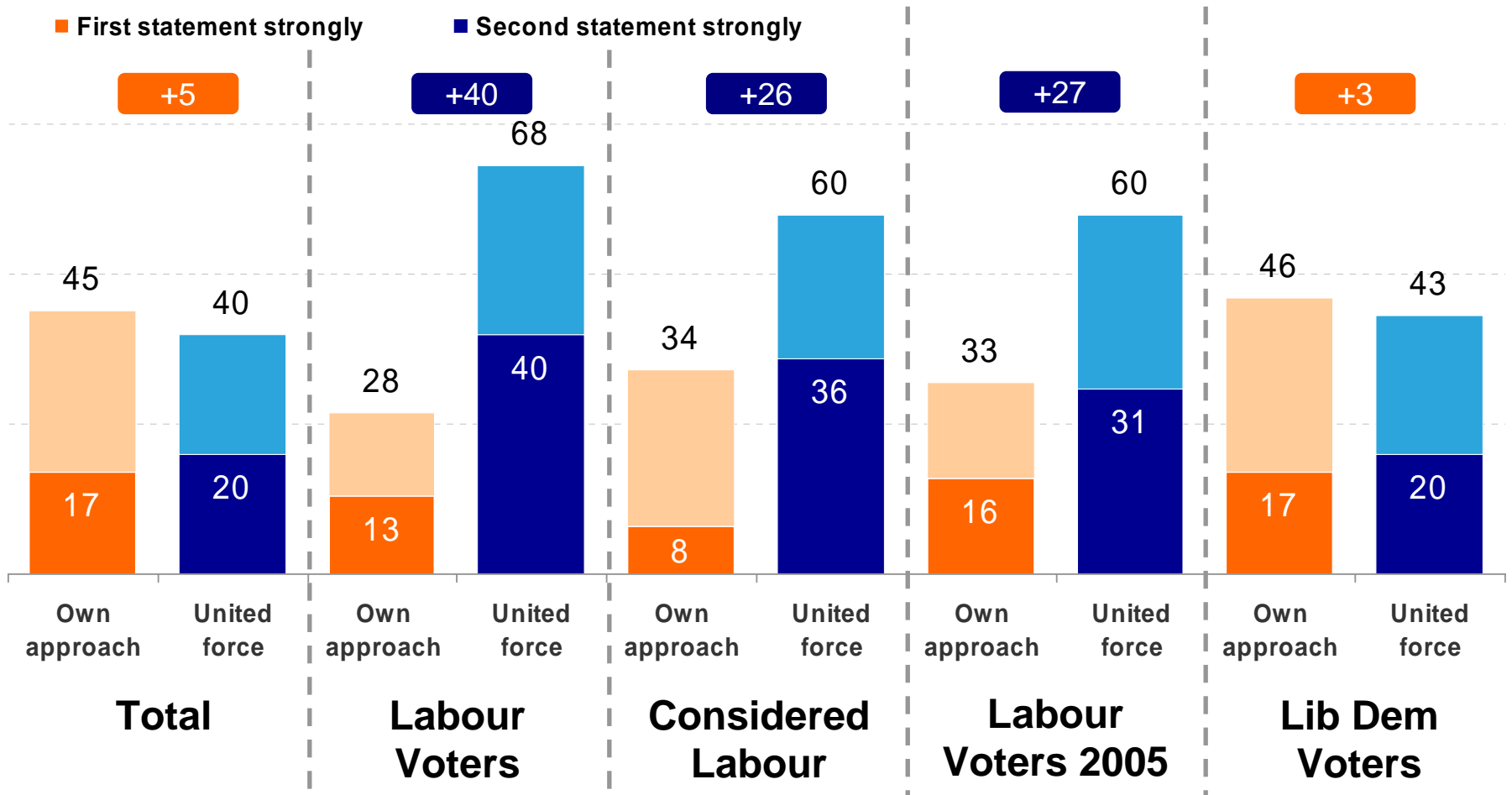
■ Second statement strongly



# Labour ready for center-left project; Lib Dems less clear

**First Statement:** Labour and Liberal Democrats should each advance their own center-left approach and against the Conservatives.

**Second Statement:** Labour and Liberal Democrats should work together as a center-left force and against the Conservatives.



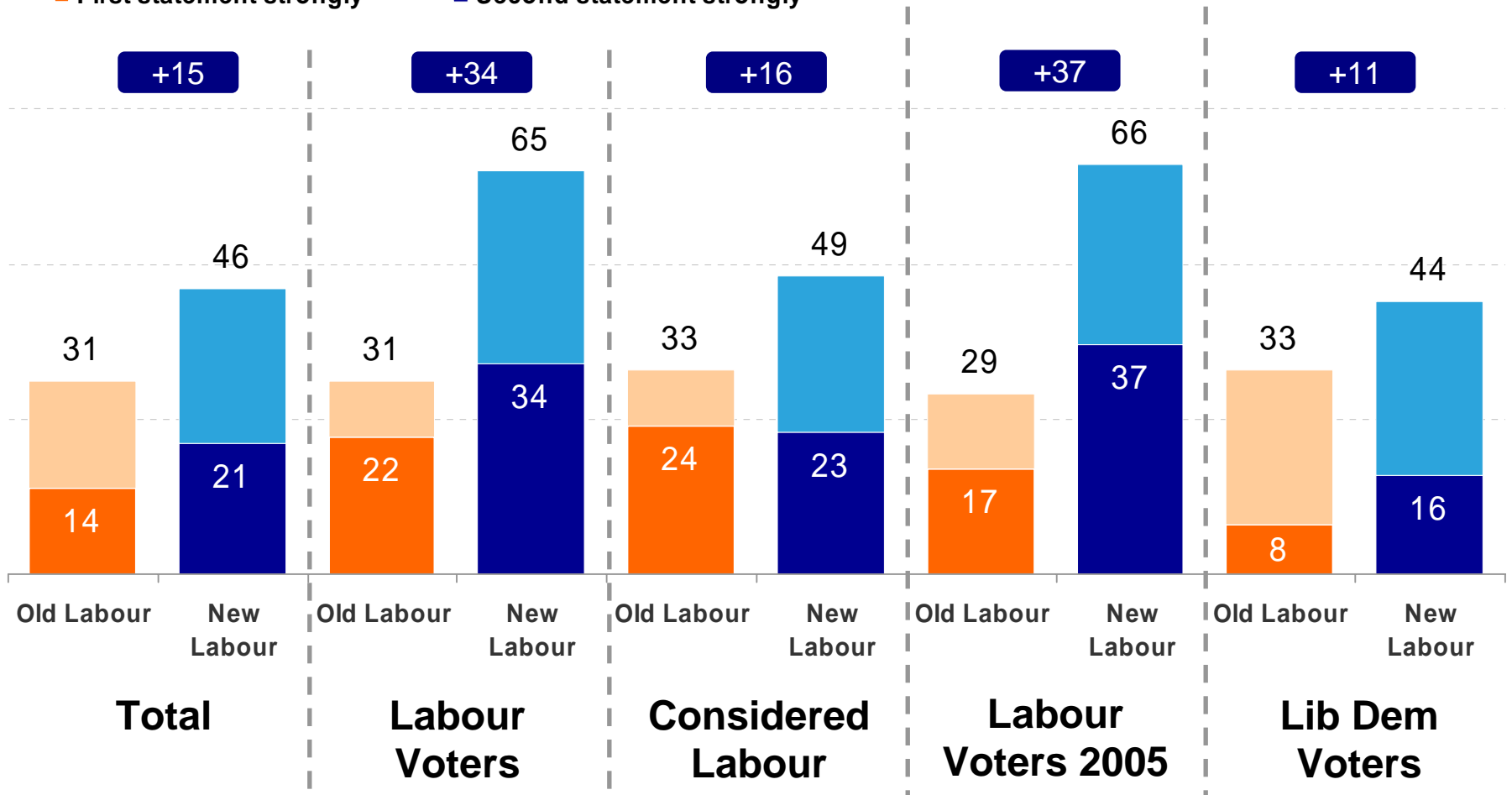
# Labour wants to be New Labour

**First Statement:** This is the time to get back to old Labour.

**Second Statement:** This is the time for New Labour.

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly



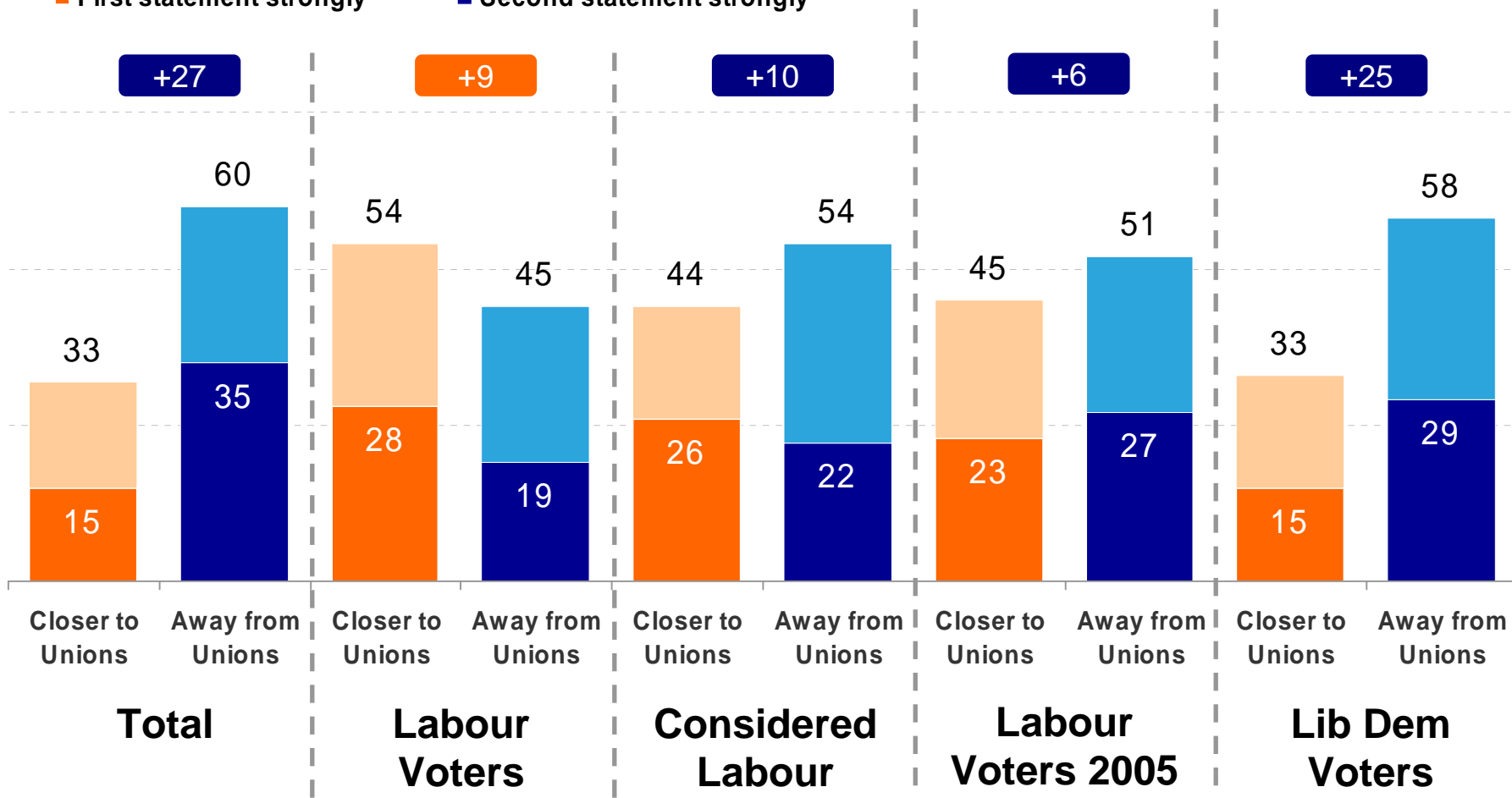
# Labour divided on future role of unions

**First Statement:** Labour needs to be closer to the unions.

**Second Statement:** Labour needs to be more independent of the unions.

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly



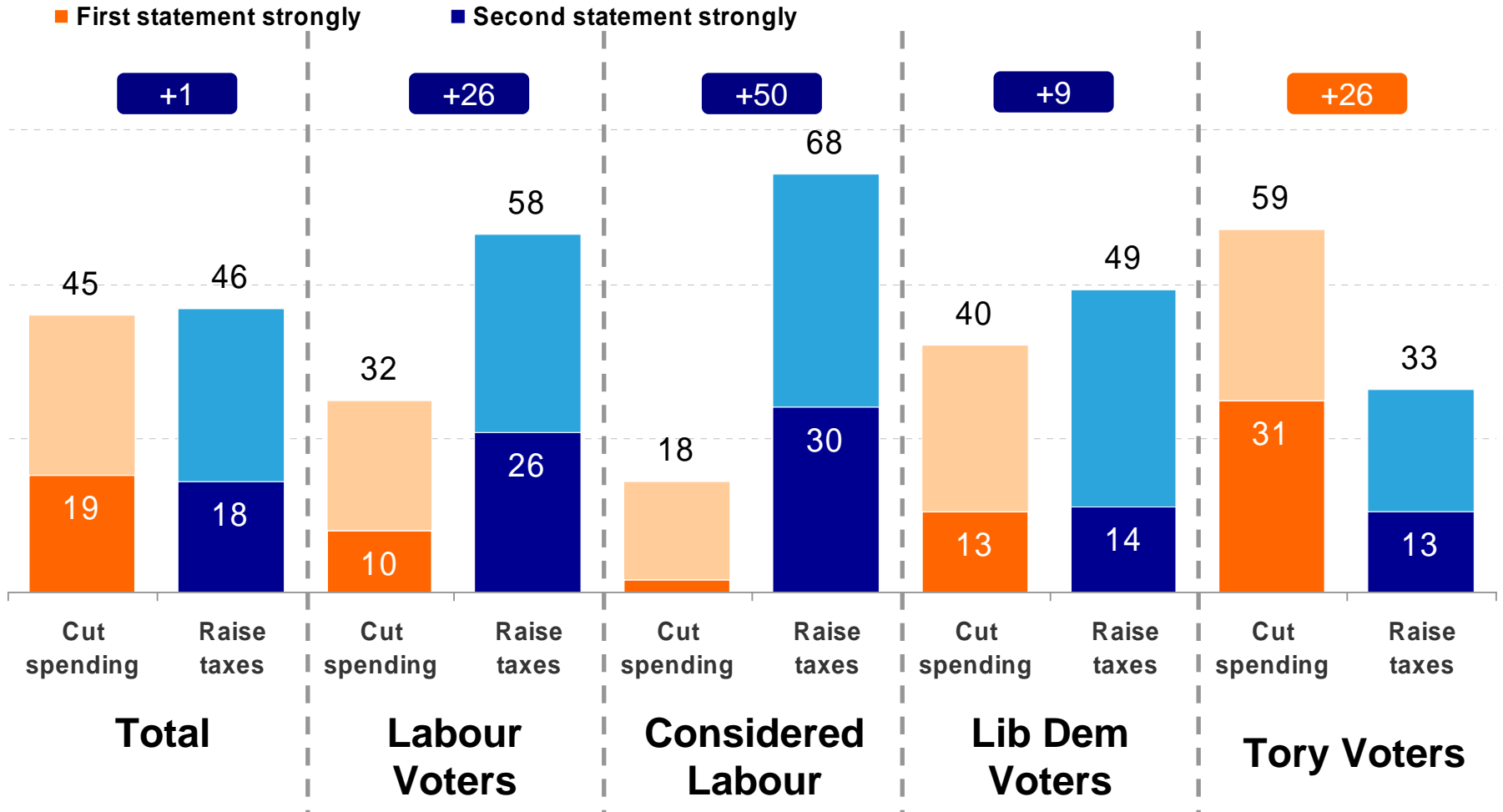
# The progressive future: spending and debt

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# Progressives: raise taxes to preserve services

**First Statement:** To reduce the debt, we will need to make major cuts in spending and public services.

**Second Statement:** To reduce the debt, we must raise taxes broadly and do less cutting of spending and services.

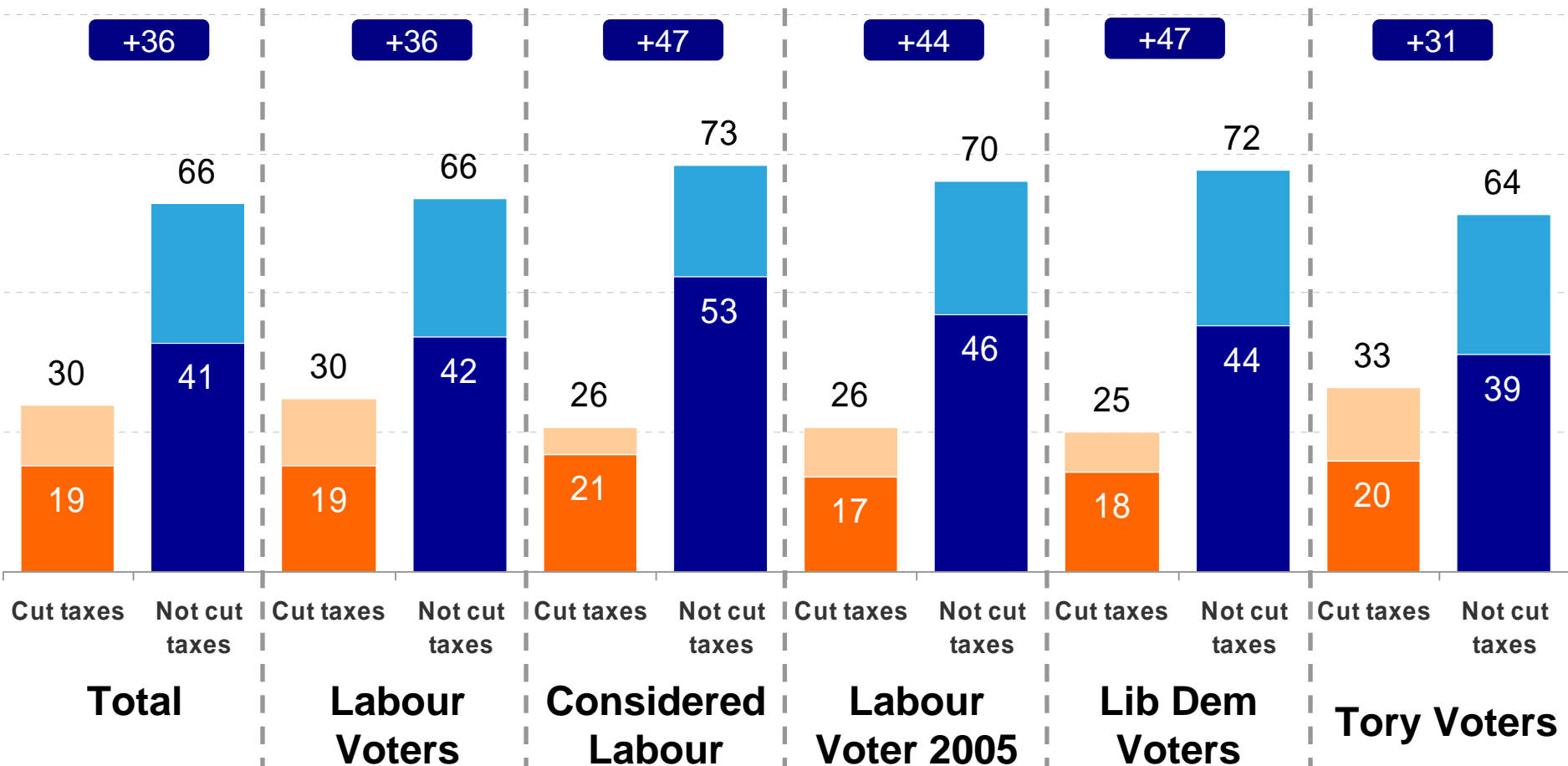


# Not time to cut taxes

**First Statement:** It is time to cut taxes.

**Second Statement:** It is not the time to cut taxes.

■ First statement strongly    ■ Second statement strongly



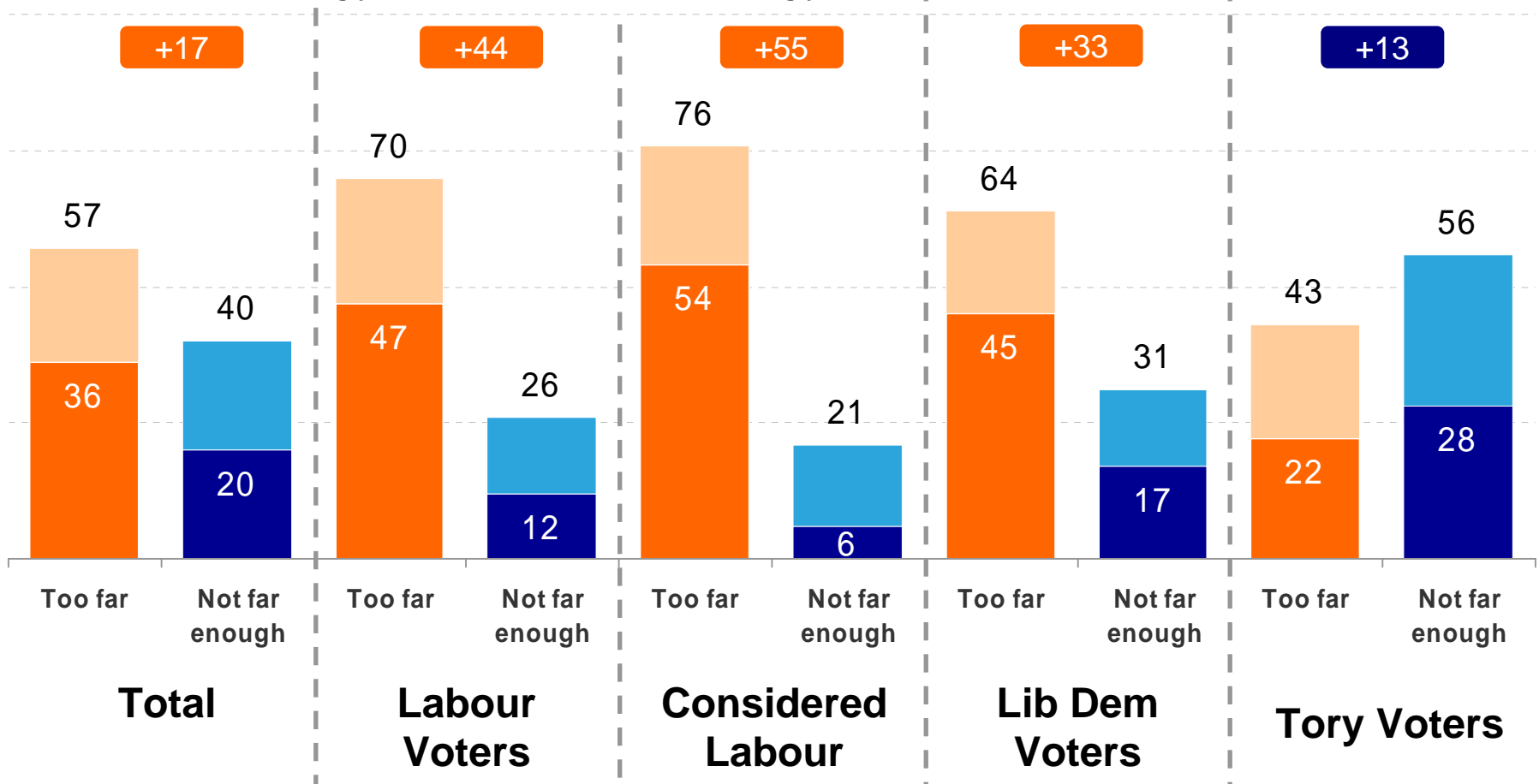
# Country concerned will go too far cutting spending to cut debt

**First Statement:** I'm more worried that we will go too far in cutting social spending and public services.

**Second Statement:** I'm more worried that we won't go far enough to cut spending and reduce the debt.

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly



# The progressive future: government & markets

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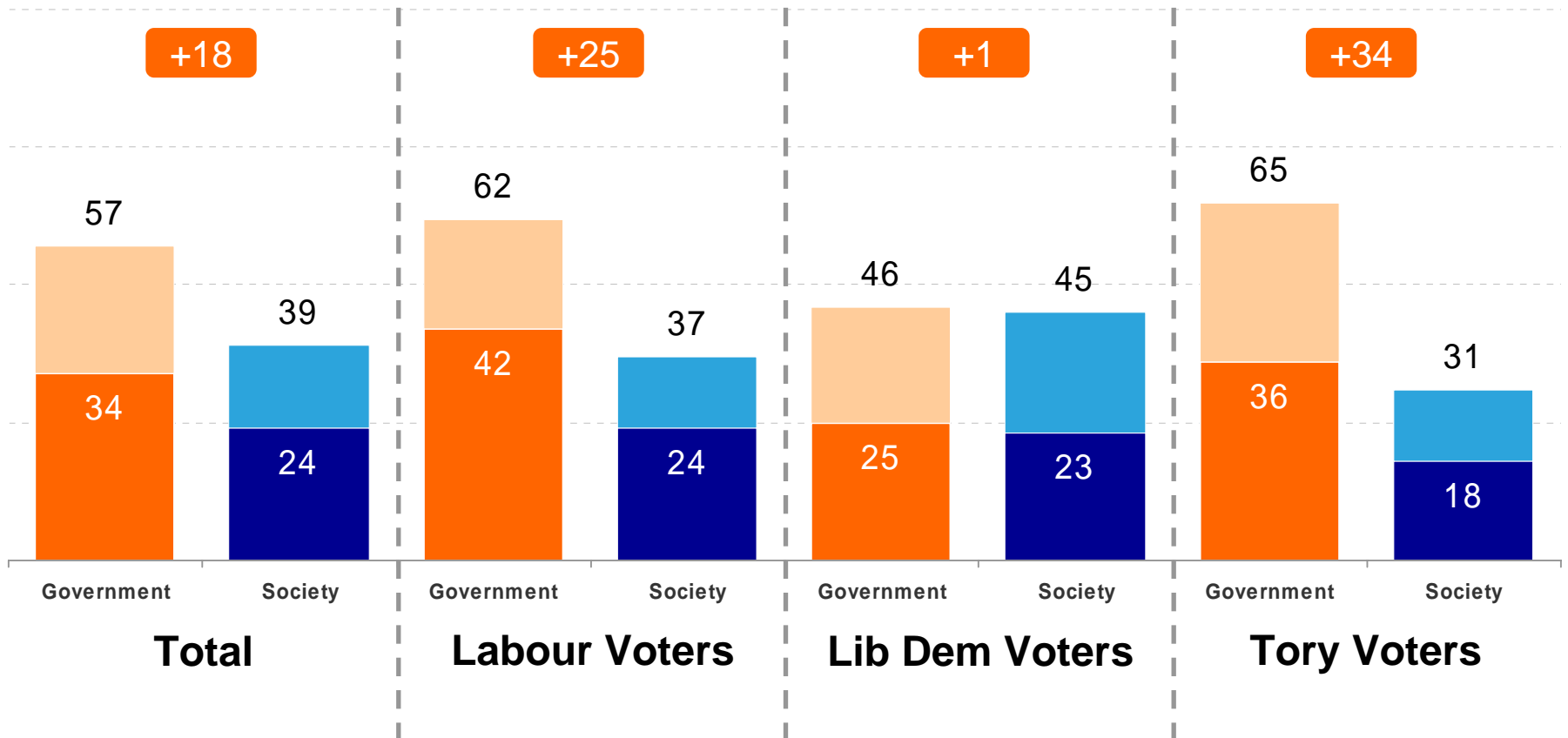
# Government over big society

**First Statement:** If government gets the right policies, Britain can do well.

**Second Statement:** If society is strong, Britain can do well.

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly



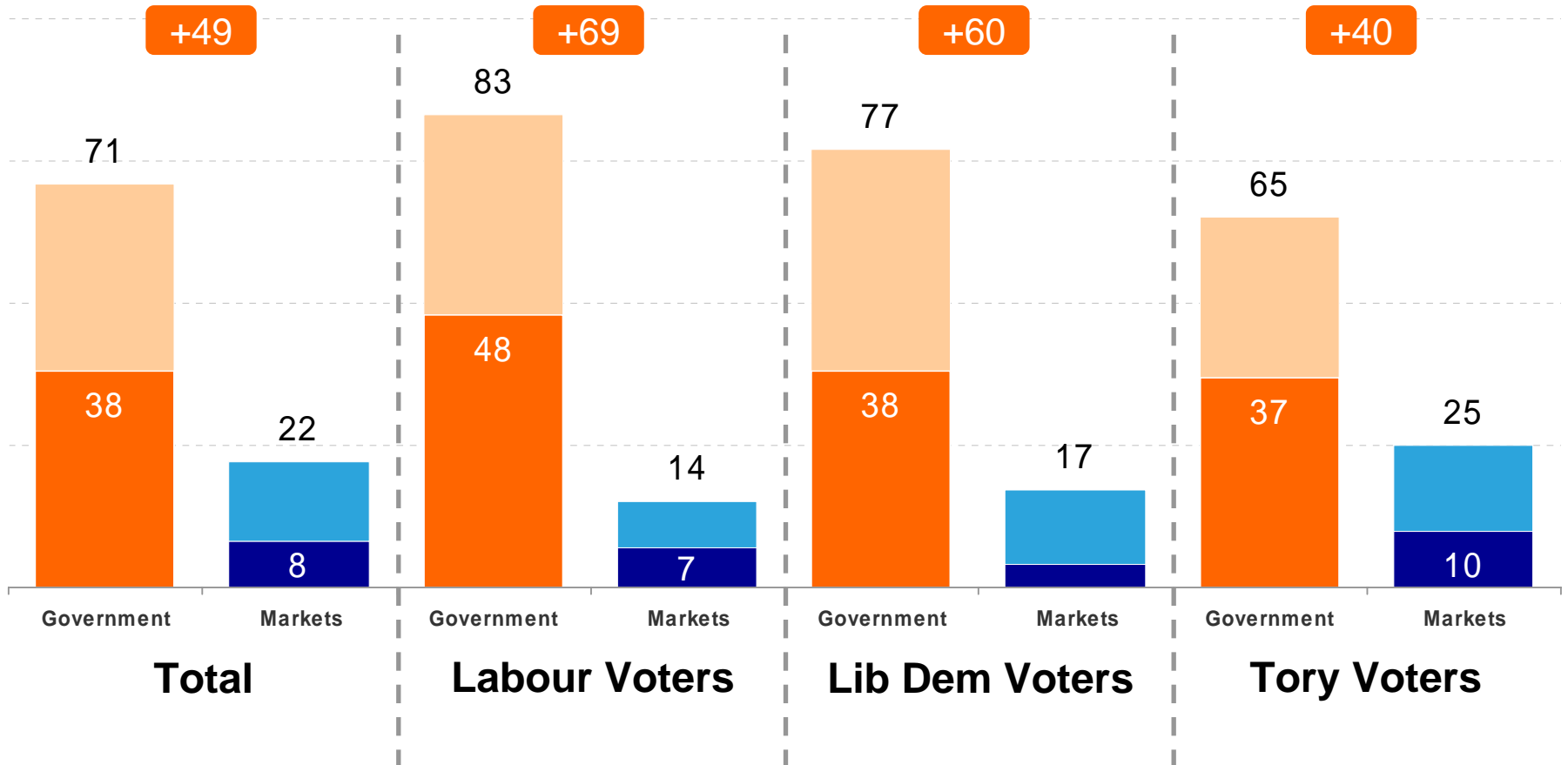
# More government over more markets

**First Statement:** This is a time for government to get more involved.

**Second Statement:** This is a time to depend more on markets.

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly



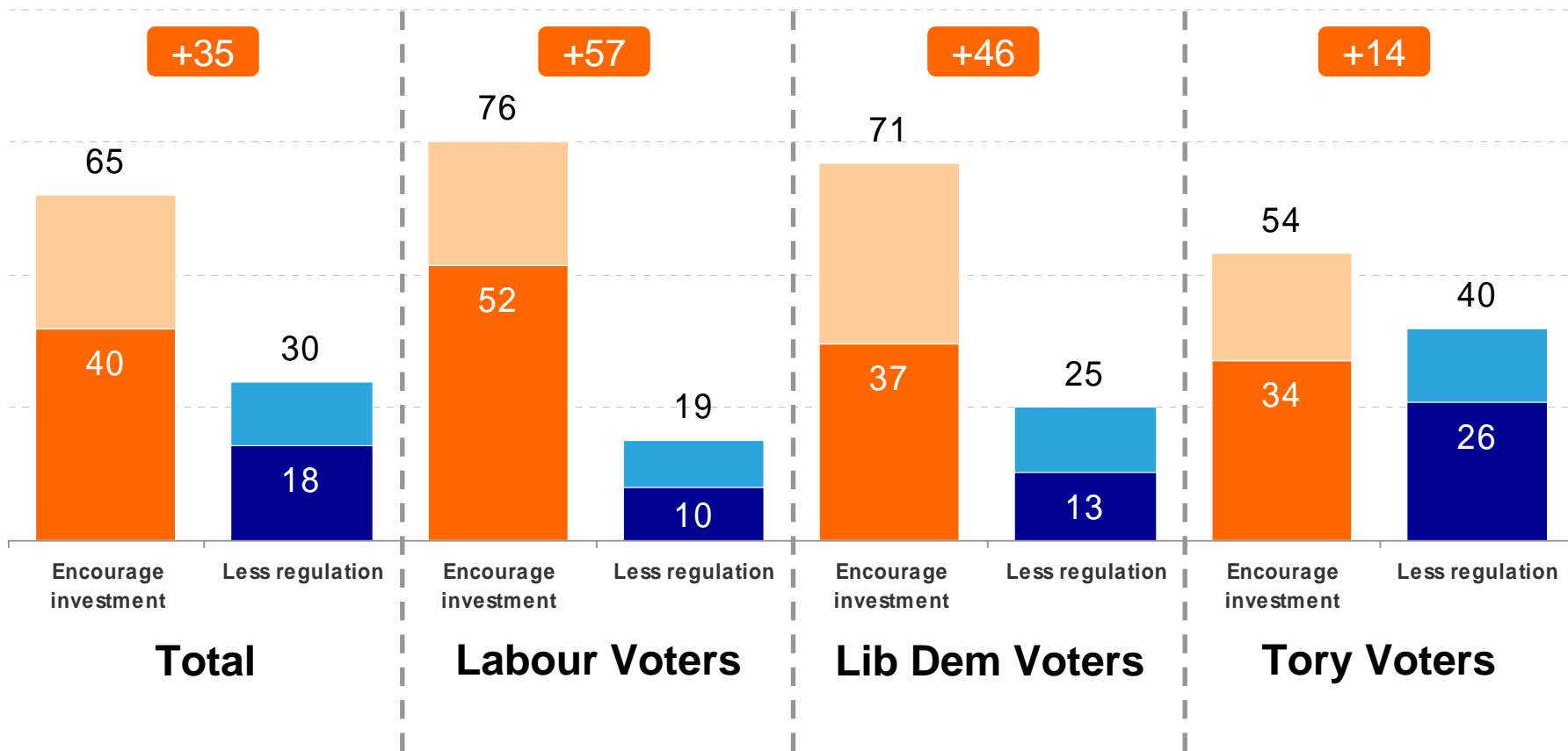
# Government investing preferred to less regulation/more enterprise

**First Statement:** To get future economic growth, the British government will need to encourage investment in new industries and sectors.

**Second Statement:** To get future economic growth, Britain will have to create an environment with less regulation and more freedom of enterprise.

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly



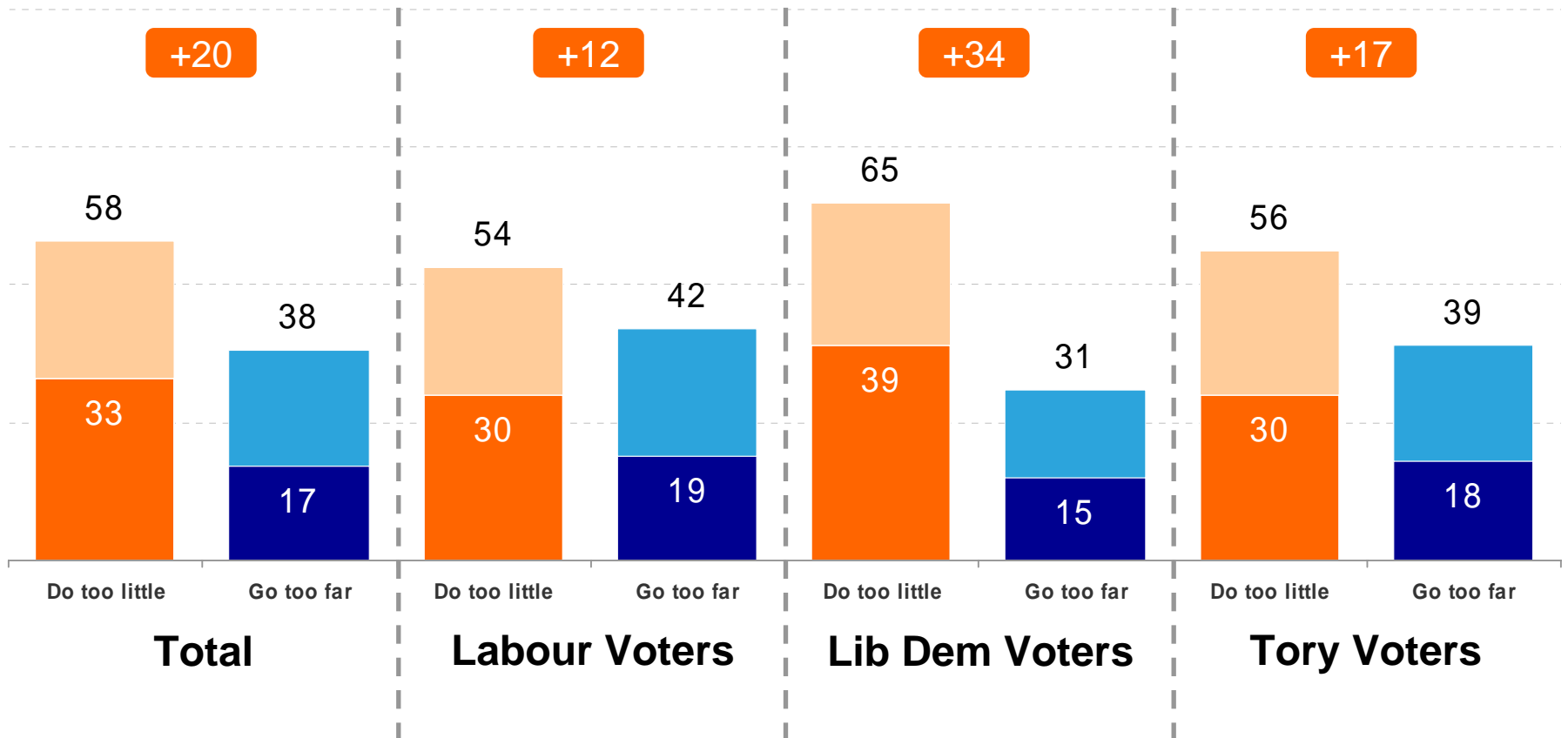
# Want greater regulation of financial community

**First Statement:** I'm more worried that we will do too little to regulate the financial community and allow for another era of speculative booms and busts.

**Second Statement:** I'm more worried that we will go too far in regulating the financial community, which will harm the British economy.

■ First statement strongly

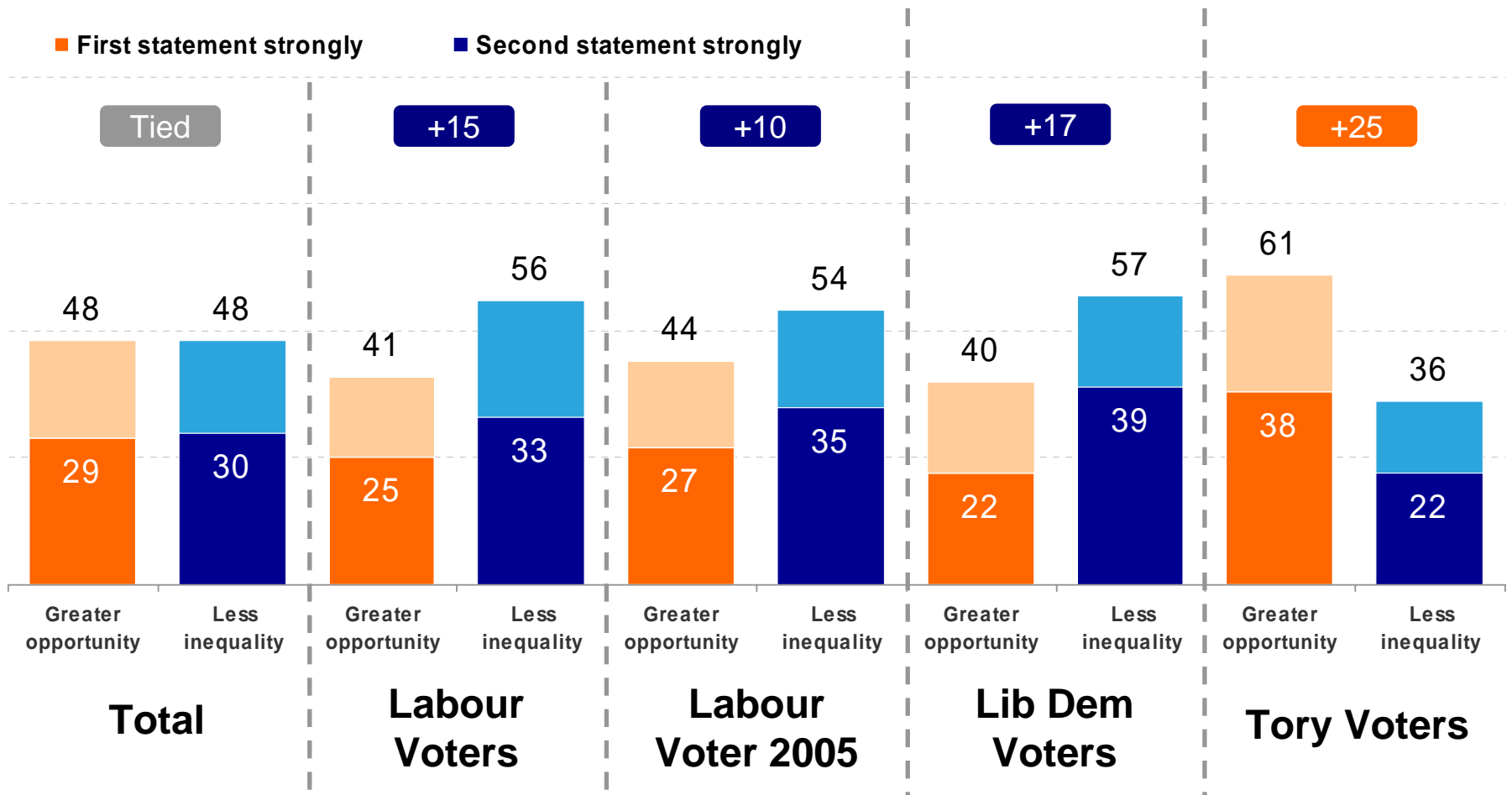
■ Second statement strongly



# Fairness and inequality central to progressives, especially Lib Dems

**First Statement:** We need policies to create greater opportunity.

**Second Statement:** We need policies to bring less inequality and more fairness.



# The progressive future: world

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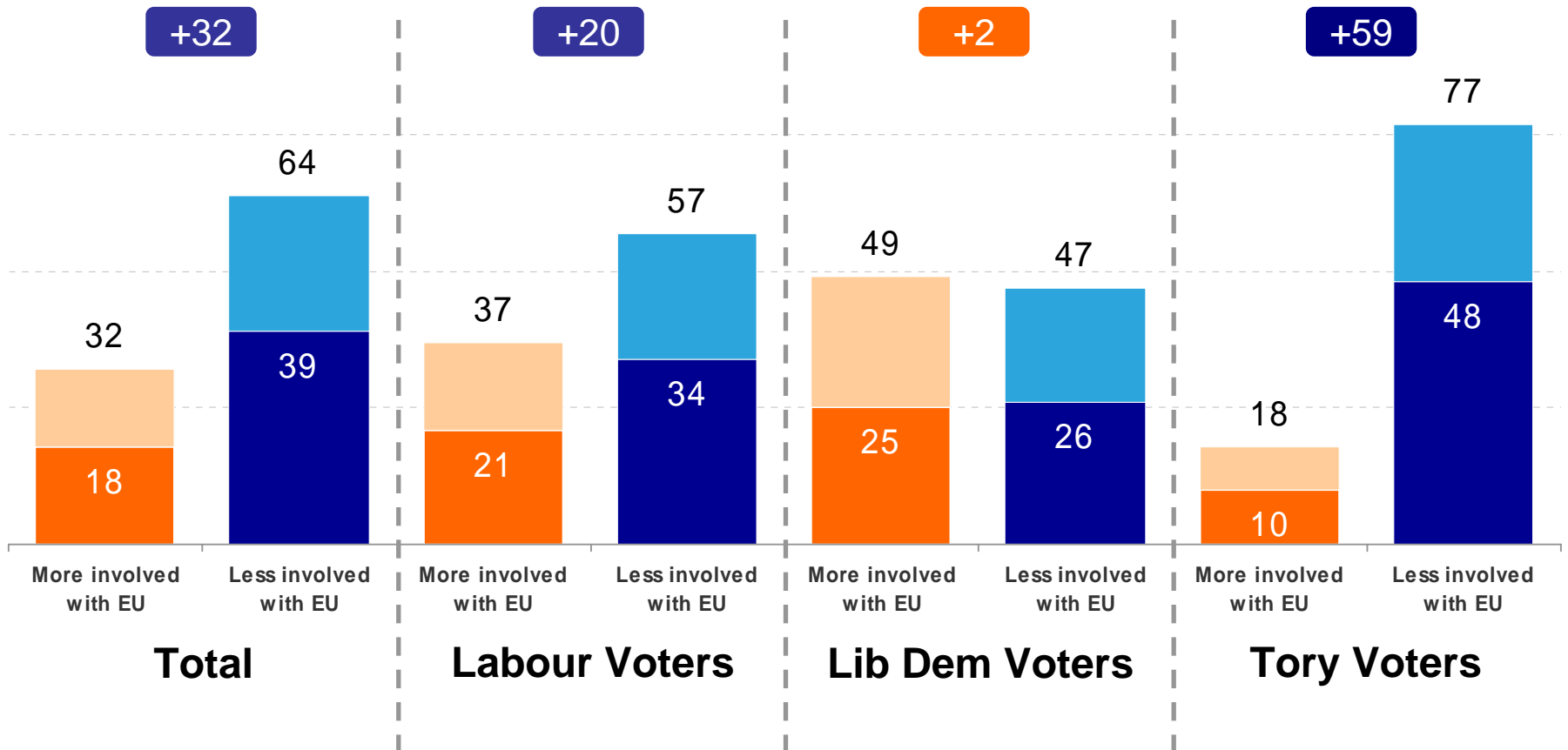
# Voters want less to do with the EU

**First Statement:** Britain needs to be more involved in the EU.

**Second Statement:** Britain needs to be less involved in the EU.

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly



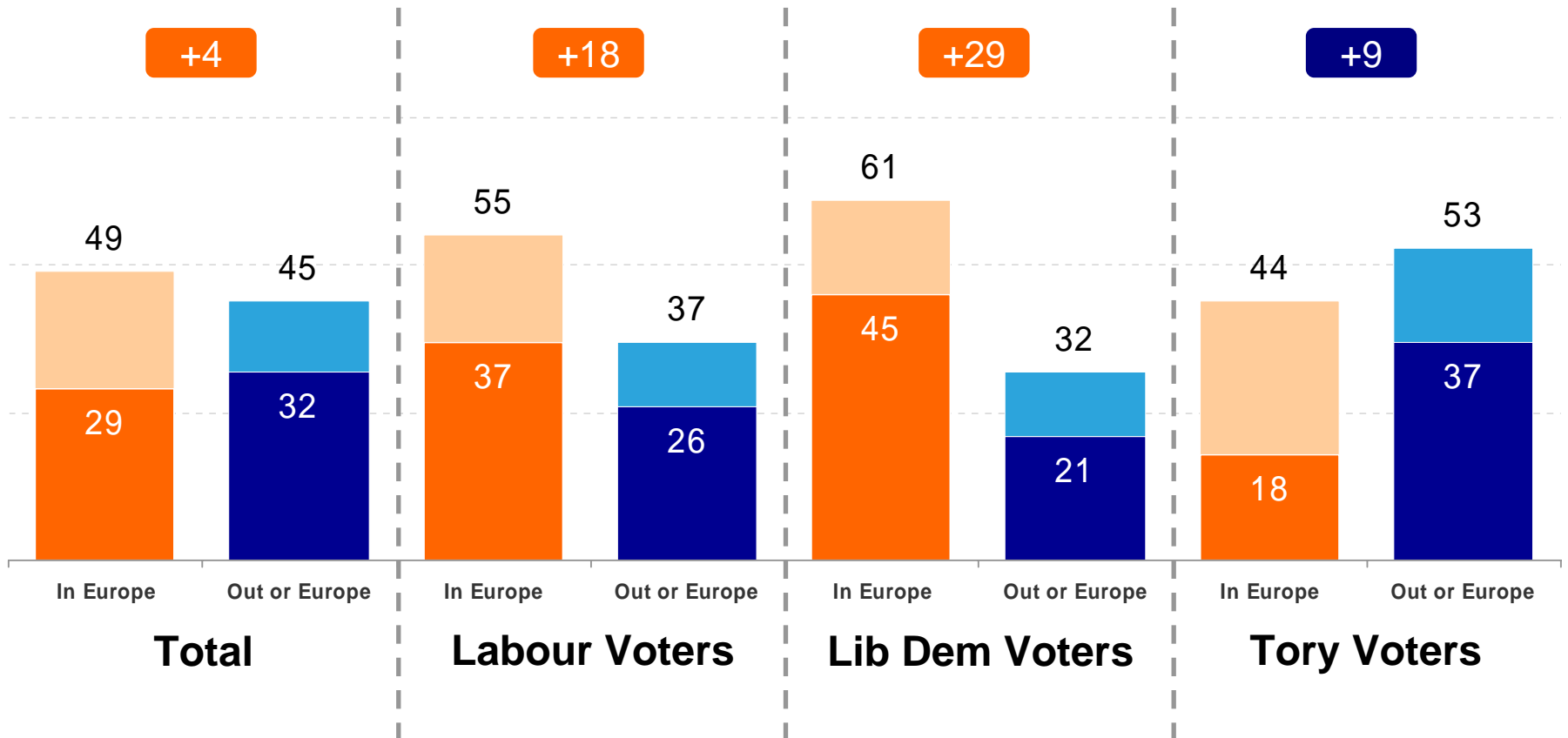
# Though more division about Britain's place in Europe generally

**First Statement:** Britain needs to be in Europe.

**Second Statement:** Britain needs to be out of Europe

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly



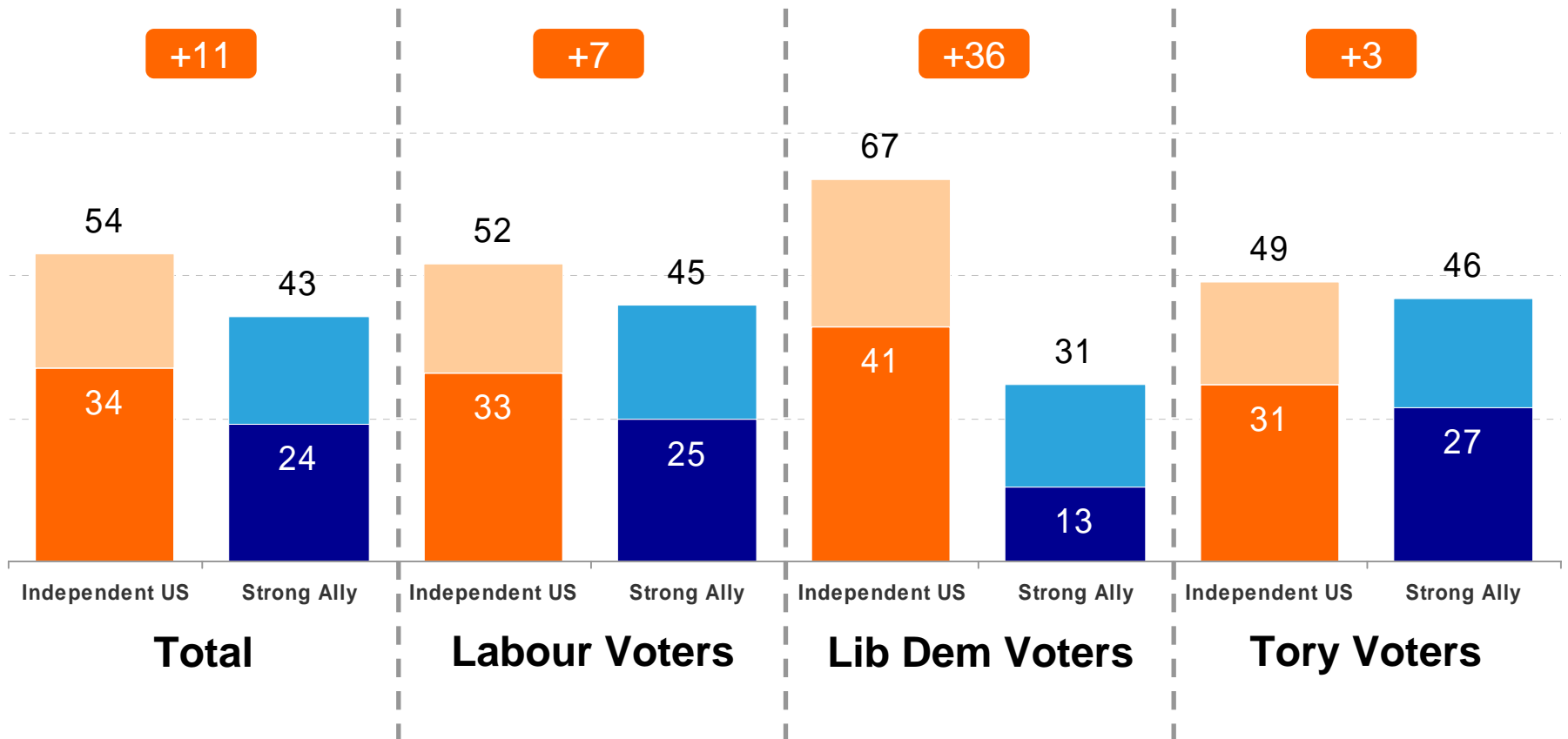
# More independence from the United States, including Labour

**First Statement:** Britain should be more independent of the United States.

**Second Statement:** Britain should be a strong ally of the United States.

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly



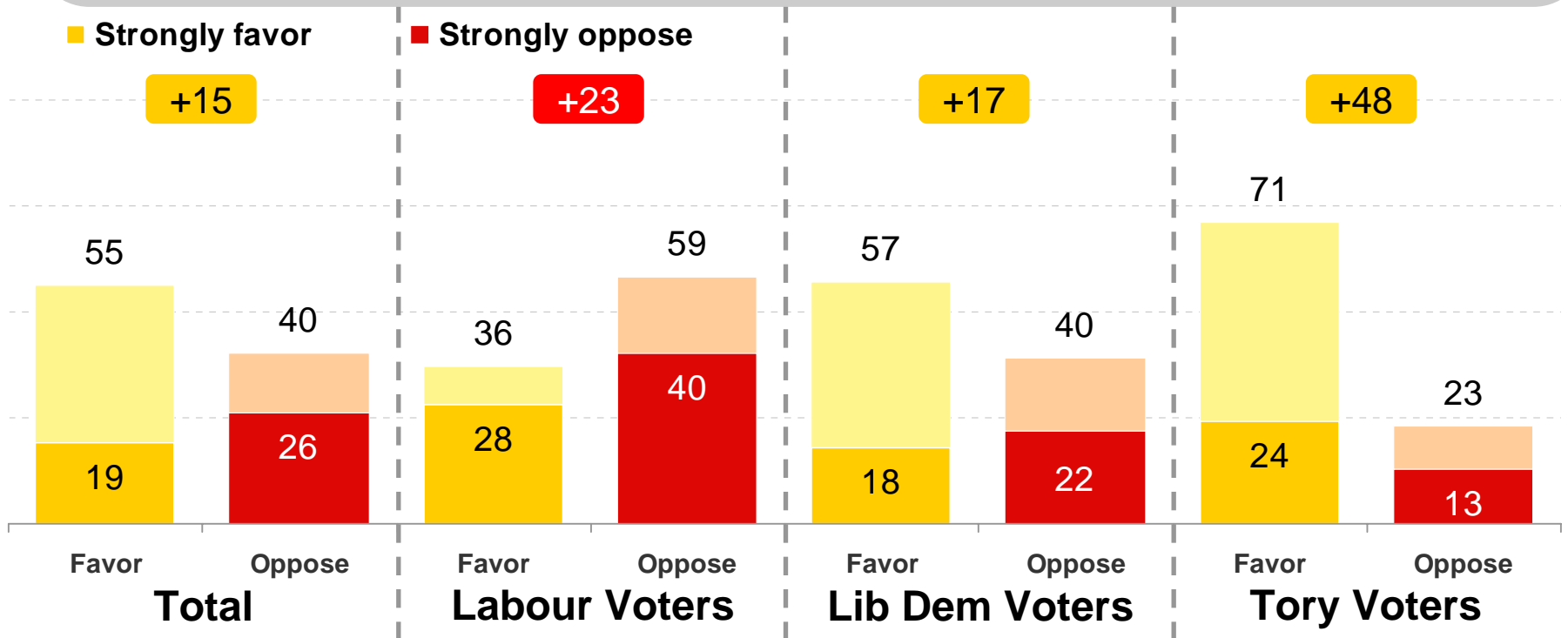
# Bold new offers

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# Bold deficit reduction with tax increases and spending cuts

Let me describe an initiative that a new Conservative Party government would offer in the Queen's speech if it got that opportunity. Please tell me whether you support or oppose this initiative.

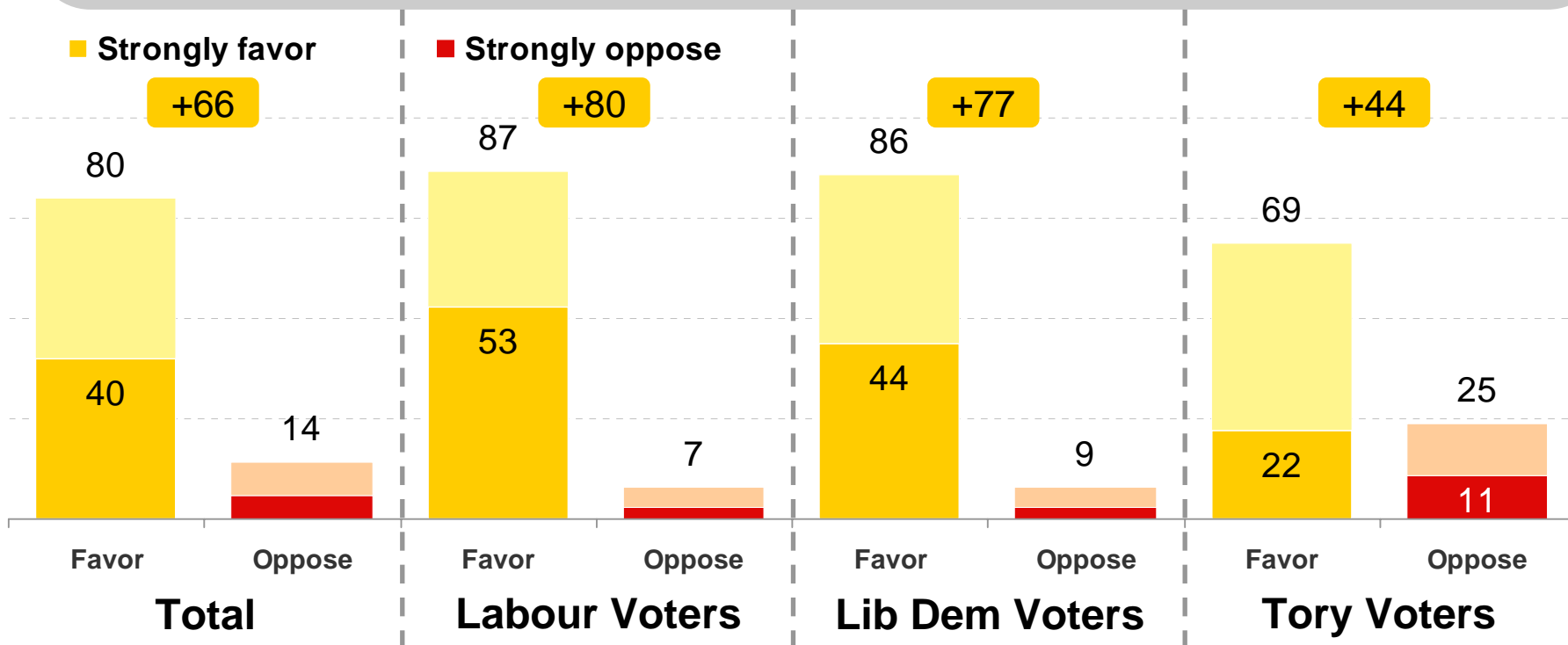
It is time for the government to be absolutely honest and bold about what we must do as a country to address the debt, avoid becoming another Greece and making it possible to make future investments for growth. We can no longer pretend tinkering will do or that the challenge is not grave. In a year's time, the VAT will be raised from 17.5 to 20 percent, except on children's items. Tolls will be added on some motorways. And public sector spending will be cut by 10 percent in all departments. We recognise that this will be painful for many people, but it is the right course for our nation's future and children and we call on all parties to support it.



# Country behind progressive agenda on inequality and fairness

Let me describe an initiative that a Labour-Liberal Democratic coalition would offer in the Queen's speech if they got that opportunity. Please tell me whether you support or oppose this initiative.

It is time to be honest about the biggest challenge facing Britain - the growing inequality in British society. Both during periods of economic growth and periods of deep recession, hardworking families have lost income, poverty entrenched, and young people struggling for jobs - even as the wealthiest get wealthier and CEOs take outlandish bonuses. Britain will be more successful if it is a fairer Britain. Today's initiative makes permanent the 50p rate and the 50 percent tax on CEO bonuses, while abolishing taxes up to 30,000 pounds in income. Most important are investments and support for new growth industries and skills that can provide British job growth in the future.



# GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

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