



Londoners on Brexit

Discontent and the need for a deal



November 2017 · Fiona Twycross AM

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Executive summary

This report provides a snapshot of Londoners' views on the EU referendum and their experiences since. The results were collected in an online survey and 4,056 submissions were made. This included 3,391 respondents who had voted to remain, 298 to leave and 325 were unable to vote in the referendum. The results have been weighted to represent Londoners' age and EU referendum vote to take into account the remain/leave balance.¹

The survey showed that Londoners feel uncertain of their future and unsure of what the Government is negotiating on their behalf. Over half of Londoners would like to see a second referendum on the European Union (EU) and that the majority for Remain in London would be higher if the vote was held tomorrow, increasing further if those who were unable to vote, could vote this time around.

The key findings from the survey are:

- 70 per cent of Londoners would vote remain if the referendum was held tomorrow;
- 60 per cent of Londoners would like a second referendum;
- 79 per cent of Londoners are not happy with how the negotiations are proceeding;
- 65 per cent of Londoners would prefer to see a 'soft Brexit', including 29 per cent of those who voted to leave.

Our survey asked what Londoners' priorities are now that the negotiations have begun. They told us:

- access to the single market (62 per cent);
- the right to remain for EU residents (54 per cent);
- freedom of movement (46 per cent).

The top three priorities besides Brexit for Londoners are:

- NHS (63 per cent);
- Education (37 per cent);
- Housing (36 per cent).

Since the referendum, Londoners have felt its impact on their everyday lives:

- 77 per cent felt that prices have increased;
- 71 per cent felt that social integration has been affected;
- 70 per cent felt that the performance of the economy has decreased;
- 63 per cent felt that the NHS has got worse;
- 60 per cent felt that access to holidays in Europe has got worse;
- 57 per cent felt that wage growth has got worse;
- 50 per cent felt that access to skills has got worse;
- 43 per cent felt that education has got worse;
- 42 per cent felt that counter-terrorism has got worse.

Recommendations

The following recommendations reflect the findings of the survey and the comments of Londoners.

Recommendation one

The public were asked whether they would like to leave the EU in June 2016 but it is a more complex decision than the referendum assumed. The survey suggests an appetite for the public to have further input in to the decision. While it seems unlikely the government will consider a second referendum, they may need to. The option of a vote on the outcome of the negotiations could be explored by the Government to continue to give the public a say in their future. Alternatively, the government could establish a formal consultation with stakeholders and the public to ensure they can demonstrate they are listening.

Recommendation two

The Government must start listening to the concerns of London's residents and businesses, and provide more information about the future post-Brexit so that they can prepare. The Government should provide regular and simple updates of the outcomes of discussions with the EU and on what they are planning to achieve from negotiations.

Recommendation three

The Government's should provide all EU nationals residing in the UK with firm guarantees of their right to remain after Brexit. This will provide certainty for Londoners and businesses, and will prevent EU residents being discriminated against, for example when they apply for banking services and jobs. The Mayor of London must keep up the job of lobbying government for this.

Introduction

In July, I launched an online survey asking Londoners for their views on Brexit – what concerns they have, whether they have changed their mind about how they voted a year ago and how well informed they feel about the ongoing negotiations between the Government and the European Union (EU). I received over 4,000 responses from people across the capital and the results have been weighted to represent Londoners age and EU referendum vote. This report summarises my findings. A year on from the referendum, the survey results provide a compelling snapshot of the opinions of voters in London and reveal their priorities for the Brexit negotiations and beyond.

LONDON COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY

EU Referendum Results by London Borough

Total result
40.1% | 59.9%
 LEAVE REMAIN

London-wide turnout
69.8%

Boroughs	Votes	%
Remain	2,225,877	59.9
Leave	1,490,111	40.1
Totals	3,715,988	



Diagram 1: Map by the London Communications

Appetite for a second EU referendum?

Londoners on their vote in the EU referendum June 2016:

“My decision was very finely balanced. I regret having voted to leave. None of us really knew what it meant and for me it was more investment in the NHS that swung me to vote leave.” - Leave voter

“All my friends who voted leave would vote remain now.” - Remain voter

“I voted to leave because I was concerned over levels of immigration and the pressure of Europeans on the education and NHS. I now think I was wrong to do this!” - Leave voter

“I wish I could have voted. As an EU national living in the UK my life has and will be impacted by something I didn't even have a say in.” - Not eligible to vote

“I believed there would be £350m extra per week for the NHS & that we would stay part of the customs union. Both fundamental to my original decision.” - Leave voter

Almost six out of ten Londoners voted to remain in the EU last year, with some parts of the city seeing the highest support for remaining within the UK. Nevertheless, five London boroughs voted to leave. Responses to the survey indicate that there is some evidence that some voters have now changed their minds on which way they would vote if the referendum was held tomorrow.

A poll carried out by BMG Research for The Independent in September 2017 found that 52 per cent of people in the UK would now prefer to stay in the EU.² In London, the responses to the survey highlighted that 70 per cent would vote remain if the referendum was held tomorrow but this does include people that were unable to vote in the original referendum such as EU nationals living in London. Almost one in five Londoners

who responded to the survey and who voted leave said that they would now vote remain whereas less than two percent of Remain voters responding had changed their mind.

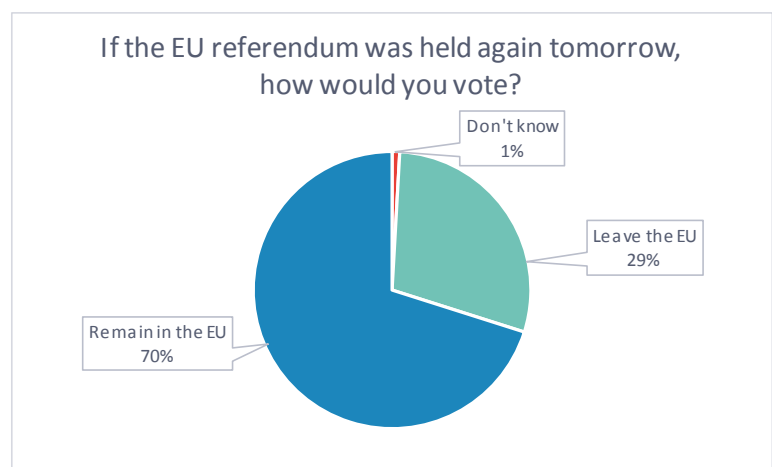


Diagram 2: Survey by Fiona Twycross AM

Londoners on whether there should be a second referendum:

"I would prefer not to have to go through another referendum, but given what people now know about our real negotiating position I think they should be given a chance to reassess and make their preference known again." - Remain voter

"Once Brexit negotiations have come to a conclusion/halt, the public should once more be given the choice of accepting the result or not." - Leave voter

"It was a very divisive experience, that I'm not sure should be repeated." - Remain voter

"Definitely, as many who voted Leave were very little informed about impact of Brexit." - Not eligible to vote

"We need to know precisely what we are voting for and the implications rather than based on misinformation and lies." - Leave voter

"I do not think we should argue for another referendum. It would be seen as an attempt to reverse the decision. There is potential for the electorate to vote on the final Brexit package although it's incredibly unlikely the gov[ernment] will give us this option." - Remain voter

"I am yet to be convinced of the value of a second referendum. I believe it will further frustrate and alienate the proportion of the electorate that voted leave, and drive great divisions. Instead, I believe the best approach is continual campaigning and lobbying towards more effective negotiations." - Did not vote

Nearly two-thirds of Londoners (60 per cent) would like to see a second referendum on Brexit. This increased to 82 per cent for those who previously voted remain and one in five (20 per cent) for those who voted leave.

Some Londoners who will be impacted by leaving the EU, such as EU nationals and 16 to 18 year olds were unable to vote. Of the respondents who were unable to vote in June 2016, 96 per cent would have voted to remain. A contributing factor for those who said they wanted a second referendum

is that they felt they were misled by the referendum campaigns, or feel that they did not understand the complexities or impacts of leaving the EU.

The claim that leaving the EU would give the UK an additional £350 million each week to spend on the NHS was cited a number of times as a reason why some respondents would change their vote. Furthermore, comments included concerns that the referendum question did not specify the type of Brexit that voters wanted.

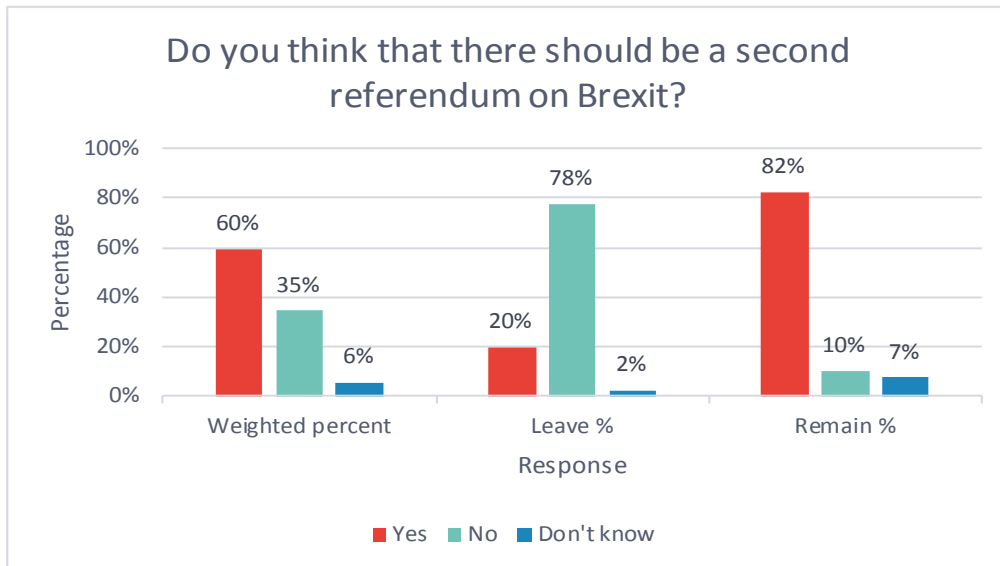


Diagram 3: Survey by Fiona Twycross AM

The survey indicates that Londoners are still unclear about what leaving the EU will entail and comments show that Londoners feel that the referendum last June caused divisions in society. It is possible that an additional referendum would encounter many of the issues that plagued the original. The Government must be clearer with the public on the impact of leaving the EU and listen to concerns.

Beyond holding a general election in June 2017, the Government has not given the public the opportunity to express their opinions on the negotiations. There is no mechanism for the public to feed in their priorities for the negotiations although the Mayor of London meets with the Secretary of State for Exiting the EU, David Davis,

on a monthly basis to represent the interests of Londoners.

Many of the respondents commenting on why they would like a second referendum, said that they would like a vote on the final deal, giving the public a chance to decide on the terms of leaving the EU. There is a clear difference between a second referendum on the same question and a referendum (or vote) on a final deal but based on the responses to the survey, the government should undertake public consultation in the same way they would if it were legislation. A formal consultative process would help to build trust between the government and the public on the negotiations and give the public a say in their future.

Recommendation one

The public were asked whether they would like to leave the EU in June 2016 but it is a more complex decision than the referendum assumed. The survey suggests an appetite for the public to have further input in to the decision. While it seems unlikely the government will consider a second referendum, they may need to. The option of a vote on the outcome of the negotiations could be explored by the Government to continue to give the public a say in their future. Alternatively, the government could establish a formal consultation with stakeholders and the public to ensure they can demonstrate they are listening.

Uncertainty and confusion reigns

Londoners on the Brexit negotiations:

"I know what her rhetoric and "red lines" are - but have no idea the extent to which she will accept genuine negotiation and compromise." - Remain voter

"I have to get other EU countries media coverage e.g. Republic of Ireland." - Remain voter

"The people of this country should know what the terms put forward to the EU will be before they are negotiated." - Leave voter

"I accept negotiations require some confidentiality and this limits what information is available. I think our European partners have been more clear about what is at stake than the UK government." - Remain voter

"Feels like a total mess and as a business owner I have no idea what will happen in March 2019. Are the government preparing for a no deal scenario? They need to be telling businesses what is going on NOW so we can prepare." - Remain voter

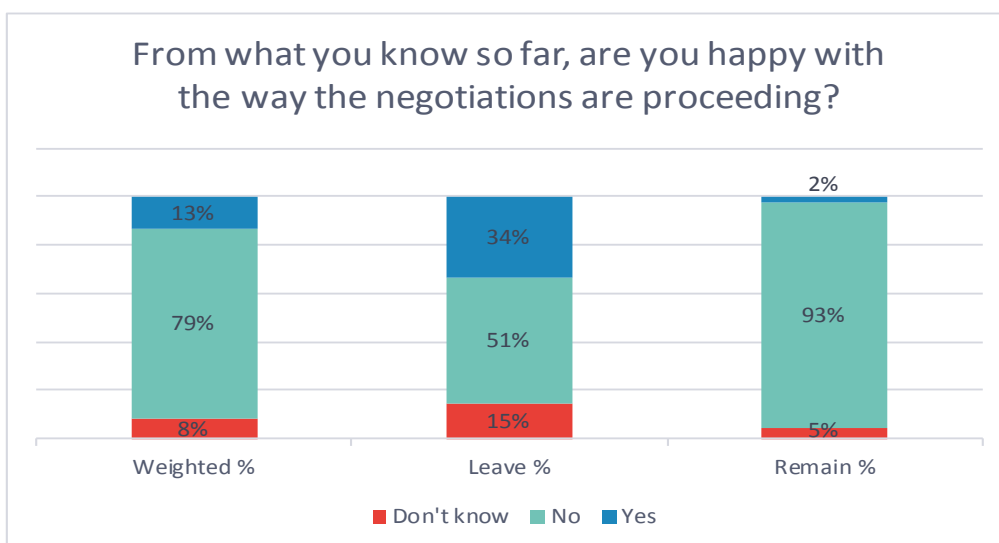


Diagram 4: Survey by Fiona Twycross AM

The survey highlighted the extent to which Londoners feel uncertain and confused about the Brexit process and negotiations 16 months after the referendum. A total of 76 per cent of Londoners do not feel well informed about how the Brexit negotiations are proceeding. When asked for the reasons why they do not feel well informed about the negotiations, two thirds of respondents said this is because there is not enough information available.

Although the survey only invited responses from Londoners, it is likely that people throughout the rest of the UK will feel equally in the dark. While it can be argued that there is some merit in negotiators keeping their cards close to their chest, the survey highlights that the lack of information surrounding the Brexit process is fuelling uncertainty and insecurity. The Government has a responsibility to reassure people living in the UK and UK citizens residing in the EU. It is vital that ministers provide clear and simple information on

what they envisage a post-Brexit UK to look like and how they plan to ensure the future prosperity of the country after the country leaves the EU.

Based on the information that Londoners do have about the negotiations, 79 per cent of Londoners are not happy with how the negotiations are proceeding. This increased to 93 per cent for those who voted to remain. Among Leave voters in London, 51 per cent are dissatisfied with the focus of the negotiations. When asked whether they agreed with the Prime Minister’s view that “no deal is better than a bad deal,” 65 per cent of Londoners believe that leaving the EU without securing a trade deal is a bad idea, 27 per cent agreed with the Prime Minister that “no deal is better than a bad deal” and 9 per cent were unsure. When this information is broken down, 88 per cent of remain voters and 22 per cent of leave voters disagreed with the Prime Minister’s rhetoric that no deal is better than a bad deal.

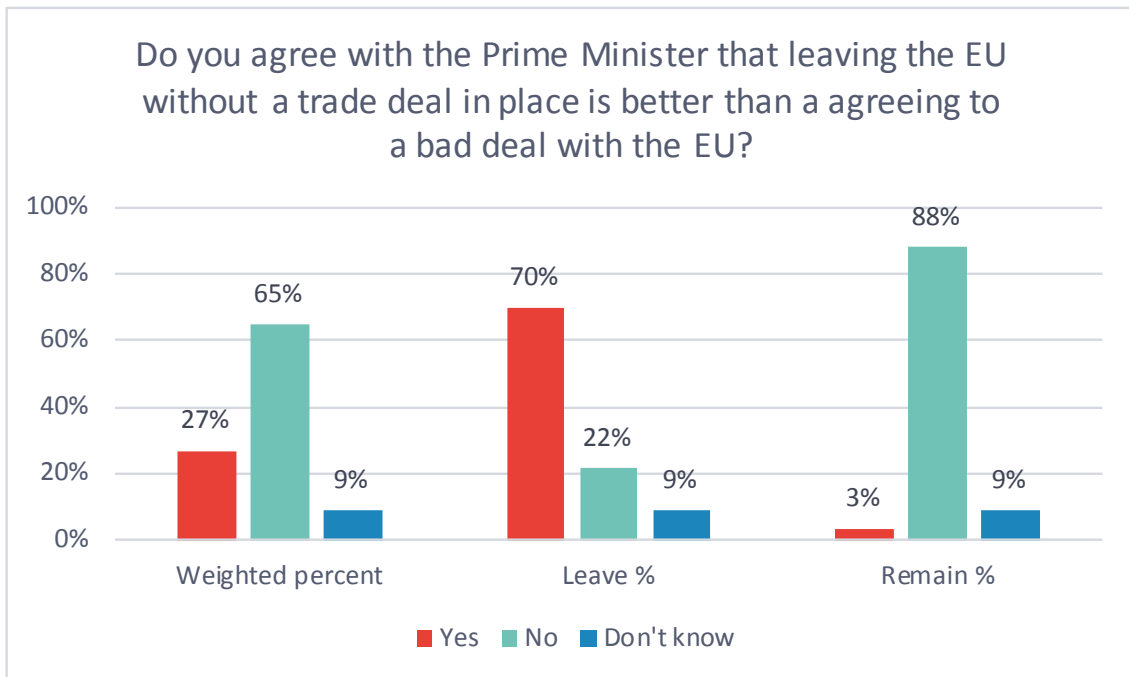


Diagram 5: Survey by Fiona Twycross AM

What Londoners want from Brexit

Londoners on the type of Brexit they would like to see:

“Even most people who voted to leave didn't vote for hard Brexit – they couldn't have, any more than they could vote for soft Brexit, because they were given nothing but a meaningless yes/no choice.” - Remain voter

“No Brexit” - 1,687 respondents

“I don't want Brexit at all anymore - it is clearly too complex and will damage the economy and jobs.” - Leave voter

Londoners' priorities for the negotiations

The survey asked Londoners what their priorities are now that the negotiations have begun. They are:

- access to the single market (62 per cent);
- the right to remain for EU residents (54 per cent);
- freedom of movement (46 per cent).

Over half of Londoners (65 per cent) would prefer to see a 'soft Brexit', including almost a third (29 per cent) that voted to leave. Those who preferred to pursue a 'hard Brexit' were primarily those who had voted leave (61 per cent) compared to 2 per cent who had voted to remain. Within the comments, 1,687 people stated that they would prefer not to go through with Brexit at all.

The survey highlighted that 46 per cent of Londoners see freedom of movement as one of the top three priorities for them in the negotiations. However, the Government has insisted freedom of movement should end in March 2019 or at least at the end of any transitional period.³

These findings reflect the views of businesses in London. During a London Assembly Economy Committee meeting both the London Chamber of

Commerce and Industry (LCCI), and the Federation of Small Businesses (FSB) said that businesses are concerned at losing access to the single market and the increased costs and the bureaucracy that it could bring.⁴ Furthermore, businesses are concerned that with the end of freedom of movement, they will not be able to access the skills they need, particularly in areas such as the NHS, hospitality and construction where one in four workers is from the EU.⁵

The role of the Mayor of London has been central to the Brexit debate in the capital both prior to and following the referendum. The Mayor, Sadiq Khan, has been a strong advocate for the views of London's residents and businesses and has established a Brexit Expert Advisory Panel to provide insight and expertise to protect London's economy. The Mayor's award-winning London is Open campaign aims to continue attracting inward investment from businesses and tourism from every corner of the globe, and not least to reaffirm to EU nationals that they are welcome in our city. The Mayor recognises the importance of remaining in the single market and has recently called for the Government to give EU nationals the right to remain in the UK.⁶

Recommendation two

The Government must start listening to the concerns of London’s residents and businesses, and provide more information about the future post-Brexit so that they can prepare. The Government should provide regular and simple updates of the outcomes of discussions with the EU and on what they are planning to achieve from negotiations.

Impact on everyday life since the referendum

Brexit touches most aspects of everyday life. The survey sought views on a wide range of topics from prices to the NHS, holidays abroad to counter-terrorism. This helps us to gauge whether people living in our city perceive aspects of our society to have improved or worsened since the referendum result was announced.

Since the referendum, Londoners have felt an impact on their everyday life. The table below

shows the weighted and unweighted data on how Londoners have seen an impact by area.

The top three priorities besides Brexit for Londoners are:

- NHS (63 per cent);
- Education (37 per cent);
- Housing (36 per cent).

Issue since the EU referendum	Percentage of Londoners (weighted)	Percentage of respondents (unweighted)
Increase in prices	77	90
Deterioration in social integration	71	89
Performance of the economy has deteriorated	70	87
NHS has got worse	63	80
Access to holidays in Europe has got harder	60	74
Wage growth has slowed	57	71
Access to skills has got more difficult	50	62
Education has deteriorated	43	55
Counter-terrorism has got worse	42	47

One measure of the impact of the EU referendum on everyday life is the exchange rate. The weakened sterling has had an impact on the price of food, holidays and increased costs for some businesses.

At a London Assembly Economy Committee meeting, the FSB said:

“At the moment the currency situation is the biggest headache they have got. The dollar rate is absolutely causing mayhem to them. We have members on long-term contracts that are now selling at less than they are paying for the goods if they add it all up. That is not sustainable.”

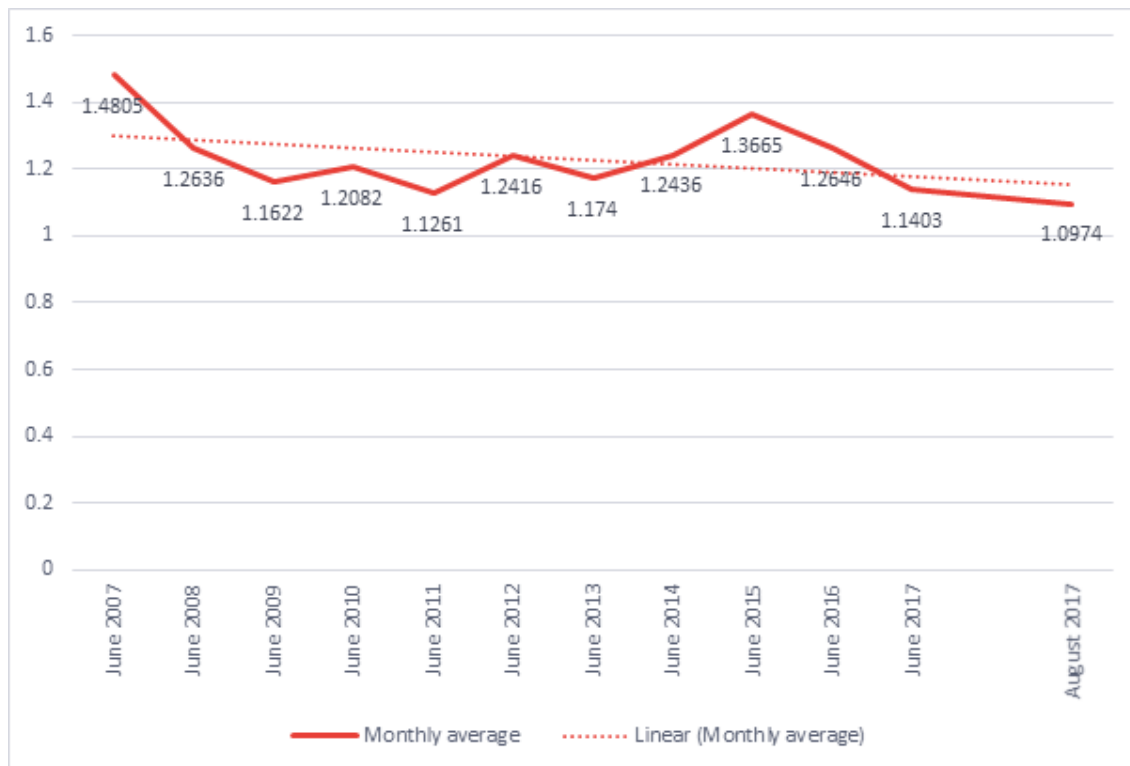


Diagram 6: ONS - Sterling against the Euro over ten years

The graph above shows the monthly average of the sterling/euro exchange rate over the past ten years. At the end of August 2017, sterling was weaker against the euro than it had been during the financial crash in 2008.

Performance of London's economy

The performance of our city's economy is a concern for Londoners and 70% feel that it is performing less well since the referendum. Jobs, prices and public services depend on a thriving economy. With almost a third of the UK's taxes being generated in London⁸ and 30 per cent of total exports,⁹ the whole nation relies on London's economy. Centre for London found that the capital has the highest percentage of exports for services within the UK

(46 per cent), and comes in second for goods (25 per cent). Approximately 40 per cent of London's exports go to EU markets, representing 7 per cent of London's GDP.¹⁰ The uncertainty facing the UK's economy meant that Moody's ratings agency recently downgraded Britain's credit rating to Aa2 and cited Britain's exit from the EU as the reason.¹¹

Uncertainty is bad for London's businesses. The business community in London has been clear that it wants to maintain the closest possible access to existing arrangements, as well as wanting a transition period to avoid a 'cliff edge' in March 2019.¹² A third of Londoners (30 per cent) would like to see the Government do more to stimulate London's economy.

Londoners on the impact of the EU referendum on London's economy:

"Already there has been some negative impact and we have not even left the EU yet." - Remain voter

"My livelihood depends on financial services retaining access to the single market. If this is no longer to be the case, I and many others are likely to look to relocate." - Remain voter

The Brexit squeeze

Londoners on the cost of living over the past year:

“European holidays are a luxury, albeit one we've got used to. Food is not. Prices have risen very significantly, mainly reflecting the slump in sterling following the referendum.” - Remain voter

In London, the cost of housing, as well as goods and services, is far higher than the rest of the UK. Inflation, which is currently at 2.9 per cent, continues to outpace wage growth (2.1 per cent). Latest figures from the Office for National Statistics (ONS) show that in the three months to July 2017, compared with the same period in 2016 wages have decreased by 0.4 per cent.¹³ With the weak pound, stagnating wages and the Government's cuts to welfare, Londoners have seen costs increase further.

The decline in sterling since the referendum last June has increased the cost of imported goods which is passed on to consumers. Research by the British Chambers of Commerce (BCC) found that 68 per cent of 1,500 businesses questioned expected their costs to increase in 2017, and 54 per cent said that this will be passed on to their customers through increased prices.¹⁴

Londoners have highlighted that they are struggling financially, with 90 per cent of respondents saying they felt that prices had increased, 77 per cent of Londoners when weighting is applied. At the same time, 57 per cent of Londoners have not seen their wages keep up pace. More than one in five Londoners are concerned about austerity (24 per cent) and felt that the cost of living should be one of the Government's top priorities besides Brexit. This, alongside the growing problem with personal debt and the rising use of food banks, indicates that higher prices and stagnating wages are putting Londoners under increased financial strain. Moreover, this will impact on London's businesses as consumers will cut back spending on non-essential items and services.

Housing is a huge concern for Londoners and 36 per cent of Londoners believe that this is a key priority. The housing shortage and high levels of private rents are significantly contributing to London's housing crises and 34 per cent of Londoners feel that access to housing has got harder over the past 16 months. While housing has long been a major concern in London, there are immediate issues presented by Brexit. One in four construction workers in the capital are from the EU and the industry is facing a skills shortage which will impact on house building unless action is taken. Government Ministers have acknowledged the need to have transitional arrangements but it is important that ministers think carefully about the length of time these are in place to ensure they don't limit access to skills in the construction industry. If they continue to pursue significant restrictions on immigration, they could cut off the skills required to deal with London's housing crisis.

Holidays in Europe are already more expensive as a result of the exchange rate since the referendum. With a weak pound, holidaymakers in Europe now get significantly fewer euro for their pound. Package holiday companies such as Thomas Cook have warned that the price of holidays in Spain could increase by a further 5–10 per cent next year.¹⁵ Not surprisingly, 60 per cent of Londoners, and over a quarter of leave respondents, have seen an impact in this area since the EU referendum.

The government can mitigate the effect of Brexit on the cost of living. In addition to increasing the National Living Wage to become an actual living wage, the government should act to increase the incomes of those over whose pay they have direct control.

Public services

Londoners on public services over the past year:

"As someone who works in the NHS I can say how worrying Brexit is for the NHS given that such a huge portion of the workforce is from overseas and that the government is no longer going to fund NHS degrees." - Remain voter

Public services help to keep Londoners safe, look after our health and wellbeing, and provide us with the skills we need to navigate life. Despite this, many services are under immense strain as a result of Government budget cuts and recruitment issues. It is therefore not surprising that the survey found that the NHS was within the three top priorities Londoners would like the Government to focus on other than Brexit.

Over half of Londoners (63 per cent) ranked the NHS as the most important issue facing the Government besides Brexit and the same percentage of Londoners think the NHS is in a worse situation now than it was 16 months ago. There is growing pressure on the NHS as demand for services and costs are increasing. These increases are causing the NHS' deficit to increase.¹⁶ In the meantime, the Department of Health's budget is only increasing by 0.6% between 2017/18 and 2019/20.¹⁷ London's NHS relies on EU citizens¹⁸ but the Government's decision to scrap bursaries for those training to be nurses or midwives has seen the number of applications plummet.¹⁹

Government has recognised that public sector pay restraint is no longer sustainable and has lifted police officer pay. Chief Secretary to the Treasury Elizabeth Truss said, "now is a time to move to a more flexible approach" to public sector pay.²⁰ Ministers now need to act to put additional funding to increase public sector pay to back up their statements. This will in turn aid the economy as household expenditure contributes to economic growth and accounts for about 60% of the expenditure measure of gross domestic product (GDP).²¹

Education is important for Londoners, with 37 per cent believing that it should be a top priority for the Government to focus on and 43 per cent feel that education has got worse since the referendum. London's education sector is facing difficulties with recruitment and retention. There are 24,000 teachers in London who are non-UK EU nationals. The Government must provide reassurance that any future immigration policy does not exacerbate teaching shortages.²²

Social integration

Londoners on social integration and immigration since the EU referendum:

"I have seen increased racial tension, intolerance and division." - Remain voter

"As an employer in the UK, but holding a EU non-UK passport, I am very afraid of the future. Today, for example, I lost the chance to hire a bright engineer because he is leaving the country "due to Brexit". This is not a good place to be when we need access to the best people - and that should be based in knowledge and commitment to work, not nationality." - Not eligible to vote

Comments from the survey highlight that some respondents felt the referendum campaign was divisive and detrimental to community cohesion. Over seven out of ten Londoners feel that social integration and a sense of community has deteriorated since the referendum. The significant spike in hate crime after the referendum was considered a cause for concern.²³

A 'hard Brexit' that significantly restricts immigration from EU and EEA countries would have severe implications for our city. Some sectors, such as construction and hospitality, rely heavily on EU nationals. Our survey showed that 50 per cent of Londoners feel that access to skills has got worse since the EU referendum, a situation which is likely to deteriorate further as EU nationals or businesses that trade with the EU remain unsure about their future and make contingency plans. This is reflected in the LCCI's research from Quarter 3 (July to September) 2017, which found 60 per cent of businesses in London encountered difficulties in recruiting.²⁴

In the negotiations, the Government have suggested that EU nationals who have been continuously living here for 5 years will be able to apply to stay indefinitely by getting 'settled status'.²⁵ They have said that EU citizens who moved to the UK before the specified date but who have not accrued five years' continuous residence at the time of the UK's exit will be able to apply for temporary status in order to remain resident in the UK until they have accumulated five years, after which they will be eligible to apply for settled status (which involves no restrictions on the length to stay). However, EU citizens who arrive after the specified date will be allowed to remain in the UK for at least a temporary period but should have no expectation of guaranteed settled status.²⁶ The government has not, however, offered the type of guarantees that would provide reassurances to individuals and businesses affected. They are still using the rights of non-UK EU nationals as a bargaining chip in the Brexit negotiations.

Recommendation three

The Government's should provide all EU nationals residing in the UK with firm guarantees of their right to remain after Brexit. This will provide certainty for Londoners and businesses, and will prevent EU residents being discriminated against, for example when they apply for banking services and jobs. The Mayor of London must keep up the job of lobbying government for this.

Conclusion

“3.8% is nowhere close to a high enough margin to fully represent the people's choice. Especially as we were lied to during the campaign.” - Remain voter

Brexit has continued to be a highly emotive issue since the referendum last year. Londoners have seen an impact on prices as businesses have seen costs rise due to the weak sterling. There is evidence that some Londoners have changed their mind about how they would have voted a year on. There is also significant support for a second referendum on leaving the EU, potentially on the final terms of the deal with an option to remain in the EU.

Londoners would prefer a soft Brexit or not to leave the EU at all

The survey found that there is little support for the 'hard' Brexit that the Government is pursuing. Issues that Londoners feel the Government should prioritise in the talks relate to ensuring there is a 'soft' Brexit: access to the single market, the right to remain for EU residents and freedom of movement.

A total of 65 per cent of Londoners favour a soft Brexit and 40 per cent of respondents commented to say they would prefer not to leave the EU at all. A number of participants expressed their dissatisfaction at what they perceived to be untruths during the campaign and some of them would vote differently now as a result. Significantly, 20 per cent of Leave respondents stated that they would vote to remain if the referendum was held again tomorrow.

Londoners are still in the dark about their future post-Brexit

The survey uncovered that many Londoners are worried about their future post-Brexit. There is also widespread concern about the uncertainty

surrounding the negotiations, which appear to have been fuelled by a lack of information about the process. In London, three-quarters of Londoners do not feel well informed about the Brexit negotiations or the Prime Minister's priorities and two-thirds believe that there is not enough information available to understand what a post-Brexit London will look like.

Londoners are feeling the effect of the 'Brexit squeeze'

The survey highlighted the extent of concerns about the economy and the effects of rising prices in the capital as 77 per cent of Londoners have felt costs increase over the past 15 months. At the same time, 57 per cent of Londoners have seen slow wage growth. More than one in five Londoners believes that the Government should prioritise the cost of living.

Perhaps the most significant response in the survey was the number of Londoners who do not feel that the debate has been concluded and who want a further say on Brexit. With a narrow margin in support of leaving the EU in the referendum last year, and the lack of detail both at the time and subsequently about what Brexit means, the government needs to ensure that they both keep the public informed and ensure they have the chance to feed in their views on the most significant political act in a generation. Whether this is another vote – either in the form of another election or referendum on the final deal (or no deal) – or an effective means of consultation is yet to be seen.

Appendix

The results of the online survey carried out between 21 July to 6 September 2017 and in total, 4,059 submissions were made. Of these, there were 3,394 respondents who had voted to remain, 298 to leave, 42 did not vote and 325 were unable to vote in the referendum. The results have been weighted reflect London's demographic according to age and the split between leave and remain voters in London on the EU referendum in June 2016.

1. How did you vote in the EU referendum on the 23rd June 2016?

	Weighted	Weighted %	Unweighted	Unweighted %
Could not vote	472	12%	325	8%
Did not vote	45	1%	42	1%
Leave the EU	1419	35%	298	7%
Remain in the EU	2124	52%	3394	84%
Grand Total	4059			

2. If the EU referendum was held again tomorrow, how would you vote?

	Weighted	Weighted %	Leave	Leave %	Remain	Remain %	Unweighted	Unweighted %
Don't know	36	1%	16	1%	8	0%	38	1%
Leave the EU	1178	29%	1113	78%	32	2%	276	7%
Remain in the EU	2845	70%	290	20%	2084	98%	3744	92%
	4059		1419		2124			

3. Do you feel you are being kept well informed about the Brexit negotiations and the Prime Minister's priorities?

	Weighted	Weighted %	Leave	Leave %	Remain	Remain %	Unweighted	Unweighted %
Don't know	190	5%	112	8%	68	3%	138	3%
No	3071	76%	718	51%	1894	89%	3533	87%
Yes	797	20%	589	42%	161	8%	387	10%
			1419		2124			

4. From what you know so far, are you happy with the way the negotiations are proceeding?

	Weighted	Weighted %	Leave	Leave %	Remain	Remain %	Unweighted	Unweighted %
Don't know	331	8%	210	15%	97	5%	227	6%
No	3197	79%	730	51%	1982	93%	3686	91%
Yes	529	13%	478	34%	44	2%	143	4%
			1419		2122			

5. What type of Brexit would you prefer to see?

	Weighted	Weighted %	Leave	Leave %	Remain	Remain %	Unweighted	Unweighted %
Don't know	503	12%	150	11%	282	13%	530	13%
Hard Brexit	912	22%	861	61%	35	2%	227	6%
Soft Brexit	2641	65%	408	29%	1804	85%	3297	81%
			1419		2121			

6. What has been the impact in each of these areas over the past year since the referendum result?

	Weighted				Total responses
	Better	Worse	No impact	Don't know	
Access to culture					
Count	148	1474	1774	611	4007
Row %	4%	37%	44%	15%	
Access to housing					
Count	174	1363	1513	963	4013
Row %	4%	34%	38%	24%	
Access to skills					
Count	105	2008	1193	711	4017
Row %	3%	50%	30%	18%	
Air quality					
Count	57	1071	1907	973	4009
Row %	1%	27%	48%	24%	
Austerity					
Count	137	2425	1109	344	4014
Row %	3.41%	60.40%	27.62%	8.56%	
Counter-terrorism					
Count	175	1668	1443	733	4019
Row %	4%	42%	36%	18%	
Education					
Count	114	1735	1440	708	3997
Row %	3%	43%	36%	18%	
Holidays in Europe					
Count	132	2407	1066	420	4025
Row %	3%	60%	26%	10%	
Level of employment					
Count	448	1519	1215	825	4007
Row %	11%	38%	30%	21%	
Level of immigration					
Count	337	1129	1531	1022	4019
Row %	8%	28%	38%	25%	

NHS					
Count	77	2536	1097	316	4027
Row %	2%	63%	27%	8%	
Performance of the economy					
Count	481	2804	511	233	4029
Row %	12%	70%	13%	6%	
Policing					
Count	84	1522	1605	776	3987
Row %	2%	38%	40%	19%	
Prices					
Count	88	3090	690	160	4028
Row %	2%	77%	17%	4%	
Social integration/sense of community					
Count	177	2871	828	154	4030
Row %	4%	71%	21%	4%	
Transport					
Count	158	1075	2017	762	4012
Row %	4%	27%	50%	19%	
Wage growth					
Count	188	2296	1023	507	4015
Row %	5%	57%	25%	13%	
Workers' Rights					
Count	98	1725	1534	657	4013
Row %	2%	43%	38%	16%	

	Unweighted				Total responses
	Better	Worse	No impact	Don't know	
Access to culture					4,002
Count	38	1,755	1,426	783	
Row %	1%	44%	36%	20%	
Access to housing					4,005
Count	71	1,594	1,124	1,216	
Row %	2%	40%	28%	30%	
Access to skills					4,004
Count	32	2,474	614	884	
Row %	1%	62%	15%	22%	
Air quality					4,009
Count	23	1,422	1,407	1,157	
Row %	1%	36%	35%	29%	
Austerity					4,016
Count	68	3,015	567	366	
Row %	2%	75%	14%	9%	
Counter-terrorism					4,008
Count	80	1,884	1,047	997	

Row %	2%	47%	26%	25%	
Education					3,994
Count	33	2,194	907	860	
Row %	1%	55%	23%	22%	
Holidays in Europe					4,014
Count	38	2,978	593	405	
Row %	1%	74%	15%	10%	
Level of employment					4,002
Count	180	1,750	974	1,098	
Row %	5%	44%	24%	27%	
Level of immigration					3,999
Count	194	1,154	1,419	1,232	
Row %	5%	29%	36%	31%	
NHS					4,019
Count	30	3,198	457	334	
Row %	1%	80%	11%	8%	
Performance of the economy					4,020
Count	111	3,491	203	215	
Row %	3%	87%	5%	5%	
Policing					4,008
Count	37	1,863	1,126	982	
Row %	1%	47%	28%	25%	
Prices					4,026
Count	28	3,627	208	163	
Row %	1%	90%	5%	4%	
Social integration/sense of community					4,022
Count	61	3,567	259	135	
Row %	2%	89%	6%	3%	
Transport					4,000
Count	47	1,229	1,685	1,039	
Row %	1%	31%	42%	26%	
Wage growth					4,013
Count	47	2,865	559	542	
Row %	1%	71%	14%	14%	
Workers' Rights					3,995
Count	31	2,109	1,081	774	
Row %	1%	53%	27%	19%	

7. What do you consider the top 3 priorities that the Government should focus on in the negotiations?

	Weighted percent	Weighted Responses	Unweighted percent	Unweighted Responses
Access to the required skills and talent	29%	1179	29%	1,154
Access to the single market	62%	2512	75%	3,039
Air quality	8%	314	7%	296
Freedom of movement	46%	1884	56%	2,270
Level of immigration	20%	806	7%	267
Right to remain for EU residents	54%	2192	64%	2,587
Workers' rights	37%	1490	39%	1,591
None of the above	5%	186	2%	78
Other	13%	535	8%	337

8. Besides Brexit, what do you believe are the top 3 priorities that the Government should focus on?

	Weighted percent	Weighted Responses	Unweighted percent	Unweighted Responses
Air quality	10%	394	13%	515
Cost of Living	24%	967	22%	870
Counter-terrorism	19%	752	12%	478
Culture	3%	122	3%	105
Education	37%	1501	40%	1,627
Electoral reform	12%	490	14%	551
Employment	11%	444	9%	379
Housing	36%	1453	42%	1,684
Level of immigration	9%	384	3%	115
NHS	63%	2556	70%	2,828
Performance of the economy	30%	1235	32%	1,302
Policing	6%	230	5%	182
Social integration	11%	451	14%	565
Transport	4%	143	3%	128
Workers' Rights	11%	466	11%	441
None of the above	1%	29	0%	18
Other	6%	228	5%	209

9. Do you agree with the Prime Minister that leaving the EU without a trade deal in place is better than agreeing to a bad deal with the EU?

	Weighted percent	Weighted Responses	Leave	Leave %	Remain	Remain %	Unweighted percent	Unweighted Responses
Yes	27%	1082	990	70%	70	3%	8%	311
No	65%	2619	305	22%	1863	88%	83%	3,373
Don't know	9%	355	123	9%	188	9%	9%	371
			1419		2122			

10. Do you think that there should be a second referendum on Brexit?

	Weighted percent	Weighted Responses	Leave Leave	Leave %	Remain Remain	Remain %	Unweighted percent	Unweighted Responses
Yes	60%	2420	284	20%	1750	82%	78%	3,166
No	35%	1403	1102	78%	214	10%	15%	596
Don't know	6%	234	34	2%	158	7%	7%	293
			1419		2122			

Age	Weighted percent	Weighted Responses	Unweighted percent	Unweighted Responses
Under 18		3%	0%	16
18-24		10%	3%	132
25-54		60%	53%	2,152
55+		28%	43%	1,756

London Borough	Weighted percent	Weighted Responses	Unweighted percent	Unweighted Responses
Barking and Dagenham	2%	75	1%	39
Barnet	4%	178	3%	129
Bexley	3%	137	0%	16
Brent	4%	146	4%	171
Bromley	4%	179	2%	84
Camden	3%	112	3%	118
City of London	0%	17	2%	82
Croydon	4%	168	2%	80
Ealing	4%	151	4%	180
Enfield	4%	152	3%	134
Greenwich	4%	150	11%	425
Hackney	3%	126	3%	134
Hammersmith and Fulham	2%	82	2%	60
Haringey	3%	116	4%	159
Harrow	3%	131	4%	165
Havering	3%	133	1%	31
Hillingdon	4%	144	2%	76
Hounslow	3%	119	1%	56
Islington	3%	116	4%	180
Kensington and Chelsea	2%	64	1%	54
Kingston upon Thames	2%	94	3%	119
Lambeth	4%	148	4%	166
Lewisham	4%	152	14%	576
Merton	2%	100	1%	48
Newham	3%	104	3%	102
Redbridge	3%	122	1%	36
Richmond upon Thames	3%	117	2%	83
Southwark	3%	138	4%	143
Sutton	3%	103	1%	28
Tower Hamlets	3%	119	3%	105
Waltham Forest	3%	119	2%	95
Wandsworth	4%	160	3%	104
Westminster	2%	81	2%	77

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