

GREENPEACE

Report on Findings

How will environment and climate influence the next election: what the public really think

September 2023

Survation.

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Methodology

Approach

Survation conducted a nationally representative survey of Great Britain on behalf of Greenpeace UK on a range of climate-related issues and policies.

Fieldwork Dates

18th August - 1st of September 2023

Data Collection Method

The survey was conducted via online interview.

Invitations to complete surveys were sent out to members of an online panel.

Population

Residents aged 18+ living in Great Britain.

Sample Size

20,205

Data Analysis

Data were analysed using Multilevel Regression and Poststratification (MRP) modelling to estimate the percentage of respondents providing an answer to a given question in 632 GB Parliamentary Constituencies.

The 632 constituencies represent newly formed constituencies for the 2024 General Election as proposed by the independent boundary commissions for each nation.

Overview

Greenpeace commissioned Survation to conduct a major new survey of 20,000 people across Great Britain, and to analyse the data using Multilevel Regression and Poststratification Analysis (MRP) modelling to assess the importance of climate change and the environment across the new constituencies in Great Britain.

We found that Labour's lead over the Conservatives is a robust 17 points, and our MRP model estimates Labour would have won a 100 seat majority had the general election been held on the 1st of September 2023. While the economy and inflation is the issue which will likely dominate the next general election cycle, this research clearly underlines the importance of climate change and the environment heading into the election. Across all respondents it was identified as the fourth most important issue in determining how people will vote at the next general election, but ranked as a top three issue for both Labour and Liberal Democrat voters.

At a more granular level, we find that electorally important demographic groups, such as undecided voters, exhibit dissatisfaction with the Government's performance on the environment and climate change. In 201 seats, the electorate placed the Environment and Climate Change among their top three determinants of vote choice.

The importance of climate politics, coupled with the perception the Government is underperforming on the issue, is contributing to substantial potential Conservative seat losses. In the Blue Wall, where the environment and climate change is a key issue, the Conservatives are predicted to hold onto just 29 of 52 seats. Chancellor of the Exchequer Jeremy Hunt's seat *Farnham and Bordon* - where three in four say policies on the environment and climate change are important to how they will vote - is hanging in the balance.

Policies to tackle the environment and climate change are universally popular and there is a clear appetite for Labour and the Liberal Democrats specifically to enter the next general election with strong commitments on the climate. The environment and climate change will be a key issue in determining the electoral landscape at the next general election.

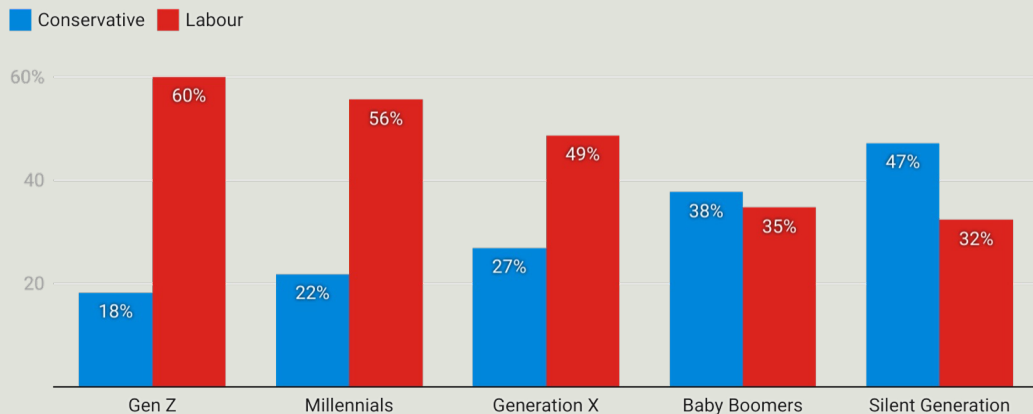
National Landscape

Voting Intention and Political Alignment

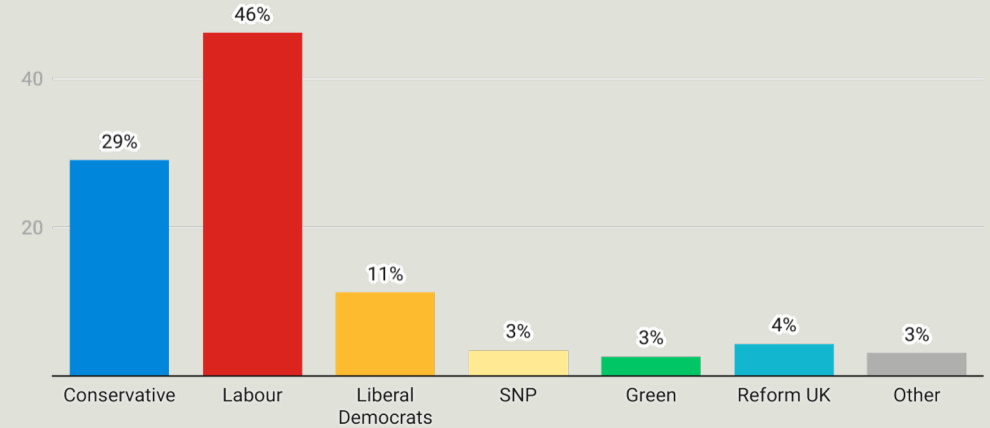
The Labour party's lead over the Conservatives at +17 points is in line with national support for the party observed in previous polling conducted by Survation. Labour's lead is the strongest among the 18-24 age group, leading by +43 points over the Conservatives, alongside a +37-point lead in the 25-34 age group.

The Conservative party's usual popularity among older groups is also reflected in our findings. For example, among the 65+ category they hold a 10-point lead over Labour. This is the only age group where respondents are currently more likely to vote for the Conservatives than Labour. Generational differences are also stark – Labour is the preferred option for Gen Z, Millennials, and Generation X, while the Conservatives' lead over Labour among Baby Boomers is just 3%.

Vote Choice by Generation



Headline Voting Intention



To understand how those results would translate into seat gains, we employed Multilevel Regression and Poststratification (MRP) modelling on the data used in this research.

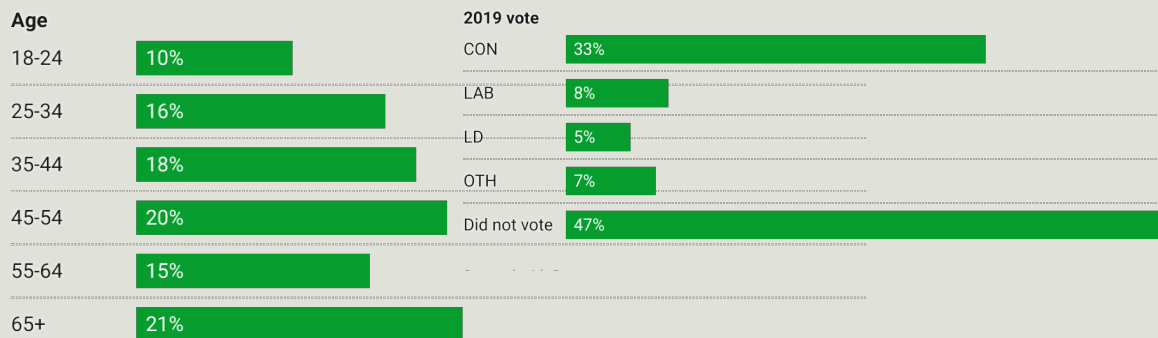
The results point towards a 100-seat majority for the Labour party if the election took place on the 1st of September.

Party	Predicted Seats	2019 Seats	Change
Con	141	365	-224
Lab	426	202	+224
LDem	25	11	+14
SNP	36	48	-12
Green	1	1	-
Other	5	8	-3

What to Make of Undecided Voters

Particularly interesting is the undecided group, who form a meaningful segment of the electoral landscape, making up 13% of respondents in this sample, and are predominantly made-up of Women (62%). A quarter (25%) of those currently undecided are aged over 65, and a fifth (21%) are aged between 45 and 54*. Importantly, 2019 Conservative supporters are most likely to say that they are currently undecided who to vote for (15%), compared to voters for any other party. **Those who voted Conservative in 2019 account for a striking 40% of the full undecided segment** - a significant proportion of the electorate to be convinced to cast their vote at the next election.

Make-Up of Undecided Voters



*Most of those in the 18-24 age group would not have been eligible to vote in the 2019 General Election, while many of the currently undecided voters would have also not voted in 2019.

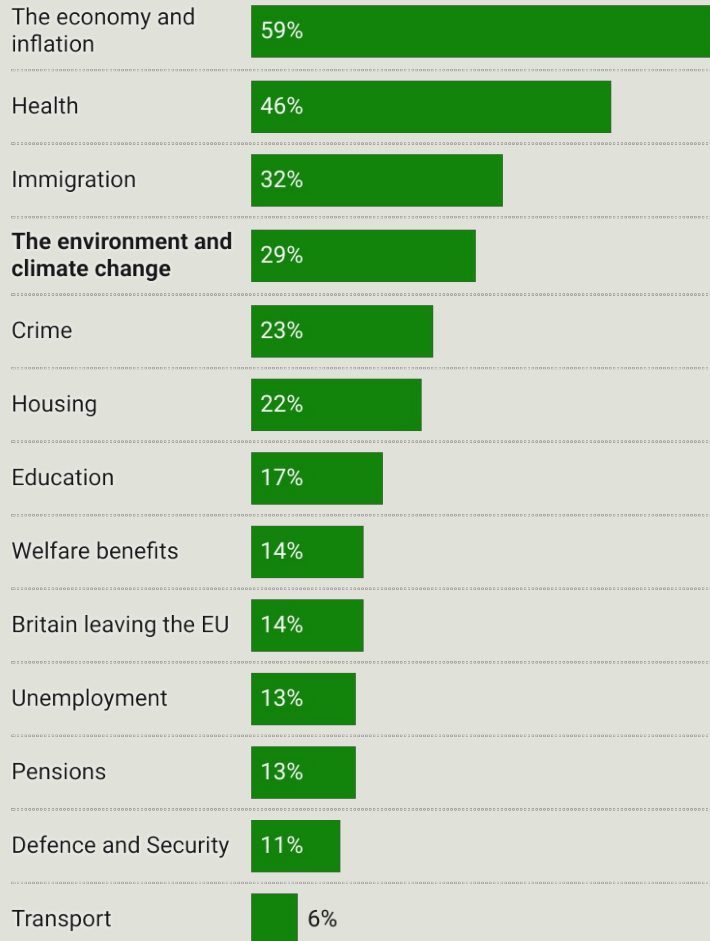
There is, however, little evidence to suggest these undecided voters will necessarily return to the party they voted for in 2019. **We find that a larger share of currently undecided voters would consider voting Labour (40%) than would consider voting Conservative (37%).** Thus, while 2019 Conservative voters constitute more than one third of all undecided voters, they do not display a strong attachment to the party. There are votes to be won by all parties amongst the undecideds.

Party Preference Among Undecided Voters



Most Important Issues

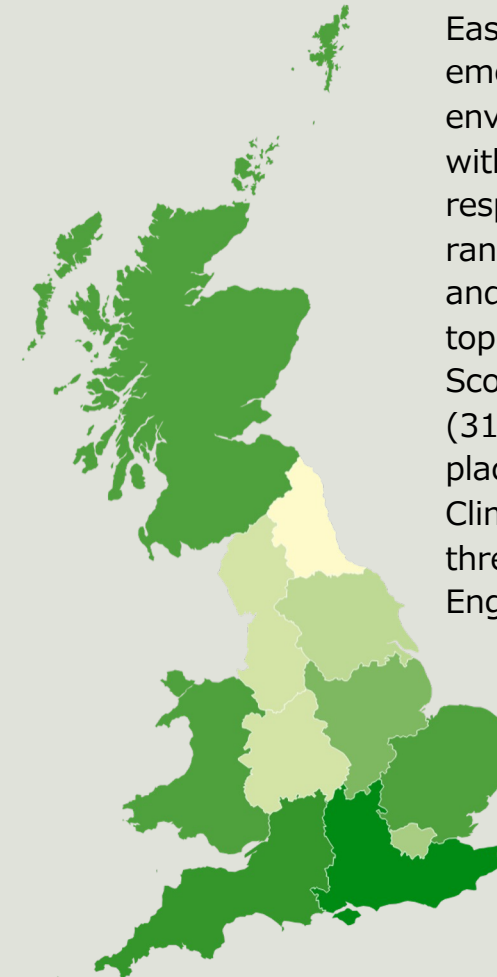
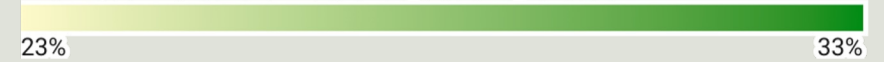
To understand which policy areas are most important to voters heading into the next general election, we presented participants with a list of 13 key issues and asked them to identify which **three will most affect how they will vote at the next election**.



The recent squeeze on living standards is clearly widely felt, with **59% placing the Economy and Inflation in their top three most important issues – more than any other issue**. Health (46%) and immigration (32%) rounded off the top three.

The Environment and Climate Change (29%) was the fourth most important issue, placing ahead of key areas including Crime (23%), Housing (22%), Education (17%), and Welfare Benefits (14%). One in eleven (9%) stated the Environment and Climate Change is the issue most likely to affect how they will vote in the next general election.

The Environment and Climate Change as a Top 3 Issue



Geographically, the South East and South West emerge as the most environmentally concerned, with 33% and 32% of respondents, respectively, ranking 'The Environment and Climate Change' in their top three issues. Those in Scotland (31%) and Wales (31%) were more likely to place the Environment and Climate Change in their top three issues than those in England (28%).

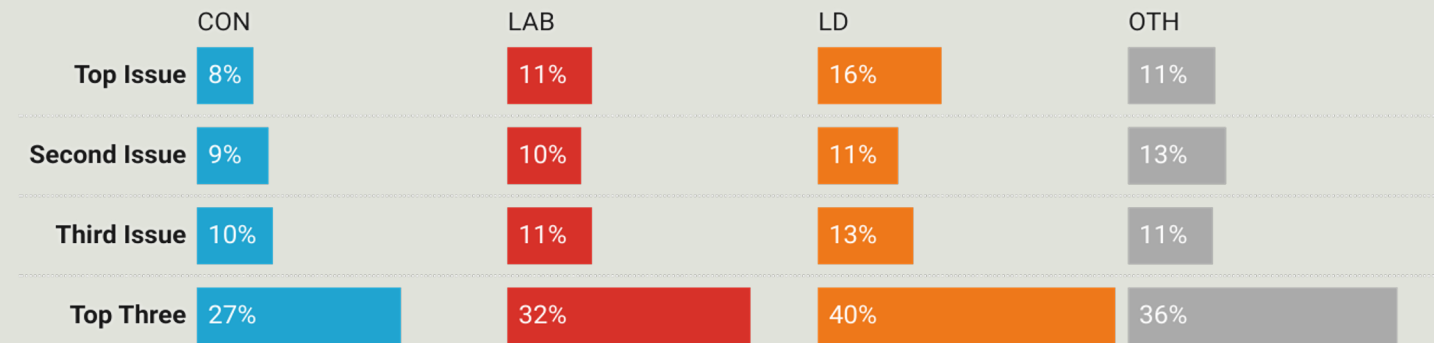
Politics of the Environment & Climate Change

Analysing the data from the perspective of historical voting patterns reveals the ***Environment and Climate Change is a more important issue to Labour and Liberal Democrat voters than to Conservative voters***. One in three (32%) 2019 Labour voters and 40% of 2019 Liberal Democrat voters placed the Environment and Climate Change in their top three issues. ***Among Labour and Liberal Democrat voters, the Environment and Climate Change is a top three issue, replacing Immigration.***

The voters which Labour will be hoping to win over demonstrate considerable interest in the Environment and Climate Change. Among those not currently intending to vote Labour but who would consider voting for the party, 34% place the Environment and Climate Change in their top three issues - +5% from the national average.

For those not currently intending to vote Labour and who would not consider voting for the party, this falls to 27%, which is -2% below the average. How Labour positions itself on the Environment and Climate Change could be crucial in winning the votes of those not currently committed to the party.

Placement of The Environment and Climate Change by Past Vote



Liberal Democrat voters view the Environment and Climate Change as a crucial issue heading into the next election. ***A significant portion (16%) of 2019 Liberal Democrat voters placed the Environment and Climate Change as their top issue, second only to the economy and inflation.*** This is clearly an issue which can galvanise the party's base.

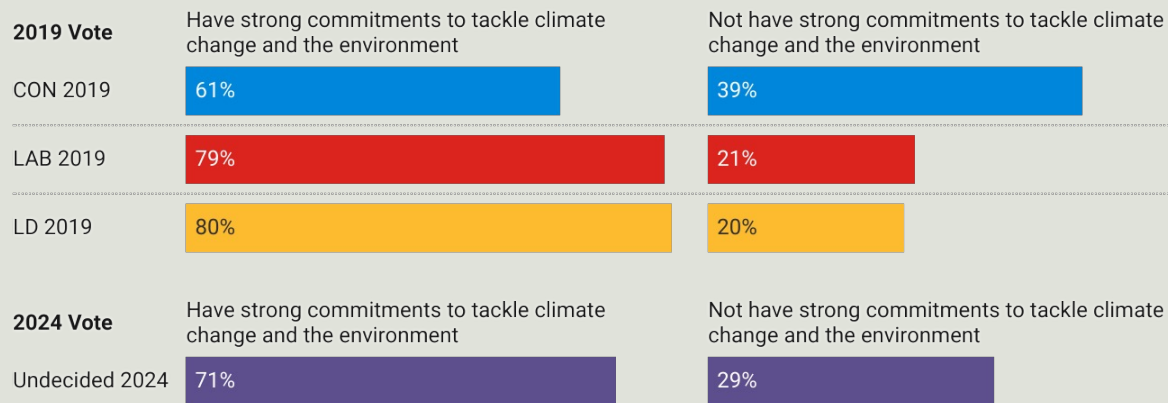
Importantly, it is clear ***respondents do not perceive the Environment and Climate Change and the Economy and Inflation to be in opposition, as 30% of those who reported the latter as their most important issue also placed the Environment and Climate change in their top three.*** While the cost-of-living crisis is likely to dominate the next election, voters do not want this to come at the expense of climate politics.

Perceptions & Expectations on Climate Change & the Environment

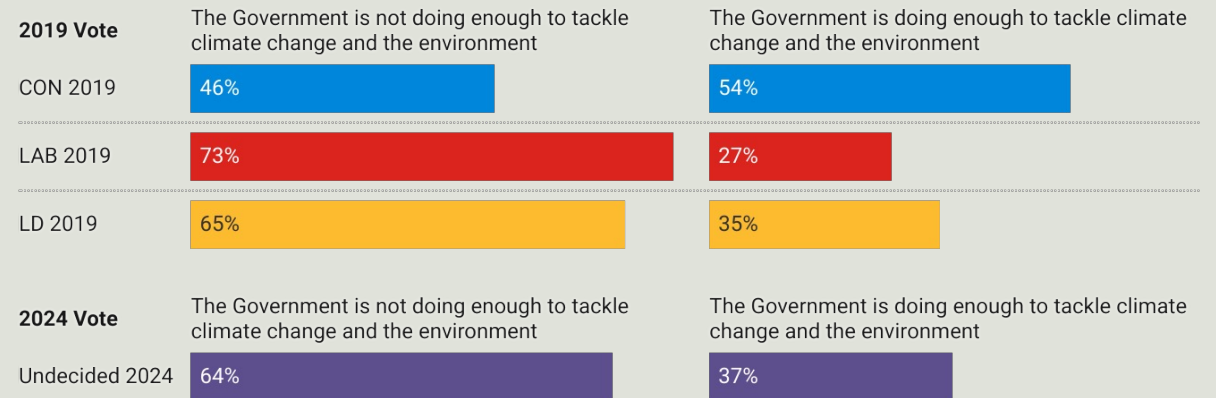
When asked to evaluate the *Government's performance on Climate Change and the Environment*, **60% of those who expressed an opinion think the Government is not doing enough to tackle the issue**. Labour voters (73%), as expected, were more likely than Conservative voters (46%) to hold this view, yet only a narrow majority (54%) of Conservative voters think the Government *is* doing enough.

Concerningly for the Conservatives, however, is that **64% of currently undecided voters think the Government is not doing enough to tackle Climate Change and the Environment** – a higher proportion than among 2019 Liberal Democrat voters. Given 2019 Conservative voters account for 40% of these undecided voters, dissatisfaction with the Government's performance is widespread.

Expectations of Labour by Past Vote & Undecided



Government Performance by Past Vote & Undecided



More than two-thirds (69%) of respondents who expressed a view want Labour to head into the next general election with strong commitments to tackle the Environment and Climate Change.

While this view is held by a substantial majority of Labour's base – 79% of 2019 voters and 78% of those currently intending to vote for the party – strikingly, it is almost as widely held by those who would consider voting Labour but are not currently intending to vote for the party (76%).

There is an opportunity for Labour to appeal to voters with strong climate commitments, as 71% of undecided voters want the party to have such commitments.

Constituency Level Analysis

Overview

Context

Given the importance placed on the environment and climate change nationally, and the subsequent importance placed on key environmental issues, Survation conducted MRP (Multilevel Regression and Poststratification) analysis on the data to uncover nuances between individual constituencies. This analysis will be key in the run up to the next General Election, as candidates can carefully investigate the importance of environmental issues and policies in their constituency, in order to make appropriate decisions.

Question format

The analysis investigated a number of key issues and their relative level of importance within each constituency; this is accompanied by a number of specific questions measuring the public's perception of the current government's approach towards climate issues, and the level of commitment they want from the Labour party. A number of specific climate-related policies were analysed, including some related to insulation, heat pumps, tripling investment into renewables, and wealth taxation.

Results

The results of the MRP analysis provide a valuable insight into the level of concern for The Environment and Climate Change as an issue across different constituencies, and the role this will play in people's decision making at the 2024 General Election. Its impact is nuanced across regions, demographics, and key battlegrounds for the next election - marginal seats, Blue Wall seats, and a selection of seats which will be indicative at the next election.

Key Constituencies

Climate Change and the Environment will undoubtedly play a key role across Great Britain, and their influence is considerably nuanced across specific seats.

Using constituency-level voting intention if an election were to take place on the 1st of September, we were able to identify **150 Marginal Seats** which will be of key importance at the next election. Those are with predicted probability of less than 3 in 4 (**75%**) for the winning party, as well as a margin lower than 4.8% of the electorate.

We also identified **52 “Blue Wall” constituencies**, located in the South and East of England, which have formed a historical stronghold for the Conservative party. These seats are ones which the Conservative party is estimated to have won in the 2019 General Election; to have been pro-Remain in the 2016 Referendum if that were based on the new constituency boundaries; and contain higher than average proportions of graduates compared to the national average (based on the 2021 England and Wales Census).

Together with Greenpeace, we further identified **12 bellwether seats** which will be indicative of whether Labour is likely to form the next government;

whether the Lib Dems are likely to win significant gains back from the Tories; and whether the Greens are likely to see a surge in votes that could translate into additional seats for them in the next parliament.

The three groups of seats will be a **pivotal battleground in the next general election** and are therefore vital to the parties standing. Investigating the issue of The Environment and Climate Change among those, and the role it will play in influencing vote choice at the next election shows that those issues will be on **average more important than the average for the three nations**.

This is particularly the case for **Blue Wall and indicative seats, where constituents are on average 4% more likely to place the Environment and Climate Change as a top 3 issue** to inform their vote choice at the next election,

while a total of **72% in those (2% higher than the national average)** are likely to report that their vote choice at the next will be impacted by the environment and climate change policies. This is also mirrored in the **Ten Most Marginal Seats**, where the environment is placed as a top issue by **33% of the electorate, and 72%** of voters indicate that the issue will be important to their vote choice. Those seats are all anticipated to be **three-way marginals** and will be of key importance at the 2024 Election.

Interestingly, out of the 13 issues analysed, the Environment and Climate Change places in the top 3 within 50 out of the 150 marginal constituencies, while it is a top 5 issue in **all but two of the 150 Marginals**. The issue is also third in 27 out of the 52 Blue Wall seats, and in 5 out of the 12 indicative seats.

	150 Marginal Seats	52 Blue Wall Seats	12 Indicative Seats	Great Britain
<i>The Environment and Climate Change as a Top 3 Issue (%)</i>	31	33	33	29
<i>When it comes to how I will vote at the next Westminster General Election, the environment and climate change policies are important (% Agree)</i>	71	72	72	70

The Environment & Climate Change

Investigating the data from the individual level to constituency level guided by the MRP results, clear patterns emerge relative to the importance of The Environment and Climate Change as an issue informing vote choice in the 2024 General Election.

There are a total of 201 constituencies where the electorate placed the Environment and Climate Change among their top three determinants of vote choice.

Moreover, the issue finds resonance in a sizeable **533 constituencies** measured by those who rank the environment within their top five voting issues. The constituency of Hove and Portslade emerges as the most environmentally concerned, with nearly half the local electorate – 49% holding the environment as a major consideration in their future vote choices.

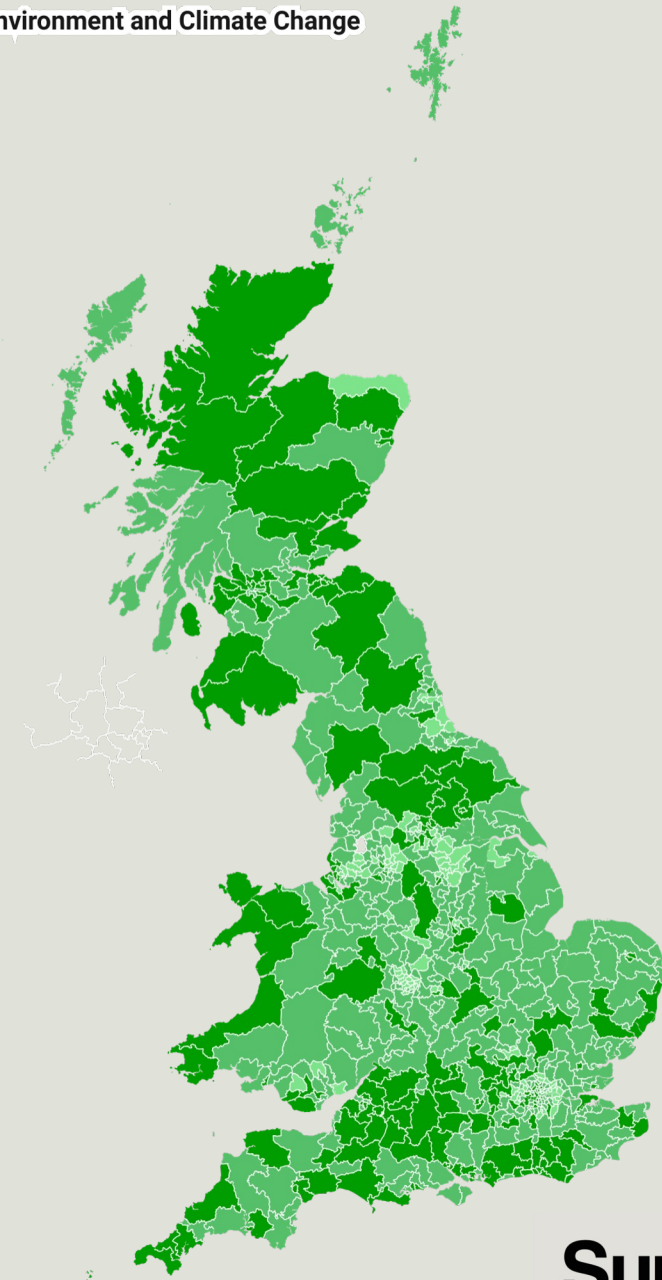
Overall, the issue ranks in the **top two** out of thirteen total issues in **10 constituencies**:

Brighton Kemptown and Peacehaven, Bury St Edmunds and Stowmarket (M*), Chelsea and Fulham (BW*, IND*), Cities of London and Westminster (BW), Clapham and Brixton Hill, Coventry South, Mid Sussex (BW), North East Hertfordshire, Nottingham East, and Cumbernauld and Kirkintilloch.

Interestingly, three out of the above ten seats are in the Blue Wall, one is in the indicative list, and one is in the 100 most marginal constituencies list. In those seats, The Environment and Climate Change comes secondary only to The Economy and Inflation as an issue which will “most affect” people’s vote choice at the next election.

*M refers to Marginal Seat
*BW refers to Blue Wall Seat
*IND refers to Indicative Seat

Placement of The Environment and Climate Change



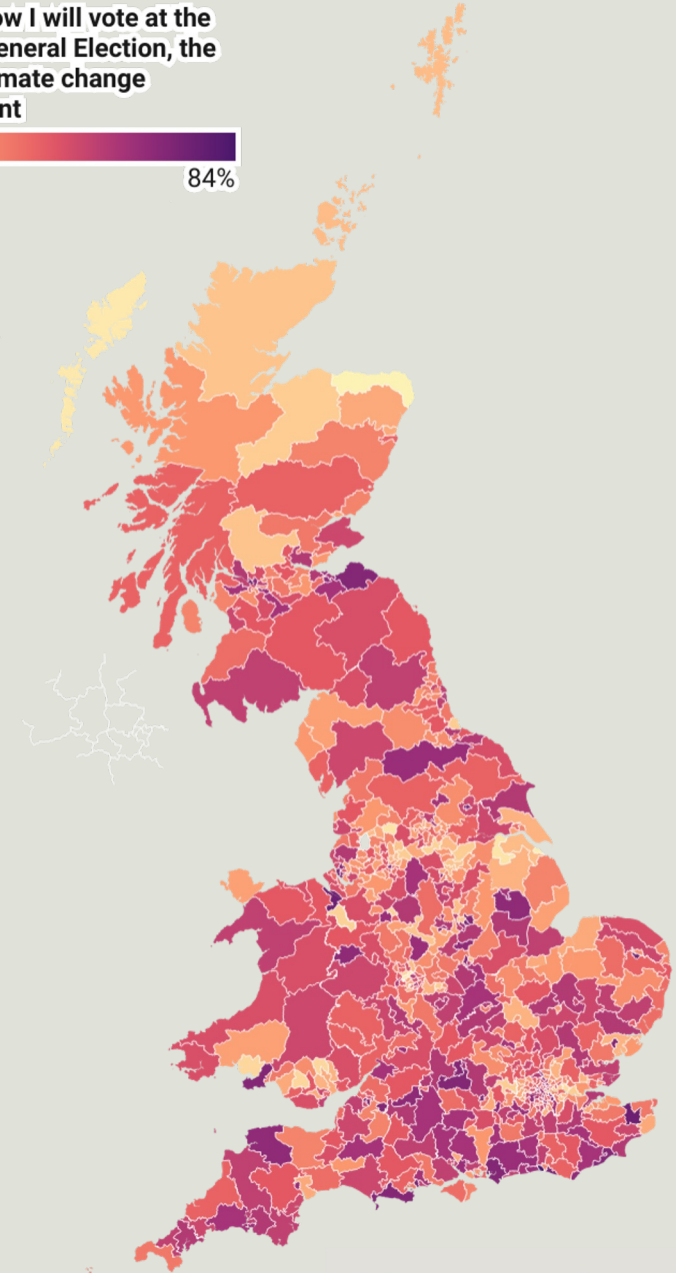
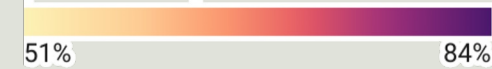
Importance at the Next General Election

To investigate the general salience of Environment and Climate change, we asked whether the environment and climate change policies will be important when it comes to how respondents would vote at the next Westminster General Election.

The results paint a picture of **strong concern for environmental policies, with 7 in 10 voters nationally saying that those will play a role in their vote choice at the next election.**

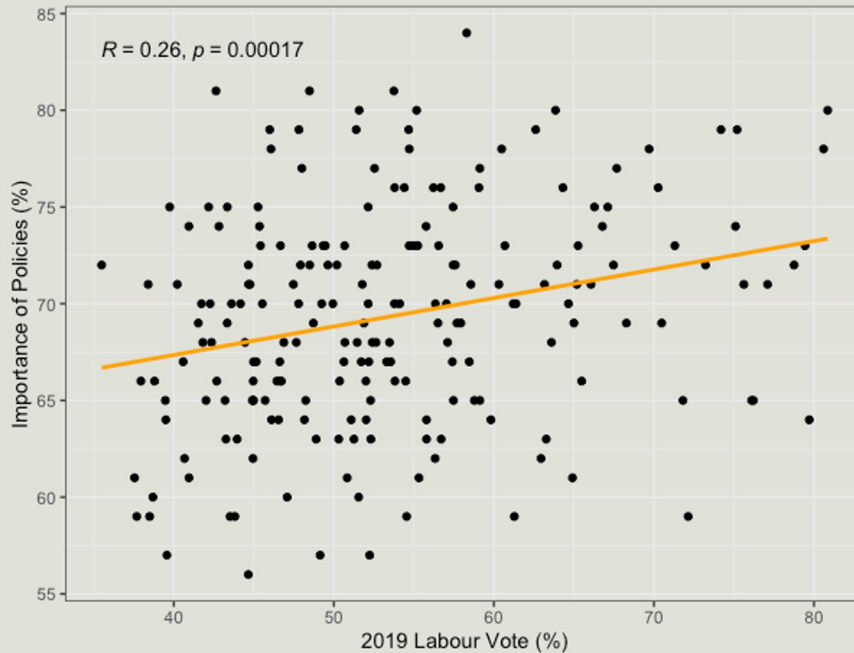
Constituencies located in the South East (72%) and South West (73%) are most likely to indicate that the issue will be important to vote choice, while constituencies in Yorkshire and the Humber (67%) were only slightly less likely to do so.

When it comes to how I will vote at the next Westminster General Election, the environment and climate change policies are important



Importance of the Environment and Climate Change Policies at the next GE

In seats won by the Labour Party in 2019



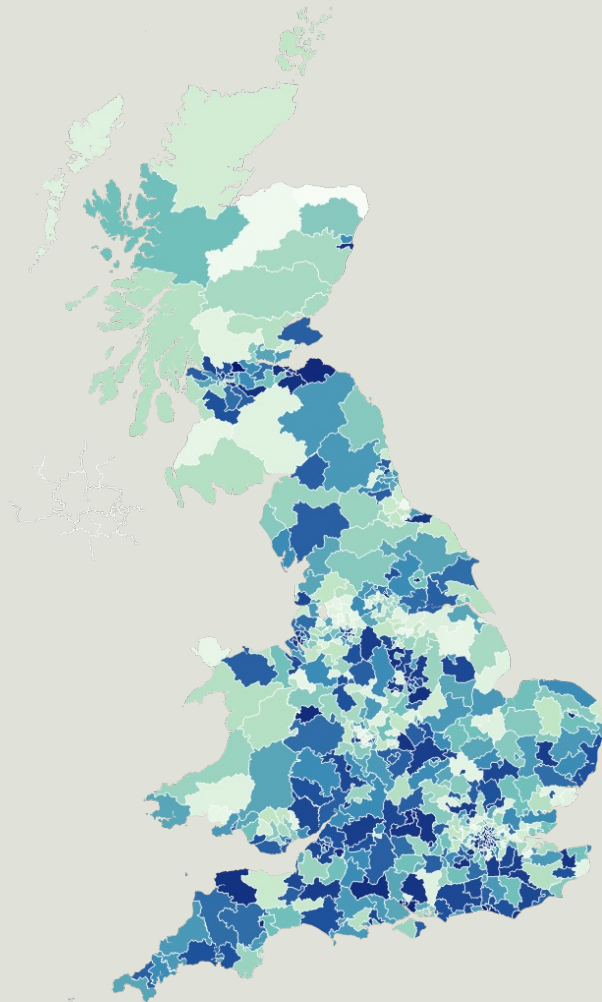
Among those who supported the Green (81%), Liberal Democrat (80%), and Labour (77%) parties in the 2019 General Election, agreement with the statement was considerably higher than Conservative Party supporters (64%).

In newly created **seats estimated to have been “won” by the Labour party in 2019** (based on new constituency boundaries), **agreement with this statement is strongly correlated with the strength of Labour’s vote in 2019.**

Thus, the Labour Party’s commitment to climate change policies will be at the forefront for voters in Labour strongholds, which remained supportive of the party despite the landslide Conservative win in 2019.

Local Candidates

Candidates in my local area should prioritise policies to tackle the climate crises such as clean energy investment in the run up to the next election



In addition to the personal impact of climate change policies on vote choice, we investigated what expectations constituents have of their local candidates in the run up to the election. The results show that **on average, 6 in 10 people (64%) in Great Britain would like to see their local candidates prioritise policies to tackle climate change in the run up to the election.**

Striking is the magnitude of support for this statement in four constituencies: Cities of London and Westminster, Bristol Central, Cumbernauld and Kirkintilloch, and Hove and Portslade, where **8 in 10 constituents are expecting their local candidates to prioritise climate change policies.** Moreover, our estimates show that more than half of voters (50%) in 614 out of the 632 constituencies analysed would support this statement.

In the three sets of key constituencies, the results point towards the conclusion that constituents are **just as likely, if not more** (in **Blue Wall and Indicative seats**) to want their candidates to prioritise policies to tackle climate change. This is also the case in the **Top 10 Most Marginal constituencies**, where **on average 66%** of the electorate would like candidates in their area prioritise such policies. Furthermore, the top three Blue Wall constituencies with highest overall agreement with the statement (Cities of London and Westminster, Guildford, and Winchester) are all predicted to be lost by the Conservatives at the next election – the former to Labour, and the rest to the Lib Dems.

The question which should influence candidates therefore is not “Will environmental policies be important?” but rather “Which environmental policies will be key to winning the election?”

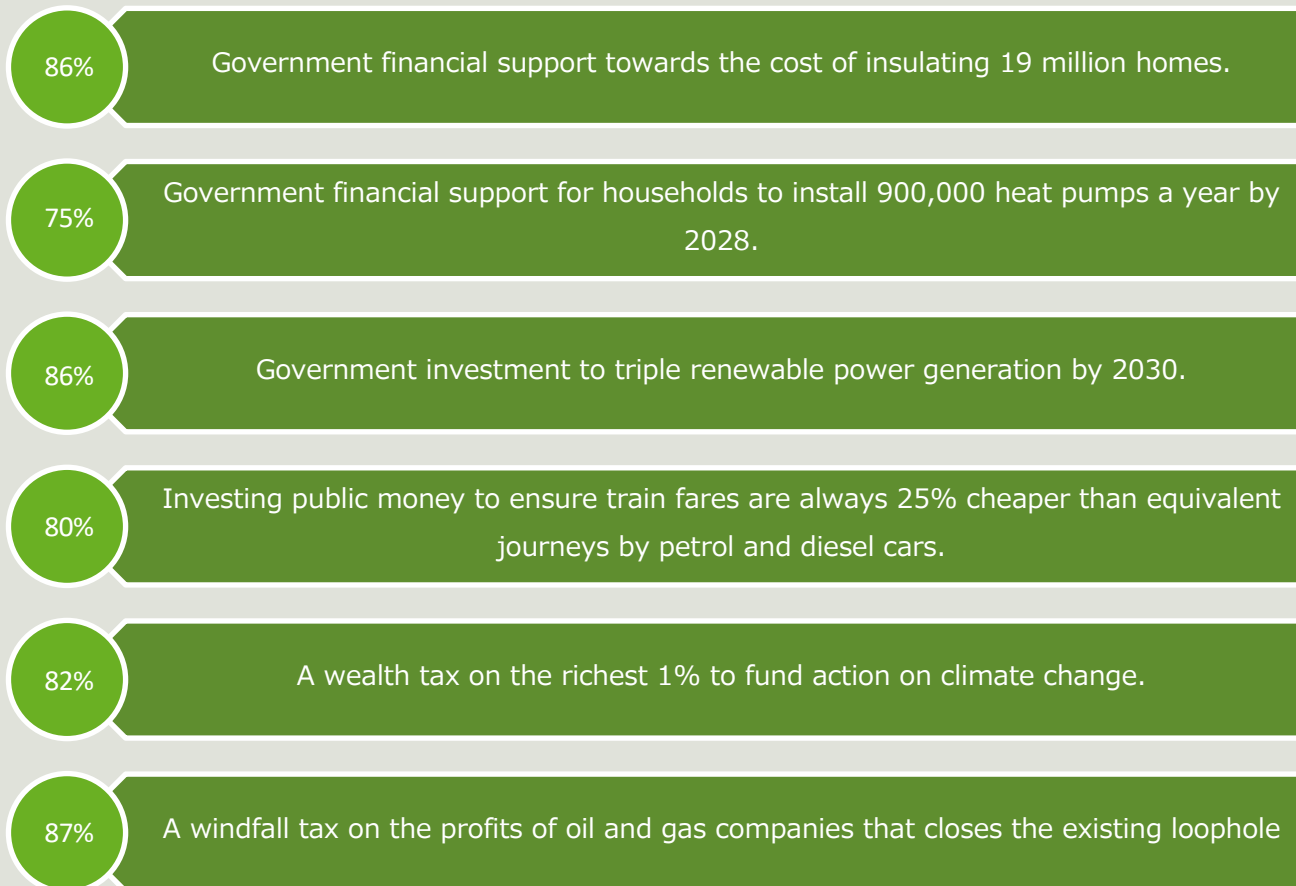
	150 Marginal Seats	52 Blue Wall Seats	12 Indicative Seats	Great Britain
<i>Candidates in my local area should prioritise policies to tackle the climate crises such as clean energy investment in the run up to the next election (% Agree)</i>	64	65	67	64

Environmental Policies

Environmental Policies

To gauge *which Environmental policies constituents would like to see supported in the run up to the election*, we asked respondents to indicate their levels of support to a number of important policies to tackle climate change. Some received overwhelming support from the public, with on average **8 in 10 voters** in Great Britain indicating that such policies should be implemented:

Average Support across Great Britain



Local Support

While the most favoured policy among the electorate as a whole is the **introduction of a windfall tax on the profits of oil and gas companies (87%)**, the constituency with most voters in support of this policy is *Brighton Pavilion (94%)*, while the region most in support of this is *Scotland* where on average **91%** of respondents would favour this.

Another popular policy in Scotland – **government investment to triple renewable power generation by 2030 (87%)**, is even more popular across the *South East and South West* regions (**88%**).

Unsurprisingly, the region with highest support for **public investment into cheaper train fares** is London, although four of the five constituencies with highest support located in the North West region (Liverpool Riverside, Birkenhead, Chorley, and Liverpool West Derby) with support starting from 90%.

Support for Government financial support towards the cost of insulating 19 million homes also attracted considerably strong support at 86%. Support for this policy is highly consistent across the nations and regions, but sees support at its highest in Scotland at 90%.

75% also support Government financial support to install 900,000 heat pumps a year by 2028. Support was highest in North East at 78% and 77% in London and Scotland.

Support for Cheaper Train Fares

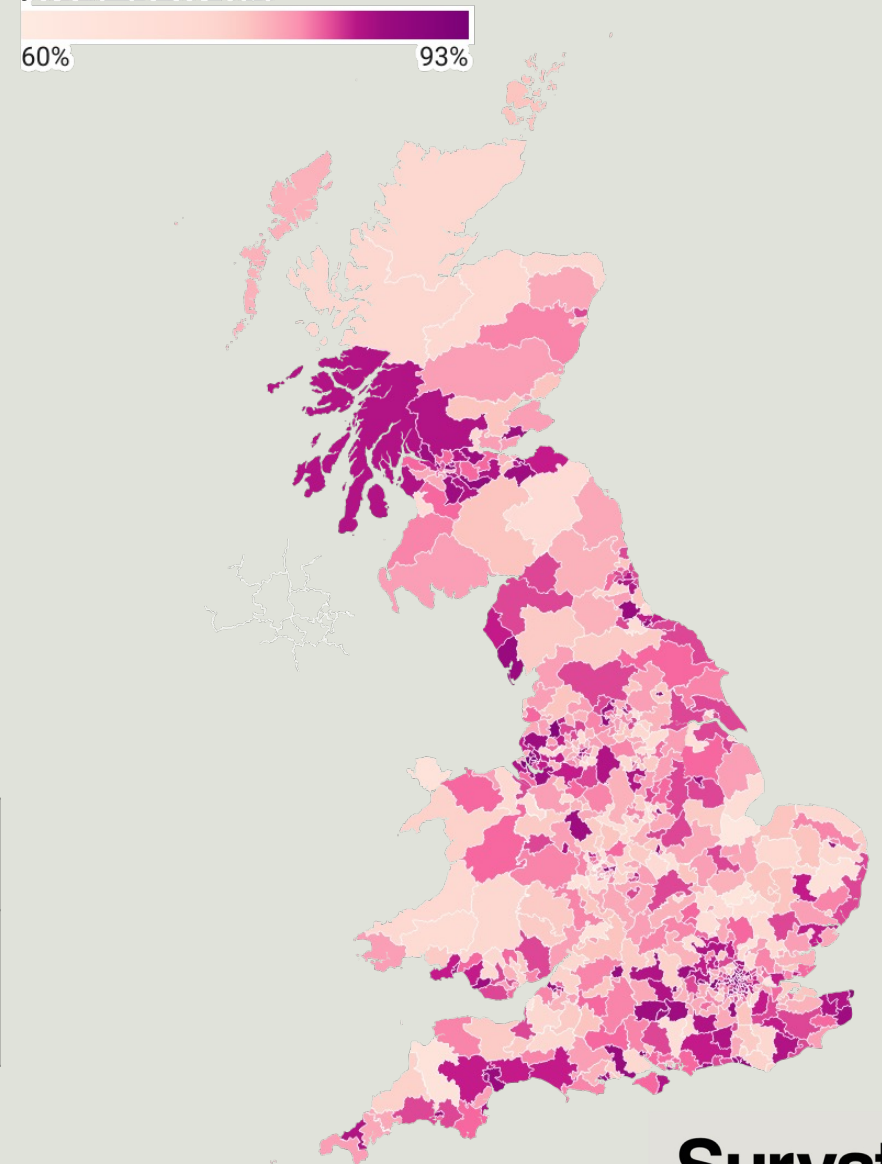
The data demonstrate **significant support for investing public money to ensure train fares are always 25% cheaper than equivalent journeys by petrol and diesel cars** not only in places where this is expected - **large metropolitan cities** such as London, Birmingham, Liverpool and Leeds - but also in **key coastal constituencies**.

This includes **prominent sections of the Blue Wall**, such as Exeter (86%), Exmouth and Exeter East (87%), West Dorset (84%), Torbay (85%), and Plymouth Moor View (86%), which all show higher than average support for cheaper train fares.

Overall average support across the 150 marginal seats (79%), and the 52 Blue Wall seats (79%) aligns with national attitudes towards this policy (80%). A key finding here is the **higher-than-average support across the 12 indicative seats**, where support is highest in East Thanet (88%) and Bristol Central (88%), while the seat with the lowest level of support - Westmorland and Lonsdale is only slightly under the national average at 76%.

	150 Marginal Seats	52 Blue Wall Seats	12 Indicative Seats	Great Britain
Support investing public money to ensure train fares are always 25% cheaper than equivalent journeys by petrol and diesel cars. (%)	79	79	82	80

Support investing public money to ensure train fares are always 25% cheaper than equivalent journeys by petrol and diesel cars



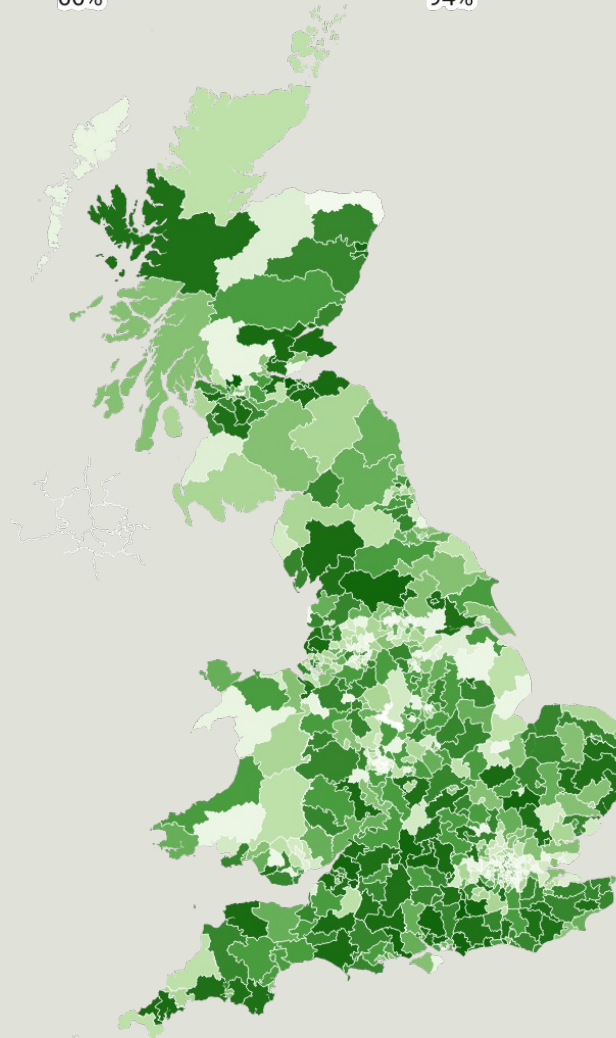
Renewables, Heat Pumps, and Insulation

The three policies measuring support for Government-Backed Green Home and Energy Initiatives (tripling investment into renewables, supporting the cost of insulating 19 million homes, and financial support for households to install 900,000 heat pumps a year by 2028), **have received significant support nationally.**

These policies illustrate slight nuances in levels of support regionally – **Londoners are most likely to back** a government providing financial support for households to install **900,000 pumps a year by 2028 (79%)**, followed by Scottish voters (78%). Similarly, the latter are also most likely to support a policy which provides financial support towards the cost of insulating 19 million homes (91%). For this policy, however, constituents in London are the least likely, with 8 in 10 (84%) supporting such policy.

There are also stark nuances when analysing the data by past vote. **2019 SNP supporters are most likely to support both policies (93% for insulation, and 87% for heat pumps)**, followed by **2019 Labour supporters (91% and 84% respectively)**. Interestingly, **2019 Conservative voters are at the low end of support** for both policies (83% and 63% respectively), falling under the national averages.

Support government investment to triple renewable power generation by 2030



The picture for support of the government investing to **triple renewable power generation by 2030 differs among those demographics.** Here, support for the policy is strongest in the South East (88%) and South West (88%), followed by Scotland (83%).

In fact, **two out of the three top constituencies** supporting this policy are Edinburgh West (94%) and Mid Dunbartonshire (93%).

In second place is **Farnham and Bordon** which is a Blue Wall constituency. Its closest predecessor is the South West Surrey constituency which has been **held by the Conservative party since its creation** in 1983 and is currently held by the **Chancellor of the Exchequer Jeremy Hunt.**

Despite this, **2019 Conservative voters are again at the lower end of support for this policy (85%)**, while 2019 Liberal Democrat are most likely to be in favour of it (93%), followed by SNP voters (92%).

Thus, while the 2019 Conservative voter base demonstrates lower support across the board, the high levels of support in Scotland and the South indicate a potentially **fertile ground for garnering support** amongst these groups.

Support for Global Policies

We further investigated how voters would perceive the implementation of different global policies – the **UN Global Ocean Treaty and the UN Global Plastic Treaty** by asking respondents the extent to which *implementing those treaties would show strong leadership by a hypothetical current or future UK Prime Minister*.

On average **3 in 4 (75%) voters nationally would report that a Prime Minister supporting the UN Global Plastic Treaty to end single use plastic would be a portrayal of strong leadership**. This figure is slightly lower for the question on committing in UK law to implement the UK Global Ocean Treaty to protect at least 30% of global oceans by 2030 (72%).

Interestingly, support for the two global policies is on average higher in the selected seats than the national average for all 632 constituencies. This is the highest in **Blue Wall seats where voters are 4% more likely** to report that the two policies would indicate strong leadership by a UK prime minister than the average voter in Great Britain.

These findings point towards a significant opportunity for parties to campaign on in these areas from a global as well as local perspectives. Despite the popularity of some financially-focused policies being slightly less favoured in Blue Wall seats, the data suggests that voters there would like to see a Prime Minister portraying strong leadership qualities, which can be achieved through a pledge to act on those policies.

In the **150 Marginal Seats**, where electoral dynamics can be highly fluid, as well as the **12 Indicative seats**, the support for a UK Prime Minister taking strong leadership stances through backing the UN Global Ocean Treaty and the UN Global Plastic Treaty is also above the national average, indicating that advocacy for these treaties could potentially be a decisive factor in securing victory in these critical constituencies.

	150 Marginal Seats	52 Blue Wall Seats	12 Indicative Seats	Great Britain
<i>Committing in UK law to implement the new UN Global Ocean Treaty to protect at least 30% of global oceans by 2030 would show strong leadership by a current or future UK Prime Minister (% Agree)</i>	75	76	73	72
<i>Supporting the UN Global Plastic Treaty to end single use plastic would show strong leadership by a current or future UK Prime Minister (% Agree)</i>	78	79	76	75

Further Information

Data tables for this project can be accessed below:

1. Survation conducted an online poll of 20,205 adults in the UK on behalf of Greenpeace. Fieldwork was conducted between the 18th August – 1st September 2023. Tables for the nationally representative polling can be accessed here: https://cdn.survation.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/26120452/Greenpeace_2023-09-27_Tables_V1.xlsx
2. Tables for the nationally representative polling, with response options binarized for MRP analysis can be accessed here: https://cdn.survation.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/26120458/Greenpeace_2023-09-27_Tables_V2.xlsx
3. Data were analysed using Multilinear Regression and Poststratification modelling to estimate the percentage of respondents providing an answer to a given question in 632 GB Parliamentary Constituencies. Parliamentary constituencies are derived from the 2023 final proposals to Parliament made by the respective boundary commissions for each nation. The constituency level topline estimates produced by the Multilinear Regression and Poststratification analysis are available here: https://cdn.survation.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/26120502/Constituency_topline_summary_09_27.xlsx

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The Living Wage

Survation is proud to be a Living Wage Employer. This means that every member of staff in our organisation plus any contract staff are paid the London Living Wage. The Living Wage is an hourly rate set independently and updated annually, based on the cost living in the UK. We believe that every member of staff deserves at least a Living Wage. You can find out more about the Living Wage by visiting www.livingwage.org.uk



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