

# BREXIT BRIEFING: LABOUR VOTERS

TSSA is a founding partner in the creation of Momentum, and has supported Jeremy Corbyns leadership from the very beginning, sending staff to help run both his successful leadership campaigns, providing office space, funding and strategic support. Our support for a Jeremy Corbyn lead socialist Government is undiminished, and our affiliated partnership with Momentum continues strongly. We have produced this document as part of helping Momentum and ourselves prepare in case of a snap General Election, and to try and answer definitively, with the best available evidence on how Labours position in relation to Brexit could impact our electoral chances.

**Labour voters increasingly oppose Britain’s exit from the EU, support giving voters the final say on any Brexit deal, and view Brexit as a Tory policy. If there is an election in 2019, Labour will get a lower share of the vote in every seat in the country if it has a pro-Brexit policy than if it has an anti-Brexit position.** If Labour were to move away from holding a policy of supporting Brexit happening towards opposing Brexit, it must have a clear narrative to justify why it is doing so: the vast majority of Labour voters, including Labour Leave voters, do not trust the Tory Government to deliver a good Brexit for them.

Based on in-depth polling and focus group work the below analysis focuses on the Labour party as we try to help develop a strategy that will ensure the best possible chance of gaining marginal seats, retaining our electoral coalition from 2017, and advance our cause in Scotland. Labour will play a decisive role in

the next steps of the Brexit debate, that could define the next election. *The polling cited in this document was carried out by YouGov during mid-December and early January and subjected to an MRP analysis by FocalData for Labour Friends of Hope not Hate on behalf of TSSA.*

**This polling is confidential and is not to be shared.**

## PUBLIC OPINION HAS MOVED TOWARDS STAYING IN THE EU

- Public opinion about Brexit has shifted significantly over the past 12 months.
- If there was another Referendum today, 55% would vote for the UK to stay in the EU and 45% would vote to leave the EU.
- The lead for ‘Remain’ of between 8-10% is now consistent for the last seven major polls, stretching back to mid-November.
- Amongst Labour voters the margin is even bigger, with 76.1% now set to back Remain in a new vote.

There are a number of reasons for this shift, some to do directly with growing uncertainty and concern about what Brexit might mean for Britain, but also because voters are increasingly viewing Brexit through the prism of their own political allegiances. **Whereas the 2016 Referendum split Conservative and Labour voters, today, Labour voters are much more likely to oppose Brexit than they did in 2016, viewing it as a Tory project, while Tory voters are now much more likely to back Leave.**

**Imagine the final Brexit deal meant Britain would continue to follow EU rules and regulations. Under these conditions, do you think Britain as a whole would be better off remaining in the EU, leaving the EU, or would it make no difference?**

	Total	Con	Lab	LD	Remain	Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
Britain would be better off remaining in the EU	43	27	62	71	74	18	83	22
Britain would be better off leaving the EU	30	51	16	15	9	54	3	46
Wouldn't make a difference either way	12	13	10	7	8	14	7	16
Don't know	15	10	11	7	9	14	7	16

## LABOUR VOTERS INCREASINGLY BACK STAYING IN THE EU

There has been a considerable shift in Labour's 2017 voters who backed Leave in the Referendum. Just 66% say that they would vote Leave in a new vote, with 16% now saying that they would vote Remain and 13% saying they 'Don't know'.

- The main groups of Labour voters who have shifted are social class DE, young leave voters and Muslim Labour voters.
- Labour voters, both Remain and Leave, are increasingly fearful about how a Tory Brexit will affect them and their families. An astonishing 91.4% of current Labour voters (and 95% of 2017 Labour voters) don't trust this Government to deliver a good Brexit for people like themselves.
- Four-fifths of Labour voters believe the current Brexit deal will be harmful to the British economy

- 82% think that "Brexit won't help the poorest or those communities already struggling. It will only be used by right-wing politicians to damage workers' rights and public services."
- 90% of all Labour voters, regardless of how they voted in the referendum, think Britain will get a bad deal with the EU and 95% think the process of leaving the EU has been a mess.
- Three-quarters of Labour voters (77%) think Britain's economy will become weaker after Brexit and 64% think their standard of living will decline – with just 5.6% thinking they will improve.

Labour voters, whether they voted Remain or Leave, increasingly view Brexit through the prism of their party allegiance and so are suspicious of anything that the Government does. This, together with growing anxiety that the Government deal is not delivering the Brexit that they voted for. This has led to Labour voters, including Labour Leave voters, rethinking how they view the impact of leaving the EU.

### Do you think that each of the following will be better if the UK remains in the EU, or if the UK leaves the EU, or do you think it doesn't make much difference either way?

	Jan-18				Jan-19			
	Total	Con	Lab	LD	Total	Con	Lab	LD
<b>ECONOMIC PROSPECTS FOR YOU AND YOUR FAMILY</b>								
Better if the UK Remains in the EU	35	17	52	62	45	22	65	73
Better if the UK Leaves the EU	27	45	14	11	25	43	14	8
It doesn't make much difference either way	23	28	20	16	19	27	13	13
Don't know	16	9	13	12	11	8	8	6
<b>OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHILDREN GROWING UP TODAY</b>								
Better if the UK Remains in the EU	37	18	55	66	39	18	61	74
Better if the UK Leaves the EU	30	50	17	14	24	45	13	6
It doesn't make much difference either way	19	25	15	11	20	26	14	12
Don't know	14	8	12	9	16	11	12	8
<b>OUR PROTECTION AGAINST TERRORISM</b>								
Better if the UK Remains in the EU	32	16	47	60	35	19	52	70
Better if the UK Leaves the EU	28	43	17	10	20	29	13	6
It doesn't make much difference either way	27	34	24	20	28	40	22	14
Don't know	13	7	12	9	17	12	13	10
<b>INVESTMENT IN THE UK BY INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES</b>								
Better if the UK Remains in the EU	39	21	57	66	40	20	59	73
Better if the UK Leaves the EU	25	40	15	8	22	42	14	6
It doesn't make much difference either way	20	27	14	13	18	24	12	8
Don't know	17	11	14	13	20	14	16	13
<b>THE ECONOMY AS A WHOLE</b>								
Better if the UK Remains in the EU	38	19	58	67	40	18	62	77
Better if the UK Leaves the EU	33	55	19	13	27	53	14	9
It doesn't make much difference either way	13	16	11	9	13	17	9	7
Don't know	15	10	12	11	19	12	15	7

**Dagenham key issues**

	<b>Total</b>	Lab Remain	Lab leave	Leave	Con
Health	<b>41.50%</b>	43.30%	43.10%	38.20%	36.40%
Economy	<b>29.00%</b>	33.30%	25.00%	23.30%	26.50%
Crime	<b>16.50%</b>	15.30%	25.70%	28.10%	26.00%
Immigration & asylum	<b>17.80%</b>	7.70%	23.90%	32.00%	31.00%
Britain leaving the EU	<b>38.20%</b>	46.00%	22.60%	26.20%	33.90%
Housing	<b>14.70%</b>	15.80%	18.00%	15.30%	11.40%
Welfare benefits	<b>10.80%</b>	11.10%	19.50%	14.90%	9.70%

We have asked some of the same questions in three waves of polling (January 2018, July 2018 and January 2019) so we have been able to track opinion over time. As the chart on page 2 graphically shows, the belief that our best interests are served by the UK staying in the EU is growing in every key issue.

**LABOUR LEAVE VOTERS CARE MORE ABOUT AUSTERITY THAN BREXIT**

**Labour Leave voters are less concerned about Brexit than Leave voters generally and Labour Remain voters specifically. Labour Leave voters are more concerned with bread and butter economic issues, austerity and cuts to welfare benefits.** Only 36% of Labour Leave voters list the UK leaving the EU as one of the top three issues facing themselves and their families, compared to 58% for Conservative Leave voters and 60% for Labour Remain voters.

This plays out locally as well. As the table from Dagenham and Rainham shows, Britain leaving the EU is less of an important issue for Labour Leave voters than Labour Remain voters and even Tory Leave voters.

**Many of Labour’s new voters in 2017 were working class people who hadn’t voted in the previous election but were drawn to Jeremy Corbyn’s anti-austerity message and young working class people voting in their first election. Both link Brexit with Tory austerity and both would be alienated from Labour if it failed to oppose Brexit.**

**THERE IS NO ‘MIDDLE WAY’ POLICY WHICH GETS SUPPORT FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE DEBATE**

It is doubtful whether a soft Brexit position (Brexit with a customs union or staying within the Single Market) would win the support of most Labour Leave voters:

- 78% of Labour Leave voters say that a Brexit that sees Britain still following EU rules and regulations “would not uphold the outcome of the referendum.”
- 63% of 2017 Labour Leave voters say that any deal that maintains free movement of people “would not uphold the outcome of the referendum.”

If Labour does not change its position on Brexit then there will be an increased likelihood of a new centrist party being formed. Our polling suggests that 19% of current Labour voters would be “very likely” to support a new centrist party that is committed to opposing and/or overturning Brexit. Amongst Labour Remain voters this rises to 27.6%

Nigel Farage has indicated that he would be prepared to set up a new right wing anti-Brexit party if he felt that Brexit was being betrayed. Our polling suggests that 16% of people would be very attracted to this party, but it would take three votes of the Conservatives for every one vote it attracted from Labour.

**If Labour maintains it’s current pro-Brexit policy, it will lose more seats than if it moves to be anti-Brexit.**

**LABOUR FACES HEAVY ELECTORAL LOSSES IF IT WENT INTO A SNAP ELECTION PROMISING TO IMPLEMENT BREXIT.**

**TSSA’s assessment, on current polling, which already sees Labour losing seats, predicts that if Labour opposes Brexit it will lose a further 11 seats. If Labour supports the implementation of Brexit it will lose a further 45 seats. If Labour fails to campaign against Brexit it will not win any additional target seats, while if it opposes Brexit it would be in a position to win five seats.**

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would be in a position to win five seats.

The heaviest Labour loses will occur in London, with 16 seats being vulnerable if the party fails to campaign against Brexit. 61% of people in London would vote to Remain in a new referendum, but amongst Labour voters it is 84.1%. Amongst the seats it would lose in the capital are Hampstead and Kilburn, Brentford & Isleworth, Brent Central and Enfield Southgate. Labour would also lose Dagenham & Rainham despite over 70% of voters there backing Leave in the 2016 referendum.

Labour would lose five of its seven MPs in Scotland if the party fails to campaign against Brexit and it would have no chance of picking up any of the 18 Scottish seats it would need to pick up if it is to win a majority. This is unsurprising given that 66% of Scots would vote to stay in the EU in any new vote, a view shared by 77.6% of Labour supporters.

The only seats it would retain are Edinburgh South and Glasgow North East.

There would be widespread disappointment amongst Labour supporters if the party does not oppose Brexit or backs a new Referendum. Over half of 2017 Labour voters would view the party “more negatively”, with just 11% viewing them more positively. Amongst Labour Remain voters this rises to 62%.

Almost half of Labour voters in London (44%) would consider voting for another party in a snap election if the party went into it promising to implement Brexit or opposing a second referendum.

But it is not just in London where feelings amongst Labour supporters run high. In virtually every seat in the country Labour’s share of the vote would be significantly higher if it opposed Brexit. This is because there is now not a single constituency in the UK where the majority of Labour voters would not support Remain in a new vote.

**Brexit energises Labour Remain voters far more than Labour Leave voters and this explains why Labour failing to oppose Brexit will have a far more significant impact on the Labour vote than if it actually opposes Brexit.**

When asked whether they “would you be more or less likely to back Labour again in a snap General Election if it promised to reverse Brexit or support a second Referendum or would it make no difference?”, only 12% of Labour voters said that they would be less likely to back Labour. 60% say that they would be more likely to support Labour, while 20% said it would make no difference.

**There can be no disguising the sense of disappointment and disillusionment with Labour if it fails to oppose Brexit and there is every indication that it will be far more damaging to the party’s electoral fortunes than the Iraq War. Labour would especially lose the support of people below the age of 35, which could make this issue comparable to the impact the tuition fees and involvement in the coalition had on Lib Dem support.**

**SCOTTISH LABOUR & BREXIT**

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**Labour’s vote share under different election scenarios**

Constituency	How would you vote if there was another general election before the UK leaves the EU and the Conservative and Labour Parties both support going ahead with Brexit, and the Liberal Democrats are opposed to Brexit?	How would you vote if there was another general election before the UK leaves the EU and the Conservative Party support going ahead with Brexit, but the Labour Party and the Liberal Democrats are opposed to Brexit?
Dagenham & Rainham	29.5%	40.4%
Stoke Central	32.0%	41.7%
Wansbeck	33.6%	42.0%
Dewsbury	31.0%	41.8%
Don Valley	32.5%	38.5%
Hemsworth	36.4%	38.0%

## **THE DANGERS OF A NEW CENTRIST PARTY**

If Labour does not do more to oppose Brexit it will help to pave the way for a new centrist party. Such a party could attract considerable support in London and other big cities University towns.

Our polling shows that 17% of Labour's 2017 voters would be "very likely" to support a new centrist party committed to opposing or overturning Brexit. Another 27% say that they would be "fairly likely" to support a new centrist party. Amongst Labour's 2017 Remain voters, this jumps to 23% and 36% respectively.

Even if we accept that most Labour voters would not desert the party for a new centrist party, anger at Brexit means that some will. Even if just 20-25% of those who say that they are "very likely" to support a new party do, it spells trouble for Labour in many marginal seats.

Support for a new centrist party is highest in London. In the key marginal seat of Putney, 47% of 2017 Labour Remain voters would be very attracted to a new centrist party, while in Wimbledon, another seat Labour would need to win a General Election, it is 37%. If even just a quarter or a fifth backed a new party, the chances of Labour winning these seats immediately become much lower.

Even in seats where voters backed Leave strongly, there is support for a new centrist party amongst Labour voters. In Dagenham & Rainham 20% of Labour Remain voters are likely to be "very attracted" to a new party, while in Crewe & Nantwich it is 26%, High Peak 29%, Blyth Valley 25% and Halifax 27%. If even a fraction of these Labour voters desert the party then retaining these seats will be extremely difficult.

## **TORY SOFT-BREXIT MELTDOWN PRESENTS LABOUR OPPORTUNITY**

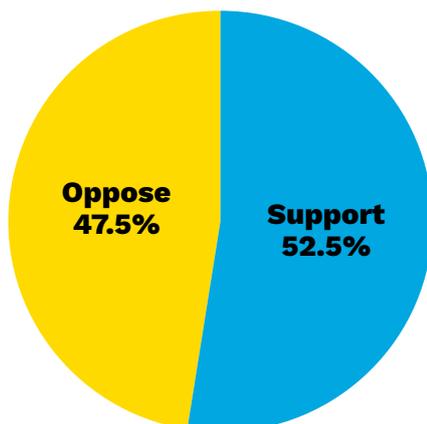
Leave voters do not support Theresa May's deal. If she were to take the Tories into an election with this deal as their manifesto policy, support for the party would drop considerably. This is because 87% of Leave voters do not believe a deal that keeps the UK following EU rules and regulations honours the referendum result. **If Labour went into a General Election opposing Brexit while the Tories promised a Brexit deal which kept the UK following EU rules, then Labour would have 38% of the vote and the Conservatives 33%. In this scenario, Labour would win the election.**

## **IF PARLIAMENT IS DEADLOCKED, PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY BACK LETTING VOTERS DECIDE IN A REFERENDUM**

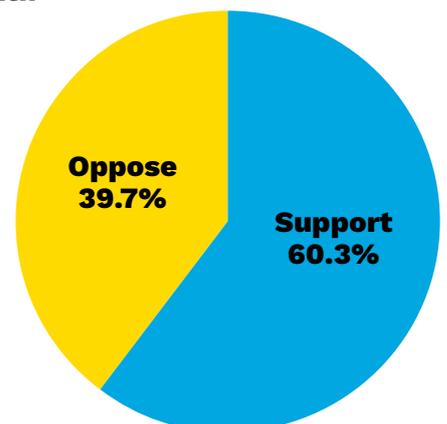
Opinion towards having a second vote has been growing over the past 12 months. When polled in January the British public were still against having a second vote. But steadily, as time has gone by, attitudes have warmed to the public having the final say and, as our table clearly shows, it is attracting overwhelming support when framed alongside the failure of politicians to agree a deal.

Almost two-thirds of voters would now support letting the public decide on a three-question Brexit option if Parliament remains deadlocked. This includes 80.5% of current Labour voters, rising to an incredible

**Would you support or oppose a public vote on whether Britain stays in the EU, Leaves the EU on the terms set out in the government's deal, or Leaves the EU with no deal?**



**And if Parliament can't decide on the best way forward for Brexit... Would you then support or oppose a public vote on whether Britain stays in the EU, leaves the EU on the terms set out in the government's deal, or leaves the EU with no deal?**



**On 23rd June 2016, the UK voted to leave the European Union. If each of the following were included in a deal with the EU, do you think that it would or would not uphold the result of the referendum, regardless of how you voted?**

	Total	Con	Lab	LD	Labour Remain	Labour Leave
<b>THE UK CONTINUING TO FOLLOW EU RULES AND LEGISLATION</b>						
This outcome would uphold the outcome of the referendum	<b>16</b>	12	22	20	24	15
This outcome would not uphold the outcome of the referendum	<b>54</b>	69	48	53	46	54
Don't know	<b>30</b>	19	30	27	30	31
<b>MAINTAINING THE FREE MOVEMENT OF EU AND UK CITIZENS IN EUROPE</b>						
This outcome would uphold the outcome of the referendum	<b>26</b>	24	31	34	32	26
This outcome would not uphold the outcome of the referendum	<b>41</b>	52	38	39	38	44
Don't know	<b>32</b>	23	31	28	30	30

92% of Labour Remain voters. Opinion is evenly divided amongst Labour Leave voters, with 49.3% backing a second vote and 50.7% opposing one. **However, that 50% of Labour Leave voters are now supportive of a second vote is quite remarkable. In January 2018 only 34% of Labour Leave voters backed a second vote.**

What is key is that all three Brexit options (May's deal, clean break and Remain) are on a Referendum ballot paper to ensure there is buy in from all Brexit opinions. Do not be surprised if Nigel Farage, or another key Leave leader, comes out soon in favour of having a second vote, as it is becoming increasingly clear to them that a new public vote is the best way – or the only way – to achieve a clean Brexit.

## WHAT BREXIT MEANS TO LABOUR LEAVE VOTERS

It is worth just finishing this paper with a brief summary of what Labour Leave voters consider Brexit to mean, and what they think honours the 2016 referendum result.

There is an argument that supporting a second referendum fails to respect the wishes of voters. This has led many MPs to think that they have to support some form of Brexit. However, most Leave voters, including Labour Leave voters, are almost as equally opposed to *any* Brexit deal that keeps Britain following EU rules and regulations (such as the Customs Union) and free movement of people (Single Market).

Asking this question in different ways illicit similar responses. When asked if Brexit has to mean Britain being free of EU laws and regulations, 82% of Labour Leave voters agreed. In a different poll, with different pollsters, the same number of Labour Leave voters felt

that anything less than a clean break from the EU will be a betrayal of the Referendum vote.

**While backing a soft Brexit, whereby Britain remains in the Customs Union and the Single Market might appear to politicians that they are implementing the 2016 referendum, Leave voters will think quite differently. When the reality of Brexit sinks in, and the expected benefits have not materialised, it will be quite easy for the hard Brexiteers to shift the blame from themselves to Labour Party who watered down Brexit in a deliberate move to undermine it.** The anger might not have the same immediate intensity that simply blocking or stopping Brexit will mean, the slow drip of disappointment and a sense of betrayal could be even more politically costly in the long-term.

Region	Remain	Leave
North East	68.0%	32.0%
North West	72.2%	27.8%
Yorkshire & Humber	70.1%	29.9%
East Midlands	72.4%	27.6%
West Midlands	71.6%	28.4%
East of England	75.4%	24.6%
London	84.1%	15.9%
South East	78.5%	21.5%
South West	76.8%	23.2%
Wales	72.5%	27.5%
Scotland	77.4%	22.6%

## LABOUR VOTERS ON LABOUR'S BREXIT OPTIONS

In December 2018 we asked 668 Labour voters in a 2,000 person Populus poll whether they were more or less likely to vote for Labour in a general election if it promised to reverse Brexit or support a second referendum. 60% of respondents said it would make them more likely to vote Labour if the party was committed to oppose Brexit, 28% said it would make no difference on their vote and 12% said that they were less likely to vote Labour.

In early January we asked 5,125 voters their views on possible Labour positions on Brexit. We gave them three scenarios and asked them to chose if they

viewed the Labour Party more positively or negatively as a result. We thought this was a more informative way of gauging opinion rather than asking them how they would vote in a general election with each scenario.

**The most popular option was for Labour to oppose Brexit, the second preferred choice was for Labour to honour Brexit but renegotiate a better deal and the third choice was to support May's deal.**

In late January we asked 1,625 people a further question on Labour Brexit position, giving them five options. Once again, backing a second referendum and supporting Remain came out clearly as the winner.

	Total	Vote in 2017			Remain Voters			Leave voters		
		Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Con	Lab	Lib Dem
<b>Weighted Sample</b>	<b>1657</b>	<b>547</b>	<b>512</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>312</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>363</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Unweighted Sample</b>	<b>1657</b>	<b>581</b>	<b>512</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>376</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>23</b>

	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Which of the following positions, if any, do you think the Labour Party should adopt on Brexit?</b>										
The Labour Party should support a second referendum and campaign for Britain to stay in the EU	25	7	<b>39</b>	48	21	<b>52</b>	61	2	<b>9</b>	15
The Labour Party should support Theresa May's deal	19	36	<b>8</b>	12	36	<b>4</b>	6	37	<b>15</b>	35
The Labour Party should support leaving the EU without a deal	18	30	<b>10</b>	6	5	<b>1</b>	3	41	<b>31</b>	15
The Labour Party should support a renegotiation of the Brexit deal that keeps Britain within the Customs Union and aligned to the Single Market	14	9	<b>24</b>	19	17	<b>28</b>	18	6	<b>17</b>	22
None of the above	5	4	<b>5</b>	4	4	<b>4</b>	2	4	<b>7</b>	0
Don't know	19	14	<b>14</b>	10	17	<b>11</b>	10	12	<b>20</b>	14

	Total	Vote in 2017			Remain Voters				Leave voters			
		Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	UKIP	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	UKIP
<b>Weighted Sample</b>	<b>5125</b>	<b>1691</b>	<b>1583</b>	<b>287</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>963</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1153</b>	<b>483</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>Unweighted Sample</b>	<b>5125</b>	<b>1784</b>	<b>1644</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>556</b>	<b>1086</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1160</b>	<b>455</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>84</b>

	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
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**Would each of the following make you view the Labour party more positively or more negatively, or would it make no difference?**

**The Labour party agreeing to support the implementation of Brexit under the current deal**

Would make me view Labour more positively	12	18	9	12	22	6	10	45	17	15	19	8
Would make me view Labour more negatively	24	7	43	35	7	52	39	0	7	26	24	17
Make no difference – I viewed Labour positively and still would	10	4	22	5	5	22	5	55	3	22	3	4
Make no difference – I viewed Labour negatively and still would	31	60	6	34	54	5	32	0	63	10	44	55
Don't know	23	11	20	14	12	16	14	0	10	26	11	16

**The Labour party agreeing to support the implementation of Brexit under a revised deal**

Would make me view Labour more positively	18	18	20	16	15	14	13	45	18	32	31	18
Would make me view Labour more negatively	13	5	22	29	5	31	34	0	5	7	13	6
Make no difference – I viewed Labour positively and still would	12	3	28	6	5	29	6	55	3	24	7	5
Make no difference – I viewed Labour negatively and still would	31	60	6	33	59	4	32	0	61	9	36	54
Don't know	26	14	25	15	16	22	16	0	13	29	13	17

**The Labour party agreeing to pause or stop Brexit**

Would make me view Labour more positively	28	8	46	59	20	64	71	0	3	11	13	2
Would make me view Labour more negatively	17	24	15	10	15	5	4	0	28	36	30	35
Make no difference – I viewed Labour positively and still would	8	2	20	4	3	20	3	55	2	19	6	3
Make no difference – I viewed Labour negatively and still would	28	58	4	16	51	1	11	45	61	11	39	46
Don't know	19	8	15	11	11	10	10	0	7	23	12	14

## NEXT STEPS

*TSSA has prepared this document for internal use with Momentum. It is recommended that its findings are shared with key Momentum staff members working on General Election preparations, and the NCG, followed by a briefing for staff and NCG Officers, then full NCG members to discuss the findings, and look at the current situation in terms of Momentum's own membership, the wider Labour Party membership where Labour's Brexit strategy and its relationship to a General Election is becoming increasingly fraught. Preparing for the ground campaign, targeting resources into Momentum and Left Trade Union backed target marginal seats, complemented by highly targeted social media campaigning using these findings all need to be considered.*

## APPENDIX 1. SCOTTISH LABOUR & BREXIT

- Scotland would vote overwhelmingly in favour of Remain in a new referendum and think that no deal would be bad
- If there was a referendum now on UK membership of the EU, Scotland would vote to remain: Remain 66.2% Leave 23.8%. (For what it is worth, we don't think a straight Remain/Leave referendum is sensible, but instead favour a multi-option vote)
- People in Scotland think that voting without a deal would be bad. By a long way.

### Leaving without an agreed deal would be:

Good	12.8%
Makes no difference	23.2%
Bad	64.0%

### Across the UK, Labour voters increasingly oppose leaving the EU. In Scotland, voters think Brexit will hurt economic opportunities for people like them

Labour voters increasingly oppose Britain's exit from the EU, support giving voters the final say on any Brexit deal, and view Brexit as a Tory policy. If there is an election in 2019, Labour will get a lower share of the vote in every seat in the country if it has a pro-Brexit policy than if it has an anti-Brexit position.

If Labour were to move away from holding a policy of supporting Brexit happening towards opposing Brexit, it will have a clear narrative to justify why it is doing so: the vast majority of Labour voters, including Labour Leave voters, do not trust the Tory Government to deliver a good Brexit for them.

### People in Scotland think Brexit will hurt their economic opportunities:

#### Brexit will increase the economic opportunities for people like me (all voters in Scotland):

Strongly agree	5.1%
Partially agree	12.8%
Partially disagree	16.5%
Strongly disagree	35.6%

#### Brexit will increase the economic opportunities for people like me (2017 Labour voters)

Strongly agree	3.3%
Partially agree	9.7%
Partially disagree	16.4%
Strongly disagree	47.0%

### Scottish Labour would lose five Westminster seats in a snap General Election (and gain none) if it maintains the current pro-Brexit policy

#### Coatbridge, Chfyston & Bellshill

- If a referendum were held on UK membership of the EU, the constituency would vote 66.6% to 33.4% in favour of remaining in the EU
- 74.3% of people who voted Labour in 2017 would vote Remain (against 25.7% of 2017 Labour voters would vote Leave.)
- If Labour goes into a snap General Election held before we have left the EU with a policy of supporting or enabling Brexit, Labour would lose this seat to the SNP. If there was a General Election before the UK leaves the EU and the Conservative Party support going ahead with Brexit, while the Labour Party opposed it, Labour would retain the seat.

#### East Lothian

- If a referendum were held on UK membership of the EU, the constituency would vote 68% to 32% in favour of remaining in the EU
- 79.6% of people who voted Labour in 2017 would vote Remain (against 21.4% of 2017 Labour voters would vote Leave.)
- If Labour goes into a snap General Election held before we have left the EU with a policy of supporting or enabling Brexit, Labour would lose this seat to the SNP. If there was a General Election before the UK leaves the EU and the Conservative Party support going ahead with Brexit, while the Labour Party opposed it, Labour would retain the seat.

#### Edinburgh South

- If a referendum were held on UK membership of the EU, the constituency would vote 79.8% to 20.2% in favour of remaining in the EU
- 90.1% of people who voted Labour in 2017 would vote Remain (against 9.9% of 2017 Labour voters would vote Leave.)
- In our poll, Labour retain this seat whether it takes a position of supporting or opposing Brexit.

#### Glasgow North East

- If a referendum were held on UK membership of the EU, the constituency would vote 65.8% to 34.2% in favour of remaining in the EU
- 75.2% of people who voted Labour in 2017 would vote Remain (against 24.8% of 2017 Labour voters would vote Leave.)
- In our poll, Labour retain this seat whether it takes a position of supporting or opposing Brexit.

### **Kirkcaldy & Cowdenbeath**

- If a referendum were held on UK membership of the EU, the constituency would vote 64.1% to 25.9% in favour of remaining in the EU
- 75.2% of people who voted Labour in 2017 would vote Remain (against 24.8% of 2017 Labour voters would vote Leave.)
- If Labour goes into a snap General Election held before we have left the EU with a policy of supporting or enabling Brexit, Labour would lose this seat to the SNP. If there was a General Election before the UK leaves the EU and the Conservative Party support going ahead with Brexit, while the Labour Party opposed it, Labour would retain the seat.

### **Midlothian**

- If a referendum were held on UK membership of the EU, the constituency would vote 63% to 37% in favour of remaining in the EU
- 74.6% of people who voted Labour in 2017 would vote Remain (against 25.7% of 2017 Labour voters would vote Leave.)
- If Labour goes into a snap General Election held before we have left the EU with a policy of supporting or enabling Brexit, Labour would lose this seat to the SNP. If there was a General Election before the UK leaves the EU and the Conservative Party support going ahead with Brexit, while the Labour Party opposed it, Labour would retain the seat.

### **Rutherglen & Hamilton West**

- If a referendum were held on UK membership of the EU, the constituency would vote 67.1% to 32.9% in favour of remaining in the EU
- 77.2% of people who voted Labour in 2017 would vote Remain (against 22.8% of 2017 Labour voters would vote to Leave.)
- If Labour goes into a snap General Election held before we have left the EU with a policy of supporting or enabling Brexit, Labour would lose this seat to the SNP. If there was a General Election before the UK leaves the EU and the Conservative Party support going ahead with Brexit, while the Labour Party opposed it, Labour would retain the seat.