



All change?

The new political landscape – and
what Britain expects from Brexit

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC

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Lord Ashcroft Polls

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Methodology

10,153 adults were interviewed online between 21 and 28 March 2017. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Great Britain.

Full data tables are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com

Fifteen focus groups were held between 8 and 23 March 2017 in Bath, West Bromwich, Hornsey & Wood Green, Halifax, Burnley, Twickenham, South Basildon & East Thurrock, and Brighton.

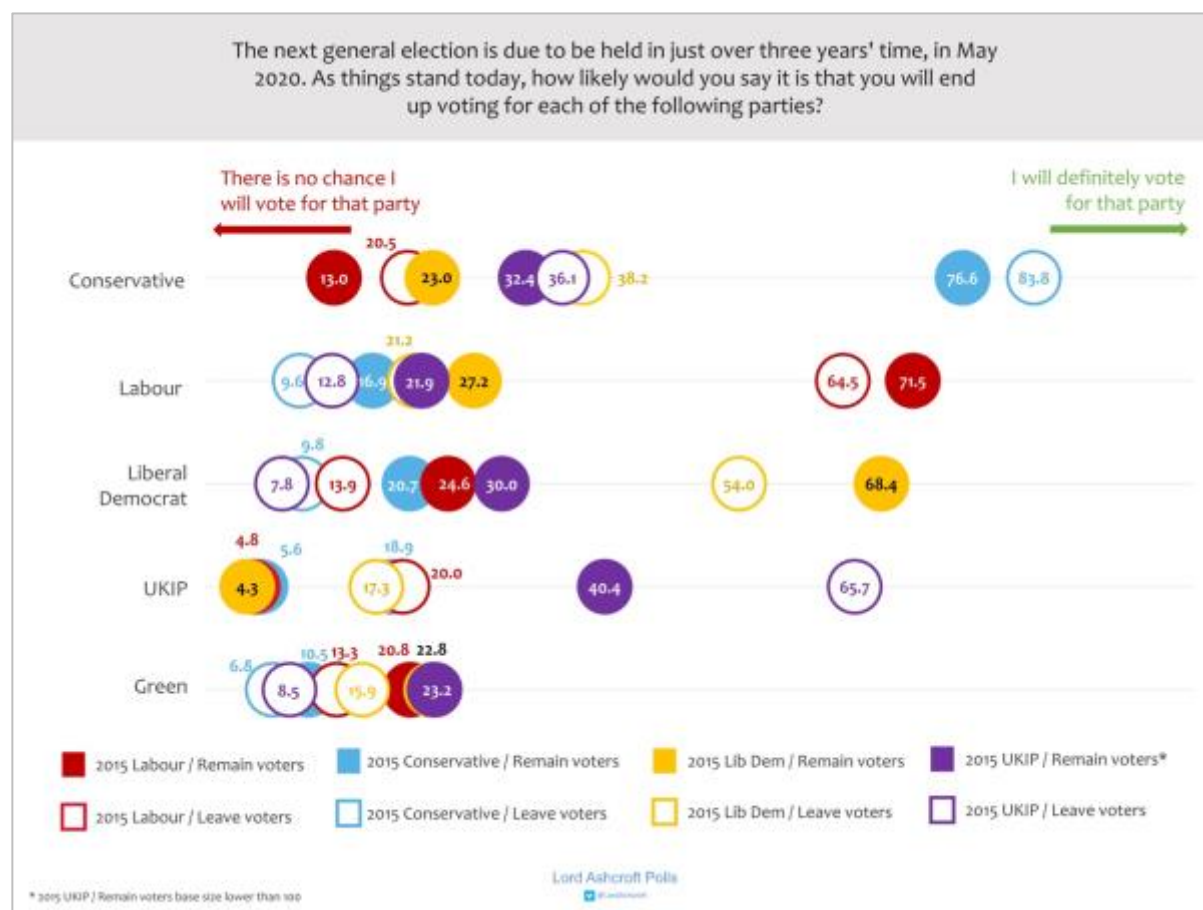
Key points

- Theresa May had a 37-point lead over Jeremy Corbyn as best Prime Minister (55% to 18%). Those who voted Labour in 2015 and Leave in the EU referendum preferred May to Corbyn by 40% to 30%.
- Labour were thought more likely than the Conservatives to stand for fairness, opportunity for all, helping ordinary people get on in life, and representing the whole country not just some types of people – all measures on which they also led before the 2015 election. The Conservatives led Labour by 30 points on being competent and capable, by 33 points on being willing to take tough decisions for the long term, and by 25 points on being clear about what they stand for.
- On individual policy issues, Labour were thought the best party on social care (by 15 points), improving the NHS (by 12 points), and were tied with the Conservatives on improving schools. The Conservatives led on all other policy issues, most substantially on cutting the deficit, negotiating Brexit, crime, welfare reform and the economy.
- Asked how likely they were to vote for each party at the next election on a 100-point scale, 2015 Conservatives gave the highest likelihood of sticking with their previous party, however they voted in the referendum. Including only those who gave a clear preference for one party over another results in implied voting intention figures of Con 41%, Lab 28%, Lib Dems 9%, UKIP 10%, Others 11%.
- “Negotiating Britain’s exit from the EU on the right terms” was seen as the most important issue facing the country as a whole both by Leave and Remain voters; overall, six in ten put it among their top three. However, when asked about priorities for themselves and their families, the EU negotiations fell to third place behind “improving the NHS” and “tackling the cost of living”; only 39% named the Brexit negotiations among the top three issues for themselves and their families.
- Nearly half (45%) of voters – including more than one third of Remainers and 82% of Conservative Remainers – said the Conservative Party best represented their view of how the UK should handle Brexit and what our relationship with the EU should be like once we leave.
- However, many were unclear about the Brexit policy of each party, especially Labour’s: people were evenly split between thinking Labour wants to stop Brexit from happening, thinks the result should be accepted even though it campaigned to remain in the EU, or is completely divided on the issue.
- Only 24% of voters (and only 39% of Leaver voters) said they thought the UK has the stronger hand in the Brexit negotiations. 43% (including two thirds of Remain voters) said they thought the EU has the advantage, with one fifth saying the two sides are evenly matched.
- Nearly half (45%) of Leave voters thought the biggest risk in the negotiations was that the government would end up agreeing to keep the UK’s relationship with the EU too much like it is now. For voters as a whole, including nearly seven in ten Remain voters, the bigger fear was that the government would be so determined to show it was making a clean break with the EU that they would end up damaging the UK’s future trade and international relationships.

- Most voters, including 70% of Leavers, thought that if the UK fails to negotiate a good deal, the main reason will be that other EU countries were unwilling to agree reasonable terms for the UK.
- People were closely divided as to whether leaving the EU would make the UK better off (42%) or worse off (40%) – though nearly one in ten Remain voters and one in five Conservative Remain voters said Brexit would make the UK better off. Those who were pessimistic thought the impact would be more immediate: 62% of those saying the UK would be worse off said this was happening already, compared to 22% of those who said the country would be better off; most of those who took the optimistic view said the benefit would be felt within the next five years.
- If the Brexit negotiations came down to a balance between access to the single market and control of immigration, voters split 42% to 34% (and Leave voters by 66% to 13%) in favour of prioritising immigration control.
- Many Remain voters were also in favour of immigration control, and believed it would be wrong and politically impossible for the PM to return with a deal that included continued free movement. Many also argued that no significant concessions should be needed to secure continued free trade, since barriers would also damage the remaining EU countries.
- The strong consensus in the research was that EU nationals already in the UK should be allowed to stay after Brexit. However, most voters (55%), including 73% of Leave voters and 38% of Remainers, thought that in the negotiations it was right for the government to link their status to that of UK nationals elsewhere in the EU.
- Of four potential negotiating objectives, Leave voters placed the highest priority on the UK no longer paying into the EU budget and no longer being subject to judgments from the European Court of Justice. These were also the outcomes they considered the most likely to be achieved. The right to pick and choose which EU nationals could come to Britain and continued tariff-free trade were also important to them, and also more likely than not to be achieved.
- For Remain voters, continued tariff-free trade was significantly more important than ending budget contributions, immigration control and withdrawing from ECJ – but they were less optimistic than Leavers to think this would be achieved, thinking it more likely than not that tariffs would be imposed after Brexit.

Parties and leaders

The 2020 general election



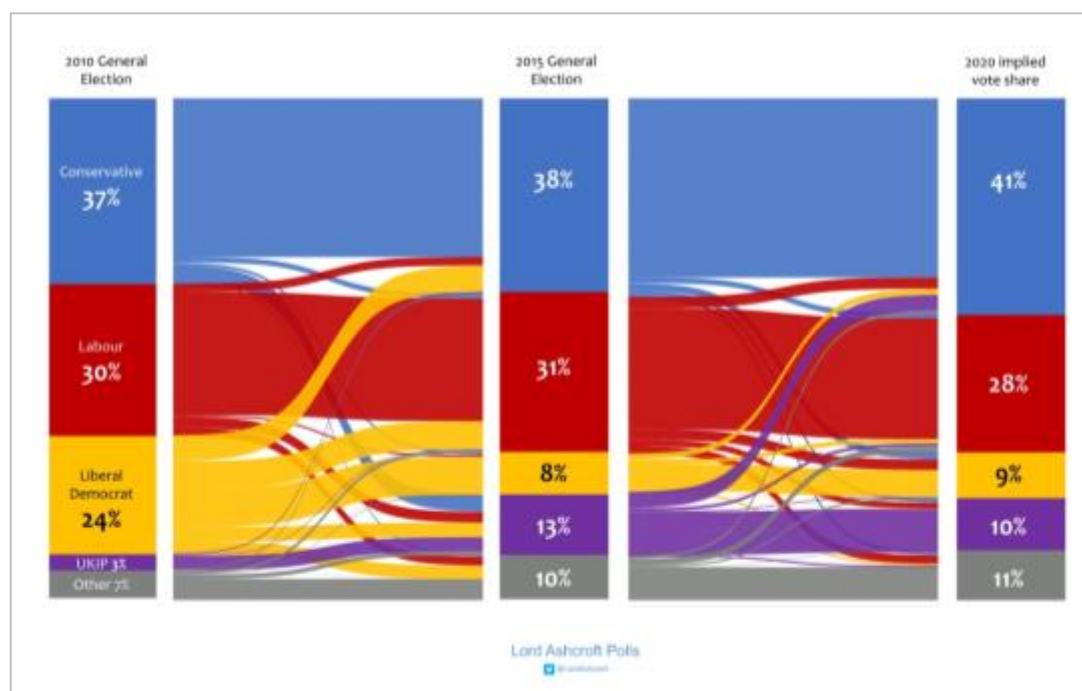
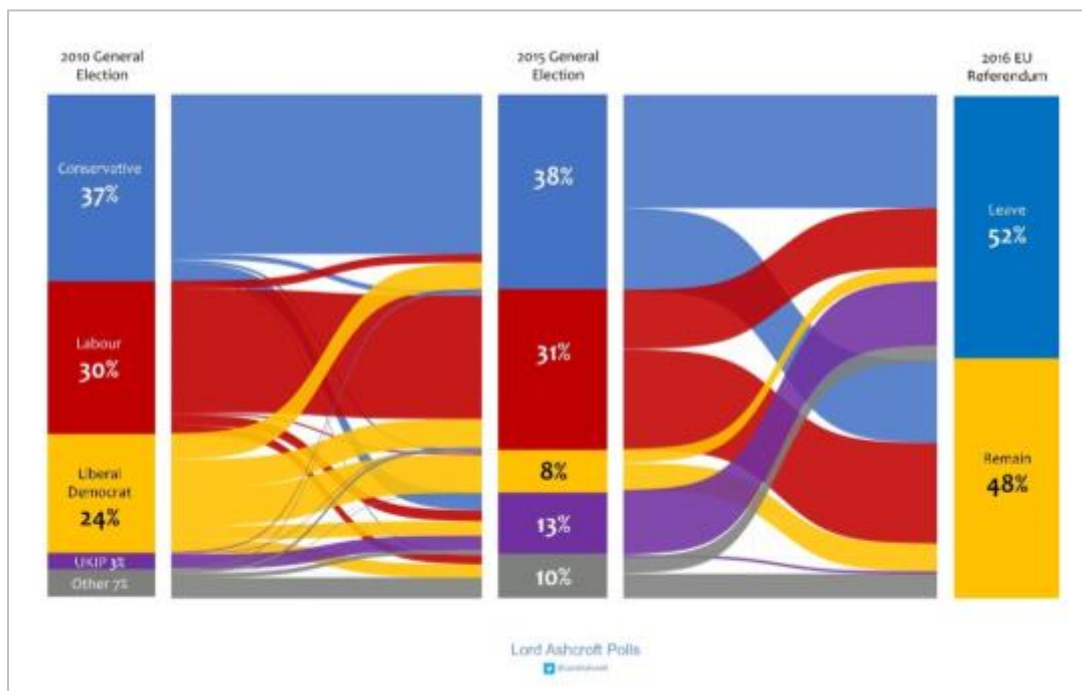
In our poll we asked people to say how likely they were to vote for each party at the next general election, in 2020. Those who had voted Conservative at the last election were the most likely to say they would stay with their 2015 party, however they had voted in the EU referendum, though Leavers (83.8) gave a slightly higher likelihood than Remainers (76.6). However, Conservative voters who had voted Liberal Democrat at the 2010 election gave a lower likelihood of staying with the Tories (64.3) and a greater chance than other 2015 Tories of returning to the Lib Dems (32.0) – though they were still twice as likely to stay with the Conservatives (13).

Labour Remainers put their chances of staying with the party in 2020 at 71.5, and Labour Leavers at 64.5. Those who had voted Labour in 2015 but Lib Dem in 2010 put their likelihood of staying with Labour at 58.3, and their chance of going back to the Lib Dems at 37.1. Labour Remain voters were more likely to say they would switch to the Greens (20.8) than the Conservatives (13).

UKIP 2015 voters who had voted Leave in the referendum put their chances of staying with UKIP at the next election at just 65.7. They were nearly three times as likely to say they would switch to the Conservatives (36.1) as to Labour (12.8).

Overall, 2015 Lib Dem voters gave the lowest likelihood of staying with their party in 2020, with a score of 63.3. They have a slightly higher score for their chances of switching to the Conservatives (27.7) than to Labour (26.0).

2010, 2015, 2016... and 2020

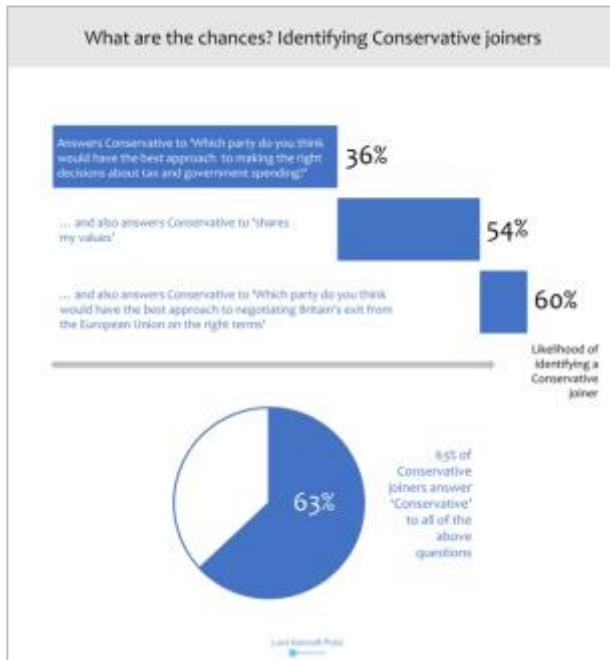


2020 implied vote shares are based on the percentage of voters giving a clear preference for one party when asked to give their probability of voting for each party on a 100-point scale (see “The 2020 general election”, above).

Voter flows include only those who voted in the previous general election.

Why are the switchers switching?

We looked in more detail at voters who said they had switched parties – that is, gave a higher probability on their 100-point scale of voting for a different party in 2020 from the one they voted for in 2015. We analysed the answers to work out what each party’s “joiners” and “defectors” had in common, and what were therefore the most important factors in pulling them towards (or pushing them away from) each party.



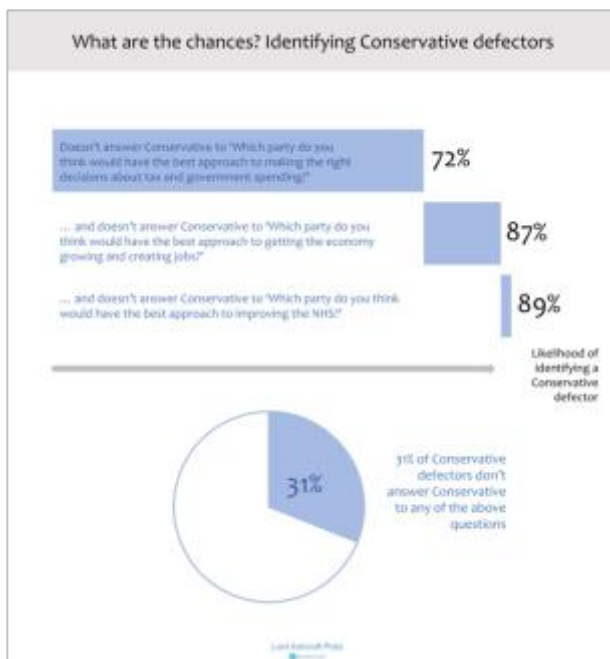
These questions give you the best chance of identifying 2015 non-Tories who now say they are more likely to vote Conservative than anything else.

If they say the Tories are the most likely to make the right decisions about taxes and public spending, there is a 36% chance they are a Tory joiner.

If they also say the Tories are the party most likely to share their values, the chance rises to 54%.

If they also say they think the Tories have the best approach to negotiating Brexit, the chance of them being a Tory joiner rises to 60%.

This combination of views accounts for nearly two thirds (63%) of those who are switching to the Tories having voted for a different party in 2015.

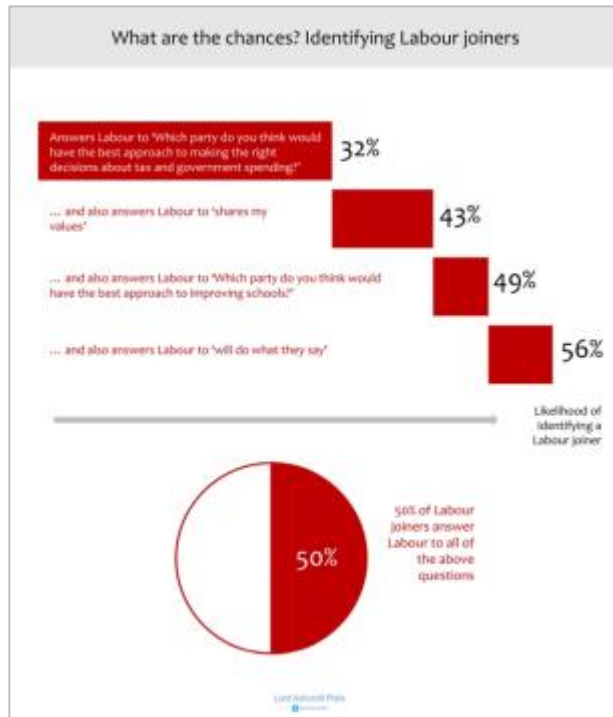


Similarly, a 2015 Conservative voter who fails to identify the Tories as having the best approach to tax and spending has a 72% chance of being a defector to another party.

This rises to 87% if they also fail to identify the Tories as having the best approach to the economy.

If they also think the Tories do not have the best approach to the NHS, their chance of being a defector rises to 89%.

This combination of views accounts for 31% of all Tory defectors (suggesting that the reasons for switching to another party are more diverse than Tory joiners' reasons for switching to the Conservatives).

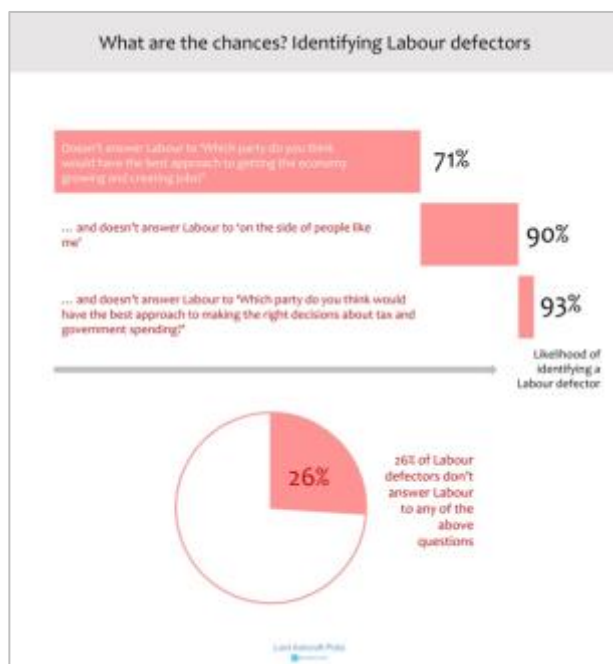


Someone who voted for another party in 2015 but says Labour has the best approach to tax and spending has a 32% chance of being a Labour joiner.

This rises to 43% if they also say Labour shares their values, and to 49% if they also say Labour is the best party on improving schools.

If they also say Labour will do what they say, their chance of being a Labour joiner rises to 56%.

Half of those who voted for another party in 2015 but now say they are more likely to vote Labour than anything else are accounted for by this combination of answers.



A 2015 Labour voter who says that the party doesn't have the best approach to getting the economy growing and creating jobs has a 71% chance of being a Labour defector.

This rises to 90% if, in addition, they do not say Labour is "on the side of people like me".

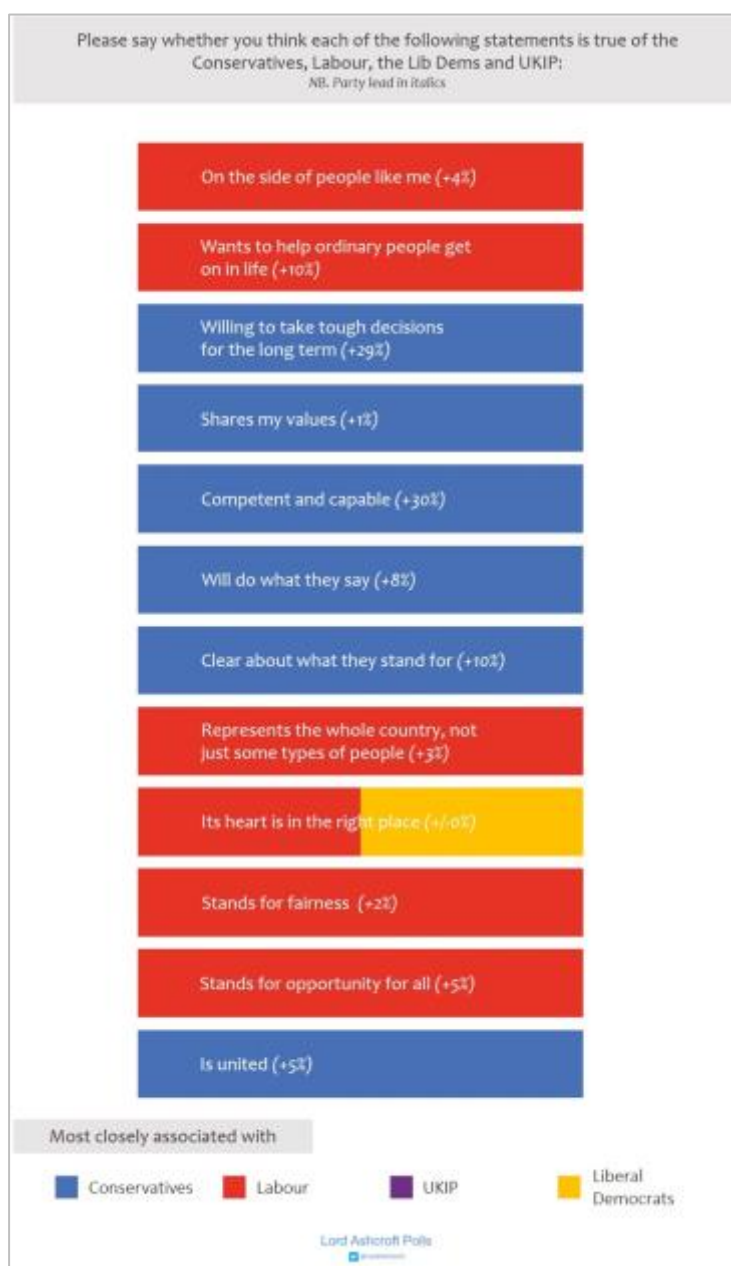
If they also say Labour doesn't have the best approach to tax and spending, they have a 93% chance of being a Labour defector.

Though this is the most reliable way of identifying a Labour defector, this combination of answers accounts for just 26% of them – again suggesting that those switching away from Labour are doing so for many different reasons.

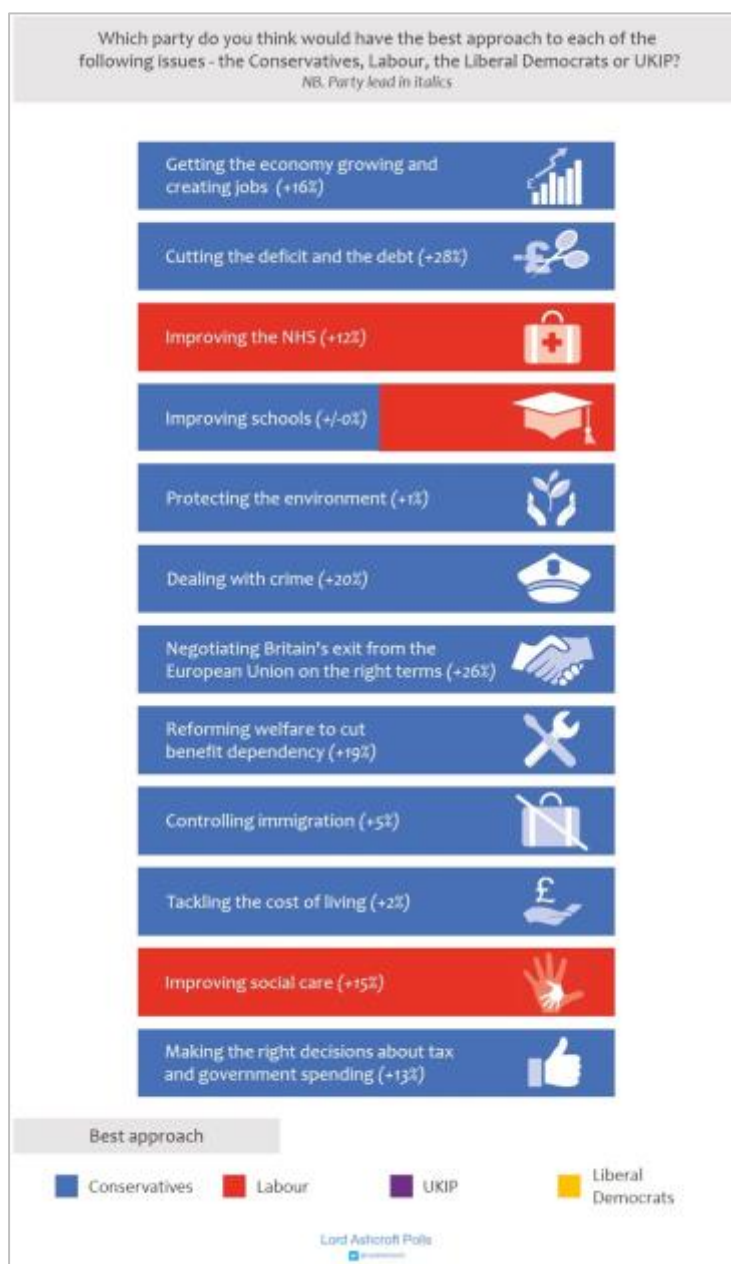
Party attributes

Of twelve different characteristics, our poll respondents attributed six most heavily to Labour and six to the Conservatives. Labour were thought more likely than the Conservatives to want to “help ordinary people get on in life” (by a 22-point margin), to stand for “fairness” (by 14 points) and “opportunity for all” (by 12 points), to have its “heart in the right place” (jointly with the Liberal Democrats) and, by small margins, to be “on the side of people like me” and to represent “the whole country, not just some types of people” (though only around one third of respondents thought this to be true of any party).

The Conservatives were regarded as the most likely to be “willing to take tough decisions for the long term” (by 33 points over Labour), “competent and capable” (by 30 points), “clear about what they stand for” (by 25 points), “united” (by 30 points), to “do what they say” (by 14 points) and, by a single point, to “share my values”.



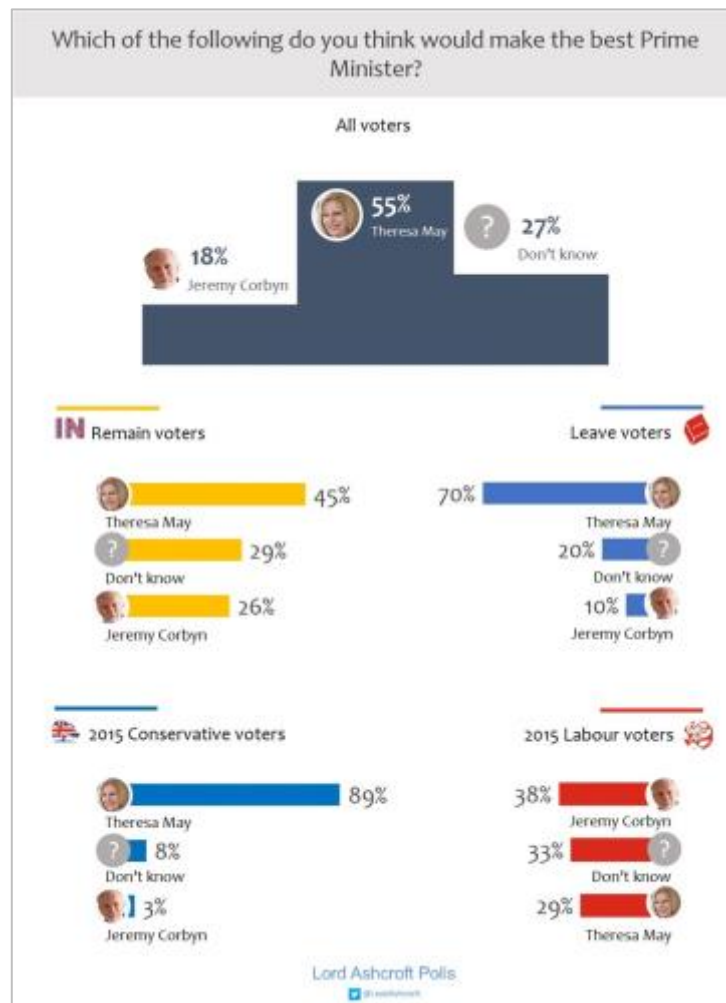
Parties and issues



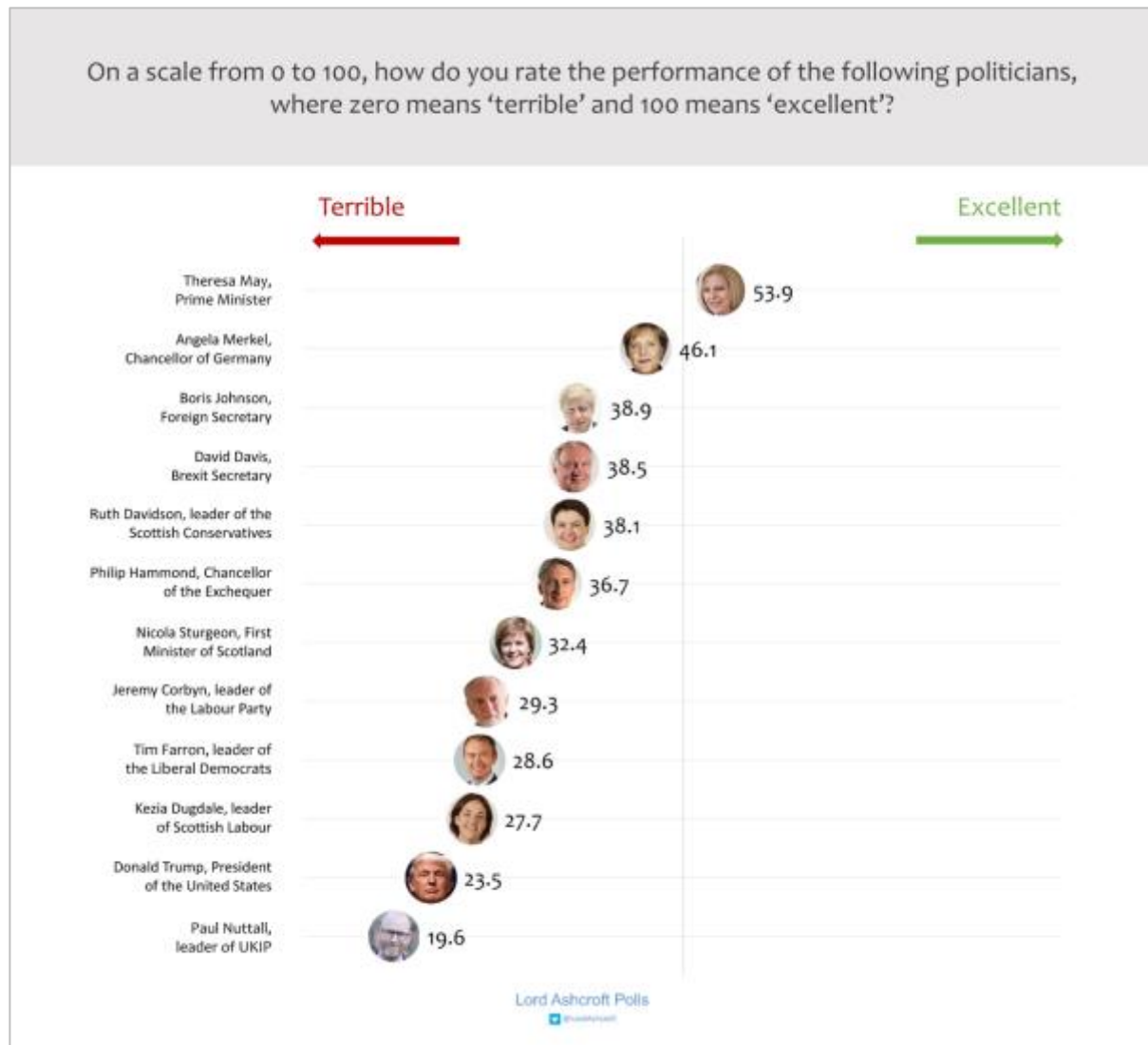
On individual policy issues, Labour were thought the best party on social care (by 15 points), improving the NHS (by 12 points), and were tied with the Conservatives on improving schools.

The Conservatives led on all other policy issues, most substantially on cutting the deficit and the debt (by 28 points), negotiating Britain's exit from the EU on the right terms (by 26 points), crime (by 20 points), welfare reform (by 19 points), getting the economy growing and creating jobs (by 16 points) and making the right decisions about taxes and spending (by 13 points).

Best Prime Minister



Theresa May enjoyed a 37-point lead over Jeremy Corbyn on the question of who would make the best PM. Overall, those who had voted Labour in 2015 preferred Corbyn, but only by a 9-point margin (38% to 29%); Labour voters who had voted Leave in the referendum were more likely to name the Conservative leader (40%) than Corbyn (30%) as the best available PM. Green voters were more likely to choose Corbyn over May (47% to 20%) than Labour voters.



In a longer list of twelve politicians, Theresa May was the only one whose performance was rated above 50 out of 100. German Chancellor Angela Merkel was regarded as the second most impressive on the list with a score of 46.1, ahead of Boris Johnson on 38.9, and David Davis on 38.5. Jeremy Corbyn scored 29.3, marginally ahead of Tim Farron, Kezia Dugdale, US President Donald Trump and Paul Nuttall of UKIP.

Theresa May and the Conservatives

As the poll suggests, those who had voted Conservative in 2015 had a very positive view of Theresa May, however they had voted in the referendum. Many Labour and UKIP voters also saw her as strong, determined (particularly when it came to Brexit, on which she was clearly determined to implement the result of the referendum), and with good judgment, though less “showy” than David Cameron. Many acknowledged that she had an extremely difficult job to do.

“She’s doing a good job, getting on with it. She’s got more balls than most blokes.”

Leave voter, 2015 UKIP

“I liked her speech when she came in – she said she was going to make it fair for everyone. I hope she was telling the truth.”

“She’s quite Thatcher-esque, but not as merciless.”

“I trust her. She’s a safe pair of hands. A tough old bird.”

Remain voters, 2015 Conservative

Though people detected different leadership styles, few had started to see the Conservative Party itself in a different light since Theresa May took over. Several commented on her declared intention to pursue fairness for ordinary people; most either reserved judgment and gave her the benefit of doubt in the meantime, or dismissed it on partisan grounds (“she’s sucking up to the working man, but it’s an act because she’s a Tory”).

Jeremy Corbyn and Labour

Participants of all political persuasions agreed that the Labour Party was in a terrible state (“totally ineffectual”, “total confusion”) and had no prospect of returning to power under its current leadership. Though they sometimes applauded Jeremy Corbyn’s principles and his steadfastness in sticking to them, even those most sympathetic to him felt he was unsuited to the job (with some questioning whether he even wanted to win a general election).

*“I’ve voted Labour all my life, but Corbyn! If he’s still leader next time I’m voting Green
What a waste of space. He’s just a protest politician.”*

Leave voter, 2015 Labour

“What Jeremy Corbyn has done to the Labour Party is disgraceful. He’s just led it into a swamp. There’s no effective opposition whatsoever. If there was an election tomorrow, that would be the end of them.”

“He has values I can associate with about a fair society, and I thought he would be a good leader, but he isn’t. He’s not strong enough to appeal to the nation.”

“If Jeremy Corbyn is still leader at the next election, I’ll vote Conservative. And I’ve voted Labour all my life.”

“Instead of listening to the public he seems to be listening to an ideology inside his own head.”

Remain voters, 2015 Labour

Accordingly, a number of lifelong Labour voters in our focus groups said they would have to vote for another party – usually Conservative or Green – if there were no change at the top by 2020. Those who said they would stick with the party often said it was a matter of tribal loyalty or distaste for the alternatives (“I would have a qualm about voting Labour under Corbyn but I’d have to do it. The Lib Dems are a waste of space and I would never vote Tory”).

The Liberal Democrats

For most of our focus group participants the Liberal Democrats had dropped off the radar, including those in places which had been represented by the Lib Dems until 2015. Those who had switched away from the party at the last election usually said they had been unimpressed with the Lib Dems in coalition or saw the election as a straight choice between David Cameron’s Conservatives and Ed Miliband’s Labour, even if (as was often the case) they had liked their local Lib Dem MP. Many of those who had switched from the Lib Dems to Labour were still angry that the party had gone into coalition with the Conservatives and broken its pledge on university tuition fees.

“The invisible party. If I saw Tim Farron in the bar downstairs I wouldn’t know who he was.”

Remain voter, 2015 Labour

Few could name Tim Farron as leader or associated them with any particular policy positions; only a very few individuals across our fifteen focus groups knew about the party’s stance on Brexit. Accordingly, very few could see any reason for reconsidering the Liberal Democrats at the next election.

“I voted Liberal Democrat for years – they had the chance to do something but it didn’t quite come off, they just faded away really.”

“The Lib Dems by definition are a bit flaky.”

“I’d forgotten they existed, to be honest.”

Remain voters, 2015 Conservative

UKIP

Many of our participants wondered if UKIP still had a purpose now that the UK was on its way out of the European Union. This included many of those who had voted for the party at the last general election. The departure of Nigel Farage also meant UKIP was struggling to make any kind of impact. Some had also noted that Douglas Carswell and donor Arron Banks had also left, which contributed to an impression that the party was in disarray.

“I’m not sure I would vote UKIP again now we have achieved what we wanted.”

“If it was a choice between May, Corbyn or Nuttall, I’d go for May”.

Leave voter, 2015 UKIP

“Now they don’t have Brexit to fight, what are they for?”

Leave voter, 2015 Conservative

“Nigel Farage has gone, and he was their backbone.”

“They’re falling apart. They’ve got no-one in parliament and that millionaire backer has backed away.”

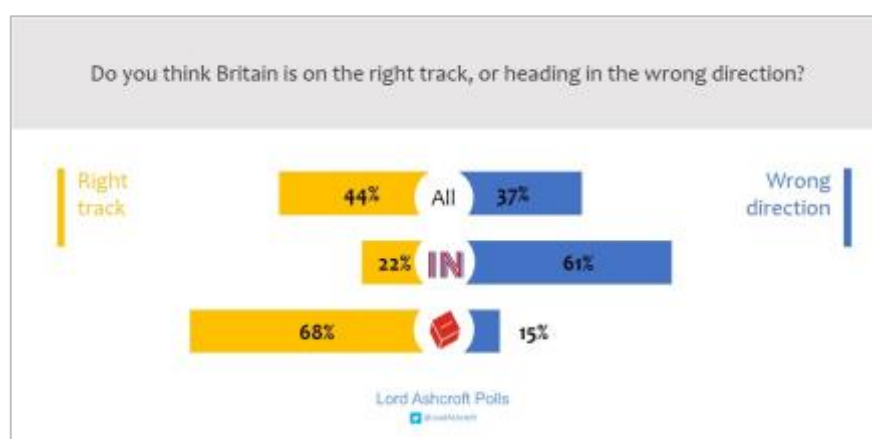
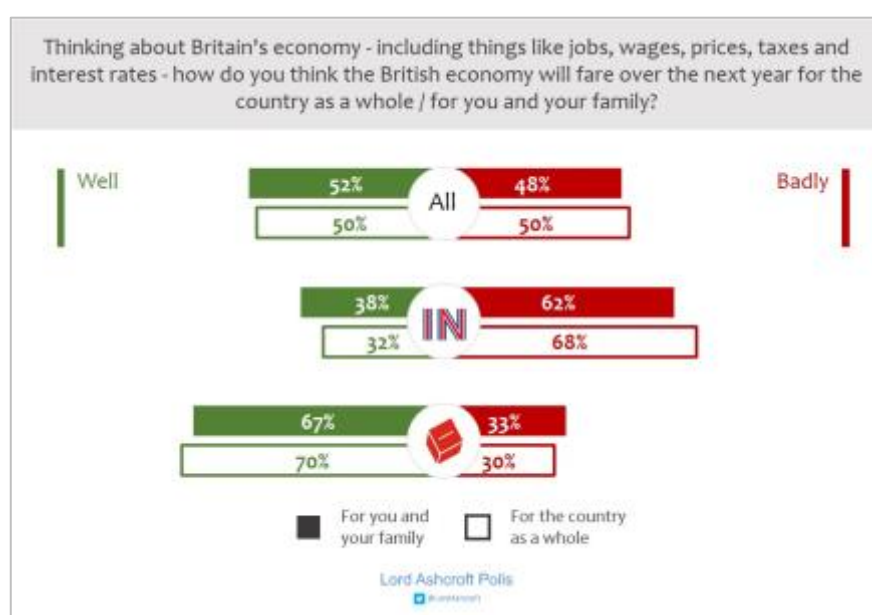
Leave voter, 2015 Labour

Issues and priorities

Right track?

Our poll found that people's assessment of Britain's economic prospects were closely related to how they had voted in the EU referendum. Around seven in ten Leave voters thought the economy would fare well over the next year, while a similar proportion of Remain voters thought it would fare badly. Conservative Leave voters were the most optimistic of all, with 84% saying the economy would do well over the next twelve months.

The same pattern was evident when we asked how the economy would perform "for you and your family" – though Leave voters were marginally more pessimistic on this score, and Remain voters marginally more optimistic, than they were for the country as a whole.

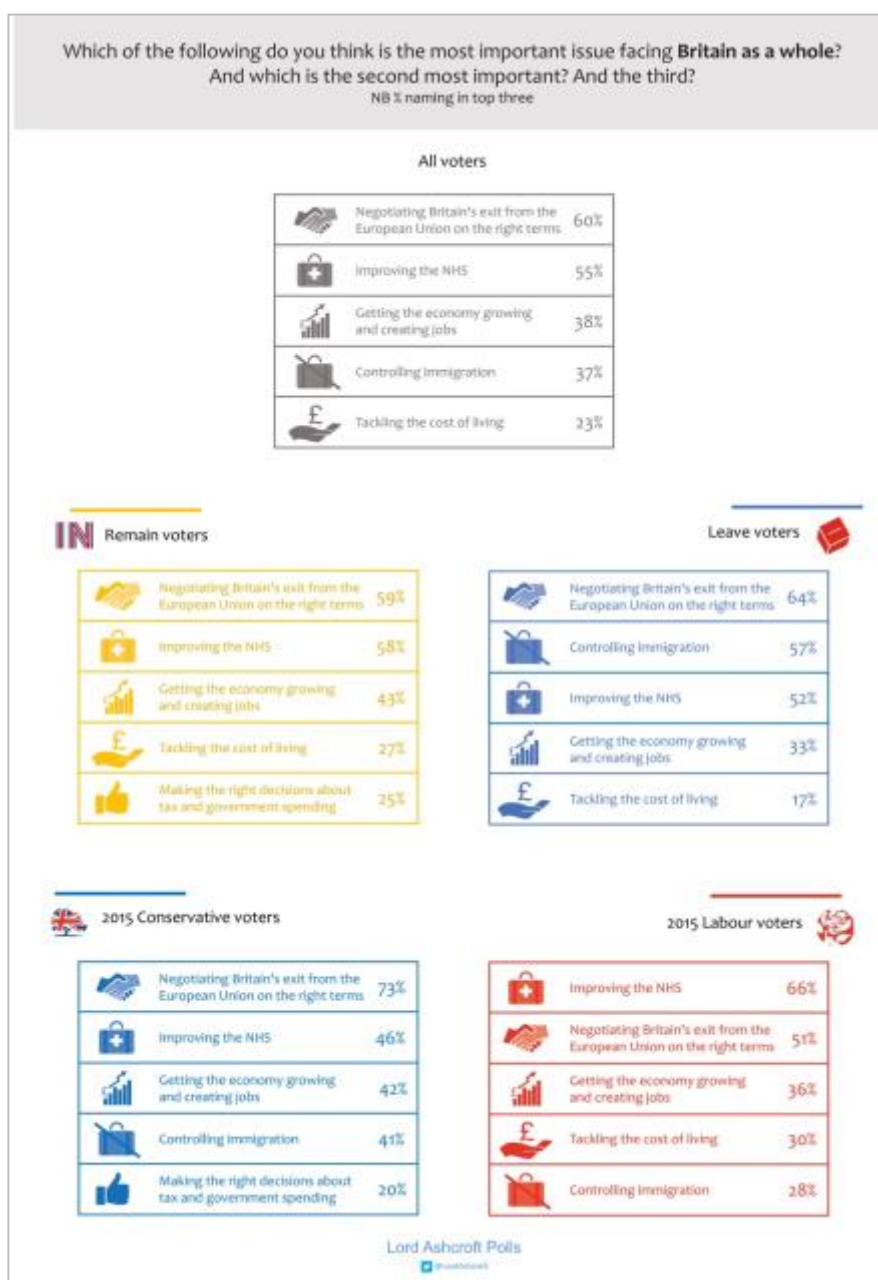


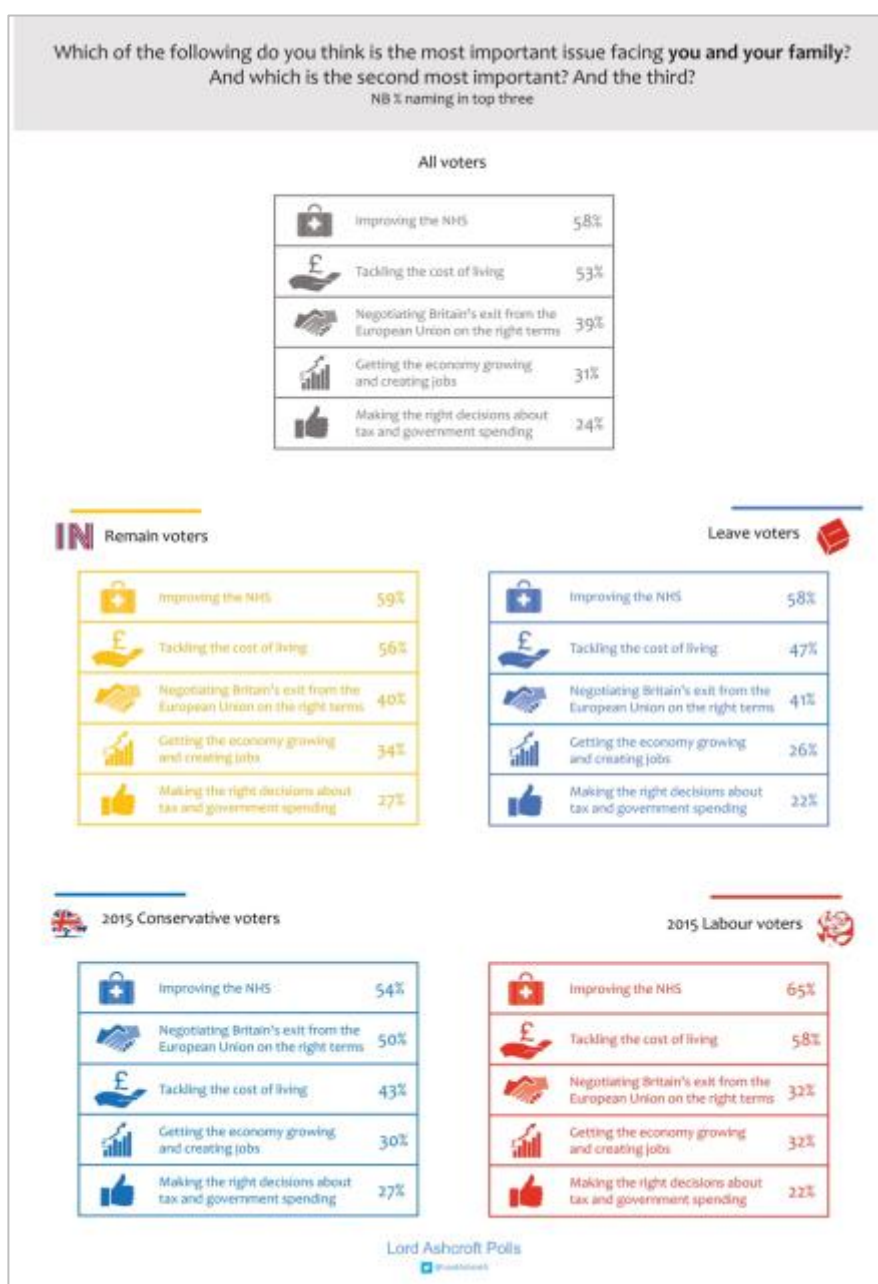
Similarly, more than two thirds of Leave voters (and nearly nine in ten Conservative Leave voters) said they thought that, overall, Britain was on the right track, compared to only just over one in five of those who had voted to remain in the EU. Even 2015 Labour voters who had voted Leave

in the referendum were more likely to say Britain was on the right track (47%) than that the country was heading in the wrong direction (29%).

The right priorities?

Asked which were the most important issues facing the country as a whole six in ten of our poll respondents named “negotiating Britain’s exit from the European Union on the right terms” among the top three, putting it at the head of the list.





However, when asked what mattered most to “you and your family”, Brexit negotiations fell behind “improving the NHS” and “tackling the cost of living”; indeed only 39% named it as one of the top three issues on this score.

Schools, crime, social care and making the right decisions about tax and spending were also more likely to be named among the top priorities for “me and my family” than for the country as a whole. Economic growth and job creation, immigration control, deficit and debt reduction and welfare reform were named more often as priorities for the country than for “me and my family”.

Countdown to Brexit

The referendum, nine months on

In our focus groups, some of those who had voted Remain in the referendum were still upset about the result. They argued that Leave voters had not fully understood the issues at stake, and a few thought the referendum should be repeated. This was particularly the case among Labour voters in Hornsey & Wood Green, where participants described the outcome as a “disaster” and a “tragedy”.

“I was at Glastonbury and the mood was terrible for a whole day.”

“Us 48% are like lost souls now, nobody is taking any notice of us. Theresa May says we are going to leave no matter what, but it was a very close vote.”

“They said there would be £50 million a day for the NHS. These people are still around and they are not being taken to task at all.”

Remain voters, 2015 Conservative

“A lot of people who voted for it were misinformed. It could mean the whole constitution being rewritten under a Conservative government.”

Remain voter, 2015 Labour

However, this was not the case for most Remainers. The majority felt strongly that the referendum had been a democratic decision, and that the result should therefore be accepted and implemented. They often argued that if the result were to be ignored or reversed, no democratic process in Britain would be taken seriously in the future.

“We had the referendum and the decision was made. Just because you don’t like the outcome doesn’t mean you can have another go. It would be wrong – the Scottish approach.”

“We live in a democracy. There would be a revolution.”

Remain voter, 2015 Conservative

“I voted Remain but we have made a democratic decision to come out and that should be stuck by, or any voting process in the future will have no credibility.”

“There were lies on both sides. You can’t just keep voting because you haven’t got the answer you want.”

Remain voter, 2015 Labour

Some Remainers argued that predictions about the disastrous consequences of Brexit had been overdone. More often, they felt these consequences were still not fully known, but that there was nothing to be gained by trying to delay them. Accordingly, few Remainers and no Leavers had any sympathy with the attempts in the courts and the House of Lords to (as they saw it) frustrate the will of the people. People considered these moves futile and even damaging, since prolonging the already complicated process could only add to the uncertainty.

“People’s reaction about being doomed annoyed me. The world’s not going to end.”

“In the first few months they blamed everything on Brexit – it was ridiculous. If the sun didn’t shine, ‘oh, that’s because of Brexit.’”

“I’m waiting for the full impact. We don’t see it at our level. It will be the big corporations. I don’t feel we’ve felt it yet.”

“Just get it done so we know what we’ve got to face.”

“The court case was a waste of time. It was posturing by that woman trying to make a name for herself.”

Remain voters, 2015 Conservative

Leave voters, meanwhile, tended to see these legal and parliamentary manoeuvres as a further example of the political establishment ignoring their views – one of the things that had prompted to vote Leave in the first place. Many said the process was also taking much longer than they had expected (“I just wish they’d sort some of it out. Why does it take so long to get things moving?”)

“They think we’re idiots, that we didn’t know what we were doing when we voted Leave.”

“MPs didn’t take us seriously, and they still don’t. They haven’t taken notice – they’re trying to get people to change their minds.”

“We had a democratic vote, we voted to leave, and yet the politicians are saying ‘sorry, no, you can’t do anything until we say’. We voted Leave, now get on with it.”

Leave voters, 2015 Labour

Who stands where

In our poll we asked people which of four positions best described each party’s approach to Britain’s exit from the EU. UKIP’s stance was the most clearly understood: three quarters said the party “campaigns for a Leave vote at the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible”. Just over half said the Conservative Party “wanted to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain”.

Labour's position was the most ambiguous: respondents divided fairly evenly between thinking the party wanted to prevent Brexit from happening, believed the referendum result should be implemented although it campaigned to remain, and was completely divided on the issue.

Which of the following describes the ... party's position on Brexit?

Conservatives' position (% naming)	Labour's position (% naming)	UKIP's position (% naming)	Lib Dems' position (% naming)
Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (56)	Thinks leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening if at all possible (28)	Campaigned for a Leave vote at the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (75)	Thinks leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening if at all possible (40)
Is completely divided on the issue (13)	Is completely divided on the issue (25)	Is completely divided on the issue (3)	Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (11)
Campaigned for a Leave vote at the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (12)	Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (24)	Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (3)	Is completely divided on the issue (9)
Thinks leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening if at all possible (5)	Campaigned for a Leave vote at the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (6)	Thinks leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening if at all possible (2)	Campaigned for a Leave vote at the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (3)
Don't know (13)	Don't know (18)	Don't know (17)	Don't know (37)

Presented with the four options, four in ten of our poll respondents thought the one that most closely described the Lib Dems' position was that the party "thinks leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening if at all possible".

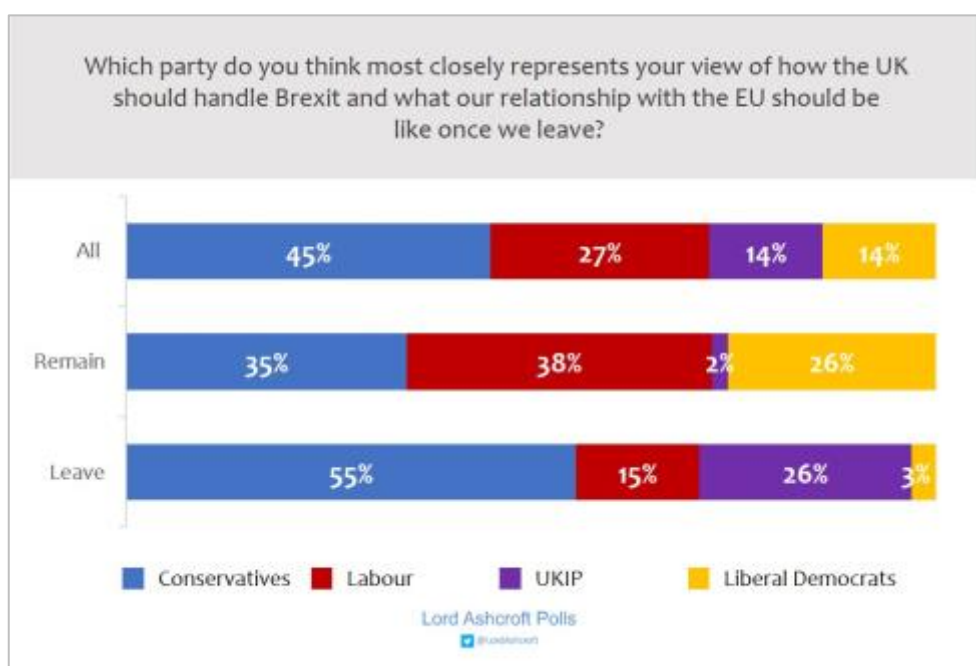
In the groups, however, very few were able to say unprompted what the Lib Dems' position was. Even most of those who had voted Remain and had previously supported the Lib Dems had not heard the party talking about the subject. When the party's position was explained most were not very sympathetic to it, for the reasons outlined above. In any case, most felt, the Lib Dems were now a spent force and it hardly mattered what they said.

"It's a nice gesture but it doesn't mean much."

"They're very marginalised so what they say doesn't make much difference."

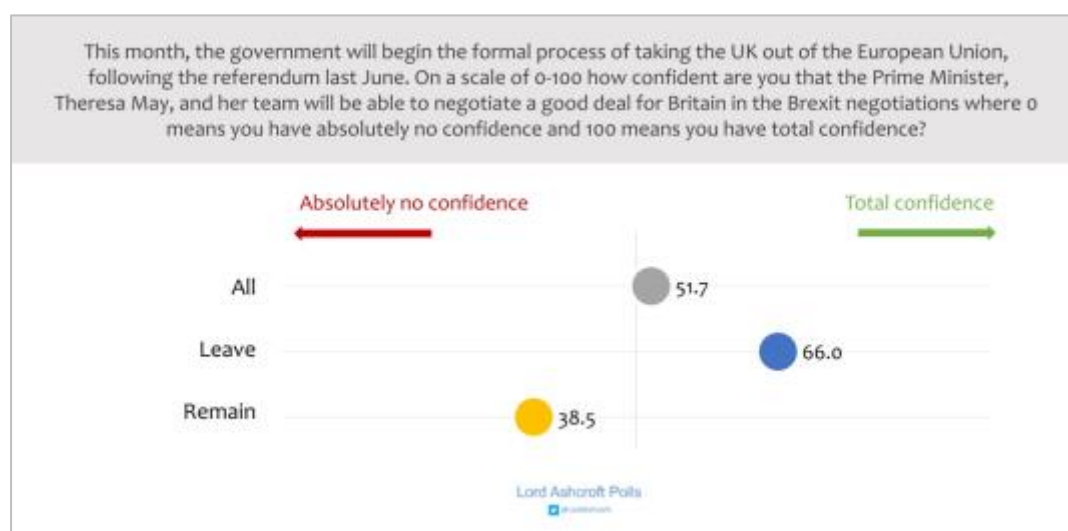
Remain voter, 2015 Conservative

In the poll, 45% of respondents said they thought the Conservatives best represented their own view of how the UK should handle Brexit and the country's subsequent relationship with the EU. This included a majority of Leave voters, more than one third of Remain voters, and around three in ten 2015 UKIP voters, 2015 Lib Dem voters and 2015 Labour voters who voted Leave in the referendum.



The deal and the consequences

Confidence in the UK's position



Overall, our poll found British voters slightly more confident than not that Theresa May and her team would be able to secure a good deal in the Brexit negotiations, giving their level of confidence a score of 52 out of 100. Leave voters (66) were more confident than Remainers (38). While Conservative voters were the most confident overall (Conservative Leavers giving a score of 77, and Conservative Remainers 59), Leave voters who had voted Labour in 2015 were also confident in the PM's ability to negotiate a good deal (57).

In the Brexit negotiations, who do you think has the stronger hand?

	%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
					Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
The UK, because the rest of Europe will want to ensure they can export as much as possible to Britain	24		39	10	40	14	36	8	47	15
The EU, because the UK will leave after two years whether it gets a good deal or not, and a good deal for Britain could mean more countries deciding to leave	43		24	64	22	53	25	68	23	59
The UK and the EU are quite evenly matched in the Brexit negotiations	20		25	15	28	23	24	11	21	17

However, less than a quarter of voters overall, and fewer than four in ten of those who voted Leave, said they thought the UK had the stronger hand in the negotiations with the EU. Most thought either that the two sides were evenly matched or – as was the case for nearly two thirds of Remainers – that the advantage was with the EU, since the UK would be out after two years whether it was happy with its deal or not. And as people often argued in the focus groups, the EU would have no incentive to give the UK good terms, as this would encourage other countries to leave: “All the successful countries are going to be like, ‘we don’t want to keep bailing out Greece – look at the UK, they’re doing well’.”

Deal or no deal? Hard or soft?

In principle, many of our focus group respondents agreed with Theresa May’s position that “no deal is better than a bad deal” (after all, “if you’re buying a car and you’re prepared to spend £10k and the best deal is £15k, you don’t buy the car. You’ve got to be prepared to walk away”).

However, it was by no means clear to people what “no deal” meant in the context of the Brexit negotiations. Very few had heard of the World Trade Organisation or understood what was meant by reverting to WTO rules. Whatever the outcome of the negotiations, they reasoned, those would be the terms on which we left the EU, and these could either be beneficial to Britain or not.

“No deal is in itself a bad deal. We will lose trade with them, they will put up tariff barriers... It’s not not a deal, it’s a bad deal.”

“What’s the WTO?”

Remain voters, 2015 Conservative

Similarly, many had not heard expressions like ‘hard Brexit’ and ‘soft Brexit’, and few of those who had heard them said they understood what they meant.

“‘Hard’ just means we’ve got the wrong deal.”

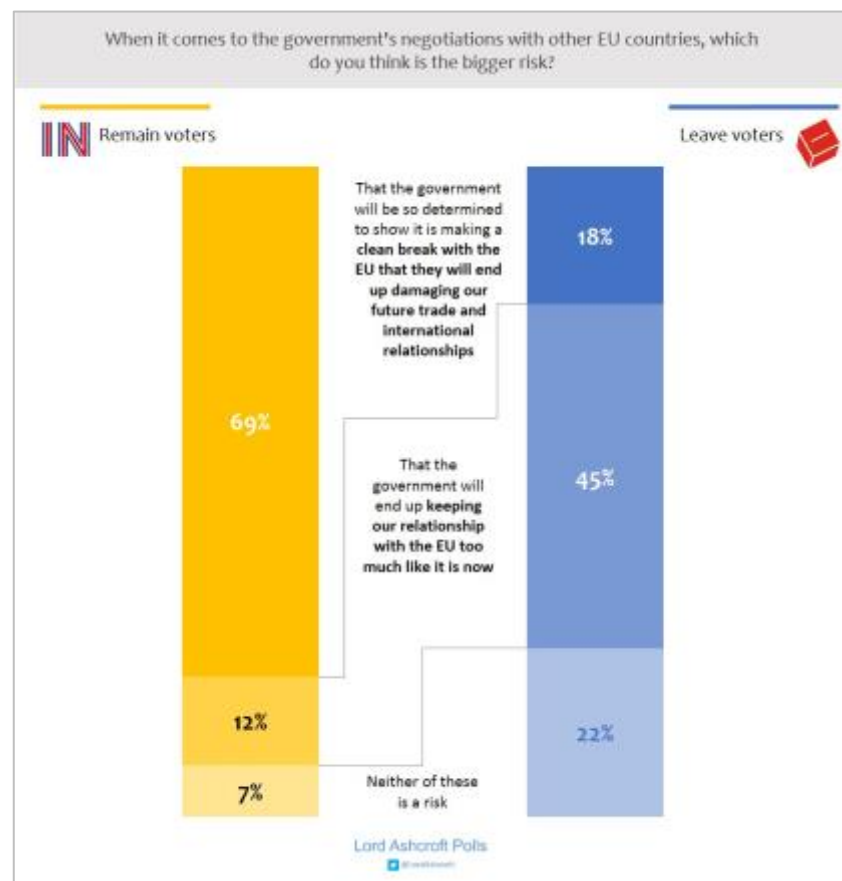
“I haven’t got a clue. It’s basically a load of made-up names. I don’t know who came up with them, probably Tim Farron or someone like that.”

Remain voters, 2015 Conservative

“Theresa May wants hard Brexit, which is extreme Brexit – no ties, no market, none of that. It makes me feel a bit uneasy.”

Remain voters, 2015 Labour

For voters as a whole, the bigger concern in the negotiations is that the government “will be so determined to show it is making a clean break with the EU that they will end up damaging our future trade and international relationships”. Though Leave voters are more worried that the government “will end up keeping our relationship with the EU too much like it is now”, nearly one in five of them (including a quarter of Leavers who voted Labour in 2015) think the bigger risk is that they will go to the other extreme.



Lining up the blame

If the negotiations failed to produce a good deal for Britain, the most likely explanation for most people (including seven in ten Leave voters) would be “other EU countries being unwilling to agree to reasonable terms for the UK”. Others were divided as to whether this would be down to the government “seeking the right deal but failing to negotiate effectively”, or (the preferred

explanation for Labour Remainers) “having the wrong idea about the terms on which the UK should leave the EU”.

If the UK does not end up negotiating good terms on which to leave the EU, what do you think will be the most important reason?

	%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
					Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
Other EU countries being unwilling to agree to reasonable terms for the UK	56		70	43	78	64	62	33	70	50
The UK government seeking the right deal but failing to negotiate effectively	25		22	27	18	24	28	30	23	23
The UK government having the wrong idea about the terms on which the UK should leave the EU	19		8	30	4	12	10	37	8	27

Better or worse off – and when?

As might be expected from the referendum result, people were closely divided as to whether Brexit would ultimately make the UK better off (42%) or worse off (40%). Not surprisingly, three quarters of Leave voters said “better off” and three quarters of Remainers said the opposite (though one in five Remain voters who voted Conservative in 2015 now said they thought Brexit would make the country better off).

Those who took the more pessimistic view of the consequences of Brexit also thought the impact would be more immediate. More than six in ten of those who thought Britain would be worse off said “it’s happening already”, compared to only just over one in five of those who expected the country to be better off. Most of the optimists expected the benefits to be felt within the next five years.

Do you think the UK’s departure from the EU will make the country as a whole...

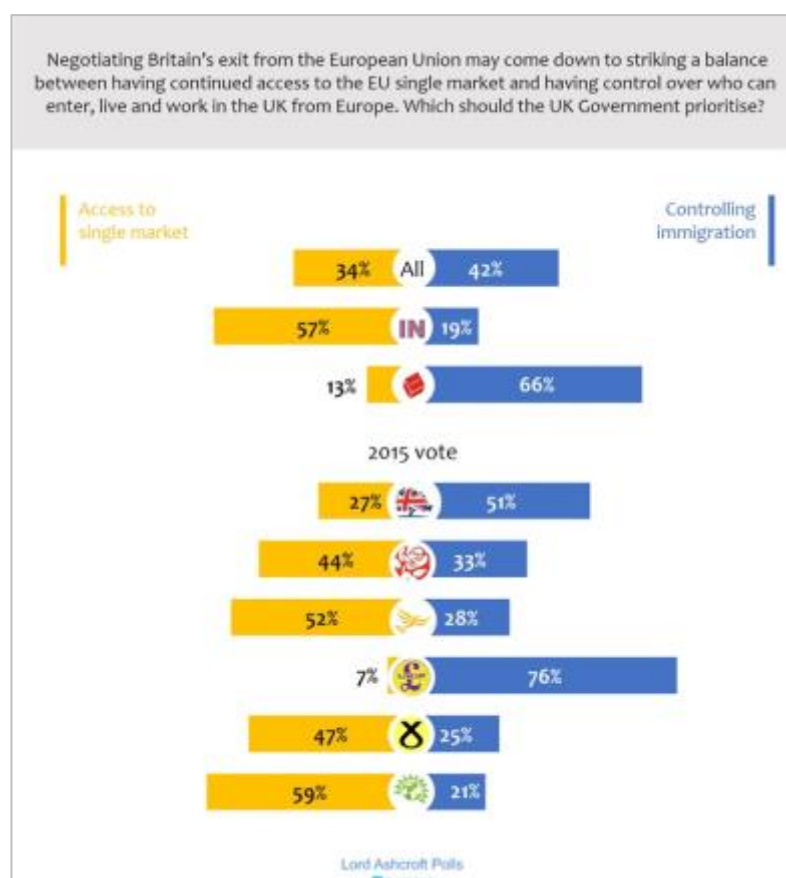
	%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
					Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
Much better off	22		43	2	45	5	33	2	55	9
A bit better off	20		33	7	34	15	34	3	27	16
Neither better nor worse off	13		13	11	12	17	16	10	10	12
A bit worse off	19		6	33	5	35	8	30	5	29
Much worse off	20		1	41	1	22	3	51	1	31
Don’t know	6		4	5	3	7	6	4	2	2
Total ‘BETTER OFF’	42		76	9	80	20	68	5	81	25
Total ‘WORSE OFF’	40		7	74	6	57	10	81	6	60

You said the UK's departure from the EU will make the UK better / worse off. How soon do you think this will happen?

%	All saying Brexit will make the UK <u>better off</u>	All saying Brexit will make the UK <u>worse off</u>
It's happening already	22	62
Within the next five years	61	34
Within the next ten years	16	3
After that	1	0

Immigration and trade

If the negotiations come down to striking a balance between access to the single market and controlling immigration, most voters would give the latter a higher priority. As well as two thirds of Leave voters, nearly one in five Remain voters (including nearly three in ten of those who voted Conservative in 2015) said controlling immigration was more important.



Three principal reasons for this balance of opinion emerged from the focus group discussions. First, many of those who voted to remain in the EU nevertheless thought stricter controls were needed on immigration. Second, even Remain voters who did not feel strongly about immigration

often argued that this had been one of the most important factors behind the decision to Leave and that it would be both wrong and politically impossible for the government not to allow free movement continue along current lines. Third, many felt that the trade side of things would take care of itself – since EU countries would want to continue trading with the UK as freely as possible, no big concessions should be needed to ensure that this happened.

“We need common sense free movement. We need to have some control over borders.”

“If we retain freedom of movement, I can’t really see the point of leaving.”

“If she has to choose, it’s got to be the people side of it. Tariff-free trade benefits the EU more than us because of our trade deficit. She’s got to be able to say we’re only allowing certain people in at certain times – that’s what people voted for. Trade is a bit of a red herring.”

Remain voters, 2015 Conservative

“All the years they’ve had this infighting, UKIP... She can’t come back and say ‘we’re going to have open borders’.”

“Why can’t we have the Australian rules, where they won’t let you in unless you’ve got a job?”

“Trade will sort itself out because money speaks louder than owt else.”

Remain voters, 2015 Labour

EU Nationals

When it came to the status of EU nationals already in the UK, the strong feeling among both Remain and Leave voters in our focus groups was that they should be allowed to stay in the country after Brexit. However, most also agreed that however harsh or distasteful it seemed, the government was right to link the status of EU nationals in the UK to that of UK nationals living elsewhere in the EU. Some disagreed, arguing that by making their position part of the negotiation the government was implicitly threatening EU citizens with removal, and some argued that the guarantee should be made only to those “contributing” to the UK.

“You’ve got to keep your bargaining power, you can’t just give it away. Everything has to be a bargaining chip. We’re negotiating with 27 other countries and they all want different things.”

“If we link them, it intrinsically says it is possible that we could kick them out. Morally, you just have to say they can all stay – if we say anything else, we are saying there is a chance we could kick them out, which would be morally wrong.”

Remain voters, 2015 Labour

A similar pattern was found in our poll. A majority said the status of the two groups should be linked, though Leave voters were more likely to think this than those who had voted Remain.

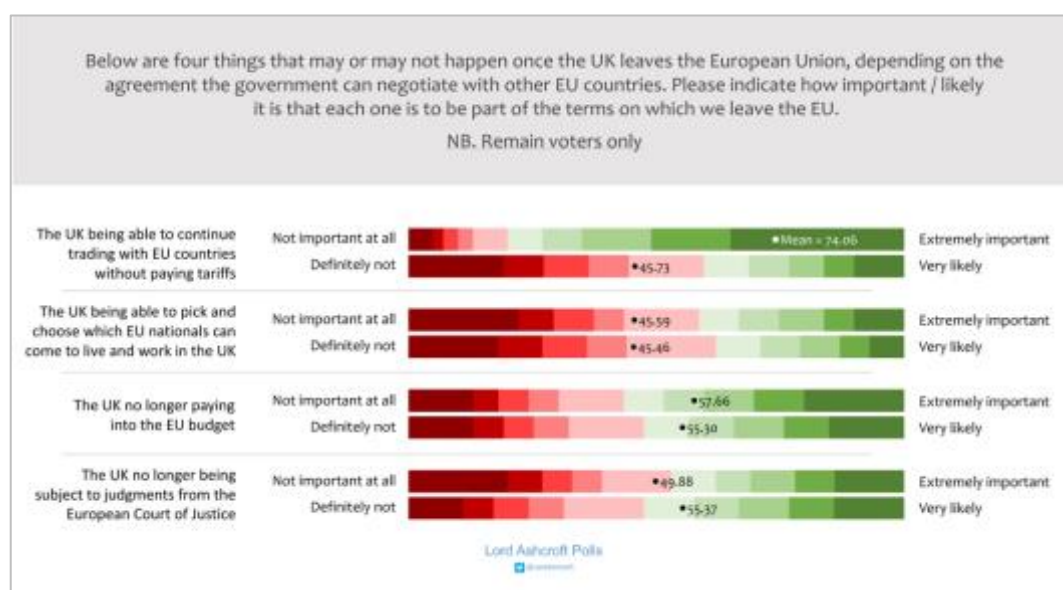
Thinking about people from other EU countries already living in the UK, which of the following comes closer to your own view?

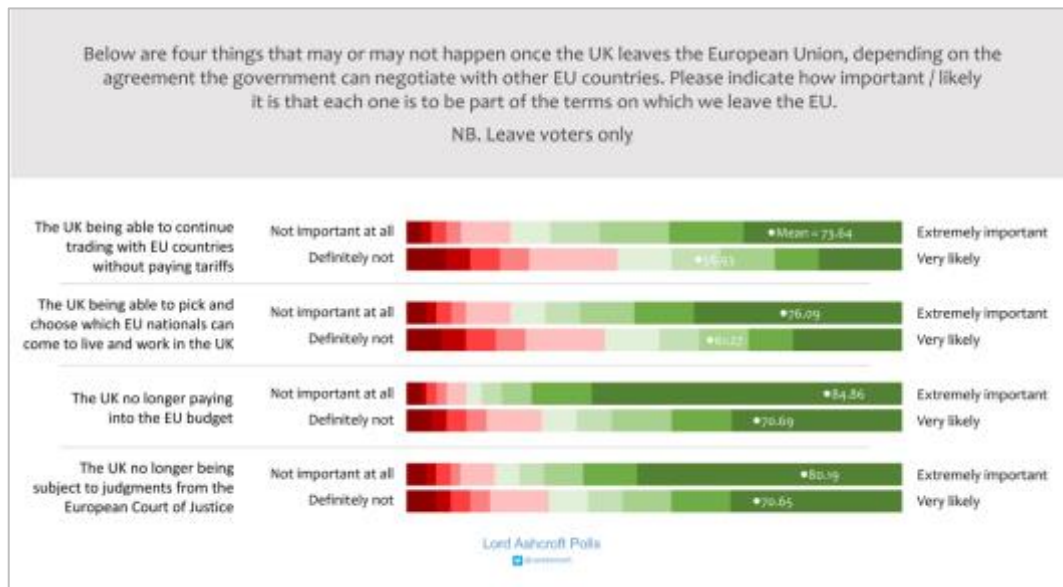
	%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
					Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
The government should guarantee that people who came to the UK from other EU countries will be allowed to stay after we leave the EU, whatever deal is reached over the status of British people living in other EU countries	45		27	62	28	50	31	67	19	58
Whether or not people from other EU countries are allowed to stay in the UK after we leave the EU should depend on whether British people living in other EU countries are also allowed to stay in those countries	55		73	38	72	50	69	33	81	42

Hopes and expectations

Our poll asked how important people considered each of four possible negotiation outcomes, and how likely they thought each was to be achieved. In each case they were asked to give a score on a 100-point scale. Leave voters considered all four objectives to be very important, but they gave the highest score to “the UK no longer paying into the EU budget” (85/100), followed by “the UK no longer being subject to judgments from the European Court of Justice” (80). These were also the two outcomes they considered most likely to be part of the UK’s eventual departure terms (both 71). They were slightly less optimistic – but still thought it more likely than not – that the UK would be in a position to pick and choose which EU nationals came to live and work here, and that the UK would be able to continue tariff-free trade with EU countries.

For Remainers, by far the most important objective was for the UK to be able “to continue trading with EU countries without paying tariffs” (74), though they were less optimistic that this outcome would be achieved (46).

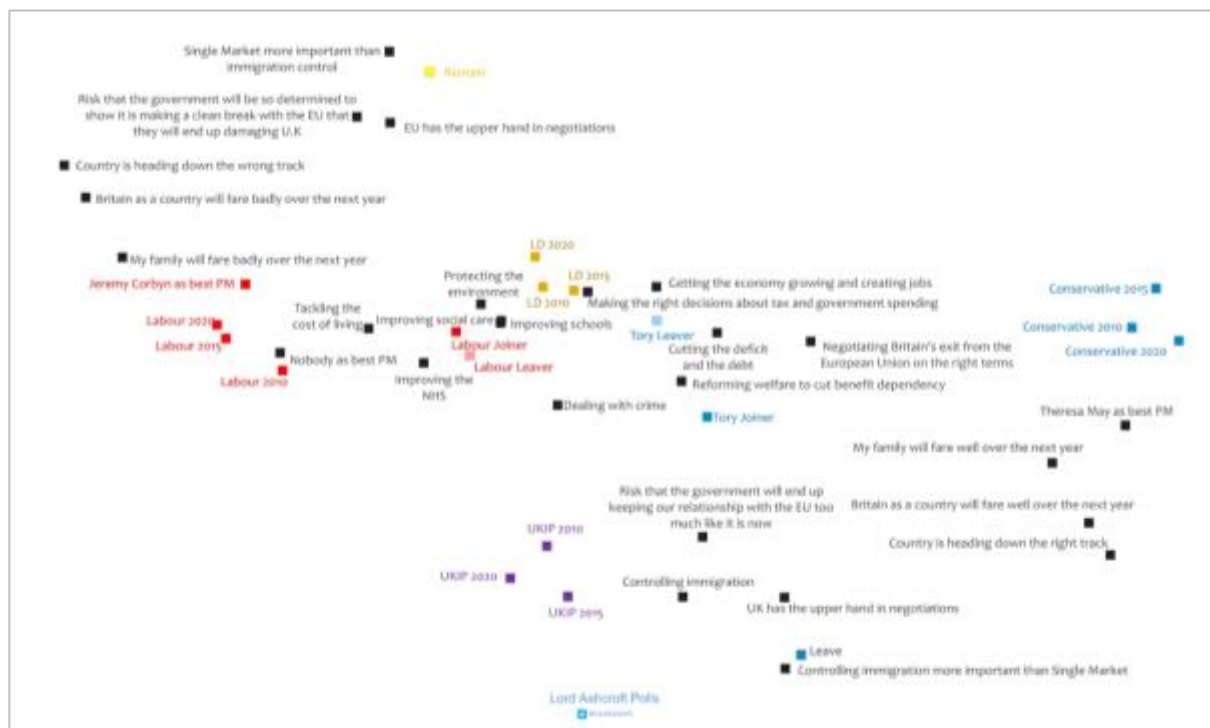




The Brexit Constellation

People's views about what they want from Brexit and how they feel about leaving the EU go together with their voting history, their current preferences between parties and leaders, and their wider priorities and attitudes – not just whether they voted Leave or Remain in the referendum.

This map – the “Brexit Constellation” – shows the inter-relationship between all these elements. Some of these propositions are polar opposites, and some are not, but each is plotted according to its relationship with all the others. (Those who agree with propositions in, say, the top left corner are very unlikely also to agree with those in the bottom right, while those closer together are more likely to be shared by individual voters).

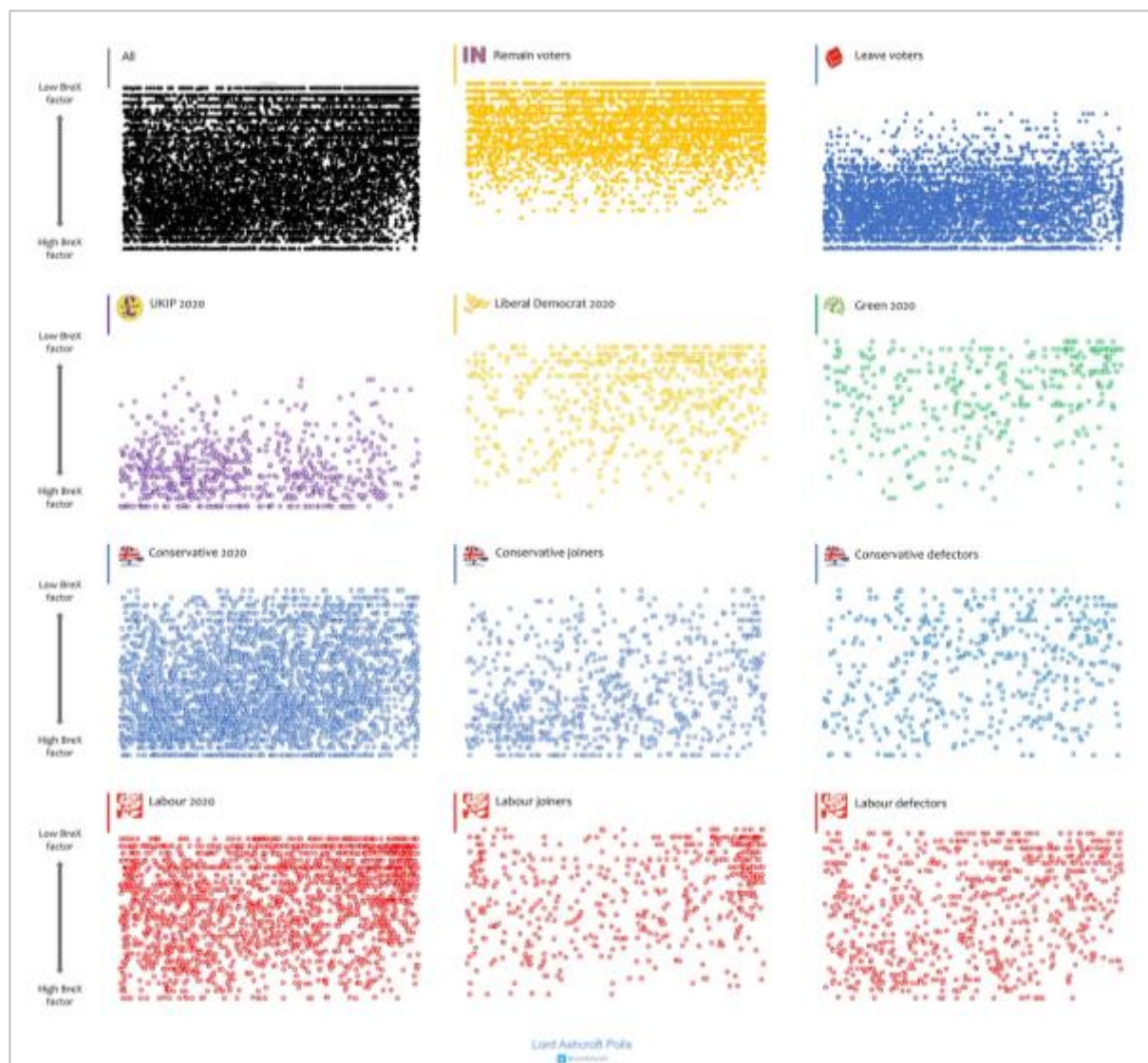


The Brex Factor

We also analysed our poll findings to explore how far Brexit was related to people's domestic political choices. We determined each respondent's "Brex Factor" by looking at their answers to five key questions:

- How they voted in the EU referendum
- Whether or not immigration was among their top three policy priorities
- Whether they think the UK or the EU has the stronger hand in the Brexit negotiations
- Whether they think controlling immigration or access to the single market is more important
- Whether they are more worried that the government will agree to keep our relationship with the EU too much like it is now, or that it will be so determined to show it has made a clean break that it damages our trading arrangements and international relationships

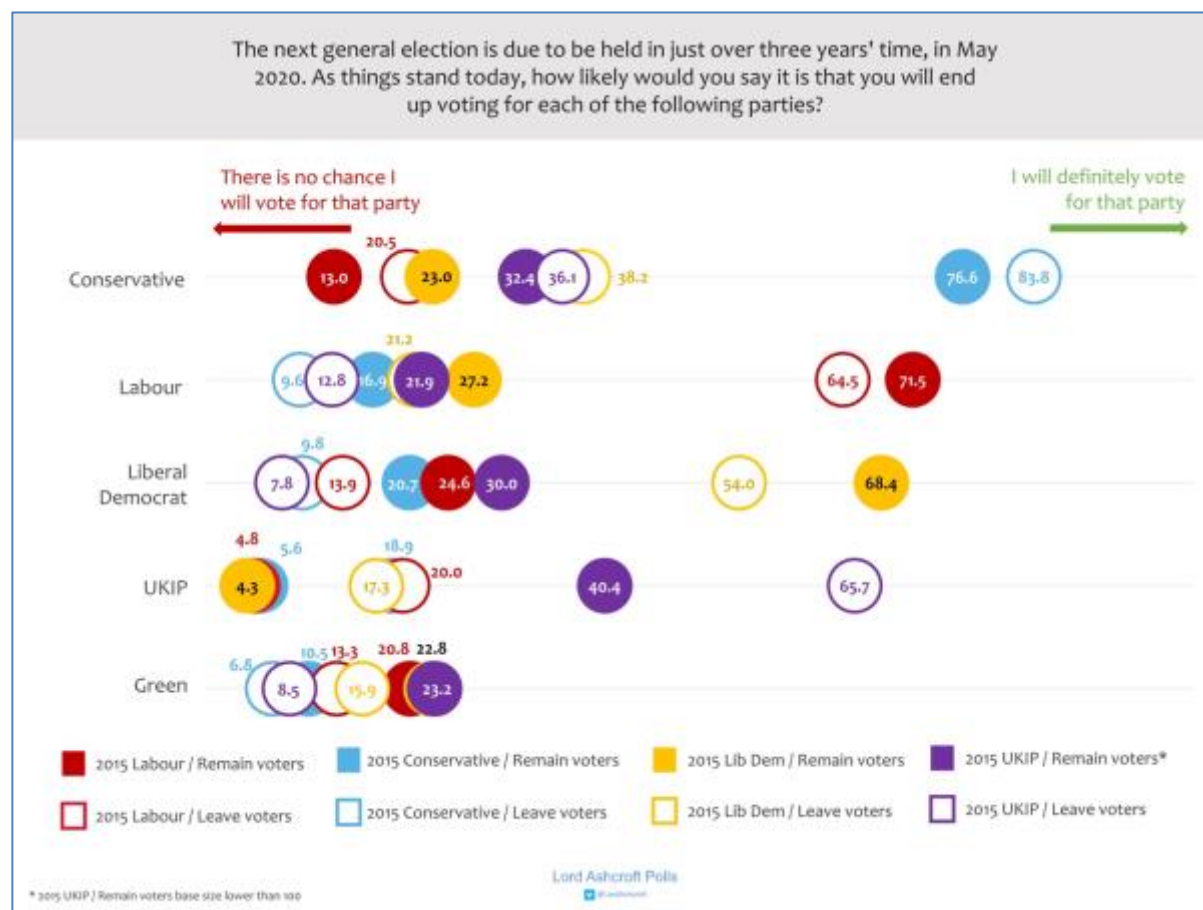
The following charts show the "Brex Factor" for individual voters and types of voters.



Full poll results

10,153 adults were interviewed online between 21 and 28 March 2017. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Great Britain. Full data tables are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com

The next general election is due to be held in just over three years' time, in May 2020. As things stand today, how likely would you say it is that you will end up voting for each of the following parties – where zero means 'there is no chance I will vote for that party', and 100 means 'I will definitely vote for that party'.



Which of the following do you think would make the best Prime Minister?

%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
				Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
Theresa May	55	70	45	92	85	40	23	75	57
Jeremy Corbyn	18	10	26	2	4	30	43	5	13
Don't know	27	20	29	6	12	30	34	20	30

Do you think Britain is on the right track, or heading in the wrong direction?

%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
				Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
Right track	44	68	22	87	49	47	10	68	32
Wrong direction	37	15	61	4	30	29	75	16	51
Don't know	19	17	18	10	21	24	15	17	17

Which of the following do you think is the most important issue facing Britain as a whole / you and your family? And which is the second most important? And the third?

	Country as a whole (% naming in top three)	Me and my family (% naming in top three)
1	Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms (60)	Improving the NHS (58)
2	Improving the NHS (55)	Tackling the cost of living (53)
3	Getting the economy going and creating jobs (38)	Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms (39)
4	Controlling immigration (37)	Getting the economy growing and creating jobs (31)
5	Tackling the cost of living (23)	Making the right decisions about tax and government spending (24)
6	Making the right decisions about tax and government spending (21)	Controlling immigration (22)
7	Improving social care (14)	Improving social care (18)
8	Cutting the deficit and the debt (14)	Improving schools (15)
9	Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency (13)	Dealing with crime (12)
10	Dealing with crime (9)	Cutting the deficit and the debt (10)
11	Improving schools (9)	Protecting the environment (9)
12	Protecting the environment (6)	Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency (8)

Which party do you think would have the best approach to each of the following issues – the Conservatives, Labour, the Liberal Democrats or UKIP?

% naming as best party	Cons	Labour	UKIP	Lib Dems
Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union on the right terms	51	25	13	11
Improving the NHS	34	46	8	12
Getting the economy going and creating jobs	50	34	7	10
Controlling immigration	37	22	32	9
Tackling the cost of living	42	40	7	11
Making the right decisions about tax and government spending	46	33	8	13
Improving social care	32	47	7	15
Cutting the deficit and the debt	56	28	7	9
Reforming welfare to cut benefit dependency	50	31	8	11
Dealing with crime	50	30	11	9
Improving schools	40	40	6	14
Protecting the environment	32	30	7	31

On a scale from 0 to 100, how do you rate the performance of the following politicians, where zero means ‘terrible’ and 100 means ‘excellent’? If you have not heard of them or have no opinion, please say so.

Mean score /100	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con	2015 Lab	2015 UKIP	2015 LD
Theresa May, Prime Minister	54	65	44	76	37	62	48
Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany	46	34	59	47	50	24	58
Boris Johnson, Foreign Secretary	39	51	27	52	26	51	32
David Davis, Brexit Secretary	39	50	28	53	25	50	31
Ruth Davidson, leader of the Scottish Conservatives	38	39	37	50	29	34	42
Philip Hammond, Chancellor of the Exchequer	37	40	34	51	25	34	38
Nicola Sturgeon, First Minister of Scotland	32	20	45	22	40	14	38
Jeremy Corbyn, leader of the Labour Party	29	22	36	16	46	16	28
Tim Farron, leader of the Liberal Democrats	29	20	38	26	32	14	51
Kezia Dugdale, leader of Scottish Labour	28	23	32	24	36	19	34
Donald Trump, President of the United States	23	35	12	28	16	47	15
Paul Nuttall, leader of UKIP	20	29	10	20	13	44	12

- Theresa May’s mean score was 80 among Conservative Leavers, and 70 among Conservative Remainers
- Jeremy Corbyn’s mean score was 42 among Labour Leavers, and 48 among Labour Remainers

Thinking about Britain’s economy – including things like jobs, wages, prices, taxes and interest rates – how do you think the British economy will fare over the next year for the country as a whole?

%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
				Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
Very well	4	6	2	8	3	3	2	7	2
Quite well	47	65	30	76	55	51	19	64	38
Quite badly	41	26	55	15	38	40	62	26	49
Very badly	8	3	14	1	4	6	17	3	11

Thinking about Britain’s economy – including things like jobs, wages, prices, taxes and interest rates – how do you think the British economy will fare over the next year for you and your family?

%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
				Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
Very well	3	4	2	6	4	2	2	4	2
Quite well	49	63	35	75	56	47	25	62	43
Quite badly	41	29	52	17	37	43	60	29	47
Very badly	7	4	10	1	4	8	13	4	8

Here are some things that people have said about the main political parties. Please can you say in each case whether, on balance, you think the statement is true of the (i) Conservative Party, (ii) the Labour Party, and (iii) the Liberal Democrats (iv) UKIP.

% saying true of...	Cons	Labour	UKIP	Lib Dems
On the side of people like me	41	45	31	38
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	43	65	39	55
Willing to take tough decisions for the long term	71	38	42	28
Shares my values	42	41	27	33
Competent and capable	60	30	20	26
Will do what they say	46	32	38	26
Clear about what they stand for	59	34	49	31
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	34	37	19	34
Its heart is in the right place	47	59	36	59
Stands for fairness	41	55	29	53
Stands for opportunity for all	40	52	25	47
Is united	49	19	24	44

Which party do you think most closely represents your view of how the UK should handle Brexit and what our relationship with the EU should be like once we leave?

%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
				Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
Conservatives	45	55	35	89	82	28	12	30	30
Labour	27	15	38	1	6	51	67	3	8
UKIP	14	26	2	9	1	19	1	65	3
Lib Dems	14	3	26	1	11	2	21	2	59

This month, the government will begin the formal process of taking the UK out of the European Union, following the referendum last June. On a scale of 0-100 how confident are you that the Prime Minister, Theresa May, and her team will be able to negotiate a good deal for Britain in the Brexit negotiations where 0 means you have absolutely no confidence and 100 means you have total confidence?

%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
				Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
Confidence /100	52	66	38	77	59	57	30	64	44

From what you know or have heard, which of the following best describes the Conservative Party's / Labour Party's / Lib Dems' / UKIP position on Brexit (Britain's exit from the EU)?

Conservative's position (% naming)	Labour's position (% naming)	UKIP's position (% naming)	Lib Dems' position (% naming)
Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (56)	Thinks leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening if at all possible (28)	Campaigned for a Leave vote at the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (75)	Thinks leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening if at all possible (40)
Is completely divided on the issue (13)	Is completely divided on the issue (25)	Is completely divided on the issue (3)	Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (11)
Campaigned for a Leave vote at the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (12)	Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (24)	Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (3)	Is completely divided on the issue (9)
Thinks leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening if at all possible (5)	Campaigned for a Leave vote at the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (6)	Thinks leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening if at all possible (2)	Campaigned for a Leave vote at the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (3)
Don't know (13)	Don't know (18)	Don't know (17)	Don't know (37)

Thinking about people from other EU countries already living in the UK, which of the following comes closer to your own view?

	%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
					Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
The government should guarantee that people who came to the UK from other EU countries will be allowed to stay after we leave the EU, whatever deal is reached over the status of British people living in other EU countries		45	27	62	28	50	31	67	19	58
Whether or not people from other EU countries are allowed to stay in the UK after we leave the EU should depend on whether British people living in other EU countries are also allowed to stay in those countries		55	73	38	72	50	69	33	81	42

The UK government has to negotiate with other European governments over the terms on which we will leave the EU. In the negotiations, who do you think has the stronger hand?

	%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
					Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
The UK, because the rest of Europe will want to ensure they can export as much as possible to Britain		24	39	10	40	14	36	8	47	15
The EU, because the UK will leave after two years whether it gets a good deal or not, and a good deal for Britain could mean more countries deciding to leave		43	24	64	22	53	25	68	23	59
The UK and the EU are quite evenly matched in the Brexit negotiations		20	25	15	28	23	24	11	21	17

Below are four things that may or may not happen once the UK leaves the European Union, depending on the agreement the government can negotiate with other EU countries. Please indicate how **important** you think each one is on a 100-point scale – where 0 means it is not important at all, and 100 means it is extremely important for it to be part of the terms on which we leave the EU.

<i>Importance/100</i>	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
				Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
The UK being able to continue trading with EU countries without paying tariffs	73	74	74	77	77	71	71	73	76
The UK no longer paying into the EU budget	71	85	58	87	70	79	53	89	61
The UK no longer being subject to judgments from the European Court of Justice	64	80	50	85	66	72	44	85	54
The UK being able to pick and choose which EU nationals can come to live and work in the UK	60	76	46	78	58	71	42	81	49

Here is the same list again. This time, please indicate how **likely** you think it is that each one will be part of the terms on which we leave – where 0 means you think it will definitely not be part of the agreement, and 100 means you are sure it will be part of the agreement.

<i>Likelihood/100</i>	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
				Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
The UK no longer paying into the EU budget	63	71	55	74	62	65	52	73	56
The UK no longer being subject to judgments from the European Court of Justice	62	71	55	77	63	65	52	72	58
The UK being able to pick and choose which EU nationals can come to live and work in the UK	53	61	45	65	51	57	44	63	47
The UK being able to continue trading with EU countries without paying tariffs	52	59	46	63	54	56	42	58	47

If the UK does not end up negotiating good terms on which to leave the EU, what do you think will be the most important reason?

%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
				Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
Other EU countries being unwilling to agree to reasonable terms for the UK	56	70	43	78	64	62	33	70	50
The UK government seeking the right deal but failing to negotiate effectively	25	22	27	18	24	28	30	23	23
The UK government having the wrong idea about the terms on which the UK should leave the EU	19	8	30	4	12	10	37	8	27

Thinking about Brexit and the things at stake in the negotiations, would you say you personally understand the issue, compared to the time of the referendum last June?

% saying they understand the issue...	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters
... <u>more</u> now than I did at the time of the referendum last June	30	29	32
... no more or less than I did at the time of the referendum last June	64	65	62
... <u>less</u> than I did at the time of the referendum last June	6	6	6

Do you think the UK's departure from the EU will make the country as a whole...

% 	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
				Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
Much better off	22	43	2	45	5	33	2	55	9
A bit better off	20	33	7	34	15	34	3	27	16
Neither better nor worse off	13	13	11	12	17	16	10	10	12
A bit worse off	19	6	33	5	35	8	30	5	29
Much worse off	20	1	41	1	22	3	51	1	31
Don't know	6	4	5	3	7	6	4	2	2
Total 'BETTER OFF'	42	76	9	80	20	68	5	81	25
Total 'WORSE OFF'	40	7	74	6	57	10	81	6	60

[Those saying 'Much better off' or 'A bit better off'] You said the UK's departure from the EU will make the UK better off. How soon do you think this will happen?

%	All saying Brexit will make the UK better off
It's happening already	22
Within the next five years	61
Within the next ten years	16
After that	1

[Those saying 'Much worse off' or 'A bit worse off'] You said the UK's departure from the EU will make the UK worse off. How soon do you think this will happen?

%	All saying Brexit will make the UK worse off
It's happening already	62
Within the next five years	34
Within the next ten years	3
After that	0

Negotiating Britain's exit from the European Union may come down to striking a balance between having continued access to the EU single market and having control over who can enter, live and work in the UK from Europe. Which should the UK Government prioritise? On a 0-10 scale where 0 means securing access to the EU single market at all costs and 10 means being able to control immigration at all costs, where do you think the balance should lie?

	%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
					Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
6-10 (controlling immigration)	42		66	19	66	29	62	18	76	28
5 (neutral/equally important)	17		16	17	17	19	15	16	14	16
0-4 (single market access)	34		13	57	13	47	16	60	7	52
Don't know	6		5	6	3	5	6	6	3	4

When it comes to the government's negotiations with other EU countries, which do you think is the bigger risk?

	%	ALL	Leave voters	Remain voters	2015 Con voters		2015 Lab voters		2015 UKIP	2015 LD
					Leave	Remain	Leave	Remain		
That the government will end up keeping our relationship with the EU too much like it is now	28		45	12	42	19	44	10	53	18
That the government will be so determined to show it is making a clean break with the EU that they will end up damaging our future trade and international relationships	42		18	69	16	53	25	74	12	60
Neither of these is a risk	14		22	7	29	13	14	5	23	11
Don't know	15		15	13	14	15	17	12	12	11