

THE TWO DIVIDES

Austerity, Brexit and the problem of building a winning coalition

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC

September 2018

Contents

Methodology	3
Key points	4
Strength of party support	6
Preferred government and Prime Minister	7
Leadership	8
Party attributes	9
Issues and priorities	10
Economic optimism	12
Paths to voting Conservative or Labour	13
Austerity and Brexit: the two divides	14
The Brexit debate	16
Reaction to Salzburg	20
Full poll results	21

Methodology

Quantitative

10,056 adults were interviewed online between 4 and 11 September 2018.

A further 1,625 adults were interviewed online on 24 and 25 September 2018.

Data have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Great Britain. Full data tables are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com

Qualitative

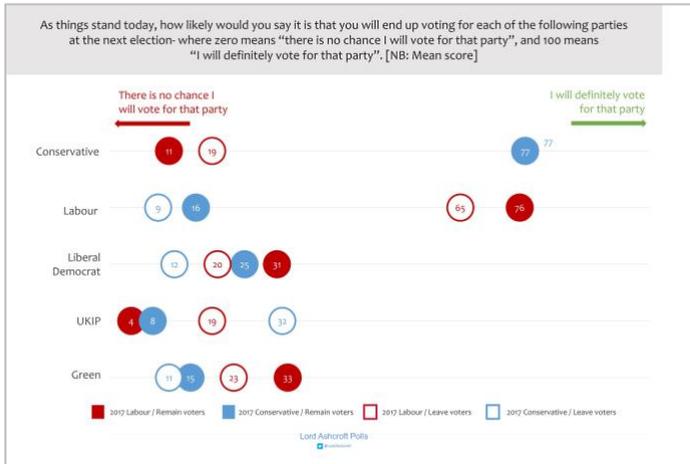
Ten focus groups were held in Putney, Southampton, Broxtowe, Pudsey and Dudley between 4 and 11 September 2018. Groups were divided according to their combinations of views on Brexit and austerity.

Key points

- Asked to rate their confidence that Theresa May and her team would be able to negotiate a good Brexit deal for Britain, voters as a whole gave a mean score of 31/100 before the Salzburg summit – down from 40 in May 2018 and 52 in March 2017. Confidence had fallen furthest among Leave voters and Conservatives. In our post-Salzburg survey, mean confidence was all but unchanged at 30/100.
- Fewer than four in ten voters had noticed much about the Salzburg meeting and its aftermath. Our two surveys found that voters were slightly more likely to think the EU had the upper hand in the negotiations after the meeting (59%) than they had been before (53%).
- Most types of voters – especially Leavers and including Conservative Remainers – were more likely to think the way to get a better outcome was for Theresa May to stand up to the EU, call its bluff and threaten to leave without a deal (40%) than to seek further compromise (28%).
- Voters as a whole, including Remainers, were more likely to think the EU was being deliberately obstructive to discourage other countries from leaving (58%) than that it was doing its best to come up with a good deal for both sides (17%).
- Four in ten voters wanted a hard Brexit (no deal that does not give the UK complete control), 31% wanted a second referendum on the final deal with the option of stopping Brexit, and 17% wanted a soft Brexit (a compromise including a common rule book with the EU to allow trade to continue as smoothly as possible). Three quarters of Leave voters supported a hard Brexit, and 56% of Remainers wanted a second referendum.
- For Leave voters and those wanting a hard Brexit, the most important Brexit outcomes were ending payments to the EU, the UK making all its own laws, and being able to do free trade deals outside the EU. Those who preferred a soft Brexit most wanted continued security and intelligence co-operation, free trade with no tariffs or customs checks, and free trade deals outside the EU. Second referendum advocates wanted free trade, security co-operation and for EU citizens living in the UK to be allowed to stay permanently.
- 31% thought Brexit would make the UK better off, while 43% thought it would make the country worse off. Remainers were more likely to say things would be worse than Leavers were to say things would be better; Leavers were more likely to say Brexit would make no difference. Most of those who expected the UK to be better off said this would happen in the next five years; two thirds of those who thought the country would be worse off thought this was happening already.
- One third of voters believed warnings that a no-deal Brexit would mean major disruption and shortages, and a further quarter thought there would be some disruption but such warnings were exaggerated. Half of Conservatives and most Leavers thought this was scaremongering by people who wanted to stop Brexit, as they recalled has been the case during the referendum campaign. People in our focus groups spontaneously compared the situation to the Millennium Bug, which had come to nothing despite predictions of disaster.

- Voters as a whole said they would prefer a Conservative government with Theresa May as PM to a Labour government with Jeremy Corbyn as PM by 54% to 46%. Asked whether they would prefer a Tory government with Boris Johnson as PM or a Corbyn-led Labour government, voters divided 50-50. While Leave voters preferred May and Johnson in equal proportions, Remain voters were less likely to prefer Johnson than May. Conservative voters who wanted a soft Brexit said a Corbyn-led government would be worse than a hard Brexit by 58% to 42%; Tories who wanted a hard Brexit said a Corbyn government would be worse than a soft Brexit by 65% to 35%.
- The NHS, the Brexit negotiations and the economy were rated the most important issues facing Britain as a whole – but the cost of living topped the list of issues facing “me and my family”, followed by the NHS and Brexit. 59% said Brexit was one of the top three issues facing the country, while only 37% said the same for themselves and their family.
- Angela Merkel was rated the most effective of a selection of world leaders, followed by Vladimir Putin, Emmanuel Macron and Theresa May. Those who voted Conservative in 2017 put May at the top of their list. According to Leave voters, the most effective leader was Vladimir Putin.
- Voters were evenly divided over austerity: 36% were in favour, 36% against, and 28% didn’t know. This divide cuts across the divide over Brexit: just under half of Leave voters supported austerity, as did three in ten Remain voters; around one third of those who supported austerity voted Remain; 38% of anti-austerity voters backed Leave. This explains the difficulty for the Conservatives (or any party) in assembling a majority electoral coalition.
- Pro-austerity Leave voters who wanted a hard Brexit put their chances of voting Conservative at the next election at 75/100: twice as high as those of anti-austerity Leave voters who wanted a hard Brexit (37/100).
- Labour held a 24-point lead over the Conservatives on wanting to “help ordinary people get on in life”, while the Tories led Labour by 22 points on being “willing to take tough decisions for the long term.” Less than a quarter thought either party was “competent and capable”, and only one in ten thought either was “united.” While Conservative scores were unchanged since January 2018, Labour scores on being “united,” having its “heart in the right place”, being “clear about what they stand for” and standing for “fairness” had fallen. In focus groups around the country, participants spontaneously raised the Labour antisemitism row and criticised the Labour leadership for failing to put the issue to bed.

Strength of party support



We asked people how likely they were to vote for each party at the next election on a 100-point scale. Those who had voted Conservative in 2017 gave a mean score of 77/100: this was the same for both Remain and Leave referendum voters. However, 2017 Labour voters who voted Remain were more likely to say they would vote Labour again (76/100) than those who voted Leave (65/100). 2017 Labour Leave voters were slightly more likely to say they would vote Conservative at the next election (19/100) than 2017 Labour Remain voters (11/100).

Combining people’s referendum vote, preferred Brexit outcome and view on austerity provided a more detailed range of data on party support. The most likely Conservative voters (75/100) were pro-austerity Leave voters who wanted a hard Brexit. Labour’s strongest support came from anti-austerity Remain voters who wanted a second referendum (67/100, while pro-austerity Remain voters for a second referendum gave the highest likelihood of voting Lib Dem (40/100).



Leave voters who wanted a hard Brexit and supported austerity put their chances of voting Conservative (75/100) twice as high as Leave voters for a hard Brexit who opposed austerity (37/100).

Pro-austerity voters gave a mean likelihood of 64 for voting Conservative and 20 for Labour. Anti-austerity voters gave 54 for Labour and 19 for the Conservatives.

Leave voters gave 54 for the Tories and 24 for Labour. Remain voters gave 51 for Labour and 29 for the Conservatives.

Only 29% of voters – including half of 2017 Labour voters, 31% of Lib Dems, 39% of Remainers, 20% of Leavers and just 10% of Conservatives – said there should be another general election before the end of 2018.

Preferred government and Prime Minister

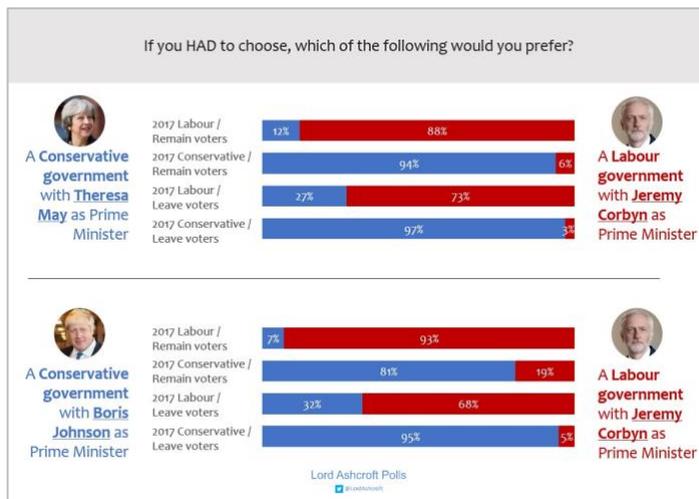


Voters as a whole said they would prefer a Conservative government with Theresa May as Prime Minister to a Labour government with Jeremy Corbyn as Prime Minister by 54% to 46%.

Three quarters of Leave voters preferred Theresa May and the Tories, as did 38% of Remain voters, 16% of 2017 Labour voters and 52% of 2017 Lib Dems.

Asked whether they would prefer a Labour government led by Jeremy Corbyn or a Conservative government led by Boris Johnson, respondents divided precisely 50-50.

While Leave voters preferred Boris Johnson and Theresa May over Jeremy Corbyn in equal proportions, only 28% of Remain voters preferred Johnson over Corbyn, compared to 38% who preferred May. Those who wanted a second referendum or a soft Brexit, both pro- and anti-austerity, were less likely to prefer Johnson over Corbyn than May over Corbyn.

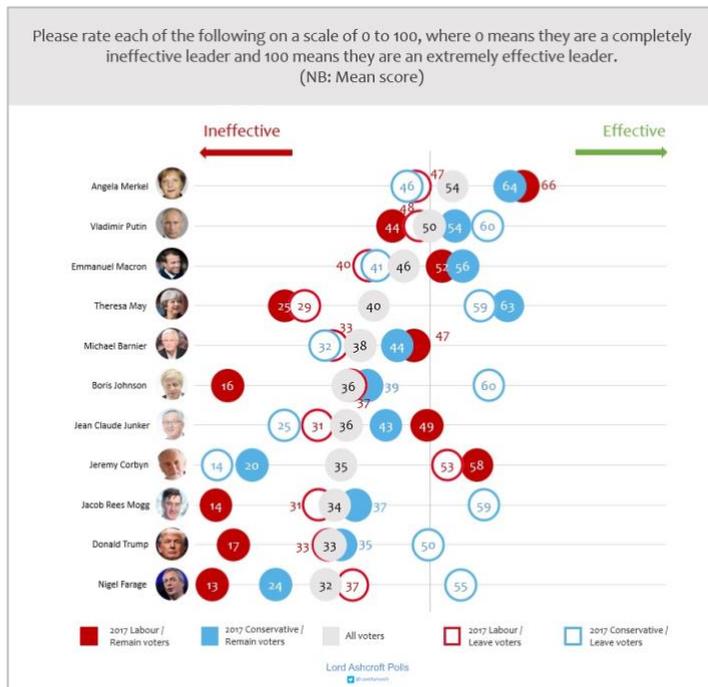


Labour Leave voters and anti-austerity Leave voters for a hard Brexit were the only groups more likely to support Johnson over Corbyn than May over Corbyn. 32% of Labour Leavers preferred Johnson to Corbyn, compared to 27% who preferred May.

Conservative voters who wanted a soft Brexit said a Corbyn-led Labour government would be worse than a hard Brexit by 58% to 42%.

Conservative voters who wanted a hard Brexit said a Corbyn-led Labour government would be worse than a soft Brexit by 65% to 35%.

Leadership



Asked to rate a selection of world leaders on their effectiveness, respondents as a whole put Angela Merkel at the top of the list, with a mean score of 54/100. Her highest scores came from 2017 Labour and Lib Dem Remainers (66/100).

Vladimir Putin was rated second overall with a mean score of 50/100, ranging from 44/100 among Labour Remainers to 60/100 among Conservative Leavers. Leave voters put Putin at the top of their list, followed by Boris Johnson, Nigel Farage and Jacob Rees-Mogg. Remain voters most rated Angela Merkel, followed by Emmanuel Macron, Michel Barnier and Jean-Claude Juncker.

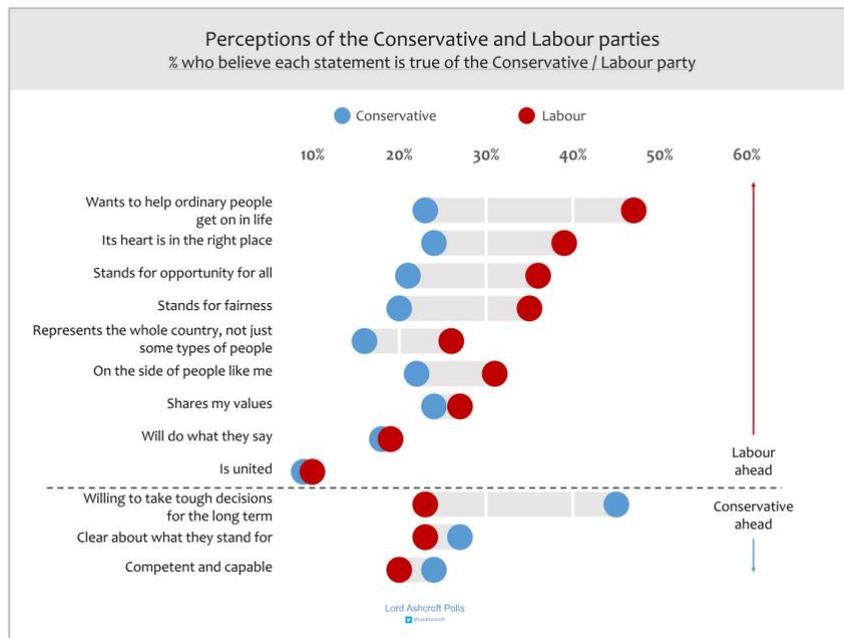
Theresa May was in fourth place overall, behind Merkel, Putin and Macron, with a mean score of 40/100. 2017 Conservative voters put her at the top of their list, with a mean score of 60/100. Conservative Remainers gave her a slightly higher effectiveness score (63/100) than Conservative Leavers (59/100). Jeremy Corbyn, who was placed eighth overall, also received a slightly higher mean score among his own Remain voters (58/100) than his own Leave voters (53/100).

In the focus groups, voters sympathised with Theresa May’s position and few thought another Conservative leader would be able to do a better job on Brexit given the situation she faced: **“No matter who is in, they would still have that divide within the party. They would still have the Anna Soubry’s fighting everything they do;”** **“It’s not helped by the fact**

that the EU are determined to punish the UK for leaving. I don’t think any other politician of recent times could do a better job.” However, both Leave and Remain voters in several groups said her position in the referendum made things even harder: **“She’s a remainer and she’s got to do Brexit;”** **“She’s fighting for what she doesn’t really believe in.”**

Some who had previously liked Jeremy Corbyn were having second thoughts: **“I never thought he was much good as a leader but I thought he would be a force for change, but he’s fizzled into nothing;”** **“I don’t think he explains himself well enough about his past, who he has met and why he was there – the Libyan thing and people in the IRA.”** All groups mentioned the antisemitism row: **“the record should be put straight instead of letting it drag on. It shows the weakness of his leadership.”** The groups felt Labour’s position on Brexit was very unclear, usually because the party was as divided as the Conservatives. Many felt Corbyn himself was **“always a big anti-European – that’s why he was so half-hearted in the referendum campaign.”** Very few thought he would be able to negotiate a better Brexit deal than Theresa May.

Party attributes



We asked respondents whether they agreed that certain statements were true of each of the main parties.

Labour’s biggest lead over the Conservatives was on the perception that the party “wants to help ordinary people get on in life”. The biggest Conservative lead over Labour was on being “willing to take tough decisions for the long term”.

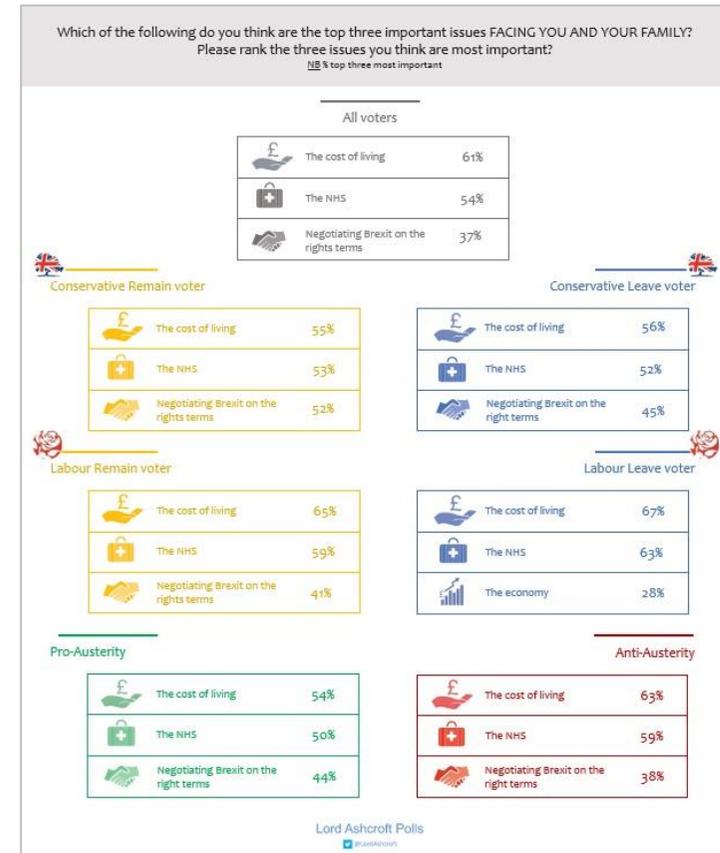
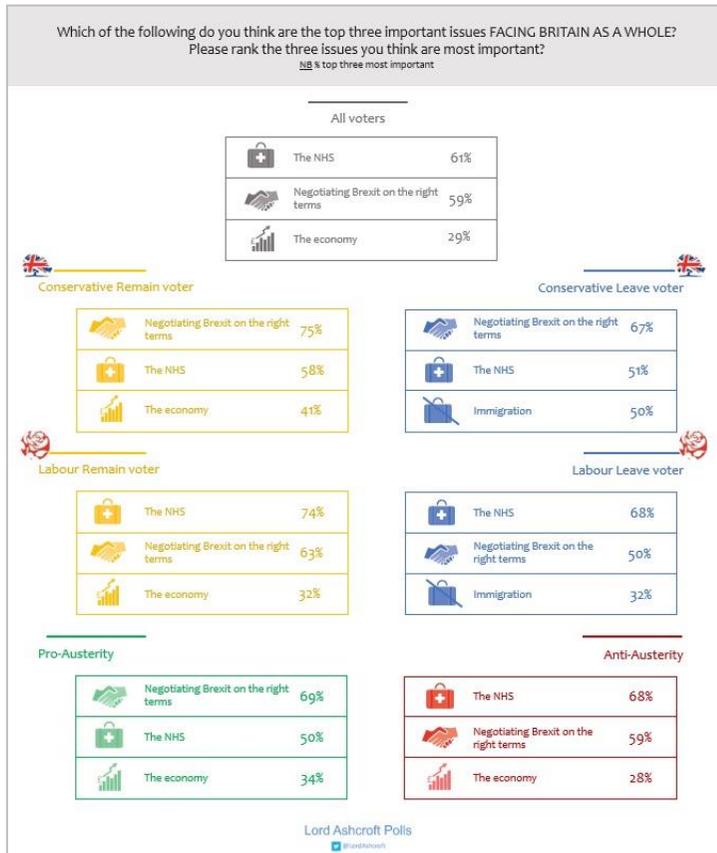
The Conservative scores were largely unchanged since we last asked the question in January 2018: none had moved more than one point in either direction.

However, a number of Labour scores were down by bigger margins. The biggest drops were on being “united” (down 7 to 10%), being “clear about what they stand for” (down 6 to 23%), having their “heart in the right place” (down 6 to 39%) and standing for “fairness” (down 5 to 35%).

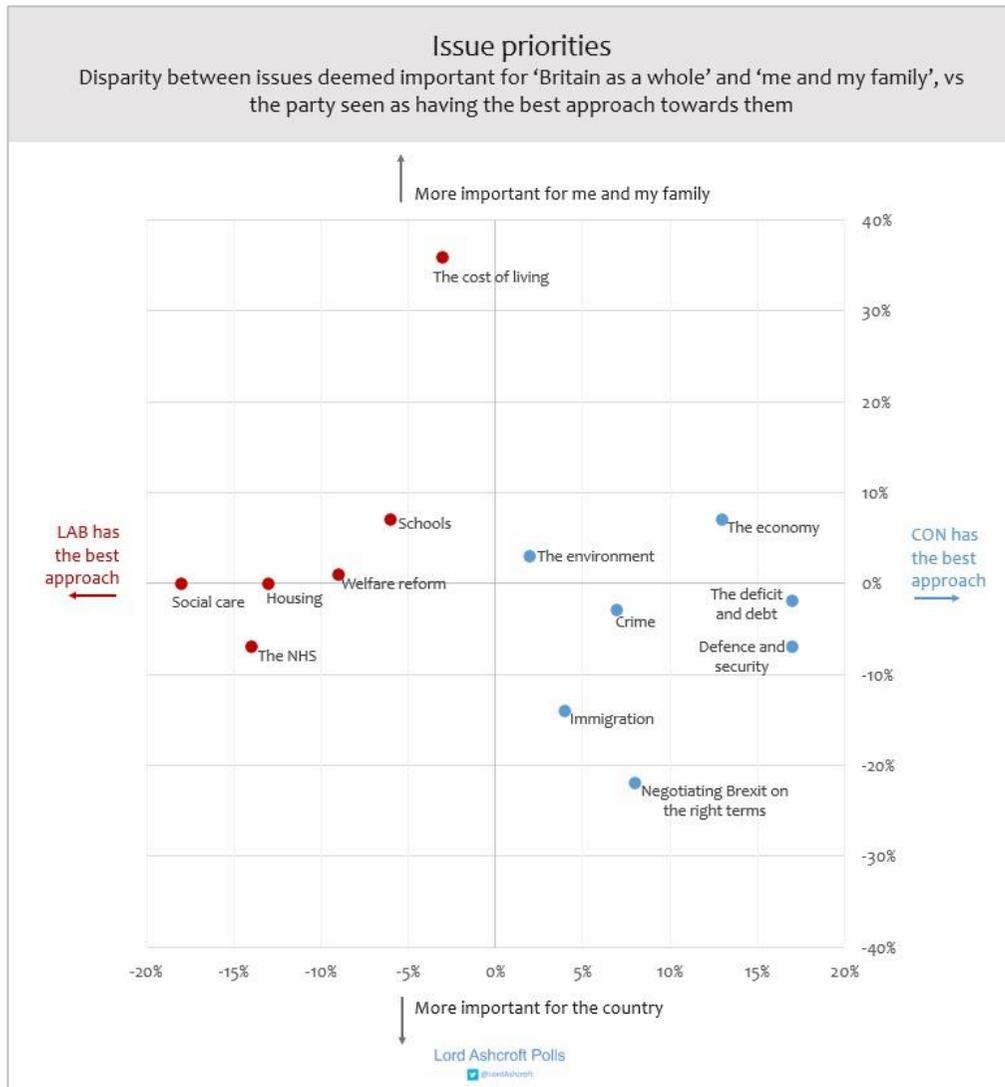
The highest scores for the Liberal Democrats were having their “heart in the right place” (32%) and wanting to “help ordinary people get on in life” (30%). UKIP’s highest score was for being “clear about what they stand for” (37%).

Among anti-austerity Leave voters who support a hard Brexit, just 13% said the Conservative Party was on the side of people like them, 15% said it wanted to help ordinary people get on in life, 17% said it shared their values, 18% said it was competent and capable and 12% thought the party stood for fairness.

Issues and priorities



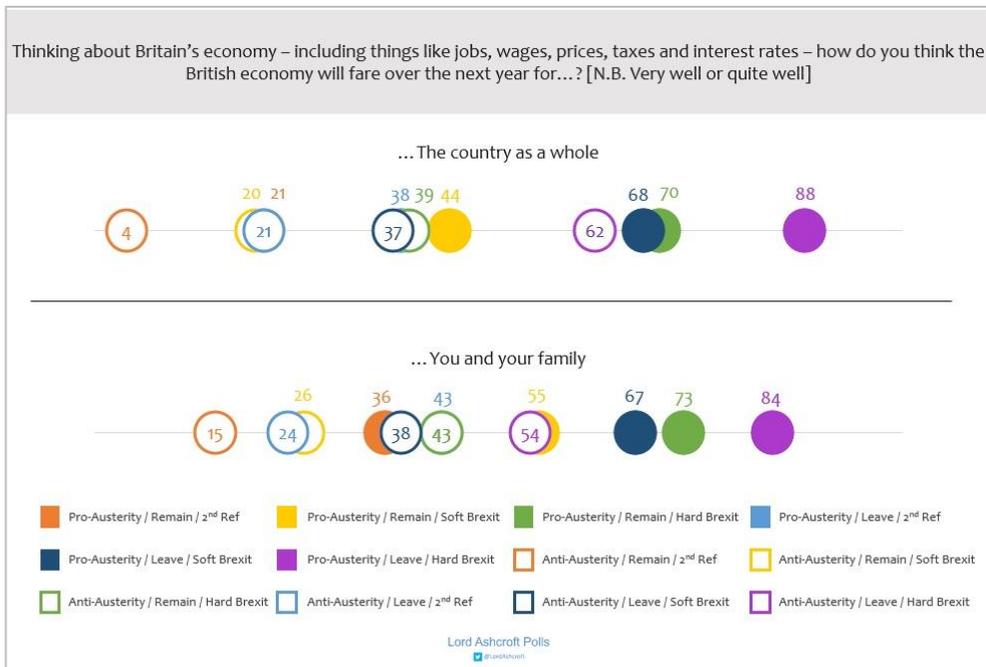
When we asked what were the most important issues facing Britain as a whole the top three answers for voters overall were the NHS, the Brexit negotiations and the economy. When we asked what mattered most for 'you and your family', Brexit fell to third place behind the cost of living and the NHS. 59% said the Brexit negotiations were among the most important issues for the country, while 37% said the same for them and their family. Immigration was rated the fourth most important issue for Britain, with 26% naming it in their top three; it was in ninth place on the 'me and my family' list, mentioned by 12%.



This quadrant shows whether each issue is more important to voters themselves or to the country as a whole, and whether they think the Conservatives or Labour have the better approach in each case. While most 'Conservative issues' are more likely to be regarded as important for the country than for 'me and my family', most 'Labour issues' are equally or more likely to be regarded as important for 'me and my family'. The NHS was rated the most important issue facing the country as a whole and the second most important for 'me and my family.'

The focus groups confirmed our earlier poll finding that there was little or no appetite for another early general election. When the next election did arrive, issues other than Brexit would be at the top of the agenda for many people, including many who had voted Leave. Though the issue was important, **"the most important thing for me is austerity and cuts in public services, and I agree more with Labour than Tory on that;"** **"Brexit and the deal is so complicated and pie-in-the-sky, it doesn't affect us on a daily basis and we don't know what it's going to be, when there are other things that are closer to home;"** **"Crime, homelessness, the cost of living – I find myself going from Morrison's to Lidl and Aldi;"** **"Every service is in crisis because we haven't got the capacity or the people."**

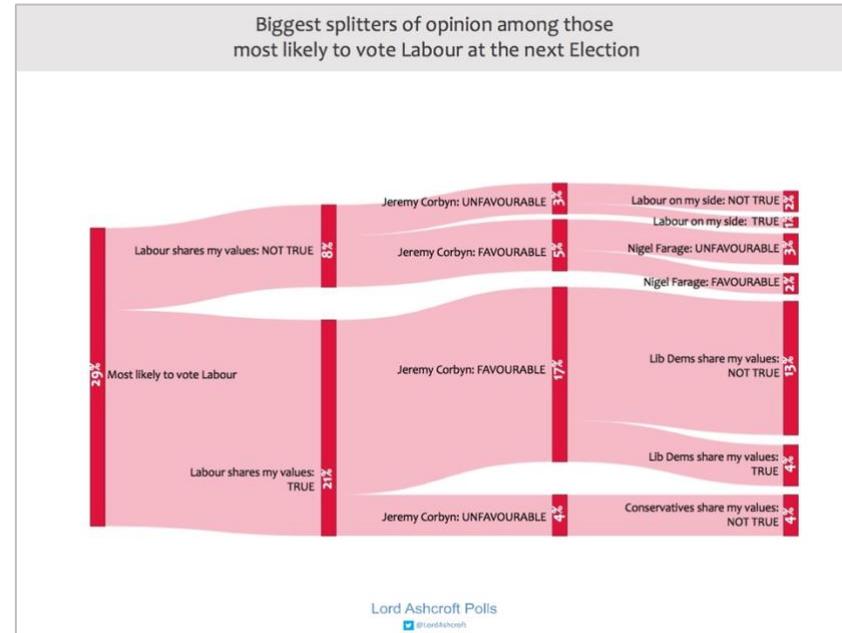
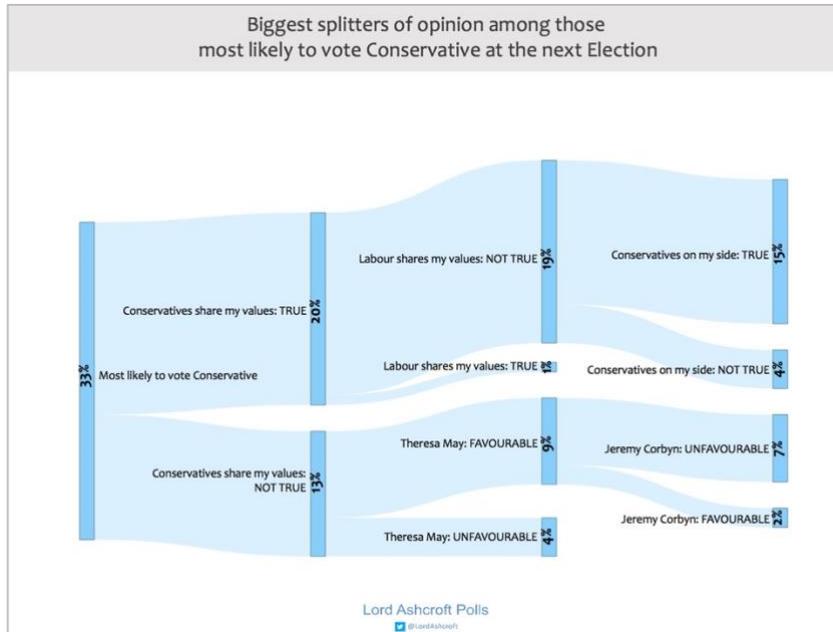
Economic optimism



People were slightly more likely to think the economy would do well over the next year for themselves and their families (48%) than that it would do well for the country as a whole (43%). Most of the difference is accounted for by Remain voters, 33% of whom thought the economy would do well for them compared to 22% who thought it would do well for Britain as a whole.

Anti-austerity voters and those who wanted a second referendum were the most pessimistic. Conservative Leavers and those wanting a hard Brexit were the most likely to think things would go well.

Paths to voting Conservative or Labour

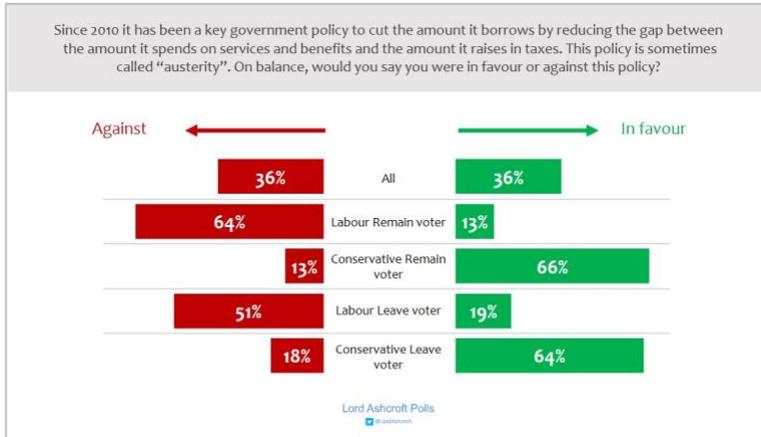


Using CHAID analysis we identified the factors that Conservative and Labour voters had most in common with each other. Of all the factors we asked about in the poll – including policy priorities, views of Brexit and austerity, and economic optimism – the things most likely to identify someone who put their likelihood of voting Conservative or Labour higher than for any other party were whether or not they thought the party shared their values.

For Conservative leaners who did not think the party shared their values, the next most important splitter was whether or not they had a favourable view of Theresa May. For the (fewer) Labour leaners who did not think Labour shared their values, or had an unfavourable view of Jeremy Corbyn, the next most important factors were whether other parties or leaders shared their values.

The findings reinforce the importance of a party’s ‘brand’ over and above any individual policy issues.

Austerity and Brexit: the two divides



We found voters evenly divided over support for austerity: 36% said they were in favour of the policy, 36% were against and 28% said they didn't know.

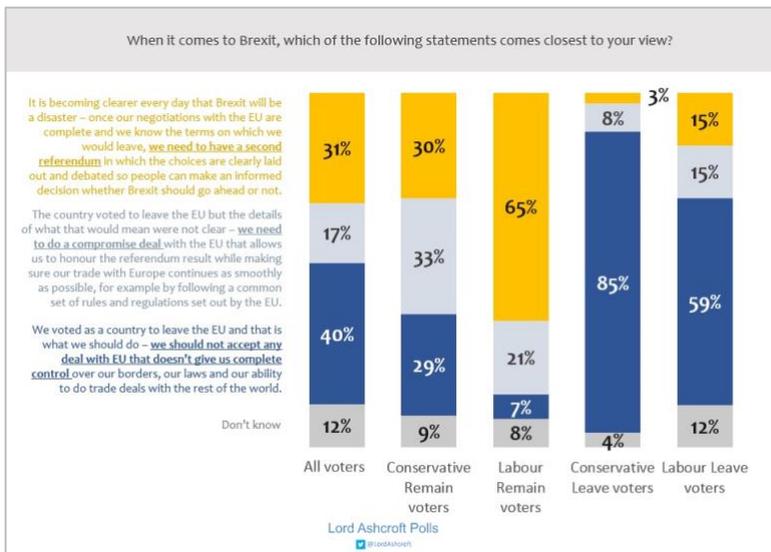
Two thirds of 2017 Conservatives, one third of Liberal Democrats and 15% of Labour voters said they were in favour of austerity. Labour Leavers were slightly more likely to be in favour than Labour Remainers.

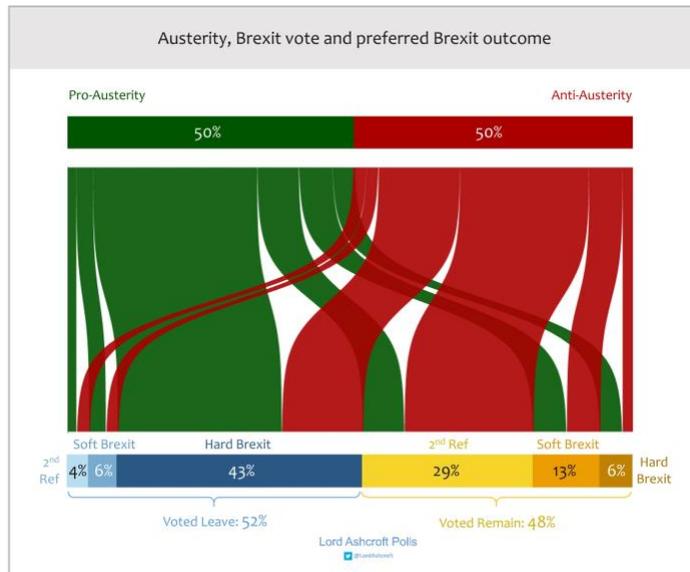
Just under half of Leave voters supported austerity, as did just under three in ten Remain voters. 35% of those who supported austerity voted Remain in the EU referendum; 38% of anti-austerity voters backed Leave.

When we asked about their preferred Brexit outcome, we found four in ten wanting a hard Brexit (no deal that does not give the UK complete control), just over three in ten wanting a second referendum on whether Brexit should go ahead once the terms on which we would leave are clear, and 17% wanting a soft Brexit (a compromise deal to allow trade to continue as smoothly as possible by following common rules and regulations with the EU after Brexit).

Conservative Leavers heavily supported the hard Brexit option, as did a majority of Labour Leavers. Two thirds of Labour Remainers supported a second referendum, while Conservative Remainers were evenly divided between a second referendum, a soft Brexit and a hard Brexit.

Overall, 75% of Leave voters supported a hard Brexit and 56% of Remainers wanted a second referendum; a further 24% of Remainers preferred a soft Brexit.





This chart shows how the pro- and anti-austerity sections of the electorate decided to vote in the EU referendum and the Brexit outcome they would now like to see.

It shows the difficulty a pro-Brexit, pro-austerity Conservative Party, an anti-austerity anti-Brexit party – or a party with any combination of positions on the two issues – has in assembling a majority electoral coalition.

The Brexit debate



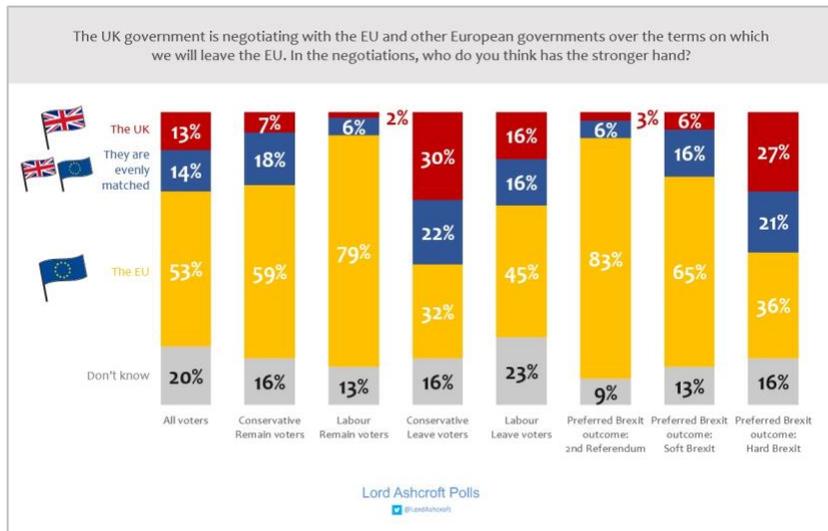
Asked how much confidence they had on a scale from 0 to 100 that Theresa May and her team would be able to negotiate a good Brexit deal for Britain, voters as a whole gave a mean score of 31 (down 9 points since we last asked the question in May 2018). After the Salzburg summit this figure was all but unchanged at 30/100.

Confidence had fallen further among 2017 Conservatives (down 11 to 48) and Leave voters (down 10 to 40) than among Remainers and Labour voters (both down 7 to 23 and 18 respectively), who both had less confidence to begin with. In a previous poll conducted in March 2017, overall confidence had been at 52/100: 66 among Leave voters and 39 among Remainers.

A majority of voters (53%) said they thought the EU had the stronger hand in the negotiations. Only 13% thought the UK had the stronger hand, while 14% thought the two sides were evenly matched. Conservative Leave voters were the most likely to think Britain had the stronger hand, but only 30% of them thought so. (After Salzburg, 59% thought the EU had the stronger hand, and 12% the UK).

However they had voted, most people in our groups thought progress was slow and uncertain. There was a widespread view that this was because **“Cameron thought he would win the referendum so there was no planning for if it went the other way. Like Iraq and Afghanistan;”** **“the way London voted, they assumed everyone in the country would vote that way but we didn’t.”**

Although most people had heard of the Chequers plan, very few knew anything about it other than that it had caused Boris Johnson and David Davis to resign. Since the debate seemed to shift every day, Chequers seemed like one more passing twist: **“you get the feeling it’s draft one, and draft two is going to follow;”** **“Let me know when we get a deal on the table.”**



Below are a number of things that some people have argued should be part of any Brexit deal. Which of these do you think are the most important? Please choose up to three.
NB % top three most important

All voters

	The UK no longer paying money to the EU	37%
	The UK being able to do its own free trade deals with countries outside the EU	35%
	The UK making all its own laws and no longer being subject to rulings from the European Court of Justice	34%

Preferred Brexit outcome: 2nd Referendum

	Continuing to trade freely with EU countries with no tariffs or customs checks	49%
	The UK and the EU continuing to work closely together on security and intelligence	40%
	EU citizens already living in the UK being allowed to stay permanently	34%

Preferred Brexit outcome: Soft Brexit

	The UK and the EU continuing to work closely together on security and intelligence	46%
	Continuing to trade freely with EU countries with no tariffs or customs checks	40%
	The UK being able to do its own free trade deals with countries outside the EU	35%

Preferred Brexit outcome: Hard Brexit

	The UK no longer paying money to the EU	64%
	The UK making all its own laws and no longer being subject to rulings from the European Court of Justice	63%
	The UK being able to do its own free trade deals with countries outside the EU	54%



Conservative Remain voter

	The UK and the EU continuing to work closely together on security and intelligence	46%
	Continuing to trade freely with EU countries with no tariffs or customs checks	40%
	The UK being able to do its own free trade deals with countries outside the EU	37%



Conservative Leave voter

	The UK making all its own laws and no longer being subject to rulings from the European Court of Justice	65%
	The UK no longer paying money to the EU	63%
	The UK being able to do its own free trade deals with countries outside the EU	56%



Labour Remain voter

	Continuing to trade freely with EU countries with no tariffs or customs checks	48%
	The UK and the EU continuing to work closely together on security and intelligence	43%
	EU citizens already living in the UK being allowed to stay permanently	33%



Labour Leave voter

	The UK no longer paying money to the EU	53%
	The UK being able to do its own free trade deals with countries outside the EU	45%
	The UK making all its own laws and no longer being subject to rulings from the European Court of Justice	43%

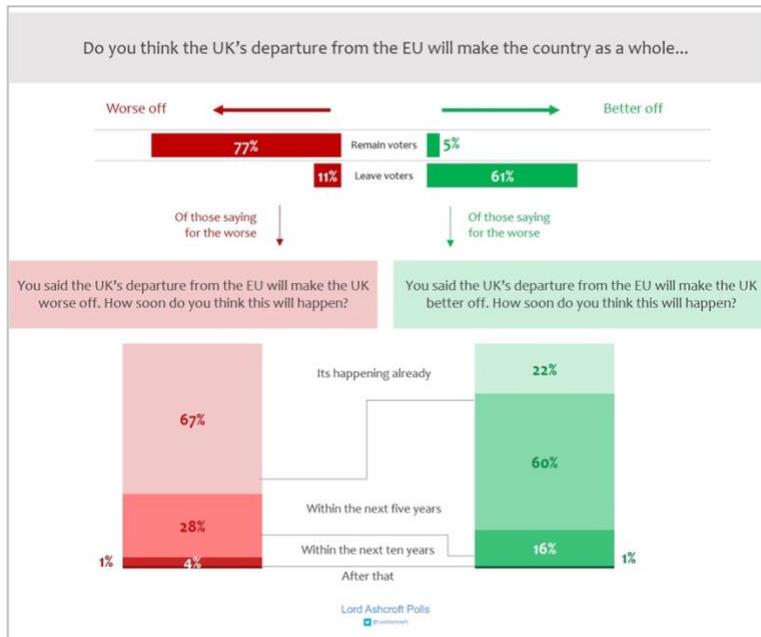
When the details of Chequers were explained, some Remainers in the groups were encouraged, if not very optimistic: **“better than complete chaos and better than no deal but it sounds quite ambitious. It’s asking quite a lot of Brexiteers and the EU;”** **“If we could have a common rulebook and end free movement I would take that deal now because I’m scared of what else Brexiteers would push for.”**

But to many Leave voters, the Chequers plan – particularly the idea of a common rule book – sounded unacceptable: **“They will just be able to tell us what to do without us having any say. They’ll have control and we won’t have any control;”** **“It doesn’t sound like we’re actually leaving. It betrays the result of the referendum;”** **“I voted to leave because I didn’t want control from Brussels, so if that means we have to leave with no deal, we have to leave with no deal.”**

Asked to choose the three most important from a list of 11 potential outcomes from the Brexit negotiations, Leave voters and supporters of a hard Brexit chose ending payments to the EU, the UK making all its own laws, and the UK being free to do its own free trade deals outside the EU.

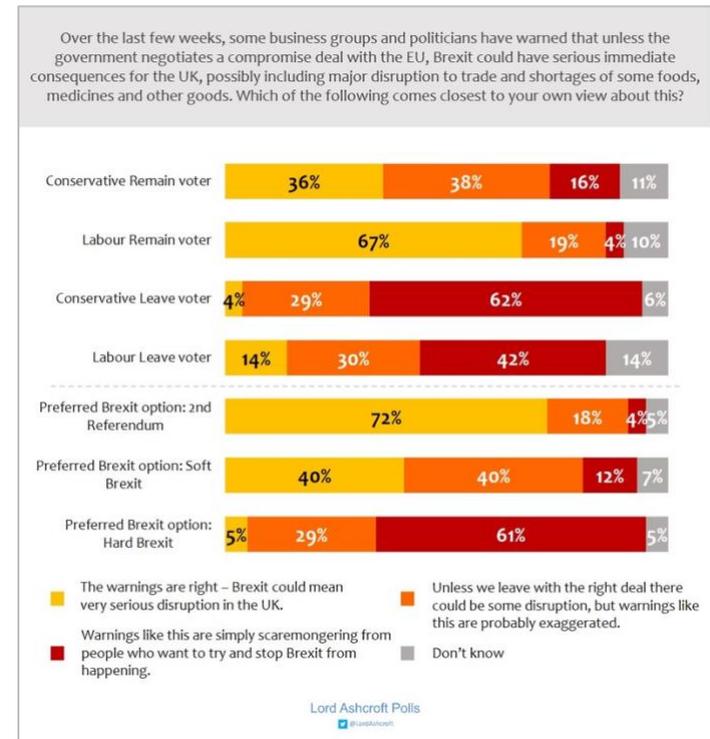
Those who preferred a soft Brexit most wanted to see the UK and EU continuing to work closely on security and intelligence, continuing to trade freely with no tariffs or customs checks, and the ability for the UK to do its own free trade deals with non-EU countries.

The priorities for those wanting a second referendum were continued free trade with the EU, security and intelligence co-operation, and EU citizens living in the UK to be allowed to stay permanently.



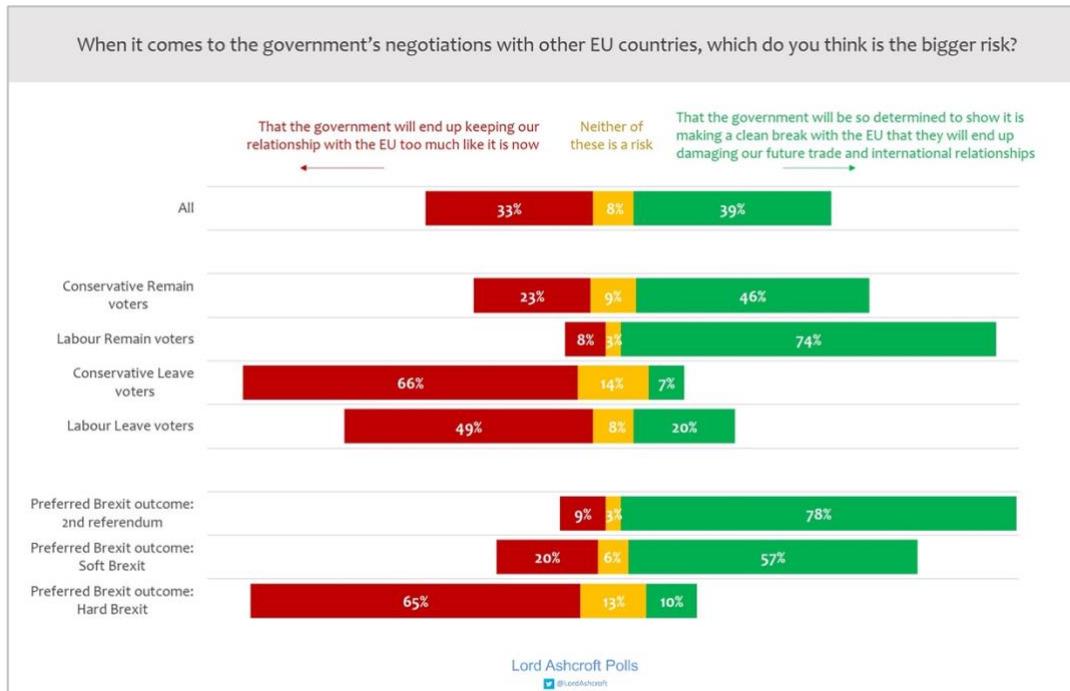
Overall, 31% said they thought Brexit would make the UK better off, while 43% thought it would be worse off. This is because Remain voters were more likely to say things would be worse than Leavers were to say things would be better; Leavers were more than twice as likely as Remainers to say it would make no difference.

Most of those who thought the UK would be better off said this would happen in the next five years; two thirds of those who thought the UK would be worse off said this was happening already.



One third of voters believed warnings that a no-deal Brexit would mean major disruption and shortages; a quarter thought such warnings were exaggerated. Half of all Tory voters and most Leavers, including two thirds of those who want a hard Brexit, thought such warnings were scaremongering from people trying to stop Brexit.

This was reflected in the focus groups, which all compared the warnings to Y2K: **“There will be some admin to start with but life will continue. Business is business;”** **“It’s like the Millennium Bug – I couldn’t set my microwave clock but that was about it;”** **“Before the referendum they said hundreds of thousands of jobs would be lost the day after the vote, but the economy’s done well.”**



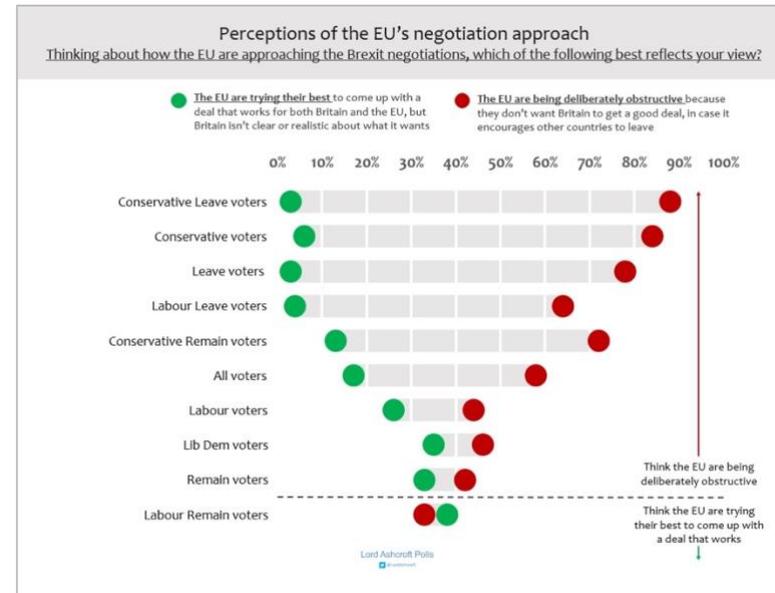
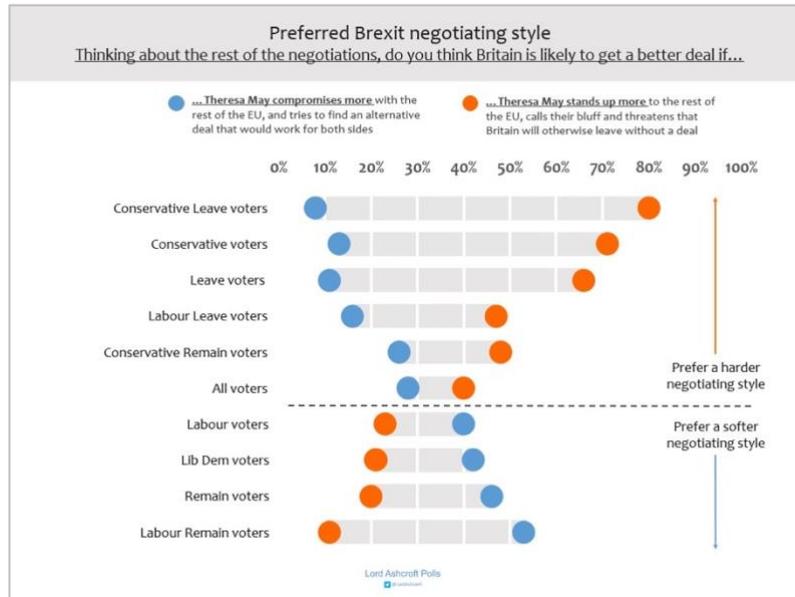
Voters as a whole were slightly more likely to think the bigger risk in the Brexit negotiations was that the government would be so determined to show it was making a clean break with the EU that we would damage the UK's trade and international relationships; one in three thought the bigger risk was that the government would end up keeping the country's relationship with the EU too much like it is now.

Remainers were more likely to fear the first than Leavers were to fear the second; Leave voters were more likely to think that neither of these was a danger.

Neither the Remainers nor the Leavers in our focus groups were very optimistic about the outcome of the negotiations: **"It will be a messy Brexit, not a proper deal. Bits and pieces stuck on and making it up as we go along."** Most thought a deal of some sort would end up being done, probably at the last minute, but Leavers in particular doubted that this would necessarily be a good thing: **"It will be at the eleventh hour, and it will be the worst deal imaginable;" "A rushed-through panic deal."** Many of the Leavers suspected that the referendum result would not be fully honoured: **"I don't think we will leave leave. They won't do what we voted for, they will do the soft thing;" "We will leave in name but nothing will change."**

Both sides felt the issue would be fully settled by the deadline or even by the end of the implementation period: **"It will take years and years and years. We will be haunted by it for a long time;" "They can extend the deadline. That's what I think will happen;" "Until 2020 we're not allowed to negotiate trade deals and we have to allow freedom of movement. So when does Brexit start? Come on."**

Reaction to Salzburg



In the week following the Salzburg summit and Theresa May’s defiant statement in response, we asked voters for their reactions. Fewer than one in ten said they had seen “a lot” about these events, though a further 28% said they had heard “a fair amount.” Asked which of two approaches was the more likely to achieve a better deal, 40% of voters – including 80% of Conservative Leavers but only 11% of Labour Remainers, but 48% of Conservative Remainers – said the PM standing up more to the rest of the EU, calling their bluff and threatening that Britain will otherwise leave without a deal would be the more effective. The alternative of Mrs. May compromising more with the rest of the EU and trying to find an alternative deal that would work for both sides was preferred by 28%, including 53% of Labour Remainers, 8% of Conservative Leavers and 13% of Conservative voters overall.

A majority of voters – including 42% of Remainers overall and 72% of Conservative Remainers – felt the EU was “being deliberately obstructive because they don’t want Britain to get a good deal, in case it encourages other countries to leave.” Only 17%, including only one third of Remain voters, thought the EU was trying its best to come up with a workable deal.

As noted above, overall confidence that the government would be able to achieve a good deal for Britain was not significantly changed since before the summit, though there was a small shift towards the view that the EU had the stronger hand in the negotiations.

Full poll results

10,056 adults were interviewed online between 4 and 11 September 2018.

1,625 adults were interviewed online on 24 and 25 September 2018.

Data have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Great Britain. Full data tables are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com

- As things stand today, how likely would you say it is that you will end up voting for each of the following parties at the next election – where zero means ‘there is no chance I will vote for that party’ and 100 means ‘I will definitely vote for that party’?

Likelihood/100	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
		Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
Conservative	39	77	14	22	29	54	77	11	77	19
Labour	37	11	72	32	51	24	16	76	9	65
Lib Dem	25	16	28	67	33	16	25	31	12	20
UKIP	17	25	9	5	5	29	8	4	32	19
Green	23	12	30	33	29	16	15	33	11	23
Another party	18	13	18	20	19	17	12	17	13	18

Likelihood/100	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity					
		Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters		
		2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit
Conservative	39	43	64	71	46	64	75	7	16	37	21	26	37
Labour	37	34	29	22	38	23	11	67	63	41	49	53	32
Lib Dem	25	40	35	24	25	25	11	34	35	23	25	23	13
UKIP	17	5	5	13	14	19	33	2	4	11	15	13	32
Green	23	25	20	17	19	22	12	36	36	20	30	24	15
Another party	18	20	14	13	18	17	14	19	21	13	24	21	18

2. If you had to choose, which of the following would you prefer?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
A Conservative government with Theresa May as Prime Minister	54		96	16	52	38	75	94	12	97	27
A Labour government with Jeremy Corbyn as Prime Minister	46		4	84	48	62	25	6	88	3	73

	%	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity					
			Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters		
			2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit
A Conservative government with Theresa May as Prime Minister	54		62	78	88	60	83	93	11	24	53	35	40	63
A Labour government with Jeremy Corbyn as Prime Minister	46		38	22	12	40	17	7	89	76	47	65	60	37

3. If you had to choose, which of the following would you prefer?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
A Conservative government with Boris Johnson as Prime Minister	50		91	14	32	28	75	81	7	95	32
A Labour government with Jeremy Corbyn as Prime Minister	50		9	86	68	72	25	19	93	5	68

%	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity						
		Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters			
		2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	
	A Conservative government with Boris Johnson as Prime Minister	50	45	62	75	57	78	93	7	14	52	35	34	66
	A Labour government with Jeremy Corbyn as Prime Minister	50	55	38	25	43	22	7	93	86	48	65	66	34

4. Do you think there should be a general election before the end of 2018?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
Yes, there should	29	10	50	31	39	20	13	52	8	45	
No, there should not	48	77	28	45	39	63	72	26	80	37	
Don't know	23	13	22	24	22	17	15	22	12	18	

%	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity						
		Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters			
		2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	
	Yes, there should	29	40	12	11	48	17	8	60	34	23	59	38	30
	No, there should not	48	47	75	84	36	75	84	22	45	64	26	44	57
	Don't know	23	13	12	5	15	8	8	18	21	12	15	18	13

5. 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	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
Very well	4	4	8	2	0	1	7	3	1	10	3
Quite well	39	39	65	21	22	21	60	47	12	73	41
TOTAL WELL	43	43	73	23	22	22	67	50	13	83	44
Quite badly	43	43	24	57	55	56	28	45	61	16	45
Very badly	13	13	2	21	23	21	4	5	26	1	10
TOTAL BADLY	56	56	26	78	78	77	32	50	87	17	55

	%	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity					
			Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters		
			2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit
Very well	4	4	1	1	9	3	5	11	0	1	4	4	3	8
Quite well	39	39	20	43	61	35	63	77	4	19	35	17	34	54
TOTAL WELL	43	43	21	44	70	38	68	88	4	20	39	21	37	62
Quite badly	43	43	60	50	30	51	31	12	57	65	52	57	50	33
Very badly	13	13	19	5	0	11	1	0	38	15	9	22	12	4
TOTAL BADLY	56	56	79	55	30	62	32	12	95	80	61	79	62	37

6. 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	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
Very well	4		7	2	1	2	6	4	1	9	3
Quite well	44		66	27	34	31	59	55	22	70	39
TOTAL WELL	48		73	29	35	33	65	59	23	79	42
Quite badly	42		25	56	54	54	30	38	60	20	48
Very badly	10		2	15	11	14	5	4	17	1	11
TOTAL BADLY	52		27	71	65	68	35	42	77	21	59

	%	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity					
			Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters		
			2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit
Very well	4		2	2	7	3	5	10	0	1	5	2	3	4
Quite well	44		34	53	66	40	62	74	15	25	38	22	35	50
TOTAL WELL	48		36	55	73	43	67	84	15	26	43	24	38	54
Quite badly	42		52	41	27	47	31	15	62	61	46	57	51	38
Very badly	10		11	4	1	9	2	1	23	12	11	19	11	7
TOTAL BADLY	52		63	45	28	56	33	16	85	73	57	76	62	45

7. Which of the following do you think are the top three most important issues facing Britain as a whole / you and your family?

Britain as a whole % naming in top 3	You and your family % naming in top 3
The NHS 61%	The cost of living 61%
Negotiating Brexit on the right terms 59%	The NHS 54%
The economy 29%	Negotiating Brexit on the right terms 37%
Immigration 26%	The economy 36%
The cost of living 25%	Housing 17%
Crime 21%	Schools 15%
Housing 17%	Social care 15%
Social care 15%	The environment 14%
Defence and security 14%	Immigration 12%
The environment 11%	Crime 8%
The deficit and the debt 8%	Welfare reform 8%
Schools 8%	Defence and security 7%
Welfare reform 7%	The deficit and the debt 6%

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?

%	Conservatives	Labour	Lib Dems	UKIP
The economy	33	20	5	3
The deficit and the debt	34	17	5	2
The NHS	20	34	6	3
Schools	22	28	7	2
The environment	16	14	7	2
Crime	26	19	5	5
Negotiating Brexit on the right terms	23	15	7	11
Welfare reform	21	30	6	3
Immigration	22	18	6	16
The cost of living	24	27	6	3
Social care	16	34	7	2
Housing	18	31	6	3
Defence and security	34	17	4	5

9. 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 Conservatives / Labour / the Liberal Democrats / UKIP?

	%	Conservatives	Labour	Lib Dems	UKIP
On the side of people like me		22	31	19	16
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life		23	47	30	18
Willing to take tough decisions for the long term		45	23	10	24
Shares my values		24	27	17	14
Competent and capable		24	20	8	7
Will do what they say		18	19	9	21
Clear about what they stand for		27	23	15	37
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people		16	26	17	9
Its heart is in the right place		24	39	32	18
Stands for fairness		20	35	27	12
Stands for opportunity for all		21	36	24	10
Is united		9	10	22	14

10. Please rate each of the following on a scale of zero to 100, where zero means they are a completely ineffective leader and 100 means they are an extremely effective leader.

	/100	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
Angela Merkel	54	51	59	66	65	46	64	66	46	47	
Vladimir Putin	50	58	45	48	46	56	54	44	60	48	
Emmanuel Macron	46	45	48	59	53	39	56	52	41	40	
Theresa May	40	60	26	37	36	47	63	25	59	29	
Michel Barnier	38	35	42	52	47	32	44	47	32	33	
Boris Johnson	36	54	22	24	22	52	39	16	60	37	
Jean-Claude Juncker	36	29	43	50	47	26	43	49	25	31	
Jeremy Corbyn	35	16	57	32	44	25	20	58	14	53	
Jacob Rees-Mogg	34	53	19	19	19	50	37	14	59	31	
Donald Trump	33	45	22	21	22	44	35	17	50	33	
Nigel Farage	32	46	20	18	16	50	24	13	55	37	

- 48% of all respondents answered ‘Don’t Know’ for Michael Barnier, 41% for Jean-Claude Juncker, and 38% for Emmanuel Macron.

%	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity					
		Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters		
		2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit
Angela Merkel	54	67	67	63	57	56	48	68	67	56	55	52	40
Vladimir Putin	50	54	54	58	52	54	63	46	48	54	47	49	58
Emmanuel Macron	46	58	60	56	51	49	41	54	56	49	45	39	33
Theresa May	40	44	59	61	40	59	57	20	35	41	24	30	36
Michel Barnier	38	48	49	45	44	41	33	52	44	42	39	41	28
Boris Johnson	36	27	36	44	42	49	61	11	19	32	30	30	48
Jean-Claude Juncker	36	47	48	42	41	35	25	52	49	35	37	35	23
Jeremy Corbyn	35	32	30	25	36	28	16	53	51	39	45	43	29
Jacob Rees-Mogg	34	23	34	43	36	40	62	9	16	34	23	22	45
Donald Trump	33	27	31	43	32	35	54	14	21	34	30	27	44
Nigel Farage	32	18	23	31	33	38	57	10	15	27	28	26	51

11. The government is in the process of negotiating the terms on which the UK will leave the European Union. 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?

Mean confidence /100 (change since May '18)	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
		Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
Pre-Salzburg (4-11 Sept survey)	31 (-9)	48 (-11)	18 (-7)	21 (-6)	23 (-7)	40 (-10)	47	15	49	25
Post-Salzburg (24-25 Sept survey)	30	46	20	15	22	39	43	17	47	25

- The second survey shows no significant change in confidence following the Salzburg summit.

%	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity					
		Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters		
		2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit
Mean confidence	31	25	45	53	27	50	48	9	23	31	13	28	30

12. Since 2010 it has been a key government policy to cut the amount it borrows by reducing the gap between the amount it spends on services and benefits and the amount it raises in taxes. This policy is sometimes called ‘austerity’. On balance, would you say you were in favour or against this policy?

%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
		Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
In favour	36	64	15	33	28	48	66	13	64	19
Against	36	16	59	45	48	27	13	64	18	51
Don't know	28	20	26	22	24	25	21	23	18	30

13. When it comes to Brexit, which of the following statements comes closest to your view?

%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
		Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
	40	69	23	16	12	75	29	7	85	59
	31	10	49	56	56	7	30	65	3	15
	17	14	19	22	24	10	33	21	8	15
	12	6	10	5	9	8	9	8	4	12

14. Over the last few weeks, some business groups and politicians have warned that unless the government negotiates a compromise deal with the EU, Brexit could have serious immediate consequences for the UK, possibly including major disruption to trade and shortages of some foods, medicines and other goods. Which of the following comes closest to your view about this?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
The warnings are right – Brexit could mean very serious disruption in the UK	32		13	50	57	59	7	36	67	4	14
Unless we leave with the right deal there could be some disruption, but warnings like this are probably exaggerated	25		31	22	27	24	28	38	19	29	30
Warnings like this are simply scaremongering from people who want to try and stop Brexit from happening	29		49	15	8	7	55	16	4	62	42
<i>Don't know</i>	14		8	13	8	11	10	11	10	6	14

	%	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity					
			Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters		
			2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit
The warnings are right – Brexit could mean very serious disruption in the UK	32		67	42	16	43	16	2	83	59	30	51	18	3
Unless we leave with the right deal there could be some disruption, but warnings like this are probably exaggerated	25		26	46	46	35	53	28	13	32	32	29	48	28
Warnings like this are simply scaremongering from people who want to try and stop Brexit from happening	29		4	9	33	15	24	68	1	7	35	14	28	66
<i>Don't know</i>	14		3	3	5	7	7	1	3	3	3	6	6	3

15. Below are a number of things that some people have argued should be part of any Brexit deal. Which of these do you think are the most important? Please choose up to three.

	%	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
		ALL	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave
The UK no longer paying money to the EU	37	55	26	20	18	59	34	13	63	53
The UK being able to do its own free trade deals with countries outside the EU	35	50	27	22	23	50	37	19	56	45
The UK making all its own laws and no longer being subject to rulings from the European Court of Justice	34	56	20	19	15	57	32	9	65	43
The UK and the EU continuing to work closely together on security and intelligence	32	31	37	40	42	25	46	43	26	27
Continuing to trade freely with EU countries with no tariffs or customs checks	29	23	38	48	45	17	40	48	16	19
EU citizens already living in the UK being allowed to stay permanently	18	9	26	28	28	8	14	33	7	11
Ending free movement and EU citizens' automatic right to move to the UK	17	25	10	7	7	28	11	5	31	21
Not having a border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland	15	10	21	28	25	8	17	27	7	10
UK citizens being able to move to other EU countries to live and work easily	14	5	20	25	23	4	13	27	3	8
UK employers being able to recruit workers from the EU easily	10	6	13	19	17	4	14	17	3	6
UK citizens living in other EU countries being allowed to stay permanently	10	5	13	13	14	5	8	16	4	8

%	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity					
		Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters		
		2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit
The UK no longer paying money to the EU	37	21	24	49	35	41	66	7	15	51	39	42	68
The UK being able to do its own free trade deals with countries outside the EU	35	26	36	49	32	45	60	12	29	44	31	50	55
The UK making all its own laws and no longer being subject to rulings from the European Court of Justice	34	18	24	54	43	38	72	6	13	45	24	38	63
The UK and the EU continuing to work closely together on security and intelligence	32	46	53	39	40	43	24	42	50	36	30	37	26
Continuing to trade freely with EU countries with no tariffs or customs checks	29	50	51	25	36	35	14	58	46	27	40	26	14
EU citizens already living in the UK being allowed to stay permanently	18	26	16	11	18	19	6	40	33	8	12	15	7
Ending free movement and EU citizens' automatic right to move to the UK	17	7	7	19	22	18	34	3	4	20	15	16	32
Not having a border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland	15	25	21	15	16	9	7	37	29	18	19	13	8
UK citizens being able to move to other EU countries to live and work easily	14	20	17	11	6	9	3	33	20	6	17	13	4
UK employers being able to recruit workers from the EU easily	10	22	19	8	6	10	3	20	19	10	13	9	3
UK citizens living in other EU countries being allowed to stay permanently	10	13	10	7	14	8	3	17	15	19	22	8	5

16. The UK government is negotiating with the EU and 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	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
<i>Pre-Salzburg / Post-Salzburg</i>											
The UK		13 / 12	23 / 23	6 / 5	4 / 3	3 / 3	25 / 23	7 / 9	2 / 2	30 / 29	16 / 13
The EU		53 / 59	39 / 47	67 / 71	76 / 85	74 / 77	36 / 44	59 / 63	79 / 80	32 / 40	45 / 53
They are evenly matched		14 / 13	21 / 20	9 / 9	10 / 5	9 / 8	19 / 20	18 / 14	6 / 5	22 / 23	16 / 17
Don't know		20 / 16	17 / 10	17 / 15	10 / 8	14 / 12	20 / 13	16 / 14	13 / 13	16 / 8	23 / 17

	%	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity					
			Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters		
			2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit
The UK		13	3	5	14	12	15	33	1	3	11	5	7	28
The EU		53	82	69	55	67	50	32	91	79	56	78	61	41
They are evenly matched		14	9	18	23	12	19	24	3	11	22	12	21	18
Don't know		20	6	8	8	9	16	11	5	7	11	6	12	13

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

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
Much better off	16	16	29	7	3	1	33	4	1	39	21
A bit better off	15	15	25	9	6	4	28	11	2	31	25
TOTAL BETTER OFF	31	31	54	16	9	5	61	15	3	70	46
Neither better nor worse off	14	14	16	10	9	8	18	16	6	16	20
A bit worse off	17	17	13	20	19	24	8	32	22	6	13
Much worse off	26	26	8	44	55	53	3	27	62	1	7
TOTAL WORSE OFF	43	43	21	64	74	77	11	59	84	7	20
Don't know	12	12	8	11	7	9	10	11	7	7	14

	%	ALL	Pro-Austerity						Anti-austerity					
			Remain voters			Leave voters			Remain voters			Leave voters		
			2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit	2 nd Ref	Soft Brexit	Hard Brexit
Much better off	16	16	0	0	12	11	13	43	0	0	7	4	7	41
A bit better off	15	15	2	8	29	13	32	34	1	2	13	5	21	30
TOTAL BETTER OFF	31	31	2	8	41	24	45	77	1	2	20	9	28	71
Neither better nor worse off	14	14	7	16	23	16	24	14	1	7	26	16	28	17
A bit worse off	17	17	26	44	21	24	19	5	14	36	32	27	20	7
Much worse off	26	26	63	27	9	20	1	0	81	50	16	37	10	1
TOTAL WORSE OFF	43	43	89	71	30	44	20	5	95	86	48	64	30	8
Don't know	12	12	2	5	6	16	10	3	2	4	6	11	14	4

18. [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	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
It’s happening already	22	22	24	16	17	10	24	11	7	25	18
Within the next five years	60	60	60	64	62	67	60	67	67	59	64
Within the next ten years	16	16	15	17	15	19	16	21	13	15	16
After that	1	1	1	3	6	4	1	1	12	1	1

19. [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	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
It’s happening already	67	67	55	72	72	71	52	60	74	43	65
Within the next five years	28	28	40	24	26	26	41	36	23	50	28
Within the next ten years	4	4	4	3	2	3	5	4	2	6	5
After that	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	1	1	2

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

	%	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
		ALL	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave
That the government will end up keeping our relationship with the EU too much like it is now	33	54	20	14	11	59	23	8	66	49
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	39	18	56	70	67	12	46	74	7	20
Neither of these is a risk	8	12	5	3	4	11	9	3	14	8
<i>Don't know</i>	21	16	19	12	17	18	22	15	13	22

21. [2017 Conservative voters who prefer a ‘soft’ Brexit or second referendum] If you had to choose, which of the following would be worse for Britain?

2017 Con voters who prefer a ‘soft’ Brexit %	ALL CON	Con Remain	Con Leave
Leaving the EU without a compromise deal – a ‘hard Brexit’	42	43	39
A Labour government with Jeremy Corbyn as Prime Minister	58	57	61

2017 Con voters who prefer a ‘hard’ Brexit %	ALL CON	Con Remain	Con Leave
A ‘soft Brexit’ in which Britain continues to follow some EU rules and regulations	35	36	35
A Labour government with Jeremy Corbyn as Prime Minister	65	64	65

These additional questions were asked on 24 September, after the Salzburg meeting and Theresa May's statement the following day.

22. Last week there was a meeting of EU leaders in Salzburg to discuss Britain's Brexit deal. How much, if anything, have you seen about the outcome of this meeting?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
A lot	9		11	7	20	12	8	12	10	11	4
A fair amount	28		36	26	38	33	29	34	31	37	18
TOTAL A LOT/A FAIR AMOUNT	37		47	33	58	45	37	46	41	48	22
Not very much	35		39	37	27	33	37	41	35	38	37
Nothing at all	18		9	21	11	14	18	6	16	10	30
TOTAL NOT MUCH/NOTHING	53		48	58	38	47	55	47	51	48	67
Don't know	9		5	9	5	8	8	6	8	4	11

23. Thinking about the rest of the negotiations, do you think Britain is likely to get a better deal if...

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
Theresa May stands up more to the rest of the EU, calls their bluff and threatens that Britain will otherwise leave without a deal	40		71	23	21	20	66	48	11	80	47
Theresa May compromises more with the rest of the EU, and tries to find an alternative deal that would work for both sides	28		13	40	42	46	11	26	53	8	16
Neither	12		5	15	24	16	7	8	16	4	12
Don't know	21		10	23	13	18	16	17	20	8	25

24. Thinking about how the EU are approaching the Brexit negotiations, which of the following best reflects your view?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Lab Remain	Con Leave	Lab Leave
The EU are trying their best to come up with a deal that works for both Britain and the EU, but Britain isn't clear or realistic about what it wants	17		6	26	35	33	3	13	38	3	4
The EU are being deliberately obstructive because they don't want Britain to get a good deal, in case it encourages other countries to leave	58		84	44	46	42	78	72	33	88	64
Neither	7		2	9	6	8	4	2	10	2	7
Don't know	18		8	22	12	17	15	12	19	7	25