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How Labour's position on a People's Vote affects its support in Leave-voting marginals

Analysis from Represent Us based on polling from ICM

Labour will vote against the Prime Minister's deal but its stance on a People's Vote is not yet fixed

- Labour has said it will vote against the Prime Minister's deal
- A People's Vote is an option if
 - the Prime Minister's deal is defeated in Parliament
 - Labour cannot secure a majority for a General Election
- An amendment to the resolution approving the Prime Minister's deal can make approval conditional on there being a People's Vote.
- Such an amendment will be tabled – e.g. by Sarah Wollaston
- What do **voters in Leave-voting areas** think Labour should do, and how does this affect Labour's chances in an election?

The poll was conducted in 54 seats only

- This poll was conducted in the 54 Leave voting Labour seats with majorities of less than 6,500
 - 27 **strongly Leave** seats - 60% + voted leave (sample of 750)
 - 27 **less strongly Leave** seats - 50% to 59.9% voted leave (sample of 750)
- We have separate results for each of these sub-samples; each is representative of the 27 seats in question
- In other words we have not extrapolated from national results. The results reflect feelings in these seats alone
- Fieldwork took place between 2nd and 13th November - ie before the deal was made public

Leave vote: 50%-59.5%

Bedford

Bolton North East

Bridgend

Burnley

Bury North

Bury South

Clwyd South

Colne Valley

Crewe and Nantwich

Croydon Central

Darlington

Delyn

Derby North

Eltham

Gedling

High Peak

Ipswich

Keighley

Lincoln

Newport West

Stockton South

Vale Of Clwyd

Weaver Vale

Wolverhampton South West

Worsley and Eccles South

Wrexham

Ynys Mon

Leave vote: 60% +

Alyn and Deeside

Ashfield

Barrow and Furness

Bassetlaw

Birmingham, Northfield

Bishop Auckland

Blackpool South

Bolsover

Dagenham and Rainham

Dewsbury

Don Valley

Dudley North

Great Grimsby

Halifax

Hyndburn

Newcastle-Under-Lyme

Penistone and Stocksbridge

Peterborough

Rother Valley

Scunthorpe

Sedgefield

Stoke-On-Trent Central

Stoke-On-Trent North

Wakefield

West Bromwich West

Wolverhampton North East

Workington

The poll covers the following key scenarios

1. Labour votes against the deal (the People's Vote is not mentioned in this scenario)
2. Labour votes for the deal, conditional on there being a People's Vote
3. Labour votes for the deal, conditional on there being a People's Vote, but the local MPs vote for the deal and *against* a People's Vote

Headline results – all 54 seats

1. Labour votes against the deal (the People's Vote is not mentioned in this scenario)

Labour majority falls from 7% in 2017 to 2% – 14 seats lost

2. Labour votes for the deal, conditional on there being a People's Vote

Labour majority rises to 8% – no seats lost

3. Labour votes for the deal, conditional on there being a People's Vote, but the local MP votes for the deal and *against* a People's Vote

Labour majority falls to 1% – 19 seats lost

Headline results – 27 strongly Leave seats (60%+)

1. Labour votes against the deal (the People's Vote is not mentioned in this scenario)

Labour majority falls from 7% in 2017 to 0% – 7 seats lost

2. Labour votes for the deal, conditional on there being a People's Vote

Labour majority falls to 6% – no seats lost

3. Labour votes for the deal, conditional on there being a People's Vote, but the local MP votes for the deal and *against* a People's Vote

Labour now 3% behind Tories – 12 seats lost

Headline results – 27 less strongly Leave seats (50-59%)

1. Labour votes against the deal (the People's Vote is not mentioned in this scenario)

Labour majority falls from 7% in 2017 to 3% – 7 seats lost

2. Labour votes for the deal, conditional on there being a People's Vote

Labour majority rises to 10% – no seats lost

3. Labour votes for the deal, conditional on there being a People's Vote, but the local MP votes for the deal and *against* a People's Vote

Labour majority falls to 3% – 7 seats lost

We also asked about People's Vote versus a no deal Brexit

If Parliament rejects the Prime Minister's deal, should there be a People's Vote or a no-deal Brexit?

More respondents wanted a People's Vote than a no deal Brexit

If Parliament rejects the Prime Minister's deal, should there be a People's Vote or a no-deal Brexit?

	All 54 seats
People's Vote	47%
No-deal Brexit	41%
Don't know/won't say	12%

This was true of both samples*

If Parliament rejects the Prime Minister's deal, should there be a People's Vote or a no-deal Brexit?

	All 54 seats	Strongly Leave seats	Less strongly Leave seats
People's Vote	47%	44%	49%
No-deal Brexit	41%	42%	41%
Don't know/won't say	12%	14%	10%

* The 2% difference in strongly Leave seats is within the margin of error at 95% confidence

We also polled two scenarios that now look unlikely

- The poll covered two additional scenarios:-
 - Labour votes for the deal
 - Labour votes against the deal but the local Labour MPs supports it
- Labour does worse in both these scenarios and in both types of constituency than if it votes for a People's Vote.
- **Its average majorities are between 5% to 8% less than if it votes for a People's Vote**, depending on scenario and type of constituency.

These results are consistent with an ICM poll conducted in September

- In September ICM polled the 82 Labour and Tory seats where the 2017 majority was less than 3,500
- The 82 seats were divided into:
 - 48 seats where **54%+ voted Leave** (sample of 700)
 - 34 **other** seats (sample of 500)
- Respondents were asked how they would vote if: the deal was defeated in Parliament, an election was called and Labour
 - **Promised a People's Vote** in its manifesto *or*
 - **Ruled out a People's Vote** in its manifesto

These results are consistent with an ICM poll conducted in September

The September poll showed that Labour does better in Leave-voting seats if it promises a People's Vote than if it rules it out

- Labour vote share is **13%** greater (44% compared to 31%) if it promises a People's Vote
- This means Labour wins **51 more seats than it otherwise would** in this selection of 82 seats - if it promises a People's Vote
- 38 of these were amongst the 48 Leave-voting seats
- This is largely because of a switch to the Lib Dems if Labour rules out a People's Vote

Conclusions

The poll shows that

- Labour will enhance its electoral position *in leave-voting areas including strongly leave-voting areas* by supporting a People's Vote
- Individual Labour MPs in these areas who vote against a People's Vote are more likely to lose their seats than their colleagues who vote for it
- In *leave-voting areas* more people want a People's Vote than a no-deal Brexit

Annexes

Analysis by seat: strongly leave seats

Leave vote: 60% +	Winner in a hypothetical general election		
	<i>Lab and MP vote against deal</i>	<i>Lab and MP vote for PV</i>	<i>Lab votes for PV, MP votes against</i>
Alyn and Deeside	Lab	Lab	Lab
Ashfield	Con	Lab	Con
Barrow and Furness	Con	Lab	Con
Bassetlaw	Lab	Lab	Lab
Birmingham, Northfield	Lab	Lab	Lab
Bishop Auckland	Con	Lab	Con
Blackpool South	Lab	Lab	Con
Bolsover	Lab	Lab	Lab
Dagenham and Rainham	Lab	Lab	Lab
Dewsbury	Lab	Lab	Con
Don Valley	Lab	Lab	Lab
Dudley North	Con	Lab	Con
Great Grimsby	Lab	Lab	Con
Halifax	Lab	Lab	Lab
Hyndburn	Lab	Lab	Lab
Newcastle-Under-Lyme	Con	Lab	Con
Penistone and Stocksbridge	Con	Lab	Con
Peterborough	Con	Lab	Con
Rother Valley	Lab	Lab	Lab
Scunthorpe	Lab	Lab	Lab
Sedgefield	Lab	Lab	Lab
Stoke-On-Trent Central	Lab	Lab	Lab
Stoke-On-Trent North	Lab	Lab	Con
Wakefield	Lab	Lab	Con
West Bromwich West	Lab	Lab	Lab
Wolverhampton North East	Lab	Lab	Lab
Workington	Lab	Lab	Lab

Analysis by seat: less strongly leave seats

Leave vote: 50%-59.5%	Winner in a hypothetical general election		
	<i>Lab and MP vote against deal</i>	<i>Lab and MP vote for PV</i>	<i>Lab votes for PV, MP votes against</i>
Bedford	Con	Lab	Con
Bolton North East	Lab	Lab	Lab
Bridgend	Lab	Lab	Lab
Burnley	Lab	Lab	Lab
Bury North	Lab	Lab	Lab
Bury South	Lab	Lab	Lab
Clwyd South	Lab	Lab	Lab
Colne Valley	Con	Lab	Con
Crewe and Nantwich	Con	Lab	Con
Croydon Central	Lab	Lab	Lab
Darlington	Lab	Lab	Lab
Delyn	Lab	Lab	Lab
Derby North	Lab	Lab	Lab
Eltham	Lab	Lab	Lab
Gedling	Lab	Lab	Lab
High Peak	Lab	Lab	Lab
Ipswich	Con	Lab	Con
Keighley	Con	Lab	Con
Lincoln	Con	Lab	Con
Newport West	Lab	Lab	Lab
Stockton South	Con	Lab	Con
Vale Of Clwyd	Lab	Lab	Lab
Weaver Vale	Lab	Lab	Lab
Wolverhampton South West	Lab	Lab	Lab
Worsley and Eccles South	Lab	Lab	Lab
Wrexham	Lab	Lab	Lab
Ynys Mon	Lab	Lab	Lab

How we calculate the electoral impact

1. Measure the vote shares in each of the two samples in each of the scenarios described in the poll
2. Note the change in voting patterns under each scenario compared to the recollection of voting in 2017 to establish vote swings
3. Then take the actual vote shares in the last election and apply the relevant swings for each scenario to each seat.
4. On this basis, calculate who will win in each scenario if UKIP and the Greens stand in the seat

Sampling errors

Sampling tolerances (+/-) at 95% confidence interval applicable at different percentages

	10% or 90%	30% or 70%	50%
1500 (The sample as a whole)	1.5%	2.3%	2.5%
750 (Each sub-sample)	2.1%	3.3%	3.6%

Scenario wording in poll questionnaire

In the parliamentary vote, **the Labour Party**, including your local MP, decided to **vote against the Government's final Brexit deal**, and so did the Liberal Democrats and Plaid Cymru.

In the parliamentary vote, **the Labour Party**, including your local MP, the Liberal Democrats, and Plaid Cymru decided to **support the Government's final Brexit deal, on the condition that there is a People's Vote** on the deal and that the deal is then approved by the public in this People's Vote.

In the parliamentary vote, **the Labour Party**, the Liberal Democrats and Plaid Cymru decided to **support the Government's final Brexit deal, on the condition that there is a People's Vote on the deal** and that the deal is then approved by the public in this People's Vote. **However, your local MP** defied the Labour leadership and voted with the Government, **in favour of the final Brexit deal and against a People's Vote**.