

Project Blueprint

Phase 4

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC

Cover image: collected answers to the question “what is the first word or phrase than comes to mind when you think of David Cameron / Ed Miliband / Nick Clegg?”

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC is an international businessman, author and philanthropist. He is founder and Chairman of the Board of Crimestoppers, a member of the Board of the Imperial War Museum and a Trustee of the Imperial War Museum Foundation, Chairman of the Trustees of Ashcroft Technology Academy, Chancellor of Anglia Ruskin University and Treasurer of the International Democrat Union. From 2005 to 2010 he was Deputy Chairman of the Conservative Party.

His previous political books and research papers include *Smell The Coffee* (2005); *Minority Verdict*; *What Future For Labour?*; *What Future For The Liberal Democrats?* (2010); *Crime, Punishment & The People*; *Project Blueprint*; *The Leadership Factor* (2011); *Degrees of Separation*; *The Armed Forces & Society*; *Blue Collar Tories*; *Project Red Alert*; *They're Thinking What We're Thinking: Understanding The UKIP Temptation* (2012); *What Are The Liberal Democrats For?*; *Marginal Territory*; *Are You Serious? Boris, the Tories and the Voters*; *Small Island: Public Opinion and the Politics of Immigration*; and *Cameron's Caledonian Conundrum* (2013).

For more information please go to www.LordAshcroftPolls.com. You can also follow Lord Ashcroft on Twitter: @LordAshcroft

Contents

Introduction	5
Methodology	8
Key points	9
The Conservative Universe	10
Loyalists	12
Joiners	14
Considerers	16
Defectors	20
In their own words	22
Full poll results	32

Introduction: The proceeds of growth

If the Conservatives want to govern after the next election without needing a coalition of parties, they are going to have to build a bigger coalition of voters. This is the principle behind Project Blueprint, which aims to assess how the party is doing in this endeavour. The Tories have their Loyalists, who voted for the party in 2010 and would do so again tomorrow; their Joiners, who did not vote Conservative last time but have been won round; their Defectors, who voted Conservative in 2010 but say they would not do so in a new election; and their Considerers, who neither voted Tory last time nor would do so tomorrow but do not rule out doing so in future.

In Phase 3 of the project, published in July 2012, I proposed four tests for all Conservative activity in an attempt to answer the apparent conundrum of how to keep the Loyalists and Joiners while both winning back the Defectors, who may lean to UKIP, and attracting the Considerers, who often support the Liberal Democrats. Everything the Tories do, I suggested, needs pass one of four tests, and fail none of them: show they have the right priorities for the country, demonstrate strong leadership, show they are on the side of the right people (and if necessary make the right enemies), and offer some reassurance about the Conservative Party's character and motives.

In some ways things have started going in the right direction for the government, not least the better news on the economy. Yet Labour remain obstinately ahead, and an overall Conservative majority looks as elusive as it has throughout the parliament. To win one, the Tories need the votes of everyone who supported them last time, plus everyone who is even prepared to think about doing so next time. Unfortunately, a lot of people in the first group are not currently in the second.

What is driving each of these types of voters? The thing that most unites Loyalists – who are sticking with the party since 2010 but are not necessarily lifelong Tories – is their positive view of David Cameron. Those who are more ambivalent about him nevertheless tend to think the Conservative Party shares their values and has the best approach to the economy; the few Loyalists who give Cameron low marks think the Tories are most likely to introduce practical, workable policies.

About six per cent of voters say they would vote Tory tomorrow despite not having done so in 2010. Three quarters of these Joiners say the party shares their values; most of the remainder think it has the best approach to getting the economy growing and creating jobs. Nearly two thirds of these new Conservative voters supported the Lib Dems in 2010, and a quarter voted Labour. They are more than twice as likely as voters in general to agree that the Tories are competent and on the side of people like them, and overwhelmingly prefer Cameron as Prime Minister. Their support cannot be taken for granted. Only two thirds say they are pretty sure which party they will vote for when it comes to the next election, compared to 80 per cent of voters as a whole, and they are more likely than Loyalists to say they would like to see another Conservative-Lib Dem coalition.

Unfortunately, the numbers coming to the Tories despite not having voted for the party at the last election do not make up for those going in the opposite direction. More than a third (37 per cent) of those who voted Conservative in 2010 say they would not do so again in an election tomorrow. About one third of these Defectors say they do not know how they would vote, or would not vote at all. For most of them, the biggest uniting factor is that they give only low to middling scores to David Cameron. Most of those who give him higher ratings do not think the Tories stand for fairness.

Relatively few – less than one in five of all Defectors from the Tories – have switched to Labour or the Lib Dems. Most say another party, usually Labour, is more likely to have practical policies. Those who think this also tend to say Labour's heart is in the right place.

Around half of those switching from the Tories said they would vote for UKIP in an election tomorrow. (This is a rather higher proportion than I found in my survey of Conservative-held marginal seats, conducted last year. There, just over a quarter of Tory Defectors said they would go to UKIP, with one third saying they did not know how they would vote. One possible explanation that the closeness of the contests in those seats makes people more reluctant to vote for a smaller party). Switchers to UKIP in the current poll usually combined a positive view of Nigel Farage with a low opinion of David Cameron, and often thought the Tories were not competent and capable.

Conservative Defectors often seem to have quite contradictory views. Some will say that they want to see a “proper” Tory government before going on to demand, for example, the renationalisation of energy companies. They often have general frustrations rather than specific complaints. But many of them are not irretrievably lost to the Tories. Despite their current voting intention, more than half of Defectors say they want a Conservative government after the next election. And while fewer than a fifth are satisfied with Cameron’s performance as Prime Minister, three quarters say he would make the best PM of the three party leaders. Two thirds say that despite being dissatisfied with Cameron they would rather him in Downing Street than Ed Miliband. They rate the Tories ahead of Labour and the Lib Dems on every policy issue, especially the economy. Like Joiners, they are more likely than most to say they may change their mind on how to vote before the election.

Then there are the Considerers, who did not vote Tory last time, would not do so tomorrow, but say they might do one day. These are few and far between, but must be brought into the Conservative voting coalition before the election if a majority is to be achievable. For most of this group, the thing that puts them in play for the Tories is their preference for Cameron over Miliband as PM, and for some, an ambivalence about Labour and the Lib Dems. For around half of these potential Tories, though, their choice of Prime Minister competes with their reservations about the Conservatives’ approach to public services. They are also more likely than voters as a whole, and much more likely than Loyalists, Joiners and Defectors, to say they prefer the current coalition government to the idea of a Conservative overall majority. Though they are more optimistic than most about the economy, they are less likely than voters as a whole to say the Tories are the best party on schools or the NHS.

Half of Considerers thought that come 2020, the country as a whole would be better off after five years of Tory government than under five years of Labour (with two fifths saying it would make no difference either way), but only 30% thought the Conservatives would be the most likely to be able to improve things for them and their families.

This is telling, and consistent with a theme that ran throughout this round of research. Many felt, though sometimes grudgingly, that given the situation it inherited the government had not done too badly. The deficit was being tackled, meaning that people did not talk about the public finances with the sense of urgency and worry that they did in the early years of the parliament, when some feared that Britain would turn into Greece. The great majority supported the thrust of welfare reform, even if they thought the government sometimes picked on vulnerable but easy targets to help balance the books, and agreed with the direction of immigration policy, even if they thought the results were thin. But none of this changed that fact that, for many of them, life was hard and showed no signs of getting any easier despite the recovery they kept hearing so much about.

To return to the four tests, then: showing the Conservatives have the right priorities for the country, and being on the side of the right people, now means explaining what a recovery for all will look like. A few of our participants, notably, were genuinely excited about the Help to Buy scheme, which arguably passes all four of the tests (though there were some reservations among those who thought it signalled a return to the culture that had caused the crash in the first place). But more broadly, as far as the hardworking people of Tory legend are concerned, where are the proceeds of growth? That is not just a matter of people’s personal finances, important though they are, but the public services, especially the NHS, about which people expressed growing concerns.

Nor is it just a transactional question – who will give me the most? – that renders irrelevant the need to reassure people about Tory character and motives. Quite the reverse, in fact. As far as sceptical voters are concerned, the government’s values help determine who benefits from its actions. As one participant put it, complaining that only politicians, bankers and big businesses seemed to be doing well out of the economy: “they’re all in it together, aren’t they?”

This helps explain why people are more likely to say the country would benefit from five years of Conservative government after the next election than to say they would be better off themselves. (The reverse is true for Labour). Showing convincingly that there is a better life to be had under the Tories is going to be hard. How to produce a sustainable recovery to the higher living standards of previous years when those living standards were fuelled by levels of private credit and state spending that were themselves, self-evidently, unsustainable? Gordon Brown made his voters feel more prosperous by putting money directly into their bank accounts in the form of higher public sector pay and a gigantic expansion of tax credits. This option is not available to George Osborne, and he would not take it if it were. Finding the connection between national and personal prosperity – and persuading people to be prepared to wait for it – is the key to the next election.

The promised EU referendum, by contrast, is a sideshow for most voters. A surprising number of those we spoke to did not realise it was even on the agenda, and were nonplussed when they found out it was. Those for whom it is important know all about it (though they sometimes doubt it will come to pass even if the Tories win). But to make it a major theme of the campaign would be to miss the chance to talk about things that matter more to more people.

This is an important point to remember this year, in which politics will be dominated by elections to the European Parliament. Pundits will be preoccupied by how well UKIP do, and at what cost to the Conservatives. But the Tories must keep their eyes on the real prize. Whatever tactical moves they make to minimise losses in an election that many people regard as inconsequential – and therefore an opportunity to cast a cost-free protest vote – must not be at the expense of building the coalition of voters that could give them a majority at Westminster.

It will be some comfort to the Conservatives that few swing voters see Ed Miliband and Labour as a credible alternative. Though the deficit seems less of a priority to people now they believe it is being dealt with, many think Labour’s instinct would be to undo the progress that has been made and resume unaffordable spending. On welfare and immigration, similarly, they often thought that given the chance the party would reverse the steps that have been taken.

Labour’s main campaign theme, the cost of living, certainly matches the biggest economic concern of the times. The view in most of our groups was that the government would surely be able to do something about this problem if it wanted to. But few voters we spoke to were impressed with Labour’s flagship proposal to freeze energy prices, thinking it unworkable or likely to lead to large rises immediately before and after its imposition. Some even volunteered that the current policy of insisting suppliers put customers on the cheapest suitable tariff was much more sensible. Accordingly, our poll found that while Labour were thought the best party on the cost of living, their lead vanished when it came to introducing practical policies that would work in the long run.

But drawing a contrast with Labour and highlighting progress on welfare, immigration and the macro economy, important though they are, will only take the Tories so far. As I have argued before, the choice of Prime Minister and trust on the economy will come to matter more as the election approaches and the decision becomes more immediate. But it needs to be clearer what would be on offer under a new Conservative government. It is one thing to say don’t turn back, but we also need to know where we’re going.

MAA
January 2014

Methodology

Quantitative

8,053 adults were interviewed online between 4 and 10 November 2013. Results were weighted to be representative of the population of Great Britain.

Qualitative

Twelve focus groups were conducted between 13 and 27 November 2013 in Croydon, Loughborough, Halifax, Bury, Taunton and Warwick. Separate groups were held comprising the following types of voters:

- Those who voted Conservative in 2010 and say they would probably do so again in an election tomorrow (Loyalists)
- Those who voted Conservative in 2010 but say they would probably vote for a different party in an election tomorrow (Defectors)
- Those who did not vote Conservative in 2010 but say they would consider doing so in future (Joiners/Considerers)

Key points

- Just under a quarter of voters (23%) are Conservative Loyalists who voted for the party in 2010 and would do so again tomorrow.
- 6% of voters are Joiners who say they would vote Conservative tomorrow despite not having done so at the last general election. Two thirds of them voted Lib Dem in 2010. One third of them say they may yet change their mind as to how to vote.
- A further 3% are Considerers who did not vote Tory in 2010 and would not do so tomorrow, but would consider doing so in future. In general they prefer David Cameron to Ed Miliband, but think another party has a better approach to public services or helping ordinary people get on in life.
- Just over one third (37%) of those who voted Conservative in 2010 do not say they would do so again in a new election. One third of these say they don't know how they would vote or would not vote at all, around half say they would vote UKIP in an election tomorrow, and less than one fifth say they have switched to Labour or the Lib Dems.
- Despite their current voting intention, more than half (56%) of these Defectors from the Tories say their preferred outcome of the next election is a Conservative government with an overall majority, and they are more likely than voters in general to say they have not finally decided how they will vote. Though most are dissatisfied with David Cameron's performance as Prime Minister, most also think he is the best PM of the three leaders and they put the Conservatives ahead of Labour and the Lib Dems on every policy issue.
- Overall, 28% say they are satisfied with Cameron's performance as PM and a further 32% say they are dissatisfied but prefer him to Ed Miliband. 40% say they would rather see Miliband in Downing Street.
- In a forced choice, 57% say they most trusted David Cameron and George Osborne to manage the economy in the best interests of Britain, and 43% Ed Miliband and Ed Balls. The two parties are neck and neck on getting the economy growing and creating jobs, while the Conservatives lead by 55% to 34% on tackling the deficit and the debt.
- A small majority (54%) expect the economy in a year or two to be no better or even worse than it is now. 46% say the right decisions are being made and things will improve significantly in that time.
- While Labour lead by 51% to 33% on the cost of living, they narrowly trail the Conservatives on introducing practical policies that will work in the long run.
- Asked whether the country as a whole would be better off after five years of Conservative or Labour government, 36% said Conservative and 33% Labour. Asked the same question about themselves and their family, 35% said Labour and 29% Conservative.

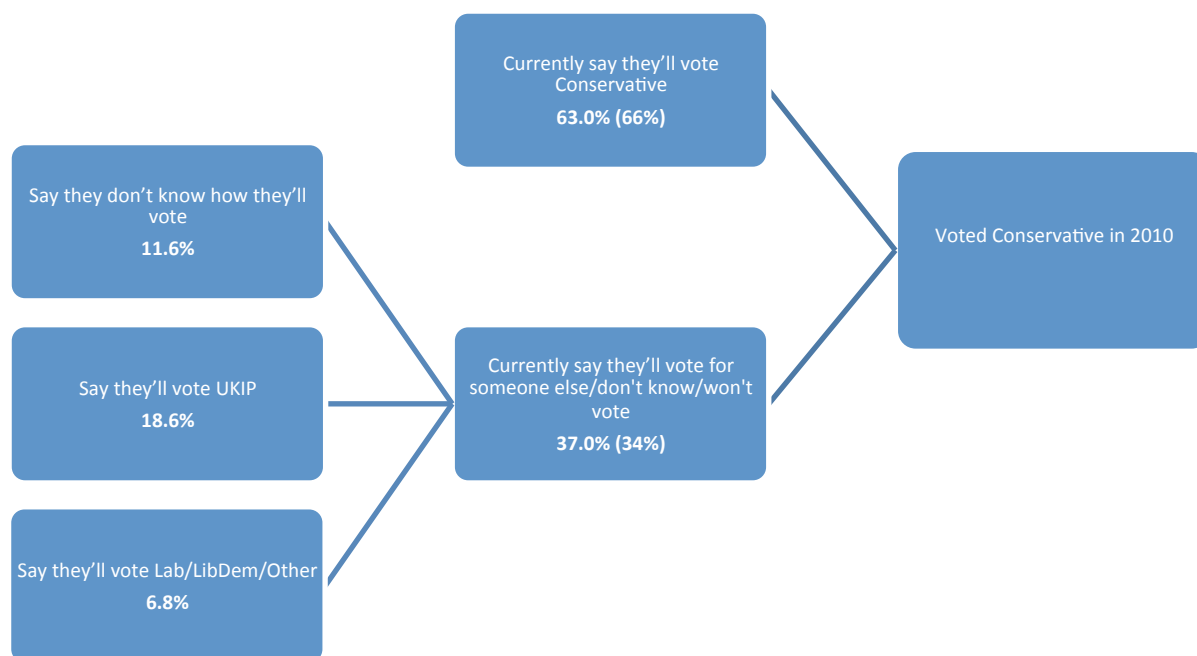
The Conservative Universe

Four types of people will decide whether or not the Conservative Party wins the next general election: Loyalists, Joiners, Defectors and Considerers. Loyalists are those who voted Conservative in the 2010 election and would do so again. Joiners did not vote Conservative in 2010, but would do so at the next election. Defectors voted Tory at the last election but say they would not do so tomorrow. Considerers did not vote Tory in 2010, and would not vote Conservative in an election tomorrow, but would consider doing so in the future.

These four groups will be examined in more detail below. First, an overview of what has become of the 37% of the electorate who voted Conservative in 2010, and the voters who constitute the 29% who say they would vote Conservative in an election tomorrow. (These figures are not turnout-weighted, unlike those in the poll summary at the back of this report. This is because we are also interested in those who say, for example, that they voted Conservative in 2010 but are not sure who they would vote for next time, or currently say they would not vote at all).

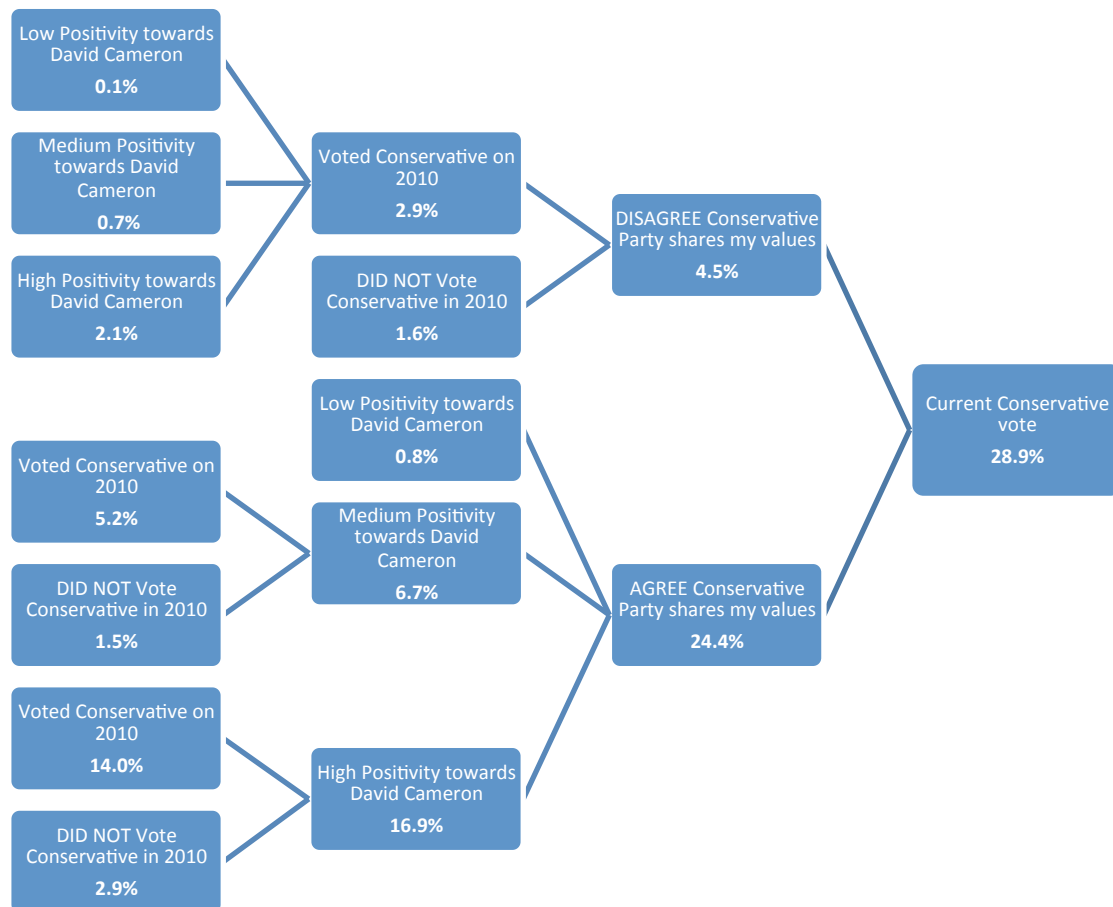
THE 2010 CONSERVATIVE VOTE

(Values in brackets are from Blueprint 3 – July 2012)



Nearly two thirds of those who voted Conservative in 2010 say they would do so again in an election tomorrow (63%). These Loyalists therefore account for around a quarter of the electorate. The third of the 2010 Conservative vote who would not vote Tory again tomorrow split three ways. The biggest section (18.6% of 2010 Conservative voters) now say that they would vote UKIP. Of the remainder, about two thirds say they do not know how they would vote and a third say they would vote Labour, Lib Dem or for another party.

THE CURRENT CONSERVATIVE VOTE

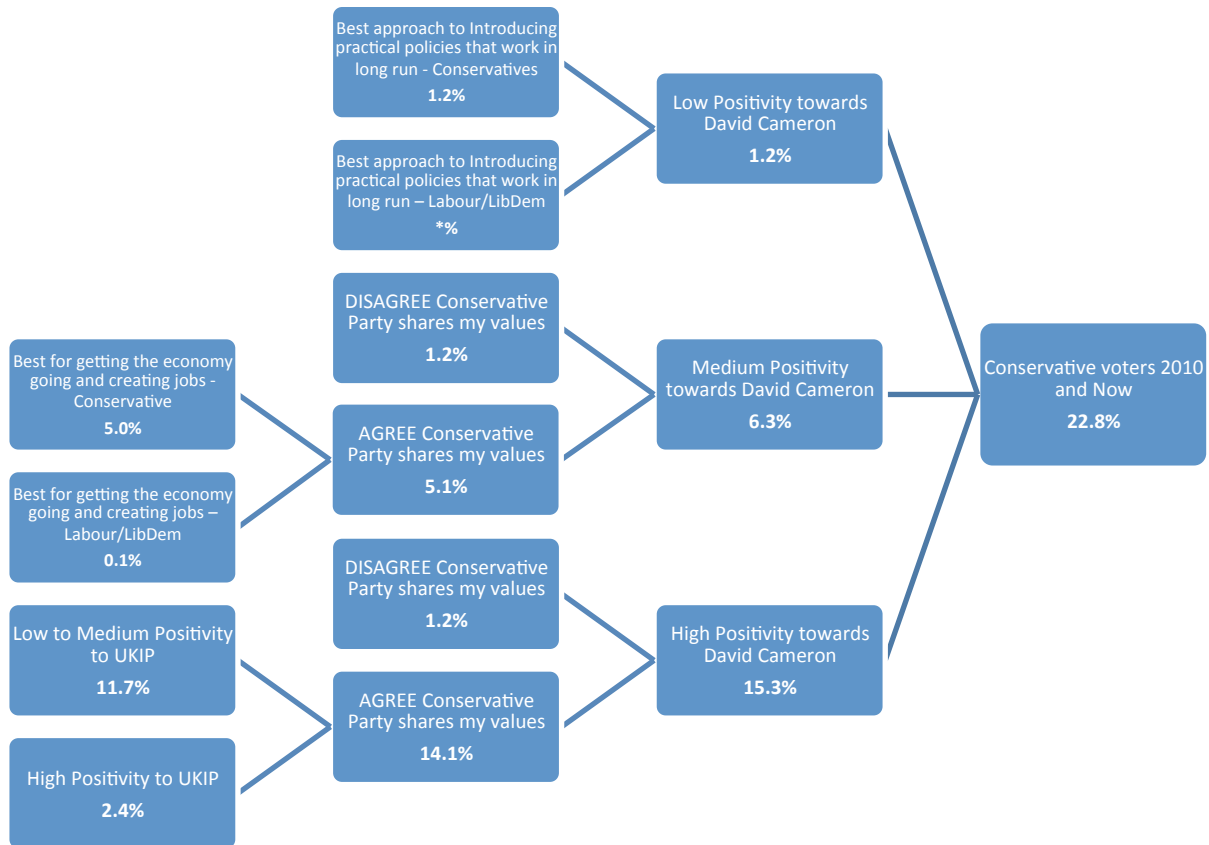


Our poll found 28.9% of voters saying they would vote Conservative in an election tomorrow. As in Blueprint phase 3, the thing that these current Conservative voters most have in common with each other is the view that the Conservative Party “shares my values”: six out of seven current Tory supporters say this. Of this group, most have a very positive view of David Cameron.

Of the 4.5% of voters who currently say they will vote Conservative, but do not agree that the Party shares their values, two thirds voted for the Party in 2010. The people who say they voted Tory last time and will do so again – despite not sharing their values – are united by positive view of David Cameron.

Loyalists

2010 CONSERVATIVE VOTERS WHO WOULD VOTE CONSERVATIVE TOMORROW



The feature that most unites Conservative voters from 2010 who would vote the same way in an election tomorrow is their positive view of David Cameron. All but 1.2% of voters who have remained loyal to the Tories are positive about Cameron; the others have in common a belief that the Conservatives have the best approach to introducing practical policies that work in the long run. Nearly all the Loyalists who hold a positive view of David Cameron also believe that the Conservative Party “shares my values”.

Conservative Loyalists constitute 22.8% of all voters. Loyalists are disproportionately older, aged 55 or more, and disproportionately to be found in social group AB. They are more likely to be male (57%) and less likely than average to work in the public sector (19% of them do, compared to 26% of voters as a whole).

Loyalists are by far the most likely of any voter group to say they are sure how they will vote and won’t change their mind (90%).

Although only 79% say that a majority Conservative government is their preferred outcome from the next election, 97% of Loyalists say they will probably vote Conservative at the next general election in 2015.

Loyalists remain more than three times as likely as voters as a whole to say the Conservative Party “shares my values”, “wants to help ordinary people get on in life”, stands for “fairness” or “equal opportunity for all”, and “represents the whole country, not just some types of people”.

Loyalists were much more likely than Joiners, Considerers and Defectors to say they would prefer an overall Conservative majority to the current Coalition (82%) – though one in five of them preferred the Coalition.

In Blueprint phase 3, published in July 2012, Loyalists stood out as the only group more likely to say that they are more favourable towards the Conservative Party than David Cameron than the other way round. In the current round of research, Loyalists awarded Cameron a mean score of 7.99 and the Party a score of 7.95. However, these remain the highest scores of any group. 71% of Loyalists say that they are satisfied with the job Cameron is doing as Prime Minister and 28% say that even though they are dissatisfied, they would still rather have him than Ed Miliband. Only 1% would prefer Ed Miliband as Prime Minister.

On the economy, the picture remains stable compared to Blueprint phase 3: twice as many Loyalists think the right decisions are being made and that the state of the economy will improve significantly in the next two or three years (94%) compared to voters in general (46%). Loyalists are all but unanimous in thinking Cameron and Osborne are the best team to run the economy (99%).

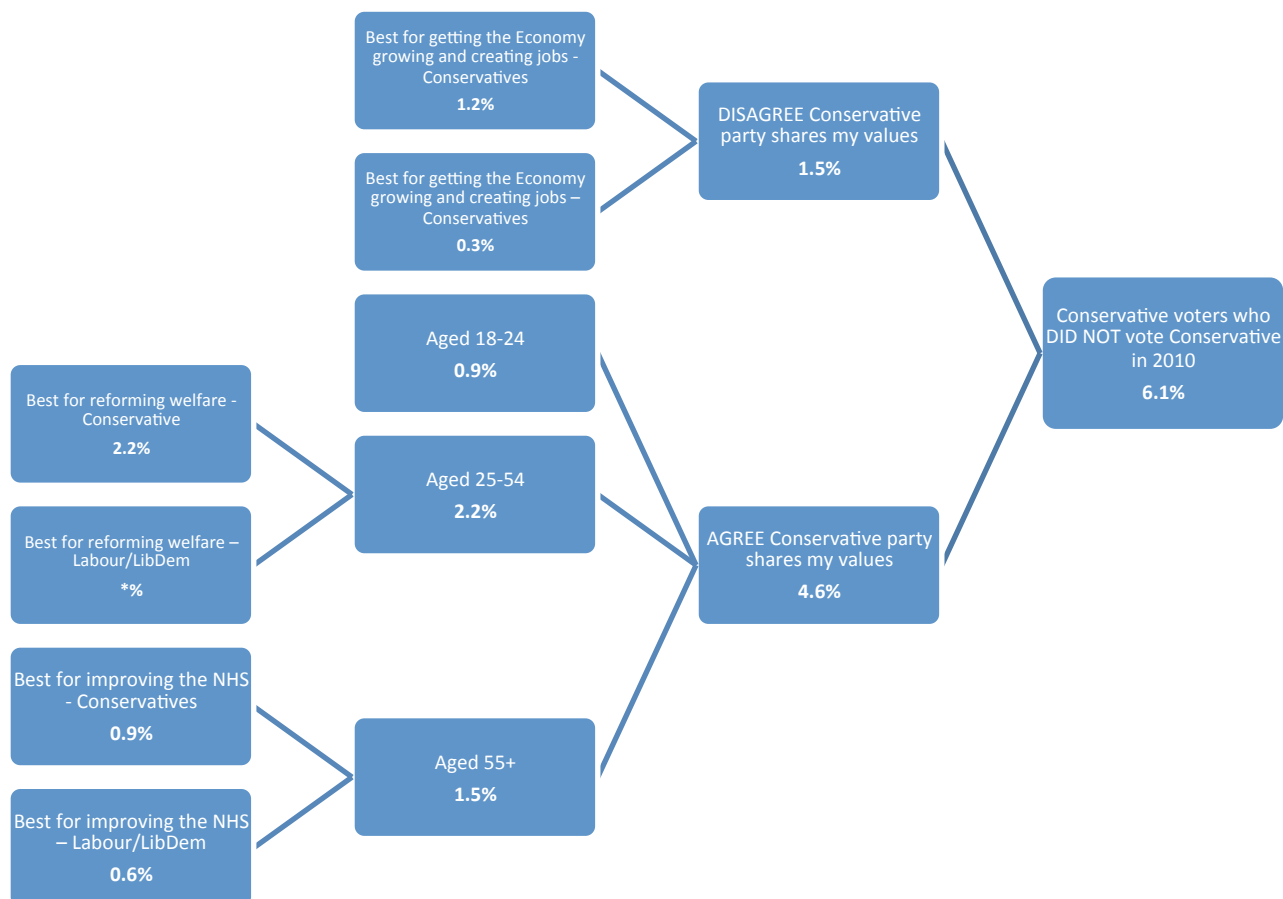
Among Loyalists the Conservatives have a strong lead on all policy issues. Voters who would vote Conservative again in an election tomorrow are twice as likely as voters generally to say that the Conservative Party has the best approach to getting the economy growing and creating jobs, improving schools and the NHS, and tackling the cost of living.

While 17% say they could see themselves voting Labour at some time in the future, 38% could see themselves voting Lib Dem and 42% UKIP, only 5% say they are currently moving away from the Conservatives. 79% of Loyalists would like to see a Conservative government with an overall majority after the next election. A fifth (18%) would prefer another Conservative-Lib Dem coalition.

Hardly any Loyalists think that the country would be better off if Labour won the next election and only 2% of this group thought that they and their families would be better off under Labour. On the other hand, 95% of Loyalists thought that the country would be better off under a Conservative government but this number fell to 84% when asked whether they thought they and their family would be better off.

Joiners

CURRENT CONSERVATIVE VOTERS WHO DID NOT VOTE CONSERVATIVE IN 2010



Joiners (those who say they would vote Conservative in an election tomorrow but did not do so in 2010) constitute 6.1% of all voters. Three quarters of all Joiners say the Conservative Party “shares my values” – the factor they have most in common. Joiners who disagree with this statement think that the Tories have the best approach for getting the economy growing and creating jobs.

Of the Joiners who say that the Party shares their values, a third are aged 55 or older; half of these believe that the Conservatives are the best party to improve the NHS. For the 25-54 age group, saying that the Tories are best party on reforming welfare is the factor they have most in common.

Our poll shows that almost two thirds of Joiners voted Liberal Democrat at the 2010 election (63%) and a quarter (25%) voted Labour; 5% say they voted for UKIP. While more than two thirds (67%) of Joiners say they are pretty sure which party they will vote for at the next election, this is lower than for voters as a whole (80%). Just over a third (35%) of Joiners say they would also consider voting Lib Dem at the next election, and 27% Labour.

The Tories scored strongly among Joiners on most positive attributes. The biggest differences between Joiners and voters as a whole are whether the Conservative Party is “on the side of people like me”, “shares my values”, and “competent and capable”, on each of which they are two and a half times as likely to agree as voters in general. Fewer than half (48%) think the Tories “represent the whole country, not just some types of people”, though this is still more than twice the average

among all voters (19%). Joiners are more likely than during the previous phase to agree that the Conservative Party “stands for equal opportunity for all” (54% vs 45%), though the opinion of voters in general remains the same (21%).

Most Joiners would prefer a Conservative government with an overall majority (68%), but they are much more likely than Loyalists to say they would prefer the current Coalition with the Lib Dems (32%). More than nine out of ten Joiners say David Cameron is the best Prime Minister of the three leaders, and they are more than twice as likely as voters as a whole to give him a high score for his performance. Joiners rate their positivity towards the Party and David Cameron at roughly the same level and hold the most positive views towards the Tories after the Loyalist group.

Joiners trust Cameron and Osborne on the economy over Miliband and Balls by 96% to 4%. More than eight in ten (84%) say the right decisions are being taken and the economy will improve significantly in the next year or two – among voters in general the proportion saying this has also risen from 38% to 46%. Joiners are more likely than average to rate the Conservatives as the best party on any given issue, but the difference is most marked in “getting the economy growing and creating jobs”; “cutting the deficit and the debt”; “reforming welfare” and “controlling immigration”.

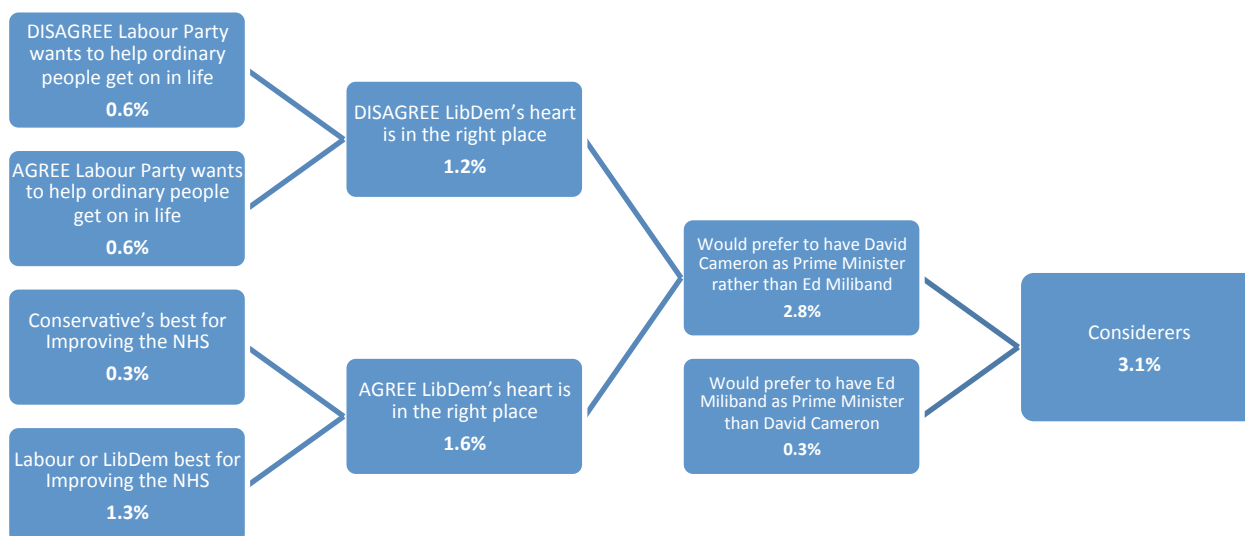
Almost a third (33%) of joiners say they have not finally decided who they will vote for at the next election and may well change their mind. Nonetheless, nearly three quarters (73%) say they are moving towards the Conservatives – well over three times the proportion among voters as a whole – and 93% of Joiners naming a party say they will probably end up voting Tory at the next election. More than two thirds want to see a Conservative government with an overall majority after 2015 (69%, not as many as among Loyalists, 79% of whom say this) but almost a quarter (23%) would like another Conservative-Lib Dem coalition.

When asked if they thought the country would be better off after five years of a Conservative or Labour government after 2015, 88% of Joiners named the Conservatives. One in ten did not think it would make any difference who won and only 2% thought the country would be better under Labour. 5% think that they personally would be better off after five years of Labour but 70% of Joiners think that they and their families would be better off under a Tory government.

Joiners fall disproportionately into the 18-24 age range, partly reflecting that some will have been too young to vote at the last election, rather than having been attracted from another party.

Considerers

THOSE WHO DID NOT VOTE CONSERVATIVE IN 2010, AND WOULD NOT DO SO TOMORROW, BUT WOULD CONSIDER DOING SO IN THE FUTURE



Considerers constitute 3.1% of all voters. They did not vote Conservative in 2010 and would not do so in an election tomorrow, but say they would consider voting Tory in the future. Overwhelmingly the most important factor that these voters have in common is that they would prefer to have David Cameron as a Prime Minister rather than Ed Miliband.

Nearly half (43%) of Considerers say they would vote Labour in an election tomorrow; 32% say they would vote Lib Dem and 16% UKIP. In 2010, 60% of current Considerers voted Lib Dem, and just under a third (29%) voted Labour.

Considerers are more positive than voters as a whole in some of their perceptions of the Conservative Party. The biggest differences from the average were on the proportions saying the Tories are competent and capable, will do what they say, and are willing to take tough decisions for the long term. However, Considerers were fractionally less likely than voters as a whole to say the party stands for fairness, and only fractionally more likely to say it shares their values, stands for equal opportunity, or represents the country as a whole, not just some types of people.

Considerers were more likely than voters as a whole, and much more likely than Loyalists, Joiners and Defectors, to say they would prefer the current Conservative-Lib Dem Coalition to a Conservative government with overall majority. Considerers give David Cameron a much bigger lead

as the best Prime Minister than voters as a whole (73% to Ed Miliband's 10%, compared to 50% to 37%). They also give Cameron higher than average scores for his performance (though lower than those given by Loyalists and Joiners) and a bigger lead over the Conservative Party than any other group. But the Considerers also give higher than average scores to Nick Clegg and Vince Cable. This group are also much more likely than average to say that they are dissatisfied with Cameron's performance, but would still prefer him as Prime Minister instead of Miliband (54% compared to 32% on average).

A clear majority of Considerers (62%) think the right decisions are being made and that the economy will improve significantly in the next year or two – in contrast to voters as a whole, who are split 54% to 46% in the opposite direction. This group are also much more likely than the average voter to think that the Conservatives have the best approach on getting the economy growing and cutting the deficit, as well as welfare reform, cutting tax and immigration and defending Britain's interest in Europe. However, Considerers are less likely than voters in general to think that the Tories have the best approach on the NHS, schools or the environment.

Only two fifths of Considerers say they are currently moving towards the Conservatives (though that is nearly twice the level for voters as a whole). Only a fifth currently say they will probably end up voting Conservative at the next election; 21% say they will probably end up voting Lib Dem and 19% Labour.

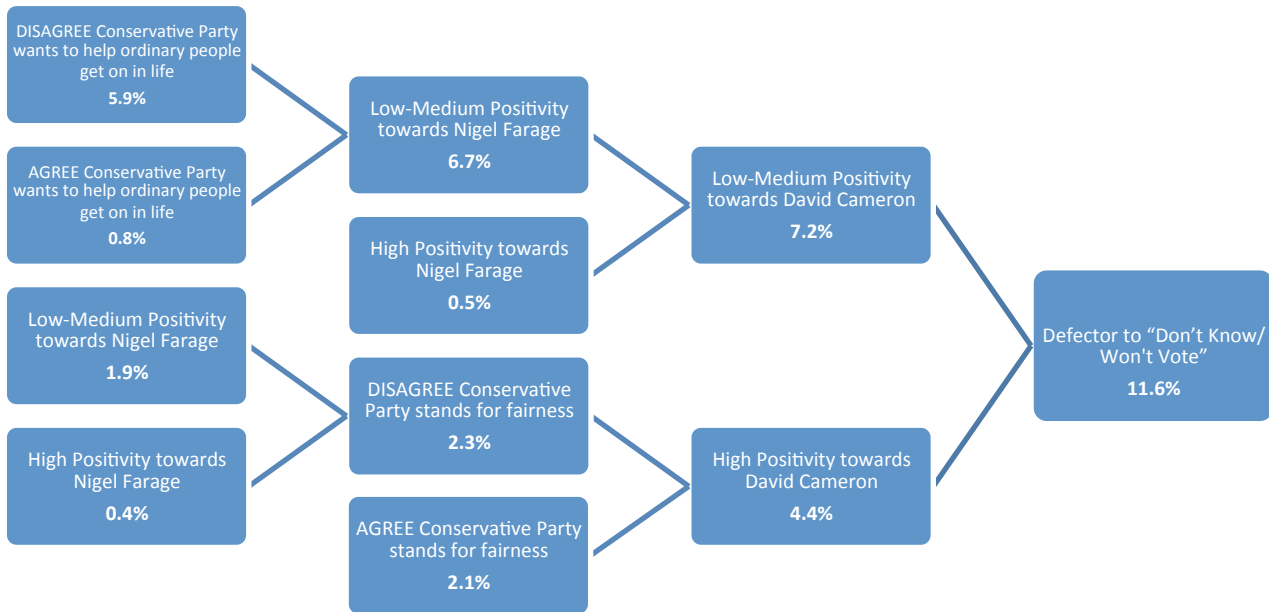
Considerers are less likely than Loyalists, Joiners or even Defectors (but perfectly in line with voters in general) to say a Conservative government with an overall majority was their preferred outcome of the next election (31%). They are the group most likely to want another Conservative-Lib Dem coalition (32%). Just over a fifth would like to see a Lib-Lab coalition (22%).

Half of Considerers thought that the country would be better off after five years if the Conservatives rather than Labour formed the next government, with 41% saying it would make no difference who won, but only 30% thought they and their family would be better off under a Tory government. Instead more than half (53%) thought it would make no difference and almost a fifth (17%) thought they would be better off under Labour.

Considerers, like Joiners, are slightly more likely to be in the younger age ranges of 18-24 and 25-34 years old. They are disproportionately in the AB social group and slightly less likely than average to work in the public sector.

Defectors

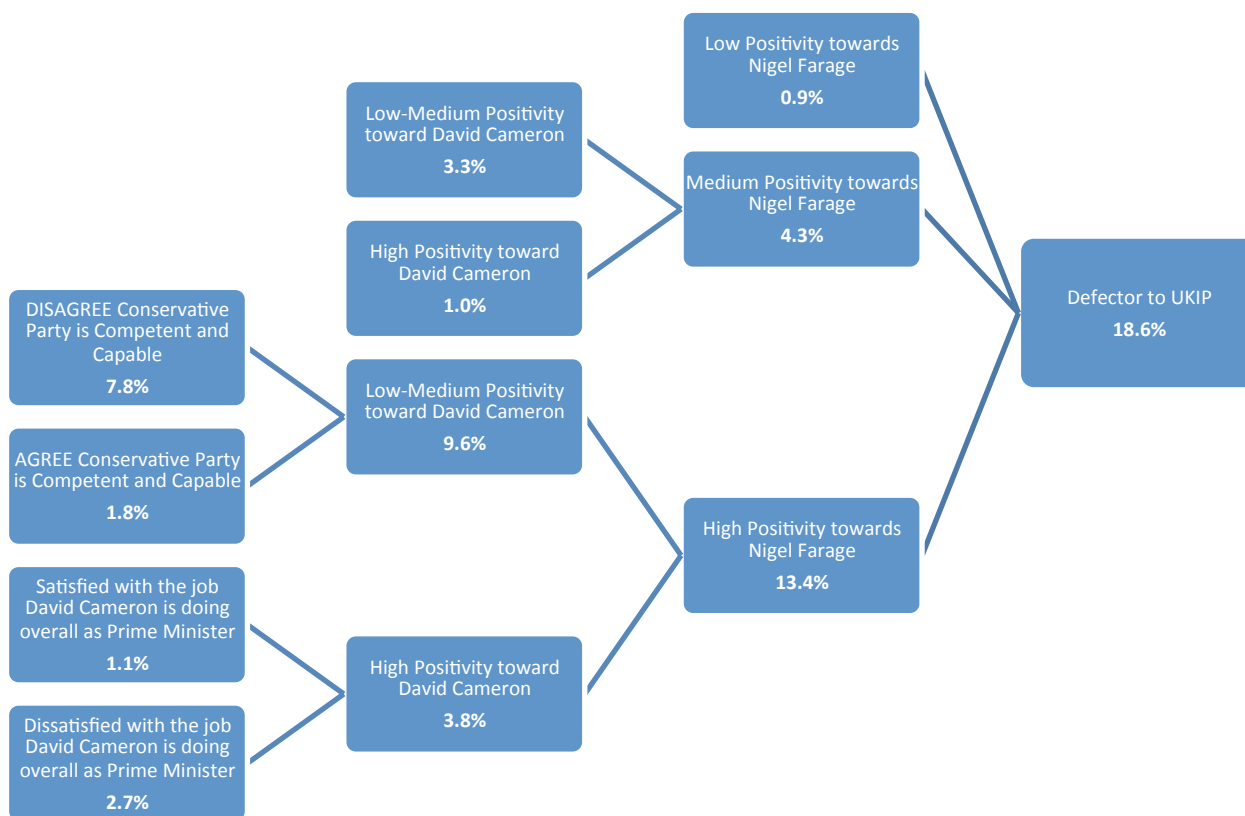
2010 CONSERVATIVE VOTERS WHO NOW SAY 'DON'T KNOW/WON'T VOTE'



37% of those who voted Conservative in 2010 say they would not do so in an election tomorrow. More than a third of Defectors, comprising 11.6% of 2010 Tories, say they do not know how they would vote tomorrow, or would not vote at all. Just under two thirds of this group have a medium or low positivity towards David Cameron and most of those say they have medium or low positivity towards Nigel Farage. The factor this group has most in common is that they do not agree that the Conservative Party wants to “help ordinary people get on in life”.

The final third of this group feel highly positive towards David Cameron but only half of this sub-set believe that the Tories “stand for fairness”. Most of those who do not believe that the Party stands for fairness hold a negative view of Nigel Farage – which is in accordance with their switch from Conservative to ‘Don’t Know’ rather than UKIP.

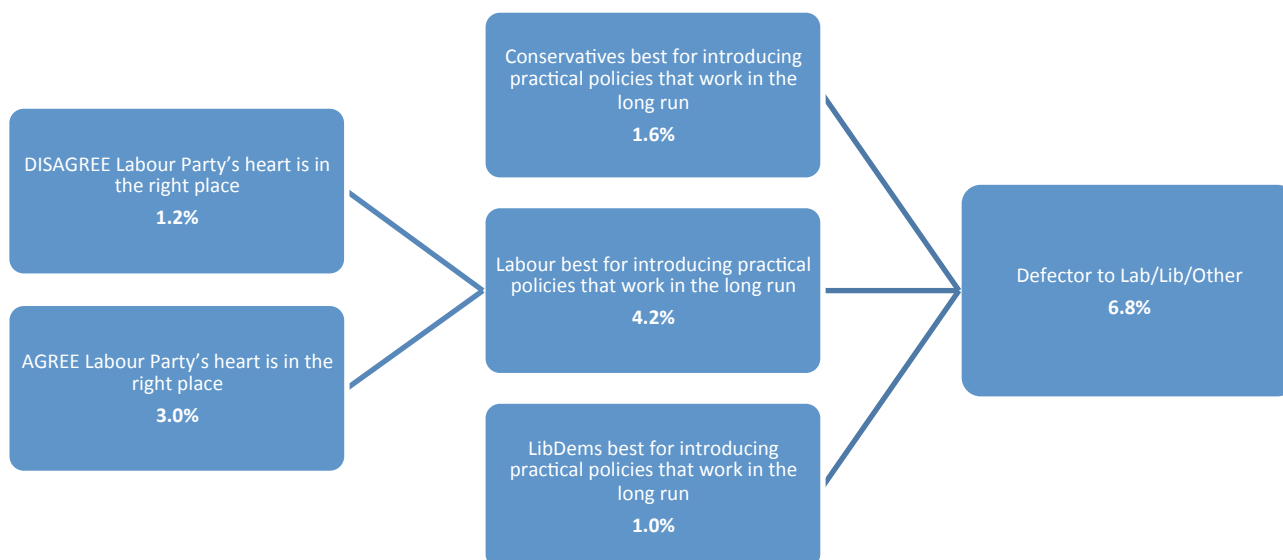
2010 CONSERVATIVE VOTERS WHO NOW SAY THEY WOULD VOTE UKIP



Not surprisingly, most Defectors to UKIP give a high rating to Nigel Farage, and most of those who do so also give a low score to David Cameron. Of the remaining few who are positive towards David Cameron, two thirds say that they are dissatisfied with the job he is doing as Prime Minister.

Conversely, 2010 Tory voters who are not highly positive about Farage but still say that they would vote UKIP in an election tomorrow are highly likely to be negative about David Cameron – only one in four was positive about him.

2010 CONSERVATIVE VOTERS WHO NOW SAY THEY WILL VOTE LABOUR, LIB DEM OR OTHERS



A further 6.8% of 2010 Conservatives say they would vote Labour, Liberal Democrat or for another party in an election tomorrow. Just under a quarter think the Conservatives are the best party when it comes to introducing practical policies that work in the long run, but most of this group think one of the other parties does better on this measure. Those who think Labour are best when it comes to introducing practical policies that work in the long run also tend to believe that the Labour Party's heart is in the right place.

Our poll found that overall, despite their current voting intention, more than half of Defectors (56%) say a Conservative government with an overall majority would be their preferred outcome of the next election.

Though 74% of Defectors naming a party say they would vote UKIP in an election tomorrow, only 69% say they are pretty sure which party they will vote for – well below the 80% of all voters who say this. Of those who have not finally decided, more than half (58%) say they would consider going back to the Conservatives.

Defectors are unhappy with the Coalition: three quarters say they would prefer a Conservative government with an overall majority – significantly more than among voters as a whole, and only slightly fewer than Loyalists (82%). Defectors are also dissatisfied with David Cameron: only 17% say they are satisfied with the job he has done as Prime Minister. However, three quarters (75%) say he would make the best Prime Minister of the three leaders – not as high as for Loyalists or Joiners but significantly more than among voters as a whole. Two thirds (64%) of Defectors say that even though they are dissatisfied with Cameron's performance as Prime Minister, they would still prefer to have him rather than Ed Miliband in the top job.

Defectors continue to give the Conservatives a lead over Labour and the Liberal Democrats on every single policy issue tested. As with Joiners and Considerers, the Conservatives' biggest strength among Defectors is the economy. Defectors are significantly more likely than voters as a whole (and more likely than Considerers) to say the Tories have the best approach to getting the economy growing and creating jobs, and cutting the deficit and the debt. Defectors are also unusual in saying the Conservatives are best on improving schools and the NHS. Three quarters of Defectors say the Conservatives are best when it comes to defending Britain's interests in Europe, a similar proportion say the same for controlling immigration and four out of five rank the Party best on reforming welfare.

Though most Defectors would like to see a Conservative government after the next election, views have softened slightly towards the Coalition since the last wave of polling: another Conservative-Lib Dem coalition is now on equal footing with a Labour-Lib Dem coalition (13%) while the proportion preferring a Labour government has fallen from 28% to 19%.

When asked to think about the next parliamentary term, more than half of Defectors (56%) thought that the country would be better off after five years of the Conservatives and a third (31%) thought it would make no difference who was in government. They were more ambivalent about which government would be best for themselves and their own families: 41% of Defectors thought they would be best off under a Tory government but 42% thought it would make no difference to them or their family which party was in power.

Defectors are disproportionately aged 65 or over, and are slightly more likely than average to be male and from social group AB.

In their own words

Focus groups were conducted among three types of voter: those who voted Conservative in 2010 and say they would do so again tomorrow (Loyalists); those who did not vote Conservative in 2010 but say they would do so, or consider doing so, in an election tomorrow (Joiners and Considerers); and those who voted Conservative in 2010 but say they would not do so in an election tomorrow (Defectors).

All things considered, how is the government doing?

Loyalists, Joiners and Considerers usually felt that the government was on the right track and making progress, albeit slowly. The government had inherited a very difficult situation and needed more time to put things right. Even some Defectors agreed with this, feeling that the Conservatives had been hamstrung by coalition (though not necessarily confident that things would improve markedly under a Conservative overall majority).

"It's like Obama. People expected quick fixes but it was never going to happen. They need two terms. It's a work in progress for them."

Considerer/Joiner

"It would be a damn shame if they lost it because of all they've started to do. It's going to take ages to fix this mess."

Loyalist

Welfare and immigration reforms were often mentioned with approval, and some spontaneously cited the Help to Buy scheme, the higher Income Tax threshold and the expansion of apprenticeships as examples of positive change the government was making. Some also mentioned progress on the deficit as an important achievement.

"There's not a huge difference. But a lot of the things they've talked about make a lot more sense, like the benefits cap. I work my butt off all day and others who don't seem to get more than I do."

Considerer/Joiner

"I believe they've actually created about a half a million apprenticeships for youngsters to get them back to work."

Loyalist

"We're not borrowing as much."

Loyalist

"It's not just 'working class people vote Labour'. I'm privately employed, a professional, with a mortgage, children in the education system – I'm going to see who's going to offer me the best. For example, the Tories have got a Help to Buy scheme so I can get on the property ladder."

Loyalist

Most of these voters thought **David Cameron** remained by far the most convincing party leader, taking a determined approach to a difficult job, even though many saw him as different from them.

"He's doing the best job under the circumstances. He's jumped onto a sinking ship and it will take time to plug the holes."

Considerer/Joiner

"He's quite distant. He keeps society at arm's length."

Considerer/Joiner

"He's more normal than some of them. He has a presence about him."

Considerer/Joiner

"He always seems like the stronger one."

Defector

Though the question of class and background was raised by a number of participants, some pointed out that the problem was not confined entirely to the Tories, but that they felt detached from the political class as a whole.

"If you look at both front rows, both the Cabinet and the Shadow Cabinet, none of them have to use the NHS or go to an ordinary comprehensive or travel on public transport so they haven't any idea when they stand there pontificating as if we just do not understand and yet we've never been more intelligent or aware of the world around us."

Defector

Some of those switching to the Tories from the Liberal Democrats felt the **coalition government** was moving in the right direction but that a single-party government would make more progress. Most of those who raised the coalition or the prospect of another hung parliament thought of this as a brake on progress; only a few spontaneously said they thought it was a good thing that they would like to see continue.

"I think they've diluted a lot of the welfare reforms. That's the main thing."

Defector

"When they first got in I was disappointed. But as time has gone on they seem to have found ground they can work from. But now I think they would be further on if the Conservatives had done it by themselves."

Considerer/Joiner

"I'd like to see the coalition keep going because they're starting to come through."

Considerer

Nick Clegg and the Liberal Democrats had made very little impression on most participants.

"Is he still around? What's he done? He hasn't had a voice."

Loyalist

"They're a bit wishy-washy. A bunch of girls."

Defector

Criticisms of the government usually related to the fact that life was hard and not getting any easier, with the government either doing little to help or making things worse. Those who thought this felt the government was not on their side.

"They're not interested in normal working people, just not at all."

Defector

What about the alternatives?

For Joiners and Considerers in particular, the absence as they saw it of a credible alternative was an important factor in pushing them towards the Conservatives. This was the case for many who had come from traditionally Labour voting backgrounds. Though some thought **Ed Miliband and Labour** more likely to understand their lives, very few saw him as a potential Prime Minister and for many of these voters, returning to the party that they considered responsible for the “mess” the current government was clearing up would have felt like going back to square one.

“I’m thinking about voting Conservative but a lot of it’s to do with the fact that there’s no one in opposition.”

Considerer/Joiner

“If it all changes after 18 months, are we right back where we started instead of taking these baby steps?”

Considerer/Joiner

“Miliband is more in-touch than David Cameron, more down-to-earth.”

Considerer/Joiner

“They chose Ed and I still don’t think they have confidence in him. He hasn’t come up with any clear strategy and I listen and think ‘do you believe in that or are you just reacting to what the Tories are doing?’”

Loyalist

“I think Labour are a long way off and in a position where the Tories were several years ago.”

Considerer/Joiner

“They would start spending money, and be more lenient with the benefits system.”

Considerer/Joiner

“When he was defending his dad, that was the only time he showed real passion. Then he fizzled out again.”

Considerer/Joiner

Though a number of participants said they often agreed with **Nigel Farage and UKIP**, many were wary of the party or could not take it seriously. There was a widespread view that it represented a wasted vote that risked letting in the least preferred alternative, and some worried that UKIP amounted to a “middle class BNP”.

“Nigel Farage worries me because if there was a box for ‘none of the above’ they would get that. They will get the protest vote. Their policies are from the back of a fag packet.”

Considerer/Joiner

“Like the BNP for the middle class.”

Considerer/Joiner

“Comedy. They’re funny. Did you see that Godfrey Bloom? It was like Catharine Tate: ‘how very dare you?!’”

Loyalist

“They’re too far out there. I feel it would be a wasted vote. They’re not going to get into government and they would just let someone in that I don’t want.”

Considerer/Joiner

“I can’t say it’s a racist thing, but it gives those of us who are from the minority groups a bit of an uncomfortable feeling.”

Defector

Policy issues

Participants in all groups were aware that an **economic recovery** was supposedly underway, and a few said they had noticed business picking up in their places of work. However, very few felt personally better off or expected to become so in the near future. Whatever recovery was happening was doing nothing yet to relieve rising living costs and stagnant wages that most were experiencing. This feeling did not necessarily detract from the idea that the government needed more time to see things through.

“I’ve noticed a big difference at work in terms of turnover but we’re not getting better off.”

Considerer/Joiner

“It’s based on the figures for the politicians, isn’t it? They don’t live and breathe it.”

Considerer/Joiner

"I know he's got to cut back and control spending and borrowing and things like that, so in the long run it will work, but then there's people who won't see it like that."

Loyalist

For some, the recovery was something that was happening for people other than themselves. Some in the North, for example, thought of it as a southern or London phenomenon, and people in the public sector did not see any improvement in their pay or pensions on the horizon. (Inevitably, the government must be the side of whoever was enjoying the benefits of recovery, not themselves).

"I'm sure if you're asking people in the South, I suspect might say the economy is actually doing really quite well now, because from their point of view, it is, but for the North, like us, where there's a lot of public sector jobs, and we've been depressed before. I think they've overlooked us."

Defector

"They won't come really up to Birmingham and that's about as far as they'll go. They'll have a conference in Manchester, but they want to run back down to London as soon as they can."

Considerer/Joiner

The **cost of living** dominated discussion of the economy, in particular the rising price of food, petrol and domestic fuel. The prevailing view was that there must be something the government could do about the cost of living, and for Defectors in particular this was a good example of the government failing to stand up for ordinary people against big corporations.

"There could be more pressure applied by the government. The excuse is the wholesale price of raw material, but when the price dips the reduction is not the same. And there are the bonuses."

Considerer/Joiner

"They're all in it together, aren't they?"

Defector

However, there were few suggestions as to what any government could do in practice, and a great deal of scepticism about Labour's proposed **energy price freeze**. Even if Mr Miliband were able to implement the policy, which some doubted, many argued that the energy companies would simply put prices up immediately before and immediately after the freeze, leaving them no better or possibly worse off. Several also pointed out that it was possible for customers to organise their own "freeze" by opting for a tariff with guaranteed prices over longer periods, and some said the

government's own policy of compelling suppliers to put customers on the best tariff for them was more useful.

"To say that he wants to get involved on global energy prices and then fix the prices when everybody knows in a global market you can't, it just doesn't make sense."

Considerer/Joiner

"It's like when they brought VAT down and everyone knew it would go back up by more so they could claw it back."

Considerer/Joiner

"You can do that now if you speak to your supplier. You should listen to Martin Lewis."

Loyalist

"Cameron said the energy companies have got to give you the lowest plan possible. That's more clear cut. You know what you're signing up for and you're getting the best deal."

Considerer/Joiner

The **debt and the deficit** was a much less prominent theme than in previous rounds of groups. The deficit was no longer the dominant economic theme for these voters or the most immediate danger. However, several referred to it in the context of "clearing up the mess", and there were fears that a new Labour government would be tempted to undo the progress made on this front.

Welfare reform was spontaneously raised by Loyalists, Joiners and Considerers as an important achievement. Defectors tended to think that the direction or intention was right, but that little had been achieved. Participants felt that while the Conservatives understood the need for big changes in the welfare system, Labour's instinct was to resist these changes and given the chance might undo the progress that had been made.

"They've had it all their own way, haven't they? Nobody's said no to them. But now, if they don't go for a job, the money will stop."

Loyalist

"They have done some really good things now. One of the biggest things that was a massive plus for me was the cap on benefits whereas Labour let you claim unlimited benefits."

Considerer/Joiner

For some Considerers in particular, however, specific welfare reforms were a source of some resentment, often because people they knew had in their view been unfairly affected. Though they welcomed the prospect of welfare reform in principle, they felt that that in some cases the wrong balance had been struck and the wrong people had been targeted – usually relatives who had been refused disability benefits. There were also complaints about the “bedroom tax”, though some Joiners and Considerers strongly defended this policy, emphasising that there were no spare rooms in the small flat they worked hard to pay for from their own earnings.

“I think he's going like a bull in a china shop though. I don't think he really understands. They're all old Etonians, or whatever they are. He doesn't understand people on a different level and that they can't get out from the situation they're in.”

Loyalist

“They're cowards. They're hitting people who can't fight back. They're cutting it and they're saying, look we've saved.”

Considerer/Joiner

Immigration was also spontaneously raised in all groups, very often at the same time as welfare, with many participants seeing the two issues as being inextricably linked. In all groups the feeling was that government policy was in the right direction, but they were uncertain what if any results had been achieved. As on welfare and the deficit, some feared that Labour's instinct would be to relax the tougher policies introduced by the coalition.

“They're trying to control it, it's moving in the right direction. With Labour it was very casual.”

Considerer/Joiner

“You have to learn the British culture or know a certain level of the language now before you can actually immigrate to the country and all this kind of stuff.”

Considerer/Joiner

An **EU referendum** was not a high priority for these voters and in some groups nobody knew the idea was even on the agenda, or had heard something about the idea but not really understood it. Those who were aware of the policy were generally in favour of it but doubtful that the referendum would actually happen. Several were wary of the idea, often because they doubted their own ability (or that of their compatriots) to make an informed decision on the subject.

“Who's going to vote? Will the general public get to decide?”

Considerer/Joiner

"If we have a referendum, the information has got to be clear and concise."

Loyalist

"It won't happen. They will come up with some reason. 'Due to unforeseen circumstances...'"

Considerer/Joiner

Participants in some groups spontaneously raised the **Help to Buy** scheme. Most took a positive view of the idea, particularly the few who were thinking of taking advantage of it. Some, however, associated the idea with the sort of unsustainable lending that had led to the 2008 crash, and worried that the government was encouraging or creating a new housing bubble. Some were concerned about what would happen when interest rates started to rise.

"They are trying, because this time last year, me and my partner, we couldn't get a competitive mortgage, and then they launched the help to buy scheme. And now, we can."

Loyalist

"The government wants to create a property boom. When interest rates go up mortgage payments are going to rocket."

Considerer/Joiner

"It stinks to me because the whole problem with the credit crunch was that people were borrowing too much, and now they say, we'll help you out with a 95% mortgage. Well, wasn't that the problem in the first place? So how now is this going to help us?"

Defector

The **National Health Service** was a recurring theme in these groups, particularly among Defectors, Joiners and Considerers. The issue was more of a priority for participants than had been the case in previous rounds of similar research. Reported budget cuts, staff shortages, immigration and "health tourism", steps to "privatise" parts of the service and a feeling that the issue was creeping up the news agenda all contributed. A few Loyalists had noted attempts to clamp down on neglect or abuse by staff, or had heard of plans to increase staffing levels.

"We've had some new hospitals, and we've got new bits, the Royal Oldham, but it's staff that's the problem. They've got rid of staff."

Loyalist

"It's Eastern Europeans, Americans, Australians, people from New Zealand, you know, people come to use our NHS system, and we're not doing anything to stop the abuse."

Loyalist

"The patient transport side of it, that's gone private and they're always in the news for underperforming, keeping people waiting and that. It's just all going downhill."

Defector

"They said they're looking at placing 3,000 extra nurses."

Loyalist

"He's trying now with the hospitals. If they find out that the nurses are abusing the patients, they'll go to prison."

Loyalist

Full poll results

8,053 adults were interviewed online between 4 and 10 November 2013.

Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Great Britain.

LOYALISTS = voted Conservative in 2010 and would do so again in an election tomorrow (1,444)

JOINERS = did not vote Conservative in 2010, but would do so in an election tomorrow (415)

CONSIDERERS = did not vote Conservative in 2010 and would not tomorrow, but would consider doing so in future (262)

DEFECTORS = voted Conservative in 2010, but would not do so in an election tomorrow (741)

1. Many people say that if there was a new general election they probably wouldn't vote at all, while others say they definitely would vote. Please say how likely you would be to vote if there was another general election?

	%	ALL	LOYALISTS	DEFECTORS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS
Absolutely certain to vote (10)		56	75	63	44	48
9		12	14	12	20	19
8		7	5	6	11	9
7		5	3	5	7	9
6		3	-	2	6	5
5		3	1	1	6	5
4		1	-	-	2	2
3		2	-	1	3	2
2		1	-	1	1	1
Definitely would not vote (1)		6	-	5	-	-

2. If there were to be a general election tomorrow, which party do you think you would vote for?
[Excludes those saying 'Don't Know' or 'Won't Vote']

	%	ALL	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
Conservative		30	-	-
Labour		39	43	18
Liberal Democrat		8	32	3
UKIP		16	16	74
Others		8	9	6

- 26% of all Defectors say they Don't Know how they would vote, and 5% say they would not vote.
- 44% of all Considerers say they Don't Know how they would vote.

3. Which party did you vote for in the general election in May 2010?

[All those giving a past vote]

%	ALL	CONSIDERERS	JOINERS
Conservative	37	-	-
Labour	30	29	25
Liberal Democrat	24	60	63
UKIP	3	6	5
Others	6	5	6

- 50% of Joiners and 26% of Considerers say they did not vote in the 2010 general election.

4. Have you definitely decided which party you will vote for at the next general election, or do you think you may well change your mind?

[All those expressing an intention to vote]

%	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	DEFECTORS
I am pretty sure which party I will vote for	80	90	67	69
I have not finally decided and may well change my mind	20	10	33	31

5. Which of the following parties would you seriously consider voting for at the next general election?

[All those who have not finally decided which party to vote for]

%	ALL	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
Conservative	32	88	100	58
Labour	35	27	56	16
Liberal Democrats	23	35	50	12
UKIP	28	29	24	54
Another party	12	3	12	6
Don't know/won't say	29	7	-	24

6. Here are some things that people have said about the main political parties. Please can you say whether, on balance, you think each statement is true of the Conservative Party/the Labour Party/the Liberal Democrats?

%	ALL C / L / LD	LOYALISTS C	JOINERS C	CONSIDERERS C	DEFECTORS C
Willing to take tough decisions for the long term	47 / 26 / 12	92	86	74	53
Competent and capable	31 / 28 / 10	85	79	50	33
Shares my values	27 / 33 / 16	87	75	33	35
Will do what they say	25 / 26 / 9	71	63	27	23
Its heart is in the right place	22 / 35 / 29	69	54	22	25
On the side of people like me	25 / 38 / 18	83	72	30	29
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	23 / 46 / 24	75	59	28	26
Stands for fairness	21 / 33 / 21	72	54	19	23
Stands for equal opportunity for all	21 / 36 / 21	70	54	24	24
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	19 / 31 / 16	66	48	20	22

7. If you had to choose, which would you prefer to have at the moment: the current Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition, or a Conservative government with an overall majority?

% (change since Blueprint 3, July 2012)	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
Conservative-Lib Dem coalition	55 (+4)	18	32	61	25
Con govt with overall majority	45 (-4)	82	68	39	75

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

% (change since Blueprint 3, July 2012)	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
David Cameron	50 (+3)	98	92	73	75
Ed Miliband	37 (-1)	1	4	10	18
Nick Clegg	13 (-2)	1	4	18	7

9. Which of the following statements do you most agree with?

%	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
I am <u>satisfied</u> with the job David Cameron is doing as PM overall	28	71	66	36	17
I am <u>dissatisfied</u> with the job David Cameron is doing but I'd still prefer to have him as PM than Ed Miliband	32	28	32	54	64
I am dissatisfied with the job David Cameron is doing and I'd prefer to have Ed Miliband as PM instead	40	1	2	11	19

10. Please indicate how positively or negatively you feel about the following, using a scale from -100 (very negative) to +100 (very positive), where zero means neither positive nor negative.

<i>Mean score</i>	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
Boris Johnson, Mayor of London	5.91	7.40	7.12	6.59	6.73
William Hague, Foreign Secretary	5.02	7.26	6.60	6.02	5.63
THE LABOUR PARTY	4.97	2.75	3.57	4.72	3.25
David Cameron, Prime Minister	4.83	7.99	7.54	6.14	5.13
Theresa May, Home Secretary	4.68	6.59	6.07	5.22	5.14
Ed Miliband, Labour leader	4.68	2.65	3.43	4.27	3.05
THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY	4.55	7.95	7.53	5.74	4.96
UKIP	4.55	4.55	4.56	4.07	6.69
Vince Cable, Business Secretary	4.50	5.53	5.62	5.56	3.97
George Osborne, Chancellor	4.30	6.86	6.15	4.89	4.69
Ken Clarke, former Justice Secretary	4.49	5.45	4.98	5.16	4.03
Nigel Farage, UKIP leader	4.41	4.50	4.54	3.95	6.42
THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS	4.12	4.43	4.67	5.15	3.02
Nick Clegg, Deputy Prime Minister	4.11	5.13	5.17	5.31	3.21
Ed Balls, Shadow Chancellor	4.08	2.89	3.46	3.95	2.77

11. With our economy facing challenges in the months ahead, whom do you most trust to manage the economy in the best interests of Britain – David Cameron and the Chancellor of the Exchequer George Osborne, or Ed Miliband and the Shadow Chancellor Ed Balls?

<i>% (change since Blueprint 3, July 2012)</i>	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
Cameron & Osborne	57 (+4)	99	96	84	81
Miliband & Balls	43 (-4)	1	4	16	19

12. Thinking about Britain's economy, which of the following is closest to your own view?

	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
Although things are difficult now, the right decisions are being made and things will improve significantly in the next year or two	46	94	84	62	56
In a year or two's time, the economy will be no better, or even worse, than it is now	54	6	16	38	44

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

<i>% (change since Blueprint 3, July 2012)</i>	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs					
Conservatives	44 (+5)	96	89	63	73
Labour	45 (-4)	3	8	27	22
Lib Dems	11 (-1)	1	3	10	6
Cutting the deficit and the debt					
Conservatives	55 (-)	97	93	81	81
Labour	34 (-1)	2	5	13	15
Lib Dems	11 (+1)	1	2	6	4
Improving the NHS					
Conservatives	31 (+4)	77	61	22	53
Labour	52 (-2)	11	22	48	34
Lib Dems	17 (-)	11	17	30	13
Improving schools					
Conservatives	35 (+2)	82	66	32	61
Labour	47 (-1)	7	18	37	26
Lib Dems	19 (+1)	11	15	31	13
Protecting the environment					
Conservatives	25 (-)	57	45	23	41
Labour	34 (-1)	3	9	15	18
Lib Dems	41 (-)	40	46	62	41
Dealing with crime					
Conservatives	51 (+2)	94	92	70	77
Labour	39 (-)	4	6	23	18
Lib Dems	10 (-1)	2	2	6	5
Defending Britain's interests in Europe					
Conservatives	49 (-3)	94	86	69	75
Labour	37 (+2)	3	8	20	17
Lib Dems	13 (-)	3	6	11	8
Reforming welfare to stop scroungers and cut benefit dependency					
Conservatives	59 (-1)	96	93	83	82
Labour	31 (+3)	2	4	9	13
Lib Dems	11 (-1)	2	4	8	5
Controlling immigration					
Conservatives	52 (-2)	93	87	70	78
Labour	34 (+2)	3	8	15	15
Lib Dems	14 (-)	4	5	14	7

<i>% (change since Blueprint 3, July 2012)</i>	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
Cutting taxes					
Conservatives	37 (+2)	77	62	46	58
Labour	46 (-2)	14	25	34	31
Lib Dems	16 (-1)	9	13	21	11
Scrapping unnecessary regulations					
Conservatives	41 (-2)	86	69	49	66
Labour	38 (-2)	4	11	25	20
Lib Dems	21 (-)	10	20	26	14
Ensuring people are treated fairly					
Conservatives	28 (+1)	73	58	21	47
Labour	48 (-)	7	16	34	31
Lib Dems	24 (-1)	19	26	45	23
Tackling the cost of living and improving living standards for people like me					
Conservatives	33	86	75	39	57
Labour	51	7	15	41	32
Lib Dems	16	7	10	20	11
Introduce practical policies that would work in the long run					
Conservatives	43	94	86	59	71
Labour	42	2	7	25	20
Lib Dems	15	3	8	16	9

14. Some people say they could never see themselves voting Labour / Lib Dem / UKIP under any circumstances, while others say they could see themselves doing so some time in the future. Which of these is closest to your own view? [All those who voted Conservative in 2010]

<i>% (change since Blueprint 3, July 2012)</i>	LOYALISTS	DEFECTORS
I could never see myself voting Labour	83 (+5)	62 (+10)
I could see myself voting Labour some time in the future	17 (-5)	38 (-10)
I could never see myself voting Lib Dem	62 (-1)	71 (+7)
I could see myself voting Lib Dem some time in the future	38 (+1)	29 (-7)
I could never see myself voting UKIP	58 (-)	23 (-11)
I could see myself voting UKIP in the future	42 (-)	77 (+11)

15. Would you say you are moving towards or away from the Conservatives/Labour/the Liberal Democrats?

<i>% (change since Blueprint 3, July 2012)</i>	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
Towards the Conservatives	21 (-)	62	73	43	11
Neither	35 (-1)	33	24	36	26
Away from the Conservatives	44 (+2)	5	4	21	63
Towards Labour	32 (-3)	4	6	17	18
Neither	31 (-1)	28	26	36	32
Away from Labour	37 (+4)	68	68	47	51
Towards the Liberal Democrats	13 (-)	13	14	18	8
Neither	41 (-2)	45	43	45	36
Away from the Liberal Democrats	46 (+3)	42	43	37	56
Towards UKIP	31 (+28)	30	27	26	68
Neither	37 (-6)	37	38	36	16
Away from UKIP	33 (-10)	33	35	37	16

16. Given what you know about the coalition government's performance so far, and what you expect it to do in the future, and what the other parties are saying or doing, which of the following would you most like to see as the outcome of the next election?

<i>% (change since Blueprint 3, July 2012)</i>	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
A Conservative government	31 (-)	79	69	31	56
A Conservative-Lib Dem coalition	15 (+3)	18	23	32	13
A Labour-Lib Dem coalition	20 (+2)	2	4	22	13
A Labour government	34 (-5)	1	4	15	19

17. Taking everything into account, including the performance of the coalition, the other parties, your MP and the candidates in your local area, which party do you think you are most likely to end up voting for at the next general election?

<i>Figures in brackets exclude Don't Know/Won't Vote</i>	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
Conservative	24 (30)	97	87	17	16
Labour	32 (40)	1	2	19	12
Liberal Democrat	7 (9)	-	2	21	2
Another party	18 (22)	-	3	12	49
Won't vote	6	-	1	2	3
Don't know	13	2	5	29	19

18. Thinking about Britain and the British economy as a whole, and what may happen after the next election in May 2015, do you think the country would be better off if we were to have five years of Labour government, or five years of Conservative government or would it make no difference?

19. Thinking about Britain and the British economy as a whole, and what may happen after the next election in May 2015, do you think you and your family would be better off if we were to have five years of Labour government, or five years of Conservative government or would it make no difference?

	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
<u>The country</u> would be better off under the Conservatives	36	95	88	48	56
It would make no difference	31	5	10	41	31
<u>The country</u> would be better off under Labour	33	-	2	11	13
<u>I and my family</u> would be better off under the Conservatives	29	84	70	30	41
It would make no difference	36	14	24	53	42
<u>I and my family</u> would be better off under Labour	35	2	5	17	16

DEMOGRAPHICS

Gender

%	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
Male	49	57	52	51	55
Female	51	43	48	49	45

Age

%	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
18-24	12	4	19	17	3
25-34	16	11	17	17	9
35-44	19	17	15	19	15
45-54	17	16	16	14	17
55-64	15	18	14	16	17
65+	21	34	19	17	38
Average age	46.9	53.1	44.3	44.4	54.9

Social grade

%	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
AB	27	37	35	38	33
C1	29	30	28	33	28
C2	21	19	23	15	19
DE	23	14	14	14	21

Public sector

	ALL	LOYALISTS	JOINERS	CONSIDERERS	DEFECTORS
% working in public sector	26	19	15	18	23