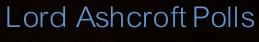
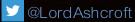
RISHI'S RACE AGAINST TIME

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC June 2023







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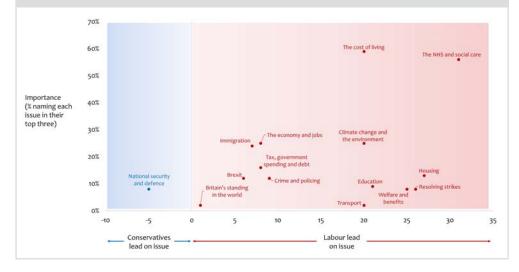
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ISSUES OF THE DAY

In our poll we asked people to choose the three most important issues facing the country, and whether they thought each issue would be better handled by the Conservatives under Rishi Sunak or a Labour government with Keir Starmer as prime minister. By a huge margin the two biggest issues were the cost of living (named by 59%) and the NHS and social care (56%). The economy and jobs and climate change and the environment (both 25%) were joint third among voters as a whole. Among 2019 Conservative voters the NHS (55%) and the cost of living (51%) also topped the list, with immigration (45%) in third place.

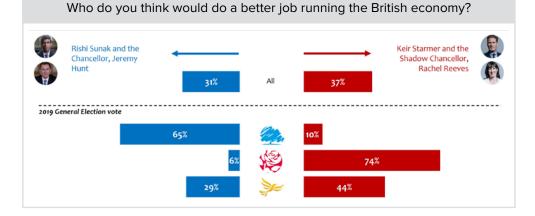
Which of the following do you think is the most important issues facing the country? Please select three from the list below. And which fo you think would do a better job in each of these areas – a Conservative-led government with Rishi Sunak as Prime Minister, or a Labour-led government with Keir Starmer as Prime Minister?



Voters thought the Conservatives would do a better job on national security and defence by 33% to 28%. On all other policy areas, Labour led by between 1 point (Britain's standing in the world) and 31 points (the NHS and social care), including a 20-point lead on handling the cost of living. Labour led on historically strong Conservative areas including immigration (by 34% to 27%) and crime and policing (by 35% to 26%). Voters also thought Labour would do a better job on resolving strikes, by 45% to 19%.

When we asked directly who would do a better job of managing the economy – Rishi Sunak and chancellor Jeremy Hunt, or Keir Starmer and shadow chancellor Rachel Reeves – voters chose the Labour team by 37% to 31%. Fewer than two thirds (65%) of 2019 Conservative voters named Sunak and Hunt, and 1 in 4 of them said "don't know".

However, three quarters of 2019 voters who said (below) that they might vote for the party again next time "but they really need to sort themselves out first" chose Sunak and Hunt, and those who said they might vote Conservative in future but can't see themselves doing so at the next election chose the Tory team by 32% to 25% (with 43% of them saying "don't know").



In our focus groups people spontaneously mentioned small boats, record net immigration, strikes, price rises, NHS waiting lists, water pollution and "the numerous Tory scandals". They often said that while the cost of living had fallen out of the headlines, it was still an everyday problem. Many complained that companies, especially supermarkets and energy providers, now seemed to be using covid and the Ukraine war as an excuse for raising prices and keeping them high – and especially that the fall in wholesale oil and gas prices were not being passed on to customers.

- 66 The prices are now absolutely ridiculous, and it's got nothing to do with covid. We've moved past that now and they're just using it as an excuse. Supermarkets are just taking the mick." Plymouth
- 66 It started with the war in Ukraine and everything increased in price, but now they're all jumping on the bandwagon. Now they've proven the price is going down, but it's not being passed on. That's what the government needs to start looking at." Plymouth

Some argued that price rises and many of the other problems facing the country were not directly the government's fault, but were nevertheless the government's responsibility. Many felt the government seemed unable or unwilling to deal with the issues that seemed to multiply week by week, despite its large majority.

- 66 My worry is that the profiteers are going to hold on, and the Conservatives are renowned for holding onto profit and seeking more profit." Stoke
- **66** There's no 'we're all in this together'. That fell away quite a while ago." Glasgow
- 66 The asylum seekers that are already here, why should it take five years, us paying them to live here? It should be that within six months, they either get to stay or they're gone." Aberdeen
- 66 The buck has to stop with the government. Even if in a sense it's not their fault, it's their responsibility to solve. If the issues aren't being addressed and there's no plan to move things forward, that for me lies with the government." Redcar
- 66 Everything just seems to be happening without the government getting involved. They've got to kick ass a little bit. They've got an 80-seat majority. They should be able to do something." Redcar

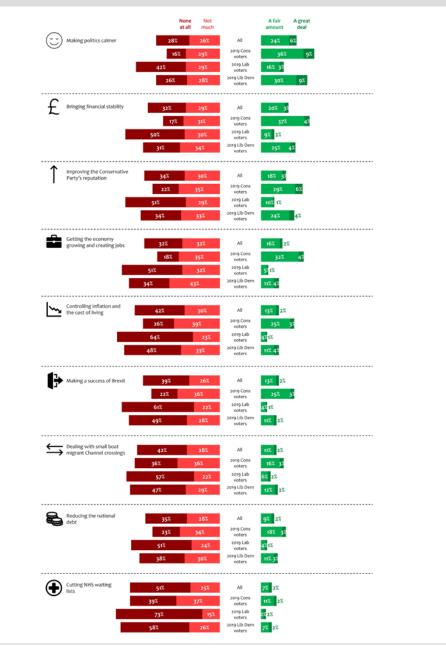
Progress report

We asked people how much progress they thought Rishi Sunak had made in 9 areas since he took over as prime minister in October 2022. His biggest success was thought to be in "making politics calmer", with 30% (including 45% of 2019 Conservatives) thinking he had made a fair amount or a great deal of progress on this front. Just under a quarter (23%) thought he had made progress in "bringing financial stability", and just over 1 in 5 (21%) thought he had made some headway in "improving the Conservative Party's reputation".

In the policy areas related to Sunak's five priorities for 2023, the numbers were even smaller. 18% thought progress was being made on growing the economy, 15% on inflation and the cost of living, 13% on small boats, 11% on the national debt and 9% on cutting NHS waiting lists.

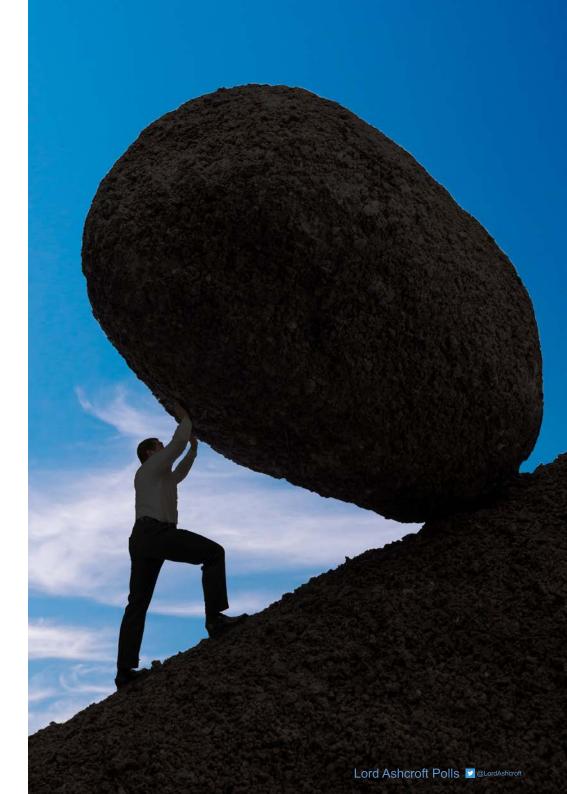
The numbers were better among 2019 Conservatives saying they might vote Tory again but they need to sort themselves out first – but in all cases apart from making politics calmer, this group were more likely to say progress was not being made than that it was.

Rishi Sunak has been Prime Minister for around 7 months. In that time, how much progress do you think he has made on dealing with each of the following issues?



Focus group participants likened Sunak's task to "pushing a boulder uphill", "swimming in glue" and "bailing out the Titanic with a bucket". People observed that he was working hard and had succeeded in bringing a degree of calm and order to politics that had been missing for some time. However, few were able to point to specific achievements – either because measurable progress had yet to be made, or because attention was diverted by division, scandal or what some regarded as trivial issues.

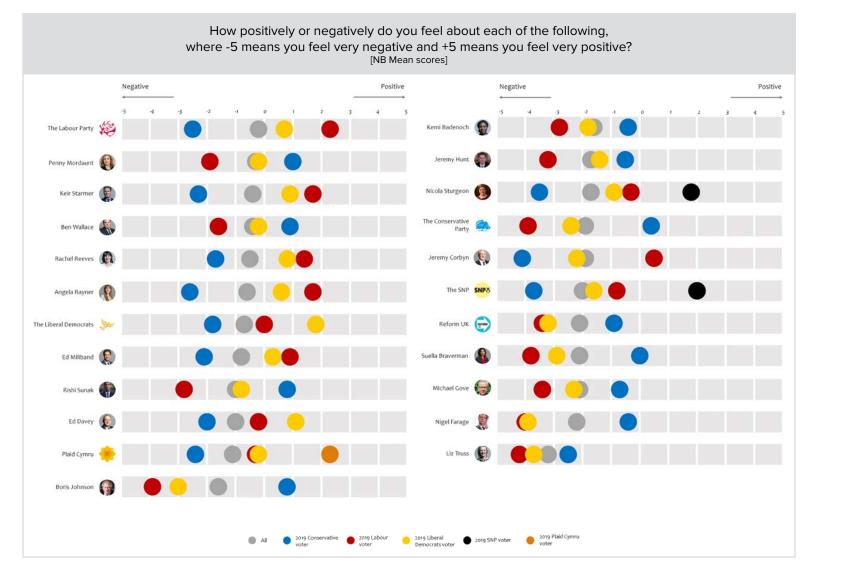
- 66 Things are a bit more predictable. There's a bit more honesty, stability, trust." Esher
- 66 He's trying. He's said what he wants to achieve and you can see he's trying to get the ball rolling. Whether he's succeeding..." Plymouth
- 66 I sense he's on the case, but I can't point to anything." Cheltenham
- 66 He addresses issues. He's trying to tidy up the crap that others have left." Plymouth
- 66 He's working behind the scenes. I think he's an action-speaks-louder-than-words sort of guy. Instead of standing at the podium promising things, he's actually working to achieve them." Plymouth
- 66 He's done some good things. The Trans-Pacific trade initiative got no coverage in the media. The BBC was tumbleweed, because it's something that might show Brexit in a good light." Esher
- 66 The sad thing is, all we hear about is the crap about speeding tickets. We're not hearing about the G7." Cheltenham



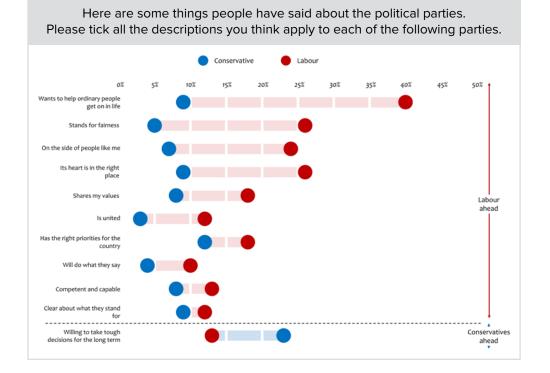
PARTIES AND LEADERS

Among voters as a whole, Penny Mordaunt, Ben Wallace, Rishi Sunak, Boris Johnson, Kemi Badenoch and Jeremy Hunt were rated more positively than the Conservative Party – whereas the Labour Party itself was viewed more positively than any of its leading figures (including among 2019 Labour voters).

2019 Conservatives gave Mordaunt and Wallace fractionally higher scores than Sunak. 2019 Labour voters gave equal scores to Starmer and Angela Rayner.



Party attributes



Asked whether various positive descriptions applied to the Conservative and Labour parties, voters were more likely to say the Tories were willing to take tough decisions for the long term. All other attributes were thought to apply more to Labour, by margins of between 3 points ("clear about what they stand for") and 31 points ("wants to help ordinary people get on in life").

Though the overall pattern is similar, it is notable that all the Labour scores are down by between 1 and 8 points since we asked the same question in November 2022. The Conservative scores are within 3 points (in either direction) of where they were 6 months earlier.

Apparent disunity was the feature of the current Conservative party that was most often mentioned by participants in our focus groups.

- 66 I don't think as a party they're very cohesive within themselves and you don't get the sense that they're working together. If they can't agree on decisions within their party, the rest of the country has got no hope." Stoke
- **66** It's all the infighting. Rees-Mogg and all of those people undermining the good stuff." Cheltenham
- 66 They've got all these little groups saying'Bring Back Boris', for goodness sake" Esher



Prime Ministerial attributes

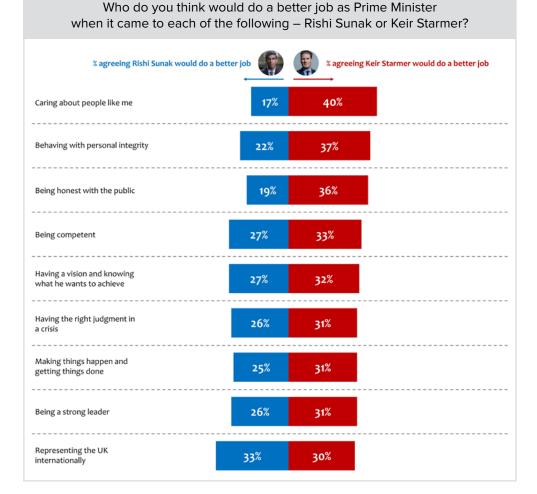
When we asked who would perform better at various aspects of the job of prime minister, Sunak led by 3 points on representing the UK internationally. Starmer led by modest margins on being a strong leader, having the right judgment in a crisis, and having a vision and knowing what he wants to achieve (all 5 points), making things happen and getting things done and being competent (both 6 points), and by bigger margins on acting with integrity (15 points), being honest with the public (17 points) and caring about "people like me" (23 points).

2019 Conservatives saying they might vote Tory next time but the party would have to sort itself out first put Sunak ahead on all attributes. Those saying they might vote Tory in the future but could not see themselves doing so at the next election put Starmer ahead on honesty, integrity, caring about "people like me" and having a vision and knowing what he wanted to achieve.

Majorities of 2019 Conservative voters named Sunak for all attributes except being honest with the public (41%), acting with integrity (49%) and caring about "people like me" (38%).

Rishi Sunak was generally well regarded by the 2019 Conservative voters in our focus groups – spontaneous descriptions included clever, switched on, super-smart, technocrat, driven, integrity, hard-working, prudent, diplomatic, polished, and educated. Many saw him as hard-working and committed, and preferred his calm, businesslike approach to the dramas of recent months and years.

44 He's actually just a normal boring politician, in a good way. I think rather than having all the drama, you know, with Liz Truss, Boris Johnson getting back to a bit of normality is probably what the country needs." Plymouth





However, an in previous research, for many participants the most notable thing about Sunak was his wealth and the perception that this made it impossible for him understand the concerns of most voters.

- 66 As pleasant as he is, and as much as he talks about doing things for people, it's impossible for him to understand what it is like." stoke
- 66 There's a video of him not knowing how to use his debit card. He couldn't understand how to pay for petrol. And he uses a helicopter, doesn't he?" Plymouth
- 66 A millionaire is still seen as aspirational to a lot of people. But a billionaire... There's first-class rich, and there's private-jet rich." Glasgow

This was not a universal view, however. Some argued that his abilities and the things he wanted to achieve mattered more than his personal circumstances ("would we rather have a thick pauper in charge?", as one man put it).

66 He's extremely intelligent. I like his five pledges. They're simple, and he's said, 'I'll deliver on that'. The fact that he wears clothes that are a bit more expensive than us and he's got one or two houses – you could tell if he wasn't pulling, and I think he's very diligent." Cheltenham

The Conservative legacy

Asked what positive achievements they could remember from 13 years of Conservative-led governments, our focus group participants mentioned furlough, the vaccine programme, low interest rates and unemployment, reducing the national debt after Labour, supporting Ukraine, and getting Brexit done. Some said they thought the government had done reasonably well considering the unforeseen circumstances of recent years.

- 66 When Johnson came in he didn't know covid was around the corner or Putin was about to invade Ukraine. None of them saw any of this. What would Labour have done any differently to what the Tories have done?" Plymouth
- 66 We haven't got a recession. The economy is standing up pretty well even with inflation and interest rates as they are. Even though the government is under a lot of media pressure, it isn't doing terribly badly. And if they did succumb to the strikes and put wages up, inflation would only go up higher." Cheltenham
- 66 I'm not sure we're looking for monumental achievements. We're just looking for them to steer the ship and not cock it up." Cheltenham

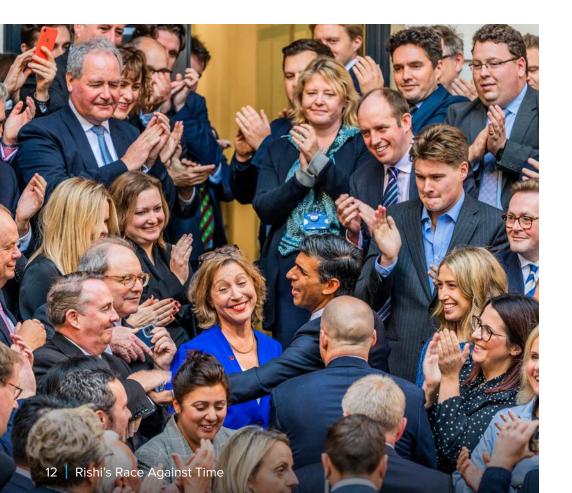
On the debit side, groups again mentioned Brexit (or what they saw as the failure to capitalise on it), NHS waiting lists, struggling public services, poverty, higher taxes, failing to control the size of government, industrial decline, rising immigration, police numbers and rising crime ("they used to be the law and order party"). Most groups also mentioned a loss (or further decline) of trust, whether over lockdown breaches or what they saw as failure to deliver on election promises.

- 66 We've now had 13 years of Conservative government. I voted for him last time, but I think what can I say is tangibly better than it was 13 years ago? And I can't think of anything." Plymouth
- 66 I had to work every day with vulnerable young people and I didn't have parties, I didn't have friends around. But they were having parties because it didn't matter to them because they're egocentric narcissists who are not affected by the lives we live." Stoke
- I'm just tired of hearing promises and things that don't happen. I just want to see actual things happening and changes happening and be transparent rather than dance around things. I feel like they've lost a lot of trust with false promises." Redcar

Has the Conservative Party changed?

A few in our groups thought the Conservative Party had changed for the better during its time in office. They usually said the party had become more diverse and more representative of the country at large.

- **66** It's less of the Eton Harrow Old Boys' Club. It's a much more diverse, inclusive party now." Plymouth
- 66 Compared to the Labour party the Tories have had three lady prime ministers, they've had ethnic minorities in the highest offices of government." Esher



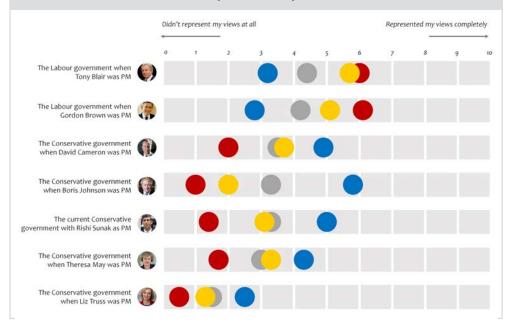
More often, participants thought the party had either moved to the right – at least in terms of rhetoric on issues like migration – or had moved away from the kind of principles they would usually have associated with the Tories. People often remarked that it was the country, rather than the Conservative Party itself, that had changed.

- 66 I think they've lurched further to the right. Just the general rhetoric. They had this National Conservative convention, and you listen to some of the speakers..." Plymouth
- 66 They've become more right-wing with their immigration policies and the way they talk about the boats and things. There's obviously a massive problem with human trafficking, but I just feel their language and the way they speak to the public about it can incite hate." Aberdeen
- 66 I don't think they stand for the ideology you would assume – you know, reward hard work and it will feed back into the economy and support other people. I don't think that's there as much. And freezing tax brackets so nearly half the country is paying 40% tax. That's awful, and that to me is away from where they should be." Cheltenham
- 66 They've changed massively. I don't think they know who they are any more." Redcar
- 66 I'm not sure the party's changed. I think the country's changed, because of everything that's happened. The country itself. We've all changed." stoke

Which prime minister...

We asked in our poll how far people felt that recent governments and prime ministers had represented their views. Of the Conservative prime ministers since 2010, the highest score was for David Cameron. Those who voted Conservative in 2019 said they had felt most represented by Boris Johnson (though in the groups they often clarified that this was in the earlier years of his administration, not post-partygate: "Boris, when he first came in. He was trying to be a bit different and a bit quirky. I had quite a lot of fondness for Boris. But then he assassinated himself and it all went tits up."). He was followed by Sunak and Cameron.

How far do you think each of the following governments and Prime Ministers represented your views, where 0 means it didn't represent them at all and 10 means it represented them completely? [NB Mean scores]



2019 Liberal Democrats voter

Many 2019 Tories in our focus groups said they had felt most comfortable with Cameron as prime minister. However, they often acknowledged that they were remembering what seemed a calmer and more stable time, as much as his leadership.

- 66 Back then it was new, but then we went into the Brexit crisis and covid. I think that might have been the last time we had a bit of stability in the world." Plymouth
- 66 His party respected him as a leader. They had a cohesive message that they delivered and he had more control over his party than any of the others had." stoke

Keir Starmer and Labour

In our focus groups, positive descriptions of Keir Starmer included relatable, professional, sensible, polite, personable and competent. Several felt that Labour, and especially Angela Rayner, seemed to have more of a grasp of the issues facing ordinary voters than the government.

66 They seem more relatable, more aware of the problems that are going on. I don't hold any value to promises, but when they talk about things they seem to be more in touch." Plymouth



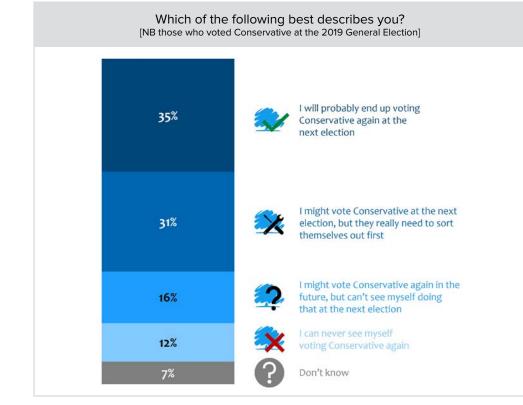
More negative views of Starmer included "A bit blurred", smarmy, soft, arrogant, weak, superficial, fluffy, wet, petulant, and "a bit of a wet fish". Many remarked that he seemed more interested in debating for its own sake than in setting out firm plans to improve things.

- 66 He says the right things but he's not very solid and never delves into what the plans are and what he would do. So watching him, you think he comes across really well, but when you dig deeper you're not really getting those answers." Esher
- 66 He just repeats himself. He doesn't seem to stand for a lot, he just likes to argue. And he looks so worried all the time! He should be looking confident and positive." Cheltenham
- 66 Boris was a bit arrogant, which can be a positive and a negative. I don't think Keir Starmer has got enough of that to run a country." Redcar
- 66 I don't have a lot of confidence in him right now because I don't feel like he says enough. We're bombarded with everything, good or bad, about the Conservatives, but Labour are not stepping up and saying 'if it was me, I'd do this'." Stoke
- 66 They've gone for the sensible choice. There's no passion. He doesn't convince me that he's really wanting to do the job." Glasgow
- 66 I don't think he's got much substance. When you hear him talking, he doesn't strike me as somebody that knows where he's going or what direction he wants to go." Glasgow

TIME FOR CHANGE?

Just over 1 in 3 (35%) of 2019 Conservative voters said they would probably end up voting for the party again at the next general election, while a further 31% said they might do so but the party "really need to sort themselves out first." In sum, these two groups represent two thirds of 2019 Tories just as they did in November 2022 – though with a slight movement from "they need to sort themselves out" to "probably".

16% of 2019 Tories said they might vote for the party again in the future but can't see themselves doing so at the next election (up from 14% last November), while 12% said they could never see themselves voting Conservative again (up from 11%).

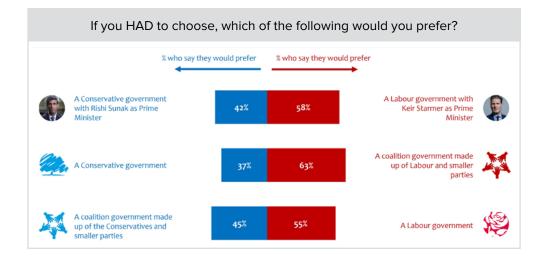




If you had to choose

Forced to choose between a Conservative government with Rishi Sunak as prime minister and a Labour government led by Keir Starmer, voters as a whole chose Labour and Starmer by 58% to 42% (compared to 57% to 43% in November 2022).

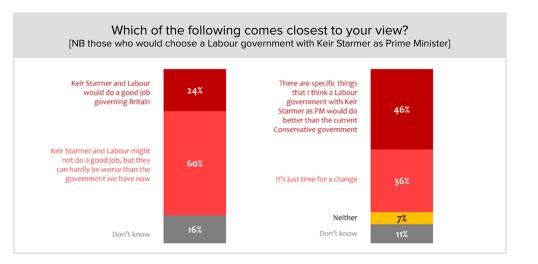
Those who voted Conservative in 2019 chose Sunak and the Tories by 81% to 19%. Those saying the Conservatives would have to sort themselves out before they voted for the party again preferred a Tory government by 93% to 7%; those who said they might vote Conservative in future but couldn't see themselves doing so at the next election nevertheless said they would prefer a Conservative government to a Labour one by 54% to 46%.



Offered the choice between a Conservative government on the one hand and a government made up of Labour and smaller parties on the other, respondents chose the latter by 63% to 37% - a bigger margin than that for Labour over the Conservatives. However, when it came to a choice between Labour and a combination of the Conservatives and smaller parties, Labour were preferred by a 10-point margin.

Among those saying they would prefer a Starmer-led Labour government to a Sunak-led Conservative government, just under a quarter (24%) said this was because they thought Labour "would do a good job governing Britain"; most said they "might not do a good job, but they can hardly be worse than the government we have now" (60%). (In November 2022, the proportion saying Starmer and Labour would do a good job was 31%, with 58% saying they could hardly be worse).

Just under half (46%) of those preferring a Labour government said this was because there were specific things a Labour government with Starmer as PM would do better than the current administration; 36% said "it's just time for a change."



This was reflected in our focus groups. For those who were thinking of switching away from the Conservatives at the next election, the most prevalent view was that things were not working, and that there seemed little prospect of improvement during another term of Tory government.

- 66 I just think there's been one thing after another, after another, after another, and everything feels completely broken. So I just think I can't vote them in again because it's not working." Plymouth
- 66 They've had a really tough ride with Brexit, covid, everything. It would have been tough regardless of who was in charge. But I do think it's time for change because they're not in touch with what the reality is for everyday people. I don't see things getting any better while the Conservatives are still in place." Redcar
- 66 He's steadying the ship, but he hasn't done anything to convince me he's right to lead the country past the next general election." Stoke
- 66 At the end of the day, you can't keep backing the same losing horse. A change can't do much worse. There's no point continuing to vote in a party that's clearly just not working." Redcar
- If they got it again it would just be stagnant.We'd be in for more of what we've had over the last five or six years." Stoke

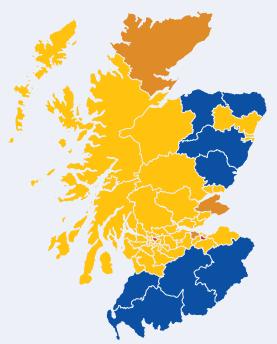
However, some felt Labour would be in the same position and doubted a Starmer-led government would do a better job. Sunak's performance as prime minister so far had also prompted some voters to suspend judgment and see how things developed over the coming months.

- 66 I don't think they'd do any better job. They're not going to have any more money than the Conservatives have, and I don't think they're going to spend it any more wisely. I don't think Starmer has the backbone to do it." Redcar
- 66 If you asked me a year ago, I would have said it's time for change. But Rishi Sunak has gone about it professionally, he's not like Johnson. So I'm going to see how he is for the next 12 months and look at the manifestos and make my decision." Plymouth

The Scottish angle

In our Scottish groups, some former SNP voters were somewhat disillusioned following Nicola Sturgeon's resignation and reports of financial impropriety, or were disappointed by its record in office.

- 66 I had high hopes for the SNP. I thought they would do better if I'm honest. They've done a lot of good things but they were just too much focused on independence. It would have come naturally if she had sorted the problems out." Glasgow
- 66 It's now the case of best of a bad bunch rather than having faith in a party. I'm potentially more likely to go Green. If Labour got their act together I'd vote Labour, but I'm still waiting for evidence of that." Glasgow





However, this did not always mean they were planning to vote for a different party at the next general election – indeed some 2019 Conservative voters said they were considering switching to the party. This was largely because they thought the SNP would do a better job of "standing up for Scotland" in Westminster, which would not necessarily be the case with what some described as "English Labour". Some independence supporters argued that Scotland would be seen to have "given up" on their cause if they abandoned the SNP.

- 66 To keep Scotland in the fore, because Scotland, like Wales, is often left behind by Westminster. We're a second, third or fourth thought." Aberdeen
- 66 I think we've got a lot of benefits in Scotland that Westminster would like to get rid of." Aberdeen
- 66 I think the SNP understand more what it is to live in Scotland. I'm not sure I'd vote for them, but they've got a better understanding of what our country is." Aberdeen
- 66 They've fought so hard for us. And I'm thinking, if we all go Labour, they'll think 'well they've given up on independence'. Which puts me in an awkward position for next year. I don't know what I'll do." Glasgow

However, there was a widespread view that with independence looking unlikely in the near future, the more immediate priority was to remove the Conservative government, and the best way to be sure of that was to vote Labour.

- 66 We've put so much stock into independence, it's hard to see that dream die. But maybe we missed that chance. Maybe we have to be willing to take a step back for the longer-term plan." Glasgow
- 66 I just feel if we don't vote tactically, we're going to be stuck with them for another five years. I'm quite willing to sacrifice my vote to stop that." Glasgow
- 66 I want independence and I don't want another vote in the next two or three years because I think we'd lose again and it would be over. The whole country needs some time to sort some stuff out. Maybe independence has to go on the back burner if that means voting Labour." Glasgow

Even so, few were impressed with what they had seen of Labour so far. Younger voters in particular said they knew little about the party, which had had a very low profile in Scotland in recent years. Some said they saw Labour as a less progressive party than the SNP, and that voting Labour would seem like a big compromise – if perhaps a necessary one.

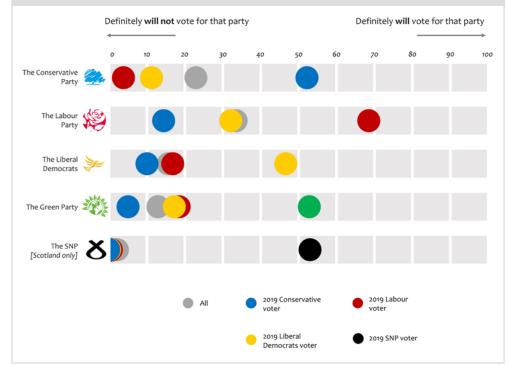
- 66 Scottish Labour are quite weak. Over the last 10 years they've been left on their own while the SNP have been so strong. No-one my age has really spoken about Labour up here. I wouldn't be able to tell you much about them." Aberdeen
- 66 If Labour got into power, my belief is they would just be blue. They would be red Tories, trying to be as central as possible. Working class people have been turned against common people like migrants and told to blame the problems on everyone else. I feel like English working class voters are just totally different from us. We face a lot of the same struggles but vote totally differently. I just don't understand it." Glasgow
- 66 I've always thought of Labour as a bit outdated and stuck in the 1980s. Labour and the SNP are both more left-wing than the Conservatives, but I feel the SNP is a more modern version of left-wing." Glasgow

Likelihood to vote

We asked our poll respondents how likely they were to vote for each party at the next general election on a 100-point scale. Among voters as a whole, the mean likelihood of voting Conservative was 23/100, and the mean likelihood of voting Labour was 34/100. Among those who voted Conservative in 2019, the average likelihood of voting Conservative at the next election was 52/100; 2019 Labour voters' mean likelihood of voting Labour was 69/100.

The most significant shift since our previous poll was among 2019 SNP voters. Their mean likelihood of voting for the party again at the next election fell from 69/100 to 53/100.

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 0 means "there is no chance I will vote for that party", and 10 means "I will definitely vote for that party". [NB Mean scores]





Based on those giving one party their highest score of 50 or more, and excluding those who were undecided or would not vote, we find voting intentions as follows: Labour 43%, Conservative 30%, Lib Dem 8%, Green 6%, Reform UK 5%.

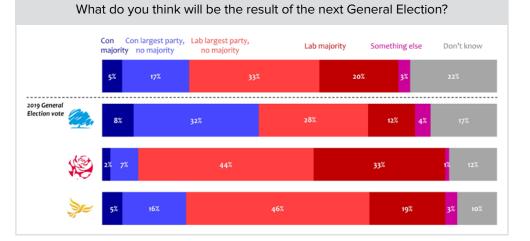
Among 2019 Conservatives saying the party will have to sort itself out before the next election, 48% named the Tories as their most likely party, with a further 39% saying they didn't know. Their mean likelihood of voting Conservative next time was 55/100.



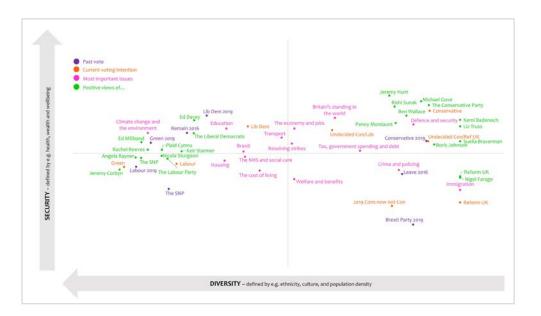
Expected result

Only 1 in 20 voters – including only 8% of 2019 Tories – said they expected the Conservatives to win a majority at the next general election. A further 17% thought they would be the largest party but with no majority. Overall, the proportion expecting the Conservatives to be the largest party was up from 18% to 22% since November 2022.

A total of 53% said they expected Labour to be the largest party after the next election, compared to 54% in November 2022. However, the proportion expecting an overall Labour majority had fallen from 30% to 20%.

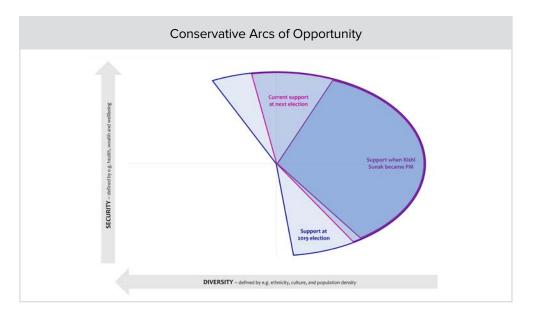


THE POLITICAL MAP



Our political map shows how different issues, attributes, personalities and opinions interact with one another. The closer the plot points are to each other the more closely related they are. Here we see that the centre of gravity of Conservative support has shifted from its 2019 position further into the top right quadrant of the map, where voters tend to be more secure and prosperous.

Those who voted Conservative in 2019 but say they will not do so at the next election are most likely to be found in the Brexit-supporting bottom right quadrant. Those who name the economy, the NHS and the cost of living among the most important issues facing the country are to be found close to the centre of the map, showing that they are universal concerns among voters across the board. Immigration and crime are most likely to be concerns among voters in the territory where Conservative support has fallen away the most sharply.



In the map above, we see how support for the Conservatives has contracted and expanded in recent years. The areas within the boundaries are where people are more likely to vote Conservative than for any other party.

We see that the coalition assembled by Boris Johnson at the 2019 election covered a very large part of the political map, uniting habitual Tory voters with those voting Conservative to "get Brexit done" or to avoid the prospect of a Jeremy Corbyn-led Labour government. By the time Sunak became prime minister last autumn, the Conservative segment of the map had shrunk to the smaller dark blue segment on the right, which largely represents the party's traditional core support.

Over the last seven months, the Conservative "arc of opportunity" has expanded, but not enough to have recovered all the territory lost since the last election. We see that Sunak has been more successful in winning back support in the more prosperous, liberal leaning area at the top of the map than in the less well-off, Brexit-voting bottom right quadrant.



5,147 adults in Great Britain were interviewed online between 18 and 22 May 2023. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Great Britain. Full data tables are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com.

Ten focus groups were held between 17 and 25 May in the following constituencies:

- Plymouth Moor View
- Stoke on Trent North

- Cheltenham
- Esher & Walton
- Redcar

- Glasgow South-West
- Aberdeenshire West & Kincardine

The groups comprised voters from a wide range of backgrounds who voted Conservative at the 2019 general election – except in Glasgow, where participants had voted SNP. The groups included equal numbers of men and women.



ABOUT LORD ASHCROFT

LORD ASHCROFT KCMG PC is an international businessman, philanthropist, author and pollster. He is a former treasurer and deputy chairman of the UK Conservative Party. He is also honorary chairman and a former treasurer of the International Democrat Union. He is founder and chairman of the board of trustees of Crimestoppers, vice-patron of the Intelligence Corps Museum, chairman of the trustees of Ashcroft Technology Academy, a senior fellow of the International Strategic Studies Association, former chancellor of Anglia Ruskin University and a former trustee of Imperial War Museums.

His political books include:

- Smell the Coffee: A Wake-Up Call for the Conservative Party
- Call Me Dave: The Unauthorised Biography of David Cameron
- Hopes and Fears: Trump, Clinton, the Voters and the Future
- Well, You Did Ask: Why the UK Voted to Leave the EU
- The Lost Majority: The 2017 Election, the Conservative Party, the Voters and the Future
- Jacob's Ladder: The Unauthorised Biography of Jacob Rees-Mogg
- Diagnosis of Defeat: Labour's Turn to Smell the Coffee
- Going for Broke: The Rise of Rishi Sunak
- Reunited Nation? American Politics Beyond the 2020 Election
- Red Knight: The Unauthorised Biography of Sir Keir Starmer
- First Lady: Intrigue at the Court of Carrie and Boris Johnson

His other books include:

- Victoria Cross Heroes, Volumes I and II
- Special Forces Heroes
- George Cross Heroes
- Special Ops Heroes
- Heroes of the Skies
- White Flag? An Examination of the UK's Defence Capability
- Unfair Game: An Exposé of South Africa's Captive-Bred Lion Industry
- Life Support: The State of the NHS in an Age of Pandemics
- In the Shadows: The Extraordinary Men and Women of the Intelligence Corps