

Cover image: Collected answers to the question “What is the first word or phrase that comes to mind when you think of the UK Independence Party?”, from 2010 Conservative voters who would consider voting for UKIP.

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For more information please go to www.lordashcroftpolls.com

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Introduction

Last month the UK Independence Party came second in two parliamentary by-elections, in Rotherham and Middlesbrough. This prompted its leader, Nigel Farage, to claim his party was the new third force in British politics. UKIP now regularly pips the Liberal Democrats to third place in national voting intention polls.

The rise of UKIP causes a good deal of angst among the bigger parties, particularly the Conservatives. It is not hard to see why: my research finds that 12% of those who voted Tory in 2010 now say they would vote UKIP in an election tomorrow. Half of all those who would consider voting UKIP supported the Conservatives at the last election.

Many have suggested antidotes to the rise of UKIP. These usually flow from assumptions about what the attraction of UKIP actually is. Yet these assumptions are often mistaken. Remedies based on a misunderstanding of what pulls people to the party risk missing the target, or doing more harm than good. This research – the biggest ever survey of UKIP support and potential support, involving a poll of more than 20,000 people and fourteen focus groups with UKIP voters and “considerers” – defines the UKIP temptation.

The single biggest misconception about the UKIP phenomenon is that it is all about policies: that potential UKIP voters are dissatisfied with another party’s policy in a particular area (usually Europe or immigration), prefer UKIP’s policy instead, and would return to their original party if only its original policy changed.

In fact, in the mix of things that attract voters to UKIP, policies are secondary. It is much more to do with outlook. Certainly, those who are attracted to UKIP are more preoccupied than most with immigration, and will occasionally complain about Britain’s contribution to the EU or the international aid budget. But these are often part of a greater dissatisfaction with the way they see things going in Britain: schools, they say, can’t hold nativity plays or harvest festivals any more; you can’t fly a flag of St George any more; you can’t call Christmas Christmas any more; you won’t be promoted in the police force unless you’re from a minority; you can’t wear an England shirt on the bus; you won’t get social housing unless you’re an immigrant; you can’t speak up about these things because you’ll be called a racist; you can’t even smack your children. All of these examples, real and imagined, were mentioned in focus groups by UKIP voters and considerers to make the point that the mainstream political parties are so in thrall to the prevailing culture of political correctness that they have ceased to represent the silent majority.

UKIP, for those who are attracted to it, may be the party that wants to leave the EU or toughen immigration but its primary attraction is that it will “say things that need to be said but others are scared to say”. Analysis of our poll found the biggest predictor of whether a voter will consider UKIP is that they agree the party is “on the side of people like me”. Agreement that UKIP shares their values and has its heart in the right place are also more important than policy issues in determining whether someone is drawn to the party. The idea that UKIP “seem to want to take Britain back to a time when things were done more sensibly”, and that “the bigger parties seem more interested in trendy nonsense than listening to ordinary people” both elicited stronger agreement among UKIP considerers than the party’s policy that Britain should leave the EU.

Only just over a quarter of UKIP considerers put resolving Britain’s future relations with the EU among the top three issues facing Britain; only 7% of them say it is the single most important issue. For them, it ranks behind economic growth, welfare, immigration and the deficit. Just over a quarter of them say UKIP are the best party when it comes to defending Britain’s interests in Europe; 42%

actually name the Conservatives. Those who have already voted for UKIP in a general election are much more committed to EU withdrawal than those who are thinking of defecting from other parties.

In our research, discussion among UKIP voters and considerers was dominated by what they saw as the twin themes of immigration and welfare much more than by Europe (indeed in one group Europe was mentioned spontaneously only once, when a lady said how well she thought David Cameron had done by putting his foot down over the budget at the recent EU summit). Many complained that migrants from within the EU and outside had changed the character of their local area beyond recognition. Recession and austerity brought their complaints into sharper focus and heightened their resentment: they themselves worked long hours for stagnant incomes as the cost of living rose, and had in many cases lost out on tax credits or other benefits; immigrants, meanwhile, seemed to them to be entitled to extra financial help, and priority access to public services, and to be depressing wages and importing an alien culture.

These voters think Britain is changing for the worse. They are pessimistic, even fearful, and they want someone and something to blame. They do not think mainstream politicians are willing or able to keep their promises or change things for the better. UKIP, with its single unifying theory of what is wrong and how to put it right, has obvious attractions for them.

Many of those who are drawn to voting UKIP recognise the wilful simplicity of the party's rhetoric: that we could cut taxes, increase defence spending and balance the budget all at once, and cut crime and improve access to the NHS, if only we left EU and clamped down on immigration. For some of them, this simplicity does not matter. They have effectively disengaged from the hard choices inherent in the democratic process, though they still want formally to take part in it. They say that being remote from power means UKIP can say what they really think, though there is a tacit acknowledgment that it also means they can say what they like and never be called on it. Not only does it not matter that UKIP will not get the chance to deliver its policies, that is part of the attraction: their diagnosis cannot be gainsaid. Now that the Liberal Democrats have been exposed – and have exposed their supporters – to the realities of government, UKIP is the only party (at least this side of the Greens) by which nobody can feel let down.

Most UKIP considerers are still engaged enough to be open to persuasion at a general election, but European elections are a different matter. The Conservative Party should prepare itself for the likelihood that UKIP will do very well indeed in the European Parliament elections in 2014, whatever David Cameron says in the meantime about Europe or anything else. Most importantly, it should not panic if this happens. Voters readily distinguish between elections that matter and those that matter less. In our research people compared European elections to the Eurovision Song Contest; some cheerfully said that voting UKIP in these elections was just a way to “give Europe a slap”. A strong UKIP performance in eighteen months' time – even if they were to win more seats than any other party – need not mean electoral doom for the Tories the following year.

An in-out referendum on the EU is not the answer to the question of how to win back potential UKIP defectors to the Tories. It may be the answer to a different question, but not to this one. There are many good reasons for Britain to reconsider its relationship with Europe. But if the Prime Minister decides to hold a referendum, it should not be with the aim of scuppering UKIP. For one thing, it would probably fail – Europe is only a small part of what attracts most people to the party. The wider reasons, of values and outlook and general dissatisfaction with the direction of things, would still apply. Europe is much more of a preoccupation for the hard core of UKIP than for the party's potential converts. A referendum would be unlikely to win back the irreconcilables, and would fail to address the concerns of the persuadables. Meanwhile, the voters the Tories need to attract from elsewhere would see the Conservative Party's agenda once again dominated by Europe – a subject which barely registers on their list of concerns.

UKIP considerers who are concerned about immigration – which is to say, most of them – do not believe the government is keeping its promise to tackle the issue. In fact, the government has a better story to tell in this area than they have heard. At the same time, many instinctively approve of the government's welfare reforms in principle, but feel the first to lose out have too often been deserving but easy cases, while bigger unfairnesses in the system are not tackled. Economic pessimism is also an important part of the mix of opinions that drive people away from the mainstream, and this, too, is within the government's power to address.

Where voters are driven towards UKIP by a deeper unease simply with the way life has changed in modern Britain, there are clearly limits to how far the Conservatives want to share their view. The Tories said once before that Britain was becoming a foreign land; we told those who agreed that if they came with us we would give them back their country. As we found, there is no future in that kind of approach for a party that aspires to govern, or appeal beyond a disgruntled minority. We cannot "dog whistle" to them that we share their view, in the hope that nobody else will notice.

Those who are open to persuasion can be won round by leadership from David Cameron (including continuing to develop a muscular approach in Europe), the assurance that we are delivering our promises on immigration, that welfare reform is both firm and fair, and evidence that the right decisions are being made on the economy.

That is not to be complacent. Many people who need to vote Conservative if the party is to remain in office, let alone win a majority, are clearly dissatisfied enough with the Tories' performance in government to be looking elsewhere. The four tests I set in Project Blueprint for all Conservative activity – that it demonstrates leadership, shows the right priorities, shows we are on the side of the right people, and offers reassurance about our character and motives – apply as much to potential UKIP voters as to the other parts of the Conservative voting coalition we have to attract and keep.

But ultimately, the battle between UKIP and the Conservatives is less about ideas, policies, or even values. It is a battle between the party of easy answers and the party of tough decisions. Those who want nothing but the former will not be persuaded. Those who want the latter need to be reassured that those decisions are right, and that they are bearing fruit.

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Methodology

QUANTITATIVE

- 20,066 adults were interviewed between 9 and 19 November 2012. Results have been weighted to be politically representative of all adults in Great Britain.

QUALITATIVE

- Fourteen focus groups were held between 15 November and 6 December 2012 in Plymouth, Huntingdon, Dudley, Aldershot, Newcastle under Lyme, Thurrock and Eastleigh.
- Eight of the groups (Plymouth, Huntingdon, Dudley, Aldershot) comprised people who voted Conservative at the 2010 general election and would seriously consider voting UKIP at a general, local or European election. Two (Newcastle under Lyme) comprised people who voted Labour in 2010 and would now seriously consider UKIP; two (Eastleigh) comprised people who voted Liberal Democrat in 2010 and would now seriously consider UKIP. Two (Thurrock) comprised people who voted UKIP in 2010 and would do so again.
- Separate groups were held of men and women.

Key points

- UKIP considerers see the party as being on their side, sharing their values, having its heart in the right place, standing for fairness and – especially – saying things that need to be said that other parties are scared to say.
- The single best predictor of whether a voter will consider UKIP is whether they agree that UKIP “is on the side of people like me”. Agreement that UKIP shares their values, says important things other parties are scared to say, or has its heart in the right place are more important than policy issues in determining whether someone will consider voting UKIP.
- For 2010 Tory voters, the best predictor of whether they are now considering UKIP is whether they think UKIP shares their values. Thinking that UKIP’s heart is in the right place, that it says important things that other parties are scared to say, is on the side of people like them, and shares their values accounts for 75% of what made Conservative-UKIP considerers more likely to consider the party. Thinking UKIP was the best party on defending Britain’s interests in Europe accounted for 6% of what made them more likely to consider UKIP.
- Only just over a quarter of UKIP considerers put resolving Britain’s future relations with the EU among the top three issues facing Britain; only 7% say it is the most important issue. For them, it ranks behind economic growth, welfare, immigration and the deficit.
- Those who are considering UKIP having voted for a different party in 2010 are less likely to rank Europe as an important issue than those who voted UKIP at the last election: 19% of these say resolving relations with the EU is the most important issue facing Britain.
- 95% of 2010 UKIP voters say they agree with the party’s policy that Britain should leave the EU, compared to 77% of those considering UKIP who voted for another party last time.
- 42% of UKIP considerers say the Conservatives are the best party on defending Britain’s interests in Europe; 26% say it is UKIP.
- Agreement that Britain should leave the EU was a less powerful reason to support UKIP than forcing the bigger parties to listen to people’s concerns on Europe and immigration, agreement with their policy on immigration, the view that UKIP seem to want to take Britain back to a time when things were done more sensibly, and that the bigger parties seem more interested in trendy nonsense than in listening to ordinary people.
- UKIP considerers are more likely than average, and much more so than Tory voters, to say things are worse than they were ten years ago and will be worse still in ten years’ time.
- UKIP considerers would prefer a Conservative government to the current coalition by 60% to 40%, as do 2010 UKIP voters by 66% to 34%; voters as a whole marginally prefer the coalition. UKIP considerers also prefer David Cameron as Prime Minister, and trust the Conservatives to run the economy, by a bigger margin than voters as a whole.
- 12% of those who voted Conservative say they would vote UKIP in an election tomorrow, as do 1% of those who voted Labour and 7% of those who voted Liberal Democrat. 50% of those who would consider voting UKIP voted Conservative at the 2010 general election. 22% voted Labour, 21% voted Liberal Democrat.
- The risk of helping elect an MP or government from the bigger party they liked least was the biggest potential off-putting factor for UKIP considerers.
- UKIP considerers are disproportionately male and older, but closely match the population in socio-economic profile. 2010 UKIP voters are also more likely to be male and older, but more likely than average to be in social groups C2 and DE (and less in ABC1).

Conservative – UKIP considerers

Using Correlated Component Analysis we looked at respondents' answers to all the questions in the poll to isolate the views most commonly held by those who say they would consider voting for UKIP. The analysis also showed how these factors varied between different kinds of voter.

2010 Conservative voters: drivers of being willing to consider voting UKIP		Importance
1	AGREE – UKIP's heart is in the right place	21%
2	AGREE – UKIP says things that need to be said but other parties are scared to say	21%
3	AGREE – UKIP is on the side of people like me	18%
4	AGREE – UKIP shares my values	15%
5	UKIP is best party on "defending Britain's interests in Europe"	6%
6	DISAGREE – UKIP is a wasted vote	5%
7	DISAGREE – Conservatives are best party on "controlling immigration"	4%
8	DISAGREE – Conservatives "will do what they say"	3%
9	"Controlling immigration" is one of the most important issues facing Britain	3%
10	Things will be worse for me and my family in 10 years' time	3%
11	Things have got worse in Britain as a whole in the last 10 years	2%

Predicts 78% of all cases

For Conservative voters from 2010, the view that UKIP's heart is in the right place accounted for 21% of what made them more likely to say they would consider voting for the party. The view that UKIP says things that need to be said but other parties are scared to say was an equally important factor, followed closely by the impression that the party is on the side of people like them. These, combined with the view that UKIP shares their values, accounted for three quarters of what drove these voters to consider UKIP.

The belief that controlling immigration is one of the three most important issues facing Britain are also important, particularly when combined with the view that the Conservatives are not the best party on this issue. The view that things in Britain have got worse overall in the last ten years, and personal pessimism for the future, are also factors.

Labour – UKIP considerers

2010 Labour voters: drivers of being willing to consider voting UKIP		Importance
1	AGREE – UKIP’s heart is in the right place	19%
2	AGREE – UKIP is on the side of people like me	18%
3	AGREE – UKIP shares my values	10%
4	DISAGREE – UKIP is a wasted vote	9%
5	AGREE – UKIP wants to help ordinary people get on in life	9%
6	AGREE – UKIP says things that need to be said but other parties are scared to say	8%
7	UKIP is best party on “defending Britain’s interests in Europe”	8%
8	“Controlling immigration” is one of the most important issues facing Britain	6%
9	Labour is NOT the best party on “controlling immigration”	6%
10	UKIP is best party on “reforming welfare to stop scroungers and cut benefit dependency”	4%
11	DISAGREE – Labour Party stands for fairness	3%

Predicts 80% of all cases

While the top three drivers for 2010 Conservatives account for 60% of what makes them more likely to consider UKIP, and the top four account for 75%, for Labour voters the top three account for just 37% and the top four 56%. This suggests the factors that attract previous Labour voters to the party are more disparate.

As with Conservative voters, the view that UKIP’s heart is in the right place, is on the side of people like them and shares their values are among the most important things that drive 2010 Labour voters to consider UKIP. The combination of thinking immigration is one of the most important issues facing Britain, but that the party they voted for is not the best party to deal with it, is also similar.

However, the impression that UKIP says things that need to be said but other parties are prepared to say is relatively less important for Labour voters than it is for Tories.

For Labour voters, the idea that UKIP wants to help ordinary people get on in life is also a driver, as is the impression that they are the best party on the issue of welfare reform.

Lib Dem – UKIP considerers

2010 Lib Dem voters: drivers of being willing to consider voting UKIP		Importance
1	AGREE – UKIP’s heart is in the right place	18%
2	AGREE – UKIP is on the side of people like me	12%
3	DISAGREE – UKIP is a wasted vote	11%
4	AGREE – UKIP shares my values	10%
5	“Controlling immigration” is one of the most important issues facing Britain	10%
6	UKIP is the best party on “defending Britain’s interests in Europe”	10%
7	AGREE – UKIP say things that need to be said but other parties are scared to say	8%
8	AGREE – UKIP wants to help ordinary people get on in life	8%
9	Prefer the current Con-Lib Dem coalition over a Conservative government	4%
10	DISAGREE – the Labour Party stands for fairness	3%
11	DISAGREE – Lib Dems are best party on “defending Britain’s interests in Europe”	3%
12	Things will be worse in Britain as a whole in 10 years’ time	2%

Predicts 81% of all cases

Liberal Democrat voters from 2010 are also attracted to UKIP by a wider range of factors than Conservative voters. Again, though, the party’s values and the view that it is on the side of people like them are the most important drivers.

Immigration and Europe account for a slightly higher proportion of what attracts Lib Dem voters to UKIP than they do for Conservative and Labour voters. This, combined with the fact that they do not want a Conservative government and do not think Labour stand for fairness, suggests that they did not vote Liberal Democrat for positive reasons and are now looking for an alternative way of voting against the main parties.

What makes a UKIP considerer?

CHAID analysis of the poll results identifies the “splitters” that determine how likely people are to be prepared to consider voting UKIP.

1. VOTERS AS A WHOLE

Among voters as a whole, the single most instructive splitter is whether people agree that UKIP are “on the side of people like me”. Of those who think this is true, 89% would consider voting UKIP, and 67% would consider doing so at a general election. Only 16% of those who think this is untrue would consider UKIP, and only 6% at a general election. Of those who don’t know if this is true, 42% say they would consider voting UKIP, including 19% who would do so at a general election.

Within each of these three groups, further splitters identify whether a person is more or less likely to be a UKIP considerer:

Those who AGREE that UKIP “is on the side of people like me”...

...and say the Conservatives are the best party to run the economy.

- 90% of this group would consider voting UKIP, and 65% at a general election. Of this group, 97% would consider UKIP, and 87% at a GE, if they think UKIP are the best party to defend Britain’s interests in Europe. If they say the Conservatives are the best party on Europe, 85% would consider UKIP.

...and say Labour are the best party to run the economy.

- 80% of this group would consider voting UKIP, and 51% at a GE. Within this group, 76% would consider UKIP (45% at a GE) if they think Labour are best on Europe, and 95% (76% at a GE) if they think UKIP are best on Europe.

...and say UKIP are the best party to run the economy.

- Nearly all (99.6%) of this group would consider UKIP, and 97% at a general election.

Those who DISAGREE that UKIP “is on the side of people like me”...

...but say UKIP’s heart is in the right place.

- 45% of this group would consider UKIP (18% at a GE), rising to 66% (32% at a GE) if they also think UKIP shares their values – but falling to 38% (14% at a GE) if they do not think UKIP shares their values.

...and don’t know if they think UKIP’s heart is in the right place.

- 21% of this group would consider UKIP (6% at a GE). This rises to 60% (20% at a GE) if they disagree that many organisations could not cope without new immigrants; it falls to 17% (5% at a GE) if they agree with this statement.

...and do not think UKIP’s heart is in the right place.

- 11% of this group would consider UKIP (4% at a GE). This rises to 23% (9% at a GE) if they also think new immigrants have put their job at risk. It falls to 5% (1% at a GE) if they disagree with this. *Those who do not think UKIP is on the side of people like them, do not think UKIP’s heart is in the right place, and do not think immigrants who have put their job at risk are the least likely to consider voting UKIP.*

Those who DON’T KNOW whether UKIP “is on the side of people like me”...

...but say the Conservatives are the best party on controlling immigration.

- 39% of this group would consider voting UKIP (14% at a GE). Within this, 58% would consider UKIP (20% at a GE) if they also think UKIP say things that need to be said but other parties are scared to say. This falls to 32% (12% at a GE) if they disagree with this.

...but say Labour are the best party on controlling immigration.

- 29% of this group would consider UKIP (13% at a GE). This rises to 59% (31% at a GE) if they also think UKIP’s heart is in the right place. It falls to 26% (12% at a GE) if they disagree with this.

...but say UKIP are the best party on controlling immigration.

- 77% of this group would consider UKIP (43% at a GE).

2. ANALYSIS BY 2010 VOTE

The CHAID analysis also allows us to identify the key splitters for different people according to which party they voted for at the last general election. Of those who voted Conservative, 55% would consider UKIP (32% at a GE), as would 30% of those who voted Labour, PC, SNP or Green (14% at a GE), and 36% of those who voted Liberal Democrat (22% at a GE). Further splitters within each of these groups are as follows:

Those who voted Conservative in 2010...

...but say that UKIP shares their values.

- 93% of this group say they would consider UKIP (69% at a GE). This rises to 99% (89% at a GE) if they also think UKIP are the best party on defending Britain's interests in Europe. It falls back to 88% (52% at a GE) if they think the Conservatives are the best party on Europe).

...and say UKIP does not share their values.

- 27% of this group would consider voting UKIP (9% at a GE). This rises to 42% (14% at a GE) if they also think UKIP says things need to be said that other parties are scared to say. It falls to 15% (5% at a GE) if they do not agree with this.

...and don't know whether UKIP shares their values.

- 49% of this group would consider UKIP (22% at a GE). This rises to 72% (32% at a GE) if they also think UKIP say things that need to be said that other parties are scared to say.

Those who voted Labour, PC, SNP or Green in 2010...

...but think UKIP is on the side of people like them.

- 78% of this group would consider UKIP (45% at a GE). This rises to 95% (70% at a GE) if they also think UKIP are the best party on defending Britain's interests in Europe.

...and do not think UKIP is on the side of people like them.

- Only 12% of this group would consider UKIP (5% at a GE).

...and don't know whether UKIP is on the side of people like them.

- 34% of this group would consider UKIP (14% at a GE). This rises to 61% (24% at a GE) if they also think UKIP says things that need to be said but other parties are scared to say. It falls to 28% (12% at a GE) if they disagree with this.

Those who voted Liberal Democrat in 2010...

...but think UKIP is on the side of people like them.

- 88% of this group would consider UKIP (69% at a GE). This rises to 99.6% (99.3% at a GE) if they also think UKIP are the best party on ensuring people are treated fairly, but falls back to 86% (62% at a GE) if they do not agree with this.

...and do not think UKIP is on the side of people like them.

- 11% of this group would consider UKIP (4% at a GE).

...and don't know whether UKIP is on the side of people like them.

- 45% of this group would consider UKIP (23% at a GE). This rises to 68% (42% at a GE) if they think UKIP or another small party are best on controlling immigration; it falls back to 37% (16% at a GE) if they think the Conservatives, Labour or Lib Dems are best on immigration.

What they're thinking

Voting intention

In our poll, Labour led the Conservatives by 42% to 32%, with the Liberal Democrats and UKIP tied for third place on 9%. 12% of Conservative voters from 2010 said they would vote UKIP tomorrow, compared to 7% of 2010 Lib Dems and 1% of those who voted Labour. UKIP support was higher among C2s (11%) and DEs (12%) than among ABC1s (8%), and higher among men (11%) than among women (8%).

Half of all those who say they would consider voting UKIP at a future election voted Conservative in 2010. Just over a fifth voted Labour (22%) and another fifth voted Liberal Democrat (21%). Among UKIP considerers, the Conservatives currently lead on 40%, with Labour on 30% and the Liberal Democrats on 6%.

Only half of current UKIP considerers (51%) say they would seriously consider voting Conservative at the next general election. Just over half (55%) of those who are open to voting UKIP say they would consider doing so at a general election. 58% would consider doing so at a European election, and just under half (49%) at a local election.

Nearly a quarter of UKIP considerers (24%) say they may well switch away from their current party before the general election; this is slightly above average (21%). Of those who say they would vote Conservative tomorrow but may change their mind (17% of current Conservative voters), 27% say they would consider voting UKIP at a general election. This compares to 17% of Labour voters who may switch, and 16% of Lib Dems who may switch.

Offered four potential election, 44% of UKIP considerers wanted an outright Conservative victory (compared to 32% of voters as a whole). 30% preferred a Labour government. More of them chose a Labour-Lib Dem coalition (15%) than another Conservative-Lib Dem coalition (11%).

The coalition government

Nearly half (47%) of UKIP considerers say the coalition government has performed worse than they had expected when it was first formed. This compares to 43% of voters generally, 32% of those who voted Conservative in 2010 and 18% of those who would vote Conservative tomorrow.

Asked whether they would prefer the current coalition or a Conservative government with an overall majority, UKIP considerers split 60% to 40% in favour of a Conservative government, while voters as a whole preferred the coalition by a six-point margin. (15% of current Conservative voters preferred the coalition to a Tory majority).

Asked what positive achievements the coalition had to its name, UKIP considerers in focus groups spontaneously mentioned tackling the deficit, welfare reform, increasing the income tax threshold, standing up to the EU in budget negotiations, and doing a tough job as well anyone could.

Complaints included austerity measures such as tax and benefit changes which had hit the wrong people (which often included themselves), failure to tackle immigration properly, and various other perceived broken promises ("they were going to cut energy bills and the cost of living"), sometimes including an in/out referendum on EU membership that a few believed David Cameron had promised before the election to hold.

Those who were frustrated by the compromises of the coalition were rarely sympathetic to the argument that they would see more of the policies they liked implemented if the Conservatives had an overall majority after the next election. They either argued that the Lib Dems had so little power the Conservatives could in practice do what they liked, or that the Tories could at least show their intent by proposing policies even if they were ultimately voted down.

"I would like to see Cameron at least try to do a bit more now. Then even if his policies were voted down, at least he could demonstrate to us his intentions... When it comes to the next election, if he starts using excuses about why he didn't even try to do those things, then he may not get my vote because it means he may not be strong enough".

Con/UKIP considerer, Huntingdon

"People wouldn't believe the Lib Dems had stopped them doing anything, because they would have bullied them into doing it anyway."

Lib Dem/UKIP considerer, Huntingdon

The parties

UKIP considerers are most likely to say the party's "heart is in the right place", that it is "on the side of people like me", "shares my values", "stands for fairness" and – especially – that it "says things that need to be said but others are scared to say". Like voters as a whole they put the Conservatives ahead on being "willing to take tough decisions for the long term" and (by a smaller margin) being "competent and capable", and Labour on wanting to "help ordinary people get on in life" and standing for "equal opportunity for all".

While 42% of all voters say UKIP represents "a wasted vote", only 33% of UKIP considerers say this. Meanwhile, 54% of UKIP considerers say the same of the Liberal Democrats, compared to 46% of voters generally.

Nearly a third of UKIP considerers (31%) say they identify with the Conservatives, compared to 22% of all voters. They are less likely to identify with Labour (21%) than voters generally (28%). UKIP considerers (33%) are nearly as likely as voters as a whole (36%) to say they do not identify with any party.

The leaders

UKIP considerers (44%) were marginally more likely than voters as a whole (41%) to say David Cameron had performed worse than they had expected, but also slightly more likely to say he had performed better (14% compared to 12%). They were also slightly less likely to say they were disappointed with Cameron than with the coalition as a whole.

In a forced choice, David Cameron led Ed Miliband as best Prime Minister by 48% to 38%, with Nick Clegg on 13%. Among UKIP considerers, Cameron won by 60% to 29%, with Clegg on 11%.

UKIP considerers in focus groups were often more positive about Cameron than they were about the government as a whole, and sometimes said he had done better than they had expected. Some

certainly did not feel this; the most common complaint was that he seemed detached from the experience of ordinary struggling people.

“Cameron is a nice enough fella but he doesn’t know what it’s like.”

Con/UKIP considerer, Huntingdon

“He is standing up for us in Europe. He said it was ridiculous to keep paying to support other countries. And he’s standing up on votes for prisoners.”

Con/UKIP considerer, Plymouth

The economy

Unlike voters as a whole, UKIP considerers put the Conservatives ahead as the best party to get the economy growing and create jobs. They also give the Tories a bigger lead on cutting the deficit and managing the economy overall than the population generally.

UKIP considerers are much more likely to prefer Cameron and Osborne over Miliband and Balls (64% to 36%) to manage the economy than voters as a whole (52% to 48%).

They are also slightly less pessimistic than voters generally about prospects for the economy over the next two or three years, thinking it would be no better or worse by an eight-point margin, compared to 22 points among voters as a whole.

Over the longer term, UKIP considerers are slightly more likely than voters generally to think things have got worse overall in the last ten years, both for the country as a whole and for them and their families. They are divided over the prospects over the next ten years in similar proportion to the population as whole, but are significantly less optimistic than Conservative voters both for the country and themselves.

The feelings of UKIP considerers in focus groups were usually characterised by pessimism and gloom. The rising cost of living at a time of stagnant incomes was the biggest factor, and many were uncertain about job security. Whatever the statistics said, they would feel the economy was recovering when there was more work available, pay rises were once again possible, they were able to replenish rather than deplete savings and spend occasionally on non-essentials – or even that they no longer had to take a calculator to the supermarket.

Struggling on low incomes despite long hours made many more acutely aware, and more resentful, of others who seemed to get more help despite being apparently less deserving. Immigrants usually bore the brunt of this resentment.

Immigration and welfare

More than half (52%) of UKIP considerers named “controlling immigration” as one of the three most important issues facing Britain, compared to 41% of Conservatives and 39% of voters generally.

37% of all voters, and 38% of UKIP considerers, named the Conservatives as the best party on this issue. Among voters generally this represented a 12-point lead over Labour, while for UKIP considerers it was a 16-point lead over UKIP.

UKIP considerers agree by a bigger margin than the population as a whole that immigrants “have put added pressure on public services” and “have made it harder to get a fair wage”. Unlike voters generally they tend to reject the idea that “many organisations, including those in the public sector, couldn’t do without them”. While voters as a whole are divided as to whether immigrants “have added richness and variety to the culture of Britain and made the country more prosperous”, UKIP considerers reject the statement by two to one.

Immigration – often combined with the theme of welfare – was an important and recurring theme for UKIP considerers in focus groups. They were particularly exercised by the injustice of new immigrants apparently being given priority in social housing and public services and eligible for generous benefits to which others who struggled were not entitled. Claimants also seemed to enjoy a better standard of living than those who worked for long hours on low wages. Participants often said they did not mind the ones who worked, though the groups would also complain that migrants depressed their own incomes by working longer hours for less money. Austerity had exposed the unfairness of the situation, and made it worse, as it seemed to mean hitting easy but deserving cases rather than an attempt to tackle the iniquitousness of the system.

Many said they had noticed a significant change in the character of their local area over recent years. For them, the differences between this and previous waves of immigration were the sheer numbers involved, and the perceived unwillingness of new immigrants to integrate or conform.

While a few thought the government was trying to control immigration, most felt that little was being done. They often thought this was because politicians seemed scared to speak out on the subject because of the constraints of political correctness and the fear that they would be accused of racism.

“There are so few English speaking people in Romford. They’re white but I don’t understand the language. They’re bringing a different culture. That’s where the knife crime comes from.”

UKIP voter, Thurrock

“I think I thought they were going to be a lot tighter on immigration but they’ve just given an amnesty out as far as I can tell.”

Con/UKIP considerer, Huntingdon

“On site, 90% of them are Polish. They will put in a quote for a pittance and put in ten times more hours than you.”

Lab/UKIP considerer, Newcastle under Lyme

“I went to the housing office with my husband to see about a council house and they said ‘you’ve got no chance, we’ve got to move the immigrants in first’.”

UKIP voter, Thurrock

Europe

Just over a quarter (27%) of UKIP considerers say “resolving Britain’s future relations with the European Union” is one of the three most important issues currently facing the country. This compares to 17% of voters as a whole (including 23% of Tories, 12% of Labour supporters and 15% of Lib Dems). 7% of UKIP considerers said resolving Britain’s relations with the EU was the single most important issue facing the country.

Among UKIP considerers, this was the fifth most important issue behind getting the economy growing, controlling immigration, reducing welfare dependency and cutting the deficit.

UKIP considerers (42%) are more likely than voters in general (38%) to name the Conservatives as the best party on “defending Britain’s interests in Europe”; the Tories lead on the issue among both groups. 26% of UKIP considerers say UKIP are the best party on this issue.

The issue played a relatively small part in focus group discussion among UKIP considerers – especially compared to immigration, welfare and overall dissatisfaction. Indeed one group of 2010 Conservative voters who were considering UKIP did not spontaneously mention Europe at all, except to say how well they thought David Cameron had done in the budget negotiations at the recent Brussels summit. Several participants throughout the groups recalled the 2011 veto with approval.

Complaints about the EU usually concerned Britain’s budget contribution, the inability to deport terrorist suspects (though participants often also noted that France seemed quite able to do so), and immigration. People did not always make the link between EU membership and migration, however – many just saw them as two unsatisfactory things about modern Britain.

While some recalled a promise of a referendum, this was as likely to be remembered as having been on Britain’s membership as a vote on the Lisbon Treaty.

Those who had voted UKIP in previous elections were most committed to the idea that leaving the EU would solve many of Britain’s problems. It was notable that a number of UKIP considerers, who had been attracted to the party for various other reasons, doubted the wisdom of seceding.

“Didn’t he promise a referendum on whether we would stay in? It has never materialised.”

Con/UKIP considerer, Plymouth

“When we first went into the Common Market in 1969 we expected to pay the same for petrol or cigarettes in London and Paris. But it’s not like that. So it’s never really been a Common Market.”

UKIP voter, Thurrock

“The veto was good. They wanted us to bail them out. It was the right thing to do.”

Con/UKIP considerer, Plymouth

The UK Independence Party: attractions and reservations

Forcing the bigger parties to take note of people's concerns about Europe and immigration was the most powerful of the reasons tested for voting UKIP. Support for the party's policy on immigration, the feeling that it would "take Britain back to a time when things were done more sensibly" and the view that "the bigger parties seem more interested in listening to trendy nonsense than in listening to ordinary people" all had higher levels of net agreement among potential UKIP voters than the statement "I agree with UKIP that Britain should leave the EU" (though this was also supported by a wide margin).

70% of potential UKIP voters who voted Conservative in 2010 agreed that "the party I used to vote for has lost touch with its traditional supporters like me". This compared to 65% of those who voted Lib Dem and 52% of those who voted Labour.

The biggest reservation potential UKIP supporters have about voting for the party is that by doing so they would be helping to put their least preferred party in power, whether as their local MP or in government nationally. Around half say these would be important factors in their eventual voting decision. They are quite evenly divided on the statements "even if a few UKIP MPs were elected, they would not be able to achieve anything", and "they only seem to be interested in Europe, and don't have policies in other important areas" – though these would be important considerations if they thought them to be true.

UKIP considerers are more likely than not to disagree that UKIP would represent a wasted vote, but they firmly reject the arguments that UKIP seem "too right wing", "a bit racist" or "quite old fashioned".

In focus groups UKIP considerers usually described the party's attraction in terms of standing up for Britain, common sense, and resisting the culture of political correctness and human rights that they felt was invading too much of British life. Examples included smacking children, flying the flag of St George, municipal rebranding of Christmas, and celebrating non-Christian religious and cultural events in schools at the expense of nativity plays and harvest festivals. These complaints were very often related to immigration, the changing character of their local area, advantages that immigrants seemed to be given over themselves, and excessive sensitivity to people from other cultures and religions. The policy of withdrawing from the EU was rarely mentioned as one of the main attractions of UKIP.

"A policeman told me you can't get promoted now unless you're a certain colour."

Lab/UKIP considerer, Newcastle under Lyme

"People are getting sick and tired that England isn't English. It is immigration, but it's lots of things".

Lab/UKIP considerer, Newcastle under Lyme

“Farage makes the Euro-MPs look silly. He’s good at getting to the point.”

Lib Dem/UKIP considerer, Eastleigh

“What happened to the promise of British jobs for British people and all that? If you speak up about it you’re racist, but it’s not. Too many people have been let in and your normal person has been pushed out”.

Con/UKIP considerer, Dudley

“They’re about how we can help Britain. No PC rubbish.”

Con/UKIP considerer, Plymouth

“Abu Qatada – years ago our politicians would never have stood for that.”

Con/UKIP considerer, Dudley

“UKIP make you feel they agree with you about what you want.”

Lab/UKIP considerer, Newcastle under Lyme

“To be able to have a nativity play and not a Hindu or Muslim thing. We’re ‘offending’ children if we have Mary, Jesus and a donkey. Last year in Stoke it wasn’t the Christmas switch on, it was ‘WinterFest!’”

Lab/UKIP considerer, Newcastle under Lyme

“Two guys in Shelton were arrested for driving through the street during the World Cup with a St George’s flag on their car. And the pub was told to take its flag down. Someone was kicked off the bus for wearing an England shirt. The police said they’d had complaints because it was offensive.”

Lab/UKIP considerer, Newcastle under Lyme

“It’s easy to do straight talking when you’re not in power.”

UKIP voter, Thurrock

As in the poll, the chief reservation UKIP considerers had about voting for the party was that they could inadvertently help elect an MP or government from the bigger party they liked least. This argument was certainly not always effective; many argued that the two main parties seemed all but indistinguishable, and their aim in voting UKIP would be to force them to listen. Several said they wanted to vote positively for something they agreed with, rather than tactically for the least bad alternative.

"The chance of letting Labour in would make you think. But you never know how people are going to vote so you might as well vote what you think."

Con/UKIP considerer, Plymouth

"A vote for UKIP is a vote for Labour. Remember what happened to the people who voted Lib Dem."

Con/UKIP considerer, Plymouth

"I'm not just going to vote for whoever's going to get in. You want to vote for who you believe in."

UKIP voter, Thurrock

"If more people vote for them it will give Labour and the Conservatives a bit of a kick. They'll think, 'we must be doing something wrong'."

UKIP voter, Thurrock

Considerers readily distinguished between general elections and European parliament elections. Most would be much more inclined to vote for UKIP in the latter (if they would bother to vote at all), because UKIP MEPs were likely to be elected and their vote would not be wasted, and because the stakes in European elections were so much lower.

"European elections are a bit like the Eurovision Song Contest. We see it as a bit of a joke. We don't take it seriously."

Con/UKIP considerer, Dudley

"I think they do well in the Europeans because as a country we kind of give Europe a bit of a slap by voting for them."

Con/UKIP considerer, Dudley

The few voters who had heard the idea of a Conservative-UKIP pact thoroughly disapproved of the proposal. It would demonstrate an attempt by the Tories to "buy" voters without properly addressing their concerns, show the party to be scared and therefore weak, and would deprive the electorate of the chance to exercise their democratic rights.

"Democratically, you ought to have the right to vote or not vote for that candidate. The Conservatives are only saying that because they are worried people are not going to vote for them."

Con/UKIP considerer, Plymouth

"It would be about offering things to other parties, and I want them to be strong."

Con/UKIP considerer, Plymouth

There was some discussion in the groups as to how similar or otherwise UKIP were to the BNP. The general view was that UKIP was more professional and less thuggish, and was not motivated by racism.

"The BNP want them out. UKIP just want it to be fair. They say you can come in but you've got to conform, and there will be a limit on how many. They're nicer people."

Lab/UKIP considerer, Newcastle under Lyme

"People say the BNP are racist. UKIP are more diplomatic."

UKIP voter, Thurrock

Full poll results

20,066 adults were interviewed between 9 and 19 October 2012.
Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Great Britain.

UKIP CONSIDERERS = did not vote UKIP in 2010 but would consider doing so at a future election

1. If there were to be a general election tomorrow, which party do you think you would vote for?

	ALL	2010 Con	2010 Lab	2010 LD	2010 UKIP	UKIP considerers
Conservative	32%	79%	3%	9%	4%	40%
Labour	42%	6%	93%	38%	7%	30%
Lib Dem	9%	1%	1%	37%	1%	6%
UKIP	9%	12%	1%	7%	86%	17%
Others	9%	2%	2%	8%	2%	7%

- UKIP support was higher among C2s (11%) and DEs (12%) than among ABC1s (8%). It was also higher among men (11%) than women (8%).

2. At the general election in May 2010, many people didn't vote. Can you remember, did you vote in that election, or did you not vote? Which party did you vote for in the general election in May 2010?

[All respondents giving a past vote]

	ALL	Current Con	Current Lab	Current LD	UKIP considerers
Conservative	37%	90%	6%	5%	50%
Labour	30%	3%	73%	4%	22%
Lib Dem	24%	6%	20%	90%	21%
UKIP	3%	-	1%	-	-
Others	7%	-	-	-	6%

3. 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	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	UKIP considerers
Pretty sure	79%	83%	84%	66%	76%
May well change my mind	21%	17%	16%	34%	24%

4. Which of the following parties would you seriously consider voting for at the next general election?
[All those expressing an intention to vote but who say they may well change their mind]

	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	UKIP considerers
Conservative	44%	90%	21%	37%	51%
Labour	51%	30%	91%	45%	38%
Lib Dem	38%	36%	34%	90%	30%
UKIP	31%	27%	17%	16%	59%
Another party	18%	8%	13%	11%	13%

5. Overall, has the coalition government so far been doing better than you expected when it was first formed, or worse than you expected, or about the same as you expected?

	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	UKIP considerers
Better than I expected	10%	23%	5%	16%	11%
About the same as I expected	47%	60%	35%	57%	42%
Worse than I expected	43%	18%	60%	27%	47%

6. 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?

	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	2010 UKIP	UKIP considerers
Con-Lib Dem coalition	53%	15%	74%	91%	34%	40%
Con govt with overall majority	47%	85%	26%	9%	66%	60%

- Men were evenly divided between a Con-Lib Dem coalition (50% - 50%). Women preferred a coalition by 55% to 45%.

7. Thinking about David Cameron's performance as Prime Minister, has that been better than you expected when he took office, or worse, or about the same?

	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	UKIP considerers
Better than I expected	12%	28%	6%	16%	14%
About the same as I expected	47%	55%	37%	56%	42%
Worse than I expected	41%	17%	57%	28%	44%

8. Here are some things that people have said about the main political parties. Please can you say in each case whether, on balance, you think the statement is true of the Conservative Party / the Labour Party / the Liberal Democrats / the UK Independence Party (UKIP)?

Con / Lab / LD / UKIP	ALL	UKIP considerers
On the side of people like me	26 / 39 / 24 / 22	34 / 31 / 22 / 48
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	30 / 57 / 41 / 24	39 / 51 / 42 / 46
Willing to take tough decisions for the long term	54 / 30 / 20 / 25	62 / 23 / 20 / 45
Shares my values	28 / 36 / 23 / 20	39 / 28 / 21 / 44
Competent and capable	31 / 28 / 15 / 12	37 / 22 / 14 / 23
Will do what they say	24 / 23 / 11 / 18	26 / 18 / 11 / 31
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	20 / 35 / 23 / 14	25 / 28 / 21 / 28
Its heart is in the right place	34 / 50 / 46 / 29	44 / 44 / 48 / 58
Is a wasted vote	26 / 22 / 46 / 42	23 / 28 / 54 / 33
Stands for fairness	28 / 45 / 37 / 21	37 / 37 / 37 / 42
Stands for equal opportunity for all	26 / 48 / 36 / 17	35 / 40 / 37 / 34
Say things that need to be said but others are scared to say	31 / 24 / 19 / 38	36 / 20 / 20 / 65

- Between 40% and 56% said 'don't know' when asked whether each of these attributes applied to UKIP, compared to between 15% and 25% for Labour and the Conservatives.

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

	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	2010 UKIP	UKIP considerers
David Cameron	48%	96%	12%	33%	57%	60%
Ed Miliband	38%	2%	82%	12%	33%	29%
Nick Clegg	13%	2%	7%	55%	10%	11%

10. 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?

	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	2010 UKIP	UKIP considerers
Cameron & Osborne	52%	97%	10%	63%	61%	64%
Miliband & Balls	48%	3%	90%	37%	39%	36%

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

	ALL	UKIP considerers
Although things are difficult now, the right decisions are being made and things will improve significantly in the next two or three years	39%	46%
In two or three years' time the economy will be no better, or even worse, than it is now	61%	54%

- 12. Which of the following issues do you think is the most important facing the country at the moment? And which is the second most important? And which is the next most important?**
[% mentioning issue in the top three]

	ALL	Con	Lab	2010 UKIP	LD	UKIP considrs
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	73%	72%	78%	56%	75%	68%
Reducing welfare dependency and abuse of the benefit system	41%	57%	29%	39%	41%	46%
Controlling immigration	39%	41%	32%	74%	27%	52%
Cutting the deficit and the debt	38%	55%	31%	26%	45%	38%
Improving the NHS	23%	12%	34%	15%	22%	16%
Ensuring people are treated fairly	20%	6%	31%	9%	21%	13%
Resolving Britain's future relations with the European Union	17%	23%	12%	41%	15%	27%
Cutting taxes	13%	9%	14%	9%	11%	10%
Dealing with crime	13%	10%	14%	13%	11%	11%
Scrapping unnecessary rules and regulations	10%	10%	8%	13%	11%	11%
Improving schools	8%	4%	11%	2%	11%	5%
Protecting the environment	6%	2%	7%	2%	9%	3%

- 7% of UKIP considerers named 'resolving Britain's future relations with the European Union' as the single most important issue facing Britain.
- 19% of 2010 UKIP voters said Britain's relations with the EU was the most important subject facing Britain.

- 13. Which party do you think would have the best approach to each of the following issues?**

Con / Lab / LD / UKIP	ALL	UKIP considerers
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	37 / 40 / 8 / 5	48 / 30 / 6 / 8
Reforming welfare to stop scroungers and cut dependency	52 / 24 / 8 / 5	63 / 15 / 6 / 8
Controlling immigration	37 / 25 / 8 / 12	38 / 15 / 6 / 22
Cutting the deficit and the debt	48 / 28 / 8 / 5	60 / 20 / 6 / 7
Improving the NHS	25 / 46 / 13 / 4	34 / 38 / 12 / 8
Ensuring people are treated fairly	23 / 40 / 19 / 6	31 / 30 / 18 / 11
Defending Britain's interests in Europe	38 / 29 / 9 / 13	42 / 19 / 6 / 26
Dealing with crime	43 / 32 / 8 / 5	53 / 23 / 5 / 9
Improving schools	30 / 41 / 14 / 4	41 / 32 / 13 / 7
Protecting the environment	18 / 23 / 25 / 2	22 / 16 / 26 / 4
Managing the economy overall	41 / 35 / 8 / 5	53 / 25 / 6 / 8

14. Do you identify with a political party – that is, do you think of one party as consistently representing people like you, and feel an affinity towards that party beyond the question of how you vote?

	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	2010 UKIP	UKIP considerers
Conservatives	22%	75%	1%	3%	8%	31%
Labour	28%	2%	76%	5%	8%	21%
Liberal Democrats	7%	2%	2%	63%	1%	6%
Another party	8%	2%	1%	1%	45%	9%
Do not identify with a party	36%	20%	19%	28%	39%	33%

15. Some people say they could never see themselves voting for the UK Independence Party (UKIP) under any circumstances, while others say they could see themselves doing so some time in the future. Which of these statements is closest to your own view?

	ALL	Con	Lab	LD	UKIP considerers
I could never see myself voting for UKIP	58%	53%	70%	71%	-
I could see myself voting for UKIP at a general election	23%	21%	14%	15%	55%
I could see myself voting UKIP in a European Parliament election	24%	30%	14%	15%	58%
I could see myself voting UKIP in a local council election	20%	21%	14%	12%	49%

16. You said earlier that you would consider voting UKIP at a general election in the future. Below are some reasons that people have given for considering voting for UKIP. Please can you say how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement?

[Those who say they would vote UKIP at an election tomorrow but may change their minds, or who would seriously consider voting UKIP at a general election]

	AGREE		Neither	DISAGREE		Net agree
	Strongly	Somewhat		Somewhat	Strongly	
A big UKIP vote would force the big parties to take notice of concerns about Europe and immigration	58%	29%	11%	1%	1%	+ 85%
I agree with UKIP's policy on immigration	51%	29%	18%	1%	1%	+ 78%
UKIP seem to want to take Britain back to time when things were done more sensibly	38%	40%	20%	1%	1%	+ 76%
The bigger parties seem more interested in trendy nonsense than listening to ordinary people	48%	32%	16%	3%	1%	+ 76%
I agree with UKIP that Britain should leave the EU	53%	24%	16%	5%	2%	+ 72%
UKIP's vision of what Britain should be like is closer to mine than that of the bigger parties	38%	36%	23%	2%	1%	+ 70%
I am disappointed with the bigger parties and voting UKIP is a good way to register a protest	35%	37%	20%	6%	3%	+ 62%
The party I used to vote for has lost touch with its traditional supporters like me	33%	32%	27%	6%	2%	+ 57%
UKIP has policies I like in other areas	25%	33%	39%	2%	1%	+ 55%
UKIP's leader, Nigel Farage, talks a lot of sense	27%	30%	39%	3%	1%	+ 53%

- 70% of those in this category who voted Conservative in 2010 agreed that “the party I used to vote for has lost touch with its traditional supporters like me”. This compares to 52% of those who voted Labour, and 65% of those who voted Lib Dem.

17. Below are some reasons that some have given for not voting for UKIP. Please can you say whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

[Those who say they would vote UKIP at an election tomorrow but may change their minds, or who would seriously consider voting UKIP at a general election]

	AGREE		Neither	DISAGREE		Net agree
	Strongly	Somewhat		Somewhat	Strongly	
My voting for UKIP would make it more likely that the big party I like least would end up in government	10%	34%	38%	13%	6%	+ 26%
My voting for UKIP would make it more likely that I would end up with a local MP from the big party I like least	9%	31%	40%	14%	6%	+ 20%
Even if a few UKIP MPs were elected, they would not be able to achieve anything	6%	29%	29%	28%	8%	- 1%
They only seem to be interested in Europe, and don't have policies in other important areas	3%	24%	41%	22%	10%	- 3%
UKIP is such a small party that they would be a wasted vote	4%	26%	27%	26%	17%	- 14%
UKIP seem to right wing	2%	10%	45%	24%	18%	- 29%
UKIP sometimes seem a bit racist	3%	15%	33%	23%	25%	- 29%
UKIP seem quite old fashioned	2%	13%	40%	27%	18%	- 30%

18. How important would each of these be in your decision about whether or not to vote UKIP?

	IMPORTANT		Neither	NOT IMPORTANT		Net importance
	Very	Quite		Not very	Not at all	
My voting for UKIP would make it more likely that the big party I like least would end up in government	15%	36%	32%	11%	6%	+ 34%
My voting for UKIP would make it more likely that I would end up with a local MP from the big party I like least	12%	35%	34%	13%	7%	+ 27%
They only seem to be interested in Europe, and don't have policies in other important areas	9%	33%	35%	15%	8%	+ 20%
Even if a few UKIP MPs were elected, they would not be able to achieve anything	8%	32%	34%	18%	8%	+ 14%
UKIP is such a small party that they would be a wasted vote	8%	29%	31%	20%	11%	+ 5%
UKIP sometimes seem a bit racist	9%	19%	36%	17%	19%	- 8%
UKIP seem to right wing	4%	16%	42%	20%	18%	- 19%
UKIP seem quite old fashioned	3%	12%	40%	25%	19%	- 30%

19. Do you think that, overall, things in Britain are better or worse than they were ten years ago, for you and your family / for the country as a whole?

<i>Are better / same / worse</i>	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	UKIP considerers
For you and your family	14 / 25 / 61	23 / 29 / 48	11 / 22 / 67	21 / 27 / 52	13 / 23 / 63
For the country as a whole	8 / 12 / 81	15 / 15 / 70	5 / 9 / 86	12 / 16 / 72	7 / 9 / 84

20. Do you think that, overall, things in ten years' time will be better or worse than they are now, for you and your family / for the country as a whole?

<i>Will be better / same / worse</i>	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	UKIP considerers
For you and your family	34 / 35 / 32	55 / 32 / 13	29 / 33 / 38	39 / 39 / 22	31 / 35 / 34
For the country as a whole	37 / 29 / 34	68 / 20 / 12	29 / 30 / 41	45 / 32 / 24	37 / 27 / 35

21. Please say whether you agree or disagree with each of these statements about new immigrants?

<i>Agree / neither / disagree</i>	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	UKIP considerers
They have put added pressure on public services	75 / 15 / 9	86 / 10 / 5	69 / 17 / 14	67 / 19 / 13	89 / 8 / 3
Many organisations, including in the public sector, couldn't cope without them	42 / 25 / 34	43 / 22 / 34	47 / 23 / 30	54 / 22 / 24	35 / 22 / 43
They have made it harder to get a fair wage	39 / 31 / 30	37 / 32 / 32	40 / 27 / 33	31 / 31 / 38	47 / 30 / 22
They have made it easier to find trades people or routine workers who do a reliable job at a reasonable price	37 / 36 / 27	42 / 31 / 27	39 / 36 / 26	47 / 35 / 18	35 / 32 / 33
They have added richness and variety to the culture of Britain and made the country more prosperous	35 / 27 / 38	30 / 27 / 43	43 / 26 / 32	50 / 26 / 24	24 / 26 / 50
They have put my job at risk	26 / 34 / 39	24 / 35 / 41	28 / 31 / 41	19 / 32 / 49	32 / 37 / 31

22. The next general election is expected to be in May 2015. Though it is still very early to judge, 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?

	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	2010 UKIP	UKIP considerers
A Conservative government	32%	81%	2%	10%	43%	44%
A Conservative – Lib Dem coalition	12%	12%	1%	38%	9%	11%
A Labour – Lib Dem coalition	18%	3%	14%	43%	18%	15%
A Labour government	39%	4%	83%	10%	31%	30%

DEMOGRAPHICS

	ALL	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	2010 UKIP	UKIP considerers
Men	49%	56%	49%	50%	64%	55%
Women	51%	44%	51%	50%	36%	45%
18-24	12%	8%	13%	14%	2%	6%
25-34	16%	13%	17%	19%	6%	12%
35-44	19%	16%	21%	16%	13%	17%
45-54	17%	16%	18%	14%	23%	19%
55-64	15%	16%	14%	16%	22%	18%
65+	21%	32%	16%	22%	34%	29%
AB	27%	34%	26%	35%	18%	28%
C1	29%	29%	29%	31%	21%	27%
C2	21%	21%	21%	16%	30%	22%
DE	23%	16%	25%	18%	32%	23%