

# STATE OF THE NATION

The new political landscape – and the battle lines for the next general election

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC

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# Methodology

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## Quantitative

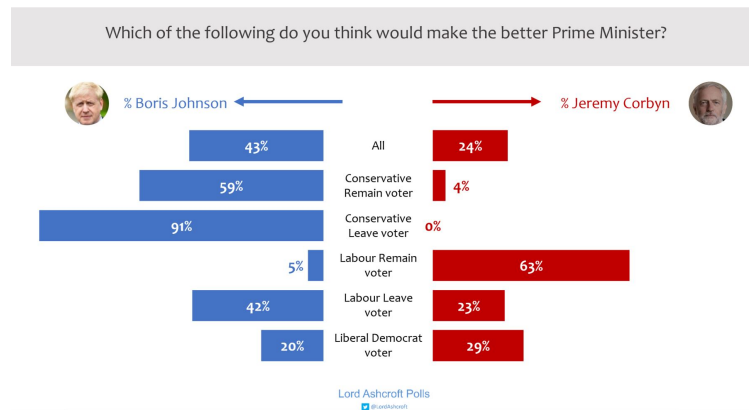
8,075 adults were interviewed online between 12 and 17 September 2019.

Data have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Great Britain. Full data tables are available at [LordAshcroftPolls.com](https://lordashcroftpolls.com)

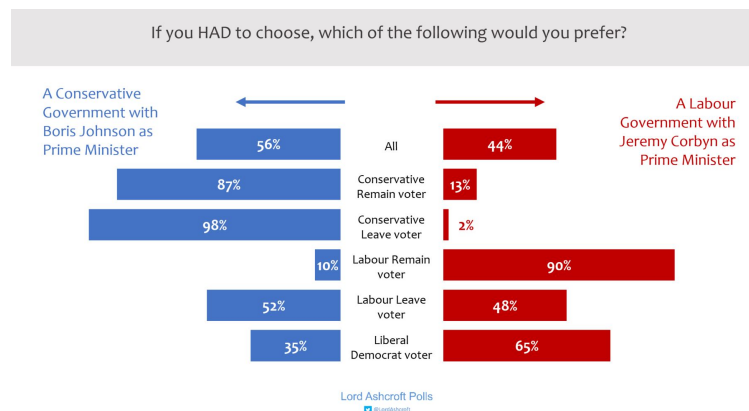
## Qualitative

Ten focus groups were held in Barnet, St Ives (Cornwall), Crewe, Leeds NW and Ashfield between 4 and 18 September 2019. Participants were recruited according to their combination of votes in the 2016 EU referendum and the 2017 general election. In addition, 12 depth telephone interviews were held with people who voted Conservative in the 2017 general election and for the Brexit Party in the 2019 European Parliament election on 25 September 2019.

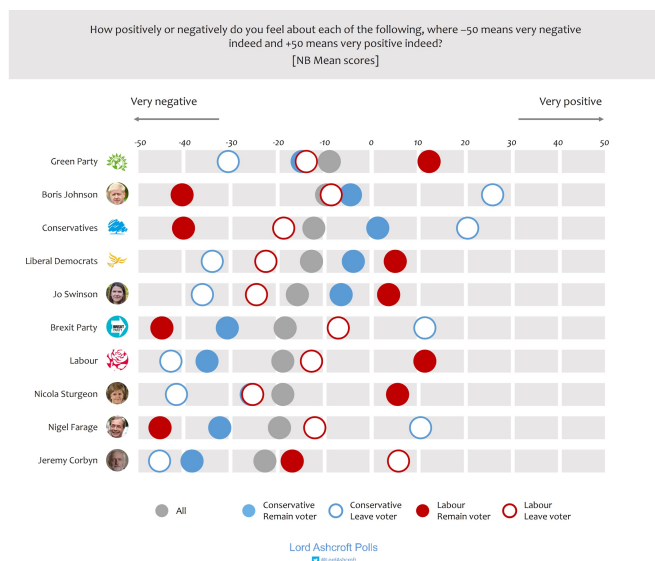
# Parties and leaders



Boris Johnson was considered the best Prime Minister by 43%, compared to 24% for Jeremy Corbyn; one in three said they didn't know. Conservative remainers preferred Johnson by 59% to 4%, with 37% undecided. Labour leavers also preferred Johnson, by 42% to 23%, with 36% unsure. 2017 Lib Dems marginally preferred Corbyn by 29% to 20%, with half saying they didn't know. More than nine out of ten Euro election Brexit Party voters preferred Johnson to Corbyn.



Forced to choose between a Conservative government led by Boris Johnson and a Labour government led by Jeremy Corbyn, voters overall chose Johnson and the Tories by 56% to 44%. Lib Dem voters preferred a Corbyn government by two to one. Conservative remainers preferred Johnson and the Tories by 87% to 13%. Labour Leave voters also marginally preferred a Johnson-led Conservative government, by 52% to 48%. Euro election Brexit Party voters preferred this option by 96% to 4%.

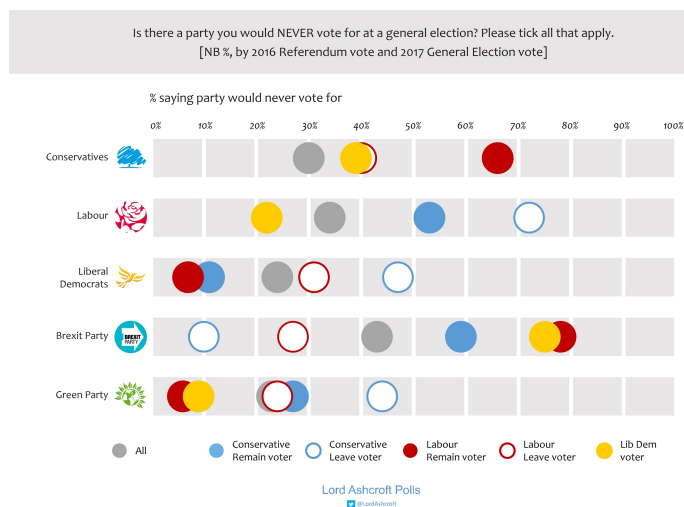


Asked to rate how positive or negative they felt about parties and leaders on a scale from -50 to +50, Labour Leave voters gave Boris Johnson a higher score (-9) than both Jeremy Corbyn (-17) and Nigel Farage (-12). The Conservative Party received a higher score from Tory leavers (+20) than remainers (+1), and Labour's rating was higher among Labour remainers (+11) than Labour leavers (-13). Boris Johnson received a higher score from his own party's 2017 voters (+17) than both Jo Swinson (+14) and Jeremy Corbyn (-1).

Some in our focus groups, including some 2017 Conservatives, worried that Boris Johnson had so far seemed **"bullying"**, **"divisive"** and **"dangerous"**. However, others approved of his apparent determination: **"He's trying to uphold democracy,"** **"He seems less flappable than I thought he would. I kind of admire that, you have to stick by what you say,"** **"I've never been a fan of Conservative policies but he's stuck to what he said, where everyone else has flip-flopped and dilly-dallied,"** **"I expected him to be a bit of a blithering idiot – I didn't expect him to be so decisive."**

Just under half (46%) of those who voted Conservative in 2017 said they identified with the party – that they feel the party "consistently represents you and you feel an affinity with the party beyond the question of how you vote". 41% of Lib Dem voters said the same of their chosen party, as did only just over one in three (36%) 2017 Labour voters. Nearly four in ten (38%) said they did not identify with any party.

Asked if there were any parties they would never vote for at a general election, 43% named the Brexit Party. This included a quarter of 2017 Conservatives (but only 10% of Conservative Leave voters) and six in ten 2017 Labour voters (but only 27% of Labour leavers). Labour was second on the list, ruled out by 34% of all voters, including 66% of 2017 Conservatives but only 22% of Lib Dem voters. Only just over half of Conservative Remain voters ruled out Labour, compared to 72% of Tory leavers. Three in ten voters overall said they would never vote Conservative, including 57% of 2017 Labour voters (though only 40% of Labour leavers) and 39% of Lib Dems. Only 24% ruled out voting Lib Dem at a general election, including just 11% of Conservative Remain voters and only 7% of Labour Remain voters.



When it comes to deciding which party to vote for, which three of the following attributes are most important to you?

NB, by current voting intention % top three

All

Has the right priorities for the country	36%
Will do what they say	34%
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	31%

 Conservative

Willing to take tough decisions for the long term	46%
Has the right priorities for the country	43%
Will do what they say	39%

Labour 

Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	40%
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	37%
Has the right priorities for the country	34%

 Liberal Democrat

Has the right priorities for the country	44%
Competent and capable	38%
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	37%

Brexit Party 

Will do what they say	53%
Willing to take tough decisions for the long term	34%
Has the right priorities for the country	33%

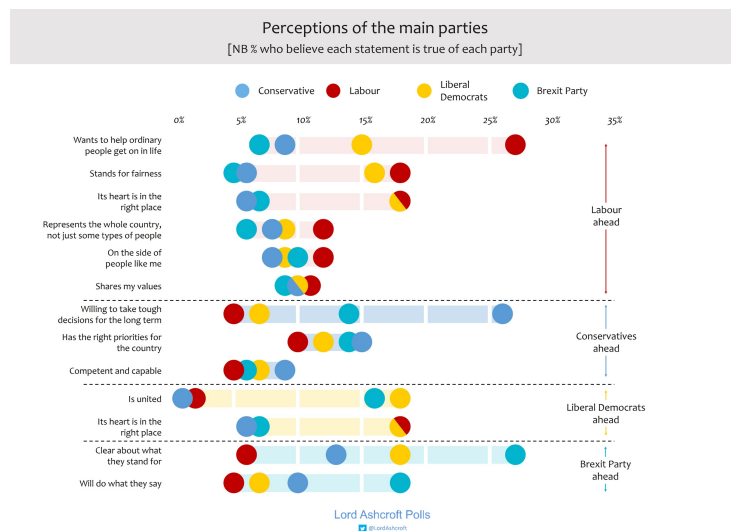
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Asked what they thought were the three most important attributes in a party when considering their voting decision, those who said they were most likely to vote Conservative at the next election chose being willing to take tough decisions for the long term, having the right priorities for the country, and doing what they say they will do.

Those who said they were currently most likely to vote Labour chose representing the whole country, not just some types of people; wanting to help ordinary people get on in life; and having the right priorities for the country. Those currently most inclined towards the Lib Dems named having the right priorities for the country, being competent and capable, and representing the whole country.

For voters who said they were currently most likely to vote for the Brexit Party, by far the most important attributes were “will do what they say”. This was followed by being willing to take tough decisions for the long term and having the right priorities for the country.



When it came to which attributes actually applied to which party, the Conservatives scored best on being willing to take tough decisions for the long term (with 26% saying this was true of the party), Labour on wanting to help ordinary people get on in life (27%), the Lib Dems on being united and clear about what they stand for (both 18%), and the Brexit Party on being clear about what they stand for (27%). For each party, a majority said that none of the twelve suggested positive attributes applied.

# The issues... and Brexit

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



NB, by current voting intention % top three

## Issues facing Britain as a whole




All

	Dealing with Brexit in the right way	62%
	The NHS	53%
	Crime / the economy	25%

 Conservative

	Dealing with Brexit in the right way	73%
	The NHS	48%
	Crime	32%

 Labour

	The NHS	64%
	Dealing with Brexit in the right way	56%
	The cost of living	29%




 Liberal Democrat




	Dealing with Brexit in the right way	73%
	The NHS	56%
	The environment	30%




 Brexit Party

	Dealing with Brexit in the right way	72%
	The NHS	46%
	Immigration	46%

## Issues facing you and your family

	The cost of living	51%
	The NHS	48%
	Dealing with Brexit in the right way	40%

	The NHS	51%
	The cost of living	47%
	Dealing with Brexit in the right way	46%

	The cost of living	58%
	The NHS	51%
	Dealing with Brexit in the right way	32%

	The NHS	50%
	Dealing with Brexit in the right way	50%
	The cost of living	49%

	Dealing with Brexit in the right way	51%
	The NHS	48%
	The cost of living	46%

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In our poll, dealing with Brexit in the right way topped the list of the most important issues facing the country as a whole, with 62% naming it among the top three. This was followed by the NHS (53%), crime and the economy (both 25%), then immigration and the environment and climate change (both 21%).

When we asked people about the most important issues facing them and their families, Brexit fell to third place with only four in ten naming it in their top three priorities. Top of the list were the cost of living (51%) and the NHS (48%). Immigration was also more often named among the top three issues facing the country (21%) than people personally (10%).

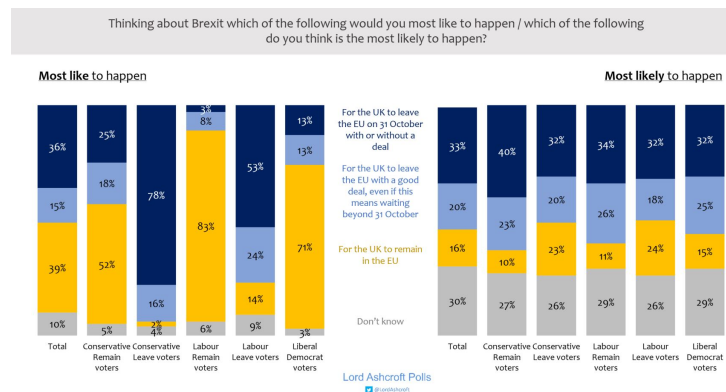
In focus groups, people on both sides of the Brexit debate regularly complained that the continuing failure to resolve the issue had meant issues they cared about more were being neglected: **“Its crowding out the NHS, schools, police, security, the whole shebang;” “They’ve taken their eye off the ball, we hear about knife crime constantly;” “We’ve had ten years of austerity and then all this. People are going without, there are food banks, but it’s all being put to one side because of Brexit.”**

Though people had noticed Boris Johnson talking about issues other than Brexit, they were often very sceptical about the promises they heard: **“He will say anything we want to hear – we’ll have money for this and this. Where’s it coming from? How are we going to fund the extra tens of thousands of police, money for education, the NHS, for elderly care? All we hear is that the pot is running dry;” “He’s promised the moon on a stick... It’s coming at a time when they’re talking about having another election;” “Even with the money he is pledging to put back in, it’s only replacing a fraction of what they originally took away;” “If it wasn’t for Brexit I would be applauding what he’s saying about the NHS and so on, but because of that I feel he’s just trying to get me onside. It’s a trust issue really.”**



Asked what they would most like to happen on Brexit, nearly eight in ten Conservative Leave voters chose leaving the EU on 31 October with or without a deal – though only 32% of them thought this was the most likely outcome. One in five thought we would leave after 31 October, and nearly a quarter thought we would end up remaining in the EU.

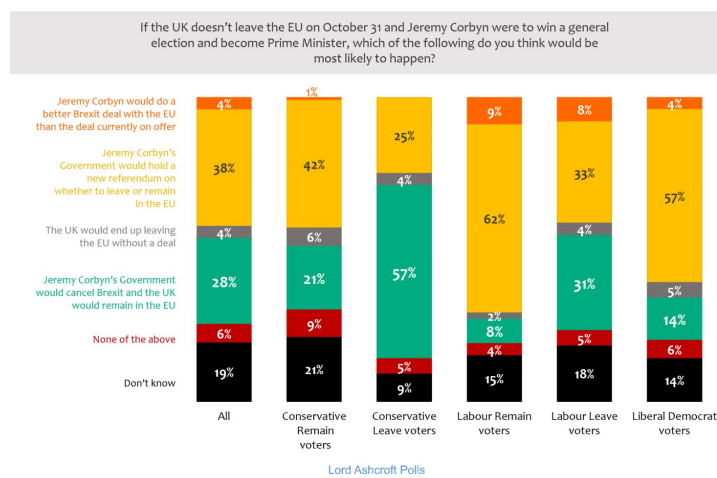
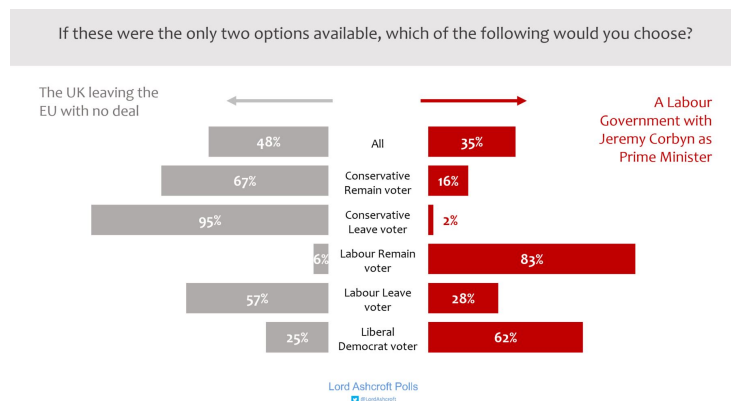
Those who currently say they are most inclined to vote for the Brexit Party at the next election are both the most likely to want to leave on 31 October with or without a deal (85%) and among the least likely to think this will happen (31%). They are also the most likely of all to think the UK will end up remaining in the EU (25%).



A majority of 2017 Conservatives (54%), two thirds of Conservative leavers and most of those who currently say they are most likely to vote for the party (57%) think that if no Brexit deal has been agreed by the new legal deadline of 19 October, Boris Johnson should refuse to ask for an extension to the deadline as mandated by parliament and continue with his policy of leaving on 31 October. Six in ten of all Leave voters say this, including 47% of Labour Leave voters and three quarters of those who currently say they are most likely to vote for the Brexit Party. However, all groups, including Conservative leavers, were more likely to say he should ask for the extension as required by parliament than that he should resign rather than comply with the new law.

In our focus groups, most leavers and some remainers thought the negative consequences of a no-deal Brexit had been exaggerated. Even so, some were reassured by the law requiring the PM to ask for another extension in the absence of a deal: **"I think they need time. We should leave, but erring on the side of caution, I feel they need time to regroup."** But even some of those who were worried about the prospect of leaving without a deal were doubtful about parliament's action: **"We voted to leave years ago. End it! We are only going to drag everything out with zero result. Nothing's changed since March, nothing's changed since June;" "It weakens us again, it weakens our negotiations. It goes on and on with no threat of actually doing anything."**

Many Leave voters saw this, as well as the legal challenge over the proroguing of parliament, as part of a series of obstacles constructed by opponents of Brexit: **"These people are using the law to undermine a legal vote that was put to the people. If this law can undermine votes that we've put through as a country, then when is the next one going to be undermined and for what purpose? Because then our whole system doesn't matter;" "The people bringing these lawsuits have got money. How come they get a chance to put a dampener on things? It's like they've got an extra vote somehow;" "They don't want to honour what's been said. They have their own interests and they're not interested in us at all... Your vote, my vote, everybody's vote is meaningless because it can be undermined by people of influence."**



Asked what they would choose if these were the only two options available, 48% in our poll said they would prefer leaving the EU with no deal and 35% they would choose a Labour government with Jeremy Corbyn as Prime Minister. Two thirds of Conservative Remain voters said they would rather have no deal than a Corbyn government, as did a majority of Labour Leave voters (57%, and one in five Labour voters overall). Just over six in ten Remain voters, and the same proportion of 2017 Lib Dems, said they would prefer a Corbyn government to no deal Brexit; more than four in five Leave voters said they would rather have a no-deal Brexit than a Corbyn government.

This was echoed by most Conservative Remain voters in our focus groups: **"A Corbyn government would be worse. I would actually be scared;"** **"He is my idea of the worst thing that could happen to this country. I still remember him standing on the stage with Sinn Fein after they blew up the pubs in Birmingham, and I can't get past that;"** **"Corbyn would be worse, because I quite like my liberties and freedoms and he would bring utter chaos. Boris is a whirlwind of chaos, he's a bit like Trump, but Corbyn is a whole other level. I would be very worried about what he would do;"** **"I don't like his vision. He doesn't seem to realise time has moved on. It would be renationalization, dictatorship, more power to the unions, loads of debt;"** **"He hates me and everything I stand for."**

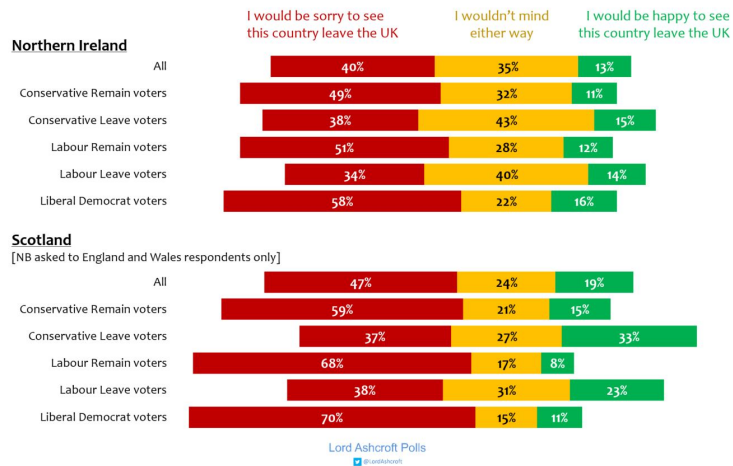
Just under four in ten (38%) voters said they thought that if Jeremy Corbyn won a general election while the UK was still in the EU, his government would hold a second referendum on Brexit. A further 28% said they thought Corbyn would cancel Brexit and remain in the EU, and nearly one in five said they didn't know. Among those who currently consider themselves more likely to vote Labour than for any other party, just over half thought Corbyn would hold a second referendum, 14% thought he would do a better Brexit deal than the one currently on offer, 10% thought he would cancel Brexit altogether and 19% said they didn't know what he would do.

In our focus groups, many Remain voters said they had been disappointed that Corbyn and Labour had not taken a firmer stance: **"He definitely missed a trick with Brexit by keeping his mouth shut;"** **"He's been tactical for too long."** Even though he had been in a difficult position given the divide within Labour's vote, **"he doesn't seem like a leader. He doesn't seem like he's got that in him;"**

**"He's so indecisive, he keeps changing his mind."** Some who had heard more detail of Labour's policy nevertheless found it hard to fathom: **"The way I understand it, they would negotiate another deal with the EU, then go for a second referendum where they would campaign against their deal. I just don't understand what the point is."**

Many of those who had heard about the Lib Dems' policy to revoke Article 50, including Remain voters, were uneasy about it, and what might follow: **"It's really concerning. It was the biggest vote ever that we should leave;"** **"I don't like the idea. I can't get my head round going against the majority;"** **"I'd like it to be stopped but I'd worry about the consequences. What makes them think they could just say 'your views don't count'?"**

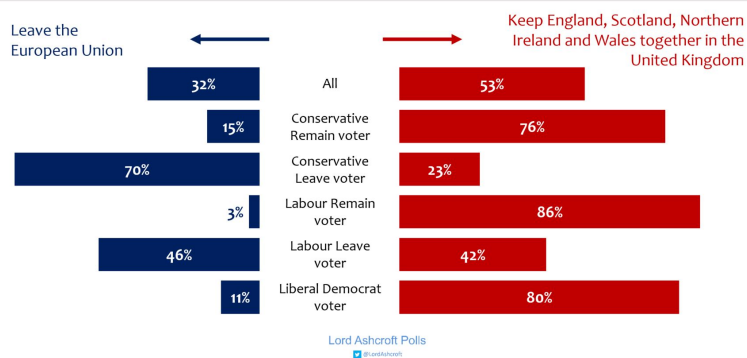
If the people of Northern Ireland / Scotland were to vote in a referendum to leave the UK, which of the following would be your view?



Our poll found nearly half of all voters (47%) saying they would be sorry to see Scotland leave the UK if the country voted for independence. This included 58% of 2017 Labour voters, 70% of Lib Dems and two thirds of Remain voters. Leave voters were the least likely to say this (35%). Overall, one in five said they would be happy to see Scotland leave and a quarter said they wouldn't mind either way.

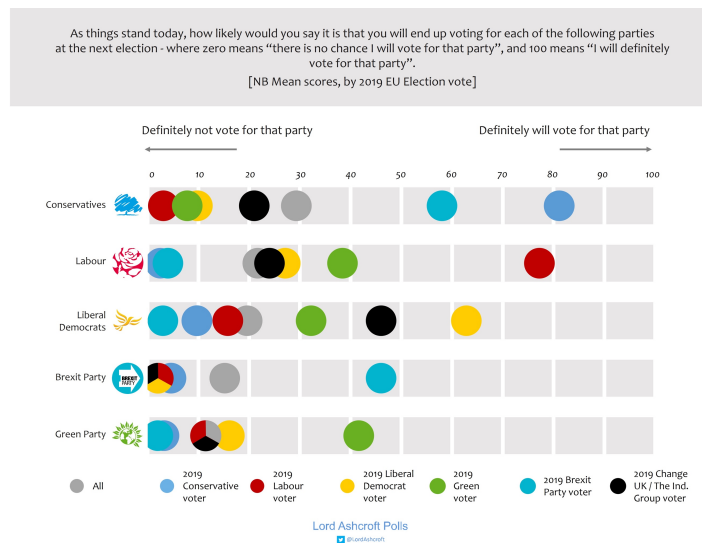
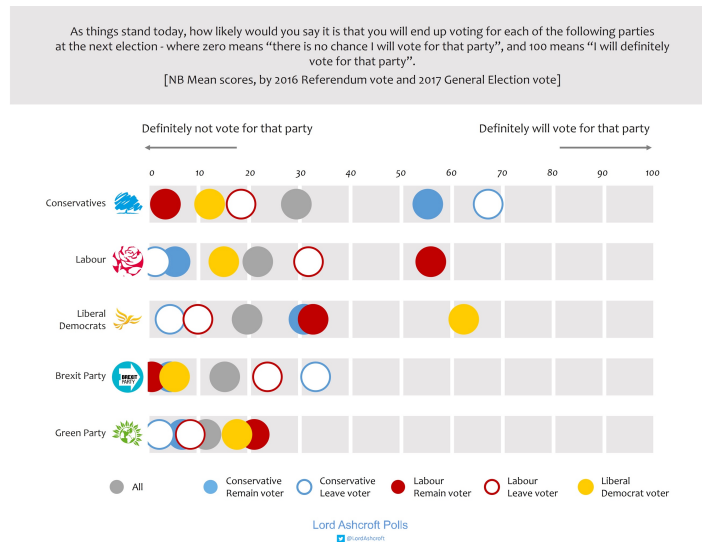
Slightly fewer (40%) said they would be sorry to see Northern Ireland leave the UK, with 35% saying they wouldn't mind either way and only 13% saying they would be happy to see Northern Ireland leave.

If it were not possible to do both, which of the following would you choose to do?



Asked what they would prefer to do if it were not possible to do both, just over half of voters (53%) said they would keep England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales together in the United Kingdom, while 32% said they would rather leave the EU (and a further 15% said they didn't know). However, a majority of 2017 Conservatives, 62% of Leave voters, and eight in ten of those who say they are currently most likely to vote for the Brexit Party at the next election said they would choose Brexit over keeping the UK together.

# The next general election



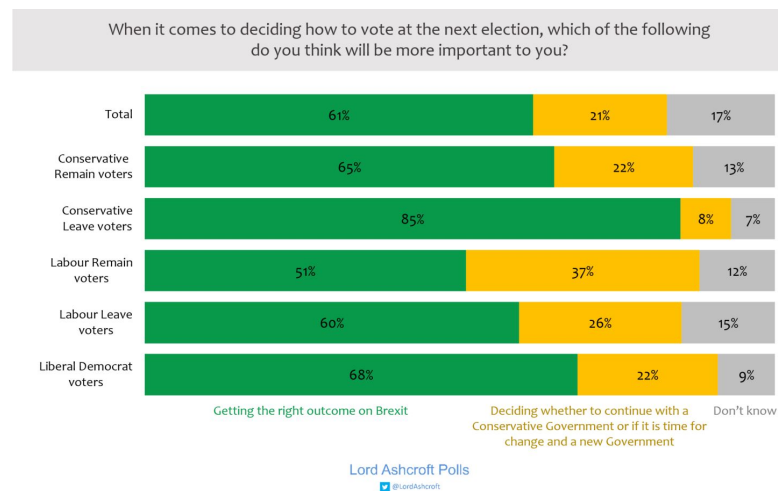
We asked people to rate their likelihood of voting for each party on a 100-point scale. 2017 Conservatives were the most likely to say they would stick with their party next time (64/100), though Tory leavers (67/100) were more likely to say this than Tory remainers (55/100). Lib Dems were the next most likely (62/100). For 2017 Labour voters, the average chance of voting Labour next time was 49/100, with Labour remainers (56/100) giving a higher likelihood than Labour leavers (32/100).

Conservative Leave voters put their likelihood of voting Tory again (67/100) more than twice as high as their chance of voting for the Brexit Party (33/100). Labour Leave voters considered themselves slightly more likely to vote for the Brexit Party (24/100) than to switch to the Conservatives (18/100). Those who voted for the Brexit Party in the 2019 European Parliament elections put their likelihood of voting Conservative at the next general election (58/100) slightly above their chance of sticking with the Brexit Party (46/100).

It was clear from our focus groups that there was very little appetite for an early general election. Many said they would rather see the current parliament finish the job: **"The country's already voted! Why do we need to vote again? We've made our decision, we've made our choice;"** **"Think of all the money and time and energy that's wasted... They need to do Brexit and then have an election and crack on with what they're doing."** Few thought that an election would in fact resolve anything: **"The two main parties will lose, the smaller parties will gain, and chaos will rule."**

Many in the groups – mostly Leave voters, but not exclusively – said that if an election were held they might not bother to vote: **"What's the point? We've done the big thing, the referendum, and it was totally ignored;"** **"People had a chance to vote, and it's as though that didn't count for anything. Public opinion is going down the drain. It is a mockery – three years later we're still debating if it's happening or not. It's embarrassing really."**

While some Labour Leave voters said they might lend their vote to the Tories to get Brexit done, many were torn: **"It would break my heart to change my lifelong Labour voting, but it could come down to the ten minutes before I make my decision, and that's horrible."**

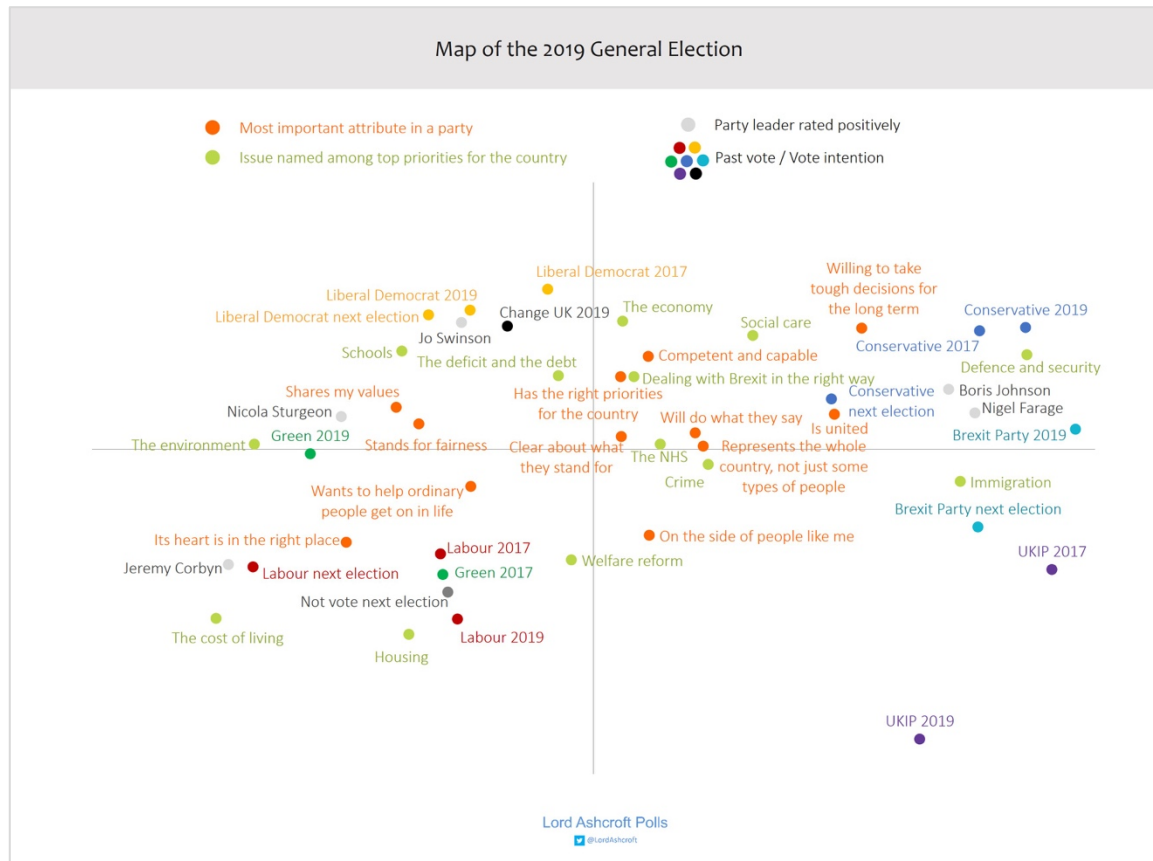


Overall, most voters (61%) said that “getting the right outcome on Brexit” would be more important to them in their voting decision at the next election than “deciding whether to continue with a Conservative government or if it is time for change and a new government” (21%).

The most likely to prioritise getting the right Brexit outcome were those currently most inclined to vote for the Brexit Party (84%), the Conservatives (80%) and the Lib Dems (64%). Labour-inclined voters were more evenly divided, with 43% saying the election would be about getting their preferred outcome on Brexit and 41% prioritising a potential change of government.

Among 2017 Conservatives who voted for the Brexit Party in the 2019 European elections, few said they would blame Boris Johnson if Brexit had not been completed by 31 October. Some would be tempted to stay with the Brexit Party for the general election, though they often said they would worry about the risk of splitting the pro-Brexit vote and letting Labour in. However, this was not universal – as one argued, **“If you want change you’ve got to vote for the change and take the risk.”**

## The next election mapped



Using factor analysis, we've created a map of the 2019 general election which shows the multiple fronts on which the parties will fight when the election is finally called.

The 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.

For example, it shows how the Conservatives are competing in the same territory as the Brexit Party, and that the Brexit Party's vote is closer to the centre of gravity of Tory support than UKIP's has been in recent years, while in the Euro elections Change UK were competing largely in Lib Dem territory.

It also shows how closely party support is related to various policy priorities and important party attributes, with those closer to the Conservative and Brexit parties prizing willingness to take tough decisions, and those looking for a party that stands for fairness or wanting to help ordinary people get on in life are closer to Labour and Lib Dem terrain.

# Full poll results

8,075 adults were interviewed online between 12 and 17 September 2019.

Data have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Great Britain. Full data tables are available at [LordAshcroftPolls.com](http://LordAshcroftPolls.com)

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

<i>Likelihood /100</i>	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
		Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
Conservative	29	64	8	12	17	47	55	67	4	18
Labour	22	3	49	15	34	9	5	2	56	32
Lib Dem	20	12	25	62	35	6	31	4	33	10
Brexit Party	15	24	8	5	2	31	4	33	1	24
Green	12	4	17	18	17	5	7	2	21	8
Another party	8	3	7	6	10	6	4	3	6	7

2. Which of the following do you think would make the better Prime Minister?

%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
		Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
Boris Johnson	43	81	16	20	19	74	59	91	5	42
Jeremy Corbyn	24	1	50	29	41	6	4	0	63	23
Not sure	33	18	34	51	40	20	37	9	32	36

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

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
A Con govt with Boris Johnson as PM		56	94	23	35	32	84	87	98	10	52
A Lab govt with Jeremy Corbyn as PM		44	6	77	65	68	16	13	2	90	48

### 4. How positive or negative do you feel about each of the following, where -50 means 'very negative indeed' and +50 means 'very positive indeed'?

		2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
Mean score -50/+50 Excludes 'don't knows'	ALL	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
GREEN PARTY	-9	-26	4	8	5	-25	-15	-31	12	-14
Boris Johnson	-10	17	-31	-30	-31	14	-5	26	-40	-9
CONSERVATIVE PARTY	-12	15	-34	-30	-29	7	1	20	-40	-19
LIBERAL DEMOCRATS	-13	-25	-4	21	4	-30	-4	-34	5	-23
Jo Swinson	-16	-28	-5	14	2	-33	-7	-36	4	-25
BREXIT PARTY	-18	-1	-34	-39	-41	6	-31	11	-45	-7
LABOUR PARTY	-19	-40	4	-17	-6	-35	-35	-43	11	-13
Nigel Farage	-20	-2	-35	-39	-41	4	-32	10	-45	-12
Jeremy Corbyn	-23	-43	-1	-22	-11	-37	-38	-45	6	-17



5. Do you identify with a political party – that is, do you feel that party consistently represents you and you feel an affinity with the party beyond the question of how you vote?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
Conservative		18	46	2	4	11	30	41	48	1	5
Labour		14	1	36	5	23	7	1	1	42	25
Liberal Democrat		7	3	7	41	13	2	10	1	9	3
Brexit Party		7	12	3	2	0	16	1	16	0	10
Green Party		4	1	7	7	7	1	1	0	9	1
No – none of them		38	31	36	36	34	36	39	28	31	46

6. Is there a party you would never vote for at a general election? Please tick all that apply.

		ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
	%		Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
Brexit Party	43		24	61	75	73	15	59	10	78	27
Labour	34		66	7	22	18	53	53	72	3	14
Conservative	30		2	57	39	47	14	3	2	66	40
Liberal Democrat	24		36	15	3	8	41	11	47	7	31
Green Party	23		39	12	9	12	37	27	44	6	24
No – I would consider voting for any of these	16		11	10	6	7	16	9	11	5	19

7. Which of the following do you think are the top three important issues **FACING BRITAIN AS A WHOLE / YOU AND YOUR FAMILY?** Please rank the three issues you think are most important.

<b>BRITAIN AS A WHOLE</b> <i>% naming in top three</i>	<b>ME AND MY FAMILY</b> <i>% naming in top three</i>
Dealing with Brexit in the right way (62)	The cost of living (51)
The NHS (53)	The NHS (48)
Crime (25)	Dealing with Brexit in the right way (40)
The economy (25)	The economy (26)
Environment and climate change (21)	Environment and climate change (23)
Immigration (21)	Crime (19)
The cost of living (20)	Social care (14)
Social care (14)	Housing (14)
Housing (12)	Schools (12)
Defence and security (11)	Immigration (10)
Schools (8)	Welfare reform (8)
Welfare reform (8)	Defence and security (6)
The deficit and the debt (6)	The deficit and the debt (5)

8. When it comes to deciding which party to vote for, which three of the following attributes are most important to you?

% naming in top three	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
		Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
Has the right priorities for the country	36	44	35	41	41	37	49	42	38	30
Will do what they say	34	41	28	28	25	44	30	47	22	41
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	31	27	40	36	36	29	29	26	41	39
Competent and capable	29	35	26	37	33	29	41	34	27	25
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	23	17	32	20	27	20	18	16	33	31
Willing to take tough decisions for the long term	23	43	12	20	17	34	37	47	10	15
Clear about what they stand for	23	26	22	23	22	26	24	27	20	26
Shares my values	19	17	23	30	24	16	17	16	26	17
Stands for fairness	18	9	29	27	26	11	11	9	34	18
On the side of people like me	13	12	15	9	12	14	10	13	14	19
Is united	6	8	5	8	6	7	10	7	5	7
Its heart is in the right place	5	3	7	7	8	3	5	2	9	3
None of these	9	3	5	2	5	6	4	2	4	6

9. Thinking about the same attributes, please tick all the descriptions you think apply to each party.

% saying description applies to...	Con	Lab	Lib Dems	Brexit Party	SNP (Scot only)
On the side of people like me	8	12	9	10	23
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	9	27	15	7	29
Willing to take tough decisions for the long term	26	5	7	14	19
Shares my values	10	11	10	9	19
Competent and capable	9	5	7	6	23
Has the right priorities for the country	15	10	12	14	25
Will do what they say	10	5	7	18	19
Clear about what they stand for	13	6	18	27	36
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	8	12	9	6	18
Its heart is in the right place	6	18	18	7	22
Stands for fairness	6	18	16	5	23
Is united	1	2	18	16	29
None of these	61	59	56	59	44

10. If these were the only two options available, which of the following would you choose?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
The UK leaving the EU with no deal	48		86	21	25	22	82	67	95	6	57
A Lab govt with Jeremy Corbyn as PM	35		6	65	62	62	9	16	2	83	28
Don't know	16		8	14	13	15	9	17	4	11	15

11. If the UK doesn't leave the EU on October 31 and Jeremy Corbyn were to win a general election and become Prime Minister, which of the following do you think would be most likely to happen?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
Jeremy Corbyn's Government would hold a new referendum on whether to leave or remain in the EU	38		29	52	57	56	26	42	25	62	33
Jeremy Corbyn's Government would cancel Brexit and the UK would remain in the EU	28		47	15	14	11	48	21	57	8	31
Jeremy Corbyn would do a better Brexit deal with the EU than the deal currently on offer	4		1	9	4	5	2	1	0	9	8
The UK would end up leaving the EU without a deal	4		4	3	5	4	4	6	4	2	4
None of the above	6		6	5	6	5	5	9	5	4	5
Don't know	19		13	16	14	18	14	21	9	15	18

12. Thinking about Brexit, which of the following would you most like to happen?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
For the UK to leave the EU on 31 Oct with or without a deal	36		62	18	13	9	69	25	78	3	53
For the UK to leave the EU with a good deal, even if this means waiting beyond 31 Oct	15		17	14	13	11	18	18	16	8	24
For the UK to remain in the EU	39		17	60	71	75	6	52	2	83	14
Don't know	10		5	8	3	6	7	5	4	6	9

13. Thinking about Brexit, which of the following do you think is the most likely to happen?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
The UK will leave the EU on 31 Oct with or without a deal	33		34	34	32	36	32	40	32	34	32
The UK will leave the EU with a good deal, even if this means waiting beyond 31 Oct	20		21	23	25	24	19	23	20	26	18
The UK will remain in the EU	16		19	15	15	11	22	10	23	11	24
Don't know	30		27	28	29	29	27	27	26	29	26

14. As you may know, parliament has passed a law saying that if a Brexit deal has not been agreed by 19 October, the Prime Minister must ask the EU for a further three-month extension to the Brexit deadline. If no agreement is reached by that date, what should Boris Johnson do?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
Ask the EU for an extension, as required by the new law	38		26	52	63	61	19	50	17	66	25
Refuse to ask for an extension despite the new law and continue with his policy of leaving on Oct 31	32		54	17	14	9	60	22	67	5	47
Resign rather than comply with the new law	14		10	18	19	18	10	15	8	20	13
Don't know	16		10	13	5	12	12	13	8	10	15

15. When it comes to deciding how to vote at the next election, which of the following do you think will be more important for you?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
Getting the right outcome on Brexit	61		79	52	68	56	75	65	85	51	60
Deciding whether to continue with a Con govt or if it is time for change and a new govt	21		12	34	22	30	13	22	8	37	26
Don't know	17		9	14	9	14	12	13	7	12	15

16. When it comes to deciding how to vote at the next election, which of the following do you think will be more important for voters in the country as a whole?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
Getting the right outcome on Brexit	59		71	55	62	58	67	62	76	57	53
Deciding whether to continue with a Con govt or if it is time for change and a new govt	20		16	27	24	24	17	22	13	26	29
Don't know	21		13	18	13	18	16	15	12	17	18

17. If the people of Northern Ireland were to vote in a referendum to leave the UK, which of the following would be your view?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
I would be sorry to see NI leave the UK	40		41	45	58	50	35	49	38	51	34
I would be happy to see NI leave the UK	13		13	12	16	13	15	11	15	12	14
I wouldn't mind either way	35		40	31	22	28	42	32	43	28	40
Don't know	12		6	11	5	9	8	9	4	9	11

18. [England and Wales only] If the people of Scotland were to vote in a referendum to leave the UK, which of the following would be your view?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
I would be sorry to see Scotland leave the UK	47	43	58	70	65	35	59	37	68	38	
I would be happy to see Scotland leave the UK	19	27	13	11	11	29	15	33	8	23	
I wouldn't mind either way	24	26	21	15	17	29	21	27	17	31	
Don't know	10	4	9	4	7	6	5	3	6	8	

19. If it were not possible to do both, which of the following would you choose to do?

	%	ALL	2017 GE vote			EU ref vote		2017 GE + EU ref vote			
			Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Remain	Leave	Con Remain	Con Leave	Lab Remain	Lab Leave
Leave the EU	32	53	16	11	7	62	15	70	3	46	
Keep England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales together in the UK	53	39	72	80	80	28	76	23	86	42	
Don't know	15	8	13	9	13	10	9	7	11	12	