

Clear thinking in a complex world



ICM Poll for The Guardian

Fieldwork dates: 13-15th November 2015

Interview Method: Telephone.

Population effectively sampled: All adults aged 18+

Sampling Method, RDD: Within each government office region, a random sample of telephone numbers was drawn from the entire BT database of domestic telephone numbers. Each number so selected had its last digit randomised so as to provide a sample including both listed and unlisted numbers.

Sampling Method, Mobile RDD: A random sample of mobile telephone numbers was generated in proportion to network provider market share. As with the landline process, seed telephone numbers are used to create the mobile RDD sample by randomising the last N digits of the seed number.

Sample size: 1,006

Data weighting: Data were weighted to the profile of all adults aged 18+ (including non telephone owning households). Data were weighted by sex, age, social class, household tenure, work status and region. Targets for the weighted data were derived from the National Readership survey, a random probability survey comprising 36,000 random face-to-face interviews conducted annually.

The data were further weighted by declared votes in the 2015 general election. The weighting scheme is designed as follows:

Weighting by past votes

1. Respondents are asked whether they voted in the last general election (2015) and if they did, which party they voted for.

2. The sample is weighted by demographics (age, sex, tenure etc). However, after such weighting the declared past votes may not match, exactly, the results of the last election. Partly this is because demographics (by which ICM control the sample) are relatively poorly correlated with vote behaviour. Nevertheless past vote weighting has to be used with caution as some people genuinely forget how they voted.

3. ICM takes the declared past votes on any new poll and adds it to the most recent ICM polls containing the same question. The average of these polls is used in the past vote weighting scheme. (Polls conducted just after the 2015 General Election will obviously rely on only those polls that have been conducted).

4. ICM compares the declared past votes derived in 3) above to the actual result of the last general election and gives a weight of 80% to the results of the last election and 20% to the average of the most recent polls, thereby assuming that most of the difference can be attributed to political imbalance in the sample and to faulty recall.

Weighting for turnout

1. ICM ask respondents to say how likely it is that they will go and vote in a new general election using a ten points scale where 10 means they would be absolutely certain to vote and 1 means they would be certain not to vote.

2. We then weight people by their anticipated turnout. If someone is 10/10 certain to vote, they are given a weight of 1.0. If someone is 9/10 certain to vote they are given a weight of 0.9 etc. People who tell us they are likely to vote in the next General Election but did not vote in the last, are further down-weighted. If someone says they are 10/10 certain to vote but did not vote in 2010, they are given a weight of 0.5. If they say 9/10 certainty, the weight becomes 0.45 etc.

Voting intentions: ICM derives vote intentions from 2 questions.

First of all respondents are asked how likely it is that they would be to go and vote in a new election. Those who say they will vote are asked to say which party they would support in a new election. Respondents are then asked whether they voted in 2015 and which party they voted for in that election.

The vote figures shown in the tables are calculated after ICM has excluded those who say they will not vote, refuse to answer the question or don't know who they would vote for (but see below).

Adjustment process 1: 'Partial Refuser' Reallocation

- A.) 75% of 2015 Conservative and Labour voters who refuse to answer the vote intention question or say they don't know, are added back to the party they voted for in 2015.
- B.) 50% of 2015 voters for all other parties who refuse to answer the vote intention question or say they don't know, are added back to the party they voted for in 2015.

Adjustment process 2: 'Total Refuser' Reallocation

'Total refusers' are people who refuse/DK their future vote intention AND also refuse/DK who they voted for in the previous General Election (2015). Given the lack of any political information about such respondents to date, ICM has excluded them from the vote intention figures. However, our post-2015 Recall Survey revealed that Total Refusers (who were subsequently willing to tell us what they did in the 2015 General Election) split disproportionately across different parties. Indeed, one important observation was that more than half of all Total Refusers actually voted Conservative, with more than twice as many voting Conservative than Labour.

Our new adjustment thus reallocates some Total Refusers back into the poll sample. This is achieved in the following way:

1. The number of Total Refusers on any poll is multiplied by the proportion of Partial Refusers who were (already) re-allocated in Adjustment Process 1. (For example, if 60% of Partial Refusers were added back, then 60% of Total Refusals will be added back).
2. Total Refusers are then multiplied by each party's share of reallocated Partial Refusers. (For example, if 40% of already allocated Partial Refusals were 2015 Conservative voters, then 40% of remaining Total Refusals will be reallocated to the Conservatives).
3. ICM's default position is that Total Refusers *at least* look like Partial Refusers in terms of political make-up. However, given the findings of our Recall Poll, we believe that Total Refusals are probably even more pro-Conservative than pro-Labour. In order to allow for this, the share of Total Refusals added back to the Conservatives is increased by 20% (for example, from the 40% mentioned in (2, above) to 60%), with a corresponding reduction of 20% in the share of Total Refuser reallocation to Labour.

Our expectation is that the combined effects of Adjustments 1 +2 as described above will have the net effect of adding 1-2 percentage points vote share to the Conservatives, and reduce the Labour vote share by 1-2 percentage points compared to the pre-2015 ICM adjustment process.

Further methodological changes: ICM continues to analyse our data and expect to produce further methodological innovations in the future.

Questions: The computer tables attached in PDF format show each question, in full, in the order they were put to respondents, all response codes and the weighted and un-weighted bases for all demographics and other data including but not limited that published .

Further enquiries: martin.boon@icmunlimited.com

British Polling Council: ICM is a member of the British Polling Council and abides by its rules. <http://www.britishpollingcouncil.org/>

Opinion Poll

CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 1

Q.A Some people have said they would not vote in a new General Election, while others have said they would vote. How certain is it that you would actually vote in a general election if it were held tomorrow?

Base: All respondents

	Gender			Age				Class				Voting Intention					Vote in 2015 General Election						Region					NET: Eng- land	
	Total	Male	Female	18-34	35-44	45-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	UKIP	Other	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	UKIP	Green	SNP/ PC/ Other	DNV	Scot- land	Wales	North	Mid- lands		South
Unweighted base	1006	498	508	240	158	348	260	370	219	135	282	226	284	63	80	80	228	246	70	76	24	59	234	99	52	238	255	362	855
Weighted base	1006	490	516	285	163	328	230	273	269	219	245	247	264	51	97	75	260	222	56	89	23	52	226	86	52	239	265	363	868
Certain to vote	(10)	612 61%	270 55%	343 66%	129 45%	83 51%	223 68%	178 77%	199 73%	171 63%	111 51%	131 54%	195 79%	183 64%	56 58%	56 75%	196 75%	171 77%	39 69%	61 69%	17 76%	43 82%	36 16%	62 72%	32 61%	136 57%	152 57%	229 63%	518 60%
(9)	52 5%	26 5%	26 5%	13 4%	10 6%	15 5%	14 6%	11 4%	15 6%	14 6%	12 5%	16 6%	15 6%	7 13%	2 2%	2 3%	11 4%	15 7%	8 14%	2 2%	1 6%	2 4%	6 3%	2 2%	3 5%	19 8%	9 3%	19 5%	48 5%
(8)	69 7%	44 9%	25 5%	30 10%	17 10%	13 4%	9 4%	15 5%	16 6%	24 11%	14 6%	9 4%	21 8%	4 9%	9 10%	7 10%	15 6%	14 6%	6 10%	10 11%	1 6%	3 6%	16 7%	5 7%	7 14%	18 8%	12 4%	27 7%	57 7%
(7)	37 4%	15 3%	22 4%	15 5%	10 6%	9 3%	3 1%	11 4%	12 4%	8 4%	7 3%	10 4%	7 3%	3 6%	5 5%	3 4%	9 3%	3 1%	2 3%	4 5%	2 7%	2 3%	12 5%	1 1%	1 2%	6 3%	14 5%	15 4%	35 4%
(6)	14 1%	5 1%	8 2%	6 2%	2 1%	4 1%	2 1%	3 1%	6 2%	2 1%	2 1%	1 *	6 2%	1 3%	2 3%	-	5 2%	2 1%	-	-	-	-	5 2%	-	-	3 1%	5 2%	6 2%	14 2%
(5)	69 7%	35 7%	34 7%	31 11%	8 5%	19 6%	11 5%	12 4%	10 4%	24 11%	24 10%	5 2%	21 8%	3 6%	16 17%	3 4%	16 6%	3 6%	4 4%	6 7%	-	1 2%	26 11%	5 6%	2 3%	15 6%	23 9%	25 7%	63 7%
(4)	8 1%	4 1%	4 1%	6 2%	-	2 1%	-	-	4 1%	2 1%	2 1%	2 1%	1 1%	-	1 2%	-	-	1 *	-	-	-	-	5 2%	-	-	4 2%	3 1%	1 *	8 1%
(3)	21 2%	12 3%	9 2%	10 4%	4 3%	4 1%	3 1%	2 1%	2 1%	9 4%	8 3%	7 3%	5 2%	-	3 2%	2 2%	2 1%	3 1%	-	1 1%	-	-	14 6%	2 2%	1 2%	3 1%	8 3%	8 2%	19 2%
(2)	11 1%	7 1%	5 1%	5 2%	2 1%	5 1%	-	2 1%	4 2%	-	5 2%	2 1%	4 2%	-	1 1%	1 2%	2 1%	-	-	-	1 6%	-	8 4%	-	1 1%	3 1%	3 1%	5 1%	11 1%
Certain not to vote	(1)	106 10%	67 14%	39 8%	40 14%	25 15%	30 9%	11 5%	16 6%	28 10%	24 11%	38 16%	-	-	-	-	2 1%	-	-	3 3%	-	1 2%	98 43%	10 12%	4 8%	32 13%	36 14%	24 7%	91 11%
Refused	4 *	3 1%	1 *	1 *	3 2%	-	-	1 *	2 1%	-	1 *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 2%	-	-	1 *	-	-	-	-	4 1%	4 *
Don't know	4 *	3 1%	1 *	1 *	-	3 1%	-	1 1%	-	2 1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 1%	-	-	1 1%	-	-	1 *	-	2 4%	-	-	1 *	1 *
Mean	8.06	7.69	8.41	7.18	7.60	8.36	9.04	8.82	8.22	7.69	7.37	9.29	8.93	9.13	8.28	9.16	9.17	9.31	9.37	8.90	9.17	9.45	4.24	8.38	8.44	7.85	7.62	8.40	8.00
Standard deviation	3.08	3.31	2.80	3.32	3.34	2.97	2.29	2.48	3.02	3.10	3.50	1.74	1.98	1.45	2.34	1.81	1.79	1.54	1.20	2.14	1.99	1.59	3.50	3.09	2.82	3.24	3.34	2.74	3.09
Standard error	0.10	0.15	0.12	0.22	0.27	0.16	0.14	0.13	0.20	0.27	0.21	0.12	0.12	0.18	0.26	0.20	0.12	0.10	0.14	0.25	0.41	0.21	0.23	0.31	0.39	0.21	0.21	0.14	0.11

Opinion Poll

CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 2

Q.B The Conservatives, Labour, the Liberal Democrats, UKIP and other parties would fight a new election in your area. If there were a general election tomorrow which party do you think you would vote for?

Base: All respondents

	Gender			Age				Class				Voting Intention					Vote in 2015 General Election							Region					NET: Eng- land
	Total	Male	Female	18-34	35-44	45-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	UKIP	Other	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	UKIP	Green	SNP/ PC/ Other	DNV	Scot- land	Wales	North	Mid- lands	South	
Unweighted base	1006	498	508	240	158	348	260	370	219	135	282	226	284	63	80	80	228	246	70	76	24	59	234	99	52	238	255	362	855
Weighted base	1006	490	516	285	163	328	230	273	269	219	245	247	264	51	97	75	260	222	56	89	23	52	226	86	52	239	265	363	868
Conservative	247 25%	128 26%	119 23%	51 18%	41 25%	85 26%	71 31%	89 32%	69 26%	54 25%	36 15%	247 100%	-	-	-	-	191 73%	9 4%	6 10%	8 9%	-	2 3%	30 13%	10 11%	13 25%	43 18%	74 28%	107 30%	225 26%
Labour	264 26%	111 23%	152 30%	87 30%	36 22%	90 28%	51 22%	70 26%	68 25%	50 23%	75 31%	-	264 100%	-	-	-	12 4%	188 85%	10 18%	2 2%	5 20%	8 15%	37 16%	12 13%	11 21%	80 33%	59 22%	102 28%	241 28%
Liberal Democrat/ Liberal	51 5%	24 5%	27 5%	13 5%	6 4%	18 5%	14 6%	18 6%	20 8%	6 3%	7 3%	-	-	51 100%	-	-	5 2%	5 2%	33 59%	* 1%	1 3%	-	5 2%	4 5%	1 3%	11 5%	11 4%	23 6%	45 5%
Scottish National Party/SNP	38 4%	15 3%	23 4%	7 2%	9 6%	14 4%	8 4%	8 3%	8 3%	11 5%	11 4%	-	-	-	-	38 51%	1 1%	1 *	-	-	-	32 62%	4 2%	38 44%	-	-	-	-	-
Plaid Cymru	* *	* *	-	-	-	* *	-	* *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	* 1%	-	-	* 1%	-	-	-	-
Green Party	26 3%	13 3%	14 3%	6 2%	6 3%	10 3%	5 2%	9 3%	12 5%	3 1%	2 1%	-	-	-	-	26 35%	2 1%	3 1%	1 1%	-	16 69%	2 5%	2 1%	3 3%	-	7 3%	4 1%	13 4%	24 3%
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	97 10%	45 9%	51 10%	32 11%	17 11%	28 8%	20 9%	16 6%	16 6%	36 16%	28 12%	-	-	-	97 100%	-	8 3%	2 1%	2 4%	65 73%	-	1 1%	18 8%	1 1%	6 12%	25 11%	36 14%	28 8%	90 10%
British National Party (BNP)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	10 1%	6 1%	4 1%	3 1%	2 1%	5 1%	-	3 1%	2 1%	3 1%	2 1%	-	-	-	-	10 13%	2 1%	-	-	-	1 6%	3 6%	2 1%	-	-	3 1%	3 1%	4 1%	10 1%
Will not vote	106 10%	67 14%	39 8%	40 14%	25 15%	30 9%	11 5%	16 6%	28 10%	24 11%	38 16%	-	-	-	-	-	2 1%	-	-	3 3%	-	1 2%	98 43%	10 12%	4 8%	32 13%	36 14%	24 7%	91 11%
Don't know	96 10%	44 9%	52 10%	30 10%	12 8%	22 7%	32 14%	26 10%	23 8%	23 10%	24 10%	-	-	-	-	-	31 12%	13 6%	4 8%	7 8%	-	2 5%	22 10%	5 6%	11 21%	17 7%	28 10%	35 10%	80 9%
Refused	71 7%	36 7%	34 7%	16 6%	9 5%	26 8%	19 8%	17 6%	22 8%	11 5%	21 8%	-	-	-	-	-	6 2%	1 *	-	4 4%	1 3%	1 2%	9 4%	4 5%	5 10%	21 9%	14 5%	26 7%	62 7%

Opinion Poll

CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 3

Data derived from:-

Q.A Some people have said they would not vote in a new General Election, while others have said they would vote. I would like to know how certain it is that you would actually vote in a general election?

Q.B The Conservatives, Labour, the Liberal Democrats and other parties would fight a new election in your area. If there were a general election tomorrow which party do you think you would vote for?

Data excludes those who definitely will not vote (10%), don't know who they would vote for (10%) or refuse to answer (7%)

THIS TABLE DOES NOT INCLUDE ADJUSTMENT FOR DON'T KNOW/REFUSERS

	Gender			Age				Class				Voting Intention				Vote in 2015 General Election							Region					NET: Eng- land	
	Total	Male	Female	18-34	35-44	45-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	UKIP	Other	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	UKIP	Green	SNP/ PC/ Other	DNV	Scot- land	Wales	North	Mid- lands		South
Unweighted base	631	291	340	128	94	232	177	259	141	79	152	200	242	55	63	71	184	213	60	59	22	52	33	72	29	147	152	231	530
Weighted base	627	291	336	150	99	222	156	195	171	128	133	220	222	45	74	66	207	193	49	69	20	46	34	61	30	144	154	238	536
Conservative	220 35%	117 40%	103 30%	42 28%	36 37%	75 34%	66 42%	82 42%	61 36%	47 36%	30 23%	220 100%	-	-	-	184 89%	9 4%	5 10%	8 12%	-	2 4%	10 30%	72 14%	12 41%	39 27%	61 40%	99 42%	199 37%	
Labour	222 35%	91 31%	131 39%	64 42%	31 32%	80 36%	47 30%	64 33%	58 34%	40 31%	60 45%	-	222 100%	-	-	-	8 4%	175 91%	9 18%	2 3%	5 23%	7 15%	13 39%	11 17%	10 33%	69 48%	48 31%	85 36%	202 38%
Liberal Democrat/ Liberal	45 7%	21 7%	24 7%	12 8%	5 5%	15 7%	13 8%	15 8%	18 10%	5 4%	7 5%	-	-	45 100%	-	-	5 2%	4 2%	32 65%	* 1%	1 3%	-	2 6%	4 7%	1 4%	9 6%	10 7%	20 8%	39 7%
Scottish National Party/SNP	34 5%	14 5%	20 6%	4 3%	9 9%	14 6%	8 5%	8 4%	8 5%	9 7%	10 7%	-	-	-	34 52%	1 1%	1 *	-	-	-	-	31 68%	1 3%	34 56%	-	-	-	-	-
Plaid Cymru	* *	* *	-	-	-	* *	-	* *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1%	-	-	-	-	-	* 1%	-	-	* 2%	-	-	-	-
Green Party	23 4%	10 3%	13 4%	5 3%	5 5%	9 4%	4 3%	9 4%	10 6%	2 2%	2 1%	-	-	-	23 34%	2 1%	3 1%	1 2%	-	14 68%	2 5%	1 2%	3 4%	-	6 4%	3 2%	11 5%	20 4%	
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	74 12%	31 11%	43 13%	20 14%	12 12%	24 11%	18 12%	13 7%	15 9%	24 19%	22 17%	-	-	74 100%	-	6 3%	1 1%	2 4%	59 85%	-	1 1%	5 16%	1 1%	6 21%	19 13%	29 19%	20 8%	68 13%	
Other	8 1%	5 2%	3 1%	3 2%	1 1%	4 2%	-	3 2%	2 1%	2 2%	1 1%	-	-	-	8 13%	2 1%	-	-	-	-	1 6%	3 6%	1 3%	-	-	2 2%	3 2%	4 1%	8 2%

Opinion Poll
CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Col percents

Table 4
Published Vote Intention Figures
Percentages derived from the responses of 758 respondents

	<u>Total</u>
Conservatives	39%
Labour	33%
Liberal Democrats	7%
UKIP	12%
Green	3%
SNP	5%
PC	-
Other	1%

Opinion Poll
CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 5
Q.C/D Voting in May 7th 2015 General Election

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1006	1006
Weighted base	1006	1006
Conservative	228 23%	260 26%
Labour	246 24%	222 22%
Liberal Democrat/ Liberal	70 7%	56 6%
Scottish National Party/SNP	45 4%	41 4%
Plaid Cymru	3 *	2 *
Green Party	24 2%	23 2%
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	76 8%	89 9%
British National Party (BNP)	-	-
Other	11 1%	9 1%
Did not vote	234 23%	226 22%
Refused	59 6%	66 7%
Don't know	10 1%	12 1%

Opinion Poll
CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 6

Have you taken a foreign holiday in the last 3 years?**Base: All respondents**

	<u>Unweighted Total</u>	<u>Weighted Total</u>
Unweighted base	1006	1006
Weighted base	1006	1006
Yes	587 58%	610 61%
No	419 42%	396 39%

Opinion Poll
CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 7
Is the house or flat in which you live...?
Base: All respondents

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1006	1006
Weighted base	1006	1006
NET: Owners	614 61%	633 63%
Owned outright - without mortgage	328 33%	330 33%
Owned with a mortgage or loan	286 28%	303 30%
NET: Renters	365 36%	352 35%
Rented from the council	108 11%	142 14%
Rented from a housing association	78 8%	62 6%
Rented from someone else	179 18%	148 15%
Rent free	27 3%	21 2%

Opinion Poll
CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 8
How many cars are there in your household?
Base: All respondents

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1006	1006
Weighted base	1006	1006
None	248 25%	216 21%
1	400 40%	415 41%
2	255 25%	279 28%
3+	103 10%	97 10%
Mean	1.29	1.34
Standard deviation	1.24	1.23
Standard error	0.04	0.04

Opinion Poll
CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 9
Current working status
Base: All respondents

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1006	1006
Weighted base	1006	1006
NET: Working	562 56%	567 56%
Working full time - working 30 hours per week or more	423 42%	452 45%
Working part time - working between 8 and 29 hours per week	139 14%	116 12%
NET: Not Working	444 44%	439 44%
Not working but seeking work or temporarily unemployed or sick	68 7%	71 7%
Not working and not seeking work/ student	60 6%	66 7%
Retired on a state pension only	120 12%	102 10%
Retired with a private pension	162 16%	159 16%
House person, housewife, househusband, etc.	34 3%	41 4%

Opinion Poll
CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 10
SEG
Base: All respondents

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1006	1006
Weighted base	1006	1006
NET: AB	370 37%	273 27%
A	117 12%	88 9%
B	253 25%	185 18%
C1	219 22%	269 27%
C2	135 13%	219 22%
D	113 11%	105 10%
E	169 17%	140 14%
NET: DE	282 28%	245 24%

Opinion Poll
CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 11
Age
Base: All respondents

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1006	1006
Weighted base	1006	1006
18-24	90 9%	114 11%
25-34	150 15%	171 17%
35-44	158 16%	163 16%
45-54	195 19%	180 18%
55-64	153 15%	147 15%
65 or older	260 26%	230 23%
Average age	49.22	47.40

Opinion Poll
CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 12
Gender
Base: All respondents

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1006	1006
Weighted base	1006	1006
Male	498 50%	490 49%
Female	508 50%	516 51%

Opinion Poll
CATI Fieldwork : 13th - 15th November 2015

Absolutes/col percents

Table 13
Region
Base: All respondents

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1006	1006
Weighted base	1006	1006
Scotland	99 10%	86 9%
North East	39 4%	40 4%
North West	109 11%	114 11%
Yorkshire & Humberside	90 9%	85 8%
West Midlands	90 9%	91 9%
East Midlands	68 7%	75 7%
Wales	52 5%	52 5%
Eastern	97 10%	100 10%
London	130 13%	131 13%
South East	141 14%	143 14%
South West	91 9%	89 9%