Clear thinking in a complex



ICM Poll for The Guardian

Fieldwork dates: 11-13th March 2016

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: 1,001

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 <u>at least</u> 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 c.1-2 percentage points vote share to the Conservatives, and reduce the Labour vote share by c.0-1 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 .

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

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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

			Ger	nder	Age			Class			Voting Intention			Vote in 2015 General Election						Region										
															Lib					Lib			SNP/ PC/		Scot-			Mid-		NET: Eng-
		Total	Male	<u>Female</u>	18-34	35-44	45-64	65+	_AB_	<u>C1</u>	<u>C2</u>	_DE_	Con	Lab		UKIP	Other	Con	Lab	Dem	UKIP	Green	Other	DNV		Wales	North		South	land_
Unweighted base		1001	506	495	239	174	332	256	412	222	135	232	227	285	59	78	83	225	226	62	82	32	50	247	87	47	247	248	372	867
Weighted base		1001	483	518	279	164	323	235	275	270	217	240	245	281	55	80	76	256	219	56	88	27	46	231	84	51	242	262	363	867
Cetain to vote	(10)	656 66%	315 65%	341 66%	152 54%	91 56%	227 70%	185 79%	184 67%	180 67%	141 65%	152 63%	185 76%	214 76%	39 72%	58 72%	54 71%	204 80%	183 83%	45 80%	64 73%	23 83%	35 76%	46 20%	61 73%	31 62%	161 67%	172 66%	231 63%	563 65%
	(9)	55 5%	33 7%	22 4%	18 6%	10 6%	20 6%	7 3%	23 8%	15 5%	12 5%	6 2%	15 6%	9 3%	6 11%	7 9%	5 6%	19 8%	8 4%	5 9%	5 5%	3 10%	1 3%	6 2%	2 3%	4 7%	18 7%	7 3%	25 7%	49 6%
	(8)	68 7%	23 5%	45 9%	18 6%	16 10%	20 6%	15 6%	11 4%	19 7%	20 9%	19 8%	20 8%	16 6%	5 10%	3 4%	5 7%	16 6%	13 6%	3 5%	8 9%	1 4%	3 6%	18 8%	4 5%	1 2%	15 6%	23 9%	25 7%	62 7%
	(7)	25 2%	12 2%	13 2%	16 6%	3 2%	4 1%	1 1%	8 3%	8 3%	7 3%	2 1%	5 2%	10 4%	1 2%	-	1 1%	4 1%	6 3%	2 3%	1 1%	-	* 1%	12 5%	4 4%	-	3 1%	4 1%	15 4%	21 2%
	(6)	17 2%	9 2%	8 2%	9 3%	1 1%	5 1%	3 1%	5 2%	7 3%	2 1%	4 2%	7 3%	3 1%	1 1%	1 1%	4 5%	4 2%	-	-	-	-	1 2%	12 5%	1 1%	-	1	10 4%	5 1%	16 2%
	(5)	53 5%	24 5%	28 5%	18 7%	12 7%	14 4%	8 3%	12 5%	12 4%	13 6%	15 6%	6 2%	24 9%	1 2%	5 7%	4 5%	3 1%	7 3%	1 2%	3 3%	1 3%	3 7%	32 14%	7 8%	5 10%	10 4%	14 5%	17 5%	41 5%
	(4)	13 1%	7 2%	6 1%	8 3%	1 1%	3 1%	1	4 1%	5 2%	1 1%	3 1%	3 1%	2 1%	-	2 3%	-	1	-	1 1%	2 2%	-	1 2%	9 4%	-	1 2%	6 3%	*	5 1%	12 1%
	(3)	10 1%	4 1%	6 1%	5 2%	3 2%	2 1%	-	4 1%	1 1%	3 1%	2 1%	2 1%	-	1 1%	3 4%	2 3%	1 *	-	-	2 3%	-	-	6 3%	2 2%	1 2%	2 1%	2 1%	3 1%	7 1%
	(2)	10 1%	4 1%	6 1%	4 1%	2 1%	3 1%	1	4 2%	2 1%	-	3 1%	1	3 1%	1 1%	1 1%	1 2%	1 *	1 *	-	-	-	-	8 3%	-	2 4%	1	1 1%	6 2%	8 1%
Certain not to vote	(1)	87 9%	47 10%	40 8%	29 11%	22 14%	25 8%	11 5%	17 6%	17 6%	20 9%	34 14%	-	-	-	-	-	4 1%	-	-	2 2%	-	1 2%	80 34%	3 3%	6 12%	24 10%	24 9%	31 9%	79 9%
Refused		3	2	1 *	2 1%	-	-	1	1	2 1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 1%	-	1 1%	-	-	1	-	-	1	1 *	1	3
Don't know		6 1%	4 1%	2	1	2 1%	1 *	1 1%	1	2 1%	-	2 1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 2%	1	-	-	-	4 2%	2	6 1%
Mean		8.38	8.34	8.43	7.82	7.77	8.64	9.13	8.56	8.59	8.41	7.93	9.31	9.16	9.30	8.98	8.94	9.45	9.56	9.56	9.05	9.66	9.11	4.91	8.86	7.82	8.40	8.38	8.35	8.37
Standard deviation Standard error		2.87 0.09	2.95 0.13	2.79 0.13	3.11 0.20	3.29 0.25	2.71 0.15	2.19 0.14	2.70 0.13	2.61 0.18	2.81 0.24	3.31 0.22	1.50 0.10	1.74 0.10	1.55 0.20	2.08 0.24	2.04 0.22	1.51 0.10	1.22 0.08	1.12 0.14	2.08 0.23	1.01 0.18	2.02 0.29	3.53 0.23	2.27 0.24	3.37 0.49	2.94 0.19	2.87 0.18	2.87 0.15	2.89 0.10



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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?

		Gender		Age		Class			Voting Intention				Vote in 2015 General Election						Region										
	_Total	Male	<u>Female</u>	18-34	35-44	45-64	65+	AB	<u>C1</u>	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	NET: Eng- land
Unweighted base	1001	506	495	239	174	332	256	412	222	135	232	227	285	59	78	83	225	226	62	82	32	50	247	87	47	247	248	372	867
Weighted base	1001	483	518	279	164	323	235	275	270	217	240	245	281	55	80	76	256	219	56	88	27	46	231	84	51	242	262	363	867
Conservative	245 24%	107 22%	138 27%	53 19%	40 24%	74 23%	78 33%	82 30%	67 25%	53 24%	42 18%	245 100%	-	-	-	-	190 74%	7 3%	7 13%	4 4%	-	2 5%	29 13%	17 21%	10 19%	55 23%	62 24%	100 28%	218 25%
Labour	281 28%	146 30%	135 26%	91 33%	39 24%	97 30%	55 23%	69 25%	86 32%	57 26%	69 29%	-	281 100%	-	-	-	17 7%	182 83%	7 13%	7 8%	6 24%	6 14%	51 22%	22 27%	12 24%	81 34%	69 27%	96 27%	247 28%
Liberal Democrat/ Liberal	55 5%	22 5%	33 6%	12 4%	13 8%	16 5%	14 6%	22 8%	14 5%	9 4%	10 4%	-	-	55 100%	-	-	8 3%	6 3%	32 58%	-	-	* 1%	6 3%	2 3%	1 1%	13 5%	18 7%	21 6%	52 6%
Scottish National Party/SNP	29 3%	16 3%	13 3%	11 4%	6 4%	11 3%	1 *	6 2%	10 4%	6 3%	8 3%	-	-	-	-	29 38%	-	2 1%	-	2 2%	-	24 52%	2 1%	27 33%	-	-	1	1 *	2
Plaid Cymru	5 1%	5 1%	1 *	-	1 1%	4 1%	-	2 1%	1 *	1	1	-	-	-	-	5 7%	-	1	1 1%	1 1%	-	2 4%	1 *	-	4 9%	-	1	-	1 *
Green Party	27 3%	10 2%	17 3%	10 4%	5 3%	7 2%	5 2%	9 3%	11 4%	3 1%	4 2%	-	-	-	-	27 35%	1 *	2 1%	-	-	16 59%	2 4%	6 3%	2 2%	1 3%	4 2%	10 4%	9 3%	24 3%
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	80 8%	46 10%	34 7%	16 6%	8 5%	32 10%	25 11%	19 7%	16 6%	28 13%	18 7%	-	-	-	80 100%	-	8 3%	1 *	2 3%	60 68%	-	-	10 4%	-	11 22%	22 9%	25 9%	23 6%	69 8%
British National Party (BNP)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	- -
Other	15 1%	10 2%	5 1%	3 1%	2 1%	7 2%	2 1%	4 1%	4 1%	5 2%	2 1%	-	-	-	-	15 19%	3 1%	1	-	3 4%	2 6%	3 7%	3 2%	-	-	5 2%	3 1%	7 2%	15 2%
Will not vote	87 9%	47 10%	40 8%	29 11%	22 14%	25 8%	11 5%	17 6%	17 6%	20 9%	34 14%	-	-	-	-	-	4 1%	-	-	2 2%	-	1 2%	80 34%	3 3%	6 12%	24 10%	24 9%	31 9%	79 9%
Don't know	114 11%	43 9%	71 14%	37 13%	22 14%	30 9%	23 10%	31 11%	31 11%	16 7%	36 15%	-	-	-	-	-	21 8%	14 6%	6 11%	7 8%	3 12%	2 5%	38 16%	4 5%	5 9%	24 10%	34 13%	47 13%	105 12%
Refused	63 6%	32 7%	31 6%	16 6%	5 3%	21 6%	21 9%	14 5%	15 5%	20 9%	15 6%	-	-	-	-	-	5 2%	5 2%	-	2 3%	-	3 6%	4 2%	6 7%	1 1%	14 6%	15 6%	28 8%	56 6%



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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 (9%), don't know who they would vote for (11%) or refuse to answer (6%)

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

	Gender Age				Class					Voting Intention			Vote in 2015 General Election						Region										
	<u>Total</u>	Male	<u>Female</u>	18-34	35-44	45-64	65+	_AB_	<u>C1</u>	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	NET: Eng- land
Unweighted base	629	329	300	127	100	226	176	272	145	83	129	197	242	52	66	72	190	200	52	67	28	41	42	64	30	157	154	224	535
Weighted base	638	313	325	153	95	223	166	185	180	138	135	218	239	49	69	64	218	192	48	71	23	37	39	62	35	156	163	222	541
Conservative	218 34%	94 30%	123 38%	43 28%	34 36%	67 30%	73 44%	73 39%	59 33%	48 35%	38 28%	218 100%	-	-	-	-	182 84%	7 4%	7 16%	3 5%	-	2 5%	11 27%	16 26%	9 25%	48 31%	55 34%	89 40%	193 36%
Labour	239 37%	126 40%	112 35%	68 45%	32 34%	89 40%	49 29%	59 32%	75 42%	46 33%	59 44%	-	239 100%	-	-	-	17 8%	174 91%	7 14%	7 10%	6 25%	6 17%	19 48%	19 30%	10 30%	70 45%	59 36%	81 36%	209 39%
Liberal Democrat/ Liberal	49 8%	19 6%	29 9%	10 6%	11 12%	15 7%	13 8%	19 11%	13 7%	8 6%	9 6%	-	-	49 100%	-	-	8 4%	5 3%	31 65%	-	-	* 1%	2 6%	1 2%	*	12 8%	16 10%	19 8%	47 9%
Scottish National Party/SNP	26 4%	13 4%	12 4%	10 7%	6 6%	9 4%	1 1%	5 3%	9 5%	5 3%	7 5%	-	-	-	-	26 40%	-	2 1%	-	1 2%	-	22 61%	1 1%	24 39%	-	-	*	1 *	1 *
Plaid Cymru	4 1%	4 1%	1	-	*	4 2%	-	2 1%	1 1%	1 1%	*	-	-	-	-	4 7%	-	1 *	1 1%	1 2%	-	1 4%	* 1%	-	4 10%	-	1	-	1
Green Party	22 3%	7 2%	15 5%	7 5%	3 4%	6 3%	5 3%	8 5%	8 4%	2 1%	4 3%	-	-	-	-	22 34%	1 *	1 1%	-	-	16 69%	2 4%	2 5%	2 3%	1 4%	4 2%	7 5%	8 4%	19 3%
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	69 11%	40 13%	29 9%	13 8%	6 7%	27 12%	23 14%	15 8%	13 7%	25 18%	16 12%	-	-	-	69 100%	-	7 3%	1	2 4%	55 78%	-	-	3 9%	-	10 30%	18 12%	22 14%	18 8%	59 11%
Other	12 2%	8 3%	4 1%	2 1%	2 2%	6 3%	2 1%	4 2%	3 1%	4 3%	2 1%	-	-	-	-	12 19%	3 1%	1	-	3 4%	1 6%	3 8%	2 4%	-	-	4 3%	2 1%	6 3%	12 2%



Col percents

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Table 4

Published Vote Intention Figures Percentages derived from the responses of 784 respondents

	<u>Total</u>
Conservatives	36%
Labour	36%
Liberal Democrats	8%
UKIP	11%
Green	3%
SNP	4%
PC	1%
Other	2%



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

	Unweighted <u>Total</u>	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1001	1001
Weighted base	1001	1001
Conservative	225 22%	256 26%
Labour	226 23%	219 22%
Liberal Democrat/ Liberal	62 6%	56 6%
Scottish National Party/SNP	28 3%	27 3%
Plaid Cymru	3	2
Green Party	32 3%	27 3%
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	82 8%	88 9%
British National Party (BNP)	- -	- -
Other	19 2%	16 2%
Did not vote	247 25%	231 23%
Refused	60 6%	58 6%
Don't know	17 2%	19 2%

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Table 6

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

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1001	1001
Weighted base	1001	1001
Yes	620 62%	612 61%
No	381 38%	389 39%



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

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1001	1001
Weighted base	1001	1001
NET: Owners	644 64%	638 64%
Owned outright - without mortgage	335 33%	333 33%
Owned with a mortgage or loan	309 31%	305 30%
NET: Renters	340 34%	349 35%
Rented from the council	103 10%	138 14%
Rented from a housing association	100 10%	94 9%
Rented from someone else	137 14%	117 12%
Rent free	17 2%	14 1%

Absolutes/col percents



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

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1001	1001
Weighted base	1001	1001
None	210 21%	212 21%
1	420 42%	417 42%
2	285 28%	280 28%
3+	86 9%	92 9%
Mean	1.30	1.31
Standard deviation Standard error	1.05 0.03	1.07 0.03

ICMUnlimited...

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Table 9
Current working status
Base: All respondents

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1001	1001
Weighted base	1001	1001
NET: Working	596 60%	563 56%
Working full time - working 30 hours per week or more	470 47%	445 44%
Working part time - working between 8 and 29 hours per week	126 13%	118 12%
NET: Not Working	405 40%	438 44%
Not working but seeking work or temporarily unemployed or sick	51 5%	63 6%
Not working and not seeking work/ student	45 4%	65 7%
Retired on a state pension only	131 13%	125 12%
Retired with a private pension	146 15%	142 14%
House person, housewife, househusband, etc.	32 3%	43 4%

Absolutes/col percents



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Table 10 **SEG**

	Unweighted	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1001	1001
Weighted base	1001	1001
NET: AB	412 41%	275 27%
A	168 17%	112 11%
В	244 24%	163 16%
C1	222 22%	270 27%
C2	135 13%	217 22%
D	94 9%	100 10%
Е	138 14%	139 14%
NET: DE	232 23%	240 24%

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Table 11 **Age**

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1001	1001
Weighted base	1001	1001
18-24	86 9%	110 11%
25-34	153 15%	169 17%
35-44	174 17%	164 16%
45-54	171 17%	178 18%
55-64	161 16%	146 15%
65 or older	256 26%	235 23%
Average age	49.11	47.61



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Table 12 **Gender**

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1001	1001
Weighted base	1001	1001
Male	506 51%	483 48%
Female	495 49%	518 52%



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Table 13 **Region**

	Unweighted Total	Weighted Total
Unweighted base	1001	1001
Weighted base	1001	1001
Scotland	87 9%	84 8%
North East	37 4%	40 4%
North West	123 12%	116 12%
Yorkshire & Humberside	87 9%	86 9%
West Midlands	86 9%	90 9%
East Midlands	71 7%	74 7%
Wales	47 5%	51 5%
Eastern	91 9%	98 10%
London	150 15%	133 13%
South East	133 13%	141 14%
South West	89 9%	90 9%