

Guardian Opinion Poll

Fieldwork : September 17th-19th 2004

Absolutes/col percents

Table 1
Q.AA How likely would you be to vote in an immediate general election?
Base: All respondents

	Total	Sex		Age				Social Class				Voting Intention				Region			
		Male	Fe- male	18-24	25-34	35-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Other	North	Mid- lands	South	
Weighted base	1005	482	523	105	169	527	205	253	292	208	252	196	238	142	44	336	314	356	
Absolutely certain to vote	(10)	473 47%	233 48%	239 46%	23 22%	51 30%	256 49%	143 70%	131 52%	136 46%	77 37%	129 51%	116 59%	119 50%	72 51%	28 64%	165 49%	152 48%	156 44%
	(9)	79 8%	38 8%	41 8%	6 6%	13 8%	48 9%	12 6%	23 9%	28 10%	17 8%	12 5%	20 10%	16 7%	10 7%	- -	22 7%	22 7%	35 10%
	(8)	92 9%	42 9%	50 10%	11 10%	26 15%	46 9%	9 4%	17 7%	39 13%	19 9%	17 7%	18 9%	19 8%	24 17%	5 12%	28 8%	27 9%	37 10%
	(7)	57 6%	28 6%	29 6%	14 13%	15 9%	24 5%	5 2%	17 7%	13 5%	14 7%	13 5%	14 7%	20 8%	10 7%	3 7%	20 6%	19 6%	18 5%
	(6)	28 3%	18 4%	11 2%	5 5%	7 4%	13 3%	3 1%	9 3%	7 2%	7 3%	6 2%	10 5%	7 3%	2 1%	1 2%	10 3%	9 3%	9 3%
	(5)	92 9%	36 7%	56 11%	13 12%	23 13%	45 9%	12 6%	21 8%	26 9%	25 12%	21 8%	12 6%	35 15%	16 11%	5 12%	36 11%	26 8%	30 8%
	(4)	28 3%	9 2%	19 4%	4 4%	5 3%	18 3%	2 1%	5 2%	9 3%	5 2%	9 4%	3 2%	11 5%	1 *	- -	11 3%	8 3%	9 3%
	(3)	18 2%	7 1%	11 2%	3 3%	3 2%	12 2%	1 *	7 3%	3 1%	5 2%	4 2%	1 1%	4 2%	3 2%	2 4%	6 2%	4 1%	8 2%
	(2)	15 2%	11 2%	4 1%	5 4%	3 2%	4 1%	3 1%	2 1%	7 2%	3 2%	3 1%	1 *	5 2%	3 2%	- -	6 2%	4 1%	5 1%
Certain not to vote	(1)	114 11%	57 12%	57 11%	21 20%	21 13%	56 11%	17 8%	21 8%	20 7%	38 18%	35 14%	- -	- -	- -	- -	30 9%	40 13%	44 12%
Don't know		7 1%	3 1%	4 1%	1 1%	1 1%	4 1%	1 *	* *	3 1%	- -	3 1%	- -	3 1%	1 1%	- -	1 *	1 *	5 1%
Mean		7.54	7.57	7.51	5.98	6.90	7.66	8.53	7.89	7.85	6.77	7.45	8.82	8.09	8.42	8.63	7.66	7.52	7.44
Standard deviation		3.14	3.18	3.10	3.31	3.07	3.09	2.81	2.92	2.83	3.42	3.33	1.78	2.36	2.10	2.09	3.01	3.21	3.19
Standard error		0.10	0.15	0.13	0.38	0.24	0.13	0.20	0.17	0.19	0.24	0.20	0.14	0.15	0.18	0.33	0.16	0.18	0.17

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Table 2
Published Vote Intention Figures - The Guardian, August 2004

	<u>Total</u>
Conservative	32%
Labour	36%
Liberal Democrat	22%
Other	10%

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Table 3

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

Base: All respondents expressing an intention to vote

Turnout weighted

NOTE: THIS TABLE IS PRODUCED BEFORE MANUAL ADJUSTMENT. AT TOP LINE LEVEL, THIS TABLE MIGHT SHOW SLIGHT DIFFERENCES TO THE PUBLISHED VOTE INTENTION FIGURES. ANY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO SETS OF FIGURES IS ENTIRELY EXPLAINED BY THE ADJUSTMENT PROCEDURE, WHICH AIMS TO MAKE AN ALLOWANCE FOR SOME OF THE DON'T KNOWS.

	Sex		Age				Social Class				Voting Intention				Region			
	Total	Male	Fe- male	18-24	25-34	35-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Other	North	Mid- lands	South
Weighted base	527	265	263	40	77	281	130	137	162	99	129	170	187	114	37	180	174	174
Conservative	170 32%	90 34%	80 30%	15 38%	16 21%	78 28%	60 46%	50 37%	52 32%	28 28%	40 31%	170 100%	- -	- -	- -	49 27%	70 40%	51 30%
Labour	187 35%	89 34%	98 37%	10 24%	29 37%	109 39%	39 30%	46 33%	50 31%	39 40%	52 41%	- -	187 100%	- -	- -	72 40%	55 32%	59 34%
Liberal Democrat/ Liberal	114 22%	59 22%	56 21%	9 21%	21 27%	66 24%	19 15%	34 24%	40 25%	18 18%	23 18%	- -	- -	114 100%	- -	40 22%	29 17%	46 26%
Others (net)	57 11%	27 10%	29 11%	7 16%	11 14%	28 10%	12 9%	8 6%	21 13%	14 14%	14 11%	- -	- -	- -	37 100%	19 11%	20 12%	17 10%
Scottish National Party/SNP	12 2%	6 2%	6 2%	1 3%	3 4%	5 2%	2 2%	- -	3 2%	2 3%	6 5%	- -	- -	- -	12 31%	11 6%	1 1%	- -
Plaid Cymru	5 1%	4 2%	* *	1 2%	1 1%	3 1%	- -	3 2%	- -	1 1%	* *	- -	- -	- -	5 12%	1 *	4 2%	- -
Green Party	11 2%	3 1%	8 3%	3 9%	1 1%	6 2%	- -	2 2%	4 3%	3 3%	1 1%	- -	- -	- -	11 28%	2 1%	4 2%	4 2%
UKIP	19 4%	9 3%	10 4%	1 3%	1 2%	11 4%	6 5%	- -	10 6%	4 4%	5 4%	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 1%	4 3%	12 7%
Other	11 2%	6 2%	5 2%	- -	5 7%	3 1%	3 2%	2 1%	4 2%	3 3%	2 1%	- -	- -	- -	11 29%	3 2%	7 4%	* *

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Absolutes/col percents

Table 4

Q.1 From everything you have seen and heard do you think the military attack on Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein was justified or unjustified?

Base: All respondents

	Sex		Age				Social Class				Voting Intention				Region			
	Total	Male	Fe- male	18-24	25-34	35-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Other	North	Mid- lands	South
Weighted base	1005	482	523	105	169	527	205	253	292	208	252	196	238	142	44	336	314	356
Justified	397	201	197	47	65	219	67	90	108	106	93	72	135	51	17	146	125	127
	40%	42%	38%	44%	38%	42%	33%	36%	37%	51%	37%	37%	57%	36%	39%	43%	40%	36%
Unjustified	460	226	234	48	78	223	111	132	138	70	120	107	77	83	23	140	141	180
	46%	47%	45%	45%	47%	42%	54%	52%	47%	34%	48%	55%	32%	59%	51%	42%	45%	50%
Don't know/ refused	148	56	92	11	25	84	27	31	46	32	39	16	27	7	4	51	48	49
	15%	12%	18%	10%	15%	16%	13%	12%	16%	15%	16%	8%	11%	5%	10%	15%	15%	14%

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Table 5
Q.2 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the job Tony Blair is doing as prime minister?
Base: All respondents

	Sex		Age				Social Class				Voting Intention				Region			
	Total	Male	Fe- male	18-24	25-34	35-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Other	North	Mid- lands	South
Weighted base	1005	482	523	105	169	527	205	253	292	208	252	196	238	142	44	336	314	356
Satisfied	396	195	201	44	70	205	76	93	112	88	102	29	176	52	13	138	130	128
	39%	40%	38%	42%	42%	39%	37%	37%	38%	42%	41%	15%	74%	37%	29%	41%	41%	36%
Dissatisfied	539	264	275	52	90	278	119	145	161	102	132	161	52	80	29	178	161	200
	54%	55%	53%	50%	53%	53%	58%	57%	55%	49%	52%	82%	22%	56%	67%	53%	51%	56%
Don't know/ refused	70	24	47	9	9	44	10	15	20	18	17	5	10	9	2	20	23	27
	7%	5%	9%	8%	5%	8%	5%	6%	7%	9%	7%	3%	4%	7%	4%	6%	7%	8%

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Table 6

Q.3 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the job Michael Howard is doing as leader of the Conservative Party?

Base: All respondents

	Sex		Age				Social Class				Voting Intention				Region			
	Total	Male	Fe- male	18-24	25-34	35-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Other	North	Mid- lands	South
Weighted base	1005	482	523	105	169	527	205	253	292	208	252	196	238	142	44	336	314	356
Satisfied	317	150	167	43	53	156	64	87	93	66	71	122	69	31	7	94	108	115
	32%	31%	32%	41%	32%	30%	31%	34%	32%	32%	28%	62%	29%	22%	16%	28%	34%	32%
Dissatisfied	416	214	202	30	70	226	90	109	113	82	111	45	102	81	28	151	130	135
	41%	44%	39%	29%	41%	43%	44%	43%	39%	39%	44%	23%	43%	57%	64%	45%	41%	38%
Don't know/ refused	272	118	154	31	45	145	51	57	86	60	69	28	67	29	9	90	75	107
	27%	24%	29%	30%	27%	27%	25%	22%	29%	29%	27%	15%	28%	21%	20%	27%	24%	30%

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Table 7

Q.4 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the job Charles Kennedy is doing as leader of the Liberal Democrat Party?

Base: All respondents

	Sex		Age				Social Class				Voting Intention				Region			
	Total	Male	Fe- male	18-24	25-34	35-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Other	North	Mid- lands	South
Weighted base	1005	482	523	105	169	527	205	253	292	208	252	196	238	142	44	336	314	356
Satisfied	505	235	270	64	77	269	95	137	141	105	122	76	126	125	22	167	155	182
	50%	49%	52%	61%	46%	51%	47%	54%	48%	51%	48%	39%	53%	88%	50%	50%	50%	51%
Dissatisfied	250	143	106	17	43	129	61	64	67	48	71	73	48	10	16	91	72	87
	25%	30%	20%	16%	25%	25%	30%	25%	23%	23%	28%	37%	20%	7%	36%	27%	23%	24%
Don't know/ refused	250	104	146	25	49	128	49	52	84	55	59	47	64	6	6	77	86	87
	25%	22%	28%	24%	29%	24%	24%	21%	29%	26%	23%	24%	27%	5%	14%	23%	28%	24%

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Table 8

Q.5 Thinking about the present levels of tax on the one hand and the state of public services (like health or education) on the other, do you think the party you support at the next election should pledge to increase taxes, hold taxes at their present level or to reduce taxes?

Base: All respondents

	Sex		Age				Social Class				Voting Intention				Region			
	Total	Male	Fe- male	18-24	25-34	35-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Other	North	Mid- lands	South
Weighted base	1005	482	523	105	169	527	205	253	292	208	252	196	238	142	44	336	314	356
Increase taxes	178 18%	89 18%	89 17%	14 13%	19 11%	96 18%	48 24%	52 21%	50 17%	30 15%	46 18%	20 10%	44 18%	38 27%	9 21%	69 21%	45 14%	64 18%
Hold at present level	433 43%	191 40%	242 46%	41 39%	65 39%	248 47%	80 39%	114 45%	136 46%	87 42%	97 38%	89 46%	109 46%	64 45%	20 45%	140 42%	139 44%	155 44%
Reduce taxes	358 36%	189 39%	169 32%	48 45%	79 47%	168 32%	64 31%	75 30%	102 35%	85 41%	97 38%	84 43%	80 33%	36 25%	14 32%	113 34%	118 38%	127 36%
Don't know	36 4%	14 3%	22 4%	3 3%	6 3%	15 3%	13 6%	12 5%	5 2%	7 3%	13 5%	3 2%	6 2%	4 3%	1 3%	14 4%	12 4%	10 3%

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Table 9

Q.6 Would you be in favour or against an election pledge...?**Base: All respondents**

	Sex		Age				Social Class				Voting Intention				Region			
	Total	Male	Fe- male	18-24	25-34	35-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Other	North	Mid- lands	South
Weighted base	1005	482	523	105	169	527	205	253	292	208	252	196	238	142	44	336	314	356
<u>To renationalise the railways</u>																		
In favour	662 66%	322 67%	340 65%	73 70%	114 67%	355 67%	121 59%	162 64%	193 66%	144 69%	163 65%	111 56%	170 71%	95 67%	30 68%	223 66%	207 66%	232 65%
Against	220 22%	124 26%	95 18%	17 16%	37 22%	113 21%	52 26%	67 27%	66 23%	43 21%	43 17%	68 35%	42 17%	32 22%	9 21%	66 20%	67 21%	87 24%
Don't know	123 12%	36 7%	87 17%	15 14%	18 11%	59 11%	32 15%	24 10%	33 11%	21 10%	46 18%	17 9%	27 11%	14 10%	5 11%	47 14%	40 13%	37 10%
<u>To set a date for British troops to withdraw from Iraq</u>																		
In favour	702 70%	303 63%	399 76%	71 68%	111 66%	377 72%	142 69%	169 67%	206 71%	149 71%	178 71%	128 65%	171 72%	106 75%	37 84%	241 72%	232 74%	228 64%
Against	228 23%	150 31%	78 15%	33 32%	42 25%	113 21%	40 19%	67 26%	59 20%	47 23%	54 22%	54 27%	53 22%	30 22%	7 15%	78 23%	60 19%	90 25%
Don't know	76 8%	30 6%	46 9%	1 1%	15 9%	37 7%	23 11%	18 7%	27 9%	12 6%	19 8%	14 7%	14 6%	5 4%	1 1%	17 5%	22 7%	37 10%

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Table 10

Q.7 Putting aside the rights and wrongs of the causes involved in last week's invasion by protesters in the House of Commons and at Buckingham Palace, do you think of these as a serious threat to security or harmless protests?

Base: All respondents

	Sex		Age				Social Class				Voting Intention				Region			
	Total	Male	Fe- male	18-24	25-34	35-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Other	North	Mid- lands	South
Weighted base	1005	482	523	105	169	527	205	253	292	208	252	196	238	142	44	336	314	356
Serious threat	551	249	302	45	86	315	104	136	131	142	143	94	145	72	31	198	184	169
	55%	52%	58%	43%	51%	60%	51%	54%	45%	68%	57%	48%	61%	51%	70%	59%	59%	47%
Harmless protests	420	218	202	57	74	195	93	105	154	66	95	96	86	68	12	126	123	171
	42%	45%	39%	55%	44%	37%	46%	42%	53%	32%	38%	49%	36%	48%	27%	37%	39%	48%
Don't know	34	15	18	2	8	16	7	12	7	-	14	5	7	2	1	12	6	15
	3%	3%	4%	2%	5%	3%	4%	5%	2%	-	6%	3%	3%	1%	3%	4%	2%	4%

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Table 11

Q.8 Do you think such action will increase or reduce support for the protesters campaign, or make no difference one way or the other?

Base: All respondents

	Sex		Age				Social Class				Voting Intention				Region			
	Total	Male	Fe- male	18-24	25-34	35-64	65+	AB	C1	C2	DE	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Other	North	Mid- lands	South
Weighted base	1005	482	523	105	169	527	205	253	292	208	252	196	238	142	44	336	314	356
Increase support	187	99	88	29	37	92	30	39	65	43	39	48	37	22	11	58	57	72
	19%	21%	17%	28%	22%	17%	15%	16%	22%	21%	16%	25%	15%	16%	26%	17%	18%	20%
Make no difference	605	278	326	64	100	312	128	148	175	119	163	121	135	82	21	206	193	205
	60%	58%	62%	61%	59%	59%	63%	58%	60%	57%	65%	62%	57%	58%	48%	61%	62%	58%
Reduce support	182	93	89	9	27	110	37	60	46	42	35	24	58	34	11	61	54	67
	18%	19%	17%	9%	16%	21%	18%	24%	16%	20%	14%	12%	24%	24%	26%	18%	17%	19%
Don't know	31	12	19	3	6	13	10	6	7	4	15	3	8	3	-	11	9	11
	3%	2%	4%	2%	3%	2%	5%	2%	2%	2%	6%	2%	3%	2%	-	3%	3%	3%

	Page	Table	Title	Base Description	Base
	1	1	Q.AA How likely would you be to vote in an immediate general election?	Base: All respondents	1005
	2	2	Published Vote Intention Figures - The Guardian, August 2004		
	3	3	Q.A If there were to be a general election tomorrow which party do you think you would vote for? / Turnout weighted / NOTE: THIS TABLE IS PRODUCED BEFORE MANUAL ADJUSTMENT. AT TOP LINE LEVEL, THIS TABLE MIGHT SHOW SLIGHT / DIFFERENCES TO THE PUBLISHED VOTE INTENTION FIGURES. ANY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO SETS OF FIGURES IS / ENTIRELY EXPLAINED BY THE ADJUSTMENT PROCEDURE, WHICH AIMS TO MAKE AN ALLOWANCE FOR SOME OF THE DON'T KNOWS.	Base: All respondents expressing an intention to vote	527
	4	4	Q.1 From everything you have seen and heard do you think the military attack on Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein was justified or unjustified?	Base: All respondents	1005
	5	5	Q.2 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the job Tony Blair is doing as prime minister?	Base: All respondents	1005
	6	6	Q.3 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the job Michael Howard is doing as leader of the Conservative Party?	Base: All respondents	1005
	7	7	Q.4 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the job Charles Kennedy is doing as leader of the Liberal Democrat Party?	Base: All respondents	1005
	8	8	Q.5 Thinking about the present levels of tax on the one hand and the state of public services (like health or education) on the other, do you think the / party you support at the next election should pledge to increase taxes, hold taxes at their present level or to reduce taxes?	Base: All respondents	1005
	9	9	Q.6 Would you be in favour or against an election pledge...? / To renationalise the railways / To set a date for British troops to withdraw from Iraq	Base: All respondents	1005
	10	10	Q.7 Putting aside the rights and wrongs of the causes involved in last week's invasion by protesters in the House of Commons and at Buckingham Palace, do / you think of these as a serious threat to security or harmless protests?	Base: All respondents	1005
	11	11	Q.8 Do you think such action will increase or reduce support for the protesters campaign, or make no difference one way or the other?	Base: All respondents	1005