PUBLIC OPINION BACKGROUND NOTE 105

(produced 20th March 1982)



CONFIDENTIAL

1. Introduction

The interviewing for the latest Gallup 'tracking' study was conducted after the Budget from 11th to 15th March 1982. The results are the same as those published in the Daily Telegraph on Thursday March 18th. Unfortunately they do not confirm the results of the MORI study conducted the day after the Budget which found a very sharp increase in Conservative support and a 4% Conservative lead over the Labour Party. Our Gallup survey conducted after the Budget found no significant changes in the level of support for the parties when compared with the results of the last unpublished prebudget survey, conducted 3rd to 8th March. Conservative support was up from 30% to 311/%, Labour support down from 331/% to 33%, Liberal support remained unchanged at 111/2% and Social Democrat support increased from 21% to 211/2%. The table below shows details. - VOTING INTENTION

(unprompted question, excluding don't knows)

	CON	LAB	LIB	SOCIAL DEMOCRAT	OTHER	LEAD	LIBERAL & SOCIAL DEMOCRAT
	%	%	%	%	%	%	DEMOCRAT %
1979	/0	/0	/0	/0	/0	/0	70
May (GE)	43.9	36.9	13.8	1 a -	5.5	+7.0	13.8
13/16 June*	42.0	43.5	13.0	_	5.0	-9.0	13.0
1901							
3/8 June	31.0	40.0	14.0	12.5	2.5	-9.0	26.5
9/15 June	29.5	37.5	18.0	12.5	2.5	-8.0**	30.5
16/22 June	32.0	37.0	15.5	13.0	2.5	-5.0	28.5
24/30 June	29.0	40.0	17.0	12.0	2.0	-11.0	29.0
1/6 July	30.5	39.5	14.0	13.0	3.0	-9.0	27.0
8/13 July	30.0	40.5	14.5	12.0	3.0	-10.5**	26.5
15/20 July	29.0	36.0	16.0	17.0	2.0	-7.0	33.0
22/27 July	26.0	38.0	13.0	21.0	2.0	-12.0	34.0
29 July/3 Aug	25.5	40.0	11.5	20.5	2.5	-14.5	32.0
5/10 Aug	27.0	36.0	15.0	19.0	4.0	-9.0	33.0
12/17 Aug	28.0	38.5	13.0	19.0	1.5	-10.5**	32.0
19/24 Aug	29.0	34.0	17.0	18.0	2.0	-5.0	35.0
26/31 Aug	26.0	41.0	15.0	16.0	2.0	-15.0	31.0
1/7 Sept	25.0	41.0	15.0	16.0	3.0	-16.0	31.0
9/14 Sept	32.0	36.5	11.5	17.5	2.5	-4.5**	29.0
16/21 Sept	25.0	36.5	16.0	19.0	3.5	-11.5	35.0
23/28 Sept	24.5	33.5	16.5	24.0	1.5	-9.0	40.5
30 ept/5 Oct	26.0	38.0	12.0	21.0	3.0	-12.0	33.0
7/12 Oct	27.0	31.0	12.5	26.5	3.0	-4.0	39.0
14/19 Oct	28.5	34.0	12.5	22.0	3.0	-5.5	34.5
21/25 Oct	29.5	28.0	13.5	26.5	2.5	+1.5**	40.0
28 Oct/2 Nov	26.5	29.0	13.0	29.5	2.5	-2.5	42.5
4/9 Nov	26.5	28.5	14.5	28.5	2.0	-2.0	43.0
11/16 Nov	26.5	29.0	15.0	27.0	2.5	-2.5**	42.0
18/23 Nov	25.5	26.0	14.0	32.0	2.5	-0.5	46.0
25/30 Nov	25.0	26.5	15.5	30.0	3.0	-1.5	45.5
2/7 Dec	26.0	21.0	13.5	38.0	1.5	+5.0	51.5
9/14 Dec	23.0	23.5	14.5	36.0	3.0	-0.5**	50.5
1982							
6/11 Jan	25.5	30.0	17.0	25.0	2.5	-4.5	42.0
13/18 Jan	27.5	29.5				-4.5 -2.5**	
20/25 Jan	20.0	27.0	13.0 14.0	26.5	3.5		39.5
27 Jan/1 Feb	20.0	20.0				+3.0	40.5
3/8 Feb			15.0 15.0			0.0	39.0
10/15 Feb					1.0		41.0
		34.0		21.5		-6.5**	35.0
24 Feb/1 March	26.5 31.0	33.5	14.0	22.0	4.0	-7. 0	36.0
3/8 March	31.0	32.5	11.0	22.5 21.0+	3.0	-1.5	33.5
11/15 March	31 5	33.0	11.5	21.0	2 5	-3.5 -1.5**	32.5
11/10 March	.51.5	33.0	11.5	21.5.	2.5	-1.5.*	33.0

First Gallup post-Election survey

^{**} Published polls

2. Government Record

The latest study found a significant improvement in the level of approval for the record of the Government - 29% approved (24% 3/8 March), 59% disapproved (65% 3/8 March) and 11% did not answer (12% 3/8 March). Details are shown below:-

GOVERNMENT RECORD

	Approve %	Disapprove %	Don't know %
1979			
13/18 June	34	41	25
1981			
1/7 September	23	65	13
9/14 September	26	63	11
16/21 September	21	67	11
23/28 September	21	66	13
30 Sept/ 5 Oct	21	70	10
7/12 October	20	68	12
14/19 October	24	65	12
21/26 October	24	62	13
28 October/ 2 November	23	66	10
4/9 November	27	64	9
11/16 November	23	66	11
18/23 November	22	66	12
25/30 November	22	65	14
2/7 December	20	69	11
9/14 December	18	70	12
1982			
6/11 January	23	65	12
13/18 January	24	65	12
20/25 January	26	62	13
27 Jan/1 Feb	25	62	13
3/8 Feb	26	63	11
10/15 Feb	24	66	10
17/22 Feb	22	66	13
24 Feb/ 1 March	23	63	13
3/8 March	24	65	11
11/15 March	29	59	12

3. Popularity of Political Leaders

The latest survey found a sharp jump in Mrs Thatcher's popularity and almost no change in the popularity of the leaders of the Labour and Liberal parties. Please see below for details.

	Mrs	That	cher		Mr Fo	ot		Mr S	teel
	Sat.	STATE OF TAXABLE PARTY.		Is	Is	Don't	Is	Is	Don't
		sat.	Know		Not	Know		Not	Know
1981	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1/7 September	28	67	5	29	52	19	63	18	19
9/14 September	32	62	6	28	54	18	56	21	23
16/21 September	27	68	5	28	52	20	64	16	20
23/28 September	28	67	5	25	57	18	64	17	19
30 Sept/ 5 Oct	27	68	6	31	49	20	60	20	20
7/12 Oct	26	68	6	28	50	22	62	19	18
14/19 Oct	31	62	7	31	50	20	64	15	21
21/26 Oct	33	62	5	27	54	19	64	20	16
28 Oct/ 2 Nov	29	65	6	25	59	16	64	19	17
4/9 Nov	32	64	3	24	62	14	68	16	16
11/16 Nov	28	66	6	16	67	17	64	17	19
18/23 Nov	29	66	5	18	68	15	69	15	16
25/30 Nov	29	65	5	18	68	15	67	15	18
2/7 Dec	29	66	5	18	68	14	64	18	18
_9/14 Dec	25	70	5	19	67	14	63	18	19
1982									
6/11 January	30	65	5	20	65	14	62	20	18
13/18 January	32	65	4	18	67	16	59	22	19
20/25 January	32	64	4	17	68	15	59	22	19
27 Jan/1 Feb	33	62	5	19	64	17	60	18	22
3/8 Feb	31	65	4	20	63	17	61	20	19
10/15 Feb	29	66	5	19	66	15	59	23	17
17/22 Feb	29	65	5	20	64	16	58	20	21
24 Feb/1st March	32	63	5	21	64	15	55	23	22
3/8 March	30	66	4	20	64	16	58	24	18 10
11/15 March	34	62	4	21	65	14	58	22	10

4. Published Polls

(a) Gallup (Daily Telegraph 18th March 1982)

In addition to the standard Gallup 'tracking' questions considered above the allup poll in the Daily Telegraph on 18th March included details of a number of questions on public reactions to the Budget.

Gallup found the Budget was well received by the public in sharp contrast to our 1981 Budget. Almost one in two (49%) thought Sir Geoffrey was doing a good job as Chancellor, while 39% thought he was doing a bad job. Last year the figures were 24% and 51% respectively.

Similarly 56% considered the Budget to be a fair one - only 22% thought the 1981 Budget was fair.

Gallup asked "Bearing in mind the country's economic problems, do you think that the Budget is too tough, not tough enough or about right" - 27% thought it was "too tough", 11% "not tough enough", 53% "about right" and 9% did not answer. When Gallup asked "Has the Budget made you more favourably inclined or less favourably inclined towards the Government" they found 13% claiming it had made them more favourably inclined, 31% less favourably inclined, 54% it made no difference and 2% did not answer.

The table below shows the level of approval/disapproval for various measures included in the Budget.

Q. Do you approve of disapprove of the following measures in the Budget?

	Approve %	Disapprove %	Don't know %
Industry	74	15	10
Disabled/Charities	74	15	11
Social Security Benefits	58	31	11
Pensions	77	20	3
Road tax	21	72	7
Cigarettes etc.	56	37	8
Beer, wines etc.	49	44	8
Child Benefit	62	31	7
Petrol	21	73	6
Personal taxes	66	24	10
Buying Shares	41	22	38

(b) N.O.P. (Daily Mail 19th March 1982)

An N.O.P. poll published in the Daily Mail on 19th March looked at voting intention in Glasgow Hillhead. The survey conducted on 17th/18th March found 29% claiming they would vote Alliance, 28% Labour, 26% Conservative, 16% SNP and 1% for 'other' parties. In opinion poll terms, when any voting intention figure has an error factor of plus or minus 3 percent this poll put the three main parties 'neck and neck' a week before polling day.

(c) Telephone Survey Research Unit (Sunday Standard 21st March 1982)

The Sunday Standard on 21st March 1982 included the results of their fourth telephone survey in Hillhead. This survey found 29% claiming they would vote Alliance, 28% Labour, 27% Conservative, 14% SNP and 1% for 'other' parties. Again, when we allow for the errors inherent in opinion research this survey found the three main parties 'neck and neck'.

(d) M.O.R.I. (Daily Express 22nd March 1982)

An MORI poll published in the Daily Express on 22nd March and conducted in Hillhead on 20th March found 29% claiming they would vote Conservative, 28% Alliance, 28% Labour, 13% SNP and 1% for 'other' parties. Among those claiming they were certain to vote 30% claimed they would vote Conservative, 29% Alliance, 25% Labour, 13% SNP and 1% 'other'.

(e) Systems Three (Glasgow Herald 20th March)

The Glasgow Herald on 20th March included the results of a Systems Three poll conducted between February 20th and 1st March. It found in Scotland as a whole 17% claiming they would vote Conservative, 46% Labour, 18% Liberal/Alliance and 18% SNP.

(f) Systems Three (Glasgow Herald 23rd March)

A Systems Three poll conducted in Hillhead on 20th/21st March was published in the Glasgow Herald on 23rd March. When those who claimed to be undecided are excluded (24% in latest study) they found 31% claiming they will vote SDP/Liberal, 27% Conservative, 26% Labour, 13% SNP and 4% for 'other' parties. Again a result so close that most, if not all, of the apparent SDP/Liberal lead can be accounted for by errors inherent in opinion research.