

(produced 20th December 1981)

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1. Introduction

The results from our latest Gallup 'tracking' study are the same as the results of the Gallup poll published in the Daily Telegraph on 18th December 1981. The survey (giving the first published voting intention figures since Crosby) found 50½% of the electorate claiming they will vote for either the Liberals or the Social Democrats. The survey found 36% claiming they would vote Social Democrat, 23½% Labour, 23% Conservative, 14½% Liberal and 3% for 'other' parties. Since the last published Gallup poll (conducted 11/16 November) support for the Social Democrats has increased from 27% to 36%. Conservative support has dropped from 26½% to 23%, Labour support has dropped from 29% to 23½% and Liberal support has remained almost stable (15% - 11/16 November, 14½% 9/14 December). Support for the Social Democrats has increased from 29½% in the first tracking study completed after the Croydon NW by-election (28 Oct/2 Nov) to 36% in the latest study. Support has increased from 21% in first tracking study after Warrington by-election (22/27 July). The trend of support for the Social Democrats in the table below shows a sharp jump in support for the Social Democrats after the Crosby by-election.

The table below and the attached graph shows details of the trends in support for the main parties since early June.

	VOTING INTENTION						LIBERAL + SOCIAL DEMOCRAT
	CON	LAB	LIB	SOCIAL DEMOCRAT	OTHER	LEAD	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>1979</u>							
May (GE)	43.9	36.9	13.8	-	5.5	+7.0	13.8
13/16 June*	42.0	43.5	13.0	-	5.0	-9.0	13.0
<u>1981</u>							
3/8 June	31.0	40.0	14.0	12.5	2.5	-9.0	26.5
15 June	29.5	37.5	18.0	12.5	2.5	-8.0**	30.5
18/22 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 Sept/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

* First Gallup post-election survey
** Published Polls

(unprompted question)
(excluding don't knows)

In terms of the published Gallup polls the Social Democrats have doubled their support since September whilst in terms of published polls the Labour and Conservative Parties have reached a post-war low in terms of support.

In addition to the standard voting intention question considered above Gallup asked 'If an election were to take place tomorrow and the following candidates were standing in your constituency, how would you vote?'. They found:-

	<u>25/30 Nov</u> 1981 %	<u>2/7 Dec</u> 1981 %	<u>9/14 Dec</u> 1981 %
Conservative	25½	25	22
Labour	25½	20	25
Social Democrat/Liberal	49	53	51
Some other party	0	2	2

The trend in support for the parties is very similar to that we found in our unprompted voting intention question.

2. Government Record

The latest Gallup 'tracking' study found only 18% of the electorate approving of the record of the Government to date, 70% disapproved and 12% did not have a view. This is the lowest level of approval for the record of the Government we have found since May 1979 and we have to go back to Wilson's 1968 Government to find a similar low level of approval. Then only 17% in April and December approved of the record of the Government.

GOVERNMENT RECORD

	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	<u>Don't know</u> %
1979 13/18 June	34	41	25
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 Oct	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

3. Popularity of Political Leaders

Mr Foot's popularity has improved slightly from the nadir reached last month when we found only 16% of the electorate thought Mr Foot is proving to be a good leader of the Labour Party - the latest survey found 19% approving of Mr Foot. The survey found only 25% of the electorate claiming to be satisfied with the record of Mrs Thatcher as Prime Minister - this is the lowest level since May 1979. Mrs Thatcher's popularity is at an all time low when compared with previous post-war Governments. The previous all time low for a post-war Prime Minister was Harold Wilson in May 1968 when his personal popularity stood at 27%.

Approval for Mr Steel remained almost unchanged with 63% approving of his record as leader of the Liberals, 18% disapproving and 19% not have a view.

POPULARITY OF POLITICAL LEADERS

	<u>Mrs Thatcher</u>			<u>Mr Foot</u>			<u>Mr Steel</u>		
	<u>Sat.</u>	<u>Dis-</u>	<u>Don't</u>	<u>Is</u>	<u>Is</u>	<u>Don't</u>	<u>Is</u>	<u>Is</u>	<u>Don't</u>
	%	sat	Know	%	Not	Know	%	Not	Know
<u>1981</u>									
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	14	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

4. Published Polls(a) Gallup (Daily Telegraph 18/19 December 1981)

Gallup, in their latest Daily Telegraph poll, asked a number of questions in addition to their standard 'tracking' questions.

When Gallup asked respondents what they thought are the most urgent problems the country faces, they found 85% mentioned unemployment, 40% cost of living/prices, 14% other economic problems, 5% strikes/trade unions and 5% defence/nuclear weapons.

56% of respondents thought there should be a General Election in the near future, 39% thought the Government should carry on, and 4% did not have a view. When Gallup asked irrespective of how you yourself will vote, who

do you think will win the next General Election' - 28% mentioned the Social Democrats, 23% Labour and 12% the Conservatives.

Gallup also asked a range of questions on the electorate's approval or disapproval of the Government's handling of a number of issues. They found:-

Approval/Disapproval of Handling
of Issues

	<u>All</u> %	<u>Con</u> %	<u>Lab</u> %	<u>Lib</u> %	<u>Social Democrat</u> %
<u>Defence & Armaments</u>					
Approve	37	65	15	32	39
Disapprove	46	17	68	53	46
Don't know	17	17	17	15	14
<u>Cost of Living & Prices</u>					
Approve	18	55	4	3	13
Disapprove	78	38	96	92	85
Don't know	4	7	0	5	2
<u>Economic & Financial Affairs</u>					
Approve	20	62	5	12	10
Disapprove	68	30	86	71	81
Don't know	12	8	9	17	8
<u>Strikes & Labour Relations</u>					
Approve	35	63	18	28	33
Disapprove	56	31	72	61	60
Don't know	9	6	10	11	7
<u>Full Employment</u>					
Approve	12	35	4	7	6
Disapprove	81	53	92	87	90
Don't know	7	12	3	6	4
<u>Education</u>					
Approve	27	50	20	20	21
Disapprove	62	37	70	72	69
Don't know	12	13	9	8	10
<u>The Health Services</u>					
Approve	28	55	19	28	19
Disapprove	64	36	77	64	74
Don't know	8	9	4	8	6
<u>Housing</u>					
Approve	32	69	15	29	25
Disapprove	55	17	76	57	57
Don't know	13	14	9	13	13
<u>The Common Market</u>					
Approve	40	72	15	39	41
Disapprove	44	13	64	49	46
Don't know	17	15	20	13	13
<u>Old Age Pension</u>					
Approve	34	67	18	31	30
Disapprove	55	27	75	55	61
Don't know	11	6	7	15	9
<u>Immigration</u>					
Approve	32	50	20	32	32
Disapprove	51	38	59	53	53
Don't know	17	12	21	15	15

	<u>All</u> %	<u>Con</u> %	<u>Lab</u> %	<u>Lib</u> %	<u>Social Democrat</u> %
<u>Roads</u>					
Approve	27	44	17	25	25
Disapprove	51	32	60	53	56
Don't know	22	24	22	22	19
<u>Law & Order</u>					
Approve	48	66	29	56	54
Disapprove	41	27	56	38	38
Don't know	10	8	15	6	6
<u>Taxation</u>					
Approve	19	45	4	13	19
Disapprove	72	45	89	78	76
Don't know	9	10	7	9	4

37% of the electorate approved of our record on defence and armaments 46% disapproved and 17% did not have a view. Among Conservative supporters 65% approved of our record, 17% disapproved and 17% did not have a view. Among Labour supporters 15% approved, 68% disapproved and 17% did not have a view. Among Liberal supporters, 32% approved, 53% disapproved and 15% did not have a view. Among Social Democrats 39% approved, 46% disapproved and 14% did not have a view.

18% of the electorate approved of our record on dealing with the problem of cost of living and prices - including 55% of Conservative supporters, 4% of Labour supporters, 3% of Liberal supporters and 13% of Social Democrat supporters. 78% of the electorate disapprove of our record in cost of living and prices including 38% of Conservative supporters, 96% of Labour supporters, 92% of Liberal supporters and 85% of Social Democrat supporters.

20% of the electorate approved of our record on economic and financial affairs - 68% disapproved and 12% did not have a view. 62% of Conservative supporters approved, 86% of Labour supporters disapproved, as did 71% of Liberal supporters and 81% of Social Democrat supporters.

35% of electors approved of our record on strikes and Labour relations, 56% disapproved and 9% did not have a view. Among Conservative supporters, 63% approved, 31% disapproved and 6% did not have a view. Among Labour supporters 18% approved, 72% disapproved and 10% did not have a view. Among Liberal supporters 28% approved, 61% disapproved and 11% did not have a view. Among Social Democrats supporters 33% approved of our record on strikes and Labour relations, 60% disapproved and 7% did not have a view.

On the issue of full employment - 12% approved of our record, 81% disapproved and 7% did not have a view. 53% of Conservative supporters disapproved of our record, as did 92% of Labour supporters, 87% of Liberal supporters and 90% of Social Democrat supporters.

With regard to education policy 27% approved, 62% disapproved and 12% did not have a view. 37% of Conservative supporters disapproved of our record in this area, as did 70% of Labour supporters, 72% of Liberal supporters and 69% of Social Democrat supporters.

In the health service area 28% approved of our policies, 64% disapproved and 8% did not have a view. Among Conservative supporters 55% approved of our record, 36% disapproved and 9% did not have a view. Among Labour supporters 19% approved, 77% disapproved and 4% did not have a view. Among Liberal supporters 28% approved 64% disapproved and 8% did not have a view. Among Social Democrat supporters, 19% approved, 74% disapproved and 6% did not have a view.

On the issue of housing - 32% approved of our record, 55% disapproved and 13% did not have a view. 69% of Conservative supporters approved of our record in this area (17% disapproved), 76% of Labour supporters disapproved (15% approved), 57% of Liberal supporters disapproved (29% approved) and 57% of Social Democrat supporters (25% approved).

On the issue of the Common Market 40% approved of our record, 44% disapproved and 17% did not have a view. 72% of Conservative supporters approved of our record, 13% disapproved and 15% did not have a view. Among Labour supporters 15% approved of our record, 64% disapproved and 20% did not have a view. Among Liberal supporters 39% approved of our record, 49% disapproved and 13% did not have a view. Among Social Democrats 41% approved of our record, 46% disapproved and 13% did not have a view.

With regard to old age pensioners, 34% of electors approved of our policies, 55% disapproved and 11% did not have a view. 27% of Conservative supporters disapproved of our record (67% approved), 75% of Labour supporters disapproved (18% approved), 55% of Liberal supporters disapproved (31% approved) and among Social Democrat supporters 61% disapproved (30% approved).

On the question of immigration 32% approved of our record, 51% disapproved, and 17% did not have a view. 50% of Conservative supporters approved of our record on immigration, 59% of Labour supporters disapproved, 53% of Liberal supporters disapproved as did 53% of Social Democrat supporters.

27% of the electorate approved of our policy on roads - 51% disapproved and 22% did not have a view.

With regard to law and order 48% approved of our policies, 41% disapproved and 10% did not have a view. Among Conservative supporters 66% approved of our record, 27% disapproved and 8% did not have a view. Among Labour supporters 29% approved, 56% disapproved and 15% did not have a view. Among Liberal supporters 56% approved, 38% disapproved and 6% did not have a view. Among Social Democrat supporters 54% approved of our record of law and order, 38% disapproved and 6% did not have a view.

19% of the electorate approved of our record on taxation, 72% disapproved and 9% did not have a view. 45% of Conservative supporters approved (45% disapproved), 89% of Labour supporters disapproved (4% approved) 78% of Liberal supporters disapproved (13% approved) and 76% of Social Democrat supporters disapproved of our record on taxation (19% approved).

In addition to these questions Gallup also asked respondents who they thought would make the best leader of the Social Democrat Party - 41% thought Shirley Williams, 22% Roy Jenkins, 17% David Owen and 2% William Rodgers. When asked who they thought would make the best leader of the Alliance - 39% thought David Steel, 22% Shirley Williams, 13% Roy Jenkins, 8% David Owen and 1% William Rodgers.

(b) Marplan (The Guardian 21st December 1981)

The Guardian on 21st December including the results of a Marplan poll conducted between 14th to 16th December on attitudes to the National Health Service.

Marplan found 71% of the electorate thought the National Health Service represents value for money to the taxpayer - 21% thought it does not and 8% did not have a view.

Marplan asked respondents 'Would you say the treatment you got from your

Health Service GP was on the whole very good, fairly good, not very good or not at all good?' They found 58% of respondents thought the treatment they received was 'very good', 33% 'Fairly good', 7% 'not very good' and 2% 'not good at all'. On the question of service from the National Health Service Hospitals 67% saw these as being 'very good', 25% 'fairly good', 7% 'not very good' and 2% 'not at all good'.

Marplan also asked respondents 'Overall, would you say that the services offered under the NHS are not in need of change or in need of change?' 30% thought they are not in need of change and 64% in need of change.

Marplan asked respondents 'The Government is considering whether to end the practice of financing the Health Service by taxation and switch to a health service insurance system. In principle do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?' 33% thought this would be a good idea, 50% a bad idea and 16% did not have a view. They also put to respondents a number of options for the provision of health service care in Britain - they found:-

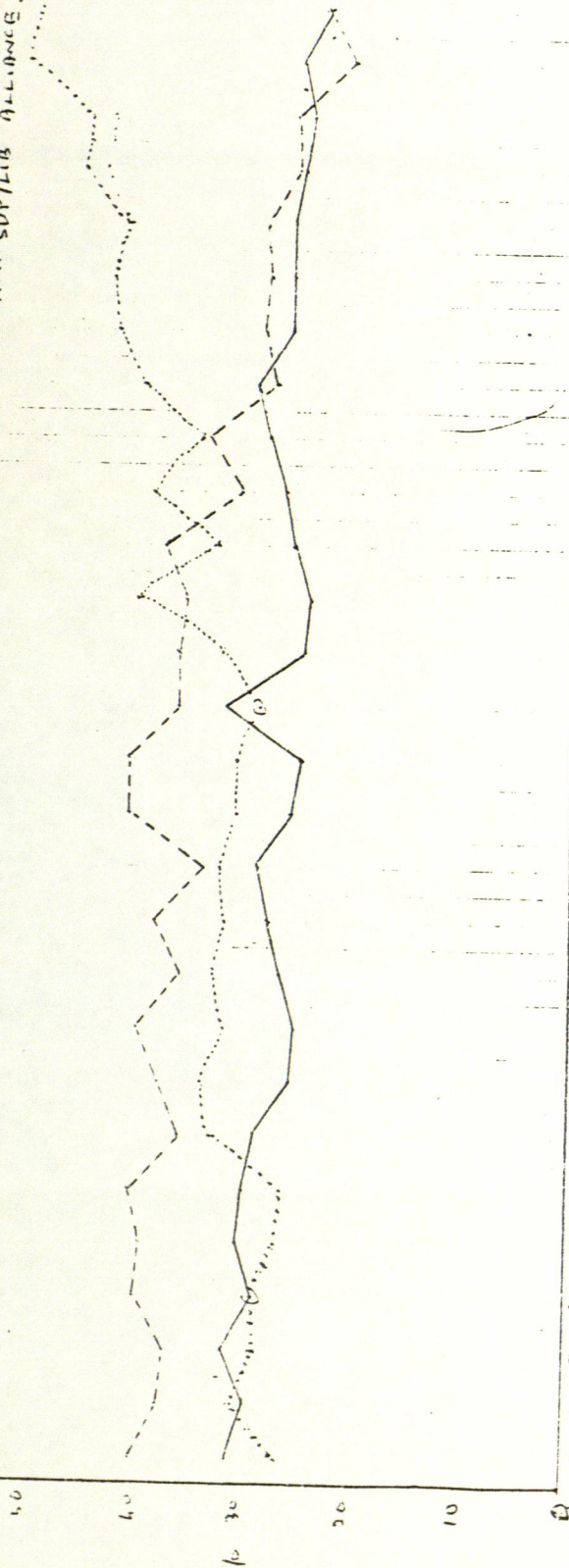
	<u>Good Idea</u>	<u>Bad Idea</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Make the service a private one, with everyone choosing and paying for the service they want (%)	13	83	4
Employers/trade unions should offer private or higher grade health care as a 'perk' or incentive (%)	47	41	12
NHS charges for certain services e.g. food and accomodation but not medical	33	59	8

On the question of how much extra electors would be prepared to pay to opt out of the NHS for a private service, 23% gave a figure of under £100 a year, 15% up to £200 a year, 8% £300 or more and 54% did not have a view.

Marplan also asked 'Do you think options which would enable some members of the public to pay more for health care and get better treatment, or opt out of the NHS for a private scheme, would be desirable or undesirable?' 39% thought the idea would be desirable, 49% undesirable and 12% did not have a view.

GALLUP PROMPTED VOTING INTENTION

CONSERVATIVE
 LABOR
 SDP/LIB ALLIANCE



- 4/14 DEC
- 2/7 DEC
- 25/30 NOV
- 18/23 NOV
- 11/16 NOV
- 4/9 NOV
- 25 OCT / 2 NOV
- 21/25 OCT
- 14/19 OCT
- 7/12 OCT
- 30 SEPT / 5 OCT
- 23/8 SEPT
- 16/21 SEPT
- 9/14 SEPT
- 1/7 SEPT
- 26/21 AUG
- 19/24 AUG
- 12/17 AUG
- 5/10 AUG
- 29 JUL / 3 AUG
- 22/27 JULY
- 15/20 JULY
- 8/13 JULY
- 1/6 JULY
- 24/53 JUNE
- 16/22 JUNE
- 9/15 JUNE
- 3/8 JUNE