PUBLIC OPINION BACKGROUND NOTE 73 (produced 19th July 1981)

1. Introduction

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The interviewing for our latest Gallup/ study was completed on 13th July, well before the Warrington by-election. The results of our survey are the same as the findings of the Gallup survey published in the Daily Telegraph on 16th July. Gallup found an increase in Labour's lead to 10½% when compared with the results of the previous published Gallup poll (conducted 9/15 June) which had found a 8% Labour lead. The Gallup survey did not find any significant improvement in the level of support for the Social Democrats or Liberals or indeed for a Liberal-Social Democrat party, when compared with the previous published Gallup survey or indeed our private surveys. Having said this the survey was conducted before the Warrington by-election and it would seem possible that our next survey, which will have been conducted after the by-election, will find an upsurge in support for the Social Democrats nationally.

Analysis of the Gallup findings allows us to look at support for the Social Democrats in terms of movement of support from the other parties We. found:

Voting Intention (standard unprompted)

<u>Voting Intention</u> <u>If candidates from</u> <u>Social Democratic</u>	CON	LAB	LIB	SOC DEM	OTHER	DON'T KNOW
party stands	%	%	%	%	%	%
Conservative Labour	77 0	0 80	2 0	0 1	0 3	1 3
New Social Demo- crats Liberal Other	9 0 0	7 1 0	20 62 0	99 0 0	8 9 80	13 3 0
Would not vote Don't know	1 13	1 10	2 14	0 1	0	35 45
Voters Intention if Social Democ- crats made allia- nce with Liberals	%	%	%	%	%	%
Conservative Labour	73 0 ·	0 73	3 4	1 1	0 3	1 3
New Social Demo- crats & Liberals Other	13 0	15 0	81 0	88 0	12 80	18 1
Would not vote It depends Don't know	1 6 7	1 6 4	4 4 5	2 6 2	0 0 4	33 5 39

Of those who in reply to the standard voting intention question claimed they would vote Conservative, 9% switched to the Social Democrats when the possibility of voting for this party was specifically put to them, among Labour supporters 7% switched to the Social Democrats and among Liberal supporters 20%. When asked how they would vote if a candidate for a Social Democrat Liberal Alliance stood in their constituencies, 13% of previous Conservatives switched to supporting the new alliance, 15% of previous Labour supporters and 81% of previous Liberal supporters.

The -tables below show the level of support (including 'don't knows' as separate category) Gallup obtained in response to:-

- (a) the standard voting intention question.
- (b) how electors claimed they would vote when the idea of
- a Social Democrat candidate was specifically mentioned. (c) how electors claimed they would vote when the idea of Social Democrat - Liberal Alliance candidate was specifically mentioned.

These results show very few differences, and none which are statistically significant, from the results of our previous survey - conducted 1st to 6th July.

(tables over)



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VOTING INTENTION (including don't knows)

	<u>25/30</u> <u>Mar</u> %	<u>31 Mar</u> <u>6 Apr</u> %	8/13 <u>Apr</u> %	<u>15/21</u> <u>Apr</u> %	22/27 Apr %	29 Apr 5 May %	<u>6/11</u> <u>May</u> %	<u>13/18</u> <u>May</u> %	<u>19/26</u> <u>May</u> %	<u>26 May</u> <u>1 June</u> %		<u>9/15</u> June %	<u>16/22</u> June %		1/6 July %	8/13 July %	
Conservative	27	26	27	26	27	29	29	31	28	28	28	27	29	26	27	27	
Labour	27	29	31	34	32	31	32	33	35	33	36	34	33	35%	35.	36	
Liberal	16	15	13	16	13	15	16	16	14	17	13	16	14	15	12	13	
Others	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	З	2	З	2	2	2	3	3	
Social Democra Party	atic 17	17	17	16	14	12	10	10	11	12	11	11	11	10%	11	11	
Don't knqw/ it depends	12	10	16	9	12	11	9	8	9	9	10	10	10	10	11	11	
VOTIN	IG INTE	ENTION I	F SOC	IAL DE	MOCRAT	IC CANDI	DATE										
Conservative	21	21	22	22	23	25	23	25	23	21	22	23	23	21	22	21	
Labour	20	21	24	25	24	25	24	27	26	27	27	28	28	31	29	29	
Liberal	10	10	10	11	. 9	10	11	11	10	12	9	12	11	11	8	9	
Others	1	2	1	1	2	4	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	1½	2	2	
Social Democra Party	atic 29	26	27	22	24	21	21	20	21	20	23	20	19	19	20	20	
Social-Democra Liberal Alliar			-		-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Don!t know/ it depends	20	20	17	19	18	15	18	15	18	17	17	16	16	16½	16	18	

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VOTING INTENTION IF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/LIBERAL CANDIDATE

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		31 Mar 6 Apr	8/13 Apr	<u>15/21</u> <u>Apr</u>	22/27 Apr	29 Apr 5 May %	<u>6/11</u> <u>May</u> %	<u>13/18</u> <u>May</u> %	<u>19/26</u> <u>May</u> %	<u>26 May</u> <u>1 June</u> %	3/8 June %	June	<u>June</u> %	June %	%	July %
	Mar %	%	%	%	%				23	20	21	-22	24.	20	22	20
onservative	20	20	21	21	22	21	22	24	25	25	27	27	27	29	28	27
abour	19	. 20	23	24	24	24	22	25	-	_	-	-	-	-	-	-
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ocial Democra Liberal Allian	ce		07	34	33	32	32	32	31	33	32	30	28	32	28	31
	37	35	37	54	00				10	19	18	19	19	18	1.9	19
Don't know/ it depends	22	23	17	20	18	20	22	16	19	19	10					

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2. Standard Voting Intention

The table below shows on the basis used to present Gallup figures in the Daily Telegraph (excluded 'don't knows') the level of support for the main parties. There is no significant change in the level of support for the main parties - Labour's lead increased from 9.0% in the week 1/6th July to 10½% in this study.

VOTING INTENTION	<u>2011</u>	LAB	LIB		OTHER	LEAD
excluding don't knows).	%	%	% %	EMOCRAT %	%	%
1979 ,						
May. (GE)	43.9	35.9	13.8	_	5.5	+ 7.0
13/18 June *	42.0	43.5	13.0	-	5.0	- 9.0
<u>1981</u>						
25/30 March	30.0	30.5	18.0	19.0	2.5	- 0.5**
31 March/6 April	29.0	32.0	17.0	19.0	3.0	- 3.0
8/13 April	30.0	34.5	14.0	19.0	2.5	- 4.5**
	28.5	37.5	17.5	15.0	1.5	- 9.0
22/27 April	30.5	36.5	15.0	15.5	2.5	- 6.0
29 April/ 5 May	33.0	35.0	17.0	13.5	1.5	- 2.0
6/11 May	32.0	35.5	18.0	11.0	3.5	- 3.5**
13/18 May	33.5	36.0	17.0	10.5	3.0	- 2.5
19/26 May	31.0	38.0	15.5	12.0	3.5	- 7.0
26 May/ 1 June	30.0	36.0	18.0	13.0	3.0	- 5.0
A/8 June	31.0	40.0		12.5	2.5	- 9.0
V/15 June	29.5	37.5	18.0	12.5	2.5	- 8.0**
16/22 June	32.0	37.0	15.5	.13.0	2.5	- 5.0
24/30 June		.40.0	17.0	12.0	2.0	-11.0
1/6 July	30.5	39.5	14.0	13.0	3.0	- 9.0
8/13 July	30.0	40.5	14.5	12.0	3.0	-10.5**
* First Gallup Post-Elec	tion sur					
** Dubliched Delle						

** Published Polls

3. Government Record

The latest Gallup study found only 23% of the electorate approving of the record of the government to date, 66% disapproved and 11% did not have a view. The level of approval for the government record has dropped 6 percentage points since mid-June - details are given below:

GOVERNMENT RECORD	Approve %	Disapprove %	Don't Know %
1979 13/18 June	34	41	25
1981 25/30 March 31 March/6 April 8/13 April 15/21 April 22/27 April	22 26 24 25 27	69 65 67 65 63	9 9 9 10 10
22,27 April 29 April/5 May 6/11 May 13/18 May 19/26 May 26.May/ 1 June	26 29 30 28 27	62 60 57 60 61	12 11 13 12 12
3/8 June 9/15 June 16/22 June 24/30 June	26 26 29 23 24	60 63 59 67 63	14 11 12 10 13
1/6 July 8/13 July	23	6 6	11

4. Popularity of Political Leaders

Almost no change in the popularity of Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Foot but a small fall in Mr. Steel's popularity.

POPULARITY OF	Mr	s That	oher	2	Ir Ecot		Mr	Steel	<u>1</u>
POLITICAL LEADERS	Sat.	Dis- sat.	Don't Know	Is		n' I New	15	Is Not	Don to
	36	*	*6	%	10	3	10	%	20
<u>1981</u>				•				1	
<pre>18/23 March 25/ 30 March 31 March/6 April 6/13 April 15/21 April 22/27 April 29 April/5 May 6/11 May 13/18 May 19/26 May 26 May/ 1 June 3/8 June</pre>	201014456596 333333556596 333333556596 33333556596 3333559659 333559659 3355959 3355959 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 33559 35	6 7 6 3 5 4 C 9 C 8 9 2 8 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 5 6 6 5	ະ 0.0.0.0.0.1.0.0.0.15.01	404141067779	0 0 0 4 4 0 0 0 2 0 0 4 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	4 10 2 4 2 0 2 3 3 2 0 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	0 1 4 0 2 6 0 9 9 0 2 9 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 9 0 2 9		
9/15 June 16/22 June 24/30 June 1/6 July 8/13 July	33 34 30 31 30	61 60 65 62 65	* 6 657 5	28 29 28 25 25	48 50 52 54 52	24 21 21 21 2	61 60 60 60 56	18 20 19 17 20	21 21 23 24

5. Published Polls

(a) Opinion Research Centre (ITN News July 15th 1981)

ITN News on 15th July included the report on a survey conducted for them by ORC on July 14th. The survey looked at attitudes to the riots and found that public opinion perceives the principle reasons for the disturbances and riots which have occurred over the last week to be:

- high unemployment among young pe	ople 36%
- breakdown of family discipline	27%
- criminal hooliganism & vandalism	by
young pe	ople 13%

The reasons which command least support as an explanation for the disturbances are:

-	bad	feeling	between	white	and	coloured	
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people

2%

bad housing in run down inner city areas 2%
 police methods 1%

As to who is most to blame, 26% of those surveyed think that parents are, 23% say the rioters themselves, and 20% blame the Government, with society in general being blamed by 16% of respondents. Only 1% think that the police are most to blame and 6% blame newspapers, radio and television.

ORC found that 87% think that those who are caught and convicted of taking part in a riot should be dealt with severely. 83% would approve of the use of water cannon to cope with the riots and disturbances, whereas 72% would approve of forming special riot squads, 68% would approve of bringing in the troops and 55% would approve of using CS Gas. Only the use of plastic bullets would not be approved by the majority of the public -51% say that they would disapprove of the use of plastic bullets.

In terms of Government priorities, introducing a new Riot Act which 43% support, appears to take precedence over introducing a new range of measures to reduce unemployment, particularly among young people, which 38% support. Detailed results are shown below:

1. What do you think has been the single most important cause of the disturbances and riots which have occurred over the last week or so?

	All	Area Boro Cnty
High unemployment among young people	36%	36% 35%
Breakdown of family discipline	27%	27% 27%
Criminal hooliganism and vandalism by young people	13%	14% 12%
Political trouble makers organising disturbances	8%	7% 9%
People copying riots and disturbances seen elsewhere	8%	8% 8%

(single most important cause contd.)

Bad feeling between white and coloured people	2%	1% 3%
Bad housing in run down inner city areas	2%	1% 2%
Police methods	1%	2% 1%
Other/None of these/Don't Know	- 3%	4% 3%

2. Who do you think is most to blame for the riots and disturbances?

	All	Area Boro C	
Parents	26%	28%	23%
The rioters thamselves	23%	22%	25%
The Government	20%	19%	20%
Society in general	16%	16%	17%
Newspapers, radio and television	6%	6%	6%
Teachers and schools	3%	3%	3%
Local Authorities	2%	1%	2%
The Police	1%	1%	1%
Other/None of these/Don't Know	3%	4%	3%

3. Do you think the people who are caught and convicted of taking part in a riot or disturbance should be dealt with severely or let off lightly?

	All	Are Boro (a Enty
SHOULD BE DEALT WITH SEVERELY	87%	82%	91%
SHOULD BE LET OFF LIGHTLY	5%	7%	3%
NOT SURE EITHER WAY /DON'T KNOW	8%	11%	6%

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4. What do you think the Government's first reaction to the riots and disturbances should be?

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		Area
	All	Boro Cnty
Introduce a new Riot Act so that anybody taking part in a disturbance would be guilty of an offence	43%	39% 46%
Introduce a new range of measures to reduce unemployment particularly among young people	38%	44% 33%
Tighten immigration controls	13%	11% 14%
Wait for the situation to blow itself out i.e. do nothing.	2%	2% 3%
None of these/Don't Know	4%	4% 4%
	.*	

5. In order to cope with riots and disturbances would you approve or disapprove of the following measures

		Are	а
	All	Boro (Cnty
The use of Water Cannon			
Approve	83%	81%	85%
Disapprove	13%	13%	13%
Don't Know	4%	6%	2%
Forming special riot squads			
Approve	72%	73%	72%
Disapprove	24%	22%	26%
Don't Know	4%	5%	2%
	170		
Bringing in the troops i.e. the army			
Approve	68%	66%	71%
Disapprove	28%	29%	27%
Don't Know	4%	5%	2%
The use of CS Gas i.e. tear gas			
Approve	55%	54%	57%
Disapprove	39%	37%	40%
Don't Know	6%	9%	3%
The use of plastic bullets		1000	() 0(
Approve	42%	42%	41%
Disapprove	51%	48%	55%
Don't Know	7%	10%	4%

(b) Gallup (Daily Telegraph 16th July 1981)

Apart from the standard voting intentions questions, government record and popularity of political leaders questions the Gallup survey reported in the Daily Telegraph also included a number of other questions that received very little coverage in the paper.

Gallup asked respondents what they regarded as the most urgent problem facing the country. Details of the replies they obtained together with comparable figures for June 1981 are shown below:-

Most urgent problem	s facing	the country
	<u>July</u> 1981 %	June 1981 %
Unemployment	84	85
Cost of living/prices	25	40
Law and Order	25	8
Other Economic Problems	10	9
Immigration	7	3
Housing	6	-
Education	5	-

When asked whether they thought there should be an election in the near future - 55% thought there should be an election now, 40% that the government would carry on and 5% did not have a view. When asked 'irrespective of how you, yourself, would vote, who you think will win the next General Election - 63% thought Labour, 13% the Conservatives, 4% the Social Democrats and 1% the Liberals.

Gallup asked respondents 'Do you think the Government is or is not doing enough to control the rise in prices?' - 24% think it is, 70% that it is not and 6% did not have a view. 61% thought the present rise in prices is bound to continue, 35% thought it can be stopped and 5% did not have a view.

Only 23% of those interviewed thought that the Government's policies for tackling the economic situation gave them the feeling they are - 68% took the opposite view (10% did not answer). 18% of respondents thought the government's economic policies are fair to all concerned, 76% they are not fair and 18% did not have a view.

(c) M.O.R.I. (Independent Schools Information Service)

A M.O.R.I. poll conducted for the Independent Schools Information Service found more than half of Labour party supporters against the abolition of independent schools, 68% of trade unionists and 65% of 'unskilled working people' took the same view.

(d) M.O.R.I. (Daily Star, July 20th 1981)

The result of a M.O.R.I. poll conducted in Croydon North West on 18th July was published in the Daily Star on Monday July 20th. M.O.R.I. found that if an unnamed or Social Democrat stood in the seat the Labour would win it. If Shirley Williams stands M.O.R.I. found she would win the seat from us. Detailed results are shown below:

M.O.R.I. poll Croydon N.W. - Fieldword 18th July 1981

	General Election Result 1979	Unknown SDP candidate	Shirley Williams as SDP candidate	Unknown Liberal candidate	<u>Pardoe</u> as Liberal candidate
	%	%	%	%	%
Conservative Labour	42 38	28 43	25 30	29 41	30 44
SDP	1	27	44	-	-
Liberal	17	_	-	29	24
.Other	3	2	1	1	2

M.O.R.I. found that 33% of electors who voted Conservative in May 1979 would switch to voting for Shirley Williams as would 44% of Labour voters.

M.O.R.I. also asked a series of image questions in Croydon N.W. and found 53% of electors thought we are out of touch with ordinary people. Details of the main integequestions are shown below.

Image of the Parties - Croydon N.W.

		<u>Con</u> %	Lab %	SDP %
Out of touch with o	rdinary people	53	18	8
Has good leader		21	14	24
Divided among thems	elves	18	45	6
Good policies on co	uncil spending	18	18	8
Too extremist		17	33	3
Good policies on ri	ots/inner cities	17	10	7
Would keep its elec	tion promises	12	15	14
Respects all classe.	S	10	16	26
Good policies on un	employment	8	28	12
Understand's proble	ems facing people			
in this area		12	21	14
None of these/don't	know	8	10	44

