



10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

You may be interested to see the attached letter from Keith Britto and his summary of a survey conducted on 1st/2nd June.

SS

STEPHEN SHERBOURNE

6.6.84

MS



Conservative Central Office

32 Smith Square Westminster London SW1P 3HH
Tel. 01-222 9000 Telex 8814563 Fax. 01-222 1135

KB/djm

4th June 1984

CONFIDENTIAL

New slope,

mb

EUROPEAN ELECTIONS 1984 - SECOND STATE OF BATTLE SURVEY

I attach a copy of the full report on the second State of Battle survey. The interviewing for this survey was conducted on Friday 1st June and Saturday 2nd June.

I would particularly draw your attention to the following points:-

There has been no significant change in overall voting intentions in the European Elections since the first State of Battle survey. The survey found no change in the level of support for the Conservative and Labour parties and a slight fall in Alliance support.

Although voting intention has remained static, the survey found a marked increase in the determination of Labour voters to vote.

The Labour campaign style is disapproved of (even by half of Labour voters).

A third of all voters including one in five Conservatives and almost half of pensioners believe that Labour is being truthful when they say the Government intends to change the law to charge VAT on food in shops.

*Y
Kerr*

D.K. Britto

Summary of Main Findings

1. Although over all voting intention has remained static over the last 2 weeks there has been a marked increase in the determination of Labour voters to vote. This has had the effect of reducing the Conservative lead amongst those certain to vote from 10% to 5% and underlines the importance of the need to maximise the Conservative turnout.
2. This change is underlined by an increase in the number of Conservatives (from 47% to 57%) saying it will make "not much difference or no difference at all" whether they vote in the European Elections.
3. There has been little change in views on European issues over the last two weeks and the Electorate is clearly confused about the status of the C.A.P. The Conservatives however have an advantage as the Party which would do best at reforming the C.A.P. in so far as people have a view.
4. The campaign has made very little impact on voters. No Party is thought to be working particularly hard locally, though more people believe the Conservatives are working hardest nationally than think Labour or Alliance are.
5. There is no evidence of any Alliance 'bandwagon' taking off, indeed their campaign is making little impact and fewer people are inclined to think people should use the European Election as an opportunity to vote for them.
6. The Labour Campaign style is disapproved of (even by half the Labour voters).
7. However a third of all voters including one in five Conservatives and almost half the State pensioners believe that Labour is being truthful when they say that this Government intends to change the law to charge VAT on food in shops. This is clearly an area of concern and may affect the voting behaviour of pensioners particularly.



Conservative Central Office

32 Smith Square Westminster London SW1P 3HH
Tel. 01-222 9000 Telex 8814563 Fax. 01-222 1135

KB/djm

4th June 1984

CONFIDENTIAL

New slope,

EUROPEAN ELECTIONS 1984 - SECOND STATE OF BATTLE SURVEY

I attach a copy of the full report on the second State of Battle survey. The interviewing for this survey was conducted on Friday 1st June and Saturday 2nd June.

I would particularly draw your attention to the following points:-

There has been no significant change in overall voting intentions in the European Elections since the first State of Battle survey. The survey found no change in the level of support for the Conservative and Labour parties and a slight fall in Alliance support.

Although voting intention has remained static, the survey found a marked increase in the determination of Labour voters to vote.

The Labour campaign style is disapproved of (even by half of Labour voters).

A third of all voters including one in five Conservatives and almost half of pensioners believe that Labour is being truthful when they say the Government intends to change the law to charge VAT on food in shops.

D.K. Britto

D.K. Britto

EUROPEAN ELECTIONS 1984

Findings of the second
"State of the Battle Survey"

carried out by the
Harris Research Centre
for Conservative Central Office

The findings are based on interviews with a nationally representative quota sample of 1079 Electors interviewed on 1st and 2nd June 1984.

Summary of Main Findings

1. Although over all voting intention has remained static over the last 2 weeks there has been a marked increase in the determination of Labour voters to vote. This has had the effect of reducing the Conservative lead amongst those certain to vote from 10% to 5% and underlines the importance of the need to maximise the Conservative turnout.
2. This change is underlined by an increase in the number of Conservatives (from 47% to 57%) saying it will make "not much difference or no difference at all" whether they vote in the European Elections.
3. There has been little change in views on European issues over the last two weeks and the Electorate is clearly confused about the status of the C.A.P. The Conservatives however have an advantage as the Party which would do best at reforming the C.A.P. in so far as people have a view.
4. The campaign has made very little impact on voters. No Party is thought to be working particularly hard locally, though more people believe the Conservatives are working hardest nationally than think Labour or Alliance are.
5. There is no evidence of any Alliance 'bandwagon' taking off, indeed their campaign is making little impact and fewer people are inclined to think people should use the European Election as an opportunity to vote for them.
6. The Labour Campaign style is disapproved of (even by half the Labour voters).
7. However a third of all voters including one in five Conservatives and almost half the State pensioners believe that Labour is being truthful when they say that this Government intends to change the law to charge VAT on food in shops. This is clearly an area of concern and may affect the voting behaviour of pensioners particularly.

1. Voting Intention

There has been no significant change in overall voting intention for the European Election over the last 2 weeks. Amongst all electors the figures remain identical for Conservative (38%), Labour (32%). While the Conservatives are still relatively weaker amongst the young, the C2 DE Socio Economic groups and in the North and Scotland, the only group amongst whom there has been a significant decline in Conservative support is the AB Socio Economic group, down from 58% in May to 51% now.

Summary Table 1

Voting Intention in European Elections

(spontaneous and prompted)

	<u>Age</u>															<u>Class</u>											
	All			18-24			25-44			45-64			65+			AB			C1			C2			DE		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Conservative	38	38	37	34	31	32	40	37	39	37	41	39	42	38	34	51	58	56	50	48	47	32	33	34	26	23	23
Labour	32	32	31	32	40	36	29	29	33	32	31	28	36	31	32	13	12	13	22	22	25	36	36	33	44	46	45
Liberal/SDP/ Alliance	16	18	16	15	13	13	18	21	15	18	18	18	12	20	20	22	18	16	17	19	15	18	17	16	12	19	18
Other	1	1	*	2	3	1	1	2	*	2	*	2	1	*	-	3	1	2	-	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	*
Won't Vote	7	5	5	10	7	8	7	5	4	7	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	3	3	6	4	5	7	6	6	11	7
Don't Know	5	6	10	8	6	9	5	7	9	4	5	10	6	6	6	10	6	9	11	5	6	8	5	6	11	5	4

(Figures in brackets relate to the same question asked 5th-10th April)

	<u>Region</u>								
	<u>South</u>			<u>Midlands</u>			<u>North and Scotland</u>		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Conservative	42	42	42	40	38	35	33	33	33
Labour	29	24	25	28	28	31	36	42	39
Liberal/SDP/ Alliance	17	21	18	16	21	18	16	14	14
Other	-	1	-	-	*	-	3	1	1
Won't Vote	6	6	6	10	5	7	6	4	3
Don't Know	6	6	9	5	8	10	5	5	11

** = 5-10 April

* = 18-19 May Fieldwork

2. Likelihood of Voting v Differential Abstention

Once again there has been a marked increase in the proportion of voters saying they are absolutely certain to vote - 38% as opposed to 33% two weeks ago,

A standard formula for working our likely turnout would now put the probable figure at 46% compared with 42% 2 weeks ago.

The major change over the last 2 weeks has been amongst Labour voters, amongst whom half as many again as 2 weeks ago (46% against 31%) say they are absolutely certain to vote, while the Conservative % remains virtually unchanged.

We are now in a situation where Labour voters are more likely to turnout than Conservatives which underlines the need to maximise the Conservative turnout. Amongst those certain to vote the Conservative lead has reduced from 10% to 5%

Summary Table 2

Likelihood of Voting in European Elections

<u>June 1984</u>	<u>All Electors</u> %	<u>Voting Intention in European Elections</u>		
		<u>Con</u> %	<u>Lab</u> %	<u>Alnce.</u> %
Absolutely certain	38	41	45	35
Certain	17	17	16	21
Will probably	17	18	16	21
Will probably not	25	21	19	19
Don't Know	5	3	4	4
<u>May 1984</u>	<u>All Electors</u> %	<u>Con</u> %	<u>Lab</u> %	<u>Alnc</u> %
Absolutely certain	33	39	31	38
Certain	18	20	23	12
Will probably	22	21	24	27
Will probably not	22	18	18	16
Don't Know	5	3	4	6

contd ...

Summary Table 2 Likelihood of Voting in European Elections

April 1984

Absolutely certain	26	32	25	30
Certain	22	25	23	23
Will probably	28	26	32	30
Will probably not	18	13	15	15
Don't Know	5	4	5	2

<u>March 1984</u>	<u>Electors</u> %	<u>Con</u> %	<u>Lab</u> %	<u>Alnce</u> %
Absolutely certain	29	33	30	33
Certain	18	20	22	17
Will probably	26	27	25	31
Will probably not	23	17	18	16
Dont Know	4	3	4	3

January 1984

Absolutely certain	27	26	28	31
Certain	19	22	20	16
Will probably	27	29	27	25
Will probably not	21	18	20	21
Don't Know	6	5	5	6

Summary Table 3

	<u>All electors giving a party preference</u>		<u>All electors absolutely certain or certain to vote giving a party preference</u>	
	%	% *	%	% *
Conservative	44	42	43	45
Labour	36	36	38	35
Liberal/SDP/Alliance	19	22	18	19
Other	1	1	1	-

(* same question asked 18th/19th May)

3. Influence of Individual's Vote

Over the last 2 weeks there has been a significant decrease in the number of Conservatives who believe that it will make a great deal of difference whether they vote or not - down from 22% to 16%. There has been no change in the Labour or Alliance voters' response to this question.

Summary Table 4

Q. How much difference do you think it will make whether you vote in the European Elections for the European Parliament or not?

	<u>Voting Intention</u>											
	<u>All Electors</u>			<u>Conservative</u>			<u>Labour</u>			<u>Alliance</u>		
	%	%		%	%		%	%		%	%	
	* **			* **			* **			* **		
A great deal	15	17	15	16	22	18	15	15	15	16	14	15
Quite a lot	20	21	25	25	26	31	21	20	23	18	18	24
Not much	42	40	41	42	34	37	42	43	46	46	48	43
None at all	20	19	15	15	13	11	20	18	12	15	17	16
Dont Know	3	4	4	2	4	3	2	4	5	5	2	3

** Figures relate to the same question asked 5th-10th April

* Figures relate to the same question asked 18th-19th May

4. Issues

4.1. The attitudes of voters has not changed significantly over the last two weeks in respect of European issues. Food prices, unemployment and other prices are the areas in which the EEC is thought to have had a bad effect, while on overseas travel, regional aid, exports and defence the FEC is thought to have been marginally beneficial.

Summary Table 5

	<u>EEC has had a bad effect</u>		<u>EEC has had a good effect</u>	
	%	%	%	%
Price of food	73	74	9	9
Number of people in work	34	36	6	5
Prices other than food	24	24	4	7
Imports into Britain	21	21	19	21
Britain's export effect	14	18	25	28
Efforts to get rid of poverty	14	17	7	6
Development of new industries	14	14	19	19
Training unemployed young people	11	14	14	12
Britain's defences	11	11	18	16
Helping different regions in G.B.	8	9	22	21
Travel overseas	4	5	29	30
Don't Know/None	9	8	27	27

4.2. By a 2:1 majority as 2 weeks ago, voters believe that Britain has done 'not very well' or 'not at all well' from its membership of the EEC rather than 'very' or 'fairly well'.

However, only half the Labour and Alliance supporters think that their own Party in Government would have done any better.

Summary Table 6

How well Britain has done from EEC membership

	<u>Voting Intention</u>							
	<u>All</u>		<u>Conservative</u>		<u>Labour</u>		<u>Alliance</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very Well	3	2	4	2	2	1	2	2
Fairly well	27	26	39	42	15	17	31	19
Not very well	33	38	32	34	33	40	38	43
Not at all well	31	31	20	20	45	39	25	33
Don't Know	6	3	5	2	5	4	4	3

5. The C.A.P.

Opinion is very evenly divided as the status of reform of the C.A.P. One voter in five believes it is already beginning to be reformed. One in three believes that it will be reformed but that this has not started yet; one in four believed it will never be reformed and one in five do not know.

There is never the less no indication that voters think a Labour or Alliance Government would do any better in reforming the C.A.P.

Summary Table 7a

Q. Which of the following statements is nearest your view?

	All	<u>Voting Intention</u>		
		Conservative	Labour	Alliance
	%	%	%	%
The Common Agricultural Policy is already beginning to be reformed.	20	30	13	14
The Common Agricultural Policy will be reformed but it hasn't started yet.	35	36	33	46
The Common Agricultural Policy will never be reformed.	25	17	35	24
Don't Know	20	17	18	17

Summary Table 7b

Q. Which Party do you think would do best at reforming the Common Agricultural Policy?

	All %	Conservative %	Labour %	Alliance %
Conservative	32	68	5	11
Labour	23	3	68	11
Alliance	13	6	4	53
None	8	6	8	5
Don't Know	23	18	23	21

6. Awareness of the Campaign

Only 22% of voters claim to have heard 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot' about the elections for the European Parliament.

The lack of information is common across all demographic, geographic and political groups other than amongst the AB Socio Economic group where 29% claim to have heard 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot'.

There is no indication that any one party's supporters are better informed than others.

Only 6% of voters have been canvassed, (by both main parties equally). 29% have received some literature again from both main parties equally (14% Conservative, 12% Labour and 8% Alliance).

There is no difference in the perception of how hard the main parties are working locally - 14% say Labour and 12% Conservative. 8% mention the Alliance predictably the Conservatives are thought to be working hardest by a small majority in the South and Midlands and Labour in the North and Scotland.

41% of voters however claimed that no party was working hard locally.

On a national level rather more voters see the Conservatives working hardest - 26% compared with 15% saying Labour, 9% Alliance. A significant minority of Labour and Alliance voters credit the Conservatives with greatest effort.

Summary Table 8

Q. Which of the political parties do you think is working hardest nationally in the European Election Campaign or are none of them really working hard?

	All %	Voting Intention		
		Conservative %	Labour %	Alliance %
Conservative	26	41	18	13
Labour	15	8	29	9
Alliance	9	7	5	25
Other	1	-	1	-
None of them	23	20	23	24
Don't Know	27	25	19	28

Substantially more voters disapprove (57%) of the 'show business' style Labour campaign than approve (27%). Labour voters themselves are evenly divided, with 45% approving and 43% disapproving.

7. Tactical voting and other considerations

1. There has been no significant change in the proportion of voters agreeing with the statement

"I feel like voting against this Government in order to give them a fright" (only 3% of Conservatives likely to vote take this view).

2. Although there is still some evidence of Alliance potential, there is no evidence of an Alliance bandwagon gaining momentum. Indeed the evidence is to the contrary. Two weeks ago 52% agreed that "The European Elections would be a good opportunity for people to vote for the Alliance even if they wouldn't vote for them in a General Election".

The current figure is 42%. The proportion of Conservatives agreeing is down from 46% to 38%.

3. The proportion of voters who agree with the view that people should use their vote as an indication of approval or disapproval of the Government has declined slightly (from 66% to 59%).

4. 54% agree (including 20% of Labour supporters) that "Labour can't make up it's mind whether they want to be in or out of Europe so a vote from them would be a wasted vote".

The comparable figures 2 weeks ago were 59% v 26%.

5. Only a third of voters believe that "A lot of jobs would go if Britain left the Common Market" while 45% disagree. Conservatives are rather more likely to agree (42%) but even amongst them 37% disagree with the proposition.

6. 51% agree with the proposition that the Common Market makes war in Europe less likely while 31% disagree.

7. 35% of all voters including 21% of Conservatives believe the Labour Party is being truthful when they say that this Government will change the law and charge VAT on food in shops.