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7th July 1989

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MONTHLY POLLING REVIEW MAY/JUNE 1989

I attach a copy of the latest CCO monthly polling review - this covers the period May/June.

The normal monthly publication schedule has been disrupted as a result of the European Elections campaign. We will revert to a monthly polling review commencing with the August issue.

The review provides a selective summary of material on public opinion. We have available at CCO a range of further background material - please contact me if any further analyses are likely to be of interest.

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D K BRITTO, OBE

DEPUTY DIRECTOR - SPECIAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT

MONTHLY POLLING REVIEW

MAY/JUNE 1989

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MONTHLY POLLING REVIEW MAY/JUNE 1989

1. VOTING INTENTION - LATEST POLLS

Since the European Elections we have had two published opinion polls - Harris (Observer) and MORI (Sunday Times). The Harris poll (conducted 21/22 June) found a 14% Labour lead over the Conservatives and MORI (conducted 22/27 June) a 10% Labour lead.

Details together with comparative figures from approximately the same point in the 1979-1983 and 1983-1987 Parliaments are given below:-

Latest Polls and Campaign with 1983-1987 and 1979-1983

| | Latest Polls 1989 | | 1983-1987 | | 1979-1983 | |
|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| | MORI 22-27 June | <u>Harris</u> 21-22 June | <u>Gallup</u> <u>May</u> 1985 | Gallup June 1985 | <u>Gallup</u> <u>May</u> 1981 | Gallup June 1981 |
| Conservative | 37.0 | 34.0 | 30.5 | 34.5 | 32.0 | 29.5 |
| Labour Greens | 47.0 7.0 | 48.0 8.0 | 34.0 | 34.5 | 35.5 | 37.5 |
| SLD SDP | 4.0 | 6.0 | 33.5 | 30.0 (Lib/SDP) | 29.0 | 30.5 |
| Nationalists | - | 2.0 | <u>-</u> | | _ | _ |
| Others | 2.0 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 1.0 | 3.5 | 2.5 |
| Conservative Lead | i -10.0 | -14.0 | -3.5 | 0.0 | -3.5 | -8.0 |

At approximately the same point into the 1979-1983 and 1983-1987 Parliaments the electorate was split between the Conservatives, Labour and the SDP/Liberals - with the SDP/Liberals being supported by nearly one third of the electorate. In May 1985 Labour had a 3.5% lead over the Conservatives - 34.0% of the electorate said they would vote Labour, 33.5% for the SDP/Liberals and 30.5% Conservative. By June 1985 Gallup found the Labour and Conservative parties 'neck and neck', in July 1985 Labour had a 10.5% lead over the Conservatives and in August a 16% lead. In May 1981 Labour had a 3.5% lead over the Conservatives - 35.5% of the electorate claimed they would vote Labour, 32.0% Conservatives and 29.9% SDP/Liberal. By June 1981 Gallup found Labour with a 8% lead, in July they had a 10.5% lead, and in August a 10.5% lead.

The table below shows the average of the polls published in May and June 1989, the results from the Gallup analysis of all their polls conducted in May and the results of the latest two published polls. The results of the Gallup analysis for June will be published in early July.

Current Political Position

| | Average June Polls | Average May Polls | Gallup Monthly Analysis May 1989 | <u>Harris</u> 21-22 June | MORI 22-27 June |
|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Conservative | 36.5 | 42.5 | 40.9 | 34.0 | 37.0 |
| Labour | 45.0 | 42.5 | 40.8 | 48.0 | 47.0 |
| Greens | 5.0 | _ | 5.5 | 8.0 | |
| SLD | 6.5 | 7.0 | 8.8 | 6.0 | 7.0 |
| SDP | 3.0 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 2.0 | 4.0 |
| Nationalists | | - | 4.0 | | 3.0 |
| Others | 4.0 | 5.0 | | 2.0 0.0 | 2.0 |
| Conservative Lead | -8.5 | 0.0 | +0.1 | -14.0 | -10.0 |

The Gallup analysis of all the polls they conducted in May found the Conservatives and Labour parties 'neck and neck' - this analysis was confirmed by our analysis of all polls conducted in May which also found the parties 'neck and neck'. Our analysis of the polls conducted in June found a 8.5% Labour lead.

Monthly Average - Voting Intention

| Month | Number of Polls | Con | Lab | SLD | SDP | Green | Conservative lead over Labour |
|---------------|------------------------|------|------|-----|-----|-------|-------------------------------------|
| | | | | | | | |
| December 1988 | 5 | 44.0 | 36.0 | 9.0 | 5.5 | | +8.0 |
| January 1989 | 6 | 45.0 | 37.0 | 9.5 | 4.5 | | |
| | | | | 9.5 | 4.5 | | +8.5 |
| February 1989 | 8 | 41.0 | 38.5 | 9.5 | 6.0 | | +2.5 |
| March 1989 | 5 | 41.5 | 39.5 | 8.0 | 6.0 | | +2.0 |
| Annil 1000 | | | | | | | +2.0 |
| April 1989 | 6 | 42.0 | 39.0 | 9.0 | 6.0 | | +3.0 |
| May 1989 | 5 | 42.5 | 42.5 | 7.0 | 3.0 | | |
| | 有性的性态,不能是是一种,并是 | | | | 3.0 | | 0.0 |
| June 1989 | 4 | 36.5 | 45.0 | 6.5 | 3.0 | 5.0 | -8.5 |
| | | | | | | | |

The clear Conservative lead found in our monthly average of all polls in January gradually fell until by May the analysis showed the Conservatives and Labour parties 'neck and neck' and in June the analysis showed Labour with a 8.5% lead. SLD and SDP support has dropped since January — in the case of the SDP from an average support level in January of 9% to 6.5% in June and the case of the SDP from 5.5% in January to 3.0%. Until May/June the polling companies did not record seperately support for the Greens — the average of the polls in June found them with 5% — ahead of the SDP (3%) and only just behind the SLD (6.5%).

Full details of all published polls (and polls published privately by polling companies) since the start of January 1989 are shown in the table below:-

National Polls Since January 1989

| Polling Company | Published In | <u>Fieldwork</u> <u>Dates</u> | Con | Lab | SLD | SDP | Green | Conservative Lead Over Labour |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| GALLUP | D.Telegraph | 12-16 Jan | 42.5 | 34.0 | 14.0 | 5.5 | | + 8.5 |
| ICM | Guardian | 13-16 Jan | 44.0 | 40.0 | 8.0 | 4.0 | | + 4.0 |
| Harris | Observer | 18-23 Jan | 47.0 | 37.0 | 10.0 | 4.0 | | +10.0 |
| NOP | Unpublished | 18-23 Jan | 46.0 | 34.0 | 10.0 | 3.0 | | +12.0 |
| MORI | S.Times | 26-30 Jan | 47.0 | 36.0 | 8.0 | 5.0 | | +11.0 |
| ASL* | Unpublished | 27-29 Jan | 44.0 | 39.0 | 8.0 | 5.0 | | + 5.0 |
| GALLUP | D.Telegraph | 9-13 Feb | 40.5 | 39.0 | 11.5 | 4.5 | | + 1.5 |
| ICM | Guardian | 10-11 Feb | 42.0 | 39.0 | 7.0 | 7.0 | | + 3.0 |
| ASL* | Unpublished | 15-20 Feb | 44.0 | 35.0 | 7.0 | 11.0 | | + 9.0 |
| GALLUP | S.Telegraph | 15-20 Feb | 39.0 | 39.0 | 11.5 | 4.5 | | 0 |
| HARRIS | Observer | 22-23 Feb | 41.0 | 42.0 | 10.0 | 3.0 | | - 1.0 |
| MORI | S.Times | 23-28 Feb | 42.0 | 39.0 | 9.0 | 7.0 | | + 3.0 |
| MORI | Nat.Mutual | 27-28 Feb | 42.0 | 41.0 | 8.0 | 4.0 | | + 1.0 |
| MORI | BBC | 3-4 March | 41.0 | 37.0 | 9.0 | 9.0 | | + 4.0 |
| ICM | Guardian | 10-13 March | 41.0 | 39.0 | 8.0 | 7.0 | | + 2.0 |
| MORI | S.Times | 15-19 March | 44.0 | 40.0 | 8.0 | 6.0 | | + 4.0 |
| MORI | S.Times | 16-17 March | 41.0 | 40.0 | 9.0 | 6.0 | | + 1.0 |
| HARRIS | Observer | 22-23 March | 41.0 | 41.0 | 9.0 | 3.0 | | 0 |
| GALLUP | D.Telegraph | 29 Mar-2 Apr | 37.5 | 40.0 | 10.0 | 8.0 | | - 2.5 |
| ICM | Guardian | 7-8 April | 44.0 | 40.0 | 7.0 | 6.0 | | + 4.0 |
| HARRIS | Observer | 19-20 April | 42.0 | 39.0 | 11.0 | 4.0 | | + 3.0 |
| NOP | Unpublished | 19-24 April | 43.0 | 37.0 | 9.0 | 4.0 | | + 6.0 |
| MORI | S.Times | 20-24 April | 41.0 | 41.0 | 9.0 | 6.0 | | 0 |
| ASL* | Unpublished | 29-30 April | 42.0 | 38.0 | 7.0 | 9.0 | | + 4.0 |
| GALLUP | D Telegraph | 27 Apr-1 May | 40.5 | 37.5 | 10.0 | 7.0 | | + 3.0 |
| ICM | Guardian | 12-16 May | 43.0 | 43.0 | 8.0 | 3.0 | | 0 |
| NOP | Unpublished | 17-22 May | 42.0 | 41.0 | 8.0 | 3.0 | | + 1.0 |
| MORI | S.Times | 18-22 May | 41.0 | 43.0 | 7.0 | 4.0 | | - 2.0 |
| HARRIS | Observer | 22-23 May | 46.0 | 41.0 | 7.0 | 2.0 | | + 5.0 |
| ASL* | Unpublished | 26-28 May | 41.0 | 45.0 | 6.0 | 4.0 | | - 4.0 |
| GALLUP | D.Telegraph | 31 May-5 Jun | 36.5 | 43.5 | 8.0 | 3.0 | | - 7.0 |
| ICM | Guardian | 9-10 June | 38.0 | 42.0 | 8.0 | 4.0 | 5.0 | - 4.0 |
| HARRIS | Observer | 21-22 June | 34.0 | 48.0 | 6.0 | 2.0 | 8.0 | -14.0 |
| MORI | S.Times | 22-27 June | 37.0 | 47.0 | 4.0 | 3.0 | 7.0 | -10.0 |

^{*} Telephone Poll.

2. VOTING INTENTION - SCOTLAND

We have had two recent opinion polls in Scotland - details of the findings on voting intentions are given below:-

Voting Intention

| <u>MORI</u> | | | System Three | | |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| | <u>June</u> 1989 | April 1989 | Late May 1989 | <u>Early</u> <u>May</u> 1989 | |
| Conservative | 22 | 22 | 21 | 19 | |
| Labour | 47 | 44 | 47 | 42 | |
| SLD | 4 | 5 | 5 | 8 | |
| SDP | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | |
| SNP | 23 | 25 | 25 | 27 | |
| Green | 1 | 1 | | _ | |
| Others | | <u>-</u> | 1 | 1 | |

The Conservatives remain in third place in Scotland with the standing of the parties as shown by both MORI and System Three being almost identical.

3. ISSUES

Details of the trend of the electorate's view of what are the key issues facing the country taken from Gallup's monthly studies are shown below:-

Most Important Issues Facing the Country - Gallup

| | <u>May</u> 1989 | April 1989 | March 1989 | <u>Feb</u> 1989 | <u>Jan</u> 1989 | <u>Dec</u> 1988 |
|----------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | x | x | x | × | * | % |
| Unemployment | 34 | 37 | 36 | 39 | 43 | 48 |
| Health | 36 | 27 | 34 | 35 | 30 | 27 |
| Cost of Living | 22 | 26 | 23 | 18 | 27 | 22 |
| Housing/Rates* | 14 | 17 | 14 | 19 | 16 | 13 |
| Law & Order | 7 | 11 | 9 | 12 | 13 | 10 |
| Pensions | 9 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 13 |
| Education | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 |
| Defence | 9 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Environment | 10 | _ | - | _ | _ | _ |

^{(*} Including mention of Poll Tax)

The proportion of the electorate regarding unemployment as the most important issue facing the country has fallen from 48% in December 1988 to 34% in May 1989. The proportion regarding the cost of living as the most important problem has remained stable at 22% over the same period. From December 1988 to May 1989 the proportion regarding health as the most important issue increased from 27% to 36%. The environment and related issues was analysed seperately for the first time in May 1989 by Gallup - 10% regarded it as one of the most important issues facing the country. MORI asking a similar question found the proportion mentioning the environment increasing from 5% in December 1988 to 14% in February 1989, 17% in May and 23% in June.

4. SATISFACTION RATINGS - LEADERS AND GOVERNMENT

Since the start of the year Gallup have been publishing a monthly analysis of their weekly polls (both published and published) involving over 9,000 interviews. The table below shows what has happened to attitudes to the record of the Government and to the leaders of the main parties since the start of the year.

(i) Satisfaction Ratings - Government

The table below shows responses to Gallup's standard question 'Do you approve or disapprove of the Government's record to date?'

| | Approve | Disapprove | Don't Know |
|-------------------|---------|------------|------------|
| January 1989 (%) | 36.6 | 48.6 | 14.8 |
| February 1989 (%) | 34.2 | 50.6 | 15.2 |
| March 1989 (%) | 33.1 | 53.6 | 13.3 |
| April 1989 (%) | 34.6 | 52.1 | 13.3 |
| May 1989 | 35.8 | 50.2 | 14.0 |

The proportion of the electorate claiming to approve of our record in government fell from 36.6% in January 1989 to 33.1% in March 1989 - it improved to 35.8% in May. The proportion disapproving of our record in Government increased from 48.6% in January 1989 to 53.6% in March 1989 but fell to 50.2% in May.

(ii) Satisfaction Rating - Leaders

The table below shows the trend of approval for the leaders of the main parties since January 1989.

| | | atisfied/ s Good Leader | <u>Dissatisfied</u> / <u>Is not Good</u> <u>Leader</u> | Don't Know |
|---------------|------|----------------------------|--|------------|
| MRS THATCHER | | | | |
| January 1989 | (%) | 43.8 | 50.4 | 5.8 |
| February 1989 | (%) | 41.6 | 52.5 | 5.9 |
| March 1989 | (%) | 39.7 | 54.7 | 5.6 |
| April 1989 | (%) | 40.6 | 53.7 | 5.7 |
| May 1989 | (%) | 40.9 | 53.5 | 5.6 |
| MR KINNOCK | | | | |
| January 1989 | (%) | 28.1 | 59.6 | 12.3 |
| February 1989 | | 28.7 | 58.7 | 12.6 |
| March 1989 | | 29.2 | 59.1 | 11.7 |
| April 1989 | (%) | 31.7 | 55.7 | 12.6 |
| May 1989 | (%) | 35.0 | 52.1 | 12.9 |
| MR ASHDOWN | | | | |
| January 1989 | (%) | 25.4 | 26.3 | 48.3 |
| February 1989 | | 26.9 | 26.8 | 46.3 |
| March 1989 | (%) | 26.0 | 34.7 | 39.3 |
| April 1989 | (%) | 28.2 | 31.2 | 40.6 |
| May 1989 | (%) | 23.3 | 38.5 | 38.2 |
| DR OWEN | | | | |
| January 1989 | (%) | 38.7 | 38.6 | 22.7 |
| February 1989 | (%) | 40.7 | 36.6 | 22.7 |
| March 1989 | (%) | 41.4 | 39.0 | 22.7 |
| April 1989 | (%) | 41.2 | 37.6 | 19.3 |
| May 1989 | (%) | 31.7 | | 21.2 |
| | (10) | 31.7 | 47.3 | 21.0 |

The Prime Minister's popularity fell from January 1989 to May 1989 whilst over the same period the popularity of Mr Kinnock improved sharply Mr Ashdown's fell marginally and Mr Owen's fell sharply.

5. ECONOMIC EXPECTATIONS

Gallup have asked for a number of years a series of questions about the electorate's perceptions of the current economic situation and their expectations for the future. Details of the answers from some of the main questions since September 1988 are given below:-

Q How do you think the general economic situation in the country has changed over the last 12 months?

| | Got a lot better | Got a little better | Stayed the same | Got a little worse | Got a lot worse | Don't know |
|-------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1988 | | | | | HOLDE | |
| Sept | 8 | 26 | 20 | 25 | 16 | 4 |
| Oct | 6 | 23 | 23 | 28 | 16 | 4 |
| Nov | 7 | 24 | 18 | 24 | 22 | 4 |
| Dec | 5 | 19 | 19 | 32 | 21 | 4 |
| 1989 | | | | | | |
| Jan | 4 | 18 | 20 | 33 | 20 | 5 |
| Feb | 5 | 20 | 20 | 30 | 20 | 5 |
| March | 3 | 16 | 19 | 32 | 26 | 4 |
| April | 3 | 18 | 18 | 31 | 26 | 4 |
| May | 4 | 18 | 21 | 30 | 22 | 5 |

Q How do you think the general economic situation in this country will develop over the next 12 months

| | Get a lot better | Get a little better | Stayed the same | Get a little worse | Get a lot worse | Don't know |
|-------|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1988 | | | | | | |
| Sept | 3 | 23 | 29 | 26 | 11 | 8 |
| Oct | 3 | 23 | 28 | 25 | 12 | 9 |
| Nov | 4 | 23 | 26 | 26 | 15 | 8 |
| Dec | 3 | 20 | 26 | 29 | 15 | 8 |
| 1989 | | | | | | |
| Jan | 2 | 22 | 24 | 29 | 14 | 9 |
| Feb | 3 | 20 | 30 | 24 | 13 | 10 |
| March | 2 | 19 | 28 | 26 | 17 | 8 |
| April | 3 | 20 | 26 | 27 | 17 | 8 |
| May | 2 | 22 | 28 | 24 | 14 | 9 |

The proportion of the electorate believing the general economic situation has 'got a lot better' or 'got a little better' over the last 12 months has fallen from 34% in September 1988 to 22% in May 1989. The proportion believing it has 'got a little worse' or 'got a lot worse' has increased from 41% in September 1988 to 52% in May 1989.

The proportion of the electorate expecting the general economic situation to 'get a lot better' or 'get a little better' fell from 26% in September 1988 to 22% in May 1989 whilst the proportion thinking it will 'get a little worse' or 'get a lot worse' increased from 37% to 38% over the same period.

6. TENTH ANNIVERSARY - PUBLIC ATTITUDES

The Observer on the 30th April included details of a major Harris study (conducted 19-20 April) on general attitudes to our tenth anniversary in Government. In addition to the questions published in the Observer the Harris study included some questions which the Observer did not publish. Details of both the published and unpublished findings are given below:-

(a) The Government and the Prime Minister

Harris asked respondents whether they thought the tenth anniversary of Mrs Thatcher's rule was something to celebrate or mourn - 35% saw it a as a cause for celebration (including 72% of Conservatives) and 40% as something to mourn (including 5% of Conservatives).

Harris asked resondents when they thought Mrs Thatcher should retire and when they thought she will retire. They found:-

Mrs Thatcher Should/Will Retire

| | Should Retire | Will Retire |
|---------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Now | 40 | 1 |
| Within two years | | |
| after next election | 15 | 19 |
| Five to 10 years | | |
| from now | 13 | 30 |
| More than a year | | |
| but before the next | | |
| election | 10 | 5 |
| Within a year | 8 | 2 |
| The year 2000 | 2 | 4 |
| Never | 4 | 28 |
| | | |

40% of electors thought Mrs Thatcher should retire now but only 1% thought she would.

Harris asked what respondents most liked about Mrs Thatcher and what they found most annoying.

Mrs Thatcher - Factors Liked and Factors found Annoying

| | Liked About Mrs Thatcher | | Found Most Annoying about Mrs Thatcher |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--|
| Determination | 32 | Her voice | 24 |
| Courage | 16 | Uncaring nature | 19 |
| Leadership | 14 | Obstinacy | 15 |
| Strength | 14 | Her policies | 12 |
| Energy | 12 | Big-headedness | 10 |
| Decisiveness | 11 | Narrow-mindednes | |
| On top of her job | 6 | Her snobbery | 9 |
| Clear-sightedness | 3 | Her appearance | 4 |
| Her policies | 2 | Her prejudice | 4 |
| Her caring nature | 2 | nor projudice | 4 |

When asked what they thought were the best and worst things Mrs Thatcher had done - Harris found:-

Best/Worst Things Mrs Thatcher's Done

| Best Things | | Worst Things | |
|---------------------|----|-----------------------|----|
| Trade Union Reforms | 20 | Reorganisation of NHS | 34 |
| Falklands | 15 | | 16 |
| Privatisation | 9 | Unemployment | 15 |
| First women PM | 7 | Privatisation | 11 |

When asked about attitudes to Mrs Thatcher's views to Europe Harris found:-

Opinion of Mrs Thatcher's Attitudes to Europe

| | <u>A11</u> | Conservative Supporters | <u>Labour</u> <u>Supporters</u> | SLD Supporters | SDP Supporters |
|--|------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| She is too soft with them (%) | 15 | 14 | 17 | 14 | 14 |
| She is not committed enough to a united Europe (%) | 24 | 15 | 32 | 30 | 31 |
| Her attitude to Europe is about | | | | | |
| right (%) | 48 | 65 | 33 | 47 | 40 |
| Don't Know | 13 | 6 | 18 | 9 | 15 |

48% of electors, including 65% of Conservative supporters and 33% of Labour supporters think Mrs Thatcher's attitude to Europe is about right.

(b) Attitudes in Policy Areas

The Sunday Telegraph, on 30th April, included details of a Gallup 10th Anniversary poll. This particular poll concentrated on public attitudes in a range of political areas.

Gallup asked respondents what they thought about privatisation, they found:-

Attitudes to Privatisation

| Most industries should be Privatised/sold off | 14% |
|--|-----|
| Present combination about right | 41% |
| More industries should be nationalised/in public ownership | 38% |
| Don't Know | 7% |

Details of the electorate's attitude to a range of changes over the last ten years are shown below:-

Approval/Disapproval of Changes over the past Ten Years

| | Approve | Disapprove | Don't Know |
|--|---------|------------|------------|
| Trade union members have been given greater control over their unions by increased use of ballots: | 70 | 19 | 11 |
| More than a million council tenants have bought their homes | 72 | 23 | 5 |
| Large numbers of government-owned firms, such as British Airways and British Telecom, have been sold to the private sector: | 39 | 53 | 8 |
| The law has been changed so as to make it more difficult for trade unions to strike: | 58 | 34 | 8 |
| The number of council houses being built has been sharply reduced: | 11 | 83 | 6 |
| Britain has retained control of the Falklands: | 58 | 24 | 18 |
| People have been encouraged to buy things like education, pensions and health care for themselves rather than relying on the state: | 41 | 52 | 7 |
| A national curriculum has been prepared for introduction in all state schools: | 50 | 29 | 21 |
| Britain has signed the Single European Act to abolish all trade barriers inside the EEC by 1992: | 53 | 23 | 24 |
| Strict controls have been placed on spending by local aurthorities: | 43 | 47 | 10 |
| Taxes on the things you buy, such as VAT have gone up, but at the same time income tax has been cut: | 34 | 54 | 13 |
| The Greater London Council and the other metropolitan councils have been abolished: | 33 | 41 | 27 |
| The introduction of a Community charge or Poll Tax to replace rates: | 22 | 68 | 10 |

Gallup included in their study their standard three part question on attitudes to government spending. They asked 'People have different views about whether it is more important to reduce taxes or keep up government spending. How about it? Which of these statements comes closest to your view?' They found:-

Attitude to Government Spending/Taxation

Taxes being cut, even if it means some reduction in government services, such as health, education and welfare 10%

Things should be left as they are 14%

Government services such as health, education and welfare should be extended, even if it means some increases in taxes 73%

Don't know 3%

7. ATTITUDES TO PRIVATISATION

(a) Consumers Association Study

The Guardian on 17th May included details of a survey conducted by 'Public Attitude Surveys' in March for the Consumers Association on attitudes to privatisation.

The survey included a question on what the electorate thought would happen to the service to the consumer provided by the water and electricity industries after privatisation. Details are given below:

Service after Privatisation

| <u>Water</u> | All Electors | Con Supporters | <u>Lab</u> <u>Supporters</u> | SLD Supporters | SDP Supporters |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Better | 13 | 21 | 8 | 5 | 17 |
| Same | 16 | 19 | 15 | 13 | 10 |
| Worse | 58 | 46 | 69 | 71 | 63 |
| Don't know | 13 | 14 | 8 | 11 | 10 |
| Electricity | | | | | |
| Better | 14 | 24 | 9 | 8 | 16 |
| Same | 31 | 37 | 27 | 27 | 33 |
| Worse | 41 | 25 | 54 | 51 | 43 |
| Don't know | 14 | 14 | 10 | 14 | 8 |

(b) Harris Survey - Water Privatisation

The Observer on 2nd July included details of a Harris poll on attitudes to water privatisation conducted on 28th and 29th June.

Harris found 79% of the electorate thought that water should not be privatised and 84% did not intend to buy shares in the privatised water companies.

8. ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

The Harris poll published in the Observer on 25th June (conducted 22/22 June) asked a number of questions on attitudes to environmental/'Green' issues. Harris found 24% claiming they were 'very satisfied' or 'fairly satisfied' with the Government's performance on environmental issues, 18% 'neither satisfied or dissatisfied and 51% 'fairly dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied'.

30% saw the Environment Secretary (Mr. Ridley) as doing a 'very good' or 'fairly good' job, and 49% a 'fairly bad' or 'very bad' job.

70% of the electorate agreed that there would be a seperate Ministry for 'Green' issues.

Harris asked representatives which environmental issues they regarded as most important. They found:-

Environmental Issues Regarded As Most Serious

| The 'Greenhouse' effect (damage to the ozone layer) | 54% |
|---|-----|
| Destruction to the Rain Forests | 45% |
| Oil Pollution of the Sea | 41% |
| Nuclear Power Stations | 38% |
| Acid Rain | 27% |
| Lead in Petrol | 23% |
| The changing in British Countryside | 16% |
| Litter | 14% |

9. HEALTH SERVICE REFORM

The Daily Telegraph on 13th June included details of Gallup studies on attitudes to health service reform conducted among GPs' and the electorate. The poll was conducted by telephone in May.

Gallup asked GPs' and the electorate what degree of reform they thought the NHS needed. They found:-

Need for Health Service Reform

| | GPs' | Electorates | |
|-----------------------|------|-------------|--|
| | % | % | |
| Needs Major Reform | 12 | 40 | |
| Needs Moderate Change | 79 | 42 | |
| Is adequate as it is | 9 | 16 | |
| Don't Know | 1 | 2 | |

When Gallup asked about attitudes to aspects of reform of the health service they found:-

| | GPs' | Electorate % |
|---|------|--------------|
| That health care should be made available to everyone free of charge? | | |
| Yes | 86 | 83 |
| No | | 13 |
| Don't Know | | 4 |
| That patients who can afford it should make a contribution towards certain health care services | | |
| Yes | 53 | 69 |
| No | 40 | 26 |
| Don't Know | 7 | 5 |
| That more patients should have private health insurance | | |
| Yes | 29 | 38 |
| No | 63 | 47 |
| Don't Know | 7 8 | 16 |

10. ATTITUDES TO EUROPE

(a) Gallup

The Daily Telegraph on 12th June included details of a Gallup poll conducted from 31st May to 5th Juneor attitudes to Europe and European issues.

Gallup asked 'Generally speaking do you think that British membership of the European Community is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad'. 51% thought it was a 'good thing', 19% a 'bad thing', 23% 'neither good nor bad' and 8% had no view. When asked about Mrs Thatcher tough line on Europe 46% approved of it, 38% did not approve and 16% had no view.

Gallup asked respondents which of the following statements about the future of Europe came closest to their own views. They found:-

Future of Europe

| A fully integrated Eurport with most major decisions taken by a European | |
|--|-----|
| government | 13% |
| A Europe more integrated than now but made decisions that mainly affect | |
| Britain staying in British hands | 48% |
| The situation much as it is now, with Britain retaining a veto over | |
| major policy changes it does not like. | 21% |
| Complete British withdrawal from the | |
| European Community | 12% |
| Don't Know | 7% |

Gallup found more than two thirds of the British electorates had never heard or read anything about the EEC commission.

They also asked respondents about attitudes to a range of European issues -

Attitudes in Policy Areas (Britain should or should not)

| | Should % | Should not % | Don't Know % |
|---|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Agree to European standards for clean beaches | 92 | 4 | 4 |
| Accept Euro-standards for reducing pollution in drinking water | 82 | 10 | 8 |
| Accept a programme to teach other European languages in schools throughout Europe | 78 | 13 | 9 |
| Have stricter health warnings printed on all cigarette packets | 63 | 26 | 11 |
| Adopt a new "social charter" guaranteeing workers' rights to join trade unions and encourage workers' participation in managing companies | 60 | 22 | 18 |
| Take it possible for citizens of my EEC country to travel to any other ithout a passport | 48 | 44 | 7 |
| oin the European Monetary System, ixing the value of the pound in elation to the other European currencies | 42 | 34 | 24 |
| gree to abolish all frontier controls etween Community countries | 38 | 48 | 13 |
| reate in the long term a single proper currency, involving the sappearance of the pound sterling | 31 | 56 | 12 |

(b) **EEC COMMISSION POLL**

The EEC Commission published in late April the results of a survey conducted in all member states in March/April. The main findings from the UK survey are given below:-

(i) Unification

The Commission asked 'In general, were you for or against efforts being made to unify Western Europe'. The study found in the UK 21% 'very much in favour of these efforts' and 49% 'for them to more extent'. This is the lowest level of support in any member state with the exception of Denmark.

(ii) Membership of the Community

The survey found 48% of the British electorate regarding our membership of the Community as a 'good thing'. Again with the exception of Denmark the lowest level in the Community.

(iii) Benefits of Membership

Only 44% of the British electorate thought that Britain had benefited from our Membership - the lowest level in any Member state.

(iv) Scrap the Community?

68% of the British electorate claimed they would be 'indifferent' or relieved' if the Community was scrapped tomorrow.

(v) Single European Market

63% of the British electorate claimed to have seen or head something about 1992 - the lowest level of awareness in any Member state. In Britain, 45% thought the idea of a Single market was a good thing, 29% 'neither good or bad' and 16% 'a bad thing'.

(vi) Fundamental Social Rights

The Commission asked 'There is talk of adopting a charter of fundamental social rights for all the entire EEC, that is a set of common rules throughout all the Member countries for matters concerning the rights and responsibilities of workers and employees'. In the UK 65% thought this would be a 'good thing', 10% 'neither good or bad' and 15% a 'bad thing'.

(vii) The Environment

When asked about the possibility of Community legislation to protect the environment, 88% of the British electorate thought there should be some common rules.