PUBLIC OPINION BACKGROUND NOTE 45

1. Introduction

Gallup conducted the interviewing for our latest 'tracking' study from 27th June to 2nd July and interviewed almost 1,000 electors throughout Great Britain. The study found an increase in Conservative support to 40% - a level it has not reached since late April. Labour support remained almost constant - increasing from 35½% to 36%. The Conservative lead over Labour of 4% is the highest since late April. In the study Gallup found a sharp fall in Alliance support - down from 27% to 22% - the lowest level since late April.

Details are shown in the table in Section 2.

2. Voting Intention

The two tables below show voting intention when 'don't knows' have been excluded (the conventional way of presenting opinion research figures) and when don't knows are shown as a separate category:

(a) Voting Intention (excluding don't knows) - all figures are percentages

							Alliance	Con lead
	Con	Lab	Lib	SDP	Others	Con lead	(SDP &	over Alliance
						over Labour	Liberal)	(Liberal & SDP)
	.%	%	%	%	Ž.	%	%	%
1983								
General Election 1983	42.4	27.6	13.7			+14.8	25.3	+17 41
29 June/4 July	46.5	25.5	12.0	15.0		+21.0	27.0	+19.5
7-11 July	44.0	28.5	11.0	15.0	1.5	+15.5*	26.0	+18.0
13-18 July	42.0	26.0	14.0	16.0	2.0	+16.0	30.0	+12.0
21-25 July	41.0	29.0	13.0	16.0	1.0	+12.0	29.0	+12.0
28 July/1 August	43.5	26.0	14.0	15.0	1.5	+17.5	29.0	+14.5
3-8 August	45.0	26.5	11.0	15.0	2.5	+18.5	26.0	+19.0
10-15- August	44.5	25.0	13.0	16.0	1.5	+19.5*	29.0	+15.5
17-22 August	44.5	25.0	12.0	16.5	2.0	+19.5	28.5	+16.0
24-30 August	45.0	27.5	12.0	14.0	1.5	+17.5	26.0	+19.0
31 August/5 September	44.0	27.0	11.0	16.0	2.0	+17.0	27.0	+17.0
7-12 September	45.5	24.5	10.5	18.5	1.0	+21.0*	29.0	+16.5
14-19 September	43.0	24.5	12.0	19.0	1.5	+18.5	31.0	+12.0
21-26 September	41.0	26.0	16.0	15.0	2.0	+15.0	31.0	+10.0
28 Sept - 3 Oct	46.0	24.0	12.5	16.0	1.5	+22.0	28.5	+17.5
5-10 October	42.0	36.0	10.0	12.0	2.0	+8.0	22.0	+20.0
12-18 October	43.5	40.0	6.5	9.0	1.0	+3.5	15.5	+28.0
19-24 October	42.5	35.5	9.5	10.5	2.0	+7.0*	20.0	+22.5
26-31 October	42.5	37.0	9.5	9.0	2.0	+5.5	18.5	+24.0
2-7 November	41.5	37.5	9.0	10.0	2.0	+4.0	19.0	+22.5
9-14 November	43.5	36.0	11.0	8.5	1.0	+7.5*	19.5	+24.0
16-21 November	41.0	38.0	8.0	11.0	2.0	+3.0	19.0	+22.0
23-28 November	41.0	37.0	13.0	8.0	1.0	+4.0	21.0	+20.0
30-5 December	44.0	38.0	8.0	9.0		+6.0	17.0	+27.0
7-12 December	42.5	36.5	8.0	11.5		+6.0*	19.5	+23.0

	Con %	Lab %	Lib %	SDP %	Others %	Con lead Over Labour	(SDP & Liberal	over Alliance Liberal & SDP
1984	70	/6	,,	,	,,	,,		
6-9 January	41.0	38.0	10.5	10.0	1.0	+3.0	20.0	+21.0
11-16 January	41.5	38.0	9.5	10.0	1.0	+3.5*	19.5	+22.0
18-23 January	40.0	39.5	10.0	81.	2.0	+0.5	18.5	+21.5
25-30 January	41.5	39.0	10.0	9	0.5	+2.5	19.0	+22.5
1-6 February	44.0	39.0	8.0	8	1.0	+5.0	16.0	+28.0
8-13 February	43.0	33.5	11.5	10.0	2.0	+9.5*	21.5	+21.5
15-20 February	39.5	39.5	10.0	10.0	1.0	0.0	20.0	+19.5
22-27 February	38.0	43.0	9.0	10.0	0.0	-5.0	19.0	+19.0
29 Feb - 5 March	39.0	41.0	8.0	10.0	2.0	-2.0	18.0	+21.0
7-12 March	36.0	42.0	11.0	9.0	2.0	-6.0	20.0	+16.0
15-19 March	41.0	38.5	11.0	8.5	1.0	+2.5*	19.5	+19.5
21-26 March	37.0	40.0	11.5	10.5	1.0	-3.0	22.0	+15.0
28 Mar - 2nd April	37.0	40.0	10.5	11.0	1.5	-3.0	21.5	+15.5
4-9 April	37.0	40.5	11.0	10.0	1.5	-3.5	21.0	+16.0
11-16 April	41.0	36.5	10.0	10.5	2.0	+4.5*	20.5	+20.0
18-23 April	38.5	41.0	9.0	9.0	2.5	-2.5	18.0	+20.5
25-30 April	40.0	36.0	11.0	11.0	2.0	+4.0	22.0	+18.0
2-7 May	38.0	37.0	11.5	12.0	1.5	+1.0	23.5	+14.5
10-14 May	38.5	36.5	9.0	14.0	2.0	+2.0*	23.0	+15.5
16-21 May	38.0	38.5	11.0	12.0	0.5	-0.5	23.0	+15.0
23-28 May	38.5	37.0	9.0	13.5	2.0	+1.5	22.5	+16.0
30 May-4 June	35.0	40.0	8.0	15.0	2.0	-5.0	23.0	+13.0
6-11 June	37.5	38.0	7.5	15.5	1.5	-0.5*	23.0	+14.5
13-18 June	38.0	34.0	9.0	16.0	3.0	+4.0	25.0	+13.0
20-25 June	36.0	35.5	10.0	17.0	1.5	+0.5	27.0	+9.0
27 June-2 July	40.0	36.0	8.0	14.0	2.0	+4.0	22.0	+8.0

* Published in the Daily Telegraph (b) Voting Intention (including don't knows)

Con	servative	Labour	Liberal	SDP	Others	Don't	Conservative
		%	%	%	%	Know %	lead over Labour
1983	%	/6	/0	/0	/0	/0	/6
29 June/4 July	43.0	24.0	11.0	14.0	1.0	6.0	+19.0
7-11 July	41.0	27.0	10.0	14.0	1.0	6.0	+14.0
	39.0	24.0	13.0	15.0	2.0	7.0	+15.0
13-18 July		27.0	12.0	16.0	1.0	5.0	+12.0
21-25 July	39.0						
28 July/1 August	41.0	24.0	13.0	14.0	1.0	7.0	+17.0
3-8 August	43.0	25.0	11.0	15.0	2.0	5.0	+18.0
10-15 August	42.0	23.0	12.0	15.0	2.0	6.0	+19.0
17-22 August	41.0	23.0	11.0	15.0	2.0	7.0	+18.0
24-30 August	41.0	25.0	11.0	13.0	1.0	9.0	+16.0
31 August-5 Sept	41.0	25.0	10.0	15.0	1.0.	7.0	+16.0
7-12 September	41.0	21.0	9.0	16.0	2.0	12.0	+20.0
14-19 September	40.0	23.0	11.0	18.0	1.0	7.0	+17.0
21-26 September	39.0	25.0	15.0	15.0	2.0	5.0	+14.0
28 Sept - 3 Oct	43.0	23.0	12.0	14.0	1.0	7.0	+20.0
5-10 October	38.0	33.0	9.0	10.0	1.0	. 8.0	+5.0
12-18 October	41.0	37.0	6.0	8.0	1.0	7.0	+4.0
19-24 October	40.0	34.0	9.0	10.0	2.0	6.0	+6.0
26-31 October	40.0	35.0	9.0	9.0	1.0	7.0	+5.0
2-7 November	38.0	35.0	8.0	9.0	. 1.0	8.0	+3.0
9-14 November	41.0	33.0	10.0	8.0	1.0	7.0	+8.0
16-21 November	39.0	36.0	8.0	11.0	1.0	6.0	+3.0
23-28 November	38.0	34.0	12.0	8.0	1.0	8.0	+4.0
30 Nov-5 Dec	41.0	35.0	7.0	9.0	1.0	7.0	+6.0
7-12 Dec	40.0	33.0	8.0	11.0	2.0	7.0	+7.0

						Don't	Conservative
Cons	ervative	Labour	Liberal	SDP	Others	Know	lead over Labour
1984	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
6-9 January	39.0	36.0	9.0	10.0	1.0	6.0	+3.0
11-16 January	39.0	35.0	9.0	9.0	0.0	7.0	+4.0
18-23 January	37.0	37.0	9.0	8.0	2.0	7.0	0.0
25-30 January	38.0	36.0	9.0	8.0	1.0	7.0	+2.0
1-6 February	41.0	36.0	7.0	7.0	2.0	6.0	+5.0
8-13 February	41.0	32.0	11.0	9.0	2.0	6.0	+9.0
15-20 February	36.0	36.0	9.0	9.0	1.0	8.0	0.0
22-27 February	35.0	39.0	8.0	9.0	0.0	8.0	-4.0
29 Feb-5 March	36.0	39.0	8.0	10.0	2.0	6.0	-3.0
7-12 March	33.0	38.0	10.0	9.0	1.0	9.0	-5.0
15-19 March	38.0	36.0	10.0	8.0	1.0	8.0	+2.0
21-26 March	34.5	37.0	10.5	9.5	1.0	7.5	-2.5
28 Mar - 2 April	35.0	38.0	10.0	10.0	1.0	6.0	-3.0
4-9 April	35.0	38.0	10.0	10.0	1.0	6.0	-3.0
11-16 April	38.0	34.0	10.0	9.0	2.0	7.0	+4.0
18-23 April	36.0	38.0	9.0	9.0	2.0	7.0	+2.0
25-30 April	37.0	33.0	10.0	10.0	2.0	8.0	+4.0
2-7 May	35.0	34.0	11.0	12.0	2.0	7.0	+1.0
10-14 May	36.0	35.0	8.0	14.0	2.0	6.0	+1.0
16-21 May	35.0	36.0	10.0	11.0	2.0	6.0	-1.0
23-28 May	36.0	34.0	9.0	13.0	2.0	6.0	+2.0
30 May-4 June	32.0	37.0	7.0	14.0	2.0	8.0	-5.0
6-11 June	35.0	35.0	7.0	11.0	1.0	8.0	0.0
13-18 June	36.0	33.0	8.0	15.0	2.0	5.0	+3.0
20-25 June	34.0	33.0	9.0	16.0	1.0	6.0	+1.0
27 June-2 July	37.0	34.0	7.0	14.0	2.0	7.0	+3.0

3. Government Record.

Gallup found a very small improvement in government popularity, up to 37% claiming to approve of the record of the government, 49% disapprove and 14% with no view.

Details are shown in the table below.

GOVERNMENT RECORD

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know
1984			
6-9 January (%)	40	48	12
11-16 January (%)	42	46	12
18-23 January (%)	37	52	12
25-30 January (%)	39	48	. 13
1-6 February (%)	40	49	11
8-13 February (%)	41	45	14
15-20 February (%)	39	48	13
22-27 February (%)	34	52	14
29 Feb - 5 March (%)	35	54	- 11
7-12 March (%)	33	53	14
15-19 March (%)	41	49	10
21-26 March (%)	36	51	13
28 Mar - 2 April (%)	36	52	12
4-9 April (%)	35	54	11
11-16 April (%)	. 42	45	13
18-23 April (%)	35	54	11
25-30 April (%)	37	49	14

GOVERNMENT RECORD

1984	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know
2-7 May (%)	39	49	12
10-14 May (%)	37	51	11
16-21 May (%)	35	53	12
23-28 May (%)	38	49	13
30 May-4 June (%)	32	55	13
6-11 June (%)	36	53	11
13-18 June (%)	37	51	12
20-25 June (%)	36	55	9
27 June-2 July (%)	37	49	14

4. Popularity of Political Leaders

The latest study found an improvement in Mrs Thatcher's popularity from the low point reached last week. Mr Kinnock's popularity has fallen for the second week running and both Mr Steel's and Dr Owen's popularity have fallen slightly.

Mrc	Thatcher	
TITO	THATCHEL	

Mr. Kinnock

<u> </u>	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Don't Know	<u>Is Good</u> <u>Leader</u>	Is Not Good Leader	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%	. %	%
1984						
6-9 January (%)	47	49	5	46	22	31
11-16 January (%)	49	46	5	43	23	34
18-23 January (%)	44	52	4	45	21	34
25-30 January (%)	45	49	6	43	24	33
1-5 February (%)	46	49	4	48	24	28
8-13 February (%)	48	48	5	45	24	30
15-20 February (%)	46	49	5	41	28	31
22-27 February (%)	41	54	5	45	28	27
29 Feb - 5 March (%)41	55	4	50	26	24
7-12 March (%)	41	54	5	48	24	28
15-19 March (%)	46	52	2	47	27	26
21-26 March (%)	42	52	6	48	25	27
28 Mar - 2 April(%) 42	54	5	45	29	26
4-9 April (%)	40	55	5	47	30	24
11-16 April (%)	46	50	5	42	34	24
18-23 April (%)	40	55	5	43	32	25
25-30 April (%)	43	51	6	42	33	24
2-7 May (%)	44	50	6	43	36	20
10-14 May (%)	41	54	. 5	42	32	24
16-21 May (%)	42	54	4	45	30	25
23-28 May (%)	43	51	5	42	36	21
30 May - 4 June (%) 41	55	4	41	36	21
6-11 June (%)	41	54	5	43	36	21
13-18 June (%)	41	54	5	42	40	19
20-25 June (%)	39	58	3	40	40	20
27 June- 2 July (%) 42	52	6	37	41	22

Mr. Steel .

Dr. Owen

	s Good	Is Not Good	Don't Know	Is Good	Is Not Good	Don't
<u> L</u>	eader %	Leader %	%	Leader %	<u>Leader</u> %	Know %
1984	h	/6	/0	/0	/0	/0
6-9 January (%)	62	22	16	48	24	28
11-16 January (%)	59	23	18	45	25	30
18-23 January (%)	63	19	18	49	. 22	29
25-30 January (%)	60	21	18	44	25	31
1-6 February (%)	57	25	19	43	29	27
8-13 February (%)	61	22	17	45	24	30
15-20 February (%)	63	21	17	45	26	29
22-27 February (%)		20	1.5	46	23	30
29 Feb-5 March (%)	57	24	19	44	27	29
7-12 March (%)	61	21	18	43	27	31
15-19 March (%)	67	18	15	48	23	29
21-26 March (%)	67	19	14	45	25	30
28 Mar-2 April (%)		20	19	48	24	28
4-9 April (%)	63	20	17	43	26	31
11-16 April (%)	61	22	17	48	25	27
18-23 April (%)	59	22	19	44	24	32
25-30 April (%)	63	19	19	48	21	. 30
2-7 May (%)	62	21	17	50	23	27
10-14 May (%)	67	19	15	51	25	24
16-21 May (%)	63	19	18	50	22	28
23-28 May (%)	63	22	15	48	24	28
30 May-4 June (%)	64	20	16	49	25	26
6-11 June (%)	63	23	15	52	22	26
13-18 June (%)	61	23 .	16	51	24	25
20-25 June (%)	62	21	17	53	25	22
27 June-2 July (%)	61	19	20	50	24	26

5. Published Polls

(a) MORI (Evening Standard 3rd July 1984)

The Evening Standard on 3rd July included details of an MORI poll conducted between 21st and 25th June. The survey found the Conservatives and Labour parties 'neck and neck' - 39% claiming they would vote Conservative, 39% Labour and 21% Alliance.

(b) Gallup (Daily Telegraph 6th July)

The Daily Telegraph on 6th July included details of a Gallup survey conducted from 27th June to 2nd July. The survey allows comparison with public opinion in the 1974 coal strike. The key result is that 79% disapprove of the miners' tactics - details below.

When asked: Do you approve or disapprove of the methods being used by the miners? The replies were:

	TODAY	FEB. 1974
Approve	15	32
Disapprove	79	63
Don't Know	6	5

There has been an increase in the proportion thinking the miners' methods are irresponsible, from 50 per cent in December 1973 when the question was last asked to 78 per cent today.

So far the Government has kept clear of the dispute, but 63 per cent of the public think it should get involved in trying to end it. Twenty-nine per cent feel that the Government should not get involved and eight per cent are undecided.

While Labour supporters, by a margin of four to one, are in favour of the Government getting involved, the Conservatives are almost evenly divided.

The miners have lost some of the public sympathy they had 10 years ago, as measured by the replies to the question: Are your sympathies mainly with the employers or mainly with the miners in the dispute which has arisen in the coal industry? The replies were:

	TODAY	FEB. 1974
Employers	40	24
Miners	33	52
Neither	19	20
Don't Know	8	4

Even among trade unionists, where 47% support the miners, 29% support the National Coal Board.

In their earlier dispute public sympathy for the miners grew over time but this has not happened in the current strike.

Not only are the miners' methods losing them public sympathy, but the public is less inclined to believe that strikes, protests, and demonstrations are necessary. They also feel that miners will be worse off as a consequence.

While 26% of the public feel that it is often necessary to take part in strikes, protests and demonstrations, as the only way to get the Government to take any

While 26% of the public feel that it is often necessary to take part in strikes, protests and demonstrations, as the only way to get the Government to take any notice of people's views, 37% think that it is rarely necessary and 35% that it is never necessary.

Now 50% think that protests and demonstrations make no difference, 22% think you are more likely to get your own way with the authorities and 22% think you are less likely.

Fifty per cent of the public 49% of trade unionists feel that at the end of the dispute the individual coal miner will be worse off.

Only 12% of the general public think they will be better off, 30% think the dispute will not make much difference, and 8% are undecided.