The 2010 General Election and its impact on London

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Gresham Symposium

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Outline of the Presentation

- Basics
- The British Results
- The London Results
- What Now for the Country
- What Now for London
- Big Society?
- Questions?

The Basics

Sources: "Explaining Labour's Landslide, ELSL, Explaining Labour's Landslip", Worcester & Mortimore (+Baines)

Understanding Public Opinion Research

- We measure perceptions, not facts
- Two kinds of findings we bring to our clients: reality, and misperception
- Five things we find: behaviour, knowledge, and…
- three levels of 'views':
  - Opinions
  - Attitudes
  - Values

Calculating Swing

Simple really…

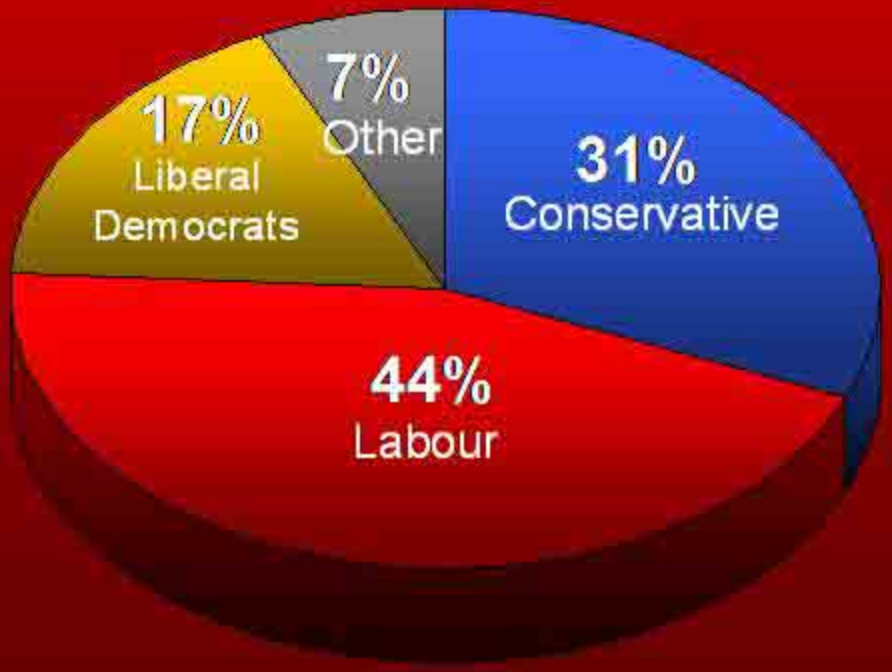
Change in lead, divide by two,

Or…

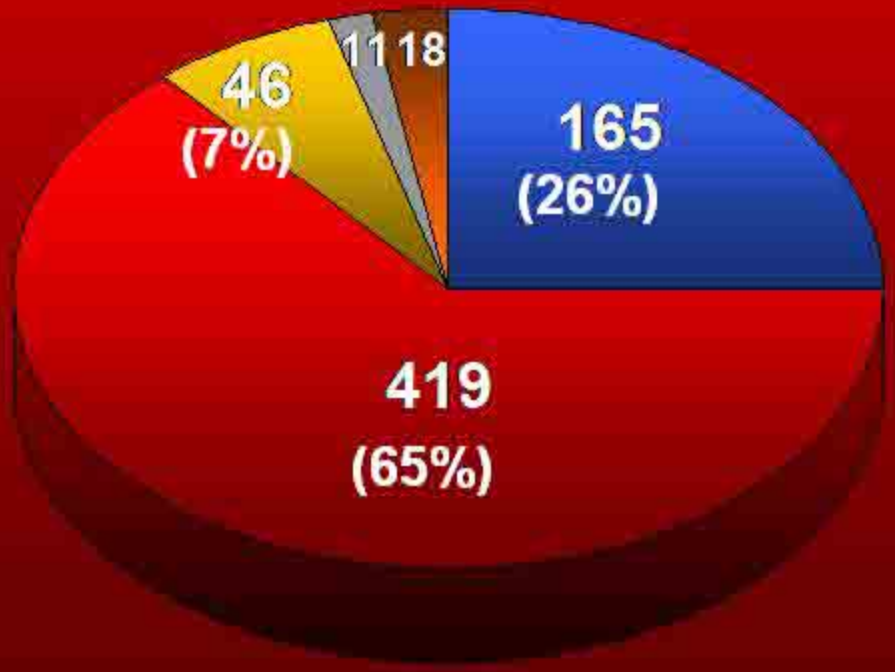
Difference between two groups, divide by two

1997: Labour's Landslide (179 majority)

Share of votes (GB)



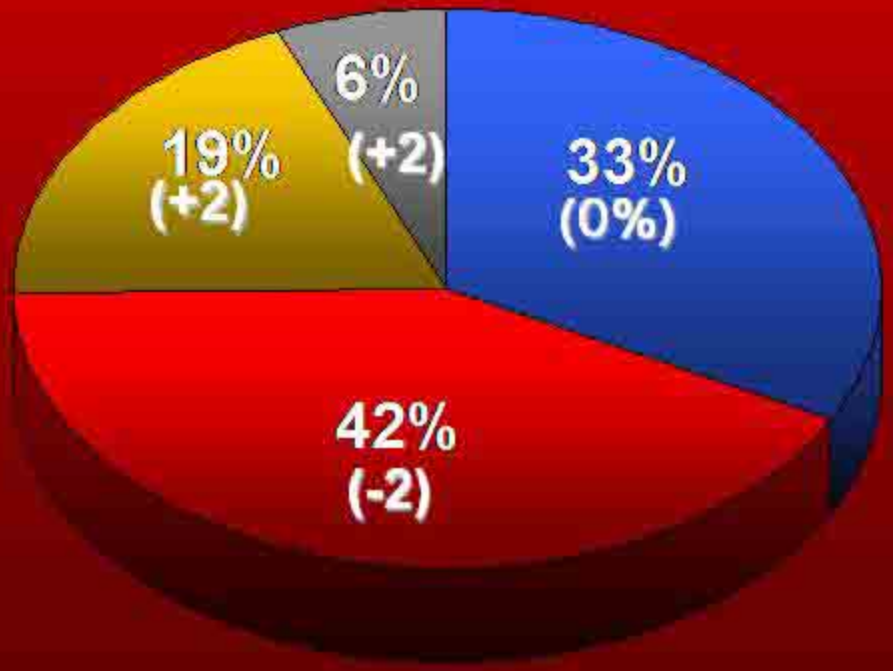
Number of Seats



Source: "Explaining Labour's Landslip",
Worcester, Mortimore & Baines

2001: Labour's Second Landslide (167 Majority)

Share of votes (GB)



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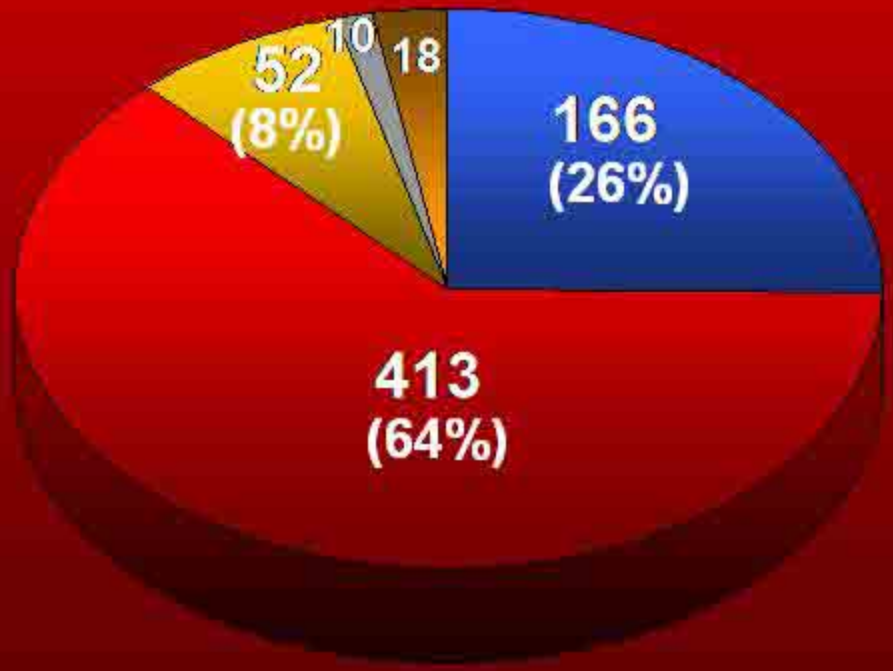
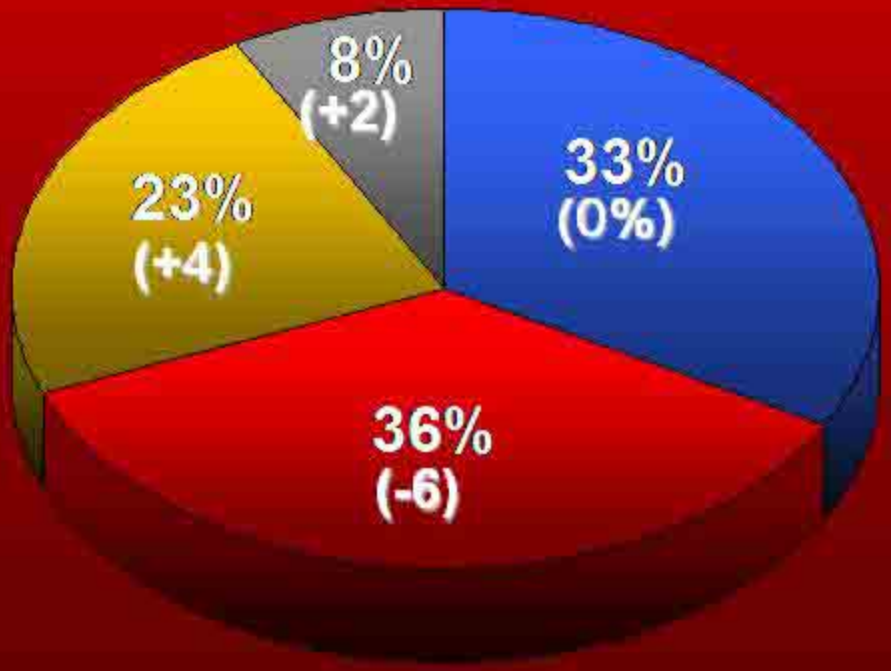


L-C Swing = 1%

Source: "Explaining Labour's Landslip", Worcester, Mortimore & Baines

2005: Labour's Landslip - Majority (67)

Share of votes (GB)



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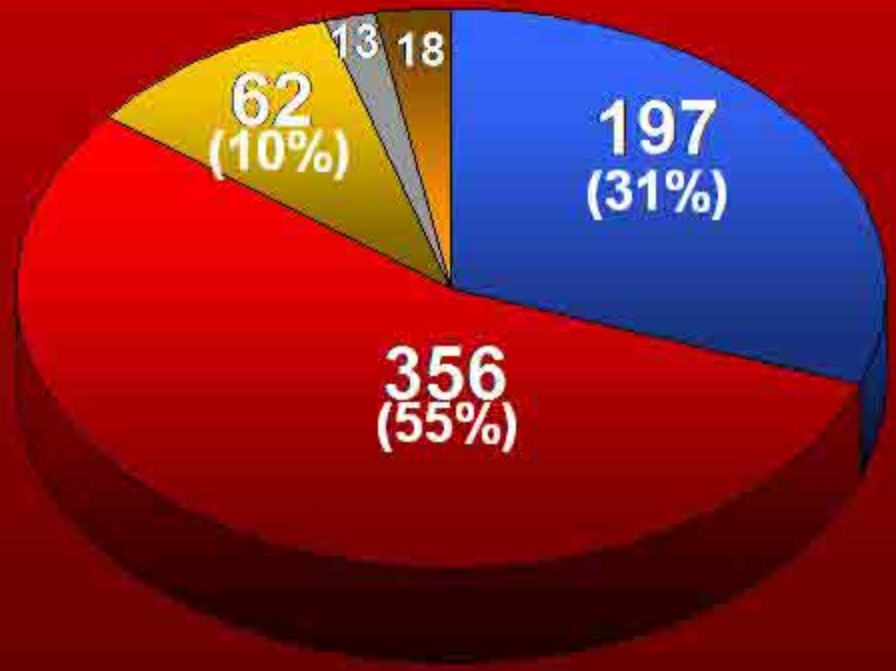


L-C Swing = 3%

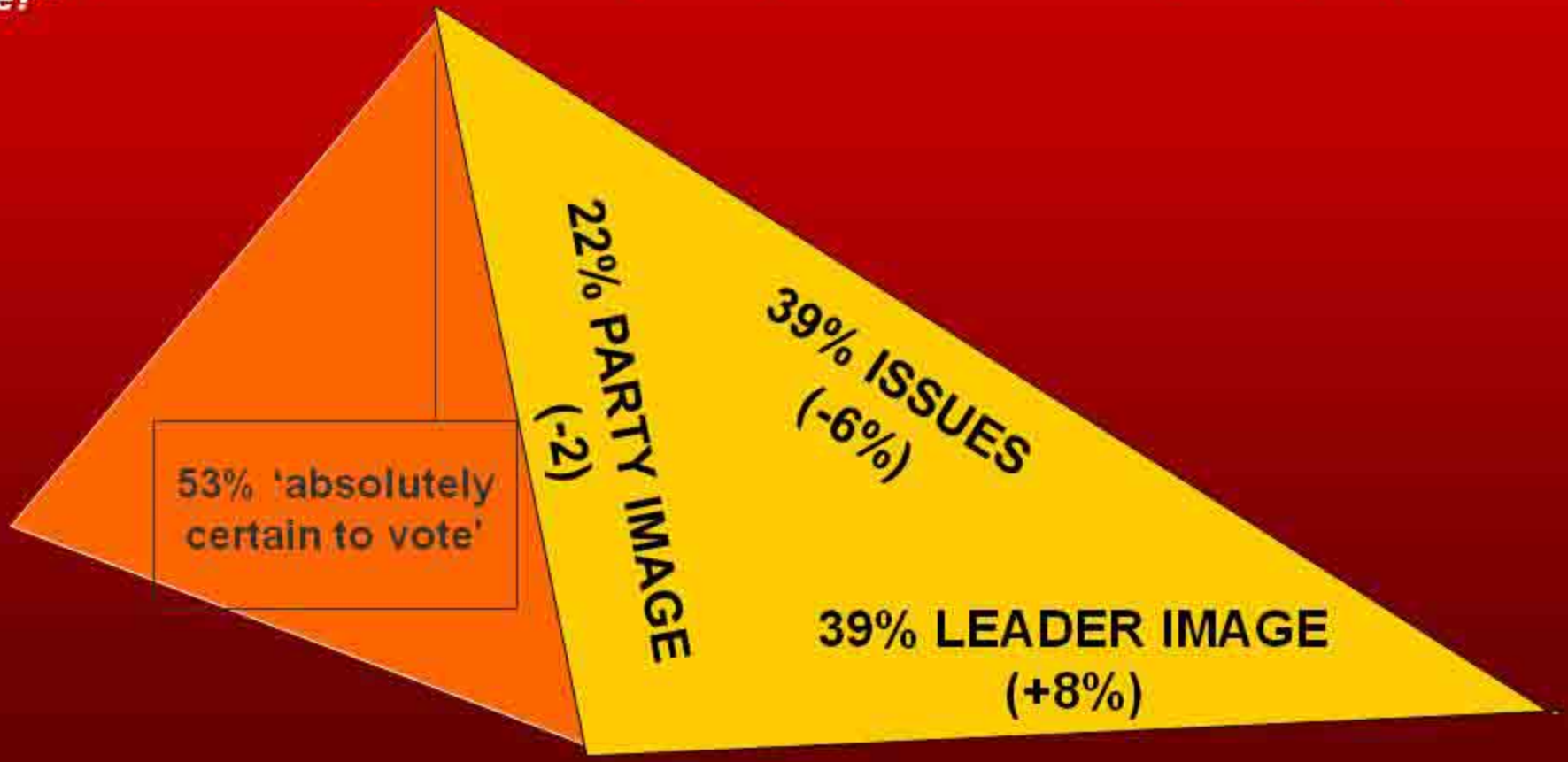
Source: "Explaining Labour's Landslip", Worcester, Mortimore & Baines

Electoral Arithmetic

- Core vote for Labour - 30% (tested 1983 & 2010)
- Core vote for Tories - 30% (tested 1997)
- Core vote for Others - 25% (tested 1989 & 2010)
- Total 85%
- Floating Voters = 15%
- Marginal Constituencies = 20%
- 15% x 20% = 3% 'floating voters' x c. 29.6 million voters (65% of 45 million electorate) = c. 900,000

The Political Triangle© 2010 General Election

Q *"I want you to think about what it is that most attracted you to the … party. Some people are attracted mainly by the policies of the party, some by the leaders of the party and some because they identify with the party as a whole. If you had a total of ten points to allocate according to how important each of these was to you, how many points would you allocate to the leaders of the party you intend voting for, how many to its policies, and how many to the party as a whole?"*



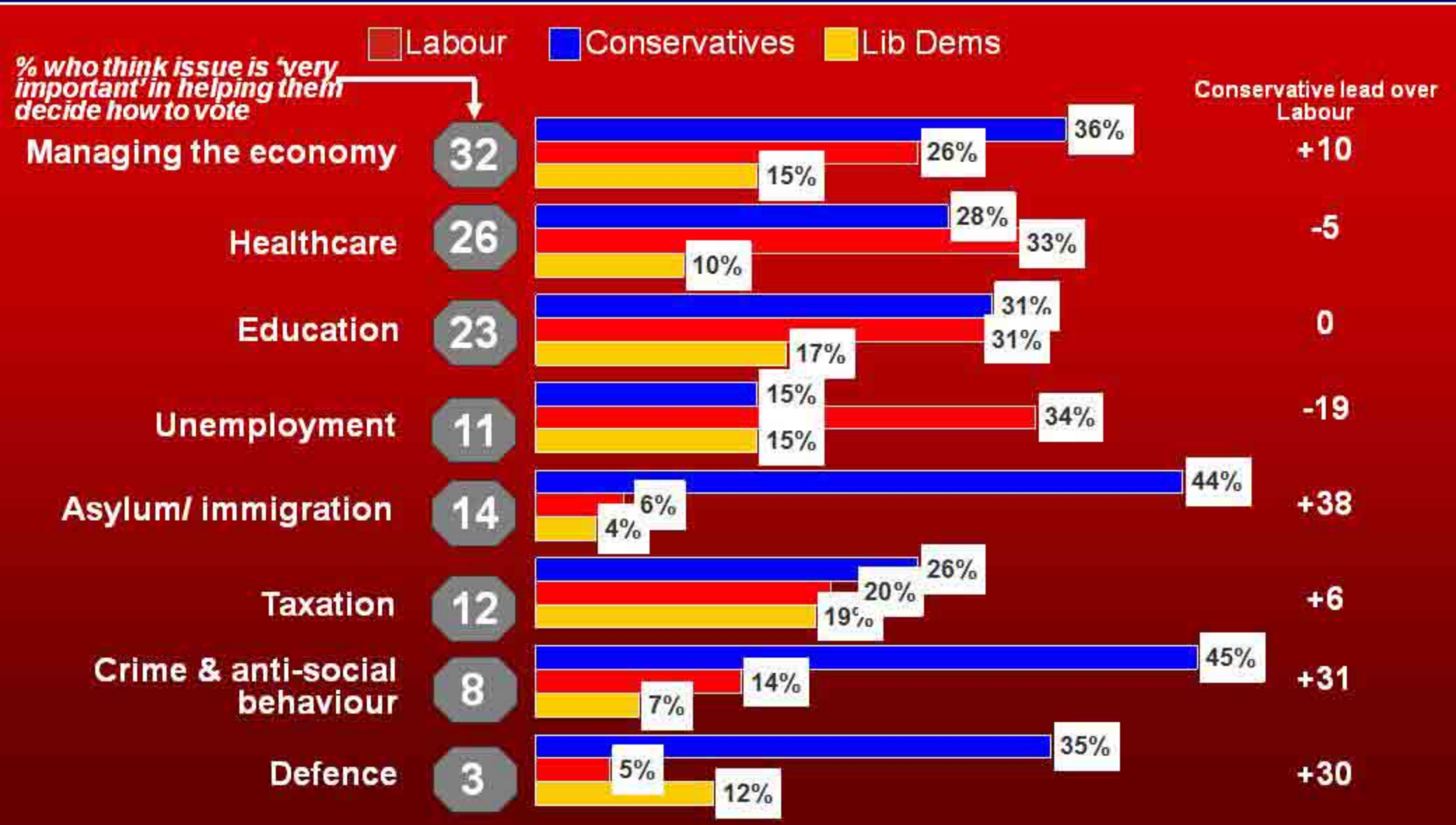
Base: 1,210 British adults 18+, 19-22 February 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/Observer

Four reasons issues don't "bite"

- Salience (of the issue)
- Differentiation (between parties)
- Will (to implement policy)
- Power (to do so)

Q "Which party has the best policies on ... ?"



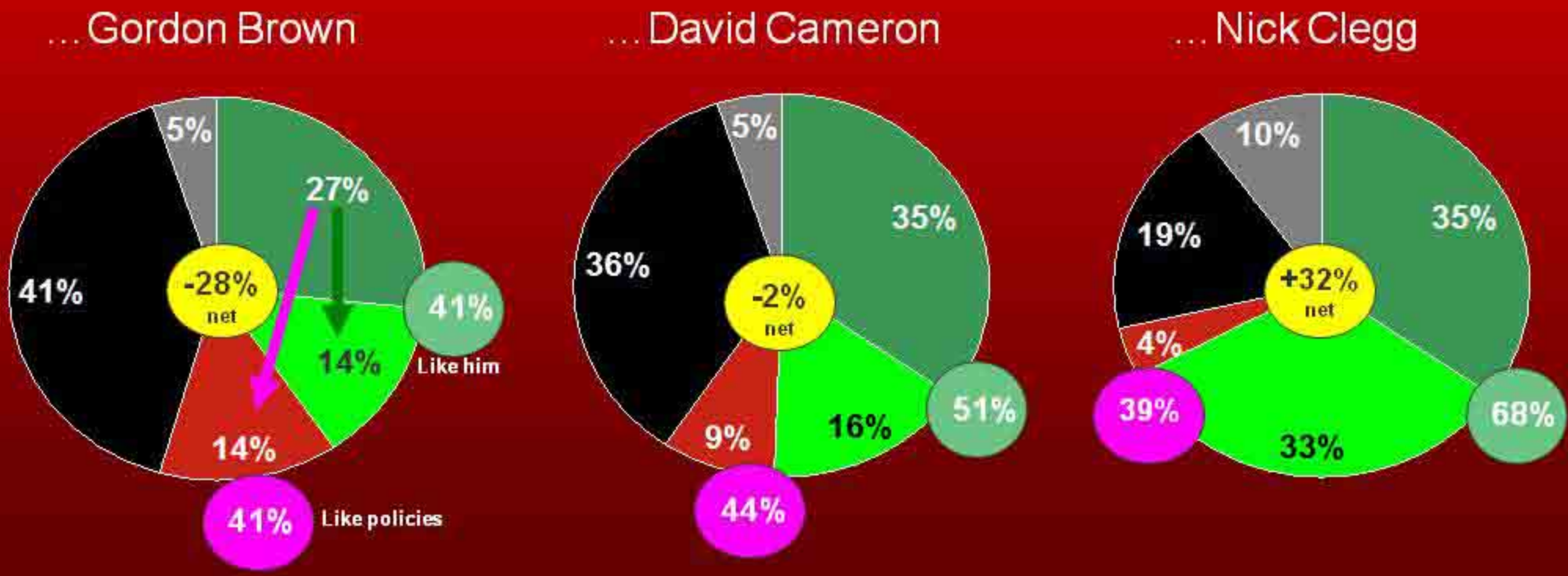
Base: 1,503 British adults 18+, 19th – 22nd March 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

Like/Dislike Him/Policies: Clegg wins on Points

Q "Which of these statements comes closest to your view of…?"

- I like him and I like his policies
- I like him but I do not like his policies
- I do not like him but I like his policies
- I do not like him and I do not like his policies
- Don't know/No opinion



Base: 1,018, adults aged 18+ in marginal constituencies, 23-26 April 2010

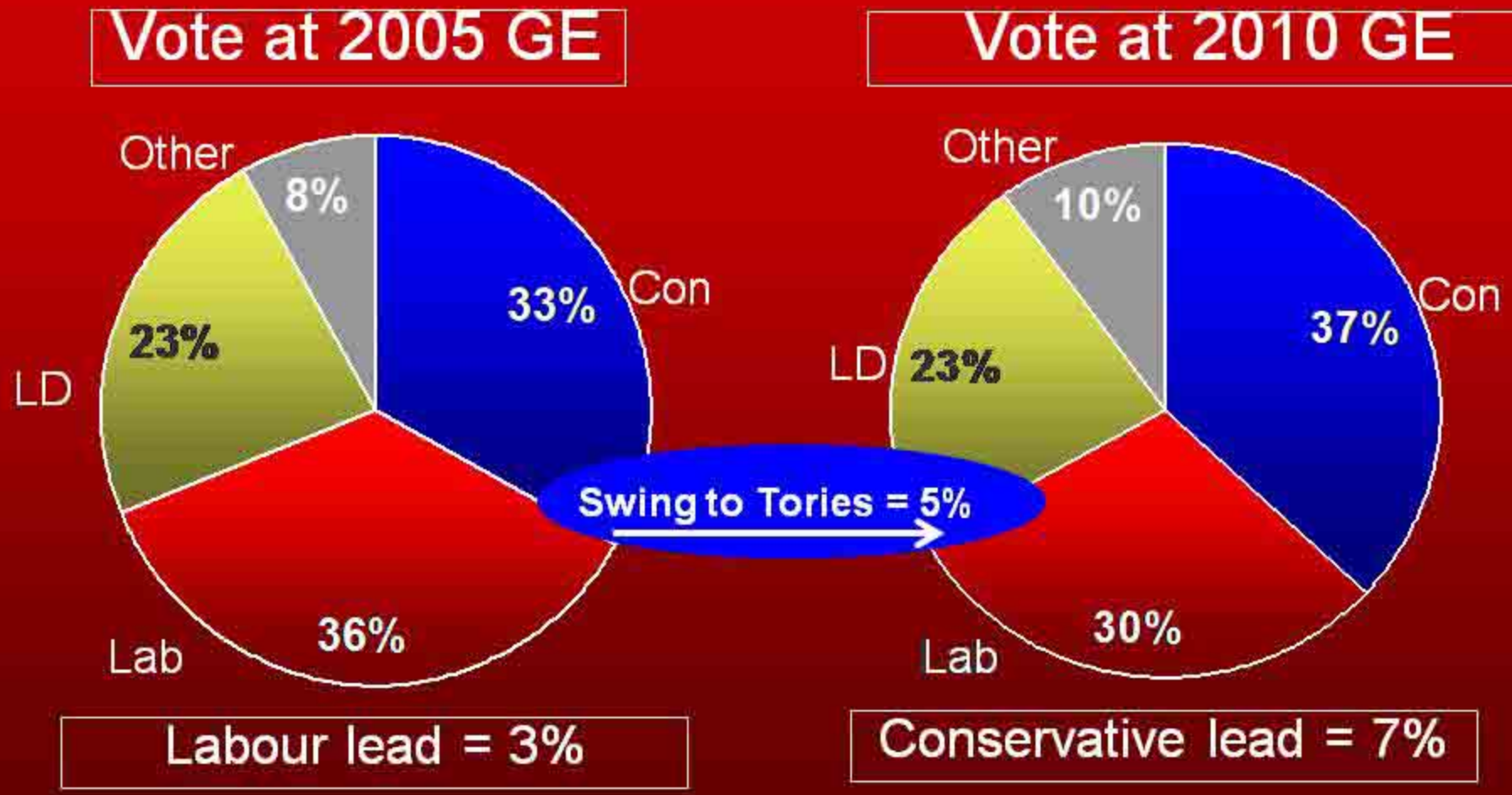
Source: Ipsos MORI/Reuters

The British General Election Results

Background on the UK Election: 6 May 2010

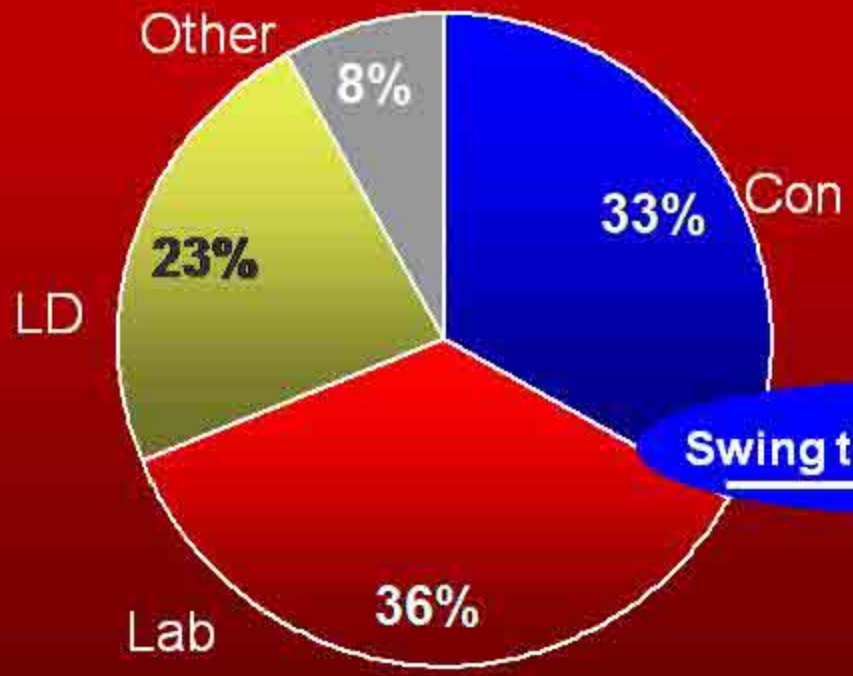
- UK currently has a "First Past The Post" Parliamentary electoral system, 650 seats across the country:
  - 533 England 59 Scotland 40 Wales 18 N.I.
- No fixed term elections: must be held at least every five years
- Labour party been in power since 1997, then ending 18 years of Tory rule
- Current electoral system "bias" to Labour party
- Labour's vote share has slipped at each election since 1997:
  - 1997 (44%) 2001 (42%) 2005 (36%)
- Conservatives enjoyed consistent poll lead over Labour throughout most of the Parliament
- Key events since 2005:
  - **Brown takes over from Blair** **Expenses scandal**
  - **Wars in Iraq and then Afghanistan Economic crisis**
  - **Leaders' Debates**

5% Swing from 2005 General Election



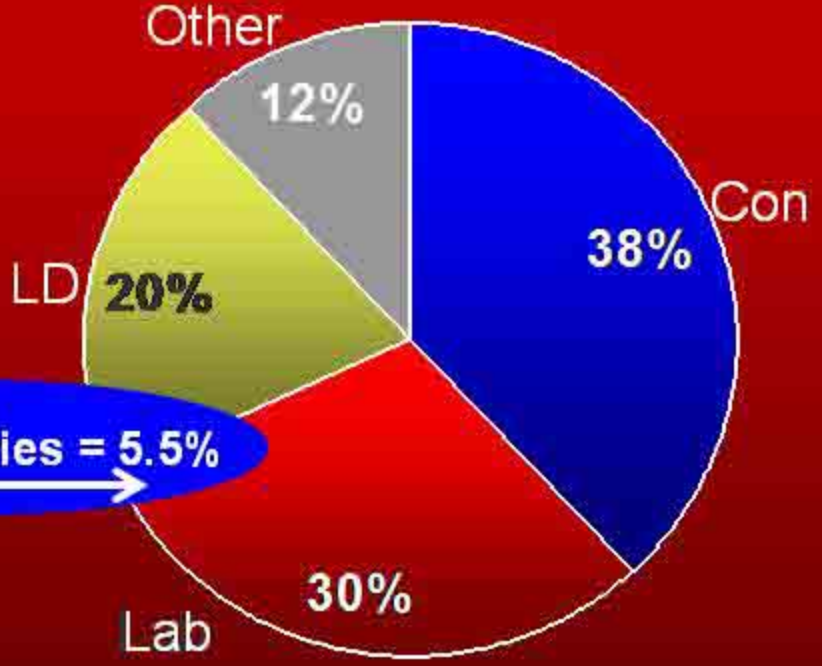
5.5% Swing from 2005 GE to start of 2010

Vote at 2005 GE



Labour lead = 3%

Final Pre-election polls

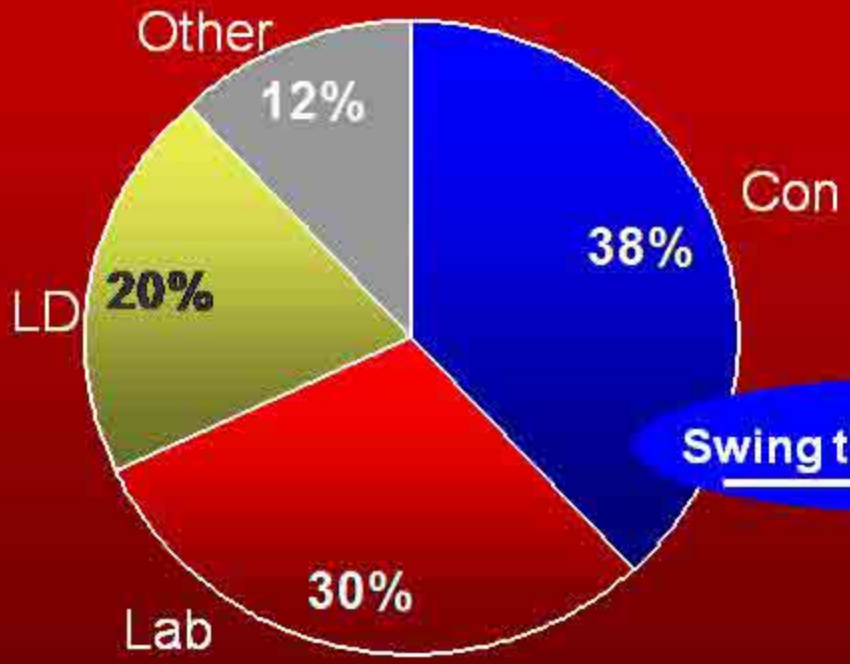


Conservative lead = 8%

Swing to Tories = 5.5%

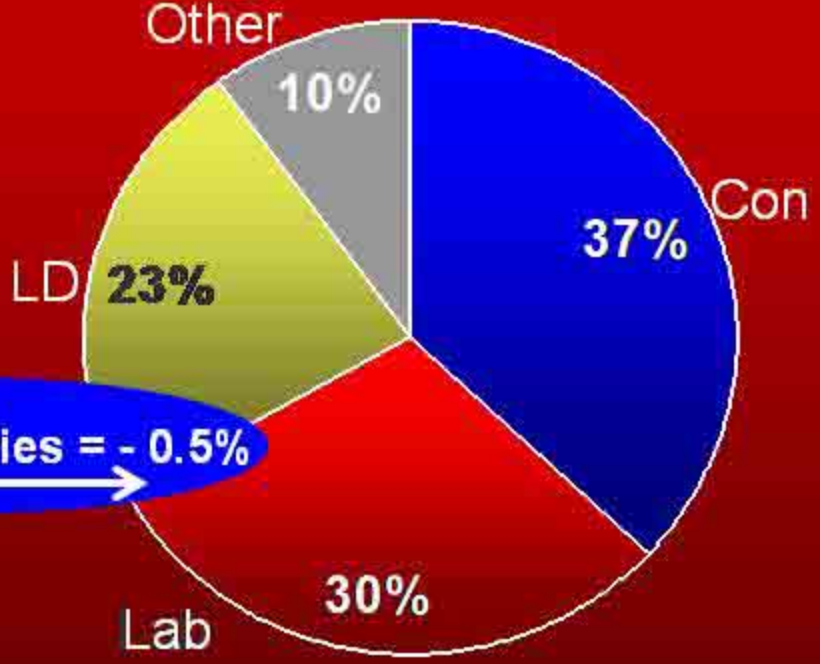
0.5% Swing during 2010 election campaign

Final Pre-election polls



Conservative lead = 8%

Vote at 2010 GE



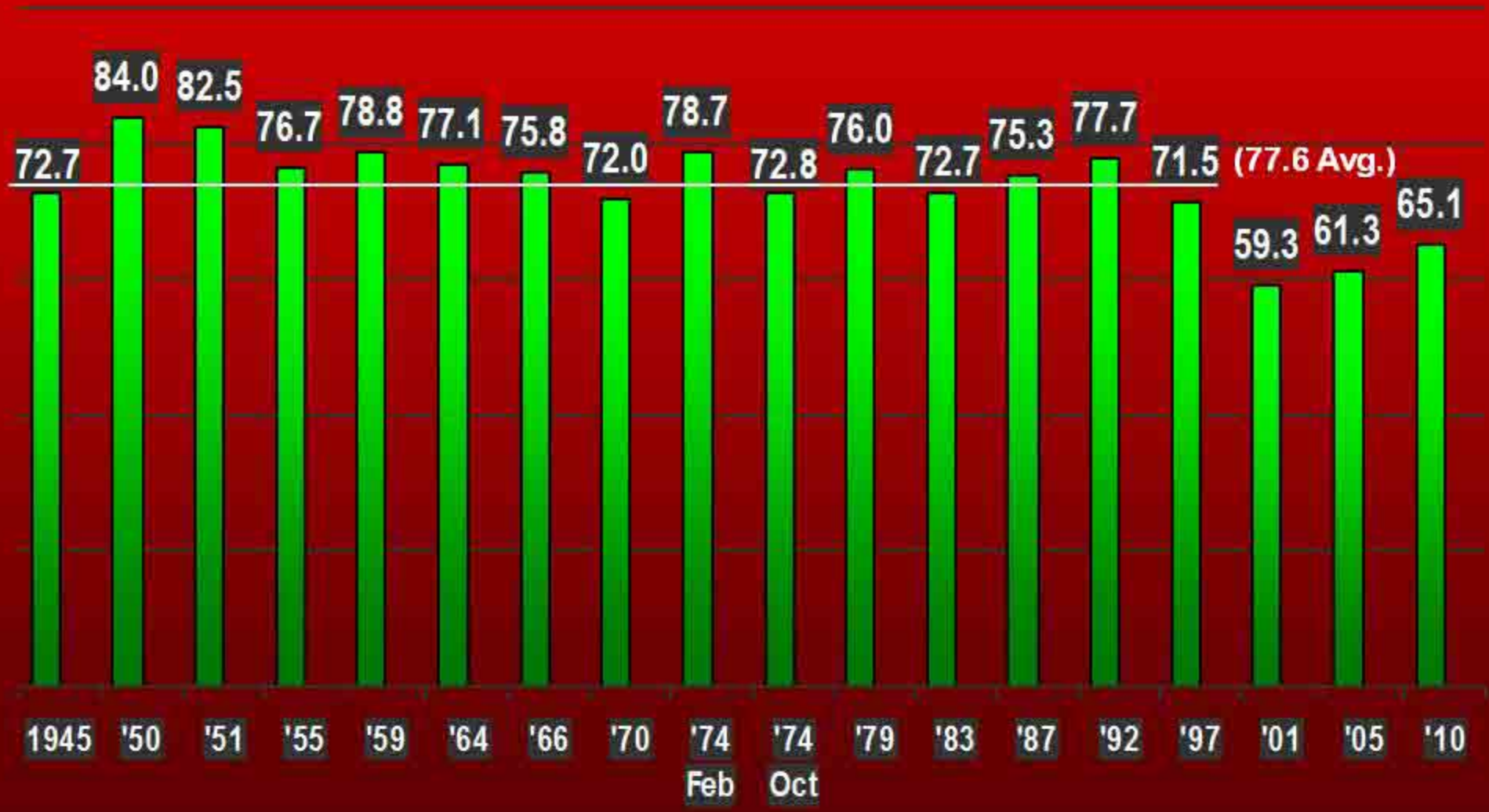
Conservative lead = 7%

Swing to Tories = - 0.5%

“Event’s dear boy, events”

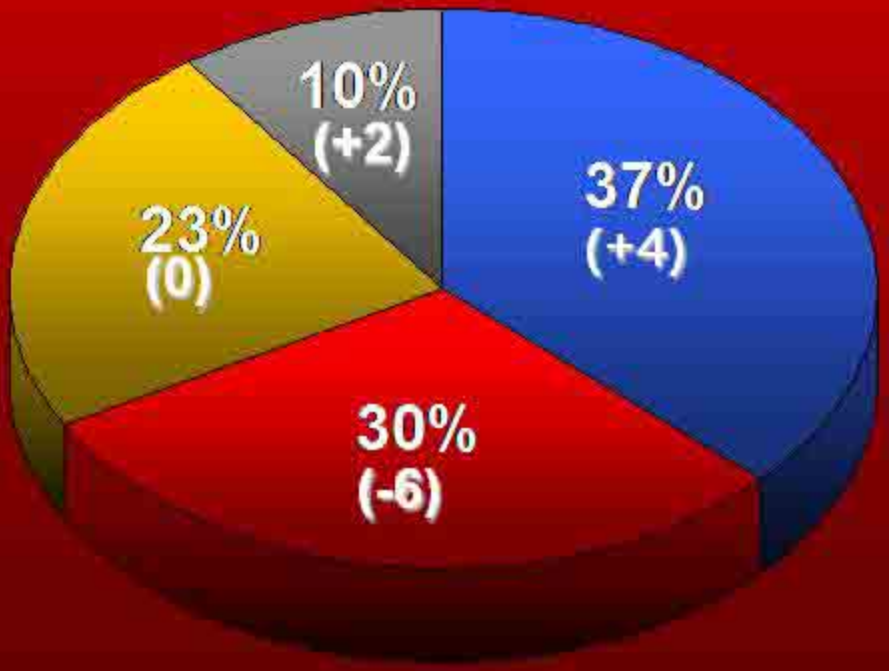
1. The Budget
2. The “Wild Card”: the TV debates
3. The Marginals
4. The Turnout

General Election Turnout Since 1945

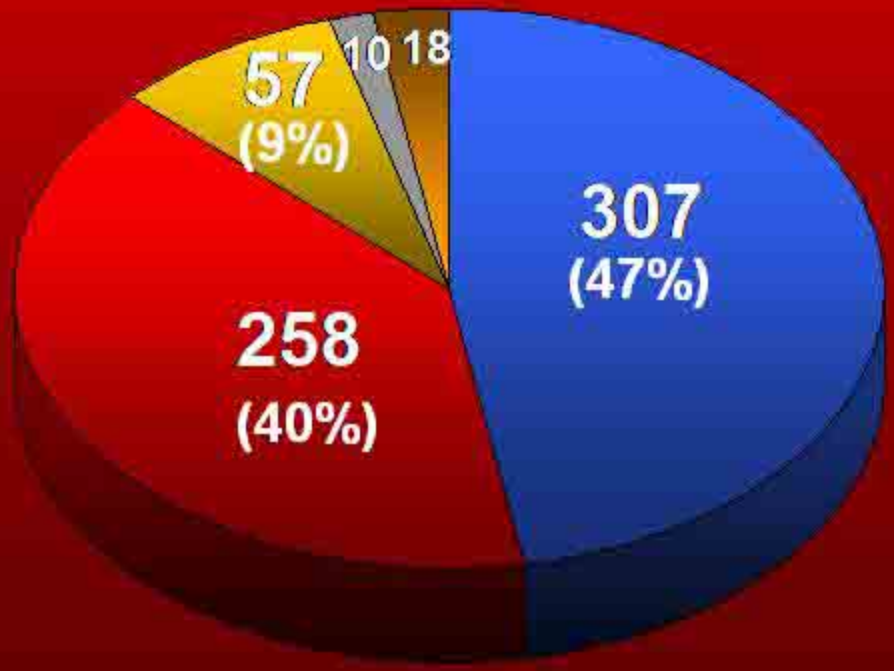


2010: Who Governs? No Overall Majority!

Share of votes (GB)



Seats



L-C Swing = 5%

Source: BBC + Worcester

The London Results

Sources: "Explaining Labour's Landslide, ELSL, Explaining Labour's Landslip", Worcester & Mortimore (+Baines)

London General Election Outcome

Party	Seats	Gain	Loss	Net	Votes	%	+/-%
Labour	**38**	1	7	-6	1,245,637	36.6	-2.3
Conservative	**28**	7	0	7	1,174,568	34.5	2.6
Liberal Democrat	**7**	1	1	0	751,561	22.1	0.2
UK Independence Party	**0**	0	0	0	59,452	1.7	0.3
Green	**0**	0	0	0	54,316	1.6	-1.1
British National Party	**0**	0	0	0	52,095	1.5	0.9
Respect-Unity Coalition	**0**	0	1	-1	17,368	0.5	-0.9
English Democrats	**0**	0	0	0	9,076	0.3	0.2
Christian Party	**0**	0	0	0	7,590	0.2	
Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition	**0**	0	0	0	1,603	0	
Others	**0**	0	0	0	28,051	0.8	-0.2
				Turnout	3,401,317	64.6	7.2

National Results 29.6 million; London = 11.5%

National Turnout = 65.1%

London General Election Contrasted

	T/O%	Con%	Lab%	LD%	Oth%	ConChang	abChang	LDChange	Oth chang	L-C swing
LONDON: GENERAL ELECTION 2010										
LONDON MAX	76.9	60.7%	71.6%	54.4%	23.0%	+11.1	+18.0	+13.1	+8.5	10.6
LONDON MEAN AVE	64.7	34.5%	37.2%	21.7%	6.5%	+3.3	-2.5	+0.2	-1.0	2.9
LONDON MIN	53.3	11.2%	5.0%	8.2%	1.2%	-4.2	-13.4	-15.8	-20.7	-8.2
GREAT BRITAIN: GENERAL ELECTION 2010										
GB MAX (CONTESTED SEA	62.8%	72.0%	62.0%	100.0%	+16.7	+20.1	+25.0	+96.6	14.4	
GB MEAN AVERAGE	65.1	35.7%	31.0%	23.2%	7.5%	+3.9	-6.5	+0.9	+1.6	5.1
GB MIN (CONTESTED SEAT	4.4%	2.2%	5.0%	0.7%	-8.1	-23.9	-15.8	-77.9	-8.2	
20.5.10								Source: Ipsos MORI		

London General Election Turnout

Highest Ten Turnout

LONDON: GENERAL ELECTION 2010:

Constituency	Held	Status	Turnout%	Con%	Lab%	LD%	Oth%	ConChange	LabChange	LDChange
Richmond Park	Con	gain from LDem	76.9	49.7%	5.0%	42.8%	2.5%	+10.1	-4.2	-3.8
Twickenham	LDem	hold	74.8	34.1%	7.7%	54.4%	3.9%	+1.7	-3.7	+2.7
Ealing Central & Acton	Con	gain from Lab	74.3	38.0%	30.1%	27.6%	4.2%	+6.8	-3.2	-3.0
Sutton & Cheam	LDem	hold	72.8	42.5%	7.0%	45.8%	4.8%	+1.8	-4.9	-1.1
Orpington	Con	hold	72.2	59.9%	9.0%	24.6%	6.4%	+8.7	+3.1	-15.8
Wimbledon	Con	hold	72.1	49.1%	22.3%	25.0%	3.7%	+7.7	-13.4	+6.8
Beckenham	Con	hold	72.0	57.9%	14.5%	20.6%	7.1%	-1.8	-4.9	+4.5
Ruislip, Northwood & Pinner	Con	hold	70.8	57.5%	19.5%	16.6%	6.3%	+2.8	-4.5	+0.3
Ealing Southall	Lab	hold	70.8	30.1%	52.0%	15.1%	2.9%	+11.1	-5.3	-3.2
Kingston & Surbiton	LDem	hold	70.4	36.5%	9.3%	49.8%	4.3%	+3.5	-3.8	-1.3

Lowest Ten Turnout

Westminster North	Lab	hold	59.3	38.6%	44.0%	14.0%	3.4%	+5.3	+4.1	-5.7
Hackney South & Shoreditch	Lab	hold	58.9	13.5%	55.7%	22.4%	8.3%	-0.2	+3.0	+1.1
Hendon	Con	gain from Lab	58.8	42.3%	42.1%	12.4%	3.2%	+5.2	-3.0	-1.7
Tottenham	Lab	hold	58.2	14.9%	59.3%	17.7%	8.1%	+1.4	+1.4	+0.9
Vauxhall	Lab	hold	57.7	21.7%	50.1%	25.3%	2.9%	+7.1	-1.6	-1.9
Bermondsey & Old Southwark	LDem	hold	57.5	17.1%	29.2%	48.4%	5.3%	+4.1	-2.4	+0.7
East Ham	Lab	hold	55.6	15.4%	71.6%	11.8%	1.2%	+1.7	+18.0	+1.0
Cities of London & Westminster	Con	hold	55.5	52.4%	22.3%	20.6%	4.7%	+4.2	-3.0	+2.1
West Ham	Lab	hold	55.0	14.7%	62.7%	11.5%	11.2%	+2.6	+10.9	+1.3
Kensington	Con	hold	53.3	50.1%	25.5%	19.6%	4.8%	+6.2	-4.1	-0.6

London General Election Tory Seats

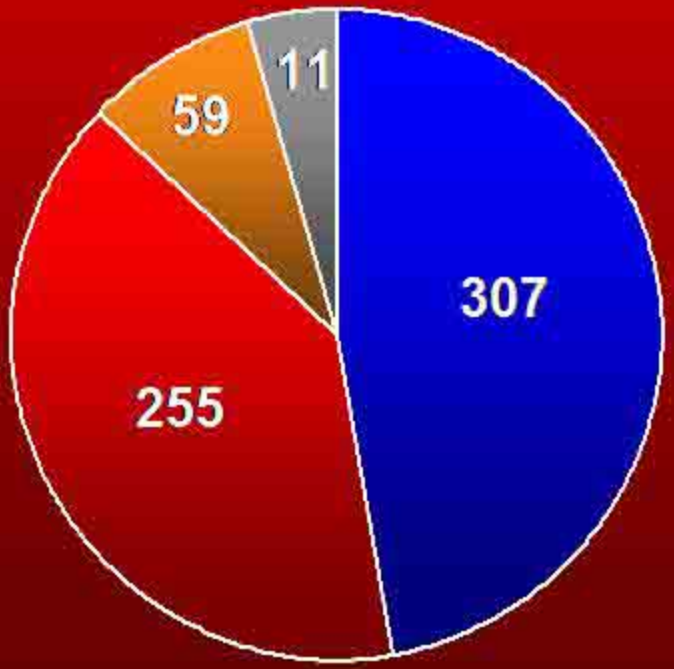
Highest Swing to Tories

Constituency	Held	Status	Turnout%	Con%	Lab%	LD%	Oth%	ConChange	LabChange	LDChange	Oth change	Lab-Con swing
Wimbledon	Con	hold	72.1	49.1%	22.3%	25.0%	3.7%	+7.7	-13.4	+6.8	-1.1	10.6
Putney	Con	hold	64.4	52.0%	27.4%	16.9%	3.6%	+9.7	-10.2	+0.6	-0.1	9.9
Bromley & Chislehurst	Con	hold	67.3	54.0%	16.7%	22.1%	7.2%	+9.0	-7.7	-1.6	+0.3	8.4
Ealing Southall	Lab	hold	70.8	30.1%	52.0%	15.1%	2.9%	+11.1	-5.3	-3.2	-2.7	8.2
Enfield Southgate	Con	hold	69.2	49.6%	32.4%	13.9%	4.1%	+5.8	-8.8	+2.9	+0.1	7.3
Richmond Park	Con	gain from LDem	76.9	49.7%	5.0%	42.8%	2.5%	+10.1	-4.2	-3.8	-2.1	7.2
Hornchurch & Upminster	Con	hold	68.0	51.4%	20.8%	13.9%	13.9%	+3.9	-10.3	+5.4	+1.0	7.1
Harrow East	Con	gain from Lab	70.0	44.7%	37.6%	14.3%	3.5%	+6.1	-7.9	+0.1	+1.7	7.0
Hampstead & Kilburn	Lab	hold	66.3	32.7%	32.8%	31.2%	3.2%	+9.8	-3.5	-4.0	-2.3	6.7
Old Bexley & Sidcup	Con	hold	69.3	54.8%	19.5%	15.6%	10.2%	+4.8	-8.5	+1.7	+2.0	6.6
Battersea	Con	gain from Lab	65.7	47.3%	35.1%	14.7%	2.8%	+7.5	-5.6	+0.3	-2.2	6.5
Erith & Thamesmead	Lab	hold	60.8	31.8%	45.4%	12.2%	10.6%	+5.3	-7.2	-0.7	+2.6	6.3
Chelsea & Fulham	Con	hold	60.1	60.7%	18.6%	16.3%	4.4%	+5.5	-6.9	+2.3	-0.9	6.2
Brentford & Isleworth	Con	gain from Lab	64.4	37.4%	33.7%	23.8%	5.1%	+6.7	-5.2	+0.8	-2.2	6.0
Bexleyheath & Crayford	Con	hold	66.5	51.0%	26.8%	12.9%	9.3%	+4.5	-7.4	-0.2	+3.1	5.9

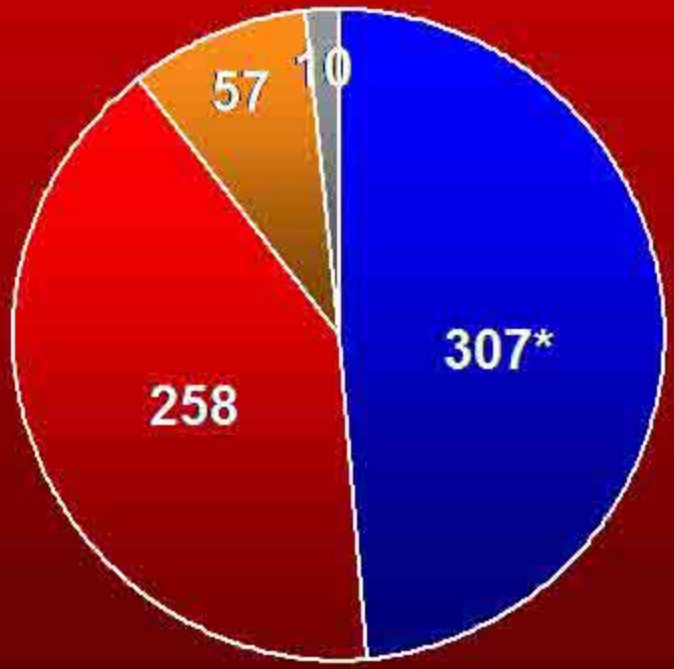
What happened

What did the seat forecast say? What happened?

10 pm Seat Forecast 6.5.10



Election Result (GB) 6.5.10



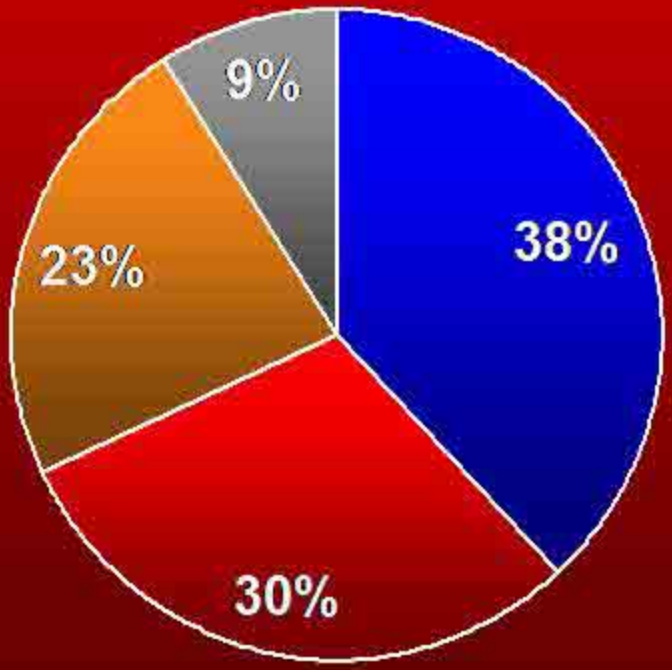
*Includes Thirsk (postponed)

Base: c. 17,000+ British Voters, 6 May 2010

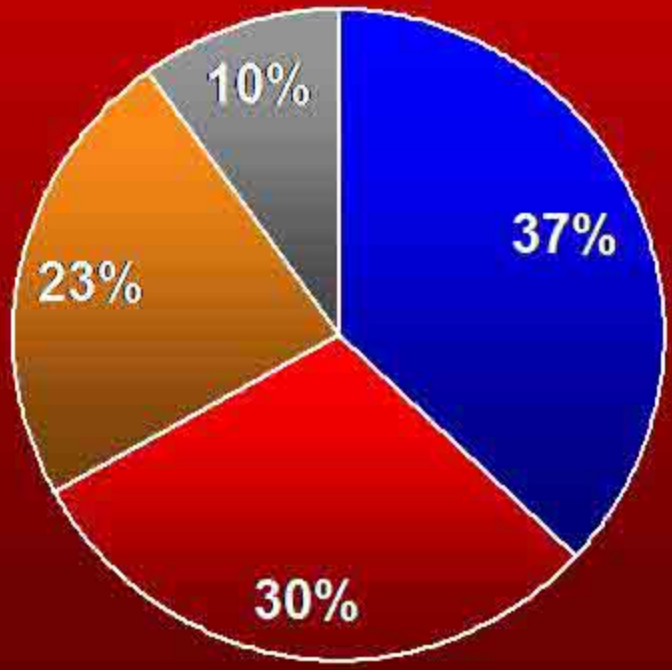
Source: Ipsos MORI/ GfkNOP for BBC/ITV/Sky

What did the exit polls say? What happened?

10 pm Share Forecast 6.5.10



Election Share Result (GB) 6.5.10



Base: c. 17,000+ British Voters, 6 May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/ GfkNOP for BBC/ITV/Sky

What Happened on 6th May 2010 in Britain?

Ipsos MORI PRELIMINARY* ANALYSIS©		Vote 2005				Lab	Vote 2010				Con	Change since '05			
07.05.10	Base: Voters (n =	Con	Lab	LD	Other	Lead	Con	Lab	LD	Other	Lead	Con	Lab	LD	Swing
Total 'n' = 2,536	1,481)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				(g+l)/2
All:		33	36	23	8	3	37	30	23	10	7	+4	-6	0	5.0
Gender:	Men	34	34	22	10	*	37	28	24	12	9	+3	-6	+2	4.5
	Women	32	38	23	7	6	37	32	23	8	5	+5	-6	0	5.5
Age:	18-24	28	38	26	8	10	31	34	28	7	-3	+3	-4	+2	3.5
	25-34	25	38	27	10	13	34	29	29	7	5	+9	-9	+2	9.0
	35-44	27	41	23	9	14	34	31	27	9	3	+7	-10	+4	8.5
	45-54	31	35	25	9	4	36	29	25	11	7	+5	-6	0	5.5
	55-64	39	31	22	8	-8	38	24	23	14	14	-1	-7	+1	3.0
	65+	41	35	18	6	-6	43	32	15	10	11	+2	-3	-3	2.5
Men by Age:	18-24	33	34	25	8	1	35	36	23	7	-1	+2	+2	-2	0.0
	25-34	29	33	27	11	4	40	23	32	5	17	+11	-10	+5	10.5
	35-54	31	36	22	11	5	34	28	25	12	6	+3	-8	+3	5.5
	55+	40	33	20	7	-7	39	27	18	15	12	-1	-6	-2	2.5
Women by Age:	18-24	22	43	26	9	21	25	33	36	6	-8	+3	-10	+10	6.5
	25-34	21	43	28	8	22	27	37	25	10	-10	+6	-6	-3	6.0
	35-54	27	40	25	8	13	35	32	26	7	3	+8	-8	+1	8.0
	55+	41	34	20	5	-7	44	30	19	8	14	+3	-4	-1	3.5
Social class:	AB	37	28	29	6	-9	36	29	28	7	7	-1	+1	-1	-1.0
	C1	37	32	23	8	-5	42	26	26	6	16	+5	-6	+3	5.5
	C2	33	40	19	8	7	39	22	24	15	17	+6	-18	+5	12.0
	DE	25	48	18	9	23	28	44	15	13	-16	+3	-4	-3	3.5
Men by Class:	AB	37	27	28	8	-10	41	26	26	7	15	+4	-1	-2	2.5
	C1	39	29	22	10	-10	42	26	25	7	16	+3	-3	+3	3.0
	C2	32	39	18	11	7	30	26	27	17	4	-2	-13	+9	5.5
	DE	24	47	17	12	23	27	37	17	19	-10	+3	-10	0	6.5
Women by Class:	AB	36	29	29	6	-7	30	32	30	8	-2	-6	+3	+1	-4.5
	C1	34	35	23	8	1	42	27	27	5	15	+8	-8	+4	8.0
	C2	34	40	20	6	6	49	19	20	13	30	+15	-21	0	18.0
	DE	25	49	18	8	24	29	50	13	8	-21	+4	+1	-5	1.5
Housing tenure:	Owned	44	29	20	7	-15	46	25	19	10	21	+2	-4	-1	3.0
	Mortgaged	31	36	25	8	5	37	28	27	9	9	+6	-8	+2	7.0
	Social renter	16	55	19	10	39	20	49	20	11	-29	+4	-6	+1	5.0
	Private renter	27	36	28	9	9	35	25	27	12	10	+8	-11	-1	9.5

Source: Ipsos MORI surveys weighted to final GB result

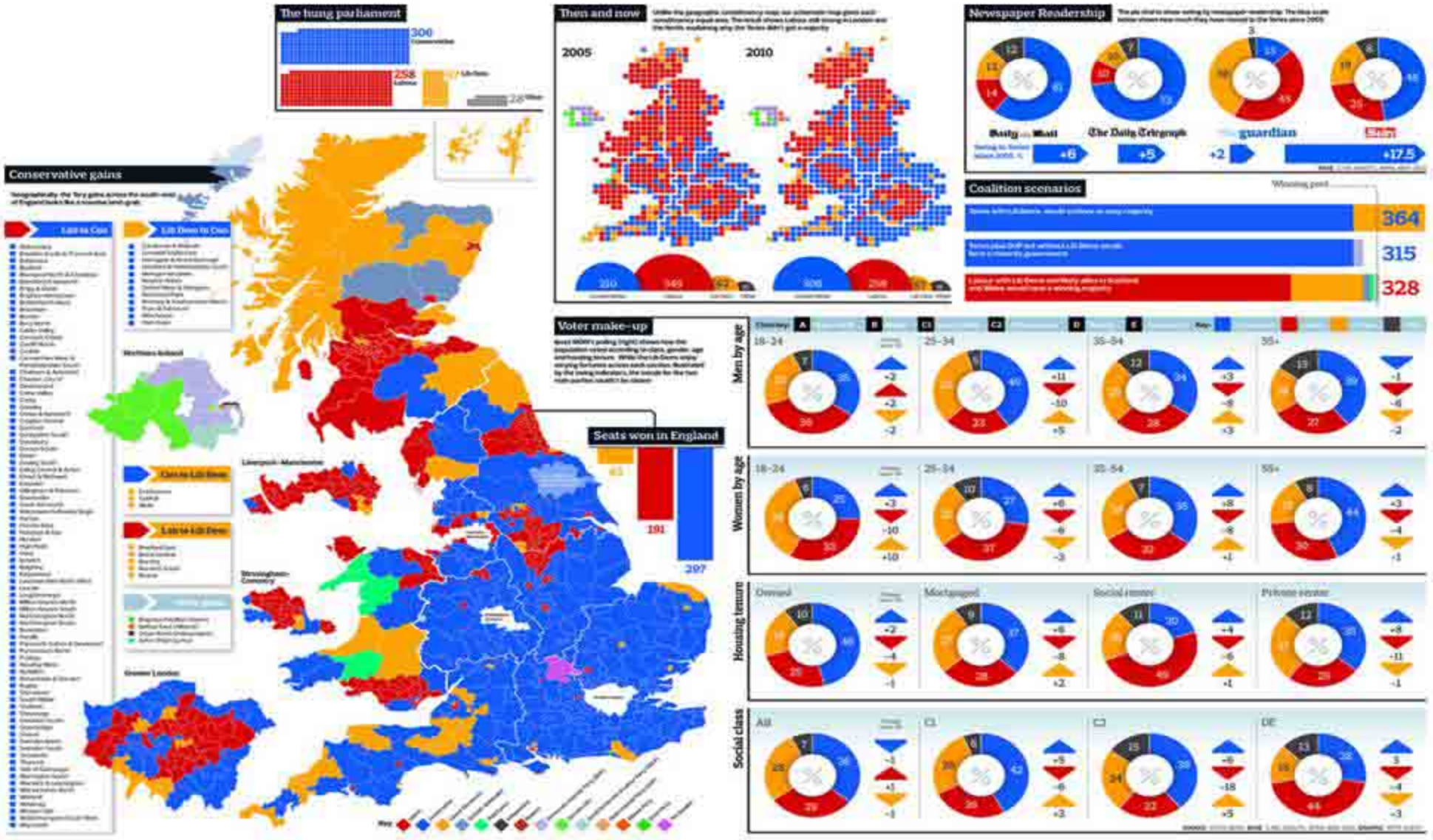
What Happened on 6th May 2010 in Britain?

ELECTION 2005 - VOTING BEHAVIOUR	All	Daily Mail	Daily Mirror	Daily Telegraph	The Guardian	The Sun	The Times
Base size	15,948	2,362	1,459	1,064	856	2,467	949
Conservative	33%	57%	11%	65%	7%	33%	38%
Labour	36%	22%	67%	13%	43%	45%	27%
Liberal Democrats	23%	14%	17%	17%	41%	12%	28%
Labour Lead	*3%*	*-0.4*	*55%*	*-0.5*	*36%*	*12%*	*-0.1*
ELECTION 2010 - VOTING BEHAVIOUR (Preliminary)							
Base size	2,536	240	102	113	138	159	135
Conservative	37	61	18	73	13	48	50
Labour	30	14	62	10	45	25	19
Liberal Democrats	24	13	14	10	39	19	21
Conservative Lead	*7.0*	*-47.0*	*44*	*-63.0*	*32*	*-23.0*	*-31.0*
Swing to Conservatives	**5.0**	**6.0**	**5.5**	**5.0**	**2.0**	**17.5**	**11.0**

Source: MORI Election 2005 Readership Aggregate (weighted to final results), 15,948

Source: Ipsos MORI Election Preliminary Analysis (weighted to final results), 2,536

How it appeared in the Observer 9.5.10



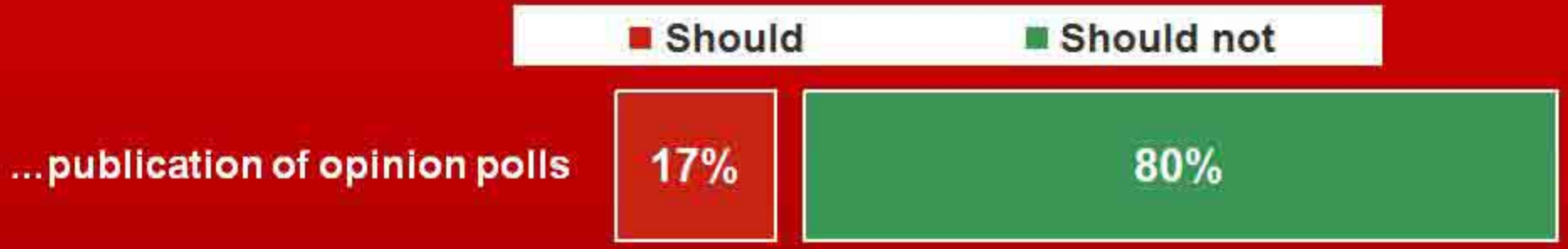
How the polls did

	Con %	Lab %	LibDem %	Other %	Average Error %
Angus Reid	36	24	29	11	3.25
Com Res	37	28	28	7	2.25
Harris	35	29	27	10	1.5
ICM	36	28	26	10	1.25
Ipsos MORI	36	29	27	8	1.75
Opinium	35	27	26	12	2.25
Populus	37	28	27	8	1.75
TNS BMRB	33	27	29	11	3.25
YouGov	35	28	28	9	2.25
Actual Result	37	30	24	10	:

Source: British Polling Council

Banning polls?

Q. "*During an election campaign, do you think there should or should not be a ban on…?*"

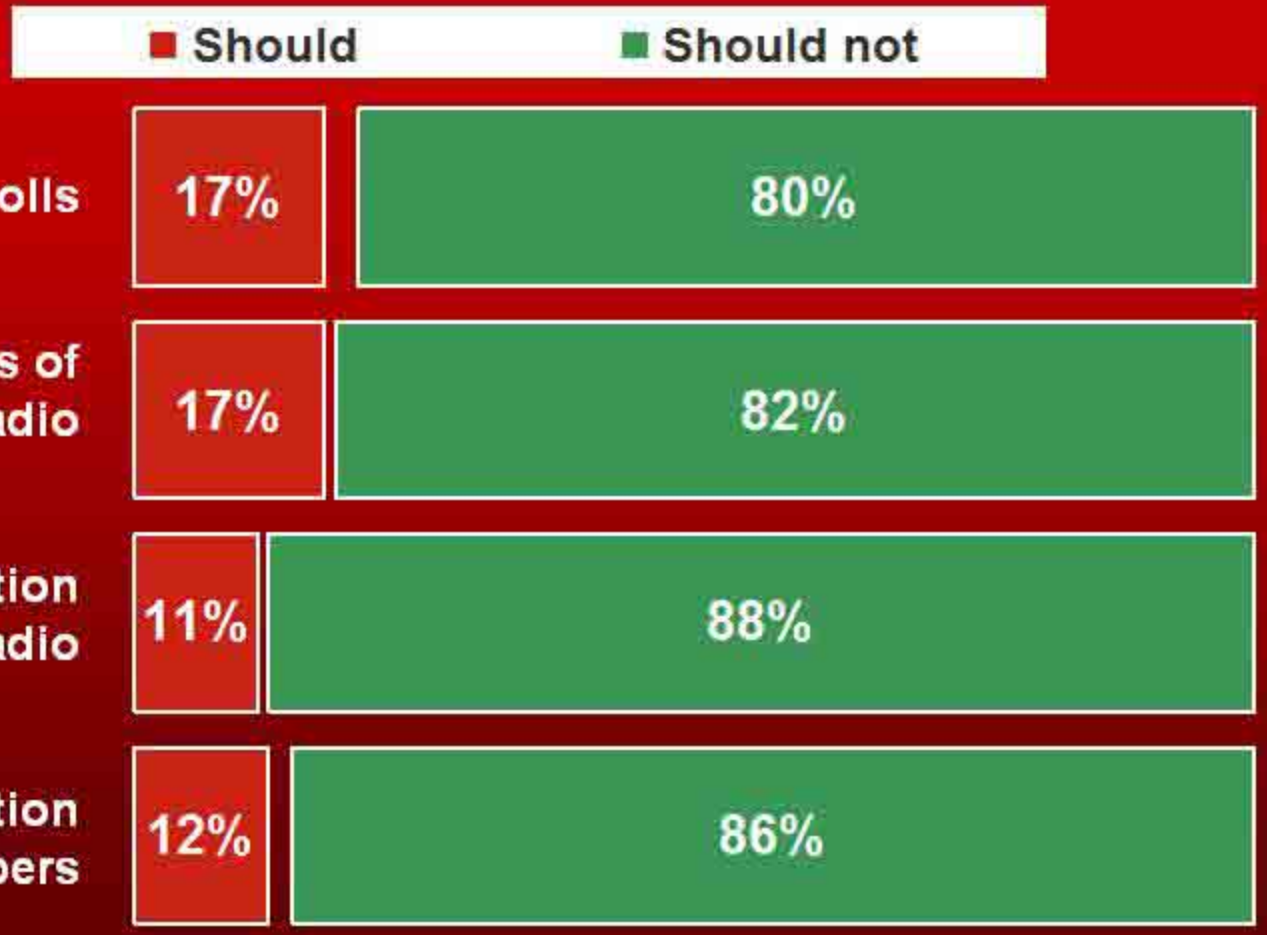


Base: 1,253 **British** adults aged 18+, 18-20 April 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI

Banning polls?

Q. "During an election campaign, do you think there should or should not be a ban on…?"



Base: 1,253 **British** adults aged 18+, 18-20 April 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI

First, this

Now this

Post Election?

Satisfaction with David Cameron

Q "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way David Cameron is doing his job as leader of the Conservative Party?"

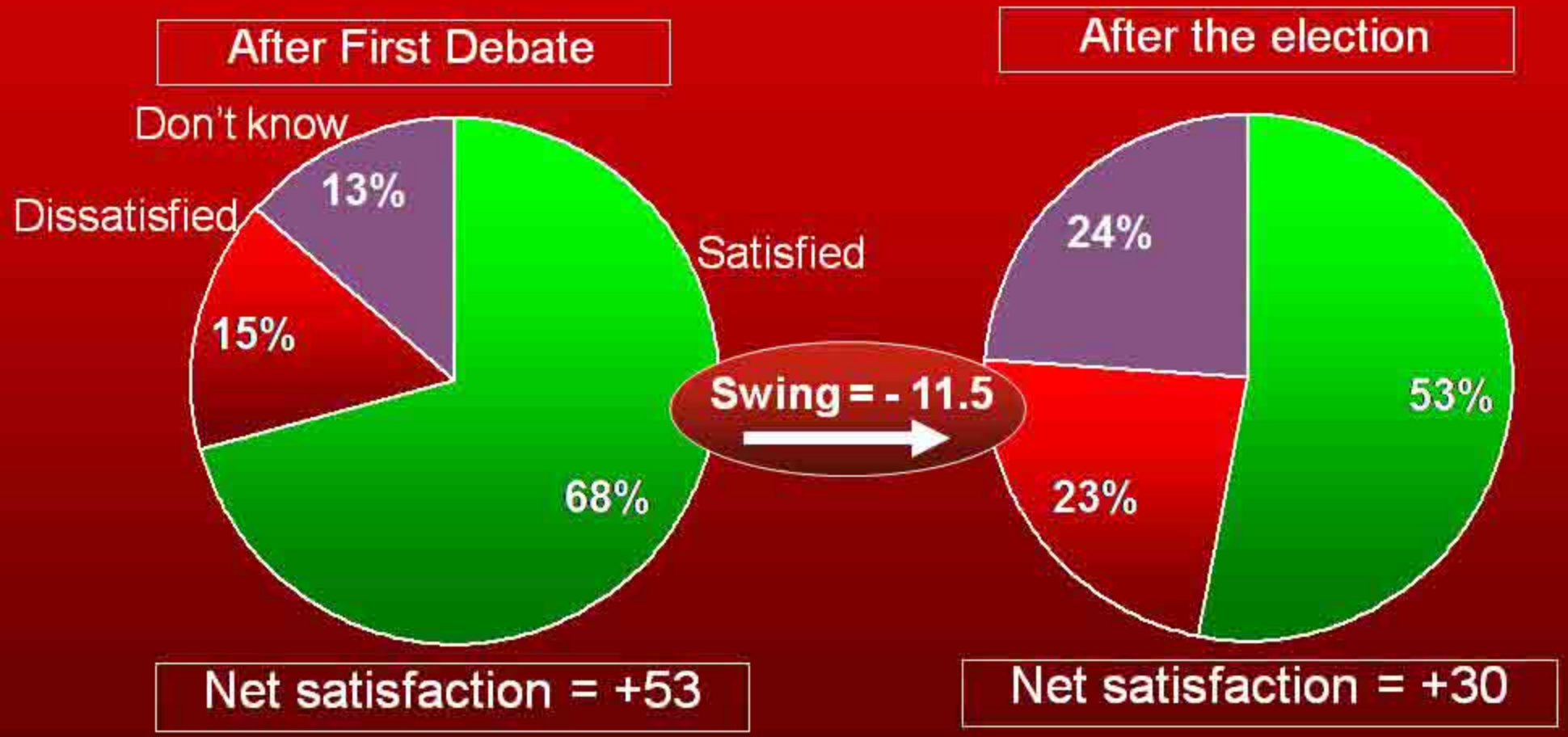
Base: 1,253 British adults 18+, 18th-19th April 2010

Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Satisfaction with Nick Clegg

Q "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Nick Clegg is doing his job as leader of the Liberal Democrats?



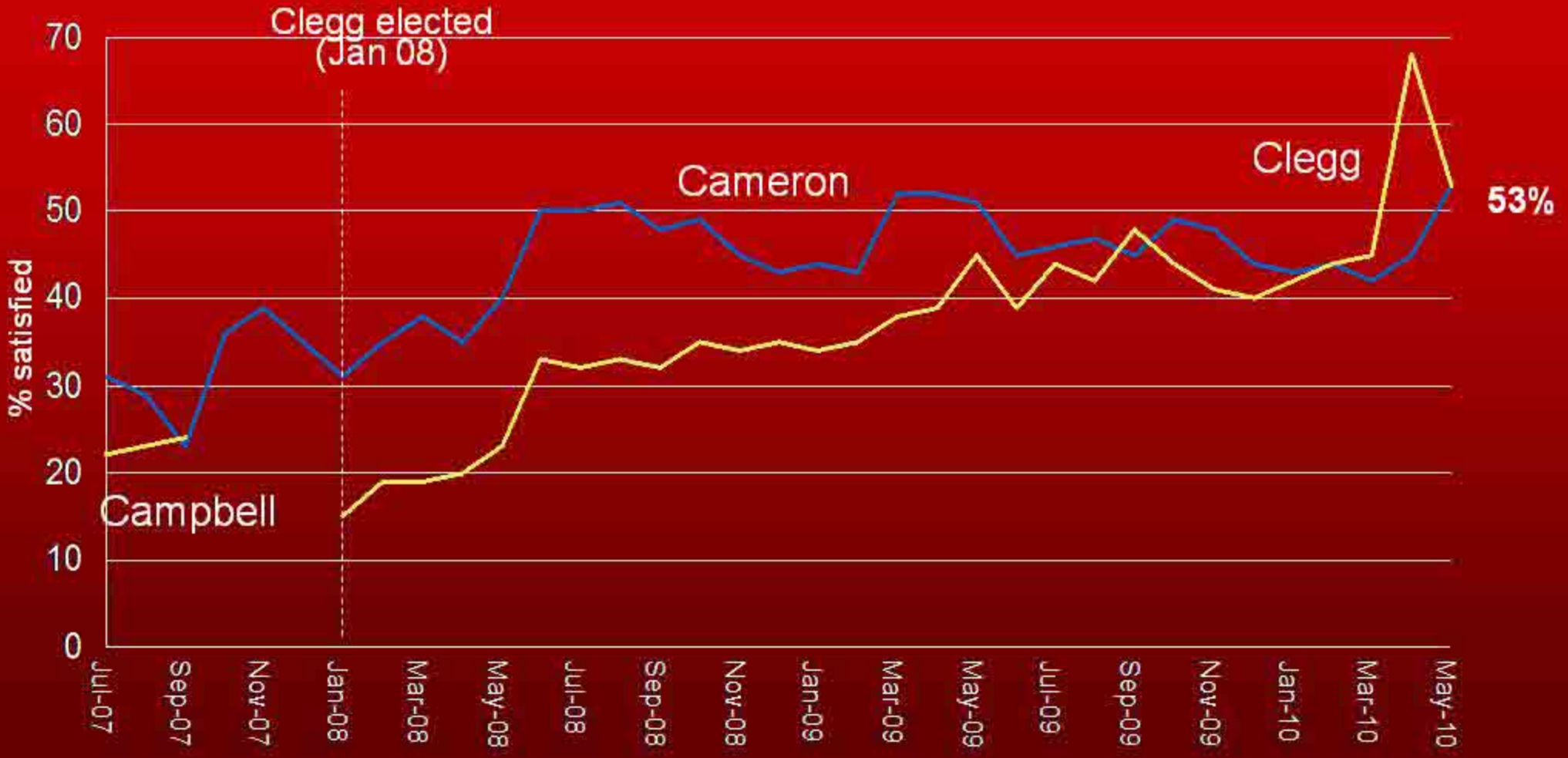
Base: 1,253 British adults 18+, 18th-19th April 2010

Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Satisfaction with Party leaders July-07 – May-10

Q "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way … doing his job as … ?"

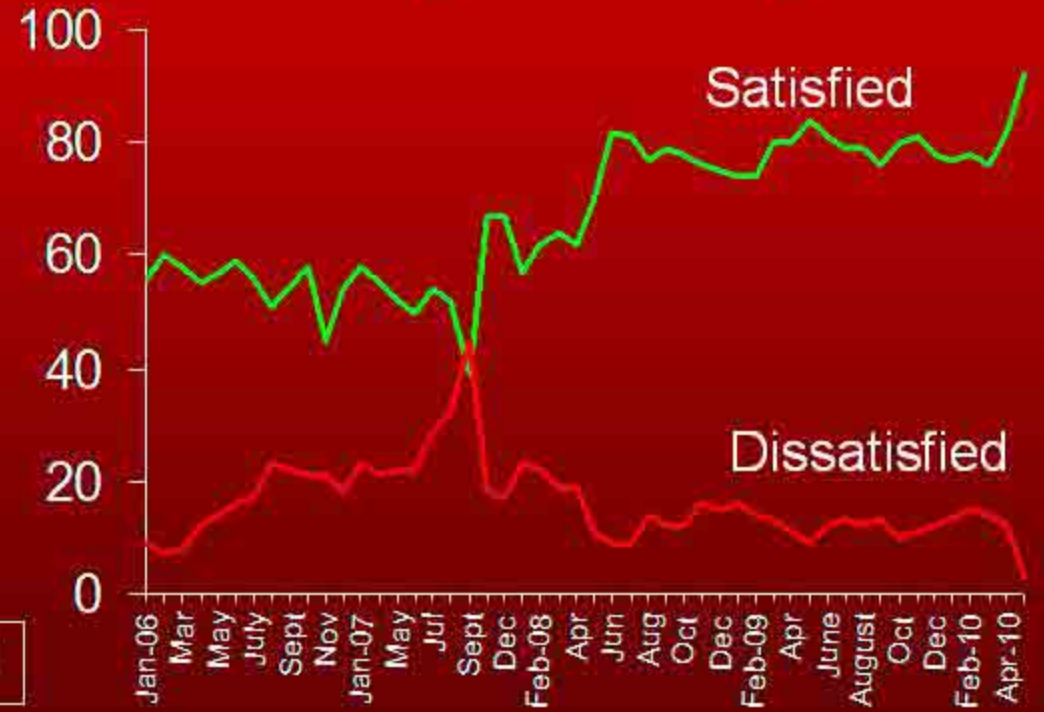


Base: c. 1,000 British adults each month

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

David Cameron (satisfaction among Tory supporters)

Q "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way David Cameron is doing his job as leader of the Conservative Party?"



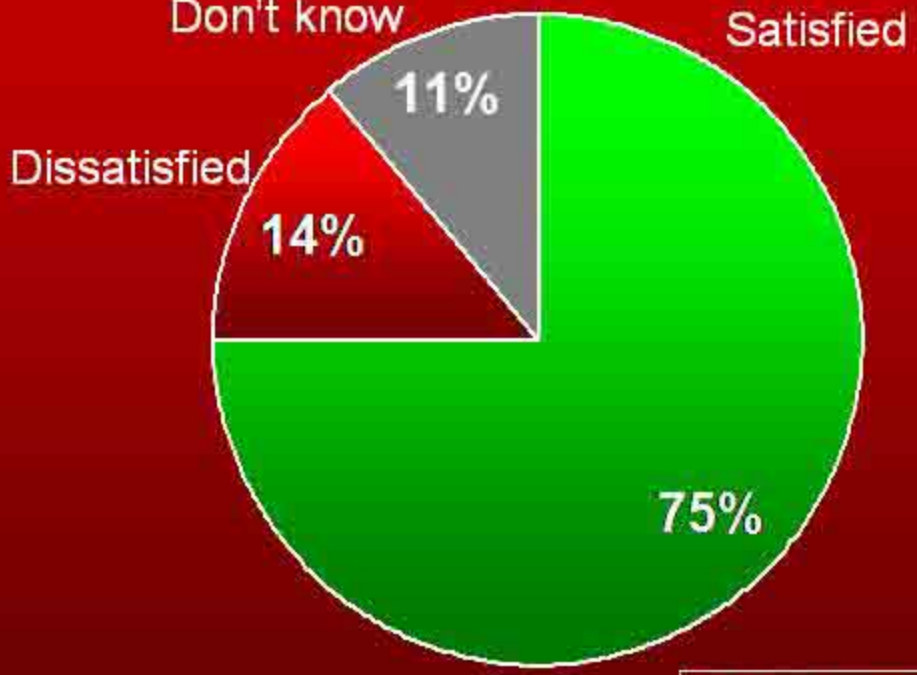
Base: 263 Conservative supporters 18+, 12th – 13th May 2010
Note: Data collected prior to May 2008 was collected via face-to-face methodology; data collected from June 2008 was via telephone

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Nick Clegg (satisfaction among Lib Dem supporters)

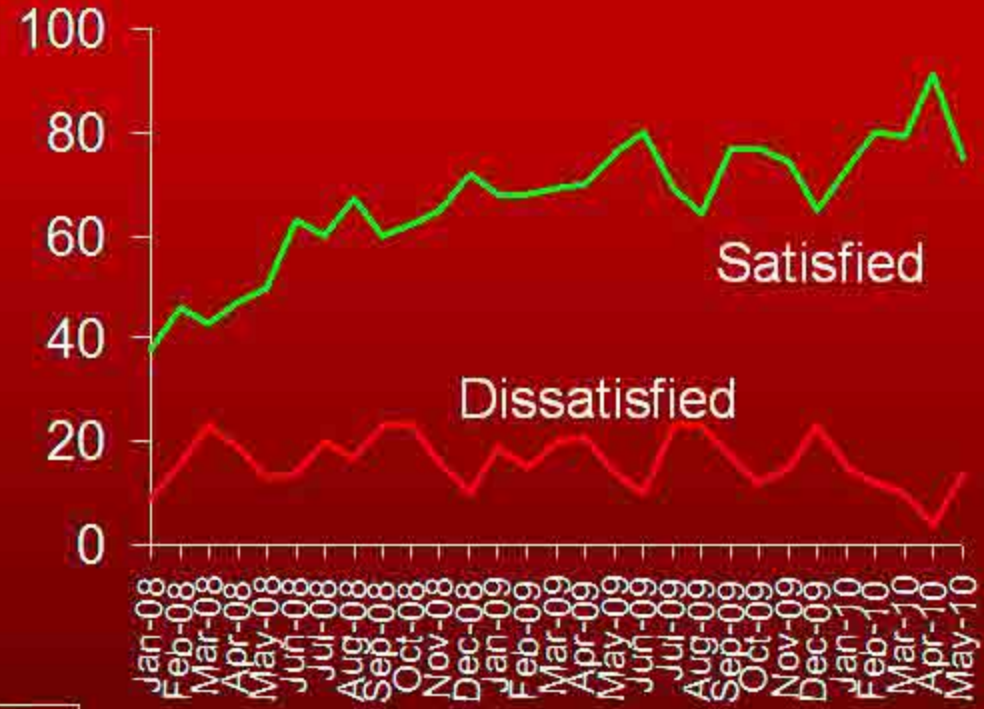
Q "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Nick Clegg is doing his job as leader of the Liberal Democrats?"

May 2010



Net = +61

January 2008 – May 2010



Base: 202 Liberal Democrat supporters 18+, 12th – 13th May 2010

Note: Data collected prior to May 2008 was collected via face-to-face methodology; data collected from June 2008 was via telephone

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Hung Parliament

More think no overall majority is a good thing now than did before the election

Q "Do you think it will be a good think or a bad thing for the country that no party achieved an overall majority?"

Base: 1,216 British adults 18+, 5th May 2010

*Asked as: "Do you think it will be a good think or a bad thing for the country if no party achieves an overall majority?"

Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Most think Cameron and Clegg were right to form a coalition

Q. "Do you think that David Cameron/Nick Clegg was right or wrong to form a coalition with the Liberal Democrats/Conservatives?"

David Cameron

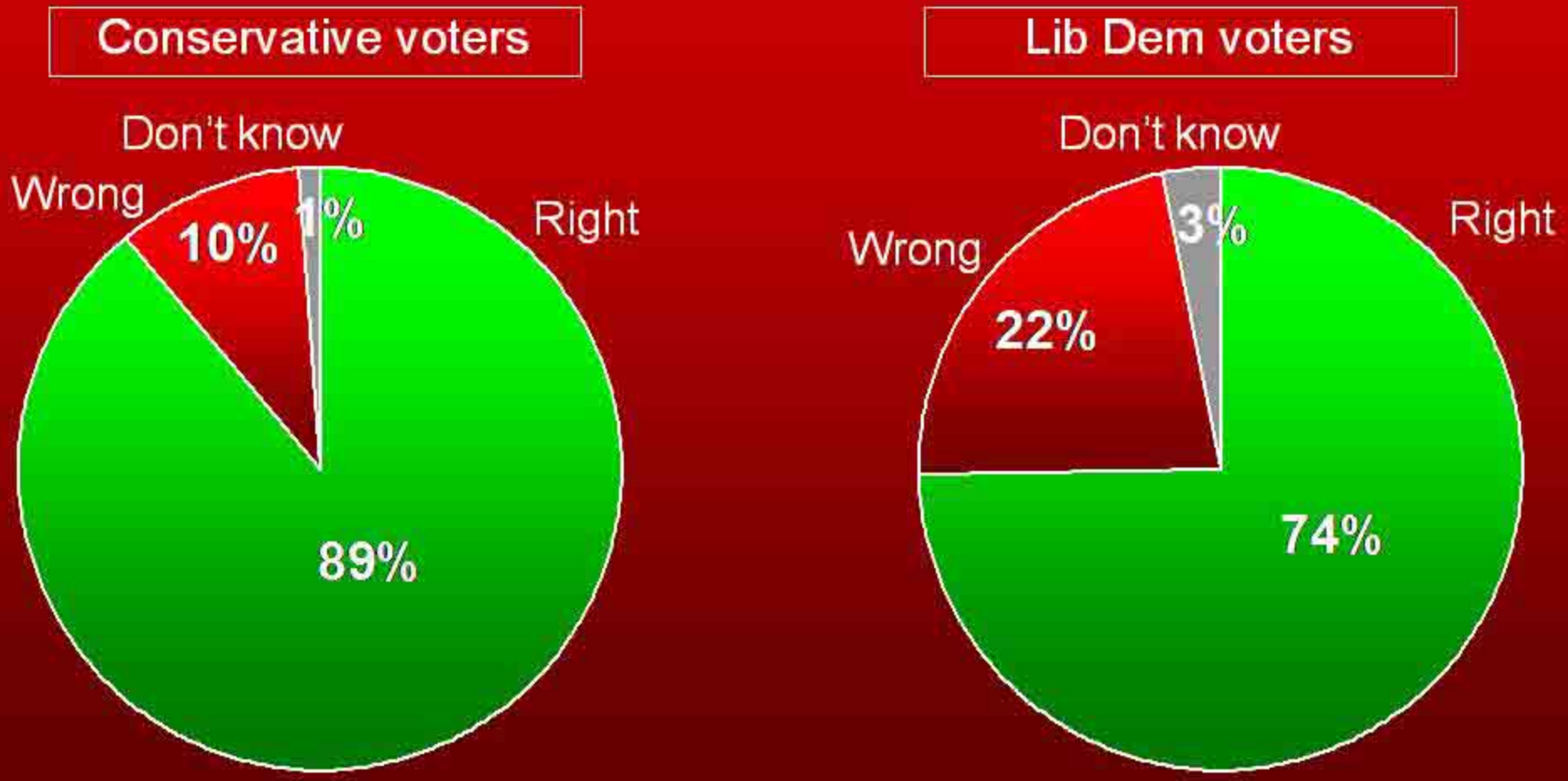
Nick Clegg

Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Conservatives are very positive about the coalition... ...Lib Dems are somewhat less positive

Q. "Do you think that David Cameron/Nick Clegg was right or wrong to form a coalition with the Liberal Democrats/Conservatives?"

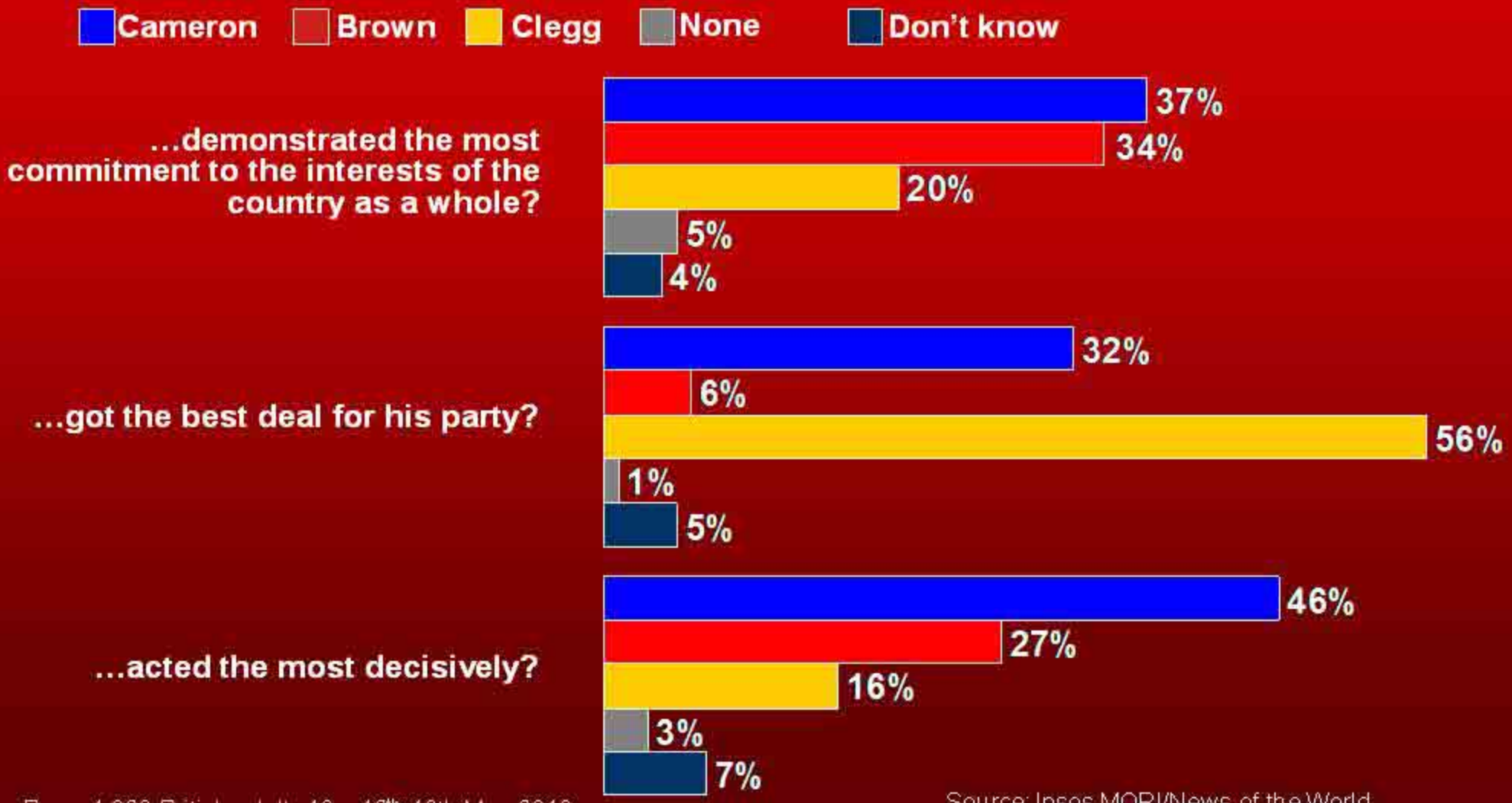


Base: 263 Conservative voters, 202 Lib Dem voters, 18+, 12th – 13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Clegg seen to get best deal for his party while Cameron was most decisive

Q. "In the negotiations to form a government between the three main parties, which leader do you think… Gordon Brown, David Cameron or Nick Clegg?"



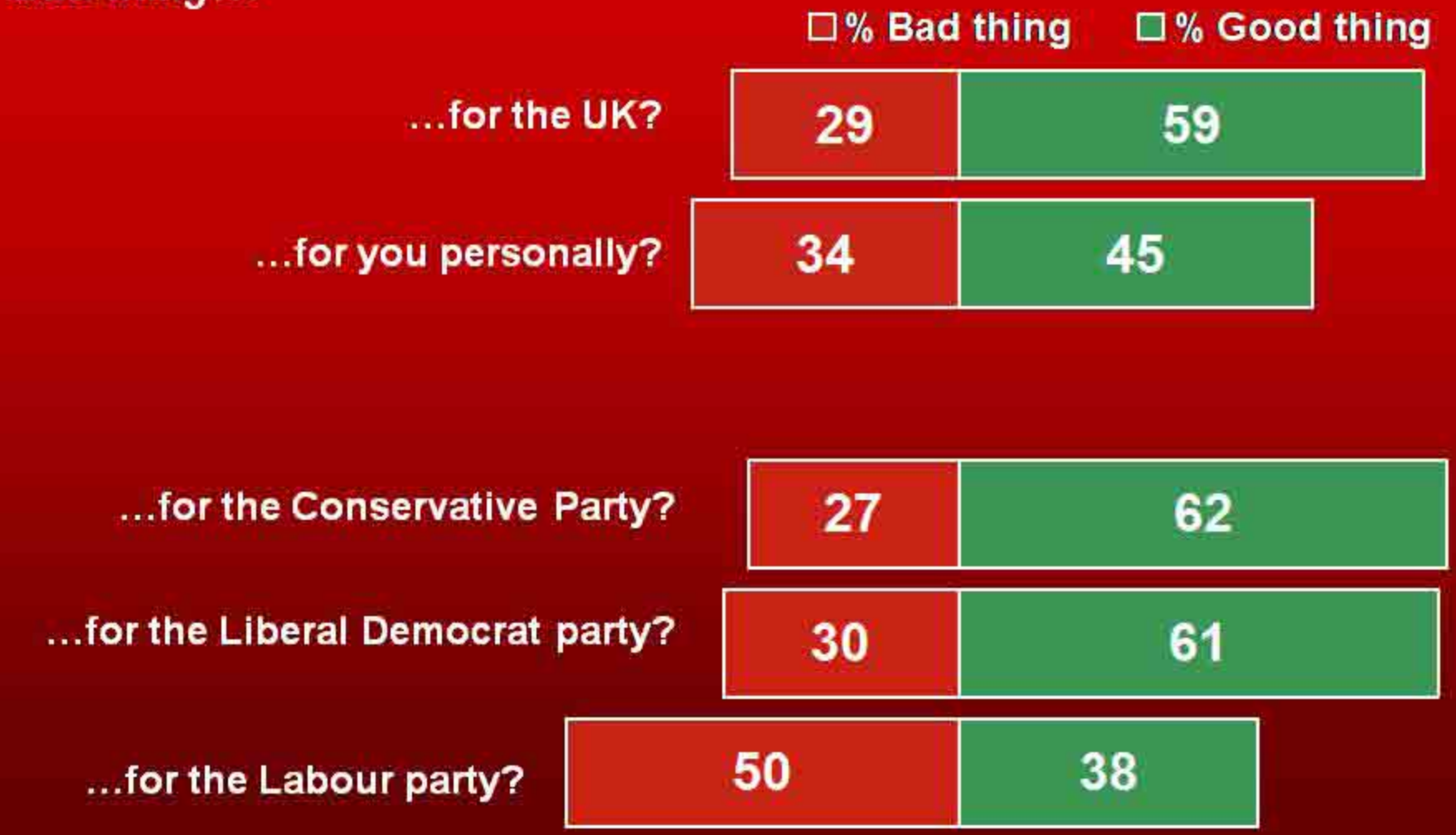
Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

The new government

The new government seen to be good for the UK, but less good for people personally

Q "Do you think that the new government will be a good thing or a bad thing…"



Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

The public are optimistic about the new government

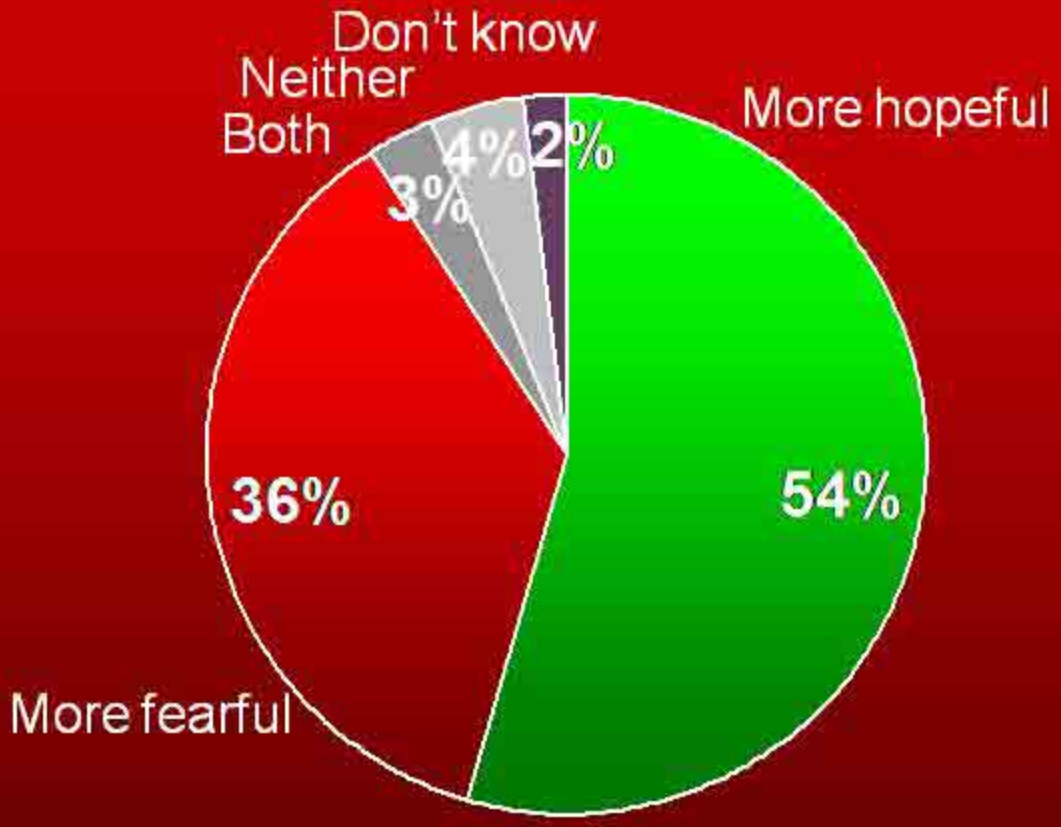
Q "Do you think that the new government will or will not…"

Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Most are hopeful of what the new government will do

Q "On balance, would you describe yourself as feeling more hopeful or more fearful of what the new government will do?"

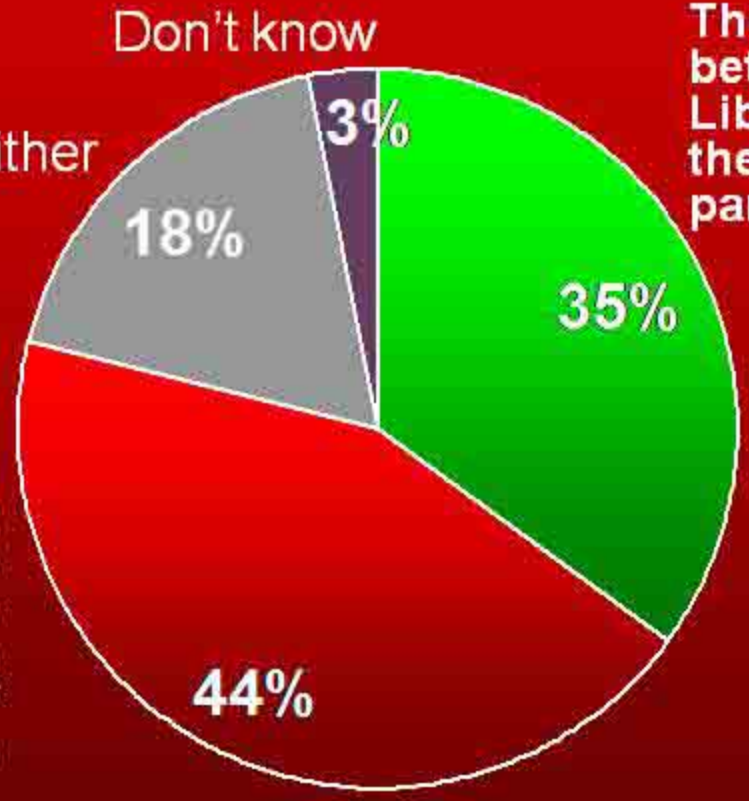


Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Coalition seen as a compromise rather than combination of best policies

Q "From what you know so far, which of these comes closes to your view?"



Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

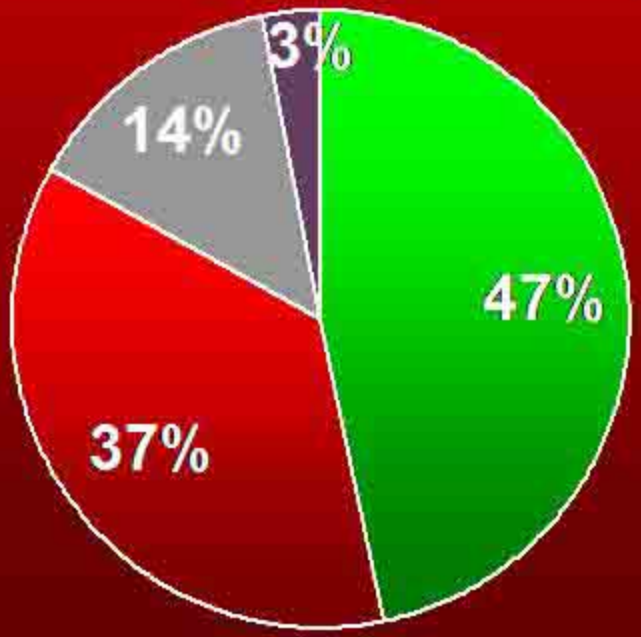
Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Labour voters think the coalition is a compromise rather than a combination of the best policies

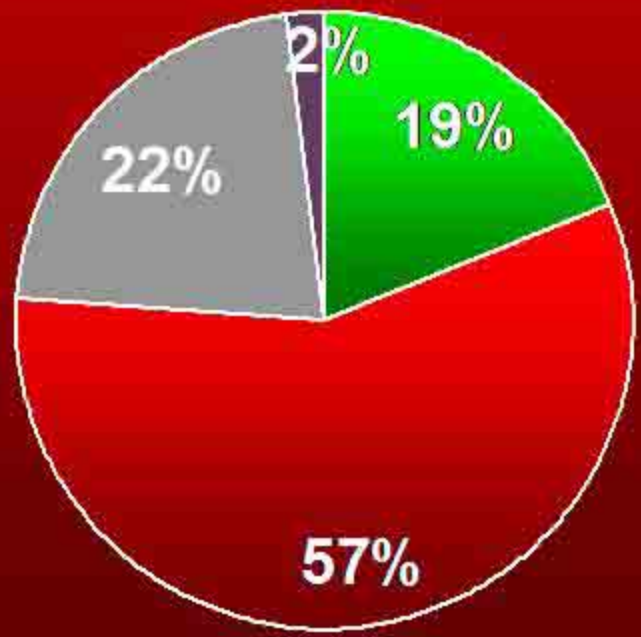
Q "From what you know so far, which of these comes closes to your view?"

- The coalition government between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats combines the best policies from both parties
- The coalition government between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats compromises the principles and beliefs of both parties
- Neither
- Don't know

Conservative/Lib Dem voters



Labour voters

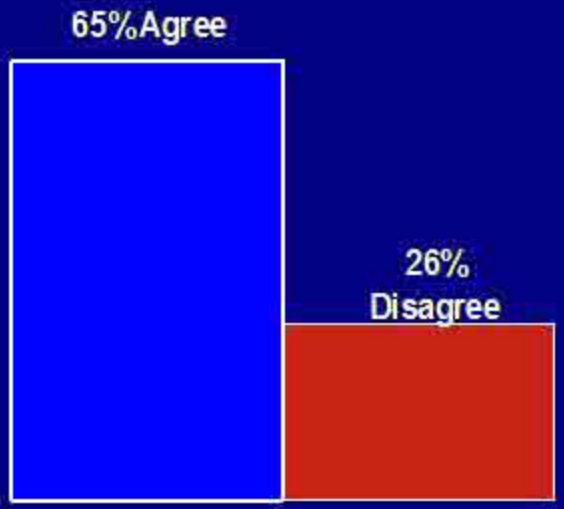


Base: 232 Labour voters, 465 Conservative/Lib Dem voters, 12th-13th May 2010

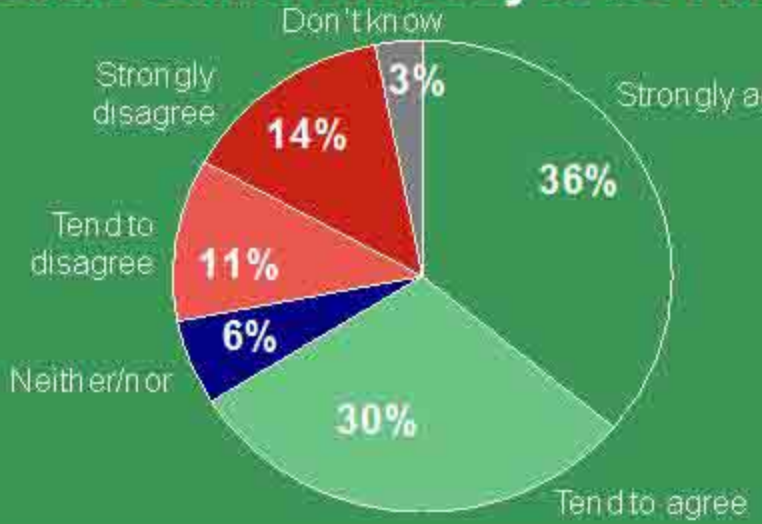
Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Overview: ready to govern?

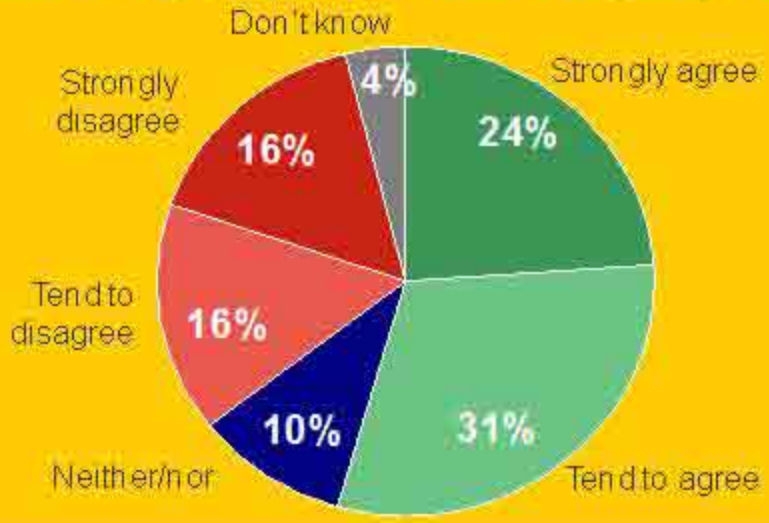
Conservatives ready to govern?



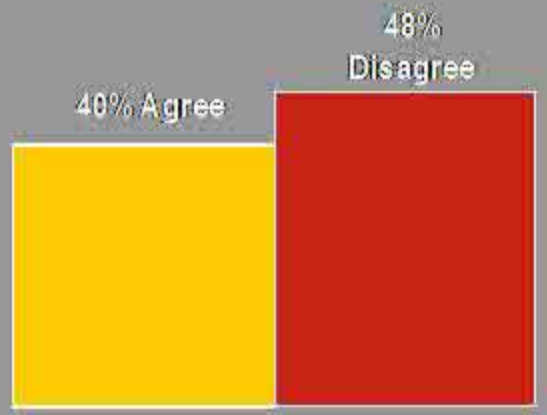
David Cameron ready to be PM?



Nick Clegg ready to be Deputy PM?



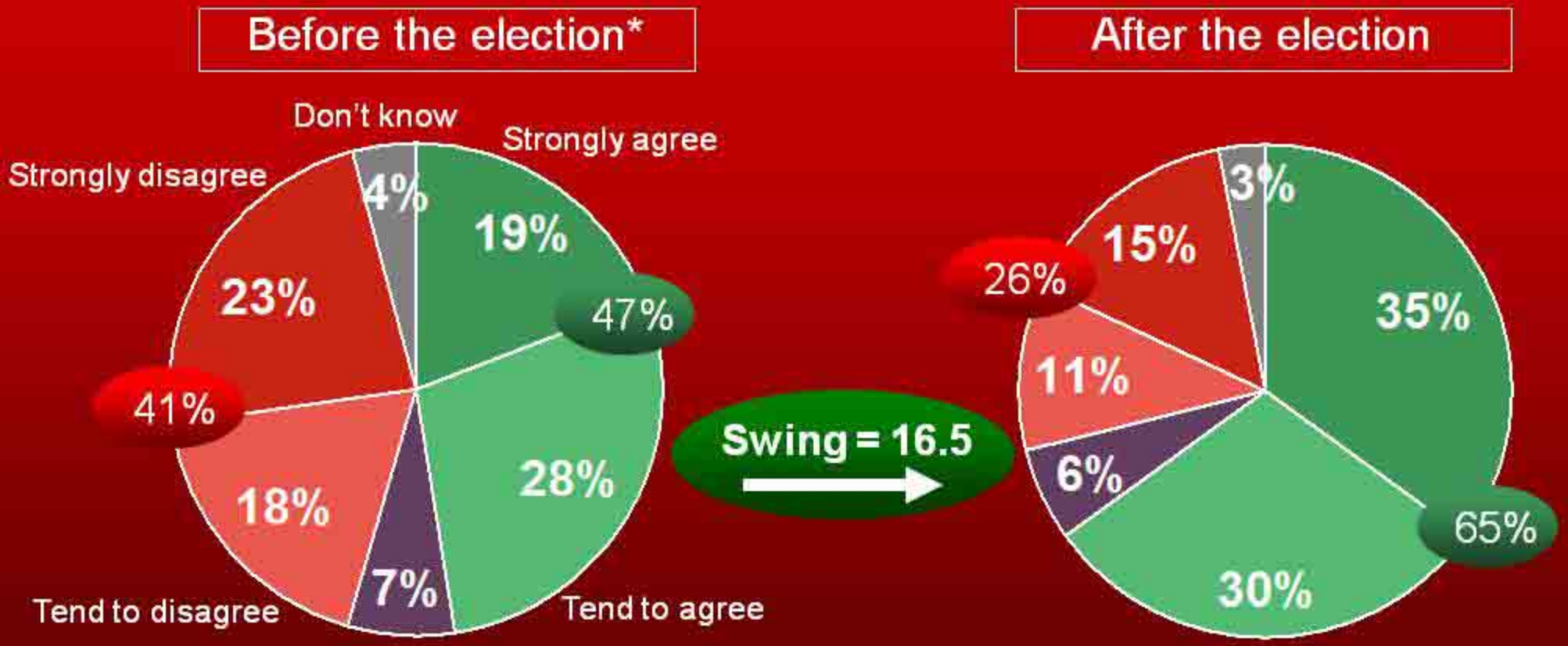
Lib Dems ready to govern?



Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Conservatives seen to be ready to govern

Q "To what extent do you agree or disagree that the Conservatives are ready to govern?"



Base: 1,216 British adults 18+, 5th May 2010

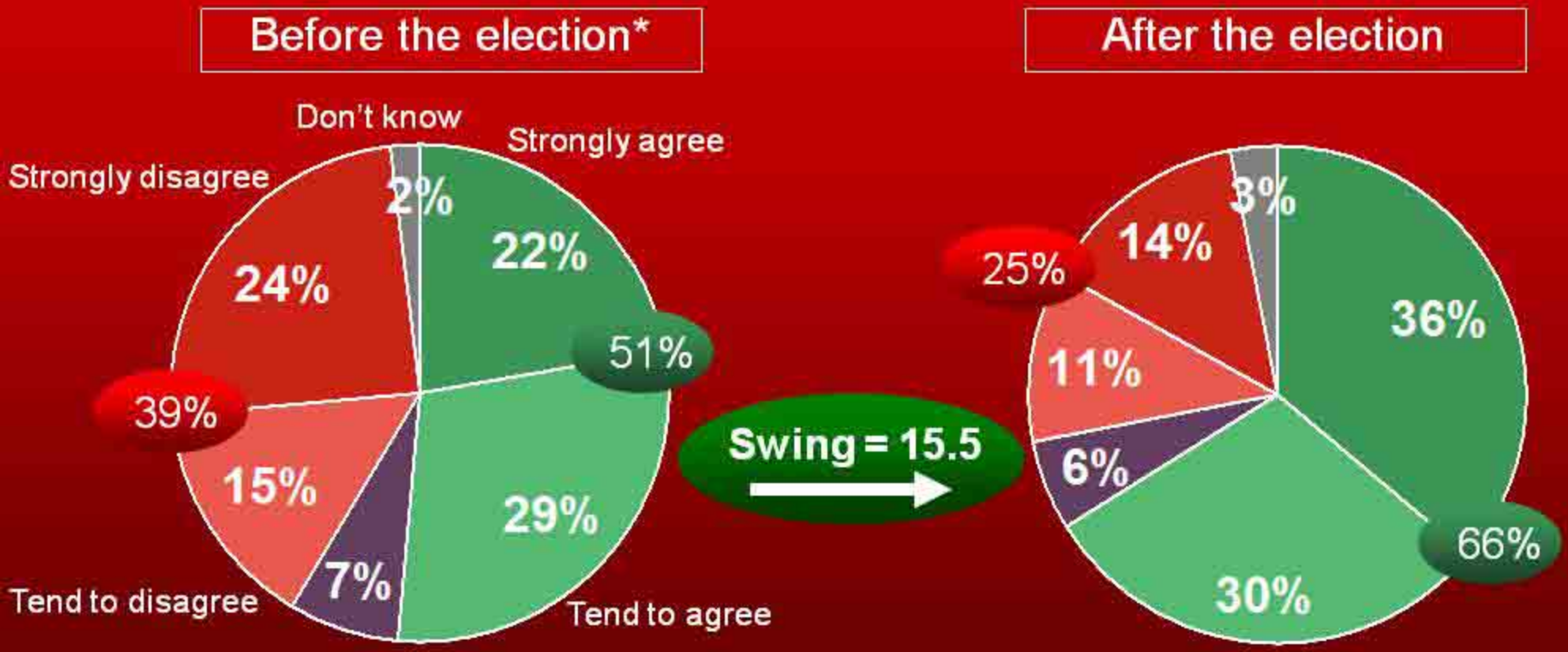
*Asked as: "To what extent do you agree or disagree that the Conservatives are ready to form the next government?"

Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

David Cameron is seen to be ready to be PM

Q "To what extent do you agree or disagree that the Conservatives are ready to govern?"



Base: 1,216 British adults 18+, 5th May 2010

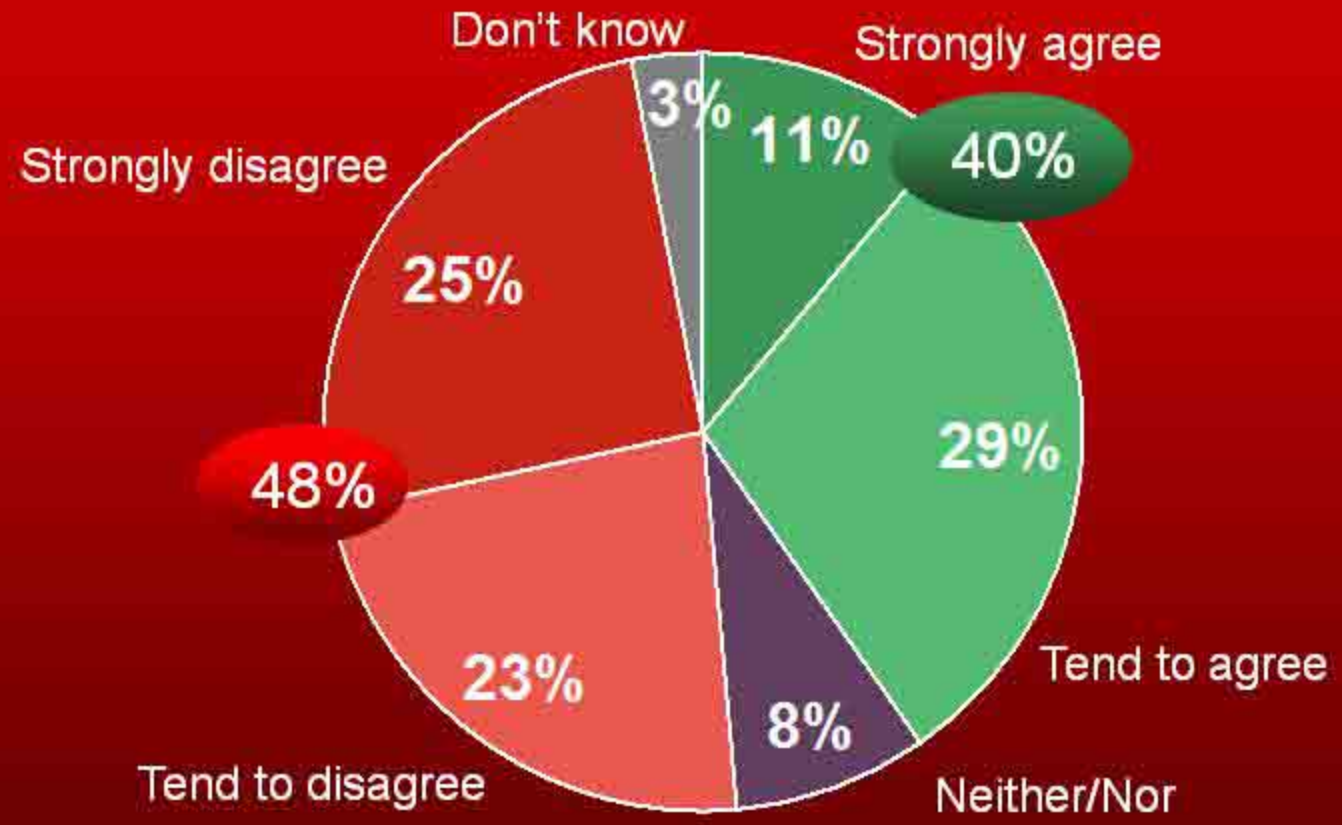
*Asked as: "To what extent do you agree or disagree that the Conservatives are ready to form the next government?"

Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

There are doubts over Lib Dem readiness to govern

Q "To what extent do you agree or disagree that the Liberal Democrats are ready to govern?"

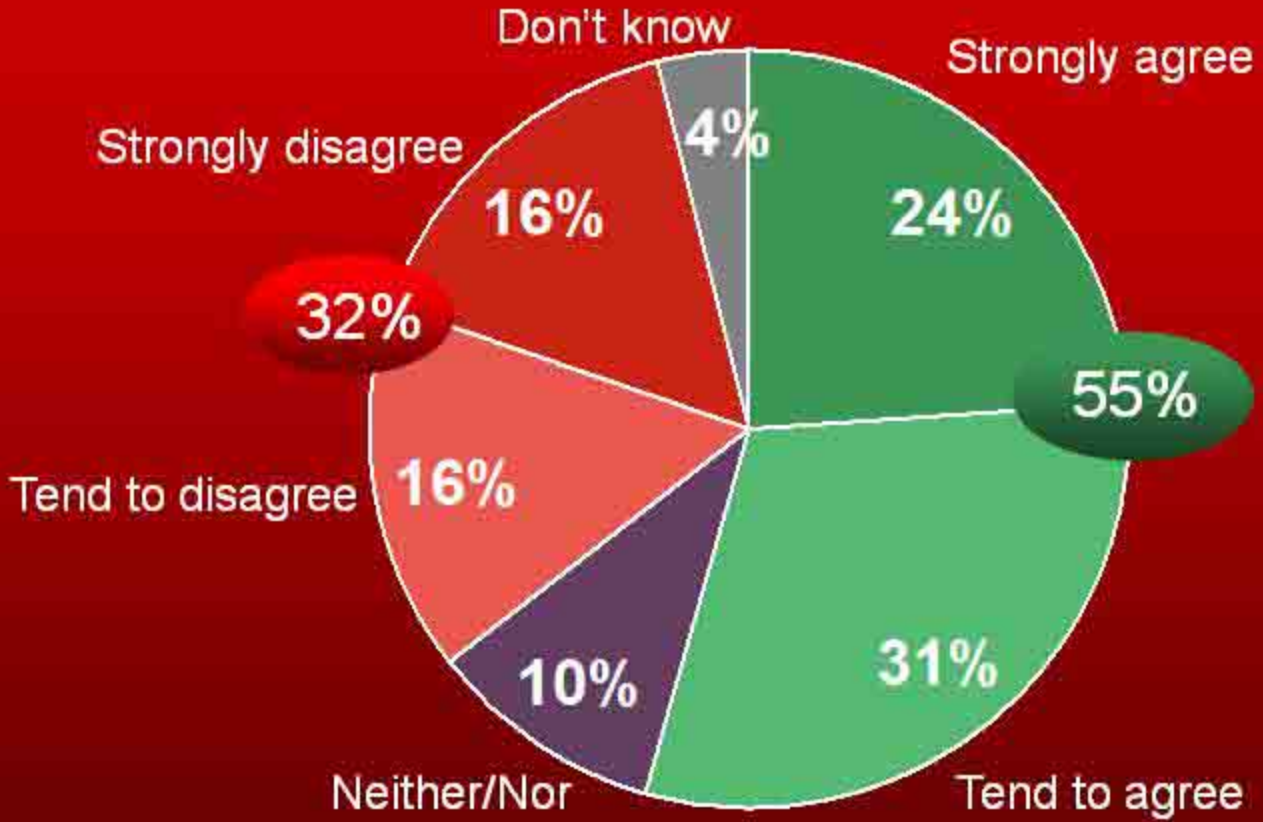


Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

But most think Clegg is ready to be Deputy PM

Q "To what extent do you agree or disagree that Nick Clegg is ready to be Deputy Prime Minister?"



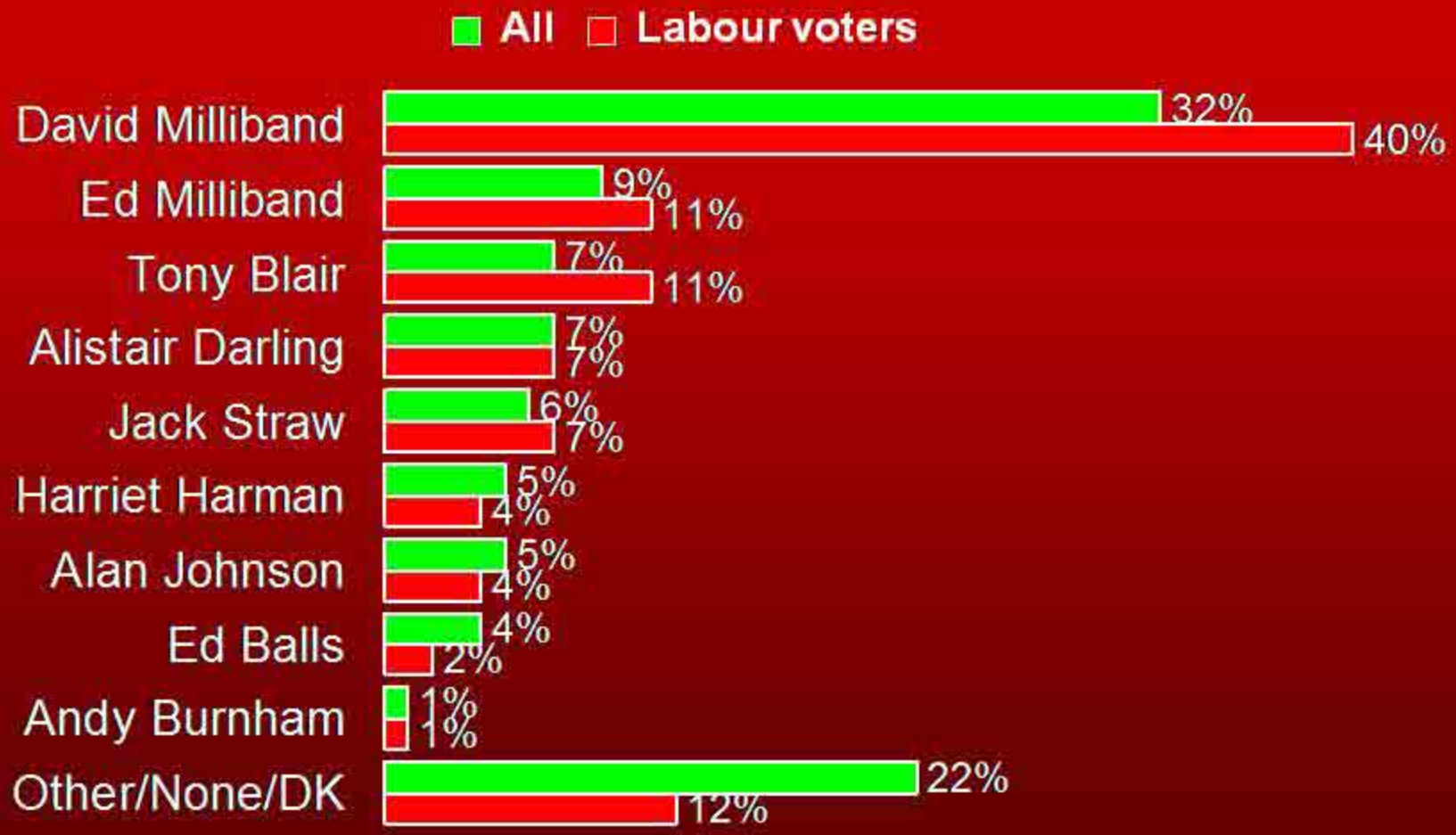
Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Next Labour leader

David Milliband is favourite to be next Labour leader

Q "Given that Gordon Brown has stepped down as leader of the Labour Party, which one of the following politicians I am going to read out, if any, do you think would do the best job of leader the Labour Party?"



Base: 1,023 British adults and 232 Labour voters 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

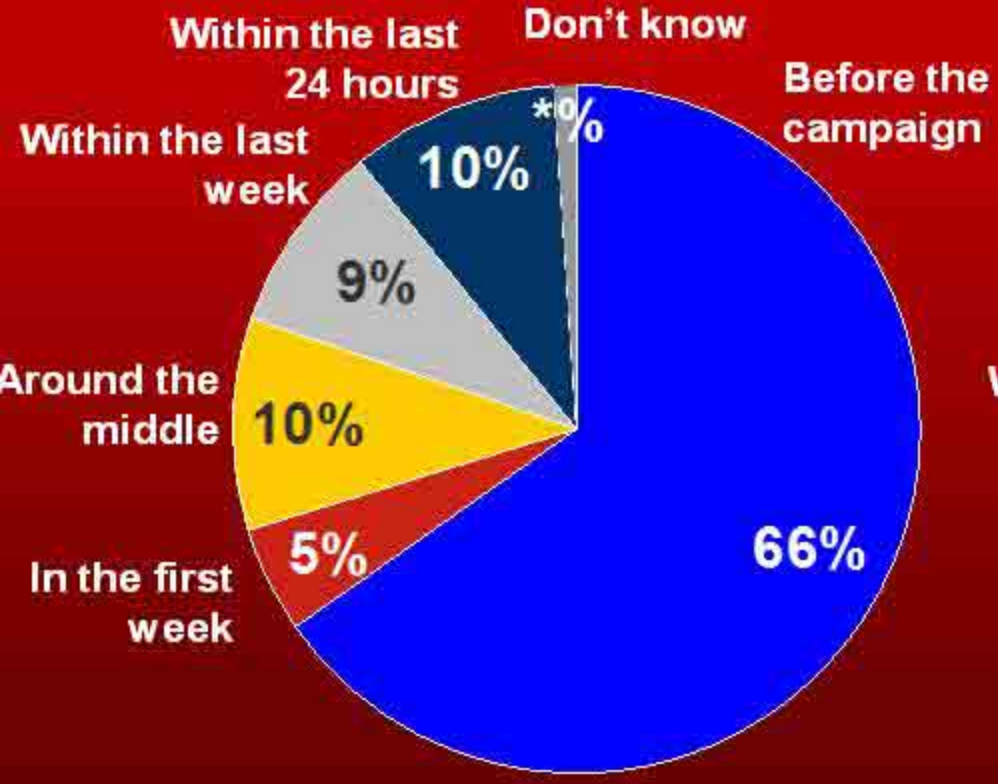
Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

The campaign

Increased number of people leaving it late to decide when to vote

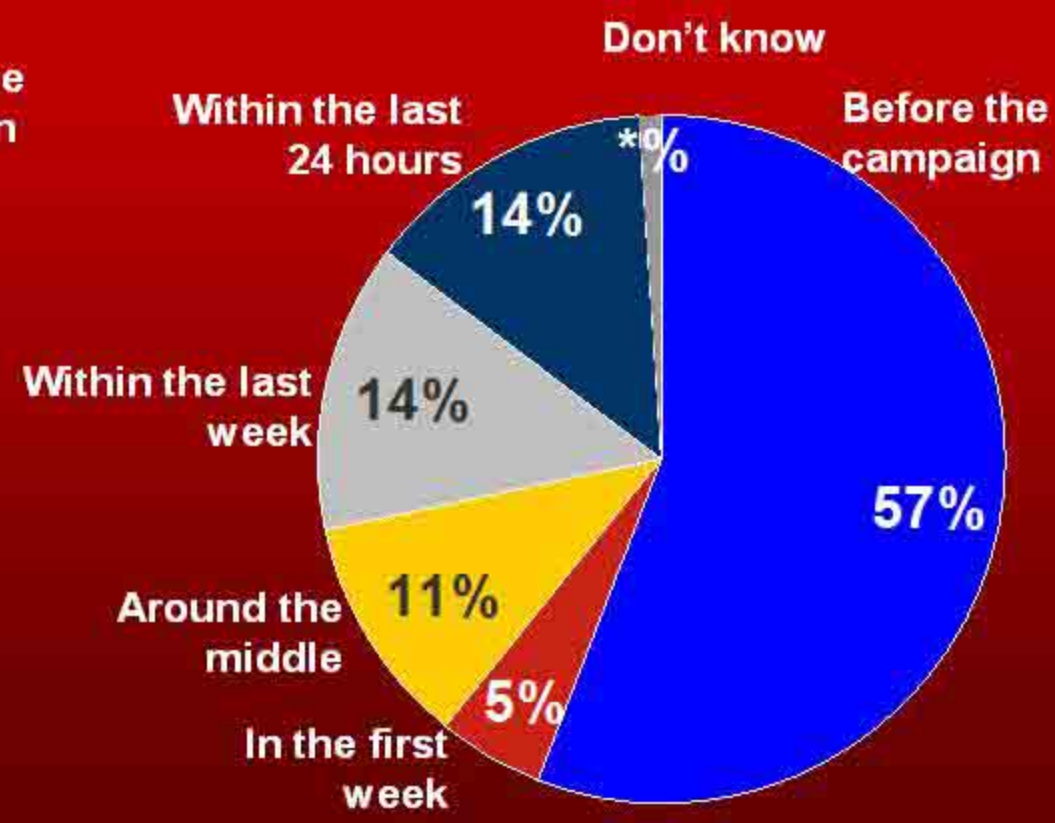
Q "When did you decide which party to vote for? Was it before the campaign began, in the first week of the campaign, around the middle, within the last week, or within the last 24 hours?"

2005



Base: 1,399 British electors, 5th – 10th May 2005

2010



Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Increased interest in the campaign

Q "Thinking back to the campaign, how interested would you say you were in news about the General Election?"

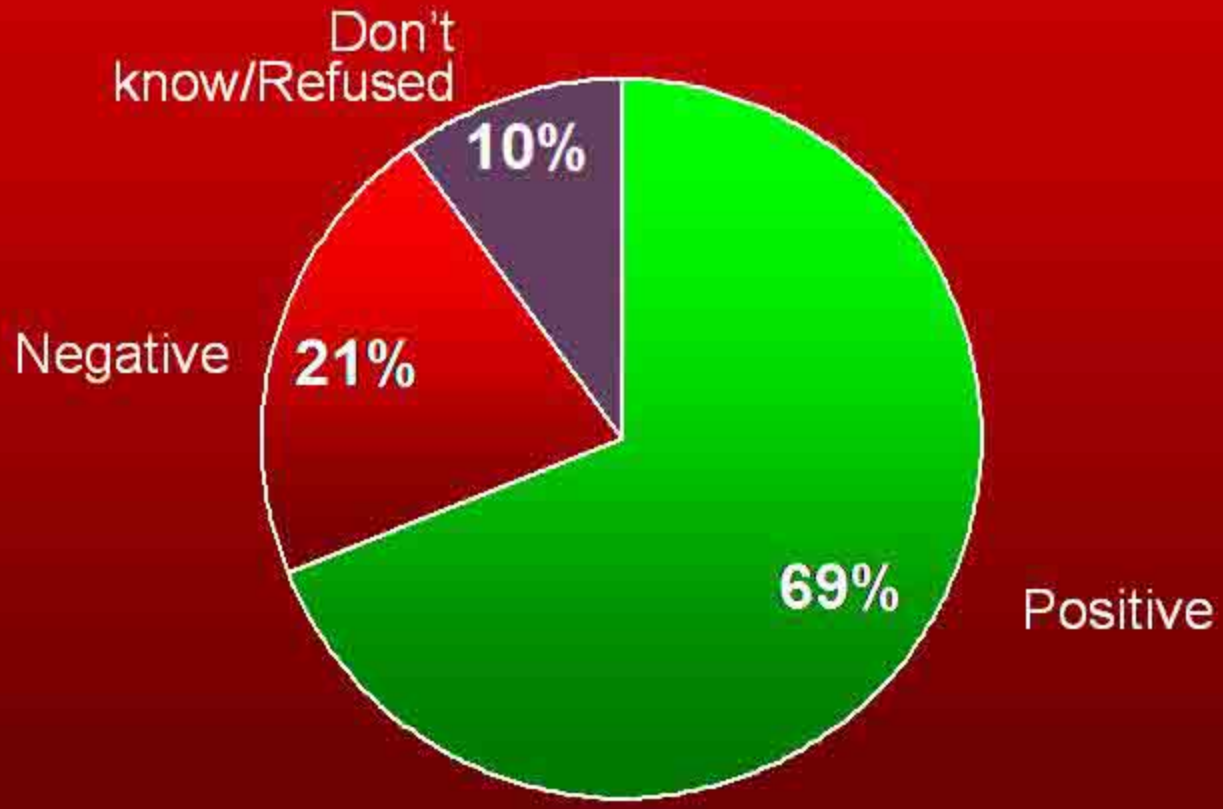
Base: c 1,000 British adults 18+, 29th May 1997

Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Voters are overwhelmingly positive about having debates during the campaign

Q "Whether or not you watched the debates, do you think that they were a positive of negative addition to the process?"

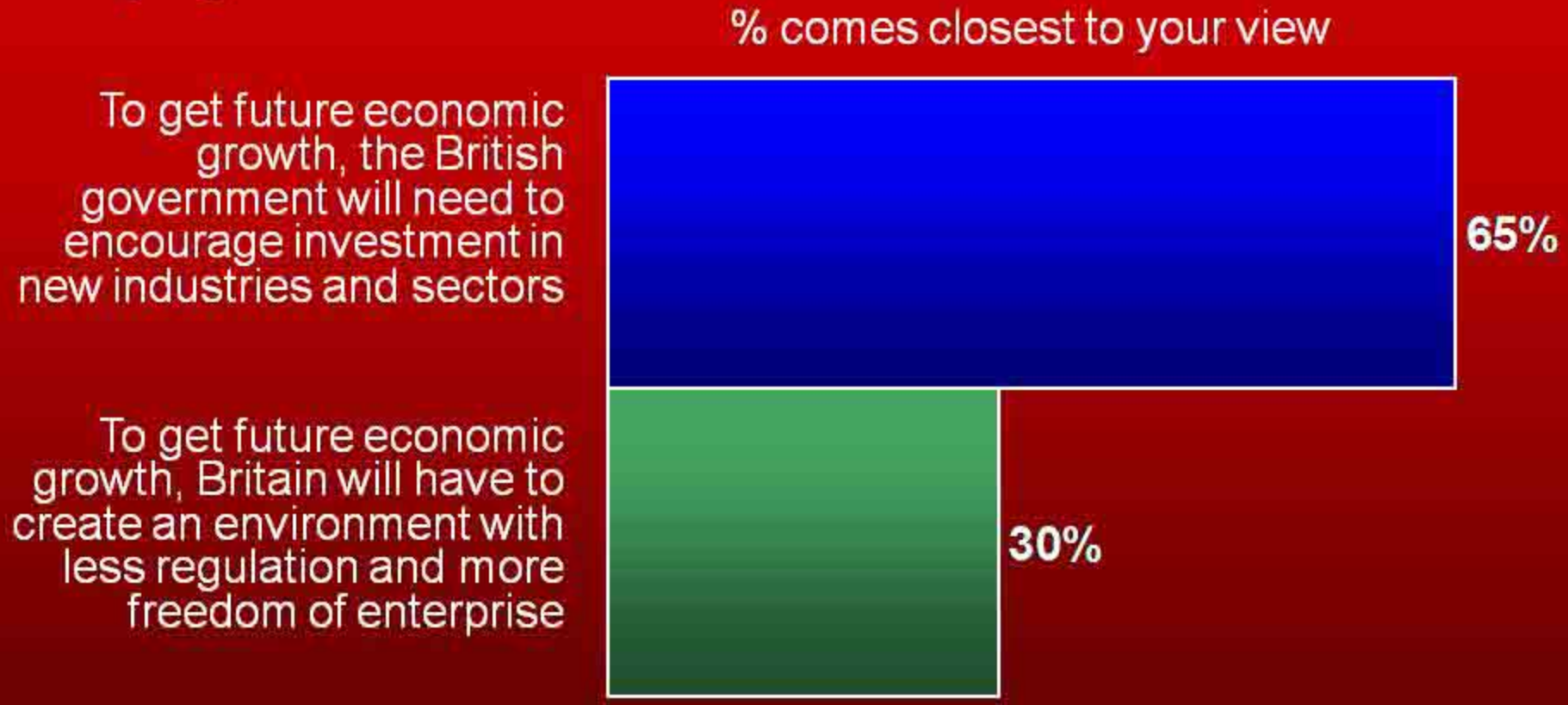


Base: 1,000 UK voters, May 7-9 2010

Source: Greenberg Quinlan Rosner

Encouraging investment is favoured over less regulation and free enterprise

Q "As I read each pair, please tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right"

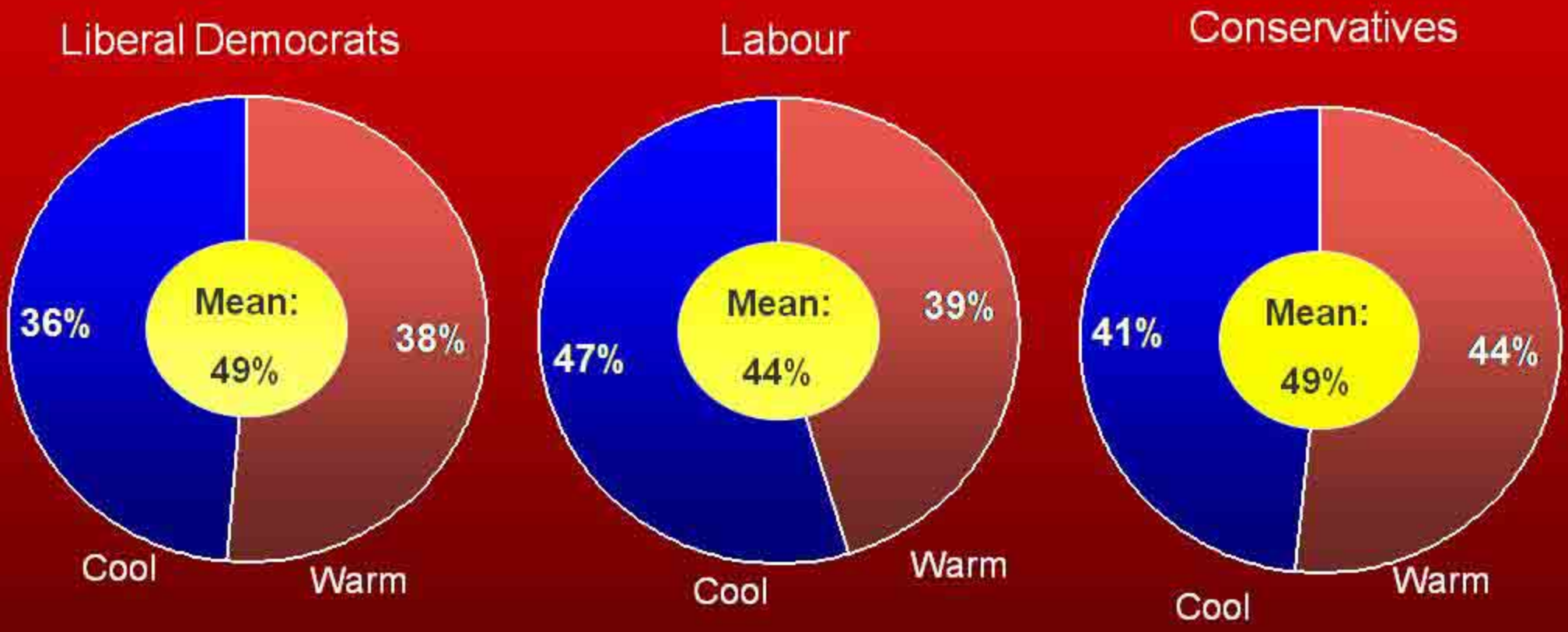


Base: 1,000 UK voters, May 7-9 2010

Source: Greenberg Quinlan Rosner

Lib Dems and Tories are the most popular parties

Q "How warm do you feel towards…"



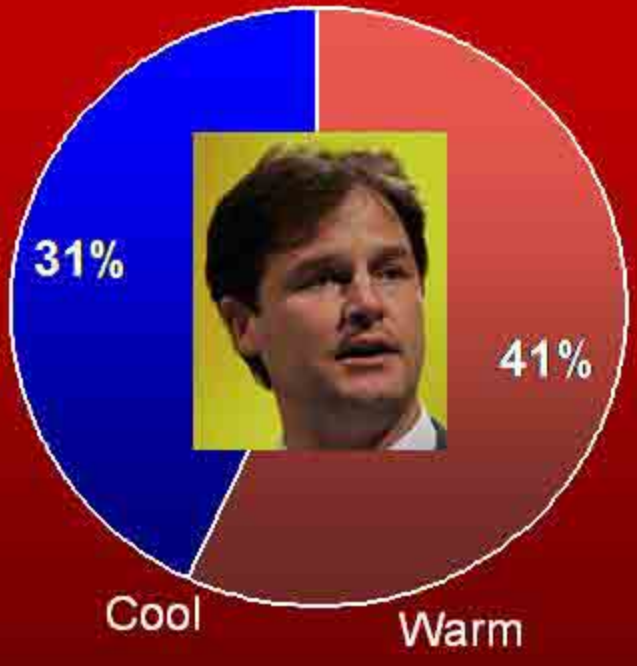
Base: 1,000 UK voters, May 7-9 2010

Source: Greenberg Quinlan Rosner

Clegg and Cameron are the most positively percevied leaders

Q "How warm do you feel towards…"

Nick Clegg

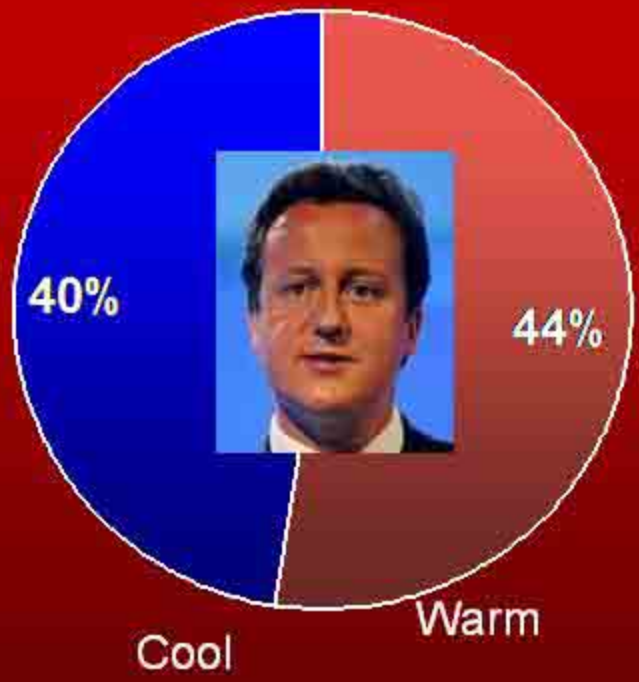


Mean: 50%

Gordon Brown

Mean: 39%

David Cameron



Mean: 50%

Base: 1,000 UK voters, May 7-9 2010

Source: Greenberg Quinlan Rosner

David Cameron

- …put political differences aside as well move to tackle the deficit, ease deep social problems, rebuild public trust in politics and bring about a more responsible society.
- The maxim of my Government would be "Those who can, should, those who cannot, we well always help." He promised dthat the elderly, frail and pooorest would not be forgotten.

Do the public really want to join the government of Britain?

The party manifestos suggest a real difference of emphasis between Liberal Democrats and Conservatives on the role of the state

INVITATION TO JOIN THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITAIN

"So my invitation today is this: join us, to form a new kind of government for Britain"

"Real change comes when the people are inspired and mobilised, when millions of us are fired up to play a part in the nation's future."

Will the public accept David Cameron's invitation for greater involvement, local control and personal responsibility?

The eight key points

1. Large proportions say the ***public*** should be more involved in local and national decisions, fewer say they ***personally*** want more involvement, and in practice, even fewer actually will get involved

2. BUT this still leaves a **large, untapped resource** – eg only 5% say they want to start getting actively involved in local issues – but that is still 1.7m people

3. However, we also need to remember that people wanting to be actively involved is **not in itself always a good sign** – more people want to get involved when they feel that services are failing and they therefore need to step in

4. And in specific policy areas, the public are pretty happy with their current levels of involvement in for example schools and policing – and, for most, local councils not parents or other bodies should be running schools. But still significant minorities say they would like more involvement

Cont'd...

The eight key points

5. Levels of involvement and feelings of empowerment have been very static over the last decade, despite a wide range of initiatives: **it is going to take a seismic shift in our approach to citizen involvement for the public to even notice**

6. People are **contradictory on local control** – they like the idea of it, but also want services to be the same everywhere. Promoting local control will need to deal with our national obsession with the "postcode lottery" and our real sense of the need for fairness between people/areas

7. There is **no clear consensus on the role of the state** and the balance between "big society" and "big government" – we are split down the middle on the broad principles. And, again, we are self-contradictory on whether the government should be setting laws to protect us or we should fend for ourselves

8. But we don't think the experts/government know best - and there is **clear support for people taking more personal responsibility**, including parents being held more accountable for the behaviour of their children

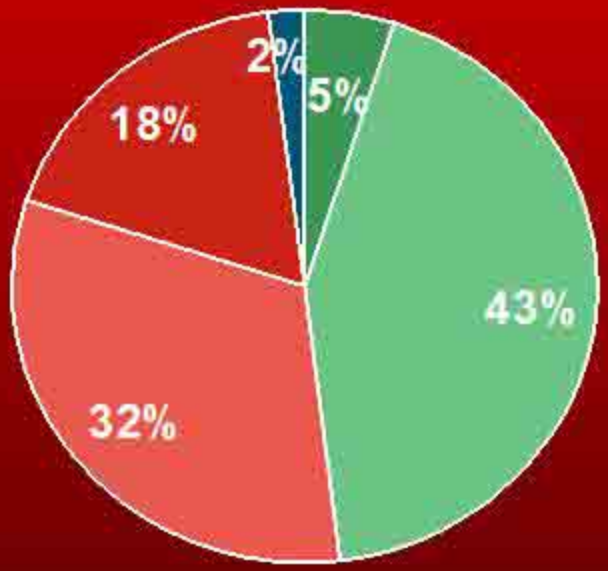
People say they are interested in being more involved

In fact, around half say they would get more involved locally

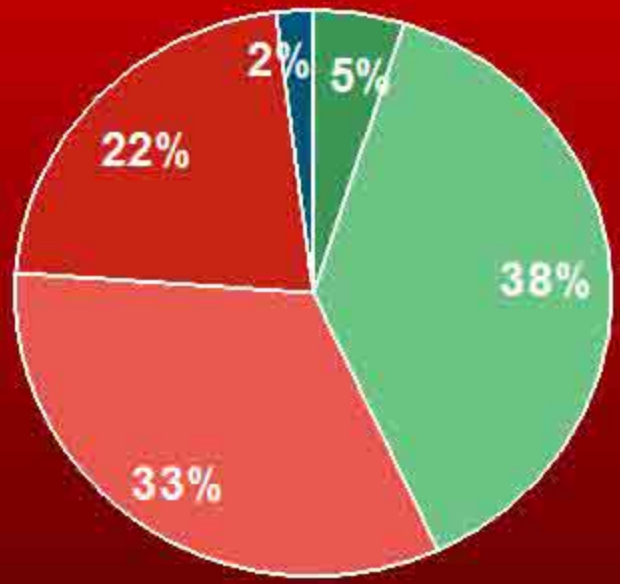
Q To what extent, if at all, would you like to be involved in decision making in . . . .

Very involved
Fairly involved
Don't know
Not very involved
Not involved at all

Your local area?



The country as a whole?



Although when asked in more detail, 5% want active involvement, 24% want a say and the rest happy with information or don't care...

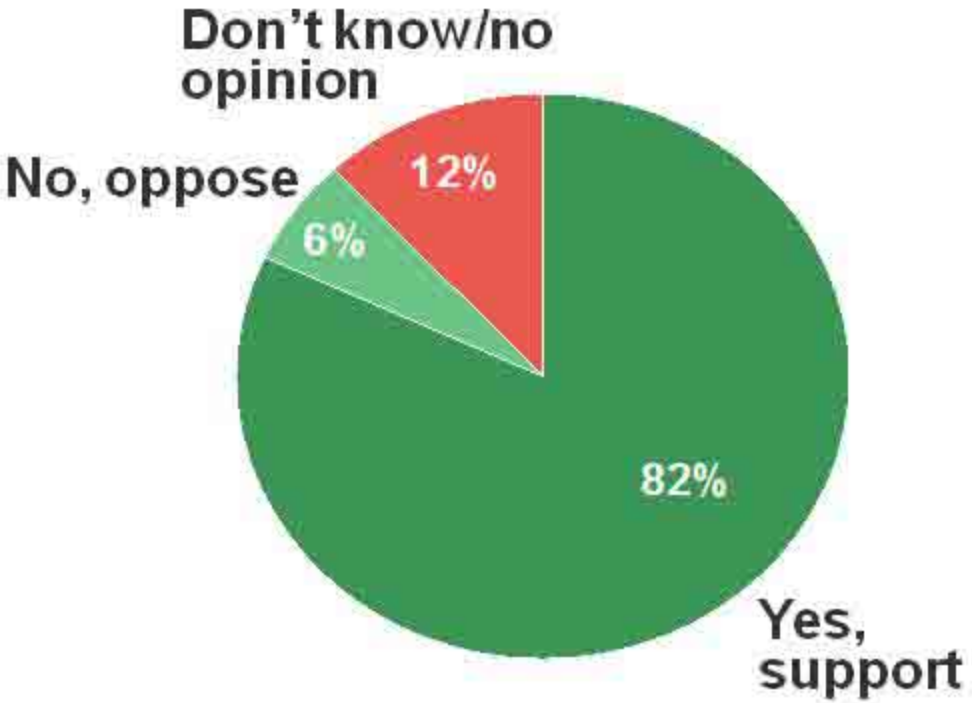
...BUT that's still nearly 9 million people who say they want to influence more

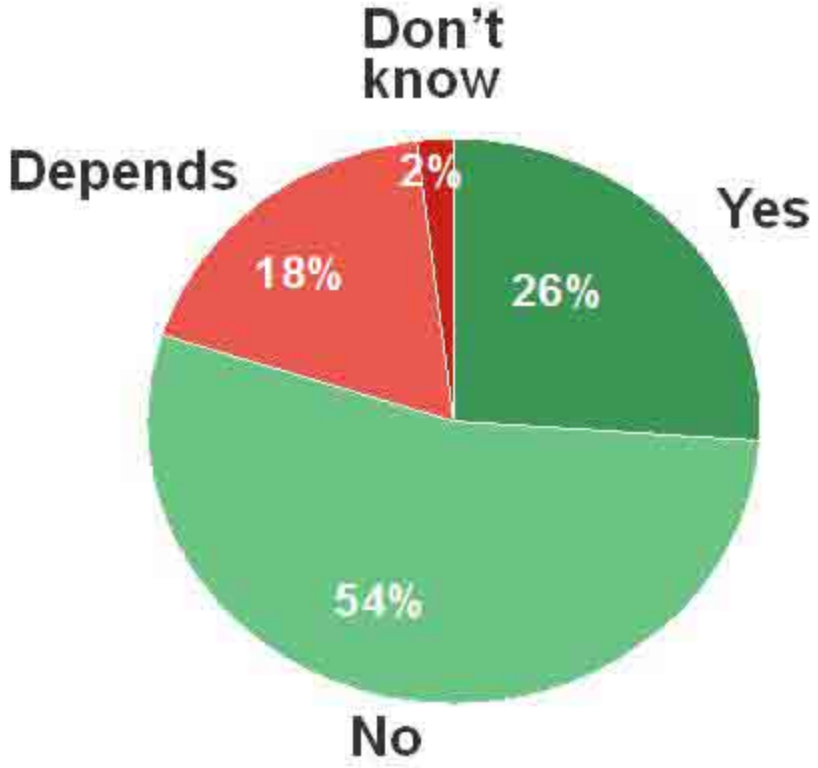
Q Levels of involvement/interest in local services

Most do support greater involvement in principle - but many fewer say they personally want to get involved

Q In principle, would you support or oppose extending Community Partnerships to other parts of the Borough?

Q And would you personally be interested in getting involved?



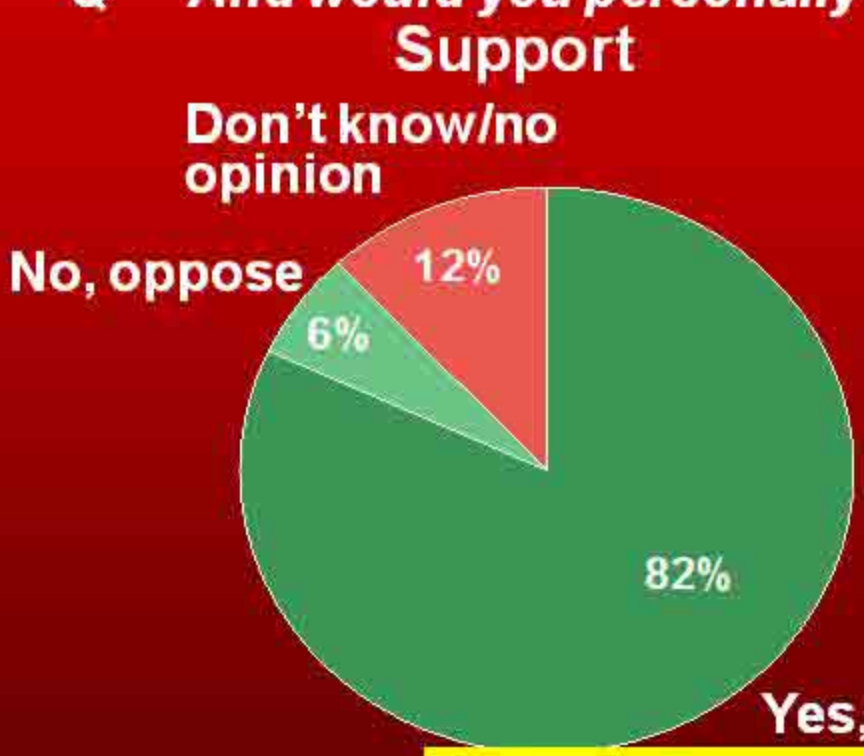


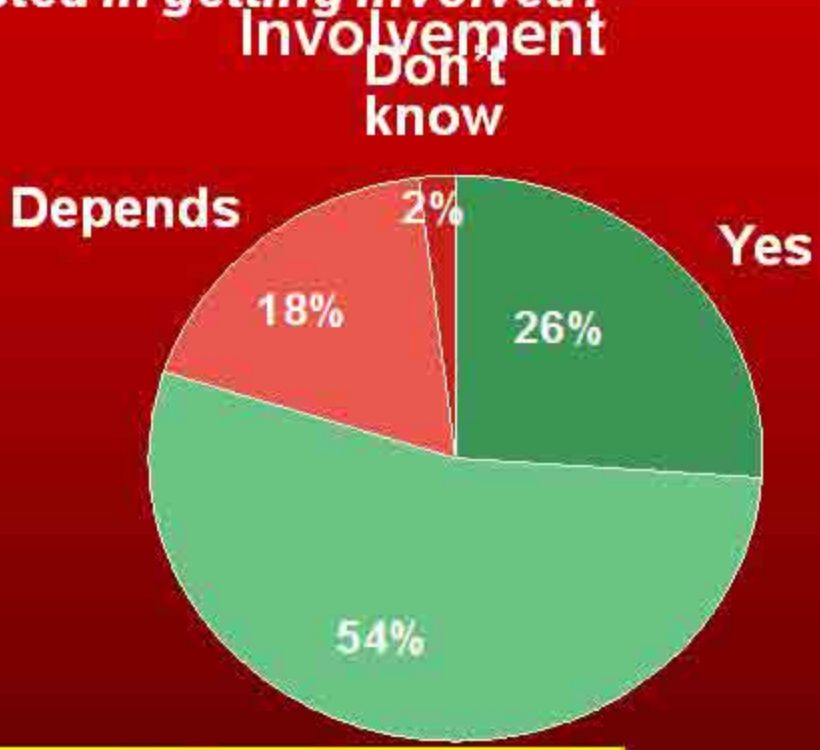
Base: All residents from one London Borough (1,021) Base: All respondents who support the idea (835)

And in practice, only a tiny proportion usually do...

Q ***In principle, would you support or oppose extending Community Partnerships to other parts of the Borough?***

Q ***And would you personally be interested in getting involved?***

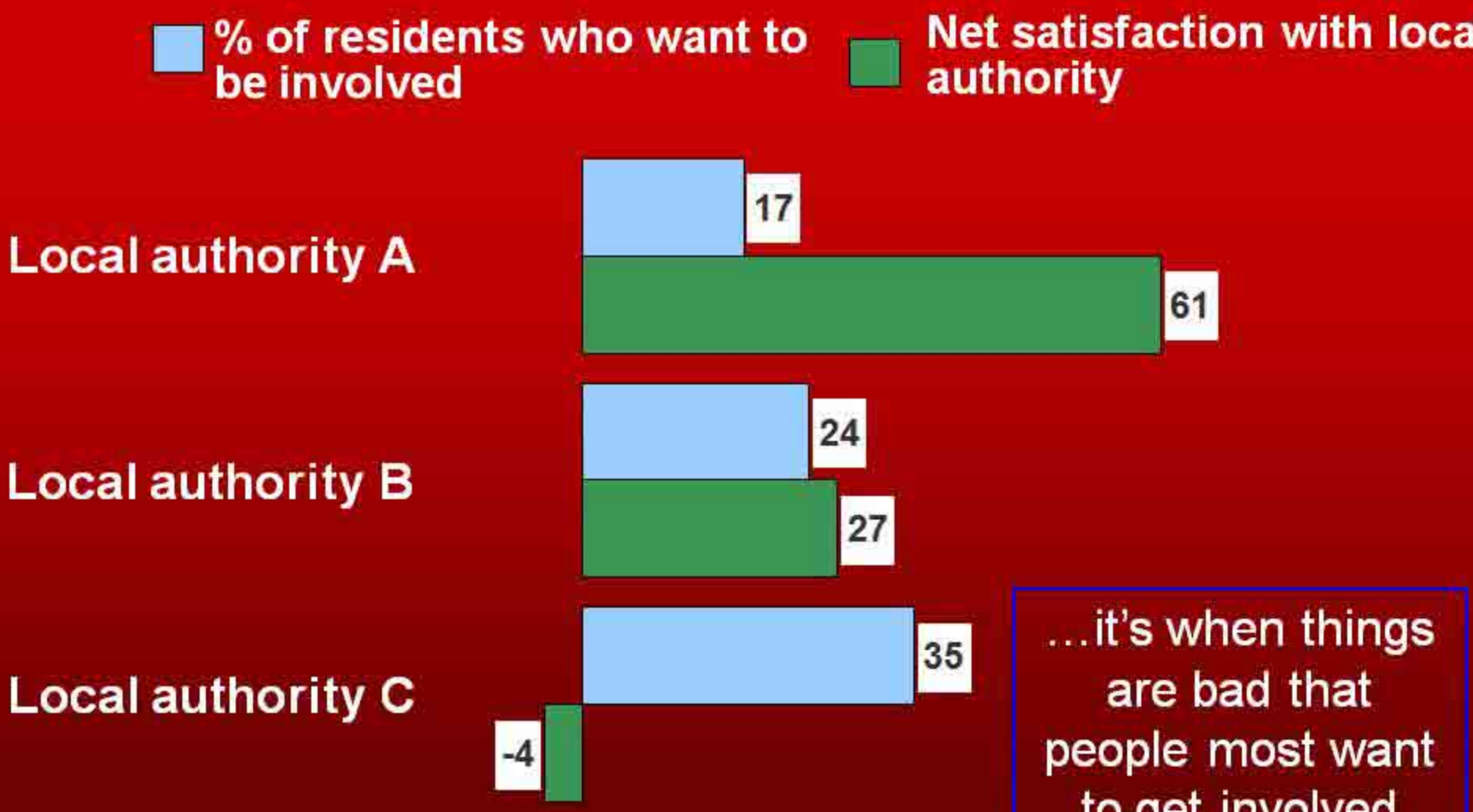




Actual proportion who got involved: 2%

Base: All residents from one London borough (1,021) Base: All respondents who support the idea (835)

Having lots of people wanting to be involved not always a positive sign - if things are going well people are happy for services to get on with it – local government example…

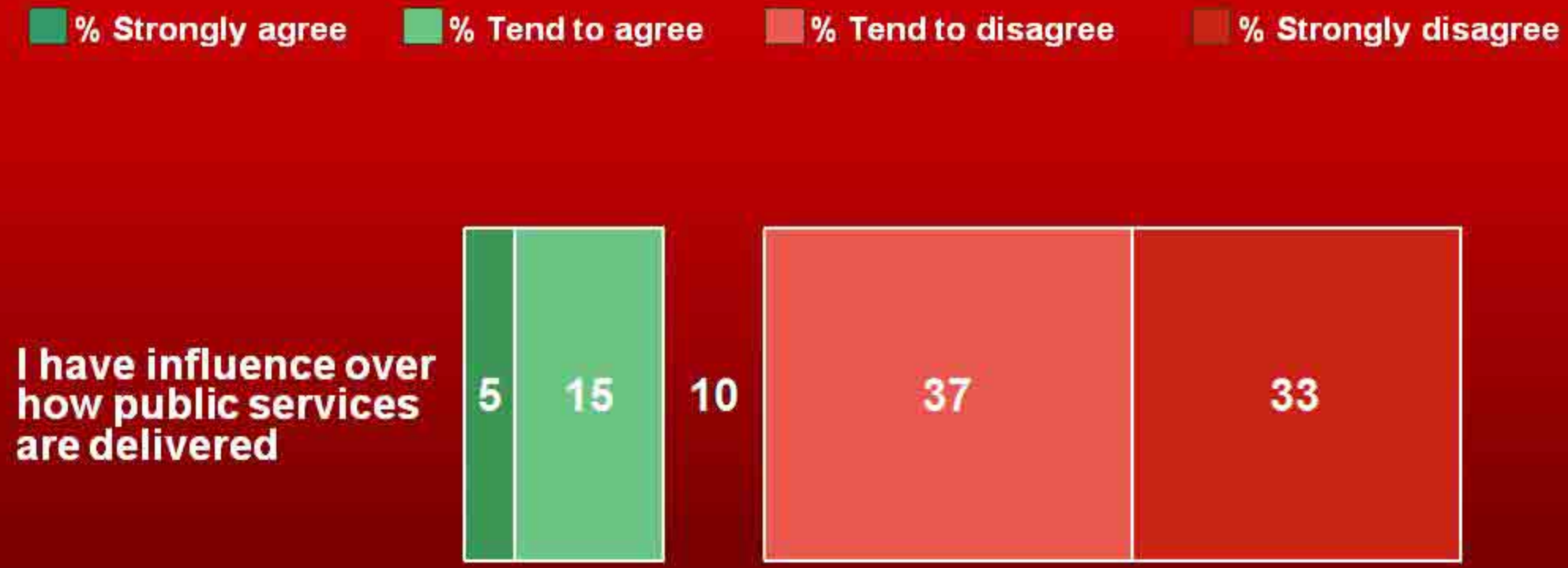


Need to remember that people who get involved do not always feel empowered – in fact, more who are currently involved in local decision-making bodies do NOT feel they can influence decisions than do...

There are lots of unhappy involved people...

Most currently don't feel they have influence over public services...

Q On balance, do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?



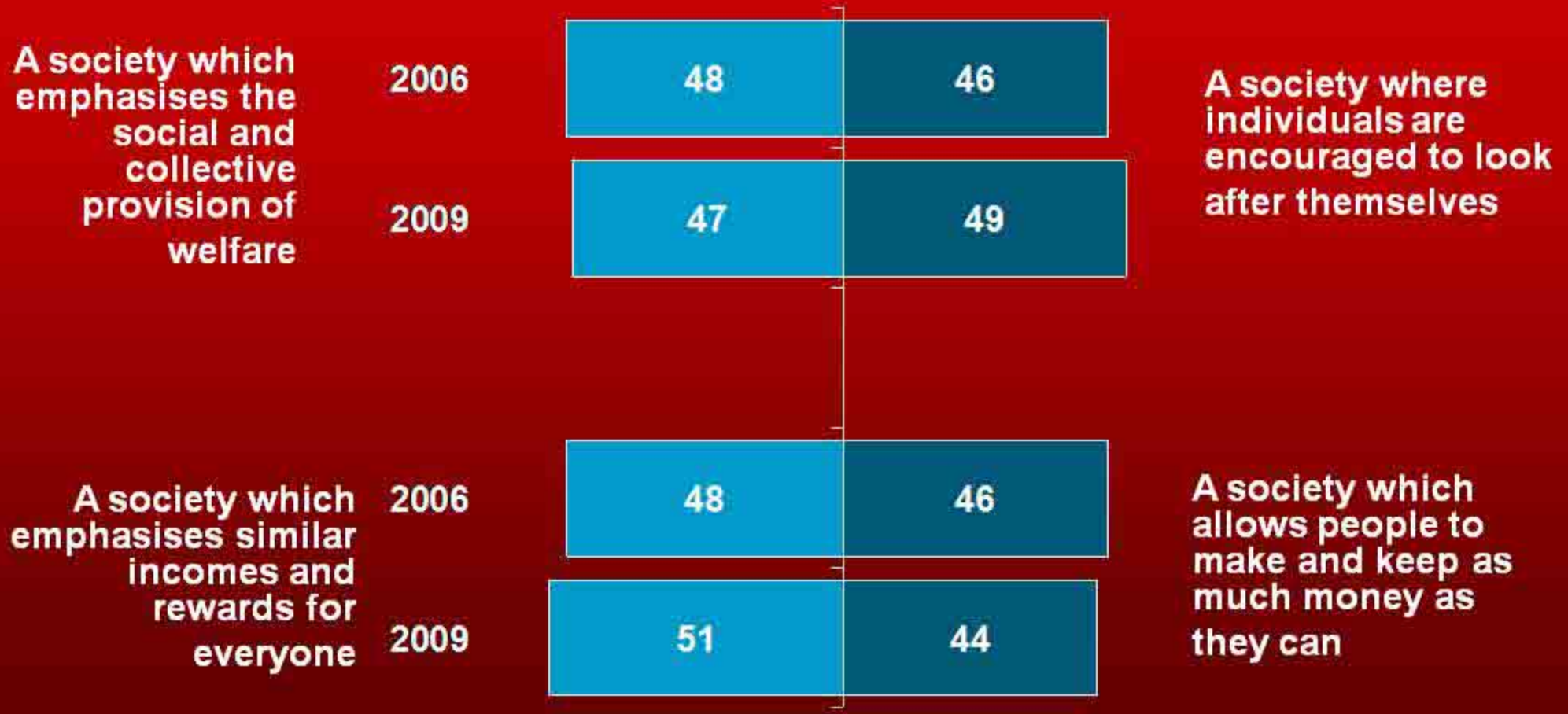
Base: 1,012 British adults, 7-9 March 2008

Source: Ipsos MORI Delivery Index

Big society vs Big government...

We don't know whether we want to be American or Scandinavian...

People have different views about the ideal society. For each of these statements, please tell me which one comes closest to your ideal.



Base: c. 1,000 British adults 18+ each month

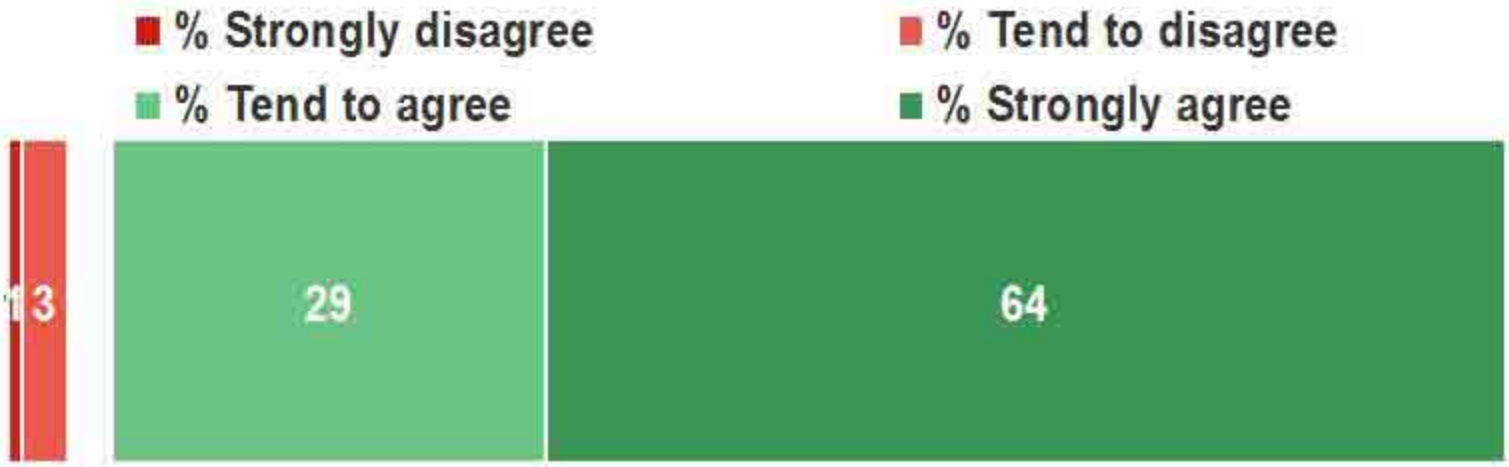
Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

Public do believe there's a problem in society – and see taking more responsibility as part of the solution ...

...for example, one of the few things nearly all GB citizens agree on is parents needing to take more responsibility for their children...

...although they are thinking of other parents and other people's children...

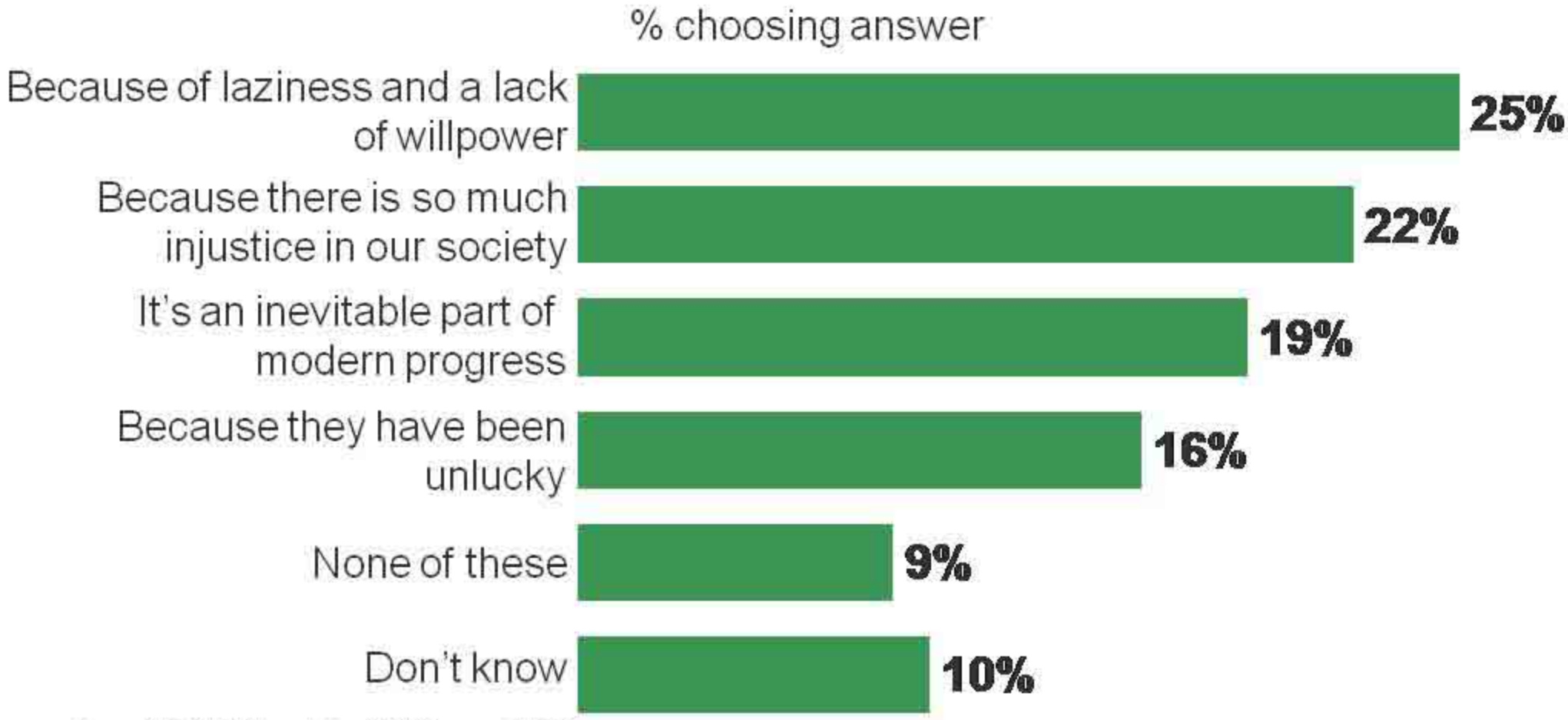
	% Agree
15-29	84
30-49	95
50-64	95
65+	94
AB	91
C1	95
C2	94
DE	88



Base: 2,019 British adults, 9 May-5 June 2008

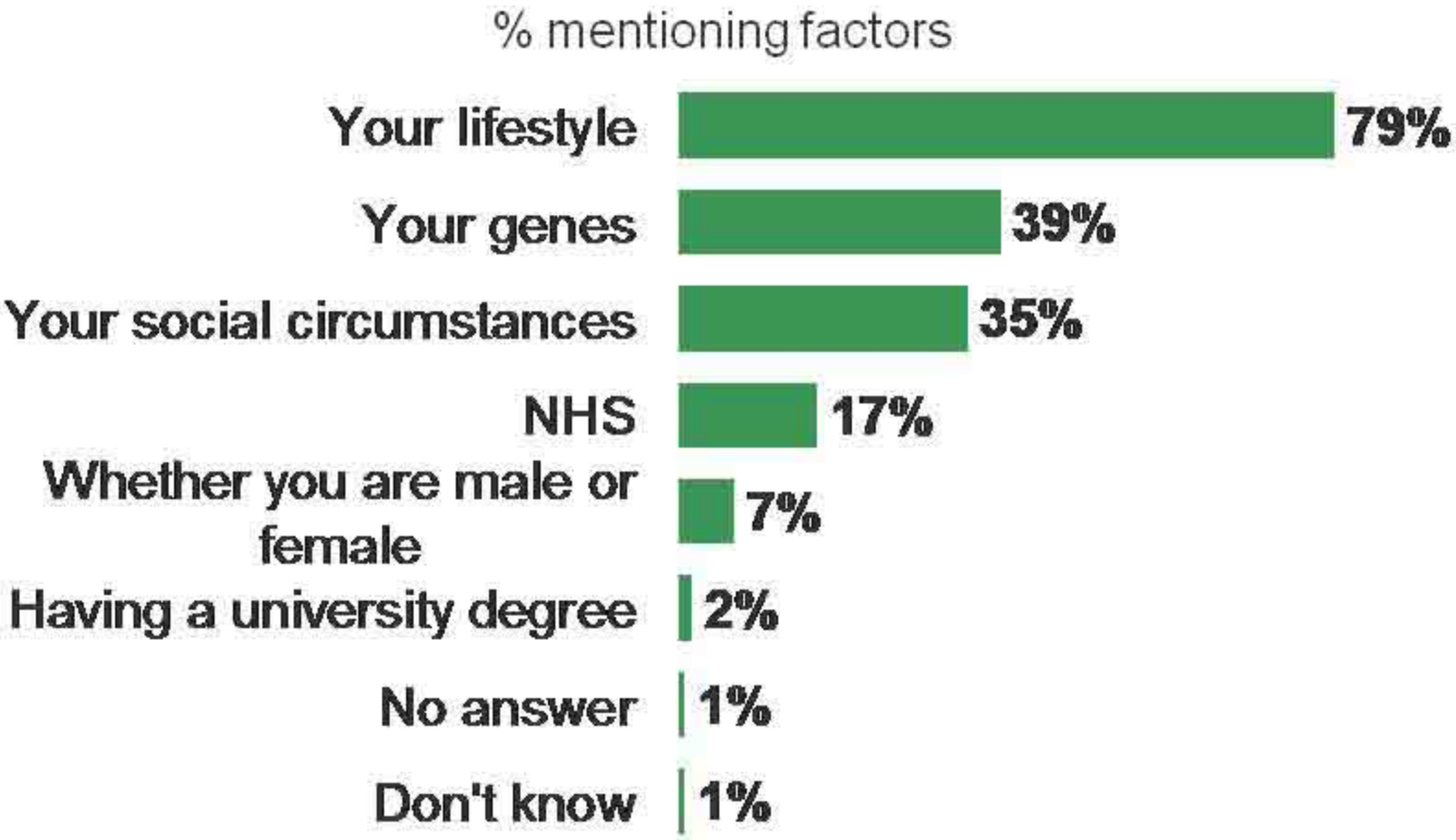
Source: Ipsos MORI Real Trends Study

A quarter believe individual unwillingness to take responsibility explains poverty



Base: 1,994 British adults, 14-21 August 2008

And we recognise that by taking responsibility for ourselves, we can improve our health

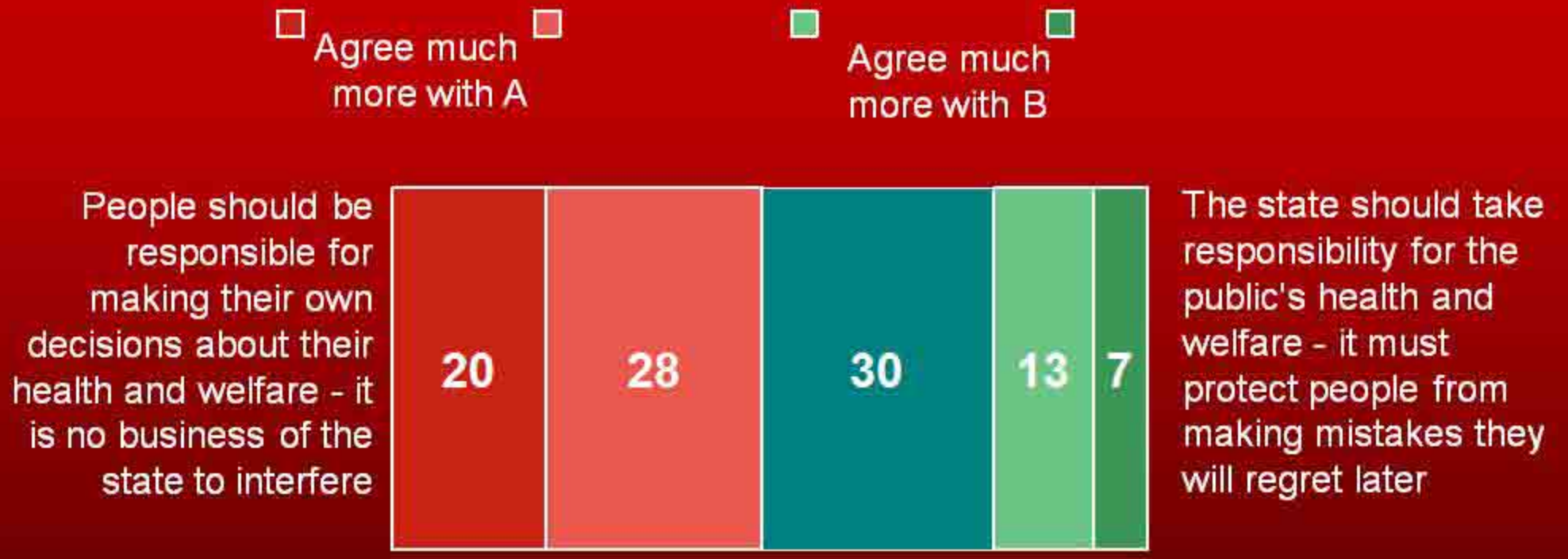


Base: 1,994 British adults, 14-21 August 2008

In a more responsible society, what role do people want the state to play?

No clear view on role of state – on one hand, people should be responsible...

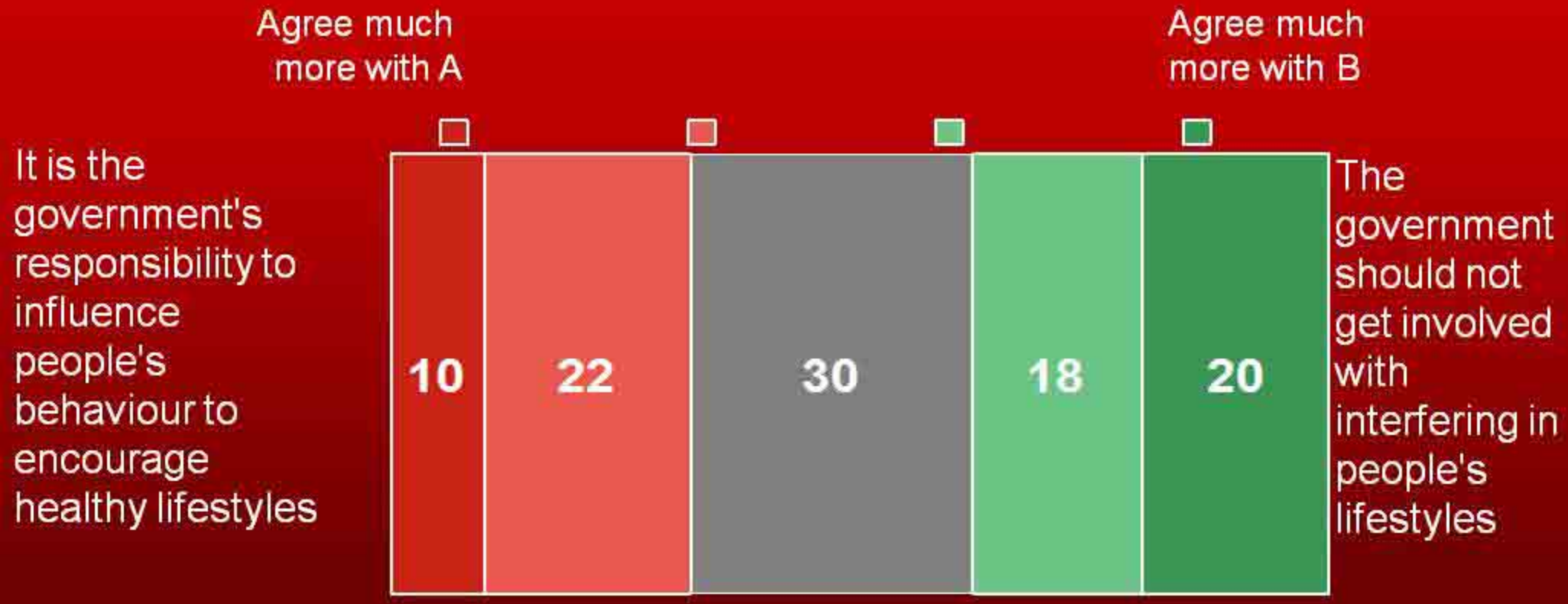
Please read each pair of statements and decide which comes closest to your own opinion



Base: 2,019 British adults, 9 May-5 June 2008

...but on the other hand, we don't know

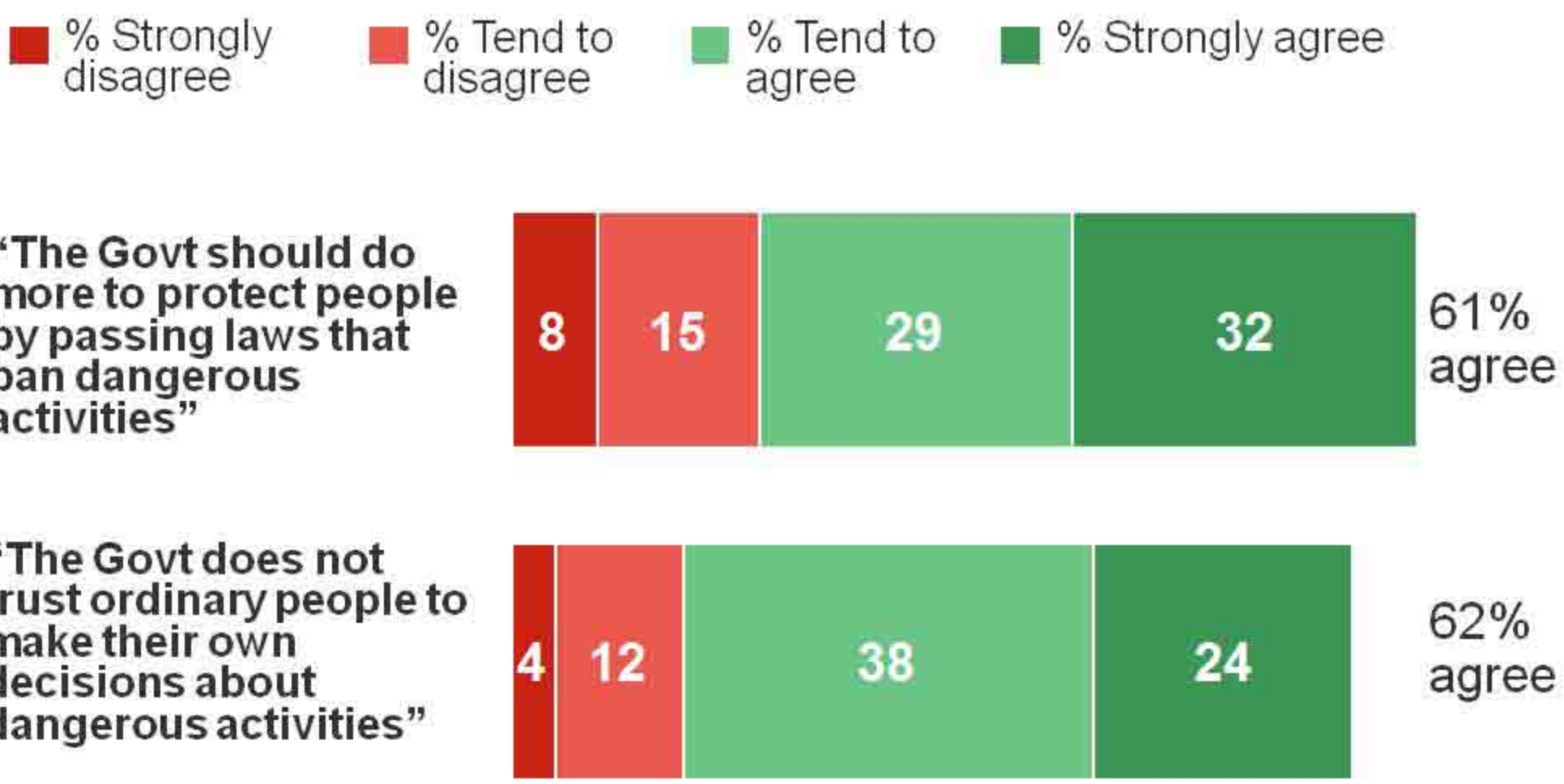
Please read each pair of statements and decide which comes closest to your own opinion



Base: 2,019 British adults, 9 May-5 June 2008

We want govt to pass more laws to protect people, while also leaving decisions to people's own judgement!

Q How strongly do you agree or disagree that….

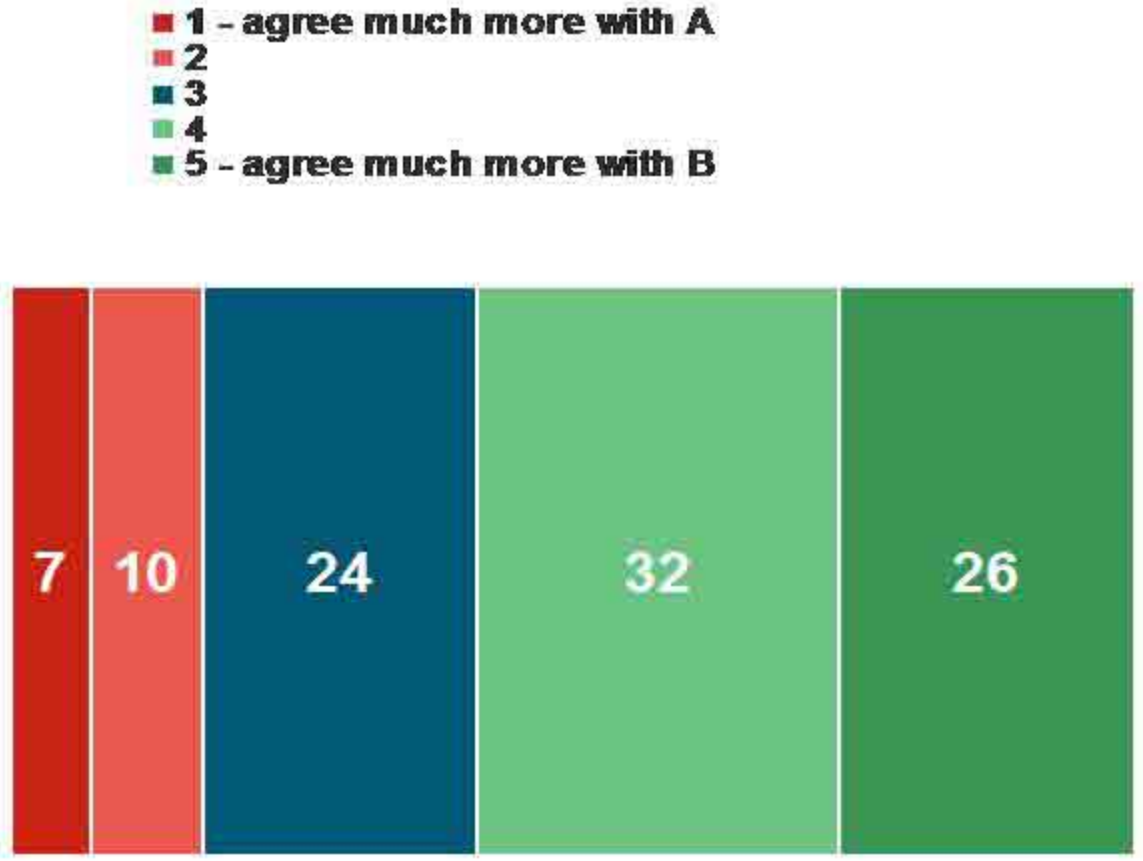


Base: 1,015 GB adults aged 16+

Source: Ipsos MORI

But pretty clear that the public don't think experts know best

Please read each pair of statements and decide which comes closest to your own opinion



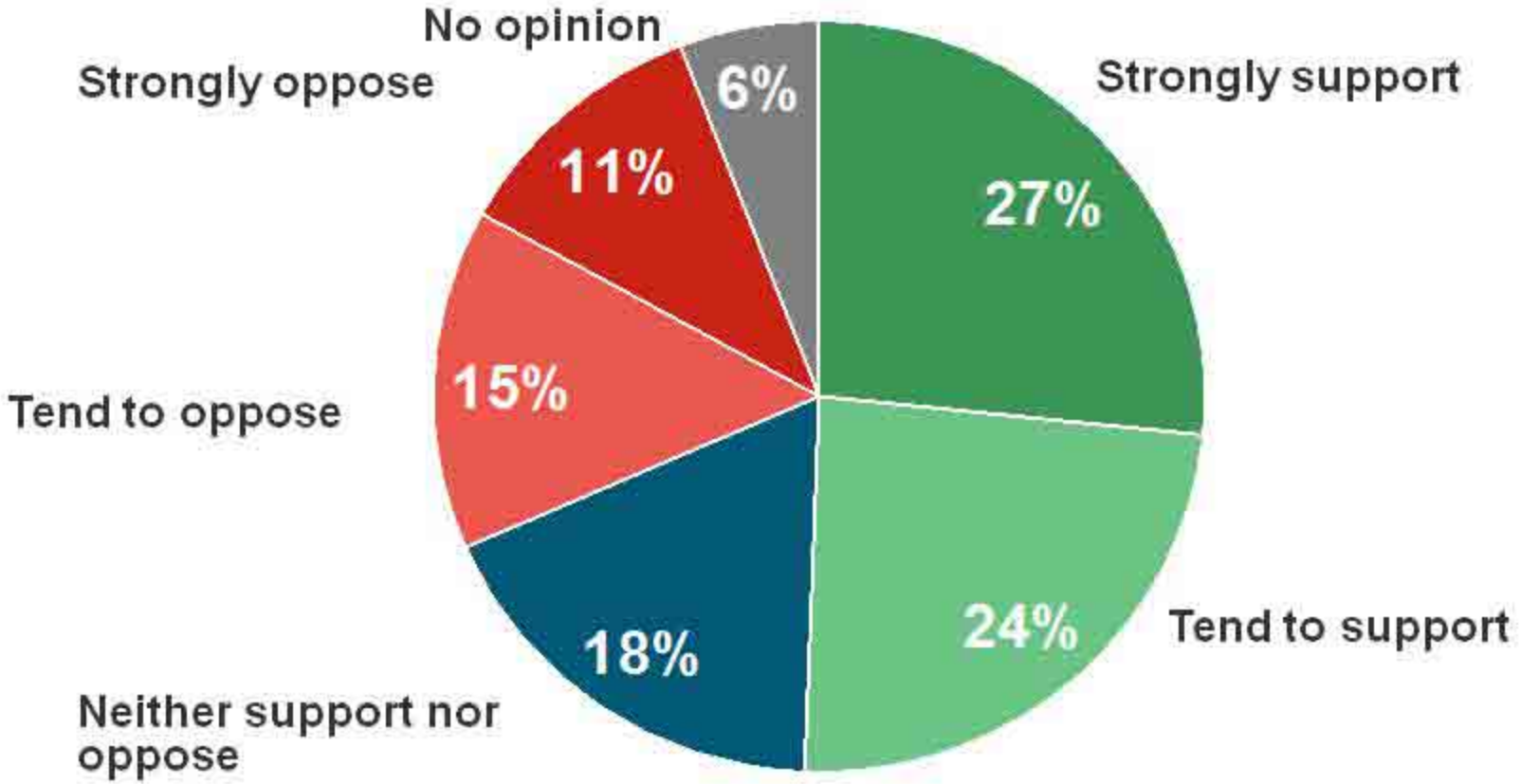
A. The experts who provide and manage public services know best – they should find out what we think and get on with it

B. The general public should be much more actively involved in shaping public services, through for example people deciding on priorities

Base: 2,019 British adults, fieldwork dates 9th May – 17th June 2008

Role of the state depends on the issue at stake?

Half agree that government should punish bad parents – even by taking away benefits

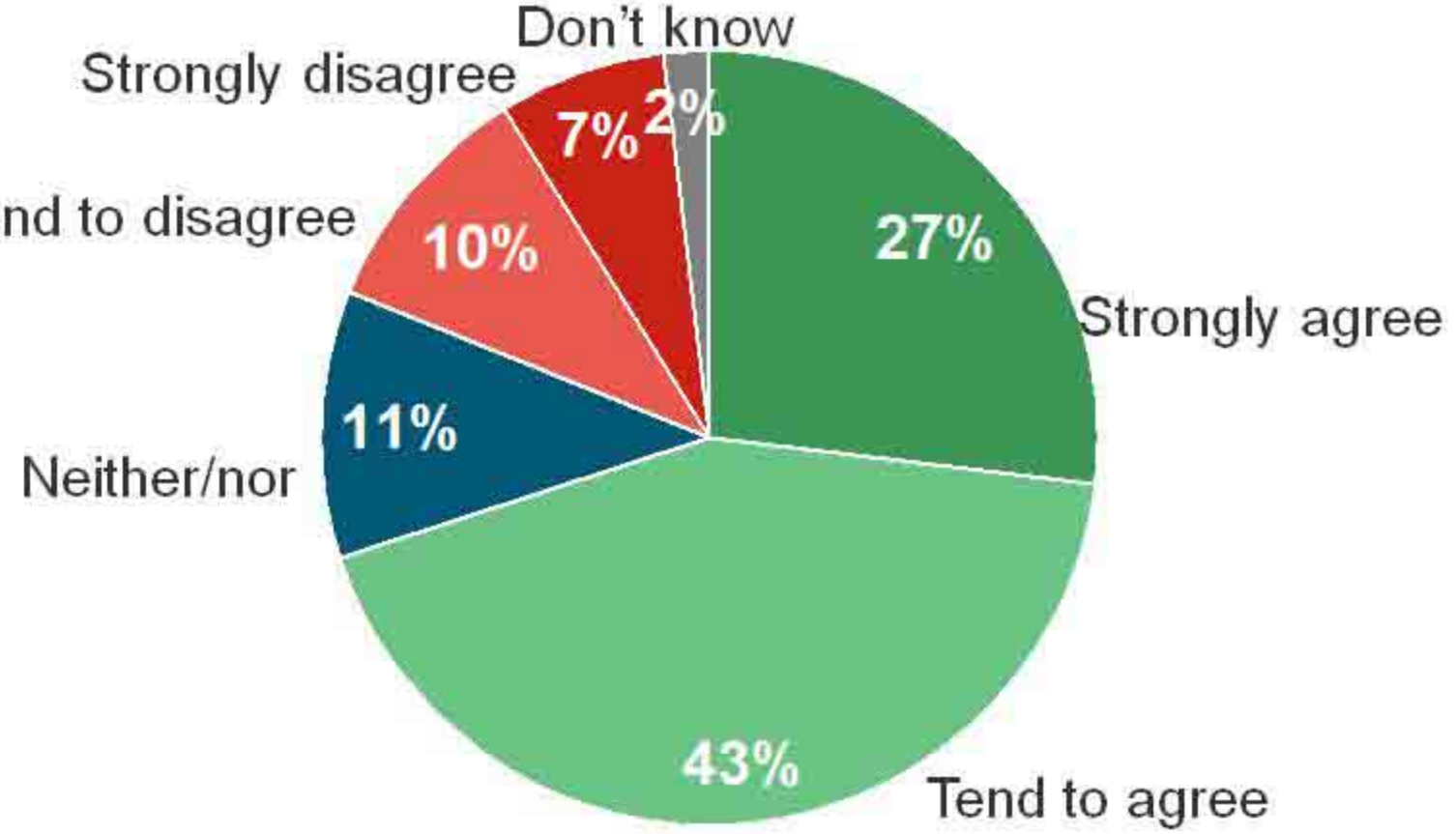


Source: Ipsos MORI – Base 2,000 respondents

Public do support govt intervention on issues like climate change – even if it means behaviour change

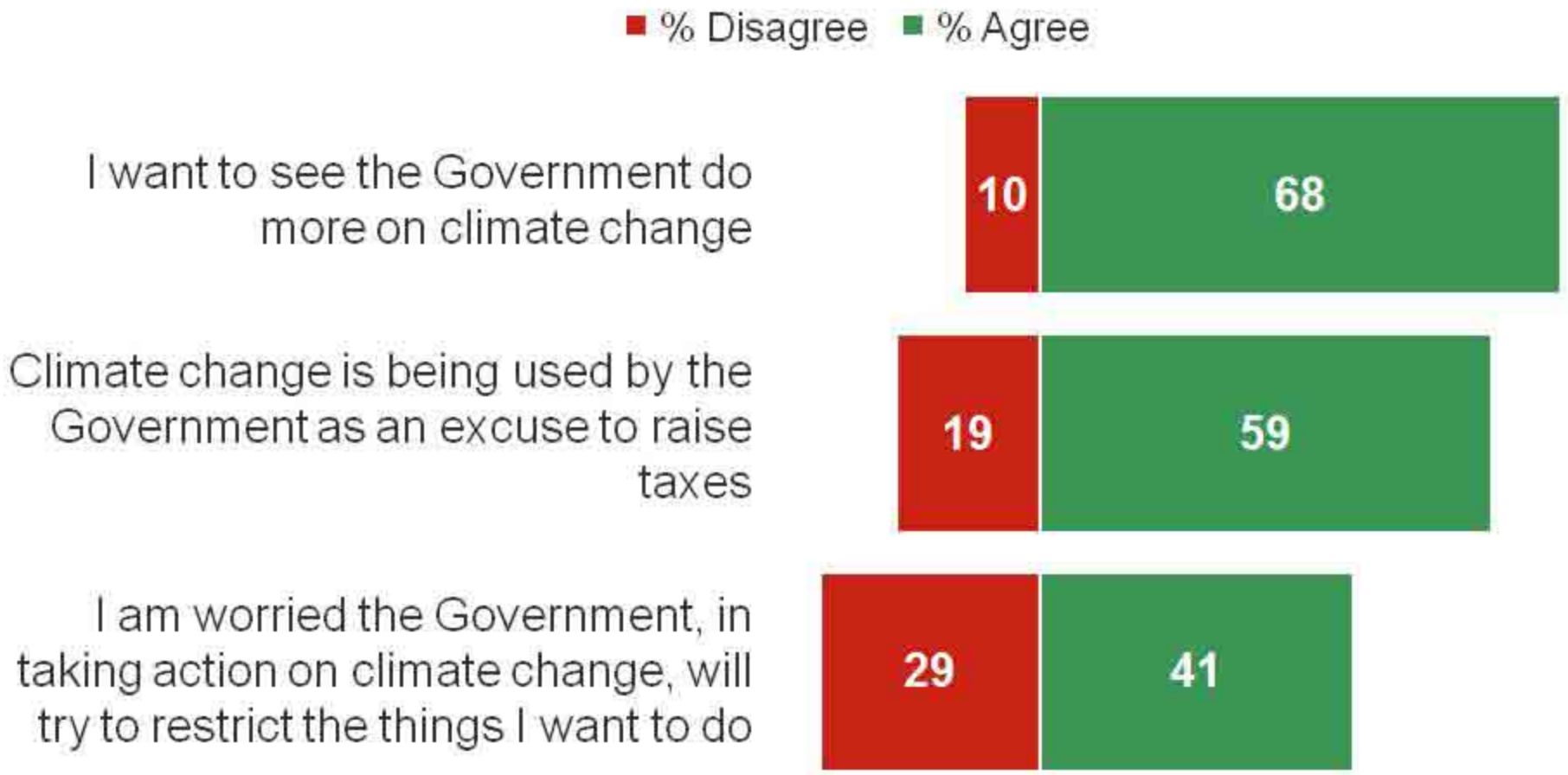
Q *How strongly do you agree or disagree that . . . ?*

The government should take the lead in combating climate change, even if it means using the law to change people's behaviour



Base: 2,037 British adults, 14-20 June 2007

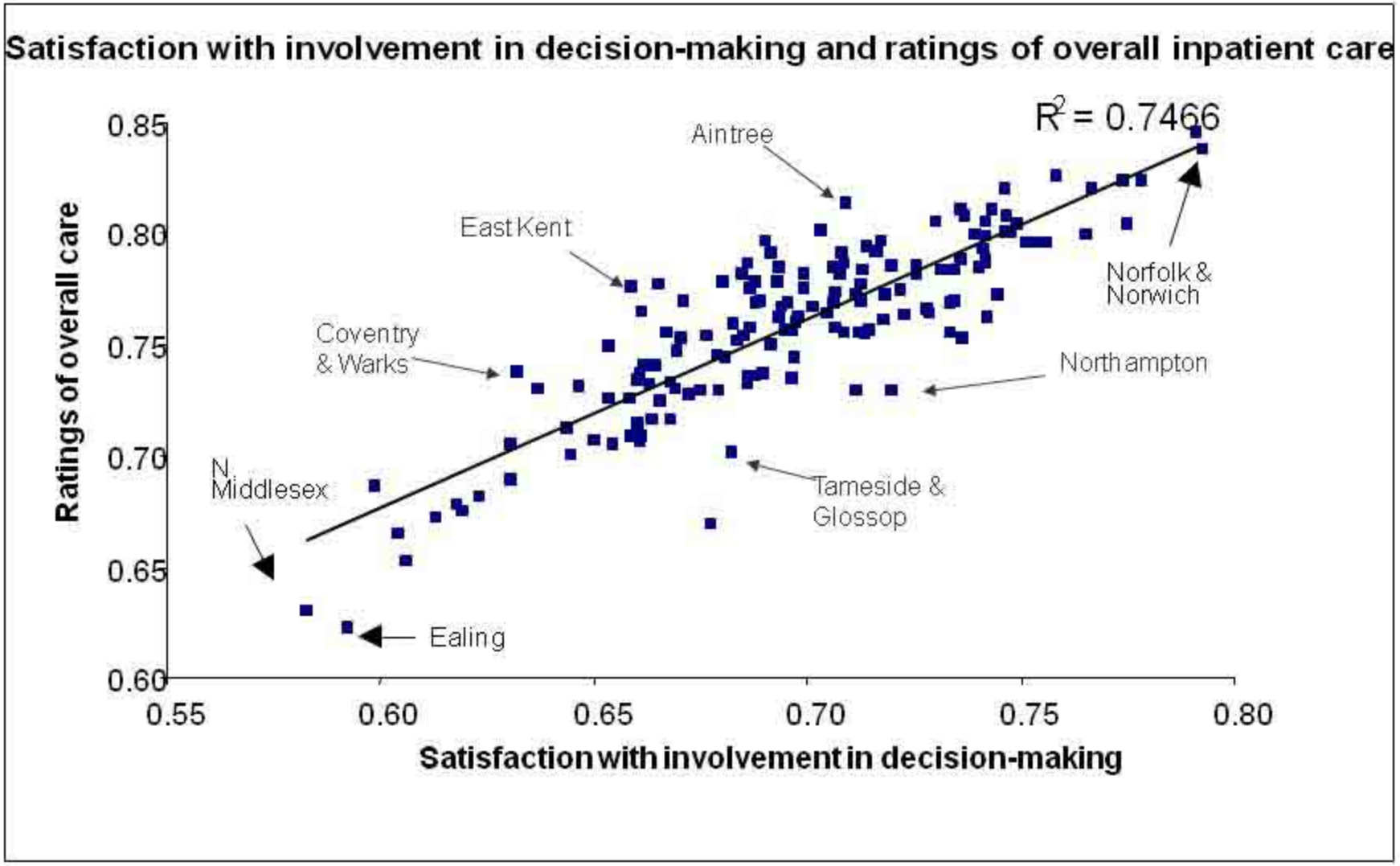
So we want leadership from Government (but we're sceptical about it)



Base: 1,039 GB adults aged 15+, interviewed face-to-face and in home, 23-29 May 2008

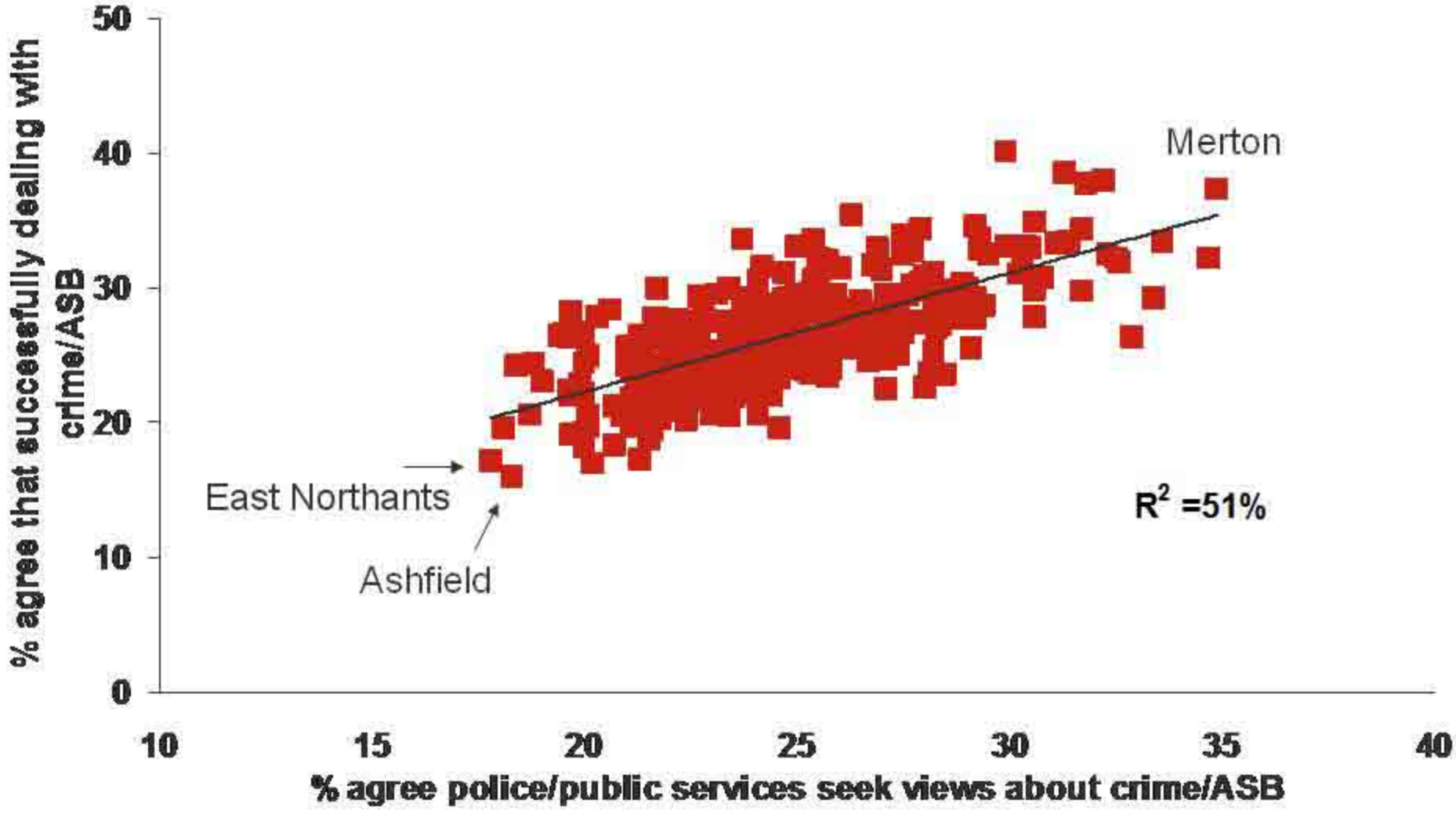
But in the end, evidence suggests that people taking more responsibility and getting involved can make a real difference...

Correlation between being involved in decision-making and happier patients



Source: NHS inpatient survey 2006

Those who feel consulted are also more likely to feel issues are being successfully dealt with

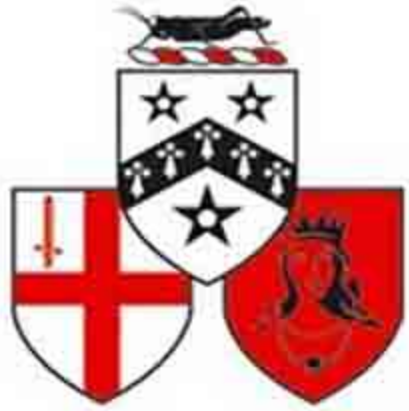


Base: All valid responses, Place Survey 2008/09 (Excludes City of London)

Source: Ipsos MORI

Thank you.
Questions?

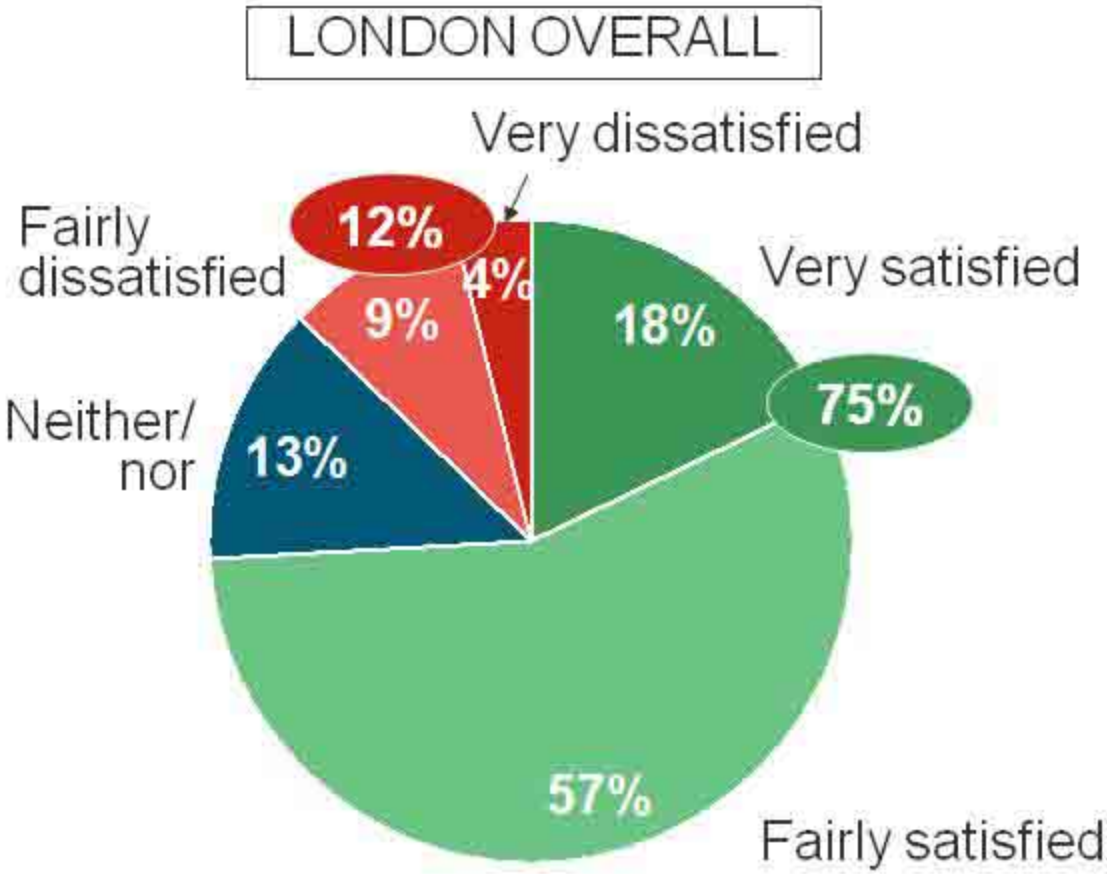
rmworcester@yahoo.com



GRESHAM COLLEGE

Satisfaction with the local area (NI 5)

Q Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your local area as a place to live?



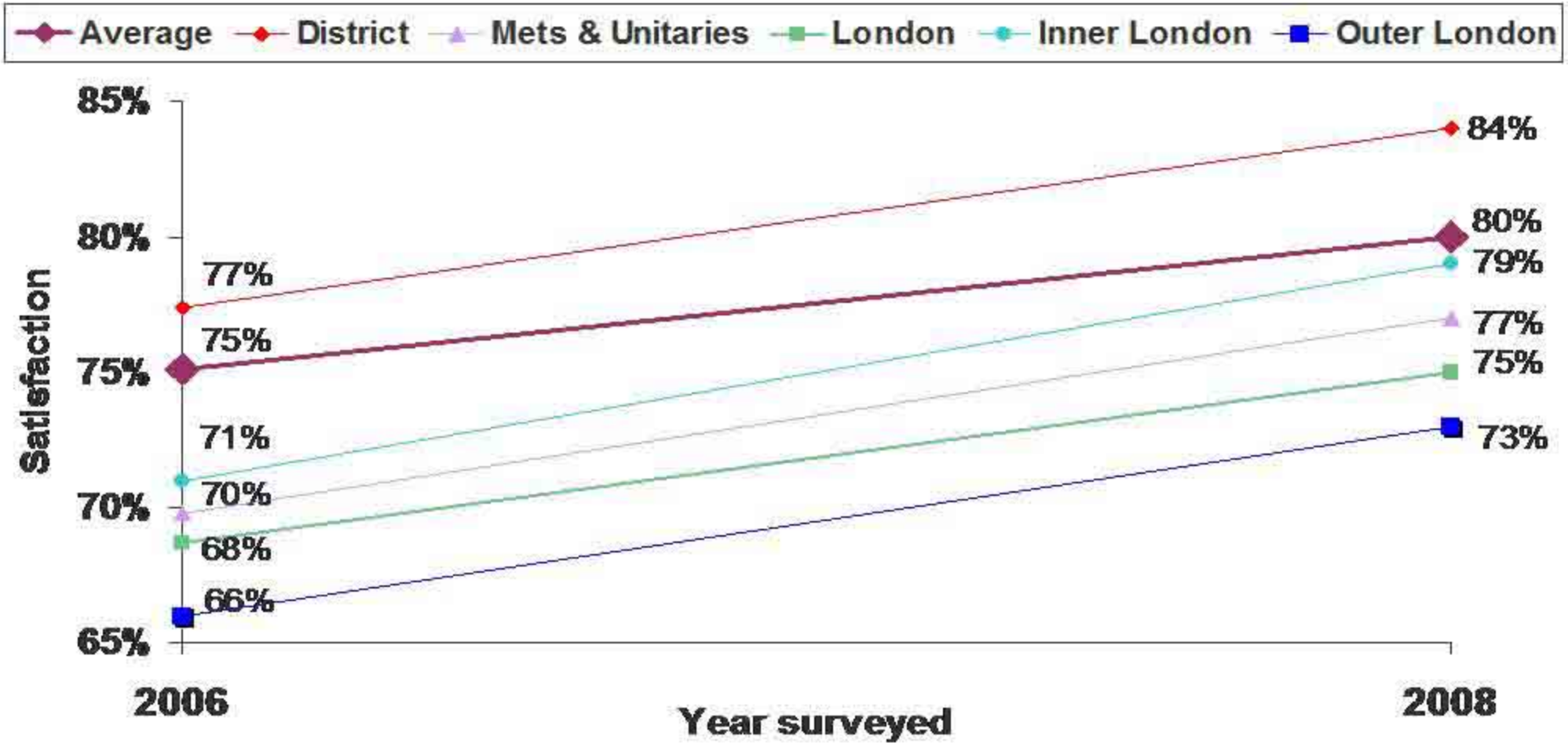
Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

	Sat. %	Dis. %
ENGLAND	80	n/a
London	75	12
Inner	79	10
Outer	73	14

Base: All valid responses (50,178); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Satisfaction with area over time

Q Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your local area as a place to live?

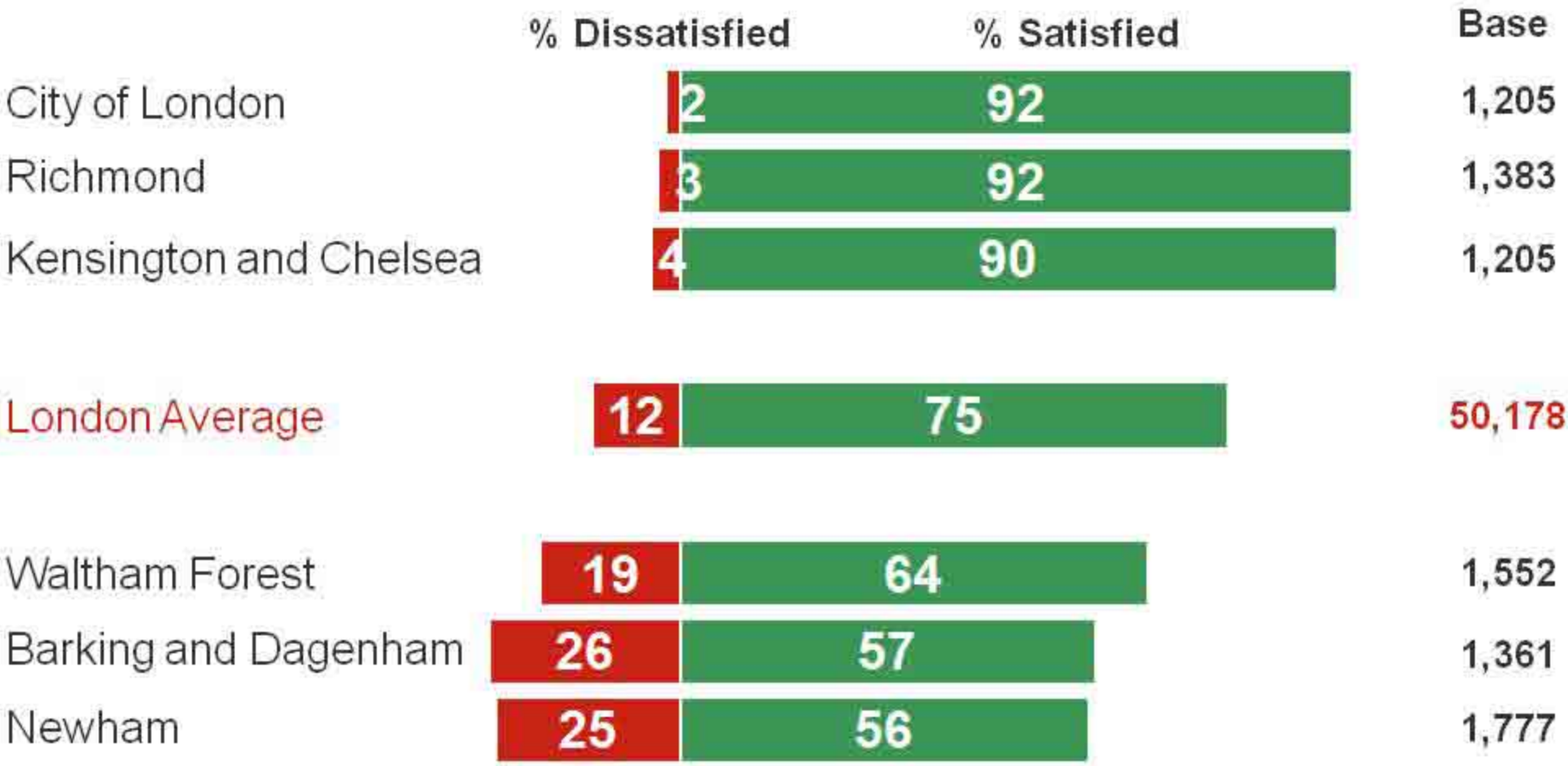


Base: Place Survey 2008/09 (352 local authorities), BVPI 2006 and 2003 (387 local authorities)

Source: Ipsos MORI

Satisfaction with the local area – variation between authorities

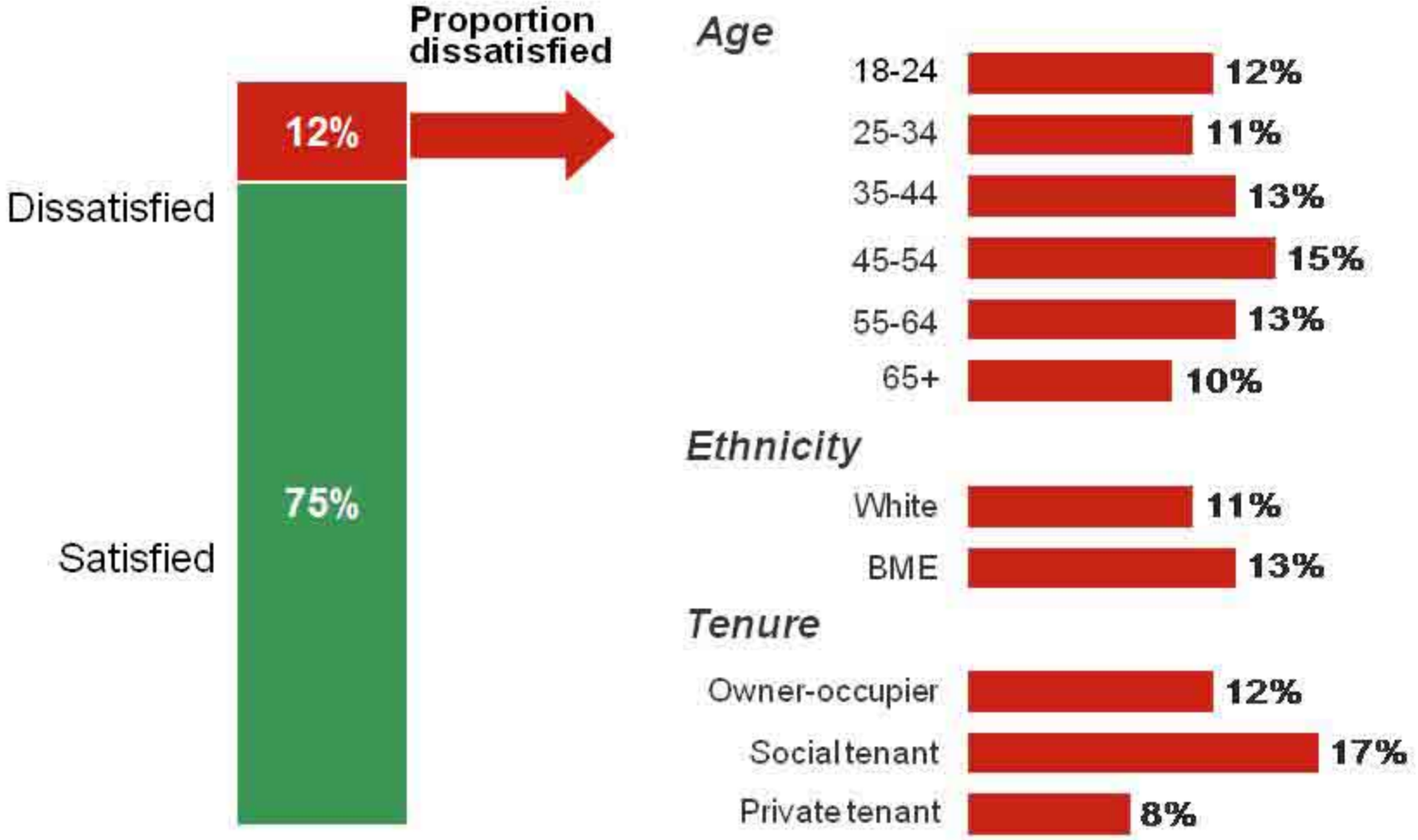
Q Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your local area as a place to live?



Base: valid responses; fieldwork: Oct- Dec 2008

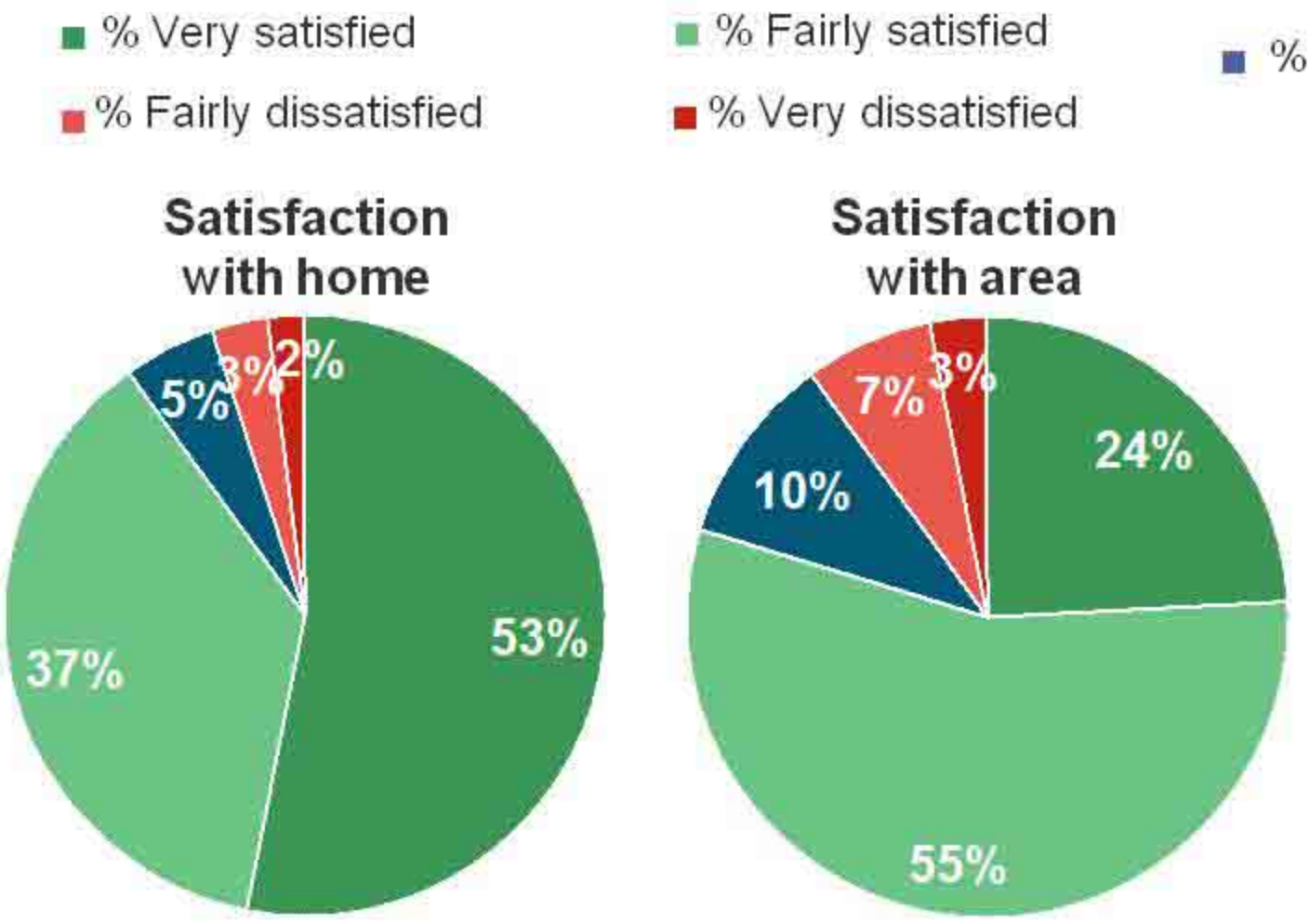
Dissatisfaction with area: key groups

Q Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your local area as a place to live?



Base: All valid responses (50,178); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

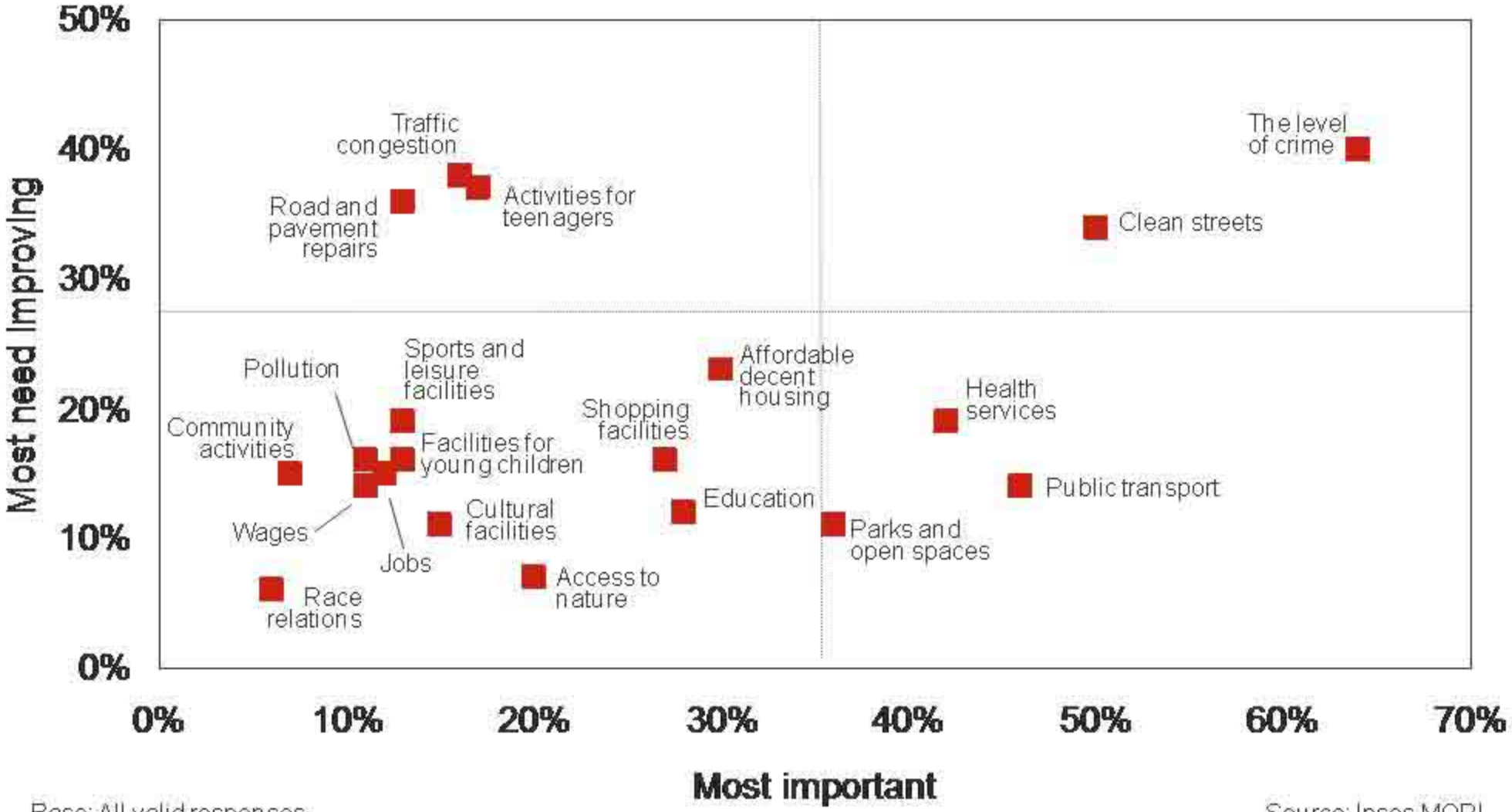
Satisfaction of people over 65 with both home and neighbourhood (NI 138)



% of people aged over 65 who are satisfied with both home and area

= 77.1%

Residents' priorities: what is important vs. what needs improving

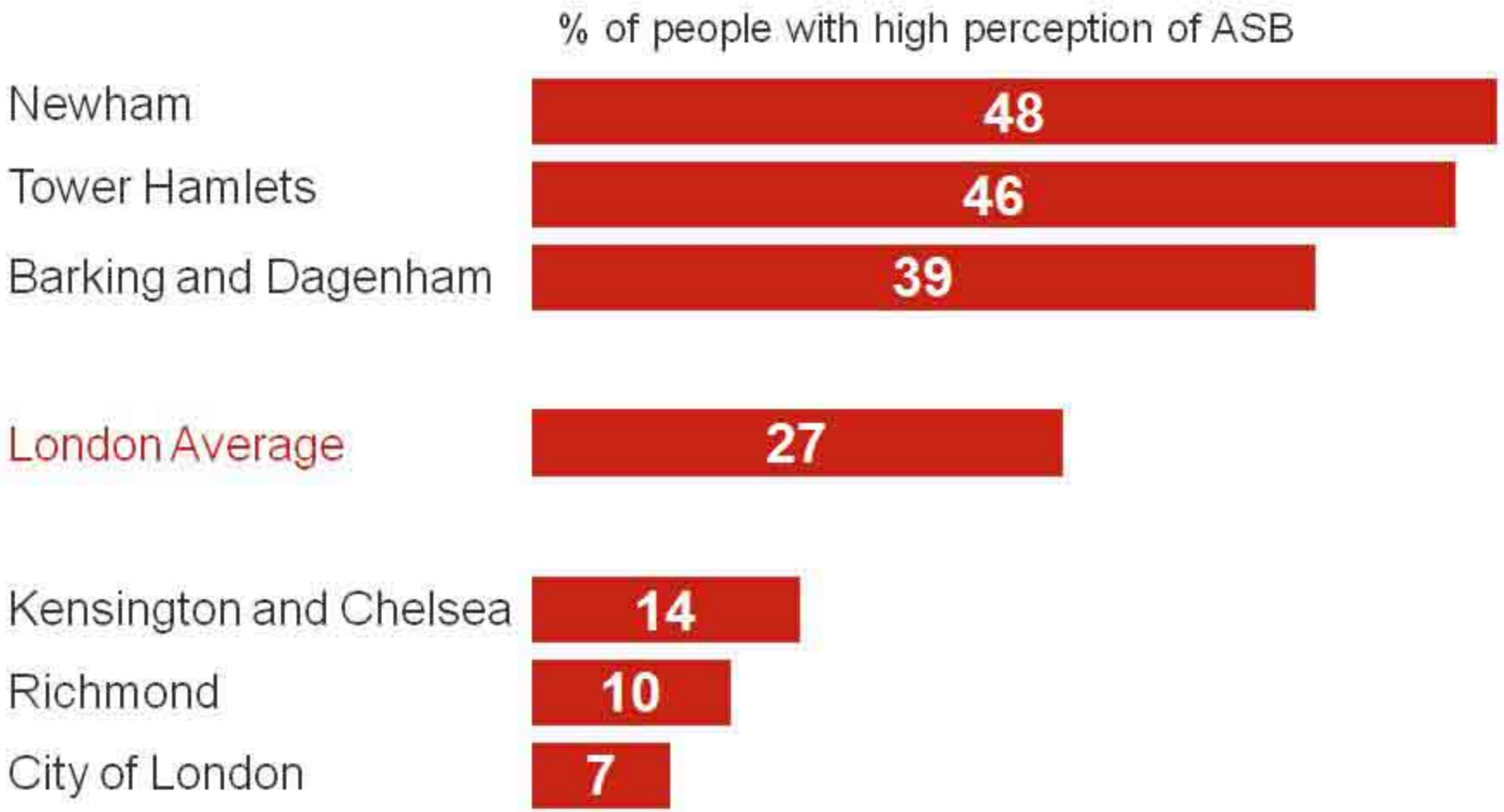


Base: All valid responses

Source: Ipsos MORI

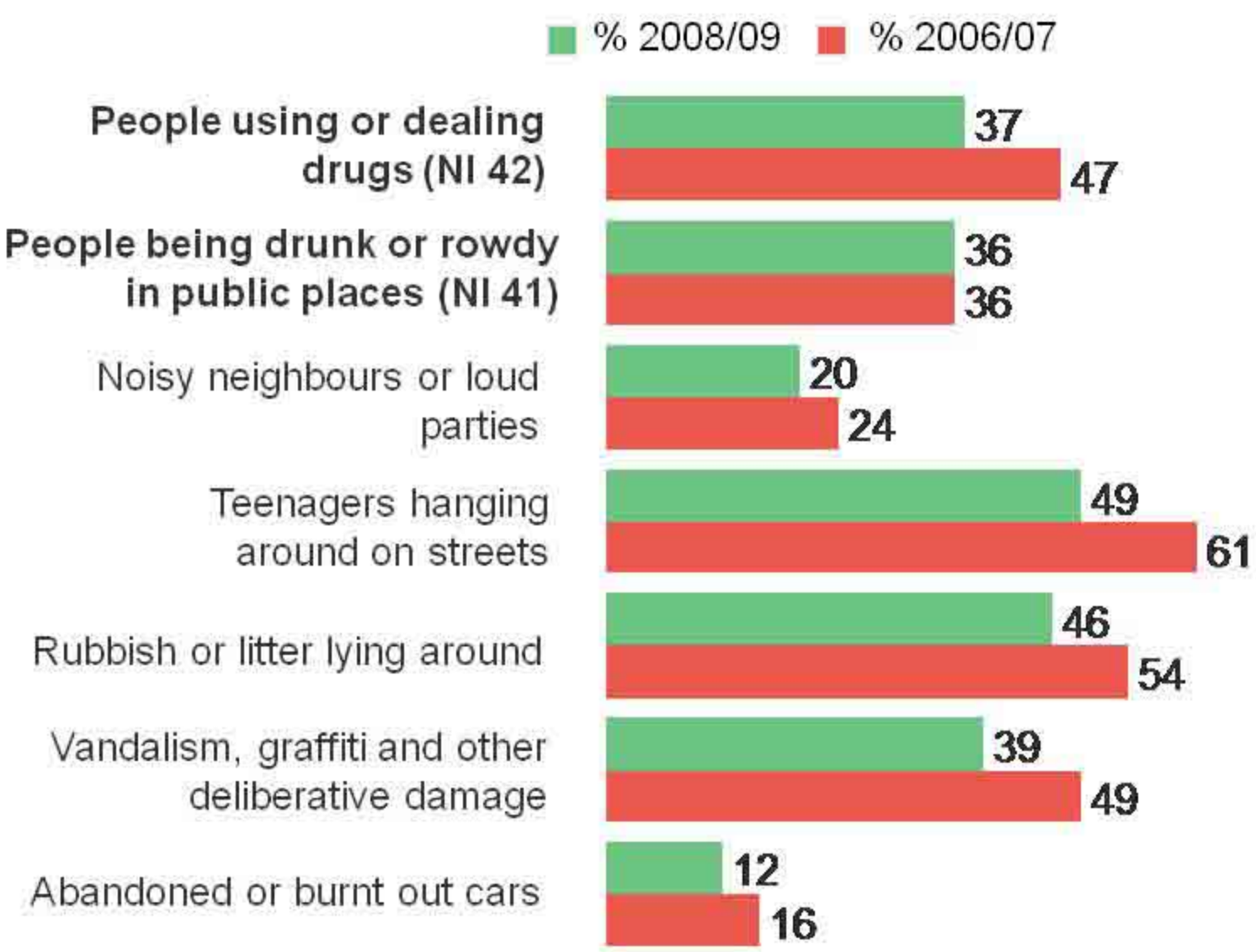
Perception of anti-social behaviour (NI 17)

Q Thinking about this local area, how much of a problem do you think each of the following are ....?



Base: All valid responses; fieldwork: Oct - Dec 2008

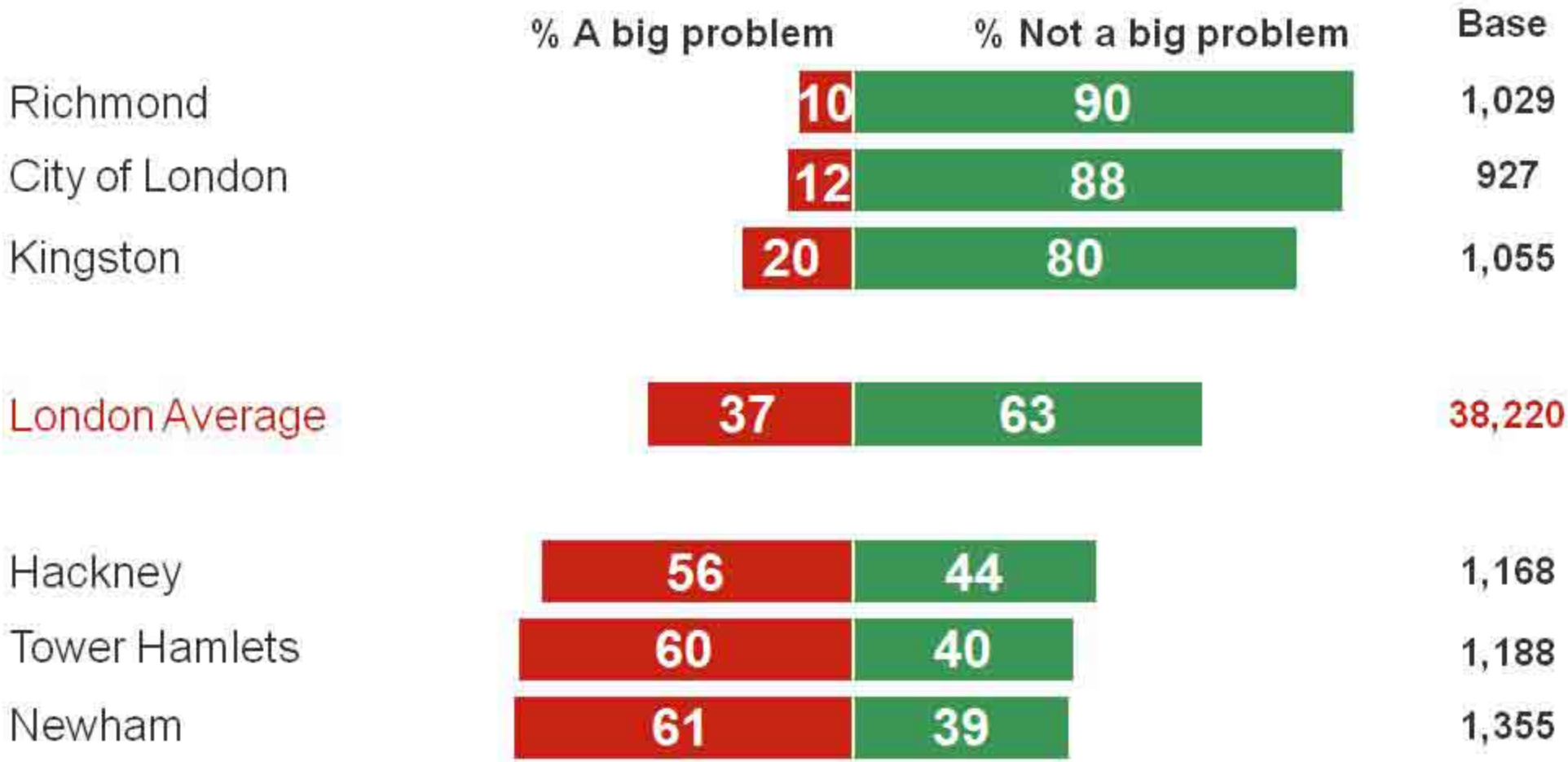
Perceptions of anti-social behaviour: Comparative data



Base: All valid responses

Problems with drugs (NI 42)

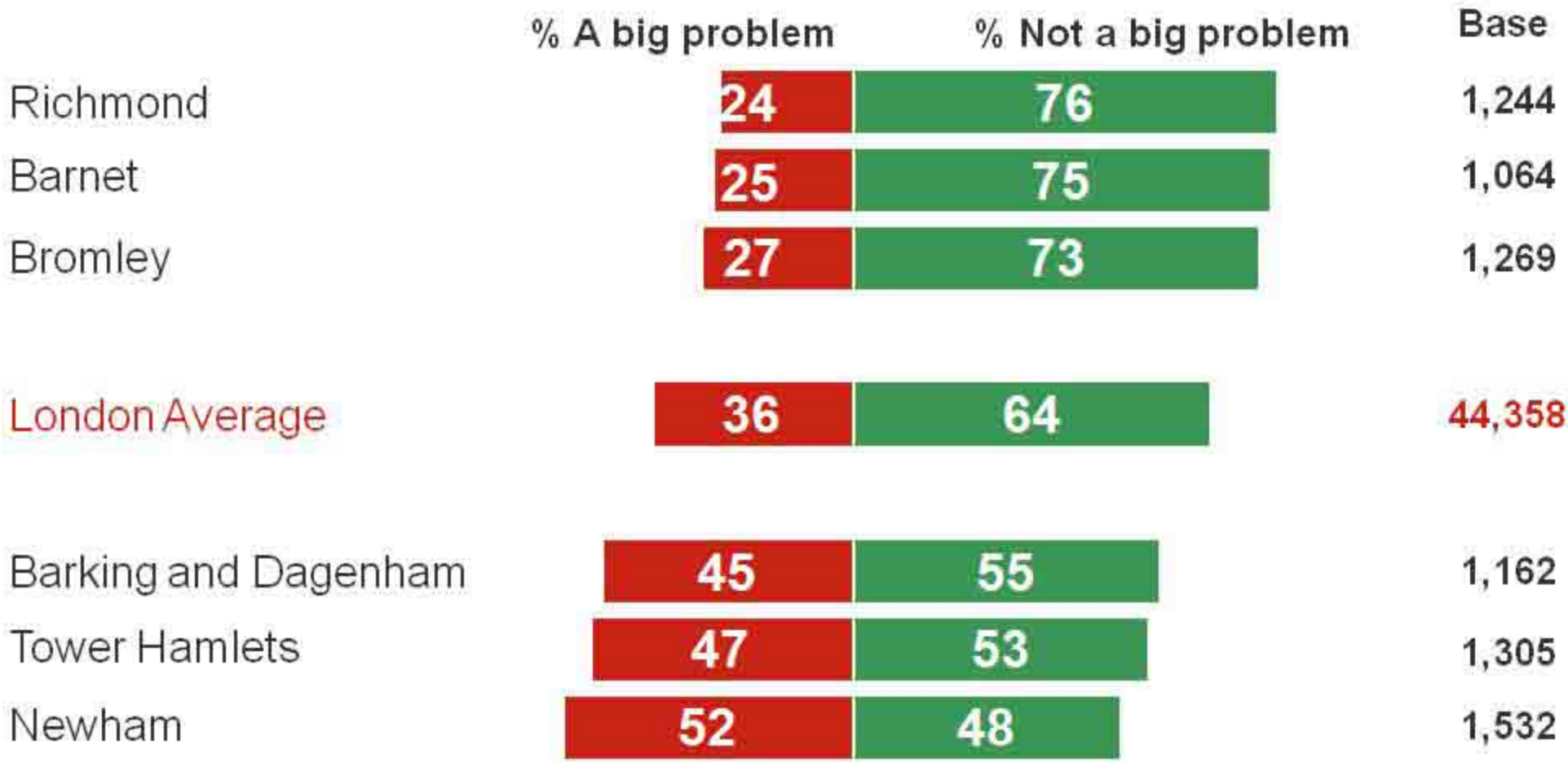
Q Thinking about this local area, how much of a problem do you think each of the following are ...people using or dealing drugs?



Base: All valid responses; fieldwork: Oct - Dec 2008

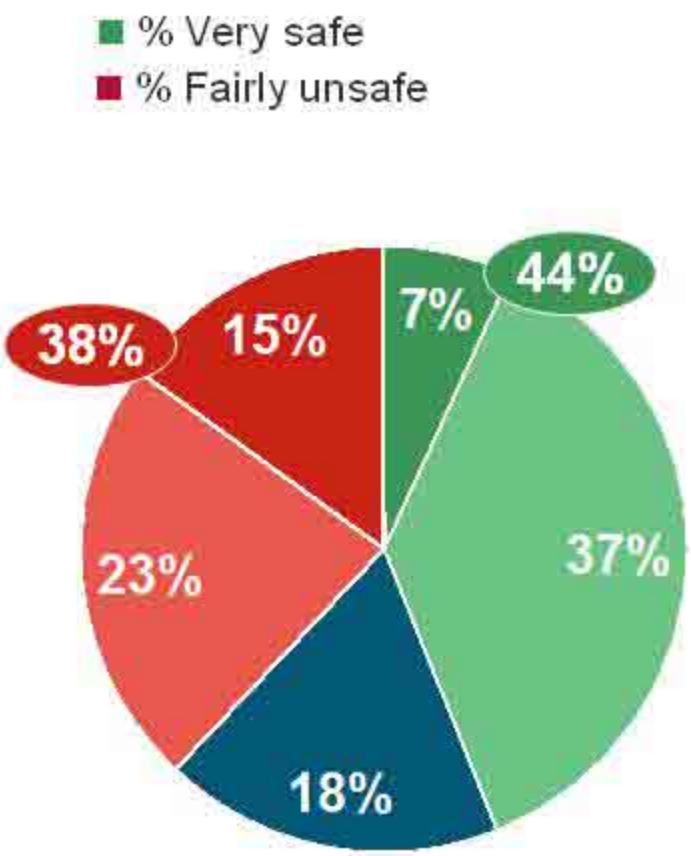
Problems with drunkenness (NI 41)

Q Thinking about this local area, how much of a problem do you think each of the following are ....drunk or rowdy behaviour in public places?

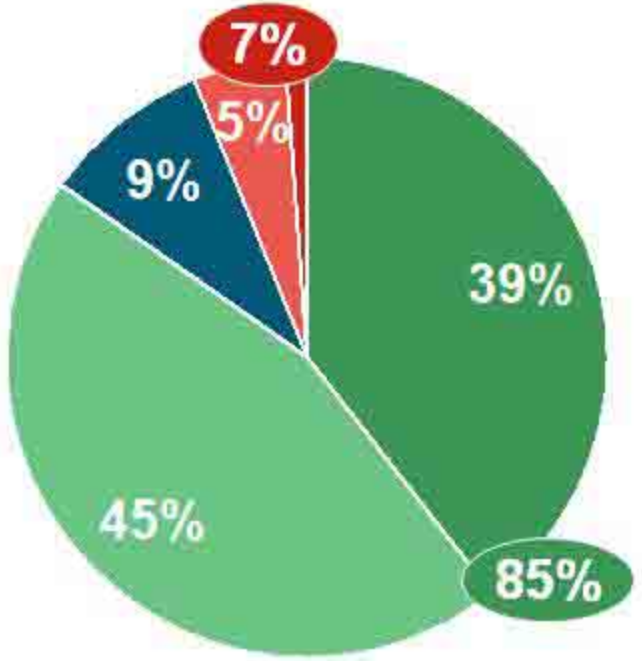


Base: All valid responses; fieldwork: Oct - Dec 2008

Feeling safe or unsafe in the local area



Base: All valid responses (47,871)

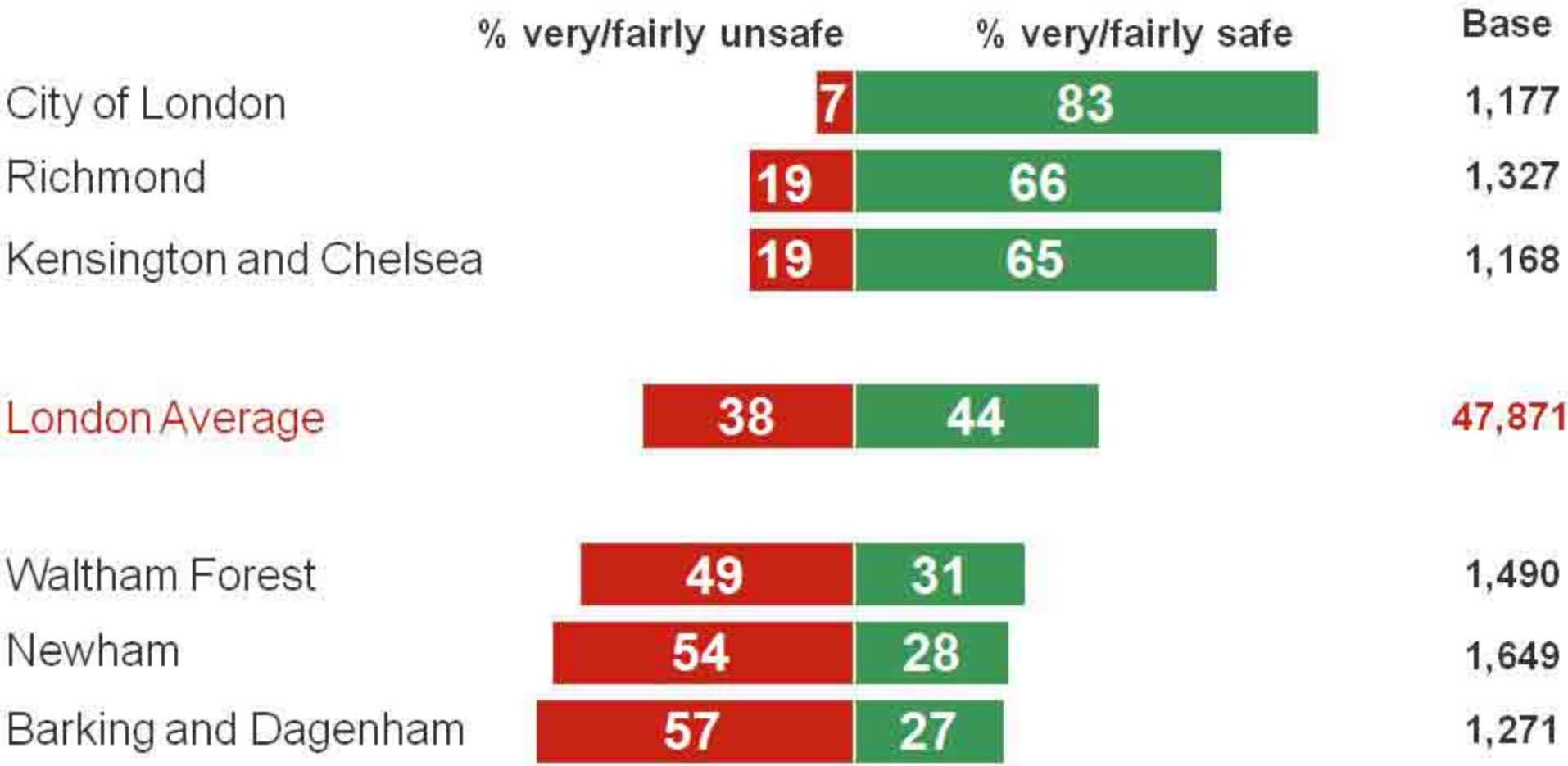


Base: All valid responses (47,373)

Source: Ipsos MORI

Feeling safe after dark – variation

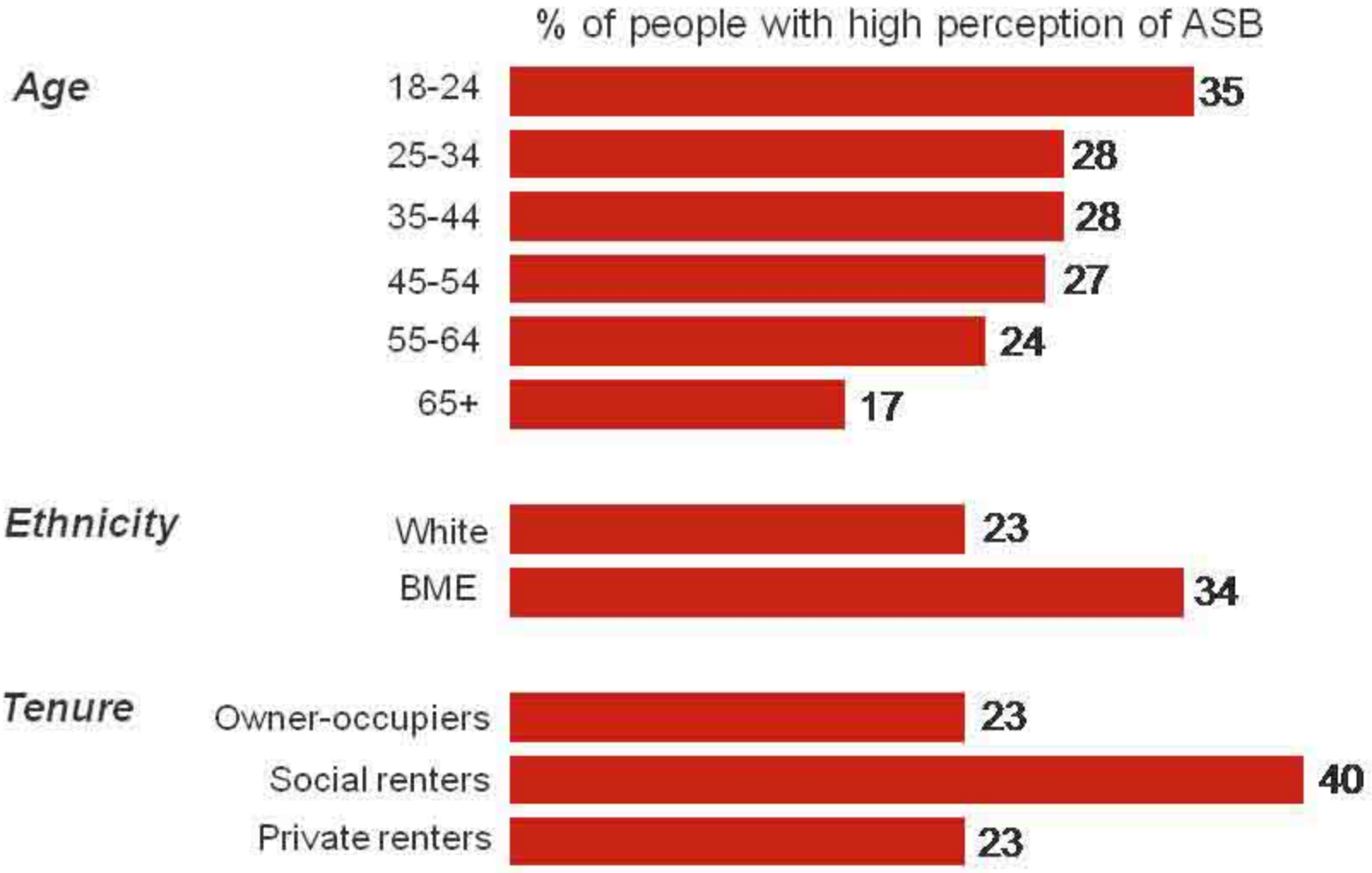
Q How safe or unsafe do you feel when outside in your local area after dark?



Base: All valid responses; fieldwork: Oct - Dec 2008

Perception of anti-social behaviour

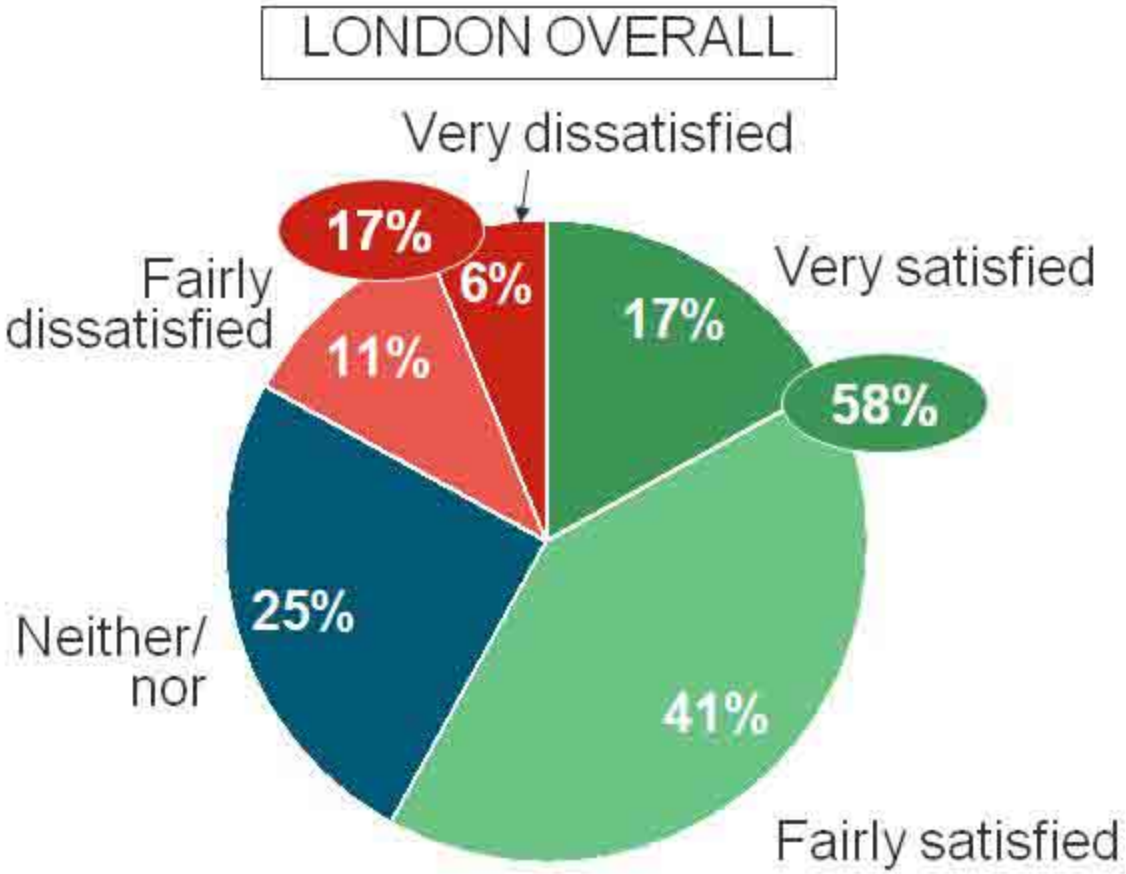
Q Thinking about this local area, how much of a problem do you think each of the following are ....?



Base: All valid responses; fieldwork: Oct- Dec 2008

Satisfaction with the police

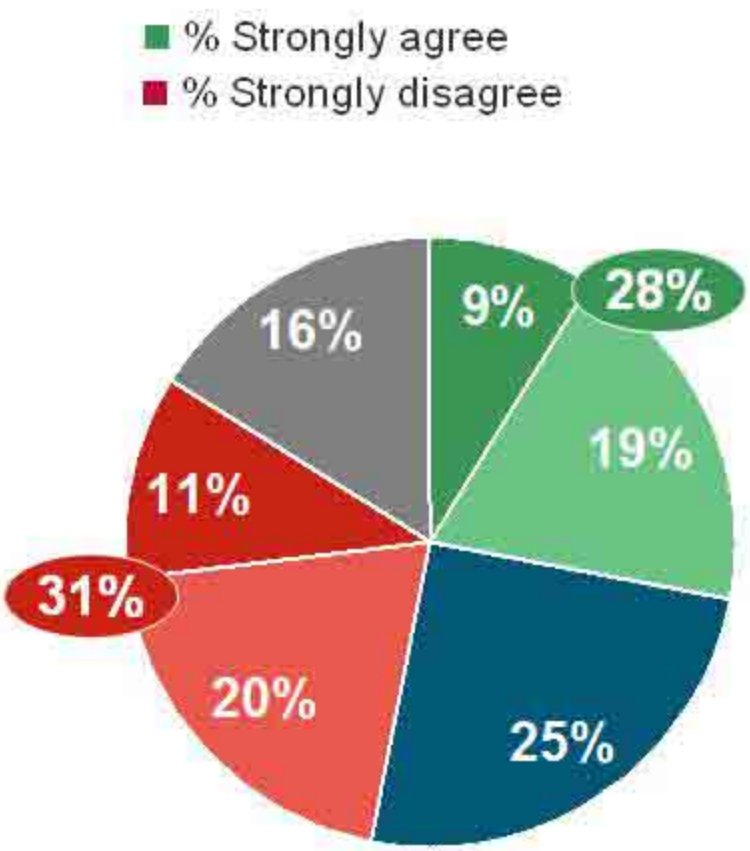
Q Please indicate how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of the following public services in your local area.... Metropolitan Police



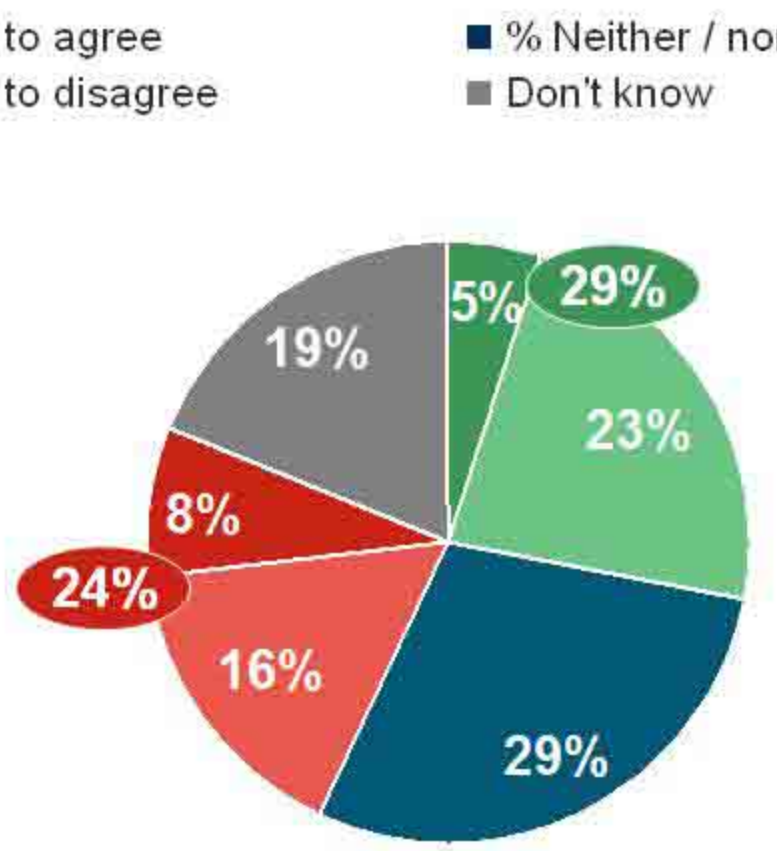
	Sat.	Dis.
	%	%
LONDON	58	17
Inner	58	17
Outer	58	17

Base: All valid responses (41,613); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Police, public services and ASB



Base: All valid responses (47,538)



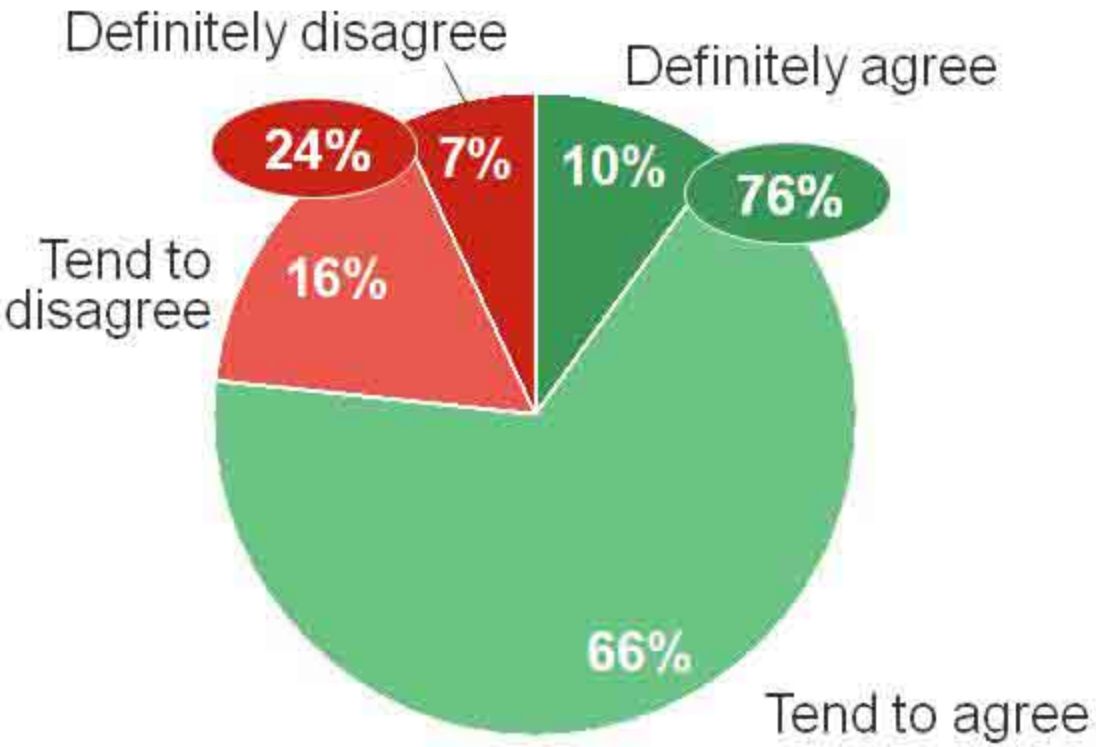
Base: All valid responses (46,365)

Source: Ipsos MORI

Different backgrounds getting on together (NI 1)

Q To what extent do you agree or disagree that your local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together?

LONDON OVERALL



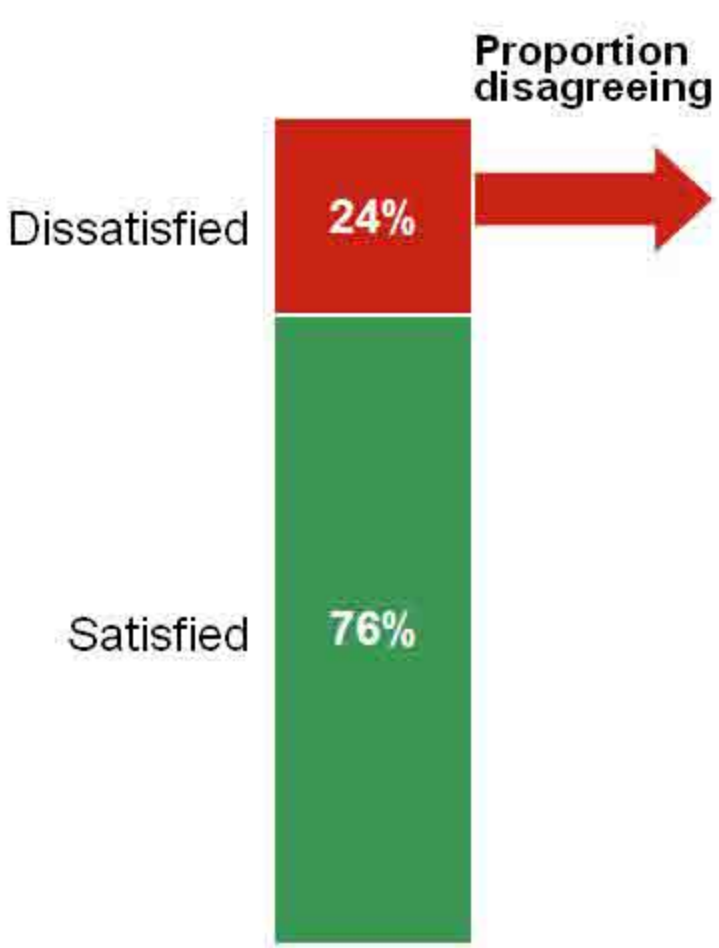
Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

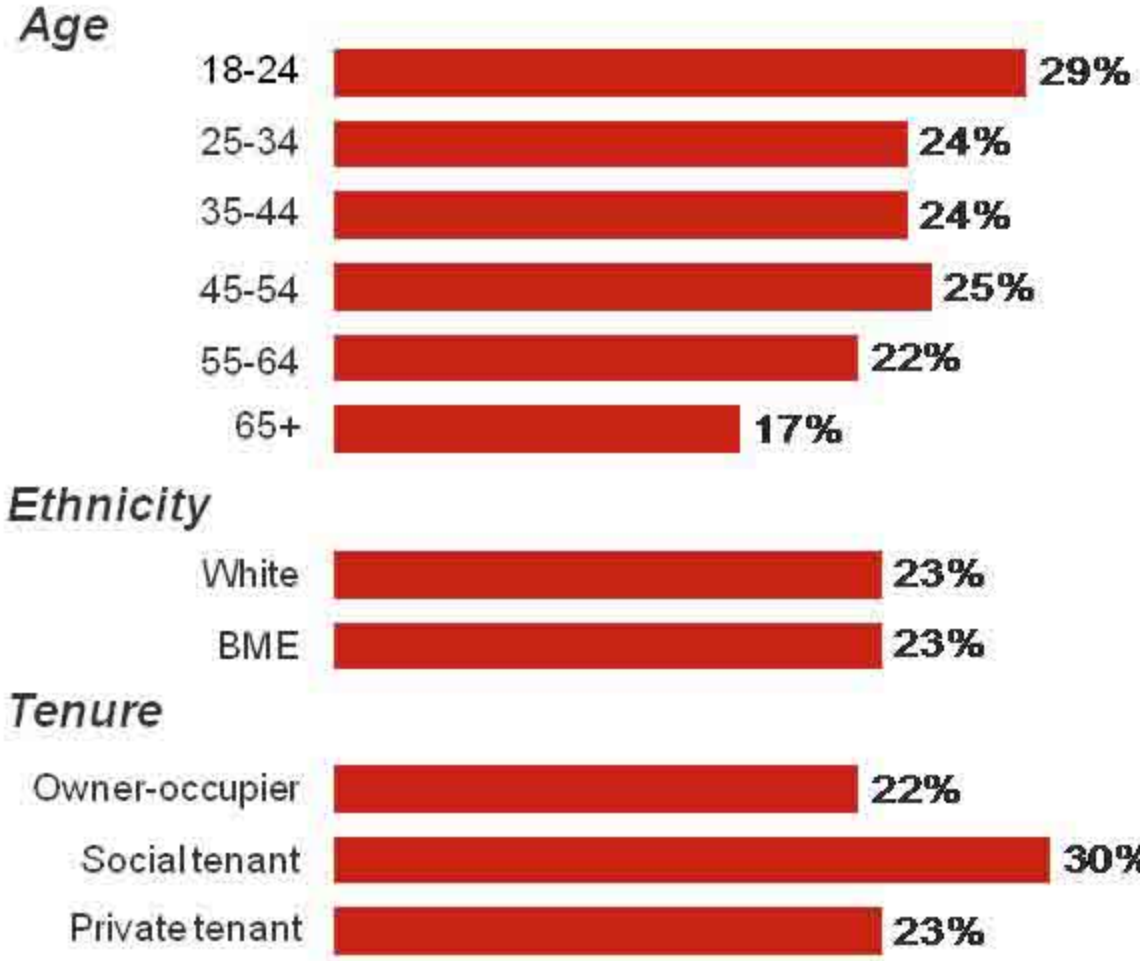
	Agree	Disagree
	%	%
ENGLAND	76	24
London	76	24
Inner	78	22
Outer	75	25

Base: All valid responses (39,836); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Different background getting on: key groups

Q Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your local area as a place to live?



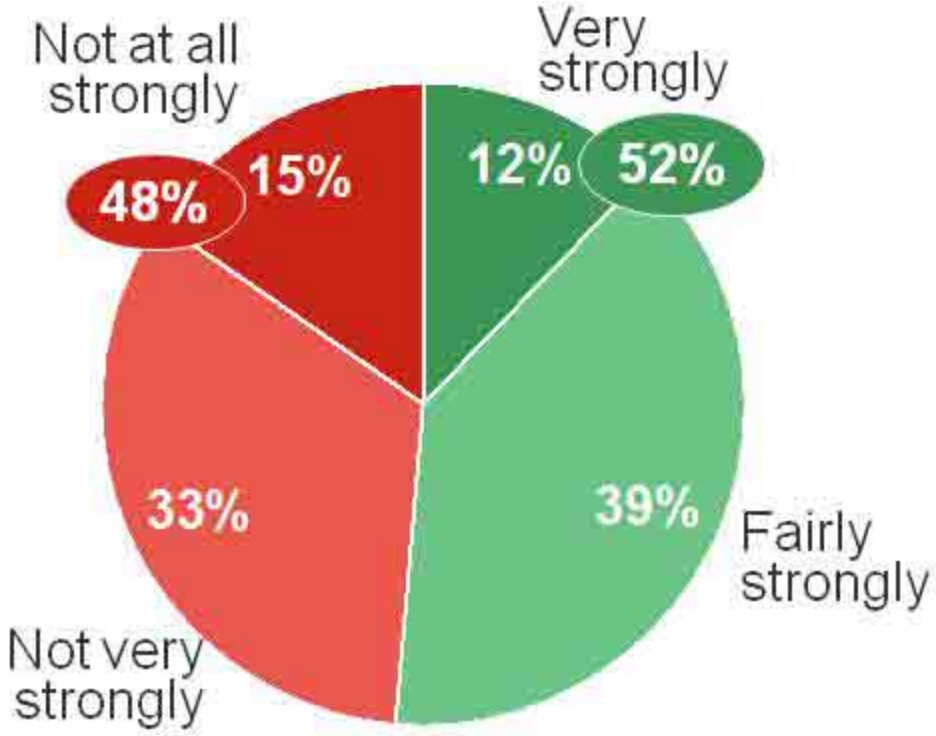


Base: All valid responses (39,836); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Identification with the neighbourhood (NI 2)

Q How strongly do you feel you belong to your immediate neighbourhood?

LONDON OVERALL



Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

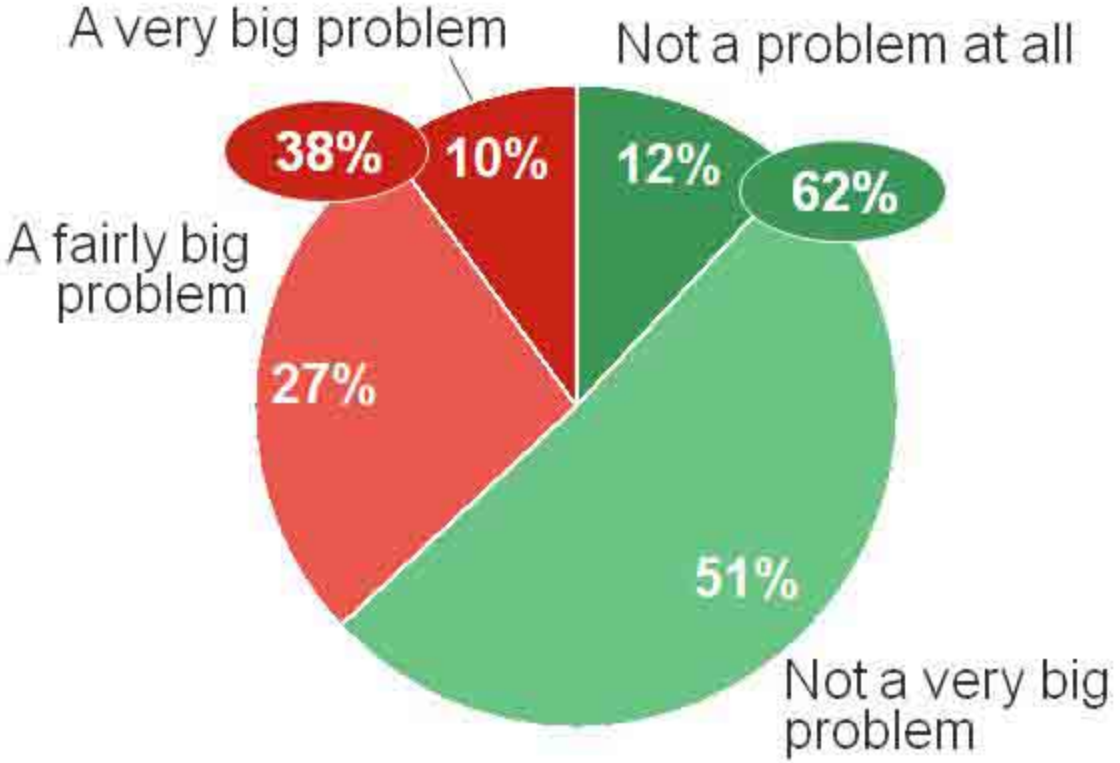
	Strongly	Not strongly
	%	%
ENGLAND	59	41
London	52	48
Inner	51	49
Outer	53	47

Base: All valid responses (47,509); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Respect and consideration (NI 23)

Q In your local area, how much of a problem do you think there is with people not treating each other with respect and consideration?

LONDON OVERALL



Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

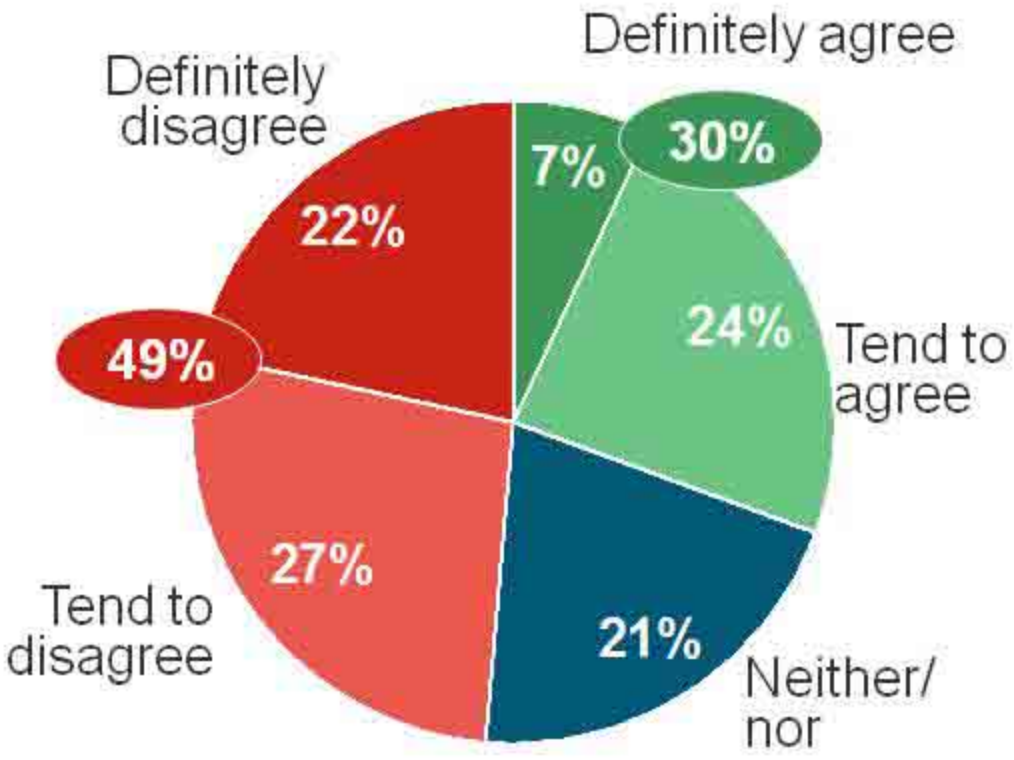
	Problem	Not problem
	%	%
ENGLAND	31	69
London	38	62
Inner	40	60
Outer	36	60

Base: All valid responses (44,796); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Parental responsibility (NI 22)

Q To what extent do you agree or disagree that in your local area, parents take enough responsibility for the behaviour of their children?

LONDON OVERALL



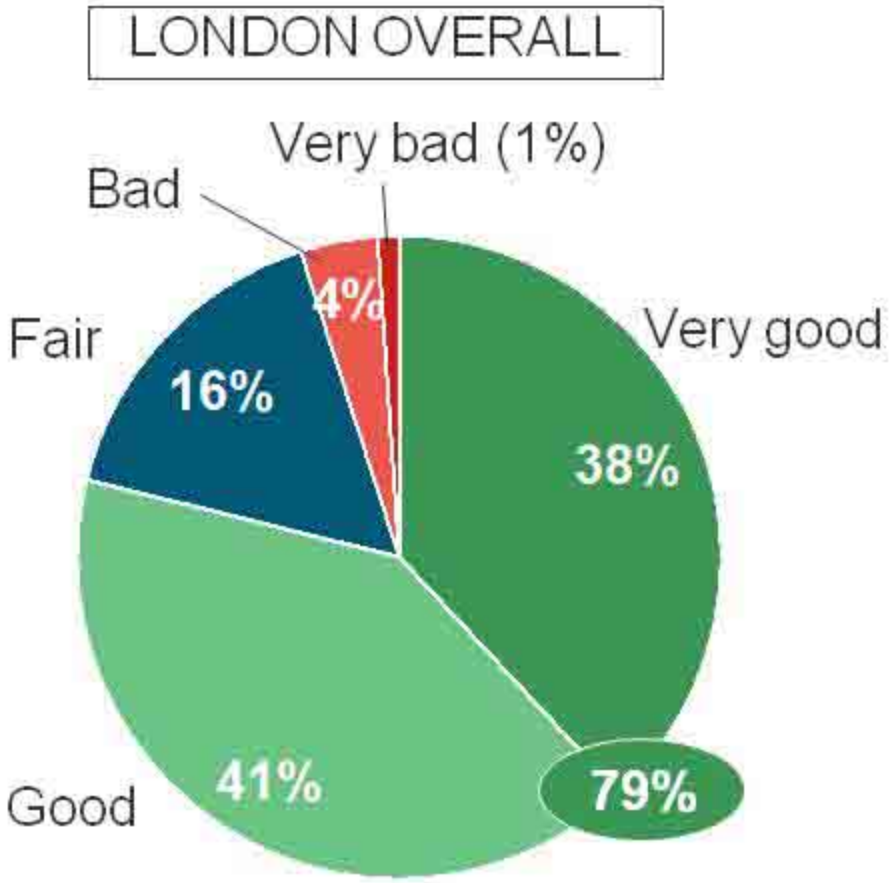
Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

	Agree	Disagree
	%	%
ENGLAND	30	51
London	30	49
Inner	29	50
Outer	31	49

Base: All valid responses (45,024); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Quality of health (NI 119)

Q How is your health in general? Would you say it is …



Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

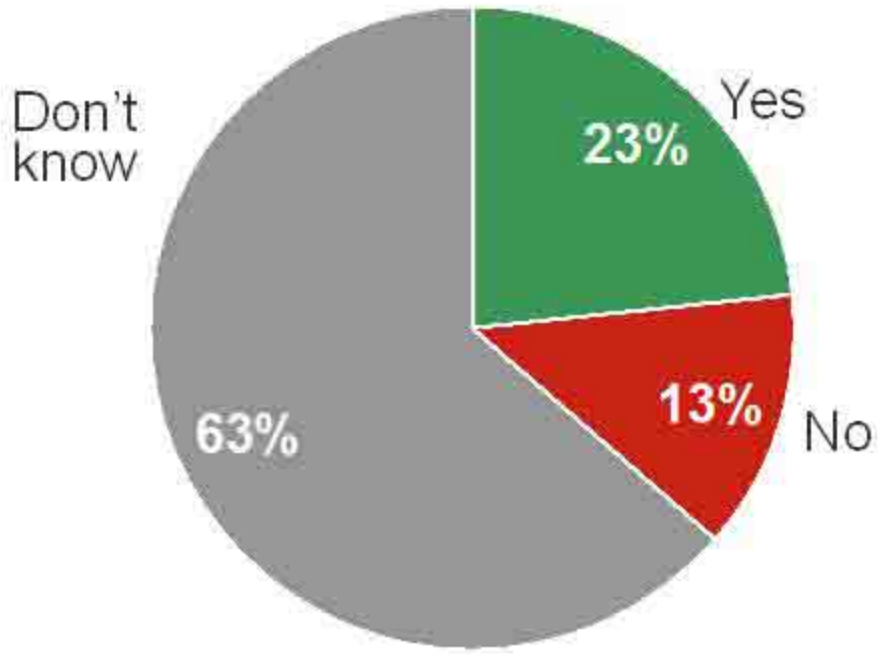
	Good	Bad
	%	%
ENGLAND	76	n/a
London	79	4
Inner	81	5
Outer	78	4

Base: All valid responses (48,974); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Services for older people (NI 139)

Q In your opinion, are older people in your local area able to get the services and support they need to continue to live as long at home as they want to?

LONDON OVERALL



Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

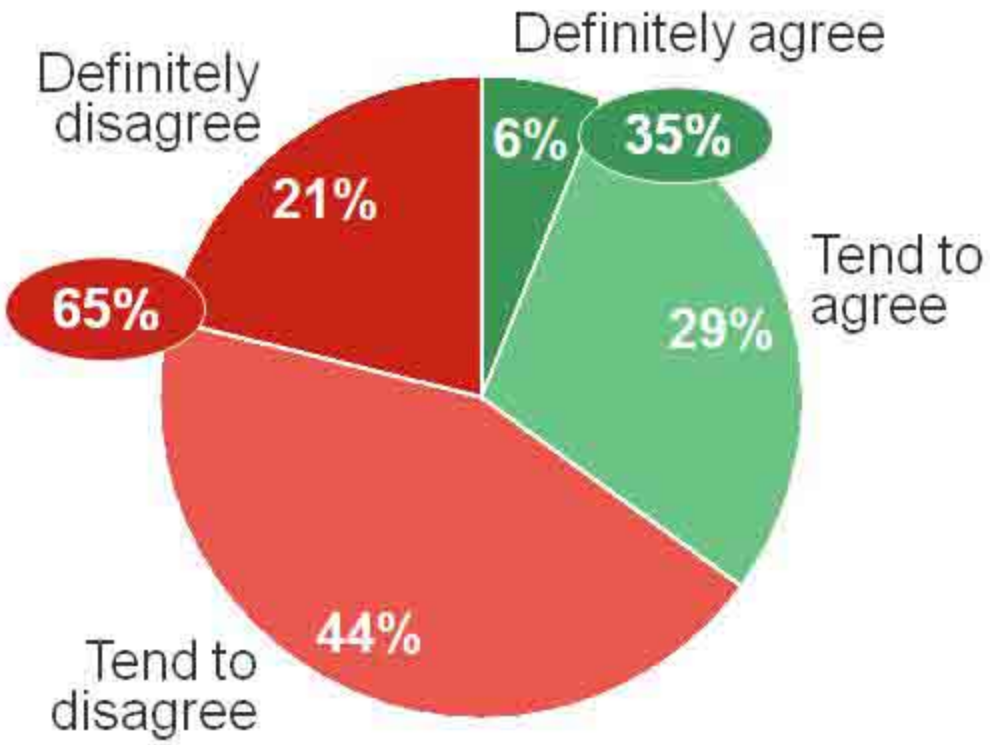
	Yes	No
	%	%
ENGLAND	30	n/a
London	23	13
Inner	21	12
Outer	25	14

Base: All valid responses (49,210); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Influence over local decisions (NI 4)

Q Do you agree or disagree that you can influence decisions affecting your local area?

LONDON OVERALL



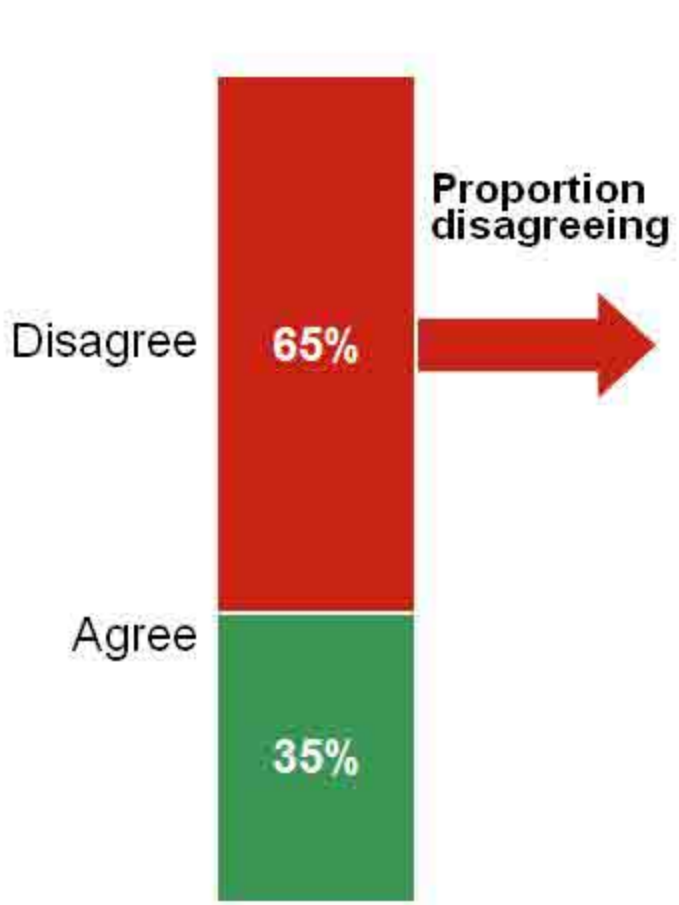
Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

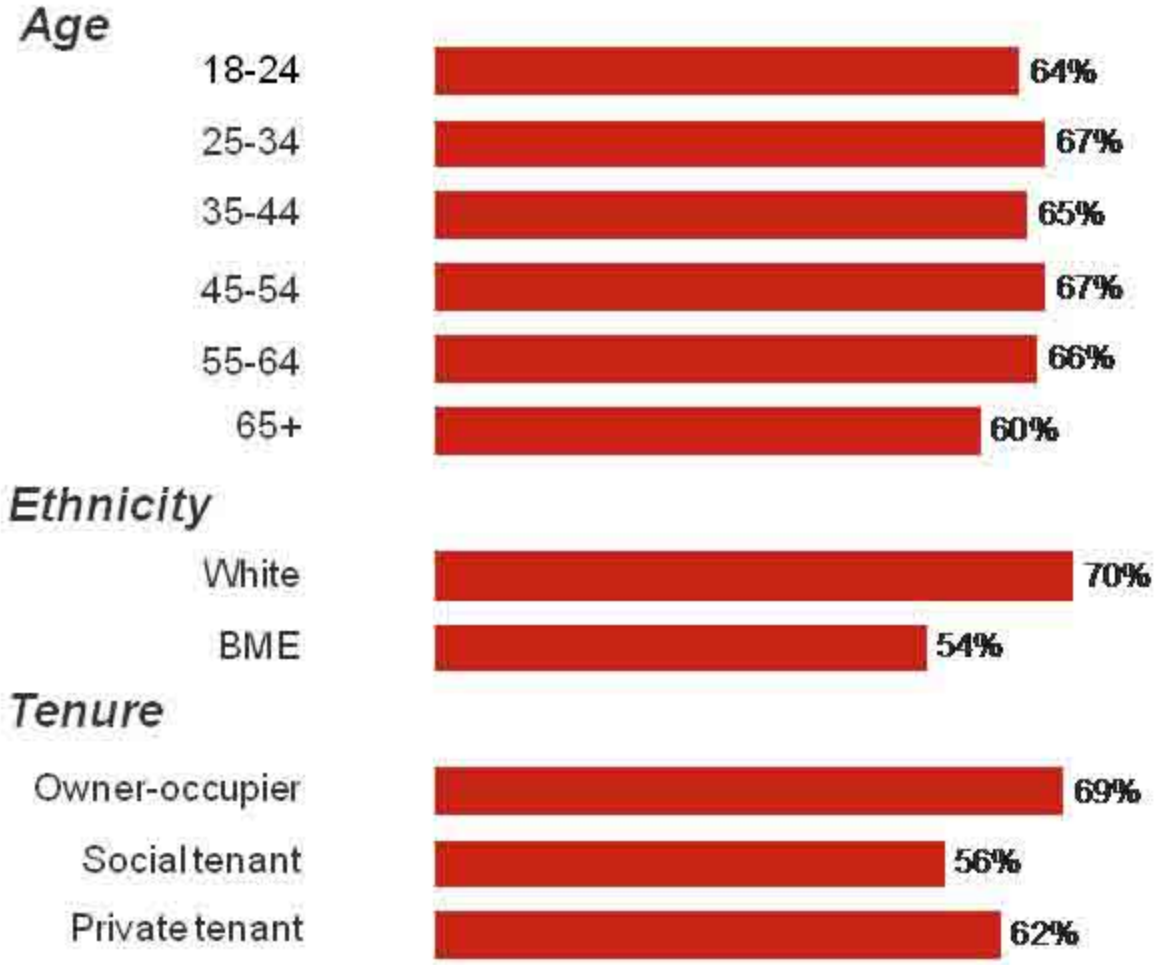
	Agree	Disagree
	%	%
ENGLAND	29	71
London	35	65
Inner	37	63
Outer	34	66

Base: All valid responses (41,950); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Influencing local decisions - variations

Q Do you agree or disagree that you influence decisions affecting your local area?



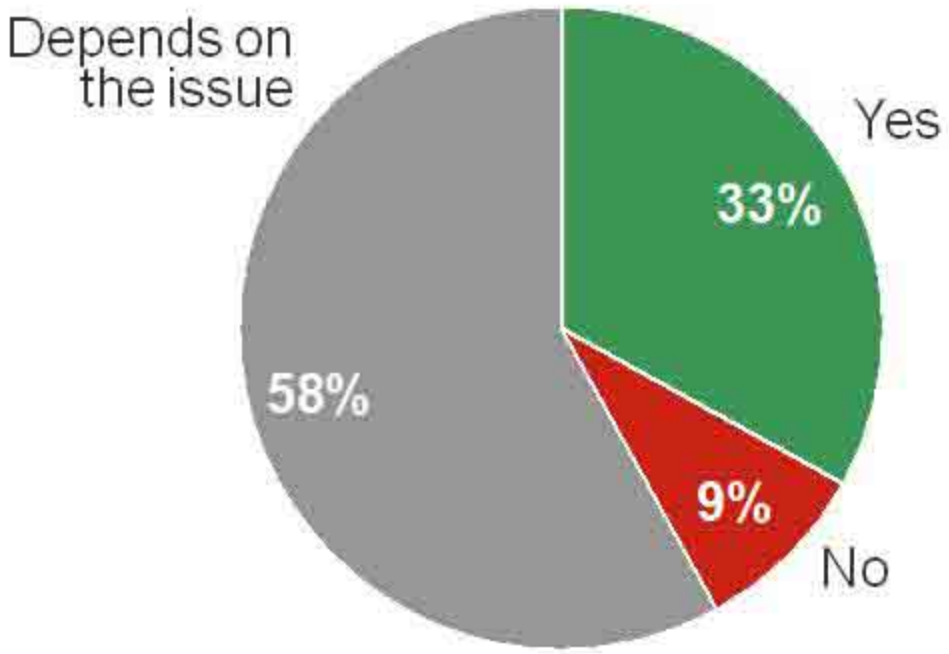


Base: All valid responses (41,950); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Involvement in local decisions

Q Generally speaking, would like to be more involved in decisions affecting your local area?

LONDON OVERALL

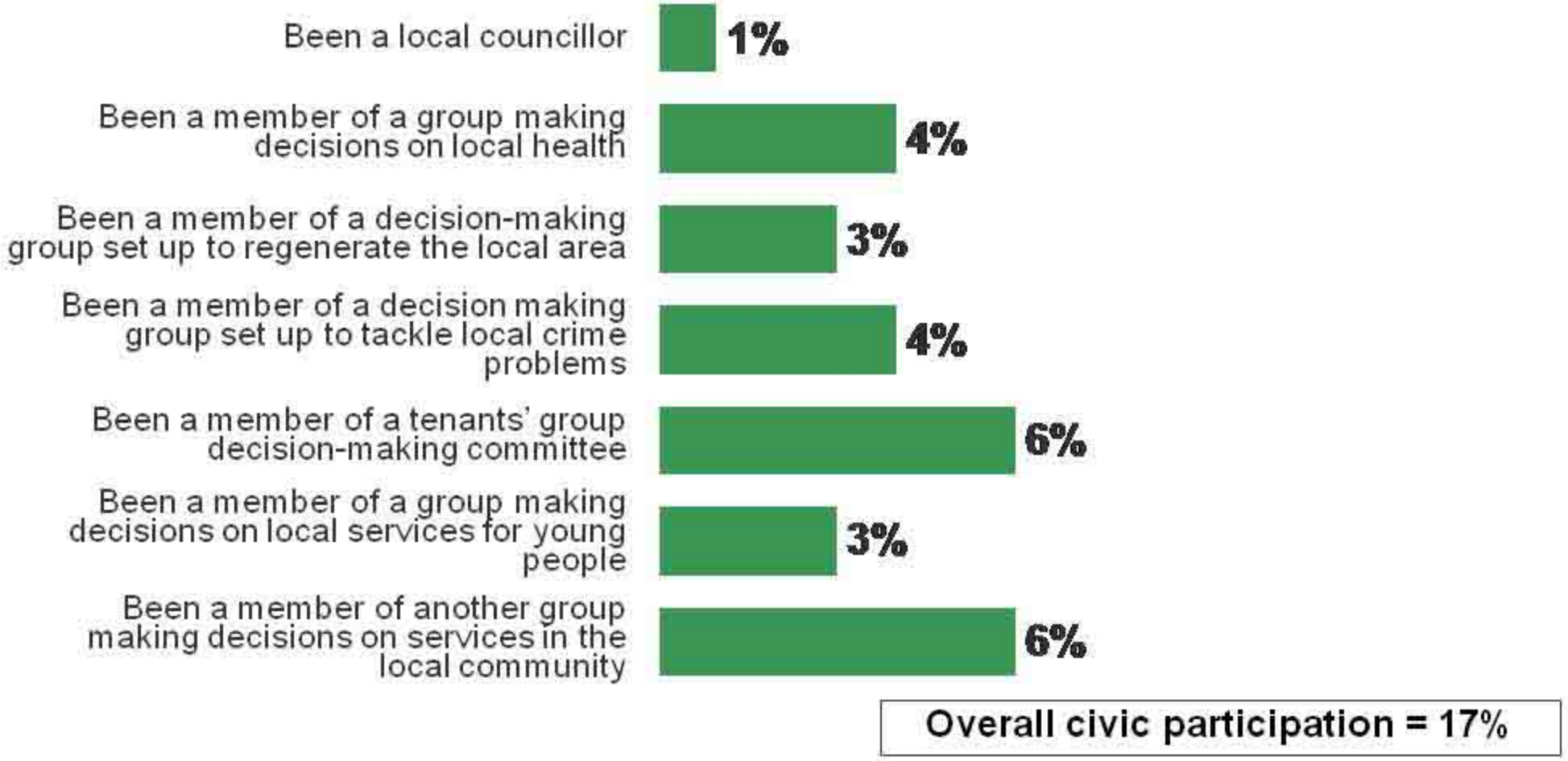


Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

	Yes	No
	%	%
ENGLAND	27	n/a
London	33	9
Inner	34	9
Outer	32	9

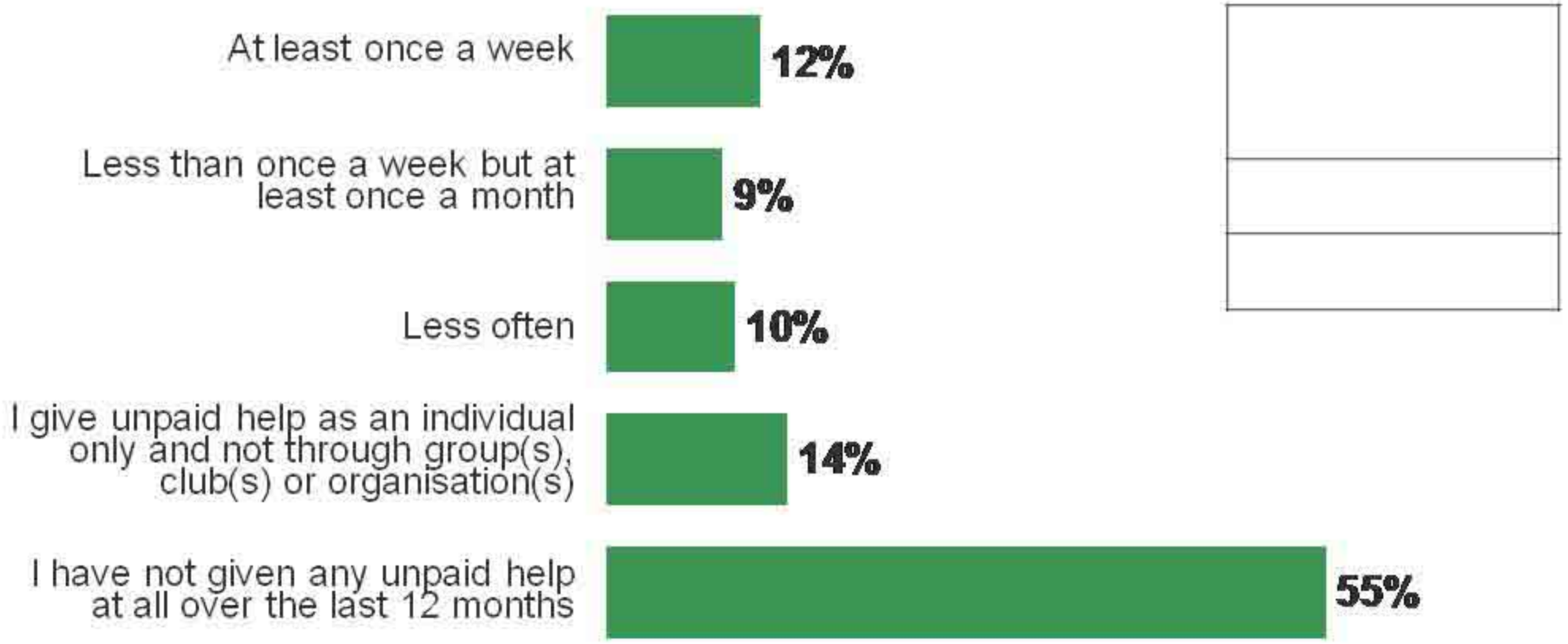
Base: All valid responses (47,144); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Civic participation in the local area (NI 3)



Base: All valid responses, fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008. *Civic participation (NI3) is % of respondents who take part in at least one of any of the activities in last 12 months

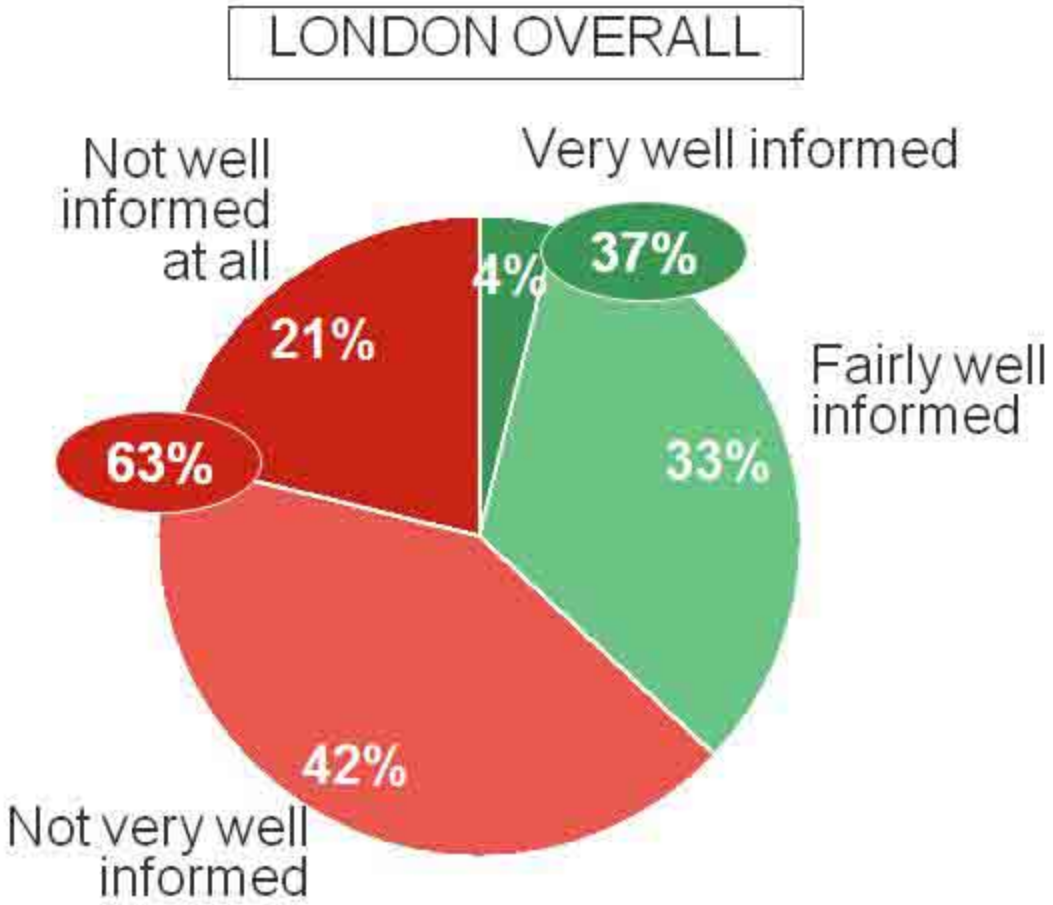
Unpaid voluntary work (NI 6)



Base: All valid responses (43,658); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008. * Regular voluntary work is defined as doing voluntary at least once a month over the last 12 months

Informed about public services

Q Overall, how well informed do you feel about local public services?



Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

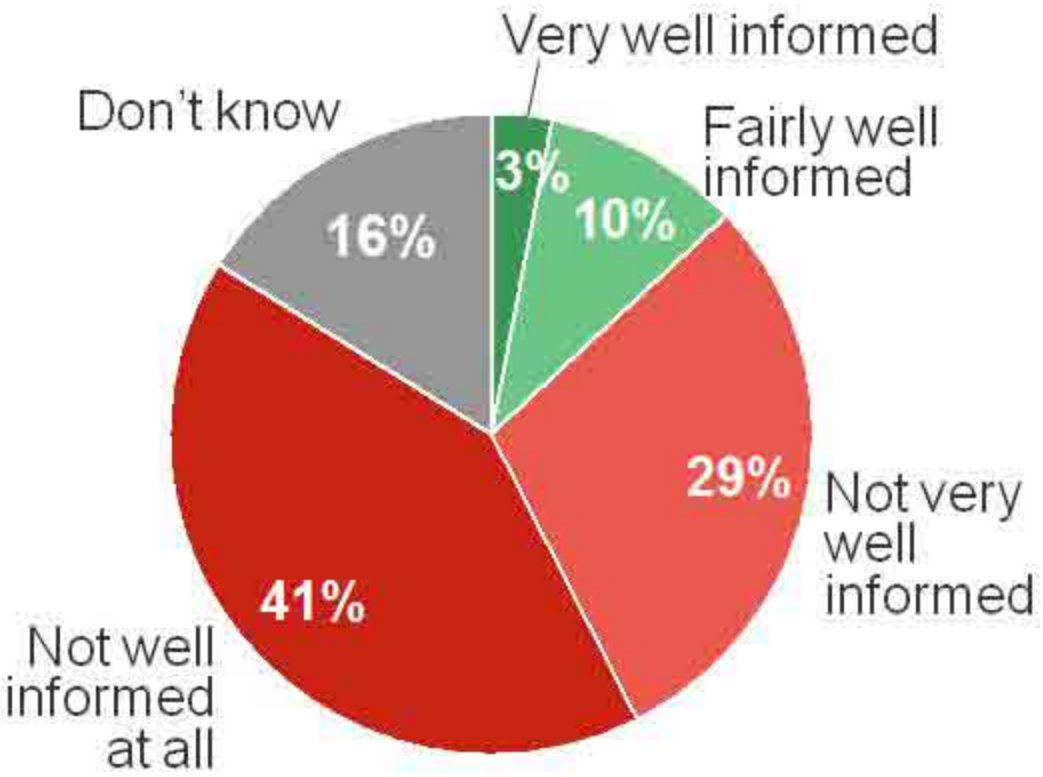
	Informed	Not informed
	%	%
ENGLAND	39	61
London	37	63
Inner	39	61
Outer	36	64

Base: All valid responses (46,849); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Informed about emergency procedures (NI 37)

Q How well informed do you feel about each of the following….what to do in the event of a large scale emergency, e.g. flooding, human pandemic flu?

LONDON OVERALL



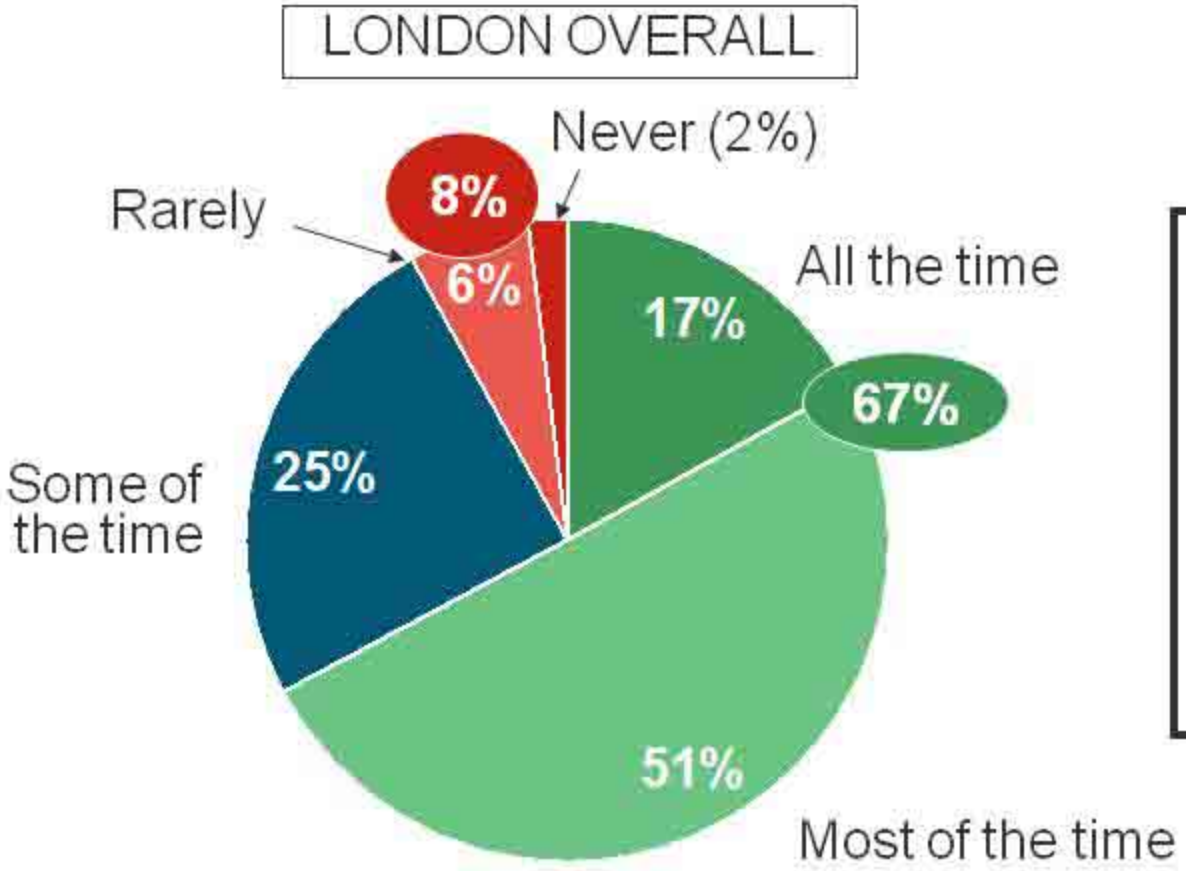
Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

	Informed	Not informed
	%	%
ENGLAND	15	n/a
London	14	71
Inner	13	72
Outer	14	70

Base: All valid responses (49,072); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Treated with respect by public services (NI 140)

Q In the last year, would you say you have treated with respect and consideration by your local public services... ?

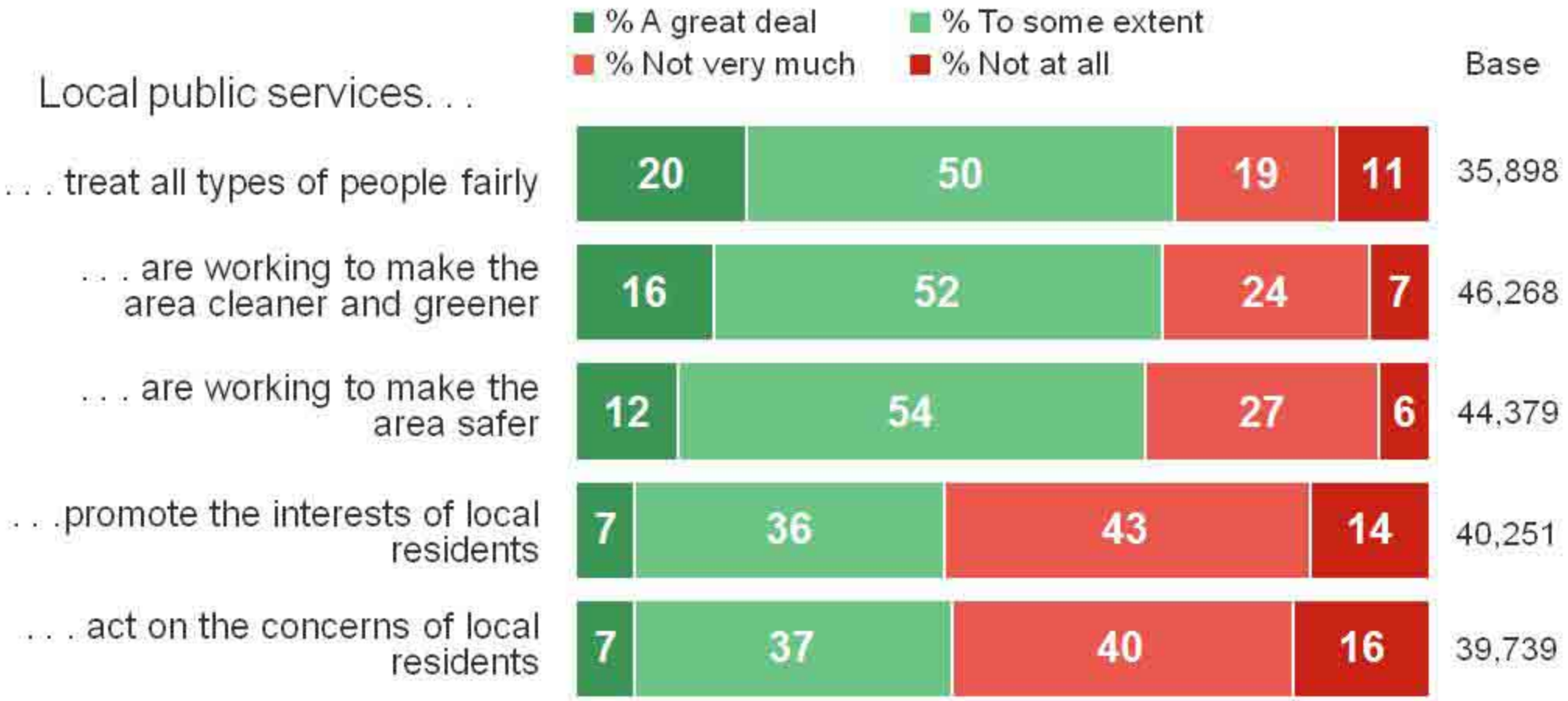


Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

	Sat. %	Dis. %
ENGLAND	72	n/a
London	67	8
Inner	69	8
Outer	66	8

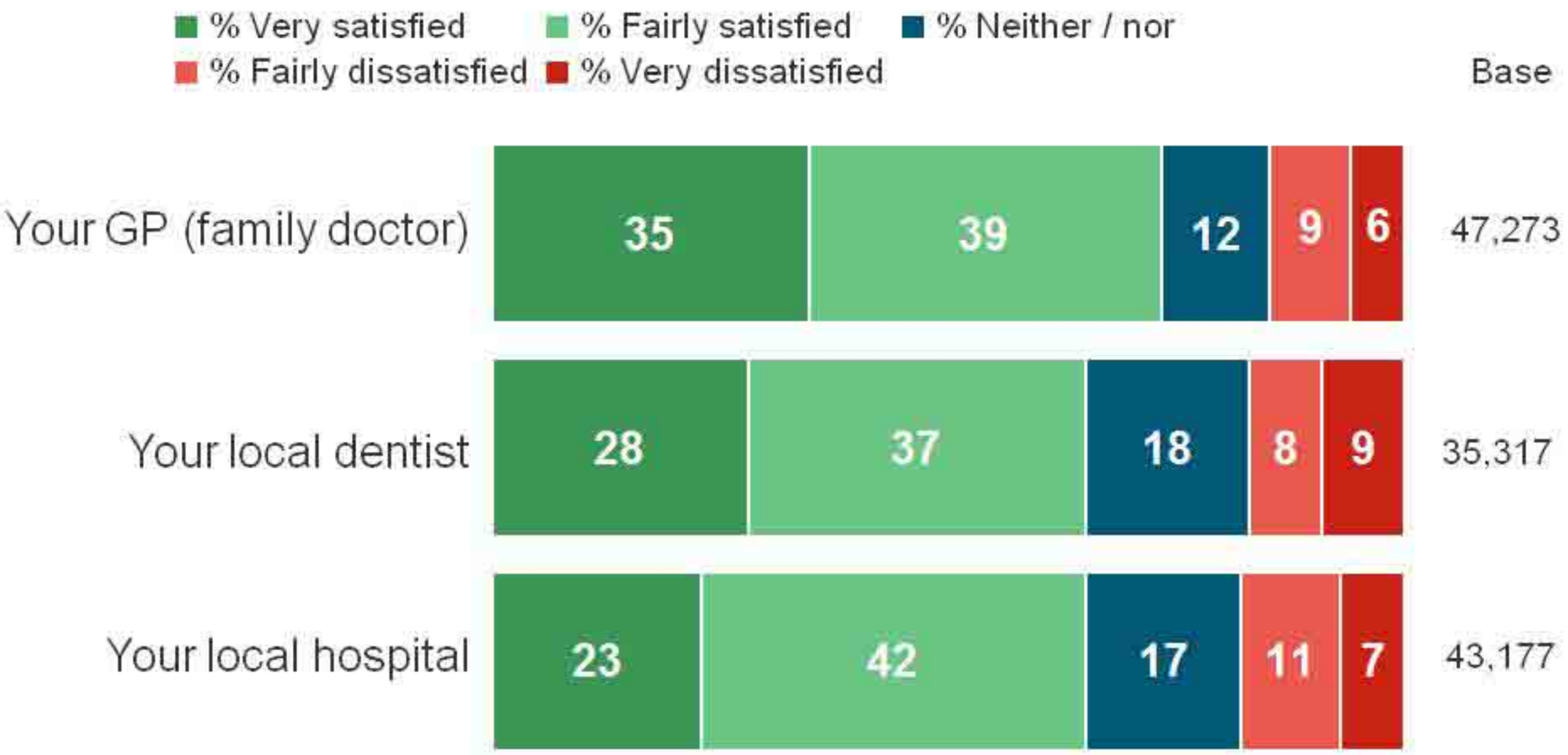
Base: All valid responses (44,061); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Public services in the local area



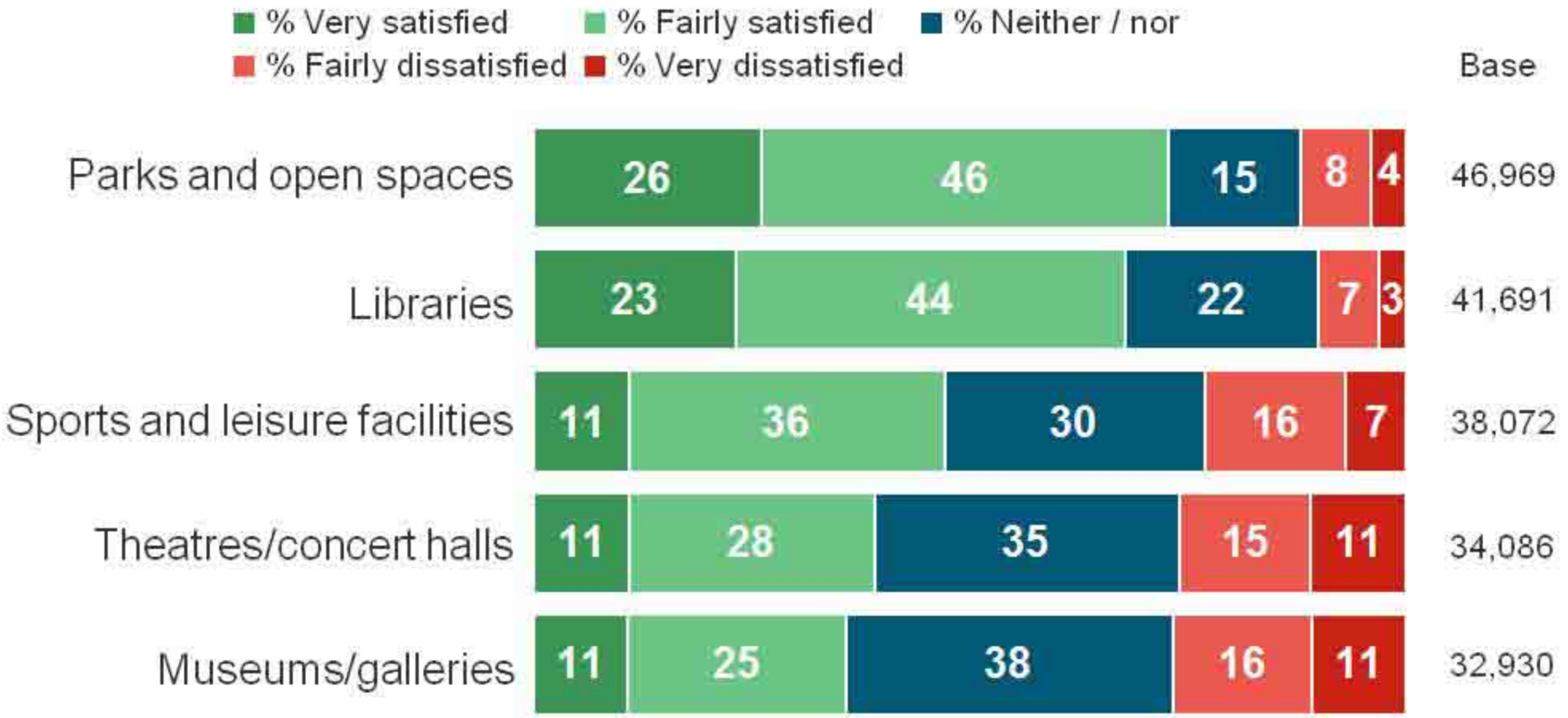
Base: All valid responses; fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Satisfaction with local health services



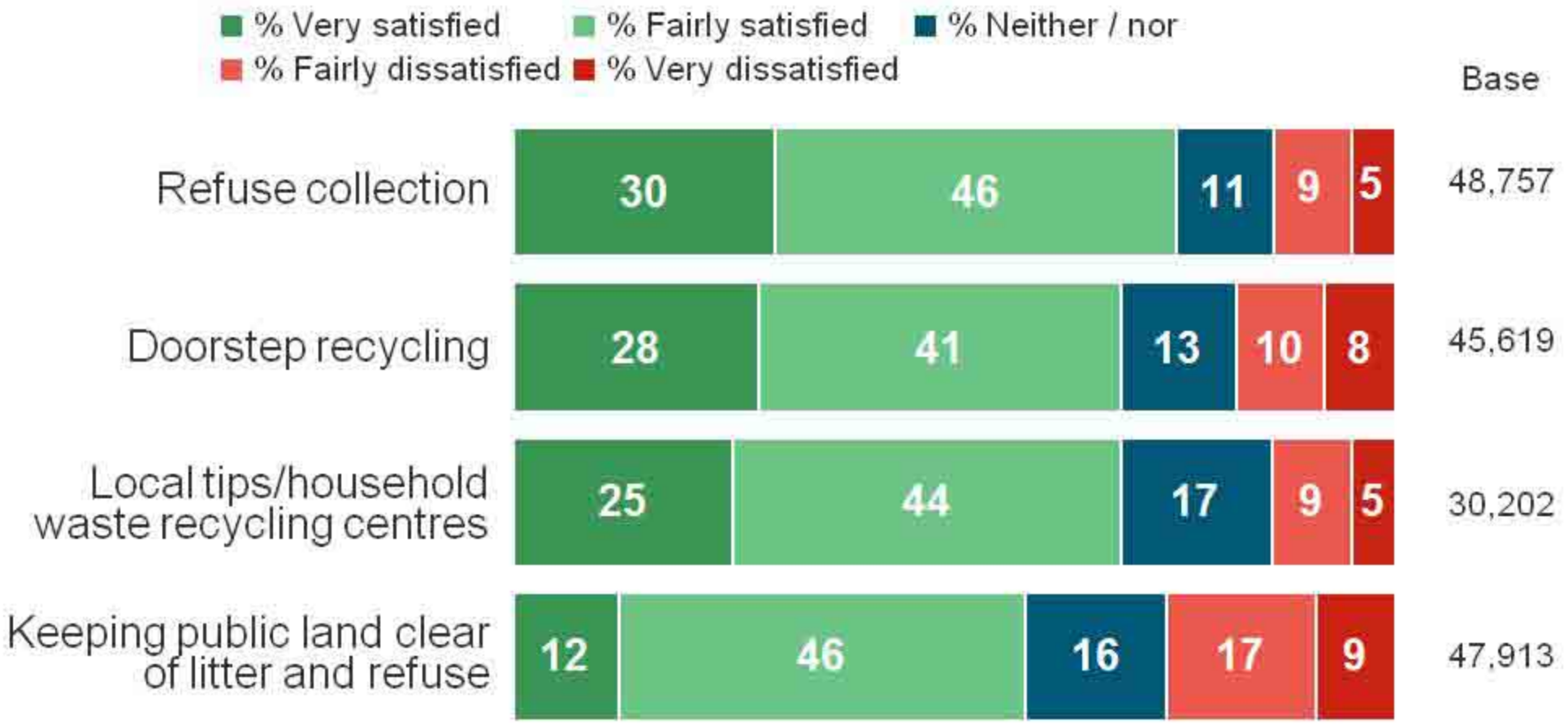
Base: All valid responses; fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Satisfaction with cultural and leisure services



Base: All valid responses; fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

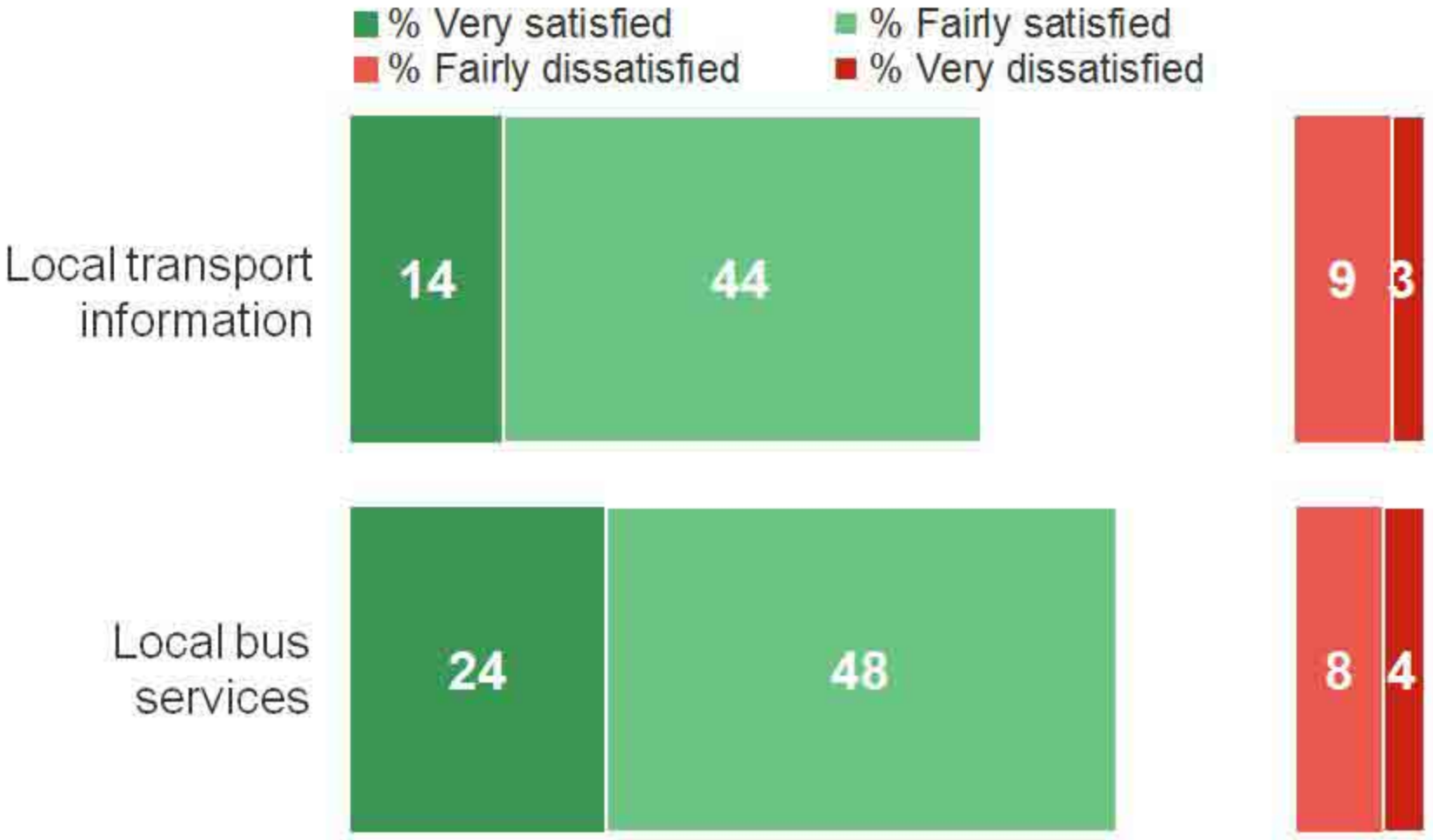
Satisfaction with environmental services



Base: All valid responses except for local tips (all valid users); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Satisfaction with local transport

Q How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with each of the following services provided or supported by your local council?

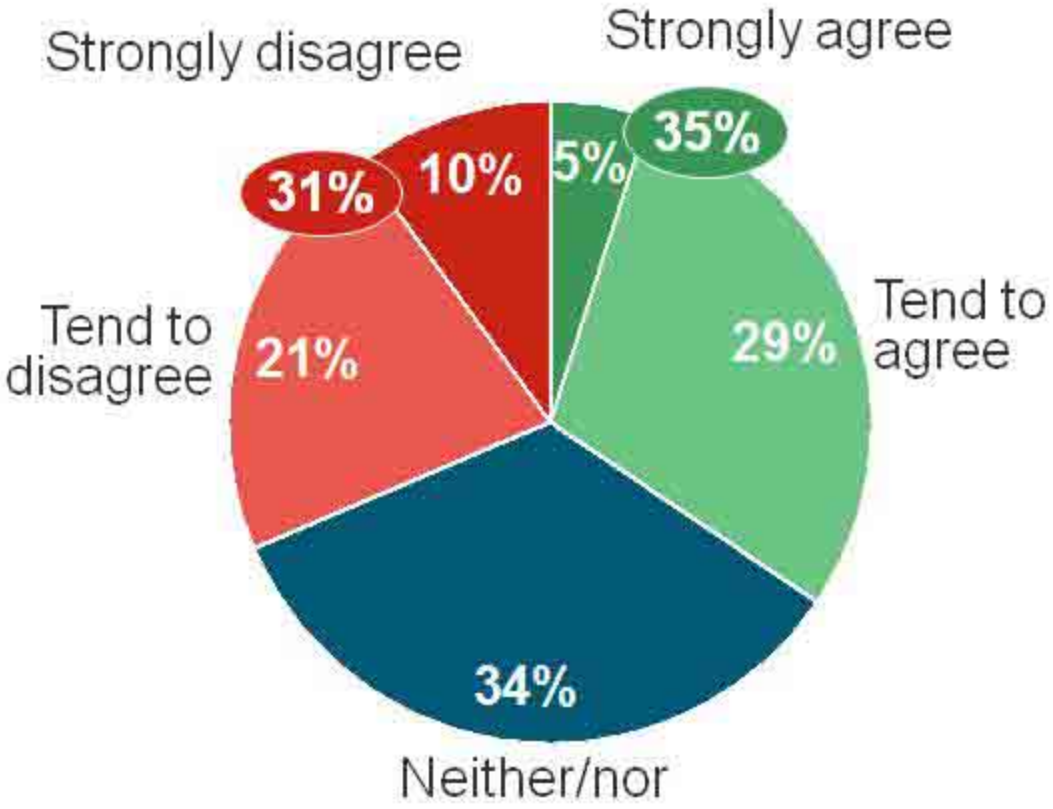


Base: All valid responses: fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Value for money

Q To what extent do you agree or disagree that your local council provides value for money?

LONDON OVERALL



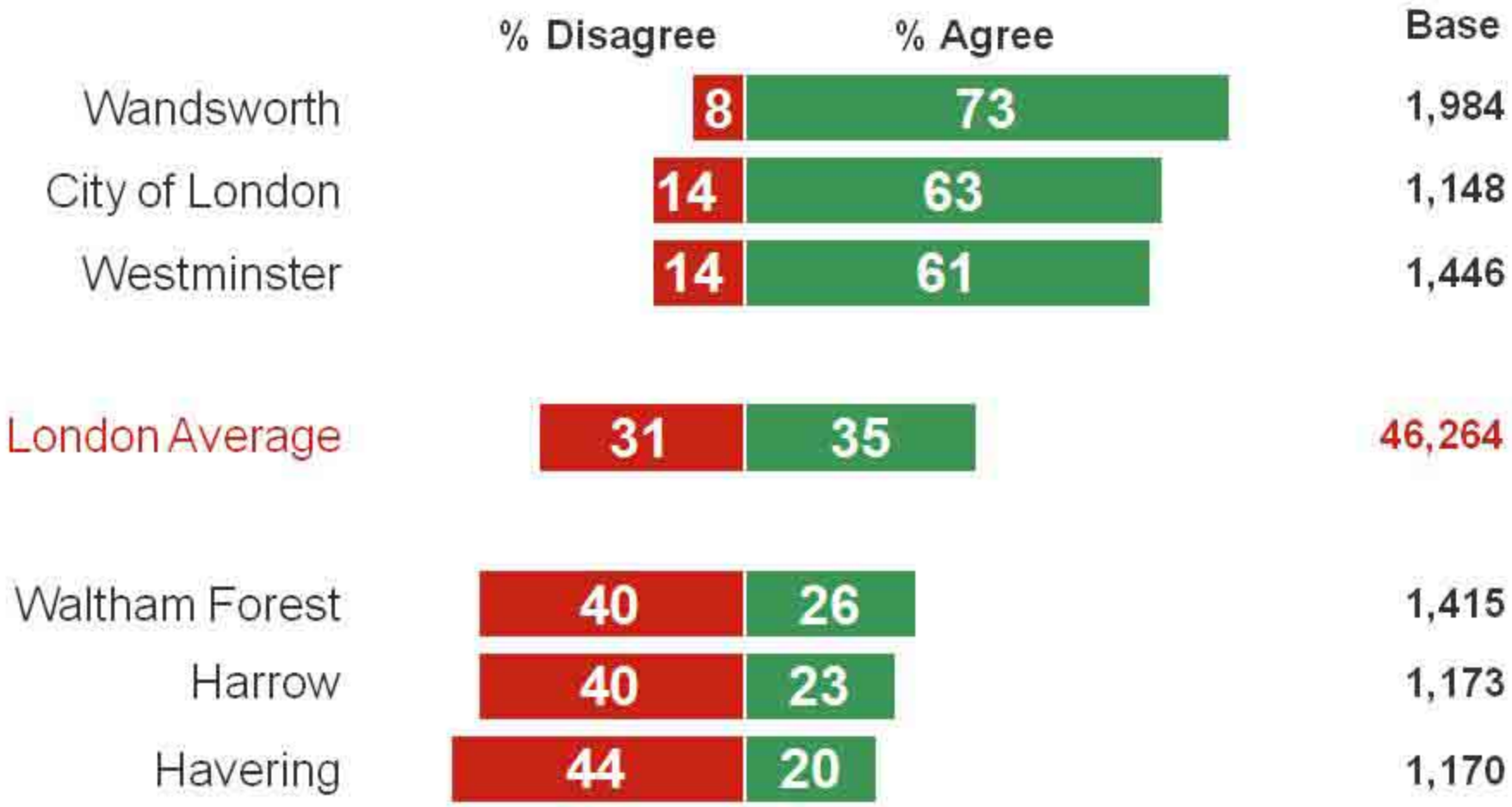
Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

	Agree	Disagree
	%	%
ENGLAND	33	n/a
London	35	31
Inner	43	26
Outer	30	34

Base: All valid responses (46,264); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Value for money – variations

Q To what extent do you agree or disagree that your local council provides value for money?

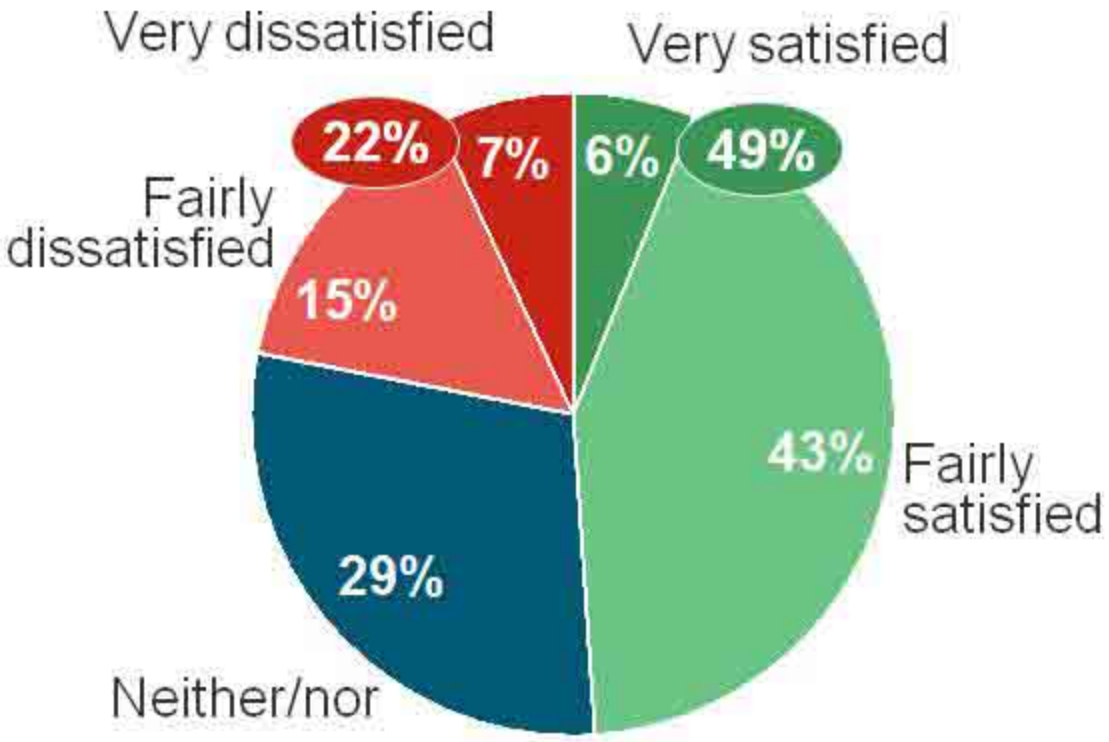


Base: valid responses; fieldwork: Oct- Dec 2008

Satisfaction with the local council

Q Taking everything into account, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way your local council runs things?

LONDON OVERALL



Green = better than average
Red = worse than average

	Sat. %	Dis. %
ENGLAND	45	n/a
London	49	22
Inner	55	19
Outer	46	23

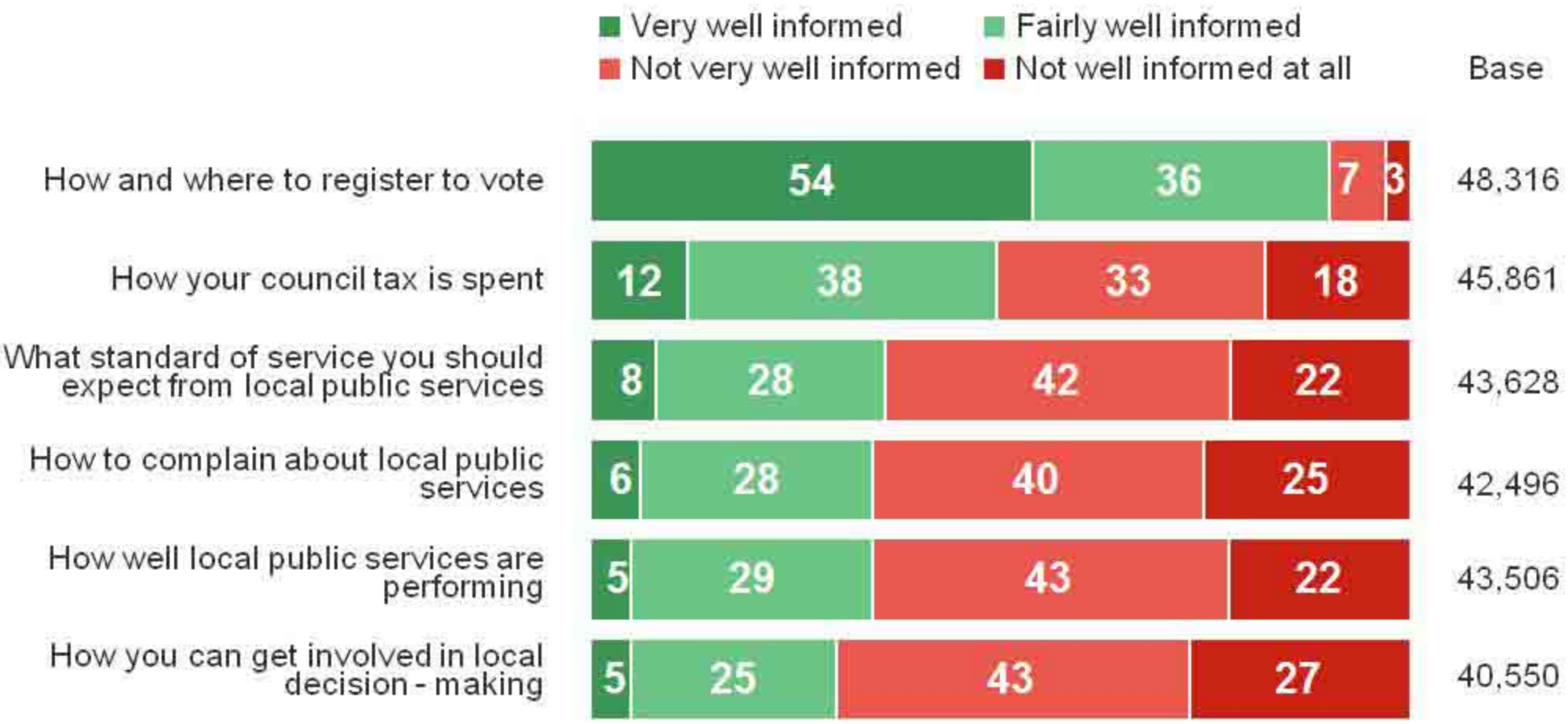
Base: All valid responses (48,272); fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

Satisfaction with the council – variation

Q Taking everything into account, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way your local council runs things?

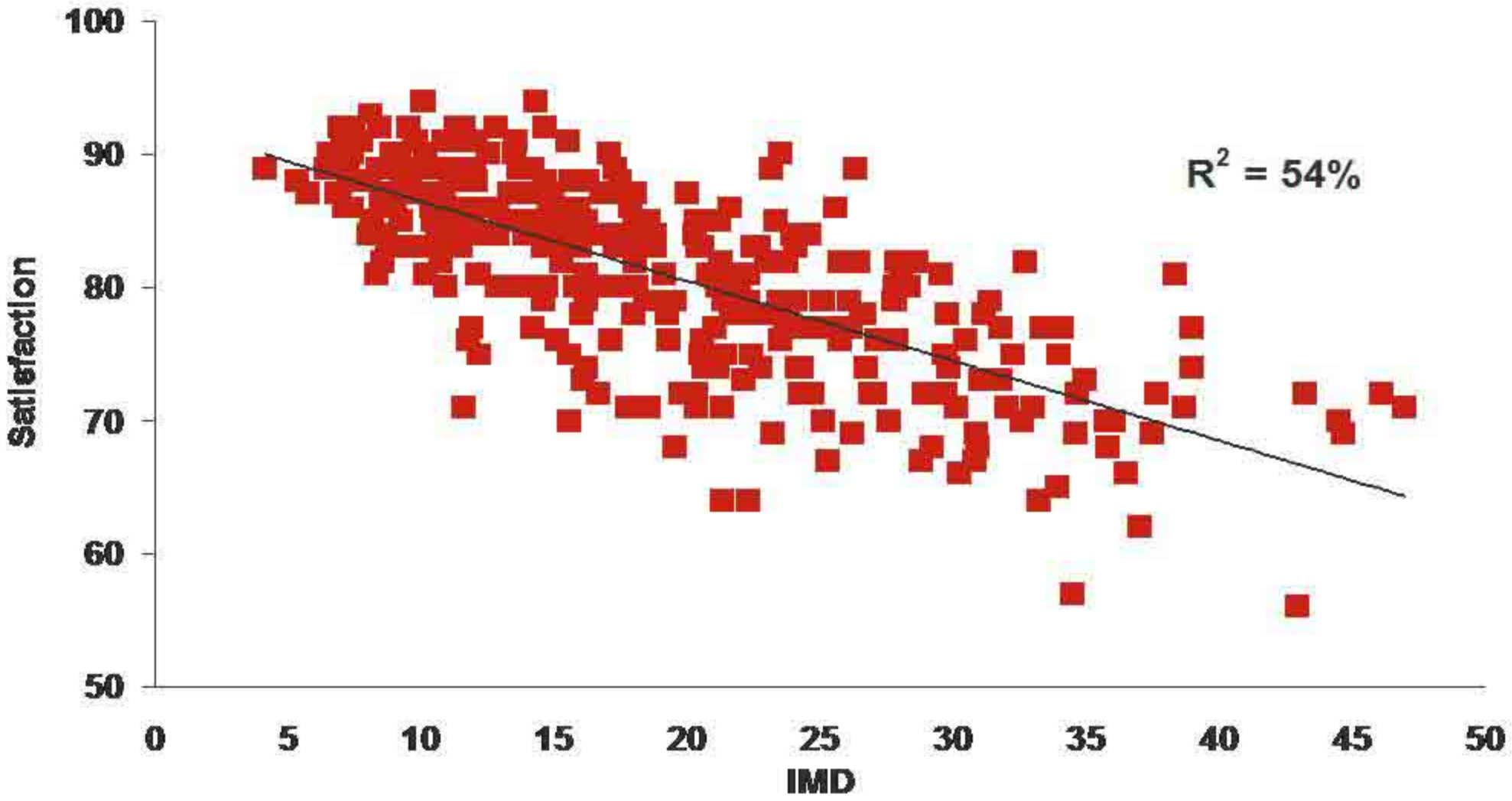
Base: valid responses; fieldwork: Oct- Dec 2008

Feeling informed about specific issues



Base: All valid responses; fieldwork: Oct – Dec 2008

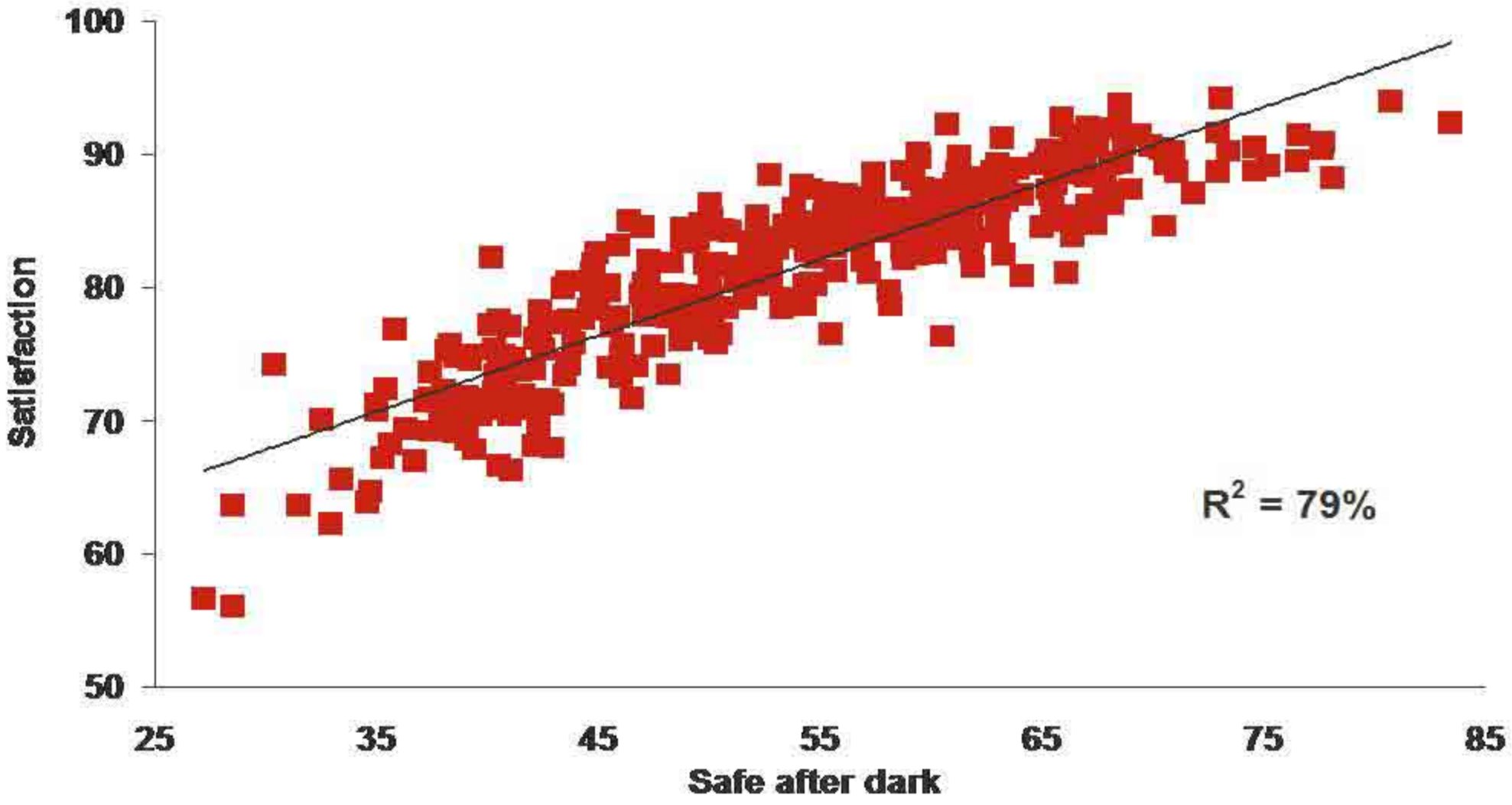
Satisfaction with local area vs IMD



Base: All valid responses, 353 local authorities, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

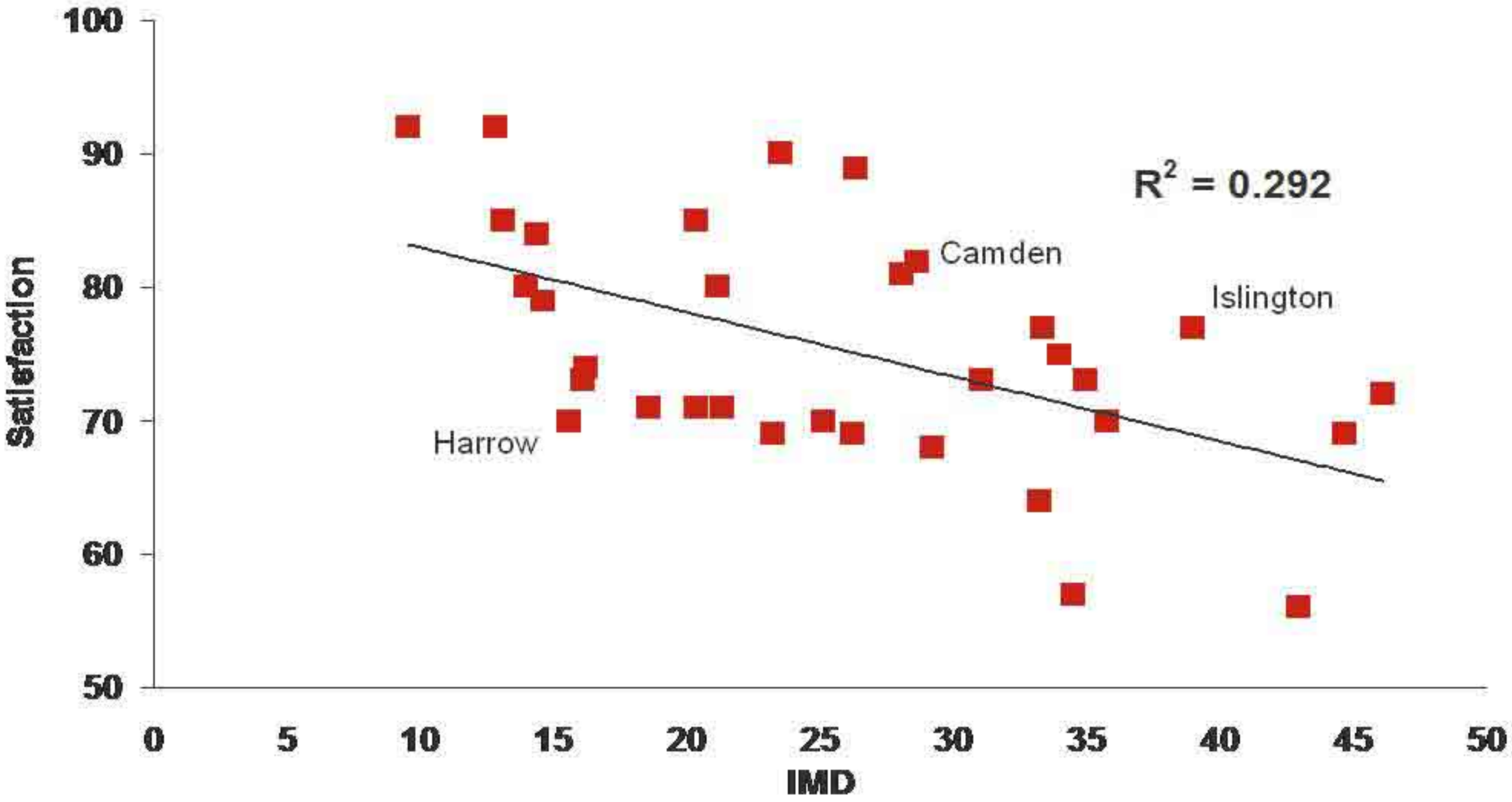
Satisfaction with local area vs feeling safe after dark



Base: All valid responses, 353 local authorities, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

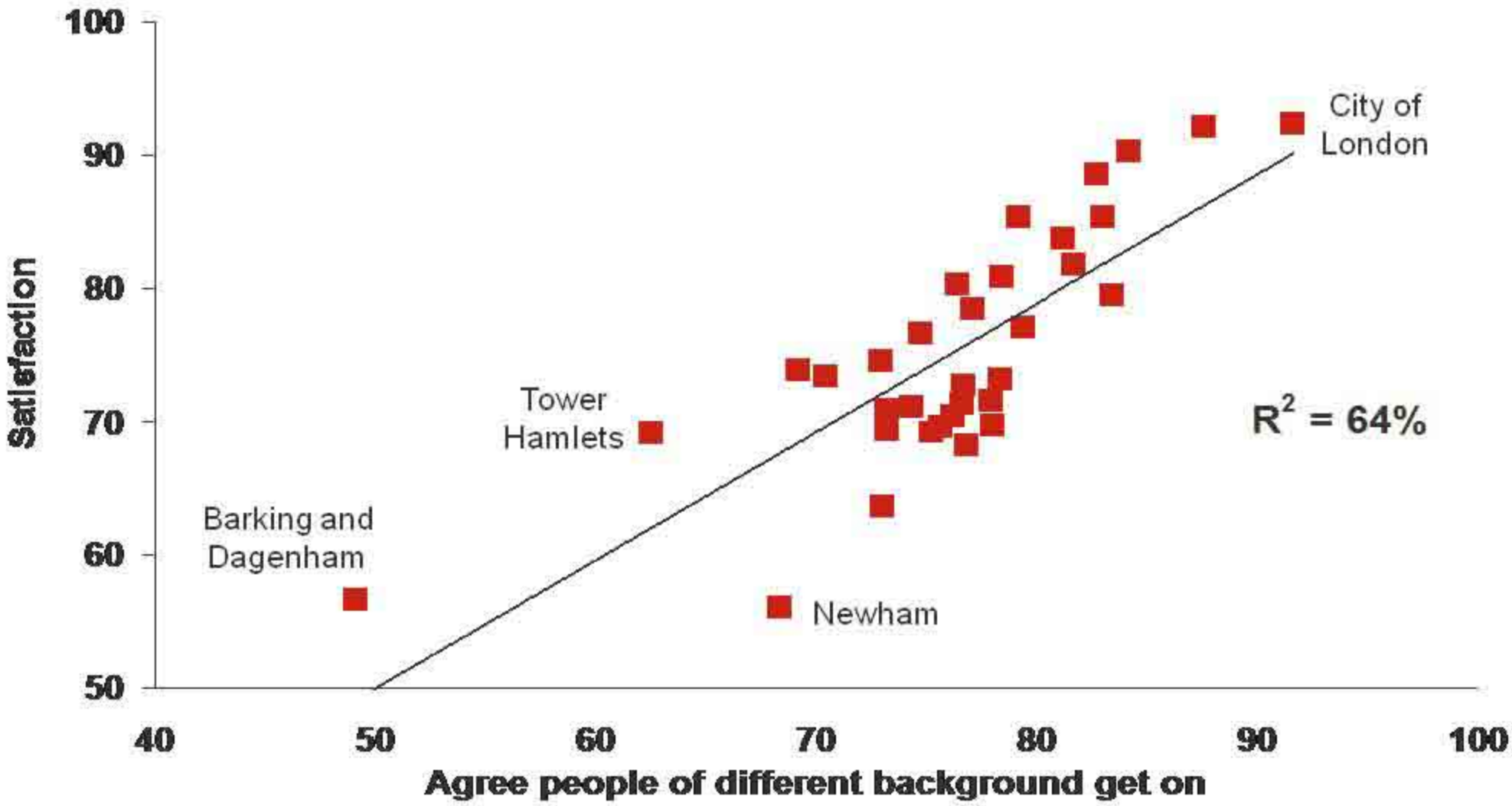
Satisfaction with local area vs IMD



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

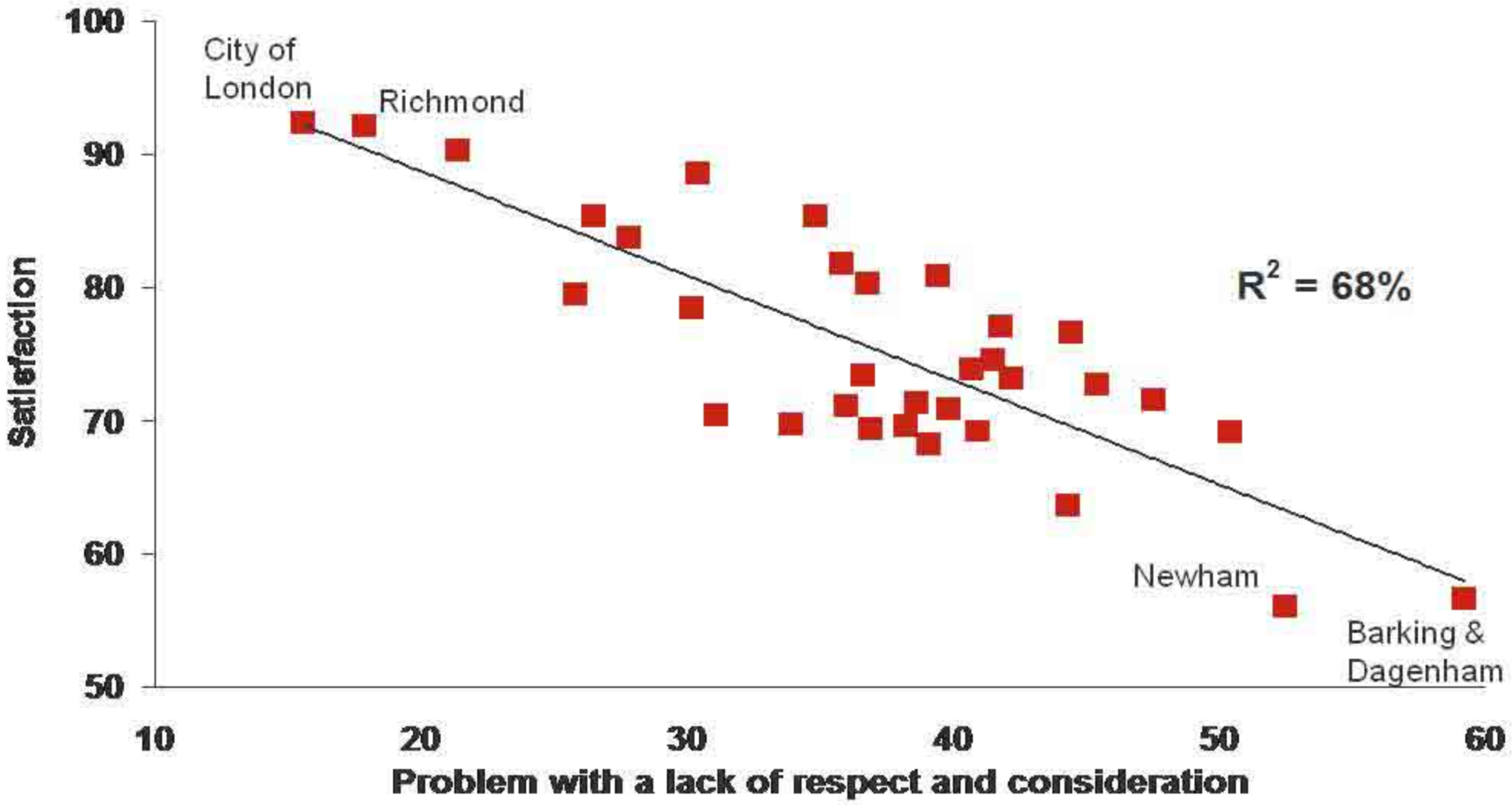
Source: Ipsos MORI

Satisfaction with local area vs social cohesion



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

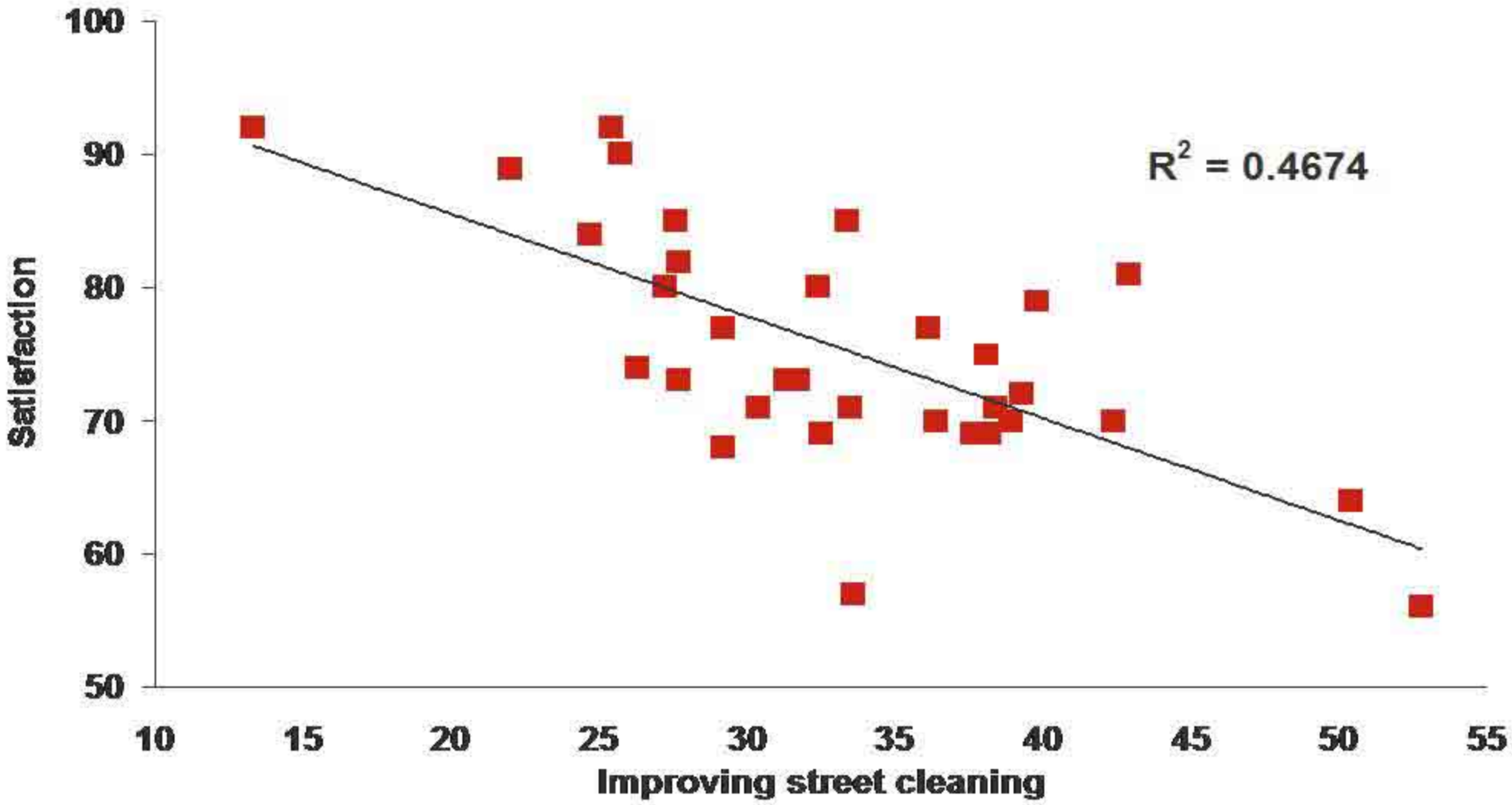
Satisfaction with local area vs problem with respect and consideration



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

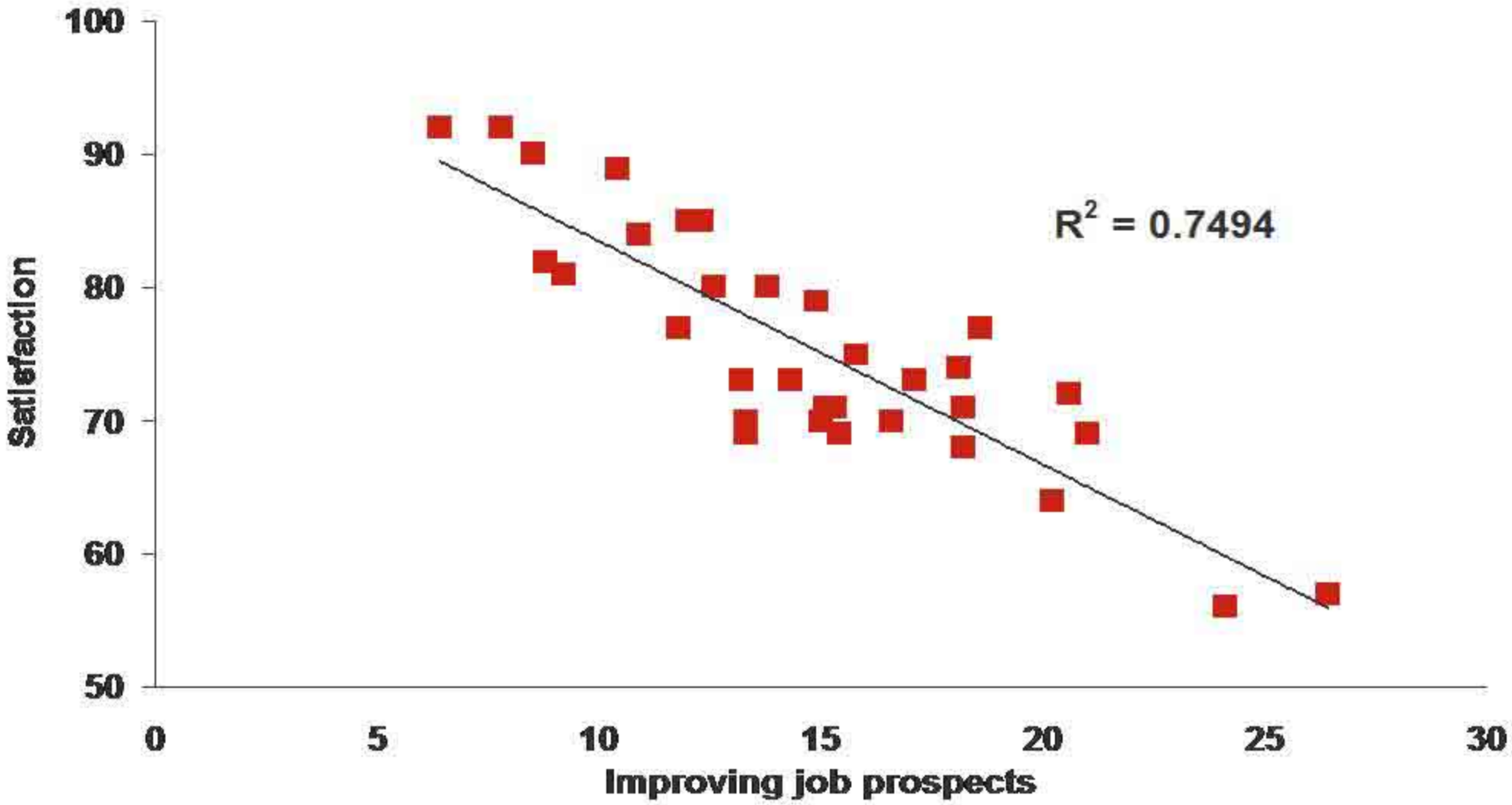
Satisfaction with local area vs improving street cleaning



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

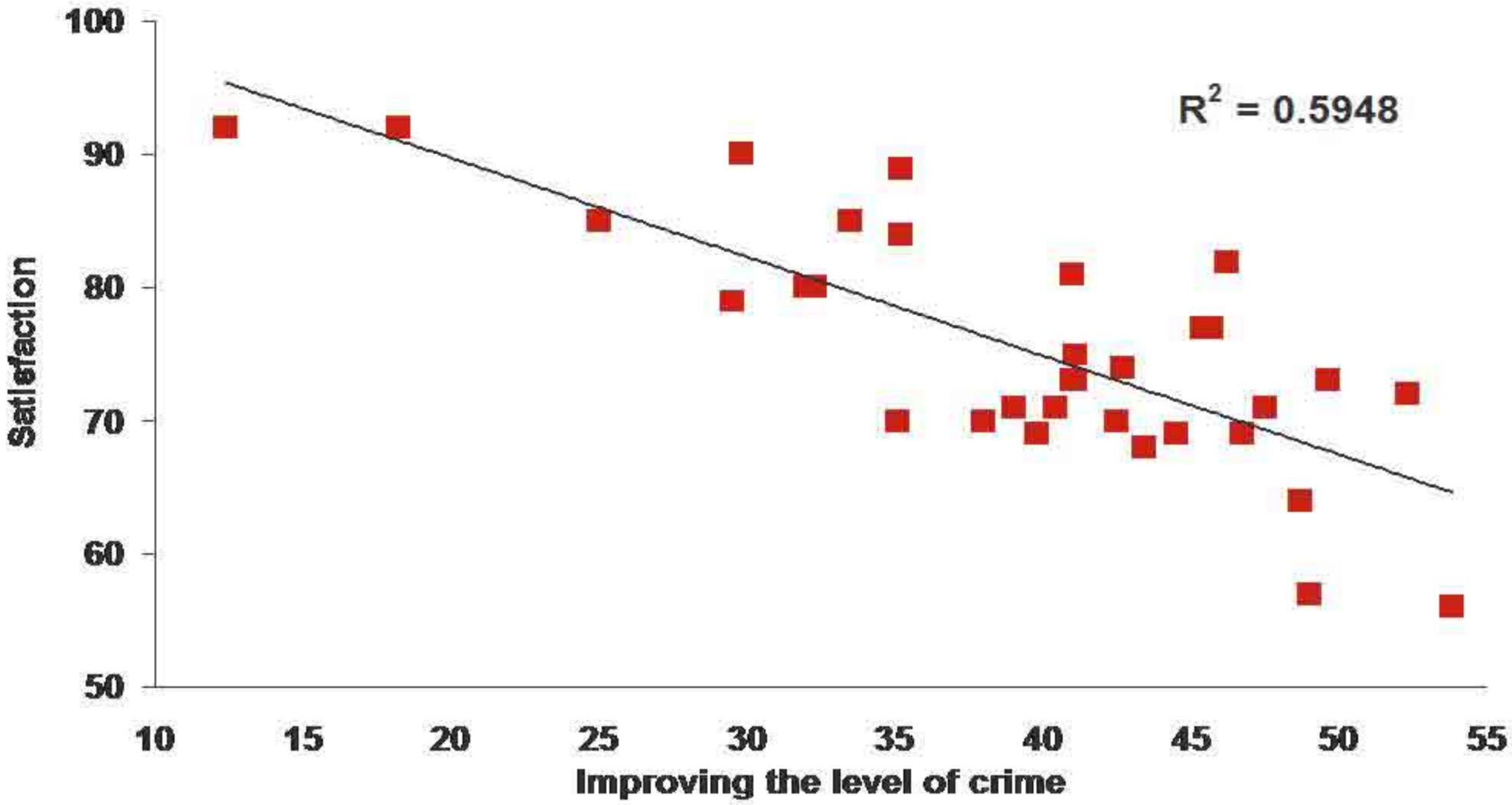
Satisfaction with local area vs improving job prospects



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

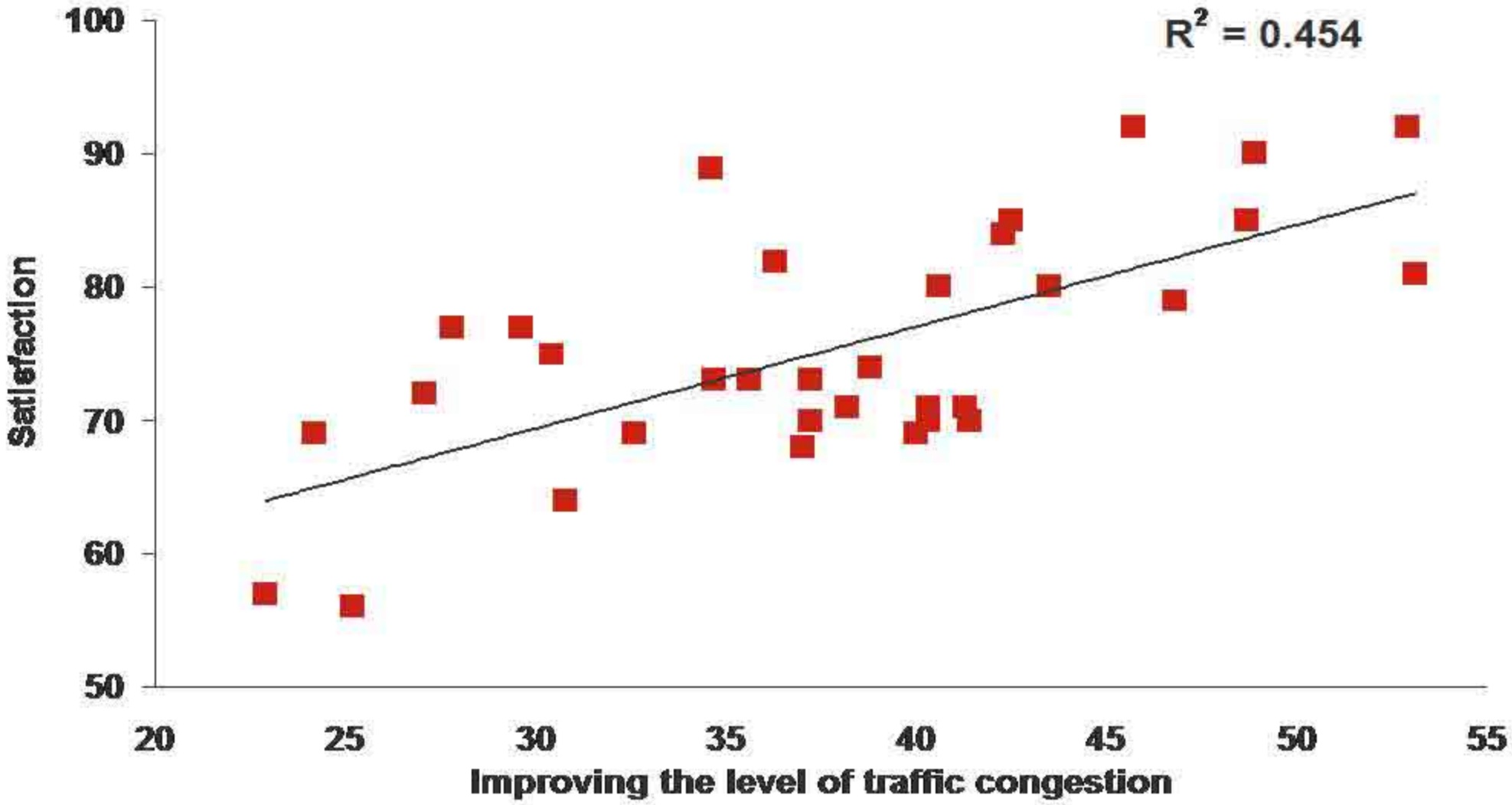
Satisfaction with local area vs improving the level of crime



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

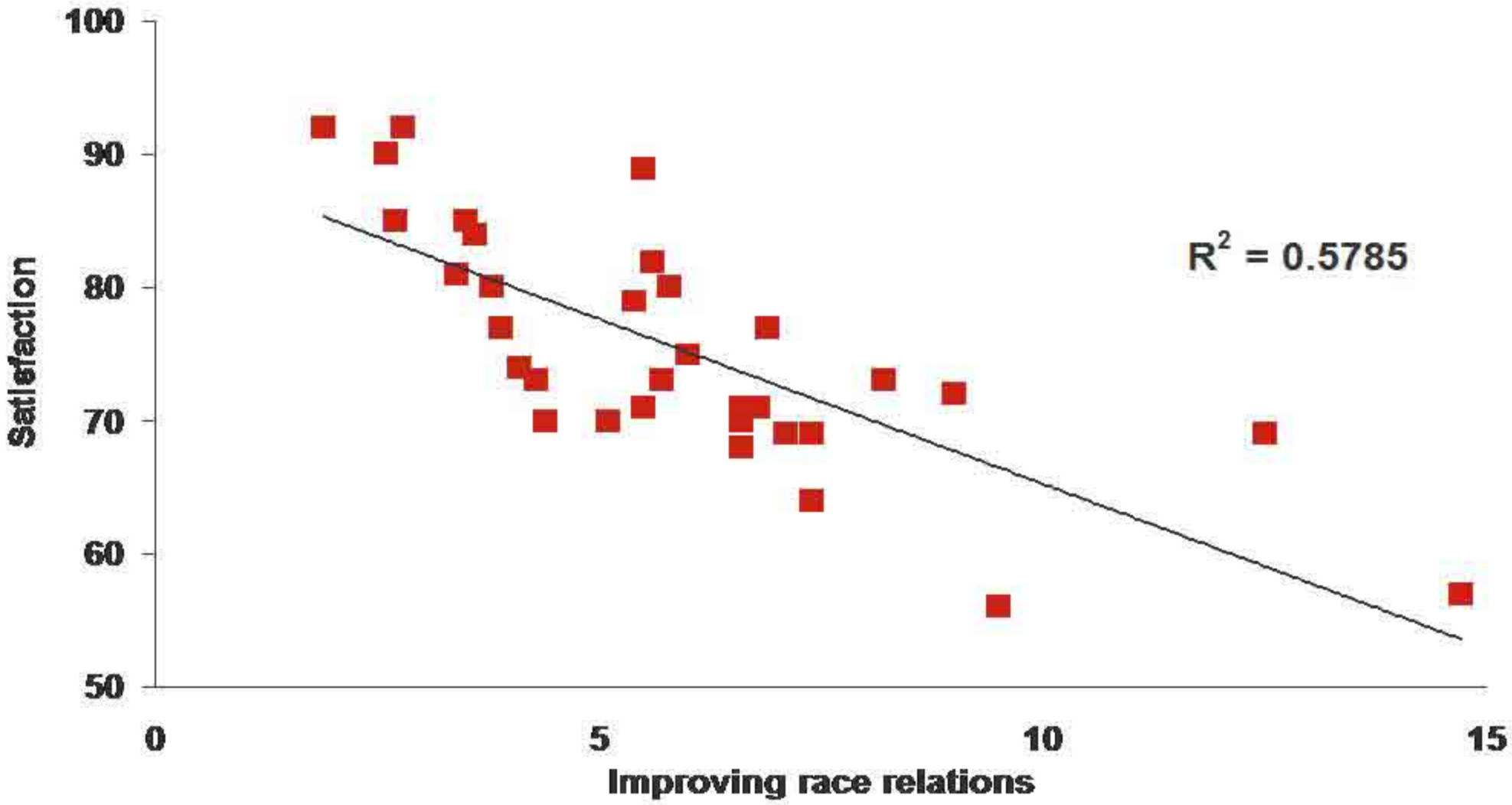
Satisfaction with local area vs improving the level of traffic congestion



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

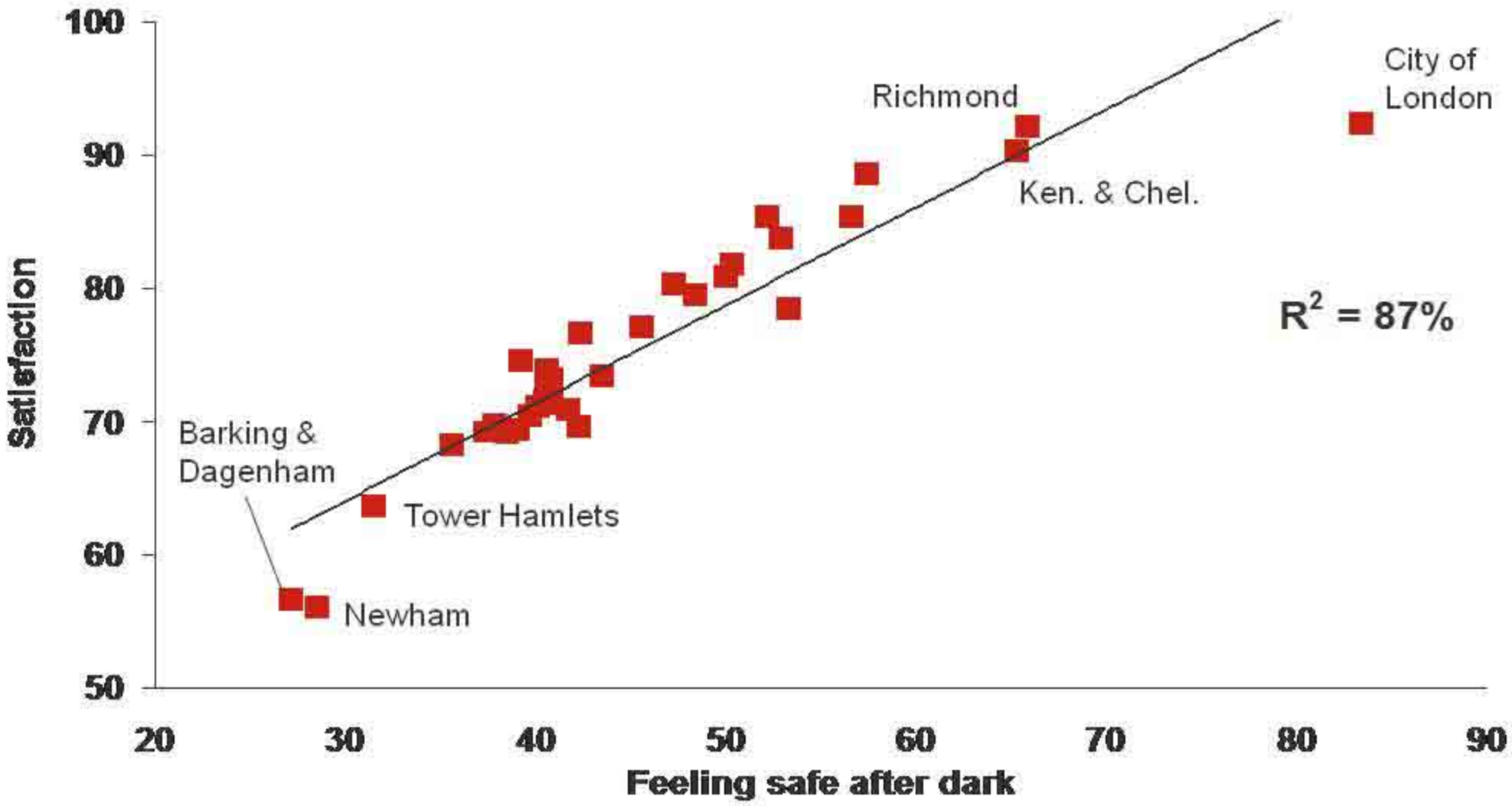
Satisfaction with local area vs improving race relations



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

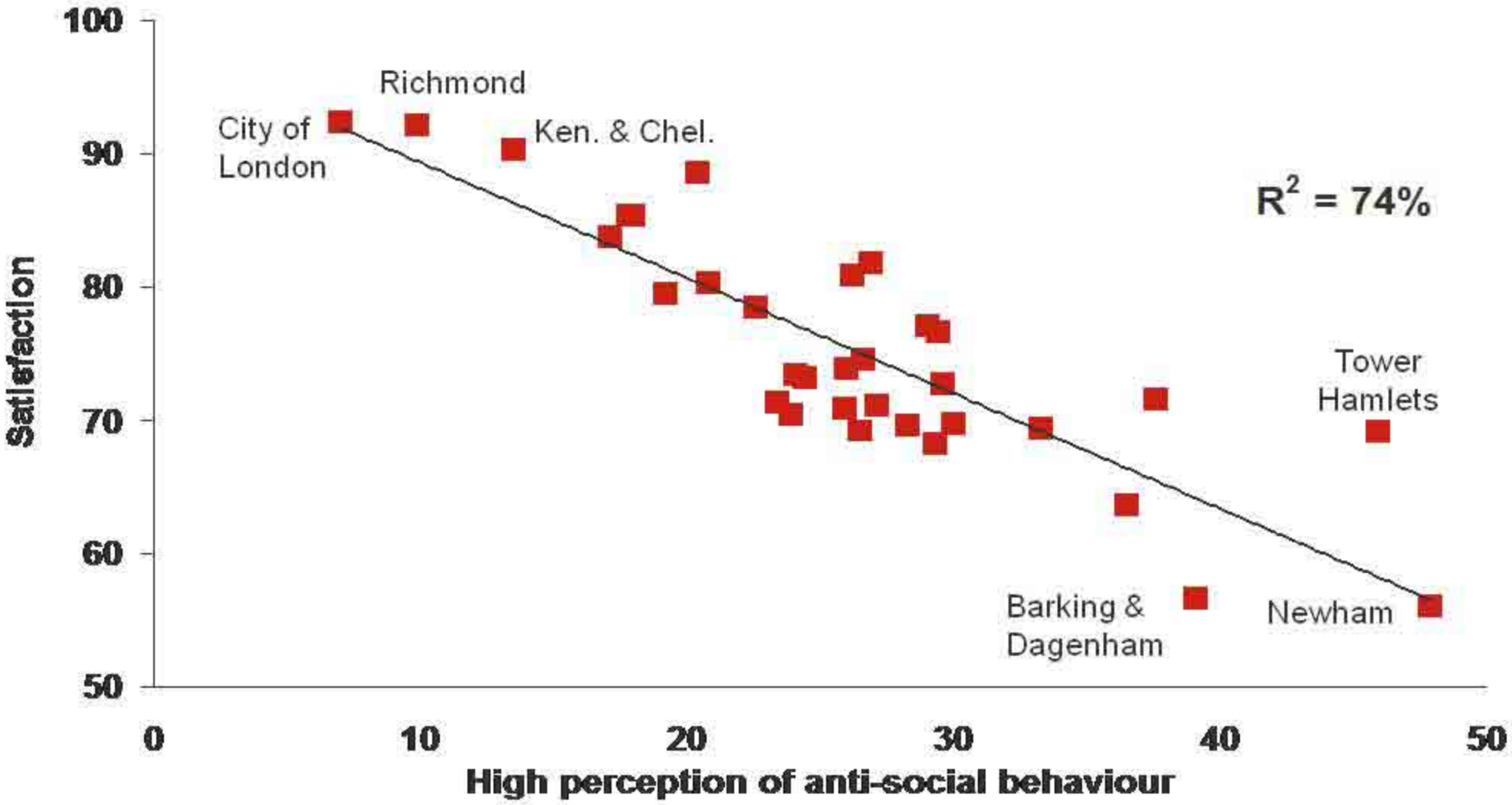
Satisfaction with local area vs feeling safe after dark



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

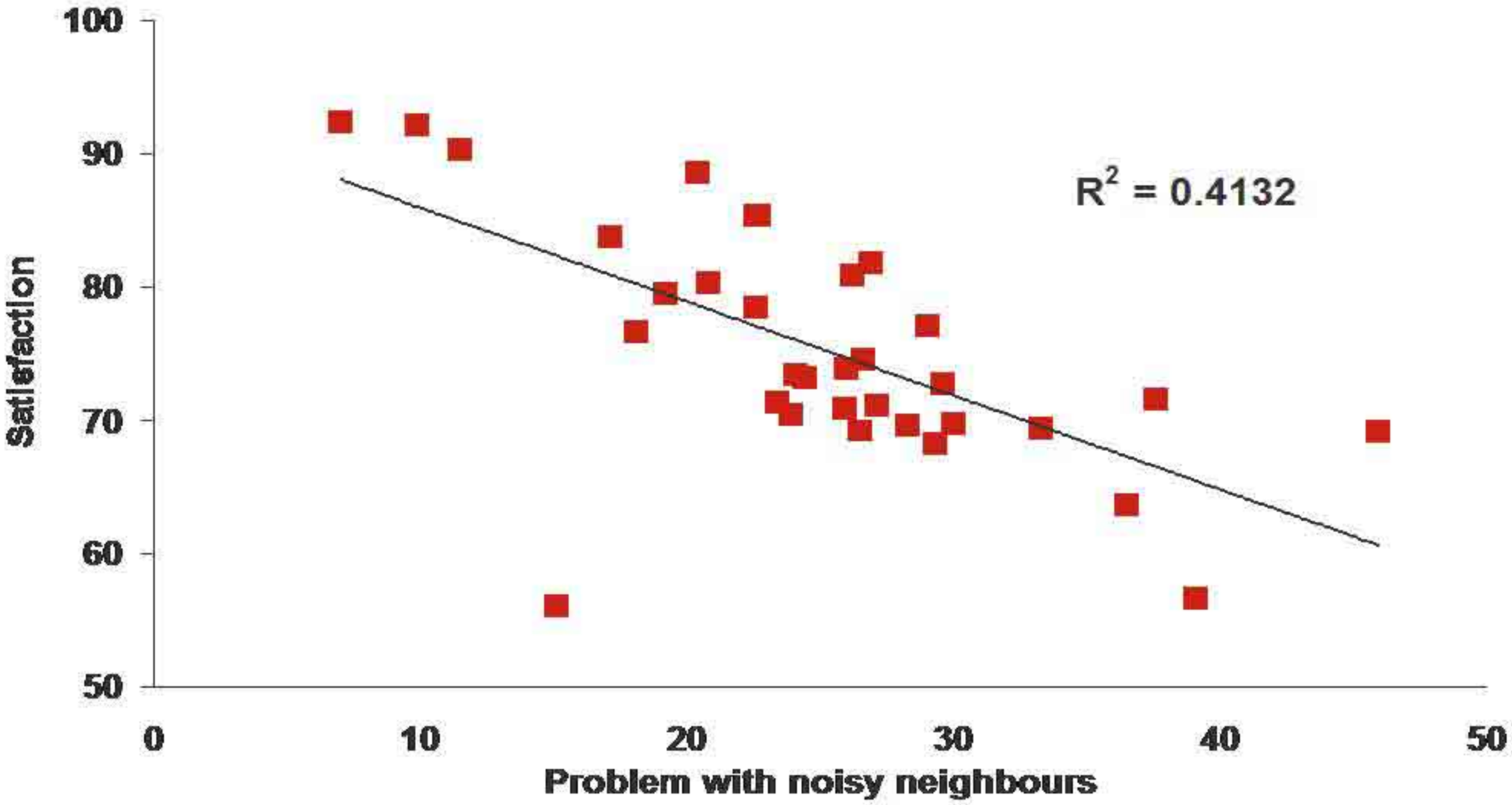
Satisfaction with local area vs perception of anti-social behaviour



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

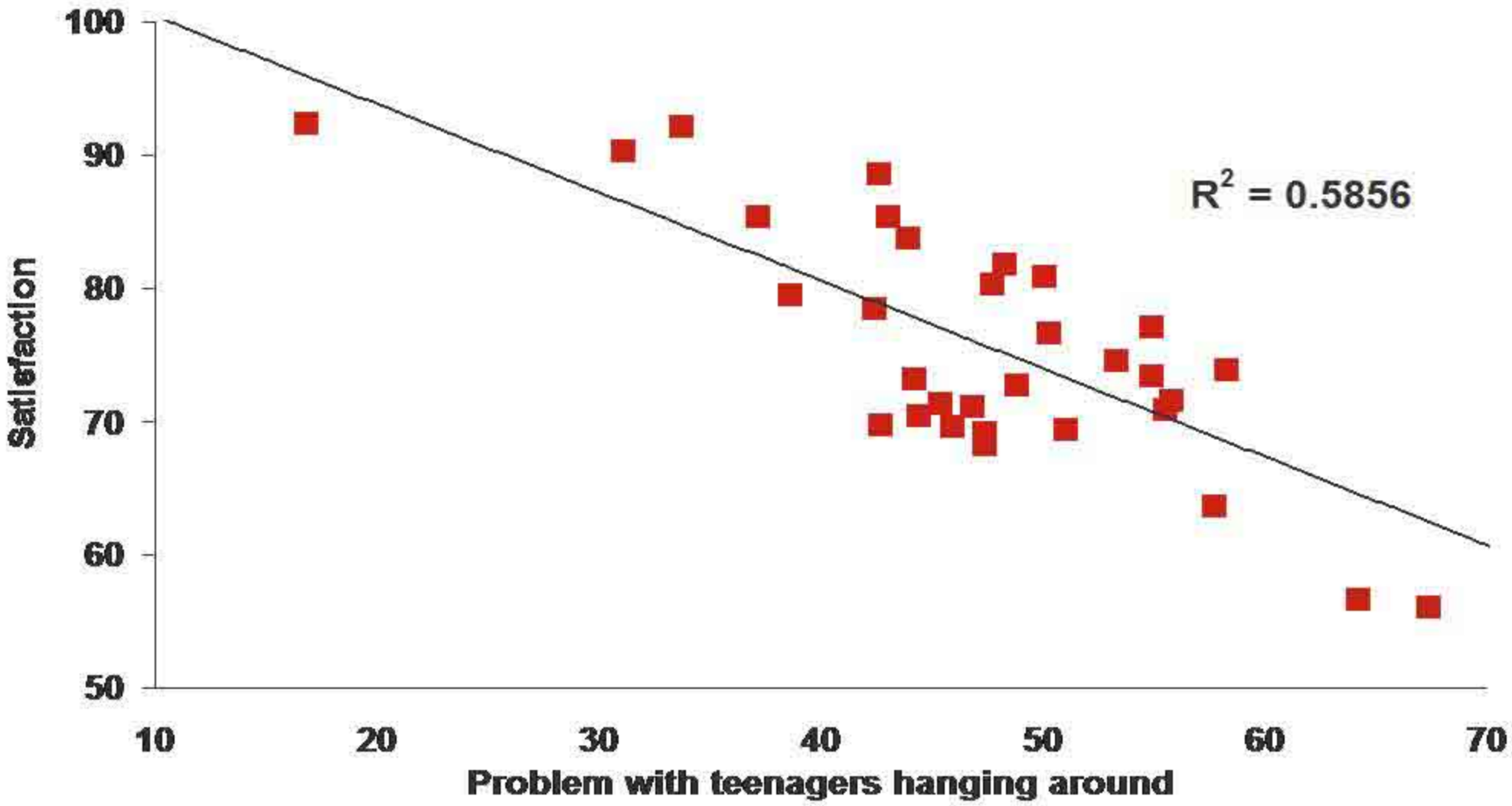
Satisfaction with local area vs perception of noisy neighbours and loud parties



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

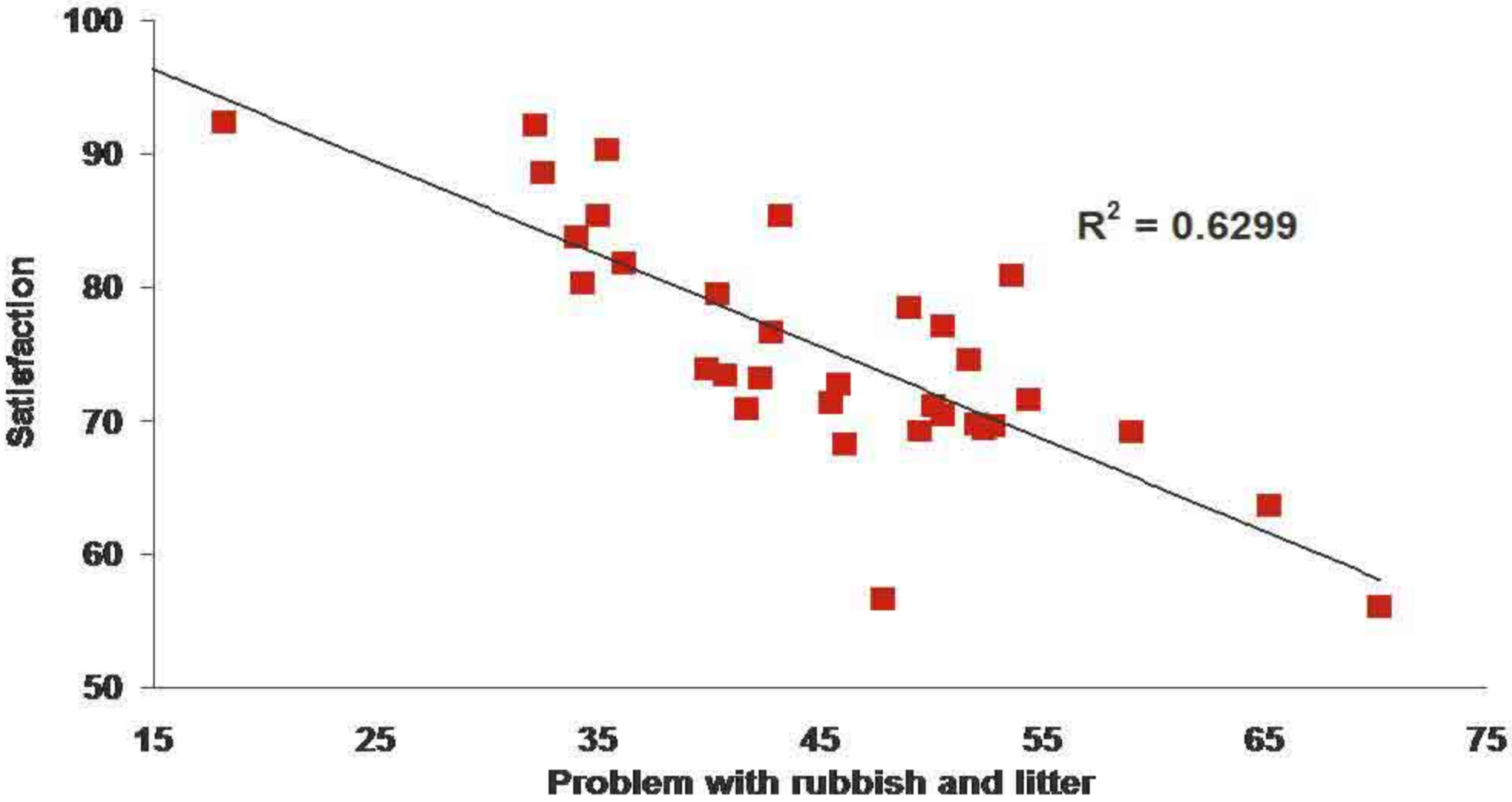
Satisfaction with local area vs perception of teenagers hanging around



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

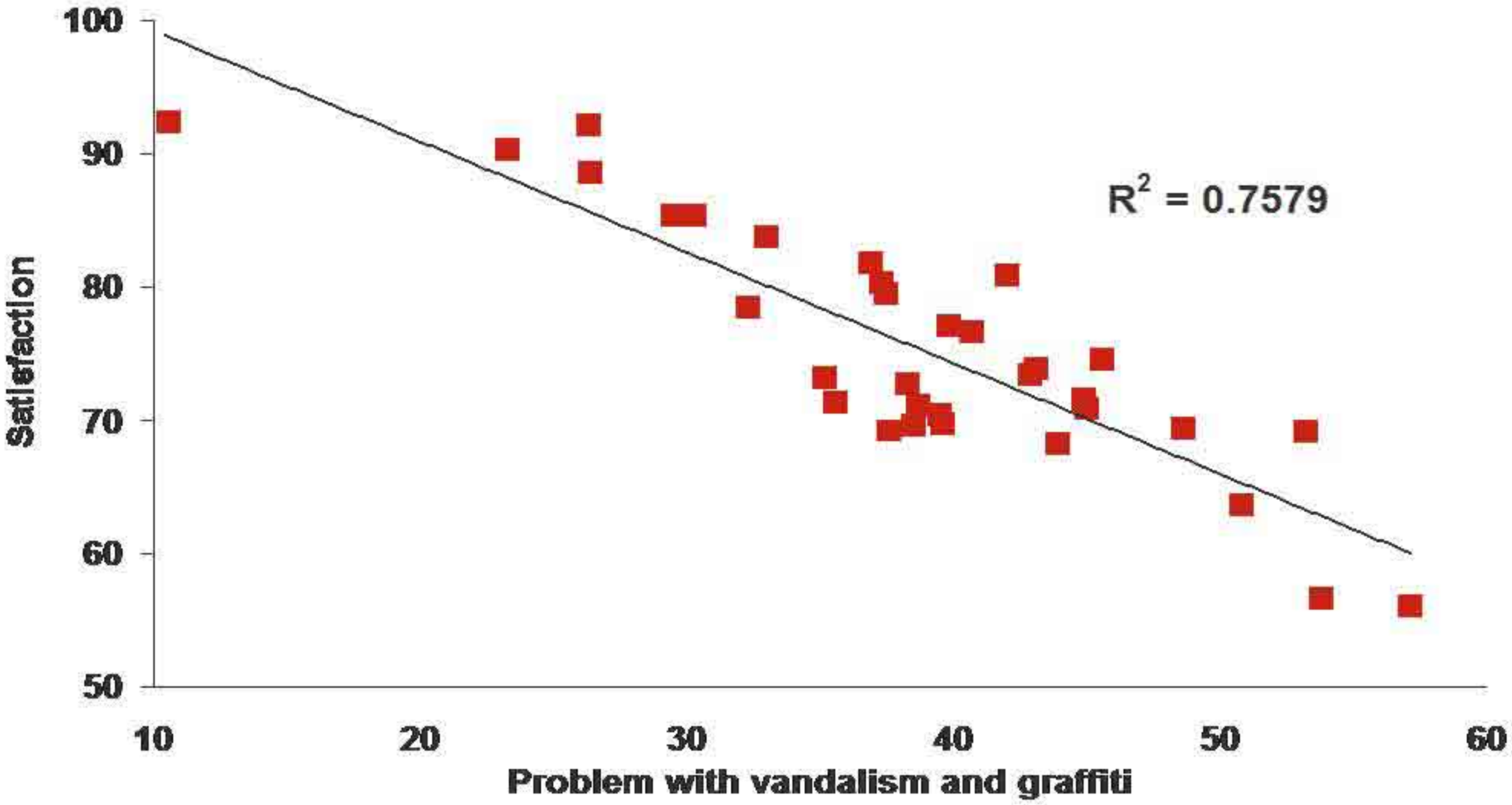
Satisfaction with local area vs perception of rubbish and litter



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

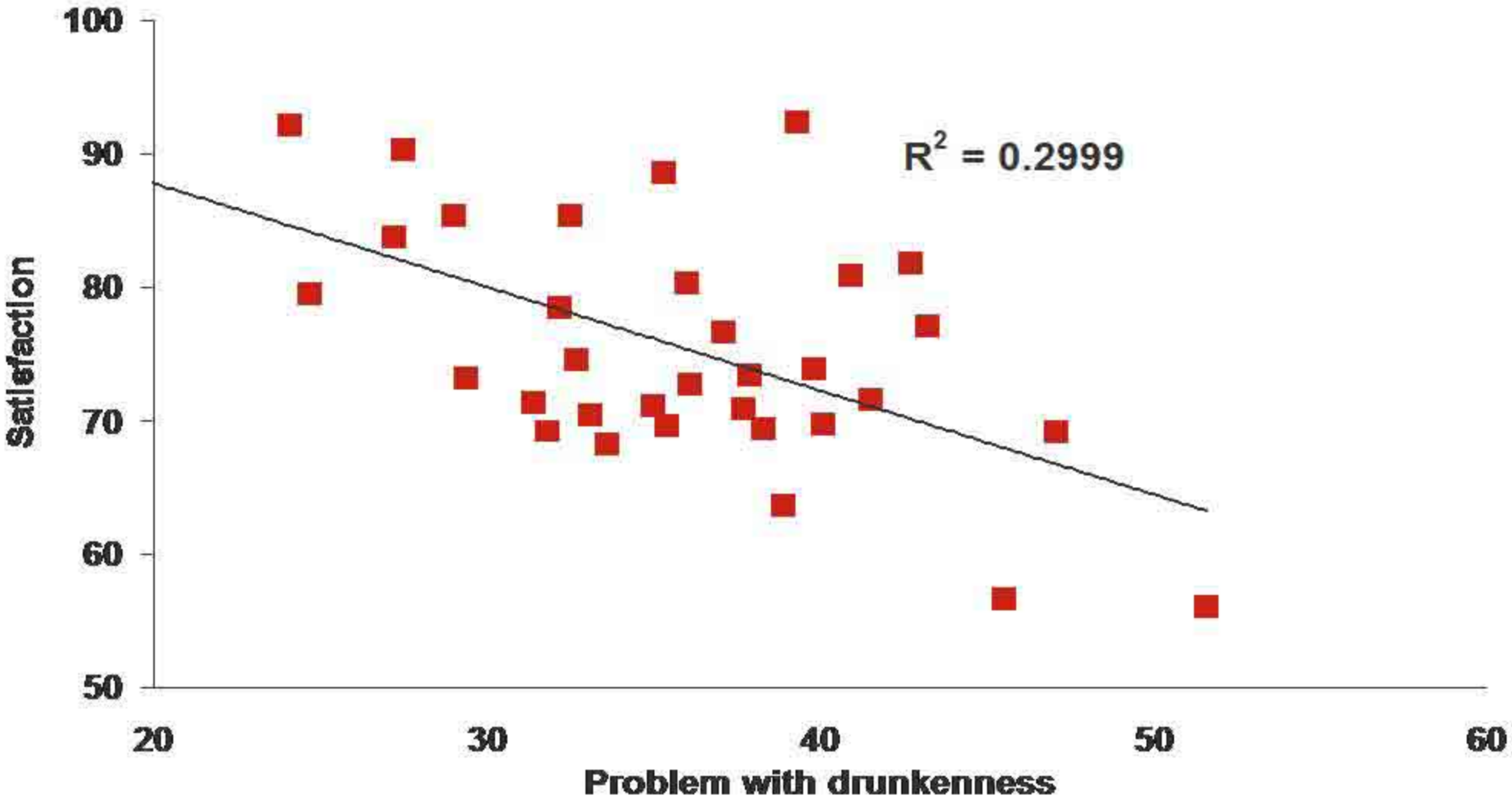
Satisfaction with local area vs perception of vandalism and graffiti



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

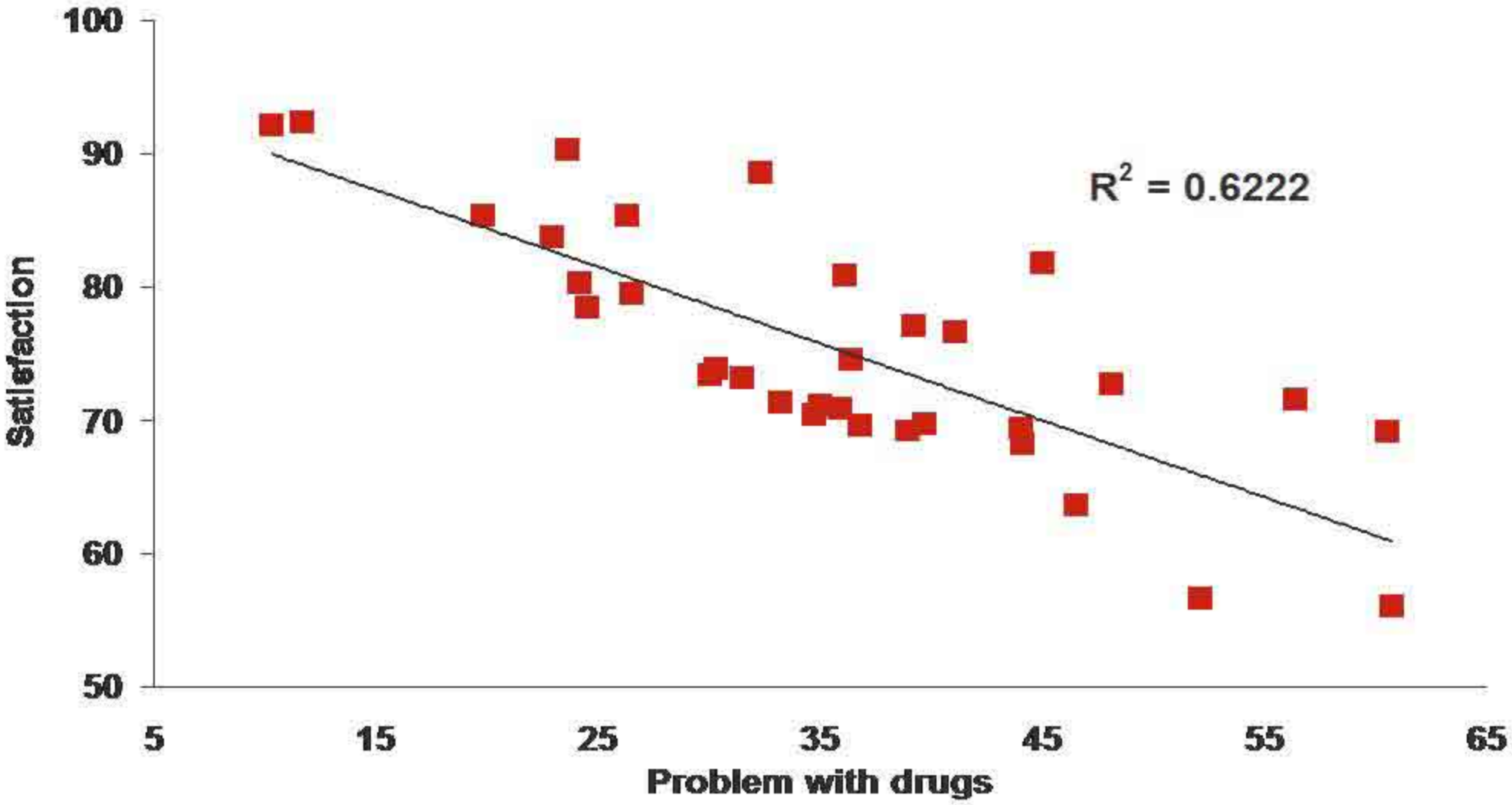
Satisfaction with local area vs perception of problem with drunk behaviour



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

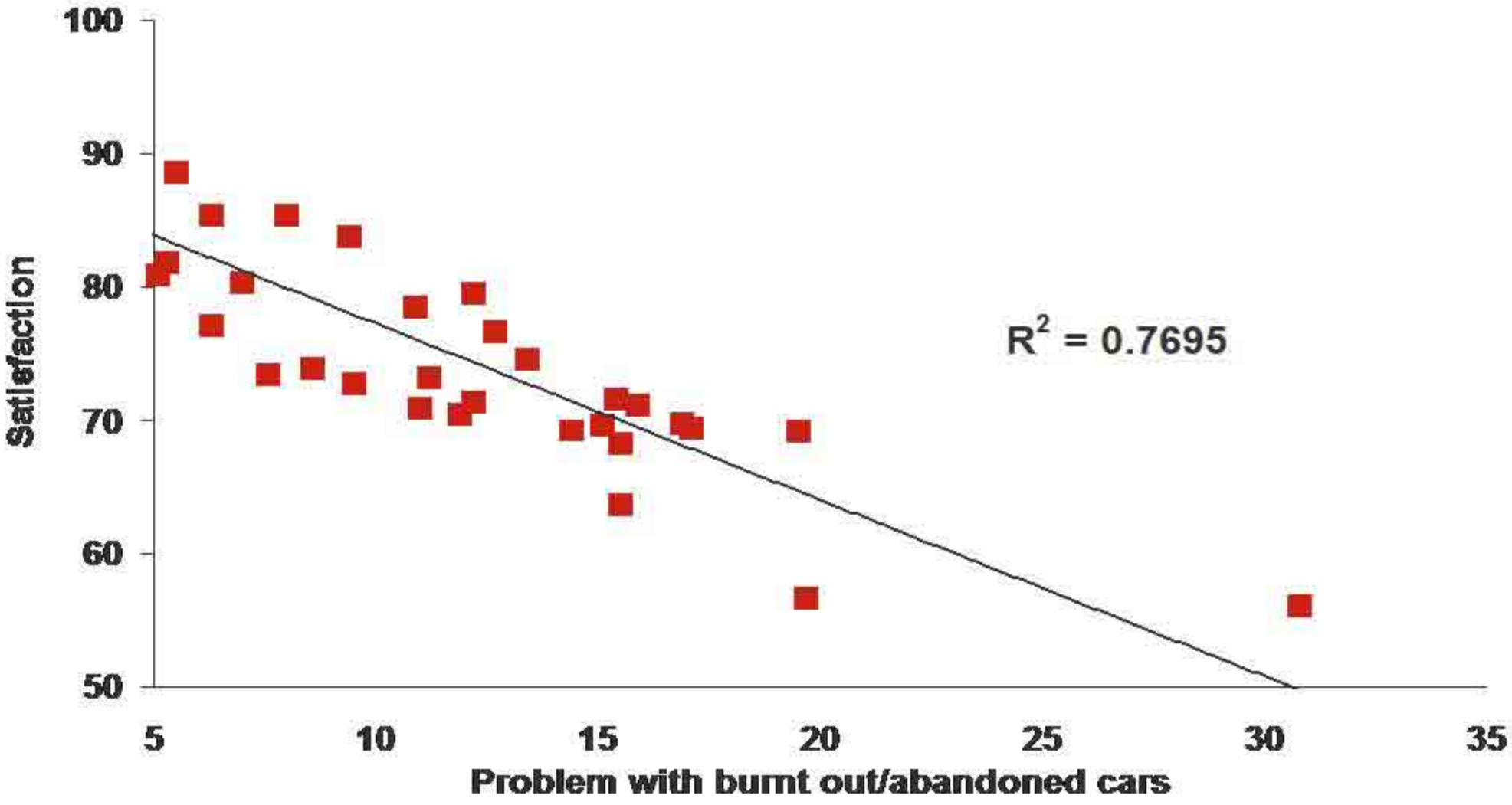
Satisfaction with local area vs perception of drug problem



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

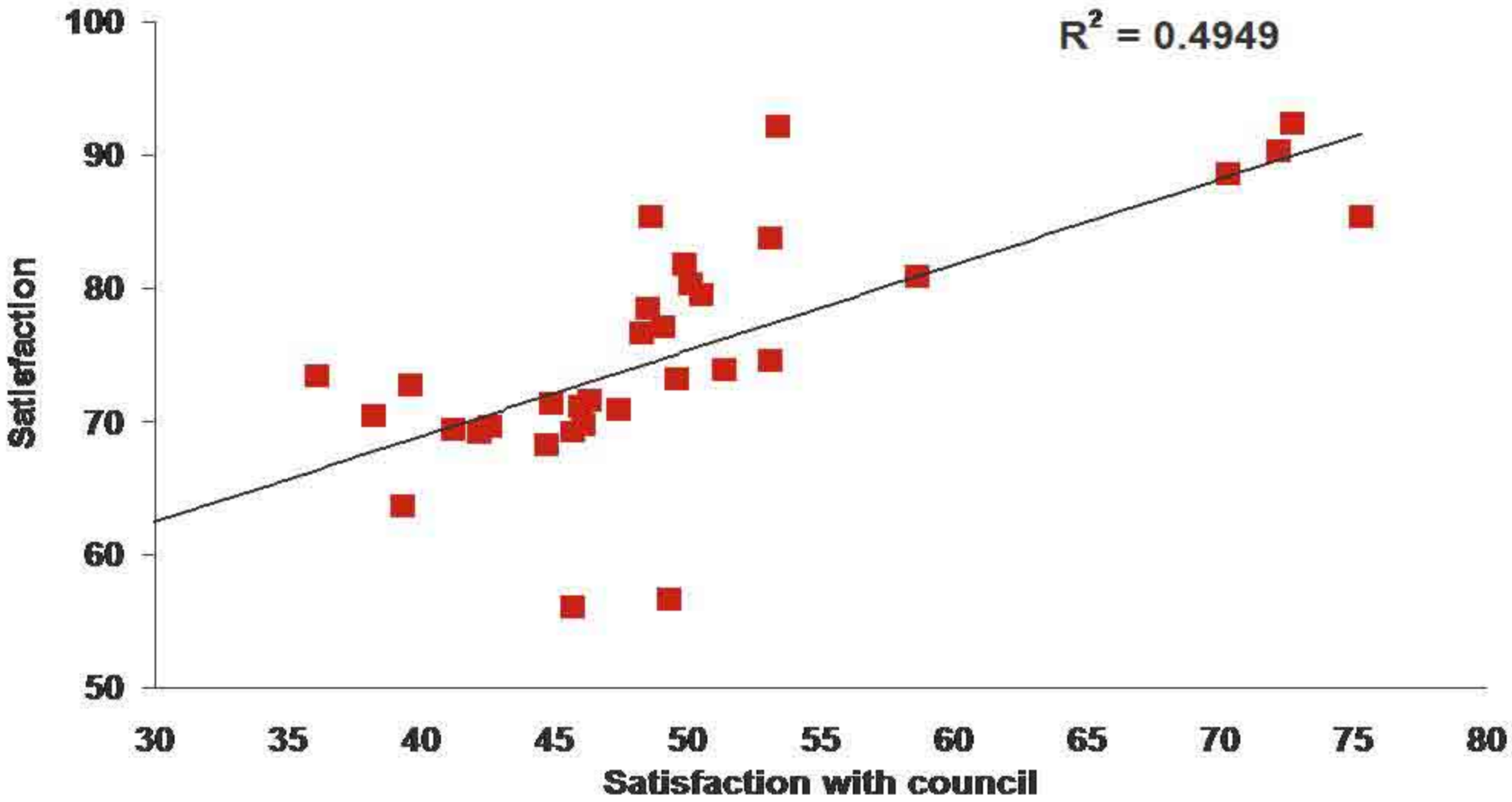
Satisfaction with local area vs perception of abandoned cars



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

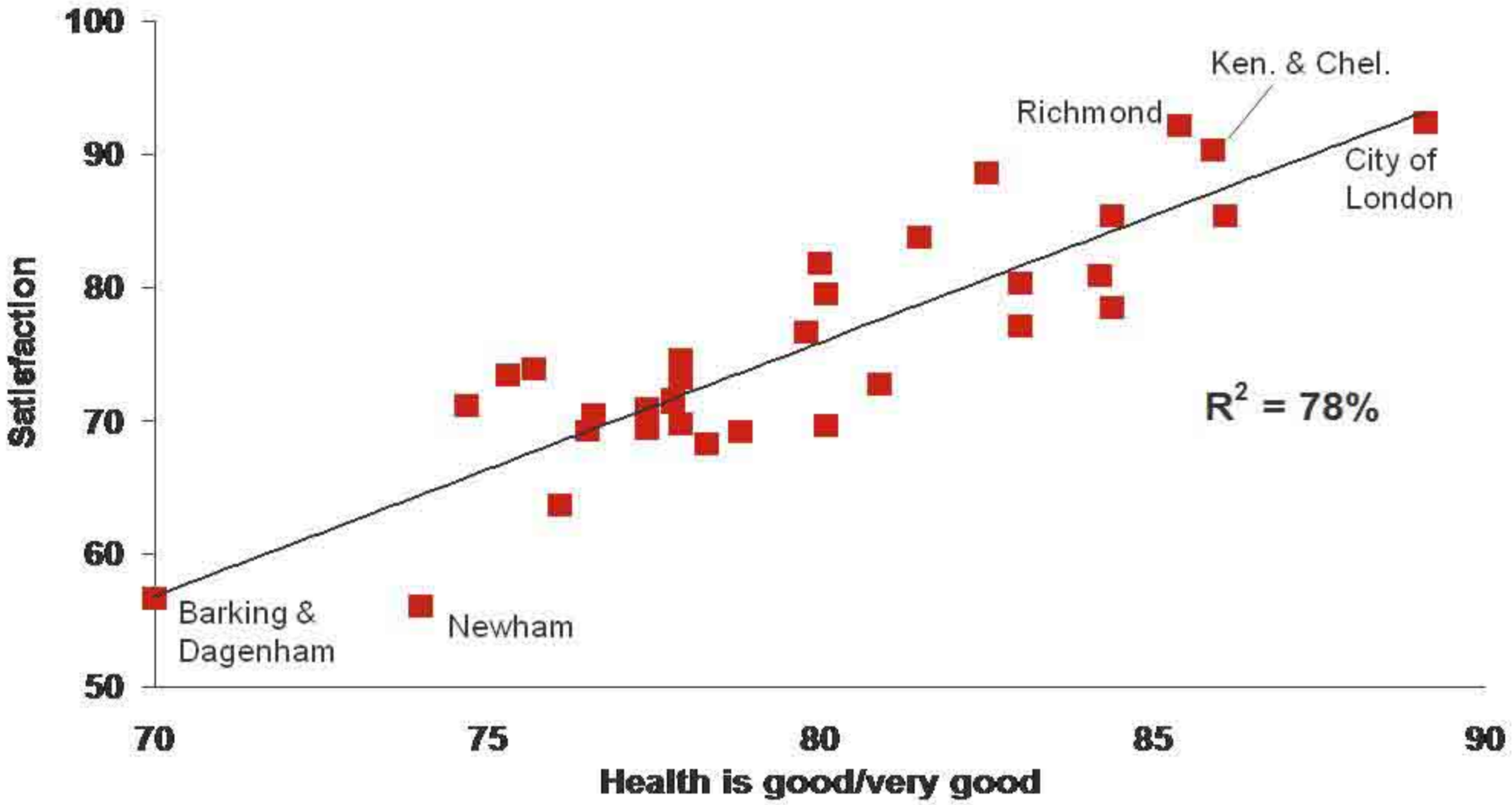
Satisfaction with local area vs satisfaction with council



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

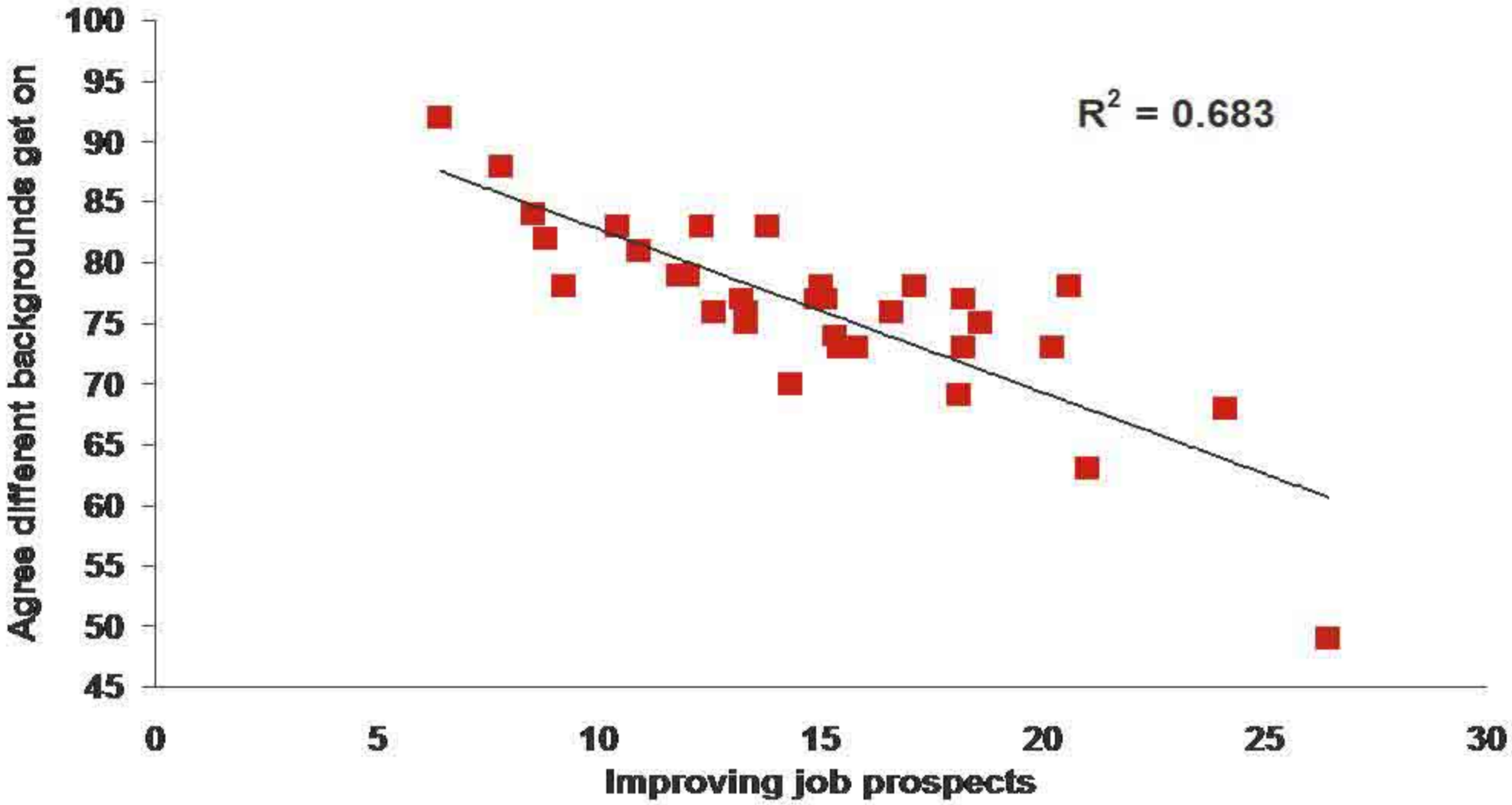
Satisfaction with local area vs quality of health



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

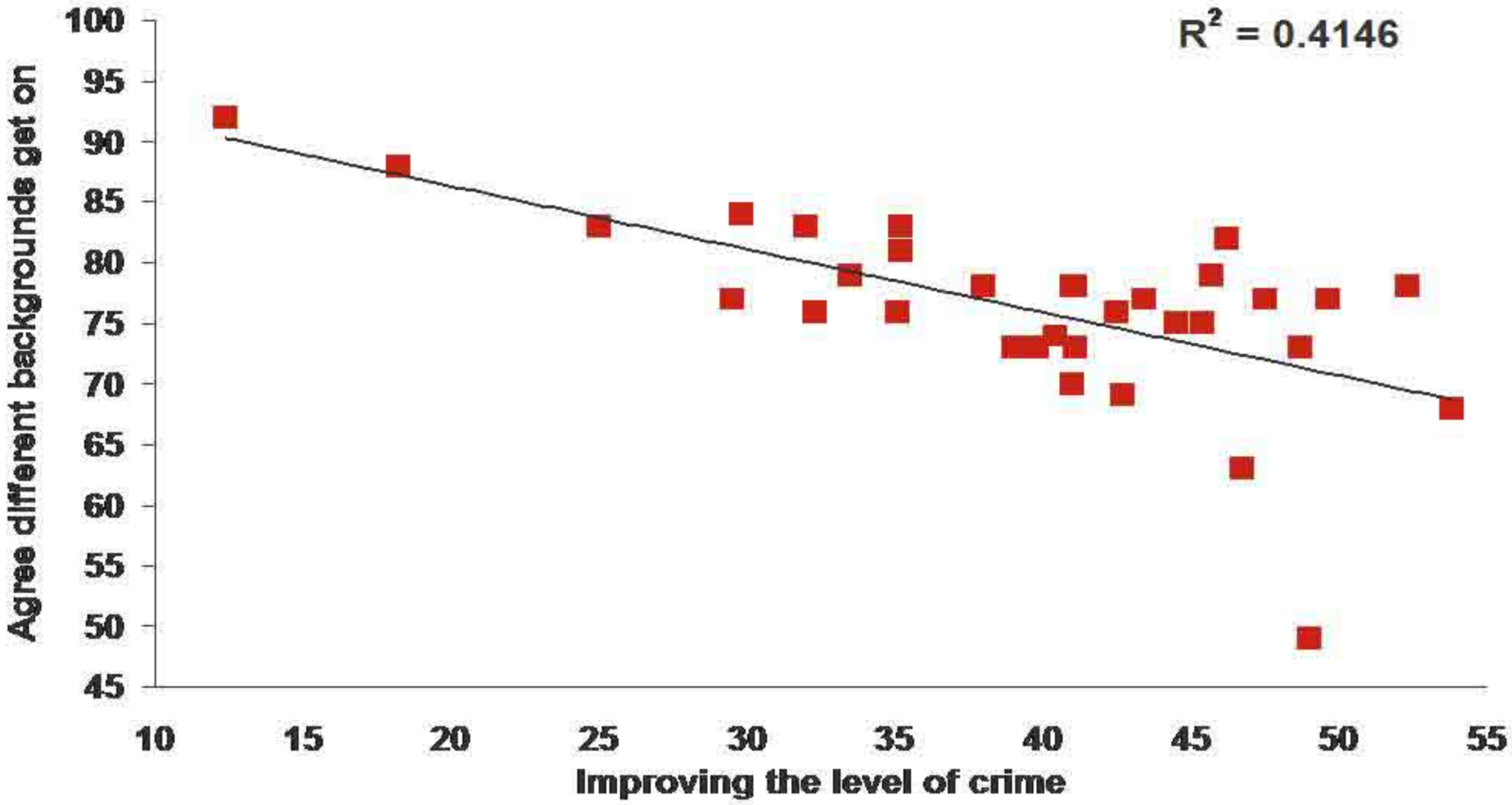
Social cohesion vs improving job prospects



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

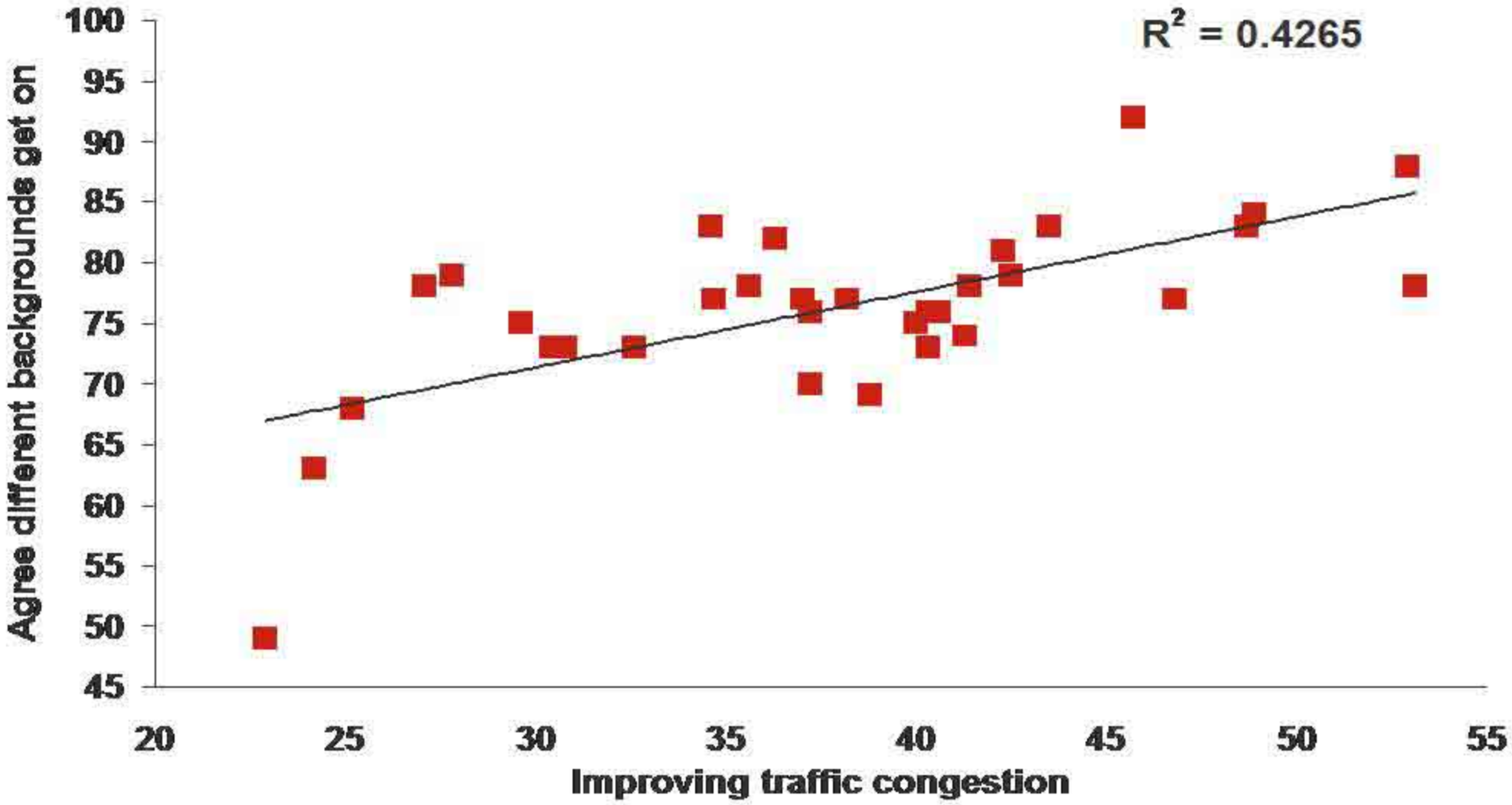
Social cohesion vs improving the level of crime



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

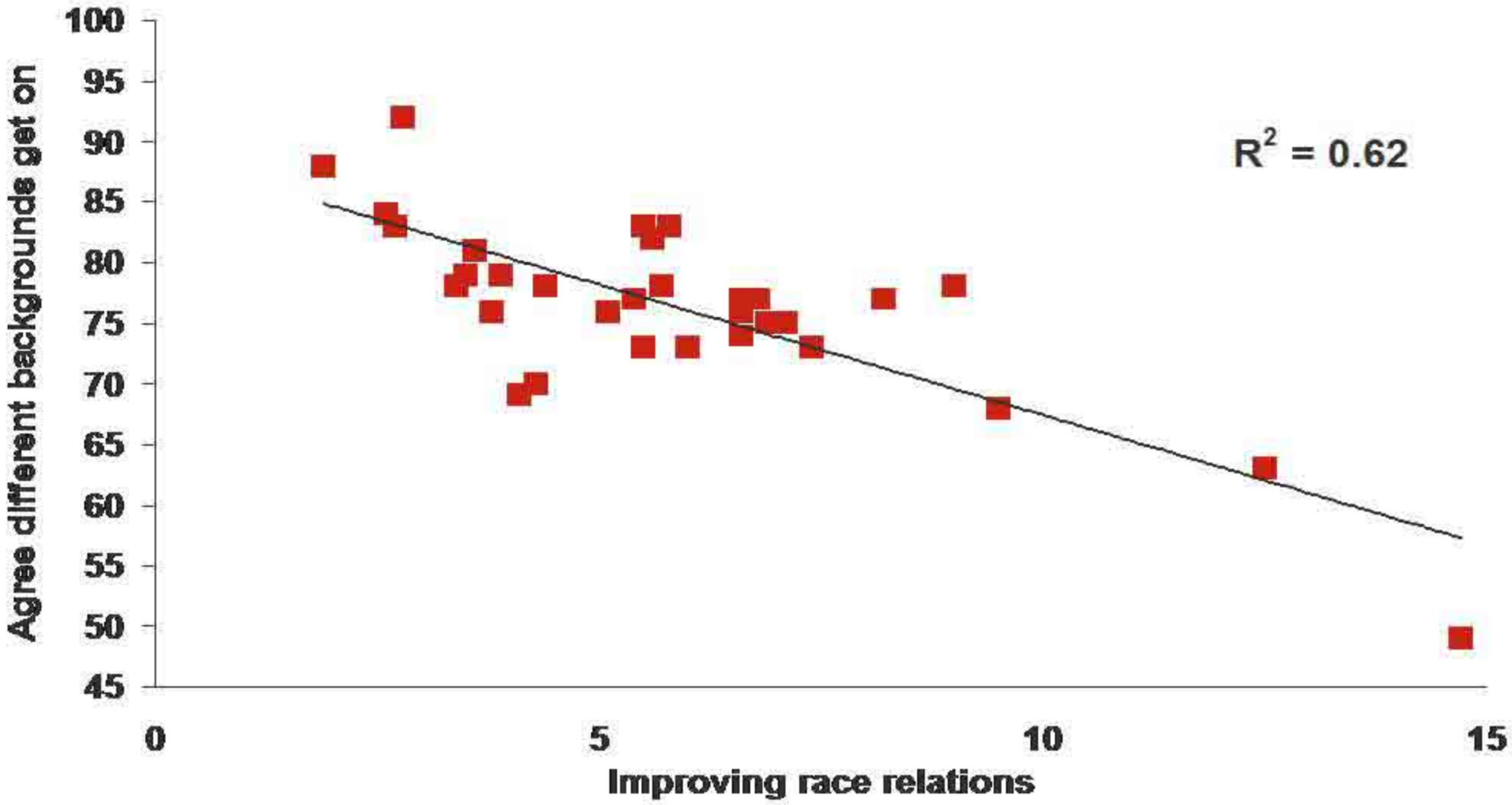
Social cohesion vs improving the level of traffic congestion



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

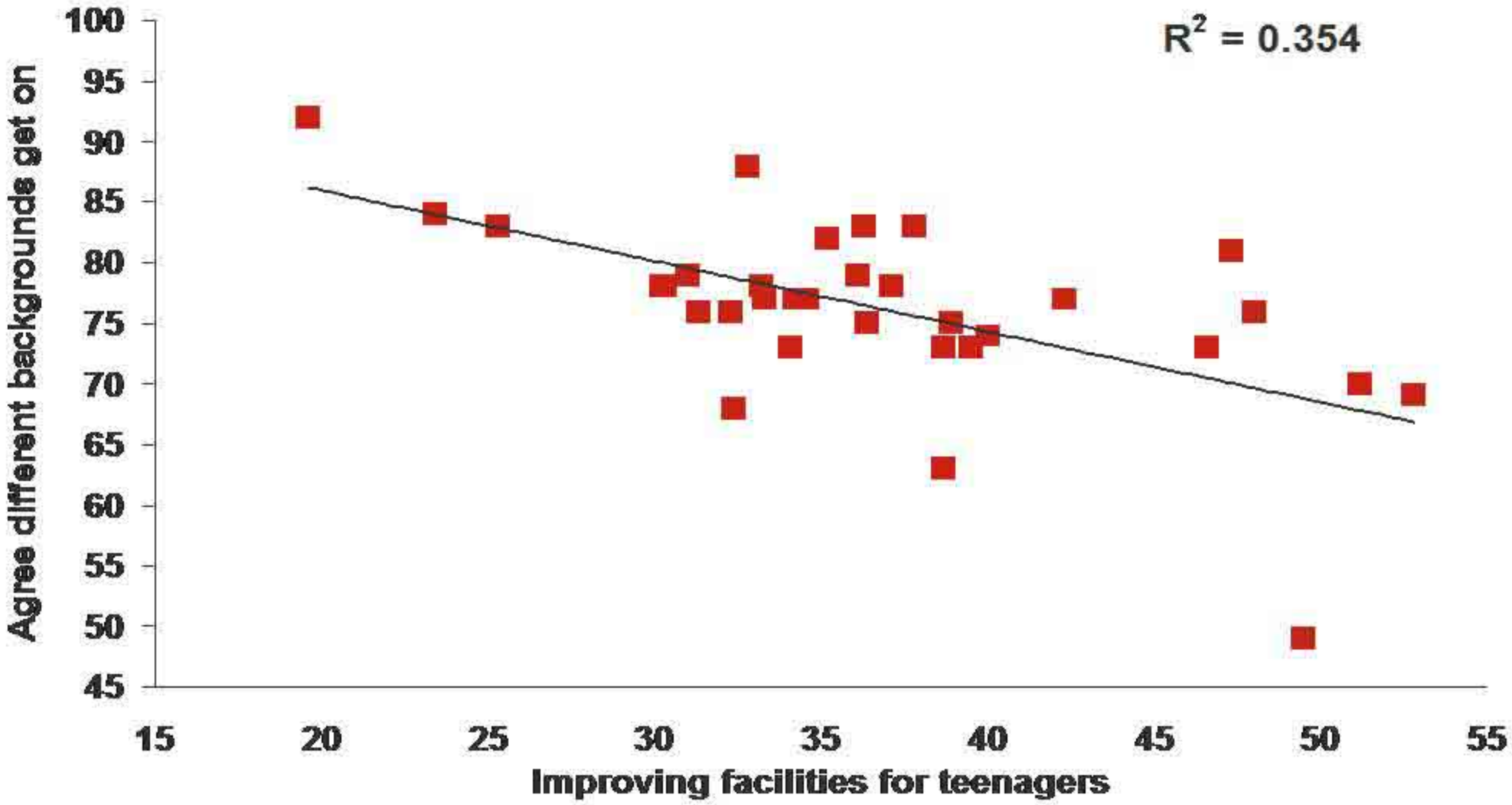
Social cohesion vs improving race relations



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

Social cohesion vs improving facilities for teenagers



Base: All valid responses, 33 London Boroughs, Place Survey 2008/09

Source: Ipsos MORI

General Election Centre:

http://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchspecialisms/socialresearch/specareas/politics/generalelection2010.aspx

Please direct queries or press requests to:

Ben.Page@ipsos.com
Bobby.Duffy@ipsos.com
Daniel.Cameron@ipsos.com
Tomasz.Mludzinski@ipsos.com

Ipsos MORI

GENERAL ELECTION 2010

Thank you.
Questions?

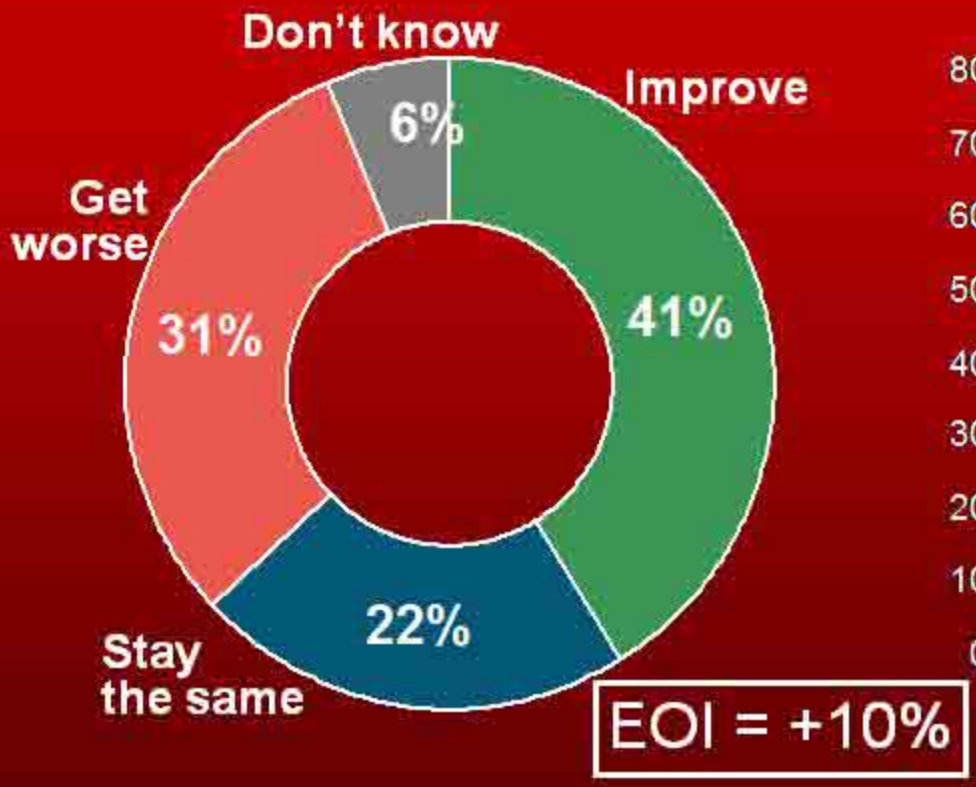
rmworcester@yahoo.com

Economic Optimism

Economic Optimism Index

Q "Do you think that the general economic condition of the country will improve, stay the same or get worse over the next 12 months?"

May 2010



January 2004 – May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Base: 1,023 British adults 18+, 12th-13th May 2010

The Ipsos MORI Economic Optimism Index

Q "Do you think that the general economic condition of the country will improve, stay the same or get worse over the next 12 months?"

Base: c. 1,000 British adults each month; (March 2010: 1,253 adults)

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

Economic Optimism since 1979

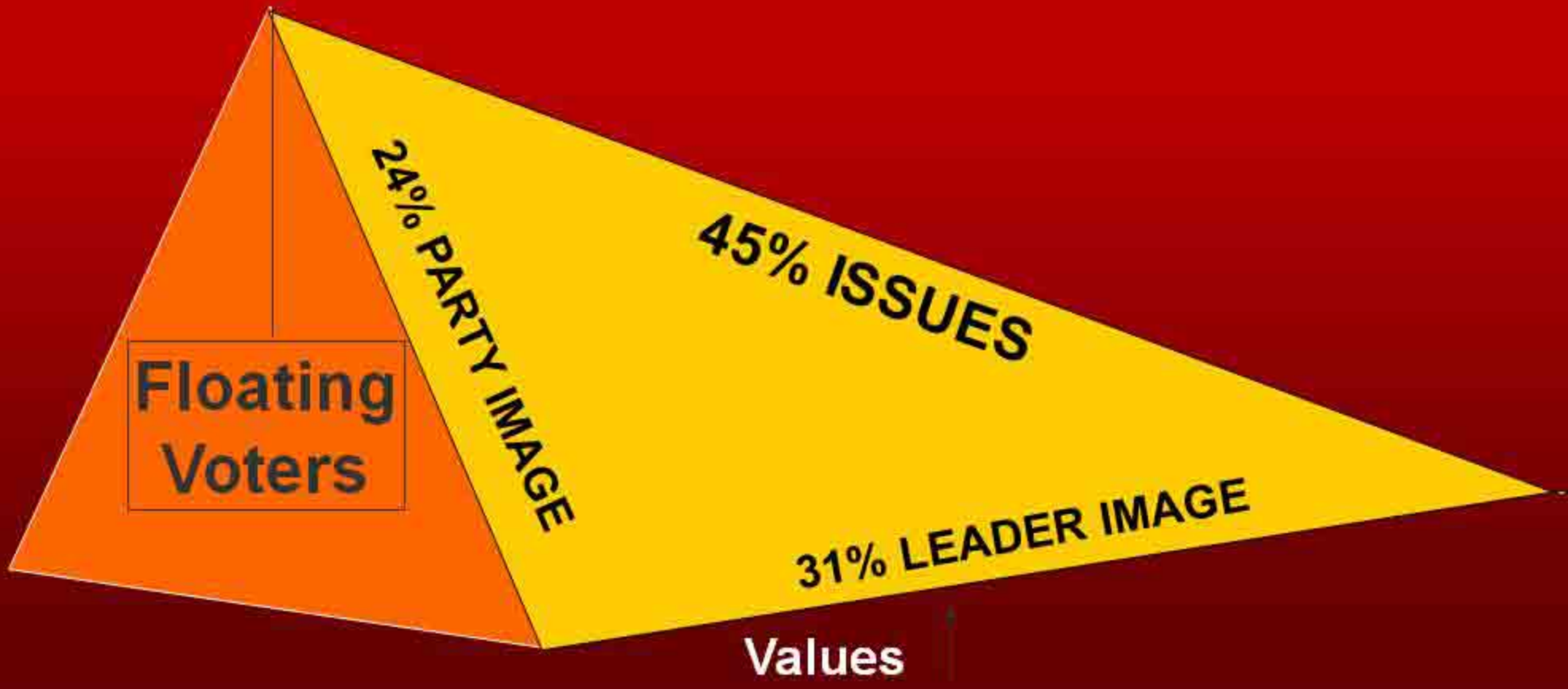
Q "Do you think that the general economic condition of the country will improve, stay the same or get worse over the next 12 months?"

Base: c. 1,000 British adults each month; (March 2010: 1,253 adults)

Source: Ipsos MORI/News of the World

The Political Triangle© 2005 General Election

Q *I want you to think about what it is that most attracted you to the ... party. Some people are attracted mainly by the policies of the party, some by the leaders of the party and some because they identify with the party as a whole. If you had a total of ten points to allocate according to how important each of these was to you, how many points would you allocate to the leaders of the party you intend voting for, how many to its policies, and how many to the party as a whole?*

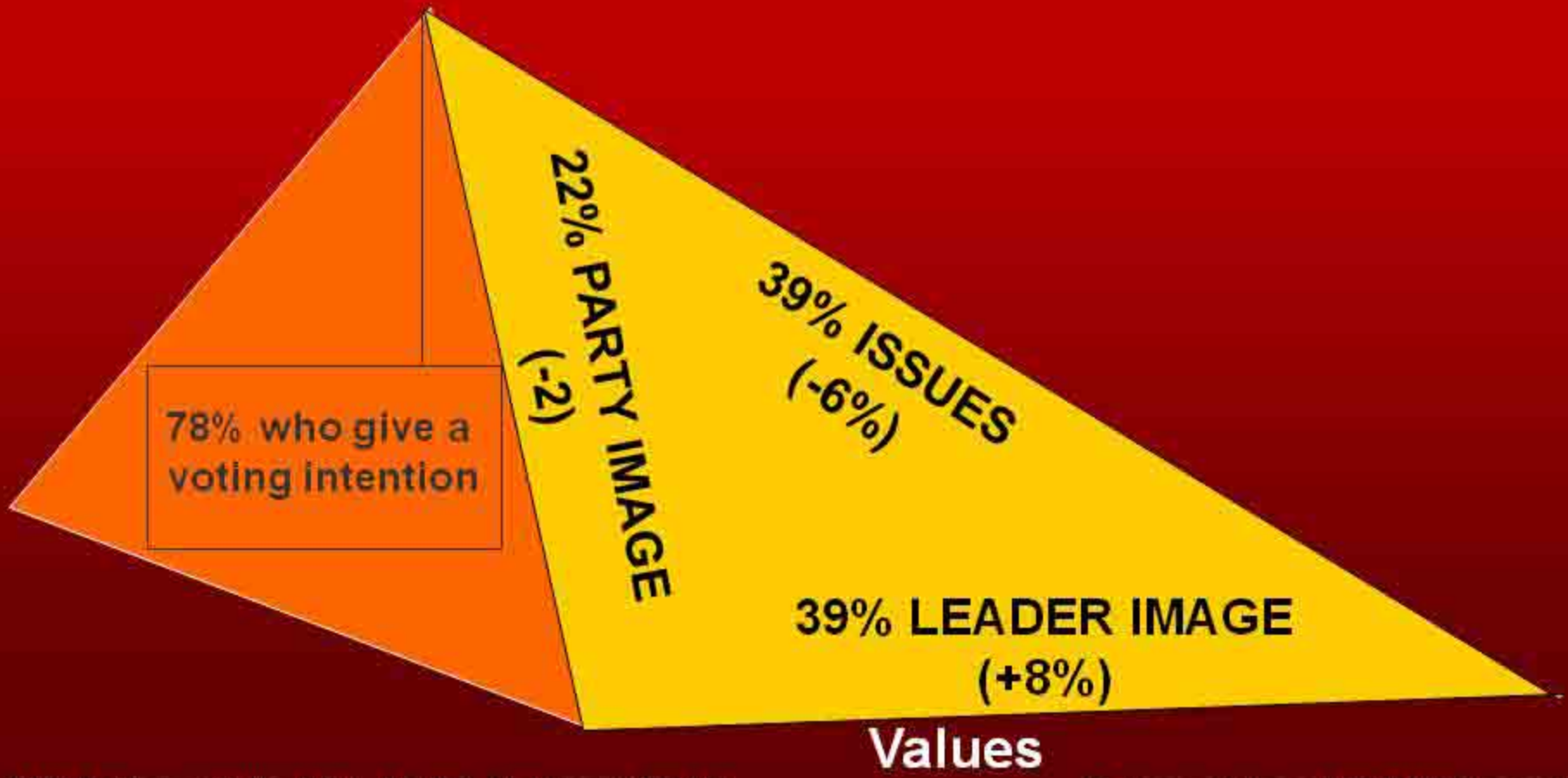


Base: 1,742 British adults 18+, 21-25 April 2005

Source: MORI/Financial Times

The Political Triangle© 2010 General Election

Q *"I want you to think about what it is that most attracted you to the … party. Some people are attracted mainly by the policies of the party, some by the leaders of the party and some because they identify with the party as a whole. If you had a total of ten points to allocate according to how important each of these was to you, how many points would you allocate to the leaders of the party you intend voting for, how many to its policies, and how many to the party as a whole?"*

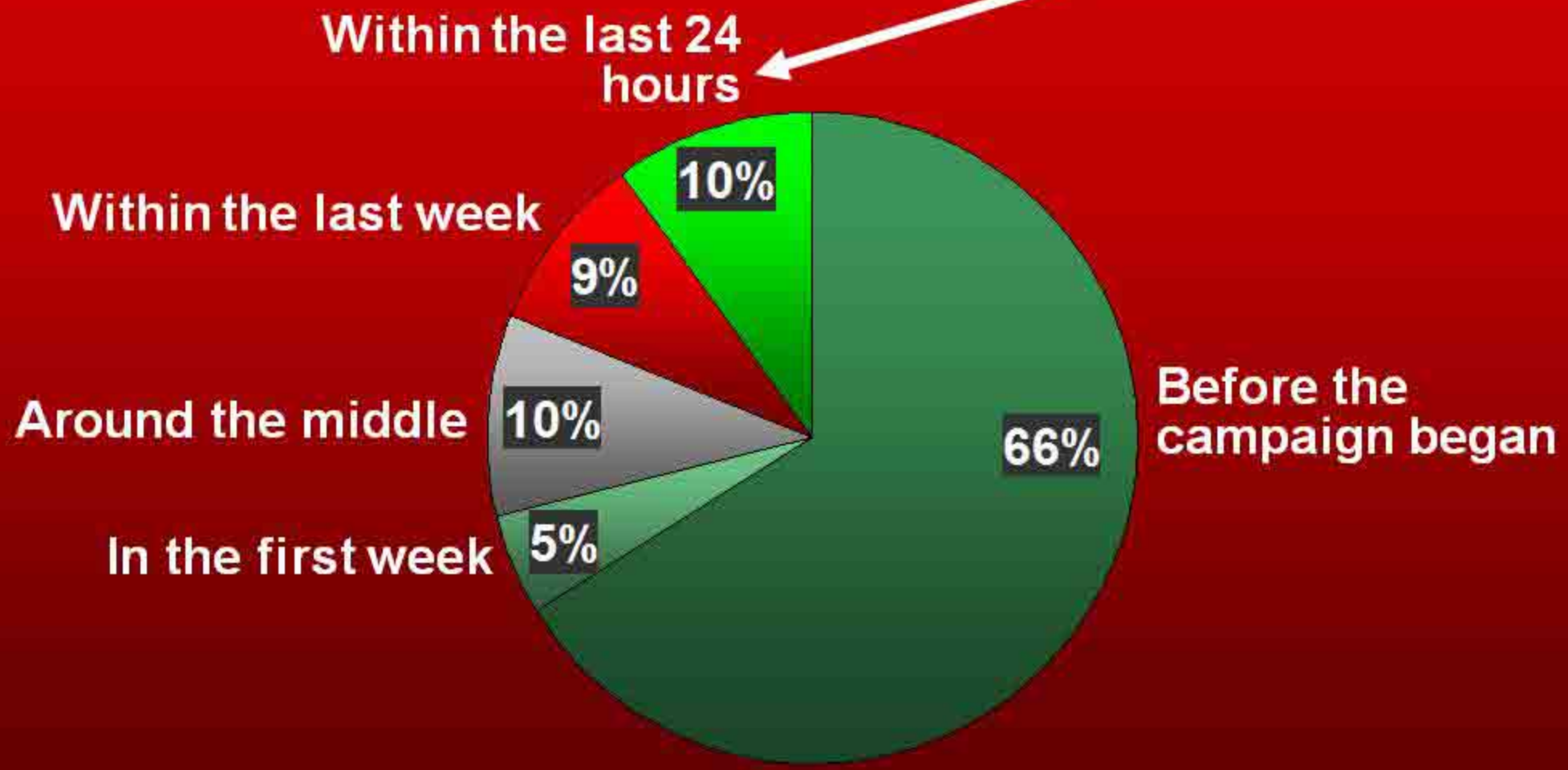


Base: 1,210 British adults 18+, 19-22 February 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/Observer

10% Decide Whether to Vote - or Not - on the Day

Q When did you decide which party to vote for?



Base: Voted in the General Election (1,399) 18+, 7-11 April 2005

Source MORI

Voting Trends: All Election Polls - from 7 April to 5 May 2010, Election 6 May 2010

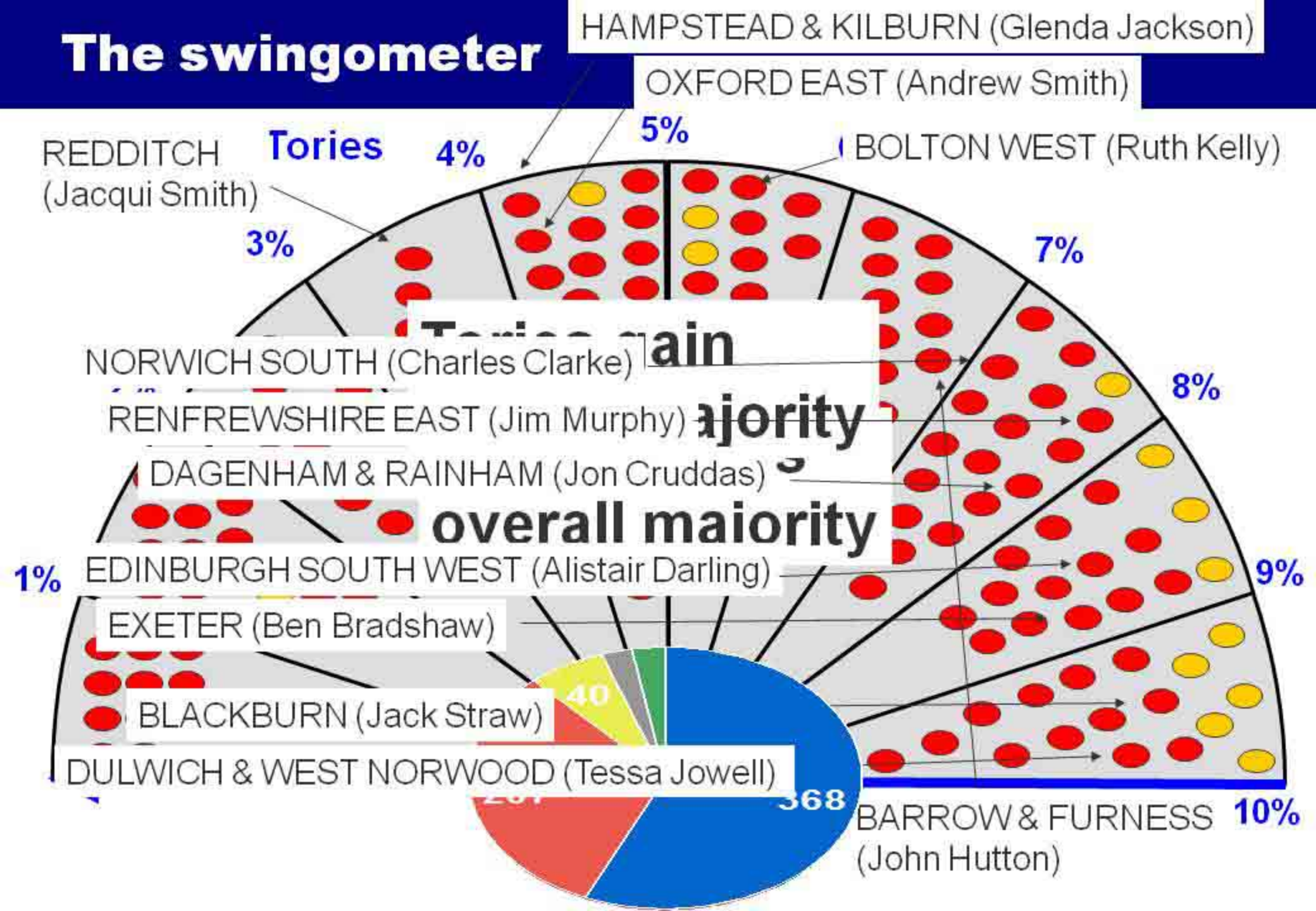
= Internet poll * = Telephone poll, + = face-to-face, ~ = Figures for those "absolutely certain" to vote

7 May 2010

Dates of Fieldwork	Sample Size	Published Date	Poll/ Media	Con	Con Lead	Lab	LD	Other	Swing
				%	%	%	%	%	%
2005 GENERAL ELECTION RESULT				33		36	23	8	-3
FINAL PRE-ELECTION POLLS				38		30	20	12	8
Latest Election Call Polls								Average Swing from Labour to Conservative from 2005 General Election to call of 2010 Election	5.5
5-6 April	1,456	07-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	40		32	17	11	8	5.5
6-7 April	1,454	08-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	37		32	19	12	5	4.0
6-7 April	2,100	07-Apr	Angus Reid / Politics / *Sterling.com*~	37		26	22	15	11	7.0
6-7 April	1,607	07-Apr	Populus/ *Times*~	39		32	21	8	7	5.0
7-8 April	1,636	09-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	40		31	18	11	9	6.0
07-Apr	1,002	10-Apr	ICM/ *S Tel*~	38				11	8	5.5
7-8 April	1,012	10-Apr	[illegible]	37				14	10	6.5
8-9 April	1,627	10-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	40				10	10	6.5
9-10 April	1,001	11-Apr	ComRes/ *Indy on S* / I Mirror*~	39				13	7	5.0
9-10 April	1,481	11-Apr	YouGov/ *S Times*~	40				10	8	5.5
9-10 April	2,051	11-Apr	BPIX/ *Mail*~	38				11	7	5.0
10-11 April	1,455	12-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	37		31	20	12	6	4.5
9-11 April	1,034	12-Apr	ICM/ *Guardian*~	37		31	20	12	6	4.5
9-11 April	1,535	12-Apr	Opinium/ *Express*~	39		31	17	13	8	5.5
10-11 April	1,004	12-Apr	ComRes/ *Indy on S* / ITV*~	37		30	20	13	7	5.0
11-12 April	1,469	13-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	39		33	20	8	6	4.5
9-12 April	2,006	14-Apr	Angus Reid / Politics / *Sterling.com*~	38		28	22	12	10	6.5
11-12 April	1,002	14-Apr	ComRes/ *Indy on S* / ITV*~	36		31	19	14	5	4.0
12-Apr	1,538	14-Apr	Populus/ *Times*~	36		33	21	10	3	3.0
12-13 April	1,550	14-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	39		31	20	10	8	5.5
7-13 April	1,916	15-Apr	[illegible]	36		33	22	9	3	3.0
13-14 April	1,575	15-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	41		32	18	9	9	6.0
12-13 April	1,001	15-Apr	ComRes/ *Indy on S* / ITV*~	35		29	21	15	6	4.5
5-13 April	1,520	15-Apr	[illegible]	36	Pre 1st Debate	27	23	14	9	6.0
14-15 April	1,490	16-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	37	Conservatives	31	22	10	6	4.5
16-Apr	1,190	17-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	33	37.6%	28	30	9	5	4.0
14-15 April	1,030	15-Apr	ICM/ *S Tel*~	34	2 (25/27)	29	27	10	5	4.0
15 April FIRST DEBATE									5.1
16-17 April	1,006	18-Apr	ComRes/ *Indy on S* / I Mirror*~	31		27	29	13	4	3.5
16-17 April	2,140	18-Apr	BPIX/ *Mail*~	31		28	32	9	3	3.0
16-17 April	1,400	18-Apr	YouGov/ *S Times*~	33		30	29	8	3	3.0
17-18 April	1,430	19-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	32		26	33	9	6	4.5
18-19 April	1,800	20-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	33		27	31	9	6	4.5
16-19 April	1,987	20-Apr	Opinium/ *Express*~	32		26	29	13	6	4.5
17-18 April	1,000	20-Apr	ComRes/ *Indy on S* / ITV*~	32		28	28	12	4	3.5
16-19 April	2,004	20-Apr	Angus Reid / Politics / *Sterling.com*~	32		24	32	12	8	5.5
18-18 April	1,024	20-Apr	ICM/ *Guardian*~	33		28	30	9	5	4.0
18-19 April	1,012	21-Apr	ComRes/ *Indy on S* / ITV*~	35		26	26	13	9	6.0
19-20 April	1,698	21-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	31		26	34	9	5	4.0
20-21 April	1,648	22-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	33		27	31	9	6	4.5
14-19 April	2,062	23-Apr	[illegible]	31		26	30	13	5	4.0
19-20 April	1,801	23-Apr	Populus/ *Times*~	32	Post 1st Debate	28	31	9	4	3.5
19-20 April	1,960	23-Apr	Angus Reid / Politics / *Sterling.com*~	32	Conservatives	23	33	12	9	6.0
15-20 April	1,260	23-Apr	IMORI/ *Ruling Incident*~~	32	32.5%	28	32	8	4	3.5
19-20 April	1,016	22-Apr	ComRes/ *Indy*~	35	0 (19/19)	25	27	13	10	6.5
14-20 April	1,960	22-Apr	[illegible]	34	-5.1%	29	30	7	5	4.0
21-22 April	1,676	23-Apr	YouGov/ *Sun*	34	-52%	29	28	9	5	4.0
22 April SECOND DEBATE									4.3

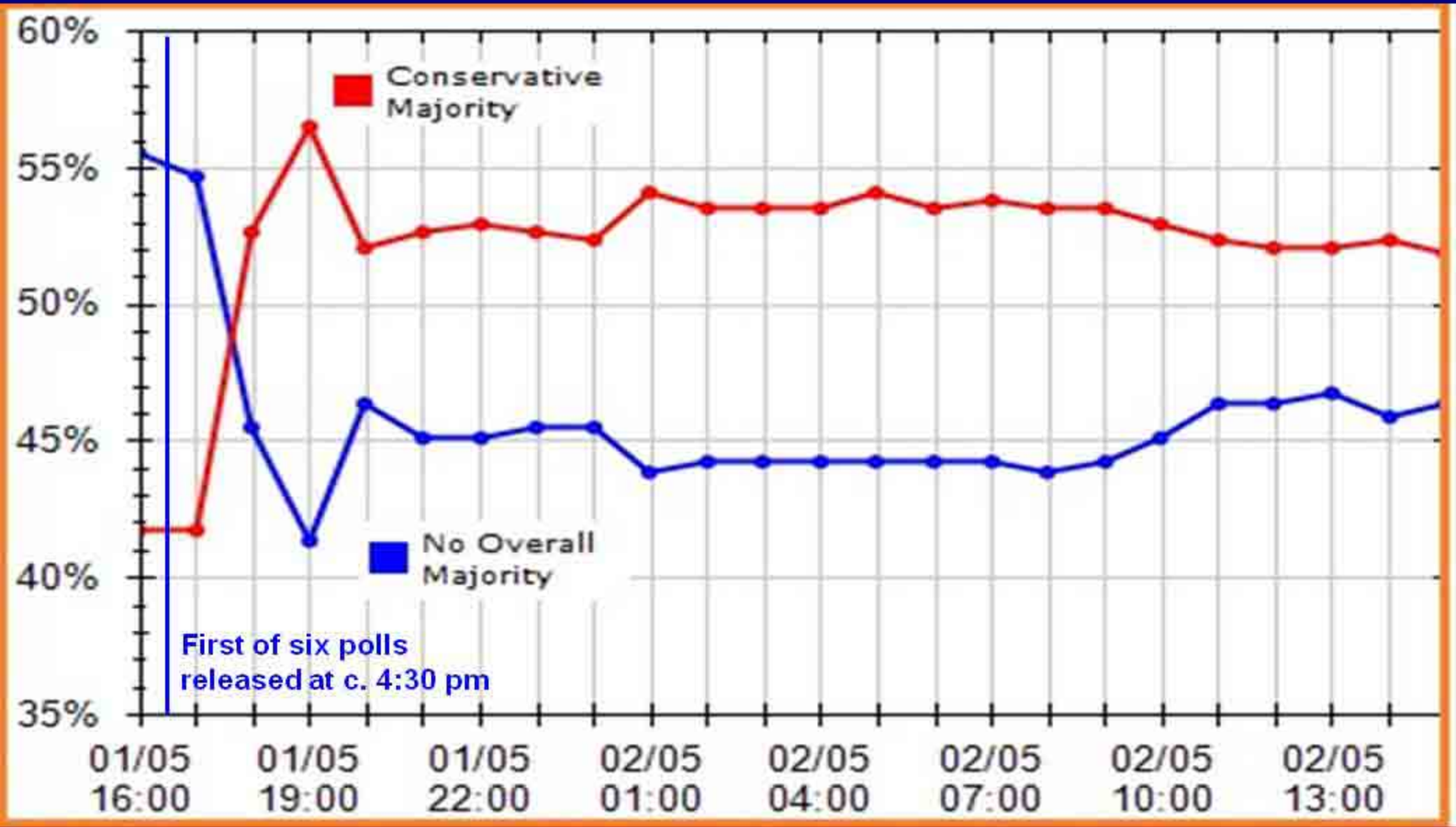
HANDOUT

The swingometer



Speculation

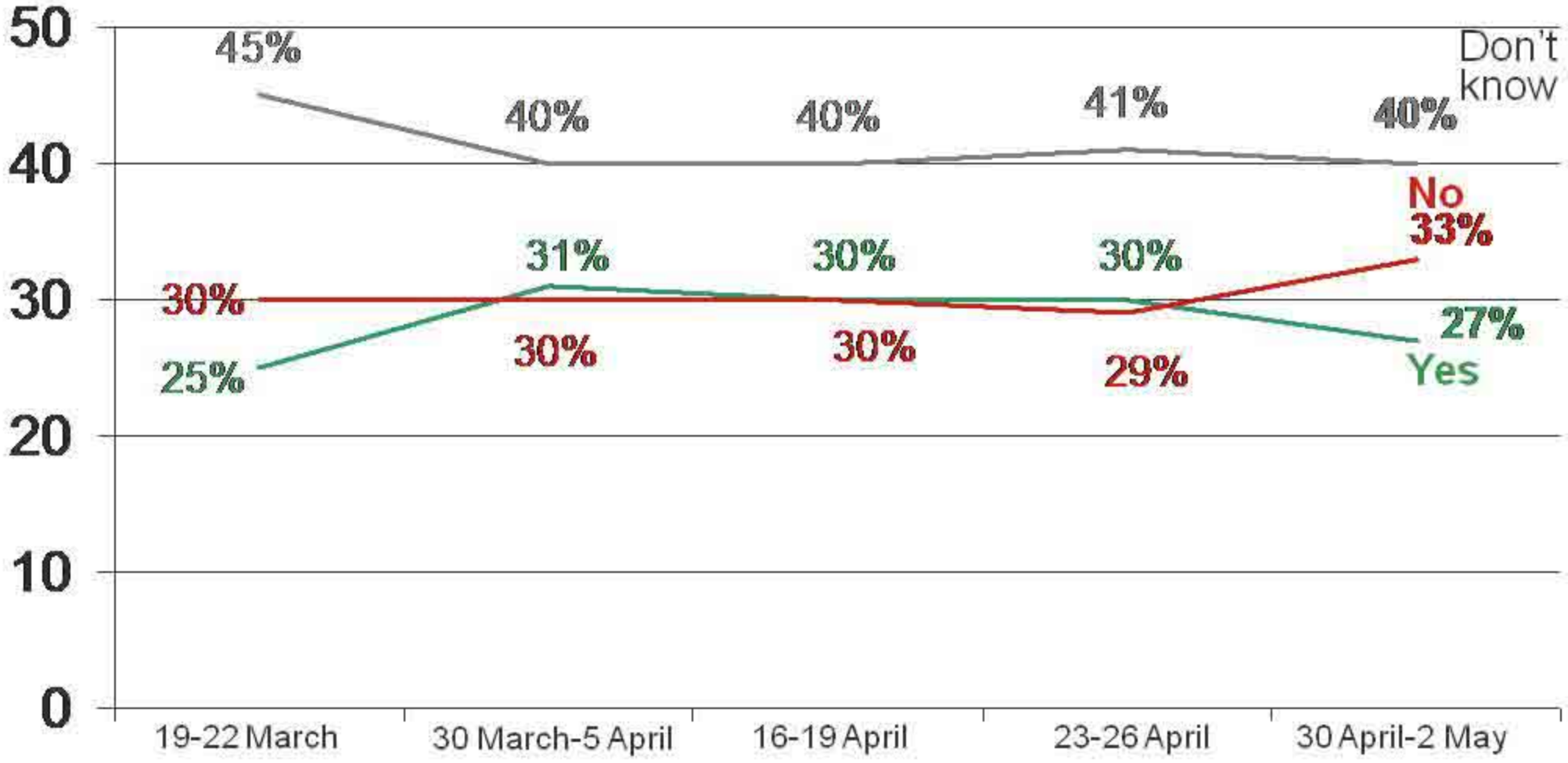
Watch the money watch the polls



Source: www.betfair.com via www.politicalbetting.com

Live in a marginal

Q"As far as you know, do you live in a marginal constituency?"

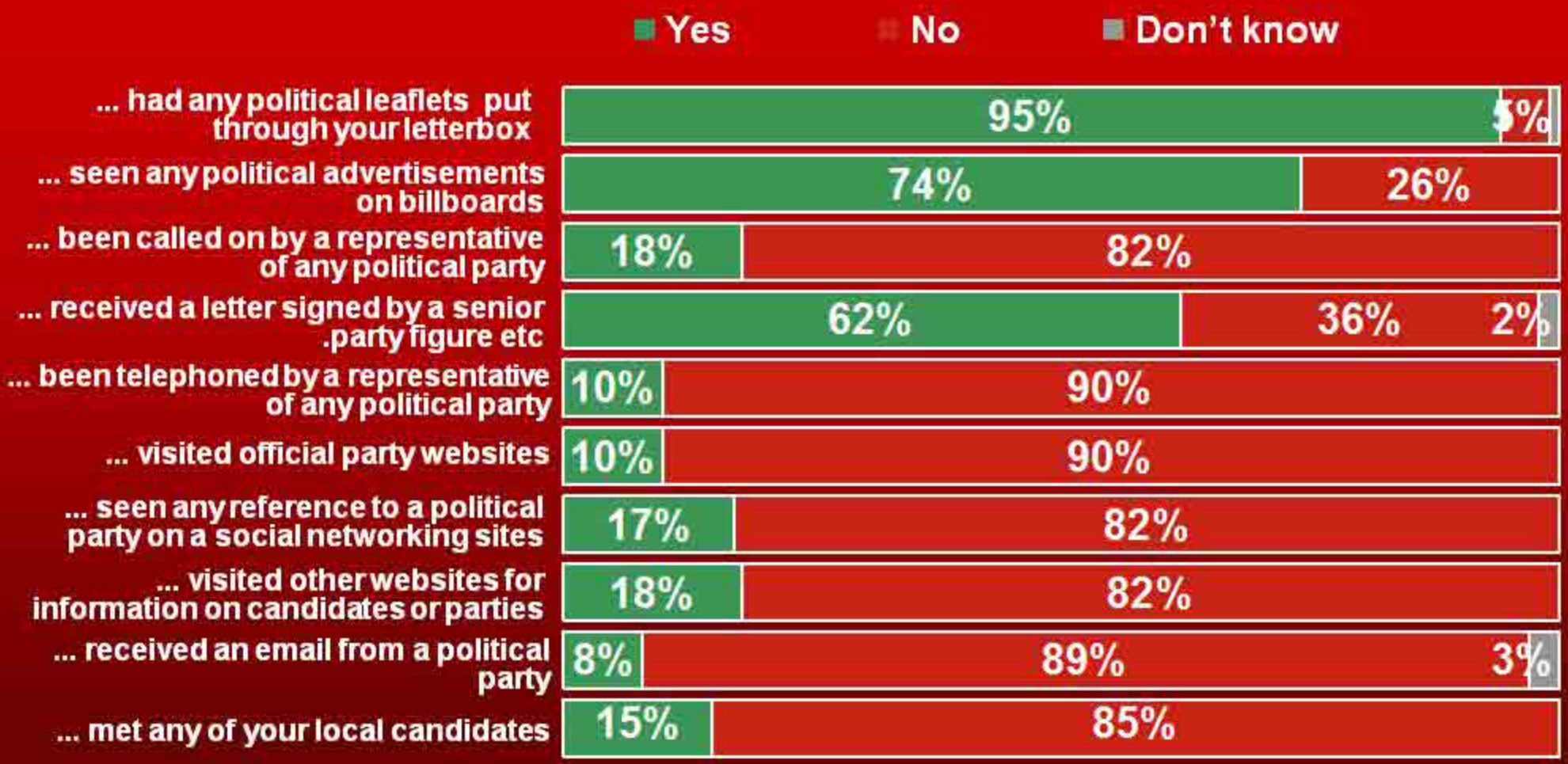


Base: c. 1,000, British electors in marginal constituencies, by telephone, each wave

Source: Ipsos MORI/Reuters

Exposure to the election campaign

Q "During the past week, have you. . .?"



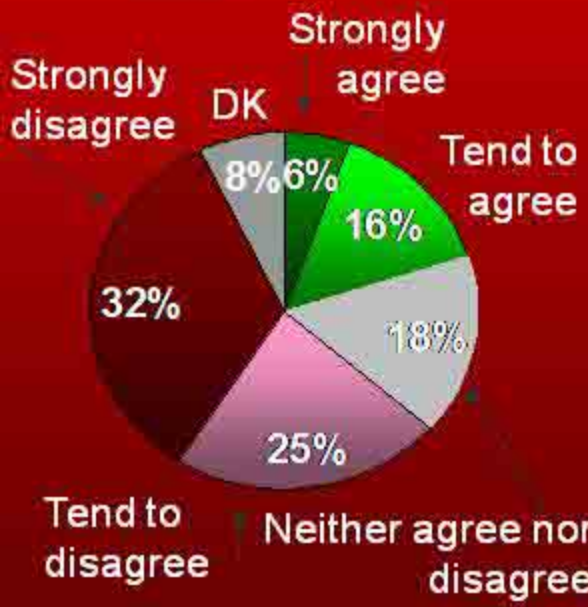
Base: 1,004, all respondents aged 18+ in marginal constituencies, 30 April-2 May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/Reuters

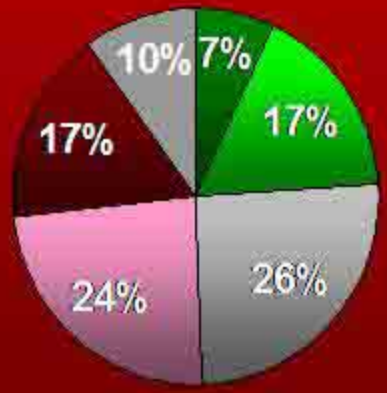
State of the parties

Q …do you agree or disagree that…

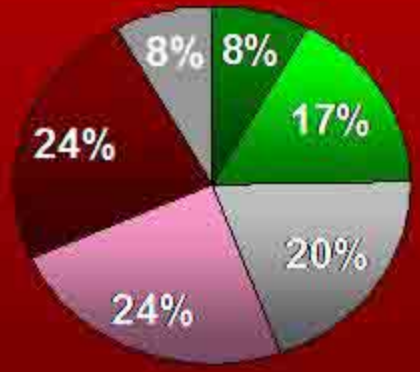
…Political parties in Britain enable the people to have a voice.



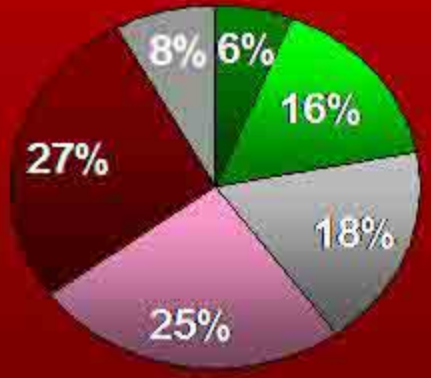
…Political parties are a hindrance to democracy



…Britain would be better off if political parties did not exist, and all politicians were independent



…Political parties in Britain are open and transparent



Base: 973 British adults 15+, 31.8-7.9.06

Source: Ipsos MORI/ Young Foundation

What would make political parties more appealing?

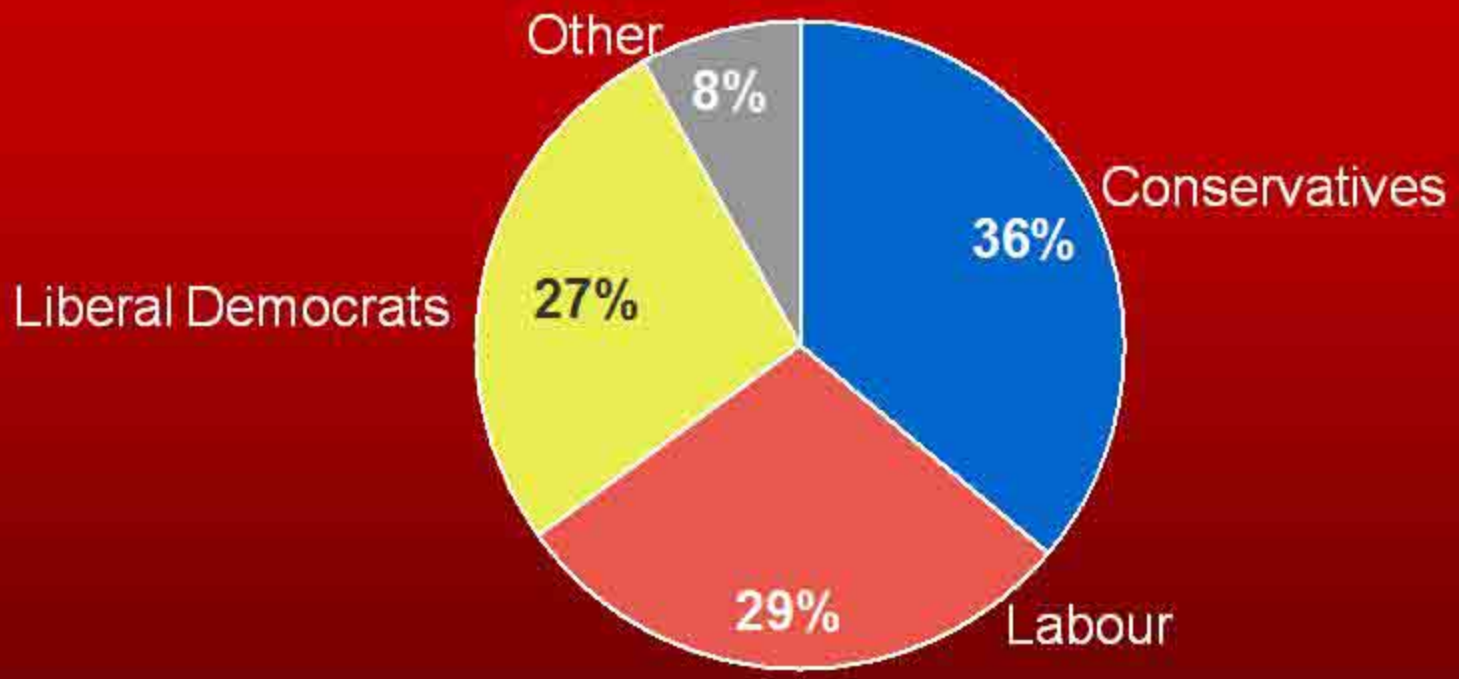
Q Which two or three of the following changes to political parties would help to make political parties more appealing to you?

Base: 973 British adults 15+, 31.8-7.9.06

Source: Ipsos MORI/ Young Foundation

Tories go into election day with 7% lead

Q. "How do you intend to vote in the general election tomorrow?"



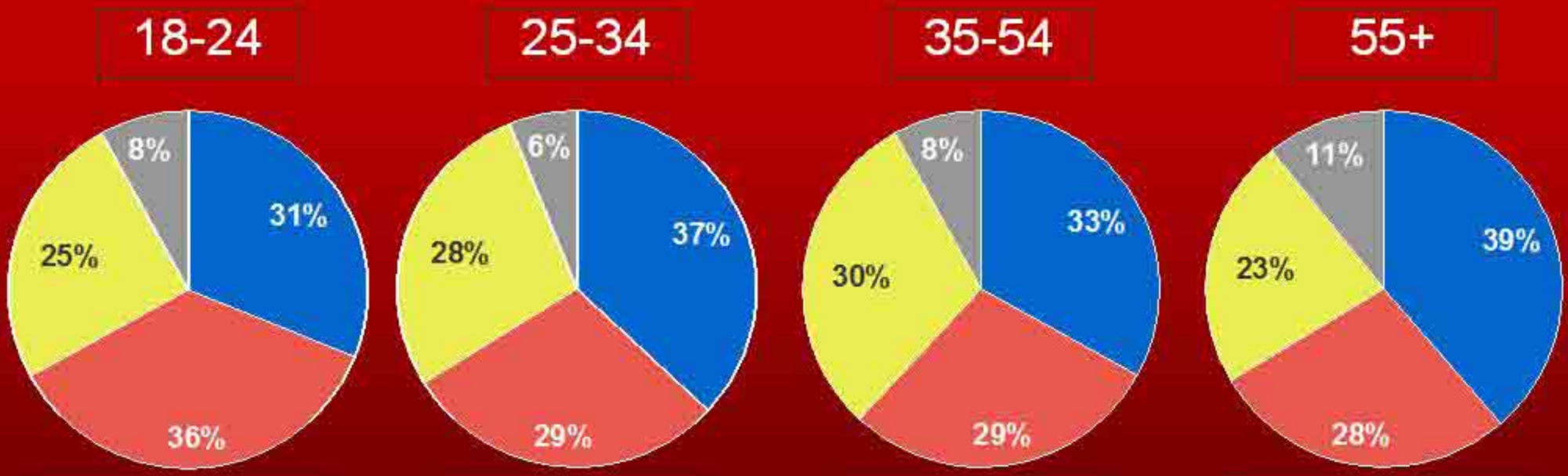
Conservative lead = +7

Base: 1,216 British electors, 930 certain to vote, by telephone, 5th May 2010

Voting Intention by age

Q. "How do you intend to vote in the general election tomorrow?"

Conservatives | Labour | Liberal Democrats | Other



Base: 1,216 British electors, 930 certain to vote, by telephone, 5th May 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/London Evening Standard

Reporting the Polls

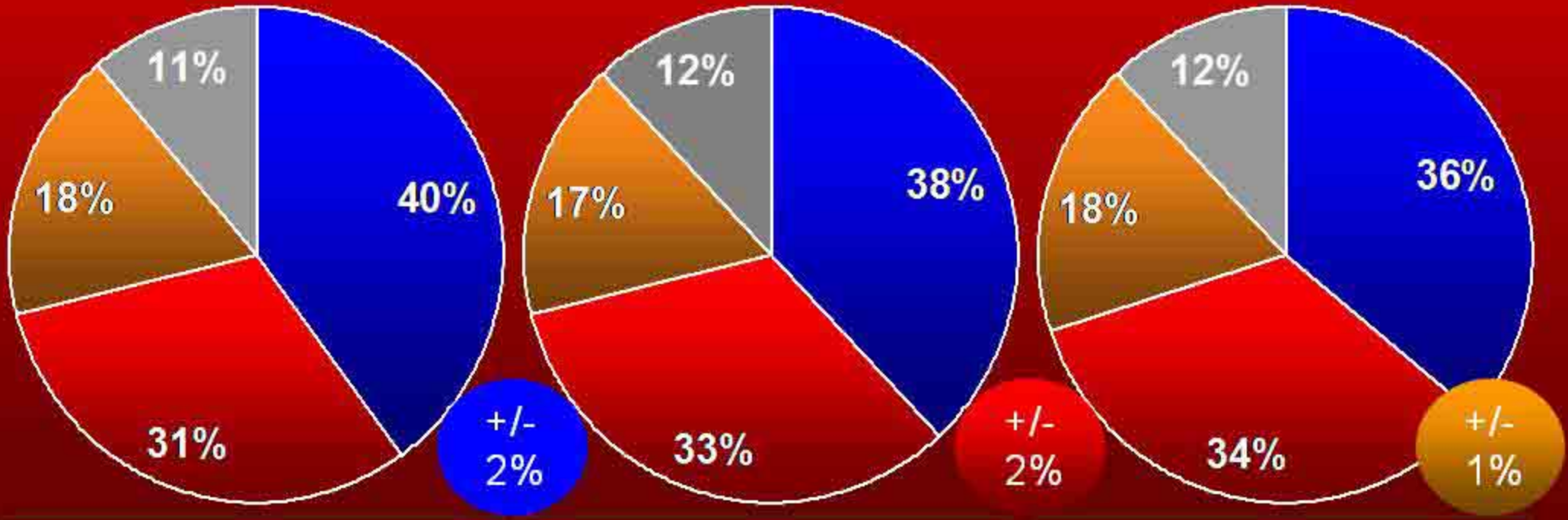
Six simple lessons about reporting the polls which the media don't want to understand

- Lesson #1 Watch the share, not the lead!

Lesson #1: Watch the share, not the lead
("How can we believe the polls? – Sunday 7.3.10)

Q "*How would you vote if there were a general election tomorrow?*" (various wordings)

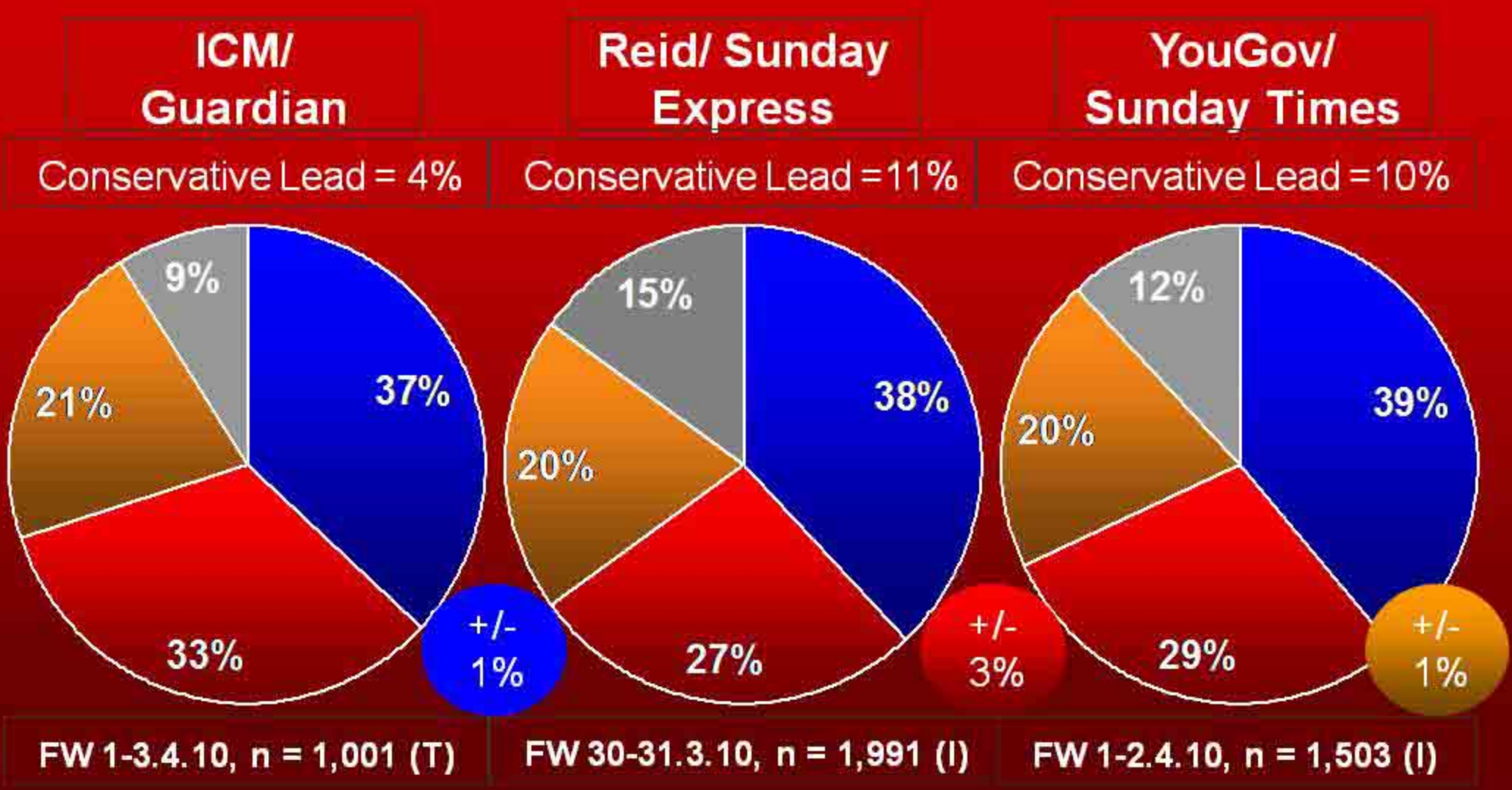
ICM/News of the World	BPIX/Mail on Sunday	YouGov/ Sunday Times
Conservative Lead = 9%	Conservative Lead = 5%	Conservative Lead = 2%



FW 3-4.4.10, n = 1,005 (T)	FW 4-5.3.10, n = 5,655 (I)	FW 4-5.3.10, n = 1,556 (I)

Lesson #1: Watch the share, not the lead
("The polls are in chaos" – 4-5.4.10 – a month later)

Q "*How would you vote if there were a general election tomorrow?*" (various wordings)



Six simple lessons about reporting the polls which the media don't want to understand

- Lesson #1 Watch the share, not the lead!
- Lesson #2 Watch the fieldwork dates
- Lesson #3 Watch what's happening ("events dear boy, events")
- Lesson #4 Watch how the media express scepticism about the polls
- Lesson #5 And then how the media act as if they are the gospel
- Lesson #6 When a politician tells you he/she doesn't pay any attention to the polls, remember, he/she's lying

Cartoon Slide

Outline of the Presentation

- Modelling British Politics
- The British Election
- Performance of the Polls
- Reporting the Polls
- Conclusion

Modelling British Politics

Sources: "Explaining Labour's Landslide, ELSL, Explaining Labour's Landslip", Worcester & Mortimore (+Baines)

Understanding Public Opinion Research

- We measure perceptions, not facts
- Two kinds of findings we bring to our clients: reality, and misperception
- Five things we find: behaviour, knowledge, and…
- three levels of 'views':
  - Opinions
  - Attitudes
  - Values

Personalities & Policies

	Brown	Cameron	Clegg
	%	%	%
I like him and I like his policies	27	35	35
I like him but I do not like his policies	14	16	33
I do not like him but I like his policies	14	9	4
I do not like him and I do not like his policies	41	36	19
Don't know	5	5	10
Total like him	41	51	68
Total do not like him	55	45	23
Net like him	-14	6	45
Total like his policies	41	44	39
Total do not like his policies	55	52	52
Net like his policies	-14	-8	-13
Net like him/like his policies	-28	-2	32

Base: 1,018, adults aged 18+ in marginal constituencies, 23-26 April 2010

Source: Ipsos MORI/Reuters

The Basics

What is Public Opinion?

"The 'views' of a defined population"

What, then, is a Public Opinion Poll?

The 'views' of a

[representative sample of a]

defined population

Opinion Research: A Simple Business Really

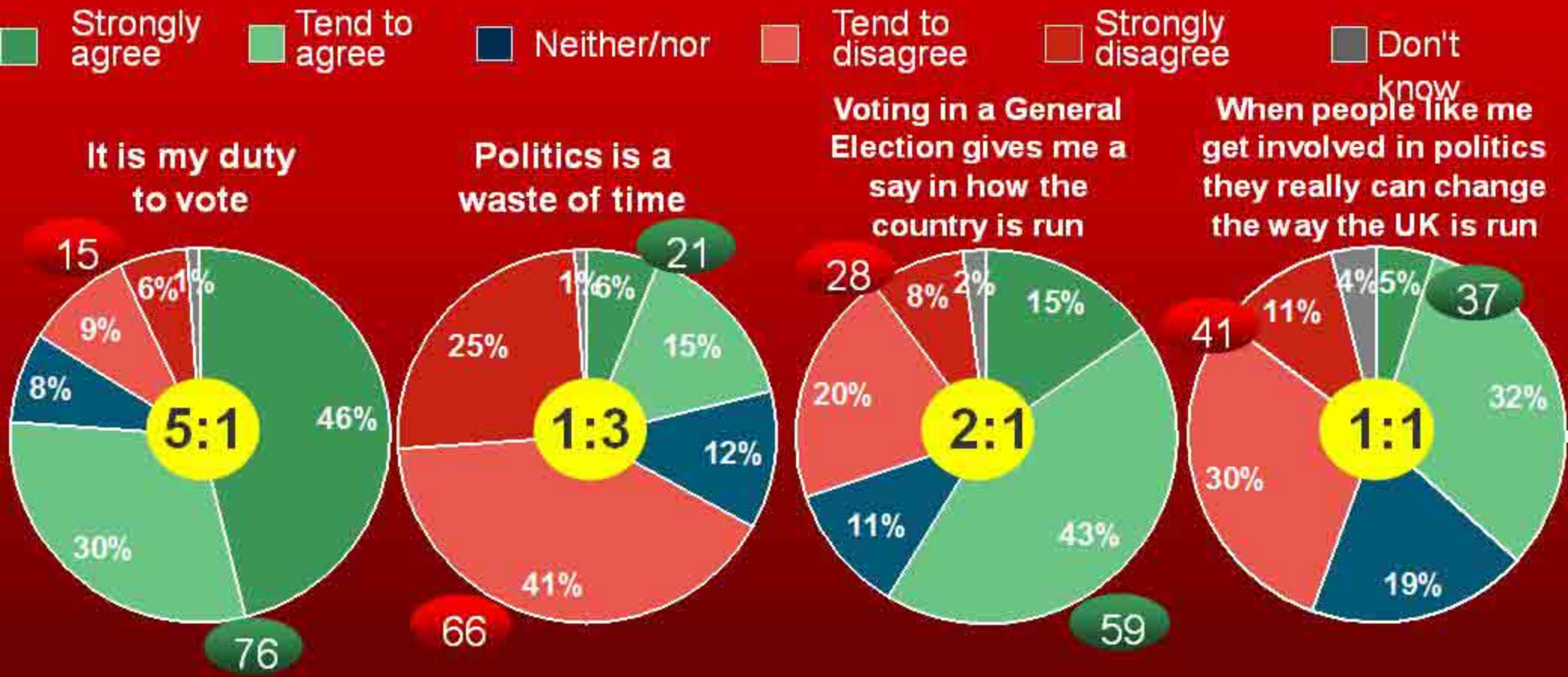
- Ask the right sample…
- the right questions…
- add up the figures correctly…
- report knowledgably and honestly

Reporting knowledgably and honestly

- Follow the Codes
  - Ipsos MORI Terms & Conditions of Contract
  - MRS Code of Conduct
  - Esomar
  - WAPOR
- Polls for Publication (x 2)

Views of Politics

Q *"To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?"*

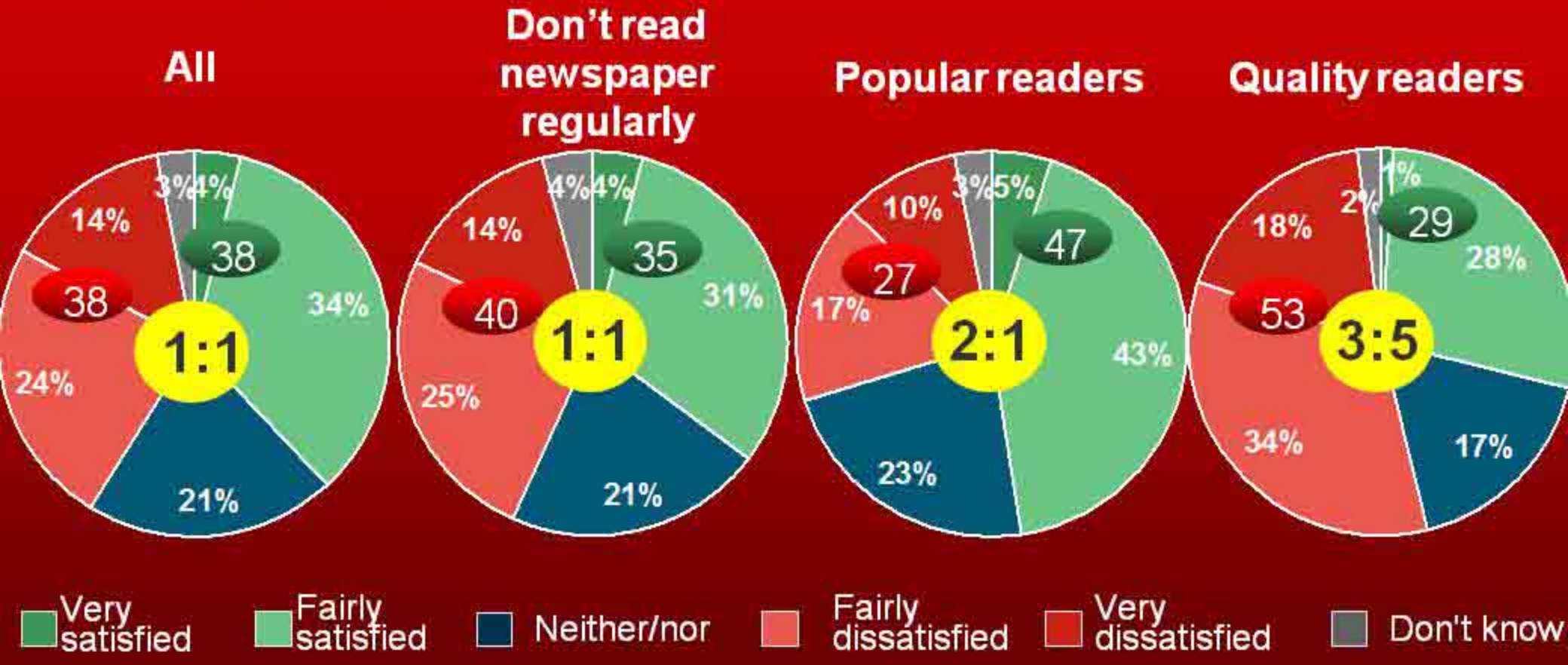


Base: 1,156 18+ adults in GB. Fieldwork dates: 13th - 19th November 2009

Source: Ipsos MORI/Hansard

Media reporting of politics – by newspaper readership

Q "How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way the media reports politics in the UK?"



Base: 1,156 18+ adults in GB. Fieldwork dates: 13th - 19th November 2009

Source: Ipsos MORI/Hansard

Interest in Politics

REDO

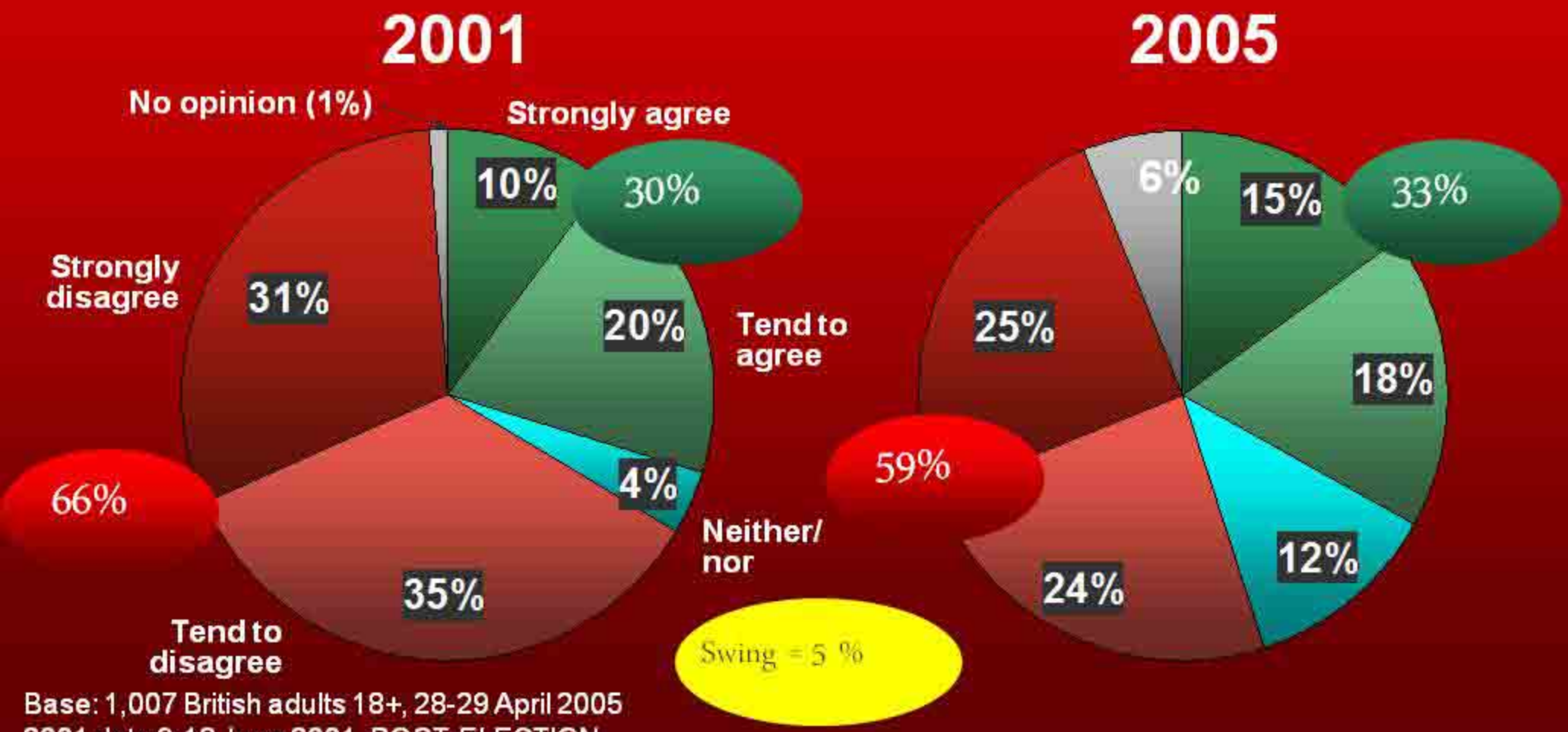
Q How interested would you say you are in politics?

Base: c.2,000 British/UK adults 18+

Source: MORI/JRRT/Electoral Commission, Times, FT

Interest in the Campaign

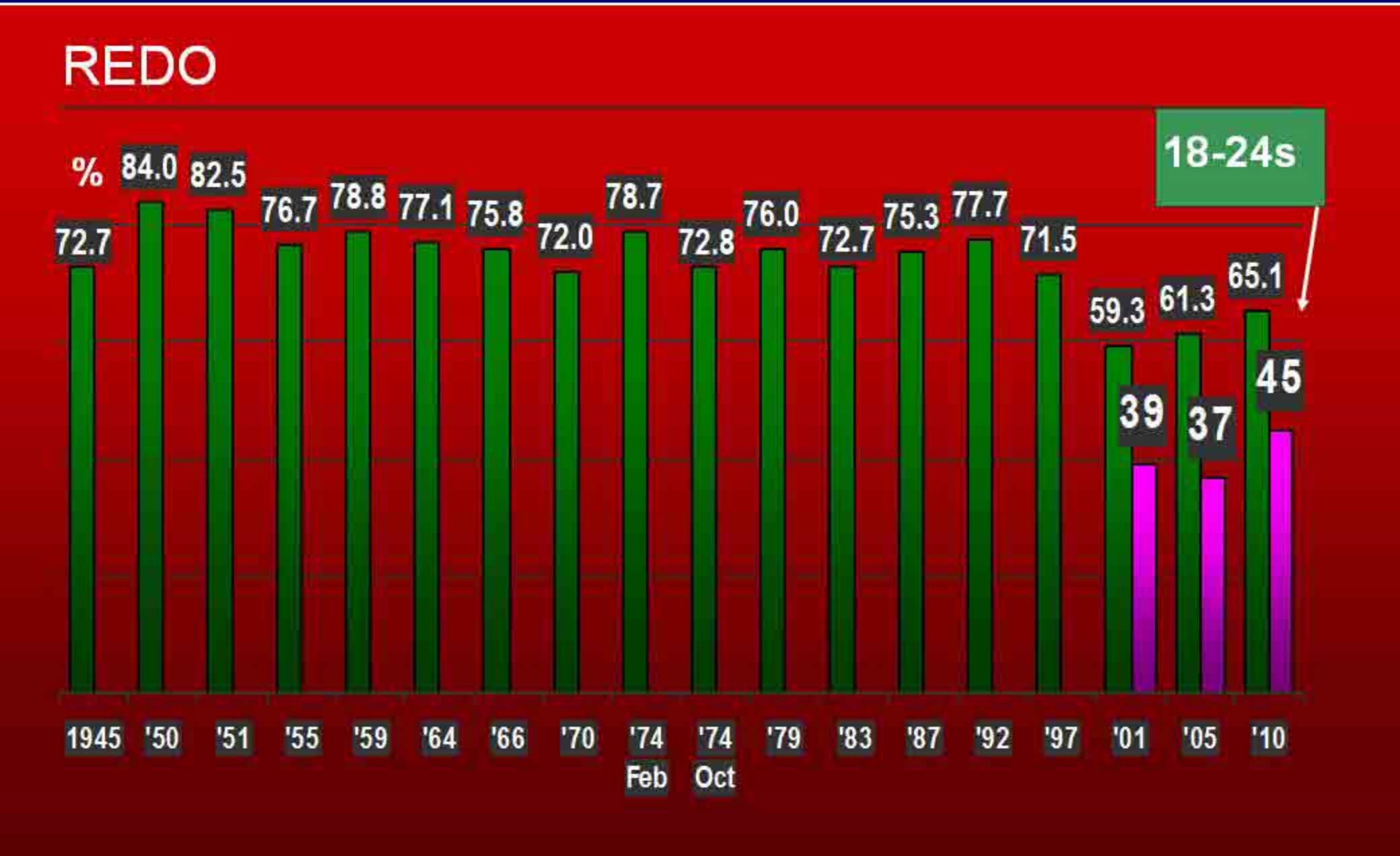
Q *To what extent do you agree or disagree that it is/was an interesting election campaign ?*



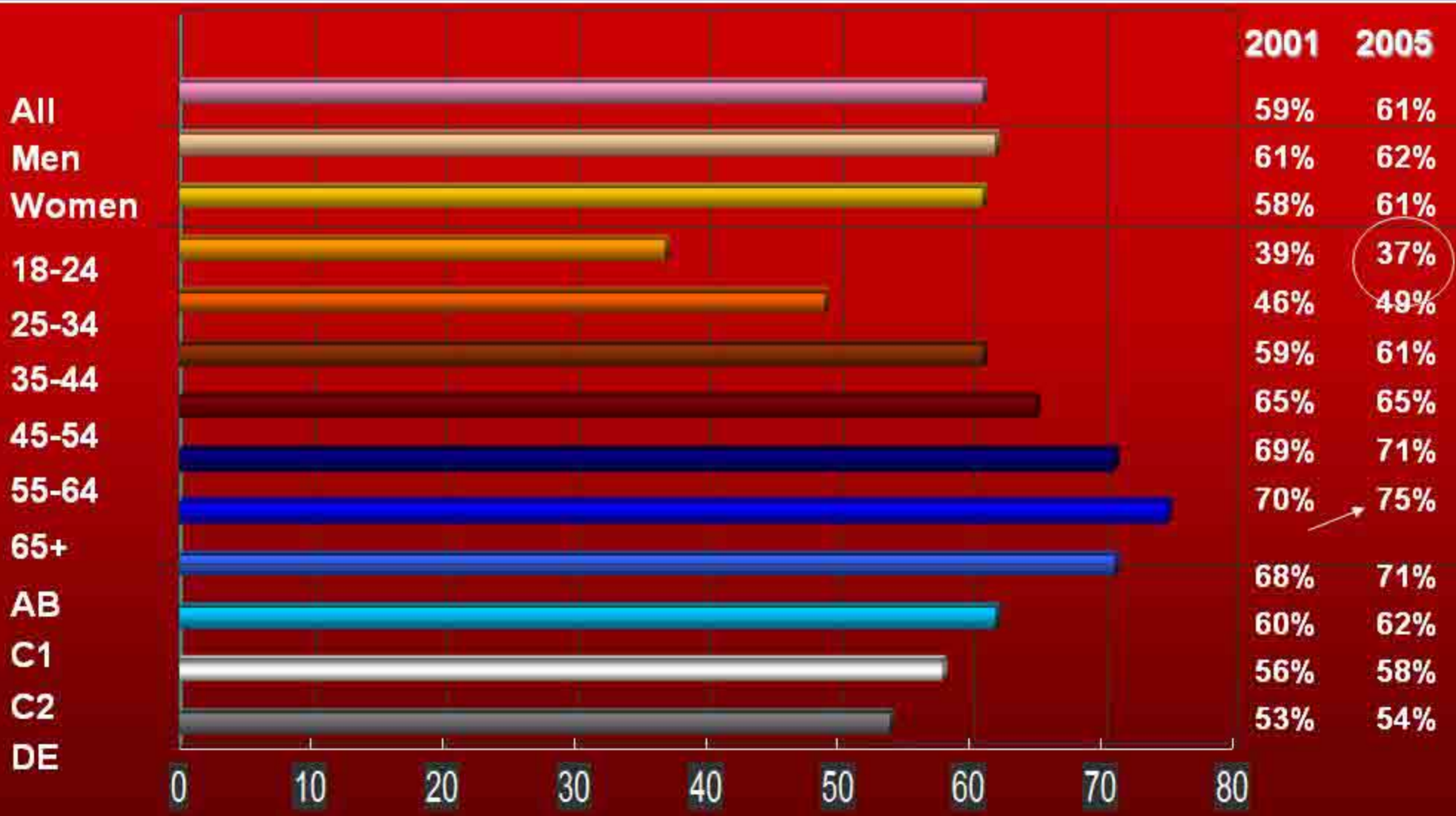
Base: 1,007 British adults 18+, 28-29 April 2005
2001 data 9-18 June 2001, POST-ELECTION
*Asked as "… that it *was* an interesting…"

Source: MORI/The Observer/Sunday Mirror

General Election Turnout Since 1945



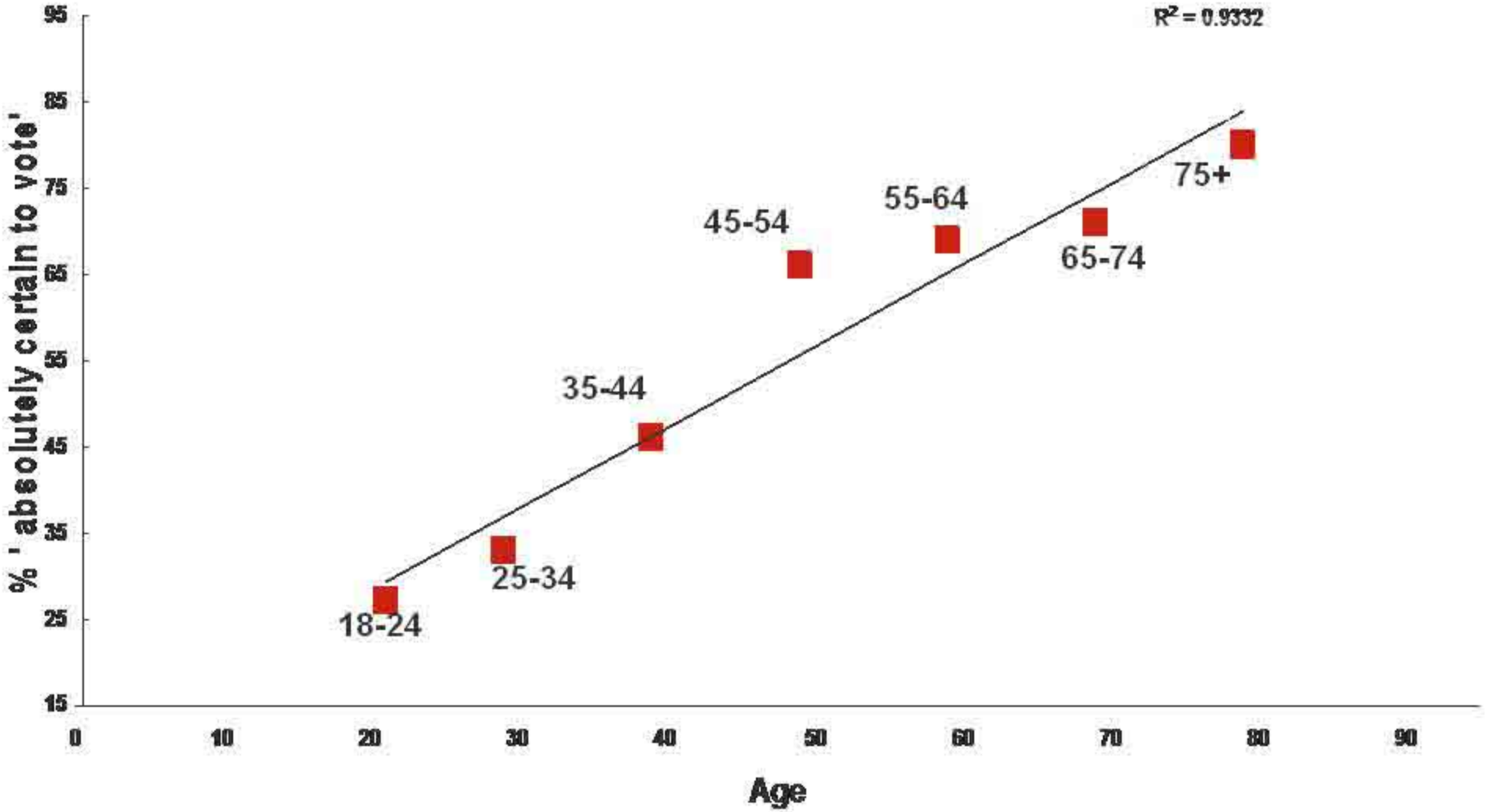
Turnout in 2005



Base: 17,959 interviews 2005 general election

Source: MORI

Likelihood to vote vs age

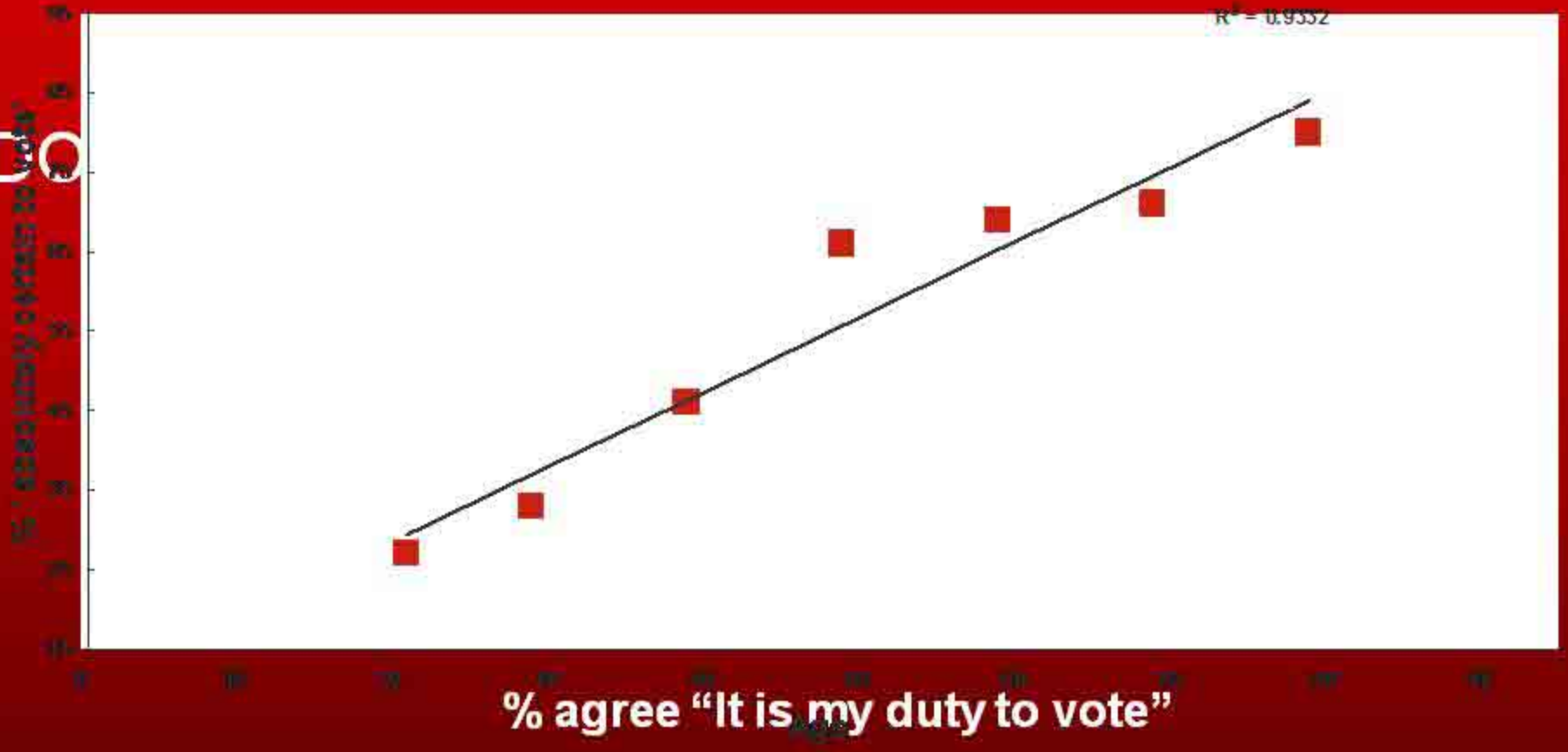


Base: 1,156 18+ adults in GB. Fieldwork dates: 13th - 19th November 2009

Source: Ipsos MORI

Turnout and duty to vote by age

% turnout (estimate)



Base: c. 2,000, 2005

Source: MORI

How Britain voted in 2005

REDO

	SEATS (n)			*SHARE OF VOTE (% - GB only)*			*VOTES (millions – GB only)*		
	2001	**2005**	**Change**	**2001**	**2005**	**Change**	**2001**	**2005**	**Change**
Conservative	166	197	+31	32.7	33.2	+0.5	8.36	8.77	+0.41
Labour	413	356	-57	42.0	36.2	-5.8	10.72	9.56	-1.16
Lib Dems	52	62	+10	18.8	22.6	+3.8	4.81	5.98	+1.17
SNP	5	6	+1	1.8	1.6	-0.3	0.66	0.41	-0.25
PC	4	3	-1	0.8	0.7	-0.1	0.20	0.17	-0.03
Refer/UKIP	0	0	0	1.5	2.3	+0.8	0.39	0.62	+0.23
Others	19	21	+2	2.4	3.4	+1.0	0.61	0.90	+0.29
TOTAL	659	645	-14*	100.0	100.0		**25.56**	**26.41**	**+0.85**
Majority	*167*	*67*	*-100*	*9.3*	*3.0*	*-6.3*		*+2.2*	
Swing						*-3.1*			

- **Disengaged electorate**
- **Dissatisfaction with Labour's performance/Iraq/Blair**

Sources: "Explaining Labour's Landslide, ELSL, Explaining Labour's Landslip", Worcester & Mortimore (+Baines)

Swingo 2010© (working model based on 40/30/20/10)

Swingo 2010 (including boundary changes)*

FOR COMPARISON OF DIFFERING POLL RESULTS

VOTE SHARE 1 BASED ON 2005 ELECTION RESULT	Con	Lab	LD	Other	NI	L-C swing
ENTER VOTE SHARE 1 HERE:	33.2	36.1	22.7	8.0		0.0%
ENTER VOTE SHARE 2 HERE:	40.0	30.0	20.0	10.0		6.5%
SEATS WON ON NATIONAL UNIFORM SWING (SHARE 1)	*209*	*349*	*62*	*12*	*18*	50
Share 1 seats exceeed or fall short of majority by:	-117	23				
SHARE 1: OVERALL MAJORITY OF 50						
Change caused by boundary revision	*+12*	*-7*	*0*	*-1*	*0*	
Change caused by uniform swing	*-1*	*0*	*0*	*+1*	*0*	
Total net change	*+11*	*-7*	*0*	*0*	*0*	
SEATS WON ON NATIONAL UNIFORM SWING (SHARE 2)	*323*	*247*	*48*	*14*	*18*	NOM
Share 2 seats exceeed or fall short of majority by:	-3	-79				
SHARE 2: NO OVERALL MAJORITY						
Change caused by boundary revision	*+12*	*-7*	*0*	*-1*	*0*	
Change caused by uniform swing	*+145*	*-158*	*-4*	*+4*	*0*	Source: Ipsos MORI
Total net change	*+157*	*-165*	*-4*	*+3*	*0*	

*Rallings & Thrasher, "Media Guide to the New Parliamentary Constituencies" (BBC/ITN/PA/Sky, 2007) (Speaker is in "Other")

Swingo 2010© (Ipsos MORI/Mirror, Jan., based on 51% turnout)

Swingo 2010 (including boundary changes)*

FOR COMPARISON OF DIFFERING POLL RESULTS

VOTE SHARE 1 BASED ON 2005 ELECTION RESULT	Con	Lab	LD	Other	NI	L-C swing
ENTER VOTE SHARE 1 HERE:	33.2	36.1	22.7	8.0		0.0%
ENTER VOTE SHARE 2 HERE:	37.0	32.0	19.0	12.0		4.0%
SEATS WON ON NATIONAL UNIFORM SWING (SHARE 1)	*209*	*349*	*62*	*12*	18	50
Share 1 seats exceeed or fall short of majority by:	-117	23				
SHARE 1: OVERALL MAJORITY OF 50						
Change caused by boundary revision	*+12*	*-7*	*0*	*-1*	0	
Change caused by uniform swing	*-1*	*0*	*0*	*+1*	0	LIB/LAB PACT +13
Total net change	*+11*	*-7*	*0*	*0*	0	
SEATS WON ON NATIONAL UNIFORM SWING (SHARE 2)	*275*	*294*	*47*	*16*	18	NOM
Share 2 seats exceeed or fall short of majority by:	-51	-32				
SHARE 2: NO OVERALL MAJORITY						
Change caused by boundary revision	*+12*	*-7*	*0*	*-1*	0	Source:
Change caused by uniform swing	*+97*	*-111*	*-5*	*+6*	0	Ipsos
Total net change	*+109*	*-118*	*-5*	*+5*	0	MORI

*Rallings & Thrasher, "Media Guide to the New Parliamentary Constituencies" (BBC/ITN/PA/Sky, 2007) (Speaker is in "Other")

Swingo 2010© (Ipsos MORI/Mirror, Jan., based on 78% turnout)

Swingo 2010 (including boundary changes)*

FOR COMPARISON OF DIFFERING POLL RESULTS

VOTE SHARE 1 BASED ON 2005 ELECTION RESULT	Con	Lab	LD	Other	NI	L-C swing
ENTER VOTE SHARE 1 HERE:	33.2	36.1	22.7	8.0		0.0%
ENTER VOTE SHARE 2 HERE:	38.0	34.0	17.0	11.0		3.5%
SEATS WON ON NATIONAL UNIFORM SWING (SHARE 1)	*209*	*349*	*62*	*12*	*18*	50
Share 1 seats exceeed or fall short of majority by:	-117	23				
SHARE 1: OVERALL MAJORITY OF 50						
Change caused by boundary revision	*+12*	*-7*	*0*	*-1*	*0*	LIB/LAB PACT +13
Change caused by uniform swing	*-1*	*0*	*0*	*+1*	*0*	
Total net change	*+11*	*-7*	*0*	*0*	*0*	
SEATS WON ON NATIONAL UNIFORM SWING (SHARE 2)	*278*	*300*	*38*	*16*	*18*	NOM
Share 2 seats exceeed or fall short of majority by:	-48	-26				
SHARE 2: NO OVERALL MAJORITY						
Change caused by boundary revision	*+12*	*-7*	*0*	*-1*	*0*	Source: Ipsos MORI
Change caused by uniform swing	*+100*	*-105*	*-14*	*+6*	*0*	
Total net change	*+112*	*-112*	*-14*	*+5*	*0*	

*Rallings & Thrasher, "Media Guide to the New Parliamentary Constituencies" (BBC/ITN/PA/Sky, 2007) (Speaker is in "Other")

Swingo 2010© (PollTrack up to 17th March, based on 60% + 2% marginals effect + LibDems at 21%, others 10%)

Swingo 2010 (including boundary changes)*

FOR COMPARISON OF DIFFERING POLL RESULTS

VOTE SHARE 1 BASED ON 2005 ELECTION RESULT	Con	Lab	LD	Other	NI	L-C swing
ENTER VOTE SHARE 1 HERE:	33.2	36.1	22.7	8.0		0.0%
ENTER VOTE SHARE 2 HERE:	37.0	32.0	21.0	10.0		4.0%
SEATS WON ON NATIONAL UNIFORM SWING (SHARE 1)	*209*	*349*	*62*	*12*	18	50
Share 1 seats exceeed or fall short of majority by:	-117	23				
SHARE 1: OVERALL MAJORITY OF 50						
Change caused by boundary revision	*+12*	*-7*	*0*	*-1*	0	LIB/LAB PACT+20
Change caused by uniform swing	*-1*	*0*	*0*	*+1*	0	
Total net change	*+11*	*-7*	*0*	*0*	0	
SEATS WON ON NATIONAL UNIFORM SWING (SHARE 2)	*270*	*290*	*56*	*16*	18	NOM
Share 2 seats exceeed or fall short of majority by:	-56	-36				
SHARE 2: NO OVERALL MAJORITY						
Change caused by boundary revision	*+12*	*-7*	*0*	*-1*	0	Source: Ipsos MORI
Change caused by uniform swing	*+92*	*-115*	*+4*	*+6*	0	
Total net change	*+104*	*-122*	*+4*	*+5*	0	

*Rallings & Thrasher, "Media Guide to the New Parliamentary Constituencies" (BBC/ITN/PA/Sky, 2007) (Speaker is in "Other")

Swingo 2010© (Ipsos MORI/Telegraph, Feb., based on 60% + 2% marginals effect + LibDems at 21%, others 10%)

REDO

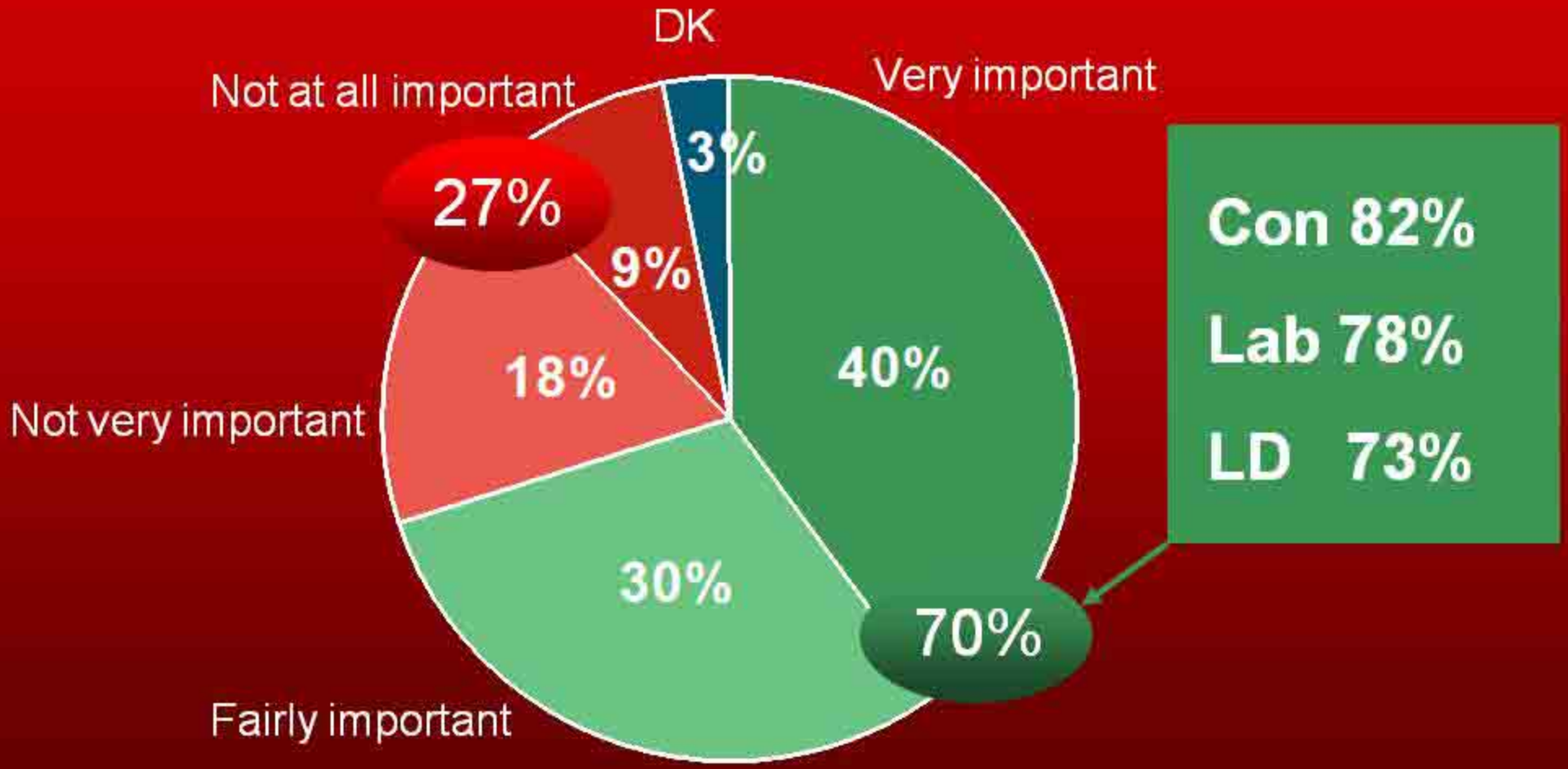
Swingo 2010 (including boundary changes)*
FOR COMPARISON OF DIFFERING POLL RESULTS

VOTE SHARE 1 BASED ON 2005 ELECTION RESULT	Con	Lab	LD	Other	NI	L-C swing
ENTER VOTE SHARE 1 HERE:	33.2	36.1	22.7	8.0		0.0%
ENTER VOTE SHARE 2 HERE:	37.6	32.1	21.0	9.3		4.2%
SEATS WON ON NATIONAL UNIFORM SWING (SHARE 1)	209	349	62	12	18	50
Share 1 seats exceeed or fall short of majority by:	-117	23				
SHARE 1: OVERALL MAJORITY OF 50						
Change caused by boundary revision	+12	-7	0	-1	0	LIB/LAB PACT +11
Change caused by uniform swing	-1	0	0	+1	0	
Total net change	+11	-7	0	0	0	
SEATS WON ON NATIONAL UNIFORM SWING (SHARE 2)	279	282	55	16	18	NOM
Share 2 seats exceeed or fall short of majority by:	-47	-44				
SHARE 2: NO OVERALL MAJORITY						
Change caused by boundary revision	+12	-7	0	-1	0	Source: Ipsos MORI
Change caused by uniform swing	+101	-123	+3	+6	0	
Total net change	+113	-130	+3	+5	0	

*Rallings & Thrasher, "Media Guide to the New Parliamentary Constituencies" (BBC/ITN/PA/Sky, 2007) (Speaker is in "Other")

How important is the election result?

Q "How important is it to you personally who wins the next General Election?"



Base: 1,001 British adults 18+, 26th-28th January 2010

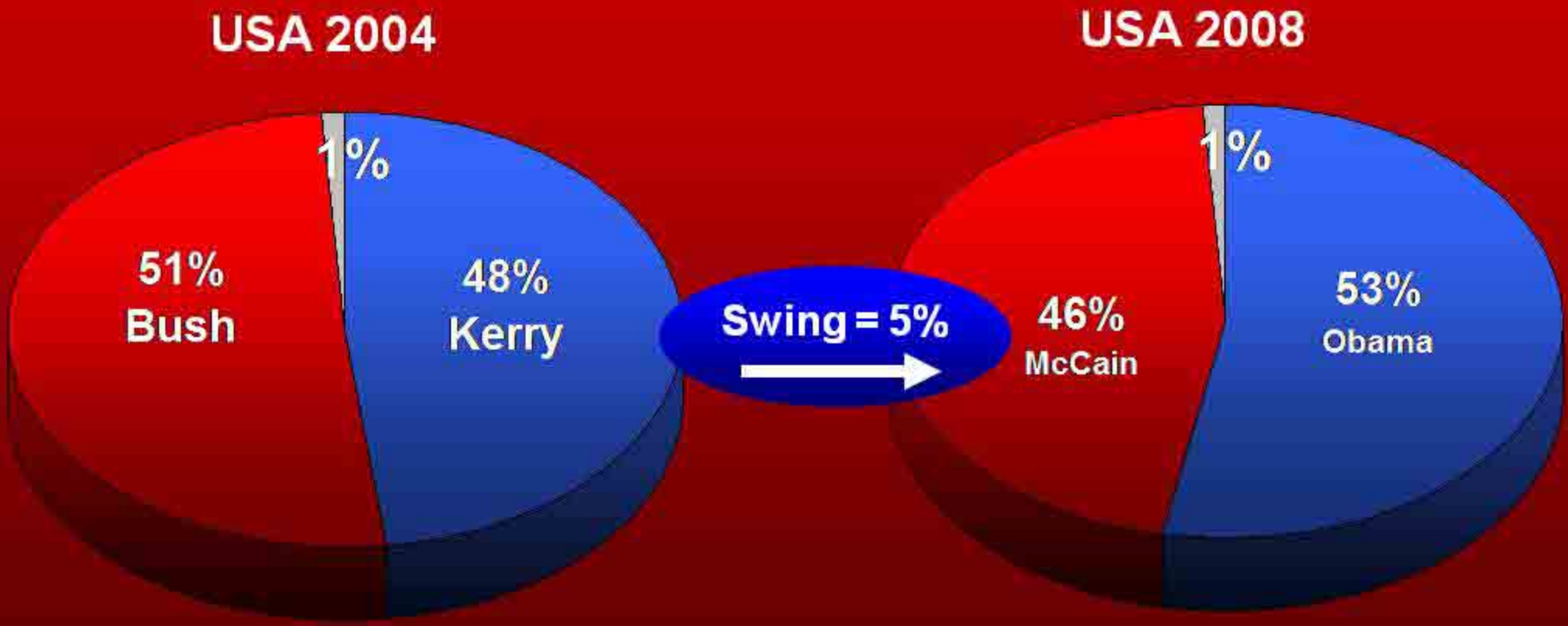
Source: Ipsos MORI/Daily Mirror

The American Election 2008

"Where and Who Elected a Black, Liberal, Intellectual"

- Chronology
  - The head wanted Clinton
  - The heart wanted Obama
  - The shock of Iowa
  - The recovery in New Hampshire
  - The key decision
  - The Conventions
  - The long campaigns
  - The final campaigns
  - The outcome

USA: The Outcome



"Where and Who Elected a Black, Liberal, Intellectual"

- **State by State:** Average National Swing = 5.0%
  - Negative States
    - Arkansas - 5.5%
    - Louisana - 2.0%
    - Tennessee - 0.5%
  - The Big Swings
    - Hawaii + 18%
    - Indiana + 11%
    - North Dakata + 9.5%
    - Delaware + 9.0%
    - Nebraska + 9.0%
    - Montana + 8.5%
    - Utah + 8.5%
    - Vermont + 8.5%

Source: Edison Exit Poll

"Where and Who Elected a Black, Liberal, Intellectual"

- Demographics
  - All Voters — 5.0%
  - Surprises
    - * $200k hh — 17.0% (t/o 3% to 6%!)
    - * Latino — 13.5% (pundits wrong)
    - * 1st timers — 16.0% (no surprise there)
    - * Union members — 0.0% (despite promises)
    - * Whites — 2.5%

Source: Edison Exit Poll

The “Special Relationship”

The "Special Relationship"

- Is NOT about what 'Joe Bloggs' or 'John Doe' thinks
- IS about four key relationships:
- 1. Defence
- 2. Intelligence
- 3. Nuclear
- 4. Business

- AND, a sharing of common language, common values, shared history and shared systems of governance.

Special Relationship

- President Barack Obama telephone call to Prime Minister David Cameron 11 May 2010:

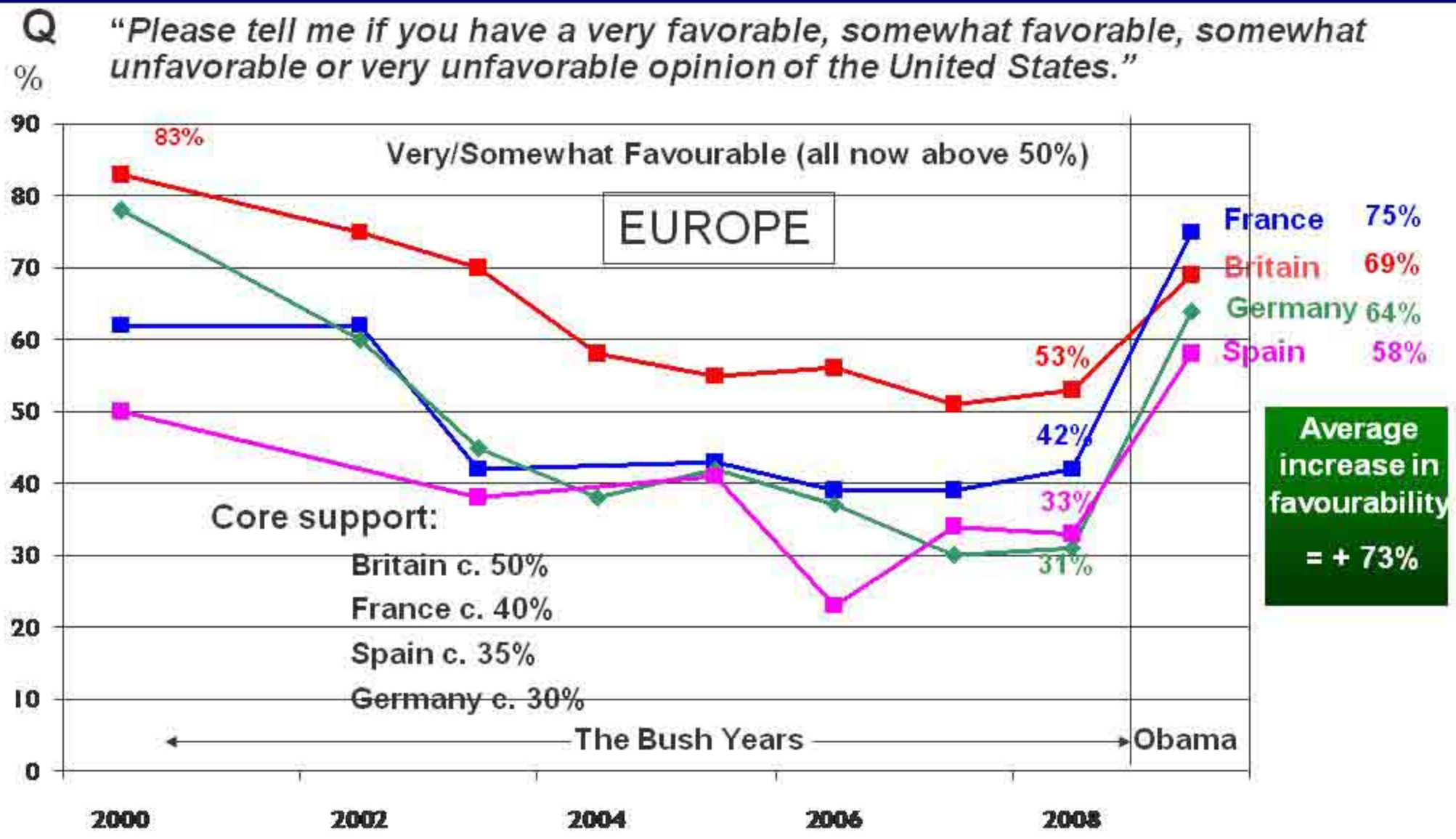
  "deep personal commitment to the special relationship" between Britain and the United States"

- American Ambassador Louis Susman speech to the Pilgrim Society:

  "Over the last few months there has been comment in some circles that the special relationship between our countries has diminished. Anyone who accepts that analysis is wrong and is ignoring the lessons of history. In war and in peace, in prosperity and in times of economic hardship, America has no better friend and no more dependable ally than the United Kingdom."

Rest of the World?

Favourable views of the USA – 2000 - 2009

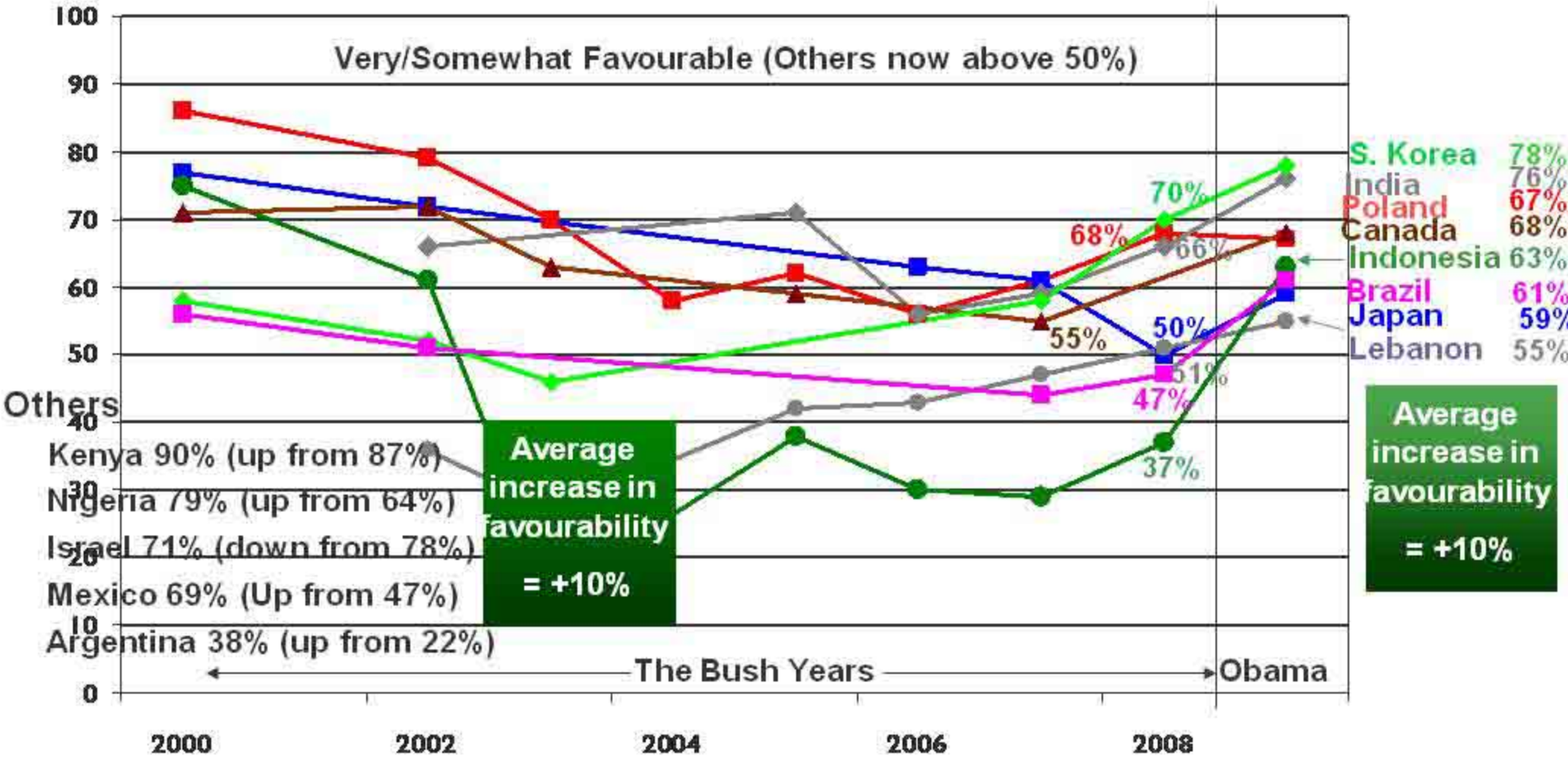


Base: c. 27,000 adults in 25 countries

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project 2009

Favourable views of the USA – 2000 - 2009

Q "*Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the United States.*"



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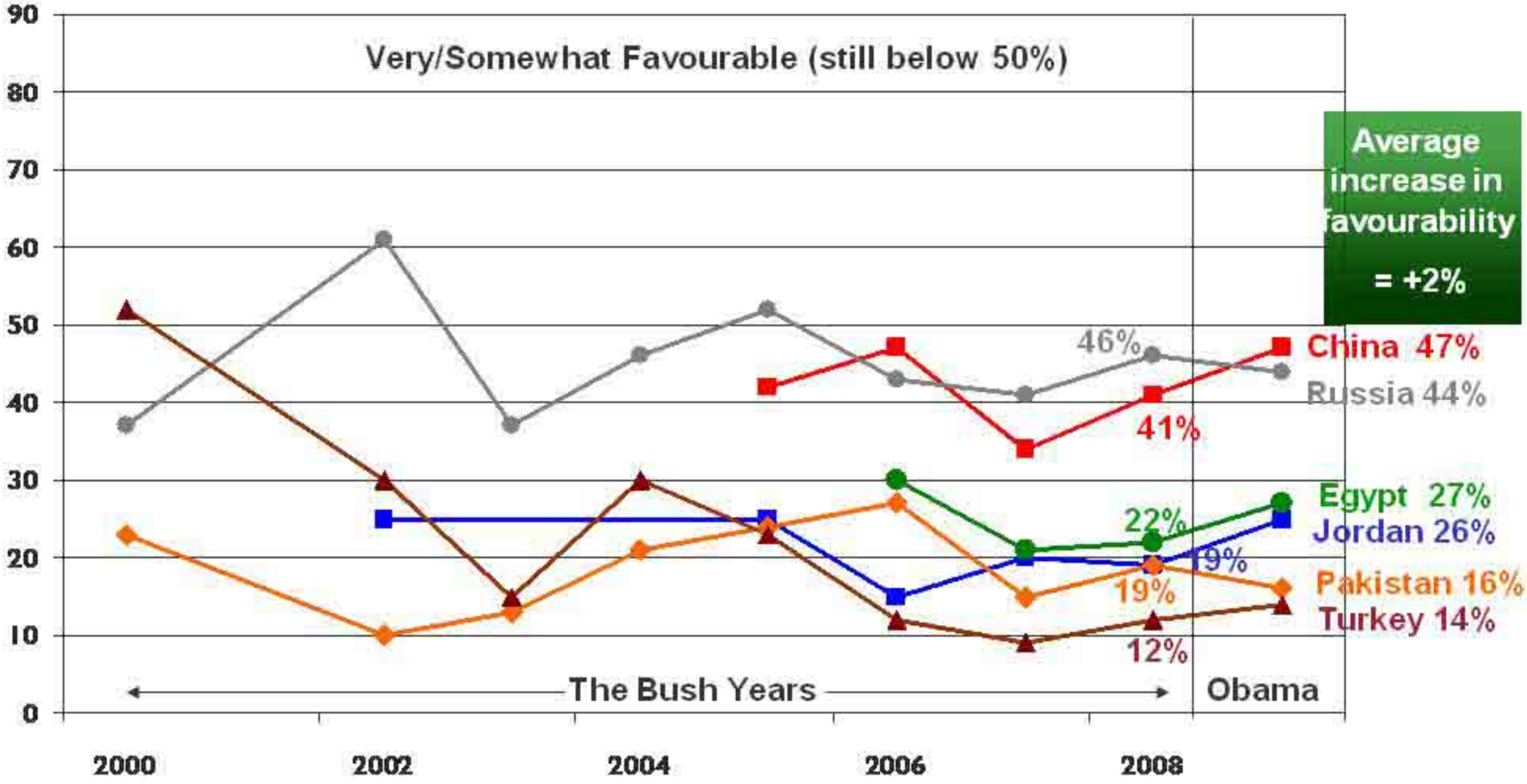
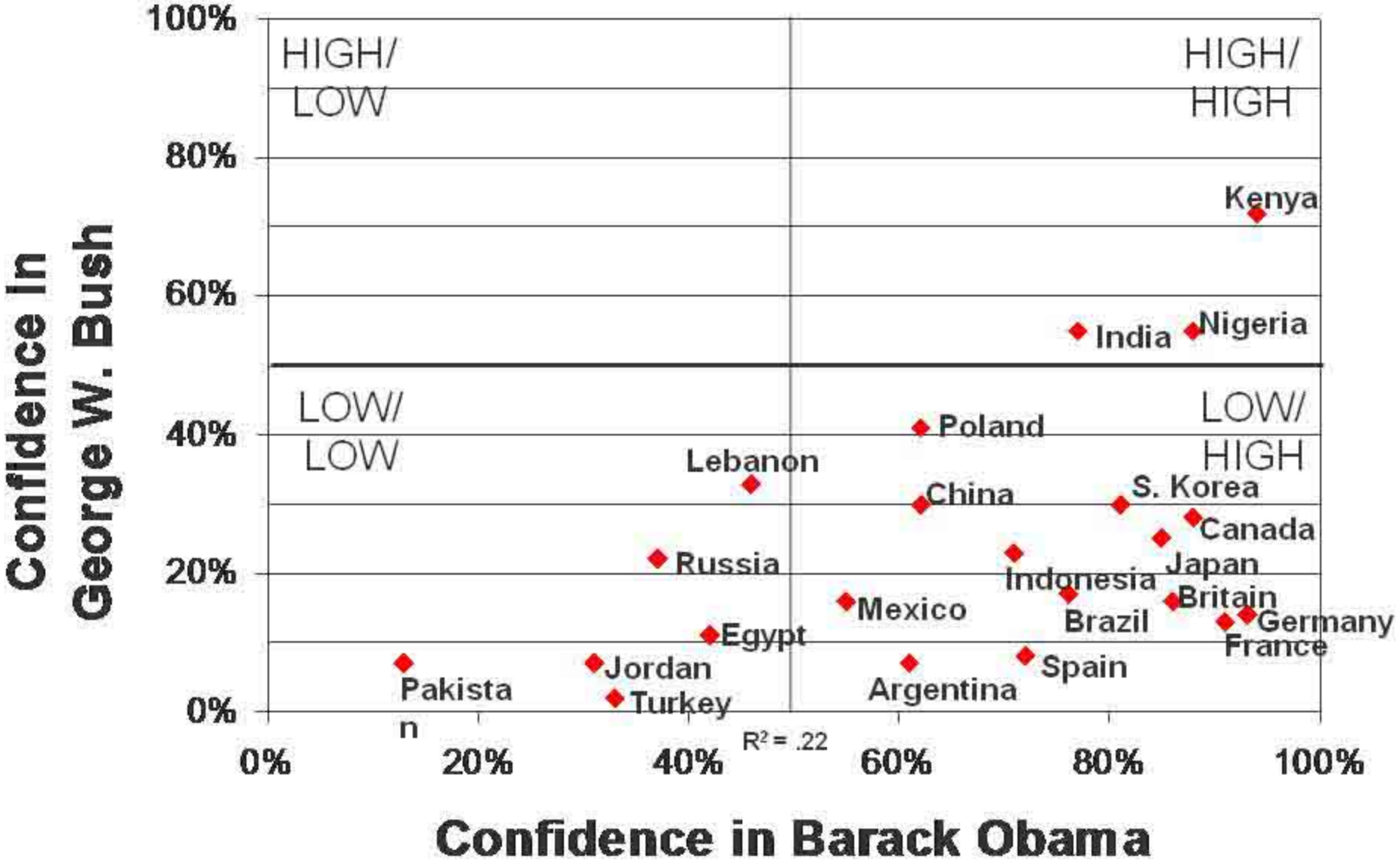


Base: c. 27,000 adults in 25 countries

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project 2009

Low Confidence in Bush, Most high on Obama



Base: c. 27,000 adults in 25 countries

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project 2008/9