









Ipsos MORISocial Research Institute







End of Year Review 2007



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Introduction

Welcome to the Ipsos MORI 2007 Review, covering some of the key findings from our research for a wide range of government departments and businesses.

It has been a roller coaster year for both Government and Opposition; Gordon Brown's much awaited take-over of the reins looked magisterial and then bumbling in turn, and with David Cameron and the Conservatives starting to bring out policy proposals, there is the beginning of real competition in the political sphere.

It was the year when public concern about crime reached its highestever level. In one way one has to feel sorry for the Government: they have lengthened sentences, put more police on the streets, and we spend more on crime than any OECD country - and yet with signal crimes like gun and knife crime, and the perception gap between local and national situation, the public remained utterly unconvinced of statistics showing crime is falling.

As well as crime, we also got flooded - it was the year climate change went mainstream, with the public convinced it was happening but ultimately wanting "government" to act, with relatively few feeling they personally could make a difference.

Despite collective gloom and doom, our work in 2007 reminds us that the British remain broadly "happy" and satisfied with their quality of life and as patriotic and as committed to ideas like "fairness", "tolerance", "respect for the law" as ever. While politicians grope for "Britishness", on many measures the British still remain personally optimistic.

All the best for 2008.

Ben Page

Chairman, Ipsos MORI Social Research Institue

The government

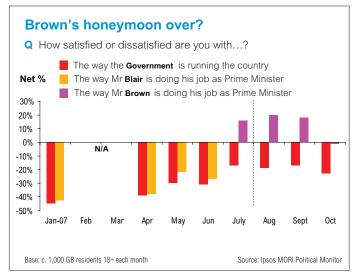
Inevitably we must begin any review of 2007 by considering the change of Prime Minister. Gordon Brown's public satisfaction ratings were immediately higher than Tony Blair's, and dissatisfaction with the way the government was running the country also eased somewhat (Chart 01). Labour moved into an immediate lead in the voting intention polls, (the "Brown bounce", Chart 02), helped in part by the crumbling of Liberal Democrat support. In fact it seems clear that public opinion was already beginning to move in the government's direction from the moment Mr Blair announced his retirement date - the "bounce" may have owed as much to the passing of the old regime as to active enthusiasm for its replacement.

But everything then fell apart for Brown, with a series of problems which led to questions about his competence, and poor Commons performances against David Cameron. By November, he was as far behind as Blair had been.

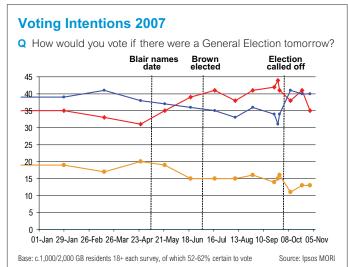
The public rated the overall record of Tony Blair's government fairly well. (Chart 03). They also gave a good report card to some specific aspects of the government's performance, in particular the economy – 59% said the government had done a good job managing the economy and 61% that it had done a good job keeping unemployment down. Gordon Brown (who late last year was rated the most successful post-War Chancellor in an Ipsos MORI online poll of academics belonging to the Political Studies Association) could take pride in that as he took over the top job.

But the public were much less complimentary on other aspects of the government's record. Opposition to the Iraq invasion would always be a focus of hostility, but there was evidence of discontent running deeper. Perhaps most damagingly, only 28% believed that the government had kept its promises, while 64% felt it had not; reversing these perceptions will be a major challenge for Gordon Brown. The decision not to hold a referendum over the EU treaty will not help: in September, 64% of the public interpreted this as going back on the promises his party made in 2005, while only 21% accepted his argument that the issue now is different from the constitution then being proposed.

01



02



03

The Blair government's record Q On balance, do you think that ten years of Mr Blair's Government have been good or bad for the country? Q On balance, do you think that ten years of Mr Blair's Government have been good or bad for you personally? For the country For you personally No opinion No opinion 11% 19% Good Good 46% 469 Base: 961 GB residents 18+, 11-13 May 2007 Source: Ipsos MORI / The Observer

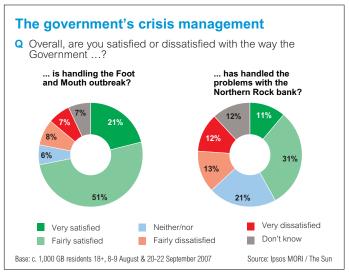
The election that never was

There is no doubt that the Brown government began well, but because it is widely believed that new Prime Ministers invariably benefit from a "honeymoon", there was some doubt how seriously Labour's poll lead in the autumn should be taken. (In fact, such honeymoons have been usual in recent years but not historically - James Callaghan, the last Labour PM to take over mid-term, saw his party's poll rating level off within a month of taking office, then tumble dramatically.) While the government was certainly well regarded for its handling of the first few crises with which it had to cope (Chart 04), we cautioned that public opinion is volatile and that Labour's lead might reflect only initial but not-very-deep-seated good impressions which events might sway in the opposite direction. The "Cameron rebound" that followed the Conservative conference in October seems to have proved us right. At this stage of a parliament, and with all the party leaders comparatively unknown, it would be dangerous to take too literally the voting intention responses of members of the public who are probably unsure themselves of their current party loyalties.

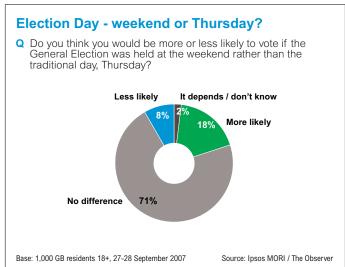
Mr Brown and his government were seen as having dealt well with the outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease in August, but rather less well with the outbreak of Election Fever in September. Once the decision had been made, the country was divided: 47% felt the PM was right not to call an election and 42% that he was wrong. With no election now apparently likely before 2009 at the earliest, there may at least be time to implement one change towards which Mr Brown has indicated he is sympathetic, weekend voting. Whether this is really the solution to recent low turnouts is unclear, but perhaps it will benefit the Labour Party: 18% say they would be more likely to vote and 8% less likely if polling day were at the weekend (Chart 05), and the difference was bigger among Labour voters than supporters of other parties.

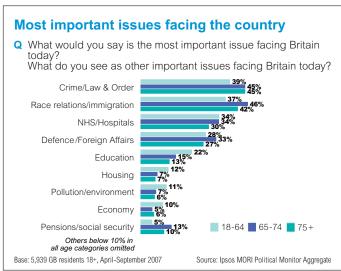
But Mr Brown was soon back to the day job – solving a sea of regular and irregular problems of government. For the moment the public seem to feel these are, first and foremost, crime and immigration (Chart 06). Both are of slightly more concern to older citizens, but even among younger citizens they occupy the top two places in the rankings.

04



05





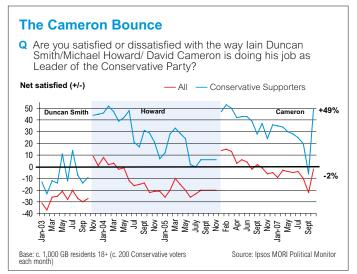
The opposition

For the Opposition parties and their leaders it has been a mixed year. David Cameron's satisfaction ratings as leader of Conservatives were heading south before October (Chart 07), but then recovered. Perhaps more importantly he has continued to receive a high proportion of "don't know" responses. This implies a perhaps surprising failure to make an impact on public opinion; but it nevertheless has the benefit that, with so many still keeping open minds, the potential effect of a positive performance is much magnified. Politics is sometimes as much about impressions as reality. It may be that the sudden upward bounce in Cameron's ratings between September (when even the majority of Conservatives were dissatisfied with his performance) and October, reflecting a more general recovery which the media could not help noticing, will do more for Cameron in the long term than reaching the same position through months of steady but unspectacular progress could ever have done. The same bounce is mirrored in the "most capable Prime Minister" ratings - Cameron still trails Gordon Brown, but the gap was very substantially narrowed between September and October.

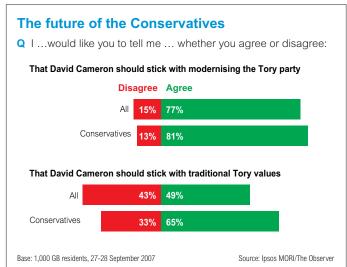
Tory hopes do not rest solely on the popularity of the leader. As mentioned elsewhere in this review, a number of specifics of Tory policy are also receiving a positive hearing. But it is less clear how receptive the public will be to broader repositioning of the party. As chart 08 shows, there is much support for the arguably rather vague aim of "modernising" it; but "traditional Tory values" also find an audience – the majority of Conservatives want Cameron to preserve them.

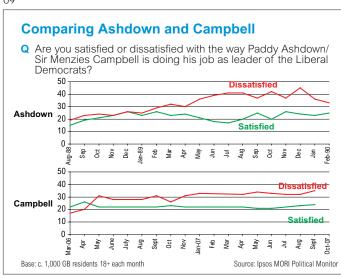
While David Cameron has come through the autumn with his position enhanced, Sir Menzies Campbell felt compelled to resign as Liberal Democrat leader. But though his leadership ratings were apparently poor (Chart 09), he might have taken comfort that some of his successful predecessors started just as badly. At the same stage of his leadership, Paddy Ashdown had never had a positive net rating and scored very similarly to "Ming". Now it will be up to someone else to do better, quickly no simple task. (The outcome of the leadership election is unknown as we go to press.)

07



08





Devolved and local government

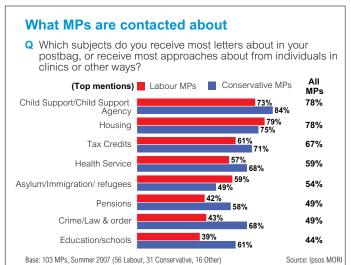
Westminster politics bores most of the public. Those who contact their MP more often want to talk about practical, local matters rather than the big national issues: in Summer 2007 it was Child Support and Housing that were most frequently raised. (Chart 10). (Our twice-yearly survey of MPs, frontbench as well as backbench, has tracked the contents of their postbags for many years.)

In any case, more people feel business, local government and especially the media have an important impact on their everyday lives than either Parliament or the Prime Minister. (Chart 11). Local government elections are often treated by the media and apparently by most national politicians as merely a barometer to judge public opinion of the government. Yet they are important decision-making processes in their own right which can affect millions of Britons. Many more of the public have presented their views to a local councillor than to an MP, and one in three say they have contacted their council in the past two or three years. The public are (fractionally) more likely to say they are interested in local issues than in national issues, and this is especially true of younger citizens (those aged under 45). They also feel more knowledgeable about local government - 47% say they know at least "a fair amount" about their local council, while only 38% profess the same level of knowledge of Parliament. Yet turnout at local elections is notoriously low.

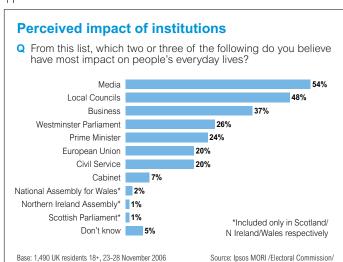
Turnout is better in elections to the devolved legislatures outside England, and many in those countries feel these institutions also have a big impact; some will no doubt feel that the new administrations at Holyrood, Cardiff Bay and Stormont are more important landmark events in 2007 than Gordon Brown's replacement of Tony Blair.

Perhaps more understandable, given the low impact the European Union is seen as having, are low turnouts in European Parliament elections. Yet 45% say they would be certain to vote in a referendum on whether Britain should sign the new EU constitutional treaty, implying a turnout nearer general election than European election levels. Although the majority still support British membership of the EU, as has been the case since the 1980s (Chart 12), four in five want a referendum on the treaty – even those who would vote in its favour.

10



11



12

Stay in or get out of the EU? Q If there were a referendum now on whether Britain should stay in or get out of the European Union, how would you vote? BASE: All expressing an opinion (excludes 'don't knows') ** Stay in Get out **Get out **Get out **Stay in Get out **Stay i

Hansard Society

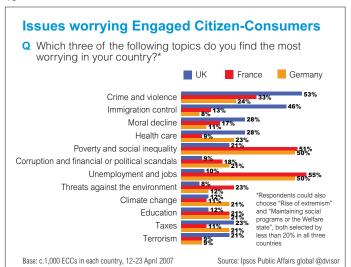
Influencing public opinion

Public opinion is powerful, and sometimes capricious, but rarely unpredictable; and it can be influenced. It is very much a product of the society in which we live, our social interactions with our fellow citizens and our shared experiences; for evidence we need only contrast the main concerns of the public in neighbouring countries facing broadly similar problems. The Ipsos Public Affairs Global@advisor survey allows us to compare the views of "Engaged Consumer-Citizens" (ECCs) who use the Internet, in 20 countries around the world. As chart 13 shows, the issues that British ECCs are most worried about are crime and immigration, and to a lesser extent health care and moral decline; this is dramatically different from the concerns of the corresponding group in other Western European countries such as France or Germany, whose greatest concerns are economic - unemployment, poverty and social inequality.

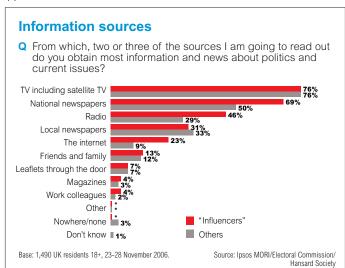
How do such distinct publics with distinct opinions arise? A key section of the public are the group we have studied for many years, "socio-political activists" or "influencers", whose opinions are particularly important because their activism means they act as opinion leaders. These are people who can make their opinions count.

But, to adapt Juvenal, who influences the influencers? The information sources British influencers rely on have some dramatic differences from those used by the rest of the public (Chart 14). Activists are significantly more likely to obtain information from national newspapers, radio, and especially Internet.

Of course, how much influence newspapers and their editorial directions have on their readers is debatable. Chart 15 takes advantage of the facility offered as standard by the Ipsos MORI Public Affairs Monitor to analyse responses by regular newspaper readership. It shows how readers of different newspapers can often have contrasting perspectives on the news which, nevertheless, may not be a demonstration of the power of the press barons: for example, readers of Rupert Murdoch's two dailies, The Sun and The Times, took a rather different view of Gordon Brown's first few months in power.



14



15

Gordon Brown - by readership Q Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Mr Brown is doing his job as Prime Minister? Dissatisfied Satisfied Regular readers of: Daily Express The Sun Daily Mail 39% Daily Telegraph Metro 47% Independent 51% The Times Daily Mirror Guardian Base: c. 3,000 GB residents 18+, July-September 2007 Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

Trust and belief

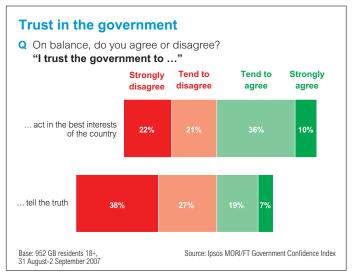
Public sector and private sector alike must rely on building trust if they want to influence public opinion or behaviour, or to benefit from good word-of-mouth. Trust in politicians and political parties are consistently lower than for almost any other professions or institutions; though in fact, while most of the public would not trust politicians to tell the truth, there is more confidence in their intentions – as many of us say we trust the government to act in the best interests of the country as say the opposite (Chart 16).

What builds trust? One important factor seems to be familiarity (which, as we always say, breeds favourability not contempt). For instance, a little under half the public, 44%, can name their Member of Parliament (a figure that has changed little in the last few years but which is significantly lower than in the 1960s). But as chart 17 shows, those who can name their MP, or who have personally presented their views to him or her, are significantly more likely to think that he or she is doing a good job, and more likely to say that they trust politicians at least "a fair amount".

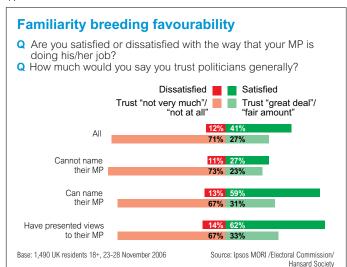
Is it odd that the public are so reluctant to believe in their elected representatives when many of them are happy to believe in other things? While only 26% of Britons believe the government can be trusted to tell the truth, 38% believe in ghosts (and more than a third of those believe they have seen one), while 35% believe that dreams can predict the future. As chart 18 shows, women are much more likely than men to believe in almost all of the phenomena about which we asked; yet ask them whether they "trust politicians generally", and all of a sudden the women are as sceptical as the men!

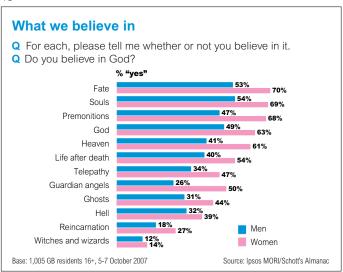
But, of course, belief in the abnormal or supernatural may be a direct cause of distrust of the authorities; after all, 31% of the public say they believe "That some governments around the world are concealing evidence of extra-terrestrial beings", though 60% think this is not the case.

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Quality of life

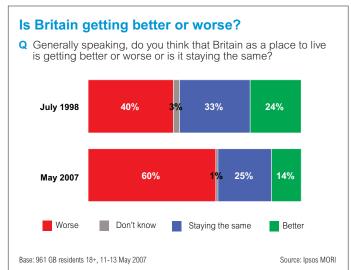
Of course, most Britons are united in believing that the country is going to the dogs - which, given that almost all of them say they feel happy, is superficially surprising. When we asked them in October (in a poll for Schott's Almanac) whether they were generally happy or not, 89% felt at least "fairly happy". Conservative supporters are more likely to be "very happy" than Labour voters; Christians are a little more likely to be "very happy" than those with no religion, and people who don't read their horoscope regularly are happier than those that do. But the biggest grumblers are the middle-aged - only 37% of 45-54 year olds are "very happy".

Yet earlier in the year three-fifths of the public thought that "generally speaking" Britain is getting worse as a place to live - half as many again as felt the same in 1998. (Chart 19). Moreover, tempers are apparently fraying across the country. Ipsos MORI research for Burger King in September found one in four British adults admitting that "I personally lose my temper more often nowadays than I used to", and nearly three-quarters agree that "People generally seem angrier these days than they used to be". (Chart 20).

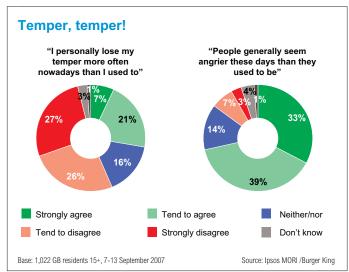
So what might make us happier? Having more time to spend with friends or family, having much more money or better health would all be popular with many of us (Chart 21), but these preferences vary considerably with age - older Britons are much more likely to mention health while few of them worry much about not being better off; for the young it is exactly the reverse.

It is worth noting that personal or local experiences seem, more than national issues, to have the power to make us angry. We found that, from a list of alternatives, the "lack of respect among young people" makes more people (53%) angry than any other cause, well ahead of the "war in Iraq" (41%), and "celebrities avoiding arrest or a prison sentence" (38%). And nuisance from noise is an irritant to many: 32% admitted being made angry by "noisy neighbours / playing loud music", and 24% by "Mobile phone ring tones or people talking on their mobile in public", and the trends are that we are more bothered by noise than ever.

19



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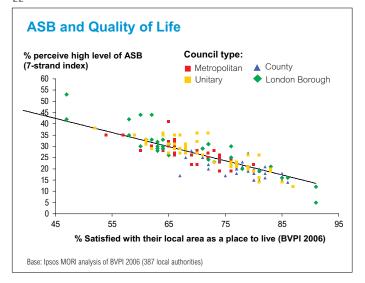
What would make you happier? Q Which four or five of the following things do you think would make you happier? More time with family Earning double what I do now 35% Better health More time with friends 23% More travelling 22% More time for leisure/sport Better community spirit 19% Having a happy marriage 17% More contact with nature 16% Better housing 15% Learning new skills Moving abroad 12% Moving jobs More time to think/be alone Base: 2,015 GB residents 15 +, 20-25 September 2007 Source: Ipsos MORI

Peace and quiet

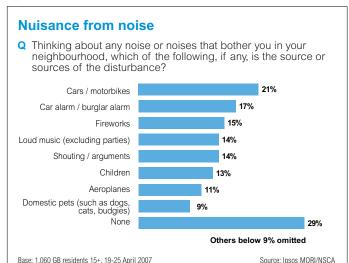
These apparently trivial nuisances can have a powerful effect on how comfortable we feel in our neighbourhood and more broadly on our satisfaction with life. These come under the broad umbrella of what is now defined for policy purposes as "Anti Social Behaviour" (ASB). ASB is monitored at local level by measuring perceived levels of seven problems, including "Noisy neighbours or loud parties" as well "People using or dealing drugs", "People being drunk or rowdy in public spaces", "Abandoned or burnt out cars", "Rubbish and litter lying around", "Vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property or vehicles" and "Teenagers hanging around on the streets". Our analysis of the local government Best Value Performance Indicator (BVPI) surveys shows a high degree of correlation between satisfaction with a local area as a place to live and perceived levels of ASB (Chart 22) - in other words ASB is an important indicator of quality of life. Furthermore, perceived levels of ASB tend to be higher in particular types of area - those that are deprived, densely populated or with a high rate of violent crime... and those that have high proportions of teenagers. So the psychological atmosphere in such neighbourhoods may be exacerbating an already uncomfortable situation.

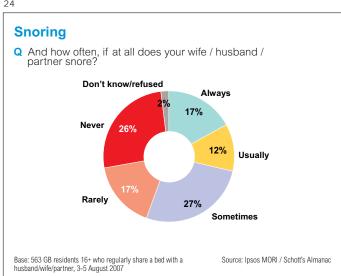
Nuisance from noise is one of the most pervasive elements of ASB. An Ipsos MORI survey in April for the National Society for Clean Air and Environmental Protection explored the issue in detail. In all, seven in ten people report being bothered by one or more sources of noise in their neighbourhood, and 12% say their quality of life at home suffers a great deal or a fair amount from noise when they are at home. The most common source of annoyance is noise from cars or motorbikes, a local nuisance to one in five. (Chart 23)

But government can't deal with all noise problems. Three in ten adults who normally share their bed with a husband, wife or partner say their other half "always" or "usually" snores. (Chart 24). You can't get an ASBO for that.



23





The pound in your pocket

Economic issues remain low on the public's list of the important issues facing the country, implying that money worries are not at present a major factor in the national gloom and bad temper. Yet there is hardly a widespread mood of economic optimism. The Ipsos MORI Economic Optimism Index (measuring the difference between the percentages of the public expecting the economy to get better and get worse over the next 12 months) has not been above -20 all year. Similarly, although 39% believe the government's policies will improve the state of the economy, 46% think they will not.

Small businesses are more divided on the prospects for the economy. When the Orange Business Jury, a panel of over 1,000 small business owners, managers and decision makers working for companies with up to 250 employees, was polled by Ipsos MORI for the *Daily Mail* using SMS technology on the day the Bank of England raised interest rates in July, a third thought the British economy would enter recession over the next couple of years, a third that it would not and a third didn't know. (Chart 25).

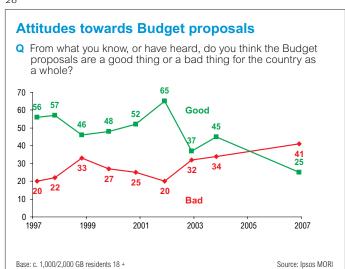
Ironically, Gordon Brown has not had a good year on tax and economic policy. His budget in April proved much the least popular of his ten years at the Exchequer. (Chart 26). Little wonder, then, that the Conservatives saw tax - always a central issue for them - as the peg on which to launch what might have been an election campaign. Their proposals on Inheritance Tax, announced by George Osborne at the party conference, were immediately popular and were credited with bursting the bubble of the "Brown bounce" in the polls and with derailing the planned autumn election. Nor was that the only Tory fiscal proposal to go down well. At the end of September, the public agreed by two-to-one with David Cameron's proposal on tax breaks for married couples, which was popular with Labour and Liberal Democrats as well as Conservative supporters (Chart 27), and Conservative suggestions for green taxes (see p 21) were also well received.

25

Small businesses split on future recession Q Do you think the British economy will or will not enter recession over the next couple of years? Don't know 33% Will not

Base: 604 owners/managers in British SMFs, 5 July 2007 Source: Insos MORI/Orange Business Jury/Daily Mail

26



27

Tax and married couples I ...would like you to tell me ... whether you agree or disagree that David Cameron's proposal that there should be tax breaks for married couples is the right approach. % Disagree Agree ΑII 63 18-34 35-54 59 55+ Con Lab Source: Ipsos MORI/Observer Base: 1,000 GB residents 18+, 27-28 September 2007

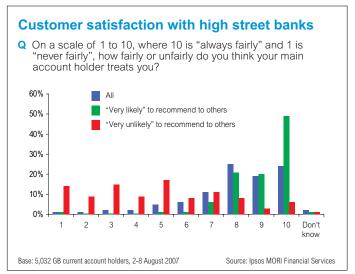
Money matters

Assuming the economy remains healthy enough for us to earn some money, where will we keep it and how will we spend or invest it? The Northern Rock crisis was a reminder of the potential fragility of our relationship with our banks. Recent Ipsos MORI Financial Services (MFS) research found that only a quarter of current account holders at High Street banks feel their bank always treats them fairly (chart 28)... and that those who do are much more likely to recommend their bank to someone else.

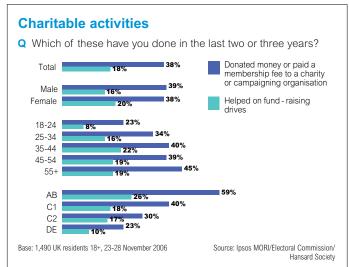
Chart 29 shows which sections of the public claim to have recently donated to charity or campaigning organisations, or to have "helped on fundraising drives". The young are least active, but more striking is the greater involvement of middle class than working class citizens - not only in giving money but in fundraising activities. A separate survey in July (for the veterinary charity SPANA) found a similar differential in donations to specific causes: 50% of ABs but only 26% of DEs said they had donated to the Tsunami appeal, and 10% of ABs compared to 5% of DEs contributed to the Darfur appeal. Intriguingly, though, both age and class differences disappeared among the 8% who gave to the Hurricane Katrina Appeal.

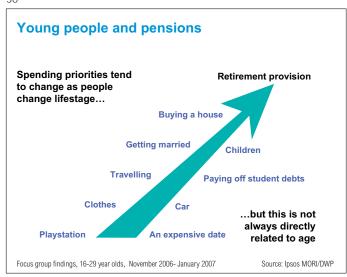
What barriers dissuade the young from making an early start to saving for retirement? Between November 2006 and January 2007, working for the Department for Work and Pensions, we used both focus groups and follow-up depth interviews to research the attitudes of 16-29 year olds towards saving, retirement planning and pensions, and the best ways of encouraging and enabling them to begin saving. Chart 30 illustrates some of the findings. As expected, the young have other priorities - a strong desire to "live for now", competing demands on their income and a poor understanding of the available pension options. Proposals for automatic enrolment into personal accounts were mostly well-received; but many will need persuading to start saving before the scheme is introduced in 2012. The research also highlighted the diversity of attitudes and experiences, pointing to a need for communications about pensions to be carefully designed and targeted. Making use of familiar, trusted sources of advice, such as parents and the media, is likely to prove most effective.

28



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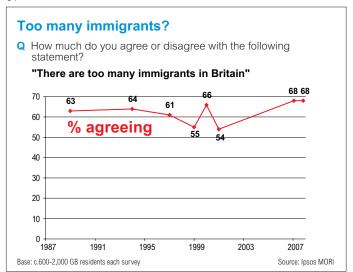
Cultural identity

One of the major policy challenges facing Britain remains immigration, with the associated issues of race relations and asylum. This is an issue where the government has lost the public's confidence, with 72% of the public saying (in our poll for The Sun on 31 October-1 November) that they are dissatisfied with the way the government is dealing with immigration and asylum and 80% disagreeing that "The government is open and honest about the scale of immigration into Britain".

In fact there is an ambivalence in the public's views which, while not pointing towards a solution of the issue at least suggests a solution might be possible - hostility towards further immigration is coupled with a widespread willingness to accept and even celebrate the diversity of the country. True, 76% want tougher immigration laws, and 68% think that "there are too many immigrants in Britain" (a figure as high as it has been in twenty years -Chart 31 – and which includes many members of ethnic minorities as well as white people). But the public also agree by 49% to 36% that "immigration is generally good for Britain".

Most Britons see a multicultural and tolerant society as part of the modern way of life, and are generally comfortable with that. When adults in England chose words that most closely described their views about England, top of the list was "historical", but closely followed by "multicultural" and "tolerant". (Chart 32). Similarly, when asked to choose from a list the four or five "most important values for living in Britain" in a survey for the Commission for Integration and Cohesion (CIC), 54% of British adults chose "tolerance and politeness towards others", putting it in second place behind "respect for the law" - though the more specific values of "respect for all faiths" (34%) and "respect for people from different ethnic groups" (25%) were more rarely chosen. (Chart 33)

There is strong support in cosmopolitan London for ensuring that cultural diversity survives: 75% of Londoners said this autumn (in an Ipsos MORI survey for the GLA) that they thought it was "fairly" or "very" important that "there are regular events and festivals to celebrate London's different ethnic and religious communities".



32

England Q Which, if any, of the following words most closely describe your views about England? Historical Multicultural 48% 42% Home Tolerant 42% Patriotic 36% Proud Sporting 27% Social 16% 11% Passionate Not community-focused 10% Community-focused Intolerant None of these 2% Don't know 2% Base: 1,712 English residents 15+, 7-12 December 2006 Source: Ipsos MORI/Bruno Peek

33

Values for living in Britain Q Which four or five of the following, if any, would you say are the most important values for living in Britain? Top 10 mentions Respect for the law Tolerance and politeness towards Freedom of speech/expression 42% Respect for all faiths 34% Justice and fair play 33% Everyone should speak English Respect for people from different ethnic groups Equality of opportunity Freedom to criticise the views and 25% beliefs of others Pride in country/patriotism Source: Ipsos MORI/CIC Base: 1,014 English residents 16+, 9 December 2006-28 January 2007

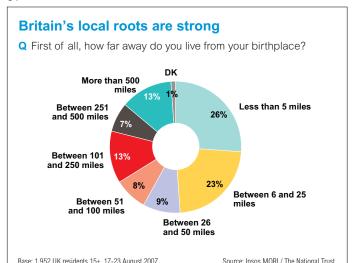
Making cohesive communities

Many more Britons feel an identification with their immediate neighbourhood than with any larger unit below national level (though, strikingly, this is not true in London), and the vast majority feel proud of their neighbourhoods. The long-term solution to the questions posed by immigration and racial diversity is likely to involve building new communities as stable and cohesive as the old. It can be a surprise to realise how unchanging some of Britain's communities still are: almost half the public still live within 25 miles of where they were born (chart 34). Economic forces can threaten this continuity through population movement, whether or not immigration is involved. The increasing prevalence of buy-to-let, for example, can have a dramatic impact on housing markets. In July we found that 45% of the public believe that buy-to-let "can damage the sense of community in an area", even though 63% agree that it "plays a valuable role in increasing the amount of privately rented property available".

If we must lose the cohesion that comes from continuity, how can we build a common sense of community to take its place? Qualitative research for the CRE in November 2006 found that people feel social interaction between different ethnic groups would be better at fostering a shared sense of Britishness than more formal or compulsory means like citizenship classes or English language lessons; a parallel quantitative survey confirmed that the more people mix with members of other ethnic groups at work, school, college or in social situations, the more positive they tend to be about diversity and integration. Nevertheless, as the CIC survey showed, language is crucial - language differences are the most frequently suggested factor that prevents "people from different backgrounds from getting on well together in this local area", and not speaking English was considered "a barrier to being English" by 60% of the public.

Is equality at work still a problem? Of Britons who have ever worked, 19% agree that someone from a different ethnic background would find it "difficult to fit in" at their (most recent) workplace. But measures of positive discrimination are liable to meet significant resistance (Chart 35).

Of course, being British involves other cultural quirks, such as our attachment to retaining imperial measurements (Chart 36). We won't give an inch on that.



Positive discrimination Q Evidence shows that women and men from ethnic minority backgrounds are under-represented in many types of jobs, especially at senior levels. Given this, to what extent do you agree or disagree that employers should give ethnic minority people extra support and encouragement to get into jobs where they are under-represented? Strongly agree 10% 14% Strongly disagree Tend to agree Tend to disagree Neither/nor Base: 1,031 GB residents 15+, 7-13 September 2007 Source: Ipsos MORI/DWP/EOC

36 **Metric measurements Q** How strongly would you support or oppose Britain switching to using entirely metric measurements, rather than continuing to use traditional units? Don't know Strongly support Tend to support Strongly oppose Neither/nor Tend to oppose Base: 1.009 GB residents 18+, 20-22 September 2007 Source: Ipsos MORI / The Sun

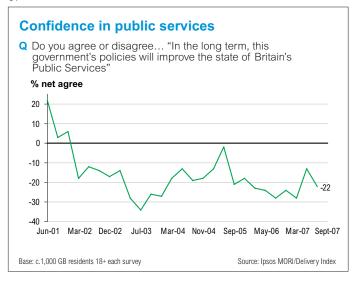
Public services

The provision of public services remains at the heart of what voters expect from government. It must therefore be disturbing for a government that has always made public services a policy priority to see the extent of public pessimism on the efficacy of their policies. Our quarterly measure of attitudes to government policies on public services (chart 37), part of our Delivery Index research, found a slight relaxation of pessimism in the May survey (conducted soon after Tony Blair announced his impending retirement), but by September confidence had fallen back with only 33% agreeing that "In the long term, this government's policies will improve the state of Britain's public services", while 55% took the opposite view.

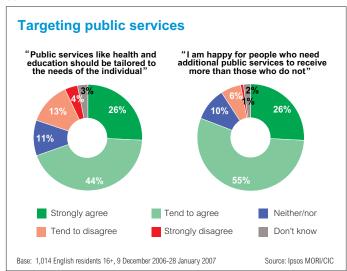
In our previous year-end reviews we have reported research showing that, while the public are strongly committed to the public service ethos, they do not necessarily object to the provision of public services by the private sector if this can improve standards. Similarly, most accept that provision need not be entirely uniform: chart 38 shows support for targeting of services, measured in a survey for the CIC between December 2006 and January 2007. But public services involve the distribution of scarce resources, and have become a focus of opposition to immigration. Services are put under pressure both by an ageing population and by population increase (of which immigration is, of course, the most visible component). A significant minority believe they are unfairly treated, especially over welfare payments and allocation of council housing: indeed, 56% agreed that "some groups of people in Britain get unfair priority when it comes to public services, like housing, health services and schools", though less than half as many thought it was happening in their own local area. Immigrants or asylum seekers, along with single mothers, were most frequently named as the likely beneficiaries.

A poll on immigration for *The Sun* in November found even more widespread pessimism for the future, three-quarters doubting that services locally or nationally can cope with projected population increases. (Chart 39).

37



38



39

Public services and immigration Q The Office of National Statistics has predicted that the overall population of the UK will rise by 4.4 million people to a total of 65 million in the next eight years. They estimate that 2.1 million of this overall rise can be put down to immigration. This rate of growth is higher than it has been in past years. How confident, if at all, are you that public services like education and healthcare...? ...in Britain will be able to ...in your local area will be able to cope with this increasing cope with this increasing population? population? Very confident Not very confident Not at all confident Don't know Base: 1,013 GB residents 18+, 31 October-1 November 2007 (Split sample - each question asked to half of respondents) Source: Ipsos MORI /The Sun

National Health Service

The most cherished service for both public and politicians is the NHS. Earlier in the year, 96% of the public agreed and 77% strongly agreed that "The NHS is a key part of British society and should be protected". Its iconic status has seen it drawn into American political debate in recent months, both favourably and unfavourably compared with US practice, and it would certainly have been a central issue in the putative general election. Worth noting, then, that one of the things the public are most strongly agreed upon is that the politicians should keep their hands off it and their noses out of it! Surveys for the NHS Confederation found (in May 2007) that more than two-thirds of the public (72%) agree that "Politicians should not be involved in the day-to-day running of the NHS", and (Chart 40) that almost nobody thinks MPs or local councillors should be involved in decisions about which treatments should be funded by the NHS locally.

Public admiration for the principle of the NHS does not prevent dissatisfaction with it in practice. For example, 93% say it is important for the NHS to pay more attention to customer services. And there continues to be a gap between broadly positive perceptions of local standards of service and considerably more negative beliefs about the national scene. With those who know the NHS best more likely to denigrate than praise it (Chart 41), this is perhaps hardly surprising. Bolstering internal morale should probably be a key objective.

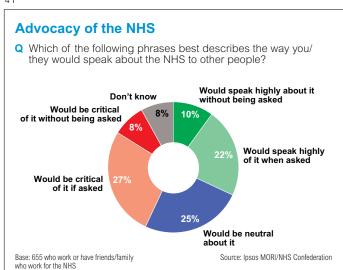
May some of the dissatisfaction also rest on low knowledge of the reform policies the government is implementing? Chart 42 shows how slowly awareness of the right to a choice of hospital is growing, and that less than half of patients thought they had been offered a choice. Research for Cancerbackup in April illustrates the potential value of the "Choice Agenda" to patients by highlighting the different priorities that different people apply. Respondents were asked whether, if they were diagnosed with cancer requiring in-patient treatment, they would be willing to travel further from home than their local hospital assuming various scenarios such as differences in waiting times or survival rates. Although there was no single scenario in which more than 40% said they would be prepared to travel, 72% said they would do so in at least one case.

NHS spending decisions Q Which, if any, groups of people should make decisions about which medicines or treatments are funded by your local NHS? Clinicians working in the local NHS (e.g. doctors and nurses) Patient representatives Managers working in the local NHS General public representatives Members of Parliament Local Councillors 6% Other 1% NHS should fund everything / all new medicines and treatments should be available 6% No decisions should be made locally — they should all be made nationally **2%** All of them 1% None of them 2% Don't know 5%

Source: Insos MORI/NHS Confederation

41

Base: 969 GB residents 15+ 7-12 December 2006



42

National Patient Choice Survey Q Before you visited your GP, did you know that you now have a choice of hospitals that you can go to for your first hospital appointment? Q Were you offered a choice of hospital for your first hospital appointment? Date refers to date of patient referral 29% Yes, knew May 2006 30% Yes, offered a choice 32% July 2006 35% September 2006 35% November 2006 36% January 2007 Base: c. 50,000-79,000 NHS patients each wave. Source: Ipsos MORI/Department of Health

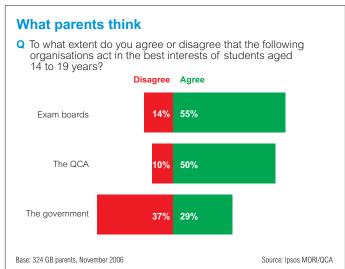
Schools and colleges

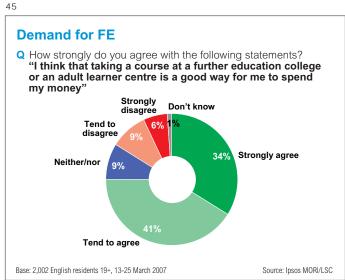
Of the various public services, it is education on which the government has come nearest to satisfying the public throughout its decade in office. When Tony Blair announced his retirement, the public were evenly split on whether his government had done a good job at improving the education system (whereas they judged by more than two-to-one that it had done a bad job at improving the NHS), and early in Gordon Brown's tenure more said they were satisfied than dissatisfied with the way the new PM was handling the issue of standards in schools. (Chart 43).

A perennial issue of debate in education is that of examination standards. Since 2003, Ipsos MORI has conducted regular research for the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) on perceptions of the A level and GCSE exam system among the general public, parents and teachers. The latest wave of the research, in November 2006, finds parents much more satisfied with the educational establishment than with the government (Chart 44). Teachers' confidence in the exam system is high: 70% of A level teachers agree that they have confidence in the A level system, and 66% of GCSE teachers say the same about the GCSE system. However, A level teachers are highly critical of the media's coverage of the announcement of A level results, with four in five (80%) stating that they find it "unhelpful"; yet this represents a softening of opinion, for the proportion of those who "strongly agree" the media coverage is unhelpful fell from 70% in 2005 to 60% in 2006.

An Ipsos MORI survey for the Learning and Skills Council in March found almost universally positive views towards Further Education (FE): 91% of the public say they would be willing to pay something towards their own learning as an adult, and 75% that taking an FE course is a good way to spend their money. (Chart 45). Furthermore, 88% agree that learning is personally important to them. But only two in five (41%) are aware that the government contributes financially to publicly-supported adult learning courses, so that students do not need to meet the full cost themselves.

Standards in Schools Q Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Gordon Brown, the Prime Minister, is handling the issue of standards in schools? Very satisfied Don't know 16% Very dissatisfied Fairly satisfied Fairly dissatisfied Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied Base: 1 010 GB residents 18+ 8-9 August 2007 Source: Insos MORI / The Sun





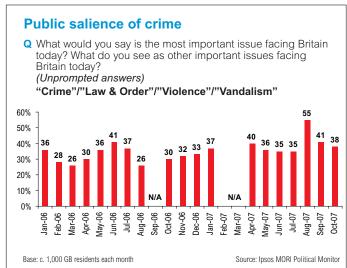
Crime and punishment

Crime is always one of the public's most widespread concerns, but it has risen gradually over the last five years to become one of the key issues, despite more police and longer sentences. In 2007, "crime and anti-social behaviour" had a clear lead as the issue that would have an important impact on the way most people would vote (supplanting health care, which has usually headed the list in the past) - 56% said it would be an important consideration to them. Of course fear of crime is strongly driven by events reported in the media, as our monthly unprompted "important issues" poll shows (chart 46): concern about crime leapt in August 2007, when fieldwork took place shortly after the Rhys Jones murder.

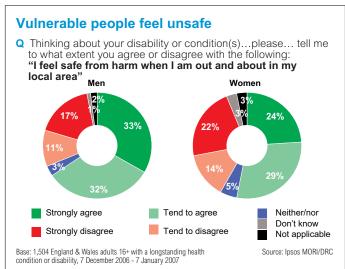
Fear of crime, naturally, can be especially acute for vulnerable groups. An Ipsos MORI survey for the Disability Rights Commission in December 2006 - January 2007 found that a third of adults in England and Wales with a disability or long-term health condition do not feel safe in their locality, with women feeling particularly insecure (chart 47), and 44% of those who suffer from mental problems had the same fears. A quarter (24%) of disabled adults say that they have difficulty using police services in their local area.

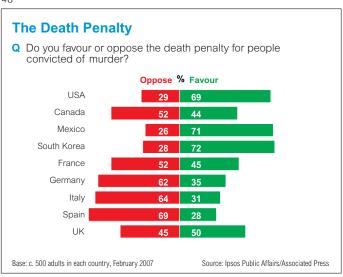
Despite a high fear of crime, the public is sceptical about the effectiveness of harsh sentencing as a solution (as opposed to punnishment). In previous annual reviews we have reported how "better parenting" and "more police on the beat" are more frequently picked than longer sentences as the best way to reduce crime. This year, we find support for restoration of the death penalty may be waning. An Associated Press poll conducted by Ipsos Public Affairs in February 2007 found that half the British public (50%) favoured the death penalty for people convicted of murder, with 45% opposed; polls until recently have tended to find a clear majority in favour. But the death penalty is a more divisive issue in Britain today than in many other countries, and support is higher here than elsewhere in western Europe (Chart 48). Only in France and Canada is there, as in Britain, a rough balance between the two points of view; and nowhere else are there as many as in Britain who say they feel "strongly" on both sides. Three in ten Britons (29%) say they are strongly in favour, and an equal number (29%) are strongly opposed to the death penalty for murder.

46



47



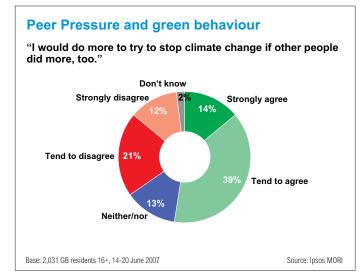


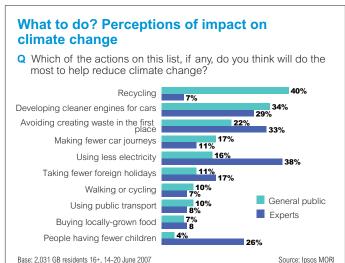
Global warming and...

The urgent need to slow global warming and avert the risk of catastrophic climate change is agreed by almost all scientists. Yet the steps the public are getting used to taking routinely are limited and may have little impact. In Spring 2007, 37% said they were doing nothing to tackle climate change, and recycling (named by 23%) was the only activity widely cited as "the number one thing you are going to tackle climate change"; using low energy light bulbs came in second place, and only 5% mentioned that. Yet there seems to be a widespread belief that we are making progress: for example, we found last year (in a poll for the Evening Standard) that 57% of Londoners believe that "Recent media coverage of climate change has encouraged people to change their behaviour to help protect the environment".

Why are we doing so little? Most people agree they would do more if others would do so too (chart 49), so there may be a problem of collective action. But more important are misconceptions and misunderstandings. As chart 50 shows, many of the actions which the public are most likely to believe will do most to reduce climate change are considered relatively unimportant by most experts; the public is not merely reluctant to consider more radical changes such as using less electricity (let alone having fewer children); most still do not think them important. Has the ubiquitous message of recycling been too successful, obscuring other more important considerations?

Certainly, the public do not seem to share the scientists' sense of urgency. At the most recent peak of salience, in January 2007, 19% spontaneously named the environment or pollution as one of the most important issues facing the country in our regular unprompted survey; more recently the figure has generally been below 10%. And, probably, only a fraction of these specifically have global warming issues in mind: when the public is asked which issues "to do with the environment and conservation" concern them most, less than a third volunteer climate change or related issues; other factors such as lack of recycling, waste disposal, pollution and traffic are often cited instead. (Chart 51).





51

Green issues of concern Q What issues to do with the environment and conservation, if any, concern you most these days? Greenhouse effect/global warming/ climate change Lack of recycling 18% Pollution (unspecified) 17% Too much traffic 12% Air pollution 12% Waste disposal 11% Exhaust fumes from cars/lorries 9% Loss of green belt/overbuilding Preservation of wildlife/countryside 8% Litter in towns and cities 7% Others below 7% omitted Base: 953 GB residents age 15+, 9-14 November 2006 Source: Ipsos MORI/NIAUK

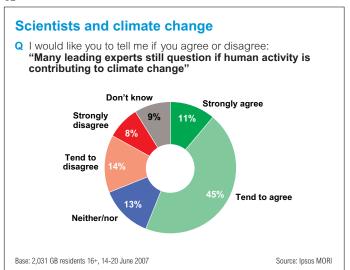
climate change

One cause of this lack of urgency may be a widespread belief that the significance of global warming is still a matter of debate. An Ipsos MORI survey in June found that more than half the public agree that "Many leading experts still question if human activity is contributing to climate change". (Chart 52). The impression will surely have been strengthened by the recent controversy over AI Gore's film, *An Inconvenient Truth*, which a High Court judge declared to contain a number of errors or debatable points presented as fact, ordering that it may only be shown in British schools if it is explicitly explained that it presents only one side of an argument.

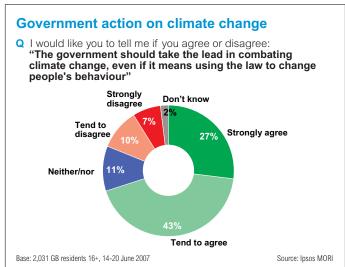
So where do we go from here? Most of the public say that they believe the government should take a lead, using the law to change people's behaviour if necessary (chart 53), and politicians of all parties are taking them at their word. For example, the Conservatives' Quality of Life Working Group (led by John Gummer and Zac Goldsmith) published a generally well-received set of proposals. Nevertheless, it remains a political risk in the short term how sure are we that the public will not vote against green policies that will inconvenience them personally? Of five key Tory proposals, we found substantial support for three (higher taxes for fuel inefficient vehicles, incentives for low carbon homes and a freeze on airport expansion) in September. But there is an even split on charging VAT on short-haul flights, and strong opposition to parking charges at out-oftown shopping centres. As discussed overleaf, Britain seems reluctant to break its dependence on the car, or indeed to change its behaviour in other ways. Similarly although most say they are concerned about the impact of air travel, they plan to fly as much as they do now.

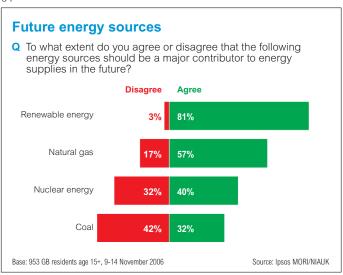
Meeting the country's future energy needs is a key part of the challenge. Research for the Nuclear Industry Association shows 72% of adults agreeing that the UK needs a mix of energy sources (including nuclear and renewables) to ensure a reliable supply of electricity. But although renewable energy has the most support as a major contributor in the future (Chart 54), even the margin against using coal is a slight one and the public are more than three-to-one in favour of natural gas (also a fossil fuel, though less polluting than coal) being a major energy source.

52



53





Motoring

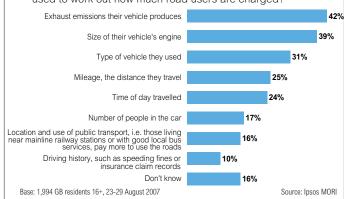
While most of the public make the link between car use and environmental issues, their support for policies to tackle it tends to be concentrated on encouraging the use of less polluting vehicles rather than the inconvenience of reducing car use altogether. They pick levels of emissions as a more suitable basis for setting a congestion charge than the wastefulness of the journey (chart 55), and while (as already noted) 64% back Conservative proposals for higher taxes on fuel-inefficient vehicles, only 18% would back charging for parking at out-of-town shopping centres while 59% are opposed. In London, a poll for the Evening Standard found that 58% agreed that "The cost of residents' parking in London should be linked to how polluting their car is" (Chart 56) - but we don't know how many of these wrongly assume their own car would be charged at a low rate.

Britain is, for the most part, still in love with its cars. Two in five (42%) of British adults personally drive "every day or nearly every day", and one in five are members of households in which nobody has a car. For many this overrides normal moral scruples. (For example, one in eight British motorists would ask a relative or friend to take speed camera penalty points for them if they were facing a driving ban, according to an Ipsos MORI poll for the insurance brokers Swinton.)

With a London Mayoral election next year, public transport and the congestion charge (the highest profile policy concerns of the current Mayor Ken Livingstone) will probably be the issues of 2008 in the capital - and, perhaps, elsewhere. Nationally, more of the public are hostile to road pricing than sympathetic to it, as chart 57 shows, when its purposes are couched in terms of reducing congestion and improving the local environment. But how much of this opposition (as with hostility to speed cameras) is based on a belief that its primary purpose is revenue raising? We found that support for road pricing rises to six in ten if revenues are to be invested in improving public transport, and returning the revenues raised to road users through cheaper petrol or lower road tax would also increase support significantly. On this, as on so many issues, political leadership will be key.

Principles of road pricing

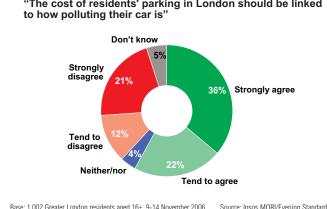
Q If there were a road charging scheme for using some British roads, which of the criteria on this card do you think should be used to work out how much road users are charged?



56

Taxing polluting cars

Q How strongly do you agree with the following statements? 'The cost of residents' parking in London should be linked to how polluting their car is"



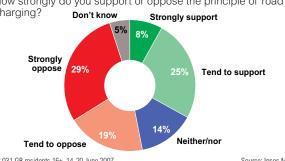
Base: 1,002 Greater London residents aged 16+, 9-14 November 2006

Source: Ipsos MORI/Evening Standard

57

Road pricing - yes or no?

Q As you may know, several schemes exist across the world, including in central London, that charge road users fees to drive in and around certain towns and city centres. The schemes are designed to reduce traffic congestion and improve the local environment e.g. by reducing emissions. How strongly do you support or oppose the principle of road charging?



Base: 2,031 GB residents 16+, 14-20 June 2007

Source: Ipsos MORI

Animal rights

The British public continues its support for animal rights, although it is an issue of overwhelming importance for only a few. (7% say it is an issue that will be very important to deciding their vote at the next election.)

The majority supports retaining the legal ban on hunting with dogs introduced in 2004-5. Our survey in February for the League Against Cruel Sports and the RSPCA found that 58% of British adults favour the ban staying in place, while 17% would prefer to scrap it.

A survey in July on behalf of the veterinary charity SPANA found that half the British public (50%) said they would be more likely to support groups of charities raising funds for emergency situations abroad if they included an agency providing veterinary care for working animals. (Chart 58).

On the other hand, most of the public do not take a fundamentalist line on vivisection. Ipsos MORI research in December 2006 on behalf of the Department of Trade and Industry (the fourth study in a series examining trends in public attitudes towards the use of animals in research) found that three-quarters of the public are willing to accept animal experimentation if it is for medical research purposes (Chart 59) or as long as there is no unnecessary suffering to the animals. There is less agreement, however, whether medical experimentation should be confined to life-threatening diseases, though more feel it should than should not. Most people are confident in the regulatory regime covering animal experimentation in Britain, and over half (54%) say they trust the scientists not to cause unnecessary suffering to the animals being experimented on.

Of course, Britons are not alone in their concern for the animal kingdom. A cross-national Ipsos MORI study for the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) explained a proposed new ban on the sale of ivory products from African elephants, and found the majority in favour in every country included - Great Britain, the USA, France, Canada, Spain and Italy - though the margin of support ranged from a twelve-toone ratio in France to three-to-one in Canada. In Britain, 83% were in favour and only 8% opposed. (Chart 60)

Veterinary care makes charity attractive Q Many disasters around the world are now dealt with by groups of British charities working and raising funds together... what extent would you be more or less likely, if at all, to support such a group, that included an agency providing veterinary care for working animals? Don't know A lot less likely A lot more likely Slightly less likely 18%

Base: 970 GB residents age 15+, 6-12 July 2007

Base: 968 GB residents age 15+, 7-12 December 2006

Makes no

difference

36%

Source: Insos MORI/SPANA

Source: Ipsos MORI/DTI

Slightly more

59

Animal experiments Q How strongly do you agree or disagree with these more general statements about animal experimentation? Strongly Tend to disagree Tend to Stronaly agree "I can accept animal experimentation so long 23% as it is for medica research purposes' "Animal experimentation for medical research purposes should only be conducted for 13% life-threatening diseases

60

Ivory trade Q What stance, if any, would you personally like the British Government to take on this proposed new ban on the trade in ivory? Do you think that the British government should ...? It should not take any position Don't know Strongly oppose the new ban on ivory Strongly support the new ban on Tend to oppose the new ban on ivory Neither/nor Tend to support the new ban on 68% ivory Base: 1,004 GB residents 15+, 9-11 March 2007 Source: Ipsos MORI/IFAW

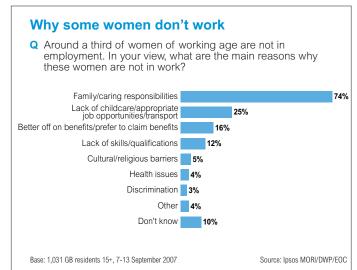
Women at work

Around a third of women of working age in Britain are not in employment. Family or caring responsibilities are widely seen as a major cause of this – 74% of the public suggested such factors as one of the main reasons why these women do not have jobs (and 61% specifically mentioned that they choose to stay at home with their children) in an Ipsos MORI survey for the Department of Work and Pensions and the Equal Opportunities Commission in September. (Chart 61).

Women from some ethnic minorities are much less likely to be in work than their white counterparts - only a quarter of Bangladeshi and Pakistani women of working age are in employment. Asked to suggest explanations for this, the public are still more likely to cite family or caring responsibilities (43%), but cultural or religious barriers (37%) and lack of skills or qualifications (31%) are also widely supposed to be factors. The latter suggestion probably arises from an important misconception. As chart 62 shows, people think that white British women in work are most likely to be graduates and that British Bangladeshi women are least likely to have a degree; in fact the opposite is true: the 2001 census shows that only 24% of white British women in work have a degree, compared to 52% of Black African women, 35% of Pakistani women, 32% of Black Caribbean women, 30% Bangladeshi women and 38% of Indian women.

Perhaps surprisingly, very few suggest discrimination (except in the racial context) or lower pay as a reason for women not working: but most are well aware when reminded of the discrimination that exists. Well over half the public - including half of all men - say that as far as they know men in Britain are generally paid more than women for doing jobs that require a similar level of skill, a conclusion with which official statistics would agree. Three in five say (Chart 63) they feel that government attempts to ensure equal pay for women have not gone far enough, and the majority (58%) agree they would be more likely to vote for a politician if he/she was committed to ensuring equal pay for women.

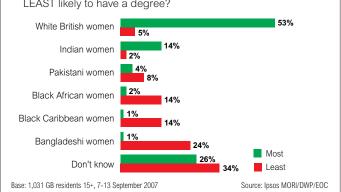
61



62

Womens' qualifications

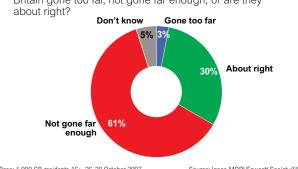
Q Now thinking about all women in work. Looking at this list, please could you tell me which group of women in work in Britain are MOST likely to have a degree? And which group is LEAST likely to have a degree?



63

Equality of pay

Q Government statistics show that on average men working full time are paid £11.71 an hour and women working full time are paid £10.24 an hour, which is £1.47 less an hour than men. Have government attempts to ensure equal pay for women in Britain gone too far, not gone far enough, or are they about right?



Mobile phones

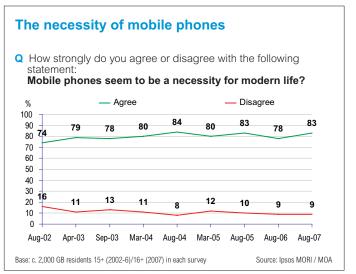
As we reach the end of 2007 and prepare to consider the future, one factor we must of course bear in mind is the sheer pace of technological development which can radically change society in a short space of time.

The spread of mobile phones is a case in point. Even a decade ago, only a fraction of the public had mobiles and probably few of the rest expected they would get them; now, according to our research for the Mobile Operators' Association (MOA), 87% of adults use one, and this rises to 97% among those aged under 55; 83% agree that "mobiles seem to be a necessity for modern life". (Chart 64).

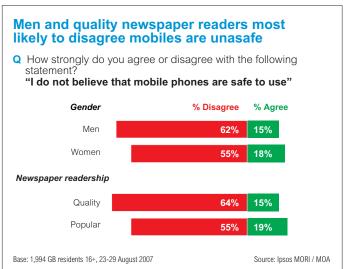
One in six (18%) say they "do not believe that mobile phones are safe to use", though many of these use one anyway; men are more likely than women and readers of quality newspaper more likely than popular readers to disagree. (Chart 65). More widely spread (though significantly lower than a couple of years ago) is the fear that phone masts are harmful: 38% "believe that masts emit radio waves which may have adverse health effects on surrounding residents or workers". On the other hand, there is increasing agreement that "It is too early for there to be any conclusive evidence linking mobile phone masts with health" (58% in 2007 compared with 45% in 2006), and fewer now say they would protest if a mast was placed in their neighbourhood.

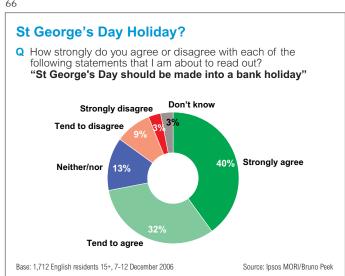
The spread of mobile phones has also allowed us to develop new forms of opinion research. In 2007, we regularly polled the Orange Business Jury, a panel of decision makers in Britain's small and medium-sized businesses, using SMS technology to allow us almost instant feedback. As reported on p 12, we were able to get immediate, on-the-day reactions to a rise in interest rates; and on a less serious note we tested the idea of introducing an extra bank holiday between August and the end of the year. Four out of five (82%) would support it, and nearly three quarters (72%) feel that there is no competitive advantage in having fewer official holidays than other EU countries.

The public, unsurprisingly, also back the idea of extra holidays: in December 2006, 72% of English adults agreed that St George's Day should be made into a Bank Holiday (Chart 66). But, pending that, we shall have to make do with the holidays we have already... Happy Christmas!



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Notes

Ipsos MORI's Social Research Institute works closely with national government, local public services and the not-for-profit sector to understand what works in terms of service delivery, to provide robust evidence for policy makers, and to bridge the gulf between the public and politicians. We do more than undertake accurate research: we produce information decision-makers can use.

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