

PUBLIC OPINION BACKGROUND NOTE 110

(produced 25th April 1982)

1. Introduction

Gallup completed the interviewing for our latest 'tracking' study before the successful invasion of South Georgia. The interviewing for the latest study was conducted from 13th April to 19th April and found an almost unchanged level of support for the main parties - 31% claimed they would vote Conservative (31½% - 7/12 April) 30% Labour (29% - 7/12 April), 26% Social Democrat (26% 7/12 April) and 10% Liberal (11% - 7/12 April). Details of the trend in support for the main parties are shown on the following page:-

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## VOTING INTENTION

(unprompted question, excluding don't knows)

	<u>CON</u>	<u>LAB</u>	<u>LIB</u>	<u>SOCIAL</u> <u>DEMOCRAT</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>LEAD</u>	<u>LIBERAL &amp; SOCIAL</u> <u>DEMOCRAT</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>1979</u>							
May (GE)	43.9	36.9	13.8	-	5.5	+7.0	13.8
13/16 June*	42.0	43.5	13.0	-	5.0	-9.0	13.0
<u>1981</u>							
3/8 June	31.0	40.0	14.0	12.5	2.5	-9.0	26.5
9/15 June	29.5	37.5	18.0	12.5	2.5	-8.0**	30.5
16/22 June	32.0	37.0	15.5	13.0	2.5	-5.0	28.5
24/30 June	29.0	40.0	17.0	12.0	2.0	-11.0	29.0
1/6 July	30.5	39.5	14.0	13.0	3.0	-9.0	27.0
8/13 July	30.0	40.5	14.5	12.0	3.0	-10.5**	26.5
15/20 July	29.0	36.0	16.0	17.0	2.0	-7.0	33.0
22/27 July	26.0	38.0	13.0	21.0	2.0	-12.0	34.0
29 July/3 Aug	25.5	40.0	11.5	20.5	2.5	-14.5	32.0
5/10 Aug	27.0	36.0	15.0	19.0	4.0	-9.0	33.0
12/17 Aug	28.0	38.5	13.0	19.0	1.5	-10.5**	32.0
19/24 Aug	29.0	34.0	17.0	18.0	2.0	-5.0	35.0
26/31 Aug	26.0	41.0	15.0	16.0	2.0	-15.0	31.0
1/7 Sept	25.0	41.0	15.0	16.0	3.0	-16.0	31.0
9/14 Sept	32.0	36.5	11.5	17.5	2.5	-4.5**	29.0
16/21 Sept	25.0	36.5	16.0	19.0	3.5	-11.5	35.0
23/28 Sept	24.5	33.5	16.5	24.0	1.5	-9.0	40.5
30 Sept/5 Oct	26.0	38.0	12.0	21.0	3.0	-12.0	33.0
7/12 Oct	27.0	31.0	12.5	26.5	3.0	-4.0	39.0
14/19 Oct	28.5	34.0	12.5	22.0	3.0	-5.5	34.5
21/25 Oct	29.5	28.0	13.5	26.5	2.5	+1.5**	40.0
28 Oct/2 Nov	26.5	29.0	13.0	29.5	2.5	-2.5	42.5
4/9 Nov	26.5	28.5	14.5	28.5	2.0	-2.0	43.0
11/16 Nov	26.5	29.0	15.0	27.0	2.5	-2.5**	42.0
18/23 Nov	25.5	26.0	14.0	32.0	2.5	-0.5	46.0
25/30 Nov	25.0	26.5	15.5	30.0	3.0	-1.5	45.5
2/7 Dec	26.0	21.0	13.5	38.0	1.5	+5.0	51.5
9/14 Dec	23.0	23.5	14.5	36.0	3.0	-0.5**	50.5
<u>1982</u>							
6/11 Jan	25.5	30.0	17.0	25.0	2.5	-4.5	42.0
13/18 Jan	27.5	29.5	13.0	26.5	3.5	-2.5**	39.5
20/25 Jan	30.0	27.0	14.0	26.5	2.5	+3.0	40.5
27 Jan/1 Feb	29.0	29.0	15.0	24.0	3.0	0.0	39.0
3/8 Feb	29.0	29.0	15.0	26.0	1.0	0.0	41.0
10/15 Feb	27.5	34.0	14.5	21.5	2.5	-6.5**	35.0
17/22 Feb	26.5	33.5	14.0	22.0	4.0	-7.0	36.0
24 Feb/1 March	31.0	32.5	11.0	22.5	3.0	-1.5	33.5
3/8 March	30.0	33.5	11.5	21.0+	4.0	-3.5	32.5
11/15 March	31.5	33.0	11.5	21.5+	2.5	-1.5**	33.0
17/22 March	34.0	30.0	11.0	21.0+	4.0	+4.0	32.0
24/29 March	32.0	28.0	11.0	27.5+	1.5	+4.0	38.5
31 March/5 April	34.0	27.0	10.0	26.0+	3.0	+7.0	36.0
7/12 April	31.5	29.0	11.0	26.0+	2.5	+2.5	37.0
13/19 April	31.0	30.0	10.0	26.0+	3.0	+1.0	40.0

\*First Gallup post-Election survey

\*\* Published Polls

+ Includes those saying they would vote for the 'Alliance'

2. Government Record

The latest study found a further improvement in the level of approval for the record of the Government - 34% approved of our record to date and 54% disapproved. This compares with a nadir of 18% approving and 70% disapproving just before Christmas 1981.

Details are shown below:-

GOVERNMENT RECORD

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
	%	%	%
<u>1979</u>			
13/18 June	34	41	25
<u>1981</u>			
1/7 September	23	65	13
9/14 September	26	63	11
16/21 September	21	67	11
23/28 September	21	66	13
30 Sept/ 5 Oct	21	70	10
7/12 October	20	68	12
14/19 October	24	65	12
21/26 October	24	62	13
28 October/ 2 November	23	66	10
4/9 November	27	64	9
11/16 November	23	66	11
18/23 November	22	66	12
25/30 November	22	65	14
2/7 December	20	69	11
9/14 December	18	70	12
<u>1982</u>			
6/11 January	23	65	12
13/18 January	24	65	12
20/25 January	26	62	13
27 Jan/1 Feb	25	62	13
3/8 Feb	26	63	11
10/15 Feb	24	66	10
17/22 Feb	22	66	13
24 Feb/ 1 March	23	63	13
3/8 March	24	65	11
11/15 March	29	59	12
17/22 March	28	60	13
24/29 March	29	58	13
31 March/ 5 April	31	57	12
7/12 April	32	56	12
13/19 April	34	54	12

3. Popularity of Political Leaders

Mrs Thatcher's popularity remained almost unchanged in the latest study as did Mr Steel's popularity. Mr Foot's popularity improved sharply - up from 23% thinking he is a good leaders of the Opposition (7/12 April) to 28% in the latest study (13/19 April).

Details are shown below:-

POPULARITY OF POLITICAL LEADERS

	<u>Mrs Thatcher</u>			<u>Mr Foot</u>			<u>Mr Steel</u>		
	<u>Sat.</u>	<u>Dis-</u>	<u>Don't</u>	<u>Is</u>	<u>Is</u>	<u>Don't</u>	<u>Is</u>	<u>Is</u>	<u>Don't</u>
	sat.	sat.	Know		Not	Know		Not	Know
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>1981</u>									
1/7 September	28	67	5	29	52	19	63	18	19
9/14 September	32	62	6	28	54	18	56	21	23
16/21 September	27	68	5	28	52	20	64	16	20
23/28 September	28	67	5	25	57	18	64	17	19
30 Sept/ 5 Oct	27	68	6	31	49	20	60	20	20
7/12 Oct	26	68	6	28	50	22	62	19	18
14/19 Oct	31	62	7	31	50	20	64	15	21
21/26 Oct	33	62	5	27	54	19	64	20	16
28 Oct/ 2 Nov	29	65	6	25	59	16	64	19	17
4/9 Nov	32	64	3	24	62	14	68	16	16
11/16 Nov	28	66	6	16	67	17	64	17	19
18/23 Nov	29	66	5	18	68	15	69	15	16
25/30 Nov	29	65	5	18	68	15	67	15	18
2/7 Dec	29	66	5	18	68	14	64	18	18
9/14 Dec	25	70	5	19	67	14	63	18	19
<u>1982</u>									
6/11 January	30	65	5	20	65	14	62	20	18
13/18 January	32	65	4	18	67	16	59	22	19
20/25 January	32	64	4	17	68	15	59	22	19
27 Jan/1 Feb	33	62	5	19	64	17	60	18	22
3/8 Feb	31	65	4	20	63	17	61	20	19
10/15 Feb	29	66	5	19	66	15	59	23	17
17/22 Feb	29	65	5	20	64	16	58	20	21
24 Feb/1st March	32	63	5	21	64	15	55	23	22
3/8 March	30	66	4	20	64	16	58	24	18
11/15 March	34	62	4	21	65	14	58	22	10
17/22 March	33	62	5	22	64	14	59	21	20
24/29 March	35	59	6	19	65	15	61	20	19
31 March/ 5 April	37	58	5	20	65	15	60	22	18
7/12 April	35	60	5	23	61	16	63	18	19
13/19 April	36	60	5	28	59	14	63	18	19

4. Published Polls(a) MORI (The Economist April 24th 1982)

The Economist on 24th April 1982 included the results of an MORI panel study on attitudes to the Falkland Islands dispute conducted on April 20/21st.

MORI asked respondents 'Are you satisfied with the way the Government is now handling the situation in the Falkland Islands?' - the latest study found 68% claiming to be satisfied (60% in the MORI study conducted 14th April) and 24% dissatisfied (30% in previous study).

On the question of sovereignty, MORI found 37% believing that retaining British sovereignty over the Falklands is important enough to justify the loss of Falkland Islanders lives as a result of British military action (36% in previous study) and 56% that it is not (55% previous study). When asked the same question in the context of British servicemen's lives 50% thought that retaining British sovereignty over the Falkland Islands is important enough to justify the loss of British servicemen's lives (44% previous week) and 42% that it is not (49% previous week).

MORI asked respondents for their attitudes to a range of possible measures in the Falkland Islands dispute. They found:-

Should Britain take (have taken) the following measures over the Falkland Islands situation?

	% saying 'Yes'	
	<u>April 14th</u>	<u>April 20/21st</u>
Sent the Naval force to the Falklands	83	85
Land troops on the Falklands	67	65
Sink Argentine ships in Falkland waters	52	55
Allow the UN to take over administration of the Falklands	45	42
Bomb Argentine military and naval bases	28	34

MORI found 77% of respondents in favour of the Falkland Islanders having the final say over the issue of the sovereignty of the Islands. 39% in favour of a joint Argentine/British civil administration over the Falklands with US overseeing and the Islanders involved. 32% were in favour of both the Argentine and British flags flying over the Falklands.

In terms of voting intention the MORI panel found a slight increase in Conservative support up from 36% (33% previous week), with Labour support down to 30% (34% previous week) and Social Democratic-Liberal Alliance support unchanged at 31%.

(b) ORC (Weekend World 25th April 1982)

The London Weekend World programme on Sunday, 25th April included the results of an ORC poll on attitudes to the Falkland Islands dispute conducted on Friday April 23rd. Details of the ORC findings are shown below:-

Q.1 How do you feel about the Government's policy of trying to regain the Falkland Islands by diplomatic means backed by the threat of the use of force ? SHOWCARD A

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>CON</u>	<u>LAB</u>	<u>LIB/SDP ALL</u>
	%	%	%	%
Strongly support it .. .. .	62	78	49	60
Quite strongly support it .. .. .	17	12	19	20
Neither support nor oppose/DK .. .. .	10	6	12	9
Quite strongly oppose it .. .. .	5	2	8	6
Strongly oppose it .. .. .	6	2	13	5

Q.2 Do you support or oppose the idea that the United Nations should administer the Falkland Islands for an interim period during which Britain and Argentina negotiate about the future of the Islands ?

Support .. .. .	63	60	65	72
Oppose .. .. .	29	34	27	23
Don't Know .. .. .	8	6	8	5

Q.3 If Alexander Haig, the American Secretary of State, fails to achieve a diplomatic settlement what should happen ?

... Should the British Government attempt to regain the Falkland Islands by the use of military force .. .. .	46	56	36	44
or should negotiations be continued through a United Nations negotiator ..	47	41	52	51
or should the British Government abandon its claims to the Falkland Islands ..	5	2	9	4
(Don't know) .. .. .	2	1	2	1

Q.4 Should the British Government continue to insist that the eighteen hundred Falkland Islanders should be free to determine their own future, even if that means war with Argentina ?

	TOTAL	CON	LAB	LIB/SDP	ALL
	%	%	%	%	%
Yes .. .. .	76	83	70	75	
No .. .. .	17	11	22	18	
Don't know .. .. .	7	6	8	6	

Q.5 The Argentine Government has proposed a solution on these lines :-

All British and Argentinian military forces would be withdrawn from the Falkland Islands

AND

The administration of the Islands would be shared by Britain, Argentina and the Falkland Islanders

AND

Negotiations to determine the future sovereignty of the Islands would have to be concluded by a given deadline

Should the British Government accept this proposal or reject it ?

Accept .. .. .	35	27	39	42
Reject .. .. .	57	67	52	52
Don't Know .. .. .	8	6	9	6

Q.6 How many British soldiers' and sailors' lives would you be prepared to see lost in order to regain the Falkland Islands ?

None .. .. .	52	36	69	58
Under 100 .. .. .	4	5	4	3
Under 1000 .. .. .	2	2	1	1
Whatever it takes .. .. .	35	50	22	32
(Don't know) .. .. .	7	7	5	5

Q.7 If many Falkland Islanders seemed likely to be killed in military action to regain the Islands would you regard that as a price worth paying ?

						TOTAL	CON	LAB	LIB/SDP	ALL
					BASE:	(1049)	(369)	(307)	(206)	
						%	%	%	%	
Yes	..	..	..	..	..	39	51	30	34	
No	..	..	..	..	..	48	34	61	53	
Don't know		..	..	..	..	13	15	9	13	

Q.8 Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the Labour Party is responding to the Government's handling of the situation in the Falkland Islands ?

Satisfied	..	..	..	..	..	49	49	56	45
Dissatisfied	..	..	..	..	..	30	35	22	33
Don't know		..	..	..	..	21	15	22	21

Q.9 What do you think will happen in the end, about the Falkland Islands ?

The Islands will be returned to Britain <u>without</u> a fight	..	..	..	..	..	29	31	29	28
The Islands will be returned to Britain <u>after</u> a fight	..	..	..	..	..	45	48	46	44
Britain will fail to regain the Falkland Islands	..	..	..	..	..	15	7	19	20
(Don't know)	..	..	..	..	..	12	13	7	9

Q.10 Do you approve or disapprove of America's even-handed approach to negotiations about the Falkland Islands ?

Approve	..	..	..	..	..	39	42	39	34
Disapprove	..	..	..	..	..	54	55	53	56
(Don't know)	..	..	..	..	..	7	3	8	10



(c) MORI (Daily Star 27th April 1982)

The Daily Star on 27th April included the results of an MORI poll conducted after our recapture of South Georgia. MORI asked 'Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the reaction of the Government to the Argentinian invasion of the Falkland Islands?' - 70% claimed to be satisfied, 23% dissatisfied and 7% did not have a view. When MORI asked 'Was the Government right to resort to military force to regain the Falkland Islands or not?' [this is precise wording used by MORI] - they found 80% thought the Government was right to use force, 15% not right and 5% did not have a view. They also asked 'Should British Armed Forces attempt to restore British sovereignty by invading the Falkland Islands?' - 78% said 'yes', 17% 'no' and 5% did not have a view.