



An ESRC Research Centre
at
Social and Community Planning Research & Nuffield College Oxford

35 Northampton Square
London EC1V 0AX
Telephone 0171-250 1866

**BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY
OCTOBER 1996 SURVEY**

P 1611

October 1996

Please answer the questions by placing a tick (✓) in one or more of the boxes

1 Please say whether you are

(✓)
male, ☐ 1

or female ☐ 2

2a Many people lean toward a particular party for a long time although they may occasionally vote for a different party
How about you? Do you in general lean toward a particular party? If so, which?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Conservative ☒ 01

Labour ☐ 02

Liberal Democrats ☐ 03

Scottish National Party ☐ 04

Plaid Cymru ☐ 05

Green Party ☐ 06

Other party (PLEASE SAY WHICH) ☐ 07

Do not lean towards any party ☐ 08 → PLEASE GO TO 3a

PLEASE
ANSWER
b BELOW

SF
422

423

SF
423

b Taken altogether, do you lean toward this particular party

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

(✓)
very strongly ☐ 1

fairly strongly ☐ 2

or, not very strongly? ☐ 3

EVERYONE PLEASE ANSWER

3 If there were a general election tomorrow, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

(✓)
Conservative ☐ 01

Labour ☐ 02

Liberal Democrats ☐ 03

Scottish National Party ☐ 04

Plaid Cymru ☐ 05

Green Party ☐ 06

Other party (PLEASE SAY WHICH) ☐ 07

424

- 4 On the whole, would you describe each of the main parties as extreme or moderate nowadays?

PLEASE GIVE AN ANSWER FOR EACH OF THE PARTIES

	a Conservative Party (4244)	b Labour Party (4245)	c Liberal Democrats (4246)	ANSWER d. ONLY IF IN SCOTLAND d Scottish National Party (4247)
Extreme	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1
Moderate	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
Other answer (PLEASE WRITE IN)				

- 5 And would you describe each of the main parties as united or divided nowadays?

PLEASE GIVE AN ANSWER FOR EACH OF THE PARTIES

	a Conservative Party (4248)	b Labour Party (4249)	c Liberal Democrats (4250)	ANSWER d. ONLY IF IN SCOTLAND d Scottish National Party (4251)
United	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1
Divided	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
Other answer (PLEASE WRITE IN)				

- 6a And would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as a party

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Conservative
(✓)

that keeps its promises, ☐ 1

or, breaks its promises? ☐ 2

Neither or both ☐ 3

Can't choose ☐ 8

4252

- b And the Labour Party nowadays Is it a party

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Labour
(✓)

that would keep its promises, ☐ 1

or, would break its promises? ☐ 2

Neither or both ☐ 3

Can't choose ☐ 8

4253

7a How good or bad a job do you think that **John Major** is doing as Prime Minister?
PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX IN COLUMN a

b And how good or bad a job do you think that **Tony Blair** would do as Prime Minister?
PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX IN COLUMN b

c And how good or bad a job do you think that **Paddy Ashdown** would do as Prime Minister?
PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX IN COLUMN c

	a John Major 4254	b Tony Blair 4255	c Paddy Ashdown 4256
Very good	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1
Fairly good	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
Neither good nor bad	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
Fairly bad	☐ 4	☐ 4	☐ 4
Very bad	☐ 5	☐ 5	☐ 5

8a Looking back over the last year or so, would you say that Britain's economy has got stronger, got weaker or has stayed about the same?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

(✓)

Got a lot stronger	☐ 1
Got a little stronger	☐ 2
Stayed about the same	☐ 3
Got a little weaker	☐ 4
Got a lot weaker	☐ 5

4257

b And looking forward to the year ahead, do you think Britain's economy will get stronger, get weaker or stay about the same?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

(✓)

Get a lot stronger	☐ 1
Get a little stronger	☐ 2
Stay about the same	☐ 3
Get a little weaker	☐ 4
Get a lot weaker	☐ 5

4258

c Looking back over the last year or so, would you say your household's income has fallen behind prices, kept up with prices or gone up by more than prices?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

(✓)

Fallen behind prices a lot	☐ 1
Fallen behind prices a little	☐ 2
Kept up with prices	☐ 3
Gone up by a little more than prices	☐ 4
Gone up by a lot more than prices	☐ 5

4259

- 8d And looking at the year ahead, do you expect your household's income will fall behind prices, keep up with prices or go up by more than prices?

(✓)

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

- Fall behind prices a lot ☐ 1
- Fall behind prices a little ☐ 2
- Keep up with prices ☐ 3
- Go up by a little more than prices ☐ 4
- Go up by a lot more than prices ☐ 5

4260

- 9 Which party do you think will form the government, after the next general election?

(✓)

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

- Conservative Party ☐ 1
- Labour Party ☐ 2
- Liberal Democrats ☐ 3
- More than one party/a coalition ☐ 4
- (PLEASE SAY WHICH PARTIES)
- _____
- Don't know ☐ 5

4261

- 10a What was your age last birthday?

PLEASE WRITE IN

4262-63

- b And on what date did you fill in the questionnaire?

PLEASE WRITE IN

1996

4264-67

Thank you very much for your help.

Please return the questionnaire in the envelope provided

SPARE
4268-80

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October 1995

BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY OCTOBER 1995 TELEPHONE SURVEY

Serial number

--	--	--	--	--	--

Time interview started

--	--	--	--

3301-04

CD33

3305-06

BATCH

3307-11

3312-15

SPARE

3316-21

1a INTERVIEWER RECORD RESPONDENT'S SEX

Male 1

Female 2

3322

b What was your age last birthday?

WRITE IN

--	--

3323-24

2a Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat (IF SCOTLAND Nationalist, IF WALES Plaid Cymru), or what?
CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN a

IF NONE/DON'T KNOW (CODE 00 OR 98) AT a

b Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?

IF YES Which party? CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN b

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

Scottish National Party

Plaid Cymru

Green Party

Other (WRITE IN) a _____

Other (WRITE IN) b _____

None/No

(Don't know)

a		b
3325-3326		3327-3328
01		01
02		02
03		03
04	GO TO c	04 ASK c
05		05
06		06
07		07
00	ASK b	00 GO TO Q3a
98	ABOVE	98

IF ANY PARTY CODED AT a OR b

c Would you call yourself very strong _____ (PARTY NAMED AT a OR b), fairly strong or not very strong?

Very strong 1

Fairly strong 2

Not very strong 3

(Don't know) 8

3329

SPARE

3330-39

ASK ALL

- 3a Generally speaking, do you think of the Liberal Democrats as being closer to the Conservative Party or closer to the Labour Party?

Closer to Conservatives	1
Closer to Labour	2
No difference/neither	3
Don't know	8

3340

- b Now, considering everything the Conservative and Labour Parties stand for, would you say that
READ OUT

there is a great difference between them,	1
some difference,	2
or, not much difference?	3
(Don't know)	8

3341

- 4 If there was a general election tomorrow, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?

CODE ONE ONLY

Conservative	01
Labour	02
Liberal Democrat	03
Scottish National Party	04
Plaid Cymru	05
Green Party	06
Other (WRITE IN) _____	07
None	08
Refused to say	96
(Don't know)	98

3342-43

- 5a On the whole, would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as **READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN**

- b And the Labour Party nowadays, is it
READ OUT ...

extreme,

- c And the Liberal Democrats, are they
READ OUT

or, moderate?

(Neither or both)

- d **SCOTLAND ONLY**
And the Scottish National Party, is it
READ OUT

(Don't know)

a	b	c
Conser- vative	Labour	Lib Dem
3344	3345	3346
1	1	1
2	2	2
3	3	3
8	8	8

SCOTLAND
ONLY

d

SNP

3347

1

2

3

8

6a	And would you describe the <u>Conservative Party</u> nowadays as	READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN				
						SCOTLAND ONLY
						d.
b	And the <u>Labour Party</u> nowadays, is it		a	b	c	
	READ OUT ..		Conser- vative	Labour	Lib.Dem	SNP
			3348	3349	3350	3351
	united,		1	1	1	1
c	And the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> , are they	or, divided?	2	2	2	2
	READ OUT ..					
		(Neither or both)	3	3	3	3
d	SCOTLAND ONLY					
	And the <u>Scottish National Party</u> , is it	(Don't know)	8	8	8	8
	READ OUT					

7a	And would you describe the <u>Conservative Party</u> nowadays as a party	READ OUT .				
				a		
				Conservative		
		that keeps its promises,		1		3352
		or, breaks its promises?		2		
		(Neither or both)		3		
		(Don't know)		8		
b	And the <u>Labour Party</u> nowadays	Is it a party		b		
	READ OUT			Labour		
		that would keep its promises,		1		3353
		or, would break its promises		2		
		(Neither or both)		3		
		(Don't know)		8		

8a	Do you think that John Major is doing a good job or a bad job as Prime Minister, or neither? IF GOOD/BAD				
	Is that very good/bad or fairly good/bad?				
	RECORD IN COLUMN a BELOW				
b	And do you think that Tony Blair would do a good job or a bad job as Prime Minister, or neither? IF GOOD/BAD				
	Is that very good/bad or fairly good/bad?				
	RECORD IN COLUMN b BELOW				
c	And do you think that Paddy Ashdown would do a good job or a bad job as Prime Minister, or neither? IF GOOD/BAD				
	Is that very good/bad or fairly good/bad?				
	RECORD IN COLUMN c BELOW				
		a	b	c.	
		John Major	Tony Blair	Paddy Ashdown	
		3354	3355	3356	
	Very good	1	1	1	
	Fairly good	2	2	2	
	Neither good nor bad	3	3	3	
	Fairly bad	4	4	4	
	Very bad	5	5	5	
	(Don't know)	8	8	8	

- 9a Looking back over the last year or so, would you say that Britain's economy has got stronger, got weaker or has stayed about the same?
IF GOT STRONGER OR WEAKER. By a lot or a little?

Got a lot stronger	1
Got a little stronger	2
Stayed about the same	3
Got a little weaker	4
Got a lot weaker	5
(Don't know)	8

3357

- b And looking forward to the year ahead, do you think Britain's economy will get stronger, get weaker or stay about the same?
IF GET STRONGER OR WEAKER By a lot or a little?

Get a lot stronger	1
Get a little stronger	2
Stay about the same	3
Get a little weaker	4
Get a lot weaker	5
(Don't know)	8

3358

- c Looking back over the last year or so, would you say your household's income has fallen behind prices, kept up with prices or gone up by more than prices?
IF FALLEN BEHIND OR GONE UP By a lot or a little?

Fallen behind prices a lot	1
Fallen behind prices a little	2
Kept up with prices	3
Gone up by a little more than prices	4
Gone up by a lot more than prices	5
(Don't know)	8

3359

- d And looking at the year ahead, do you expect your household's income will fall behind prices, keep up with prices or go up by more than prices?
IF FALL BEHIND OR GO UP By a lot or a little?

Fall behind prices a lot	1
Fall behind prices a little	2
Keep up with prices	3
Go up by a little more than prices	4
Go up by a lot more than prices	5
(Don't know)	8

3360

10 INTERVIEWER PLEASE RECORD

a Date of interview

PLEASE WRITE IN:

		1	0	9	5
--	--	---	---	---	---

3361-68

b Time interview completed

PLEASE WRITE IN

--	--	--	--

3367-70

c Length of interview

PLEASE WRITE IN

--	--

 Minutes

3371-72

d Interviewer name _____

No

--	--	--	--	--

3373-76

3377-80
SPARE

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October 1995

BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY OCTOBER 1995 SURVEY

This is the latest stage of the British Election Panel Study, with which you have kindly helped us on previous occasions. We would very much appreciate your help this time by completing this short questionnaire and returning it to us in the pre-paid envelope provided, as soon as you possibly can.

The questions can be answered simply by placing a tick (✓) in one or more of the boxes. No special knowledge is needed. We are sure that everyone will be able to take part, not just those with strong opinions or particular viewpoints. The questionnaire should be filled in only by the person interviewed on previous occasions. The answers you give will be treated as confidential and anonymous.

Thank you for your help

1a Please say whether you are

(✓)
male, ☐ 1

or female ☐ 2

3322

b What was your age last birthday?

WRITE IN

3323 24
SPARE
3325 29

2a Many people lean toward a particular party for a long time although they may occasionally vote for a different party. How about you? Do you in general lean toward a particular party? If so, which?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

(✓)
Conservative ☐ 01

Labour ☐ 02

Liberal Democrats ☐ 03

Scottish National Party ☐ 04

Plaid Cymru ☐ 05

Green Party ☐ 06

Other party (PLEASE SAY WHICH) 07

Do not lean towards any party ☐ 08 → PLEASE GO TO 3a

PLEASE
ANSWER
b BELOW

3330 31

b Taken altogether, do you lean toward this particular party

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

(✓)
very strongly ☐ 1

fairly strongly ☐ 2

Or, not very strongly? ☐ 3

3332

SPARE
3333 39

EVERYONE PLEASE ANSWER

- 3a Generally speaking, do you think of the Liberal Democrats as being closer to the Conservative Party or closer to the Labour Party?

(✓)

PLEASE TICK **ONE BOX ONLY**

Closer to Conservatives ☐ 1

Closer to Labour ☐ 2

No difference/neither ☐ 3

3340

- b Now considering everything the Conservative and Labour Parties stand for, would you say that

(✓)

PLEASE TICK **ONE BOX ONLY**

there is a great difference between them, ☐ 1

some difference, ☐ 2

or, not much difference? ☐ 3

3341

- 4 If there were a general election tomorrow, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?

(✓)

PLEASE TICK **ONE BOX ONLY**

Conservative ☐ 01

Labour ☐ 02

Liberal Democrats ☐ 03

Scottish National Party ☐ 04

Plaid Cymru ☐ 05

Green Party ☐ 06

Other party (PLEASE SAY WHICH) _____ ☐ 07

3342 43

- 5 On the whole, would you describe each of the main parties as extreme or moderate nowadays?

PLEASE GIVE AN ANSWER FOR **EACH** OF THE PARTIES

	PLEASE GIVE AN ANSWER FOR EACH OF THE PARTIES			ANSWER d ONLY IF IN SCOTLAND
	a Conservative Party (3344)	b Labour Party (3345)	c Liberal Democrats (3346)	d Scottish National Party (3347)
Extreme	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1
Moderate	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
Other answer (PLEASE WRITE IN)	_____	_____	_____	_____

- 6 And would you describe each of the main parties as united or divided nowadays?

PLEASE GIVE AN ANSWER FOR EACH OF THE PARTIES

				ANSWER d ONLY IF IN SCOTLAND
	a Conservative Party (3348)	b Labour Party (3349)	c Liberal Democrats (3350)	d Scottish National Party (3351)
Extreme	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1
Moderate	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
Other answer (PLEASE WRITE IN)				

- 7a And would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as a party

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

Conservative

(✓)

that keeps its promises, ☐ 1

or, breaks its promises? ☐ 2

Neither or both ☐ 3

Can't choose ☐ 8

3352

- b And the Labour Party nowadays Is it a party

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

Labour

(✓)

that would keep its promises, ☐ 1

or, would break its promises ☐ 2

Neither or both ☐ 3

Can't choose ☐ 8

3353

- 8a How good or bad a job do you think that John Major is doing as Prime Minister?
PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX IN COLUMN a

- b And how good or bad a job do you think that Tony Blair would do as Prime Minister?
PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX IN COLUMN b

- c And how good or bad a job do you think that Paddy Ashdown would do as Prime Minister?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX IN COLUMN c

	a John Major 3354	b Tony Blair 3355	c Paddy Ashdown 3356
Very good	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1
Fairly good	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
Neither good nor bad	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
Fairly bad	☐ 4	☐ 4	☐ 4
Very bad	☐ 5	☐ 5	☐ 5

- 9a Looking back over the last year or so, would you say that Britain's economy has got stronger, got weaker or has stayed about the same?

(✓)

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

- Got a lot stronger ☐ 1
Got a little stronger ☐ 2
Stayed about the same ☐ 3
Got a little weaker ☐ 4
Got a lot weaker ☐ 5

3357

- b And looking forward to the year ahead, do you think Britain's economy will get stronger, get weaker or stay about the same?

(✓)

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

- Get a lot stronger ☐ 1
Get a little stronger ☐ 2
Stay about the same ☐ 3
Get a little weaker ☐ 4
Get a lot weaker ☐ 5

3358

- c Looking back over the last year or so, would you say your household's income has fallen behind prices, kept up with prices or gone up by more than prices?

(✓)

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

- Fallen behind prices a lot ☐ 1
Fallen behind prices a little ☐ 2
Kept up with prices ☐ 3
Gone up by a little more than prices ☐ 4
Gone up by a lot more than prices ☐ 5

3359

- d And looking at the year ahead, do you expect your household's income will fall behind prices, keep up with prices or go up by more than prices?

(✓)

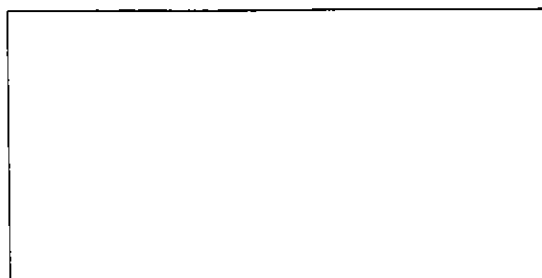
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

- Fall behind prices a lot ☐ 1
Fall behind prices a little ☐ 2
Keep up with prices ☐ 3
Go up by a little more than prices ☐ 4
Go up by a lot more than prices ☐ 5

3360

SPARE
3361 80

Thank you very much for your help.
Please return the questionnaire in the
envelope provided.



P.1559

May 1996

BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY

SPRING 1996 SURVEY

Serial Number	3501-04	Card	3505-06 35	Field area	3507
Sampling Point	3508-10	Time interview started	3511-14 24 hr clock		
Interviewer Number	3515-18	O.U.O. Batch code	3519-21		

1a. Do you regularly read one or more daily morning newspapers?

Yes

1

ASK b.

3522

No

2

GO TO Q2

IF YES AT a.

b. Which daily morning newspaper do you read most often?

CODE ONE ONLY

(Scottish) Daily Express

01

3523-24

(Scottish) Daily Mail

02

Daily Mirror/Record

03

Daily Star

04

The Sun

05

Daily Telegraph

07

Financial Times

08

The Guardian

09

The Independent

10

The Times

11

The Scotsman

12

The (Glasgow) Herald

13

The (Aberdeen) Press and Journal

14

Other Scottish/Welsh/regional or local daily morning paper

(WRITE IN)

15

Other (WRITE IN)

16

ASK ALL WHO READ ANY NEWSPAPER

c. About how often do you read _____ (NEWSPAPER
READ MOST OFTEN)?

Every day

1

3525

4 or 5 days a week

2

2 or 3 days a week

3

1 day a week or less often

4

d. Which political party do you think _____ (NEWSPAPER
READ MOST OFTEN) favours, or does it not favour any
one political party?

CODE ONE ONLY

Does not favour a political party

0

3526

Favours the Conservative Party

1

Favours the Labour Party

2

Favours the Liberal Democrats

3

Favours the SNP/Plaid Cymru

4

Favours another party

7

(Don't know)

8

ASK ALL**CARD A**

2. Please choose a phrase from this card to say how much attention you generally pay to stories on television or in the newspapers about ...

READ OUT a. TO e. AND**CODE ONE FOR EACH**

		A great deal of attention	Quite a bit of attention	Some attention	A little attention	No attention at all	(Don't know)	
a.	... sport?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3533
b.	... what goes on in politics?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3534
c.	... the Royal Family?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3535
d.	... crime?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3536
e.	... sex scandals?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3537

3. How much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics ... **READ OUT ...**

... a great deal,	1
quite a lot,	2
some,	3
not very much,	4
or, none at all?	5
(Don't know)	8

3538

4. Would you say you talk about politics ... **READ OUT ...**

... often,	1
sometimes,	2
seldom,	3
or, never?	4
(Don't know)	5

3539

5. **INTERVIEWER: WRITE IN SERIAL NO.**

--	--	--	--	--

IF IT IS EVEN

IF IT IS ODD

1	ASK Q6
2	GO TO Q7

3540

IF EVEN SERIAL NUMBER

- 6a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Conservative , Labour, Liberal Democrat (**IF SCOTLAND:** Nationalist; **IF WALES:** Plaid Cymru), or what?
CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN a.

IF NONE/DON'T KNOW (CODE 00 OR 98) AT a.

- b. Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?
IF YES: Which party?
CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN b.

	a 3541-42	b 3543-44
Conservative	01	01
Labour	02	02
Liberal Democrat	03	03
Scottish National Party	04 GO TO.	04 ASK c.
Plaid Cymru	05 c.	05
Green Party	06	06
Other (WRITE IN) a. _____	07	
Other (WRITE IN) b. _____		07
None/No	00 ASK b.	00 GO TO
(Don't know)	98 ABOVE	98 Q7

IF ANY PARTY CODED AT a. OR b.

- c. Would you call yourself very strong _____ (PARTY NAMED AT a. OR b.), fairly strong or not very strong?

Very strong	1
Fairly strong	2
Not very strong	3
(Don't know)	8

3545

ASK ALL

Now for a few questions about the local elections on the 2nd of May this year.

7. Would you say you cared a great deal which party did best in the recent local council elections or didn't you care very much which party did best?

Cared a good deal	1
Didn't care very much	2

3546

8. As far as you know, was there a local election in your neighbourhood on the 2nd of May this year?

Yes

1 **ASK Q9**

3547

No

2
8 **GO TO Q11**

(Don't know)

IF LOCAL ELECTION IN NEIGHBOURHOOD

- 9a. A lot of people do not vote in local elections. How about you?
Did you vote in the election on the 2nd of May or did you not manage to on this occasion?

Yes, voted

1 **ASK b.**

3548

No

2
8 **GO TO Q11**

(Refused/Don't know/Can't remember)

IF YES, VOTED AT a.

- b. Which party did you vote for?

DO NOT PROMPT

Conservative

01

3549-50

Labour

02

Liberal Democrat

03

Scottish National Party

04

Plaid Cymru

05

ASK Q10

Green Party

06

Independent

07

Other (**WRITE IN**) _____

08

More than one (**WRITE IN**) _____

09

Refused

97

(Don't know)

98

GO TO Q11**IF NAMED PARTY AT Q9b**

- 10a. When you were deciding how to vote in the local elections on the 2nd of May did you vote ... **READ OUT ...**

PROBE FOR ONE**CODE ONLY**... mostly according to what was going on
in your local area,

1

3551

or, mostly according to what was going on
in the country as a whole?

2

(Both equally)

3

Other (**WRITE IN**) _____

7

(Don't know)

8

CARD B

- 10b. Which one of the reasons on this card comes closest to the main reason why you voted for the party you chose?

I always vote that way

I thought it was the best party

I really preferred another party but it had no chance of winning in this area

Other (**WRITE IN**) _____

(None of these/Don't know)

1	GO TO Q11
2	
3	ASK c.
7	GO TO Q11
8	

3552

IF PREFERRED ANOTHER PARTY AT b.

- c. Which was the party you really preferred?

CODE ONE ONLY**DO NOT PROMPT**

Conservative	01
Labour	02
Liberal Democrat	03
Scottish National Party	04
Plaid Cymru	05
Green Party	06
Independent	07
Other (WRITE IN) _____	08
Refused	97
(Don't know)	98

3553-54

ASK ALL**CARD C**

11. Thinking about the level of the council tax in your area, do you think it gives good value or poor value for money? Please choose a phrase from this card.

Very good value for money	1
Good value	2
Neither good value nor poor value	3
Poor value	4
Very poor value for money	5
(Don't know)	8

3555

ASK ALL

- 12a. If there had been a general election on the 2nd of May, which political party do you think you would have been most likely to have voted for, or do you think you would not have voted?

DO NOT PROMPT.**CODE ONE IN COLUMN a. BELOW****IF PARTY NAMED AT a.**

- b. If the voting paper had required you to give two votes, in order of preference, which party would you have put as your second choice?

DO NOT PROMPT.**CODE ONE IN COLUMN b. BELOW**

	a.	b.
	Would have voted for	Would have put as 2nd choice
	3556-57	3558-59
Conservative	01	01
Labour	02	02
Liberal Democrat	03	03
Scottish National Party	04 ASK	04 GO TO
Plaid Cymru	05 b.	05 Q13
Green Party	06	06
Other (WRITE IN) a. _____	07	-
Other (WRITE IN) b. _____	-	07
None	00 GO TO	00
Refused to disclose voting (Don't know)	97 Q13	
	98	

ASK ALL**CARD D**

13. Please choose a phrase from this card to say how you feel about...

	READ OUT a.- g. AND CODE ONE FOR EACH	Strongly in favour	In favour	Neither in favour nor against	Against	Strongly against	(Don't know)	
a.	... the Conservative Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3560
b.	... the Labour Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3561
c.	... the Liberal Democrats?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3562
d.	... the Green Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3563
e.	... the British National Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3564
SCOTLAND ONLY								
f.	... the Scottish National Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3565
WALES ONLY								
g.	... Plaid Cymru?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3566

SPARE
3567-80

ASK ALL				
14a.	On the whole, would you describe the <u>Conservative Party</u> nowadays as ... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN...			
		a.	b.	c.
		Conser-	Labour	Lib.Dem.
		vative		
		3607	3608	3609
b.	And the <u>Labour Party</u> nowadays, is it ...			
	READ OUT ...			
	... extreme,	1	1	1
c.	And the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> , are they ...			
	or, moderate?	2	2	2
	READ OUT ...			
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
d.	SCOTLAND ONLY			
	And the <u>Scottish National Party</u> , is it...			
	READ OUT ...			
	(Don't know)	8	8	8
ASK ALL				
15a.	And would you describe the <u>Conservative Party</u> nowadays as ... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN...			
		a.	b.	c.
		Conser-	Labour	Lib.Dem.
		vative		
		3611	3612	3613
b.	And the <u>Labour Party</u> nowadays, is it ...			
	READ OUT ...			
	... united,	1	1	1
c.	And the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> , are they ...			
	or, divided?	2	2	2
	READ OUT ...			
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
d.	SCOTLAND ONLY			
	And the <u>Scottish National Party</u> , is it ...			
	READ OUT ...			
	(Don't know)	8	8	8
ASK ALL				
16a.	On the whole, would you describe the <u>Conservative Party</u> nowadays as ... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN...			
		a.	b.	c.
		Conser-	Labour	Lib.Dem.
		vative		
		3615	3616	3617
b.	And the <u>Labour Party</u> nowadays, is it ...			
	READ OUT ...			
	... good for one class,	1	1	1
c.	And the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> , are they...			
	or, good for all classes?	2	2	2
	READ OUT ...			
d.	SCOTLAND ONLY			
	And the <u>Scottish National Party</u> , is it...			
	READ OUT...			
	(Don't know)	8	8	8

ASK ALL				
17a.	And on the whole, would you describe the <u>Conservative Party</u> nowadays as ... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN...			
		a.	b.	c.
		Conser- vative	Labour	Lib.Dem.
		3619	3620	3621
b.	And the <u>Labour Party</u> nowadays, is it ... READ OUT ...			SCOTLAND ONLY
				d.
				SNP
				3622
c.	And the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> , are they... READ OUT ...	... capable of being a strong government,	1	1
		or, not capable of being a strong government?	2	2
d.	SCOTLAND ONLY (Neither or both)	3	3	3
	And the <u>Scottish National Party</u> , is it... (Don't know)	8	8	8
	READ OUT ...			
ASK ALL				
18a.	And on the whole, would you describe the <u>Conservative Party</u> nowadays as a party that ... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN...			
		a.	b.	c.
		Conser- vative	Labour	Lib.Dem.
		3623	3624	3625
b.	And the <u>Labour Party</u> nowadays, is it a party that... READ OUT ...			SCOTLAND ONLY
				d.
				SNP
				3626
c.	And the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> , are they a party that... READ OUT ...	... keeps its promises,	1	1
		or, breaks its promises?	2	2
d.	SCOTLAND ONLY (Neither or both)	3	3	3
	And the <u>Scottish National Party</u> , is it a party that... (Don't know)	8	8	8
	READ OUT ...			

ASK ALL				
19a.	Now some similar questions, but this time about some of the party leaders. Would you describe <u>John Major</u> as ...			
	... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN...			
		a.	b.	c.
		John Major	Tony Blair	Paddy Ashdown
		3633	3634	3635
b.	And <u>Tony Blair</u> , would you describe him as ...			Alex Salmond
	READ OUT			3636
	...extreme,	1	1	1
c.	And <u>Paddy Ashdown</u> , would you describe him as ...			
	READ OUT			
	or, moderate?	2	2	2
	IF INTERVIEWING IN SCOTLAND			
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
d.	And <u>Alex Salmond</u> , would you describe him as ...			
	READ OUT			
	(Don't know)	8	8	8
ASK ALL				
20a.	And on the whole would you say <u>John Major</u> ...			
	... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN...			
		a.	b.	c.
		John Major	Tony Blair	Paddy Ashdown
		3637	3638	3639
b.	And <u>Tony Blair</u> , would you say he...			Alex Salmond
	READ OUT ...			3640
	... looks after one class,	1	1	1
c.	And <u>Paddy Ashdown</u> would you say he...			
	READ OUT ...			
	or, looks after all classes,	2	2	2
	IF INTERVIEWING IN SCOTLAND			
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
d.	And <u>Alex Salmond</u> would you say he ...			
	READ OUT ...			
	(Don't know)	8	8	8
ASK ALL				
21a.	And would you describe <u>John Major</u> as ...			
	... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN...			
		a.	b.	c.
		John Major	Tony Blair	Paddy Ashdown
		3641	3642	3643
b.	And <u>Tony Blair</u> , would you describe him as...			Alex Salmond
	READ OUT ...			3644
	... capable of being a strong leader,	1	1	1
c.	And <u>Paddy Ashdown</u> would you describe him as ...			
	READ OUT ...			
	or, not capable of being a strong leader,	2	2	2
	IF INTERVIEWING IN SCOTLAND			
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
d.	And <u>Alex Salmond</u> would you describe him as ...			
	READ OUT ...			
	(Don't know)	8	8	8

ASK ALL				
22a.	And on the whole would you describe <u>John Major</u> as a man who...			
	... READ OUT AND RECORD IN			
	APPROPRIATE COLUMN...			
		a.	b.	c.
		John Major	Tony Blair	Paddy Ashdown
		3645	3646	3647
b.	And <u>Tony Blair</u> , would you describe him as a man who...			
	READ OUT ...			
	...keeps his promises,	1	1	1
c.	And <u>Paddy Ashdown</u> would you describe him as a man who...			
	READ OUT ...			
	or, breaks his promises?	2	2	2
	IF INTERVIEWING IN SCOTLAND			
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
d.	And <u>Alex Salmond</u> would you describe him as a man who ...			
	READ OUT ...			
	(Don't know)	8	8	8

ASK ALL				
23a.	CARD E			
	How good a job do you think <u>John Major</u> is doing as Prime Minister?			
	CODE ONE IN COLUMN a. BELOW			
b.	And how good a job do you think <u>Tony Blair</u> would do as Prime Minister?			
	CODE ONE IN COLUMN b. BELOW			
c.	And how good a job do you think <u>Paddy Ashdown</u> would do as Prime Minister?			
	CODE ONE IN COLUMN c. BELOW			
		a.	b.	c.
		John Major	Tony Blair	Paddy Ashdown
		3649	3650	3651
	Very good	1	1	1
	Fairly good	2	2	2
	Neither good nor bad	3	3	3
	Fairly bad	4	4	4
	Very bad	5	5	5
	(Don't know)	8	8	8

24. These next questions are about things that different parties are in favour of. If you feel you don't know, just tell me and we'll go to the next question.
- a. First, which party would you say is most in favour of changing the voting system to a form of proportional representation?
DO NOT PROMPT.
ONE CODE ONLY IN COLUMN a.
- b. And which party would you say is most in favour of reducing government spending in order to cut taxes?
DO NOT PROMPT.
ONE CODE ONLY IN COLUMN b.
- c. And which party would you say is most in favour of schools being under local authority control?
DO NOT PROMPT.
ONE CODE ONLY IN COLUMN c.

	a.	b.	c.
	Changing voting system	Reducing spending	Schools under L.A control
	3652-53	3654-55	3656-57
Conservative	01	01	01
Labour	02	02	02
Liberal Democrat	03	03	03

Scottish National Party	04	04	04
Plaid Cymru	05	05	05
Green Party	06	06	06
Other party (CODE AND WRITE IN)	07	07	07

(Don't know)	98	98	98
None	00	00	00

25a. And which party would you say is most in favour of independence for Scotland?

DO NOT PROMPT.

ONE CODE ONLY IN COLUMN a.

b. And which party would you say is most in favour of letting private industry run the railways?

DO NOT PROMPT.

ONE CODE ONLY IN COLUMN b.

c. And which party would you say is most in favour of setting a minimum wage level, below which no-one can be paid?

DO NOT PROMPT.

ONE CODE ONLY IN COLUMN c.

	a.	b.	c.
	Independence for Scotland	Private industry running railways	Minimum wage level
	3658-59	3660-61	3662-63
Conservative	01	01	01
Labour	02	02	02
Liberal Democrat	03	03	03
Scottish National Party	04	04	04
Plaid Cymru	05	05	05
Green Party	06	06	06
Other party (CODE AND WRITE IN)	07	07	07
(Don't know)	98	98	98
None	00	00	00

SPARE

3664-80

Unemployment and Inflation**SHOW BOOKLET PAGE 1 AND GIVE PENCIL**

26. Please look at this page.
- Some people feel that getting people back to work should be the government's top priority.
These people would put themselves in **Box A. (POINT)**
- Other people feel that keeping prices down should be the government's top priority.
These people would put themselves in **Box K. (POINT)**
- And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (**POINT LEFT A-F**) or
along here (**POINT RIGHT K-F**).

- a. In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about unemployment and inflation

f. CODING: RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour parties stand:						SCOTLAND ONLY	
						e. SNP	
						3715-16	
</							

Taxation and Government Services**SHOW BOOKLET PAGE 2**

27. Please look at this page.
- Some people feel that government should put up taxes a lot and spend much more on health and social services. These people would put themselves in **Box A. (POINT)**
- Other people feel that government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health and social services. These people would put themselves in **Box K. (POINT)**
- And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (**POINT LEFT A-F**) or along here (**POINT RIGHT K-F**).

- a. In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about taxes and government spending.

f. CODING: RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

f. CODING: RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN									

Nationalisation and Privatisation**SHOW BOOKLET PAGE 3**

28. Please look at this page.
- Some people feel that government should nationalise many more private companies. These people would put themselves in **Box A. (POINT)**
- Other people feel that government should sell off many more nationalised industries. These people would put themselves in **Box K. (POINT)**
- And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (**POINT LEFT A-F**) or along here (**POINT RIGHT K-F**).

- a. In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about nationalisation and privatisation.

f. CODING: RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour parties stand:						SCOTLAND ONLY	
						e. SNP	
						3735-36	

SHOW BOOKLET PAGE 4

- a. In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about redistributing income.

**SCOTLAND
ONLY
e.
SNP**
3745-46

- e. Now tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Scottish National Party?

$$12 = \text{of } A = 12$$

- RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE

INTERVIEWER: You may change any code already ringed if, on reflection, a respondent wants to change his or her mind. Ensure that final entries are clear on grid and in scale booklet. If asked you may confirm that letter **F** is the middle box.

European Union**SHOW BOOKLET PAGE 5**

30. Please look at this page.
- Some people feel that Britain should do all it can to unite fully with the European Union (sometimes still called the European Community). These people would put themselves in **BOX A. (POINT)**
- Other people feel that Britain should do all it can to protect its independence from the European Union. These people would put themselves in **BOX K. (POINT)**
- Other people have views somewhere in between, along here **(POINT LEFT A-F)** or along here **(POINT RIGHT K-F)**.

- a. In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about the European Union.

f. CODING: RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

					SCOTLAND ONLY	
Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour parties stand:						
	a.	b.	c.	d.		
	Own views	Conser- vative	Labour	Liberal Democrat		
	3747-48	3749-50	3751-52	3753-54	e. SNP 3755-56	
b. First the Conservative Party.	A = 01	01	01	01	= A	= 01
In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Conservative Party</u> ?	B = 02	02	02	02	= B	= 02
	C = 03	03	03	03	= C	= 03
	D = 04	04	04	04	= D	= 04
c. Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Labour Party</u> ?	E = 05	05	05	05	= E	= 05
	F = 06	06	06	06	= F	= 06
	G = 07	07	07	07	= G	= 07
d. And now, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> ?	H = 08	08	08	08	= H	= 08
	I = 09	09	09	09	= I	= 09
	J = 10	10	10	10	= J	= 10
IN SCOTLAND ONLY	K = 11	11	11	11	= K	= 11
e. Now tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Scottish National Party</u> ?						
ASK ALL	Left of A = 12	12	12	12	= Left of A	= 12
f. Now please tell me the <u>letters</u> of the boxes you ticked in each row, starting with the first row	Right of K = 13	13	13	13	= Right of K	= 13
	Don't know = 98	98	98	98	= Don't know	= 98

RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE

INTERVIEWER: You may change any code already ringed if, on reflection, a respondent wants to change his or her mind. Ensure that final entries are clear on grid and in scale booklet. If asked you may confirm that letter **F** is the middle box.

CARD F

31. Using this card, do you think the government should or should not do the following, or doesn't it matter either way?

READ OUT AND CODE a. AND b.

	Definitely should	Probably should	Doesn't matter either way	Probably should not	Definitely should not	(Don't know)	
a. Introduce stricter laws to regulate the activities of trade unions?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3807
b. Give workers more say in running the places where they work?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3808

32. **INTERVIEWER: WRITE IN SERIAL NO.**

IF IT IS EVEN

1 **GO TO Q34**

3809

IF IT IS ODD

2 **ASK Q33**

IF ODD SERIAL NUMBER

- 33a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat (**IF SCOTLAND:** Nationalist; **IF WALES:** Plaid Cymru), or what?

CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN a.

IF NONE/DON'T KNOW (CODE 00 OR 98) AT a.

- b. Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?

IF YES: Which party?

CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN b.

	a. 3810-11	b. 3812-13
Conservative	01	01
Labour	02	02
Liberal Democrat	03	03
Scottish National Party	04 GO TO	04 ASK c.
Plaid Cymru	05 c.	05
Green Party	06	06
Other (WRITE IN) a. _____	07	-
Other (WRITE IN) b. _____	-	07
None/No	00 ASK b.	00 GO TO
(Don't know)	98 ABOVE	98 Q34

IF ANY PARTY CODED AT a. OR b.

- c. Would you call yourself very strong _____ (PARTY NAMED AT a. OR b.), fairly strong or not very strong?

Very strong	1
Fairly strong	2
Not very strong	3
(Don't know)	8

3814

ASK ALL**CARD G**

34. Since the last general election in June 1992, would you say that unemployment has increased or fallen? Please choose a phrase from the card.

REPEAT FOR ITEMS b.- i. BELOW		Gone up a lot	Gone up a little	Stayed the same	Gone down a little	Gone down a lot	(Don't know)	
a.	(Unemployment)	1	2	3	4	5	8	3815
b.	The rate of inflation?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3816
c.	What about taxes?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3817
d.	The standard of the health service?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3818
e.	Crime?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3819
f.	The quality of education?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3820
g.	Interest rates?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3821
h.	Your <u>own</u> standard of living?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3822
i.	The <u>general</u> standard of living?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3823

CARD H

35. Now suppose the Labour Party had won the last general election. Would it have done better on unemployment than the Conservatives, done worse, or wouldn't it have made any difference? Please choose a phrase from the card.

REPEAT FOR ITEMS b.- i. BELOW		A lot better	A little better	No difference	A little worse	A lot worse	(Don't know)	
a.	(Unemployment)	1	2	3	4	5	8	3824
b.	The rate of inflation?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3825
c.	What about taxes?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3826
d.	The standard of the health service?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3827
e.	Crime?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3828
f.	The quality of education?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3829
g.	Interest rates?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3830
h.	Your <u>own</u> standard of living?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3831
i.	The <u>general</u> standard of living?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3832

SPARE
3833-38

INTERVIEWER:

**NOW ENTER THE SERIAL NUMBER ON THE SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE ...
... AND HAND IT TO THE RESPONDENT WITH A PENCIL**

36a. The next set of questions, which are in this short questionnaire, will probably be easier to answer if you read them.

All of them can be answered just by ticking a box. If you don't have an opinion on a particular question, just tick the 'Neither' box or the 'Can't choose' box.

[ADD ONLY IF NECESSARY:

The answers you give, like all the others, will be confidential. All we put on this questionnaire is a number so that we can link it with the interview questionnaire.]

If you need any help, do please ask. I will just be doing some paperwork while you fill in the questionnaire.

**WHEN RESPONDENT HAS FINISHED, TAKE BACK THE SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE ...
... AND CHECK THAT EVERY QUESTION HAS BEEN ANSWERED**

... AND CODE:

b. Self-completion questionnaire completed
and serial numbered

- and no help given 1

- and help given 2

Not completed (**WRITE IN REASON**) _____
_____ 3

3839

37a. Looking back over the last year or so, would you say that Britain's economy has got stronger, got weaker or has stayed about the same?

IF GOT STRONGER OR WEAKER: By a lot or a little?

Got a lot stronger 1

Got a little stronger 2

Stayed about the same 3

Got a little weaker 4

Got a lot weaker 5

(Don't know) 8

3840

b. And looking forward to the year ahead, do you think Britain's economy will get stronger, get weaker or stay about the same?

IF GET STRONGER OR WEAKER: By a lot or a little?

Get a lot stronger 1

Get a little stronger 2

Stay about the same 3

Get a little weaker 4

Get a lot weaker 5

(Don't know) 8

3841

- 38a. Looking back over the last year or so, would you say your household's income has fallen behind prices, kept up with prices or gone up by more than prices?
IF FALLEN BEHIND OR GONE UP: By a lot or a little?
- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|------|
| Fallen behind prices a lot | 1 | 3842 |
| Fallen behind prices a little | 2 | |
| Kept up with prices | 3 | |
| Gone up by a little more than prices | 4 | |
| Gone up by a lot more than prices | 5 | |
| (Don't know) | 8 | |
- b. And looking at the year ahead, do you expect your household's income will fall behind prices, keep up with prices or go up by more than prices?
IF FALL BEHIND OR GO UP: By a lot or a little?
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|------|
| Fall behind prices a lot | 1 | 3843 |
| Fall behind prices a little | 2 | |
| Keep up with prices | 3 | |
| Go up by a little more than prices | 4 | |
| Go up by a lot more than prices | 5 | |
| (Don't know) | 8 | |
39. Compared with two or three years ago, do you and your household nowadays generally feel more secure or less secure against crime, or do you not feel any different?
IF MORE OR LESS: A lot or a little?
- | | | |
|----------------------|---|------|
| A lot more secure | 1 | 3844 |
| A little more secure | 2 | |
| No difference | 3 | |
| A little less secure | 4 | |
| A lot less secure | 5 | |
40. And compared with two or three years ago, do you and your household nowadays generally feel more confident or less confident about being able to keep or find a job, or do you not feel any different?
IF MORE OR LESS: A lot or a little?
- | | | |
|-------------------------|---|------|
| A lot more confident | 1 | 3845 |
| A little more confident | 2 | |
| No difference | 3 | |
| A little less confident | 4 | |
| A lot less confident | 5 | |
| Does not apply | 6 | |

41. Compared with two or three years ago, do you and your household nowadays generally feel more confident or less confident about being able to keep up your standard of living, or do you not feel any different?

IF MORE OR LESS: A lot or a little?

A lot more confident	1
A little more confident	2
No difference	3
A little less confident	4
A lot less confident	5

3846

42. And compared with two or three years ago, do you and your household nowadays generally feel more confident or less confident about being able to keep up with your mortgage or rent payments, or do you not feel any different?

IF MORE OR LESS: A lot or a little?

A lot more confident	1
A little more confident	2
No difference	3
A little less confident	4
A lot less confident	5
Does not apply	6

3847

43. And compared with two or three years ago, do you and your household nowadays generally feel more confident or less confident that the National Health Service will be able to look after you properly when you need it, or do you not feel any different?

IF MORE OR LESS: A lot or a little?

A lot more confident	1
A little more confident	2
No difference	3
A little less confident	4
A lot less confident	5

3848

**ASK Q.44a IN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND ONLY
IN WALES, GO TO Q.44b
CARD I AND READ OUT**

- 44a. An issue in Scotland is the question of an elected Assembly - a special parliament for Scotland dealing with Scottish affairs. Which of these statements comes closest to your view ... **READ OUT** ...

...Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK and the European Union,	01
Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK but part of the European Union,	02
Scotland should remain part of the UK but with its own elected Assembly that has some taxation and spending powers,	03
or, there should be no change from the present system?	04
Other (WRITE IN) _____	05
(Don't know)	98

3849-50

ASK IN WALES ONLY
CARD J AND READ OUT

44b.

An issue in Wales is the question of an elected Assembly -
a special parliament for Wales dealing with Welsh affairs.
Which of these statements comes closest to your view

...READ OUT...

- | | |
|---|----|
| ...Wales should become independent, separate from
the UK and the European Union, | 01 |
| Wales should become independent, separate from
the UK but part of the European Union, | 02 |
| Wales should remain part of the UK but with its own elected
Assembly that has some taxation and spending powers, | 03 |
| or, there should be no change from the present system? | 04 |
| Other (WRITE IN) _____ | 05 |
| (Don't know) | 98 |

3851-52

ASK ALL

45a.

Now, thinking of the next general election in a year or so's time.
Which party do you think you are most likely to vote for then?

CODE ONE ONLY

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----|
| Conservative | 01 |
| Labour | 02 |
| Liberal Democrat | 03 |
| Scottish National Party | 04 |
| Plaid Cymru | 05 |
| Green Party | 06 |
| Other (WRITE IN) _____ | 07 |
| Refused to say | 96 |
| (Probably) would not vote | 97 |
| (Don't know) | 98 |

ASK b.**GO TO Q.46**

3853-54

IF PARTY NAMED AT a.

- b. Do you think you might seriously consider voting
for another party then?

- | | | |
|--------------|---|-------------------|
| Yes | 1 | ASK c. |
| No | 2 | GO TO Q.46 |
| (Don't know) | 8 | |

3855

IF YES AT b.

45c. Which other party?

CODE ONE ONLY

Conservative	01
Labour	02
Liberal Democrat	03
Scottish National Party	04
Plaid Cymru	05
Green Party	06
Other (WRITE IN) _____	07
Refused to say	96
(Probably) would not vote	97
(Don't know)	98

3856-57

**ASK ALL
CARD K**

46.

Suppose the Conservative Party were to win the next general election. Do you think that unemployment would be likely to go up or go down? Please choose a phrase from the card.

REPEAT FOR b. TO d. BELOW

		Go up a lot	Go up a little	Stay the same	Go down a little	Go down a lot	(Don't know)	
a.	... (unemployment)?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3858
b.	The rate of inflation?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3859
c.	Taxes?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3860
d.	Crime?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3861

CARD K AGAIN

47.

Again supposing the Conservative Party won the next general election. Do you think that the standard of the health service would go up or go down?

REPEAT FOR b. TO e. BELOW

		Go up a lot	Go up a little	Stay the same	Go down a little	Go down a lot	(Don't know)	
a.	...(the standard of the health service)?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3862
b.	The quality of education?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3863
c.	Interest rates?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3864
d.	Your own standard of living?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3865
e.	The general standard of living?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3866

48. And supposing the Conservative Party won the next general election. Do you think that Britain's economy would get stronger, get weaker, or stay about the same?
IF STRONGER OR WEAKER: By a lot or a little?

Get a lot stronger	1
Get a little stronger	2
Stay about the same	3
Get a little weaker	4
Get a lot weaker	5
(Don't know)	8

3867

CARD K AGAIN

49. Now suppose the Labour Party were to win the next general election. Do you think that unemployment would be likely to go up or go down? Please choose a phrase from the card.
REPEAT FOR b. TO d. BELOW

SPARE
3868-80

	Go up a lot	Go up a little	Stay the same	Go down a little	Go down a lot	(Don't know)	
a. ... (unemployment)?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3907
b. The rate of inflation?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3908
c. Taxes?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3909
d. Crime?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3910

CARD K AGAIN

50. Again supposing the Labour Party won the next general election. Do you think that the standard of the health service would go up or go down?
REPEAT FOR b. TO e. BELOW

	Go up a lot	Go up a little	Stay the same	Go down a little	Go down a lot	(Don't know)	
a. ...(the standard of the health service)?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3911
b. the quality of education?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3912
c. interest rates?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3913
d. your own standard of living?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3914
e. the general standard of living?	1	2	3	4	5	8	3915

51. And again, supposing the Labour Party won the next general election. Do you think that Britain's economy would get stronger, get weaker, or stay about the same?
IF STRONGER OR WEAKER: By a lot or a little?

Get a lot stronger	1
Get a little stronger	2
Stay about the same	3
Get a little weaker	4
Get a lot weaker	5
(Don't know)	8

3916

52a. May I just check your age last birthday?

--	--

3917-18

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE CODE

b. Is the respondent male or female?

Male	1
Female	2

3919

CARD L

53. Which of these descriptions applies to what you were doing last week, that is, in the seven days ending last Sunday?

PROBE: Any others? **CODE ALL THAT APPLY IN COLUMN I**
IF ONLY ONE CODE AT I, TRANSFER IT TO COLUMN II
IF MORE THAN ONE AT I, TRANSFER HIGHEST ON LIST TO II

	<u>COL I</u>	<u>COL II</u> ECONOMIC POSITION
In full-time education (not paid for by employer, including on vacation)	A	01
On government training/employment programme (eg. Youth Training, Training for Work, etc.)	B	02
In paid work (or away temporarily) for at least 10 hours in the week	C	03
Waiting to take up paid work already accepted	D	04
Unemployed and registered at a benefit office	E	05
Unemployed, <u>not</u> registered, but actively looking for a job (of at least 10 hours a week)	F	06
Unemployed, wanting a job (of at least 10 hrs per week) but <u>not</u> actively looking for a job	G	07
Permanently sick or disabled	H	08
Wholly retired from work	J	09
Looking after the home	K	10
Doing something else (WRITE IN) _____	L	11

3920-21

54a. Is there a telephone in (your part of) this accommodation?

Yes	1	ASK b.
No	2	GO TO Q55

3922

IF 'Yes' AT a.

b. A few interviews on any survey are checked by a supervisor to make sure that people are satisfied with the way the interview was carried out. In case my supervisor needs to contact you, it would be helpful if we could have your telephone number.

IF NUMBER GIVEN, WRITE IN ON ARF - NOT HERE!

Number given	1
Number refused/no number	2

3923

- 55a. **ASK ALL**
Because the survey is designed to measure change over time, we would like to contact you again within the next year.

**INTERVIEWER: CHECK PAGE 1 OF ARF
(RIGHT HAND LABEL)**

Stable address on ARF

1 **ASK b.**

3924

No stable address on ARF

2 **GO TO c.**

IF STABLE ADDRESS ON ARF

- b. Last time you kindly gave us the address of someone who would still know your whereabouts.

**READ ADDRESS AND 'PHONE NUMBER
FROM PAGE 1 OF THE ARF**

If necessary, could we contact that address next time?

Yes

1 **GO TO Q56**

3925

No

2 **ASK c.**

IF 'No' AT b.

- c. Is there an (other) address or 'phone number you could give or of someone who would know your whereabouts?

Yes

1 **COMPLETE d.**

3926

No

2 **GO TO Q56**

- d. **WRITE 'STABLE ADDRESS' (AND 'PHONE NO) ON THE ARF, NOT HERE!**

- 56a. **TIME INTERVIEW ENDED**

24 hour clock

WRITE IN:

--	--	--	--

3927-30

- b. **TOTAL LENGTH OF INTERVIEW:
(SEE FRONT COVER AND a. ABOVE)**

MINUTES:

--	--	--

3931-33

- c. **INTERVIEWER SIGNATURE:**

- d. **DATE OF INTERVIEW: DAY MONTH YEAR**

--	--

0	
---	--

9	6
---	---

3934-39

SPARE
3940-80

THANK YOU

PLEASE MAKE SURE THAT THE ARF IS COMPLETELY FILLED IN, INCLUDING THE RESPONDENT'S NAME (AND 'PHONE NO AND STABLE ADDRESS IF GIVEN)

- * PLEASE CHECK THE QUESTIONNAIRES AND RETURN THEM TO THE OFFICE AS SOON AS YOU CAN
- * RETURN THE COMPLETED ARF TO THE OFFICE IN A SEPARATE ENVELOPE, NOT WITH THE QUESTIONNAIRES OR SCALE BOOKLET

An ESRC Research Centre

at

Social and Community Planning Research & Nuffield College Oxford

35 Northampton Square

London EC1V 0AX

Telephone 0171-250 1866

OFFICE USE ONLY

P 1559

May 1996

Serial No

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BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY

1996 SURVEY - England and Wales

SCALE BOOKLET

E&W

Unemployment and Inflation

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down
should be the government's
top priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down
should be the government's
top priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down
should be the government's
top priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down
should be the government's
top priority

Taxation and Government Services

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Put up taxes a lot
and spend much more on
health & social services

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot
and spend much less on
health & social services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Put up taxes a lot
and spend much more on
health & social services

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot
and spend much less on
health & social services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Put up taxes a lot
and spend much more on
health & social services

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot
and spend much less on
health & social services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Put up taxes a lot
and spend much more on
health & social services

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot
and spend much less on
health & social services

Nationalisation and Privatisation

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many
more nationalised
industries

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many
more nationalised
industries

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many
more nationalised
industries

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many
more nationalised
industries

Redistribution

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Make much greater
efforts to make people's
incomes more equal

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Make much greater
efforts to make people's
incomes more equal

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Make much greater
efforts to make people's
incomes more equal

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Make much greater
efforts to make people's
incomes more equal

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

European Union

Britain should

Britain should

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** viewsDo all it can to
unite fully with the
European Union

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A B C D E F G H I J K

Do all it can to protect
its independence from
the European UnionTick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** viewsDo all it can to
unite fully with the
European Union

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A B C D E F G H I J K

Do all it can to protect
its independence from
the European UnionTick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** viewsDo all it can to
unite fully with the
European Union

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A B C D E F G H I J K

Do all it can to protect
its independence from
the European UnionTick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** viewsDo all it can to
unite fully with the
European Union

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A B C D E F G H I J K

Do all it can to protect
its independence from
the European Union

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--	--	--	--	--

BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY

1996 SURVEY - Scotland

SCALE BOOKLET

Unemployment and Inflation

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down
should be the government's
top priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down
should be the government's
top priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down
should be the government's
top priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down
should be the government's
top priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Scottish National Party's** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down
should be the government's
top priority

Taxation and Government Services

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Put up taxes a lot
and spend much more on
health & social services

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot
and spend much less on
health & social services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Put up taxes a lot
and spend much more on
health & social services

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot
and spend much less on
health & social services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Put up taxes a lot
and spend much more on
health & social services

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot
and spend much less on
health & social services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Put up taxes a lot
and spend much more on
health & social services

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot
and spend much less on
health & social services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Scottish National Party's** views

Put up taxes a lot
and spend much more on
health & social services

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot
and spend much less on
health & social services

Nationalisation and Privatisation

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many
more nationalised
industries

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many
more nationalised
industries

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many
more nationalised
industries

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many
more nationalised
industries

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Scottish National Party's** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many
more nationalised
industries

Redistribution

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Make much greater
efforts to make people's
incomes more equal

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Make much greater
efforts to make people's
incomes more equal

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Make much greater
efforts to make people's
incomes more equal

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Make much greater
efforts to make people's
incomes more equal

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Scottish National Party's** views

Make much greater
efforts to make people's
incomes more equal

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

European Union

Britain should:

Britain should

Do all it can to
unite fully with the
European Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Do all it can to protect
its independence from
the European Union

Do all it can to
unite fully with the
European Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Do all it can to protect
its independence from
the European Union

Do all it can to
unite fully with the
European Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Do all it can to protect
its independence from
the European Union

Do all it can to
unite fully with the
European Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Do all it can to protect
its independence from
the European Union

Do all it can to
unite fully with the
European Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Scottish National Party's** views

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Do all it can to protect
its independence from
the European Union

October 1996

**BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY
OCTOBER 1996 TELEPHONE SURVEY**

	Serial number						
	Time interview started						

1	INTERVIEWER RECORD RESPONDENT'S SEX	Male	1	
		Female	2	

2a Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat (IF SCOTLAND Nationalist, IF WALES Plaid Cymru), or what?
CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN a

IF NONE/DON'T KNOW (CODE 00 OR 98) AT a

b Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?
IF YES Which party? CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN b

		a 4225-4226		b 4227-4228	
Conservative	01	}	GO TO c	01	}
Labour	02			02	
Liberal Democrat	03			03	
Scottish National Party	04			04	
Plaid Cymru	05			05	
Green Party	06			06	
Other (WRITE IN) a _____	07			07	
Other (WRITE IN) b _____					
None/No	00	ASK b		00	GO TO
(Don't know)	98	ABOVE		98	Q3a

IF ANY PARTY CODED AT a OR b

c Would you call yourself very strong _____ (PARTY NAMED AT a OR b), fairly strong or not very strong?

Very strong	1	
Fairly strong	2	
Not very strong	3	
(Don't know)	8	

- 3 If there was a general election tomorrow, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?

CODE ONE ONLY

Conservative	01
Labour	02
Liberal Democrats	03
Scottish National Party	04
Plaid Cymru	05
Green Party	06
Other (WRITE IN) _____	07
None	08
Refused to say	96
(Don't know)	98

4242-43

- 4a On the whole, would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as **READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN**

		a	b	c	SCOTLAND ONLY d
b	And the <u>Labour Party</u> nowadays, is it READ OUT	Conser- vative 4244	Labour 4245	Lib Dem 4246	SNP 4247
	extreme,	1	1	1	1
c	And the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> , are they READ OUT				
	or, moderate?	2	2	2	2
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3	3
d	SCOTLAND ONLY And the <u>Scottish National Party</u> , is it READ OUT	(Don't know) 8	8	8	8

- 5a And would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as **READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN**

		a	b	c	SCOTLAND ONLY d
b	And the <u>Labour Party</u> nowadays, is it READ OUT	Conser- vative 4248	Labour 4249	Lib Dem 4250	SNP 4251
	united,	1	1	1	1
c	And the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> , are they READ OUT				
	or, divided?	2	2	2	2
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3	3
d	SCOTLAND ONLY And the <u>Scottish National Party</u> , is it READ OUT	(Don't know) 8	8	8	8

6a And would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as a party **READ OUT**

a
Conservative

that keeps its promises, 1
or, breaks its promises? 2
(Neither or both) 3
(Don't know) 8

4252

b And the Labour Party nowadays Is it a party **READ OUT**

b
Labour

that would keep its promises, 1
or, would break its promises 2
(Neither or both) 3
(Don't know) 8

4253

7a Do you think that John Major is doing a good job or a bad job as Prime Minister, or neither? **IF GOOD/BAD**
Is that very good/bad or fairly good/bad?
RECORD IN COLUMN a BELOW

b And do you think that Tony Blair would do a good job or a bad job as Prime Minister, or neither? **IF GOOD/BAD**
Is that very good/bad or fairly good/bad?
RECORD IN COLUMN b BELOW

c And do you think that Paddy Ashdown would do a good job or a bad job as Prime Minister, or neither? **IF GOOD/BAD**
Is that very good/bad or fairly good/bad?
RECORD IN COLUMN c BELOW

a **b** **c**
John **Tony** **Paddy**
Major **Blair** **Ashdown**

4254 4255 4256

Very good 1 1 1
Fairly good 2 2 2
Neither good nor bad 3 3 3
Fairly bad 4 4 4
Very bad 5 5 5
(Don't know) 8 8 8

8a Looking back over the last year or so, would you say that Britain's economy has got stronger, got weaker or has stayed about the same?
IF GOT STRONGER OR WEAKER By a lot or a little?

Got a lot stronger 1
Got a little stronger 2
Stayed about the same 3
Got a little weaker 4
Got a lot weaker 5
(Don't know) 8

4257

8b And looking forward to the year ahead, do you think Britain's economy will get stronger, get weaker or stay about the same?

IF GET STRONGER OR WEAKER By a lot or a little?

Get a lot stronger	1
Get a little stronger	2
Stay about the same	3
Get a little weaker	4
Get a lot weaker	5
(Don't know)	8

4258

c Looking back over the last year or so, would you say your household's income has fallen behind prices, kept up with prices or gone up by more than prices?

IF FALLEN BEHIND OR GONE UP By a lot or a little?

Fallen behind prices a lot	1
Fallen behind prices a little	2
Kept up with prices	3
Gone up by a little more than prices	4
Gone up by a lot more than prices	5
(Don't know)	8

4259

d And looking at the year ahead, do you expect your household's income will fall behind prices, keep up with prices or go up by more than prices?

IF FALL BEHIND OR GO UP By a lot or a little?

Fall behind prices a lot	1
Fall behind prices a little	2
Keep up with prices	3
Go up by a little more than prices	4
Go up by a lot more than prices	5
(Don't know)	8

4260

9 Which party do you think will form the government, after the next general election?

**PLEASE DO NOT READ OUT
CODE ONE ONLY**

Conservative Party	1
Labour Party	2
Liberal Democrats	3
More than one party/a coalition (PLEASE SAY WHICH PARTIES)	4

4261

(Don't know)	8
--------------	---

10a May I just check, what was your age last birthday?

WRITE IN

--	--

4262-63

b May I just check your address again, to make sure we have got it right?

WRITE IN ADDRESS AND POSTCODE
ASK FOR POSTCODE IF IT IS NOT GIVEN

POSTCODE _____

11 INTERVIEWER PLEASE RECORD

a Date of interview

PLEASE WRITE IN

		1	0
--	--	---	---

1996

4264-67

b Time interview completed

PLEASE WRITE IN

--	--	--	--

4268 71

c Length of interview

PLEASE WRITE IN

--	--

Minutes

4272 73

d Interviewer name _____

Interviewer No

--	--	--	--	--

4274 77

SPARE
4278-80

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**BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY
OCTOBER 1996 SURVEY**

P.1611

October 1996

Please answer the questions by placing a tick (✓) in one or more of the boxes.

1. Please say whether you are...

(✓)
...male, ☐ 1

or female ☐ 2

2a. Many people lean toward a particular party for a long time although they may occasionally vote for a different party. How about you? Do you in general lean toward a particular party? If so, which?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

(✓)
Conservative ☐ 01
Labour ☐ 02
Liberal Democrats ☐ 03
Scottish National Party ☐ 04
Plaid Cymru ☐ 05
Green Party ☐ 06

Other party (PLEASE SAY WHICH) ☐ 07

Do not lean towards any party ☐ 08 → PLEASE GO TO 3a.

PLEASE
ANSWER
b. BELOW

b. Taken altogether, do you lean toward this particular party...

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

(✓)
... very strongly ☐ 1

fairly strongly ☐ 2

or, not very strongly? ☐ 3

EVERYONE PLEASE ANSWER

3. If there were a general election tomorrow, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

(✓)
Conservative ☐ 01
Labour ☐ 02
Liberal Democrats ☐ 03
Scottish National Party ☐ 04
Plaid Cymru ☐ 05
Green Party ☐ 06

Other party (PLEASE SAY WHICH) ☐ 07

4. On the whole, would you describe each of the main parties as extreme or moderate nowadays?

PLEASE GIVE AN ANSWER FOR **EACH** OF THE PARTIES.

	ANSWER d. ONLY IF IN SCOTLAND:			
	a. Conservative Party (4244)	b. Labour Party (4245)	c. Liberal Democrats (4246)	d. Scottish National Party (4247)
Extreme	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1
Moderate	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
Other answer (PLEASE WRITE IN)	_____	_____	_____	_____

5. And would you describe each of the main parties as united or divided nowadays?

PLEASE GIVE AN ANSWER FOR **EACH** OF THE PARTIES.

	ANSWER d. ONLY IF IN SCOTLAND:			
	a. Conservative Party (4248)	b. Labour Party (4249)	c. Liberal Democrats (4250)	d. Scottish National Party (4251)
United	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1
Divided	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
Other answer (PLEASE WRITE IN)	_____	_____	_____	_____

- 6a. And would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as a party ...

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

Conservative
(✓)

... that keeps its promises, ☐ 1

or, breaks its promises? ☐ 2

Neither or both ☐ 3

Can't choose ☐ 8

4252

- b. And the Labour Party nowadays. Is it a party...

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

Labour
(✓)

... that would keep its promises, ☐ 1

or, would break its promises? ☐ 2

Neither or both ☐ 3

Can't choose ☐ 8

4253

7a. How good or bad a job do you think that **John Major** is doing as Prime Minister?
PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX IN COLUMN a.

b. And how good or bad a job do you think that **Tony Blair** would do as Prime Minister?
PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX IN COLUMN b.

c. And how good or bad a job do you think that **Paddy Ashdown** would do as Prime Minister?
PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX IN COLUMN c.

	a. John Major 4254	b. Tony Blair 4255	c. Paddy Ashdown 4256
Very good	☐ 1	☐ 1	☐ 1
Fairly good	☐ 2	☐ 2	☐ 2
Neither good nor bad	☐ 3	☐ 3	☐ 3
Fairly bad	☐ 4	☐ 4	☐ 4
Very bad	☐ 5	☐ 5	☐ 5

8a. Looking back over the last year or so, would you say that Britain's economy has got stronger, got weaker or has stayed about the same?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

(✓)

Got a lot stronger	☐ 1
Got a little stronger	☐ 2
Stayed about the same	☐ 3
Got a little weaker	☐ 4
Got a lot weaker	☐ 5

4

b. And looking forward to the year ahead, do you think Britain's economy will get stronger, get weaker or stay about the same?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

(✓)

Get a lot stronger	☐ 1
Get a little stronger	☐ 2
Stay about the same	☐ 3
Get a little weaker	☐ 4
Get a lot weaker	☐ 5

4

c. Looking back over the last year or so, would you say your household's income has fallen behind prices, kept up with prices or gone up by more than prices?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

(✓)

Fallen behind prices a lot	☐ 1
Fallen behind prices a little	☐ 2
Kept up with prices	☐ 3
Gone up by a little more than prices	☐ 4
Gone up by a lot more than prices	☐ 5

4

- 8d. And looking at the year ahead, do you expect your household's income will fall behind prices, keep up with prices or go up by more than prices?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

- (✓)
- Fall behind prices a lot ☐ 1
- Fall behind prices a little ☐ 2
- Keep up with prices ☐ 3
- Go up by a little more than prices ☐ 4
- Go up by a lot more than prices ☐ 5

4

9. Which party do you think will form the government, after the next general election?

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX ONLY

- (✓)
- Conservative Party ☐ 1
- Labour Party ☐ 2
- Liberal Democrats ☐ 3
- More than one party/a coalition ☐ 4
- (PLEASE SAY WHICH PARTIES)
- _____
- Don't know ☐ 8

4

- 10a. What was your age last birthday?

PLEASE WRITE IN

426

- b. And on what date did you fill in the questionnaire?

PLEASE WRITE IN

1996

426

Thank you very much for your help.
Please return the questionnaire in the envelope provided.

SF
426

P.1653

Spring 1997

BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY - I

SPRING 1997 SURVEY

Serial
Number

4401-04

Sampling
Point

4408-10

Interview
Number

4415-18

Card

4405-06

44

Field area

4407

Time interview
started

4411-14

24 hr clock

SPARE 4419-21

ASK ALL

1. Would you say you cared a good deal which party won the recent general election or that you didn't care very much which party won?

Cared a good deal 1
 Didn't care very much 2

4422

- 2a. Do you regularly read one or more daily morning newspapers?

Yes	1	ASK b.
No	2	GO TO Q3.

4423

IF YES AT a.

- b. Which daily morning newspaper do you read most often?

CODE ONE ONLY

The Express	01
(Scottish) Daily Mail	02
The (Scottish) Mirror/Daily Record	03
Daily Star (of Scotland)	04
The Sun	05
Daily Telegraph	07
Financial Times	08
The Guardian	09
The Independent	10
The Times	11
The Scotsman	12
The (Glasgow) Herald	13
(Aberdeen) Press and Journal	14
Other Scottish/Welsh/regional or local <u>daily morning</u> paper (WRITE IN)	
_____	15
Other (WRITE IN) _____	16

4424-25

ASK ALL WHO READ ANY NEWSPAPER

- c. About how often do you read _____ (NEWSPAPER READ MOST OFTEN)?

Every day 1
 4 or 5 days a week 2
 2 or 3 days a week 3
 1 day a week or less often 4

4426

- d. Which political party do you think _____ (NEWSPAPER READ MOST OFTEN) favoured in this election, or did it not favour any one political party?

CODE ONE ONLY

Did not favour a political party 0
 Favoured the Conservative Party 1
 Favoured the Labour Party 2
 Favoured the Liberal Democrats 3
 Favoured the SNP/Plaid Cymru 4
 Favoured another party 7
 Don't know 8

4427

ASK ALL

3. How much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics ... **READ OUT** ...

... a great deal, 1
quite a lot, 2
some, 3
not very much, 4
or, none at all? 5
(Don't know) 8

4428

4. **INTERVIEWER: WRITE IN SERIAL NO.**

--	--	--	--	--

IF IT IS EVEN
IF IT IS ODD

1	ASK Q.5
2	GO TO Q.6

4429

EVEN SERIAL NUMBERS

- 5a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Conservative , Labour, Liberal Democrat, **(IF SCOTLAND: Nationalist/IF WALES: Plaid Cymru)**, or what?

CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN a.**IF NONE/DON'T KNOW (CODE 00 OR 98) AT a.**

- b. Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?
IF YES: Which party?

CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN b.

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

Scottish National Party

Plaid Cymru

Green Party

Other (**WRITE IN**) a. _____

b. _____

None/No

Don't know

a. 4430-31 **b.** 4432-33

01	01
02	02
03	03
04 GO TO	04 ASK
05 c.	05 c.
06	06
07	-
-	07
00 ASK	00 GO TO
b.	Q.6
98 ABOVE	98

IF ANY PARTY CODED AT a. OR b.

- c. Would you call yourself very strong _____
(NAME PARTY AT a. OR b.), fairly strong
or not very strong?

Very strong 1
Fairly strong 2
Not very strong 3
(Don't know) 8

4434

ASK ALL

- 6a. Talking to people about the general election, we have found that a lot of people didn't manage to vote. How about you - did you manage to vote in the general election?

Yes, voted
No

1	ASK b.
2	GO TO Q.9

4435

IF 'YES, VOTED' AT a.

- 6b. How long ago did you decide that you would definitely vote the way you did: was it ...
... **READ OUT** ...

... a long time ago, 1
sometime last year, 2
sometime this year, 3
or, during the election campaign? 4
(Don't know) 8

4436

- 7a. Which party did you vote for in the general election?

DO NOT PROMPT. CODE ONE IN COLUMN a. BELOW.

ASK ALL (EXCEPT IF CODED 97 OR 98 AT a.: THEY GO TO Q.8)

- b. Was there any time during the general election campaign when you seriously thought you might vote for another party?

Yes 1
No 2

4437

- c. If the voting paper had required you to give two votes, in order of preference, which party would you have put as your second choice?

DO NOT PROMPT

CODE ONE IN COLUMN c.

	a. Voted for	c. Second Choice
	4438-39	4440-41
Conservative	01	01
Labour	02	02
Liberal Democrat	03	03
Scottish National Party	04 ASK b.	04
Plaid Cymru	05	05
Green Party	06	06
Other (WRITE IN) a. _____	07	-
c. _____	-	07
Refused to disclose voting	97 GO TO Q.8	
None	-	00
Can't remember/don't know	98 GO TO Q.8	98

SPARE
4442-50

IF 'YES, VOTED' (CODE 1 AT Q6a.)**CARD A**

- 8a. Which one of the reasons on this card comes closest to the main reason you voted for the party you chose?

I always vote that way	1	GO TO Q.9
I thought it was the best party	2	
I really preferred another party but it had no chance of winning in this constituency	3	ASK b.
Other (WRITE IN) _____	4	
_____		GO TO Q.9
(None of these/Don't know)	8	

4451

IF CODE 3 AT a.8b. Which was the party you really preferred?**ONE CODE ONLY**

Conservative 01

4452-53

DO NOT PROMPT

Labour 02

Liberal Democrat 03

Scottish National Party 04

Plaid Cymru 05

Green Party 06

Other (**WRITE IN**) _____ 07

Refused 97

Don't know 98

ASK ALL

9. Some people say that we should change the voting system to allow smaller political parties to get a fairer share of MPs. Others say that we should keep the voting system as it is to produce effective government. Which view comes closer to your own ... **READ OUT** ...

**IF ASKED. THIS REFERS
TO PROPORTIONAL
REPRESENTATION**

... that we should change the voting system, 1

or, keep it as it is? 2

(Don't know) 8

4454

10. **INTERVIEWER: WRITE IN SERIAL NO.**

--	--	--	--	--

IF IT IS EVEN

1 **GO TO Q.12**

4455

IF IT IS ODD

2 **ASK Q.11a****ODD SERIAL NUMBERS**

11a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat, (**IF SCOTLAND:** Nationalist/**IF WALES:** Plaid Cymru), or what?

CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN a.**IF NONE/DON'T KNOW (CODE 00 OR 98) AT a.**

b. Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?
IF YES: Which party?

CODE ONE ONLY IN COLUMN b.

Conservative 01

Labour 02

Liberal Democrat 03

Scottish National Party 04

Plaid Cymru 05

Green Party 06

Other (**WRITE IN**) a. _____

b. _____

None/No

Don't know

a.

4456-57

b.

4458-59

01

02

03

04 **GO TO**05 **c.**

06

07

-

00 **ASK**98 **b.**

01

02

03

04 **ASK c.**

05

06

-

07

00 **GO TO**98 **Q.12**

IF ANY PARTY CODED AT a. OR b.

- 11c. Would you call yourself very strong _____ --
(NAME PARTY AT a. OR b.), fairly strong
 or not very strong?

Very strong	1
Fairly strong	2
Not very strong	3
Don't know	8

4460

**ASK ALL
CARD B**

12. Please choose a phrase from this card to say how
 you feel about ...

**READ OUT a.-f. AND
CODE ONE FOR EACH**

	Strongly in favour	In favour	Neither in favour nor against	Against	Strongly against	(Don't know/ Can't say)	
a. ... the Conservative Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4461
b. ... the Labour Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4462
c. ... the Liberal Democrats?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4463
d. ... the Green Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4464
IN SCOTLAND ONLY							
e. ... the Scottish National Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4465
IN WALES ONLY							
f. ... Plaid Cymru?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4466

ASK ALL

- 13a. Generally speaking, do you think of the
Liberal Democrats as being closer to
 the Conservative Party or closer to the
 Labour Party?

Closer to Conservatives	1
Closer to Labour	2
(No difference/neither)	3
(Don't know)	8

4467

- b. Now, considering everything the
 Conservative and Labour Parties stand
 for, would you say that ... **READ OUT ...**

... there is a great difference between them,	1
some difference,	2
or, not much difference?	3
(Don't know)	8

4468

SPARE
4469-80

Now for a few questions about the local elections on the 1st of May this year, the same day as the general election.

14. Would you say you cared a great deal which party did best in the recent local council elections or didn't you care very much which party did best?

Cared a good deal	1
Didn't care very much	2

4507

ASK ALL

- 15a. As far as you know, was there a local election in your neighbourhood on the 1st of May this year?

Yes	1	ASK b.
No	2	GO TO Q.17
Don't know	8	

4508

IF YES AT a.

- b. Thinking back to before the local elections on 1st of May, do you happen to remember which party or parties controlled the county council in your area then?

DO NOT PROMPT

Yes:	Conservative	01
	Labour	02
	Liberal Democrat	03
	Scottish National Party	04
	Plaid Cymru	05
	Green Party	06
	Independents	07
	Other single party (WRITE IN) _____	08
	More than one/no overall control (WRITE IN) _____	09
	_____	09
No, don't know		98

4509-10

IF LOCAL ELECTION IN NEIGHBOURHOOD ON THE 1ST OF MAY

- c. A lot of people do not vote in local elections. How about you? Did you vote in the local election on the 1st May, or did you not manage to on this occasion?

Yes, voted	1	ASK d.
No	2	GO TO Q.17
Don't know	8	

4511

IF 'YES, VOTED' AT c.

- d. Which party did you vote for?

DO NOT PROMPT

Conservative	01
Labour	02
Liberal Democrat	03
Scottish National party	04
Plaid Cymru	05
Green Party	06
Independent	07
Other (WRITE IN) _____	08
More than one (WRITE IN) _____	09
Refused	97
Don't know	98

4512-13

GO TO Q.17

- 16a. **IF NAMED PARTY AT Q15d.**
When you were deciding how to vote in the local
elections on the 1st of May, did you vote ...
READ OUT ...

**PROBE FOR ONE
CODE ONLY**

- ... mostly according to what was
going on in your local area, 1
- or, mostly according to what was
going on in the country as a whole? 2
- (Both equally) 3
- Other (WRITE IN) _____ 7
- (Don't know) 8

4514

- b. **CARD C**
Which one of the reasons on this card comes
closest to the main reason why you voted for
the party you chose?

- I always vote that way
- I thought it was the best party
- I really preferred another party but it
had no chance of winning in this area
- Other (WRITE IN) _____
- _____
- (None of these/Don't know)

1
GO TO Q.17

2

3 **ASK c.**

7
GO TO Q.17

8

4515

- c. **IF PREFERRED ANOTHER PARTY AT b.**
Which was the party you really preferred?
CODE ONE ONLY
DO NOT PROMPT

- Conservative 01
- Labour 02
- Liberal Democrat 03
- Scottish National Party 04
- Plaid Cymru 05
- Green Party 06
- Independent 07
- Other (**WRITE IN**) _____ 08
- Refused 97
- Don't know 98

4516-17

ASK ALL**CARD D**

17. Some people say it makes no difference which party wins in elections, things go on much the same. Using this card, please say ...

- a. ... How much of a difference do you think it makes who wins in local council elections?

CODE ONE IN COLUMN a.

- b. ... And how much difference do you think it makes who wins in general elections?

CODE ONE IN COLUMN b.

	a. Council elections	b. General elections
--	-------------------------------------	-------------------------------------

4518

4519

A great deal

1

1

Quite a lot

2

2

Some

3

3

Not very much

4

4

None at all

5

5

(Don't know)

8

8

- 18a. Do you think that local councils ought to be controlled by central government more, less or about the same amount as now?

More

1

4520

Less

2

About the same

3

(Don't know)

8

CARD E

- b. And thinking about the level of the council tax in your area, do you think it gives good value or poor value for money? Please choose a phrase from this card.

Very good value for money

1

4521

Good value

2

Neither good value nor poor value

3

Poor value

4

Very poor value for money

5

(Don't know)

8

CARD F

19. Please use this card to say how much you agree or disagree that ... **READ OUT** ...

... Britain should introduce proportional representation, so that the number of MPs each party gets matches more closely the number of votes each party gets.

Agree strongly

1

4522

Agree

2

Neither agree nor disagree

3

Disagree

4

Disagree strongly

5

(Don't know)

8

20a. On the whole, would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as ...
... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN

SCOTLAND ONLY
d.

b. And the Labour Party nowadays, is it **...READ OUT ...**

a.
**Conser-
vative**

b.
Labour

c.
Lib. Dem.

SNP

4523

4524

4525

4526

c. And the Liberal Democrats, are they ...
READ OUT extreme,

1

1

1

1

or, moderate?

2

2

2

2

d. **IN SCOTLAND ONLY**

And the Scottish National Party, is it... (Neither or both)

3

3

3

3

READ OUT ... (Don't know)

8

8

8

8

ASK ALL

21a. And would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as ...
... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN

SCOTLAND ONLY
d.

b. And the Labour Party nowadays, is it **...READ OUT ...**

a.
**Conser-
vative**

b.
Labour

c.
Lib. Dem.

SNP

4527

4528

4529

4530

c. And the Liberal Democrats, are they ...
READ OUT united,

1

1

1

1

or, divided?

2

2

2

2

d. **IN SCOTLAND ONLY**

And the Scottish National Party, is it... (Neither or both)

3

3

3

3

READ OUT ... (Don't know)

8

8

8

8

ASK ALL

22a. On the whole, would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as ...
... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN

SCOTLAND ONLY
d.

b. And the Labour Party nowadays, is it **... READ OUT ...**

a.
**Conser-
vative**

b.
Labour

c.
Lib. Dem.

SNP

4531

4532

4533

4534

c. And the Liberal Democrats, are they ...
READ OUT good for one class,,

1

1

1

1

or, good for all classes?

2

2

2

2

d. **IN SCOTLAND ONLY**

And the Scottish National Party, is it... (Neither or both)

3

3

3

3

READ OUT ... (Don't know)

8

8

8

8

RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN**ASK ALL**

23a. And on the whole, would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as ...

... **READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN**

SCOTLAND ONLY
d.

	a.	b.	c.	
	Conser- vative	Labour	Lib. Dem.	SNP
b. And the <u>Labour Party</u> nowadays, is it ... READ OUT ...	4535	4536	4537	4538
c. And the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> , are they ... READ OUT ...	1	1	1	1
d. IN SCOTLAND ONLY And the <u>Scottish National Party</u> , is it... READ OUT ...	2	2	2	2
or, not capable of being a strong government?	3	3	3	3
(Neither or both)	8	8	8	8
(Don't know)				

ASK ALL

24a. And on the whole, would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as a party that ...

... **READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN**

SCOTLAND ONLY
d.

	a.	b.	c.	
	Conser- vative	Labour	Lib. Dem.	SNP
b. And the <u>Labour Party</u> nowadays, is it a party that ... READ OUT ...	4539	4540	4541	4542
c. And the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> , are they a party that ... READ OUT ...	1	1	1	1
... keep its promises,	2	2	2	2
or, breaks its promises?	3	3	3	3
d. IN SCOTLAND ONLY And the <u>Scottish National Party</u> , is it a party that ... READ OUT ...	8	8	8	8
(Neither or both)				
(Don't know)				

SPARE
4543-50

ASK ALL

25. Now some similar questions, but this time about some of the main party leaders

	a.	b.	c.
	John Major	Tony Blair	Paddy Ashdown
a. Would you describe <u>John Major</u> as ... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN	4551	4552	4553
... extreme,	1	1	1
b. And <u>Tony Blair</u> , would you describe him as ... READ OUT ...	2	2	2
or, moderate?	3	3	3
(Neither or both)	8	8	8
c. And <u>Paddy Ashdown</u> , would you describe him as ... READ OUT ...			
(Don't know)			

26a.	And on the whole would you say <u>John Major</u> ... READ OUT ...	a. John Major 4554	b. Tony Blair 4555	c. Paddy Ashdown 4556
b.	And <u>Tony Blair</u> , would you describe him as ... READ OUT ... looks after one class,	1	1	1
c.	And <u>Paddy Ashdown</u> , would you describe him as ... READ OUT ... or, looks after all classes?	2	2	2
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
	(Don't know)	8	8	8
27a.	And would you describe <u>John Major</u> as ... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN ...	a. John Major	b. Tony Blair	c. Paddy Ashdown
b.	And <u>Tony Blair</u> , would you describe him as ... READ OUT ... capable of being a strong leader,	4557 1	4558 1	4559 1
c.	And <u>Paddy Ashdown</u> , would you describe him as ... READ OUT ... or, not capable of being a strong leader?	2	2	2
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
	(Don't know)	8	8	8
28a.	And on the whole would you describe <u>John Major</u> as a man who ... READ OUT AND RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN ...	a. John Major	b. Tony Blair	c. Paddy Ashdown
b.	And <u>Tony Blair</u> , would you describe him as a man who ... READ OUT ... keeps his promises,	4560 1	4561 1	4562 1
c.	And <u>Paddy Ashdown</u> , would you describe him as a man who ... READ OUT ... or, breaks his promises?	2	2	2
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
	(Don't know)	8	8	8

**ASK ALL
CARD G**

29. Since the last general election in April 1992, would you say that unemployment has increased or fallen? Please choose a phrase from the card.
REPEAT FOR ITEMS b.-i BELOW

		Increased a lot	Increased a little	Stayed the same	Fallen a little	Fallen a lot	(Don't know)	
a.	... (unemployment)	1	2	3	4	5	8	4563
b.	The rate of inflation?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4564
c.	Taxes?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4565
d.	The standard of the health service?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4566
e.	Crime?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4567
f.	The quality of education?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4568
g.	Interest rates?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4569
h.	Your <u>own</u> standard of living?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4570
i.	The <u>general</u> standard of living?	1	2	3	4	5	8	4571

Now, a few questions about the European Union, sometimes still called the European Community.

30. Do you think Britain should continue to be a member of the European Union or should it withdraw?

Continue	1
Withdraw	2

4572

CARD H

SPARE
4573-80

- 31a. Do you think Britain's long-term policy should be

... **READ OUT** ...

ONE CODE ONLY	... to leave the European Union,	1
	to stay in the EU and try to <u>reduce</u> the EU's powers,	2
	to leave things as they are,	3
	to stay in the EU and try to <u>increase</u> the EU's powers,	4
	or, to work for the formation of a single European government?	5
	(Don't know)	8

4607

CARD I

- b. And here are three statements about the future of the pound in the European Union. Which one comes closest to your view?

ONE CODE ONLY

	<u>Replace</u> the pound by a single currency	1
	Use <u>both</u> the pound and a new European currency in Britain	2
	Keep the pound as the <u>only</u> currency for Britain	3
	(Don't know)	8

4608

Unemployment and Inflation**SHOW BOOKLET, PAGE 1. HAND RESPONDENT A PEN OR PENCIL**

32. Please look at this page.
Some people feel that getting people back to work should be the government's top priority. These people would put themselves in **Box A. (POINT)**
Other people feel that keeping prices down should be the government's top priority. These people would put themselves in **Box K. (POINT)**
And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (**POINT LEFT A-F**) or along here (**POINT K-F**)

RIGHT

- a. In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about unemployment and inflation.

f . CODING: RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

								SCOTLAND ONLY	
Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour parties stand:		a.	b.	c.	d.			e.	
		Own views	Conser- vative	Labour	Liberal Democrat			SNP	
		4609-10	4611-12	4613-14	4615-16			4617-18	
b.	First the Conservative Party. In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Conservative Party</u> ?	A = 01	01	01	01	=	A	= 01	
		B = 02	02	02	02	=	B	= 02	
		C = 03	03	03	03	=	C	= 03	
c.	Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Labour Party</u> ?	D = 04	04	04	04	=	D	= 04	
		E = 05	05	05	05	=	E	= 05	
		F = 06	06	06	06	=	F	= 06	
d.	And now, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> ?	G = 07	07	07	07	=	G	= 07	
		H = 08	08	08	08	=	H	= 08	
		I = 09	09	09	09	=	I	= 09	
IN SCOTLAND ONLY									
e.	Now tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Scottish National Party</u> ?	J = 10	10	10	10	=	J	= 10	
		K = 11	11	11	11	=	K	= 11	
ASK ALL									
f.	Now please tell me the <u>letters</u> of the boxes you ticked in each row, starting with the first row?	Left of A = 12	12	12	12	=	Left of A	= 12	
		Right of K = 13	13	13	13	=	Right of K	= 13	
		Don't know = 98	98	98	98	=	Don't know	= 98	

RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE. NOW ASK g.

INTERVIEWER: You may change any code already ringed if, on reflection, a respondent wants to change his or her mind. Ensure that final entries are clear on grid and in scale booklet. If asked you may confirm that letter **F** is the middle box.

- g. When you were deciding about voting, how important was this issue to you? Was it ... **READ OUT** ...

... extremely important,	1
important,	2
not very important,	3
or, not at all important?	4
(Don't know/Did not vote)	8

4619

Taxation and Government Services

SHOW BOOKLET PAGE 2

33. Please look at this page.
- Some people feel that government should put up taxes a lot and spend much more on health and social services. These people would put themselves in **Box A. (POINT)**
- Other people feel that government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health and social services. These people would put themselves in **Box K. (POINT)**
- And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (**POINT LEFT A-F**) or along here (**POINT RIGHT K-F**)

- a. In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about taxes and government spending.

f. CODING: RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

									SCOTLAND ONLY		
Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour parties stand:			a. Own views 4620-21	b. Conser- vative 4622-23	c. Labour 4624-25	d. Liberal Democrat 4626-27			e. SNP 4628-29		
b.	First the Conservative Party. In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Conservative Party</u> ?	A	=	01	01	01	01	=	A	=	01
		B	=	02	02	02	02	=	B	=	02
		C	=	03	03	03	03	=	C	=	03
c.	Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Labour Party</u> ?	D	=	04	04	04	04	=	D	=	04
		E	=	05	05	05	05	=	E	=	05
		F	=	06	06	06	06	=	F	=	06
d.	And now, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> ?	G	=	07	07	07	07	=	G	=	07
		H	=	08	08	08	08	=	H	=	08
		I	=	09	09	09	09	=	I	=	09
IN SCOTLAND ONLY											
e.	Now tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Scottish National Party</u> ?	J	=	10	10	10	10	=	J	=	10
		K	=	11	11	11	11	=	K	=	11
f.	ASK ALL Now please tell me the <u>letters</u> of the boxes you ticked in each row, starting with the first row?	Left of A	=	12	12	12	12	=	Left of A	=	12
		Right of K	=	13	13	13	13	=	Right of K	=	13
		Don't know	=	98	98	98	98	=	Don't know	=	98

RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE. NOW ASK g.

INTERVIEWER: You may change any code already ringed if, on reflection, a respondent wants to change his or her mind. Ensure that final entries are clear on grid and in scale booklet. If asked you may confirm that letter **F** is the middle box.

- g. When you were deciding about voting, how important was this issue to you? Was it ... **READ OUT** ...

... extremely important,	1
important,	2
not very important,	3
or, not at all important?	4
(Don't know/Did not vote)	8

Nationalisation and Privatisation**SHOW BOOKLET PAGE 3**

34. Please look at this page.
 Some people feel that government should nationalise many more private companies.
 These people would put themselves in **Box A. (POINT)**
 Other people feel that government should sell off many more nationalised industries.
 These people would put themselves in **Box K. (POINT)**
 And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here **(POINT LEFT A-F)**
 or along here **(POINT RIGHT K-F)**

- a. In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about nationalisation and privatisation.

f. CODING: RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

										SCOTLAND ONLY	
Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour parties stand:		a.		b.		c.		d.		e.	
		Own views		Conser- vative		Labour		Liberal Democrat		SNP	
		4631-32		4633-34		4635-36		4637-38		4639-40	
b.	First the Conservative Party. In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Conservative Party</u> ?	A	= 01	01		01		01	=	A	= 01
		B	= 02	02		02		02	=	B	= 02
		C	= 03	03		03		03	=	C	= 03
c.	Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Labour Party</u> ?	D	= 04	04		04		04	=	D	= 04
		E	= 05	05		05		05	=	E	= 05
		F	= 06	06		06		06	=	F	= 06
d.	And now, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> ?	G	= 07	07		07		07	=	G	= 07
		H	= 08	08		08		08	=	H	= 08
		I	= 09	09		09		09	=	I	= 09
IN SCOTLAND ONLY											
e.	Now tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Scottish National Party</u> ?	J	= 10	10		10		10	=	J	= 10
		K	= 11	11		11		11	=	K	= 11
ASK ALL		Left of A	= 12	12		12		12	=	Left of A	= 12
f.	Now please tell me the <u>letters</u> of the boxes you ticked in each row, starting with the first row?	Right of K	= 13	13		13		13	=	Right of K	= 13
		Don't know	= 98	98		98		98	=	Don't know	= 98

RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE. NOW ASK g.

INTERVIEWER: You may change any code already ringed if, on reflection, a respondent wants to change his or her mind. Ensure that final entries are clear on grid and in scale booklet. If asked you may confirm that letter **F** is the middle box.

- g. When you were deciding about voting, how important was this issue to you? Was it ... **READ OUT** ...

... extremely important,	1
important,	2
not very important,	3
or, not at all important?	4
(Don't know/did not vote)	8

Redistribution**SHOW BOOKLET PAGE 4**

35. Please look at this page.
 Some people feel that government should make much greater efforts to make people's incomes more equal. These people would put themselves in **Box A. (POINT)**
 Other people feel that government should be much less concerned about how equal people's incomes are. These people would put themselves in **Box K. (POINT)**
 And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (**POINT LEFT A-F**) or along here (**POINT RIGHT K-F**)

- a. In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about redistributing income.

f . CODING: RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour parties stand:		a. Own views		b. Conservative	c. Labour	d. Liberal Democrat	SCOTLAND ONLY e. SNP	
		4642-43		4644-45	4646-47	4648-49	4650-51	
b.	First the Conservative Party. In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Conservative Party</u> ?	A	= 01	01	01	01	= A	= 01
		B	= 02	02	02	02	= B	= 02
		C	= 03	03	03	03	= C	= 03
c.	Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Labour Party</u> ?	D	= 04	04	04	04	= D	= 04
		E	= 05	05	05	05	= E	= 05
		F	= 06	06	06	06	= F	= 06
d.	And now, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> ?	G	= 07	07	07	07	= G	= 07
		H	= 08	08	08	08	= H	= 08
		I	= 09	09	09	09	= I	= 09
IN SCOTLAND ONLY								
e.	Now tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Scottish National Party</u> ?	J	= 10	10	10	10	= J	= 10
		K	= 11	11	11	11	= K	= 11
ASK ALL		Left of A	= 12	12	12	12	= Left of A	= 12
f.	Now please tell me the <u>letters</u> of the boxes you ticked in each row, starting with the first row?	Right of K	= 13	13	13	13	= Right of K	= 13
		Don't know	= 98	98	98	98	= Don't know	= 98

RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE. NOW ASK g.

INTERVIEWER: You may change any code already ringed if, on reflection, a respondent wants to change his or her mind. Ensure that final entries are clear on grid and in scale booklet. If asked you may confirm that letter **F** is the middle box.

- g. When you were deciding about voting, how important was this issue to you? Was it ... **READ OUT** ...

4652

... extremely important, 1
 ... important, 2
 ... not very important, 3
 ... or, not at all important? 4
 (Don't know/Did not vote) 8

European Union**SHOW BOOKLET PAGE 5**

36. Please look at this page.
 Some people feel that government should do all it can to unite fully with the European Union. These people would put themselves in **Box A. (POINT)**
 Other people feel that government should do all it can to protect its independence from the European Union. These people would put themselves in **Box K. (POINT)**
 And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (**POINT LEFT A-F**) or along here (**POINT RIGHT K-F**)

- a. In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about the European Union.

f . CODING: RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

										SCOTLAND ONLY			
		Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour parties stand:		a. Own views 4653-54		b. Conser- vative 4655-56		c. Labour 4657-58		d. Liberal Democrat 4659-60		e. SNP 4661-62	
b.	First the Conservative Party. In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Conservative Party</u> ?	A	=	01	01	01	01	=	A	=	01		
		B	=	02	02	02	02	=	B	=	02		
		C	=	03	03	03	03	=	C	=	03		
c.	Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Labour Party</u> ?	D	=	04	04	04	04	=	D	=	04		
		E	=	05	05	05	05	=	E	=	05		
		F	=	06	06	06	06	=	F	=	06		
d.	And now, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Liberal Democrats</u> ?	G	=	07	07	07	07	=	G	=	07		
		H	=	08	08	08	08	=	H	=	08		
		I	=	09	09	09	09	=	I	=	09		
IN SCOTLAND ONLY													
e.	Now tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the <u>Scottish National Party</u> ?	J	=	10	10	10	10	=	J	=	10		
		K	=	11	11	11	11	=	K	=	11		
f.	ASK ALL Now please tell me the <u>letters</u> of the boxes you ticked in each row, starting with the first row?	Left of A	=	12	12	12	12	=	Left of A	=	12		
		Right of K	=	13	13	13	13	=	Right of K	=	13		
		Don't know	=	98	98	98	98	=	Don't know	=	98		

RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE. NOW ASK g.

INTERVIEWER: You may change any code already ringed if, on reflection, a respondent wants to change his or her mind. Ensure that final entries are clear on grid and in scale booklet. If asked you may confirm that letter **F** is the middle box.

- g. When you were deciding about voting, how important was this issue to you? Was it ... **READ OUT** ...

... extremely important,	4663
important,	1
not very important,	2
or, not at all important?	3
(Don't know/Did not vote)	4
	8

CARD J

37. Using this card, please say whether you agree or disagree with each of these statements, or say if you are not sure either way.

... **READ OUT a-c**

AND CODE ONE FOR EACH

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure either way	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)
a. ... If you want to cut crime, cut unemployment?	1	2	3	4	5	8
b. ... Britain should bring back the death penalty?	1	2	3	4	5	8
c. ... People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences?	1	2	3	4	5	8

4664

4665

4666

- 38a. Has your household been burgled since the time of the last general election in April 1992?

IF YES: Once or more than once?

Yes, once	1
Yes, more than once	2
No	3

4667

- b. Have you or anyone in your household been made redundant from any jobs, or been unemployed for over three months, since the time of the last general election in April 1992?

PROBE FOR CORRECT PRECODE

Yes, self only	1
Yes, other household member only	2
Yes, both self and other	3
No	4

4668

INTERVIEWER:

NOW ENTER THE SERIAL NUMBER ON THE SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE ...

... AND HAND IT TO THE RESPONDENT WITH A PEN OR PENCIL

- 39a. The next set of questions, which are in this short questionnaire, will probably be easier to answer if you read them.

All of them can be answered just by ticking a box. If you don't have an opinion on a particular question, just tick the 'Can't choose' box or the 'Neither' box in the middle.

[ADD ONLY IF NECESSARY:

The answers you give, like all the others, will be confidential. All we put on this questionnaire is a number so that we can link it with the interview questionnaire.]

If you need any help, do please ask. I will just be doing some paperwork while you fill in the questionnaire.

WHEN RESPONDENT HAS FINISHED, TAKE BACK THE SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE ...

... AND CHECK THAT EVERY QUESTION HAS BEEN ANSWERED

... AND CODE:

- b. Self-completion questionnaire completed
and serial numbered

- and no help given	1
- and help given	2

4669

Not completed (WRITE IN REASON) _____

3

- 40a. Looking back over the last year or so, would you say that Britain's economy has got stronger, got weaker or has stayed about the same?
IF GOT STRONGER OR WEAKER: By a lot or a little?

Got a lot stronger	1
Got a little stronger	2
Stayed about the same	3
Got a little weaker	4
Got a lot weaker	5
(Don't know)	8

4670

- b. And looking forward to the year ahead, do you think Britain's economy will get stronger, get weaker or stay about the same?
IF GET STRONGER OR WEAKER: By a lot or a little?

Get a lot stronger	1
Get a little stronger	2
Stay about the same	3
Get a little weaker	4
Get a lot weaker	5
(Don't know)	8

4671

- 41a. Looking back over the last year or so, would you say your household's income has fallen behind prices, kept up with prices or gone up by more than prices?
IF FALLEN BEHIND OR GONE UP: By a lot or a little?

Fallen behind prices a lot	1
Fallen behind prices a little	2
Kept up with prices	3
Gone up by a little more than prices	4
Gone up by a lot more than prices	5
(Don't know)	8

4672

- b. And looking at the year ahead, do you expect your household's income will fall behind prices, keep up with prices or go up by more than prices?
IF FALL BEHIND OR GO UP: By a lot or a little?

Fall behind prices a lot	1
Fall behind prices a little	2
Keep up with prices	3
Go up by a little more than prices	4
Go up by a lot more than prices	5
(Don't know)	8

4673

ASK a. IN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND ONLY**IN WALES, GO TO b.****CARD K**

- 42a. An issue in Scotland is the question of an elected Assembly - a special parliament for Scotland dealing with Scottish affairs. Which of these statements comes closest to your view

...**READ OUT**...

- ...Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK and the European Union,
- Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK but part of the European Union,
- Scotland should remain part of the UK but with its own elected Assembly that has some taxation and spending powers,
- or, there should be no change from the present system?
- Other (WRITE IN) _____
- (Don't know)

01

02

03

04

05

98

GO TO Q.43

4674-75

ASK IN WALES ONLY**CARD L**

- b. An issue in Wales is the question of an elected Assembly - a special parliament for Wales dealing with Welsh affairs. Which of these statements comes closest to your view

... **READ OUT** ...

- ... Wales should become independent, separate from the UK and the European Union,
- Wales should become independent, separate from the UK but part of the European Union,
- Wales should remain part of the UK but with its own elected Assembly that has some taxation and spending powers,
- or, there should be no change from the present system?
- Other (WRITE IN) _____
- (Don't know)

01

02

03

04

05

98

4676-77

ASK ALL

43. Do you consider yourself to be British, Scottish, English, Irish, Welsh or something else?

British 01

Scottish 02

English 03

Irish 04

Welsh 05

Something else (WRITE IN) _____ 06

4678-79

- 44a. **INTERVIEWER CODE: INTERVIEWING IN**

SCOTLAND

ENGLAND/WALES

1 **ASK b.-e.**2 **GO TO Q.45**

4680

IN SCOTLAND ONLY**CARD K AGAIN**

44b. Which of these statements, do you think, comes closest to the view of the Conservative Party?
CODE ONE IN COLUMN a.

c. Which statement, do you think, comes closest to the view of the Labour Party?
CODE ONE IN COLUMN b.

d. Which statement, do you think, comes closest to the view of the Liberal Democrats?
CODE ONE IN COLUMN c.

e. Which statement, do you think, comes closest to the view of the Scottish National Party?
CODE ONE IN COLUMN d.

	b. Conservative 4707-08	c. Labour 4709-10	d. Lib.Dem. 4711-12	e. SNP 4713-14
Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK and the European Union	01	01	01	01
Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK but part of the European Union	02	02	02	02
Scotland should remain part of the UK but with its own elected Assembly that has some taxation and spending powers	03	03	03	03
There should be no change from the present system	04	04	04	04
Other (WRITE IN) _____	05	05	05	05

(Don't know)	98	98	98	98

ASK ALL

45a. Compared with two or three years ago, do you and your household nowadays generally feel more secure or less secure against crime, or do you not feel any different?
IF MORE OR LESS: A lot or a little?

A lot more secure	1
A little more secure	2
No difference	3
A little less secure	4
A lot less secure	5

4715

b. And compared with two or three years ago, do you and your household nowadays generally feel more confident or less confident about being able to keep or find a job, or do you not feel any different?
IF MORE OR LESS: A lot or a little?

A lot more confident	1
A little more confident	2
No difference	3
A little less confident	4
A lot less confident	5
Does not apply	6

4716

CARD M

- 46a. Which of these descriptions applies to what you were doing last week, that is, in the seven days ending last Sunday?
PROBE: Any others? **CODE ALL THAT APPLY IN COLUMN I**

IF ONLY ONE CODE AT I, TRANSFER IT TO COLUMN II
IF MORE THAN ONE AT I, TRANSFER HIGHEST ON LIST TO II

COL 1
COL II ECONOMIC POSITION

In full-time education (not paid for by employer, including on vacation)	A	01	GO TO Q.47	4717-18
On government training/employment programme (eg. Youth Training, Training for Work, etc.)	B	02	ASK b.	
In paid work (or away temporarily) for at least 10 hours in the week	C	03	GO TO c.	
Waiting to take up paid work already accepted	D	04		
Unemployed and registered at a benefit office	E	05		
Unemployed, <u>not</u> registered, but actively looking for a job (of at least 10 hours a week)	F	06		
Unemployed, wanting a job (of at least 10 hrs a week) but not actively looking for a job	G	07		
Permanently sick or disabled	H	08	ASK b.	
Wholly retired from work	J	09		
Looking after the home	K	10		
Doing something else (WRITE IN) _____	L	11		

IF CODE 02, OR 05-11 AT a.

b. How long ago did you last have a paid job (other than the government scheme you mentioned) of at least 10 hours a week, excluding holiday jobs?	Within past 12 months	1	ASK c.	4719
	Over 1, up to 5 years ago	2		
	Over 5, up to 10 years ago	3		
	Over 10, up to 20 years ago	4		
	Over 20 years ago	5		
	Never had paid job of 10+ hrs a week	0	GO TO Q.47	

IF EVER HAD JOB (CODES 03-04 AT a. OR CODES 1-5 AT b.)

c. Are you <u>now</u> a member of a trade union or staff association?	Yes: trade union	1	CODE FIRST TO APPLY	4720
PROBE AS NECESSARY	Yes: staff association	2		
	No	3		

47. **INTERVIEWER: REFER TO ECONOMIC POSITION OF RESPONDENT (Q.46a)**

RESPONDENT IS IN PAID WORK (CODE 03)	1	ASK Q.48 a.-i. ABOUT PRESENT JOB	4721
RESPONDENT IS WAITING TO TAKE UP PAID WORK (CODE 04)	2	ASK Q.48 a.-i. ABOUT FUTURE JOB	
ALL OTHERS (CODES 01-02; 05-11)	3	ASK Q.48 a.-i. ABOUT LAST JOB	

48. Now I want to ask you about your (*present/future/last*) job.
CHANGE TENSES FOR (BRACKETED) WORDS AS APPROPRIATE.

- a. What (*is*) your job?
PROBE AS NECESSARY: What (*is*) the name or title of the job?
IF 'NEVER HAD JOB', WRITE IN AND GO TO Q.49

- b. What kind of work (*do*) you do most of the time?
**DESCRIBE FULLY. PROBE: MANUFACTURING, OR PROCESSING, OR DISTRIBUTING, ETC.;
 MAIN GOODS PRODUCED, MACHINERY AND MATERIALS USED; WHOLESALE OR RETAIL ETC.**

- c. What training or qualifications (*are*) needed for that job?

- d. (*Do*) you directly supervise or (*are*) you directly responsible for the work of any other people?
IF YES: How many?

Yes: **WRITE IN NO:**

--	--	--	--

No: **RING:** 0000

4722-25

- e. Can I just check: (*are*) you ... **READ OUT** ...

an employee,

or, self-employed?

1 **ASK f.**

2 **GO TO g.**

4726

IF EMPLOYEE (CODE 1 AT e.)

CARD N

- f. Which of the types of organisation on this card (*do*) you work for?

CODE FIRST TO APPLY

- | | |
|--|---|
| Private sector firm or company (including limited companies and PLCs) | 1 |
| Nationalised industry/public corporation | 2 |
| Local authority/Local Education Authority (including 'opted out' schools) | 3 |
| Health authority/NHS hospital/NHS Hospital Trusts (including GP surgeries) | 4 |
| Central government/Civil service/Government Agency | 5 |
| Charity/Voluntary sector (including charitable companies) | 6 |
| Other (WRITE IN) _____ | 7 |

4727

ASK ALL WHO HAVE EVER WORKED

- g. What (*does*) your employer (**IF SELF-EMPLOYED:** you) make or do at the place where you usually (*work*) (*from*)?

IF FARM, GIVE NO. OF ACRES

48h. Including yourself, how many people (*are*) employed at the place where you usually (*work*) (*from*)?

IF SELF-EMPLOYED: (*Do*) you have any employees?

IF YES: How many?

(No employees)	0
Under 10	1
10-24	2
25-99	3
100-499	4
500 or more	5

4728

i. (*Is*) the job ... **READ OUT** ...

... full time (30+ HOURS PER WEEK)	1
or, part-time (10-29 HOURS PER WEEK)?	2

4729

O.U.O.

RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATIONAL DETAILS

OFFICE USE ONLY

SOC

--	--	--

4730-32

ES

--	--

4733-34

SEG

--	--

4735-36

SC/NM.M

--	--

4737-38

SIC

--	--

4739-40

HG

--	--

4741-42

OC

--	--	--	--	--

4743-47

ASK ALL

CARD P

49. May I just check, which of these applies to you at present?

CODE FIRST TO APPLY

Married	1
Living as married	2
Separated (after being married)	3
Divorced	4
Widowed	5
Single (never married)	6

4748

50a. The government has privatised many industries by selling shares to the public. Did you (or your *husband/wife/partner*) buy any of these shares at the time they were being sold off?

PROBE FOR CORRECT CATEGORY
CODE 'GIVEN' AS BOUGHT

Yes - have shares now	1
Yes - bought but none owned now	2
No - never bought any	3
(IF VOLUNTEERED: Applied for shares but none allocated)	4
(Don't know)	8

ASK b.

GO TO c.

4749

IF YES AT a.			
50b.	Was this ... READ OUT ...		
	... before the 1992 general election,	1	4750
	or, since then?	2	
	(Can't remember/Don't know)	8	
ASK ALL			
c.	And do you (or your <i>husband/wife/partner</i>) own any <u>other</u> shares quoted on the stock exchange, including unit trusts?	Yes 1	4751
		No 2	
ASK ALL			
CARD Q			
51a.	Have you passed any of the exams or got any of the qualifications on <u>this</u> card, <u>since</u> the time of the last general election in April 1992?		
	Yes	1 ASK b.	4752
	No	2 GO TO Q.52	
IF YES AT a.			
b.	Which ones? Any others?		
CODE ALL THAT APPLY			
	Recognised trade apprenticeship <u>completed</u>	01	4807-50
	RSA or other clerical or commercial qualification	02	
	City & Guilds Certificate Part I	03	
	City & Guilds Certificate: Craft/Intermediate / Ordinary/Part II	04	
	City & Guilds Certificate: Advanced/Final/Part III	05	
	City & Guilds Certificate: Full technological/Part IV	06	
	BEC/TEC/SCOTBEC/SCOTECH/General/Ordinary National Certificate (ONC) or Diploma (OND) or National General Certificate or Diploma	07	
	BEC/TEC/SCOTBEC/SCOTECH Higher/Higher National Certificate (HNC) or Diploma (HND)	08	
	NVQ/SVQ Level 1/GNVQ Foundation Level	09	
	NVQ/SVQ Level 2/GNVQ Intermediate Level	10	
	NVQ/SVQ Level 3/GNVQ Advanced L level	11	
	NVQ/SVQ Level 4	12	
	NVQ/SVQ Level 5	13	
	Teacher training qualification	14	
	Nursing qualification	15	
	University or CNAA degree or diploma	16	
	Other technical or business qualification or certificate	17	
	Other recognised academic or vocational qualification	18	
	(WRITE IN) _____		SPARE 4851-58
ALL:			
52a.	INTERVIEWER: FOR ALL RESPONDENTS: CODE WHETHER ACCOMMODATION IS...		
	... Private household,	1 ASK b.	4859
	or Institution SPECIFY TYPE _____	2 GO TO Q.53	

IF PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD (CODE 1 AT a.)

52b. Does your household own or rent this accommodation?

PROBE AS NECESSARY**IF OWNS:** Outright or on a mortgage?**IF RENTS:** From whom?**OWNS:** Own (leasehold/freehold) outright01 **GO TO Q.53**

Buying (leasehold/freehold) on mortgage

02 **ASK c.****RENTS:** Local Authority/Council

03

Housing Association/Housing Trust

05

Property company

06

Employer

07

Other organisation

08 **GO TO Q.53**

Relative

09

Other individual

10

Housing Action Trust

11

RENT FREE: Rent free, squatting, etc.

12

4860-61

IF BUYING ON A MORTGAGE (CODE 02 AT b.)c. How are you and your household coping with your mortgage these days? Does it make things ... **READ OUT** ...

...very difficult,

1

a bit difficult,

2

or, not really difficult?

3

(Don't know)

8

4862

ASK ALL**CARD R**53. Which of these is the main source of income for you (and your husband/wife/partner) at present?**CODE ONE ONLY**

Earnings from employment (own or spouse/partner's)

01

Occupational pension(s) - from previous employer(s)

02

State retirement or widow's pension(s)

03

Jobseekers Allowance/Unemployment benefit

04

Income Support

05

Family Credit

06

Invalidity, sickness or disabled pension or benefit(s)

07

Other state benefit (**WRITE IN**) _____

08

Interest from savings or investments

09

Student grant

10

Dependent on parents/other relatives

11

Other main source (**WRITE IN**) _____

12

4863-64

CARD S

54. And which of the letters on this card represents the total income of your household from all sources, before tax, including benefits, savings and so on? Please just tell me the letter.

**NOTE: INCLUDES INCOME FROM EARNINGS, BENEFITS, SAVINGS ETC.
CODE ONE ONLY**

	House- hold income
Q =	01
T =	02
O =	03
K =	04
L =	05
B =	06
Z =	07
M =	08
F =	09
J =	10
D =	11
H =	12
C =	13
G =	14
P =	15
N =	16

4865-66

55. May I just check, thinking back to the last general election - that is, the one in 1992 - do you remember which party you voted for then, or perhaps you didn't vote in that election?

DO NOT PROMPT

Conservative	01
Labour	02
Liberal Democrat	03
Scottish National Party	04
Plaid Cymru	05
Green Party	06
Other (WRITE IN) _____	07
Refused to disclose voting	97
Did not vote	00
Don't remember	98

4867-68

56a. May I just check your age last birthday?

--	--

4869-70

b. **INTERVIEWER: PLEASE CODE**
Is the respondent male or female?

Male 1
Female 2

4871

**INTERVIEWER: THANK RESPONDENT FOR HIS OR HER
HELP AND COMPLETE Q.57**

57a. **TIME INTERVIEW ENDED:**

24 hour clock

WRITE IN:

--	--	--	--

4872-75

b. **TOTAL LENGTH OF INTERVIEW:**
(SEE FRONT COVER AND a. ABOVE)

MINUTES:

--	--	--

4876-78

c. **INTERVIEWER SIGNATURE:**

... AND INTERVIEWER NUMBER:

--	--	--	--	--	--

4907-10

d. **DATE OF INTERVIEW:**

DAY

MONTH

YEAR

--	--

0	
---	--

9	7
---	---

4911-16

THANK YOU

- * PLEASE MAKE SURE THAT THE ARF IS COMPLETELY FILLED IN.
- * CHECK THE MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE, AND THE SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE
- * DOUBLE CHECK THAT YOU HAVE FILLED IN ALL THE IDENTIFICATION NUMBERS; ESPECIALLY THE SERIAL NUMBER AND YOUR INTERVIEWER NUMBER ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE AND ON THE SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE.
- * RETURN THE COMPLETED ARF TO THE BRENTWOOD FIELD OFFICE IN A SEPARATE ENVELOPE, NOT WITH THE QUESTIONNAIRES, AS SOON AS YOU CAN.

SPARE

4917-75

Batch
Code
4976-80



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BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY - I 1997 SURVEY

P.1653

SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE

Spring 1997

The last study in this series consists of the interview that you are doing now, and this short self-completion questionnaire.

All the questions can be answered just by ticking a box. If you don't have an opinion on a particular question, just tick the 'Can't choose' box, or the 'Neither' box in the middle.

The answers you give, like all the others, will be confidential. All we put on this questionnaire is a number so that we can link it with the interview questionnaire.

If you need any help, please ask the interviewer.

Thank you for your help.

5001-04

Serial No.

--	--	--	--	--

Card No. 50

5005-06

SPARE 5007-10

SCPR





1. Please tick **one** box for **each** statement below to show how much you agree or disagree with it.

<i>PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE</i>		Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	
a.	Ordinary working people get their fair share of the nation's wealth	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5011
b.	There is one law for the rich and one for the poor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5012
c.	Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional British values	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5013
d.	Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5014
e.	There is no need for strong trade unions to protect employees' working conditions and wages	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5015
f.	Private enterprise is the best way to solve Britain's economic problems	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5016
g.	Major public services and industries ought to be in state ownership	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5017
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	

2. Please tick **one** box for **each** statement below to show how much you agree or disagree with it.

<i>PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE</i>		Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	
a.	It is the government's responsibility to provide a job for everyone who wants one	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5018
b.	People should be allowed to organise public meetings to protest against the government	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5019
c.	Homosexual relations are always wrong	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5020
d.	People in Britain should be more tolerant of those who lead unconventional lives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5021
e.	Political parties which wish to overthrow democracy should be allowed to stand in general elections	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5022
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	





3. How much do you agree or disagree that ...?

	PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Can't choose	
a.	Britain has a lot to learn from other countries in running its affairs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5023
b.	I would rather be a citizen of Britain than of any other country in the world	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5024
c.	There are some things about Britain today that make me ashamed to be British	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5025
d.	People in Britain are too ready to criticise their country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5026
e.	The government should do all it can to keep all parts of Britain together in a single state	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5027
f.	Britain should co-operate with other countries, even if it means giving up some independence	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	5028
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(8)	

4. Suppose the government had to choose between **three** options in deciding how much to spend on certain things.

a. First, spending on **education**. Would it be best for the **country as a whole** if the government ...

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX

... increased spending on **education** and put **up** income tax by a penny in the pound,

OR

kept spending on **education** and income tax about the same as now,

OR

cut spending on **education** and took a penny in the pound **off** income tax?

Can't choose

(✓)

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

☐ 8

b. What about spending on **health**? Would it be best for the **country as a whole** if the Government ...

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX

... increased spending on **health** and put **up** income tax by a penny in the pound,

OR

kept spending on **health** and income tax about the same as now,

OR

cut spending on **health** and took a penny in the pound **off** income tax?

Can't choose

(✓)

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

☐ 8

c. What about spending on **social security benefits**? Would it be best for the **country as a whole** if the government ...

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX

... increased spending on **social security benefits** and put **up** income tax by a penny in the pound,

OR

kept spending on **social security benefits** and income tax about the same as now,

OR

cut spending on **social security benefits** and took a penny in the pound **off** income tax?

Can't choose

(✓)

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

☐ 8

5029

5030

5031

BB





5. Now what would be best for **you and your household**?

a. First, spending on **education**. Would it be best for **you and your household** if the government ...

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX

(✓)

... increased spending on **education** and put **up** income tax by a penny in the pound ,

☐ 1

5032

OR

kept spending on **education** and income tax about the same as now,

☐ 2

OR

cut spending on **education** and took a penny in the pound **off** income tax?

☐ 3

Can't choose

☐ 8

b. What about spending on **health**? Would it be best for **you and your household** if the government ...

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX

(✓)

... increased spending on **health** and put **up** income tax by a penny in the pound ,

☐ 1

5033

OR

kept spending on **health** and income tax about the same as now,

☐ 2

OR

cut spending on **health** and took a penny in the pound **off** income tax?

☐ 3

Can't choose

☐ 8

c. What about spending on **social security benefits**?

Would it be best for **you and your household** if the government ...

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX

(✓)

... increased spending on **social security benefits** and put **up** income tax by a penny in the pound ,

☐ 1

5034

OR

kept spending on **social security benefits** and income tax about the same as now,

☐ 2

OR

cut spending on **social security benefits** and took a penny in the pound **off** income tax?

☐ 3

Can't choose

☐ 8

6. Please tick **one** box for **each** statement below to show how much you agree or disagree with it.

PLEASE TICK **ONE** BOX
ON EACH LINE

Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
-------------------	-------	----------------------------------	----------	----------------------

a. People like me have no say in what the government does

☐☐☐☐☐

5035

b. Councillors and MPs don't care much what people like me think

☐☐☐☐☐

5036

c. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on

☐☐☐☐☐

5037

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

SPARE
5038-75

Batch

5076-80

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

CC



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BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY - I

1997 SURVEY - England and Wales

SCALE BOOKLET

E & W

Unemployment and Inflation

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down should
be the government's top
priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down should
be the government's top
priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Keeping prices down should
be the government's top
priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Keeping prices down should
be the government's top
priority

Taxation and Government Services

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Put up taxes a lot and spend
much more on health &
social services

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot and spend
much less on health & social
services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Put up taxes a lot and spend
much more on health &
social services

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot and spend
much less on health & social
services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Put up taxes a lot and spend
much more on health &
social services

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot and spend
much less on health & social
services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Put up taxes a lot and spend
much more on health &
social services

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Cut taxes a lot and spend
much less on health & social
services

Nationalisation and Privatisation

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

**Nationalise many
more private
companies**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

**Sell off many more
nationalised
industries**

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

**Nationalise many
more private
companies**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

**Sell off many more
nationalised
industries**

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

**Nationalise many
more private
companies**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

**Sell off many more
nationalised
industries**

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

**Nationalise many
more private
companies**

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

**Sell off many more
nationalised
industries**

Redistribution

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

**Make much greater efforts to
make people's incomes more
equal**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

**Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are**

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

**Make much greater efforts to
make people's incomes more
equal**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

**Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are**

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

**Make much greater efforts to
make people's incomes more
equal**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

**Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are**

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

**Make much greater efforts to
make people's incomes more
equal**

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

**Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are**

European Union

Britain should

Britain should

Do all it can to unite
fully with the European
Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Do all it can to protect its
independence from the
European Union

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	

Do all it can to unite
fully with the European
Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Do all it can to protect its
independence from the
European Union

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	

Do all it can to unite
fully with the European
Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Do all it can to protect its
independence from the
European Union

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	

Do all it can to unite
fully with the European
Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Do all it can to protect its
independence from the
European Union

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

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Spring 1997

Serial No

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BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY - I

1997 SURVEY - Scotland

SCALE BOOKLET

S

Unemployment and Inflation

Tick the box you think comes closest to **your own** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

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A B C D E F G H I J K

Keeping prices down should
be the government's top
priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A B C D E F G H I J K

Keeping prices down should
be the government's top
priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A B C D E F G H I J K

Keeping prices down should
be the government's top
priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A B C D E F G H I J K

Keeping prices down should
be the government's top
priority

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Scottish National Party's** views

Getting people back to work
should be the government's
top priority

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A B C D E F G H I J K

Keeping prices down should
be the government's top
priority

Taxation and Government Services

Put up taxes a lot and spend
much more on health &
social services

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot and spend
much less on health & social
services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Put up taxes a lot and spend
much more on health &
social services

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot and spend
much less on health & social
services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Put up taxes a lot and spend
much more on health &
social services

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Cut taxes a lot and spend
much less on health & social
services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Put up taxes a lot and spend
much more on health &
social services

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Cut taxes a lot and spend
much less on health & social
services

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Scottish National Party's** views

Put up taxes a lot and spend
much more on health &
social services

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Cut taxes a lot and spend
much less on health & social
services

Nationalisation and Privatisation

Nationalise many
more private
companies

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many more
nationalised
industries

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many more
nationalised
industries

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Sell off many more
nationalised
industries

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Sell off many more
nationalised
industries

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Scottish National Party's** views

Nationalise many
more private
companies

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Sell off many more
nationalised
industries

4

Redistribution

Make much greater efforts to
make people's incomes more
equal

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Make much greater efforts to
make people's incomes more
equal

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Make much greater efforts to
make people's incomes more
equal

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Make much greater efforts to
make people's incomes more
equal

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Scottish National Party's** views

Make much greater efforts to
make people's incomes more
equal

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Be much less concerned
about how equal people's
incomes are

5

European Union

Britain should

Do all it can to unite
fully with the European
Union

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A B C D E F G H I J K

Britain should

Do all it can to protect its
independence from the
European Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Do all it can to unite
fully with the European
Union

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A B C D E F G H I J K

Do all it can to protect its
independence from the
European Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Labour Party's** views

Do all it can to unite
fully with the European
Union

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

A B C D E F G H I J K

Do all it can to protect its
independence from the
European Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Liberal Democrats'** views

Do all it can to unite
fully with the European
Union

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Do all it can to protect its
independence from the
European Union

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Scottish National Party's** views

Do all it can to unite
fully with the European
Union

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Do all it can to protect its
independence from the
European Union

BRITISH ELECTION PANEL STUDY - 1

P 1653

1997 SURVEY

Spring 1997

VOTING SHEETSerial No

--	--	--	--	--	--

I quite understand that you feel you have given us enough of your time already. We are very grateful for all your help. But so that I can complete my records, could you just answer two questions

1 whether you managed to vote in the general election?

Yes, voted
No
Refused
Can't remember

1	ASK Q 2
2	
8	→ END
9	

4368

2 and lastly, which party you voted for in the general election?

CODE ONE ONLY
DO NOT PROMPT

Conservative 01
Labour 02
Liberal Democrat 03
Scottish National Party 04
Plaid Cymru 05
Green Party 06
Other (WRITE IN) _____ 07
Refused to disclose voting 97
None 00
Can't remember/don't know 98

4389 70

Thank you very much. This is the last time we shall ask for your help

spare
4371 80

**PLEASE RETURN THE COMPLETED SHEET IN A SEPARATE ENVELOPE
FROM THE ARF FOR THIS RESPONDENT**

DRAFT

The British Election Panel Survey (BEPS), 1992-95

Technical Report

Lindsay Brook

Social and Community Planning Research

and

Bridget Taylor

Nuffield College Oxford

Baseline Studies

P 1151 (April 1992, England & Wales)

P 1185 (April 1992, Scotland)

Panel Studies

P 1314 (May, 1993)

P 1366 (June 1994)

P 1470 (May 1995)

P 1504 (October 1995)

May 1996

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Fieldwork

Response and attrition

Serial numbers

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6. May 1995 BEPS study

Introduction

The sample

Fieldwork

Response and attrition

Serial numbers

Weighting

Variable names

7. October 1995 BEPS study

Introduction

The sample

Fieldwork

Response and attrition

Serial numbers

Weighting

Variable names

1. Background

1 The 1992 BGES surveys

The baseline for the *British Election Panel Survey (BEPS)* series was a cross-section survey of electors in England, Scotland and Wales, carried out after the last general election in April 1992. This study was the most recent in the *British General Election Survey (BGES)* series, carried out after every general election since 1964¹. The *BGES* series was established by David Butler and Donald Stokes who directed the first three studies (1964, 1966 and 1970). Responsibility for the series then passed from Nuffield College to the University of Essex, the two 1974 surveys being directed by Ivor Crewe, Bo Sarlvik and James Alt, joined by David Robertson in 1979. The three most recent studies have been the responsibility of Anthony Heath (now of Nuffield College Oxford), Roger Jowell (of Social and Community Planning Research) and John Curtice (now of the University of Strathclyde), together with other researchers from SCPR and Oxford. The research team for the 1992 studies included Lindsay Brook, Bridget Taylor and Gillian Prior.

All the post-election cross-section surveys have been based on probability samples designed to be representative of the electorate of Great Britain² and have been conducted by face-to-face interview. Now the longest series of academic surveys in Britain, the *BGES* studies have

¹ There have also been two non-election year surveys (in 1963 and 1969), a 'campaign study' in 1987, a EEC Referendum study (conducted by post) in 1974, and an additional study of Welsh electors in 1979.

² Except in years when electors in Scotland have been over-sampled, the 'crofting counties' north of the Caledonian canal have been excluded because of the prohibitive cost of interviewing in sparsely-populated areas.

been noted for the high quality of their design and organisation and for the richness of the resulting datasets

A particular feature of the 1992 study³ was its over-sample of Scottish electors, to allow more detailed investigation of voting behaviour, attitudes to devolution and independence, 'national identity' and so on, north of the border. Around 950 electors in Scotland (including some living north of the Caledonian Canal) were interviewed, instead of the 250 or so that we might have expected in the absence of a Scottish boost. This element was also funded by the ESRC under a separate grant (No R 000 232 960) to researchers in the Department of Government, University of Strathclyde.

In addition to the cross-sectional surveys among fresh samples of electors, *between* every pair of elections⁴ panel surveys have been conducted in which respondents to the previous cross-section survey have been re-interviewed. In 1992, the Economic and Social Research Council (as well as part-funding the cross-section survey) provided funds⁵ for the incumbent BGES team to carry out three further surveys among electors first interviewed in the 1987 post-election study:

- a pre-election telephone survey, with interviewing taking place in the three weeks of the election campaign leading up to polling day,
- a post-election survey, also by telephone, with respondents interviewed over the four days immediately after polling day (Thursday April 9th),
- a face-to-face interview survey of these panel members, beginning in the following week, but this time including those who either were not on the telephone, or could not be reached by telephone during the previous two phases.

A brief account of the panel element of the 1992 BGES study is given in Annex I of this Report.

The structure of the BGES series since its inception in 1964 is shown schematically below.

[Insert chart from Appendix to 'Understanding Political Change', p 227, updated to 1992]

Funding for the 1992 cross-section surveys came from two sources. The ESRC awarded a grant (No Y 304 253 011) to the SCPR/Nuffield College team. This was supplemented by a grant from one of the Sainsbury Family Charitable Trusts, which allowed funds which might otherwise have been deployed to carrying out the 1992 *British Social Attitudes* (BSA) survey.

³ In common with the October 1974 and 1979 BGES surveys, which also incorporated a Scottish boost.

⁴ Except those of 1979 and 1983, and 1987 and 1992 when funding from the ESRC (formerly the SSRC) was not made available.

⁵ Through its grant (No Y 303 253 001) to the Joint Unit for the Study of Social Trends (JUSSI), an ESRC-funded Research Centre linking SCPR and Nuffield College Oxford. The 'campaign' and post-polling day telephone rounds were suggestions of the Election Studies Advisory and Management Committee (ESAMC), and adopted by the research team.

to help support the 1992 *BGES* survey⁶ The research team wishes to acknowledge its gratitude to both

2 The new panel study

In 1989, the ESRC provided funding, initially for five years, for a Research Centre linking SCPR and Nuffield College Oxford The Joint Unit for the Study of Social Trends (JUSST), as it was then called, embarked on a programme of surveys, methodological experiments, cross-national comparative research and publications⁷ In 1994, researchers in the Joint Unit successfully applied to the ESRC for funding (under Award No M 303 253 001) to extend the life of the Unit for a further five years (until September 1999) The Unit was renamed the Centre for Research into Elections and Social Trends (CREST), its main activity being to study the attitudes and behaviour of the British electorate *via* a series of regular inter-election panel surveys

This enterprise is known as the *British Election Panel Survey (BEPS)* Its innovative element is to investigate *individual-level* stability and change in political attitudes, economic and social circumstances, and voting behaviour over the lifetime of one parliament and beyond the next general election Until mid-1995 *BEPS* rounds had been annual, with fieldwork timed to begin immediately after either the local elections (1993⁸ and 1995) or the elections for the European Parliament (1994) This will enable researchers to examine the extent to which political attitudes translate into voting behaviour, and the extent to which observed changes are ephemeral or longer-lasting As the next election approaches, the intention is to question electors every six months, instead of annually, in an effort to capture even shorter-term shifts in attitudes and behaviour Hence there have been two survey rounds in 1995, and there will be two in 1996, with the final round in this panel series taking place immediately after the next general election

In summary, completed *BEPS* fieldwork rounds are as follows

Date	Mode	Start of Fieldwork
1992	Face-to-face interview with self-completion supplement	Immediately following general election on 9th April
1993	Postal questionnaire with supplementary telephone interview	Following local elections on 6th May

⁶ There had been a similar arrangement in 1987, when the *BSA* grant for 1988 was brought forward to help fund the 1987 *BGES* cross-section survey

⁷ For information on the Unit's programme, see its series of Working Papers available from Nuffield College Oxford (now succeeded by the CREST series of Working Papers)

⁸ Although funding for CREST and its series of inter-election studies was not yet in place in May 1993, it was decided nonetheless to re-contact the embryo panel, both as an essential exercise in panel maintenance and to begin (in a modest way) the monitoring of political attitudes and voting behaviour (the latter at the May local elections)

1994	Face-to-face interview with self-completion supplement	Immediately following European Parliament elections on 9th June
1995 (1)	Face-to-face interview with self-completion supplement	Immediately following local elections on 4th June
1995 (2)	Telephone interview with supplementary postal questionnaire	Immediately following the end of the party conference season (13th October)

A new panel will be recruited after the next general election and further fieldwork rounds will take place until autumn 1998

2. Objectives of the *BGES* series

A central aim of the *BGES*, the foundation upon which the present *BEPS* programme is built, has always been to maintain the integrity of the series. Particular emphasis is placed on maintaining the high standards of sampling, fieldwork and coding established in the past, and on repeating 'core' items to ensure continuity.

A second task of the series has always been to provide benchmark data on the characteristics of the electorate - on their attitudes, party identification and behaviour, and on the interrelations between these characteristics and aspects of social structure. This has proved invaluable in charting and describing both long- and short-term trends (the latter being especially useful in the context of the *BEPS* programme).

A further important aim was identified for the 1992 *BGES* studies. First, mainly *via* the panel study, the research team intended to investigate more thoroughly than had been possible in the past questions of causality - to look at (for example) the effect of economic circumstances, unemployment, purchase of shares or private health care on voting behaviour, or to examine the consequences of changes in party policy in terms of respondent's own political attitudes and party allegiance. This is a theme to which (through the collection of data on respondents' recent life histories) the *BEPS* series has already returned.

A particular feature of the Scottish booster sample was an extra module of questions addressing issues such as possible constitutional changes, pride in one's country and national identity. In addition, questions about the main political parties were expanded to include the SNP.

3. Survey methods

1 April 1992 *BGES* baseline study

The sample

The survey was designed to yield a representative sample of eligible voters in Great Britain⁹ Like its predecessors, it differed from a random sample of all *resident adults* in that it comprised only people on the electoral register and eligible to vote at the general election (in this case, on 9th April 1992)

A three-stage selection procedure was used First, a sample of 218 constituencies was selected (159 in England and Wales and 59 in Scotland¹⁰) with probability proportionate to size of electorate Before selection, the constituencies had been stratified according to the following factors

- Registrar General's Standard Region
- population density bands (persons per hectare)
- percentage of dwellings owner-occupied¹¹

In order to make the strata fairly equal in size, the population density banding was varied according to Standard Region

The second stage was the ordering of all polling districts within the selected constituencies in a geographically coherent sequence, according to the ward labelling system used within the constituency Any polling district with fewer than 500 electors was combined with the one following it, to form one unit This meant that addresses in any one sampling point would not be too tightly clustered

In anticipation that a general election would be called in November 1991, this second stage of sample selection was carried out using the electoral registers current between February 1991 and February 1992 Indeed a sample of electors had already been drawn from these registers, so that fieldwork could begin immediately after polling day When it became evident, however, that the election would be in the following spring, the research team applied to, and obtained from, the ESRC the extra funding necessary to draw a fresh sample of electors from the new registers when they started to become available in mid-February 1992

In the course of selecting constituencies, one elector was picked at random The polling district within which this elector lived became the selected polling district In this way, its probability of selection was proportionate to size of electorate

⁹ This study, in common with all previous *BGES* studies, excluded Northern Ireland However in 1992 for the first time the ESRC provided funds for a separate study of the Northern Irish electorate, under the direction of a different team of investigators

¹⁰ The sampling frame this time included (as noted above), the five constituencies with a small and scattered electorate in the Scottish highlands and islands north of the Caledonian Canal

¹¹ According to 1981 Census data, the latest available at that time

The third stage was the selection of a sample of electors. Within each of the 218 selected polling districts, 24 electors were chosen with equal probability, starting from a randomly chosen point, and thereafter picking the name of every *n*th elector. Anyone ineligible to vote in the general election (peers and young people aged under 18 on April 9th) was replaced with an eligible elector, whose name was selected by using random number tables.

A sample of 5,232 names was selected by these methods (3,816 in England and Wales and 1,416 in Scotland).

Fieldwork and response

A small-scale pilot was carried out in early December, 1991. Six interviewers (including two in Scotland) between them carried out 48 interviews, and administered a short self-completion questionnaire to respondents. Afterwards the interviewers attended a debriefing, to discuss the pilot results with members of the SCPR/Oxford and Strathclyde research teams.

Interviewers undertaking assignments on the main fieldwork phase were personally briefed by SCPR members of the *BGES* research team. Fieldwork in England and Wales began on 10th April 1992, and in Scotland on 14th April. A total of 217 interviewers undertook assignments on the cross-section survey, 163 in England and Wales and 54 in Scotland.

The names of some potential respondents who had proved difficult to find at home, or had refused or broken an appointment for interview, were re-issued to interviewers who had not made the initial calls. In addition, movers who were traced to new addresses were followed up and, where possible, interviewed. This re-issue phase resulted in 283 productive interviews and raised response by 6.3 per cent. The final response rate was 73 per cent (72 per cent in England and Wales and 73 per cent in Scotland).

In all, 88 per cent of interviews achieved were obtained by the end of May 1992, and 97 per cent by the end of June. The remaining three per cent were conducted during July and August, mainly following recalls on respondents who were unable or unwilling to be interviewed earlier. The date of interview appears on the dataset as the variable *DateInt*.

Details of the final response breakdown are shown in the table below:

	England and Wales		TOTAL			
	n	%	n	%	n	%
NAMES ISSUED	3816		1416		5232	
Addresses out-of-scope (empty, demolished, no trace)	45		12		57	
Named person						
dead	28		17		45	
emigrated	25		5		30	
under age	-		3		3	
mover - address unknown	144		84		228	
TOTAL FOUND OR ASSUMED TO BE OUT OF SCOPE OR UNTRACEABLE	242		121		363	

TOTAL IN SCOPE	3574	100	1295	100	4869	100
Interview obtained	2577	72	957	74	3534	73
Of which						
with self-completion	2415	68	89	69	3304	68
without self-completion	162	6	68	7	230	5
Interview not obtained	997	28	338	26	1335	27
Of which						
refusal	607		192		799	
refusal by someone else in household (proxy)	78		26		104	
broken appointment	35		11		46	
refusal to office	1		1		2	
not contacted - never in	86		31		117	
senile/incapacitated	53		25		78	
away or in hospital	42		19		61	
ill at home	21		7		28	
Other	74		26		100	

Response varied somewhat between Standard Regions, ranging from 78 per cent in Yorkshire and Humberside to 65 per cent in Greater London. As in previous *BGES* rounds, weights were applied to ensure that the sample represented the correct proportion of electors in each Standard Region (see below)

Weighting

Weighting had been carried out on *BGES* 1983 and 1987, and the equivalent exercise was repeated in 1992. This included, in 1992, the down-weighting of the Scottish booster sample to form a representative British sample. The following table shows the weights applied to cases in each Standard Region

Standard Region	No	%					
Scotland	3,927,475	9.23	957	27.1	x 0.276	264	9.2
North	2,391,410	5.62	177	5.0	x 0.907	161	5.6
North West	4,825,960	11.34	296	8.4	x 1.085	321	11.3
Yorks & Humberside	3,827,212	8.99	267	7.6	x 0.962	257	9.0
West Midlands	4,013,421	9.43	293	8.3	x 0.920	270	9.4
East Midlands	3,092,711	7.27	214	6.1	x 0.971	208	7.5
East Anglia	1,573,318	3.70	94	2.7	x 1.124	106	3.7
South West	3,639,627	8.55	250	7.1	x 0.978	245	8.6
South East	8,133,367	19.12	534	15.1	x 1.023	546	19.1
Greater London	4,910,855	11.55	303	8.6	x 1.089	330	11.5
Wales	2,217,713	5.21	149	4.2	x 0.999	149	5.2
TOTALS	42,553,069	100.01	3,534	100.2		2,857	99.9

Data on the number of electors are taken from *Electoral Statistics* 1992 (OPCS, 1992)

It is therefore essential to weight the sample, using the variable *WtFactor*, this weights the number of respondents in each Standard Region to the proportions of registered electors in each Region

Self-completion supplement

Following the successful introduction of a self-completion questionnaire on the 1987 *BGES* cross-section survey¹², respondents were again asked to complete a questionnaire after the interview, either for collection by the interviewer or to return by post. In all, 93 per cent of respondents interviewed face-to-face completed the supplement. It contained (among other items) a set of questions designed to explore the relative importance of different sources of political information, fielded as part of the *Cross-National Election Programme* (CNEP)

As noted above, 230 respondents to the face-to-face interview did not complete a self-completion supplement. These cases appear as 'missing' in the SPSS^x system file

The split-sample experiment

A split-sample experiment was conducted to find out whether or not there was a question-order effect according to whether respondents were asked first about their vote and then about their party identification or *vice-versa* (see Heath and Pierce, 1992, McAllister and Wattenberg, 1995). Respondents with even serial numbers were asked the question on party identification before being asked about their vote, whereas the respondents with odd serial numbers were asked the question on party identification afterwards. Thus this series of questions appears twice in the questionnaire, with the following question numbers

	Even serial numbers	Odd serial numbers	Derived variables
Party identification	A6a	B13a	<i>PartyId</i>
[if no Party Id] closer to which party?	A6b	B13b	<i>PtyCls</i>
Strength of Party Id	A6c	B13c	<i>IdStrng</i>
Main aim of party	A6d	B13d	<i>Comprom</i>

The four derived variables above combine the responses of the two half-samples, and it is these that should be used in the analysis

¹² This innovation on the *BGES* series was 'imported' from SCPR's annual *British Social Attitudes* survey, on which a self-completion supplement had been used successfully since *BSA*'s inception in 1983

Cross-national components

There were two cross-national components to the 1992 *BGES* cross-section study

- 1 In a further split-run experiment, a number of scale items were taken from the American National Election Study (ANES), and fielded on *BGES* 1992. Topics covered were defence spending, the role of government in welfare provision and women's rights. These will be found on pp 21-23 of the main questionnaire (Qs B 40-B 42)
- 2 Through participation in the Cross-National Election Project (CNEP), the research team helped develop a number of questions on attention to the media and on personal networks. These were fielded on the self-completion questionnaire (Qs 2 07-2 18). This will allow comparison with electorates in Germany, the USA, Spain and Japan (*check!*)

Variable names

In most cases variable names are based on question number and consist of question number preceded by the letter V. Variables in the classification section at the end of the face-to-face interview are numbered from *V901* (thus *V901a*, *V901b*, *V902a* and so on), variables on the self-completion supplement are numbered from *V201* (thus *V202a*, *V201b* and so on). Other variable names which do not follow the question-number convention (such as occupation and class variables) should be self-explanatory.

The SPSS-x system file also contains a small number of derived variables. These are listed in the *Codebook*.

Other conventions employed

The principal ones employed were

1 Filters or skips

At various points in the survey, questions were asked of sub-samples of respondents, while others were routed past such questions. On a small number of variables more than one filter operated simultaneously. Cases which were filtered out (or skipped) are defined as -1 (or -2 or -3) and are labelled "Skipped". The reasons for the skip are also given, but often (since space is limited) in a much shortened form.

2 'Not answered'

Where there are no data for a particular variable (i.e. some respondents did not give a response to that question), code 9 (or 99 or 999 or 9999) is used.

3 'Don't know'

'Don't know' responses are usually coded 8 (or 98 or 998).

Constituency numbers

All selected constituencies in England, Wales and Scotland have been allocated their new and old Press Association (PA) Number. All selected constituencies can also be identified by their old OPCS Constituency Number. All those in England and Wales have also been allocated their new OPCS Number. But new OPCS Constituency Numbers have not been assigned to constituencies in Scotland, and so are missing from the dataset.

Postcoding

The addresses of all respondents have been postcoded. The full postcode is, for reasons of confidentiality, kept in a separate file and only the postcode *sector* on each address has been added to the data set deposited at the Data Archive. The variable name is *XxxxXxxx* (*Bridget, please supply!*)

Validation of turnout

Records for England and Wales showing which electors voted (or were registered as postal voters) are kept at the Lord Chancellor's Office and are available for public inspection for up to a year after each election. As in the 1987 election study, where possible we checked the *report* that respondents in England and Wales gave about their turnout ("Did you vote in the general election on the 9th April ") against the official records (see Swaddle and Heath, 1989). This information has been added to the dataset (variable name *XxxxXxxx -Bridget, help!*)

In principle, similar records for Scotland are also available. Since, however, they are not held centrally it is much more time-consuming and costly to extend this exercise to Scottish respondents. Nonetheless it was possible to validate turnout, by means of correspondence with Sheriffs' Offices, for *XXX (XX%)* of the 957 Scottish electors on the achieved sample, and these data too have been added to the dataset with the same variable name. *Is this so?*

2. May 1993 BEPS study

Introduction

In 1993, the SCPR/Nuffield Joint Unit submitted its grant application to the ESRC for a further five years of funding for the Joint Unit (JUSST). As noted, the core activity of the Unit's next five years was to be regular rounds of interviews with respondents to the 1992 *BGES* cross-section survey. If this strategy were to work, it seemed imperative to contact these respondents again before too long a time has passed, so that the embryonic panel could be maintained until fresh funding had been secured. There was concern also that a two-year 'data gap' between rounds would be debilitating for the new panel survey. We decided therefore, as part of the panel maintenance exercise, to collect a limited amount of information about electors' perceptions on a range of issues including the state of the economy and the competence (or otherwise) of the party leaders. We also included a few questions on voting in the local elections, for those respondents to who had the chance to vote on 6th May.

Sample and fieldwork

The aim was to obtain a completed questionnaire from as many as possible of respondents to the 1992 *BGES* cross-section survey (including all the respondents in the 1992 Scottish over-sample) All 3,534 respondents to the 1992 survey were asked whether or not they would be willing to be re-interviewed, 3,057 said they would be willing, while 477 were unwilling. In the event, we wrote to all 3,534 respondents asking them to complete a very short (4-page) *postal* questionnaire in the hope that some of those who had declined another face-to-face interview would be willing to help with a postal survey, and might then remain in the panel. 'Willing' respondents were assigned to Sample A. However those who had said they were unwilling (Sample B) were treated somewhat differently from the others: they were given the choice of 'opting out' of the panel, they were not sent reminder letters, and none of them was followed up by telephone (a tactic we employed with the remainder of respondents).

All respondents were also sent a 'tracing form' which they were asked to return after ticking one of five boxes (A -E)

- A. I am the person whose name is on the label below, and I still live at the same address
Please send this form back with your questionnaire
- B. I am this person, but I have a new address
Please give your new address and telephone number below and enclose it with your questionnaire
- C. I am not the person whose name is on the label below, but I know his/her new address
Please give new address and telephone number below and enclose it with your questionnaire
- D. I am not this person, but I know someone who may be able to help you locate him/her
Please give name and address of contact below and send the form back
- E. I am not this person and I cannot help you locate him/her
Please return this form anyway without filling in anything else

Those in Sample B were given the opportunity to 'opt out' of the panel by ticking a box on the tracing form

'Willing' sample members who had not responded after two weeks ($n= 1,636$) were sent a reminder letter, and (if they still had not replied) they were sent a further reminder letter and another questionnaire ($n= 1,358$)

In 1992, respondents who agreed to a possible further interview were asked for a 'stable address', that is one through which they might be contacted in future (typically a family member living nearby, or a neighbour). We attempted to contact sample members who failed to respond at the stable address that they had given us. Where we had a new address, we followed respondents up to that new address.

In a final effort to raise response, those respondents who had not replied at all by a certain date but had been willing to be re-interviewed, *and* for whom we had a telephone number, were then telephoned and where possible interviewed with an especially adapted version of the postal questionnaire. However, the postal questionnaire was designed with the possibility of a telephone follow-up in mind, so the two versions can be regarded as functionally equivalent. This phase of the survey began on 28th June. Some successful tracing was also carried out during the telephone phase. The panel name and address file was updated with all new information from both interviewers and respondents.

It should be noted that, of the xxxx respondents re-contacted in 1993 and completing a questionnaire, xx (X per cent) had moved address. These respondents have been assigned code 1 in variable *Mover93* on the dataset. *Bridget - could you supply these figures?*

Response and attrition

All of the 3,534 electors who were interviewed in 1992 were sent a questionnaire, or an attempt was made to contact and interview them over the telephone. A total of 2,622 respondents completed a questionnaire, an overall gross response rate of 74.2 per cent. Among those who agreed in 1992 to be re-interviewed, response was almost 80 (79.6) per cent. The response figures are summarised in the table below.

	Sample A Willing to be re-interviewed		Sample B Unwilling to be re-interviewed		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Names issued	3,057		477		3,534	
Interview obtained						
- postal phase	2,068	67.6	121	25.4	2,189	61.9
- telephone phase	365	11.9	68	14.3	433	12.3
TOTAL	2,433	79.6	189	39.6	2,622	74.2

Full details are shown on Table 1 (Panel Attrition by Spring 1993)

Response rates in England/Wales and Scotland were almost identical

	England/Wales		Scotland		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Names issued	2,579		955		3,534	
Interview obtained						
- postal phase	1,605	62.2	584	61.2	2,189	61.9
- telephone phase	315	12.2	118	12.4	433	12.3
TOTAL	1,920	74.4	702	73.5	2,622	74.2
Out of scope Unproductive	127	4.9	41	4.3	168	4.8

- refusal	66	6 4	72	7 5	237	6 7
- non-contact	299	11 5	104	10 9	403	11 4
- other reasons	68	2 6	36	3 8	104	2 9
- TOTAL	533	20 7	212	22 2	745	21 1

The 734 telephone interviews took on average just under six minutes to complete (Respondents were not asked to record how long it took them to fill in the self-completion version)

Serial numbers

Respondents have the same (four-digit) serial number in 1993 as in 1992, and this is the case for all rounds of *BEPS*. Data from successive waves can thus be merged by serial number

Weighting

As noted above, *all* (and not just a proportion) of respondents included in the 1992 Scottish booster sample were contacted again in 1993 (and in all subsequent rounds of *BEPS*). Users of the *BEPS* datasets must therefore use the weighting variable *WtFactor* to down-weight the Scottish over-sample and so recreate a *British* sample. Note that this weighting factor was designed to weight the number of respondents in each Standard Region in the 1992 survey to the proportions of registered electors in each Region in 1992. No additional weighting scheme has so far been devised to address the problem of differential attrition in the panel over the years.

Variable names

Variable names consist of two components: a descriptive mnemonic followed by a number indicating the wave of the panel study (1 in 1992, 2 in 1993, and so on). Only questions with identical or functionally equivalent wording in successive waves of the study are given comparable variable names.

3. June 1994 *BEPS* study

Introduction

Funding for the Centre for Research into Elections and Social Trends (CREST) was not in place until the official start of the new Centre's programme in October 1994. However, the opportunity to re-interview panel members immediately after the European Parliament elections on 9th June that year was irresistible. So a 'bridging grant' was requested from the ESRC to cover the gap (at least in part) between the demise of JUSST at the end of March, 1994 and the beginning of October. This application was successful, and it was possible to re-contact in person respondents who had last been interviewed face-to-face two years earlier.

The sample

Out of a baseline sample of 3,534 electors interviewed in 1992, the names of 3,145 were issued to interviewers in June 1994. Withdrawn from the sample were three categories of respondent who it was either impossible, or judged inappropriate, to visit again:

- Those we had been unable to trace in 1993 [n= 144]
- Those found to be ineligible (emigrated or died) [n= 24]
- Those who had in 1993 refused (on the telephone) to be interviewed [=xx], or who had contacted the office after receiving a postal questionnaire and asked not to be re-approached [n= 221]

So the total eliminated from the sample by the 1994 wave of interviewing was 389

As in 1993, the sample was divided into 'Types', so that interviewers could vary their doorstep introductions as appropriate. These were

Sample Type

A In 1992 agreed to be re-interviewed, and took part in *BEPS* 1993, either by post or by telephone (n= 2,562)

B In 1992 agreed to be re-interviewed but did not reply in 1993 (even after attempts to contact them *via* any 'stable address' given (n= 270)

C In 1992 was unwilling to be re-interviewed in future rounds, but took part in *BEPS* in 1993, and did not ask to have their name removed from the panel list (n= 197)

D In 1992 was unwilling to be re-interviewed in future rounds, was written to 1993, but we heard nothing from them (n= 116)

In addition, everyone in the sample was sent a letter a few days before fieldwork was scheduled to begin. The wording of the letter differed slightly according to sample type. Most importantly, electors in Sample Type D were invited to 'opt in' to the survey by notifying the office that they were willing to take part again. Unsurprisingly, only very few of these respondents (3 out of 116) were successfully interviewed.

The 'advance letter', as expected, generated some calls to the office, and relevant information such as new addresses, deaths and so on was passed to interviewers. Some former respondents wrote to or telephoned the office, asking for their names to be withdrawn from the sample. Their names were removed from the panel list.

Fieldwork

A small-scale pilot was carried out between 5th and 11th May 1994. Four interviewers between them carried out 37 interviews, selected by 'quota' sampling methods, with controls by gender, age and social class. Afterwards the interviewers attended a debriefing, to discuss the pilot results with members of the research team.

On the main survey, panel members' names and addresses were issued on documents called Address Record Forms (ARFs). Where a stable address had been provided, this was also included. If the interviewer failed to get a reply or the respondent's address, or if a new household had moved in and no forwarding address was available, the interviewer was allowed to visit the stable address in an attempt to trace the respondent.

As in 1992, interviewers undertaking assignments on the main fieldwork phase were personally briefed by SCPR members of the *BGES* research team. Fieldwork began on Monday June 13th, the day after the results of the European Parliament elections had been announced¹³. A total of 172 interviewers undertook assignments.

Interviewers were instructed to call at panel members' addresses at least four times, with calls spread out over different times of day, in their attempts to find respondents at home. In practice, many more calls than the minimum number were made. Only after repeated personal visits was contact by telephone allowed.

As in 1992, there was a 're-issue' phase, at which the names of elusive and initially reluctant respondents, and those who had moved out of the original interviewer's area, were assigned to other interviewers. A total of 477 addresses were re-issued and interviews were successfully carried out at 124 (26 per cent) of them. The re-issue phase raised response by five per cent. Of the 2,277 face-to-face interviews achieved, xxxx (xx per cent) were carried out by the end of June 1994 and xxxx (xx per cent) by the end of July. A further XX interviews were achieved in August, almost all on the re-issue phase. *Bridget - could you supply these figures?*)

Response and attrition

At some addresses, even after repeated attempts, the interviewer failed to contact a panel member in person. If the interviewer knew, or had good reason to suppose, that the premises were occupied that case was passed to SCPR's Telephone Unit and an attempt was made to achieve a partial interview with that person. Out of 52 electors whose names were passed to the Unit, ten were interviewed¹⁴. Response figures are as follows.

¹³ Most interviewers had been briefed during the preceding week. However, we were anxious about the so-called 'bandwagon' effect on responses to the questions on voting behaviour, and so insisted that all respondents should be interviewed *after* the results had been announced.

¹⁴ Since neither the 'scales booklet' nor the self-completion questionnaire could be administered over the telephone, these interviews had to be classified as 'partial'.

	No
Issued	52
Out-of-scope to interviewer	
- wrong telephone number	4
- dead	1
<u>Total out-of-scope</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Total in scope</u>	<u>47</u>
<u>Interviewed (partial)</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Not interviewed</u>	<u>37</u>
- Personal refusal	13
- never available	6
- away/in hospital	3
- incapacitated	3
- proxy refusal	2
- broke appointment	2
- ill	2
- other	6

Summary response figures, broken down by Sample Type, are shown in the next table

	<i>A</i>		<i>B</i>		<i>Sample Type</i> <i>C/D</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
Names issued	2,562		270		313		3,145	
Interview obtained								
- face-to-face	2,017	78.6	137	50.7	113	36.1	2,267	72.1
- telephone	10	0.5	-	-	-	-	10	0.3
- TOTAL	2,027	79.1	137	50.7	113	36.1	2,277	72.2

Full details are shown on Table 2 (Panel Attrition by Spring 1994)

The response rate in England/Wales was a little higher than that achieved in Scotland

	England/Wales		Scotland		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Names issued	2,322		823		3,145	
Interview obtained						
- face-to-face	1,684	72.5	583	70.8	2,267	72.1
- telephone	7	0.3	3	0.4	10	0.3
- TOTAL	1,691	72.8	586	71.2	2,277	72.4
Out of scope	129	5.5	50	6.1	179	5.7
Unproductive						
- refusal	415	17.9	144	17.5	559	17.8

- non-contact	193	8 3	83	10 1	276	8 8
- other reasons	23	1 0	10	1 2	33	1 0
- TOTAL	631	27 2	212	25 8	843	26 8

Full details are shown on Table 2 (Panel Attrition by Spring 1994)

Average face-to-face interview length was 45 minutes

Serial numbers

Respondents have the same (four-digit) serial number in 1994 as in 1993 and in 1992, even though they might have moved since their first interview. So data from successive waves can be merged by serial number.

Weighting

As already noted, *all* (and not just a proportion) of respondents included in the 1992 Scottish booster sample were contacted again in 1993 and 1994 (and in all subsequent rounds of *BEPS*). Users of the *BEPS* datasets must therefore use the weighting variable *WtFactor* to down-weight the Scottish over-sample and so recreate a *British* sample. Note that this weighting factor was designed to weight the number of respondents in each Standard Region in the 1992 survey to the proportions of registered electors in each Region in 1992. No additional weighting scheme has so far been devised to address the problem of differential attrition in the panel over the years.

Variable names

Variable names consist of two components: a descriptive mnemonic followed by a number indicating the wave of the panel study (1 in 1992, 2 in 1993, 3 in 1994 and so on). Only questions with identical or functionally equivalent wording in successive waves of the study are given comparable variable names (*Is this right?*)

6. May 1995 *BEPS* study

Introduction

As on the first *BEPS* study in 1993, fieldwork was scheduled to begin immediately after the May local council elections in England and Wales, in 1995 held on May 4th¹⁵. Not all respondents had the opportunity to vote, of course, but for those with local elections in their

¹⁵ Unfortunately from *BEPS* point of view, in 1995 the local elections in Scotland were held a month earlier, on April 6th.

area the timing of the survey maximised the chance of respondents remembering whether or not they had voted, and (if they had) the party for which they had cast their ballot

The sample

Out of a baseline sample of 3,534 electors interviewed in 1992, a total of 2,905 (82.2 per cent) were judged worthwhile to contact again, with some prospect of achieving successful interviews. The 629 electors whose names were *not* issued to interviewers in May 1995 fell into these four categories

- Those found to be no longer eligible (emigrated or died) [n= 62]
- Those we had been unable to trace in 1993 or 1994 [n= 285]
- Those who had in 1993 refused (on the telephone) to be interviewed, or who had contacted the office after receiving a postal questionnaire and asked not to be re-approached [n= 238]
- Those who were contacted in 1994 but, for various reasons such as chronic incapacity, were not thought suitable for continued panel membership [n = 44]

As in earlier years, the sample was divided into 'Types' (this time four). But in contrast to the 1994 round of fieldwork, some panel members were assigned initially to the Telephone Unit rather than being issued straightaway for face-to-face interview. The four Sample Types were as follows

Issued for face-to-face interview

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Sample Type 1 | Interviewed in 1994, and stated their willingness (in principle, at least) to take part again [n = 2,111] |
| Sample Type 2 | Not contacted in 1994, or temporarily unavailable for interview [n = 114] |

Issued for initial telephone contact

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Sample Type 3 | Interviewed in 1994 but, when asked, said that they would rather we did not contact them again, or did not answer this question [n = 169] |
| Sample Type 4 | Agreed to re-interview, following the 1992 survey, but refused in either 1993 or 1994 [n = 511] |

Thus a total of 2,228 cases were issued to the interviewers carrying out face-to-face interviewing assignments, and 677 cases were issued in the first instance to the Telephone Unit

Face-to-face interview phase

Advance letter

Everyone in the face-to-face interview sample (Sample Types 1 and 2) was sent a letter a few days before fieldwork was scheduled to begin. The 'advance letter', as in earlier rounds, generated some calls to the office, and relevant information such as new addresses, deaths and so on was passed to interviewers. Some former respondents wrote to or telephoned the office, asking for their names to be withdrawn from the sample. Their names were removed from the panel list.

Pilot

A small-scale pilot was carried out in April 1995 to test the small number of new questions being introduced to the survey series (on the images of the leaders of the main political parties and some extra items in the classification section). The two pilot interviewers between them carried out 30 interviews, respondents being selected by 'quota' sampling methods. Fieldwork took place between 29th March and 3rd April. On 4th April the interviewers attended a debriefing and discussed the pilot results with members of the research team.

Main fieldwork

On the main survey, panel members' names and addresses were as before issued on documents called Address Record Forms (ARFs). Initial contact had to be by personal visit, except in remote areas of northern and western Scotland where first contact by 'phone' was encouraged to reduce the risk of wasted journeys. Where a stable address had been provided, this was also included. If the interviewer failed to get a reply or the respondent's address, or if a new household had moved in and no forwarding address was available, the interviewer was allowed to visit the stable address in an attempt to trace the respondent.

As in previous years, interviewers undertaking assignments on the main fieldwork phase were personally briefed by SCPR members of the *BEPS* research team. Fieldwork began on Friday May 5th, the day after the local elections in England and Wales¹⁶. A total of 149 interviewers undertook assignments.

Interviewers were instructed to call at panel members' addresses at least four times, and spread out over different times of day, in their attempts to find them at home. In practice, many more calls than the minimum number were made. Only after repeated personal visits was contact by telephone allowed.

Again there was a 're-issue' phase, at which the names of elusive and initially reluctant respondents, and those who had moved out of the original interviewer's area, were assigned to other interviewers. In all 284 addresses were re-issued, and at 86 (30 per cent) of these successful interviews were carried out. Re-issuing raised the net response rate by four per cent. The great majority of interviews were carried out by the end of May 1995. (*Bridget could you run the data by month of interview so we can be more precise?*) Of the 1,843 (*check!*) face-to-face interviews achieved, xxxx (xx per cent) were carried out by the end of

¹⁶ Most interviewers had been briefed during the week of the elections. However, we were anxious about the so-called 'bandwagon' effect on responses to the questions on voting behaviour, and so insisted that all respondents should be interviewed *after* most of the results had been declared.

May 1995 and xxxx (xx per cent) by the end of June A further xx interviews were achieved in after this, during the re-issue phase

Average interview length was 45 minutes (*check!*)

Telephone interview phase

The main task of the Telephone Unit was to persuade as many electors as possible in Sample Types 3 and 4 to agree to a face-to-face interview But if the telephone interviewer established that the sample member would *not* agree to a face-to-face interview, an interview could - if the respondent was willing - be carried out on the 'phone The preference was, of course, for a face-to-face interview a telephone interview could be only partially completed, since the 'scales questions' and the self-completion questionnaire could not be administered over the 'phone

The procedures adopted by the Telephone Unit were these

- **For members of Sample Types 3 and 4** if the sample member agreed to an interview, the field interviewer was sent details on a *green* Address Record Form (ARF), together with an introductory letter D to show on the doorstep, along with any information given by the respondent about his or her availability
- **For members of Sample Type 3** if the sample member did not have a correct telephone number, no further attempt was made to interview him or her
- **For members of Sample Type 4** attempts were made to trace any incorrect 'phone numbers, but if that failed, the field interviewer was sent details of that person on a *red* Address Record Form, and the panel member was sent an advance letter C ~~high~~ the post

Any stable address and telephone number information volunteered by the respondent in earlier rounds was also on the ARF and could be used to try to trace panel members, if other methods failed

Response and attrition

Summary response figures, broken down by Sample Type, are shown in the next table

	<i>A</i>		<i>B</i>		<i>Sample Type C</i>		<i>D</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No</i>	%	<i>No</i>	%	<i>No</i>	%	<i>No</i>	%	<i>No</i>	%
Names issued	2,111		114		169		511		2,905	
Interview obtained										
- face-to-face	1,773	84.0	47	41.2	2	1.2	22	4.3	1,844	63.5
- telephone	45	2.1	2	1.8	32	18.9	69	13.5	148	5.1

- TOTAL 1,818 86.1 49 43.0 34 20.1 91 17.8 1,992 68.6

Full details are shown on Table 2 (Panel Attrition by Spring 1994)

As in 1994, the response rate in England/Wales was a little higher than that achieved in Scotland

	England/Wales		Scotland		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Names issued	2,143		762		2,905	
Interview obtained						
- face-to-face	1,371	64.0	473	62.1	1,844	63.5
- telephone	104	4.9	44	5.8	148	5.1
- TOTAL	1,475	68.8	517	67.8	1,992	68.6
Out of scope	129	5.5	50	6.1	179	5.7
Unproductive						
- refusal	415	17.9	144	17.5	559	17.8
- non-contact	193	8.3	83	10.1	276	8.8
- other reasons	23	1.0	10	1.2	33	1.0
- TOTAL	631	27.2	212	25.8	843	26.8

Full details are shown on Table 3 (Panel Attrition by Spring 1995)

Serial numbers

Respondents have the same (four-digit) serial number in 1994 as in 1993 and in 1992, even though they might have moved since their first interview. So data from successive waves can be merged by serial number.

Weighting

As already noted, *all* (and not just a proportion) of respondents included in the 1992 Scottish booster sample were contacted again in 1993 and 1994 (and in all subsequent rounds of *BEPS*). Users of the *BEPS* datasets must therefore use the weighting variable *WtFactor* to down-weight the Scottish over-sample and so recreate a *British* sample. Note that this weighting factor was designed to weight the number of respondents in each Standard Region in the 1992 survey to the proportions of registered electors in each Region in 1992. No additional weighting scheme has so far been devised to address the problem of differential attrition in the panel over the years.

Variable names

Variable names consist of two components: a descriptive mnemonic followed by a number indicating the wave of the panel study (1 in 1992, 2 in 1993, 3 in 1994 and so on - *check!*). Only questions with identical or functionally equivalent wording in successive waves of the study are given comparable variable names.

4 October 1995 *BEPS* study

Introduction

After summer 1995, *BEPS* surveys were scheduled to take place not annually as before, but every six months, leading up to the next general election. In earlier rounds the timing of the local council and European elections had dictated the timetable, since the CREST team were anxious to explore not only attitudes, but also voting behaviour. There was no comparable constraint upon the timing of the autumn rounds. There is some evidence, however, that the salience of party confrontation can encourage response to surveys on party politics, [*is this so?*] So it was decided to put the autumn 1995 wave into the field immediately after the close of the then-current party conference season.

For reasons of economy, and to preserve the panel, it was decided to field only a very short questionnaire to be answered over the telephone or, if that method failed, to send panel members a functionally equivalent questionnaire through the post. The relatively small number of respondents who were not on the telephone were, at the outset of fieldwork, sent a questionnaire through the post.

The sample

By the time that the October 1995 fieldwork round approached, the 1992 baseline sample of 3,534 electors had diminished to 2,378 whose names could, in the research team's judgement, be kept in the sample with some prospect of a successful outcome. In the event, the names of 2,147 sample members were issued for initial contact by telephone and 230 for initial contact by post. Those who we failed to contact on the telephone, or who said that they would prefer to fill in a questionnaire themselves, were later added to the postal sample.

As in earlier fieldwork rounds, panel members were divided into 'Sample Types', on the basis of their status on earlier rounds of *BEPS*. This time there were five. The first three had telephone numbers and their names were issued to the Telephone Unit, and the last two were not on the telephone (or did not divulge their number) were sent a self-completion questionnaire.

Sample Type	Status
-------------	--------

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1. | On the 'phone and interviewed in spring 1995 |
| 2 | On the 'phone and not contacted in spring 1995 |
| 3 | On the 'phone but refused in spring 1995, but did not indicate that they did not want to be contacted again |
| 4. | No available tel no but interviewed in spring 1995 |
| 5 | No available tel no and refused or were not contacted in spring 1995 |

Again, interviewers from the Telephone Unit tried to find the new address of any respondent who had moved, or (failing that) attempted to make contact with someone at the stable address, if one had been provided

Fieldwork

All interviewers in the Telephone Unit were personally briefed by members of the SCPR research team in three sessions in the afternoon of Friday 13th October, just after the last speech at the last of the 1995 party conferences. Interviewing began immediately after that, and the researchers stayed to listen to some of the early interviews to check that there were no problems with the questionnaire

A total of xx interviewers undertook assignments, each carrying out a total of xx interviews. Of the 1,767 successfully achieved, xxxx were conducted by Sunday 15th October, and a further xxx within one week of the briefing. The remaining xxx were carried out between 20th October and the 'cut-off day' for the telephone interviewing phase (November 7th). *Bridget - please fill in the gaps if you can*

As noted, 230 respondents could not be included in the telephone sample, as they were either not on the 'phone, or were ex-directory or had not disclosed their number. These were classified as belonging to *Phase 1* of the postal sample. Early non-contacts from the telephone sample, and those who asked for a postal questionnaire, comprised *Phase 2* of the postal sample. In the course of fieldwork, *Phase 3* was added, comprising those respondents whom telephone interviewers were still trying to contact between the original telephone interview 'cut-off' date of 24th October and the revised 'cut-off' date of 7th November.

Response and attrition

Of the 2,147 panel members whose names were issued to interviewers in the Telephone Unit, 1,767 were successfully interviewed, a gross response rate of 83.3 per cent. Of the 230 panel members without a telephone who were sent a self-completion questionnaire, 111 returned it completed, a gross response rate of 48.3 per cent.

Response to the postal component of the autumn 1995 round of the survey varied, as expected, quite considerably, as the following table shows.

Summary response figures, broken down by Sample Type, are shown in the next table.

	<i>1/4</i>		<i>2</i>		<i>Sample Type</i> <i>3</i>		<i>5</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	%	<i>No.</i>	%	<i>No.</i>	%	<i>No.</i>	%	<i>No.</i>	%
Names issued	1,993		118		168		99		2,378	
Questionnaire completed										
- telephone	1,648	82.7	44	37.3	75	44.6	-	-	1,767	74.3
- postal	197	9.8	17	14.4	19	11.3	21	21.2	254	10.7
- TOTAL	1,845	92.3	61	51.7	94	56.0	21	21.2	2,021	85.0

Full details are shown on Table 4 (Panel Attrition by Autumn 1995)

As earlier rounds, the response rate in England/Wales was a little higher than that achieved in Scotland

	England/Wales		Scotland		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Names issued	1,771		607		2,378	
Interview obtained						
- telephone	1,333	75.3	434	71.5	1,767	74.3
- postal	186	10.5	68	11.2	254	10.7
- TOTAL	1,519	85.8	502	82.7	2,021	85.0
Out of scope	26	5.5	19	6.1	45	1.9
Unproductive						
- refusal	72	4.1	37	6.1	109	4.6
- non-contact	112	6.3	38	6.3	150	6.3
- other reasons	42	2.4	11	1.8	53	2.2
- TOTAL	226	12.8	86	14.2	312	13.1

Full details are shown on Table 4 (Attrition by October 1995)

Serial numbers

Respondents have the same (four-digit) serial number in this round of *BEPS* as in the earlier rounds, even though they might have moved since their first interview. So data from successive waves can be merged by serial number.

Weighting

As already noted, *all* (and not just a proportion of) respondents included in the 1992 Scottish booster sample were contacted again in all subsequent rounds of *BEPS*. Users of the *BEPS* datasets must therefore use the weighting variable *WtFactor* to down-weight the Scottish over-sample and so recreate a *British* sample. Note that this weighting factor was designed to weight the number of respondents in each Standard Region in the 1992 survey to the proportions of registered electors in each Region in 1992. No additional weighting scheme has so far been devised to address the problem of differential attrition in the panel over the years.

Variable names

Variable names consist of two components: a descriptive mnemonic followed by a number indicating the wave of the panel study (1 in 1992, 2 in 1993, 3 in 1994 [*what about the two rounds in 1995?*] and so on). Only questions with identical or functionally equivalent wording in successive waves of the study have been given comparable variable names.

ANNEX I

The 1992 Panel Surveys

1. Introduction

Respondents to the 1987 *BGES* Cross-section survey provided the sample for the 1992 Panel surveys. The aim was to interview as many of them as could be traced¹⁷, once by telephone during the election campaign (that is, between 19 March and 8 April inclusive), again by telephone in the days immediately after the election (10 to 14 April inclusive), and finally face-to-face in the weeks following the election.

2 Tracing panel members

Of the 3,826 respondents to the 1987 survey, 363 said they were unwilling to be re-interviewed and so were excluded from the 1992 Panel survey. Attempts were made to trace all the remaining 3,463 respondents. There were four tracing stages. The **first stage** took place over May and June 1991, when respondents were sent a letter and form asking whether or not they would be willing to be re-interviewed at the time of the forthcoming general election, and checking their current address and telephone number. The form provided space for those who had moved since 1987 to enter their new address, or a new contact address.

The **second stage** of the exercise took place over June and July 1991 when those from whom we had received no reply were sent a 'reminder' letter and form. Those for whom we had been given a new address or new contact address at stage 1 of the tracing exercise, or where a contact address had been supplied in 1987, were also sent forms.

At the **third stage** those respondents from whom a reply still had not been received were telephoned over October and November 1991. If a telephone number had not been provided, we endeavoured to trace it. Finally, at the **fourth stage** in February 1992, all respondents who we had succeeded in contacting over the first three stages were sent a postcard in order to maintain contact and to check for any recent changes of address.

As a result of this exercise, the names of 1,631 respondents with known telephone numbers were issued for the telephone campaign and post-election survey waves, and 2,062 (including those without telephones, or whose 'phone numbers we could not trace, remained in the sample for a face-to-face interview after the general election.

¹⁷ Unfortunately funding was not available to mount a panel study following the 1987 general election, so it was not possible to keep in touch with panel members until funding was in place in 1991 for the panel study the following year.

3 The campaign and post-election telephone surveys

The campaign survey

A small-scale pre-test of the campaign survey of the questionnaire was carried out in December 1991. Five interviewers working at SCPR's Telephone Interview Unit carried out a total of 32 interviews among a sample of respondents to the 1991 *British Social Attitudes* survey. As a result, the questionnaire was shortened considerably to meet its target length of around six minutes.

The election was called on Wednesday 11 March. The campaign survey began on Thursday 19 March and continued until Wednesday 8 April, the day before polling day, giving three full weeks of interviewing (excluding Sundays). Fieldwork was carried out by members of the Telephone Unit by 12 trained SCPR interviewers. Each panel member was allocated to one of the eighteen interviewing days, the 1st, 19th, 37th etc. person being allocated to Day 1, the 2nd, 20th, 38th etc. person to Day 2 and so on. In practice, numbers for each day were made up from subsequent days' batches to compensate for respondents who were unavailable or unwilling to be interviewed on their allocated day. In addition, interviewers continued throughout the fieldwork period to try to contact and interview those individuals not contacted on their allocated day.

An average of 74 interviews was carried out each day. The gross response rate for the campaign survey was 81 per cent ($n = 1323$), and the net response rate was 89 per cent.

The post-election study

The 1,323 respondents who had been successfully interviewed in the campaign survey were telephoned again after the election and asked to give a further (2-3 minute) interview¹⁸. A total of 1,203 interviews was achieved, representing 96 per cent of the issued sample. The aim was to conduct interviews immediately after the election. In the event, most of the interviewing (80 per cent) was carried out on Friday 10 April, the day following the election. Fourteen per cent of respondents were interviewed on the second day after the election, with the remaining 6 per cent of interviews taking place between 12th and 14th April.

¹⁸ With the exception of 71 cases not issued for post-election interview due to an administrative error.

Response to the telephone surveys was as follows

BGES 1992 Panel Telephone surveys: response summary

Campaign survey	n	%	%
Names issued	1631	100	
Found to be out of scope			
- telephone number unobtainable	84	5	
- moved and could not be traced	52	3	
- died	7	*	
- emigrated	3	*	
Total out of scope	146	9	
Total in scope	1485	91	100
Interview obtained	1323	81	89
Interview not obtained	162	10	11
Of which			
- refused	92	6	6
- not contacted	57	3	4
- other reasons	3	*	*
* = less than 0.5 per cent			
Post-election survey	n	%	%
Names in sample	1323	100	
Names not issued	71	5	
Names issued	1252	95	
Total out of scope	1	*	
Total in scope	1251	95	100
Interview obtained	1203	91	96
Interview not obtained	48	4	4
of which			
- not contacted	43	3	3
- refused	2	*	*
- other reasons	3	*	*
* = less than 0.5 per cent			

4. The panel face-to-face interview survey

The largest possible number of panel members (2,062) was approached for a face-to-face interview after the election. This included all those already interviewed by telephone, those who had been approached but who had declined to participate in the telephone interview, those who responded positively to the tracing exercise but for whom we had no telephone number, and those from whom we had no reply during the tracing exercise.

Main fieldwork was preceded by a small-scale pilot, carried out in December 1991 (see Section x.x above). This was used to test not only new questions asked in the Cross-section survey, but also certain aspects of the panel survey - in particular, the 'life-history' questions.

Interviewers were drawn from SCPR's trained fieldforce, and were briefed by members of the SCPR research team. Since the great majority of interviewers had also been allocated addresses on the cross-section sample, both elements of the survey were briefed at the same time. A total of 192 interviewers carried out face-to-face interviews with panel members.

Interviewing began on 13 April 1992 (by which time virtually all the telephone interviewing had been completed), and 96 per cent of interviews took place before the end of May, the last interview was conducted on 7 August. Interviewers were instructed to call at panel members' addresses at least four times, and spread out over different times of day, in their attempts to find them at home. In practice, many more calls than the minimum number were made. Only after repeated personal visits was contact by telephone allowed.

The face-to-face interview lasted on average between 55 and 56 minutes. Panel members who had agreed to a face-to-face interview were also asked to fill in a short self-completion supplement, over 97 per cent of them did so.

As in the cross-section survey, respondents either gave the supplement to the interviewer to return to the office, or returned it themselves in the pre-paid, pre-addressed envelope provided. Respondents to the face-to-face interview who did not fill in a self-completion supplement appear as missing on the relevant variables in the SPSS-x system file (as for the cross-section survey).

A total of 1,608 panel members were interviewed face-to-face, and 1,565 of these returned a self-completion questionnaire. The names of some potential respondents who were proving elusive, or (less frequently) reluctant to be interviewed, were reissued during the final weeks of fieldwork. The reissue phase resulted in 56 productive interviews and raised response by 3.2 per cent. The final response rate achieved was 87 per cent net and 78 per cent gross.

The full response breakdown is as follows

BGES Panel face-to-face survey. response summary

	n	%	%
Names issued	2062	100	
<u>Untraceable respondents</u>			
- address empty, demolished, not traced	25	1	
<u>Respondents no longer eligible</u>			
- moved to unknown address	160	8	
- died	22	1	
- emigrated	10	*	
Total untraceable or ineligible	217	11	
Total in scope	1845	89	100
Interview obtained	1608	78	87
of which			
- with self-completion questionnaire	1565	76	85
- without self-completion questionnaire	43	2	2
Interview not obtained	237	11	13
of which			
- refused (incl broken appointment)	173	8	9
- not contacted (incl away)	33	2	2
- other reason	31	2	2
* = less than 0.5 per cent			

5 Weighting

The panel dataset was weighted to compensate to some extent for the effects of differential attrition. The aim was to make the various groups of respondents at the different panel stages representative of the 1987 cross-sectional sample, simply in terms of voting behaviour in the 1987 General Election (as reported in the 1987 cross-section survey).

There are several potential limitations to this policy. One is the necessary assumption underlying the weighting, that people who stayed in the panel are representative of those who did *not*. Even if this assumption is correct, the effectiveness of the weighting will also depend on the strength of the relationship between voting behaviour in 1987, and the panel variables of interest.

The merged 1987/92 SPSS-x system file now consists of a 5-Wave panel.

Wave 1	n=3,826	1987 cross-section
Wave 2	n=1,323	1992 March/April Stage 1 - election campaign ('phone)
Wave 3	n=1,203	1992 April Stage 2 - post-election ('phone)
Wave 4	n=1,608	1992 April/May/June Stage 3 - face-to-face
Wave 5	n=1,564	1992 April/May/June self-completion supplement

The principle employed is that the weight allocated depends on the particular group of cases of interest to data analysts. These have been identified as members of

Waves 1 and 2
 Waves 1, 2 and 3
 Waves 1, 2, 3 and 4
 Waves 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5
 Waves 1 and 4
 Waves 1,4 and 5

Weights for these six groups have been added to the SPSS-x system file, and are named *Wt12*, *Wt123*, *Wt1234*, *Wt12345*, *Wt14* and *Wt145*. There are, of course, several other permutations of membership of the different panel Waves. Rather than construct weights for each one on the SPSS-x system file, it is left for researchers to construct these weights themselves.

Note that the 1987 cross-section dataset should itself be weighted, to offset differential levels of response between Standard Regions. This weight is already incorporated into the four weights named above. If data from 1987 are used alone, they must be weighted using the variable *Weight*. The weighting for 1987 must also be incorporated into any additional weights constructed by users themselves.

As explained, the basic weighting policy has been to use the voting profile of respondents interviewed in Wave 1 (1987 post-election survey) as a benchmark. So in analysing the Wave 2 dataset, for example, the distribution of Wave 2 respondents' 1987 vote is adjusted to replicate the distribution in Wave 1.

The weighting variable is voting behaviour in 1987 (*V8a* in the system file). For the weighting, this is re-categorised into a simplified variable, *Vote87*. The distribution of *Vote87* in the 1987 cross-section was

Respondent category	Original codes	New code	n	%
Did not vote/DK if voted	-1,98	-1	536	14.01
Conservative	1	1	1,413	36.93
Labour	2	2	994	25.98
Liberal/SDP	3	3	751	19.63
Other party	5,6,7,8,9	4	44	1.15
Refused to say	97	97	89	2.33
Total			3,826	100.00

Note: this is based on the 1987 data weighted to Region

The final column (% distribution) is the numerator used in calculating the weight.

The denominator is found from the distribution of this re-coded variable for the panel group of interest. For example, for respondents to Waves 2 and 3, the distribution of *Vote87* was

	n	%
Did not vote/DK if voted	106	8.80
Conservative	479	39.78
Labour	285	23.67
Liberal/SDP	294	24.42
Other party	15	1.25
Refused to say	26	2.16
	1572	100.00

Note this too, is based on the 1987 data weighted to Region

So to calculate the weight, the % column is the denominator - for example, the weight for non-voters is $14.01/8.80 (= 1.59)$, for Conservatives $36.93/39.78 (= 0.928)$, and so on

To make analysis more straightforward, the cases for which the weight is not applicable - in the above example, cases which are *not* members of Waves 2 and 3 - should be given a zero weight

6. Variable names

Variable names are based on question number in most cases, and consist of question number preceded by a letter

Wave 1 V - 1987 Survey

Wave 2 W - 1992 Campaign telephone interview

Wave 3 X - 1992 Post-election telephone interview

Wave 4 Y - 1992 Post-election face-to-face and self-completion

In the 1987 survey, variables on the self-completion supplement are numbered *V101* (thus *V101a*, *V101b* *V102* and so on)

In Wave 4 (the 1992 face-to-face interview), variables in the classification section at the end are numbered from *Y301* (thus *Y301a*, *Y301b*, *Y302* and so on), variables on the self-completion supplement are numbered from *Y201*, *Y202* and so on

Other variable names, which do not follow the question-number convention - such as occupation and class variables - should be self-explanatory. The dataset also contains a small number of derived variables

7 BGES panel datasets and SPSS-x set-up files

The combined 1987/1992 SPSS-x system file contains 1987 data for all cases that were productive in the 1987 survey, and 1992 data for those cases that were productive in at least one stage of the 1992 panel survey. Cases have the same serial number in 1992 as in 1987. The panel file contains 3,826 cases¹⁹

¹⁹ There was a self-completion questionnaire on the 1987 survey, which 89 per cent of respondents (n= 1,565) filled in

The numbers issued and productive at each stage were

	1987 Face-to-face	6,000	3,826
	Self-completion	6,000	3,414
1992	Campaign tel	1,631	1,323
	Post-election tel	1,251	1,203
	Face-to-face	2,062	1,608
	Self-completion	2 062	1,565

The derived variable *Panel* provides a summary of the stages of the 1992 component of the panel in which respondents participated. The codes and SPSS-x value labels are

Code	SPSS-x value labels	Panel waves
1	Camp,post,f-f,s-c	1,2,3,4,5
2	Camp,post,f-f	1,2,3,4
3	Camp,post	1,2,3
4	Campaign only	1,2
5	Camp,f-f,s-c	1,2,4,5
6	Camp,f-f	1,2,4
7	Post-election only	1,3
8	Post,f-f,s-c	1,3,4,5
9	Post,f-f	1,3,4
10	F-f,s-c	1,4,5
11	Face-to-face only	1,4

8. Other conventions employed

SPSS-x 'missing' cases

The cases of panel members who did not participate at all in a particular wave of the panel surveys (1987 self-completion, 1992 wave 1, 2 or 3 or the self-completion supplement) appear as missing on the relevant variables in the system file, SPSS does not treat them as valid. To exclude them altogether, data users use the *Panel* variable to select only those cases productive in the stages in which they are interested.

Skips

At various points in the survey, questions were asked of sub-samples of respondents while others were routed past such questions. On some variables more than one filter operated simultaneously. Cases which were filtered out (or skipped) are defined as -1 (or -2 or -3) and are labelled 'Skipped' with the definition of the skip (insofar as space allows).

'Not answered'

Where a case was productive at one or more stages of the survey but there are no data on a particular variable (ie, a particular question was not answered) the case is defined as 9 (or 99 or 999 or 9999) on each variable that was 'Not answered'

'Don't knows'

'Don't know' responses are usually coded 8 (or 98 or 998), these should be treated as valid categories

8 Constituency numbers

Thirteen cases are missing all constituency numbers (old and new OPCS, old and new PA), these cases are coded 999 New OPCS constituency numbers are missing for all cases in Scotland (see **Section 3** above)

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Appendices

[copies of materials to come]