

## SUBMISSION OF FILES TO UK DATA ARCHIVE SEPT 2002 - INTRODUCTION, OVERVIEW AND TECHNICAL DETAILS

The 2001/02 British Election Study (BES) is based at the University of Essex and funded by the Economics and Social Research Council (ESRC) of the UK. David Sanders, Paul Whiteley, Harold Clarke, and Marianne Stewart are the principal investigators. Contact details are below:

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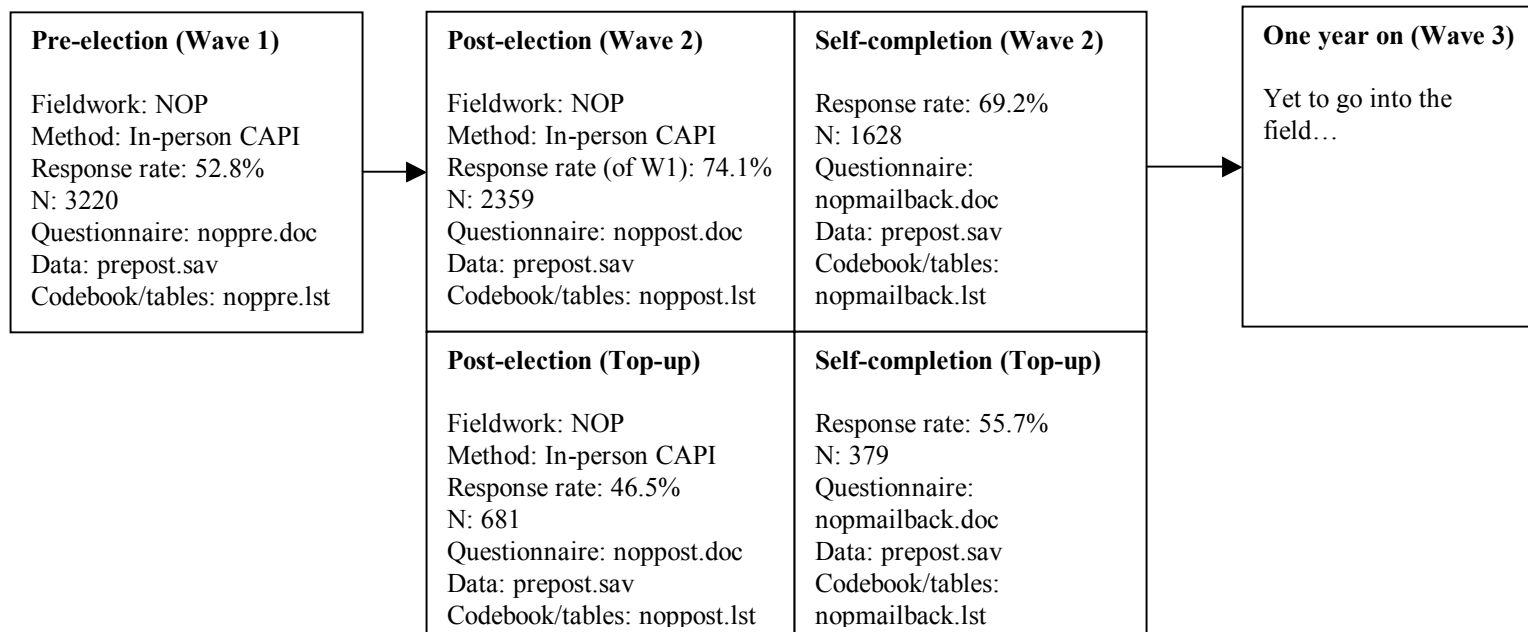
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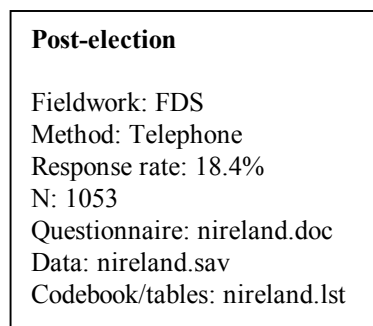
## OVERVIEW: THE 2001/02 BES

The 2001/02 BES involves several major data collections, which are depicted below:

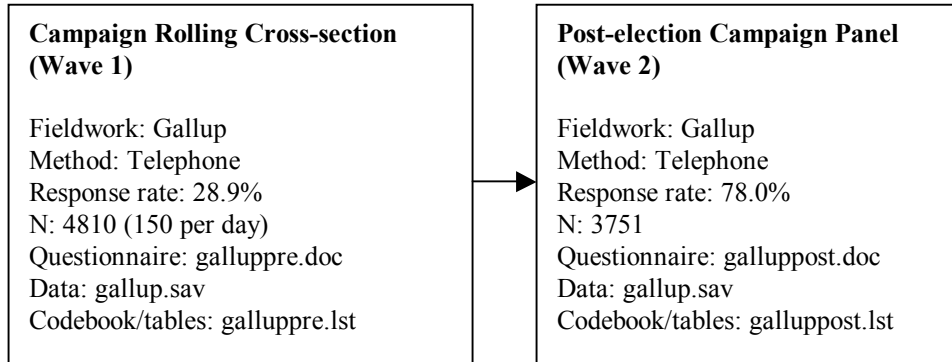
### I) Main British Election Survey



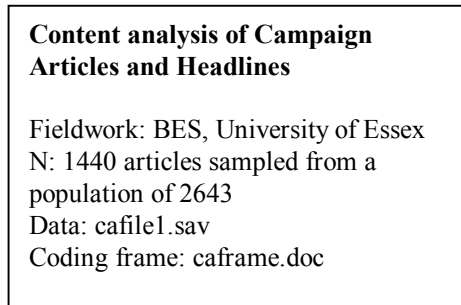
### II) Northern Ireland Election Survey



### III) Campaign survey



### IV) Content analysis of newspaper coverage



NB: the names of the files listed above match the names of the files submitted to the Data Archive. All of these files can also be accessed via the BES website ([www.essex.ac.uk/bes](http://www.essex.ac.uk/bes)).

# TECHNICAL REPORT & GUIDE TO ARCHIVED FILES

The surveys conducted under the scope of the BES 2001-02, and the resulting files submitted to the UK Data Archive, are set out in more detail below. They fall under five broad subheadings: General and Overview files (such as this one), and then the four branches of data collection distinguished in the diagram above. All of the files submitted to the Archive may also be downloaded from the 2001/02 BES website at [www.essex.ac.uk/bes](http://www.essex.ac.uk/bes). Anyone with questions about the data should contact Harold Clarke ([hclarke@utdallas.edu](mailto:hclarke@utdallas.edu)) or the BES address ([bes@essex.ac.uk](mailto:bes@essex.ac.uk)) for additional information.

**A NOTE ON FILE FORMATS:** The datasets submitted to the archive are SPSS data files (with a .SAV suffix). Anyone requiring the data in alternative formats should contact Harold Clarke ([hclarke@utdallas.edu](mailto:hclarke@utdallas.edu)). (Note that, on the BES website, the data files are in SPSS portable (.POR) format.) Other files submitted to the archive are in the following formats: codebooks/summary tables are ASCII text files; questionnaires are Word (.DOC) and Adobe (.PDF) files.

## General and Overview

### Files

- INTRO.DOC and INTRO.PDF – Word and Adobe versions of this information file
- ROSETTASTONE.XLS - an Excel file that provides a comparative listing of questions asked in and variables created from 2001/02 BES surveys conducted to date

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## I) Main British Election Survey

### Wave 1

Wave 1 of the main British Election Survey was a pre-election, pre-campaign “benchmark” survey. The fieldwork was conducted by NOP, during the period 3 March – 14 May 2001. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in the respondents’ homes, via CAPI (computer-assisted personal interviewing). These interviews were designed to last approximately thirty minutes. The following table summarises the response rate to Wave 1:

	N	% of issued	
<b>Number of addresses issued</b>	6460	100.0	
vacant/non-residential	366	5.7	
			<b>% of in-scope</b>
<b>Number of addresses in-scope</b>	6094	94.3	100.0
interview obtained	3219	49.8	52.8
interview not obtained	2875	44.5	47.2
Of which:			
refusal	1408	21.8	23.1
non-contact	910	14.1	14.9
other	557	8.6	9.1

## Wave 2

Wave 2 of the main BES took the form of a second face-to-face (CAPI) interview conducted with as many respondents as possible from the pre-election benchmark survey. Again, the fieldwork was conducted by NOP, during the period 8 June – 30 July 2001. This time, the interviews were designed to last approximately sixty minutes, after which a self-completion questionnaire was left with respondents. The response rate is summarised in the table below:

	N	% of issued	
<b>Number of addresses issued</b>	3223	100.0	
moved away <sup>a</sup>	40	1.2	
			<b>% of in-scope</b>
<b>Number of addresses in-scope</b>	3183	98.8	100.0
interview obtained <sup>b</sup>	2354	73.0	74.0
with self-completion	1628		69.2
without self-completion	726		30.8
interview not obtained	829	25.7	26.0
Of which:			
refusal	409	12.7	12.8
non-contact	213	6.6	6.7
other	168	5.2	5.3
moved	39	1.2	1.2

<sup>a</sup> Of the 79 respondents who moved between Waves 1 and 2, 40 were designated ineligible by the fieldwork agency.

<sup>b</sup> During the construction of the panel, 2315 definite panel matches were identified. The N of 2354 reported in the table therefore includes 39 respondents designated as ‘unlikely panel matches’. These respondents are assigned a value of ‘3’ on the prepost panel filter variable, and so users can decide whether or not to include them in analyses. If these 39 are assumed not to be part of the panel, then the response rate falls to 72.7%.

In order to adjust for the impact of panel attrition, and to ensure that the post-election survey yielded a representative sample of the electorate comparable with previous BES post-election cross-sections, the post-election survey was conducted with an additional “top-up” sample of respondents, from constituencies that were underrepresented in the panel component of Wave 2. NOP conducted the top-up fieldwork over the period 23 July – 30 September 2001. The response rate for the top-up sample is summarised below.

	N	% of issued	
<b>Number of addresses issued</b>	1548	100.0	
vacant/non-residential	72	4.7	
			<b>% of in-scope</b>
<b>Number of addresses in-scope</b>	1476	95.3	100.0
interview obtained	681	44.0	46.1
with self-completion	379		55.7
without self-completion	302		44.3
interview not obtained	795	51.4	53.9
Of which:			
refusal	407	26.3	27.6
non-contact	229	14.8	15.5
other	154	9.9	10.4

### Wave 3

Wave 3 of the main BES, a ‘one year on’ follow-up to the post-election survey, is yet to go into the field.

### Sampling

The survey was designed to yield a representative sample of the British electorate. Initially, a random sample of 128 constituencies was drawn, stratified by standard region. (Constituencies north of the Caledonian Canal were excluded.) Then, from within each of these constituencies, two wards were randomly selected. This provided the 256 clusters for sampling. Respondents within these wards were sampled from the Postcode Address File. The survey incorporates booster samples for both Scotland and Wales. Users wishing to analyse just the Scottish or the Welsh samples should select from the dataset cases on which REGNALL = 9 (Scotland) or REGNALL = 4 (Wales). (Alternatively, separate datasets containing these Celtic sub-samples are available via the BES website at [www.essex.ac.uk/bes/data.html](http://www.essex.ac.uk/bes/data.html).)

### Weighting

There are a variety of weighting variables included in the main BES datasets. These variables offer the possibilities of weighting by region, by gender or by age within gender. The recommended option is to use the overall weighting variables, thereby weighting by region, gender and age within gender simultaneously. The labels given to these weighting variable alternatives differ according to different waves of the survey; specific labels are set out below.

### Files

- PREPOST.SAV – an SPSS data file containing data from the first two waves of the main British Election Study panel. Variables from the pre-election questionnaire begin with the letter ‘a’; those from the post-election questionnaire begin with ‘b’, while those from the self-completion supplement begin with ‘c’. (The file includes other variables that were not survey questions but

have been derived from items on the questionnaires.) Note that the structure of the BES means that several sub-datasets are nested within this overall file. The filter variables to select these subsets, and the weight variables that they require, are set out in the table below:

	To use sub-datasets...			
	Pre-election	Pre+Post panel	Post-election cross-section	Mailback
<b>Filter variable</b>	TOPUP = 0	PREPOST = 1	POSTRESP = 1	MAILFILT = 1
<b>Unique respondent ID label<sup>a</sup></b>	BUNIQIDR	BUNIQIDR	BUNIQIDR	BUNIQIDR
<b>Weight variables</b>				
Region	REGWGTHC	BREGNWGT	REGOCTWT	MREGNWGT
Gender	GENWGTHC	BGENWGT	GENOCTWT	MGENWGT
Age/w/Gender	AGEWGTHC	BAGEWGT	AGEOCTWT	MAGEWGT
Region*Gender*Age/w/Gender	AWGTGB	BPANWGT	POSTOCTW	MAILWGT
<b>Unweighted N</b>	3219	2315	3035	2191 <sup>b</sup>
<b>Weighted N</b>	3223	2303	3025	2195

<sup>a</sup> The variable 'bunqidr' links respondents through each stage of data collection: it matches the 'arespid' from the pre- survey, it is the principal ID for the post- survey (including the top-up), and it matches the 'crespid' from the mailback survey. NB The variable 'brespid' does not uniquely identify respondents.

<sup>b</sup> These overall Ns include mailbacks from the 'unlikely panel match' respondents. They also include 184 mailbacks from respondents involved in the pre- but not the post- interview. (These are respondents who were unwilling to be re-interviewed, but were persuaded by the interviewer to fill out the self-completion supplement in order to avoid a complete refusal and loss of information.)

- ❑ PREPOSTAGG.SAV – an SPSS data file, just as PREPOST above, but also containing constituency-level information for aggregate analysis. The first 157 variables in the dataset are taken from the British Parliamentary Constituency database, 1992-2001 (as obtainable via <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris.shorenstein.ksg/data.htm>).
- ❑ NOPPRE.DOC and NOPPRE.PDF – Word and Adobe versions of the questionnaire used for Wave 1 of the main British Election Survey
- ❑ NOPPRECARDS.DOC and NOPPRECARDS.PDF – Word and Adobe versions of the show-cards used in conjunction with the pre-election questionnaire.
- ❑ NOPPRE.LST – an ASCII file containing summary tables of frequencies on variables generated by Wave 1 of the main British Election Survey
- ❑ NOPPOST.DOC and NOPPOST.PDF – Word and Adobe versions of the questionnaire used for the face-to-face interview in Wave 2 of the main British Election Survey (both panel and top-up respondents)

- NOPPOSTCARDS.DOC and NOPPOSTCARDS.PDF – Word and Adobe versions of the show-cards used in conjunction with the post-election questionnaire.
  - NOPPOST.LST – an ASCII file containing summary tables of frequencies on variables generated by the face-to-face interview in Wave 2 of the main British Election Survey (both panel and top-up respondents)
  - NOPMAILBACK.DOC and NOPMAILBACK.PDF – Word and Adobe versions of the self-completion questionnaire left with respondents to Wave 2 of the main British Election Survey (both panel and top-up respondents)
  - NOPMAILBACK.LST – an ASCII file containing summary tables of frequencies on variables generated by the self-completion questionnaire left with respondents to Wave 2 of the main British Election Survey (both panel and top-up respondents)
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## II) Northern Ireland Election Survey

A separate election survey was conducted in Northern Ireland. This was a post-election telephone (CATI) survey conducted with a sample of the Northern Ireland electorate. FDS conducted the fieldwork: 1053 potential voters were interviewed by telephone from their telecentre in Newcastle, between 12 – 17 June 2001. A summary of the response rate is provided below:

	N	%
<b>Numbers called</b>	5719	100.0
successful	1053	18.4
unsuccessful	4666	81.6
Of which:		
screened	592	10.4
no reply/engaged/answerphone	381	6.7
refused	3236	56.6
other	457	8.0

### Sampling

Interviewing was conducted by Random Digit Dialling to ensure that ex-directory households were included. The sample was therefore random, and interviewers spoke to the person answering the phone except that:

- at each address precedence was given to surveying 18-24 year olds
- towards the end of the interviewing period, women aged 25-64 were screened out as they had been surveyed in sufficient numbers



## Weighting

The profile of the sample achieved closely matched that of Northern Ireland in terms of gender, age and social class, and so no weighting variables are included in the Northern Ireland dataset. (Relative to the general election result, the sample overstates support for the parties generally considered as moderate – the UUP, SDLP and Alliance – and understates support for Sinn Fein and (to a lesser extent) the DUP.)

## Files

- ❑ NIRELAND.SAV – an SPSS data file containing data from the post-election telephone (CATI) interviews conducted in Northern Ireland (unweighted N = 1053).
- ❑ NIRELAND.DOC and NIRELAND.PDF – Word and Adobe versions of the questionnaire used for the Northern Ireland election survey
- ❑ NIRELAND.LST - an ASCII file containing summary tables of frequencies on variables generated by the Northern Ireland election survey

## III) Campaign Surveys

### Wave 1

Wave 1 of the campaign survey was a ‘rolling cross-section’ survey. Freestanding from the main BES described above, this took the form of a 4500-respondent survey, conducted by Gallup during the general election campaign. Fieldwork took place between 8 May and 6 June. Approximately 150 interviews were conducted each day, by telephone. The mean interview lasted around ten and a half minutes. Information on response rates is summarised below:

	N	%
<b>Numbers called</b>	16620	100.0
successful	4810	28.9
unsuccessful	11810	71.1
Of which:		
screened	1874	11.3
no reply/engaged/answerphone	6744	40.6
refused	2789	16.8
other	403	2.4

## Wave 2

Respondents interviewed in the pre-election rolling cross-section survey were re-interviewed immediately after the election. Again, the interviewing was by telephone, conducted by Gallup, in the period 8 – 18 June. The mean interview lasted just over three minutes. 78.0% of those interviewed prior to the election were re-interviewed.

## Sampling

Interviewing was conducted by Random Digit Dialling to ensure that ex-directory households were included. Interviewers then asked to speak to the person aged 18 or over in the house who had had the most recent birthday, thus ensuring that the sample was random within households.

## Weighting

The variable WEIGHT is included in the datasets set out below. It is calculated on the basis of five factors: gender by social class, gender by age, household car ownership, housing tenure, population by region.

## Files

- ❑ GALLUP.SAV – an SPSS file containing data from the election campaign rolling cross-sectional survey (unweighted N = 4810). The weight variable is WEIGHT (weighted N = 4810). The file also contains data gathered via post-election interviews with a panel of the pre-election respondents (unweighted N = 3751). To select only panel respondents for analysis, select those cases on which the filter variable PANELIST = 1. All post-election variables start with the letter “Z”. Note that filters and weights are included so that analysts may construct each of the seven-day rolling cross-sectional campaign surveys. The rolling cross-sectional filters are FILT0514 - FILT0606 and the respective weights are WGT0514 - WGT0606.
- ❑ GALLUPAGG.SAV – an SPSS data file, just as GALLUP.SAV above, but also containing constituency-level information for aggregate analysis. The first 157 variables in the dataset are taken from the British Parliamentary Constituency database, 1992-2001 (as obtainable via <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris.shorenstein.ksg/data.htm>). An additional constituency-level population density variable (from David Butler and Dennis Kavanagh, *The British General Election of 1997*, London: Macmillan, 1997, Appendix 1, Table A1.3) also is included. Filters and weights to construct the seven-day rolling cross-sectional campaign surveys are omitted.
- ❑ GALLUPPRE.DOC and GALLUPPRE.PDF – Word and Adobe versions of the questionnaire used for the election campaign rolling cross-sectional survey
- ❑ GALLUPPRE.LST - an ASCII file containing summary tables of frequencies on variables

generated by the election campaign rolling cross-sectional survey

- GALLUPPOST.DOC and GALLUPPOST.PDF – Word and Adobe versions of the questionnaire used for the post-election survey of respondents participating in the election campaign rolling cross-sectional survey
  - GALLUPPOST.LST - an ASCII file containing summary tables of frequencies on variables generated by the post-election survey of respondents participating in the election campaign rolling cross-sectional survey
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## IV) Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage

To supplement the surveys conducted as part of the 2001 British Election Study, a content analysis of newspaper coverage of the election campaign was conducted as part of the main study. Articles relating to the election campaign were identified from hard copies of 8 daily newspapers (Monday – Friday) for the election campaign period (9<sup>th</sup> May – 7<sup>th</sup> June). Using the coding frame, articles were manually coded by 2 coders during a period from June 2001 to February 2002. As an addition to the datasets of coded articles, corresponding datasets of article headlines were compiled to facilitate further research. It was also necessary to establish that the coding had been conducted reliably – that different coders, or the same coder over time, produced consistent results.

### Sampling

For comparability with the 1997 press coverage study all articles from the front pages, with the exception of ‘Bulletin’ items, were coded. All articles relating to the election campaign appearing on the front pages of the newspapers were fully coded (200 articles). All other articles from the front pages of the newspapers were partially coded (including political articles that did not relate specifically to the campaign) up to and including variable 8 (V8) on the coding frame (269 articles). Approximately 2,500 campaign articles were identified from within the main section of the newspapers and a random sample of approx. 50% was drawn using SPSS (1240 articles) (Total population of campaign articles = 2643). For reliability testing a random sample of approximately 5% of the coded articles was drawn using SPSS.

### Files

- CAFRAME.DOC and CAFRAME.PDF – Word and Adobe version of the user guide and coding schema
- CAFILE1.SAV - an SPSS dataset of 1440 campaign articles content-coded using the coding schema (200 front-page articles and 1240 articles from a sample taken from the main section of newspapers)

- ❑ CAFILE2.SAV - an SPSS dataset of 269 non-campaign articles partially content-coded using the coding schema
- ❑ CAFILE3.SAV - an SPSS dataset of 200 front-page campaign headlines
- ❑ CAFILE4.SAV - an SPSS dataset of 269 front-page non-campaign headlines
- ❑ CAFILE5.SAV - an SPSS dataset of 1240 campaign headlines from a sample taken from the main section of newspapers
- ❑ CARELIABILITY.DOC and CARELIABILITY.PDF – Word and Adobe version of reliability guide and reliability results
- ❑ CAFILE6.SAV – an SPSS dataset of cases that were recoded for reliability testing

## SUBMISSION OF FILES TO UK DATA ARCHIVE SEPT 2002 LIST OF DATA FILES

**NB: more details on the contents and use of these files can be found in the file ‘intro’, in .doc or .pdf format, also submitted to the archive**

File name	Contents	Format	Cases
prepost	data from the first two waves of the main British Election Study panel	all are .sav files	3900
prepostagg	as above, but also including constituency-level information for aggregate analysis		3900
nireland	data from the post-election telephone interviews conducted in Northern Ireland		1053
gallup	data from the election campaign telephone survey (including filters and weights for constructing the seven-day rolling cross-sections)		4810
gallupagg	as above, but also including constituency-level information for aggregate analysis		4810
cafile1	data from campaign articles content-coded using the coding schema		1440
cafile2	data from non-campaign articles partially content-coded using the coding schema		269
cafile3	data from front-page campaign headlines		200
cafile4	data from front-page non-campaign headlines		269
cafile5	data from campaign headlines from a sample taken from the main section of newspapers		1240
cafile6	data from cases that were recoded for reliability testing		224 (112 cases)

## SUBMISSION OF FILES TO UK DATA ARCHIVE SEPT 2002 LIST OF DOCUMENTATION FILES

**NB: more details on the contents and use of these files can be found in the file 'intro', in .doc or .pdf format, also submitted to the archive**

Type of document	File name	Contents	Format
<b>User guides</b>	intro	introduction, overview and technical details of files	.doc & .pdf
	rosetastone	a comparative listing of questions asked in and variables created from 2001/02 BES surveys conducted to date	.xls
	caframe	content analysis user guide and coding schema	.doc & .pdf
<b>Showcards</b>	nopprecards	showcards used in conjunction with the pre-election questionnaire	.doc & .pdf
	noppostcards	showcards used in conjunction with the post-election questionnaire	.doc & .pdf
<b>Questionnaires</b>	noppre	questionnaire used for Wave 1 of the main BES	.doc & .pdf
	noppost	questionnaire used for Wave 2 of the main BES (including top-up)	.doc & .pdf
	nopmailback	self-completion questionnaire left with respondents to Wave 2 of the main BES (including top-up)	.doc & .pdf
	nireland	questionnaire used for the Northern Ireland election survey	.doc & .pdf
	galluppre	questionnaire used for the election campaign rolling cross-sectional survey	.doc & .pdf

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	galluppost	questionnaire used for the post-election survey of respondents participating in the election campaign rolling cross-sectional survey	.doc & .pdf
<b>Codebooks/ Frequencies</b>	noppre	summary tables of frequencies on variables generated by Wave 1 of the main British Election Survey	.lst
	noppost	summary tables of frequencies on variables generated by the face-to-face interview in Wave 2 of the main British Election Survey (both panel and top-up respondents)	.lst
	nopmailback	summary tables of frequencies on variables generated by the self-completion questionnaire left with respondents to Wave 2 of the main British Election Survey (both panel and top-up respondents)	.lst
	nireland	summary tables of frequencies on variables generated by the Northern Ireland election survey	.lst
	galluppre	summary tables of frequencies on variables generated by the election campaign rolling cross-sectional survey	.lst
	galluppost	summary tables of frequencies on variables generated by the post-election survey of respondents participating in the election campaign rolling cross-sectional survey	.lst
<b>Reliability testing</b>	careliability	guide to and results of reliability testing in content analysis	.doc & .pdf

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<b>2001/02 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY -- Rosetta Stone (as of July 2002)</b>	<b>ELECTION CAMPAIGN TELEPHONE (GALLUP)</b>	<b>POST- ELECTION TELEPHONE PANEL GALLUP)</b>	<b>PRE-CAMPAIGN IN- PERSON (NOP)</b>	<b>POST-ELECTION IN-PERSON PANEL (NOP)</b>	<b>POST- ELECTION MAILBACK (NOP/ESSEX)</b>	<b>POST-ELECTION TELEPHONE NORTHERN IRELAND (FDS)</b>
<b>Number of Questions</b>	55	25	96	243	104	87
<b>Time in Minutes</b>	10.4	3.25	30	60	21	
<b>Number of Respondents</b>	4810 (150 p/d)		3219	3035	2191	1053
<b>Number of Panel Respondents</b>		3751		2315	1611	
<b>Respondent Identification Number</b>	CASEID	ZCASEID	ARESPID	BRESPID	CRESPID	RESPID
<b>Respondent Panel Match Number</b>		ZOLDCASE		BUNIQIDR	CRESPID	
<b>Filter Variable</b>		PANELIST	PREPOST	PREPOST	MAILFILT	
<b>Weight Variable</b>	WEIGHT		AWGTGB	BPANWGT	MAILWGT	
<b>Weight Variable - Post-election Cross-Section</b>					POSTOCTW	
<b>Rolling Cross-Section Filter Variables</b>	FILT0514-0606					
<b>Rolling Cross-Section Weight Variables</b>	WGT0514-0606					
<b>Question-Variable Names/Numbers</b>						
Interest in 2001 Gen Election	QN1		AQ1	BQ3		Q1
General Interest in Politics				BQ1		
Most Important Election Issue	QN2A	ZQN1A	AQ2	BQ4		Q2A



<b>2001/02 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY -- Rosetta Stone (as of July 2002)</b>	<b>ELECTION CAMPAIGN TELEPHONE (GALLUP)</b>	<b>POST- ELECTION TELEPHONE PANEL GALLUP)</b>	<b>PRE-CAMPAIGN IN- PERSON (NOP)</b>	<b>POST-ELECTION IN-PERSON PANEL (NOP)</b>	<b>POST- ELECTION MAILBACK (NOP/ESSEX)</b>	<b>POST-ELECTION TELEPHONE NORTHERN IRELAND (FDS)</b>
Most Important Election Issue- Other			AQ2AUX	BQ4AUX		
Most Important Issue-Summary	ISSUESUM	ZISSUM	AISSSUM	BISSSUM		
Party Best Handle Most Imp Issue	QN2B	ZQN1B	AQ3	BQ5		Q2B-Q2C
Party Best Handle Most Imp Issue-Other			AQ3AUX	BQ5AUX		
Likelihood of Voting in Gen Election	QN3		AQ6			
Decided How To Vote	QN4		AQ7A			
If Decided-Party Vote	QN4B		AQ7B-AQ7BAUX			
Party Leaning Toward	QN4D		AQ7C-AQ7CAUX			
Vote Intention-Summary	VOTEINT		AVOTEINT			
On Electoral Register				BQ7		
Vote in 2001 General Election		ZQN2A		BQ8A		Q3A
Party Voted For		ZQN2B		BQ8B		Q3B
When Decide Vote				BQ8C		
Reason for Vote	QN5A/QN5C	ZQN3A	AQ8-AQ8AUX	BQ8D1-BQ8DAUX		Q4
Reason for Vote-Summary			AQ8SUM	BQ8SUM		
Party Really Preferred	QN5B/QN5D	ZQN3B		BQ8E-BQ8EAUX		Q5
Method of Voting				BQ9		
Vote Frequency-2001 Voters/Nonvoters				BQ10A/BQ10B		
Vote frequency - Summary				BVOTEFRQ		

<b>2001/02 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY -- Rosetta Stone (as of July 2002)</b>	<b>ELECTION CAMPAIGN TELEPHONE (GALLUP)</b>	<b>POST- ELECTION TELEPHONE PANEL GALLUP)</b>	<b>PRE-CAMPAIGN IN- PERSON (NOP)</b>	<b>POST-ELECTION IN-PERSON PANEL (NOP)</b>	<b>POST- ELECTION MAILBACK (NOP/ESSEX)</b>	<b>POST-ELECTION TELEPHONE NORTHERN IRELAND (FDS)</b>
Not Voted - Reasons				BQ71A-BQ71F/N		
Government Handle Foot and Mouth Crisis	QN7					Q6
Best Prime Minister	Q11					
Party Win In R's Constituency	Q12A		AQ9-AQ9AUX			
Party Win In Country as a Whole	Q12B					
How Close Election in R's Constituency			AQ27			
Attention to Politics Generally	QN13		AQ35	BQ57		Q15A
Influence on Politics and Public Affairs	QN13A		AQ36	BQ58		Q15B
Order-Partisanship Questions-Q2 First				BPID2/BQ2DUM		
Party Identification	QN17A-QN17D	ZQN11A-ZQN11C	AQ5A-AQ5D	BQ2A-BQ2D		
Q67 First				BPID67/BQ67DUM		
Party Supporter			AQ37A-AQ37BAUX	BQ67A-BQ67AUX		Q16A-Q16B
Economic Evaluation-Self, Past Year	QN18	ZQN7	AQ18	BQ26		Q10A
Economic Evaluation - Self, Next Year	QN19	ZQN8	AQ20	BQ28		Q10B

<b>2001/02 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY -- Rosetta Stone (as of July 2002)</b>	<b>ELECTION CAMPAIGN TELEPHONE (GALLUP)</b>	<b>POST- ELECTION TELEPHONE PANEL GALLUP)</b>	<b>PRE-CAMPAIGN IN- PERSON (NOP)</b>	<b>POST-ELECTION IN-PERSON PANEL (NOP)</b>	<b>POST- ELECTION MAILBACK (NOP/ESSEX)</b>	<b>POST-ELECTION TELEPHONE NORTHERN IRELAND (FDS)</b>
Economic Evaluation-Country, Past Year	QN20A		AQ19A	BQ27A		Q10C
Govt Responsible-National Ec Past Year			AQ19B	BQ27B		
Economic Evaluation-Country, Next Year	QN21	ZQN10	AQ21	BQ29		Q10D
If Economic Difficulties, Best Party	QN22	5	AQ22	BQ30		Q11
Govt Policies Affect National Economy				BQ31		
Govt Policies Affect Personal Finances				BQ32		
Emotions-National Economy				BQ33A-BQ33H		
Emotions-Personal Finances				BQ34A-BQ34H		
Attitude Towards Joining Euro Currency	QN23A	ZQN6	AQ23	BQ35		Q12
Natn Ec Perf Govt or EU				BQ36		
Membership EU	QN23C		AQ24	BQ37		
Referendum Experiment Options		ZQN12-ZQN15				
Referendum Experiment Summary		ZREFSUM				
(Name of Issue)-Importance	QN27A-QN27D					Q25A-Q25F

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(Name of Issue)-Government Performance	QN28A-QN28D					Q26A-Q26F
Issues			AQ4A-AQ4L	BQ6A-BQ6M		
Labour Government	QN29A-Qn29C					
Conservative Government Handle (Issue)	QN29AA-29AD					
Canvasser Visit R In Election Campaign				BQ60		Q27A
Canvassed By (Name of Party)				BQ60A-BQ60AUX		Q27BA-Q27BK
Phoned By Party In Election Campaign				BQ61		Q28A
Phoned By (Name of Party)				BQ61A-BQ61M		Q28BA-Q28BJ
Knocked Up By Party				BQ62		
Knocked Up By (Name of Party)				BQ62A-BQ62M		
See Party TV Election Broadcasts				BQ63		
See (Name of Party)-TV				BQ63A-BQ63M		
Attention-TV Coverage of Election				BQ64		Q29
Read Daily Morning Newspapers	QN40		AQ33	59a Topup		Q30A
Which Daily Morning Newspaper	QN41		AQ34-AQ34AUX1-2	59b Topup		Q30B
Read Daily Morning Newspapers - summary				DAILYs		

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Which Daily Morning Newspaper - summary				WDAILYS		
Likelihood Ever Vote (Name of Party)	QN42A-QN42E				CQ32A-CQ32E	
FV Vote Patterns	FVTOT					
FV Vote Choice with Assumptions	FVC					
Feel About (Name of Party)			AQ10A-AQ10E	BQ11A-BQ11E		Q8A-Q8E
(Name of Party) In/Out Touch			AQ11A-AQ11E	BQ12A-BQ12E		
(Name of Party) United/Divided			AQ12A-AQ12B	BQ13A-BQ13E		
(Name of Party)- Extreme/Moderate				BQ14A-BQ14E		
(Name of Party)-Keeps/Breaks Promises				BQ15A-BQ15E		
(Name of Party)-Strong/Not Strong Govt				BQ16A-BQ16E		
Respect (Name of Institution)			AQ13A-AQ13U		CQ20A-CQ20L	Q7A-Q7D
Govt Treats People Like Me Fairly			AQ14A	BQ17B		
Gap Between Expectations/Actually Get			AQ14B	BQ17C		

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Political Activity- Benefits/Time&Effort			AQ14C-AQ14E	BQ17D-BQ17F		
Every Citizen's Duty to Vote			AQ14F	BQ17A		
Friends Think Voting is Waste of Time			AQ14G	BQ17G		
Pressure Groups Influence Parties			AQ14H			
Violent Criminals/Transport System Attitudes			AQ14I-AQ14J			
(Name of Leader)-Strong Leader			AQ15A-AQ15E	BQ18A-BQ18E		
(Name of Leader)-Keeps/Breaks Promises			AQ16A-AQ16E	BQ19A-BQ19E		
(Name of Leader)-Caring/Not Caring				BQ20A-BQ20E		
(Name of Leader)-Decisive/Not Decisive				BQ21A-BQ21E		
(Name of Leader)-Sticks/Not Sticks Principles				BQ22A-BQ22E		
(Name of Leader)-Listens/Not Listens Reason				BQ23A-BQ23E		
(Name of Leader)-Arrogant/Not Arrogant				BQ24A-BQ24E		
Feel About (Name of Leader)	QN10A-QN10E	ZQN4A-ZQN4E	AQ17A-AQ17E	BQ25A-BQ25E		Q9A-QQ9E

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Feel About Ian Paisley/Gerry Adams						Q70A/Q70B
(Name of Party)-Left/Right Scale			AQ25A-AQ2E	BQ38A-BQ38E		Q13A-Q13E
Self-Left/Right Scale			AQ25F	BQ38F		Q13F
(Name of Party)-Repub/Loyalist Scale						Q14A-Q14E
Self-Repub/Loyalist Scale						Q14F
Republican, Etc. Identification						Q69
Self-Taxes/Spending Scale			AQ26A	BQ39A		
(Name of Party)-Taxes/Spending Scale			AQ26B-AQ26F	BQ39B-F		
Vote 1997 General Election	QN12C		AQ28A-AQ28AAUX	40a Topup		Q17
Vote 1997 - summary				VOTE97S		
1998 Vote Northern Ireland Assembly						Q22A-Q22C
Vote 1999 Scot Parl/Welsh Assembly Elections			AQ28BC-AQ28BCX	40b40c Topup		
Vote last Scots Parliament Election - summary				VSCOTS		
Vote last Welsh Assembly Election - summary				VWALES		
Likelihood of Political Activities			AQ29A-AQ29H	BQ41A-BQ41J		

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Recruited-Politics/Community Affairs				BQ42		
Volunteered-Politics/Community Affairs				BQ43		
Activity in Voluntary Organizations				BQ44		
Someone Try To Convince R To Vote				BQ45		
Member of Political Party/Which Party				BQ46A/BQ46AUX		
Member of Social Class				BQ47		Q23
People Can Be Trusted/Be Careful			AQ30	BQ48		
People Take Advantage/Be Fair				BQ49		
National Identity			AQ31A-AQ31C	BQ50/BQ51/BQ54		Q24
Performance-Scottish Exec/Cabinet Welsh Assembly				BQ52/BQ55		
Constitutional Options- Scotland/Wales				BQ53/BQ56		
Constitutional Options-Northern Ireland						Q18/Q19/Q20ABC
Democracy Satisfaction			AQ32	BQ70		Q21



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Political Efficacy				BQ65A-BQ65E		
Costs and Benefits of Voting				BQ66A-BQ66G		
Party Supporter						
Political Knowledge				BQ68A-BQ68F		
Vote in Local Election/Which Party				BQ69A/BQ69AUX		
Vote Loc Elec Wch Pty						
Care Which Party Won					CQ1	
Vote Two Parties					CQ2a-c	
Watch TV - Days/Week					CQ3	
Newspaper Att Gen Elec					CQ4	
On Line Use					CQ5	
Internet Info Gen Elec					CQ6	
Local Vote Reasons					CQ7	
Job Being Done by Blair					CQ8	
Group Interests Labour Party					CQ9A-CQ9H	
Group Interests Cons Party					CQ10A-CQ10H	
Labour-Cons Difference					CQ11	
Cons-Lab Lib Dems Closer					CQ12	
Crime-Rights Self/Parties					CQ13A-CQ13F	
Pound-Euro Self/Parties					CQ14A-CQ14F	
Crime Attitudes					CQ15A-CQ15D	Q32A-Q32D
Immigration Attitudes					CQ16A-CQ16E	

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Women Attitudes					CQ17A-CQ17D	
Part Country Ec Retro					CQ18	
Beliefs/Values					CQ19A-CQ19K	Q33A-Q33D
Election Attitudes					CQ21A-CQ21D	
Party Attitudes					CQ22A-CQ22H	
Democracy Attitudes					CQ23A-CQ23E	Q31A-QQ31E
Trade Union Power					CQ24	
Big Business Power					CQ25	
Best/Worst Off Rungs					CQ26	
Ann Inc for Proper Liv Std					CQ27	
Years in Neighbourhood					CQ28	
Attachment to Neigh/Const					CQ29A-CQ29B	
Life Satisfaction					CQ30	
Willingness Take Risks					CQ31	
Region	REGION	ZREGION	AREGION	TREGION Topup		
Region - overall					REGNALL	
Weight by region			REGWGTHC	BREGNWGT	MREGNWGT	
Weight by region - Post-election Cross-Section					REGOCTWT	
TV Region	TVREGION					
1st and 2nd Party 1997	PARTY					
Percentage Majority 1997	PCTMAJ					
Liberal Democrat Percentage of Vote 1997	LDPCT					

<b>2001/02 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY -- Rosetta Stone (as of July 2002)</b>	<b>ELECTION CAMPAIGN TELEPHONE (GALLUP)</b>	<b>POST- ELECTION TELEPHONE PANEL GALLUP)</b>	<b>PRE-CAMPAIGN IN- PERSON (NOP)</b>	<b>POST-ELECTION IN-PERSON PANEL (NOP)</b>	<b>POST- ELECTION MAILBACK (NOP/ESSEX)</b>	<b>POST-ELECTION TELEPHONE NORTHERN IRELAND (FDS)</b>
Gender	QNS1	ZQNS1	AGENDER	BQ104		GENDER
Gender - overall						GENALL
Weight by gender			GENWGTHC	BGENWGT	MGENWGT	
Weight by gender - Post-election Cross-Section						GENOCTWT
Birth Year	QNS2	ZQNS2				Q34-Q35
Age/Age Band	AGE/QNS2A	ZAGE	AQ38	BQ72		
Age - overall						AGEALL
Weight by age within gender			AGEWGTHC	BAGEWGT	MAGEWGT	
Weight by age within gender - Post-election Cross-Section						AGEOCTMW
Eligible To Vote-Birthday By June 7th	QNS3	ZQNS3				
Own or Rent	QND1		AQ40A	74a Topup		Q37
Own or Rent - summary				OWNS		
Own Outright or Mortgage				74b Topup		
Own Outright or Mortgage - summary	QND1A		AQ40B	MORTS		Q38
Rent	QND1B					Q39
Home Hostel or Lodging	QND1C					Q40
Age Completed Full-Time Education	QND2		AQ42	BQ75B		Q41
Have Educational/Work Qualifications			AQ43A-AQ43B	76a-bTopup		

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Educational/Work Qualifications - summary				EDQUALS		
Belong To A Religion			AQ44A-AQ44BAUX	77a-b Topup		Q71A-Q71B
Belong To A Religion - summary				RELIGS		
Which Religion - summary				WRELIGS		
Own Car	QND3					Q42
How Many Cars	QND4					Q43
Number of People in Household			AQ47A	BQ80A		
Number of People in Household < 18			AQ47B	BQ80B		
N of People in Household Need Special Care				BQ80C		
Leisure Time				BQ81		
R Employed	QND8A					Q44
R Chief Income Earner	QND8B					Q45
R Self-Employed	QND9A					Q46
R Workforce Status/Spouse Work				BQ84/BQ92		
R/Spouse Employed or Self- Employed				BQ85-87/BQ93-95		
R/Spouse Supervise Other Employees				BQ88/BQ96		
Kind of Business-R's/Spouse Workplace				BQ89/BQ97		

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R Self-Employed/Employed-N Employees				BQ90A/BQ90B		
Spouse Self-Employed/Employed- N Employ				BQ98A/BQ98B		
R/Spouse-How Many Hours Worked	QND9B			BQ91/BQ99		Q47
R Unemployed	QND9C					Q48
R Unemployed More Than 6 Months	QND9D					Q49
R Receive Basic State Pension	QND9E					Q50
R Job Manual, Non-Manual	QND9F					Q51
R Job Manual, Non-Manual Supplemental	QND9FA					Q52
R Job Skilled	QND9G					Q53
R Occupation	QND9H		AQ48A-AQ48B			Q54
R/Spouse-Occupation Sector			AQ49A-AQ49B	82-83 Topup		
R/Spouse-Occupation Sector - summary				RSECTORS/ SSECTORS		
Race/Ethnicity			AQ50-AQ50AUX5	100 Topup		
Ethnicity summary				ETHNS		
Chief Wage Earner Employed Now	QND12					Q55
Language Spoken at Home				BQ101		
Wales-Speak Welsh/Fluently			AQ51A-AQ51B	BQ102A-BQ102B		

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Chief Wage Earner Self- Employed	QND13A					
Chief Wage Earner Hours Worked	QND13B					Q57
Chief Wage Earner Unemployed	QND13C					Q58
Chief Wage Earner Unemployed 6+ Months	QND13D					Q59
Chief Wage Earner Basic State Pension	QND13E					Q60
Chief Wage Earner Manual, Non- Manual	QND13F					Q61
Chief Wage Earner Manual, Non- Manual Supp	QND13FA					Q62
Chief Wage Earner Job Skilled	QND13G					Q63
Chief Wage Earner Occupation	QND13H					Q64
Marital Status	D14		AQ39	BQ73		Q65
R Belong Trade Union	D15		AQ41	75 Topup		Q66
Trade Union member - summary				TRADES		
Spouse Belong Trade Union	D16					Q67
Annual Household Income	D18		AQ45	78 Topup		Q68
Annual Household Income - summary				INCOMES		
Main Source of Income			AQ46	79 Topup		
Main Source of Income - summary				MAINS		

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Social Class - Market Research	CLASSA		AClass	BCLASS		CLASS
R's Standard Occupational Classification 1990				SOC1990R		
R's Standard Occupational Classification 2000				SOC2000R		
R's Social Class via Goldthorpe 11-class scheme				GLD11R		
R's Social Class via Goldthorpe 5- class scheme				GLD5R		
R's Social Class via NS-SEC Operational Categories				NSSECR		
R's Social Class via NS-SEC Analytic Classes				NSSECACR		
Spouse's Standard Occupational Classification 1990				SOC1990S		
Spouse's Standard Occupational Classification 2000				SOC2000S		
Spouse's Social Class via Goldthorpe 11-class scheme				GLD11S		
Spouse's Social Class via Goldthorpe 5-class scheme				GLD5S		
Spouse's Social Class via NS- SEC Operational Categories				NSSECS		
Spouse's Social Class via NS- SEC Analytic Classes				NSSECACS		
BES Constituency Code	CONSTIT	ZCONSTIT	ACONSTIT	TCONSTIT Topup		





**BRITISH ELECTION STUDY 2001 – PRE-ELECTION (Pre-Campaign)  
QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. How interested are you in the general election that is likely to be held soon?

1. Very interested
2. Somewhat interested
2. Not very interested
3. Not at all interested
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

2. As far you're concerned, what is the **single most important issue** in the general election?

**[NOTE: THIS IS AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTION] Coding Categories**

1. Britain's membership in the European Monetary Union
2. Britain's relations with the European Union
3. Law and order
4. Educational standards
5. Environment
6. National Health Service
7. Inflation, Prices Generally
8. Public transport
9. Taxation
10. State of the economy
11. Unemployment
12. My standard of living
13. Price of Petrol
14. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
88. There are no important issues
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED, GO TO Q.4

3. Which party is best able to handle this issue?

0. None/No Party Closest
1. Labour
2. Conservative
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Scottish National Party (SNP)
5. Plaid Cymru
6. Green Party
7. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know )
- (99. Refused)

ASK ALL

4. How do you think the present government has handled each of the following issues?

[SHOW CARD]

[ROTATE a-I]

1. Very well
  2. Fairly well
  3. Neither well nor badly
  4. Fairly badly
  5. Very badly
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

- a) Asylum seekers and refugees
- b) Crime
- c) The economy in general
- d) Education
- e) Relations with the European Union
- f) Inflation
- g) The National Health Service
- h) Pensions
- i) Taxes
- j) Transport
- k) Unemployment
- l) Making life better for people like me

A RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS SHOULD BE ASKED Q.5a – Q.5d AT THIS POINT IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE. THE OTHER RANDOM HALF SHOULD BE ASKED Q.37a AND Q.37b AT THIS POINT.

5. a) Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, (Scottish National/Plaid Cymru) or what?

0. None/No
  1. Labour
  2. Conservative
  3. Liberal Democrats
  4. Scottish National Party (SNP)
  5. Plaid Cymru
  6. Green Party
  7. Other Party [SPECIFY] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know )  
(99. Refused )

[IF PARTY GIVEN GO TO 5d]

5. b) [IF 'NONE', 'DON'T KNOW,' OR 'REFUSED' IN Q.5a] Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?

1. Yes
2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

5. c) [IF 'YES' IN Q.5b] Which party is that? [**DO NOT PROMPT**]

0. None/No
1. Labour
2. Conservative
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Scottish National Party (SNP)
5. Plaid Cymru
6. Green Party
7. Other Party [SPECIFY] \_\_\_\_\_
- (99. Refused )

5. d) [PARTY GIVEN IN Q.5a OR Q.5c] Would you call yourself very strong [PARTY GIVEN IN Q.5a OR Q.5c], fairly strong or not very strong?

1. Very strong
2. Fairly strong
3. Not very strong
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused )

6. Please think of a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means **very unlikely** and 10 means **very likely**, how likely is it that you will vote in the general election?

[SHOW CARD]

00. very unlikely
- 01.
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
10. very likely
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

7. a) If you do vote in the general election, have you decided which party you will vote for, or haven't you decided yet?

- 1 Yes, decided
- 2 No, not decided yet
- 3 Will not vote
- (99. Refused)

7. b) [If YES, DECIDED in Q.7a] Which party is that?

- 1 Labour
  - 2 Conservative
  - 3 Liberal Democrat
  - 4 Scottish National Party
  - 5 Plaid Cymru
  - 6 Green Party
  - 7 Other Party [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (99. Refused)

7. c) [IF NO, NOT DECIDED YET IN Q.7A] Which party do you think you are most likely to vote for?

- 1 Labour
  - 2 Conservative
  - 3 Liberal Democrat
  - 4 Scottish National Party
  - 5 Plaid Cymru
  - 6 Green Party
  - 7 Other Party [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (99. Refused)

8. People give different reasons for why they vote for one party rather than another. Which of the following best describes your reasons?

[SHOW CARD]

**[Rotate 1 – 3]**

1. The party has the best policies
2. The party has the best leader
3. I really preferred another party but it stood no chance of winning in my constituency.
4. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

9. Which party do you think is most likely to win the election in **this constituency**?

1. Labour
  2. Conservative
  3. Liberal-Democrat
  4. Other Party [SPECIFY] \_\_\_\_\_
  5. [Ask for SCOTLAND only] Scottish Nationalist Party
  6. [Ask for WALES only] Plaid Cymru
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused )

10. On a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means **strongly dislike** and 10 means **strongly like**, how do feel about:

[SHOW CARD]

[ROTATE a - c]

00. strongly dislike

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. strongly like

(98. Don't Know)

(99. Refused)

a) the Labour Party

b) the Conservative Party

c) the Liberal Democrats

d) [IN SCOTLAND ONLY] the Scottish National Party

e) [IN WALES ONLY] Plaid Cymru

11. a) On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as a party that is...READ OUT...

1. out of touch with ordinary people

2. or, in touch with ordinary people

3. neither or both (NOT STATED)

(98. Don't know)

(99 Refused)

b) And the Conservative Party nowadays, is it a party that is...READ OUT...

c) And the Liberal Democrats, are they a party that is ...READ OUT...

d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And the Scottish National Party, is it...READ OUT

e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Plaid Cymru, is it...READ OUT

12.a) On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as...READ OUT...

1. United

2. or, Divided

3. (neither or both) NOT STATED

(98. Don't know)

(99 Refused)

b) And the Conservative Party nowadays, is it...READ OUT...

13. Now, thinking about political institutions like Parliament, please use the 0-10 scale to indicate how much respect you have for each of the following, where 0 means **no respect** and 10 means **a great deal of respect**.

[SHOW CARD]

00 no respect

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. a great deal of respect

(98. Don't know)

(99. Refused)

- a) The Parliament at Westminster
- b) The Civil Service
- c) The Police
- d) Local Government in your area
- e) The European Union
- f) Politicians generally

IN ENGLAND ONLY

- g) The Labour Party
- h) The Conservative Party
- i) The Liberal-Democrat Party

IN SCOTLAND ONLY

- j) The Scottish Parliament
- k) The Scottish Labour Party
- l) The Labour Party nationally
- m) The Conservative Party
- n) The Liberal-Democrat Party
- o) The Scottish National Party

IN WALES ONLY

- p) The Welsh Assembly
- q) The Welsh Labour Party
- r) The Labour Party nationally
- s) The Conservative Party
- t) The Liberal-Democrat Party
- u) Plaid Cymru

14. Please tell me how far you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

[SHOW CARD]

[READ AND ROTATE a – g]

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
- (98. Don't know)
- (99. Refused)

- a) The Government generally treats people like me fairly.
- b) There is often a big gap between what people like me expect out of life and what we actually get.
- c) Being active in politics is a good way to get benefits for me and my family.
- d) It takes too much time and effort to be active in politics and public affairs.
- e) Being active in politics is a good way to get benefits for groups that people care about like pensioners or the disabled.
- f) It is every citizen's duty to vote in an election.
- g) Most of my family and friends think that voting is a waste of time.
- h) Being involved in a pressure group, like Greenpeace or the Countryside Alliance, is a better way of influencing government than being involved in a political party.
- i) Violent criminals deserve to be deprived of some of their human rights.
- j) The condition of Britain's transport system makes me very frustrated and angry.

15. a) Now, some questions about the **party leaders**. On the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as...READ OUT...

1. capable of being a strong leader
  2. or, not capable of being a strong leader
  3. (neither or both) NOT STATED
- (98 Don't know)  
(99 Refused )

b) And William Hague, is he...READ OUT...

c) And Charles Kennedy, is he...READ OUT...

d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And John Swinney, is he...READ OUT...

e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Wyn Jones, is he....READ OUT....

16 a) On the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as someone who...READ OUT...

1. keeps his promises
  2. or, breaks his promises
  3. (neither or both) NOT STATED
- (98 Don't know)  
(99 Refused)

b) And William Hague, is he someone who...READ OUT...

c) And Charles Kennedy, is he someone who....READ OUT...

d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And John Swinney, is he...READ OUT...

e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Wyn Jones, is he....READ OUT....

17. Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means **strongly dislike** and 10 means **strongly like**, how do you feel about....?

[SHOW CARD]

[ROTATE a - c]

00. strongly dislike
  - 01.
  - 02.
  - 03.
  - 04.
  - 05.
  - 06.
  - 07.
  - 08.
  - 09.
  10. strongly like
- (98. Don't know)  
(99. Refused)

a) Tony Blair

b) William Hague

c) Charles Kennedy

d) [IN SCOTLAND ONLY] John Swinney

e) [IN WALES ONLY] Wyn Jones



18. How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago? Has it ...

[SHOW CARD]

1. Got a lot worse
  2. Got a little worse
  3. Stayed the same
  4. Got a little better
  5. Got a lot better
- (98. Don't know)  
(99. Refused)

19. a) How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months. Has it ...

[SHOW CARD]

1. Got a lot worse
  2. Got a little worse
  3. Stayed the same
  4. Got a little better
  5. Got a lot better
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused )

[IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED GO TO Q.20]

19. b) Do you think that the government has had a great deal, a fair amount, or not much to do with this?

1. A great deal
  2. A fair amount
  3. Not much
- (4. Nothing)  
(98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

20. How do you think the financial situation of your household will change over the next 12 months? Will it ....

[SHOW CARD]

1. Get a lot worse
  2. Get a little worse
  3. Stay the same
  4. Get a little better
  5. Get a lot better
- (98. Don't know)  
(99. Refused )

21. How do you think the general economic situation in this country will develop over the next 12 months? Will it ...

[SHOW CARD]

1. get a lot worse
  2. get a little worse
  3. Stay the same
  4. get a little better
  5. get a lot better
- (98. Don't know)  
(99. Refused)

22. If Britain were in economic difficulties, which party do you think would be able to handle the situation best – Labour or the Conservatives?

1. Labour
  2. Conservative
  3. Neither (Volunteered)
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

23. Thinking of the Single European Currency, which of the following statements on this card would come closest to your own view?

[SHOW CARD]

1. Definitely join as soon as possible
  2. Join if and when the economic conditions are right
  3. Stay out for at least the next four or five years
  4. Rule out on principle.
- (98. Don't know)  
(99. Refused)

24. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of Britain's membership in the European Union?

[SHOW CARD]

1. Strongly approve
  2. Approve
  3. Neither Approve nor Disapprove
  4. Disapprove
  5. Strongly disapprove
- (98. Don't know)  
(99. Refused)

**[FOR Q. 25 and Q.26, RANDOMIZE SELF VERSUS PARTIES AND ORDER OF PARTIES.]**

25. In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Using the scale from 0 to 10, where would you place:

[SHOW CARD]

00 left

01

02

03

04

05

06

07

08

09

10 right

(98. Don't Know)

(99. Refused)

- a) the Labour Party
- b) the Conservative Party
- c) the Liberal Democrats
- d) the SNP [IN SCOTLAND ONLY]
- e) Plaid Cymru [IN WALES ONLY]
- f) and, finally, where would you place yourself

26. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health and social services, and 10 means government should raise taxes a lot and spend much more, where would you put the views of:

[SHOW CARD]

00. government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health and social services

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on health and social services

(98. Don't Know)

(99. Refused)

a) yourself

b) the Labour Party

c) the Conservative Party

d) the Liberal Democrats

e) the SNP [IN SCOTLAND ONLY]

f) Plaid Cymru [IN WALES ONLY]

27. Let's talk about the general election result. On a scale from 0 to 10, how **close** do you think the election will be in this constituency? 0 means that the election will **not be close at all**, and 10 means that the election will be **very close**.

[SHOW CARD]

00. Election not close at all

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09

10. Election very close

(98. Don't Know)

(99. Refused)

28. a) Thinking back to the last general election in May 1997, do you remember which party you voted for then – or perhaps you didn't vote? [**DO NOT PROMPT**]

0. Did not vote
  1. Labour
  2. Conservative
  3. Liberal Democrat
  4. Scottish National Party
  5. Plaid Cymru
  6. Green Party
  7. Referendum Party
  8. Other [WRITE IN]\_\_\_\_\_
- (96. Not eligible/too young to vote)  
 (98. Can't remember/Don't Know)  
 (99. Refused)

28. b) [IN SCOTLAND ONLY] Thinking back to the election for the Scottish Parliament in May 1999, do you remember which party you voted for, or perhaps you didn't vote in that election? [**DO NOT PROMPT**]

0. Did not vote
  1. Labour
  2. Conservative
  3. Liberal Democrat
  4. Plaid Cymru
  6. Green Party
  7. Referendum Party
  8. Other [WRITE IN]\_\_\_\_\_
- (96. Not eligible / too young to vote)  
 (98. Can't remember/Don't Know)  
 (99. Refused)

28. c) [In WALES ONLY] Thinking back to the election for the Welsh Assembly in May 1999, do you remember which party you voted for, or perhaps you didn't vote in that election? [**DO NOT PROMPT**]

0. Did not vote
  1. Labour
  2. Conservative
  3. Liberal Democrat
  4. Plaid Cymru
  6. Green Party
  7. Referendum Party
  8. Other [WRITE IN]\_\_\_\_\_
- (96. Not eligible / too young to vote)  
 (98. Can't remember/Don't Know)  
 (99. Refused )

29. Now, a question about how active you are in politics and community affairs. Let's think about the next few years. Using a scale from 0 - 10, where 0 means very unlikely and 10 means very likely, how likely is it that you will.....?

[SHOW CARD]

**(READ AND ROTATE A - H)**

00. very unlikely

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. very likely

(98. Don't Know)

(99. Refused)

a) Vote in the next election for the European Parliament.

b) Vote in the next local election

c) Work actively with a group of people to address a public issue or solve a problem

**[INTERVIEWER NOTE: If respondent needs clarification, read: for example, like getting involved in a neighbourhood watch]**

d) Participate in a protest, like a rally or a demonstration, to show your concern about a public issue or problem.

e) Be active in a voluntary organization, like a community association, a charity group, or a sports club.

f) Give money to a political party.

g) Try to convince someone else how to vote.

h) Work for a party or a candidate in an election campaign.

30. Generally speaking would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful dealing with people? Please use the 0 – 10 scale to indicate your view, where 0 means can't be too careful and 10 means most people can be trusted. [SHOW CARD]

00. Can't be too careful

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. most people can be trusted

(98. Don't know)

(99. Refused)

31. a) **ASK IN ENGLAND** Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as....?

1. English
2. British
3. European
4. None of these
5. Scottish (Volunteered)
6. Welsh (Volunteered)
7. English and British (Volunteered)
8. English and European (Volunteered)
9. British and European (Volunteered)
10. English, British and European (Volunteered)
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

31. b) **ASK IN SCOTLAND** Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as ....?

1. Scottish
2. British
3. European
4. None of these
5. English (Volunteered)
6. Welsh (Volunteered)
7. Scottish and British (Volunteered)
8. Scottish and European (volunteered)
9. British and European (Volunteered)
10. Scottish, British and European (Volunteered)
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

31. c) **ASK IN WALES** Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as ....?

1. Welsh
2. British
3. European
4. None of these
5. English (Volunteered)
6. Scottish (Volunteered)
7. Welsh and British (Volunteered)
8. Welsh and European (Volunteered)
9. British and European (Volunteered)
10. Welsh, British and European (Volunteered)
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

32. On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way that democracy works in this country?

[SHOW CARD]

1. Very satisfied
2. Fairly satisfied
3. A Little dissatisfied
4. Very dissatisfied
- (98. Don't know)
- (99. Refused)

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

1. Yes
2. No
- (100. Refused)

IF NO TO Q.33, GO TO Q.35

34. If [YES to Q. 33)] Which daily morning newspaper do you read **most often**?

1. The Express
2. The (Scottish) Daily Mail
3. The (Scottish) Mirror/Daily Record
4. The Daily Star (of Scotland)
5. The Sun
7. The Daily Telegraph
8. The Financial Times
9. The Guardian
10. The Independent
11. The Times
12. The Scotsman
13. The (Glasgow) Herald
14. Other Scottish/Welsh/regional or local daily morning newspaper
- [WRITE IN]\_\_\_\_\_
15. Other Newspaper [WRITE IN]\_\_\_\_\_

35. On a scale of 0 to 10 how much attention do you generally pay to politics?

[SHOW CARD]

00. pay no attention
- 01.
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
10. pay a great deal of attention
- (98. Don't know)
- (99. Refused)



36. On a scale from 0 to 10 where 10 means a great deal of influence and 0 means no influence, how much influence do you have on politics and public affairs?

- 00. no influence
- 01.
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
- 10. great deal of influence
- (98. Don't know)
- (99. Refused)

A RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS SHOULD BE ASKED Q.37a AND Q.37b AT THIS POINT IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE. THE OTHER RANDOM HALF SHOULD BE ASKED Q.5a TO Q.5d AT THIS POINT.

THIS SPLIT WILL REQUIRE A MARKER OF SOME SORT SINCE WE NEED TO KNOW WHETHER A RESPONDENT WAS ASKED THE Q37 OR THE Q5 SEQUENCE FIRST.

37. a) Some people think of themselves as usually being a supporter of one political party rather than another. Do you usually think of yourself as being a supporter of one particular party or not?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

37. b) [If YES in Q37a] Which party is that? [**DO NOT PROMPT BY MENTIONING PARTY NAMES**]

- 0. None/No
- 1. Labour
- 2. Conservative
- 3. Liberal Democrat
- 4. Scottish National Party (SNP)
- 5. Plaid Cymru
- 6. Green Party
- 7. Other Party [SPECIFY] \_\_\_\_\_
- (99. Refused )

38. Now, a few questions about yourself and your background. What was your age last birthday?

- Age in years \_\_
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused )

39. What is your marital status?
1. Married
  2. Living as married
  3. Separated (after being married)
  4. Divorced
  5. Widowed
  6. Never married
40. a) Does your household own or rent this accommodation?
1. Own
  2. Rent
  3. Neither
- (99. Refused)
40. b) [IF R OWNS in Q. 40a] Do you own your house outright or on a mortgage?
1. Own the leasehold/freehold
  2. Buying leasehold/freehold on a mortgage
- (99. Refused)
41. Are you now a member of a trade union or staff association?
1. Yes
  2. No, but used to be a member
  3. No, never a member
- (98. Don't know)  
(99. Refused)
42. At what age did you finish full-time education?
1. 15 or younger
  2. 16
  3. 17
  4. 18
  5. 19 or older
  6. Still in full-time education
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)
- 43.a) Do you have any educational or work-related qualifications?
1. Yes
  2. No
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

43. b) [If YES to Q.43a)] What is the highest qualification you have?

[SHOW CARD]

1. Youth training certificate/skillseekers
2. Recognized trade apprenticeship completed
3. Clerical and commercial qualifications (e.g., typing/shorthand, book-keeping)
4. City and Guilds certificate - Craft/intermediate/Ordinary/Part 1 or Scotvec National Certificate Modules/ or NVQ1/SVQ2
5. City and Guilds certificate - Advanced/Final/Part 2/ or Scotvec Higher National Units/ or NVQ2/SVQ2
6. Ordinary National Certificate (ONC) or Diploma (OND), BEC/TEC/BTEC/ Scotvec Higher Certificate or Higher Diploma /or NVQ4/SVQ4
7. CSE grades 2-5
8. CSE grade 1, GCE O level, GCSE, School Certificate
9. Scottish Ordinary/ Lower Certificate
10. GCE A level or Higher Certificate
11. Scottish Higher Certificate
12. Nursing qualification (eg SEN, SRN, SCM, RGN)
13. Teaching qualification (not degree)
14. University diploma
15. University or CNAA first degree (eg BA, B.Sc, B.Ed)
16. University or CNAA higher degree (eg M.Sc, Ph.D)
17. Other technical, professional or higher qualification
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

44. a) Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?

1. Yes
  2. No
- (98. Not sure/Don't know)  
(99. Refused)

44. b) [If YES to Q. 44a], Which denomination?

1. Church of England/Anglican/Episcopal
2. Roman Catholic
3. Presbyterian/Church of Scotland
4. Methodist
5. Baptist
6. United Reform Church
7. Free Presbyterian
8. Brethren
9. Jewish
10. Hindu
11. Islam/Muslim
12. Sikh
13. Buddhist
14. Other [WRITE IN]\_\_\_\_\_

45. Which of the letters on this card represents the total income of your household from all sources before tax - including benefits, saving and so on? Please just tell me the letter.

[SHOW CARD]

*Annual Income*

- |        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| 1. Q.  | Less than £5000 |
| 2. T.  | £5000 - £10000  |
| 3. O.  | £10001 - £15000 |
| 4. K.  | £15001 - £20000 |
| 5. L.  | £20001 - £25000 |
| 6. B.  | £25001 - £30000 |
| 7. Z.  | £30001 - £35000 |
| 8. M.  | £35001 - £40000 |
| 9. F.  | £40001 - £45000 |
| 10. J. | £45001 - £50000 |
| 11. D. | £50001 - £60000 |
| 12. H. | £60001 or more  |

(98. Don't Know )

(99. Refused )

46. Which of these is the main source of income for you (and your wife/husband/partner) at present?

[SHOW CARD]

1. Earnings from employment (own or spouse / partner's)
2. Occupational pension(s) - from previous employer(s)
3. State retirement or widow's pension(s)
4. Jobseeker's Allowance / Unemployment benefit
5. Income Support or family credit
6. Invalidity, sickness or disabled pension or benefit(s)
7. Other state benefit
8. Interest from savings or investments
9. Student grant or loan
10. Dependent on parents/other relatives
11. Other main source
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused )

47. a) How many people are there in your household? Please include both adults and children.

\_\_\_\_\_ Total  
 (98. Don't Know)  
 (99. Refused)

47. b) How many of those (in Q.47a) are under 18 \_\_\_\_\_ TOTAL

48a and 48b.

[SHOW CARD]

From this card please tell me which best describes the sort of work **you** do. (If not working now, please tell me what **you** did in your last job). Then, from this card please tell me which best describes the sort of work your husband, wife or partner (where appropriate) does or did.

IF IN DOUBT:

PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL CATEGORIES CORRESPOND TO AB;

CLERICAL AND SALES/SERVICES CORRESPOND TO C1;

SKILLED MANUAL CORRESPONDS TO C2;

SEMISKILLED AND UNSKILLED CORRESPOND TO D.

“SMALL BUSINESS”, IF ASKED, MEANS LESS THAN 25 EMPLOYEES.

	48a Yourself	48b Your husband, wife or partner
<b>Professional or higher technical work</b> (work that requires at least degree-level qualifications, e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)	1	1
<b>Manager or Senior Administrator</b> (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)	2	2
<b>Clerical</b> (e.g. clerk, secretary)	3	3
<b>Sales or Services</b> (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)	4	4
<b>Small Business Owner</b> (e.g. shop owner, small builder, restaurant owner)	5	5
<b>Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers</b> (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)	6	6
<b>Skilled Manual Work</b> (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter, train driver, cook, hairdresser)	7	7
<b>Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work</b> (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call-centre worker)	8	8
<b>Other/Never worked</b> (for more than 10 hours per week)	9	9

49a and 49b.

[SHOW CARD]

From this card please tell me which type of organisation YOU do or did work for. Then show which type of organisation your husband, wife or partner (where appropriate) does or did work for.

	49a Yourself	49b Your husband, wife or partner
<b>Private sector firm or company</b> (e.g. limited company, PLC, small business)	1	1
<b>Nationalised industry or public corporation.</b> (e.g. post office, BBC)	2	2
<b>Other public sector employer</b> (e.g. central government, Civil Service, LEA, NHS, Police, armed forces)	3	3
<b>Charity/voluntary sector</b> (e.g. charitable companies, churches, trade unions)	4	4
<b>Other/Never worked</b> (for more than 10 hours per week)	5	5

50. To which of these groups do you consider you belong?  
[SHOWCARD]

**White**

1. White British
2. Any other white background (WRITE IN)

**Mixed**

3. White and Black Caribbean
4. White and Black African
5. White and Asian
6. Any other mixed background (WRITE IN)

**Asian or Asian British**

7. Indian
9. Pakistani
10. Bangladeshi
11. Any other Asian background (WRITE IN)

**Black or Black British**

12. Black Caribbean
13. Black African
14. Any other black background (WRITE IN)

**Chinese or other ethnic group**

15. Chinese
16. Other ethnic group (WRITE IN)

51. a) [In WALES only] Can you speak Welsh?

1. Yes
2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

51. b) [In WALES only][If YES in Q.51a] Do you speak Welsh fluently or not?

1. Yes, fluently
2. Yes, but not fluently
3. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

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

1. Yes
2. No



52. b) [If YES in Q. 52a], ....

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 need to contact you, it would be helpful if we could have your telephone number.

ADD IF NECESSARY: Your phone number will not be passed to anyone outside NOP.

IF NUMBER GIVEN, WRITE ON THE ARF

NOTE; YOU WILL BE ASKED TO KEY IN THE NUMBER IN THE ADMIN BLOCK

1. Number given
2. Number refused

**INTERVIEWER TO OBSERVE AND RECORD:**

53. Gender

1. Male
2. Female

54. Length of Interview

THIS INTERVIEW WAS STARTED AT (TIME) AND IT IS NOW (TIME) – THE COMPUTER CALCULATES THIS TO BE (NUMBER OF) MINUTES. PLEASE ENTER LENGTH OF INTERVIEW IN MINUTES. (IF YOU HAD TO STOP AN INTERVIEW AND START AGAIN, JUST ENTER TIME SPENT INTERVIEWING.). Range: 1...200

55. Address

56. Constituency

57. Region

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD A**

1. Very well
2. Fairly well
3. Neither well nor badly
4. Fairly badly
5. Very badly

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD A**

5. Very badly
4. Fairly badly
3. Neither well nor badly
2. Fairly well
1. Very well

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD B**

**00. very unlikely**

**01.**

**02.**

**03.**

**04.**

**05.**

**06.**

**07.**

**08.**

**09.**

**10. very likely**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD C**

**00. strongly dislike**

**01.**

**02.**

**03.**

**04.**

**05.**

**06.**

**07.**

**08.**

**09.**

**10.strongly like**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD D**

**00 no respect**

**01.**

**02.**

**03.**

**04.**

**05.**

**06.**

**07.**

**08.**

**09.**

**10. a great deal of respect**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD E**

- 1. Strongly agree**
- 2. Agree**
- 3. Neither Agree nor Disagree**
- 4. Disagree**
- 5. Strongly disagree**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD E**

**5. Strongly Disagree**

**4. Disagree**

**3. Neither Agree nor Disagree**

**2. Agree**

**1. Strongly Agree**



**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD F**

**00. strongly dislike**

**01.**

**02.**

**03.**

**04.**

**05.**

**06.**

**07.**

**08.**

**09.**

**10. strongly like**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD G**

- 1. Got a lot worse**
  
- 2. Got a little worse**
  
- 3. Stayed the same**
  
- 4. Got a little better**
  
- 5. Got a lot better**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD G**

- 5. Got a lot better**
  
- 4. Got a little better**
  
- 3. Stayed the same**
  
- 2. Got a little worse**
  
- 1. Got a lot worse**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD H**

**1. Get a lot worse**

**2. Get a little worse**

**3. Stay the same**

**4. Get a little better**

**5. Get a lot better**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD H**

- 5. Get a lot better**
  
- 4. Get a little better**
  
- 3. Stay the same**
  
- 2. Get a little worse**
  
- 1. Get a lot worse**

**SHOW CARD I**

- 1. Britain should definitely join the Single European Currency as soon as possible**
  
- 2. Britain should join if and when the economic conditions are right**
  
- 3. Britain should stay out for at least the next four or five years**
  
- 4. Britain should rule out joining the Single European Currency on principle.**

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**SHOW CARD I**

4. **Britain should rule out joining the Single European Currency on principle.**
  
3. **Britain should stay out for at least the next four or five years**
  
2. **Britain should join if and when the economic conditions are right**
  
1. **Britain should definitely join the Single European Currency as soon as possible**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD J**

- 1. Strongly approve**
  
- 2. Approve**
  
- 3. Neither Approve nor Disapprove**
  
- 4. Disapprove**
  
- 5. Strongly disapprove**



**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD J**

5. **Strongly disapprove**
  
4. **Disapprove**
  
3. **Neither Approve nor Disapprove**
  
2. **Approve**
  
1. **Strongly approve**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD K**

**00 left**

**01**

**02**

**03**

**04**

**05**

**06**

**07**

**08**

**09**

**10 right**

**SHOW CARD L**

**00. government should cut taxes a lot and  
spend much less on health and social  
services**

**01.**

**02.**

**03.**

**04.**

**05.**

**06.**

**07.**

**08.**

**09.**

**10. government should increase taxes a lot and  
spend much more on health and social  
services**

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**SHOW CARD M**

**00. Election not close at all**

**01.**

**02.**

**03.**

**04.**

**05.**

**06.**

**07.**

**08.**

**09**

**10. Election very close**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD N**

**00. very unlikely**

**01.**

**02.**

**03.**

**04.**

**05.**

**06.**

**07.**

**08.**

**09.**

**10. very likely**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD O**

**00. Can't be too careful**

**01.**

**02.**

**03.**

**04.**

**05.**

**06.**

**07.**

**08.**

**09.**

**10. most people can be trusted**

**NOP/432047**

**SHOW CARD P**

- 1. Very satisfied**
- 2. Fairly satisfied**
- 3. A little dissatisfied**
- 4. Very dissatisfied**

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**SHOW CARD P**

**4. Very dissatisfied**

**3. A little dissatisfied**

**2. Fairly satisfied**

**1. Very satisfied**



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**SHOW CARD Q**

**00. pay no attention**

**01.**

**02.**

**03.**

**04.**

**05.**

**06.**

**07.**

**08.**

**09.**

**10. pay a great deal of attention**

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**SHOW CARD R**

**00. no influence**

**01.**

**02.**

**03.**

**04.**

**05.**

**06.**

**07.**

**08.**

**09.**

**10. great deal of influence**

**SHOW CARD S**

- 1. Youth training certificate/skillseekers**
- 2. Recognized trade apprenticeship completed**
- 3. Clerical and commercial qualifications (eg typing/shorthand, book-keeping)**
- 4. City and Guilds certificate -  
Craft/intermediate/Ordinary/Part 1 or Scotvec  
National Certificate Modules/ or NVQ1/SVQ2**
- 5. City and Guilds certificate Advanced/Final/Part  
2/ or Scotvec Higher National Units/or  
NVQ2/SVQ2**
- 6. Ordinary National Certificate (ONC) or  
Diploma (OND), BEC/TEC/BTEC/ Scotvec  
Higher Certificate or Higher Diploma /or  
NVQ4/SVQ4**
- 7. CSE grades 2-5**
- 8. CSE grade 1, GCE O level, GCSE, School  
Certificate**
- 9. Scottish Ordinary/ Lower Certificate**
- 10. GCE A level or Higher Certificate**
- 11. Scottish Higher Certificate**
- 12. Nursing qualification (eg SEN, SRN,  
SCM,RGN)**
- 13. Teaching qualification (not degree)**
- 14. University diploma**
- 15. University or CNAA first degree (eg BA,  
B.Sc, B.Ed)**
- 16. University or CNAA higher degree (eg M.Sc,  
Ph.D)**
- 17. Other technical, professional or higher  
qualification**

**SHOW CARD T**

***Annual Income***

<b>1. Q.</b>	<b>Less than £5000</b>
<b>2. T.</b>	<b>£5000 - £10000</b>
<b>3. O.</b>	<b>£10001 - £15000</b>
<b>4. K.</b>	<b>£15001 - £20000</b>
<b>5. L.</b>	<b>£20001 - £25000</b>
<b>6. B.</b>	<b>£25001 - £30000</b>
<b>7. Z.</b>	<b>£30001 - £35000</b>
<b>8. M.</b>	<b>£35001 - £40000</b>
<b>9. F.</b>	<b>£40001 - £45000</b>
<b>10. J.</b>	<b>£45001 - £50000</b>
<b>11. D.</b>	<b>£50001 - £60000</b>
<b>12. H.</b>	<b>£60001 or more</b>

**SHOW CARD U**

- 1. Earnings from employment (own or spouse / partner's)**
- 2. Occupational pension(s) - from previous employer(s)**
- 3. State retirement or widow's pension(s)**
- 4. Jobseeker's Allowance / Unemployment benefit**
- 5. Income Support or family credit**
- 6. Invalidity, sickness or disabled pension or benefit(s)**
- 7. Other state benefit**
- 8. Interest from savings or investments**
- 9. Student grant or loan**
- 10. Dependent on parents/other relatives**
- 11. Other main source**

**SHOW CARD V**

- 1. Professional or higher technical work (work that requires at least degree-level qualifications, e.g. doctor, accountant, school teacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)**
- 2. Manager or Senior Administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)**
- 3. Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)**
- 4. Sales or Services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)**
- 5. Small Business Owner (e.g. shop owner, small builder, restaurant owner)**
- 6. Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)**
- 7. Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter, train driver, cook, hairdresser)**
- 8. Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call-centre worker)**
- 9. Other/Never worked (for more than 10 hours per week)**

**SHOW CARD W**

- 1. Private sector firm or company (e.g. limited company, PLC, small business, self-employed)**
- 2. Nationalised industry or public corporation. (e.g. post office, BBC)**
- 3. Other public sector employer (e.g. central government, Civil Service, LEA, NHS, Police, armed forces)**
- 4. Charity/voluntary sector (e.g. charitable companies, churches, trade unions)**
- 5. Other/Never worked (for more than 10 hours per week)**

**SHOWCARD X**

**White**

- 1. White British**
- 2. Any other white background (WRITE IN)**

**Mixed**

- 3. White and Black Caribbean**
- 4. White and Black African**
- 5. White and Asian**
- 6. Any other mixed background (WRITE IN)**

**Asian or Asian British**

- 7. Indian**
- 9. Pakistani**
- 10. Bangladeshi**
- 11. Any other Asian background (WRITE IN)**

**Black or Black British**

- 12. Black Caribbean**
- 13. Black African**
- 14. Any other black background (WRITE IN)**

**Chinese or other ethnic group**

- 15. Chinese**
- 16. Other ethnic group (WRITE IN)**



**NOP/432047**

**BRITISH ELECTION STUDY 2001**  
**FACE-TO-FACE, POST-ELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE**  
**WEBSITE VERSION - July 7, 2001**

1. Let's talk for a few minutes about politics **in general**. How much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics?

1. A great deal
2. Quite a lot
3. Some
4. Not very much
5. None at all
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

A RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS SHOULD BE ASKED Q. 2a-Q.2d AT THIS POINT IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE. THE OTHER RANDOM HALF SHOULD BE ASKED Q. 67a AND Q. 67b AT THIS POINT. **RECORD HALF SAMPLE RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS.**

2. a) **Generally speaking**, do you think of yourself as Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, (Scottish National/Plaid Cymru) or what?

0. None/No
1. Labour
2. Conservative
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Scottish National Party (SNP)
5. Plaid Cymru
6. Green Party
7. Other Party [SPECIFY] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

[IF PARTY GIVEN, GO TO Q. 2d)]

2. b) [IF 'NONE', 'DON'T KNOW,' or 'REFUSED' IN Q. 2a) ] Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?

1. Yes
2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

2. c) [IF 'YES' IN Q. 2b)] Which party is that? [DO NOT PROMPT]

0. None/No
1. Labour
2. Conservative
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Scottish National Party

5. Plaid Cymru
6. Green Party
7. Other Party [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (99. Refused)

2. d) Would you call yourself very strong [PARTY GIVEN IN Q. 2a) OR Q. 2c)], fairly strong or not very strong?

1. Very strong
2. Fairly strong
3. Not very strong
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

3.. How interested were you in the general election that was held on June 7th this year?

1. Very interested
2. Somewhat interested
3. Not very interested
4. Not at all interested
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

4. In your opinion, what was the single most important issue in the general election?

**[NOTE: THIS IS AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTION] Coding Categories**

1. Britain's membership in the European Monetary Union
2. Britain's relations with the European Union
3. Law and order
4. Educational standards
5. Environment
6. National Health Service
7. Inflation, Prices Generally
8. Public transport
9. Taxation
10. State of the economy
11. Unemployment
12. My standard of living
13. Price of Petrol
14. Foot and mouth disease
15. Immigration/asylum seekers
16. Pensions
17. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
88. There are no important issues
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

IF 'DON'T KNOW' OR 'REFUSED', GO TO Q. 6

5. Which party is best able to handle this issue?

0. None/No Party Best Able
1. Conservative

2. Labour
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Scottish National Party (SNP)
5. Plaid Cymru
6. Green Party
7. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

ASK ALL

6. How well do you think the present government has handled each of the following issues?

[SHOW CARD]

[READ AND ROTATE a-l. DO NOT INCLUDE m IN ROTATION.]

1. Very well
2. Fairly well
3. Neither well nor badly
4. Fairly badly
5. Very badly
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)
- a) Asylum seekers and refugees
- b) Crime
- c) The economy in general
- d) Education
- e) Relations with the European Union
- f) Inflation
- g) The National Health Service
- h) Pensions
- i) Taxes
- j) Transport
- k) Unemployment
- l) Making life better for people like me
- m) Foot and mouth disease

7. As far as you know, is your name on the electoral register, that is the official list of people entitled to vote, either at this address or somewhere else?

1. Yes
2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

8. a) Talking to people about the general election **on June 7th**, 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?

1. Yes, voted
2. No

[IF YES IN Q. 8a)] 8. b) Which party did you vote for in the general election?  
[DO NOT PROMPT]

1. Conservative
  2. Labour
  3. Liberal Democrat
  4. Scottish National Party
  5. Plaid Cymru
  6. Green Party
  7. Other Party
- (99. Refused to disclose voting)

8. c ) How long ago did you decide that you would definitely vote the way you did? Was it:

**[SHOW CARD]**

1. A long time ago
  2. Some time last year
  3. Some time this year
  4. During the election campaign
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

8. d) People give different reasons for why they vote for one party rather than another. Which of the following best describes your reasons?

**[Rotate 1-3]**

1. The party has the best policies
2. The party has the best leader
3. I really preferred another party but it stood no change of winning in my constituency.
4. (I voted tactically) [NOT STATED]
5. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

[IF (3) OR (4) IN Q. 8d)] 8. e) Which party did you really prefer? [DO NOT PROMPT]

1. Conservative
  2. Labour
  3. Liberal Democrat
  4. Scottish National Party
  5. Plaid Cymru
  6. Green Party
  7. Other Party [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

[IF VOTED IN Q. 8a)] 9. There are different ways in which people can cast their votes in general elections  in person, by post, or by proxy (getting someone else to vote on their behalf). How did you cast your vote in the general election on June 7th?

1. In person
  2. By post
  3. By proxy
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

[IF VOTED IN Q. 8a)] 10. a) Since you have been eligible to vote in general elections, have you voted in:

1. all general elections
2. most of them
3. some of them
4. not very many of them
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

[IF DID NOT VOTE IN Q. 8a)] 10. b) Since you have been eligible to vote in general elections, have you voted in:

1. all general elections
2. most of them
3. some of them
4. not very many of them
5. none of them
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

11. I'm now going to ask a few questions about political parties. On a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means **strongly dislike** and 10 means **strongly like**, how do you feel about:

[SHOW CARD]

[Rotate a - c]

00. strongly dislike
- 01.
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
10. strongly like
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

- a) the Labour Party
- b) the Conservative Party
- c) the Liberal Democrats
- d) [IN SCOTLAND ONLY] The Scottish National Party
- e) [IN WALES ONLY] Plaid Cymru

12. On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as a party that is [READ OUT]

1. out of touch with ordinary people
2. or, in touch with ordinary people
3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)
- b) And the Conservative Party nowadays, is it a party that is [READ OUT]
- c) And the Liberal Democrats, are they a party that [READ OUT]

- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And the Scottish National Party, is it [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Plaid Cymru, is it [READ OUT]

13. On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as [READ OUT]

- 1. united
- 2. or, divided
- 3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)
- b) And the Conservative Party nowadays, is it [READ OUT]
- c) And the Liberal Democrats, are they [READ OUT]
- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And the Scottish National Party, is it [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Plaid Cymru, is it [READ OUT]

14. On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as [READ OUT]

[ROTATE PARTIES]

- 1. extreme
- 2. or, moderate
- 3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- b) And the Conservative Party nowadays, is it [READ OUT]
- c) And the Liberal Democrats, are they [READ OUT]
- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And the Scottish National Party, is it [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Plaid Cymru, is it [READ OUT]

15. On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as a party that [READ OUT]

[ROTATE PARTIES]

- 1. keeps its promises
- 2. or, breaks its promises
- 3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- b) And the Conservative Party nowadays, is it a party that [READ OUT]
- c) And the Liberal Democrats, are they a party that [READ OUT]
- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And the Scottish National Party, is it a party that [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Plaid Cymru, is it [READ OUT]

16. On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as [READ OUT]

[ROTATE PARTIES]

- 1. capable of being a strong government,
- 2. or, not capable of being a strong government
- 3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- b) And the Conservative Party nowadays, is it [READ OUT]
- c) And the Liberal Democrats, are they [READ OUT]
- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And the Scottish National Party, is it [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Plaid Cymru, is it [READ OUT]

17. Now, let's talk for a few moments about politics and government **generally**. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

[SHOW CARD]

[READ AND ROTATE B-F. DO NOT INCLUDE A IN ROTATION]

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)
- a) It is every citizen's duty to vote in an election.
- b) The Government generally treats people like me fairly.
- c) There is often a big gap between what people like me expect out of life and what we actually get.
- d) Being active in politics is a good way to get benefits for me and my family
- e) It takes too much time and effort to be active in politics and public affairs.
- f) Being active in politics is a good way to get benefits for groups that people care about like pensioners or the disabled.
- g) Most of my family and friends think that voting is a waste of time.

18. Now, some questions about the **party leaders**. On the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as [READ OUT]

1. capable of being a strong leader
2. or, not capable of being a strong leader
3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)
- b) And William Hague, is he [READ OUT]
- c) And Charles Kennedy, is he [READ OUT]
- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And John Swinney, is he [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Wyn Jones, is he [READ OUT]

19. On the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as someone who [READ OUT]

1. keeps his promises
2. or, breaks his promises
3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)
- b) And William Hague, is he someone who [READ OUT]
- c) And Charles Kennedy, is he someone who [READ OUT]
- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And John Swinney, is he [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Wyn Jones, is he [READ OUT]

20. And, on the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as:  
[ROTATE LEADERS]

1. caring
2. or, not caring
3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- b) And William Hague, is he [READ OUT]
- c) And Charles Kennedy, is he [READ OUT]
- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And John Swinney, is he [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Wyn Jones, is he [READ OUT]



21. And on the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as [READ OUT]  
[ROTATE LEADERS]

1. decisive
2. or, not decisive
3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- b) And William Hague, is he [READ OUT]
- c) And Charles Kennedy, is he [READ OUT]
- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And John Swinney, is he [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Wyn Jones, is he [READ OUT]

22. And would you describe Tony Blair as [READ OUT]  
[ROTATE LEADERS]

1. someone who sticks to his principles
2. or, someone who does not stick to his principles
3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- b) And William Hague, is he [READ OUT]
- c) And Charles Kennedy, is he [READ OUT]
- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And John Swinney, is he [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Wyn Jones, is he [READ OUT]

23. On the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as someone who [READ OUT]  
[ROTATE LEADERS]

1. listens to reason
2. or, does not listen to reason
3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- b) And William Hague, is he someone who [READ OUT]
- c) And Charles Kennedy, is he some who [READ OUT]
- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And John Swinney, is he [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Wyn Jones, is he [READ OUT]

24. On the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as [READ OUT]  
[ROTATE LEADERS]

1. arrogant
2. or, not arrogant
3. neither or both [NOT STATED]
- b) And William Hague, is he [READ OUT]
- c) And Charles Kennedy, is he [READ OUT]
- d) [ASK IN SCOTLAND ONLY] And John Swinney, is he [READ OUT]
- e) [ASK IN WALES ONLY] And Wyn Jones, is he [READ OUT]

25. Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means **strongly dislike** and 10 means **strongly like**, how do you feel about□.?

[SHOW CARD]

[ROTATE a-c]

00. strongly dislike
- 01.
- 02.
- 03.

- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
- 10. strongly like
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)
- a) Tony Blair
- b) William Hague
- c) Charles Kennedy
- d) [IN SCOTLAND ONLY] John Swinney
- e) [IN WALES ONLY] Wyn Jones

26. How does the financial situation of **your household** now compare with what it was 12 months ago?  
Has it:

[SHOW CARD]

- 1. Got a lot worse
- 2. Got a little worse
- 3. Stayed the same
- 4. Got a little better
- 5. Got a lot better
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

27. a) How do you think the general economic situation in **this country** has changed over the last 12 months. Has it:

[SHOW CARD]

- 1. Got a lot worse
- 2. Got a little worse
- 3. Stayed the same
- 4. Got a little better
- 5. Got a lot better
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

[IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED in Q. 27a, GO TO Q. 28]

27. b) Do you think that the government has had a great deal, something, or not much to do with this?

[INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT ASKS WHAT IS MEANT BY GOVERNMENT, SAY THAT THIS MEANS THE GOVERNMENT IN WESTMINSTER]

- 1. A great deal
- 2. Something
- 3. Not much
- (4. Nothing)
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

28. How do you think the financial situation of **your household** will change over the next 12 months?

Will it:

[SHOW CARD]

1. Get a lot worse
  2. Get a little worse
  3. Stay the same
  4. Get a little better
  5. Get a lot better
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

29. How do you think the general economic situation in **this country** will develop over the next 12 months? Will it:

1. Get a lot worse
  2. Get a little worse
  3. Stay the same
  4. Get a little better
  5. Get a lot better
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

30. If Britain were in economic difficulties, which party do you think would be able to handle the situation best - Labour or the Conservatives?

**[READ AND ROTATE LABOUR AND CONSERVATIVES]**

1. Labour
  2. Conservatives
  3. Neither [VOLUNTEERED]
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

31. To what extent do you think that the government's policies affect the overall performance of the British economy?

1. A great deal
  2. A fair amount
  3. Not very much
  4. Not at all
- (98. Don't know)  
(99. Refused)

32. To what extent do you think that the government's policies affect the financial situation of **your household**?

1. A great deal
  2. A fair amount
  3. Not very much
  4. Not at all
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

33. Which, if any, of the following words describe your feelings about **the country's** general economic situation?

[SHOW CARD]

1. Yes, word applies
2. No, word does **not** apply
- (98. Don't know)
- (99. Refused)
- a) Angry
- b) Happy
- c) Disgusted
- d) Hopeful
- e) Uneasy
- f) Confident
- g) Afraid
- h) Proud

34. This time please tell me if any of them describe your feelings about the financial condition of **your household**. If they do, please tell me which ones.

[SHOW CARD]

1. Yes, word applies
2. No, word does **not** apply
- (98. Don't know)
- (99. Refused)
- a) Angry
- b) Happy
- c) Disgusted
- d) Hopeful
- e) Uneasy
- f) Confident
- g) Afraid
- h) Proud

35. Thinking of the Single European Currency (**Euro**), which of the following statements on this card would come closest to your own view?

[SHOW CARD]

1. Definitely join as soon as possible
2. Join if and when the economic conditions are right
3. Stay out for at least the next four or five years
4. Rule out on principle
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

36. Which one of the following do you think affects the general economic situation in this country most?  
Would you say the British Government or the European Union?

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND EUROPEAN UNION]

1. The British Government
2. The European Union
3. Both equally [NOT STATED]
4. Neither [NOT STATED]
- (98. Don't Know)

(99. Refused)

37. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of Britain's membership in the European Union?

[SHOW CARD]

1. Strongly approve
  2. Approve
  3. Neither approve nor disapprove
  4. Disapprove
  5. Strongly disapprove
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

[FOR Q. 38 AND Q. 39, RANDOMIZE SELF VERSUS PARTIES AND ORDER OF PARTIES.]

38. In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Using the scale from 0 to 10, where would you place:

[SHOW CARD]

- 00 left  
01  
02  
03  
04  
05  
06  
07  
08  
09  
10 right  
(98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)  
a) the Labour Party  
b) the Conservative Party  
c) the Liberal Democrats  
d) [IN SCOTLAND ONLY] the Scottish National Party  
e) IN WALES ONLY] Plaid Cymru  
f) and, finally, where would you place yourself

39. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health and social services, and 10 means government should raise taxes a lot and spend much more on health and social services, where would you put the views of:

[SHOW CARD]

- 00 government should cut taxes a lot/spend much less on health and social services  
01  
02  
03  
04  
05  
06  
07

08

09

10 government should increase taxes a lot/spend much more on health and social services

(98. Don't Know)

(99. Refused)

a) yourself

b) the Labour Party

c) the Conservative Party

d) the Liberal Democrats

e) [IN SCOTLAND ONLY] the SNP

f) [IN WALES ONLY] Plaid Cymru

**TOPUP ONLY.** 40. a) Thinking back to the last general election in May 1997, do you remember which party you voted for then, or perhaps you didn't vote?

[DO NOT PROMPT]

0. Did not vote

1. Labour

2. Conservative

3. Liberal Democrat

4. Scottish National Party

5. Plaid Cymru

6. Green Party

7. Referendum Party

8. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

(96. Not eligible/too young to vote)

(98. Can't remember/Don't Know)

(99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY.** 40. b) [IN SCOTLAND ONLY] Thinking back to the election for the Scottish Parliament in May 1999, do you remember which party you voted for, or perhaps you didn't vote in that election?

[DO NOT PROMPT]

0. Did not vote

1. Labour

2. Conservative

3. Liberal Democrat

4. Scottish National Party

6. Green Party

7. Referendum Party

8. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

(96. Not eligible/too young to vote)

(98. Can't remember/Don't Know)

(99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY.** 40. c) [IN WALES ONLY] Thinking back to the election for the Welsh Assembly in May 1999, do you remember which party you voted for, or perhaps you didn't vote in that election? [

[DO NOT PROMPT]

0. Did not vote

1. Labour

- 2. Conservative
- 3. Liberal Democrat
- 5. Plaid Cymru
- 6. Green Party
- 7. Referendum Party
- 8. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (96. Not eligible/too young to vote)
- (98. Can't remember/Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

41. Now, a few questions about how active you are in politics and community affairs. Let's think about the next few years. Using a scale from 0 - 10, where 0 means very unlikely and 10 means very likely, how likely is it that you will:

[READ AND ROTATE A-H. DO NOT INCLUDE I AND J IN ROTATION.]

- 00. very unlikely
- 01.
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
- 10. very likely
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

- a) Vote in the next election for the European Parliament.
- b) Vote in the next local election.
- c) Work actively with a group of people to address a public issue or solve a problem. [INTERVIEWER NOTE: If respondent needs clarification, read: for example, like getting involved in a neighbourhood watch.]
- d) Participate in a protest, like a rally or a demonstration, to show your concern about a public issue or problem.
- e) Be active in a voluntary organization, like a community association, a charity group, or a sports club.
- f) Give money to a political party.
- g) Try to convince someone else how to vote.
- h) Work for a party or a candidate in an election campaign.
- i) Discuss politics with family or friends.
- j) Join a boycott, that is, refuse to buy a particular product or to shop at a particular store.

42. Over the past few years, has anyone **asked you** to get involved in politics or community affairs?
- 1. Yes - I have been asked
  - 2. No - I have not been asked
  - (98. Don't Know)
  - (99. Refused)

43. Over the past few years, have you **volunteered** to get involved in politics or community affairs?

1. Yes - I have volunteered
2. No - I have not volunteered
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

44. Over the past few years, how active have you been in a voluntary organization, like a local community association, a charity, or a sports club?

1. Very active
2. Somewhat active
3. A little active
4. Not at all active
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

45. Did anyone, for example, a friend, a member of your family, or someone at work, try to convince you how to vote in the recent general election?

1. Yes, friend
2. Yes, family member
3. Yes, someone at work
4. Yes, other person
5. No, no one tried to convince me
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

46. a) Are you a member of a political party?

1. Yes, member
2. No

[IF YES IN Q. 46a)] 46. b) Which one?

[DO NOT PROMPT]

[INCLUDE PEOPLE WHO HAVE TEMPORARILY NOT PAID SUBSCRIPTIONS BUT INTEND TO. LABOUR PARTY: INCLUDE RESPONDENTS WHO, AS TRADE UNION MEMBERS, HAVE PAID A REDUCED FEE FOR LABOUR PARTY MEMBERSHIP.]

0. No, not a member
1. Conservative
2. Labour
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Scottish National Party
5. Plaid Cymru
7. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

47. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to any particular class?

[IF YES] Which class is that?

1. Yes, middle class
2. Yes, working class
3. Yes, other
4. No
- (98. Don't Know)



(99. Refused)

48. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful dealing with people? Please use the 0-10 scale to indicate your view, where 0 means can't be too careful and 10 means most people can be trusted.

[SHOW CARD]

00. Can't be too careful

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. Most people can be trusted

(98. Don't Know)

(99. Refused)

49. Do you think that most people you come into contact with would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair? Please use the 0-10 scale again where 0 means would try to take advantage and 10 means would try to be fair.

00. try to take advantage

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. try to be fair

(98. Don't know)

(99. Refused)

50. [IN ENGLAND ONLY] Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?

[SHOW CARD]

1. English not British

2. More English than British

3. Equally English and British

4. More British than English

5. British not English

6. None of these

7. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

(98. Don't Know)

(99. Refused)

51. [IN SCOTLAND ONLY] Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?  
[SHOW CARD]

1. Scottish not British
2. More Scottish than British
3. Equally Scottish and British
4. More British than Scottish
5. British not Scottish
6. None of these
7. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

52. [IN SCOTLAND ONLY] Using the 0-10 scale, how would you rate the performance of the Scottish Executive? 0 means that it is doing a very bad job and 10 means that it is doing a very good job.

00. Very bad job
- 01.
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
10. Very good job
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

53. [ASK ALL] Which of the statements on this card comes closest to your view?  
[SHOW CARD]

1. Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK.
2. Scotland should remain part of the UK, with its own elected parliament that has some taxation powers
3. Scotland should be part of the UK without an elected parliament
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

54. [IN WALES ONLY] Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?  
[SHOW CARD]

1. Welsh not British
2. More Welsh than British
3. Equally Welsh and British
4. More British than Welsh
5. British not Welsh
6. None of these
7. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

55. [IN WALES ONLY] Using the 0-10 scale, how would you rate the performance of the Cabinet of the Welsh Assembly? 0 means that it is doing a very bad job and 10 means that it is doing a very good job.

- 00. Very bad job
- 01.
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
- 10. Very good job
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

56. [IN WALES ONLY] Which of these statements comes closest to your view?

- 1. Wales should become independent, separate from the UK.
- 2. Wales should remain part of the UK, with its own elected assembly that has some taxation powers
- 3. Wales should remain part of the UK, with its own elected assembly that has no taxation powers
- 4. Wales should be part of the UK without an elected assembly
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

57. On a scale from 0 to 10, how much attention do you pay to politics and public affairs?

- 00. no attention
- 01.
- 02.
- 03.
- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
- 10. pay a great deal of attention
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

58. On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means no influence and 10 means a great deal of influence, how much influence do you have on politics and public affairs?

[SHOW CARD]

- 00. no influence
- 01.
- 02.
- 03.

- 04.
- 05.
- 06.
- 07.
- 08.
- 09.
- 10. great deal of influence
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY** 59. a). Do you regularly read one or more daily morning newspapers?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- (99. Refused)

[IF NO TO Q. 59a, GO TO Q. 60]

**TOPUP ONLY** 59. b) [IF YES TO Q. 59a] Which daily morning newspaper do you read **most often**?

- 1. The Express
- 2. The (Scottish) Daily Mail
- 3. The (Scottish) Mirror/Daily Record
- 4. The Daily Star (of Scotland)
- 5. The Sun
- 6. The Daily Telegraph
- 7. The Financial Times
- 8. The Guardian
- 9. The Independent
- 10. The Times
- 11. The Scotsman
- 12. The (Glasgow) Herald
- 13. Other Scottish/Welsh/regional or local daily morning newspaper [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- 16. Other Newspaper [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

60. a) Did a canvasser from any party call at your home to talk with you during the election campaign?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

[IF YES TO Q. 60a] 60. b) Which party or parties did they represent?

[ALLOW 3 RESPONSES IN ENGLAND; ALLOW 4 RESPONSES IN SCOTLAND OR WALES]

- 1. Labour
- 2. Conservative
- 3. Liberal Democrat
- 4. Scottish National Party
- 5. Plaid Cymru
- 6. Other Party [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

61. a) Did anyone from a political party telephone you during the election campaign **to ask you** how you might vote?

1. Yes
2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

[IF YES TO Q. 61a] 61. b) Which party or parties did they represent?

[ALLOW 4 RESPONSES]

1. Labour
2. Conservative
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Scottish National Party
5. Plaid Cymru
6. Other Party [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

62. a) Did any political party contact you on election day itself to see whether you had voted/intended to vote?

1. Yes
2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

[IF YES TO Q. 62a] 62. b) From which party or parties?

[ALLOW 3 RESPONSES IN ENGLAND; ALLOW 4 RESPONSES IN SCOTLAND OR WALES]

1. Labour
2. Conservative
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Scottish National Party
5. Plaid Cymru
6. Other Party [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

63. a) Did you see any of the Party Election Broadcasts that were shown on television during the election campaign?

1. Yes
2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

[IF YES TO Q. 63. a] 63. b) Which parties' Election Broadcasts did you see?

[ALLOW 3 RESPONSES IN ENGLAND; ALLOW 4 RESPONSES IN SCOTLAND OR WALES]

1. Labour
2. Conservative
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Scottish National Party

- 5. Plaid Cymru
- 6. Other Party [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

64. How much attention did you pay to television coverage of the General Election?

- 1. A great deal of attention
- 2. A fair amount of attention
- 3. Some attention
- 4. No attention
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

65. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with each one of the following statements.

[SHOW CARD]

[READ AND ROTATE A-E]

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Neither agree nor disagree
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Strongly disagree
- (98. Don't know)
- (99. Refused)
- a) People like me have no say in what government does.
- b) It often is difficult for me to understand what is going on in government and politics.
- c) Those elected to Parliament soon lose touch with the people.
- d) Parties are only interested in people's votes, not in their opinions.
- e) Government does not care much what people like me think.

66. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

[SHOW CARD]

[READ AND ROTATE A-G]

- 1. Strong agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Neither agree nor disagree
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Strongly disagree
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)
- a) I feel a sense of satisfaction when I vote.
- b) People are so busy that they don't have time to vote.
- c) Most people around here voted in the general election.
- d) When people like me vote, they can really change the way that Britain is governed.
- e) Democracy only works properly if most people vote.
- f) I would feel very guilty if I didn't vote in a general election.
- g) I would be **seriously** neglecting my duty as a citizen if I didn't vote.

A RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS SHOULD BE ASKED Q. 67a AND Q. 67b AT THIS POINT IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE. THE OTHER RANDOM HALF SHOULD BE ASKED Q. 2a TO Q. 2d

**AT THIS POINT. RECORD HALF SAMPLE RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS.**

67. a) Some people think of themselves as usually being a supporter of one political party rather than another. Do you usually think of yourself as being a supporter of one particular party or not?

1. Yes
2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

[IF YES IN Q. 67a)] 67. b) Which party is that?

[DO NOT PROMPT BY MENTIONING PARTY NAMES]

0. None/No
1. Labour
2. Conservative
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Scottish National Party (SNP)
5. Plaid Cymru
6. Green Party
7. Other Party [SPECIFY] \_\_\_\_\_
- (99. Refused)

68. Please tell me if you think that the following statements are **true** or **false**. If you don't know, just say so and we will skip to the next one. Remember- true, false, or don't know.

[SHOW CARD]

1. True
2. False
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)
1. Polling stations close at 10:00 p.m. on election day.
2. It is official Conservative Party policy that Britain should never join the single European currency.
3. The Liberal Democrats favour a system of proportional representation for Westminster elections.
4. The minimum voting age is 16.
5. Unemployment has fallen since Labour was elected in 1997.
6. Only taxpayers are allowed to vote in a general election.

**INSTRUCTION: FILTER FOR THOSE CONSTITUENCIES HOLDING LOCAL ELECTIONS.**

69. a) Let's talk for a moment about **the local election** that was held on June 7<sup>th</sup>. We have found that a lot of people didn't manage to vote. How about you - did you manage to vote in the local election?

1. Yes, voted
2. No, did not manage to vote

[IF YES TO Q. 69a)] 69. b) Which party did you vote for in the local election on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June?

[DO NOT PROMPT.]

1. Conservative
2. Labour
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Scottish National Party
5. Plaid Cymru
6. Green Party

7. Independent
  8. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
  9. More than one [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (99. Refused)

70. On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way that democracy works in this country?  
[SHOW CARD]

1. Very satisfied
  2. Fairly satisfied
  3. A little dissatisfied
  4. Very dissatisfied
- (98. Don't know)  
(99. Refused)

[IF DID NOT VOTE IN Q. 8a] 71a. People have different reasons for not voting. Which of the statements on the card comes closest to your reason for not voting **in the general election that was held on June 7<sup>th</sup>**? [CODE MULTIPLE RESPONSES]

[SHOW CARD]

1. I really intended to vote but circumstances on the day prevented me.
  2. I'm just not interested in politics.
  3. There is no point in voting because there's no real democracy in Britain.
  4. There was no point in voting because it was obvious Labour would win the election.
  5. The party I used to support no longer stands for what I believe in.
  6. None of the above [**Stated**]
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

[IF 'NONE OF THE ABOVE' IN Q. 69a] 71. b) Could you tell us in one or two sentences why you didn't vote in the general election that was held on June 7<sup>th</sup> ?

[INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: THIS IS AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTION. RECORD ONE OR TWO SENTENCES.]

---

Now, a few questions about yourself and your background. **ASK ALL.** 72. What was your age last birthday?

- Age in years \_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know)  
(99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY.** 73. What is your marital status?

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



**TOPUP ONLY.** 74. a) Does your household own or rent this accommodation?

1. Own
2. Rent
3. Neither
- (99. Refused)

[IF R OWNS IN Q. 74. a] 74.b) Do you own your house outright or on a mortgage?

1. Own the leasehold/freehold
2. Buying leasehold/freehold on a mortgage
- (99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY** 75x. Are you now a member of a trade union or staff association?

1. Yes
2. No, but used to be a member
3. No, never a member
- (98. Don't know)
- (99. Refused)

75. At what age did you finish full-time education?

1. 15 or younger
2. 16
3. 17
4. 18
5. 19 or older
6. Still in full-time education
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY** 76. a) Do you have any educational or work-related qualifications?

1. Yes
2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY.** [IF YES to Q. 76a] 76. b) What is the highest qualification you have?

[SHOW CARD]

1. Youth training certificate/skillseekers
2. Recognized trade apprenticeship completed
3. Clerical and commercial qualifications (eg typing/shorthand, bookkeeping)
4. City and Guilds certificate - Craft/intermediate/Ordinary/Part 1 or Scotvec National Certificate Modules/ or NVQ1/SVQ2
5. City and Guilds certificate - Advanced/Final/Part 2/ or Scotvec Higher National Units/ or NVQ2/SVQ2
6. Ordinary National Certificate (ONC) or Diploma (OND), BEC/TEC/BTEC/ Scotvec Higher Certificate or Higher Diploma /or NVQ4/SVQ4
7. CSE grades 2-5
8. CSE grade 1, GCE O level, GCSE, School Certificate
9. Scottish Ordinary/ Lower Certificate
10. GCE A level or Higher Certificate

11. Scottish Higher Certificate
12. Nursing qualification (eg SEN, SRN, SCM, RGN)
13. Teaching qualification (not degree)
14. University diploma
15. University or CNAAB first degree (eg BA, B.Sc, B.Ed)
16. University or CNAAB higher degree (eg M.Sc, Ph.D)
17. Other technical, professional or higher qualification
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY.** 77. a) Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?

1. Yes
2. No
- (98. Not sure/Don't know)
- (99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY.** [If YES to Q. 77a)] 77. b) Which denomination?

1. Church of England/Anglican/Episcopal
2. Roman Catholic
3. Presbyterian/Church of Scotland
4. Methodist
5. Baptist
6. United Reform Church
7. Free Presbyterian
8. Brethren
9. Jewish
10. Hindu
11. Islam/Muslim
12. Sikh
13. Buddhist
14. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

**TOPUP ONLY.** 78. Which of the letters on this card represents the total income of your household from all sources before tax - including benefits, saving and so on? Please just tell me the letter.

1. Q
2. T
3. O
4. K
5. L
6. B
7. Z
8. M
9. F
10. J
11. D
12. H
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY.** 79. Which of these is the main source of income for you (and your wife/husband/partner) at present?

[SHOW CARD]

1. Earnings from employment (own or spouse / partner's)
2. Occupational pension(s) - from previous employer(s)
3. State retirement or widow's pension(s)
4. Jobseeker's Allowance / Unemployment benefit
5. Income Support
6. Family Credit
7. Invalidity, sickness or disabled pension or benefit(s)
8. Other state benefit
9. Interest from savings or investments
10. Student grant
11. Dependent on parents/other relatives
12. Other main source
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

80. a) How many people are there in your household? Please include both adults and children.

- \_\_\_\_\_ Total  
 (98. Don't Know)  
 (99. Refused)

[IF GREATER THAN 1 IN Q. 80a, ASK Q. 80b AND Q. 80c]

80. b) How many of those (in Q. 80a) are under 18 \_\_\_\_\_ TOTAL

80. c) How many of those (in Q. 80a) are elderly adults who require special care?

- \_\_\_\_\_ Total  
 (98. Don't Know)  
 (99. Refused)

81. How much time do you have left over each week after you have carried out your work and family responsibilities?

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Some
4. None
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY.** 82/83. From this card, please tell me which type of organization YOU do or did work for. The, show which type of organization your husband, wife or partner (where appropriate) does or did work for.

[SHOW CARD] ETC.

84. Which of these descriptions applies to you? [SHOW CARD]

1. In paid work
2. In full-time education

3. Unemployed for six months or more
4. Unemployed for less than six months
5. Permanently sick or disabled
6. Retired
7. Looking after the home
8. Doing something else [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

I am now going to ask you about the main job you were doing last week, or if you were not working last week, your last main job. If you've never had a job, just tell me now and we can skip to the next section. [IF NEVER HAD A JOB, CODE QUESTION BELOW AND SKIP TO NEXT SECTION]

85. Do (did) you work as an employee or were you self-employed?
1. Employee
  2. Self-employed
  3. (Never had a job)
  - (98. Don't Know)
  - (99. Refused)

86. What is (was) your job title?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

87. What kind of work do (did) you do in that job?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

88. Can I just check, in your job is (was) supervision of other employees your main task?
1. Yes
  2. No
  - (98. Don't Know)
  - (99. Refused)

89. What is (was) the main business activity at the place where you work (worked)? [PROBE FOR MANUFACTURING, RETAIL, SERVICES ETC AND FOR PRODUCTS/SERVICES SUPPLIED. PLEASE ENSURE YOU RECORD WHAT IS MANUFACTURED OR RETAILED].

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**ASK ONLY SELF-EMPLOYED** 90. a) Not counting members of your family, how many people do (did) you employ?

1. 0
2. 1-24
3. 25+
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

**ASK ONLY THOSE WHO ARE/WERE EMPLOYEES** 90.b) Including yourself, approximately how many people are (were) employed at the place you work (worked)?

1. 1-9
2. 10-24
3. 25-499
4. 500 or more
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

91. How many hours a week do (did) you usually work in your main job?

\_\_\_\_\_

**ASK ALL WITH HUSBAND, WIFE OR PARTNER**

92. Has your husband, wife or partner ever worked?

1. Yes, has worked or is working
2. No, has never worked
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

IF NEVER WORKED, GO TO END OF SEQUENCE

93. Do (did) your husband/wife/partner work as an employee or was he/she self-employed?

1. Employee
2. Self-employed
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

94. What is (was) his/her job title?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

95. What kind of work does (did) he/she do in that job?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

96. Can I just check, is (was) he/she

1. A manager
2. A foreman or supervisor
3. Or not?
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

97. What is (was) the main business activity at the place where your husband/wife/partner works (worked)?

[PROBE FOR MANUFACTURING, RETAIL, SERVICES ETC AND FOR PRODUCTS/SERVICES SUPPLIED. PLEASE ENSURE YOU RECORD WHAT IS MANUFACTURED OR RETAILED].

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**ASK ONLY THOSE WHOSE PARTNER IS/WAS SELF-EMPLOYED** 98. a) Not counting members of your family, how many people do (did) your husband/wife/partner employ?

1. 0
2. 1-24
3. 25+
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

**ASK ONLY THOSE WHOSE PARTNER IS/WAS AN EMPLOYEE** 98. b) Including your husband/wife/partner, approximately how many people are (were) employed at the place s/he works (worked)?

1. 1-9
2. 10-24
3. 25-499
4. 500 or more
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

99. How many hours a week does (did) he/she usually work in his/her main job?

\_\_\_\_\_

**TOPUP ONLY.** 100. To which of these groups do you consider you belong?  
[SHOW CARD]

White

1. White British
2. Any other white background [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

Mixed

3. White and Black Caribbean
4. White and Black African
5. White and Asian
6. Any other mixed background [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

Asian or Asian British

7. Indian
9. Pakistani
10. Bangladeshi
11. Any other Asian background [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

Black or Black British

12. Black Caribbean
13. Black African
14. Any other black background [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

Chinese or other ethnic group

15. Chinese
16. Other ethnic group [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

101. Which language do you usually speak at home?

1. English
2. Other [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_
- (99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY.** 102. a) [IN WALES ONLY] Can you speak Welsh?

1. Yes
2. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

**TOPUP ONLY.** 102.b) [IN WALES ONLY][If 'YES' in Q.102a)] Do you speak Welsh fluently or not?

1. Yes, fluently
2. Yes, but not fluently
3. No
- (98. Don't Know)
- (99. Refused)

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

1. Yes
2. No

[If YES in Q.103a)]

103. 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.

ADD IF NECESSARY: Your phone number will not be passed to anyone outside NOP.

IF NUMBER GIVEN, WRITE ON THE ARF

NOTE; YOU WILL BE ASKED TO KEY IN THE NUMBER IN THE ADMIN BLOCK

1. Number given
2. Number refused

**INTERVIEWER TO OBSERVE AND RECORD FOR ALL RESPONDENTS:**

104. Gender

1. Male
2. Female

105. Length of Interview

THIS INTERVIEW WAS STARTED AT (TIME) AND IT IS NOW (TIME) □ THE COMPUTER CALCULATES THIS TO BE (NUMBER OF) MINUTES. PLEASE ENTER LENGTH OF INTERVIEW IN MINUTES. (IF YOU HAD TO STOP AN INTERVIEW AND START AGAIN, JUST ENTER TIME SPENT INTERVIEWING.). Range: 1-200

106. Address

107. Constituency

108. Region

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD A Q6**

1. Very well
2. Fairly well
3. Neither well nor badly
4. Fairly badly
5. Very badly



**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD A Q6**

5. Very badly
4. Fairly badly
3. Neither well nor badly
2. Fairly well
1. Very well

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD B Q8C**

1. A long time ago
2. Some time last year
3. Some time this year
4. During the election campaign

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD B Q8C**

4. During the election campaign

3. Some time this year

2. Some time last year

1. A long time ago

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD C Q11**

00. strongly dislike

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10.strongly like

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD D Q17**

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD D Q17**

5. Strongly disagree

4. Disagree

3. Neither agree nor disagree

2. Agree

1. Strongly agree

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD E Q25**

00. Strongly dislike

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. Strongly like

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD F Q26 & Q27a**

1. Got a lot worse
2. Got a little worse
3. Stayed the same
4. Got a little better
5. Got a lot better



**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD F Q26 &Q27a**

5. Got a lot better
4. Got a little better
3. Stayed the same
2. Got a little worse
1. Got a lot worse

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD FA Q28 & 29**

1. Get a lot worse
2. Get a little worse
3. Stay the same
4. Get a little better
6. Get a lot better

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD FA Q28 & Q29**

5. Get a lot better
4. Get a little better
3. Stay the same
2. Get a little worse
1. Get a lot worse

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD G Q33 & Q34**

1. Yes, word applies
2. No, word does NOT apply

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD H Q35**

1. Definitely join as soon as possible
2. Join if and when the economic conditions are right
3. Stay out for at least the next four or five years
4. Rule out on principle

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD H Q35**

4. Rule out on principle
3. Stay out for at least the next four or five years
2. Join if and when the economic conditions are right
1. Definitely join as soon as possible

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD I Q37**

1. Strongly approve
2. Approve
3. Neither approve nor disapprove
4. Disapprove
5. Strongly disapprove

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD I Q37**

5. Strongly disapprove
4. Disapprove
3. Neither approve nor disapprove
2. Approve
1. Strongly approve



**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD J Q38**

00. Left

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. Right

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD K Q39**

00. Government should cut taxes a lot/spend much less on health and social services

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. Government should increase taxes a lot/spend much more on health and social services

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD L Q48**

00. Can't be too careful

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. Most people can be trusted

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD M Q49**

00. Try to take advantage

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. Try to be fair

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD N Q50**

1. English not British
2. More English than British
3. Equally English and British
4. More British than English
5. British not English

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD N Q50**

5. British not English
4. More British than English
3. Equally English and British
2. More English than British
1. English not British

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD O Q51**

1. Scottish not British
2. More Scottish than British
3. Equally Scottish and British
4. More British than Scottish
5. British not Scottish

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD O Q51**

5. British not Scottish
4. More British than Scottish
3. Equally Scottish and British
2. More Scottish than British
1. Scottish not British



**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD P Q53**

1. Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK
2. Scotland should remain part of the UK, with its own elected parliament that has some taxation powers
3. Scotland should be part of the UK without an elected parliament

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD P Q53**

3. Scotland should be part of the UK without an elected parliament
  
2. Scotland should remain part of the UK, with its own elected parliament that has some taxation powers
  
1. Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD Q Q54**

1. Welsh not British
2. More Welsh than British
3. Equally Welsh and British
4. More British than Welsh
5. British not Welsh

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD Q Q54**

5. British not Welsh
4. More British than Welsh
3. Equally Welsh and British
2. More Welsh than British
1. Welsh not British

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD R Q55**

00. Very bad job

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. Very good job

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD S Q57**

00. No attention

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. pay a great deal of attention

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD T Q58**

00. No influence

01.

02.

03.

04.

05.

06.

07.

08.

09.

10. Great deal of influence

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD U Q65 &66**

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree



**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD U Q65 &66**

5. Strongly disagree

4. Disagree

3. Neither agree nor disagree

2. Agree

1. Strongly agree

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD V Q68**

1. True

2. False

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD W Q70**

1. Very satisfied
2. Fairly satisfied
3. A little dissatisfied
4. Very dissatisfied

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD W Q70**

4. Very dissatisfied

3. A little dissatisfied

2. Fairly satisfied

1. Very satisfied

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD X Q71A**

1. I really intended to vote but circumstances on that day prevented me
2. I'm just not interested in politics
3. There is no point in voting because there's no real democracy in Britain
4. There was no point in voting because it was obvious Labour would win the election
5. The party I used to support no longer stands for what I believe in

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD X Q71A**

5. The party I used to support no longer stands for what I believe in

4. There was no point in voting because it was obvious Labour would win the election

3. There is no point in voting because there's no real democracy in Britain

2. I'm just not interested in politics

1. I really intended to vote but circumstances on that day prevented me

**SHOW CARD Y Q76B**

1. Youth training certificate/skillseekers
2. Recognized trade apprenticeship completed
3. Clerical and commercial qualifications (eg typing/shorthand, book-keeping)
4. City and Guilds certificate -  
Craft/intermediate/Ordinary/Part 1 or Scotvec  
National Certificate Modules/ or NVQ1/SVQ2
5. City and Guilds certificate Advanced/Final/Part 2/  
or Scotvec Higher National Units/or NVQ2/SVQ2
6. Ordinary National Certificate (ONC) or  
Diploma (OND), BEC/TEC/BTEC/ Scotvec  
Higher Certificate or Higher Diploma /or  
NVQ4/SVQ4
7. CSE grades 2-5
8. CSE grade 1, GCE O level, GCSE, School  
Certificate
9. Scottish Ordinary/ Lower Certificate
10. GCE A level or Higher Certificate
11. Scottish Higher Certificate
12. Nursing qualification (eg SEN, SRN,  
SCM,RGN)
13. Teaching qualification (not degree)
14. University diploma
15. University or CNAA first degree (eg BA, B.Sc,  
B.Ed)
16. University or CNAA higher degree (eg M.Sc,  
Ph.D)
17. Other technical, professional or higher  
qualification

**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD Z Q78**

***Annual Income***

- |               |                        |
|---------------|------------------------|
| <b>1. Q.</b>  | <b>Less than £5000</b> |
| <b>2. T.</b>  | <b>£5000 - £10000</b>  |
| <b>3. O.</b>  | <b>£10001 - £15000</b> |
| <b>4. K.</b>  | <b>£15001 - £20000</b> |
| <b>5. L.</b>  | <b>£20001 - £25000</b> |
| <b>6. B.</b>  | <b>£25001 - £30000</b> |
| <b>7. Z.</b>  | <b>£30001 - £35000</b> |
| <b>8. M.</b>  | <b>£35001 - £40000</b> |
| <b>9. F.</b>  | <b>£40001 - £45000</b> |
| <b>10. J.</b> | <b>£45001 - £50000</b> |
| <b>11. D.</b> | <b>£50001 - £60000</b> |
| <b>12. H.</b> | <b>£60001 or more</b>  |



**NOP/432321**

**SHOW CARD AA Q79**

1. Earning from employment (own or spouse / partner's)
2. Occupational pension(s) – from previous employer(s)
3. State retirement or widow's pension(s)
4. Jobseeker's Allowance / Unemployment benefit
5. Income Support
6. Family Credit
7. Invalidity, sickness or disabled pension or benefit(s)
8. Other state benefit
9. Interest from savings or investments
10. Student grant
11. Dependent on parents/other relatives
12. Other main source

**NOP/432321**

**SHOWCARD BB Q84**

1. In paid work
2. In full-time education
3. Unemployed for six months or more
4. Unemployed for less than six months
5. Permanently sick or disabled
6. Retired
7. Looking after the home
8. Doing something else

**NOP/432321**

**SHOWCARD CC Q100**

White

1. White British
2. Any other white background (WRITE IN)

Mixed

3. White and Black Caribbean
4. White and Black African
5. White and Asian
6. Any other mixed background (WRITE IN)

Asian or Asian British

7. Indian
9. Pakistani
10. Bangladeshi
11. Any other Asian background (WRITE IN)

Black or Black British

12. Black Caribbean
13. Black African
14. Any other black background (WRITE IN)

Chinese or other ethnic group

15. Chinese
16. Other ethnic group (WRITE IN)

# British Election Study 2001

## University of Essex

### Self-Completion Questionnaire

Please complete this questionnaire and return it as soon as possible, in the envelope provided, Department of Government, University of Essex, Colchester, CO4 3SQ.

Most questions will require you to put a CROSS (X) in a single box or series of boxes. For example:

Male	
Female	X

Please complete using a blue or black pen and mark your answers as clearly as possible. Only you should fill in the questionnaire, and not anyone else at your address. All answers will be treated as confidential and anonymous.

Everyone who completes the questionnaire will be entered into a lottery, with a first prize of £1,000; a second prize of £500; four £100 prizes; and four £50 prizes. Many thanks for your help!

---

For Office Use Only:

Point No:

--	--	--	--

Address No:

--	--

Date:

--	--

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0	1
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**FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS, PLEASE PLACE A CROSS IN ONE BOX TO INDICATE YOUR ANSWER**

**Section 1: The Election** ■

1. Did you care which party won the recent general election? PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

Cared a good deal	<input type="checkbox"/>
Didn't care very much	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

2a. If you had been able to vote for two parties, rather than just one party, in the general election that was held on June 7th, would you have voted for two parties? PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOW PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 2b AND 2c
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 3
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 3

2b. Which party would have been your first choice?

[WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

2c. Which party would have been your second choice?

[WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

3. On average, how many days a week do you watch all or part of any national news programme on any television channel?

PLEASE ENTER NUMBER OF DAYS A WEEK ON AVERAGE

--	--

4. Thinking about the newspaper that you read most often, how much attention did you pay to stories about the general election? PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

A great deal of attention	<input type="checkbox"/>
A fair amount of attention	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some attention	<input type="checkbox"/>
No attention	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Do you ever go online to access the Internet or to send and receive email? CROSS ONE BOX

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. How much did you use the Internet to get information about the recent general election? PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

- A great deal
- A fair amount
- Not very much
- Not at all
- Don't know

**IF YOU VOTED IN THE LOCAL ELECTION HELD WHERE YOU LIVE ON JUNE 7th, PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 7**

**IF YOU DID NOT VOTE IN A LOCAL ELECTION HELD ON JUNE 7th, PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 8**

7. People decide how they are going to vote for a number of reasons. Which of these were important to you in deciding how to vote in the **local** election? PLEASE CROSS MORE THAN ONE BOX IF MORE THAN ONE REASON APPLIES TO YOU.

- I always vote that way
- I thought the person I voted for was the best candidate
- I wanted to stop another party/candidate from winning
- The party I really supported had no chance of winning
- The party I voted for has the best policies for this local area
- I think it is good to have different parties in control of different parts of government
- I usually vote for that party in the local elections
- I normally vote for that party, but did not do so at the general election
- I wanted to send a message to the party I normally vote for that they are doing a poor job for the council
- Other reason [WRITE IN] \_\_\_\_\_

8. How good a job do you think that Tony Blair is doing as Prime Minister? PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

- A very good job
- Good job
- Bad job
- Very bad job
- Don't know

**Section 2: The Parties**

9. Some people say that political parties look after the interests of some groups and are not so concerned about others. How well do you think that the **Labour** Party looks after the interests of the following groups? PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW

	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all well	Don't know
Working class people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Middle class people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People who are unemployed or on benefits	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Big business	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trade unions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Black people and Asians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Women	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pensioners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. How well do you think that the **Conservative** Party looks after the interests of the following groups? PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW

	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all well	Don't know
Working class people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Middle class people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People who are unemployed or on benefits	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Big business	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trade unions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Black people and Asians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Women	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pensioners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Now, considering everything the Conservative and Labour parties stand for, would you say that there is... PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

A great difference between them	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some difference between them	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not much difference between them	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. Generally speaking, do you think of the Liberal Democrats as being closer to the Conservative Party or closer to the Labour Party? PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

Closer to the Conservatives	<input type="checkbox"/>
Closer to Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>
No difference or not close to either	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Section 3: Issues**

13. Some people think that reducing crime is more important than protecting the rights of people accused of committing crimes. Other people think that protecting the rights of accused people is more important than reducing crime. On the 0-10 scale below, where would you place...

CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW	Reducing Crime more important										Rights of Accused more important											
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Your own view																						
The Labour Party's view																						
The Conservative Party's view																						
The Liberal Democrat Party's view																						
<i>IF YOU LIVE IN SCOTLAND</i>																						
The SNP's view																						
<i>IF YOU LIVE IN WALES</i>																						
Plaid Cymru's view																						

14. Some people think that Britain should definitely replace the Pound with the Euro. Other people think that Britain should definitely keep the Pound. On the 0-10 scale below, where would you place...

CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW	Definitely Replace £										Definitely Keep £											
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Your own view																						
The Labour Party's view																						
The Conservative Party's view																						
The Liberal Democrat Party's view																						
<i>IF YOU LIVE IN SCOTLAND</i>																						
The SNP's view																						
<i>IF YOU LIVE IN WALES</i>																						
Plaid Cymru's view																						

15. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.  
PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The death penalty, even for very serious crimes, is never justified	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Violent criminals deserve to be deprived of some of their human rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Convicted criminals need to be rehabilitated rather than punished	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People who break the law should be given longer prison sentences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



16. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Immigrants increase crime rates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Immigrants generally are good for Britain's economy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in Britain	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Immigrants make Britain more open to new ideas and cultures	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Most asylum seekers who come to Britain should be sent home immediately	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Women MPs better represent women's interests than do male MPs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Most men are better suited for politics than are most women	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Women need to get more involved in politics to solve problems that concern them	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A husband's job is to earn the money; a wife's job is to look after the home and family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18. How do you think the general economic situation in **this part of the country** has changed over the last 12 months? Has it... PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

Got a lot worse	<input type="checkbox"/>
Got a little worse	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stayed the same	<input type="checkbox"/>
Got a little better	<input type="checkbox"/>
Got a lot better	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>



19. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.  
PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Ordinary working people get their fair share of the nation's wealth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is one law for the rich and one for the poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is no need for strong trade unions to protect employees' working conditions and wages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Private enterprise is the best way to solve Britain's economic problems	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional British values	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People should be allowed to organise public meetings to protest against the government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People in Britain should be more tolerant of those who lead unconventional lifestyles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Political parties that wish to overthrow democracy should not be allowed to stand in general elections	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Big international companies are a threat to democratic government in Britain	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
We worry too much about the environment today and not enough about people's jobs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Section 4: Democracy in Britain**

20. Now, thinking about institutions like Parliament, please use the 0-10 scale to indicate how much respect you have for each of the following, where 0 means **no respect** and 10 means **a great deal of respect**.

CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW	No Respect										A great deal of Respect
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
The Parliament at Westminster											
The Civil Service											
The Police											
Local Government in your area											
The European Union											
Politicians generally											
The Courts											
The Scottish Parliament											
The Welsh Assembly											

21. Please indicate how you feel about general elections here in Britain - not a particular election but elections in general. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW]

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Elections help to keep politicians accountable for the promises they make	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Elections allow voters to express their opinions but don't really change anything	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Elections give voters an opportunity to tell politicians what they think is really important	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
All things considered, most elections are just a big waste of time and money	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. Now a few questions about political parties in Britain, not any particular party, but political parties generally. [PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW]

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
There is often a big difference between what a party promises it will do and what it actually does when it wins an election	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Political parties are more interested in winning elections than in governing afterwards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The main political parties in Britain don't offer voters real choices in elections because their policies are pretty much all the same	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Political parties do more to divide the country than to unite it	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Political parties spend too much time bickering with each other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parties generally do a good job in finding well-qualified people to run for Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Being involved in a group like Greenpeace or the Countryside Alliance is a better way of influencing government than being active in a political party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In elections, political parties don't tell people about the really important problems facing the country	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. There is a lot of talk about democracy these days and people have different opinions about what a democracy should be. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW]

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
In a democracy, the majority has a right to pass laws to protect its own language and culture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A democracy has the right to ban violent political groups, even if it means restricting some individuals' rights	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In a true democracy, the majority has a responsibility to protect the rights of all minorities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is nothing more to democracy than giving people the right to vote in free elections	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In a true democracy, income and wealth are redistributed to ordinary working people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. Thinking now of trade unions and big business in this country. First, do you think that trade unions... PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

Have too much power	<input type="checkbox"/>
Or not?	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. Do you think that big business in this country.. PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX ONLY.

Have too much power	<input type="checkbox"/>
Or not?	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Section 5: Social Background**

26. Imagine that the people you know well are on different rungs of the ladder shown below. Those who are worst off are on rung 0. Those who are best off are on rung 10. In your opinion, which rung are you on? PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

	Best off
10	<input type="checkbox"/>
9	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>
0	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Worst off

27. What annual income do you think is necessary in order to maintain a proper standard of living for people like yourself? PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX.

Less than £5,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	£30,001 to £35,000	<input type="checkbox"/>
£5,001 to £10,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	£35,001 to £40,000	<input type="checkbox"/>
£10,001 to £15,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	£40,001 to £45,000	<input type="checkbox"/>
£15,001 to £20,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	£45,001 to £50,000	<input type="checkbox"/>
£20,001 to £25,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	£50,001 to £60,000	<input type="checkbox"/>
£25,001 to £30,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	£60,001 or more	<input type="checkbox"/>



33. To help us plan better in the future, please tell us about how long it took you to complete this questionnaire PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

Less than 15 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between 15 and 20 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between 21 and 30 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between 31 and 45 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between 46 and 60 minutes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Over one hour	<input type="checkbox"/>

### End of the Questionnaire

**Please check that you have answered all the questions**

**Please use the stamped, self-addressed envelope to return the questionnaire promptly to us by post.**

**If you would like a summary of the study results, then please put a cross here**

**A summary will also be available at [www.essex.ac.uk/bes](http://www.essex.ac.uk/bes)**

**Thank you very much for your help!**

## 2001 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY - Northern Ireland

INTRO Good %POD%. I am ..... from FDS Market Research. We are conducting the 2001 British Election study on behalf of the University of Essex. This survey is conducted after every General Election and is used by all parties to help understand people's reasons for voting or not voting and their choice of party.

Card: 04 (6-7)  
(8) SP

Yes - Continue (Type "exit" for  
appointment/refusal).....1

---

QA Are there any men in the household aged 18 or over?

(9) SP  
Yes me.....1 GO TO QC  
Yes.....2 GO TO QB  
No.....3 GO TO QB1

---



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---

QB1 Are there any women aged 65 or over in the household?

Card: 09 (6-7)  
(9) SP  
Yes me.....1 GO TO QC  
Yes.....2 GO TO QB2  
No.....3 GO TO HANGUP

---

QB2 Could I speak to her?

(10) SP  
Will transfer you.....1 GO TO INTRO1  
Not available.....2 GO TO HANGUP  
Refused.....3 GO TO CLOSE41

---

QB Could I speak to him?

Card: 04 (6-7)  
(10) SP  
Will transfer you.....1 GO TO INTRO1  
Not available.....2 GO TO HANGUP  
Refused.....3 GO TO CLOSE41

---

INTRO1 Good %POD%. I am ..... from FDS Market Research. We are conducting the 2001 British Election study on behalf of the University of Essex. This survey is conducted after every General Election and is used by all parties to help understand people's reasons for voting or not voting and their choice of party.

(11) SP  
Yes - Continue (Type "exit" for  
appointment/refusal).....1

---

QC CODE GENDER

(12) SP  
Male.....1  
Female.....2

---

IF NECESSARY CHECK CONTACT IS OVER 18

---

PAUSE

---

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QD We would like you to help us in our survey. All your answers will be treated in strictest confidence and not associated with you personally. The interview takes about 20-25 minutes and as a token of appreciation we will make a payment of £5 either to yourself or to charity. Is now a good time to do the inter view?

(13) SP  
 Yes.....1  
 Willing but not now.....2 GO TO HANGUP  
 Refused.....3 GO TO CLOSE42

Q1 Firstly, how interested were you in the general election that was held on June 7th this year?

(14) SP  
 Very interested.....1  
 Somewhat interested.....2  
 Not very interested.....3  
 Not at all interested.....4  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

Q2A In your opinion, what was the single most important issue in the general election?

(15) SP  
 Britain's relations with Europe / Britain's  
 Membership in European Monetary Union /pound/Euro/single currency.....1  
 Law and Order/Crime.....2  
 Educational standards/ teacher's pay.....3  
 Foot and Mouth.....4  
 National Health Service/ waiting lists/  
 doctors'/nurses' pay.....5  
 Inflation, Prices generally.....6  
 Public transport.....7  
 Taxation.....8  
 State of the economy generally / my standard of  
 living.....9  
 (16) SP  
 Unemployment.....0  
 Pensions.....1  
 Peace process in Northern Ireland.....2  
 Northern Ireland's constitution.....3  
 Violence and paramilitaries in Northern Ireland..4  
 There are no important issues.....5 GO TO Q3A  
 (15) SP  
 Other (specify) 0

(17-26)  
 Specified Other

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(15) SP  
 Don't know.....Y GO TO Q3A  
 Refused.....{ GO TO Q3A

Q2B Which party is best able to handle this issue?

(27) SP  
 None/No Party.....1  
 Labour.....2  
 Conservative.....3  
 Liberal Democrat.....4  
 Green Party.....5  
 SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party).....6  
 UUP (Ulster Unionist Party).....7  
 DUP (Democratic Unionist Party).....8  
 Sinn Fein (SF).....9  
 (28) SP  
 Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of  
 Northern Ireland).....0  
 UKU (United Kingdom Unionists).....1  
 Progressive Unionist Party (PUP).....2  
 Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (WC).....3  
 UDP (Ulster Democratic Party).....4  
 (27) SP  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

SET Q2BNUM=NBIT(Q2B)  
 IF(Q2BNUM<6){

Q2C Which Northern Ireland party is closest to you on this issue?

(29) SP  
 SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party).....1  
 UUP (Ulster Unionist Party).....2  
 DUP (Democratic Unionist Party).....3  
 Sinn Fein (SF).....4  
 Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of  
 Northern Ireland).....5  
 UKU (United Kingdom Unionists).....6  
 Progressive Unionist Party (PUP).....7  
 Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (WC).....8  
 UDP (Ulster Democratic Party).....9  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

}

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Q3A 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?

(30) SP  
 Yes.....1  
 No.....2 GO TO Q6

Q3B Which party did you vote for in the general election?  
 [DO NOT PROMPT]

(31) SP  
 Did not vote.....1 GO TO Q5  
 SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party).....2  
 UUP (Ulster Unionist Party).....3  
 DUP (Democratic Unionist Party).....4  
 Sinn Fein (SF).....5  
 Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of Northern Ireland).....6  
 UKU (United Kingdom Unionists).....7  
 Progressive Unionist Party (PUP).....8  
 Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (WC).....9  
 (32) SP  
 UDP (Ulster Democratic Party).....0  
 (31) SP  
 Other (specify) 0

(33-42)  
 Specified Other  
 (31) SP  
 Refused.....{

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

Q4ROT

%R% \_\_\_\_\_ (44)

IF(R=1){

Q4A People give different reasons for why they vote for one party rather than another. Which of the following best describes your reasons?

SP  
 The party had the best policies.....[]  
 The party had the best leader.....[]

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I really preferred another party but it stood no  
 chance of winning in my constituency.....[]  
 (I voted tactically) [DO NOT READ OUT].....[]  
 Don't know.....[]  
 Refused.....[]

```
IF(Q4A=DK){
SET Q4=DK
}ELSE{
IF(Q4A=REF){
SET Q4=REF
}ELSE{
SET Q4ANUM=NBIT(Q4A)
SET Q4TXT=ELM(Q4A/Q4ANUM)
SET Q4=Q4TXT
}
}
}ELSE{
```

Q4B People give different reasons for why they vote for one party rather than another. Which of the following best describes your reasons?

SP

The party had the best leader.....[]  
 The party had the best policies.....[]  
 I really preferred another party but it stood no  
 chance of winning in my constituency.....[]  
 (I voted tactically) [DO NOT READ OUT].....[]  
 Don't know.....[]  
 Refused.....[]

```
IF(Q4B=DK){
SET Q4=DK
}ELSE{
IF(Q4B=REF){
SET Q4=REF
}ELSE{
SET Q4BNUM=NBIT(Q4B)
SET Q4TXT=ELM(Q4B/Q4BNUM)
SET Q4=Q4TXT
}
}
}
SET Q4NUM=NBIT(Q4)
IF((Q4NUM=3).OR.(Q4NUM=4)){
```

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Q5 Which party did you really prefer? [DO NOT PROMPT]

	(45)	SP
Conservative.....	1	
Labour.....	2	
Liberal Democrat.....	3	
Green Party.....	4	
SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party).....	5	
UUP (Ulster Unionist Party).....	6	
DUP (Democratic Unionist Party).....	7	
Sinn Fein (SF).....	8	
Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of Northern Ireland).....	9	
	(46)	SP
UKU (United Kingdom Unionists).....	0	
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP).....	1	
Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (WC).....	2	
UDP (Ulster Democratic Party).....	3	
	(45)	SP
Other (specify)	0	
	(47-56)	
Specified Other		
	(45)	SP
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

}

Q6 Thinking about the foot and mouth crisis. Do you think the Government has done a very good job, a good job, a bad job or a very bad job in handling the foot and mouth crisis?

	(57)	SP
Very good job.....	1	
Good job.....	2	
Bad job.....	3	
Very bad job.....	4	
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

Now, thinking about political institutions like Parliament, please think of a scale from 0 - 10 to indicate how much respect you have for each of the following, where 0 means no respect and 10 means a great deal of respect.

PAUSE

SET R=ROTATION

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Q7 . . . . ?

- 1- The Northern Ireland Assembly
- 2- The Parliament in Westminster
- 3- The Dail in Dublin
- 4- The European Parliament

	-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-
	(58-59)	(60-61)	(62-63)	(64-65)
0 TO 10.....				
Don't know.....	Y	Y	Y	Y
Refused.....	{	{	{	{

Q7ROT

%R% \_\_\_\_\_ (66)

Using the 0 - 10 scale where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about:

PAUSE

Q8 Q8

	1	2	3	4	5
	(67-68)	(69-70)	(71-72)	(73-74)	(75-76)
0 TO 10.....					
Don't know.....	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Refused.....	{	{	{	{	{

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

Q8ROT

%R% \_\_\_\_\_ (77)

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---

```
IF(R=1){
  SET Q8LST1='SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party)'
  SET Q8LST2='UUP (Ulster Unionist Party)'
  SET Q8LST3='DUP (Democratic Unionist Party)'
}
IF(R=2){
  SET Q8LST1='UUP (Ulster Unionist Party)'
  SET Q8LST2='DUP (Democratic Unionist Party)'
  SET Q8LST3='SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party)'
}
IF(R=3){
  SET Q8LST1='DUP (Democratic Unionist Party)'
  SET Q8LST2='SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party)'
  SET Q8LST3='UUP (Ulster Unionist Party)'
}
```

---

```
UNSET Q8D
SET Q8D=Q8X
UNSET SUB
SET SUB=NBIT(Q8D)
```

---

Q8V .... ?

- 1- [+Q8lst1+]
- 2- [+Q8lst2+]
- 3- [+Q8lst3+]
- 4- Sinn Fein (SF)
- 5- Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of Northern Ireland)

-1- -2- -3- -4- -5-

0 TO 10..... \_\_\_\_\_

Don't know..... \_\_\_\_\_

Refused..... \_\_\_\_\_

```
SET Q8(SUB)=Q8V(*)
```

---

Now, thinking about the party leaders, use the scale from 0 - 10 where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, to tell me how do you feel about:

---

PAUSE

---



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Q9	Q9	1	2	3	4	5
		(78-79)	5/8-9	(10-11)	(12-13)	(14-15)
0 TO 10.....						
Don't know.....		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Refused.....		{	{	{	{	{

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

Q9ROT

%R% \_\_\_\_\_ (16)

```

IF(R=1){
SET Q9LST1='Labour Leader Tony Blair'
SET Q9LST2='Conservative Leader William Hague'
SET Q9LST3='Liberal Democrat Leader Charles Kennedy'
}
IF(R=2){
SET Q9LST1='Conservative Leader William Hague'
SET Q9LST2='Liberal Democrat Leader Charles Kennedy'
SET Q9LST3='Labour Leader Tony Blair'
}
IF(R=3){
SET Q9LST1='Liberal Democrat Leader Charles Kennedy'
SET Q9LST2='Labour Leader Tony Blair'
SET Q9LST3='Conservative Leader William Hague'
}
    
```

```

UNSET Q9D
SET Q9D=Q9X
UNSET SUB
SET SUB=NBIT(Q9D)
    
```

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Q9V . . . . ?

- 1- [+Q91st1+]
- 2- [+Q91st2+]
- 3- [+Q91st3+]
- 4- UUP Leader David Trimble
- 5- SDLP Deputy Leader Seamus Mallon

-1-                    -2-                    -3-                    -4-                    -5-

0 TO 10..... \_\_\_\_\_  
 Don't know.....  
 Refused.....

SET Q9(SUB)=Q9V(\*)

Q10A            How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago? Has it:

- (17) SP
- Got a lot worse.....1
  - Got a little worse.....2
  - Stayed the same.....3
  - Got a little better.....4
  - Got a lot better.....5
  - Don't know.....Y
  - Refused.....{

Q10B            How do you think the financial situation of your household will change over the next 12 months? Will it:

- (18) SP
- Get a lot worse.....1
  - Get a little worse.....2
  - Stay the same.....3
  - Get a little better.....4
  - Get a lot better.....5
  - Don't know.....Y
  - Refused.....{

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---

Q10C How do you think the general economic situation in the UK has changed over the last 12 months. Has it:

(19) SP  
Got a lot worse.....1  
Got a little worse.....2  
Stayed the same.....3  
Got a little better.....4  
Got a lot better.....5  
Don't know.....Y  
Refused.....{

---

Q10D How do you think the general economic situation in the UK will develop over the next 12 months? Will it:

(20) SP  
Get a lot worse.....1  
Get a little worse.....2  
Stay the same.....3  
Get a little better.....4  
Get a lot better.....5  
Don't know.....Y  
Refused.....{

---

SET R=ROTATION

---

SET R=ROTATION

---

Q11ROT

%R% \_\_\_\_\_ (22)

---

IF(R=1){

---

Q11A If Britain were in economic difficulties, which party do you think would be able to handle the situation best - Labour or the Conservatives?

SP  
Labour.....[ ]  
Conservatives.....[ ]  
Neither (DO NOT PROMPT).....[ ]  
Don't know.....[ ]  
Refused.....[ ]

---

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```

IF(Q11A=DK){
SET Q11=DK
}ELSE{
IF(Q11A=REF){
SET Q11=REF
}ELSE{
SET Q11ANUM=NBIT(Q11A)
SET Q11TXT=ELM(Q11A/Q11ANUM)
SET Q11=Q11TXT
}
}
}ELSE{

```

Q11B If Britain were in economic difficulties, which party do you think would be able to handle the situation best - the Conservatives or Labour?

```

Conservatives.....[ ]
Labour.....[ ]
Neither (DO NOT PROMPT).....[ ]
Don't know.....[ ]
Refused.....[ ]

```

```

IF(Q11B=DK){
SET Q11=DK
}ELSE{
IF(Q11B=REF){
SET Q11=REF
}ELSE{
SET Q11BNUM=NBIT(Q11B)
SET Q11TXT=ELM(Q11B/Q11BNUM)
SET Q11=Q11TXT
}
}
}

```

Q12 Thinking of the Single European Currency, which of the following statements comes closest to your view?

```

(23) SP
Definitely join.....1
Wait and see how it develops.....2
Definitely stay out.....3
Don't know.....Y
Refused.....{

```

Now, some questions about politics and public affairs more generally.

PAUSE

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In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Using the scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means left and 10 means right, where would you place. . . READ OUT

PAUSE

Q13 . . . . ?

- 1- SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party)
- 2- UUP (Ulster Unionist Party)
- 3- DUP (Democratic Unionist Party)
- 4- Sinn Fein (SF)
- 5- Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of Northern Ireland)
- 6- and, finally where would you place yourself

	-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	-5-	-6-
	(24-25)	(26-27)	(28-29)	(30-31)	(32-33)	(34-35)
0 TO 10.....						
Don't know.....	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Refused.....	{	{	{	{	{	{

In politics, people sometimes talk of Republican and Loyalist. Using the scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means Republican and 10 means Loyalist where would you place: READ OUT

PAUSE

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Q14 ..... ?

- 1- SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party)
- 2- UUP (Ulster Unionist Party)
- 3- DUP (Democratic Unionist Party)
- 4- Sinn Fein (SF)
- 5- Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of Northern Ireland)
- 6- and, finally where would you place yourself

	-1- (36-37)	-2- (38-39)	-3- (40-41)	-4- (42-43)	-5- (44-45)	-6- (46-47)
0 TO 10.....						
Don't know.....	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Refused.....	{	{	{	{	{	{

Q15A On a scale from 0 - 10 where 0 means no attention and 10 means a great deal of attention, how much attention do you pay to politics and public affairs?

0 TO 10 \_\_\_\_\_ (48-49)  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

Q15B On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means no influence, and 10 means a great deal of influence, how much influence do you have on politics and public affairs?

0 TO 10 \_\_\_\_\_ (50-51)  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

Q16A Some people think of themselves as usually being a supporter of one political party rather than another. Do you usually think of yourself as being a supporter of one particular party or not?

(52) SP  
 Yes.....1 GO TO Q16B  
 No.....2 GO TO Q17  
 Don't know.....Y GO TO Q17  
 Refused.....{ GO TO Q17

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Q16B Which party is that?  
[DO NOT PROMPT BY MENTIONING PARTY NAMES]

	(53)	SP
None/No.....	1	
SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party).....	2	
UUP (Ulster Unionist Party).....	3	
DUP (Democratic Unionist Party).....	4	
Sinn Fein (SF).....	5	
Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of Northern Ireland).....	6	
UKU (United Kingdom Unionists).....	7	
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP).....	8	
Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (WC).....	9	
	(54)	SP
UDP (Ulster Democratic Party).....	0	
Conservative.....	1	
Labour.....	2	
Liberal Democrat.....	3	
Green Party.....	4	
	(53)	SP
Refused.....	{	

Q17 Thinking back to the last general election in May 1997, do you  
remember which party you voted for then, or perhaps you didn't vote?  
[DO NOT PROMPT]

	(55)	SP
Did not vote.....	1	
SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party).....	2	
UUP (Ulster Unionist Party).....	3	
DUP (Democratic Unionist Party).....	4	
Sinn Fein (SF).....	5	
Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of Northern Ireland).....	6	
UKU (United Kingdom Unionists).....	7	
Other (specify)	0	
	(56-65)	
Specified Other		
	(55)	SP
No answer.....	X	
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

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Q18 Do you think the long term policy for Northern Ireland should be for it... READ OUT

(66) SP  
 To remain part of the United Kingdom.....1  
 To reunify with the rest of Ireland or.....2  
 To become an independent state.....3  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

Q19 How much say do you think a Westminster government of any party should have in the way Northern Ireland is run? Do you think it should have..... READ OUT

(67) SP  
 A great deal of say.....1  
 Some say.....2  
 A little say.....3  
 No say at all.....4  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

Here are some statements that people sometimes make about the situation in Northern Ireland. For each statement could you tell me whether you agree or disagree?

PAUSE

Q20 .... ?

- 1- The best way to achieve peace in Northern Ireland is for Northern Ireland to be reunified with the rest of Ireland.
- 2- The British government should declare its intention to withdraw from Northern Ireland at a fixed date in the future.
- 3- The Irish government should abandon its goal of a united Ireland altogether

	-1-	-2-	-3-	
	(68)	(69)	(70)	SP
Agree.....	1	1	1	
Disagree.....	2	2	2	
Don't know.....	Y	Y	Y	
Refused.....	{	{	{	



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Q21 On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way that democracy works in the UK?

	(71)	SP
Very satisfied.....	1	
Fairly satisfied.....	2	
Fairly dissatisfied.....	3	
Very dissatisfied.....	4	
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

Q22A Thinking back to the election for the Northern Ireland Assembly in June 1998, did you vote in that election?

	(72)	SP
Yes.....	1	GO TO Q22B
No.....	2	GO TO Q23
Don't know.....	Y	GO TO Q23
Refused.....	{	GO TO Q23

Q22B Do you remember which party was your first preference?

	(73)	SP
Yes.....	1	GO TO Q22C
No.....	2	GO TO Q23
Don't know.....	Y	GO TO Q23

Q22C Which was that?

	(74)	SP
SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party).....	1	
UUP (Ulster unionist Party).....	2	
DUP (Democratic Unionist Party).....	3	
Sinn Fein (SF).....	4	
Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of Northern Ireland).....	5	
UKU (United Kingdom Unionists).....	6	
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP).....	7	
Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (WC).....	8	
UDP (Ulster Democratic Party).....	9	
Other (specify)	0	

Card: 06 (6-7)

	(8-17)
Specified Other	

Card: 05 (6-7)

	(74)	SP
Refused.....	{	

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Q23 Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to any particular class?  
[IF YES] Which class is that? PROMPT IF NECESSARY

Card: 06 (6-7)

(18) SP  
 Yes, middle class.....1  
 Yes, working class.....2  
 Yes, other.....3  
 No.....4  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

Q24 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as....? READ OUT  
OPTIONS 1-4

(19) SP  
 Irish.....1  
 British.....2  
 European or.....3  
 None of these/ Other.....4  
 Northern Irish / Ulster (Volunteered).....5  
 English (Volunteered).....6  
 Scottish (Volunteered).....7  
 Welsh (Volunteered).....8  
 Irish and British (Volunteered).....9  
 (20) SP  
 Irish and European (Volunteered).....0  
 British and European (Volunteered).....1  
 Irish, British and European (Volunteered).....2  
 (19) SP  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

We would like to know how important certain issues are to you. Using the 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means not important and 10 means extremely important. How important is:

PAUSE

Q25	Q25	1	2	3	4	5	6
		(21-22)	(23-24)	(25-26)	(27-28)	(29-30)	(31-32)
0 TO 10.....							
Don't know.....		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Refused.....		{	{	{	{	{	{

SET R=ROTATION

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---

SET R=ROTATION

---

SET R=ROTATION

---

SET R=ROTATION

---

Q25ROT

%R% \_\_\_\_\_ (33)

---

```
IF(R=1){
SET Q25LST1='Devolution in Northern Ireland'
SET Q25LST2='The level of crime in Britain'
SET Q25LST3='Education'
SET Q25LST4='Implementing the Belfast Agreement'
}
IF(R=2){
SET Q25LST1='The level of crime in Britain'
SET Q25LST2='Education'
SET Q25LST3='Implementing the Belfast Agreement'
SET Q25LST4='Devolution in Northern Ireland'
}
IF(R=3){
SET Q25LST1='Education'
SET Q25LST2='Implementing the Belfast Agreement'
SET Q25LST3='Devolution in Northern Ireland'
SET Q25LST4='The level of crime in Britain'
}
IF(R=4){
SET Q25LST1='Implementing the Belfast Agreement'
SET Q25LST2='Devolution in Northern Ireland'
SET Q25LST3='The level of crime in Britain'
SET Q25LST4='Education'
}
```

---

```
UNSET Q25D
SET Q25D=Q25X
UNSET SUB
SET SUB=NBIT(Q25D)
```

---

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Q25V . . . . ?

- 1- Taxation
- 2- The National Health Service
- 3- [+Q251st1+]
- 4- [+Q251st2+]
- 5- [+Q251st3+]
- 6- [+Q251st4+]

-1-      -2-      -3-      -4-      -5-      -6-

0 TO 10..... \_\_\_\_\_  
 Don't know..... \_\_\_\_\_  
 Refused..... \_\_\_\_\_

SET Q25(SUB)=Q25V(\*)

How many marks out of 10 would you give the government for its performance in each of the following areas?

PAUSE

Q26      Q26

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	(34-35)	(36-37)	(38-39)	(40-41)	(42-43)	(44-45)
0 TO 10.....						
Don't know.....	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Refused.....	{	{	{	{	{	{

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

Q26ROT

%R%      \_\_\_\_\_      (46)

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```

IF(R=1){
SET Q26LST1='Devolution in Northern Ireland'
SET Q26LST2='The level of crime in Britain'
SET Q26LST3='Education'
SET Q26LST4='Implementing the Belfast Agreement'
}
IF(R=2){
SET Q26LST1='The level of crime in Britain'
SET Q26LST2='Education'
SET Q26LST3='Implementing the Belfast Agreement'
SET Q26LST4='Devolution in Northern Ireland'
}
IF(R=3){
SET Q26LST1='Education'
SET Q26LST2='Implementing the Belfast Agreement'
SET Q26LST3='Devolution in Northern Ireland'
SET Q26LST4='The level of crime in Britain'
}
IF(R=4){
SET Q26LST1='Implementing the Belfast Agreement'
SET Q26LST2='Devolution in Northern Ireland'
SET Q26LST3='The level of crime in Britain'
SET Q26LST4='Education'
}

```

```

UNSET Q26D
SET Q26D=Q26X
UNSET SUB
SET SUB=NBIT(Q26D)

```

Q26V        .... ?

- 1-        Taxation
- 2-        The National Health Service
- 3-        [+Q26lst1+]
- 4-        [+Q26lst2+]
- 5-        [+Q26lst3+]
- 6-        [+Q26lst4+]

-1-        -2-        -3-        -4-        -5-        -6-

0 TO 10..... \_\_\_\_\_

Don't know..... \_\_\_\_\_

Refused..... \_\_\_\_\_

SET Q26(SUB)=Q26V(\*)

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Q27A Thinking again of the recent general election, did a canvasser from any party call at your home to talk to you during the election campaign?

(47) SP  
 Yes.....1  
 No.....2 GO TO Q28A

Q27B [NOTE: This is an open ended question] Which party or parties did they represent?  
 [CODE ALL THAT APPLY]

(48) MP  
 SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party).....1  
 UUP (Ulster Unionist Party).....2  
 DUP (Democratic Unionist Party).....3  
 Sinn Fein (SF).....4  
 Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of Northern Ireland).....5  
 UKU (United Kingdom Unionists).....6  
 Progressive Unionist Party (PUP).....7  
 Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (WC).....8  
 UDP (Ulster Democratic Party).....9  
 (49) MP  
 Green Party.....0  
 (48) MP  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

Q28A Did anyone from a political party telephone you during the election campaign to ask you how you might vote?

(50) SP  
 Yes.....1 GO TO Q28B  
 No.....2 GO TO Q29

Q28B [NOTE: This is an open ended question] Which party or parties did they represent?  
 [CODE ALL THAT APPLY]

(51) MP  
 SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party).....1  
 UUP (Ulster Unionist Party).....2  
 DUP (Democratic Unionist Party).....3  
 Sinn Fein (SF).....4  
 Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of Northern Ireland).....5  
 UKU (United Kingdom Unionists).....6  
 Progressive Unionist Party (PUP).....7  
 Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (WC).....8  
 UDP (Ulster Democratic Party).....9

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Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

Q29 How much attention did you pay to television coverage during the general election?.

(52) SP  
 A great deal of attention.....1  
 A fair amount of attention.....2  
 Some attention.....3  
 No attention.....4  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

Q30A Do you regularly read one or more daily morning newspapers?

(53) SP  
 Yes.....1 GO TO Q30B  
 No.....2 GO TO Q31CON  
 Refused.....{ GO TO Q31CON

Q30B Which daily morning newspaper do you read most often?

(54) SP  
 The Express.....1  
 The Daily Mail.....2  
 The Mirror.....3  
 The Daily Star.....4  
 The Sun.....5  
 The Daily Telegraph.....6  
 The Financial Times.....7  
 The Guardian.....8  
 The Independent.....9  
 (55) SP  
 The Times.....0  
 The Belfast Evening Telegraph.....1  
 The Newsletter.....2  
 The Irish Times.....3  
 The Irish Independent.....4  
 The Irish News.....5  
 An Poblacht.....6  
 Other Northern Irish / Irish regional or local  
 daily morning newspaper.....7  
 Other Newspaper.....8

SET Q30BNUM=NBIT(Q30B)  
 IF(Q30B=17){

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---

Q30B17 Which other Northern Irish / Irish regional or local daily morning newspaper

(56-65)

---

}  
IF(Q30B=18){

---

Q20B18 Which other Newspaper

(66-75)

---

}

---

Q31CON CONTINUE

---

There is a lot of talk about democracy these days and people have different opinions about what a democracy should be. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

---

PAUSE

---

SET R=ROTATION

---



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Q31 . . . . ?

- 1- In a democracy, the majority has a right to pass laws to protect its own language and culture
- 2- A democracy has the right to ban violent political groups, even if it means restricting some individuals' rights.
- 3- In a true democracy, the majority has a responsibility to protect the rights of all minorities
- 4- There is nothing more to democracy than giving people the right to vote in free elections
- 5- In a true democracy, income and wealth are redistributed to ordinary working people

	-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	-5-	SP
	(76)	(77)	(78)	(79)	(80)	
Agree.....	1	1	1	1	1	
Disagree.....	2	2	2	2	2	
Don't know.....	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Refused.....	{	{	{	{	{	

Q31ROT

Card: 07 (6-7)

%R% \_\_\_\_\_ (8)

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

PAUSE

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Q32 . . . . ?

- 1- Violent criminals deserve to be deprived of some of their human rights.
- 2- The death penalty, even for very serious crimes, is never justified.
- 3- Convicted criminals need to be rehabilitated rather than punished.
- 4- People who break the law should be given longer prison sentences

	-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	
	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	SP
Agree.....	1	1	1	1	
Disagree.....	2	2	2	2	
Don't know.....	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Refused.....	{	{	{	{	

SET R=ROTATION

Q32ROT

%R% \_\_\_\_\_ (13)

Please tell me if you agree, or disagree with each of the following statements.

PAUSE

Q33 . . . . ?

- 1- Private enterprise is the best way to solve Britain's economic problems
- 2- It is the government's responsibility to provide a job for everyone who wants one
- 3- Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards
- 4- Government should redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well off

	-1-	-2-	-3-	-4-	
	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	SP
Agree.....	1	1	1	1	
Disagree.....	2	2	2	2	
Don't know.....	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Refused.....	{	{	{	{	

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SET R=ROTATION

Q33ROT

%R% \_\_\_\_\_ (18)

COLUMN 908

COLUMN 719

Q34 Will you tell me your year of birth please.  
 (INTERVIEWER NOTE: ENTER LAST TWO DIGITS OF YEAR IN RANGE 00 - 83,  
 FOR 1900 or earlier enter 00)

Card: 07 (6-7)

0 TO 83 \_\_\_\_\_ (19-20)  
 Don't know.....Y  
 Refused.....{

```

IF((Q34=DK).OR.(Q34=REF)){
IF(Q34=DK){
SET Q34DUM=DK
}
IF(Q34=REF){
SET Q34DUM=REF
}
GOTO Q35
}ELSE{
SET AGE=101-Q34
IF((AGE>=18).AND.(AGE<=24)){
SET Q34DUM='18-24'
}
IF((AGE>=25).AND.(AGE<=34)){
SET Q34DUM='25-34'
}
IF((AGE>=35).AND.(AGE<=44)){
SET Q34DUM='35-44'
}
IF((AGE>=45).AND.(AGE<=54)){
SET Q34DUM='45-54'
}
IF((AGE>=55).AND.(AGE<=64)){
SET Q34DUM='55-64'
}
IF(AGE>=65){
SET Q34DUM='65+'
}
GOTO Q37
}
    
```

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Q35 In that case could you tell me which age band you would fall into?  
(READ 0 - 4)

	(21)	SP
Younger than 18.....	1	
18-24.....	2	
25-39.....	3	
40-54.....	4	
55 or over.....	5	
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

Q37 Do you or your family, own your own home or do you rent it?

	(22)	SP
Own.....	1	GO TO Q38
Rent.....	2	GO TO Q39
(Neither).....	3	GO TO Q40
Don't know.....	Y	GO TO Q41
Refused.....	{	GO TO Q41

Q38 Is your home paid for or do you have a mortgage?

	(23)	SP
Paid for.....	1	GO TO Q41
Mortgage.....	2	GO TO Q41
Don't know.....	Y	GO TO Q41
Refused.....	{	GO TO Q41

Q39 Do you rent from a council or rent privately? OPEN END AND CODE)

	(24)	SP
Council.....	1	GO TO Q41
Privately.....	2	GO TO Q41
Housing Association/Other (VOLUNTEERED).....	3	GO TO Q41
Don't know.....	Y	GO TO Q41
Refused.....	{	GO TO Q41

Q40 Is your home some other form of accommodation such as a hostel or lodging?

	(25)	SP
Yes.....	1	GO TO Q41
No.....	2	GO TO Q41
Don't know.....	Y	GO TO Q41
Refused.....	{	GO TO Q41

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Q41 At what age did you or will you complete your full-time education?

	(26)	SP
14 or under.....	1	
15.....	2	
16.....	3	
17-18.....	4	
19-20.....	5	
21 or over.....	6	
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

Q42 Do you, or does anyone else in your household run a car including company cars?

	(27)	SP
Yes.....	1	GO TO Q43
No.....	2	GO TO Q44
Don't know.....	Y	GO TO Q44
Refused.....	{	GO TO Q44

Q43 How many cars in total?

	(28)	SP
One.....	1	
Two.....	2	
Three or more.....	3	
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

Q44 Are you employed now?

	(29)	SP
Yes.....	1	
No.....	2	
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

Q45 Are you the chief income earner in the household, that is the person with the largest income, whether from employment, pensions, state benefits, investments or any other source.

	(30)	SP
Yes.....	1	
No.....	2	GO TO Q55
Don't know.....	Y	GO TO Q55
Refused.....	{	GO TO Q55

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```

SET Q44NUM=NBIT(Q44)
SET Q45NUM=NBIT(Q45)
IF((Q44NUM=1).AND.(Q45NUM=1)){
GOTO Q46
}
IF((Q44NUM=2).AND.(Q45NUM=1)){
GOTO Q48
}
    
```

Q46 Are you self-employed:

	(31)	SP
Yes.....1		GO TO Q51
No.....2		GO TO Q47
Don't know.....Y		GO TO Q47
Refused.....{		GO TO Q47

Q47 About how many hours a week do you work?

0+ _____	(32-40)
Don't know.....Y	
Refused.....{	

GOTO Q51

Q48 Are you (READ 1-4)

	(41)	SP
Unemployed.....1		GO TO Q49
Retired, Pensioned.....2		GO TO Q50
Housewife not otherwise employed.....3		GO TO Q65
Student.....4		GO TO Q65
(Other).....5		GO TO Q65
Don't know.....Y		GO TO Q65
Refused.....{		GO TO Q65

Q49 Have you been unemployed for more than six months?

	(42)	SP
Yes.....1		GO TO Q65
No.....2		GO TO Q51
Don't know.....Y		GO TO Q51
Refused.....{		GO TO Q51

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Q50 Do you receive only the basic state retirement pension?

	(43)	SP
Yes.....1		GO TO Q65
No.....2		GO TO Q51
Don't know.....Y		GO TO Q51
Refused.....{		GO TO Q51

Q51 Is your current/was your most recent job a manual or non-manual job?

	(44)	SP
Manual.....1		GO TO Q53
Non-manual.....2		GO TO Q54
(None/Have not worked).....3		GO TO Q65
(Neither).....4		GO TO Q52
Don't know.....Y		GO TO Q52
Refused.....{		GO TO Q65

Q52 For purposes of classification only, we need to determine whether your job is/was a manual or non-manual job. Examples of a manual job would be someone who works with their hands, such as a farm worker, a mechanic, a machine operator, or a waitress. Examples of a non-manual job would include an office worker, a teacher, or a manager. Is/was your job manual or non-manual?

	(45)	SP
Manual.....1		GO TO Q53
Non-manual.....2		GO TO Q54
None/Have not worked).....3		GO TO Q65

Q53 Is/was this manual job skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled?

	(46)	SP
1 Skilled.....1		GO TO Q65
Semi-skilled.....2		GO TO Q65
Unskilled.....3		GO TO Q65
(Never worked).....4		GO TO Q65
Don't know.....Y		GO TO Q65
Refused.....{		GO TO Q65

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Q54 Which of the following best describes your occupation: (READ OUT  
1-6 CODE ONE ONLY)

	(47)	SP
(Never worked).....	1	
Director or Top level management.....	2	
Highly specialised expert such as a surgeon or a barrister.....	3	
Middle management executive/owner of a small business.....	4	
Principal officer in local government or civil service.....	5	
Junior manager.....	6	
Salesperson, office worker.....	7	
Other non-manual.....	8	
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

GOTO Q65

Q55 Is the Chief income earner employed now?

	(48)	SP
Yes.....	1	GO TO Q56
No.....	2	GO TO Q58
Don't know.....	Y	GO TO Q58
Refused.....	{	GO TO Q58

Q56 Is the Chief Income Earner in your household self-employed:

	(49)	SP
Yes.....	1	GO TO Q61
No.....	2	GO TO Q57
Don't know.....	Y	GO TO Q57
Refused.....	{	GO TO Q57

Q57 How many hours a week does the Chief Income Earner in your household work:

0+	_____ (50-58)
Don't know.....	Y
Refused.....	{

GOTO Q61



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Q58 Is the Chief Income Earner in your household (READ 1-4)

	(59)	SP
Unemployed.....1		GO TO Q59
Retired, Pensioned.....2		GO TO Q60
Housewife not otherwise employed.....3		GO TO Q65
Student.....4		GO TO Q65
(Other).....5		GO TO Q65
Don't know.....Y		GO TO Q65
Refused.....{		GO TO Q65

Q59 Has the Chief Income Earner been unemployed for more than six months?

	(60)	SP
Yes.....1		GO TO Q65
No.....2		GO TO Q61
Don't know.....Y		GO TO Q61
Refused.....{		GO TO Q61

Q60 Does the Chief Income Earner receive only the basic state retirement pension?

	(61)	SP
Yes.....1		GO TO Q65
No.....2		GO TO Q61
Don't know.....Y		GO TO Q61
Refused.....{		GO TO Q61

Q61 Is the Chief Income Earner's current/was the Chief Income Earner's most recent job a manual or non-manual job?

	(62)	SP
Manual.....1		GO TO Q63
Non-Manual.....2		GO TO Q64
(None/Have not worked).....3		GO TO Q65
Neither.....4		GO TO Q62
Don't know.....Y		GO TO Q62
Refused.....{		GO TO Q65

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Q62 For purposes of classification only, we need to determine whether the Chief Income Earner's job is/was a manual or non-manual job. Examples of a manual job would be someone who works with their hands, such as a farm worker, a mechanic, a machine operator, or a waitress. Examples of a non-manual job would include an office worker, a teacher, or a manager. Is/was the Chief Income Earner's job manual or non-manual?

	(63)	SP
Manual.....	1	GO TO Q63
Non-manual.....	2	GO TO Q64
(None/Have not worked).....	3	GO TO Q65

Q63 Is/was this manual job skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled?

	(64)	SP
Skilled.....	1	
Semi-skilled.....	2	
Unskilled.....	3	
Never worked.....	4	
Refused.....	{	
Don't know.....	Y	

GOTO Q65

Q64 Which of the following best describes the Chief Income Earner in your household's occupation: (READ OUT 1-6 CODE ONE ONLY)

	(65)	SP
(Never worked).....	1	
Director or Top level management.....	2	
Highly specialised expert such as a surgeon or a barrister.....	3	
Middle management executive/owner of a small business.....	4	
Principal officer in local government or civil service.....	5	
Junior manager.....	6	
Salesperson, office worker.....	7	
Other non-manual.....	8	
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

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Q65 What is your marital status? Are you ... (READ OUT CODES 1-4)

```

                                                    (66) SP
Married.....1
Living as married.....2
Single.....3
Widowed / Divorced / Separated.....4
Don't know.....Y
Refused.....{
    
```

Q66 Do you belong to a trade union?

```

                                                    (67) SP
Yes.....1
No.....2
Don't know.....Y
Refused.....{
    
```

```

SET Q65NUM=NBIT(Q65)
IF((Q65NUM=1).OR.(Q65NUM=2).OR.(Q65=DK).OR.(Q65=REF)){
    
```

Q67 Does your husband/wife belong to a trade union?

```

                                                    (68) SP
Yes.....1
No.....2
No wife/husband.....3
Don't know.....Y
Refused.....{
    
```

}

Q68 And finally could you tell me your total annual household income?

```

                                                    (69) SP
Less than £5,000.....1
£5,000 to £9,999.....2
£10,000 to £14,999.....3
£15,000 to £24,999.....4
£25,000 to £34,999.....5
£35,000 to £49,999.....6
£50,000 or more.....7
Don't know.....Y
Refused.....{
    
```

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Q69 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Republican, Nationalist, Unionist, Loyalist or what?

	(70)	SP
None/No.....	1	
Republican.....	2	
Nationalist.....	3	
Unionist.....	4	
Loyalist.....	5	
Other (specify)	0	

	(71-80)	
Specified Other		
	(70)	SP
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

Please think of a scale from 0 - 10 where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about:

PAUSE

SET R70=ROTATION

Q70 .... ?

	Ian Paisley	Gerry Adams
	8/8-9	(10-11)
0 TO 10.....	_____	_____
Don't know.....	Y	Y
Refused.....	{	{

Q70ROT

%R70%	_____	(12)
-------	-------	------

Q71A Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?

	(13)	SP
Yes.....	1	
No.....	2	
Don't know.....	Y	
Refused.....	{	

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SET Q71ANUM=NBIT(Q71A)  
IF(Q71ANUM=1){

Q71B Which denomination?

	(14)	SP
Church of England/Anglican/Episcopal.....	1	
Roman Catholic.....	2	
Presbyterian/Church of Scotland.....	3	
Methodist.....	4	
Baptist.....	5	
United Reform Church.....	6	
Free Presbyterian.....	7	
Brethren.....	8	
Jewish.....	9	
	(15)	SP
Hindu.....	0	
Islam/Muslim.....	1	
Sikh.....	2	
Buddhist.....	3	
	(14)	SP
Other (specify)	0	

Specified Other (16-25)

}

Thank you for your time and cooperation you have been interviewed by FDS International Ltd on behalf of the University of Essex who are managing the 2001 British Election study.

PAUSE

QDON As a token of our appreciation we will be pleased to post you a cheque for £5 or make a donation to charity on your behalf. Obviously if you choose to receive the cheque yourself we will need your name and address. Which would you prefer?

	(26)	SP
Self.....	1	GO TO Q73
Charity.....	2	GO TO Q74

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---

Q73 Please give me your full name and postal address

(27-36)

---

GOTO QCLOSE

---

Q74 We are supporting four charities to which of these charities would you prefer us to send a cheque. (EXPLAIN IF NECESSARY WE CANNOT ORGANISE CHEQUES TO INDIVIDUAL CHARITIES)

(37) SP

Ulster Society for Prevention Cruelty to Animals.1  
Northern Ireland Help the Aged.....2  
Action Cancer.....3  
NSPCC Northern Ireland.....4

---

QCLOSE Hangup

SP

HANGUP.....[ ]

---

CALLFUNC('qc\_hangup')

---

QINT INTERVIEWER'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I have conducted this interview in full, with the person named below in accordance with your instructions and within the MRS code of conduct.  
TYPE IN YOUR INTERVIEWER NUMBER:

1 TO 999 \_\_\_\_\_ (38-40)

---

SET TIMEND=TIME  
SET CMPL='Complete'  
SET OUTCODE=0  
SET VARNAME='tempcode'  
CALLFUNC('putsmvar',VARNAME,OUTCODE)

---

**2001 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY  
ROLLING CROSS-SECTION SURVEY**

**FIELD FINAL - 8 MAY, 2001**

AC 3186

Project Registration # 133186

\_\_\_APPROVED BY CLIENT

**2001 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY  
Rolling Cross-Section Survey**

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

The Gallup Organization, Inc.  
Colleen Sullivan/Simon Sarkar, Researchers  
Kathryn Smyth, Project Administrator  
Nancy Laverge, Specwriter

Copyright, The Gallup Organization  
INTERVIEWED BY \_\_\_\_\_

May, 2001

n=150 per night

I.D.#: \_\_\_\_\_(1 - 6)

\*\*AREA CODE AND TELEPHONE NUMBER: ( ) \_\_\_\_\_(633.16)

\*\*INTERVIEW TIME: -----(716.6)

**Region Codes (CODE FROM FONEFILE)**

**% Majority (CODE FROM FONEFILE)**

01	Rest of South East (nightly quota=29)
02	East Anglia (nightly quota=6)
03	South West (nightly quota=13)
04	Wales (nightly quota=8)
05	West Midlands (nightly quota=14)
06	North West (nightly quota=17)
07	Yorks & Humberside (nightly quota=13)
08	North (nightly quota=8)
09	Scotland (nightly quota=13)
10	East Midlands (nightly quota=11)
11	Greater London (nightly quota=18)

01	0-2
02	3-5
03	6-9
04	10-12
05	13-15
06	16-17
07	18-20
08	21-25
09	29-29
10	30-39
11	40+

**New Constituency Code (CODE FROM FONEFILE)**

**1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Party (CODE FROM FONEFILE)**

**TV Region Codes (CODE FROM FONEFILE)**

01	Anglia
02	Border
03	Carlton & LWT
04	Central
05	Grampian
06	Granada
07	HTV
08	Meridian
09	Scottish
10	Tyne-Tees
11	West Country
12	Yorkshire

01	1 <sup>st</sup> Con, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Lab
02	1 <sup>st</sup> Con, 2 <sup>nd</sup> LD
03	1 <sup>st</sup> Con, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Nat
04	1 <sup>st</sup> Lab, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Con
05	1 <sup>st</sup> Lab, 2 <sup>nd</sup> LD
06	1 <sup>st</sup> Lab, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Nat/Other
07	1 <sup>st</sup> LD, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Con
08	1 <sup>st</sup> LD, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Lab
09	1 <sup>st</sup> LD, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Nat
10	1 <sup>st</sup> Nat, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Lab
11	1 <sup>st</sup> Nat, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Lab
12	1 <sup>st</sup> Nat, 2 <sup>nd</sup> LD
13	1 <sup>st</sup> Other, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Any

**LD% of the Vote (CODE FROM FONEFILE)**

01	0-9
02	10-14
03	15-19
04	20-22
05	26-28
06	29-31
07	32-35
09	36-39

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_. I'm calling on behalf of the Gallup Poll. We are conducting a survey on the upcoming Election and hope that you or someone else in your household will be able to spare some time to answer a few questions.

To ensure that we are speaking to a representative mix of people throughout the country, could I please speak with the person in your household aged 18 or over who had the most recent birthday.

S1. Gender.  
**(DO NOT ASK; CODE ONLY)**

- 1 Male  
2 Female \_\_\_\_\_(1005)

S2. Will you tell me your year of birth please.  
**(INTERVIEWER NOTE: ENTER LAST TWO DIGITS OF YEAR IN RANGE 00 - 83)**

- 00 1900 or earlier  
DK (Don't Know)  
RF (Refused) \_\_\_\_\_(1006)\_(1007)

**IF S2 IS 84-99 THEN RE-ADMINISTER S2  
IF S2 IS DK OR RF THEN ASK S2a; ELSE SKIP TO PROGRAMME NOTE BEFORE S3**

S2a. In that case could you tell me which age band you would fall into?  
**(READ 0 - 4)**

- 0 Younger than 18  
1 18-24  
2 25-39  
3 40-54  
4 55 or over  
5 (Don't know)  
6 (Refused) \_\_\_\_\_(1008)

**IF S2 IS 83 OR S2a IS 0 THEN ASK S3; ELSE SKIP TO Q1**

S3. Will you have a birthday prior to June 7<sup>th</sup> that will make you eligible to vote?  
**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

- 1 Yes  
2 No } **THANK & TERMINATE**  
3 (Don't know) } **THANK & TERMINATE**  
4 (Refused) } **THANK & TERMINATE** \_\_\_\_\_(1009)



**♣START CLOCK #1♣**

1. How interested are you in the General Election that is to be held on June 7<sup>th</sup> this year?

**(READ 4 - 1)**

- 4 Very interested
- 3 Somewhat interested
- 2 Not very interested
- 1 Not at all interested

5 (Don't know)

6 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_(1010)

2a. In your opinion, what is the **single most important issue** in this Election?

**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

01 Other **(PLEASE LIST)**

02 (Don't know)

03 (Refused)

04 (There are no important issues)

05 HOLD

06 Europe/Euro/Britain's membership of the single European currency/the pound/Britain's relations with the European Union

07 Economy - state of the economy generally

08 Educational standards/ teacher's pay

09 Foot and mouth

10 Inflation, prices generally

11 Law and Order/Crime

12 National Health Service/waiting lists/nurse's pay/Dr's pay

13 Pensions

14 Taxation

15 Transportation - public transport

16 Unemployment

\_(1011)\_(1012)

**IF Q2a IS 01 OR 06 - 16 THEN ASK Q2b; ELSE SKIP TO Q3**

2b. Which party is best able to handle this issue?

**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

01 Other party **(DO NOT LIST)**

02 (Don't know)

03 (Refused)

04 (None/No party closest)

05 HOLD

06 Conservative

07 Labour

08 Liberal Democrat

09 **(IF REGION IS 09)** Scottish National Party (SNP)

10 **(IF REGION IS 04)** Plaid Cymru

11 Green Party

\_(1013)\_(1014)

3. Please think of a scale from 0 to 10, where 10 means **very likely** and 0 means **very unlikely**. How likely is it that you will vote in the General Election on June 7<sup>th</sup>?

(OPEN END AND CODE)

10 Very likely  
09  
08  
07  
06  
05  
04  
03  
02  
01  
00 Very unlikely

11 (Don't know)

12 (Refused) \_(1015)\_(1016)

♣ **STOP CLOCK #1** ♣

\_\_(1800 - 1803)

♣ **START CLOCK #2** ♣

- 4a. If you do vote in the General Election, have you decided which party you will vote for, or haven't you decided yet?

(OPEN END AND CODE)

1 Yes - decided  
2 No - not decided yet

3 Will not vote (VOLUNTEERED)

4 (Don't know)

5 (Refused) \_\_\_\_ (1017)

**IF Q4a IS 1 THEN ASK Q4b; ELSE SKIP TO PROGRAMME NOTE BEFORE Q4d**

- 4b. Which party is that?

(OPEN END AND CODE)

01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)

02 (Don't know)

03 (Refused)

04 HOLD

05 HOLD

06 Conservative

07 Labour

08 Liberal Democrat

09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)

10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru

11 Green Party \_(1018)\_(1019)

(Q4c DELETED)

**IF Q4a IS 2 THEN ASK Q4d; ELSE SKIP TO PROGRAMME NOTE BEFORE Q5a**

4d. Which party do you think you are most likely to vote for?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

- 01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)
  - 02 (Don't know/Undecided)
  - 03 (Refused)
  - 04 HOLD
  - 05 HOLD
  
  - 06 Conservative
  - 07 Labour
  - 08 Liberal Democrat
  - 09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)
  - 10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru
  - 11 Green Party
- \_(1021)\_(1022)

**IF Q4a IS 1 AND Q4b IS 01 OR 06 - 11 THEN ASK Q5a; ELSE SKIP TO PROGRAMME NOTE BEFORE Q5c**

5a. People give different reasons why they vote for one party rather than another.  
Which of the following best describes your reasons for deciding to vote for (IF  
Q4b IS 06 - 11 THEN INSERT "the" RESPONSE FROM Q4b; IF Q4b IS 01  
THEN INSERT "that particular") party?  
(READ AND ROTATE 06 - 08, THEN READ 01)

(NOTE TO SURVENT: IF Q4b IS 11 THEN ONLY INSERT "Green" AND  
NOT "Green Party"; IF Q4b IS 09 THEN ONLY INSERT "Scottish  
National" AND NOT "Scottish National Party")

- 01 Other reason (DO NOT LIST)
  - 02 (Don't know)
  - 03 (Refused)
  - 04 HOLD
  - 05 HOLD
  
  - 06 It has the best policies
  - 07 It has the best leader
  - 08 I really prefer another party but it stands no chance of winning in my  
constituency
- \_(1023)\_(1024)

**IF Q5a IS 08 THEN ASK Q5b; ELSE SKIP TO Q7**

5b. Which party do you really prefer?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)

02 (Don't know)

03 (Refused)

04 (None)

05 HOLD

06 Conservative

07 Labour

08 Liberal Democrat

09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)

10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru

11 Green Party

\_(1025)\_(1026)

**IF Q4a IS 2 AND Q4d IS 01 OR 06 - 11 THEN ASK Q5c; ELSE SKIP TO Q7**

5c. People give different reasons why they vote for one party rather than another. Which of the following best describes why you are most likely to vote for (IF Q4d IS 06 - 11 THEN INSERT "the" RESPONSE IN Q4d; IF Q4d IS 01 THEN INSERT "that particular") party?  
(READ AND ROTATE 06 - 08, THEN READ 01)

(NOTE TO SURVENT: IF Q4d IS 11 THEN ONLY INSERT "Green" AND NOT "Green Party"; IF Q4d IS 09 THEN ONLY INSERT "Scottish National" AND NOT "Scottish National Party")

01 Other reason (DO NOT LIST)

02 (Don't know)

03 (Refused)

04 HOLD

05 HOLD

06 It has the best policies

07 It has the best leader

08 I really prefer another party but it stands no chance of winning in my constituency

\_(1077)\_(1078)

**IF Q5c IS 08 THEN ASK Q5d; ELSE SKIP TO Q7**

5d. Which party do you really prefer?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

- 01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)
  - 02 (Don't know)
  - 03 (Refused)
  - 04 (None)
  - 05 HOLD
  - 06 Conservative
  - 07 Labour
  - 08 Liberal Democrat
  - 09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)
  - 10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru
  - 11 Green Party
- \_(1079)\_(1080)

**(Q6 DELETED)**

7. Do you think the Government has done a very good job, a good job, a bad job or a very bad job in handling the foot and mouth crisis?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

- 4 Very good job
  - 3 Good job
  - 2 Bad job
  - 1 Very bad job
  - 5 (Don't know)
  - 6 (Refused)
- \_\_\_\_(1028)

**(Q8a DELETED)**

**(Q8b DELETED)**

**♣ STOP CLOCK #2♣** \_\_\_\_\_(1804 - 1807)

**♣ START CLOCK #3♣**

**(Q9 MOVED TO Q42)**

10. Using the 0 to 10 scale, where 10 means **strongly like** and 0 means **strongly dislike**, how do you feel about.....?  
**(ROTATE AND ROTATE A - E, AS APPROPRIATE)**

10 Strongly like  
09  
08  
07  
06  
05  
04  
03  
02  
01  
00 Strongly dislike

11 (Don't know)  
12 (Refused)

a Tony Blair \_(1035)\_(1036)  
b William Hague \_(1037)\_(1038)  
c Charles Kennedy \_(1039)\_(1040)  
d **(IF REGION IS 09)** John Swinney \_(1041)\_(1042)  
e **(IF REGION IS 04)** Wyn Jones \_(1043)\_(1044)

11. Who would make the best Prime Minister?  
**(READ AND ROTATE 1 - 3)**

1 Tony Blair  
2 William Hague  
3 Charles Kennedy

4 None **(VOLUNTEERED)**  
5 Someone else **(VOLUNTEERED)**

6 (Don't know)  
7 (Refused) \_\_\_\_ (1045)

**(Q12 DELETED)**

- 12a. Regarding the General Election on June 7<sup>th</sup>, which party do you think is most likely to win in your constituency?  
**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

01 Other party **(DO NOT LIST)**

02 (Don't know/Not sure)  
03 (Refused)  
04 (Election is too close to call)  
05 HOLD

06 Conservative  
07 Labour  
08 Liberal Democrat  
09 **(IF REGION IS 09)** Scottish National Party (SNP)  
10 **(IF REGION IS 04)** Plaid Cymru  
11 Green Party \_(1091)\_(1092)

12b. Which party do you think is most likely to win in the country as a whole?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

- 01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)
  - 02 (Don't know/Not sure)
  - 03 (Refused)
  - 04 (Election is too close to call)
  - 05 HOLD
  - 06 Conservative
  - 07 Labour
  - 08 Liberal Democrat
  - 09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)
  - 10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru
  - 11 Green Party
- \_(1093)\_(1094)

12c. Thinking back to the last General Election in May 1997, do you remember which party you voted for then - or perhaps you didn't vote?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

- 01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)
  - 02 (Don't know/Not sure)
  - 03 (Refused)
  - 04 (Did not vote/Too young to vote in 1997)
  - 05 HOLD
  - 06 Conservative
  - 07 Labour
  - 08 Liberal Democrat
  - 09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)
  - 10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru
  - 11 Green Party
  - 12 UK Independence Party
  - 13 Referendum Party
- \_(1095)\_(1096)

♣ **STOP CLOCK #3** ♣ \_(1808 - 1811)

♣ **START CLOCK #4** ♣

(INTERVIEWER READ): Now, some questions about politics and public affairs more generally.

13. On a scale from 0 to 10 where 10 means a **great deal of attention** and 0 means **no attention**, how much attention do you pay to politics and public affairs?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

- 10 Pay a great deal of attention to politics
  - 09
  - 08
  - 07
  - 06
  - 05
  - 04
  - 03
  - 02
  - 01
  - 00 Pay no attention to politics
  - 11 (Don't know)
  - 12 (Refused)
- \_(1047)\_(1048)

13a. On a scale from 0 to 10 where 10 means a **great deal of influence** and 0 means **no influence**, how much influence do you have on politics and public affairs?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

- 10 Have a great deal of influence on politics
- 09
- 08
- 07
- 06
- 05
- 04
- 03
- 02
- 01
- 00 Have no influence on politics at all

11 (Don't know)

12 (Refused)

\_(1097)\_(1098)

(Q14 RENUMBERED TO Q29a AND MOVED TO AFTER Q29)

(Q15 DELETED)

**♣ STOP CLOCK #4♣**

\_\_(1812 - 1815)

**♣ START CLOCK #5♣**

(Q16 DELETED)

17a. **Generally speaking**, do you think of yourself as Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat, (IF REGION IS 09 THEN INSERT "Scottish Nationalist"; IF REGION IS 04 THEN INSERT "Plaid Cymru") or what?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)

02 (Don't know)

03 (Refused)

04 (None)

05 HOLD

06 Conservative

07 Labour

08 Liberal Democrat

09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)

10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru

11 Green Party

\_(1061)\_(1062)



**IF Q17a IS 02, 03 OR 04 THEN ASK Q17b; ELSE SKIP TO PROGRAMME NOTE BEFORE Q17d**

17b. Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others? If yes, please tell me which party?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

- 01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)
- 02 (Don't know)
- 03 (Refused)
- 04 (No/None)
- 05 HOLD
- 06 Conservative
- 07 Labour
- 08 Liberal Democrat
- 09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)
- 10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru
- 11 Green Party

\_(1063)\_(1064)

(Q17c MERGED WITH Q17b)

**IF Q17a OR Q17b IS 01 OR 06 - 11 THEN ASK Q17d; ELSE SKIP TO Q18**

17d. Would you call yourself very strongly, fairly strongly, or not very strongly (IF Q17a IS 06 - 11 THEN INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q17a; IF Q17a IS 01 THEN INSERT "affiliated with that party"; IF Q17b 06 - 11 THEN INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q17b; IF Q17b IS 01 THEN INSERT "affiliated with that party")?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

(NOTE TO SURVENT: IF Q17a OR Q17b IS 11 THEN ONLY INSERT "Green" AND NOT "Green Party"; IF Q17a OR Q17b IS 09 THEN ONLY INSERT "Scottish Nationalist" AND NOT "Scottish National Party")

- 3 Very strongly
- 2 Fairly strongly
- 1 Not very strongly
- 4 (Don't know)
- 5 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_(1064)

18. How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago? Has it.....?  
(READ 5 - 1)

- 5 Got a lot better
- 4 Got a little better
- 3 Stayed the same
- 2 Got a little worse
- 1 Got a lot worse
- 6 (Don't know)
- 7 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_(1067)

**♣ STOP CLOCK #5♣**

\_\_\_\_(1816 - 1819)

**♣START CLOCK #6♣**

19. How do you think the financial situation of your household will change over the next 12 months? Will it.....?

**(READ 5 - 1)**

- 5 Get a lot better
- 4 Get a little better
- 3 Stay the same
- 2 Get a little worse
- 1 Get a lot worse

6 (Don't know)

7 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_(1068)

20a. How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months? Has it.....?

**(READ 5 - 1)**

- 5 Got a lot better
- 4 Got a little better
- 3 Stayed the same
- 2 Got a little worse
- 1 Got a lot worse

6 (Don't know)

7 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_(1069)

**(Q20b DELETED)**

21. How do you think the general economic situation in this country will develop over the next 12 months? Will it.....?

**(READ 5 - 1)**

- 5 Get a lot better
- 4 Get a little better
- 3 Stay the same
- 2 Get a little worse
- 1 Get a lot worse

6 (Don't know)

7 (Refused)

\_\_\_(1071)

22. If Britain were in economic difficulties, which party do you think would be able to handle the situation best?

**(READ AND ROTATE 1 - 2)**

- 1 Labour
- 2 The Conservatives

3 Neither **(VOLUNTEERED)**

4 (Don't know)

5 (Refused)

\_\_\_(1072)

**♣ STOP CLOCK #6♣**

\_\_(1820 - 1823)

**♣ START CLOCK #7♣**

23a. Thinking of the Single European Currency, which of the following statements comes closest to your view?

**(READ AND ROTATE 1 - 3)**

- 1 Definitely join
- 2 Wait and see how it develops
- 3 Definitely stay out

4 (Don't know)

5 (Refused)

\_\_\_(1073)

**(Q23b DELETED)**

23c. Now, thinking about Britain's membership of the European Union, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of Britain's membership of the European Union?

**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

- 4 Strongly approve
- 3 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 1 Strongly disapprove

5 (Don't know)

6 (Refused)

\_\_\_(1076)

(Q24 DELETED)

(Q25 DELETED)

**♣ STOP CLOCK #7♣**

\_\_(1824 - 1827)

**♣ START CLOCK #8♣**

(Q26 DELETED)

27. We would like to know how important certain issues are to you. Using the 0 to 10 scale, where 10 means **extremely important** and 0 means **not important**, how important is.....?

**(READ AND ROTATE A - D)**

10 Extremely important  
09  
08  
07  
06  
05  
04  
03  
02  
01  
00 Not important

11 (Don't know)  
12 (Refused)

a The National Health Service \_(1083)\_ (1084)  
b Taxation \_(1085)\_ (1086)  
c Education \_(1087)\_ (1088)  
d The level of crime in Britain \_(1089)\_ (1090)

28. How many marks out of 10 would you give the Government for its performance in each of the following areas?

**(READ AND ROTATE A - D)**

**(NOTE TO SURVENT: ITEMS A - D NEED TO APPEAR IN THE SAME ORDER AS ITEMS A - D IN Q27)**

10 marks  
09  
08  
07  
06  
05  
04  
03  
02  
01  
00 marks

11 (Don't know)  
12 (Refused)

a The National Health Service \_(1103)\_ (1104)  
b Taxation \_(1105)\_ (1106)  
c Education \_(1107)\_ (1108)  
d The level of crime in Britain \_(1109)\_ (1110)

29. Here are statements some people are saying about the Labour Government. Please tell me if you **agree** or **disagree**. The Labour Government.....?  
**(READ AND ROTATE A - C)**

- 1 Agree
- 2 Disagree
  
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree (**VOLUNTEERED**)
  
- 4 (Don't know)
- 5 (Refused)
  
- a Has introduced a lot of hidden taxes \_\_\_\_\_(1119)
- b Is arrogant and doesn't listen to ordinary people \_\_\_\_\_(1120)
- c Is allowing Britain to become a foreign land \_\_\_\_\_(1121)

29a. How do you think a Conservative Government would handle each of the following issues?  
**(READ AND ROTATE A - D)**

Would you say very well, fairly well, not very well or not at all well?  
**(OPEN END AND CODE) (REPEAT SCALE IF NECESSARY)**

- 4 Very well
- 3 Fairly well
- 2 Not very well
- 1 Not at all well
  
- 5 (Don't know)
- 6 (Refused)
  
- a The National Health Service \_\_\_\_\_(1049)
- b Taxation \_\_\_\_\_(1050)
- c Education \_\_\_\_\_(1051)
- d The level of crime in Britain \_\_\_\_\_(1052)
  
- ♣ STOP CLOCK #8♣** \_\_\_\_\_(1828 - 1831)

**♣ START CLOCK #9♣**

30a. Has a canvasser from any party called at your home to talk to you during the Election campaign?  
**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

- 1 Yes
- 2 No } **SKIP TO Q31**
  
- 3 (Don't know)
- 4 (Refused) \_\_\_\_\_(1126)

30b. Which party or parties did they represent?  
(OPEN END AND CODE) (ALLOW 4 RESPONSES)

(INTERVIEWER NOTE: do not prompt for more responses; record top of mind responses and move on to next question)

- 01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)
- 02 (Don't know) } SKIP TO Q31
- 03 (Refused) } SKIP TO Q31
- 04 HOLD
- 05 HOLD
- 06 Conservative
- 07 Labour
- 08 Liberal Democrat
- 09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)
- 10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru
- 11 Green Party
- 96 No more responses } SKIP TO Q31

1<sup>st</sup> Response \_(1127)\_(1128)

2<sup>nd</sup> Response \_(1129)\_(1130)

3<sup>rd</sup> Response \_(1131)\_(1132)

4<sup>th</sup> Response \_(1133)\_(1134)

31. Have you been contacted by anyone from any political parties on the telephone during the Election campaign asking how you might vote?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

(INTERVIEWER NOTE: this should include any contacts prior to Gallup interview)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No } SKIP TO Q33

3 (Don't know)

4 (Refused) \_\_\_\_ (1137)

32. Which party or parties did they represent?  
(OPEN END AND CODE) (ALLOW 4 RESPONSES)

(INTERVIEWER NOTE: do not prompt for more responses; record top of mind responses and move on to next question)

01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)

02 (Don't know) } SKIP TO Q33

03 (Refused) } SKIP TO Q33

04 (Did not represent a party) } RESET TO Q31 AND CODE AS 2

05 HOLD

06 Conservative

07 Labour

08 Liberal Democrat

09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)

10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru

11 Green Party

96 No more responses } SKIP TO Q33

1<sup>st</sup> Response \_(1138)\_(1139)

2<sup>nd</sup> Response \_(1140)\_(1141)

3<sup>rd</sup> Response \_(1142)\_(1143)

4<sup>th</sup> Response \_(1144)\_(1145)

33. Have you seen any of the Party Election Broadcasts that are being shown on television during the Election campaign?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

1 Yes

2 No } SKIP TO Q39

3 Can't remember } SKIP TO Q39

4 (Don't know)

5 (Refused) \_\_\_\_ (1148)

33a. Which parties' election broadcasts have you seen?  
**(OPEN END AND CODE) (ALLOW 4 RESPONSES)**

**(INTERVIEWER NOTE: do not prompt for more responses; record top of mind responses and move on to next question)**

- 01 Other party **(DO NOT LIST)**
- 02 (Don't know) } **SKIP TO Q39**
- 03 (Refused) } **SKIP TO Q39**
- 04 HOLD
- 05 HOLD
- 06 Conservative
- 07 Labour
- 08 Liberal Democrat
- 09 **(IF REGION IS 09)** Scottish National Party (SNP)
- 10 **(IF REGION IS 04)** Plaid Cymru
- 11 Green Party
- 96 No more responses } **SKIP TO Q39**

1<sup>st</sup> Response \_(1149)\_(1150)

2<sup>nd</sup> Response \_(1151)\_(1152)

3<sup>rd</sup> Response \_(1153)\_(1154)

4<sup>th</sup> Response \_(1155)\_(1156)

**(Q34a AND Q34b DELETED)**

**(Q35a AND Q35b DELETED)**

**(Q36a AND Q36b DELETED)**

**(Q37a AND Q37b DELETED)**

**(Q38a AND Q38b DELETED)**

39. How much attention have you paid to television coverage of the General Election?  
**(READ 4 - 1)**

- 4 A great deal of attention
- 3 A fair amount of attention
- 2 Some attention
- 1 No attention

5 (Don't know)

6 (Refused) \_\_\_\_\_(1159)

**♣ STOP CLOCK #9♣** \_\_\_\_\_(1832 - 1835)



**♣START CLOCK #10♣**

40. Do you regularly read one or more daily morning newspapers?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

1 Yes

2 No } **SKIP TO Q42**

3 (Don't know)

4 (Refused) \_\_\_\_\_(1160)

41. Which daily morning newspaper do you read most often?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

01 Other scottish/welsh/regional or local daily morning newspaper  
(DO NOT LIST)

02 (Don't know)

03 (Refused)

04 (More than one paper read with equal frequency)

05 (Other national newspaper)

06 The Daily Mail

07 The Daily Record

08 The Daily Star

09 The Daily Star (of Scotland)

10 The Daily Telegraph

11 The Express

12 The Financial Times

13 The Guardian

14 The (Glasgow) Herald

15 The Independent

16 The Mirror

17 The Scotsman

18 The Scottish Daily Mail

19 The Scottish Mirror

20 The Sun

21 The Times \_\_\_\_\_(1161)\_(1162)

42. We have a number of parties in Britain, each of which would like to get your vote. Using the 0 to 10 scale, where 10 **means very likely** and 0 means **very unlikely**, how likely is it that you would **EVER** vote for each of the following parties?  
**(READ AND ROTATE A - E, AS APPROPRIATE)**

10      Very likely

09

08

07

06

05

04

03

02

01

00      Very unlikely

11      (Don't know)

12      (Refused)

a      The Conservative Party

\_(1170)\_(1171)

b      The Labour Party

\_(1172)\_(1173)

c      The Liberal Democratic Party

\_(1174)\_(1175)

d      **(IF REGION IS 09)** The Scottish National Party

\_(1176)\_(1177)

e      **(IF REGION IS 04)** Plaid Cymru

\_(1178)\_(1179)

**♣ STOP CLOCK #10♣**

\_\_(1836 - 1839)

**♣START CLOCK FOR DEMOGRAPHICS♣**

**DEMOGRAPHICS**

**(INTERVIEWER READ:)** And finally, I have just a few questions for classification purposes.

D1. Do you or your family, own your own home or do you rent it?

- 1 Own } **CONTINUE**
- 2 Rent } **SKIP TO D1B**

- 3 (Neither) } **SKIP TO D1c**
- 4 (Don't Know) } **SKIP TO D1c**

5 (Refused) } **SKIP TO D2** \_\_\_\_\_ (2000)

D1a. Is your home paid for or do you have a mortgage?

- 1 Paid for }
- 2 Mortgage }
- 3 (Don't Know) } **SKIP TO D2**
- 4 (Refused) }

\_\_\_\_\_ (2001)

D1b. Do you rent from a council or rent privately? **OPEN END AND CODE)**

- 1 Council }
- 2 Privately }
- 3 Housing Association/Other (**volunteered**) }
- 3 (Don't Know) } **SKIP TO D2**
- 4 (Refused) }

\_\_\_\_\_ (2002)

D1c. Is your home some other form of accommodation such as a hostel or lodging?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 (Don't Know)
- 4 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2003)

D2. At what age did you or will you complete your full-time education? (OPEN-ENDED CODE FROM PRE-CODED LIST)

- 1 14 or under
- 2 15
- 3 16
- 4 17-18
- 5 19-20
- 6 21 or over
- 7 (Don't Know)
- 8 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2004)

D3. Do you, or does anyone else in your household run a car including company cars?

1 Yes } CONTINUE

2 No }

3 (Don't Know) } SKIP TO D8a

4 (Refused) }

\_\_\_\_\_ (2005)

D4. How many cars in total? (OPEN-ENDED AND CODE)

1 One

2 Two

3 Three or more

4 (Don't Know)

5 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2006)

**(D5 - D7 DELETED)**

D8a. Are you employed now?

1 Yes }

2 No } (ALL CONTINUE)

3 (Don't Know) }

4 (Refused) }

\_\_\_\_\_ (2020)

D8b. Are you the chief income earner in the household, that is the person with the largest income, whether from employment, pensions, state benefits, investments or any other source.

1 Yes } Continue

2 No } Skip to D12

3 (Don't Know) } SKIP TO D12

4 (Refused) } Skip to D12

\_\_\_\_\_ (2021)

**(Programming note: If D8a = 2, 3 or 4 and D8b = 1, skip to D9c, otherwise continue)**

D9a. Are you self-employed:

1 Yes } SKIP TO D9f

2 No }

3 (Don't Know) } CONTINUE

4 (Refused) }

\_\_\_\_\_ (2022)

D9b. About how many hours a week do you work? (Open ended & code actual number)

98 (Don't Know) }

99 (Refused) } All skip to D9f

\_\_\_\_\_ TOTAL }

\_\_\_\_\_ (2023)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2024)

D9c. Are you (**READ 1-4**) (**IF CODES 2,3,4 IN QUESTION D8a AND CODE 1 IN QD8B**)

- |   |                                  |   |                    |              |
|---|----------------------------------|---|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Unemployed                       | } | <b>Continue</b>    |              |
| 2 | Retired, Pensioned               | } | <b>Skip to D9e</b> |              |
| 3 | Housewife not otherwise employed | } |                    |              |
| 4 | Student                          | } |                    |              |
| 5 | (Other)                          | } | <b>Skip to D14</b> |              |
| 6 | (Don't Know)                     | } |                    |              |
| 7 | (Refused)                        | } |                    | _____ (2025) |

D9d. Have you been unemployed for more than six months?

- |   |              |   |                    |              |
|---|--------------|---|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Yes          | } | <b>Skip to D14</b> |              |
| 2 | No           | } |                    |              |
| 3 | (Don't Know) | } | <b>Skip to D9f</b> |              |
| 4 | (Refused)    | } |                    | _____ (2026) |

D9e. Do you receive only the basic state retirement pension?

- |   |              |   |                    |              |
|---|--------------|---|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Yes          | } | <b>Skip to D14</b> |              |
| 2 | No           | } |                    |              |
| 3 | (Don't know) | } | <b>Continue</b>    |              |
| 4 | (Refused)    | } |                    | _____ (2027) |

D9f. Is your current/was your most recent job a manual or non-manual job?

- |   |                        |   |                    |              |
|---|------------------------|---|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Manual                 | } | <b>Skip to D9g</b> |              |
| 2 | Non-manual             | } | <b>Skip to D9h</b> |              |
| 3 | (None/Have not worked) | } | <b>Skip to D14</b> |              |
| 4 | (Neither)              | } |                    |              |
| 5 | (Don't know)           | } | <b>Continue</b>    |              |
| 6 | (Refused)              | } |                    | _____ (2028) |

D9fa. For purposes of classification only, we need to determine whether your job is/was a manual or non-manual job. Examples of a manual job would be someone who works with their hands, such as a farm worker, a mechanic, a machine operator, or a waitress. Examples of a non-manual job would include an office worker, a teacher, or a manager. Is/was your job manual or non-manual?

- |   |                        |   |                    |              |
|---|------------------------|---|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Manual                 | } | <b>Continue</b>    |              |
| 2 | Non-manual             | } | <b>Skip to D9h</b> |              |
| 3 | (None/Have not worked) | } | <b>Skip to D14</b> | _____ (2029) |

D9g. Is/was this manual job skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled?

- 1 Skilled }
- 2 Semi-skilled }
- 3 Unskilled } **(SKIP TO D14)**
- 4 (Don't Know) }
- 5 (Refused) }
- 6 (Never worked) }

\_\_\_\_\_ (2030)

D9h. Which of the following best describes your occupation: **(READ OUT 1-6 CODE ONE ONLY)**

- 1 Director or Top level management
- 2 Highly specialised expert such as a surgeon or a barrister
- 3 Middle management executive/owner of a small business
- 4 Principal officer in local government or civil service
- 5 Junior manager
- 6 Salesperson, office worker
- 7 Other non-manual
  
- 8 (Don't know)
- 9 (Refused)
- 0 (Never worked)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2031)

**(Programme Note: ALL asked D9h, SKIP TO D14)**

D12. Is the Chief income earner employed now?

- 1 Yes } **CONTINUE**
- 2 No }
- 3 (Don't Know) } **SKIP TO D13c**
- 4 (Refused) }

\_\_\_\_\_ (2032)

D13a. Is the Chief Income Earner in your household self-employed:

- 1 Yes } **SKIP TO D13f**
- 2 No }
- 3 Don't Know } **CONTINUE**
- 3 (Refused) }

\_\_\_\_\_ (2033)

D13b. How many hours a week does the Chief Income Earner in your household work:

- 98 (Don't Know) }
- 99 (Refused) } **ALL SKIP TO D13f**
- \_\_\_\_\_ TOTAL }

\_\_\_\_\_ (2034)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2035)

D13c Is the Chief Income Earner in your household (**READ 1-4**) (**IF CODES 2,3,4 IN QUESTIONS D12**)

- |   |                                  |   |                     |              |
|---|----------------------------------|---|---------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Unemployed                       | } | <b>Continue</b>     |              |
| 2 | Retired, Pensioned               | } | <b>Skip to D13e</b> |              |
| 3 | Housewife not otherwise employed | } |                     |              |
| 4 | Student                          | } |                     |              |
| 5 | (Don't Know)                     | } | <b>Skip to D14</b>  |              |
| 6 | (Refused)                        | } |                     |              |
| 7 | (Other)                          | } |                     | _____ (2036) |

D13d. Has the Chief Income Earner been unemployed for more than six months?

- |   |              |   |                     |              |
|---|--------------|---|---------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Yes          | } | <b>Skip to D14</b>  |              |
| 2 | No           | } |                     |              |
| 3 | (Don't know) | } | <b>Skip to D13f</b> |              |
| 4 | (Refused)    | } |                     | _____ (2037) |

D13e. Does the Chief Income Earner receive only the basic state retirement pension?

- |   |              |   |                    |              |
|---|--------------|---|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Yes          | } | <b>Skip to D14</b> |              |
| 2 | No           | } |                    |              |
| 3 | (Don't Know) | } | <b>Continue</b>    |              |
| 4 | (Refused)    | } |                    | _____ (2038) |

D13f. Is the Chief Income Earner's current/was the Chief Income Earner's most recent job a manual or non-manual job?

- |   |                        |   |                     |              |
|---|------------------------|---|---------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Manual                 | } | <b>SKIP TO D13G</b> |              |
| 2 | Non-Manual             | } | <b>SKIP TO D13H</b> |              |
| 3 | (None/Have not worked) | } | <b>SKIP TO D14</b>  |              |
| 4 | Neither                | } |                     |              |
| 5 | (Don't know)           | } | <b>CONTINUE</b>     |              |
| 6 | (Refused)              | } |                     | _____ (2039) |

D13fa. For purposes of classification only, we need to determine whether the Chief Income Earner's job is/was a manual or non-manual job. Examples of a manual job would be someone who works with their hands, such as a farm worker, a mechanic, a machine operator, or a waitress. Examples of a non-manual job would include an office worker, a teacher, or a manager. Is/was the Chief Income Earner's job manual or non-manual?

- |   |                        |   |                     |              |
|---|------------------------|---|---------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Manual                 | } | <b>Continue</b>     |              |
| 2 | Non-manual             | } | <b>Skip to D13h</b> |              |
| 3 | (None/Have not worked) | } | <b>Skip to D14</b>  | _____ (2040) |

D13g. Is/was this manual job skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled?

- 1 Skilled }
- 2 Semi-skilled }
- 3 Unskilled } **(SKIP TO D14)**
- 4 (Don't Know) }
- 5 (Refused) }
- 6 (Never worked) }

\_\_\_\_\_ (2041)

D13h. Which of the following best describes the Chief Income Earner in your household's occupation: **(READ OUT 1-6 CODE ONE ONLY)**

- 1 Director or Top level management
- 2 Highly specialised expert such as a surgeon or a barrister
- 3 Middle management executive/owner of a small business
- 4 Principal officer in local government or civil service
- 5 Junior manager
- 6 Salesperson, office worker
- 7 Other non-manual
  
- 8 (Don't know)
- 9 (Refused)
- 0 (Never worked)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2042)

D14. What is your marital status? Are you ... **(READ OUT CODES 1-4)**

- 1 Married
- 2 Living as married
- 3 Single
- 4 Widowed / Divorced / Separated
- 5 (Don't Know)
- 6 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2043)

D15. Do you belong to a trade union?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 (Don't Know)
- 4 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2044)

**(PROGRAMME NOTE: IF D14 IS 1 THEN ASK D16, ELSE SKIP TO D17)**

D16. Does your husband/wife belong to a trade union?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 No wife/husband
- 4 (Don't Know)
- 5 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2045)

**(D17d DELETED)**



D18. And finally could you tell me your total annual household income? Would it be over or under £10,000?

(If "under", ask:) Is it over or under £5,000

(If "over", ask:) Is it over or under £15,000

(If "over", ask:) Is it over or under £25,000

(If "over", ask:) Is it over or under £35,000

(If "over", ask:) Is it over or under £50,000

1 Less than £5,000

2 £5,000 to £9,999

3 £10,000 to £14,999

4 £15,000 to £24,999

5 £25,000 to £34,999

6 £35,000 to £49,999

7 £50,000 or more

8 (Don't Know) **(DO NOT READ)**

9 (Refused) **(DO NOT READ)**

\_\_\_\_\_ (2050)

D19. On behalf of the Gallup Organization, I'd like to thank you for participating in this study.

We will be conducting a short 2 - 3 minute interview after the Election. All respondents participating in this follow-up interview will be eligible for one of 10 cash prize drawings, ranging from £50 up to a grand prize of £1,000. May we have your permission to call you after the Election?

**(INTERVIEWER NOTE: if respondent asks, we will be offering prizes:**

**£1000 (1 prize)**

**£500 (1 prize)**

**£100 (4 prizes)**

**£50 (4 prizes)**

**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

1 Yes

2 No

3 (Don't Know)

4 (Refused)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2051)

**IF D19 IS 1 THEN ASK D20; ELSE SKIP TO VALIDATE AND THANK**

**(INTERVIEWER NOTE: please use CAPS only for the following questions)**

D20. Insert Respondent's Title.

**(IF NECESSARY, READ: we need to have a contact name so that we can ask to speak to the right person within your household when we call you back. This information is strictly confidential and will not be used for any other purpose)**

..... \_\_\_\_\_ (1180.20)

D21. Insert Respondent's Initial.

**(IF NECESSARY, READ: we need to have a contact name so that we can ask to speak to the right person within your household when we call you back. This information is strictly confidential and will not be used for any other purpose)**

..... (1670.5)

D22. Insert Respondent's Surname.

**(IF NECESSARY, READ: we need to have a contact name so that we can ask to speak to the right person within your household when we call you back. This information is strictly confidential and will not be used for any other purpose)**

..... (1675.25)

**♣ STOP CLOCK FOR DEMOGRAPHICS ♣** (2198 - 2201)

**(VALIDATE PHONE NUMBER AND THANK RESPONDENT)**

u:\questionnaires\2001\bes\bes-rolling cross section survey-0105.doc

**2001 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY  
POST-ELECTION QUESTIONS**

**3<sup>rd</sup> DRAFT - 6 JUNE, 2001**

AC 3186

Project Registration # 133186

\_\_\_APPROVED BY CLIENT

**2001 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY  
Post-Election Questions**

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

The Gallup Organization, Inc.  
Colleen Sullivan/Simon Sarkar, Researchers  
Kathryn Smyth, Project Administrator  
Nancy Laverge, Specwriter

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INTERVIEWED BY \_\_\_\_\_

June, 2001

n=as many as possible

I.D.#: \_\_\_\_\_(1 - 6)

\*\*AREA CODE AND TELEPHONE NUMBER: ( ) \_\_\_\_\_(633.16)

\*\*INTERVIEW TIME: -----(716.6)

Region (from Pre-Election) (**CODE FROM FONEFILE**)

Name (from Pre-Election) (**CODE FROM FONEFILE**)

- 01 Rest of South East
- 02 East Anglia
- 03 South West
- 04 Wales
- 05 West Midlands
- 06 North West
- 07 Yorks & Humberside
- 08 North
- 09 Scotland
- 10 East Midlands
- 11 Greater London

- Title
- Initial
- Surname

Age (from Pre-Election) (**CODE FROM FONEFILE**)

Gender (from Pre-Election) (**CODE FROM FONEFILE**)

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

Pre-Election Case ID (**CODE FROM FONEFILE**)

---

Hello, my name is\_\_\_\_\_. I'm calling on behalf of the Gallup Poll.

May I please speak to **(INSERT TITLE, INITIAL AND SURNAME)**?

**(IF NO NAME IN FONEFILE, ASK):**

May I please speak to the **(INSERT AGE)** year old **(INSERT GENDER)** member of the household we interviewed recently about the General Election?

**(INTERVIEWER NOTE):** Once respondent is on the phone, confirm that now would be a good time to conduct a short 3 minute interview. Remind respondent that if they participate in this short survey, they will be eligible for 10 cash prize drawings ranging from £50 up to a grand prize of £1,000.

If respondent asks, we will be offering the following prizes:

- £1000 (1 prize)
- £500 (1 prize)
- £100 (4 prizes)
- £50 (4 prizes)

We will be doing the drawing in the next 2 - 3 weeks.

---

Sa. Sample Divide.

**(1 QUARTER OF SAMPLE TO BE AUTOCODED AS 1, 1 QUARTER TO BE AUTOCODED AS 2, 1 QUARTER TO BE AUTOCODED AS 3, 1 QUARTER TO BE AUTOCODED AS 4)**

- 1 Ask Q12
- 2 Ask Q13
- 3 Ask Q14
- 4 Ask Q15

\_\_\_\_()

**(INTERVIEWER READ):** Let's talk for a moment about the recent General Election held on June 7th.

1a. In your opinion, what was the single **most important issue** in the General Election?

**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

01 Other **(PLEASE LIST)**

02 (Don't know)

03 (Refused)

04 (There were no important issues)

05 HOLD

06 Europe/Euro/Britain's membership in the single European currency/the pound/Britain's relations with the European Union

07 Economy - state of the economy generally

08 Educational standards/teacher's pay

09 Foot and mouth

10 Inflation, prices generally

11 Law and Order/Crime

12 National Health Service/waiting lists/nurse's pay/doctor's pay

13 Pensions

14 Taxation

15 Transportation - public transport

16 Unemployment

\_()\_()

**IF Q1a IS 01 OR 06 - 16 THEN ASK Q1b; ELSE SKIP TO Q2a**

1b. Which party is best able to handle this issue?

**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

01 Other party **(DO NOT LIST)**

02 (Don't know)

03 (Refused)

04 (None/No party)

05 HOLD

06 Conservative

07 Labour

08 Liberal Democrat

09 **(IF REGION IS 09)** Scottish National Party (SNP)

10 **(IF REGION IS 04)** Plaid Cymru (PLIED CUMRIE)

11 Green Party

\_()\_()

2a. Talking to people about the General Election on June 7th, 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?

**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

1 Yes, voted

2 No, did not vote } **SKIP TO Q4**

3 (Don't know) } **SKIP TO Q4**

4 (Refused) } **SKIP TO Q4**

\_\_\_()

2b. Which party did you vote for in the General Election?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

- 01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)
- 02 (Don't know) } SKIP TO Q4
- 03 (Refused) } SKIP TO Q4
- 04 HOLD
- 05 HOLD
  
- 06 Conservative
- 07 Labour
- 08 Liberal Democrat
- 09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)
- 10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru (PLIED CUMRIE)
- 11 Green Party

\_()\_()

**NOTE TO SURVENT: USE THE FOLLOWING TEXT PULL-INS FOR Q3a:**

**IF Q2b IS 01 THEN INSERT "that particular party"**  
**IF Q2b IS 06 THEN INSERT "the Conservative Party"**  
**IF Q2b IS 07 THEN INSERT "the Labour Party"**  
**IF Q2b IS 08 THEN INSERT "the Liberal Democrat Party"**  
**IF Q2b IS 09 THEN INSERT "the Scottish National Party"**  
**IF Q2b IS 10 THEN INSERT "the Plaid Cymru (Plied Cumrie) Party"**  
**IF Q2b IS 11 THEN INSERT "the Green Party"**

3a. People give different reasons why they vote for one party rather than another.  
Which of the following best describes your reasons for voting for (INSERT  
RESPONSE FROM Q2b)?  
(READ AND ROTATE 06 - 08, THEN READ 01)

- 01 Other reason (DO NOT LIST)
- 02 (Don't know)
- 03 (Refused)
- 04 HOLD
- 05 HOLD
- 06 It has the best policies
- 07 It has the best leader
- 08 I really preferred another party but it stood no chance of winning in my constituency

\_()\_()

**IF Q3a IS 08 THEN ASK Q2b; ELSE SKIP TO Q4**

3b. Which party did you really prefer?  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

- 01 Other party (DO NOT LIST)
- 02 (Don't know)
- 03 (Refused)
- 04 HOLD
- 05 HOLD
  
- 06 Conservative
- 07 Labour
- 08 Liberal Democrat
- 09 (IF REGION IS 09) Scottish National Party (SNP)
- 10 (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru (PLIED CUMRIE)
- 11 Green Party \_()\_()

4. Using the 0 to 10 scale, where 10 means **strongly like** and 0 means **strongly dislike**, how do you feel about.....?  
(ROTATE AND ROTATE A - E, AS APPROPRIATE)

- 10 Strongly like
- 09
- 08
- 07
- 06
- 05
- 04
- 03
- 02
- 01
- 00 Strongly dislike
  
- 11 (Don't know)
- 12 (Refused)
  
- a Tony Blair \_()\_()
- b William Hague \_()\_()
- c Charles Kennedy \_()\_()
- d (IF REGION IS 09) John Swinney \_()\_()
- e (IF REGION IS 04) Wyn Jones \_()\_()

**(INTERVIEWER READ):** Now, a few questions about politics and public affairs more generally.

5. If Britain were in economic difficulties, which party do you think would be able to handle the situation best?  
(READ AND ROTATE 1 - 2)

- 1 Labour
- 2 The Conservatives
  
- 3 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)
  
- 4 (Don't know)
- 5 (Refused) \_\_\_()

6. Thinking of the single European currency, which of the following statements comes closest to your view?  
**(READ AND ROTATE 3 - 1)**
- 3 Definitely join  
 2 Wait and see how it develops  
 1 Definitely stay out
- 4 (Don't know)  
 5 (Refused) \_\_\_\_\_()
7. How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago? Has it.....?  
**(READ 5 - 1)**
- 5 Got a lot better  
 4 Got a little better  
 3 Stayed the same  
 2 Got a little worse  
 1 Got a lot worse
- 6 (Don't know)  
 7 (Refused) \_\_\_\_\_()
8. How do you think the financial situation of your household will change over the next 12 months? Will it.....?  
**(READ 5 - 1)**
- 5 Get a lot better  
 4 Get a little better  
 3 Stayed the same  
 2 Get a little worse  
 1 Get a lot worse
- 6 (Don't know)  
 7 (Refused) \_\_\_\_\_()
9. How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months? Has it.....?  
**(READ 5 - 1)**
- 5 Got a lot better  
 4 Got a little better  
 3 Stayed the same  
 2 Got a little worse  
 1 Got a lot worse
- 6 (Don't know)  
 7 (Refused) \_\_\_\_\_()



10. How do you think the general economic situation in this country will develop over the next 12 months? Will it.....?

**(READ 5 - 1)**

- 5 Get a lot better
- 4 Get a little better
- 3 Stayed the same
- 2 Get a little worse
- 1 Get a lot worse

6 (Don't know)

7 (Refused)

\_\_\_()

11a. **Generally speaking**, do you think of yourself as Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat, **(IF REGION IS 09 THEN INSERT "Scottish Nationalist"; IF REGION IS 04 THEN INSERT "Plaid Cymru (Plied Cumrie")** or what?  
**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

01 Other party **(DO NOT LIST)**

02 (Don't know)

03 (Refused)

04 HOLD

05 HOLD

06 Conservative

07 Labour

08 Liberal Democrat

09 **(IF REGION IS 09)** Scottish National Party (SNP)

10 **(IF REGION IS 04)** Plaid Cymru (PLIED CUMRIE)

11 Green Party

\_()\_()

**IF Q11a IS 02, 03 OR 04 THEN ASK Q11b; ELSE SKIP TO PROGRAMME NOTE BEFORE Q11c**

11b. Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others? If yes, please tell me which party?

**(OPEN END AND CODE)**

01 Other party **(DO NOT LIST)**

02 (Don't know)

03 (Refused)

04 (No - do not consider self closer to one party)

05 HOLD

06 Conservative

07 Labour

08 Liberal Democrat

09 **(IF REGION IS 09)** Scottish National Party (SNP)

10 **(IF REGION IS 04)** Plaid Cymru (PLIED CUMRIE)

11 Green Party

\_()\_()

**IF Q11a OR Q11b IS 01 OR 06 - 11 THEN ASK Q11c; ELSE SKIP TO Q12**

- 11c. Would you call yourself very strongly, fairly strongly, or not very strongly (**IF Q11a OR Q11b IS 06 - 11 THEN INSERT RESPONSE FROM Q11a OR Q11b; IF Q11a OR Q11b IS 01 THEN INSERT "affiliated with that party"?**)  
(OPEN END AND CODE)

(NOTE TO SURVENT: IF Q11a OR Q11b IS 11 THEN ONLY INSERT "Green" AND NOT "Green Party"; IF Q11a OR Q11b IS 09 THEN ONLY INSERT "Scottish Nationalist" AND NOT "Scottish National Party")

- 3 Very strongly  
2 Fairly strongly  
1 Not very strongly

- 4 (Don't know)  
5 (Refused)

\_\_\_()

**IF Sa IS 1 (1<sup>st</sup> QUARTER) THEN ASK Q12**

12. When the referendum on British membership in the European Monetary Union, the EURO, is held will you vote to.....?  
(READ AND ROTATE 1 - 2)

- 1 Give up the pound and join the EURO  
2 Keep the pound and reject the EURO  
3 Have not decided yet (VOLUNTEERED)  
4 Would not vote (VOLUNTEERED)

- 5 (Don't know)  
6 (Refused)

\_\_\_()

**IF Sa IS 2 (2<sup>nd</sup> QUARTER) THEN ASK Q13**

13. When the referendum on British membership in the European Monetary Union, the EURO, is held will you vote to.....?  
(READ AND ROTATE 1 - 2)

- 1 Join the EURO  
2 Reject the EURO  
3 Have not decided yet (VOLUNTEERED)  
4 Would not vote (VOLUNTEERED)

- 5 (Don't know)  
6 (Refused)

\_\_\_()

**IF Sa IS 3 (3<sup>rd</sup> QUARTER) THEN ASK Q14**

14. When the referendum on British membership in the European Monetary Union, the EURO, is held and the British Government recommends entry, will you vote to.....?

**(READ AND ROTATE 1 - 2)**

- 1 Give up the pound and join the EURO
- 2 Keep the pound and reject the EURO
- 3 Have not decided yet **(VOLUNTEERED)**
- 4 Will not vote **(VOLUNTEERED)**
- 5 (Don't know)
- 6 (Refused)

\_\_\_()

**IF Sa IS 4 (4<sup>th</sup> QUARTER) THEN ASK Q15**

15. When the referendum on British membership in the European Monetary Union, the EURO, is held and the British Government recommends entry, will you vote to.....?

**(READ AND ROTATE 1 - 2)**

- 1 Join the EURO
- 2 Reject the EURO
- 3 Have not decided yet **(VOLUNTEERED)**
- 4 Will not vote **(VOLUNTEERED)**
- 5 (Don't know)
- 6 (Refused)

\_\_\_()

**DEMOGRAPHICS**

D1. Gender.  
**(DO NOT ASK, CODE ONLY)**

- 1 Male \_\_\_\_\_()
- 2 Female \_\_\_\_\_()

D2. Finally, for classification purposes, will you tell me your year of birth please?  
**(INTERVIEWER NOTE: ENTER LAST TWO DIGITS OF YEAR IN RANGE 00 - 83)**

- 00 1900 or earlier
- DK (Don't know)
- RF (Refused) \_\_\_\_\_()

**IF D2 IS DK OR RF THEN ASK D3; ELSE SKIP TO VALIDATE AND THANK**

D3. In that case could you tell me which age band you would fall into?  
**(READ 1 - 4)**

- 0 Younger than 18 **(VOLUNTEERED)**
- 1 18 - 24
- 2 25 - 39
- 3 40 - 54
- 4 55 or over
- 5 (Don't know)
- 6 (Refused) \_\_\_\_\_()

u:\questionnaires\2001\bes\2001 bes-post election-0106.doc

## **Content Analysis of the Press Coverage of the 2001 British General Election.**

The 2001 study is sponsored by a grant from the British Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) as part of the British Election Study (BES) undertaken by the Government Department at the University of Essex. Campaign news was coded from 8 daily newspapers (Monday – Friday) from the day after the election was announced (9<sup>th</sup> May) to the day of the election (7<sup>th</sup> June).

### **Abstract:**

The aims of the project were: To conduct a ‘high-level’ content analysis of the press coverage of the 2001 election campaign. This analysis will result in the creation of a ‘campaign dataset’ that will enable movements in opinion during the campaign to be related to press coverage of the campaign. A simplified version of the 1997 Scammel/Semetko coding schema was devised for this purpose.

### **Universe Sampled:**

Location of units of observation: National; Country: United Kingdom national. Population keywords: News items

### **Population:**

Content of press news coverage during the general election campaign period 9<sup>th</sup> May – 7<sup>th</sup> June 2001. Articles relating to the election campaign were identified from 8 daily newspapers (Monday – Friday): *The Guardian, The Times, The Daily Telegraph, The Independent, The Sun, The Mirror, The Daily Mail, The Express*. This included articles from within the ‘home news’ pages of the newspapers and, in addition, leaders, editorial and comment articles referring to the election campaign. No photographs, paid-for campaign advertisements, diary columns or articles of less than 50 words (with the exception of front page articles) were included. Campaign articles from other pages or separate sections to the main newspapers were not included - for example, international, finance, sports and letters pages, the *Guardian*’s G2, etc. The exceptions to this were leaders, editorial and comment articles from the *Independent* which all appear in the supplementary *Review* section.

### **Kind of Data:**

Textual data.

### **Data Sources:**

The originals of press data (newspapers) are held at the Department of Government, University of Essex.

### **Time Dimensions:**

Cross-sectional (one-time study).

### **Sampling Procedures:**

For comparability with the 1997 press coverage study all articles from the front pages, with the exception of 'Bulletin' items, were coded. All articles relating to the election campaign appearing on the front pages of the newspapers were fully coded (200 articles). All other articles from the front pages of the newspapers were partially coded (including political articles that did not relate specifically to the campaign) up to and including variable 8 (V8) (269 articles). Approximately 2,500 campaign articles were identified from within the main section of the newspapers and a random sample of approx. 50% was drawn using SPSS (1240 articles).

### **Method of Data Collection:**

Articles relating to the campaign were identified from hard copies of the newspapers. The on-line service LexisNexis™ was used to provide hard copies of the identified articles for coding and to collect headline data.

### **File Layout:**

5 files are available:

File 1: a dataset of 1440 campaign articles content-coded using the coding schema

File 2: a dataset of 269 non-campaign articles partially content-coded using the coding schema

File 3: a dataset of 200 front-page campaign headlines

File 4: a dataset of 269 front-page non-campaign headlines

File 5: a dataset of 1240 campaign headlines from a sample taken from the main section of newspapers

## File 1

<b>Variable name</b>	<b>description</b>	<b>type</b>	<b>size</b>
artdate	date of article	date	8 dd.mm.yy
idno	a unique identifier for each article (idno from File 1 will correspond to idno from the relevant File 3 or File 5)	numeric	5
paper	newspaper	numeric	1
day	day of week	numeric	1
papertyp	newspaper type	numeric	1
artsize	article size	numeric	4
arttyp	article type	numeric	1
pageno	page number	numeric	2
author	type of author	numeric	2
authgen	gender of author	numeric	2
authnme	name of author	string	80
storytyp	type of story	numeric	2
setting	setting	numeric	1
treatmnt	treatment	numeric	1
coder	coder	numeric	1
theme1st	main theme	numeric	3
thme1oth	other main theme	string	80
thme1agr	aggregated main theme	numeric	2
theme2st	2 <sup>nd</sup> theme	numeric	3
thme2oth	other 2 <sup>nd</sup> theme	string	80
thme2agr	aggregated 2 <sup>nd</sup> theme	numeric	2
theme3st	3 <sup>rd</sup> theme	numeric	3
thme3oth	other 3 <sup>rd</sup> theme	string	80
thme3agr	aggregated 3 <sup>rd</sup> theme	numeric	2
actor1st	main actor	numeric	4
act1gen	gender of main actor	numeric	2
act1oth	other main actor	string	80
actor2nd	2 <sup>nd</sup> actor	numeric	4

**File 1 cont...**

<b>Variable name</b>	<b>description</b>	<b>type</b>	<b>size</b>
act2gen	gender of 2 <sup>nd</sup> actor	numeric	2
act2oth	other 2 <sup>nd</sup> actor	string	80
actor3rd	3 <sup>rd</sup> actor	numeric	4
act3gen	gender of 3 <sup>rd</sup> actor	numeric	2
act3oth	other 3 <sup>rd</sup> actor	string	80
actor4th	4 <sup>th</sup> actor	numeric	4
act4gen	gender of 4 <sup>th</sup> actor	numeric	2
act4oth	other 4 <sup>th</sup> actor	string	80
journev1	journalist evaluation of main actor	numeric	1
journev2	journalist evaluation of 2 <sup>nd</sup> actor	numeric	1
evlting1	1 <sup>st</sup> actor evaluating	numeric	4
evltion1	1 <sup>st</sup> evaluation	numeric	1
evted1	1 <sup>st</sup> actor evaluated	numeric	4
evlting2	2 <sup>nd</sup> actor evaluating	numeric	4
evltion2	2 <sup>nd</sup> evaluation	numeric	1
evted2	2 <sup>nd</sup> actor evaluated	numeric	4
tone1st	tone towards main actor	numeric	1
tone2nd	tone towards 2 <sup>nd</sup> actor	numeric	1
policy	policy information	numeric	1
prsonlty	personality information	numeric	1



## File 2

<b>Variable name</b>	<b>description</b>	<b>type</b>	<b>size</b>
artdate	date of article	date	8 dd.mm.yy
idno	a unique identifier for each article (idno from File 2 will correspond to idno from File 4)	numeric	5
paper	newspaper	numeric	1
day	day of week	numeric	1
papertyp	newspaper type	numeric	1
artsize	article size	numeric	4
arttyp	article type	numeric	1
pageno	page number	numeric	2

### File 3, File 4, File 5

<b>Variable name</b>	<b>description</b>	<b>type</b>	<b>size</b>
idno	a unique identifier for each article (idno from File 3 or File 5 will correspond to idno from File 1; idno from File 4 will correspond to idno from File 2)	numeric	5
paper	newspaper	numeric	1
artdate	date of article	date	8 dd.mm.yy
page	page number (inc. continuation page)	string	6
artsize	article size	numeric	4
papertyp	newspaper type	numeric	1
arttyp	article type	numeric	1
headline	headline	string	250
authme	name of author	string	100

# 2001 BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN PRESS NEWS CONTENT ANALYSIS CODEBOOK

## VARIABLE LIST

**V1 ARTDATE** (dd/mm/yy)  
Date of article

**V2 IDNO**  
Unique identification number allocated to each article

**V3 PAPER**  
Newspaper in which the article appeared

- 01 Guardian
- 02 Times
- 03 Telegraph
- 04 Independent
- 05 Sun
- 06 Mirror
- 07 Mail
- 08 Express

**V4 DAY**  
Day of week on which the article appeared

- 01 Monday
- 02 Tuesday
- 03 Wednesday
- 04 Thursday
- 05 Friday

**V5 PAPERTYP**  
Type of newspaper in which the article appeared

- 01 Tabloid
- 02 Broadsheet

**V6 ARTSIZE**  
Size of article - number of words provided by LexisNexis™

**V7 ARTTYP**  
Type of article to enable identification of campaign articles

- 01 Campaign
- 02 Non-Campaign (Front Page only)

**V8 PAGENO**

Page number on which the article appeared. Where a continuation page is given, only the first page number should be coded.

**V9 AUTHOR**

Author of the article

01 Political Editor/Correspondent/Expert

02 Columnist

03 Not Given

04 Other

05 Can't Determine

99 Other (e.g. celebrity voter, voter, overseas journalist)

(Code 01 where journalist is specified, or can be identified, as political; 02 where journalist is specified as a columnist; 03 where no byline is present; 04 where the journalist's name and position is present but the position is non-political; 05 where journalist's name is present and no position is given. Where more than one author is acknowledged, only the first named author should be coded.)

**V10 AUTHGEN**

Gender of the author

01 Male

02 Female

03 Can't Determine/None

**V11 AUTHNME**

For completeness, for Author type 05, the name of the author may also be coded.

**V12 STORYTYP**

Type of story

01 Straight News

02 News Analysis/Background/Facts & Figures

03 Feature/Profile

04 Editorial/Leader

05 Comment/Opinion

06 Interview

07 Signed Column

08 Sketch

09 Picture Caption (Front Page, Campaign articles only)

99 Other (e.g. joke columns)

(STRAIGHT NEWS if article relates to events over previous 24-hrs; NEWS ANALYSIS if article brings together information from different points in time; FEATURE/PROFILE if article has current information combined with substantial background information and often interviews with several protagonists OR if article contains attributes of the main actor with no interviews or substantial background information (e.g. 'Day in the Life' type articles); EDITORIAL/LEADER if article is specifically titled as such; COMMENT/OPINION if article is explicitly titled as such or appears to be

the journalist's opinion without being a Signed Column or Editorial/Leader article, INTERVIEW if article is mainly a one-to-one interview with a main actor, SIGNED COLUMN if article is an explicitly named column, SKETCH if article is explicitly named as such.)

### **V13 SETTING**

Setting/occasion of the story (HOW?)

- 01 Political
- 02 Campaign
- 03 Media
- 04 Other
- 05 No Identifiable Setting

This variable is intended to identify how the story came about. Which source set the agenda for the story? What is the setting or occasion that generated/initiated the story, i.e. the immediate stimulus for the action or events reported in the story? (POLITICAL would include legislative, government, party events or international events; CAMPAIGN would include press conferences, campaign events such as photo opportunities, rallies, speeches, meet-and-greet, candidate debates, launches; MEDIA would include interviews, reporting opinion poll results, journalist analysis, straight news reports of non-campaign events or news analysis; OTHER would include financial community, agricultural community, European community for example). As an example, an article about the launch of a manifesto would be coded 'CAMPAIGN', an article analysing the content of the manifesto would be coded 'MEDIA'.

### **V14 TREATMNT**

Intended to establish the overall treatment given to the article

- 01 Serious
- 02 Lighthearted
- 03 Other

### **V15 CODER**

Person who content-coded the article

- 01 Jane Carr
- 02 Paula Corcoran

### **V16,19,22 THEME1ST, THEME2ND, THEME3RD**

Story theme/subject (WHAT?). What is the story about? The theme or subject list should be used to identify the most important/predominant subject in the story. The second and third-most important/predominant stories should also be coded (if applicable). The most important/predominant subject in the story should have the highest reliability between coders.

Use attached table of Story Subject (What?) variables (Table 1) for subjects.

### **V17,20,23 THME10TH, THME20TH, THME30TH**

Other story subject. For completeness, where the story subject does not easily fit within the identified story subject variables (Table 1) the coder should provide a brief summary of the subject. The most important/predominant subject and up to 2 more subjects (if applicable) may be summarised.

### **V18,21,24 THME1AGR, THME2AGR, THME3AGR**

Aggregated story subject. To enable analysis story subjects have been recoded into the following high-level themes:

- 01 Policy Stories
- 02 Apathy/Low Turnout Stories
- 03 Campaign Events
- 04 Mechanics of Elections
- 05 Types of Voters
- 06 Poll/Outcome Stories
- 07 Media Coverage
- 08 Party/Candidate Stories
- 09 Manifesto Content Stories
- 10 Spin/Media Manipulation
- 99 Other

Use attached table of Aggregated Subject variables (Table 3) for information on how Story Subject variables have been recoded.

### **V25,28,31,34 ACTOR1ST, ACTOR2ND, ACTOR3RD, ACTOR4TH**

Story actors (WHOM?). Who is the story about? The first and second (if applicable) most important/predominant actors should be coded. If applicable, up to 2 subsequent actors may also be coded. This variable will assess the importance of the actors as indicated by a combination of the number of times they are mentioned or referred to, the order in which they appear and their appearance in the headline. The most important/predominant actor in the story should have the highest reliability between coders.

See attached table of Story Actor (Whom?) variables (Table 2).  
Code Main, Second Actor and up to 2 subsequent actors.

### **V26,29,32,35 ACT1GEN, ACT2GEN, ACT3GEN, ACT4GEN**

- Gender of actor
- 01 Male
  - 02 Female
  - 03 Can't Determine/None

### **V27,30,33,36 ACT10TH, ACT20TH, ACT30TH, ACT40TH**

Other actor. For completeness, where the actor does not fit within the identified Story Actor variables (Table 2) the coder should provide the name of the actor. The most important/predominant actor and up to 3 more actors (if applicable) may be provided.

### **V37-38 JOURNEV1, JOURNEV2**

Reporter evaluation of Main and Second Actor (as identified in variables V25 and V28 (if applicable)).

00 Can't determine/N/a

01 Criticising

02 Mixed/both

03 Supporting

04 Neutral

The coder should provide up to two entries to summarize the tone of all reporters' comments directed towards the main and second (if applicable) actors in the story. The aim is to determine whether or not reporters' comments were overall neutral (non-directional, straight, descriptive), mixed (a balance of criticising and supporting) or whether they appear to be purely supporting (reinforcing, agreeing,) or criticising (deflating, disagreeing,) the statements and activities of the MAIN ACTORS mentioned in the article. Max. 2 entries.

### **V39,42 EVLTING1, EVLTING2**

Evaluating actor. The coder may provide up to two actors who have been identified as evaluating other actors in the story.

Use attached table of Story Actor (Whom?) variables (Table 2) to identify the actor(s) making the evaluation. Max. 2 entries.

### **V40,43 EVLTION1, EVLTION2**

Actor evaluation of main actors in the story.

00 Can't determine/N/a

01 Criticising

02 Mixed/both

03 Supporting

04 Neutral

The coder should provide up to two entries to summarize the tone of comments directed towards the main actors in the story by other actor/s. The aim is to determine whether or not the comments of another actor mentioned in the story were overall neutral (non-directional, straight, descriptive), mixed (a balance of criticising and supporting) or whether they appear to be purely supporting (reinforcing, agreeing,) or criticising (deflating, disagreeing) the statements and activities of the MAIN ACTORS mentioned in the article.

### **V41,44 EVLTED1, EVLTED2**

Evaluated actor. The coder may provide up to two actors who have been identified as having been evaluated by other actors in the story.

Use attached table of Story Actor (Whom?) variables (Table 2) to identify the actor(s) being evaluated. Max. 2 entries.

#### **V45-46 TONE1ST, TONE2ND**

Tone/favourability towards Main and Second Actor (as identified in variables V25 and V28 (if applicable)).

01 Negative

02 Mixed/Both

03 Positive

04 Neutral

00 Can't Determine

Based on the story as a whole including all information in the story, what is the tone of the story towards the main and second (if applicable) actors? The story should be coded AS A WHOLE, on the four point scale where 1 is negative, 2 is mixed (i.e. both negative and positive), 3 is positive and 4 is neutral (negative and positive both absent). To avoid bias and to differentiate from 'V37-38

JOURNEV1,JOURNEV2', coders should evaluate the tone of the story FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE MAIN or SECOND ACTOR. As an example, this may result in a situation where JOURNEV1 and JOURNEV2 are both coded as 'Neutral' but due to comments and information provided within the story about the main and second actor TONE1ST and TONE2ND may be coded as 'Negative'

#### **V47 POLICY**

Density of policy relevant facts/information.

01 Low

02 Medium

03 High

00 None/N/A

Some stories may contain a great deal of policy relevant facts/information while others will contain very little, and these should be coded on the three point scale. Some will contain none whatsoever, and these should be coded as 0. (In some instances issues may be referred to without any facts/information regarding policy towards that issue being provided – these should be coded 0.) Refer to the Policy/Issues in the attached table of Story Subject (What?) variables (Table 1) for guidance. A judgement should be made depending on the number of policies referred to, the amount of facts/information and the size of the article.

#### **V48 PRSONLTY**

Density of personality information.

01 Low

02 Medium

03 High

00 None/N/A

Some stories may contain a great deal of information about actors' personalities while others will contain very little, and these should be coded on the three-point scale. Some will contain none whatsoever, and these should be coded as 0. Personality information is present where comments are made specifically about the actor(s) character(s). A judgement should be made depending the amount of information and the size of the article.



## TABLE 1: STORY SUBJECT (WHAT?)

### Election Campaign/Election Process

- 101 'Campaign Trail (out & about, meetings, speeches, launches, etc.)'
- 102 'Campaign Strategy (security, emphasis on certain issues, actual running/management of the campaign, etc.)'
- 103 'Announce Election Date'
- 104 'Controlled Campaign'
- 105 'Negative Campaigning/Scare Tactics/Smears'
- 106 'Sleaze'
- 107 'Gaffes/Scandals/Controversies'
- 108 'Campaign Gimmicks (use of celebrities, theme tunes, pledge Card, battle buses, etc.)'
- 109 'Political Distrust/Voter Alienation/Voter Cynicism/Disenchantment'
- 110 'Voter Apathy'
- 111 'Tactical Voting'
- 112 'Postal Voting'
- 113 'Marginal/Key Seats'
- 114 'Local Elections'
- 115 'Hecklers/Protests'
- 116 '(Risks of a) Low Turnout'
- 117 '(Risks of a) Landslide'
- 118 'Spin'
- 119 'Candidate Selection Procedure inc. issue of incumbent MPs being offered peerages to quit safe seats'
- 120 'Electoral Reform'
- 121 'Campaign Funding'
- 122 'Women MPs'
- 123 'Proportional Representation'
- 124 'Prescott's Punch'
- 125 'Dull/Tedious Campaign'
- 126 'Grey Vote'
- 127 'Ethnic Vote'
- 128 'Young Vote'
- 129 'Female Vote'
- 130 'Getting Out the Vote'
- 131 'Media Manipulation'
- 132 'Defectors'
- 133 'Departing/Retiring MPs'
- 134 'PEBs'
- 135 'Election Fraud'
- 136 'Wives/Partners (role/importance of, etc.)'
- 199 'Election Campaign/Process - Other'

## **Media Coverage/Polls**

- 201 'Opinion Poll Result'
- 202 'Opinion Poll Design etc.'
- 203 'Reaction to Poll'
- 204 'Outcome Prediction/Odds on Winning'
- 205 'Turnout Prediction'
- 206 'Media Coverage of Campaign (inc. analysis of coverage, deliberate concentration on specific events/people etc.)'
- 208 'Party/Candidate Endorsements'
- 209 'Voter Panel'
- 210 'Stats/Facts & Figures'
- 211 'Summary of Events'
- 212 'Spoof/joke/gimmick column'
- 213 'Constituency Profile'
- 299 'Media Coverage/Polls - Other'

## **Parties/Party Leaders and Candidates**

- 301 'Qualities/Image – Professional and/or Personal'
- 302 'Aims/Goals'
- 303 'Record/Achievement'
- 304 'Compare Qualities/Aims/Record'
- 305 'Manifesto (content, design of): Labour'
- 306 'Manifesto (content, design of): Conservative'
- 307 'Manifesto (content, design of): Lib Dem'
- 308 'Conflict/Disagreement Between Parties'
- 309 'Conflict/Disagreement Within Parties'
- 310 'Party/Leader/Candidate Profile'
- 311 'The Lords/House of Lords'
- 312 'Manifesto: Business'
- 313 'Blair/Brown Leadership Pact'
- 314 'Post-Election Tory Leadership Battle'
- 315 'Post-Election Cabinet/Whitehall Reorganisation'
- 399 'Parties/Party Leaders/Candidates – Other'

## **Issues/Policy**

- 401 'NHS/Health'
- 402 'Education'
- 403 'Crime/Law & Order'
- 404 'Taxation'
- 405 'Europe in General'
- 406 'The Euro'
- 407 'Pensions'
- 408 'Economy'
- 409 'Transport'
- 410 'Employment'
- 411 'Environment'
- 412 'Welfare'
- 413 'Farming/Agriculture'

## Issues/Policy Cont...

- 414 'Immigration/Asylum'
- 415 'Culture/Arts/Sport'
- 416 'Northern Ireland'
- 417 'Racial Issues'
- 418 'Internet Crime/Pornography'
- 419 'National Insurance Contributions'
- 420 'Local Government'
- 421 'Public Services in General'
- 422 'Social Security inc Benefits, etc'
- 423 'Rural Affairs inc. Fox-Hunting'
- 424 'Housing'
- 425 'Parliamentary Reform'
- 426 'Information/Technology'
- 427 'Private Sector Involvement (PPP/PFI)'
- 429 'Petrol Prices'
- 430 'Policies in General'
- 431 'Public Spending'
- 432 'Stealth Taxes'
- 433 'Business'
- 434 'Scottish Issues'
- 435 'Care for the Elderly'
- 436 'Defence'
- 437 'Poverty inc. Gap Between Rich & Poor'
- 499 'Other'

## **TABLE 2: STORY ACTORS (WHOM?)**

### **Political Parties/Institutions**

- 110 'Labour Party'
- 111 'Conservative Party'
- 112 'Lib Dem Party'
- 113 'Scottish Nationalist Party'
- 114 'Plaid Cymru'
- 115 'Green Party'
- 116 'British National Party'
- 117 'UK Independence Party'
- 118 'SDLP - Social Democratic and Labour Party'
- 119 'UUP - Ulster Unionist Party'
- 120 'DUP - Democratic Unionist Party'
- 121 'Sinn Fein'
- 122 'The Government'
- 123 'The Cabinet'
- 124 'Government Department'
- 125 'The Opposition'
- 126 'Parliament/MPs (in general)'
- 127 'The European Union/European Commission'
- 128 'Millbank'
- 129 'Electoral Commission'
- 130 'Scottish Labour'
- 131 'Scottish Tories'
- 197 'Other Party - British Mainland'
- 198 'Other Party - Northern Ireland'
- 199 'Other Institution'

### **Political – Main Party Leaders**

- 210 'Blair Tony'
- 211 'Hague William'
- 212 'Kennedy Charles'

### **Political – Other Party Leaders**

- 213 'Adams Gerry (SF)'
- 214 'Hume John (SDLP)'
- 215 'Jones Ieuan Wyn (PC)'
- 216 'Swinney John (SNP)'
- 217 'Trimble David (UUP)'
- 218 'Nick Griffin (BNP)'
- 299 'Party Leader - Other'

### **Political – Senior Labour Politicians**

- 310 'LAB: Blunkett David'
- 311 'LAB: Brown Gordon'
- 312 'LAB: Cook Robin'
- 313 'LAB: Milburn Alan'
- 314 'LAB: Prescott John'

### **Political – Senior Labour Politicians Cont...**

- 315 'LAB: Smith Chris'
- 316 'LAB: Short Clare'
- 317 'LAB: Straw Jack'
- 399 'LAB: Other Senior Labour Politician'

### **Political – Other Labour**

- 410 'LAB: Baroness Jay of Paddington'
- 411 'LAB: Becket Margaret'
- 412 'LAB: Brown Nick'
- 413 'LAB: Byers Stephen'
- 414 'LAB: Campbell Alistair'
- 415 'LAB: Darling Alistair'
- 416 'LAB: Irvine Lord'
- 417 'LAB: Liddell Helen'
- 418 'LAB: Mandelson Peter'
- 420 'LAB: Mowlam Mo'
- 421 'LAB: McDonagh Margaret'
- 422 'LAB: Reid John'
- 423 'LAB: Smith Andrew'
- 424 'LAB: Taylor Ann'
- 425 'LAB: Vaz Keith'
- 426 'LAB: Woodward Shaun'
- 427 'LAB: Spokesperson or Unnamed Party Source'
- 428 'LAB: Party Official/Aide/Special Advisor/Strategist'
- 429 'LAB: Activist'
- 430 'LAB: Councillor'
- 431 'LAB: MEP'
- 498 'LAB: Other MP/Candidate/Peer'
- 499 'LAB: Other inc. Supporter'

### **Political – Senior Conservative Politicians**

- 510 'CON: Fox Liam'
- 511 'CON: Jenkin Bernard'
- 512 'CON: Maude Francis'
- 513 'CON: May Theresa'
- 514 'CON: Norman Archie'
- 515 'CON: Portillo Michael'
- 516 'CON: Widdecombe Ann'
- 517 'CON: Yeo Tim'
- 599 'CON: Other Senior Politician'

### **Political – Other Conservative**

- 610 'CON: Ainsworth Peter'
- 611 'CON: Ancram Michael'
- 612 'CON: Arbuthnot James'
- 613 'CON: Browning Angela'
- 614 'CON: Duncan-Smith Iain'
- 615 'CON: Garnier Edward'

### **Political – Other Conservative Cont...**

616 'CON: Heathcote Amory David'  
617 'CON: Heseltine Michael'  
618 'CON: Johnson Boris'  
619 'CON: Lansley Andrew'  
620 'CON: Letwin Oliver'  
621 'CON: McKay Andrew'  
622 'CON: Platell Amanda'  
623 'CON: Rifkind Malcolm'  
624 'CON: Streeter Gary'  
625 'CON: The Lord Henley'  
626 'CON: The Lord Strathclyde'  
627 'CON: Willett David'  
628 'CON: Spokesperson or Unnamed Party Source'  
629 'CON: Party Official/Aide/Special Advisor/Strategist'  
630 'CON: Activist'  
631 'CON: Councillor'  
632 'CON: MEP'  
633 'CON: Kenneth Clarke'  
634 'CON: Eric Pickles'  
698 'CON: Other MP/Candidate/Peer  
699 'CON: Other inc. Supporter'

### **Political – Senior Lib Dem Politicians**

710 'LIB: Beith Alan'  
711 'LIB: Campbell Menzies'  
712 'LIB: Foster Don'  
713 'LIB: Hughes Simon'  
714 'LIB: Lord Rodgers of Quarry Bank'  
715 'LIB: Taylor Matthew'  
716 'LIB: Tonge Jenny'  
717 'LIB: Wallace Jim'  
799 'LIB: Other Senior Politician'

### **Political – Other Lib Dem**

810 'LIB: Breed Colin'  
811 'LIB: Cable Vincent'  
812 'LIB: Harver Nick'  
813 'LIB: Livsey Richard'  
814 'LIB: Maclennan Robert'  
815 'LIB: Moore Michael'  
816 'LIB: Tyler Paul'  
817 'LIB: Webb Steve'  
818 'LIB: Willis Phil'  
819 'LIB: Spokesperson or Unnamed Party Source'  
820 'LIB: Party Official/Aide/Special Advisor/Strategist'  
821 'LIB: Activist'  
822 'LIB: Councillor'  
823 'LIB: MEP'

### **Political – Other Lib Dem Cont...**

- 824 LIB: Other MP/Candidate/Peer
- 899 LIB: Other inc. Supporter'

### **Political – Other Individuals inc Former Leaders**

- 910 'Ashdown Paddy'
- 911 'Bell Martin'
- 912 'Benn Tony'
- 914 'Hattersley Roy'
- 915 'Heath Ted'
- 916 'Kinnock Neil'
- 917 'Livingstone Ken'
- 918 'Major John'
- 919 'Nellist Dave (Socialist Alliance)'
- 920 'Scargill Arthur (Socialist Labour Party)'
- 921 'Taylor Dr. Richard (Kidderminster Independent)'
- 922 'Thatcher Margaret'
- 923 'Titford Jeffrey (UK Independence Party)'
- 924 'Hinduja Brothers'
- 999 'Other Individual'

### **Political – Other Parties/Politicians**

- 1010 'David Ervine (Progressive Unionist Party)'
- 1011 'Henry McLeish (Scottish Parliament First Minister)'
- 1012 'Gary McMichael (Ulster Democratic Party)'
- 1013 'Rhodri Morgan (Welsh Assembly First Minister)'
- 1014 'Sean Neeson (Alliance Party)'
- 1015 'Ian Paisley (Democratic Unionist)'
- 1016 'SNP: MP/Candidate/Spokesperson/Supporter/etc'
- 1017 'PC: MP/Candidate/Spokesperson/Supporter/etc'
- 1018 'Green: MP/Candidate/Spokesperson/Supporter/etc'
- 1019 'NI Party: MP/Candidate/Spokesperson/Supporter/etc'
- 1020 'Other Party: MP/Candidate/Spokesperson/Supporter/etc'
- 1099 'Other Party/Politician'

### **Political – Relatives**

- 2010 'LAB: Cherie Blair'
- 2011 'LAB: Euan Blair'
- 2012 'LAB: Leo Blair'
- 2013 'LAB: Anthony Booth'
- 2014 'LAB: Lauren Booth'
- 2015 'CON: Ffion Hague'
- 2016 'LIB: Sarah Gurling'
- 2017 'CON: Nigel Hague (Father)'
- 2099 'Other Relative'

## **Other – Organisations/Individuals/Representatives/Overseas**

- 3010 'Agriculture Representative'
- 3011 'Business/City Representative'
- 3012 'Business Organisation eg. CBI, Institute of Directors'
- 3013 'Civil Servant'
- 3014 'Celebrity (state whom)'
- 3015 'Economist'
- 3016 'European Leader/Politician (state whom)'
- 3017 'EU Representative'
- 3018 'Farmer/Rural worker'
- 3019 'Film/Documentary Maker'
- 3020 'Heckler/Demonstrator'
- 3021 'Media Commentator/Journalist/Author'
- 3022 'The Media'
- 3023 'Police/Security'
- 3024 'Pressure Group'
- 3025 'Prisoner'
- 3026 'Professional Individual (teacher, lawyer, social worker, police etc.)'
- 3027 'Pollster/Bookmaker'
- 3028 'Pensioners'
- 3029 'Religious Spokesperson'
- 3030 'Royalty'
- 3031 'Scientist/Scientific Expert'
- 3032 'Social Service Representative'
- 3033 'Trade Union/Representative/Member'
- 3034 'Unnamed Source - Non-Party'
- 3035 'University Academic'
- 3036 'Voter/Citizen/Person in Street'
- 3037 'World Leader/Politician (not European)(state whom)'
- 3038 'Geri Halliwell'
- 3039 'Craig Evans - egg thrower'
- 3040 'BBC'
- 3041 'ITV'
- 3042 'Think Tank'
- 3099 'Other'



**TABLE 3: AGGREGATED STORY SUBJECT (WHAT?)**

	Theme Aggregated
01 Policy Stories	401 - 499
02 Apathy/Low Turnout Stories	104, 105, 109, 110, 116, 117, 125
03 Campaign Events	101, 103, 108, 115, 124
04 Mechanics of Elections	102, 111, 112, 113, 119, 120, 121, 123, 130, 134, 135
05 Types of Voters	126, 127, 128, 129
06 Poll/Outcome Stories	201, 202, 203, 204, 205
07 Media Coverage	206, 212
08 Party/Candidate Stories	301, 302, 303, 304, 308, 309, 310
09 Manifesto Content Stories	305, 306, 307, 312
10 Spin/Media Manipulation	118, 131
99 Other	106, 107, 114, 122, 132, 133, 136, 199, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213, 299, 311, 313, 314, 315, 399

## Reliability Testing.

It is necessary to establish that the coding has been conducted reliably – that different coders, or the same coder over time, have produced consistent results. For the content analysis component of the British Election Study 2001 there were two coders. Coder 1 worked on 1054 articles and Coder 2 worked on 386 articles. In order to conduct coder reliability testing a random sample of approximately 5% of the coded articles was drawn using SPSS.

### Intra-coder reliability.

Coder 1 recoded 57 articles.

Coder 2 recoded 19 articles.

### Inter-coder reliability.

Coder 1 recoded 36 articles coded by Coder 2.

For the purpose of reliability testing the variables have been separated into three categories:

Indicator: general facts about the articles which are fixed and not open to coder interpretation;

Manifest: information that is evident within the text but must be extrapolated and could, therefore be open to interpretation;

Evaluative: the coder must make a subjective decision based on information in the article as a whole.

Type	Variable
Indicator	Date, Id, Newspaper, Day of Week, Newspaper Type, Size of Article, Page Number, Author
Manifest	Story Type, Setting, Tone, Theme 1, Theme 2, Theme 3, Actor 1, Actor 2, Actor 3, Actor 4
Evaluative	Reporter Evaluation of Actor 1, Reporter Evaluation of Actor 2, 1 <sup>st</sup> Evaluator, 1 <sup>st</sup> Evaluation, 1 <sup>st</sup> Evaluated, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Evaluator, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Evaluation, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Evaluated, Tone Towards Actor 1, Tone Towards Actor 2, Density of Policy Information, Density of Personality Information

The overall results by category are set out below.

	% Correct by type of category		
	Indicator	Manifest	Evaluative
Coder 1/Coder 1	99.6	82.5	88.1
Coder 2/Coder 2	98.7	83.1	88.6
Coder 1/Coder2	99.6	83.9	85.7

## Coder 1 Inter-Reliability Results.

### Indicator Variables.

#### DATE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	72	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### ID - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	72	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### PAPER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	72	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### DAY of Week - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	72	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### PAPER TYPE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	72	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### ARTICLE SIZE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	72	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### PAGE NUMBER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	72	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### TYPE of AUTHOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	2	2.8	2.8	2.8
y	70	97.2	97.2	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

## Manifest Variables.

### STORY TYPE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	8.3	8.3	8.3
y	66	91.7	91.7	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

### STORY SETTING - Percentage of Agreed Decision

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	14	19.4	19.4	19.4
y	58	80.6	80.6	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

### STORY TREATMENT - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	2	2.8	2.8	2.8
y	70	97.2	97.2	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

### MAIN THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	8.3	8.3	8.3
y	66	91.7	91.7	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

### 2nd THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	18	25.0	25.0	25.0
y	54	75.0	75.0	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

### 3rd THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	8.3	8.3	8.3
y	66	91.7	91.7	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

### MAIN ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	10	13.9	13.9	13.9
y	62	86.1	86.1	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

**2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	14	19.4	19.4	19.4
y	58	80.6	80.6	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

**3rd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	20	27.8	27.8	27.8
y	52	72.2	72.2	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

**4th ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	20	27.8	27.8	27.8
y	52	72.2	72.2	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

Simply comparing decisions shows the Actor categories to be less reliable. However, the frequencies below show the extent to which, overall, the same Actors were identified.

**ALL IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME AND IN THE SAME ORDER**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	38	52.8	52.8	52.8
y	34	47.2	47.2	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

**.L IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME BUT IN A DIFFERENT ORDE**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	66	91.7	91.7	91.7
y	6	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

**3 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	54	75.0	75.0	75.0
y	18	25.0	25.0	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

**2 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	60	83.3	83.3	83.3
y	12	16.7	16.7	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

**1 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	70	97.2	97.2	97.2
y	2	2.8	2.8	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

**Evaluative Variables.**

Cases where Main Actors were not recoded the same as the original code have been removed for this comparison.

**JOURNALIST EVALUATION OF MAIN ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	10.0	10.0	10.0
y	54	90.0	90.0	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Cases where either 2<sup>nd</sup> Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no 2<sup>nd</sup> Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

**JOURNALIST EVALUATION OF 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	13.0	13.0	13.0
y	40	87.0	87.0	100.0
Total	46	100.0	100.0	

**1st EVALUATOR/ EVALUATION/ EVALUATED - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	8	11.1	11.1	11.1
y	64	88.9	88.9	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

**2nd EVALUATOR/ EVALUATION/ EVALUATED - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	8	11.1	11.1	11.1
y	64	88.9	88.9	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

Main Actors that were not recoded the same as the original code have been removed for this comparison.

**STONE TOWARDS MAIN ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	10	16.7	16.7	16.7
y	50	83.3	83.3	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Cases where either 2<sup>nd</sup> Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no 2<sup>nd</sup> Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

**STONE TOWARDS 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	10	21.7	21.7	21.7
y	36	78.3	78.3	100.0
Total	46	100.0	100.0	

**DENSITY OF POLICY INFORMATION - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	16	22.2	22.2	22.2
y	56	77.8	77.8	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

**DENSITY OF PERSONALITY INFORMATION - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	8.3	8.3	8.3
y	66	91.7	91.7	100.0
Total	72	100.0	100.0	

## Coder 1 Intra-Coder Reliability Results.

### Indicator Variables.

#### DATE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	114	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### ID - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	114	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### PAPER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	114	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### DAY of WEEK - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	114	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### PAPER TYPE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	114	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### ARTICLE SIZE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	114	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### PAGE NUMBER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	114	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### TYPE of AUTHOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	4	3.5	3.5	3.5
y	110	96.5	96.5	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	



**Manifest Variables.**

**STORY TYPE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	8	7.0	7.0	7.0
y	106	93.0	93.0	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**STORY SETTING - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	4	3.5	3.5	3.5
y	110	96.5	96.5	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**STORY TREATMENT - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	114	100.0	100.0	100.0

**MAIN THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	12	10.5	10.5	10.5
y	102	89.5	89.5	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**2nd THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	28	24.6	24.6	24.6
y	86	75.4	75.4	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**3rd THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	26	22.8	22.8	22.8
y	88	77.2	77.2	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**MAIN ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	12	10.5	10.5	10.5
y	102	89.5	89.5	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	38	33.3	33.3	33.3
y	76	66.7	66.7	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**3rd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	42	36.8	36.8	36.8
y	72	63.2	63.2	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**4th ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	30	26.3	26.3	26.3
y	84	73.7	73.7	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

Simply comparing decisions shows the Actor categories to be less reliable. However, the frequencies below show the extent to which, overall, the same Actors were identified.

**ALL IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME AND IN THE SAME ORDER**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	58	50.9	50.9	50.9
y	56	49.1	49.1	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**.L IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME BUT IN A DIFFERENT ORDE**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	98	86.0	86.0	86.0
y	16	14.0	14.0	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**3 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	94	82.5	82.5	82.5
y	20	17.5	17.5	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**2 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	94	82.5	82.5	82.5
y	20	17.5	17.5	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**1 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	112	98.2	98.2	98.2
y	2	1.8	1.8	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**Evaluative Variables.**

Cases where Main Actors were not recoded the same as the original code have been removed for this comparison.

**JOURNALIST EVALUATION OF MAIN ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	5.9	5.9	5.9
y	96	94.1	94.1	100.0
Total	102	100.0	100.0	

Cases where either 2<sup>nd</sup> Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no 2<sup>nd</sup> Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

**JOURNALIST EVALUATION OF 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	9.1	9.1	9.1
y	60	90.9	90.9	100.0
Total	66	100.0	100.0	

**1st EVALUATOR/ EVALUATION/ EVALUATED - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	18	15.8	15.8	15.8
y	96	84.2	84.2	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**2nd EVALUATOR/ EVALUATION/ EVALUATED - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	18	15.8	15.8	15.8
y	96	84.2	84.2	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

Case where Main Actors were not recoded the same as the original code have been removed for this comparison.

**ONE TOWARDS MAIN ACTOR - PERCENTAGE OF AGREED DECISIONS**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	10	9.8	9.8	9.8
y	92	90.2	90.2	100.0
Total	102	100.0	100.0	

Cases where 2<sup>nd</sup> Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no 2<sup>nd</sup> Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

**ONE TOWARDS 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	12	18.2	18.2	18.2
y	54	81.8	81.8	100.0
Total	66	100.0	100.0	

**DENSITY OF POLICY INFORMATION - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	16	14.0	14.0	14.0
y	98	86.0	86.0	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

**DENSITY OF PERSONALITY INFORMATION - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	8	7.0	7.0	7.0
y	106	93.0	93.0	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

## Coder 2 Intra-Reliability Results.

### Indicator Variables.

#### DATE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### ID - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### PAPER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### DAY OF WEEK - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### PAPER TYPE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### ARTICLE SIZE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### PAGE NUMBER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### AUTHOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	4	10.5	10.5	10.5
y	34	89.5	89.5	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

## Manifest Variables.

### STORY TYPE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	4	10.5	10.5	10.5
y	34	89.5	89.5	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

### STORY SETTING - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	15.8	15.8	15.8
y	32	84.2	84.2	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

### STORY TREATMENT - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	38	100.0	100.0	100.0

### MAIN THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	15.8	15.8	15.8
y	32	84.2	84.2	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

### 2nd THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	15.8	15.8	15.8
y	32	84.2	84.2	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

### 3rd THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	15.8	15.8	15.8
y	32	84.2	84.2	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

### MAIN ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	8	21.1	21.1	21.1
y	30	78.9	78.9	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

**2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	8	21.1	21.1	21.1
y	30	78.9	78.9	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

**3rd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	12	31.6	31.6	31.6
y	26	68.4	68.4	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

**4th ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	8	21.1	21.1	21.1
y	30	78.9	78.9	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

Simply comparing decisions shows the Actor categories to be less reliable. However, the frequencies below show the extent to which, overall, the same Actors were identified.

**ALL IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME AND IN THE SAME ORDER**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20	52.6	52.6	52.6
y	18	47.4	47.4	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

**.L IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME BUT IN A DIFFERENT ORDE**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	32	84.2	84.2	84.2
y	6	15.8	15.8	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

**3 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	36	94.7	94.7	94.7
y	2	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

**2 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	28	73.7	73.7	73.7
y	10	26.3	26.3	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

**1 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	36	94.7	94.7	94.7
y	2	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

**Evaluative Variables.**

Cases where Main Actors were not recoded the same as the original code have been removed for this comparison.

**JOURNALIST EVALUATION OF MAIN ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid y	30	100.0	100.0	100.0

Cases where either 2<sup>nd</sup> Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no 2<sup>nd</sup> Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

**JOURNALIST EVALUATION OF 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	4	14.3	14.3	14.3
y	24	85.7	85.7	100.0
Total	28	100.0	100.0	

**1st EVALUATOR/ EVALUATION/ EVALUATED - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	15.8	15.8	15.8
y	32	84.2	84.2	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	



**2nd EVALUATOR/ EVALUATION/ EVALUATED - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	2	5.3	5.3	5.3
y	36	94.7	94.7	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

Cases where Main Actors were not recoded the same as the original code have been removed for this comparison.

**STONE TOWARDS MAIN ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	20.0	20.0	20.0
y	24	80.0	80.0	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Cases where either 2<sup>nd</sup> Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no 2<sup>nd</sup> Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

**STONE TOWARDS 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	4	14.3	14.3	14.3
y	24	85.7	85.7	100.0
Total	28	100.0	100.0	

**DENSITY OF POLICY INFORMATION - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	6	15.8	15.8	15.8
y	32	84.2	84.2	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

**DENSITY OF PERSONALITY INFORMATION - Percentage of Agreed Decisions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid x	2	5.3	5.3	5.3
y	36	94.7	94.7	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	