## SUBMISSION OF FILES TO UK DATA ARCHIVE SEPT 2002INTRODUCTION, 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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## OVERVIEW: THE 2001/02 BES

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

## I) Main British Election Survey

```
Pre-election (Wave 1)
Fieldwork: NOP
Method: In-person CAPI
Response rate: 52.8%
N:3220
Questionnaire: noppre.doc
Data: prepost.sav
Codebook/tables: noppre.1st
```

| Post-election (Wave 2) <br> Fieldwork: NOP <br> Method: In-person CAPI <br> Response rate (of W1): 74.1\% <br> N: 2359 <br> Questionnaire: noppost.doc <br> Data: prepost.sav <br> Codebook/tables: noppost.lst | Self-completion (Wave 2) <br> Response rate: 69.2\% <br> N: 1628 <br> Questionnaire: nopmailback.doc Data: prepost.sav Codebook/tables: nopmailback.lst |
| :---: | :---: |
| Post-election (Top-up) <br> Fieldwork: NOP <br> Method: In-person CAPI <br> Response rate: 46.5\% <br> N: 681 <br> Questionnaire: noppost.doc <br> Data: prepost.sav <br> Codebook/tables: noppost.lst | Self-completion (Top-up) <br> Response rate: 55.7\% <br> $\mathrm{N}: 379$ <br> Questionnaire: nopmailback.doc Data: prepost.sav Codebook/tables: nopmailback.lst |


$\longrightarrow$| One year on (Wave 3) |
| :--- |
| Yet to go into the |
| field... |

## II) Northern Ireland Election Survey

| Post-election |
| :--- |
| Fieldwork: FDS |
| Method: Telephone |
| Response rate: $18.4 \%$ |
| $\mathrm{~N}: 1053$ |
| Questionnaire: nireland.doc |
| Data: nireland.sav |
| Codebook/tables: nireland.lst |

## III) Campaign survey

## Campaign Rolling Cross-section (Wave 1)

Fieldwork: Gallup
Method: Telephone
Response rate: 28.9\%
$\mathrm{N}: 4810$ ( 150 per day)
Questionnaire: galluppre.doc
Data: gallup.sav
Codebook/tables: galluppre.1st

## Post-election Campaign Panel

 (Wave 2)Fieldwork: Gallup
Method: Telephone
Response rate: 78.0\%
N: 3751
Questionnaire: galluppost.doc
Data: gallup.sav
Codebook/tables: galluppost.lst

## IV) Content analysis of newspaper coverage

## Content analysis of Campaign

Articles and Headlines

Fieldwork: BES, University of Essex
$\mathrm{N}: 1440$ articles sampled from a
population of 2643
Data: cafile1.sav
Coding frame: caframe.doc

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).

## 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 downloaded from the 2001/02 BES website at www.essex.ac.uk/bes. Anyone with questions about the data should contact Harold Clarke (hclarke@utdallas.edu) or the BES address (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). (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


## 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:

|  | $\mathbf{N}$ | \% of issued |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of addresses issued <br> vacant/non-residential <br> Number of addresses in-scope <br> interview obtained | 6460 | 100.0 |  |
| interview not obtained | 366 | 5.7 |  |
| Of which: | 6094 | 94.3 | 100.0 |
| refusal | 3219 | 49.8 | 52.8 |
| non-contact | 2875 | 44.5 | 47.2 |
| other | 1408 | 21.8 | 23.1 |

## 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 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of addresses issued | 3223 | 100.0 |  |
| moved away ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | 40 | 1.2 |  |
|  |  |  | \% of in-scope |
| Number of addresses in-scope | 3183 | 98.8 | 100.0 |
| interview obtained ${ }^{\text {b }}$ | 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 |

${ }^{\text {a }}$ Of the 79 respondents who moved between Waves 1 and 2, 40 were designated ineligible by the fieldwork agency. ${ }^{\mathrm{b}}$ 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 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number of addresses issued | 1548 | 100.0 |  |
| vacant/non-residential | 72 | 4.7 |  |
|  |  |  | \% of in-scope |
| Number of addresses in-scope | 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.)

## 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 |
| Filter variable | TOPUP $=0$ | PREPOST $=1$ | POSTRESP $=1$ | MAILFILT $=1$ |
| Unique respondent ID label ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | BUNIQIDR | BUNIQIDR | BUNIQIDR | BUNIQIDR |
| Weight variables |  |  |  |  |
| 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 |
| Unweighted N | 3219 | 2315 | 3035 | $2191{ }^{\text {b }}$ |
| Weighted N | 3223 | 2303 | 3025 | 2195 |

${ }^{\text {a }}$ The variable 'buniqidr' 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.
${ }^{\mathrm{b}}$ 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 $\underline{\text { http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~.pnorris.shorenstein.ksg/data.htm). }}$
- 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 showcards 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 showcards 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 selfcompletion 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)


## 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:

|  | $\mathbf{N}$ | \% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Numbers called | 5719 | 100.0 |
| successful | 1053 | 18.4 |
| unsuccessful | 4666 | 81.6 |
| Of which: |  |  |
|  | screened | 592 |
|  | no reply/engaged/answerphone | 381 |
|  | refused | 3236 |
|  | other | 457 |

## 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:

|  | $\mathbf{N}$ | $\mathbf{\%}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Numbers called | 16620 | 100.0 |
| successful | 4810 | 28.9 |
| unsuccessful | 11810 | 71.1 |
| Of which: |  |  |
|  | screened | 1874 |
|  | no reply/engaged/answerphone | 6744 |
|  | refused | 2789 |
|  | 403 | 11.3 |
| other | 16.8 |  |
|  | 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 $\mathrm{N}=4810$ ). The weight variable is WEIGHT (weighted $\mathrm{N}=4810$ ). The file also contains data gathered via post-election interviews with a panel of the pre-election respondents (unweighted $\mathrm{N}=3751$ ). 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 sevenday 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


## 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 ( $9^{\text {th }}$ May $-7^{\text {th }}$ 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 <br> Election Study panel | all are <br> sav files | 3900 |
| prepostagg | as above, but also including constituency-level <br> information for aggregate analysis | 3900 |  |
| nireland | data from the post-election telephone interviews <br> conducted in Northern Ireland | 1053 |  |
| gallup | data from the election campaign telephone survey <br> (including filters and weights for constructing the <br> seven-day rolling cross-sections) | 4810 |  |
| gallupagg | as above, but also including constituency-level <br> information for aggregate analysis | 4810 |  |
| cafile1 | data from campaign articles content-coded using <br> the coding schema | 1440 |  |
| cafile2 | data from non-campaign articles partially content- <br> coded using the coding schema | 269 |  |
| cafile3 | data from front-page campaign headlines 200 <br> cafile4 data from front-page non-campaign headlines <br> cafile5 data from campaign headlines from a sample <br> taken from the main section of newspapers <br> cafile6 data from cases that were recoded for reliability <br> testing264 (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 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| User guides | intro | introduction, overview and technical details of files | .doc \& .pdf |
|  | rosettastone | 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 |
| Showcards | nopprecards | showcards used in conjunction with the preelection questionnaire | .doc \& .pdf |
|  | noppostcards | showcards used in conjunction with the postelection questionnaire | .doc \& .pdf |
| Questionnaires | 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 |


|  | galluppost | questionnaire used for the post-election survey of respondents participating in the election campaign rolling cross-sectional survey | .doc \& .pdf |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Codebooks/ Frequencies | 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 |
| Reliability testing | careliability | guide to and results of reliability testing in content analysis | .doc \& .pdf |


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


| 2001/02 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY -Rosetta Stone (as of July 2002) | ELECTION CAMPAIGN TELEPHONE <br> (GALLUP) | POSTELECTION TELEPHONE PANEL GALLUP) | PRE-CAMPAIGN IN- <br> PERSON (NOP) | POST-ELECTION <br> IN-PERSON <br> PANEL (NOP) | POSTELECTION MAILBACK (NOP/ESSEX) | POST-ELECTION <br> TELEPHONE <br> NORTHERN <br> IRELAND (FDS) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Most Important Election IssueOther |  |  | 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 |  |  |


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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 |


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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Economic Evaluation-Country, <br> Past Year | QN20A |  | AQ19A | BQ27A |  | Q10C |
| Govt Responsible-National Ec Past Year |  |  | AQ19B | BQ27B |  |  |
| Economic Evaluation-Country, <br> 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)- <br> 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 <br> Expectations/Actually Get |  |  | AQ14B | BQ17C |  |  |


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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Political ActivityBenefits/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 Princples |  |  |  | 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 lan 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 <br> Election - summary |  |  |  | VSCOTS |  |  |
| Vote last Welsh Assembly <br> 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 <br> Exec/Cabinet Welsh Assembly |  |  |  | BQ52/BQ55 |  |  |
| Constitutional OptionsScotland/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 |  |  |  |  |  |


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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Number of People in Household < } \\ & 18 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |  |  | 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 SelfEmployed |  |  |  | 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/EmployedN 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 |  |  |


| 2001/02 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY -Rosetta Stone (as of July 2002) | ELECTION CAMPAIGN TELEPHONE <br> (GALLUP) | POSTELECTION TELEPHONE PANEL GALLUP) | PRE-CAMPAIGN IN- PERSON (NOP) | POST-ELECTION <br> IN-PERSON <br> PANEL (NOP) | POSTELECTION MAILBACK (NOP/ESSEX) | POST-ELECTION TELEPHONE NORTHERN IRELAND (FDS) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Chief Wage Earner SelfEmployed | 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, NonManual | QND13F |  |  |  |  | Q61 |
| Chief Wage Earner Manual, NonManual 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 |  |  |


| 2001/02 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY -Rosetta Stone (as of July 2002) | ELECTION CAMPAIGN TELEPHONE (GALLUP) | POSTELECTION TELEPHONE PANEL GALLUP) | PRE-CAMPAIGN IN- PERSON (NOP) | POST-ELECTION <br> IN-PERSON <br> PANEL (NOP) | POSTELECTION MAILBACK (NOP/ESSEX) | POST-ELECTION <br> TELEPHONE <br> NORTHERN <br> IRELAND (FDS) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 NSSEC Operational Categories |  |  |  | NSSECS |  |  |
| Spouse's Social Class via NSSEC Analytic Classes |  |  |  | NSSECACS |  |  |
| BES Constituency Code | CONSTIT | ZCONSTIT | ACONSTIT | TCONSTIT Topup |  |  |


| 2001/02 BRITISH <br> ELECTION STUDY -- <br> Rosetta Stone (as of July 2002) | ELECTION CAMPAIGN TELEPHONE (GALLUP) | POSTELECTION TELEPHONE PANEL GALLUP) | PRE-CAMPAIGN IN PERSON (NOP) | POST-ELECTION IN-PERSON PANEL (NOP) | POSTELECTION MAILBACK (NOP/ESSEX) | POST-ELECTION TELEPHONE NORTHERN IRELAND (FDS) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Revised BES Constituency Code |  |  | CONSTREV |  |  |  |
| Census Constituency Code |  |  | DDCODE | TDDCODE Topup |  |  |
| Revised Census Constituency Code |  |  | DDREV |  |  |  |
| Press Association Constituency Code |  |  | PACODE | TPACODE Topup |  |  |
| Revised Press Association Constituency Code |  |  | PAREV |  |  |  |
| Postcode Sector |  |  |  | POSTCODE |  |  |
| Ward |  |  | AWARD | TWARD Topup |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
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## 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?
2. Very interested
3. Somewhat interested
4. Not very interested
5. Not at all interested
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
6. 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
7. Britain's membership in the European Monetary Union
8. Britain's relations with the European Union
9. Law and order
10. Educational standards
11. Environment
12. National Health Service
13. Inflation, Prices Generally
14. Public transport
15. Taxation
16. State of the economy
17. Unemployment
18. My standard of living
19. Price of Petrol
20. Other [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
21. 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)
8. How do you think the present government has handled each of the following issues? [SHOW CARD]
[ROTATE a-I]
9. Very well
10. Fairly well
11. Neither well nor badly
12. Fairly badly
13. 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
1) 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)]
8. 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?
9. Yes
10. No
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
11. 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)
8. 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?
9. Very strong
10. Fairly strong
11. Not very strong
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
12. 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
13. 
14. 
15. 
16. 
17. 
18. 
19. 
20. 
21. 
22. very likely
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
23. 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] $\qquad$
5. Which party do you think is most likely to win the election in this constituency?
6. Labour
7. Conservative
8. Liberal-Democrat
9. Other Party [SPECIFY]
10. [Ask for SCOTLAND only] Scottish Nationalist Party
11. [Ask for WALES only] Plaid Cymru
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
12. 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
13. 
14. 
15. 
16. 
17. 
18. 
19. 
20. 
21. 
22. 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
23. a) On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as a party that is...READ OUT...
24. out of touch with ordinary people
25. or, in touch with ordinary people
26. 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...
27. United
28. or, Divided
29. (neither or both) NOT STATED
(98. Don't know)
(99 Refused)
b) And the Conservative Party nowadays, is it...READ OUT...
30. 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
31. 
32. 
33. 
34. 
35. 
36. 
37. 
38. 
39. 
40. 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

1) 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.
6. a) Now, some questions about the party leaders. On the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as...READ OUT...
7. capable of being a strong leader
8. or, not capable of being a strong leader
9. (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....
4. 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
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. 
11. 
12. 
13. 
14. 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
15. How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago? Has it ...
[SHOW CARD]
16. Got a lot worse
17. Got a little worse
18. Stayed the same
19. Got a little better
20. Got a lot better
(98. Don't know)
(99. Refused)
21. a) How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months. Has it ...
[SHOW CARD]
22. Got a lot worse
23. Got a little worse
24. Stayed the same
25. Got a little better
26. 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?
20. A great deal
21. A fair amount
22. Not much
(4. Nothing)
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
23. How do you think the financial situation of your household will change over the next 12 months? Will it ..
[SHOW CARD]
24. Get a lot worse
25. Get a little worse
26. Stay the same
27. Get a little better
28. 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 ...
[SHOW CARD]
30. get a lot worse
31. get a little worse
32. Stay the same
33. get a little better
34. get a lot better
(98. Don't know)
(99. Refused)
35. If Britain were in economic difficulties, which party do you think would be able to handle the situation best - Labour or the Conservatives?
36. Labour
37. Conservative
38. Neither (Volunteered)
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
39. Thinking of the Single European Currency, which of the following statements on this card would come closest to your own view?
[SHOW CARD]
40. Definitely join as soon as possible
41. Join if and when the economic conditions are right
42. Stay out for at least the next four or five years
43. Rule out on principle.
(98. Don't know)
(99. Refused)
44. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of Britain's membership in the European Union? [SHOW CARD]
45. Strongly approve
46. Approve
47. Neither Approve nor Disapprove
48. Disapprove
49. Strongly disapprove
(98. Don't know)
(99. Refused)
[FOR Q. 25 and Q.26, RANDOMIZE SELF VERSUS PARTIES AND ORDER OF PARTIES.]
50. 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)
9. 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]
10. Did not vote
11. Labour
12. Conservative
13. Liberal Democrat
14. Plaid Cymru
15. Green Party
16. Referendum Party
17. Other [WRITE IN]
(96. Not eligible / too young to vote)
(98. Can't remember/Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
18. 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
5. Green Party
6. Referendum Party
7. Other [WRITE IN]
(96. Not eligible / too young to vote)
(98. Can't remember/Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
8. 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
9. 
10. 
11. 
12. 
13. 
14. 
15. 
16. 
17. 
18. 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.
19. 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)
11. b) ASK IN SCOTLAND Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as $\qquad$
12. Scottish
13. British
14. European
15. None of these
16. English (Volunteered)
17. Welsh (Volunteered)
18. Scottish and British (Volunteered)
19. Scottish and European (volunteered)
20. British and European (Volunteered)
21. Scottish, British and European (Volunteered)
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
22. c) ASK IN WALES Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as ....?
23. Welsh
24. British
25. European
26. None of these
27. English (Volunteered)
28. Scottish (Volunteered)
29. Welsh and British (Volunteered)
30. Welsh and European (Volunteered)
31. British and European (Volunteered)
32. Welsh, British and European (Volunteered)
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
33. On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way that democracy works in this country?
[SHOW CARD]
34. Very satisfied
35. Fairly satisfied
36. A Little dissatisfied
37. Very dissatisfied
(98. Don't know)
(99. Refused)
38. Do you regularly read one or more daily morning newspapers?
39. Yes
40. 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
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]
14. Other Newspaper [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
15. On a scale of 0 to 10 how much attention do you generally pay to politics?
[SHOW CARD]
16. pay no attention
17. 
18. 
19. 
20. 
21. 
22. 
23. 
24. 
25. 
26. pay a great deal of attention
(98. Don't know)
(99. Refused)
27. 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)
3. 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 )
8. Now, a few questions about yourself and your background. What was your age last birthday?

Age in years $\qquad$
(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
7. a) Does your household own or rent this accommodation?
8. Own
9. Rent
10. Neither
(99. Refused)
11. b) [IF R OWNS in Q. 40a] Do you own your house outright or on a mortgage?
12. Own the leasehold/freehold
13. Buying leasehold/freehold on a mortgage
(99. Refused)
14. Are you now a member of a trade union or staff association?
15. Yes
16. No, but used to be a member
17. No, never a member
(98. Don't know)
(99. Refused)
18. At what age did you finish full-time education?
19. 15 or younger
20. 16
21. 17
22. 18
23. 19 or older
24. Still in full-time education
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
43.a) Do you have any educational or work-related qualifications?
25. Yes
26. No
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
27. b) [If YES to Q.43a)] What is the highest qualification you have?
[SHOW CARD]
28. Youth training certificate/skillseekers
29. Recognized trade apprenticeship completed
30. Clerical and commercial qualifications (e.g., typing/shorthand, book-keeping)
31. City and Guilds certificate - Craft/intermediate/Ordinary/Part 1 or Scotvec National Certificate Modules/ or NVQ1/SVQ2
32. City and Guilds certificate - Advanced/Final/Part 2/ or Scotvec Higher National Units/ or NVQ2/SVQ2
33. Ordinary National Certificate (ONC) or Diploma (OND), BEC/TEC/BTEC/ Scotvec Higher Certificate or Higher Diploma /or NVQ4/SVQ4
34. CSE grades 2-5
35. CSE grade 1, GCE O level, GCSE, School Certificate
36. Scottish Ordinary/ Lower Certificate
37. GCE A level or Higher Certificate
38. Scottish Higher Certificate
39. Nursing qualification (eg SEN, SRN, SCM, RGN)
40. Teaching qualification (not degree)
41. University diploma
42. University or CNAA first degree (eg BA, B.Sc, B.Ed)
43. University or CNAA higher degree (eg M.Sc, Ph.D)
44. Other technical, professional or higher qualification
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
45. a) Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?
46. Yes
47. No
(98. Not sure/Don't know)
(99. Refused)
48. b) [If YES to Q. 44a], Which denomination?
49. Church of England/Anglican/Episcopal
50. Roman Catholic
51. Presbyterian/Church of Scotland
52. Methodist
53. Baptist
54. United Reform Church
55. Free Presbyterian
56. Brethren
57. Jewish
58. Hindu
59. Islam/Muslim
60. Sikh
61. Buddhist
62. Other [WRITE IN]
63. 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)
13. Which of these is the main source of income for you (and your wife/husband/partner) at present?
[SHOW CARD]
14. Earnings from employment (own or spouse / partner's)
15. Occupational pension(s) - from previous employer(s)
16. State retirement or widow's pension(s)
17. Jobseeker's Allowance / Unemployment benefit
18. Income Support or family credit
19. Invalidity, sickness or disabled pension or benefit(s)
20. Other state benefit
21. Interest from savings or investments
22. Student grant or loan
23. Dependent on parents/other relatives
24. Other main source
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused )
25. 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 $\qquad$ 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 | 48 b <br> Yourself <br> Your husband, <br> wife or <br> partner |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1 | 1 |

Manager or Senior Administrator (e.g. company
director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)

Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)
Sales or Services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop
assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)

Small Business Owner (e.g. shop owner, small
2
2
Professional or higher technical work (work that requires at least degree-level qualifications, e.g. doctor, accountant, schoolteacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst)
builder, restaurant owner)
Foreman or Supervisor of Other Workers (e.g. building
6 site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)

Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter, train driver, cook, hairdresser)

Semi-Skilled or Unskilled Manual Work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call-centre worker)

Other/Never worked (for more than 10 hours per week)

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.

Private sector firm or company (e.g. limited 49a 49b
Yourself Your husband, wife or partner

1 company, PLC, small business)

Nationalised industry or public corporation. (e.g. post office, BBC)

Other public sector employer (e.g. central government, Civil Service, LEA, NHS, Police, armed forces)

Charity/voluntary sector (e.g. charitable
companies, churches, trade unions)
Other/Never worked (for more than 10 hours 5 per week)
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
8. Pakistani
9. Bangladeshi
10. 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)
17. a) [In WALES only] Can you speak Welsh?
18. Yes
19. No
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
20. b) [In WALES only][If YES in Q.51a] Do you speak Welsh fluently or not?
21. Yes, fluently
22. Yes, but not fluently
23. No
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
24. a) Is there a telephone in (your part of) this accommodation?
25. Yes
26. No
27. 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
54. Male
55. Female
56. 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: $1 . . .200$
57. Address
58. Constituency
59. Region

## SHOW CARD A

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

## SHOW CARD A

5. Very badly
6. Fairly badly
7. Neither well nor badly
8. Fairly well
9. Very well

## SHOW CARD B

0. very unlikely
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. very likely

## SHOW CARD C

0. strongly dislike
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 

10.strongly like

## SHOW CARD D

00 no respect
01.
02.
03.
04.
05.
06.
07.
08.
09.
10. a great deal of respect

## SHOW CARD E

1. Strongly agree

## 2. Agree

3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

## SHOW CARD E

5. Strongly Disagree
6. Disagree
7. Neither Agree nor Disagree
8. Agree
9. Strongly Agree

## SHOW CARD F

0. strongly dislike
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. strongly like

## 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

## SHOW CARD G

5. Got a lot better
6. Got a little better
7. Stayed the same
8. Got a little worse
9. Got a lot worse

## 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

## SHOW CARD H

5. Get a lot better
6. Get a little better
7. Stay the same
8. Get a little worse
9. 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.

## SHOW CARD I

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

## SHOW CARD J

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

## SHOW CARD J

5. Strongly disapprove
6. Disapprove
7. Neither Approve nor Disapprove
8. Approve
9. Strongly approve

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## 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

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on health and social services

## SHOW CARD M

0. Election not close at all
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 

09
10. Election very close

## SHOW CARD N

00 . very unlikely
01.
02.
03.
04.
05.
06.
07.
08.
09.
10. very likely

## SHOW CARD 0

0. Can't be too careful
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. most people can be trusted

## SHOW CARD P

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

## SHOW CARD P

4. Very dissatisfied
5. A little dissatisfied
6. Fairly satisfied
7. Very satisfied

## SHOW CARD Q

0. pay no attention
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. pay a great deal of attention

## SHOW CARD R

0. no influence
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
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

1. $Q$. Less than £5000
2. T. $£ 5000-£ 10000$
3. 0. £10001-£15000
1. K. £15001-£20000
2. L. £20001-£25000
3. B. £25001-£30000
4. Z. £30001-£35000
5. M. £35001-£40000
6. F. £40001-£45000
7. J. £45001-£50000
8. D. £50001-£60000
9. H . $£ 60001$ or more

## 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, barworker, 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, selfemployed)
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)

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# 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?
2. A great deal
3. Quite a lot
4. Some
5. Not very much
6. 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] $\qquad$
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
[IF PARTY GIVEN, GO TO Q. 2d)]
8. 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?
9. Yes
10. No
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
11. c) [IF 'YES' IN Q. 2b)] Which party is that? [DO NOT PROMPT]
12. None/No
13. Labour
14. Conservative
15. Liberal Democrat
16. Scottish National Party
17. Plaid Cymru
18. Green Party
19. Other Party [WRITE IN]
(99. Refused)
20. d) Would you call yourself very strong [PARTY GIVEN IN Q. 2a) OR Q. 2c)], fairly strong or not very strong?
21. Very strong
22. Fairly strong
23. 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?
24. Very interested
25. Somewhat interested
26. Not very interested
27. Not at all interested
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
28. In your opinion, what was the single most important issue in the general election?
[NOTE: THIS IS AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTION] Coding Categories
29. Britain's membership in the European Monetary Union
30. Britain's relations with the European Union
31. Law and order
32. Educational standards
33. Environment
34. National Health Service
35. Inflation, Prices Generally
36. Public transport
37. Taxation
38. State of the economy
39. Unemployment
40. My standard of living
41. Price of Petrol
42. Foot and mouth disease
43. Immigration/asylum seekers
44. Pensions
45. Other [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
46. 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?
6. None/No Party Best Able
7. Conservative
8. Labour
9. Liberal Democrat
10. Scottish National Party (SNP)
11. Plaid Cymru
12. Green Party
13. 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.]
7. Very well
8. Fairly well
9. Neither well nor badly
10. Fairly badly
11. 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
1) 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?
8. Yes
9. No
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
10. a) Talking to people about the general election on June 7th, we have found that a lot of people didn $\square_{t}$ manage to vote. How about you did you manage to vote in the general election?
11. Yes, voted
12. No
[IF YES IN Q. 8a)] 8. b) Which party did you vote for in the general election?
13. Conservative
14. Labour
15. Liberal Democrat
16. Scottish National Party
17. Plaid Cymru
18. Green Party
19. Other Party
(99. Refused to disclose voting)
20. 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)
5. 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]
6. The party has the best policies
7. The party has the best leader
8. I really preferred another party but it stood no change of winning in my constituency.
9. (I voted tactically) [NOT STATED]
10. Other [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
[IF (3) OR (4) IN Q. 8d)] 8. e) Which party did you really prefer? [DO NOT PROMPT]
11. Conservative
12. Labour
13. Liberal Democrat
14. Scottish National Party
15. Plaid Cymru
16. Green Party
17. Other Party [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
(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?
18. In person
19. By post
20. 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:
21. all general elections
22. most of them
23. some of them
24. 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:
25. all general elections
26. most of them
27. some of them
28. not very many of them
29. none of them
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
30. 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
31. 
32. 
33. 
34. 
35. 
36. 
37. 
38. 
39. 
40. 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
41. On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as a party that is [READ OUT]
42. out of touch with ordinary people
43. or, in touch with ordinary people
44. 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]
45. On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as [READ OUT]
46. united
47. or, divided
48. 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]
49. On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as [READ OUT] [ROTATE PARTIES]
50. extreme
51. or, moderate
52. 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]
53. On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as a party that [READ OUT] [ROTATE PARTIES]
54. keeps its promises
55. or, breaks its promises
56. 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]
57. On the whole, would you describe the Labour Party nowadays as [READ OUT] [ROTATE PARTIES]
58. capable of being a strong government,
59. or, not capable of being a strong government
60. 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]
61. Now, let $\square_{\text {s }}$ 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]
62. Strongly agree
63. Agree
64. Neither agree nor disagree
65. Disagree
66. Strongly disagree
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
a) It is every citizen $\nabla_{\text {s d d }}$ 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.
67. Now, some questions about the party leaders. On the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as [READ OUT]
68. capable of being a strong leader
69. or, not capable of being a strong leader
70. 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]
71. On the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as someone who [READ OUT]
72. keeps his promises
73. or, breaks his promises
74. 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]
75. And, on the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as:
[ROTATE LEADERS]
76. caring
77. or, not caring
78. 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]
79. And on the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as [READ OUT]
[ROTATE LEADERS]
80. decisive
81. or, not decisive
82. 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]
83. And would you describe Tony Blair as [READ OUT]
[ROTATE LEADERS]
84. someone who sticks to his principles
85. or, someone who does not stick to his principles
86. 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]
87. On the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as someone who [READ OUT]
[ROTATE LEADERS]
88. listens to reason
89. or, does not listen to reason
90. 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]
91. On the whole, would you describe Tony Blair as [READ OUT]
[ROTATE LEADERS]
92. arrogant
93. or, not arrogant
94. 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]
95. Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10 , where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel aboutl.?
[SHOW CARD]
[ROTATE a-c]
96. strongly dislike
97. 
98. 
99. 
100. 
101. 
102. 
103. 
104. 
105. 
106. 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
107. How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago? Has it:
[SHOW CARD]
108. Got a lot worse
109. Got a little worse
110. Stayed the same
111. Got a little better
112. Got a lot better
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
113. a) How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months. Has it:
[SHOW CARD]
114. Got a lot worse
115. Got a little worse
116. Stayed the same
117. Got a little better
118. Got a lot better
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
[IF DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED in Q. 27a, GO TO Q. 28]
119. 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]
120. A great deal
121. Something
122. Not much
(4. Nothing)
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
123. 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)
6. How do you think the general economic situation in this country will develop over the next 12 months? Will it:
7. Get a lot worse
8. Get a little worse
9. Stay the same
10. Get a little better
11. Get a lot better
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
12. 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]
13. Labour
14. Conservatives
15. Neither [VOLUNTEERED]
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
16. To what extent do you think that the government's policies affect the overall performance of the British economy?
17. A great deal
18. A fair amount
19. Not very much
20. Not at all
(98. Don't know)
(99. Refused)
21. To what extent do you think that the government's policies affect the financial situation of your household?
22. A great deal
23. A fair amount
24. Not very much
25. Not at all
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
26. Which, if any, of the following words describe your feelings about the country's general economic situation?
[SHOW CARD]
27. Yes, word applies
28. 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
29. 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]
30. Yes, word applies
31. 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
32. Thinking of the Single European Currency (Euro), which of the following statements on this card would come closest to your own view?
[SHOW CARD]
33. Definitely join as soon as possible
34. Join if and when the economic conditions are right
35. Stay out for at least the next four or five years
36. Rule out on principle
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
37. 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]
38. The British Government
39. The European Union
40. Both equally [NOT STATED]
41. Neither [NOT STATED]
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
42. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of Britain $\mathrm{D}_{\mathrm{s}}$ membership in the European Union? [SHOW CARD]
43. Strongly approve
44. Approve
45. Neither approve nor disapprove
46. Disapprove
47. Strongly disapprove
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
[FOR Q. 38 AND Q. 39, RANDOMIZE SELF VERSUS PARTIES AND ORDER OF PARTIES.]
48. 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
49. 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

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
5. Green Party
6. Referendum Party
7. 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
4. Plaid Cymru
5. Green Party
6. Referendum Party
7. Other [WRITE IN]
(96. Not eligible/too young to vote)
(98. Can't remember/Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
8. Now, a few questions about how active you are in politics and community affairs. Let $\square_{\text {s }}$ 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
9. 
10. 
11. 
12. 
13. 
14. 
15. 
16. 
17. 
18. 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 n 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.
19. Over the past few years, has anyone asked you to get involved in politics or community affairs?
20. Yes - I have been asked
21. No - I have not been asked
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
22. Over the past few years, have you volunteered to get involved in politics or community affairs?
23. Yes - I have volunteered
24. No - I have not volunteered
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
25. 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?
26. Very active
27. Somewhat active
28. A little active
29. Not at all active
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
30. 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?
31. Yes, friend
32. Yes, family member
33. Yes, someone at work
34. Yes, other person
35. No, no one tried to convince me
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
36. a) Are you a member of a political party?
37. Yes, member
38. 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
6. Other [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
7. Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to any particular class?
[IF YES] Which class is that?
8. Yes, middle class
9. Yes, working class
10. Yes, other
11. No
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
12. 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 to careful and 10 means most people can be trusted.
[SHOW CARD]
00 . Can't be too careful
13. 
14. 
15. 
16. 
17. 
18. 
19. 
20. 
21. 
22. Most people can be trusted
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
23. 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 then British
3. Equally English and British
4. More British than English
5. British not English
6. None of these
7. Other [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
8. [IN SCOTLAND ONLY] Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself? [SHOW CARD]
9. Scottish not British
10. More Scottish than British
11. Equally Scottish and British
12. More British than Scottish
13. British not Scottish
14. None of these
15. Other [WRITE IN]
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
16. [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.
17. Very bad job
18. 
19. 
20. 
21. 
22. 
23. 
24. 
25. 
26. 
27. Very good job
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
28. [ASK ALL] Which of the statements on this card comes closest to your view? [SHOW CARD]
29. Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK.
30. 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)
31. [IN WALES ONLY] Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself? [SHOW CARD]
32. Welsh not British
33. More Welsh than British
34. Equally Welsh and British
35. More British than Welsh
36. British not Welsh
37. None of these
38. Other [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
39. [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.
40. Very bad job
41. 
42. 
43. 
44. 
45. 
46. 
47. 
48. 
49. 
50. Very good job
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
51. [IN WALES ONLY] Which of these statements comes closest to your view?
52. Wales should become independent, separate from the UK.
53. Wales should remain part of the UK, with its own elected assembly that has some taxation powers
54. Wales should remain part of the UK, with its own elected assembly that has no taxation powers
55. Wales should be part of the UK without an elected assembly
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
56. 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?
3. The Express
4. The (Scottish) Daily Mail
5. The (Scottish) Mirror/Daily Record
6. The Daily Star (of Scotland)
7. The Sun
8. The Daily Telegraph
9. The Financial Times
10. The Guardian
11. The Independent
12. The Times
13. The Scotsman
14. The (Glasgow) Herald
15. Other Scottish/Welsh/regional or local daily morning newspaper [WRITE IN]
16. Other Newspaper [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
17. a) Did a canvasser from any party call at your home to talk with you during the election campaign?
18. Yes
19. 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]
20. Labour
21. Conservative
22. Liberal Democrat
23. Scottish National Party
24. Plaid Cymru
25. Other Party [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
26. a) Did anyone from a political party telephone you during the election campaign to ask you how you might vote?
27. Yes
28. No
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
[IF YES TO Q. 61a] 61. b) Which party or parties did they represent?
[ALLOW 4 RESPONSES]
29. Labour
30. Conservative
31. Liberal Democrat
32. Scottish National Party
33. Plaid Cymru
34. Other Party [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
35. a) Did any political party contact you on election day itself to see whether you had voted/intended to vote?
36. Yes
37. 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]
38. Labour
39. Conservative
40. Liberal Democrat
41. Scottish National Party
42. Plaid Cymru
43. Other Party [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
44. a) Did you see any of the Party Election Broadcasts that were shown on television during the election campaign?
45. Yes
46. No
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
[IF YES TO Q. 63. a] 63. b) Which parties D Election Broadcasts did you see?
[ALLOW 3 RESPONSES IN ENGLAND; ALLOW 4 RESPONSES IN SCOTLAND OR WALES]
47. Labour
48. Conservative
49. Liberal Democrat
50. Scottish National Party
51. Plaid Cymru
52. Other Party [WRITE IN]
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
53. How much attention did you pay to television coverage of the General Election?
54. A great deal of attention
55. A fair amount of attention
56. Some attention
57. No attention
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
58. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with each one of the following statements.
[SHOW CARD]
[READ AND ROTATE A-E]
59. Strongly agree
60. Agree
61. Neither agree nor disagree
62. Disagree
63. 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.
64. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.
[SHOW CARD]
[READ AND ROTATE A-G]
65. Strong agree
66. Agree
67. Neither agree nor disagree
68. Disagree
69. 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 $\square$ 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 $\square_{t}$ vote in a general election.
g) I would be seriously neglecting my duty as a citizen if I didn't vote.

## 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?
68. Yes
69. 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
70. Labour
71. Conservative
72. Liberal Democrat
73. Scottish National Party (SNP)
74. Plaid Cymru
75. Green Party
76. Other Party [SPECIFY]
(99. Refused)
77. Please tell me if you think that the following statements are true or false. If you don $\square_{t}$ know, just say so and we will skip to the next one. Remember- true, false, or don't know.
[SHOW CARD]
78. True
79. False
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
80. Polling stations close at 10:00 p.m. on election day.
81. It is official Conservative Party policy that Britain should never join the single European currency.
82. The Liberal Democrats favour a system of proportional representation for Westminster elections.
83. The minimum voting age is 16 .
84. Unemployment has fallen since Labour was elected in 1997.
85. Only taxpayers are allowed to vote in a general election.

INSTRUCTION: FILTER FOR THOSE CONSTITUENCIES HOLDING LOCAL ELECTIONS. 69. a) Let $\square_{\text {s }}$ talk for a moment about the local election that was held on June $7^{\text {th }}$. We have found that a lot of people didn $\square_{\mathrm{t}}$ 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 $7^{\text {th }}$ of June? [DO NOT PROMPT.]
3. Conservative
4. Labour
5. Liberal Democrat
6. Scottish National Party
7. Plaid Cymru
8. Green Party
9. Independent
10. Other [WRITE IN]
11. More than one [WRITE IN]
(99. Refused)
12. On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way that democracy works in this country?
[SHOW CARD]
13. Very satisfied
14. Fairly satisfied
15. A little dissatisfied
16. 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 $7^{\text {th }}$ ? [CODE MULTIPLE RESPONSES]
[SHOW CARD]
17. I really intended to vote but circumstances on the day prevented me.
18. $I \mathrm{l} \mathrm{m}$ just not interested in politics.
19. There is no point in voting because there $\square_{s}$ no real democracy in Britain.
20. There was no point in voting because it was obvious Labour would win the election.
21. The party I used to support no longer stands for what I believe in.
22. 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 7th?
[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 $\qquad$
(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?
4. Own the leasehold/freehold
5. 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)
4. At what age did you finish full-time education?
5. 15 or younger
6. 16
7. 17
8. 18
9. 19 or older
10. 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, bookeeping)
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)

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)
13. a) How many people are there in your household? Please include both adults and children.
$\qquad$ Total
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
[IF GREATER THAN 1 IN Q. 80a, ASK Q. 80b AND Q. 80c]
14. b) How many of those (in Q. 80a) are under 18 $\qquad$ TOTAL
15. c) How many of those (in Q. 80a) are elderly adults who require special care?
_Total
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
16. How much time do you have left over each week after you have carried out your work and family responsibilities?
17. A great deal
18. A fair amount
19. Some
20. 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] $\qquad$
(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)
4. What is (was) your job title?
$\qquad$
5. What kind of work do (did) you do in that job?
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
6. Can I just check, in your job is (was) supervision of other employees your main task?
7. Yes
8. No
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
9. 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)
5. 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)
3. What is (was) his/her job title?
$\qquad$
4. What kind of work does (did) he/she do in that job?
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
5. Can I just check, is (was) he/she
6. A manager
7. A foreman or supervisor
8. Or not?
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
9. 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 $\mathrm{s} / \mathrm{he}$ works (worked)?

1. 1-9
2. 10-24
3. 25-499
4. 500 or more
(98. Don't Know)
(99. Refused)
5. 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] $\qquad$
Mixed
3. White and Black Caribbean
4. White and Black African
5. White and Asian
6. Any other mixed background [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
Asian or Asian British
7. Indian
8. Pakistani
9. Bangladeshi
10. Any other Asian background [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
Black or Black British
11. Black Caribbean
12. Black African
13. Any other black background [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
Chinese or other ethnic group
14. Chinese
15. Other ethnic group [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
16. Which language do you usually speak at home?
17. English
18. Other [WRITE IN] $\qquad$
(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)
4. a) Is there a telephone in (your part of) this accommodation?
5. Yes
6. No
[If YES in Q.103a)]
7. 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
8. Number given
9. Number refused

## INTERVIEWER TO OBSERVE AND RECORD FOR ALL RESPONDENTS:

104. Gender
105. Male
106. Female
107. 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

## SHOW CARD A Q6

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

## SHOW CARD A Q6

5. Very badly
6. Fairly badly
7. Neither well nor badly
8. Fairly well
9. Very well

## SHOW CARD B Q8C

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

## SHOW CARD B Q8C

4. During the election campaign
5. Some time this year
6. Some time last year
7. A long time ago

## SHOW CARD C Q11

0. strongly dislike
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 

10.strongly like

## SHOW CARD D Q17

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

## SHOW CARD D Q17

5. Strongly disagree
6. Disagree
7. Neither agree nor disagree
8. Agree
9. Strongly agree

## SHOW CARD E Q25

0. Strongly dislike
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. Strongly like

## 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

## SHOW CARD F Q26 \&Q27a

5. Got a lot better
6. Got a little better
7. Stayed the same
8. Got a little worse
9. Got a lot worse

## SHOW CARD FA Q28 \& 29

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

## SHOW CARD FA Q28 \& Q29

5. Get a lot better
6. Get a little better
7. Stay the same
8. Get a little worse
9. Get a lot worse

## SHOW CARD G Q33 \& Q34

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

## 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

## SHOW CARD H Q35

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

## SHOW CARD I Q37

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

## SHOW CARD I Q37

5. Strongly disapprove
6. Disapprove
7. Neither approve nor disapprove
8. Approve
9. Strongly approve
10. Left
11. 
12. 
13. 
14. 
15. 
16. 
17. 
18. 
19. 
20. Right

## SHOW CARD K Q39

0. Government should cut taxes a lot/spend much less on health and social services
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. Government should increase taxes a lot/spend much more on health and social services

## SHOW CARD L Q48

0. Can't be too careful
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. Most people can be trusted

## SHOW CARD M Q49

0. Try to take advantage
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. Try to be fair

# 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

## SHOW CARD N Q50

5. British not English
6. More British than English
7. Equally English and British
8. More English than British
9. English not British

## 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

# SHOW CARD O Q51 

5. British not Scottish
6. More British than Scottish
7. Equally Scottish and British
8. More Scottish than British
9. Scottish not British

## 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

## SHOW CARD P Q53

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

## 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

## SHOW CARD Q Q54

5. British not Welsh
6. More British than Welsh
7. Equally Welsh and British
8. More Welsh than British
9. Welsh not British

## SHOW CARD R Q55

0. Very bad job
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. Very good job

## SHOW CARD S Q57

0. No attention
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. pay a great deal of attention

## SHOW CARD T Q58

0. No influence
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 
9. 
10. Great deal of influence

## SHOW CARD U Q65 \&66

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

## SHOW CARD U Q65 \&66

5. Strongly disagree
6. Disagree
7. Neither agree nor disagree
8. Agree
9. Strongly agree
10. True

## 2. False

## SHOW CARD W Q70

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

## SHOW CARD W Q70

4. Very dissatisfied
5. A little dissatisfied
6. Fairly satisfied
7. Very satisfied

## 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

## 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
5. There is no point in voting because there's no real democracy in Britain
6. I'm just not interested in politics
7. 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

## SHOW CARD Z Q78

Annual Income

1. Q. Less than $£ 5000$
2. T. £5000-£10000
3. 0. £10001-£15000
1. K. £15001-£20000
2. L. £20001-£25000
3. B. £25001-£300007. Z. $£ 30001-£ 35000$
4. M. £35001-£40000
5. F. £40001-£45000
6. J. £45001-£50000
7. D. £50001-£6000012. H. £60001 or more

## 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

## 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

## 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 | $\mathbf{X}$ |

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:
Date:
$\square$

$\square$ | 0 | 1 |
| :--- | :--- |

Address No: $\square$

## 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
Didn't care very much
Don't know


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 |  | NOW PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 2b AND 2c |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| No |  | PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 3 |
| Don't know |  | PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 3 |
|  |  |  |

2 b . Which party would have been your first choice?
[WRITE IN] $\qquad$

2c. Which party would have been your second choice?
[WRITE IN] $\qquad$
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
A fair amount of attention
Some attention
No attention
Don't know

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

> Yes
> No
> Don't know

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] $\qquad$
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

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

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
Some difference between them
Not much difference between them
Don't know

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
Closer to Labour
No difference or not close to either
Don't know


## 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...


Your own view
The Labour Party's view
The Conservative Party's view
The Liberal Democrat Party's view
IF YOU LIVE IN SCOTLAND
The SNP's view
IF YOU LIVE IN WALES
Plaid Cymru's view

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |


|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

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 $£$

| 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
IF YOU LIVE IN SCOTLAND
The SNP's view


IF YOU LIVE IN WALES
Plaid Cymru's view $\square$
15. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW

| Strongly <br> Agree | Agree | Neither <br> agree <br> nor <br> disagree | Disagree | Strongly <br> disagree |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

The death penalty, even for very serious crimes, is never justified Violent criminals deserve to be deprived of some of their human rights
Convicted criminals need to be rehabilitated rather than punished People who break the law should be given longer prison sentences
$\square$

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

| Strongly <br> Agree | Agree | Neither <br> agree <br> nor <br> disagree | Disagree | Strongly <br> disagree |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Immigrants increase crime rates
Immigrants generally are good for Britain's economy Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in Britain Immigrants make Britain more open to new ideas and cultures Most asylum seekers who come to Britain should be sent home immediately

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

| Strongly <br> Agree | Agree | Neither <br> agree <br> nor <br> disagree | Disagree | Strongly <br> disagree |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Women MPs better represent women's interests than do male MPs Most men are better suited for politics than are most women Women need to get more involved in politics to solve problems that concern them
A husband's job is to earn the money; a wife's job is to look after
the home and family
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
Got a little worse
Stayed the same
Got a little better
Got a lot better
Don't know

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

Ordinary working people get their fair share of the nation's wealth
There is one law for the rich and one for the poor
There is no need for strong trade unions to protect employees' working conditions and wages
Private enterprise is the best way to solve Britain's economic problems
Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional British values
Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards
People should be allowed to organise public meetings to protest against the government
People in Britain should be more tolerant of those who lead unconventional lifestyles
Political parties that wish to overthrow democracy should not be allowed to stand in general elections
Big international companies are a threat to democratic government in Britain
We worry too much about the environment today and not enough about people's jobs

| Strongly <br> Agree | Agree | Neither <br> agree <br> nor <br> disagree | Disagree | Strongly <br> disagree |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

## 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 <br> BOX IN EACH ROW | No Respect |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | A great deal of Respect |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | - | 10 |
| 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 <br> Agree | Agree | Neither <br> agree <br> nor <br> disagree | Disagree | Strongly <br> disagree |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Elections help to keep politicians accountable for the promises they make
Elections allow voters to express their opinions but don't really change anything
Elections give voters an opportunity to tell politicians what they think is really important
All things considered, most elections are just a big waste of time and money
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 <br> Agree | Agree | Neither <br> agree <br> nor <br> disagree | Disagree | Strongly <br> 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
Political parties are more interested in winning elections than in governing afterwards
The main political parties in Britain don't offer voters real choices in elections because their policies are pretty much all the same
Political parties do more to divide the country than to unite it
Political parties spend too much time bickering with each other
Parties generally do a good job in finding well-qualified people to run for Parliament
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
In elections, political parties don't tell people about the really important problems facing the country
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 <br> Agree | Agree | Neither <br> agree <br> nor <br> disagree | Disagree | Strongly <br> disagree |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

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

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
Or not?
Don't know

25. Do you think that big business in this country. PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX ONLY.
Have too much power
Or not?
Don't know
$\square$

## 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 |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| 9 |  |
| 8 |  |
| 7 |  |
| 6 |  |
| 5 |  |
| 4 |  |
| 3 |  |
| 2 |  |
| 1 |  |
| 0 |  |

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 $£ 5,000$ | $\square$ | $£ 30,001$ to $£ 35,000$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $£ 5,001$ to $£ 10,000$ | $\square$ | $\square$ |
| $£ 10,001$ to $£ 15,000$ | $\square$ | $\square 40,001$ to $£ 40,000$ |
| $£ 15,001$ to $£ 20,000$ | $\square$ | $\square$ |
| $£ 20,001$ to $£ 25,000$ | $\square £ 50001$ to $£ 50,000$ | $\square$ |
| $£ 25,001$ to $£ 30,000$ | $\square £ 60,001$ or more | $\square$ |

28. How long have you lived in this neighbourhood?

## PLEASE ENTER NUMBER OF YEARS


29. How strong are your feelings of attachment to... PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX IN EACH ROW

|  | Very strong | Fairly <br> strong | Not very <br> strong | Not at all <br> strong | Don't know |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Your Neighbourhood
Your Constituency
$\square \quad \square$

30. Thinking about your life as a whole, are you...PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

31. Generally speaking, how willing are you to take risks? Are you... PLEASE CROSS ONE BOX

32. We have a number of parties in Britain, each of which would like to get your vote. Using the $0-10$ scale, where 0 means very unlikely and 10 means very likely, how likely is it that you would ever vote for each of the following parties?

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { CROSS ONE } \\ & \text { BOX IN EACH ROW } \end{aligned}$ | Very Unlikely |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Very Likely |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| The Conservative Party |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The Labour Party |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The Liberal Democrat Party |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

IF YOU LIVE IN SCOTLAND
The SNP


IF YOU LIVE IN WALES
Plaid Cymru

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 |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| Between 15 and 20 minutes |  |
| Between 21 and 30 minutes |  |
| Between 31 and 45 minutes |  |
| Between 46 and 60 minutes |  |
| Over one hour |  |

## 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

## 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?


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


QB2 Could I speak to her?


QB Could I speak to him?

(11) SP

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

QC CODE GENDER
(12) SP

Male. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1


IF NECESSARY CHECK CONTACT IS OVER 18
$\qquad$
PAUSE

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?


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..................................................


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
(15) SP


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...............................................
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). |  |
| DUP (Democratic Unionist Party) |  |
| Sinn Fein (SF) |  |
| Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of |  |
| Northern Ireland) |  |
| UKU (United Kingdom Unionists) |  |
| Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) |  |
| Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (WC) |  |
| UDP (Ulster Democratic Party). |  |
| Don't know. |  |
| Refused.... |  |

\}

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 |  |  |
| No. |  | 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) |  |  |
| UUP (Ulster Unionist Party) |  |  |
| DUP (Democratic Unionist Party) |  |  |
| Sinn Fein (SF) |  |  |
| 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) | $\begin{aligned} & .9 \\ & (32) \end{aligned}$ | SP |
| UDP (Ulster Democratic Party) | . 0 |  |
|  | (31) | SP |
| Other (specify) | 0 |  |

Specified Other

Refused.

(31) SP

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . $\{$

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

Q4ROT
$\qquad$
$\% R \%$
(44)

IF ( $\mathrm{R}=1$ ) \{

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

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

```
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?

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)){
```

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). | $\begin{aligned} & .9 \\ & (46) \end{aligned}$ | SP |
| UKU (United Kingdom Unionists) | . 0 |  |
| Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) |  |  |
| Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (WC) | . 2 |  |
| UDP (Ulster Democratic Party). | ${ }_{(45)}$ | 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?


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.
$\qquad$
PAUSE

SET R=ROTATION


```
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)
$\begin{array}{ccccc}-1- & -2- & -3- & -5-\end{array}$
0 TO 10...........
Don't know........
Refused...........
SET Q8 (SUB) $=\mathrm{Q} 8 \mathrm{~V}\left({ }^{*}\right)$

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

| 4179 |  |  |  | 5 Card: |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Q9 | Q9 |  |  |  |
|  | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|  | 5/8-9 | (10-11) | (12-13) | (14-15) |
| 0 TO 10... Don't know Refused... |  |  |  |  |
|  | Y | Y | Y | Y |
|  | \{ | \{ | \{ | \{ |
| SET R=ROTATION |  |  |  |  |
| SET R=ROTATION |  |  |  |  |
| SET R=ROTATION |  |  |  |  |
| Q9ROT |  |  |  |  |
| \% R \% |  |  |  |  |
| ```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 <br> SET Q9D=Q9X <br> UNSET SUB <br> SET SUB=NBIT (Q9D) |  |  |  |  |

Q9V .... ?

| $-1-$ | $[+Q 91 s t 1+]$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| $-2-$ | $[+Q 91 s t 2+]$ |
| $-3-$ | $[+Q 91 s t 3+]$ |
| $-4-$ | UUP Leader David Trimble |
| $-5-$ | SDLP Deputy Leader Seamus Mallon |


| $-1-$ | $-2-$ | $-4-$ | $-5-$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

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..................................................
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...................................................
Refused......................................................

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....................................................
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................................................
Refused. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . $\{$

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

Q11ROT
\% R \%
(22)

IF ( $\mathrm{R}=1$ ) \{

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. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . []

```
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?

## SP


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?

Definitely join......................................... 1
Wait and see how it develops....................... 2
Definitely stay out.......................................... 3
Don't know...................................................
Refused.......................................................

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

## PAUSE

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
```



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

Q14 .... ?


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. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
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................................................


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?


```
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)(54)SP
UDP (Ulster Democratic Party) .....  0
Conservative .....  1
Labour. ..... 2
Liberal Democrat .....  3
Green Party. ..... 4
(53) ..... SPRefused...................................................Thinking back to the last general election in May 1997, do youremember which party you voted for then, or perhaps you didn't vote?[DO NOT PROMPT]
(55) SP
SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party) .....  1
UUP (Ulster Unionist Party) .....  3
DUP (Democratic Unionist Party) .....  4
Sinn Fein (SF) .....  5
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 .....  \{

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................................................. . .
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...................................................
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. | \{ | \{ | \{ |  |

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..................................................
Refused...................................................... .

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


Q22B Do you remember which party was your first preference?


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.. | . . \{ |  |

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..................................................
Refused...................................................

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


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

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

SET R=ROTATION

Q25ROT

## \%R\%

```
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)

```
4 1 7 9
Page 26 Card: 6
Q25V .... ?
    -1- Taxation
    -2- The National Health Service
    -3- [+Q25lst1+]
    -4- [+Q25lst2+]
    -5- [+Q25lst3+]
    -6- [+Q25lst4+]
                                    -1- -2- -3- -4- 
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?
$\qquad$

PAUSE $\qquad$
Q26 Q26

$\qquad$
Q26ROT
$\qquad$ (46)

```
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 $\operatorname{SUB}=\operatorname{NBIT}(Q 26 \mathrm{D})$
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { Q26V } & \ldots . . ? \\ -1- & \text { Taxation } \\ -2- & \text { The National Health Service } \\ -3- & {[+Q 261 s t 1+]} \\ -4- & {[+Q 261 s t 2+]} \\ -5- & {[+Q 261 s t 3+]} \\ -6- & {[+Q 261 s t 4+]}\end{array}$
0 TO 10...........
Don't know........
Refused...........
SET Q26 (SUB) $=$ Q26V (*)

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................................................................................................................................ TO Q28A

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


Green Party........................................... . . . 0
(48) MP

Don't know..................................................
Refused.......................................................

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

|  | (50) | SP |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Yes |  | GO TO | Q28B |
| No. |  | 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) |  |
| UUP (Ulster Unionist Party) |  |
| DUP (Democratic Unionist Party) |  |
| Sinn Fein (SF) |  |
| Alliance Party (APNI / Alliance Party of |  |
| Northern Ireland) |  |
| UKU (United Kingdom Unionists) |  |
| Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) |  |
| Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (WC) |  |
| UDP (Ulster Democratic Party) |  |


|  | Don't know................................................ Refused........ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . $\{$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Q29 | How much attention did you pay to television coverag general election?. | during the |
|  | (52) | SP |
|  | A great deal of attention......................... 1 |  |
|  | A fair amount of attention....................... 2 |  |
|  | Some attention. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 3 |  |
|  | No attention...................................... . . 4 |  |
|  | Don't know. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{\text {r }}$ |  |
|  | 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 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 | 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 |  |
| $\operatorname{IF}(Q 30 B=17)\{$ |  |  |

Q30B17 Which other Northern Irish / Irish regional or local daily morning newspaper
(56-65)
$\qquad$
\}
IF (Q30B=18) \{ $\qquad$
Q20B18 Which other Newspaper
(66-75)
$\qquad$
\} $\qquad$
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
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- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (76) | (77) | (78) | (79) | (80) | SP |
| Agree. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |
| Disagree | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |  |
| Don't know. | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |  |
| Refused. | \{ | \{ | \{ | \{ | \{ |  |

Q31ROT

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

## PAUSE

Q32 .... ?

| $-1-$ | Violent criminals deserve to de deprived of some of their human <br> rights. |
| :--- | :--- |
| $-2-\quad$ The death penalty, even for very serious crimes, is never justified. |  |
| $-3-\quad$ Convicted criminals need to be rehabilitated rather than punished. |  |
| $-4-\quad$ People who break the law should be given longer prison sentences |  |


| $-1-$ | $-2-$ | $-3-$ | $-4-$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $(9)$ | $(10)$ | $(11)$ | $(12)$ | SP |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |  |
| $Y$ | $Y$ | $Y$ | $Y$ |  |
| $\{$ | $\{$ | $\{$ | $\{$ |  |

SET R=ROTATION

Q32ROT
$\% R \%$

Please tell me if you agree, or disagree with each of the following statements.
$\qquad$
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. | \{ | \{ | \{ | \{ |  |

SET R=ROTATION
Q33ROT
\%R\%
COLUMN 908

```
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
}
```

Q35 In that case could you tell me which age band you would fall into? (READ 0 - 4)


Q37 Do you or your family, own your own home or do you rent it?


Q38 Is your home paid for or do you have a mortgage?

|  | (23) | SP |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Paid for | . 1 | GO | TO | Q41 |
| Mortgage |  | GO | TO | Q41 |
| Don't kn | Y | GO | TO | Q41 |
| Refused. |  | GO | TO | Q41 |

Q39 Do you rent from a council or rent privately? OPEN END AND CODE)


Q40 Is your home some other form of accommodation such as a hostel or lodging?


Q41 At what age did you or will you complete your full-time education?


Q42 Do you, or does anyone else in your household run a car including company cars?


Q43 How many cars in total?

|  | (28) | SP |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| One. |  |  |
| Two. |  |  |
| Three or mor |  |  |
| Don't know. |  |  |
| Refused... | . \{ |  |

Q44 Are you employed now?

|  | (29) |
| :---: | :---: |
| Yes. | . 1 |
| No. |  |
| Don't know. |  |
| 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.


```
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 |  | GO T | TO Q51 |
| No. |  | GO T | TO Q47 |
| Don't know. | Y | GO T | TO Q47 |
| Refused. | . \{ | GO T | TO Q47 |

Q47 About how many hours a week do you work?
$0+$

Don't know................................................
Refused. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . $\{$

GOTO Q51

Q48 Are you (READ 1-4)


Q49 Have you been unemployed for more than six months?


Q50 Do you receive only the basic state retirement pension?


Q51 Is your current/was your most recent job a manual or non-manual job?

|  | (44) | SP |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Manual |  | GO T | O Q53 |
| Non-manual | 2 | GO T | TO Q54 |
| (None/Have not worked) | 3 | GO T | TO Q65 |
| (Neither) | 4 | GO T | TO Q52 |
| Don't know | Y | GO T | TO Q52 |
| Refused. |  | GO T | 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?


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 |  | GO TO Q65 |
| Refused. |  | GO TO Q65 |

```
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............................................. . .


GOTO Q65

Q55 Is the Chief income earner employed now?

|  | (48) | SP |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Yes | . 1 | GO TO Q56 |
| No. |  | 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:


Q57 How many hours a week does the Chief Income Earner in your household work:
$0+$ (50-58)
Don't know............................................
Refused. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . \{

GOTO Q61

Q58 Is the Chief Income Earner in your household (READ 1-4)

|  | (59) | SP |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Unemployed. |  | GO T | TO Q59 |
| Retired, Pensi |  | GO T | TO Q60 |
| Housewife not |  | GO T | TO Q65 |
| Student |  | GO T | TO Q65 |
| (Other) |  | GO T | TO Q65 |
| Don't know |  | GO T | TO Q65 |
| Refused. |  | GO T | TO Q65 |

Q59 Has the Chief Income Earner been unemployed for more than six months?


Q60 Does the Chief Income Earner receive only the basic state retirement pension?


Q61 Is the Chief Income Earner's current/was the Chief Income Earner's most recent job a manual or non-manual job?


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) |  | GO | TO | Q65 |

Q63 Is/was this manual job skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled?


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................................................
Refused. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . $\{$

Q65 What is your marital status? Are you ... (READ OUT CODES 1-4)

\}

Q68 And finally could you tell me your total annual household income?

|  | (69) |
| :---: | :---: |
| Less than £5,000 |  |
| £5,000 to £9,999 |  |
| £10,000 to £14,999 | 3 |
| £15,000 to £24,999 | 4 |
| £25,000 to £34,999 | 5 |
| £35,000 to £49,999 |  |
| £50,000 or more | 7 |
| Don't know. | Y |
| Refused. |  |

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Republican,
Nationalist, Unionist, Loyalist or what?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


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
$\% R 70 \%$
(12)

Q71A Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?


```
SET Q71ANUM=NBIT (Q71A)
```

IF (Q71ANUM=1) \{

Q71B Which denomination?

(16-25)
Specified Other
\}

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?


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) |
|  | Ulster Society for Prevention Cruelty to Animals. 1 Northern Ireland Help the Aged..................... 2 Action Cancer.......................................... . . 3 NSPCC Northern Ireland.............................. 4 |
| QCLOSE | Hangup |
|  | HANGUP . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [ ] S ${ }^{\text {SP }}$ |
|  | CALLFUNC ('qc_hangup') |
| QINT | INTERVIEWER'S DECLARATION <br> 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. <br> TYPE IN YOUR INTERVIEWER NUMBER: <br> 1 TO 999 $\qquad$ $(38-40)$ |
|  | ```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

2001 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY

Rolling Cross-Section Survey
The Gallup Organization, Inc.
Colleen Sullivan/Simon Sarkar, Researchers
Kathryn Smyth, Project Administrator Nancy Laverge, Specwriter
__APPROVED BY CLIENT

DATE $\qquad$
Copyright, The Gallup Organization
INTERVIEWED BY $\qquad$
May, $2001 \quad n=150$ per night
I.D.\#: $\qquad$
**AREA CODE AND TELEPHONE NUMBER: ( ) $\qquad$
$\qquad$ (633.16)
**INTERVIEW TIME: $\qquad$
$\qquad$

Region Codes (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) |

New Constituency Code (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 |

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 | $36-39$ |

$\qquad$ 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 $\qquad$
S2. Will you tell me your year of birth please.
(INTERVIEWER NOTE: ENTER LAST TWO DIGITS OF YEAR IN
RANGE 00-83)
$00 \quad 1900$ 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)
$0 \quad$ Younger than 18
1 18-24
2 25-39
3 40-54
455 or over
5 (Don't know)
6 (Refused) $\qquad$

## IF S2 IS 83 OR S2a IS 0 THEN ASK S3; ELSE SKIP TO Q1

S3. Will you have a birthday prior to June $7^{\text {th }}$ 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 |

$\qquad$

## 』START CLOCK \#1~

1. How interested are you in the General Election that is to be held on June $7^{\text {th }}$ this year?
(READ 4-1)
$4 \quad$ Very interested
3 Somewhat interested
2 Not very interested
1 Not at all interested
5 (Don't know)
6 (Refused) $\qquad$
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

## 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 $7^{\text {th }}$ ?

## (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)
$\because$ 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)

$$
\ldots
$$

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
(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")
$01 \quad$ Other reason $\quad$ (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 $\quad$ (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 |

## 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")
$01 \quad$ 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 $\quad$ (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) |

## (Q8a DELETED)

(Q8b DELETED)
*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
$00 \quad$ 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 |

_(1035)_(1036)
_(1037)_(1038)
(1039)_(1040)
_(1041)_(1042)
_(1043)_(1044)
11. Who would make the best Prime Minister?
(READ AND ROTATE 1-3)

1 Tony Blair
2 William Hague
3 Charles Kennedy
$\begin{array}{lll}4 & \text { None } & \text { (VOLUNTEERED) } \\ 5 & \text { Someone else } & \text { (VOLUNTEERED) }\end{array}$

6 (Don't know)
7 (Refused) $\qquad$

## (Q12 DELETED)

12a. Regarding the General Election on June $7^{\text {th }}$, 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*
*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)
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

## (Q14 RENUMBERED TO Q29a AND MOVED TO AFTER Q29)

(Q15 DELETED)

## * STOP CLOCK \#4』

*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)
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)
$\qquad$

* STOP CLOCK \#5~ ${ }^{2}$


## -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) $\qquad$
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)

## (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) $\qquad$
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)

## \& STOP CLOCK \#6*

## 』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) $\qquad$

## (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) |

6 (Refused) $\qquad$

## (Q24 DELETED)

## (Q25 DELETED)

## \& STOP CLOCK \#7』

## *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
b Taxation
c Education
d The level of crime in Britain
$-(1083) \_(1084)$
$-(1085) \_(1086)$
$-(1087) \_(1088)$
$-(1089) \_(1090)$
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
0 3
02
0 1
00 marks
11 (Don't know)
12 (Refused)
a The National Health Service
b Taxation
c Education
d The level of crime in Britain
-(1103)_(1104)
\(-(1105) \_(1106)\)
\(-(1107) \_(1108)\)
\(\_(1109) \_(1110)\)
```

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) <br> (Refused) |
| 5 |  |
| a | Has introduced a lot of hidden taxes |
| b | Is arrogant and doenn't listen to ordinary people |
| c | Is allowing Britain to become a foreign land |

b Is arrogant and doesn't listen to ordinary people

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) |
|  | CLOCK \#8* | __(1828-1831) |

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)

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

| $1^{\text {st }}$ Response | $\quad$ (1127)_(1128) |
| :---: | ---: |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ Response | $\quad(1129) \_(1130)$ |
| $3^{\text {rd }}$ Response | $\quad$ (1131)_(1132) |
| $4^{\text {th }}$ Response | $\quad$ (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) |  |

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 $\quad$ (DO NOT LIST) |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 02 | (Don't know) | \} SKIP TO Q33 |
| 03 | (Refused) <br> 04 | (Did not represent a party) |
| 0 S RESET TO Q31 AND CODE AS 2 |  |  |


| $1^{\text {st }}$ Response | $\_(1138) \_(1139)$ |
| :---: | ---: |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ Response | $\_(1140) \_(1141)$ |
| $3^{\text {rd }}$ Response | $\_(1142) \_(1143)$ |
| $4^{\text {th }}$ Response | $\quad \_(1144) \_(1145)$ |

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) $\qquad$

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

| $1^{\text {st }}$ Response | $\_(1149) \_(1150)$ |
| :---: | ---: |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ Response | $\_(1151) \_(1152)$ |
| $3^{\text {rd }}$ Response | $\_(1153) \_(1154)$ |
| $4^{\text {th }}$ Response | $\ldots(1155) \_(1156)$ |

## (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)

* STOP CLOCK \#9*


## *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) |  |

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
09
08
07
06
05
04
03
02
01
00 Very unlikely
11 (Don't know)
12 (Refused)
a The Conservative Party
b The Labour Party
c The Liberal Democratic Party
d (IF REGION IS 09) The Scottish National Party
e (IF REGION IS 04) Plaid Cymru

## * STOP CLOCK \#10~

_(1170)_(1171)
_(1172)_(1173)
_(1174)_(1175)
_(1176)_(1177)
_(1178)_(1179)

## «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 |

$\qquad$
D1a. Is your home paid for or do you have a mortgage?

```
            Paid for }
            Mortgage }
(Don't Know) } SKIP TO D2
    (Refused) }
```

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) | $\}$ |  |

$\qquad$
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) |

D2. At what age did you or will you complete your full-time education? (OPENENDED CODE FROM PRE-CODED LIST)

```
14 or under
2 15
3 16
4 17-18
5 19-20
6 21 or over
7 (Don't Know)
8 (Refused)
```

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) | $\}$ |

D4. How many cars in total? (OPEN-ENDED AND CODE)

```
1 One
2 Two
3 Three or more
4 (Don't Know)
5 (Refused)
```


## (D5 - D7 DELETED)

D8a. Are you employed now?
1 Yes \}
2 No \} (ALL CONTINUE)
3 (Don't Know) \}
4 (Refused) \} $\qquad$ (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 $\quad$ Skip to D12
3 (Don't Know) \} SKIP TO D12
4 (Refused) \} Skip to D12

## (Programming note: If $D 8 a=2,3$ or 4 and $D 8 b=1$, skip to $D 9 c$, otherwise continue)

D9a. Are you self-employed:


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 \}

D9c. Are you (READ 1-4) (IF CODES 2,3,4 IN QUESTION D8a AND CODE 1 IN QD8B)

| 1 | Unemployed | $\}$ | Continue |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | Retired, Pensioned | $\}$ | Skip to D9e |
| 3 | Housewife not otherwise employed | $\}$ |  |
| 4 | Student | $\}$ |  |
| 5 | (Other) | $\}$ | Skip to D14 |
| 6 | (Don't Know) | $\}$ |  |
| 7 | (Refused) | $\}$ |  |

$\qquad$ (2025)

D9d. Have you been unemployed for more than six months?
1 Yes \} Skip to D14

2 No \}
3 (Don't Know) \} Skip to D9f
4 (Refused) \} $\qquad$ (2026)

D9e. Do you receive only the basic state retirement pension?

| 1 | Yes | Skip to D14 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | No |  |  |
| 3 | (Don't know) | $\}$ | Continue |
| 4 | (Refused) | $\}$ |  |

$\qquad$ (2027)

D9f. Is your current/was your most recent job a manual or non-manual job?

| 1 | Manual | $\}$ | Skip to D9g |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | Non-manual | $\}$ | Skip to D9h |
|  |  |  |  |
| 3 | (None/Have not worked) | $\}$ | Skip to D14 |
| 4 | (Neither) | $\}$ |  |
| 5 | (Don't know) | $\}$ | Continue |
| 6 | (Refused) | $\}$ |  |

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 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 | $\}$Continue <br> 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Non-manual | $\}$ Skip to D9h |  |
| 3 | (None/Have not worked) | $\}$ Skip to D14 |

(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) |  |  |

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
$\begin{array}{ll}6 & \text { Salesperson, office } \\ 7 & \text { Other non-manual }\end{array}$
8 (Don't know)
9 (Refused)
$0 \quad$ (Never worked)

## (Programme Note: ALL asked D9h, SKIP TO D14)

D12. Is the Chief income earner employed now?
(2030)

```
\begin{tabular}{lll}
1 & Yes \} CONTINUE & \\
2 & No \(\quad\) \} & \\
3 & (Don't Know) & \} SKIP TO D13c \\
4 & (Refused) \} &
\end{tabular}
1 Yes CONTINUE
2 llor
4 (Refused) }
```

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) }
```

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
$\qquad$ TOTAL \} $\qquad$

D13c Is the Chief Income Earner in your household (READ 1-4) (IF CODES 2,3,4 IN QUESTIONS D12)

| 1 | Unemployed | $\}$ | Continue |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | Retired, Pensioned | $\}$ | Skip to D13e |

$\qquad$
D13d. Has the Chief Income Earner been unemployed for more than six months?

| 1 | Yes | $\}$ | Skip to D14 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | No | $\}$ |  |
| 3 | (Don't know) | $\}$ | Skip to D13f |
| 4 | (Refused) | $\}$ |  |

D13e. Does the Chief Income Earner receive only the basic state retirement pension?
1 Yes \} Skip to D14

2 No
3 (Don't Know) \} Continue
4 (Refused) $\qquad$ (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
\}SKIP TO D13G
2 Non-Manual
\} SKIP TO D13H
3 (None/Have not worked)
\} SKIP TO D14
4 Neither \}
5 (Don't know)
6 (Refused)
\} CONTINUE

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 | $\}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Continue |  |  |
| 2 | Non-manual | $\}$ |
| 3 | (None/Have not worked) | $\}$ Skip to D13h |
| Skip to D14 |  |  |

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) | $\}$ |  |

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)
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)
D15. Do you belong to a trade union?
$\begin{array}{ll}1 & \text { Yes } \\ 2 & \text { No } \\ 3 & \text { (Don't Know) } \\ 4 & \text { (Refused) }\end{array}$
(PROGRAMME NOTE: IF D14 IS 1 THEN ASK D16, ELSE SKIP TO D17)
D16. Does your husband/wife belong to a trade union?

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Yes } \\
& \text { No } \\
& \text { No wife/husband } \\
& \text { (Don't Know) } \\
& \text { (Refused) }
\end{aligned}
$$

## (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)
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) |

## 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)
$\qquad$

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)

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)

## * STOP CLOCK FOR DEMOGRAPHICS*

(1675.25)

## (VALIDATE PHONE NUMBER AND THANK RESPONDENT)

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# 2001 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY POST-ELECTION QUESTIONS 

$3^{\text {rd }}$ DRAFT - 6 JUNE, 2001
AC 3186
Project Registration \# 133186
2001 BRITISH ELECTION STUDY

## Post-Election Questions

The Gallup Organization, Inc.
Colleen Sullivan/Simon Sarkar, Researchers
Kathryn Smyth, Project Administrator
Nancy Laverge, Specwriter
June, $2001 \quad \mathrm{n}=$ as many as possible
I.D.\#: $\qquad$
**AREA CODE AND TELEPHONE NUMBER: ( ) $\qquad$
_(633.16)
**INTERVIEW TIME: $\qquad$

Region (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 |

Greater London

Name (from Pre-Election) (CODE FROM FONEFILE)
Title
Initial

Surname

Age (from Pre-Election) (CODE FROM FONEFILE)

Gender (from Pre-Election) (CODE FROM FONEFILE)
__APPROVED BY CLIENT

DATE $\qquad$
Copyright, The Gallup Organization INTERVIEWED BY $\qquad$

Hello, my name is $\qquad$ 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 |

$\qquad$
(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 $\quad$ (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)
$5 \quad$ 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 ( $1^{\text {st }}$ 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 ( $2^{\text {nd }}$ 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 ( $3^{\text {rd }}$ 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 ( $4^{\text {th }}$ 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 $\qquad$
()

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)
$00 \quad 1900$ 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
$4 \quad 55$ or over
5 (Don't know)
6 (Refused)
u:lquestionnaires $2001 \backslash$ 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 ( $9^{\text {th }}$ May) to the day of the election ( $7^{\text {th }}$ 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 $9^{\text {th }}$ May $-7^{\text {th }}$ 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 ${ }^{T M}$ 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

| Variable name artdate | description date of article | $\begin{aligned} & \text { type } \\ & \text { date } \end{aligned}$ | size <br> 8 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | dd.mm.yy |
| idno | a unique identifier for each article (idno | numeric | 5 |
|  | from File 1 will correspond to idno from the |  |  |
|  | relevant File 3 or File 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 | $2{ }^{\text {nd }}$ theme | numeric | 3 |
| thme2oth | other $2^{\text {nd }}$ theme | string | 80 |
| thme2agr | aggregated $2^{\text {nd }}$ theme | numeric | 2 |
| theme3st | $3{ }^{\text {rd }}$ theme | numeric | 3 |
| thme3oth | other $3^{\text {rd }}$ theme | string | 80 |
| thme3agr | aggregated $3^{\text {rd }}$ theme | numeric | 2 |
| actor1st | main actor | numeric | 4 |
| act1gen | gender of main actor | numeric | 2 |
| actloth | other main actor | string | 80 |
| actor2nd | $2^{\text {nd }}$ actor | numeric | 4 |
|  |  |  | 3 of 21 |

## File 1 cont...

| Variable name | description | type | size |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| act2gen | gender of $2^{\text {nd }}$ actor | numeric | 2 |
| act2oth | other $2^{\text {nd }}$ actor | string | 80 |
| actor3rd | $3^{\text {rd }}$ actor | numeric | 4 |
| act3gen | gender of $3^{\text {rd }}$ actor | numeric | 2 |
| act3oth | other $3^{\text {rd }}$ actor | string | 80 |
| actor4th | $4^{\text {th }}$ actor | numeric | 4 |
| act4gen | gender of $4{ }^{\text {th }}$ actor | numeric | 2 |
| act4oth | other $4^{\text {th }}$ actor | string | 80 |
| journev1 | journalist evaluation of main actor | numeric | 1 |
| journev2 | journalist evaluation of $2^{\text {nd }}$ actor | numeric | 1 |
| evlting1 | $1^{\text {st }}$ actor evaluating | numeric | 4 |
| evltion1 | $1^{\text {st }}$ evaluation | numeric | 1 |
| evted1 | $1{ }^{\text {st }}$ actor evaluated | numeric | 4 |
| evlting2 | $2^{\text {nd }}$ actor evaluating | numeric | 4 |
| evltion2 | $2{ }^{\text {nd }}$ evaluation | numeric | 1 |
| evted2 | $2^{\text {nd }}$ actor evaluated | numeric | 4 |
| tone1st | tone towards main actor | numeric | 1 |
| tone2nd | tone towards $2^{\text {nd }}$ actor | numeric | 1 |
| policy | policy information | numeric | 1 |
| prsonlty | personality information | numeric | 1 |

File 2

| Variable name | description | type | size |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| artdate | date of article | date |  |
| idno |  |  | dd.mm.yy |
|  | a unique identifier for each article (idno | numeric | 5 |
|  | from File 2 will correspond to idno from |  |  |
| paper | File 4) | numeric | 1 |
| day | newspaper | numeric | 1 |
| papertyp | day of week | numeric | 1 |
| artsize | newspaper type | numeric | 4 |
| arttyp | article size | numeric | 1 |
| pageno | article type | numeric | 2 |

File 3, File 4, File 5

| Variable name | description | type | size |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| idno | a unique identifier for each article (idno from | numeric | 5 |
|  | File 3 or File 5 will correspond to idno |  |  |
|  | from File 1; idno from File 4 will correspond to |  |  |
| paper | idno from File 2) | numeric | 1 |
| artdate | newspaper | date | 8 |
|  | date of article |  | 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 |
| authnme | 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 ${ }^{\text {TM }}$

V7 ARTTYP
Type of article to enable identification of campaign articles
01 Campaign
02 Non-Campaign (Front Page only)

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 noncampaign 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 THME1OTH, THME2OTH, THME3OTH

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 highlevel 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 ACT1OTH, ACT2OTH, ACT3OTH, ACT4OTH

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'<br>202 'Opinion Poll Design etc.'<br>203 'Reaction to Poll'<br>204 'Outcome Prediction/Odds on Winning'<br>205 Turnout Prediction'<br>206 'Media Coverage of Campaign (inc. analysis of coverage, deliberate concentration on specific events/people etc.)'<br>208 'Party/Candidate Endorsements'<br>209 'Voter Panel'<br>210 'Stats/Facts \& Figures'<br>211 'Summary of Events'<br>212 'Spoof/joke/gimmick column'<br>213 'Constituency Profile’<br>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’<br>415 'Culture/Arts/Sport'<br>416 'Northern Ireland'<br>417 'Racial Issues'<br>418 'Internet Crime/Pornography’<br>419 'National Insurance Contributions'<br>420 'Local Government'<br>421 'Public Services in General'<br>422 'Social Security inc Benefits, etc'<br>423 'Rural Affairs inc. Fox-Hunting’<br>424 'Housing'<br>425 'Parliamentary Reform'<br>426 'Information/Technology'<br>427 'Private Sector Involvement (PPP/PFI)'<br>429 'Petrol Prices'<br>430 'Policies in General'<br>431 'Public Spending'<br>432 'Stealth Taxes’<br>433 'Business’<br>434 'Scottish Issues'<br>435 'Care for the Elderly'<br>436 'Defence’<br>437 'Poverty inc. Gap Between Rich \& Poor<br>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’<br>316 LAB: Short Clare'<br>317 'LAB: Straw Jack’<br>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 Unamed 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 Unamed 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 Politians

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 Unamed 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 Magaret'
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 'Tan 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 'Unamed 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?)

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

Theme Aggregated
401-499
$104,105,109,110,116,117,125$
$101,103,108,115,124$
$102,111,112,113,119,120,121,123,130$, 134, 135
$126,127,128,129$
201, 202, 203, 204, 205
206, 212
301, 302, 303, 304, 308, 309, 310
305, 306, 307, 312
118, 131
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 test 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, <br> Page Number, Author |
| Manifest | Story Type, Setting, Tone, Theme 1, Theme 2, Theme 3, Actor 1, Actor <br> 2, Actor 3, Actor 4 |
| Evaluative | Reporter Evaluation of Actor 1, Reporter Evaluation of Actor 2, 1 <br> st <br> Evaluator, 1 1t Evaluation, 1 <br> Evaluated, Tone Towaruated, 2 <br> nd <br> Evaluator, 2 <br> nd <br> Policy Inaluation, 2 <br> nd |

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 <br> Percent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid $y$ | 72 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

ID - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid y | 72 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

PAPER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: |
| Valid y | 72 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

DAY of Week - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid $y$ | 72 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

PAPER TYPE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid $y$ | 72 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

ARTICLE SIZE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid y | 72 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

PAGE NUMBER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid $y$ | 72 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

TYPE of AUTHOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 8.3 |  |
|  | y | 6 | 8.3 | 8.3 | 81.7 |
|  | Total | 66 | 91.7 | 91.7 | 100.0 |

2nd THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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.

ILL IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME AND IN THE SAME ORDER

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 52.8 |
|  | y | 34 | 52.8 | 52.8 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 72 | 47.2 | 47.2 | 100.0 |

## .L IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME BUT IN A DIFFERENT ORDE

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 91.7 |
|  | y | 66 | 91.7 | 91.7 | 9.3 |

3 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME

|  |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 83.3 |
|  | y | 60 | 83.3 | 83.3 |  |
|  | Total | 72 | 16.7 | 16.7 | 100.0 |

1 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | 70 | 97.2 | 97.2 | 97.2 |
|  | yrequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 2.8 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 2 | 2.8 | 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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 $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

JOURNALIST EVALUATION OF 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid | Xrequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 13.0 |  |
|  | y | 6 | 13.0 | 13.0 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 40 | 87.0 | 87.0 | 100.0 |

1st EVALUATOR/ EVALUATION/ EVALUATED - Percentage of Agreed
Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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.

TONE TOWARDS MAIN ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid | X | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 16.7 |
|  | y | 50 | 16.7 | 16.7 | 163.3 |
| 83.3 | 100.0 |  |  |  |  |
|  | Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 |  |

Cases where either $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

TONE TOWARDS 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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 <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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 <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid y | 114 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

ID - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid y | 114 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

PAPER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: |
| Valid $y$ | 114 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

DAY of WEEK - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid $y$ | 114 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

PAPER TYPE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid $y$ | 114 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

ARTICLE SIZE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: |
| Valid $y$ | 114 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

PAGE NUMBER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid $y$ | 114 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

TYPE of AUTHOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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 <br> 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 <br> 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 <br> Percent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: |
| Valid $y$ | 114 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

MAIN THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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.

## tLL IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME AND IN THE SAME ORDER

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 50.9 |
|  | y | 58 | 50.9 | 50.9 | 59.1 |

.L IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME BUT IN A DIFFERENT ORDE

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 86.0 |
|  | y | 98 | 86.0 | 86.0 | 86.0 |
|  | Total | 16 | 14.0 | 14.0 | 100.0 |

3 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 82.5 |
|  | y | 94 | 82.5 | 82.5 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 114 | 17.5 | 17.5 | 100.0 |

1 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 98.2 |
|  | y | 112 | 98.2 | 98.2 | 9 |
|  | Total | 114 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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 $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

JOURNALIST EVALUATION OF 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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 $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

TONE TOWARDS 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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 <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid y | 38 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

ID - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid y | 38 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

PAPER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid y | 38 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

DAY of WEEK - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid $y$ | 38 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

PAPER TYPE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid $y$ | 38 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

ARTICLE SIZE - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid y | 38 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

PAGE NUMBER - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid $y$ | 38 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

AUTHOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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 <br> Percent |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: |
| Valid $y$ | 38 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

MAIN THEME - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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.

## tLL IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME AND IN THE SAME ORDER

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 52.6 |
|  | y | 18 | 52.6 | 52.6 | 57.4 |
|  | Total | 38 | 47.4 | 47.4 | 100.0 |

.L IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME BUT IN A DIFFERENT ORDE

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 84.2 |
|  | y | 32 | 84.2 | 84.2 | 8.2 |
|  | Total | 38 | 15.8 | 15.8 | 100.0 |

3 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 94.7 |
|  | y | 2 | 94.7 | 9.3 | 9.3 |

2 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 73.7 |
|  | y | 10 | 73.7 | 73.7 |  |
|  | Total | 38 | 100.3 | 26.3 | 100.0 |

1 OF THE IDENTIFIED ACTORS CODED THE SAME

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | 94.7 |
|  | y | 26 | 94.7 | 94.7 | 9.3 |
|  | Total | 38 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 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 <br> Percent |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: |
| Valid $y$ | 30 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Cases where either $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

JOURNALIST EVALUATION OF 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Prequency |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid | Percent | Valid Percent | 5.3 | 5.3 |  |
|  | y | 36 | 5.3 | 54.7 | 94.7 |

Cases where Main Actors were not recoded the same as the original code have been removed for this comparison.

TONE TOWARDS MAIN ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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 $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actors were not recoded the same as the original code or where no $2^{\text {nd }}$ Actor was identified have been removed for this comparison.

TONE TOWARDS 2nd ACTOR - Percentage of Agreed Decisions

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> 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 <br> 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

|  |  |  |  |  | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Valid | X | 2 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 5.3 |
|  | y | 36 | 94.7 | 94.7 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 38 | 100.0 | 100.0 |  |

