Rural urban divide in Europe
Round 3 survey: imperial nostalgia and national identity
Questionnaire
Version 20/05/24

Candidate choice conjoint [9 items – 3 x 3]

Scripting notes:

- *Randomise attribute order between but not within respondents.*
- *Show only one level per attribute.*
- *Randomisation restrictions:*
  - *occupation of "doctor" to be paired only with education of "went to university".*
  - *ethnicities selected with following probabilities: White – 60%; Black – 20%; Asian – 20%*
- *Repeat 3 times for each respondent*

Table of possible treatments:

Attribute	Levels
Education	1) Left school at 16 2) Went to college 3) Went to University
Previous occupation	1) Doctor 2) Accountant 3) Chef 4) Supermarket cashier
Political party	1) Labour 2) Conservative 3) Liberal Democrat
Ethnicity	1) White 2) Black 3) Asian
Gender	1) Female 2) Male
Age	1) 27 2) 43 3) 57 4) 72
Views on taxation and expenditure	1) "The government should increase spending on public services even if that means that taxes have to be raised." 2) "The government must balance the benefits of enhanced public services against the necessity of raising taxes to fund them." 3) "The government should cut taxes even if that means that spending on public services has to be reduced."

Views on the British Empire	1) "The British Empire was responsible for many atrocities." 2) "Although the British Empire was responsible for some atrocities, it also had a civilising effect on the world." 3) "The British Empire had a civilising effect on the world."

Preamble

Please carefully read the following table of information about two hypothetical Members of Parliament (MP1 and MP2) and then answer the questions below.

Vignette with example treatments:

	MP1	MP2
Education	left school at 16	went to university
Occupation	Chef	Accountant
Political party	Labour	Labour
Ethnicity	White	Asian
Gender	Female	Female
Age	27	43
Views on taxation and expenditure	"The government should cut taxes even if that means that spending on public services has to be reduced."	"The government should increase spending on public services even if that means that taxes have to be raised."
Views on Empire	The British Empire had a great civilising effect on the world."	"The British Empire was responsible for many atrocities."

Preference rating question

How happy would you be to have MP1 or MP2 as your Member of Parliament?

1. MP1
2. MP2

<0> not at all happy … <10> very happy; <99> Don't know

Forced choice question

3. If you had to vote for MP1 *or* MP2 in a general election, who would you vote for?

<1> MP1
<2> MP2
<99> Don't Know

Attitudes to the British Empire [7 items]

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the British Empire?

[present as a grid, randomise order]

1. The British Empire caused more harm than good to colonised peoples.
2. The British Empire had a great civilising effect on the world.
3. The British Empire advanced the interests of humanity.
4. The British Empire was responsible for many atrocities.
5. I wish Britain still had an empire.
6. The British Empire was a golden age in our nation's history.
7. The British Empire was a shameful period in our nation's history.

<1> Strongly disagree
<2> Disagree
<3> Neither agree nor disagree
<4> Agree
<5> Strongly agree
<99> Don't know

Emotional reactions to the British Empire [10 items]

When you think about the British Empire, to what extent do you feel …

[present as a grid, randomise order]

1. embarrassment
2. shame
3. guilt
4. anger
5. pride
6. nostalgia
7. sadness
8. disgust
9. happiness
10. satisfaction

<1> Not at all
<2> To a small extent
<3> To a moderate extent
<4> To a great extent

<99> Don’t know

List experiment 1

Randomly assign respondents to either group J with 50% probability or group K with 50% probability. Save as variable ListAssign1

[If ListAssign1 = J]

How many of these statements do you agree with? We don’t need to know which ones - please just count the number of statements you agree with

[randomise order; don’t include labels in italics below]

- *Popular statement*: Women make equally good political leaders as men.
- *Unpopular statement*: I am very interested in politics.
- *Popular among left*: Cannabis should be legalised for personal use.
- *Popular among right*: For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence.

Answer from 0 to 4

[If ListAssign1 = K]

How many of these statements do you agree with? We don’t need to know which ones - please just count the number of statements you agree with

[randomise order; don’t include labels in italics below]

- *Popular statement*: Women make equally good political leaders as men.
- *Unpopular statement*: I am very interested in politics.
- *Popular among left*: Cannabis should be legalised for personal use.
- *Popular among right*: For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence.
- *Sensitive item*: Some ethnic groups teach their children values that are incompatible with British culture.

Answer from 0 to 5

List experiment 2

Randomly assign respondents to either group M with 50% probability or group N with 50% probability. Save as variable ListAssign2

[If ListAssign2 = M]

And how many of these statements do you agree with? We don't need to know which ones - please just count the number of statements you agree with

[randomise order; don't include labels in italics below]

- *Popular statement*: I generally trust people who live in my neighbourhood.
- *Unpopular statement*: A university education is more important for a boy than a girl.
- *Popular among left*: The government should redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well off.
- *Popular among right*: There should be greater respect for the monarchy and the national anthem.

Answer from 0 to 4

[If ListAssign2 = N]

And how many of these statements do you agree with? We don't need to know which ones - please just count the number of statements you agree with

[randomise order; don't include labels in italics below]

- *Popular statement*: I generally trust people who live in my neighbourhood.
- *Unpopular statement*: A university education is more important for a boy than a girl.
- *Popular among left*: The government should redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well off.
- *Popular among right*: There should be greater respect for the monarchy and the national anthem.
- *Sensitive item*: Measures such as quotas, or all ethnic minority shortlists, should be used to get more ethnic minority representation in top jobs.

Answer from 0 to 5

Alternative measure of authoritarianism [8 items]

(Engelhardt, Feldman and Hetherington (2021) 8-item child values)

Although there are a number of qualities that people think children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. Although you may feel that both qualities are important, please tell me which one of each pair you think is more important for a child to have.

[randomise order]

Would you say that it is more important for a child to be:

1. <1> **independent** or <2> **respectful of their elders**?
2. <1> **obedient** or <2**> self-reliant**?
3. <1> **well-behaved** or <2> **considerate**?
4. <1> **curious** or <2> **good mannered**?
5. <1> **adaptable** or <2> **disciplined**?
6. <1> **free-spirited** or <2> **polite**?
7. <1> **orderly** or <2> **imaginative**?
8. <1> **loyal** or <2> **open-minded**?

<1> option 1; <2> option 2; <99> Don't know

Ethnic antagonism [8 items]

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

[present as a grid, randomise order]

1. I would be happy for my children or grandchildren to attend a school which is very ethnically diverse.
2. Discrimination against white people is as big a problem today as discrimination against black people and other minorities.
3. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black and minority ethnic households remain in poverty.
4. Immigrants contribute a great deal to British society and culture.
5. Some ethnic groups teach their children values which are incompatible with British culture.
6. I would not like one of my close relatives to marry a person from a different racial or ethnic group.
7. Things have changed so much that I often feel like a stranger in my own country.
8. The local authority usually pays less attention to a request or complaint from a black person than from a white person.

<1> Strongly disagree
<2> Disagree

<3> Neither agree nor disagree
<4> Agree
<5> Strongly agree
<99> Don't know

National identity [7 items]

To what extent do you think of yourself as having the following identities?

[present as a grid, randomise order]

1. Scottish
2. English
3. Welsh
4. British
5. Irish
6. Northern Irish
7. European

<1> Not at all
<2> I identify slightly
<3> I identify moderately
<4> I identify strongly
<99> Don't know

Ethnic and civic nationalism (adapted from BSAS) [8 items]

How important do you think each of the following is for being truly British?

[present as a grid, randomise order]

1. To have British ancestry.
2. To be able to speak English fluently.
3. To be a Christian.
4. To be born in Britain.
5. To feel British.
6. To uphold Britain's laws and political institutions.
7. To participate in elections and other civic activities.
8. To contribute to the social and economic development of Britain.

<1> Not important at all
<2> Not very important

<3> Fairly important
<4> Very important
<99> Don't know

National pride / chauvinism (from BSAS) [6 items]

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about being British?

[present as a grid, randomise order]

1. I would rather be a citizen of Britain than of any other country in the world.
2. I am proud of the way British democracy works.
3. The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the British.
4. Generally speaking, Britain is a better country than most other countries.
5. Britain has an important and beneficial political influence in the world.
6. Britain has a proud record of achievement in science, sports, arts and literature.

<1> Strongly disagree
<2> Disagree
<3> Neither agree nor disagree
<4> Agree
<5> Strongly agree
<99> Don't know

Immigration opinion [2 items]

1. Do you think immigration is bad or good for Britain's economy?

<0> Bad … <10> Good; <99> Don't know

2. And do you think that immigration undermines or enriches Britain's cultural life?

<0> Undermines … <10> Enriches; <99> Don't know

Policies of redress [8 items]

(Adapted from Katwala 2021, Race and opportunity in Britain)

Next, some questions about policies relating to race and Empire. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following?

[randomise order]

1. It is important that the history of race and Empire, including its controversies and complexity, are taught in British schools.
2. Public statues of people who had important roles in the British Empire should be removed.
3. Public statues of people who have been directly linked to slavery should be removed.
4. Measures such as quotas, or all ethnic minority shortlists, should be used to get more ethnic minority representation in top jobs.
5. Big companies should monitor applications to ensure candidates from different ethnic backgrounds have a fair chance of getting an interview.
6. Social media platforms should take stronger action to remove hate speech directed at ethnic minorities.
7. The boards of major companies and large charities should include at least one person from an ethnic minority background.
8. Every school should ensure that pupils have significant contact with pupils from different ethnic backgrounds.

<1> Strongly disagree
<2> Disagree
<3> Neither agree nor disagree
<4> Agree
<5> Strongly agree
<99> Don't know

Political values (from British Election Study) [8 items]

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

[present as a grid, randomise order]

1. Government should redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well off.
2. Big business takes advantage of ordinary people.
3. Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth.
4. There is one law for the rich and one for the poor.
5. Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional British values.
6. For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence.
7. Schools should teach children to obey authority.
8. People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences.

<1> Strongly disagree
<2> Somewhat disagree
<3> Neither agree nor disagree
<4> Somewhat agree

<5> Strongly agree
<99> Don’t know

Party support [7 items]

How likely is it that you would ever vote for each of the following parties?

[present as a grid, randomise order]

1. Labour
2. Conservative
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Green Party
5. Reform UK
6. [if R in Scotland] Scottish National Party (SNP)
7. [if R in Wales] Plaid Cymru

<0> Very unlikely … <10> Very likely
<99> Don’t know

Voting intentions (from BES) [2 items]

1. If there were a UK General Election tomorrow, how likely is it that you would vote?

<1> Very unlikely
<2> Fairly unlikely
<3> Equally likely as not
<4> Fairly likely
<5> Very likely
99> Don't know

2. And if there were a UK General Election tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

<0> I would not vote
<1> Conservative
<2> Labour
<3> Liberal Democrat
<4> [if R in Scotland] Scottish National Party (SNP)
<5> [if R in Wales] Plaid Cymru
<6> Reform UK
<7> Green Party
<9> Other (open response)

<99> Don't know

Imperial associations of political parties [7 items]

In your opinion, do politicians from the following political parties have a negative view of the British Empire, or do they have a positive view?

[present as a grid, randomise order]

1. Conservative
2. Labour
3. Liberal Democrat
4. Reform UK
5. Green Party
6. [if Scotland] Scottish National Party (SNP)
7. [if Wales] Plaid Cymru

<0> A very negative view … <10> A very positive view
<99> Don’t know