SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY PLANNING RESEARCH
and
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. NUFFIELD COLLEGE

Head Office
35 Northampton Square,
London, EC1V 0AX.
Telephone 01-250 1866

BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION STUDY 1987

P.934/SN

Summer, 1987

Dear Sir or Madam,

After every British general election a book is published about the outcome and issues, based on interviews with people selected at random from the electoral registers all over Britain. **Your** name has been selected for the 1987 study, and we wish to interview you if at all possible.

Once a name has been selected from the registers, we are not permitted to take a substitute. So, even if you did not vote or even if you, like many people, are not that interested in politics, we **still** want to talk to you. No special knowledge is needed to answer our questions. The interview is about all sorts of issues on which the experience of ordinary voters and non-voters matters more than the views of 'experts'.

A few facts about the study:

We are a team from Oxford University and an independent national research institute - Social and Community Planning Research - who have been invited to carry out a study and to write a book on the 1987 election. We did this after the 1983 election too.

As in 1983, we are seeking to interview 4,000 people in 250 constituencies throughout England, Scotland and Wales.

The study is **entirely impartial** and is not connected with any political party or government department. It is funded by the Sainsbury Charitable Trusts, the Economic and Social Research Council and Pergamon Press.

Your answers, along with those of others we interview, will be published in the form of overall summaries. But we will, of course, keep your name strictly confidential.

All our interviewers will have a card to identify themselves.

The interview should not last longer than an hour and in many cases it will be shorter.

We are confident you will enjoy the interview, but if not, you may stop at any stage. So, even if you are uncertain that you will have the time (or patience!) to answer all the questions, do please allow the interviewer to start and see how you get along.

Feel free to contact me or Sharon Witherspoon at the above address if you have any queries. I do hope you will help us.

Yours faithfully,

Professor Roger Jowell

Project Team: A.F. Heath, J.K. Curtice, R. Jowell, S. Witherspoon.

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BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION STUDY 1987

SN:2568

Reference: P.934X

Summer 1987

BOOK INFORMATION FORM

To: Publications Officer
SCPR
35 Northampton Square
London EC1V 0AX

I took part in the 1987 British General Election Study and would like you to send me a leaflet telling me when the book on the study is available and where it can be obtained.

My name and address are below:

NAME: Mr/Mrs/Miss/Ms .....

ADDRESS: .....

.....

.....

.....

Postcode: .....

The book is expected to be published in 1989. If you give the leaflet to your local library, it may be able to obtain a copy of the book.

Please either give this form to the interviewer, or post it whenever convenient to SCPR at the above address. Thank you again for your help.

SCPR
SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY PLANNING RESEARCH

Head Office 35 Northampton Square London EC1V 0AX Tel 01 250 1866
Northern Field Office Charazel House Gainford Darlington Co Durham DL2 3EG Tel 0325 730 888

P.934

June 1987

BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION STUDY 1987

SN·2568

Calls and Outcome Form

- If you obtain an interview with the named respondent, please attach this form to the questionnaire materials, and return them to the office together
- If you do not obtain an interview with the named respondent, please attach this form to the Address Record Form (ARF) and a Non-Response Form, and return them to the office as soon as you can (but only after 4 or more calls)

101-104 Serial number

105-06 Card Number 0 1

107-109 SCPR area code

110-12 Batch code

113-15 OPCS Constit no

116-18 Press Assoc Constit no

OFFICE USE ONLY

119 Reissue/ mover code

120-22 New SCPR area no

123-25 New OPCS Constit no

126-28 New Press Assoc Constit no.

Reissues/ movers only

Interviewer Name _____ Interviewer Number 129-32

B Details of Calls (In the order you make them)

	TIME (24 hour clock) HRS MINS	DAY MON=1 TUE=2 WED=3 THU=4 FRI=5 SAT=6 SUN=7 DAY of WK	DATE DAY MTH	ENTER CODE 22 IF ADDRESS RESIDENTIAL & OCCUPIED BUT NO ONE CONTACTED	If address deadwood or if contact made write in result of call(s) and notes of appointments made. If more calls are made than can be accommodated on this sheet use a Call Continuation Sheet
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

		Col / Code	Skip to
C.	CONTACTING THE ADDRESS (RING ONE CODE ONLY)	133-34	
	Address contacted - information obtained	20	
	Address empty or demolished (check address with office)	21 →	D
	No contact made with anyone at address after 4 or more calls	22	
	Complete refusal of information at address (don't know if named respondent is present)	23 →	F & G
D.	LOCATING THE NAMED RESPONDENT (RING ONE CODE ONLY)	135-36	
	Named respondent is resident at given address	30 →	E
	Named respondent not at address		
	• is dead	31	
	• emigrated/permanently out of country	32 →	End
	• has moved locally, new address/tel no known, recorded on ARF, and followed up	33 →	E
	• has moved away from area, new address/tel no known, recorded on ARF	34 →	End
	• has moved, new address or area not known	35	
	No information as to whereabouts of named respondent (not known at address)	36 →	F & G
	(OFFICE USE ONLY) *Re-allocated*	*1*	137
	Not re-allocated	*2*	138
	Re-issued	*3*	139
E.	PRODUCTIVITY SUMMARY	140-41	
	Interview obtained with named respondent	51	
	Self-completion questionnaire for respondent		
	- returned with completed questionnaire	61	
	- to be posted back by interviewer 62		
	- to be posted back by respondent 63	→	Attach q'res
	- not left with respondent (GIVE REASON) 64		
	No interview obtained with named respondent because		
	- named respondent not contacted (e g never in)	71	
	- named respondent personally refused interview	72	
	- named respondent broke appointment and could not be recontacted	73	
	- named respondent ill (at home) for whole survey period	74	
	- named respondent away/in hospital for whole survey period	75 →	F & G
	- named respondent senile/incapacitated	76	
	- refusal, on behalf of named respondent, by someone else	77	
	- other reason (WRITE IN) _____	79	
F.	Codes 23, 35, 36, 71 - 79 - Any information on sex and age of respondent:	142	
	i) Sex of named respondent — Man	1	
	Woman	2	
	Couldn't establish	8	
	ii) Estimated age of named respondent	143	
	Under 35	1	
	35-64	2	
	65+	3	
	Couldn't establish	8	
G.	Codes 23, 35, 36, 71-79:		
	• Please complete non-response form and return to office with ARF and COF		

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NON-RESPONSE FORM

SN:2568

- Complete a Non-Response Form for every respondent coded 23, 35, 36, or 71-79 on the Calls and Outcome Form (COF) Then attach this to both the ARF and the COF and return them to the office as soon as you can (after 4 or more calls)

Serial Number [ ] SCPR Area Code [ ] IF NON-LOCAL MOVER New SCPR Area code [ ]

A. Interviewer name _____ Interviewer Number [ ]

- **REFUSALS, BROKEN APPOINTMENTS (CODES 23, 72, 73, 77 ON COF), ANSWER I-L (on reverse)**
- **NON CONTACTS (CODE 71), ANSWER C-E, THEN L**
- **ILL/AWAY/IN HOSPITAL (CODES 74 OR 75), ANSWER F, THEN L**
- **SENILE/INCAPACITATED (CODE 76), ANSWER G.**
- **OTHER NON-RESPONSE (CODE 79), ANSWER H, THEN L.**
- **RESPONDENT'S ADDRESS UNKNOWN (CODES 35 OR 36), ANSWER B.**

		Col / Code	Skip to
B	Did you obtain any information about possible location or area where respondent lives, information about relatives who might know respondent's address, or any information which might help in tracing respondent?		
	GIVE DETAILS OF ALL INFORMATION YOU OBTAINED AND WHO FROM	No information obtained 1 Yes (GIVE DETAILS BELOW) 2	END
	NON CONTACTS (CODE 71), ANSWER C-E, THEN L		
C.	Did you obtain any information about the likelihood of finding the person in or the best times to call?		
	GIVE DETAILS OF ALL INFORMATION YOU OBTAINED AND WHO FROM	No information obtained 1 → Yes (GIVE DETAILS BELOW) 2	D
D.	Were there any restrictions which meant you were not able to call at the most appropriate times or as frequently as you would have wished?		
	DETAILS OF RESRICTIONS ON CALLING	No, no restrictions 1 → Yes (GIVE DETAILS BELOW) 2	E
E.	Do you think this might be a "disguised refusal" rather than a non-contact?		
	REASONS YOU FEEL IT MIGHT BE "DISGUISED REFUSAL"	No 1 Yes, might be disguised refusal (GIVE DETAILS BELOW) 2	NOW ANSWER L (reverse)

		Col / Code	Skip to
F	ILL/AWAY/IN HOSPITAL (CODES 74 OR 75) ANSWER F, THEN L. Do you have any information about when the respondent will be better/back home? DETAILS OF ALL INFORMATION AND WHO FROM No information Yes (GIVE DETAILS BELOW)	1 2	NOW ANSWER L
G.	SENILE/INCAPACITATED (CODE 76), ANSWER G Please give details below of the nature of the disability and whether it is permanent or not		END
H.	OTHER NON-RESPONSE (CODE 79), ANSWER H, THEN L. Give details of reason for non-response and any information which might help in re-issuing or quality control recalls		NOW ANSWER L
I.	REFUSALS, BROKEN APPOINTMENTS (CODES 23, 72, 73, 77), ANSWER I-L Please give details of all reasons given for refusal and by whom		
J.	Please give details of any other reasons you think there might have been - even if it's only a guess on your part		
K.a)	Did you ever speak to the named respondent? No Yes	1 2	
b)	Do you think the named respondent might be willing to take part if approached differently - by telephone, letter, another interviewer, researcher etc? No Yes (GIVE DETAILS BELOW) DETAILS OF ANY OTHER APPROACHES YOU THINK MIGHT WORK	1 → 2	L
L.	ANSWER IF CODES 23, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77 or 79: If a different interviewer recalled in two or three weeks time, how likely is it that he or she would get an interview (in your opinion) Very likely Likely Possibly Unlikely Very unlikely Just can't say ANY OTHER COMMENTS ABOUT POSSIBLE REISSUE	1 2 3 4 5 8	

THANK YOU FOR BEING AS DETAILED AND FRANK AS POSSIBLE

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P.934

June 1987

BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION STUDY 1987

Serial number	201-04	← Last digit (see p.11)	Card 205-06: 02
Area number		Time interview started (24 hour clock)	hr. min.
Interviewer number			

QUESTIONNAIRE CONTENTS

		Pages
I	Political interest .	1 - 2
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	Redistribution	23
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	Welfare . .	26
	Other issues .	27 - 28
V	Background & classification	29 - 42

			Col./ Code	Skip to
	I. POLITICAL INTEREST			
	ASK ALL			
1	Would you say you cared a good deal which Party won the recent general election or that you didn't care very much which Party won?		207	
		Cared a good deal	1	
		Didn't care very much	2	
2	During the election campaign		208	
a)	Did you watch or listen to any Party election broadcasts on television or radio?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
b)	Did you read any newspaper articles about the election campaign?		209	
		Yes	1 →	c)
		No	2 →	d)
	IF YES (CODE 1) AT b			
	c) Which daily morning paper did you read most? PROBE IF NECESSARY Which one did you rely on most for news about the election campaign?		210-11	
	CODE ONE ONLY	(Scottish) Daily Express	01	
		Daily Mail	02	
		Daily Mirror/Record	03	
		Daily Star	04	
		The Sun	05	
		Today	06	
		Daily Telegraph	07	
		Financial Times	08	
		The Guardian	09	
		The Independent	10	
		The Times	11	
		Morning Star	12	
		London Daily News	13	
	Other Scottish/Welsh/regional or local daily morning paper (SPECIFY)			
	_____		96	
	Other (SPECIFY) _____		97	
	ASK ALL		212	
d)	Did you go to hear any candidate at a political meeting?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
			213	
e)	Did you do any canvassing or other work for a candidate?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
f)	Did you have any political Party's poster in a window? INCLUDE CAR WINDOW IF MENTIONED		214	
		Yes	1	
		No	2	

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	ASK ALL		
3.a)	Did a canvasser from any Party call at your home to talk to you during the election campaign?	215	
	Yes	1 →	b)
	No	2 →	Q 4
	IF YES (CODE 1) AT a		
	b) From which Party or Parties?		
	CODE ALL THAT APPLY		
	DO NOT PROMPT.		
	IF "ALL OF THEM", PROBE FOR WHICH IF CANNOT DISTINGUISH, CODE DON'T KNOW		
	Conservative	1	216
	Labour	2	217
	SDP or Liberal or Alliance	3	218
	(Scotland) Scottish National	6	219
	(Wales) Plaid Cymru	7	220
	The Green Party	8	221
	Other (SPECIFY) _____	7	222
	Don't know/Can't remember any	8	223 224 225
	ASK ALL		
4	Do you know whether the Alliance candidate in your constituency was a Liberal or a Social Democrat?	226	
	Yes, Liberal	1	
	Yes, SDP	2	
	No, don't remember	4	
5 a)	Which do you think would generally be better for Britain nowadays . READ OUT	227	
	to have a government formed by one political party on its own,	1 →	Q 6
	or - to have a government formed by two political parties together - in coalition?	2 →	b)
	(Don't know)	8 →	Q 6
	IF TWO PARTIES/COALITION (CODE 2) AT a		
	b) Which of these Party groupings do you think would provide the best government for Britain READ OUT .	228	
	Conservative and Alliance,	1	Q 6
	or - Labour and Alliance,	2	
	or - Conservative and Labour,	3	
	or - some other grouping?	4 →	c)
	(Don't know)	8 →	Q 6
	IF OTHER GROUPING (CODE 4) AT b		
	c) Which grouping is that? WRITE IN	229-30	
		231-32	SPARE

II. VOTING/PARTY PREFERENCE

ASK ALL

6.a) 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?

	Col./ Code	Skip to
	233	
Yes, voted	1 →	Q.7
No	2 →	b)

IF NO (CODE 2) AT a , ASK b) AND c)

b) Why was that?
PROBE FULLY FOR REASONS WHY RESPONDENT DIDN'T VOTE
RECORD VERBATIM

	234-35
	236-37
	238-39
	240-41
	242-43

c) Suppose you had voted Which Party would you have been most likely to vote for? DO NOT PROMPT

IF NONE/DON'T KNOW, PROBE BEFORE CODING
Which Party would you most like to have won in your constituency?

	244-45	
Conservative	01	Q 10
Labour	02	
SDP or Liberal or Alliance	03	
Scottish National	06	
Plaid Cymru	07	
The Green Party	08	
Other (SPECIFY) _____	97	
None/Don't know (AFTER PROBE)	98	

ASK ALL WHO VOTED (CODE 1) AT Q 6a

7. How long ago did you decide that you would definitely vote the way you did was it READ OUT

	246
a long time ago,	1
sometime last year,	2
sometime this year,	3
or - during the election campaign?	4
(Don't know)	8

Col./ Code	Skip to

ASK ALL WHO VOTED (CODE 1) AT Q 6a

8.a) Which Party did you vote for in the general election?
DO NOT PROMPT CODE IN COLUMN a BELOW

ASK ALL EXCEPT CODES 95 OR 98 AT a
OTHERS GO TO Q.9

b) Was there any time during the general election campaign when you seriously thought you might vote for another Party? IF YES: Which Party?
DO NOT PROMPT - BUT SEE INSTRUCTION BOX
ONE CODE IN COLUMN b BELOW - IF MORE THAN ONE PARTY, RING CODE 96

c) If the voting paper had required you to give two votes, in order of preference, which Party would you have put as your second choice?
DO NOT PROMPT - BUT SEE INSTRUCTION BOX.
ONE CODE IN COLUMN c

If respondent voted SDP or Liberal or Alliance (Code 03 at a), then code 03 is not allowed at b) or c)
EXPLAIN IF NECESSARY "They did not stand against each other, so is there any other party (you seriously thought about/that you would put as second choice)?"

	a) Voted for		b) Thought about	c) 2nd Vote
	247-48		249-50	251-52
Conservative	01		01	01
Labour	02		02	02
SDP or Liberal or Alliance	03		03	03
Scottish National	06		06	06
Plaid Cymru	07		07	07
The Green Party	08		08	08
Other (SPECIFY) a) _____	97		-	-
b) _____	-		97	-
c) _____	-		-	97
Refused to disclose voting	95	→Q9	-	-
More than one other Party thought about	-		96	-
No/none	-		90	90
Don't know	98	→Q9	98	98

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	ASK ALL WHO VOTED (CODE 1 AT Q 6a)		
	CARD A		
9.a)	Which one of the reasons on this card comes closest to the main reason you voted for the Party you chose?	253	
	I always vote that way	1	Q 10
	I thought it was the best Party	2	Q 10
	I really preferred another Party but it had no chance of winning in this constituency	3 →	b
	Other (SPECIFY) _____	7 →	c
	None of these/Don't know	8 →	Q 10
	IF CODE 3 AT a	254-55	
	b) Which was the Party you really preferred? DO NOT PROMPT		
	Conservative	01	Q 10
	Labour	02	Q 10
	SDP or Liberal or Alliance	03	Q 10
	Scottish National	06	Q 10
	Plaid Cymru	07	Q 10
	The Green Party	08	Q 10
	Other (SPECIFY) _____	97	Q 10
	IF 'OTHER' (CODE 7) AT a		
	c) May I just check, would you have preferred to vote for a different Party from the one you did vote for? IF YES Which Party? DO NOT PROMPT	256-57	
	Yes - Conservative	01	
	Labour	02	
	SDP or Liberal or Alliance	03	
	Scottish National	06	
	Plaid Cymru	07	
	The Green Party	08	
	Other (SPECIFY) _____	97	
	No - no other party preferred	90	
		258-59	SPARE

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	ASK ALL		
10 a)	Thinking back to Election Day, do you remember which Party you thought would win this constituency? IF YES Which Party? DO NOT PROMPT	260-61	
	Conservative	01	
	Labour	02	
	SDP or Liberal or Alliance	03	
	Scottish National	06	
	Plaid Cymru	07	
	The Green Party	08	
	Other Party (SPECIFY) _____	97	
	Didn't think/don't remember/don't know	98	
b)	And on Election Day, do you remember which Party you thought would win the most seats nationally? IF YES Which Party? DO NOT PROMPT - BUT PROBE FOR "MOST SEATS" IF NECESSARY	262-63	
	Conservative	01	
	Labour	02	
	SDP or Liberal or Alliance	03	
	Scottish National	06	
	Plaid Cymru	07	
	The Green Party	08	
	Other Party (SPECIFY) _____	97	
	(Expected no winner)	90	
	Didn't think/don't remember/don't know	98	
11	Some people say that we should change the voting system to allow smaller political parties to get a fairer share of MPs Others say that we should keep the voting system as it is to produce effective government Which view comes closer to your own . READ OUT	264	
	IF ASKED, THIS REFERS TO 'PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION' that we should change the voting system,	1	
	or - keep it as it is?	2	
	(Don't know)	8	

		Col./ Code	Skip to
12.a)	**ASK ALL** Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Conservative, Labour, Liberal, Social Democrat, (IF SCOTLAND Nationalist/IF WALES Plaid Cymru), or what? IF "ALLIANCE", PROBE Liberal or Social Democrat? ONE CODE IN COLUMN a)		
	IF NONE/DON'T KNOW (CODE 90 OR 98) b) Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the Parties than the others? IF YES Which Party? IF "ALLIANCE", PROBE. Liberal or Social Democrat? ONE CODE IN COLUMN b)	a) 265-66 / b) 267-68	
	Conservative	01 / 01	
	Labour	02 / 02	
	Liberal	04 / 04	
	Social Democrat	05 / 05	
	Alliance (AFTER PROBE)	03 / 03	c)
	Scottish Nationalist	06 / 06	
	Plaid Cymru	07 / 07	
	The Green Party	08 / 08	
	Other (SPECIFY) a) _____	97 / -	
	b) _____	- / 97	
	None/No	90 / 90	b) Q 13
	Don't know	98 / 98	
	IF PARTY CODED AT a OR b)	269	
	c) Would you call yourself very strong (QUOTE PARTY AT a OR b), fairly strong or not very strong?		
	Very strong	1	
	Fairly strong	2	
	Not very strong	3	
	(Don't know)	8	

ASK ALL

CARD B

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

		Strongly in favour	In favour	Neither in favour nor against	Against	Strongly against	(DK/ Can't say)	
a)	.. the Conservative Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	270
b)	.. the Labour Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	271
c)	.. the Social Democratic Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	272
d)	.. the Liberal Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	273
	IF SCOTLAND							
e)	.. the Scottish Nationalist Party?	1	2	3	4	5	8	274
	IF WALES							
f)	.. Plaid Cymru?	1	2	3	4	5	8	275

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	ASK ALL		
14 a)	Generally speaking, do you think of the Liberal Party as being closer to the Conservative Party or closer to the Labour Party? RECORD IN COLUMN a)		
b)	And the Social Democratic Party, would you say it was closer to the Conservative Party or closer to the Labour Party? RECORD IN COLUMN b)		

	a) Liberal	b) SDP
	276	277
Closer to Conservatives	1	1
Closer to Labour	2	2
No difference/neither	3	3
Don't know	8	8

		Col./ Code	Skip to
c)	Considering everything the Liberal and Social Democratic Parties stand for, would you say that READ OUT	278	
	there is a great difference between them,	1	
	some difference,	2	
	or - not much difference?	3	
	(Don't know)	8	
d)	Now, considering everything the Conservative and Labour Parties stand for, would you say that READ OUT	279	
	there is a great difference between them,	1	
	some difference,	2	
	or - not much difference?	3	
	(Don't know)	8	
e)	Do you think there is more difference now between the Conservative and Labour Parties than there was at the 1983 election, less difference or about the same amount?	280	
	More now	1	
	Same	2	
	Less now	3	
	Don't know	8	
		CARD 03	305-06

		Col./ Code	Skip to
15 a)	**INTERVIEWER**: REFER TO Q.8a (VOTE IN 1987) • WRITE IN PARTY VOTED FOR [ ] OR • CODE Did not vote/refused voting information/don't know vote	307 2	Q 19
	IF PARTY WRITTEN IN AT a)		
	b) You said you voted _____ (PARTY AT a) in the 1987 general election Can you say a bit about why you decided to vote for the _____ (PARTY AT A)? PROBE FULLY FOR REASONS CODE VERBATIM	308-10 311-13 314-16 317-19 320-22 323-25 326-28 329-31 332-34 335-37 338-40	
		341 42	SPARE
	IF PARTY AT Q 15a IS CONSERVATIVE, OR LABOUR, OR LIBERAL OR SDP OR ALLIANCE, ASK Q 16 OTHERS GO TO Q 19	343	
16 a)	Have you ever voted for any party other than the _____ (PARTY AT Q 15a) in any general election since 1964? IF ASKED, INCLUDES 1964	Yes 1 → b) No other Party voted for 2 Not voted in election (since 1964) 3	Q 18

IF YES AT a, RING CODE **X** FOR PARTY AT Q 15a, AND ASK b) ABOUT THE **OTHER** TWO PARTIES	(Not asked)	Yes	No	Don't know	
b)i) Have you ever voted Conservative in a general election since 1964?	X	1	2	8	344
ii) Have you ever voted Labour in a general election since 1964?	X	1	2	8	345
iii) Have you ever voted Liberal or SDP or Alliance in a general election since 1964?	X	1	2	8	346

THIS PAGE IS FOR PEOPLE WHO HAVE VOTED FOR MORE THAN ONE MAJOR U.K. PARTY SINCE 1964

Skip to	Col./ Code

IF **ANY** 'YES' (CODE 1s) AT Q 16b, ASK Q 17 ABOUT **EACH** PARTY CODED 1

IF THERE ARE **NO** CODE 1s AT Q 16b, GO TO Q 18

IF **CONSERVATIVE PARTY** EVER VOTED FOR (CODE 1 AT b i)

17 a) You say you have voted Conservative in a general election since 1964 Why do you not support the Conservative Party nowadays?

PROBE FULLY RECORD VERBATIM

IF **LABOUR PARTY** EVER VOTED FOR (CODE 1 AT b ii)

b) You say you have voted Labour in a general election since 1964 Why do you not support the Labour Party nowadays?

PROBE FULLY RECORD VERBATIM

IF **LIBERAL/SDP/ALLIANCE** EVER VOTED FOR (CODE 1 AT b iii)

c) You say you have voted (Liberal/SDP/Alliance) in a general election since 1964 Why do you not support the Alliance nowadays?

PROBE FULLY RECORD VERBATIM

NOW GO TO Q.19

Col./ Code
347-48
349-50
351-52
353-54
355-56
357-58
359-60
361-62
363-64
365-66
367-68
369-70
371-72
373-74
375-76
377-78
379-80
407-08
409-10
411-12
413-14
415-16
417-18
419-20
421-22
423-24
425-26
427-28
429-30
431-32

THIS PAGE (AND FACING PAGE) IS FOR FIRST-TIME VOTERS AND PEOPLE WHO HAVE VOTED FOR THE SAME MAJOR U.K. PARTY SINCE 1964

		Col./ Code	Skip to
		433-38	SPARE
18	**INTERVIEWER:** ENTER LAST DIGIT OF SERIAL NUMBER AND REFER TO PARTY AT Q 15a ☐	439	
		440	
	• IF CONSERVATIVE VOTER **AND** LAST DIGIT IS 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 or 7	1	a)
	OR 8, 9, 0	2	c)
	• IF LABOUR VOTER **AND** LAST DIGIT IS 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 or 7	3	b)
	OR 8, 9, 0	4	c)
	• IF SDP, LIBERAL OR ALLIANCE VOTER **AND** LAST DIGIT IS 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5	5	a)
	OR 6, 7, 8, 9 or 0	6	b)
a)	I want to ask you about one of the parties you have not supported in a general election Why would you say you do not support the Labour Party? IF NECESSARY. What do you dislike about it?	441-43	
	PROBE FULLY AND RECORD VERBATIM	444-46	
		447-49	
		450-52	
		453-55	
		456-58	
		459-61	
		462-64	
		465-67	
		468-70	

NOW GO TO Q.19

		Col./ Code	Skip to
18 b)	I want to ask you about <u>one</u> of the parties you have not supported in a general election Why would you say you do <u>not</u> support the <u>Conservative Party</u>? <u>IF NECESSARY</u> What do you dislike about it? <u>PROBE FULLY AND RECORD VERBATIM</u>	441-43	
		444-46	
		447-49	
		450-52	
		453-55	
		456-58	
		459-61	
		462-64	
		465-67	
		468-70	
	NOW GO TO Q 19		
c)	I want to ask you about <u>one</u> of the parties you have not supported in a general election Why would you say you do <u>not</u> support the <u>Alliance</u>? <u>IF NECESSARY</u> What do you dislike about it? <u>PROBE FULLY AND RECORD VERBATIM.</u>	441-43	
		444-46	
		447-49	
		450-52	
		453-55	
		456-58	
		459-61	
		462-64	
		465-67	
		468-70	
	NOW GO TO Q.19	471-80	SPARE

			Col./ Code	Skip to
			CARD 05	505-06

PARTY/LEADERSHIP IMAGES

ASK ALL

			i) Conservative	ii) Labour	iii) Alliance
19 a)	i) On the whole, would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as READ OUT		507	508	509
	ii) And the Labour Party nowadays, is it READ OUT	extreme,	1	1	1
		or - moderate?	2	2	2
		(Neither or both)	3	3	3
	iii) And the SDP/Liberal Alliance, is it READ OUT	(Don't know)	8	8	8
	RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN				
b)	i) And would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as READ OUT		Conservative 510	Labour 511	Alliance 512
	ii) And the Labour Party nowadays, is it READ OUT	united,	1	1	1
		or - divided?	2	2	2
		(Neither or both)	3	3	3
	iii) And the Alliance, is it READ OUT	(Don't know)	8	8	8
	RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN				
c)	i) On the whole, would you describe the Conservative Party as READ OUT		Conservative 513	Labour 514	Alliance 515
	ii) And the Labour Party, is it READ OUT	good for one class,	1	1	1
		or - good for all classes?	2	2	2
	iii) And the Alliance, is it READ OUT	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
	RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN	(Don't know)	8	8	8
d)	i) And on the whole, would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as READ OUT		Conservative 516	Labour 517	Alliance 518
	ii) And the Labour Party, is it READ OUT	capable of being a strong government,	1	1	1
		or - not capable of being a strong government?	2	2	2
	iii) And the Alliance, is it READ OUT	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
	RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN	(Don't know)	8	8	8
e)	i) And on the whole, would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as READ OUT		Conservative 519	Labour 520	Alliance 521
	ii) And the Labour Party, is it READ OUT	caring,	1	1	1
		or - uncaring?	2	2	2
		(Neither or both)	3	3	3
	iii) And the Alliance, is it READ OUT	(Don't know)	8	8	8
	RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN				

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	ASK ALL		
19 f)	i) And would you describe the Conservative Party nowadays as READ OUT .	i) Conservative 522	ii) Labour 523	iii) Alliance 524
	ii) And the Labour Party is it READ OUT	likely to unite the nation,	1	1	1
		or - divide the nation?	2	2	2
	iii) And the Alliance, is it READ OUT	(Neither or both)	3	3	3
	RECORD IN APPROPRIATE COLUMN	(Don't know)	8	8	8
					525-29	SPARE
20	Now some similar questions, but this time about some of the main party leaders					
a)	i) Would you describe Mrs Thatcher as READ OUT	i) Mrs Thatcher 530	ii) Mr Kinnock 531	iii) Dr Owen 532	iv) Mr Steel 533
		good at getting things done,	1	1	1	1
		or - bad at getting things done?	2	2	2	2
		(Neither or both)	3	3	3	3
		(Don't know)	8	8	8	8
	ii-iv) REPEAT a1) FOR OTHER THREE LEADERS IN TURN, CODING IN APPROPRIATE COLUMNS					
b)	i) And would you describe Mrs Thatcher as READ OUT	i) Mrs Thatcher 534	ii) Mr Kinnock 535	iii) Dr Owen 536	iv) Mr Steel 537
		extreme,	1	1	1	1
		or - moderate?	2	2	2	2
		(Neither or both)	3	3	3	3
		(Don't know)	8	8	8	8
	ii-iv) REPEAT b1) FOR OTHER THREE LEADERS IN TURN, CODING IN APPROPRIATE COLUMNS					
c)	i) And, on the whole, would you say Mrs Thatcher . READ OUT .	i) Mrs Thatcher 538	ii) Mr Kinnock 539	ii) Dr Owen 540	iv) Mr Steel 541
		looks after one class,	1	1	1	1
		or - looks after all classes?	2	2	2	2
		(Neither or both)	3	3	3	3
		(Don't know)	8	8	8	8
	ii-iv) REPEAT c1) FOR OTHER THREE LEADERS IN TURN, CODING IN APPROPRIATE COLUMNS					

(Q.20 continues overleaf)

					Col./ Code	Skip to
20d)	i) And would you describe Mrs Thatcher as READ OUT	i) Mrs Thatcher	ii) Mr Kinnock	iii) Dr Owen	iv) Mr Steel	
		542	543	544	545	
	capable of being a strong leader,	1	1	1	1	
	or - not capable of being a strong leader?	2	2	2	2	
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3	3	
	(Don't know)	8	8	8	8	
	ii-iv) REPEAT d i) FOR OTHER THREE LEADERS IN TURN, CODING IN APPROPRIATE COLUMNS					
e)	i) And, on the whole, would you describe Mrs Thatcher as READ OUT	i) Mrs Thatcher	ii) Mr Kinnock	iii) Dr Owen	iv) Mr Steel	
		546	547	548	549	
	caring,	1	1	1	1	
	or - uncaring?	2	2	2	2	
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3	3	
	(Don't know)	8	8	8	8	
	ii-iv) REPEAT e i) FOR OTHER THREE LEADERS IN TURN, CODING IN APPROPRIATE COLUMNS					
f)	i) And would you describe Mrs Thatcher as READ OUT	i) Mrs Thatcher	ii) Mr Kinnock	iii) Dr Owen	iv) Mr Steel	
		550	551	552	553	
	likely to unite the nation,	1	1	1	1	
	or - divide the nation?	2	2	2	2	
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3	3	
	(Don't know)	8	8	8	8	
	ii-iv) REPEAT f i) FOR OTHER THREE LEADERS IN TURN, CODING IN APPROPRIATE COLUMNS					
g)	i) And, on the whole, would you describe Mrs Thatcher as READ OUT	i) Mrs Thatcher	ii) Mr Kinnock	iii) Dr Owen	iv) Mr Steel	
		554	555	556	557	
	. likeable as a person,	1	1	1	1	
	or - not likeable as a person?	2	2	2	2	
	(Neither or both)	3	3	3	3	
	(Don't know)	8	8	8	8	
	ii-iv) REPEAT g i) FOR OTHER THREE LEADERS IN TURN, CODING IN APPROPRIATE COLUMNS				558-59	SPARE

Col./ Code | Skip to

CAMPAIGN ISSUES & IDEOLOGY

ASK ALL

21 During the election, a lot of issues were mentioned as being important for the sake of the country.

SHUFFLE CARDS (RANDOMLY SHUFFLED)

a) Thinking back to the election, which three of these issues would you say were the most important issues facing Britain? First tell me the most important, and then the second most important, and then the third

INTERVIEWER WRITE 1, 2 AND 3 IN THE APPROPRIATE BOXES IN COLUMN a

SHUFFLE CARDS (RANDOMLY SHUFFLED)

b) And which three of these were the most important issues facing you and your family? Again start with the most important, and then the second and then the third

INTERVIEWER: WRITE 1, 2 AND 3 IN THE APPROPRIATE BOXES IN COLUMN b

	a) Britain 560-66	b) You and your Family 567-73
Prices		
Unemployment		
Taxes		
Health and social services		
Crime		
Education		
Defence		

ASK ALL

CARD C

22 a) Since the last general election in June 1983, would you say that prices have increased or fallen? Please choose a phrase from the card

REPEAT FOR ITEMS b)-g) BELOW

	Increased a lot	Increased a little	Stayed the same	Fallen a little	Fallen a lot	(Don't know)	
(PRICES)	1	2	3	4	5	8	574
b) What about unemployment?	1	2	3	4	5	8	575
c) Taxes?	1	2	3	4	5	8	576
d) The standard of the health and social services?	1	2	3	4	5	8	577
e) Crime?	1	2	3	4	5	8	578
f) The quality of education?	1	2	3	4	5	8	579
g) Britain's safety from the threat of war?	1	2	3	4	5	8	580

CARD 06 605–06

OFFICE USE 607

Defence

ASK ALL
SCALE CARD 1 AND GIVE PENCIL

23 Please look at this card

Some people feel that government should get rid of all nuclear weapons in Britain without delay These people would put themselves in **Box A.** (POINT)

Other people feel that government should increase nuclear weapons in Britain without delay These people would put themselves in **Box K** (POINT)

And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here . (POINT LEFT A-F) or along here (POINT RIGHT K-F)

IF NECESSARY, EXPLAIN AGAIN

a) In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about nuclear weapons in Britain

Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour Parties stand

b) First the Conservative Party In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Conservative Party?

c) Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Labour Party?

d) And finally, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the SDP/Liberal/ Alliance?

e) Now please tell me the letters of the boxes you ticked in the first row? The second row? The third row? The fourth row?
RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE

e) CODING· RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

	a) Own views 608-09	b) Conservative 610-11	c) Labour 612-13	d) Alliance 614-15	
A =	01	01	01	01	= A
B =	02	02	02	02	= B
C =	03	03	03	03	= C
D =	04	04	04	04	= D
E =	05	05	05	05	= E
F =	06	06	06	06	= F
G =	07	07	07	07	= G
H =	08	08	08	08	= H
I =	09	09	09	09	= I
J =	10	10	10	10	= J
K =	11	11	11	11	= K
Left of A =	95	95	95	95	= Left of A
Right of K =	96	96	96	96	= Right of K
Don't know =	98	98	98	98	= Don't know

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

OFFICE USE ONLY

Get rid Increase

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

		Col./ Code	Skip to

ASK ALL

24 a) Do you think Britain should continue to be a member of the EEC - the Common Market - or should it withdraw? CODE IN COLUMN a

b) And do you think Britain should continue to be a member of NATO - the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation - or should it withdraw? CODE IN COLUMN b

	a) EEC	b) NATO
	616	617
Continue	1	1
Withdraw	2	2

25 a) Do you think that the siting of American nuclear missiles in Britain makes Britain a safer or a less safe place to live? CODE IN COLUMN a

b) And do you think that having our own independent nuclear missiles makes Britain a safer or a less safe place to live? CODE IN COLUMN b

	a) American nuclear missiles	b) Own nuclear missiles
	618	619
Safer	1	1
Less safe	2	2
(Don't know)	8	8

CARD D

26 Please use this card to say whether you think the government should or should not do each of the following things, or doesn't it matter either way?

READ OUT a-b BELOW AND CODE FOR EACH

		Definitely should	Probably should	Doesn't matter either way	Probably should not	Definitely should not	(Don't know)	
a)	Pull British troops out of Northern Ireland immediately?	1	2	3	4	5	8	620
b)	Spend less on defence?	1	2	3	4	5	8	621

CARD E

27 Which of these statements comes closest to what you yourself feel should be done? If you don't have an opinion just say so

	622
Britain should keep her own nuclear weapons, independent of other countries	1
Britain should have nuclear weapons only as part of a Western defence system	2
Britain should have nothing to do with nuclear weapons under any circumstances	3
(No opinion/Don't know)	8

623-26 SPARE

Unemployment & Inflation

SCALE CARD 2

28 Please look at this card

Some people feel that getting people back to work should be the government's top priority. These people would put themselves in **Box A** (POINT)

Other people feel that keeping prices down should be the government's top priority These people would put themselves in **Box K** (POINT)

And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (POINT LEFT A-F) or along here (POINT RIGHT K-F)

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

Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour Parties stand·

b) First the Conservative Party. In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Conservative Party?

c) Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Labour Party?

d) And finally, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the SDP/Liberal/ Alliance?

e) Now please tell me the letters of the boxes you ticked in the first row? The second row? The third row? The fourth row?
RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE

e) CODING RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

	a) Own views 627-28	b) Conservative 629-30	c) Labour 631-32	d) Alliance 633-34	
A =	01	01	01	01	= A
B =	02	02	02	02	= B
C =	03	03	03	03	= C
D =	04	04	04	04	= D
E =	05	05	05	05	= E
F =	06	06	06	06	= F
G =	07	07	07	07	= G
H =	08	08	08	08	= H
I =	09	09	09	09	= I
J =	10	10	10	10	= J
K =	11	11	11	11	= K
Left of A =	95	95	95	95	= Left of
Right of K =	96	96	96	96	= Right of
Don't know =	98	98	98	98	= Don't kn

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

OFFICE USE ONLY

Back to work | Prices down | 635-38 SPARE

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	

Taxation and Government Services

SCALE CARD 3

29 Please look at this card

Some people feel that government should put up taxes a lot and spend much more on health and social services (POINT) These people would put themselves in **Box A**

Other people feel that government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health and social services (POINT) These people would put themselves in **Box K.**

And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (POINT LEFT A-F) or along here (POINT RIGHT K-F)

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

Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour Parties stand·

b) First the Conservative Party In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Conservative Party?

c) Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Labour Party?

d) And finally, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the SDP/Liberal/ Alliance?

e) Now please tell me the letters of the boxes you ticked: in the first row? The second row? The third row? The fourth row?
RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE

e) CODING: RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

	a) Own views 639-40	b) Conservative 641-42	c) Labour 643-44	d) Alliance 645-46	
A =	01	01	01	01	= A
B =	02	02	02	02	= B
C =	03	03	03	03	= C
D =	04	04	04	04	= D
E =	05	05	05	05	= E
F =	06	06	06	06	= F
G =	07	07	07	07	= G
H =	08	08	08	08	= H
I =	09	09	09	09	= I
J =	10	10	10	10	= J
K =	11	11	11	11	= K
Left of A =	95	95	95	95	= **Left of A**
Right of K =	96	96	96	96	= **Right of K**
Don't know =	98	98	98	98	= **Don't know**

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

OFFICE USE ONLY

Services up Taxes down

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

SPARE 647-50

CARD F

30. Using this card, please say whether you agree or disagree with each of these statements, or say if you are not sure either way
READ OUT a-d AND CODE FOR EACH

		Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure either way	Dis-agree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)	Col./ Code	Skip to
a)	When someone is unemployed, it's usually his or her own fault?	1	2	3	4	5	8	651	
b)	. The government should spend more money to create jobs?	1	2	3	4	5	8	652	
c)	Much of our unemployment has been caused by trade unions?	1	2	3	4	5	8	653	
d)	. Too many people these days like to rely on government handouts?	1	2	3	4	5	8	654	

CARD G

31 Just to clarify your views, suppose the government had to choose between the three options on this card Which do you think it should choose?

655

Reduce taxes and spend less on health, education and social benefits	1
Keep taxes and spending on these services at the same level as now	2
Increase taxes and spend more on health, education and social benefits	3
(None)	4
(Don't know)	8

CARD H

32 And suppose your local council had to choose between the three options on this card Which do you think it should choose?

656

Reduce rates and spend less on local services	1
Keep rates and spending on local services at the same level as now	2
Increase rates and spend more on local services	3
(None)	4
(Don't know)	8

CARD I

33 Please use this card to say whether you think the government should or should not do the following things, or doesn't it matter either way?
READ OUT a-f BELOW AND CODE FOR EACH

		Definitely should	Probably should	Doesn't matter either way	Probably should not	Definitely should not	(Don't know)		
a)	. get rid of private education in Britain?	1	2	3	4	5	8	657	
b)	. spend more money to get rid of poverty?	1	2	3	4	5	8	658	
c)	encourage the growth of private medicine?	1	2	3	4	5	8	659	
d)	.. put more money into the National Health Service?	1	2	3	4	5	8	660	
e)	.. spend more money on education?	1	2	3	4	5	8	661	
f)	... reduce government spending generally?	1	2	3	4	5	8	662	

Nationalisation

SCALE CARD 4

34

Please look at this card

Some people feel that the government should nationalise many more private companies These people would put themselves in **Box A** (POINT)

Other people feel that government should sell off many more nationalised industries These people would put themselves in **Box K.** (POINT)

And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (POINT LEFT A-F) or along here (POINT RIGHT K-F)

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

Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour Parties stand

b) First the Conservative Party. In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Conservative Party?

c) Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Labour Party?

d) And finally, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the SDP/Liberal/ Alliance?

e) Now please tell me the letters of the boxes you ticked. In the first row? The second row? The third row? The fourth row?
RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE

e) CODING· RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

	a) Own views	b) Conser-vative	c) Labour	d) Alliance	
	663-64	665-66	667-68	669-70	
A =	01	01	01	01	= A
B =	02	02	02	02	= B
C =	03	03	03	03	= C
D =	04	04	04	04	= D
E =	05	05	05	05	= E
F =	06	06	06	06	= F
G =	07	07	07	07	= G
H =	08	08	08	08	= H
I =	09	09	09	09	= I
J =	10	10	10	10	= J
K =	11	11	11	11	= K
Left of A =	95	95	95	95	= Left of
Right of K =	96	96	96	96	= Right o
Don't know =	98	98	98	98	= Don't k

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

OFFICE USE ONLY

Nationalise Sell-off

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

SPARE 671-80

O U O.
CARD 06
705-06

Redistribution

SCALE CARD 5

35 Please look at this card

Some people feel that government should make much greater efforts to make people's incomes more equal These people would put themselves in **Box A** (POINT)

Other people feel that government should be much less concerned about how equal people's incomes are These people would put themselves in **Box K** (POINT)

And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (POINT LEFT A-F) or along here (POINT RIGHT K-F)

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

Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour Parties stand.

b) First the Conservative Party In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Conservative Party?

c) Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Labour Party?

d) And finally, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the SDP/Liberal/ Alliance?

e) Now please tell me the letters of the boxes you ticked: in the first row? The second row? The third row? The fourth row?
RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE

e) CODING RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

	a) Own views 707-08	b) Conser-vative 709-10	c) Labour 711-12	d) Alliance 713-14	
A =	01	01	01	01	= A
B =	02	02	02	02	= B
C =	03	03	03	03	= C
D =	04	04	04	04	= D
E =	05	05	05	05	= E
F =	06	06	06	06	= F
G =	07	07	07	07	= G
H =	08	08	08	08	= H
I =	09	09	09	09	= I
J =	10	10	10	10	= J
K =	11	11	11	11	= K
Left of A =	95	95	95	95	= Left of A
Right of K =	96	96	96	96	= Right of K
Don't know =	98	98	98	98	= Don't know

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

Make incomes more equal — **OFFICE USE ONLY** — Less concerned about equal incomes

SPARE 715-18

A B C D E F G H I J K

		Col./ Code	Skip to
36 a)	Just to make sure about your views, are you generally in favour of READ OUT .	719	
	more nationalisation of companies by government,	1	b
	more privatisation of companies by government,	2	b
	or - should things be left as they are now?	3	Q 37
	Other (SPECIFY) _____	7	Q 37
	(Don't know)	8	Q 37
	IF MORE NATIONALISATION OR PRIVATISATION (CODES 1 OR 2 AT a)		
	b) A lot more (nationalisation)/(privatisation) or a little more?	720	
	A lot more	1	
	A little more	2	
	Don't know	8	

ASK ALL

CARD I AGAIN

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

READ OUT AND CODE a-b

		Definitely should	Probably should	Dosn't matter either way	Probably should not	Definitely should not	Don't know	
a)	introduce stricter laws to regulate the activities of trade unions?	1	2	3	4	5	8	721
b)	. . give workers more say in running the places where they work?	1	2	3	4	5	8	722

CARD J

38 And still using the card, please say whether you agree or disagree with each of these statements, or say if you are not sure either way
. READ OUT a-d AND CODE FOR EACH

		Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure either way	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)	
a)	High income tax makes people less willing to work hard?	1	2	3	4	5	8	723
b)	Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary working people?	1	2	3	4	5	8	724
c)	. It is better for Britain when trade unions have little power?	1	2	3	4	5	8	725
d)	. The government should give more aid to poor countries in Africa and Asia?	1	2	3	4	5	8	726

Law and Order

SCALE CARD 6

39

Please look at this card

Some people feel that protecting civil rights is more important than cutting crime These people would put themselves in **Box A** (POINT)

Other people feel that cutting crime is more important than protecting civil rights These people would put themselves in **Box K** (POINT)

And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (POINT LEFT A-F) or along here (POINT RIGHT K-F)

a) In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about law and order?

Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour Parties stand:

b) First the Conservative Party In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Conservative Party?

c) Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Labour Party?

d) And finally, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the SDP/Liberal/ Alliance?

e) Now please tell me the letters of the boxes you ticked in the first row? The second row? The third row? The fourth row?
RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE

e) CODING RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

	a) **Own views** 727-28	b) **Conservative** 729-30	c) **Labour** 731-32	d) **Alliance** 733-34	
A =	01	01	01	01	= **A**
B =	02	02	02	02	= **B**
C =	03	03	03	03	= **C**
D =	04	04	04	04	= **D**
E =	05	05	05	05	= **E**
F =	06	06	06	06	= **F**
G =	07	07	07	07	= **G**
H =	08	08	08	08	= **H**
I =	09	09	09	09	= **I**
J =	10	10	10	10	= **J**
K =	11	11	11	11	= **K**
Left of A =	95	95	95	95	= **Left of A**
Right of K =	96	96	96	96	= **Right of K**
Don't know =	98	98	98	98	= **Don't know**

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

OFFICE USE ONLY

Protect rights Cut crime

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

SPARE 735-37

Welfare

SCALE CARD 7

40

Please look at this card

Some people feel that the poor in Britain are entitled to more help from government These people would put themselves in **Box A** (POINT)

Other people feel that the poor in Britain should get less help from government and do more to help themselves These people would put themselves in **Box K**. (POINT)

And other people have views somewhere in-between, along here (POINT LEFT A-F) or along here (POINT RIGHT K-F)

a) In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own views about government help for the poor?

Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour Parties stand

b) First the Conservative Party In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Conservative Party?

c) Now in the next row please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Labour Party?

d) And finally, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the SDP/Liberal/ Alliance?

e) Now please tell me the letters of the boxes you ticked. In the first row? The second row? The third row? The fourth row?
RING CODES IN GRID AS APPROPRIATE

e) CODING RING ONE IN EACH COLUMN

	a) **Own views** 738-39	b) **Conservative** 740-41	c) **Labour** 742-43	d) **Alliance** 744-45	
A =	01	01	01	01	= **A**
B =	02	02	02	02	= **B**
C =	03	03	03	03	= **C**
D =	04	04	04	04	= **D**
E =	05	05	05	05	= **E**
F =	06	06	06	06	= **F**
G =	07	07	07	07	= **G**
H =	08	08	08	08	= **H**
I =	09	09	09	09	= **I**
J =	10	10	10	10	= **J**
K =	11	11	11	11	= **K**
Left of A =	95	95	95	95	= **Left of A**
Right of K =	96	96	96	96	= **Right of K**
Don't know =	98	98	98	98	= **Don't know**

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

OFFICE USE ONLY

More help Less help

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

SPARE 746-49

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	OTHER ISSUES		
	ASK a) IN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND ONLY		
	IN WALES, GO TO b)		
41.a)	An issue in Scotland is the question of an elected Assembly - a special parliament for Scotland dealing with Scottish affairs. Which of these statements comes closest to your view READ OUT	750	
	Scotland should become completely independent,	1	
	or - there should be an elected assembly for Scotland,	2	
	or - some other way should be found to make sure the needs of Scotland are better understood by the government in London,	3	
	or - keep the governing of Scotland much as it has been?	4	Q 42
	Other (SPECIFY) _____	7	
	(Don't know)	8	
	ASK IN WALES ONLY		
	b) An issue in Wales is the question of an elected Assembly - a special parliament for Wales dealing with Welsh affairs Which of these statements comes closest to your view READ OUT	751	
	Wales should become completely independent,	1	
	or - there should be an elected assembly for Wales,	2	
	or - some other way should be found to make sure the needs of Wales are better understood by the government in London,	3	
	or - keep the governing of Wales much as it has been?	4	
	Other (SPECIFY) _____	7	
	(Don't know)	8	
	ASK ALL	752	
42 a)	Do you think that local councils ought to be controlled by central government more, less or about the same amount as now? More	1	
	Less	2	
	About the same	3	
	(Don't know)	8	
b)	And do you think the level of rates should be up to the local council to decide, or should central government have the final say?	753	
	Local council	1	
	Central government	2	
	(Don't know)	8	

								Col./ Code	Skip to
	ASK ALL								
	CARD K								
43	And now I want to ask about some changes that have been happening in Britain over the years For each one I read out, please use this card to say whether you think it has gone too far or not gone far enough.								
	READ OUT a)-o) AND CODE FOR EACH	Gone much too far	Gone too far	About right	Not gone far enough	Not gone nearly far enough	(Don't know)		
a)	First the welfare benefits that are available to people today?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 5 4
b)	How about attempts to give equal opportunities to women in Britain?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 5 5
c)	The right to show nudity and sex in films and magazines?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 56
d)	The building of nuclear power stations?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 57
e)	The right to have protest marches and demonstrations?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 58
f)	Attempts to give equal opportunities to black people and Asians in Britain?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 59
g)	Allowing the sale of council houses to tenants?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 60
h)	The movement towards comprehensive schooling?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 61
i)	Immigration into Britain?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 62
j)	The availability of abortion on the National Health Service?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 63
k)	Building new houses in country areas?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 64
l)	Attempts to give equal opportunities to homosexuals - that is, gays and lesbians?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 65
m)	Privatisation of industries?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 66
n)	Spending by local councils?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 67
o)	Laws controlling trade unions?	1	2	3	4	5	8		7 68

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	ASK ALL	769	
44 a)	Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to any particular class? IF YES: Which class is that? — Yes, middle class	1	Q 45
	Yes, working class	2	
	Yes, other (SPECIFY IN FULL) _____	3	
	No	4	b)
	Don't know	8	
	IF OTHER, OR NO, OR DON'T KNOW (CODES 3, 4 OR 8 AT a)	770	
b)	Most people say they belong either to the middle class or the working class If you had to make a choice, would you call yourself READ OUT — middle class, or - working class?	1	
		2	
	(Refused)	6	
	(Don't know)	8	
	ASK ALL	771	
45 a)	On the whole, do you think there is bound to be some conflict between different social classes, or do you think they can get along together without any conflict? — Bound to be conflict	1 →	b)
	Can get along	2	Q 46
	Don't know	8	
	IF BOUND TO BE CONFLICT (CODE 1 AT a)	772	
b)	A lot of conflict or just a little? — A lot of conflict	1	
	Just a little	2	
	(Don't know)	8	

V. BACKGROUND & CLASSIFICATION

ASK ALL

Now some questions about yourself and your background.

		a) **Father**	b) **Mother**
46 a)	Do you remember which Party your father usually voted for when you were growing up? ONE CODE IN COLUMN a	773-74	775-76
b)	And your mother? ONE CODE IN COLUMN b — DO NOT PROMPT — Conservative	01	01
	Labour	02	02
	Liberal	04	04
	Scottish National	06	06
	Plaid Cymru	07	07
	Other (SPECIFY) a) _____	97	-
	b) _____	-	97
	Varied	96	96
	Not applicable/Not brought up in Britain	94	94
	Refused to disclose voting	95	95
	Did not vote	90	90
	Can't remember/Don't know	98	98

		Col./ Code	Skip to
47	Thinking back to when you were aged about 14, what job did your father have then? GET AS MUCH DETAIL AS POSSIBLE. PROBE FULLY (IF NO DETAILS CAN BE OBTAINED, RING CODE → AND WRITE IN REASON _____)	777 1	778 →
a)	What was the name or title of his job? _____	705-06 CARD 07	
b)	What kind of work did he do most of the time in that job? IF RELEVANT What materials/machinery did he use? _____	O.U.O. O.C. 807-11 812-13	
c)	What training or qualifications were needed for the job at that time?	E.S. 814-15 S.E.G. 816-17 SC/NM.M 818-19 SIC 820-21 H-G SPARE 822-23	
d)	Did he supervise or was he responsible for the work of any other people? IF YES About how many? Yes WRITE IN NO ____ No RING 0000	824-27	
e)	Was he READ OUT an employee,	828 1	
	or - self-employed?	2	
f)	What did (his employer) (IF SELF-EMPLOYED he) make or do? _____		
g)	Roughly how many people were employed at the place where he worked? PROBE AS NECESSARY No other employees 6; Fewer than 10 1; 10-24 2; 25-99 3; 100-499 4; 500 or more 5	829	
48.	ASK ALL And where were you living at that time, when you were 14? PROBE AS NECESSARY What town or village or city were you living in then? PROBE FOR VILLAGE/TOWN/CITY AND COUNTY IF NOT IN U K GET NAME OF COUNTRY TOWN/VILLAGE/CITY _____ COUNTY _____ (IF NECESSARY) COUNTRY _____	O U O 830-31	

ASK ALL

CARD L

			Col./ Code	Skip to
			O U O. A B C D E F G H J K L	832-42
49 a)	Which of these descriptions applies to what you were doing last week, that is, in the seven days ending last Sunday? PROBE Any others? CODE ALL THAT APPLY IN COLUMN I IF ONLY ONE CODE AT I, TRANSFER IT TO COLUMN II IF MORE THAN ONE AT I, TRANSFER HIGHEST ON LIST TO II	COL I	COL II ECONOMIC POSITION	
			843-44	
	In full-time education (not paid for by employer, including on vacation)	A	01 →	Q 51
	On government training/employment scheme (e g Community Programme, Youth Training Scheme, etc)	B	02 →	b)
	In paid work (or away temporarily) for at least 10 hours in the week	C	03	c)
	Waiting to take up paid work already accepted	D	04	
	Unemployed and registered at a benefit office	E	05	b)
	Unemployed, not registered, but actively looking for a job	F	06	
	Unemployed, wanting a job (of at least 10 hrs per week) but not actively looking for a job	G	07	
	Permanently sick or disabled	H	08	
	Wholly retired from work	J	09	
	Looking after the home	K	10	
	Doing something else (SPECIFY) _____	L	11	
	IF CODE 02, OR 05-11 AT a		845	
b)	How long ago did you last have a paid job (other than the government scheme you mentioned) of at least 10 hours a week, excluding Saturday or holiday jobs?	Within past 12 months	1	c)
		Over 1-5 years ago	2	
		Over 5-10 years ago	3	
		Over 10-20 years ago	4	
		Over 20 years ago	5	
		Never had paid job of 10+ hrs a week	6 →	Q 51
	IF EVER HAD JOB (CODES 03-04 AT a OR CODES 1-5 AT b)		846	
c)	Are you now a member of a trade union or staff association? PROBE AS NECESSARY	Yes trade union	1	Q 50
		Yes staff association	2	
		No	3 →	d)
	IF NO AT c			
d)	Have you ever been a member of a trade union or staff association? PROBE AS NECESSARY		847	
		Yes trade union	1	
		Yes staff association	2	
		No	3	

REFER TO ECONOMIC POSITION OF RESPONDENT (OPPOSITE):

- IF IN PAID WORK NOW (CODE 03 AT Q.49a), ASK ABOUT PRESENT JOB
- IF WAITING TO TAKE UP PAID WORK (CODE 04 AT Q.49a), ASK ABOUT FUTURE JOB
- IF NOT NOW WORKING BUT HAS EVER HAD JOB (CODES 1-5 AT Q 49b), ASK ABOUT LAST JOB

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

a) What (is) your job? PROBE AS NECESSARY

What (is) the name or title of the job? _____

_____

b) What kind of work (do) you do most of the time? IF RELEVANT What materials/machinery (do) you use? _____

_____

_____

c) What training or qualifications (are) needed for that job? _____

_____

_____

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

Yes WRITE IN NO [ ][ ][ ][ ]

No RING 0000

e) Can I just check (are) you READ OUT

an employee, 1 → f)

or - self-employed? 2 → g)

IF EMPLOYEE (CODE 1) AT e

CARD M

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

PRIORITY CODE

Private firm or company	1
Nationalised industry/ public corporation	2
Local Authority/Local Education Authority	3
Health authority /hospital	4
Central Government/Civil Service	5
Charity or trust	6
Other (SPECIFY) _____	7

ASK ALL

g) What (does) your employer (IF SELF-EMPLOYED you) make or do at the place where you usually (work)? IF FARM, GIVE NO OF ACRES

_____

h) Including yourself, how many people (are) employed at the place you usually (work) from? IF SELF-EMPLOYED: (Do) you have any employees? IF YES How many?

(No employees)	6
Under 10	1
10-24	2
25-99	3
100-499	4
500 or more	5

i) (Is) the job READ OUT

. full-time (30+ hours per week)	1
or - part-time (10-29 hours per week)	2

Col./ Code	Skip to
O.U.O.	
O.C. 848-52	
853-54	
E.S. 855-56	
S.E.G. 857-58	
SC/NM.M 859-60	
SIC 861-62	
H-G 863-64	
SPARE	
865-68	
869	
870	
871	
872	

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	ASK ALL	873-74	SPARE
51 a)	At present are you . READ OUT	875	
	PRIORITY CODE — married,	1	b)
	or - living as married,	2	b)
	or widowed,	3	Q 53
	divorced or separated,	4	Q 53
	or - not married?	5	Q 53
	IF MARRIED OR LIVING AS MARRIED (CODES 1 OR 2 AT a)		
	CARD M		
	b) Which of these descriptions applied to what your (husband/wife/partner) was doing last week, that is the seven days ending last Sunday? PROBE Any others? CODE ALL THAT APPLY IN COL I		
	IF ONLY ONE CODE AT I, TRANSFER IT TO COL II IF MORE THAN ONE AT I, TRANSFER HIGHEST ON LIST TO II	COL I	COL II ECONOMIC POSITION
			876-77
	In full-time education (not paid for by employer, including on vacation)	A	01 → Q 53
	On government training/employment scheme (e g Community Programme, Youth Training Scheme etc)	B	02 → c)
	In paid work (or away temporarily) for at least 10 hours in the week	C	03 d)
	Waiting to take up paid work already accepted	D	04 d)
	Unemployed and registered at a benefit office	E	05 c)
	Unemployed, not registered, but actively looking for a job	F	06 c)
	Unemployed, wanting a job (of at least 10 hrs per week), but not actively looking for a job	G	07 c)
	Permanently sick or disabled	H	08 c)
	Wholly retired from work	J	09 c)
	Looking after the home	K	10 c)
	Doing something else (SPECIFY) _____	L	11 c)
			878-80 SPARE
	IF CODE 02, OR 05-11 AT b		OUO 907-17
	c) How long ago did your (husband/wife/partner) last have a paid job (other than the government scheme you mentioned) of at least 10 hours a week?		A B C D E F G H J K L
			918
	Within past 12 months		1 d)
	Over 1-5 years ago		2 d)
	Over 5-10 years ago		3 d)
	Over 10-20 years ago		4 d)
	Over 20 years ago		5 d)
	Never had paid job of 10+ hours a week		6 → Q 53
	IF EVER HAD JOB (CODES 03-04 AT b OR CODES 1-5 AT c)		919
	d) Is your (husband/wife/partner) now, or has (he/she) ever been, a member of a trade union? PROBE AS NECESSARY		
	Yes - now		1
	Yes - used to be		2
	No		3
	Don't know		8

REFER TO ECONOMIC POSITION OF SPOUSE/PARTNER (OPPOSITE):

- IF IN PAID WORK NOW (CODE 03 AT Q 51b), ASK ABOUT PRESENT JOB
- IF WAITING TO TAKE UP PAID WORK (CODE 04 AT Q 51b), ASK ABOUT FUTURE JOB
- IF NOT NOW WORKING BUT HAS EVER HAD PAID JOB (CODES 1-5 AT Q 51c) ASK ABOUT LAST JOB

Col./ Code	Skip to
O.U.O.	
O.C. 920-24	
925-26	
E.S. 927-28	
S.E.G. 929-30	
SC/M.NM 931-32	
SIC 933-34	
H-G	

52 Now I want to ask you about your (husband's/wife's/partner's) job CHANGE TENSES FOR (BRACKETED) WORDS AS APPROPRIATE

a) What (is) the name or title of that job? _____

b) What kind of work (does) he/she do most of the time? IF RELEVANT What materials/machinery (does) he/she use? _____

c) What training or qualifications (are) needed for the job? _____

d) (Does) he/she supervise or (is) he/she responsible for the work of any other people? IF YES How many?

Yes WRITE IN [ ][ ][ ][ ] 935-38

No RING 0000

939

e) (Is) he/she READ OUT

an employee, 1 f)

or - self-employed? 2 g)

IF EMPLOYEE (CODE 1) AT e

CARD O

940

f) Which of the types of organisation on this card (does) (he/she) work for?

PRIORITY CODE

Private firm or company	1
Nationalised industry/public corporation	2
Local Authority/Local Education Authority	3
Health Authority/NHS hospital	4
Central Government/Civil Service	5
Charity or trust	6
Other (SPECIFY) _____	7

ASK ALL

g) What (does) the employer (IF SELF-EMPLOYED he/she) make or do at the place where he/she usually (works)? IF FARM GIVE NO. OF ACRES

_____

_____

941

h) Including him/herself, roughly how many people (are) employed at the place where he/she usually (works) (from)? IF SELF EMPLOYED Do you have any employees? IF YES How many?

(No employees)	6
Under 10	1
10-24	2
25-99	3
100-499	4
500 or more	5

942

i) (Is) the job READ OUT

full-time (30 hours + per week) 1

or - part-time (10-29 hours per week)? 2

943-45 SPARE

			Col./ Code	Skip to
	ASK ALL		946	
53 a)	Compared with British families in general, would you say your household's income is . READ OUT	far below average,	1	
		below average,	2	
		average,	3	
		above average,	4	
		or-far above average?	5	
		(Don't know)	8	
b)	Do you, or does anyone in your household, own or have the use of a car or a van?		947	
		Yes - one	1	
	IF YES, PROBE One car/van or more than one?	Yes - two or more	2	
		No	3	
c)	Are you, or is anyone in your household, covered by a private health insurance scheme that allows you to get private medical treatment?		948	
		Yes - through group	1	
	IF YES, PROBE Through a group (e g employer/ trade union) or as an individual?	Yes - individually	2	
		No	3	
		Don't know	8	
	CARD P			
d)	Do you (or your husband/wife/partner) own, or have you ever bought, shares in any of these recently privatised companies?		949	
		Yes - have shares now	1	
	PROBE FOR CORRECT CATEGORY	Yes - bought but none owned now	2	
		No - never bought any	3	
	(IF VOLUNTEERED	Applied for shares but none allocated)	4	
		Don't know	8	
e)	And do you (or your husband/wife/partner) own any other shares quoted on the stock exchange, including unit trusts?		950	
		Yes	1	
		No	2	
	ASK ALL			
54 a)	Do you have any children, including step-children or others in your care (living here or away from home) who are . READ OUT			
	i) . aged under 16? IF YES WRITE IN NUMBER		951-52	
	IF NO· RING CODE	None	90	
	ii) .. aged 16 or over and still in full-time education? IF YES· WRITE IN NUMBER		953-54	
	IF NO· RING CODE	None	90	
	ASK ALL		955	
b)	Have you ever sent - or are you considering sending - any children in your care to a private (fee-paying) primary or secondary school in Britain?	Yes - in the past	1	
		Yes - now	2	
		Yes - considering	3	
	PROBE FOR CORRECT CATEGORY	No	4	244
			956	SPARE

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	ASK ALL		
55	How old were you when you completed your continuous full-time education?		
	WRITE IN AGE ☐☐	957-58	
	OR CODE Had no schooling at all	00	
	ASK ALL		
	CARD Q		
56	Have you passed any exams or got any of the qualifications on this card?		
	IF YES Which ones? Any others? No qualification	00	959-60
	CODE ALL THAT APPLY **BRITISH EXAMS/QUALIFICATIONS** CSE Grades 2-5	01	961-62
	CSE Grade 1		
	GCE 'O' level	02	963-64
	School certificate		
	Scottish (SCE) Ordinary/lower		
	GCE 'A' level/'S' level		
	Higher certificate	03	965-66
	Scottish (SCE) Higher		
	Recognised trade apprenticeship completed	05	967-68
	RSA/other clerical, commercial qualification	06	969-70
	City & Guilds Certificate - Craft/Intermediate/Ordinary/Part I	07	971-72
	City & Guilds Certificate - Advanced/Final/Part II or Part III	08	973-74
	City & Guilds Certificate - Full technological	09	975-76
	BEC/TEC General/Ordinary National Certificate (ONC) or Diploma (OND)	10	977-78
	BEC/TEC Higher/Higher National Certificate (HNC) or Diploma (HND)	11	979-80
	Teachers training qualification	12	1007-08
	Nursing qualification	13	1009-10
	Other technical, professional or business qualification/certificate	14	1011-12
	University or CNAA degree or diploma	15	1013-14
	Other British qualification (SPECIFY) _____	97	1015-16
	OVERSEAS EXAMS/QUALIFICATIONS Overseas school-leaving exam/certificate	91	1017-18
	Degree	92	1019-20
	Other(post-school) exam/qualification(SPECIFY) _____	97	1021-22
57	**ASK ALL**		
	Did you go to a private, fee-paying primary or secondary school in Britain?	1023	
	IF YES At primary level, secondary level, or both?		
	Yes - primary level	1	
	Yes - secondary level	2	
	Yes - both	3	
	No - neither	4	

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	INTERVIEWER:		
58 a)	CODE FROM OBSERVATION FOR ALL RESPONDENTS	1024	
	White/European	1	
	Indian/East African Asian/Pakistani/Bangladeshi/Sri Lankan	2	
	Black/African/West Indian	3	
	Other (inc Chinese)	4	
b)	RECORD RESPONDENT'S SEX	1025	
	Male	1	
	Female	2	
c)	ASK What was your age last birthday? WRITE IN ☐☐ Years	1026-27	
	ASK ALL		
59 a)	Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?	1028-29	
	IF YES Which one?	No religion 00 →	Q.60
	PROBE FOR DENOMINATION — **Christian**		
	No denomination	01	
	Roman Catholic	02	
	Church of England/Wales, Anglican, Episcopal	03	
	Church of Scotland/Presbyterian	04	
	Methodist	05	
	Baptist	06	
	United Reform Church (URC), Congregational	07	b)
	Other Christian (SPECIFY) _____	08	
	Non-Christian		
	Jew	12	
	Hindu	13	
	Islam/Moslem	14	
	Sikh	15	
	Buddhist	16	
	Other Non-Christian (SPECIFY) _____	97	
	IF ANY RELIGION NAMED (CODES 01-97 AT a)		
	b) Apart from special occasions, such as weddings, funerals, baptisms and so on, how often nowadays do you attend services or meetings connected with your religion?	1030	
	PROBE AS NECESSARY		
	Once a week or more	1	
	Several times a month	2	
	Less often but at least once a month	3	
	Several times a year	4	
	At least once a year	5	
	Less often than once a year	6	
	Varies/Don't know	7	246
	Never/practically never	8	

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	INTERVIEWER : FOR ALL RESPONDENTS:		
60.a)	CODE WHETHER ACCOMMODATION IS Private household,	1031-32 A →	b)
	or Institution (SPECIFY TYPE) _____	01 →	Q.63
	IF PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD (CODE A)		
	b) Do you - your household - own or rent this (house/flat/accommodation)?		
	OWNING INCLUDES WITH MORTGAGE — OWNS or CO-OWNS — House	02	c)
	Flat/maisonette	03	c)
	IF RENTED From whom? — RENTS FROM — Local Authority - house	04	
	Local Authority - flat/maisonette	05	
	Housing Association	06	e)
	Private company/landlord	07	e)
	Other (SPECIFY) _____	97	
	IF OWNS (CODE 02 OR 03 AT b)	1033	
	c) Have you ever been a local authority tenant? Yes	1	d)
	No	2	Q 62
	IF YES (CODE 1 AT c)		
	d) Were you a local authority tenant in this (house/flat/accommodation) before your household purchased it?	1034	
	Yes	1	f)
	No	2	e)
	IF CURRENTLY RENTING (CODES 04-97 AT b) OR NO (CODE 2 AT d)		
	e) Have you ever bought a council house or flat that you were living in?	1035	
	Yes	1	f)
	No	2	Q 61
	IF YES AT d) OR e)		
	f) When did you buy accommodation from a council? Year		
	WRITE IN 19 [ ][ ]	1036-37	
	OR CODE Don't know/Can't remember	98	
	IF CURRENTLY RENTS FROM LOCAL AUTHORITY (CODES 04 OR 05 AT Q 60b)		
	OTHERS GO TO Q 62		
61	How likely is it that your household will try to buy this house/flat from the local council in the next 5 years or so, would you say . READ OUT	1038	
	.. very likely,	1	
	quite likely,	2	
	not likely,	3	
	or definitely not?	4	
	(Negotiations already started)	5	
	(Don't know)	8	

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	ASK ALL IN PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS (CODE A AT Q 60a)		
62	In whose name is this (house/flat/accommodation) owned or rented?	1039	
	Respondent and/or spouse only	1	
	Parent or parent-in-law	2	
	Other (SPECIFY IN FULL) _____	7	
	ASK ALL		
	CARD R	1040-41	
63.	Which of these is the main source of income for you (and your husband/wife/partner) at present?		
	ONE CODE ONLY Earnings from employment (own or spouse/partner's)	01	
	Occupational pension(s) - from previous employer(s)	02	
	State retirement or widow's pension(s)	03	
	Unemployment benefit	04	
	Supplementary benefit	05	
	Invalidity, sickness or disabled pension or benefit(s)	06	
	Other state benefit (SPECIFY) _____	07	
	Interest from savings or investments	08	
	Student grant	09	
	Dependent on parents/other relatives	10	
	Other main source (SPECIFY) _____		
	_____	97	
	CARD S		
64	And which of the letters on this card represents the total income of your household from all sources, before tax?	Household Income	
	NB- INCLUDES INCOME FROM EARNINGS, BENEFITS, SAVINGS ETC.		
	ONE CODE ONLY	1042-43	
	X =	01	
	P =	02	
	Q =	03	
	R =	04	
	T =	05	
	S =	06	
	O =	07	
	K =	08	
	L =	09	
	B =	10	
	Z =	11	
	M =	12	

		Col./ Code	Skip to
65 a)	May I just check, thinking back to the last general election - that is the one in 1983 - do you remember which Party you voted for then, or perhaps you didn't vote in that election? DO NOT PROMPT CODE IN COLUMN a BELOW ASK b UNLESS REFUSED/NOT ELIGIBLE (CODES 95 OR 94 AT a) b) And what about the election before that - that is the one in 1979 Do you remember which Party you voted for then, or perhaps you didn't vote in that election? DO NOT PROMPT - CODE IN COLUMN b (IF 'ALLIANCE' OR 'SDP' NAMED, EXPLAIN. "They did not exist as such in 1979", BUT STILL DO NOT PROMPT.)		

	a) 1983		b) 1979
	1044-45		1046-47
Conservative	01	b)	01
Labour	02	b)	02
SDP or Liberal or Alliance	03	b)	-
Liberal	-	b)	04
Scottish National	06	b)	06
Plaid Cymru	07	b)	07
The Ecology (Green) Party	08	b)	08
Other (SPECIFY) _____	97	b)	97
Refused to disclose voting	95 → Q 66		95
Did not vote	90 → b)		90
Not eligible/Too young to vote	94 → Q 66		94
Don't remember	98 → b)		98

ASK ALL

66 a) Where were you living at the time of the June 1979 general election? Can you give me the full postal address?
PROBE AS NECESSARY TO GET STREET ADDRESS, INCLUDING POSTCODE IF POSSIBLE. SEE INSTRUCTIONS FOR EXPLANATION — 1048

RECORD ON P.2 (BOTTOM) OF ARF - NOT HERE - AND CODE

Address recorded (if same as now, write "same" on ARF) — 1

Address not recorded (SPECIFY WHY) _____ — 2

b) And how long have you lived at your present address?
PROBE FOR BEST ESTIMATE

WRITE IN NUMBER OF YEARS: ☐☐ — 1049-50
OR
CODE: Less than 1 year — 96

c) And how long have you lived in this neighbourhood?
DO NOT DEFINE 'NEIGHBOURHOOD' - LET RESPONDENT DEFINE
PROBE FOR BEST ESTIMATE

WRITE IN NUMBER OF YEARS. ☐☐ — 1051-52
OR
CODE: Less than 1 year — 96

		Code	Jump to
67.a)	Are you a member of a political Party? IF YES, PROBE. Which one? DO NOT PROMPT INCLUDE PEOPLE WHO HAVE TEMPORARILY NOT PAID SUBS BUT INTEND TO	1053-54	
	No Not member	00	Q 68
	Yes - Conservative	01	Q 68
	- Labour	02 →	b)
	- Liberal	04	Q 68
	- Social Democratic	05	Q 68
	- Scottish National	06	Q 68
	- Plaid Cymru	07	Q 68
	Other (SPECIFY) _____	97	Q 68
	IF 'LABOUR' (CODE 02 AT a)	1055	
b)	Are you a member of the Labour Party through a trade union or did you join as an individual member? IF 'BOTH', RING CODE 1 ONLY		
	Individual	1	
	through TU	2	
	ASK ALL		
68	Finally about politics, do you feel that any of the political parties in Britain properly represent the views of people like you?	1056-57	
	No: No party	00	
	Yes: Conservative	01	
	IF YES Which one?		
	Labour	02	
	DO NOT PROMPT BUT IF 'ALLIANCE" PROBE		
	Liberal	04	
	SDP	05	
	Liberal or Social Democrat or Alliance?		
	Alliance (AFTER PROBE)	03	
	Scottish National	06	
	Plaid Cymru	07	
	The Green party	08	
	Other Party (SPECIFY) _____	97	
		1058	
69 a)	Is there a telephone in (your part of) this accommodation?		
	Yes	1 →	c)
	No	2 →	b)
	IF NO AT a	1059	
b)	Do you have easy access to a 'phone where you can receive incoming calls? IF YES, ASK Is this a home or a work number? IF BOTH, CODE HOME ONLY		
	Yes - home	1	c)
	Yes - work	2	c)
	No	3 →	Q 70
	IF YES AT a OR b		
c)	A few interviews on any survey are checked by a supervisor to make sure that people are satisfied or if something needs clarifying In case my supervisor needs to contact you it would be helpful if we could have your telephone number	1060	
	Number given	1	
	RECORD TEL. NO. ON ARF - NOT HERE - AND CODE		
	Number refused	2	
	ASK ALL		
70	When the next general election comes round - which is likely to be in 4 or 5 years' time - there may be another survey like this one Would you be willing to take part in it again?	1061	
	Yes, willing	1 →	Q 71
	No, not willing	2 →	Q 72

		Col./ Code	Skip to
	IF WILLING AT Q 70		
71	Suppose we call on you at this address after the next election and for some reason cannot get in touch with you Is there another address or 'phone number you could give us of someone who would know your whereabouts? IF NECESSARY, PROMPT Perhaps the address of a friend or relative who is unlikely to move?		
	RECORD 'STABLE ADDRESS' ON ARF (D) - NOT HERE AND CODE	1062	
	Another address/tel no given	1	
	No other address/tel no given	2	
	INTERVIEWER TO COMPLETE ABOUT SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE		
72 a)	Was it filled in immediately after interview	1063	
	ONE CODE ONLY in interviewer's presence,	1	
	or - left behind to be filled in after interview?	2	
	Other (SPECIFY) _____	7	
		1064	
b)	Was (is) it returned by interviewer with this questionnaire,	1	
	(planned to be) collected by interviewer,	2	
	or - (planned to be) posted back by respondent?	3	
	INTERVIEWER	1065-68	
	Time interview completed (24 hour clock) [ ][ ][ ][ ]		
	DURATION OF INTERVIEW (Minutes) [ ][ ][ ]	1069-71	
	DATE OF INTERVIEW DAY [ ][ ] MONTH [ ][ ] YEAR [8][7]	1072-77	
	Interviewer Signature _____ Interviewer Number [ ][ ][ ][ ][ ]		
	THANK RESPONDENT FOR HIS OR HER HELP. REMEMBER TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE, AND TO CHECK ARF FOR ALL DETAILS.	1078-80	SPARE

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BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION STUDY 1987

SELF-COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE

OFFICE USE ONLY:
Area no
Interviewer to enter:
Serial No.
Rec
Interviewer no
11 07

To the selected respondent:

- **Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in this important study of the British general election.** This study is the eighth in the series of election studies which have taken place after every British general election since 1964 The study consists of an interview and this self-completion questionnaire

- Completing the questionnaire The questions inside cover a wide range of subjects, but **each one can be answered simply by placing a tick (✓) or writing a number in one or more of the boxes provided. No special knowledge is needed: we are sure that everyone will be able to offer an opinion on all questions. And we want all people to take part, not just those with strong views or particular viewpoints.** The questionnaire should not take long to complete, and we hope you will find it interesting and enjoyable It should be completed only by the person interviewed about the election by our interviewer And, of course, your participation will be treated as confidential and anonymous

- Returning the questionnaire Your interviewer will arrange with you the most convenient way of returning the questionnaire If the interviewer has arranged to call back for it, please complete it and keep it safely until then If not, please complete it and post it back to us in the pre-paid addressed envelope **as soon as you possibly can.**

Thank you for your help.

Social and Community Planning Research is an independent social research institute registered as a charitable trust. Its projects are funded by government departments, local authorities, universities and foundations to provide information on social issues in Britain. This study has been funded mainly by the Sainsbury Charitable Trusts, with contributions from the Economic and Social Research Council, Pergamon Press, and the Universities of Oxford and Newcastle. Please contact us if you require further information.

OFFICE USE ONLY

1 Listed below are some things people have said make them proud of Britain Please write a '1' in the box next to the thing that makes you feel proudest of Britain Then write a '2' in the box next to the thing that makes you feel next proudest of Britain and '3' next to the third thing

WRITE 1, 2, 3 IN ORDER IN THE BOXES

British scientific achievements	☐	11 08
The British Parliament	☐	11.09
British sporting achievements	☐	11 10
The British monarchy	☐	11 11
British theatre and the arts	☐	11 12
British economic achievements	☐	11 13
The British health and welfare system	☐	11 14
OR TICK None of these make me proud of Britain	☐ 4	11 15

2. All in all, how well or badly do you think the system of democracy in Britain works these days?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

	(✓)	
It works well and needs no changes	☐ 1	11 16
It works well and needs some changes	☐ 2	
It does not work well and needs a lot of changes	☐ 3	
It does not work well and needs to be completely changed	☐ 4	

3 How much do you trust British governments of <u>any</u> political party to place the needs of the nation above the interests of their own political party?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

	(✓)	
Just about always	☐ 1	11 17
Most of the time	☐ 2	
Only some of the time	☐ 3	
Almost never	☐ 4	

Please continue .....

OFFICE USE ONLY

4 a) How much do you trust British police not to bend the rules in trying to get a conviction?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

	(✓)	
Just about always	1	
Most of the time	2	11.18
Only some of the time	3	
Almost never	4	

b) And how much do you trust top civil servants to stand firm against a minister who wants to provide false information to parliament?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

	(✓)	
Just about always	1	
Most of the time	2	11 19
Only some of the time	3	
Almost never	4	

5 There are some people whose views are considered extreme by the majority

Think of people who want to overthrow the government by revolution Do you think such people should be allowed to

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE

	Should it be allowed?				
	Definitely	**Probably**	**Probably not**	**Definitely not**	
a) hold public meetings to express their views?	1	2	3	4	11 20
b) teach 15 year olds in schools?	1	2	3	4	11 2
c) publish books expressing their views?	1	2	3	4	11 2

Please continue .....

OFFICE USE ONLY

6 a) Suppose a law was being considered by Parliament which you thought was really unjust and harmful. Which, if any, of the following things do you think people ought to do?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE

People ought to	Yes	No	
Contact their MP?	1	2	11 23
Sign a petition?	1	2	11 24
Go on a demonstration?	1	2	11 25
Join a protest group?	1	2	11 26

b) And which of these things have you ever done?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE

Have you ever	Yes	No	
Contacted your MP?	1	2	11 27
Signed a petition?	1	2	11 28
Gone on a demonstration?	1	2	11 29
Joined a protest group?	1	2	11 30

7 Please tick one box to show which of these two statements comes closest to your views?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

	(✓)	
Politicians should spend more time listening to the views of ordinary people	1	11 31
OR		
Politicians should rely more on their own judgement, instead of on public opinion	2	

8 And please tick one box to show which of these statements comes closest to your views?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

In a general election	(✓)	
it's not really worth voting	1	11 32
people should vote only if they care who wins	2	
it is everyone's duty to vote	3	

Please continue .....

11 33-35

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

OFFICE USE ONLY

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE

		Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	
a)	Differences in social position between people are acceptable because they show what people have made out of their chances	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	11 36
b)	Voting is the only way people like me can have any say about how the government runs things	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	11 37
c)	Only if differences in income and social position are large enough is there an incentive for individual effort	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	11 38
d)	People like me have no say in what the government does	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	11 39
e)	All in all, I think social differences in this country are fair	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	11 40
f)	Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	11 41
g)	It doesn't really matter which Party is in power, in the end things go on much the same.	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	11 42
h)	Parties are only interested in people's votes, not in their opinions	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	11 43

Please continue .....

OFFICE USE ONLY

10 Do you think that trade unions in this country have too much power or too little power?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

	(✓)	
Far too much power	1	
Too much power	2	
About the right amount of power	3	11 44
Too little power	4	
Far too little power	5	

11 How about business and industry? Do they have too much power or too little power?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

	(✓)	
Far too much power	1	
Too much power	2	
About the right amount of power	3	11 45
Too little power	4	
Far too little power	5	

12. And what about the government, does it have too much power or too little power?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

	(✓)	
Far too much power	1	
Too much power	2	
About the right amount of power	3	11 46
Too little power	4	
Far too little power	5	

13 Between 1983 and 1987, how well or badly do you think the Conservative government handled each of the following issues?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE

		Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all well	
a	Prices?	1	2	3	4	11 47
b.	Unemployment?	1	2	3	4	11 48
c.	Taxes?	1	2	3	4	11 49
d.	Health and social services?	1	2	3	4	11 50
e.	Crime?	1	2	3	4	11 51
f	Education?	1	2	3	4	11.52
g.	Defence?	1	2	3	4	11 53

Please continue .....

11 54-55

OFFICE USE ONLY

14. Some people say that British governments nowadays - of whichever Party - can actually do very little to change things Others say they can do quite a bit Do you think that British governments nowadays can do very little or quite a bit .

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE

	Very little	Quite a bit	
a . to keep prices down?	1	2	11 56
b to reduce unemployment?	1	2	11 57
c . to reduce taxes?	1	2	11 58
d. to improve the health and social services?	1	2	11 59
e to reduce crime?	1	2	11 60
f . to improve the quality of education?	1	2	11 61
g . to improve Britain's safety from the threat of war?	1	2	11 62

15 a) Which of these three possible solutions to Britain's electricity needs would you favour most?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

	(✓)	
We should make do with the power stations we have already	1	
We should build more coal-fuelled power stations	2	11 63
We should build more nuclear power stations	3	

b) As far as **nuclear** power stations are concerned, which of these statements comes closest to your own feelings?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

	(✓)	
They create very serious risks for the future	1	
They create quite serious risks for the future	2	11 64
They create only slight risks for the future	3	
They create hardly any risks for the future	4	

Please continue .....

OFFICE USE ONLY

16 a) Which one of these two statements comes closest to your own views?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

Industry should be prevented from causing damage to the countryside, even if this sometimes leads to higher prices (✓) [1]

OR

Industry should keep prices down, even if this sometimes causes damage to the countryside [2]

11 65

b) And which of these two statements comes closest to your own views?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

The countryside should be protected from development, even if this sometimes leads to fewer new jobs (✓) [1]

OR

New jobs should be created, even if this sometimes causes damage to the countryside [2]

11 66

17 Please tick one box on each line to show how you feel about

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE

	It should be stopped altogether	It should be discouraged	Don't mind one way or the other	It should be encouraged
a) Increasing the amount of countryside being farmed?	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
b) . Building new housing in country areas?	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
c) . Putting the needs of farmers before protection of wildlife?	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]

11 67

11 68

11 69

18 Which, if either, of these two statements comes closest to your opinion on British nuclear weapons?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

Britain should rid itself of nuclear weapons, while persuading others to do the same (✓) [1]

OR

Britain should keep its nuclear weapons until we persuade others to reduce theirs [2]

11 70

Please continue .....

11 71-72

OFFICE USE ONLY

19 a) **Please tick one box to show which best describes the sort of work you do.**

(If you are not working now, please tick a box to show what you did in your last job.)

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

(✓)

Farmer or farm manager [01]

Farm worker [02]

Skilled manual work (for example· plumber, electrician, fitter, train driver, cook, hairdresser) [03]

Semi-skilled or unskilled manual work (for example· machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer) [04] 11 73-7

Professional or technical work (for example doctor, accountant, school teacher, social worker, computer programmer) [05]

Manager or administrator (for example. company director, manager, executive officer, local authority officer) [06]

Clerical (for example clerk, secretary, telephone operator) [07]

Sales (for example commercial traveller, shop assistant) [08]

Other (Please describe) _____ [97]

(Never had a job) [90]

b) Are you self-employed or do you work for someone else as an employee?

(If you are not working now, please answer about your last job)

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

(✓)

Self-employed [1] 11 75

Employee [2]

(Never had a job) [3]

c) As your position at work, are you (or were you) . .

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

(✓)

a supervisor or foreman of manual workers, [1]

a supervisor of non-manual workers, [2] 11-76

or - not a supervisor or foreman? [3]

(Never had a job) [4]

Please continue .....

OFFICE USE ONLY

20 a) And now please tell us about your **first** job - please tick one box to show which best describes the sort of work you did in your **first** job

(Even if you are **still** in your first job, please tick one box)

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

(✓)

Farmer or farm manager [01]

Farm worker [02]

Skilled manual work (for example plumber, electrician, fitter, train driver, cook, hairdresser) [03]

Semi-skilled or unskilled manual work (for example machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer) [04]

11 77-78

Professional or technical work (for example: doctor, accountant, school teacher, social worker, computer programmer) [05]

Manager or administrator (for example company director, manager, executive officer, local authority officer) [06]

Clerical (for example clerk, secretary, telephone operator) [07]

Sales (for example· commercial traveller, shop assistant) [08]

Other (Please describe) _____ [97]

(Never had a job) [90]

b) Were you self-employed or did you work for someone else as an employee?

(Please tell us about your first job)

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

(✓)

Self-employed [1]

Employee [2]

11 79

(Never had a job) [3]

c) As your position at work, were you . .

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX

(✓)

a supervisor or foreman of manual workers, [1]

a supervisor of non-manual workers, [2]

or - not a supervisor or foreman? [3]

11 80

(Never had a job) [4]

Please continue .....

CARD 12

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

		Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Dis-agree	Disagree strongly	OFFICE USE ONLY
a	Government should redistribute income from the better-off to those who are less well off	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 07
b	Big business benefits owners at the expense of workers	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 08
c	Too many people these days like to rely on government handouts	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 09
d.	Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12.10
e	Many people who get social security don't really deserve any help	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 11
f	When someone is unemployed it's usually his or her own fault	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12.12
g	There is one law for the rich and one for the poor	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12.13
h	The welfare state makes people nowadays less willing to look after themselves	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 14

Please continue .....

OFFICE USE ONLY

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH STATEMENT

		Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Dis-agree	Disagree strongly	
i	If welfare benefits weren't so generous, people would learn to stand on their own two feet	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 15
j	Full cooperation in firms is impossible because workers and management are really on opposite sides	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 16
k	Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional British values	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 17
l	People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 18
m	Management will always try to get the better of employees if it gets the change	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 19
n	For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 20
o	Schools should teach children to obey authority	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 21
p	The law should always be obeyed, even if a particular law is wrong	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12.22
q	Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	12 23

Please continue .....

12 24-25

22 **Please think of the two people you discussed politics with most often, during the election campaign.**

OFFICE USE ONLY

Please answer a, b and c below about
- the first person, that is the person you discussed politics with most often
- the second person, the person you discussed politics with next most often
- IF YOU NEVER DISCUSSED POLITICS WITH ANYBODY, PLEASE TICK THIS BOX → [1] AND GO TO Q 23 (page 13)

12 26

a) What relationship is this person to you?

TICK ONE BOX ONLY FOR THE FIRST PERSON, AND ONE BOX ONLY FOR THE SECOND PERSON

	First person	Second person	
Husband/wife/partner	[1]	[1]	12 27 / 12 28
Other family member in your household	[2]	[2]	
Other family member not in your household	[3]	[3]	
Co-worker	[4]	[4]	
Neighbour	[5]	[5]	
Friend other than co-worker or neighbour	[6]	[6]	

b) As far as you know, does this person think of himself or herself as

TICK ONE BOX ONLY FOR THE FIRST PERSON AND ONE BOX ONLY FOR THE SECOND PERSON

	First person	Second person	
Conservative	[01]	[01]	12 29-30, 12.31-32
Labour	[02]	[02]	
SDP or Liberal or Alliance	[03]	[03]	
Scottish National	[06]	[06]	
Plaid Cymru	[07]	[07]	
The Green Party	[08]	[08]	
or - something else? (PLEASE STATE) _____	[97]	[97]	

c) And does this person live in .

TICK ONE BOX ONLY FOR THE FIRST PERSON AND ONE BOX ONLY FOR THE SECOND PERSON

	First person	Second person	
. the same household as you,	[1]	[1]	12 33 / 12 34
the same street,	[2]	[2]	
the same neighbourhood,	[3]	[3]	
the same town or borough,	[4]	[4]	
the same city or county,	[5]	[5]	
or - live further away?	[6]	[6]	

Please continue .....

12.35

OFFICE USE ONLY

23. Some people say that all political parties look after certain groups and are not so concerned about others

How closely do you think the Conservative Party looks after the interests of .

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE	Very closely	Fairly closely	Not very closely	Not at all closely	
a working class people?	1	2	3	4	12 36
b . middle class people?	1	2	3	4	12.37
c. unemployed people?	1	2	3	4	12.38
d. . big business?	1	2	3	4	12 39
e trade unions?	1	2	3	4	12 40
f. black people and Asians in Britain?	1	2	3	4	12 41
g . homosexuals, that is gays and lesbians?	1	2	3	4	12.42

24 And the Labour Party - how closely do you think the Labour Party looks after the interests of

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE	Very closely	Fairly closely	Not very closely	Not at all closely	
a working class people?	1	2	3	4	12 43
b . middle class people?	1	2	3	4	12 44
c . unemployed people?	1	2	3	4	12 45
d . big business?	1	2	3	4	12 46
e trade unions?	1	2	3	4	12 47
f .. black people and Asians in Britain?	1	2	3	4	12 48
g . homosexuals, that is gays and lesbians?	1	2	3	4	12 49

Please continue .....

OFFICE USE ONLY

25. And the SDP/Liberal Alliance - how closely does it look after the interests of .

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE	Very closely	Fairly closely	Not very closely	Not at all closely	
a working class people?	1	2	3	4	12 50
b middle class people?	1	2	3	4	12 51
c unemployed people?	1	2	3	4	12 52
d .. big business?	1	2	3	4	12 53
e trade unions?	1	2	3	4	12 54
f black people and Asians in Britain?	1	2	3	4	12 55
g homosexuals, that is gays and lesbians?	1	2	3	4	12 56

26. Which one of these types of school did you last attend full-time?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX - DO NOT INCLUDE COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY

(✓)

None - never attended any school 90

Primary or Elementary school 01

Secondary school in England or Wales

Secondary modern 02

Comprehensive (inc sixth-form college) 03

Grammar school 04

Direct grant 05

Independent fee-paying (e g private or 'public') 06

Technical school 07

Secondary school in Scotland

Junior secondary 08

Comprehensive (inc sixth-form college) 09

Senior secondary (6-year selective) 10

Grant-aided (direct grant) 11

Independent fee-paying (private) 12

97

Other school in the UK (PLEASE DESCRIBE) _____

School outside UK 98

12 57-58

OFFICE USE ONLY

27.a) **To help us plan better in future, please tell us about <u>how long</u> it took you to complete this questionnaire?**

<u>PLEASE TICK ONE BOX</u>

	(✓)	
Less than 15 minutes	☐ 1	12.59
Between 15 and 20 minutes	☐ 2	
Between 20 and 30 minutes	☐ 3	
Between 30 and 45 minutes	☐ 4	
Between 45 and 60 minutes	☐ 5	
Over one hour	☐ 6	

b) And on what <u>date</u> did you fill in the questionnaire?

PLEASE WRITE IN: DAY _____ 12.60-61

MONTH _____ 12.62-63

12 64-80

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!

Please keep the completed questionnaire for the interviewer if he or she has arranged to call for it. Otherwise, please post it <u>as soon as possible</u> in the pre-paid, addressed envelope provided.

SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY PLANNING RESEARCH
and
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD NUFFIELD COLLEGE

BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION STUDY 1987

OFFICE USE ONLY:

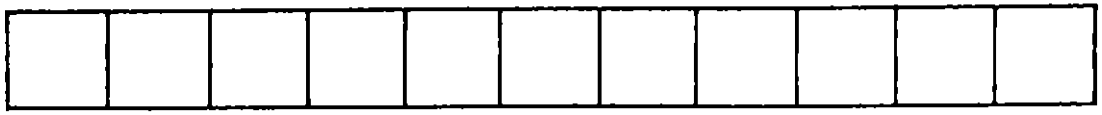
P 934/X
Summer 1987

Serial No.

SCALE CARDS 1-7

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

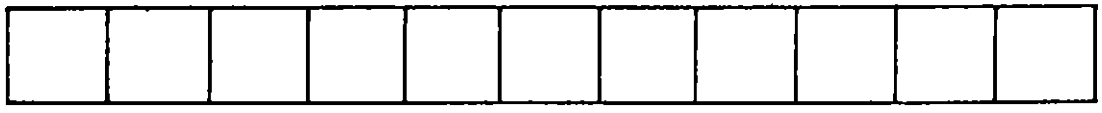
Get rid of all nuclear weapons in Britain without delay — **Increase nuclear weapons in Britain without delay**



A B C D E F G H I J K

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

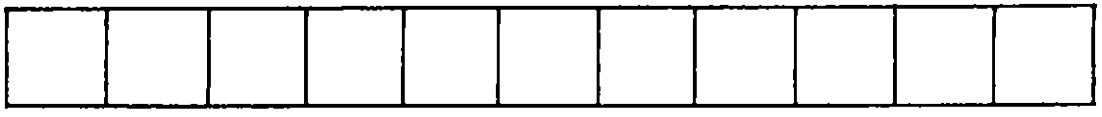
Get rid of all nuclear weapons in Britain without delay — **Increase nuclear weapons in Britain without delay**



A B C D E F G H I J K

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

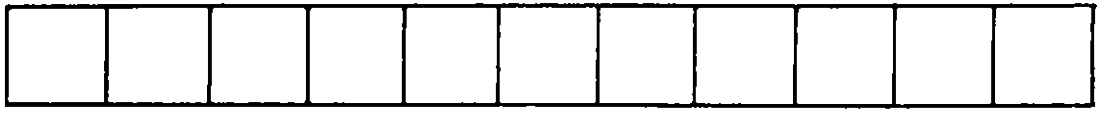
Get rid of all nuclear weapons in Britain without delay — **Increase nuclear weapons in Britain without delay**



A B C D E F G H I J K

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **SDP/Liberal Alliance's** views

Get rid of all nuclear weapons in Britain without delay — **Increase nuclear weapons in Britain without delay**



A B C D E F G H I J K

Scale 1
Q 23

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

Getting people back to work should be the Government's top priority — **Keeping prices down should be the Government's top priority**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

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

Getting people back to work should be the Government's top priority — **Keeping prices down should be the Government's top priority**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

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

Getting people back to work should be the Government's top priority — **Keeping prices down should be the Government's top priority**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **SDP/Liberal Alliance's** views

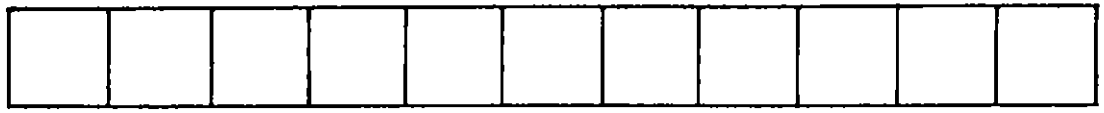
Getting people back to work should be the Government's top priority — **Keeping prices down should be the Government's top priority**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Scale 2
Q 28

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

Put up taxes a lot and spend much more on health & social services — **Cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health & social services**



A B C D E F G H I J K

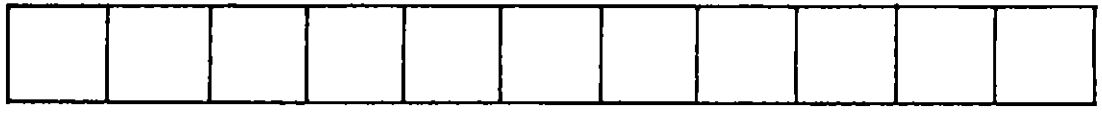
Tick the box you think comes closest to the **Conservative Party's** views

Put up taxes a lot and spend much more on health & social services — **Cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health & social services**

A B C D E F G H I J K

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

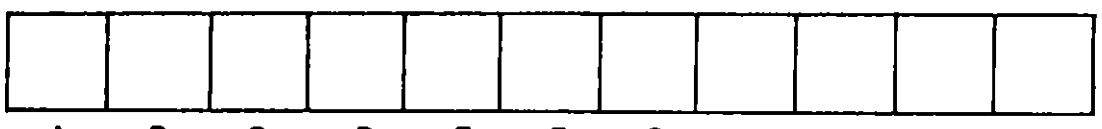
Put up taxes a lot and spend much more on health & social services — **Cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health & social services**



A B C D E F G H I J K

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **SDP/Liberal Alliance's** views

Put up taxes a lot and spend much more on health & social services — **Cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health & social services**



A B C D E F G H I J K

Scale 3
Q 29

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

Nationalise many more private companies — **Sell off many more nationalised industries**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

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

Nationalise many more private companies — **Sell off many more nationalised industries**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

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

Nationalise many more private companies — **Sell off many more nationalised industries**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **SDP/Liberal Alliance's** views

Nationalise many more private companies — **Sell off many more nationalised industries**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Scale 4
Q 34

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

Make much greater efforts to make people's incomes more equal — **Be much less concerned about how equal people's incomes are**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

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

Make much greater efforts to make people's incomes more equal — **Be much less concerned about how equal people's incomes are**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

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

Make much greater efforts to make people's incomes more equal — **Be much less concerned about how equal people's incomes are**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **SDP/Liberal Alliance's** views

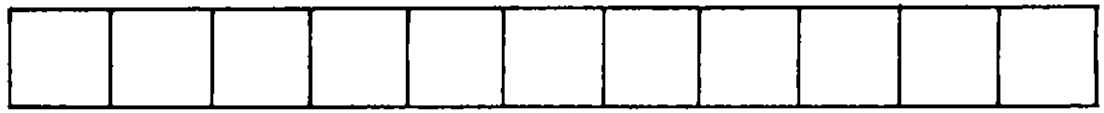
Make much greater efforts to make people's incomes more equal — **Be much less concerned about how equal people's incomes are**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K

Scale 5
Q 35

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

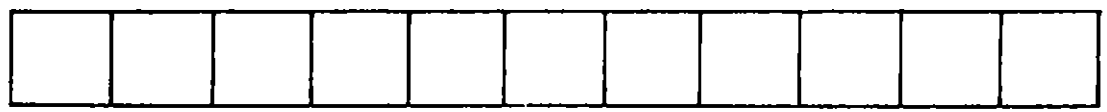
Protecting civil rights is more important than cutting crime — **Cutting crime is more important than protecting civil rights**



A B C D E F G H I J K

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

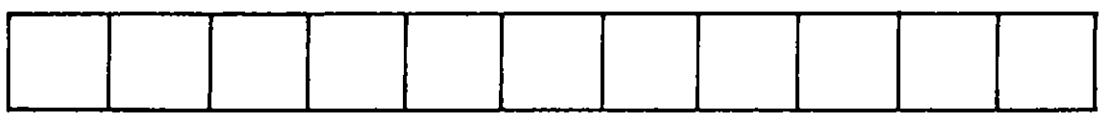
Protecting civil rights is more important than cutting crime — **Cutting crime is more important than protecting civil rights**



A B C D E F G H I J K

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

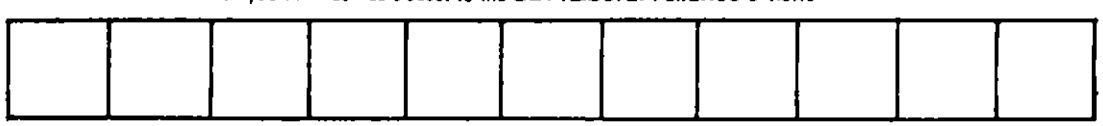
Protecting civil rights is more important than cutting crime — **Cutting crime is more important than protecting civil rights**



A B C D E F G H I J K

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **SDP/Liberal Alliance's** views

Protecting civil rights is more important than cutting crime — **Cutting crime is more important than protecting civil rights**

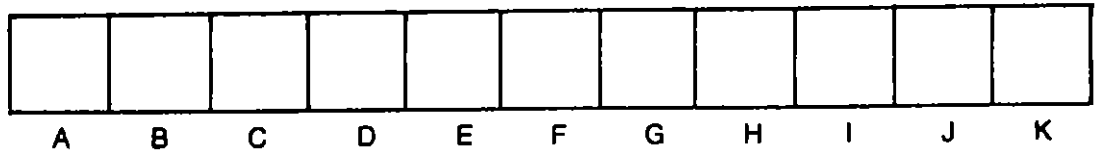


A B C D E F G H I J K

Scale 6
Q 39

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

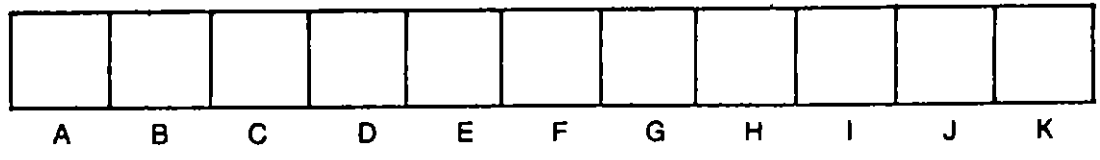
The poor in Britain are entitled to more help from government



The poor in Britain should get less help from government and do more to help themselves

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

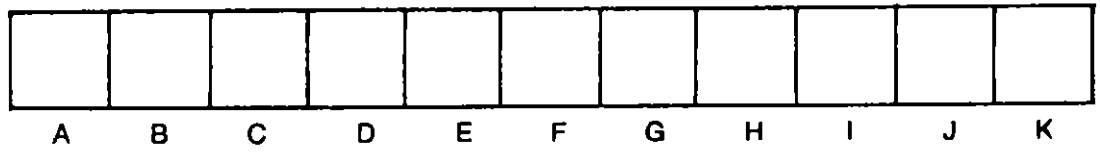
The poor in Britain are entitled to more help from government



The poor in Britain should get less help from government and do more to help themselves

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

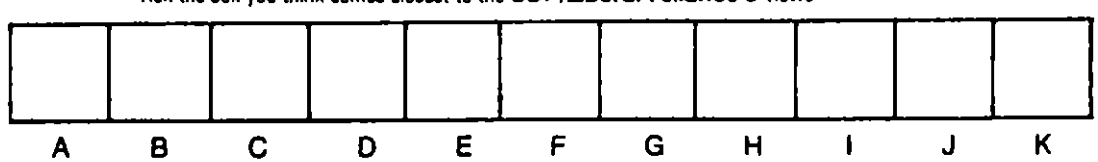
The poor in Britain are entitled to more help from government



The poor in Britain should get less help from government and do more to help themselves

Tick the box you think comes closest to the **SDP/Liberal Alliance's** views

The poor in Britain are entitled to more help from government



The poor in Britain should get less help from government and do more to help themselves

C A R D A

I always vote that way

I thought it was the best Party

I really preferred another Party
but it had no chance of winning
in this constituency

P.934

Q.13

C A R D B

Strongly in favour	In favour	Neither in favour nor against	Against	Strongly against

C A R D C

Increased a lot

Increased a little

Stayed the same

Fallen a little

Fallen a lot

C A R D D

Definitely should

Probably should

Doesn't matter either way

Probably should not

Definitely should not

C A R D E

Britain should keep her own nuclear weapons, independent of other countries

Britain should have nuclear weapons only as part of a Western defence system

Britain should have nothing to do with nuclear weapons under any circumstances

C A R D F

Strongly agree

Agree

Not sure either way

Disagree

Strongly disagree

P 934

Q.31

C A R D G

Reduce taxes and spend less on health, education and social benefits

Keep taxes and spending on these services at the same level as now

Increase taxes and spend more on health, education and social benefits

C A R D H

Reduce rates and spend less on local services

Keep rates and spending on local services at the same level as now

Increase rates and spend more on local services

C A R D I

Definitely should

Probably should

Doesn't matter either way

Probably should not

Definitely should not

C A R D J

Strongly agree

Agree

Not sure either way

Dısagree

Strongly dısagree

C A R D K

Gone much too far

Gone too far

About right

Not gone far enough

Not gone nearly far enough

C A R D L

In full-time education
(not paid for by employer; including on vacation)

On government training or employment scheme
(e.g. Youth Training Scheme, Community Programme, etc.)

In paid work (or away temporarily) for at least 10 hours a week

Waiting to take up paid work already accepted

Unemployed and registered at a benefit office

Unemployed, not registered, but actively looking for a job

Unemployed, wanting a job (of at least 10 hours a week) but not actively looking for a job

Permanently sick or disabled

Wholly retired from work

Looking after the home

Doing something else (Please say what)

C A R D M

Private firm or company

Nationalised industry or public corporation

Local authority or local education authority

Health authority or National Health Service hospital

Central government or civil service

Charity or trust

Other (Please say what)

Q.51b

C A R D N

In full-time education
(not paid for by employer; including on vacation)

On government training or employment scheme
(e.g. Youth Training Scheme, Community Programme, etc.)

In paid work (or away temporarily) for at least 10 hours a week

Waiting to take up paid work already accepted

Unemployed and registered at a benefit office

Unemployed, <u>not</u> registered, but actively looking for a job

Unemployed, wanting a job (of at least 10 hours a week) but not actively looking for a job

Permanently sick or disabled

Wholly retired from work

Looking after the home

Doing something else (Please say what)

C A R D O

Private firm or company

Nationalised industry or public corporation

Local authority or local education authority

Health authority or National Health Service hospital

Central government or civil service

Charity or trust

Other (Please say what)

C A R D P

British Telecom

British Gas

Trustee Savings Bank (T.S.B.)

British Airways

British qualifications:

CSE Grades 2-5

CSE Grade 1
GCE 'O' level
School Certificate
Scottish (SCE) Ordinary

GCE 'A' level/'S' level
Higher Certificate
Scottish (SCE) Higher

Recognised trade apprenticeship completed
RSA/other clerical, commercial qualification

City & Guilds Certificate - Craft/Intermediate/Ordinary Part I
City & Guilds Certificate - Advanced/Final/Part II or Part III
City & Guilds Certificate - Full technological

BEC/TEC General/Ordinary National Certificate (ONC) or Diploma (O
BEC/TEC Higher/Higher National Certificate (HNC) or Diploma (HND)

Teachers training qualification
Nursing qualification
Other technical or business qualification/certificate
University or CNAA degree or diploma
Other British qualification (PLEASE STATE)

Overseas exams/qualifications

Overseas school-leaving exam/certificate
Degree
Other (post-school) exam/qualification (PLEASE STATE)

Q.63

C A R D R

Main source of income at present:

Earnings from employment
(your own or husband/wife/partner's)

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

State retirement or widow's pension

Unemployment benefit

Supplementary benefit

Invalidity, sickness or disability benefit(s)

Other state benefit(s) (Please say what)

Interest from savings or investments

Student grant

Dependent on parents/other relative

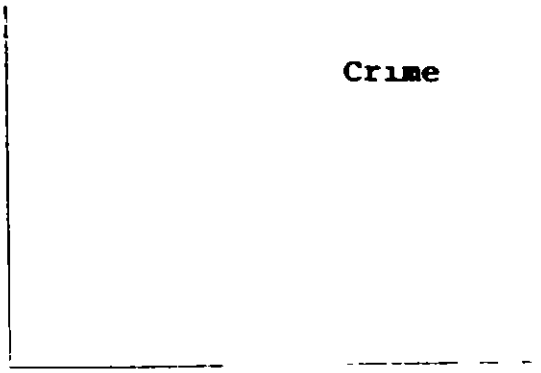
Other main source of income (Please say what)

C A R D S

Total weekly income before tax	Code letter	Total annual income before tax
Less than £58	X	Less than £3,000
£59 - £95	P	£3,000 - £4,999
£96 - £115	Q	£5,000 - £5,999
£116 - £155	R	£6,000 - £7,999
£156 - £190	T	£8,000 - £9,999
£191 - £230	S	£10,000 - £11,999
£231 - £290	O	£12,000 - £14,999
£291 - £345	K	£15,000 - £17,999
£346 - £385	L	£18,000 - £19,999
£386 - £480	B	£20,000 - £24,999
£481 - £575	Z	£25,000 - £29,999
£576+	M	£30,000+

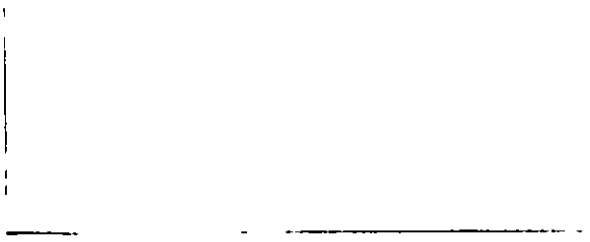
Taxes

Crime



Education

Unemployment



Prices

Health and social services

Defence