

A STUDY OF THE LABOUR PARTY MEMBERSHIP

TECHNICAL REPORT

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## INTRODUCTION

Writing in the early 1960s, Jean Blondel stated that there had not yet been a general study of the membership of any British political party. By the late 1980s, this was still the case. Despite the fact that party members and activists appeared to play an important role in British politics, they remained a group whose attitudes and activities had long been neglected by academics. There had been some studies of constituency parties and some empirical research conducted on local and national elites as well as Labour party conference delegates. What was missing was a national representative study of ordinary party members.

There were two obvious reasons for this omission. Firstly, there were problems in obtaining a sample of party members which could be regarded as representative. None of the parties with the exception of the SDP had comprehensive centralised records of their membership which could be used as a sampling frame by researchers. This meant that obtaining a sample would have been extremely expensive. The Labour Party however did begin to introduce a national membership scheme in the late 1980s.

Secondly, Robert McKenzie's thesis that the main function of party members was to be relatively passive supporters of their respective parliamentary leaderships was very influential. This gave rise to the perception that party members did not play a very important role in politics and were thus not worth investigating. Recent constitutional changes in the Labour party challenged this view. Party members have now been given important roles to play in terms of candidate selection as well as policy formulation.

The aim of this study of the Labour party membership was therefore to explore some significant questions regarding the role and significance of Labour members within the party in the late 1980s.

Six specific aims and objectives were identified by the research team. **Firstly**, the study should provide basic information about the demographic characteristics of the Labour party membership. Specifically, what is the social class background of the membership, what are their age and gender profiles and how educated are the party members? **Secondly**, how were the party members recruited and socialised into the party? Is this a matter of individual initiative or a response to outside pressures derived from party campaigns? What is the degree of communication between the national party, local activists and grass root members? **Thirdly**, is there a simple division that can be made between members who are active and those who are passive? What type and range of activities do members pursue? **Fourthly**, what are the attitudes and values of the members in comparison to Labour party voters? **Fifthly**, what is the relationship between party membership and the Labour vote in different parts of Britain? Are there clear spatial variations in activism and the vote? **Finally**, have Labour party members become disillusioned with party activity and have they become involved with pressure groups and single issue politics instead? Have Labour party members become involved in unorthodox forms of political participation? What is their "protest potential" within the party?

## THE CONDUCT OF THE PROJECT

The project to test the above ideas began on 1 August 1989. The four month period between August and November 1989 was devoted to two main tasks. Firstly, the questionnaire was developed, refined and changed as a result of face-to-face pilot interviews with Labour party members in two constituencies - Sheffield Central and Bristol East. These interviews led to significant alterations in the topics included in the final version of the questionnaire as well as changes in question wording and order. Secondly, the mechanics of the postal survey operation were simultaneously being put into effect - the printing of the questionnaire, the envelopes for the return of the completed questionnaire and the letters requesting co-operation with the survey.

The Labour party provided two separate letters on headed paper from their General Secretary, Larry Whitty which were sent to all potential respondents.

The membership lists of the Labour party were checked as far as possible and a sample of 8,203 respondents (1 in 30 of party members) was drawn. The sample was drawn so as to reflect the regional composition of the actual party membership. Official figures from the 11 Labour party regions were used to calculate the number of names and addresses needed to produce a regionally representative sample.

Initial letters (one from Larry Whitty, one from the research team) were sent out asking for co-operation in late November 1989. By overprinting the envelope with "University of Sheffield", we received back a number of the letters because the potential respondent had moved, died or was unknown to the present occupant. We were therefore able to delete the names of such people from the sample so that they would not receive a questionnaire. In case we had to delete a number of names in this way from particular regions, we drew supplementary lists of names and addresses so that the target number of respondents could still be met. In the event we only used these supplementary lists for two regions - Eastern and Greater London.

We used a staggered system of mailing the initial letters to potential respondents and we used the same system for sending out the questionnaire. For most regions, there was a gap of about 14 days between the letter and the questionnaires being dispatched. The questionnaires were sent out between 7th and 21st December 1989. We would have preferred to have finished the mailing before December to avoid the problems of delivery and completion around the Christmas period but this proved impossible since there were delays in both obtaining and checking the membership lists.

A total of 8,075 questionnaires were sent out (the original sample minus deletions) and the completed questionnaires were returned between mid-December 1989 and May 1990. We experienced no real problems with the conduct of the postal operation. Two follow up reminder letters were sent to non-respondents about three weeks apart in early 1990. These were then followed, if necessary, by a second copy of the questionnaire three weeks after the second reminder letter. In total, we received 5,065 usable questionnaires back, a response rate of 63%. We believe this response rate to be creditable for a postal survey based on membership lists, some of which were clearly out-of-date. We also believe that the express support by the Labour party for the project helped in persuading members to take part.

After the questionnaires had been returned, we tested for biases in the sample by randomly selecting non-respondents and contacting them by telephone and letter to ask them to complete a one-page questionnaire covering basic socio-economic details. The results revealed a slight under-sampling of manual workers and this has been corrected by means of a weighting variable supplied with the data set. No biases were found in the sample in terms of age, gender, housing tenure or ethnic origin.

All the fieldwork checks, questionnaire coding and data input were completed by the end of July 1990. A complete breakdown of the variables was then produced, with a view to presenting the initial findings of the project in the autumn of 1990.

#### THE DATA SET

The final version of the data set has now been deposited in the ESRC Data Archive at the University of Essex. Secondary analysts will be provided with the raw data file consisting of 5,065 cases, each with five records. The raw data file has been extensively checked for errors in coding and punching. There are no wild codes remaining. In addition, a data definition file for use with SPSS has been deposited. This comprises a full data dictionary including value and variable labels as well as abbreviated values for open-ended questions.

This information should be used in conjunction with the project questionnaire (also deposited in the Archive) and the more detailed listing of open-ended codes (also deposited in the Archive). The weighting of the data set has been incorporated in the SPSS setupfile. Secondary analysts simply need to create the SPSS system file and the data set will then be correctly weighted and ready for immediate use. The weighted number of cases is 5,071. The Archive also holds more documentation regarding the project as either hard copy or on floppy disk or both. Any further questions should initially be directed to the Archive.

PS, PW, DB

June 1992

## INTRODUCTION

The questions inside cover a wide range of subjects, but each one can be answered simply by placing a tick ( ) or writing in a number in one or more of the boxes provided. In some cases you are asked to write in answers. No special knowledge is needed to fill in the questionnaire, and we are sure that everyone will be able to give an opinion on all questions.

We want all people to take part, not just those with strong views about a particular issue. The questionnaire should not take too long to complete and we think you will find it interesting and enjoyable. It should be completed only by the person to whom it was sent, so that responses will reflect all shades of opinion within the Labour party.

When you have filled it in, please place it in the enclosed postage paid envelope and post it back to us, as soon as you possibly can.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

1.	Would you call yourself very strong Labour, fairly strong, not very strong, or not at all strong?		office use only
			115
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY	Very Strong	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	Fairly Strong	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
	Not Very Strong	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
	Not At All Strong	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
			9
-----			
2.	Thinking back to the time you first joined the Labour Party, did you approach the Party to apply for membership, or did they approach you?		116
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY			
	I approached the local party	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	The local party approached me	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
	I approached the regional party	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
	I approached the national party	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
	Don't Remember	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
			9
2a.	IF YOU APPROACHED THE LOCAL PARTY Did you find it easy or difficult to make contact with them?		
			117
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY			
	Very Easy	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	Easy	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
	Difficult	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
	Very Difficult	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
			9
-----			

3. In which year did you first join the Labour Party?	office use only
PLEASE WRITE IN THE YEAR _____	118- 119
-----	99
4. Have you been a member continuously since that time?	120
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY	
Yes _____	1
No _____	2
	9
4a. If NO, how many years have you been a member altogether?	121- 122
PLEASE WRITE IN _____ Years	
-----	99
5. What was your MOST important reason for joining the Labour Party? (feel free to explain in detail)	123- 124
PLEASE WRITE IN	
_____	
_____	
_____	
_____	
_____	
_____	
-----	99
6. What annual membership subscription do you pay to the party?	125- 128
PLEASE WRITE IN THE AMOUNT £ _____	
-----	99

6a. What do you think the cost of the annual subscription for membership of the Labour party should be for someone like yourself?			office use only
			129
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY			
	Under £5	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	£5 up to £10	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
	£10 up to £15	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
	£15 up to £20	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
	Over £20	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
			9
-----			
7. Have you responded to any of the national appeals for money by the Labour Party in the LAST YEAR?			130
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY			
	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
			9
-----			
8. Thinking back over the LAST YEAR, how often have you had contact with people active in your local branch or Constituency Labour party?			131
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY			
	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	Rarely	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
	Occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
	Frequently	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
			9
-----			
9. Thinking back over the LAST YEAR, how often have you attended a Labour Party meeting?			132
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY			9
	Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	Rarely	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
	Occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
	Frequently	<input type="checkbox"/>	4



9a. If you attended AT LEAST ONE meeting within the LAST YEAR, please indicate your reactions to it using the following scales.

If, for example, you found the meeting very interesting, you would tick the box on the left hand side. If you found it very boring, you would tick the box on the right hand side. If you found it neither boring nor interesting, you would tick the middle box.

If you attended more than one meeting, think about the LAST meeting you attended.

IF YOU DIDN'T ATTEND A MEETING WITHIN THE LAST YEAR, GO TO QUESTION 10.

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY  
FOR EACH DESCRIPTION

	very	fairly	neither	fairly	very		
Interesting	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Boring	1 2 3 4 5 9
Unfriendly	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Friendly	1 2 3 4 5 9
Efficiently Run	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Badly Run	1 2 3 4 5 9
United	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Divided	1 2 3 4 5 9
Hard to Understand	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Easy to Understand	1 2 3 4 5 9
Working Class	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Middle Class	1 2 3 4 5 9
Left wing	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Right wing	1 2 3 4 5 9
Old- Fashioned	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Modern	1 2 3 4 5 9

office  
use  
only

133-  
140

10. Are you more active or less active within the party than you were five years ago, or about the same?

office  
use  
only

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

More active	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Less active	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
About the same	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
		9

11. Do you at present hold any office(s) within the Labour party? (e.g. Branch Secretary, Constituency Treasurer, Branch membership Secretary)

142

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
		9

11a If YES, which one(s)?

Since When?

PLEASE WRITE IN

143-  
151

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	999
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	999
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	999

12. How much time do you devote to party activities in the average month?

152

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

None	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Up to 5 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
From 5 up to 10 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
From 10 up to 15 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
From 15 up to 20 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
More than 20 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
		9

13. Before you joined the party were either your father or mother a Labour party member?		office use only 153
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY		
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
		9
-----		
14. Are you currently a local Labour councillor?		154
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY		
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
		9
-----		
14a. Do you currently represent the Labour party on any official bodies (e.g. as a school governor, or member of an area health authority)?		155
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY		
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
14b. If YES, which is the MOST important one to you?		9
PLEASE WRITE IN		156- 157
<hr/>		99
-----		
15. Are you currently a member of any of the following groups within the party?		
PLEASE TICK AS MANY AS APPLY		158- 168
	Yes	Yes
Young Socialists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tribune Group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Co-operative Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Black section	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fabian Society	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Campaign Group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(continued)		

15. (Continued)

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|only
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## Women's Section

Campaign for Labour  
Party Democracy

Workplace Branch

Labour Co-ordinating  
Committee

None of These

Others (PLEASE WRITE IN)

1 2

	1	2
--	---	---

1 2

	1	2
1	1	0
2	0	1

2

169-  
170

99

16. WITHIN THE LAST YEAR have you actively supported,  
(for example by signing a petition or attending a  
meeting) any political campaigns promoted by the  
Labour party?  
(e.g. the Poll Tax campaign, or the NHS campaign)

171

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Yes

No

1

2

9

17. Next there is a set of statements about important political issues. We would like to know if you agree or disagree with them.

172-  
173

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX  
FOR EACH STATEMENT

Strongly Agree    Agree    Neither    Dis- Agree    Dis- Agree    Strongly Agree

The central question of British Politics is the class struggle between labour and capital

1 2

3	4
---	---

5 9

The Labour Party should  
adjust its policies to  
capture the middle ground  
of politics

1 2

3	4
---	---

5 9

17. (Continued)	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Dis- Agree	Strongly Dis- Agree	office use only 174- 180
The Public Enterprises privatized by the Tory government should be returned to the public sector	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9
The next Labour government should establish a prices and incomes policy as a means of controlling inflation	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9
Modern methods of farming have caused great damage to the countryside	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9
The next Labour government should abolish private fee-paying education entirely	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9
It is better for Britain when Trade Unions have little power	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9
Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary working people	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9
The production of goods and services is best left to a free market	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9
Workers in private industry should be encouraged to become shareholders in their firms	—	—	—	—	—	208- 210 1 2 3 4 5 9
The Labour party should only adopt policies supported by a majority of working class people	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9
The Labour party should support individuals who refuse to pay the Poll Tax	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9

17. (Continued)	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Dis- Agree	Strongly Dis- Agree	office use only 211- 213
Further nuclear energy development is essential for the future prosperity of Britain	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
High income tax makes people less willing to work hard	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
The Labour party should always stand by its principles even if this should lose an election	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
-----						-----
18. Are you a member of any of the following interest groups?						
PLEASE TICK AS MANY AS APPLY						214- 223
	Yes				Yes	
Anti-Apartheid Movement	___		SHELTER		___	1 2 1 2
Amnesty International	___		OXFAM		___	1 2 1 2
Friends of the Earth	___		MIND		___	1 2 1 2
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament	___		Child Poverty Action Group		___	1 2 1 2
National Council for Civil Liberties					___	1 2
	None of these		___			2
18a. Are you a member of any other interest groups? (e.g. a local tenants group, community action group, women's group or charity)						224- 225
IF SO, PLEASE WRITE IN						
_____						
_____						
_____						99

19. Did you become a Labour party member as a result of campaign activity in an interest group? (e.g. such as CND, or a local campaign to prevent hospital closures in your area)			office use only
			226
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
			9
-----			-----
20. Are you a member of a trade union or staff association?			227
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY	Yes - Trade Union	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	Yes - Staff Association	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
	No	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
			9
20a If YES, what is the name of your trade union, or staff association?			
PLEASE WRITE IN			228-
			229
-----			99
-----			-----
21. Did you become a party member as a result of voluntary work in your trade union or staff association?			230
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
			9
-----			-----
22. What was your age last birthday?			231-
			232
PLEASE WRITE IN	_____ Years		99
-----			-----
23. Please indicate your gender.			233
			9
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY	Female	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
	Male	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

24. Next we would like to ask you about political activities you may have taken part in during the last FIVE YEARS.

office  
use  
only

ACTIVITY

How often have you done this?

234-  
241

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX FOR  
EACH ACTIVITY

	Not at All	Rarely	Occasion -ally	Frequently	
Displayed an election poster in a window	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 9
Signed a petition supported by the party	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 9
Donated money to Labour party funds	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 9
Delivered party leaflets during an election	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 9
Attended a party meeting	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 9
Canvassed voters on behalf of the party	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 9
Stood for office within the party organisation	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 9
Stood for elected office in a local or national election	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 9

Other (Please specify)

242-  
243

99

25. How old were you when you finished continuous full-time education?

PLEASE WRITE IN

Years

244-  
245

99



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

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

- |  |       |    |
|--|-------|----|
| In full-time paid work   | _____ | 1  |
| In full-time Education   | _____ | 2  |
| On a government training/employment scheme<br>(e.g. Youth Training Scheme) | _____ | 3  |
| In part-time paid work   | _____ | 4  |
| Waiting to take up paid work<br>already accepted                           | _____ | 5  |
| Unemployed and Registered at<br>a benefit office                           | _____ | 6  |
| Unemployed and NOT Registered  | _____ | 7  |
| Permanently sick or disabled   | _____ | 8  |
| Wholly retired from work   | _____ | 9  |
| Looking after the home full-time   | _____ | 10 |
| In part-time voluntary (unpaid) work                                       | _____ | 11 |
| Other (Please Specify)   | _____ | 12 |

office  
use  
only

246-  
247

99

26a. Which type of organisation do you work for?  
(If you are not working now, please answer about  
your LAST job)

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

- |  |       |   |
|--|-------|---|
| A 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 |
| Other (please specify)                     | _____ | 6 |

248

9

26b. 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)	office use only
	249
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY	
Self-employed <input type="checkbox"/>	1
Employee <input type="checkbox"/>	2
Never had a job <input type="checkbox"/>	3
	9
-----	
26c. In your job, do you supervise, or are you responsible for the work of any other people? (Again if you are not working now, please answer in terms of your LAST job.)	250
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY	
Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	1
No <input type="checkbox"/>	2
	9
26d. If YES, how many people do you supervise?	251-
PLEASE WRITE IN THE NUMBER	254
_____	9999
-----	
26e. What is the title of your present job? (Again if you are not working now, please answer about your LAST job.)	O.C. 255- 259 99999
PLEASE WRITE IN	S.C. 260- 261 99
_____	
_____	
26f. Would you describe in detail the type of work you do, being as specific as you can?	H.G. 262- 263 99
PLEASE WRITE IN	
_____	
_____	
_____	
_____	

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

office  
use  
only  
264

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Yes ☐

1

No ☐

2

9

27a. If YES, which class is that?

265

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Middle Class ☐

1

Working Class ☐

2

Other (please specify) ☐

3

9

28. Which of these types of school did you LAST attend, FULL time?

266-  
267

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

None - never attended any school ☐

1

Primary or Elementary school ☐

2

SECONDARY SCHOOL IN ENGLAND AND WALES:

Secondary or Secondary Modern ☐

3

Comprehensive (including sixth-form college) ☐

4

Grammar School ☐

5

Direct Grant School ☐

6

Independent fee-paying (i.e. private or Public) ☐

7

Technical School ☐

8

SECONDARY SCHOOL IN SCOTLAND:

Junior Secondary ☐

9

Comprehensive (including sixth-form college) ☐

10

Senior secondary (6 year selective) ☐

11

(Continued)

28. (Continued)		office use only
Grant aided	_____	12
Independent fee-paying (private)	_____	13
Other (please specify)	_____	14
		99
-----		
29. Have you ever attended (or are you now attending) a university, polytechnic or college to study for a degree?		268
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY		
Yes - University	_____	1
Yes - Polytechnic or college	_____	2
Yes - both	_____	3
No	_____	4
		9
-----		
30. When you were young, (i.e. a teenager) would you say that your family belonged to a social class?		269
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY		
Yes	_____	1
No	_____	2
		9
30a. If YES, which class was that?		270
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY		
Middle Class	_____	1
Working Class	_____	2
Other (please specify)	_____	3
		9
-----		

31. Have you obtained any of the following qualifications?

PLEASE TICK AS MANY AS APPROPRIATE

None	0
CSE Grades 2 to 5	1
CSE Grade 1, GCE 'O' level, School Certificate	2
Scottish Ordinary/ Lower Certificate	3
GCE 'A'/'S' Level or Higher Certificate	4
Scottish Higher Certificate	5
Technical qualification (e.g. City and Guilds, B.TECH Ordinary/Higher)	6
Teachers training qualification	7
Nursing qualification	8
University or CNAA degree or diploma	9
Other British qualification (please specify)	10

99

32. Next there is another set of statements about various political issues. We would like to know if you agree or disagree with them.

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX  
FOR EACH STATEMENT

Strongly Agree    Agree    Neither    Dis- Agree    Dis- Agree

If farmers have to choose						1	2
between producing more						3	4
food and looking after						5	9
the countryside, they							
should produce more food							

The Trade Union movement	—	—	—	—	—	1 2
has too much power over	—	—	—	—	—	3 4
the Labour party	—	—	—	—	—	5 9

Labour should resist further moves to integrate the European Common Market	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	1 2 3 4 5 9
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## 32. (Continued)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Dis- Agree	Strongly Dis- Agree	office use only 276- 279
Restrictions on immigration into Britain are too tight and should be eased	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
Britain's present elect- oral system should be replaced by a system of proportional representation	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
Trade Unions do not get fair treatment in the press and broadcasting media	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
Constituency Labour parties should have the exclusive right to select their own Parliamentary candidates	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
A problem with the Labour party today is that the leader is too powerful	___	___	___	___	___	308- 317 1 2 3 4 5 9
Forty percent of the places on the National Executive Committee should be reserved for women	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
A future Labour government should introduce a directly elected Scottish Assembly with taxing powers	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
The Trade Union block vote at conference brings the party into disrepute	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
There is no need for a Bill of Rights in this country	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
Workers should be prepared to strike in support of other workers, even if they don't work in the same place	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
The Labour party leader should be elected by a system of one party- member, one-vote	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9

32. (continued)	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Dis- Agree	Strongly Dis- Agree	office use only
Coalition governments are the best form of govern- ment for Britain	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9
The government should give more aid to poor countries in Africa and Asia	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9
Neil Kinnock will stick to his principles even if this means losing a general election	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 9
-----						
33. In Labour party politics people often talk about 'the Left' and 'the Right'. Compared with other Labour party members, where would you place your views on this scale below?						318- 319
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY						
LEFT					RIGHT	
—	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
—	—	—	—	—	—	99
33a. And where would you place your views in relation to British politics as a whole (not just the Labour party)?						320- 321
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY						
LEFT					RIGHT	
—	—	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
—	—	—	—	—	—	99
-----						
34. At the last General Election, in 1987, some people didn't manage to vote. How about you? Did you manage to vote in the General Election?						322
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY						9
Yes					—	1
No					—	2

34a. IF YES,		office
Which party did you vote for in the 1987 General Election?		use
		only
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY		323
Conservative	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Alliance (SDP or Liberals)	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Scottish National Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Plaid Cymru	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
The Green Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
		9
-----		-----
35. Was there any time during the General Election of 1987 when you seriously thought you might vote for another party?		324
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY		
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
		9
35a If YES, which party was that?		
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY		325
Thought of not voting	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Conservative	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Alliance (SDP or Liberals)	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Scottish National Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Plaid Cymru	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
The Green Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
(Continued)		



35a. (continued)

Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

office  
use  
only  
8

9

36. Which party did you vote for in the 1989 European Election?

326

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Did not vote \_\_\_\_\_

1

Conservative \_\_\_\_\_

2

Labour \_\_\_\_\_

3

SDP or Liberal Democrats \_\_\_\_\_

4

Scottish National Party \_\_\_\_\_

5

Plaid Cymru \_\_\_\_\_

6

The Green Party \_\_\_\_\_

7

Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

8

9

37. Have you always voted for the same party in General Elections?

327

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Yes \_\_\_\_\_

1

No \_\_\_\_\_

2

9

37a. If NO, which party or parties did you vote for previously?

PLEASE TICK AS MANY BOXES AS APPLY

328-  
329

Did not vote \_\_\_\_\_

1

Conservative \_\_\_\_\_

2

Labour \_\_\_\_\_

3

Alliance (SDP or Liberals) \_\_\_\_\_

4

37a. (Continued)

office  
use  
only

Scottish Nationalist	_____	5
Plaid Cymru	_____	6
The Green Party	_____	7
Other (please specify)	_____	8
		99

38. Next there are some statements about politics in Britain. We would like to know if you agree or disagree with them.

330-  
334

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX  
FOR EACH STATEMENT

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Dis- Agree	Strongly Dis- Agree	
When Labour party members are united and work together they can really change Britain	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
The party leadership doesn't pay a lot of attention to the views of ordinary party members	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
By and large, Labour M.P.s try to represent the views of ordinary party members	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
People like me can have a real influence in politics if they are prepared to get involved	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
Sometimes politics seems so complicated it is difficult for a person like me to understand what is going on	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9

(Continued)

## 38. (continued)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Dis- Agree	Strongly Dis- Agree	office use only 335- 346
Parties in general are only interested in peoples' votes, not in their opinions	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
The only way to be really educated about politics is to be a party activist	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
Labour party members are part of a great movement of like-minded people who work together in solidarity	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
Many people find party meetings rather boring	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
A person like me could do do a good job of being a local Labour Councillor	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
The people who are most active in the Labour party are the ones who have most say in deciding party policy	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
Labour would be more successful if more people like me were elected to Parliament	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
Attending party meetings can be pretty tiring after a hard days work	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
Being an active party member is a good way to meet interesting people	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
Party activity often takes time away from one's family	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
Many people think party activists are extremists	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
The amount of work done by ordinary party members is very often unrecognized	___	___	___	___	___	1 2 3 4 5 9
-----						-----

39. Please think for a moment of a thermometer scale that runs from zero to 100 degrees, where 50 is the neutral point.

If your feelings are warm and sympathetic towards something or someone, give them a score higher than 50; the warmer the feelings the higher the score.

If your feelings are cold and unsympathetic, give them a score less than 50; the colder your feelings the lower the score.

A score of 50 means that your feelings are neither warm nor cold.

#### PLEASE WRITE IN

First, please give a rating to EACH of the party leaders.

rating out of 100

Neil Kinnock	_____	347-
		49
Paddy Ashdown	_____	350-
		52
David Owen	_____	353-
		55
Margaret Thatcher	_____	356-
		58

Next, please give a rating to some Labour party politicians. (Leave a blank if you feel you don't know enough about that person to rate them).

rating out of 100

Roy Hattersley	_____	359-
		61
Tony Benn	_____	362-
		64
Bryan Gould	_____	365-
		67
Harriet Harman	_____	368-
		70
David Blunkett	_____	371-
		73
Dennis Skinner	_____	374-
		76
John Smith	_____	377-
		79
Ken Livingstone	_____	408-
		10
Gordon Brown	_____	411-
		13
Joan Ruddock	_____	414-
		16

office  
use  
only

39. (continued)	rating out of 100	office use only
John Prescott	_____	417- 19
Robin Cook	_____	420- 22
Next, please give a rating for the political parties		
	rating out of 100	
The Labour Party	_____	423- 25
The Social and Liberal Democrats	_____	426- 28
The Social Democratic (Owenite) Party	_____	429- 31
The Conservative Party	_____	432- 34
The Green Party	_____	435- 37
Plaid Cymru	_____	438- 40
The Scottish National Party	_____	441- 43
Finally, please give a rating to the following people and organisations. (Again, leave a blank if you feel that you don't know enough about them to give a rating)		
	rating out of 100	
George Bush	_____	444- 46
Mikhail Gorbachev	_____	447- 49
The Sun Newspaper	_____	450- 52
The BBC	_____	453- 55
The Stock Exchange	_____	456- 58
The European Economic Community	_____	459- 61
The Trades Union Congress	_____	462- 64
The Police	_____	465- 67
The House of Commons	_____	468- 70
The Confederation of British Industries	_____	471- 73

40. If Neil Kinnock resigned the leadership of the Labour party whom would you like to see elected as leader?	office use only
PLEASE WRITE IN	474-75
_____	99
-----	-----
41. And If Roy Hattersley resigned the deputy-leadership of the Labour party whom would you like to see elected as deputy leader?	476-77
PLEASE WRITE IN	
_____	99
-----	-----
42. Are you generally in favour of.....	
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY	478
More nationalisation of companies by government _____	1
More privatization of companies by government _____	2
-or should things be left as they are now? _____	3
_____	9
-----	-----
43. Please think about your general impressions of the LABOUR PARTY, and describe them using the following scales.	508-516
If for example, you think the party is very modern you would tick the box on the left hand side.	
If you think it is very old-fashioned, you would tick the box on the right hand side.	
If you think it is neither old-fashioned nor modern, you would tick the middle box.	
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH SCALE	
very    fairly    neither    fairly    very	
Modern    _____    _____    _____    _____    _____	Old-Fashioned
	1 2 3
	4 5 9
Extreme    _____    _____    _____    _____    _____	Moderate
	1 2 3
	4 5 9

(Continued)

43. (continued)

	very	fairly	neither	fairly	very		office use only
Efficiently Run	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Badly Run	1 2 3 4 5 9
United	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Divided	1 2 3 4 5 9
Uncaring	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Caring	1 2 3 4 5 9
Good for one Class	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Good for All	1 2 3 4 5 9
Middle Class	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Working Class	1 2 3 4 5 9
Likely to Unite the nation	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Likely to Divide the nation	1 2 3 4 5 9
Left wing	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Right wing	1 2 3 4 5 9

44. Please think about your general impressions of NEIL KINNOCK, and describe them using the same type of scale. 517-524

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH SCALE  
very fairly neither fairly very

Good at getting things done	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Bad at getting things done	1 2 3 4 5 9
Extreme	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Moderate	1 2 3 4 5 9
Capable of being a strong Leader	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not capable of being a strong Leader	1 2 3 4 5 9
Likeable as a person	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Not like- able as a person	1 2 3 4 5 9
Uncaring	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Caring	1 2 3 4 5 9

(Continued)

## 44. (Continued)

	very	fairly	neither	fairly	very		office use only
Looks after one Class	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Looks after all Classes	1 2 3 4 5 9
Left wing	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Right wing	1 2 3 4 5 9
Likely to Unite the nation	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Likely to Divide the nation	1 2 3 4 5 9

45. Some people say that all political parties look after certain groups and are not so concerned about others. How closely do you think the LABOUR PARTY looks after the interests of.....

525-  
532

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY  
FOR EACH GROUP

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not very Closely	Not at all Closely	
working class people	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
middle class people	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
unemployed people	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
big business	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
trade unions	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
women	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
black people and Asians	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
homosexuals, that is gays and lesbians	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9

office



45a. How closely do you think the CONSERVATIVE PARTY looks after the interests of .....

use  
only

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

533-  
540

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not very Closely	Not at all Closely	
working class people	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
middle class people	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
unemployed people	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
big business	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
trade unions	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
women	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
black people and Asians	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
homosexuals, that is gays and lesbians	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9

46. Which of the following statements comes closest to what YOU feel should be done? (If you don't have an opinion just indicate).

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

541

Britain should keep her own nuclear weapons, independent of other countries	_____	1
Britain should have nuclear weapons as part of a western defence system	_____	2
Britain should have nothing to do with nuclear weapons	_____	3
No opinion	_____	4
		9

office

47. Please indicate whether you think the government should or should not do the following things, or doesn't it matter either way?

use  
only  
542-  
550

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY  
FOR EACH STATEMENT

	Defin- itely should	Probably should	Doesn't matter	Probably should not	Defin- itely should not	
Get rid of private education	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
spend more money to get rid of poverty	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
encourage the growth of private medicine	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
put more money into the National Health Service	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
reduce government spending generally	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
introduce stricter laws to regulate trade unions	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
give workers more say in the places where they work	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
spend less on defence	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9
Pull British troops out of Northern Ireland immediately	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 5 9

48. Do you think Britain should continue to be a member of the EEC - the Common Market - or should it withdraw?

551

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Continue \_\_\_\_\_  
Withdraw \_\_\_\_\_

1  
2  
9  
office

49. And do you think Britain should continue to be a member of NATO - the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation - or should it withdraw?

use  
only

552

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Continue ☐

1

Withdraw ☐

2

9

50. Suppose the government had to choose between the following three options. Which do you think it should choose?

553

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

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

1

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

2

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

3

9

51. Think of the accommodation where you live now.  
Do you...

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

554

Own the property ☐

1

Rent it from the council ☐

2

Rent it from a private landlord ☐

3

Rent it from a housing association ☐

4

Or are you living with family/friends ☐

5

Other (please specify) ☐

6

9

office

51a. IF YOU OWN YOUR PROPERTY, were you a council tenant in your present accommodation before you purchased it? use only

555

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Was previously a council tenant	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Was not previously a council tenant	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
		9

52. Do you, or does anyone in your household, own or have the use of a car or a van? 556

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Yes - one	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Yes - two or more	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
		9

53. Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?

557-558

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

No	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
<u>IF YES AND CHRISTIAN:</u> Roman Catholic	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Church of England/Wales, Anglican, Episcopalian	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Church of Scotland/ Presbyterian	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Methodist	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Baptist	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
United Reform Church, Congregational	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
Christian, but no denomination	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
Other Christian (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

(Continued)

office

53. (Continued)

		use only
<u>IF YES AND NON-CHRISTIAN:</u>	Jewish	10
	Hindu	11
	Islamic/ Moslem	12
	Sikh	13
	Buddhist	14
	Other non-Christian (please specify)	15
		99

54. Please indicate your ethnic origins

559

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

White/ European	1
Asian (for example Indian or Pakistani)	2
Black (for example West Indian)	3
Other (please specify)	4
	9

55. Which of the following statements comes closest to what you feel should be done by the next Labour Government?

560

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

The government should contribute to the funding of Islamic schools in Britain	1
The government should make no contributions to Islamic schools	2
No opinion	3
	9

office

56. Which of the following categories represents the total income of your **household** from ALL sources before tax?

use  
only

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

561-  
562

Under £5,000	_____	1
£5,000 up to £10,000	_____	2
£10,000 up to £15,000	_____	3
£15,000 up to £20,000	_____	4
£20,000 up to £25,000	_____	5
£25,000 up to £30,000	_____	6
£30,000 up to £35,000	_____	7
£35,000 up to £40,000	_____	8
£40,000 plus	_____	9

99

57. Which daily MORNING paper do you read MOST?

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

563-  
564

I don't read a daily paper	_____	1
Daily Express / Scottish Daily Express	_____	2
Daily Mail	_____	3
Daily Mirror / Record	_____	4
Daily Star	_____	5
The Sun	_____	6
Today	_____	7
Daily Telegraph	_____	8
Financial Times	_____	9
The Guardian	_____	10
The Independent	_____	11
The Times	_____	12

(Continued)

office

57. (Continued)

Morning Star	_____	13
Other (please specify)	_____	14
	_____	99

58. Suppose the government had to choose between the following two options; which should it choose?

565

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

The Government should create more jobs even if this means more industrial pollution	_____	1
The Government should cut jobs in order to reduce industrial pollution	_____	2
No opinion	_____	3
		9

59. We would like to ask you how EFFECTIVE you think various political activities are in helping the Labour party to achieve its goals.

566-573

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH ACTIVITY

	very effective	effective	not very effective	not at all effective	
Displaying an election poster in a window	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
Signing a petition supported by the party	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
Donating money to Labour party funds	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
Delivering party leaflets during an election	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9
Attending a party meeting	_____	_____	_____	_____	1 2 3 4 9

(Continued)

office

59. (Continued)					use only
Canvassing voters on behalf of the party	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 9
Standing for elected office within the party organisation	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 9
Standing for elected office at a local or national election	—	—	—	—	1 2 3 4 9

60. Finally, what in your opinion are the main issues  
which the Labour party needs to face up to at the  
present time?

574-  
575

PLEASE WRITE IN

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99

END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE CHECK THAT YOU HAVE ANSWERED ALL THE QUESTIONS

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP



LIST OF OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS.      LABOUR PARTY MEMBERS SURVEY 1989.

- Q5- Most Important Reason For Joining the Labour Party.
- Q11a- Offices Held Within the Labour Party (Three Posts Maximum).
- Q14b- Most Important Post Representing the Labour Party.
- Q15- Membership Of Other Groups Within the Labour Party.
- Q18a- Membership Of Other Interest Groups.
- Q20a- List of Trade Unions of which Respondents are Members.
- Q24- Other Political Activities During the Last Five Years.
- Q26- Other Occupational Activity During the Last Seven Days.
- Q26a- Other Type of Organisation Worked For.
- Q26e/f- Occupational Coding (Two Codes- (1) Detailed and (2) SEG).
- Q27a- Other Social Class Membership.
- Q28- Other Type of School Last Attended.
- Q30a- Other Social Class Membership When Respondent was Teenager.
- Q31- Other Qualifications Obtained.
- Q34a- Other Party Voted For 1987 General Election.
- Q35a- Other Party Thought of Voting For 1987.
- Q36- Other Party Voted for 1989 European Election.
- Q37a- Other Party/Parties Voted For Previous General Elections.
- Q40- Leader Preference if Neil Kinnock Resigned.
- Q41- Deputy Leader Preference if Roy Hattersley Resigned.
- Q51- Other Type of Accommodation.
- Q53- Other Christian Religious Denomination/Other Non-Christian.
- Q54- Other Ethnic Origins.
- Q57- Other Morning Newspaper Read.
- Q60- Labour Party Priorities.

Q5- Most Important Reason for Joining the Labour Party.

Ideas/Ideological= 10.

11= Create a more equal, caring, sharing, compassionate society.

12= Belief in Left-Wing Politics, Left-Wing Policies, Socialism.

13= Social Justice.

Specific Policies= 20.

21= Unemployment.

22= National Health Service.

23= Social Policy/Social Services.

24= Unilateral Disarmament.

25= Education.

26= Public Ownership/Nationalisation (Clause 4).

27= Redistribution of Wealth.

28= The Economy and High Interest Rates.

29= Environmental Aspects to Policies.

Anti-Conservative/Anti-Mrs Thatcher= 30.

31= Get Rid of Mrs. Thatcher and the Conservative Government/Oppose the Tories.

32= Get Labour into Power/Office (unspecific).

Anti-Other Parties.

35= Anti-SDP.

36= Anti-Scottish Nationalism.

Trade Union Links/Background= 40.

41= Union Involvement and Representation/Trade Union Activity.

42= As Result of the Miners' Strike 1984/5.

Personal Reasons= 50.

- 51= To be politically active/practical way of political involvement.  
(unspecific).
- 52= When Roy Jenkins resigned from Stechford, Tories won.
- 53= Condition of Job as Constituency Assistant to Labour MP.
- 54= To combine with like-minded people.
- 55= Because of the Achievements of the 1945-51 Labour Government.
- 56= Agricultural Wages/Tied Cottage System.
- 57= Made Unemployed/Fear of Unemployment.
- 58= Inspired by Harold Wilson in the early 1960s.
- 59= To make a financial donation/funding to the party.

Class Politics= 60.

- 61= Help the Working Class Get a Better Deal/Labour is the Party of the  
Working Class/Working People.
- 62= Only party to help ethnic minorities and Asians.
- 63= Only Party to promote civil rights for homosexuals and lesbians.
- 64= To further womens' rights.

Local/Regional Politics= 70.

- 71= To be Selected for Local Elections.
- 72= After becoming active during the Govan By-Election.
- 73= Help to Elect a Labour Council.
- 74= Local Labour Party Sorted out a Problem/For Airing Local  
Problems/Issues.
- 75= Stop Local Extremists.

Family Background= 80.

- 81= Influence of the Father (eg. Son of a Miner).
- 82= Influence of Parents (eg. Parents Active in the Communist Party).
- 83= Influence of Husband.
- 84= Influence of Mother.

85= Influence of Son.

86= Influence of Wife.

87= Influence of Close Friend.

88= Influence of Workmate/Colleague.

Other Reasons= 90.

91= Chamberlain/Munich Agreement.

92= The Influence of the 1930s.

93= Suez Crisis 1956.

94= Campaign in Liverpool of 47 Labour Councillors.

Q11a- Offices Held Within the Labour Party.

1= Constituency Level.

2= Branch Level.

Then Last Two Digits of the Year Office Taken Up.

Q14b- Most Important Post Representing the Labour Party.

11= School Governing Body/Governor.

12= Community Relations Council.

13= Working Party Social Services.

14= College of Further Education.

15= British Telecom and Post Office Users.

16= Health Council.

17= Local Magistrate.

18= Youth Club Management Committee.

19= Police Authority.

20= County Council

21= Arts Council.

22= Trades Council.

Q15- Membership of other Party Groups.

- 11= Christian Socialist Movement.
- 12= Socialist Health Association.
- 13= Socialist Education Association.
- 14= Chartist Collective.
- 15= Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights.
- 17= Independent Labour Publications.
- 18= Labour Action Group.
- 19= Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform.
- 21= Local Ward Campaign Committee.
- 22= Society of Labour Lawyers.
- 23= National Organisation of Labour Students.

Q18- Membership of Other Interest Groups.

Local Community Groups= 10.

- 11= Community Action Group.
- 12= Christian Aid/Christian Group.
- 13= Local Anti-Poll Tax Group.
- 14= Tenants/Housing Group.
- 15= Parents/Mothers Group.
- 16= Proprietors Group.
- 17= Local Charity.
- 18= Local Women's Group.
- 19= Local Welfare Association.

National Groups= 20.

- 21= National Schizophrenia Fellowship.
- 22= Greenpeace.
- 23= (Scottish) Wildlife Trust.

- 24= Action Aid.
- 25= National Children's Bureau.
- 26= Dr. Barnardos.
- 27= NSPCC.
- 28= National Childbirth Trust.
- 29= Citizens Advice Bureau.
- 30= MENCAP.
- 31= Spastics Society.
- 32= Huntington's Chorea Association.
- 33= War on Want.
- 34= Compassion in World Farming.
- 35= Life.
- 36= Missionary Group.
- 37= Survival International.
- 38= Red Cross.
- 39= Women's Guild.
- 40= Tear Fund.
- 41= Women's Refuge.
- 42= University Women's Group.
- 44= Charter 88.
- 45= Save the Children Fund.
- 46= British Pensioners Group.
- 47= Age Concern.
- 48= Campaign for Homosexual Equality.
- 49= Gay Rights Group.
- 50= Aid for India.
- 51= British Vietnam Association.
- 52= Oxfam.
- 53= International Sikh Youth Federation.

- 54= Christian Aid.
- 55= Woodland Trust.
- 56= RSPCA.
- 57= CND.
- 58= Voluntary Euthanasia Society.
- 59= St. John's Ambulance Brigade.
- 60= National Postage Association (mentally handicapped).
- 61= RSPB (Birds).
- 62= United Nations Association.
- 63= Relate.
- 64= World Wildlife Fund.
- 65= British Council of Organisations of Disabled People.
- 66= British Legion.
- 67= Cheshire Homes.
- 68= Civic Society.
- 69= WVS.
- 70= National Assembly of Women.
- 71= Lynx (Anti-Fur).
- 72= Womens Aid.
- 73= Canine Defence League.
- 74= C.A.S.E.
- 75= RNLI.
- 76= Black Womens Group.
- 77= Womens Institute.
- 78= Cancer Research.
- 79= Abortion Campaign.
- 80= Unicef.
- 81= Amnesty International.
- 82= The Soroptimists Club.

83= Anti-Arms Trade.

Q20a- Trade Union Membership.

- 1= Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU).
- 2= Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU).
- 3= National Union of Teachers (NUT).
- 4= NALGO (Local Government Officers)
- 5= EEPTU (Electrical Engineers).
- 6= Electrical Power Engineers Association.
- 7= NATFHE (Teachers in Further and Higher Education).
- 8= AUT (Association of University Teachers).
- 9= GMB (APEX).
- 10= Royal College of Nursing (RCN).
- 11= USDAW (Shop Workers/Distribution).
- 12= NAS/UWT (Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers).
- 13= NAPO (Probation Officers).
- 14= ACTT.
- 15= UCATT (Building Workers)
- 16= COHSE (Health Service Employees).
- 17= NUM (National Union of Mineworkers).
- 18= NUCPS (National Union of Civil and Public Servants).
- 19= MSF (formerly ASTMS).
- 20= EIS (ALCES) - Educational Institute of Scotland).
- 21= GMBTU.
- 22= AMMA.
- 23= MATSA.
- 24= UCW (Union of Communication Workers).
- 25= SOGAT '82 (Print Workers).
- 26= ASLEF (Train Drivers).
- 27= Fire Brigade Union.



- 28= Secondary Heads Association.
- 29= NCU (Credit Control).
- 30= CPSA (Civil and Public Servants Association).
- 31= Britannic Field Staff Association.
- 32= EQUITY (Actors).
- 33= NUPE (National Union of Public Employees).
- 34= National Union of Tailor and Garment Workers.
- 35= ACTSS (Secretaries).
- 36= Institution of Professional Managers and Specialists.
- 37= Musicians Union.
- 38= Writers Guild of Great Britain.
- 39= National Union of Journalists. (NUJ)
- 40= National Union of Railwaymen. (NUR)
- 41= National Graphical Association. (NGA)
- 42= National Farmers Union. (NFU)
- 43= Inland Revenue Staff Federation.
- 45= Society of Authors.
- 46= National Union of Seamen. (NUS)
- 47= National Union of Insurance Workers. (NUIW)
- 48= National Union of Students. (NUS)
- 49= British Medical Association. (BMA)
- 50= Health Visitors Association.
- 51= NAHT.
- 52= Communication Managers Association.
- 53= Association of Inspectors of Taxes.
- 54= National Union of Insurance Workers. (also 47).
- 55= NSEAD.
- 56= Society of Telecom Execulives.
- 57= National Union of Labour Organisers. (NULO)

58= BIFU.

59= British Association of Social Workers.

60= ENU.

61= World Bank Staff Association.

62= Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. (ISTC)

63= National Union of Footwear and Allied Trades.

64= NACODS.

65= Society of Technical Engineers.

66= First Division Association. (AIT).

68= BACM. British Association of Colliery Management.

70= BUSWE.

71= AUFW.

72= Community and Youth Workers Union.

73= Institute of Chartered Accountants.

74= National Association of Inspectors and Advisers.

75= Furniture Timber and Allied Trades.

76= British Dental Association.

77= BAOT. British Association of Occupational Therapists.

79= NUBE.

80= Retail Boot and Allied Trades Employees Association.

81= Halifax Building Society Staff Association.

82= Greater London Staff Association.

83= Royal College of Midwives.

84= Transport Salaried Staff Association. (TSSA)

85= National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers.

86= Society of Chiropodists.

87= FUMPO.

88= Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers.

89= Social Care Association.

90= United Transport Union.

91= Law Society.

92= British Rail Staff Association. (BRSA)

93= Bakers Food and Allied Workers Union.

94= NUMAST. National Union of Marine Aircraft and Stevedore Officers.

95= Police Federation.

96= TASS.

97= BETA. Broadcasting Entertainments Trade Alliance.

98= Association of Magisterial Officers.

Q24- Other Political Activities During Last Five Years.

11= Local Events to Raise Money for the Party.

12= Acting as Teller on Polling Day.

13= Driving Electors to Polling Station.

14= Designed and Written Leaflets, Manifestos, Papers/Addressed Envelopes.

15= Member of Constituency GMC and EC.

16= Run Surgeries to help with people's problems.

Q37a- Other Parties Voted For General Elections.

11= Not Vote/Socialist Workers Party.

12= Not Vote/Conservative.

13= Conservative/Labour/Alliance.

14= Labour/Alliance/Communist.

24= Conservative/Alliance.

25= Conservative/Scottish National Party.

34= Labour/Alliance.

48= Alliance/Workers Revolutionary Party.

49= Alliance/Communist.

91= Conservative/Labour/Scottish National Party.

Q40- Leader Preference if Neil Kinnock Resigned.

- 1= Gordon Brown.
- 2= Tony Benn.
- 3= Ken Livingstone.
- 4= John Prescott.
- 5= John Smith.
- 6= Roy Hattersley.
- 7= Bryan Gould.
- 8= David Blunkett.
- 9= Denis Healey.
- 10= Robin Cook.
- 11= Joan Ruddock.
- 12= Gerald Kaufman.
- 13= Harriet Harman.
- 14= Dennis Skinner.
- 15= Michael Foot.
- 16= Jo Richardson.
- 17= Clare Short.
- 18= Terry Fields.
- 19= Dave Nellist.
- 20= John Cunningham.
- 21= Tony Blair.
- 22= Tony Banks.
- 23= Paddy Ashdown.
- 24= Paul Boateng.
- 25= Austin Mitchell.
- 26= Clive Soley.
- 27= Michael Meacher.
- 28= Peter Shore.

30= Eric Heffer.  
31= Margaret Beckett.  
32= Ann Clwyd.  
33= Roy Jenkins.  
34= David Owen.  
35= Joan Lestor.  
36= Frank Field.  
37= Marjorie Mowlam.  
38= Donald Dewar.  
39= Dale Campbell-Savours.  
40= Denzil Davies.  
41= Mark Fisher.  
42= Alf Morris.  
43= Sharon Atkin.  
44= Jack Straw.  
45= Joe Ashton.  
46= Bernie Grant.  
47= Peter Archer.  
48= Eric Illsley.  
50= Brian Wilson.  
51= Pat Wall.  
52= Alice Mahon.  
53= Richard Caborn.  
54= Glenda Jackson.  
55= John Fraser.  
56= John Maxton.  
57= Martin O'Neill.  
58= Barbara Castle.  
59= Glenys Kinnock.

Q41- Deputy Leader Preference if Roy Hattersley Resigned.

- 1= John Smith.
- 2= Ken Livingstone.
- 3= John Prescott.
- 4= David Blunkett.
- 5= Dennis Skinner.
- 6= Joan Ruddock.
- 7= Robin Cook.
- 8= Tony Benn.
- 9= Gordon Brown.
- 10= Gerald Kaufman.
- 11= Bryan Gould.
- 12= John McAllion.
- 13= Clive Soley.
- 14= John Battle.
- 15= Tony Blair.
- 16= John Garrett.
- 17= Tony Worthington.
- 18= Harriet Harman.
- 19= Donald Dewar.
- 20= Carole Tongue.
- 21= Jo Richardson.
- 22= Joan Lester.
- 23= Eric Heffer.
- 24= Dave Nellist.
- 25= Terry Fields.
- 26= Neil Kinnock.
- 27= Clare Short.
- 28= Denis Healey.

29= Diane Abbott.  
30= Marjorie Mowlam.  
31= Margaret Beckett.  
32= Paul Boateng.  
33= Jack Straw.  
34= Brian Wilson.  
35= Austin Mitchell.  
36= Michael Meacher.  
37= Frank Field.  
38= John Cunningham.  
39= Bernie Grant.  
40= Ann Taylor.  
41= John Gilbert.  
42= Tony Banks.  
43= Gwyneth Dunwoody.  
44= Arthur Scargill.  
45= Pat Wall.  
46= David Clark.  
47= Joe Ashton.  
48= Audrey Wise.  
49= David Owen.  
50= Harry Barnes.  
51= Peter Shore.  
52= Mark Fisher.  
53= Frank Cook.  
54= Alice Mahon.  
55= Keith Vaz.  
56= Dale Campbell-Savours.  
58= Michael Foot.

- 59= Harry Cohen.
- 60= Betty Boothroyd.
- 61= Allan Rogers.
- 62= Peter Pike.
- 63= Sean Hughes.
- 64= Jeremy Corbyn.
- 65= Ann Clwyd.
- 66= Paddy Ashdown.
- 67= Calum McDonald.
- 68= Eddie Loyden.
- 69= Glenda Jackson.
- 70= Frank Dobson.
- 71= Jack Ashley.
- 72= Denzil Davies.
- 73= Bob Cryer.
- 74= George Robertson.
- 75= James Wray.
- 76= Derek Foster.
- 77= Graham Allan.
- 78= Tony Lloyd.

Q57- Other Morning Newspaper Read.

- 15= The Scotsman.
- 16= Glasgow Herald.
- 17= Liverpool Daily Post.
- 18= Birmingham Post and Mail.
- 19= Newcastle Journal.
- 20= Eastern Daily Press.
- 21= Western Mail.



- 22= Dundee Courier.
- 23= Bristol Western Daily Press.
- 24= Northern Echo.
- 25= East Anglia Daily Times.
- 26= Yorkshire Post.
- 30= Guardian/Independent.
- 31= Daily Record/Glasgow Herald.
- 32= Guardian/Morning Star.
- 33= Daily Mail/Western Mail.
- 40= Daily Mirror/Guardian.
- 41= Daily Mirror/Times.
- 42= Daily Mirror/Independent.
- 43= Daily Mirror/Morning Star.
- 45= Daily Mirror/Daily Star.
- 46= Daily Mirror/The Sun.
- 47= Daily Mirror/Today.
- 91= Financial Times/Guardian.

Q60- Labour Party Priorities at Present.

Internal Party Questions= 10.

- 11= Party Unity (unspecific)/United Front/No Internal Bickering.
- 12= One Person, One Vote/Get Rid of the Union Block Vote.
- 13= Paying Attention to the Party Membership.
- 14= Get a Labour Government (unspecific)/ Get Thatcher Out.
- 15= Presentation of Party Policy to win the next election (unspecific).
- 16= Get Rid of Extreme Elements.
- 17= Get Rid of Neil Kinnock.

Specific Policies to be Addressed= 20/30/50.

- 21= Housing/Homelessness.

- 22= Poll Tax.
- 23= National Health Service.
- 24= Nuclear Disarmament.
- 25= Public Ownership/Nationalisation.
- 26= The Public Services and Utilities (unspecific).
- 27= Unemployment/Job Training and Skills.
- 28= Electoral Reform/Proportional Representation.
- 29= Education.
- 31= Race Related Issues.
- 32= Redistribution of Power and Wealth.
- 33= The Environment/Ecological Issues.
- 34= Trade Policy/Exports.
- 35= Managing the Economy (unspecific).
- 36= European Unity.
- 37= National Minimum Wage.
- 38= Devolution/Scottish Assembly.
- 39= Care of Old People/Pensions.

General Principles of the Labour Party= 40.

- 41= New Principles of the Party/New Range of Issues/The 'Big Idea'/Galvanising Motif for the Future/Up to Date Ideas/Get the Confidence of All the British People.
- 42= Carry On the Way They are Going at Present.
- 43= Regain the Confidence of the Working Class.
- 44= Retention of Socialist Principles.
- 45= Women/Sexual Discrimination/Nursery Facilities.
- 46= Create a fairer, caring and equal society.
- 47= The Rights of Homosexuals.
- 48= The Role of Women in the Party.
- 51= Restrict Immigration.

52= Taxation.

53= Withdrawal of Troops from Northern Ireland.

54= Local Government Responsibilities.

55= Social Justice.

56= Bill of Rights.

57= To support Black Rights.

58= Law and Order/Crime.