



## **THE 2005 BES COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (CSES) SURVEY DATA**

**CURRENT RELEASE: FEBRUARY 24, 2006**

This is the current release of the 2005 BES Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) survey data. The survey implements CSES Module 2, which is designed to run in national election studies carried out during the 2001-2006 period. As per instructions on the CSES website ([www.umich.edu/~cses](http://www.umich.edu/~cses)), the CSES question module was administered as an uninterrupted block. Additional BES questions were administered after the CSES block, and before demographics.

The 2005 BES CSES data were gathered in a Britain-wide internet survey carried out by YouGov under the supervision of Research Director, Joe Twyman. The survey was conducted after the May 5th general election, over the period May 16th to May 31st. Nearly 90% of the interviews were completed between May 16th and May 18th.

1. **Data Files:** You may download either an SPSS file (YGCSESR4.SAV) or a STATA file (YGCSESR4.DTA). Users requiring the data in other formats may contact Harold Clarke ([hclarke@utdallas.edu](mailto:hclarke@utdallas.edu)) for assistance. Alternatively, they may use data conversion programs such as DBMSCOPY or STAT Transfer to translate the data into the format required.

2. **Sample Size:** The unweighted N = 3326.

3. **Weights:** W8 is the standard YouGov weight which includes a past-vote factor; W8NONPOL is a demographic factors only weight. Using either of these weights, N = 3375.

4. **Question Wording:** Wording of questions asked in the survey is available in a document that can be downloaded from the BES website. Wording of questions in the CSES module is taken from a document on the CSES website, with additional guidance from wording of the CSES module in the 2004 American National Election Study (ANES) post-election survey instrument.

5. **Comments, Questions, Problems?** Please contact BES Research Officer, Kristi Winters at [kwinte@essex.ac.uk](mailto:kwinte@essex.ac.uk). The BES office telephone number at the University of Essex is 01206873346.

**CSES 2005  
Final Questionnaire  
Version: 16 May 2005**

**PAGE 1  
BASE: All**

**In which of the following do you live?**

East Anglia  
East Midlands  
Greater London  
North  
North West  
Scotland  
South East  
South West  
Wales  
West Midlands  
Yorkshire & Humberside

**PAGE 2**

**The next few questions are about the recent general election held last Thursday, May 5<sup>th</sup>. Here are some things some people do during election campaigns. Which, if any, of these things did you do during the general election campaign? That is, since the election was announced on April 5<sup>th</sup>.**

**Talked to other people to persuade them to vote for a particular party of candidate**

Frequently  
Occasionally  
Rarely  
Never  
Don't know

**Showed your support for a particular party or candidate by, for example, attending a meeting, putting up campaign signs, or in some other way**

Frequently  
Occasionally  
Rarely  
Never  
Don't know

**During the general election campaign did a candidate or anyone from a political party contact you to persuade to vote for them?**

Yes  
No  
Don't know

**PAGE 3****BASE: 'Yes' at previous question****Which party or parties did they represent? [Please tick all that apply]**

Labour  
 Conservative  
 Liberal Democrat  
 Scottish National Party (SNP)  
 Plaid Cymru  
 Green Party  
 United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)  
 British National Party (BNP)  
 Other Party  
 Don't know

**PAGE 4****BASE: All**

**What do you think has been the most important issue facing Great Britain over the last four years? That is, since the Labour Party was re-elected in June 2001. [Please write in. If you don't think there was one most important issue, please write NONE. If you don't know, please write DK]**

**TEXT AREA****PAGE 5**

**Thinking about that most important issue, how good or bad a job do you think the present government has done over the past four years?**

There was no one most important issue  
 Very good job  
 Good job  
 Bad job  
 Very bad job  
 Don't know

**PAGE 6**

**Now thinking *generally* about the performance of the present government, how good or bad a job do you think the present government has done over the past four years (since it was elected in June 2001)?**

Very good job  
 Good job  
 Bad job  
 Very bad job  
 Don't know

**PAGE 7**

**On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Great Britain?**

Very satisfied  
 Fairly satisfied  
 Not very satisfied  
 Not at all satisfied  
 Don't know

**PAGE 8****BASE: All**

Some people say it makes a difference who is in power. Others say that it does not make a difference who is in power. Using the scale below -- where *1 means it makes a difference who is in power* and *5 means that it does not make a difference who is in power* -- where would you place yourself?

1 - it makes a difference who is in power.

2

3

4

5 - it does not make a difference who is in power.

Don't know

**PAGE 9****BASE: All**

Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a difference to what happens. Using the scale below -- where *1 means that voting will not make a difference to what happens* and *5 means that voting can make a difference* -- where would you place yourself?

1 - who people vote for will *not* make a difference

2

3

4

5 - who people vote for can make a difference

Don't know

**PAGE 10****BASE: All****Do you agree or disagree with the statement:****'Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government'.**

- Agree strongly
- Agree
- Disagree
- Disagree strongly
- Don't know

**PAGE 11****Talking with people about the general election on May 5<sup>th</sup>, we have found that a lot of people didn't manage to vote. How about you, did you manage to vote in the general election?**

- Yes, I voted
- No, I did not vote

**PAGE 12****BASE: 'Yes' at previous question****Which party did you vote for in the general election?**

- Labour
- Conservative
- Liberal Democrat
- Scottish National Party (SNP)
- Plaid Cymru
- Green Party
- United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)
- British National Party (BNP)
- Other party

**PAGE 13****How long ago did you decide that you would definitely vote the way you did?**

- A long time ago (more than 12 months ago)
- Some time in the last 12 months
- Some time in the last 6 months
- During the election campaign (in the last month)
- Don't know

**PAGE 14****People give different reasons for why they vote for one party rather than another. Which of the following BEST describes your reasons?**

- The party had the best policies
- The party had the best leader
- I really preferred another party but it stood no chance of winning in my constituency.
- I voted tactically
- Other reason
- Don't know

**PAGE 15****BASE: 'Other' at the previous question****BASE: If not [P14Q1=5] then routepage=16;****For what 'other' reason did you vote for the party you did? [Please write in]****TEXT AREA**

**PAGE 16****BASE: 'Tactically' or 'preferred another party' at PAGE 14****BASE: If not ([P14Q1=3] or [P14Q1=4]) then routepage=17;****Which party did you really prefer?**

Labour  
Conservative  
Liberal Democrat  
Scottish National Party (SNP)  
Plaid Cymru  
Green Party  
United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)  
British National Party (BNP)  
Other party

**PAGE 17****BASE: All who voted****You indicated that you voted for the [PARTY VOTED FOR] in the recent general election? Generally speaking, how well has [PARTY VOTED FOR] performed over the past four years (since the last general election)?**

Very good job  
Good job  
Bad job  
Very bad job  
Don't know

**PAGE 18****BASE: All****Thinking about how elections in Great Britain work in practice, how well do elections ensure that the views of voters are represented by Members of Parliament in the UK Parliament at Westminster?**

Very well  
Quite well  
Not very well  
Not well at all  
Don't know

**PAGE 19****Would you say that any of the parties in Great Britain represents your views reasonably well?**

Yes  
No  
Don't know

**PAGE 20****BASE: 'Yes' at previous question****Which party represents your views best?**

Labour  
Conservative  
Liberal Democrat  
Scottish National Party (SNP)  
Plaid Cymru  
Green Party  
United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)  
British National Party (BNP)  
Other party

**PAGE 21****BASE: All**

Regardless of how you feel about the parties, would you say that any of the party leaders represent your views reasonably well?

Yes

No

Don't know

**PAGE 22****BASE: 'Yes' at previous question**

Which party leader represents your views best?

Tony Blair

Michael Howard

Charles Kennedy

Alex Salmond

Elwyn Llwyd

Other party leader

**PAGE 23****BASE: 'Other' at previous question**

Which 'other' party leader represents your views best? [Please write in]

**TEXT**

**PAGE 24****BASE: All**

Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party?

Yes

No

Don't know

**PAGE 25****BASE: 'Yes' at previous question**

And which party is that?

Labour

Conservative

Liberal Democrat

Scottish National Party (SNP)

Plaid Cymru

Green Party

United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)

British National Party (BNP)

Other party

**PAGE 26****BASE: 'Other' at previous question**

Which 'other' party do you usually think of yourself as close to? [Please write in]

**TEXT**

**PAGE 27****BASE: 'Yes' close to a party****Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?**

- Very close
- Somewhat close
- Not very close
- Don't know

**PAGE 28****Do you feel close to any other political parties?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**PAGE 29****BASE: 'Yes' at previous question****Which other parties do you feel close to? [Please tick all that apply]**

- Labour
- Conservative
- Liberal Democrat
- Scottish National Party (SNP)
- Plaid Cymru
- Green Party
- United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)
- British National Party (BNP)
- Other party

**PAGE 30****BASE: 'No' or 'Don't know' at PAGE 24****Do you feel yourself a *little closer* to one of the political parties than the others?**

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

**PAGE 31****BASE: 'Yes' at previous question****Which party is that?**

- Labour
- Conservative
- Liberal Democrat
- Scottish National Party (SNP)
- Plaid Cymru
- Green Party
- United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)
- British National Party (BNP)
- Other party



**ROTATE PAGES 32, 33, 34****PAGE 32****BASE: All**

**Please rate the Labour Party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you 'strongly dislike the Labour Party', and 10 means you 'strongly like the Labour Party'.**

0 - strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 - strongly like

**PAGE 33****BASE: All**

**Please rate the Conservative Party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you 'strongly dislike the Conservative Party', and 10 means you 'strongly like the Conservative Party'.**

0 - strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 - strongly like

**PAGE 34****BASE: All**

**Please rate the Liberal Democrat Party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you 'strongly dislike the Liberal Democrat Party', and 10 means you 'strongly like the Liberal Democrat Party'.**

0 - strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 - strongly like

**PAGE 35****BASE: All who live in Scotland****BASE: If not [P1Q1=6] then routepage=36;****Please rate the Scottish National Party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you 'strongly dislike the SNP', and 10 means you 'strongly like the SNP'.**

0 - strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 - strongly like

**PAGE 36****BASE: All who live in Wales****BASE: If not [P1Q1=9] then routepage=37;****Please rate Plaid Cymru on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you 'strongly dislike the Plaid Cymru' and 10 means you 'strongly like Plaid Cymru'.**

0 - strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 - strongly like

**ROTATE PAGES 37, 38, 39****PAGE 37**

**In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place the Labour Party on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the 'left', and 10 means the 'right'?**

0 – left

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – right

Don't know

**PAGE 38**

**In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place the Conservative Party on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the 'left', and 10 means the 'right'?**

0 – left

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – right

Don't know

**PAGE 39**

**In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place the Liberal Democrats on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the 'left', and 10 means the 'right'?**

0 – left

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – right

Don't know

**ROTATE PAGES 40, 41, 42****PAGE 40**

**Where would you place Tony Blair on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the 'left', and 10 means the 'right'?**

0 – left

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – right

Don't know

**PAGE 41**

**Where would you place Michael Howard on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the 'left', and 10 means the 'right'?**

0 – left

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – right

Don't know

**PAGE 42**

**Where would you place Charles Kennedy on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the 'left', and 10 means the 'right'?**

0 – left

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – right

Don't know

**PAGE 43**

**Over the past five years or so, have you done any of the following things to express your views about something the government should or should not be doing?**

**GRID**

**Contacted a politician or government official either in person or in writing, or some other way**

**Taken part in a protest, march or demonstration**

**Worked together with people who shared the same concern**

Yes

No

Don't know

**PAGE 44**

**How much respect is there for individual freedom and human rights nowadays in Great Britain?**

A lot of respect for individual freedom

Some respect

Not much respect

No respect at all

Don't know

**PAGE 45**

**How widespread to you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in Great Britain?**

Very widespread

Quite widespread

Not very widespread

It hardly happens at all

Don't know

**PAGE 46**

**Thinking back to the 'left-right' scale again. In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the 'left', and 10 means the 'right'?**

0 – left

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – right

Don't know

**ROTATE PAGES 47, 48, 49****PAGE 47**

Now, thinking about the party leaders for a moment. Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'strongly dislike' and 10 means 'strongly like', how do you feel about Tony Blair?

0 – strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – strongly like

**PAGE 48**

Now, thinking about the party leaders for a moment. Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'strongly dislike' and 10 means 'strongly like', how do you feel about Michael Howard?

0 – strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – strongly like

**PAGE 49**

Now, thinking about the party leaders for a moment. Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'strongly dislike' and 10 means 'strongly like', how do you feel about Charles Kennedy?

0 – strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – strongly like

**PAGE 50****BASE: All who live in Scotland****BASE: If not [P1Q1=6] then routepage=51;****Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'strongly dislike' and 10 means 'strongly like', how do you feel about Alex Salmond?**

0 – strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – strongly like

**PAGE 51****BASE: All who live in Wales****BASE: If not [P1Q1=9] then routepage=52;****Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'strongly dislike' and 10 means 'strongly like', how do you feel about Elfyn Llwyd?**

0 – strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – strongly like

**PAGE 52****BASE: All**

Now, a few questions about economic conditions.

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

- Got a lot worse
- Got a little worse
- Stayed the same
- Got a little better
- Got a lot better
- Don't know

**PAGE 53****BASE: All**

**How do you think the *general economic situation in this country* has changed over the *last 12 months*?**

- Got a lot worse
- Got a little worse
- Stayed the same
- Got a little better
- Got a lot better
- Don't Know

**PAGE 54****BASE: All**

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

- Get a lot worse
- Get a little worse
- Stay the same
- Get a little better
- Get a lot better
- Don't Know

**PAGE 55****BASE: All**

**How do you think the *general economic situation in this country* will develop over the *next 12 months*?**

- Get a lot worse
- Get a little worse
- Stay the same
- Get a little better
- Get a lot better
- Don't Know

**PAGE 56****BASE: All**

**How much do you think that the government's policies affect the overall performance of the *British economy*?**

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



**PAGE 57****BASE: AII**

**How much do you think that the government's policies affect the *financial situation of your household*?**

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

**PAGE 58****BASE: AII**

**How well do you think the present government has handled crime in Britain?**

- Very well
- Fairly well
- Neither well nor badly
- Fairly badly
- Very badly
- Don't know

**PAGE 59****BASE: AII**

**How well do you think the present government has handled the number of asylum-seekers coming to Britain?**

- Very well
- Fairly well
- Neither well nor badly
- Fairly badly
- Very badly
- Don't know

**PAGE 60****BASE: AII**

**How well do you think the present government has handled the National Health Service?**

- Very well
- Fairly well
- Neither well nor badly
- Fairly badly
- Very badly
- Don't know

**PAGE 61****BASE: AII**

**How well do you think the present government has handled the risk of terrorism in Britain?**

- Very well
- Fairly well
- Neither well nor badly
- Fairly badly
- Very badly
- Don't know

**PAGE 62****BASE: All**

**How well do you think the present government has handled the economy in general?**

- Very well
- Fairly well
- Neither well nor badly
- Fairly badly
- Very badly
- Don't know

**PAGE 63****BASE: All**

**How well do you think the present government has handled the level of taxation?**

- Very well
- Fairly well
- Neither well nor badly
- Fairly badly
- Very badly
- Don't know

**PAGE 64****BASE: All**

**Do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove, or strongly disapprove of *Britain's involvement in Iraq*?**

- Strongly approve
- Approve
- Disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Don't know

**PAGE 65****BASE: All**

**There will be a referendum next year on the new European Union constitution. Will you vote 'Yes' or 'No' on the question, 'Should the United Kingdom approve the treaty establishing a constitution for the European Union?'**

- Yes
- No
- Undecided
- Will not vote
- Don't know

**PAGE 66**

**BASE: All**

**GRID**

**RANDOMISE ORDER**

Please indicate if you think that the following statements are *true* or *false*.

**Polling stations close at 10:00 p.m. on Election Day**

**The Liberal Democrats favour a system of proportional representation for Westminster elections.**

**The minimum voting age is 16**

**The standard rate of income tax payable is 26 p in the pound**

**The Chancellor of the Exchequer is responsible for setting interest rates in the UK**

**Labour wants university students to pay up to £3,000 each year for their education**

**The Conservative Party favours imposing strict limits on the number of asylum-seekers who can enter Britain each year.**

**Any registered voter can obtain a postal vote if they want one – by ringing their local council and asking for a postal vote**

True

False

Don't know

**ROTATE PAGES 67, 68, 69****PAGE 67****BASE: All**

**We have a number of parties in Britain, each of which would like to get your vote.**

**Using a 0-10 scale, where 0 means very unlikely and 10 means very likely, how likely is it that you would ever vote for the Labour Party?**

0 - very unlikely

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 - very likely

**PAGE 68****BASE: All**

**We have a number of parties in Britain, each of which would like to get your vote.**

**Using a 0-10 scale, where 0 means very unlikely and 10 means very likely, how likely is it that you would ever vote for the Conservative Party?**

0 - very unlikely

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 - very likely

**PAGE 69****BASE: All**

**We have a number of parties in Britain, each of which would like to get your vote.**

**Using a 0-10 scale, where 0 means very unlikely and 10 means very likely, how likely is it that you would ever vote for the Liberal Democrat Party?**

0 - very unlikely

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 - very likely

**PAGE 70****BASE: All who live in Scotland****BASE: If not [P1Q1=6] then routepage=71;****And on the same scale, where 0 means very unlikely and 10 means very likely, how likely is it that you would ever vote for the Scottish National Party (SNP)?**

0 - very unlikely

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 - very likely

**PAGE 71****BASE: All who live in Wales****BASE: If not [P1Q1=9] then routepage=72;****And on the same scale, where 0 means very unlikely and 10 means very likely, how likely is it that you would ever vote for Plaid Cymru?**

0 - very unlikely

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 - very likely

**PAGE 72****BASE: All****Finally, generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat or what?**

Labour

Conservative

Liberal Democrat

Scottish National Party (SNP)

Plaid Cymru

Green Party

United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)

British National Party (BNP)

Other Party

No Party, None

Don't know

**PAGE 73**

**BASE: All**

**Now some questions about you...**

**Are you a member of any of the following groups? Please indicate all groups that you are a member of:**

Trade union  
Business or employers' association  
Farmers association  
Professional association  
None of these

**If you have a spouse or domestic partner, please indicate all groups that your spouse or partner is a member of:**

I do not have a spouse or a domestic partner  
Trade union  
Business or employers' association  
Farmers association  
Professional association  
None of these

**What is the size of the community you live in?**

Live on a farm  
Village under 500 people  
500 to 1,000 people  
1,001 to 10,000 people  
10,000 to 50,000 people  
50,001 to 100,000 people  
100,001 to 500,000 people  
500,001 to 1,000,000 people  
Over 1,000,000 people  
Don't know

**If you belong to a religion, how often do you attend religious services?**

Every week  
Almost every week  
Once or twice a month  
A few times a year  
Do not attend religious services  
Do not belong to a religion  
Don't know

**In your life, would you say religion is very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all?**

Very important  
Somewhat important  
Not very important  
Not important at all  
Don't know