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THE BRITISH REFERENDUM STUDY

Dept of Government University of Essex Colchester

Please answer the questions below. You will find the form easy and quick to fill in. All you have to do is to tick the right box for each question. If there is a question you feel unable to answer, just leave it blank and go on to the next one. Most of the questions concern the referendum on the Common Market, that is, the European Community or EEC.

Please return this form in the enclosed envelope within the next few days. And please remember, it does not matter if you did not vote — we would still like to have your replies. Please feel free to write any comments you may have at the end. Thank you.

1 Did you read any of the official leaflets about the Common Market that were sent to everyone through the post?

Please put a tick against each of the titles below that you have read

H M Government's "Britain's New Deal in Europe"

"Why You Should Vote NO"

"Why You Should Vote YES"

I did not read any of the leaflets

I did not even see any of the leaflets

6
7
8

2 How do you feel about having referendum votes on other things in the future?

Please tick one box only

We should not hold a referendum on anything else

Referendum votes should be held occasionally, but only on serious matters

Referendum votes should be held fairly often

	1
	2
	3

9

3 Being in the Common Market means that Britain will have to accept that many decisions must be taken with the approval of other countries. How do you think this will affect Britain's best interest?

Please tick one box only

On the whole it will be a good thing

On the whole it will be a bad thing

It will not matter much either way

	1
	2
	3

10

4 The Referendum Vote

Which way did you vote?

Please tick one box only

I voted YES

I voted NO

I did not vote

	1
	2
	5

5 When you voted, how sure were you that you voted the right way?

Please tick one box only

very sure

fairly sure

not very sure

I did not vote

	1
	2
	3
	5

6 How long ago did you decide that you would definitely vote the way you did?

Please tick one box only

a long time ago

some time this year

only a little before the referendum

I did not vote

	1
	2
	3
	5

7 This Spring the Government negotiated new terms with the Common Market. When you decided how to vote, and whether to vote, how much difference did the new terms make?

Please tick one box only

The new terms made no difference to me

The new terms made me more favourable to the Common Market

The new terms made me less favourable to the Common Market

	1
	2
	3

8 People have different views about how being in the Common Market will affect prices

Please tick the answer below that comes closest to your own view on this

- Being in the Common Market will make it more difficult to stop rising prices 1
- Being in the Common Market will make it easier to stop rising prices 2
- Being in the Common Market will not make much difference either way 3
- I have no opinion on this 8

12 Please give a mark out of ten for each of the following parties according to how much or how little you like them.

You can give any mark from 0 to 10 Give a low mark to indicate that you 'dislike' the party and a high mark that you 'like' it

Please give your mark here

Conservative Party

Labour Party

Liberal Party

Scottish National Party

9 How well do you think the Labour Government has handled the problem of rising prices?

Please tick one box only

- very well 1
- fairly well 2
- not very well 3
- not at all well 4
- I have no opinion on this 8

13 Thinking about all the things a government has to handle, how far do you feel that you can rely on the Labour Government to do what is right?

Please tick one box only

- usually 1
- most of the time 2
- only rarely 3

10 Generally speaking do you think of yourself as being closer to one political party than to any other?

Please put a tick below if you think of yourself as Conservative, Labour, Liberal, Scottish Nationalist, etc. If you don't feel close to any party, tick the box marked 'None'

- Conservative 1
- Labour 2
- Liberal 3
- Scottish Nationalist 4
- Other Party (Please specify) 6
- None 7

14 How far do you feel you could rely on the Government to do what is right if the Conservatives were in power now?

Please tick one box only

- usually 1
- most of the time 2
- only rarely 3

11 And how strongly do you support the party you have ticked?

- very strongly 1
- fairly strongly 2
- not very strongly 3

15 Which side in the referendum do you think these groups supported?

If you think the group was mainly for 'Yes' tick the *Mainly Yes* column, if you think it was fairly evenly divided tick the middle column, if you think it was mainly for 'No' tick the *Mainly No* column. If you are not sure about a group leave that line blank

	Mainly Yes	Fairly evenly divided	Mainly No
Business and Industry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trade Unions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labour MPs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conservative MPs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Liberal MPs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parliament as a whole	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Cabinet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please use this space for any comments that you wish to make

REF01 RESPONDENT SERIAL NUMBER

Question 1

Did you read any of the official leaflets about the Common Market that were sent to everyone through the post?

REF02 READ GOVERNMENT LEAFLET

1	Yes	910
2	No	1193
9	DK/NA	14

REF03 READ 'NO' LEAFLET

1	Yes	1197
2	No	906
9	DK/NA	14

REF04 READ 'YES' LEAFLET

1	Yes	1261
2	No	842
9	DK/NA	14

Question 2

REF05 REFERENDA IN FUTURE

how do you feel about having referendum votes on other things in the future?

1	We should not hold a referendum on anything else	549
2	Referendum votes should be held occasionally, but only on serious matters	1363

(Continued on next page)

3	Referendum votes should be held fairly often	175
9	DK/NA	30

Question 3 REF06 DECISIONS OF EEC AND BRITAIN

Being in the Common Market means that Britain will have to accept that many decisions must be taken with the approval of other countries. How do you think this will affect Britain's best interest?

1	On the whole it will be a good thing	987
2	On the whole it will be a bad thing	478
3	It will not matter much either way	606
9	DK/NA	46

Question 4 REF07 REFERENDUM VOTE

The Referendum Vote : Which way did you vote?

1	Voted Yes	1242
2	Voted No	487
5	Did not vote	374
9	DK/NA	14

Question 5 REF08 VOTED RIGHT WAY

When you voted, how sure were you that you voted the right way?

1	Very Sure	879
2	Fairly Sure	656
3	Not Very Sure	203
5	Did not vote	374
9	DK/NA	5

Question 6 REF09 WHEN DECIDED ON VOTE:

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

1	A long time ago	769
2	Some time this year	481
3	Only a little before the Referendum	486
5	Did not vote	374
9	DK/NA	7

Question 7 REF10 NEW TERMS

This Spring the Government negotiated new terms with the Common Market. When you decided how to vote, and whether to vote, how much difference did the new terms make?

1	The new terms made <u>no difference to me</u>	1317
2	The new terms made me <u>more favourable</u> to the Common Market	607
3	The new terms made me <u>less favourable</u> to the Common Market	118
9	DK/NA	75

Question 8 REF11 EEC AND PRICES

People have different views about how being in the Common Market will affect prices.

1	Being in the Common Market will make it <u>more difficult</u> to stop rising prices	616
2	Being in the Common Market will make it <u>easier</u> to stop rising prices	321
3	Being in the Common Market will <u>not make much difference</u> either way	970
8	DK	188
9	NA	22

Question 9

REF12

LABOUR HANDLING OF PRICES
.....

How well do you think the Labour Government has handled the problem of rising prices?

1	Very well	64
2	Fairly well	479
3	Not very well	891
4	Not at all well	581
8	DK	88
9	NA	14

Question 10

REF13

PARTY IDENTIFICATION
.....

Generally speaking do you think of yourself as being closer to one political party than to any other?

1	Conservative	762
2	Labour	756
3	Liberal	228
4	SNP	31
6	Other Party	16
7	None	303
9	NA	21

Question 11

REF14

STRENGTH OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION
.....

And how strongly do you support the party you have ticked?

1	Very strongly	436
2	Fairly strongly	918
3	Not very strongly	514
9	DK/NA	249

Question 12

Please give a mark out of ten for each of the following parties according to how much or how little you like them.

REF15	CONSERVATIVE MARK OUT OF TEN	
	0	154
	1	46
	2	117
	3	108
	4	217
	5	326
	6	198
	7	219
	8	360
	9	101
	10	127
	99 DK/NA	144

REF16	LABOUR MARK OUT OF TEN	
	0	145
	1	54
	2	146
	3	169
	4	236
	5	278
	6	221
	7	169
	8	284
	9	100
	10	151
	99 DK/NA	164

REF17

LIBERAL MARK OUT OF TEN
.....

0	197
1	95
2	189
3	190
4	264
5	358
6	260
7	150
8	117
9	40
10	20
99 DK/NA	237

REF18

SNP MARK OUT OF TEN
.....

0	38
1	6
2	12
3	7
4	16
5	27
6	21
7	12
8	21
9	6
10	10
99 DK/NA	1941

Question 13

REF19

TRUST LABOUR

.....

Thinking about all the things a government has to handle, how far do you feel that you can rely on the Labour Government to do what is right?

1	Usually	402
2	Most of the time	695
3	Only rarely	965
9	DK/NA	55

Question 14

REF20

TRUST CONSERVATIVES

.....

How far do you feel you could rely on the Government to do what is right if the Conservatives were in power now?

1	Usually	400
2	Most of the time	819
3	Only rarely	832
9	DK/NA	66

Question 15

Which side in the referendum do you think these groups supported?

REF21

BUSINESS-SIDE IN REFERENDUM

.....

1	Yes	1596
2	Evenly divided	272
3	No	40
9	DK/NA	209

REF22

TU-SIDE IN REFERENDUM

.....

1	Yes	293
2	Evenly divided	697
3	No	807
9	DK/NA	320

REF23	LABOUR MPS-SIDE IN REFERENDUM	
	1 Yes	659
	2 Evenly divided	1051
	3 No	167
	9 DK/NA	240
REF24	CONSERVATIVE MPS-SIDE IN REFERENDUM	
	1 Yes	1515
	2 Evenly divided	352
	3 No	30
	9 DK/NA	220
REF25	LIBERAL MPS-SIDE IN REFERENDUM	
	1 Yes	1172
	2 Evenly divided	382
	3 No	60
	9 DK/NA	503
REF26	PARLIAMENT-SIDE IN REFERENDUM	
	1 Yes	1226
	2 Evenly divided	414
	3 No	22
	9 DK/NA	455
REF27	CABINET-SIDE IN REFERENDUM	
	1 Yes	1070
	2 Evenly divided	687
	3 No	25
	9 DK/NA	335

REF28

NATURE OF REPLY
.....

1	Post 1 (replied to first questionnaire letter)	1185
2	Post 2 (replied after first reminder letter)	537
3	Post 3 (replied after second reminder letter)	192
4	Telephone	33
5	Personal	170

A SURVEY OF THE REFERENDUM ON THE EEC

Research Project supported by a Social Science Research Council grant to Professor Bo H. Särilvik and Mr. Ivor M. Crewe, Department of Government, University of Essex

REPORT ON DATA COLLECTING AND BASIC DATA PROCESSING

January 1976

INTRODUCTION.

In May 1975 the SSRC awarded a grant (HP3523/1) to Professor Bo H. Särnqvist and Mr. Ivor Crewe at the University of Essex for the purpose of conducting a study of the Referendum of Britain's membership of the EEC which was held 5th June 1975.

The Referendum study was conducted by Särnqvist and Crewe with Mr. David Robertson (also of the University of Essex) as co-investigator and Mr. Anthony Fox as the senior research officer of the project.

Mr. Fox was in charge of the management of the Referendum survey as well as the data preparation.

The present document contains a description of the sample and the fieldwork as well as the Questionnaire and the Code Book. Marginal response distributions for the British cross section sample of electors are also given.

As explained in Part I of the report, the main part of the fieldwork was carried out in the form of a postal survey. However, contacting through personal interviews was employed in a follow-up phase undertaken in order to ensure a satisfactory response rate. This part of the fieldwork was conducted by the Social Science Research Unit, NOP Market Research Limited. The NOP report on the interview fieldwork is included as Part IV in the present document.

PART I

SAMPLE, FIELDWORK, RESPONSE RATES AND DATA PROCESSING

1. THE REFERENDUM SURVEY AND THE 1974 ELECTION SURVEYS - A THREE-WAVE
PANEL STUDY

Although the Referendum study was carried out as a separate project and under a special grant, it was mainly designed as a follow-up study, linked to the surveys of the two elections in 1974 already conducted by the British Election Study at the University of Essex. Professor Bo Särilvik and Mr. Ivor Crewe are Project Directors with Mr. James Alt as the Chief Research Officer; Mr. Anthony Fox is Senior Research Officer in the election project. The British Election Study was financed by an SSRC grant to Särilvik and Crewe for a study of "political attitudes and voting behaviour in Britain 1964-1974/75" (HR 2793/1).

The study of the 1974 elections comprised three component survey samples. One of these consisted of the sample interviewed in David Butler's and Donald Stokes' survey of the 1970 election; respondents in that sample were interviewed again in the survey of the February 1974 election. A second cross section sample, representing the 1974 electorate, was interviewed in two subsequent surveys carried out in the Spring and Autumn of 1974 during the months following the February and October elections, respectively. The October election sample also includes electors who had reached voting age in the period between the two elections in 1974 as well as a supplement added in order to maintain sample size. The third of our samples is a special Scottish sample which can be analysed in conjunction with the Scottish part of the national sample and thus provides a cross section sample of the Scottish electorate. The special Scottish sample was interviewed only in the second of the two election surveys in 1974. The Referendum study is based on the British cross section sample (as

supplemented for the October survey) and the special Scottish sample. For the British cross section sample we have thus obtained a three-wave panel survey, whilst the special Scottish sample forms a two-wave panel.

2. DATA COLLECTING AND DATA PREPARATION

The Referendum study was carried out in the form of a postal survey with a complementary follow-up phase in which those who failed to respond by post were contacted by interviewers. The choice of this particular design was determined by the financial support available for the study. In the previous election studies the entire fieldwork was done through personal interviews.

The use of the postal survey technique (requiring respondents to fill out the questionnaires and return them by mail) obviously imposed certain restrictions on the type of questions from the previous studies that could be replicated in the referendum survey as well as on the size of the questionnaire. Given that for the main part of the sample the Referendum survey formed a third wave of a panel study, it became a concern of utmost importance to achieve a high response rate. For this reason, it was decided that the postal questionnaire must be brief and simple, so that it would not require more than ten minutes or so for the large majority of the respondents to fill out their responses. With this limitation it was still possible to include in the questionnaire a number of questions asked in previous panel waves of particular relevance for over-time analysis as well as a set of questions which covered the major

aspects of public debate on the LEC issue at the time of the Referendum. The questionnaire and its accompanying cover letters to respondents are to be found in Part II of this report.

The postal survey stage of the Referendum study was administered by the project staff at the University of Essex. For the interviewing work, we used the services of a professional fieldwork organisation, the Social Research Unit, NOP Market Research Limited.

The questionnaire prepared for the postal survey was used also in the personal interviews. The project staff at the University of Essex prepared a supplementary instruction for the interviewers; this contained the instructions needed to adapt the postal questionnaire to the personal contact situation. Interviewing and contacting was done at personal visits or - when possible - on telephone. Almost all interviews were conducted in the period from July 11th to July 21st. Interviewers were instructed to make up to five attempts to contact respondents during this period. The fieldwork organisation was given a list of 549 persons to be contacted; this list comprised respondents in the British cross section sample as well as the special Scottish sample. A total of 293 successful interviews were conducted; this amounts to 53.4% of all respondents which we tried to contact in the follow-up phase. A detailed account of the interview fieldwork is given in Part IV.

The total sample of the Referendum study comprised, in effect, all those who had been interviewed in the survey of the October 1974 election, i.e. in the British cross section sample as well as in the special Scottish sample.* The sample is thus based on the 1974 electoral register and

*For further details on the October 1974 sample, see:
The British Election Study of October 1974. Methodological Report, SCPP
April 1975

includes only individuals eligible to vote at the time of the October 1974 election. Neither the entrance of young voters who became eligible to vote during the period up to the Referendum, nor other changes which affected the electoral registers (like mortality, immigration, emigration etc.) are reflected in our sample. In general, this discrepancy between our sample and the actual electorate in June 1975 is not likely to have more than a slight and negligible effect on the data. But it must naturally be taken into account in analyses involving any classifications according to age, since the younger age groups must be relatively under-sized because of the exclusion of new voters. In conclusion, one further limitation of the sample should be noted: although we refer to our main sample as a British cross section sample, it does not include the part of Scotland to the North of the Caledonian Canal and Northern Ireland.

The organisation of the fieldwork was determined by the aim of collecting data from the largest possible part of the sample through questionnaires returned by mail. In the first stage, questionnaires were sent out to all respondents in the sample. These questionnaires were mailed by first class post on the day of the Referendum (Thursday, 5th June) so as to reach most of the respondents by the weekend. Subsequently, two reminder letters were sent out (on the 13th June and 20th June, respectively) to respondents who had not already replied. Records on the number of questionnaires returned were kept on a daily basis. All mail to respondents contained a copy of the questionnaire, an explanatory letter (revised for each of the reminder letters), and a stamped and addressed response envelope. The text of the second reminder letter was personalised by the inclusion of the name of the addressees ("Dear Mr. ..."). The mailing of the reminder letters was timed so that these were sent when a sharp drop in the number of incoming response letters indicated that the

effect of the previous letter had been fully exploited; a further consideration in the timing of the reminder letters was that they were to reach respondents just before a weekend. At the time when the effect of the second reminder letter could be registered, it was decided that no significant increase in the response rate could be achieved through further reminder letters. This is to say that the fieldwork had reached the stage when follow-up efforts were to be undertaken in the form of personal contacting by interviewing. A further consideration in this context was that it was desirable to time-schedule the interview fieldwork so as to make sure that it could be completed before the general holiday period, when many potential respondents would be likely to be away from home.

For reasons of cost, we did not attempt to contact respondents in the special Scottish sample who lived north of the Caledonian Canal through interviewers. Instead, a third reminder letter was sent to the small number of respondents in this area who had not already replied.

3. THE RESPONSE RATE

For our cross section sample of respondents interviewed in the October 1974 election study, a response rate of 89.5% was attained. In this sample, we thus obtained returned mail questionnaires from 1914 (81%). Furthermore, 171 respondents were interviewed at personal visits, whilst 33 persons were interviewed over the telephone; thus, in total, the follow-up phase yielded 203 completed interviews (9%). The response in the special Scottish sample was slightly lower: responses were obtained from 86% of this sample.

The progress of the fieldwork is illuminated by the following table. The table comprises the British cross section sample (respondents interviewed in the October election study). Percentages in the leftmost column show how the response rate was pushed upwards through each of the stages of the fieldwork, whilst the middle column shows the percentage distribution of all interviewed over the categories in the table rows; numbers of individuals are given in the column to the right in the table.

It should be kept in mind that the response rates given in the preceding paragraph refer only to those individuals in the October survey with whom interviews were conducted in that study. One alternative way of illuminating the effect of non-response on the total October survey sample is to use the total number of respondents in that sample as a base. The British cross section sample in the October 1974 election study comprised 3,208 individuals who were considered within the actual scope of the fieldwork operation (i.e. excluding persons on the original sample list who were found to have deceased, or had moved and could not be traced and also cases when the house indicated on the address list had been demolished, etc.). Of these, 74% were actually interviewed in the October election study.

In order to calculate the overall response rates through the various stages of the three-wave panel, one may use the original sample of the February 1974 election study as the base line. This included a total of 3400 individuals; after exclusion of deceased, people who had moved abroad and cases where houses on the address list had been demolished etc. this number is reduced to 3334. Of this net sample, 74% were interviewed in the February election study, and 57% were interviewed in the October election study. Thus there was a loss amounting to 17% of the original.

	Response rate at the end of each stage of the field work: cumulative per cent	Respondents by time and type of interview: per cent	Number of individuals
Initial postal questionnaire returned	50%	56%	1,185
Questionnaire returned after first reminder letter	73%	25%	537
Questionnaire returned after second reminder letter	81%	9%	192
Interviewed in follow-up phase	90%	10%	203
TOTAL	..	100%	2,117
Percentage base	2,365	2,117*	..

*Note: The actual number of returned questionnaires (by post or through personal interviews) was 2,123. Because of minor slippages between the register of recorded field work for the October study and the number of cases which were actually included in the October election data set, the number of Referendum study cases which could be merged with the panel data set amounts to 2,117, i.e. the number given in the table above.

net sample from the first to the second panel wave; of this 14% consisted of individuals who were no longer "within the scope" of the fieldwork sample (deceased, house at listed address demolished, had moved and could not be traced), whilst 3% could be classified as "non-response" in a strict sense. Finally, after the completion of the Referendum study we still retain 51% of the February net sample as respondents whose answers were obtained also in the third wave of the panel. Taken together these figures illustrate how a panel sample is affected by a progressive sequence of losses which are caused not only by outright refusals but also by factors like geographical mobility and redevelopment of housing areas as well as deaths and emigration. The data should also serve to illuminate the reasons why it was considered a concern of utmost importance to design the third panel wave in such a way that the further obliteration of the original sample was to be as limited as possible.

4. DATA PROCESSING

The data gathered through the Referendum study has been coded in accordance with the code book conventions applied in the British Election Study. The data are stored in the SPSS system file format with a machine readable codebook. For panel analysis purposes data files comprising the referendum study as well as the election studies have been created.

The Code Book for the Referendum study is included as Part III of the current report.

5. THE REFERENDUM VOTE: IN THE SAMPLE AND IN THE ENTIRE ELECTORATE

In the electorate, the Yes vote amounted to 67% of all votes cast in the Referendum, whilst the No alternative received 33% of the vote. The turnout was 64% of all eligible to vote.

The distribution in the sample is given below. As is seen from this data, the Yes alternative received 72% and the No alternative 28% of the votes among those who participated in the Referendum and provided information about their voting choice. The Yes proportion is somewhat overestimated by the sample. The turnout (82%) in the sample is furthermore considerably higher than in the electorate. The fact that Northern Ireland and the part of Scotland to the North of the Caledonian Canal are not covered by the sample should of course be kept in mind in this context, but the effect of this exclusion on the percentages for the sample must be very slight. On the whole, the discrepancy between the sample and the electorate must, therefore, be due to other factors. The nature of these factors will need to be illuminated by further substantive analyses of the data material.

	Per cent: All respondents	Respondents who participated in the Referendum and reported their votes
Voted "Yes"	59%	72%
Voted "No"	23%	28%
Did not answer question about voting	0	..
Did not vote	18%	..
TOTAL	100%	100%
Percentage base	2117	1729

PART II

QUESTIONNAIRE & COVER LETTERS TO RESPONDENTS

IN THE POSTAL SURVEY STAGE OF THE FIELD WORK

THE BRITISH REFERENDUM STUDY

THE BRITISH ELECTION STUDY AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX

Department of Government
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester CO4 3SQ

Tel Colchester (0206) 44144 Ext 2272

5 June 1975

You may remember that an interviewer working for the British Election Study visited you after the last general election. You very kindly agreed to talk to us, for which we thank you again

We are now conducting the final part of our study and this concerns the Referendum on the Common Market (EEC). This time we will be very brief. We are not asking for an interview, but we would be most grateful if you could spare us a few minutes to fill in the enclosed form in order to help us complete our study.

You will find the form easy and quick to fill in. All you have to do is tick a few boxes. Please use our stamped and addressed envelope and return the form to us within the next few days.

We need your answers to these questions so that we can accurately describe people's views in Britain over the last year. For this we need replies both from people who voted and from those who did not. This research is entirely impartial and has nothing to do with the Government or any political organisation. Your name and address will be kept strictly confidential.

Thank you very much for your help, now and in the past



Professor B. Sarlvik



Mr I. Crewe



Mr. D. Robertson

THE BRITISH REFERENDUM STUDY

THE BRITISH ELECTION STUDY AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX

Department of Government
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester CO4 3SQ

Tel Colchester (0206) 44144 Ext 2272

June 1975

About a week ago we sent you a brief form with some questions concerning the recent Referendum on the Common Market.

If you have already returned the form you need pay no further attention to this letter, but we would like to take this opportunity to thank you once again for your help.

If you have not returned the form, we would be most grateful if you could find a few minutes to fill it in and send it back to us within the next few days. We enclose a second copy of the form and another stamped and addressed envelope. It does not matter whether you fill in this copy or the one which we sent you previously.

The form is very short and straightforward. Your answers will be used only for statistical tables and we do assure you that your name, address and replies will be treated in the strictest confidence.

The purpose of our study is to provide an accurate and impartial picture of British public opinion on the Common Market and other issues over the past year. This must reflect all the different views held by people in this country. Therefore, we need to hear from as many as possible of those who have previously helped in our study, whether they voted in the Referendum or not, and whether or not they personally had any strong feelings about the matter. This is why we are asking you and all the others whom we interviewed after the last general election to help us again now.

Thank you in advance for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Bo Sarlvik

Ivor Crewe

Professor B. Sarlvik

David Robertson

Mr. I. Crewe

Mr. D. Robertson

THE BRITISH REFERENDUM STUDY

THE BRITISH ELECTION STUDY AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX

Department of Government
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester CO4 3SQ

Tel Colchester (0206) 44144 Ext 2272

June 1975

We hope you don't mind if we call your attention once again to the short form which we sent you a little while ago in connection with the recent Referendum on the Common Market. We would indeed be most grateful if you could spare just a few minutes to fill in the form and return it to us.

For your convenience we enclose another copy of the form and a stamped and addressed envelope.

All you have to do to answer the questions is put in a few ticks. If there is any question that you feel unable to answer, just leave it blank and go on to the next.

Thank you in advance for your help.

Yours sincerely,



Professor B. Sarlvik



Mr I. Crewe



Mr D. Robertson

P.S. If you have returned the form in the last few days, please pay no attention to this letter. Thank you for your help.

THE BRITISH REFERENDUM STUDY

THE BRITISH ELECTION STUDY AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX

Department of Government
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester CO4 3SO

Tel Colchester (0206) 4444 Ext 21

We hope you don't mind if we call your attention to the short form which we sent you a little while ago in connection with the recent Referendum on the Common Market. We would indeed be most grateful if you could spare just a few minutes to fill in the form and return it to us. This will be the last time we will need to trouble you, and you would really do us a great favour by helping us to complete this study.

For your convenience we enclose another copy of the form and a stamped and addressed envelope.

All you have to do to answer the questions is put in a few ticks. If there is any question that you feel unable to answer, just leave it blank and go on to the next.

The purpose of our study is to provide an accurate and impartial picture of British public opinion on the Common Market and other issues over the past year. This must reflect all the different views held by people in Scotland as well as the rest of Britain. Therefore, we need to hear from as many as possible of those who have previously helped in our study, whether they voted in the Referendum or not, and whether or not they personally had any strong feelings about the matter.

This is why we are asking you and all the others whom we interviewed after the last General Election to help us again now. Thank you in advance for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Professor B. Sarlvik

Enc.

PART III

CODE BOOK AND MARGINAL RESPONSE DISTRIBUTIONS

FOR THE BRITISH CROSS SECTION SAMPLE

REF01 RESPONDENT SERIAL NUMBER

Question 1

Did you read any of the official leaflets about the Common Market that were sent to everyone through the post?

REF02 READ GOVERNMENT LEAFLET

1	Yes	910
2	No	1193
9	DK/NA	14

REF03 READ 'NO' LEAFLET

1	Yes	1197
2	No	906
9	DK/NA	14

REF04 READ 'YES' LEAFLET

1	Yes	1261
2	No	842
9	DK/NA	14

Question 2

REF05 REFERENDA IN FUTURE

How do you feel about having referendum votes on other things in the future?

1	We should not hold a referendum on anything else	549
2	Referendum votes should be held occasionally, but only on serious matters	1363

(Continued on next page)

3	Referendum votes should be held fairly often	175
9	DK/NA	30

Question 3 REF06 DECISIONS OF EEC AND BRITAIN

Being in the Common Market means that Britain will have to accept that many decisions must be taken with the approval of other countries. How do you think this will affect Britain's best interest?

1	On the whole it will be a good thing	987
2	On the whole it will be a bad thing	478
3	It will not matter much either way	606
9	DK/NA	46

Question 4 REF07 REFERENDUM VOTE

The Referendum Vote : Which way did you vote?

1	Voted Yes	1242
2	Voted No	487
5	Did not vote	374
9	DK/NA	14

Question 5 REF08 VOTED RIGHT WAY

When you voted, how sure were you that you voted the right way?

1	Very Sure	879
2	Fairly Sure	656
3	Not Very Sure	203
5	Did not vote	374
9	DK/NA	5

Question 6

REF09

WHEN DECIDED ON VOTE:
.....

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

1	A long time ago	769
2	Some time this year	481
3	Only a little before the Referendum	486
5	Did not vote	374
9	DK/NA	7

Question 7

REF10

NEW TERMS
.....

This Spring the Government negotiated new terms with the Common Market. When you decided how to vote, and whether to vote, how much difference did the new terms make?

1	The new terms made <u>no difference to me</u>	1317
2	The new terms made me <u>more favourable</u> to the Common Market	607
3	The new terms made me <u>less favourable</u> to the Common Market	118
9	DK/NA	75

Question 8

REF11

EEC AND PRICES
.....

People have different views about how being in the Common Market will affect prices.

1	Being in the Common Market will make it <u>more difficult</u> to stop rising prices	616
2	Being in the Common Market will make it <u>easier</u> to stop rising prices	321
3	Being in the Common Market will <u>not make much difference</u> either way	970
8	DK	188
9	NA	22

Question 9

REF12

LABOUR HANDLING OF PRICES
.....

How well do you think the Labour Government has handled the problem of rising prices?

1	Very well	64
2	Fairly well	479
3	Not very well	891
4	Not at all well	581
8	DK	88
9	NA	14

Question 10

REF13

PARTY IDENTIFICATION
.....

Generally speaking do you think of yourself as being closer to one political party than to any other?

1	Conservative	762
2	Labour	756
3	Liberal	228
4	SNP	31
6	Other Party	16
7	None	303
9	NA	21

Question 11

REF14

STRENGTH OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION
.....

And how strongly do you support the party you have ticked?

1	Very strongly	436
2	Fairly strongly	918
3	Not very strongly	514
9	DK/NA	249

Question 12

Please give a mark out of ten for each of the following parties according to how much or how little you like them.

REF15	CONSERVATIVE MARK OUT OF TEN	
	0	154
	1	46
	2	117
	3	108
	4	217
	5	326
	6	198
	7	219
	8	360
	9	101
	10	127
	99 DK/NA	144

REF16	LABOUR MARK OUT OF TEN	
	0	145
	1	54
	2	146
	3	169
	4	236
	5	278
	6	221
	7	169
	8	284
	9	100
	10	151
	99 DK/NA	164

REF17

LIBERAL MARK OUT OF TEN
.....

0	197
1	95
2	189
3	190
4	264
5	358
6	260
7	150
8	117
9	40
10	20
99 DK/NA	237

REF18

SNP MARK OUT OF TEN
.....

0	38
1	6
2	12
3	7
4	16
5	27
6	21
7	12
8	21
9	6
10	10
99 DK/NA	1941

Question 13

REF19

TRUST LABOUR
.....

Thinking about all the things a government has to handle, how far do you feel that you can rely on the Labour Government to do what is right?

1	Usually	402
2	Most of the time	695
3	Only rarely	965
9	DK/NA	55

Question 14

REF20

TRUST CONSERVATIVES
.....

How far do you feel you could rely on the Government to do what is right if the Conservatives were in power now?

1	Usually	400
2	Most of the time	819
3	Only rarely	832
9	DK/NA	66

Question 15

Which side in the referendum do you think these groups supported?

REF21

BUSINESS-SIDE IN REFERENDUM
.....

1	Yes	1596
2	Evenly divided	272
3	No	40
9	DK/NA	209

REF22

TU-SIDE IN REFERENDUM
.....

1	Yes	293
2	Evenly divided	697
3	No	807
9	DK/NA	320

REF23	LABOUR MPS-SIDE IN REFERENDUM	
	1 Yes	659
	2 Evenly divided	1051
	3 No	167
	9 DK/NA	240
REF24	CONSERVATIVE MPS-SIDE IN REFERENDUM	
	1 Yes	1515
	2 Evenly divided	352
	3 No	30
	9 DK/NA	220
REF25	LIBERAL MPS-SIDE IN REFERENDUM	
	1 Yes	1172
	2 Evenly divided	382
	3 No	60
	9 DK/NA	503
REF26	PARLIAMENT-SIDE IN REFERENDUM	
	1 Yes	1226
	2 Evenly divided	414
	3 No	22
	9 DK/NA	455
REF27	CABINET-SIDE IN REFERENDUM	
	1 Yes	1070
	2 Evenly divided	687
	3 No	25
	9 DK/NA	335

REF28

NATURE OF REPLY
.....

1	Post 1 (replied to first questionnaire letter)	1185
2	Post 2 (replied after first reminder letter)	537
3	Post 3 (replied after second reminder letter)	192
4	Telephone	33
5	Personal	170

PART IV

THE INTERVIEW FIELDWORK

THIS PART CONTAINS THE REPORT ON THE
INTERVIEW FIELDWORK PREPARED BY:

THE SOCIAL RESEARCH UNIT,
NOP MARKET RESEARCH LIMITED

INTRODUCTION

The Social Research Unit at NOP Market Research Limited was commissioned by the British Referendum Study to contact and interview members of a large panel of respondents who had not responded to a postal questionnaire.

In total 687 names were passed on to NOP Market Research with the aim of achieving as many interviews as possible either by telephone or face to face contact. However, before fieldwork was commenced, and to some extent, while fieldwork was in progress a trickle of postal questionnaires returned to the British Referendum Study at the University of Essex. These were deleted from the sample of names to be contacted as soon as possible. Inevitably, a few interviews were conducted with respondents who had also posted a self-completion questionnaire but these have been removed from the returns and are not counted in the overall report on fieldwork. Taking into account these deletions NOP Market Research attempted to contact 549 respondents.

FIELDWORK REPORT

The fieldwork for the survey was conducted between July 11th - July 21st 1975. Some interviews were conducted after this date, for example, in the case of respondents returning from holiday or the re-directing of questionnaires to trace respondents who had moved to different parts of the country. However, at least 95% of the total interviews were carried out in the main fieldwork period.

The following table gives a break down of fieldwork in terms of contact rate, looking at both the total sample and the various regions. The basic contact rate was 53% with Scotland, London and the South being the main areas of low contact.

		<u>All</u>	<u>Scot- land</u>	<u>North</u>	<u>Midlands & Wales</u>	<u>London S.E. & E Anglia</u>
Sample size		549	198	121	84	146
Complete interviews	No.	293	98	74	49	72
	(%)	(53.4)	(49.5)	(61.2)	(58.3)	(49.3)
Non-contacts	No.	256	100	47	35	74
	(%)	(46.6)	(51.5)	(38.8)	(41.7)	(51.7)

Clearly much of the non-contact was due to the nature of the panel. Since the previous interview in October 1974 many people had moved and the panel decay was inevitably more substantial amongst the residual sample that NOP was attempting to contact. Further, panel members had been subject to two extensive interviews and amongst some there was resentment and hostility which reflected itself in non-cooperation by not sending back the postal questionnaire and refusing a personal interview.

The following table summarises the reasons for non-contact of the 256 respondents we could not interview.

	<u>All</u>	<u>Scot- land</u>	<u>North</u>	<u>Midlands & Wales</u>	<u>E Anglia S E & S W The South</u>
Sample size	256	100	47	35	74
Refused	76 (29.7)	26	16	12	22
Moved	43 (16.8)	9	4	12	18
On holiday	38 (14.8)	28	3	2	5
Not available after 5 calls	33 (12.9)	16	4	1	12
Too ill	12 (4.7)	4	5	0	3
In hospital	7 (2.7)	3	2	1	1
House empty	5 (2.0)	1	2	1	1
Dead	2 (0.8)	1	1	0	0
Not accounted for	17 (6.6)	6	5	4	2
Other reasons	23 (9.0)	6	5	2	10

(% in brackets)

The effective contact rate, excluding the movers and the dead from the sample size, was almost 60%. It should be stressed at this point that up to five attempts were made to contact respondents. The fieldwork period coincided with the main holiday period for several of the Scottish sampling points and this explains the importance of this reason for non-contact in Scotland.

REFERENDUM RECALL SURVEY

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS

BACKGROUND

This survey is being conducted on behalf of the University of Essex. They are undertaking a major research project into the political attitudes and behaviour of the British population, looking especially at how these change over time. In order to look at changes in attitude they decided to set up a panel of respondents to be re-interviewed at the time of major political events

These respondents were first interviewed at the time of the February General Election last year and again just after the October election. On both occasions the respondents were asked a long and detailed questionnaire.

When the E.E.C. Referendum came along, the research team at Essex needed to look at the way their respondents had reacted to the referendum and what changes in attitudes took place

This was attempted initially by sending a short self-completion questionnaire to all their respondents. However, approximately 600 people did not reply. NOP were then asked to try to contact these people and the sample list you have received contains the names of respondents in your area who must be contacted

METHOD

You must interview only the named person on your sample list. The interview can be conducted either by personal visit, or, if possible by telephone. Interviews must be conducted between July 11th - 21st and work must be returned to NOP by 23rd July at the latest. You must make up to five attempts to contact each person during the fieldwork period. These calls should be spread over various times of the day as well as week-days and weekends. If you find a respondent is on holiday, please notify head office and keep the questionnaire for that person so that an attempt can be made to conduct the interview when they return from holiday.

THE SAMPLE LIST

The sample lists, in general, contain addresses that are fairly close together. However, in some cases two constituencies have been added together and there may be a little extra travel involved

Some names have been crossed out on the list. This is because their postal questionnaire eventually came back after the list was prepared.

A few names are marked with an 'M'. This indicates that the respondent may have moved. Please attempt to make a contact and if the respondent has moved obtain a forwarding address and telephone number

If the new address is fairly close try to get an interview there.
If you can get a new phone number try to obtain the interview by phone.
If you can not get the interview please pass on the information about
the new address to head office

Do not interview anyone except the named person on the sample list.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

You must complete and return a front page for every name on your sample list. This front page contains details of the respondent, the number of calls made, and in the case of non-contacts, the reason for non-contact. One front page must be returned for every name on your sample list.

Remember to record the five-digit identification number from the sample list onto the front page and the main questionnaire.

The Main Questionnaire

This questionnaire was not originally designed for interviewers, but for respondents to complete themselves in a postal survey, so PLEASE READ THESE NOTES CAREFULLY.

If you interview the respondent in the home, always hand him or her a clean, blank copy of the questionnaire, so that he or she can follow the text and read the response alternatives. In all cases, but in telephone interviews in particular, all response alternatives must be read out very carefully.

Respondents have been asked to tick boxes in reply to questions. However, wherever a code number appears beside the boxes you should put a ring round the appropriate number instead of a tick. Otherwise use ticks. If the reply is "Don't know" and there is no "NO OPINION" box, write in "D.K." Replies which are unlike any of the response alternatives should be written in on the questionnaire, but always try to code the response alternative which is closest to the respondent's own reply. More general comments on the Referendum or on the questions may be written in the comments space at the end of the questionnaire.

Because the questionnaire was designed for the respondent to complete, its style is a little different from those which you usually have. In particular, words and phrases which would normally be used in an interview questionnaire to assist the flow of question and answer have been omitted from the text. You will need to insert such phrases yourself. The notes below offer suggestions of the kind of phrases we would like you to use. Please remember to keep these phrases short and neutral. Fit them into the text but never change the existing wording of questions or answers.

<i>e.g. After Q3,</i>	".... How do you think this will affect Britain's best interests?"
<i>insert the phrase</i>	"DO YOU THINK THAT"
<i>and read out response alternatives</i>	"On the whole it will be a good thing" "On the whole it will be a bad thing..."
<i>and so on</i>	

When you have finished reading these notes, please go through the questionnaire a couple of times to be sure that you know where these phrases are required.

NOTES ON PARTICULAR QUESTIONS

- Q1 Ask the respondent about each of the leaflets in turn and put a tick against each of those that was read. Introduce each of the leaflets with the phrase "DID YOU READ...?"

It may help to remind respondents that the Government's "NEW DEAL IN EUROPE" was printed in red, white and blue and the other two were in yellow and brown.

If no leaflet was read, please try to distinguish between a respondent not reading the leaflets and not seeing them.

- Q2 Insert the phrase "DO YOU THINK", BUT on no account offer any examples of things on which Referendum votes might be held.

- Q3 Insert the phrase "DO YOU THINK THAT..."

- Q4 Introduce this by saying "AND NOW WE COME TO THE REFERENDUM VOTE." If the respondent did not vote, ring code 5 in this and the next two questions and go to Q7.

- Q7 Insert the phrase "WOULD YOU SAY ...?"

- Q8 Insert the phrase "DO YOU THINK ...?"

- Q10 Notice that we are not talking about how the respondent voted in the last General Election, or how he would vote if one were held now, but talking in general about his attachment to a political party.

- Q12 In this question read both the initial statement and the italicised instruction. Take each party in turn and ask:

"WHAT MARK OUT OF TEN WOULD YOU GIVE THE Conservative Party?...."

AND "WHAT MARK OUT OF TEN WOULD YOU GIVE THE Labour Party?..."

and so on.

Marks correspond to the old-fashioned marking system used in schools:- 0 for something awful, 10 for something very good indeed. Here we are marking the parties. If need be, explain it in these terms.

- Q15 "Mainly YES" means that the group was in favour of Britain staying in the Common Market; "Mainly NO" that it was against.

Take each group in turn and ask the question like this:-

"Which side in the Referendum do you think these groups supported? Business and Industry; WAS IT mainly for YES, fairly evenly divided, or mainly for NO?....
And the Trade Unions; WERE THEY mainly for YES?...."

As soon as you have completed the interview, write the five-digit identification number which appears beside the respondent's name on the sample list in the five boxes in the top right-hand corner of the main questionnaire and the front page

Dates of Fieldwork

Fieldwork should be carried out between July 11th - July 21st.
All work must be returned to NOP head office by July 23rd at the latest

Payment

Payment will be made on an hourly basis, with additional claims allowed for mileage and telephone interviews

Equipment

Sample list
Front pages (one for each name and one extra)
Main questionnaire (one for each name and two extra)
Expense form
REcord sheet
Return envelope
Instructions
Letter from Essex University

Reminder

Please remember when completing the questionnaire to ring the number code beside the answer given. Only tick the box at Q1 and Q15 where no number codes are given.

e.g. If at Q4 the respondent said he did not vote - you would ring the answer code 5

4 The Referendum Vote

Which way did you vote?

Please tick one box only

I voted YES

I voted NO

I did not vote

<input type="checkbox"/>	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	2
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	5

11

Finally, when returning your work to NOP remember to secure the front page and the main questionnaire to each other, preferably with a staple.

Good luck with the interviewing.

JOHN O'BRIEN

P.S. Enclosed with your work are letters from the research team at Essex
You may leave these with the respondents, and use them to establish your credentials.

THE BRITISH REFERENDUM STUDY

THE BRITISH ELECTION STUDY AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX

Department of Government
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester CO4 3SQ

Tel Colchester (0206) 44144 Ext 2272

July 1975

We would be most grateful indeed if you would be kind enough to spare our interviewer a few minutes to help us complete our study of the Referendum. After this interview please ignore the form which we sent you by post some time ago.

The bearer of this letter is a trained interviewer from National Opinion Polls Limited, authorised by us to help conduct our research.

These interviews about the Referendum are the last part of a project which has involved over five thousand electors throughout Britain. The purpose of our study is to provide an accurate and impartial picture of British public opinion on the Common Market and other issues over the past year. This must reflect all the different views held by people in this country. We therefore need to hear from as many as possible of those who have previously helped in our study, whether they voted in the Referendum or not, and whether or not they personally had any strong feelings about the matter. This is why we are asking you and all the others whom we interviewed after the last General Election to help us again now.

The research is entirely impartial and has nothing to do with the Government or any political party. Your name, address and answers will be kept strictly confidential.

Yours sincerely,

B. Sarlvik

Professor B. Sarlvik

Iver Crewe

Mr. I. Crewe

David Robertson

Mr. D. Robertson

Serial No _____

Interviewer No. _____

NOP/8690

REFERENDUM RECALL SURVEY

PLEASE TRANSFER THE FOLLOWING DETAILS FROM THE SAMPLE LIST.

NAME OF RESPONDENT _____

ADDRESS _____

SERIAL IDENTIFICATION NUMBER FROM THE SAMPLE LIST

--	--	--	--	--

This number must also be written in at the top of the main questionnaire in the space provided

CONSTITUENCY NAME _____

<u>RECORD OF FIELDWORK</u>				<u>IF CONTACT</u>
	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Personal or Telephone</u>	Length of interview
1st Call	_____	_____	_____	_____
2nd Call	_____	_____	_____	_____
3rd Call	_____	_____	_____	_____
4th Call	_____	_____	_____	_____
5th Call	_____	_____	_____	_____

Personal

Telephone

<u>IF NON CONTACT</u>	
<u>Reason for non contact</u>	
Refused ----- 1	On holiday ----- 5
Dead ----- 2	In hospital ----- 6
Moved ----- 3	Too ill ----- 7
House empty/demolished --- 4	Not available after 4+ calls ----- 8
	Other (WRITE IN) ----- 9

<u>CHECKING RECORD</u>			<u>NOTES</u>
	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Date</u>	
Interviewer			
Accompanied			
Field Check			
Edit Check			

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____