Gender and Voting Behaviour Report
RES-000-22-1857

Background

The research project was an extension of previous quantitative, secondary analysis, and small-scale qualitative exploratory research. The investigator’s PhD thesis (examined in December 2003 and published by the ECPR Press in December 2006) consisted of secondary analysis of large national datasets (Campbell 2004; Campbell 2006). The thesis concluded that men and women’s political preferences and voting behaviour differ, but the relationship is complex and is evident within sub-groups rather than at the aggregate level. There was evidence of a traditional gender gap in decline, where older women are more likely to vote Conservative than older men. A modern gender gap was also apparent (in keeping with Inglehart and Norris’s gender generation gap thesis) where younger women are more left-leaning than younger men in attitudes and sometimes vote choice (Norris 1999; Inglehart & Norris 2000). In particular, sex differences were found in issue priorities. Women are more likely than men to prioritise issues such as health and education, and men are more likely to emphasise the economy. Furthermore, there is an interaction between socio-economic status, sex and parenthood whereby middle/high income mothers are more likely to support the Labour party than middle/high income fathers.

Evidentially gendered parental roles are a key part of any explanation of sex differences in political behaviour. However, no single national dataset contains all of the information necessary to explore the impact of parenthood upon voting behaviour and political attitudes. Thus, this research is uniquely positioned to explore the underlying causes of gender differences in attitudes and vote choice as it includes measures of gendered life experiences: the datafile includes measures of parental status, caring responsibilities for children and dependent adults alongside a raft of political attitudes.

As well as extending the secondary data analysis this research tested the findings of an exploratory focus group project undertaken in May 2005. When talking about politics it seemed that men were more likely to employ the liberal conception of the rational autonomous individual as the subject of political action. Irrespective of whether they had a socialist or laissez-faire position, men tended to abstract away from the specific needs and interests of particular groups in society. Women, on the other hand, tended to conceptualise politics in terms of its effects upon a web of relationships. They were more likely to highlight the needs of dependent and vulnerable individuals, be they children or others. Women appeared to evaluate policy performance through the interests and experience of people they knew or cared for. A content analysis of the focus group transcripts showed that when discussing politics women made 75 references to their family and/or friends compared with the 7 such references made by men. However, the results are not generalisable to the British population because the focus groups were conducted on a small unrepresentative sample and the members of groups may have influenced each other.

The focus group differences mirror those found by Carol Gilligan in her famous study of gender and moral development (Gilligan 1982). Her thesis has been used by researchers, in the United States, to establish whether the gender gap in voting is caused by psychological traits developed through socialisation (ethics of care accounts) or material (rational choice or self-interest accounts) differences between the sexes (Box-
Steffensmeir, DeBoef, and Lin 1997; Chaney, Alvarez, and Nagler 1998; Kornhauser 1987; Kornhauser 1997; Welch and Hibbing 1992). The focus group research suggested that the socialisation thesis has more explanatory power than the material accounts, because the differences between the sexes were evident across all groups and not just among the respondents who were parents. However, the results of the focus group required further exploration because the differences may result from group interaction effects.

In addition to adding to previous research, this project contributes to the voting behaviour literature more generally. It has been demonstrated that gender has a subtle and pervasive influence upon attitudes and behaviour that should be included in any comprehensive model of vote choice (Campbell 2004; Campbell 2005). However, in the mainstream British literature sex is often included as a control variable, and significant results are usually not discussed, and are not explored further. There have been a handful of studies that have considered gender differences in attitudes and vote choice in more detail (Goot & Reid 1975; Hayes 1997; Norris 1999; Steel 2003) but in general the approach has been to simply ‘add sex and stir’.

Including sex as a control and thus failing to consider differences between women and between men can undermine analysis by producing inflated predictions about potential differences between all men and all women, rather than the subtle interaction between sex and group membership that seems to provoke subgroup gender gaps. For example, in the United States overall women are more likely than men to support Democratic presidential candidates, but Southern religious women are more likely to be Republican identifiers than Southern religious men (Bendyna and Lake 1994). Thus, this research tested for sub-group sex differences and therefore attempted to identify the underlying causes of gender differences in political attitudes and behaviour. In addition to the focus on subgroups the project operationalises gender through the employment of measures of gendered psychological traits.

In the main, British political science research suffers from a lack of measures of gender, as a separate concept from the biological category of sex. This is problematic because gender effects are the product of socialisation and sex is a poor proxy for these. If being born a man or a woman has an impact upon how an individual perceives the world and political events or situations, then the biological category sex may contribute to our understanding of political behaviour. However, if being raised as a man or a woman in a specific social context has an impact upon how an individual perceives the world, political events and situations, then the social category gender or the psychological characteristics associated with a particular notion of gender, may be more important than biological sex. Psychological studies have developed a number of items designed to measure gender. The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) have been rigorously tested and applied and are used in the survey to measure four related concepts, masculinity, femininity, agency and communion.

Thus, the research project was designed to extend our understanding of gender and voting in Britain by measuring abstract/connected approaches to politics, incorporating key background variables such as parental status and by including measures of gendered psychological traits.
Objectives

Addressing the Research Aims:
1. Quantitatively investigate the results of recent qualitative focus group research, which suggest that men and women sometimes use different conceptual frameworks ('connectedness' versus 'separateness' and 'responsibility' versus 'rights') for understanding politics and expressing political values.

This aim was addressed by developing a number of items designed to measure a connected or abstract approach to politics. Significant sex differences were evident within our data but these were not as pronounced as in the focus group research. Overall, the project provided a more robust test and suggests that the single sex focus groups may have magnified the original sex differences. Please see the results section below for a fuller discussion.

2. Establish, quantitatively, through rigorous statistical analysis whether or not and when men and women use different conceptual frameworks when thinking about politics.

There is little evidence that men and women use opposing conceptual frameworks. Instead there are significant sex differences that fall short of radically different conceptual frameworks. The research provided a rigorous test by included a range of items and a large number of relevant control variables.

3. Test the assumptions, often found in the voting behaviour literature, of level heterogeneity or that the same models should be equally applicable across groups. The findings suggest that different groups of voters have different priorities and relate to politics in slightly different ways. This was particularly apparent by both sex and socio-economic status with women and lower income respondents more likely to judge policy on how it will affect their families rather than Britain as a whole. Further modelling is being conducted to investigate these relationships.

4. Redress the lack of a scaled variable to measure masculine and feminine values, currently measured through the dichotomous biological variable of sex.

A number of items where borrowed from the extensive psychological literature that measure gendered character traits. These proved to be highly correlated with political attitudes.

5. Attempt for the first time in British political behaviour analysis to clarify the frameworks which underlie 'masculine' and 'feminine' value systems in order to develop more accurate survey measures.

New measures were created to tap into connected/abstract conceptions of politics. The respondents varied by sex and occupation class but the differences were not dramatic enough to suggest that there exist distinctly 'masculine' or 'feminine' perspectives on politics. Instead subgroup differences, particularly between middle/high income parents were more important.

6. Understand more accurately how common voting behaviour variables (inter alia political knowledge, education, age, marital status, parenthood and income) interact with, effect or modify the 'connectedness,' 'separateness,' 'responsibility' and 'rights' frameworks used by men and women.

This aim has not yet been met. The data contains all of the necessary information but so far a journal article has been written and accepted that considers interest in politics at a general level. Two conference papers have been written, one that concerns the abstract/connectedness measures and another that looks at left/right attitudes. The next level of analysis as described in the aim above will be conducted in 2008.
Research Objectives:

1. **Determine if the differing frameworks found in the exploratory qualitative research can be found in the wider British population, by using rigorous statistical analysis of survey data.**

   The survey evidence suggests that individuals may use different frameworks to judge policy.

2. **Test the hypotheses that 'connectedness' versus 'separateness' and 'responsibility' versus 'rights' are the underlying value dimensions that differentiate men and women's political values.**

   The hypothesis has been tested and falsified. Instead there is an interaction effect between sex, parenthood and socio-economic status.

3. **Determine if, and to what extent, gender is a source of heterogeneity in voting calculations and political values.**

   Gender was found to be a source of heterogeneity when conceptualised as sex differences within subgroups, or measured using psychological scales. The effects are statistically significant and relatively large within key subgroups, such as parents.

4. **Pre-test and test survey questions designed to measure the 'masculine' and 'feminine' value dimensions, with the intention of providing question wording for other social surveys.**

   The measures were tested at the pre-test and pilot stage before their inclusion into the main survey. A number of items have been developed that are suitable for the inclusion in large national datasets.

5. **Examine the correlations of 'masculine' and 'feminine' dimensions against common political measures, such as the 'left-right' and 'liberal-authoritarian' dimensions.**

   This analysis has been done and shows strong correlations between masculine and feminine scores and traditional left-right measures.

6. **Examine the impact of gendered variables in light of common demographic control variables such as political knowledge, education, age, marital status, parenthood and income.**

   The gender variables proved to have an important relationship with various political attitudes. However, they failed to wash out the sex effects.

7. **Determine if a gendered variable can explain the differences found in men and women's political issue priorities and economic evaluations.**

   The gendered variables do not entirely eliminate the sex differences in attitudes, instead they play a part alongside gendered parental roles.

8. **Add to the study of gender and politics in Britain by rigorously testing hypotheses generated from theories of gender difference.**
Material and socialisation accounts have been tested alongside each other. The results suggest that both perspectives are important but that material accounts are the most powerful.

9. Test received wisdom about men and women’s political behaviour.
The research demonstrates that some assumptions about men and women’s political behaviour may be false. For example although women are generally less interested in politics than men, they are on average more interested in domestic political issues such as health and education.

Methods
The creation of the new survey instruments required several iterations of testing. The first attempts to operationalise the concepts were subject to cognitive interviews with a small number of respondents. The survey process was then divided into three stages a test survey, a pilot survey and the final main survey. Sample sizes were increased at each stage giving the most power for the final analysis.

The test survey was divided into two components (A & B). Test A was sent out to 749 members of the YouGov panel and completed by 361. Test B was sent out to 756 members of the panel and completed by 365. Both test surveys were administered and completed between the 3rd and the 9th of November 2006. The test surveys contained different variations of the instruments as well as a small number of experiments testing the effect of question wording and placement on responses. The pilot survey was also divided into A & B. Pilot A was sent out to 1052 members of the panel and completed by 461. Pilot B was sent out to 1148 members of the panel and also completed by 461. The pilot survey was administered and completed between the 15th and the 19th of December 2006. Again the pilot surveys contained different versions of the instruments and survey design experiments. The main survey was administered to 6000 members of the YouGov panel between the 30th of January and the 5th of February 2007, in total 2890 people responded.

The data analysis started with an exploration of the data to check for patterns of variation and simple correlations. Hypotheses were then drawn up using the theories outlined in the ‘background’ section of this report. The hypotheses were tested using simple crosstabulations followed by more sophisticated regression techniques.

Results
The analysis of the results is ongoing but a number of key findings have been made. The central concepts of abstract/connected approaches to politics and measuring gender have been thoroughly explored.

All of the new items used in the survey were developed through the pre-test, pilot and main survey stages. The focus group transcripts were used as a guide to operationalise the connected/abstract dimension by adding references to others as potential influences on political thinking. Respondents were asked to state what factors they give the most weight when thinking about political issues.

The focus group operationalisation measure is defined as ‘self-rated policy preference motivations’. The original question, as formulated in the Test B survey, is presented in figure 1. The categories were combined to compare self and other related responses.
Response categories 1, 2 & 8 were defined as self-related responses and categories 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, & 10 were defined as other-related. Overall 30.2% of men and 22.2% of women selected a self-related response and 64.5% of men and 74.3% of women selected an other-related response. Thus, we see some evidence of women using a more connected framework than men but the results are by no means as strong as those found within the focus group discussion.

The majority of the respondents (64%) placed themselves in either one of the first two categories or the fourth; therefore, the number of available responses was reduced in the pilot survey. The item was split in the pilot; in Pilot A a ‘don’t know’ option was included and respondents to Pilot B were given a forced choice. The women in our test surveys were slightly more likely to select the other or don’t know option than men. Thus, it was decided to test the forced choice option to check whether sex differences in responses result from women’s reduced likelihood of giving a substantive answer. The differences remain in the same direction for both formulations. The sex differences in responses to the self-rated policy motivations item range from 9% to 15%, with more women selecting ‘my family and/or children’, 2.5% to 8% - with more men selecting ‘my life’, and from 5% to 7% - with more men selecting ‘Britain as a whole’.

In the main survey 9% more women than men stated that they would be most likely to consider how a policy would impact upon their family and/or children when making up their minds. Men were about 7% more likely than women to say that they considered the impact a policy would have upon Britain as a whole. This finding seems to undermine the thesis sometimes employed in US studies, that men are more pocket-book oriented or self-interested than women. This sex difference is statistically significant but not as profound as those seen in the focus group research; suggesting that the magnitude of the difference in the focus group projects was inflated by group interaction effects. Furthermore, a number of items designed to test the connected/abstract hypothesis were included in the survey and this one had the largest, but still modest, sex differences. Thus, it would seem that size of sex differences in the focus groups probably resulted from group interaction effects. In the survey data we see a modest but persistent difference with women more likely than men to focus upon the needs of their families when judging policies.

A major aspect of this research project was to utilise measures of gender rather than simply relying on sex as a proxy. Therefore, psychological measures of gender were incorporated into the study. In psychological literature two gender measures have been used repeatedly: the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence and Helmreich, 1978). Through formal empirical research, individuals were asked to identify the socially desirable characteristics of men and of women. This collection of attributes formed the basis for a core set of attributes for each sex (Jenkins and Vroegh, 1969; Bem, 1974; Spence, Helmreich and Stapp, 1974). From these collected accounts the ideal women tends to be described, ‘by such adjectives as emotional, sensitive, and concerned with others (a cluster of attributes most clearly labelled by Bakan’s term: a sense of communion) and the ideal man by such adjectives as competitive, active, and independent (Bakan’s sense of agency),’ (Spencer and Helmreich, 1978 p.17). This is not to say that the ideal woman possesses communion but not agency, or that the ideal man has agentic characteristics and no communal ones, but rather that an ideal individual is characterised as possessing both, but in differing degrees.
In addition, Bem (1974) investigated the concept of androgyny, ‘a self-concept (that) might allow an individual to freely engage in both ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ behaviours,’ (Bem 1974; p. 155). The ideal types are clearly variable across time and space and represent the concept of gender in one particular context.

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) both consist of a number of trait descriptions set up on a masculine scale bipolar scale and a bipolar feminine scale with traits stereotypically differentiating the sexes. The BSRI contains 60 measures which respondents are asked to rate themselves using a seven point scale. The PAQ short form contains 24 items on which respondents are asked to rate themselves according to a five point scale. Masculinity is defined as those characteristics which are present in both men and women, but believed to be possessed with more intensity by males than in females (e.g. independence, competitiveness). Femininity contains characteristics which are considered socially desirable in men and women but are believed to be possessed in greater degree by women. Finally, Spence and Helmreich (1978) included what they deemed the ‘M-F scale’, characteristics that vary in terms of how socially desirable it is in males and females, for instance aggressiveness is judged desirable in men, but not in women.

Although both the BSRI and the PAQ can be used to measure gender, the decision was taken to use the PAQ format rather than the BSRI format for the survey. This decision was based on several considerations. First, the Bem Sex Role Inventory contains 60 questions measuring two aspects (masculinity/agency and femininity/communion) while the original PAQ uses only 24 questions and measures three dimensions (masculinity/agency, femininity/communion and emotional vulnerability), and can be reduced from 24 questions to 18. Considering the premium on question space in a large N survey, choosing 18 questions which tap into three dimensions is more parsimonious than choosing 60 questions which measure two. Although the PAQ and BSRI both employ numerical scales (grounded in adjectives at each extreme of the scale), the PAQ uses only 5 measures while the BSRI employs 7. Given that the scales are ordinal there is less ambiguity in a 5 point scale than a 7 point scale. This might be advantageous in an internet survey format - where the survey is self-administered.

For each of the items below respondents were asked to place themselves along a five point scale.

- Not at all competitive _ _ _ Very competitive
- Not at all self-confident _ _ _ Very self-confident
- Feels very inferior _ _ _ Feels superior
- Not at all aware of feelings of others _ _ _ Very aware of feelings of others
- Not at all kind _ _ _ Very kind
- Not at all helpful to others _ _ _ Very helpful to others
- Not at all excitable in a major crisis _ _ _ Very excitable in a major crisis
- Indifferent to others approval _ _ _ Highly needful of others approval
- Never cry _ _ _ Cry very easily

The selection of the PAQ was also informed by the recent publication by Ward et al., which reduced the number of questions and improved the internal consistency of the scales (Spence and Helmreich, 1978, Ward, et al., 2006). Ward et al note that the scales of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire have been applied to assess masculinity and femininity in gender role and sex differences research (Burnett, et al., 1995, Celluci, et al.,
1998, Dade and Sloan, 2000, Toller, et al., 2004), but have also been used to measure the concepts of agency and communion (Abele, 2003, Fritz, 2000, Fritz and Helgeson, 1998, Helgeson, 1994), and as a measure of instrumental or expressive traits (Cox, et al., 2004, Spence, 1993, Spence and Buckner, 1995). Ward et al renamed the factors of the revised scale ‘agency’ (using the masculine measures), and ‘communion’ (using the feminine measures), terms first used by Bakan. Bakan argues that there are two principles of human existence: an agentic one that focuses on the self and separation, and a communal one that focuses on others and connection (Bakan, 1966). Agency involves self-enhancement and self-assertion, whereas communion entails group participation and cooperation with others. An agentic person exists for the self and forms separations, the communal person provides for the group and embeds the self in a collective (Buss, 1990). Bakan also suggested that ‘agency’ was a masculine trait and ‘communion’ was a feminine one, an assertion later somewhat supported by empirical evidence, in that while men and women possess both agency and communion, a higher sense of agency is more common in men than women, and a higher sense of communion is more common in women than men (Bakan, 1966). However, an individual woman can have a high sense of agency and a man can have a high sense of communion with others. Carlson classified self-reported instances of affect as agentic, communal or mixed (Carlson, 1971). Affective instances reported by men were significantly more agentic than were those reported by women, supporting the notion of sex differences in self-expression (Buss, 1990: 556). These findings were replicated in the ESRC funded project and the mean values for the 13-point agency and communion scales by sex. In our sample, men’s mean agency score was 9.7 and their mean communion score was 11.8. For women the mean agency score was 8.8 and the mean communion score was 12.5. Incorporating these measures of agency and communion into the political survey allowed a test of whether sex differences remain after controlling for gendered psychological traits.

An example of such a test is given in table 7. The four regressions show that the sex effect persists even after the inclusion of a number of important controls. When responding to the self-rated policy preference motivations question, men were more likely than women to choose the ‘my life’ and ‘Britain as a whole’ options. Respondents with feminine gender scores were more likely to choose the ‘family’ option than the ‘my life’ option regardless of their sex. Respondents with children under 18 were more likely to choose the ‘family’ option than the ‘Britain as a whole’ option. C2DE respondents were more likely than ABC1 respondents to say that they gave most weight to the impact a policy would have upon their families. More educated and older respondents were more likely to select ‘Britain as a whole’ than ‘my family’.

Overall, the gendered questions are a useful addition to the battery of controls but they do not eliminate the sex effect. The analysis so far suggests that the population may be broken down into sub-groups whose policy choices are governed by different key factors. Thus, women and individuals with lower occupational class, educational status, and a feminine gender may give potential impacts upon their own families the most weight when deciding upon issues and possibly how to vote. Whereas, individuals with higher occupational status, high educational attainment, and men without children may be more concerned about how policies will impact upon Britain as a whole.

This research could potentially debunk two myths about voting behaviour, first that voters are homogeneous and second that men are more self-interested and pocket-book oriented than women. However, no firm conclusions can be drawn until the next stage.
of analysis is complete. The final stage of the analysis is underway and so far it seems that the self-rated policy preference motivations question picks out important differences between men and women. Of respondents who say that they judge a policy according to how it will impact upon their families and/or children, men were more likely to say that taxation should be one of the government’s highest priorities. However, women in the same group were more likely to choose education, these differences were significant. It would seem from this early analysis that the sex differences we see in issue salience stem from the different priorities of mothers and fathers. Traditional sex roles where women feel responsible for caring and nurturing, and men for economic provision, may possibly explain these differences. Further research is being carried out and the next stage will assess how well the self-rated policy preference motivations predict other political attitudes and vote choice.

Activities
Conference papers presented

The myth of the homogeneous voter: Masculine and feminine perspectives on politics. PSA conference Bath April 2007

Understanding men and women’s political interests: evidence from a study of gendered political attitudes. EPOP conference Bristol September 2007.

(In the original proposal I had intended to present at the ECPR conference but it clashed with EPOP)

Networks:
Attended the Electoral Commission’s meeting concerning the next general election in October 2007.
Attended the Fawcett Society’s meeting concerning the next general election in January 2007.

Outputs
The datasets have been offered for submission to the data archive.
One journal article has been accepted for publication for early 2008.


Two conference papers have been accepted for the PSA conference in April 2008.
- Kristi Winters and Rosie Campbell. Improving Internet survey respondent cognitive efforts: results of an experiment.

These papers will be submitted to journals after the conference.

Impacts
The Fawcett Society used the findings of the research to create a press release about differences in men and women’s political attitudes. The investigator was interviewed
about the project on BBC Radio Four’s ‘Thinking Allowed.’ The interview can be heard through the ESRC’s Society Today pages.

**Future Research Priorities**

It would be useful to include the most successful items that have been developed in a larger national dataset, such as the British Election Study.

**Ethics**

There were no particular ethical issues raised by the project as YouGov has rigorous data protection mechanisms.
Figures and Tables for ESRC End of Award Report ‘Gender and Voting in Britain’

**Figure 1**: Self-rated policy motivation item (Test B survey)

Now we would like you to think about the factors you consider when making up your mind about an issue. For example: if you were thinking about how you feel about a political party’s policy on health, the economy, the EU or perhaps the environment - which of these things do you give most consideration to?

1. The impact the policy would have upon my life
2. How it would affect Britain as a whole
3. How the policy fits with my overall political position
4. How the policy would impact upon my family and/or children
5. How it would affect Britain’s place in the world
6. How the policy would affect my community
7. What the implications are for children
8. Whether I feel the policy is fair to people like me
9. How the policy would impact upon vulnerable groups (such as disabled people and the elderly)
10. How the policy would impact upon people living in poverty
11. Other

**Figure 2**: Self-rated policy motivation item (Pilot A survey)

For example how you feel about a political party’s policy on health, the economy, the EU or perhaps the environment…

When deciding about a particular issue (e.g. a political party’s policy on health), which of the following do you give MOST consideration to?

1. The impact the policy would have upon my life
2. How it would affect Britain as a whole
3. How the policy would impact upon my family and/or children
4. Don’t know

**Figure 3**: Self-rated policy motivation item, forced choice (Pilot B Survey)

We would like you to think about your decision-making process about certain issues. For example, how you feel about a political party’s policy on health, economy, the EU or perhaps the environment…

When deciding about a particular issue (e.g. a political party’s policy on health), which of the following do you give MOST consideration to?

1. The impact the policy would have upon my life
2. How it would affect Britain as a whole
3. How the policy would impact upon my family and/or children
**Table 1:** Self-rated policy motivations (Test B survey)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>The impact the policy would have upon my life</th>
<th>How it would affect Britain as a whole</th>
<th>How the policy fits with my overall position</th>
<th>How the policy would impact upon my family and/or children</th>
<th>How it would affect Britain's place in the world</th>
<th>How the policy would affect my community</th>
<th>What the implications are for children</th>
<th>Whether I feel the policy is fair to people like me</th>
<th>How the policy would impact upon vulnerable groups</th>
<th>How the policy would impact upon people living in poverty</th>
<th>Other %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n=358

**Table 2:** Self-rated policy motivations (Pilot A survey)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>The impact the policy would have upon my life</th>
<th>How it would affect Britain as a whole</th>
<th>How the policy would impact upon my family and/or children</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>43.0%</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>45.8%</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n=441

**Table 3:** Self-rated policy motivations, missing values removed (Pilot A survey)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex*</th>
<th>The impact the policy would have upon my life</th>
<th>How it would affect Britain as a whole</th>
<th>How the policy would impact upon my family and/or children</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
<td>32.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference between the sexes significant at the 0.05 level, chi square test

n=416
Table 4: Self-rated policy motivations, forced choice (Pilot B survey)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The impact the policy would have upon my life %</th>
<th>How it would affect Britain as a whole %</th>
<th>How the policy would impact upon my family and/ or children %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Difference between the sexes significant at the 0.01 level, chi square test**
n=463

Table 5: Self-rated policy motivations by sex (main survey)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The impact the policy would have upon my life %</th>
<th>How it would effect Britain as a whole %</th>
<th>How the policy would impact upon my family and/ or children %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n=2888

***Difference between the sexes significant at the 0.001 level

Table 6: Self-rated policy preference motivations by sex and gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender score</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>The impact the policy would have upon my life %</th>
<th>How it would effect Britain as a whole %</th>
<th>How the policy would impact upon my family and/ or children %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>androgynous</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undifferentiated**</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n=2888

**Difference between the sexes significant at the 0.01 level

1 ‘Don’t know’ responses treated as missing values
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Dependent Variable (Impact upon family as base category)</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>(Exp) B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact upon own life</td>
<td>0.396***</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>1.485</td>
<td>0.314**</td>
<td>0.109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact upon Britain</td>
<td>0.423***</td>
<td>0.088</td>
<td>1.526</td>
<td>0.419***</td>
<td>0.091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undifferentiated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ref masculine)</td>
<td>-0.242</td>
<td>0.141</td>
<td>0.785</td>
<td>-0.245</td>
<td>0.149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact upon Britain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Androgynous</td>
<td>-0.304*</td>
<td>0.155</td>
<td>0.738</td>
<td>-0.270</td>
<td>0.162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>-0.539**</td>
<td>0.167</td>
<td>0.583</td>
<td>-0.466**</td>
<td>0.176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ref masculine)</td>
<td>-0.034</td>
<td>0.134</td>
<td>0.966</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>0.144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children under 18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact upon own life</td>
<td>-0.995***</td>
<td>0.125</td>
<td>0.370</td>
<td>-1.090***</td>
<td>0.134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact upon Britain</td>
<td>-1.145***</td>
<td>0.103</td>
<td>0.318</td>
<td>-1.056***</td>
<td>0.111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Grade ABC1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C2DE ref)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact upon own life</td>
<td>0.377**</td>
<td>0.128</td>
<td>1.450</td>
<td>0.487**</td>
<td>0.122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact upon Britain</td>
<td>0.247*</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>1.298</td>
<td>-0.047</td>
<td>0.145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed education 20+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact upon own life</td>
<td>-0.482***</td>
<td>0.094</td>
<td>0.611</td>
<td>-0.18***</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact upon Britain</td>
<td>0.11**</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>1.011</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

***Significant at the 0.001 level  
**Significant at the 0.01 level  
*Significant at the 0.05 level
REFERENCE No.

1 Project funded by the British Academy- small grant number 40355
Gender and Voting in Britain: Questions for YouGov Main Survey

YouGov is a member of the British Polling Council (http://www.britishpollingcouncil.org). The BPC is an association of polling organisations that publish polls. The objectives of the Council ensure standards of disclosure designed to provide consumers of survey results that enter the public domain have an adequate basis for judging the reliability and validity of the results. Through full disclosure the Council aims to encourage the highest professional standards in public opinion polling and to advance the understanding, among politicians, the media and general public, of how polls are conducted and how to interpret poll results. The BPC will also provide interested parties with advice on best practice in the conduct and reporting of polls.

The client shall inform YouGov in writing of any information from this survey that it, or its client, proposes to release. Should information from the survey be released without YouGov having been informed in advance, then YouGov may at its discretion release any information from the survey without further consultation with the client.

The following survey is for social science research. Giving accurate answers is the most important thing you can do to help with this research.

To determine how much effort you put into answering the questions, at the end of this survey you will be asked three questions:

How carefully you read the questions
How thoroughly you searched your memory for information; and,
How much effort you spent making sure the answers you gave best reflect your true opinion.

Thank you for your participation.
Please tick one box on each line to show how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.
One of the big problems in this country is that we don’t give everyone an equal chance.
If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

Please tick one box on each line to show how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

One of the problems of today’s society is that we are often too kind to people who don’t deserve it.
It is best not to get too involved in taking care of other people’s needs.
People tend to pay more attention to the well-being of others than they should.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

Please tick one box on each line to show how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

Ordinary working people get their fair share of the nation’s wealth.
There is no need for strong trade unions to protect employees’ working conditions and wages.
Private enterprise is the best way to solve Britain’s economic problems

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

Please tick one box on each line to show how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

Young people today don’t have enough respect for traditional British values.
Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral values.
People should be allowed to organise public meetings to protest against the government.
People in Britain should be more tolerant of those who lead unconventional lives.
Even political parties that wish to overthrow democracy should not be banned.
We need a strong government to create a better society.
I am willing to exchange my personal freedoms for greater security provided by government programs.
People who break the law should get stiffer sentences.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

The items below inquire about what kind of person you think you are. Each item consists of a pair of characteristics, with the letters A-E in between. Each pair describes contradictory characteristics - you cannot be both at the same time, such as very artistic and not at all artistic. The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to choose a letter which describes where you fall on the scale. For example:

A: Not at all Artistic
B
C
D
E: Very Artistic

If you think you have no artistic ability, you would choose A.
If you think you have not very much artistic ability, you would choose B.
If you think you are not bad but not great artistic ability, you would choose C.
If you think you have quite a bit of artistic ability, you would choose D.
If you think you are very artistic ability, you would choose E.

Not at all competitive _ _ _ Very competitive
Not at all self-confident _ _ _ Very self-confident
Feels very inferior _ _ _ Feels superior
Not at all aware of feelings of others _ _ _ Very aware of feelings of others
Not at all kind _ _ _ Very kind
Not at all helpful to others _ _ _ Very helpful to others
Not at all excitable in a major crisis _ _ _ Very excitable in a major crisis
Indifferent to others approval _ _ _ Highly needful of others approval
Never cry _ _ _ Cry very easily
With which of these two statements do you tend to agree?

**ROTATE**

Statement A: Regardless of what the qualities and faults of one’s parents are, one must always love and respect them
Statement B: One does not have the duty to respect and love parents who have not earned it by their behaviour and attitudes
Don’t know Fixed

Which of the following statements best describes your views about parents' responsibilities to their children?

**ROTATE**

Statement A: Parents' duty is to do their best for their children even at the expense of their own well-being
Statement B: Parents have a life of their own and should not be asked to sacrifice their own well-being for the sake of their children
Don’t know Fixed

With which of these two statements do you tend to agree?

**ROTATE**

Statement A: To build good human relationships, it is most important to try to understand others' preferences;
Statement B: To build good relationships, it is most important to express one's own preferences clearly.
Don't know Fixed

Imagine you and 5 other friends meet up for an evening out. Most of the group wants to go to bowling, but you would like to see a film. In this situation which of the following things do you think you would be most likely to do? (Rotate responses)

1) You would go to see the film and people who want to go bowling would go bowling and perhaps the whole group could meet up afterwards.
2) You would go bowling, even though you would rather see the film.
3) You would try to persuade the group to do both, go bowling and see the film.

Some people feel themselves to be a supporter of one political party rather than another. Do you feel yourself to be a supporter of one particular party or not?

Yes
No
Don’t know

Here are some items of government spending. Please pick your THREE highest priorities for government spending. [Please tick up to 3] **RESTRICTED MULTICODE RANDOM**

Benefits
Defence
Education
Housing
International aid
National Health Service
Police and prisons
Public transport
Reduce the general level of taxation
Tax breaks for British businesses
None of these  fix
Suppose the government had to choose between the following three options. Which do you think it should choose?
Reduce taxes and spend less on health, education and social benefits
Keep taxes and spending on these services at the same level as now
Increase taxes and spend more on health, education and social benefits

Why do you think there are still people living in need in the UK?
Because they have been unlucky
Because of laziness or lack of willpower
Because of injustice in our society
It's an inevitable part of modern life
None of these

Thinking of income levels generally in Britain today, would you say that the gap between those with high incomes and those with low incomes is...
Too large
About right
Too small

Which three of the following policies would you like to see adopted? [Please tick up to three] RESTRICTED MULTICODE
Withdrawal from the EU
The end of all private sector involvement in the NHS
Dramatic reductions in the number of individuals granted asylum
Tax breaks for parents who stay at home full-time
A significant rise in the minimum wage
The abolition of inheritance tax
Subsidised full-time childcare available for all children over 6 months old
None of these

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: ‘Women MPs better represent women’s interests than do male MPs’?
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

How do you feel about the attempts to ensure equality for women?
Gone much too far
Gone a little too far
Is about right
Not gone quite far enough
Not gone nearly far enough
Don’t know

How do you feel about the attempts to ensure equality for ethnic minorities?
Gone much too far
Gone a little too far
Is about right
Not gone quite far enough
Not gone nearly far enough
Don’t know
How do you feel about the availability of abortion on the NHS?
Gone much too far
Gone a little too far
Is about right
Not gone quite far enough
Not gone nearly far enough
Don’t know

Please tick one answer on each row of the grid.

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: ‘All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job’?
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: ‘A man’s job is to earn money; a woman’s job is to look after the home and family’?
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: ‘Men ought to do a larger share of childcare than they do now’?
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: ‘Men ought to do a larger share of household work than they do now’?
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

Please could you imagine that you are able to decide the principles upon which British society is run. You need to work out how wealth should be distributed across different social groups but you only have a choice between two stark alternatives.

Which of the options would you choose?
A society where everyone has an equal share of the nation’s wealth, everyone is guaranteed a minimum standard of living and no one is rich, but Britain is not as efficient and competitive as it is now compared to other countries
A society where the nation’s wealth is distributed so that Britain is as efficient and competitive as it can be compared to other countries, but there is a big gap between the rich and poor and the poorest people live well below the poverty line.
For each of the following areas of policy, please indicate which of the three main political parties’ policies you prefer.

Balancing work and family life
Labour
Conservatives
Liberal Democrats

Support for parents and carers
Labour
Conservatives
Liberal Democrats

Thinking about politics in general, how much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics?
A great deal
Quite a lot
Some
Not very much
None at all
Don’t know

People often describe themselves as being on the left or right wing of political opinion. Would you describe yourself as:
Very Left-Wing
Fairly Left-Wing
Slightly Left of Centre
Centre
Slightly Right of Centre
Fairly Right-Wing
Very Right-Wing

Some people think of themselves as being a supporter of one political party rather than another. Do you usually think of yourself as being a supporter of one particular party or not?
Yes
No
Don’t know

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
Would you call yourself very strong, fairly strong, or not very strong supporter of this party?
Very strongly
Fairly strongly
Not very strongly
Don't know

What is the SINGLE MOST important issue facing the country at the present time? [Please write in. If you think there are no important issues facing the country at the present time, please write NONE; if you don't know, please write DK]
TEXT AREA

How do YOU think the problem you have just identified should be solved? [Please write in. If you think there are no important issues facing the country at the present time, please write NA]
TEXT AREA

If a general election were held today, which party would you vote for? RANDOMISE
I wouldn't vote
Labour
Conservative
Liberal Democrat
Scottish National Party (SNP)
Plaid Cymru
Green Party
United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)
British National Party (BNP)
Other party or individual

Base: Voters

People give different reasons why they vote for one party rather than another.

Please tick all the reasons which cause you to vote for one party rather than another. [Please tick all that apply][CLEARLAST] MULTICODE RANDOMISE
I vote for the party that my parents supported
I vote for the party with the best policies
I vote for the party that will make me better off
I really prefer another party that has no chance of winning so I vote for another party instead
I vote for the party that is best for the country as a whole
I vote for the party with the best leader
I vote for the best candidate irrespective of party
None of these

Base: non voters

You say that you would not vote. Why is this?
I am not eligible to vote in the UK
Other reason
If you ticked ‘Other’ please use the space below to describe why you would vote [If not, just leave this space blank]

When making up your mind about an issue (for example how you feel about a political party’s policy on health, the economy, the EU or perhaps the environment) to which of these things do you give most consideration?
The impact the policy would have upon my life
How it would effect Britain as a whole
How the policy would impact upon my family and/or children
Don’t know

If you were to open a newspaper and see the following articles how interested would you be in reading each article? [Please tick one reply on each row of the grid]

The state of education in Britain;
The state National Health Service;
Personal economic topics (mortgage rates, credit card debt, rate of inflation)
The state of the British economy (unemployment, interest rates, the stock market)
British foreign policy (the conflict in Iraq, Israel-Palestine, EU)
British partisan politics (Blair and Brown, party conferences, party campaigning)
Law and order and crime (including domestic security)

Very interested, I would most likely read it
Somewhat interested, I might read it
Not at all interested, I would not read it

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

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

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

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

Which, if any, of the following do you do at least three times a week? [Please tick all that apply][CLEARLAST]
Read daily morning newspapers
Watch television news programmes
Go to news sites on the internet
None of these

PAGE 12
Base: newspaper readers

Which daily morning newspaper do you read most often?
Aberdeen Press and Journal
Daily Mail/ Scottish Daily Mail
Daily Star/ Daily Star of Scotland
Daily Telegraph
Express
Financial Times
Guardian
Independent
Mirror/ Scottish Mirror/ Daily Record
The Glasgow Herald
The Scotsman
The Sun
The Times
Other

Which of these applies to you?
Working full time (30 or more hours per week)
Working part time (8 to 29 hours per week)
Working part time (Less than 8 hours a week)
Full time student
Retired
Unemployed
Full-time parent
Full-time carer
Looking after the home
Not working
Other

Do you provide primary care to any of the following individuals? [Please tick all that apply][CLEARLAST]
Children under 2 years of age
Children aged 2 to 5 years
Children aged 5 to 15 years
Children aged 15 to 18 years
Dependent adults (under the age of 65)
Dependent adults (over the age of 65)
None of these
Do you provide UNPAID care more than four days each month to the following kinds of people? [Please tick all that apply][CLEARLAST]
Children under five years of age
Children between five and fifteen years of age
Elderly people
People with disabilities
Other people needing special assistance
None of these

Is your paid employment based in providing assistance or care to others? (Examples include: teacher, health care worker, counsellor, social worker, child care provider, nursing home worker)
Yes
No
Does not apply – not in employment

Please indicate whether the following statements are true or false. [Please tick one reply on each row of the grid]

‘The Liberal Democrats favour a system of proportional representation for Westminster elections’
‘The minimum voting age is 16’
‘Britain’s electoral system is based upon proportional representation’
‘Only the Conservative party favours increasing private sector involvement in the provision of NHS services’

True
False
Don’t know

We’d now like to ask you three final questions about this survey itself:

How carefully did you read the questions?
Very carefully
Somewhat carefully
Not very carefully
Not carefully at all

How thoroughly did you searched your memory for information?
Very thoroughly
Somewhat thoroughly
Not very thoroughly
Not thoroughly at all

How much effort did you spent making sure the answers you gave best reflect your true opinion?
A lot of effort
Some effort
Not very much effort
No effort at all

Thank you for your participation.
Gender and the vote in Britain
Questionnaire and codebook

The first sixteen variables in the datafile were not included in the questionnaire, instead they were provided from YouGov’s existing data; they include the weight variable W8.

PAGE 1
Base: All GB Adults

COGNATIVE EFFORT MEASURE – THE STIMULUS BELOW WAS APPLIED TO HALF OF THE SAMPLE

The following survey is for social science research. Giving accurate answers is the most important thing you can do to help with this research.

To determine how much effort you put into answering the questions, at the end of this survey you will be asked three questions:

How carefully you read the questions;
How thoroughly you searched your memory for information; and,
How much effort you spent making sure the answers you gave best reflect your true opinion.

Thank you for your participation.
Thinking about politics in general, how much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics?

A great deal
Quite a lot
Some
Not very much
None at all
Don't know

In politics, people sometimes talk about parties and politicians as being on the left or right. On a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 means left and 7 means right, where would you place yourself on this scale?

1 Left
2
3
4
5
6
7 Right

Some people think of themselves as being a supporter of one political party rather than another. Do you think of yourself to be a supporter of one particular party or not?

Yes route to question below
No
Don't know

Which party do you consider yourself a supporter of?
Labour
Conservative
Liberal Democrat
Scottish National Party (SNP)
Plaid Cymru
Green Party
United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)
British National Party (BNP)
Other

Please tick one box on each line to show how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

GRID
Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.
One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.
If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please tick one box on each line to show how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GRID

One of the problems of today's society is that we are often too kind to people who don't deserve it.
It is best not to get too involved in taking care of other people's needs.
People tend to pay more attention to the well-being of others than they should.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please tick one box on each line to show how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GRID

Ordinary working people get their fair share of the nation's wealth.
There is no need for strong trade unions to protect employees' working conditions and wages.
Private enterprise is the best way to solve Britain's economic problems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By</th>
<th>Agree strongly</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree strongly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please tick one box on each line to show how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GRID

Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional British values.
Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral values.
People should be allowed to organise public meetings to protest against the government.
People in Britain should be more tolerant of those who lead unconventional lives.
Even political parties that wish to overthrow democracy should not be banned.
We need a strong government to create a better society.
I am willing to exchange my personal freedoms for greater security provided by
government programs.
People who break the law should get stiffer sentences.
By
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

BASE: All GB Adults

Not at all Artistic
-
-
Very Artistic

Not at all competitive _ _ _ Very competitive

Not at all self-confident _ _ _ Very self-confident

Feels very inferior _ _ _ Feels superior

Not at all aware of feelings of others _ _ _ Very aware of feelings of others

Not at all kind _ _ _ Very kind

Not at all helpful to others _ _ _ Very helpful to others

Not at all excitable in a major crisis _ _ _ Very excitable in a major crisis

Indifferent to others approval _ _ _ Highly needful of others approval
Never cry _ _ _ Cry very easily

PAGE 5

BASE: All

With which of these two statements do you tend to agree?
Regardless of what the qualities and faults of one's parents are, one must always love and respect them
One does not have the duty to respect and love parents who have not earned it by their behaviour and attitudes
Don't know Fixed

PAGE 6

BASE: All

Which of the following statements best describes your views about parents' responsibilities to their children?
Parents' duty is to do their best for their children even at the expense of their own well-being
Parents have a life of their own and should not be asked to sacrifice their own well-being for the sake of their children
Don't know Fixed

PAGE 7

BASE: All

With which of these two statements do you tend to agree?
To build good human relationships, it is most important to try to understand others' preferences;
To build good relationships, it is most important to express one's own preferences clearly.
Don't know Fixed

Imagine you and 5 other friends meet up for an evening out. Most of the group wants to go to bowling, but you would like to see a film. In this situation which of the following things do you think you would be most likely to do?

ROTATE
You would go to see the film and people who want to go bowling would go bowling and perhaps the whole group could meet up afterwards.
You would go bowling, even though you would rather see the film.
You would try to persuade the group to do both, go bowling and see the film.
Don't know

PAGE 8

Base: All GB Adults

Some people feel themselves to be a supporter of one political party rather than another. Do you feel yourself to be a supporter of one particular party or not?
Yes filter to question below
No
Don't know

Which party do you consider yourself a supporter of?
Labour
Here are some items of government spending. Please pick your THREE highest priorities for government spending. [Please tick up to 3] RESTRICTED MULTICODE RANDOM

Benefits
Defence
Education
Housing
International aid
National Health Service
Police and prisons
Public transport
Reduce the general level of taxation
Tax breaks for British businesses
None of these

Suppose the government had to choose between the following three options. Which do you think it should choose?
Reduce taxes and spend less on health, education and social benefits
Keep taxes and spending on these services at the same level as now
Increase taxes and spend more on health, education and social benefits

Why do you think there are still people living in need in the UK?
Because they have been unlucky
Because of laziness or lack of willpower
Because of injustice in our society
It's an inevitable part of modern life
None of these

Thinking of income levels generally in Britain today, would you say that the gap between those with high incomes and those with low incomes is...
Too large
About right
Too small

PAGE 9
Base: All GB Adults

Which three of the following policies would you like to see adopted? [Please tick up to three] RESTRICTED MULTICODE

Withdrawal from the EU
The end of all private sector involvement in the NHS
Dramatic reductions in the number of individuals granted asylum
Tax breaks for parents who stay at home full-time
A significant rise in the minimum wage
The abolition of inheritance tax
Subsidised full-time childcare available for all children over 6 months old

None of these

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: ‘Women MPs better represent women’s interests than do male MPs’?
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

How do you feel about the attempts to ensure equality for women?
Gone much too far
Gone a little too far
Is about right
Not gone quite far enough
Not gone nearly far enough
Don’t know

How do you feel about the attempts to ensure equality for ethnic minorities?
Gone much too far
Gone a little too far
Is about right
Not gone quite far enough
Not gone nearly far enough
Don’t know

How do you feel about the availability of abortion on the NHS?
Gone much too far
Gone a little too far
Is about right
Not gone quite far enough
Not gone nearly far enough
Don’t know

Please tick one answer on each row of the grid.

GRID
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: ‘All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job’?
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: ‘A man’s job is to earn money; a woman’s job is to look after the home and family’?
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly
Do you agree or disagree with the statement: 'Men ought to do a larger share of childcare than they do now'?
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

Do you agree or disagree with the statement: 'Men ought to do a larger share of household work than they do now'?
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

END GRID

PAGE 10
Base: All GB Adults
Please could you imagine that you are able to decide the principles upon which British society is run. You need to work out how wealth should be distributed across different social groups but you only have a choice between two stark alternatives.

Which of the options would you choose?
A society where everyone has an equal share of the nation’s wealth, everyone is guaranteed a minimum standard of living and no one is rich, but Britain is not as efficient and competitive as it is now compared to other countries
A society where the nation’s wealth is distributed so that Britain is as efficient and competitive as it can be compared to other countries, but there is a big gap between the rich and poor and the poorest people live well below the poverty line.

For each of the following areas of policy, please indicate which of the three main political parties’ policies you prefer.

Balancing work and family life
Labour
Conservatives
Liberal Democrats

Support for parents and carers
Labour
Conservatives
Liberal Democrats

People often describe themselves as being on the left or right wing of political opinion. Would you describe yourself as:
Very Left-Wing
Fairly Left-Wing
Slightly Left of Centre
Centre
Slightly Right of Centre
Fairly Right-Wing
Very Right-Wing

Some people think of themselves as being a supporter of one political party rather than another. Do you usually think of yourself as being a supporter of one particular party or not?

Yes
No
Don’t know

PAGE 11
Base: If Yes- support a party

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

Would you call yourself very strong, fairly strong, or not very strong supporter of this party?
Very strongly
Fairly strongly
Not very strongly
Don’t know

PAGE 12
Base: All

What is the SINGLE MOST important issue facing the country at the present time? [Please write in. If you think there are no important issues facing the country at the present time, please write NONE; if you don’t know, please write DK]

TEXT AREA

How do YOU think the problem you have just identified should be solved? [Please write in. If you think there are no important issues facing the country at the present time, please write NA] I think perhaps we should remove this one in the main?

TEXT AREA

If a general election were held today, which party would you vote for? RANDOMISE
I wouldn’t vote
Labour
Conservative
Liberal Democrat
Scottish National Party (SNP)
Plaid Cymru
Green Party
United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)
British National Party (BNP)
Other party or individual
People give different reasons why they vote for one party rather than another.

Please tick all the reasons which cause you to vote for one party rather than another.

I vote for the party that my parents supported
I vote for the party with the best policies
I vote for the party that will make me better off
I really prefer another party that has no chance of winning so I vote for another party instead
I vote for the party that is best for the country as a whole
I vote for the party with the best leader
I vote for the best candidate irrespective of party
None of these

When making up your mind about an issue (for example how you feel about a political party's policy on health, the economy, the EU or perhaps the environment) how do you give most consideration?

The impact the policy would have upon my life
How it would effect Britain as a whole
How the policy would impact upon my family and/or children
Don't know

If you were to open a newspaper and see the following articles how interested would you be in reading each article? [Please tick one reply on each row of the grid]

GRID
The state of education in Britain;
The state National Health Service;
Personal economic topics (mortgage rates, credit card debt, rate of inflation)
The state of the British economy (unemployment, interest rates, the stock market)
British foreign policy (the conflict in Iraq, Israel-Palestine, EU)
British partisan politics (Blair and Brown, party conferences, party campaigning)
Law and order and crime (including domestic security)

BY
Very interested, I would most likely read it
Somewhat interested, I might read it
Not at all interested, I would not read it
END GRID
Now a few questions about economic conditions.

GRID
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

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

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

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

END GRID

Which, if any, of the following do you do at least three times a week? [Please tick all that apply] [MULTICODE]
Read daily morning newspapers
Watch television news programmes
Go to news sites on the internet
None of these
Which daily morning newspaper do you read most often?
Aberdeen Press and Journal
Daily Mail/ Scottish Daily Mail
Daily Star/ Daily Star of Scotland
Daily Telegraph
Express
Financial Times
Guardian
Independent
Mirror/ Scottish Mirror/ Daily Record
The Glasgow Herald
The Scotsman
The Sun
The Times
Other

Which of these applies to you?
Working full time (30 or more hours per week)
Working part time (8 to 29 hours per week)
Working part time (Less than 8 hours a week)
Full time student
Retired
Unemployed
Full-time parent
Full-time carer
Looking after the home
Not working
Other

Do you provide primary care to any of the following individuals? [Please tick all that apply][CLEARLAST] MULTICODE
Children under 2 years of age
Children aged 2 to 5 years
Children aged 5 to 15 years
Children aged 15 to 18 years
Dependent adults (under the age of 65)
Dependent adults (over the age of 65)
None of these

Do you provide UNPAID care more than four days each month to the following kinds of people? [Please tick all that apply][CLEARLAST] MULTICODE
Children under five years of age
Children between five and fifteen years of age
Elderly people
People with disabilities
Other people needing special assistance
None of these
Is your paid employment based in providing assistance or care to others? (Examples include: teacher, health care worker, counsellor, social worker, child care provider, nursing home worker)
Yes
No
Does not apply – not in employment

PAGE 18
Base: All
Please indicate whether the following statements are true or false. [Please tick one reply on each row of the grid]

GRID
‘The Liberal Democrats favour a system of proportional representation for Westminster elections’
‘The minimum voting age is 16’
‘Britain’s electoral system is based upon proportional representation’
‘Only the Conservative party favours increasing private sector involvement in the provision of NHS services’

By
True
False
Don’t know

END GRID

PAGE 19
Base: All
We’d now like to ask you three final questions about this survey itself:

How carefully did you read the questions?
Very carefully
Somewhat carefully
Not very carefully
Not carefully at all

How thoroughly did you searched your memory for information?
Very thoroughly
Somewhat thoroughly
Not very thoroughly
Not thoroughly at all

How much effort did you spent making sure the answers you gave best reflect your true opinion?
A lot of effort
Some effort
Not very much effort
No effort at all

Thank you for your participation.

END
**YouGov PLC Terms and Conditions**

1. The provision of opinion research by YouGov PLC ("YouGov"), and subsidiary companies is subject to the following terms and conditions. Special terms and conditions shall be of no effect unless they are specifically agreed in writing by a director or other duly authorised representative of YouGov.

2. The Client appoints YouGov to act on its behalf in carrying out opinion research together with such other services as may be agreed.

3. YouGov cannot give guarantees to The Client that similar research will not appear in subsequent surveys without prior agreement between YouGov and The Client.

4. Survey data provided by YouGov is based on samples and are therefore subject to normal statistical errors associated with sample data.

5. (A) All fees payable to YouGov are subject to the addition of Value Added Tax at the current rate.

   (B) YouGov reserves the right to invoice the client on a staged basis upon project commission and completion, for projects valued in excess of £10,000 and above.

6. (A) The fees payable to YouGov are exclusive of all disbursements and other incidental expenses incurred by YouGov on behalf of the Client. Examples of these disbursements and incidental expenses are collections and delivers, travel, hospitality, accommodation and subsistence, telephone calls, cables, telex, facsimile, postage, press cuttings, stationery and photocopying, radio and television monitoring and copyright assignment fees.

   (B) All disbursements and other expenses will be invoiced monthly in arrears and will include a handling charge of 15% of the amount invoiced (17.65% of the cost). These invoices are payable on presentation.

   (C) YouGov acts as the Client’s agent when incurring expenditure in relation to the services provided to the client. The Client is responsible for the correct tax treatment of all such disbursements and incidental expenses.

7. (A) All fees, charges and expenses will be quoted and invoiced in sterling and payment shall be made in sterling to YouGov.

   (B) YouGov reserves the right to charge interest at the rate of 2% per month or part of a month on any invoice remaining unpaid 30 days from the date of presentation, but no interest will be charged without prior written notice being given to the Client.

8. The rights and obligations of YouGov and the Client under this agreement cannot be transferred to any other person, without the written consent of the other party.

9. The Client will make public the findings of research undertaken by YouGov only with YouGov’s agreement. The draft text, tables and charts used in any publication of YouGov’s research must be cleared with YouGov in advance. YouGov undertakes to respond to such drafts within two working days of their receipt. YouGov will withhold permission to publish, or insist on any amendments, only if, in YouGov’s opinion, the proposed publication, or some aspect of it, misrepresents or distorts YouGov’s research.

10. If there is any unauthorised publication of YouGov research and, in YouGov’s opinion, misrepresents or distorts YouGov’s research, YouGov reserves the right to publish a correction, including placing in the public domain any data from the research that, in the opinion of YouGov, is necessary to make the correction effective.

11. The copyright in all artwork, copy, data and other work produced by or assigned to YouGov rests with YouGov, unless duly assigned under the Copyright Design & Patents Act, 1988. On payment in full by the client of all amounts owing to YouGov, any copyright lawfully assigned by subcontractors and their agents to YouGov and YouGov’s own copyright may be assigned to the client unless other arrangements are made.

12. (A) The Client warrants that all information supplied to YouGov in connection with the contract shall be accurate.

   (B) The Client will indemnify YouGov and its officers and employees against any loss, damage or other liability suffered as a result of any claim or proceedings arising in connection with work performed under the contract unless incurred wholly as a result of the negligence or default of YouGov or its officers or employees.

13. YouGov shall be entitled to destroy or otherwise dispose of any property of the Client remaining in its custody more than two years after the termination of the Consultancy.

14. YouGov is a member of the British Polling Council (http://www.britishpollingcouncil.org). The BPC is an association of polling organisations that publish polls. The objectives of the Council ensure standards of disclosure designed to provide consumers of survey results that enter the public domain have an adequate basis for judging the reliability and validity of the results. Through full disclosure, the Council aims to encourage the highest professional standards in public opinion polling and to advance the understanding, among politicians, the media and general public, of how polls are conducted and how to interpret poll results. The BPC will also provide interested parties with advice on best practice in the conduct and reporting of polls.

   The client shall inform YouGov in writing of any information from this survey that it, or its client, proposes to release. Should information from the survey be released without YouGov having been informed in advance, then YouGov may at its discretion release any information from the survey without further consultation with the client.

15. These terms and conditions may only be varied by the written agreement of both parties.