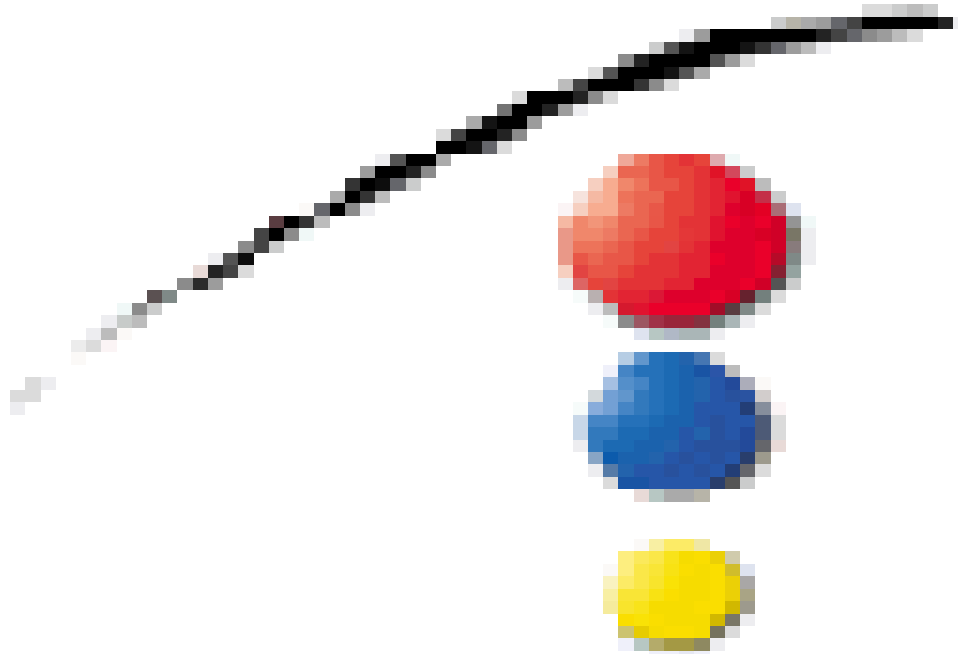


Political Choice In Britain: The 2005 BES



The 2005 British Election Study



Principal Investigators

Harold Clarke

David Sanders

Marianne Stewart

Paul Whiteley

RO: Kristi Winters

RA: Paul Tran



CORE FACE-TO-FACE PANEL SURVEY

**Wave 1 Pre-election
Probability
Sample,
Face-to-Face
N=3500
128 PSUs**



**Wave 2 Post-election
Probability Sample,
Face-to-Face N=3500
Including top-up,
128 PSUs; Mail-back
Questionnaire**



**Wave 3 One Year Out
Internet users from Wave
2 Probability Sample, Internet
Survey method N=c2000**

**Face-to-face vs
Internet sampling
comparison (1)**

**Face-to-face vs
Internet sampling
comparison (2)**

**Probability
Internet sample
versus traditional
Internet sample
Sampling
Experiment**

INTERNET CAMPAIGN PANEL SURVEY

**Wave 1
Pre-campaign
Baseline Survey
N=8000**



**Wave 2
Campaign survey
200 interviews per
Day for 30 days
N=c6000**



**Wave 3
Post-election
Interview
N=c4800**



**Wave 4
One Year Out
Interview
N=c2400**



THE 2005 BES CSES

- CSES Won't Work as Module in BES Surveys: Space Constraints, Question Commitments, User Community Demands
- Solution → Separate CSES Survey Funded By PIs
- Post-Election National Internet Survey Conducted by YouGov
- N = 3226
- CSES Module Administered in Full First
- Additional Key BES questions Added – Issue Performance, Economic Evaluations, Leader Images, Party Identification, Iraq, EU

Where Can I Get the BES Data?

www.essex.ac.uk/bes

Internet Rolling Campaign Panel Data

Pre N=7793, Campaign N=6068, Post N = 5910

Face-To-Face Pre- & Post-Election
Data

Pre N=3589, Post N=4161, Panel N=2959

CSES Post-Election Data

Post N=3326 (also deposited with CSES)

Valence Politics and the British Voter: The Theme from Political Choice in Britain

- Effects of Social Class Now Very Weak & Always (since 1964) Less Than Claimed
- Partisanship Has Sizable Medium-Term Aggregate- and Individual-level Dynamics – True At Least Since 1964
- Valence Issues Dominate
- Economic Issues are Significant, But So Are Other Public Services
- Party Leader Images Are Important Heuristics
- Campaigns Matter (But we won't talk about them here!)

Figure 1. Composite Labour Vote Model - CSES Variables & 2005 BES CSES Data

votelab	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
-----+-----				
Economic Evaluation Factor				
econcog	.4393162	.0780861	5.63	0.000
Social Class				
cclass	-.4550314	.1324987	-3.43	0.001
Government Performance Most Important Issue Last 4 Yr				
jobmis	.5575084	.058058	9.60	0.000
Tactical Voting				
tactical	-.5613073	.1573236	-3.57	0.000
Party Leader Best Represents R's Views				
blair	1.220428	.1877587	6.50	0.000
howard	-1.192436	.3441072	-3.47	0.001
kennedy	-.9657409	.1886283	-5.12	0.000
oleader	-1.483971	.5119595	-2.90	0.004
Party Close to R				
labour	1.063151	.1601054	6.64	0.000
cons	-2.154825	.449947	-4.79	0.000
libdem	-1.308153	.3620908	-3.61	0.000
oparty	-.3598451	.4234798	-0.85	0.395
Left-Right Proximity				
lababs	.2539828	.0479627	5.30	0.000
conabs	-.1787711	.0350107	-5.11	0.000
ldabs	.1118123	.0513909	2.18	0.030
Favor Iraq War?				
iraq	.2474565	.0497891	4.97	0.000
_cons	-2.54284	.427083	-5.95	0.000

Scenarios: Changing Probabilities of Voting Labour: BES CSES Model

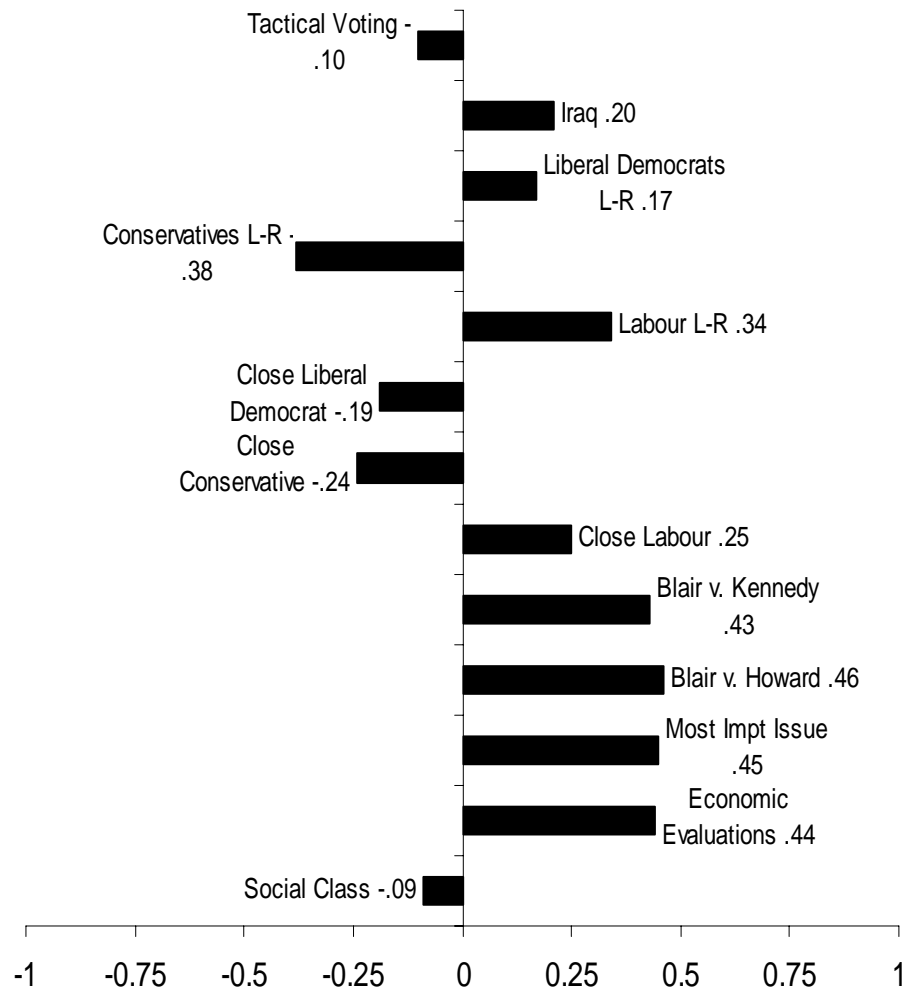


Figure 2. Composite Labour Vote Model – BES Variables & 2005 BES CSES Data

votelab	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z -----
-----+-----				
Economic Evaluation Factor				
econcog	.3381231	.0884815	3.82	0.000
Social Class				
cclass	-.3397221	.1506799	-2.25	0.024
Government Performance Most Important Issue Last 4 Yr				
jobmis	.3376231	.0663229	5.09	0.000
Tactical Voting				
tactical	-.6126703	.1733342	-3.53	0.000
Leader Feeling Thermometers				
blairf	.3437714	.0319141	10.77	0.000
howardf	-.1434993	.0317006	-4.53	0.000
kennedyf	-.1468891	.0352657	-4.17	0.000
BES Party Identification Measure				
labpid	1.192885	.1701311	7.01	0.000
conpid	-1.9207	.3190317	-6.02	0.000
ldpid	-1.77998	.2736578	-6.50	0.000
opid	-.9641099	.2895316	-3.33	0.001
Left-Right Proximity				
lababs	.1201837	.0550215	2.18	0.029
conabs	-.1017676	.0401335	-2.54	0.011
ldabs	.1644074	.056475	2.91	0.004
Favor Iraq War?				
iraq	.0751273	.0584408	1.29	0.199
_cons	-1.941206	.5211105	-3.73	0.000

Figure 3. Rival Models of Labour Vote With CSES & BES Measures (McKelvey R2)

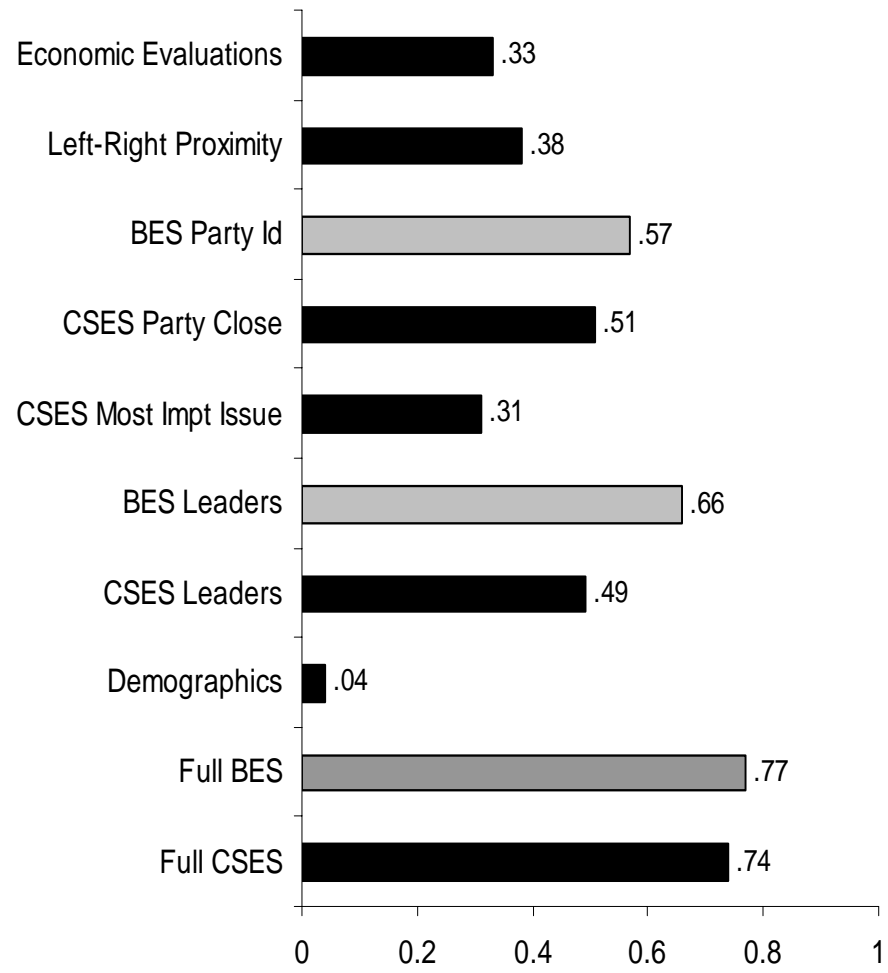


Figure 4. Rival Models of Labour Vote: Akaike Information Criteria Values (Smaller is Better)

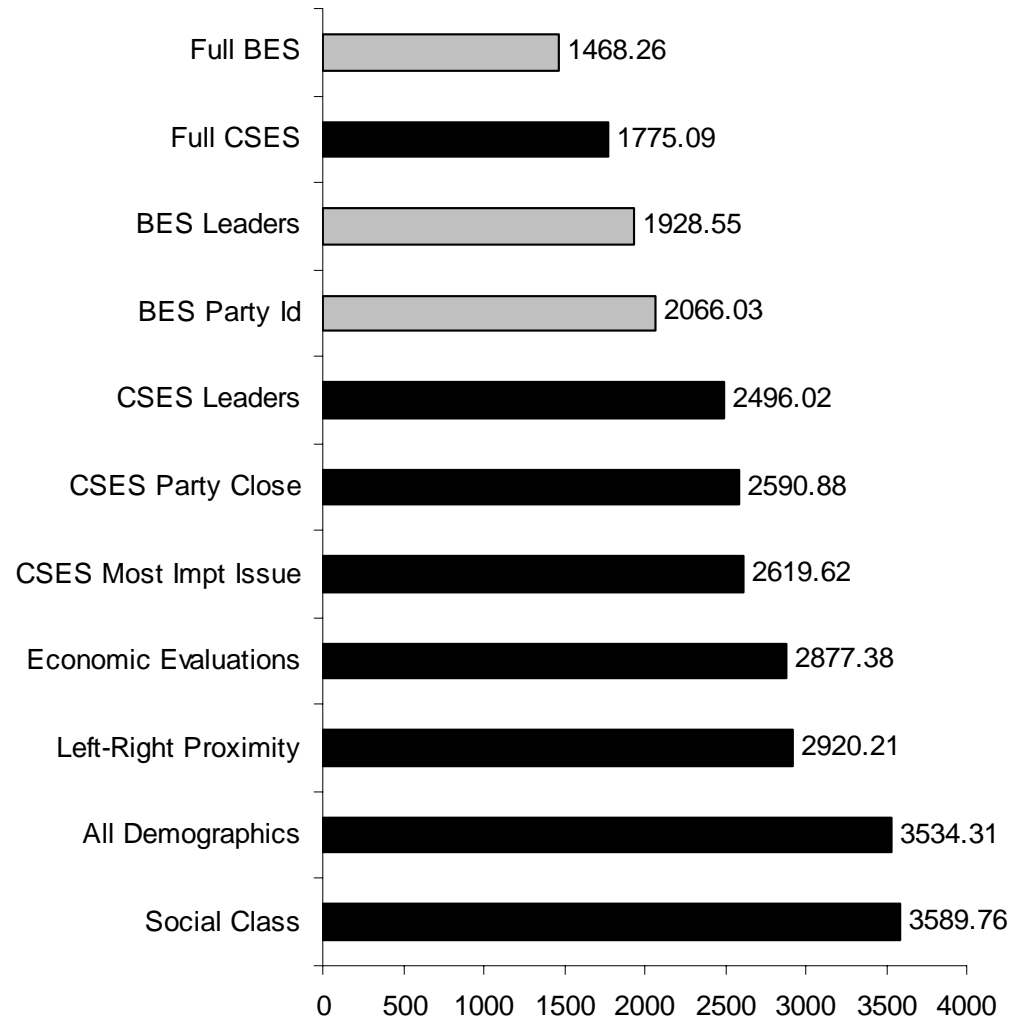
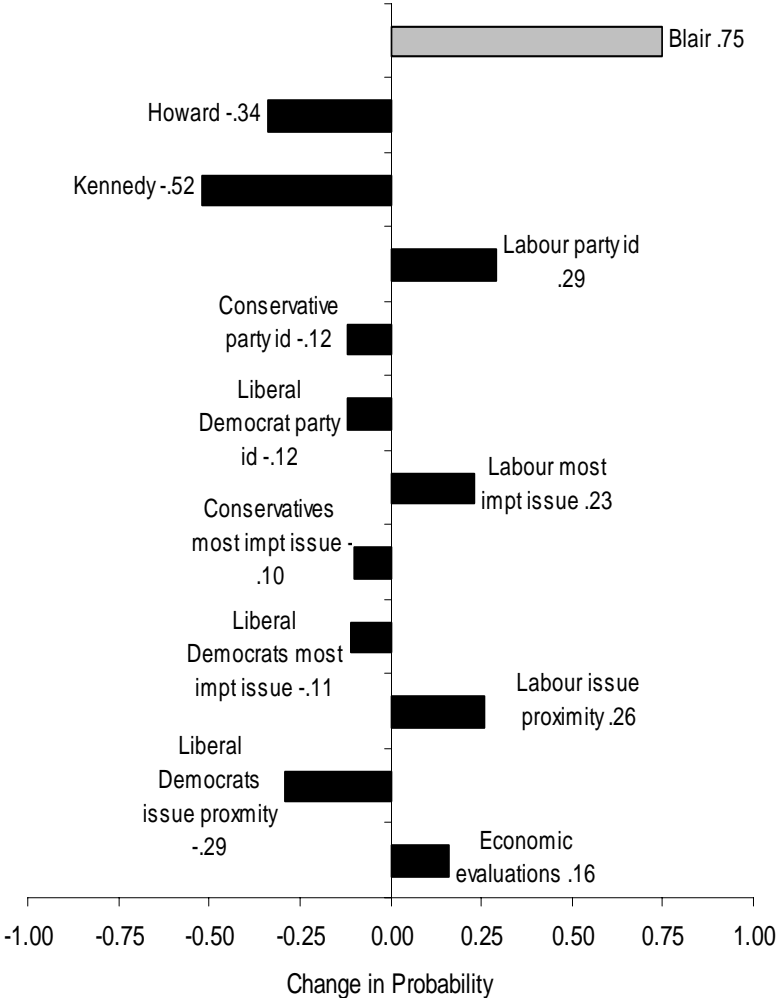


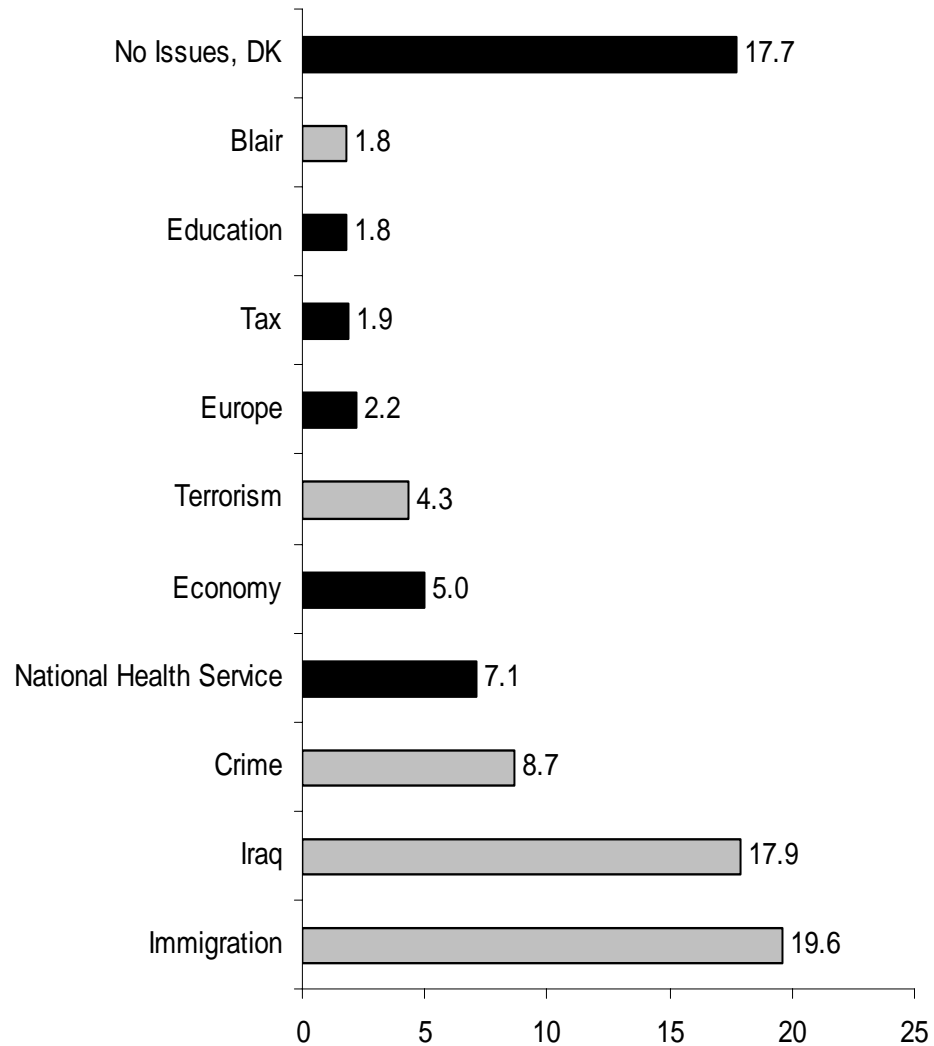
Figure 5. Composite Labour Vote Model: 2005 BES In-Person Pre-Post Election Panel Data



The New 2005 Issue Agenda

- Iraq War – Dominant Mid-Term Issue → Hurt Labour in 2005
- Model With CSES Variables & CSES Data Indicates Both Direct & Indirect Effects via Blair
- Model With BES Variables & CSES Data Indicates Indirect Effects via Blair
- New Issue Agenda in 2005 – Immigration, Crime, Terrorism ← Reinforced by 7/07

CSES Most Important Issue: Last Four Years



THE WAY FORWARD FOR BES CSES

- Separate CSES Module *Coordinated With* Other Study Components – Remove Constraints!
- Internet Surveys
- Pre-Campaign-Post-Election Panels
- Alternative Party Choice Variables: e.g., Franklin-van der Eijk “Ever Vote” Measures
- Survey Experiments: e.g., Dunleavy PR Ballot Experiment in 2005
- Vote Validation?
- Coordinated Cross-Country Experiments