



UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM



CONSTITUENCY CAMPAIGNING IN THE 2017 GENERAL ELECTION

Dear Election Agent,

We are carrying out an academic study of constituency campaigning in the general election. The study is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and has received ethical approval from the College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at Brunel University London.

Similar studies were carried out at the last six general elections. For 2017, we are seeking to up-date our earlier work, and to explore some new aspects of campaign activity. To do this we are asking for your co-operation in completing this questionnaire, which is being sent to election agents in all British constituencies. Further details of the project can be found at <http://www.brunel.ac.uk/election2017>

We would like the questionnaire to be completed by the person who had day-to-day responsibility for running your party's campaign in your constituency. If you think that you are not the appropriate person to fill in the questionnaire, we would be grateful if you could pass it on to whoever was in charge of your local campaign.

We hope that you will find answering the questions interesting. Most simply involve circling the appropriate number, while some ask you to write your answer in the space provided. Please try to be as objective as you can; in some cases where we ask for figures you may only be able to make a rough estimate, but please do that anyway.

We appreciate that this questionnaire comes just after the campaign has finished, and you may well be feeling tired - and in some cases fed up and disappointed. But we would be most grateful if you could give us the benefit of your experience and find the time to complete the questionnaire. All replies will be treated in complete confidence and no information will be published which is attributable to individuals.

If you have any questions about this survey please do not hesitate to contact us at the address below. The questionnaire can be returned by post using the enclosed FREEPOST envelope.

Thank you very much for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Justin Fisher
Prof. David Cutts
Prof. Edward Fieldhouse

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Please answer each question by circling the most appropriate number, or by writing your answer in the space provided. Where you are not sure of the answer, please make the best guess you can.

YOUR ROLE AND EXPERIENCE

1. Which of the following statements most accurately describes your role in the general election?
- 1 I was the election agent on a voluntary basis and organised the local campaign
 - 2 I am a full-time or part-time agent employed by the local party
 - 3 I am a full-time or part-time agent/organiser employed by the national party
 - 4 Other (please explain) _____

2. Before this campaign had you previously organised a general election campaign?
- 1 Yes How many times? _____
2 No

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN

3. How long ago did you know that you were going to be the person responsible for running the campaign in your constituency?
- 1 Since April 2017 2 Since January 2017
 - 3 In the last 12 months 4 More than a year ago
4. When did your constituency party start serious planning for the campaign in your constituency?
- 1 Since April 2017 2 Since January 2017
 - 3 In the last 12 months 4 More than a year ago

5. *When Parliament was dissolved on May 3rd, how far advanced were your preparations in each of the following areas? Please indicate on the scale shown whether you had not started to organise (1), were fully prepared (5), or were at some stage in between.*

	<i>Not started</i>		<i>Fully prepared</i>		
Appointing people to do particular jobs	1	2	3	4	5
Raising campaign funds	1	2	3	4	5
Obtaining a copy of the electoral register	1	2	3	4	5
Preparing content of candidate's election address	1	2	3	4	5
Making arrangements for printing campaign material	1	2	3	4	5
Identifying potential supporters through canvassing	1	2	3	4	5

- 6a. In some seats, special organisers were appointed before the election by national or regional headquarters to help prepare for the campaign. Did your constituency have a specially-appointed organiser?

1 No 2 Yes

- (IF YES)** 6b. How long before the election was the special organiser appointed to your constituency?
- 1 Since April 2017 2 Since January 2017
 - 3 In the last 12 months 4 More than a year ago

7. *In the year before the election campaign started, were voters contacted on the doorstep to compile lists of supporters?*

1 No 2 Yes, a little 3 Yes, a substantial amount

8. *In the year before the election campaign started, were voters contacted by telephone from within the constituency to compile lists of supporters?*

1 No 2 Yes, a little 3 Yes, a substantial amount

9. *In the year before the election campaign started, as far as you know, were voters in your constituency contacted by telephone by the national or regional party?*

1 Yes 2 No 3 Don't Know

10. *In the year before the election campaign started, as far as you know, were voters in your constituency contacted by direct mail by the national or regional party?*

1 Yes 2 No 3 Don't Know

11a. **Constituencies in ENGLAND only**

In the six months before the election, how often did your ***national or regional*** headquarters contact you with help or advice about the campaign?

- Hardly ever/never 1
- Less than once a month 2
- Roughly once a month 3
- Once a week or more 4

11b. **Constituencies in SCOTLAND & WALES only**

In the six months before the election, how often did your Scottish/Welsh headquarters contact you with help or advice about the campaign?

- Hardly ever/never 1
- Less than once a month 2
- Roughly once a month 3
- Once a week or more 4

11c. **ALL CONSTITUENCIES**

(if answered ONCE A MONTH OR MORE for either 11a or 11b)

Did you attend meetings with officials from your national or regional headquarters to discuss campaign strategy and targeting of seats?

- 1 Yes How many times? _____
- 2 No

12a. Did your constituency party build a database of voter preferences prior to the campaign?

- 1 Yes 2 No 3 Don't Know

(IF YES)

12b. How long have you been compiling the database?

- 1 Up to 1 year 2 1-3 years 3 4-5 years 4 More than 5 years

13. *In the year before the election campaign started, please indicate on the scale shown below how much effort was put into the following campaign activities, whether very little or no effort (1), a very substantial effort (5), or somewhere in between.*

	<i>Very little or no effort</i>			<i>Very substantial effort</i>	
	1	2	3	4	5
Maintaining a voter database	1	2	3	4	5
Distributing leaflets	1	2	3	4	5
Street Stalls	1	2	3	4	5
Resident Surveys	1	2	3	4	5
Getting media coverage	1	2	3	4	5
Operating and maintaining a website	1	2	3	4	5
Using social networking platforms (e.g. Facebook/Twitter)	1	2	3	4	5

CAMPAIGN ORGANISATION AND STRATEGY

14. Which of the following roles in the campaign were delegated to specific individuals? (please circle as many as apply)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Press Officer | 2 Canvassing Organiser |
| 3 Fund Raiser/Finance Officer | 4 Postal Votes Organiser |
| 5 Candidate's aide | 6 Computer Officer |

15a. Did your campaign organisation include local organisers or sub-agents with responsibility for particular areas of the constituency (e.g. wards, towns, villages)?

- 1 Yes 2 No

(IF YES)

15b. How many local organisers/sub-agents were there? _____

16. In some parts of your constituency your party may have had an active local campaign organisation, in others organisation may have been weak or non-existent. Roughly what proportion of the electorate was covered by active local campaign organisations?

_____ %

17. Roughly how many people are members of your constituency party/association? _____

18a. Did you use NationBuilder to help manage your campaign?

- 1 No 2 Yes

18b. Did you or your candidate use crowd-funding as means of raising funds for the campaign?

- 1 No 2 Yes

CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

19. During the campaign roughly how many ***copies of*** posters (for windows/lamp-posts/boards etc.) were given out for use in various parts of the constituency? _____

20. In total, roughly how many ***copies of*** leaflets produced ***regionally*** or ***nationally*** by your party were distributed in the constituency? _____

21. Apart from the election address, did you distribute any ***locally*** produced leaflets, broadsheets or newsletters for the campaign? If so, roughly how many ***copies of*** leaflets were distributed? _____

22. To what extent did your campaign make use of canvass records built up in earlier elections or in the pre-campaign period? Please indicate on the scale of 1 to 5 below.

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 *To a great extent*

23a. During the campaign, was doorstep canvassing for the purpose of compiling lists of party supporters carried out as part of your campaign?

- 1 Yes 2 No

(IF YES)

23b. Approximately what proportion of the electorate was canvassed in this way? _____ %

24. During the campaign, did you use direct mail to target individual voters previously identified as supporters or potential supporters?

- 1 No 2 Yes, a little 3 Yes, a substantial amount

25a. During the campaign, did your constituency party contact voters in the constituency by telephone?

- 1 No 2 Yes, a little 3 Yes, a substantial amount

(IF YES)

25b. Approximately what percentage of the constituency electorate was canvassed in this way? _____ %

26. During the campaign, as far as you know, were voters in your constituency contacted by telephone from outside your constituency, e.g. from call centres, other constituencies?

1 Yes 2 No 3 Don't know

27. During the campaign, did your constituency party contact voters in the constituency by text message?

1 No 2 Yes, a little 3 Yes, a substantial amount

28. Did your candidate have a Twitter account that was used for the campaign?

1 Yes 2 No

29. Did your candidate have a Facebook account that was used for the campaign?

1 Yes 2 No

IF NO TO BOTH QUESTIONS 28 AND 29, PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 35

30. Who was responsible for responding to voters through social media?

1 A local party member 2 The regional or national party headquarters
 3 A volunteer (non-party member) 4 Yourself
 5 The candidate 6 No one responded to voters

31a. During the campaign, did you make use of Twitter to communicate with voters?

1 No 2 Yes, a little 3 Yes, a substantial amount

31b. During the campaign, did you make use of Facebook to communicate with voters?

1 No 2 Yes, a little 3 Yes, a substantial amount

32a. Did you take out paid adverts on Facebook to promote the campaign?

1 Yes 2 No

32b. Did you take out any promoted posts on Twitter to promote the campaign?

1 Yes 2 No

33. Did you use guidelines issued by your national or regional party headquarters for your Twitter or Facebook activity?

1 Yes 2 No

34a. Did you use NationBuilder to mobilise campaign workers?

1 Yes, a lot 2 Yes, a little 3 No

34b. Did you use other social media (e.g. Twitter/Facebook) to mobilise campaign workers?

1 Yes, a lot 2 Yes, a little 3 No

35. Some local parties target different groups with particular campaign techniques. Did you target any of the following in the ways listed below? (please tick as many as apply)

	Special Leaflet	Facebook	Other Social Media (e.g. Twitter)	Doorstep Canvassing	Telephone Contact
Young People					
Over 60s					
Ethnic Minority Voters					
Students					
Women					
LEAVE voters					
REMAIN voters					
Other Groups (please state)					

44a. Were volunteers sent into your constituency by your party from neighbouring constituencies?

- 1 Yes 2 No

IF NO, PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 45

44b. When were requests made by your national or regional party headquarters to bring in campaign workers from outside the constituency?

- 1 In the last two weeks before polling day 2 The first three weeks of May 2017
 3 From January-April 2017 4 Before January 2017

45. Did you recruit any non-party members to help out with the campaign?

- 1 Yes 2 No

IF NO, PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 48

46. What was the *principal* way in which non-members were recruited for your campaign? **(PLEASE ANSWER ONE ONLY)**

- 1 Through friends, family or personal contacts
- 2 Through other face-to-face contact (e.g. street stalls or canvassing)
- 3 Through NationBuilder
- 4 Through online recruitment (e.g. email/social media)
- 5 Through leaflets or telephone calls
- 6 Through previous elections or campaigns
- 7 The volunteers approached the party themselves
- 8 Other (please state) _____

47a. Roughly how many non-party members were involved in the campaign? _____

47b. Below is a list of common campaign activities. Please tick which of them were undertaken by party members, which were undertaken by non-party members, and which were undertaken by neither.

	Party Members	Non-Party Members	Neither
Delivering leaflets	_____	_____	_____
Telephoning electors	_____	_____	_____
Polling station number-taker	_____	_____	_____
Doorstep canvassing	_____	_____	_____
Helping out in the campaign office	_____	_____	_____

48. Thinking about the campaign, when was the peak of activity for *party members*?

- 1 In the last two weeks before polling day
- 2 The first three weeks of May 2017
- 3 From January – April 2017
- 4 Before January 2017

49. Thinking about the campaign, when was the peak of activity for *non-party members*? (if applicable)

- 1 In the last two weeks before polling day
- 2 The first three weeks of May 2017
- 3 From January – April 2017
- 4 Before January 2017
- 5 Not applicable

50a. Did you recruit any volunteers (*non-party members*) who helped during the campaign into full party membership? (if applicable)

- 1 Yes 2 No

(IF YES) 50b. Roughly how many volunteers (*non-party members*) who helped during the campaign were recruited into full party membership? _____

POLLING DAY ACTIVITY

51a. Constituencies in ENGLAND only

During the campaign, how often did your *national or regional* headquarters contact you with help or advice about the campaign?

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| Hardly ever/never | 1 |
| Roughly once a week | 2 |
| Nearly every day | 3 |

51b. Constituencies in SCOTLAND and WALES only

During the campaign, how often did your Scottish/Welsh headquarters contact you with help or advice about the campaign?

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| Hardly ever/never | 1 |
| Roughly once a week | 2 |
| Nearly every day | 3 |

52a. Which **TWO** characteristics about your candidate did you emphasise most in the campaign? **(PLEASE TICK THE TOP TWO CHARACTERISTICS ONLY)**

- 1 Connections to the local area
- 2 Political experience
- 3 Experience outside of politics
- 4 Family situation
- 5 Appearance
- 6 Policy expertise

52b. Thinking about your campaign in the constituency overall, did your campaign messages focus entirely on the candidate or the party's national message? Please answer on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means *Focussed entirely on the candidate* and 10 means *Focussed entirely on the party's national message*

Entirely on the candidate

Entirely on the party's national message

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|

53. Were 'eve of poll' leaflets/ cards delivered ?

- 1 Yes 2 No

54. Were 'good morning' or last minute leaflets/cards delivered on polling day?

- 1 Yes 2 No

55. Did you 'knock up' or 'fetch out' voters on polling day using lists of 'promises' based on canvass returns?

- 1 Yes 2 No

56. On polling day were some of your 'promises' contacted by telephone to remind them to vote?

- 1 Yes 2 No

57. On polling day were some of your 'promises' contacted by text message to remind them to vote?

- 1 Yes 2 No

58. On polling day were some of your 'promises' contacted by email to remind them to vote?

- 1 Yes 2 No

59. Did you use computers to produce up-to-date knocking-up lists?

- 1 Yes
2 No

60. a) At how many polling stations did you have representatives taking numbers at the door throughout most of the day? _____

b) Roughly what percentage of the constituency's electorate did these polling stations cover? _____%

61. Very roughly how many people would you say helped in your campaign throughout the constituency on polling day? _____

YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN

62. Overall how satisfied were you with the administration of the general election in your constituency? **Please put an 'X' in one box only**

Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Fairly dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied

63. If you have ticked **Fairly Dissatisfied** or **Very Dissatisfied**, please give the main reason for this using the list below. **Please put an 'X' in one box only**

Nomination process	Management of postal voting and verification	Organisation of Polling Stations	Organisation of the Election Count	Other (please specify)

64. How much electoral fraud, if any, do you think took place at elections in your constituency? **Please put an 'X' in one box only**

A lot	A little	Hardly at all	None at all	Don't know

65. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about participating in the election? **Please put an 'X' in one box only for each statement**

	Agree	Tend to agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to disagree	Disagree	Don't know
The nomination process was straightforward						
The nomination process was well run						
I received sufficient information from the RO/election staff on the nomination process						

66. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about participating in the election? **Please put an 'X' in one box only for each statement**

	Agree	Tend to agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to disagree	Disagree	Don't know
I received sufficient information from the RO/election staff to help me manage my responsibilities as an agent.						
It was clear what was happening during the verification and counting of ballot papers						
I found the rules on election spending and donations clear						

67. Overall, how satisfied were you with how efficiently the verification and count processes were run (if attended)? **Please put an 'X' in one box only**

Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Fairly dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied

68. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about the information provided by the Electoral Commission. **Please put an 'X' in one box only for each statement**

	Agree	Tend to agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to disagree	Disagree	Did not use
Overall, the Electoral Commission was a useful source of advice and guidance during the campaign						
Overall, the Electoral Commission's written <i>Guidance for candidates and agents</i> was clear and easy to use						
The Electoral Commission's written information on what to expect at the verification and count was clear and easy to use						

69. If you contacted the Commission personally (e.g. by telephone or e-mail) for advice or guidance please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. **Please put an 'X' in one box only for each statement**

	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Tend to agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Tend to disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Did Not Use</i>
Direct advice or guidance on electoral administration was clear and easy to understand						
Direct advice or guidance on spending and donations was clear and easy to understand						
Direct advice on another area (please state below) was clear and easy to understand						

70. In their campaigns political parties can focus on criticising the policies and personalities of other parties, or they can focus on putting forward their own policies and personalities. What was, in your view, the focus of the campaign of the following parties? Please answer on the scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means *Focused mainly on criticising other parties and personalities* and 5 means *Focused mainly on putting forward own policies and personalities*, or somewhere in between.

	<i>Focused mainly on criticising other parties and personalities</i>			<i>Focused mainly on putting forward own policies and personalities</i>			<i>Don't know</i>
	1	2	3	4	5		○
Conservative Party	1	2	3	4	5		○
Labour Party	1	2	3	4	5		○
Liberal Democrats	1	2	3	4	5		○
Green Party	1	2	3	4	5		○
Scottish National Party	1	2	3	4	5		○
Plaid Cymru	1	2	3	4	5		○
UK Independence Party	1	2	3	4	5		○

PERSONAL DETAILS

71. Are you: 1 Male 2 Female 3 Prefer not to say

72. In what year were you born? _____

73. Your Constituency _____

74. Your Party _____

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire. Now please return it using the enclosed FREEPOST envelope to the address below:

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