Göteborg University

Department of Political Science

# Swedish Election Study 1970

## - Questionnaires -

## The Swedish Election Studies Programme

The Swedish Election Studies Programme was initiated by Jörgen Westerståhl and Bo Särlvik in the mid 1950s, shortly after the Michigan Election Studies began. The first studies were done in conjunction with the local elections in 1954 and the parliamentary elections in 1956.

In all parliamentary elections since 1956, as well as in the ATP referendum in 1957 and the Nuclear Power referendum in 1980, a large representative sample of eligible voters has been interviewed. The basic design in the latest studies has been a rolling panel in which half of the sample has been interviewed in connection with the previous election, and the other half in connection with the succeeding election. In recent years the sample size has been approximately 3600 and the response rate 75 to 80 per cent.

The early Election Studies were directed by Jörgen Westerståhl (1954-1956), Bo Särlvik (1954-1973) and Olof Petersson (1973-1976). The most recent studies have been directed by Sören Holmberg (1979-1991) and Mikael Gilljam (1985-1991). The most recent publication from the programme is **Väljarna inför 90-talet** (The Voters Facing the 90s) by Mikael Gilljam and Sören Holmberg (Stockholm: Norsteds Juridik 1993).

The questionnaires from the 1970 election study were translated into English by Anders Widfeldt.

**Swedish Election Study 1970** (SSD 0047)

**Principal investigator:** Bo Särlvik, Department of Political Science, Göteborg University.

**Total sample:** 4,815
- Interview in home 1,602
- Telephone interview 1,580
- Mail questionnaire 1,633

**Number of respondents:** 4,130
- Interview in home 1,355
- Telephone interview 1,407
- Mail questionnaire 1,368

**Sample loss:** 685 (14.2 %)
- Interview in home 247 (15.4 %)
- Telephone interview 173 (10.9 %)
- Mail questionnaire 265 (16.2 %)

**Number of variables:** 223

**Method:** Three types of interviews: in-home interviews, a somewhat shorter telephone interview and a mail questionnaire with only a small number of questions. All interviews were conducted after the election.

**Panel:** The third and final stage of a three-stage panel study in which the sample was also interviewed in conjunction with the Riksdag elections of 1964 and 1968.

**Format:** OSIRIS, SPSS-x, machine-readable codebook. Avaliable at SSD (Swedish Social Science Data Bank) in Göteborg.

Note: The in-person and telephone interview questionnaires, although similar, are not identical. The in-person interview questionnaire includes some questions left out of the telephone interview questionnaire. The translation below is based on the in-person interview questionnaire.

The following questions are included only in the in-person interview questionnaire:

8D, 14-17, 50-58.

All other questions were asked both in the in-person and telephone interviews, with identical numbers. There are no questions asked in the telephone interviews which were not asked in the in-person interviews.

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| Interviewer no. | Sample category | Sample sheet no. Area no. | Resp. no. |
|---|---|---|---|
| — | | | |

STATISTICAL CENTRAL BUREAU DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
GÖTEBORG UNIVERSITY

ELECTION STUDY 1970

IN-PERSON
INTERVIEW
SAMPLE

**B**

TIME OF INTERVIEW

date ____/____ 1970

time started:_____

time ended:_____

FOR IN-PERSON SAMPLE ONLY
This questionnaire should be used for interviews with R:s who are marked B on the sample sheet.

SHOW YOUR ID CARD AND LET R. READ IT BEFORE INTERVIEW BEGINS

PERSONAL DETAILS FROM SAMPLE SHEET

YEAR OF BIRTH

| GENDER |
|---|
| 1 male |
| 2 female |

| MARITAL STATUS |
|---|
| 1 married |
| 2 widowed |
| 3 divorced |
| 4 single |

IF R:S MARITAL STATUS HAS CHANGED:

Present marital status

time for change _____/_____ 19 ___

_____

Note R.s sample category, sample sheet no. plus personal details from sample sheet on questionnaire before R. is contacted.

At the same time, delete all questions which are to be excluded because of R:s sample category, year of birth or residence. See memory list on last page of questionnaire.

Also note name of commune before q. 50A

At start of interview, check R:s year of birth and marital status.

← If marital status has changed note present status and time for change.

← If R. is unmarried but living permanantly with partner, note this here.

INTRODUCTION

We have been commissioned to undertake an impartial interview study of this year's election. Before the questions I would like to inform you that the answers will only be used to statistical analysis. No outsider will get to know how any individual has answered our questions. I am of course under obligation to observe total confidentiality.

IF R MENTIONS HE/SHE WAS INTERVIEWED FOR THE 1964-1968 ELECTIONS

Many of those we interview this year have been interviewed before. The reason is that we are particularly interested in the voters' view on politics on several different occasions. This year, we make the final interview of this study.

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1A

During the last month before the election there were several TV and radio broadcasts in which the parties gave their views on different issues. There were also party leader interviews and political debates. Some have listened to a lot of these programmes. Others did not have the time, or did not think they were interesting enough to listen to.

Did you listen to any of these programmes on TV or radio?

1 yes
5 no → 2
8 DK → 2

---

1B

Roughly estimated, how many such programmes did you listen to on radio or TV during the last month before the election?

NOTE APPROPRIATE NO. OF PROGRAMMES.

1 one programme
2 two or three programmes
3 four or five programmes
4 six or seven programmes
5 eight or more programmes
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

TRY DO MAKE R. GIVE A NUMBER WHICH CAN BE NOTED. IF NEEDED, ASK SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION. E.G.: WAS IT ABOUT FOUR TO FIVE PROGRAMMES OR NOT THAT MANY?

---

2

In general, how interested are you in politics? Are you: very interested, fairly interested, not very interested or not at all interested in politics?

1 very interested
2 fairly interested
3 not very interested
4 not at all interested
x → other answer: _____

---

3 Thinking of this year's election, did you personally care which parties won or lost at this year's Riksdag election, or did you think it did not really matter as far as you are concerned?

1 personally cared a great deal

5 did not think it made much difference

x → other answer: _____

4A I would now like to ask you about aspects you find good and bad about the current government.
I begin by asking if there is anything you particularly appreciate about the Social Democratic government?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Would you like to say something more about this? Is there anything else that you like about the Social Democratic government?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4B Is there anything you particularly dislike about the Social Democratic government?

ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS → Would you like to say something more about this? Is there anything else that you dislike about the Social Democratic government?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

QUESTIONS 5A-5B VOID

6A As you know, there are differing views about what the parties and the government should try to implement or work towards in the next few years.

What do you personally think that the parties and the government and Riksdag should implement or work for in the next few years?

ADDED QUESTIONS TO GET THOROUGH ANSWERS → Would you like to say anything more about why this issue is important? Is there anything else that the parties, the government and Riksdag should try to implement or work towards in the next few years?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

8 DK/does not want to answer/no, no such issue 7A

6B Do you feel that any of the parties have shown particular interest in working on this particular issue/these issues?

SAY "THESE ISSUES" IF R. HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN ON ISSUE ON 6A

ADDED QUESTION IF "YES" → Which party are you thinking of?

1 → yes (STATE PARTY): _____

_____

5 no

8 DK

IF NEEDED, MARK MORE THAN ONE PARTY. ALSO WRITE SPECIFIED ANSWER REGARDING DIFFERENT PARTIES, IF NEEDED.

6C Do you feel that any of the parties is showing too little interest or pursue a bad policy on this issue/these issues?

QUESTION REFERS TO ISSUE(S) MENTIONED IN Q. 6A

ADDED QUESTION IF "YES" → Which party are you thinking of?

1 → yes (note which party):_____
5 no
8 DK

IF NEEDED, MARK MORE THAN ONE PARTY. ALSO WRITE SPECIFIED ANSWER REGARDING DIFFERENT PARTIES, IF NEEDED.

7A Is there any issue so important for this part of the country that you think the government and Riksdag should try to do something about it in the next few years?

ADDED QUESTIONS TO GET THOROUGH ANSWERS → Would you like to say anything more about this? Is there any other issue that you also feel is of such importance for this part of the country?

→ answer:_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

8 DK/does not want to answer/no, no such issue → 8A

7B Have you noticed if the Riksdag members (MPs) from this constituency have tried to do something about this issue/these issues?

SAY "THESE ISSUES" IF R. HAS MENTIONED MORE THAN ONE ISSUE ON 7A

1 yes
8 DK/no, no Riksdag member → 8A

7C Do you feel that Riksdag members from any particular party have tried to do something about this issue/these issues?

ADDED QUESTION IF "YES" → From which party?

1 → yes, (STATE PARTY):_____
5 no
8 DK

IF NEEDED, MARK MORE THAN ONE PARTY. ALSO WRITE SPECIFIED ANSWER REGARDING DIFFERENT PARTIES, IF NEEDED.

8A

As you know, there has been some unemployment in certain parts of the country.

Do you think this is mostly due to the policies of the government or mostly due to other reasons?

1 mostly due to government policies
2 mostly due to other reasons
x → other answer: _____

8B

On the whole, we have, after all, had full employment in this country for the past twenty years.

Do you think that this is mostly due to the policies of the government or mostly due to other reasons?

1 mostly due to government policies
2 mostly due to other reasons
x → other answer: _____

8C

What do you think would have been the situation regarding employment if we instead would have had a government consisting of only non-socialist parties and without the Social Democrats?
Do you then think that we would have had more unemployment or less unemployment, or do you think unemployment would have been about the same?

1 more unemployment
2 less unemployment
3 about the same
x → other answer: _____

8D

**In-person interviews only**

At the moment, the communes (local government areas) are being amalgamated, so that we will have larger communes in the future. The new communes will include rural parts as well as a city or some other relatively large community.

On the whole, do you think that this change of our local governments is desirable or do you think that it is not desirable or do you have no definite opinion on the matter?

1 change is desirable
2 not desirable
3 no definite opinion
x → other answer: _____

9A I would also like you ask you some questions concerning issues about which there are differing opinions. My first question concerns taxes.
Some people feel that a tax reduction belongs to the most important things to be implemented in the next few years. Do you agree with this opinion or do you think it is wrong?

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION IF R. IS HESITANT — Do you feel that this opinion is on the whole right or on the whole wrong?

1 right opinion
2 on the whole (but not entirely) right opinion
4 on the whole (but not entirely) wrong opinion
5 wrong opinion
8 DK

ALTERNATIVES 2 AND 4 MAY BE USED TO MARK ANSWERS TO SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION ON RESPECTIVE QUESTION. THEY MAY ALSO BE USED IF R. "AT ONCE" SAYS THAT A CERTAIN OPINION IS "ON THE WHOLE (BUT NOT ENTIRELY)" RIGHT OR WRONG.

remarks:_____

We have put together some of the opinions on a card.

SHOW CARD

May I ask you to tell me your view on each of these opinions. Choose one of the answers in the square at the bottom of the card.

READ OUT STATEMENTS ONE BY ONE AND LET R. CHOOSE ALTERNATIVES

| | agree entirely | agree on the whole | disagree on the whole | disagree entirely | DK |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9B. The risk for unemployment would be reduced if the government (state) got more influence on banks and enterprises. | 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 8 |
| REMARKS:_____ | | | | | |
| 9C. Some people feel that social reforms in this country have gone so far that the government (state) ought to reduce rather than increase subsidies and support for people. | 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 8 |
| REMARKS:_____ | | | | | |
| 9D. Some people feel that leading banking and industry people will get far too much influence unless the government (state) is given the chance to control private business and industry. | 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 8 |
| REMARKS:_____ | | | | | |

**10A** Many people consider themselves <u>adherents</u> of a specific party. But there are also many others who do not have such an attachment to any of the parties.

Do you usually think of yourself as, for example, a *folkpartist* or a *socialdemokrat* or a *moderat* or a *centerpartist* or a *kommunist*? Or do you not have such an attachment to any of the parties?

1 <u>yes,</u> thinks of him/herself as an adherent of a specific party
3 DK/hesitant → 11
5 <u>no,</u> does not think of him/herself as an adherent of any specific party → 11
8 does not want to answer → 11

**10B** Which party do you like best?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
x → other party (state which):_____
8 does not want to answer → 30

**10C** Some people are strongly convinced adherents of their party. Others are not so strongly convinced. Do you yourself belong to the strongly convinced adherents of your party?

1 yes, strongly convinced
5 no, not strongly convinced → 12
x → other answer:_____

SEE INSTRUCTION FOR Q. 12

**11** Still, is there any party that you consider yourself closer to than any of the other parties? (Which party?)

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
x → other party (state which):_____
8 DK/does not want to answer/no, no party → 30

R. WHO HAS MENTIONED VPK OR KFML ON Q. 10B OR 11

12A How do you feel non-socialist parties? Do you dislike the non-socialist parties very strongly?

1 yes
5 no
x other answer:_____

8 DK

R. WHO HAVE MENTIONED OTHER THAN SD, VPK OR KFML ON Q. 10B OR 11

12B How do you feel about the Social Democratic Party? Do you dislike the Social Democrats very strongly?

1 yes
5 no
x other answer: _____

8 DK

13A Which party do you like second best?

IF POSSIBLE, MARK ONLY ONE PARTY

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
x → other party (state which):_____
8 DK/does not want to answer (= no party mentioned) → 13C

13B Which party do you like best after that?

IF POSSIBLE, MARK ONLY ONE PARTY. N.B. QUESTION REFERS TO "THIRD BEST" PARTY

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
x → other party (state which):_____
8 DK/does not want to answer (= no party mentioned)

13C Which party do you dislike the most?

IF POSSIBLE, MARK ONLY ONE PARTY

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
x → other party (state which):_____
8 DK/does not want to answer (= no party mentioned)

14A **In-person interviews only**

Some people think that Sweden should give aid to developing countries in Asia and Africa. Others think that Sweden should not give aid.

What is your opinion? Do you think that Sweden should give aid to the developing countries?

1 yes
5 no → 14C
x → other answer: _____
8 DK → 14C

14B **In-person interviews only**

Some people think that the government and Riksdag should substantially increase the amount of aid to developing countries.

Do you agree with that opinion?

1 agrees
5 does not agree
x → other answer: _____
8 DK → 14C

14C **In-person interviews only**

Have you noticed any difference among the parties with regard to the issue of development aid?

ADDED QUESTION IF R. SAYS "YES, DIFFERENCE AMONG THE PARTIES" → Which party or parties are, are, as you see it, most anxious to increase aid to the developing countries in the next few years?

1 → party(-ies) (STATE WHICH): _____
5 no, no difference
8 DK

15 **In-person interviews only**

There are differing opinions concerning the status of the Christian religion in school education. Some people think that the schools should only give the pupils knowledge about the religion. Others feel that the pupils should not only be given knowledge but that the schools should also bring the pupils up according to a Christian morale.

Which of these opinions is closest to your own?

1 should only give knowledge
2 should give both knowledge and Christian morale
x → other answer: _____
8 DK

16A **In-person interviews only**

It had been suggested that the government (state) should appoint representatives on the boards of the commercial banks.

Do you think it would be desirable to get government representatives on the boards of the commercial banks, or do you think it would not be desirable, or do you have no definite opinion on the issue?

1 it is desirable that the government appoints representatives on the boards of the commercial banks

2 it is not desirable that the government appoints representatives on the boards of the commercial banks

3 no definite opinion on the issue; also: DK

x → other answer: _____

16B **In-person interviews only**

Have you noticed if there are any differences among the parties on this issue?

1 yes, differences among the parties

8 no, no differences/DK → 17A

16C **In-person interviews only**

Which party or parties do you believe would vote for this proposal, if it is subjected to a vote in the Riksdag?

1 → party(-ies) (STATE WHICH): _____

x → other answer: _____

8 DK

16D **In-person interviews only**

Which party or parties do you believe would vote against this proposal, if it is subjected to a vote in the Riksdag?

1 → party(-ies) (STATE WHICH): _____

x → other answer: _____

8 DK

17A **In-person interviews only**

As you know, Sweden is not a member of the so-called European Common Market, that is, the organisation usually referred to as the EEC.

Do you think that Sweden should try to join the EEC or do you think that it would be better if we stood outside the EEC also in the future or do you have no definite opinion on the issue?

1 Sweden should try to join the EEC
2 it would be better if Sweden stood outside the EEC
3 no definite opinion on the issue
x → other answer:_____
8 DK

17B **In-person interviews only**

Do you feel that there is any difference among the parties with regard to the view on the EEC?

1 yes, difference
8 no, no differences/DK → 30

17C **In-person interviews only**

Is there any party or parties that you feel have the correct attitude with regard to Sweden's relations to the EEC?

ADDED QUESTION IF NEEDED → Which party or parties?

1 → yes, (STATE PARTY/PARTIES):_____
5 no, no difference/DK

17D **In-person interviews only**
Which party or parties do you think seem most interested in Sweden joining the EEC?

1 → party (-ies) (STATE WHICH):_____
x → other answer:_____
8 DK

17E **In-person interviews only**
Which party or parties do you think seem least interested in Sweden joining the EEC?

1 → party (-ies) (STATE WHICH):_____
x → other answer:_____
8 DK

Q. NUMBERED 18-29 NOT INCLUDED IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE

30 Did you vote in this year's elections?

1 yes

3 yes, but not in all elections → ASK THE RELEVANT OF QUESTIONS 31-33!

5 no, did not vote → 35

8 refuses to answer → SEE INSTRUCTION ON TOP OF P. 16

VOTING CARD AT END OF INTERVIEW FOR RESPONDENTS WHO REFUSE TO ANSWER Q. 30 OR 31

31 As you know, we had several elections at the same time this year. Which party did you vote for in the *Riksdag* election?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
x → other party (state which):_____
8 refuses to answer

DELETE QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN RIKSDAG ELECTION

IF R. NAMES A "COLLECTIVE DESIGNATION" ASK SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION:

"MIDDLE PARTIES": Did you vote with the list of the Centre or People's Party? NOTE APPROPRIATE PARTY.

OTHER COLLECTIVE DESIGNATION: Did you vote with the list of the Moderate Party, the People's Party or the Centre Party? NOTE APPROPRIATE PARTY.

USE CORRESPONDING SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS, IF NEEDED, FOR SUBSEQUENT QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING THIS YEAR!

IF R. CANNOT GIVE SPECIFIC ANSWER, USE COLLECTIVE DESIGNATION IN SPACE FOR "OTHER PARTY".

32 Which party did you vote for in the *Kommunfullmäktige* (local) election?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
x → other party (state which):_____
8 refuses to answer

DELETE QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN LOCAL ELECTION

IF R. LIVES IN GÖTEBORG, MALMÖ OR ON THE ISLAND OF GOTLAND (HAVE NO LANDSTING ELECTIONS) → 34

33 Which party did you vote for in the *Landsting* (regional) election?

DELETE QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN LOCAL ELECTION

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
x → other party (state which):_____
8 refuses to answer

34 When did you decide how to vote this year? Was it during the last week before the election or earlier during the autumn and summer or did you know all along how to vote?

1 last week before election
2 earlier during autumn and summer
3 R. knew all along how to vote
x → other answer:_____
8 DK

→ SEE INSTRUCTION ON TOP OF P. 16

QUESTION 35 ONLY TO THOSE WHO DID NOT VOTE IN 1970 (THAT IS, DID NOT VOTE IN ANY OF THE THREE KINDS OF ELECTION).

35 Which party would you have voted for, if you had voted?

ADDED QUESTION IF R. IS IN DOUBT → Which party would you have been most likely to vote for?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
x → other answer (state which):_____
8 DK/refuses to answer

→ SEE INSTRUCTION ON TOP OF P. 16

IF R. NAMES DIFFERENT PARTIES FOR THE DIFFERENT ELECTIONS, NOTE ANSWERS IN SPACE FOR "OTHER ANSWER".

| SAMPLE CATEGORY | QUESTION |
|---|---|
| K70, IF R. IS BORN 1947 OR EARLIER → | 36 |
| T70<br>K70, IF R. IS BORN 1948 OR LATER → | 38A |
| P64<br>P68 → | 46 |

36 Did you vote in 1968 Riksdag election?

1 yes
3 does not remember for sure, but probably
5 no, did not vote/R. does not think R. voted → 38A
8 DK → 38A

Q. 37 SHOULD BE ASKED EVEN IF ALTERNATIVE 3 IS MARKED ON Q. 36. IF SO, ASK R. WHICH PARTY HE/SHE THINKS HE/SHE VOTED FOR.

37 Which party did you vote for in the 1968 election?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative (now Moderate Party)
6 Christian Democrats
x → other party (state which): _____
8 DK

CONTINUE WITH 38A!

IF R. NAMES A "COLLECTIVE DESIGNATION" ASK SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION:

"MIDDLE PARTIES": Did you vote with the list of the Centre or People's Party? NOTE APPROPRIATE PARTY.

OTHER COLLECTIVE DESIGNATION OUTSIDE "FOUR CITIES" CONSTITUENCY: Did you vote with the list of the Moderate Party, the People's Party or the Centre Party? NOTE APPROPRIATE PARTY.

"RALLY 68" (ONLY "FOUR CITIES" CONSTITUENCY): Which of the "Rally 68" lists did you vote for? NOTE PARTY IF R. NAMES CONSERVATIVE LIST. OTHERWISE, NOTE LIST TYPE IN SPACE FOR "OTHER PARTY".

IF R. CANNOT GIVE SPECIFIC ANSWER, WRITE DOWN COLLECTIVE DESIGNATION IN SPACE FOR "OTHER PARTY".

Q. 38A-45 ONLY ASKED TO SAMPLE CATEGORIES K70 AND T70

38A Are you gainfully employed?

1 yes → 38C
5 no

MARK "YES" EVEN IF R. IS TEMPORARILY UNEMPLOYED

38B Have you previously been gainfully employed?

1 yes
5 no → 40A

MARK "NO" EVEN IF R. ONLY HAS BEEN TEMPORARILY EMPLOYED DURING SCHOOL HOLIDAYS

38C What is/was your occupation?

ADDED QUESTION TO SPECIFY OCCUPATION → What kind of work do/did you mainly do?

→ work/occupation: _____

_____

Q. 38C AND 39 TO ASKED BOTH TO RESPONDENTS CURRENTLY AS WELL AS PREVIOUSLY ACTIVE IN THE LABOUR MARKET. IF R. HAS BEEN WORKING IN THE PAST, USE THE PAST TENSE: "HAD", "DID" ETC.

39A Could you also say which of these occupational categories you belong/belonged to?

1 salaried employee
2 worker
3 farmer with own land or tenancy
4 self-employed outside agriculture
x → other answer: _____

READ OUT ALT. 1-4. HOWEVER, SKIP ALT. 3 IF OBVIOUSLY UNAPPLICABLE.

39B Are you a member of a trade union, organisation for self-employed or any other vocational organisation?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Of which organisation are you a member?

1 → yes (state name of organisation): _____

_____

5 no/DK

DO NOT WRITE ABBREVIATION, BUT THE WHOLE NAME OF ORGANISATION. IF R. MENTIONS NAME OF HEAD ORGANISATION, ASK FOR AND WRITE THE NAME OF THE SPECIFIC UNION. THE MAIN ORGANISATIONS ARE: LO *(confederation of blue collar unions)*, TCO *(confederation of white collar unions)*, SACO *(confederation of unions for employess with university education)* AND SR *(confederation of unions for state/central government employees)*. FARMER'S ORGANISATIONS COUNT AS ORGANISATIONS FOR SELF-EMPLOYED.

SAMPLE CATEGORY K70 AND T70

40A Have you any practical or theoretical education other than basic six or seven year *folkskola*?

1 yes
5 no, only basic six or seven year *folkskola* → 41A

40B Which type of education?

ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS → Have you taken any other practical or theoretical education?

1 8 year comprehensive school
2 9 year comprehensive school
3 2 year secondary school or "*kommunal mellanskola" (total 9 years, old system, Sw."realskola")*
4 girl's school (7 or 8 years) *(old system)*
5 completed secondary education *(equivalent to GB 'A' levels, German 'Abitur'; Sw. 'Studentexamen')*

x → other education

NOTE BELOW EVERY KIND OF EDUCATION WHICH DOES NOT FIT INTO ANY OF THE ALTERNATIVES 1-5. FOR EACH SUCH EDUCATION, ASK SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION. → Could you tell me the approximate duration?

other education:_____

duration:_____

other education:_____

duration:_____

other education:_____

duration:_____

IF MORE THAN ONE OF ALTERNATIVES 1-5 ARE APPLICABLE, IT IS SUFFICIENT TO MARK THE ONE WITH THE HIGHEST NUMBER.
IF R. HAS COMPLETED ANY OF THE EDUCATIONS IN ALTERNATIVES 1-5 AS WELL AS OTHER EDUCATION, YOU SHOULD MARK THE APPROPRIATE OF ALTERNATIVES 1-5 AND NOTE THE REST OF THE ANSWER IN THE SPACE FOR "OTHER EDUCATION".

IF R. AFTER SIX OR SEVEN YEARS BASIC *FOLKSKOLA* HAS ONLY COMPLETED EDUCATION WHICH DOES NOT APPLY TO ANY OF ALT. 1-5, NOTE COMPLETE ANSWER IN SPACE FOR "OTHER EDUCATION".

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION ABOUT THE DURATION OF THE EDUCATION IS ONLY TO BE ASKED IN RELATION TO "OTHER EDUCATION". TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, NOTE NUMBER OF SEMESTERS OR YEARS. IF THE ANSWER CONCERNS EVENING CLASSES OR CORRESPONDENCE COURSES, THIS SHOULD BE NOTED (E.G. TECHNICAL INSTITUTE, EVENING CLASSES FOR TWO YEARS).

SAMPLE CATEGORIES K70 AND T70

41A Are you a member of a political party or another political organisation?

1 yes → MARRIED → 42A; SINGLE, WIDOWERS, DIVORCED → 45; WIDOWS → 42C

5 no

41B Of which political party or political organisation are you a member?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats → ADDED QUESTION FOR "SOCIAL DEMOCRATS": Are you collectively or individually affiliated to the party?
1 collectively
2 individually
3 enrolled both ways
other answer: _____
8 DK
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats

x → other party (state which): _____

8 refuses to answer

Q. 42A-44 ASKED TO MARRIED RESPONDENTS ONLY. TO WIDOWS, ASK Q. 42C AND 43. SINGLE, DIVORCED AND WIDOWERS → 45

42A Is your husband/wife gainfully employed?

1 yes → 42C
5 no

WRITE "YES" EVEN IF HUSBAND/WIFE IS TEMPORARILY UNEMPLOYED

42B Has he/she previously been gainfully employed?

1 yes
5 no → 45

42C What is/was his/her occupation?

ADDED QUESTION FOR SPECIFIED ANSWERS → What kind of work does/did he/she do?

→ occupation/employment: _____

SAMPLE CATEGORIES K70 AND T70

43 Would you also like to say to which of these occupational groups your husband/wife belongs/belonged to?

READ OUT ALT. 1-4. HOWEVER, SKIP ALT. 3 IF OBVIOUSLY UNAPPLICABLE.

1 salaried employee
2 worker
3 farmer with own land or tenancy
4 self-employed outside agriculture
x → other answer: _____

WIDOWS → 45

44 Do you know if your husband/wife is a member of a trade union, organisation for self-employed or any other vocational organisation?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Of which organisation is he/she a member?

1 → yes (state name of organisation): _____

_____

5 no/DK

DO NOT WRITE ABBREVIATION BUT THE WHOLE NAME OF ORGANISATION. IF R. MENTIONS NAME OF HEAD ORGANISATION, ASK FOR AND WRITE THE NAME OF THE SPECIFIC UNION OF WHICH THE SPOUSE IS A MEMBER.
CF. Q. 39B.

45 Can you remember which year the next Riksdag election will be held?

1 1973 (also "three years from now")

x → other answer: _____ ← 50A
8 DK

Q. 46A TO 49 ASKED ONLY TO SAMPLE CATEGORIES P64 AND P68

46A Have you changed occupation or work since the autumn of 1968?

ADDED QUESTION IF R. DOES NOT ANSWER "NO" → What is your present work or occupation?

1 → yes, has changed (note current work/occupation): _____

_____

5 no, has not changed occupation; also: R. claims not to been active in labour market in 1968 and is not active at the moment → 47

ADDED QUESTION TO BE ASKED TO ALL WHO IN ANY WAY HAVE CHANGED POSITION IN TERMS OF WORK OR OCCUPATION. IN CASE OF DOUBT, ADDED QUESTION SHOULD ALWAYS BE ASKED AND ANSWER NOTED. SHIFT FROM ACTIVE IN LABOUR MARKET TO NOT ACTIVE IN LABOUR MARKET, AND VICE VERSA, SHOULD ALSO BE MARKED AS CHANGE OF OCCUPATION. SUCH ANSWERS SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED IN SPACE FOR ALTERNATIVE 1.

46B Could you also tell me which of these occupational groups you belong to at the moment?

0 not active in labour market ← DO NOT ASK QUESTION!
1 salaried employee
2 worker
3 farmer with own land or tenancy
4 self-employed outside agriculture
x → other answer: _____

READ OUT ALT. 1-4. HOWEVER, SKIP ALT. 3 IF OBVIOUSLY UNAPPLICABLE.

46C Are you a member of a trade union, organisation for self-employed or any other vocational organisation?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Of which organisation are you a member?

1 → yes (state name of organisation): _____

_____

5 no/DK

DO NOT WRITE ABBREVIATION, BUT THE WHOLE NAME OF ORGANISATION. IF R. MENTIONS NAME OF HEAD ORGANISATION, ASK FOR AND WRITE THE NAME OF THE SPECIFIC UNION. THE MAIN ORGANISATIONS ARE: LO *(confederation of blue collar unions)*, TCO *(confederation of white collar unions)*, SACO *(confederation of unions for employess with university education)* AND SR *(confederation of unions for state/central government employees)*. FARMER'S ORGANISATIONS COUNT AS ORGANISATIONS FOR SELF-EMPLOYED.

SAMPLE CATEGORIES P64 AND P68

47 Have you completed any school or course or other kind of education since the autumn of 1968?

ADDED QUESTION IF "YES" → Which education?

1 → yes, education (STATE WHICH):_____

_____

5 no/DK

Q. 48A-C ASKED TO MARRIED RESPONDENTS ONLY. WIDOWS, SINGLE, DIVORCED AND WIDOWERS → 49

48A Has your husband/wife changed occupation since the autumn of 1968?

ADDED QUESTION IF R. DOES NOT ANSWER "NO" → What is his/her present work or occupation?

1 → yes, has changed (note current work/occupation:_____

_____

5 no, has not changed occupation; also: Spouse was not active in labour market in 1968 and is not active at the moment → 49

ADDED QUESTION TO BE ASKED IS SPOUSE IN ANY WAY HAS CHANGED POSITION IN TERMS OF WORK OR OCCUPATION. IN CASE OF DOUBT, ADDED QUESTION SHOULD ALWAYS BE ASKED AND ANSWER NOTED. SHIFT FROM ACTIVE IN LABOUR MARKET TO NOT ACTIVE IN LABOUR MARKET, AND VICE VERSA, SHOULD ALSO BE MARKED AS CHANGE OF OCCUPATION. SUCH ANSWERS SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED IN SPACE FOR ALTERNATIVE 1.

SAMPLE CATEGORIES P64 AND P68

48B Could you also tell me which of these occupational groups that your husband/wife belongs to at the moment?

DO NOT ASK QUESTION!

0 not active in labour market

1 salaried employee

2 worker

3 farmer with own land or tenancy

4 self-employed outside agriculture

READ OUT ALT. 1-4. HOWEVER, SKIP ALT. 3 IF OBVIOUSLY UNAPPLICABLE.

x → other answer: _____

48C Do you know if your husband/wife is a member of a trade union, organisation for self-employed or any other vocational organisation?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Of which organisation is he/she a member?

1 → yes (state name of organisation): _____

_____

5 no/DK

DO NOT WRITE ABBREVIATION BUT THE WHOLE NAME OF ORGANISATION. IF R. MENTIONS NAME OF HEAD ORGANISATION, ASK FOR AND WRITE THE NAME OF THE SPECIFIC UNION OF WHICH THE SPOUSE IS A MEMBER.
CF. Q. 46C.

49 Can you remember which year the next Riksdag election will be held?

1 1973 (also "three years from now")

x → other answer: _____

8 DK

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**THE REMAINING QUESTIONS WERE ONLY ASKED IN THE IN-PERSON INTERVIEWS**

ELECTION STUDY 1970

Sample sheet no.

R:s commune according to sample sheet | Area no. | Respondent no.

YOU SHOULD SAY THE NAME OF THE COMMUNE ACCORDING TO THE SAMPLE SHEET EVERYWHERE THAT THE INSTRUCTION "(NAME OF COMMUNE)" APPEARS. THERE IS A COMMUNE CODE ON THE SAMPLE SHEET. THE MEANING OF THE CODES CAN BE DETECTED USING THE ENCLOSED CODE LIST.

EXCEPTION: Q. 50A SHOULD NOT BE ASKED IF R. LIVES IN OTHER COMMUNE THAN THE ONE GIVEN ON THE SAMPLE SHEET. IF SO, WRITE: "R. DOES NOT LIVE IN SAMPLE SHEET COMMUNE" IN THE SPACE FOR "OTHER ANSWER" ON Q. 50A. HOWEVER, ALL OTHER QUESTIONS WHERE THE NAME OF THE COMMUNE IS MENTIONED SHOULD REFER TO THE SAMPLE SHEET COMMUNE.

We will now shift to questions concerning ...(NAME OF COMMUNE).

**50A** Have you always live here in... (NAME OF COMMUNE)

1 yes → 51
5 no
x → other answer:_____

IF R. HAS MOVED OUT OF SAMPLE SHEET COMMUNE, NOTE TIME OF THE MOVE HERE:

MONTH:____ YEAR:____

**50B** Which year did you move here?

→ answer: about year:_____

IF R. AT THE TIME OF INTERVIEW LIVES IN OTHER COMMUNE THAN THE ONE GIVEN ON SAMPLE SHEET, THE QUESTION SHOULD STILL REFER TO THE COMMUNE GIVEN ON SAMPLE SHEET.

**51** Are you yourself acquainted to any of the local politicians (*Sw. kommunalmän*) here in ...(NAME OF COMMUNE) or do you not know them very well?

1 is acquainted to local politician
5 is not acquainted to local politician
8 DK
x → other answer:_____

SOME COMMUNES WILL BE AMALGAMATED ON JANUARY 1ST 1971. HENCE, SOME LOCAL POLITICIANS WILL LOSE THEIR POSITIONS. HOWEVER, R. MAY NEVERTHELESS MENTION POLITICIANS HE/SHE HAS KNOWN SO FAR, AND WHO CONSEQUENTLY LIVE IN R:S "OLD" COMMUNE.

Q. 52 A-B, 53 A-B AND 54 A-B CONCERN R:S COMMUNE ACCORDING TO SAMPLE SHEET AND ARE CONSEQUENTLY NOT AFFECTED BY ANY AMALGAMATIONS OF COMMUNES.

52A As you know, one can have differing opinions about how a commune is run. Is there anything here in ...(NAME OF COMMUNE) which you think that the commune has not handled very well?

1 → yes, the following: _____

_____

5 no, nothing
8 DK

52B Is there anything that you think that the commune has handled particularly well?

1 → yes, the following: _____

_____

_____

5 no, nothing
8 DK

53A Thinking about the years gone since the latest local elections in 1966, is there any of the parties here in ...(NAME OF COMMUNE) which you feel has pursued a bad policy?

1 → yes (STATE PARTY): _____
5 no → 54A
x → other answer: _____
8 DK → 54A

53B FOR EACH PARTY R. HAS MENTIONED ON Q. 53A → Could you mention any issue where you feel that ... (NAME OF PARTY) has pursued a bad policy?

| | PARTY: | ISSUE WHERE PARTY HAS PURSUED A BAD POLICY |
|---|---|---|
| 1 → | 1 _____ | _____ |
| 2 → | 2 _____ | _____ |
| 3 → | 3 _____ | _____ |
| 4 → | 4 _____ | _____ |
| 5 → | 5 _____ | _____ |
| x → | other answer: | _____ |

IF R. CANNOT MENTION ISSUE WHERE PARTY HAS PURSUED A BAD POLICY, WRITE PARTY NAME AND "DK" ON THE LINE.

54A Thinking once again about the years gone since the latest local elections in 1966, is there any of the parties here in ...(NAME OF COMMUNE) which you feel has done particularly <u>well</u> in local matters?

1 yes (STATE PARTY): _____
5 no → 55A
8 DK → 55A

53B FOR EACH PARTY R. HAS MENTIONED ON Q. 54A → Could you mention any issue where you feel that ... (NAME OF PARTY) has done particularly <u>well</u>?

| | PARTY: | ISSUE WHERE PARTY HAS DONE PARTICULARLY WELL |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1 | |
| 2 | 2 | |
| 3 | 3 | |
| 4 | 4 | |
| 5 | 5 | |
| x | other answer: | |

IF R. CANNOT MENTION ISSUE WHERE PARTY HAS DONE PARTICULARLY WELL, WRITE PARTY NAME AND "DK" ON THE LINE.

55A I would now like to ask some questions about the election to the local commune council (*Sw. fullmäktige*). Have the parties raised any local issue before the local election this year?

R. MAY - WITH REGARD TO COMMUNE AMALGAMATIONS - REFER TO "OLD" AS WELL AS "NEW" COMMUNE.

1 yes
5 no → 56A
x other answer: _____
8 DK → 56A

55B Which issues or issues?

ADDED QUESTION → Which party or parties raised this issue?

REPEAT THE ADDED QUESTION UNTIL R. CANNOT MENTION ANY MORE ISSUE, HOWEVER AT MOST FOUR ISSUES. NOTE THE ANSWERS IN THE THE SPACE OF Q. 55C.

55C FOR EACH LOCAL ISSUE MENTIONED BY R. → Which party or parties raised this issue?

| | ISSUE RAISED: | PARTY TO HAVE RAISED ISSUE: |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1 | |
| 2 | 2 | |
| 3 | 3 | |
| 4 | 4 | |
| X | other answer: | |

IF R. DOES NOT KNOW WHICH PARTY THAT RAISED THE ISSUE, WRITE "DK" ON THE LINE.

56A How often does it happen that you talk with people in your surroundings about issues which concern ...(NAME OF COMMUNE)?
Does it happen often, or only on occasion or not at all?

1 often
2 on occasion
5 not at all → 57
x → other answer: _____

56B Can you recall any issue that you have been discussing?

1 → yes, namely: _____
_____

5 no
8 DK

57A As you know, we have had elections to the local commune council (*Sw, fullmäktige*), the regional council (*Sw. landsting*) and the Riksdag at the same time.
Do you, on the whole, think that it is better to have Riksdag, local and regional elections at the same time or do you think that it is better to separate them so that they are held on different occasions or do you have no definite opinion on this?

1 local, regional and Riksdag elections should be held at the same time. → 57B
2 local, regional and Riksdag elections should be held on separate occasions. → 57C
x other answer: _____
8 DK → 58

57B What, as you see it, is the most important reason why local, regional and Riksdag elections should be held at the same time?

answer: _____
_____
_____
_____ → 58
8 DK

57C What, as you see it, is the most important reason why local, regional and Riksdag elections should be held on separate occasions?

→ answer: _____
_____
_____
8 DK

58 As you remember, we talked about membership of political organisations and unions earlier. I would like to ask the final question:

Are you a member of any other organisation, etc.?

ADDED QUESTION → Are you a member of yet another organisation?

NOTE AT MOST THE FIRST FOUR MENTIONED ORGANISATIONS

1 → org. 1 _____

2 → org. 2 _____

3 → org. 3 _____

4 → org. 4 _____

5 no. not member

x → other answer: _____

8 DK

N.B. FOR SAMPLE CATEGORIES P64 AND P68, USE THE WORDING BELOW. IN THAT CASE, NOTE MORE THAN 4 ORGANISATIONS IF SOME OF THOSE MENTIONED POLITICAL OR A UNION.

→ Are you a member of any organisation etc.?

END OF INTERVIEW

TO INTERVIEWER: FINALLY, YOU SHOULD INDICATE BELOW WHETHER R. LIVES IN A BUILT UP AREA OR NOT. BUILT UP AREA IS DEFINED AS FOLLOWS: A BUILT UP AREA IS RESIDENTIAL AREA WHERE YOU ESTIMATE AT LEAST 200 PEOPLE LIVE, AND WHERE THE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE HOUSES DOES NOT EXCEED 200 METRES.

1 R. lives in built up area

2 R. does not live in built up area

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| Questions which before interview should be deleted for sample categories etc. | |
|---|---|
| Sample categories etc. | Questions to be deleted |
| R. who according to sample sheet lives in Göteborg, Malmö or on the island of Gotland | 33 |
| P 64<br>P 68 | 36-37 and 38A-45 |
| T 70 | 36-37 and 46-49 |
| K 70 if R. was born 1948 or later | 36-37 and 46-49 |
| K 70 if R. was born 1947 or earlier | 46-49 |

| Party abbreviations | |
|---|---|
| Vänsterpartiet kommuisterna | VPK |
| (Arbetarepartiet)-Socialdemokraterna | SD |
| Centerpartiet | CP |
| Folkpartiet | FP |
| Moderata Samlingspartiet | M |
| Kristen Demokratisk Samling | KDS |
| Kommunistiska Förbundet - Marxist-Leninisterna | KFML |
| FOR OTHER PARTIES YOU SHOULD WRITE THE COMPLETE NAME! | |

HAS R. REFUSED TO ANSWER HOW HE/SHE VOTED IN 1970?

IF R. HAS REFUSED TO ANSWER Q. 30 OR Q. 31, YOU SHOULD NOW ASK IF R. WOULD LIKE TO ANSWER USING THE ANSWERING CARD. IF SO, LET R. COMPLETE THE CARD AND SEAL THE ENVELOPE BY HIM/HERSELF.

| ANSWERING CARD NO. |
|---|
| |

PUT THE ENVELOPE IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE.
NOTE THE NUMBER OF THE CARD HERE:

**Statistical Central Bureau**
**Investigation Institute**

**Department of Political Science**
**Göteborg University**

In connection with recent elections we have conducted interview surveys which give information about what the voters think about parties and politics in our country. The surveys are completely impartial. The results are published, among other places, together with the offical election statistics.

More than five thousand people have been interviewed on different occasions in these surveys. Our surveys will be concluded after this year's election. This time, however, we do **not** contact you in order to interview you personally. Instead, we would like you to help us completing this survey by answering some brief questions on the back of this card. The questions concern the election which, as you know, was particularly interesting.

We would be very grateful if you would answer the questions and then return this card in the enclosed envelope. The address in printed on the envelope and you do not need to put a stamp on it. Please mail the envelope as soon as possible, preferably today or tomorrow.

Your answers will be treated with confidentiality. No outsider will be able to know what you have answered on any question. In order for the survey to give correct results, we have selected the contacted people via a scientific lottery procedure among all eligible voters in the country. Your answers can therefore not be substituted by the answers of anybody else. Your participation is thus important and valuable for the survey.

If you would like to receive an account of the survey results we would be happy to send one to you.

Thank you in advance for your kind participation

**Edmund Rapaport**
Head of division
Statistical Central Bureau
Investigation Institute

**Bo Särlvik**
Docent
Department of Political Science
Göteborg University

## As you know, we had three elections this year,

that is, *riksdag* election, *kommunfullmäktige* election **(local government)** and *landsting* election **(regional government)** (except in Göteborg, Malmö and the island of Gotland where no *landsting* elections were held.) Our questions concern your own voting in the three different elections. We would also like to ask when you decided how to vote yhis year.

Please write a cross in the appropriate square for each of the elections here below and for the answer on the other question which you think describes yourself most adequately.

**When did you decide how to vote this year?**

- ☐ I decided during the last few weeks before the election
- ☐ I decided earlier during the autumn or summer
- ☐ I knew all along how to vote
- ☐ I did not vote in any of this year's elections.

Please write a cross in the appropriate square!

| **Riksdag election** | **Kommunfullmäktige election** | **Landsting election** |
|---|---|---|
| I voted for: | I voted for: | I voted for: |
| ☐ Moderate Party | ☐ Moderate Party | ☐ Moderate Party |
| ☐ People's Party | ☐ People's Party | ☐ People's Party |
| ☐ Centre Party | ☐ Centre Party | ☐ Centre Party |
| ☐ Social Democrats | ☐ Social Democrats | ☐ Social Democrats |
| ☐ Left Party Communists | ☐ Left Party Communists | ☐ Left Party Communists |
| ☐ Christian Democrats | ☐ Christian Democrats | ☐ Christian Democrats |
| Other party (please state which) | Other party (please state which) | Other party (please state which) |
| ..... | ..... | ..... |
| I did not vote ☐ | I did not vote ☐ | I did not vote ☐ |

We would like to send to an account of our results. If you wish to receive a report on the survey results, you can make an order by writing you name and address here below. If you do not wish to receive the report you naturally do not need to give your name and address.

.....

.....

.....

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**KEY TO THE SWEDISH PARTIES 1970**

Name in Swedish: Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna
Abbreviation: Vpk
Translation of party name: Left Party Communists
Ideological location: Euro-communist, left socialist.
Riksdag election result 1970: 4.8% (17/350 seats)
Party leader: Carl-Henrik Hermansson

Name in Swedish: Socialdemokratiska Arbetarepartiet (Socialdemokraterna)
Abbreviation: SD (also S or SAP)
Translation of party name: Social Democratic Workers Party
Ideological location: social democratic (labour)
Riksdag election result 1970: 45.3% (163/350 seats)
Party leader: Olof Palme (Prime Minister 1969-1976 and 1982-1986)

Name in Swedish: Centerpartiet
Abbreviation: CP (also C)
Translation of party name: Centre Party
Ideological location: non-socialist, centre
Riksdag election result 1970: 19.9% (71/350 seats)
Party leader: Gunnar Hedlund

Name in Swedish: Folkpartiet
Abbreviation: Fp
Translation of party name: People's Party
Ideological location: liberal
Riksdag election result 1970: 16.2% (58/350 seats)
Party leader: Gunnar Helén

Name in Swedish: Moderata Samlingspartiet (name changed from Högerpartiet in 1969)
Abbreviation: M
Translation of party name: Moderate Party
Ideological location: conservative
Riksdag election result 1970: 11.5% (41/350 seats)
Party leader: Yngve Holmberg

Name in Swedish: Kristen Demokratisk Samling
Abbreviation: KDS
Translation of party name: Christian Democratic Union
Ideological location: Christian Democratic
Riksdag election result 1970: 1.8% (no seats)
Party leader: Birger Ekstedt

Name in Swedish: Kommunistiska Förbundet Marxist-Leninisterna
Abbreviation: KFML
Translation of party name: Communist Marxist-Leninist League
Ideological location: Communist, Marxist-Leninist
Riksdag election result 1970: 0.4% (no seats)
Party leader: Gunnar Bylin