Göteborg University

Department of Political Science

Swedish Election Study 1976

- 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 1976 Election Study were translated into English by Anders Widfeldt.

Swedish Election Study 1976 (SSD 0008)

Principal investigators: Olof Petersson, Department of Political Science, Uppsala University.

Total sample: 3,580

Number of respondents: 2,652

Sample loss: 928 (25.9 %)

Number of variables: 290

Weight: Respondents belonging to the 1973-1976 panel who did not respond in 1973 had their sample probability halved in 1976; when processing the data, these were weighted by a factor of 2.

Method: Interview in home. One-half of the sample was interviewed before election day, the other half after. Pre-election respondents also answered a short mail questionnaire after the election, which mainly contained questions on final vote decision.

Panel: The study represents stage two in the 1973-1976 panel and stage one in the 1976-1979 panel.

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

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ELECTION STUDY 1976

STAGE **A**
PRE-ELECTION INTERVIEWS

STATISTICAL CENTRAL BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
GÖTEBORG UNIVERSITY

Prinicipal investigator:
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Sample sheet no.

Interviewer no.

Year of birth (from sample sheet)

R's number and year of birth to be written on questionnaire before R is contacted.

The following questions are to be excluded:

R born 1948-1950: 46

R born 1951-1953: 44-46

R born 1954-1958: 42-46

Show your ID card and let R. read it before interview begins.

Time of interview

date:_____/_____ 1976

time started:_____

time ended:_____

For internal use (Dept of Political Science)

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8

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 for 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 1973 ELECTION

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

1

I begin with a question about newspapers and other news periodicals. Which newspaper or newspapers do you read regularly?

ALSO NOTE NEWSPAPERS WHICH COME OUT ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK. BY "REGULARLY" WE MEAN AT LEAST 4 TIME A WEEK FOR DAILIES AND AT LEAST EVERY TWO WEEKS FOR WEEKLIES.

newspaper 1:_____

newspaper 2:_____

newspaper 3:_____

newspaper 4:_____

newspaper 5:_____

2

How often do you read news and articles about politics in the daily newspapers?

SHOW CARD 2. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 never reads news and articles about politics.
2 occasionally reads news and articles about politics.
3 often reads news and articles about politics.
4 reads news and articles about politics every day.
x ▷ other answer:_____

3

In general, how interested are you in politics? Which of the answers on this card describes you most adequately?

SHOW CARD 3

Are you: very interested, fairly interested, not very interested or not at all interested in politics?

1 very interested
2 very interested
3 very interested
4 very interested
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 <u>particularly appreciate</u> 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 particularly appreciate about the Social Democratic government?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4B Is there anything you <u>dislike</u> 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 dislike about the Social Democratic government?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

QUESTIONS 5A-5B NOT INCLUDED IN STAGE A

6A

I have a couple of questions concerning your feelings about the policies pursued in this country in recent years.
In recent years, we have had some unemployment in some 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
5 mostly due to other reasons
x → other answer: _____

6B

On the whole, we have, after all, had full employment in this country for the past twenty years.
Is this mostly due to the policies of the government or mostly due to other reasons?

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

7A

Generally speaking, how do you feel the government has handled employment?

SHOW CARD 7

Do you think they have handled it very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly?

1 very well
2 fairly well
3 fairly badly
4 very badly
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

7B

How do you think a non-socialist government would have handled employment?

SHOW CARD 7

Do you think they would have handled it very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly?

1 very well
2 fairly well
3 fairly badly
4 very badly
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

8A Looking back on the past year, do you feel that your own income has decreased compared to price development, kept up with the price development or risen compared to price development?

1 decreased compared to price development
2 kept up with the price development
3 risen compared to price development
8 DK

8B And if you try to guess one year forward in time, do you think that your income will decrease compared to price development, keep up with the price development or rise compared to price development?

1 will decrease compared to price development
2 will keep up with the price development
3 will rise compared to price development
8 DK

9A Generally speaking, how do you think the government has handled the issue of the rising prices?

SHOW CARD 7

Do you think they have handled it very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly?

1 very well
2 fairly well
3 fairly badly
4 very badly
8 DK
x ▷ other answer: _____

9B How do you think a non-socialist government would have handled the rising prices?

SHOW CARD 7

Do you think they would have handled it very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly?

1 very well
2 fairly well
3 fairly badly
4 very badly
8 DK
x ▷ other answer: _____

10A Concerning taxes, how do you think the government has handled taxation policies?

SHOW CARD 7

Do you think they have handled it very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly?

1 very well
2 fairly well
3 fairly badly
4 very badly
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

10B How do you think a non-socialist government would have handled taxation?

SHOW CARD 7

Do you think they would have handled it very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly?

1 very well
2 fairly well
3 fairly badly
4 very badly
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

11A What do you believe would have been the situation regarding <u>employment</u> if we would have had a government only consisting of non-socialist parties but without the Social Democrats?
Do you think there would have been <u>more</u> unemployment or <u>less</u> unemployment in the last few years, or do you believe unemployment would have been <u>about the same</u>?

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

11B What do you believe would have been the situation regarding <u>the rising prices</u> if we would have had a government only consisting of non-socialist parties but without the Social Democrats?
Do you think prices would have risen <u>more</u> or <u>less</u> in the last few years, or do you believe they would have risen <u>just as much</u>?

1 prices would have risen more
2 prices would have risen less
3 prices would have risen just as much
x → other answer: _____

11C And what do you believe would have been the situation regarding taxes if we would have had a government only consisting of non-socialist parties but without the Social Democrats?
Do you think the taxes would have been higher or lower in the last few years, or do you believe they would have been about the same?

1 taxes would have been higher
2 taxes would have been lower
3 taxes would have been the same
x → other answer: _____

12A How important is the employment issue for your voting in this year's election?

SHOW CARD 12

1 absolutely one of the most important issues
2 fairly important
3 not particularly important
4 not at all important
8 DK
X → other answer: _____

12B How important is the issue of rising prices for your voting in this year's election?

SHOW CARD 12. IF NECESSARY, REPEAT ALTERNATIVES.

1 absolutely one of the most important issues
2 fairly important
3 not particularly important
4 not at all important
8 DK
X → other answer: _____

12C And how important is the tax issue for your voting in this year's election?

SHOW CARD 12. IF NECESSARY, REPEAT ALTERNATIVES.

1 absolutely one of the most important issues
2 fairly important
3 not particularly important
4 not at all important
8 DK
X → other answer: _____

13 How do you think economic conditions in Sweden will develop in the next few years?

SHOW CARD 13

Do you think the economy will improve a lot, improve somewhat, that there will be no change, that it will worsen somewhat or worsen a lot?

1 improve a lot
2 improve somewhat
3 no change
4 worsen somewhat
5 worsen a lot
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

14 We have had a Social Democratic government for a long time. How much do you conditions will change in this country if we instead were to get a government consisting of only non-socialist parties, but without the Social Democrats?

SHOW CARD 14

Do you think things would change very much, change quite a lot, not change very much or not change at all?

1 change very much
2 change quite a lot
3 not change very much
4 not change at all
8 DK

15 Which party or parties would you most of all like to see included in the government after this year's election?

ADDED QUESTION → Would you like to see any other party included in the government?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

→ party(ies): _____

_____

8 DK

NOTE EVERY PARTY MENTIONED BY R. ALSO NOTE ANSWERS "ALL PARTY GOVERNMENT" OR "ALL PARTIES".

16 I will now read to you a list of policies, which some people think ought to be implemented in Sweden. For each of them, please say if it is:

SHOW CARD 16. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 good proposal: very important that it is implemented
2 good proposal: fairly important that it is implemented
3 does not really matter
4 bad proposal: fairly important that it is not implemented
5 bad proposal: very important that it is not implemented
8 DK

READ OUT PROPOSALS ONE BY ONE AND WRITE NUMBER IN BOX.

	A. Using one of the answers on this card, what is your opinion about the proposal to build more day care centres for children?
	B. Increase influence of employees at their workplaces.
	C. Reduce government control over free enterprise.
	D. Introduce six hour working day for everyone.
	E. Make Sweden a republic.
	F. Stop the immigration of foreign work force.
	G. Increase equality in income and working conditions.
	H. Stop the expansion of nuclear power.
	I. Move more central government agencies out of Stockholm to other parts of the country.
	J. Socialize the large industries.
	K. Reduce taxes on high incomes.
	L. Reduce taxes on low incomes.

	M. Close down unprofitable railways
	N. Prohibit mellanöl *(beer sold in grocery shops)*
	O. Prohibit all forms of pornography.
	Q. Reduce taxation on employers.
	R. Make it compulsory that half of the Riksdag members must be women.
	S. Reduce defence expenditure.

17A Here is a fairly general question.
What is your attitude to the Swedish society of today?

SHOW CARD 17A

Is it: very positive, fairly positive, fairly negative or very negative?

1 very positive
2 fairly positive
3 fairly negative
4 very negative
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

17B Has your attitude to the Swedish society <u>changed</u> during the last, let us say five, years?

SHOW CARD 17B

Are you: much more positive now, somewhat more positive now, do you have the same attitude now, are you somewhat more negative now or much more negative now?

1 much more positive now
2 somewhat more positive now
3 same attitude now
4 somewhat more negative now
5 much more negative now
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

18 Here are some questions concerning the superpowers of the world. If you were to give your opinion on the Soviet Union, USA and China, which of the opinions on this card do you think fits each of these countries best?

SHOW CARD 18

1 Pursue policies which are a constant threat to world peace
2 Often inclined to use military power when trying to solve conflicts with other nations
3 Sometimes inclined to use military power when trying to solve conflicts with other nations
4 Tries to maintain world peace - if a war breaks out it will be because of other nations
8 DK

WRITE NUMBER IN BOX

A. We begin with the Soviet Union. Which of the opinions do you think fits the Soviet Union best? [ ]
B. And the USA, which of the opinions do you think fits best? [ ]
C. And finally China. Which of the opinions do you think fits best? [ ]

19 I would also like to ask you how you think these nations have changed their policies during the last 10-15 years.

A I begin with the Soviet Union. Do you think that the Soviet policies have become more or less peaceful or do you think that there is no difference?

1 more peaceful now
3 no difference
5 less peaceful now
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

19B What do you think about the USA? Do you think that the US policies have become more or less peaceful or do you think that there is no difference?

1 more peaceful now
3 no difference
5 less peaceful now
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

19C And China. Do you think that the Chinise policies have become more or less peaceful or do you think that there is no difference?

1 more peaceful now
3 no difference
5 less peaceful now
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

20 Concerning the Soviet Union and US relations with Sweden, to which extent do you feel that Sweden at present are under threat from these nations?

SHOW CARD 20

1 Constitutes a threat against Sweden
2 Unfriendly, but no direct threat
3 No enmity
4 Friendly
8 DK

WRITE NUMBER IN BOX

A. Which of the opinions on this card do you think fits the Soviet Union best?
B. And concerning the USA, which of the opinions do you fits best?

21 We have been talking about the foreign policies of the Soviet Union, the USA and China. What is your opinion about conditions within these three nations?

SHOW CARD 21

A I begin with the Soviet Union. Are you: very positive, fairly positive, fairly negative or very negative?

1 very positive
2 fairly positive
3 fairly negative
4 very negative
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

21B And concerning the USA, what is your opinion?

SHOW CARD 21. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 very positive
2 fairly positive
3 fairly negative
4 very negative
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

21C And what is your opinion about China?

SHOW CARD 21. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 very positive
2 fairly positive
3 fairly negative
4 very negative
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

22 If you try to look forward about 20-25 years, do you think the world will look worse or better compared to today?

SHOW CARD 22

Do you think ut will look much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse or a lot worse?

1 much better
2 somewhat better
3 about the same
4 somewhat worse
5 a lot worse
8 DK
x ▷ other answer: _____

23 Various proposals have been raised about how to maintain the supply of energy here in Sweden in the next ten years. On this card you will find some of those proposals. For each of them, I would like you to say if you think it is:

SHOW CARD 23. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 good proposal: very important that it is implemented
2 good proposal: fairly important that it is implemented
3 does not really matter
4 bad proposal: fairly important that it is not implemented
5 bad proposal: very important that it is not implemented
8 DK

READ OUT PROPOSALS ONE BY ONE AND WRITE NUMBER IN BOX.

A. Expand nuclear energy.

B. Water power: exploit hitherto untouched rivers.

C. Increase the quantity of imported oil.

D. Place resources on new energy sources like solar heat, wind power etc.

E. Save energy, even if it means a reduction in living standards.

24A There are different views on the use of nuclear power. Which of the opinions on this card do most agree with?

SHOW CARD 24A. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 substantial expansion of nuclear power
2 moderate expansion of nuclear power
3 no new nuclear power stations should be built, but those already in existence should be kept
4 no new nuclear power stations should be built, and those already in existence should be closed down
7 no definite opinion on the issue
8 DK

24B How important is the issue of nuclear power for your voting in this year's election?

SHOW CARD 24B

1 absolutely one of the most important issues
2 fairly important
3 not particularly important
4 not at all important
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

24C Have you noticed if there are differences among the parties in their views on the nuclear power issue?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties do you feel are most positive to nuclear power?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
x → other party (state which): _____
7 no, has not noticed party differences → 25
8 DK

IF R. HAS NOTICED PARTY DIFFERENCES:

24D And which party or parties are, as you see it, most negative against nuclear power?

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

25 We have put together some opinions which appear in the political debate.

SHOW CARD 25

Could I ask you to tell me what you think about each of these opinions. Choose one of the answers in the box to the left in the booklet.

1 agree completely
2 agree on the whole
3 disagree on the whole
4 disagree completely

READ OUT THE STATEMENTS ONE BY ONE AND LET R. CHOOSE ALTERNATIVE. WRITE NUMBER IN BOX.

A. The risk of unemplyment will decrease if central government (state) becomes more powerful with regard to the activities of banks and industries.

B. Private business and industry fulfills its tasks best if central government does not interfere.

C. Leading banking and industry people will get far too much influence unless society is given the chance to control private business and industry.

D. Social reforms in this country have gone so far that central government ought to <u>reduce</u> rather than increase social benefits and support for people.

26 There are various views concerning who should own the large industries in the future. On this card there are three different opinions.

SHOW CARD 26. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 private shareholders
2 central government (state)
3 employees through their unions
8 DK

WRITE MUMBER IN BOX

A. Which opinion do you think is <u>best</u>?

B. Which opinion do you think is <u>worst</u>?

27 It is often said that some parties are comparatively close to each other, with regard to the policies they want to work for. Other parties could be regarded as being further apart.

I have here some cards with the names of the biggest parties and would like you to compare the party printed at the top of each card to the other parties.

SHOW CARDS 27A THROUGH 27E ONE BY ONE. ASK QUESTIONS PRINTED BELOW FOR EACH CARD. IN EACH QUESTION, USE THE NAME OF THE PARTY PRINTED ON TOP OF THE RESPECTIVE CARDS.

Which of the other parties would you say is closest to ... (PARTY)?
Which of them would you say is the second closest to ... (PARTY)?
Which of the other parties would you say is furthest apart from ... (PARTY)?

CARD 27A: PEOPLE'S PARTY	CARD 27B: SOCIAL DEMOCRATS
closest party:_____	closest party:_____
second closest:_____	second closest:_____
furthest apart:_____	furthest apart:_____

CARD 27C: MODERATE PARTY	CARD 27D: CENTRE PARTY
closest party:_____	closest party:_____
second closest:_____	second closest:_____
furthest apart:_____	furthest apart:_____

CARD 27E: LEFT PARTY COMMUNISTS	
closest party:_____	other answer or supplementary notes to answers:
second closest:_____	_____
furthest apart:_____	_____

IF NEEDED, YOU MAY USE THE WORDS "MOST SIMILAR", "MOST DIFFERENT" TO EXPLAIN THE MEANING OF THE QUESTION.
R. COULD SAY THAT A CERTAIN PARTY IS CLOSEST TO ONE OF THE PARTIES IN ONE ASPECT, BUT TO ANOTHER PARTY IN A DIFFERENT ASPECT. IF SO, ASK R. TO DECIDE WHICH ASPECT HE/SHE THINKS IS MOST IMPORTANT, SO THAT ONE PARTY CAN BE GIVEN AS ANSWER.
DK IS NOTED ON APPROPRIATE LINE.

28 In recent years, quite a few so-called wild strikes *(unofficial industrial action)* have taken place. What is your opinion about this?

SHOW CARD 28

Are wild strikes <u>often</u> justified, could they <u>sometimes</u> be justified, or are they never justified?

1 wild strikes are <u>often</u> justified
2 wild strikes are justified <u>at times</u>
3 wild strikes are <u>never</u> justified
8 DK
x ▷other answer: _____

29 I will now read out some organisations and groups. For each of them, I would like you to state whether you think that they have <u>too much</u> or <u>too little</u> influence today. You can choose from the alternatives on this card.

SHOW CARD 29

1 has far too much influence
2 has a little too much influence
3 about right as it is
4 has a little too little influence
5 has far to little influence
8 DK

WRITE NUMBER IN BOX

A. LO (Landsorganisationen) *Confederation of blue collar unions*

B. TCO (Tjänstemännens centralorganisation) *Confederation of white collar unions*

C. SAF (Arbetsgivareföreningen) *Employer's association*

D. Large scale businessmen

E. Owners of small businesses

F. Local trade unions

G. White collar employees

H. Workers

I. Farmers

30 How much attention do you think politicians in general pay to demands raised by, for example, local organisations or groups of citizens?

SHOW CARD 30. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 very much attention
2 a fair amount of attention
3 fairly little attention
4 very little attention
8 DK
x other answer: _____

31 We have also put together some opinions concerning parties and politics. Some are rather critical.

I will read these questions to you one by one and ask you to choose one of the answers on the card.

SHOW CARD 31.

1 agree completely
2 agree on the whole
3 disagree on the whole
4 disagree completely
8 DK

Do you agree with this opinion or do you think it is wrong?

READ OUT STATEMENTS ONE BY ONE AND LET R. CHOOSE ALTERNATIVES. WRITE NUMBER IN BOX.

A. There is at least one party which always tries to look after my interests.
B. The parties are only interested in people's votes, not in what they think.
C. The Riksdag members we elect will soon lose touch with ordinary people.
D. By voting, one can really take part in deciding how this country should be governed.
E. One can never trust any of the parties to keep their promises.
F. Those who sit in the Riksdag making decisions do not pay much attention to the thoughts and views of ordinary people.

32 Could you consider taking part in a <u>demonstration</u> directed against decisions by the authorities, if the demonstration had a purpose that you agree with?

1 <u>yes,</u> could consider taking part
5 <u>no,</u> would not consider taking part
8 DK
x other answer: _____

33A Reference is sometimes made to different societal classes and societal groups. Is there any societal class or societal group which you consider yourself belonging to?

1 yes
5 DK

33B Which societal class or societal group are you thinking of?

1 working class
2 middle class
x▷other class or group (state which):

.....

8 DK

Mark alternatives 1-2 only if R.'s answer corresponds exactly to these alternatives. Other answers to be noted as "other class or group".

33C Reference is sometimes made to working class and middle class. Which of them would say you belong to?

1 working class
2 middle class
3 none of these two
8 DK

x▷other answer:.....

.....

.....

34 Do you think that the policies pursued in this country in recent years has been advantageous or disadvantageous to those who belong to the same societal group as you?

ADDED QUESTION IF R. IS IN DOUBT → Do you think they have been mostly advantageous or mostly disadvantageous?

1 advantageous

3 disadvantageous

5 neither advantageous nor disadvantageous

8 DK

x ▷other answer:_____

35A	Do you feel that there is any party or parties whose policies particularly favour <u>farmers</u>? CIRCLE PARTY OR PARTIES MENTIONED BY R. vpk s cp fp m 7 "all parties" 8 no, no party; DK other party:____
B	Is there any party or parties which treat farmers <u>unfairly</u>? vpk s cp fp m 7 "all parties" 8 no, no party; DK other party:____
C	Is there any party or parties which favour <u>owners of small businesses</u>? vpk s cp fp m 7 "all parties" 8 no, no party; DK other party:____
D	Is there any party or parties which treat owners of small businesses <u>unfairly</u>? vpk s cp fp m 7 "all parties" 8 no, no party; DK other party:____
E	Is there any party or parties which favour <u>large scale businessmen</u>? vpk s cp fp m 7 "all parties" 8 no, no party; DK other party:____
F	Is there any party or parties which treat large scale businessmen <u>unfairly</u>? vpk s cp fp m 7 "all parties" 8 no, no party; DK other party:____
G	Is there any party or parties which favour <u>workers</u>? vpk s cp fp m 7 "all parties" 8 no, no party; DK other party:____
H	Is there any party or parties which treat workers <u>unfairly</u>? vpk s cp fp m 7 "all parties" 8 no, no party; DK other party:____
I	Is there any party or parties which favour <u>salaried employees</u>? vpk s cp fp m 7 "all parties" 8 no, no party; DK other party:____
J	Is there any party or parties which treat salaried employees <u>unfairly</u>? vpk s cp fp m 7 "all parties" 8 no, no party; DK other party:____

36 How do you usually act if you are among people who start talking about politics? Which of these descriptions fits you best?

SHOW CARD 36. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 I usually do not listen when people start talking about politics
2 I often listen, but never take part in the discussion
3 it happens occasionally, but not very often, that I speak my mind and say what I think
4 I usually take part in the discussion and say what I think

x ▷other answer: _____

37A Many people consider themselves adherents 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 yes, thinks of him/herself as an adherent of a specific party
3 DK/hesitant
5 no, does not think of him/herself as an adherent of any specific party
8 does not want to answer

37B 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 → 39A

.....

37C 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

x ▷other answer:.....

37D 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 → 39A

38A Which party do you like second 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 DK (= no party mentioned) → 38C

IF POSSIBLE, MARK ONLY ONE PARTY.

38B Which party do you like best after that?

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 (= no party mentioned)

IF POSSIBLE, MARK ONLY ONE PARTY.

N.B. THE QUESTION REFERS TO "THIRD BEST" PARTY

38C Which party do you dislike the most?

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 (= no party mentioned)

IF POSSIBLE, MARK ONLY ONE PARTY.

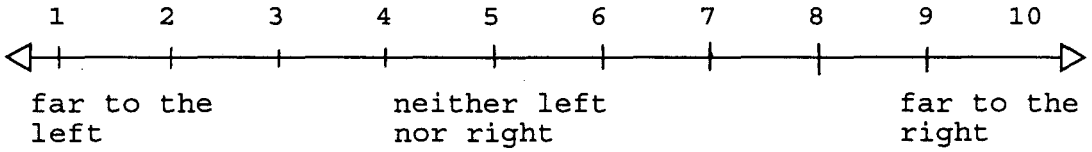
39A The parties are sometimes thought of as being ordered from left to right according to their political outlook.

SHOW CARD 39A-B

On this card there is a kind of scale. I would like you to tell me where you think the party that you like best is positioned on the scale.
If you think it is far to the left, choose low number.
If you think it is far to the right, choose a high number.

TRY TO MAKE R. GIVE ONE OF THE FIGURES ON THE SCALE AS ANSWER AND MARK THE ANSWER WITH AN CROSS ON THE SCALE BELOW.

the position of the party is:

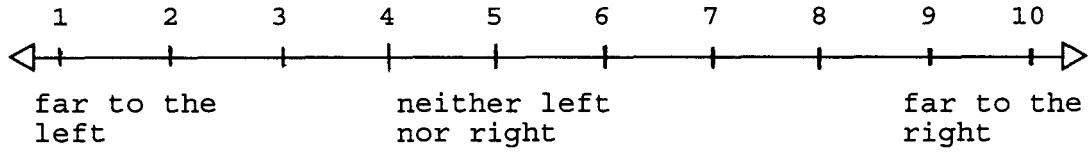


x → other answer: _____

39B Where would you like to place yourself on the scale?

SHOW CARD 39A-B

EXPLAIN - IF NECESSARY - THAT THIS QUESTION ONLY APPLIES TO THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK OF THE RESPONDENT.
TRY TO MAKE R. GIVE ONE OF THE FIGURES ON THE SCALE AS ANSWER AND MARK THE ANSWER WITH AN CROSS ON THE SCALE BELOW.



x → other answer: _____

39C Do you think that your political outlook has changed somewhat during the past five years? Wich of the descriptions on this card fits you best?

SHOW CARD 39C. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 much more to the left now
2 somewhat more to the left now
3 same outlook now
4 somewhat more to the right now
5 much more to the right now
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

40 Do you intend to vote in this year's election?

QUESTIONS 40 AND 41 APPLY TO PARLIAMENTARY (RIKSDAG) ELECTION ONLY

1 yes
3 maybe/does not know for sure
5 no
8 refuses to answer

→ 41B

41A Which party are you going 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 party (state which):_____
8 has not decided/does not want to answer

→ 42

→ 41C

41B If you were to vote, which party would you vote for?

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 has not decided/does not want to answer/does not want to vote for any party

→ 42

41C N.B.: THIS QUESTION IS ONLY TO BE ASKED TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN MARKED AS ALTERNATIVE 8 ON Q. 41A OR 41B. IF R. HAS REFUSED TO INDICATE ANY PARTY SYMPATHY SO FIRMLY, THAT YOU CONSIDER IT POINTLESS TO ASK Q. 41C, YOU MAY LEAVE THIS QUESTION. IF SO, WRITE "LEFT OUT" IN THE SPACE FOR "OTHER ANSWER" BELOW. IF R. DOES NOT REFUSE TO ANSWER, BUT IS MERELY IN DOUBT, Q. 41C SHOULD ALWAYS BE ASKED.

Could you mention two parties which you think are better than the others, so that you could consider voting for one of them?
(Which are those parties?)

→ parties (state which):_____

_____

x → other answer:_____

8 DK

R. BORN 1954 OR LATER → 47A

42 Did you vote in 1973 Riksdag election?

1 yes
3 does not remember for sure, but probably
5 no, did not vote/R. does not think R. voted → 44
8 DK → 44

43 Which party did you vote for in the 1973 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 DK

QUESTION REFERS TO 1973 RIKSDAG ELECTION

R. BORN 1951 OR LATER → 47A

44 Did you vote in 1970 Riksdag election?

1 yes
3 does not remember for sure, but probably
5 no, did not vote/R. does not think R. voted → 46
8 DK → 46

45 Which party did you vote for in the 1970 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 DK

QUESTION REFERS TO 1970 RIKSDAG ELECTION

R. BORN 1948 OR LATER → 47A

46 Which party did you vote for the <u>last time</u> you voted <u>before</u> 1970?

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 has not voted before/does not remember/does not want to answer

47A Are you gainfully employed?

ADDED QUESTION IS R. ANSWERS NO → Are you studying?

1 yes → 47C
2 yes, but temporarily unemployed → 47C
3 no, studying
4 no

47B Have you previously been gainfully employed?

1 yes
5 no → 50

WRITE "NO" ALSO IF R. HAS ONLY BEEN TEMPORARILY EMPLOYED DURING SCHOOL HOLIDAYS.

47C What is/was your occupation?

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

work/occupation: _____

Q. 47C, 48A-C AND 49 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.

48A Could you also say which of these occupational categories you belong/belonged to?

SHOW CARD 48A

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

USE THE PHRASE "BELONGED TO" IF R. HAS BEEN EMPLOYED IN THE PAST; THE QUESTION SHOULD THEN REFER TO R:S MOST RECENT OCCUPATION.

48B Are/were you employed by the central government (state), a commune *(subnational government)* or a private company?

1 central government, commune (local or regional)
2 private company
x other answer: _____

48C How many people work/worked at your work place?

SHOW CARD 48C

1 1 person
2 2-9 persons
3 10-49
4 50-99
5 100-499
6 500-999
7 1000 or more
x → other answer: _____

49A 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 → 50

DO NOT WRITE ABBREVIATION BUT THE WHOLE NAME OF ORGANISATION. IF R. MENTIONS NAME OF HEAD ORGANISATION (LO, TCO OR SACO/SR), ASK FOR AND WRITE THE NAME OF THE SPECIFIC UNION. FARMER'S ORGANISATIONS COUNT AS ORGANISATIONS FOR SELF-EMPLOYED.

49B If you were to say how well your organisation protects the interests of its members, which of these opinions do you think is most appropriate?

SHOW CARD 49B. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 members' interests are well protected
2 it varies - but on the whole they are well protected
3 it varies - but on the whole they are not well protected
4 members' interests are not well protected
x → other answer: _____

50 What kind of education have you taken?

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

1 6 or 7 year primary school *(old system)*
2 8 year comprehensive school
3 9 year comprehensive school
4 2 year secondary school *(total 9 years, old system, Sw. "realskola")*
5 girl's school (7 or 8 years) *(old system)*
6 new secondary school:____years _____stream _____sub-stream
7 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 1-7. FOR EACH SUCH EDUCATION, ASK SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION. → Could you tell me the approximate duration of the education?

other education:_____

duration:_____

other education:_____

duration:_____

other education:_____

duration:_____

IF MORE THAN ONE OF ALTERNATIVES 1-7 ARE APPLICABLE, IT IS SUFFICIENT TO MARK THE ONE WITH THE HIGHEST NUMBER.
IF R. HAS COMPLETED ANY OF THE EDUCATIONS IN ALTERNATIVES 1-7 AS WELL AS OTHER EDUCATION, YOU SHOULD MARK THE APPROPRIATE OF ALTERNATIVES 1-7 AND NOTE THE REST OF THE ANSWER IN THE 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).

51 Concerning your marital status, which of the designations on this card is the best descrpition of your situation?

SHOW CARD 51. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 married/unmarried but living permanently with partner → 52A
2 single: unmarried or divorced → 55A
3 single: widowed → 52C
x → other answer:_____

52A Is your husband/wife gainfully employed?

1 yes → 52C
5 no

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

52B Has he/she previously been gainfully employed?

1 yes
5 no → 55A

52C What is/was his/her work?

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

→ occupation/employment: _____

_____

53A Would you also like to say to which of these occupational groups your husband/wife belongs/belonged to?

SHOW CARD 53A

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

WIDOWED RESPONDENTS (ACCORDING TO Q. 51) → 55A

53B Is/was you husband/wife (partner) employed by the central government, a commune *(subnational government)* or a private company?

1 central government or commune (local or regional)
2 private
x → other answer: _____

53C Do you know approximately how many people that work/worked at the work place of your husband/wife?

SHOW CARD 53C

1 1 person
2 2-9 persons
3 10-49
4 50-99
5 100-499
6 500-999
7 1000 or more
x → other answer: _____

54 Do you know if your husband/wife (partner) 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

55A Now that we have been talking about occupations, I would also like to ask which occupation of your father has/had?

→ occupation:_____

55B Do you know which party your father usually votes for/used to vote for?

→ father's party:_____

7 refuses to answer

8 DK

56 During your childhood, did you live on the countryside or in a rural village or in a city?

ADDED QUESTION IF R. ANSWERS "CITY" → Did you live in one of the cities Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö?

1 countryside

2 village

3 city (but not any of those below)

4 Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö

x → other answer:_____

57A R:s current home:

1 flat, rented room

2 separate house, row house, farm

x → other home:_____

57B Do you own or rent your home?

1 rents home

2 owns home (including owned flat)

x → other answer:_____

NOTES BY INTERVIEWER AFTER END OF INTERVIEW:

Where does R. live?

1 countryside
2 small town or village
3 city (but none of those below)
4 Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö
x → any further remarks:_____

Key to pre- and post-election questionnaires:

The following questions were included, and identically worded, in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires of 1976:

1-3, 7B, 8, 9B, 10B, 11-13, 16-39, 42-57.

The following questions were included in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires, but some text changes have been made in the post-election questionnaire (see further interviewer instruction below on p. 38 below):

4A, 4B, 6A, 6B, 7A, 9A, 10A, 14, 40.

The following question was only included in the pre-election questionnaire:

15.

The following questions were included only in the post-election questionnaire (see pages 39-41 below):

5A, 5B, 41D, 41E.

The following questions appear with the same number in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires, but with entirely different wording in the post-election questionnaire (see p. 40 below):

41A-C.

MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED BEFORE THE ELECTION

Statistical Central Bureau
Investigation Institute

Department of Political Science
University of Uppsala

To those who have been interviewed

Thanks to the kind participation of you and many others, we have been able to complete a survey in connection to this year's election. We hope that it will bring valuable and reliable results.

Our survey ends with this little mail questionnaire. It contains some questions were were unable to include in the pre-election interview for practical reasons.

We would be very grateful if you would answer these questions and then return this card in the enclosed envelope. The address is printed on the envelope and no stamp is needed. Please mail the envelope as soon as possible, preferably today or tomorrow.

Your answers will be treated with confidentiality. No outsider will get to know your personal answer on any question. The answera will merely be used for statistical analysis and only be presented as tables.

Yours faithfully,

Staffan Wahlström
Director of statistics
Statistical Central Bureau
Investigation institute

Olof Petersson
Ph. D.
Department of Political Science
University of Uppsala

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.

Riksdag election	**Kommunfullmäktige election**	**Landsting election**
I voted for:	I voted for:	I voted for:
☐ Left Party Communists	☐ Left Party Communists	☐ Left Party Communists
☐ Social Democrats	☐ Social Democrats	☐ Social Democrats
☐ Centre Party	☐ Centre Party	☐ Centre Party
☐ People's party	☐ People's Party	☐ People's Party
☐ Moderate Party	☐ Moderate Party	☐ Moderate Party
☐ 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 ☐

When did you decide how to vote this year?

☐ I decided during the last week 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 the elections this year

Please tick the appropriate box

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.

.....

.....

FOLLOW-UP OF MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE

ELECTION STUDY 1976	FOLLOW-UP OF MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE VIA TELEPHONE OR IN-PERSON INTERVIEW
STATISTICAL CENTRAL BUREAU DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE GÖTEBORG UNIVERSITY Prinicipal investigator: Olof Petersson Dept. of Political Science Uppsala University Skytteanum, Box 514 751 20 Uppsala	Sample sheet no. Interviewer no.
Type of interview: 1 Telephone 2 In-person If, at in-person interview, R. prefers to send in the mail questionnaire by him/herself to the SCB, you should give him/her a new mail questionnaire and envelope. In that case the number of the mail questionnaire must be noted on this follow-up questionnaire.	Time of interview: date: _____/_____ 1976

For internal use (Dept of Political Science:)

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8

1 Did you vote in this year's elections?

1 yes

3 yes, but not in all elections → ASK THE RELEVANT OF Q. 2-4!

5 no, did not vote → END OF INTERVIEW

8 refuses to answer → END OF INTERVIEW

2 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

SKIP QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN RIKSDAG ELECTION

3 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

SKIP 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) → 5

4 Which party did you vote for in the *Landsting* (regional) 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

SKIP QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN REGIONAL ELECTION

5		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
8		DK
x	⟶	other answer:_____

Statistical Central Bureau

Department of Political Science
University of Uppsala

INTERVIEWER'S INSTRUCTION
ELECTION STUDY 1976

Uppsala September 20th 1976

As you know, the election has resulted in a shift of government. We do not yet know the exact composition of the government, nor do we exactly know when it will take office. But we are already able to say how the questionnaire should be modified according to the election outcome.

Q. 4A: Use the phrases: "...about the government we had until this year's election" och "that you particularly appreciated".

Q. 4B: Use the phrase "...that you have disliked".

Q. 5A: The question shall be asked.
Before the day the non-socialist government takes office, use the phrase "Now that we will get...".
After the day the non-socialist government has taken office, use the phrase "Now that we have got...".

Q. 5B: The question shall be asked.
As can be seen by the phrasing of both q. 5A and 5B, it is expected that the new government will consist of all three non-socialist parties (Centre Party, People's Party and the Moderate Party). If it should turn out that on or two of the non-socialist parties is not represented in the government, you should adjust the question to the situation.

Q. 6A: Use the phrases: "I am referring to the policies of the government before this year's election" and "...was mostly due to...".

Q. 6B: Use the phrase "Has this been mostly due to the policies of the government or mostly due to other reasons".
(Note that the word 'or' has been left out of the text by mistake).

Q. 7A: Use the phrase "I am referring to the government we had until this year's election".

Q. 9A: Use the phrase "the government we had until the election".

Q. 10A: Use the phrase "the government we had until the election".

Q. 14: The question shall be asked.
Before the day the non-socialist government takes office, use the phrase "As you know, we will get...".
After the day the non-socialist government has taken office, use the phrase "As you know, we have got...".

Before the interview, go through the questionnaire and delete the phrases not to be used.
No other changes in the questionnaire are necessary. You can start interviewing immediately.

Good Luck!
Best wishes from the department of Political Science

Olof Petersson

QUESTIONS APPEARING ONLY, OR ENTIRELY REPHRASED, IN POST-ELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE

5A Now that we have got/will get a government consisting of the Centre Party, the People's Party and the Moderate Party, I like to ask you what you think will be good and bad about this government.
I begin by asking you if there is anything that you think you will appreciate about the new government?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Would you like to say anything else about this? Is there anything else that you think you will appreciate about the new government?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

5B Could you say something that you will dislike about a government consisting of the Centre Party, the People's Party and the Moderate Party?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Would you like to say anything else about this? Is there anything else that you think you will appreciate about the new government?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

41A As you know, we had three 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

SKIP QUESTION IF R. HAS NOT VOTED IN RIKSDAG ELECTION

41B 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

SKIP QUESTION IF R. HAS NOT VOTED IN LOCAL ELECTION

IF R. LIVES IN GÖTEBORG, MALMÖ OR ON THE ISLAND OF GOTLAND (HAVE NO LANDSTING ELECTIONS) → 41D

41C Which party did you vote for in the *Landsting* (regional) 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

SKIP QUESTION IF R. HAS NOT VOTED IN LOCAL ELECTION

N.B. RESPONDENTS WHO REFUSED TO ANSWER Q. 40 AND 41A WERE ASKED TO GIVE THEIR PARTY VOTE BY THE USE OF AN ANONYMOUS ANSWERING CARD WHICH WAS PUT INTO AN ENVELOPE.

41D 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 → 42
8 DK
x → other answer:_____

41E Q. 41E ASKED ONLY TO THOSE WHO HAVE NOT VOTED IN 1976 (I.E. ABSTAINED IN ALL THREE ELECTIONS THIS YEAR).

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

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

→ party (state which):_____

8 DK