Göteborg University

Department of Political Science

Swedish Election Study 1985

- 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 1985 Election Study were translated into English by Anders Widfeldt.

Swedish Election Study 1985 (SSD 0217)

Principal investigators: Sören Holmberg and Mikael Gilljam, Department of Political Science, Göteborg University.

Total sample: 3,704

Number of respondents: 2,883

Sample loss: 821 (22.2 %)

Number of variables: 484

Weight: Respondents belonging to the 1982-1985 panel who did not respond in 1982 had their sample probability halved in 1985. These are represented by two records in the data file. The number of respondents is therefore 2,944 and the sample loss is 929.

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 1982-1985 panel and stage one in the 1985-1988 panel.

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

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N.B. Pages 1-40 (pre-election questionnaire) correspond with pages in the original Swedish questionnaire. This is not the case for the post-election and post-election mail questionnaires.

ELECTION STUDY 1985

Stage **A**. Pre-election interviews.

Interviewer no.

Sample sheet no.

Time for interview

date:_____

time started:_____

time ended:_____

Respondent's year of birth

Gender of Respondent

1. Male
2. Female

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8

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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 confidentiality.

IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS HE/SHE WAS INTERVIEWED FOR THE 1982 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.

1A — I begin with a question about newspapers and other news periodicals. Which newspaper or newspapers do you read regularly? By regularly I mean at least once a week.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS → Is there any other news periodical that you read at least once a week?

5 — Does not read newspapers → 4

1B — How often do you read (newspaper x)? You can answer using this card. Which answer describes you most accurately?

READ OUT ONE NEWSPAPER AT A TIME AND SHOW CARD 1B. FOR EACH NEWSPAPER - ENCIRCLE THE ALTERNATIVE QUOTED BY RESPONDENT.

1C — Is there, as you see it, any of the political parties which (newspaper x) supports more than other parties?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

READ OUT ONE NEWSPAPER AT A TIME AND NOTE THE PARTY/PARTIES MENTIONED BY R. USE PARTY ABBREVIATIONS: M, FP, C, S, VPK, KDS, MP.

1A NEWSPAPER	1B NO. OF DAYS			1C PARTY	NO	DK
1.	6-7	3-5	1-2	.....	5	8
2.	6-7	3-5	1-2	.....	5	8
3.	6-7	3-5	1-2	.....	5	8
4.	6-7	3-5	1-2	.....	5	8
5.	6-7	3-5	1-2	.....	5	8

2 How much do you read news and articles about politics in the daily press?

SHOW CARD 2. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT THE ALTERNATIVES.

1 never reads news and articles about politics → 4
2 reads news and articles about politics occasionally
3 often reads news and articles about politics
4 reads what there is in the newspaper of news and articles about politics every day
x → other answer: _____

3 When you read about politics in the newspapers: How much do you usually read about:

SHOW CARD 3. REPEAT THE QUESTION FOR EVERY AREA AND WRITE ANSWER IN THE SQUARE.

1 reads practically everything
2 reads quite a lot
3 does not read very much
4 reads nothing/almost nothing
8 DK

national politics
local/communal politics
politics in other countries/foreign issues

3 Concerning news programmes on radio and television: How often do you watch/listen to (NEWS PROGRAMME X)?

SHOW CARD 4. REPEAT QUESTION FOR EVERY PROGRAMME AND WRITE ANSWER IN THE SQUARE.

1. 6-7 days a week
2. 3-5 days a week
3. 1-2 days a week
4. more seldom
5. never
8. DK

"Rapport" **(TV, national channel 2, 7:30 p.m.)**

"Aktuellt" **(TV, national channel 1, 9:00 p.m.)**

"Morgonekot" kl 7.00 och/eller "Ekot" kl 1800 i radions program 1 **(radio, national channel 1, 7:00 a.m. and/or 6:00 p.m.)**

5 When you are watching the news on "Rapport" or "Aktuellt": How closely do you follow items concerning politics?

SHOW CARD 5

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

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

SHOW CARD 6

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:_____

7 How often are there discussions about politics in your nearest surroundings - in your family, among your friends at work and other friends? Does it happen very often, fairly often, not very often or not at all?

SHOW CARD 7

1 very often
2 fairly often
3 not very often
4 not at all
8 DK
x → other answer:_____

8 Now follow two questions about what you consider important in politics. First, thinking about this year's election, is there any issue or issues that is especially important to you when it comes to choosing which party you are going to vote for in the Riksdag election on September 15th?

IF YES → Which issue or issues?

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWER → Is there any other issue which is important to you when you choose party in the Riksdag election?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

5 no, no issue important
7 does not intend to vote in the parliamentary election
8 DK

9 Thinking ahead, in the next few years, which issue or issues or problems do you personally think is the most important for the parties, Riksdag and government to solve?

ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS → Is there any further issue or problem you would like to mention?

→ answer: _____

_____

5 no particular issue or problem most important
8 DK

10 Which party or parties would you like to see in government after this year's election?

ADDED QUESTION → Would you like to include further parties in government? (If yes) Which party or parties?

→ party(ies): _____

8 does not know/does not want to answer

NOTE EVERY PARTY MENTIONED BY R. "COALITION GOVERNMENT" OR "ALL PARTIES" SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED.

11 I would like to ask you a few questions concerning your opinion about the policies of the parties on various issues. On this card we have put some issues which have been important in Swedish politics in recent years. I begin with employment.

SHOW CARD 11. ASK THE QUESTIONS BELOW IN SUCCESSION FOR EACH ISSUE.

Is there, in your opinion, any party or parties with a good policy on (...ISSUE).

ADDED QUESTION → Is there any other party with a good policy on (...ISSUE)?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

Is there, in your opinion, any party with a bad policy on (...ISSUE)?

ADDED QUESTION → Is there, in your opinion, any other party with a bad policy on (...ISSUE)?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

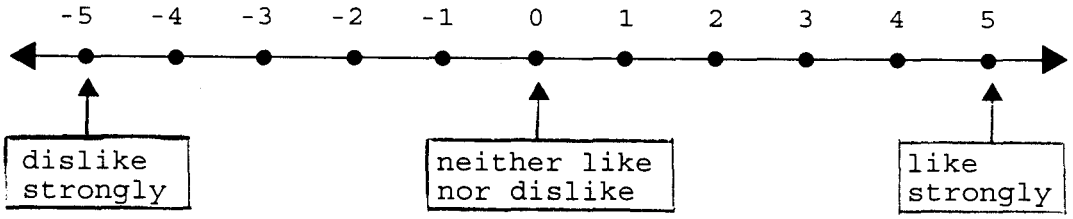
NOTE THE PARTIES MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT ALONGSIDE EACH ISSUE BELOW. USE ABBREVIATIONS: S, FP, M, C, V, KDS, MP. WRITE 5 FOR "NO PARTY" ANSWERS AND 8 IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW OR DOES NOT WANT TO ANSWER.

	Parties with a good policy		Parties with a bad policy	
→ Employment	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→ Environment	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→ Issues concerning the Wage Earner Funds	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→ Taxes	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→ Issues concerning the Swedish economy	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→ Issues concerning Swedish foreign policy	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→ Issues concerning social security	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→ Issues concerning child care	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8

12A On this card there is a kind of scale.

SHOW CARD 12AB

I would like you to use it in order to state how much you like or dislike the parties. If you like a party, use the "plus" figures. The better you like a party, the higher the "plus" figure. For parties you dislike, use the "minus" figures. The more you dislike a party, the higher the "minus" figure. The zero point on the scale indicates that you neither like nor dislike a party.



READ OUT THE PARTIES ONE BY ONE AND ASK THE QUESTION BELOW. WRITE THE FIGURE STATED BY RESPONDENT. DO NOT FORGET PLUS AND MINUS SIGNS. INDICATE WITH AN X IF RESPONDENT CANNOT OR DOES NOT WANT TO GIVE AN ANSWER FOR ANY PARTY.

▽ Where would you place:

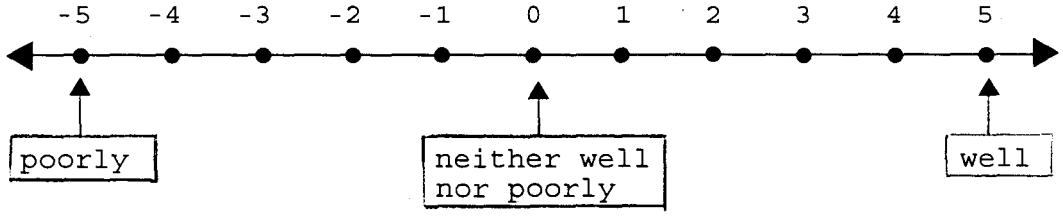
|__| the Centre Party?
|__| the Moderate Party?
|__| the Left Party Communists?
|__| the People's Party?
|__| the Social Democrats?
|__| the Green Party?
|__| the Christian Democratic Party?

12B Using the same scale for the party leaders, where would you place: **(parties not given in original)**

|__| Thorbjörn Fälldin? **(Centre)**
|__| Ulf Adelsohn? **(Moderate)**
|__| Lars Werner? **(Left Party Communists)**
|__| Bengt Westerberg? **(People's Party)**
|__| Olof Palme? **(Social Democrat)**
|__| Alf Svensson? **(Christian Democrats)**

13A I would like you to use a similar scale to describe what you think about the performance of the three non-socialist parties as governing parties between the 1976 and 1982 elections, and how the Social Democrats have performed in government since the 1982 election. You can answer with the help of the scale on this card.

SHOW CARD 13AB



ASK QUESTIONS BELOW. DON'T FORGET PLUS AND MINUS SIGNS. DK IS MARKED WITH "x".

How well do you think the non-socialist parties performed as governing parties between 1976 and 1982?

How well do you think the Social Democrats have performed as governing party since 1982?

13B If you look forward, using the same scale:

How do you think the non-socialist parties will perform as governing parties the next three years if they win the election?

How do you think the Social Democrats will perform as governing party the next three years if they win the election?

14 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 14. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 very good proposal
2 fairly good proposal
3 neither good nor bad proposal
4 fairly bad proposal
5 very bad proposal
8 DK

READ PROPOSALS ONE BY ONE AND WRITE NUMBER IN BOX

Using one of the answers on this card, what is your opinion about the following proposal:

A. Reduce the public sector.
B. Abolish the wage earners' funds.
C. Socialize large companies.
D. Reduce defence spending.
E. Reduce governmental influence over private enterprise.
F. Reduce social benefits.
G. Increase economic support to immigrants so they can maintain their own culture.
H. Increase the proportion of medical care run by private interests.
I. Prohibit all forms of pornography.
I. Build more day care centres for children.
J. Reduce taxation on high incomes.
K. Allow commercials on Swedish TV.
L. Introduce a set number of sick days without sick pay. *(Sw. karensdagar)*
M. Introduce six hour working day for everyone.
N. Retain nuclear power, also after 2010.
O. Introduce immediate ban on chemical pesticides in agriculture.
P. Reduce third world aid.
Q. Prohibit all Swedish arms export.

15A There are differing views concerning nuclear power as a source of energy. What is your opinion? Are you, on the whole, for or against nuclear being used as an energy source in Sweden or do you have no definite opinion on the issue?

1 on the whole pro nuclear power
2 on the whole anti nuclear power
3 no definite opinion on the issue → 15C
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

15B Is your opinion on this issue definite or do you feel a bit uncertain?

1 definite opinion
2 uncertain
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

15C How important is the nuclear power issue for your choice of party in this year's Riksdag election?

SHOW CARD 15C/16C/17C/18C/19C/20C AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

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

15D Which party or parties is, as you see it, in favour of abolishing nuclear power in 2010 at the latest?

→ party(ies): _____

8 does not remember/does not want to answer

15E Which party or parties is, as you see it, against abolishing nuclear power in 2010 at the latest?

→ party(ies): _____

8 does not remember/does not want to answer

16A There are differing views on whether we should have collective Wage Earner's Funds in Sweden. What is your opinion? Are you, on the whole, for or against collective Wage Earner's Funds, or do you have no definite opinion on the issue?

1 on the whole for collective Wage Earner's Funds
2 on the whole against collective Wage Earner's Funds
3 no definite opinion on the issue → 16C
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

16B Is your opinion on this issue definite or do you feel a bit uncertain?

1 definite opinion
2 uncertain
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

16BA Various arguments have been put forward in the debate for/against collective Wage Earner's Funds. What are the most important reasons for you being for/against collective Wage Earner Funds?

R. WHO HAS ANSWERED "ON THE WHOLE FOR COLLECTIVE WAGE EARNER'S FUNDS" IS ASKED ABOUT HIS/HER REASONS FOR BEING "FOR" COLLECTIVE WAGE EARNER'S FUNDS. R. WHO HAS ANSWERED "ON THE WHOLE AGAINST COLLECTIVE WAGE EARNER'S FUNDS" IS ASKED ABOUT HIS/HER REASONS FOR BEING "AGAINST" COLLECTIVE WAGE EARNER'S FUNDS.

ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS → Is there any further reason that you would like to mention?

→ answer: _____

_____

8 DK

16C How important is the Wage Earner's Funds issue for your choice of party in this year's Riksdag election?

SHOW CARD 15C/16C/17C/18C/19C/20C AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

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

16D Which party or parties is, as you see it, in favour of abolishing the Wage Earner's Funds that we have today in Sweden?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there any other party which is in favour of abolishing the Wage Earner's Funds?

→ party(ies): _____

5 no party
8 DK

16E Which party or parties is, as you see it, against abolishing the Wage Earner's Funds that we have today in Sweden?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there any other party which is against abolishing the Wage Earner's Funds?

→ party(ies): _____

5 no party
8 DK

17A Are you, on the whole, for or against reducing the size of the public sector in Sweden or do you have no definite opinion on the issue?

1 on the whole for reducing the public sector
2 on the whole against reducing the public sector
3 no definite opinion on the issue → 17C
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

17B Is your opinion on this issue definite or do you feel a bit uncertain?

1 definite opinion
2 uncertain
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

17C How important is the issue concerning the size of the public sector for your choice of party in this year's Riksdag election?

SHOW CARD 15C/16C/17C/18C/19C/20C AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

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

17D Which party or parties is, as you see it, in favour of reducing the size of the public sector?

→ party(ies): _____

8 does not remember/DK

17E Which party or parties is, as you see it, against reducing the size of the public sector?

→ party(ies): _____

8 does not remember/DK

18A Concerning sales tax *(Sw. moms)* on food, what is your opinion: that it should be totally abolished, that it should be lowered in relation to other goods, that it should be the same as on other goods or do you have no particular opinion on the issue?

1 totally abolished
2 lowered
3 same as on other goods
4 no opinion → 18C
8 DK
x other answer:

18B Is your opinion on this issue definite or do you feel a bit uncertain?

1 definite opinion
2 uncertain
8 DK
x other answer:

18C How important is the issue concerning sales tax on food for your choice of party in this year's Riksdag election?

SHOW CARD 15C/16C/17C/18C/19C/20C AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

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

18D	Which party or parties is, as you see it, in favour of <u>completely abolishing</u> sales tax on food?
	→ party(ies): _____
8	does not remember/DK
18E	Which party or parties is, as you see it, in favour of <u>lowering but not abolishing</u> sales tax on food?
	→ party(ies): _____
8	does not remember/DK
18F	Which party or parties are, as you see it, <u>against</u> abolishing or lowering sales tax on food?
	→ party(ies): _____
8	does not remember/DK

19A Are you, on the whole, for or against the proposal to reduce the level of sickness benefits or do you have no definite opinion on the issue?

1 on the whole for reducing sickness benefits
2 on the whole against reducing sickness benefits
3 no definite opinion on the issue → 19C
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

19B Is your opinion on this issue definite or do you feel a bit uncertain?

1 definite opinion
2 uncertain
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

19C How important is the issue concerning sickness benefits for your choice of party in this year's Riksdag election?

SHOW CARD 15C/16C/17C/18C/19C/20C AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

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

19D Which party or parties is, as you see it, in favour of reducing sickness benefits?

→ party(ies): _____

8 does not remember/DK

19E Which party or parties is, as you see it, against reducing sickness benefits?

→ party(ies): _____

8 does not remember/DK

20A Are you, on the whole, for or against introducing some kind of allowance to parents of small children *(Sw. vårdnadsbidrag)* or do you have no definite opinion on the issue?

1 on the whole for introducing allowance for parents of small children
2 on the whole against introducing allowance for parents of small children
3 no definite opinion on the issue → 20C
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

20B Is your opinion on this issue definite or do you feel a bit uncertain?

1 definite opinion
2 uncertain
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

20C How important is the issue of an allowance to parents of small children for your choice of party in this year's Riksdag election?

SHOW CARD 15C/16C/17C/18C/19C/20C AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

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

20D Which party or parties is, as you see it, <u>in favour of</u> introducing an allowance for parents of small children?

→ party(ies): _____

8 does not remember/DK

20E Which party or parties is, as you see it, <u>against</u> introducing an allowance for parents of small children?

→ party(ies): _____

8 does not remember/DK

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

SHOW CARD 21

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

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

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

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

B. Social reforms in this country have gone so far that the state ought to reduce rather than increase social benefits and support for people. ⌊_⌋

22 We have also put together some opinions concerning parties and politics. Some are rather critical. I will read these opinions to you one by one and ask you to choose one of the answers on the card.

SHOW CARD 22

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

A. The parties are only interested in people's votes, not in what they think. ⌊_⌋

B. There is at least one party which always tries to look after my interests. ⌊_⌋

C. Those who sit in the Riksdag making decisions don't pay much attention to the thoughts and views of ordinary people. ⌊_⌋

23 Is there any of the current or former leading personalities in Swedish politics that you have come to trust in particular?

NOTE UP TO THREE ANSWERS

politicians: _____

_____

_____

5 no, nobody
8 DK

24 Here is a question about how you think our society ought to develop in the next few years. On this card I have a list of various goals many think we should be working for in our society. I would like to hear which of the goals you think is most important?

SHOW CARD 24

(1) In your opinion, which goal is the second most important?

NB! ▷ 2 FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS →

(2) And which goal is the least important?

MARK THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL WITH A "1", THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT WITH A "2" AND THE LEAST IMPORTANT WITH A "4"

|__| Maintain law and order

|__| Give individuals more possibilities to influence political decisions

|__| Fight rising prices

|__| Protect freedom of speech

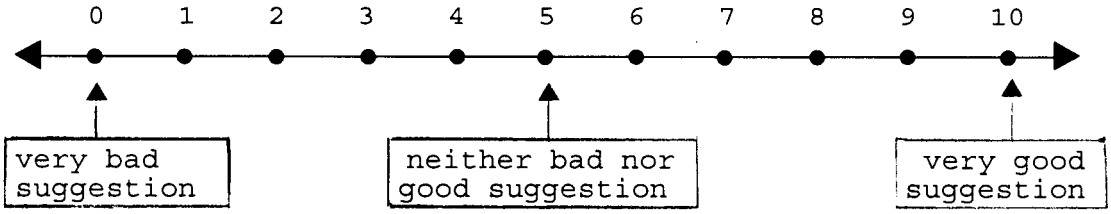
6 does not know/does not want to answer question about most important goal

7 does not know/does not want to answer question about second most important goal

8 does not know/does not want to answer question about least important goal

25 On this card I have a list of suggestions of different kinds of societies which some people think we should work towards in the future in Sweden. I would like to hear what you think of the suggestions. You can answer with the help of the scale on this card. A high number means that you think the suggestion is a good one. A low number means that you think the suggestion is a bad one.

SHOW CARD 25



ASK ABOUT THE SUGGESTIONS ONE BY ONE AND WRITE FIGURE IN THE BOX. DK IS INDICATED WITH AN X.

What do you think about the suggestion to:

A. Work towards a society with more private enterprise and a more market-oriented economy.

B. Work towards a society with more work-place influence for employees, even if this sometimes may slow things down.

C. Work towards a socialist society.

D. Work towards a society with a high rate of economic growth and high productivity.

E. Work towards an environmentally-oriented society even if it means low or no economic growth.

F. Work towards a society which utilizes advanced technology, like computers and industrial robots, to make production efficient.

G. Work towards a society in which Christian values play a more important role.

26

So far, we have been talking mostly about domestic politics. I will now ask some questions about foreign policy.

Concerning the Swedish relations to Soviet and the USA, to which extent do you consider that Sweden at the moment are under threat from these countries?

SHOW CARD 26

1 is a threat to Sweden
2 unfriendly but no threat
3 no animosity
4 friendly
8 DK

READ OUT QUESTIONS ONE BY ONE AND WRITE NUMBER IN BOX

A. Which of these statements do you think is most applicable to the Soviet Union?

B. And concerning the USA, which of the statements do you think is most applicable?

27A

What is your opinion about the Swedish policy towards the USA and Soviet? Beginning with the USA, do you think that the government during the last two to three years has been too critical, not enough critical or well balanced towards the foreign policies of the USA?

1 too critical against the foreign policies of the USA
3 well balanced
5 not enough critical against the foreign policies of the USA
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

27B

Concerning the Soviet Union, do you think that the government during the last two to three years has been too critical, not enough critical or well balanced towards the foreign policies of the Soviet Union?

1 too critical against the foreign policies of the Soviet Union
3 well balanced
5 not enough critical against the foreign policies of the Soviet Union
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

28A 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**, **socialdemokrat**, **moderat**, **centerpartist**, or **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 does not know/hesitant

5 no, does not think of him/herself as an adherent of any specific party → 28D

8 does not want to answer

28B 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
7 The Green Party
8 does not want to answer → 30A
x → other party:_____

28C 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 → 30A
x → other answer:_____

28D 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
7 The Green Party
8 DK/no, no party → 30A
x → other party:_____

29 Which party do you like second best?

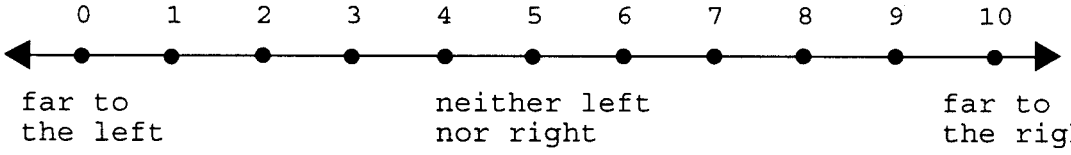
IF POSSIBLE, MARK ONLY ONE PARTY

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
7 Green Party
8 DK/no, no party mentioned
x other party:_____

30A The parties are sometimes thought of as being ordered from left to right.

SHOW CARD 30AB

On this card I have a kind of scale. I would like you to place the political parties on the scale. The further to the left you think a party is, the lower the number. The further to the right you think a party is, the higher the number.



ASK THE QUESTIONS BELOW. TRY TO MAKE R. MENTION ONE OF THE NUMBERS AND MARK THEM IN THE BOXES. DK IS MARKED WITH AN X.

We begin with the People's Party. Where on the scale would you place the People's Party?

People's Party

Social Democrats

Moderate Party

Left Party Communists

Centre Party

Green Party

Christian Democrats

30B Where on the scale would you place yourself?

EXPLAIN - IF NECESSARY - THAT THIS QUESTION CONCERNS R:s OWN POLITICAL POSITION. PUT NUMBER MENTIONED BY R. IN BOX.

31A Do you intend to vote in this year's election?

1 yes

3 maybe/DK

5 no

8 refuses to answer

QUESTIONS 31A-31C CONCERN RIKSDAG **(PARLIAMENTARY)** ELECTION ONLY

31B

R. INTENDS TO VOTE → Which party are you going to vote for in the Riksdag election?

R. HESITANT OR DOES NOT INTEND TO VOTE → If you were to vote, which party would you vote for?

1 Left Party Communists → 32A
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre/Centre Party/Christian Democrats **(cf p. 53 below)**
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
7 Green Party
x other party:_____
8 not yet decided/DK → 32A
9 refuses to answer

31C

ADDED QUESTION FOR R. WHO ANSWERED CENTRE/CENTRE PARTY/ CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ON Q. 31B

Are you going to vote for a Centre Party list or a Christian Democratic list? **(cf p. 53 below)**

1 Centre Party list
2 Christian Democratic list
3 mixed list
8 DK
x other answer:_____

RESPONDENT BORN 20TH SEPTEMBER 1964 OR LATER → 34

32A Did you vote in the 1982 Riksdag election?

1 yes
3 does not remember for sure, but probably
5 no, did not vote/R. does not think R. voted → 34
8 DK

32B Which party did you vote for in the 1982 election?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
7 Green Party
8 DK
x → other party:_____

QUESTION 33 NOT INCLUDED IN THIS STAGE

34 I would now like to ask a few questions about the Riksdag and the Members of the Riksdag.

SHOW CARD 34. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES ONE BY ONE. MARK YES WITH "1" AND NO WITH "5" AND DK WITH "X" AND DK WITH "8".

Have you in recent years:

☐ Read an article or interview with a Member of the Riksdag?

☐ Attended a meeting where a Member of the Riksdag has appeared?

☐ Written, or in some other way been in contact with a Member of the Riksdag?

35 Do you know the name of any of the persons on the party lists in your Riksdag constituency?

ADDED QUESTION → Do you remember the name of anyone else?

NB! ADDED QUESTION IF R HAS MENTIONED NAME → Which party does he/she belong to?

NOTE THE FIRST FOUR NAMES MENTIONED BY R., AND ASK THE ADDED QUESTION ABOUT PARTY BELONGING. IF R. DOES NOT KNOW THE PARTY OF A NAMED PERSON, MARK WITH A CROSS (X) IN THE SPACE FOR PARTY NAME.

N.B.! PARTY

name: _____ (_____)

name: _____ (_____)

name: _____ (_____)

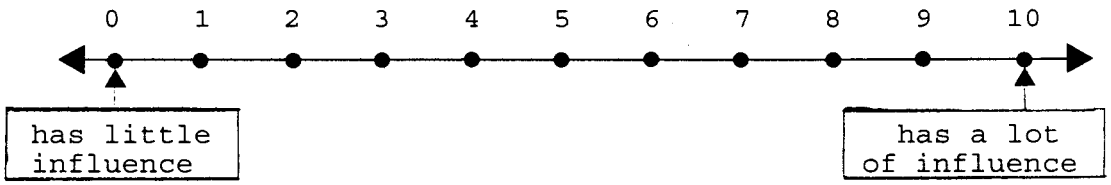
name: _____ (_____)

8 no, does not know any name/DK

36A		I dare say that a member of the Riksdag sometimes is of a different opinion to that of his/her Riksdag party. How do you think a member of the Riksdag should act in such circumstances? Should he/she vote according to <u>his/her party</u> or according to <u>his/her own opinion?</u>
	1	according to party
	2	according to his/her own opinion
	8	DK
	x →	other answer:_____
36B		How do you think members of the Riksdag usually act?
	1	vote according to party
	2	vote according to his/her own opinion
	8	DK
	x →	other answer:_____
36C		If a member of the Riksdag thinks that most of his/her voters are of a different opinion to his/her own on a certain issue, what do you think he/she should do? Should he/she vote according to the <u>voters' opinion</u> or according to <u>his/her own opinion?</u>
	1	vote according to the voters
	2	vote according to his/her own opinion
	8	DK
	x →	other answer:_____
36D		What do you think a member of the Riksdag should do if his/her Riksdag party has one opinion and his/her own voters are of a different opinion? Should he/she vote according to <u>his/her party</u> or <u>according to his/her voters?</u>
	1	according to party
	2	according to voters
	8	DK
	x →	other answer:_____

37A On this card there is a list of groups and organisations. Using the scale on the card, I would like you to say how much influence the organisations and groups have in today's Swedish society. Use high figures on the scale for organisations and groups you think have a lot of influence. Use low figures for organisations and groups which you think have little influence. Where would you plave...?

SHOW CARD 37A

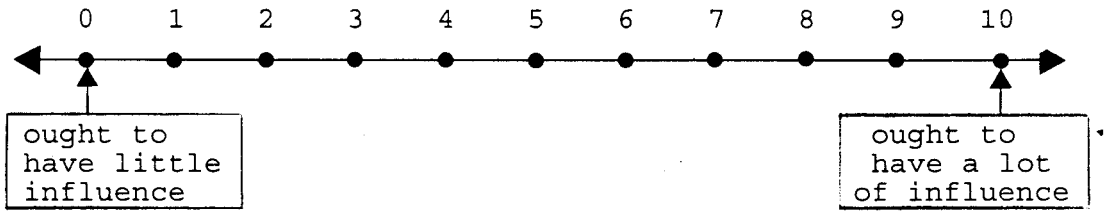


ASK ABOUT ONE ORGANISATION/GROUP AT A TIME AND NOTE THE NUMBER IN THE BOX. MARK DK WITH A CROSS (X).

☐	LO (confederation of blue collar unions)
☐	SAF (Swedish Employer's Organisation)
☐	Private business and industries
☐	Press, radio and TV
☐	The electorate (the voters as a group)
☐	The Riksdag
☐	The government
☐	Functionaries in national and subnational government

37B If you use the same scale to indicate how much influence various groups ought to have in today's Swedish society, where would you place...?

SHOW CARD 37B



ASK ABOUT ONE ORGANISATION/GROUP AT A TIME AND NOTE THE NUMBER IN THE BOX. MARK DK WITH A CROSS (X).

☐☐	LO (confederation of blue collar unions)
☐☐	SAF (Swedish Employer's Organisation)
☐☐	Private business and industries
☐☐	Press, radio and TV
☐☐	The electorate (the voters as a group)
☐☐	The Riksdag
☐☐	The government
☐☐	Functionaries in national and subnational government

38 Here is a list of names of different persons. Can you tell me which party each of the people belongs to? I start with Birgit Friggebo. **(Correct answers have been added in brackets).**

SHOW CARD 38

READ OUT THE NAMES ONE BY ONE AND WRITE THE PARTY MENTIONED BY RESP. IN THE BOX. USE PARTY ABBREVIATIONS: M, FP, C, S, VPK, KDS, MP. PUT 8 IF DK.

Birgit Friggebo **(People's Party)**
Ingvar Carlsson **(Social Democrat)**
Karin Söder **(Centre)**
Lars Tobisson **(Moderate)**

39 On this card there are a few statements. Could you, for each of them, say if it is true or false. If you are not sure, you can say that you do not know if the statement is true or false. **(correct answers have been added in brackets)**

SHOW CARD 39

1 true statement
5 false statement
8 DK

READ OUT STATEMENTS ONE BY ONE AND MARK NUMBERS IN BOX

A. Today's sick benefit is 90 per cent of the income for most people. **(true)**

B. There is a wage earners' fund in each *län*. **(false)**

C. The rate of open unemployment in Sweden is at the moment less than 5 per cent. **(true)**

D. The deficit in the government budget has increased in the last year. **(false)**

E. The price increases (rate of inflation) has been over 9 per cent so far in 1985. **(false)**

Q. 40A THROUGH 42 NOT INCLUDED IN THIS STAGE

43A I would now like to ask a few questions about yourself. I begin with some questions about employment and work. Which of the groups on this card do you belong to?

SHOW CARD 43A AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

- 1 gainfully employed
- 2 in relief work
- 3 in labour market training course
- 4 unemployed
- 5 old age pensioner
- 6 pre-retirement age pensioner
- 7 housewife
- 8 student
- x → other group (state which): _____

43B Have you previously been gainfully employed?

- 1 yes
- 5 no → 44A

43C What is/was your occupation?

ADDED QUESTION TO SPECIFY OCCUPATION

What kind of work do/did you mainly do?

→ work/occupation: _____

THIS QUESTION IS ASKED TO RESPONDENTS CURRENTLY AS WELL AS PREVIOUSLY ACTIVE IN THE LABOUR MARKET. IF R. HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN THE PAST, USE THE PAST TENSE.

43D Do/did you work full time or part time?

- 1 full time
- 2 part time

43E Which is/was the main kind of work done where you work/used to work?

→ main kind of work: _____

43F Could you tell me which of the following occupational categories you belong/belonged to?

USE PAST TENSE IF RESPONDENT HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN ACTIVE IN LABOUR MARKET. IN THAT CASE QUESTION REFERS TO RESPONDENT'S LATEST OCCUPATION.

SHOW CARD 43F

1 salaried employee
2 salaried employee with supervising responsibilities
3 salaried employee at managerial level

4 worker
5 worker with supervising responsibilities
6 self-employed worker

7 farmer: no employees
8 farmer: one or more employees

9 self-employed: no employees
10 self-employed: 1-9 employees
11 self-employed: more than 10 employees

x → other answer: _____

43G Are/were you employed by the central government (state), a commune **(subnational government)** or a private company?

1 state
2 commune **(local or regional)**
3 private company
x → other answer: _____

44A Are you at the moment studying for a degree or some kind of occupational competence?

N.B.! TO RESPONDENT WHO HAS ANSWERED "STUDENT" ON Q. 43A, ONLY ASK ADDED QUESTION

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Are you studying full time or part time?

1 yes, full time
2 yes, part time
3 no, not studying at the moment
x → other answer: _____

44B What kind of education do you have/are you studying for?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Do you have any other practical or theoretical education?

1	primary school	6 or 7 year primary/secondary school **(old system)**
2	comprehensive school	8 or 9 year comprehensive school **(current system)**
3	vocational school	various forms of vocational and apprenctice education received in publicly organized schools
4	secondary school	2 year secondary school **(old system)** total: 9 years education
5	secondary/ high school	2 year secondary school total: 11 years education **(current system)**
6	upper secondary/ high school	3 year upper secondary school total: 12 years education *(GB 'A' levels, German 'Abitur')*
7	university	
8	DK	
x →	other education: _____	

IF MORE THAN ONE OF ALTERNATIVES 1-7 ARE RELEVANT, ONLY NOTE THE ONE WITH THE HIGHEST NUMBER. IT DOESN'T MATTER WHETHER RESP. HAS COMPLETED A DEGREE OR NOT. WE ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN THE HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTENDED BY RESP. IF IN DOUBT WHEN CLASSIFYING, WRITE ANSWER IN SPACE RESERVED FOR "OTHER EDUCATION".

45A Comparing your own current economic situation now to what is was two or three years ago, has it improved, remained about the same or has it got worse?

1 improved
2 remained about the same
3 got worse
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

45B How has, in your opinion, the Swedish economy changed in the last two or three years? Has it improved, remained about the same or has it got worse?

1 improved
2 remained about the same
3 got worse
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

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

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which organisation?

1 yes (name of organisation): _____

5 no → 47A

8 DK

DO NOT USE ABBREVIATIONS BUT COMPLETE NAME OF ORGANISATION. IF R. MENTIONS HEAD ORGANIZATION (LO, TCO OR SACO/SR), ASK FOR AND NOTE THE NAME OF THE SPECIFIC UNION. FARMERS' ORGANISATIONS COUNT AS EMPLOYERS' ORGANISATION.

46B Are you an active member of (...organisation)? By active I mean attending meetings a few times a year.

1 yes, active
5 no, not active
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

47A Are you a member of a political party or any other political organisation?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or political organisation?

WRITE DOWN NAMES OF PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS MENTIONED BY RESP. MORE THAN ONE ORGANISATION POSSIBLE.

party:_____

political organisation:
_____

_____

ADDED QUESTION FOR "SOCIAL DEMOCRATS"

are you individually or collectively affiliated?

1 collectively affiliated
2 individually affiliated
3 both individually and collectively affiliated
8 DK
x —— other answer:_____

_____

5 no → 48
8 DK

47B Are you an active member of (...PARTY ORGANISATION)? By active I mean attending a few meetings a year?

1 yes, active
5 no, not active
8 DK
x → other answer:_____

48 How often do you attend Church of Sweden services or Free Church services or meetings? You can answer with the help of the alternatives on this card.

SHOW CARD 48. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

SERVICES ON TV, RADIO OR IN HOSPITAL ARE COUNTED THE SAME AS OTHER SERVICES

1 at least once a month
2 a few times a year
3 less often
4 never
8 DK
x → other answer:_____

49 Concerning your marital status, which alternative on this card is the best description of your situation?

SHOW CARD 49 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1 married, unmarried but living permanently with partner
2 single: widowed
3 single: unmarried/divorced → 51
x → other answer: _____

50A To which of the following groups does/did your husband/wife/partner belong?

SHOW CARD 50A AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1 gainfully employed
2 in relief work
3 in labour market training course
4 unemployed
5 old age pensioner
6 pre-retirement age pensioner
7 housewife
8 student
x → other group (state which): _____

50B Was he/she ever gainfully employed before?

1 yes
5 no → 51

50C Which occupation does/did your husband/wife/partner have?

ADDED QUESTION TO SPECIFIY OCCUPATION → What kind of work does/did he/she mainly do?

→ profession/occupation: _____

50D Does/did he/she work full time or part time?

1 full time
2 part time

50E What is/was the main work done at his/her workplace?

→ work: _____

50F Could you tell me which of these occupational groups your husband/wife/partner belongs/belonged to?

EXPRESSION "YOUR HUSBAND/WIFE/PARTNER BELONGS/BELONGED TO" USED IF HUSBAND/WIFE/PARTNER HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED. IN THAT CASE, QUESTION SHOULD REFER TO LATEST OCCUPATION.

SHOW CARD 50F

1 salaried employee
2 salaried employee with supervising responsibilities
3 salaried employee at managerial level

4 worker
5 worker with supervising responsibilities
6 self-employed worker

7 farmer: no employees
8 farmer: one or more employees

9 self-employed: no employees
10 self-employed: 1-9 employees
11 self-employed: more than 10 employees

x → other answer: _____

50G Is/was your husband/wife/partner employed by the central government (state), a commune **(subnational government)** or a private company?

1 state
2 commune **(local or regional government)**
3 private company
x → other answer: _____

51	Respondent's current home:	
1	farm or isolated house on the countryside	
2	row house or separate house	
3	flat in block of flats	
4	flat in smaller house	
x →	other home:_____	
52	Do you rent or own your current home?	
1	rents home	
2	owns home (including owned flat)	
x →	other answer:_____	
53A	Do you personally own shares?	
1	yes	
5	no	
8	DK	
53B	Does your husband/wife/partner own shares?	
1	yes	Q. 53B ASKED ONLY TO MARRIED OR R:S LIVING PERMANENTLY WITH PARTNER
5	no	
8	DK	

54A Have you any children below 18 years of age living at home?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → How many? How old is the child/ How old are the children?

→ number of children living at home:_____

→ age of child/children:_____

5 no, no children living at home

x → other answer:_____

DO NOT FORGET TO ASK FOR AGE OF ANY CHILD/REN

54B Do you have children below 18 who do <u>not</u> live with you?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → How many? How old is the child/ How old are the children?

→ number of children below 18 not living with R.:____

→ age of child/children:_____

5 no, no children below 18 not living permanently with R.

x → other answer:_____

DO NOT FORGET TO ASK FOR AGE OF ANY CHILD/REN

NOTES BY INTERVIEWER AFTER END OF INTERVIEW:

<u>Where does R. live?</u>

1 countryside
2 small town or village
3 city
x → any further remarks:_____

Yes, R. wishes to receive account of 1982 election study ☐

Yes, R. wishes to receive account of 1985 election study ☐ (ready 1986)

Key to pre- and post election questionnaires:

The following questions were included, and identically worded, in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires of 1985:

1-7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 21, 22, 25-30, 32, 34-36, 38, 39, 43-54

The following questions were included in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires, but minor text changes (i.e. tense adjustments) have been made in the post-election questionnaire:

8, 16-20[1].

Q. 31 A-C appears in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires, but have been substantially changed in the latter case. See p. 42 below.

The following questions were only included in the pre-election questionnaire:

10, 13, 23, 24, 37.

The following questions appear only in the post-election questionnaire (see pages 42-48 below):

31 D-H, 33, 40-42,

---

[1] Tense change in q. 16-20C only.

Questions only appearing in the 1985 post-election questionnaire:

31A Did you vote in this year's election?

1 yes
3 yes, but not in all the elections → OF QUESTIONS 31B TO 31E, ASK THOSE RELEVANT
5 no, did not vote in any of the elections → 31H
8 refuses to answer → 32A

31B We had three elections at the same time this year. Which party did you vote for in the Riksdag election?

1 Left Party Communists → 31D
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats → 31D
7 Green Party
x → other party (state which): _____
8 refuses to answer

SKIP QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN RIKSDAG ELECTION

31C ADDED QUESTION FOR R. WHO ANSWERED CENTRE/CENTRE PARTY/ CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ON Q. 31B

Did you vote for a Centre Party list or a Christian Democratic list? **(cf p. 53 below)**

1 Centre Party list (only Centre Party candidates)
2 Christian Democratic list (only Christian Democratic candidates)
x → other type of Centre Party list (state which):

_____

8 DK
x → other answer: _____

31D Which party did you vote for in the local election?

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

SKIP QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN LOCAL ELECTION

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

31E IF RESP LIVES IN GÖTEBORG, MALMÖ OR THE ISLAND OF GOTLAND (DO NOT HAVE REGIONAL ELECTIONS) → 31F

Which party did you vote for in the regional election?

SKIP QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN REGIONAL ELECTION

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

31F When did you decide how to vote this year? Was it during the last week before the election or earlier during the autumn or summer or did you know how to vote all along?

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

31G Did you vote at the post office in this year's election? /if "yes"/ Did you vote during the last week before the election or earlier during the campaign?

1 voted last week before election
2 voted earlier during campaign
5 no, did not vote at the post office
8 DK

→ 32A

31H QUESTION 31H ONLY TO THOSE WHO DID NOT VOTE IN 1985 (THAT IS, DID NOT VOTE IN ANY OF THE THREE KINDS OF ELECTION). THE QUESTION REFERS TO THE RIKSDAG ELECTION ONLY.

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

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

→ party:_____

8 DK

33A **Interviewer checkpoint:**
Did R. change party or not in parliamentary election?

1 R. did change party - voted for different parties in 1982 and 1985.
2 R. did not change party - voted for the same party in 1982 and 1985.
3 R. did not vote/does not give party choice for 1982 and/or 1985. → 34

33B FOR THOSE WHO CHANGED PARTIES

In this year's Riksdag election you voted for (...PARTY) (see q. 31B). Three years ago, in the Riksdag election of 1982, you voted for (...PARTY (see q. 32B)). What made you vote differently this year compared to 1982?

ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS — Was there anything else that made you vote differently this year?

→ answer: _____

8 DK → GO TO Q. 34

33C FOR THOSE WHO DID NOT CHANGE PARTIES

You say you voted for (...PARTY (see q. 31B, 32B)) in the Riksdag elections of both 1982 and 1985. Did you ever, between the elections, consider voting for another party, to vote blank or not to vote at all in the Riksdag election of 1985?

MORE THAN ONE ALTERNATIVE POSSIBLE

1 yes, considered voting for another party
2 yes, considered voting blank
3 yes, considered not to vote
5 no, did not consider voting for another party, voting blank or not to vote → 34
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

33D Which party or parties did you consider voting for?

→ party(-ies): _____

8 DK

40A I would like to ask you a few questions about contacts you had with the political parties in this year's election campaign.

NOTE EVERY PARTY MENTIONED BY R. USE ABBREVIATIONS. ALSO NOTE IF ANSWER IS "ALL PARTIES".

Before this year's election, did you read a brochure etc. from any of the parties?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

→ party(-ies):_____

2 yes, but does not remember which party
5 no
8 DK

40B Before this year's election, did you attend a public meeting, rally etc. arranged by any of the parties?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

→ party(-ies):_____

2 yes, but does not remember which party
5 no
8 DK

40C Before this year's election, were you personally visited at home by any party?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

→ party(-ies):_____

2 yes, but does not remember which party
5 no
8 DK

40D Before this year's election, were you personally in touch with any campaigner at your workplace?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

→ party(-ies):_____

2 yes, but does not remember which party
5 no
7 not gainfully employed
8 DK

40E Before this year's election, did you try to convince any member of your family, a friend or any other persons to vote for a particular party?

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

40F Is there anyone near you - in your family, among your friends and colleagues - who actively tried to convince others to vote for a particular party in this year's election?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

→ party(-ies): _____

5 no
8 DK

NOTE THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO STATE MORE THAN ONE PARTY

41A To what extent did you have the opportunity to watch the programmes broadcast on TV before this year's election?

Did you watch the final debate among the party leaders on the Friday before the election on September 15th?

SHOW CARD 41A

1 yes, watched the whole debate
2 yes, watched parts of the debate
5 no, did not watch the debate
x → other answer: _____

41B Before this year's election, there were special interviews with the party leaders on TV. Did you watch the interview with (...PARTY LEADER)? **(Parties not given in original).**

ASK ABOUT THE PARTY LEADERS ONE BY ONE. "YES" MARKED WITH A "1", "NO" MARKED WITH A "5" AND DK MARKED WITH AN "8".

▽

☐ Olof Palme **(Social Democrat)**
☐ Ulf Adelsohn **(Moderate)**
☐ Thorbjörn Fälldin **(Centre)**
☐ Bengt Westerberg **(People's)**
☐ Lars Werner **(Left Party Communists)**

42 Before this year's election the parties stressed various issues which they thought were important.

ASK THE QUESTION BELOW FOR EACH PARTY AND NOTE THE ISSUES AND PROBLEMS FOR MENTIONED EACH PARTY BY RESP. "NO" AND DK TO BE MARKED WITH AN "8".

Could you tell me which issues (...PARTY) emphasized before this year's election?

ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS → Could you say anything else that was emphasized by (...PARTY)?

Social Democrats	answer:_____ 8 no/DK
People's Party	answer:_____ 8 no/DK
Moderate Party	answer:_____ 8 no/DK
Centre Party	answer:_____ 8 no/DK
Left Party Communists	answer:_____ 8 no/DK
Christian Democrats	answer:_____ 8 no/DK

Interviewer instruction after last question (no. 54), added on last page of post-election questionnaire:

HAS R. REFUSED TO ANSWER ABOUT HIS/HER VOTING IN 1985?

If R. has refused to answer q. 31A or 31B, ask if R. would like to indicate how he/she voted, using the voting card. If so, let R. complete the voting card and close the envelope him/herself.

Note number of voting card here

Post-election mail questionnaire sent to respondents who participated in the pre-election survey.

1985 ELECTION SURVEY

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 with this year's election. We hope that it will bring valuable and reliable results.

Our survey ends with this little mail questionnaire. Among the contents are a few questions we were unable include in the pre-election interviews for practical reasons.

We would be very grateful if you would answer the questions, and then return the questionnaire 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 anonymously. No outsider will get to know your answers. The answers will merely be used for statistical analysis, and only be presented as figures in tables. The answers of individuals can not be inferred from the tables.

Yours faithfully

Lars Ove Larsjö
Statistical Central Bureau

Sören Holmberg
Dept. of Political Science,
Göteborg University

AS YOU KNOW, WE HAD THREE ELECTIONS AT THE SAME TIME THIS YEAR, that is the parliamentary (**riksdagsval**), regional (**landstingsval**) and local (**kommunfullmäktigeval**) elections (except in Göteborg, Malmö and the island of Gotland, where no regional elections were held).

Our questions concern your voting in the three elections. We would also like to ask you when you decided how to vote, to what extent you had the opportunity to watch election programmes on TV before the election, what you thought about the election campaign and whether you voted at the post office.

Answer by ticking ☒ the appropriate squares.

QUESTION 1

Which party did you vote for in the Riksdag election?

☐ Left Party Communists
☐ Social Democrats
☐ Centre Party **(see footnote on p. 52 below)**
☐ People's Party
☐ Moderate Party
☐ Green Party
☐ Other party (which):_____
☐ Did not vote

QUESTION 2

Which party did you vote for in the local election?

☐ Left Party Communists
☐ Social Democrats
☐ Centre (Centre Party)
☐ People's Party
☐ Moderate Party
☐ Christian Democrats
☐ Green Party
☐ Other party (which):_____
☐ Did not vote

QUESTION 3

Which party did you vote for in the regional election?

☐ Left Party Communists
☐ Social Democrats
☐ Centre Party
☐ People's Party
☐ Moderate Party
☐ Christian Democrats
☐ Green Party
☐ New Democracy
☐ Other party (which):_____
☐ Voted blank
☐ Did not vote

QUESTION 4
When did you decide how to vote this year?

☐ I decided 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

QUESTION 5
Did you see the final debate on TV among the party leaders on the Friday before the election on September 15th?

☐ Yes, saw the whole debate
☐ Yes, saw parts of the debate
☐ No, did not see the debate

QUESTION 6
Did you have the opportunity to watch any of the special interviews with the party leaders on TV before the election?

Yes, watched interview with: **(parties not included in original)**

☐ Olof Palme **(Social Democrat)**
☐ Ulf Adelsohn **(Moderate)**
☐ Thorbjörn Fälldin **(Centre)**
☐ Bengt Westerberg **(People's)**
☐ Lars Werner **(Left Party Communists)**
☐ No, did not have the opportunity to see any of the special TV interviews.

QUESTION 7
Do you think that the total TV coverage during the campaign favoured or disfavoured any of the parties?

	favoured by TV	neither favoured nor disfavoured	disfavoured by TV
Left Party Communists	☐	☐	☐
Social Democrats	☐	☐	☐
Centre Party	☐	☐	☐
People's Party	☐	☐	☐
Moderate Party	☐	☐	☐
Christian Democrats	☐	☐	☐
Green Party	☐	☐	☐

QUESTION 8

How would you describe this year's election campaign?

Tick the alternatives you think are most appropriate. More than one alternative is possible.

☐ Interesting and exciting
☐ Too much quarrelling among the parties
☐ Too much conflict and aggression
☐ Clear differences between the parties
☐ Too concentrated on the party leaders
☐ Objective and informative
☐ The election coverage in the press, radio and TV was difficult to follow

QUESTION TO THOSE WHO VOTED AT THE POST OFFICE IN THIS YEAR'S ELECTION

When did you vote?

☐ Voted last week before election
☐ Voted earlier during campaign

If you would like to give any further information or comments on the survey, you can do so here:

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.....

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SURVEY RESULTS

We would be happy to send you an account of our results. If you wish to receive a report on the survey results, you can order it by writing your name and address below. If you don't wish to receive a report, you naturally don't need to give your name and address.

.....

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FOOTNOTE: In the 1985 election, the Centre Party and the Christian Democrats had an agreement which meant that the parties went to the polls under a common designation, "The Centre". In the original mail questionnaire, q. 1 included a follow-up question to respondents who answered that they voted "Centre". They were asked to indicate whether they had voted for a list with only Centre party candidates, only Christian Democratic candidates or any other type of Centre list. It has not been possible to insert this question in the same place as in the original questionnaire.

KEY TO THE SWEDISH PARTIES IN 1985

Name in Swedish: Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna
Abbreviation: VPK
Translation of party name: Left Party the Communists
Ideological location: left socialist, Euro-communist
Riksdag election result 1985: 5,4% (19/349 seats)
Party leader: Lars Werner

Name in Swedish: Socialdemokratiska Arbetarepartiet (Socialdemokraterna)
Abbreviation: S (also SAP)
Translation of party name: Social Democratic Workers Party
Ideological location: social democratic (labour)
Riksdag election result 1985: 44.7 % (159/349 seats)
Party leader: Olof Palme (Prime Minister; assassinated in February 1986)

Name in Swedish: Centerpartiet
Abbreviation: C
Translation of party name: Centre Party
Ideological location: non-socialist, centre
Riksdag election result 1985: 12,4% (44/349 seats) **(see footnote)**
Party leader: Thorbjörn Fälldin (Prime Minister 1976-1978 and 1979-1982)

Name in Swedish: Folkpartiet
Abbreviation: Fp
Translation of party name: People's Party
Ideological location: liberal
Riksdag election result 1985: 14,2% (51/349 seats)
Party leader: Bengt Westerberg

Name in Swedish: Moderata Samlingspartiet
Abbreviation: M
Translation of party name: Moderate Unity Party
Ideological location: conservative
Riksdag election result in 1985: 21,3% (76/349 seats)
Party leader: Ulf Adelsohn

Name in Swedish: Miljöpartiet de Gröna
Abbreviation: Mp
Translation of party name: Environmental Party the Greens (Green Party)
Ideological location: green/new politics
Riksdag election result 1985: 1,5% (no seats)
No formal party leader. The nearest equivalent are two "spokespersons", one from each sex. During the 1985 campaign they were Per Gahrton and Ragnhild Pohanka.

Name in Swedish: Kristen Demokratisk Samling
Abbreviation: KDS
Translation of party name: Christian Democratic Coalition
Ideological location: Christian democratic
Riksdag election result in 1985: See footnote.
Party leader: Alf Svensson

FOOTNOTE: Kds and the Centre Party took part in in 1985 Riksdag election under a common designation, "The Centre". It is not possible to separate the votes between the two parties. The total votes appear with the Centre Party above. Of the 44 Centre seats, one was taken by a KDS member.