Göteborg University
Department of Political Science

Swedish Election Study 1991

- Questionnaires -

Swedish Election Study 1991

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

Total sample: 3,558 Swedish citizens, age 18-80.

Number of respondents: 2,683

Sample loss: 875 (24.6 %)

Number of variables: ca 500

Weight: Respondents belonging to the 1988-1991 panel who did not respond in 1985 had their sample probability halved in 1991. They are represented by two records in the data file.

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

Panel: The Study represents stage two in the 1988-1991 panel and stage one in the 1991-1994 panel.

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

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 latest publication from the programme is **Rött Blått Grönt. En bok om 1988 års riksdagsval,** (Red Blue Green. A Book on the 1988 Parliamentary election) by Mikael Gilljam and Sören Holmberg with contributions by Kent Asp, Martin Bennulf, Peter Esaiasson and Maria Oskarson.

The questionnaires from the 1991 Election Study were translated into English by Anders Widfeldt.

ELECTION STUDY 1991

STAGE A (B) PRE- (POST-) ELECTION INTERVIEWS

Interviewer no.

Respondent no.

Time of interview

date: _____

time started: _____

time ended: _____

Respondent's year of birth

Sex of respondent

1 male
2 female

For office use (dept. of political science)

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8

For questions and information concerning the 1991 Election Study, please contact the Swedish Election Studies Programme:

Sören Holmberg, Mikael Gilljam or Per Hedberg
Department of Political Science
Sprängkullsgatan 19
S-411 23 Göteborg

Phone: (0)31 - 773 12 27, 773 12 21, 773 11 99

SCB STATISTISKA CENTRALBYRÅN
Statistical
Central Bureau

STATSVETENSKAPLIGA INSTITUTIONEN
GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET

Dept. of Political Science
Göteborg University

/blank page/

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 1988 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 How much do you read news and articles about politics in the daily press?

SHOW CARD 1. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT THE ALTERNATIVES.

1 never reads news and articles about politics → 3
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: _____

---

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

SHOW CARD 2. REPEAT THE QUESTION FOR EVERY AREA AND WRITE ANSWER IN THE SQUARE.

1 reads practically everything
2 reads quite a lot
3 doesn't read very much
4 reads nothing/almost nothing
8 doesn't know/refuses to answer

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

---

3 Concerning news programmes on radio and television: How <u>often</u> do you watch/listen to (news programme x)?

SHOW CARD 3. 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.)**

___ "Nyheterna" on TV4 **(cable/satellite commercial channel; 7:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m.)**

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

SHOW CARD 4

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: _____

5 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 5

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

6 How important do you think this year's election is? Do you care much about which parties will win or lose or do you not think it matters very much?

SHOW CARD 6

1 care very much which parties win or lose
2 doesn't matter much
8 DK
x ⟶ other answer: _____

7A Generally speaking, how big differences do you think that there are among the parties in Parliament, concerning their political standpoints?

SHOW CARD 7AB

1 very big differences
2 fairly big differences
3 not particularly big differences
4 very small differences
8 DK
x ⟶ other answer: _____

7B Generally speaking, how big differences do you think that there are among the parties in the local council in this area?

SHOW CARD 7AB

1 very big differences
2 fairly big differences
3 not particularly big differences
4 very small differences
8 DK
x ⟶ other answer: _____

8 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 parliamentary election on September 15th?

IF YES → Which issue or issues?

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

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

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

9A What proportion of the votes do you think that the Social Democrats will get in this year's parliamentary election?

→ per cent: _____

8 DK

9B And how do you think the Left Party, the Green Party, the Christian Democrats and New Democracy will fare in the parliamentary election?

READ OUT THE QUESTION FOR EACH PARTY SEPARATELY. TICK THE PARTIES THE RESPONDENT THINKS WILL GET AT LEAST 4 PER CENT OF THE VOTES **(threshold to qualify for seats - translator's note)** WITH A J AND THE PARTIES THE RESPONDENT THINKS WILL GET LESS THAN 4 PER CENT WITH AN N. DK IS MARKED WITH AN X.

Do you think that (...PARTY) will get at least 4 per cent in the election and thereby be represented in Parliament?

☐ V

☐ Mp

☐ Kds

☐ Nyd

10A If none of the parties alone will be able to form a government after the parliamentary election on September 15th, which two parties do you think primarily should try to form a government?

CIRCLE THE TWO PARTIES MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT

V S C Fp M Kds Mp Nyd

8 DK

x ——▷other answer:_____

10B If a third party is needed to form a government, which party do you think should be included?

CIRCLE THE PARTY MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT

V S C Fp M Kds Mp Nyd

8 DK

x ——▷other answer:_____

10C If a fourth party is needed to form a government, which party do you think should be included?

CIRCLE THE PARTY MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT

V S C Fp M Kds Mp Nyd

8 DK

x ——▷other answer:_____

10D Who would you most of all like as Prime Minister of the government?

——▷Prime Minister:_____

8 DK

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?

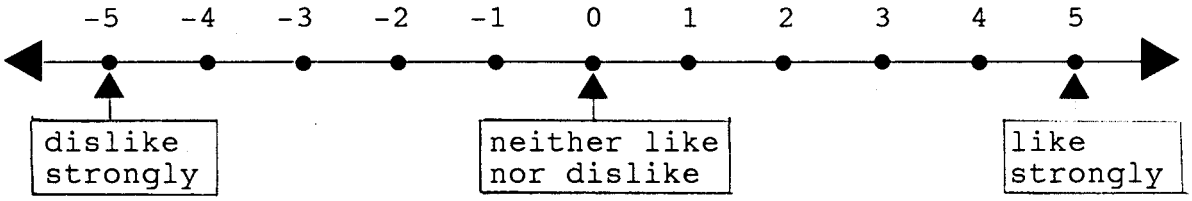
NOTE THE PARTIES MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT ALONGSIDE EACH ISSUE BELOW. USE ABBREVIATIONS: S, Fp, M, C, V, Kds, Mp, Nyd. INDICATE 5 FOR "NO PARTY" ANSWERS AND 8 IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW OR DOES NOT WANT TO ANSWER.

	Parties with a good policy			Parties with a bad policy		
→Employment	_____	5	8	_____	5	8
→Environment	_____	5	8	_____	5	8
→Taxes	_____	5	8	_____	5	8
→Issues concerning the Swedish economy	_____	5	8	_____	5	8
→Energy and nuclear power issues	_____	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
→Issues concerning the European Community	_____	5	8	_____	5	8
→Immigration/refugee issues	_____	5	8	_____	5	8
→Issues concerning law and order	_____	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 different parties. If you like a party you 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. DON'T FORGET PLUS AND MINUS SIGNS. INDICATE WITH AN X IF RESPONDENT CANNOT OR DOESN'T WANT TO GIVE AN ANSWER FOR ANY PARTY.

▽ Where would you place:

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

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

|__| Olof Johansson? (Centre)
|__| Carl Bildt? (Moderate)
|__| Lars Werner? (Left Party)
|__| Bengt Westerberg? (People's)
|__| Ingvar Carlsson? (Social Democrat)
|__| Alf Svensson? (Christian Democrats)
|__| Margareta Gisselberg? (Green)
|__| Ian Wachtmeister? (New Democracy)
|__| Bert Karlsson? (New Democracy)

13 We will continue with party leaders. I will now read a few words and expressions which can be used to describe different attributes of the party leaders. I would like you to tell how appropriate you think each of them is, when you think of Ingvar Carlsson, Carl Bildt and Ian Wachtmeister. We will only include the leaders of the two biggest parties and the leader of the new party, New Democracy.

SHOW CARD 13

1 very appropriate
2 fairly appropriate
3 fairly inappropriate
4 very inappropriate
8 DK

FOR EACH PARTY LEADER, READ OUT THE EXPRESSIONS ONE BY ONE, AND LET RESPONDENT CHOOSE ALTERNATIVE. WRITE NUMBER IN SQUARE.

Thinking about (...PARTY LEADER). How appropriate do you consider the following statement? (**Parties not given in original**).

INGVAR CARLSSON (Social Democrat)

☐ reliable
☐ inspiring
☐ knowledgeable
☐ knows the thoughts and opinions of ordinary people

CARL BILDT (Moderate)

☐ reliable
☐ inspiring
☐ knowledgeable
☐ knows the thoughts and opinions of ordinary people

IAN WACHTMEISTER (New Democracy)

☐ reliable
☐ inspiring
☐ knowledgeable
☐ knows the thoughts and opinions of ordinary people

14A Generally speaking, how much confidence do you have in Swedish politicians? Is it very high, fairly high, fairly low or very low?

SHOW CARD 14AC

1 Very high confidence.
2 Fairly high confidence.
3 Fairly low confidence.
4 Very low confidence.
8 DK.
x ⟶ other answer: _____

14B Has your confidence in Swedish politicians increased, remained unchanged or decreased over the last two or three years?

1 confidence has increased
2 confidence is unchanged
3 confidence has decreased
4 DK/NA
x ⟶ other answer: _____

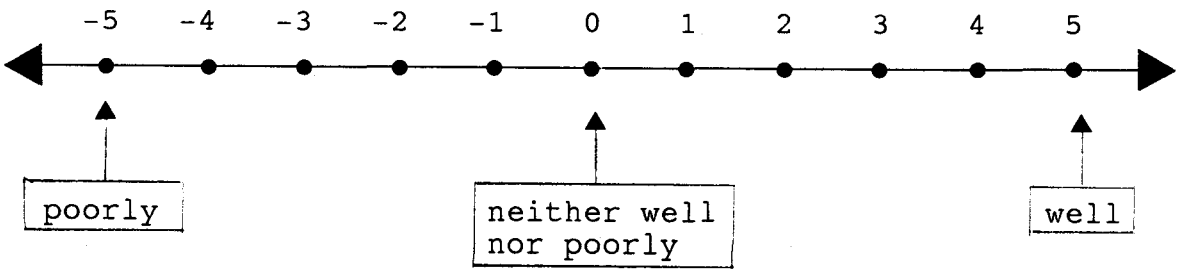
14C Thinking about the politicians of the party you like best, how much confidence do you have in them?

SHOW CARD 14AC

1 Very high confidence.
2 Fairly high confidence.
3 Rather low confidence.
4 Very low confidence.
8 DK.
x ⟶ other answer: _____

15A Next, I would like to ask you what you think about the performance of the three Bourgeois 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 15AB



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

▽ How well do you think the Bourgeois parties performed as governing parties between 1976 and 1982?

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

15B If you look forward, using the same scale:

▽ How do you think the Bourgeois 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?

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 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. Reduce defence spending.
D. Reduce social benefits.
E. Sell off state owned businesses etc. to private interests.
F. Reduce income differences in society.
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. Build more day care centres for children.
J. Introduce six hour working day for everyone.
K. Introduce a set number of sick days without sick pay.
L. Substantially raise the prices of wine and spirits in order to reduce alcohol abuse and the societal damages of alcohol.
M. Prohibit all forms of pornography.
N. Restrict the rights to free abortion.
O. Reduce government influence on private enterprise.
P. Lower the 4 per cent threshold for parliamentary representation.
Q. Make it easier for the publicly owned pension funds to buy shares.
R. Increase the time of imprisonment for criminals.
S. Increase the proportion of child care run privately.
T. Increase the rate of taxation on large properties.

17A What is your opinion about the tax reform fully implemented this year. Are you on the whole positive or negative towards the tax reform or do you have no particular opinion on the issue?

SHOW CARD 17A

1 on the whole positive towards the tax reform
2 on the whole negative towards the tax reform
3 no particular opinion on the issue → 18A
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:_____

18A Do you think that we in Sweden primarily should fight against unemployment or do you think that we primarily should fight against inflation (wage and price increases) or do you have no particular opinion on the issue?

SHOW CARD 18A

1 unemployment
2 inflation (wage and price increases)
3 no particular opinion on the issue → 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 Which party or parties are, as you see it, primarily in favour of fighting against unemployment?

→party(-ies):_____
8 doesn't remember/DK

18D Which party or parties are, as you see it, primarily in favour of fighting against inflation (wage and price increases)?

→party(-ies):_____
8 doesn't remember/DK

19A Views differ concerning nuclear power as a source of energy. What is your opinion? Are you, on the whole, pro or anti nuclear power, or have you no particular opinion on the issue?

SHOW CARD 19A

1 on the whole pro nuclear power
2 on the whole anti nuclear power
3 no opinion on the issue → 20
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: _____

20 Here are some proposals concerning energy and environment in Sweden. For each proposal, please say if it is:

SHOW CARD 20. 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 OUT PROPOSALS ONE BY ONE AND WRITE FIGURE IN THE BOX.

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

A. Lower speed limits
B. Ban plastic bottles and aluminium cans.
C. Ban private cars from inner cities.
D. Stop all plans to build new power plants using coal as energy.
E. Exploit untouched rivers in order to increase the use of water as a power source.
F. Retain nuclear power, even after 2010.
G. Stop all plans to build a bridge across Öresund (**between Sweden and Denmark; translator's note**).
H. Store highly radio-active nuclear waste in the Swedish bedrock.

21 We have been talking a lot about politics in this country. I am now going to ask you some questions about the situation outside Sweden.

How interested are you in general about politics around the world?

SHOW CARD 21

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

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

22A Are you, on the whole, in favour of or against Swedish membership of the EC or have you no particular opinion on the issue?

SHOW CARD 22A

1 on the whole in favour of Swedish membership of the EC
2 on the whole against Swedish memebership of the EC.
3 no particular opinion on the issue ——▶ 22C
8 DK
x ——▷ other answer: _____

22B Is your opinion on this issue definite or do you feel a bit uncertain?

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

22C Which party or parties are, as you see it, in favour of Swedish membership of the EC?

——▷ party(-ies): _____

8 doesn't remember/DK

22D Which party or parties are, as you see it, against Swedish membership of the EC?

——▷ party(-ies): _____

8 doesn't remember/DK

23 Here are some proposals concerning Sweden's relations to other countries. For each of these proposals, please say if it is:

SHOW CARD 23. 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 OUT PROPOSALS ONE BY ONE AND WRITE FIGURE IN THE BOX.

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

⌊__⌋	A. Reduce foreign aid.
⌊__⌋	B. Accept fewer refugees into Sweden.
⌊__⌋	C. Sweden should increase the support to the national independence movements in the Baltic countries, even if it means a big risk of worse relations with the Soviet Union.
⌊__⌋	D. Sweden should retain her current policy of neutrality.

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

SHOW CARD 24

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.

C. In many ways, equality has gone too far in this country.

25 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 25

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. Those who sit in Parliament making decisions don't pay much attention to the thoughts and views of ordinary people.
C. There is at least one party which always tries to look after my interests.
D. By voting, one can really take part in determining how this country should be governed.

26 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

politician(s):_____

5 no, nobody
8 DK

27 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 27

NB! → 2 FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS

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

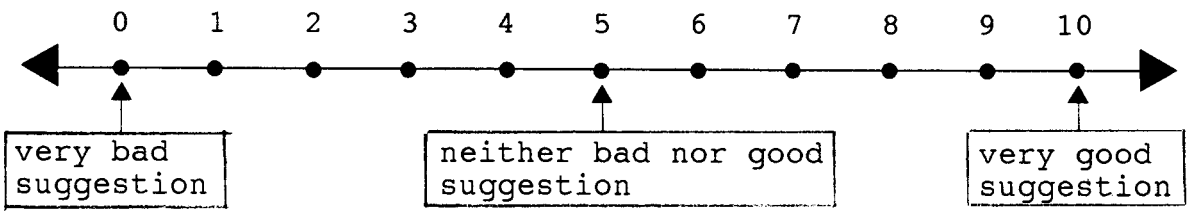
(2) And which goal is the least important?

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	doesn't know/doesn't want to answer question about most important goal
7	doesn't know/doesn't want to answer question about second most important goal
8	doesn't know/doesn't want to answer question about least important goal

28 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 28



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 socialist society. ☐☐
C. Work towards a society with a high rate of economic growth and high productivity. ☐☐
D. Work towards an environmentally-oriented society even if it means low or no economic growth. ☐☐
E. Work towards a society which utilizes advanced technology, like computers and industrial robots, to make production efficient. ☐☐
F. Work towards a society in which Christian values play a more important role. ☐☐
G. Work towards a society with more law and order. ☐☐
H. Work towards a society with quicker and more efficient political decision-making, even if it could mean less influence for ordinary people. ☐☐
I. Work towards a society with more freedom for individuals to do what they like. ☐☐
J. Work towards a society where differences in income and working conditions are small. ☐☐
K. Work towards a society with more equality between men and women. ☐☐
L. Work towards a society which stands up for traditional Swedish values. ☐☐
M. Work towards a society which strengthens the position of the family. ☐☐

29A 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**, **vänsterpartist**, **miljöpartist**, **kds:are** or **nydemokrat**? 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 doesn't know/hesitant
5 no, doesn't think of him/herself as an adherent of any specific party → 29D
8 doesn't want to answer

29B Which party do you like best?

1 Left Party
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
7 The Green Party
8 New Democracy
9 doesn't want to answer → 30B
x ▷other party:_____

29C 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:_____

29D Still, is there any party that you consider yourself closer to than any of the other parties? (Which party?)

1 Left Party
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
7 The Green Party
8 New Democracy
9 doesn't know/doesn't want to answer/no, no party → 30B
x ▷other party:_____

30A Which party do you like second best?

1	Left Party
2	Social Democrats
3	Centre Party
4	People's Party
5	Moderate Party
6	Christian Democrats
7	Green Party
8	New Democracy
9	doesn' know/doesn't want to answer/no, no party mentioned
x	⟶ other party: _____

IF POSSIBLE, MARK ONLY ONE PARTY

30B Which party do you dislike the most?

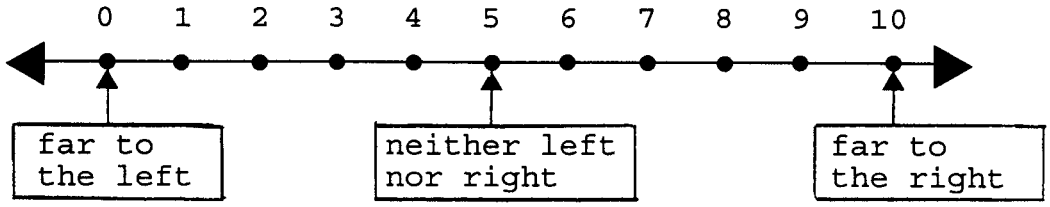
1	Left Party
2	Social Democrats
3	Centre Party
4	People's Party
5	Moderate Party
6	Christian Democrats
7	Green Party
8	New Democracy
9	doesn't know/doesn't want to answer/no, no party mentioned
x	⟶ other party: _____

IF POSSIBLE, MARK ONLY ONE PARTY

31A The parties are sometimes thought of as being ordered from left to right.

SHOW CARD 31AB

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 RESPONDENT 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
☐☐	Centre Party
☐☐	Green Party
☐☐	Christian Democrats
☐☐	New Democracy

31B Where on the scale would you place yourself?

EXPLAIN - IF NECESSARY - THAT THIS QUESTION CONCERNS THE RESPONDENT'S OWN POLITICAL POSITION. PUT NUMBER MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT IN BOX.

☐☐

32A Do you intend to vote in this year's election?

1 yes
3 maybe/doesn't know
5 no
8 refuses to answer

QUESTIONS 32A-B CONCERN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION ONLY

32B

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

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

1 Left Party
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
7 Green Party
8 New Democracy
x ▷other party:_____
10 Blank vote
11 not yet decided/doesn't know → 36A
12 refuses to answer

33 You say you are going to vote for (...PARTY, see q. 32B) in this year's election. What are the most important reasons for your planning to vote for (...PARTY)?

IF RESPONDENT STATES GENERAL REASONS LIKE "THE PARTY HAS GOOD POLICIES", OR "EVERYTHING ABOUT THEM IS GOOD", TRY TO MAKE RESPONDENT MORE SPECIFIC. BUT DO NOT FORGET TO WRITE DOWN THE GENERAL ANSWER FIRST.

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

▷answer:_____

8 DK

QUESTION 34 NOT INCLUDED IN STAGE A

35A

N.B.! FIRST CROSS OVER THE QUESTION OF Q. 35 A THROUGH H WHICH SHALL NOT BE ASKED, I.E. THE QUESTION CONCERNING THE PARTY WHICH R. INTENDS TO VOTE FOR ACCORDING TO Q. 32B.

I would also like to ask if there is anything that you particularly dislike among the parties which you do not intend to vote for in this year's parliamentary election.

Is there anything about the Social Democrats that you particularly dislike?

→answer: _____

5 no
8 DK

35B Is there anything about the People's Party that you particularly dislike?

→answer: _____

5 no
8 DK

35C Is there anything about the Moderate Party that you particularly dislike?

→answer: _____

5 no
8 DK

35D Is there anything about the Centre Party that you particularly dislike?

→answer: _____

5 no
8 DK

35E Is there anything about the Left Party that you particularly dislike?

→answer: _____

5 no
8 DK

35F Is there anything about the Christian Democrats that you particularly dislike?

▷answer: _____

5 no
8 DK

35G Is there anything about the Green Party that you particularly dislike?

▷answer: _____

5 no
8 DK

35H Is there anything about New Democracy that you particularly dislike?

▷answer: _____

5 no
8 DK

RESPONDENT BORN 19TH SEPTEMBER 1970 OR LATER → 39

36A Did you vote in the 1988 parliamentary election?

1 yes
3 doesn't remember for sure, but probably
5 no, didn't vote/R. doesn't think R. voted → 39
8 DK

36B Which party did you vote for in the 1988 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: _____

QUESTIONS 37 AND 38 NOT INCLUDED IN STAGE A

39 I would now like to ask a few questions about Parliament and the Members of Parliament.

SHOW CARD 39. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES ONE BY ONE. MARK YES WITH "Y" AND NO WITH "N" AND DK WITH "X"

Have you in recent years:

___ Read an article or interview with a Member of Parliament?

___ Attended a meeting where a Member of Parliament has appeared?

___ Written, or in some other way been in contact with a Member of Parliament?

---

40 Do you know the name of any of the persons on the ballot papers in your parliamentary 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, doesn't know any name/DK

41 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 41

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

Birgit Friggebo (People's Party)
Göran Persson (Social Democrat)
Karl Erik Olsson (Centre)
Lars Tobisson (Moderate)
Eva Goës (Green Party)
Gudrun Schyman (Left Party)

42 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 don't know if the statement is true or false. **(correct answers have been added in brackets)**

SHOW CARD 42

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 county. **(false)**

C. The Swedish Parliament has 349 members. **(true)**

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

E. Last year, Sweden accepted more than 50,000 refugees from other countries. **(false)**

F. It has been decided in Parliament that the most toxic radio-active waste from the Swedish nuclear power plants shall be stored abroad. **(false)**

G. Denmark is a member of the EC. **(true)**

Q. 43-45 NOT INCLUDED IN STAGE A

46A 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 46A 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):_____

46B Have you previously been gainfully employed?

1 yes
2 no → 47A

46C What is/was your occupation?

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

▷work/occupation:_____

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

46D Do/did you work full time or part time?

1 full time
2 part time

46E Which is/was the main kind of work done where you work/used to work?

▷main kind of work:_____

46F 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 46F

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:_____

46G Are/were you employed by the state, a commune **(subnational government)** or a private company?

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

47A Are you at the moment studying for a degree or some kind of occupational competence?

N.B.! ONLY ASK ADDED QUESTION TO RESPONDENT WHO HAS ANSWERED "STUDENT" ON Q. 46A

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

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

47B What kind of education do you have/are you studying for?

ADDED QUESTION FOR SPECIFIED 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
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".

48A In recent years, the situation on the Swedish labour market has deteriorated. On this card there are a number of problems which some people have encountered on the labour market. Have you personally in the last two or three years encountered any of the following problems?

SHOW CARD 48 AB

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which of these problems have you encountered?

MARK THE PROBLEMS R HAS ENCOUNTERED. MORE THAN ONE POSSIBLE.

1 on one or more occasions tried to get a job without succeeding

2 tried to work full time but only got a part time job

3 been forced to take a job below my qualifications

4 been made redundant but got a new job within a month

5 been made redundant and was unemployed for more than a month

6 taken a labour market training course

7 have become a pre-retirement age pensioner, partly because of labour market reasons

8 been doing relief work

x ⟶ encountered other labour market problem (which):_____

_____

95 no, have not encountered labour market problem
98 DK

48B Is there anyone in your family who in the past two or three years has encountered any of these problems?

SHOW CARD 48AB

1 yes, someone in R:s family has encountered problems
2 no
8 DK

49A 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: _____

49B 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: _____

49C How do you think that the Swedish economic condition will develop in the next few years?

SHOW CARD 49C

Do you think it will improve a lot, improve a bit, that there will be no change, that it will become a bit worse or that it will become a lot worse?

1 improve a lot
2 improve a bit
3 no change
4 become a bit worse
5 become a lot worse
8 DK
x ——▷ other answer: _____

50A The Swedish economy has got worse in recent years. Experts and politicians do not agree about the reasons. On this card there is a list with some of the many reasons which have been discussed. I would like to ask <u>your opinion</u> about the reasons behind Sweden's economic problems. You may answer using the alternatives on the card.

SHOW CARD 50A AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1 very important reason behind the Swedish economic crisis
2 fairly important reason behind the Swedish economic crisis
3 not particularly important reason behind the Swedish economic crisis
4 no reason behind the Swedish economic crisis
8 DK

READ OUT THE REASONS ONE BY ONE AND WRITE NUMBER IN THE BOX

▽

A. The economic policies of the Social Democratic government

B. Wage demands of the unions

C. Capital export and foreign investments by Swedish companies

D. Too much interference by the government in private business

E. Too large public sector

F. The Swedish people work too little these days

G. Private business leaders are not as competent as before

H. Too high taxes

I. Too little cooperation among the parties in parliament

J. The economic recession abroad

50B How do you think the economic problems in Sweden would have developed if we in recent years would have had a government with only Bourgeois parties and no Social Democrats?

SHOW CARD 50B

1 Much worse economic problems
2 A bit worse economic problems
3 About as it is now
4 A bit less economic problems
5 much less economic problems/no economic problems at all
8 DK
x ⟶ other answer: _____

51A 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):_____

2 no
8 DK/NA → 52A

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

51B 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:_____

52A 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:_____

5 no
8 DK → 53A

52B Are you an active member of (...PARTY ORGANISATION)? By active I mean attending a few meetings a year?

1 yes, active
2 no, not active
8 DK
x ▷other answer:_____

53A 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 53A. 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 → 54
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

53B Do you usually go to Church of Sweden, to some free church or to any other church?

1 Church of Sweden
2 free church (which): _____
3 other church (which): _____
x → other answer: _____

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

SHOW CARD 54 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1 married/unmarried but living permanently with partner
2 single: widowed
3 single: unmarried/divorced → 56
x → other answer: _____

55A To which of the following groups does/did your husband/wife/partner belong?

SHOW CARD 55A 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): _____

55B Was he/she ever gainfully employed before?

1 yes
2 no → 56

55C 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: _____

55D Does/did he/she work full time or part time?

1 full time
2 part time

55E What is/was the main work done at his/her workplace?

→ work: _____

55F 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 55F

1 white collar employee
2 white collar employee with supervising responsibilities
3 white collar 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:_____

55G Is/was your husband/wife/partner employed by the state, a commune **(subnational government)** or a private company?

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

56 Describing your current family, that is, the household to which you belong, which of the following categories do you think is most appropriate?

SHOW CARD 56 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1 working class family
2 salaried employee family
3 well-off salaried employee/academic family
4 farming family
5 business family
8 DK
x ——▷other answer:_____

57A 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: _____

57B Do you rent or own your current home?

1 rents home
2 owns home (including owned flat)
x ——▷ other answer: _____

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

IT RESPONDENT ANSWERS YES, ASK FOR THE SEX AND AGE FOR EACH CHILD

——▷ sex and age of child/children: _____

5 no, no children living at home
x ——▷ other answer: _____

NOTES BY INTERVIEWER AFTER END OF INTERVIEW:

Where does R. live?

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

Yes, R. wishes to receive account of 1988 election survey ☐

Yes, R. wishes to receive account of 1991 election survey ☐ (ready 1992)

Key to pre- and post election questionnaire:

The following questions were included, and identically worded, in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires of 1991:

1-5, 7, 11, 12, 14, 16-23, 24, 25, 28-31, 35-36, 39-42, 46-58.

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

6, 8, 33.

Q. 32 A-B appears in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires, but has been substantially changed in the latter case. See p. 42 below.

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

9, 10, 13, 15, 26, 27.

The following questions appear only in the post-election questionnaire (see pages 41-50 below):

23:1, 23:2, 32 C-F, 34, 37, 38, 43-45.

Questions only appearing in the 1991 post-election questionnaire:

23:1	On the whole, are you in favour of or against the introduction of some kind of allowance to parents of small children, or do you have do particular opinion on the issue?
1	on the whole in favour of some kind of allowance
2	on the whole against some kind of allowance
3	no particular opinion on the issue → 24
8	DK
x	——▷other answer:_____

23:2	Is your opinion on this issue definite or do you feel a bit uncertain?
1	definite opinion
2	uncertain
8	DK
x	——▷other answer:_____

32A Did you vote in this year's election?

1 yes
2 yes, but not in all the elections → OF QUESTIONS 32B TO 32D, ASK THOSE RELEVANT
3 no, did not vote in any of the elections → 32F
8 refuses to answer → 36A

32B We had three elections at the same time this year. Which party did you vote for in the parliamentary election?

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

OMIT QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

32C Which party did you vote for in the local election?

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

OMIT QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN LOCAL ELECTION

VOTING CARD AT END OF INTERVIEW FOR RESPONDENTS WHO REFUSE TO ANSWER Q. 32A OR 32B

32D IF RESP LIVES IN GÖTEBORG, MALMÖ OR THE ISLAND OF GOTLAND (DO NOT HAVE REGIONAL ELECTIONS) → 32E

Which party did you vote for in the regional election?

OMIT QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN REGIONAL ELECTION

1 Left Party
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
7 Green Party
8 New Democracy
x ▷other party (state which):_____
10 Voted blank
12 refuses to answer

32E 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 → 33
8 DK
x ▷other answer:_____

32F QUESTION 32F ONLY TO THOSE WHO DID NOT VOTE IN THE 1991 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION. THE QUESTION REFERS TO THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION ONLY.

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

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

▷party:_____ → 34

8 DK

34

FIRST QUESTION ASKED TO NON-VOTERS
SECOND QUESTION ASKED TO RESPONDENTS WHO VOTED BLANK

Which were the most important reasons for your not voting in the parliamentary election?

Which were the most important reasons for your voting blank in the parliamentary election?

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

→ answer: _____

_____

8 DK

GO TO QUESTION 36A

37A **Interviewer checkpoint:**
Did R. change party or not in parliamentary election?

1 R. did change party - voted for different parties in 1988 and 1991.
2 R. did not change party - voted for the same party in 1988 and 1991.
3 R. did not vote/does not give party choice for 1988 and/or 1991. → 38

37B FOR THOSE WHO CHANGED PARTIES

In this year's parliamentary election you voted for (...PARTY) (see q. 32B). Three years ago, in the parliamentary election of 1988, you voted for (...PARTY)? (see q. 36B). What made you vote differently this year compared to 1988?

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

→ answer: _____

8 DK → CONTINUE WITH Q. 38

37C FOR THOSE WHO DID NOT CHANGE PARTIES

You say you voted for (...PARTY (see q. 32B, 36B)) in the parliamentary elections of both 1988 and 1991. Did you ever, between the elections, consider voting for another party, to vote blank or not to vote at all in the parliamentary election of 1991?

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 → 38
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

37D Which party or parties did you consider voting for?

→ party(-ies): _____

8 DK

38 FOR RESPONDENTS VOTING FOR DIFFERENT PARTIES IN PARLIAMENTARY AND LOCAL ELECTIONS IN 1991. SEE ANSWERS TO Q. 32B AND 32C.

Most voters vote for the same party in the parliamentary and local elections. In this year's election you decided to vote for different parties. What made you vote differently in the two elections?

ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS → Was there anything else that made you vote for different parties?

→ answer: _____

8 DK

43A 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 doesn't remember which party
5 no
8 DK

43B 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 doesn't remember which party
5 no
8 DK

43C 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 doesn't remember which party
5 no
8 DK

43D 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 doesn't remember which party
5 no
7 not gainfully employed
8 DK

43E 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: _____

43F 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

44A To what extent did you have the opportunity to watch the programmes broadcast on TV before this year's election?

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

SHOW CARD 44A

1 yes, saw the whole debate
2 yes, saw parts of the debate
5 no, did not see the debate
x ——▷ other answer: _____

44B 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".

___ Ingvar Carlsson (Social Democrat)
___ Carl Bildt (Moderate)
___ Olof Johansson (Centre)
___ Bengt Westerberg (People's)
___ Lars Werner (Left Party)
___ Alf Svensson (Christian Democrat)
___ Jan Axelsson (Greens)
___ Ian Wachtmeister (New Democracy)

45 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 ARE TO BE MARKED WITH AN "8"

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

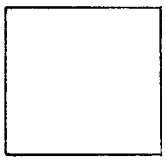
ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS → Could you say anything else that was emphasized by (...PARTY)?

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	answer:_____ 8 no/DK
Green Party	answer:_____ 8 no/DK
Christian Democrats	answer:_____ 8 no/DK
New Democracy	answer:_____ 8 no/DK

Interviewer instruction after last question (no. 58), added on last page of post-election questionnaire:

HAS R. REFUSED TO ANSWER ABOUT HIS/HER VOTING IN 1991?

If R. has refused to answer q. 32A or 32B, 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.

1991 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 couldn't 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 sincerely

Olle Johansson
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 and what you thought about the election campaign.

QUESTION 1

Which party did you vote for in the parliamentary election?

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

QUESTION 2

☐ **Which party did you vote for in the local election?**

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

QUESTION 3

Which party did you vote for in the regional election?

- ☐ Left Party
- ☐ 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 in this year's parliamentary election?

☐ 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 the parliamentary election

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 see any of the special interviews with the party leaders on TV before the election?
More than one interview may be indicated

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

☐ Ingvar Carlsson (Social Democrat)
☐ Carl Bildt (Moderate)
☐ Olof Johansson (Centre)
☐ Bengt Westerberg (People's)
☐ Lars Werner (Left Party)
☐ Alf Svensson (Christian Democrat)
☐ Jan Axelsson (Greens)
☐ Ian Wachtmeister (New Democracy)

☐ No, did not have the opportunity to see any of the special TV interviews.

QUESTION 7
Do you think that the TV coverage (national channels 1 and 2) before the election favoured or disfavoured any of the parties?

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

QUESTION 8

Did you see any of the TV coverage of this year's election on channels 3 or 4 before election day? **(commercial satellite/cable channels)**

☐ yes, saw election programme(s) in channel 3
☐ yes, saw election programme(s) in channel 4
☐ no, saw no election programme in channel 3 or 4

QUESTION 9

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 between 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 10

Has your view on the parties changed during this year's election campaign? For each of the parties, have you become:

For each party, tick relevant answer.

	much more positive	somewhat more positive	neither more positive nor negative	somewhat more negative	much more negative
Left Party	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social Democrats	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Centre Party	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
People's Party	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Moderate Party	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Christian Democrats	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Green Party	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
New Democracy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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

_____

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 you name and address below. If you don't wish to receive a report, you naturally don't need to give your name and address.

_____

KEY TO THE SWEDISH PARTIES

Name in Swedish: Vänsterpartiet
Abbreviation: V
Translation of party name: Left Party
Ideological location: left wing (formerly communist)
Parliamentary election result 1991: 4.5 %
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)
Parliamentary election result 1991: 37.8 %
Party leader: Ingvar Carlsson (Prime Minister until October 1991)

Name in Swedish: Centerpartiet
Abbreviation: C
Translation of party name: Centre Party
Ideological location: non-socialist, centre
Parliamentary election result 1991: 8.5 %
Party leader: Olof Johansson

Name in Swedish: Folkpartiet Liberalerna
Abbreviation: Fp
Translation of party name: People's Party the Liberals
Ideological location: liberal
Parliamentary election result 1991: 9.1 %
Party leader: Bengt Westerberg

Name in Swedish: Moderata Samlingspartiet
Abbreviation: M
Translation of party name: Moderate Unity Party
Ideological location: conservative
Parliamentary election result 1991: 21.9 %
Party leader: Carl Bildt (Prime Minister from October 1991)

Name in Swedish: Miljöpartiet de Gröna
Abbreviation: Mp
Translation of party name: Environmental Party the Greens (Green Party)
Ideological location: green/new politics
Parliamentary election result 1991: 3.4 %
No formal party leader. The nearest equivalent are two "spokespersons", one from each sex. In 1991 they were Jan Axelsson and Margareta Gisselberg.

Name in Swedish: Kristdemokratiska Samhällspartiet
Abbreviation: Kds
Translation of party name: Christian Democratic Society Party
Ideological location: Christian democratic
Parliamentary election result 1991: 7.1 %
Party leader: Alf Svensson

Name in Swedish: Ny Demokrati (formed in 1991)
Abbreviation: Nyd.
Translation of party name: New Democracy
Ideological location: populist right
Parliamentary election result 1991: 6.7 %
Party leader: Ian Wachtmeister