Göteborg University
Department of Political Science
Swedish Election Studies Programme

Swedish Election Study 1988

- 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 refendum in 1957 and the Nuclear Power refendum 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 Pettersson (1973-1976). The most recent studies have been directed by Sören Holmberg (1979-1988) and Mikael Gilljam (1985-1988). 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 1988 Study were translated into English by Anders Widfeldt.

Swedish Election Study 1988

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

Total sample: 3,694 Swedish citizens, age 18-80.

Number of respondents: 2,777

Sample loss: 917 (24.8 %)

Number of variables: ca 500

Weight: Respondents belonging to the 1985-1988 panel who did not respond in 1985 had their sample probability halved in 1988. They are represented by two records in the data file. The number of respondents is therefore 2,845 and the sample loss 1,081.

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 1985-1988 panel and stage one in the 1988-1991 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 1-37 (pre-election questionnaire) correspond with pages in original Swedish questionnaire. This is not the case for the post-election and the post-election mail questionnaires.

ELECTION STUDY 1988

STAGE A PRE-ELECTION INTERVIEWS

Interviewer no.

Respondent no.

Time for interview

date: _____

time started: _____

time ended: _____

Respondent's year of birth

Respondent's sex

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 1988 election study, please contact the Swedish Election Studies Programme:

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SCB STATISTISKA CENTRALBYRÅN
Statistical Central Bureau

STATSVETENSKAPLIGA INSTITUTIONEN
GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET
Department of Political Science
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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 1985 ELECTION

Many of those we interview this year have been interviewed once before. The reason is that we are particularly interested in knowing 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 with this card. Which answer fits you best?

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

1A	NEWSPAPER	1B NO. OF DAYS		
1.	.....	6-7	3-5	1-2
2.	.....	6-7	3-5	1-2
3.	.....	6-7	3-5	1-2
4.	.....	6-7	3-5	1-2
5.	.....	6-7	3-5	1-2

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 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

4 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.).

(specifications not given in original)

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

SHOW CARD 5

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: _____

6 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 6

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

7 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 18th?

IF YES → Which issue or issues?

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

answer: _____

_____

_____

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

8 What do you think will be the result of this year's parliamentary election? Do you think the Social Democrats and the Left Party Communists will together get more or fewer votes the the three bourgeois parties, the Centre Party, the People's Party and the Moderate Party ?

SHOW CARD 8

1 S and Vpk get more votes than the three bourgeois parties
2 S and Vpk get fewer votes than the three bourgeois parties
8 DK
x other answer: _____

9 And how do you think Vpk and the Green Party 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 A 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?

☐ Vpk
☐ Mp

10 I would like to ask you a few questions concerning your opinion about the policies of the parties in 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 10. ASK THE QUESTIONS BELOW IN ONE SUCCESSION FOR EACH ISSUE.

Is there, in your opinion, any party or parties with a <u>good</u> policy on (...issue).

ADDED QUESTION → Is there any other party with a <u>good</u> policy on (...issue)?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

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

ADDED QUESTION → Is there, in your opinion, any other party with a <u>bad</u> policy on (...issue)?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

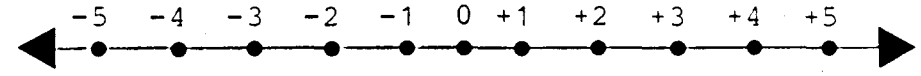
NOTE THE PARTIES MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT ALONGSIDE EACH ISSUE BELOW. USE ABBREVIATIONS: S, Fp, M, C, Vpk, Kds, Mp. INDICATE 5 FOR "NO PARTY" ANSWERS AND 8 IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW OR DOES NOT WANT TO ANSWER.

	Parties with a <u>good</u> policy		Parties with a <u>bad</u> 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 protection of rule of law	_____	5 8	_____	5 8

11A On this card there is a kind of scale.

SHOW CARD 11ABC

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 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 Communists?
___ the People's Party?
___ the Social Democrats?
___ the Green Party?
___ the Christian Democratic Party?

11B 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? (Communist)
___ Bengt Westerberg? (People's)
___ Ingvar Carlsson? (Social Democrat)

11C Using the same scale for some ex-party leaders, where would place **(parties and years not given in original)**

___ Thorbjörn Fälldin? (centre 1971-1985)
___ Olof Palme? (social democrat 1969-1986)
___ Gösta Bohman? (moderate 1970-1981)

12 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. We begin with Ingvar Carlsson.

SHOW CARD 12

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

OLOF JOHANSSON (Centre)

[ ] 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

LARS WERNER (Communist)

[ ] reliable
[ ] inspiring
[ ] knowledgeable
[ ] knows the thoughts and opinions of ordinary people

BENGT WESTERBERG (People's)

[ ] reliable
[ ] inspiring
[ ] knowledgeable
[ ] knows the thoughts and opinions of ordinary people

13A Generally speaking, how high is your trust in Swedish politicians? Is it very high, rather high, rather low or very low?

SHOW CARD 13A

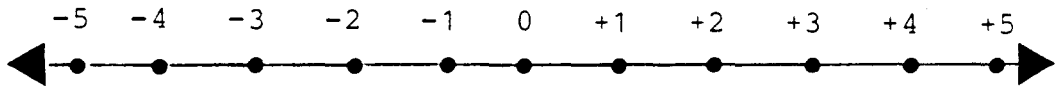
1 Very high trust.
2 Fairly high trust.
3 Rather low trust.
4 Very low trust.
8 DK/NA.
x ⟶ other answer: _____

13B Has your trust in Swedish politicians increased, remained unchanged or decreased over the last two or three years?

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

14A Next, I will ask you what you think about the performance of the three bourgeois parties as governing parties between 1976 and 1982, and how the Social Democrats have performed in government since 1982. You can answer with the help of the scale on this card.

SHOW CARD 14AB



poorly — neither well nor poorly — well

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 in government since 1982?

14B 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 in government the next three years if they win the election?

15 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 15. 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 NOTE 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. Lower tax rate on high income.
F. Reduce third world aid.
G. Accept fewer refugees into Sweden.
H. Ban private driving in inner cities.
I. Sell out nationalized companies etc. to private business.
J. Reduce income differences in society.
K. Increase economic support to immigrants so they can maintain their own culture.
L. Increase the proportion of medical care run by private interests.
M. Allow commercials on Swedish TV.
N. Build more day care centres for children.
O. Introduce six hour working day for everyone.
P. Retain nuclear power, even after 2010.
Q. Apply for Swedish membership to the EEC.

16A 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?

1 on the whole pro nuclear power
2 on the whole anti nuclear power
3 no opinion on the issue → 17A
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: _____

17A In 1980 we had a referendum about nuclear power in Sweden. After the refendum it was decided in parliament that nuclear power be abolished by the year 2010. What is your opinion about the use of nuclear power in Sweden?

SHOW CARD 17A AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES 1-6.

1 stop nuclear power immediately
2 abolish nuclear power sooner than by 2010
3 abolish nuclear power by 2010
4 abolish nuclear power, but not as soon as 2010
5 keep using nuclear power, do not abolish it
6 no definite opinion on the issue
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

17B Which party or parties are, as you see it, in favour of abolition of nuclear power sooner than by 2010?

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

17C Which party or parties are, as you see it, in favour of abolition of nuclear power by 2010?

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

17D Which party or parties are, as you see it, against abolition of nuclear power by 2010?

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

18A There are varying views on how we in Sweden should store the most toxic radio-active waste, i.e the most dangerous waste, from the nuclear power plants. Some think that this waste once and for all should be stored away so that it cannot be reached in the future. Others think that it should be stored in a way that makes it possible to reach and supervise it in the future. What is your opinion?

SHOW CARD 18A AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES 1-3.

1 store highly radio-active waste once and for all so that it cannot be reached in future
2 store highly radio-active waste so that it can be reached and supervised in future
3 no definite opinion on issue → 19A
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

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

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

19A There are varying views on whether we should have collective wage earner's funds in Sweden. What is your opinion? Are you, on the whole, pro or anti collective wage earner's funds or have you no definite opinion on the issue?

1 on the whole pro wage earners' funds
2 on the whole anti wage earners' funds
3 no definite opinion on issue → 20A
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

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

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

20A Before this year's election differing proposals have been made concerning the future children's care policy. One is to introduce a taxable allowance of SEK 15,000 a year for every child between the age of 1 and 7. Another proposal is to extend the parents' insurance system so that the right to stay at home with your children, while receiving about 90 % of normal income, will be extended from the current 9 months to 18 months, and to entitle all children between 18 months and 7 years of age a place in public day care centres.

Are you, on the whole, for or against any of these two proposals, or have you no definite opinion on the issue?

SHOW CARD 20A AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY

1 on the whole in favour of a taxable allowance of 15 000 SEK a year to the parents of every child between the age of 1 and 7.

2 on the whole in favour of an extension of the parents' insurance system so that the right to stay at home with your children, while receiving about 90 % of normal income, will be extended from 9 to 18 months and entitle every child between 18 months and 7 years of age to a place in a public day care centre.

3 no definite opinion on the issue → 20C
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

20B Do you have a definite opinion on the issue or do you feel uncertain?

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

20C Which party or parties is, as you see it, for the proposal of introducing a taxable allowance of 15 000 SEK a year to the parents of every child between the age of 1 and 7?

→ party(-ies): _____

8 doesn't remember/DK

20D Which party or parties are, as you see it, in favour of an extension of the parents' insurance system from 9 to 18 months and making it possible for every child between 18 months and 7 years of age to attend a day care centre?

→ party(-ies): _____

8 doesn't 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 entirely
2 basically agree
3 basically disagree
4 disagree entirely
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 trade 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. Those who sit in parliament making decisions don't pay much regard to the thoughts and views of ordinary people.

23 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 with 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 23

NB! → 2 FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS →

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

(2) And which goal is the least important?

TICK 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

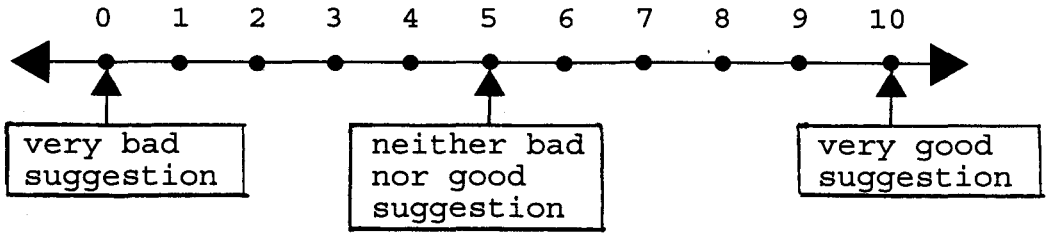
6 doesn't know/doesn't want to answer question about most important goal

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

24 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 24



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 more market economy.

B. Work towards a socialist society.

C. Work towards a society with wider income gaps between people.

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.

QUESTION 25 NOT INCLUDED IN STAGE A

26A 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, *folkpartist, socialdemokrat, moderat, vpk:are, miljöpartist* or *kds:are*? Or do you not have such an attachment to any of the parties?

1 yes, thinks of him/herself as adherent of a specific party.

3 DK/hesitant

5 no, does not think of him/herself as a supporter of any specific party → 26D

8 doesn't want to answer

26B Which party do you like best?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Kds - Christian Democrats
7 The Green Party
8 does not want to answer → 28A
x other answer:_____

26C Some 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 → 27
x other answer:_____

26D 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 Kds - Christian Democrats
7 The Green Party
8 DK/does not want to answer/no, no party → 28A
x other party:_____

27 Which party do you like second best?

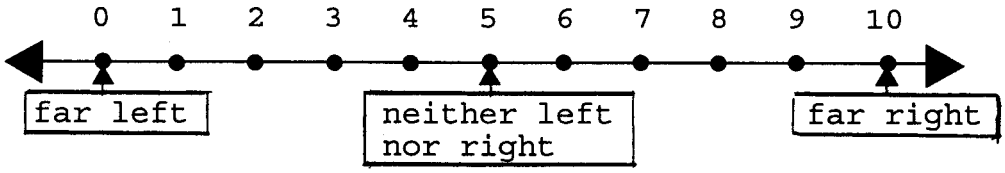
IF POSSIBLE, MARK ONLY ONE PARTY

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Kds - Christian Democrats
7 The Green Party
8 DK/does not want to answer/no, no party mentioned
x → other party:_____

28A The parties are sometimes thought of as being ordered from left to right.

SHOW CARD 28AB

On this card I have a kind of scale. I would like you to place the political parties on the scale. The farther to the left you think a party is, the lower the number. The more on 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 Communists
[ ] Centre Party
[ ] Green Party
[ ] Kds - Christian Democrats

28B 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.

29A Do you intend to vote in this year's election?

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

QUESTIONS 29A-B CONCERN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION ONLY

29B

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 Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Kds - Christian Democrats
7 The Green Party
x → other party: _____
8 not yet decided/doesn't know → 33A
9 refuses to answer

30 You say you are going to vote for (...party, see q. 29B) 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 BE MORE SPECIFIC. BUT DON'T 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

31 You say you are going to vote for (...PARTY, see q. 29B) in this year's parliamentary election. How important are the following reasons for your choice of party? For each reason I read to you, could you tell me if it is:

SHOW CARD 31 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1 absolutely one of the most important reasons
2 fairly important reason
3 not particularly important reason
4 not an important reason at all
8 DK

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

Using one of the answers on this card, how important is it that:

☐	A. The party's policies are usually favourable to the occupanal group that I belong to.
☐	B. The party has a good leader.
☐	C. I am a supporter of the party.
☐	D. The party has good policies in many of the issues debated lately.
☐	E. The party has competent persons who can run the country.
☐	F. The party has a good political ideology.
☐	G. I always vote for the party.

32 I will now read a few political issues to you. Please say how important each of them is for your choice of party in the parliamentary election on September 18th. I begin with employment.

SHOW CARD 32 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES. REPEAT QUESTION FOR EACH ISSUE AND WRITE NUMBER IN BOX.

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

How important is (...ISSUE) for your choice of party in this year's election?

☐	A. Employment
☐	B. Environment
☐	C. Taxes
☐	D. The Swedish economy
☐	E. Social security
☐	F. Child care
☐	G. Energy and nuclear power
☐	H. The so-called Ebbe Carlsson affair

RESPONDENT BORN 16TH SEPTEMBER 1967 OR LATER → 36

33A Did you vote in the 1985 parliamentary election?

1 yes

3 doesn't remember for sure, but probably

5 no, didn't vote/R. doesn't think R. voted → 36

8 DK

33B Which party did you vote for in the 1985 election?

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

Did you vote for a Centre Party list or a Kds list?

1 Centre Party List
2 Kds list
3 mixed Centre/Kds list
8 DK/NA
x other answer:____

_____

QUESTIONS 34 AND 35 NOT INCLUDED IN STAGE A

36 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 36

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)
Thage G Peterson (Social Democrat)
Karl Erik Olsson (Centre)
Lars Tobisson (Moderate)
Eva Goës (Green Party)

37 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 37

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 income for most people. **(true)**

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

C. The rate of unemployment in Sweden today is less than 5 per cent. **(true)**

D. Price increases (inflation) have so far in 1988 been over 9 per cent. **(false)**

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

Q. 38-40 NOT INCLUDED IN STAGE A

41A 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 41A 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):_____

41B Have you previously been gainfully employed?

1 yes
2 no → 42A

41C What is/was your occupation?

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

work/occupation:_____

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

41D Do/did you work full time or part time?

1 full time
2 part time

41E Which is/was the main kind of work done where you work/used to work?

▷ main kind of work:_____

41F 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 41F

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: _____

41G Are/were you employed by the state, commune (subnational authority) or a private company?

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

41H Have you at any time changed occupation so that you for a sizeable period belonged to any other occupational group? By sizeable period I mean at least one year.

SHOW CARD 41H

ADDED QUESTION IF YES ——▶ Which of the groups did you belong to?

1 salaried employee
2 worker
3 farmer
4 self-employed
5 no, hasn't changed group
x ——▷ other answer: _____

42A People sometimes talk about different social classes and social groups. Do you think of yourself as belonging to any social class or social group?

1	yes
5	no → 42C
8	doesn't know → 42C
9	refuses to answer → 43A

42B Which social class or social group are you thinking of?

ALTERNATIVES 1 AND 2 ONLY MARKED IF RESPONDENT'S ANSWER WORD BY WORD CORRESPONDS WITH THE ALTERNATIVES. OTHER ANSWERS NOTED IN SPACE RESERVED FOR "OTHER CLASS OR GROUP" BELOW.

1	working class → 43A
2	middle class → 43A
x	▷ other class or group: _____
8	DK

42C People sometimes refer to working class and middle class. Which of them would you consider yourself belonging to?

1	working class
2	middle class
3	none of the above
8	DK
9	refuses to answer
x	▷ other answer: _____

43A When you grew up, did you live in the countryside, in a rural town or in a city?

SHOW CARD 43A

1 countryside
2 rural town
3 town or city, except the three cities below
4 Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö
x ——▷other answer:_____

43B Describing your childhood family, which of the following categories do you think is most appropriate?

SHOW CARD 43B

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

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

N.B.! ONLY ASK ADDED QUESTION TO RESPONDENT WHO HAS ANSWERED "STUDENT" ON Q. 41A

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: _____

44B 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, NOTE ANSWER IN SPACE RESERVED FOR "OTHER EDUCATION".

45A	Is there in your opinion any party or parties with a policy particularly favourable to <u>farmers</u>? CIRCLE THE PARTY OR PARTIES MENTIONED BY RESP. vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no party 8 DK other party:_____
B	Is there any party or parties <u>unfavourable</u> to farmers? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no party 8 DK other party:_____
C	Is there any party or parties favourable to <u>owners of small businesses</u>? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no party 8 DK other party:_____
D	Is there any party or parties <u>unfavourable</u> to owners of small businesses? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no party 8 DK other party:_____
E	Is there any party or parties favourable to <u>big business</u>? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no party 8 DK other party:_____
F	Is there any party or parties <u>unfavourable</u> to big business? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no party 8 DK other party:_____
G	Is there any party or parties favourable to <u>workers</u>? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no party 8 DK other party:_____
H	Is there any party or parties <u>unfavourable</u> to workers? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no party 8 DK other party:_____

I Is there any party or parties favourable to salaried employees?

vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no party

8 DK other party:_____

J Is there any party or parties unfavourable to salaried employees?

vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no party

8 DK other party:_____

(q. 45 I & J appear on page 30 in original)

46 Do you think the policies pursued in this country in recent years have been favourable or unfavourable to people who belong to the same group in society as you?

ADDED QUESTION IF RESP. IS HESITANT → Do you think it has been mostly favourable or mostly unfavourable?

1 favourable
3 unfavourable
5 neither favourable nor unfavourable
8 DK
x → other answer:_____

47A Comparing your own 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:_____

47B 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:_____

48 Are you a member of a trade union, organization for self-employed or any other vocational organization?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which organization?

1 yes (name of organization):_____

_____

2 no → 49A
8 DK

DO NOT USE ABBREVIATIONS BUT COMPLETE NAME OF ORGANIZATION. IF RESP. MENTIONS HEAD ORGANIZATION (LO, TCO OR SACO/SR, I.E. EQUIVALENT OF TUC, AFL/CIO), ASK FOR AND NOTE THE NAME OF THE SPECIFIC UNION. FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS COUNT AS EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATION.

48B Are you an active member of (...organization)? By active I mean attending meetings a few times a year.

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

49A Are you a member of a political party or any other political organization?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or political organization?

WRITE DOWN NAMES OF PARTIES/ORGANIZATIONS MENTIONED BY RESP. MORE THAN ONE ORGANIZATION ACCEPTABLE.

party:_____

_____

_____

political organization:

_____

_____

5 no
8 DK
→ 50

ADDED QUESTION FOR "SOCIAL DEMOCRATS"

Did you join individually or through trade union membership?

1 joined through trade union membership
2 joined individually
3 joined both individually and through trade union membership
8 DK
x ——— other answer:

_____

49B Are you an active member of (...PARTY ORGANIZATION)? By active I mean attending a few meetings a year?

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

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

SHOW CARD 50. 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:_____

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

SHOW CARD 51 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1 married/unmarried but living permanently with partner
2 single: widowed
3 single: unmarried/divorced → 53A
x → other answer: _____

52A To which of the following groups does/did your husband/wife/partner belong?

SHOW CARD 52A 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): _____

52B Was he/she ever gainfully employed before?

1 yes
2 no → 53A

52C 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: _____

52D Does/did he/she work full time or part time?

1 full time
2 part time

52E What is/was the main work done at his/her workplace?

→ work: _____

52F Could you tell me which of these occupational group 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 52F

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

4 worker
5 worker with supervising responsobilities
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: _____

52G Is/was your husband/wife/partner employed by the state, commune (subnational authority) or a private company?

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

53A 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 smaller house
x ⟶ other home:_____

53B Do you rent or own your current home?

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

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

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

⟶ number of children living at home:_____

⟶ age of child/children:_____

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

DON'T FORGET TO ASK FOR THE AGE OF ANY CHILD/CHILDREN

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 1985 election survey ☐

Yes, R. wishes to receive account of 1988 election survey (ready 1989) ☐

Key to pre- and post election questionnaire appearance of all questions:

The following questions were included, and identically worded, in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires of 1990:

1-6, 10, 11, 15-22, 24, 26-28, 32, 41-54

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:

7, 30, 31

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

8, 9, 12, 14, 23, 45

Q. 29 appears in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires, but was substantially changed in the latter case (see pages 38-39 below).

The following questions appear only in the post-election questionnaire (see pages 40-44 below):

25, 34, 35, 38-40

Questions only appearing in the 1988 post-election questionnaire:

25A Looking forward, in 10-15 years time, how do you think Sweden will change concerning environment, standard of living, equality and freedom? I begin with environment. Do you think that environment in Sweden will improve, get worse or be about the same as today?

1 improve
2 get worse
3 about the same as today
8 DK
x ⟶ other answer: _____

25B And how do you think the average economical standard of living will change? Will it improve, get worse or will it be about the same as today?

1 improve
2 get worse
3 about the same as today
8 DK
x ⟶ other answer: _____

25C And how do you think that equality, when it comes to the incomes and living conditions of people, will change? Will it increase, decrease or will it be about the same as today?

1 improve
2 get worse
3 about the same as today
8 DK
x ⟶ other answer: _____

25D And how do you think that the Swedish society will change when it comes to individual freedom? Will individual freedom increase, decrease or will it be about the same as today?

1 improve
2 get worse
3 about the same as today
8 DK
x ⟶ other answer: _____

29A Did you vote in this year's election?

1 yes
2 yes, but not in all the elections → OF QUESTIONS 28B TO 29D, ASK THOSE RELEVANT
3 no, did not vote in any of the elections → 29F
8 refuses to answer → 33A

29B We had three elections at the same time this year. Which party did you vote for in the parliamentary election?

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

OMIT QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

29C 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 Kds - Christian Democrats
7 Green Party
x → other party (state which):_____
8 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. 29A OR 29B

29D IF RESP LIVES IN GÖTEBORG, MALMÖ OR THE ISLAND OF GOTLAND (DO NOT HAVE REGIONAL ELECTIONS) → 29E

Which party did you vote for in the regional election?

OMIT 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 Kds - Christian Democrats
7 Green Party
x → other party (state which):_____
8 refuses to answer

29E 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:_____

→ 30

29F QUESTION 29F ONLY TO THOSE WHO DID NOT VOTE IN 1988 (I.E. NOT VOTED IN ANY OF THIS YEAR'S THREE ELECTIONS). THE QUESTIQN REFERS TO THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION.

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:_____ → 33A

8 DK

34A **Interviewer checkpoint:**
Did R. change party or not in parliamentary election?

1 R. did change party - voted for different parties in 1985 and 1988.
2 R. did not change party - voted for the same party in 1985 and 1988.
3 R. did not vote/does not give party choice for 1985 and/or 1988. → 35

34B FOR THOSE WHO CHANGED PARTIES

In this year's parliamentary election you voted for (...PARTY (see q. 29B)). Three years ago, in the parliamentary election of 1985, you voted for (...PARTY (see q. 33B)). What made you vote differently this year compared to 1985?

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

▷answer: _____

8 DK → CONTINUE WITH Q. 35

34C FOR THOSE WHO DID NOT CHANGE PARTIES

You say you voted for (...PARTY (see q. 29B, 33B)) in the parliamentary elections of both 1985 and 1988. 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 1988?

MORE THAN ONE ALTERNATIVE POSSIBLE

1 yes, considered voting for another party
2 yes, considered voting blank
3 yes, considered to not vote
5 no, did not consider voting for another party, voting blank or to not vote → 35
8 DK
x ▷other answer: _____

34D Which party or parties did you consider voting for?

▷party(-ies): _____

8 DK

35 FOR RESPONDENTS VOTING FOR DIFFERENT PARTIES IN PARLIAMENTARY AND LOCAL ELECTIONS IN 1988. SEE ANSWERS TO Q. 29B AND 29C.

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

38A 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

38B Before this year's election, did you attend a public meeting, rally etc. arranged by one 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

38C 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

38D Before this year's election, were you personally <u>in touch with any campaigner</u> at your work?

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

38E 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?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

→ party(-ies):_____

1 yes
5 no
8 DK

38F 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

39A 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 18th?

SHOW CARD 39A

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

39B 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 (Communist)

☐ Alf Svensson (Christian Democrat)

☐ Birger Schlaug (Green)

40 Before this year's election the parties mentioned 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 Communists	→answer:_____ 8 no/DK
Green Party	→answer:_____ 8 no/DK

HAS R. REFUSED TO ANSWER ABOUT HIS/HER VOTING IN 1988?

If R. has refused to answer q. 29A or 29B, ask if R. would like to indicate how he/she voted, using the voting card. If so, let R. complete the 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.

1988 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 Communists
- ☐ Social Democrats
- ☐ Centre Party
- ☐ People's Party
- ☐ Moderate Party
- ☐ Kds - Christian Democrats
- ☐ Green Party
- ☐ Other party (state which):_____

☐ Did not vote

QUESTION 2

Which party did you vote for in the local election?

- ☐ Left Party Communists
- ☐ Social Democrats
- ☐ Centre Party
- ☐ People's Party
- ☐ Moderate Party
- ☐ Kds - Christian Democrats
- ☐ Green Party
- ☐ Other party (state 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
- ☐ Kds - Christian Democrats
- ☐ Green Party
- ☐ Other party (state which):_____

☐ 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?

- ☐ 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?

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 (Communist)
- ☐ Alf Svensson (Christian Democrat)
- ☐ Birger Schlaug (Greens)

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

QUESTION 7

Do you think that the complete TV coverage before the election 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	☐	☐	☐
Green Party	☐	☐	☐
Kds - Christian Democrats	☐	☐	☐

continued overleaf

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 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 9

Has your trust in the following people and groups <u>increased</u>, <u>remained about the same</u> or <u>decreased</u> following the so-called Ebbe Carlsson affair?

	trust has increased	trust has remained about the same	trust has decreased
Ingvar Carlsson	☐	☐	☐
Anna-Greta Leijon	☐	☐	☐
The parliamentary committee for constitutional affairs	☐	☐	☐
The top officials of the police	☐	☐	☐
The Social Democratic Party	☐	☐	☐
Politicians in general	☐	☐	☐

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 putting 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 Kommunisterna
Abbreviation: Vpk
Translation of party name: Left Party Communists
Ideological location: eurocommunist/socialist
Parliamentary election result 1988: 5.9 %
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 1988: 43.2 %
Party leader: Ingvar Carlsson (Prime Minister)

Name in Swedish: Centerpartiet
Abbreviation: C
Translation of party name: Centre Party
Ideological location: non-socialist, centre
Parliamentary election result 1988: 11.3 %
Party leader: Olof Johansson

Name in Swedish: Folkpartiet
Abbreviation: Fp
Translation of party name: People's Party
Ideological location: liberal
Parliamentary election result 1988: 12.2 %
Party leader: Bengt Westerberg

Name in Swedish: Moderata Samlingspartiet
Abbreviation: M
Translation of party name: Moderate Unity Party
Ideological location: conservative
Parliamentary election result 1988: 18.3 %
Party leader: Carl Bildt

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 1988: 5.5 %
No formal party leader. The nearest equivalent are two "spokespersons", one from each sex. In 1988 they were Eva Goës and Birger Schlaug.

Name in Swedish: Kristdemokratiska Samhällspartiet
Abbreviation: Kds
Translation of party name: Christian Democratic Society Party
Ideological location: Christian democratic
Parliamentary election result 1988: 2.9 %
Party leader: Alf Svensson