E L E C T I O N S T U D Y 1 9 6 8

PRE-ELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE

("stage A" of the field work)

CENTRAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF GÖTEBORG

ELECTION STUDY 1968

STAGE A

INTERVIEWER NO

DATE AND TIME OF INTERVIEW

date ____ / ____ *1968*

time started _____

time ended _____

*R's NO ACCORDING TO RESPONDENT SAMPLE FORM**

PSU NO *R's NO*

INFORMATION FROM RSF

SAMPLE CATEGORY **

YEAR OF BIRTH

SEX

1 *Man*
2 *Woman*

MARITAL STATUS

1 *Married*
2 *Widower/widow*
3 *Divorced*
4 *Unmarried*

IF CHANGE IN R's MARITAL STATUS:

Present marital status: _____

Date of change: ___ /___ *19* _____

Appropriate informations from RSF should be noted in the questionnaire before you visit R. Also, cross out questions, which should not be asked because of R's sample category or age.

For SAMPLE CATEGORY 1 cross out: 61A-B and 74A-B.
For different AGE GROUPS cross out the questions mentioned below:
Born 1946-47: 66A-B, 67A-B
Born 1943-45: 67A
Born 1940 or earlier: 68, 69, 70.

Check at the beginning of the interview that R's year of birth and marital status are correct. If R has changed marital status write his/her present status and date of change here.

* Respondent Sample Form (RSF) contains actually a transcript from a register of all individuals living in Sweden. The sample was drawn from this register. The RSF gives information about the sampled person like name, address, marital status, age, sex etc. From the information on the RSF it is possible to find the person in the register of taxpayers and the register of voters.

** Sample category indicates wether R has been interviewed before or not. Sample category 1 = R was interviewed in 1964, Sample category 2 = R belongs to a supplementary sample consisting of people coming of voting age after the 1964 election; this age group was not included in the 1964 survey sample, Sample category 3 = R belongs to the survey sample in 1964 but was not interviewed on that occassion ("sample loss").

SHOW YOUR IDENTITY CARD AND LET R READ IT BEFORE STARTING THE INTERVIEW!

INTRODUCTION

We have been asked to do an impartial interview study in connection with this year's election. I would like to tell you - before I start asking questions - that your answers only will be used for statistical analysis. No outsider will know how a particular person has answered our questions. Of course I, myself, am bound to absolute secrecy.

IF R MENTIONS THAT HE HAS BEEN INTERVIEWED AT THE 1964 ELECTION:

Many of those whom we interview this year have been interviewed once before. This is because we have special interest in how voters look upon politics on different occasions.

---

1 I begin with a couple of questions about magazines and newspapers.

Do you usually read any magazine or weekly which contains articles on political questions? (Which magazine?)(Any more such magazine?)

read one or more magazine → *ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR EACH MAGAZINE MENTIONED:*

don't read any such magazine → 2A

Have you observed if .....*(MAGAZINE)* usually supports any particular (political) view?

IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which view?

Magazine R reads	*Answers concerning magazine's political view*	*DK magazine's political view*
a)		
//The original questionnaire has rows for three additional magazines//		

OBSERVATION: "POLITICAL VIEW" CAN BE BOTH A POLITICAL PARTY AND A MORE GENERAL POLITICAL OUTLOOK (FOR EXAMPLE "POSITIVE TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISE"). ALSO, THE ANSWER "NO" SHOULD BE WRITTEN ON PROPER ROW ABOVE.

2A How much do you usually read of news and articles about politics in daily newspapers? Which of the answers on this card is most appropriate in your case?

SHOW QUESTION CARD

//On the question card are listed the response alternatives below.//

4 *never read news and articles about politics*
3 *read news and articles about politics sometimes*
2 *often read news and articles about politics*
1 *read whatever news and articles on politics that appear in the paper every day*

2B Do you read any daily paper which supports a certain political party?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R ANSWERS "YES":

Which of the parties are supported by the paper or papers you usually read?

party(parties): _____

5 *don't read any such paper/DK/RFS*

QUESTIONS 3 - 5 ARE NOT ASKED IN THIS VERSION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

6 How interested are you in general in politics?
Which of the answers on this card is most appropriate in your case?

SHOW QUESTION CARD

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

1 *very interested*
2 *rather interested*
3 *not very interested*
4 *not at all interested*

7 Thinking about this year's election, do you personally care very much which parties win or lose, or do you think that it doesn't matter very much to you?

1 *personally care very much*
5 *don't think that it matters very much*

8 Hence I would like to ask you to look at this card with photographs showing the five party leaders in the Riksdag (=Parliament)

SHOW QUESTION CARD

Which party leader does picture...represent?

ASK THIS QUESTION FOR PICTURE A,B,C,D,E.

Picture	*R's answer is correct*	*R's answer is incorrect or DK*
A (Wedén)	*1*	*8*

//In the original questionnaire are listed four more party-leaders.//

9A Now I would like to ask you a few questions about what you think are good and bad sides of the various parties.
I begin with the Social Democrats. Is there anything about the Social Democrats that you particularly appreciate or feel sympathy for?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION TO RECEIVE MORE DETAILED ANSWERS:

Would you say anything more about this?
Is there anything more that you particularly appreciate or feel sympathy for?

9B Is there anything about the Social Democrats that you dislike?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION TO RECEIVE MORE DETAILED ANSWERS:

Would you say anything more about this?
Is there anything more about the Social Democrats that you dislike?

10A	Is there anything about the People's Party that you particularly appreciate or feel sympathy for? *USE THE SAME ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AS IN QUESTION 9A ABOVE*
10B	Is there anything about the People's Party that you dislike? *USE THE SAME ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AS IN QUESTION 9B ABOVE*
11A	Is there anything about the Conservative Party that you particularly appreciate or feel sympathy for? *USE THE SAME ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AS IN QUESTION 9A ABOVE*
11B	Is there anything about the Conservative Party that you dislike? *USE THE SAME ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AS IN QUESTION 9B ABOVE*
12A	Is there anything about the Center Party that you particularly appreciate or feel sympathy for? *USE THE SAME ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AS IN QUESTION 9A ABOVE*
12B	Is there anything about the Center Party that you dislike *USE THE SAME ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AS IN QUESTION 9B ABOVE*
13A	Is there anything about the Communist Party that you particularly appreciate or feel sympathy for? *USE THE SAME ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AS IN QUESTION 9A ABOVE*
13B	Is there anything about the Communist Party that you dislike? *USE THE SAME ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AS IN QUESTION 9B ABOVE*
14	What do you personally think that the parties and the Government *) and the Riksdag ought to do or work for during the next few years? *ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS TO RECEIVE MORE DETAILED ANSWERS:* Would you say anything more about why you think this is important? Is there anything else that you think that the parties, the Government and the Riksdag ought to do or work for during the next few years?
15A	Is there any question that you think is so important for this part of the country that the Government and the Riksdag should try to do something about it during the next few years? *ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS TO RECEIVE MORE DETAILED ANSWERS:* Would you say anything more about this? Is there any other question that you think is so important for this part of the country?
8	*DK/RFS/no such question* ——→ 16

*) GOVERNMENT is used here as a synonym to CABINET in English political usage. (Swedish:"Regeringen").

15B Have you noticed if the Members of the Riksdag from this constituency have tried to do anything about this/these matters?

USE THE PHRASING "THESE MATTERS" IF R HAS MENTIONED SEVERAL MATTERS IN 15A

1.yes → 15C

8. DK/no Member → 16

15C Do you think that the Members of some specific party have shown a particular interest in this/these matters?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which party do those Members belong to?

16 On this card there are listed a few words that are often used in connection with various political opinions.

SHOW QUESTION CARD

Now I would like to ask you if you think one or more of these words fit your own political outlook?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION

Is there any more word that fit your political outlook?

1 *socialistic*
2 *bourgeois*
3 *left*
4 *liberal*
5 *right*
6 *conservative*
7 *middle position*

MARK ALL WORDS THAT R THINKS FITS HIS POLITICAL OUTLOOK

17 Now I would like to ask you which parties you think that these various words fit?

SHOW THE SAME QUESTION CARD AS IN 16

ASK FOR EACH OF THE WORDS ON THE CARD

Do you think that this word fits one or more of the parties?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION Is there any more party that it fits?

//The same words as in question 16 are listed in the questionnaire and the interviewer has the possibility to write in the names of the parties that R mentions for each of the words.//

YOU MUST WRITE DOWN ALL PARTIES THAT R THINKS EACH WORD FITS. ASK THE ADDITIONAL QUESTION SO THAT NO PARTY WILL BE LEFT OUT. "DK" AND MORE GENERAL ANSWERS SHOULD BE PUT DOWN IN THE SAME PLACE AS THE NAMES OF THE PARTIES. COMMENTS SHOULD BE WRITTEN ON THE ROW FOR "OTHER ANSWER".

18 Which party or parties are represented in the present Government?

1 *the Social Democrats*
other party/parties (INDICATE WHICH): _____
8 *DK/RFS*

19 We have listed some different views that commonly appears in political debates.

SHOW QUESTION CARD

Could you please tell me which opinion you have about each of these views. Choose one of the responses in the box at the bottom of the card.

READ ONE STATEMENT AT A TIME ALOUD AND LET R CHOOSE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVE

	agree entirely	*agree in the main*	*in the main opposite view*	*entirely opposite view*	*DK/RFS*
A. The State can never run an enterprise or an industry as efficiently as private enterprise.*	5	4	2	1	3
B. The risk of unemployment will be less if the State gets more influence over banks and business enterprise.	1	2	4	5	3
C. All except the old and the handicapped should have to take care of themselves without social welfare benefits or subsidies.	5	4	2	1	3
D. Leaders of banks and industry get much too much influence if the State doesn't have the possibility to control private enterprise.	1	2	4	5	3
E. In many respects equality has gone too far in this country.	5	4	2	1	3
F. More social reforms are needed since several questions of social welfare are still not solved.	1	2	4	5	3
G. Business enterprise fullfills its tasks best if it is left free of interference from the side of the State.	5	4	2	1	3
H. In our country one ought to strive for more equality in regard to things like income and working hours.	1	2	4	5	3
I. Social reforms have gone so far in this country that in the future the State should rather diminish than increase benefits and support to the citizens.	5	4	2	1	3

* The term "the state" refers to the national Government in general.

20A	I have also a couple of questions about your opinion concerning the policies that have been pursued in this country during recent years? There is a shortage of housing in many areas. Do you have the opinion that the shortage of housing is mainly due to the policy pursued by the Government, or do you think that it is mainly due to other circumstances?
5	*mainly due to the policy pursued by the Government*
1	*mainly due to other circumstances*
8	*DK/RFS*
20B	How do you think it would have been with regard to shortage of housing if we had had a Government consisting of bourgeois parties only and not including the Social Democrats? Do you think we would have had more shortage of housing, less shortage of housing or do you think the shortage of housing would have been about the same as now?
1	*more shortage of housing*
5	*less shortage of housing*
3	*about the same as now*
8	*DK/RFS*
	IF R ASKS, INFORM HIM THAT THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
20C	Have you yourself had any serious difficulties because of the shortage of housing?
21	It seems that most people have become better off economically during the last twenty years. How do you think it would have been if we had had a Government consisting of bourgeois parties only and not including the Social Democrats? Do you think people in general would have been better off economically or less well off or about the same as now?
5	*better off*
1	*less well off*
3	*about the same as now*
22A	During the last year we have had a certain amount of unemployment in some places. Do you think that this is mainly due to the policy pursued by the Government or mainly due to other circumstances?
5	*mainly due to the policy pursued by the Government*
1	*mainly due to circumstances*
22B	As a whole we have had full employment in this country during the last twenty years. Do you think that this is mainly due to the policy pursued by the Government or mainly due to other circumstances?
1	*mainly due to the policy pursued by the Government*
5	*mainly due to other circumstances*

22C How do you think it would have been with the employment if we had had a Government consisting of bourgeois parties only and not including the Social Democrats?
Do you think we would have had more unemployment or less unemployment during the last years or do you think that the unemployment would have been **about** the same?

1 *more unemployment*
5 *less unemployment*
3 *about the same*

23 Is there anyone in your family or among your closest friends who has experienced unemployment or has had serious difficulties in getting a job the last year?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS

Is it yourself, someone else in your family or someone among your closest friends? In which way?

1 *yes, R himself (INDICATE IN WHICH WAY):* _____
2 *yes, someone else in my family (INDICATE IN WHICH WAY):* _____
3 *yes, someone among my closest friends (INDICATE IN WHICH WAY):* _____
5 *no, no one has experienced unemployment or the like*
8 *DK/RFS*

TO INTERVIEWER: RECORD ABOVE WHETHER R REFERS TO UNEMPLOYMENT, DISMISSAL, TEMPORARY LAY-OFF. IF REQUIRED, WRITE DOWN ANSWERS CONCERNING MANY RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES(R HIMSELF, SOMEONE ELSE IN THE FAMILY, FRIEND).

24 Sometimes an enterprise has to lay-off a part of its labor force. Some people think that in such cases one should first lay-off women whose husbands are wage-earning. Others think that this would be unfair. What do you think about this matter?

1 *more correct to lay-off married women first*
5 *unfair*
8 *DK/RFS*

THERE IS NO QUESTION 25 IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THIS STAGE

26A Do you think it would have been right or wrong to decide a reduction of the state income tax this year?

1 *right*
5 *wrong*
8 *DK/RFS* → 26D

26B What do you think is the most important reason why one should/shouldn't reduce the state income tax now?

CHOOSE THE PHRASING OF THE QUESTION (SHOULD/SHOULDN'T), THAT FITS WITH R's ANSWER ON QUESTION 26A.

26C	Do you have a very definite opinion on this question or do you feel more uncertain?
1	*very definite opinion*
5	*more uncertain*
26D	Have you noticed wether any of the parties has been in particular insiste in demanding a reduction of the State income tax this year? (Which party?
	*party (INDICATE WHICH):*_____
5	*no, haven't noticed any party*
8	*DK/RFS*
27	This year an alternation in the constitution has been decided, which will bring about a change in the parliament within a few years. Have you heard or read anything about what the change means? (What does it mean?)
	IF RELEVANT, INDICATE MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE-ALTERNATIVE
1	*changed into an one chamber system*
2	*elections to the parliament and the commune on the same day*
8	*DK/RFS*
	THERE ARE NO QUESTIONS 28-31 IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THIS STAGE
32A	There are different opinions about the teaching of Christianity in schools. Some people think that teaching of Christianity should only give the pupils knowledge about the religion. Others think that teaching of Christianity should not only give knowledge, but should also aim at the nurturing of pupils in the Christian spirit. Which of these viewpoints is most in accord with your own opinion?
1	*should only give knowledge*
5	*should both give knowledge and aim at nurturing pupils in the Christian spirit.*
8	*DK/RFS* → 33A
32B	Do you have a very definite opinion on this question or do you feel more uncertain?
1	*very definite opinion*
5	*more uncertain*
8	*DK/RFS*
33A	Some people think that our present film censorship is too lenient in dealing with parts of films which they consider to be indecent. Others think that the film censorship is exercised in a satisfactory way and some beleive that films are unnecessarily censored. Which of these opinions do you agree with?
1	*too lenient*
3	*is exercised in a satisfactory way*
5	*films are unnecessarily censored*
8	*DK/RFS* → 34A
33B	Do you have a very definite opinion on this question or do you feel more uncertain?
1	*very definite opinion*
5	*more uncertain*
8	*DK/RFS*

34A There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which of the opinions on this card is in best agreement with your viewpoint?

SHOW QUESTION CARD

1 *abortion should never be permitted*
2 *abortion should be permitted only if the life and health of the woman is in danger*
3 *abortion should also be permitted if due to personal conditions the woman would have difficulties in taking care of the child*
4 *abortion should never be forbidden, since one can not request a woman to give birth to a child she doesn't want to have*
8 *DK/RFS* → 35A

34B Do you have a very definite opinion on this question or do you feel more uncertain?

1 *very definite opinion*
5 *more uncertain*
8 *DK/RFS*

35A Some people think that Sweden shall give aid to underdeveloped countries, e.g. certain countries in Asia and Africa. Others think that Sweden ought not to give any aid. What is your view on this matter?. Do you think that Sweden ought to give aid to underdeveloped countries?

1 *yes*
5 *no* → 35C
8 *DK/RFS* → 35C

35B Some people think that the Govennment and the Riksdag ought to put through a very great increase in our aid to the underdeveloped countries during the next few years. Do you agree with that opinion?

1 *agree*
5 *do not agree*
8 *DK/RFS*

35C Have you noticed if there are any differences among the parties on the question of aid to foreign countries?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R ANSWERS "YES, DIFFERENCES AMONG THE PARTIES":

Which party or parties do you consider most anxious to increase the aid to foreign countries during the next few years?

answer: _____

5 *no, no differences*
8 *DK*

36

It is often thought that certain parties are comparatively close to each other in regard to the politics they want to pursue. Also, one may think that other parties are further apart.
I have some cards with the names of the larger parties and I would like to ask you to compare the party that is listed first with the others on the various cards.

SHOW ONE OF THE QUESTION CARDS A-E AT A TIME FOR THIS QUESTION. ASK THE QUESTIONS BELOW FOR EACH CARD. MENTION IN THE QUESTION THE PARTY AT THE TOP OF EACH CARD.

Which of the parties do you think is closest to .... *(PARTY)?*
Which do you think is next closest to .... *(PARTY)?*
Which of the other parties do you think is furthest from .... *(PARTY)?*

QUESTION CARD A: THE PEOPLE'S PARTY
closest party: _____
next closest: _____
furthest from: _____

//The original questionnaire has boxes also for the parties mentioned below.//

QUESTION CARD B: THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
QUESTION CARD C: THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY
QUESTION CARD D: THE CENTER PARTY
QUESTION CARD E: THE COMMUNIST PARTY

OTHER PARTY or supplementary remarks: _____

IF NECESSARY, YOU CAN USE THE WORDS "MOST ALIKE", "MOST UNLIKE" TO EXPLAIN THE MEANING OF THE QUESTION. R CAN THINK THAT A CERTAIN PARTY IS CLOSER TO ONE OF THE PARTIES IN ONE SPECIFIC RESPECT, BUT CLOSER TO SOME OTHER PARTY IN ANOTHER RESPECT. ASK R TO DECIDE HIMSELF WHICH RESPECT HE THINKS IS MOST IMPORTANT, SO THAT ONLY ONE PARTY CAN BE WRITTEN DOWN AS AN ANSWER: "DK" CAN BE WRITTEN DOWN ON THE APPROPRIATE ROW WITHIN EACH BOX.

37

We have a Social Democratic Government now. How likely do you think it seems that we will get another Government after this years election?

SHOW QUESTION CARD

Do you think it is: very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

1 *very likely*
2 *somewhat likely*
3 *not very likely*
4 *not at all likely*
8 *DK/RFS*

THERE IS NO QUESTION 38 IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

39 How big a change do you think there would be in conditions in this country if we instead get a Government where bourgeois parties but not the Social Democrats participated?

SHOW QUESTION CARD

Do you think there would be: a very great, rather great or not a particularly great change or no change at all?

1 *very great change*
2 *rather great change*
3 *not a particularly great change*
4 *no change at all*
8 *DK/RFS*

IF R WANTS TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "IN THE LONG RUN" AND "IN THE SHORT RUN", MARK THE ALTERNATIVE THAT R THINKS OF AS APPROPRIATE "IN THE LONG RUN". IF R SAYS THAT THE ANSWER DEPENDS ON WHAT BOURGEOIS PARTIES THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONSIST OF, WRITE DOWN THE WHOLE ANSWER ON THE ROW FOR "OTHER ANSWER".

40 Which party or parties would you prefer most to have included in the Government after the election this year?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION

Would you like to have any more party in the Government?

IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which party or parties?

WRITE DOWN ALL PARTIES THAT R MENTIONS: ALSO THE ANSWERS "COALITION GOVERNMENT" OR "ALL PARTIES" SHOULD BE WRITTEN DOWN ON THE ROW FOR "ANSWER".

41A Many people think of themselves as adherents of a certain party. But there are also many people who don't have any such attitude towards any of the parties.

Do you usually think of yourself as, for instance, an adherent of the People's Party, or a Social Democrat or a Conservative or an adherent of the Center Party or of the Communist Party? Or don't you have any such attitude to any of the parties?

1 *yes, I think of myself as an adherent of a certain party*
3 *DK/doubtful* → 41D
5 *no, I don't think of myself as an adherent of any party* → 41D
8 *RFS* → 41D

41B Which party do you like best?

1 *Communist Party*
2 *Social Democratic Party*
3 *Center Party*
4 *People's Party*
5 *Conservative Party*
6 *Christian Democratic Union*
8 *RFS* → 45

41C 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*
→ 42

LOOK AT THE INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE 42.

41D Is there any party that you are closer to than the others? (Which party?)

1 *Communist Party*
2 *Social Democratic Party*
3 *Center Party*
4 *People's Party*
5 *Conservative Party*
6 *Christian Democratic Union*
8 *DK/RFS/no party* ——→45

R WHO HAS MENTIONED THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OR THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION 41B OR 41D.

42A What is your opinion of the bourgeois parties?
Do you dislike the bourgeois parties very much

R WHO HAS MENTIONED THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY, THE PEOPLE'S PARTY, THE CENTER PARTY, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION OR "OTHER PARTY" IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION 41B OR 41D.

42B What is your opinion of the Social Democratic Party?
Is it a party that you dislike very much?

43 Which party do you like second best?

DO NOT INDICATE MORE THAN ONE PARTY

1 *Communist Party*
2 *Social Democratic Party*
3 *Center Party*
4 *People's Party*
5 *Conservative Party*
6 *Christian Democratic Union*
8 *DK/RFS/no party*

44A One sometimes thinks of the parties as possibly being ordered from left to right according to their political positions.

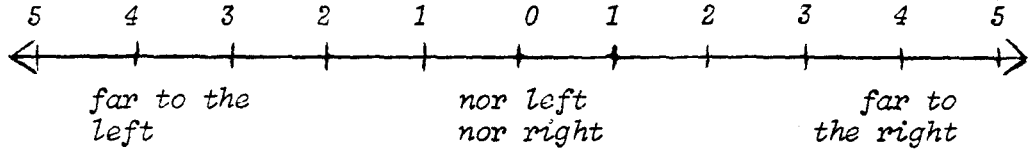
SHOW QUESTION CARD

On this card there is a kind of scale. I would like you to say where you think the party you like best should be on the scale.

If you think it stands very far to the left or the right, you can choose a high figure on the scale's left or right arrow. If you think it is somewhat, but not so much to the left or to the right, you can choose a lower figure.

TO INTERVIEWER: TRY TO HAVE R INDICATE ONE OF THE FIGURES ON THE SCALE AS AN ANSWER AND MARK THE ANSWER ON THE SCALE BELOW.

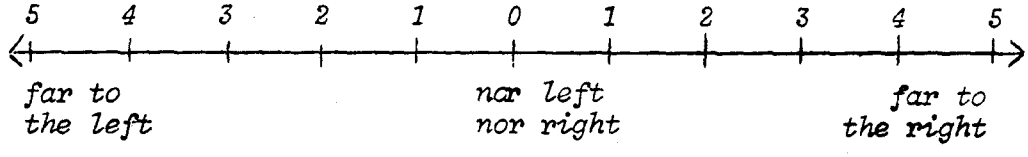
the party's position is:



44B Where do you think you would place yourself on the scale?

SHOW QUESTION CARD. SAME AS IN 44A

TO INTERVIEWER: IF NECCESARY, EXPLAIN THAT THIS QUESTION HAS TO DO WITH R:S OWN POLITICAL OUTLOOK. TRY TO HAVE R INDICATE ONE OF THE FIGURES ON THE SCALE AND CROSS IT.



45 In some quarters it has been proposed that the Conservative Party, the People's Party and the Center Party ought to go together and form a united party. Others have proposed, instead, that the Center Party and the People's Party should form a united party.

What is your opinion of these proposals? May I ask you to choose the answer on this card that is in best agreement with your opinion.

SHOW QUESTION CARD. IF NECESSARY READ THE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES LOUDLY.

1 *the Conservative Party, the People's Party and the Center Party should form one united party.*
2 *the Center Party and the People's Party should form one united party.*
3 *Plays no role as far as I am concerned.*
4 *Dislike both proposals.*
8 *DK/RFS*

IF R WANTS TO AGREE WITH BOTH 1 AND 2, ASK R TO TELL WHICH PROPOSAL HE LIKES BEST AND MARK JUST ONE ALTERNATIVE

46A What do you think is most important when you are to vote? Is it your opinion of the party leader or your opinion of the politics of the party in general or your opinion of the persons on the parties' ballots in this constituency?

1 *the party leader is most important*
2 *the party's politics in general is most important*
3 *the persons on the ballot are most important*

46B And what do you think is least important?

IF NECESSARY, MENTION THE TWO ALTERNATIVES THAT R DIDN'T MENTION IN 46A

1 *the party leader is least important*
2 *the party's politics in general is least important*
3 *the persons on the ballot are least important*

47A It sometimes happens that a Member of the Riksdag has another opinion than that of his party in the Riksdag. What do you think a Member of the Riksdag should do in such a case? Should he vote according to his party's position or according to his own viewpoint?

1 *his party's position*
2 *his own viewpoint*
8 *DK/RFS*

47B What do you think Members in general usually do?

1 *votes for his party's position*
2 *votes according to his own viewpoint*
8 *DK/RFS*

48A Suppose that a Member believes that most of those who has voted for him in the election, have another opinion than he himself in a certain question, what do you think he should do? Should he vote according to his voters' opinion or according to his own viewpoint?

1 *according to the opinion of his voters*
2 *according to his own viewpoint*
8 *DK/RFS*

48B What do you think a Member should do if his party in the Riksdag has one opinion and most of those who voted for him in the election have another opinion? Should he vote for his party's standpoint or according to the opinion of his voters?

1 *according to his party's standpoint*
2 *according to the opinion of his voters*
9 *DK/RFS*

49A Suppose the Riksdag was deliberating a bill that you considered unfair or wrong. What do you think you could do in such a case?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION: Is there anything more you could do?

49B Are you a member of some organization or association where one could for example raise such a matter at a meeting or do something else in such a case?

1.yes → Which organization do you have in mind?

3.depends on what the matter is/may be → Which organization do you have in mind?

5.no/DK → 49C

ADDITIONAL QUESTION: Any more organization?

49C Is there any Member of the Riksdag in this constituency or any of those on the party ballots that you think you could turn to in such a case?

49D How likely do you think it might be that you would really try to do something in such a case if you thought that the Riksdag was on its way to enact an unfair or wrong law? Would it be: very likely, somewhat likely or not at all likely?

1 *very likely*
3 *somewhat likely*
5 *not at all likely*
8 *DK/RFS*

50 Do you know the names of any of those who are on the parties' ballots in this constituency in this year's election?(Do you remember the name of anybody else?)

WRITE DOWN THE FIRST 4 NAMES THAT R MENTIONS.
ASK THE ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS BELOW FOR EACH NAME.
WRITE DOWN THE PARTY. CROSS IF R SAYS THAT THE PERSON IS A MEMBER, OR ACTIVE/IN LOCAL POLITICS.
WRITE DOWN THE NAME OF ORGANIZATION OR GROUP.

Which party does he belong to?
Is he already a Member of the Riksdag?
Have you observed if he is active in local politics?
Do you know if he belongs to the leading people in any organization or group?

Name	*Party*	*Member of the Riksdag*	*Active in local politics*	*Leading in organization (indicate which)*
a)				

//The original questionnaire had rows for 3 additional candidates.//

8 *DK any name*

IF R SAYS THAT HE HAS NOT SEEN THIS YEARS BALLOT ASK THE ADDITIONAL QUESTION: "Do you remember the name of any of the present members?"
THEN ASK THE ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS ABOVE AND MARK THE ANSWERS ABOVE

51 We have also listed some different opinions about parties and politics, which one sometimes hears that people have. Some of them are quite critical.

I will read one such opinion at a time and ask you to choose one of the answers on this card

SHOW QUESTION CARD

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

	Agree entirely	Agree in the main	In the main opposite view	Entirely opposite view	DK/RFS
A. Politics is often so complicated that one can not understand what it is all about.	5	4	2	1	3
B. There is at least some party that always tries to take care of my interests.	1	2	4	5	3
C. That which happens in politics has seldom any great meaning for me.	5	4	2	1	3
D. Parties are just interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.	5	4	2	1	3
E. There is never any difficulty to see where the important differences among the parties are.	1	2	4	5	3
F. People like me can certainly vote, but there is nothing else one can do to influence politics.	5	4	2	1	3
G. Those Members of the Riksdag that we elect soon lose contact with common people.	5	4	2	1	3
H. Through voting one can truly take part in deciding how things shall be run in this country.	1	2	4	5	3
I. One can never trust that any of the parties intends to keep their promises.	5	4	2	1	3
J. Those who sit in the Riksdag and make decisions do not pay much attention to what common people want and think.	5	4	2	1	3

52 One sometimes speaks about there being different social classes and social groups. Is there any social class or social group of which you consider yourself a member?

/1.yes/ /5.no/DK/RFS/ ⟶ 54

Which social class or social group do you have in mind?

1 *working class*
2 *middle class*
3 *upper class*
other class or group (INDICATE WHICH): _____
8 *DK* ⟶ 54

ALTERNATIVE 1-3 SHOULD ONLY BE MARKED IF R'S ANSWER IS PRECISELY THE SAME AS THOSE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES. OTHER ANSWERS SHOULD BE WRITTEN DOWN ON "OTHER CLASS OR GROUP".

53A Do you think that most of those who belong to .... *(R'S CLASS OR GROUP ACCORDING TO 52)* vote for one particular party or do you think that several parties are about equal in size?

1 *most of them for one particular party*
2 *several parties are about equal in size (OR ANSWERS OF THE SAME KIND)* ⟶ 53C
8 *DK* ⟶ 53C

53B Which party do you think is biggest in ...*(R'S CLASS OR GROUP ACCORDING TO 52)*

/1.Communist/ /2.Social Democratic/ /3.Center/ /4.People's/ /5.Conservative/ ⟶ 54

/6.CDU/ ⟶ 54 /8.DK/

53C Which do you think are the two biggest parties in ... *(R'S CLASS OR GROUP ACCORDING TO 52)?*

/1.Communist/ /2.Social Democratic/ /3.Center/ /4.People's/ /5.Conservative/

/6.CDU/

54 *ASK R WHO HAS ANSWERED "OTHER CLASS OR GROUP" OR "DK" IN 52.*

QUESTION 54 SHOULD BE SKIPPED IF R HAS ANSWERED 1, 2, 3 IN QUESTION 52. ⟶ 55A

One sometimes speaks about working class and middle class. Which of them do you think you could be considered as belonging to?

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

55A It is sometimes said that different groups in the society are differently treated.
Do you think that different groups in the society are differently treated by state and local government authorities?

/1.yes/ /5.no/ ⟶ 55B /8.DK/ ⟶ 55B

Which are less well treated?

55B Do you think that different groups in the society are differently treated by the courts?

/1.yes/ /5.no/ ⟶ 55C /8.DK/ ⟶ 55C

Which are less well treated?

55C Do you think that different groups in the society are differently treated in their contacts with the police?

/1.yes/ /5.no/ ⟶ 55D /8.DK/ ⟶ 55D

Which are less well treated?

55D Do you think that pupils from different groups in the society are different treated in the schools?

/1.yes/ /5.no/ ⟶ 56A /8.DK/ ⟶ 56A

Which are less well treated?

56A Do you think that the policies pursued in this country during recent years have been to the advantage or to the disadvantage of those who belong to the same group in the society as you?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R IS UNCERTAIN: Do you think it has been mostly to the advantage or mostly to the disadvantage?

1 *to the advantage*
5 *to the disadvantage*
3 *neither to the advantage nor to the disadvantage*
8 *DK*

56B Do you think that there is any group in the society that has had more advantage than others from the policies pursued?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R SAYS "YES": Which group do you have in mind?

*yes, to the advantage of (INDICATE WHICH GROUP):*_____
5 *no, no one has had more advantage than the others*
8 *DK*

57 There are both parties and other organizations and groups in this country that would like their desires to be taken into consideration. We would like to know how you look upon some of these groups?

SHOW QUESTION CARD "THERMOMETER"

On this card there is a thermometer which we call the "sympathy thermometer". We use it in this way: If e.g. you feel sympathy for a certain group - or like it - then you put it at some of the plus degrees. Of course you put it higher the more sympathy you feel for it. On the other hand, if you don't feel any sympathy for it - or dislike it - then you put it at some of the minus degrees. If you truly neither like it nor dislike it then you put it at the zero point.

TO THE INTERVIEWER: ASK THE QUESTION BELOW FOR EACH CATEGORY AND WRITE DOWN WHICH DEGREE R MENTIONS. (IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO MENTION THE NUMBERS IN MULTIPLES OF TEN). THE ANSWER "DK" SHOULD BE MARKED WITH A ZERO (=NEITHER LIKE NOR DISLIKE)

START WITH CATEGORY (a) IF R:S NUMBER ON THE SAMPLE FORM IS ODD AND GO ON IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER. START WITH CATEGORY (q) IF R:S SAMPLE FORM NUMBER IS EVEN, AND ASK THROUGH THE WHOLE LIST IN THE OPPOSITE ORDER.

Where would you like to put ..... *(CATEGORY)?*

	Category	Degree		Category	Degree
(a)	Temperance Movement		(j)	Centers Party	
(b)	Swedish Employer's Association		(k)	Consumers Cooperation	
(c)	Communist Party		(l)	Foreign Workers in Sweden	
(d)	Private Enterprise		(m)	Social Democrats	
(e)	People's Party		(n)	Big Private Banks	
(f)	NLF-demonstrators (in Sweden)		(o)	Conservative Party	
(g)	Farmers		(p)	Trade Unions	
(h)	Swedish Church(=the State Church)		(q)	Free Churches	
(i)	State Enterprises				

58A How often does it happen that you talk about politics in your family? Does it happen: often or only occasionally or not at all?

1 *often*
3 *only occasionally*
5 *not at all*
0 *R is single*
8 *DK*

58B How often does it happen that you discuss politics with your acquaintances outside the family? Does it happen: often or only occasionally or not at all?

1 *often*
3 *only occasionally*
5 *not at all*
8 *DK*

59 How do you usually behave when you are among people and they start talking about politics? Which of these descriptions do you think is most appropriate in your case?

SHOW QUESTION CARD. READ IF NECESSARY THE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES LOUDLY.

1 *I don't care to listen when people start talking about politics*
2 *I usually listen but I never join in the discussion*
3 *It happens sometimes, but not to often, that I express my opinion*
4 *I usually participate in the discussion and express my opinion*

60A Do you remember how much interest your father had in politics when you were growing up? Was your father very interested or rather interested in politics or didn't he care at all about politics?

1 *very interested*
3 *rather interested*
5 *didn't care at all about politics*
8 *DK/RFS/no father in the family*

60B How interested in politics was your mother when you were growing up? Was she very interested, rather interested in politics or didn't she care at all about politics?

1 *very interested*
3 *rather interested*
5 *didn't care at all about politics*
8 *DK/RFS/no mother in the family*

SAMPLE CATEGORY I → 62*

61A Do you know which party your father usually votes/voted for?

1 *the Communist Party*
2 *the Social Democratic Party*
3 *the Center Party (the Agrarians)*
4 *the People's Party (the Liberals)*
5 *the Conservative Party*
other party (INDICATE WHICH): _____
7 *never votes/never voted*
8 *DK/RFS/no father in the family*

61B Do you know which party your mother usually votes/voted for?

1 *the Communist Party*
2 *the Social Democratic Party*
3 *the Center Party (the Agrarians)*
4 *the People's Party (the Liberals)*
5 *the Conservative Party*
other party (INDICATE WHICH): _____
7 *never votes/never voted*
8 *DK/RFS/no mother in the family*

* Sample category I = R in the panel sample interviewed 1964.

62 Do you intend to vote in this years election?

1.yes → 63 | *3.maybe/ DK for sure* → 64 | *5.no* → 64 | *8.RFS* → 64

63 Which party do you intend to vote for?

1 *Communist Party*
2 *Social Democratic Party*
3 *Center Party*
4 *People's Party*
5 *Conservative Party*
6 *Christian Democratic Union*
other party (INDICATE WHICH):
→ 66A(R born 1946-47→68)

8 *have not yet decided/RFS* → 65

COMMENT: IF R MENTIONS THE NAME OF "AN ELECTORAL COALITION", ASK AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION (cf. INTERVIEWER'S MANUAL).

"CENTRIST PARTIES": Do you intend to vote with the ballot of the Center Party or the People's Party? *INDICATE THE APPROPRIATE PARTY.*

*NAME OF OTHER COALITION OUTSIDE "FOUR CITIES' CONSTITUENCY"** :Do you intend to vote with the ballot of the Conservative Party, the People's Party or the Centre Party? *INDICATE APPROPRIATE PARTY.*

*"COALITION 68" ** (ONLY "FOUR CITIES' CONSTITUENCY"):* Which ballot of Coalition 68 do you intend to vote with?
INDICATE PARTY IF R MENTIONS THE BALLOT OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY. OTHERWISE INDICATE CHARACTER OF BALLOT ON THE ROW FOR "OTHER PARTY"

IF R CAN'T SPECIFY HIS ANSWER, WRITE DOWN THE NAME OF THE COALITION ON THE ROW FOR "OTHER PARTY".
IF NECESSARY, USE THESE ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS ALSO IN THE QUESTIONS CONCERNING VOTING THIS YEAR: (64), AND VOTING IN EARLIER ELECTIONS: (66B, 67B)

64 If you were to vote, which party would you vote for in that case?

//The response alternatives 1-6, and other party are the same as in question 63. So is the instruction "66A (R born 1946-47→ 68)"//

8 *have not yet decided/RFS/don't want to vote for any party*

65 *COMMENT: ASK THIS QUESTION WHEN R HAS ANSWERED WITH RESPONSE ALTERNATIVE 8 IN QUESTION 63 OR 64. IF R REFUSES TO ANSWER VERY STRONGLY AND YOU RECOGNIZE IT AS USELESS TO ASK QUESTION 65, YOU CAN SKIP THIS QUESTION. WRITE IN THIS CASE DOWN "SKIPPED" AT THE ROW FOR "OTHER ANSWER" BELOW. IF R DOESN'T REFUSE TO ANSWER BUT IS JUST DOUBTFUL, ALWAYS ASK QUESTION 65.*

Can you perhaps mention two parties that you think are better than the others so that you might vote for any of them? (Which parties?)

*) A CONSTITENCY consisting of four cities in the southest part of Sweden: Malmö, Lund, Hälsingborg and Landskrona

**)"coalition 68" is an electoral coalition appearing in one constituency only. The coalition sponsored three ballots, one of which was the official Conservative ballot. One of the others could be described as an unofficial People's Party ballot, although the regular People's Party organization had a ballot of its own in the constituency. The third of these ballots had no implied partisan character.

R BORN 1946-47 ——→ 68

66A Did you vote in the 1966 election?

1.yes → **66B**

5.no or don't remember or RFS ——→ 67A (R born 1943-45→68)

66B Which party did you vote for?

1.Communist / *2.Social Democratic* / *3.Center* / *4.People's* / *5.Conservative* / *6.CDU*

R BORN 1943-45 ——→ 68

67A Did you vote in the 1964 election?

1.yes → **67B**

5.no or don't remember or RFS ——→ 68

67B Which party did you vote for?

1.Communist / *2.Social Democratic* / *3.Center* / *4.People's* / *5.Conservative* / *6.CDU*

R BORN 1940 OR EARLIER ——→ 71A

68 Do you remember about how old you were when you first began to think of some party or parties as better than the others?

PREFERABLY WRITE DOWN THE APPROXIMATE AGE. IF R FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO SPECIFY, ASK THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS:

Did it perhaps not happen before you reached voting age or had you thought of it long before. Was it already while you went to school?

69 When you were growing up did you live in a rural area or in a built-up area on the countryside or in a town?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R SAYS "TOWN":

Was it in any of the cities Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö?

1 in a rural area
2 in a built-up area
3 town (but not big city)
4 Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö

70 Have you always lived in ..... *(COMMUNE)?*

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R SAYS "NO"

When did you move to .....*(COMMUNE)?*

1 have always lived in this commune
no, moved here in: _____

71A Are you gainfully employed?

/1.yes/ → 72A /5.no/ CROSS "YES" ALSO IF R IS TEMPORARILY UNEMPLOYED

71B Have you earlier been gainfully employed?

/1.yes/ /5.no/ → 77A

72A Which occupation do you have/did you have?

*occupation:*_____

72B What kind of work do/did you usually do?

73 Would you also say which of the occupational groups listed on this card you belong/belonged to?

SHOW QUESTION CARD

1 *salaried employee*
2 *worker*
3 *farmer with own farm or tenancy*
4 *selfemployed outside farming*

THE PHRASING "YOU BELONG TO" IS TO BE USED IF R IS GAINFULLY EMPLOYED. THE PHRASING "YOU BELONGED TO" IS TO BE USED IF R EARLIER HAD BEEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED AND THE QUESTION SHOULD IN THIS CASE BE RELATED TO R:S LATEST OCCUPATION.

SAMPLE CATEGORY I → 75A

74A Have you at any time changed your occupation so that during any longer period you have belonged to any other occupational groups on the card?

/1.yes/ /5.no/ → 75A

74B Which of the occupational groups did you belong to?

SHOW QUESTION CARD. SAME AS IN 73

1 *salaried employee*
2 *worker*
3 *farmer with own farm or tenancy*
4 *selfemployed outside farming*

75A Are you a member of any trade union or any occupational organization of the kind appearing on this card?

SHOW QUESTION CARD

1.yes *5.no/DK* → 77A

75B Which organization are you a member of?

1 *trade union for salaried employees (WRITE DOWN THE NAME):*_____
2 *trade union for workers (WRITE DOWN THE NAME):*_____
3 *enterpriser's organization (WRITE DOWN THE NAME):*_____
4 *farmer's organization (WRITE DOWN THE NAME):*_____
5 *other occupational organization (WRITE DOWN THE NAME):*_____

WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER ON THE ROW FOR OTHER OCCUPATIONAL ORGANIZATION, IF R KNOWS THE NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION, BUT DOESN'T KNOW WHICH CATEGORY IT BELONGS TO.

76 If you were to say how your organization takes care of the interests of its members, which of these judgements do you think would be the most appropriate

SHOW QUESTION CARD. IF NECESSARY, READ THE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES ALOUD.

1 *the interests of the members are well taken care of*
2 *it varies - but in general they are well taken care of*
3 *it varies - but in general they are not well taken care of.*
4 *the members' interests are not well taken care of.*
8 *DK/RFS*

77A Do you have any vocational or theoretical education beyond grade school?

1.yes *5.no* → 78A

77B Which education?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION

Have you gone through any other vocational or theoretical education?

77C How many years of schooling do you have beyond your first six years in school?

WIDOWS, WIDOWERS, UNMARRIED AND DIVORCED PERSONS → 81A

78A Is/was your husband/wife gainfully employed?

1.yes → 78C *5.no*

MARK "YES" ALSO IF R'S HUSBAND/WIFE IS TEMPORARILY UNEMPLOYED OR LAID-OFF

78B Has he/she earlier been gainfully employed?

1.yes *5.no* → 81A

78C Which occupation does/did she/he have?

79 Would you also say which of the occupational groups on this card your husband/wife belongs/belonged to

SHOW QUESTION CARD. SAME AS IN 73

1 *salaried employee*
2 *worker*
3 *farmer with own farm or tenancy*
4 *selfemployed outside farming*

80A Do you know if your husband/wife is a member of any trade union or occupational organization of the kind appearing on this card?

SHOW QUESTION CARD. SAME AS IN 75

1.yes *5.no/DK* → 81A

80B Which union or organization does your husband/wife belong to?

1 *trade union for salaried employees (WRITE DOWN THE NAME):* _____
2 *trade union for workers (WRITE DOWN THE NAME):* _____
3 *enterpriser's organization (WRITE DOWN THE NAME):* _____
4 *farmer's organization (WRITE DOWN THE NAME):* _____
5 *other occupational organization (WRITE DOWN THE NAME):* _____

WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER ON THE ROW FOR OTHER OCCUPATIONAL ORGANIZATION, IF R KNOWS THE NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION, BUT DOESN'T KNOW WHICH CATEGORY IT BELONGS TO.

81A Do you have any children at home

1.yes *5.no* → 82A

81B How many?

81C How old are they?

82A What is your father's occupation?

IF R'S FATHER IS DEAD OR HAS RETIRED, INDICATE FATHER'S LAST OCCUPATION

82B Is/was your mother gainfully employed or is/was she a housewife?

IF R ANSWERS "IS/WAS EMPLOYED":

Which occupation does/did she have?

answer: _____

2 *is/was housewife*

COMPARE WITH THE COMMENT ABOUT FATHER'S OCCUPATION

82C We talked earlier about social classes. Now thinking of the time when you were growing up, would you say that your parents could be considered as belonging to the working class or the middle class?

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

83A How often do you attend religious services or meetings in the State Church or in some Free Church* ? Do you usually attend religious service at least once a month, several times a year, more seldom or never?

1 *at least once a month*
2 *several times a year*
3 *more seldom*
4 *never* ——→84

83B Do you usually go to the State Church or to some Free Church?

1 *the State Church** ——→ 84
2 *some Free Church**

83C Which Free Church do you usually go to?

84 Do you think that there are any differences among the views of the parties on matters concerning church and religion?

1.yes *5.no/DK*——→85A

ASK BOTH ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS:

Do you think that any of the parties has the same position as you yourself in matters con erning church and religion?

IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which party or parties?

Do you think that any of the parties is pursueing a wrong policy in matters concerning church and religion?

IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which party or parties?

85A Are you a member of any political party or any other political organization?

1.yes *5.no*——→86A *8.RFS*——→86A

85B Which party are you a member of?

1 *Communist Party*
2 *Social Democratic Party* ——→
3 *Center Party*
4 *People's Party*
5 *Conservative Party*
6 *Christian Democratic Union*
8 *RFS*

ADDITIONAL QUESTION TO "SOCIAL DEMOCRATS":
Are you collectively affiliated or an individual member of the party?
1 *collectively affiliated*
2 *an individual member*
3 *affiliated both ways*
8 *DK/RFS*

* The term "Free Church" refers to various protestantic sects existing at the side of the State Church.

86A Were you a member of any political youth organization before you reached voting age?

1.yes *5.no* → 87A *8.RFS* → 87A

86B Which party's youth organization was it?

1.Communist *2.Social Democratic* *3.Center* *4.People's* *5.Conservative*

87A Do you consider yourself an active member of some organization or associati

1.yes *5.no* → END!

ACTIVE=ATTENDS MEETINGS PRACTICALLY ALMOST AND/OR HAS COMMISSIONS IN THE ASSOCIATION

87B Which organization/organizations or association/associations are you active in?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION: Are you active in any more organizations or associations?

WRITE DOWN ALL ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS THAT R MENTIONS

E L E C T I O N S T U D Y 1 9 6 8

MAIN POST-ELECTION QUESTIONAIRE

("stage B" of the field work)

E L E C T I O N S T U D Y 1 9 6 8

S T A G E B

The front page of the questionnaire is the same as for stage A, except for a comment that the interviewer should wait for a mail instruction before he started interviewing in stage B. The reason was that there were different questions to be asked according to the outcome of the election.

The introduction is the same as in the stage A questionnaire.

1-2B Same as in stage A

THERE IS NO QUESTION 3

4A TV and radio had a number of programs with political discussions or interviews with party leaders during the last month preceding the election.
Some have listened to many of the programs. Others did not have time or didn't think that the programs were so interesting that they wanted to listen.

Did you listen to any of the discussions or interviews of party leaders on TV or radio?

1.yes *5.no* → 5A *8.DK/RFS* → 5A

4B About how many such programs did you hear on TV or radio during the last month before the election?

SHOW QUESTION CARD. APPROPRIATE NUMBER OF PROGRAMS.

1.one program | *2.two or three programs* | *3.four or five programs* | *4.six or seven programs* | *5.eight or more programs*

5A In many places the parties organized meetings with debates and speeches. Did you attend any such meeting this year?

1.yes *5.no* → 6 *8.DK* → 6

5B Which party or parties organized the meeting or took part in the debate?

1.Communist | *2.Social Democratic* | *3.Center* | *4.People's* | *5.Conservative* | *6.CDU*

IF THE MEETING WAS A TWO PARTY DEBATE, INDICATE BOTH PARTIES. IF R HAS BEEN TO SEVERAL MEETINGS, INDICATE ALL PARTIES THAT ARRANGED THE MEETINGS AND/OR TOOK PART IN THE DEBATES.

6-7 Same as in stage A

8 The same phrasing as question 18 in stage A

9 The same phrasing as question 8 in stage A

10A	Now I would like to ask what you think are good and bad sides of the Social Democratic Government. I begin with a question about what you particularly appreciate about the Social Democratic Government *ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS TO RECEIVE MORE DETAILED ANSWERS:* Would you say anything more about this? Is there anything more that you particularly appreciate about the Social Democratic Government?
10B	Is there anything about the Social Democratic Government that you dislike? *ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS TO RECEIVE MORE DETAILED ANSWERS:* Would you say anything more about this? Is there anything more that you dislike about the Social Democratic Government?
11A	Suppose that the Conservative Party, the People's Party and the Center Party should have formed a Government after the election this year. Can you say anything that you would have appreciated about a Government of the Conservative Party, the People's Party and the Center Party? *ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS TO RECEIVE MORE DETAILED ANSWERS:* Would you say anything more about this? Is there anything more that you think you would have appreciated about such a Government?
11B	Can you say anything that you would have disliked about a Government of the Conservative Party, People's Party and the Center Party? *ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS TO RECEIVE MORE DETAILED ANSWERS:* Would you say anything more about this? Is there anything more that you think you would have disliked about such a Government?
12A-B 13A-B	These questions are alternative phrasings of the questions above (10A-B, 11A-B). They should have been used if there had been any uncertainty after the election which party/parties were to form the new Government or if the Government that were to be formed should have consisted of the Conservative Party, the People's Party and the Center Party.
14-17	Same as in stage A
18	*THERE IS NO QUESTION 18 IN STAGE B.* The question was asked as question 8 in stage B.
19-24	Same as in stage A

25A It has been proposed that the State shall appoint representatives to the governing boards of the banks.

SHOW QUESTION CARD. ALSO READ THE FOLLOWING TEXT, WHICH CONSISTS OF THE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES ON THE CARD:

Do you think it would be desirable to have representatives of the State on the governing boards of large banks or do you think it would not be desirable, or don't you have any definite view on this subject?

1 *it is desirable that the State appoints representatives on the governing boards of the banks*

2 *it is not desirable that the State appoints representatives on the governing boards of the banks*

3 *have no definite view on this subject; also DK/RFS*

25B Have you noticed if there are any differences between the parties' views on this question?

1.yes, differences between the parties ↓ *8.no, no differences/DK/RFS* → 28A

25C Which party or parties do you think would vote for this proposals if it comes up in the Riksdag?

25D Which party or parties do you think would vote against this proposal if it comes up in the Riksdag?

THERE IS NO QUESTION 26

26 The questions were asked as question 29 in stage B

27 *THERE IS NO QUESTION 27*

The question was asked as question 30 in stage B

28A Do you think that the farm policy in this country is designed in a way that is correct in large part or do you think that it is wrong in some respects, or don't you have any definite view on this matter?

1 *correct/correct in large part* → 28C
2 *wrong in some respects*
3 *no definite opinion* → 28C
8 *DK/RFS* → 28C

28B In what way do you think the farm policy is wrong?

28C Do you think there are differences between the parties on the question of farm policy?

1.yes, differences ↓ *8.no, no differences/DK/RFS* → 29A

28D Is there any party or parties which you think have a correct position on questions of farm policy?

IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which party or parties?

28E	Do you think that any of the parties will pursue a wrong farm policy? *IF R ANSWER "YES":* Which party or parties?
29A-D	The same phrasing as question 26A-D in stage A.
30	The same phrasing as question 27 in stage A
31A	It has been proposed that one should permit privately owned TV-companies with advertising in Sweden. Do you think that this is a good proposal or do you dislike it or don't you have any definite viewpoint on the matter? *1 good proposal* *2 poor proposal* *3 no definite viewpoint on the matter; also DK/RFS*
31B	Have you noticed if any party or parties have been particularly interested in supporting privately owned TV with advertising? *IF R ANSWERS "YES":* Which party or parties? (Any more party?)
31C	Is there any party or parties which have been definitely opposed private TV with advertising? *IF R ANSWERS "YES":* Which party or parties? (Any more party?)
32A-35C	same as in stage A
36A	What do you think of our spending for defense? *SHOW QUESTION CARD. ALSO READ THE FOLLOWING TEXT, WHICH CONSISTS OF THE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES ON THE CARD.* Do you think that Sweden provides too little money for defense, or do you think that the spending for defense is about right, or do you think that too much money is provided for defense, or don't you have any definite vewpoint on this matter? *1 provides too little money for defense* *2 the spending for defense is about right* *3 too much money is provided for defense* *4 have no definite opinion on this matter; also: DK/RFS*
36B	Do you think there are any differences between the parties' viewpoints when it comes to spending for defense? *1.yes, differences* ↓ *8.no, no differences/ DK/RFS* → 37A
36C	Are there any of the parties which, according to your opinion, will give about the right amount for defense?
36D	Do you think that any of the parties will provide too much money for defense?
36E	Do you think that any of the parties will provide too little money for defense

37A Sweden is not in the so called European Economic Community, that is, the organization usually called EEC.

Do you think that Sweden shall try to become a part of EEC, or do you think it would be better if we stayed out of EEC also in the future or don't you have any definite viewpoint on this matter?

SHOW QUESTION CARD

1 *Sweden shall try to become a part of EEC*
2 *it would be better if Sweden stayed out of EEC*
3 *have no definite viewpoint on this matter*
8 *DK/RFS*

ACCESSION TO EEC CAN TAKE PLACE EITHER TROUGH FULL MEMBERSHIP OR THROUGH, SO CALLED, ASSOCIATION. IF R WANTS TO MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THOSE TWO ALTERNATIVES, WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER ON THE ROW FOR "OTHER ANSWER". (FOR EXAMPLE, IF R SAYS THAT SWEDEN SHOULD NOT BE A MEMBER, BUT INSTEAD SHOULD TRY TO ASSOCIATE). IF R HIMSELF DOESN'T MENTION THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEMBERSHIP AND ASSOCIATION, DON'T MENTION ANYTHING ABOUT IT.

37B Do you think there are any differences between the parties concerning their positions on EEC?

1. yes, differences → **37C**

8. no, no differences/ DK/RFS → **40**

37C Are there any party/parties that you think have the right position on Sweden s relationship to EEC?

IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which party or parties?

37D Which party or parties do you think appear most interested in Sweden becoming a part of EEC?

37E Which party or parties do you think appear least interested in Sweden becoming a part of EEC?

38-39 *THERE ARE NO QUESTIONS 38 AND 39 IN STAGE B*

40 The same phrasing as question 36 in stage A

41-44B Same as in stage A

45 *THERE IS NO QUESTION 45 IN STAGE B*

46A-52 Same as in stage A

53 *THERE IS NO QUESTION 53 IN STAGE B*

54-55D Same as in stage A

56 *THERE IS NO QUESTION 56 IN STAGE B*

57-61B Same as in stage A

62A Did you vote in the election this year?

/1.yes/ /5.no/→65A /8.RFS/→ 66A (R born 1946-1947→68)

RESPONSE CARD AT THE END OF THE INTERVIEW TO R WHO REFUSES TO ANSWER QUESTION 62A OR 63

62B One can cast one's vote in a usual local polling place or by mail. But it is also possible to let someone else cast the ballot, for example a spouse with full authority. In what way did you cast your ballot?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R DIDN'T CAST HIS BALLOT HIMSELF

Was it your husband/wife who cast your ballot for you or was it some other person?

1 *cast the ballot myself in a usual local polling place*
2 *cast my ballot myself in a post office*
3 *husband/wife cast the ballot*
4 *other person cast the ballot*
8 *DK/RFS*

63 Which party did you vote for?

1 *Communist Party*
2 *Social Democratic Party*
3 *Center Party*
4 *People's Party*
5 *Conservative Party*
6 *Christian Democratic Union*
Other Party: _____
8 *RFS*

RESPONSE CARD AT THE END OF THE INTERVIEW TO R WHO REFUSES TO ANSWER QUESTION 63 OR 62A

//The instruction that follows here is the same as in question 63 in stage A.//

64 When did you decide which party you were going to vote for this year? Was it in the last week before the election, earlier in the fall and summer, or did you know for a long time how you were going to vote?

1 *last week before the election*
2 *earlier in the fall or summer*
3 *R knew for a long time how R was going to vote*
8 *DK/RFS*

→66A (R born 1946-1947→68)

65A Which Party would you have voted for if you had voted?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R IS UNCERTAIN Which party is it most likely that you would have voted for?

1 *Communist Party*
2 *Social Democratic Party*
3 *Center Party*
4 *People's Party*
5 *Conservative Party*
6 *Christian Democratic Union*
Other party: _____
8 *DK/RFS*

65B Would you tell me what was the most important reason that you didn't vote in the election this year?

66A-83C	Same as in stage A

84	//After the very first question in question 84 is a new question, phrased as follows://
	In which way do you think the parties differs on questions concerning Church and religion?
	//Hereafter follows the two questions inside the boxes.//

85A-87B	Same as in stage A.

DID R REFUSED TO GIVE ANY INFORMATION ABOUT HIS VOTING IN 1968?

IF R REFUSES TO ANSWER QUESTION 62A OR QUESTION 63, ASK R IF HE WANTS TO GIVE INFORMATION ABOUT HIS VOTING ON A RESPONSE CARD. LET IN SUCH CASE, R HIMSELF FILL IN THE CARD AND SEAL THE ENVELOPE.

PUT THE ENVELOPE IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE. INDICATE THE NUMBER OF THE RESPONSE CARD HERE: _____

RESPONSE CARD NO:

E L E C T I O N S T U D Y 1 9 6 8

POST-ELECTION MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE

("stage B" of the field work)

E L E C T I O N S T U D Y 1 9 6 8.

M A I L Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

Post-election

To Respondent

Through yours and many others kind cooperation, we have been able to carry out an interview study in connection with this years election. We hope that this study will give valuable and reliable results.

Our study is now to be completed by this little mail questionnaire. It contains some questions which we - for practical reasons - couldn't include in the interview before this election.

We should be very grateful if you could answer the questions on the following pages and return the mail questionnaire in the enclosed envelop. Our address is printed on the envelop and you don't have to stick on any stamps. Please mail the envelop as soon as possible, preferably already today or tomorrow.

Your answers will be treated confidentially. No outsider will be able to acquaint himself with your particular answer to any question. Your answer will only be used for statistical analysis and reported in tables.

Once again - thank you for your willingness to help us.

Edmund Rapaport
Director
Central Bureau of Statistics
Research Institutee

Bo Särlvik
University Lecturer
Institute of Political Science
University of Göteborg

PLEASE, ANSWER QUESTIONS BELOW BY CROSSING THE APPROPRIATE BOXES!

TV and radio had a number of programs with political discussions or interviews with party leaders during the last month before this years election. Some have listened to many such programs. Others didn't have time or didn't think they were that interesting.

Did you listen to any such program(s) in TV or radio during the last month before the election?

PLEASE, CROSS APPROPRIATE BOX BELOW! IF YOU DON'T REMEMBER FOR SURE HOW MANY PROGRAMS YOU LISTENED TO, INDICATE ANYHOW THE NUMBER YOU THINK IS MOST APPROPRIATE.

☐ *No, I didn't listen to any such program on TV or radio*

Yes, I listened to:

☐ *1 program*

☐ *2 or 3 programs*

☐ *4 or 5 programs*

☐ *6 or 7 programs*

☐ *8 or more programs*

Did you attend any campaign meeting that any of the parties arranged before this year's election?

PLEASE CROSS APPROPRIATE BOX (OR BOXES)!

☐ *No, I haven't been to any meeting*

Yes, I have been to meeting (meetings) arranged by:

☐ *the Conservative Party*
☐ *the Social Democratic Party*
☐ *the People's Party*
☐ *the Communist Party*
☐ *the Center Party*
☐ *the Christian Democratic Union*

☐ *other party (PLEASE, INDICATE WHICH):*_____

Which daily papers do you read regularly?
Please write down the names of the papers you usually read below!
(Also indicate papers that are published only every second day, if you read any of that kind.)

.....

//The original questionnaire has five rows for responses.//

CROSS HERE, IF YOU USUALLY DON'T READ ANY NEWSPAPER ☐

When did you decide which party you were going to vote for this year?

PLEASE CROSS THE APPROPRIATE BOX IF YOU VOTED

☐ *I decided how to vote during the last week before the election*

☐ *I decided how to vote earlier this fall or summer*

☐ *I knew since long ago how to vote*

How did you vote in this year's election?

PLEASE CROSS APPROPRIATE BOX!

I voted for:

☐ *the Conservative Party*
☐ *the People's Party*
☐ *the Center Party*
☐ *the Social Democratic Party*
☐ *the Communist Party*
☐ *the Christian Democratic Union*
☐ *other party (INDICATE WHICH):*

☐ *I didn't vote*

One can cast one's ballot in several different ways. In which way did you cast your ballot?

PLEASE, CROSS APPROPRIATE BOX, IF YOU VOTED!

☐ *I cast my ballot myself in a local polling place*

☐ *I cast my ballot in the post office (that is a usual post office or a post office in a hospital or the like)*

☐ *My husband/wife cast my ballot for me*

☐ *Other person cast my ballot for me*

If you want to point anything out or give any additional information, please do so on this part of the card. If you yourself want to have any information, we will of course be happy to send you a letter.

.....

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

will be published in a report, which will be ready within some months. If you want to have a copy of such a report, we will be glad to send it to you.

In this case, write down your name and address below (please, use block letters). If you don't want any such report, you don't need to write any name.

.....

ELECTION STUDY 1968

QUESTION CARDS

ELECTION STUDY 1968, QUESTION CARDS.

This is a listing of the question cards used together with the two main questionnaires. Question numbers in the post-election questionnaire are given within parentheses. The numbers of the response alternatives are those given in the questionnaires.

Question 2A (2A):

Response alternatives 1 - 4.

Question (4B) /in post-election interview only/:

Response alternatives 1 - 5.

Question 6 (6):

Response alternatives 1 - 4

Question 8 (9):

Pictures of the five leaders of the parties in the Riksdag.

Questions 16 (16) and 17 (17):

The words 1 - 7 in question 16. The same question card was used for both questions.

Question 19 (19):

The statements in question 19 were displayed on three question cards. At the bottom of each card are listed the response alternatives 1,2,4 and 5.

Question (25) /in post-election interview only/:

Response alternatives 1 - 3.

Question 34A (34A):

Response alternatives 1 - 4.

Question 36 (40):

This question had five question cards, numbered A - E.

Question card 36A (40A):

PEOPLE'S PARTY

Communist Party
Center Party
Conservative Party
Social Democrats

Question card 36B (40B):

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

People's Party
Communist Party
Center Party
Conservative Party

Question card 36C (40C):

CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Social Democrats
People's Party
Communist Party
Center Party

Question card 36D (40D):

CENTER PARTY

Conservative Party
Social Democrats
People's Party
Communist Party

Question card 36E (40E):

COMMUNIST PARTY

Center Party
Conservative Party
Social Democrats
People's Party

Question (36A) /in post-election interview only/:

Response alternatives 1 - 4.

Question 37 /in pre-election interview only/:

Response alternatives 1 - 4.

Question (37A) /in post-election interview only/:

Response alternatives 1 - 3.

Question 39 /in pre-election interview only/:

Response alternatives 1 - 4.

Questions 44A (44A) and 44B (44B):

A picture of a scale from left to right similar to the one in the questionnaire. The same question card was used for both questions.

Question 45 /in pre-election interview only/:

Response alternatives 1 - 4.

Question 51 (51):

The statements in question 51 were displayed on three question cards. At the bottom of each card are listed the response alternatives 1, 2, 4 and 5.

Question 57 (57):

A picture of a thermometer showing -50, -40, -30, -20, -10, -0 and +0, +10, +20, +30, +40, +50 degrees.

Question 59 (59):

Response alternatives 1 - 4.

Questions 73 (73), 74B (74B) and 79 (79):

Response alternatives 1 - 4.

Question 75B (75B) and 80B (80B):

Response alternatives 1 - 5.

Question 76 (76):

Response alternatives 1 - 4.

E L E C T I O N S T U D Y 1 9 6 8

RESPONSE CARD

("stage B" of the field work)

ELECTION STUDY 1968, RESPONSE CARD.

This card was handed over to the respondent by the interviewer at the end of the interview in case the respondent had refused to answer the questions about voting behavior.

If you prefer to answer the two questions on this card *in writing and directly to the research institute*, use this card. You just have to cross the appropriate boxes below.

From our interviewer you will get an envelop with our address, where you can put this card and seal it yourself. Our interviewer do not have the right to open the sealed envelop but will send it directly to the research institute in Stockholm. Thereafter, your answer will be punched into a so called punch card. Your name will not be found on the punch card or in the questionnaire or on this card.

How did you vote this year?

Please cross the box in front of the party you voted for. If you didn't vote, cross the box at the bottom:

I voted for:
- ☐ Conservative Party
- ☐ Center Party
- ☐ People's Party
- ☐ Social Democratic Party
- ☐ Communist Party
- ☐ Other Party - please indicate which: _____

I didn't vote: ☐

How did you vote in the most previous election - that is 1966?

If you didn't vote 1966, cross the box in front of the party that you voted for last time you voted:

I voted for:
- ☐ Conservative Party
- ☐ Center Party
- ☐ People's Party
- ☐ Social Democratic Party
- ☐ Communist Party
- ☐ Other Party - please indicate which: _____

I have never voted at any previous election: ☐