THE 1973 SWEDISH ELECTION STUDY

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES

THE 1973 SWEDISH ELECTION STUDY

Research project at the Institute of Political Science, University of Göteborg, in collaboration with The National Central Bureau of Statistics.

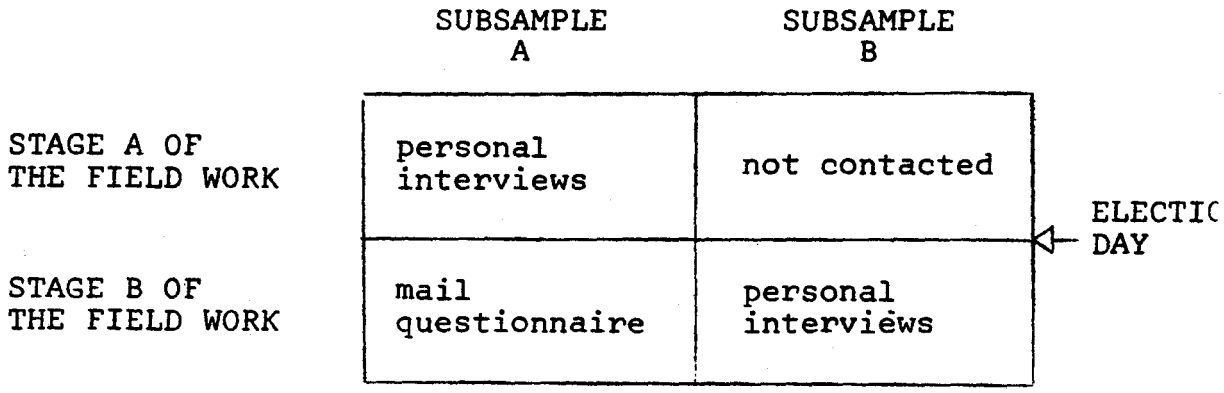
Project director: Bo Särlvik
Assistant project director: Olof Petersson

INTRODUCTION

This volume contains complete translations to English of the interview questionnaires which were used in the 1973 Swedish election survey. The volume has been edited by Ann-Britt Fernhall.

The field work of the 1973 election survey was carried out in two stages. The total sample of 3 295 individuals was split into two subsamples of equal size. Respondents in one of these subsamples were interviewed through personal interviews during a field work stage preceding the election. (This is referred to as stage A of the field work.) Furthermore respondents in this subsample were contacted again, after the election through a mail questionnaire, primarily employed to collect data on these respondents' final voting decisions. Respondents in the other of the two subsamples were contacted only once in the 1973 study, that is, through personal interviews in a postelection stage of the field work. (Stage B of the field work.) As a consequence of this study design, there are two questionnaire versions for the personal interviews. Both of these questionnaires are included in this volume, although we have abridged the stage B questionnaire translation by including here only references to the stage A versions in all cases when the questions asked in the post-election interviews were identical to questions in the pre-election version. The volume also contains the mail questionnaire mentioned above.

The chart below may help to clarify both the study design and the organization of this volume.



The editing of the translations presented in this volume coincides very closely with that of the original Swedish questionnaires. Question texts have been translated as literally as possible even in instances when an alternative English phrasing might have sounded more elegant or more idiomatic. Precoded response alternatives, instructions for the interviewer, etc. are included. To save space we have omitted lines provided for notation of responses to open-ended questions etc. Also, we have omitted notation lines for responses not fitting any precoded response alternative as well as for respondents' comments to their answers. The original questionnaire provides such notation space for most of the questions.

Bo Särlvik *Olof Petersson*

C O N T E N T S

Main pre-election questionnaire *4*

Main post-election questionnaire *35*

Post-election mail questionnaire *39*

E L E C T I O N S T U D Y 1 9 7 3

PRE-ELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE

(stage A of the field work)

NATIONAL CENTRAL BUREAU
OF STATISTICS
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF GÖTEBORG

E L E C T I O N S T U D Y 1 9 7 3

S T A G E A

INTERVIEWER NO

R'S NO ACCORDING TO RESPONDENT SAMPLE FORM

DATE AND TIME OF INTERVIEW

date ____/____ 1973

time started: _____

time ended: _____

INFORMATION FROM RESPONDENT SAMPLE FORM:

YEAR OF BIRTH:

SEX:

1 man
2 woman

MARITAL STATUS:

1 unmarried
2 married
3 divorced
4 widower/widow

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 complete secrecy.

1	Have you noticed if people in connection with this particular election discuss politics more or less than ordinarily, or do you think they discuss politics about as much as usual? 1 more than usual 2 about as much as usual 3 less than usual 8 DK/NA x other answer
2	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 x other answer

3A Now I would like to ask you what you think are good and bad sides of the present government. I begin with a question about what you particularly appreciate about the Social Democratic government?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION TO OBTAIN MORE DETAILED ANSWERS: Would you say anything more about this? Is there anything more you particularly appreciate about the Social Democratic government?

answer: ----------

3B Is there anything about the Social Democratic government that you dislike?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION TO OBTAIN MORE DETAILED ANSWERS: Would you say anything more about this? Is there anything more about the Social Democratic government that you dislike?

answer: ----------

There are no questions 4A-4B in stage A.

5A This is a rather general question.
What is your opinion in general on today's Sweden?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

Is it: very positive, rather pcsitive, rather negative or very negative?

1 very positive
2 rather positive
3 rather negative
4 very negative
8 DK/NA
x other answer

5B Have you changed your attitude to the Swedish society during, say, the last five years?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

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

1 much more positive now
2 a little more positive now
3 same attitude now
4 a little more negative now
5 much more negative now
8 DK/NA
x other answer

6A As to politics in this country, there are many different opinions about which new things that ought to be introduced or changed. What do you personally think the parties and government and Riksdag should do or work for during the next few years?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS TO OBTAIN MORE DETAILED ANSWERS:
Would you say anything more about why you think this is important?
Is there anything else that you think the parties,government and Riksdag should do or work for during the next few years?

answer: _____

8 DK/NA, no such question (SKIP TO 7)

6B How likely do you think it is that something will be done to solve this problem/these problems during the next few years?

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

1 very likely
2 rather likely
3 not very likely
4 not at all likely
8 DK/NA
x other answer

6C Do you think that any of the parties has brought forward any good proposals about this particular subject/subjects?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS Which party do you have in mind?
IF R ANSWERS "YES": Is there any other party?

(INDICATE IF A PARTY HAS BEEN MENTIONED ONLY IN CONNECTION WITH A PARTICULAR QUESTION)

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
7 no, no party has brought forward good proposals
8 DK/NA

6D Do you think that any of the parties shows too little interest or pursues a bad policy as regards this question/questions?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS Which party do you have in mind?
IF R ANSWERS "YES": Is there any other party?

(INDICATE IF A PARTY HAS BEEN MENTIONED ONLY IN CONNECTION WITH A PARTICULAR QUESTION)

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
7 no, no party shows too little interest or pursues a bad policy
8 DK/NA

7 How great differences do you think there generally are among the parties in the Riksdag as to their way of handling politics?
(SHOW QUESTION CARD. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY.)

1 very great differences
2 rather great differences
3 not very great differences
4 very small differences
8 DK/NA
x other answer

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

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

Do you think economic conditions will be much better, a little better, no change, a little worse or much worse?

1 much better
2 a little better
3 no change
4 a little worse
5 much worse
8 DK/NA
x other answer

9 Now I will ask you some questions concerning this commune. Generally speaking, how do you think the local service and planning are arranged in this commune?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

Do you think conditions are:

1 very good
2 rather good
3 rather bad
4 very bad
8 DK/NA
x other answer

10A As to the conditions in your commune, I suppose there are different opinions on what to introduce and what to change. What do you personally think that the parties and local government should do or work for in the next few years?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS TO OBTAIN MORE DETAILED ANSWERS:
Would you say anything more about why you think this is important?
Is there anything else you think the parties and local government should do or work for in the next few years?

answer: _____

8 DK/NA, no such question (SKIP TO 11)

10B How likely do you think it is that something will be done to solve this problem/these problems in the next few years?

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

1 very likely
2 rather likely
3 not very likely
4 not at all likely
8 DK/NA
x other answer

10C Do you think any of the parties has brought forward any good proposals about this particular subject/subjects?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which party do you have in mind? Is there any other party?

(INDICATE IF A PARTY HAS BEEN MENTIONED ONLY IN CONNECTION WITH A PARTICULAR QUESTION)

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
7 no, no party has brought forward any good proposals
8 DK/NA

10D Do you think any of the parties has shown too little interest or pursues a bad policy about this subject/these subjects?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which party do you have in mind? Is there any other party?

(INDICATE IF A PARTY HAS BEEN MENTIONED ONLY IN CONNECTION WITH A PARTICULAR QUESTION)

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
7 no, no party shows too little interest or pursues a bad policy
8 DK/NA

11 How great differences do you think there generally are among the parties in the local government in this commune as to their way of handling politics?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY.)

1 very great differences
2 rather great differences
3 not very great differences
4 very small differences
8 DK/NA
x other answer

12A Suppose that you, yourself, would like to do something to effect a change in this country or in this commune.
Can you mention anything that you in that case would do?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION TO OBTAIN MORE DETAILED ANSWERS: Is there anything more you would do?

answer: _____

12B Are you a member of any organization or association where one could, for example, raise such a matter at a meeting or do something else in such a case?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which organization do you have in mind? Any other organization?

organization(s): _____

8 DK/NA; no, no organization

12C Is there anyone on the parties' ballots in this constituency to whom you could turn in such a case?

1 yes
5 no
8 DK/NA
x other answer

(THE QUESTION CONCERNS BALLOTS IN BOTH RIKSDAG AND LOCAL ELECTIONS)

---

13 How much regard do you think politicians generally pay to demands raised by for instance local organizations or groups of citizens?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY.)

1 very much regard
2 rather much regard
3 rather little regard
4 very little regard
8 DK/NA
x other answer

14 Lately some newly-formed protest groups have demonstrated to keep some parks and forests and opposed the construction of traffic routes.
What is your attitude toward these groups?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY.)

1 very positive
2 rather positive
3 not very positive
4 not at all positive
8 DK/NA
x other answer

---

15 We have talked a great deal about politics in this country. I'm now going to ask some questions concerning political affairs outside Sweden.
How interested are you, in general, in political affairs in the world?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

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

1 very interested
2 rather interested
3 not very interested
4 not at all interested
8 DK/NA
x other answer

16A Is there anything happening in the world at the moment that you consider particularly serious or alarming?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS TO OBTAIN MORE DETAILED ANSWERS: Would you say anything more about this? Is there anything else in the world that you consider particularly serious?

answer: _____

8 DK/NA; no, nothing (SKIP TO 17)

16B Is there any country in particular which pursues a bad or dangereous policy in this_question/these_questions?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS Which country do you have in mind?
IF R ANSWERS "YES": Is there any other country?

(INDICATE IF A COUNTRY HAS BEEN MENTIONED ONLY IN CONNECTION WITH A PARTICULAR QUESTION)

1 Soviet Union
2 USA
3 China
x other country (INDICATE WHICH)
7 no, no country pursues a bad or dangereous policy
8 DK/NA

16C Is there any country which you consider pursues a correct policy in this_question/these_questions?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS Which country do you have in mind?
IF R ANSWERS "YES": Is there any other country?

(INDICATE IF A COUNTRY HAS BEEN MENTIONED ONLY IN CONNECTION WITH A PARTICULAR QUESTION)

1 Soviet Union
2 USA
3 China
x other country (INDICATE WHICH)
7 no, no country pursues a correct policy
8 DK/NA

17 Now I will ask you some questions about the Great Powers in the world. If you were to give your opinion on the Soviet Union, USA and China, which of the opinions on this card do you consider most appropriate to each of the countries?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

QUESTION CARD:

1 Pursues a policy which threatens world peace

2 Is often disposed to try to solve conflicts with other states by military power

3 Is sometimes disposed to try to solve conflicts with other states by military power

4 Tries to preserve peace in the world – if there is a war it depends on other states

A We start with the Soviet Union. Which of the opinions do you consider most appropriate to the Soviet Union?

B As to USA, which of the opinions do you consider most appropriate?

C And finally China. Which of the opinions do you consider most appropriate?

18A I would like to ask you if you think these states have changed their policy during the last ten-fifteen years?

I start with the Soviet Union. Do you think that the Soviet Union policy has become more or less peaceful or is there no change?

1 more peaceful now
3 no change
5 less peaceful now
8 DK/NA
x other answer

18B What do you think of USA? Do you think the US policy has become more or less peaceful or is there no change?

1 more peaceful now
3 no change
5 less peaceful now
8 DK/NA
x other answer

18C And China. Do you think that the Chinese policy has become more or less peaceful or is there no change?

1 more peaceful now
3 no change
5 less peaceful now
8 DK/NA
x other answer

19 As to the Soviet and US relations to Sweden, to what extent do you think that Sweden at the moment is exposed to a threat from these countries?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

QUESTION CARD:

1 Is a threat to Sweden
2 Unfriendly, but no immediate threat
3 No enmity
4 Friendly

A Which of the opinions on this card do you think is most appropriate to the Soviet Union?

B And to USA, which of the opinions on this card do you think is most appropriate?

20A We have talked about the foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union, USA and China. What is your opinion on the internal conditions in these three countries?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

I start with the Soviet Union. Are you: very positive, rather positive, rather negative or very negative?

1 very positive
2 rather positive
3 rather negative
4 very negative
8 DK/NA
x other answer

20B And as to USA. What is your opinion?
(SAME QUESTION CARD AS IN Q 20A. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY)

1 very positive
2 rather positive
3 rather negative
4 very negative
8 DK/NA
x other answer

20C And what is your opinion on China?
(SAME QUESTION CARD. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY)

1 very positive
2 rather positive
3 rather negative
4 very negative
8 DK/NA
x other answer

21A There are several conflicts between different countries at present. I would like to know what you think about two of these conflicts.
As to the conflict between Israel and the Arab states, which of them do you think is most right?

1 Israel is most right
3 The Arab states are most right
5 no one is more right than the others; both are wrong
8 DK/NA
x other answer

21B And then the Vietnam conflict. Do you think the NLF/North Vietnam or USA/South Vietnam is most right?

1 NLF/North Vietnam is most right
3 USA/South Vietnam is most right
5 no one is more right than the other; both are wrong
8 DK/NA
x other answer

22	If we try to see twenty or twentyfive years into the future, do you think the world will look worse or better than today? (SHOW QUESTION CARD) Do you think it will look: 1 much better 2 a little better 3 about the same 4 a little worse 5 much worse 8 DK/NA x other answer
23A	Some people think that Sweden should give aid to under-developed countries, e.g. some countries in Asia and Africa. Others think that Sweden should not give any help. What is your opinion on this? Do you think Sweden should give aid to the under-developed countries? 1 yes 5 no (SKIP TO 24A) 8 DK/NA (SKIP TO 24A) x other answer
23B	Some people think that the Government and the Riksdag ought to carry through a very great increase in the aid to under-developed countries through the next few years. Do you agree with that opinion? 1 agree 5 do not agree 8 DK/NA x other answer

24A About a year ago, Sweden made a trade agreement with the Common Market. Some people think we should have been closer connected with the Common Market, some think that the agreement is allright, while others think it would be better if Sweden reduced its cooperation with the Common Market. Others have no opinion about this. What is your opinion?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

1 Sweden ought to be closer connected with the Common Market
2 the relation with the Common Market is allright
3 Sweden ought to reduce its cooperation with the Common Market
4 no opinion
8 DK/NA
x other answer

24B Do you think the parties differ in the opinions on the Common Market?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which party or parties do you think is/are anxious to bring Sweden to the Common Market?

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
7 no, have not noticed any party differences
8 DK/NA

25A The Swedish Vietnam policy has been rather much discussed. Some people think that the government has critized USA too much in the last years, some people think the government policy was right, while others think that the government paid too much regard to the relations to USA. Some people have no opinion about this. What is your opinion?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

1 the government critized USA too much
2 the government policy was right
3 the government paid too much regard to USA
4 no opinion
8 DK/NA
x other answer

25B Have you noticed any differences among the parties as to their opinions on the Swedish Vietnam policy?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which party or parties do you think has/ have been critical to USA?

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
7 no, have not noticed any party differences
8 DK/NA

26A I have also some questions about your opinion concerning politics pursued in this country during the last few years.

During the last years we have had a certain amount of unemployment in some places. Do you think this is mainly due to the policy pursued by the government or is it mainly due to other circumstances?

1 mainly due to the policy pursued by the government
5 mainly due to other circumstances
x other answer

26B As a whole we have had full employment in this country during the last twenty years. Is it 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
x other answer

26C 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 the unemployment would have been about the same?

1 more unemployment
3 less unemployment
5 about the same
x other answer

27A The national system of pensions has funds that are invested in different ways. Now it has been decided that one of the funds will be permitted to buy shares in private enterprises for some of the money. What is your opinion on this?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY.)

1 money from the pension fund shall be permitted to be used to buy shares in private enterprises

2 money from the pension fund shall not be permitted to be used to buy shares in private enterprises

3 no opinion

8 DK/NA

x other answer

27B Have you noticed any differences among the parties on this question?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which party or parties was/were positive to the decision of letting the pension funds be used to buy shares?

1 Communist Party

2 Social Democratic Party

3 Center Party

4 People's Party

5 Conservative Party

x other party (INDICATE WHICH)

7 no, have not noticed any party party differences

8 DK/NA

---

28 We have listed different views that commonly appear in political discussions. Could you please tell me your opinion on each of these views. Choose one of the responses in the box to the left on the card.

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

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES:

1 agree entirely

2 agree in the main

4 in the main opposite view

5 entirely opposite view

8 DK/NA

A The risk of unemployment will be less if the State gets more influence over banks and business enterprise.

B Business enterprise fulfils its tasks best if it is left free of interference from the State.

cont'd

C Leaders of banks and industry get too much influence if the State does not have the possibility to control private enterprise.

D 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.

---

29 Lately some unofficial strikes have taken place. What is your opinion on these?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

Are unofficial strikes often justified, can they sometimes be justified or are they never justified?

1 unofficial strikes are often justified
2 unofficial strikes are sometimes justified
3 unofficial strikes are never justified
8 DK/NA
x other answer

30A Would you participate in a demonstration opposing against a governmental decision if the demonstration had a purpose that you agreed with?

1 yes, I would participate
2 no, I would not participate (SKIP TO 31A)
8 DK/NA
x other answer

30B Is there anything in particular that you would be prepared to demonstrate for?

answer: _____

8 DK/NA; no, there is nothing

31A Now I would like to ask you how trustworthy you consider radio, TV and the daily newspapers are. That is, do you consider what is said correct and trustworthy?

1 as a rule they are trustworthy
2 it happens rather often that they are not trustworthy
3 generally, they are not trustworthy
8 DK/NA
x other answer

31B 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. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY.)

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

32 We have listed some different opinions about parties and politics that we sometimes hear 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?

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES:

1 agree entirely
2 agree in the main
4 in the main opposite view
5 entirely opposite view
8 DK/NA

A There is at least one party that always tries to take care of my interests.

B Parties are just interested in people's votes but not in their opinions.

C Those Members of the Riksdag that we elect soon loose contact with common people.

D Trough voting one can truly take part in deciding how things shall be run in this country.

E One can never trust that any of the parties intends to keep its promises.

F Those who sit in the Riksdag and make decisions do not pay much attention to what common people want and think.

33A 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/NA (SKIP TO 33C)

33B Which social class or social group do you have in mind?

1 working class
2 middle class
3 upper class
(SKIP TO 34A)
x other class or group (INDICATE WHICH)
8 DK/NA

(ALTERNATIVES 1-3 SHOULD ONLY BE MARKED IF R'S ANSWER IS PRECISELY THE SAME AS THESE RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES. OTHER ANSWERS SHOULD BE MARKED ON "OTHER CLASS OR GROUP".)

33C (THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE SKIPPED IF R HAS ANSWERED 1, 2 OR 3 IN QUESTION 33B.)

One sometimes speaks of 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
x other answer

34A It is sometimes said that different groups in society are differently treated. Do you think that different groups in society are differently treated by state and local government authorities?

1 yes
5 no
8 DK/NA
x other answer

34B Do you think that people in your occupation and with your income are better or worse treated by state and local government authorities or is there no difference?

1 better treated
3 no difference
5 worse treated
8 DK/NA
x other answer

34C Do you think that politics 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 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
3 to the disadvantage
5 neither to the advantage nor to the disadvantage
8 DK/NA
x other answer

35A How often does it happen that you discuss politics in your family or among your acquaintances? Does it happen often or only occasionally or not at all?

1 often
3 only occasionally
5 not at all
8 DK/NA
x other answer

35B 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 OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY.)

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 too often that I express my opinion
4 I usually participate in the discussion and express my opinion
x other answer

---

36 Do you consider yourself active in any organization or association?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS IF R ANSWERS "YES": In which organization/association are you active?
Are you active in any more organization or association?

(NOTE ALL ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS THAT R MENTIONS.)

organization(s): _____

8 no, no organization or association

37A Many people think of themselves as adherents of a certain party. But there are also many people who don't have any such attitude toward 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 toward any of the parties?

1 yes, I think of myself as an adherent of a certain party
3 DK/doubtful
5 no, I don't think of myself as an adherent of any party — (SKIP TO 37D)
8 NA

37B 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
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
8 NA (SKIP TO 39A)

37C Some people are strongly convinced adherents of their party. Others are not so strongly convinced. Do you yourself belong to the strongly convinced adherents of your party?

1 yes, strongly convinced
5 no, not strongly convinced — (SKIP TO 38A)
x other answer

37D Is there any party that you are closer to than the others?

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
6 Christian Democratic Union
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
8 DK/NA/no party mentioned (SKIP TO 39A)

38A Which party do you like second best?

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
6 Christian Democratic Union
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
8 DK/NA (SKIP TO 38C)

INDICATE ONLY ONE PARTY IF POSSIBLE

38B Which party do you like best after that?

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
6 Christian Democratic Union
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
8 DK/NA

INDICATE ONLY ONE PARTY IF POSSIBLE

NOTE: THE QUESTION CONCERNS "THE THIRD BEST" PARTY

38C Which party do you dislike most?

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
6 Christian Democratic Union
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
8 DK/NA

INDICATE ONLY ONE PARTY IF POSSIBLE

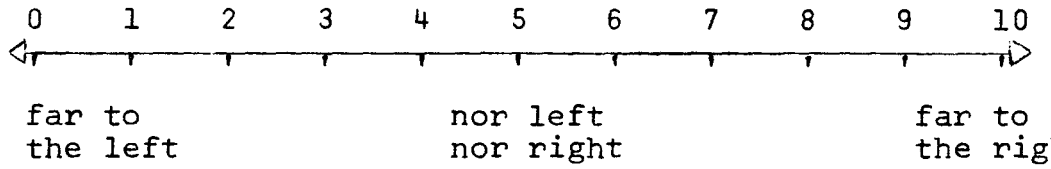
39A One sometimes thinksof the parties as possibly being ordered from left to right according to their political position.

(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 you can choose a low figure. If you think it stands very far to the right you can choose a high figure.

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

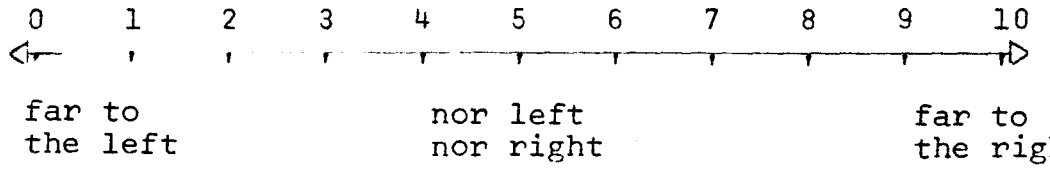
The party's position is:



39B Where do you think you would place yourself on the scale?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD. SAME AS IN Q 39A.)

(TO INTERVIEWER: EXPLAIN, IF NECESSARY, THAT THIS QUESTION CONCERNS R'S OWN POLITICAL POSITION.
TRY TO HAVE R INDICATE ONE OF THE FIGURES ON THE SCALE AS AN ANSWER AND MARK IT ON THE SCALE.)



39C Do you think you have changed your political attitude during the last five years? Which of the descriptions on this card do you think is most applicable?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY.)

1 much more to the left now
2 a little more to the left now
3 same attitude now
4 a little more to the right now
5 much more to the right now
8 DK/NA
x other answer

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

1 yes
3 maybe/don't know for sure
5 no
8 NA

(SKIP TO 41B)

(QUESTIONS 41 AND 42 PERTAIN TO THE RIKSDAG ELECTION)

41A 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
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)

(SKIP TO 43A)

8 have not yet decided/NA (SKIP TO 41C)

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

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
6 Christian Democratic Union
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)

(SKIP TO 43A)

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

41C (COMMENT: ASK THIS QUESTION IF R HAS ANSWERED WITH RESPONSE ALTERNATIVE 8 IN QUESTION 41A OR 41B. IF R REFUSES VERY STRONGLY TO GIVE ANY INFORMATION OF HIS PARTY PREFERENCE AND YOU RECOGNIZE IT USELESS TO ASK QUESTION 41C YOU CAN SKIP THIS QUESTION. WRITE IN THIS CASE "SKIPPED" AT LINE FOR "OTHER ANSWER" BELOW. IF R DOESN'T REFUSE TO ANSWER BUT IS JUST DOUBTFUL ALWAYS ASK QUESTION 41C.)

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

parties: (INDICATE WHICH)

x other answer
8 DK/NA

THERE IS NO QUESTION 42 IN THIS STAGE

43A Do you know the names of any of those who are on the parties' ballots in this constituency in this year's election to the Riksdag?

(WRITE DOWN THE FIRST FOUR NAMES THAT R MENTIONS.)

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R MENTIONS NAMES: To which party does he/she belong?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS: Do you remember the name of anyone else? On which party's ballot?

answer: NAME: PARTY:

8 no, don't know anyone

43B Do you know the names of any of those who are on the parties' ballots in this constituency in this year's election to the local government?

(WRITE DOWN THE FIRST FOUR NAMES THAT R MENTIONS.)

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R MENTIONS NAMES: To which party does he/she belong?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS: Do you remember the name of anyone else? On which party's ballot?

answer: NAME: PARTY:

8 no, don't know anyone

IF R IS BORN 1951 OR LATER: SKIP TO 47

44 Did you vote at the election to the Riksdag in 1970?

1 yes
3 don't remember for sure, but probably
5 no, didn't vote; R doesn't think R voted (SKIP TO 46)
8 DK/NA (SKIP TO 46)

45 Which party did you vote for at the election in 1970?

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
6 Christian Democratic Union
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
8 DK/NA

IF R IS BORN 1948 OR LATER: SKIP TO 47

46 Which party did you vote for when you last voted before 1970?

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
6 Christian Democratic Union
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
8 DK/NA

47 Do you possibly remember when the next Riksdag election will take place?

1 1976 (also: "in three years")
x other answer
8 DK/NA

48A Are you gainfully employed?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R ANSWERS "NO": Are you studying?

1 yes (SKIP TO 48C)
2 yes, but temporarily unemployed (SKIP TO 48C)
3 no, studying
4 no

(CHECK ALTERNATIVE 2 IF R IS TEMPORARILY UNEMPLOYED.)

48B Have you previously been gainfully employed?

1 yes
5 no (SKIP TO 51)

(CHECK "NO" EVEN IF R ONLY HAS BEEN WORKING TEMPORARILY DURING SCHOOL HOLIDAYS.)

48C Which occupation do/did you have?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION TO MAKE THE INFORMATION MORE CLEAR: What kind of work do/did you usually do?

occupation: _____

(QUESTIONS 48C, 49 AND 50 SHOULD BE ASKED TO RESPONDENTS WHO ARE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED AND RESPONDENTS WHO WERE PREVIOUSLY GAINFULLY EMPLOYED. IF R WAS PREVIOUSLY GAINFULLY EMPLOYED USE THE WORDING "DID".)

49 I would also like to ask you which of the occupational groups that you belong/belonged to?

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

(THE WORDING "THAT YOU BELONGED TO" SHOULD BE USED IF R WAS GAINFULLY EMPLOYED AND THE QUESTION SHOULD IN THIS CASE BE RELATED TO R'S LATEST OCCUPATION.)

50A Are you a member of any trade union or any enterpriser's organization or any other occupational organization?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which organization are you a member of?

1 yes (INDICATE THE NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION)
5 no, DK/NA

(DO NOT WRITE DOWN ABBREVIATION, BUT THE WHOLE ORGANIZATION NAME. IF R MENTIONS A NAME OF A HEAD ORGANIZATION, YOU SHOULD ASK WHICH FEDERATION R BELONGS TO AND WRITE DOWN THE NAME OF IT.

THE HEAD ORGANIZATIONS ARE: LANDSORGANISATIONEN (LO), TJÄNSTEMÄNNENS CENTRALORGANISATION (TCO), SVERIGES AKADEMIKERS CENTRALORGANISATION (SACO), STATSTJÄNSTEMÄNNENS RIKSORGANISATION (SR). FARMER'S ORGANIZATIONS ARE CONSIDERED AS ENTERPRISER'S ORGANIZATIONS.)

50B 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 most appropriate?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NECESSARY.)

1 the interests of the members are well taken care of
2 it varies - but in general they are taken well 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/NA
x other answer

---

51 The cooperation between trade unions and private enterprises has been rather much discussed. What is your opinion about this?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

Do you think the trade unions are too positive to cooperation, are they too negative to cooperation or are the trade unions nor too positive nor too negative to cooperation?

1 the trade unions are too positive to cooperation
2 nor too positive nor too negative to cooperation
3 the trade unions are too negative to cooperation
8 DK/NA
x other answer

52A Have you any vocational or theoretical education beyond six or seven years in grade school?

1 yes

5 no, only six or seven years in grade school

52B Which education?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION TO OBTAIN MORE DETAILED ANSWERS: Have you gone through any vocational or theoretical education?

1 8 years in primary/secondary school

2 9 years in primary/secondary school

3 grammar shool secondary education (medium level) (note: 9 years' schooling)

4 girls' secondary shool (note: 11-12 years' schooling)

5 general form of upper secondary school (gymnasium) (note: 12 years' schooling)

x other education (INDICATE WHICH)

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R MENTIONS OTHER EDUCATION: About how long did that school last? (Type of school/education/training and number of years are specified.)

MARRIED: SKIP TO Q 53A
UNMARRIED, DIVORCED, WIDOWER: SKIP TO Q 56A
WIDOW: SKIP TO Q 53C (Q 55 IS ALSO SKIPPED)

53A Is your husband/wife gainfully employed?

1 yes (SKIP TO 53C)

5 no

53B Has he/she previously been gainfully employed?

1 yes

5 no (SKIP TO 56A)

53C Which occupation does/did your husband/wife have?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION TO MAKE THE INFORMATION MORE CLEAR: What kind of work does/did he/she usually do?

occupation: _____

54 I would also like to ask you which of these occupational groups your husband/wife belongs/belonged to?

(SHOW QUESTION CARD)

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

---

55 Do you know if your husband/wife is a member of any trade union or enterpriser's organization or any other occupational organization?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R ANSWERS "YES": Which organization is he/she a member of?

1 yes (INDICATE THE NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION)
5 no, DK/NA

56A Talking about occupations, I would like to ask you which occupation your father has/had?

occupation: _____

56B Do you know which party your father usually votes or voted for?

party: (INDICATE WHICH)

---

57 When you grew 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 ANSWERS "TOWN": Was it any of the cities of Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö?

1 rural area
2 built up area
3 town (but not big city)
4 Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö
x other answer

E L E C T I O N S T U D Y 1 9 7 3

MAIN POST-ELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE

(stage B of the field work)

ELECTION STUDY 1973 STAGE B

The front page of the questionnaire is the same as for stage A, except for a comment for the interviewer to 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 pre-election questionnaire.

1

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 didn't have time or didn't think that the programs were so interesting that they wanted to listen.
Did you listen to any of those programs on TV or radio?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R ANSWERS "YES": About how many such programs did you hear on TV or radio during the month preceding the election?

1 one program
2 two or three programs
3 four or five programs
4 six or seven programs
5 eight or more programs
7 no, did not listen to any program
8 DK/NA
x other answer

TRY TO MAKE R GIVE A NUMBER WHICH CAN BE CHECKED. IF NECESSARY, PUT ADDITIONAL QUESTION, E.G. : "WAS IT ABOUT FOUR OR FIVE PROGRAMS OR WASN'T IT THAT MANY?"

3-40: Same as in stage A

40 Did you vote in the election this year?

1 yes
3 yes, but not in all elections
5 no, did not vote (SKIP TO 42)
8 refuses to answer (SKIP TO 43A)

41A This year we had contemporaneous elections.
Which party did you vote for in the Riksdag election?

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
6 Christian Democratic Union
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
8 refuses to answer

SKIP IF R DID NOT VOTE IN THE RIKSDAG ELECTION

41B Which party did you vote for in the local election?

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
6 Christian Democratic Union
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
8 refuses to answer

SKIP IF R DID NOT VOTE IN THE LOCAL ELECTION

IF R ACCORDING TO RESPONDENT SAMPLE FORM LIVES IN GÖTEBORG, MALMÖ OR GOTLAND (NO COUNTY ELECTIONS ARE HELD HERE): SKIP TO 41D

41C Which party did you vote for in the county election?

1 Communist Party
2 Social Democratic Party
3 Center Party
4 People's Party
5 Conservative Party
6 Christian Democratic Union
x other party (INDICATE WHICH)
8 refuses to answer

SKIP IF R DID NOT VOTE IN THE COUNTY ELECTION

41D When did you decide which party you were going to vote for this year? Was it the last week before the election, previously during fall and summer, or did you know for a long time how you were going to vote?

1 last week before the election
2 previously during fall and summer
3 R knew for a long time how R was going to vote
x other answer

→ SKIP TO 43A

42 (NOTE: QUESTION 42 SHOULD BE USED ONLY WHEN R ABSTAINED FROM VOTING IN ALL OF THE THREE ELECTIONS.)

Which party would you have voted for, <u>if you had voted</u>?

ADDITIONAL QUESTION IF R IS UNCERTAIN: Which party is it <u>most likely</u> that you would have voted for?

party: (INDICATE WHICH)

8 DK/NA

43-57: Same as in stage A

E L E C T I O N S T U D Y 1 9 7 3

POST-ELECTION MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE

(stage B of the field work)

ELECTION STUDY 1973

POST-ELECTION MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE

To Respondent

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

Our study is now completed by this little mail questionnaire. It contains some questions which we - for practical reasons - could not include in the interview before the election.

We should be very grateful if you could answer the questions and return the mail questionnaire in the enclosed envelope. Our address is printed on the envelope and you do not have to stick on any stamps. Please mail the envelope 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.

Yours sincerely,

Rune Sandström
Director
National Central Bureau
of Statistics
Research Institute

Bo Särlvik
Docent
Institute of Political Science
University of Göteborg

As you know there were three contemporaneous elections this year, that is Riksdag election, local election and county election. (Except Göteborg, Malmö and Gotland, where no county elections were held.)
Our questions pertain to how you voted in the different elections. We also want to ask you when you decided how to vote this year and how many programs about the election you listened to on TV and radio.
Please check the appropriate box for each of the elections below, and the most appropriate answer to the other questions.

The Riksdag election

I voted for:

- ☐ Communist Party
- ☐ Social Democratic Party
- ☐ Center Party
- ☐ People's Party
- ☐ Conservative Party
- ☐ Christian Democratic Union
- ☐ other party (indicate which):
- ☐ I didn't vote

The local election

I voted for:

- ☐ Communist Party
- ☐ Social Democratic Party
- ☐ Center Party
- ☐ People's Party
- ☐ Conservative Party
- ☐ Christian Democratic Union
- ☐ other party (indicate which):
- ☐ I didn't vote

The county election

I voted for:

- ☐ Communist Party
- ☐ Social Democratic Party
- ☐ Center Party
- ☐ People's Party
- ☐ Conservative Party
- ☐ Christian Democratic Union
- ☐ other party (indicate which):
- ☐ I didn't vote

When did you decide how to vote this year?

☐ I decided how to vote during the last week before the election
☐ I decided how to vote previously during fall or summer
☐ I knew since long ago how to vote

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 didn't have time or didn't think that the programs were so interesting.
Did you listen to any of these programs on TV or radio?

Please check 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 of these programs on TV or radio

Yes, I listened to:

☐ one program
☐ two or three programs
☐ four or five programs
☐ six or seven programs
☐ eight or more programs

We will be glad to send you a report on our results. If you want a report on the results of the study, you can order it by writing down your name and address below. If you don't want any report, you don't need to write any name.

.....