ELECTION STUDY 2002

Qustionnaire

Interviewer no.

Respondent no.

Time of interview

Month:_____

Day:_____

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GÖTEBORG UNIVERSITY

Swedish Election Study 2002

The following questions asked, and identically worded, both in Phase A and Phase B (pre- and post-election surveys, respectively):

1-4, 6, 9, 11-20, 22, 24, 25, 27-33, 34FA, 37, 39, 41, 65-67, 69-78

The following questions only asked in Phase A (pre-election survey):

5, 7, 8, 11, 21, 23, 26C, 36

The following questions only asked in Phase B (post-election survey):

34C-34I, 34G, 38B, 40, 42-64 (Q. 46-64 are the CSES questions), 68.

The following questions appear in both phases, but with some wording variations (for example that the tense has been changed to accommodate the fact that the election has been held):

10 (appears as q. 60 in phase B with slightly different wording and a different scale), 26 A-B (appear as q. 61 A-B in phase B, but in the reversed order and slightly differently worded), 34A-B, 35, 37A, 38 (appears as q. 38A in phase B with slightly adjusted wording).

Key to the Swedish parties appearing in the questionnaires

Name in English: Centre Party.
Name in Swedish: *Centerpartiet* or *Centern*.
Year of formation: 1921 (predecessor formed in 1913).
Previous names: Farmer's League (*Bondeförbundet*) 1921-1957. Centre Party Farmer's League (*Centerpartiet Bondeförbundet*) 1957-1958.
Ideological location: Centre.
Election result in 2002: 6.2 per cent; 22(349) seats.
Party leader in 2002 election: Maud Olofsson.

Name in English: Christian Democrats.
Name in Swedish: *Kristdemokraterna*.
Year of formation: 1964.
Previous names: Christian Democratic Coalition (*Kristen demokratisk samling*) 1964-1987, Christian Democratic Society Party (*Kristdemokratiska samhällspartiet*) 1987-1996.
Ideological location: Christian Democratic.
Election result in 2002: 9.1 per cent; 33(349) seats.
Party leader in 2002 election: Alf Svensson.

Name in English: Green Party.
Name in Swedish: *Miljöpartiet de gröna*.
Year of formation: 1981.
Previous names: Environmentalist Party (*Miljöpartiet*) 1981-1985.
Ideological location: Green, new politics.
Election result in 2002: 4.6 per cent; 17(349) seats.
Party leaders (spokespersons) in 2002 election: Maria Wetterstrand and Peter Eriksson.

Name in English: Left Party.
Name in Swedish: *Vänsterpartiet*.
Year of formation: 1917 (split from Social Democrats).
Previous names: Left Social Democratic Party of Sweden (*Sveriges socialdemokratiska vänsterparti*) 1917-1921. Communist Party of Sweden (*Sveriges kommunistiska parti*) 1921-1967. Left Party Communists (*Vänsterpartiet kommunisterna*) 1967-1990.
Ideological location: 1920s to 1960s communist (member of 3rd international 1919-1943). 1960s to 1980s Euro-communist. 1990s left socialist, new politics.
Election result in 2002: 8.4 per cent; 30(349) seats.
Party leader in 2002 election: Gudrun Schyman.

Name in English: Moderate Party.
Name in Swedish: *Moderata samlingspartiet* (commonly referred to as *Moderaterna*).
Year of formation: 1904.
Previous names: National membership organisation called General League of Voters (*Allmänna valmansförbundet*) 1904-1938, National Organisation of the Right (*Högerns riksorganisation*) 1938-1952 and National Organization of the Right Party (*Högerpartiets riksorganisation*) 1952-1969. From the formation until 1969 the party was commonly referred to as the Right (*Högern*).
Ideological location: Conservative.
Election result in 2002: 15.3 per cent; 55(349) seats.
Party leader in 2002 election: Bo Lundgren.

Name in English: People's Party Liberals.
Name in Swedish: *Folkpartiet liberalerna*.
Year of formation: 1934 (predecessor formed in 1902).
Previous names: People's Party (*Folkpartiet*) 1934-1990.
Ideological location: Liberal.
Election result in 2002: 13.4 per cent; 48(349) seats.
Party leader in 2002 election: Lars Leijonborg.

Name in English: Social Democratic Party, Social Democrats.
Name in Swedish: *Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti* (commonly referred to as *Socialdemokraterna*).
Year of formation: 1889.
Previous names: None.
Ideological location: Social democratic.
Election result in 2002: 39.9 per cent; 144(349) seats.
Party leader in 2002 election: Göran Persson.

INTRODUCTION

We have been commissioned to undertake an impartial interview study of this year's election. Before the questions I would like to inform you that the answer will only be used for statistical analysis. No outsider will get to know how any individual has answered our questions. I am of course under obligation to observe confidentiality.

PRE-ELECTION QUESTIONS

Question 1

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

SHOW CARD 1. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1	*<u>never</u> reads news and articles about politics* → *3*
2	*<u>occasionally</u> reads news and articles about politics*
3	*<u>often</u> reads news and articles about politics*
4	*reads what there is in the newspaper of news and articles about politics <u>every day</u>*
7	*other answer:*_____
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 2A-D

When you read about <u>politics</u> in the daily papers: <u>How much</u> do you then read about:

SHOW CARD 2. REPEAT QUESTION FOR EVERY AREA

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

___	*A. national politics?*
___	*B. local politics?*
___	*C. politics in other countries/international news?*
___	*D. EU related issues?*

Question 3A-E

Concerning news programmes on radio and television: How <u>often</u> do you watch/listen to (…*NEWS PROGRAMME*)?

SHOW CARD 3. REPEAT QUESTION FOR EACH PROGRAMME

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

____ *A. "Rapport"* (Swedish TV [SVT], channel 1)*?*
____ *B. "Aktuellt"* (Swedish TV [SVT], channel 2)*?*
____ *C. "Ekot", long newscasts on national Radio?*
____ *D. "Nyheterna"* (news on terrestrial commercial channel TV 4)*?*
____ *E. "Direkt"* (news on satellite/cable commercial channel TV3)*?*

Question 4

In general, how interested in politics are you? Which of the answers on this card describes you most accurately? Are you very interested, fairly interested, not very interested or not at all interested in politics?

SHOW CARD 4

1 *very interested*
2 *fairly interested*
3 *not very interested*
4 *not at all interested*
7 *other answer:*_____
8 *DK/refusal*

Question 5A

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

SHOW CARD 5A

1 *very often*
2 *fairly often*
3 *not very often*
4 *not at all*
7 *other answer:*_____
8 *DK/refusal*

Question 5B

What do you usually do yourself when you are in a group of people and the conversation turns to politics? Which of these descriptions describes you most appropriately?

SHOW CARD 5B AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1	*I usually do not bother listening when people start discussing politics*
2	*I may well listen, but never take part in the discussion*
3	*It happens, but not too often, that I say what I think*
4	*I usually take part in the discussion and say what I think*
7	*other answer:*_____
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 5C

How important do you think this year's election is? Do you care a lot about which parties win or lose, or do you think it does not make much difference?

SHOW CARD 5C

1	*care a lot about which parties win or lose*
2	*does not make much difference*
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 5D

In general, how much difference do you think there is between the parties in parliament, regarding their political positions?

SHOW CARD 5D

1	*a great deal of difference*
2	*a fair amount of difference*
3	*not very much difference*
4	*no difference at all*
7	*other answer:*_____
8	*DK/refusal*

Q. 5A-D ONLY ASKED IN STAGE A

Question 6

Thinking of this year's election, is there any issue or issues which are important when it comes to which party you are going to vote for in the Parliamentary election on 15 September?

1	*yes*	
5	*no, no important issue*	→ *7A*
6	*does not intend to vote in Parliamentary election*	→ *7A*
8	*DK/refusal*	→ *7A*

IF R. ANSWERS YES

Which issue or issues?
*issue(es):*_____
_____

ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE → Is there any other issue that is important to you when you choose party in the Parliamentary election?

1	*yes*	
5	*no*	→ *7A*
8	*DK/refusal*	→ *7A*

Which other issue or issues?
*issue(s):*_____
_____

Question 7A

Which party or parties would you prefer to have in government after this year's election?

ADDED QUESTION → Would you like any other party to be included in government?

*parties:*_____

8 *DK/refusal*

ENTER ALL PARTIES MENTIONED BY RESP. ANSWERS "GRAND COALITION" OR "ALL PARTIES" SHOULD ALSO BE ENTERED.

Question 7B

Who would you prefer as Prime Minister in the government after the election?

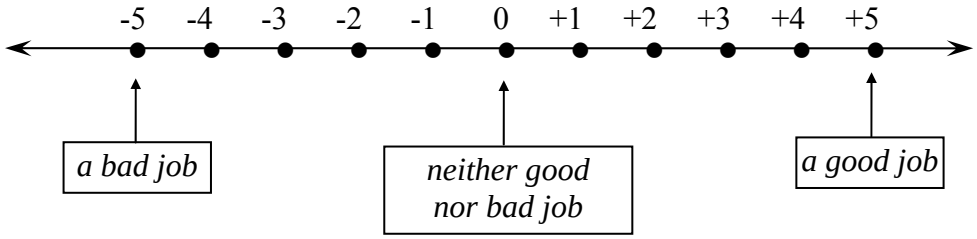
*Prime Minister:*_____

8 *DK/refusal*

Question 8A

Here is a question about how the good a job governing party and the bourgeois opposition parties, respectively, have done since the 1998 election. You may answer using the scale on the card.

SHOW CARD 12. READ OUT QUESTIONS ONE BY ONE. ENTER 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL



____ A. How good a job do you think the Social Democrats have done as governing party since the 1998 election?

____ B. How good a job do you think the bourgeois parties have done as opposition parties since the 1998 election?

Question 8B

If you look forward in time, using the same scale:

____ A. How good a job do you think the Social Democrats will do as governing party in the next four years if they get to form a government after the election?

____ B. How good a job do you think the bourgeois parties will do as governing parties in the next four years if they get to form a government after the election?

Q. 7A-B AND 8A-B ONLY ASKED IN STAGE A

Question 9

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

SHOW CARD 9. ASK ALL THE QUESTIONS BELOW, IN SUCCESSION, FOR EACH ISSUE AREA.

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

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

ENTER THE PARTIES MENTIONED BY RESP. FOR EVERY ISSUE AREA. MORE THAN ONE PARTY IS POSSIBLE. USE PARTY ABBREVIATIONS. IF ANSWER INCLUDES MORE THAN ONE PARTY, ENTER SPACE BETWEEN THE ABBREVIATIONS. USE THE CODE 90 FOR 'ALL PARTIES', 95 FOR 'NO PARTY' AND 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL

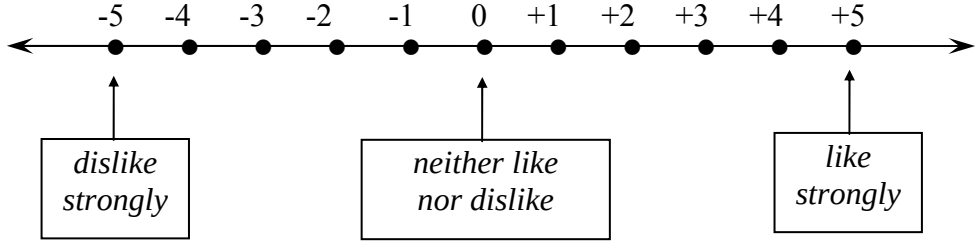
	Parties with a good policy	Parties with a bad policy
Employment	_____	_____
The Swedish economy	_____	_____
Taxes	_____	_____
Issues concerning the conditions for business	_____	_____
Environment	_____	_____
Energy and nuclear power issues	_____	_____
Issues concerning social security	_____	_____
Issues concerning care of elderly	_____	_____
Health care	_____	_____
Issues concerning child care	_____	_____
Schools and education	_____	_____
Ethics and moral issues	_____	_____
Issues concerning law and order	_____	_____
Issues concerning equality between men and women	_____	_____
Issues concerning less densely populated areas in the country	_____	_____

Question 10A

On this card there is a kind of scale.

SHOW CARD 10

I would like you to use it to illustrate how much you like or dislike the different parties. Use 'plus' figures for parties you like and 'minus' figures for parties you dislike. If I get to a party you do not know, or do not know enough about to judge, just say so.



READ OUT ONE PARTY AT A TIME AND ASK QUESTI0N BELOW. IF R. DOES NOT KNOW THE PARTY, ENTER 96. ENTER 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL.

Where would you place:

____ A. The Centre Party?
____ B. The Moderate Party?
____ C. The Left Party?
____ D. The People's Party Liberals?
____ E. The Social Democrats?
____ F. The Green Party?
____ G. The Christian Democrats?

Question 10B

READ OUT ONE PARTY LEADER AT A TIME AND ASK QUESTION BELOW. IF R. DOES NOT KNOW THE PARTY LEADER, ENTER 96. ENTER 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL.

We use the same scale for the party leaders. If I mention a party leader you do not know, or do not know enough about, just tell me. Where would you place:

____ A. Maud Olofsson?
____ B. Bo Lundgren?
____ C. Gudrun Schyman?
____ D. Lars Leijonborg?
____ E. Göran Persson?
____ F. Peter Eriksson?
____ F. Maria Wetterstrand?
____ G. Alf Svensson?

Q 10 ASKED AS Q. 60 IN STAGE B

Question 11A

On this card there are a number of words and expressions that can be used to describe different characteristics of party leaders and parties. I would like you to tell me how appropriately you think that each of them describes Göran Persson, Bo Lundgren, the Social Democrats and the Moderate Party. We will only ask about the two biggest parties and their leaders.

SHOW CARD 11

1	very appropriate
2	fairly appropriate
3	not very appropriate
4	not at all appropriate
8	*DK/refusal*

FOR EACH PARTY LEADER AND EACH PARTY, READ OUT ONE EXPRESSION AT A TIME AND LET R. CHOOSE ALTERNATIVE. ENTER RESPONSE NUMBER.

Thinking of *(…PARTY LEADER)*, how appropriate do you think the following expression is:

Göran Persson

____ *trustworthy*
____ *inspiring*
____ *knowledgeable*
____ *friendly*
____ *knows the thoughts and feelings of ordinary people*
____ *speaks so that ordinary people can understand*
____ *strong leader*

Bo Lundgren

_____ *trustworthy*
____ *inspiring*
____ *knowledgeable*
____ *friendly*
____ *knows the thoughts and feelings of ordinary people*
____ *speaks so that ordinary people can understand*
____ *strong leader*

Question 11B

Thinking of *(…PARTY)*, how appropriate do you think the following expression is:

SHOW CARD 11

Social Democrats

____ *trustworthy*
____ *inspiring*
____ *friendly*
____ *knows the thoughts and feelings of ordinary people*
____ *has competent people who can run the country*
____ *has clear policies*
____ *mostly keeps its election promises*

Moderate Party

____ *trustworthy*
____ *inspiring*
____ *friendly*
____ *knows the thoughts and feelings of ordinary people*
____ *has competent people who can run the country*
____ *has clear policies*
____ *mostly keeps its election promises*

Q. 11A AND 11B ONLY ASKED IN STAGE A

Question 12

Generally speaking, how much trust do you have in Swedish politicians? Do you a great deal of trust, a fair amount of trust, not much trust or very little trust?

SHOW CARD 12

1 *great deal of trust*
2 *a fair amount of trust*
3 *not much trust*
4 *very little trust*
7 *other answer:*_____
8 *DK/refusal*

Question 13

I will now read to you a list of things which some people think ought to be implemented in Sweden. For each of them, could you say if it is:

SHOW CARD 13 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1	a very good proposal
2	a fairly good proposal
3	neither a good nor bad proposal
4	a fairly bad proposal
5	a very bad proposal
8	*DK/refusal*

READ OUT ALTERNATIVES ONE BY ONE

Using the answers on this card, what is your view on the proposal to:

____	A.	Reduce the size of the public sector?
____	B.	Reduce defence spending?
____	C.	Reduce social benefits?
____	D.	Cut taxes?
____	E.	Keep the property tax?
____	F.	Sell off state owned businesses and public utilities to private interests?
____	G.	Reduce income differences in society?
____	H.	Increase the proportion of health care run by private interests?
____	I.	Reduce the influence on politics by the financial markets?
____	J.	Keep the maximum charge in child care nurseries?
____	K.	Do more to promote independent schools?
____	L.	Introduce reports with grades for school pupils at an earlier age than is the case today?
____	M.	Increase financial support to less densely populated areas of the country?
____	N.	Introduce six hour working day for all gainfully employed?
____	O.	Prohibit all forms of pornography?
____	P.	Restrict the right to free abortion?
____	Q.	Allow gay and lesbian couples to adopt children?
____	R.	Significantly raise the severity of prison sentences for criminals?
____	S.	Strengthen animal rights?
____	T.	Sweden should in the long run abolish nuclear power?
____	U.	Stop private driving in inner cities?
____	V.	Increase the amount of labour immigration to Sweden?
____	W.	Introduce a language test as a criterion for Swedish citizenship?

Question 14

There are varying views about nuclear as energy source. What is your opinion? Are you, on the whole, in favour of or against nuclear power, or do you have no definite opinion on the issue?

SHOW CARD 14

1	*on the whole in favour of nuclear power*
2	*on the whole against nuclear power*
3	*no definite opinion on the issue*
7	*other answer:*_____
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 15

Are you on the whole in favour of or against the Swedish membership of the EU, or do you have no definite opinion on the issue?

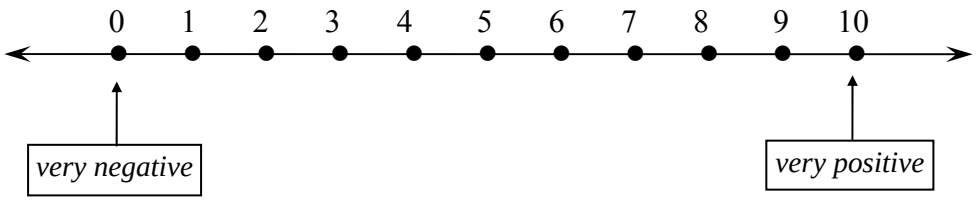
SHOW CARD 15

1	*on the whole in favour of the Swedish EU membership*
2	*on the whole against the Swedish EU membership*
3	*no definite opinion on the issue*
7	*other answer:*_____
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 16

Do you think it is a positive or negative thing that the EU develops into a federal state, a kind of United States of Europe? You may answer using the scale on this card.

SHOW CARD 16



ENTER RESPONSE NUMBER. ENTER 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL

____

R's own position regarding the EU as a federal state, a kind of United States of Europe

Question 17

What is your view on the parties' policies on a number of issues regarding Sweden's relations to other countries? I begin with issues concerning Swedish foreign and security policy.

SHOW CARD 17. ASK QUESTIONS BELOW IN SUCCESSION FOR EACH OF THE ISSUE AREAS.

Is there in your opinion a party or parties with a good policy on *(ISSUE AREA)?*

Is there in your opinion a party or parties with a good policy on *(ISSUE AREA)?*

ENTER THE PARTIES MENTIONED BY R. FOR EACH RESPECTIVE ISSUE AREA. MORE THAN ONE PARTY IS POSSIBLE. USE PARTY ABBREVIATIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE PARTY MENTIONED, ENTER SPACE BETWEEN ABBREVIATIONS. USE CODE 90 FOR 'ALL PARTIES', 95 FOR 'NO PARTY' AND 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL.

	Parties with a good policy	Parties with a bad policy
Issues concerning Swedish foreign and security policy	_____	_____
Issues concerning Swedish aid to developing countries	_____	_____
Issues concerning the European Union EU	_____	_____
Issues concerning the EMU	_____	_____
Refugee/immigration issues	_____	_____
Issues concerning the US war on terrorism	_____	_____
Issues concerning the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians	_____	_____
Issues concerning NATO	_____	_____

Question 18

I will now read to you a list of proposals regarding Sweden's relations with other countries. What is your opinion about each of them? For each proposal, could you say whether it is:

SHOW CARD 18 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1	a very good proposal
2	a fairly good proposal
3	neither a good nor bad proposal
4	a fairly bad proposal
5	a very bad proposal
8	*DK/refusal*

READ OUT ALTERNATIVES ONE BY ONE

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

____ A. Reduce development aid?
____ B. Accept fewer refugees into Sweden?
____ C. Increase economic support to immigrants so that they can keep their own culture?
____ D. Write off third world debt?
____ E. Sweden should withdraw from the EU?
____ F. Sweden should join the EMU?
____ G. Sweden should apply for NATO membership?
____ H. Sweden should strive to promote increased free trade across the whole world?
____ I. Sweden should give political support to the US war on terrorism?

Question 19

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

SHOW CARD 19

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

1	agree entirely
2	agree on the whole
3	disagree on the whole
4	disagree entirely
8	*DK/refusal*

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

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

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

Question 20

We have also put together some opinions concerning parties and politics. Some are rather critical.

SHOW CARD 20

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

1	agree entirely
2	agree on the whole
3	disagree on the whole
4	disagree entirely
8	*DK/refusal*

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

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

____ B. Those who sit in Parliament making decisions do not pay much attention to the thoughts and views of ordinary people.

____ C. You can never trust any of the parties to keep their election promises.

Question 21

Now follows a question about how you think our society should develop in the next few years. On this card there are some goals which many think we should be working for in our society.

SHOW CARD 21

1	maintain law and order
2	give individuals more possibility of influencing political decisions
3	fight rising prices
4	protect freedom of speech
8	*DK/refusal*

NB! THE SAME RESPONSE ALTERNATIVE (1-4) MAY ONLY APPEAR ONCE FOR EACH OF Q. 21A TO 21C

____ A. I would like to know which of the goals you consider as the <u>most important</u>?

____ B. Which goal is, in your opinion, the <u>second most important</u>?

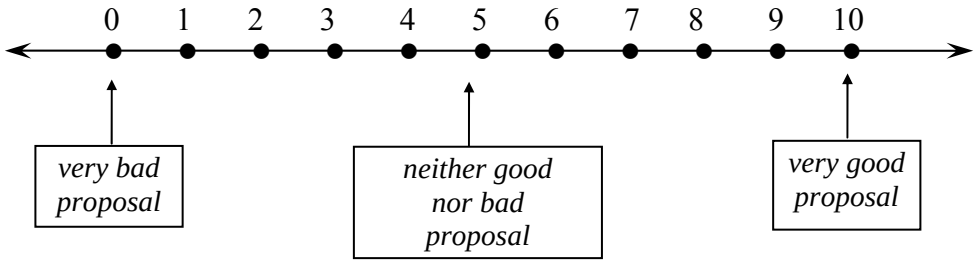
____ C. Which goal is, in your opinion, the <u>least important</u>?

Q. 21 ONLY ASKED IN STAGE A

Question 22

On this card I have a list with proposals of different kinds of society some people think we should work towards in Sweden for the future. I would like to know what you think about these proposals. You may answer using the scale on this card. A high number means that you think that a proposal is good. A low number means that you think that a proposal is bad.

SHOW CARD 22



ASK ABOUT ONE PROPOSAL AT A TIME. DK/REFUSAL=98

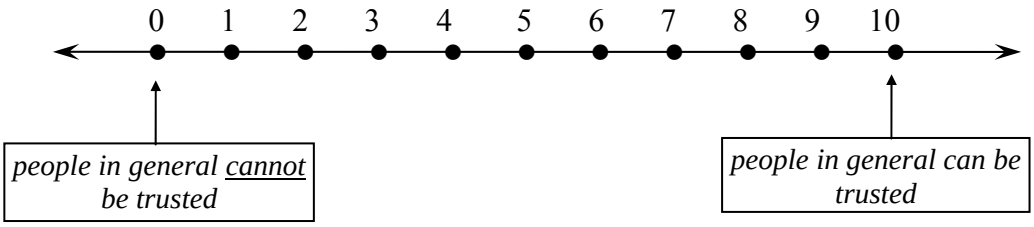
What do you think about the proposal to:

____ A. Work towards a society with more private enterprise and market economy?
____ B. Work towards a socialist society?
____ C. Work towards a society with a high rate of economic growth and high productivity?
____ D. Work towards an environmentally friendly society even if it means low or no economic growth?
____ E. Work towards a society that utilises advanced technology, such as computers and industrial robots to make production efficient?
____ F. Work towards a society where Christian values are more important?
____ G. Work towards a society with more law and order?
____ H. Work towards a society with better equality between men and women?
____ I. Work towards a society that protects traditional Swedish values?
____ J. Work towards a society that strengthens the position of the family?
____ K. Work towards a multicultural society with much tolerance of people from other countries with other religions and lifestyles?
____ L. Work towards a society with more emphasis on internationalism and less of borders between people and countries?

Question 23

In your opinion, to what extent can people in general be trusted? You may answer with the scale on the card.

SHOW CARD 23. ENTER 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL



____ *R's view on the extent to which people in general can be trusted*

Q. 23 ONLY ASKED IN STAGE A

Question 24A

Many people consider themselves adherents of a specific party. But there are also many others who do not have any such attachment to any of the parties. Do you usually think of yourself as, for example, a *folkpartist, socialdemokrat, moderat, centerpartist, vänsterpartist, miljöpartist,* or *kristdemokrat*? Or do you have no such attachment to any of the parties?

1	*yes, thinks of him/herself as an adherent of a specific party*
3	*does not know/hesitant*
5	*no, does not think of him/herself as an adherent of a specific party* → *24D*
8	*does not want to answer*

Question 24B

Which party do you like best?

1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):*_____
98	*DK/refusal* → *26A*

Question 24C

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*
7	*other answer:*_____ → *25*
8	*does not want to answer*

Question 24D

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

1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):*_____
95	*no, no party* → *26A*
98	*DK/refusal* → *26A*

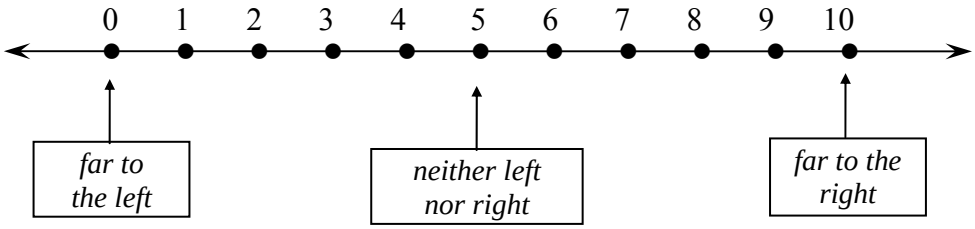
	Question 25 Which party do you like second best? *IF POSSIBLE, ENTER ONLY ONE PARTY*
1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):*_____
95	*no party*
98	*DK/refusal*

Question 26A

The parties are sometimes thought of as being ordered from left to right according to their political outlook.

SHOW CARD 26

On this card there is a kind of scale. I would like you to place the political parties on the scale.



ASK QUESTIONS BELOW . IF R. HAS NO CONCEPTION OF"LEFT/RIGHT", ENTER 96. ENTER 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL

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

____ A. People's Party Liberals?
____ B. Social Democrats?
____ C. Moderate Party?
____ D. Left Party?
____ E. Centre Party?
____ F. Green Party?
____ G. Christian Democrats?

Question 26B

Where on the scale would you place yourself?

EXPLAIN - IF NECESSARY - THAT THIS QUESTION CONCERNS R'S OWN POLITICAL OUTLOOK

____ *R's own position on left-right scale*

Question 26C

READ OUT ONE PARTY LEADER AT A TIME AND ASK QUESTION BELOW. IF R. DOES NOT KNOW THE PARTY LEADER, ENTER 97. ENTER 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL.

We will use the same scale for the party leaders. If I mention a party leader you do not know, or do not know enough about, just say so. Where would you place:

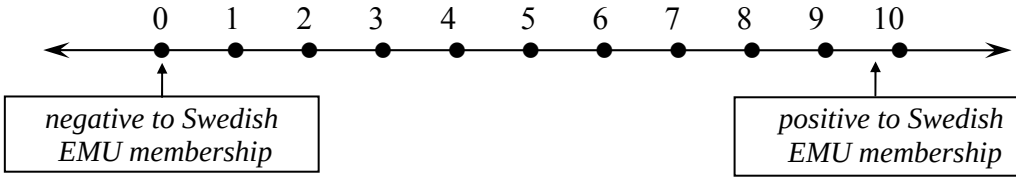
____ Lars Leijonborg
____ Göran Persson
____ Bo Lundgren
____ Gudrun Schyman
____ Maud Olofsson
____ Peter Eriksson
____ Maria Wetterstrand
____ Alf Svensson

Q. 26 ASKED AS Q. 61 IN STAGE B

Question 27A

On the next scale we would like you to place the parties according to their positions on Swedish membership of the EMU. If you do not know the position of any of the parties, just say so.

SHOW CARD 27



ASK QUESTIONS BELOW. ENTER 96 IF R. DOES NOT KNOW ABOUT THE EMU, IF PARTIES ARE UNKNOWN AND 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL

We begin with the Moderate Party. Where on the scale would you place the Moderate Party?

____ A. Moderate Party?
____ B. Green Party?
____ C. Social Democrats?
____ D. People's Party Liberals?
____ E. Left Party?
____ F. Centre Party?
____ G. Christian Democrats?

Question 27B

Where on the scale would you place yourself?

EXPLAIN – IF NECESSARY - THAT THIS QUESTION CONCERNS R'S OWN VIEW ON THE EMU

____ *R's own position regarding Swedish membership of the EMU*

Question 28A

Do you intend to vote if there is a referendum on Swedish EMU membership next year?

1	*yes, intends to vote*	
3	*possibly, not sure*	
5	*no, does not intend to vote*	→ *28D*
9	*does not want to answer*	

Question 28B

Do you intend to vote yes to Swedish EMU membership, no to Swedish EMU membership or do you intend to vote blank?

SHOW CARD 28B

1	*intends to vote yes to Swedish EMU membership*	→ *29*
2	*intends to vote no to Swedish EMU membership*	
3	*intends to vote blank*	→ *28C*
4	*not decided/DK*	→ *28C*
9	*does not want to answer*	→ *29*

Question 28C

Are you leaning in any particular direction, are you leaning towards voting yes, leaning towards voting no or are you leaning towards voting blank?

SHOW CARD 28C

1	*leans towards voting yes to Swedish EMU membership*	
2	*leans towards voting no to Swedish EMU membership*	
3	*leans towards voting blank*	→ *29*
8	*DK/refusal*	

Question 28D

If you were to vote, how would you vote?

SHOW CARD 28D

1	*would vote yes to Swedish EMU membership*
2	*would vote no to Swedish EMU membership*
3	*would vote blank*
4	*not decided/DK*
5	*does not intend to vote in the referendum*
9	*does not want to answer*

Question 29

I will now read out a list of proposals that have appeared in the debate about the EU. What is your view on each of them? Using the answers on this card, what is your view on the proposal to:

SHOW CARD 29 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

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

READ OUT ALTERNATIVES ONE BY ONE

Using the answers on this card, what is your view on the proposal to:

____ A. Accept countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary as EU member nations as soon as possible?
____ B. Sweden should participate fully in the EU defence co-operation?
____ C. Reduce the possibility for member nations to veto decisions by the Council of Ministers?
____ D. Re-introduce stricter border controls between EU countries?
____ E. Reduce the amount of agricultural subsidies in the EU?
____ F. Decriminalise the use of hashish?

Question 30A

USE PARTY ABBREVIATIONS IN Q. 30A AND 30B. RESPONSES MAY INCLUDE MORE THAN ONE PARTY. ENTER SPACE BETWEEN THE ABBREVIATIONS

Which party or parties are, as you see it, in favour of Swedish EMU membership?

parties:_____

98 *DK/refusal/does not remember*

Question 30B

Which party or parties are, as you see it, against Swedish EMU membership?

parties:_____

98 *DK/refusal/ does not remember*

Question 31A

What is your view on the current economic situation in Sweden? Would you say that the economic situation is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or very bad?

SHOW CARD 31A

1	*very good*
2	*good*
3	*neither good nor bad*
4	*bad*
5	*very bad*
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 31B

Would you say that the Swedish economy has improved, remained the same or gone worse during the past 12 months?

1	*improved*
3	*remained the same*
5	*gone worse*
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 31C

How do you think the Swedish economy will develop in the next 12 months? Will it improve, remain the same or will it go worse?

1	*improve*
3	*remain the same*
5	*go worse*
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 31D

If you compare your own economic situation with what it was 12 months ago, has it improved, remained the same or has it gone worse?

1	*improved*
3	*remained the same*
5	*gone worse*
8	*DK/refusal*

	Question 31E Looking forward, how do you think your own economic situation will develop in the next 12 months? Will it improve, remain the same or will it go worse?
1	*improve*
3	*remain the same*
5	*go worse*
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 32

Here is a list with names of different persons. Could you tell me which party each of them belongs to? I begin with Karin Pilsäter.

SHOW CARD 32

READ OUT ONE NAME AT A TIME AND ENTER THE PARTY MENTIONED BY R. USE THE CODES FOR THE PARTIES.

____	A.	Karin Pilsäter?
____	B.	Bo Ringholm?
____	C.	Lena Ek?
____	D.	Gunilla Carlsson?
____	E.	Åsa Domeij?
____	F.	Johan Lönnroth?
____	G.	Inger Davidsson?
____	H.	Anna Lindh?

1	*LEFT PARTY*
2	*SOCIAL DEMOCRATS*
3	*CENTRE PARTY*
4	*PEOPLE'S PARTY LIBERALS*
5	*MODERATE PARTY*
6	*CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS*
7	*GREEN PARTY*
9	*OTHER PARTY*
98	*DK/REFUSAL*

Question 33

On this card there are a number of statements. Could you say whether each of them is true or false. If you are not certain of the answer, you may say that you do not know whether the statement is true or false.

SHOW CARD 33

1	true statement
5	false statement
8	*DK*
9	*does not want to answer*

READ OUT ONE STATEMENT AT A TIME.

____	A.	The sickness benefit from National Insurance is at the moment 90 per cent of the wage/salary from the first day of sick leave.
____	B.	The Swedish parliament has 349 members.
____	C.	Open unemployment in Sweden is less than 5 per cent.
____	D.	One Euro is at the moment worth more than ten Swedish *kronor*.
____	E.	Spain is a member of the EU.
____	F.	Swedish state aid to developing countries at the moment amounts to one per cent of the gross domestic income (GDI).
____	G.	Last year just over 20,000 people applied for asylum in Sweden.
____	H.	During the 1998 – 2002 election period, Sweden had a single party Social Democratic government.

Question 34A

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

1	*yes*
3	*maybe/DK*
5	*no*
8	*does not want to answer*

Question 34B

R. INTENDS TO VOTE, ALTERNATIVE 1 IN Q. 34A → For which party do you intend to vote in the parliamentary election?

R. HESITANT OR DOES NOT INTEND TO VOTE, ALTERNATIVE 3, 5 OR 8 IN Q. 34A → If you were to vote, for which party would you the vote in the parliamentary election?

1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):*_____
10	*blank*
11	*not decided/DK*
12	*does not want to answer*

Question 34FA

How to you intend to cast your vote in this year's election? Do you intend to go and vote at a polling station on 15th September, do you intend to vote in a post office or have your already voted in a post office?

SHOW CARD 34FA

1	*intends to vote at polling station on election day*
2	*intends to vote in post office*
5	*has already voted in post office*
6	*has already voted in post office, but intends to vote at polling station on election day*
7	*has already voted at care institution*
8	*DK/not decided*
9	*does not want to answer*

Q. 34C-34I NOT ASKED IN STAGE A

Question 35

You say you are going to vote for *(...PARTY, see q. 34B*) in this year's parliamentary election. How important are the following reasons for your choice of party?

SHOW CARD 35 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1	one of the absolutely most important reasons
2	fairly important reason
3	not very important reason
4	not at all an important reason
8	*DK/refusal*

READ OUT ONE REASON AT A TIME

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

____ A. The party's policies are usually advantageous to my occupational group?
____ B. The party has a good leader?
____ C. I feel like an adherent of the party?
____ D. The party has good policies on many of the issues recently given attention in the public debate?
____ E. The party has competent people who can run the country?
____ F. The party has a good political ideology?
____ G. I usually always vote for the party?
____ H. The party has good parliamentary candidates on the ballot paper in my constituency?
____ I. The party has good policies on issues I think are important?
____ J. The party has done a good job in politics in recent years?
____ K. The party has a good programme for the future?
____ L. It is a big party, and therefore has a better chance than a smaller party to implement its policies?
____ M. It is a small party, and is in danger of not reaching the four percent threshold to parliamentary representation.

Question 36A

How many per cent of the votes do you think the Social Democrats will get in this year's parliamentary election?

ENTER ONE DECIMAL

____ *R's prediction of the Social Democrats' proportion of the votes in this year's parliamentary election*

998 *DK/refusal*

Question 36B

And how many per cent of the votes do you think the Moderate Party will get in this year's parliamentary election?

ENTER ONE DECIMAL

____ *R's prediction of the Moderate Party's proportion of the votes in this year's parliamentary election*

998 *DK/refusal*

Question 36C

And how do you think the Green Party, the Centre Party and the People's Party Liberals will do?

READ OUT QUESTION FOR ONE PARTY AT A TIME. ENTER 1 FOR THE PARTIES R. THINKS WILL GET AT LEAST 4 PER CENT OF THE VOTES, AND ENTER 5 FOR THE PARTIES R. THINKS WILL GET LESS THAN 4 PERCENT. ENTER 8 FOR DK/REFUSAL.

Do you think that (…PARTY) will get at least 4 per cent in the election and thus be represented in the new parliament?

____ *Green Party*
____ *Centre Party*
____ *People's Party Liberals*

Q. 36A-36C ONLY ASKED IN STAGE A

Question 37

Do you know the name of one or more of the persons appearing on the party lists in your parliamentary constituency?

1	*yes*	
5	*no* →	*38*
8	*DK/refusal* →	*38*

Question 37B

To which party does he/she belong?

ENTER THE <u>FIRST</u> NAME MENTIONED BY R. AND ASK THE FOLLOW-UP QUESTION. DO NOT FORGET TO ENTER THE PARTY (USE PARTY ABBREVIATIONS) AND GENDER (M/W) FOR THE CANDIDATES MENTIONED BY R.

Do you remember the name of any other person?

ENTER THE <u>THREE FOLLOWING</u> NAMES MENTIONED BY R. AND ASK FOLLOW-UP QUESTION

To which party does he/she belong?

ENTER THE FOUR FIRST NAMES MENTIONED BY R.

yes, name 1:_____party:_____gender:_____

yes, name 2:_____party:_____gender:_____

yes, name 3:_____parti:_____gender:_____

yes, name 4:_____party:_____gender:_____

8 *DK/refusal/does not remember*

Question 38

In this year's election it is possible to cast a personal vote by putting a cross before one of the candidates on the ballot paper. Do you think you will cast a personal vote in the parliamentary election ?

1	*yes*
3	*yes, possibly*
5	*no* → *39*
8	*DK/refusal* → *39*

If so, for which candidate do you think you will cast a personal vote in the parliamentary election?

ENTER THE WHOLE NAME, BOTH CHRISTIAN NAME AND SURNAME. ALSO ENTER THE PARTY OF THE CANDIDATE (USE PARTY ABBREVIATIONS) AND GENDER (M/W).

name:_____party:_____gender:_____

8 *DK/refusal*

Question 39

Generally speaking, what is your view about personal voting in Swedish parliamentary elections? You may choose one of the following response alternatives.

SHOW CARD 39 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1	*no personal vote should exist, only choice between parties*
2	*there should be an element of personal voting, but to a lesser extent than in this year's parliamentary election*
3	*there should be an element of personal voting, and the level used in this year's parliamentary election is about right*
4	*the extent of personal voting should be further increased in future parliamentary elections*
7	*other answer:_____*
8	*DK/refusal*

Q. 40 NOT ASKED IN STAGE A

R. BORN 21ST SEPTEMBER 1984 OR LATER → 65A

Question 41A

Did you vote in the 1998 parliamentary election?

1	*yes*
3	*does not remember for sure, but probably*
5	*no, did not vote/R. does not believe R. voted*
8	*DK/refusal*

→ *65A*

Question 41B

Which party did you vote for in the 1998 parliamentary election?

1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):*_____
98	*DK/refusal*

Q. 42-64 NOT ASKED IN STAGE A

Finally a few questions about yourself.

Question 65A

I will begin with some questions about employment and work. To which of the groups on this card do you belong?

SHOW CARD 65A AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1	*gainfully employed*
2	*in relief work/youth training/unemployment programme*
3	*in labour market training course organised by AMS (Labour Market Board)*
4	*in education supported by "kunskapslyftet" (government-sponsored project)*
5	*unemployed*
6	*old age pensioner*
7	*pre-retirement age pensioner*
8	*domestic worker (housewife)*
9	*student*
77	*other group (state which):*_____
98	*DK/refusal*

Question 65B

Have you been gainfully employed in the past?

1	*yes*
5	*no* → *65H*
9	*does not want to answer*

Question 65C

What is/was your occupation?

ADDED QUESTION TO CLARIFY OCCUPATION/TYPE OF WORK → What type of work do/did you mainly do?

work/occupation:_____

QUESTION IS ASKED BOTH TO WORK ACTIVE AS WELL AS RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN WORK ACTIVE IN THE PAST. IF R. HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN THE PAST, USE THE WORDS "WAS" AND "DID"

Question 65D

On average, how many hours do/did you work per week?

SHOW CARD 65D

1	*full time*
2	*part time, at least 15 hours a week*
3	*part time, less than 15 hours a week*
9	*does not want to answer*

Question 65E

What is/was the main activity at your workplace?

activity: _____

Question 65F

Could you tell me which of the following occupational groups you belong/belonged to?

THE WORDS "YOU BELONGED TO" ARE USED IF R. HAS BEEN WORK ACTIVE IN THE PAST. THE QUESTION SHOULD THEN REFER TO R'S MOST RECENT OCCUPATION

SHOW CARD 65F

1	*salaried employee*
2	*salaried employee with supervisory responsibilities*
3	*salaried employee at managerial level*
4	*worker*
5	*worker with supervisory responsibilities*
6	*self-employed worker*
7	*farmer: no employees*
8	*farmer: one or more employees*
9	*self-employed: no employees*
10	*self-employed: 1-9 employees*
11	*self-employed: 10 or more employees*
77	*other answer:*_____

ADDED QUESTIONS FOR "EMPLOYEES"

Are/were you permanently employed?

1 *yes*
5 *no*
7 *other answer:*_____
8 *DK/refusal*

Do/did you have your own business besides your employment?

1 *yes*
5 *no*
7 *other answer:*_____
8 *DK/refusal*

Do/did you regularly work with something else besides your regular employment?

1 *yes*
5 *no*
7 *other answer:*_____
8 *DK/refusal*

Question 65G

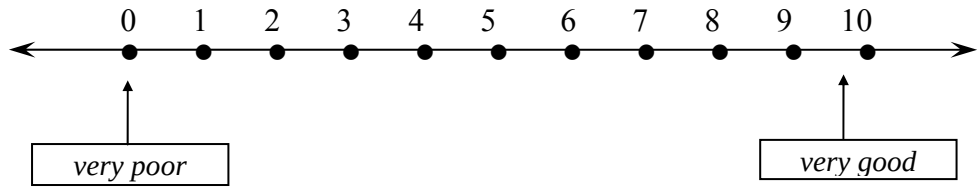
Are/were you employed by the state (central government), local government, regional government or by a private employer?

1 *state/central government*
2 *local government*
3 *regional government*
4 *private*
7 *other answer:*_____
9 *does not want to answer*

Question 65H

In general, how would you assess your personal health? You may answer using the scale on this card.

SHOW CARD 65H



ENTER RESPONSE NUMBERS. ENTER 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL

____ *R's own assessment of his/her own health*

98 *DK/refusal*

Question 65I

Have you been on sick leave from work at any time during the past 12 months?

1 *yes*
2 *no* → *66A*
5 *not applicable* → *66A*
7 *other answer:*_____
8 *DK/refusal* → *66A*

Question 65J

For how long have you been on sick leave from work during the part 12 months?

SHOW CARD 65J

1 *altogether for a few days up to 1 week*
2 *altogether for 1 week to 1 month*
3 *altogether for 1 to 6 months*
4 *altogether for 6 to 12 months*
5 *for more than 12 months*
7 *other answer:*_____
8 *DK/refusal*

Question 66A

Are you currently studying for a degree or a vocational qualification?

NB! R. WHO ANSWERED "STUDENT" ON Q. 63A SHOULD ONLY BE ASKED THE ADDED QUESTION

1 *yes*
5 *no* → *66B*
9 *does not want to answer* → *66B*

ADDED QUESTION IF R. ANSWERS "YES"

Are you studying full time or part time?

1 *yes, full time*
5 *yes, part time*
7 *other answer:*_____
9 *does not want to answer*

Question 66B

What type of education do you have?/What are you studying?

ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS → Have you taken any other practical or theoretical education?

1	primary school	*6 or 7 year primary/secondary school (old system)*
2	comprehensive school	*8 or 9 year comprehensive school (current system)*
3	vocational school	*various forms of vocational and apprentice education taught in publicly organised schools, 1 year trade college*
4	secondary school	*2 year secondary school (old system), total: 9 years of education*
5	secondary/high school	*2 year secondary school (current system), total: 11 years of education*
6	upper secondary/ high school	*3 or 4 year secondary school (current system), total: 12 years of education. No degree yet taken; studying at this level*
7	upper secondary/ high school	*As above. Completed degree.*
8	university	*no degree, studying at this level.*
9	university	*completed degree.*

77 *other education:* _____
98 *DK/refusal*

IF MORE THAN ONE FROM ALTERNATIVES 1-9 ARE APPLICABLE, ENTER ONLY THE ONE WITH THE HIGHEST NUMBER. WE ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN THE HIGHEST LEVEL AT WHICH R. IS STUDYING/HAS STUDIED. IF IN DOUBT, ENTER R'S RESPONSE NEXT TO "OTHER EDUCATION"

Question 67

Are you a member of any trade union, organisation for business owners or any other professional, vocational or business organisation or association?

1	*yes*
5	*no*
8	*does not want to answer* → *69A*

ADDED QUESTION IF R.ANSWERS YES → Of which organisation are you a member?

*Name of organisation:*_____

_____

DO NOT ENTER ABBREVATIONS, BUT THE WHOLE NAME OF THE ORGANISATION. IF R. MENTIONS THE NAME OF A PEAK LEVEL TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION (LO, TCO OR SACO), ASK FOR AND ENTER THE NAME OF THE UNION. FARMERS ORGANISATION TO BE COUNTED AS BUSINESS ASSOCIATION.

Q. 68 NOT ASKED IN STAGE A

Question 69A

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

1	*yes*
5	*no*
8	*does not want to answer* → *70A*

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Of which party or political organisation or association are you a member?

*party:*_____

*political organisation or association:*_____

ENTER THE NAMES OF THE PARTY/ ORGANISATIONS MENTIONED BY R. MORE THAN ONE ORGANISATION POSSIBLE.

Question 69B

Are you an active member of (…PARTY/POLITICAL ORGANISATION/ ASSOCIATION)? By active I mean attending meetings a few times per year.

1	*yes, active*
5	*no, not active*
7	*other answer:*_____
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 70A

How often do you usually attend services or meetings in the Church of Sweden, a Free Church or any other church or denomination?

SHOW CARD 70A AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

RADIO, TV, HOSPITAL SERVICES, ETC., ALSO TO BE COUNTED AS SERVICES

1	*never* →	*71*
2	*once a year*	
3	*2-11 times a year*	
4	*once a month*	
5	*2 or more times a month*	
6	*every week*	
7	*other answer:*_____	
8	*DK/refusal* →	*71*

Question 70B

Do you usually go to the Church of Sweden, to a Free Church or to any other church or denomination?

1	*Church of Sweden*
2	*Free Church (state which):*_____
3	*other church or denomination (state which):*_____
7	*other answer:*_____
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 71

Generally speaking, how religious would you say you are?

SHOW CARD 71

1	*have no religious faith*
2	*not particularly religious*
3	*fairly religious*
4	*very religious*
7	*other answer:*_____
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 72

Concerning your marital status, which of the designations on this card describes your situation most adequately?

SHOW CARD 72 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1	*married/living permanently with partner*	
2	*single: widowed*	
3	*single: divorced* →	*74*
4	*single: never married* →	*74*
7	*other answer:*_____	
9	*does not want to answer*	

Question 73

Could you tell me to which of the following groups your husband/wife/partner belongs/belonged to?

USE THE EXPRESSION "YOUR HUSBAND/WIFE/PARTNER BELONGED TO" IF HUSBAND/WIFE/PARTNER HAS BEEN WORK ACTIVE IN THE PAST. Q. SHOULD THEN REFER TO THE MOST RECENT OCCUPATION

SHOW CARD 73

1	*salaried employee*
2	*salaried employee with supervisory responsibilities*
3	*salaried employee at managerial level*
4	*worker*
5	*worker with supervisory responsibilities*
6	*self-employed worker*
7	*farmer: no employees*
8	*farmer: one or more employees*
9	*self-employed: no employees*
10	*self-employed: 1-9 employees*
11	*self-employed: 10 or more employees*
77	*other answer:*_____
98	*DK/refusal*

Question 74

If you were to describe your current family, i.e. the household to which you belong, which of the following categories would you is the most appropriate?

SHOW CARD 74 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1	*working class family*
2	*salaried employee family*
3	*well off salaried employee family/university scholar family*
4	*farming family*
5	*business family*
7	*other answer:*_____
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 75A

Where did you for the most part live as a child? You may answer using the alternatives on this card.

SHOW CARD 75 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1	*countryside in Sweden*
2	*built up area in Sweden*
3	*town or city (except three cities below) in Sweden*
4	*Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö*
5	*other Nordic country*
6	*other European country outside the Nordic region*
7	*country outside Europe*
77	*other answer:*_____
98	*DK/refusal*

Question 75B

Where did your <u>father</u> for the most part live as a child? You may answer using the alternatives on this card.

SHOW CARD 75 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

OTHER PERSON IN THE ROLE OF FATHER TO BE REGARDED AS FATHER

1	*countryside in Sweden*
2	*built up area in Sweden*
3	*town or city (except three cities below) in Sweden*
4	*Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö*
5	*other Nordic country*
6	*other European country outside the Nordic region*
7	*country outside Europe*
77	*other answer:*_____
98	*DK/refusal*

Question 75C

Where did your <u>mother</u> for the most part live as a child? You may answer using the alternatives on this card.

SHOW CARD 75 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

OTHER PERSON IN THE ROLE OF MOTHER TO BE REGARDED AS MOTHER

1	*countryside in Sweden*
2	*built up area in Sweden*
3	*town or city (except three cities below) in Sweden*
4	*Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö*
5	*other Nordic country*
6	*other European country outside the Nordic region*
7	*country outside Europe*
77	*other answer:_____*
98	*DK/refusal*

Question 76A

<u>R's current home</u>

1	*farm or isolated countryside house*
2	*detached house or row house in residential area*
3	*flat in high rise area*
4	*flat in (non-high rise area)*
7	*other residence:_____*

Question 76B

Do you, or someone else in your household own or rent the property where you currently live?

1	*rents the property*
2	*owns the property (including membership of property association, 'bostadsrätt')*
7	*other answer:_____*
8	*does not want to answer*

Question 77A

What language is usually spoken in your household?

1	*Swedish*
2	*other language (state which):_____*
8	*DK/refusal*

Question 77B

Here is a question about your language skills. Could you read a simple text in any of the following languages?

SHOW CARD 75B AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1	yes, without difficulty
2	yes, with some difficulty
5	no
8	*DK/refusal*

Could you read a simple text in English?

REPEAT QUESTION FOR EACH LANGUAGE AND ENTER RESPONSE NUMBER

____ *A. English*
____ *B. German*
____ *C. French*
____ *D. Spanish*

7 *other languages R spontaneously claims to be able to read without difficulty:*

_____

_____

Question 78

Are there any children below 18 living in your household?

IF R. ANSWERS YES, ASK FOR THE AGE AND GENDER OF EACH CHILD, AND ENTER THE DETAILS

1 *yes*
2 *no*
7 *other answer:*_____
8 *does not want to answer*

*gender and age of child/children:*_____

_____

INTERVIEWER'S NOTES AFTER COMPLETED INTERVIEW:

Where does R. live?

1 *pure countryside*
2 *small town or village*
3 *suburb of large town or city*
4 *large town or city*

7 *other notes:*_____
_____

Duration of interview?

*minutes:*_____

☐ *Yes, R. wishes to receive "1998 ELECTION STUDY REPORT"*

☐ *Yes, R. wishes to receive "2002 ELECTION STUDY REPORT"*

POST-ELECTION QUESTIONS

QUESTION 34A

Did you vote in this year's election?

1	*yes*	
3	*yes, but not in all the elections* →	*OF Q. 34B-34D, ASK THOSE THAT ARE APPLICABLE*
5	*no, did not vote in any of the elections* →	*34H*
9	*refusal* →	*37A*

QUESTION 34B

As you know we had several elections at the same time this year. For which party did you vote in the parliamentary election?

1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):_____*
10	*blank*
12	*does not want to answer*
15	*did not vote in parliamentary election*

QUESTION 34C

For which party did you vote in the local election?

1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):_____*
10	*blank*
12	*does not want to answer*
15	*did note vote in local election*

USE VOTING CARD AT THE END OF INTERVIEW FOR R. WHO REFUSE TO ANSWER Q. 34A OR 34B.

QUESTION 34D

IF R. LIVES ON GOTLAND (HAS NO REGIONAL ELECTION) GO TO Q. 30E → *34E*

For which party did you vote in the regional election?

1 *Left Party*
2 *Social Democrats*
3 *Centre Party*
4 *People's Party Liberals*
5 *Moderate Party*
6 *Christian Democrats*
7 *Green Party*
9 *other party (state which):*_____
10 *blank*
12 *does not want to answer*
15 *did not vote in regional election*

QUESTION 34E

When did you decide which party to vote for in this year's parliamentary election? Was it during the last week before the election or earlier in the autumn and summer or did you know all along how you would vote?

1 *last week before the election*
2 *earlier in autumn and summer*
3 *R. knew all along which party to vote for*
7 *other answer:*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 34F

Did you vote in a post office in this year's election?

1 *yes*
5 *no* → *34H*
8 *DK/refusal* → *34H*

QUESTION 34G

Did you vote in a post office during the last week before the election or did you vote in a post office earlier during the election campaign?

1 *voted in post office last week before election*
2 *voted in post office earlier during campaign*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 34H

Q. 34H ONLY ASKED TO R. WHO DID NOT VOTE IN 2002 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION. QUESTION APPLIES TO PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION ONLY.

For which party would you have voted, if you had voted in the parliamentary election?

ADDED QUESTION IF R. IS IN DOUBT → For which party are you most likely to have voted in the parliamentary election?

1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):*_____
10	*blank*
12	*does not want to answer*

QUESTION 34I

FIRST QUESTION ASKED TO R. WHO VOTED IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION. SECOND Q. ASKED TO R. WHO DID NOT VOTE IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION. THIRD Q. ASKED TO R. WHO VOTED BLANK IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION. (SEE Q. 34A-B)

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

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

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

ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS

Is there any other reason you would like to mention?

*answer:*_____

_____

_____

8	*DK/refusal*

QUESTION 34J

FIRST QUESTION ASKED TO R. WHO DID NOTE VOTE IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION. SECOND Q. ASKED TO R. WHO VOTED BLANK IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION. (SEE Q. 34A-B)

How important were the following reasons for your not voting in the parliamentary election?

How important were the following reasons for your voting blank in the parliamentary election?

SHOW CARD 34J AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

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

READ OUT ONE REASON AT A TIME

____ A. Not interested in politics?
____ B. Not enough knowledge of what the parliamentary election was about?
____ C. No trust in politicians?
____ D. Small differences between the parties?
____ E. No party represents my views?
____ F. Not in agreement on key issues with the party I otherwise like best?
____ G. My vote makes no difference?
____ H. It was already obvious who would be in government?
____ I. Busy/away/ill/accident?

QUESTION 40

I would now like to ask you a few questions about parliament and the members of parliament.

SHOW CARD 40 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES ONE BY ONE.
1 YES, 5 NO, 8 DK/REFUSAL.

Have you in the past few years:

____ A. Read an article by, or interview with, a member of parliament?
____ B. Been to a meeting or event where a member of parliament has appeared?
____ C. Written a letter or email, or in some other way been in touch with a member of parliament?
____ D. Visited the Internet homepage of a member of parliament?

QUESTION 42

Q. 42 ONLY ASKED TO PARTY SWITCHERS, I.E. R. WHO VOTED FOR A DIFFERENT PARTY IN THE 1998 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION (Q. 41A) THAN IN THE 2002 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION (Q. 34B). ENTER 2 IF R. HAS NOT VOTED DIFFERENTLY IN 2002 COMPARED TO 1998 . DO NOT ASK QUESTION TO R. WHO HAS NOT GIVEN ANY PARTY ON Q. 34B.

In this year's parliamentary election you voted for (*...PARTY, see q. 34B*). Four years ago, in the 1998 parliamentary election, you voted for (*...PARTY, see q. 41B*). What made you vote differently this year compared to 1998?

ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS

Was there anything else that made you vote differently this year?

*answer:*_____

2 R. has not voted differently in 2002 compared to 1998
8 DK/refusal

QUESTION 43A

Before this year's election, did you read any election brochure or other printed matter from any party?

ENTER ALL PARTIES MENTIONED BY R. IN Q. 43A-E. USE PARTY ABBREVIATIONS WITH A SPACE AFTER EACH PARTY. ALSO ENTER THE ANSWER "ALL PARTIES" (CODE 90).

1 *yes*
5 *no*
8 *DK/refusal*

ADDED QUESTION IF ANSWER IS YES

From which party or parties?

*party(ies):*_____

3 *does not remember from which party*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 43B

Before this year's election, did you visit any of the parties' home pages on the Internet?

1 *yes*
5 *no*
8 *DK/refusal*

ADDED QUESTION IF ANSWER IS YES

The homepages of which party or parties?

*party(ies):*_____

3 *does not remember which party's homepage*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 43C

Before this year's election, did you attend any election meeting or any other event arranged by a party?

1 *yes*
5 *no*
8 *DK/refusal*

ADDED QUESTION IF ANSWER IS YES

Which party or parties?

*party(ies):*_____

3 *does not remember which party*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 43D

Before this year's election, were you personally visited in the home or did you receive a telephone call from any party?

SHOW CARD 43D

1 *yes, personal visit in the home*
2 *yes, telephone call*
3 *yes, both personal visit in the home and telephone call*
5 *no*
8 *DK/refusal*

*ADDED QUESTION IF R. ANSWERS YES. IF R. HAS BOTH BEEN VISITED IN THE HOME AND RECEIVED A TELEPHONE CALL, NOTE AFTER EACH PARTY **(B)** FOR VISIT, **(T)** FOR TELEPHONE CALL, OR **(BT)** FOR BOTH VISIT AND TELEPHONE CALL.*

From which party or parties?

*party(ies):*_____

3 *does not remember from which party*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 43E

Before this year's election, were you in personal contact with any election campaign worker at your workplace?

1 *yes*
5 *no*
8 *DK/refusal*

ADDED QUESTION IF ANSWER IS YES

From which party or parties?

*party(ies):*_____
3 *does not remember from which party*
6 *not gainfully employed*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 43F

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

1 *yes*
5 *no*
7 *other answer:*_____
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 44

Did you watch the concluding party leader debate on Swedish Television (SVT), on the Friday before the election on 15th September?

SHOW CARD 44

1 *yes, saw the whole party leader debate*
2 *yes, saw part of the party leader debate*
5 *no, did not watch the party leader debate*
7 *other answer:*_____
8 *DK/refusal*

	QUESTION 45 In this year's election, the parties brought up different issues that they thought were important. *ASK BELOW QUESTION FOR EACH PARTY AND ENTER THE ISSUES AND PROBLEMS GIVEN BY R. FOR EACH PARTY. ENTER 8 FOR NO AND FOR DK/REFUSAL* Could you say which issues *(...PARTY)* particularly emphasised in this year's election? *ADDED QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS* Could you mention something else that *(...PARTY)* emphasised?
	Social Democrats *answer:*_____ _____
8	*no/DK/refusal*
	People's Party Liberals *answer:*_____ _____
8	*no/DK/refusal*
	Moderate Party *answer:*_____ _____
8	*no/DK/refusal*
	Centre Party *answer:*_____ _____
8	*no/DK/refusal*
	Left Party *answer:*_____ _____
8	*no/DK/refusal*
	Green Party *answer:*_____ _____
8	*no/DK/refusal*
	Christian Democrats *answer:*_____ _____
8	*no/DK/refusal*

Next follow some interview questions, which are included in a large international survey of voters from many different countries. Some of the questions are similar to the interview questions you have already answered, but we still ask you to answer them, so that the results can be compared with other countries.

QUESTION 46A

We begin with various things people do in elections. Did you do any of the following in this year's election – talk to people to persuade them to vote for a particular party or candidate?

SHOW CARD 46AC

1	*yes*	
2	*no*	→ *46C*
8	*DK/refusal*	→ *46C*

QUESTION 46B

How often did you do this – frequently, occasionally, rarely

SHOW CARD 46BD

1	*frequently*
2	*occasionally*
3	*rarely*
8	*DK/refusal*

QUESTION 46C

Show your support for a particular party or a particular candidate by, for example, attending a meeting, putting up a poster or in some other way?

SHOW CARD 46AC

1	*yes*	
2	*No*	→ *47*
8	*DK/refusal*	→ *47*

QUESTION 46D

How often did you do this – frequently, occasionally, rarely

SHOW CARD 46BD

1	*frequently*
2	*occasionally*
3	*rarely*
8	*DK/refusal*

QUESTION 47

In this year's election campaign, did a candidate or anyone from a political party contact you to persuade you to vote for them?

SHOW CARD 47

1 *yes*
2 *no*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 48

What do you think has been the most important issue facing Sweden over the last four years?

*most important issue:*_____

_____

8 *DK/refusal* → *50*

QUESTION 49A

And thinking about that issue, that is (…*issue in q. 48…)*, how good or bad a job do you think the government has done over the past four years – a very good job, a good job, a bad job or a very bad job?

SHOW CARD 49A

1 *very good job*
2 *good job*
3 *bad job*
4 *very bad job*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 49B

To what extent is the government, the local councils, the regional councils, and the EU, respectively, able to influence the development in (…*most important issue in q. 48…*)? We begin with the government.

SHOW CARD 49B

1 to a very significant extent
2 to a fairly significant extent
3 to a fairly limited extent
4 to a very limited extent
8 DK/refusal

____ A. the government
____ B. the local councils
____ C. the regional councils
____ D. the EU

QUESTION 50

Now thinking about the performance of the government in general, how good or bad a job do you think the government has done over the past four years, has it done a very good job, a good job, a bad job or a very bad job?

SHOW CARD 50

1 *very good job*
2 *good job*
3 *bad job*
4 *very bad job*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 51

On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Sweden?

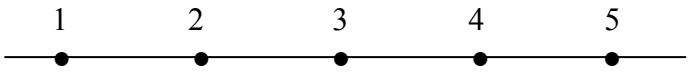
SHOW CARD 51

1 *very satisfied*
2 *fairly satisfied*
3 *not very satisfied*
4 *not at all satisfied*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 52

Some people say it makes a difference who is in power. Others say that it does not make a difference who is in power. Using the scale on this card, what is your view?

SHOW CARD 52



it makes a difference who is in power

it does <u>not</u> make a difference who is in power

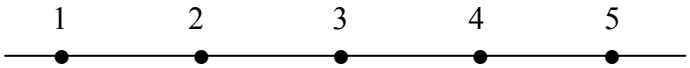
ENTER RESPONSE NO. ENTER 8 FOR DK/REFUSAL

____ *R's position regarding whether it makes a difference who is in power*

QUESTION 53

Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a difference to what happens. Using the scale on this card, what is your view?

SHOW CARD 53



who people vote for won't make a difference to what happens

who people vote for can make a difference to what happens

ENTER RESPONSE NUMBER. ENTER 8 FOR DK/REFUSAL

____ *R's position regarding whether people's votes make a difference to what happens*

QUESTION 54

Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement: Democracy may have its problems, but it is better than other forms of government. Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree or disagree strongly?

SHOW CARD 54

1 *agree strongly*
2 *agree*
3 *disagree*
4 *disagree strongly*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 55

Q. 55 ONLY ASKED TO R. WHO HAVE GIVEN A PARTY IN Q. 34B.

How well did (…*R's party choice in 2002 parliamentary election.*…) perform over the past four years – has it done a very good job, a good job, a bad job or a very bad job?

SHOW CARD 55

1 *very good job*
2 *good job*
3 *bad job*
4 *very bad job*
8 *DK/refusal*

QUESTION 56

Thinking of how elections in Sweden work in practice, how well do you think elections ensure that the views of voters are represented by MPs – very well, quite well, not very well, not well at all?

SHOW CARD 56

1	*very well*
2	*quite well*
3	*not very well*
4	*not well at all*
8	*DK/refusal*

QUESTION 57A

Would you say that any of the parties in Sweden represents your views reasonably well?

SHOW CARD 57A

1	*yes*	
2	*no*	→ *58A*
8	*DK/refusal*	→ *58A*

QUESTION 57B

Which party represents your views best?

1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):*_____
98	*DK/refusal*

QUESTION 58A

Regardless of how you feel about the parties, would you say that any of the individual party leaders represents your views reasonably well?

SHOW CARD 56A

1	*yes*	
2	*no*	→ *59A*
8	*DK/refusal*	→ *59A*

QUESTION 58B

Which party leader represents your views best?

1	*Gudrun Schyman*
2	*Göran Persson*
3	*Maud Olofsson*
4	*Lars Leijonborg*
5	*Bo Lundgren*
6	*Alf Svensson*
7	*Peter Eriksson*
8	*Maria Wetterstrand*
9	*other party leader:*_____
98	*DK/refusal*

QUESTION 59A

Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party?

1	*yes*	→ *59B*
5	*no*	→ *59D*
8	*DK/refusal*	→ *59D*

QUESTION 59B

Which party is that?

1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):*_____
98	*DK/refusal*

FURTHER PARTIES TO BE ENTERED, BUT ONLY IF R. <u>HIM/HERSELF</u> MENTIONS MORE THAN ONE PARTY. <u>DO NOT ASK</u> FOR FURTHER PARTIES

IF R. ONLY MENTIONS ONE PARTY OR DK/REFUSAL, GO TO Q. 59F AND ENTER 99 FOR SECOND AND THIRD MENTIONED PARTIES. IF R. MENTIONS MORE THAN ONE PARTY, ENTER THAT PARTY OR PARTIES AND GO TO Q. 59C

<u>Second mentioned party:</u>

1 Left Party
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party Liberals
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
7 Green Party
*9 other party (state which):*_____
99 no party mentioned

<u>Third mentioned party:</u>

1 Left Party
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party Liberals
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
7 Green Party
*9 other party (state which):*_____
99 no party mentioned

QUESTION 59C

Which party do you feel closest to?

1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):*_____
98	*DK/refusal*

GO TO Q. 59F

QUESTION 59D

Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?

1	*yes* →	*59E*
5	*no* →	*60A*
8	*DK/refusal* →	*60A*

QUESTION 59E

Which party is that?

1	*Left Party*
2	*Social Democrats*
3	*Centre Party*
4	*People's Party Liberals*
5	*Moderate Party*
6	*Christian Democrats*
7	*Green Party*
9	*other party (state which):*_____
98	*DK/refusal*

QUESTION 59F

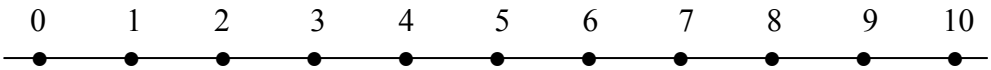
Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close or not very close?

1	*very close*
2	*somewhat close*
3	*not very close*
8	*DK/refusal*

QUESTION 60A

I would like to know what you think about each of our political parties. Could you rate the parties on a scale between 0 and 10, where 0 means that you strongly dislike a party and 10 means that you strongly like a party. If I come to a party you have not heard of, or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.

SHOW CARD 60



strongly dislike

strongly like

ENTER RESPONSE NUMBER. IF R. DOES NOT KNOW THE PARTY, ENTER 96. ENTER 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL

The first party is the Centre Party

____ A. Centre Party
____ B. Moderate Party
____ C. Left Party
____ D. People's Party Liberals
____ E. Social Democrats
____ F. Green Party
____ G. Christian Democrats

QUESTION 60B

We keep the same scale, but I would now like to know how much you like or dislike some of our party leaders. If I come to a party leader you have not heard of, or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.

ENTER RESPONSE NUMBER. IF R. DOES NOT KNOW THE PARTY LEADER, ENTER 96. ENTER 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL

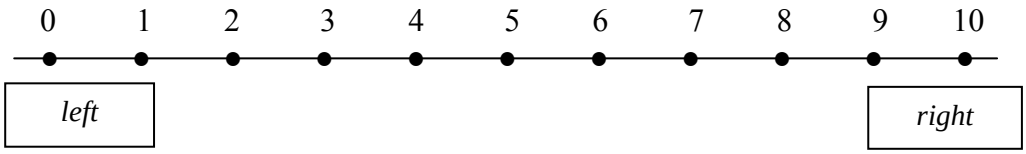
The first party leader is Maud Olofsson

____ A. Maud Olofsson
____ B. Bo Lundgren
____ C. Gudrun Schyman
____ D. Lars Leijonborg
____ E. Göran Persson
____ F. Peter Eriksson
____ G. Maria Wetterstrand
____ H. Alf Svensson

QUESTION 61A

In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale between 0 and 10, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

SHOW CARD 61



ENTER RESPONSE NUMBER. IF R. CLAIMS NOT TO KNOW WHAT LEFT AND RIGHT IS, ENTER 96. ENTER 98 FOR DK/REFUSAL

____ *R's own position on left- right scale*

QUESTION 61B

Where would you place the parties on the same scale?

SHOW CARD 61

____ A. People's Party Liberals?
____ B. Social Democrats?
____ C. Moderate Party?
____ D. Left Party?
____ E. Centre Party?
____ F. Green Party?
____ G. Christian Democrats?

QUESTION 62

Over the past five years, have you done any of the following things to express your political views?

SHOW CARD 62. REPEAT QUESTION FOR EACH ACTIVITY

1 yes
2 no
8 DK/refusal

____ A. Contacted a politician either in person, or in writing, or some other way?
____ B. Taken part in a protest, march or demonstration?
____ C. Worked together with people who shared the same concern as yourself?

	QUESTION 63 How much respect is there for individual freedom and human rights in Sweden? Do you feel there is a lot of respect for individual freedom and human rights, some respect, not much respect, or no respect at all? *SHOW CARD 63*
1	*a lot of respect*
2	*some respect*
3	*not much respect*
4	*no respect at all*
8	*DK /refusal*
	QUESTION 64 How widespread is corruption, such as bribe taking, amongst politicians in Sweden – very widespread, fairly widespread, not very widespread, it hardly happens at all? *SHOW CARD 64*
1	*very widespread*
2	*fairly widespread*
3	*not very widespread*
4	*it hardly happens at all*
8	*DK/refusal*

That was the final question in the set of international questions (questions 46-64). Responses to these questions will be used in international comparative research and will among other things be communicated via the Internet. All responses are de-identified. It will not be possible to find out the responses of any individual person. For formal legal reasons we must ask if you accept that your responses to these international questions, together with the responses of all other interviewees, are communicated over the Internet?

1 *yes*
5 *no*

	QUESTION 68 Is any other person in your household a member of a trade union?
1 *5* *7* *8*	*yes* *no* *no, lives alone* *DK/refusal*