Göteborg University

Department of Political Science

Swedish Election Study 1982

- Questionnaires -

The Swedish Election Studies Programme

The Swedish Election Studies Programme was initiated by Jörgen Westerståhl and Bo Särlvik in the mid 1950s, shortly after the Michigan Election Studies began. The first studies were done in conjunction with the local elections in 1954 and the parliamentary elections in 1956.

In all parliamentary elections since 1956, as well as in the ATP referendum in 1957 and the Nuclear Power referendum in 1980, a large representative sample of eligible voters has been interviewed. The basic design in the latest studies has been a rolling panel in which half of the sample has been interviewed in connection with the previous election, and the other half in connection with the succeeding election. In recent years the sample size has been approximately 3600 and the response rate 75 to 80 per cent.

The early Election Studies were directed by Jörgen Westerståhl (1954-1956), Bo Särlvik (1954-1973) and Olof Petersson (1973-1976). The most recent studies have been directed by Sören Holmberg (1979-1991) and Mikael Gilljam (1985-1991). The most recent publication from the programme is **Väljarna inför 90-talet** (The Voters Facing the 90s) by Mikael Gilljam and Sören Holmberg (Stockholm: Norsteds Juridik 1993).

The questionnaires from the 1982 Election Study were translated into English by Anders Widfeldt.

Swedish Election Study 1982 (SSD 0157)

Principal investigator: Sören Holmberg, Department of Political Science, Göteborg University.

Total sample: 3,597

Number of respondents: 2,943

Sample loss: 654 (18.2 %)

Number of variables: 303

Weight: Respondents belonging to the 1979-1982 panel who did not respond in 1979 had their sample probability halved in 1982. These are represented by two records in the data file. The number of respondents is therefore 2,980 and the sample loss is 744.

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

Panel: The study represents stage two in the 1979-1982 panel and stage one in the 1982-1985 panel.

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

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N.B. Pages 1-34 (pre-election questionnaire) correspond with pages in the original Swedish questionnaire. This is not the case for the post-election and post-election mail questionnaires.

ELECTION STUDY 1982

Stage **A**. Pre-election interviews.

Interviewer no. _____

Sample sheet no. _____

Time for interview

date:_____

time started:_____

time ended:_____

Respondent's year of birth

Gender of Respondent

1. Male
2. Female

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8

For questions and information concerning the 1982 election study, please contact:

Principal investigator
Sören Holmberg
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Box 5048
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INTRODUCTION

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

IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS HE/SHE WAS INTERVIEWED FOR THE 1979 ELECTION

Many of those we interview this year have been interviewed once before. The reason is that we are particularly interested in the voters' views on politics on several different occasions.

1A I begin with a question about newspapers and other news periodicals. Which newspaper or newspapers do you read regularly? By regularly I mean at least once a week.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION FOR COMPLETE ANSWERS → Is there any other news periodical that you read at least once a week?

5 Does not read newspapers → 3

1B How often do you read (newspaper x)? You can answer using this card. Which answer describes you most accurately?

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

1C Is there, as you see it, any of the political parties which (newspaper x) supports more than other parties?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

READ OUT ONE NEWSPAPER AT A TIME AND NOTE THE PARTY/PARTIES MENTIONED BY R. USE PARTY ABBREVIATIONS: M, FP, C, S, VPK, KDS.

1A NEWSPAPER	1B NO. OF DAYS			1C PARTY	NO	DK
1.	6-7	3-5	1-2	.....	5	8
2.	6-7	3-5	1-2	.....	5	8
3.	6-7	3-5	1-2	.....	5	8
4.	6-7	3-5	1-2	.....	5	8
5.	6-7	3-5	1-2	.....	5	8

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

SHOW CARD 2. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT THE ALTERNATIVES.

1 never reads news and articles about politics.
2 reads news and articles about politics occasionally
3 often reads news and articles about politics
4 reads what there is in the newspaper of news and articles about politics every day

x → other answer: _____

3 Concerning news programmes on radio and television: How often do you watch/listen to (NEWS PROGRAMME X)?

SHOW CARD 3.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION → How often do you watch/listen to (...news programme X).

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

READ OUT NEWS PROGRAMMES ONE BY ONE AND WRITE NUMBER IN BOX

"Rapport" **(TV, national channel 2, 7:30 p.m.)**

"Aktuellt" **(TV, national channel 1, 9:00 p.m.)**

"Morgonekot" kl 7.00 and/or "Ekot" kl 1800
(radio, national channel 1, 7:00 a.m. and/or 6:00 p.m.)

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

SHOW CARD 4

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

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

5A I would now like to ask a few questions about things you see as positive and negative about the different parties. I begin with the Social Democrats. Is there anything about the Social Democrats that you particularly appreciate or sympathize with?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the Social Democrats that you appreciate or sympathize with?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5 no
8 DK

5B Is there anything about the Social Democrats that you dislike?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the Social Democrats that you dislike?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5 no
8 DK

6A Is there anything about the People's Party that you particularly appreciate or sympathize with?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the People's Party that you appreciate or sympathize with?

▷ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5 no
8 DK

6B Is there anything about the People's Party that you dislike?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the People's Party that you dislike?

▷ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5 no
8 DK

7A Is there anything about the Moderates that you particularly appreciate or sympathize with?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the Moderates that you appreciate or sympathize with?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5 no
8 DK

7B Is there anything about the Moderates that you dislike?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the Moderates that you dislike?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5 no
8 DK

8A Is there anything about the Centre Party that you particularly appreciate or sympathize with?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the Centre Party that you appreciate or sympathize with?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5 no
8 DK

8B Is there anything about the Centre Party that you dislike?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the Centre Party that you appreciate or sympathize with?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5 no
8 DK

9A Is there anything about the Left Party Communists that you particularly appreciate or sympathize with?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the Left Party Communists that you appreciate or sympathize with?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5 no
8 DK

9B Is there anything about the Left Party Communists that you dislike?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the Left Party Communists that you dislike?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5 no
8 DK

10 Thinking about this year's election, is there any issue or issues that is especially important to you when it comes to choosing which party you are going to vote for in the Riksdag election on September 19th?

IF YES → Which issue or issues?

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

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

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

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

SHOW CARD 11. ASK THE QUESTIONS BELOW IN SUCCESSION FOR EACH ISSUE.

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

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

ADDED QUESTION IF YES — Which party or parties?

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

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

ADDED QUESTION IF YES — Which party or parties?

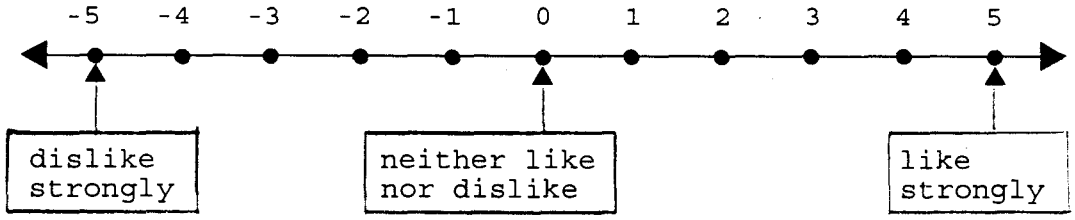
NOTE THE PARTIES MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT ALONGSIDE EACH ISSUE BELOW. USE ABBREVIATIONS: S, FP, M, C, V, KDS. WRITE 5 FOR "NO PARTY" ANSWERS AND 8 IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW OR DOES NOT WANT TO ANSWER.

	Parties with a <u>good</u> policy		Parties with a <u>bad</u> policy	
→Employment	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→Environment	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→Issues concerning the Wage Earner's Funds	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→Taxes	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→Issues concerning problems in the Swedish economy	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8
→Issues concerning peace and international disarmament	_____ 5	8	_____ 5	8

12A On this card there is a kind of scale.

SHOW CARD 12AB

I would like you to use it in order to state how much you like or dislike the parties. If you like a party, use the "plus" figures. The better you like a party, the higher the "plus" figure. For parties you dislike, use the "minus" figures. The more you dislike a party, the higher the "minus" figure. The zero point on the scale indicates that you neither like nor dislike a party.



READ OUT THE PARTIES ONE BY ONE AND ASK THE QUESTION BELOW. WRITE THE FIGURE STATED BY RESPONDENT. DON'T FORGET PLUS AND MINUS SIGNS. INDICATE WITH AN X IF RESPONDENT CANNOT OR DOES NOT WANT TO GIVE AN ANSWER FOR SOME PARTY.

Where would you place:

|__| the Centre Party?
|__| the Moderate Party?
|__| the Left Party Communists?
|__| the People's Party?
|__| the Social Democrats?
|__| the Environmentalist Party?
|__| the Christian Democratic Party?

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

|__| Thorbjörn Fälldin? **(Centre)**
|__| Ulf Adelsohn? **(Moderate)**
|__| Lars Werner? **(Left Party Communists)**
|__| Ola Ullsten? **(People's Party)**
|__| Olof Palme? **(Social Democrats)**

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

SHOW CARD 13. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES.

1 very good proposal: very important that it is implemented

2 fairly good proposal: fairly important that it is implemented

3 does not really matter

4 fairly bad proposal: fairly important that it is not implemented

5 bad proposal: very important that it is not implemented

8 DK

READ OUT PROPOSALS ONE BY ONE AND WRITE NUMBER IN BOX

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

A. Reduce tax deductions for private house owners.
B. Reduce the size of the public sector.
C. Transfer parts of business profits to Wage Earner's Funds which are run by the unions.
D. Socialize large companies.
E. Reduce expenditure on defence.
F. Reduce government influence on private enterprise.
G. Introduce a set number of sick days without sick pay (Sw. *karensdagar*).
H. Reduce social benefits.
I. Increase economic support to immigrants so they can maintain their own culture.
J. Reduce third world aid.
K. Raise prices on wine and spirits substantially, in order to reduce alcohol abuse and alcohol damage in society.
L. Prohibit all forms of pornography.
M. Reduce the right to free abortion.
N. Introduce immediate ban on chemical pesticides in agriculture.
O. Allow commercials on Swedish TV.
P. Build more day care centres for children.

14A There are differing views concerning nuclear power as a source of energy. What is your opinion? Are you, on the whole, for or against nuclear being used as an energy source in Sweden or do you have no definite opinion on the issue?

1 on the whole pro nuclear power
2 on the whole anti nuclear power
3 no definite opinion on the issue → 15A
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

14B Is your opinion on this issue definite or do you feel a bit uncertain?

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

15A There are differing views whether collective Wage Earner's Funds should be introduced in Sweden. What is your opinion? Are you, on the whole, for or against introducing Wage Earner's Funds in Sweden or do you have no definite opinion on the issue?

1 on the whole for the introduction of Wage Earner's Funds
2 on the whole against the introduction of Wage Earner's Funds
3 no definite opinion on the issue → 16
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

15B Is your opinion on this issue definite or do you feel a bit uncertain?

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

15C In the debate concerning collective Wage Earner's Funds, various reasons have been put forward for/against the introduction of collective Wage Earner's Funds. Which are the most important reasons why you are for/against the introduction of collective Wage Earner's Funds in our country?

R. WHO HAS ANSWERED "ON THE WHOLE FOR COLLECTIVE WAGE EARNER'S FUNDS TO BE ASKED FOR HIS/HER REASONS "FOR" THE INTRODUCTION OF COLLECTIVE WAGE EARNER'S FUNDS.
R. WHO HAS ANSWERED "ON THE WHOLE AGAINST COLLECTIVE WAGE EARNER'S FUNDS" TO BE ASKED FOR HIS/HER REASONS "AGAINST" COLLECTIVE WAGE EARNER'S FUNDS.

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Is there any other reason that you would like to mention?

→ answer: _____

_____

_____

8 DK

16 How important is the issue concerning Wage Earner's Funds for your choice of party in this year's Riksdag election?

SHOW CARD 16 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1 absolutely most one of the important issues
2 fairly important issue
3 not a particularly important issue
4 not at all an important issue
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

17A Various proposals have been put forward concerning which type of Wage Earner's Funds we should have in Sweden. On this card, we have put together some of those proposals. Which of the proposals is nearest to your opinion?

SHOW CARD 17AB AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

1 Community funds which will give more influence to employees and, among other things, be used to create new publicly owned industries.

2 Collective Wage Earner's Funds which will a) give employees more influence via purchases of shares in various companies and b) stimulate more investment in Swedish industry.

3 Wage Earner's Funds with individual shares which will give employees more influence and more investment capital to industry. Employees should, if they wish, be able to cash their shares.

4 We should have no kind of wage earner's funds in Sweden.

8 DK

WRITE NUMBER IN BOX

☐ R:s own opinion

17B Which of the proposals correspond best with the opinion of (...PARTY X)?

☐ Centre Party
☐ Social Democrats
☐ People's Party
☐ Left Party Communists
☐ Moderate Party

18A The Riksdag decided last spring - in accordance with the so called Tax Agreement - to implement a number of changes in our taxation system. The most important changes are that marginal tax rates will be lowered, that taxation on employers (Sw. "*arbetsgivaravgift*") will be raised, and that the tax deductions for certain private house owners will be limited. What is your opinion about these changes? Are you, on the whole, positive or negative to the Tax Agreement or do you have no particular opinion on the issue?

SHOW CARD 18A

1 on the whole positive to the Tax Agreement
2 on the whole negative to the Tax Agreement
3 no particular opinion on the issue
8 DK
x other answer: _____

18B Do you remember which parties were for the Tax Agreement in the Riksdag?

IF YES → Which parties were for the Tax Agreement?

→ party(ies):_____

5 no, does not remember
8 DK

18C Which party or parties was/were against the Tax Agreement?

→ party(ies):_____

5 does not remember
8 DK

19 We have put together some opinions concerning parties and politics. Some are rather critical. I will read these opinions to you one by one and ask you to choose one of the answers on the card.

SHOW CARD 19

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

1	Agree entirely
2	Agree on the whole
3	Disagree on the whole
4	Disagree entirely
8	DK

READ OUT STATEMENTS ONE BY ONE AND LET R. CHOOSE ALTERNATIVE. WRITE NUMBER IN BOX.

▽

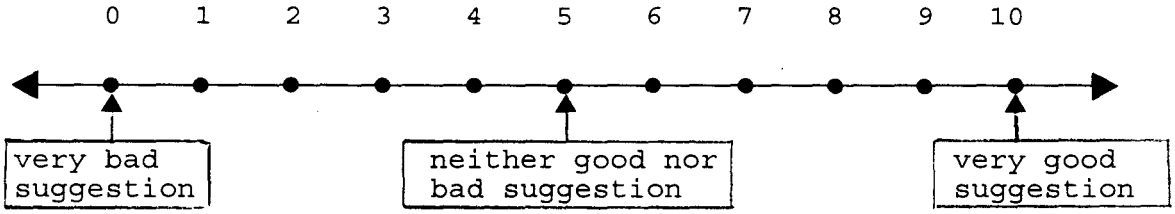
A. The parties are only interested in people's votes, not in what they think. ☐

B. There is at least one party which always tries to look after my interests. ☐

C. Those who sit in the Riksdag making decisions don't pay much attention to the thoughts and views of ordinary people. ☐

20 On this card I have a list of suggestions of different kinds of societies which some people think we should work towards in the future in Sweden. I would like to hear what you think of the suggestions. You can answer with the help of the scale on this card. A high number means that you think the suggestion is a good one. A low number means that you think the suggestion is a bad one.

SHOW CARD 20



ASK ABOUT THE SUGGESTIONS ONE BY ONE AND WRITE FIGURE IN THE BOX. DK IS INDICATED WITH A CROSS (X).

What do you think about the suggestion to:

A. Work towards a society with more private enterprise and a more market-oriented economy. ⌊_⌋

B. Work towards a society with more work-place influence for employees, even if this sometimes may slow things down. ⌊_⌋

C. Work towards a socialist society. ⌊_⌋

D. Work towards a society with less regulations, even if it means a disadvantage for weak groups and an advantage for successful people. ⌊_⌋

E. Work towards a society with a high rate of economic growth and high productivity. ⌊_⌋

F. Work towards an environmentally-oriented society even if it means low or no economic growth. ⌊_⌋

G. Work towards a society which utilizes advanced technology, like computers and industrial robots, to make production efficient. ⌊_⌋

H. Work towards a society in which Christian values play a more important role. ⌊_⌋

21A Many people consider themselves adherents of a specific party. But there are also many others who do not have such an attachment to any of the parties. Do you usually think of yourself as, for example, a **folkpartist**, **socialdemokrat**, **moderat**, **centerpartist**, or **kommunist**? Or do you not have such an attachment to any of the parties?

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

3 DK/hesitant

5 no, does not think of him/herself as an adherent of any specific party → 21D

8 does not want to answer

21B Which party do you like best?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
8 does not want to answer → 23A
x → other party:_____

21C 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 → 22
x → other answer:_____

28D Still, is there any party that you consider yourself closer to than any of the other parties? (Which party?)

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
8 DK/does not want to answer/no, no party → 23A
x → other party:_____

22 Which party do you like second best?

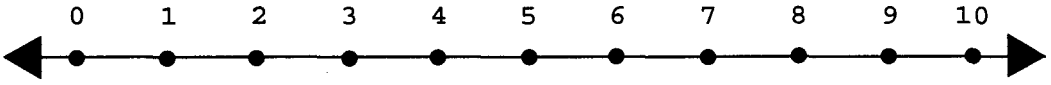
1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
8 does not know/does not want to answer/no, no party mentioned
x → other party:_____

IF POSSIBLE, MARK ONLY ONE PARTY

23A The parties are sometimes thought of as being ordered from left to right.

SHOW CARD 23AB

On this card I have a kind of scale. I would like you to place the political parties on the scale. The further to the left you think a party is, the lower the number. The further to the right you think a party is, the higher the number.



far to the left — neither left nor right — far to the right

ASK THE QUESTIONS BELOW. TRY TO MAKE R. MENTION ONE OF THE NUMBERS AND MARK THEM IN THE BOXES. DK IS MARKED WITH AN X.

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

People's Party?

Social Democrats?

Moderate Party?

Left Party Communists?

Centre Party?

Environmentalist Party?

Christian Democrats?

23B Where on the scale would you place yourself?

EXPLAIN - IF NECESSARY - THAT THIS QUESTION CONCERNS R:s OWN POLITICAL POSITION. PUT NUMBER MENTIONED BY R. IN BOX.

24A Do you intend to vote in this year's election?

1 yes
3 maybe/DK
5 no
8 refuses to answer

QUESTIONS 24A-C CONCERN RIKSDAG **(PARLIAMENTARY)** ELECTION ONLY

24B Which party do you intend to vote for in the Riksdag election?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
x ▷ other party:_____
7 not yet decided/DK
8 refuses to answer
9 does not intend to vote in Riksdag election

▶25A

24C If you were to vote, which party would you vote for?

1 Left Party Communists
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 People's Party
5 Moderate Party
6 Christian Democrats
x ▷ other party:_____
7 not yet decided/DK
8 refuses to answer
9 does not intend to vote in Riksdag election

RESPONDENT BORN 17TH SEPTEMBER 1961 OR LATER → 28A

25A Did you vote in the 1979 Riksdag election?

1 yes
3 does not remember for sure, but probably
5 no, did not vote/R. does not think R. voted → 27A
8 DK

25B Which party did you vote for in the 1979 election?

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

QUESTION 26 NOT INCLUDED IN THIS STAGE

RESPONDENT BORN 20TH SEPTEMBER 1958 OR LATER → 28A

27A Did you vote in the 1976 Riksdag election?

1 yes
3 does not remember for sure, but probably
5 no, did not vote/R. does not think R. voted → 28A
8 DK

27B Which party did you vote for in the 1976 Riksdag election?

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

RESPONDENT BORN 24TH MARCH 1962 OR LATER → 29A

28A Did you vote in the referendum on nuclear power?

1 yes
3 does not remember for sure, but probably
5 no, did not vote/R. does not think R. voted → 29A
8 DK

28B Did you vote for proposal 1, proposal 2, proposal 3 or did you vote blank?

1 proposal 1
2 proposal 2
3 proposal 3
4 blank
8 DK
x → other answer:

_____

_____

_____

_____

BRIEF DETAILS OF THE PROPOSALS

Proposal 1: "Nuclear power to be discontinued at a rate according to what is possible. We shall use at most the 12 reactors which are currently in use, ready or being constructed. No further increases." (Supported by Moderate Party).

Proposal 2:
As Proposal 1 PLUS:
Nuclear power stations and other constructions for electricity production of any significance to be owned by national and local government." (Supported by Social Democrats and People's Party).

Proposal 3:
"No continued development of nuclear power. The six reactors currently in use are to be discontinued within 10 years." (Supported by Centre Party and Left Party Communists).

29A Are you gainfully employed?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Do you work full time or part time?

1 yes, full time
2 yes, part time
3 yes, but temporarily unemployed
5 no, not gainfully employed

29B Have you previously been gainfully employed?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES. Q. REFERS TO LATEST OCCUPATION → Did you work full time or part time?

1 yes, full time
2 yes, part time
5 no, never been gainfully employed → 31A

PUT "NO" IF R. HAS ONLY BEEN TEMPORARILY EMPLOYED DURING SCHOOL HOLIDAYS

29C What is/was your occupation?

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

x → work/occupation: _____

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

29D Which is/was the main kind of work done where you work/used to work?

x → main kind of work: _____

30A Could you tell me which of the following occupational categories you belong/belonged to?

USE PAST TENSE IF RESPONDENT HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN ACTIVE IN LABOUR MARKET. IN THAT CASE QUESTION REFERS TO RESPONDENT'S LATEST OCCUPATION.

SHOW CARD 30A

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

4 worker
5 worker with supervising responsibilities
6 self-employed worker

7 farmer: no employees
8 farmer: one or more employees

9 self-employed: no employees
10 self-employed: 1-9 employees
11 self-employed: more than 10 employees

x → other answer:_____

ADDED QUESTION FOR "EMPLOYED"
Do/did you also have a private business?
1 yes
5 no
8 DK
x → other answer:_____

ADDED QUESTION FOR "FARMERS"
How large, in terms of acres, is your property?

acres arable land:_____

acres forest:_____

→ other answer:_____

30B Are/were you employed by the central government (state), a commune **(subnational government)** or a private company?

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

31A Are you at the moment studying for a degree or some kind of occupational competence?

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

1 yes, full time
2 yes, part time
5 no, no studies at all
x → other answer:_____

HOBBY COURSES AND STUDY CIRCLES NOT TO BE REGARDED AS STUDIES

31B What kind of education do you have/are you studying for?

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS → Do you have any other practical or theoretical education?

1	primary school	6 or 7 year primary/secondary school (old system)
2	vocational school	various forms of vocational and apprenctice education received in publicly organized schools
3	comprehensive school	8 or 9 year comprehensive school (current system)
4	secondary school	2 year secondary school (old system) total: 9 years education
5	secondary/ high school	2 year secondary school total: 11 years education (current system)
6	upper secondary/ high school	3 year upper secondary school, total 12 years education (Sw. *gymnasium or studentexamen, rughly equivalent to GB 'A' levels, German 'Abitur'*)
7	university	university and equivalent education, studying at this level
8	DK	

x → other education:_____

IF MORE THAN ONE OF ALTERNATIVES 1-7 ARE RELEVANT, ONLY NOTE THE ONE WITH THE HIGHEST NUMBER. IT DOES NOT MATTER WHETHER R. HAS COMPLETED A DEGREE OR NOT. WE ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN THE HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTENDED BY RESP. IF IN DOUBT WHEN CLASSIFYING, WRITE ANSWER IN SPACE RESERVED FOR "OTHER EDUCATION".

32A	Do you feel that there is any party or parties with policies particularly favourable to <u>farmers</u>? CIRCLE PARTY OR PARTIES MENTIONED BY R. vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no, no party 8 DK other party:_____
B	Is there any party or parties with policies <u>disadvantageous</u> to farmers? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no, no party 8 DK other party:_____
C	Is there any party or parties with policies favourable to <u>owners of small businesses</u>? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no, no party 8 DK other party:_____
D	Is there any party or parties with policies <u>disadvantageous</u> to owners of small businesses? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no, no party 8 DK other party:_____
E	Is there any party or parties with policies favourable to <u>large businesses owners</u>? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no, no party 8 DK other party:_____
F	Is there any party or parties with policies <u>disadvantageous</u> to large business owners? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no, no party 8 DK other party:_____
G	Is there any party or parties with policies favourable to <u>workers</u>? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no, no party 8 DK other party:_____
H	Is there any party or parties with policies <u>disadvantageous</u> to workers? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no, no party 8 DK other party:_____
I	Is there any party or parties with policies favourable to <u>salaried employees</u>? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no, no party 8 DK other party:_____
J	Is there any party or parties with policies <u>disadvantageous</u> to salaried employees? vpk s c fp m 6 "all parties" 7 no, no party 8 DK other party:_____

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

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

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

34A In recent years, the situation on the Swedish labour market has deteriorated. On this card there are a number of problems which some people have encountered on the labour market. Have you personally in the last two or three years encountered any of the following problems?

SHOW CARD 34 AB
ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which of these problems have you encountered?

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

1 on one or more occasions tried to get a job without succeeding
2 tried to work full time but only got a part time job
3 been forced to take a job below my qualifications
4 been made redundant but got a new job within a month
5 been made redundant and was unemployed for more than a month
6 taken a labour market training course
7 have become a pre-retirement age pensioner, partly because of labour market reasons
8 been doing relief work
x → encountered other labour market problem (which): _____

_____

95 no, have not encountered labour market problem
98 DK

34B Is there anyone in your family who in the past two or three years has encountered any of these problems?

SHOW CARD 34AB

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

35A Comparing your own current economic situation now to what is was two or three years ago, has it improved, remained about the same or has it got worse?

1 improved
2 remained about the same
3 got worse
8 DK
x → other answer:_____

35B Looking forward two to three years, do you believe that your personal economic situation will improve, remain about as it is today or do you think that it will get worse?

1 improve — FOLLOW-UP QUESTION → Why do you think your economic situation will improve? Is there a further reason you would like to mention?

answer:_____

_____

2 remain about as today

3 get worse — FOLLOW-UP QUESTION → Why do you think your economic situation will get worse? Is there a further reason you would like to mention?

answer:_____

_____

8 DK

x → other answer:_____

35C How do you think that the economic conditions in Sweden will develop in the next few years?

SHOW CARD 35C

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

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

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

SHOW CARD 36 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES

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

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

We begin with the policies of the non-socialist governments in this country since 1976. Is this a very important reason, a fairly important reason, not a particularly important or no reason behind the economic crisis in Sweden?

☐ The policies of the non-socialist governments in this country since 1976.

☐ The policies of the Social Democratic government before the shift of government in 1976.

☐ Wage demands of the unions

☐ Capital export and foreign investments by Swedish companies

☐ Too much interference by the government in private business

☐ Fundamental defects in the capitalistic market economy

37A Are you a member of a trade union, organisation for selfemployed or any other vocational organisation?

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

1 yes (name of organisation):_____

_____

5 no → 40
8 DK

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

37B Are you an active member of (...organisation)? By active I mean attending meetings a few times a year.

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

QUESTIONS 38A-39 NOT INCLUDED IN THIS STAGE

40 Before this year's election the parties stress various issues which they think are important.

ASK THE QUESTION BELOW FOR EACH PARTY AND NOTE THE ISSUES AND PROBLEMS MENTIONED BY R. FOR EACH PARTY. "NO" AND DK TO BE MARKED WITH AN "8".

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

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

Social Democrats	▷ answer: _____ _____ 8 no/DK
People's Party	▷ answer: _____ _____ 8 no/DK
Moderate Party	▷ answer: _____ _____ 8 no/DK
Centre Party	▷ answer: _____ _____ 8 no/DK
Left Party Communists	▷ answer: _____ _____ 8 no/DK

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

SHOW CARD 41. READ OUT ALTERNATIVES IF NEEDED.

1 married, or unmarried but living permanently with partner

2 unmarried or divorced → 44A

3 widowed → 42C

x → other answer: _____

42A Is your husband/wife/partner gainfully employed?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Does he/she work full time or part time?

ADDED QUESTION IF NO → Is he/she studying?

1 yes, full time
2 yes, part time
3 yes, but temporarily unemployed → 42C
4 no, studying
5 no, not gainfully employed

42B Has he/she previously been gainfully employed?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Does he/she work full time?

1 yes, full time
2 yes, part time
5 no, never gainfully employed → 44A

TEMPORARY WORK DURING SUMMER HOLIDAYS MARKED NO.

42C Which occupation does/did your husband/wife/partner have?

ADDED QUESTION TO SPECIFY OCCUPATION → What kind of work does/did he/she mainly do?

→ profession/occupation: _____

42D At your husband's/wife's/partner's workplace: What was main kind of work done at his/her workplace?

→ work: _____

43A Could you tell me which of the following occupational categories your husband/wife/partner belongs/belonged to?

EXPRESSION "YOUR HUSBAND/WIFE/PARTNER BELONGS/BELONGED TO" USED IF HUSBAND/WIFE/PARTNER HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED. IN THAT CASE, QUESTION SHOULD REFER TO LATEST OCCUPATION.

SHOW CARD 43A

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

→ ADDED QUESTION FOR "EMPLOYED"
Do/did you also have a private business?
1 yes
5 no
8 DK
x → other answer:_____

→ ADDED QUESTION FOR "FARMERS"
How large, in terms of acres, is your property?
> acres arable land:_____
> acres forest:_____
→ other answer:_____

43B Are/were your husband/wife/partner employed by the central government (state), a commune **(subnational government)** or a private company?

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

44A Respondent's current home:

1 farm or isolated house on the countryside
2 row house or separate house
3 flat in block of flats
4 flat in smaller house
x ⟶ other home:_____

44B Do you rent or own your current home?

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

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

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

DO NOT FORGET TO ASK FOR AGE OF POSSIBLE CHILDREN

⟶ number of children living at home:_____

⟶ age of child/children:_____

5 no, no children living at home

NOTES BY INTERVIEWER AFTER END OF INTERVIEW:

Where does R. live?

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

Key to pre- and post election questionnaires:

The following questions were included, and identically worded, in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires of 1982:

1-9, 11-15, 17-23, 25, 27-31, 33-37, 41-45.

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

10, 16, 40.

Q. 24 A-B appears in both the pre- and post-election questionnaires, but have been substantially changed in the latter case. N.B.: Q. 24C is entirely different in the post-election questionnaire. See p. 36 below.

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

24C, 32.

The following questions appear only in the post-election questionnaire (see pages 36-39 below):

24 C-F, 26, 38, 39.

Questions only appearing in the 1982 post-election questionnaire:

24A Did you vote in this year's election?

1 yes
3 yes, but not in all the elections → IF OF QUESTIONS 24B TO 24D, ASK THOSE RELEVANT
5 no, did not vote in any of the elections → 24F
8 refuses to answer → 25A

24B We had three elections at the same time this year. Which party did you vote for in the Riksdag election?

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

SKIP QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN RIKSDAG ELECTION

24C Which party did you vote for in the local election?

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

SKIP QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN LOCAL ELECTION

IF RESP LIVES IN GÖTEBORG, MALMÖ OR THE ISLAND OF GOTLAND (DO NOT HAVE REGIONAL ELECTIONS) → 24E

24D Which party did you vote for in the regional election?

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

SKIP QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN REGIONAL ELECTION

N.B. RESPONDENTS WHO REFUSED TO ANSWER Q. 24A AND B WERE ASKED TO GIVE THEIR PARTY VOTE BY THE USE OF AN ANONYMOUS ANSWERING CARD WHICH WAS PUT INTO AN ENVELOPE.

24E When did you decide how to vote this year? Was it during the last week before the election or earlier during the autumn or summer or did you know all along how to vote?

1 last week before election
2 earlier during autumn or summer
3 R. knew all along how to vote
8 DK
x → other answer:_____

24F

QUESTION 24F ONLY TO THOSE WHO DID NOT VOTE IN 1982 (THAT IS, DID NOT VOTE IN ANY OF THE THREE KINDS OF ELECTION). THE QUESTION REFERS TO THE RIKSDAG ELECTION ONLY.

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

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

→ party:_____

8 DK

26

Q. 26 ASKED ONLY TO PARTY SWITCHERS, I.E. R:S WHO VOTED FOR A DIFFERENT PARTY IN THE 1979 RIKSDAG ELECTION (Q. 25B) TO THE PARTY HE/SHE VOTED FOR IN THE 1982 RIKSDAG ELECTION (Q. 24B). THIS Q. NOT TO BE ASKED TO R:S WHO DID NOT STATE ANY PARTY ON Q. 24B.

In this year's Riksdag election you voted for (...PARTY). Three years ago, in the Riksdag election of 1979, you voted for (...PARTY). What made you vote differently this year compared to 1979?

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

→ answer:_____

_____

_____

7 R. has not changed his/her mind
8 DK
x → other answer:_____

38A I would like to ask you a few questions about contacts you had with the political parties in this year's election campaign.

NOTE EVERY PARTY MENTIONED BY R. USE ABBREVIATIONS. ALSO NOTE IF ANSWER IS "ALL PARTIES".

Before this year's election, did you read a brochure etc. from any of the parties?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

→ party(-ies):_____

2 yes, but does not remember which party
5 no
8 DK

38B Before this year's election, did you attend a public meeting, rally etc. arranged by any of the parties?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

→ party(-ies):_____

2 yes, but does not remember which party
5 no
8 DK

38C Before this year's election, were you personally visited at home by any party?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

→ party(-ies):_____

2 yes, but does not remember which party
5 no
8 DK

38D Before this year's election, were you personally in touch with any campaigner at your workplace?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES → Which party or parties?

→ party(-ies):_____

2 yes, but does not remember which party
5 no
7 not gainfully employed
8 DK

38E Before this year's election, did you try to convince any member of your family, a friend or any other persons to vote for a particular party?

1 yes
5 no
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

39A To what extent did you have the opportunity to watch the programmes broadcast on TV before this year's election?

Did you see the final debate among the party leaders on the Friday before the election on September 19th?

SHOW CARD 39A

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

39B How many of the party leader interviews on TV did you watch?

SHOW CARD 39B

1 saw none of the party leader interviews
2 saw 1-2 of the party leader interviews
3 saw 3 or more of the party leader interviews
8 DK
x → other answer: _____

Interviewer instruction after last question (no. 45), added on last page of post-election questionnaire:

HAS R. REFUSED TO ANSWER ABOUT HIS/HER VOTING IN 1982?

If R. has refused to answer q. 24A or 24B, ask if R. would like to indicate how he/she voted, using the voting card. If so, let R. complete the voting card and close the envelope him/herself.

Note number of voting card here [ ]

Post-election mail questionnaire sent to respondents who participated in the pre-election survey.

1982 ELECTION STUDY

To those who have been interviewed

Thanks to the kind participation of you and many others, we have been able to complete a survey in connection with this year's election. We hope that it will bring valuable and reliable results.

Our survey ends with this little mail questionnaire. Among the contents are a few questions we were unable include in the pre-election interviews for practical reasons.

We would be very grateful if you would answer the questions, and then return the questionnaire in the enclosed envelope. The address is printed on the envelope, and no stamp is needed. Please mail the envelope as soon as possible, preferably today or tomorrow.

Your answers will be treated anonymously. No outsider will get to know your answers. The answers will be used for statistical analysis, and only be presented as figures in tables. The answers of individuals can not be inferred from the tables.

Yours sincerely

Lars Ove Larsjö
Statistical Central Bureau

Sören Holmberg
Docent
Dept. of Political Science
Göteborg University

AS YOU KNOW, WE HAD THREE ELECTIONS AT THE SAME TIME THIS YEAR, that is the parliamentary *(riksdagsval)*, regional *(landstingsval)* and local *(kommunfullmäktigeval)* elections (except in Göteborg, Malmö and the island of Gotland, where no regional elections were held).

Our questions concern how you voted in the three elections. We would also like to ask you when you decided how to vote and to what extent you had the opportunity to watch election programmes on TV before the election.

QUESTION 1

Which party did you vote for in the Riksdag election?

☐ Left Party Communists
☐ Social Democrats
☐ Centre Party
☐ People's Party
☐ Moderate Party
☐ Environmentalist Party
☐ Other party (which):_____
☐ Did not vote

QUESTION 2

Which party did you vote for in the local election?

☐ Left Party Communists
☐ Social Democrats
☐ Centre (Centre Party)
☐ People's Party
☐ Moderate Party
☐ Christian Democrats
☐ Environmentalist Party
☐ Other party (which):_____
☐ Did not vote

QUESTION 3

Which party did you vote for in the regional election?

☐ Left Party Communists
☐ Social Democrats
☐ Centre Party
☐ People's Party
☐ Moderate Party
☐ Christian Democrats
☐ Environmentalist Party
☐ Other party (which):_____
☐ Voted blank
☐ Did not vote

QUESTION 4
When did you decide how to vote in this year's Riksdag election?

☐ I decided the last week before the election
☐ I decided earlier during the autumn or summer
☐ I knew all along how to vote
☐ I did not vote in any of the elections

QUESTION 5
Did you watch the final debate on TV among the party leaders on the Friday before the election on September 19th?

☐ Yes, watched the whole debate
☐ Yes, watched parts of the debate
☐ No, did not watch the debate

QUESTION 6
How many of the party leader interviews did you watch?

☐ Watched none of the party leader interviews
☐ Watched 1-2 of the party leader interviews
☐ Watched 3 or more of the party leader debates

QUESTION 7
Do you think that the total TV coverage during the campaign favoured or disfavoured any of the parties?

	favoured by TV	neither favoured nor disfavoured	disfavoured by TV
Left Party Communists	☐	☐	☐
Social Democrats	☐	☐	☐
Centre Party	☐	☐	☐
People's Party	☐	☐	☐
Moderate Party	☐	☐	☐
Christian Democrats	☐	☐	☐
Environmentalist Party	☐	☐	☐

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

.....

.....

.....

SURVEY RESULTS

We would be happy to send you an account of our results. If you wish to receive a report on the survey results, you can order it by writing your name and address below. If you don't wish to receive a report, you naturally don't need to give your name and address.

.....

.....

.....

KEY TO THE SWEDISH PARTIES IN 1982

Name in Swedish: Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna
Abbreviation: VPK
Translation of party name: Left Party the Communists
Ideological location: left socialist, Euro-communist
Riksdag election result 1982: 5.6% (20/349 seats)
Party leader: Lars Werner

Name in Swedish: Socialdemokratiska Arbetarepartiet (Socialdemokraterna)
Abbreviation: S (also SAP)
Translation of party name: Social Democratic Workers Party
Ideological location: social democratic (labour)
Riksdag election result 1982: 45.6% (166/349 seats)
Party leader: Olof Palme (Prime Minister 1969-1976 and 1982-1986)

Name in Swedish: Centerpartiet
Abbreviation: C
Translation of party name: Centre Party
Ideological location: non-socialist, centre
Riksdag election result 1982: 15.5% (56/349 seats)
Party leader: Thorbjörn Fälldin (Prime Minister 1976-1978 and 1979-1982)

Name in Swedish: Folkpartiet
Abbreviation: Fp
Translation of party name: People's Party
Ideological location: liberal
Riksdag election result 1982: 5.9% (21/349 seats)
Party leader: Ola Ullsten (Prime Minister 1978-1979)

Name in Swedish: Moderata Samlingspartiet
Abbreviation: M
Translation of party name: Moderate Unity Party
Ideological location: conservative
Riksdag election result in 1982: 23.6% (86/349 seats)
Party leader: Ulf Adelsohn

Name in Swedish: Miljöpartiet (from 1985 Miljöpartiet de Gröna)
Abbreviation: Mp
Translation of party name: Environmentalist Party
Ideological location: green/new politics
Riksdag election result 1982: 1.7% (no seats)
No formal party leader. The nearest equivalent are two "spokespersons", one from each gender. During the 1982 campaign they were Per Gahrton (male) and Ragnhild Pohanka (female).

Name in Swedish: Kristen Demokratisk Samling
Abbreviation: Kds
Translation of party name: Christian Democratic Coalition
Ideological location: Christian democratic
Riksdag election result in 1982: 1.9% (no seats).
Party leader: Alf Svensson