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 intervied date:time started:time ended: | - | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | | 4 |
| 5 | 6 | 7 | | 8 |
| <pre>please contact: Principal invest</pre> | | concern | ing the | 1982 election study, |
| Sören Holmberg Department of Po Box 5048 402 21 Göteborg | litical Scien | ce phone: 0 | 31-13 72 | 98 |

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.

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

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.

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

ADDED QUESTION Which party or parties?

IF YES

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 <u>NEWSPAPER</u> | 1B NO. | OF DA | AYS | 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 |

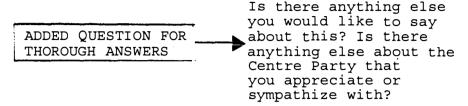
 $\overline{2}$ How often do you read news and articles about politics in the daily press? SHOW CARD 2. IF NECESSARY, READ OUT THE ALTERNATIVES. 1 never reads news and articles about politics. 2 reads news and articles about politics occasionally 3 often reads news and articles about politics 4 reads what there is in the newspaper of news and articles about politics every day -⟨} other answer:__ x 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.) In general, how interested are you in politics? Which of the 4 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? very interested 2 fairly interested 3 not very interested not at all interested 4 other answer: х

| 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: |
| |
| |
| |
| no DK |
| |
| 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: |
| |
| |
| |
| no DK |
| |

| 6A | Is there anything about the People's Party that you particularl 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 8 | no DK |
| 6В | Is there anything about the People's Party that you dislike? |
| | ADDED QUESTION FOR about this? Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the People's Party that you dislike? |
| | ——— answer: |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| _ | no |
| 5 8 | no DK |
| | |

| A | Is there anything about appreciate or sympathize w | the Moderates that you with? | particularl |
|-----|--|---|-------------|
| | 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: | , | <u> </u> |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| 5 8 | no DK | | |
| В | Is there anything about th | ne Moderates that you dis | like? |
| | | Is there anything else you would like to say about this? Is there anything else about the Moderates that you dislike? | |
| | > answer: | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| 5 | no nr | | |

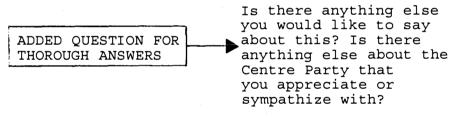
8A Is there anything about the Centre Party that you particularly appreciate or sympathize with?



---- answer:

- 5 no
- 8 DK

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



> answer:

5 no

8 DK

| 9A | Is | there | anything | about | the | Left | Party | Communists | that | you |
|----|-----|---------|------------|---------|------|--------|-------|------------|------|-----|
| | par | ticular | ly appreci | iate or | symp | athize | with? | · | | - |

ADDED QUESTION FOR THOROUGH ANSWERS

THOROUGH ANSWERS

THOROUGH ANSWERS

TRANSPORT

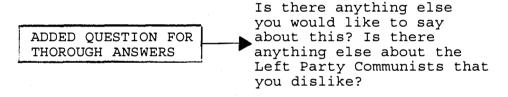
THOROUGH ANSWERS

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?

| | | | | • | | |
|---|---------|------|------|------|------|--|
| _ | | | | | | |
| | angwar. | | | | | |
| | answer: | | | | | |

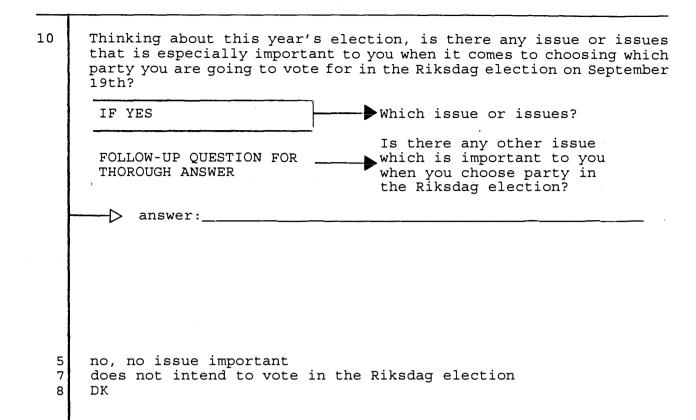
- 5 no
- 8 DK

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



| \triangleright 3 | answer: | | |
|--------------------|---------|--|--|
|--------------------|---------|--|--|

- 5 no
- 8 DK



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 good policy on (...ISSUE).

ADDED QUESTION

Is there any other party with a good policy on (...ISSUE)?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES

Which party or parties?

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

ADDED QUESTION

Is there, in your opinion, any other party with a bad policy on (...ISSUE)?

ADDED QUESTION IF YES

Which party or parties?

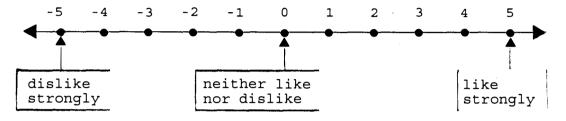
NOTE THE PARTIES MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT ALONGSIDE EACH ISSUE BELOW. USE ABBREVIATIONS: S, FP, M, C, V, KDS. WRITE 5 FOR "NO PARTY" ANSWERS AND 8 IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW OR DOES NOT WANT TO ANSWER.

| NOT WANT TO ANSWER. | | | | | |
|--|----------------------------|---|---|-------------------------|---|
| | Parties with a good policy | | | Parties with bad policy | а |
| ->Employment | 5 | 5 | В | 5 | 8 |
| ->Environment | 5 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 8 |
| Issues concerning the Wage Earner's Funds | 5 | 5 | В | 5 | 8 |
| ->Taxes | 5 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 8 |
| Issues concerning problems in the Swedish economy | 5 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 8 |
| Issues concerning peace and international disarmament | 5 | 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?

 ∇

12B

the Moderate Party?

the Left Party Communists?

the People's Party?

the Social Democrats?

the Environmentalist Party?

the Christian Democratic Party?

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

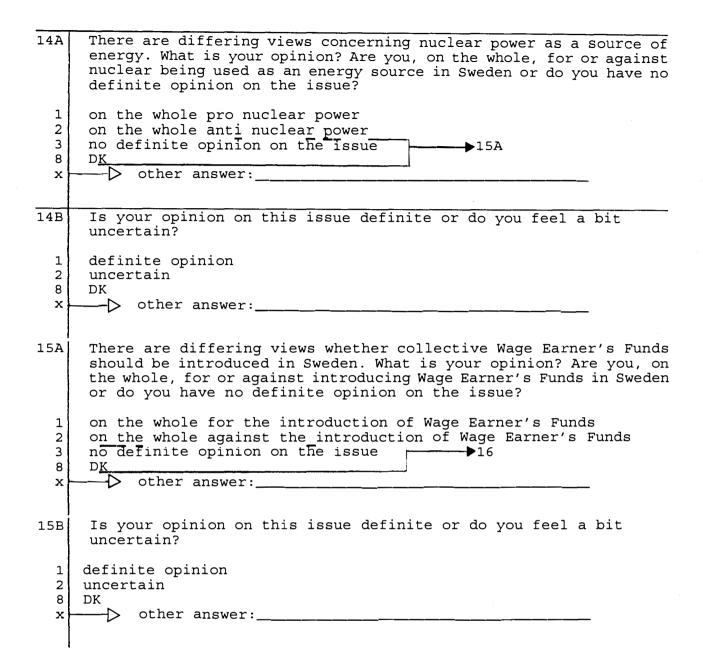
Thorbjörn Fälldin? (Centre) Ulf Adelsohn? (Moderate)

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.



| 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 Is there any other reason that you would like to mention? | | | | | | | |
| answer: | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| DK | | | | | | | |
| 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 | | | | | | | |
| absolutely most one of the important issues fairly important issue | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

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.
- 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

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

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

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?

on the whole positive to the Tax Agreement on the whole negative to the Tax Agreement no particular opinion on the issue

SHOW CARD 18A

8 DK

2

3

X

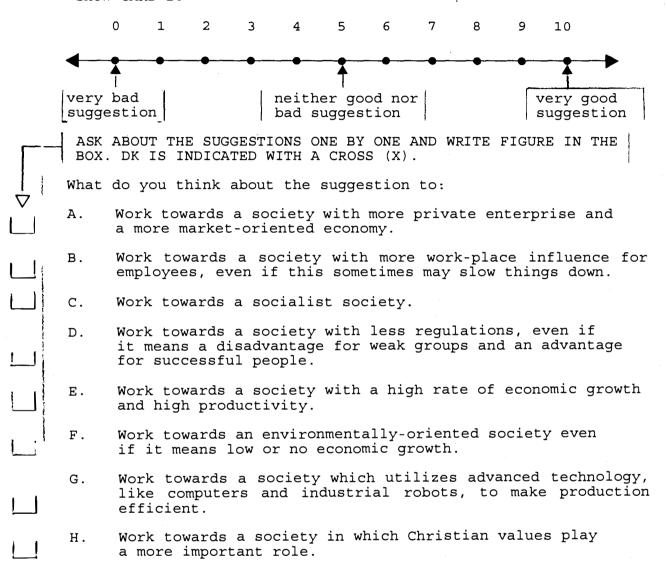
18A

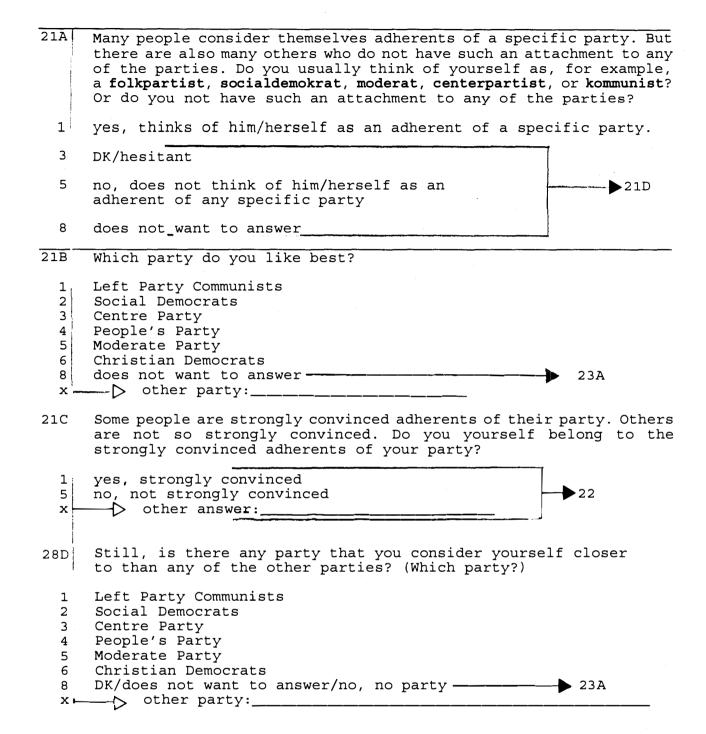
other answer:

| 18B | Do wou remember which parties were for the Man Agreement |
|---|--|
| 100 | 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 8 | no, does not remember DK |
| 18C | Which party or parties was/were against the Tax Agreement? |
| - | party(ies): |
| 5 8 | does not remember 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? |
| ele e comprese de la | 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. |
| \(\\ \qquad \qqqqq \qqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqqq | 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. |

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





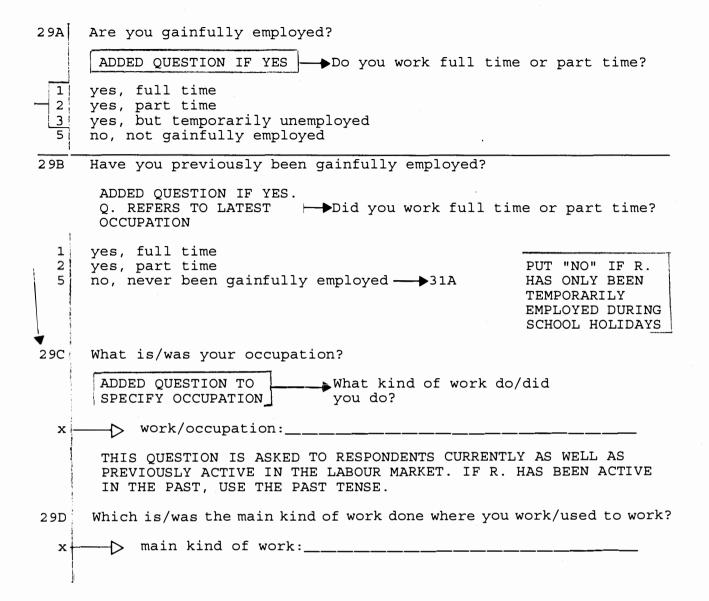
| 22 | which party do you like second best? |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 8 X | <u> </u> |
| 23A | The parties are sometimes thought of as being ordered from left to right. |
| | SHOW CARD 23AB |
| | On this card I have a kind of scale. I would like you to place the political 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. |
| | 0 1 2 2 4 5 6 7 9 0 10 |
| | 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 |
| | far to neither left far to the left nor right 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. |
| \Diamond | 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? |
| <u>\</u> | 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? yes 3 QUESTIONS 24A-C CONCERN maybe/DK 5 RIKSDAG (PARLIAMENTARY) no 8 ELECTION ONLY refuses to answer Which party do you intend to vote for in the Riksdag election? 24B Left Party Communists 1 2 Social Democrats Centre Party 3 People's Party 4 Moderate Party 5 6 Christian Democrats \rightarrow other party: X not yet decided/DK refuses to answer does not intend to vote in Riksdag election 9 If you were to vote, which party would you vote for? 24C 1 Left Party Communists Social Democrats 2 3 Centre Party 4 People's Party 5 Moderate Party 6 Christian Democrats $-\triangleright$ other party: х not yet decided/DK 8 refuses to answer 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 3 5 8 | yes does not remember for sure. but probably no, did not vote/R. does not think R. voted DK 27A |
| 25B 1 2 3 4 5 6 8 x F | Which party did you vote for in the 1979 election? Left Party Communists Social Democrats Centre Party People's Party Moderate Party Christian Democrats DK 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 3 5 8 | yes does not remember for sure, but probably no, did not vote/R. does not think R. voted. DK → 28A |
| 27B | Which party did you vote for in the 1976 Riksdag election? |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 8 | Left Party Communists Social Democrats Centre Party People's Party Moderate Party Christian Democrats DK other party: |
| | RESPONDENT BORN 24TH MARCH 1962 OR LATER ▶29A |
| 28A | Did you vote in the referendum on nuclear power? |
| 1 3 5 8 | yes does not remember for sure, but probably no, did not vote/R. does not think R. voted DK → 29A |
| 28B | Did you vote for proposal 1, proposal 2, proposal 3 or did you vote blank? |
| 1 2 3 4 8 x | proposal 1 proposal 2 proposal 3 blank DK other answer: other answer: Description Description |

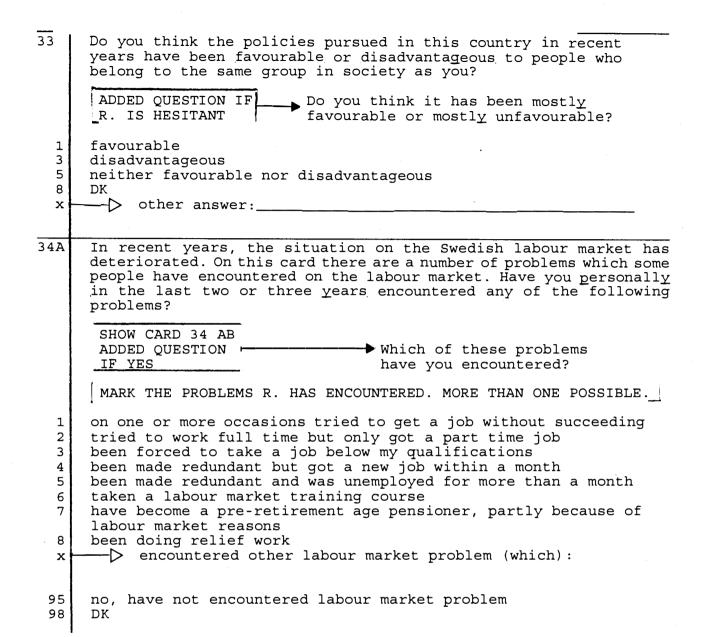


30A Could you tell me which of the following occupational categories you belong/belonged to? USE PAST TENSE IF RESPONDENT HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN ACTIVE IN LABOUR MARKET. IN THAT CASE QUESTION REFERS TO RESPONDENT'S LATEST OCCUPATION. SHOW CARD 30A salaried employee 1 ADDED QUESTION FOR "EMPLOYED" salaried employee with 2 supervising responsibilities Do/did you also have a 3 salaried employee at private business? managerial level yes 5 no 4 8 DK worker 5 worker with supervising x -> other answer:_ responsibilities 6 self-employed worker ADDED OUESTION FOR farmer: no employees 7 "FARMERS" How large, in terms of 8 farmer: one or more employees acres, is your property? self-employed: no employees
self-employed: 1-9 employees
self-employed: more than 9 >acres arable land:_____ 10 11 >acres forest:____ 10 employees other answer:_ other answer:___ Are/were you employed by the central government (state), a commune 3 0 B (subnational government) or a private company? 1 state commune (local or regional) 2 3 private company -> other answer:____ x

| 31A | Are you at the moment soccupational competence? | tudying for a degree or some kind of |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| | ADDED QUESTION IF YES | Are you studying full time or part time? |
| 1 2 5 x - | yes, part time | 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 | secondar <u>y</u> school | <pre>2 year secondary school (old system) total: 9 years education</pre> |
| 5 | secondary/ high school | <pre>2 year secondary school total: 11 years education (current system)</pre> |
| 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 | universit <u>y</u> | university and equivalent education, studying at this level |
| 8 | DK | |
| x F | other education: | |
| | IF MORE THAN ONE OF ALTER | RNATIVES 1-7 ARE RELEVANT, ONLY NOTE THE |

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 | 2A Do you feel that there is any party particularly favourable to farmers? | or parties with policies |
|-----|---|---------------------------------------|
| | CIRCLE PARTY OR PARTIES MENTIONED | BY R. |
| | vpk s c fp m 6 "al 8 DK other part | ll parties" 7 no, no party y: |
| В | B Is there any party or parties with farmers? | policies disadvantageous to |
| | vpk s c fp m 6 "al 8 DK other part | ll parties" 7 no, no party y: |
| C | C Is there any party or parties with of small businesses? | policies favourable to owners |
| | vpk s c fp m 6 "a: 8 DK other part | ll parties" 7 no, no party |
| D | D Is there any party or parties with owners of small businesses? | policies disadvanta <u>q</u> eous to |
| | vpk s c fp m 6 "a: 8 DK other part | ll parties" 7 no, no party |
| E | E Is there any party or parties with businesses owners? | policies favourable to lar <u>g</u> e |
| | vpk s c fp m 6 "a: 8 DK other part | ll parties" 7 no, no party |
| F | F Is there any party or parties with large business owners? | policies disadvanta <u>q</u> eous to |
| | vpk s c fp m 6 "a 8 DK other part | ll parties" 7 no, no party |
| G | G Is there any party or parties with p | policies favourable to workers? |
| | vpk s c fp m 6 "a 8 DK other part | ll parties" 7 no, no party |
| н | H Is there any party or parties with workers? | policies disadvanta <u>q</u> eous to |
| | vpk s c fp m 6 "a 8 DK other part | ll parties" 7 no, no party |
| I | I Is there any party or parties with salaried employees? | policies favourable to |
| | vpk s c fp m 6 "a 8 DK other part | ll parties" 7 no, no party |
| J | J Is there any party or parties with salaried employees? | policies disadvanta <u>d</u> eous to |
| | vpk s c fp m 6 "a 8 DK other part | ll parties" 7 no, no party |



| 34B | Is there anyon has encountere | e in your fam d any of thes | ily who in se problems | the past two | or three years |
|------------------|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|---|
| | SHOW CARD 34A | В | | | |
| 1 2 8 | yes, someone i no DK | n R:s family | has encour | ntered problem | ns |
| 35A | | | | | what is was two |
| 1 2 3 8 | <pre>improved remained about got worse DK</pre> | the same | | | |
| - | other ans | swer: | | | · |
| 35B | Looking forwar personal econo it is today or | mic situation | ı will impı | rove, remain a | about as |
| 1 : | improve | FOLLOW-UP QUESTION | ·————I | | |
| | | | | answer: | · . |
| | | | | | |
| 2 | remain about a | as today | | | |
| 3 | get worse | FOLLOW-UP QUESTION | | | chink your cuation will curther reason ke to mention? |
| | | | | answer: | |
| 8 | DK | | | | |
| x | other an | swer: | _ | | |
| i | | | | | |

| 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 2 3 4 5 8 | improve a lot improve a bit no change a bit worse a lot worse DK 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 your opinion about the reasons behind Sweden's economic problems. You may answer using the alternatives on the card. |
|) } | SHOW CARD 36 AND READ OUT ALTERNATIVES |
| | <pre>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</pre> |
| _ | READ OUT THE REASONS ONE BY ONE AND WRITE NUMBER IN THE BOX |
| V | 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 8 | no D <u>K</u> |
| | 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 5 8 x | yes, active no, not active DK |
| 1 | |

QUESTIONS 38A-39 NOT INCLUDED IN THIS STAGE

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 _ Could you say anything else THOROUGH ANSWERS that was emphasized by (...PARTY)? Social Democrats >answer: no/DK People's Party A answer: 8 no/DK 🖒 answer: Moderate Party 8 no/DK answer: Centre Party 8 no/DK Left Party -> answer: Communists 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──────────────────────────────────── |
| 3 | widowed——————————————————————————————————— |
| Χŧ | 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 2 3 4 5 | yes, full time yes, part time yes, but temporarily unemployed no, studying no, not gainfully employed |
| 42B | Has he/she previously been gainfully employed? |
| | ADDED QUESTION IF YESDoes he/she work full time? |
| 1 2 5 | yes, full time TEMPORARY WORK DURING SUMMER yes, part time HOLIDAYS MARKED NO. no, never gainfully employed———————————————————————————————————— |
| 42C | Which occupation does/did your husband/wife/partner have? |
| | ADDED QUESTION TO 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 follocategories your husband/wife/partner | |
|---------------|--|--|
| | EXPRESSION "YOUR HUSBAND/WIFE/PARTIUSED IF HUSBAND/WIFE/PARTNER HAS PREMPLOYED. IN THAT CASE, QUESTION SHOCCUPATION. | REVIOUSLY BEEN GAINFULLY |
| | SHOW CARD 43A | • |
| 1 2 | salaried employee with | ADDED QUESTION FOR "EMPLOYED" |
| 3 | supervising responsibilities salaried employee at managerial level | Do/did you also have a private business? 1 yes 5 no |
| 4 5 | worker worker with supervising responsibilities | 5 no 8 DK x-> other answer: |
| 6 | self-employed worker | ADDED QUESTION FOR |
| 7 8 | farmer: no employees farmer: one or more employees | "FARMERS" How large, in terms of acres, is your property? |
| 9 10 11 | <pre>self-employed: no employees self-employed: 1-9 employees self-employed: more than</pre> | >acres arable land: |
| x ⊢ | 10 employees | >acres forest: |
| | | |
| 43B | Are/were your husband/wife/partne government (state), a commune (subn private company? | r employed by the central ational government) or a |
| 1 2 3 | state commune (local or regional) private company other answer: | |

| 44A | Respondent's current home: | | | |
|-------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| 1 2 3 4 x - | row house or separate house flat in block of flats | | | |
| 44B | Do you rent or own your current home? | | | |
| 1 2 x - | rents home owns home (including owned flat) other answer: | | | |
| 45 | Have you any children below 18 years of age living at home? | | | |
| | ADDED QUESTION How many? IF YES How old is the child/ How old are they? 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? | | | |
|--|---|---|--|--|
| 2111 | bid you voce in this year s election: | • | | |
| 1 3 5 | yes yes, but not in all the elections no, did not vote in any of the elections refuses to answer 24F | OF QUESTIONS 24B TO 24D, ASK THOSE RELEVANT | | |
| | refuses to answer———————————————————————————————————— | •* | | |
| 24B | We had three elections at the same time the you vote for in the Riksdag election? | is year. Which party did | | |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 x | Left Party Communists Social Democrats Centre Party People's Party Moderate Party Christian Democrats the other party (state which): refuses to answer | SKIP QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN RIKSDAG ELECTION | | |
| 24C | C Which party did you vote for in the local election? | | | |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 x | Left Party Communists Social Democrats Centre Party People's Party Moderate Party Christian Democrats other party (state which): refuses to answer | SKIP QUESTION IF R. DID NOT VOTE IN LOCAL ELECTION | | |
| 24D | IF RESP LIVES IN GÖTEBORG, MALMÖ OR THE OF GOTLAND (DO NOT HAVE REGIONAL ELECTION Which party did you vote for in the region | ONS) | | |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 x 8 | Left Party Communists Social Democrats Centre Party People's Party Moderate Party Christian Democrats the other party (state which): 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 2 3 8 x | last week before election earlier during autumn or summer R. knew all along how to vote DK 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 Was there anything else that made you vote differently this year? |
| | answer: |
| | |
| 7 8 x | R. has not changed his/her mind DK 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 5 8 | yes, but does not remember which party no 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 - ₩hich party or parties? |
| | party(-ies): |
| 2 5 8 | yes, but does not remember which party no DK |
| 38C | Before this year's election, were you personally <u>visited at home</u> by any party? |
| | ADDED QUESTION IF YES - Which party or parties? |
| | party(-ies): |
| 2 5 8 | yes, but does not remember which party no DK |
| 38D | Before this year's election, were you personally <u>in touch with any campaigner</u> at your workplace? |
| | ADDED QUESTION IF YES - Which party or parties? |
| | ——▶ party(-ies): |
| 2 5 7 8 | yes, but does not remember which party no not gainfully employed 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 5 8 x | yes no DK 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 2 5 x | yes, saw the whole debate yes, saw parts of the debate no, did not see the debate other answer: |
| 39B | How many of the <u>party leader</u> interviews on TV did you watch? SHOW CARD 39B |
| 1 2 3 8 x | saw none of the party leader interviews saw 1-2 of the party leader interviews saw 3 or more of the party leader interviews DK 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 | Į. |
|-------------|--------|----|
| voting card | l 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 f Left Party Communists Social Democrats Centre Party People's Party Moderate Party Environmentalist Party Other party (which): | | |
| QUESTION 2 | | |
| Which party did you vote f 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 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 t | his 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? | | | aders on the |
| ☐ 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 t favoured or disfavoured | | | oaign |
| | 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