



Icelandic Election Study – ICENES  
1995  
Questionnaire

**Ólafur Þ. Harðarson**



UNIVERSITY OF ICELAND

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**NOTE**

In the dataset for the Icelandic Election study in 1995, the number values for some of the reply categories have been recoded.

The accurate codes for the reply categories in the dataset are listed in the codebook for the election study 1995.

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# Information about respondent

**Number of respondent, string variable:**

Ranging from 1 to 2400

**Year of birth:**

Ranging from 1915 to 1977

**Gender:**

1. Male
2. Female

**Postal code:**

Ranging from 101 to 851

**Electoral district:**

1. Reykjavik
2. Reykjanes
3. West
4. Vestfjords
5. North west
6. North east
7. East
8. South

# QUESTIONNAIRE

**1. Do you consider your interest in politics to be very great, great, some, little, or are you not interested in politics at all?**

- 1. Very great
- 2. Great
- 3. Some
- 4. Little
- 5. None

- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**2. Do you think that politicians are in general trustworthy, that many of them are trustworthy, some are trustworthy, few or none?**

- 1. In general
- 2. Many
- 3. Some
- 4. Few
- 5. None

- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**3. Two questions on what you think is important in politics: If we begin with the Althingi election on April 8<sup>th</sup>, were there any particular issues that greatly influenced what party you voted for? (Probe: Any more issues?)**

If yes, what issues: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- 90. No
- 97. Didn't vote in the Althingi election

- 98. Refuse to answer
- 99. Don't know

**4. What do you think are the most important tasks the new Althingi and government have to tackle? (Probe: Any more?)**

If yes, what tasks? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- 90. No particular tasks are most important
- 98. Refuse to answer
- 99. Don't know

**5a. Now I would like to know how much you generally like each political party. That is done by rating each party on a scale from -5 to +5. If you like a party rate it with a positive number but give it a negative number if you do not like it. Zero means that you neither like nor dislike the party.**

(Change ranking order of parties for each respondent)

Grade:

**prtfeel\_B** \_\_\_\_\_ Progressive party  
**prtfeel\_D** \_\_\_\_\_ Independent party  
**prtfeel\_G** \_\_\_\_\_ People's Alliance  
**prtfeel\_A** \_\_\_\_\_ Social Democratic Party  
**prtfeel\_KV** \_\_\_\_\_ Women's Alliance  
**prtfeel\_J** \_\_\_\_\_ National Alliance

- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**5b. What if you use the same scale for people who have been in leadership positions in Icelandic politics? Please rate them on a scale from -5 to +5.**

(Change ranking order of parties for each respondent)

Grade:

**ldrfeel\_HA** \_\_\_\_\_: Halldór Ásgrímsson  
**ldrfeel\_DO** \_\_\_\_\_: Davíð Oddsson  
**ldrfeel\_ORG** \_\_\_\_\_: Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson  
**ldrfeel\_JBH** \_\_\_\_\_: Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson  
**ldrfeel\_KA** \_\_\_\_\_: Kristín Ástgeirsdóttir  
**ldrfeel\_JS** \_\_\_\_\_: Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir

- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**5c. If you rate the government on the scale from zero to ten for its general performance during the last term, how would you evaluate the government of Davíð Oddsson?**

\_\_\_\_\_: grade

- 8 Refuse to answer
- 9 Don't know

**6. If we turn to several issues which have been widely discussed in society in recent years – first, to attempts to assure women equal position to men. Do you think this development has gone much too far, a bit too far, about right, needs to go a bit further, or needs to go much further? (Probe: Much/a bit)**

- 1. Gone much too far
- 2. Gone a bit too far
- 3. About right
- 4. Needs to go a bit further
- 5. Needs to go much further

- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**7. Do you support the presence of the American defence force here; do you think the armed forces should leave, or do you think that it makes no difference? (Probe: Strongly or tend to)**

- 1. Strongly supportive of the presence of the US military base

2. Tend to be supportive of the presence of the US military base
3. Makes no difference
4. Tend to be against the presence of the US force
5. Strongly against the presence of the US force
  
8. Refuse to answer
9. Don't know

**8. Do you agree or disagree that the government should decrease its influence on the labour market, or do you think this makes no difference? (Probe: strongly or tend to do)**

1. Strongly agree
2. Tend to agree
3. Makes no difference
4. Tend to disagree
5. Strongly disagree
  
8. Refuse to answer
9. Don't know

**9. Do you agree or disagree that progress in the capital area may be decreased in order to increase prosperity in the rural regions, or does this not make any difference? (Probe: strongly/tend to).**

1. Strongly agree
2. Tend to agree
3. Makes no difference
4. Tend to disagree
5. Strongly disagree
  
8. Refuse to answer
9. Don't know

**10. Do you think that it is desirable or undesirable that Iceland should apply for membership in the European Community? (Probe; very or rather)**

1. Very desirable
2. Rather desirable
3. Doesn't matter
4. Rather undesirable
5. Very undesirable
  
8. Refuse to answer
9. Don't know

**11. Do you agree or disagree that corporations owned by the state/state enterprises should be sold or do you think it does not matter? (Probe; strongly or tend to)**

1. Strongly agree
2. Tend to agree
3. Doesn't matter
4. Tend to disagree
5. Strongly disagree
  
8. Refuse to answer
9. Don't know

**12. Do you agree or disagree that in the next years action on environmental issues should be prioritized over attempts to increase economic growth or do you think this makes no difference? (Probe; strongly or tend to)**

1. Strongly agree
2. Tend to agree
3. Doesn't matter
4. Tend to disagree
5. Strongly disagree

- 8 Refuse to answer
- 9 Don't know

**13. Do you feel that the government should lay much emphasis, somewhat much emphasis or little emphasis on large scale industry that demands a lot of energy (Probe; much or somewhat)**

1. Much emphasis
2. Somewhat much emphasis
3. Some emphasis
4. Rather little emphasis
5. Very little emphasis (no emphasis)

- 8 Refuse to answer
- 9 Don't know

**14. Do you agree or disagree that the government should be used to equal the distribution of income in society – or do you think this makes no difference? (Probe: strongly/tend to).**

1. Strongly agree
2. Tend to agree
3. Makes no difference
4. Tend to disagree
5. Strongly disagree

8. Refuse to answer
9. Don't know

**15a. If we now turn to the question whether Iceland should continue its NATO membership, is this an issue on which you have an opinion?**

1. Yes → *Skip to Q.15b*
2. No → *Skip to Q.16*
- 8 Refuse to answer → *Skip to Q.16*
- 9 Don't know → *Skip to Q.16*

**15b. Some people believe Iceland should stay in NATO, while others believe it should discontinue its membership. What is your opinion?**

1. Stay
2. Discontinue

- 8 Refuses to answer
- 9 Don't know

- 16. Are you for or against public control over agricultural production and price – or do you think this makes no difference? (Probe; strongly or tend to)**
1. Strongly for
  2. Rather for
  3. Makes no difference
  4. Rather against
  5. Strongly against
  8. Refuses to answer
  9. Don't know
- 17. Do you agree or disagree that public institutions should increase day care centers for children – or do you think this makes no difference? (Probe: strongly/tend to).**
1. Strongly agree
  2. Tend to agree
  3. Makes no difference
  4. Tend to disagree
  5. Strongly disagree
  8. Refuse to answer
  9. Don't know
- 18. Users of public health service now pay for some of the service. Do you think that their share of the payment should be increased, decreased or stay the same? (Probe; much or some)**
1. Increase much
  2. Increase some
  3. Stay the same
  4. Decrease some
  5. Decrease much
  8. Refuses
  9. Don't know
- 19. Do you agree or disagree, that it is necessary to change the quota management system essentially – or do you think this makes no difference? (Probe: strongly/tend to).**
1. Strongly agree
  2. Tend to agree
  3. Makes no difference
  4. Tend to disagree
  5. Strongly disagree
  8. Refuse to answer
  9. Don't know
- 20. Are you for or against the idea that the government should sell "Búnaðarbankinn" or "Landsbankinn" (state banks) to private parties – or do you think this makes no difference? (Probe; strongly or rather)**
1. Strongly for

- 2 Rather for
- 3 Doesn't matter
- 4 Rather against
- 5 Strongly against
  
- 8 Refuses to answer
- 9 Don't know

**21. Do you generally agree or disagree that tenants should receive housing benefits from the government? or do you think this makes no difference? (Probe: strongly/tend to).**

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Tend to agree
- 3. Makes no difference
- 4. Tend to disagree
- 5. Strongly disagree
  
- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**22. What do you think is more important these days, to keep the inflation down or fight unemployment? (Probe: much/rather)**

- 1 Keep the inflation down, much more important
- 2 Keep the inflation down, rather more important
- 3 Equally important
- 4 Fight unemployment, rather more important
- 5 Fight unemployment, much more important
  
- 8 Refuse to answer
- 9 Don't know

**23. Do you agree or disagree that the government should aim for increased efficiency in fishing industry and agriculture, even if the would result in regional disturbance - or do you think this makes no difference. (Probe: strongly/tend to).**

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Tend to agree
- 3. Makes no difference
- 4. Tend to disagree
- 5. Strongly disagree
  
- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**24. Last year a special high income tax was put up on those individuals who earned more than 200 thousand Icelandic kronur a month. Are you for or against this kind of taxing – or do you think this does not matter? (Probe; strongly or rather)**

- 1 Strongly for
- 2 Rather for
- 3 Doesn't matter
- 4 Rather against

- 5 Strongly against
- 8 Refuse to answer
- 9 Don't know

**25. Do you agree or disagree that preferably all votes in the country should have equal weight when parliamentary seats are allotted – or do you think this makes no difference? (Probe: strongly/tend to)**

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Tend to agree
- 3. Makes no difference
- 4. Tend to disagree
- 5. Strongly disagree
  
- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**26. Do you agree or disagree that import on agricultural products should be greatly expanded, in steps? - Or do you think this makes no difference? (Probe: strongly/tend to)**

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Tend to agree
- 3. Makes no difference
- 4. Tend to disagree
- 5. Strongly disagree
  
- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**27. Do you agree or disagree, that taxes should be reduced, even though it would mean that public services would have to be reduced, e.g. health care, education, or social security – or do you think this makes no difference? (Probe: strongly/tend to)**

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Tend to agree
- 3. Makes no difference
- 4. Tend to disagree
- 5. Strongly disagree
  
- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**28. Do you agree or disagree that the party system in this country has become outdated – or do you not want to pass a judgement on that? (Probe: strongly/tend to).**

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Tend to agree
- 3. Ambivalent
- 4. Tend to disagree
- 5. Strongly disagree
  
- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**29. Do you think that the differences in attitudes and experiences of men and women matter a lot, some or little in politics? (Probe; very or rather)**

1. Very much
2. Rather much
3. Some
4. Rather little
5. Very little (none)
  
8. Refuses to answer
9. Don't know

**30a. Many people consider themselves supporters of political parties while others do not feel a solidarity with any party. Do you in general consider yourself as a supporter of any political party or organization? (Mark only one party)**

- |     |                                   |                 |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 01. | Yes, the Social Democratic Party  | → Skip to Q.30b |
| 02. | Yes, the Progressive Party        | → Skip to Q.30b |
| 03. | Yes, the Independent Party        | → Skip to Q.30b |
| 04. | Yes, the People's Alliance        | → Skip to Q.30b |
| 05. | Yes, National Alliance            | → Skip to Q.30b |
| 06. | Yes, Women's Alliance             | → Skip to Q.30b |
| 07. | Yes, the Nature Law party         | → Skip to Q.30b |
| 08. | Yes, Christina political movement | → Skip to Q.30b |
| 09. | Yes, other, what?: _____          | → Skip to Q.30b |

- |    |                                  |                 |
|----|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 90 | No, not a supporter of any party | → Skip to Q.30c |
| 98 | Refuses to answer                | → Skip to Q.31a |
| 99 | Don't know                       | → Skip to Q.30c |

**30b. Would you say you are a very strong, rather strong or not a very strong supporter (of a given party)?**

- |    |                  |                 |
|----|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. | Very strong      | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 2. | Rather strong    | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 3. | Not very strong  | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 8  | Refuse to answer | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 9  | Don't know       | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 0  | Inapplicable     | → Skip to Q.30d |

**30c. Do you nevertheless feel somewhat closer to any party or organization than to others? (Mark only one party).**

- |     |  |                 |
|-----|--|-----------------|
| 01. | Yes, to the Social Democratic Party      | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 02. | Yes, to the Progressive Party            | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 03. | Yes, to the Independent Party            | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 04. | Yes, to the People's Alliance            | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 05. | Yes, National Alliance                   | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 06. | Yes, to the Women's Alliance             | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 07. | Yes, to the Nature Law party             | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 08. | Yes, to the Christian Political Movement | → Skip to Q.30d |
| 09. | Yes, other, what?: _____                 | → Skip to Q.30d |

- |     |     |                 |
|-----|-----|-----------------|
| 90. | No, | → Skip to Q.31a |
|-----|-----|-----------------|

98. Refuses to answer → *Skip to Q.31a*  
 99. Don't know → *Skip to Q.31a*  
 0 Inaplicable → *Skip to Q.31a*

**30d. Are you a member of a given party? (Mentioned in 30a or 30c)**

1. Yes  
 2. No  
 8. Refuse to answer  
 9. Don't know

**31a. In politics sometimes there is an effort to rank political parties after how far to left or right they are. Please rank the Icelandic political parties on scale from 0 to ten, where 0 is farthest to the left, and ten farthest to the right. If we start with Social Democratic Party.... (change order of parties)**

- \_\_\_\_\_ Social Democratic Party  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Women's Alliance  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Independent Party  
 \_\_\_\_\_ People's Alliance  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Progressive Party

**31b. Using the same scale where would you place yourself?**

\_\_\_\_\_ Self

**32. Did you take part in a primary of any party before the last election? If yes: What primary? (Mark every primary respondent took part)**

- 1 Yes, The Social Democratic Party  
 2 Yes, The Progressive Party  
 3 Yes, The Independent Party  
 4 Yes, The People's Alliance  
 5 Yes, The National Alliance  
 6 Yes, The Women's Alliance  
 7 Yes, other. What? \_\_\_\_\_

- 90 No, did not take party in any primary  
 91 Took part – will not say for whom

- 98 Refuse to answer  
 99 Don't know

**33a. Did you vote in the Althingi election on April 8<sup>th</sup>? If yes: What party or list did you vote for?**

- 01 The Social Democratic Party → *Skip to q.33b*  
 02 The Progressive Party → *Skip to q.33b*  
 03 The Independent Party → *Skip to q.33b*  
 04 The People's Alliance → *Skip to q.33b*  
 05 The National Movement → *Skip to q.33b*  
 06 The Women's Alliance → *Skip to q.33b*  
 07 The Nature Law Party → *Skip to q.33b*  
 08 The Christian Political Movement → *Skip to q.33b*  
 09 The Westfjords Party ( Pétur Bjarnason) → *Skip to q.33b*  
 10 The South Party (Pétur Haukdal) → *Skip to q.33b*

- 91 Did not vote → *Skip to q.34*
- 92 Cast an invalid ballot → *Skip to q.34*
- 98 Refuse to answer → *Skip to q.34*
- 99 Don't know → *Skip to q.34*

**33b. Did you ever consider voting another party before the last election? If yes: What party / parties?**

- 01 The Social Democratic Party → *Skip to q.33c*
- 02 The Progressive Party → *Skip to q.33c*
- 03 The Independent Party → *Skip to q.33c*
- 04 The People's Alliance → *Skip to q.33c*
- 05 The National Alliance → *Skip to q.33c*
- 06 The Women's Alliance → *Skip to q.33c*
- 07 The Nature Law party → *Skip to q.33c*
- 08 The Christian Political Movement → *Skip to q.33c*
- 09 The Westfjords Party (Pétur Bjarnason) → *Skip to q.33c*
- 10 The South Party (Eggert Haukdal) → *Skip to q.33c*
- 11 Yes, every other party → *Skip to q.33c*
- 12 Yes, not to vote → *Skip to q.33c*
- 13 Yes, to cast an invalid ballot → *Skip to q.33c*
- 14 Yes, but will not say for what party → *Skip to q.33c*
- 90 No → *Skip to q.34*
- 98 Refuse to answer → *Skip to q.34*
- 99 Don't know → *Skip to q.34*
- 00. Inapplicable → *Skip to q.34*

**33c. How long before the election did you make a final decision?**

- 1 On election day
- 2 In the week before the elections
- 3 A week before the elections
- 4 8-30 day before the elections
- 5 More that a month before the elections
- 8 Refuses to answer
- 9 Don't know
- 0 Inapplicable

**34. What about the 1991 Althingi elections, did you vote then? If yes: What party or list did you vote for?**

- 01 The Social Democratic Party
- 02 The Progressive Party
- 03 The Independent Party
- 04 The People's Alliance
- 05 The Extreme Social Democratic Party
- 06 The Women's Alliance
- 07 The Humanist Party
- 08 The Home Rule Party
- 09 The Green Party
- 10 The Citizen's Party

- 90 No, did not have the right to vote
- 91 Cast an invalid ballot

- 98 Refuse to answer
- 99 Don't know

**35. What parties would you like to see form a majority coalition government after the elections?**

- 1 Independent Party, Progressive Party
- 2 Left wing government (sociality government)
- 3 Social Democratic Party, Independent Party
- 4 Independent Party, Social Democratic Party Women's Alliance
- 5 Independent Party, National Alliance
- 6 Other. What? \_\_\_\_\_

- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**36. Have you completed any kind of training or education after the age of fifteen? IF YES → What education?**

- 1. No.
- 2. Yes. What? \_\_\_\_\_

- 8. Refuse to answer
- 9. Don't know

**37. Approximately how many years have you attended school, counting your compulsory education,?**

Number of years in school: \_\_\_\_\_

- 98 Refuse to answer
- 99 Don't know

**38a. Are you currently in a paid job?**

- 1 Yes → skip to Q.39a
- 2 No → skip to Q.38b

- 8 Refuse to answer
- 9 Don't know

**38b. Have you been in a paid job in the last 3 months?**

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

- 8 Refuses to answer
- 9 Don't know

**38c. Do you work at home, are you in school, unemployed, temporarily not working because of health problems, on a vacation or retired?**

- 1 Unemployed → Skip to Q.39a
- 2 Temporarily not working or quit because of ill health → Skip to Q.39a
- 3 On a vacation → Skip to Q.39a

- 4 Retired → Skip to Q.39a
- 5 Student → Skip to Q.41
- 6 Housewife who does not have another job → Skip to Q.41
- 8 Refuse to answer → Skip to Q.41
- 9 Don't know → Skip to Q.41

**39a. What is / was your main occupation?** *(If respondent is retired or unemployed, then refer to the last job he had. Get the name of the vocation and a job description)*

Name of the job: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Job description \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**39b. Do / did you work for the government (public institution, public government) or in another sphere?**

- 1 Public institution / company
- 2 Other
- 8 Refuses
- 9 Don't know

**39c. Are / were you an employee or did you have your own business ?**

- 1 Employee
- Own business → Do you have a employee / employess?
  - 2 No employee
  - 3 Have employee / employees
  - 4 A couple with business together
  - 5 A few with business together
- 8 Refuses to answer
- 9 Don't know

**39d. In what sphere is / was your job?**

- 1 Acriculture
- 2 Fishing
- 3 Fish industry
- 4 Industry
- 5 Public service
- 6 Trade, transport or other
- 8 Refuses to answer
- 9 Don't know

**40. What is your marital status?**

- 1 Married
- 2 In cohabitation
- 3 Single
- 4 Divorced
- 5 Widowed
- 8 Refuses to answer
- 9 Don't know

**41a. Does your spouse have a paid job these days?**

- 0 Yes → Skip to q.42
- 1 No → Skip to q.41b
  
- 8 Refuses to answer
- 9 Don't know

**41b. Have your spouse been in a paid job in the last 3 months?**

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
  
- 8 Refuses to answer
- 9 Don't know

**41c. Does your spouse work at home, is he / she in school, unemployed, temporarily not working because of health problems, on a vacation or retired?**

- 1 Unemployed → Skip to q.42
- 2 Temporarily not working or quit because of ill health → Skip to q.42
- 3 On a vacation → Skip to q.42
- 4 Retired → Skip to q.42
- 5 Student → Skip to q.43
- 6 Housewife who does not have another job → Skip to q.43
  
- 8 Refuses to answer → Skip to q.43
- 9 Don't know → Skip to q.43

**42. What is / was the main occupation of your spouse? If retired or unemployed, then the job last occupied. Note the name of the job and a description.**

Name of the job: \_\_\_\_\_  
Job description: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**43. If you compare your standard of living to that of two years ago, do you think it has generally improved, remained about the same or grown worse?**

- 1 Generally improved
- 2 Remained about the same
- 3 Grown worse
  
- 8 Refuses to answer
- 9 Don't know

**44. Are you living in your own accommodation or do you rent?**

- 1 Own accommodation
- 2 Rent
- 3 Other. what? \_\_\_\_\_ --
  
- 8 Refuses to answer
- 9 Don't know

**45a. In the election campaign there were various tv-shows about politics, for example promotional programs about the political parties, and various political debate shows. Did you see almost all of these programs, much, some, rarely or none?**

- 1 Almost all
- 2 Most
- 3 Some
- 4 Rarely
- 5 None

- 8. Refuses to answer
- 9. Don't know

**45b. The night before the elections the leaders of the political parties appeared together in a talk show in the National TV and on Station 2 (Stöð 2). Did you see that program?**

- 1 Yes, all of it
- 2 Yes, part of it
- 3 No, did not see it

- 8. Refuses to answer
- 9. Don't know

ASK APPROPRIATE QUESTIONS IF RESPONDENT IS SINGLE OR MARRIED / IN COHABITATION.

**46a. What was your / your family total income in Mars before all levies (fyrir skatt), approximately? (All paid job: part time, over time and etere)**

Total income brutto: \_\_\_\_\_ Icelandic kronur a month  
(Write exact amount)

- 999998 Refuses to answer
- 999999 Don't know

**46b. What was your total salary (respondent only) in Mars before all levies (fyrir skatt), approximately? (All paid job: part time, over time and etere)**

Total salary brutto: \_\_\_\_\_ Icelandic kronur a month  
(Write exact amount)

- 999998 Refuses to answer
- 999999 Don't know