ELECTION STUDY 1956

Area no...............  Resp. no...............  Date of Interview.........................
Year of birth.........  Time of end of interview...........................
Time of start of interview.............  Name of interviewer...................

I would like to ask you some questions in connection to this year's election and begin by asking: Do you think that you will be more or less interested in the election this year than in 1954?

1. more interested  
2. less interested  
3. no difference  
4. DK  

As you know, there have been several radio broadcasts before the election campaign. Did you listen to any of those programmes?

For interviewer: Show R. printed card with a list of the radio programmes.

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTION: Did you listen to the whole programme?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROGRAMME</th>
<th>WHOLE PROG.</th>
<th>PART OF PROG.</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The parties and the democracy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview with Hedlund</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview with Hjalmarson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview with Ohlin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview with Erlander</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TO THOSE WHO HAVE LISTENED TO AT LEAST 2 OF THE PARTY LEADER INTERVIEWS

Which of the party leaders that you listened to do you think defended himself most skilfully and who was the most reassuring during the radio interviews?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>most skilful</th>
<th>most reassuring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hjalmarson</td>
<td>1. Hjalmarson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Hedlund</td>
<td>2. Hedlund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ohlin</td>
<td>3. Ohlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Erlander</td>
<td>4. Erlander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hagberg</td>
<td>5. Hagberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. none most skilful</td>
<td>6. none most reassuring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. DK</td>
<td>7. DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TO THOSE WHO LISTENED TO 'PARTIES AND DEMOCRACY' DEBATE

Do you remember the names of the participants in the ideological debate on August 13th?

names noted here:...........................................................................................................

..................................................................................................................

2. remembers none

As you know, there has been a lot of discussion concerning government expenditures. Do you think there is any particular area where that government expenditures ought to be cut? (In which areas do you think government expenditures ought to be cut?)

Government ought to cut expenditures on:...........................................................................

..................................................................................................................

2. no area where expenditures ought to be cut
3. no opinion

Do you think there is any area where the government ought spend more?

yes, note the answer:...........................................................................................................

..................................................................................................................

2. no, no area
3. no opinion

Is there anything else in politics that you would like to change?

yes, note the answer:...........................................................................................................

..................................................................................................................

2. no, nothing
3. no opinion
Which newspaper or newspapers do you read daily?
FOLLOW-UP QUESTION A: Which of them do you subscribe to?
FOLLOW-UP QUESTION B: Do you know which party ... (names of all newspapers R. subscribes to) supports?

Answers noted below. Subscription marked with an X:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Subscr. Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Do you usually read the editorials of the newspapers?
For interviewer: read out alternatives below and let R. choose the one relevant.

1. every day
2. often
3. seldom
4. never

And now some questions about organisations.

Are you a member of any trade union for workers or salaried employees?
IF NO, FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Are you a member of any organisation for self-employed or employers?

1. union for workers
2. union for salaried employees
3. organisation for self-employed
4. organisation for employers
5. not working and not member of any organisation

TO FARMERS

Are you a member of the RLF (Riksförbundet Landsbygdens Folk)?

1. yes
2. no

IF 11:1-3 OR 12:1 (MEMBERS)

Do you consider yourself as one of the very active, fairly active or the not active members of the organisation?

1. very active
2. fairly active
3. not active
   note other answer:.................................................................
4. DK
14 IF 11:1-3 OR 12:1 (MEMBERS)
How do you think that the organisation protects the interests of its members? Very well, fairly well, badly?
1. very well
2. fairly well
3. badly
4. DK

15 IF 11:1-3 OR 12:1 (MEMBERS)
Do you usually read about organisational matters in the periodical you get from the organisation (union/self-employed organisation/RLF)?
1. yes
2. no
   other answer noted:...........................................................................................................
.................................................................................................................................

16 Are you a member of a temperance (teetotalist) organisation?
1. yes
2. no

17 Are you a member of a Free Church congregation?
1. yes
2. no

18 Do you listen to the Morning Service or the Evening Service on the radio, almost every Sunday, at least once a month, more seldom or never?
1. almost every Sunday
2. at least once a month
3. more seldom
4. never

19 Do you attend a service in some church, at least once a month, several times a year, more seldom or never?
1. at least once a month
2. several times a year
3. more seldom
4. never

20 Would you describe yourself as very, moderately or not at all interested in politics?
1. very interested
2. moderately
3. not at all
4. DK
21  Is there any party or parties that you think will gain votes in this year's election? (Which)? FOR INTERVIEWER: If R. mentions more than one party, mark them all.

1. Conservatives
2. Agrarian Party
3. People's Party
4. Social Democrats
5. Communists
6. DK or no party will gain votes

22  Is there any party or parties that you think will lose votes in this year's election? (Which)? FOR INTERVIEWER: If R. mentions more than one party, mark them all.

1. Conservatives
2. Agrarian Party
3. People's Party
4. Social Democrats
5. Communists
6. DK or no party will lose votes

23  As you know, some people consider themselves adherents of the party which they intend to vote for. But there are also many others who do have such an attachment to any of the parties. Do you yourself belong to the adherents of any party?

1. yes, considers him/herself as adherent
2. no, does not consider him/herself as adherent
3. other answer noted here: ........................................................................................................
4. DK

24  I have here a plate which shows some of the posters used by the parties this summer. Which of them have you seen?
FOR INTERVIEWER: After all posters seen by R. have been marked, ask ADDITIONAL QUESTION for each of them: Do you know which party used this poster?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poster no.</th>
<th>seen</th>
<th>not seen</th>
<th>party</th>
<th>DK party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<td>.....</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For INTERVIEWER:
Note which party R. thinks has used the posters recognized by R.

Use party abbreviations.
FOR INTERVIEWER: SHOW R. PLATE WITH PORTRAITS OF PARTY LEADERS

I have here a plate with some pictures and questions. First, I would like you to look at these photographs showing the five party leaders. Of whom can you remember the name?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R. recognizes</th>
<th>R. does not recognize</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hagberg</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Hjalmanson</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hedlund</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ohlin</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Erlander</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And now I would like you to look at the questions at the bottom of the plate.

As you know, every second election is to local and regional assemblies and every second election is to the second chamber. Is this year’s election to local and regional assemblies or to the second chamber of the Riksdag?

1. local and regional election
2. second chamber election
3. DK

Which party or parties are included in the current government?

1. Social Democrats
2. Agrarian Party
3. Other party or parties
4. DK

Could tell me who elect the members of the first chamber of the Riksdag?

1. Regional governments (landsting) plus city councils of certain cities.
   For interviewer: Mark here even if R. only mentions landsting.

   note other answer:........................................................................................................

3. DK

As you know, the Social Democrats and the Agrarian Party have formed a government together since 1951. Do you think that the coalition government has been disadvantageous to any of the parties? (Which party?)

1. Disadvantageous to Social Democrats
2. Disadvantageous to Agrarian Party
3. Disadvantageous both parties
4. Not disadvantageous to any of the parties
5. No opinion
30 Do you believe that the current government will stay after this autumn's election?

1. yes, will stay
2. no, will not stay
   note other answer:.................................................................
4. no opinion

31 I would now like to ask you a few questions concerning the policies pursued in this country in recent years.

For interviewer: If needed, repeat for each of q. 31-34 the question: Is it mainly due to the policies of the government or mainly due to other reasons?

As you know, we have on the whole not had any unemployment since the end of the war. (Is it mainly due to the policies of the government or mainly due to other reasons?)

1. mainly due to government policies
2. mainly due to other reasons
   note other answer:.................................................................
4. no opinion

32 As you know, we have shortage of housing in many areas of this country. (Is it mainly due to the policies of the government or mainly due to other reasons?)

1. mainly due to government policies
2. mainly due to other reasons
   note other answer:.................................................................
4. no opinion

33 Most people can be said to have become better off financially since the war. (Is it mainly due to the policies of the government or mainly due to other reasons?)

1. mainly due to government policies
2. mainly due to other reasons
   note other answer:.................................................................
4. no opinion

34 As you know, prices have been increasing since the end of the war and the value of the krona had decreased. (Is it mainly due to the policies of the government or mainly due to other reasons?)

1. mainly due to government policies
2. mainly due to other reasons
   note other answer:.................................................................
4. no opinion
35 How big a difference do you think it would be for people in general if a government consisting of only the non-socialist parties but not the Social Democrats were to take office?

1. big difference
2. some difference, but not that big
3. no difference
   other answer:........................................................................................................
5. no opinion

SPACE FOR INTERVIEWER’S MARKINGS OF ANY ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS

36 37 37A

1 1 1
2 2 2
3 3 3
4 4 4
5 5 5
6 6 6

38 Are you personally acquainted to any of the persons on the parties lists? (To which party does he(she) belong?)

For interviewer: If needed, mark more than one alternative.

1. no, not personally acquainted
2. yes, Conservative
3. yes, Agrarian Party
4. yes, People’s Party
5. yes, Social Democrats
6. yes, Communists
7. yes, party not known
8. DK

39 Do you know anyone who in any other way takes part in this year’s campaign for any of the parties? (To which party does he(she) belong?)

For interviewer: If needed, mark more than one alternative.

1. no, not personally acquainted
2. yes, Conservative
3. yes, Agrarian Party
4. yes, People’s Party
5. yes, Social Democrats
6. yes, Communists
7. yes, party not known
8. DK
40 In there anybody in your family that holds a political opinion different to yours?

1. yes, somebody has different opinion
2. no

other answer noted:........................................................................................................
4. DK

41 And thinking of friends that you most often meet outside work, do you believe that most of the vote for the same party as you?

For interviewer: If R. is not employed, leave out the words "outside work".

1. yes
2. no

other answer noted:........................................................................................................
4. DK

42 And thinking of those that you most often meet at work, do you believe that most of the vote for the same party as you?

1. yes
2. no
3. alone at workplace (craftsmen, farmers etc.)
4. not working (housewives, pensioners etc.)

other answer noted:........................................................................................................
6. DK

43 Have you discussed the election, or politics in general, during the last month (last four weeks)?

IF YES, ADDED QUESTION: Was it with someone in your family, someone at work or some other friend?

1. has not discussed .............................................. GO TO Q. 45
2. has discussed with family member
3. has discussed with someone at work (not family member)
4. has discussed with other friend

other answer noted:........................................................................................................
6. DK .............................................. GO TO Q. 45

For interviewer: If R. has discussed with more than one category, mark each.
44 IF 43:2-5 (HAS DISCUSSED)

Did you have the same opinion about the parties as the one you discussed with?

For interviewer: If R. has spoken to more than one category, with different opinions, note if R. met his/her own opinion in family, at work or among friends.

1. yes
2. no
3. DK

other answer noted:.................................................................

45 IF 43:1 OR 43:6 (HAS NOT DISCUSSED)

If you wish to talk about the parties and the election, who would you be most likely to turn to? To someone in the family, someone at the workplace or some other friend?

1. someone in family
2. someone at workplace
3. some other friend

other answer noted:.................................................................

5. DK

46 Did you vote in the 1954 election?

1. yes
2. no
3. was not eligible to vote
4. DK
5. refuses to answer

GO TO Q. 48

47 How have you usually acted in earlier elections? Have you voted always, almost always, only sometimes or never?

1. always voted
2. almost always voted
3. voted sometimes
4. never voted, but has been eligible to vote in earlier elections
5. refuses to answer

48 Do you intend to vote in this year’s election?

1. yes
2. no
3. not yet decided, maybe
4. refuses to answer

GO TO Q. 61
49 IF 48:1 OR 48:3 (INTENDS TO VOTE OR MAYBE).
Have you yet decided which party you will vote for this year?
For interviewer: IF R. is not certain whether he/she will vote, add: "if you were to vote".

1. yes, decided
2. no, not yet decided GO TO Q. 54. GO TO Q. 58 IF R. HAS NEVER VOTED BEFORE.
3. refuses to answer

50 IF 49:1 OR 49:3 (HAS DECIDED OR REFUSES TO ANSWER)
Do you intend to vote for the same party as the last time you voted?

1. yes, same party GO TO Q. 54
2. for other party GO TO Q. 54
3. not certain which party GO TO Q. 58 OR 61
4. has never voted before GO TO Q. 58 OR 61
5. refuses to answer

51 IF 50:1 (SAME PARTY)
Have you voted for that party every time you have voted?

1. yes
2. no GO TO Q. 53
3. DK

52 IF 51:1 (ALWAYS SAME PARTY)
Have you ever seriously considered to change party?

1. yes
2. no
3. DK
4. refuses to answer

53 IF 51:2 (NOT ALWAYS SAME PARTY)
When did you change to the party you now vote for?

point of time:.................................................................................................

2. DK
3. refuses to answer

Q. 54-57 ONLY TO PARTY SWITCHERS AND R:S IN DOUBT

54 IF 50:2 OR 50:3 (PARTY SWITCHERS AND R:S IN DOUBT)
Could you tell me when you seriously started to consider to change party? Was it now, before the election or was it earlier?

1. now, before the election
2. earlier
   other answer noted:..........................................................................................
4. DK
5. refuses to answer
IF 50:2 OR 50:3 (PARTY SWITCHERS OR R:S IN DOUBT)

Is there anyone that you know well, for example if your family or among your friends, who has changed opinion the same way as you since 1954?

IF YES, FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Is it someone in your family or another friend that you are thinking of?

1. knows nobody who has changed opinion  
2. someone in own family has changed opinion  
3. some other friend has changed opinion  
4. knows someone who has changed opinion, refuses to answer FOLLOW-UP QUESTION  
5. DK or refuses to answer

IF 55:1 OR 55:5 (KNOWS NOBODY WHO HAS CHANGED OPINION IN THE SAME WAY OR DK.)

Do you yourself feel that that it is someone in your family or among friends who has influenced you to start thinking about changing party?

IF YES, FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Is it someone in your family or among other friends that you are thinking of?

1. nobody has influenced  
2. someone in own family has influenced  
3. someone among other friends has influenced  
4. someone has influenced, refuses to answer FOLLOW-UP QUESTION  
5. DK or refuses to answer

IF 50:2 OR 50:3 (PARTY SWITCHERS OR R:S IN DOUBT)

Which party have you voted for before?

1. Conservatives  
2. Agrarian Party  
3. People's Party  
4. Social Democrats  
5. Communists  
6. refuses to answer

Q. 58-60 ONLY TO VOTERS BORN 1933 OR LATER

TO THE YOUNGEST VOTERS

Do you feel it has been difficult to decide which party to vote for?

1. yes, difficult to decide.  
2. no, not difficult  
   other answer noted: ..................................................  
4. DK
59 TO THE YOUNGEST VOTERS WHO HAVE DECIDED PARTY (49:1)

Did you decide recently, just before this election, which party you like best or did you have your political opinion ready before that?

1. decided before this election
2. decided earlier
   other answer noted: ..................................................................................
4. DK
5. refuses to answer

60 TO THE YOUNGEST VOTERS

Do you yourself think that the opinions in your home or opinions among other friends have been most important for your own opinion about the parties?

1. home
2. other friends
3. both
   other answer noted: ..................................................................................
5. DK

61 As you know, there has been a lot of discussion about the integrity of the individual in relation to public officers and public institutions in this country. Do you feel that the integrity of the individual are satisfactory, not quite satisfactory or not at all satisfactory?

1. satisfactory
2. not quite satisfactory
3. not at all satisfactory
   other answer noted: ..................................................................................
4. no opinion

62 In an election campaign like this, the parties will of course want to win all voters. Do you yourself believe that most of the parties and their leaders to the best of their ability try to keep promises after the election is over?

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: If R. says "Some of the parties do not keep their promises". Interviewer asks: Which party or parties do not keep their promises?

1. yes, the parties keep their promises

   some parties do not keep their promises, note which parties:
   .............................................................................................................

3. no, the parties do not keep their promises
   other answer noted: ..................................................................................

5. no opinion
I would now like to ask a few questions about what you think of the parties. But I would first like to remind you that all answers are anonymous. Nobody may investigate the names of those who have answered in this survey.

Which of the parties do you like best?

1. Conservatives
2. Agrarian Party
3. People’s Party
4. Social Democrats
5. Communists
6. hesitant among several parties
7. does not sympathize with any party
8. refuses to answer

IF 63:1-5 (R. HAS MENTIONED SOME PARTY)

Which of the parties do you like second best?

1. Conservatives
2. Agrarian Party
3. People’s Party
4. Social Democrats
5. Communists
6. DK
7. refuses to answer

IF 63:1-5

What makes you like ... (interviewer says name of party R. likes best) best?

Answer noted:

..........................................................
..........................................................
..........................................................
What is it that you do not like about ... (Interviewer says name of party given by R. as second best)?

Answer noted:

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION I: Could you mention something you dislike about...

Answer noted:

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION II: Could you mention something you dislike about...

Answer noted:

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS I-II asked so that R. gets the opportunity to criticize at least the following 2 parties: Conservatives the People’s and Agrarian Parties, People’s Party supporters the Conservatives and Social Democrats, Agrarian Party supporters the Conservatives and the People’s Party, Social Democrats the People’s Party and the Communists, Communists the Social Democrats and the People’s Party.

Between which parties are you hesitating, that is, which parties could you envisage voting for?

answer noted:.................................................................

2. refuses to answer

Could you mention something you dislike about the party you have voted for before?

yes, answer noted:.................................................................

2. no
3. has never voted before
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 69 Has your father usually voted for the same party as you intend to vote for this year? | 1. yes, same party  
2. no, other party  
3. DK  
Other answer noted:................................................................. |
| 70 IF 69:2 (FATHER VOTED FOR OTHER PARTY)                                  | Which party has he usually voted for?         |
|                                                                          | 1. Conservatives  
2. Agrarian Party  
3. People's Party  
4. Social Democrats  
5. Communists  
6. DK  
Other answer noted:................................................................. |
| 71 Are you a member of a political party or political youth organisation? | 1. yes  
2. no  
3. refuses to answer |
| 72 IF 71:1 (MEMBERS OF SOME PARTY)                                       | Do you consider yourself as one of the active members of your organisation? |
|                                                                          | 1. yes, active  
2. no, not active  
Other answer noted:................................................................. |
|                                                                          | 4. DK  
5. refuses to answer |
| 73 Have you lived in this city (municipality) all the time since 1945?    | 1. yes, all the time since 1945  
No, moved here in the year:.......................................................... |
|                                                                          | 3. refuses to answer |
| 74 Have you moved within the city (municipality) since 1954?              | 1. yes, has moved  
2. no, has not moved  
3. refuses to answer |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74A</td>
<td>Have you any education other than basic school education (Sw. 'folkskola'; 7 years) (Which?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yes, education above basic school:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74B</td>
<td>Are you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. widowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. divorced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74C</td>
<td>What is your occupation?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>occupation:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. not working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>TO MARRIED WOMEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What is your husband's occupation?</td>
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<td>occupation noted:</td>
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<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>TO ALL RESPONDENTS EXCEPT FARMERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Are you (your husband) an enterpriser, a self-employed professional, a salaried employee or a worker?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For interviewer: Married women only asked about husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. enterpriser or self-employed professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. salaried employee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other answer noted:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. refuses to answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>What is (was) the occupation of your father?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>occupation noted:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. DK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. refuses to answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>TO ALL RESPONDENTS EXCEPT FARMERS AND THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do you rent your home or do you own the house where you live?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For interviewer: Flat in cooperatively owned house to be regarded as rented.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. rents home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. owns house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. refuses to answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
And so to the last question. It concerns the party leaders. Which of the opinions on this card do you think is most appropriate for the leader of the party that you intend to vote for?

For interviewer: Show R. card with opinions about the party leaders; if needed, read out all opinions to R.

1. It is due to the party leader being so remarkably competent and reassuring that the party gets many votes. Without him, the party would be weaker.

2. The party leader is no doubt competent, and he is the one in the party most suitable for the job. But votes are not attracted to the party by him as a person.

3. There are probably others in the party who could do the job as party leader just as well as the current one.

4. There are probably others in the party who would be a better party leader than the current one.

other answer noted:................................................................................................................

................................................................................................................

6. DK
INTERVIEWER'S NOTES

NOTE THE FOLLOWING WITHOUT ASKING RESPONDENT

A. R:S HOME IS IN A
   1. one family house belonging to farm, used by R. or R:s family
   2. other one family house
   3. two family house
   4. row house
   5. block of flats

B. ASSESSMENT OF THE HOUSE WHERE R. LIVES
   1. new house (post-war type)
   2. older house but in seemingly good condition
   3. older house in bad condition (seems badly maintained and/or
      appears to contain very old flats)

   If in doubt, choose alternative 2!

C. OTHER NOTES:

........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................
INTERVIEW DATA

1. Address change within community
   Moved from community. New address..........................................................

3. Address unknown
   Unreachable for other reasons. Which?....................................................

Sought without interview taking place

date / time........ date / time........ date / time........
date / time........ date / time........ date / time........

Did the complete interview take place alone with R.?

1. yes

IF no: describe interview situation

..........................................................................................................................
..........................................................................................................................

Interview was allowed:

1. without persuasion
2. after some persuasion
3. only after much persuasion
   not allowed. Why?..........................................................................................


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Area no;.................................................................................. R. no;.................................................................

Name of interviewer:........................................................................
ELECTION STUDY 1956

QUESTIONNAIRE II

Name of interviewer............................

Pue no.............................................. Resp. no........................................ Date of Interview...................................................

Year of birth.................. Time of end of interview.............. Time of start of interview..........................................

Introduction: "As you know, the election is over and we would like to conclude our study about the election campaign with a few questions."

1 I begin by asking you about some radio programmes which I did not ask you about last time. Did you listen to any of these programmes?

For interviewer: Read out list below of programmes and ask FOLLOW-UP QUESTION for each of them.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: for programmes R. has listened to:
Did you listen to the whole programme?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>whole prog.</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interview with Hagberg Sep. 30th</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic policy debate Sep. 3rd</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social policy debate Sep. 10th</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big debate among party leaders Sep. 14th</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TO THOSE WHO LISTENED TO (WHOLE OR PART OF) DEBATE ABOUT ECONOMIC POLICY ON SEPTEMBER 3RD

2 Do you remember the name of one or more participants in the debate about economic policy on the radio on September 3rd?

names noted:...............................................................................................................................................

................................................................................................................................................................

2. remembers none
TO THOSE WHO HAVE LISTENED TO (WHOLE OR PART OF) DEBATE AMONG PARTY LEADERS

Which of the party leaders in the big debate on Sep. 14th to do you think seemed most competent and who do you think was the most reassuring?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>most skilful</th>
<th>most reassuring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hjalmarson</td>
<td>1. Hjalmarson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Hedlund</td>
<td>2. Hedlund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ohlin</td>
<td>3. Ohlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Erlander</td>
<td>4. Erlander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hagberg</td>
<td>5. Hagberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. none most skilful</td>
<td>6. none most reassuring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. DK</td>
<td>7. DK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from the big concluding debate among party leaders two days before the election, two types of programmes have, like before, been broadcast on radio. They are, first, interviews with each of the five party leaders and, secondly, three debates concerning separate issues, namely democracy, economic policy and social policy.
Which of these two types of programme -- interviews and debates concerning separate issues -- do you like best?

1. liked interviews best
2. liked debates concerning separate issues best

other answer:...........................................................................................................

4. DK

I have here some brochures and other printed material which the parties have distributed before this year’s election.
For interviewer: Show R. one piece of printed material at a time and, for each of them, ask the following questions:
Have you seen this? If yes, FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Have you read it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>not seen</th>
<th>seen but not read</th>
<th>read</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Topical</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To be trusted no. 6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Do you know Svensson</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. People and society no. 5-6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Our way</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. A taxing programme</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. A women’s pictorial crossword</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. To be trusted no 8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. The relay</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. The respect for...</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 11. ...to reduce local tax</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 12. Our countryside</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 13. Swedish politics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 14. People and society no. 7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 15. Security for the aged</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 16. Keep going forward</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 17. You won’t get a chance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 18. 12 good answers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 19. To be trusted, a presentation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 20. Us ordinary Östergötland people</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 21. Forward with the People’s Party</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. List including original Swedish wordings on p. 36 below!
6. T0 RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE READ AT LEAST 2 BROCHURES ETC.

Which if them did you find most interesting?
most interesting, number noted:...

2. DK

7. Has any of those who distributed different types of election material knocked on your door, wanting to discuss politics with you?

If yes, FOLLOW-UP QUESTION:
From which party?

For interviewer: If needed, mark more than one alternative.

1. yes, from the Conservatives
2. yes, from the Agrarian Party
3. yes, from the People’s Party
4. yes, from the Social Democrats
5. yes, from the Communists
6. yes, DK which party
7. no, nobody

8. Did you attend any of the parties’ election meetings?

If yes, FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS: Which party or parties arranged the meeting(s)? Was a film shown at the meeting(s)?

yes, R. has attended meeting(s). Mark below the party(ies) and if R attended one or more meetings. Mark in the "x" column if election film has been shown on any of the meeting(s).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>R. attended 1 meeting</th>
<th>R. attended more meetings</th>
<th>Film shown</th>
<th>Film not shown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrarian Party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s Party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Democrats</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communists</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. no, R. has not attended election meeting or DK

9. Do you yourself think that you have received most information about the standpoints of the parties through the radio, newspapers, election brochures or election meetings?

Most information via
1. radio
2. newspapers
3. election brochures
4. election meetings
5. other answer:...
6. DK
Looking at the election result in the country as a whole, which party or parties do you feel has gained votes?

For interviewer: Mark several alternatives, if needed.

1. Conservatives
2. Agrarian Party
3. People's Party
4. Social Democrats
5. Communists
6. other answer:........................................................................................................
7. DK

Looking at the election result in the country as a whole, which party or parties do you feel has lost votes?

For interviewer: Mark several alternatives, if needed.

1. Conservatives
2. Agrarian Party
3. People's Party
4. Social Democrats
5. Communists
6. other answer:........................................................................................................
7. DK

On this card is a list of some of the issues discussed much on the radio and in the newspapers before the election. Could you look through the list and choose three or four issues that you yourself think was particularly important in this election?

For interviewer: Show R. printed card and, if needed, read out the text.

1. Increasing taxable value (*taxeringsvärde*) of property
2. School related issues
3. The future of rural forests (*bondeskog*)
4. Tax reduction and taxation policy
5. Legal security (*rättssäkerhet*) for citizens
6. Expenditure on defence
7. Government support for deprived regions (*dyrortsgrupperingen*)
8. Collective membership enrolment to political parties
9. Reduction in working hours
10. Price increases and inflation
11. A supplementary pensions scheme, regulated by law
12. Increased old age pensions (*folkpensioner*)
13. Compulsory saving
14. Interest policy
15. Shortage of housing and housing policy
16. Increased child subsidies (*barnbidrag*)

17. other answer:........................................................................................................
18. DK
13 IF R. HAS CHOSEN 2 OR MORE NUMBERS AS IMPORTANT ON Q. 12
Which one of these issues did you personally think was the most important?
most important:.................................................................................................
...............................................................................................................................3. DK

14 How do you believe most people in your social position, that is with roughly the same income and similar occupations as you (your husband), have voted? Do you believe most of them have voted for the same party as you have?
1. yes, most have voted for same party
2. no
other answer:............................................................................................................
4. DK

15 IF 14:2 (MOST HAVE NOT VOTED FOR SAME PARTY OR "OTHER ANSWER"
Do you believe that most people in your social position have gathered around one of the other parties or do you think it has been evenly distributed among several parties?
1. most have gathered around one of the other parties
2. it has been evenly distributed among several parties
other answer:............................................................................................................
4. DK

16 On the whole, do you feel that the policies pursued in this country in recent years have been advantageous or disadvantageous to people in your social position?
1. advantageous
2. disadvantageous
other answer:...........................................................................................................
4. DK

17 IF 16:1 (ADVANTAGEOUS)
Do you feel that the policies pursued have been advantageous to all social classes or do you feel it has been disadvantageous to any social class?
For interviewer: If "disadvantageous to some social class", ask FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Which social class or classes are you thinking of?
1. advantageous for all
2. disadvantageous to some social class(es) (note which):
..........................................................................................................................3. DK
GO TO Q. 19
18 IF 16:2 (DISADVANTAGEOUS) OR "OTHER ANSWER"
Do you feel that the policies pursued have been disadvantageous for all social classes or do you think they have been advantageous to any social class?
For interviewer: If "Advantageous to some social class", ask FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Which social class are you thinking of?

1. disadvantageous to all
advantageous to some social class or classes
(note which):

3. DK

As you know, the parties had differing opinions on many issues in the debate before the election, and also criticized each other’s opinions. I would now like to ask you some questions about these things.

19 Do you remember which of the party leaders was accused of wanting an agreement about military cooperation between Sweden and a NATO state? (correct answer: Hjalmarson, conservative)

answer:

2. DK

19A Do you remember which of the parties wanted to introduce an obligatory supplementary pensions system via legislation? (correct answer: Social Democrats and/or Communists)

answer:

2. DK

20 One of the parties demanded that a referendum about the pensions issue should be held. Do you remember which party? (correct answer: People’s Party and/or Conservatives)

answer:

2. DK

20A One of the parties was accused of wanting to reduce the subsidies to the security installations of SJ (Swedish Rail, government owned). Do you remember which party? (correct answer: Conservatives)

answer:

2. DK

21 & 21A VOID

22 It has sometimes been said that the political discussion before this election became so complicated that it was difficult for ordinary voters, who are not experts on politics, to get into what really separated the parties. Do you yourself agree with this criticism?

1. agrees

2. disagrees

other answer:

4. DK
22A Some people think that social reforms in this country have gone so far that the
government in the future ought to reduce rather than increase subsidies and
allowances to citizens. Do you yourself agree with that opinion?

1. agrees
2. disagrees
   other answer:.................................................................
4. DK

FOR INTERVIEWER: WHEN ASKING Q. 23-38, KEEP IN MIND R:S LETTER
CODE ON SAMPLE FORM.

23 Did you vote in this year’s election?

1. yes, voted  S GO TO Q. 26, F GO TO Q. 39, Ft GO TO Q. 28, B GO TO Q. 26
2. no, did not vote
3. refuses to answer  GO TO Q. 40

Q. 24-25 ONLY TO R:S WHO DID NOT VOTE. THEN GO TO Q. 40.
IF 23:2 (DID NOT VOTE)

24 What would you say that was the most important reason why you did not vote
in this year’s election?

most important reason:.................................................................

.................................................................

2. DK

IF 23:2 (DID NOT VOTE)

25 I will now read out a few opinions about the election. Which of them do you think
is most in line with your own opinion?
For interviewer: Read out alternatives 1-3 and mark which R. agrees with.

1. This particular election was not so important, so it did not really matter if
   one voted or not.
2. I was unhappy with the party I usually vote for, so I did not bother to vote.
3. I am not interested in politics.

other answer:.................................................................
5. DK

GO TO Q. 40

IF S-23:1 OR B-23:1 (VOTED)

26 Did you vote for the same party as last time you voted?

1. yes, for same party  S GO TO Q. 39, B GO TO Q. 31
2. no, for another party  B GO TO Q. 30, S GO TO Q. 34
3. has never voted before  GO TO Q. 39
4. DK  GO TO Q. 39
Q. 28-29 ONLY TO Ft WHO HAVE VOTED. THEN GO TO Q. 38.

28 IF Ft - 23:1 (VOTED)
What was the most important reason why you decided to vote for the party that you voted for?

most important reason:........................................................................................................
.............................................................................................................................................

2. DK

29 IF Ft - 23:1 (VOTED)
Do you yourself feel that it is opinions in your home or opinions among your friends that have been most important for your own opinion about the parties?

1. home
2. friends

other answer:...........................................................................................................................
.............................................................................................................................................

4. DK

GO TO Q. 38

30 IF B - 26:2 (DID NOT VOTE FOR THE SAME PARTY)
What was the most important reason why you decided to change party?

most important reason:........................................................................................................
.............................................................................................................................................

2. DK

31-33 ONLY TO B WHO HAVE VOTED FOR SAME PARTY THEN TO Q. 38

31 IF B - 26:1 (VOTED FOR SAME PARTY)
What was the most important reason why you decided to vote for the same party this year too?

most important reason:........................................................................................................
.............................................................................................................................................

2. DK
IF B - 26:1 (VOTED FOR SAME PARTY)
32 Have you voted for the same party as this year, every time you have voted?
1. yes
2. no
3. DK
GO TO Q. 38

IF B - 32:2 (NOT ALWAYS FOR SAME PARTY)
33 When did you change to the party that you voted for this year?

time: ........................................................................................................
2. DK
GO TO Q. 38

Q. 34-37 ONLY TO S WHO DID NOT VOTE FOR SAME PARTY. THEN TO Q. 38

IF S - 26:2 (DID NOT VOTE FOR SAME PARTY)
34 Could you tell me your most important reason for changing party?

most important reason: ........................................................................

.................................................................................................
2. DK

IF S - 26:2 (DID NOT VOTE FOR SAME PARTY)
35 Is there anybody that you know well, for example in your family or among your friends, that has changed opinion the same way as you since the 1954 election? If yes, FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Are you thinking of a family member of someone of your friends?

1. knows nobody that has changed opinion
2. family member has changed opinion
3. other friend that has changed opinion
4. knows somebody that has changed opinion, refuses to answer THE FOLLOW-UP QUESTION
5. DK

IF S - 35:1 (KNOWS NOBODY THAT HAS CHANGED OPINION)
36 Do you yourself feel that it is someone in your family or among your friends, that has influenced you to change party? If yes, FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Are you thinking of a family member of someone of your friends?

1. nobody has influenced
2. family member has influenced
3. other friend has influenced
4. somebody has influenced, refuses to answer THE FOLLOW-UP QUESTION
5. DK
IF S - 26:2 (DID NOT VOTE FOR SAME PARTY)
Which party did you vote for before?

1. Conservatives
2. Agrarian Party
3. People's Party
4. Social Democrats
5. Communists
6. Refuses to answer

IF S - 26:2 IF B - 26:1 IF Ft - 23:1
Could you say when you decided which party to vote for? Was it during the last week before the election or was it earlier?

1. during last week
2. earlier
   other answer: ........................................................................................................

IF 23:1 (VOTED)
Did you go to the polling station yourself or did you vote at the post office (or did you vote via your husband/wife)?

For interviewer: Only married R:s asked about voting via spouse.

1. went to polling station by him/herself
2. voted at the post office
3. voted via spouse
   other answer: ........................................................................................................

How far away from your polling station do you live? Is it 1 KM or less, more than 1 but not more than 3 KM, more than 3 KM but not more than 10 KM, more than 10 KM?

1. 1 KM or less
2. more than 1 but not more than 3 KM
3. more than 3 KM but not more than 10 KM
4. more than 10 KM
   other answer: ........................................................................................................

Do you, or anybody in your household (family), have a car?

1. yes, has car
2. no, does not have car

And now I would like to ask you about some totally different things. As you know, there is a shortage of housing in many parts of the country. Do you feel that you yourself have had serious difficulties because of this?

1. yes, has had serious difficulties.
2. no, has not had serious difficulties.
   other answer: ........................................................................................................
4. DK
43 Did you read the editorial in yesterday's newspaper?
1. yes
2. no
3. DK

44 Have you attended a service in some church any of the last four Sundays?
1. yes, has attended Church service
2. no
   other answer:........................................................................................................
4. DK or refuses to answer

45 Did you listen to the Morning Service or the Evening Service on the radio any od
the past two Sundays?
1. yes, listened
2. no
   other answer:........................................................................................................
4. DK or refuses to answer
GO TO Q. 47

46 IF 45:1 (LISTENED TO RADIO SERVICE ANY OF LAST TWO SUNDAYS)
Do you remember the name of the preacher, or the Church from where the
service was broadcast?

yes, name of preacher or Church:........................................................................
2. DK or refuses to answer

47 Now I would like to ask some questions about international politics. As you
know, there has been a lot of discussion recently, suggesting that Sweden should
give more aid to poor nations in Asia and Africa. On this card are some differing
opinions about this. Which of them is most in line with your opinion?
For interviewer: Show R. printed card with questions. If needed, read out the text.

1. We should reduce our demands for a higher living standard, so that we can give
the poor nations in Asia and Africa more aid than we have up to now.
2. We should increase our aid to poor nations in Asia and Africa to some extent.
3. Every country must first and foremost take care of itself -- the collections and
subsidies we are already giving to poor nations is enough.
4. We have no particular reason to help other nations.
   other answer:........................................................................................................
4. DK or refuses to answer

48 Do you think that the United Nations can do much, something or nothing to stop a
war between the super powers?

1. UN can do much
2. UN can do something
3. UN can do nothing
   other answer:........................................................................................................
5. DK
How big a possibility do you think that Sweden would have to stay out of a great war in Europe: very big possibility, fairly big possibility, fairly small possibility or very small possibility?

1. very big possibility
2. fairly big possibility
3. fairly small possibility
4. very small possibility

other answer:........................................................................................................

5. DK

Q. 50-51 OPTION I FOR R. WITH ODD NUMBERS. R. NO:.........................

Suppose Sweden is attacked. Do you feel that we should resist with arms, even if the outcome looks uncertain?

1. yes
2. no GO TO Q. 52

other answer:........................................................................................................

4. DK

IF 50:1 (SWEDEN SHOULD RESIST WITH ARMS) OR "OTHER ANSWER" OR 50:4 ("DK").

Suppose the aggressor threatens with nuclear arms. Do you then feel we should resist the aggressor with arms, even if the outcome looks uncertain?

1. yes
2. no

other answer:........................................................................................................

4. DK

Q. 50-51 OPTION II FOR R. WITH EVEN NUMBERS. R. NO:..............................

Suppose Sweden is attacked and the aggressor threatens with nuclear arms. Do you feel we should resist with arms against the aggression, even if the outcome looks uncertain?

1. yes GO TO Q. 52
2. no

other answer:........................................................................................................

4. DK
51
Suppose the aggressor does not threaten with nuclear arms. Do you then feel we should resist with arms, even if the outcome looks uncertain?

1. yes
2. no

other answer:...........................................................................................................

4. DK

52
Do you know which nations are currently producing nuclear arms? (Which are those nations?)

For interviewer: If needed, mark more than one alternative.

1. United States
2. Great Britain
3. Soviet Union

other nations..............................................................................................................

5. DK

54
Finally, I would like to come back to the question about how you voted. Which party did you vote for?

1. Conservatives
2. Agrarian Party
3. People's Party
4. Social Democrats
5. Communists

other party:..............................................................................................................

7. Refuses to answer

55
And now the last question. Could you mention the name of one or more of the persons on the party list that you voted for?

name(s):..............................................................................................................

2. DK
3. Refuses to answer
INTERVIEW DATA

1. Address change within community
   Moved from community. New address..................................................

3. Address unknown
   Unreachable for other reasons. Which?.............................................

Sought without interview taking place

date / time........ date / time........ date / time........
date / time........ date / time........ date / time........

Did the complete interview take place alone with R.?

1. yes

IF no: describe interview situation

.................................................................

.................................................................

Interview was allowed:

1. without persuasion
2. after some persuasion
3. only after much persuasion
   not allowed. Why?..................................................

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Area no;..................................................... R. no;.............................................

Name of interviewer:..............................................