

VALU

SWEDISH EXIT POLLS



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SVERIGES TELEVISION

VALU – SWEDISH EXIT POLLS

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*Chapter 1***Valu – An Introduction**

In Valu – Swedish exit poll surveys - voters leaving polling stations are asked by public service broadcaster Sveriges Television (SVT) to fill in a questionnaire and put it anonymously in a sealed box. After collecting and processing the responses, Sveriges Television is able to present an election forecast and an analysis of the reasons underlying the outcome of the election in it's Election Night broadcast.

The surveys are referred to as *Valu*, an abbreviation for *vallokalsundersökning*, Swedish for *exit poll survey*.

Since 1991

Valu has been carried out by the public service broadcaster *Sveriges Television (SVT)* in connection with all national elections since 1991. Today there are six Valus done: at the Parliamentary Elections (Riksdag) in September 1991, 1994 and 1998, at the referendum on Swedish membership of the European Union in November 1994, and at the elections to the European Parliament in September 1995 and in June 1999.

The first exit poll survey in Sweden was carried out by SVT in collaboration with Stockholm University (SU) and Göteborg University (GU). In recent years, SVT has carried out the studies in collaboration with Göteborg University and the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm (KTH).

Aim

SVT's main aim with Valu is to obtain an analytical basis for SVT's election night broadcast and for SVT's and other professional analysts' post-election analyses. Another aim is to be able to forecast the result of the election at an early stage during election night.

Principal investigators

The responsible executive manager and project manager for the exit poll surveys is Hans Hemborn, head of programme editorial board, Sveriges Television.

Professor Sören Holmberg, Department of Political Science, Göteborg University has been responsible for the design of the interview questions and analysis of the results.

Research engineer Per Näsman and Professor Torbjörn Thedéen, both at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm have been responsible for the statistical plan, analysis and forecasts.

Questionnaire

Valu 1999 gives a good picture of what Valu is about. That year voters leaving the polling stations were asked to fill in a questionnaire including questions on party voted for; vote for individual candidate; the time of decision on how to vote; party voted for in the 1998 general election and at the European Parliament election in 1995; party choice if a general election was held the same day; for or against Swedish EMU-membership; opinion on Swedish EU membership; confidence in Swedish politicians; confidence in the decision-making process within the EU; self-placement on a ideological left-right scale; gender, age, occupational group and trade union membership.

The respondents also had to indicate the importance of policies in EU-related issues. They also had to state the importance of the following issues: environment, economy, employment, agriculture, peace in Europe, national independence, EMU, refugees/immigration, enlargement of the EU, conditions for businesses, equality between men and women, defence, democracy within the EU and social welfare. Furthermore they had to state how satisfied they were with the way democracy works in Sweden and within the European Union.

You will find the entire questionnaire in appendix 1.

Organization

Valu is carried out in geographical regions centred around the largest university cities. A university lecturer was appointed in each of the regions as regional survey leader. Together, these survey leaders are responsible for approximately 300 field workers who carry out the survey at post offices where voting takes

place before election day and outside polling stations during election day. Survey leaders and field workers are recruited from departments of statistics at the respective university. Thus, all survey leaders and field workers are familiar with statistical methods.

Data processing

All survey responses are registered in Valu's teledata system. Field workers are calling the system and use the telephone buttons to register the one and two-digit codes that correspond to the respondents' answers. After registration, the statistical information is compiled and published after the polling stations have closed.

Analysis results

The total number of questionnaire responses in Valu is adjusted to permit the desired breakdown of the material. In 1999, for instance, the analysis during the election night broadcast was based on over 6 000 filled-in questionnaires. The total response frequency was assessed at approximately 80 percent. Internal non-response to particular questions varied and in most cases was under 10 percent.

Forecast result

On the basis of Valu 1999, a forecast of the final result of the EU election was produced with the aid of a weighting scheme. This forecast, which SVT published after closure of the polling stations at 9 pm, is presented in the following table together with the official election outcome.

	m	c	fp	kd	mp	s	v	other	sum percent
Valu forecast	19.6	5.4	14.7	8.1	9.7	25.3	16.6	0.5	99.9
Election outcome	20.7	6.0	13.9	7.6	9.5	26.0	15.8	0.5	100.0

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Chapter 2

Implementation of Valu

When carrying out a Valu, Sweden is divided into a number of geographical regions. Each of the regions consists of a number of counties. Within each region, there is a university city which serves as a central location.

The number of regions has varied. In Valu 1991, Sweden was divided into five regions grouped around the universities cities, Lund, Göteborg, Stockholm, Sundsvall and Luleå. The number of regions and central locations has subsequently varied as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Number of Valu regions and the central locations used in Valu Studies.

Valu Study	Type of election	Number of regions	Central locations
Valu 91	Parliamentary election	5	Lund Göteborg Stockholm Sundsvall Luleå
Valu 94	Parliamentary election	6	Lund Göteborg Stockholm Sundsvall Växjö Luleå
Valu 94EU	Referendum	6	Lund Göteborg Stockholm Sundsvall Växjö Luleå
Valu 95	EU Parliament election	4	Lund Göteborg Stockholm Sundsvall
Valu 98	Parliamentary election	4	Lund Göteborg Stockholm Sundsvall
Valu 99	EU Parliament election	4	Lund Göteborg Stockholm Sundsvall

As shown in the table, the number of regions has been four and the central locations the same, Lund, Göteborg, Stockholm and Sundsvall, since Valu 95.

In each of the regions, a university lecturer has been employed as regional leader of the study. This person has acted as supervisor for up to 70 field representatives who carry out the study at the selected post offices and polling stations. When recruiting the regional study leaders and field representatives, the university departments of statistics have been the preferred source of recruitment. All regional study leaders and field representatives have accordingly knowledge of statistical methods and sampling theory. Most regional study leaders who have been involved in Valu have been the same throughout the 1990s.

In the run-up to Valu 95, a central support function was established in Stockholm. The foremost task has been to keep in touch and co-ordinate work with the postmasters and the respective chairpersons of the electoral boards in the post offices and polling stations selected.

Choice of post offices

In Sweden, voluntary pre-election day voting is allowed for everybody at all post offices starting three weeks ahead of elections. The post offices to be included in the respective Valu were selected with the aid of statistics from the Central Post Office. At the selected post offices, those who vote by post on selected days (and within the selected day a selected morning and afternoon period) are asked to complete a questionnaire. The number of post offices chosen and the length of the field-work period has varied during the Valu period under consideration as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. The number of post offices selected, field-work periods and the number of study sessions in the Valu Studies.

Valu Study	Type of election	Election date	Field-work period	Number of post offices selected	Number of study sessions
Valu 91	Parliamentary election	15/9	12/9 – 13/9	10	20
Valu 94	Parliamentary election	18/9	12/9 – 16/9	18	48
Valu 94EU	Referendum	13/11	9/11 – 11/11	18	36
Valu 95	EU Parliament election	17/9	11/9 – 15/9	10	28
Valu 98	Parliamentary election	20/9	14/9 – 18/9	20	48
Valu 99	EU Parliament election	13/6	4/6 – 12/6	40	58

At the post offices selected for inclusion in Valu, reconnaissance was carried out a few days prior to the study to ensure that the responsible field workers were familiar with the post office premises as regards opening hours, area, design, entrances and exits, number of employees, number of counters, voting places and so on. This was done to assure that they would be able to carry out the study without disturbing the voting procedure.

The total number of hours chosen at the respective post office has always been four. Until Valu 98, the morning session was always three hours and the afternoon session one hour. At Valu 99, the sessions were randomly allocated, three plus one hour or one plus three hours.

Until Valu 99, the Saturday before the election day had not been included in the study although it was included in Valu 99. The study session was then four hours on Saturday before the election.

In Valu 91, Valu 94 and Valu 94EU, the local investigators were instructed to choose every other, or, in certain cases, every third postal voter when they left the post office. In practice, this was difficult to do since voters often came together as families or in groups. As from Valu 95, all voters during the selected time period were given the opportunity to complete a questionnaire. This can, for instance, in the event of queues forming result in some non-response.

In Valu 94 and Valu 94EU (the referendum) the same selection of post offices was used which led to problems and, contributed to an incorrect estimate in the forecast in Valu 94EU. We will come back to this in the forecast chapter. In Valu 99, the same post offices were used as in Valu 95 and/or Valu 98. This was done to increase comparability of the results and to improve the forecast.

The number of questionnaires collected at the post offices in the respective Valu is shown in Table 2.3. The proportions stated in the table with regard to those refusing to participate are based wholly on an assessment done by field workers since, for ethical reasons, no checks were done on those refusing to participate in Valu.

Table 2.3. Number of questionnaires collected from post offices in Valu 91 to Valu 99

Valu Study	Type of election	Number of post offices selected	Number of questionnaires completed	Estimate of non-response (%)
Valu 91	Parliamentary election	10	450	35
Valu 94	Parliamentary election	18	1920	30
Valu 94EU	Referendum	18	1553	40
Valu 95	EU Parliament election	10	828	40
Valu 98	Parliamentary election	20	2555	30
Valu 99	EU Parliament election	40	2435	25

Choice of electoral districts

In elections, Sweden is divided into a number of electoral districts. The number of electoral districts has varied from election to election. The number of the eligible voters in the electoral districts has varied greatly, both within and between elections. The Swedish Election Authority, has assisted Valu with an up-to-date list of the electoral districts. As provided for in the Elections Act, each electoral district has a polling station.

In Valu, a selection is made of a number of electoral districts and in this way their respective polling station. The number of electoral districts to be selected for Valu is allocated among the different regions according to the size of the electorate. Within each region, the electoral districts are then selected to be included in Valu. This selection is based on the size and geographical location of the electoral district.

When the electoral districts have been chosen, each selected polling station is reconnoitred so that the field workers are familiar with the polling station as regards opening hours, area, design, entrances and exits, number of employees, voting booths and so on.

In Valu 91, two study sessions were used, a three-hour morning session and a one-hour afternoon session. At Valu 94, a half-hour evening session was also used in 16 of 50 electoral districts to be able to determine whether those who voted late differed in any crucial way from the others. Since no such differences could be ascertained, the evening session has been omitted in subsequent Valus.

In Valu 94EU, a two-hour morning session was used and a one-hour afternoon session. A morning and afternoon session was also used at Valu 95 and in all subsequent studies although the length of the respective session has been two hours plus one our or one hour plus two hours selected at random. The starting time for the respective study session has always been random in all Valus. The total study time at the respective polling station has always been three hours, apart from in Valu 94, when it was three and a half hours.

The number of questionnaires collected at the polling stations, in the respective Valu is shown in Table 2.4. The refusal rates stated in the table are based wholly on the assessments of field workers.

Table 2.4. Number of questionnaires collected from electoral districts in the Valu Studies.

Valu Study	Type of election	Number of electoral districts selected	Number of questionnaires completed	Estimated non-response (%)
Valu 91	Parliamentary election	26	2279	25
Valu 94	Parliamentary election	50	5104	20
Valu 94EU	Referendum	45	3961	30
Valu 95	EU Parliament election	30	2618	25
Valu 98	Parliamentary election	60	6351	20
Valu 99	EU Parliament election	80	4505	15

Transfer of data from the questionnaire to the Valu system

The questionnaires collected at post offices and polling stations must be transferred to Valu's data processing system. In the first Valu studies, this transfer was done with the aid of fax machines, or in Stockholm, questionnaires were driven to a registration centre where the information was transferred to a data medium and recorded in the Valu system. In the most recent Valu surveys, registration has been made by the field representatives locally. The response codes of the questionnaires have been registered by press-button telephones to a central voice response system form which data has been transferred to the Valu system.

The data transfers have usually gone well with the exception of Valu 94EU. Besides transmission errors, one of our field staff was once robbed of the questionnaires which had been collected at a post office. A bag snatcher stole the bag with the questionnaires when the field staff was on the way to the fax machine.

□

*Chapter 3***Valu Prognosis**

After registration in the Valu system, data from the questionnaires are used to provide background material for the analyses made in the election night broadcast.

The tables and diagrams to be produced in the Valu System are decided upon on the basis of requests from Sveriges Television or from other collaboration partners of Sveriges Television. All tables and diagrams to be shown in TV are prepared by Sveriges Television's graphics department. Other tables and diagrams are shown in file format or on paper and are transferred to the respective partner's own system.

How accurate is Valu?

In order to check the reliability of Valu, the actual election results at the selected polling stations are compared with the result in the respective electoral district obtained from Valu. The postal voters, who took part in Valu cannot be checked in the same way since no actual electoral result is available for comparison. The comparisons indicate that the Valu results in the selected electoral districts accord well with the actual electoral results in the corresponding electoral districts.

The Valu forecast

As has been underlined, the main purpose of Valu is not to provide a forecast of the actual election result but to provide a basis for analysis on election night. The system also produces a forecast of the election result, however. This forecast has been presented in SVT's Election Night Show in all years but one. However, a forecast has always been presented at the press conference held by SVT a couple of days after the election in question.

The forecast is based on comparisons between the election results in the selected electoral districts in previous elections and how the selected persons state that they have voted in the current election. This comparison makes it possible to estimate the swing – the movements between parties – in the electoral district in question. There are several possibilities for calculating the swing. The system

uses the actual election result in previous elections and how the selected persons say that they have voted in the most recent election as a basis for the comparison with how the selected persons say they have voted in the current election.

The two measures of the swing are compared and weighted up to the national level with the aid of weights equivalent to the size of the electoral districts and the Valu regions.

The estimated swing in the votes at the post offices are added to the two measures of the size of the swing in the electoral districts. This postal vote swing can only be based on the statements of the selected persons about how they voted in the most recent election and in the present election. When summarising the swings calculated in the electoral districts and post offices, different weight functions have been used depending on the number of Valu questionnaires collected at the respective type of premises.

Raw Valu data, weighted results and election outcomes

The following tables show the effect of the described weighting where the actual distribution of votes among the parties is compared with the forecast result.

Valu 91

Valu 91 was the first exit poll survey carried out in Sweden. Since there was no previous experience, the Valu system had to be built up from scratch. No forecast of the election result was presented in Sveriges Television's election night broadcast on this occasion. A comparison between the actual party shares obtained in Valu and the actual election results is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Actual share of votes and actual election result in the Parliamentary election in 1991.

	m	c	fp	s	v	mp	kd	nyd	other
Unweighted share	24.0	7.0	9.8	35.8	6.2	3.9	6.4	6.1	0.8
Actual election result	21.9	8.5	9.1	37.7	4.5	3.4	7.2	6.7	1.0

Comment: The party initials stand for: v = Left Party, s = Social Democrats, c = Center Party, fp = Liberals, m=Conservatives, kd = Christian Democrats, mp = Greens, nyd = New Democracy, other = other parties.

However, a swing forecast was presented.

Table 3.2. Forecasted swing and actual swing in the 1991 Parliamentary election compared with the 1988 Parliamentary election.

	m	c	fp	s	v	mp	kd	nyd
Valu forecast	+0.5	-0.6	-2.0	-6.2	-0.6	-1.2	+4.0	+6.1
Actual swing	+3.6	-2.6	-3.1	-5.5	-1.3	-2.1	+4.2	+6.7

To sum up, the weighting system did not work well in Valu 91. This is undoubtedly due to the number of post offices and electoral districts selected being very few. The major discrepancies were in particular in the non-socialist bloc, where Valu 91 did not succeed in forecasting the major shifts correctly.

Valu 94

In the light of the experiences from Valu 91, the number of selected districts was increased in Valu 94 and they were distributed throughout Sweden in a better way than was the case in Valu 91. For Valu 94, Sveriges Television decided to present a forecast of the party shares of the parties. The weighted Valu forecast presented proved to be clearly better than the actual party shares in the raw data (table 3.3).

Table 3.3. Unweighted party shares, weighted Valu forecast and actual election result at the Parliamentary election in 1994.

	m	c	fp	s	v	mp	kd	nyd	other
Unweighted share	24.0	6.3	8.4	42.1	7.1	6.0	4.3	1.1	0.7
Valu forecast	22.0	8.4	8.4	43.7	6.5	5.4	4.2	0.9	0.5
Actual election result	22.4	7.7	7.2	45.3	6.2	5.0	4.1	1.2	1.0

Valu 94EU

Valu 94EU was done at the referendum on Swedish membership in EU. There were three alternatives to vote on: Yes, No or Blank. The interesting comparison between the unweighted share of votes, the weighted Valu forecast and the actual election result are shown in Table 3.4

Table 3.4. Unweighted share of votes, weighted Valu forecast and actual election result in the referendum on the EU in 1994.

	Yes	No	Blank
Unweighted share	57.1	41.7	1.2
Valu forecast	57.6	41.0	1.4
Actual referendum result	52.3	46.8	0.9

As shown in the table, there is a considerable deviation in Valu 94EU. The weighting did not lead to any improvement in relation to the actual election result.

The weighting function used was based on voters in northern Sweden being more negative to the EU than voters in southern Sweden and that voters in big cities would be more positive to EU than those in sparsely-populated rural areas. However, the weighting was without effect since the Valu system was affected by a loss of data due to a telecommunications breakdown. One of the computers that collected questionnaire for onward dispatch to the Valu system broke down when the transfer was to take place.

In this way, 25 questionnaires collected at a post office in Luleå and 788 questionnaires collected in electoral districts from other parts of northern Sweden were not transferred to the Valu system. The questionnaires were accordingly not included in the material the forecast was based on.

The actual share of Yes votes fell by 1.5 percentage points when the “lost” questionnaires eventually re-appeared. The weighted forecast would have been well inside the random margin if the “lost” questionnaires had been included in the forecast material.

Valu 94EU was the first exit poll survey in Sweden where an attempt was made to forecast the result of a referendum. Referendums, are much more difficult to forecast than, parliamentary elections where the parties' changes from the previous election can be used as a basis. With regard to the non-response in Valu 94EU, field workers have reported that No-supporters may have refused to answer the questionnaire to a larger extent than Yes-supporters. If, for instance, there were 46 percent Yes-supporters and 53 percent No-supporters among those not responding, then the proportion of Yes-supporters in the forecast would be overestimated by an additional two percentage points.

Valu 95

Due to the loss of information from the telecommunications breakdown in Valu 94EU, the control system was improved for Valu 95 at the EU Parliament

election and no problems occurred during transfer of the questionnaires. One problem in Valu 95 was to try to estimate election participation and how the estimate would affect the Valu forecast system.

Table 3.5. Unweighted party shares of, weighted Valu forecast and actual election result in the EU Parliament election in 1995.

	m	c	fp	s	v	mp	kd	other
Unweighted share	23.9	5.4	6.5	26.1	14.3	17.7	3.3	2.8
Valu forecast	21.8	7.3	5.2	29.9	11.9	17.2	3.8	2.9
Actual election result	23.2	7.2	4.8	28.1	12.9	17.2	3.9	2.7

As seen, the forecast system worked very well in Valu 95. Our exit poll succeeded in forecasting the actual election result in a very good way despite the fact that the distribution of party shares in the EU Parliament election in 1995 differed greatly from the party shares received at the Parliamentary election in 1994.

Valu 98

In Valu 98 about 8 900 questionnaires were collected. Over 6 000 of these at polling stations on election day. Due to the large quantity of questionnaires, the transfer of questionnaires to the Valu system was delayed and 401 questionnaires collected at polling stations on election day were not transferred in time to be included in the forecast system. However, the 401 questionnaires which were not included in the forecast system did not affect the outcome of the forecast.

Table 3.6. Unweighted party shares, weighted Valu forecast and actual election result at the Parliamentary election in 1998.

	m	c	fp	s	v	mp	kd	other
Unweighted share	24.6	4.6	6.3	32.0	13.8	5.4	11.2	2.1
Valu forecast	21.8	6.0	5.6	35.4	13.3	4.9	10.5	2.5
Actual election result	22.9	5.1	4.7	36.4	12.0	4.5	11.8	2.6

The 1998 election was an ordinary parliamentary election and the Valu system worked well. The weighting function used weighed in the change from the 1994 Parliamentary election as well as the change from the 1995 EU Parliament election.

Valu 99

In the EU Parliament election in 1999, the expected election participation was discussed in all media and there was substantial agreement that it would be higher than in the previous EU Parliament election in 1995. The opinion surveys carried out in media also indicated this. In fact, the opposite was the case. Turnout went down.

A larger proportion of voters decided to vote at post offices in the EU Parliament election in 1999 compared with the 1995 EU Parliament election. This had been taken into account in the design of Valu 99 and the fieldwork periods had been accordingly adjusted. The forecast system also worked very well, as shown in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7 Unweighted party shares, weighted Valu forecast and actual election results at the EU Parliament election in 1999.

	m	c	fp	s	v	mp	kd	other
Unweighted share	20.4	5.1	15.2	23.9	17.2	10.1	7.6	0.5
Valu forecast	19.6	5.4	14.7	25.3	16.6	9.7	8.1	0.5
Actual election result	20.7	6.0	13.9	26.0	15.8	9.5	7.6	0.5

Further work on the forecast system

One problem with the weighting in the Valu system that has occurred in all elections except one, the EU Parliament election in 1995, is that the forecast system does not really succeed in upweighting the party share of the Social Democrats to the actual level. The incorrect estimate is about one percentage point in round figures regardless of the method of weighting applied.

The explanation is that the incorrect estimate probably lies outside of the forecast system and is due to non-response, i.e. a larger number of Social Democrats refusing to complete a questionnaire compared with persons voting for other parties. Since no independent study of non-response is made, it is difficult to prove this explanation. Future Valus will have to try to solve the problem by using other weighting methods, since no systematic investigations of non-response will be made for ethical reasons.

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*Chapter 4***Accuracy of Valu Questions**

A problem in all questionnaire surveys is non-response to particular questions. Respondents make omissions and do not answer all questions included in a study. It can be suspected that the problem is particularly great in the case of the Valu studies when we ask respondents for a quick on-the-spot response. There is not much time for reflection. In case of doubt, it may be easiest just to skip a difficult question or one that is too close to the bone. However, the experiences from our six Valu studies show that this is a minor problem. Non-response in the form of participants in the Valu studies not answering particular questions is very small as regards political questions such as how people voted, how much trust they have in politicians, ideological position on the left-right scale, or attitude to the EU or EMU. The proportion of persons skipping political questions of this kind in Valu has been around a modest 3-4 per cent in every study. This is about the same size of non-response that we have had for corresponding questions in the Swedish Election studies and in SOM measurements. The SOM Institute at Göteborg University conducts yearly surveys of Swedish public opinion.

The SOM Studies are based on mail questionnaires. However, as regards 'background questions', on for instance, gender, age and occupation of respondents, the non-response rate in the Valu studies has proven to be relatively large, sometimes up to ten percent (see table 4.1). In SOM Studies, which like Valu are based on questionnaire responses, the non-response rate is usually under one per cent on questions about gender and age. The explanation for the high non-response for age information in the Valu studies might be that we have asked the respondents to fill in the two last figures of the year they were born, i.e. "What year were you born? 19xx". The non-response rate is slightly lower in the Valu studies for gender than for age and occupation, although still relatively large, five percent on average.

Table 4.1 Percent No Answer to questions on Gender, Age and Occupation (percent)

	Parliamentary Election			Referendum	European Parliament Election	
	1991	1994	1998	1994	1995	1999
Gender	6	4	4	4	4	7
Age	8	4	6	6	10	10
Occupation	11	9	6	8	8	5

The question on gender has always been put as the first question in the Valu questionnaires. Although it is difficult to see why this should have anything to do with non-response, but it probably has. The relatively high non-response with regard to information on occupation in Valu – 8 percent on average – is less remarkable. The corresponding non-response is usually around 5-6 percent in SOM's questionnaires. In the Election Studies, which are not based on questionnaires completed by respondents but on interview data, the non-response rate for the question on occupation is much lower, approximately one percent.

The non-response rate on the political questions in Valu is so low that it can hardly cause any significant distortions of the results. The non-response rate with regard to the social background factors is larger and can in principle contribute to minor distortions arising for certain groups such as older people or manual workers which are those that primarily skip and do not answer questions on age and occupation. Distortions of this kind, however, only affect the social variables and not the marginal distributions of the important political variables where internal non-response was small.

However, the largest potential source of error in Valu is not the internal non-response to particular questions. We risk incurring the largest indications of error through the choice of polling stations and respondents, and through the relatively extensive non-response of respondents outside polling stations. If we are unlucky, a distorted sample and the 30 per cent non-response of respondents can give rise to larger distortions in the Valu results than in the case of the limited internal non-response. We should bear this in mind when we now go on to studying the accuracy of specific questions in Valu. We are going to investigate how representative the Valu participants are in reflecting the underlying electorate with respect to three social variables – gender, age and occupation – and four political variables – party choice, voting for individual candidates, political trust and ideological left-right position.

We begin with the social variables. The results in Table 4.2 show the composition of Valu respondents with regard to gender, age and occupational group in the six Valu studies carried out during the 1990s. We have taken the comparative material from Statistics Sweden's extensive surveys of election participation (gender and age) and from Election and SOM studies (occupational group). Questions about occupation are designed in the same way in the election and SOM studies as in the Valu studies. The respondents have been presented with a list of eleven detailed occupational groups and asked to state which of these she or he belongs to or belonged to in the case of pensioners.

As regards gender, the Valu results indicate an even distribution with at most a discrepancy of +/- 3 percentage points from an exact 50/50 distribution. Statistics Sweden's studies also show an even gender distribution among voters, with a weak preponderance of women since there are more women in the electorate in Sweden, and women's participation in parliamentary elections has been higher than men's since 1976. In the 1994 referendum and in the European Parliament elections, Statistics Sweden's data indicates that men had a somewhat higher participation in elections than women, although totally a somewhat larger number of women than men voted in these elections as well. Statistics Sweden's exact results indicate a very even distribution of sexes with 51/52 percent women and 48/49 percent men among the voters in the 1991, 1994, and 1998 parliamentary elections and a 50/50 distribution in the referendum in 1994 and in the 1995 and 1999 European Parliament elections.

The results with regard to age distribution among the Valu participants indicate a systematic distortion to the extent that the proportion of young voters is overrepresented in Valu while the oldest voters are underrepresented. Statistics Sweden's data indicates that the proportion of young voters (18-30) is usually 17-20 percent in parliamentary elections; in Valu they make up 24-29 percent in parliamentary elections. The proportion of older voters (65 and upwards), accounts for 22-23 percent of those voting in parliamentary elections according to Statistics Sweden's studies; in Valu they account for only 12-15 percent. The same pattern with an overrepresentation of younger voters and an underrepresentation of older voters can be observed in the Valu studies in conjunction with the 1994 referendum and the 1995 and 1999 European Parliament elections.

The proportion of younger voters is overestimated with 7-10 percentage points while the proportion of older is underestimated by 8-10 percentage points. A speculative explanation can be that the result is mainly achieved by non-response outside the polling stations. Older voters find it more difficult to stand and perhaps look for their glasses and then complete a questionnaire than younger voters who also do not need glasses so often.

The outcome with regard to occupation also shows a systematic distortion in the Valu results. Voters who state that they are white-collar employees are overrepresented in Valu while manual workers are underrepresented. However, self-employed persons and farmers are represented in approximately the correct proportions. The definition of the correct proportions is, of course, open to discussion. We are dealing here with subjective measures where the respondents themselves decide which occupation or profession they belong to. The results from Election and SOM surveys show that the proportion of white-collar employees is usually around 43 percent in parliamentary elections while the

proportion classifying themselves as manual workers is usually 46 percent. In the Valu studies, the proportion of white-collar employees has been between 48 and 52 percent and the proportion of manual workers between 38 and 42 percent. The results of the Valu studies of the European Parliament elections show the same tendency, i.e. an overrepresentation of white-collar employees and an underrepresentation of manual workers, although the proportion of white-collar employees voting is higher and the proportion of manual workers voting lower compared with the results from the parliamentary elections in the Valu studies as well as in the Election/SOM studies. The higher proportion of white-collar employees and the correspondingly lower proportion of manual workers in the European Parliament elections reflect reality. Participation in the European Parliament elections in 1995 and 1999 fell in comparison with the Parliamentary elections both among white-collar employees and manual workers though it clearly decreased most among manual workers.

Table 4.2 Valu Respondents According to Gender, Age and Occupation (percent)

Social group	European					
	Parliamentary Election			Referendum	Parliament Election	
	1991	1994	1998	1994	1995	1999
Gender						
female	47	50	51	48	51	51
male	53	50	49	52	49	49
Age						
18-30	27	29	24	30	25	21
31-50	40	38	37	38	38	34
51-65	21	21	24	20	21	27
66+	12	12	15	12	16	18
Occupation						
white collar	52	48	52	51	62	61
blue collar	38	42	38	41	30	29
self-employed	8	9	9	7	7	9
farmer	2	1	1	1	1	1

Comment: The question on occupational group comprised all together eleven response alternatives, which have been collapsed into four groups.

A conceivable reason why white-collar employees tend to participate in Valu studies to a greater extent than manual workers is probably related to the level of education and the habit/self-confidence in expressing opinions in writing. That factors of this kind can play a role is supported by the fact that the proportion of white-collar employees voting is somewhat higher and the proportion of manual workers is lower in the SOM studies that are based on questionnaires than in Election Studies based on face-to-face interviews. The questionnaire technique seems, especially in a stressful situation with lack of time, as in the case of Valu,

to lead to a somewhat greater underrepresentation of manual workers and a somewhat larger overrepresentation of white-collar employees compared to face-to-face interviews.

The absolutely key question in Valu is, of course, the question of which party the respondents voted for – “Which party did you vote for today in the parliamentary election?” This provides the basis for the most important political variable in Valu – the question of choice of party. Adjusted and weighted in various ways, to minimise known sources of error, it serves as the base for the electoral forecast published at the beginning of each election night programme. The degree of accuracy of Valu’s forecasts is shown in Chapter 3.

In this chapter, we are going to examine how accurate the results of Valu’s party question have been in their unweighted, raw form – first for the parliamentary elections (Table 4.3) and then for the European Parliament elections (Table 4.4). Table 4.5 also shows for the sake of completeness the corresponding information from the Valu measurement in the referendum on EU membership in 1994. The results of the Valu study in November 1994 do not apply to the choice of party but to the selection of YES, NO or BLANK alternatives in the referendum. The Valu study in the referendum is clearly the least accurate that *Sveriges Television* has carried out. An analysis of the background and causes of the poor referendum measurement is shown in Chapter 3.

We concentrate here on the Valu measurements of party choice. The checking of the accuracy of party choice measurements in their unweighted form is crucial since it tells us something about how useful the Valu studies are in raw data form without any weighting. In the election coverage and in the discussion after the election, Valu data has often been used unweighted for various types of analyses in addition to straight forecasts.

We can begin by noting that non-response is not a problem with regard to the choice of party. The proportion of persons who do not state which party they voted for is consistently low in the Valu studies, between 1-4 percent. If we then compare the raw Valu figures with the actual election result, the accuracy is reasonably good. Accuracy has quite simply been measured as the average percentage discrepancy per party between the Valu outcomes and the election results. The results show that the average has varied between at best 0.8 in the 1999 European Parliament election to at worst 1.5 in the Parliamentary election in 1998. Valu’s unweighted indication of error has thus over the years remained at around 1 per cent per party.

Table 4.3 Unweighted Party Distribution in Valu Compared to Official Election Outcomes in the Parliamentary Elections of 1991, 1994 and 1998 (percent).

party choice	un-weighted result in Valu 1991	official election outcome in 1991	difference	un-weighted result in Valu 1994	official election outcome in 1994	difference	un-weighted result in Valu 1998	official election outcome in 1998	difference
m	24,0	21,9	+2,1	24,0	22,4	+1,6	24,6	22,9	+1,7
c	7,0	8,5	-1,5	6,3	7,7	-1,4	4,6	5,1	-0,5
fp	9,8	9,1	+0,7	8,4	7,2	+1,2	6,3	4,7	+1,6
kd	6,4	7,2	-0,8	4,3	4,1	+0,2	11,2	11,8	-0,6
s	35,8	-37,7	-1,9	42,1	45,2	-3,1	32,0	36,4	-4,4
v	6,2	4,5	+1,7	7,1	6,2	+0,9	13,8	12,0	+1,8
mp	3,9	3,4	+0,5	6,0	5,0	+1,0	5,4	4,5	+0,9
nyd	6,1	6,7	-0,6	1,1	1,2	-0,1	-	-	-
other	0,8	1,0	-0,2	0,7	1,0	-0,3	2,1	2,6	-0,5
sum percent	100,0	100,0		100,0	100,0		100,0	100,0	
percent no answer	4			2			3		
average difference			1,1			1,1			1,5
maximum difference			+2,1m			-3,1s			-4,4s

Comment: The party initials stand for: v = Left Party, s = Social Democrats, c = Center Party, fp = Liberals, m = Conservatives, kd = Christian Democrats, mp = Greens, nyd = New Democracy.

Table 4.4 Unweighted Party Distribution in Valu Compared to Official Election Outcomes in the European Parliamentary Elections in 1995 and 1999 (percent)

party choice	unweighted result in Valu 1995	official election outcome in 1995	difference	unweighted result in Valu 1999	official election outcome in 1999	difference
m	23,9	23,1	+0,7	20,4	20,7	-0,3
c	5,4	7,2	-1,8	5,1	6,0	-0,9
fp	6,5	4,8	+1,7	15,2	13,9	+1,3
kd	3,3	3,9	-0,6	7,6	7,6	0,0
s	26,1	28,1	-2,0	23,9	26,0	-2,1
v	14,3	12,9	+1,4	17,2	15,8	+1,4
mp	17,7	17,2	+0,5	10,1	9,5	+0,6
other	2,8	2,7	+0,1	0,5	0,5	0
sum percent	100,0	100,0		100,0	100,0	
percent no answer	2			1		
average difference			1,1			0,8
maximum difference			-2,0s			-2,1s

Comment: The party initials stand for: v = Left Party, s = Social Democrats, c = Center Party, fp = Liberals, m = Conservatives, kd = Christian Democrats, mp = Greens, nyd = New Democracy.

Table 4.5 Unweighted Vote Distribution in Valu Compared to the Official Outcome of the Referendum on Swedish Membership in the European Union in 1994 (percent)

Choice	unweighted result in Valu 1994	official election outcome in 1994	difference
Yes	57,1	52,3	+4,8
No	41,7	46,8	-5,1
Blank	1,2	0,9	+0,3
sum percent	100,0	100,0	
percent no answer	2		
average difference			3,4
maximum difference			-5,1 No

An acceptable although not particularly remarkable accuracy. The corresponding values for the average discrepancy per party are usually around 0.5 per cent in the SOM studies as well as in the Election studies. As regards the European Parliament elections, the election surveys have shown somewhat greater discrepancies per party, around 1 per cent on average, i.e. approximately the same level of accuracy as the Valu studies achieved in the EU Parliament elections.

When considering the factors that can lay behind the errors in Valu's party statistics, it is useful to study the outcomes for the different parties. Such an analysis reveals certain consistent tendencies. The Social Democrats election results have for instance been underestimated in every Valu, at most in the 1998 parliamentary election by as much as -4.4 percentage points. The Centre Party's votes have also been consistently underestimated in Valu; the greatest discrepancy was noted in the European Parliament elections in 1995 at -1.8 percentage points. Four parties tend to obtain excessively high figures in Valu's unweighted results - the Moderates, the Liberal Party, the Left Party and the Green Party. The Moderate Party's election results have been overestimated in all Valu studies except one, that carried out in the European Parliament elections in 1999. The Liberal Party, the Left Party and the Green Party have all received too high figures in all Valu studies. On average, Valu has overestimated the election results by somewhat more than one percentage point for m, fp and v and somewhat under one percentage point for mp.

The systematic nature of the errors indicates that there may be a few, observable underlying factors. The underestimation of the Centre Party can for instance be explained by Valu's selection of election districts and post offices resulting in some underrepresentation of voters in rural areas. The underrepresentation of older voters in Valu can also be a factor underlying the low Centre party votes.

The Centre Party has its greatest support among older voters. The systematic underrepresentation of the Social Democrats is also probably related to older voters being underrepresented in Valu. The Social Democrats also have their strongest support among older voters. Moreover, the underrepresentation of manual workers in Valu is also an important factor. Class voting has diminished in Sweden although workers are still the Social Democrats' strongest supporters in the electorate.

The four parties (m, fp, v, mp) whose election results are usually overestimated in Valu's unweighted figures all have in common that during the 1990s they often had their strongest support among young voters and a weaker support among older voters. Young voters tend to be overrepresented in Valu studies while older voters are underrepresented. Two of the parties (m, fp) also have a relatively strong support among white-collar employees, which, as well as younger voters tend to be overrepresented in Valu. We are not talking about any dramatic effects or major indications of error but the social bias in the composition of Valu respondents have had some consequences. The underrepresentation of elderly persons and manual workers and the overrepresentation of younger people and white-collar employees has led to the Social Democrats and Centre Party being underestimated while the Moderate Party, the Liberal Party, the Left Party and the Green Party have been somewhat overestimated.

The overrepresentation of white-collar employees and younger voters in Valu can also be one of the explanations for the fact that the Valu studies display somewhat too high proportions of people who voted for particular candidates. The differences are not great although white-collar employees and younger voters voted for particular candidates to a somewhat greater extent than manual workers and the elderly in the first election in 1998 where it was possible to vote for particular candidates. The internal non-response to the question on voting for individual candidates is not a major problem in the Valu measurements. The proportion of respondents who have not answered the question on voting for individual candidates in Valu has been at most 5 per cent in the 1998 parliamentary election and only 2 per cent in the European Parliament elections in 1995 and 1999. Some other factor must be the main reason why the proportion of those voting for individual candidates have tended to be overrepresented in Valu. This overestimation has been 5, 9 and 2 percentage points respectively in the studies in 1995, 1998 and 1999. There is no corresponding overrepresentation in the Election studies or in the 1998 SOM study.

An evident explanation for the slight overestimation of the proportion of people voting for individuals in Valu could be that it is easier to continue and put a cross in boxes outside the polling station if you have already done so inside the polling station. Persons putting a cross by the name of an individual candidate are more comfortable in using a pen inside the polling stations as well as outside, and they are therefore somewhat overrepresented in the Valu studies.

The results in Tables 4.6 and 4.7 show how Valu has functioned with regard to measurement of two key political variables – how much trust voters have in politicians and how voters' place themselves on the ideological left-right scale. The proportion of people who skipped the trust question and the ideology question without marking any response alternative is small, only between 2 and 7 per cent. It is not really correct here to talk about internal non-response since it is quite natural to avoid answering questions if one has no opinion as regards trust in politicians or any idea of where one stands on the left-right scale. The questions do not include any explicit don't know alternative, so respondents without opinions cannot do otherwise than not answer them.

Neither is there any reality to compare the results with. Trust and left-right position are attitudes in peoples' heads, not conduct that can be registered externally. What can be done, however, is to compare the Valu results with the corresponding result from the Electoral studies and the SOM studies. In the Election studies and in the 1998 SOM study, the confidence question has been asked in the same way as in Valu. Valu's left-right question is formulated exactly as in the SOM studies.

Table 4.6 Trust in Politicians (percent)

Question: "Generally speaking, how much trust do you have in Swedish politicians?"

Trust	Parliamentary Election			European Parliament Election	
	1991	1994	1998	1995	1999
very large	5	4	3	4	3
fairly large	40	42	38	41	40
fairly small	42	42	44	41	43
very small	13	12	15	14	14
sum percent	100	100	100	100	100
percent no answer	4	5	2	2	3

Table 4.7 Left-Right Self-Placement (percent)

Question: "Sometimes people talk of political opinions in terms of left-right. Where would you place yourself?"

Ideological position	Parliamentary Election		Referendum	European Parliament Election		
	1991	1994	1998	1994	1995	1999
clearly to the left	14	16	17	13	17	16
somewhat to the left	20	24	24	24	26	25
neither left nor right	26	26	21	28	22	21
somewhat to the right	25	21	24	22	23	24
clearly to the right	15	13	14	13	12	14
sum percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
percent no answer	6	7	3	6	3	2

The results are very encouraging, in particular with regard to measurement of voters' left-right selfplacements. The outcome of Valu with an overweight for the right in the 1991 election and an overweight for the left in the 1994 and 1998 elections were found in the SOM studies too. The differences are also very small if we look at the proportion of voters who placed themselves on the left or on the right in both studies, at most 3 percentage points and at least 0 percentage points. Thus Valu and SOM have arrived at the same result when the studies have been carried out at approximately the same time in conjunction with parliamentary elections. Most SOM questionnaires have been answered during the month of October after every election.

The correspondence between Valu's and the Election Study's result with regard to trust in politicians is also reasonably good. However, there is a systematic difference for all the elections studied, with the exception of the study in conjunction with the European Parliament elections in 1999, which means that the degree of distrust in politicians is on average -4 percentage points lower in Valu than in the Election studies (the proportion of very or fairly low trust combined). When trust was measured in SOM in 1998, the result was almost exactly the same as in the election investigation, which means that the proportion of voters with a high level of distrust in politicians tends to be rather higher in election investigations and in SOM studies than in Valu. A very simple but reasonable explanation for this difference might be that it is easier to express lack of trust in politicians a week or a few weeks after polling day as is the case in the Election and SOM studies than on the election day itself outside the polling station where one has just voted, as is the case in Valu. The difference in the proportion of voters who express distrust in politicians in Valu and in the

Election and SOM studies shall thus not be interpreted as if any result is more true than any other. It is highly probable that both sets of results are correct at the time of measurement. We know from other studies that the degree of trust in parties and politicians tends to be higher in election years than at mid-term. It is very probable that the electors' trust in politicians is higher on polling day than a week or two weeks later when the post-election discussion is in progress and voters are having afterthoughts.

The summary can be made very simple. The accuracy of Valu's measurements of political attitudes and behaviour is fully acceptable and in many cases surprisingly good. Valu has some problems as regards social background conditions. The non-response rate is sometimes fairly high and there is a systematic underrepresentation of older electors and manual workers and a systematic overrepresentation of younger voters and white-collar employees. A consequence of this distortion is that Social Democrats and the Centre Party tend to be somewhat underrepresented in Valu's unweighted raw data while Moderates, the Liberal Party, the Left Party and the Green Party tend to be overrepresented. However, we are not talking about any dramatic indications of error, on average only 1-2 percent's deviations from the election results. This is something we can live with in unweighted raw data, in particular as we can take it into consideration in conclusions and analyses.

□

*Chapter 5***Voting Behaviour According to Valu**

The main purpose of the Valu studies is to enable fast analyses of voting behaviour on polling day. *Anno dazumal*, before exit polls, all we really knew was how the votes were distributed geographically. We could show and speculate about electoral trends in, for instance, Norrland or in areas of high unemployment. The analytical technique was a simplified version of ecological election analysis. In the absence of anything better, we concentrated our attention on other things than voting behaviour, for instance, the uncounted Sunday postal votes that could change the result of the election by one or more tenths of a percent.

Of course we discussed the factors that were really important for how people voted more theoretically but often in a void since we did not have access to any up-to-the-minute information. On election night, we did not know how different social groups voted or about the swings between parties, the role of the party leaders or the most important issues for the voters. We were not completely in the dark, however. Opinion polls carried out before the election were available as well as knowledge about voting behaviour in previous elections. Many patterns in voting behaviour are repeated from election to election. However, there is no doubt that the introduction of the Valu studies meant a revolution for those of us who are responsible for commenting on and explaining the hows and whys of election results. Simply being able to know and discuss simple things such as how men and women, young and old persons, manual workers and self-employed voted and switched parties, and the issues that they regarded as important, is a radical improvement. The commentaries become much more concrete, at the same time as there is less scope for wishful thinking and speculation. The representatives of the parties and others cannot interpret the election results unchecked as it suits them, overstating the importance of electoral successes and explaining away losses. The Valu results provide a framework that restricts the opportunities for propagandistic or idiosyncratic interpretations of election results.

In the following pages, we present some results from the Valu studies that illustrate their usefulness both as regards analysing Swedish voting behaviour and in providing a basis for commenting on the elections. We concentrate on five key phenomena – floating voters, the correlation between social group and choice of party, issue voting, important issues for voters and the importance of party leaders. The results have been obtained from all of the Valu studies with some concentration on the most recent studies in conjunction with the 1998 Swedish Parliamentary Election and the European Parliament election in 1999. In a number of cases, time series covering the whole of the 1990s are presented.

The increased readiness to change parties in the electorate is one of the most important changes that have taken place among Swedish voters. The series of Election studies that go back to the 1950s show a long-term increased trend towards a greater willingness to switch parties between elections, which has accelerated during the 1990s. Coupled with this development, there is a tendency for the election campaign to become more important. This is shown by many voters postponing their decision about which party to vote for until the final spurt before the election. In the 1950s and 1960s, at most around 10-15 percent of the voters changed party and most of them (75-80 percent) decided which party to vote for a long time before the election campaign started. The picture is quite different today. The Valu results in tables 5.1 and 5.2 and Figure 5.1 show – as do the Election surveys – that the electorate is much more mobile and uncertain in the 90s.

The proportion of voters who state that they had decided which party to vote for a long time in advance has fallen to around 50 percent in the 1990s in Parliamentary Elections and to only 40 percent in European Parliament elections. Young voters, in particular, tend to make up their minds late. Pensioners have often known for a long time how they are going to vote. However, the proportion of late deciders is also increasing among the oldest voters. The difference between men and women is small although a somewhat higher proportion of women decide later than men. New, small parties tend to have a greater proportion of their voters who decide later (nyd, mp, kd, fp). They live dangerously during election campaigns. The final spurt before the election can be crucial whether the outcome will be a success or a fiasco for them.

Table 5.1 Time of Party Choice (percent)

Question: "When did you decide how to vote in the parliamentary election?"

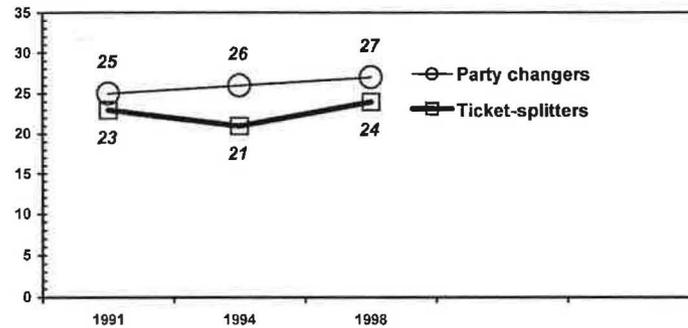
time of party choice	Parliamentary Election			European Parliament Election	
	1991	1994	1998	1995	1999
today	11	12	12	19	18
during the last week	16	16	20	24	24
earlier during the election campaign	18	16	18	16	18
knew since long how I would vote	55	55	50	41	40
sum percent	100	100	100	100	100
percent no answer	4	1	2	2	1

Table 5.2 Time of Vote Decision in the 1994 Referendum (percent)

Question: "When did you decide how to vote in the referendum?"

time of decision	Referendum
today	11
during last week	21
earlier during the campaign	13
earlier in the year	19
knew since long how I would vote	36
sum percent	100
percent no answer	1

Figure 5.1 Party Changers and Ticket-splitters in the Elections in 1991, 1994 and 1998 (percent)



Comment: Party changers have been defined as voters who switched party between the parliamentary elections in 1988-91, in 1991-94 and in 1994-98. Ticket-splitters are voters who indicated that they voted for different parties in the parliamentary and local elections.

The new readiness to change among voters expressed as the proportion of party changers or the proportion of ticket splitters is also clearly shown in the Valu material. Approximately 25-27 percent of the voters in the Valu studies state that they voted for another party in the previous Parliamentary Election. The proportion of persons who indicate that they voted for different parties in the parliamentary and the local government elections is somewhat lower, between 21 and 24 percent. When the system with a common polling day was introduced in Sweden at the 1970 election, only 6 percent of the voters were ticket-splitters. Ticket-splitting has increased markedly among Swedish voters. One interpretation may be that voters have deliberately started to make use of the opportunity to send differing signals offered by the common polling day.

The Valu results also reveal the pattern of movement among party changers - the parties they have abandoned and those they have switched to. The results in Table 5.3 summarises what the swings between the parties looked like at the 1998 Parliamentary Elections. The analysis is based on information from the voters on how they voted in the two Parliamentary Elections in 1994 and 1998. We can study the parties' gains and losses from and to each other and how well the parties succeed among first-time voters (those not entitled to vote in 1994). It should perhaps be borne in mind that there is one important piece of information we cannot obtain from Valu, which is how much the different parties lost to non-voting. People who do not vote are not included in exit polls.

Table 5.3 Party Change Between the Parliamentary Elections in 1994 and 1998 (percent)

party choice in 1994	party choice in 1998								sum percent
	m	c	fp	kd	s	v	mp	other	
m	79	1	3	13	2	1	0	1	100
c	7	58	4	17	5	3	4	2	100
fp	16	3	53	15	7	3	2	1	100
kd	7	2	3	80	3	2	2	2	101
s	3	1	1	3	77	12	2	1	100
v	2	1	1	1	13	76	5	2	101
mp	5	6	4	7	7	14	56	1	100
other	16	2	2	11	10	9	8	43	101
blank	25	2	4	11	25	18	8	6	99
non-voting	23	2	5	10	25	21	7	6	99
not eligible to vote	27	4	7	7	22	20	12	2	101

The party initials: v = Left Party, s = Social Democrats, c = Center Party, fp = Liberals, m = Conservatives, kd = Christian Democrats, mp = Greens, nyd = New Democracy.

Comment: Results from the 1998 Valu Study. Information on party choice in 1994 is based on a recall question. Percent no answer was 3.

The election swings in 1998 illustrate very well that bloc politics still plays a very important role for how voters change parties. The major part of all changes between the 1994 and 1998 elections were within blocs. The Christian Democrats and the Left Party, the two parties that gained most in the 1998 election, won most of their votes within their own blocs. The Christian Democrats won most votes from m, c and fp and very few from s and v. The converse applied to the Left Party which gained most votes from the Social Democrats and only a very few votes from the non-socialist parties. The drop in support for the Green Party consists mostly of vote losses to the Left Party, i.e. another party in the Government bloc.

The results for first-time voters are remarkable insofar as only one of the two victor parties in 1998 was really successful in winning votes among the youngest voters. The Left Party, together with the Moderates, the Liberal Party and the Green Party, clearly gained more support among first-time voters than among older voters. The Christian Democrats on the other hand, together with the Social Democrats and the Center Party, obtained more voters among older electors. The Christian Democrats were most successful in 1998 among older voters.

As regards the analysis of why Swedish voters vote as they do, occupation still is one of the most important factors. While class voting has diminished, it still exists and the level has not fallen during the 1990s.

The Valu results in Table 5.4 underline the conclusion that class voting is still important in Sweden and it has not fallen during the past decade. This analysis shows how members in different trade union organizations voted in the Parliamentary Elections during the 1990s but also how employers voted.

Table 5.4 Party Choice Among Trade Union Members and Among Self-Employed (percent)

Group	party choice in parliamentary elections									sum percent
	m	c	fp	kd	s	v	mp	nyd	other	
blue collar members (LO)										
1991	9	6	5	4	56	9	2	7	2	100
1994	9	4	3	2	66	10	4	1	1	100
1998	8	4	2	7	53	21	4	-	2	100
white collar members (TCO)										
1991	26	7	11	7	32	7	3	6	1	100
1994	22	6	10	4	43	7	7	0	1	100
1998	22	5	7	12	33	14	6	-	1	100
academic members (SACO)										
1991	33	5	24	6	14	6	8	4	0	100
1994	30	4	18	5	25	9	8	1	0	100
1998	30	4	12	12	20	13	7	-	1	100
self-employed										
1991	44	5	11	7	15	2	4	11	1	100
1994	50	5	11	5	18	5	5	1	0	100
1998	45	6	7	15	14	6	5	-	2	100

The contrast between how LO (Swedish Trade Union Confederation) members and self-employed tend to vote is a very clear illustration of Swedish class voting. A very clear majority of LO members vote for the Social Democrats or the Left Party (74 percent in 1998) while an equally large majority of self-employed and entrepreneurs vote for the non-socialist parties (73 percent in 1998). The self-employed and entrepreneurs are one of the Moderate Party's strongest support groups; approximately half of them vote Moderate. LO

members have similarly been among the most faithful supporters of the Social Democratic Party. This was still the case in the 1998 elections although the Left Party has started to challenge the Social Democrats among LO members. According to Valu, as many as 21 percent of LO members voted for the Left Party in 1998, a record high proportion.

The relative strong support of the Liberal Party among SACO (Swedish Confederation of Professional Association) members is worth noting (12 percent in 1998). It is still true to call the Liberal Party the "professor's party". Just as you can still jokingly call the Liberal Party the Hallsberg¹ of the Parties – a waiting room for party changers. No party lost as many party changers in 1998 as the Liberal Party – as many as 47 percent of the party's votes in 1994 switched to another party in 1998 (see Table 5.3). The Liberal Party survived in Parliament, despite such serious losses, because a smaller number of voters also switched to the Liberal Party.

Table 5.5 Party Choice in Parliamentary Elections Among Voters in the Public and Private Sectors (percent)

Question: "Do/Did you work in a state, local government, or private employment?"

Sector	party choice in parliamentary elections									sum percent
	m	c	fp	kd	s	v	mp	nyd	other	
public										
1991	20	7	12	7	34	7	5	6	2	100
1994	18	6	8	4	47	9	7	1	0	100
1998	17	4	7	11	35	18	6	-	2	100
private										
1991	32	6	9	5	31	5	3	8	1	100
1994	30	5	9	3	41	6	5	1	0	100
1998	31	4	6	11	31	11	4	-	2	100

Comment: Percent no answers on the sector question was 11 percent in 1991, 13 percent in 1994 and 7 percent in 1998.

Categorising people by social groups and classes originated in nineteenth century sociology and Marxist theory. The Public Choice school is a more modern phenomenon although it also categorises people by group. However, class divisions are not primary. What is important instead is the sector that people work in – public or private. As regards voting, the theory is that belonging to a sector rather than to a class affects voters' preferences. Public

¹ Hallsberg is a well-known Swedish railway junction

sector employees vote socialist to save their jobs while those working in the private sector vote non-socialist to reduce taxes and reduce the public sector. Empirical data have not so far produced any great support for hypotheses of this kind. So far, public and privately employed voters do not vote in particularly different ways. Voting differences on class lines are still clearly greater than voting differences by sector of employment. However, the results in Table 5.5 show that there is something in the hypothesis about sector voting. Social Democrats and the Left Party tend to receive a somewhat stronger support among public sector employees while the opposite applies, especially for the Moderate Party which has a stronger support among voters in the private sector than among those in the public sector.

A factor that is often forgotten when discussing what affects voting behaviour is religion. Church attendance has declined and Sweden is one of the world's most secularised countries. However, the link between religious commitment and voting has not disappeared. The old truth that church attenders tend to vote more for the non-socialist parties than voters who never go to church still holds good. The correlation has weakened over time but not in the past few years.

Table 5.6 Church-going and Party Choice in the Parliamentary Election in 1998 (percent).

Question: "How often do you usually attend a religious service?"

Church-going	party choice in the 1998 parliamentary election								sum percent
	m	c	fp	kd	s	v	mp	other	
at least once a month	15	7	8	39	20	5	5	1	100
several times a year	25	8	7	16	29	9	5	2	101
more seldom	26	4	6	8	36	13	5	2	100
never	26	2	6	5	32	19	7	2	99

The results in Table 5.6 clearly show that Christian Democrats in particular but also the Centre Party receive a markedly stronger support among church-going people than among people who seldom or never go to church. The opposite is the case in particular for the Left Party but also for the Social Democrats – they gain more support among voters who never attend church than among those who regularly attend services. The Christian Democrats are particularly strong among the most regular church attenders (39 percent voted for the Christian Democrats in 1998); here the party has successfully out-competed the Moderate Party which only obtained the support of 15 percent in 1998. Valu does not include any survey question on the particular church that people attend. However, from other surveys we know that Christian Democrats have their absolutely strongest

electoral support among free church attenders. According to the Election study, somewhat over 60 percent of regular free church attenders voted Christian Democrat in 1998. Church and religion still play an important role for how Swedish people vote.

The main issues at the election, the issues taking up by the party leaders in the election campaigns, are obviously important for how people vote. Voting on the basis of issue opinions has increased among Swedish voters. When we ask voters in Valu studies about the issues that were most important in their choice of party, most had no problems in answering the question. In the 1998 Parliamentary Election, Valu participants were presented with a list of fifteen different issues and asked about the importance of each one for their voting preference. The range of response alternatives was from five (highly important) to one (very little importance) The results in Table 5.7 show that very few people did not know or were unwilling to answer the questions – between 10 and 16 percent - and that the issues that the voters cited as being important for their choice of party were to a very high extent the same as those that dominated the election discussion in 1998. Unemployment, the Economy and the three issues that were included in the Social Democrats' election slogan - Health Care, Social Services and Education - were the issues that the voters regarded as most important in 1998. Issues that were less relevant as key election issues in 1998, which were at the bottom of the voters' list, were refugees, the environment, EU/EMU and nuclear power.

In many cases, voters from different parties agreed about the most important and less important issues. Voters from all parties tended for instance to cite public education and unemployment as being important for party choice and pensions and refugees/immigrants as being less important. However, in most cases, voters from different parties indicated different issues as being important for how they voted. The issues that motivated voters' choice differed relatively much between the parties. Taxation, for instance, was an important issue for Moderates (2nd place) For voters who voted for other parties than the Moderates, taxation was not among the key issues (from 10th to 13th place in the different parties). Correspondingly, the environment and nuclear power were very key for persons who voted for the Green Party (1st and 2nd place) but not for other voters (6th to 14th place). Equal opportunities for women and men were relatively often cited as an important electoral issue for voters who voted for the Left Party (4th place) or for the Green Party (5th place). Voters who voted for any of the other parties more seldom cited equal opportunities as an important election issue (7th to 13th place). The conditions for businesses were cited as important issue by a relatively large number of Moderate voters (4th place). Among voters who voted for the Social Democrats, the Left Party or the Green Party, the conditions for businesses came last in the ranking order of important issues (15th place). In

other words, there is a relatively clear correlation between which issues/problems are perceived as important and voting preferences. However, electors are not just affected by the issues that happen to be topical at a particular election. The way the Swedish electorate votes is also affected by more long-term factors such as ideology. Party choice in Sweden is structured to a very huge extent by a basic ideological divide that has dominated Swedish politics throughout the twentieth century, the left-right dimension. In terms of content, the left-right conflict has applied to many different issues although with the focus on questions relating to economic power, the reorganisation and financing of social welfare, and social and economic equality. The opinions of the electors on issues of this kind are usually very strongly linked to how they vote. The strongest connection with party choice is found in the voters' own subjective view of their ideological position on the left-right scale. Voters who view themselves as being on the left ideologically tend to vote for the Left Party or the Social Democrats while voters who regard themselves as being on the right tend to vote non-socialist.

Table 5.7 Important Issues for the Choice of Party in 1998 (percent)

Question: "How important were the following issues for you when you choose party in today's parliamentary election?"

Issue	percent answering very important among all respondents	rank position among persons who voted for:						
		m	c	fp	kd	s	v	mp
1 Education	59	5	1	1	2	4	2	3
2 Employment	58	3	2	3	5	3	1	4
3 Swedish Economy	57	1	4	2	7	1	7	10
4 Health Care	55	7	3	4	1	2	3	7
5 Elderly Care	46	9	5	6	3	5	6	9
6 Child Care	43	11	10	8	6	6	5	8
7 Law and Order	40	6	9	9	4	9	13	12
8 Gender Equality	36	13	11	7	11	7	4	5
9 Taxes	36	2	13	10	10	10	11	13
10 Conditions for Private Business	32	4	7	5	8	14	15	15
11 Pensions	32	12	12	12	9	8	10	14
12 Energy and Nuclear Power	30	8	8	13	12	11	12	2
13 EU/EMU	28	10	14	11	13	13	8	6
14 Environment	27	14	16	15	14	12	9	1
15 Refugees	19	15	15	14	15	15	14	11

Comment: The 15 issues were introduced to the respondents. The number of response alternatives was five. Percent no answers varied between 10 and 16 percent for the different issues.

The strong correlation between subjective left-right position and party choice can also be found in the Valu material. Expressed in statistical terms, with the aid of a measure called eta that can vary between 0.00 and 1.00, the correlation between voters' left-right position and party preference in the 1998 Parliamentary Election was an impressive 0.81. The corresponding result from the 1998 Election study is in the same range (eta = 0.78). The same applies to the SOM survey in 1998 (eta=0.79). The results in table 5.8 illustrate, based on Valu data and percentage analysis, how clear the left-right correlation is and how little this has changed during the 1990s. The analysis shows the ideological identification of voters from different parties in the 1991, 1994 and 1998 elections.

Moderate voters have consistently (90 percent) placed themselves on the right. Left Party voters have correspondingly been ideologically homogenous on the left. Around 90 percent of Left Party voters have said that they regard themselves as being on the left in every election. The voters of other parties are ideologically rather more fragmented, although a clear majority of Liberal Party (50-62 percent) and Christian Democrat (56-63 percent) voters regard themselves as being ideologically on the right and an even clearer majority of Social Democrats view themselves as being on the left (67-72 percent). Centre Party or Green Party voters tend to view themselves as being in the centre or on the right (Centre Party) or in the centre or on the left (Green Party). During the 1990s, the proportion of Centre voters who regard themselves as being ideologically on the right has fallen somewhat while the proportion of Green Party voters who regard themselves as being on the left has increased.

The ideological polarisation in the 1998 election appears clearly in the results. In Valu, the proportion of voters who place themselves on the left is highest ever among Social Democrats, the Left Party and the Green Party. In the same way, the proportion of Moderates, Liberal Party voters and Christian Democrats who place themselves on the right is highest ever in Valu 1998. All rumours about the death of the left-right dimension among the Swedish voters are very exaggerated.

Table 5.8 The Positioning of Party Voters on the Left-Right Scale (percent)

party	election year	left	neither nor	right	sum percent
m	1991	1	9	90	100
	1994	1	11	88	100
	1998	1	8	91	100
c	1991	7	51	42	100
	1994	7	48	45	100
	1998	13	50	37	100
fp	1991	9	31	60	100
	1994	13	37	50	100
	1998	10	28	62	100
kd	1991	6	38	56	100
	1994	3	34	63	100
	1998	5	30	65	100
s	1991	67	29	4	100
	1994	69	27	4	100
	1998	72	23	5	100
v	1991	94	6	0	100
	1994	90	9	1	100
	1998	92	7	1	100
mp	1991	43	43	14	100
	1994	45	46	9	100
	1998	54	38	8	100
all respondents	1991	34	26	40	100
	1994	40	26	34	100
	1998	41	21	38	100

The EMU issue is a new controversial political issue which is strongly linked in terms of opinion to the left-right dimension among voters. People on the left tend to be negative to a Swedish EMU-membership while those on the right are often positive. The correlation (r) between the electors' left-right opinion and whether they would vote yes or no in an EMU referendum was 0.48 in the Valu survey. The results in Table 5.9 show that the EMU issue also has a relatively clear correlation with party preference although not as strongly as left-right ideology. The four parties with a clear position on the EMU mainly recruited voters who shared their respective party's view. A clear majority of Moderate and Liberal Party voters were positive to EMU membership while as clear a majority of Left Party and Green Party voters were negative.

Table 5.9 How to Vote in a Future EMU-referendum? (percent)

Question: "If there is a referendum on a Swedish membership in EMU, how would you vote?"

	yes	no	don't know	sum percent
all respondents	39	41	20	100
party choice 1998				
m	73	13	14	100
c	25	50	25	100
fp	66	14	20	100
kd	41	38	21	100
s	27	49	24	100
v	12	72	16	100
mp	11	74	15	100
other	25	55	20	100
gender				
female	30	46	24	100
male	49	36	15	100
age				
18-21	32	39	29	100
22-30	38	40	22	100
31-64	41	41	18	100
65+	40	43	17	100

Comment: The results are from Valu 98. Percent no answer was 2.

However, the wait-and-see parties' voters were split between those in favour and those against EMU. According to the Valu results, the majority of Centre Party and Social Democrat voters were negative to EMU membership while a slight majority of Christian Democrat voters were positive.

The explosive force of the EMU issue among voters - its importance for party choice and party switching - can be illustrated by studying floating voters in the 1998 Parliamentary Elections or at the European Parliament election in 1999. In the 1998 Parliamentary Elections, for instance, the tendency to leave the old party from 1994 and change to another was clearly greater among voters whose opinion on EMU differed from that of their party than among those who shared their party's position on EMU. Among the few EMU opponents in the Moderate Party and the Liberal Party, as many as 39 and 65 percent respectively changed to another party in 1998. The corresponding change proportions were only 16

and 40 percent among Moderates and Liberal Party voters who were positive to EMU. In the same way as many as 39 and 66 percent respectively of the Left Party's and the Green Party's small number of EMU supporters changed to another party in 1998, compared with only 22 and 35 percent respectively among Left Party and Green Party EMU opponents. The pattern that the EMU issue contributed to the structuring of party preferences in 1998 is especially visible if we look at how first time voters behaved. Among first time voters, as many as 64 percent voted for the Moderates or the Liberal Party. Only 14 percent supported the Left Party or the Green Party. Among first time voters who were negative to EMU the picture was completely the opposite. As many as 48 percent voted for the Left Party or the Green Party while only 11 percent voted Moderate or Liberal.

The same pattern can be seen in the European Parliament elections in 1999 although it is even more marked. Among Moderate and Liberal Party voters who were critical of EMU as many as 74 and 71 percent changed party in the European Parliament elections compared with the 1998 Parliamentary Elections. A large proportion of the changers moved to the Left Party or the Green party. These are flows that have been very unusual in Sweden until now (see Table 5.10).

A majority of previous Left and Green Party voters who were in favour of EMU (58 and 61 percent respectively) no longer supported their party from the Parliamentary Election in 1998. They had changed to another party, often the Social Democratic Party or the Liberal Party. However, very few of the Left Party and Green Party voters against the EMU who participated in the European Parliament election, left their parties, only 18 and 22 percent respectively.

The number of 18-year-old first-time voters in 1999 is very few in Valu, only some sixty people which makes the results statistical uncertain. However, among these few 18-year-olds we can notice a very strong correlation between attitude to EMU and party preference. Among the 18-year-old EMU supporters who voted in 1999, no fewer than 72 percent voted Moderate or Liberal. Only 7 percent of this group voted for the Left Party or the Green Party. Among 18-year-old EMU opponents, the voting pattern was entirely the opposite. As many as 73 percent supported the Left Party or the Green Party in contrast to only 3 percent who supported the Liberal Party and none voted Moderate. Extremely strong correlations of this kind are unusual in electoral research. There is no doubt that the EMU issue, reinforced by the link to the left-right dimension, played a role for how voters voted in the 1998 Parliamentary Election as well as in the European Parliament election in 1999.

Table 5.10 Opinion on EMU-membership and Change of Party between the Elections of 1998 and 1999 (percent)

party choice in the parliamentary election in 1998	EMU-opinion	party choice in the EU parliamentary election in 1999								sum percent	number of respondents
		m	c	fp	kd	s	v	mp	other		
m	yes	75	1	16	5	2	1	0	0	100	1320 136
	no	26	7	17	8	4	20	17	1	100	
c	yes	8	61	19	6	4	0	2	0	100	84 125
	no	2	58	6	3	4	14	13	0	100	
fp	yes	8	2	82	5	2	0	1	0	100	383 66
	no	5	3	29	11	3	24	26	0	101	
kd	yes	22	4	21	46	4	1	2	0	100	312 224
	no	1	9	9	40	4	16	20	1	100	
s	yes	4	2	10	1	79	2	1	0	99	783 726
	no	1	2	1	1	53	30	13	0	101	
v	yes	1	1	10	4	33	42	9	0	100	79 672
	no	1	1	1	0	4	82	11	0	100	
mp	yes	0	7	35	2	15	2	39	0	100	46 275
	no	0	1	3	2	1	14	77	1	99	
not eligible to vote	yes	48	0	24	0	21	7	0	0	100	29 29
	no	0	3	3	3	14	52	21	3	99	

Comment: The group "not eligible to vote" comprise persons 17-18 years old in 1998. The results come from Valu 99.

However, polling day is not just ideology and issues. Party leaders and other leading politicians also play a role. The best recent example is the Westerberg effect in the 1985 election when the Liberal Party almost tripled its votes in a few weeks during the election campaign after Bengt Westerberg had appeared as a fresh political face in TV. The Marit Paulsen effect in the European Parliament election in 1999 may be another example, although she is not a party leader. Her personal popularity helped increase the Liberal vote considerably. The very different pulling power of party leaders can be seen in our Valu result. In conjunction with the 1998 Parliamentary Election, we asked the Valu respondents directly about the importance that the party leader had had for their choice of party. The proportion who answered very great importance varied very distinctly between the different party leaders (see Table 5.11).

Among voters who supported the Christian Democrats and Moderates, almost a third said that Alf Svensson (kd) (31 percent) and Carl Bildt (m) (26 percent) had been very important for their party preference. The corresponding scores and percentage share for Göran Persson (s) were much lower, only 12 percent. However, this was not the worst result in 1998, Lars Leijonborg (fp) and Lennart Daléus (c) had even lower ratings. Only 7 percent of Liberal Party voters said that Leijonborg was very important for how they voted. Among Centre Party voters an even smaller proportion indicated that the party leader had been very important for their choice of party, only 6 percent.

Table 5.11 The Importance of Party Leaders in the Parliamentary Election in 1998 (percent)

Question: "What importance had the party leader for your choice of party today?"

Party leader	percent answering very large among voters for each party leader
Alf Svensson (kd)	31
Carl Bildt (m)	26
Gudrun Schyman (v)	17
Göran Persson (s)	12
Språkrör (mp)	7
Lars Leijonborg (fp)	7
Lennart Daléus (c)	6

Comment: The question had five response alternatives from very large to very small importance. The Greens had two "språkrör" acting as parallel party leaders.

The concluding remark on our walk among Valu tables can be made simple. Swedish voting behaviour according to Valu does not differ from Swedish voting behaviour according to more tried and tested methods of investigation. Valu data is very useful for its main purpose, that is providing data for analysis of voting behaviour and to explain the outcome of elections. And there is a very important advantage. The data is available while events are happening on election night. It is difficult to think of being without exit poll data when covering elections these days. An election night without Valu would be to return to the old foggy days of yesterday when election night coverage consisted more of speculations than of analyses.

□

Appendix

Appendix 1

Questionnaire Valu 1999

At Sveriges Television, we want the election night broadcast on TV to reflect the opinions of the voters. We are therefore asking you to answer this questionnaire by crossing the appropriate boxes. You should not put your name on the questionnaire since you are to be anonymous to us. The results will only be reported in figures. No one can find out how you have answered. If you find it difficult to answer any question, leave it and go on to the next question. Thank you for helping you us produce a good election broadcast on TV!

1: Are you a woman or a man?

Woman... 1 Man... 2

2: What year were you born in?

Year

3: What party did you vote for today?

- Moderate Party 1
 Centre Party 2
 Liberal Party 3
 Christian Democrats 4
 Social Democrats 5
 Left Party 6
 Green Party 7
 Other Party 81
 Blank 82

4: Did you use the opportunity to vote for a particular candidate on your ballot?

Yes 1 No 2

5: When did you decide how you were going to vote in the EU Parliament election?

- Today 1
 During the past week 2
 Earlier during the election campaign 3
 Have known for a long time
 how I was going to vote..... 4

6: What party did you vote for in the 1998 Parliamentary Election?

- Moderate Party 1
 Centre Party 2
 Liberal Party 3
 Christian Democrats 4
 Social Democrats 5
 Left Party 6
 Green Party 7
 Other Party 81
 Blank 82
 Did not vote 83
 Not entitled to vote in 1998 84

7: What party did you vote for in the EU Parliament election in 1995?

- Moderate Party 1
 Centre Party 2
 Liberal Party 3
 Christian Democrats 4
 Social Democrats 5
 Left Party 6
 Green Party 7
 Other Party 81
 Blank 82
 Did not vote 83
 Not entitled to vote in 1995 84
 Not sure (can't remember)
 whether/how I voted 85

8: What party would you vote for if it was a Parliamentary Election today?

- Moderate Party 1
 Centre Party 2
 Liberal Party 3
 Christian Democrats 4
 Social Democrats 5
 Left Party 6
 Green Party 7
 Other Party 8

9: How would you vote if there was a referendum on Swedish membership in EMU ?

- Yes to Swedish membership in EMU 1
 No to Swedish membership in EMU 2
 Don't know/Have no opinion 3

10: Do you think it would be positive or negative if the EU developed into a federal state, a kind of United States of Europe?

- Very positive 1
 Fairly positive 2
 Neither positive nor negative 3
 Fairly negative 4
 Very negative 5

11: Do you think that Sweden should leave EU or remain a member of EU?

- Sweden should leave EU 1
 Sweden should stay in EU 2
 No opinion on this issue 3

12: Sometimes people talk of political opinions in terms of left-right. Where would you place yourself?

- Clearly on the left 1
 Somewhat to the left 2
 Neither left nor right 3
 Somewhat to the right 4
 Clearly on the right 5

13: Generally speaking, how much trust do you have in Swedish politicians?

- Very great 1
 Fairly great 2
 Fairly small 3
 Very small 4

14: How much trust do you have in the decision-making processes in the EU?

- Very much 1
 Fairly much 2
 Fairly little 3
 Very little 4

15: How often do you usually attend a service or a meeting in a church?

- At least once a month 1
 A couple of times a year 2
 Less frequently 3
 Never 4

16: Are you a member of a trade union?

- Yes, a LO union. 1
 Yes, a TCO union 2
 Yes, a SACO union 3
 No 4

----- (Turn page here, please continue on the next side) -----

17: Which of these groups do you belong to at present?

- Employed 1
 Work in labour market programme 2
 Undergoing training organised by AMS 3
 Undergoing training with assistance from
 the special adult education programme 4
 Unemployed 5
 Old age pensioner 6
 Disability pensioner 7
 Working at home 81
 Student 82

18: Which of these occupational groups do you/did you belong to?

- White-collar employee 1
- White-collar employee with supervisory responsibility 2
- White-collar employee with senior executive responsibility 3
- Manual (blue collar) worker..... 4
- Manual worker with supervisory responsibility..... 5
- Self-employed manual worker..... 6
- Farmer: no employee..... 7
- Farmer: one or more employees..... 81
- Self-employed/entrepreneur: no employee.... 82
- Self-employed/entrepreneur: 1-9 employees.. 83
- Self-employed/entrepreneur: 10 or more employees 84
- Never been employed..... 85

19: Are/were you employed by the state, local government or a private employer?

- State 1
- Local government (including county council) 2
- Private..... 3
- Never been employed..... 4

How important are the following reasons for your choice of party in the EU Parliament Election?	<i>Neither</i>				
	<i>Very great</i>	<i>Fairly great</i>	<i>great nor small</i>	<i>Fairly small</i>	<i>Very small</i>
20: The parties' policies on EU-related issues.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
21: The parties' policies in Swedish politics.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
22: Habit/loyalty to my party.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
23: The candidates on the ballot.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

How important are the following issues for your choice of party in the EU Parliament election?	<i>Neither</i>				
	<i>Very great</i>	<i>Fairly great</i>	<i>great nor small</i>	<i>Fairly small</i>	<i>Very small</i>
24: The Environment.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
25: The Economy.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
26: Employment.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
27: Agriculture.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
28: Peace in Europe.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
29: National Independence.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
30: Economic and Monetary Union (EMU).....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
31: Refugees/Immigration.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
32: Expansion of the EU with new Member States.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
33: Conditions for Businesses.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
34: Equality of Opportunity for Women and Men.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
35: Defence Issue in the EU.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
36: Democracy in the EU.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
37: Social Welfare.....	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

38: On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not especially satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Sweden?
 Very satisfied.. 1 Fairly satisfied.. 2 Not especially satisfied.. 3 Not at all satisfied .. 4

39: On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not especially satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in the European Union?
 Very satisfied.. 1 Fairly satisfied.. 2 Not especially satisfied.. 3 Not at all satisfied .. 4

*Thank you for taking part in this survey!
 Please put your questionnaire in the sealed box!*

The result of this survey will be shown in the election night broadcast on Sunday, 13 June in SVT



SVERIGES TELEVISION

Sveriges Television (SVT)

Sveriges Television is the Swedish public service television company.

Sveriges Television was officially founded on 4th September 1956, but it was a flying start, the culmination of several years' trial programme transmissions. As from 1969 the company for many years has operated two national channels. The channels are distributed via the analogue terrestrial network, via a digital terrestrial network and, as of April 1999, digitally via satellite.

As of 1st April 1999 Sveriges Television offers services via new digital channels that are transmitted via the terrestrial network, by satellites and bay cable.

SVT24, a 'round-the-clock' news channel, is transmitted nationally.

SVT dominates the Swedish TV market. The corporate structure is a limited company owned by a foundation. It is financed by a compulsory licence fee for possession of TV-set. The licence fee also finances public service radio (SR) and the Swedish Educational Broadcasting company (UR).
60 % of the revenues from licence fee provides for SVT.

SVT programming is non-commercial.

Advertising is not allowed however sponsoring of sports events is.

SVT programming is subject to the provisions of the Radio Act, to terms set out in the charter between SVT and the state as well as internal programming guidelines. The SVT charter was renewed January 1st 2002 for a four year period. No major changes were made in the public service instructions.

The charter guarantees SVT's independency of all pressure groups, political or otherwise. One of the most important points in the agreement is "to scrutinize authorities, organizations and private firms which exert influence over policy affecting the public, and cover the activities of these and other bodies".

SVT Election night coverage based on Valu analysis is the major media event on election nights.

