

Norwegian Party Congress Survey 2000–01



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Questionnaire no.

First some questions about how you joined the party and your present activity here.

1. In which year (approximately) did you first join the party? (Or its youth or women's organization)

Year member:

2. Do you remember your most important reason for joining the party? And the next most important?

NB: Please fill in two boxes only – one mark for the most important and one for the next most important reason.

	Most important	Next most important
A) Wanted to engage myself in the work for certain political issues	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
B) Had clear ideological beliefs that made it natural for me to join the party	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
C) Was attracted by a good social milieu in the party	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
D) Was active in organizations/political action groups where party membership became natural	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
E) Just wanted to express (passive) support for the party	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
F) It was natural for a person with my occupation	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
G) A family tradition	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
H) I was drawn into the party by close friends	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
I) Wanted to make a political career	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂

3. How much of your time is taken up by political work (both in the party organization and as a party representative in public office) during a ‘typical week’?

- 1 Up to 5 hours a week
- 2 5 – 10 hours
- 3 10 – 20 hours
- 4 20 – 40 hours
- 5 More than 40 hours

4. Do you *at present*, or did you *previously*, hold any *elected office* or position of *employment* within the party organization?

Fill in more than one box, if appropriate.

	At present	Previo- usly	No, never
<i>Office in your municipal or local branch:</i>			
A) Executive committee member	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
B) Other office	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
<i>Office at the county level:</i>			
C) Executive committee member	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
D) Other office	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
<i>Office at the national level:</i>			
E) Member/deputy member of the executive committee	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
F) Member/deputy member of the national council	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
G) Other office	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
 <i>Position of employment?</i>			
H) In the local or county branch	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
I) In the central party office or the parliamentary group secretariat	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃

5. Do you hold any *public office(s)* (in elected assemblies, public boards, committees etc.) *at present*, or did you hold such office *previously*?

Fill in more than one box, if appropriate.

	At present	Previo- usly	No, never
A) Member of a municipal committee	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
B) Member of the municipal council	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
C) Public office at the county level	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
D) Mayor/county mayor/city commissioner	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
E) Member of Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
F) Taken seat in the Parliament as deputy member	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
G) Member of the Cabinet	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
H) State secretary or political adviser to minister	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
I) Other public offices at the national level	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃

6. Did you, during *the last year*, take part in any external activities for the party?

- | | Yes | No |
|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| A) Recruiting new members? | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| B) Delivered party leaflets, sold lottery tickets, helped organized a party street stall? | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| C) Discussed the party's policies with people who are not members of the party? | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| D) Taken part in demonstrations or other public events arranged by the party? | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |

7. Did you – as a politician – take part in the following activities during *the last year*?

- | | No | Yes, 1–5 times | Yes, more often |
|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| A) Was interviewed in radio/TV? | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ |
| B) Was interviewed in the press? | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ |
| C) Written in newspapers, trade papers, etc? | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ |
| D) Participated in seminars or courses, made speeches (<i>not</i> arranged by your own party)? | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ |

8. Have you ever taken an initiative to include certain issues in the party's parliamentary election programme?

- 1 No, never
 2 Yes, it has occurred
 3 Yes, several times

9. Did you during the last year initiate – or take part in the preparation of – political resolutions/decisions presented to:

- | | No | Yes, 1–2 times | Yes, more often |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| A) The executive committee | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ |
| B) The national council | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ |
| C) The national party congress | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ |
| D) The parliamentary group | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ |

10. How important are the following sources to you, when you look for information about politics?

	Very im- portant	Quite im- portant	Less im- portant	Not im- portant
A) Radio, television and newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
B) Public documents	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
C) The party newspaper/magazine and other party documents	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
D) Party meetings	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
E) The Internet	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
F) Personal contact with fellow party members	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄

11. A) Do you have access to the Internet (at home, at work etc.)?

- 1 Yes
2 No

If yes: How often do you use the Internet for the following political activities:

	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less frequent	Never
B) How often do you access the party's web site?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
C) How often do you receive e-mail from the party's central office?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
D) How often do you use e-mail to keep contact with fellow party members (at the local level or in the central organization)?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄

Next we would like to know how you assess different aspects of participation in party politics.

12. Party procedures for selection of personnel and forming party policy have recently been discussed. We would like to ask for your opinion on some proposals, in the following three areas:

A) Forming party policy

- 1 The *national congress* should have the final say on important issues
2 There should be *membership ballots* on important issues, where all members can participate
3 Don't know

B) Election of party leader

- 1 The party leader should be elected by the *national congress*
2 The party leader should be elected by a *membership ballot*
3 Don't know

C) Selection of the party's MPs

- 1 The members should – through the constituency *nomination convention* – select their constituency party's MPs
- 2 The *voters* should influence the selection of their party's MPs directly, e.g. by crossing out or giving extra votes to candidates on the party list
- 3 Don't know

13. Next a question about nomination of parliamentary candidates. Here is a list of characteristics attributed to candidates for parliamentary elections. Concerning top candidates, i.e. those who have a good chance of getting elected or the top three candidates, which of these characteristics do you consider *the three most important*?

NB: Please fill in three boxes only

- A) Ability at campaigning (e.g. personal appeal, eloquence, media skills)
- B) Enjoys broad confidence within his/her party
- C) Represents important voter groups in the constituency
- D) Has support in important organizations (e.g. trade unions, religious organizations)
- E) Active in the party organization
- F) Incumbency; previous experience in parliament
- G) Experience in other public office at the national, county or municipal level
- H) Represents a certain part of the constituency
- I) Gender
- J) Independent of special interests
- K) Occupational background
- L) Knowledgeable about policy areas

14. Several parties have adopted gender quotas, to get a more equal representation of the two genders within party organs. Are you *in favour* of some kind of gender quotas for party political offices or do you *oppose* the principle itself?

- 1 In favour of gender quotas
- 2 Oppose gender quotas
- 3 Don't know

15. During the last years, the share of women in party offices has risen. Do you think that the increased women's representation has had any effect on the party's *positions* on particular issues? And has the party given higher *priority* to some issues, because of increased women's representation?

	Yes	No	Don't know
A) Effect on party <i>positions</i> ?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
B) Effect on party <i>priorities</i> ?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃

If YES: can you single out *one or more* issue areas where increased women's representation has been especially important for party positions and/or priorities?

	<i>Positions</i>	<i>Priorities</i>
Foreign policy, defence, peace, foreign aid, international justice	<input type="checkbox"/> _{C1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{M1}
Church, education, research, culture	<input type="checkbox"/> _{D1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{N1}
Economy, trade, industry, trade unions	<input type="checkbox"/> _{E1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{O1}
Local government, transport, the environment, housing	<input type="checkbox"/> _{F1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{P1}
Social issues, pensions, economic benefits for family-based care	<input type="checkbox"/> _{G1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{Q1}
Kindergartens, family policy, maternity leave, cash benefits for family-based child care	<input type="checkbox"/> _{H1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{R1}
Care for the elderly, health policy	<input type="checkbox"/> _{I1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{S1}
Abortion	<input type="checkbox"/> _{J1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{T1}
Gender equality, women's representation	<input type="checkbox"/> _{K1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{U1}
Pornography, prostitution	<input type="checkbox"/> _{L1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{V1}

16. Next we present some statements about the party and the members. For each statement, please indicate whether you agree completely, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree completely.

	Agree completely	Agree somewhat	Both agree and disagree	Disagree somewhat	Disagree completely	Don't know
A) The central party leadership is good at paying attention to the views of ordinary party members	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
B) To influence decisions in the central party leadership, personal connections are crucial and far more important than formal positions in the party	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
C) A problem with the party today is that the leadership is too strong	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
D) The leadership should listen more to the voters than to the members	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆

17. Next we would like to know how you assess the impact of the mass media on politics in general and party activity in particular. Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with the following statements:

	Agree comple- tely	Agree some- what	Both agree and disagree	Disagree some- what	Disagree comple- tely	Don't know
A) The media often forces politicians to make premature statements	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
B) The media has, all things considered, little opportunity to influence which issues the parties take up	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
C) The way the news media are run today, politicians are often forced to make <i>too</i> many personal initiatives in order to raise their profiles	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
D) Media attention is generally a useful tool for stimulating debate within the party	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆

18. How do you consider the relationship between the central party organs (executive committee and national council) and the parliamentary party group? Regarding issues not covered by the party programme or other party congress decisions, should the party be able to instruct the parliamentary group about its positions in Parliament?

- 1 Should be able to instruct
- 2 Should not be able to instruct
- 3 Don't know

Next we would like to ask some questions about the party congress itself.

19. In what capacity do you participate at this party congress?

Please fill in one box only.

- 1 Delegate from county branch
- 2 Member of the national council
- 3 Member of Parliament
- 4 Member of the Cabinet
- 5 Representative of the women's organization
- 6 Representative of the youth organization
- 7 Party employee
- 8 Other

20. Have you been a delegate to the party congress before?

- 1 No, this is my first party congress
- 2 Yes, once
- 3 Yes, twice
- 4 Yes, 3–4 times
- 5 Yes, 5 times or more

21. How would you describe the discussion of proposals for this party congress in your local party branch?

Please fill in one box only.

- 1 There were very divergent opinions
- 2 There was little disagreement
- 3 There was no difference of opinion
- 4 There was no discussion
- 5 The proposals were not considered
- 6 Don't know

22. How did you prepare for the debates at this congress?

Please fill in one box only.

I read through:

- ₁ – all the documents in advance
- ₂ – most of the documents in advance
- ₃ – the most important documents in advance
- ₄ I acquired the necessary knowledge through my general work within the party

23. Did you speak at the plenary sessions of the congress?

- 1 Yes – once
- 2 Yes – twice or more
- 3 No

24. There are usually some discussions about the new programme within the party. We would like to know if somebody approached you personally about one or more items in the programme, before or during the congress.

If nobody approached you, don't fill in any boxes

	Before the congress	During the congress
Other party representatives from my county or municipality	<input type="checkbox"/> _{A1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{B1}
Ordinary party members	<input type="checkbox"/> _{C1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{D1}
Members of the party's executive committee	<input type="checkbox"/> _{E1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{F1}
Representatives from the youth organization	<input type="checkbox"/> _{G1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{H1}
Representatives from the women's organization	<input type="checkbox"/> _{I1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{J1}
Party secretaries from the central office	<input type="checkbox"/> _{K1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{L1}
People from groups or organizations outside the party	<input type="checkbox"/> _{M1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{N1}
The party's members of Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/> _{O1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{P1}

25. Congress delegates may experience a conflict on concrete issues between their own views and the views of the party leadership, the majority in their local branches, etc. If this is no narrow 'sector issue', but a matter of general political importance, how much importance should a congress delegate – in your opinion – attach to the following conditions when he/she reaches a decision:

	Decisive import- ance	Very much im- portance	Fairly much im- portance	Little import- ance	No import- ance
A) One's own independent evaluation of the issue	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅
B) The position of the party leadership	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅
C) The position of one's local branch	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅
D) The position of one's county branch	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅
E) The majority position in the parliamentary party group	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅
F) Opinion polls showing clear majority and minority positions among party voters	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅
G) The position of the youth organization	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅

26. If there were one or more difficult conflict issues at the congress, were you perhaps in touch with others to discuss the matter informally before the situation became deadlocked? Can you tell us – with regard to the most important of these issues – which ‘group(s)’ was/were most relevant to contact?

Fill in more than one box, if appropriate.

- A) ₁ Others from my county delegation
- B) ₁ Others from the youth organization
- C) ₁ Others who usually belong to the right, centre or left wing within the party
- D) ₁ Others, who I have cooperated with before
- E) ₁ The party’s members of Parliament
- F) ₁ The party leaders
- G) ₁ The party’s local politicians
- H) ₁ Other members of my trade union, religious or other voluntary organization
- I) ₁ Other women
- J) ₁ There were *no* such issues

27. How would you evaluate the importance of the party congress to the following sides of party work?

	Very important	Fairly important	Neither	Fairly little im- portance	Very little im- portance	Don’t know
A) Presentation of the party and its policies to the public	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
B) Communicate attitudes that prevail among party members around the country to the central leadership	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
C) Formulate election campaign strategies	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
D) Settle and resolve issues where there is disagreement within the party	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
E) An opportunity for informal contacts on other issues than those on the agenda	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
F) Establish personal connections that make it possible to raise questions and receive/give advice at other occasions	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
G) An opportunity for informal discussions of new initiatives and political possibilities; a chance to ‘think aloud’ within the party	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
H) Debate and adopt the party programme	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
I) All things considered, how important is the party congress for the formulation of party policies on most issues?	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆

Next some questions on attitudes to different political issues. Some of these questions are strongly simplified, but we hope that it is possible for you to answer them anyway.

28. Is there *one specific* policy area that interests you particularly, where you pay close attention to the public debate as well as the discussion within the party?

NB: Please fill in one box only.

- 1 *No*, I am interested in several policy areas
- 2 Foreign policy, defence, peace, foreign aid
- 3 Education, research, church issues, culture, media
- 4 Economy, trade, industry, unemployment, agriculture, trade unions
- 5 Local government, transport, regional policy
- 6 Social issues, care for the elderly, health
- 7 Gender equality
- 8 The environment, management of natural resources
- 9 Energy, petroleum
- 10 Immigration policy
- 11 Other issues

29. Below we have presented some statements about politics in a concentrated form. For each statement, please indicate whether you agree completely, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree completely.

	Agree completely	Agree somewhat	Both agree and disagree	Disagree somewhat	Disagree completely	Don't know
A) We should accept larger <i>income differences</i> than we have today, as incentives for individual effort	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
B) Increased economic benefits for <i>family-based care</i> should be given higher priority	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
C) The <i>EEA agreement</i> should be terminated, and replaced with a free trade agreement	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
D) It is still necessary to maintain a strong <i>defence</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
E) We should make provisions for achieving more <i>gender equality</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
F) Taxes on <i>alcohol</i> should be substantially reduced	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
G) We should work for larger grants to <i>peripheral areas</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
H) To curb <i>crime</i> , preventive work is better than tough sentences	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
I) We should work towards a society with high <i>economic growth</i> and high productivity	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
J) We should make it easier for <i>immigrants</i> to enter Norway	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
K) We should work to strengthen the role of <i>Christian faith and morality</i> in society	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
L) In lower secondary school, <i>grades</i> are necessary to stimulate pupils to greater effort	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
M) It is more important to develop <i>public services</i> than to reduce taxation	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
N) We should build <i>gas power plants</i> in Norway, on the basis of existing technology	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
O) The large business and labour <i>organizations</i> have got far too much power in society	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
P) We should increase the aid to the <i>developing countries</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
Q) The political control over several deregulated <i>public companies</i> , e.g. the telephone, railway and postal services, is too weak and should be strengthened	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
R) Substantial grants to strengthen the economy of the <i>big cities</i> should be provided	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
S) We should increase grants to <i>care for the elderly</i> strongly	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
T) Norway should be a full member of the <i>EU</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
U) We should do much more for <i>environmental protection</i> , even if it means considerably lower personal consumption for the individual	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆

30. Which of the 21 issues above would you personally regard as the most important? The next most important? And which is the third most important?

Please fill in the letters representing the statements that you think raises the most important, second most important and third most important *issues* – whether you agree or disagree with the *statements* themselves.

- A) Most important
- B) Second most important
- C) Third most important

31. We would like to know how you like the different parties. We have made a scale that runs from 0 to 100, which we call a ‘sympathy thermometer’. Please mark a thermometer score for each of the following parties.

A score of 50 degrees means that you neither like nor dislike the party. If you like a party, give it a score between 50 and 100 degrees. The more you like the party, the higher the score. If, on the other hand, you *dislike* a party, give it a score between 0 and 50, where 0 indicates the least sympathy.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| | How many degrees? |
| A) Labour Party | |
| B) Progress Party | |
| C) Conservative Party | |
| D) Christian Democratic Party | |
| E) Centre Party | |
| F) Socialist Left Party | |
| G) Liberal Party | |

32. We have listed some possible government alternatives below. Which of the following alternatives do you prefer, and which would be your second choice?

NB: Please fill in two boxes only – one mark for your first choice and one for your second choice

- | | First
choice | Second
choice |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| A) A Labour Party government | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| B) A government with Labour and the Socialist Left Party | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| C) A government with Labour, the Centre Party and the Socialist Left party | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| D) A government with Labour and the Centre Party | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| E) A government with Labour and the Conservatives | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| F) A government with the Christian Democrats, the Liberals and the Centre Party | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| G) A government with the Christian Democrats, the Liberals, the Centre Party and the Conservatives | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| H) A government with the Christian Democrats, the Liberals and the Conservatives | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| I) A government with the Conservatives and the Progress Party | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| J) Other government alternatives | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |

Next we would like to ask some questions about your participation in organizations and other kinds of political activity.

33. Are you currently a member of any organizations, and – if so – do you hold any office(s) within these organizations at present, or did you hold such office previously?

	Member	Holds office	Member and held office previously
A) Organizations within agriculture, forestry or fisheries	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
B) Labour or professional organizations affiliated to the Confederation of Trade Unions	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
C) Labour or professional organizations <i>outside</i> the Confederation of Trade Unions	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
D) Employer or business organizations	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
E) Local residents' or community associations	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
F) Sport clubs and associations	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
G) Leisure or hobby organizations (music or cultural groups, historical or home crafts associations, hunting, angling or hiking associations, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
H) Religious and Christian organizations, missionary societies etc. (also Christian youth or women's organizations)	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
I) Other life stance associations (e.g. the Humanist Association)	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
J) Women's, housewives' and countrywomen's associations, feminist movement	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
K) Senior citizens' associations	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
L) Youth organizations, students' unions	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
M) Humanitarian organizations and charities (e.g. Save the Children, Red Cross, the Cancer Society, health related voluntary groups)	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
N) Teetotalist associations	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
O) Motorist associations	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
P) Linguistic organizations [for the 'nynorsk' or 'bokmål' forms of Norwegian]	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
Q) Organizations for EU membership	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
R) Organizations against EU membership	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
S) Environmental, ecology and conservation associations	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
T) Other internationally oriented organizations (e.g. Amnesty, solidarity movements)	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃
U) Other associations or organizations	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃

34. We may divide these organizations into three main groups. Please mark how often you, during *the last year*, were in contact (verbal or written) with one or more organizations within each group.

	More or less every week, or more often	More or less every month	A few times	Never
A) Trade unions, professional or industry organizations	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
B) Humanitarian and leisure organizations	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
C) Other issue-oriented interest organizations (e.g. environmental, women's, religious etc)	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄

35. Have you, during *the last four years* (since 1996), been involved in any citizens' initiatives or action groups aimed at influencing the political authorities?

IF NO: A) If you have *not* been involved in such citizens' initiatives or political action groups during *the last four years*, have you participated earlier?

- 1 Have been involved in such political action groups earlier, but not during the last four years
 2 No, I have *never* participated in such political action groups

IF YES: If you have been involved in such political action groups during *the last four years*, please indicate the subject of the action(s) and the way you participated.

	Signed a petition	Donated money	Took part in demon- stration, strike etc.	Was active in the action group
B) Community issues (e.g. traffic, noise, kindergartens, municipal planning)	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
C) Environmental protection, nature conservation	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
D) Attempts at providing or maintaining hospitals, schools, roads, airfields, jobs etc. in a district	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
E) School issues, as the role of Christianity in teaching, the use of grades, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
F) Linguistic issues [concerning the 'nynorsk' and 'bokmål' forms of Norwegian]	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
G) Women's rights, gender equality	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
H) Abortion, foetal diagnostics, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
I) Political actions concerning fisheries and agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
J) Government policies regarding prices, wages, taxation and excises	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
K) Issues regarding the EU and EEA	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
L) Other foreign policy issues	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
M) Immigration and integration of immigrants, multicultural issues	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
N) Other kinds of political actions	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄

36. If you have participated in citizens' initiatives or action groups: To what extent did these political actions deal with questions that you were occupied with also in party politics?

- 1 To a large extent
- 2 To some extent
- 3 Not at all

37. How often were you in contact (verbal or written) with the following institutions during the last year?

	More or less every week, or more often	More or less every month	A few times	Never
<i>A ministry</i>				
A) – contact mainly with the political staff	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
B) – contact mainly with the civil service	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
C) – about equal contact with both	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
D) <i>The county administration</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄
E) <i>The municipal administration</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄

38. Unless you are a member of the Parliament: How often were you, during the last year, in contact with any of the party's members of Parliament concerning issues before the Parliament?

- 1 More or less every week, or more often
- 2 More or less every month
- 3 A few times
- 4 Never

Finally, some questions about your own background.

39. What is your gender?

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

40. In what year were you born?

19

41. Do you have daily care (or joint custody) for children below 16 years of age?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

42. A) Where did you live most of the years growing up?

Name of municipality

If outside Norway, what country?

B) Where do you live now?

Name of municipality

43. What is your chief occupation at present?

Please fill in one box only. If you are currently on leave to hold an elected public office, please indicate the occupation you are on leave from.

- 1 Student, pupil, apprentice
- 2 Pensioner, retired from work, permanently sick or disabled, unemployed
- 3 Looking after home full-time
- 4 Farmer
- 5 Fisherman
- 6 Self-employed professional (e.g. lawyer, dentist, artist etc.)
- 7 Owner of enterprise, other self-employed
- 8 Ordinary worker
- 9 Skilled worker (also employed craftsman), foreman
- 10 Subordinate white-collar worker, e.g. in a shop, warehouse, office or public service
- 11 Employed professional within health services, social work and education (e.g. teacher, nurse, trained social worker)
- 12 Other employed professional (e.g. technician, engineer, economist)
- 13 Superior position in public or private sector (also managing director who don't own the enterprise)
- 14 Other occupation

44. If currently employed (or self-employed): Do you work in the private, public or voluntary sector?

If you are currently on leave to hold an elected public office, please indicate the occupation you are on leave from.

- 1 Private sector
- 2 Public sector
- 3 A voluntary organization (charitable organization, interest group, political party etc.)

45. What occupation did *the main breadwinner in your family* have when you grew up?

- 1 Farmer, forest owner
- 2 Smallholder
- 3 Fisherman, combined fisherman and smallholder
- 4 Worker, craftsman, sailor
- 5 Employed professional or white-collar worker in private sector (also managers who don't own the enterprise)
- 6 Subordinate white-collar worker in public sector
- 7 Employed professional (e.g. teacher, nurse, engineer, technician) in public sector
- 8 Superior position in public sector
- 9 Self-employed *with* hired labour
- 10 Self-employed *without* hired labour
- 11 Self-employed professional (e.g. lawyer, dentist, artist etc.)
- 12 Other occupation

46. Were/are your parents active in party politics?

Fill in more than one box, if appropriate.

	No, not a member	Member of same party as me	Member of another party	Had/has party office or public office
Mother	<input type="checkbox"/> _{A1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{A2}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{A3}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{B1}
Father	<input type="checkbox"/> _{C1}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{C2}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{C3}	<input type="checkbox"/> _{D1}

47. How much formal education have you completed?

Please indicate the highest level of education you have completed

- 1 Primary or lower secondary school, 'folk high school'
- 2 1–3 years of further education *beyond* lower secondary school
- 3 General or business studies at upper secondary school
- 4 2–3 years of further technical, commercial or vocational education beyond upper secondary school
- 5 University or college degree (undergraduate or graduate)

48. What was your own gross income last year? (i.e. your total personal income *before* tax).

- 1 No income
- 2 Under NOK 100,000
- 3 NOK 100,000–199,000
- 4 NOK 200,000–299,000
- 5 NOK 300,000–399,000
- 6 NOK 400,000–499,000
- 7 NOK 500,000 plus
- 8 I prefer not to give this information

Thank you very much for your help!