
KYSELYLOMAKE

Tämä kyselylomake on osa Yhteiskuntatieteelliseen tietoaarkistoon arkistoitua tutkimusaineistoa

FSD1195 Suomen EU-kansanäänestys 1994

Kyselylomaketta hyödyntävien tulee viitata siihen asianmukaisesti lähdeviitteellä.

Lisätiedot: <http://www.fsd.uta.fi/>

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of the following dataset, archived at the Finnish Social Science Data Archive:

FSD1195 EU Membership Referendum in Finland 1994

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THE EU-REFERENDUM 1994:1 (Pre-Election Study)

Respondent Number:

The Finnish Gallup interviews 1500 persons in the country. We conduct these interviews for a study by the Finnish Academy. The topic is the Finnish people's social participation and opinions on the referendum. The answers are needed for statistical analysis and they will remain absolutely confidential.

1. Which alternative on this card offers the best description of your current life situation? (CARD 1)

- | | | | |
|--|----|-----|------|
| salary or wage earner | 1 | --> | Q. 3 |
| self-employed on a farm, business enterprise, professional | 2 | --> | Q. 2 |
| unemployed | 3 | --> | Q. 4 |
| military service | 4 | --> | Q. 4 |
| student | 5 | --> | Q. 7 |
| old age pension | 6 | --> | Q. 4 |
| early retirement | 7 | --> | Q. 4 |
| homemaker | 8 | --> | Q. 7 |
| you do something else, what? _____ | 9 | --> | Q. 7 |
| can't say | 10 | | |

(ONLY IF SELF-EMPLOYED)

2. How many employees do you have?

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| No employees | 1 |
| 1-9 employees | 2 |
| 10 employees or more | 3 |
| Irrelevant | 4 |
| Can't say | 5 |

3. What is your main occupation now?

4. What was your occupation when you worked?

5. In which branch do you/did you work? (CARD 5)

- | | |
|---|----|
| Agriculture, forestry, fishing | 1 |
| Industry, handicraft, mining | 2 |
| Construction | 3 |
| Commerce | 4 |
| Banking, insurance and real estate | 5 |
| Private services (hotels, restaurants, hair dressers) | 6 |
| Transportation, mail and telecommunication | 7 |
| Municipal and state administration | 8 |
| Teaching and research | 9 |
| Public services (police, defence, health, church) ... | 10 |
| Other branch, which one? _____ | 11 |
| Irrelevant/ has not been actively employed | 12 |
| Can't say | 13 |

6. Which of these alternatives is the best description of your present or last employer? (CARD 6)

- the state 1
- municipality, municipal cooperation, parish 2
- state-owned company 3
- private manufacturing company 4
- private service company 5
- other private enterprise 6
- own farm 7
- own business 8
- something else, what? 9
- is not/has not been gainfully employed 10
- can't say 11

7. Are you:
- married? 1
 - living in permanent relationship? 2
 - single? 3
 - widowed? 4
 - divorced? 5

8. What is the occupation or the kind of work of your spouse/significant other? (IF RETIRED, WHAT WAS THE OCCUPATION)

9. Do you belong to an interest or trade organization? (CARD 9)

- SAK Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions 1
- AKAVA Central organization of Academically trained. 2
- White collar union - STTK 3
- MTK Agricultural Producers' Union 4
- SYKL Central Organization of Finnish Entrepreneurs. 5
- Other trade organization, which? 6
- Not unionized 7
- Can't say 8

IF A MEMBER

10. Are you now active in it or are you only a member?

- active 1
- only a member 2
- can't say 3

11. The following card lists some other organizations. Which ones do you belong to? (CARD 11)

	Not a member	Member only	Active member	Can't say
Party organization	1	2	3	4
Religious organization	1	2	3	4
Sports club	1	2	3	4
Women's organization	1	2	3	4
Philanthropic organization	1	2	3	4
Veterans' and reserve organization	1	2	3	4
Song, music, other cultural oganiz	1	2	3	4

12. Are there still other societies, in which you are just a member or an active member?

- no others 1
- others in which a member 2
- others in which an active member 3
- can't say 4

13. How interested are you in politics? Are you very interested, rather interested, not much interested or not at all interested?

- very interested 1
- rather interested 2
- not much interested 3
- not at all interested 4
- can't say 5

14. When discussing politics with people who disagree with you, have you tried to get them agree with you often, perhaps sometimes, or never?

- often 1
- sometimes 2
- never 3
- can't say 4

15. If you think about your political activity in general, and disregard activity which relates to membership in the European Union, have you during the past four years done some of the following, and if not, could you do so if the cause would be important for you? (CARD 15)

	Have done	Could do	Could not do	Can't say
Signed a petition, action campaign	1	2	3	4
Participated in a demonstration	1	2	3	4
Written about politics in a newspaper	1	2	3	4
Contacted a politician	1	2	3	4
Worn a political button	1	2	3	4
Attended a political meeting	1	2	3	4

16. Many people support some political party. Do you generally think of yourself as the supporter of some party?

- YES, IS A SUPPORTER 1 --> Q. 17
- NOT A SUPPORTER 2 --> Q. 18
- CAN'T SAY 3 --> Q. 18

17. What party are you a supporter of? (DO NOT READ THE NAMES OF THE PARTIES)

- Center Party 1
- SDP 2
- Conservative 3
- Left Wing Alliance 4
- The Green League 5
- Swedish People's Party 6
- Finnish Rural Party 7
- Christian League 8
- Liberal People's Party 9
- Other, Which one? 10
- No answer 11
- Irrelevant 12

18. This card presents a kind of measure of feelings. I shall mention various groups, one by one. If you have positive feelings toward the group, in other words if you like the group, then choose a number between one and plus five. If you do not like the group, then use the ratings from minus one to minus five. If your feelings are neither positive nor negative, you choose number 0. (SHOW CARD 18) (INTERVIEWER, WRITE THE CORRESPONDING CODE NUMBER FOR EACH QUESTION)

	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	
CODE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Dislike very much				I do not like nor dislike				Like very much			DK

First, various groups in our country:

The Church	—	—
The Parliament	—	—
Small entrepreneurs	—	—
Refugees	—	—
Feminist movement	—	—
The Police	—	—
Gypsies	—	—
Citizens' movements for EU membership	—	—
Citizens' movements against EU membership	—	—

Next, political parties in parliament from biggest to smallest:

Center Party	—	—
Social Democratic Party of Finland	—	—
National Coalition (Conservatives)	—	—
Left Wing Alliance	—	—
The Green League	—	—
Finnish Rural Party	—	—
Christian League of Finland	—	—
Liberal People's Party	—	—

Three more organizations:

Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions	—	—
Central Organization of Industry and Employers	—	—
Central Organization of Agricultural Producers	—	—

And finally, how would you rate your feelings towards some foreigners:

Norwegians	—	—
Swedes in Sweden	—	—
Germans	—	—
Frenchmen	—	—
Estonians	—	—
Poles	—	—
Russians	—	—
Americans	—	—

19. Now I'll read some opinions one hears people say. Tell me for each one whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly. (CARD 19)

	Agree strongly 1	Agree somewhat 2	Disagree somewhat 3	Disagree strongly 4	Both and 5	Can't say 6
Those who sit in the parliament making decisions, don't care much what ordinary people think	1	2	3	4	5	6
Parties are only interested in people's votes, not in their opinions	1	2	3	4	5	6
Through voting one can really influence things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
In Finland's present economic situation we must know how to cut down environmental demands	1	2	3	4	5	6
Society needs to control private business so that banks and industry do not become too powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6
People like me can vote but that is the only way we can have any say about politics	1	2	3	4	5	6
Immigration threatens seriously Finland's national identity	1	2	3	4	5	6
Finnish culture compares favorably in any field with the culture of other countries	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sometimes politics seems so complicated that I cannot quite understand what is going on	1	2	3	4	5	6
Real power in this country is used elsewhere and not in the parliament and government	1	2	3	4	5	6
In order to motivate people's initiative we have to accept larger income differences	1	2	3	4	5	6
Those we elect to parliament generally lose touch with the voters pretty quickly	1	2	3	4	5	6
In difficult times the most important thing is caring about the employment of the Finns	1	2	3	4	5	6
Whether Finland acts wisely or wrongly, I shall always be the side of my own country	1	2	3	4	5	6

20. Equality between women and men has been emphasized in recent years. Would you say that equality must be developed further, that it has been developed far enough, or that it has been pushed too far, or don't you have an opinion on this matter? (CARD 20)

Must be developed further	1
Has been developed far enough	2
Pushed too far	3
No opinion	4
Can't say	5

21. Next I'll read some suggestions that have been made in Finland. Tell me for each one, how you feel about it. (CARD 21)

Very good	Rather good	Neither good nor bad	Rather bad	Very bad	Can't say
1	2	3	4	5	6

Create a society which guards traditional Finnish values 1 2 3 4 5

Trim down the public sector 1 2 3 4 5

Invest in an environmentally friendly society even if it means slow or no economic growth. 1 2 3 4 5

Limit the right to free abortion 1 2 3 4 5

Raise the price of alcohol greatly in order to limit its misuse and damages caused by it 1 2 3 4 5

Create a society with fast economic growth and high productivity 1 2 3 4 5

Reduce aid to developing countries 1 2 3 4 5

Work toward a multi-cultural society in which people from other countries and other religions and other ways of life are also well tolerated .. 1 2 3 4 5

22. In general, how well do you trust Finnish politicians? Do you trust the politicians very much, rather much, rather little or very little?

very much	1
rather much	2
rather little	3
very little	4
can't say	5

23. Many people think that political parties can be ordered from left to right.

(a) This card offers a kind of left-right measure. Please place different parties on this scale. The more left you think a party is, the more left you choose a number. And the more right you feel a party is, the more right you choose a number. (CARD 23)

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
LEFT					NEITHER					RIGHT	Can't say

We start with Center Party. Where would you place Center Party?

Center party	— —
Social Democratic Party of Finland	— —
Conservative party	— —
Left wing alliance	— —
The Green league	— —

(b) And where would you place yourself on this scale?

The respondent — —

24. Parliament was last elected in 1991. Did you vote then?

Yes	1	
I'm not sure, but probably voted	2	
No, I did not vote	3	--> Q. 26
Don't know, does not want to answer	4	--> Q. 26
Did not have the right to vote	5	--> Q. 26

25. Which Party did you vote for? Just say the number on this card. (CARD 25)

Center Party	1
Social Democratic Party of Finland	2
National Coalition (Conservative)	3
Left Wing Alliance	4
The Green League	5
Swedish People's Party	6
Finnish Rural Party	7
Christian League	8
Liberal People's Party	9
Women's Movement	10
Finnish Pensioners' Party	11
Constitutional Party of Finland	12
Other, which one?	13
Does not remember	14
Does not want to say	15
Can't say	16

26. The president of the republic was elected last January and February.

a) Did you vote in the first round in January?

Yes, I voted	1
Dont't remember for sure, probably voted	2
I did not vote	3
Can't say, no answer	4

b) These were the eleven candidates (CARD 26). Whom did you vote for?

Elisabeth Rehn	2
Pekka Tiainen	3
Claes Andersson	4
Sulo Aittoniemi	5
Raimo Ilaskivi	6
Toimi Kankaanniemi	7
Paavo Väyrynen	8
Martti Ahtisaari	9
Pertti Virtanen	10
Eeva Kuuskoski	11
Keijo Korhonen	12
Did not vote	13
Don't remember	14
Does not want to say	15
Can't say	16

27. a) And did you vote in the second round in February?

Voted	1	--> Q. b
Probably voted	2	--> Q. b
Did not vote	3	--> Q. 28
Can't say	4	--> Q. 28

b) Which candidate did you then vote for: Martti Ahtisaari or Elisabeth Rehn?

Ahtisaari	1
Rehn	2
Did not vote	3
Does not remember	4
Does not want to say	5
Can't say	6

28. If there would be parliamentary elections tomorrow, which party would you probably vote for? Just say the number on this card. (CARD 28)

Center Party	1
SDP	2
Conservatives	3
Left Wing Alliance	4
Green League	5
Swedish People's Party	6
Finnish Rural party	7
Christian League	8
Liberal people's party	9
Womens' movement	10
Pensioners' party	11
Constitutional party	12
League for Free Finland	13
Other, which?	14
Would not vote	15 --> Q. 30
Does not want to say	16 --> Q. 30
Can't say	17 --> Q. 30

29. Are you a sure supporter of that party or is your preference not quite sure?

sure	1
not quite sure	2
can't say	3
irrelevant	4

30. This card lists four different goals for political activity. (CARD 30)

- A. Which goal seems most important to you?
 B. Which goal would be your second choice?
 C. Which goal seems third most important?

	A Most important	B Second	C Third
Maintain order	1	1	1
Give people more say in decision-making	2	2	2
Fight rising prices	3	3	3
Protect freedom of speech	4	4	4
Can't say	5	5	5

31.A. Which of these geographic areas would you say you most belong to?

B. And to which one do you belong second?

	First	Second
Home town/ municipality	1	1
District or province	2	2
Finland as a whole	3	3
The Nordic countries	4	4
Western Europe	5	5
The whole world	6	6
can't say	7	7

32. How proud are you to be Finnish? Are you very proud, rather proud, not quite proud, or not proud at all?

Very proud	1
Rather proud	2
Not quite proud	3
Not proud at all	4
can't say	5

33. If you compare your own financial situation with what it was two to three years ago, are you now better off, about the same, or are you worse off?

Better off	1
The same	2
Worse off	3
can't say	4

34. In your opinion, has the economy of Finland changed during the past two-three years? Has it improved, remained about the same, or has it become worse?

Has improved	1
The same	2
Has become worse	3
can't say	4

35. Looking ahead, how do you think your own financial situation will change during then next two to three years? Will you be better off, about the same, or worse off than now?

Will be better off	1
The same	2
Worse off	3
cant' say	4

36. How would you say Finland's economy will change during the next two to three years? Will it improve, will it remain about the same, or will it get worse?

Will improve	1
The same	2
Get worse	3
can't say	4

37. How would you say economy will change in the member countries of the European Union during the next two to three years? Will it improve, will it remain about the same, or will it get worse?

- Will improve 1
- The same 2
- Get worse 3
- can't say 4

38. If we become a member of the EU, would you say that your own financial situation would get better or worse than in case we stay outside the EU, or would that have no influence on your situation?

- Better 1
- No influence 2
- Worse 3
- can't say 4

39a. How often do you read articles and news about politics in the newspapers? (CARD 39)

- Never 1
- Now and then 2
- 1-2 days a week 3
- 3-5 days a week 4
- 6-7 days a week 5
- can't say 6

39b. And how often do you read foreign news? (CARD 39)

- Never 1
- Now and then 2
- 1-2 days a week 3
- 3-5 days a week 4
- 6-7 days a week 5
- can't say 6

40. Which newspapers do you read regularly? (NOTE MAX 3 PAPERS)

- 1. paper _____ 1
- 2. paper _____ 2
- 3. paper _____ 3
- No newspaper 4

41. How many days a week do you usually watch the YLE tv-news, either on channel 2 at 18:30 or channel 1 at 20:30? (CARD 41)

- Never 1
- Now and then 2
- 1-2 times a week 3
- 3-5 times a week 4
- 6-7 times a week 5
- Can't say 6

42. How many days a week do you usually watch the news by MTV, in other words the seven o'clock news or the ten o'clock news?

- Never 1
- Now and then 2
- 1-2 times a week 3
- 3-5 times a week 4
- 6-7 times a week 5
- Can't say 6

43. How many days a week do you watch tv's A-studio or other current affairs program?

- Never 1
- Now and then 2
- 1-2 days a week 3
- 3-5 days a week 4
- 6-7 days a week 5
- Can't say 6

44. How many days a week do you usually listen to YLE's radio news?

- Never 1
- Now and then 2
- 1-2 days a week 3
- 3-5 days a week 4
- 6-7 days a week 5
- Can't say 6

45. How often do you discuss politics with other people: do you discuss very often, rather often, rather seldom, or hardly ever?

- very often 1
- rather often 2
- rather seldom 3
- hardly ever 4
- can't say 5

46. What basis has the mass media's EU content provided to you to decide your own opinion on the EU question? Have the media provided a very good, fair, bad or very bad basis on which to make up your mind about the EU-issue?

- very good 1
- fairly good 2
- bad 3
- very bad 4
- can't say 5

47. How important to you is Finland's decision to join or not to join the European Union? Is it the most important decision of our country in many decades, one important thing among others, or does it not have much importance?

- The most important decision 1
- Important among others 2
- Not much importance 3
- can't say 4

48. Had it been better if the government and parliament would have made the decision on Finland's EU membership without a referendum, or is it the right thing to organize a referendum in this case?

- Government and parliament should have decided .. 1
- Referendum is the right thing 2
- can't say 3

49. In your opinion, should the politicians follow the result of the referendum, or would you also let the parliament decide the other way?

- Follow the result 1
- Parliament can decide 2
- can't say 3

50. Opinions differ on the EU issue. When thinking about your closest friends and your family, are they generally for or against membership, or are both opinions about equally represented, or do they not have any opinion so far?

- For membership 1
- Against membership 2
- Equal opinions 3
- No opinion 4
- can't say 5

51. How often have you discussed the EU issue with your family and friends? Would you say you have discussed very often, rather often, seldom, or hardly ever?

- very often 1
- rather often 2
- seldom 3
- hardly ever 4
- can't say 5

52. And when you think about the feelings where you spend your daytime (at work, school etc.), are it Yes or No to the EU, does one hear both opinions about equally much, or are people uncertain?

- mostly Yes 1
- mostly No 2
- equally much 3
- uncertain 4
- can't say 5

53. How often have you discussed the EU issue with you workmates or fellow students? Would you say you have discussed very often, rather often, seldom, or hardly ever?

- very often 1
- rather often 2
- seldom 3
- hardly ever 4
- don't meet other people (DO NOT READ) .. 5
- can't say 6

54. When you have talked about the EU issue with people who don't agree with you, have you tried to influence their opinion often, sometimes, or never?

- often 1
- sometimes 2
- never 3
- can't say 4

55. How much does the EU issue interest you? Are you very interested, rather interested, not much interested, or not at all interested?

- very interested 1
- rather interested 2
- not much interested 3
- not at all interested 4
- can't say 5

56. How well would you say you know things which relate to the EU membership: very well, rather well, rather poorly, or very poorly?

- very well 1
- rather well 2
- rather poorly 3
- very poorly 4
- can't say 5

57. Are you in favor of Finland's membership in the EU or against it, or have you not decided?

- In favor 1 --> Q. 58
- Against 2 --> Q. 58
- Not decided 3 --> Q. 62 a and b
- Can't say 4 --> Q. 63

58. Do you have a sure opinion or are you uncertain?

- Sure opinion 1
- Uncerertain 2
- Can't say 3

59. What are the most important reasons for your opinion on the EU? Would you like to mention other reasons?

60. Do you also think there are reasons for the opposite opinion, or are there no important counter-arguments?

- Also reasons for the other opinion .. 1 --> Q. 61 a and b
- No important counter-arguments 2 --> Q. 63
- can't say 3 --> Q. 63

(FOR Q. 57 SUPPORTERS, WHO THINK THE OTHER SIDE HAS REASONS:)

61a. What do you think are the most important reasons why Finland should not join the EU?
Would you like to mention other reasons? (THEN GO TO Q. 63)

(FOR Q. 57 OPPONENTS, WHO THINK THE OTHER SIDE HAS REASONS:)

61b. What do you think are the most important reasons why Finland ought to join the EU?
Would you like to mention other reasons? (THEN GO TO Q. 63)

(Q. 62a AND 62b ONLY FOR THOSE WHO HAVE NOT DECIDED, Q. 57:3)

62a. What reasons support the membership?

62b. And what reasons speak against membership?

63. Please look at the card and tell how important your relationship to the following persons and institutions has been for your own EU-opinion. Let us start with the family. Has the family influenced your EU-opinion very much, rather much, not much, or not at all? (READ OUT THE PERSONS AND INSTITUTIONS) (CARD 63)

NAME THE PERSONS AND INSTITUTIONS:	Very much	Rather much	Not much	Not at all	DK
Your family	1	2	3	4	5
Closest friends	1	2	3	4	5
Workmates/ fellow students	1	2	3	4	5
The party you support	1	2	3	4	5
The newspaper you read	1	2	3	4	5
Television	1	2	3	4	5
The campaign for EU membership	1	2	3	4	5
The campaign against EU membership	1	2	3	4	5
General information about the EU	1	2	3	4	5
Position taken by the SAK (Central Federation of Trade Unions)	1	2	3	4	5
Position taken by the MTK (Agricultural Producer's Union)...	1	2	3	4	5

64. Many reasons have been publicly mentioned why we should join the EU or why we should stay outside. I'll now read such arguments and I ask you to say for each one, does it sound like a very good, good, bad, or very bad argument, or is the argument neither good nor bad? (CARD 64)

	Very good	Good	Neither	Bad	Very bad	DK
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Membership in the EU weakens our own ability to control the economy of our country.....	1	2	3	4	5	6
Working for the equality of women and men becomes more difficult, if we are an EU member	1	2	3	4	5	6
Business wants the EU-membership in order to get rid of political guidance and control	1	2	3	4	5	6
Membership in the EU means giving away our national independence	1	2	3	4	5	6
The only way to solve environmental problems is cooperation in the EU	1	2	3	4	5	6
Membership in the EU helps to strengthen our national defence	1	2	3	4	5	6

We must become a member of the EU in order to secure our place in the Western world 1 2 3 4 5 6

The use of power in Brussels is so distant that in the EU ordinary Finns would lose their possibility to influence how things are run .. 1 2 3 4 5 6

As EU-members we get more real influence on our future that we would have if we stay outside.. 1 2 3 4 5 6

Membership in the EU means hard times for our country, but life outside would be even more difficult. 1 2 3 4 5 6

It is useless to oppose the EU-membership, because Finland will join in any case 1 2 3 4 5 6

65. How do you suppose Finland's membership in the EU would influence the development of our country in the following fields / following things? (CARD 65)

	Improves much	Improves somewhat	Neither	Makes a bit worse	Makes much worse	Can't say
	1	2	3	4	5	6
The environment	1	2	3	4	5	6
The economy	1	2	3	4	5	6
Employment	1	2	3	4	5	6
Agriculture	1	2	3	4	5	6
Social security	1	2	3	4	5	6
Equality between men and women	1	2	3	4	5	6
Military security	1	2	3	4	5	6
National independence	1	2	3	4	5	6
Possibility to influence EU's development	1	2	3	4	5	6
Life situation of the Finns as a whole	1	2	3	4	5	6

66. How do the following things influence your own opinion about Finland's membership in the EU? (CARD 66)

1 Adds significantly to my support for membership						
2 Adds somewhat to support for membership						
3 Neither adds nor decreases						
4 Decreases somewhat my support for membership						
5 Decreases significantly support for membership						
6 Can't say						
Freedom of travel of EU citizens inside the EU	1	2	3	4	5	6
Possibility of EU citizens to choose freely their place of residence inside the EU	1	2	3	4	5	6
Better possibilities for EU citizens to study in other EU countries	1	2	3	4	5	6
Opportunities for export industry	1	2	3	4	5	6
Opportunities for our agriculture	1	2	3	4	5	6
Food quality and food prizes	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quality and prize of home appliances and vehicles, durable goods in general	1	2	3	4	5	6
Employment situation in Finland	1	2	3	4	5	6
Internal security, general order in Finland ..	1	2	3	4	5	6

Common foreign and security policy which will be applied in the European Union 1 2 3 4 5 6
 The aim of the EU to develop a common defence policy and, further, a common defence 1 2 3 4 5 6
 Finland's possibilities to take part in the decisions and in the formulation of directives in the European Union 1 2 3 4 5 6
 Impact on Finland of EU decisions and directives 1 2 3 4 5 6

67. In political discussions, different suggestions have been made about Finland's future relationship with the European Union. Which of these suggestions is closest to your own opinion? (CARD 67)

Finland does not join the EU and the EEA treaty is nullified 1
 Finland does not join the EU but the EEA treaty remains 2
 Finland joins the EU, but abstains from things such as defence cooperation and common currency 3
 Finland joins the EU as a member and agrees to accept the goals approved by it (The Maastricht treaty) 4
 Finland joins the EU and works toward the unification of EU members states as the United States of Europe 5
 Other answer, which? 6
 Can't say 7

68. We wish you would place the political parties on this scale according to their position on the EU issue. (SHOW CARD 68)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Strictly against EU membership Neither for nor against Strictly for EU membership Can't say

Let us again start with Center Party. Where on the scale would you place Center Party?

Center Party — —
 Social Democratic Party of Finland — —
 National Coalition Party (Conservatives) — —
 Left Wing Alliance — —
 The Green League — —
 Swedish People's Party — —
 Finnish Rural Party — —
 Christian League — —

69. In addition to the parties, many others have appeared in the campaign about Finland's EU membership. We want you to place some of those also on the same scale.

Central Organization of Industry and Employers — —
 Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions — —
 Central Organization of Agricultural Producers — —

70. Where on the scale would you place yourself?

Respondent himself/herself — —

71. Are you going to participate in the referendum on Finland's EU membership?

Yes 1
 Possibly 2
 Not going to vote 3
 Can't say 4

72. In connection with the present EU campaign, have you done any of the following, and if not, could you do so? (CARD 72)

	Have done	Could do	Could not do	Can't say
Signed a petition, action campaign	1	2	3	4
Participated in a demonstration	1	2	3	4
Written in a newspaper	1	2	3	4
Contacted a politician	1	2	3	4
Worn a campaign sign or button	1	2	3	4
Attended information or campaign meeting	1	2	3	4

73. Do you happen to remember, does the EU now have 6, 9, 12, or 15 member states?

6 states 1
 9 states 2
 12 states 3
 15 states 4
 Can't say 5

74. Do you know in which city the EU commission is located: is it in Paris, Strassbourg, Bonn or Brussels?

Paris 1
 Strassbourg 2
 Bonn 3
 Brussels 4
 Can't say 5

75. Do you remember how many representatives Finland gets in the EU parliament if our country becomes a member of EU: will Finland get 12, 16, 20, or 24 representatives?

12 representatives 1
 16 2
 20 3
 24 4
 Can't say 5

76. Finland is one of four countries which make a decision this year about membership in the EU. What are the three other countries?

Sweden was mentioned 1
 Norway was mentioned 2
 Austria was mentioned 3
 Some other was mentioned 4
 Two others were mentioned 5
 Can't say 6

77. The Austrians voted on their country's membership in June already. As you recall, which side won the Austrian referendum?

Yes (Supporters of membership) won ... 1
 No (Opponents of membership) won 2
 Can't say 3

78. What do you predict will be the result of the Finnish referendum? How many percent Yes-votes is there going to be?

1 "Yes" will get about _____ percent of the votes
 2 Can't say

I'LL STILL ASK SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT SECURITY

79. If you think about the present world situation as a whole, do you think Finland and the Finns will live during the next five years in a more secure or less secure world than now?

In a more secure world 1
 Less secure 2
 Will not differ from the present . 3
 Can't say 4

80. How do you think the following phenomena or factors will influence the security of Finland and the Finns? (CARD 80)

1 Increases security significantly
 2 Increases security to some extent
 3 Neither increases nor reduces
 4 Reduces security to some extent
 5 Reduces security significantly
 6 Can't say

Unification of Europe	1	2	3	4	5	6
Nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union	1	2	3	4	5	6
Nuclear power in Finland's energy production	1	2	3	4	5	6
Increased Russian military transferred near Finland from Central Europe and the Baltic states	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unemployment in Finland	1	2	3	4	5	6

81. In your opinion, how well or poorly has Finland's foreign policy been handled? (CARD 81)

Very well 1
 Rather well 2
 Rather poorly 3
 Very poorly 4
 Can't say 5

82. What do you think about Finland's policy of neutrality? Has the importance of neutrality for Finland decreased, remained the same, or increased in recent times? (CARD 82)

Importance of neutrality has decreased 1
 Importance of neutrality has remained the same 2
 Importance of neutrality has increased 3
 Can't say 4

83a. Which of the following basic defence policies is best for Finland? (CARD 83) (ONLY ONE ALTERNATIVE)

b) And which is the second best alternative?
 c) And which is the worst alternative?
 d) And which is the next worst alternative?

	a	b	c	d
Remain outside military alliances, own defence	1	1	1	1
Defence alliance and common defence with Sweden	2	2	2	2
During war only a joint defence with western armies	3	3	3	3
Western defence cooperation already at peacetime with Western troops and bases in Finland	4	4	4	4
During war only a joint defence with Russia	5	5	5	5
Can't say	6	6	6	6

84. If there would be an attack on Finland, should the Finns defend themselves militarily in all situations, even if the result would seem uncertain?

Yes 1
 No 2
 Can't say 3

85. What is your opinion about the funds granted for the defence forces? (CARD 85)

Should be increased considerably 1
 Should be increased to some extent ... 2
 Should be kept the same 3
 Should be reduced to some extent 4
 Should be reduced considerably 5
 Can't say 6

WE SHALL BRIEFLY RETURN TO THE REFERENDUMS IN A MORE GENERAL WAY

86. Should we have more referendums in the future, should they be arranged very seldom, or is it unnecessary in your opinion to have any referendums at all?

More referendums 1
 Arrange referendums very seldom 2
 No referendums at all 3
 Can't say 4

87. If there will be referendums in the future, should they in general bind the parliament or should they be advisory?

Binding 1
 Advisory 2
 Can't say 3

88. What is your mother tongue?

Finnish 1
 Swedish 2
 Other 3

89. The next question concerns language capability. Can you read a newspaper in another language than your mother tongue? (CARD 89)

Can you read:	Fluently	Somehow	No	DK
Finnish? (NOT FOR FINNISH SPEAKERS)	1	2	3	4
Swedish? (NOT FOR SWEDISH SPEAKERS)	1	2	3	4
English?	1	2	3	4
German?	1	2	3	4
French?	1	2	3	4
Spanish?	1	2	3	4
Other language, what? _____	1	2	3	4

90. How much do you and your spouse earn? We mean income before taxes. Just give the appropriate number on this card. (CARD 90)

Below 60,000	Below 5,000	1
60,001 - 90,000	5,001 - 7,500	2
90,001 - 120,000	7,501 - 10,000	3
129,001 - 150,000	10,001 - 12,500	4
150,001 - 180,000	12,501 - 15,000	5
180,001 - 210,000	15,001 - 17,500	6
210,001 - 240,000	17,501 - 20,000	7
240,001 - 270,000	20,001 - 22,500	8
270,001 - 300,000	22,501 - 25,000	9
Over 300,000	Over 25,000	10
	No answer	11

91. What is your basic education? (CARD 91)

Elementary school or part of it ..	1
Some secondary school	2
Secondary school	3
High school or part of it	4
Matriculation examination	5
Other, what? _____	6

92. And what is your vocational education? (CARD 92)

No vocational training	1
Short vocational training	2
First level trade school	3
Secondary level trade school	4
University graduate	5
Some other, what? _____	6

93. What kind of family did you live in when you were ten to eighteen years old? Which of these describes the family best? (CARD 93)

Worker's family	1
Functioneer's family	2
Academically educated family	3
Farming family	4
Fisherman's family	5
Self-employed craftsman's family ..	6
Business owner's family	7
Cannot say	8
Irrelevant question	9

94. What is your year of birth?

95. Your sex?

Male	1
Female	2

96. District of residence? (NOT TO BE ASKED)

Uusimaa	1
Turku and Pori	2
Häme	3
Kymi	4
Mikkeli	5
Kuopio	6
Keski-Suomi (Central Finland)	7
Vaasa	8
Pohjois-Karjala (North Karelia) ..	9
Oulu	10
Lappi (Lapland)	11

97. This study still involves a short ten-minute telephone interview after the middle of October. May I contact you by telephone when it is time for a second interview?

(REMEMBER TO WRITE DOWN NAME, ADDRESS, TELEPHONE NUMBER AND RESPONDENT NUMBER IN THE SEPARATE CONTROL SHEET)

Yes	1
No	2

IF R. DOES NOT WANT THE SECOND INTERVIEW

98. Could you tell me, why not?

99. Thank you for your cooperation. Would you finally want to say something about this interview or study in general?

Respondent's place of residence (municipality) _____

Postal ZIP code _____

Date of interview _____

Name of interviewer _____

Length of interview _____ minutes

Respondent number

Good evening. I am the interviewer from Finnish Gallup. We interviewed you before the EU referendum on ___ on behalf of the study of the Finnish Academy. Thank you for participating in the referendum study. Now we come back to it with a brief ten minute interview. I trust you remember how we agreed to conduct this interview. May we now proceed and ask a few questions.

- Yes
- Maybe later.....
- No
- There was no personal interview ...

1. During the last week before actual voting day television showed on Wednesday the "Third round about the EU" on MTV 3 and on Thursday the "EU debate of the A-Studio". Did you watch the MTV "Third Round" or the debate of the A-Studio?

- Watched both
- MTV on Wednesday
- A-Studio on Thursday
- Neither one
- Can't say

2. Who were in your opinion the best discussants in those programs/ that program?

- Open answer, what? _____
- Can't say

3. In many connections we heard politicians and other well known persons express opinions about membership in the European Union. Can you think of persons whose public appearance was especially convincing?

- Yes
- No
- Can't say

4. Who were such persons?

- Convincing persons, who? _____
- Can't say

5. Did you vote in advance or on actual voting day or did you not vote this time?

- Voted in advance
- Voted on voting day (Oct. 16)
- Did not vote
- No answer

IF VOTED:

6. Did you vote for Yes or for No as to joining the EU?

- Voted Yes
- Voted No
- Left a blank ballot
- Refuses to tell
- Can't say
- Did not vote

7. How easy or difficult was it for you to choose, which side to vote for? Was your choice VERY EASY, RATHER EASY, RATHER DIFFICULT or VERY DIFFICULT? (Read out alternatives 1 to 4)

- Very easy
- Rather easy
- Rather difficult
- Very difficult
- Can't say

8. And when did you decide how to vote? Did you decide just on the day you voted, during the week before voting, about a month earlier, sometimes during the summer, or did you already have a clear opinion long ago?

- On the day of voting
- The week before
- A month earlier
- During the summer
- Long ago
- Can't say

IF VOTED YES:

9. What were the most important reasons why you voted Yes for the EU membership?

- Open answer, what? _____
- Can't say

IF VOTED NO:

10. What were the most important reasons, why you voted No for the EU membership?

- Open answer, what? _____
- Can't say

IF DID NOT VOTE:

11. However, supposing that you would have voted, which side would you probably have voted for?

- Yes
- No
- Can't say

12. Why did you not vote?

- Open answer, what? _____
- Can't say

13. How often did you discuss the referendum with other people? Did you discuss it OFTEN, SELDOM, or HARDLY AT ALL?

- Often
- Seldom
- Hardly at all
- Can't say

14. When you talked about the EU issue with people who had a different opinion, did you try to influence their opinion OFTEN, SOMETIMES, or NEVER?

- Often
- Sometimes
- Never
- Can't say

15. If we think about feelings before the referendum, how important was it for you which side will win and which side will lose? Was it a VERY IMPORTANT MATTER for you, RATHER IMPORTANT, did you care TO SOME EXTENT, ONLY A LITTLE, or NOT AT ALL?

- Very important matter
- Rather important
- Cared to some extent
- Cared a little
- Not at all
- Can't say

16. In your opinion, did the campaign bring out well enough the differences between the two alternatives?

- Differences were brought out
- Differences were not brought out
- Can't say

17. In your opinion, were the media in favor of the supporters or the opponents of EU membership, or were both treated equally?

- In favor of supporters
- In favor of opponents
- Equally
- Can't say

18. Do you think that Finland's EU referendum was conducted in a rightful manner, or were perhaps the supporters or the opponents favored too much?

- In a rightful manner
- Supporters were favored
- Opponents were favored
- Can't say

19. In general, how much do you trust the Finnish politicians? Do you trust them VERY MUCH, RATHER MUCH, RATHER LITTLE, or HARDLY AT ALL?

- Very much
- Rather much
- Rather little
- Hardly at all
- Can't say

20. Had it been better, after all, if the government and parliament would have decided on Finland's EU-membership without this referendum, or was it the right thing to arrange a referendum?

- Government and parliament should have decided
- Referendum was the right thing
- Can't say

21. And should the politicians in your opinion follow the result of the referendum or would you also let the parliament decide against the referendum's outcome?

Follow the result
Parliament can decide
Can't say

22. Finally a question about political parties. If we would have parliament elections tomorrow, which party would you probably vote for?

Center Party
SDP
Conservatives
Left Wing Alliance
Green League
Swedish People's Party
Finnish Rural Party
Christian League
Liberal People's Party
Other, what? _____
Refuses to say
Can't say
Would not vote

23. Would you like to say something about this interview or study?

Yes, the comments: _____
No comments, can't say

24. This concludes our interview. If the Finnish Gallup would like to interview you once more in December for approximately five to ten minutes about your opinions on Finland's security policy, would you still agree to such an interview?

Yes
No

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW _____

WE THANK YOU FOR YOUR VALUABLE COOPERATION. MY NAME IS -----
AND THIS INTERVIEW WAS MADE FROM THE INTERVIEW CENTER OF THE
FINNISH GALLUP. HAVE A NICE EVENING.