

Comparative Candidate Survey (CCS)

Initiated by the *Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung* (MZES), CCS is a response to the growing number of candidate surveys in the Anglo-saxon world and beyond. More or less regular candidate surveys are done in Australia, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the UK, and the US.

The rationale of CCS is to harmonise these dispersed efforts and give them a cross-nationally comparable core. A draft of such a core questionnaire is proposed here. It focuses on the relationships between the candidate, the party and the voters. Campaigning is a major topic in this core questionnaire, but other domains like recruitment and carrier patterns, issues and ideology, and democracy and representation are also developed. Many questions are drawn from existing questionnaires – the Australian, the British, the Dutch etc. Some are newly developed. Perhaps not least important is that this draft core questionnaire is indeed a core, and a short core for that matter – only 11 pages long. This is to say that there will be ample room for national-specific additional questions.

Colleagues who take an interest in this comparative study are invited to participate in an international questionnaire finalisation conference to be convened at the MZES in Mannheim, most likely in March 2006. At this point in time, some first empirical evidence will already be available as the draft core questionnaire will be piloted in Germany after the federal election of September 18, 2005.

It is hoped that this CCS will be realised in quite a number of countries. In terms of operational procedure, the following is proposed: Colleagues who use the CCS core questionnaire as a platform for their national candidate survey will send the data (properly coded and labeled in English) to the MZES in Mannheim and get all the other national data-files in return. At some later stage, the MZES intends to prepare an integrated data-file and make it freely available to all research teams involved.

Mannheim, August 2005

Thomas Gschwend

Hermann Schmitt

Andreas M. Wüst

Thomas Zittel

CCS Questionnaire

Version August 26, 2005

A: Political Background and Activities

A1. What is your party?

| Party A | Party B | Party C | Party D | Party E | other * | none |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (8) | (9) |

* if other: please specify: _____

A2. In what year did you join this party?

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|

A3. Where you ever a member of another party? If so, which party or parties?

no

(1)

yes

(2)

If yes: please specify:

A4. In which years have you stood as a candidate for the [national parliament] and have you been elected in those years? *(Tick as many as apply.)*¹

| | 2005 | 2002 | 1998 | 1994 | 1990 | earlier |
|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| candidate | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| elected | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |

A5. Before becoming a candidate for the [national parliament], were you ever employed in a State or Federal MPs or minister's office?

no

(1)

yes

(2)

If yes: for how many years?

_____ years

A6. Were you ever employed as a party official?

no

(1)

yes

(2)

If yes: for how many years?

_____ years

A7. Are you a member of any of the organisations or associations listed below? If so, how often have you attended any meetings in the past 12 months?

| | member? | how many meetings have you attended in the last 12 months | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | yes | None | 1 or 2 during the year | about 1 every 3 months | about 1 in a month | about 1 in a week |
| union | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| professional association | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| interest group, citizen action group | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| sports club | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| cultural organisation | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| religious organisation | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| social organisation | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| hobbies group (chess, choir, etc.) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | (8) | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |

A8. Please indicate for how many years you have ... (please print "0" for never)²

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| held local party office | ___ years |
| held regional party office | ___ years |
| held national party office | ___ years |

A9. And for how many years have you been a ... (please print "0" for never)³

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| mayor | ___ years |
| member of a regional government | ___ years |
| member of a national government | ___ years |
| member of a local assembly | ___ years |
| member of a regional assembly | ___ years |
| member of the European Parliament | ___ years |

A10. Do you live in your constituency?

no **yes** **If yes:**
 for how many years have you been living there:
 (1) (2) _____ years

A11. Have you ever been active in a different constituency (we mean “really different”, i.e. not redrawn)? Have you ...

| | no | yes (please fill in from year to year) | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|--|----------|-----|
| ... been a candidate? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ...from: | to: |
| ... held a local party office? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ...from: | to: |
| ...been a member of a local assembly? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ...from: | to: |
| ... been mayor? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ...from: | to: |
| | (1) | (2) | | |

A12. Outside the election campaign, about how much time do you usually devote to party activities in an average month?

| no time | up to 10 hours | 10 to 20 hours | 20 to 40 hours | more than 40 hours |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |

B: Campaigning

B1. How long before the election ... ?

| | more than 12 months | more than 9 months | more than 6 months | more than 3 months | less than 3 months |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| ...have you been nominated by your party? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ...did you begin organising your campaign? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ...did you start campaigning full-time? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | (1) | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |

B2. About how much time did you devote to campaigning per week during the last month before the election?

_____ hours

B3. During this final month of the campaign, how many hours per week did you **personally** spend on the following campaign activities? (please tick one box in each row)

| | no time | - 2 hrs | 2 - 5 | 5-10 | 10- 15 | 15- 20 | 20 + hrs |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| doorknocking, canvassing | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| calling up voters on the phone | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| direct mailing | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| debating with competing candidates in public | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| providing information and communicating via the internet | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| meeting local party members | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| | no time | - 2 hrs | 2 - 5 | 5-10 | 10- 15 | 15- 20 | 20 + hrs |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| meeting national party officials | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| visiting national events in business, sports and culture | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| visiting local events in business, sports and culture | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| attending fund raising events | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| appointments with companies in constituency | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| appointments with associations and clubs in constituency | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| organising and joining large rallies in the constituency | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| local and regional newspaper interviews | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| national newspaper interviews | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| local and regional radio and TV interviews | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| national radio and TV interviews | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| other campaign activities | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |

B4. How important were the following means for your campaign?

| <i>(tick one box in each row)</i> | not at all important | not very important | fairly important | very important |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| personal campaign posters | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| personal ads in the local press | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| office hours | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| social gatherings | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| personal flyers | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| personal spots in radio, TV, and movie houses | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| personal website | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |

B4a. Did your personal campaign produce any of the above campaign means independently from your party? If so, which ones?

B5. What was the primary aim of your campaign? Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means "to attract as much attention as possible for me as a candidate" and 10 means "to attract as much as possible attention for my party"? *(Tick just one box.)*

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| attract as much attention as possible for me | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | attract as much attention as possible for my party |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | |

B6. Did you raise any issues during your campaign that were specific to your constituency and that were not raised by the national or regional party?

| no | yes |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) |

IF YES: which one(s)? ⁴

B7. Independent of your party's webpage, did you as a candidate make use of the internet to reach voters? (Tick as many as apply.)

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| a. I had an own webpage which was largely designed and maintained by the party | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. I had an own webpage which was largely designed and maintained by my local campaign | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. I used mailing lists to distribute information and organise activities | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. I offered a personal campaign spot on the web | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. I conducted a number of online chats with voters | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. I advertised my webpage and/or email address on campaign literature | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. I used a blog during my campaign | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | (1) |

B8. Which of the following did you emphasise most in your campaign? Which second most? Which third most? (Please rank three most important by putting the numbers 1, 2, and 3 in a box each).

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| a. the economic well-being of the constituency | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. policy demands and needs of the voters in the constituency | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. my openness and transparency when elected | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. my local identity | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. my political experience | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. the programme of my party | <input type="checkbox"/> |

B9. How large was your campaign team and how many of these people were employed by your party?

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|--------|
| campaign team total | ___ | people |
| team members employed by party | ___ | people |

B10. Did you employ any professional consultant in your campaign? If so, what for?

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| no | yes | If yes: please specify: ⁵ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| (1) | (2) | |

B11. Thinking about your campaign budget, what would be your best estimate (including party funds, donations, and private funds)?

_____ Euro

B12. What portion of that sum came from the party, from donations, and from your own private funds?

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| a. party funds | approx. _____ percent |
| b. donations | approx. _____ percent |
| c. private funds | approx. _____ percent |

B13. Did party leadership visit in your constituency during the campaign?

| No | yes, once | yes, more than once |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) |

B14. How easy was it for you to receive media coverage for your campaign?

| very easy | fairly easy | not very easy | not easy at all |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |

B15. If you think back to the last few days ahead of the election, how did you evaluate your chances to win the mandate?

| I thought I could not win | I thought I could hardly win | I thought it was an open race | I thought I could hardly lose | I thought I could not lose |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |

B16. Given the election result: How many percentage points of the vote share do you attribute to your own personal campaign effort?

_____ percentage points

C: Issues and Policies

C1. In your opinion, what are three most important political problems facing [country] today? *(Please write in.)*⁶

The most important problem is: _____

The second most important is: _____

The third most important is: _____

C3. People hold different views on political issues. What do you think of the following?⁷

| <i>(tick one box in each row.)</i> | strongly agree | agree | neither | disagree | strongly disagree |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of [country]. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Politics should abstain from intervening in the economy. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| The law should recognize same-sex marriages. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Women should be given equal treatment when applying for jobs and promotions. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Providing a stable network of social security should be the prime goal of government. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary people. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Our democracy needs serious reform. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Immigrants are good for [country's] economy. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| [Country] should provide military assistance to the war on terrorism. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Individual rights and the freedom of citizens should be respected under all circumstances. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| The opening of world markets should be promoted to the benefit of all. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |

C2. In politics, people sometimes talk about the 'left' and the 'right'. Where would you place your own views on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the most left and 10 means the most right?
(Tick just one box.)

| left | | | | | | | | | | right |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (0) | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |

C2a. Using the same scale, where would you place your party?
(Tick just one box.)

| left | | | | | | | | | | right |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (0) | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |

C7. Generally speaking, do you think that [country's] membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad? *(tick one box only)*⁸

| a good thing | a bad thing | neither good nor bad |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) |

C8. Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion? (*tick one box only*)

| has already gone too far | | | | | | | should be pushed further | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (0) | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |

C9. All in all, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in the European Union?

| very satisfied | fairly satisfied | not very satisfied | not at all satisfied |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |

C10. Should the EU be enlarged to include more countries?

| yes definitely | yes probably | undecided | no probably not | no definitely not |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |

IF YES (definitely and probably): Which further countries should be admitted?

D: Democracy and Representation

D1. On the whole are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in [country]?

| very satisfied | fairly satisfied | not very satisfied | not at all satisfied |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |

D2. Thinking about how elections in [country] work in practice, how well do you think they ensure that the views of MPs accurately reflect the views of voters?

| very well | fairly well | not very well | not well at all |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |

D3. There are different opinions about whom an elected member of parliament should primarily represent. What is your opinion? (*tick one box only!*)⁹

| own voters in the constituency | all citizens in the constituency | all voters of own party | members of a social group | the [country] citizenry at large |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |

D4. There are also different views about what an elected member of parliament should primarily do for his or her constituency. What is your opinion? (*tick one box only!*)¹⁰

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Provide services and help individuals with practical problems | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Advocate the policy demands of the voters in the constituency | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Take care of the economic well-being of the constituency | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Be open to the voters in the constituency and communicate extensively | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Express local customs and traditions | <input type="checkbox"/> |

D5. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements on democracy?

| <i>(tick one box in each row.)</i> | strongly agree | agree | neither | disagree | strongly disagree |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Citizens have ample opportunity to participate in political decisions. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Our democracy is about to lose the trust of the citizens. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Legislation reflects the interests of the majority of citizens. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Political parties are the essential link between citizens and the state. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Legislation depends too much on a few special interests. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Legislation raises too many obstacles to the political majority. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |

D6. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements on direct democracy?¹¹

| <i>(tick one box in each row!)</i> | strongly agree | agree | neither | disagree | strongly disagree |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Citizen initiated referendums enable citizens to get politicians attention. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Citizen initiated referendums are poorly thought out and make bad law. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Parliament, not voters, should make final decisions on law and policy. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Citizen initiated referendums help to stimulate political interest. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |

E: You and Your Background

Here are some questions about yourself and your background. Remember that the information you provide is strictly confidential. It won't be reported or released identifying you personally.

E1. Are you ... **male** (1) **female** (2)

E2. In what year were you born?

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| 1 | 9 | | |
|---|---|--|--|

E3. In what country were you born?

in [country]

abroad*

*** IF ABROAD: please specify:** _____

E4. Do you live in a ...

- a. rural area or village? (1)
- b. small or middle-sized town? (2)
- c. suburb of a large town or city? (3)
- d. large town or city? (4)

E4a. How long have you been living in your current residential community? _____ years

E6. What is your level of education? ¹² _____

E6a. IF UNIVERSITY: what was your major discipline? ¹³ _____

E7. Irrespective of whether or not you are a Member of Parliament, what is your employment status? Are you ...

- a. self-employed (1)
- b. employed full time (32 hrs or more weekly) (2)
- c. employed part time (15-32 hrs weekly) (3)
- d. employed less than 15 hrs weekly (4)
- e. helping family member (5)
- f. unemployed (including temporarily unemployed) (6)

- g. student, in school, vocational training (7)
- h. retired (8)
- i. housewife, responsible for home duties (9)
- k. others not in the labour force (0)

E8. What is your current (IF MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND/OR RETIRED: what was your former) occupation? ¹⁴

E9. About how often do you attend religious services these days? *(tick one box only!)*¹⁵

| at least once a week | 2 or 3 times a month | once a month | a number of times a year | once a year | less often | never |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |

E10. What is your religious belief? ¹⁶

E11. What is your current marital status? *(tick one box only)*

| married or living as married | widowed | divorced or separated | single |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |

E12. What is your ethnic background?¹⁷

E13. In which constituency did you stand for election?¹⁸

E14. We have one last question for you: can you please, very briefly, indicate what “left” and “right” means to you nowadays?

“Left” means:

—

“Right” means:

—

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you again for your co-operation.

Notes

- ¹ A4 measures the “electoral history” of candidates. In MMP systems it should be asked twice – once for direct mandates, and another time for list mandates – in order to cover the whole phenomenon. The German election years are given in the example.
- ² This is a crude indicator of the intra-party status of the candidate, which again requires different instrumentation in different institutional environments.
- ³ This is an indicator of prior executive offices and parliamentary mandates of the candidate which might need some modification depending on the environment.
- ⁴ The coding scheme of the agenda question (question C1.) should be used here as well.
- ⁵ The following precode was developed for coding the open ended-answers: (1) overall campaign manager; (2) general IT/computing services; (3) database design/management; (4) website design/management; (5) ppinoi polling/survey research company; (6) opposition research; (7) personal media advisor; (8) personal coaching in general; (9) design of TV/radio/newspaper advertisements, campaign materials, i.e. leaflets, posters, (10) event/meeting coordinators; (11) other.
- ⁶ As in the CSES, open-ended answers should be coded with a detailed issue coding and with the minimum of at least 20 categories. Local study directors should submit the coding scheme translated into English. Note that the survey most of the times will be conducted some 3 month after the election, and the pressing issues might be different from those at election time. However, asking respondents retrospectively has proven to be difficult – answers are coloured by their interpretation of the electoral result.
- ⁷ These issue questions intend to measure respondents attitudes towards the most pressing problems of the time. This is difficult in a transnational study with largely varying issue conflicts in different contexts. It is therefore proposed that the position issue questions of this study operationalise the following two-dimensional issue (or ideological) space : (a) new-left or “GAL” (green, alternative, libertarian) orientations are operationalised by issue numbers 12, 5, 4, 3; (b) new-right or “neo-liberal” orientations are operationalised by issue numbers 2 and 13; (c) old-right or “TAN” (traditional, authoritarian, nationalist) orientations are operationalised by issue numbers 10, 11, 6 and 1; and (d) old-left or “welfare state” orientations are operationalised by issue numbers 8 and 7.
- ⁸ C7-C10 obviously apply only in EU member countries.
- ⁹ Needs to be adapted to the local electoral system.
- ¹⁰ Needs to be adapted to the local electoral system.
- ¹¹ Statements 2 and 4, part of a longer list in the GCS 2002, are flagging the two basic dimensions which structured responses.
- ¹² The CSES coding routines should be applied such that the following categories can be established:
- a. *Incomplete primary*: R left school before completing the level of education required (at the time R left school) for entry into secondary school.
 - b. *Primary completed*: R completed the level of education required (at the time respondent left school) for entry into secondary school, but has never attended secondary school.
 - c. *Incomplete secondary*: R attended secondary school, but has never achieved the minimum level of qualifications normally required (at the time R left school) for entry into university or other degree level higher education. Respondents currently studying for such qualifications should also be included in this category.
 - d. *Secondary completed*: R has at least the minimum qualifications normally required (at the time R left school) for entry into university or other degree level higher education but has never entered a university or other degree level course of higher education.

e. *Post-secondary trade / vocational school*: R has attended a non-degree granting institution teaching a skilled trade, or providing subdegree professional or technical.

f. *University incomplete*: R has attended university or entered other degree level of course of higher education but either left before successful completion of an undergraduate level degree, or has yet to complete a degree upon which currently embarked.

g. *University degree completed*: R has undergraduate level or higher degree.

¹³ To be coded according to the following list of academic disciplines:

- 1 NATURAL SCIENCES
 - 1.1 ASTRONOMY
 - 1.2 BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE
 - 1.3 BIOLOGY
 - 1.4 CHEMISTRY
 - 1.5 PHYSICS
 - 1.6 EARTH SCIENCES
- 2 MATHEMATICS AND COMPUTER SCIENCE
 - 2.1 MATHEMATICS
 - 2.2 COMPUTER SCIENCE
- 3 SOCIAL SCIENCES
 - 3.1 ANTHROPOLOGY
 - 3.2 ARCHAEOLOGY
 - 3.3 COMMUNICATIONS
 - 3.4 ECONOMICS
 - 3.5 ETHNIC STUDIES
 - 3.6 ETHNOLOGY
 - 3.7 HISTORY
 - 3.8 GEOGRAPHY
 - 3.9 LINGUISTICS
 - 3.10 POLITICAL SCIENCE
 - 3.11 PSYCHOLOGY
 - 3.12 SEMIOTICS
 - 3.13 SOCIOLOGY
- 4 HUMANITIES AND ARTS
 - 4.1 AREA STUDIES (SOMETIMES CALLED CULTURAL STUDIES)
 - 4.2 ART
 - 4.3 CLASSICS
 - 4.4 CREATIVE WRITING
 - 4.5 DANCE
 - 4.6 ENGLISH LITERATURE
 - 4.7 FILM STUDIES AND FILM CRITICISM
 - 4.8 FOLKLORE
 - 4.9 HISTORY
 - 4.10 LINGUISTICS
 - 4.11 LITERATURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES
 - 4.12 MUSIC
 - 4.13 MYTHOLOGY
 - 4.14 PHILOLOGY
 - 4.15 PHILOSOPHY
 - 4.16 RELIGIOUS STUDIES
 - 4.17 THEATRE
 - 4.18 WOMEN'S STUDIES AND GENDER STUDIES
- 5 PROFESSIONS / APPLIED SCIENCES
 - 5.1 ARCHITECTURE AND ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN
 - 5.2 BUSINESS
 - 5.3 EDUCATION
 - 5.4 ENGINEERING
 - 5.5 ERGONOMICS
 - 5.6 AGRICULTURE
 - 5.7 FORESTRY

- 5.8 FAMILY AND CONSUMER SCIENCE
- 5.9 JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATIONS
- 5.10 LAW
- 5.11 LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SCIENCE
- 5.12 HEALTH SCIENCES
- 5.13 MILITARY SCIENCE
- 5.14 PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

¹⁴ The following ISCO / ILO categories should be used when coding the occupation of respondent:

ARMED FORCES

01. ARMED FORCES

LEGISLATORS, SENIOR OFFICIALS, AND MANAGERS

11. LEGISLATORS AND SENIOR OFFICIALS
 12. CORPORATE MANAGERS
 13. GENERAL MANAGERS

PROFESSIONALS

21. PHYSICAL, MATHEMATICAL AND ENGINEERING SCIENCE
 22. LIFE SCIENCE AND HEALTH PROFESSIONALS
 23. TEACHING PROFESSIONALS
 24. OTHER PROFESSIONALS

TECHNICIANS AND ASSOCIATED PROFESSIONALS

31. PHYSICAL AND ENGINEERING SCIENCE ASSOCIATE PROFESSIONALS
 32. LIFE SCIENCE AND HEALTH ASSOCIATE PROFESSIONALS
 33. TEACHING ASSOCIATE PROFESSIONALS
 34. OTHER ASSOCIATE PROFESSIONALS

CLERKS

41. OFFICE CLERKS
 42. CUSTOMER SERVICES CLERKS
 43. ADMINISTRATION OF CHARITABLE OR NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

SERVICES WORKERS AND SHOP AND MARKET SALES WORKERS

51. PERSONAL AND PROTECTIVE SERVICE WORKERS
 52. MODELS, SALES PERSONS AND DEMONSTRATORS
 53. TRADE, CONSUMER SERVICES

SKILLED AGRICULTURAL AND FISHERY WORKERS

61. MARKET-ORIENTED SKILLED AGRICULTURAL AND FISHERY WORKERS
 62. SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURAL AND FISHERY WORKERS

CRAFT AND RELATED TRADE WORKERS

71. EXTRACTION AND BUILDING TRADE WORKERS
 72. METAL, MACHINERY AND RELATED TRADE WORKERS
 73. PRECISION, HANDICRAFT, PRINTING AND RELATED TRADE WORKERS
 74. OTHER CRAFT AND RELATED TRADES WORKERS

PLANT AND MACHINE OPERATORS AND ASSEMBLERS

81. STATIONARY-PLANT AND RELATED OPERATORS
 82. MACHINE OPERATORS AND ASSEMBLERS
 83. DRIVERS AND MOBILE-PLANT OPERATORS
 84. OTHER PLANT AND MACHINE OPERATORS AND ASSEMBLERS

ELEMENTARY OCCUPATIONS

- 91. SALES AND SERVICES ELEMENTARY OCCUPATIONS
- 92. AGRICULTURAL, FISHERY AND RELATED LABORERS
- 93. LABORERS IN MINING, CONSTRUCTION, MANUFACTURING AND TRANSPORT
- 94. OTHER POSITIONS IN ELEMENTARY OCCUPATIONS

96. OTHER OR NON-CLASSIFIABLE OCCUPATIONS (NOT ENOUGH INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO CLASSIFY)

- 98. VOLUNTEERED: DON'T KNOW
- 99. VOLUNTEERED: REFUSED

97. MISSING

¹⁵ National specific scales are likely to be used here, the common denominator should be: at least once a week; at least once a month; at least once a year; never.

¹⁶ Following the CSES coding routine, the following denominations should be coded:

01. ROMAN CATHOLIC

PROTESTANT

02. PROTESTANT, NO DENOMINATION GIVEN

03. ADVENTIST

04. EPISCOPALIAN, ANGLICAN, CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CHURCH OF IRELAND

05. BAPTIST

06. CONGREGATIONAL

07. EUROPEAN FREE CHURCH (ANABAPTISTS)

08. HOLINESS

09. INDEPENDENT-FUNDAMENTALIST

10. LUTHERAN

11. METHODIST

12. PENTECOSTAL

13. PRESBYTERIAN

NON-TRADITIONAL PROTESTANTS

14. CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS

15. MORMONS; LATTER DAY SAINTS

16. UNITARIAN; UNIVERSALIST

17. EASTERN ORTHODOX (GREEK RITE CATHOLIC)

18. CHRISTIAN (NO DENOMINATION GIVEN)

20. JEWISH

ISLAM

30. MUSLIM; MOHAMMEDAN; ISLAM (NO DENOMINATION GIVEN)

31. KHARIJISM

32. MU'TAZILISM

33. SUNNI

34. SHI'ISM

35. ISMA'ILIS

36. BAHA'I

37. DRUSE

BUDDHISM

40. BUDDHIST

41. THERAVADA

42. MAHAYANA

43. TANTRISM

44. TIBETAN BUDDHISM

45. SHINGON

HINDUISM AND OTHER RELIGIONS OF INDIA

50. HINDU

51. JAINISM

52. SIKHIASM

53. PARSIIISM

- 54. VEDISM
- 55. BRAHMANISM
- 56. VAISAVISM
- 57. SAIVISM
- 58. TANTRISM
- 59. SHAKTISM
- 60. FOLK HINDUISM

INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS OF EAST ASIA

- 71. CONFUCIANISM
- 72. TAOISM
- 73. SHINT
- 74. BAHAI
- 75. I-KUAN-TAO

OTHERS

- 80. OTHER RELIGIONS
- 81. AGNOSTICS
- 82. ATHEISTS
- 83. NONE

- 91. REFORMED CALVINIST (NOT PRESB)

- 98. VOLUNTEERED: DON'T KNOW
- 99. VOLUNTEERED: REFUSED

- 97. MISSING

¹⁷ To be coded following national standards. Multiple answers should be allowed so that citizens with a migrant background can indicate both their original and their current background.

¹⁸ This question will not often need to be asked. It figures merely as a reminder not to forget the coding of the constituency number of the respondent.