# Comparative Candidate Survey (CCS) Module III

# Questionnaire (2019-2024)

www.comparativecandidates.org

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1 Introduction

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The Comparative Candidates Survey (CCS) is a joint multi-national project, which collects elite data on candidates running for national parliamentary elections in different countries, using a common core questionnaire to allow for cross-country comparison. CCS has shown to be a very valuable tool to study the general political involvement of candidates, campaign activities, issue positions of elites, attitudes towards democracy and representation, as well as to give personal background of candidates running for elections. Module I of CCS was in the field from 2005 to 2012. Field work for module II started in 2013 and ran until the end of 2018.

In January 2018, a Questionnaire Development Committee (QDC) began its work with the aim of developing a questionnaire for the third round of CCS, planned to be in the field from 2019 to 2024. An open call for modules was launched in March 2018. The QDC evaluated the proposals and presented a draft for the Module III to the CCS Steering Committee in June 2018. A final approval and adoption of the questionnaire took place at the CCS General Assembly in Hamburg, 23rd August 2018.

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2 General data collection and data preparation rules

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The candidate survey should be run as a post-election survey among all nominated candidates in national parliamentary elections. If some of the official candidates are excluded from the sample, please make sure to explain the rationale behind the sample procedure, and to define the universe of cases in the macro questionnaire. The CCS does not apply a strict protocol concerning survey mode, but most surveys are likely to apply a mixed mode with mail and online survey technology. Appropriate measures should be taken to ensure a high response rate. The fieldwork should start as soon as possible after the election.

Participating country teams are asked to deliver a complete dataset including all variables from this questionnaire. All questions or variables that were not included in the original country-specific study need to be coded as either "-1 = Q not asked" or "-2 = not applicable" in the CCS III compatible version of the dataset. Moreover, the delivered dataset should not include any variables that do not figure in the CCS III questionnaire.

When coding/recoding variables, country teams need to make sure that they only use the codes given in this questionnaire. In cases in which original variables or scales do not (entirely) correspond to the CCS III format, the country teams need to recode these variables into CCS III format. In principle, there should not be any empty cells [or "."] in the delivered dataset. All missing cases need to be coded according to the reason why they are missing. Respondents who refused to answer a question should be coded differently ("-9 = no answer") from those who did not receive the question ("-1 = Q not asked"). In cases in which a question was not asked because it did not make any sense in the country-specific context, the variable should be coded "-2 = not applicable" (e.g., T7 or C6). The same coding should be applied ("-2 = not applicable") in cases in which respondents did not receive the question because they were filtered due to their answer in a preceding question (e.g., A3b\_1 to A3b\_3). The country teams are free to include all or only specific questions from parts A-E. However, the technical variables (part T) are mandatory and need to be in the delivered CCS III compatible dataset.

## Potential country specific adaptions:

- Some information may be easily accessible from other sources in some countries (e.g., socio-demographic information, campaign expenditure etc.). In those cases, it makes sense to use this information rather than asking for it during the interview.
- In a few countries, elections take place for two chambers on the same day (e.g., in Switzerland), and candidates can run for different offices at the same time. In mixed systems, candidates run in a constituency and/or on a party list separately (e.g., in Germany). In all of these cases, an additional question should specify for which office a candidate is running if the data is not available otherwise.
- If a question includes response options that are not applicable to a country for legal or practical reasons (e.g., question B3 concerning nomination), non-applicable alternatives can be excluded. In these cases, country teams shall notify the CCS Steering Committee prior to data collection and provide a clear motivation to the exclusion of response categories.

It is important to inform candidates that their answers will be used for scientific research only, and that no data with individual answers will be published.

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### 3 Data storage and delivery

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The data will be stored at and made available through the Data and Research Information for the Social Sciences (DARISS), located at the Swiss Centre of Expertise in the Social Sciences (FORS) in Lausanne (www.forscenter.ch). All researchers downloading the data will need to agree to:

- not distribute the data to anyone (each data user has to sign a separate data agreement),
- not publish results that allow identifying individual respondents,
- use the data for academic research only and not for any commercial use.

Delivery of data should be handled in a timely manner and the data delivery has to include the following components:

- Data meta-information in English (including fieldwork description, response rates etc.; see separate document for specification)
- Original questionnaires
- Recoded data in English
- Macro level report (same as CSES)

For the Annexes, please use the same classifications as in CSES whenever possible. The following Annexes should be provided by the country teams:

- A T6 Constituency and Constituency ID
- A T9 Party list codes, similar to A\_A1
- A Al Party coding scheme
- A A4 Election years, last four elections
- A E5 Educational categories

DARISS will make the data available to researchers as an integrated comparative data file. The updates will take place at least once a year. The comparative data file will be available to all researchers without further embargo and with all variables included in the original data file. It is essential that the country data files also include a constituency code to allow the merging of micro-data and constituency data.

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### 4 Variables and questionnaire

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Some questions are marked as OPTIONAL. Country teams may or may not include those questions depending on whether they make sense in their respective countries and if questionnaire space allows it.

Key: {Categories to be coded, not shown in questionnaire}
 [Notes for question]

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### Part T - Administrative/technical variables

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T1. Study ID [this variable is coded centrally in a way that it can be matched with CSES data: CCS collaborators do not need to provide this variable]

- T2. Respondent ID [4 digits, e.g., 0938]
- T3. Year of election [4 digits, e.g., 2013]
- T4a. Start of fieldwork, day [2 digits, e.g., 05]
- T4b. Start of fieldwork, month [2 digits, e.g., 01]
- T4c. Start of fieldwork, year [4 digits, e.g., 2018]
- T5. Duration of fieldwork in days [3 digits: # days]
- T6. R's constituency ID [6 digits, according to national specific coding scheme, add to Annex A T6]
- T7. Office candidate is running for [NOTE: only if more than one office, e.g., upper and lower house]. 1 = lower house, 2 = upper house, 3 = upper and lower house, -2 = not applicable
- T8. Type of candidate in mixed-member systems [NOTE: mixed-member systems only]. 1 = constituency candidate, 2 = list candidate, 3 = constituency and list candidate, -2 = not applicable
- T9. Party list code (if not asked in A1, Annex similar to A\_A1) [3 digits] [NOTE: T9 should be based on an official data source, whereas A1 (see below) is the question that is asked in the questionnaire.]
- T10. Candidates' list position for electoral systems with party lists (open or closed ballots, describe significance in macro-questionnaire) [3 digits] or {-1 = Q not asked}, {-2 = not applicable}
- T11. Did the candidate get elected? [0 = no, 1 = yes]
- T12. Candidate preference votes (if relevant for electoral success and available) # preference votes or  $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$ ,  $\{-2 = \text{not applicable}\}$
- T13. Survey mode of interview [1=mail; 2=online; 3=face to face; 4=telephone; 5=mixed mode]
- T14. Weight 1 [if available] or  $\{-2 = \text{not applicable}\}$
- T15. Weight 2 [if available] or  $\{-2 = \text{not applicable}\}$
- T16. Weight 3 [if available] or  $\{-2 = \text{not applicable}\}$

```
*******************
Part A - Political Background and Activities
********************
A1. What party did you stand for in this election?
[NOTE: National party codes as provided in Annex A_A1. A1 should be a
question in the questionnaire, whereas T9 (see above) is based on an official
data source.]
1 = party 1
19 = party 19
20 = other party
97 = no party
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
A2. In what year did you become a member of this party?
0000 = Never, I am not member of this party
[year, 4 digits]
\{-9 = no answer\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
A3a. Did you stand for other parties in previous elections?
[NOTE: A3a and A3b OPTIONAL, only in countries with frequent party switching]
1 = yes
2 = no
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
A3b. If so: which party or parties before your current party did you stand
for?
[NOTE: national party codes as provided in Annex A A1]
A3b 1. First party mentioned
A3b_2. Second party mentioned
A3b 3. Third party mentioned
```

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1 = party 1

19 = party 19 20 = other party

 $\{-9 = no answer\}$ 

 $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$ 

 $\{-2 = \text{not applicable } [2 \text{ in A3a}]\}$ 

A4. In which years have you stood as a candidate for the [national parliament, lower house if two chambers] and have you been elected in those years? (Tick as many as apply.)

[NOTE: candidate and elected 3 previous elections and earlier, election years provided in  $A\_A4$ ]

```
A4a1. Candidate in election [year 1]
A4a2. Candidate in election [year 2]
A4a3. Candidate in election [year 3]
A4a4. Candidate in election before year 3 [year 4]
1 = yes
2 = no
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
A4b1. Elected in election [year 1]
A4b2. Elected in election [year 2]
A4b3. Elected in election [year 3]
A4b4. Elected in election before year 3 [year 4]
1 = yes
2 = no
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-2 = \text{not applicable } [2 \text{ in A4a}]\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
```

A5. Are you a member and involved in any of the organisations or associations listed below?

[NOTE: This question should be in a table format where answers are given for each of the organisations. Additional organisations may be added by respondents and specified in the open answers  $A5_7$  and  $A5_8$ . For the sake of comparability, it is highly recommended that the open answers are post-coded in English, and that the codes are listed in the study documentation. Response categories should be displayed on top of the table (member-not member, variables A5a1-A5a8).

```
A5a1. Member Trade Union
A5a2. Member Business Association
A5a3. Member Religious Association (e.g., city mission, presbytery)
A5a4. Member Environmental Association
A5a5. Member Human and Civil Rights Association
A5a6. Member Sports club

A5a7. Member Other 1, please specify: [open answer]
A5a8. Member Other 2, please specify: [open answer]

1 = member
2 = not member

{-9 = no answer}
{-1 = Q not asked}
```

### A6. Regarding your political experience, have you ever ...

[NOTE: The terminology and levels of different public offices may need to be adapted according to country context, response categories apply for all

A6a. Worked as <u>unpaid</u> party/campaign volunteer
A6b. Worked as <u>paid</u> party/campaign worker or MP employee
A6c. Held local or regional party office
A6d. Held national party office
A6e. Been elected or appointed as mayor
A6f. Been Member of local government
A6g. Been Member of local parliament
A6h. Been Member of regional government
A6i. Been Member of regional parliament
A6j. Been Member of European parliament
1 = yes
2 = no
{-9 = no answer}

### A7a1.Do you live in your constituency?

 ${-2 = \text{not applicable}}$  ${-1 = Q \text{ not asked}}$ 

variables.]

[NOTE: Only to ask if living in constituency is not mandatory]

1 = yes
2 = no

{-9 = no answer}
{-2 = not applicable [living in constituency is mandatory]}
{-1 = Q not asked}

A7a2. If yes: since what year have you been living there?

[year, 4 digits]
{-9 = no answer}
{-2 = not applicable [2 in A7a1]}
{-1 = Q not asked}

A8. Outside of the election campaign, about how many hours, if any, do you usually devote to party activities in an average week?

```
0 = no time
1 = 1-5 hours
2 = 6-10 hours
3 = 11-20 hours
4 = 21-30 hours
5 = 31-40 hours
6 = Over 40 hours
{-9 = no answer}
{-1 = Q not asked}
```

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*****************
Part B - Campaigning
******************
B1. Did any persons or groups particularly encourage you for presenting your
candidacy, or was this decision the result of your personal initiative only?
1 = yes, I was encouraged
2 = no, it was my own initiative only
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
B2. Was your recent nomination contested?
1 = yes
2 = no
\{-9 = no answer\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
B2a. If yes, how contested was your nomination?
1 = Very little contested
2 = Moderately contested
3 = Very much contested
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-2 = \text{not applicable } [2 \text{ in B2}]\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
B3a. At what level was the decision of your nomination made? (Tick one box
only.)
1 = at constituency level
2 = at regional/state/provincial level
3 = at national level
4 = at other level
\{-9 = no answer\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
B3b. Who was the most influential in deciding on your candidacy nomination?
(Tick one box only.)
1 = voters at large
2 = voters of my party
3 = members of my party
4 = a party delegate conference
5 = party leadership
\{-9 = no answer\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
```

B4. Were any of the following activities part of your campaign? And if yes, how important were they?

[NOTE: Table format. Response categories for each of the following activities, add a line between "no" and importance scale. Additional activities may be added by countries and specified in the country specific categories B4q\_a and B4q\_b. If additional activities are included, they shall be mentioned in the study documentation and translated into English.]

- B4a. Door-knocking, canvassing
- B4b. Distributing party campaign material
- B4c. Calling up voters on the phone
- B4d. Visiting businesses and social organisations
- B4e. Meetings with party elites/members and/or party groups
- B4f. Media activities (interviews, press releases)
- B4g. Public speeches and rallies
- B4h. Direct mailing
- B4i. Personal ads (newspapers, radio spots, TV, movie houses)
- B4j. Personal flyers, posters or other campaign material (give-aways)
- B4k. Personal web site or blog
- B41. Mailing list to inform supporters and voters about the campaign
- B4m. Facebook

B4m\_1 If used, please type your username/handle: [open answer]
[NOTE: B4m 1 OPTIONAL]

- B4n. SMS or other short message services (e.g., WhatsApp, Viber)
- B4o. YouTube channels
- B4p. Twitter

B4p\_1 If used, please type your username/handle: [open answer]
[NOTE: B4p 1 OPTIONAL]

B4q\_a Other [country specific category]
B4q b Other [country specific category]

0 = no, not used

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Used and,

- 1 = little important
- 2 = somewhat important
- 3 = very important
- 4 = most important

 $\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}$ 

 $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$ 

B5. Politicians hold different views on using social media like Facebook or Twitter in electoral campaigns. What do you think of the following statements? (Tick one box in each row.)

[NOTE: Add country-specific social media outlet to the question if relevant. Apply response categories for each of the following statements.]

- B5a. Many candidates use social media during campaigns simply because competitors do so as well.
- B5b. Candidate activities on social media are often picked up by traditional media.

- B5c. Candidate activities on social media are useful to convince voters.
- B5d. Using social media in campaigns is problematic due to data protection issues and possibilities of manipulation.
- B5e. Social media is a direct way to learn what citizens are concerned about.
- B5f. Social media is useful to attract attention to relevant campaign issues.
- B5g. Campaigning on social media is too much work for too little effect.
- B5h. Candidates' personal views on politics can be very easily communicated in social media.
- 1 = strongly disagree
- 2 = disagree
- 3 = neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = agree
- 5 = strongly agree
- $\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}$
- $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$

B6. What was your primary aim during the campaign? Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "to attract as much attention as possible for me as a candidate" and 10 means "to attract as much attention as possible for my party"? (Tick just one box.)

```
0 = 0 attention for candidate
```

10 = 10 attention for party

 $\{-9 = no answer\}$ 

 $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$ 

## B7. Did you raise any local issues during your campaign?

```
1 = yes
```

2 = no

 $\{-9 = no answer\}$ 

 $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$ 

B7a. If yes, what were the most important ones (max. three)?

[NOTE: For the sake of comparability, it is highly recommended that the open answers are post-coded according to the coding scheme of the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP): see Annex A B7/C1 for more information.]

```
B7a 1 [open answer]
```

B7a 2 [open answer]

B7a\_3 [open answer]

 $\{-9 = no answer\}$ 

 $\{-2 = \text{not applicable } [2 \text{ in B7}]\}$ 

 $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$ 

```
B8. How strongly did you emphasise each of the following in your campaign?
(Tick one box in each row.)
[NOTE: Response categories for each of the following activities]
B8a. Issues specific to your campaign
B8b. Providing services and practical help to people in the constituency
B8c. Advocating the policy demands of the voters in the constituency
B8d. Taking care of the socio-economic well-being of the constituency
B8e. Openness to the voters in the constituency and communicating with them
     extensively
B8f. Your personal characteristics and circumstances
B8g. Particular items on the party platform
B8h. Your party's record during the term
1 = not at all
2 = not much
3 = somewhat
4 = much
5 = \text{very much}
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
B9. How strongly did you criticize each of the following aspects of other
parties and candidates in your campaign? (Tick one box in each row.)
[NOTE: Response categories for each of the following activities]
B9a. Particular items on the platform of other parties
B9b. Other parties' records during the term
B9c. Issues specific to the personal campaign of other candidates
B9d. Personal characteristics and circumstances of other candidates
1 = not at all
2 = not much
3 = somewhat
4 = much
5 = very much
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
B10. How many people worked for you in your campaign?
[NOTE: For online surveys, please prompt the respondent if the sum of B10b
and B10c does not correspond to the value of B10a]
B10a. Total: [3 digits]
```

[NOTE: For online surveys, please prompt the respondent if the sum of B10 and B10c does not correspond to the value of B10a]

B10a. Total: [3 digits]

B10b. Of which staff paid by your personal campaign: [3 digits]

B10c. Of which volunteers: [3 digits]

{-9 = no answer}
{-1 = Q not asked}

```
B11. Did you employ any professional consultant in your campaign?
1 = yes
2 = no
\{-9 = no answer\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
B12. How much money did you spend for your campaign in [local currency]
(including party funds, donations, and private funds)?
[6 digits] [local currency]
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
[NOTE: If the country's currency is not Euro, the country teams are asked to
provide, in a separate variable B12b, the answers in B12 (Campaign funds)
recoded into €, converted according to exchange rate at Election Day]
[6 digits, [in €]]
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
{-2 = not applicable/the country's currency is Euro}
B13. What portion of that sum came from the party, from donations, and from
your own private funds (Total = 100%)?
[NOTE: Please ask for integer values only. For online surveys, please prompt
the respondent if the sum of B13a to B13c does not correspond to 100%]
B13a. party funds approx. [3 digits] %
B13b. donations approx. [3 digits] %
B13c. private funds approx. [3 digits] %
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
\{-2 = \text{not applicable } [0 \text{ money spent in B12}]\}
B14. Did members of national party leadership visit your constituency during
the campaign?
[OPTIONAL question for countries where visits of national party leadership
are common]
0 = no
1 = yes, once
2 = yes, more than once
```

 $\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}\$  $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}\$  B15. In the beginning of the campaign, how did you evaluate your chances to win a mandate?

```
1 = I thought I could not win
2 = I thought I could hardly win
3 = I thought it was an open race
4 = I thought I could hardly lose
5 = I thought I could not lose
```

 $\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}\$  $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}\$ 

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

[NOTE: For the sake of comparability, it is highly recommended that the open answers are post-coded according to the coding scheme of the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP): see Annex A B7/C1 for more information.]

- Cla. The most important problem is [open answer]
- Clb. The second most important is [open answer]
- $\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}$
- $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$
- C2. People hold different views on political issues. What do you think of the following? (Tick one box in each row.)

[NOTE: Response categories for each of the following issues]

- C2a. Immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of [country].
- C2b. Governments should abstain from intervening in the economy.
- C2c. Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment.
- C2d. Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law.
- C2e. Women should be given preferential treatment when applying for jobs and promotions.
- C2f. People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences.
- C2g. Providing a stable network of social security should be the prime goal of government.
- C2h. The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels.
- C2i. Immigrants are good for [country's] economy.
- C2j. Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion.
- 1 = strongly disagree
- 2 = disagree
- 3 = neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = agree
- 5 = strongly agree
- $\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}$
- $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$
- C3. According to your opinion, which of the following characteristics fit better to a male or a female politician? (Tick one box in each row.)

[NOTE: Response categories for each of the following issues]

- C3a. Ambitious
- C3b. Consensus-building
- C3c. Assertive
- C3d. Compassionate
- 1 = male
- 2 = 2

```
3 = 3
4 = equally male and female
5 = 5
6 = 6
7 = female
\{-9 = no answer\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
C4. According to your opinion, which of the following policy fields fit
better to a male or a female politician? (Tick one box in each row.)
[NOTE: Response categories for each of the following issues]
C4a. Defence and security policy
C4b. Economic policy
C4c. Social welfare policy
C4d. Immigration and asylum policy
C4e. Gender equality policy
1 = male
2 = 2
3 = 3
4 = equally male and female
5 = 5
6 = 6
7 = female
\{-9 = no answer\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
C5a. 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.)
0 = left
1 = 1
10 = right
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
C5b. Using the same scale, where would you place your party? (Tick just one
box.)
[NOTE: Questions C5b and C5c refer to the national party. Depending on the
country context, country teams may need to add clarifying instructions or
revise the question. If so, the changes should be mentioned in the study
documentation.]
0 = left
1 = 1
10 = right
\{-9 = no answer\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
```

```
C5c. Using the same scale again, where would you place your party's voters?
0 = left
1 = 1
10 = right
\{-9 = no answer\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
C6. 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.)
[NOTE: Questions C6-C7 are only for EU member countries]
1 = a good thing
2 = a bad thing
3 = neither
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-2 = \text{not applicable [country not member of the EU]}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
C7. Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it
already has gone too far. What is your opinion? (Tick one box only.)
[NOTE: Questions C6-C7 are only for EU member countries]
0 = has already gone too far
1 = 1
9 = 9
10 = should be pushed further
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-2 = \text{not applicable [country not member of the EU]}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
```

```
************************
Part 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]?
1 = very satisfied
2 = fairly satisfied
3 = not very satisfied
4 = not at all satisfied
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
D2. 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?
1 = very satisfied
2 = fairly satisfied
3 = not very satisfied
4 = not at all satisfied
\{-9 = no answer\}
\{-2 = \text{not applicable [country not member of the EU]}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
D3. 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?
[NOTE: OPTIONAL question]
1 = not well at all
2 = not very well
3 = fairly well
4 = very well
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
D4. There are different opinions about whom an elected member of parliament
should primarily represent. What is your opinion? (Please rank all of the
options in decreasing importance. You can do this by marking the most
preferred as 1, the second most as 2, and so on - up to the number of 5)
D4a. Own voters in the constituency
D4b. All citizens in the constituency
D4c. The party electorate at large
D4d. Members of a specific social group (e.g., young or elderly people)
D4e. The [country] citizenry
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
```

- D5. How should a Member of Parliament vote in parliament? (Tick one box in each row.)
- D5a. If the voters in his/her constituency have one opinion and his/her party takes a different opinion,
- 1 = MP should vote according to <u>his/her</u> party's opinion
- 2 = MP should vote according to his/her voters' opinion
- D5b. If his/her own opinion on an issue does not correspond with the opinion of the voters in his/her constituency?
- 1 = MP should vote according to his/her own opinion
- 2 = MP should vote according to his/her voters' opinion
- D5c. If his/her own opinion on an issue differs from the party's opinion?
- 1 = MP should vote according to his/her own opinion
- 2 = MP should vote according to his/her party's opinion
- D6. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements on democratic decision-making in [COUNTRY]? (Tick one box in each row.)
- [NOTE: Response categories for each of the following statements]
- D6a. Politicians should assume more responsibility for the wellbeing of future generations, even if it meant higher costs for taxpayers today.
- D6b. Political decision-making in [COUNTRY] pays sufficient attention to the long-term needs of the society.
- D6c. Voters' demands for short-term rewards make it difficult for politicians to make decisions for the long-term.
- 1 = strongly disagree
- 2 = disagree
- 3 = neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = agree
- 5 = strongly agree
- $\{-9 = no answer\}$
- $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$
- D7. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements on democracy in [COUNTRY]? (Tick one box in each row.)
- [NOTE: Response categories for each of the following statements]
- D7a. Citizens have ample opportunity to participate in political decisions.
- D7b. Legislation reflects the interests of the majority of citizens.
- D7c. Political parties are the essential link between citizens and the state.
- D7d. Special interests have too much influence on law making.
- D7e. Parliament, not voters, should make final decisions on law and policy.
- D7f. Citizens should be able to initiate a binding referendum.
- D7g. Referendums tend to be poorly thought out and make bad law.
- D7h. Our democracy is about to lose the trust of the citizens.
- D7i. What people call compromise in politics is really just selling out one's principles.

- D7j. The politicians in [Congress/parliament] need to follow the will of the people.
- ${\it D7k.}$  The will of the majority should always prevail, even over the rights of minorities.
- ${\it D71.}$  Democracy may have many problems, but it is better than any other form of government.
- 1 = strongly disagree
- 2 = disagree
- 3 = neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = agree
- 5 = strongly agree
- $\{-9 = no answer\}$
- $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$

```
*****************
Part E - Background and questions about yourself
********************
E1. Are you...?
1 = male
2 = female
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
E2. In what year were you born?
[four-digit code]
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
E3. Did you have [country] citizenship when you were born?
1 = yes
2 = no
\{-9 = no answer\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
E3a. If no: What citizenship did you have when you were born?
[NOTE: See Annex A E3 for country list]
[country, four-digit code]
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
E4. Do you live in a...?
1 = rural area or village
2 = small or middle-sized town
3 = suburb of a large town or city
4 = large town or city
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}
```

### E5. What is your highest level of education (completed)?

[NOTE: The CCS uses CSES classification (based on ISCED 2011). Please recode national classification into CSES codes when possible, and provide the original classification and recoding into CSES classification in Annex A\_E5]

```
0 = none
```

<sup>1 =</sup> early childhood education

<sup>2 =</sup> primary

```
3 = lower secondary
4 = upper secondary
5 = post-secondary non-tertiary
6 = short-cycle tertiary
7 = Bachelor or equivalent
8 = Master of equivalent
9 = Doctoral or equivalent
{-9 = no answer}
{-1 = Q not asked}
```

### E6. What is your main employment status?

```
1 = self-employed
2 = employed 32 hrs or more per week
3 = employed 15-32 hrs per week
4 = employed less than 15 hrs per week
5 = unemployed
6 = student, in school, vocational training, etc.
7 = retired
8 = MP
9 = other

E6_1 If other, please specify [open answer]
{-9 = no answer}
{-1 = Q not asked}
```

# E7. What is your current [IF MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND/OR RETIRED: what was your former] occupation?

[NOTE: For the sake of comparability, it is highly recommended that the answers are post-coded using the ISCO 08 four-digit code. If another classification is used, please list the codes in the study documentation.]

```
\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}\
\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}\
```

E8. Taking everything into account, at about what level is your family's standard of living? If you think of a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means a poor family, 7 a rich family, and the other numbers are the positions in between, about where would you place your family?

```
1 = poor family
2 = 2
3 = 3
4 = 4
5 = 5
6 = 6
7 = rich family
{-9 = no answer}
{-1 = Q not asked}
```

```
E9. About how often do you attend religious services these days? (Tick one box only.)
```

```
1 = never
```

2 = less than once a year

3 = once a year

4 = a number of times a year

5 = once a month

6 = 2 or 3 times a month

7 = at least once a week

 $\{-9 = no answer\}$ 

 $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$ 

### E10. What is your religious belief?

[Two-digit code, use selection from A E10]

### Ell. What is your current marital status? (Tick one box only.)

1 = married, living as married

2 = widowed

3 = divorced or separated

4 = single

 $\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}$ 

 $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$ 

# E12. How many children do you have in your care younger than [national legal adult age]?

Number of children (put 0 if none: [allow two-digit number])

 $\{-9 = no answer\}$ 

 $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}$ 

### E13. I see myself as someone who ... (Tick one box in each row.)

[NOTE: Response categories for each of the following statements]

E13a. ... Is reserved

E13b. ... Is generally trusting

E13c. ... Tends to be lazy

E13d. ... Is relaxed, handles stress well

E13e. ... Has few artistic interests

E13f. ... Is outgoing, sociable

E13g. ... Tends to find fault with others

E13h. ...Does a thorough job

E13i. ...Gets nervous easily

E13j. ... Has an active imagination

1 = disagree strongly

2 = disagree a little

3 = neither agree nor disagree

4 = agree a little

```
5 = agree strongly
```

 $\{-9 = \text{no answer}\}\$  $\{-1 = Q \text{ not asked}\}\$ 

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

[NOTE: OPTIONAL question. For the sake of comparability, it is highly recommended that the open answers are post-coded in English, and that the codes are listed in the study documentation.]

E14a. "Left" means: [open answer]
E14b. "Right" means: [open answer]

-----

### 5 Annexes

\_\_\_\_\_\_

### A T6 Constituency and Constituency ID (if possible, same as CSES codes)

[To be provided]

### A T9 Party list codes (if not the same as in A A1)

[To be provided]

### A Al Party coding scheme (if possible same as CSES codes)

[To be provided]

### A A4 Election years - last four elections

[To be provided]

A\_B7/C1 Local campaign issues raised/Most important political problems - Comparative Agendas Project (CAP) list

In order to ensure international comparability, country teams are asked to use the coding scheme of the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP) consisting of 21 major topics. Please consult the CAP's webpage for more information on how to code the issues/problems (<a href="https://www.comparativeagendas.net/pages/master-codebook">https://www.comparativeagendas.net/pages/master-codebook</a>).

- 1. Macroeconomics
- 2. Civil Rights
- 3. Health
- 4. Agriculture
- 5. Labor
- 6. Education
- 7. Environment
- 8. Energy
- 9. Immigration
- 10. Transportation
- 12. Law and Crime

- 13. Social Welfare
- 14. Housing
- 15. Domestic Commerce
- 16. Defense
- 17. Technology
- 18. Foreign Trade19. International Affairs
- 20. Government Operations
- 21. Public Lands
- 23. Culture

### A E3 Country Codes

0101=Abkhazia 0208=Benin 0209=Bhutan 0102=Afghanistan 0103=Albania 0210=Bolivia 0104=Algeria 0211=Bosnia and 0105=Andorra Herzegovina 0106=Angola 0212=Botswana 0107=Antigua and 0213=Brazil Barbuda 0214=Brunei 0108=Argentina 0215=Bulgaria 0109=Armenia 0216=Burkina Faso 0110=Aruba 0217=Burundi 0111=Australia 0301=Cambodia 0112=Austria 0302=Cameroon 0113=Azerbaijan 0303=Canada 0201=Bahamas 0304=Cape Verde 0202=Bahrain 0305=Central 0203=Bangladesh African Republic 0204=Barbados 0306=Chad 0307=Chile 0205=Belarus 0206=Belgium 0207=Belize

0308=China (includes Hong Kona) 0309=Colombia 0310=Comoros 0311=Congo or Zaire 0312=Costa Rica 0313=Cote d'Ivoire 0314=Croatia 0315=Cuba 0316=Cyprus 0317=Czech Republic 0318=former CSSR 0401=Denmark 0402=Djibuti 0403=Dominica 0404=Dominican Republic 0501=East Timor

0502=Ecuador 0503=Egypt 0504=El Salvador 0505=Equatorial Guinea 0506=Eritrea 0507=Estonia 0508=Ethiopia 0601=Fiji 0602=Finland 0603=France 0701=Gabon 0702=Gambia 0703=Georgia 0704=Germany 0705=Ghana 0706=Greece 0707=Greenland 0708=Grenada 0709=Guatemala 0710=Guinea

0711=Guinea-Bissau 0712=Guyana	1306=Maldives 1307=Mali	1608=Phillipines 1609=Poland	2001=Taiwan 2002=Tajikistan
0801=Haiti	1308=Malta	1610=Portugal	2003=Tanzania
0802=Honduras	1309=Marshall	1611=Puerto Rico	2004=Thailand
0803=Hungary	Islands	1701=Oatar	2005=Togo
0901=Iceland	1310=Mauritania	1801=Romania	2006=Tonga
0902=India	1311=Mauritius	1802=Russia	2007=Transnistria
0903=Indonesia	1312=Mexico	1803=Rwanda	2008=Trinidad and
0904=Iran	1313=Micronesia	1901=Saint Kitts	Tobago
0905=Iraq	1314=Moldova	and Nevis	2009=Tunisia
0906=Ireland	1315=Monaco	1902=Saint Lucia	2010=Turkey
0907=Israel	1316=Mongolia	1903=Saint Vincent	2011=Turkmenistan
0908=Italy	1317=Montenegro	and the Grenadines	2012=Tuvalu
1001=Jamaica	1318=Moroco	1904=Samoa	2101=Uganda
1002=Japan	1319=Mozambique	1905=San Marino	2102=Ukraine
1003=Jordan	1320=Myanmar	1906=Sao Tome and	2103=United Arab
1101=Kazakhstan	1401=Nagorno-	Principe	Emirates
1102=Kenya	Karabakh	1907=Saudi Arabia	2104=United
1103=Kiribati	1402=Namibia	1908=Senegal	Kingdom
1104=Korea, North	1403=Nauru	1909=Serbia	2105=United States
1105=Korea, South	1404=Nepal	1910=Seychelles	2106=Uruguay
1106=Kosovo	1405=Netherlands	1911=Sierra Leone	2107=Uzbekistan
1007=Kuwait	1406=New Zealand	1912=Singapore	2201=Vanuatu
1108=Kyrgyzstan	1407=Nicaragua	1913=Slovakia	2202=Vatican City
1201=Laos	1408=Niger	1914=Slovenia	2203=Venezuela
1202=Latvia	1409=Nigeria	1915=Solomon	2204=Vietnam
1203=Lebanon	1410=Northern	Islands	2301=Western
1204=Lesotho	Cyprus	1916=Somalia	Sahara
1205=Liberia	1411=Norway	1917=South Africa	2401=Yemen
1206=Libya	1501=Oman	1918=South Ossetia	2402= former
1207=Lichtenstein	1601=Pakistan	1919=Spain	Yugoslavia
1208=Lithuania	1602=Palau	1920=Sri Lanka	2501=Zambia
1209=Luxembourg	1603=Palestine	1921=Sudan	2502=Zimbabwe
1301=Macao	1604=Panama	1922=Suriname	3000=Stateless
1302=Macedonia	1605=Papua New	1923=Swaziland	
1303=Madagasca	Guinea	1924=Sweden	
1304=Malawi	1606=Paraguay	1925=Switzerland	
1305=Malaysia	1607=Peru	1926=Syria	

#### A E5 Educational categories; original variables and recodes

[To be provided]

#### CSES list A E10 Religions

01.	ROMAN	CATHOLIC	20.	JEWISH

### 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, CHURCH OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

16. UNITARIAN UNIVERSALISTS

17. EASTERN ORTHODOX

18. CHRISTIAN (NO DENOMINATION GIVEN)

19. EASTERN (GREEK RITE) CATHOLIC CHURCHES

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. PARSIISM

25

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. SHINTO 74. BAHAI

75. I-KUAN-TAO

### OTHERS

80. [SEE VARIABLE NOTES]

81. [SEE VARIABLE NOTES]

82. [SEE VARIABLE NOTES]
83. [SEE VARIABLE NOTES]
84. [SEE VARIABLE NOTES]

91. AGNOSTICS

92. ATHEISTS 93. NONE

97. VOLUNTEERED: REFUSED 98. VOLUNTEERED: DON'T KNOW

99. MISSING