

Comparative Candidate Survey (CCS) Module III

Questionnaire (2019-2023)

www.comparativecandidates.org

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1 Introduction

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 election. Module I of CCS was in the field from 2007 to 2013. Field work for module II started in 2014 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 2023. 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.

2 General data collection and data preparation rules

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 adaptations:

- 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_A1 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]

Part T - Administrative/technical variables

- 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 not asked}, {-2 = 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 = not applicable}
- T15. *Weight 2* [if available] or {-2 = not applicable}
- T16. *Weight 3* [if available] or {-2 = 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 = no answer}
- {-1 = Q 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 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 = no answer}
- {-1 = Q 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*

- 1 = party 1
- ...
- 19 = party 19
- 20 = other party

- {-9 = no answer}
- {-2 = not applicable [2 in A3a]}
- {-1 = Q not asked}

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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}
{-2 = not applicable [2 in A4a]}
{-1 = Q 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 variables.]

- A6a. Worked as unpaid party/campaign volunteer
- A6b. Worked as paid 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}
{-2 = not applicable}
{-1 = Q not asked}

A7a1. Do you live in your constituency?

[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}

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

B2. Was your recent nomination contested?

1 = yes
2 = no

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

B2a. If yes, how contested was your nomination?

1 = Very little contested
2 = Moderately contested
3 = Very much contested

{-9 = no answer}
{-2 = not applicable [2 in B2]}
{-1 = Q 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 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 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
- B4l. 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

Used and,
1 = little important
2 = somewhat important
3 = very important
4 = most important

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

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

1 = yes
2 = no

{-9 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 = not applicable [2 in B7]}
{-1 = Q 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 = very much

{-9 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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]
- 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 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q not asked}
{-2 = not applicable [0 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}

{-1 = Q not asked}

Part C - Issues and policies

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.]

C1a. The most important problem is [open answer]
C1b. The second most important is [open answer]

{-9 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 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 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 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 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 = no answer}
{-2 = not applicable [country not member of the EU]}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}
{-2 = not applicable [country not member of the EU]}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 = not applicable [country not member of the EU]}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 his/her 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 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.

D7k. The will of the majority should always prevail, even over the rights of minorities.

D7l. 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 not asked}

Part E - Background and questions about yourself

E1. Are you...?

1 = male
2 = female

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

E2. In what year were you born?

[four-digit code]

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

E3. Did you have [country] citizenship when you were born?

1 = yes
2 = no

{-9 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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
1 = early childhood education
2 = 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 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 not asked}

E10. What is your religious belief?

[Two-digit code, use selection from A_E10]

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

- 1 = married, living as married
- 2 = widowed
- 3 = divorced or separated
- 4 = single

{-9 = no answer}
{-1 = Q 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 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 = no answer}

{-1 = Q 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]

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5 Annexes

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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_A1 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 (<https://www.comparativeagendas.net/pages/master-codebook>).

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Macroeconomics | 13. Social Welfare |
| 2. Civil Rights | 14. Housing |
| 3. Health | 15. Domestic Commerce |
| 4. Agriculture | 16. Defense |
| 5. Labor | 17. Technology |
| 6. Education | 18. Foreign Trade |
| 7. Environment | 19. International Affairs |
| 8. Energy | 20. Government Operations |
| 9. Immigration | 21. Public Lands |
| 10. Transportation | |
| | 23. Culture |
| 12. Law and Crime | |

A_E3 Country Codes

0101=Abkhazia	0208=Benin	0308=China	0502=Ecuador
0102=Afghanistan	0209=Bhutan	(includes Hong Kong)	0503=Egypt
0103=Albania	0210=Bolivia	0309=Colombia	0504=El Salvador
0104=Algeria	0211=Bosnia and Herzegovina	0310=Comoros	0505=Equatorial Guinea
0105=Andorra	0212=Botswana	0311=Congo or Zaire	0506=Eritrea
0106=Angola	0213=Brazil	0312=Costa Rica	0507=Estonia
0107=Antigua and Barbuda	0214=Brunei	0313=Cote d'Ivoire	0508=Ethiopia
0108=Argentina	0215=Bulgaria	0314=Croatia	0601=Fiji
0109=Armenia	0216=Burkina Faso	0315=Cuba	0602=Finland
0110=Aruba	0217=Burundi	0316=Cyprus	0603=France
0111=Australia	0301=Cambodia	0317=Czech Republic	0701=Gabon
0112=Austria	0302=Cameroon	0318=former CSSR	0702=Gambia
0113=Azerbaijan	0303=Canada	0401=Denmark	0703=Georgia
0201=Bahamas	0304=Cape Verde	0402=Djibuti	0704=Germany
0202=Bahrain	0305=Central African Republic	0403=Dominica	0705=Ghana
0203=Bangladesh	0306=Chad	0404=Dominican Republic	0706=Greece
0204=Barbados	0307=Chile	0501=East Timor	0707=Greenland
0205=Belarus			0708=Grenada
0206=Belgium			0709=Guatemala
0207=Belize			0710=Guinea

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

A_E5 Educational categories; original variables and recodes

[To be provided]

A_E10 Religions CSES list

01. ROMAN CATHOLIC	20. JEWISH
PROTESTANT	
02. PROTESTANT, NO DENOMINATION GIVEN	
03. ADVENTIST	ISLAM
04. EPISCOPALIAN, ANGLICAN, CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CHURCH OF IRELAND	30. MUSLIM; MOHAMMEDAN; ISLAM (NO DENOMINATION GIVEN)
05. BAPTIST	31. KHARIJISM
06. CONGREGATIONAL	32. MU'TAZILISM
07. EUROPEAN FREE CHURCH (ANABAPTISTS)	33. SUNNI
08. HOLINESS	34. SHI'ISM
09. INDEPENDENT-FUNDAMENTALIST	35. ISMA'ILIS
10. LUTHERAN	36. BAHA'I
11. METHODIST	37. DRUSE
12. PENTECOSTAL	
13. PRESBYTERIAN	BUDDHISM
NON-TRADITIONAL PROTESTANTS	40. BUDDHIST
14. CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS	41. THERAVADA
15. MORMONS, CHURCH OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS	42. MAHAYANA
16. UNITARIAN UNIVERSALISTS	43. TANTRISM
	44. TIBETAN BUDDHISM
17. EASTERN ORTHODOX	45. SHINGON
	HINDUISM AND OTHER RELIGIONS OF INDIA
18. CHRISTIAN (NO DENOMINATION GIVEN)	50. HINDU
	51. JAINISM
19. EASTERN (GREEK RITE) CATHOLIC CHURCHES	52. SIKHIASM
	53. PARSIISM

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