

POLEVPOP Elite Survey Codebook

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Introduction

The dataset *POLEVPOP Elite Survey* contains the data from the 2022 POLPOP II Elite survey conducted in thirteen countries (fourteen political systems): Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders (Belgium), Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and, Wallonia (Belgium). The survey is part of the project “How politicians evaluate public opinion (POLEVPOP)”, colloquially known as ‘POLPOP II’ and supported by an ERC Advanced Grant (agreement ID: 101018105), and hosted by the University of Antwerp. The data collection took place between 7 February 2022 and 4 May 2023, with some variation between countries (see **Table 1**). More information on the data collection process can be found in the fieldwork report.

Table 1 – Start and end date of the data collection process in each country

Australia	7 November 2022 - 21 March 2023
Canada	5 October 2022 - 6 February 2023
Czechia	21 April - 26 October 2022
Denmark	18 March - 31 August 2022
Flanders (Belgium)	30 March - 29 August 2022
Germany	2 May 2022 - 22 March 2023
Israel	10 May 2022 - 31 January 2023
Luxembourg	3 November 2022 - 18 January 2023
The Netherlands	9 May - 29 September 2022
Norway	13 June 2022 - 2 February 2023
Portugal	1 July 2022 - 15 February 2023
Sweden	18 October 2022 - 21 February 2023
Switzerland	30 May - 5 December 2022
Wallonia (Belgium)	26 April - 6 October 2022

For several question pages, information was stored regarding the time of the first (Timing_Qx_First_Click) and last click (Timing_Qx_Last_Click), time taken to fill in all the question on that page (Timing_Qx_Page_Submit), and number of times clicked (Timing_Qx_Click_Count). When present, this is mentioned below the survey question. Missing values do not receive a separate value. Instead, the value is left empty.

General variables

Politician_ID = Unique identifier for each politician

Country = Country of the respondent

- 1 = Australia
- 2 = Canada
- 3 = Czechia
- 4 = Denmark
- 5 = Flanders (Belgium)
- 6 = Germany
- 7 = Israel
- 8 = Luxembourg
- 9 = Netherlands
- 10 = Norway
- 11 = Portugal
- 12 = Sweden
- 13 = Switzerland
- 14 = Wallonia (Belgium)

Survey_date = Date the survey was filled in by the politician

Language = Language in which the survey questions were presented

- 1 = Danish
- 2 = German
- 3 = English
- 4 = French
- 5 = Hebrew
- 6 = Luxemburgish
- 7 = Dutch
- 8 = Norwegian
- 9 = Portuguese
- 10 = Swedish

Bio data (pseudonymized)

The variables in this section were collected outside the survey and were subject to a pseudonymization process, which is explained more fully in a different document. As a result of this process, the values of some of the politicians on these variables are set to 'Other' (95). It is important to note that this does not represent a separate, meaningful category. Instead, it is a composite category consisting of politicians who would be identifiable if their value on that variable was not masked.

POLPOP_party_ID = Unique identifier for each political party

[See Appendix for an overview of all party IDs and labels]

party_family = Code for party family

[Parties were grouped into party families following the classifications of the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) (Jolly et al. 2022), the Political Party Database Project (PPDB) (Scarrow, Webb and Poguntke 2017, 2022), ParlGov (Döring et al. 2023), and Langsæther (2023).]

- 1 = Conservative
- 2 = Greens

- 3 = Liberal
- 4 = Radical left
- 5 = Radical right
- 6 = Social democrats
- 7 = Independent
- 8 = Special issue party
- 9 = Other

Party_CZ = Political party in Czechia (pseudonymized)

- 1 = ANO
- 2 = KDU-?SL
- 3 = ODS
- 4 = Piráti
- 5 = STAN
- 6 = TOP09
- 95 = Other (pseudonymization)

Top_politician = Top politician (pseudonymized)

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes
- 95 = Other (pseudonymization)

Gov_majority = Member of government majority (pseudonymized)

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes
- 95 = Other (pseudonymization)

Yofe = Year of first election in any parliament (pseudonymized)

- 1 = First tertile
- 2 = Second tertile
- 3 = Third tertile
- 95 = Other (pseudonymization)

Sex = Sex (pseudonymized)

- 0 = Male
- 1 = Female
- 95 = Other (pseudonymization)

Political_level = Political level (pseudonymized)

- 0 = Regional level
- 1 = National level
- 95 = Other (pseudonymization)

Party_share = Party seat share (pseudonymized)

- 1 = First tertile
- 2 = Second tertile
- 3 = Third tertile
- 95 = Other (pseudonymization)

District_magnitude = District magnitude (pseudonymized)

- 1 = 1 seat
- 2 = 2-4 seats
- 3 = 5-10 seats
- 4 = 10+ seats
- 95 = Other (pseudonymization)

Age_category = Age category (pseudonymized)

- 1 = Below median age
- 2 = Above median age
- 95 = Other (pseudonymization)

Local_mandate = Local mandate (pseudonymized)

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes
- 95 = Other (pseudonymization)

Background module in the survey

Parliament_survey_CA = Legislature in Canada politician is a member of: “Before starting the questionnaire, could you indicate which parliament you are a member of?”

- 1 = Parliament of Canada
- 2 = Legislative Assembly of Ontario
- 3 = National Assembly of Québec
- 4 = Legislative Assembly of Alberta
- 5 = Legislative Assembly of British Columbia

*Note: **Parliament_survey_CA** was only included in the Canadian version of the survey*

Variables **Q1_1 – Q1_23 = specialization:** “In which of the following policy domains do you consider yourself to be a specialist?”

- 0 = Not selected
- 1 = Selected

Q1_1 = Policy specialist: Economy

Q1_2 = Policy specialist: Civil and human rights

Q1_3 = Policy specialist: Health care

Q1_4 = Policy specialist: Agriculture

Q1_5 = Policy specialist: Labor

Q1_6 = Policy specialist: Education

Q1_7 = Policy specialist: Environment

Q1_8 = Policy specialist: Climate

Q1_9 = Policy specialist: Energy

Q1_10 = Policy specialist: Immigration and integration

Q1_11 = Policy specialist: Mobility and transportation

Q1_12 = Policy specialist: Public administration and government affairs

Q1_13 = Policy specialist: Social affairs

Q1_14 = Policy specialist: Housing and spatial planning

Q1_15 = Policy specialist: Commerce and banking
Q1_16 = Policy specialist: Trade
Q1_17 = Policy specialist: Defense and foreign affairs
Q1_18 = Policy specialist: Science and technology
Q1_19 = Policy specialist: Culture
Q1_20 = Policy specialist: Crime and justice
Q1_21 = Policy specialist: Budget and public finance
Q1_22 = Policy specialist: European affairs
Q1_23 = Policy specialist: Other (see Q1_23_TEXT)
Q1_24 = Policy specialist: Other (see Q1_24_TEXT)

Note: Q1 was asked in all countries. However, Q1_22 was not included in Canada and Israel.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q1_1 – Q1_23**

Q2 = Role conception: “Should elected representatives follow exactly the preferences of citizens, or should they follow their own convictions while pursuing the interests of citizens.”

0 = Citizen’s preferences

10 = Own convictions

Note: Q2 was included in all countries

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q2**

Q4 = Left-right self-placement: “In politics, people sometimes talk of ‘left’ and ‘right’. Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means left and 10 means right?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Left

10 = Right

Note: Q4 was included in all countries

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q4**

Left-right placement

Q5 = Left-right placement of your party: “And where would you place your party on this scale, where 0 means left and 10 means right?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Left

10 = Right

Note: Q5 was only shown to politicians who were belong to a party (no independents); Q5 was included in all countries

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q5**

Variables **Q5_1-AU – Q5_2-WA:** “And where would you place [party name] on this scale, where 0 means left and 10 means right?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Left

10 = Right

Q5_1_AU = Left-right placement of Australian Liberal Party

Q5_2_AU = Left-right placement of Australian Labor Party
Q5_1_CA = Left-right placement of Liberal Party
Q5_2_CA = Left-right placement of Conservative Party
Q5_1_CZ = Left-right placement of SPOLU – ODS, KDU-ČSL
Q5_2_CZ = Left-right placement of ANO 2011
Q5_1_DE = Left-right placement of the SPD
Q5_2_DE = Left-right placement of the CDU
Q5_1_DK = Left-right placement of Socialdemokratiet
Q5_2_DK = Left-right placement of Dansk Folkeparti
Q5_1_FL = Left-right placement of Open Vld
Q5_2_FL = Left-right placement of N-VA
Q5_1_IL = Left-right placement of the Yamina
Q5_2_IL = Left-right placement of the Likud
Q5_1_LU = Left-right placement of Democratic Party (DP)
Q5_2_LU = Left-right placement of Christian Social People's Party (CSV)
Q5_1_NL = Left-right placement of VVD
Q5_2_NL = Left-right placement of D66
Q5_1_NO = Left-right placement of Arbeiderpartiet
Q5_2_NO = Left-right placement of the Høyre
Q5_1_PT = Left-right placement of the PS
Q5_2_PT = Left-right placement of the PSD
Q5_1_SE = Left-right placement of the Socialdemokraterna
Q5_2_SE = Left-right placement of the Moderaterna
Q5_1_CH = Left-right placement of the PLR
Q5_2_CH = Left-right placement of the Federal Council
Q5_1_WL = Left-right placement of the MR
Q5_2_WL = Left-right placement of the PS

Note: Politicians were only presented with parties from their own country. Politicians were asked to place the party of the prime minister. Politicians from the PM's party were asked to place the largest from the other parties in parliament. In countries where there was an election during the fieldwork that altered the PM's party, politicians who participated after the election were still asked to place the party of the previous prime minister.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for Q5_1 – Q5_2

Most Important Problem

Q6 = What is this country's current most important issue/problem (besides Covid-19)?

[answer format: open text field]

Note: Q6 was included in all countries

Q6_ENG = "English translation of Q6"

[answer format: open text field]

Variables Q6_code: "MIP coding of Q6"

[Answer format: 1-48 scale]

See Appendix for an overview of all codes and their detailed description

Q7 = And what is the second most important issue or problem?

[answer format: open text field]

Note: Q7 was included in all countries

Q7_ENG = “English translation of Q7”

[answer format: open text field]

Variables Q7_code: “MIP coding of Q7”

[Answer format: 1-48 scale]

See Appendix for an overview of all codes and their detailed description

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q6 – Q7**

Electoral Safety

Q11 = Do you intend to run for the same parliament in the next election?

1 = Yes

2 = No, but I will run for another level of government

3 = No, I'm not planning to apply for anything

4 = I do not know yet

Note: **Q11** was included in all countries

Variables **Q12_1 – Q12_3:**

1 = Very unlikely

2 = Unlikely

3 = It can go either way

4 = Probably

5 = Very likely

Q12_1 = How likely do you think it is that you will be re-elected?

Note: **Q12_1** was included in all countries, but only shown to respondents who answered 1 (Yes) in **Q11**.

Q12_2 = How likely do you think it is that you will be elected if you run at that level?

Note: **Q12_2** was included in all countries, but only shown to respondents who answered 2 (No, but I will run for another level of government) in **Q11**.

Q12_3 = If you did run for the same parliament again, how likely is re-election?

Note: **Q12_3** was included in all countries, but only shown to respondents who answered 3 (No, I'm not planning to apply for anything) or 4 (I do not know yet) in **Q11**.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q11 – Q12**

Variables **Q13_1 – Q13_10:** “If it was up to you alone, where do you see yourself in five years from now?”

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Q13_1 = Desired pos. in 5 years: National/federal Member of Parliament

Q13_2 = Desired pos. in 5 years: European Member of Parliament

Q13_3 = Desired pos. in 5 years: Member of the national government

Q13_4 = Desired pos. in 5 years: Head of government

Q13_5 = Desired pos. in 5 years: Mayor

Q13_6 = Desired pos. in 5 years: No more political office

Q13_7 = Desired pos. in 5 years: Regional Member of Parliament

Q13_8 = Desired pos. in 5 years: Minister in the regional government

Q13_9 = Desired pos. in 5 years: Head of the regional government

Q13_10 = Desired pos. in 5 years: Other (see Q13_10_TEXT)

Note: Q13_1 – Q13_10 were included in all countries if relevant

Q13_11_CA = Desired pos. in 5 years: Governor General

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_11_CA was only included in Canada.

Q13_2_CZ = Desired pos. in 5 years: Regional representative

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_2_CZ was only included in Czechia.

Q13_5_CZ = Desired pos. in 5 years: Member of the regional council

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_5_CZ was only included in Czechia.

Q13_6_CZ = Desired pos. in 5 years: Governor of the region

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_6_CZ was only included in Czechia.

Q13_6_FL = Desired pos. in 5 years: Provincial governor or member of the provincial council

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_6_FL was only included in Flanders.

Q13_3_IL = Desired pos. in 5 years: Local council member

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_3_IL was only included in Israel

Q13_2_NL = Desired pos. in 5 years: National Member of Parliament (upper house)

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_2_NL was only included in the Netherlands.

Q13_3_NL = Desired pos. in 5 years: Member of the Provincial Council

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_3_NL was only included in the Netherlands.

Q13_6_NL = Desired pos. in 5 years: Member of the Board of the Provincial Executive

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_6_NL was only included in the Netherlands.

Q13_7_NL = Desired pos. in 5 years: Commissioner of the King

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_7_NL was only included in the Netherlands.

Q13_2_NO = Desired pos. in 5 years: Member of a regional board

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_2_NO was only included in Norway.

Q13_5_NO = Desired pos. in 5 years: Head of a regional board

0 = Not selected

Note: Q13_5_NO was only included in Norway.

Q13_6_NO = Desired pos. in 5 years: County leader or leader of a regional council

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_6_NO was only included in Norway.

Q13_2_PT = Desired pos. in 5 years: Member of a regional assembly (Azores or Madeira)

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_2_PT was only included in Portugal.

Q13_2_SE = Desired pos. in 5 years: Member of the regional council

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_2_SE was only included in Sweden.

Q13_5_SE = Desired pos. in 5 years: Political mission in the region

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_5_SE was only included in Sweden.

Q13_6_SE = Desired pos. in 5 years: Governor

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_6_SE was only included in Sweden.

Q13_7_SE = Desired pos. in 5 years: Local council member

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_7_SE was only included in Sweden.

Q13_6_WL = Desired pos. in 5 years: Provincial governor or member of the provincial council

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Note: Q13_6_WL was only included in Wallonia.

Q13_CH = Desired position in 5 years (CH only): “If it was up to you alone, where do you see yourself in five years from now?”

- 1 = Federal parliamentarian
- 2 = MP in your canton
- 3 = Federal Councilor
- 4 = State Councilor in your canton
- 5 = President of your municipality
- 6 = Retired from political life
- 7 = Other (see Q13_TEXT_CH)

Note: Q13_CH was only included in Switzerland.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q13_1 – Q13_9**

Trust in institutions

Variables **Q27_1 – Q27_8= Trust** “Can you indicate on a scale from 0 to 10 how much you personally trust each of the actors below? 0 means you do not trust an actor at all, and 10 means you have complete trust.”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

- 0 = No trust
- 10 = Complete trust

Q27_1 = Trust in politicians from your own party (Q30)

Q27_2 = Trust in politicians from other parties

Q27_4 = Trust in journalists

Q27_5 = Trust in civil servants

Q27_6 = Trust in interest group leaders

Q27_7 = Trust in scientists

Q27_8 = Trust in fellow citizens

Note: Q27 was only included in the Australian, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Norwegian, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q27_1 – Q27_8**

Policy preferences

Variables **Q14_1 – Q14_22: Policy preferences:** “People hold different views on political issues. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following political statements.”

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Somewhat disagree
- 4 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 5 = Somewhat agree
- 6 = Agree
- 7 = Strongly agree
- 88 = Don't know

Q14_1 = Capital gains from the sale of stock shares should be taxed more heavily

Note: Q14_1 was included in Australia, Denmark, Flanders, and Switzerland.

Q14_2 = The government should provide a universal basic income for everyone

Note: Q14_2 was included in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders, Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wallonia.

Q14_3 = It should be easier for refugees who have acquired official asylum seeker status to bring over their close family members

Note: Q14_3 was included in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders, Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wallonia.

Q14_4 = The government should be more strict when it grants people official refugee status

Note: Q14_4 was included in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders, Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wallonia.

Q14_6 = It would be preferable if criminal policy involved offenders making amends for the victim's losses instead of imprisoning offenders

Note: Q14_6 was included in Australia, Denmark, Flanders, and Switzerland.

Q14_8 = The government should restrict the number of surveillance cameras in public places

Note: This statement was included in Switzerland.

Q14_9 = To reduce carbon emissions, the price of airplane tickets should be increased

Note: Q14_9 was included in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders, Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wallonia.

Q14_10 = The government should subsidize the purchase of electric vehicles

Note: Q14_10 was included in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders, Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wallonia.

Q14_13 = Euthanasia/medically assisted dying should always be illegal

Note: Q14_13 was included in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders, Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wallonia.

Q14_14 = The government should remove hate speech from social media platforms

Note: Q14_14 was included in Australia, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Portugal, Sweden, and Wallonia.

Q14_15 = It should be forbidden for the government to impose a curfew as a measure against a pandemic

Note: Q14_15 was included in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders, Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wallonia.

Q14_16 = The government should subsidize breast pumps for new mothers

Note: Q14_16 was included in Australia, Canada, Germany, Portugal, Sweden, and Wallonia.

Q14_17 = The government should invest more in telehealth services for elderly citizens, allowing doctors to monitor senior patients remotely

Note: Q14_17 was included in Australia, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Portugal, Sweden, and Wallonia.

Q14_18 = Coronavirus vaccinations should be mandatory

Note: Q14_18 was included in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders, Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wallonia.

Q14_19 = The government should be composed of an equal number of men and women

Note: Q14_19 was included in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders, Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wallonia.

Q14_20 = The government should spend less on arts and culture

Note: Q14_20 was included in Denmark, and Sweden.

Q14_21 = The government should construct more social housing

Note: Q14_21 was included in Switzerland.

Q14_22 = Educational policy should focus more on letting the strongest students excel

Note: Q14_22 was included in Australia, Denmark, and Switzerland.

The order of Q14_1 – Q14_11 was randomized; see Q14_order.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for Q14_1 – Q14_22

Economic inequality

Variables **Q35_1 – Q35_2**: “To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?”

1 = Completely disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Somewhat disagree

4 = Neither agree nor disagree

5 = Somewhat agree

6 = Agree

7 = Completely agree

Q35_1 = The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels

Q35_2 = The government should take measures to reduce differences in wealth levels

Note: Q35 was only included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Flemish, German, Luxembourgish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Walloon versions of the survey.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q35_1 – Q35_2**

Variables **Q39_1 – Q39_5**: “In our country, one of the main reasons for the rich being richer than the poor is that the rich...”

- 1 = Completely disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Somewhat disagree
- 4 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 5 = Somewhat agree
- 6 = Agree
- 7 = Completely agree

Q39_1 = Rich are richer because they have had more luck in life

Q39_2 = Rich are richer because they were born with greater abilities

Q39_3 = Rich are richer because they come from a wealthier family

Q39_4 = Rich are richer because they have worked harder in life

Q39_5 = Rich are richer because they have made smarter choices

Note: Q39 were only shown in Australia, Czechia, Flanders (Belgium), Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden, and Wallonia (Belgium)

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q39_1 – Q39_5**

Deservingness & Power

Variables **Q36_1 – Q36_6**: “Some groups in a society are more influential politically than other groups. In your opinion, how politically powerful are the following groups? 0 means that most people in that group are entirely powerless; 10 means that most people in that group are very powerful.”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Most are powerless

10 = Most are very powerful

Q36_1 = Political power of elderly people

Q36_2 = Political power of drug addicts

Q36_3 = Political power of people with disabilities

Q36_4 = Political power of unemployed

Q36_5 = Political power of investment bankers

Q36_6 = Political power of farmers

Note: the order of Q36 was randomized, see Q36_order; Q36 was only included in the Canadian, German, Luxembourgish, and Norwegian versions of the survey.

Q36_order = Order in which Q36_1-Q36_6 were shown

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q36_1 – Q36_6**

Variables **Q37_1 – Q37_6**: “Members of some groups in a society deserve more government support than members of other groups. How deserving would you say each of these groups are? 0 means most people in that group are completely undeserving; 10 means that most people in that group are very deserving.”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Most are completely undeserving

10 = Most are very deserving

Q37_1 = How deserving of more government support are elderly people?

Q37_2 = How deserving of more government support are drug addicts?

Q37_3 = How deserving of more government support are people with disabilities?

Q37_4 = How deserving of more government support are unemployed?

Q37_5 = How deserving of more government support are investment bankers?

Q37_6 = How deserving of more government support are farmers?

Note: the order of Q37_1 – Q37_6 was randomized, see Q37_order; Q37 was only included in the Canadian, German, Luxembourgish, and Norwegian versions of the survey

Q37_order = Order in which Q37_1-Q37_6 were shown

>>The dataset contains timing questions for Q37_1 – Q37_6

Deservingness experiment

This is an experiment with a between-subjects design. The goal of the experiment is to test whether respondents' responses to Q38 (how deserving groups are of social benefits) differ when the group for whom the benefits are, changes. Respondents were assigned at random to one of six conditions. Each condition made a different group the focal point of Q38: 1) Unemployed, 2) Disabled, 3) Drug addicts, 4) Elderly, 5) Farmers, and 6) People. The condition to which the respondent was assigned is indicated by the variable Q38_condition.

>> This experiment was only conducted in Canada, Germany, Luxembourg, and Norway.

Q38 = Deserving experiment condition

1 = Unemployed

2 = Disabled

3 = Drug addicts

4 = Elderly

5 = Farmers

6 = People

Variables **Q38_1 – Q38_3**: "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?"

1 = Strongly disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Somewhat disagree

4 = Neither agree nor disagree

5 = Somewhat agree

6 = Agree

7 = Strongly agree

Q38_1 = It should become more difficult for [Q38_condition] to receive social benefits

Q38_2 = [Q38_condition] mostly receive social benefits due to their own life choices

Q38_3 = [Q38_condition] have contributed enough to receive social benefits

Note: the order of Q38_1 – Q38_3 was randomized.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for Q38_1 – Q38_3

Fairness inequality experiment

This is an experiment with a between-subjects design. Respondents were presented two hypothetical scenarios in which two persons, A and B, contribute to a task. The two persons are compensated for their work. However, in the first scenario, compensation is based on productivity, and in the second, it is based on a lottery. The basic set-up is always the same: person A received all the available compensation, and person B receives nothing. Respondents have the opportunity to redistribute between person A and B. While all respondents received both scenarios, respondents were assigned at random to one of two conditions. In the first condition, person A and B are informed about their productivity or the outcome of the lottery, and about the original distribution of the compensation. In the second condition, person A and B are not informed about this. The purpose of the experiment is to test how attitudes towards redistribution are affected by whether those involved are informed about the distribution and redistribution of their income. The condition to which respondents were assigned is indicated by the variable `fairness_experiment_condition`.

>> *This experiment was only included in the Czech, Flemish, German, Norwegian, and Portuguese versions of the survey.*

fairness_experiment_condition = Fairness experiment condition

- 1 = Not informed
- 2 = Informed

Variables **Q43** and **Q44** have the following response codes:

- 1 = \$/€0 - Kč0 - 0Kr
- 2 = \$/€5 - Kč150 - 50Kr
- 3 = \$/€10 - Kč300 - 100Kr
- 4 = \$/€15 - Kč450 - 150Kr
- 5 = \$/€20 - Kč600 - 200Kr
- 6 = \$/€25 - Kč750 - 250Kr
- 7 = \$/€30 - Kč900 - 300Kr
- 8 = \$/€35 - Kč1050 - 350Kr
- 9 = \$/€40 - Kč1200 - 400Kr
- 10 = \$/€45 - Kč1350 - 450Kr
- 11 = \$/€50 - Kč1500 - 500Kr
- 12 = \$/€55 - Kč1650 - 550Kr
- 13 = \$/€60 - Kč1800 - 600Kr
- 14 = \$/€65 - Kč1950 - 650Kr
- 15 = \$/€70 - Kč2100 - 700Kr
- 16 = \$/€75 - Kč2250 - 750Kr
- 17 = \$/€80 - Kč2400 - 800Kr
- 18 = \$/€85 - Kč2550 - 850Kr
- 19 = \$/€90 - Kč2700 - 900Kr
- 20 = \$/€95 - Kč2850 - 950Kr
- 21 = \$/€100 - Kč3000 - 1000Kr

Q43 = How much do you give to person Y, when earnings are determined by a lottery?: “Imagine the following scenario:

Two people, A and B, each work on a task. Their earnings are determined by a lottery. Person A has won the lottery and receives \$/€100 - Kč3000 - 1000Kr. Person B receives nothing. You now have the option to redistribute the income between person A and person B. Person A and B are (not) informed about the outcome of the lottery and the original distribution of the \$/€100 - Kč3000 - 1000Kr. Of the \$/€100 - Kč3000 - 1000Kr from person A, how much do you give to person B who lost the lottery?”

Q44 = How much do you give to person Y, when earnings are determined by productivity?: “Imagine the following scenario:

Two people, X and Y, each work on a task. Their earnings are determined by their respective productivity. Person X was more productive and receives 100 euros. Person Y receives nothing. You have the option to redistribute the income between person X and person Y. Person X and Y are not informed about their productivity and the original distribution of the 100 euros. Of the \$100 from person X, how much do you give to person Y who was less productive?”

fairness_experiment_order = Order in which Q43 & Q44 were shown

>>The dataset contains separate timing questions for **Q43** and **Q44**

Inequality perceptions

Q40 = View on inheritances: fair or unfair: “Below you see two opposite views about inheritances. How would you place your opinion on this scale?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Unfair b/c no personal effort

10 = Fair b/c result of parents' effort

Note: Q40 was only shown to politicians from Australia, Czechia, Flanders (Belgium), Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden, and Wallonia (Belgium).

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q40**

Variables **Q41_1** – **Q41_2**: “In your opinion, what is the percentage of all of the wealth in Luxembourg owned by these two groups of households? We realize that this is a difficult question, but we would like to hear your assessment (move the sliders until you reach the desired number).”

[Answer format: 0-100% slider]

Q41_1 = Percentage of all wealth in country owned by top 1% wealthiest households

Q41_2 = Percentage of all wealth in country owned by bottom 50% least wealthy households

Note: Q41 was only shown to respondents from Australia, Czechia, Flanders (Belgium), Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden, and Wallonia (Belgium).

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q41_1** – **Q41_2**

Variables **Q42_1 – Q42_2**: “How much would you agree or disagree with these tax policies?”

- 1 = Completely disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Somewhat disagree
- 4 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 5 = Somewhat agree
- 6 = Agree
- 7 = Completely agree

Q42_1 = A tax on wealth above a certain amount

Q42_2 = A tax on inheritances above a certain amount

Note: Q42 were only shown in Australia, Czechia, Flanders (Belgium), Germany, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden, and Wallonia (Belgium).

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q42_1 – Q42_2**

Social class background

Social class background experiment

This is an experiment with a between-subjects design. The goal of the experiment is to test the effect of priming respondents’ poor or rich contacts on politicians’ support for redistributive policies. The response is measured in Q51. Respondents were assigned at random to one of six conditions, which differ in terms of 1) whether respondents’ poor, rich, or no contacts were primed (control), 2) whether the experiment featured in the beginning or at the end of the survey. The priming was done by asking respondents to write down the initials of the three poorest/richest contacts they met in the past month. The condition to which respondents was assigned is indicated by the variables `Social_background_exp_condition` (rich, poor, or no contacts) and `Social_background_exp_order` (at the beginning, or at the end).

>> *This experiment was conducted in all countries.*

Social_background_exp_condition = Social class background experiment condition

- 1 = Poor contacts
- 2 = Rich contacts
- 3 = No priming

Social_background_exp_order = Position of social class background experiment in the survey

- 1 = Beginning
- 2 = End

Variables **Q47_1 – Q47_3**: “We would like to ask a few questions about your social contacts. Can you think about the adults in your social network whom you believe might belong to the poorest/richest 30% of all [country demonym]? It could be any kind of contact: someone you know professionally or privately, someone who you are very close to or not, etc.

Can you please write down the initials of up to three of these poorest contacts that you have personally been in contact with in the past month?”

[Answer format: Open text field]

Q47_1 = Initials of 1st poorest/richest contacts you've been in contact with in the past month
Q47_2 = Initials of 2nd poorest/richest contacts you've been in contact with in the past month
Q47_3 = Initials of 3rd poorest/richest contacts you've been in contact with in the past month

Q48 = Reason for not entering initials in Q47: "Can you please tell us why you did not enter any initials?"

1 = I cannot think of any social contacts who belong to the poorest/richest 30% of the population

2 = I do not want to answer this question

>>The dataset contains timing questions for Q47 – Q48

Variables **Q49_1_1 – Q49_3_6**: "What type of contact is this person?"

0 = Not selected

1 = Selected

Q49_1_1 = Relation with person 1: Family member

Q49_1_2 = Relation with person 1: Friend

Q49_1_3 = Relation with person 1: Acquaintance

Q49_1_4 = Relation with person 1: Someone I recently met

Q49_1_5 = Relation with person 1: Someone from work

Q49_1_6 = Relation with person 1: Other

Q49_2_1 = Relation with person 2: Family member

Q49_2_2 = Relation with person 2: Friend

Q49_2_3 = Relation with person 2: Acquaintance

Q49_2_4 = Relation with person 2: Someone I recently met

Q49_2_5 = Relation with person 2: Someone from work

Q49_2_6 = Relation with person 2: Other

Q49_3_1 = Relation with person 3: Family member

Q49_3_2 = Relation with person 3: Friend

Q49_3_3 = Relation with person 3: Acquaintance

Q49_3_4 = Relation with person 3: Someone I recently met

Q49_3_5 = Relation with person 3: Someone from work

Q49_3_6 = Relation with person 3: Other

Variables **Q50_1 – Q50_3**: "During the past year, how often did you have conversations with each of these contacts that allowed you to learn about their policy preferences?"

1 = Never

2 = Only once

3 = Only a few times

4 = About once a month

5 = About once every two weeks

6 = About once every week

7 = A few times per week

8 = Every day

Q50_1 = How often in the past year did you talk to person 1 about their policy views

Q50_2 = How often in the past year did you talk to person 2 about their policy views

Q50_3 = How often in the past year did you talk to person 3 about their policy views

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q49_1_1 – Q50**

Variables **Q51_1 – Q51_2**: “We would like to hear your views on two specific policy issues. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?”

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Somewhat disagree
- 4 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 5 = Somewhat agree
- 6 = Agree
- 7 = Strongly agree

Q51_1 = It would be a good idea to give every child, at birth, a publicly funded bank account?

Q51_2 = Landlords should not pay taxes on rental incomes

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q51_1 – Q51_2**

Social class background

Variables **Q52_1_1 – Q52_1_6**: “We are trying to get a better understanding of both your own and your close contacts’ social background. Would you be willing to provide us with the following information about yourself, your parents, your partner and your two closest friends? If certain categories do not apply, for example because you currently do not have a partner, please indicate ‘not applicable’. Please fill in the grid below using the drop down menus.”

- 1 = No or primary education
- 2 = Secondary education
- 3 = Higher non-university education
- 4 = University education
- 5 = Don't know
- 6 = I prefer not to say
- 7 = Not applicable

Q52_1_1 = Education level - self

Q52_1_2 = Education level - mother

Q52_1_3 = Education level - farther

Q52_1_4 = Education level - partner

Q52_1_5 = Education level - closest friend A

Q52_1_6 = Education level - closest friend B

Note: Q52_1 was shown in all countries.

Variables **Q52_2_1 – Q52_2_6**: “We are trying to get a better understanding of both your own and your close contacts’ social background. Would you be willing to provide us with the following information about yourself, your parents, your partner and your two closest friends? If certain categories do not apply, for example because you currently do not have a partner, please indicate ‘not applicable’. Please fill in the grid below using the drop down menus.”

- 1 = Lower class
- 2 = Working class
- 3 = Lower middle class
- 4 = Upper middle class
- 5 = Upper class
- 6 = Don't know
- 7 = I prefer not to say
- 8 = Not applicable

Q52_2_1 = Social class - self

Q52_2_2 = Social class - mother

Q52_2_3 = Social class - farther

Q52_2_4 = Social class - partner

Q52_2_5 = Social class - closest friend A

Q52_2_6 = Social class - closest friend B

Note: Q52_2 was shown in all countries.

Variables **Q52_3_1 – Q52_3_6**: “We are trying to get a better understanding of both your own and your close contacts’ social background. Would you be willing to provide us with the following information about yourself, your parents, your partner and your two closest friends? If certain categories do not apply, for example because you currently do not have a partner, please indicate ‘not applicable’. Please fill in the grid below using the drop down menus.”

- 9 = Australia
- 17 = Belgium
- 31 = Cameroon
- 32 = Canada
- 45 = Czechia
- 48 = Denmark
- 61 = Finland
- 62 = France
- 66 = Germany
- 81 = Iraq
- 83 = Israel
- 84 = Italy
- 101 = Luxembourg
- 116 = Morocco
- 122 = Netherlands (the)
- 128 = Norway
- 137 = Poland
- 138 = Portugal
- 142 = Romania
- 143 = Russian Federation (the)
- 167 = Sweden
- 177 = Turkey
- 168 = Switzerland

181 = Ukraine
183 = United Kingdom
995 = I don't know
996 = I prefer not to answer
997 = Not applicable

Q52_3_1 = Country of birth - self
Q52_3_2 = Country of birth - mother
Q52_3_3 = Country of birth - farther
Q52_3_4 = Country of birth - partner
Q52_3_5 = Country of birth - closest friend A
Q52_3_6 = Country of birth - closest friend B

Note: Only the most frequent countries are shown here; Q52_3 was shown in all countries.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q52_1_1 – Q52_3_6**

Evaluation of public opinion

Quality of public opinion perception experiments

These are two experiments with a between-subject design. Politicians were presented with information on the distribution of those in favor and against a certain policy proposal. Afterwards they were asked to give their opinion on those in favor or those against. There were 10 conditions, revolving around two variables. The first is related to the policy proposal. There were five different policy proposals politicians could be informed about. The second variable has to do with which side of the proposal respondents were asked questions about, those in favor or those against.

The experiment was run twice. In the first version, politicians were informed and asked questions about those in favor or against the proposal in the general public. In the second version of the experiment, this was changed to voters of their own party. Respondents were assigned at random to one of the 10 conditions in each experiment. It should be noted however, that the policy proposal always differed between the two versions. No respondent saw the same policy proposal twice. The condition to which each respondent was assigned is indicated by `issue_PO_evaluation`, `PO_evaluation_condition`, `issue_party_voters_evaluation`, `party_voters_evaluation_cond`

>> *This experiment was included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Dutch, Danish, Flemish, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Swedish, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey.*

issue_PO_evaluation = Policy statement shown in the evaluation of public opinion experiment

- 1 = Euthanasia/medically assisted dying should always be illegal
- 2 = The government should provide a universal basic income for everyone
- 3 = The government should be more strict when it grants people official refugee status
- 4 = To reduce carbon emissions, the price of airplane tickets should be increased
- 5 = The government should be composed of an equal number of men and women

PO_evaluation_condition = Evaluation of public opinion experimental condition

- 1 = Those who agree with the policy statement
- 2 = Those who disagree with the policy statement

Variables **Q61_PO_1 – Q61_PO_3**: “Now, we would like to ask you some questions about this specific group of people who are in favor of the proposal. To what extent do you agree with the following three statements with regard to the citizens that are in favor of the proposal?”

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Somewhat disagree
- 4 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 5 = Somewhat agree
- 6 = Agree
- 7 = Strongly agree

Q61_PO_1 = Citizens who (dis)agree are well-informed about the issue

Q61_PO_2 = Citizens (dis)agreeing have common good in mind when thinking about the issue

Q61_PO_3 = Citizens (dis)agreeing care deeply about the issue

Variables **Q62_PO_1 – Q62_PO_3**: “Still thinking about the citizens that are in favor/against of the proposal, how likely is it that you would...?”

- 1 = Very unlikely
- 2 = Unlikely
- 3 = Somewhat unlikely
- 4 = Neither unlikely nor likely
- 5 = Somewhat likely
- 6 = Likely
- 7 = Very likely

Q62_PO_1 = Raising opinion of citizens (dis)agreeing in informal convo with colleagues

Q62_PO_2 = Raising opinion of citizens (dis)agreeing in an internal party meeting

Q62_PO_3 = Preferring your party raise opinion of citizens (dis)agreeing in parliament

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q61_PO_1 – Q62_PO_3**

issue_party_voters_evaluation = Policy statement shown in the evaluation of party voters experiment

- 1 = Euthanasia/medically assisted dying should always be illegal
- 2 = The government should provide a universal basic income for everyone
- 3 = The government should be more strict when it grants people official refugee status
- 4 = To reduce carbon emissions, the price of airplane tickets should be increased
- 5 = The government should be composed of an equal number of men and women

party_voters_evaluation_cond = Evaluation of party voters experimental condition

- 1 = Those who agree with the policy statement
- 2 = Those who disagree with the policy statement

Variables **Q61_party_1 – Q61_party_3**: “Now, we would like to ask you some questions about this specific group of people who are in favor/against of the proposal. To what extent do you agree with the following three statements with regard to the party voters that are in favor of the proposal?”

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Somewhat disagree
- 4 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 5 = Somewhat agree
- 6 = Agree
- 7 = Strongly agree

Q61_party_1 = Party voters who (dis)agree are well-informed about the issue

Q61_party_2 = Party voters (dis)agreeing have common good in mind when thinking about the issue

Q61_party_3 = Party voters (dis)agreeing care deeply about the issue

Variables **Q62_party_1 – Q62_party_3**: “Still thinking about the party voters that are in favor of the proposal, how likely is it that you would...?”

- 1 = Very unlikely
- 2 = Unlikely
- 3 = Somewhat unlikely
- 4 = Neither unlikely nor likely
- 5 = Somewhat likely
- 6 = Likely
- 7 = Very likely

Q62_party_1 = Raising opinion of party voters (dis)agreeing in informal convo with colleagues

Q62_party_2 = Raising opinion of party voters (dis)agreeing in an internal party meeting

Q62_party_3 = Preferring your party raise opinion of party voters (dis)agreeing in parliament

>>The dataset contains timing questions for Q61_party_1 – Q62_party_3

Criteria of public opinion evaluation

Variables **Q64_1 – Q64_5**: “Politicians vary in their evaluation of public opinion's relevance. We are interested in the criteria that politicians use to evaluate public opinion signals. As researchers, we developed potential criteria that politicians might use. We know this is a difficult and abstract question, but could you please rank these criteria in order of importance. To rank them, drag each item to the appropriate place.”

- 1 = Ranked first
- 2 = Ranked second
- 3 = Ranked third
- 4 = Ranked fourth

5 = Ranked fifth

Q64_1 = Evaluating PO relevance: How many people hold the opinion

Q64_2 = Evaluating PO relevance: How deeply people care about the issue

Q64_3 = Evaluating PO relevance: Whether the opinion is well-informed

Q64_4 = Evaluating PO relevance: Whether people have good arguments for it

Q64_5 = Evaluating PO relevance: Whether the opinion favors the common good

Note: Q64 was included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Dutch, Danish, Flemish, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Portuguese, Swedish, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q64_1 – Q64_5**

Social groups and interest groups representation

Q55 = Most recent parl. initiative or activity during this or the previous term: "We are interested in your recent work in parliament. Please think of the most important parliamentary initiative or activity you have worked on during this legislature. Can you describe in a few words the subject of this parliamentary initiative or activity?"

[answer format: Open text field]

Note: Q55 was included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Dutch, Danish, Flemish, Israeli, Portuguese, Swedish, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey.

Q56 = Which group of citizens first comes to mind when you think about this initiative?

[answer format: Open text field]

Note: Q56 was only included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Dutch, Danish, Flemish, Israeli, Portuguese, Swedish, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey.

Q57 = To what extent do you think this group of citizens favors your initiative?

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Not at all in favor

10 = Totally in favor

Note: Q57 was only included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Dutch, Danish, Flemish, Israeli, Portuguese, Swedish, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q56 – Q57**

Q58 = Which interest group first comes to mind when you think about your initiative?

[answer format: Open text field]

Note: Q58 was only included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Dutch, Danish, Flemish, Israeli, Portuguese, Swedish, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey.

Q59 = To what extent do you think this interest group favors your initiative?

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Not at all in favor

10 = Totally in favor

Note: Q59 was only included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Dutch, Danish, Flemish, Israeli, Portuguese, Swedish, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q58 – Q59**

Q60 = Which specific interest group was most useful when preparing this initiative?

[answer format: Open text field]

Note: Q60 was included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Dutch, Danish, Flemish, Israeli, Portuguese, Swedish, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q60**

Representing the future

Variables **Q200_1 – Q200_4 = Representing the future:** “To what extent do you agree or disagree that an elected politician in the national parliament should represent the interests of the following groups?”

- 1 = Completely disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Somewhat disagree
- 4 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 5 = Somewhat agree
- 6 = Agree
- 7 = Completely agree

Q200_1 = Should MPs represent adult Citizens

Q200_2 = Should MPs represent young people and children

Q200_3 = Should MPs represent foreigners living in this country

Q200_4 = Should MPs represent future generations

Note: The order of Q200_1 – Q200_4 was randomized, see Q200_order; Q200 was only included in the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal

Q200_order = Order in which Q200_1-Q200_4 were shown

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q200**

Forms of public opinion

Variables **Q65_1 – Q65_4:** “We are again interested in how politicians evaluate public opinion. How do you interpret general public opinion on these issues?”

- 1 = Strongly against
- 2 = Against
- 3 = Rather against
- 4 = Neither in favor nor against
- 5 = Rather in favor
- 6 = In favor
- 7 = Strongly in favor

Q65_1 = Interpr. PO: It should be easier for refugees who have acquired official asylum seeker status to bring over their close family members

Q65_2 = Interpr. PO: The government should subsidize the purchase of electric vehicles

Q65_3 = Interpr. PO: It should be forbidden for the government to impose a curfew as a measure against a pandemic

Q65_4 = Interpr. PO: Coronavirus vaccinations should be mandatory

Note: **Q65** was included in the Canadian, Czech, Dutch, Danish, Flemish, Luxembourgish, Norwegian, Portuguese, and Swedish versions of the survey.

Q65_order = Order in which Q65_1-Q65_4 were shown

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q65_1 – Q65_4**

Electoral success & perceptions of public opinion

This is an experiment with a between-subjects design. Politicians were asked to estimate the share of the electorate in their country that shares their position on different issues. The goal of the experiment was to see whether being informed about a recent polling result affected their responses. There were thus two conditions to which politicians were assigned at random: 1) not informed about the poll result, and 2) informed about the poll result. The condition to which the respondent was assigned is indicated by the variable **Q66_condition**.

>> *This experiment was only conducted in Canada, Luxembourg, Portugal, and Sweden, and Wallonia.*

Q66_condition = Election poll priming condition

- 1 = Control: not informed about poll result
- 2 = Experimental condition: informed about poll result

Q66_1 = Capital gains from the sale of stock shares should be taxed more heavily

- 1 = Agree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = I don't know

Q67_1 = What % of the electorate do you think shares your position on this issue?

[Answer format: 0-100% slider]

>>The dataset contains separate timing questions for **Q66_1** and **Q67_1**

Q66_2 = It would be preferable if criminal policy involved offenders making amends for the victim's losses instead of imprisoning offenders

- 1 = Agree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = I don't know

Q67_2 = What % of the electorate do you think shares your position on this issue?

[Answer format: 0-100% slider]

>>The dataset contains separate timing questions for **Q66_2** and **Q67_2**

Q66_3 = Educational policy should focus more on letting the strongest students excel

- 1 = Agree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = I don't know

Q67_3 = What % of the electorate do you think shares your position on this issue?

[Answer format: 0-100% slider]

Time allocation

Variables **Q68_1 – Q68_8**: “Imagine the following situation. Unexpectedly, a day completely frees up in your calendar following the cancellation of a meeting scheduled for the whole day. This leaves you a whole day free of any commitment. How many hours would you like to devote to the following activities?”

[Answer format: Respondents were able to fill in any number from 0 to 24 for each question. The sum of all numbers entered could not exceed 24.]

Q68_1 = How long would you spend time preparing legislative work (hrs.)

Q68_2 = How long would you spend time interacting w/ ordinary citizens (hrs.)

Q68_3 = How long would you spend time interacting w/ the party (hrs.)

Q68_4 = How long would you spend time interacting w/ int. groups & social movts (hrs.)

Q68_5 = How long would you spend time interacting w/ experts and scientists (hrs.)

Q68_6 = How long would you spend time catching up w/ news and social media (hrs.)

Q68_7 = How long would you spend time getting some rest and relax (hrs.)

Q68_8 = How long would you spend time on activity suggested in Q68_8_TEXT (hrs.)

Note: Q68 was only included in the Australian, Canadian, Danish, German, Portuguese, and Swedish versions of the survey

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q68_1 – Q68_8**

Variables **Q69_1 – Q69_8**: “Now imagine that citizens can decide how to organize your time in this free day in your agenda. In your opinion, would citizens fill your agenda differently? Could you modify your agenda for that day (again indicated in parentheses) if you think the voters would distribute it differently.”

[Answer format: Respondents were able to fill in any number from 0 to 24 for each question. The sum of all numbers entered could not exceed 24.]

Q69_1_1 = Citizen prefs.: Preparation of legislative work

Q69_2_1 = Citizen prefs.: Interaction with ordinary citizens

Q69_3_1 = Citizen prefs.: Interaction with the party

Q69_4_1 = Citizen prefs.: Interaction with interest groups and social movements

Q69_5_1 = Citizen prefs.: Interaction with experts and scientists

Q69_6_1 = Citizen prefs.: Catching up with news and social media

Q69_7_1 = Citizen prefs.: Get some rest and relax

Q69_8_1 = Citizen prefs.: Other (see Q69_8_TEXT)

Note: Q69 was only included in the Australian, Canadian, Danish, German, Portuguese, and Swedish versions of the survey.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q69_1 – Q69_8**

Democracy for realists

Q70 = (Un)fairly blame/reward politicians: “Some say that voters often blame or reward politicians for events that are totally outside the politician’s control. Others say that voters are good at knowing which events politicians are and are not responsible for. Which of these views best describes how you vote?/Where would you position yourself in this debate?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Unfairly blame/reward politicians

10 = Fairly blame/reward politicians

Note: Q70 was only included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Danish, Flemish, German, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Dutch, Portuguese, Swedish, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey.

Q71 = Voting based on policy preferences, or partisan & other group identities: “Some say that voters make their decisions based on their policy preferences. Others say that voters’ choices have much more to do with their deeply held partisan or other group identities. Where would you position yourself in this debate?/Which of these views best describes how you vote?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Policy preferences

10 = Partisan or other group identities

Note: Q71 was only included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Danish, Flemish, German, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Dutch, Portuguese, Swedish, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey.

Q72 = Selecting candidates on promises for the future or past performance: “Some say that voters make decisions based on candidates’ policy commitments and promises for the next term. Others say that voters base their decisions on rewarding or punishing their elected representatives for how well they have performed in the previous term. Where would you position yourself in this debate?/Which of these views best describes how you vote?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Look to the future

10 = Look to the past

Note: Q72 was only included in the Australian, Canadian, Czech, Danish, Flemish, German, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Dutch, Portuguese, Swedish, Swiss, and Walloon versions of the survey.

Q70_Q72_order = Order in which Q70-Q72 were shown

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q70 – Q72**

Perceptions of voters

Q73 = Judging governments on improvements to personal or everyone's lives: “Some say that voters judge governments on whether they’ve improved everyone’s lives. Others say that voters judge governments on whether they’ve improved their own personal lives. Where would you position yourself in this debate?/Which of these views best describes how you vote?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Improvements to everyone's lives

10 = Improvements to personal lives

Note: Q73 was only shown in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders (Belgium), Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland.

Q75 = Making choices based on one or two issues, or a wide range of issues: “Some say that voters make voting decisions based on one or two policy issues they care strongly about. Others say voters decide based on a wide range of policy issues. Where would you position yourself in this debate?/Which of these views best describes how you vote?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = One or two issues

10 = A wide range of issues

[Note: **Q75** was only shown in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders (Belgium), Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland]

Q76 = Caring about a party's ideas or the leader's qualities: “Some say that voters care more about the ideas parties stand for than about the party leader’s character and competence. Others say that voters care about the leader’s qualities more than the party’s platform. Where would you position yourself in this debate?/Which of these views best describes how you vote?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = The party's ideas

10 = The leader's character & competence

Note: **Q76** was only shown in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders (Belgium), Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland.

Q77 = Being knowledgeable or largely ignorant about political issues: “Some say that when citizens vote they are by and large knowledgeable about political issues, while others say they generally know very little. Where would you position yourself in this debate?/Which of these views best describes how you vote?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Are knowledgeable about political issues

10 = Are ignorant about political issues

Note: **Q77** was only shown in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders (Belgium), Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland.

Q78 = Focusing on the short or the long term: “Some say that voters are impatient and think about the short term when they vote. Others say that voters focus on the long term. Where would you position yourself in this debate?/Which of these views best describes how you vote?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Think about the short term

10 = Think about the long term

Note: **Q78** was only shown in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders (Belgium), Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland.

Q79 = Preferring that politicians follow will of ordinary people or experts' advice: “Some say that voters prefer politicians who follow the will of ordinary people. Others say voters want politicians who follow the advice of experts. Where would you position yourself in this debate?/Which of these views best describes how you vote?”

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Will of ordinary people

10 = The advice of experts

Note: **Q79** was only shown in Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders (Belgium), Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland.

Q73_Q79_order = Order in which Q73-Q79 were shown

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q73 – Q79**

Responsive to whom experiment

This is an experiment with a between-subject design. Respondents were presented, in sequence, with three policy statements: The government should subsidize breast pumps for new mothers, The government should invest more in telehealth services for elderly citizens, allowing doctors to monitor senior patients remotely, and The government should remove hate speech from social media platforms. There were three conditions to which respondents were assigned at random. The conditions differ in what kind of information they offer respondents about that policy proposal. Politicians could be informed about 1) the preferences of the target group of the policy proposal, 2) the preferences of the entire electorate, and in 3) the control condition, no preferences were given. The goal of the experiment is to test whether giving poll numbers on the support for a policy proposal influences the responses given by politicians. The impact is measured in the variables Q99_1 Q100_1 Q99_2 Q100_2 Q99_3 Q100_3. The condition to which respondents were assigned is indicated by the variable `responsivity_expt_condition`.

>> *The experiment was only conducted in Australia, Canada, Denmark, Flanders, Germany, Portugal, Sweden. Please note that Q99_1, Q100_1, and Q101_1 were not included in Germany.*

responsivity_expt_condition = Responsivity experiment condition

- 1 = Support among the policy's target group
- 2 = Support among the entire electorate
- 3 = No support figure given

Q99_1 = Interested in working on bill to subsidize cost of breast pumps for new mothers?:

“If given the opportunity, would you be interested in working on a proposal/bill to subsidize the cost of breast pumps for new mothers?”

- 1 = Not at all interested
- 2 = Slightly interested
- 3 = Fairly interested
- 4 = Very interested

Q100_1 = If given a free vote, how likely would you be to vote in favor of this policy?

- 1 = Very unlikely
- 2 = Unlikely
- 3 = Neutral
- 4 = Likely
- 5 = Very likely

Q101_1 = Like to receive more information about voters' preferences on this issue?:

“Would you like to receive more information on voter preferences on this issue?”

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes

>> *The dataset contains timing questions for Q99_1 – Q101_1*

Q99_2 = Interested in working on bill to expand telehealth services for elderly citiz.?: “If given the opportunity, would you be interested in working on a proposal/draft law to expand telehealth monitoring services for older citizens?”

- 1 = Not at all interested
- 2 = Slightly interested
- 3 = Fairly interested
- 4 = Very interested

Q100_2 = If given a free vote, how likely would you be to vote in favor of this policy?

- 1 = Very unlikely
- 2 = Unlikely
- 3 = Neutral
- 4 = Likely
- 5 = Very likely

>>The dataset contains timing questions for Q99_2 – Q100_2

Q99_3 = Interested in working on a bill to remove hate speech from social media?: “If given the opportunity, would you be interested in working on a proposal/bill to take action to remove hate speech from social media?”

- 1 = Not at all interested
- 2 = Slightly interested
- 3 = Fairly interested
- 4 = Very interested

Q100_3 = If given a free vote, how likely would you be to vote in favor of this policy?

- 1 = Very unlikely
- 2 = Unlikely
- 3 = Neutral
- 4 = Likely
- 5 = Very likely

>>The dataset contains timing questions for Q99_3 – Q100_3

Scientific beliefs

Variables **Q80_1 – Q80_5**: “In the next part of the survey, we delve into several urgent social issues. We are firstly interested in your assessment of various scientific issues discussed in society. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?”

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Somewhat disagree
- 4 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 5 = Somewhat agree
- 6 = Agree
- 7 = Strongly agree

Q80_1 = Climate change is mostly due to human activity

Q80_2 = It is safe to eat genetically modified foods

Q80_3 = Homeopathy has therapeutic effects beyond the placebo effect

Q80_4 = All species have evolved over time due to processes such as natural selection

Q80_5 = Vaccines are safe & reliable way to help avert t/ spread of preventable diseases

[Note: the order of **Q80_1 – Q80_5** was randomized, see **Q80_order**; **Q80** was only included in the Australian, Czech, Danish, Flemish, German, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Dutch, Norwegian, and Walloon versions of the survey.]

Q80_order = Order in which Q80_1-Q80_5 were shown

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q80_1 – Q80_5**

Conspiracy theories

Variables **Q81_1 – Q81_4**: “We would like to know how widespread you think the following beliefs are among citizens. What percentage of citizens do you think each of the statements below is (fairly) credible? Please give us your best guess by dragging the slider to the correct percentage.”

[Answer format: 0-100% slider]

Q81_1 = % citiz. believing drug experiments happen on the public without their consent

Q81_2 = % citiz. believing evil groups hold back govts & control global economy

Q81_3 = % citiz. believing governments lie to citiz. to conceal illegal activities

Q81_4 = % citiz. believing experts only give evidence supporting preset conclusions

Note: **Q81** was only included in the Czech, Danish, Flemish, Dutch, and Walloon versions of the survey.

Q81_order = Order in which Q81_1-Q81_4 were shown

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q81_1 – Q81_4**

Variables **Q82_1 – Q82_4**: “And what percentage of your party's supporters do you think each of these statements is (somewhat) credible?”

[Answer format: 0-100% slider]

Q82_1 = % party sup. believing drug expt. happen on the public without their consent

Q82_2 = % party sup. believing evil groups hold back govts & control global economy

Q82_3 = % party sup. believing governments lie to citiz. to conceal illegal activities

Q82_4 = % party sup. believing experts only give evidence supporting preset conclusions

Note: Q82 was only included in the Czech, Danish, Flemish, Dutch, and Walloon versions of the survey.

Q82_order = Order in which Q82_1-Q82_4 were shown

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q82_1 – Q82_4**

News media coverage

Variables **Q85_1 – Q85_5**: “We also have some questions about the role of the news media. Generally speaking, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the news media in our country?”

1 = Strongly disagree

2 = Disagree

3 = Somewhat disagree

4 = Neither agree nor disagree

5 = Somewhat agree

6 = Agree

7 = Strongly agree

Q85_1 = The news media report honestly

Q85_2 = The news media report impartially

Q85_3 = The news media tell the whole story

Q85_4 = The news media report accurately

Q85_5 = The news media separate facts from opinions

Note: Q85 was only included in the Czech, Danish, Flemish, Dutch, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Norwegian, and Walloon versions of the survey.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q85_1 – Q85_5**

Variables **Q34_1 – Q34_10 = News consumption:** “On a typical weekday, how much time do you spend consulting the following sources of information?”

- 1 = Not at all/Never
- 2 = Less than half an hour
- 3 = Between half an hour and an hour
- 4 = Between one hour and two hours
- 5 = More than two hours

Q34_1 = Consulting in a weekday: Newspapers including their online versions

Q34_2 = Consulting in a weekday: Radio broadcast (including podcasts)

Q34_3 = Consulting in a weekday: TV shows (including daily news)

Q34_4 = Consulting in a weekday: Facebook

Q34_5 = Consulting in a weekday: Twitter

Q34_6 = Consulting in a weekday: WhatsApp

Q34_7 = Consulting in a weekday: Telegram

Q34_8 = Consulting in a weekday: Other social media platforms

Q34_9 = Consulting in a weekday: Alternative media (online)

Q34_10 = Consulting in a weekday: Other (see Q34_10_TEXT)

[Note: Q34_1 – Q34_5 & Q34_8 – Q34_10 were shown in Israel and Wallonia (Belgium); Q34_6 & Q34_7 were only shown in Israel]

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q34_1 – Q34_10**

COVID-19

Q86 = Government's handling of COVID-19 pandemic: “How do you think our country’s government has generally handled the coronavirus, or COVID-19, pandemic relative to other countries?”

[Answer format: 0-100 scale]

0 = Very badly

100 = Very well

Note: Q86 was only included in the Canadian, Czech, Flemish, German, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Walloon versions of the survey.

Q87 = Government's handling of getting Covid vaccines: “How do you think our country’s government has handled getting COVID-19 vaccines relative to other countries?”

[Answer format: 0-100 scale]

0 = Very badly

100 = Very well

Note: Q87 was only included in the Canadian, Czech, Flemish, German, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Walloon versions of the survey.

Q88 = Government's use of lockdowns/quarantines to contain virus: “How well do you think our country’s government used lockdown and quarantine policies to control the transmission of the COVID-19 virus relative to other countries?”

[Answer format: 0-100 scale]

0 = Very badly

100 = Very well

Note: Q88 was only included in the Canadian, Czech, Flemish, German, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Walloon versions of the survey.

Q89 = Government's economic policies to help economy during pandemic: “How well do you think our country’s economic policies during the pandemic helped the country's economy relative to other countries?”

[Answer format: 0-100 scale]

0 = Not at all

100 = Very much

Note: Q89 was only included in the Canadian, Czech, Flemish, German, Israeli, Luxembourgish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Walloon versions of the survey.

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q86 – Q89**

Climate change

Q91 = How worried are you about climate change?

- 1 = Not at all worried
- 2 = Not worried
- 3 = Neither worried nor at ease
- 4 = Worried
- 5 = Very worried

[Note: **Q91** was only shown to respondents from Australia, Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Norway, and Switzerland]

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q91**

Variables **Q92_1 – Q92_3**: “To what extent do you support or oppose the implementation of the following policies to mitigate climate change?”

- 1 = Strongly oppose
- 2 = Rather oppose
- 3 = Neither oppose nor support
- 4 = Rather support
- 5 = Strongly support

Q92_1 = Increasing taxes on fossil fuels, such as oil, gas and coal

Q92_2 = Using public money to subsidize renewable energy such as wind and solar power

Q92_3 = Using public money to subsidize nuclear energy production

[Note: **Q92** was only shown to respondents from Australia, Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Norway, and Switzerland]

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q92_1 – Q92_3**

Political psychology

Variables **Q93_1 – Q93_24**: “Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement.”

- 1 = Completely disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Somewhat disagree
- 4 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 5 = Somewhat agree
- 6 = Agree
- 7 = Completely agree

Q93_1 = I can look at a painting for a long time

Q93_2 = I make sure that things are in the right spot

Q93_3 = I remain unfriendly to someone who was mean to me

Q93_4 = Nobody likes talking with me

Q93_5 = I am afraid of feeling pain

Q93_6 = I find it difficult to lie

Q93_7 = I think science is boring

Q93_8 = I postpone complicated tasks as long as possible

Q93_9 = I often express criticism
Q93_10 = I easily approach strangers
Q93_11 = I worry less than others
Q93_12 = I would like to know how to make lots of money in a dishonest manner
Q93_13 = I have a lot of imagination
Q93_14 = I work precisely
Q93_15 = I tend to quickly agree with others
Q93_16 = I like to talk with others
Q93_17 = I can easily overcome difficulties on my own
Q93_18 = I want to be famous
Q93_19 = I like people with strange ideas
Q93_20 = I often do things without really thinking
Q93_21 = Even when I'm treated badly, I remain calm
Q93_22 = I am seldom cheerful
Q93_23 = I have to cry during sad or romantic movies
Q93_24 = I am entitled to special treatment

Note: The order of Q93_1 – Q93_24 was randomized; see Q93_order; Q93 was only shown in the Canadian, Danish, Israeli, Dutch, and Swiss versions of the survey.

Q93_order = Order in which Q93_1-Q93_24 were shown

>>The dataset contains timing questions for **Q93_1 – Q93_24**

Party conflict

Q94 = Does political conflict b/w parties create confusion or clarity for citizens?: “When political parties want to pursue policy change, disagreement between different parties is not uncommon. We are interested in the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about the role of conflict between political parties.

In your opinion, does political conflict between political parties create confusion about political issues or clarify political issues for citizens?”

[Answer format: 1-7 scale]

1 = Create confusion about issues

4 = Neither create confusion, nor clarify issues

7 = Clarify issues

Note: Q94 was only shown to respondents from Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders (Belgium), Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Switzerland, and Wallonia (Belgium).

Q95 = Should conflict or compromise b/w political parties be more present in politics?: “In your opinion, should conflict or compromise between political parties be more present in politics?”

[Answer format: 1-7 scale]

1 = Conflict should be more present

4 = Neither conflict, nor compromise should be more present

7 = Compromise should be more present

Note: Q95 was only shown to respondents from Australia, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Flanders (Belgium), Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Switzerland, and Wallonia (Belgium).

Party conflict experiment

This is an experiment with a between-subjects design. Respondents were presented a scenario in which party A submits a legislative proposal on a specific topic and party B votes against it. Three reasons are given why party B voted against it. Respondents were asked to indicate to which extent they dis(approve) of each reason. Respondents were assigned at random to one of four conditions, which differ regarding the topic party A's legislative proposal was about. The four topics were: 1) immigration, 2) healthcare, 3) the environment, and 4) Human rights. The condition to which respondents were assigned is indicated by the variable Q96_condition.

>> *This experiment was only shown to respondents from, Denmark, the Netherlands, Portugal, Switzerland, and Wallonia (Belgium).*

Q96_condition = Party conflict experiment conditions

- 1 = Immigration
- 2 = Healthcare
- 3 = The environment
- 4 = Human rights

>> *The dataset contains timing questions for Q95 – Q96*

Variables **Q96_1 – Q96_3**: "Imagine the following hypothetical scenario:

Party A has submitted a bill with new measures in the field of immigration. Party B does not support the bill because:

1. According to party B, it does not offer the best solution to the problem.
2. It goes against the ideological core(s) of party B.
3. The leader of party A has a personal problem with the leader of party B

Can you indicate to what extent you approve or disapprove for each of the three reasons of party B?"

[Answer format: 1-7 scale]

- 1 = Completely disapprove
- 4 = Neither approve nor disapprove
- 7 = Completely approve

Q96_1 = Party A doesn't offer the best solution to the problem

Q96_2 = Party A's solution goes against the ideological values of party B

Q96_3 = The leader of party A has a personal problem with the leader of party B

>> *The dataset contains timing questions for Q96_1 – Q96_3*

Variables **Q97_1 – Q97_3**: "To what extent do you think the three conflict situations will be viewed negatively or positively by citizens?"

[Answer format: 1-7 scale]

- 1 = Very negative
- 7 = Very positive

Q97_1 = Citizens: Party A doesn't offer the best solution to the problem

Q97_2 = Citizens: Party A's solution goes against the ideological values of party B

Q97_3 = Citizens: Leader of party A has a personal problem with the leader of party B

>>The dataset contains timing questions for Q97_1 – Q97_3

Extra variables

CHES_ID = Chapel Hill Expert survey party ID

[Note: Party variables here are taken from the 2019 Chapel Hill expert survey, which can be found here: <https://www.chesdata.eu/ches-europe/>]

CHES_Irgen = CHES general left/right position

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Extreme left

5 = Center

10 = Extreme right

CHES_Irecon = CHES economic left/right position

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Extreme left

5 = Center

10 = Extreme right

CHES_galtan = CHES gal/tan or new politics position

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Libertarian/Postmaterialist

5 = Center

10 = Traditional/Authoritarian

Populist_party = Populist party

0 = No

1 = Yes

[Note: To classify parties as populist or not, we relied on Rooduijn's PopuList database (where parties are categorized based on assessments from country experts). Rooduijn follows Mudde's (2004) conceptualization, characterizing populist parties as: 'parties that endorse the set of ideas that society is ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, "the pure people" versus "the corrupt elite," and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people.' As Rooduijn's database exclusively includes parties in European countries prior to 2021, additional sources had to be consulted for Canada, Israel and Australia. Therefore, we relied on data from the Global Values Survey supplemented with insights from country-specific experts within the POLPOP team.]

Appendix

MIP codes

Value	Theme	Detailed description of topic coding	CAP code *How the theme would be coded in the Comparative Agendas Project	Collapsed CAP code * Proposal to reduce number of topic categories to 17

1	Macro-economics	<p>References to the state of the economy and (macro)economic policies within the country. The matters that are coded here are:</p> <p><u>General domestic economic trends and issues</u>: economic prospects and conditions (e.g. recession, recovery, growth); comparisons of the economic conditions within the country to other countries; critique of capitalism.</p> <p><u>Monetary policy and Central Bank</u>.</p> <p><u>Industrial policy</u>: developments within the country's industrial climate, for example as a result of globalization (e.g. relocation to low-wage countries). This includes references to (lack of) government support for certain sectors.</p> <p><u>Price and wage measures</u> (only direct price and/or wage measures; wage moderation is coded under 11, 'work')</p> <p><u>Examples</u>: "Economic crisis"; "Economic problems"; "Economic depression"; "Economic problems"; "Capitalism"; "Globalization has ruined our economy"; "GDP"; "Preserving our prosperity"; "Aging population"; "Increased life expectancy"; "Creating new economic opportunities"; "Companies have too much power"; "Corporate greed"; "Industry"; "Corporate power".</p> <p><u>Exceptions</u>: <i>references to the budget and government debt, are coded as 2 'budget and national debt'; references to taxes are coded as 3 'taxes'; references to the employment and unemployment rate are coded as 12 'labor market trends'; references to wage moderation are coded as 11 'work'; references to issues concerning domestic trade and companies (e.g. shares, stocks) are coded as 28 'domestic trade'; references to issues concerning foreign trade, trade agreements, and exchange rates are coded as 32 'foreign trade'.</i></p>	1	1 (Economy)
2	Budget & national debt	<p>References to the budget and national debt.</p> <p><u>Examples</u>: "Budget"; "Budget derailed"; "Resolving the national debt"; "The negative effects of budget cuts"; "Our country's finances"; "Government spending"; "The long-term affordability of social security"; "Government revenues are not being spent in the right places"; "Economic balance"; "Subsidies"; "The financial picture"; "Finance"; "Financial"; "Debt".</p>	1	1 (Economy)

3	Taxes	<p>References to all kinds of taxes for both citizens and companies and the tax policy of the country.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Too many taxes”; “Tax reform is needed”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to taxes for specific target groups and specific topics should be coded under the applicable categories (e.g. tobacco excise taxes should be coded under 8 ‘healthcare’); when talking about reducing taxes for small firms this should be coded as 28 ‘domestic trade’; references to the functioning of the administration overseeing tax legislation are coded as 35 ‘functioning of public administration’.</i></p>	1	1 (Economy)
4	Purchasing power & Inflation	<p>References to (things that influence) the purchasing power of citizens. In addition, this category also contains references to salaries, inflation, prices, wage-price ratios, and policies that apply to them (e.g. interest rates, price index).</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Decline in purchasing power”; “Higher energy/food prices”; “Inflation”; “(Low) wages”; “Money”; “The impoverishment of the middle class”; “Finances”; “Standard of living (decline)”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to specific wage policies are coded as 11 ‘work’; references to energy sources (e.g. oil, gas, electricity) without reference to their price/affordability are coded as 17 ‘energy’.</i></p>	1 (wage in CAP under ‘work’, prices of goods and services under the respective categories)	1 (Economy)
5	Civil rights	<p>References to civil rights in general and those of minorities in particular. The matters that are coded here are: (measures to combat) discrimination on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, age, disability... in all fields (e.g. the labor market); racism; tolerance; preferential treatment of minorities; anti-Semitism; gay-marriage and other types of relationships; (un)equal pay for women; emancipation; expropriation (and private property rights); voting rights (and its conditions such as minimum age); freedom of speech (and its limitations); freedom of demonstration (and its limitations); freedom of press (and its limitations); censorship; right to protest; right to privacy and information</p>	2	2 (Civil rights)

		<p>(including medical data, commercial use of personal data...); freedom of religion (for example headscarf debate); rights of political extremist groups; native affairs.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Not everyone is allowed to say his/her opinion anymore”; “People with a migration background are not treated fairly when applying for jobs”; “Racism”; “The glass ceiling”; “The wage gap between men and women”; “Our cities are not wheelchair accessible”; “Equality”; “There are too many laws, because of which our freedom is severely limited” (when the respondent simply says: “there are too many laws”, code as 35 ‘functioning of public administration’).</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> references to human rights (violations) in another country or as part of a discussion about the international context are coded as 33 ‘international relations’; references to election procedures are coded as 35 ‘functioning of public administration’; references to migrants as a problem are coded as either 18 ‘migration’ or 19 ‘integration’.</p>		
6	Ethical themes	<p>References to ethical issues.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Abortion”; “Euthanasia”; “Adoption of children by gay couples”; “Transgender athletes within sports competitions”; “IVF”; “Contraception”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> references to the death penalty are coded under 22 ‘justice’.</p>	2, 3	2 (Civil rights)
7	Religion	<p>References to the funding and policies of religions and other religious institutions. This includes references to specific religions without further context.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Election of the Muslim Executives”; “The way in which churches are financed”; “Islam”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> references to freedom of religion are coded as 5 ‘civil rights’; references to religious schools are coded as 14 ‘education’; when someone raises the issue of discrimination (based on religion), it is coded as 5 ‘civil rights’.</p>	0031 (Belgian CAP codebook)	3 (Migration)

8	Healthcare	<p>References to (the quality of) health care policy. The matters that are coded here are: (capacity of) healthcare facilities; laboratories; regional distribution of healthcare facilities; privatization/nationalization of health services; (regulation and quality of) medical treatments; organ donation and transplantation; the education and training of medical personnel; (private and public) insurances as well as questions and problems related to them; regulation of pharmacies and dentists; regulation of medicines and the pharmaceutical industry (for example regarding safety and marketing); medical liability and compensation; shortage of medical staff; waiting lists for medical treatment; disease prevention and control (e.g. vaccination, screening...); prescription drugs; medical examination; maternity ward (including infant mortality); prenatal care.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Health”; “Healthcare”; “Health Insurance”; “The shortage of hospital staff”; “The price of insulin is way too high”; “The waiting lists in our hospitals are terrible”; “Diabetes”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to education in general are coded as 14 ‘education’; references to COVID-19 and its related policies are coded as 48 ‘COVID-19’; references to the promotion of health are coded as 9 ‘welfare’.</i></p>	3	4 (Social affairs)
9	Welfare	<p>References to care institutions, childcare, and the general well-being of society (or particular groups within it). The matters that are coded here are: elderly policy and support; care for the disabled; care posts; home care; long-term care; rehabilitation; support for families with children (e.g. childcare, after-school care); health promotion and education (e.g. promoting healthy eating); alcohol, tobacco, and drugs policy and statistics; campaigns against driving under the influence; campaigns against tobacco, drug and alcohol abuse; mental health; psychological and psychiatric care; care for the terminally ill; hospice care; suicide prevention; youth centers; assisted living.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Savings in welfare”; “Our residential care centers are neglected”; “Childcare is too expensive in this country”; “Bullying”; “Loneliness”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to (the need for) policies combatting the presence of drugs in our society and drug trafficking are coded as 21 ‘crime’.</i></p>	3 or 13	4 (Social affairs)

10	Agriculture & fishing	<p>References to agricultural policy. The matters that are coded here are: regulation, inspection, and control over <u>agricultural</u> exports and imports; agricultural trade; government subsidies for agriculture; prices of agriculture; farming lands; building permits for agriculture in rural areas; food production; food policy (inspection and regulation of food quality and safety including in shops and slaughterhouses); food security; promotion of certain food (e.g. organic foods); animal and plant disease control; pest control; welfare of livestock; environmental issues related to agriculture (e.g. use of fertilizer); fisheries (including quotas and preservation of fish populations); common agricultural policy; agricultural disaster insurance (e.g. failure of crops); hunting licenses.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Sufficient food must be produced in our country”; “The EU’s flawed agricultural policy”; “Making sure our food remains free of pesticides and hormones”; “Genetically modified foods are a major health concern”; “The strong regulations regarding ammonia emissions from stables”.</p>	4	5 (Environment)
11	Work	<p>References to labor and labor market policies. The matters that are coded here are: working conditions (e.g. laws regarding working hours); occupational safety (including work insurance); occupational diseases; compensation for work-related accidents; activation, training & development of the workforce and unemployed; job creation programs; specific policies to combat unemployment; (fair) employment conditions (e.g. degree of flexibility, number of vacation days); social and economic consequences of unemployment; employee benefits (e.g. company car); legislation regarding sickness compensation; (mass) lay-offs; arrangements at layoffs; labor unions and their activities (e.g. collective bargaining); employers’ organizations; trade unions; strikes; labor market policy on youth (e.g. minimum age for paid work); European Social Fund.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “The unemployed are not sufficiently encouraged to go back to work”; “One has to work too many hours in this country”; “The minimum wage is too low”; “Wage cost”; “Limitation of unemployment benefits over time”; “Social dumping”.</p>	5	6 (Work)

		<i>Exceptions: references to pensions are coded as 13 'pensions'; references to the (un)employment rate are coded as 12 'labor market trends'; references to social security in general are coded as 24 'social affairs'; references to matters concerning military personnel are coded as 29 'defense'; references to legislation and regulation of unemployment benefits and sickness compensation are coded here, but references to the administration of unemployment benefits and sickness compensation are coded as 24 'social affairs'.</i>		
12	Labor market trends	<p>References to labor market developments with regards to the (un-)employment rate.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> "Many people are out of work"; "The number of well-paid jobs is too limited"; "More people should be working"; "The employment rate in the chemical sector is too low"; "Jobs"; "No work"; "Employment"; "Staff shortage"; "Job security".</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> this also includes references to the need to get more people into work, however, if reference is made to specific policy proposals to combat unemployment/to get people to work, it is coded as '11 'work'; references to shortages of medical personnel are coded as 8 'healthcare'; references to shortages of defense personnel are coded as 29 'defense'.</p>	1	1 (Economy)
13	Pensions	<p>References to pensions and provisions for early retirement.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> "Pensions for the common man"; "The retirement age is too high".</p>	5	6 (Work)

14	Education	<p>References to education and related policies. The matters that are coded here are: primary education; secondary education; higher education; cost of education; education of the underprivileged and socially disadvantaged (e.g. tax breaks); vocational education; technical education (e.g. for electricians); education for children with learning difficulties and disabilities; relationship between public and private education; educational quality; promotion of excellence in education; religious education on schools; literacy programs.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “The quality of education has only decreased in recent years”; “The teacher shortage”; “Going to college is too expensive in our country”; “The admission criteria for certain schools are too stringent”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to work-related education are coded as 11 ‘work’; references to training programs in healthcare are coded as 8 ‘healthcare’; references to scientific research are coded as 31 ‘technology & research’.</i></p>	6	7 (Education)
15	Climate change	<p>References to climate change and related policies. The main difference with code 16 ‘environment’ is that ‘climate change’ focuses primarily on the causes and consequences of global warming and other global climate problems. This includes references to (extreme) weather conditions and natural disasters (as a consequence of climate change).</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Climate”; “Climate warming”; “Climate change”; “We must reduce CO2 emissions”; “Regulation of car emissions”; “Greenhouse effect”; “Forest fires”; “Depletion of the ozone layer”; “The catastrophic consequences of nuclear war on our climate”; “Sea level rises”; “Floods”; “Extreme drought”; “Natural disasters”; “Water shortage”.</p>	7	5 (Environment)

16	Environment	<p>References to the environment and environmental policies. The matters that are coded here are: drinking water quality and supply; matters concerning (the pollution and conservation of) groundwater, seawater, lakes, rivers, and other inland waterways; waste processing (e.g. sewerage, household waste...); hazardous waste (e.g. nuclear, chemicals...); pollution and regulation of pesticides by agriculture; air pollution; light pollution; noise pollution; acid rain; recycling; indoor pollution (e.g. asbestos, lead, radon...); protection of animal and plant life (e.g. endangered species, illegal trade...); animal right; (regulation) surrounding the treatment of animals in experiments; forest protection; legislation regarding hunting; soil and water protection and pollution; nature parks; national parks; (the exploitation of) natural resources and raw materials; use of publicly accessible land and forests; flood control; dredging; river infrastructure; forest and land management.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Environment”; “Chemical pollution from industry”; “The illegal animal trade”; “Ecology”; “Animal rights”; “Nature”; “The weather”; “Sustainability”; “Spatial Planning”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to issues related to livestock rights and welfare are coded as 10 ‘agriculture and fishing’.</i></p>	7	5 (Environment)
17	Energy	<p>References to energy policy. The matters that are coded here are: national and global energy supply and need; energy security; strategic reserves; electricity; gas, oil, and coal (including offshore) as an energy source; heath supply; solar panels; alternative and renewable energy; nuclear energy and security; energy conservation (e.g. subsidies for energy-conserving initiatives, for example isolation of private homes).</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “The law on nuclear phase-out must be reversed”; “Supply security gas and electricity”; “Energy dependence on Russia”; “Potential power failures”; “The current energy crisis”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to the price of energy are coded as 4 ‘purchasing power & inflation’; references to the use of nuclear power for military purposes are coded as 29 ‘defense’; references to nuclear waste or environmental concerns related to it are coded as 16 ‘environment’; references regarding the environmental impact of any of these</i></p>	8	8 (Energy)

		<i>resources are coded as 16 'environment'; references to the presence of raw materials (without referring to them as an energy source) are coded as 16 'environment'.</i>		
18	Migration	<p>References to migration. The matters that are coded here are: influx of migrants; refugees and asylum seekers; asylum procedures; right to entry; naturalization; illegal migration; deportation; migrant workers; family reunification; dual citizenship; treatment of migrants.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> "Migration"; "Foreigners"; "Far too many foreigners who benefit from our money"; "Immigrants"; "Too much money is spent on migrants"; "Immigration which brings crime"; "Criminal migrants".</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to the working conditions of migrants are coded as 11 'work'.</i></p>	9	3 (Migration)
19	Integration	<p>References to the integration process of migrants and multiculturalism.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> "All those strangers who don't belong here"; "Migrants who try to impose their values on our society"; "The government does not support migrants sufficiently, which makes integration into our society difficult"; "Their cultural/religious beliefs are contradictory to our values"; "Segregation"; "Islamization"; "The multicultural society"; "limited willingness of migrants to work"; "Unemployment amongst migrants".</p>	9	3 (Migration)
20	Mobility	<p>References to traffic and transport including related policies. The matters that are coded here are: (the functioning of) public transport; safety related to every mode of transportation; accident statistics; speed limits and enforcement; the construction and maintenance of road infrastructure; bicycle tracks; tolls; car inspection; construction of and specific regulations regarding airports and air traffic, railways, motor vehicles, ships, shipping, and ports & mass transportation; maritime issues; laws regarding driving licenses; public works related to transportation infrastructure.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> "There are too many cars on the road"; "Our roads are in bad shape"; "The traffic jams in this country are horrific"; "Infrastructure".</p>	10	9 (Mobility)

21	Crime	<p>References to crime. The matters that are coded here are: crime statistics; the societal and individual impact of crime; organized crime; drug trafficking; juvenile delinquency; fraud; corruption; child abuse; crime prevention (e.g. anti-drug policy); illegal possession of weapons (not related to the military); gun violence; riots; uprisings and insurrections; attacks or threats to public figures (including politicians); domestic violence; prostitution; references to any type of violence.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Security”; “Crime”; “The increase in drug crime”; “Violence”; “Violent protests”; “Civil disobedience”; “Fear”; “Feeling of insecurity”; “Corruption”; “The violence perpetrated by migrants”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to radicalization or terrorism are coded as 23 ‘terrorism’; references to the use and health concerns related to drugs, are coded as 8 ‘healthcare’; references to the legal consumption of drugs are coded as 8 ‘healthcare’; references to corrupt politicians are coded as 38 ‘PolRep – self-interest’; references to the domestic conflict in Israel are coded as 41 ‘domestic conflict’.</i></p>	12	10 (Law & order)
22	Justice	<p>References to the operation of the judiciary and authorities responsible for enforcing the law. The matters that are coded here are: the judicial system; judicial organizations; court administration; legal procedures; judges; prison system; juvenile justice system; release on parole; alternative sanctions; extradition policies; penal code; family and civil law (including divorce, custody procedures, child support, foster care, forced marriages, forcible removals ...); criminal law; age of consent; agencies dealing with law and crime (e.g. the police, homeland security, security forces, border control); police training; legalization of drugs; creating a child-friendly society; gun control; private possession of weapons.</p> <p><u>For example:</u> “Impunity”; “The penalties for drug use are too severe”; “Convicts who don’t have to serve their full sentence”; “I don’t trust our justice system”; “Police misconduct”; “Our prisons are too crowded”.</p>	12	10 (Law & order)
23	Terrorism	<p>References to (combating) terrorism, radicalization, and extremist political views. Only code here when it pertains to national security.</p>	12	10 (Law & order)

		<p><u>Examples:</u> “The terrorist attacks in Brussels/Paris”; “The radicalization in certain neighborhoods”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to international terrorism are coded as 30 ‘international security’.</i></p>		
24	Social affairs	<p>References to the country's social policy. The matters that are coded here are: social security; the financial administration of elderly policy; the financial administration of sickness and disability benefits; references to the welfare state in general; voluntary organizations (e.g. Red Cross); support for widows, orphans, and surviving relatives; <u>financial</u> support for families with children (e.g. maternity leave, parental leave, child benefits...).</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Our social protection is too limited”; “(Low) welfare payments”; “Social issues”; “Social policy”; “Families lack incentives to start having children”; “Social crisis”; “Social emergency”; “Universal basic income”; “The elderly”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to (combating) poverty are coded as 25 ‘poverty’; references to work-related pensions, co are coded as 13 ‘pensions’; references to unemployment benefits are coded as 11 ‘work’; references to social security related to the employer are coded as 11 ‘work’; references to the construction of retirement homes or homes for the disabled are coded as 27 ‘housing’; references to family-oriented day care facilities (e.g. childcare, post- and preschool care and crèches) are coded as 9 ‘welfare’; only code the financial administration of elderly, sickness and disability policies here, all other aspects are coded as 9 ‘welfare’.</i></p>	13	4 (Social affairs)
25	Poverty	<p>All references to (the fight against) poverty and aid for low-income households.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “I think that the high poverty rate is a major problem”; “Poverty”; “Lack of food banks”; “Food stamps”; “Personal debt”; “Old-age poverty”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to economic inequality between population groups or the income gap are coded as 26 ‘socio-economic inequality’; references to unemployment generally are coded as 12 ‘labor market trends’; references to programs intended to get people into work are coded as 11 ‘work’.</i></p>	13	4 (Social affairs)

26	Socio-economic inequality	<p>References to economic inequality, lack of policy attention for economically weaker groups, or income inequality. In short, matters that have to do with redistribution should be coded here.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Inequality”; “Not enough attention for the weak”; “(The existence of) high earners”; “General pay gap”; “The income distribution in this country”; “Social justice”; “The social divide”; “Solidarity”.</p>	13?	4 (Social affairs)
27	Housing	<p>References to housing policy and urban development. The matters that are coded here are: community development; urban and rural housing; urban revitalization; living conditions of people in cities or in the countryside; the movement of urban people to the countryside and vice versa; the existence of ghettos; economic development of urban and rural areas as well as islands; (conditions, availability and affordability of) social housing; housing for veterans, the elderly and the disabled; safety standards in construction; housing market; housing affordability and availability; regulation of the rental market; problems related to homelessness (e.g. house assistance); protections for tenants; prices and taxes for houses.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Social housing”; “Housing market”; “Priceless housing”; “Shortage of houses for rent or sale”; “There is a lack of development of basic necessities like electricity in our remote community”; “There are too many homeless people”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to the care that is provided in the facilities mentioned above (housing for veterans, elderly, and disabled) are coded under the applicable category.</i></p>	14	12 (Housing)
28	Domestic trade	<p>References to policies related to corporations, banking, domestic trade, and commerce. The matters that are coded here are: the investment climate; banking (regulations); mortgages, loans, and credit; stock exchange, stocks, and shareholders; securities; commercial banks; insurances; monitoring and regulation of financial and insurance institutions; bankruptcies and debt of companies and banks; corporate mergers, antitrust law, and corporate governance; rules regarding competition; royalties, copyright, patent,</p>	15	1 (Economy)

		<p>and other intellectual property regulations; tourism; consumer policy and consumer protection; regulations regarding (deceptive) ads; regulation of business hours; regulations regarding the self-employed and small and medium-sized companies; regulation of (sports) gambling; financial assistance after domestic disasters; domestic supply chain issues.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Small companies are not sufficiently protected against multinationals”; “In the end, banks are too big to fail and will always be bailed out by the government, because of which they can do whatever they want”; “There are too many monopolies in our country”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> references to the Central Bank are coded as 1 ‘macroeconomics’; references to any type of fraud (e.g. insider trading) are coded as 21 ‘crime’; references to any type of salary are coded as 4 ‘purchasing power & inflation’; references to health insurance are coded as 8 ‘healthcare’; references to insurances part of employment are coded as 11 ‘work’; references to various taxes are coded as 3 ‘taxes’.</p>		
29	Defense	<p>References to defense. The matters that are coded here are: military intelligence; military budget; military readiness; arms exports; military personnel; conscription; espionage; military infrastructure and weapon systems; supervision of defense contracts; civil defense; fallout shelter construction (war related); veterans issues; claims against national military; the role of the country in acts of war; nuclear weapons; military purchases; reservists; the national guard; environmental impact of military operations.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “We must send more weapons to Ukraine”; “The acquisition of new F-16s”; “National security”; “Iran” (if mentioned in Israel).</p>	16	11 (International security)
30	International security	<p>References to international security (assistance), wars, military or strategic alliances (such as NATO), and international terrorism. This includes agreements and activities to ensure international security (e.g. disarmament and non-proliferation agreements/treaties; military assistance to other countries).</p>	16 (+19 in case of int. terrorism)	11 (International security)

		<p><u>Examples:</u> "The war in Ukraine"; "World War 3"; "So-called peacekeeping operations"; "Putin who engages in war crimes"; "Our country is drumming up war with China"; "Countries are not upholding the international ban on chemical weapons"; "The fact that North Korea and soon Iran will possess nuclear weapons"; "Russia"; "Peace".</p>		
31	Technology & research	<p>References to technology, research, and communication. The matters that are coded here are: exchange of knowledge, research, and technology; scientific cooperation and transfer; (commercial) space travel; space exploration; (commercial use of) satellites; media regulation; (regulation of) telecommunications and telephone services (including its infrastructure); ICT, computers and computer security; internet (including its infrastructure); weather forecasting systems; seismology; oceanography; technological cooperation; research libraries.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> "Our limited presence in space"; "Lack of internet access in our community".</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> references to (restrictions on) exports of technology are coded as 32 'foreign trade'; references to postal services are coded as 35 'functioning of public administration'; references to any type of crime are coded as 21 'crime'; references to copyright are coded as 28 'domestic trade'; references to social media are coded as 47 'Media'.</p>	17	17 (Other)
32	Foreign trade	<p>References to (policies on) foreign and international trade. The matters that are coded here are: free trade agreements; trade disputes; regulation and promotion of exports; export credit agencies; embargoes; (restriction of) export of technology; foreign investment in your country and your country's investments abroad; competitiveness and trade balance; regulation of import and tariffs; import restrictions; protectionism; liberalization in world trade; sanctions; internal EU market; exchange rates; strength of the country's currency against other currencies; measures to support domestic products.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> "Free trade agreements are destructive to our own companies"; "Chinese investment in Europe is dangerous"; "Capital flight is killing our economy"; "We need to impose more economic sanctions on Russia"; "Our dependence on neighboring countries"; "Trade".</p>	18	1 (Economy)

33	International relations	<p>References to foreign affairs and development cooperation. The matters that are coded here are: international agreements and conflicts surrounding these agreements; international law; international tax treaties; supporting the democratization process in other countries; development aid; humanitarian assistance; (data on) issues regarding developing countries (e.g. famine, drought, disease, AIDS-related issues, weak economy...); international financial affairs and economic development; strategies to alleviate third world debt (e.g. debt forgiveness); other countries' debt towards the country; policies towards specific countries (e.g. China and Russia) and regions (e.g. Eastern Europe and Africa); EU policies (generally, otherwise code under the respective categories); international canal zones (e.g. the Suez Canal); human rights; charges at an international court; diplomats and diplomacy; (exploitation of) international natural resources and the related agreements and conflicts; customs; border controls; passport matters; citizens abroad; references to other countries; rules surrounding foreign fishing in national waters.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> "We are not strict enough towards China"; "Too few resources are given to developing countries"; "We need to abolish Schengen"; "Europe"; "The euro"; "Neutrality (in a geopolitical context)"; "Our countries sovereignty"; "The green deal" (EU countries).</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to specific international institutions (and not the policies of those institutions) are coded as 34 'international organizations'; references to (problems related to) immigration or migrants themselves are coded as 18 'migration' or 19 'integration'; references to domestic climate measures or the issue of climate change in general are coded as either 15 'climate change' or 16 'environment'; international treaties in the area of international security are coded as 30 'international security'; references to international treaties/policies are coded under their respective categories; references to Russia are coded as 30 'international security'.</i></p>	19	13 (Foreign affairs)
34	International organizations	References to (problems with) the role, functioning, and procedures of international institutions/organizations and NGO's.	19	13 (Foreign affairs)

		<p><u>Examples:</u> “The European Commission is not democratic enough”; “It’s way too difficult for a country like Ukraine to join the EU”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to international policies on a particular theme, are coded as 33 ‘international relations’.</i></p>		
35	Functioning of public administration	<p>References to the functioning of public administration and democracy. The matters that are coded here are: postal services; regulation and deregulation in general; unelected government employees (as well as their working conditions and benefits); appointments in public service; awards (e.g. Medal of Freedom in the US); government buildings; the organization and functioning of the tax authorities; government procurement, contracts and outsourcing; regulation and funding of political activities, elections and election campaigns (e.g. organization of referendums); the practical aspects of the organization of various forms of civic participation; parliamentary and government procedures; rules regarding financial donations and nominations; census; impeachment procedures; (financial) claims against the government; public enterprises; nationalization; privatization; management of government property; disaster relief and aid; national holidays; matters concerning the royal family and the nobility; colonial issue; emergency services and firefighters; references to the private-public relationship.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “The postal service is not organized efficiently”; “The state”; “The state shouldn’t sell our public infrastructure”; “Political crisis”; “The system”; “The political system”; “Politics”; “[insert name of the own country]”; “Too many laws”; “Bad governance”; “Lobbying”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to fiscal policy are coded as 3 ‘taxes’; references to the state structure are coded as 36 ‘ PolRep - state structure’; references to politicians or political parties are coded as 37 ‘ PolRep – Parties and politicians’; references to military contracts are coded as 29 ‘defense’; references to the policies of a company in which the government has interests are coded by sector (e.g. state requires NMBS to be more punctual and to have more passengers is coded as 20 ‘mobility’. However, references to the principle of the government having a stake within a company are coded under this category); relations to post-colonial states are coded as 33 ‘international relations’;</i></p>	20	14 (Representation)

		<i>references to the need for more or less civic participation are coded as 39 'PolRep – representation'.</i>		
36	PolRep – state structure	<p>References to the structure of the system, intergovernmental relations, and the constitution. This also includes matters related to the distribution of competencies and jurisdictions between various institutions and branches of government, government efficiency, and oversight of bureaucracy (this includes references to fraud within the administration and/or the judiciary).</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Too many governments”; “Too many ministers”; “Too many politicians”; “Too many MPs”; “Fragmentation of powers”; “Too many powers at the federal/regional level”; “State Reform”; “Lack of transparency”; “Transfers from Flanders to Wallonia”; “Decentralization”; “The parliament is powerless”; “Political instability”; “Separatism”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to the behavior of politicians or parties are coded as 37 ' PolRep – parties and politicians'; references to issues surrounding national identity are coded as 40 'national/regional identity'.</i></p>	20	14 (Representation)
37	PolRep - parties and politicians other	<p>References to the behavior of political actors (ministers, government, parties, politicians) and the possible ungovernability that follows from this. This may be due to:</p> <p>Incompetence: short-sightedness of politicians, no vision, not pursuing policy vigorously enough, indecisiveness.</p> <p>Mutual conflicts: references to, party politics, division, conflicts about the policy to be pursued, unwillingness of politicians to look beyond party boundaries, and exclusion of parties (cordon sanitaire).</p> <p>Defective communication: references to poor communication, indecisiveness.</p> <p>When an individual actor is identified as the cause of the ungovernability</p> <p>The political ideology to which the party/politician belongs</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “The government has no clout”; “Politicians fight too much with each other”; “The government”; “Politicians”; “Lack of long-term vision”; “Lying politicians”; “[insert</p>	20	14 (Representation)

		<p>name of any politician/political party]”; “Contempt for politicians”; “The left”; “The right”.</p> <p><i>Exceptions: answers are only coded here if they cannot be coded under 38 ‘PolVer – self-interest’ or 39 ‘PolVer – representation’.</i></p>		
38	PolRep – self-interest	<p>References to politicians' failures, referring to their own ambitions and interests. This includes references to political scandals.</p> <p><i>Examples: “Corrupt politicians”; “Politicians are thieves”; “Politicians are overpaid”; “Politicians sell their souls for their political ambitions”.</i></p> <p><i>Exceptions: references to corruption in general (not explicitly related to politicians) are coded as 21 ‘crime’.</i></p>	20	14 (Representation)
39	PolRep - representation	<p>References to the extent to which citizens feel represented/heard by politics and politicians. Central questions are: ‘Are the interests of the people pursued?’ and ‘Are people being listened to?’. This includes references to (the need for) various (alternative) types of civic participation.</p> <p><i>Examples: “Politicians are in their own bubbles”; “The public loss of faith in politics”; “Politicians who are more concerned with themselves than with the people they are supposed to represent”; “Parties don't listen to their voters”; “Politicians do not keep their promises to the voter”; “Politicians make too many compromises because of which nothing ever changes”; “Government consists of parties that are 'not elected', those who are elected are not in government”; “We need more referendums”; “The public has to be more involved in important decision-making”; “Referendums”; “Lack of trust in politicians”; “Lack of Democracy”; “Populism”.</i></p> <p><i>Exceptions: references to the way in which various types of civic participation should be organized are coded as 35 ‘functioning of public administration’.</i></p>	20	14 (Representation)

40	National/regional identity	<p>Reference to the promotion and defense of national/regional identity and culture. This includes internal conflicts and cooperation between various groups.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “Absolutely no agreement prevails in the federal states and this will never be possible because there are too many cultural differences”; “The Flemings always have to give in to the Walloons, that has always been the case”; “The south and north issue that doesn’t make anyone happy”; “Identity”; “Alienation”; “Losing our values”; “National unity”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to differences of opinion between parties/politicians are coded as 37 ‘PolRep – parties and politicians’.</i></p>	20	14 (Representation)
41	Domestic conflict	<p>References to (violent) conflicts within a country between two or more (ethnic/religious/...) population groups. <u>This category is solely used for references to the domestic conflict in Israel.</u></p> <p>Examples: “Relation with our neighbors”; “Relationship with the Palestinians”; “Peace”; “Conflict”; “War”; “Domestic conflict”; “Internal divisions”; “Unity”; “Coexistence”; “Bedouins”; “Negev”; “Jews”; “Arabs”; “Gaza”; “Jerusalem”; “The wall”; “The settlements”; “(State/national/personal/citizen/internal) security” (except when referencing a foreign power such as Iran); “Security threats”; “The rift between the people”; “The division”; “Hatred”; “The territories”; “The Jewish/Arab takeover of our country”; “The Jewish identity”; “The Jewish state”; “The occupation”; “Polarization”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to violence in general are coded as 21 ‘crime’.</i></p>	/	15 (Domestic conflict)
42	Culture	<p>References to art, culture, and entertainment (with a capital C). The matters that are coded here are: music; performances; festivals; literature; cultural heritage; museums; archives; libraries; protection of sites of cultural value; monuments; historic sites; recreation.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u> “There are too few festivals”.</p> <p><u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to identity issues are coded under 40 ‘national/regional identity’ or 19 ‘integration’.</i></p>	23 (+ 21)	17 (Other)

43	Societal evolutions	References to social evolutions. First, check whether these cannot be coded under a different category. <u>Examples:</u> “Extremism”; “Movement to the right”; “Individualization”; “Woke”; “Polarization”; “Globalization”; “Political correctness”; “Political divisions”; “Unity”; “Dissatisfaction”; “Absence of God in the life of many”; “Degradation of the family”.	/	16 (Societal evolutions)
44	General government policy	General references to bad policy, a poorly functioning government (be sure to check first whether it cannot be coded under 35-39). <u>Examples:</u> “Very bad policy”; “Unclear regulations”; “The permanent failures, it is just a comedy”. <u>Exceptions:</u> <i>references to political parties or politicians (including references to the political game) are coded as 37 ' PolRep – parties and politicians'; references to the problem of representation are coded as 39 ' PolRep – representation'.</i>		14 (Representation)
45	Others	Answers that cannot be clearly attributed to a particular policy theme, social evolution, or political actor. This category also includes answers that are too vague and therefore would require too much interpretation (e.g. references to a certain population group without further context). <u>Examples:</u> “The world is ruined”; “Chaotic”; “Uncertainty”; “Stupidity”; “Common sense”; “The future of young people”; “A lot”; “Demographic change”; “Overpopulation”; “Sporting events”; “Trust (without further explanation)”; “Independence”; “Social unrest”; “Support”; “Credibility”; “Lack of help”; “Helping our own people first”.		17 (Other)
46	No	<u>Examples:</u> "I have no idea"; "None"...		99

47	Media	References to the (functioning of) both traditional and social media. This includes references to: the written press, audiovisual media, public broadcasting, and social media. <u>Examples:</u> “Our media are corrupt”; “The lies told by the news media”; “Our media are under attack”; “Misinformation”; “Fake news”.		17 (Other)
48	COVID-19	Any reference to COVID-19 and its related policies. <u>Examples:</u> “Mandates”; “Recovery from COVID”; “Outbreaks”; “Masks”.		99

General information about the coding

Coding was done by Bart Maes, Chris Butler, Arno Jansen and Karolin Soontjens. Any questions about the coding, please e-mail bart.maes@uantwerpen.be

Reliability of the codebook was tested by two coders amongst a subset of 1,616 cases of the elite data (68%). The codebook shows to be reliable with a Krippendorff’s alpha score of .90. The final coding is even more consistent because everything was double-checked by Bart Maes.

Political parties in the POLPOP survey (politician & citizen)

C	POLPOP_party_ID	CHES_ID	Party name	Citizen survey	Politician survey	Note
AU	101		Australian Greens	1	1	
AU	102		Australian Labor Party	1	1	
AU	103		Liberal Party of Australia	1	1	
AU	104		National Party of Australia	1	1	
AU	105		One Nation	1	1	
AU	106		Liberal National Party of Queensland	1	0	
AU	107		United Australia Party	1	0	
CA	201		AB NDP	0	1	
CA	202		BC Green Party	0	1	
CA	203		BC Liberal Party	0	1	
CA	204		BC NDP	0	1	
CA	205		Bloc Quebecois	1	1	
CA	206		CAQ	0	1	
CA	207		Conservative	1	1	
CA	208		Green Party	1	1	
CA	209		Liberal	1	1	
CA	210		NDP	1	1	
CA	211		ON Liberal Party	0	1	
CA	212		ON NDP	0	1	
CA	213		ON PC	0	1	
CA	214		QC Liberal Party	0	1	
CA	215		Quebec solidaire	0	1	
CA	216		United Conservative	0	1	
CA	217		People's Party	1	0	

Country	POLPOP_party_ID	CHES_ID	Party name	Citizen survey	Politician survey	Note
CH	301	3601	UDC – Union démocratique du centre	1	1	
CH	302	3602	PS – Parti Socialiste	1	1	
CH	303	3603	PLR – Les Libéraux-Radicaux	1	1	
CH	304	3604	Le Centre (Parti Democrate-Chrétien) & PBD	1	1	
CH	305	3605	Les Verts – Parti Ecologiste	1	1	
CH	306	3606	PVL – Les Vert Libéraux	1	1	
CH	307	3607	PEV – Parti Evangélique Suisse	1	1	
CH	308		UDF – Union Démocratique Fédéral	1	1	
CH	309		LdT – Lega dei Ticinesi	1	1	
CZ	401		SPOLU – ODS, KDU-ČSL, TOP	1	1	CHES scores in the POLPOP dataset represent the mean score of the parties making up the coalition
CZ	402	2115	Svoboda a přímá demokracie (SPD)	1	0	
CZ	403	2101	Česká strana sociálně demokratická (ČSSD)	1	0	
CZ	404		Trikolora Svobodní Soukromníci (TSS)	1	0	
CZ	405		PŘÍSAHA Roberta Šlachty	1	0	
CZ	406		PIRÁTI a STAROSTOVÉ (STAN)	1	1	CHES scores in the POLPOP dataset represent the mean score of the parties making up the coalition
CZ	407	2103	Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy (KSČM)	1	0	
CZ	408	2111	ANO	1	1	
CZ	409		VOLNÝ blok	1	0	

Country	POLPOP_party_ID	CHES_ID	Party name	Citizen survey	Politician survey	Note
DE	501	310	AfD	1	1	
DE	502	304	Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	1	1	
DE	503	301	CDU	1	1	
DE	504	308	CSU	1	1	
DE	505	306	Die Linke	1	1	
DE	506	303	FDP	1	1	
DE	507	302	SPD	1	1	
DK	601	219	Alternativet	0	1	
DK	602	215	Dansk Folkeparti	1	1	
DK	603	203	Det Konservative Folkeparti	1	1	
DK	604	213	Enhedslisten	1	1	
DK	605		Frie Grønne	1	1	
DK	606	218	Liberal Alliance	1	1	
DK	607	202	Radikale Venstre	1	1	
DK	608	201	Socialdemokratiet	1	1	
DK	609	206	Socialistisk Folkeparti	1	1	
DK	610	211	Venstre	1	1	
DK	611	220	Nye Borgerlige	1	0	
DK	612		Kristendemokraterne	1	0	
DK	613		Moderaterne	1	0	
DK	614		Veganerpartiet	1	0	

Country	POLPOP_party_ID	CHES_ID	Party name	Citizen survey	Politician survey	Note
FL	701	109	CD&V	1	1	
FL	702	105	Groen	1	1	
FL	703	110	N-VA	1	1	
FL	704	107	Open Vld	1	1	
FL	705	119	PVDA	1	1	
FL	706	112	Vlaams Belang	1	1	
FL	707	103	Vooruit	1	1	
IL	801		Blue and White	1	1	
IL	802		HaAvoda	1	1	
IL	803		HaTzionut HaDatit	1	1	
IL	804		Joint List (HareShima HaMeshutefet)	1	1	
IL	805		Likud	1	1	
IL	806		Meretz	1	1	
IL	807		Shas	1	1	
IL	808		Tikva HaDash	1	1	
IL	809		United Arab List	1	1	
IL	810		Yemina	1	1	
IL	811		Yesh Atid-Telem	1	1	
IL	812		Yisrael Beiteinu	1	1	
IL	813		United Torah Judaism	1	0	

Country	POLPOP_party_ID	CHES_ID	Party name	Citizen survey	Politician survey	Note
LU	901	3805	ADR	1	1	
LU	902	3801	CSV	1	1	
LU	903	3803	DP	1	1	
LU	904	3804	LSAP	1	1	
LU	905	3807	Piratepartei	1	1	
LU	906	3802	déi Gréng	1	1	
LU	907	3806	déi Lénk	1	1	
NL	1001	1001	CDA	1	1	
NL	1002	1004	D66	1	1	
NL	1003	1050	DENK	1	1	
NL	1004	1051	FVD	1	1	
NL	1005	1005	GL	1	1	
NL	1006		Groep Van Haga	0	1	
NL	1007	1002	PvdA	1	1	
NL	1008	1018	PvdD	1	1	
NL	1009	1014	SP	1	1	
NL	1010	1003	VVD	1	1	
NL	1011	1017	PVV	1	0	
NL	1012	1016	ChristenUnie	1	0	
NL	1013		Volt	1	0	
NL	1014		JA21	1	0	
NL	1015	1006	SGP	1	0	
NL	1016		BoerBurgerBeweging	1	0	
NL	1017		BIJ1	1	0	
NL	1018		50+	1	0	

Country	POLPOP_party_ID	CHES_ID	Party name	Citizen survey	Politician survey	Note
NO	1101	3501	The Norwegian Labour Party	1	1	
NO	1102	3502	The Progress Party	1	1	
NO	1103	3503	The Right	1	1	
NO	1104	3508	Environment Party The Greens	1	1	
NO	1105	3509	The Red Party	1	1	
NO	1106	3504	The Socialist Left Party	1	1	
NO	1107	3505	The Centre Party	1	1	
NO	1108	3507	The Liberal Party	1	1	
NO	1109	3506	Kristelig Folkeparti	1	0	
NO	1110		Pasientfokus	1	0	
PT	1201	1208	BE	1	1	
PT	1202		CH	1	1	
PT	1203		IL	1	1	
PT	1204	1206	PPD/PSD	1	1	
PT	1205	1205	PS	1	1	
PT	1206	1201	CDU	1	0	
PT	1207	1202	CDS-PP	1	0	
PT	1208	1250	PAN	1	0	
PT	1209		Livre	1	0	

Country	POLPOP_party_ID	CHES_ID	Party name	Citizen survey	Politician survey	Note
SE	1301	1603	Centerpartiet	1	1	
SE	1302	1606	Kristdemokraterna	1	1	
SE	1303	1604	Liberalerna	1	1	
SE	1304	1607	Miljöpartiet	1	1	
SE	1305	1605	Moderaterna	1	1	
SE	1306	1602	Socialdemokraterna	1	1	
SE	1307	1610	Sverigedemokraterna	1	1	
SE	1308	1601	Vänsterpartiet	1	1	
WL	1401	111	DEFI	1	1	
WL	1402	104	ECOLO	1	1	
WL	1403	108	LES ENGAGES	1	1	
WL	1404	106	MR	1	1	
WL	1405	102	PS	1	1	
WL	1406	119	PVDA-PTB	1	1	
WL	1407		Parti Populaire	1	0	
All countries	1900		Independent/no party affiliation	0	1	
All countries	1995		Other (pseudonymization)	0	1	