

**CORE CONCEPTUAL MAP**  
**PIREDEU 2009\***

*as of 28 July 2008*

**amended by PIREDEU Steering Committee,  
meeting on 19-21 June, 2008, in Amsterdam**

*This table contains the core concepts that should be included in 2009 PIREDEU Pilot Study, as agreed by the PIREDEU Steering Committee, meeting on 19-21 June, 2008, in Amsterdam).*

*This list only contains a list of core concepts that will be explored across the five data collection instruments, when possible. It is not a complete list of all items to be included in the questionnaires/coding schemes.*

List of concepts:

1. Voting: Party choice & turnout
2. Party ID
3. Engagement and mobilization
4. Media usage
5. Institutions
6. EU integration
7. Value orientations
8. Domestic and European issues
9. Representation
10. Identity
11. Demographics
12. Knowledge and experience:
13. Recruitment and Nomination
14. Political efficacy, trust and cynicism
15. Leadership/ candidate evaluation

Note: VS = Voter Survey, CS = Candidate Survey, EM = Euromanifestos, MS = Media Study and CD = Contextual Data.

\*With decisions and comments from the Steering Committee Meeting, Amsterdam, 19-21 June 2008.

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<b>Concept:</b>	<b>Measurement</b>
<p><b>1. Voting: Party Choice &amp; Turnout</b></p> <p><b>Party Choice:</b></p> <p><b>a. Future National Vote Choice</b></p> <p><b>b. Propensity to vote (Nat/EP)</b></p> <p><b>Turnout:</b></p> <p><b>c. Recall National vote/turnout</b></p> <p><b>d. Recall of EP Vote/Turnout</b></p>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <p><b>a.</b> If there were a “general election” tomorrow, which party would you support? (IF DON’T KNOW) Which party would you be most inclined to vote for?  <b>Comment: replace by “which party would you vote for?”</b></p> <p><b>b.</b> We have a number of parties in (country) each of which would like to get your vote. How probable is it that you will ever vote for the following parties? Please specify your views on a 10-point scale where 1 means “not at all probable” and 10 means “very probable.” If you think of (Party 1): what mark out of ten best describes how probable it is that you will ever vote for (Party 1)? <i>1 (not at all probable) to 10 (very probable) point scale for each party on list.</i>  <b>Comment: should this be a 11-point scale with a midpoint? Note: CvdE to create memo on advantages/disadvantages of 10 or 11-point scales.</b></p> <p><b>c.</b> Which party did you vote for in the “General Election” of “Year of Last General Election”?</p> <p><b>d.</b> A lot of people abstained in the European Parliament elections of June XX, while others voted. Did you cast your vote? <i>Dichotomous variable (1=yes, 2=no)</i> Which party did you vote for?  <b>Comment: should we change wording ensure more accurate recall?</b>  <b>Comment: Q should be adapted for STV, AMS &amp; Mixed member countries.</b></p> <p><b>NEW: (FOR NON-VOTERS) If you had voted in the EP election, who would you have supported?</b></p> <p><b>CS:</b> N/A</p> <p><b>EM:</b> N/A</p> <p><b>MS:</b> N/A</p> <p><b>CD:</b>  <b>NEW: Collect data on the exact dates of all EP, national, and “other” (regional, local) elections. Note if multiple contests held on the same day.</b></p>
<p><b>2. Party ID:</b></p> <p><b>a. National</b></p> <p><b>b. European</b></p>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you consider yourself to be close to any particular party? <i>1 (very close) to 4 (close to no particular party) scale.</i></li> <li>If so, do you consider yourself to be very close to this party, fairly close or merely a sympathizer? <i>1 (very close) to 3 (sympathizer)</i></li> <li>(For respondents indicating 1, 2 or 3 above) To which party do you feel close?</li> <li>We have a number of parties in (country) each of which would like to get your vote. How probable is it that you will ever vote for the following parties? Please specify your views on a 10-point scale where 1 means “not at all probable” and 10 means “very probable.” If you think of (Party 1): what mark out of ten best describes how probable it is that you will ever vote for (Party 1)? <i>1 (not at all probable) to 10 (very probable) point scale for each party on list.</i>  <b>Comment: Same question as 1VS1.</b></li> </ol> <p><b>CS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What is your party? [using standard party list]</li> <li>When did you join this party?</li> <li>What is your Party Group in the European Parliament? [using standard list of party groups]</li> </ol>

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	<p><b>Comment: Alternative wording of 2--“How long have you been a member of your party?” (BW)</b></p> <p><b>EM:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. PARTY [using standard party list]</li> <li>2. PFAMILY [do we have/need a standardized coding scheme for this?]               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1=green parties</li> <li>2=(post-)communist</li> <li>3=social democrats</li> <li>4=liberal</li> <li>5=christian democrats</li> <li>6=conservative</li> <li>7=nationalist</li> <li>8=agrarian parties</li> <li>9=regional parties</li> </ol> </li> <li>3. EP PARTY GROUP [using standard list of party groups]</li> </ol> <p><b>MS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. EU-member state level political actors: list of major parties</li> <li>2. EP party groups</li> </ol> <p><b>Comment: A common coding scheme for parties nested with party families and EP party group will be established. (SH, BW)</b></p>
<p><b>3. Engagement and mobilization</b></p> <p><b>a. National</b></p> <p><b>b. European</b></p>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To what extent would you say you are interested in politics? <i>1 (A great deal) to 4 (not at all) scale</i></li> <li>2. How often did you do any of the following during the three or four weeks before the European election? How often did you...           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o watch a program about the election on television?</li> <li>o read about the election in a newspaper?</li> <li>o talk to friends or family about the election?</li> <li>o attend a public meeting or rally about the election?</li> <li>o look into a website concerned with the election?</li> </ul> <p><i>Dichotomous variable (1=yes, 2=no) for each statement.</i></p> </li> </ol> <p><b>Comment: Include Candidate Contact question (e.g. Did a candidate/party visit you before the election of [YEAR]?)</b></p> <p><b>NEW: Have you ever been contacted by a candidate or party organisation during an election campaign in any of the following ways?</b></p> <p><b>Email</b></p> <p><b>Social networking contact (i.e. MySpace/Facebook)</b></p> <p><b>Telephone</b></p> <p><b>Direct mail/flyer through the post</b></p> <p><b>Face to face (calling at your home)</b></p> <p><b>Face to face (in the street)</b></p> <p><b>Never been contacted</b></p> <p><b>CS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How much effort did you and your team put into the following activities in the 2009 election campaign?           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Telephone canvassing</li> </ul> </li> </ol>

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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Door-to-door canvassing</li> <li>○ Organising direct mailing</li> <li>○ Party meetings</li> <li>○ Public meetings</li> <li>○ Press conferences</li> <li>○ Media relations</li> <li>○ Maintaining a campaign website</li> <li>○ Direct email</li> <li>○ Weblogs ('blogs')</li> <li>○ Fundraising</li> <li>○ Other campaign activities, please specify:</li> </ul> <p><i>4-point scale ("a lot" on left and "none" on right)</i></p> <p>2. What sort of campaign material was produced by you, or on your behalf, during the 2009 election campaign?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Campaign brochures/newsletters/leaflets</li> <li>○ Campaign posters</li> <li>○ Email messages</li> <li>○ Personal webpage</li> <li>○ Stickers/badges/buttons</li> <li>○ Radio advertisements</li> <li>○ Television advertisements</li> <li>○ Newspaper advertisements</li> </ul> <p><b>Comment: Overlaps with Concept 4: Media Usage.</b></p> <p>3. In the final weeks of the election campaign how much time did you spend per week on the campaign?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Less than 2 hours</li> <li>○ 2-10 hours</li> <li>○ 11-20 hours</li> <li>○ 21-30 hours</li> <li>○ More than 30 hours</li> </ul> <p><b>Comment: Can we ask respondents to simply enter the number of hours?</b></p> <p>4. In which order of importance would you place these campaign objectives for you personally? Order from 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Maximising voter turnout generally</li> <li>○ Maximising the vote for your party</li> <li>○ Maximising your personal vote</li> <li>○ Preventing another party from getting votes</li> </ul> <p><i>Ordinal variable (all items ranked)</i></p> <p><b>EM:</b> N/A</p> <p><b>MS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. V62 Explicitly: Is the European Election Campaign mentioned?</li> <li>2. V5 Topic of the story:             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. 11 European Elections: profiles of candidates, politicians, parties; their images and strategic positions</li> <li>b. 12 European Elections: Campaign strategies</li> <li>c. 13 European elections: advertising, commercials</li> </ol> </li> </ol>

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	<p>d. 14 European elections: polls and surveys [use standard party list]                      e. 15 European Elections: electoral results of parties and candidates [use standard party list]                      f. 16 European Elections: turnout</p> <p><b>Comment 1: Include coding for intensity of coverage from media outlets.</b>  <b>Comment 2: The topic list for the stories about the EE will be updated and expanded as we experienced too many stories not fitting well in enough of these categories.</b></p> <p><b>CD:</b>  <b>NEW</b> Extent of party funding for EP election campaign compared to funding for the national election campaign (in € and in relative terms)</p>
<p><b>4. Media Usage</b></p>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <p>1. Normally, how many days of the week do you watch the news on television? <i>Interval variable (range of 0 to 7)</i>  <b>Comment: Change wording to “In a typical week, how many...”</b></p> <p>2. Which channels or television news programs do you watch regularly?  <i>Open-ended with pre-coded categories and multiple answers possible.</i></p> <p>3. (And/Normally) how many days of the week do you read a newspaper? <i>Interval variable (range of 0 to 7)</i></p> <p>4. Which newspapers do you read regularly? <i>Open-ended with pre-coded categories and multiple answers possible</i></p> <p><b>Comment 1: Do we want to distinguish national from local for comparability with CS?</b>  <b>Comment 2: We would recommend asking which outlet/newspaper was watched/read the most often—see earlier comments on voter survey. This adopts a recommendation in a recent study in the US (see Goldstein and Fowler 2008).</b>  <b>Comment 3: include question on how much attention is paid to European Parliament news (individual attention). This is particularly important and can be asked at low cost.</b></p> <p><b>NEW: In the weeks before the European Parliament elections did you visit a website offering advice about how to vote in those elections on the basis of your values, ideas and policy preferences?</b></p> <p><b>Note: May be a possible three item question series: Did you go to a website? What was the name of the website? Did you follow the advice?</b></p> <p><b>CS:</b></p> <p>1. How much effort did you and your team put into the following activities in the 2009 election campaign?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Telephone canvassing</li> <li>○ Door-to-door canvassing</li> <li>○ Organising direct mailing</li> <li>○ Party meetings</li> <li>○ Public meetings</li> <li>○ Press conferences</li> <li>○ Media relations</li> <li>○ Maintaining a campaign website</li> <li>○ Direct email</li> <li>○ Weblogs ('blogs')</li> <li>○ Fundraising</li> <li>○ Other campaign activities, please specify:</li> </ul> <p><i>4-point scale (“a lot” on left and “none” on right)</i>  <b>Comment: Same question as 3CS1</b></p> <p><b>NEW: Overall, how much of your campaign budget would you say you devoted to these activities (same list as above)? % budget</b></p>

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	<p><b>Note:</b> Included but in a revised form.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. What sort of campaign material was produced by you, or on your behalf, during the 2009 election campaign?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Campaign brochures/newsletters/leaflets</li> <li>○ Campaign posters</li> <li>○ Email messages</li> <li>○ Personal webpage</li> <li>○ Stickers/badges/buttons</li> <li>○ Radio advertisements</li> <li>○ Television advertisements</li> <li>○ Newspaper advertisements</li> </ul> </li> <li>3. During the election campaign generally, how much coverage did you get in the following media?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Television</li> <li>○ National radio</li> <li>○ Local radio</li> <li>○ National newspapers</li> <li>○ Local newspapers</li> <li>○ Internet in general</li> <li>○ Party website</li> </ul> <p><i>4-point scale (tick boxes with "a lot" on left and "none" on right)</i></p> </li> <li>4. In your opinion, how much attention did the 2009 European elections get in the news media in your member state?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Too much</li> <li>○ About right</li> <li>○ Too little</li> </ul> </li> </ol> <p><b>EM:</b> N/A</p> <p><b>MS:</b> All</p>
<p><b>5. Institutions (including trust):</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. National (includes regional &amp; local)</li> <li>b. EU</li> </ol>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <p><b>NEW: Include question on trust in institution, for example:</b></p> <p><b>How much trust do you have in the following institutions (scale variable):</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Media</li> <li>▪ National parliament</li> <li>▪ National government</li> <li>▪ European Parliament</li> <li>▪ European Commission</li> <li>▪ Parties</li> </ul> <p><b>Comment: include past EES question on the relevance of the European Parliament (should be coordinated with CS)</b></p> <p><b>CS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How much power should each institution have over the following activities of the European Union?               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Deciding EU Legislation:                   <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Council of Ministers</li> <li>▪ European Parliament</li> <li>▪ National Governments acting individually</li> <li>▪ Commission</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ol>

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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Deciding the EU budget:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Council of Ministers</li> <li>▪ European Parliament</li> <li>▪ National Governments acting individually</li> <li>▪ Commission</li> </ul> </li> <li>○ Political control of Commission activities               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Council of Ministers</li> <li>▪ European Parliament</li> <li>▪ National Governments acting individually</li> <li>▪ Commission</li> </ul> </li> <li>○ Choosing members of the Commission               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Council of Ministers</li> <li>▪ European Parliament</li> <li>▪ National Governments acting individually</li> <li>▪ Commission</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p align="center"><i>7 point scale for each item (tick boxes with “no power” on far left to “all power” on far right)</i></p> <p><b>Comment: replace with general question on power of EP (should be the same as for the voter survey)</b></p> <p><b>NEW: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the powers of the European Parliament?</b>  <b><i>Tick one box per line.</i></b>  <b>The European Parliament should have the right to initiate legislation</b>  <b>The European Parliament should have equal power with the Council in <i>all</i> areas of EU legislation</b>  <b>The European Parliament should have equal power with the Council to amend <i>all</i> areas of expenditure in the budget</b>  <b>The Commission President should be nominated by the European Parliament, rather than by the European Council</b>  <b>The European Parliament should be able to remove individual Commissioners from office</b>  <b>The European Parliament should be allowed to hold all its plenary sessions in Brussels</b></p> <p><b>NEW: Rank the top 3 committees you would prefer to serve on in order of preferences</b></p> <p><b>EM:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 2-306 Competences of the European Parliament: Positive</li> <li>2. 2-307 Competences of the European Parliament: Negative</li> <li>3. 2-308 Competences of the European Commission: Positive</li> <li>4. 2-309 Competences of the European Commission: Negative</li> <li>5. 2-310 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers: Positive</li> <li>6. 2-311 Competences of the European Council/Council of Ministers: Negative</li> </ol> <p><b>MS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. V5 Topic of the story           <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. 63 EU institutions (e.g., EU parliament. the Commission, council, Europol), their (re-) Organization</li> </ol> </li> <li>2. V9 to V14 Actor 1-6           <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. LIST OF ACTORS:</li> <li>b. Old EU Commission:</li> <li>c. List of members</li> <li>d. New EU commission:</li> </ol> </li> </ol>

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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>e. List of members</li> <li>f. EU institutions/ Factions of the EU parliament/ Other EU politicians</li> <li>g. List of institutions, party groups, and individual politicians.</li> </ul> <p>3. V35 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Is the European Union (its institutions or politics) mentioned in connection with the major topic of the story?</p> <p>4. We can also link this to the evaluation measure. Each actor (politician, party, institutions, etc.) is cored for the presence of positive or negative evaluations.</p>
<p><b>6. EU Integration:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. General</li> <li>b. Power-Sharing</li> <li>c. Enlargement</li> </ul>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <p>1. Generally speaking, do you think that (country's) membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad? <i>1=good thing, 2=bad thing, 3=neither good nor bad</i></p> <p><b>Comment: Possibly include another question on "Have you or people like you benefited from EU membership?" (MF)</b></p> <p>2. Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion? Please indicate your views using a 10-point scale. On this scale, 1 means unification 'has already gone too far' and 10 means it 'should be pushed further.'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o What number on the scale best describes your position? <i>1 to 10 point scale</i></li> </ul> <p><b>Comment: 1 to 10 or 0 to 10 point scale?</b></p> <p>3. How much confidence do you have that decisions made by the European Union will be in the interest of (country)? <i>1 (great deal of confidence) to 4 (no confidence at all) scale</i></p> <p><b>Comment: this could this be deleted.</b></p> <p>4. Some say all (your country's) members of the EP should co-operate closely—regardless of their party affiliation. Others say the (your country's) members of the EP should seek close co-operation with other MEPs of similar political orientations regardless of their country of origin. Which of the two statements is closer to your view?  <i>[Dichotomous variable (1=all of the country should cooperate, 2=all of similar orientations should cooperate) ]</i></p> <p><b>NEW: Question on Enlargement. Example from EES 1994: # of Countries---are currently negotiating membership of the EU. Do you think that enlargement to include these # countries is a good thing, bad thing, or will not have any effect on the interests of (COUNTRY). A second option is to ask the respondent whether she favours inclusion of (COUNTRY) into the EU. Respondent gives a "yes/no" response to a list of candidate countries of possible candidates (e.i., Turkey, Norway, etc.)</b></p> <p><b>Comment: include question on effectiveness of institutions etc.</b></p> <p><b>CS:</b></p> <p>1. Generally speaking, do you think that (country's) membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad? <i>1=good thing, 2=bad thing, 3=neither good nor bad</i></p> <p>2. Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion? Please indicate your views using a 10-point scale. On this scale, 1 means unification 'has already gone too far' and 10 means it 'should be pushed further.'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. What number on the scale best describes your position? <i>1 to 10 point scale</i></li> <li>b. Where would you place your national political party on this question of European integration? <i>1 to 10 point scale</i></li> <li>c. Where would you place your European political group on this question of European integration? <i>1 to 10 point scale</i></li> </ul> <p><b>Comment: questions on where candidates would place voters on these dimensions</b></p> <p>3. Some say all (your country's) members of the EP should co-operate closely—regardless of their party affiliation. Others say the</p>



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	<p>(your country's) members of the EP should seek close co-operation with other MEPs of similar political orientations regardless of their country of origin. Which of the two statements is closer to your view?</p> <p><b>NEW: Question on Enlargement. Example from EES 1994: # of Countries---are currently negotiating membership of the EU. Do you think that enlargement to include these # countries is a good thing, bad thing, or will not have any effect on the interests of (COUNTRY). A second option is to ask the respondent whether she favours inclusion of (COUNTRY) into the EU. Respondent gives a "yes/no" response to a list of candidate countries of possible candidates (e.i., Turkey, Norway, etc.)</b></p> <p><b>EM:</b> Items 1-108, 2-108, 3-108, 1-110, 2-110, 3-110, 2-318 (see Reference Guide)</p> <p><b>MS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. V5 Topic of Story: 64 European Union politics in general</li> <li>2. V60 Explicitly: Does the story mention own country's (i.e., the country of the news outlet) membership in the EU?</li> <li>3. There is a follow-up question about whether EU is evaluated positively/negatively in the news story.</li> <li>4. Are any of the following "eurovisions" mentioned in the story?             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o V61b Europe, the EU as a way to peace?</li> <li>o V61c A more unified Europe (with integration pushed even further)?</li> <li>o V61d A less unified Europe (with integration slowed down, limited)?</li> <li>o V61e Europe as a power factor, European strength (economy, military, international relations)?</li> <li>o V61f Democratization of Europe, participation of citizens, a Europe close to the citizens?</li> <li>o V61i A corrupt Europe?</li> </ul> </li> </ol> <p><b>Comment: The Eurovisions were used in 1999 but not in 2004 given low variance and use in 1999. These will probably be excluded in 2009.</b></p>
<p><b>7. Value orientations</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Authoritarian-Libertarian</li> <li>b. Materialist-Post materialist</li> <li>c. Immigration</li> <li>d. In-Group/Out-group</li> <li>e. Left-right</li> <li>f. Religious values</li> </ol> <p><b>Note: MvE to write proposal for value orientations battery.</b></p>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Tougher action should be taken against criminals</li> <li>o The use of marijuana should be decriminalised</li> <li>o There should be fewer restrictions on immigration</li> <li>o Women should be free to decide for themselves on abortion</li> </ul> <p><i>5-point scale (tick boxes with "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly")</i></p> </li> <li>2. In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right." What is your position? Please indicate our views using a number of a 10-point-scale. On this scale, where 1 means "left" and 10 means "right," which number best describes your position? You may use any number between 1 and 10 to specify your views.</li> </ol> <p><b>Comment: Should we include a question in VS to place parties? Desirable, but very extensive battery. Potentially we could ask voters to place their favourite party on dimensions/issues</b></p> <p><b>NEW:</b>  <b>Please tell me whether and to what degree you agree with each statement, do you 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'neither agree nor disagree', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'?</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Ordinary working people get their fair share of the nation's wealth.</li> <li>b) Private enterprise is the best way to solve [country's] economic problems.</li> <li>c) It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low income.</li> </ol>

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	<p>d) Major public services and industries ought to be in state ownership. (Possibly rephrased) Note: MvE will write a proposal for questions on value orientations (left-right and libertarian-authoritarian)</p> <p><b>NEW Questions on <i>immigration, euthanasia, gay marriage etc. such as:</i></b></p> <p>People hold different views on political issues. What do you think of the following?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of (country)</li> <li>• Politicians should abstain from intervening in the economy.</li> <li>• Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment.</li> <li>• Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law.</li> <li>• Women should be given preferential treatment when applying for jobs and promotions</li> <li>• Providing a stable network of social security should be the prime goal of government</li> <li>• Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary people.</li> <li>• Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion.</li> <li>• Torturing a prisoner is never justified, even if it might prevent a terrorist attack.</li> </ul> <p>(Answers in a 5 point scale from “totally disagree” to “totally agree”, with a mid-point “neither agree nor disagree”)</p> <p>Do you think that, generally speaking, the role of religion in [COUNTRY] is bad or good?</p> <p>Suppose Muslims wanted to build a mosque in your neighbourhood. Would this bother you or would you welcome it?</p> <p><b>CS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Tougher action should be taken against criminals</li> <li>○ The use of marijuana should be decriminalised</li> <li>○ There should be fewer restrictions on immigration</li> <li>○ Women should be free to decide for themselves on abortion</li> </ul> </li> </ol> <p><i>5-point scale (tick boxes with “agree strongly” to “disagree strongly”)</i></p> <p><b>Comment: coordinate questions with VS</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. In political matters people talk of “the left” and “the right.” What is your position? Please indicate our views using a number of a 10-point-scale. On this scale, where 1 means “left” and 10 means “right,” which number best describes your position? You may use any number between 1 and 10 to specify your views.</li> </ol> <p><b>Comment: Ask candidates to place parties on left-right scales.</b></p> <p><b>NEW: Where would you place your national political party on the Left-Right spectrum?</b></p> <p><b>EM:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. RILE (Wüst 2007) and RILE_MRG (Laver/Budge 1992)</li> </ol> <p><b>Note:</b> Left-Right placement of Euromanifesto according to the coder on a left-right scale (<i>(left) 1 to 10 (right) scale</i>) as well as left-right codes also included in CMP (see Reference Guide).</p> <p><b>MS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. V5 Topic of Story: 75 Politics of migration/immigration: politics about the movement of people and the (lack of) residence rights of immigrants</li> </ol>

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<b><u>Concept:</u></b>	<b><u>Measurement</u></b>
	<p>2. V5 Topic of Story: 76 Politics of minorities/integration: politics on the (lack of) integration of minorities.  <b>Comment: This should reflect the categories from the EM study.</b></p>
<p><b>8. Issues: Domestic &amp; European</b></p> <p>a. Domestic economy  b. Most important national problem  c. Most important EU problem</p>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <p>1. What do you think about the economy? Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the general economic situation in (country) is...(1 <i>Got a lot better</i>) to 5 <i>Got a lot worse</i>) point scale  <b>Note:</b> Also proposed on Open Forum.</p> <p>2. What do you think are the most important problems in (country) at present? Any other important problems?  <i>[Categorical variable (1=regional, 2=national, 3=European)]</i></p> <p><b>Comment: Should we have MIP at the European level? Should we ask the MIP question in a different way? Open-ended or with categories? Should we ask about Most-Important-Issue rather than problem? Do we need to update the list of categories? WvdB to create proposal on MIP for VS/CS.</b></p> <p>3. Which political party do you think would be best at dealing with &lt;with the most important problem&gt;?</p> <p><b>CS:</b></p> <p>4. What do you think are the most important problems in (country) at present? Any other important problems?  5. As of today, is &lt;the most important issue&gt; mainly dealt with by regional, national or European political authorities?  <i>[Categorical variable (1=regional, 2=national, 3=European)]</i></p> <p><b>EM:</b>  <i>[Salience of issue indicated by general coding scheme]</i></p> <p><b>MS:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• V5 Topic of the story (i.e. major subject of the story = taking the most space or time – often mentioned in the headline)</li> <li>• V6 Explicitly: Does the story or someone in the story say that this topic 1 = is no (real) problem? Does not have any (major) negative consequences?</li> </ul>
<p><b>9. Representation</b></p> <p>a. Party / level best able to...  b. Political efficacy / role/ support  c. Satisfaction w political system  d. Freedom and democracy</p>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <p>1. Which political party do you think would be best at dealing with &lt;with the most important problem&gt;?  2. As of today, is &lt;the most important issue&gt; mainly dealt with by regional, national or European political authorities?  <i>[Categorical variable (1=regional, 2=national, 3=European)]</i></p> <p><b>Comment: Add a question asking “who should deal with &lt;the most important&gt; issue?”.</b></p> <p>3. On the whole, to what extent would you say you are satisfied with the way democracy works (in your country)? 1 <i>(Completely dissatisfied)</i> to 10 <i>(Completely satisfied)</i> point scale  4. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in the European Union? 1 <i>(Completely dissatisfied)</i> to 10 <i>(Completely satisfied)</i></p> <p><b>Comment: Should we disambiguate the question on “the way democracy works in the European Union”?</b></p> <p>5. Let us now come back to (country). Do you approve or disapprove the government’s record to date?  <i>Dichotomous variable (1=approve, 2=disapprove)</i></p> <p><b>CS:</b></p> <p>1. On the whole, to what extent would you say you are satisfied with the way democracy works (in your country)? 1 <i>(Completely dissatisfied)</i> to 10 <i>(Completely satisfied)</i> point scale  2. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in the European Union? 1 <i>(Completely dissatisfied)</i> to 10 <i>(Completely satisfied)</i> point scale</p>

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	<p>3. How important is it to you to represent the following groups of people in the European Parliament?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. All people in Europe</li> <li>2. All people in (country)</li> <li>3. All the people who voted for your party</li> <li>4. All the people in your constituency/region</li> <li>5. Your national party</li> <li>6. Your EP group</li> <li>7. A specific group in society. Which one: _____</li> </ol> <p><i>[10-point scale (tick boxes &amp; numbers where 1=of little importance and 10=of great importance) ]</i></p> <p><b>Note:</b> #3 offered as a proposed question on the Open Forum, and a revised version will be included on the CS instrument. BW will propose the final wording.</p> <p><b>Comment:</b> <b>Should a similar question be asked in the voter survey?</b></p> <p><b>NEW:</b> <b>In many cases people have different views concerning matters before the European Parliament. In general, which of these are you most inclined to do? Order the options from 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup>.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Follow my own judgement</i></li> <li>- <i>Follow the views of the voters of my national party [should that be “those who voted for my national party”?]</i></li> <li>- <i>Follow the view of my national party leadership</i></li> <li>- <i>Follow the view of my European political group</i></li> </ul> <p><b>First:</b>  <b>Second:</b>  <b>Third:</b>  <b>Fourth:</b></p> <p><b>EM:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 1-202 Democracy in the Manifesto Country</li> <li>2. 2-202 Democracy in Europe, the EC/EU</li> <li>3. 2-2021 Lack of Democracy in Europe, the EC/EU</li> <li>4. 3-202 Democracy in Other Countries and in General</li> <li>5. 1-303 Executive and Administrative Efficiency in the Manifesto Country</li> <li>6. 2-303 Executive and Administrative Efficiency in Europe, the EC/EU</li> <li>7. 3-303 Executive and Administrative Efficiency in Other Countries or in General</li> <li>8. x-304 Political Corruption</li> </ol> <p><b>MS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. V21 to V26 Explicitly : Is the actor 1-6 evaluated favorably or unfavorably?</li> <li>2. V27 to V32 If you found in V21-V26 an evaluation of the actor 1-6: Whom does the evaluation mostly come from?</li> <li>3. V36 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says/ depicts so): Does the story evaluate the current politics or the policy of own country (i.e., the country of the news outlet) concerning the major topic of the story? Does it mention satisfaction or dissatisfaction with it – regardless of the source of such an evaluation? Does the story or somebody in the story comment on it negatively or positively?</li> <li>4. V37 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says/ depicts so): Who is said or depicted as having mainly caused problems or difficulties (originally)?</li> <li>5. V44 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says/ depicts so): Does the story say/ depict somewhere that a person, group, or institution/ organization is able or not able to solve a problem, to take action or take a decision?</li> </ol>

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	<p>6. V48 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story say that one person, group, institution or organization reproaches/blames/criticizes another?</p> <p>7. V49 Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says/ depicts so): If the story describes persons, groups, organizations or institutions as affected, influenced by/involved in an issue or problem.</p>
<b>10. Identity</b>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <p>1. Do you see yourself as?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o (country) only</li> <li>o (country) and European</li> <li>o European and (country)</li> <li>o European only</li> </ul> <p><b>CS:</b></p> <p>2. Do you see yourself as?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o (country) only</li> <li>o (country) and European</li> <li>o European and (country)</li> <li>o European only</li> </ul> <p><b>EM:</b></p> <p>1. 2-601 European Way of Life: Positive</p> <p>2. 2-602 European Way of Life: Negative</p> <p>3. 2-6021 Retaining the National Way of Life in Europe, the EC/EU</p> <p><b>MS:</b></p> <p>1. SEE ABOVE ABOUT EUROVISIONS</p> <p>V61a National identity (national values, culture), national independence and its threats?</p>
<b>11. Demographics</b>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <p>1. How old were you when you finished your full-time education?  <i>[Ordinal variable (1=up to 14 years, to 9=22 years and older, or x=still studying) ]</i></p> <p><b>Comment: Should we replace this question with specific national categories for education and produce a common scale? Levi to produce memo on education question.</b></p> <p>2. Are you: Male or Female <i>Dichotomous variable (1=Male, 2=Female)</i></p> <p>3. What year were you born? <i>Open-ended</i></p> <p>4. What is your current work situation? <i>Categorical variable (1=working, 2=in school [should that be "In education"?], 3=working in the household, 4=retired, 5=unemployed, 6=other)</i></p> <p>5. What is your occupation? <i>Open-ended</i></p> <p><b>Comment: Check ESS for standard list of occupations (Levi to produce memo)</b></p> <p>6. Are you yourself a member of a trade union or is anyone else in your household a member of a trade union?  <i>[Dichotomous variable (1=yes, 2=no) ]</i></p> <p>7. If you were asked to use (choose) one of these five names for your social class, to which would you say you belong in?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Middle class</li> <li>2. lower middle class</li> <li>3. working class</li> <li>4. upper class</li> <li>5. upper middle class</li> <li>6. refuses to answer</li> </ul>

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	<p>7. other</p> <p>8. Would you say you live in a</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. rural area or village</li> <li>2. small or middle size town</li> <li>3. big town</li> </ol> <p><b>Comment: replace with postcode, and generate city size from this.</b></p> <p>9. Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion? If so, which one?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Roman catholic</li> <li>2. Protestant</li> <li>3. Free church (non-conformist)</li> <li>4. Jewish</li> <li>5. Muslim</li> <li>6. Buddhist</li> <li>7. Hindu</li> <li>8. Other: _____</li> <li>9. None</li> </ol> <p><i>[Categorical variable]</i></p> <p>10. How often do you attend religious services: several times a week, once a week, a few times a year, once a year or less, or never? [1 (several times a week) to 5 (never )]</p> <p>11. Whether you do or you don't follow religious practices, would you say that you are...</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A religious person</li> <li>2. A non religious person</li> <li>3. A confirmed Atheist</li> </ol> <p><b>CS:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In what member state were you elected? <i>Open-ended [Use standard country code]</i></li> <li>2. Where would you most like to be 10 years from now?             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Member of the European Parliament</li> <li>b. Chair of an EP committee</li> <li>c. Chair of an EP party group</li> <li>d. Member of national parliament</li> <li>e. Member of national government</li> <li>f. European Commissioner</li> <li>g. Head of a European/International Agency</li> <li>h. Retired from public life</li> <li>i. Something else, please specify:</li> </ol> </li> <li>3. Have you ever previously held, or do you currently hold, any of these positions?             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Member of national parliament</li> <li>b. Member of national government</li> <li>c. Regional or local elected office</li> <li>d. European Commissioner</li> <li>e. President of the European Parliament</li> <li>f. President of a European political group</li> <li>g. Leader of a national party delegation in the European Parliament</li> <li>h. Chair or Vice-Chair of a European Parliament committee</li> <li>i. Group Coordinator in a European Parliament committee</li> </ol> </li> </ol>

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<b><u>Concept:</u></b>	<b><u>Measurement</u></b>
	<p>j. Vice-President or Quaestor of the European Parliament                      k. Observer to the European Parliament                      l. Domestic party official                      m. European party or political group official                      n. Assistant to an MEP                      o. Official (fonctionnaire) in the European Parliament                      p. Official in the Commission                      q. Official in the Council                      r. Official in a national interest group                      s. Official in a European interest group</p> <p><i>Dichotomous variable (select ones that apply, tick boxes for “previously held, but not now”, and “currently hold”)</i></p> <p><b>Comment: The wording of this will change on the CS (BW)</b></p> <p>4. When did you join your political party? In 19_____</p> <p>5. When were you first elected to the European Parliament?</p> <p>6. What year were you born?</p> <p>7. What is your gender?</p> <p>8. Please indicate your current occupation (if not an MEP) or your occupation immediately prior to your first election to the European Parliament, using the following list. <i>Categorical variable (tick boxes for 25 occupations)</i></p> <p>9. If you were asked to use (choose) one of these five names for your social class, to which would you say you belong in?</p> <p>1. Middle class                      2. lower middle class                      3. working class                      4. upper class                      5. upper middle class                      6. refuses to answer                      7. other</p> <p>10. How old were you when you finished your full-time education?  <i>Ordinal variable (1=up to 14 years, to 9=22 years and older, or x=still studying)</i></p> <p>11. Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion? If so, which one?</p> <p>1. Roman catholic                      2. Protestant                      3. Free church (non-conformist)                      4. Jewish                      5. Muslim                      6. Buddhist                      7. Hindu                      8. Other: _____                      9. None</p> <p>12. How often do you attend religious services: several times a week, once a week, a few times a year, once a year or less, or never?</p> <p>13. Whether you do or you don't follow religious practices, would you say that you are...</p> <p>1. A religious person                      2. A non religious person                      3. A confirmed Atheist</p> <p><b>EM:</b></p> <p>1. x-704 Middle Class and Professional Groups</p>

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	<p>2. x-706 Non-economic Demographic Groups (NEDG)                      3. x-7061 NEDG: Women                      4. x-7062 NEDG: Old People                      5. x-7063 NEDG: Young People                      6. 1-7064 NEDG: Linguistic Groups</p> <p><b>MS:</b> N/A</p>
<p><b>12. Knowledge &amp; Experience</b>  <b>NEW CONCEPT</b></p> <p><b>Note:</b> GT &amp; LL to write proposal</p>	<p><b>VS:</b></p> <p><b>Comment:</b> GT &amp; LL will write proposal for knowledge questions</p> <p><b>Comment:</b> Ask interviewer to code how informed the respondent seemed to be.</p> <p><b>CS:</b>  <b>Comment:</b> Should we include a knowledge question?</p> <p><b>EM:</b> N/A</p> <p><b>MS:</b> Intensity of coverage</p>
<p><b>13. Nomination &amp; Recruitment</b>  <b>NEW CONCEPT</b></p> <p><b>Note:</b> New proposal.</p>	<p><b>VS:</b> N/A</p> <p><b>CS:</b>                      In your party, how important are the following groups in the selection of candidates for the European Parliament?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o National party officials</li> <li>o Regional/local party officials</li> <li>o Individual party members</li> <li>o Non-party members</li> <li>o Interest groups, for example, trade unions</li> </ul> <p><i>5 point scale (tick boxes &amp; numbers where 1=not at all important on left and 5=extremely important on right)</i></p> <p><b>When you first became a candidate for the European Parliament, did any of the following encourage you to stand?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o A national party official</li> <li>o A regional/local party official</li> <li>o A sitting MEP</li> <li>o A retired MEP</li> <li>o Other community leaders</li> <li>o A representative of an interest group</li> </ul> <p>Etc. (to be revised)  <i>(tick boxes; multiple answers possible)</i></p> <p>(From 2006 MEP survey)</p> <p><b>EM:</b> N/A</p>



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<p><b>14. Political Efficacy, Trust &amp; Cynicism</b> <b>NEW CONCEPT</b></p> <p><b>Note: CvdE to write proposal.</b></p>	<p><b>MS:</b> N/A <b>CD: NEW:</b> Description of the candidate selection process for each party in each country.</p> <p><b>VS:</b> <b>Efficacy Example:</b> I am going to say some things that some people say they sometimes feel. Do you yourself ever happen to think that:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Most people in positions of power try to gain something out of people like you.</li> <li>2. People who run the country are not really concerned with what happens to you.</li> <li>3. You feel left out of what is happening around you.</li> <li>4. The richer get richer and the poorer get poorer.</li> <li>5. What you think doesn't count very much.</li> </ol> <p><i>Dichotomous response (1-Yes, 2-No) for statements 1 through 5.</i> (From 1989 EES)</p> <p><b>CS:</b> <b>EM:</b> <b>MS:</b></p>
<p><b>15. Candidate/Party Evaluations</b> <b>NEW CONCEPT</b></p> <p><b>Note: MvE to write proposal.</b></p>	<p><b>VS:</b> <b>Note: MvE to write proposal.</b></p> <p><b>CS:</b> <b>EM:</b> <b>MS: See above on evaluations of party actors, it might fit here rather than under representation</b> <b>CD:</b></p>