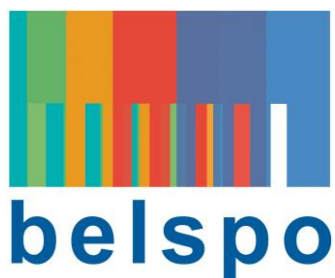




PARTI
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PARTIREP MP SURVEY CODEBOOK

Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Published January 2015



PARTIREP MP Survey

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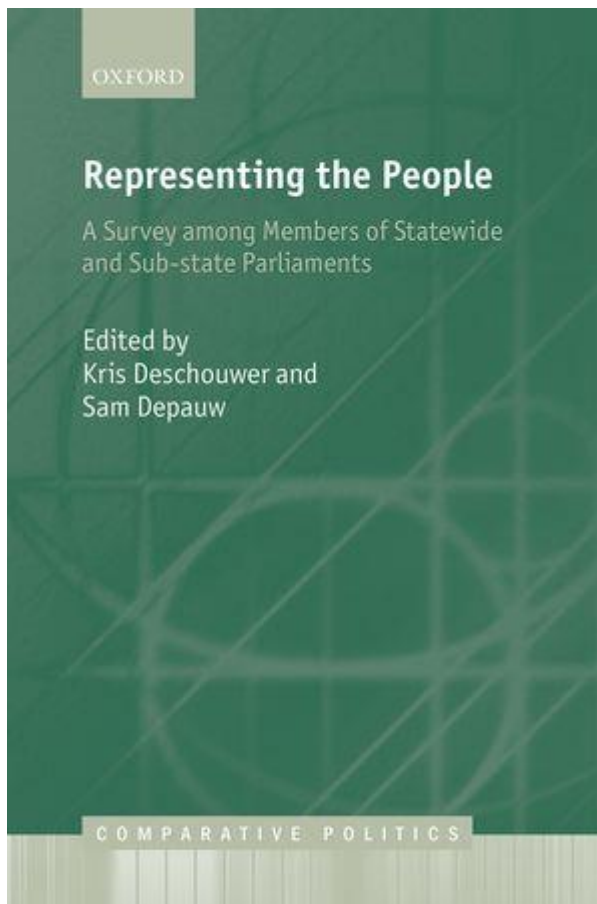
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Publication of interest to the users of the data

Modern democracy is organized as a representative democracy in which those representing the people are elected to office. Political parties play a crucial role in this. They select the candidates, form or oppose governments, and organize the work of the representatives in parliament. This model of democracy is however being criticized. Parties are hardly trusted and voters have become volatile. How, then, do elected representatives of the people see and fulfil their role? To study this a survey was organized among the members of statewide and sub-state parliaments in fifteen countries. Members of seventy-three parliamentary assemblies were asked how they perceive their representative role, what they do to keep in touch with voters,

how they behave and vote in parliament and how they will try to get re-elected.



One of the ways in which candidates and elected members of parliament might react to the changing conditions in which they have to represent the people is by stressing more personal characteristics as opposed to the party label and party ideology. Representation might then become more a matter of personal choice. The results of the survey presented in this book do however confirm quite strongly that representation is very much shaped by the political institutions in which it is performed. Representation differs between countries, between different electoral systems, between statewide and regional parliaments, and depends strongly on the party to which a member of parliament belongs. Representation depends not as much on who the representatives are, as on where they are.

Acknowledgement to be made by the users of the data

All manuscripts using the PARTIREP MP Survey documented in this codebook should acknowledge those who have funded the project and contributed to collecting the data.

Users of the data should include the following statement in their publication:

The data used in this publication were collected by the PARTIREP MP Survey research team. The PARTIREP project was funded by the Belgian Federal Science Policy (BELSPO – grant n° P6/37). Neither the contributors to the data collection nor the sponsors of the project bear any responsibility for the analyses conducted or the interpretation of the results published here.

Information about the case selection, process of data collection, response rates and representativeness of the data can be found in the introduction of the project's joint publication and should be cited as:

Deschouwer, Kris; Depauw, Sam & André, Audrey (2014). 'Representing the People in Parliaments'. In Kris Deschouwer & Sam Depauw (Eds.), *Representing the People: a Survey among Members of Statewide and Substate Parliaments*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-18.

Variables

1. Background Variables

Variable	Description
ID_MP	identification number
Parliament	country code + parliament number (e.g. Austrian 'Nationalrat' = AUT00)
	Austria (AUT)
	<i>Federal</i> 00
	Burgenland 01
	Kärnten 02
	Niederösterreich 03
	Oberösterreich 04
	Salzburg 05
	Steiermark 06
	Tirol 07
	Vorarlberg 08
	Wien 09
	Belgium (BEL)
	<i>Federal</i> 00
	Brussel/Bruxelles 01
	Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft
	Belgiens 02
	Vlaanderen 03
	Wallonie 04
	France (FRA)
	<i>National</i> 00
	Aquitaine 02
	Poitou-Charentes 05
	Germany (GER)
	<i>Federal</i> 00
	Brandenburg 01
	Niedersachsen 02
	Rheinland-Pfalz 03
	Thüringen 04
	Hungary (HUN)
	<i>National</i> 00
	Ireland (IRE)
	<i>National</i> 00
	Israel (ISR)
	<i>National</i> 00
	Italy (ITA)
	<i>National</i> 00
	Lazio 04
	Lombardia 05
	Toscana 08

	Valle d'Aosta	09
	Veneto	10
	Calabria	11
	Campania	12
	Netherlands (NET)	<i>National</i> 00
	Norway (NOR)	<i>National</i> 00
	Poland (POL)	<i>National</i> 00
	Portugal (POR)	National 00
	Azores	01
	Madeira	02
	Spain (SPA)	<i>Federal</i> 00
	Catalunya	01
	Pais Vasco	03
	Valencia	04
	Andalucia	05
	Switzerland (SWI)	<i>Federal</i> 00
	Appenzell Ausserrhoden	01
	Aargau	03
	Basel-Landschaft	04
	Basel-Stadt	05
	Bern	06
	Fribourg	07
	Genève	08
	Glarus	09
	Graubunden	10
	Jura	11
	Luzern	12
	Neuchatel	13
	Nidwalden	14
	Obwalden	15
	Sankt-Gallen	16
	Schaffhausen	17
	Schwyz	18
	Solothurn	19
	Ticino	20
	Thurgau	21
	Uri	22
	Valais	23
	Vaud	24
	Zug	25
	Zürich	26

	United Kingdom (UNK)	UK House of Commons	00
		Scotland	02
		Wales	03
Country	Country (three-letter abbreviation, as above)		
Multi-Level	0: unitary system 1: multi-level system		
REG	0: national or federal Parliament 1: regional Parliament		
PPG	name of the Parliamentary Party Group		
GOV	the party is part of the government (at the time of the survey) 0: opposition 1: government 88888: not applicable 99999: missing		
Party	name of the party		
Tier	<u>only in mixed-member systems:</u> the level at which the Member was elected: 1: 1 st Tier (e.g. Hungary: district level; Germany: district level) 2: 2 nd Tier (e.g. Hungary: regional list level; Germany: Land level) 3: 3 rd Tier (e.g. Hungary: national list level) 88888: not applicable 99999: missing		
Language	language in which the questionnaire was answered: 1 Basque 2 Castilian 3 Catalan 4 Dutch 5 English 6 French 7 German 8 Hebrew 9 Hungarian 10 Italian 11 Norwegian 12 Polish 13 Portuguese 14 Valencian		
Method	the method of responding: 1: online web-survey 2: hardcopy 3: telephone 4: face-to-face 88888: not applicable 99999: missing		
Sex	0: Male 1: Female 88888: not applicable 99999: missing		

Rookie	0: senior MP 1: newly elected MP 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
Leadpos	0: MP holding no leadership positions 1: MP is (deputy) speaker of Parliament, committee chair or PPG leader 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
Candidate	<i>in mixed-member systems only:</i> 1: candidate at the nominal level only 2: candidate at the proportional level only 3: candidate at both levels 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
Start_term	year (yyyy) the current term started
End_term	year (yyyy) the current term will end (disregarding early elections)

2. Survey Variables

QUESTION 1

For each of the following tasks, how satisfied are you with Parliament's and its members' performance?

V001_1 in scrutinising the government
V001_2 in representing the views and interests of the voters
V001_3 in doing legislative work

1: very unsatisfied
2: fairly unsatisfied
3: fairly satisfied
4: very satisfied

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

QUESTION 2

The following question is about day-to-day practice in Parliament. Thinking of your fellow Members of Parliament, would you say that the following statements are true or false?

V002_1 Members frequently question another member's sincerity and integrity in public.
V002_2 In private, it is not uncommon for women's competence to be questioned.
V002_3 Members are mostly preoccupied with local issues.
V002_4 The parliamentary party spokesperson gets to determine the party's position on his/her topics.
V002_5 Members frequently contact the media on a topic for which another member of that party is the party's spokesperson.
V002_6 Confidential party discussions usually find their way to the media.
V002_7 Members frequently take parliamentary initiatives without the parliamentary party's authorization.

1: false
2: mostly false
3: neither
4: mostly true
5: true

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

QUESTION 3

What do you yourself consider the most important task you fulfil as a Member of Parliament? And what do you think is your second most important task? *(Please mark the most important in the first column, the second most important in the second column.)*

V003_1 most important task
V003_2 second most important task

- 1: influencing government policy
- 2: providing assistance to individual voters in their dealings with public authorities
- 3: looking after the collective social and economic needs of the local area
- 4: liaising between members of the parliamentary party and the party leadership and managing Parliament's business

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

QUESTION 4

Some Members of Parliament specialize in one or two policy areas, while others prefer to speak on a wide range of issues from different policy areas? How would you define yourself?

V004

- 1: I specialize in one or two policy areas.
- 2: I try to keep up with a wide range of issues.

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

QUESTION 5

How often, in the last year, would you say you have found yourself in the position that your party had one opinion on a vote in Parliament, and you personally had a different opinion?

V005

- 1: about once a month
- 2: about every three months
- 3: about once a year
- 4: (almost) never

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

QUESTION 6

And how should, in your opinion, a Member of Parliament vote in this situation?

V006

- 1: MP should vote according to his/her own opinion
- 2: MP should vote according to his/her party's opinion

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

QUESTION 7

And, how should, in your opinion, a Member of Parliament vote if his/her own opinion on an issue does not correspond with the opinion of his/her voters?

V007

- 1: MP should vote according to his/her own opinion
- 2: MP should vote according to the opinion of his/her voters

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

QUESTION 8

How should, in your opinion, a Member of Parliament vote if his/her voters have one opinion and his/her party takes a different position?

V008

- 1: MP should vote according to the opinion of his/her voters
- 2: MP should vote according to his/her party's opinion

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

QUESTION 9

How should, in your opinion, a Member of Parliament vote if his/her regional party has one opinion and his/her national party takes a different position?

V009^a

- 1: MPs should vote according to his/her regional party's opinion
- 2: MPs should vote according to his/her national party's opinion

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

^a Question asked in regional parliaments only, and in the Swiss national parliament

QUESTION 10

It is often stated that voters have lost trust in politics and politicians. Listed below are a few statements that are very commonly heard in this regard. Regarding each of these commonly heard statements, could you indicate whether you personally agree or disagree?

- V010_1 The state no longer possesses the capacity to solve society's most pressing needs.
- V010_2 Journalists' ways of covering politics mainly focus on soundbites and conflictual issues.
- V010_3 Too many citizens fail to see that their own interest is only one of many diverging interests in society.
- V010_4 Most citizens have no clear policy preferences.
- V010_5 Political parties are not offering really different options to the people.
- V010_6 Parties make too many promises on which they cannot deliver.
- V010_7 Most politicians are out of touch with people's concerns.
- V010_8 Politicians let their own position on political issues be determined by the campaign advisers and the polls.
- V010_9 Politicians are more concerned with the clash of persons than with the confrontation of ideas.
- V010_10 Special interests have too much influence on public policies.

1: strongly disagree

2: disagree

3: neither

4: agree

5: strongly agree

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

QUESTION 11

In recent years, different views on voters' distrust of politicians and political parties have inspired widely diverging suggestions for reform. Of each of the following directions that reform could take, could you indicate how desirable you consider them?

- V011_1 to increase the number of referendums
- V011_2 to create more opportunities for citizens to set the political agenda
- V011_3 to have the selection of candidates decided on the basis of primaries in which all party members can take part
- V011_4 to delegate more decision-making to experts and independent agencies
- V011_5 to involve interest groups in society more often in decision-making
- V011_6 to increase the number of deliberative events, where groups of ordinary citizens debate and decide on a particular issue

1: not at all desirable

2: not very desirable

3: fairly desirable

4: very desirable

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

QUESTION 12

How important is it to you, personally, to promote the views and interests of the following groups of people?

V012_1 ^a	all the people who voted for you
V012_2	all the people who voted for your party
V012_3 ^b	all the people in your constituency
V012_4	your party
V012_5	a specific group in society
V012_6 ^c	all people in your region
V012_7 ^d	all people in the country

1: of no importance

2:

3:

4:

5:

6:

7: of great importance

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

^a Item included in countries with a preferential electoral system or single-member districts.

^b 'constituency' was replaced by 'area of residence' in Israel and the Netherlands. The item was not included in Belgium (BEL02) and Switzerland (national level and SWI20), because the constituency coincides with the region: see V012_6.

^c Item included for regional MPs only, but not asked in Austria.

^d Item included for all national MPs and for regional MPs in Austria, Belgium and Switzerland.

QUESTION 13

Thinking about various groups in society, how important is it to you, personally, to promote their views and interests?

V013_1	young people
V013_2	the elderly
V013_3	employees
V013_4	employers and self-employed
V013_5	women
V013_6	farmers and fishermen
V013_7	ethnic minorities
V013_8	a church or religious group
V013_9	other

1: of no importance

2:

3:

4:

5:

6:

7: of great importance

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

V013_o Which one ? -- open question

FILTER ONLINE: if code 1 or 2 on V012_5, proceed to question 14

QUESTION 14

Some interests are inextricably linked to territory – for instance, because the people who live near it, are employed by a large factory or frequently use a road. How important do you, personally, find it to promote collective interests like these of a particular local area, and what would that area be?

V014_1 Country specific (see addendum)
V014_2 Country specific (see addendum)
V014_3 Country specific (see addendum)
V014_4 Country specific (see addendum)
V014_5 Country specific (see addendum)
V014_6 Country specific (see addendum)

1: of no importance
2:
3:
4:
5:
6:
7: of great importance

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

V014_o Which one? -- open question

QUESTION 15

Mentioned below are some of the many different things that Members of Parliament do to keep in touch with constituents. For each one, do you actually do it outside election campaign periods, might you do it, or would you never?

V015_1^a attending (or sending out letters on the occasion of) weddings, wedding anniversaries, and funerals in your local area
V015_2 meeting with (small parties of) constituents in their private home to talk about their wants and needs
V015_3 giving lectures and speaking at debate nights
V015_4 sending out a personal newsletter and direct mailing
V015_5 holding surgeries

V015_6^b advertising your constituency work services (e.g. in newspaper ads or by visiting neighbourhoods)
V015_7 publicizing your successes in attracting business and obtaining government grants for the local area
V015_8 meeting local businesses and action groups
V015_9 featuring in the local media
V015_10 other

1: Actually do it at least once a week
2: Actually do it at least once a fortnight
3: Actually do it at least once a month
4: Actually do it at least every three months
5: might do it
6: would never

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

V015_o specify 'other' -- open question

^a 'constituency' and 'local' were replaced by 'area of residence' in Israel and the Netherlands (valid for all items).

^b Item not included in Norway.

QUESTION 16

In a typical month, how many *working hours* (incl. at public events and meetings) would you say you spend in your constituency?

V016

... *working hours* per month open numerical question

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

FILTER ONLINE: value between 0 and 300

QUESTION 17

Roughly what proportion of this time is taken up by attending local community functions and social events in the constituency?

V017

... % open numerical question

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

FILTER ONLINE: value between 0 and 100

QUESTION 18

How many requests for help (letters, e-mails, phone calls, visits) in dealing with public authorities do you receive in an average week? And how many inquiries from individual citizens relating primarily to policy matters do you receive per week?

V018_1 requests for help in dealing with public authorities
V018_2 policy-related requests

... number of requests per week open numerical question

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

FILTER ONLINE: value between 0 and 1000

QUESTION 19

How many hours per week would you say you, personally, spend dealing with these requests for help in dealing with public authorities?

V019

... hours per week open numerical question

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

FILTER ONLINE: value between 0 and 300

QUESTION 20

What do you think would happen, if you were to reduce the efforts you make in assisting voters in their dealings with public authorities?

V020_1^a I would lose a significant number of votes as a result.
V020_1^b My party would lose a significant number of votes in my constituency as a result.
V020_2 I could well face a serious challenge in the candidate selection process as a result.
V020_3 I would lose touch with the problems voters face in their daily lives as a result.

1: strongly disagree

2: disagree

3: neither

4: agree

5: strongly agree

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

^a Item included in countries with a preferential electoral system or single-member districts.

^b Item included in countries with a non-preferential electoral system.

QUESTION 21

To retain their seat in Parliament, Members of Parliament often face hard choices. How would you choose to allocate your limited resources? Would you choose to spend more effort and money on achieving the goal on the left-hand side, would you choose to spend more effort and money on the goal on the right-hand side, or would the allocation of resources to both goals be about equal?

V021_1

- 1: on a personal campaign
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5: on a party campaign

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

V021_2

- 1: to mobilize the party faithful
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5: to persuade floating voters and supporters of the other parties

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

V021_3

- 1: to retain the support from the groups in society that have supported you in the past
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5: to seek out groups in society that haven't supported you in the past

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

V021_4

- 1: to be considered a leader by voters
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5: to be considered by voters as *one of them*

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

V021_5

1: to obtain the regional party leadership's support [for regional MPs only]

1: to obtain the national party leadership's support [for national MPs only]

2:

3:

4:

5: to obtain the local party's support

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

QUESTION 22

In your role as a Member of Parliament, how often in the last year have you had contact with the following groups, persons, or organizations?

V022_1 youth organizations
V022_2 organizations for the elderly
V022_3 workers' organizations and trade unions
V022_4 employers' organizations
V022_5 women's organizations
V022_6 farmers' organizations
V022_7 organizations of ethnic minorities
V022_8 churches or religious organizations
V022_9 environmental organizations
V022_10 journalists

1: at least once a week

2: at least once a month

3: at least every three months

4: at least once a year

5: (almost) no contact

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

QUESTION 23

Parliaments are often said to be institutions that allow building bridges to *other* parties and some MPs indeed do have very good contacts also with MPs from other parties. What is the case with you? Are there other parties which include MPs with whom you have good contacts?

V023_no I don't have very good contacts with MPs from other parties.

0: not checked

1: checked

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

FILTER: if code 1 on V023_no, proceed to the next question

I have such contacts with MPs from the following parliamentary party or parliamentary parties
...

V023_1 ... (Party) -- open question
V023_2 ... (Party) -- open question
V023_3 ... (Party) -- open question
V023_4 ... (Party) -- open question

For each of the contacts you mentioned, have they been helpful politically?
(p being 1, 2, 3, or 4 corresponding to the open question)

V023b_1_p No, contacts have a purely private nature
V023b_2_p Yes, for doing something for my local area
V023b_3_p Yes, for understanding internal affairs of the other party
V023b_4_p Yes, for sending informal messages to the other party
V023b_5_p Yes, to ensure fair play between the parties
V023b_6_p Yes, to seed ideas within the other party
V023b_7_p Yes, to get concessions in inter-party negotiations
V023b_8_p Yes, to start joint initiatives in Parliament
V023b_9_p Yes, to create a coalition government with another party
V023b_10_p Yes, when in opposition, to get information about government policy
V023b_11_p Yes, for promoting women's interests

0: not checked
1: checked

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

FILTER ONLINE: the first item 'No, ...' cannot be combined with another answer for the same party

QUESTION 24 - NATIONAL MPs

And if you think of Members of your regional Parliament. Are there Members of the regional Parliament – in your party and of other parties – with whom you have very good contacts?

V024N_no I don't have very good contacts with Members of my regional Parliament.

0: not checked
1: checked

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

FILTER: if code 1 on V024N_no, proceed to the next question

I have such contacts with Members from the following parliamentary party or parliamentary parties...

V024N_1 in my own party

0: not checked

1: checked

V024N_2 ... (Party) -- open question

V024N_3 ... (Party) -- open question

V024N_4 ... (Party) -- open question

For each of the contacts you mentioned, have they been helpful politically?
(p being 1, 2, 3 or 4 corresponding to the open question)

V024N_1_p No, contacts have a purely private nature

V024N_2_p Yes, for doing something for my local area

V024N_3_p Yes, to coordinate national and regional policy

V024N_4_p Yes, to pass on individual voters' requests for help that are related to the regional level

V024N_5_p Yes, to undertake joint initiatives and actions

V024N_6_p Yes, improve relations between the regions

V024N_7_p Yes, for promoting women's interests

0: not checked

1: checked

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

FILTER ONLINE: the first item 'No, ...' cannot be combined with another answer for the same party

QUESTION 24 - REGIONAL MPS

And if you think of Members of the national Parliament. Are there Members of Parliament – in your party and of other parties – with whom you have very good contacts?

V024R_no I don't have very good contacts with Members of Parliament.

0: not checked

1: checked

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

FILTER: if code 1 on V024R_no, proceed to the next question

I have such contacts with Members from the following parliamentary party or parliamentary parties

V024R_1 in my own party

0: not checked

1: checked

V024R_2 ... (Party) -- open question

V024R_3 ... (Party) -- open question

For each of the contacts you mentioned, have they been helpful politically?
(p being 1, 2 or 3 corresponding to the open question)

V024R_1_p No, contacts have a purely private nature

V024R_2_p Yes, for doing something for my local area

V024R_3_p Yes, to coordinate national and regional policy

V024R_4_p Yes, to pass on individual voters' requests for help on matters that are decided at the national level

V024R_5_p Yes, to undertake joint initiatives and actions

V024R_6_p Yes, to improve relations between the regions

V024R_7_p Yes, for promoting women's interests

0: not checked

1: checked

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

FILTER ONLINE: the first item 'No, ...' cannot be combined with another answer for the same party

QUESTION 25

Of the initiatives (e.g. bills, written and oral questions) which you personally raised in Parliament in the last year, roughly what proportions of these did you respectively derive from the media, from interest groups, from within the party, from meeting with individual citizens, and from your personal experience? Could you please give a rough estimate in percentages?

V025_1 the media

V025_2 interest and action groups

V025_3 within the party (e.g. leadership, research centre)

V025_4 meeting with individual citizens

V025_5 personal experience

V025_6 other

... % open numerical question

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

V025_o specify 'other' -- open question

FILTER ONLINE: values between 0 and 100

QUESTION 26

Thinking of these initiatives, how often have you or a spokesperson informed the media about them? A rough estimate in percentages is sufficient.

V026 ^a

...% (out of the total of initiatives raised)

open numerical question

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

FILTER ONLINE: values between 0 and 100

^a Question not included at the regional level in Germany.

QUESTION 27

And how often have these initiatives that you raised actually been covered by the media? Again, a rough estimate in percentages is sufficient.

V027 ^a

...% (out of the total of initiatives raised)

open numerical question

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

FILTER ONLINE: values between 0 and 100

^a Question not included at the regional level in Germany.

QUESTION 28

There are many opinions on how citizens can most effectively influence decisions in society. Can you indicate for each of the following actions how effective you think they are, 1 being not at all effective and 7 being very effective?

V028_1 ^a	boycott certain products
V028_2	vote in elections
V028_3	participate in public demonstrations
V028_4	participate in illegal protest activities
V028_5	work in a political party
V028_6	contact politicians by mail
V028_7	contact politicians by e-mail
V028_8	sign a petition
V028_9	feature in the media
V028_10	work in voluntary organizations
V028_11	join an Internet political forum or discussion group

- 1: not at all effective
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5:
- 6:
- 7: very effective

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

^a These items were scored on an 11-point scale (0 to 10) in the Netherlands.

QUESTION 29

How often do you speak at the meetings of your parliamentary party?

V029

- 1: (almost) at every meeting
- 2: at least once a month
- 3: at least every three months
- 4: at least once a year
- 5: (almost) never

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

QUESTION 30

And how often would you say you speak at the meetings of your parliamentary party to signal a situation in society that you consider disadvantageous for women?

V030

- 1: (almost) at every meeting
- 2: at least once a month
- 3: at least every three months
- 4: at least once a year
- 5: (almost) never

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

QUESTION 31

And how often would you say you yourself bring a proposal to your parliamentary party to resolve such a situation in society that you consider disadvantageous for women?

V031

- 1: (almost) at every meeting
- 2: at least once a month
- 3: at least every three months
- 4: at least once a year
- 5: (almost) never

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

QUESTION 32

Generally speaking, what is your opinion about party discipline in your parliamentary party? Should it be more strict than it is now, should it remain as it is, or should it be less strict than it is now?

V032_1

- 1: should be more strict
- 2: should remain as it is
- 3: should be less strict

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

QUESTION 33

More specifically, what is your opinion about party discipline in your parliamentary party when it comes to the following aspects?

- V033_1 keeping internal party discussions confidential
- V033_2 taking political initiatives only with the parliamentary party's authorization
- V033_3 sticking to parliamentary party line in votes

- 1: should be more strict
- 2: should remain as it is
- 3: should be less strict

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

QUESTION 34

Members of Parliament face tough choices every day in their job. Presented below are a few of those choices you may face. For each of them, we would like to ask you for your opinion as to which choice a Member of Parliament should make.

V034_1

- 1: Politicians should aim to translate the political views of citizens into policy as accurately as possible.
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5: Politicians should stand clearly on their party's platform and aim to win citizen support for those views.

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

V034_2

- 1: In elections, politicians should account to the voters for their actions in the past.
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5: In elections, politicians should put their plans for the future to the voters.

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

V034_3

- 1: The most important policy questions should be put to the voters in a referendum.
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5: The representatives of the people should have the final word in all decisions.

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

V034_4

- 1: A Member of Parliament should resist the demands of other interests and keep to the party line.
- 2:
- 3:
- 4:
- 5: A Member of Parliament should be prepared to accommodate the demands of other interests.

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

QUESTION 35

There are different opinions about what makes a country a democracy. How important would you say it is in a democracy ...

- V035_1 that the majority of the population does not override the concerns of any significant minority.
V035_2 that the same political party does not remain in power for a long period of time.
V035_3. that the state manages to solve society's problems – even if its actions sometimes cause protests.
V035_4 that the representatives of the people have the final word in all decisions.
V035_5 that organized groups in society are consulted on policy when they are concerned.
V035_6 that the electoral system allows voters, and not the party leaders, to decide who will sit in Parliament.
V035_7 that the most important policy questions are put to the voters in a referendum.
V035_8 that people be given ample opportunities to participate in public decision-making.

- 1: not at all important
2: not very important
3: fairly important
4: very important

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

QUESTION 36

For each of the following divisions in society, how important is it that the various groups corresponding with them are present in Parliament in proportion to their number in the population?

- V036_1 gender
V036_2 age
V036_3 region
V036_4 social class
V036_5 ethnic origin
V036_6 religion
V036_7^a language (or culture)
V036_8 other

- 1: not at all important
2: not very important
3: fairly important
4: very important

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

V036_o specify 'other' -- open question

^a Item not included in France and Hungary.

QUESTION 37

In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Using the following scale, where 0 means left and 10 means right where would you place ...

- V037_1 your own views?
- V037_2^a your party?
- V037_3^b your regional party?
- V037_4^b your national party?
- V037_5^c the electorate at large?
- V037_6^d the electorate at large in your region?

0: Left

1:

2:

3:

4:

5:

6:

7:

8:

9:

10: Right

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

^a Item included in unitary systems only.

^b Both items included in multi-level systems only. In France, V037_3 was not included for national MPs and V037_4 was not included for regional MPs.

^c Item included for national MPs only.

^d Item included regional MPs only.

QUESTION 38^a

There is always some discussion about the proper division of powers between the regional and national levels of government. Some think that more powers should go to the regional level. Others think that more powers should go to the national level. Where would you place ...

- V038_1 your own views?
- V038_2 your regional party?
- V038_3 your national party?

0: more powers to the regional level
1:
2:
3:
4:
5:
6:
7:
8:
9:
10: more powers to the national level

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

^a Question not included in unitary systems. In France, V038_2 was not included for national MPs and V037_3 was not included for regional MPs.

QUESTION 39

Some say European integration should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. Where would you place your own views?

V039 ^a

0: has already gone too far
1:
2:
3:
4:
5:
6:
7:
8:
9:
10: should be pushed further

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

^a Question not included in Israel. Even though Norway and Switzerland are not EU-members the question was included.

QUESTION 40

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

V040_1 Larger income differences are needed as incentives for individual effort.
V040_2 Government should play a smaller role in the management of the economy.
V040_3 People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences.

V040_4 Immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of our country.
V040_5 Government should make sure that films and magazines uphold moral standards.

1: strongly disagree
2: disagree
3: neither
4: agree
5: strongly agree

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

QUESTION 41

And how about the following statements about women and men in society, what do you think?

V041_1 On the whole, women and men enjoy real equality today.
V041_2 Government should ensure that women and men have equal opportunities.
V041_3 Affirmative action is a legitimate measure to address the under-representation of women in politics.
V041_4 Women's organizations are no longer necessary today.

1: strongly disagree
2: disagree
3: neither
4: agree
5: strongly agree

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

QUESTION 42

If you were to decide to stand at the next general/regional elections, how confident do you feel that you would be renominated by your party?

V042^a

1: I would surely win the reselection contest
2: I would probably win the reselection contest
3: It could go either way
4: I would probably lose the reselection contest
5: I would surely lose the reselection contest

88888: not applicable
99999: missing

^a Question not included in Norway and the Netherlands because the party lists had already been determined.

QUESTION 43

If you were to decide to stand at the next general/regional elections, how confident do you feel you would be re-elected?

V043^a

- 1: I would surely be elected
- 2: I would probably be elected
- 3: It could go either way
- 4: I would probably not be elected
- 5: I would surely not be elected

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

^a Question not included in Norway and the Netherlands.

QUESTION 44

Do you intend to stand in the next general/regional elections?

V044

- 1: yes
- 2: I have not decided yet
- 3: no

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

QUESTION 45 - MIXED-MEMBER SYSTEMS

Do you intend to stand in the next elections?

V045^a

- 1: Yes, as a constituency candidate
- 2: Yes, as a list candidate
- 3: Yes, as both a constituency and a list candidate
- 4: I have not decided yet
- 5: No

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

^a Question included in mixed-member systems only.

QUESTION 46 ^a

If it was up to you alone, where would you most like to be five years from now?

V046_1	A member of the national Parliament
V046_2 ^b	A member of a regional Parliament
V046_3 ^c	Senator
V046_4	A member of the national government
V046_5 ^b	A member of a regional government
V046_6 ^d	A Member of the European Parliament
V046_7 ^e	Provincial governor (or head of the regional council)
V046_8 ^f	Mayor
V046_9	Retired from public life
V046_10 ^g	President
V046_11	Other

0: not checked

1: checked

88888: not applicable

99999: missing

V046_o Specify 'other' -- open question

^a Question not included in the Netherlands.

^b Items included in multi-level systems only.

^c Item included in Belgium and Italy only.

^d Item not included in Israel, Norway, and Switzerland.

^e Item not included in Austria, Belgium (BEL02), Hungary, Ireland, Switzerland, and the UK.

^f Item not included in Ireland and the UK.

^g Item included in France only.

3. Macro Variables

Variable	Description
1. Electoral System	
ES_Descr	Description of the electoral formula a: Proportional Representation b: Single Transferable Vote c: Two-Rounds Majority d: Plurality
ES_Div	Electoral divisor or quota a: LR-Hare b: LR-Droop c: LR-Imperiali d: Imperiali e: D'Hondt f: Modified Sainte-Laguë g: Sainte-Laguë h: Equal proportions i: Danish j: Single Transferable Vote - Droop k: other 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Div_other	if other: name of the electoral divisor or quota 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Div_other_descr	if other: description of how it is calculated 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_MM_seat	Is the number of seats a party takes from its list determined partially by the number of seats it has won from the nominal tier? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_MM_vote	Are the votes that are used to allocate list-tier seats NOT EQUAL to the votes that are cast for party lists? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Thres	Level of the electoral threshold (in percentage) 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Thres_other	Other electoral threshold

ES_Thres_D	Is the electoral threshold applied at the district (or constituency) level? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Thres_RN	Is the electoral threshold applied at the regional/national level? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Ballot_P	Ballot paper mentions party names or labels 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Ballot_C	Ballot paper mentions candidates 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Ballot_W	Gender of the candidate can be known from the ballot paper 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Ballot_order	Order in which candidates appear on the ballot paper: a: on ordered party lists b: on alphabetical party lists c: in alphabetical order 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Vote_P	voters can vote for a party list (without indicating a preference for a candidate at the same time) 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Vote_C	voters can vote for (a) candidate(s) 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_Vote_pref	How do voters indicate a preference vote for a candidate ... ? a: tick box b: write-in name c: rank-order candidates 88888: not applicable 99999: missing

ES_Vote_max	<p>What is the maximum number of preference votes a voter may indicate?</p> <p>DM: equal to district magnitude</p> <p>88888: not applicable</p> <p>99999: missing</p>
ES_Vote_cumul	<p>Is there cumulative voting?</p> <p>0: no</p> <p>1: yes</p> <p>88888: not applicable</p> <p>99999: missing</p>
ES_Vote_pan	<p>Is there panachage?</p> <p>0: no</p> <p>1: yes</p> <p>88888: not applicable</p> <p>99999: missing</p>
ES_Vote_ord	<p>Is there ordinal voting?</p> <p>0: no</p> <p>1: yes</p> <p>88888: not applicable</p> <p>99999: missing</p>
ES_Vote_neg	<p>Is there negative preference voting?</p> <p>0: no</p> <p>1: yes</p> <p>88888: not applicable</p> <p>99999: missing</p>
ES_Pool	<p>Are votes for candidates pooled for the allocation of seats ... ?</p> <p>a: across the party list</p> <p>b: below the party level</p> <p>c: no pooling</p> <p>88888: not applicable</p> <p>99999: missing</p>
ES_Ballot	<p>List type: what is the impact of preference votes on candidates' (re)election chances ... ?</p> <p>a: open list</p> <p>b: flexible list, but rather open</p> <p>c: flexible list, but rather closed</p> <p>d: closed list</p> <p>88888: not applicable</p> <p>99999: missing</p>
ES_quotum1	<p>In case seats are allocated to candidates on the basis of a quotum, what is the quotum a candidate's preference votes must equal?</p> <p>p = the number of preference votes of the candidate</p> <p>v = the number of votes for the party</p> <p>e = the number of seats of the party</p> <p>c = the number of candidates the party presents</p> <p>88888: not applicable</p> <p>99999: missing</p>
ES_quotum2	<p>If there is an alternative condition, what is the formula of the second quotum?</p> <p>88888: not applicable</p> <p>99999: missing</p>

ES_transfer	Is there a transfer of party list votes in the order of appearance on the list ... ? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_reform	Has there been an electoral reform in the past 10 years? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_reform1_time	The year the new electoral rules were used ... 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_reform1_descr	Description of the reform 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_reform2_time	The year the new electoral rules were used ... 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
ES_reform2_descr	Description of the reform 88888: not applicable 99999: missing

2. Legislative Organization and Activity:

LO_pmb_num	Are there numerical restrictions to the introduction of private member's bills? (i.e., can one MP introduce a pmb or are more signatories required?) 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_pmb_time	Are there time restrictions regarding private member's bills? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_pmb_content	Are there restrictions as to content regarding private member's bills? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_pmb_other	Description of other restrictions. 88888: not applicable
LO_auth1	Is the authorisation or prior assent of the PPG (leader) required for tabling a PMB? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing

LO_auth2	Is the authorisation or prior assent of the PPG (leader) required for tabling an oral question? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_auth3	Is the authorisation or prior assent of the PPG (leader) required for tabling a written question? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_veto	What is the number of institutional veto players? 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_veto1	Is the president a veto player? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_veto2	Is the Senate a veto player? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_veto3	Are there other veto players? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_veto_descr	Description in the case of 'other'...
LO_fix	Does the legislature have a fixed term? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_agenda_plen	Who has the authority to determine the plenary agenda? a: the government alone b: the President's Conference, where the government commands a majority larger than its share of seats in the chamber c: majority rule in the President's Conference, where party groups are proportionally represented d: consensual agreement in the President's Conference, but right of the plenary majority to overturn the proposal e: the President after consultation of party groups (cannot be challenged by the chamber) f: fragmented agenda-setting centres if unanimous vote of party leaders cannot be reached g: the Chamber itself

	88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_agenda_com	Who has the authority to determine the committee agenda? a: Bills tabled before the committee automatically constitute the agenda. b: The directing authority of the plenary body with the right of recall. c: The committees themselves set their agenda but right of recall of plenary. d: The committees themselves set their agenda, but the House may not reallocate bills to other committees. 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_rest1	Restrictive rules: Is there a closure motion? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_rest2	Restrictive rules: Is there a right of last amendment? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_rest3	Restrictive rules: Is there a block vote or closed rule? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_rest4	Restrictive rules: Is there a vote of confidence? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_rest5	Are there other restrictive rules? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_rest_descr	Description in the case of 'other'...
LO_com_num	What is the number of permanent, legislative committees (that have a policy domain in their description)? 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_chair	How are committee chairs allocated ... a: equally to parties b: proportionally to parties c: mainly to majority parties d: only to majority parties 88888: not applicable 99999: missing

LO_open	Are committee meetings public when considering legislation? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_com_rewr	The authority of committees to rewrite government bills ... a: House considers original bills with amendments added. b: If redrafted text is not accepted by the relevant minister, chamber considers the original bill. c: Committees may substitute texts, which are considered against the original text. d: Committees are free to rewrite government text. 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_com_stage	Is the committee stage of a bill restricted by a preceding plenary decision? 0: no 1: yes 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_lapse	What is the maximum lifespan of a Bill pending approval after which it lapses if not adopted? a: at the end of session (6 months to 1 year) b: at the end of term (4 to 5 years) c: at the end of term, but carrying over is possible d: never (except when rejected by a vote) 88888: not applicable 99999: missing
LO_com_impact	Is the influence of committee members on party positions ... a: low b: medium c: high 88888: not applicable 99999: missing

3. Devolution

DEV_inst	The extent to which a regional government is autonomous rather than deconcentrated. 0: no functioning general-purpose administration at regional level 1: deconcentrated, general-purpose, administration 2: non-deconcentrated, general-purpose, administration subject to central government veto 3: non-deconcentrated, general-purpose, administration not subject to central government veto
DEV_pol	The range of policies for which a regional government is responsible. 0: no authoritative competencies over economic policy, cultural-educational policy, welfare state policy 1: authoritative competencies in one area: economic policy, cultural-educational policy, welfare state policy 2: authoritative competencies in at least two areas: economic policy, cultural-

	<p>educational policy, welfare state policy</p> <p>3: authoritative competencies in at least two areas above, and in at least two of the following: residual powers, police, authority over own institutional set-up, local government</p> <p>4: the regional government meets the criteria for 3, and has authority over immigration or citizenship</p>
DEV_fisc1	<p>The extent to which a regional government can independently tax its population.</p> <p>0: the central government sets base and rate of all regional taxes</p> <p>1: the regional government sets the rate of minor taxes</p> <p>2: the regional government sets base and rate of minor taxes</p> <p>3: the regional government sets the rate of at least one major tax: personal income, corporate, value added or sales tax</p> <p>4: the regional government sets base and rate of at least one major tax: personal income, corporate, value added or sales tax</p>
DEV_rep	<p>The extent to which a region is endowed with an independent legislature and executive.</p> <p><i>Assembly:</i></p> <p>+0: no regional assembly</p> <p>+1: an indirectly elected regional assembly</p> <p>+2: a directly elected assembly</p> <p><i>Executive:</i></p> <p>+0: the regional executive is appointed by central government</p> <p>+1: dual executives appointed by central government and the regional assembly</p> <p>+2: the regional executive is appointed by a regional assembly or directly elected</p>
DEV_self	<p>The sum of Institutional depth, policy scope, fiscal autonomy, and representation.</p>
DEV_law	<p>The extent to which regional representatives co-determine national legislation.</p> <p>+0.5: regions are the unit of representation in the legislature</p> <p>+0.5: regional governments designate representatives in the legislature</p> <p>+0.5: regions have majority representation in the legislature</p> <p>+0.5: the legislature with regional representation has extensive legislative authority</p>
DEV_gov	<p>The extent to which regional government co-determines national policy in inter-governmental meetings.</p> <p>0: no routine meetings between central and regional governments to negotiate policy</p> <p>1: routine meetings between central and regional governments without legally binding authority</p> <p>2: routine meetings between central and regional governments with authority to reach legally binding decisions</p>

DEV_fisc2	The extent to which regional representatives co-determine the distribution of national tax revenues. 0: regional governments or their representatives in the legislature are not consulted over the distribution of tax revenues 1: regional governments or their representatives in the legislature negotiate over the distribution of tax revenues, but do not have a veto 2: regional governments or their representatives in the legislature have a veto over the distribution of tax revenues
DEV_const	The extent to which regional representatives co-determine constitutional change. 0: the central government and/or national electorate can unilaterally change the constitution 1: a legislature based on the principle of regional representation must approve constitutional change; or constitutional change requires a referendum based on the principle of equal regional representation 2: regional governments are a directly represented majority in a legislature which can do one or more of the following: postpone constitutional reform, introduce amendments, raise the decision hurdle in the other chamber, require a second vote in the other chamber, require a popular referendum 3: a majority of regional governments can veto constitutional change
DEV_share	The sum of law making, executive control, fiscal control, and constitutional reform.
DEV_RAI	The sum of DEV_self and DEV_share.

4. Party Ideology

P_ideol	Ideology of the party: ECO green or ecologist party COM communist party SOC socialist or social democratic party CHD Christian democratic party CON conservative party LIB liberal party FAR far right / anti immigrant party REG ethnic or regionalist party AGR agrarian party SIN single issue party REL religious party OTH other 99999: missing
P_ideol_descr	Comments on the ideology of the party

8. Weights

Pweight	weight by PPG in each parliament (= nr of expected seats based on the population data / nr of seats in the sample)
SWIweight	correction for Swiss regional parliaments only (= 100 / nr of Swiss regional responses)
Cweight	weight by country (= 100 / nr of responses in the country)
REGweight	weight by country and level of government (= 100 / nr of responses at the national/regional level)

Addendum: QUESTION 14 (V014_1-V014_6)

		V014_1	V014_2	V014_3	V014_4	V014_5	V014_6
AUT	nat. reg.	municipality	constituency	region	wider geographical area		
BEL	nat. reg.	municipality	electoral canton and adjacent cantons	province	region	another geographical area	
FRA	nat. reg.	municipality	constituency	department	region	another geographical area	
GER	nat. reg.	municipality	constituency	region	wider geographical area		
HUN		municipality	constituency	county		another geographical area	
IRE		municipality		province		another geographical area	
ISR							
ITA	nat. reg.	municipality	constituency	province	region	another geographical area	
NET		municipality	constituency	province		another geographical area	
NOR		town/city	municipality	constituency	wider geographical area		
POL		municipality	constituency	province		another geographical area	
POR	nat. reg.	municipality	constituency	province	wider region	another geographical area	
SPA	nat. reg.	municipality	constituency	province	Autonomous community	another geographical area	
SWI	nat. reg.	municipality			region	another geographical area	
			constituency				
UK	nat. reg.	municipality	European electoral region Assembly/Scottish Parliament electoral region	devolved electoral region	region	country as a whole	another geographical area

In original language:

		V014_1	V014_2	V014_3	V014_4	V014_5	V014_6
AUT	nat. reg.	Stadt	Wahlkreis	Bundesland	Region		
BEL	nat. reg.	gemeente	kieskanton en aangrenzende kieskantons	provincie	gewest	andere geografische streek	
FRA	nat. reg.	ville ou commune	territoire d'élection	département	région	une autre zone géographique	
GER	nat. reg.	Stadt	Wahlkreis	Bundesland	Region		
HUN		város	választókerülete	megyeje		más területi egység	
IRE		town		province		another geographical area	
ISR							
ITA	nat. reg.	città	circoscrizione elettorale	provincia	regione	altra zona geografica	
NET		gemeente	kieskring	provincie		ander geografisch gebied	
NOR		Byen/tettstedet	Kommunen	Fylket	Regionen		
POL		miejsowości	okręgu wyborczego	województwa		another geographical area	
POR	nat. reg.	cidade	círculo eleitoral	provincia	região	outra área geográfica	
SPA	nat. reg.	municipio	circunscripción electoral	provincia	Comunidad Autónoma	Otra zona geográfica	
SWI	nat. reg.	Gemeinde	Wahlkreis		Kanton	andere geographische Einheit	
UK	nat. reg.	municipality	European electoral region Assembly/Scottish Parliament electoral region	devolved electoral region	constituent nation	UK as a whole	another geographical area