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## Comparative Electoral Dynamics in the European Union in 2014 (CED-EU14): A Data User's Guide

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# The *communitarisation* of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: has institutional change triggered policy change?

#### Abstract:

This paper describes a dataset collected after the European elections of 2014. A post-electoral survey has been conducted through Internet, in the days following the elections, in seven different countries, with national representative samples of 4 000 people in Austria, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, and 1 000 people in Greece and Portugal. This paper introduces the questionnaire and codings used as well as elements about samples' quality.

#### Résumé :

Ce Cahier décrit un jeu de données collectées après les élections européennes de 2014. Un sondage post-électoral a été conduit dans les jours suivant les élections, par Internet, dans sept pays différents, avec des échantillons représentatifs nationaux de 4 000 en Autriche, en France, en Allemagne, en Italie et en Espagne, de 1 000 personnes en Grèce et au Portugal. Ce Cahier présente le questionnaire et les codages utilisés ainsi que des indications sur la qualité des échantillons.

#### 1. Context: European elections in the continuing Great Recession

Held from 22 to 25 May in the 28 member states of the European Union, the 2014 European elections were the 8<sup>th</sup> direct elections to the European Parliament. These elections were the first in which pan-European political parties endorsed their own candidate to succeed José Manuel Barroso as President of the European Commission. Following an amendment to the Maastricht Treaty by the Lisbon Treaty, the designation of the president of the Commission had to take into account the elections of the European Parliament, although no automatic selection was expected.

The 2014 elections were organized in late May and not in early June, as it had always been the case with previous European Parliament elections. The timeline was supposed to provide more time before the nomination of the next president of the Commission. Informally known as "*Spitzenkandidaten*" (the German word for "top candidates", see Hobolt 2014), the candidates were Jean-Claude Juncker for the European People's Party (EPP), Ska Keller and José Bové jointly for the European Green Party (EGP), Martin Schulz for the Party of European Socialists (PES), Alexis Tsipras for the Party of the European Left (EL) and Guy Verhofstadt for the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE). Both the Alliance of European Conservatives and Reformists (AECR) and the European Alliance for Freedom (EAF) refused to nominate a top candidate.

However, despite this major change in the institutional setting of the European Parliament elections, the 2014 elections were mainly shaped by the ongoing economic crisis (see Cramme and Hobolt 2014). To be sure, it had already been the case with the last European elections in 2009, which took place in the immediate aftermath of the Great Recession of 2008. But in the meantime, unanticipated and unexpected developments led to a sovereign debt crisis within the EU, to the extent that five Eurozone states needed to be rescued by sovereign bailout support programmes (Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Cyprus). Most of EU member states experienced austerity measures at that time, but the hardest-hit economies were principally located in Southern Europe.

#### 2. Theoretical background and questionnaire

CED-EU14 proposes a research design to explore this divide between continental and Southern Europe. It includes seven countries, with Austria, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain in the study.

CED-EU14 has been thought so as to complement existing project on electoral dynamics within the EU. It includes a number of questions drawn from the European Election Studies series, the Eurobarometer, and the European Social Survey. What CED-EU14 brings in is larger samples (up to 4 000 people in five countries) and a special focus on three research agendas: (1) the political consequences of the current economic crisis; (2) responsibility and democratic accountability in the European Union; (3) electoral participation and its

determinants. This section describes the different modules of the questionnaire and indicates the corresponding variable names in the dataset<sup>1</sup>.

The first module deals with **issues and responsibility**. It relies on five core issues regarding economic, cultural and environmental concerns across the European Union: unemployment, tax burden, public debts and deficits, immigration, climate change. Individuals are asked for the importance of these issues in their respective country (P2-P6), the level of responsibility of their country versus the EU regarding these issues (P7-P11), the influence of both country policies (P12-P16) and EU policies on these issues (P17-P21), and eventually the evolution of the situation compared to 12 months ago (P22-P26).

The second module deals with **voting behaviour at the European elections**. Individuals are asked for turnout (P27), vote choice (P28-P29) and reasons for voting or abstaining (P30-P32). Vote choice is coded according to party families in order to make cross-national comparisons easier; a country-by-country list of the actual parties included in each category is to be found in section 3.2 of this report. Three additional questions regarding preferences on seat share at both the national and the European level are designed to assess strategic voting (P46-P48). This module also includes a set of questions on *Spitzenkandidaten* (P82-P88).

The third module deals with **value orientations**. Three value dimensions are investigated: socioeconomic values (P35-P37/P40/P90-P91/P94), authority and traditional morality (P38-P39/P96), and immigration (P89/P97). Economic values are extensively assessed given the specific context of the 2014 European elections.

The fourth module deals with individuals' **preferences regarding the European Union and the European integration**. It includes questions on European citizenship (P44), support for European institutions (P42/P43/P45), the future of European institutions (P41/P93) and items on the relationship between member states and the European Union (P50/P95).

The fifth module deals with **electoralparticipation and party preferences**. It includes voting probabilities for national political parties (P56-P66), position on the left/right scale (P80) and partisanship (P81). A large number of questions refer to the civic culture and the reasons for abstention (P52-P55/P99-P109). An item is devoted to political interest (P51).

The sixth module deals with **political parties and institutions**. It asks individuals to place the country government (P67), the different national political parties (P69-P79) and the European Commission (P68) on a left/right scale. This module also includes items assessing the role of the national Parliament (P49) and elected officials (P98).

The seventh module deals with **the economic crisis**. It measures national government record (P110) and the responsibility of different institutions and countries in the crisis (P111-P114).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The original master questionnaire, in English, is provided in Appendix 1.

#### 3. Design, coding, and technical features

#### 3.1. Sampling design and fieldwork

The study includes seven countries (Austria, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain) for which national representative samples have been asked about one hundred questions through the Internet. In each country, the target population is citizens of any country of the EU aged 18 or above (16 inAustria). Fieldwork has been processed by the institute TNS-Sofres in all seven countries. In each country, samples have been drawn from existing online panels which include several hundred thousands of email addresses, randomly chosen with a simple stratification by region. Because sociodemographic biases of internet samples are well-known, quotas on sex, age, and social status (see Table 1) have also been imposed. The survey has been in the field during about two weeks just after the European elections (Table 1).

	France	Germany	Italy	Spain	Austria	Greece	Portugal
Sample size	4013	4014	4003	4010	4002	1017	1013
Response rate	29%	31%	39%	35%	18%	35%	57%
Start of the field	28.05.14	28.05.14	28.05.14	28.05.14	28.05.14	02.06.14	02.06.14
End of the field	11.06.14	11.06.14	11.06.14	11.06.14	11.06.14	12.06.14	10.06.14
Quotas	Sex, age, Profession	Sex, age, Household income					

Table 1: Sample size, quotas, and fieldwork timing in the seven countries

Notice that sample size differs significantly in accordance countries. It is about 4 000 people in five countries (Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Spain) and about 1 000 people only in Greece and Portugal. This is due not only to funding constraints but also to the difficulty to get balanced samples of bigger size in these two countries (with smaller populations and a more limited and more biased Internet access).

Response rates (Table 1) varies from 18% in Austria to 57% in Portugal, with an average above 30%. Drop out during the questionnaire is about 5% in all countries, except in Austria and Greece where it reaches 10%.

3.2.Coding

The data file includes data labels in most cases. Notice that 0 is considered as the first category in most cases.

Don't knows (7777), refusals (9999), missings (8888) follow the same codes throughout the file. Notice that code 6666 can have different meaning (as for P12-P21 where it means 'no influence' in a battery designed to assess whether this influence is positive or negative).

Professions have been coded in accordance with the ISCO-08 standard.

Specific codes have been used for regions and parties.

For regions, codes used are to be found in Table 2. More precise geographical information of respondents is available but not in the public file for anonymity reasons.

		-
Code in file	Country	Region name
1	France	Nord
2		Ouest
3		Sud-Ouest
4		Sud-Est
5		Centre
6		Est
7		Région Parisienne
8	Germany	Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Niedersachsen, Bremen
9		Nordrhein-Westfalen
10		Hessen, Rheinlandpfalz, Saarland, Baden- Wartemberg
11		Bayern
12		Berlin
13		Brandenburg, Macklenburg-vorpommen, Sachsen- Anhalt
14		Thuringen, Sachsen
15	Italy	North West
16		North East
17		Centre
18		South and islands
19	Spain	North West
20		North East
21		Centre
22		South
23	Austria	UpperAustria

Table 2: Regions' codes in file

24		Burgenland, LowerAustria
25		Carinthia, Styria
26		Vienna
27		Salzburg, Tyrol, Vorarlberg
28	Greece	VoreiaEllada
29		KentrikiEllada
30		Attiki
31		NisiaAigaiou, Kriti
32	Portugal	Norte
33		Centro
34		Lisboa
35		Alentejo
36		Algarve

For parties and candidates, we provide codes that group them into broad party families, for easier comparison across countries.

Table 3 and 4 detail these codes while table 5 give the acronyms.

		-						
Co de	Party family	France	Germany	Italy	Spain	Austria	Greece	Portugal
0	Communis ts	PCF				KPO	KKE	PCP
1	Radical Left	FG		SEL	PODE MOS		SYRIZA	BE
2	Other Radical Left	LO, NPA, PPir	PirD		DS		AAS	
3	Social Democrats	PS	SPD	PD	PSO	SPO	PASOK	PSP
4	Other mod. Left	NDonne						
5	Greens	EELV	GRUNEN	Ver di	ICV	GRUNE NA	OP	TERRA
6	Other Greens	AEI, ACi						
7	Center	MoDem						
8	Other Center			Valo ri			POT	
9	Liberals	UDI	FDP	UD C	UPD	NEOS		
10	Conservati ves	UMP	CDU/CSU	FI	PP	OVP	ND	PSD
11	Other Right	NCit, FV, DR	AFD			TS, REKOS	ANEL	

Table 3: Party codings for vote choice (P28 / P29)

12	Radical Right	F	FN	LN		FPO	XA
13	Other Right	R.		FDI		BZO	LOS
14	Others			MC S	CDC		DIMAR
15					VOX, FA, GB,		
	Other Others		LEsp, PFE	ITM, SV	PRIMA VERA, CATAL , LPD, CIU, AMA		
16	Open answer (not coded)						

Table 4: Main national parties by party family (P56-66-81)

	France	Germany	Italy	Spain	Austria	Greece	Portugal
Communists	PCF		RC	IU		KKE	CDU
Radical Left	PG	LINKE	SEL			Syriza	BE
Social Democrats	PS	SPD	PD	PSOE	SPO	PASOK	PS
Greens	EELV	GRUNEN		ICV	GRUNENA		
Center/Cent- Right	MoDem		SC	CIU			CDS
Liberals	UDI	FDP	UDC	UPD	NEOS		
Conservatives	UMP	CDU/CSU	FI	PP	OVP	ND	PSD
Other Right		AFD			TS	ANEL	
Radical Right	FN		LN		FPO	XA	
Other R. Right			FDI- AN		BZO		

Table 5: List of party acronyms

	Acronym	Party name
Communists	PCF	Particommunistefrançais
Communists	KPO	Europa Anders - KPÖ, Piratenpartei, Wandel und Unabhängige
Communists	KKE	KommounistikoKommaElladas
Communists	PCP	ColigaçãoDemocráticaUnitária,

		PartidoComunistaPortuguês, PartidoEcologistaos Verdes				
Radical Left	FG	Front de gauche				
Radical Left	SEL	Lista Elenco L'Altra Europa				
Radical Left	PODEMOS	Podemos				
Radical Left	SYRIZA	Synaspismos tis RizospastikisAristeras				
Radical Left	BE	Bloco de Esquerda				
Other Radical Left	LO	Lutteouvrière				
Other Radical Left	PPir	Parti pirate				
Other Radical Left	NPA	Nouveau partianticapitaliste				
Other Radical Left	PirD	Piratenpartei Deutschland				
Other Radical Left	AAS	AntikapitalistikiAristeriSynergasiagia tin Anatropi, Ant ArSy A				
Other Radical Left	DS	Por la Democracia Social				
Social Democrats	PS	Partisocialiste				
Social Democrats	SPD	SozialdemokratischeParteiDeutschlands				
Social Democrats	PD	PartitoDemocratico				
Social Democrats	PSO	PartidoSocialistaObreroEspañol, Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya				
Social Democrats	SPO	SozialdemokratischeParteiÖsterreich				
Social Democrats	PASOK	PanellinioSosialistikoKinima				
Social Democrats	PSP	PartidoSocialista				
Other mod. Left	NDonne	Nouvelle donne				
Greens	EELV	Europe Ecologie Les Verts				
Greens	GRUNEN	Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen				
Greens	Verdi	Verdi Green				
Greens	ICV	Coalition Izquierda Plural, IzquierdaUnida, Iniciativa per CatalunyaVerds				
Greens	GRUNENA	Die Grünen - Die Grüne Alternative				
Greens	OP	OikologoiPrasinoi				
Greens	TERRA	Partido da Terra				
Other Greens	AEI	Alliance écologisteindépendante				

Other Greens	ACit	Alliance citoyenne
Center	MoDem	Mouvementdémocrate
Center	SC	Coalition SceltaEuropea
Other Center	Valori	Italia dei Valori - Di Pietro
Other Center	POT	To Potami
Liberals	UDI	Union des démocrates et indépendants
Liberals	FDP	FreieDemokratischePartei
Liberals	UDC	Coalition NuovoCentrodestra, Unión de Centro Democrático
Liberals	UPD	UniónProgreso y Democracia
Liberals	NEOS	NEOS - DasneueÖsterreich
Conservatives	UMP	Union pour un mouvement populaire
Conservatives	CDU/CSU	ChristlichDemokratische Union Deutschlands / Christlich-Soziale Union
Conservatives	FI	ListaForza Italia
Conservatives	PP	Partido Popular
Conservatives	OVP	ÖsterreichischeVolkspartei
Conservatives	ND	NeaDimokratia
Conservatives	PSD	ColigaçãoAliança Portugal, Partido Social Democrata , Centro Democrático Social, Partido Popular
Other Right	NCit	Nous citoyens
Other Right	FV	Force vie
Other Right	DR	Debout la République
Other Right	AFD	Alternative für Deutschland
Other Right	TS	Team Stronach
Other Right	REKOS	Die Reformkonservativen - REKOS
Other Right	ANEL	AnexártitoiÉllines
Radical right	FN	Front National
Radical right	LN	Lista Lega Nord
Radical right	FPO	FreiheitlicheParteiÖsterreichs
Radical right	ХА	LaïkósSýndesmos - ChrysíAvgí
Other R. Right	FDI	Fratelli d Italia - Alleanza Nazionale
Other R. Right	BZO	BündnisZukunftÖsterreich
Other R. Right	LOS	LaikósOrthódoxosSynagermós
Others	MCS	Movimento Cinque Stelle
Others	CDC	Coaliciónpor Europa, ConvergènciaDemocràtica de

		Catalunya, PartidoNacionalista Vasco, UnióDemocràtica
Others	DIMAR	DimokratikiAristera
Other others	LEsp	Liste Esperanto
Other others	PFE	Partifédéralisteeuropéen
Other others	ITM	lo tambiomaie
Other others	VOX	VOX
Other others	FA	Foro Asturias
Other others	GB	Geroa Bai
Other others	PRIMAVERA	Coalition Primavera Europea, Compromís, Equo, Cha
Other others	CATAL	Coalition L'Esquerrapeldret a decidir, EsquerraRepublicana de Catalunya, Nova EsquerraCatalana, Catal
Other others	LPD	Coalition Los Pueblos Deciden, El BloqueNacionalistaGalego, EuskalHerriaBildu
Other others	CIU	Ciudadanos
Other others	AMA	Amaiur
Other others	SV	SüdtirolerVolkspartei

3.3. Data quality and weighting

As with any opinion survey, CED-EU14 is to some extent biased, some of the biased being increased by the internet administration of the survey. This section gives some evidence of the importance of these biases.

Notice as well that two post-stratification weights (W1 and W2) are provided in the study. W1 corrects for sociodemographic biases (sex, age, occupation, income) while W2 corrects for electoral biases (in accordance with vote<sup>2</sup> in the European election besides the same sociodemographic components as in W1).

Table 6 displays frequency tables for sex, education and occupation by country. This first column reflects the raw results, the second results as weighted by S2. Differences between unweighted and weighted results are in fact very limited, on average less than one percentage point. Weights have a little bigger impact in Austria and Portugal.

Table 7 proceeds in the same way for electoral outcomes. Differences are much more important at this level. Radical left parties are sometimes importantly overrepresented (especially in Germany, Greece and Portugal) at the expense of conservative parties (especially in Germany, Spain, Austria, and Greece).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Notice that this weight correct for party shares in the sample, but not for turnout.

	France		Germar	ıy	Italy		Spain		Austria		Greece		Portuga	ıl
	Raw	Weighted	Raw	Weighted	Raw	Weighedt	Raw	Weighted	Raw	Weighted	Raw	Weighted	Raw	Weighted
Male	46,2	47,7	46,9	48,6	50,2	47,9	50,9	48,8	45,6	48,3	50,3	49,1	48,1	47,1
Female	53,8	52,3	53,1	51,4	49,8	52,1	49,1	51,2	54,4	51,7	49,7	50,9	51,9	52,9
Early education	0,1	0,1	0,4	0,4	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,5	0,5	0,3	0,3	0,0	0,0
Primary education	1,5	1,6	0,2	0,3	0,1	0,1	0,3	0,4	0,3	0,3	1,9	2,0	1,1	1,5
Lower secondary	17,1	16,9	30,3	29,9	1,3	1,3	3,3	3,9	5,0	4,8	3,5	3,7	4,4	4,9
Upper secondary	20,8	20,4	15,9	15,7	11,4	11,1	15,3	16,6	51,0	50,8	18,3	19,3	38,8	41,6
Post-secondary	11,5	11,6	8,5	7,9	55,7	55,1	28,8	28,8	22,6	22,3	10,3	10,5	8,5	9,1
Short tertiary	16,3	15,9	6,7	6,8	10,1	9,9	14,9	15,0	4,1	4,0	11,1	11,8	34,6	32,4
Bachelor Degree	19,0	19,1	14,4	14,9	16,7	17,5	23,6	22,5	4,6	4,5	38,5	37,5	11,3	9,4
Master Degree	13,8	14,5	23,7	24,0	4,7	5,0	13,9	12,9	11,9	12,7	16,0	14,9	1,4	1,2
Army	0,7	0,7	0,6	0,6	1,8	1,7	0,7	0,7	0,5	0,5	2,2	2,0	2,0	1,8
Managers	9,1	8,9	9,3	9,3	4,3	4,4	7,0	6,4	9,9	10,0	14,9	14,3	10,5	9,3
Professionals	13,4	13,4	12,6	12,8	14,8	15,5	11,1	10,0	12,9	13,2	25,0	24,7	17,6	15,5
Technicians	30,7	30,3	6,6	6,7	7,6	7,7	29,4	27,7	9,2	9,8	9,2	8,9	21,8	19,9
Support workers	21,2	21,7	28,9	28,3	39,5	40,1	19,6	20,3	29,3	29,0	5,0	5,1	22,5	21,9
Service workers	14,0	14,0	24,1	23,8	11,3	10,8	14,3	15,5	27,2	26,9	34,7	35,2	15,3	18,4
Skilled workers	1,6	1,6	0,8	0,8	0,6	0,5	1,9	2,0	0,6	0,5	1,6	1,6	0,8	1,1
Craft workers	4,6	4,7	7,8	7,9	10,2	9,9	3,9	4,2	4,2	4,2	2,9	3,1	1,8	2,5
Operators	1,0	1,1	3,0	3,2	1,0	0,9	4,2	4,5	1,8	1,9	0,8	0,8	2,9	4,0
Elem. occupations	3,7	3,8	6,4	6,6	9,0	8,3	7,9	8,7	4,6	4,1	3,8	4,3	4,8	5,7

Table 6: Impact of weights of samples' sociodemographic characteristics

Table 7:	Impact of	weights	on el	lectoral	outcomes
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		France Germany Italy Spain			Austria		Greece		Portuga	al					
		Raw	Weighted	Raw	Weighted	Raw	Weighted	Raw	Weighted	Raw	Weighted	Raw	Weighted	Raw	Weighted
Participation	ı	65.3	64.9	70.2	69.7	75.6	75.8	66.2	66.0	63.4	63.6	83.2	83.3	55.4	55.4
Communist	6									3.8	2.1	7.4	6.1	16.9	12.7
Radical Left		6.4	6.3	14.4	7.4	7.5	4.0	22.3	7.7			30.4	26.6	9.7	4.6
Other Radic	al Left	2.0	1.9	2.9	1.4			0.7	0.3			2.5	0.7		
Social Demo	ocrats	16.7	14.0	27.5	27.3	41.1	40.8	12.9	23.0	18.0	24.1	3.4	8.0	23.2	31.5
Other M Left	oderate	4.7	3.2												
Greens		10.4	9.0	11.1	10.7	1.5	0.9	8.3	10.0	21.1	14.5	4.0	0.9	13.5	7.2
Other Green	S	2.1	2.1												
Center						1.1	0.7								
Other Cente	r					1.1	0.7					13.3	6.6		
Liberals		10.5	9.9	3.4	3.4	2.2	4.4	8.1	6.5	12.9	8.1				
Conservativ	es	19.1	20.8	26.4	35.3	10.1	16.8	17.1	26.1	17.7	27.0	13.8	22.7	25.7	27.7
Other Right		3.1	6.0	10.7	7.0					1.4	1.4	5.0	3.5		
Radical Rigi	nt	23.1	24.9			6.1	6.2			21.6	19.7	6.9	9.4		
Other Radic	al Right					4.0	3.7			0.5	0.5	3.7	2.7		
Others		2.0	2.0	3.4	7.5	25.3	21.9	30.8	26.4	3.0	2.6	9.6	12.8	11.1	16.4
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

	France		German y		Italy		Spa	in	Austria		Greece		Portuga I	
	Ra w	Act ual	Ra w	Act ual	R a w	Act ual								
Particip ation	65 .3	42. 4	70 .2	48. 1	75 .6	57. 2	66 .2	43. 8	63 .4	45. 4	83 .2	66. 0	33 .7	55. 4

Table 8 compares turnout as estimated in the survey (unweighted results) and actual turnout. Differences are here even more important than earlier, as it is the case in most opinion study.

To provide further evidence of the quality of the study's results, Table 9 compare estimates in our study to estimates of another reference study on the 2014 European election, the European Election Study 2014, on the indicator about evaluation of membership to the EU. Differences are on average small, with our study lower on the number of DKs. However, some striking differences appear especially in Germany, where our sample is far less Europhile, while in Italy and in Portugal it is far more Europhile.

	France		German y		Italy		•		Austria		Greece		Portugal	
	EU 14	EE S14	EU 14	EE S14	EU 14	EE S14	EU 14	EE S14	EU 14	EE S14	EU 14	EE S14	EU 14	EE S14
Goo d thin g Neit her	51. 3	54. 7	58. 4	70. 9	54. 7	37. 9	57. 2	58. 3	44. 7	46. 8	48. 6	43. 4	53. 6	40. 4
goo d not bad	32. 2	28. 5	29. 9	20. 0	28. 6	32. 7	28. 4	24. 9	30. 2	30. 0	35. 0	29. 7	29. 8	31. 8
Bad thin g	16. 1	14. 4	11. 5	7.8	16. 4	7	14. 1	14. 0	24. 8	20. 2	15. 3	26. 1	15. 9	24. 9
DKs	0.5	2.4	0.2	1.4	0.3	8.7	0.3	2.8	0.2	3.0	1.1	0.8	0.7	2.9

Table 9: Comparison of evaluation of EU membership in CED-EU14 and European Election Study 2014

In conclusion, as for any survey, and even more strikingly in Internet survey, estimates provided by CED-EU14 have to be considered carefully before inferring

any definitive conclusion. Yet, overall, the estimates provided here are not at odds with other studies or with what is generally expected.

#### 4. Funders, organization, data distribution and citation

CED-EU14 has been coordinated by a team located at the Center of European Studies of Sciences Po, in collaboration with the Sciences Po network for Electoral Studies (REV), CEVIPOF, Université de Montréal, and LUISS-Roma.

The study has been funded by grants from the *Mairie de Paris*, the French *Agence nationale de la recherche*, the *Université de Montréal* and *LUISS*-Roma.

The questionnaire has been developed in English in Paris, questions related to electoral participation having been provided by André Blais from Montréal. It has been afterwards translated in Catalan, Castilian, French, German, Greek, Italian, and Portugese by native speakers. We especially thank Cesar Garcia Perez de Leon and Carol Galais (Catalan and Castilian), Mirjam Dageförde (German), Pavols Vasilopoulos (Greek) for their work on these translations.

The data file is available for research on demand to Nicolas Sauger (<u>nicolas.sauger@sciencespo.fr</u>). The file shall not be redistributed without authorization.

Any usage of the data should refer to the following source:

Sauger, N., R. Dehousse, F. Gougou, (2015), « Comparative Electoral Dynamics in the European Union in 2014 (CED-EU14) », *Cahiers Européens de Sciences Po*.

#### References

- Cramme, O., &Hobolt, S. B. (Eds.). (2014). Democratic Politics in a European Union Under Stress. Oxford University Press.
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#### Appendix 1 Master questionnaire

RS1. Are you... Male Female

RS2. What year were you born in? Write in: \_\_\_\_\_ [4 digits]

If RS2==1996: RS2b. Are you 18? [Drop if No][Except for Austria for which target population>=16]

Yes No

RS3. Are you a citizen...

- 1. Of [this country]
- 2. Of another European Union country
- 3. Of a country outside the European Union [->Drop]

If RS3==2: Which one? List of 27 other EU countries.

RS4. What is the zip code of the place where you live?

Write in zip code: XXXXX.

- 8. Refused
- 9. DK

If RS4==valid: RS4b. Let's check, you live then in [département].

Yes

No. ->Let's go back to the previous question. Could you key your zip code once again?

If RS4=8 or 9 or RS4b-2-new answer==RS4: RS4c. In which [department] do you live? [List of departements]

RS5. Are you registered on the electoral list in this place?

1. Yes

2. No

3. I'm not registered on electoral lists

If RS5==2 & RS4==valid: RS5b.Which other place? Please provide the zip code or country.

If RS5==2 & RS4==non-valid :RS5c.Which other place? Please provide the [département].

RS7. Do you have currently a professional activity?

Yes

No

RS9.What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- 1. Early childhood education
- 2. Primary education
- 3. Lower secondary education
- 4. Upper secondary education
- 5. Post-secondary non tertiary education
- 6. Short-cycle tertiary education
- 7. Bachelor or equivalent level
- 8. Master's or higher level

RS10. Which of the following options best describe your net monthly/annual income? 12 categories monthly & annual

Q1. Looking at the following issues, how much are they important for [country] today? Using this scale, what number best describes your opinion.

0 Not important at all for [country]..... 10 Extremely important for [country].

- a. Unemployment
- b. The tax burden
- c. Public debts and deficits
- d. Immigration
- e. Climate change

Q2. As of today, do you think that the same following issues are mainly dealt with by national or European authorities? Using this scale, what number best describes your opinion.

0 The [country] government has full responsibility 10 The EU authorities have full responsibility

- a. Unemployment
- b. The tax burden
- c. Public debts and deficits
- d. Immigration
- e. Climate change

Q3. Do you think [country] government policies have had a positive influence, a negative influence or no influence on...

0 An extremely negative influence ...... 10 An extremely positive influence

- a. Unemployment in [country].
- b. The tax burden in [country].
- c. Public debts and deficits in [country].
- d. Immigration in [country].
- e. Climate change in [country].

Q4. Do you think European Union policies have had a positive influence, a negative influence or no influence on...

0 An extremely negative influence ...... 10 An extremely positive influence

- a. Unemployment in [country].
- b. The tax burden in [country].
- c. Public debts and deficits in [country].
- d. Immigration in [country].
- e. Climate change in [country].

Q5.Still about these issues, compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the situation in [country] has improved or deteriorated? Using this scale, what number best describes your opinion.

0 Much deteriorated compared to 12 months ago 10 Much improved compared to 12 months ago

- 1. Unemployment in [country]
- 2. The tax burden in [country]
- 3. Public debts and deficits in [country]
- 4. Immigration in [country]
- 5. Climate change in [country]

Q6.Now, we'll look at the European elections. A lot of people abstained in the European Parliament elections of May 25 while others voted. Did you cast a vote?

I did not vote in the EP election of May.

I thought about voting this time but didn't

I usually vote but didn't this time

I am sure I voted in the EP election in May

If Q6==4: Q7. Which party [list] did you vote for?

Provide actual list corresponding to zip code. Blank ballot.

If Q6==1/2/3: Q8. If you had voted, which party would you have voted for?

If Q6==1/2/3 or Q7==blank: Q9. By not voting or voting blank in this election, did you want to express...

1. discontent with the [country] government ?

1 Did not want to express discontent at all......10 Did only want to express discontent

2. discontent with the EU?

1 Did not want to express discontent at all......10Did only want to express discontent

Q11. Speaking now about the latest national election, did you cast a vote for the [previous national election] ?

I was not registered on the electoral list / was not 18 for this election. I did not vote in the [previous national election] I thought about voting but didn't I usually vote but didn't this time I do not remember if I voted this time I am sure I voted in the [previous national election]

If Q11==6: Q12. Which party did you vote for? List of parties / candidates.

Q13. Now, I'd like your views on various statements. How would you place your views on this scale?

- a. The State should impose higher levels of regulations and control the market.
- b. Wealth should be much more redistributed from the rich to the poor.
- c. Taxes should be decreased even at the cost of cuts in public services.
- d. People who break the law should be given much harsher sentences than these days.
- e. Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion.
- f. Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth.

0 Fully disagree 10 Fully agree

Q14. Now speaking about the European Union, some say European unification should be pushed further. Other say national sovereignty should be reimposed. What is your opinion?

0 National sovereignty should be reimposed......10 European unification should be pushed further

- Q15. Generally speaking, how good or bad are the following things...
- a. [country]'s membership in the European Union
- b. having the Euro

A good thing Neither a good nor a bad thing A bad thing

Q16. Do you see yourself as...

[countryof citizenship] [countryof citizenship] and European European and [countryof citizenship] European only

Q17. For each of the following statement, please indicate whether you agree or disagree.

a. You trust the institutions of the European Union.

b. [split 1/3 avec Q29c et e] It is very important for you which particular political party gains the most seats in [country] in the European Parliament elections.

c. [split 1/3 avec Q29b et e] It is very important for you which particular political party gains the most seats at the European level in the European Parliament elections.

d. The [country] Parliament takes into consideration the concerns of [country] citizens.

e. [split 1/3 avec Q29b et c]It is very important for you which particular political party gains the most seats in the [country] elections.

f. Most of the important decisions in [country] are imposed by the European Union.

0 Fully disagree.....10 Fully agree

Q18. On this scale, where 0 means no interest at all and 10 means a great deal of interest, how interested are you in politics generally?

0 Not interest at all......10 A great deal of interest

- Q19. How much do you care whether your friends and relatives do or do not vote? 0 I do not care at all......10 I care a great deal
- Q20. How guilty would you feel if you did not vote in an election? 0 I would not feel guilty at all........... 10 I would feel extremely guilty

Q21. In some countries, voting is compulsory. How favourable or opposed are you to make voting compulsory in your country?

0 I am totally opposed...... 10 I am totally favourable

Q22. When you were growing up, did your parents tell you that voting is a duty? Yes No

Q23. We have a number of parties in [country] each of which would like to get your vote. How probable is that you will ever vote for the following parties? Please specify your views on a scale where 0 means not at all probable and 10 very probable.

List of parties

0 Not at all probable ..... 10 Very probable

Q24. In political matters people talk of the left and the right. About where would you place the following institutions on this scale?

- a. The [country] government
- b. The European commission
- c. National party 1 [to be picked randomly from party list]
- d. National party 2 [to be picked randomly from party list]

0 Left 10 Right ; DK

Q25. And what is your own position on this same scale?

0 Left 10 Right

Q26. Do you consider yourself to be close to any particular party? If so, which party do you feel close to?

List of parties. Feel close to another party Do not feel close to any party

Q27. What do you think of the following political leaders? Please rate them on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that personality and 10 means that you strongly like that personality.

- a. José Manuel Barroso
- b. [Split 1/3 with d] Alexis Tsipras
- c. Martin Schulz
- d. [Split 1/6 with b] José Bové
- e. [Split 1/6 with b]Ska Keller
- f. [Split 1/3 with b] Guy Verhofstadt
- g. Jean-Claude Juncker

0 Strongly dislike 10 Strongly like Do not know this personality

Q28. Now, I'd like your views on some others questions. How would you place your views on this scale?

- a. Immigration to [country] should be decreased significantly.
- b. Firing employees should be made much easier.
- c. Working time to get a full pension should be increased.
- d. Globalization decreases a lot the power of national governments.

e. The European Commission should have more authority over Member States' economic and budgetary policies.

- f. Trade barriers and economic protectionism should be reimposed.
- g. [Country] has a lot of influence on the decisions of the European Union.
- h. Same sex marriage should not be authorized.
- i. Immigration is a threat to our jobs.
- j. Elected officials talk too much and take too little action.

0 Fully disagree 10 Fully agree

Q29. Still on this scale, how would you place your views?

- 1. I see voting as a way to show love for my country
- 2. It is everyone's duty to participate actively in politics
- 3. It is OK to abstain in unimportant elections
- 4. Voting is like paying taxes, you just have to do it
- 5. I see voting as a way to show loyalty to my party
- 6. Only those who vote have the right to criticize the government
- 7. In a democracy, people should have the right to vote, but also the right to abstain
- 8. I see voting as a way to show support for democracy
- 9. It is OK to abstain if you have no opinion in an election

0 Fully disagree 10 Fully agree

Q30 [To be split on order between DUTY and CHOICE in 2 groups]. Different people feel differently about voting.

For some, voting is a DUTY. They feel that they should vote in every election however they feel about the candidates and parties.

For others, voting is a CHOICE. They feel free to vote or not to vote in an election depending on how they feel about the candidates and parties. For you personally, voting is FIRST AND FOREMOST a:

Duty Choice Not sure

[If Q30==DUTY] Q31. How strongly do you feel personally that voting is a duty? Very strongly Somewhat strongly Not very strongly

Q32. Let us now come back to [country]. Do you approve or disapprove of the current government's record to date?

0 Strongly disapprove 10 Strongly approve

Q33. How responsible is each of the following institutions for the economic crisis in Europe in the past years?

[1/2 sample] The banks[1/2 sample] The countries with too large deficits and public debts[1/2 sample] The European Union[1/2 sample] Germany

0. Not responsible at all of the economic crisis......10. Fully responsible of the economic crisis

Q34. What is your current marital status? Married Civil union Living with partner (not married) Widowed Divorced Separated Single (never married, never in civil union)

RS12. Including yourself, how many people –including children– live regularly as members of your household? WRITE IN: [>=1]

RS13. Have you ever had children? Yes

No

If RS13==1, ask: RS14. How many children have you had? WRITE IN: [>=1] RS15: Among your children, how many daughter have you had? WRITE IN:

RS16: Among your children, how many still live at your home? WRITE IN:

RS17: How many of them are 12 or below? WRITE IN:

RS18. Which of these descriptions best applies to what you have been doing for the last 7 days? Are you...

In paid work or temporarily away of paid work (employee, self-employed, working for your family business)

In education (not paid by the employer) even if on vacation Unemployed and actively looking for a job Unemployed, wanting a job, but not actively looking for a job Permanently sick or disabled Retired (In community or military service) Doing housework, looking after children or other persons

If RS18!=1, RS19: Have you ever had a paid job? Yes No

[If RS18==1 | RS19==1]RS20. In your main job, are/were you...

An employee

Self-employed

Or working for your own family's business?

[If RS18==1 | RS19==1]RS21. Do/did you have a work contract of..

Civil-servant

Unlimited duration

Limited duration

Or do/did you have no contract?

[If RS18==1 | RS19==1]RS22. What are/were your total basic or contracted hours each week (in your main job), excluding any paid and unpaid overtime? WRITE IN: \_\_\_\_\_ HOURS

[If RS18==1 | RS19==1]RS23. And in your current [last] job, what is [was] your main occupation?

Manager, such as [examples below] Professionals, such as... Technicians and associated professionals, such as... Clerical support worker, such as... Service and sale workers such as... Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, such as... Craft and related trades workers, such as... Plant and machine operators, and assemblers, such as... Elementary occupations, such as... Armed forces, such as...

[for each codein RS23] RS24. And more precisely are/were you...

Managers

Chief executives, such as senior officials and legislators as senior government officials, managing directors,...

Administrative and commercial managers, such as business, human resource, or finance manager, marketing manager,...

Production and specialized services managers, such as construction mangers, IT services managers, financial and insurance branch managers,...

Hospitality, retail and other services managers, such as hotel manager, cultural center manager,...

None of that is the type of work I do, check for other categories

Professionals

Sciences and engineering professionals such as biologists, engineer, architect,...

Health professionals, as doctors, midwife, pharmacists,...

Teaching professionals, as teacher in university or secondary or primary school, vocational education teacher,...

Business and administration professionals, such as financial analysts, public relation professionals, technical sales professionals,...

Information and communication technology professionals, such as software developer, programmers, database and network professionals,...

Legal, social, and cultural professionals such as lawyers, librarians, psychologists, journalists, artists,...

Technicians and associated professionals

Science and engineering associate professionals, such as technicians, supervisors, process controllers, ship or aircraft officers and pilots,...

Health associate professionals, such as medical technicians, nurses, dental assistants,...

Business and administration associate professionals, such as credit and loans officers, insurance representatives, commercial sales representative, real estate agents, medical secretaries,...

Legal, social, cultural and related associate professionals, such as police inspectors, social work associate professionals, sport coaches, photographers, chefs,...

Information and communication technicians, such as web technicians, telecommunication technicians,...

Clerical support workers

General and keyboard clerk, such as secretaries, keyboard operators,...

Customer services clerks, such as croupiers, client information workers, receptionists,...

Numerical and material recording clerks, such as accounting clerks, payroll clerks,...

Other clerical support workers, such as library clerks, scribes,...

Service and sales workers

Les Cahiers européens de Sciences Po. – n° 02/2015

Personal service workers, such as stewards, travels guides, cooks, bartenders, hairdressers,...

Sales workers, such as shop salesperson, cashiers, sales demonstrators,...

Personal care workers, such as child care workers, teachers' aides,...

Protective services workers, such as fire-fighters, prison guards, security guards,...

Skilled agricultural, forestry, and fishery workers

Market oriented skilled agricultural workers Market oriented skilled forestry, fishery and hunting workers Subsistence farmers, fishers, hunters, and gatherers

Craft and related trades workers

Building and related trades workers, excluding electricians, such as masons, carpenters, plumbers,...

Metal, machinery, and related trades workers, such as toolmakers, motor vehicle mechanics,...

Handicraft and printing workers, such as potters, printers,...

Electrical and electronical trades workers

Food processing, wood working, garnment, and other craft and related trades workers, such as butchers, bakers, wood treaters, shoemakers,...

Plant and machine operators, and assemblers

Stationary plant and machine operators, such as sewing machine operators, plastic products machine operators,...

Assemblers

Drivers and mobile plants operators, such as truck driver, crane operator,...

Elementary occupations Cleaners and helpers Agricultural, forestry, and fishery labourers Labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transports Food preparation assistants Street and related sales and service workers Refuse workers and other elementary workers

Armed forced occupations

Commissioned armed forces officers Non-commissioned armed forces officers Armed forces occupations, other ranks

RS25. Are you born in [country]?

Yes No

[If RS25==2]RS26: In which country were you born?

List of countries.

[If RS25==2]RS27: For how many years have you lived in [country]? WRITE IN: ..... YEARS

RS28. Were both of your parents born in [country]?

Yes

No

[If RS28==2] RS29: In which country was your father born? List of countries.

[If RS28==2] RS30:In which country was your mother born? List of countries.

RS31. Have you ever lived for more than 6 months in another country than [country]? Yes No

RS33. Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination?

Roman catholic Protestant Orthodox Jew Muslim Hindu Buddhist

Other

None

RS34. Apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services nowadays?

Several times a week Once a week At least once a month A few times a year Once a year or less Never

Q35. Taking everything into account, at about what level is your family's standard or living?

- a. Today
- b. About 5 years ago
- c. When you were 14
- d. In 10 years from now

0 Poor family ..... 10 Rich family

Appendix 2 Details about data file

Label in Question naire	LAB EL	VARIABLE	MIN	MAX	FILT ER	6666	DK 7777	MISS 8888	REF 9999
	A1	Questionnaire ID	39	30401		0	0	0	0
	A2	Date	20140 528	20140 612		0	0	0	0
	S1	Country of residence	0	6		0	0	0	0
RS3	S2	Nationality	0	24		0	0	0	0
RS1	S3	Gender	0	1		0	0	0	0
RS2	S4	Year of birth	1921	1998		0	0	0	0
RS4	A3F	Category of agglomeration - France	0	4	S1	0	0	18059	0
RS4	A3D	Category of agglomeration - Germany	0	4	S1	0	2	18058	0
RS4	A3I	Category of agglomeration - Italy	0	4	S1	0	18	18069	0
RS4	A3S	Category of agglomeration - Spain	0	4	S1	0	1304	18062	0
RS4	A3O	Category of agglomeration - Austria	0	3	S1	0	0	18070	0
RS4	S5	Region	1	36		0	0	0	0
RS5	P1	Electoral registration	0	2		0	0	0	0
RS7	S6	Professional activity	0	1		0	0	0	0
RS9	S8	Education	0	7		0	24	0	0
RS10	S9	Monthlyincome (household)	0	11		0	383	0	1554
	D1	Design: order issues q1/q5 (P2/P26)	0	1		0	0	0	0
Q1	P2	Importance for country: unemployment	0	10		0	167	0	0
Q1	P3	Importance for country: tax burden	0	10		0	182	0	0
Q1	P4	Importance for country: public debts and deficits	0	10		0	206	0	0
Q1	P5	Importance for country: immigration	0	10		0	273	0	0
Q1	P6	Importance for country: climate change	0	10		0	255	0	0
Q2	Ρ7	Responsibility country vs EU issues: unemployment	0	10		0	871	0	0

Q2	P8	Responsibility country vs EU: tax burden	0	10		0	960	0	0
Q2	P9	Responsibility country vs EU: public debts and deficits	0	10		0	863	0	0
Q2	P10	Responsibility country vs EU: immigration	0	10		0	605	0	0
Q2	P11	Responsibility country vs EU: climate change	0	10		0	431	0	0
Q3	P12	Influence of country policies on: unemployment	0	10		778	54	0	0
Q3	P13	Influence of country policies on: tax burden	0	10		541	62	0	0
Q3	P14	Influence of country policies on: public debts and deficits	0	10		577	67	0	0
Q3	P15	Influence of country policies on: immigration	0	10		886	59	0	0
Q3	P16	Influence of country policies on: climate change	0	10		2726	51	0	0
Q4	P17	Influence of EU policies on: unemployment	0	10		2086	74	0	0
Q4	P18	Influence of EU policies on: taxburden	0	10		2194	81	0	0
Q4	P19	Influence of EU policies on: public debts and deficits	0	10		1695	90	0	0
Q4	P20	Influence of EU policies on: immigration	0	10		1662	87	0	0
Q4	P21	Influence of EU policies on: climate change	0	10		2716	85	0	0
Q5	P22	Country compared to 12 months ago: unemployment	0	10		0	887	0	0
Q5	P23	Country compared to 12 months ago: tax burden	•	10		0	942	0	0
Q5	P24	Country compared to 12 months ago: public debts and deficits	0	10		0	877	0	0
Q5	P25	Country compared to 12 months ago: immigration	0	10		0	840	0	0
Q5	P26	Country compared to 12 months ago: climate change	0	10		0	588	0	0
Q6	P27	EE2014: turnout	0	3	P1	0	0	496	0
	A5F	District (France)	0	6	S1	0	0	18059	0

	A5I	District (Italy)	0	4	S1	0	126	18069	0
Q7	P28	Vote in Europeanelection	0	16	P27	427	0	7007	2702
Q8	P29	Vote in European election (for those who did not vote)	0	16	P27	1175	0	15561	1407
Q9	P30	Abstention or blank: express discontent with country government	•	10	P27 / P28	0	45	15134	0
Q9	P31	Abstention or blank: express discontent with the EU	0	10	P27 / P28	0	53	15134	0
	D2	Design: order q9 (P30 and P31)	0	1	P27 / P28	0	0	15134	0
Q10	P32	Vote: designation of the President of the European Commission	0	10	P27	0	573	10136	0
Q11	P33	Previous national election: turnout	0	3		0	805	755	0
Q12	P34	Vote: previous national election	0	16	P33	494	0	4236	2872
	D3	Design: order q13 (P35 to P40)	0	1		0	0	0	0
Q13	P35	The State should impose higher levels of regulations	0	10		0	215	0	0
Q13	P36	Wealth should be much more redistributed	0	10		0	174	0	0
Q13	P37	Taxes shouldbedecreased	0	10		0	208	0	0
Q13	P38	People who break the law should be given much harsher sentences	0	10		0	200	0	0
Q13	P39	Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion	0	10		0	184	0	0
Q13	P40	Globalisation is an opportunity for economic growth	0	10		0	198	0	0
Q14	P41	European unification pushedfurther	0	10		0	604	0	0
	D4	Design: items q15 (P42 and P43)	0	1		0	0	0	0
Q15	P42	Country's membership in the EU	0	2		0	77	0	0
Q15	P43	Having the Euro	0	2		0	118	0	0

Q16	P44	Subjective citizenship	0	3		0	51	0	0
	D5	Design: order q17 (P45 to P50)	0	1		0	0	0	0
	D6	Design: importance of seat share	0	2		0	0	0	0
Q17	P45	You trust the institutions of the EU	0	10		0	200	0	0
Q17	P46	Very important which party most seats in country in EP elections	0	10	D6	0	79	14721	0
Q17	P47	Very important which party most seats at the European level in EP elections	0	10	D6	0	71	14707	0
Q17	P48	Very important which party most seats in the country elections	0	10	D6	0	66	14716	0
Q17	P49	National Parliament takes into consideration citizens' concerns	0	10		0	193	0	0
Q17	P50	Decisions in country are imposed by the EU	0	10		0	191	0	0
Q18	P51	Politicalinterest	0	10		0	423	0	0
Q19	P52	Care whether friends and relatives do or do not vote	0	10		0	719	0	0
Q20	P53	Would feel guilty if you do not vote	0	10		0	899	0	0
Q21	P54	Compulsoryvoting in country	0	10		0	899	0	0
Q22	P55	Parents did tell that voting is a duty	0	1		0	43	0	0
Q23	P56	Votingprobability: communists	0	11	S1	0	258	8016	0
Q23	P57	Votingprobability: radical left	0	11	S1	0	252	8012	0
Q23	P58	Votingprobability: social-democrats	0	11	S1	0	333	0	0
Q23	P59	Votingprobability: greens	0	11	S1	0	232	6033	0
Q23	P60	Voting probability: center or center right	0	11	S1	0	256	9033	0
Q23	P61	Votingprobability: liberals	0	11	S1	0	352	2030	0
Q23	P62	Votingprobability: conservatives	0	11	S1	0	352	0	0
Q23	P63	Votingprobability: other right	0	11	S1	0	144	13039	0
Q23	P64	Voting probability: radical/extreme right	0	11	S1	0	236	9037	0
Q23	P65	Voting probability: other extreme right	0	11	S1	0	163	14067	0

Les Cahiers européens de Sciences Po. – n° 02/2015

Q23 Q24	P66 P67	Votingprobability: others Left/right scale: country government	0 0	11 11	S1 0 0	191 407	12029 0 0 0
Q24	P68	Left/right scale: European Commission	0	11	0 S1 /	355	0 0
Q24	P69	Left/right scale: communists	0	11	SPLI 0 T S1 /	166	18195 0
Q24	P70	Left/right scale: radical left	0	11	SPLI 0 T S1 /	183	18368 0
Q24	P71	Left/right scale: social-democrats	0	11	SPLI 0 T S1 /	189	15689 0
Q24	P72	Left/right scale: greens	0	11	SPLI 0 T S1 /	172	17121 0
Q24	P73	Left/right scale: center or center right	0	11	SPLI 0 T S1 /	67	18920 0
Q24	P74	Left/right scale: liberals	0	11	SPLI 0 T S1 /	109	16470 0
Q24	P75	Left/right scale: conservatives	0	11	SPLI 0 T S1 /	107	15966 0
Q24	P76	Left/right scale: other right	0	11	SPLI 0 T S1 /	56	19455 0
Q24	P77	Left/right scale: radical/extreme right	0	11	SPLI 0 T	49	18757 0

Les Cahiers européens de Sciences Po. – n° 02/2015

Q24	P78	Left/right scale: other extreme right	0	11	S1 / SPLI T S1 /	0	36	20078	0
Q24	P79	Left/right scale: others	0	11	SPLI T	0	66	19629	0
Q25	P80	Left/right scale: ego	0	11		0	485	0	0
Q26	P81	Partisanship	0	12		0	0	0	1808
	D7	Design: order q27 (P82 to P88)	0	1		0	0	0	0
Q27	P82	Views on leaders: Barroso	0	11		5401	101	0	0
Q27	P83	Views on leaders: Tsipras	0	11	SPLI T	3163	32	14711	0
Q27	P84	Views on leaders: Verhofstadt	0	11	SPLI T	3373	48	14716	0
Q27	P85	Views on leaders: Keller	0	11	SPLI T	1744	20	18396	0
Q27	P86	Views on leaders: Bove	0	11	SPLI T	1426	26	18393	0
Q27	P87	Views on leaders: Schulz	0	11		6698	128	0	0
Q27	P88	Views on leaders: Juncker	0	11		6481	100	0	0
	D8	Design: order q28 (P89 to P98)	0	1		0	0	0	0
Q28	P89	Immigration should be decreased significantly	0	11		0	208	0	0
Q28	P90	Firing employees should be made much easier	0	11		0	243	0	0
Q28	P91	Working time to get a full pension should be increased	0	11		0	263	0	0
Q28	P92	Globalization decreases a lot the power of national governments	0	11		0	292	0	0
Q28	P93	The EC should have more authority over Member States' economic and budgetary	0	11		0	261	0	0

		policies							
Q28	P94	Trade barriers and economic protectionism should be reimposed	0	11		0	305	0	0
Q28	P95	Country has a lot of influence on the decisions of the EU	0	11		0	285	0	0
Q28	P96	Same sex marriage should not be authorized	0	11		0	239	0	0
Q28	P97	Immigration is a threat to our jobs	0	11		0	229	0	0
Q28	P98	Elected officials talk too much and take too little action	0	11		0	216	0	0
	D9	Design: order q29 (P99 to P107)	0	1		0	0	0	0
Q29	P99	Voting as to show love for country	0	10		0	223	0	0
Q29	P100	Everyone has a duty to participate	0	10		0	234	0	0
Q29	P101	It is OK to abstain	0	10		0	260	0	0
Q29	P102	Voting is just like paying taxes	0	10		0	234	0	0
Q29	P103	Voting to show loyalty to party	0	10		0	244	0	0
Q29	P104	Voting to have the right to criticize	0	10		0	253	0	0
Q29	P105	Right to abstain	0	10		0	232	0	0
Q29	P106	Voting to show support for democracy	0	10		0	226	0	0
Q29	P107	OK to abstain if no opinion	0	10		0	230	0	0
	D10	Design: order q30	0	1		0	0	0	0
Q30	P108	Voting as duty or choice	0	2		0	32	0	0
Q31	P109	How strong a duty	0	3	Q30	0	16	12450	0
Q32	P110	Approval of national government record	0	10		0	822	0	0
	D11	Design: split q33	0	3		0	0	0	0
Q33	P111	Responsibility for economic crisis: banks	0	10		0	94	11036	0
Q33	P112	Responsibility for economic crisis: countries with deficits	0	10		0	130	11036	0
Q33	P113	Responsibility for economic crisis: EU	0	10		0	109	11036	0

Q33	P114	Responsibility for economic crisis: Germany	0	10		0	140	11036	0
Q34	S10	Matrimonial status	0	6		0	0	0	0
RS12	S11	Number of people in household	1	15		0	0	0	0
RS13	S12	Everhadchildren	0	1		0	0	0	0
RS14	S13	How manychildren	1	15	S12	0	0	9072	0
RS15	S14	How manydaughters	0	10	S12	0	0	9072	0
RS16	S15	How many still at home	0	14	S12	0	0	9072	0
RS17	S16	How manyunder 12	0	14	S12	0	0	9072	0
RS18	S17	Main activity	0	6		0	0	0	0
RS19	S18	Everhad a job	0	1	S17	0	0	16758	0
RS20	S19	Status	0	2	S17, S18	0	0	6242	0
	• • •			•	S18 S17,				
RS21	S20	Type of contract	0	3	S18	0	0	6242	0
RS22	S21	Hoursworked	0	168	S17, S18	0	0	6242	0
RS24	S22	Profession	0	96	S17,	0	0	6242	0
K324	322	FIDIESSIDIT	0	90	S18	0	0	0242	0
RS25	S23	Born in country	0	1		0	0	0	0
RS27	S25	Number of years lived in birth country	0	99	S23	0	0	20817	0
RS28	S26	Both parents born in country	0	1		0	55	0	0
RS29	S27	Country of birth: father	1	241	S26	0	10	0	0
RS30	S28	Country of birth: mother	1	241	S26	0	11	0	0
RS31	S29	Ever lived in another country	0	1		0	0	0	0
RS33	S30	Religion	0	8		0	0	0	975
RS34	S31	Religious practice	0	5		0	0	0	454
RS35	S32	Standard of living: today	0	10		0	252	0	0
RS35	S33	Standard of living: 5 years ago	0	10		0	188	0	0

RS35	S34	Standard of living: when you were 14	0	10	0	197	0	0
RS35	S35	Standard of living: in 10 years	0	10	0	298	0	0
	W1	Sociodemographicweight	0,42	2,53	0	0	0	0
	W2	Sociodemographic + electoralweight	0,09	5	0	0	0	0
	A4	Duration of questionnaire	423	8938	0	0	0	0

