**PARTIREP Survey 2009-2014**

**DATABASE – CODEBOOK**

This database is the result of conducting the research project titled “Portuguese Deputies in Comparative Perspective: Elections, Leadership and Political Representation” (2007-2010) (FCT: PTDC/CPO/64469/2006)based at the Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology of the Lisbon University Institute (CIES/IUL), coordinated by André Freire and José Manuel Leite Viegas. The research assistant was Filipa Seiceira and Teresa Ruel e Inês Lima were other research assistants that helped the team sporadically.

This project survey belongs to the research network PARTIREP – *Party Representation*, coordinated by Christian Deschouwer, with Sam Depaw and based at Vrije Universiteit Brussel (<http://www.partirep.eu/index.php?page=project&page2=survey&id=2>). André Freire, is the Portuguese Principal National Coordinator of the Project, with José Manuel Leite Viegas.

**Methodological note on the survey´s application**

This was mainly a *websurvey* coordinated scientifically by the Brussels headquarters of PARTIREP, Kris Deschouwer and Sam Depaw, and the Portuguese team, André Freire and Filipa Seiceira, but the field work was done by a Belgium company through the platform iVOX and with the close cooperation of the Portuguese Parliaments (National and Regionals) and the respective MPs.

The websurvey was designed in electronic form through the iVOX platform, this platform provides the sending of an e-mail to each parliamentarian with an invitation to respond to the questionnaire, this email contained a login and password allowing Mp’s access to the questionnaire. (There is also the possibility of sending the questionnaire in paper version by mail, in exceptional cases when the MP has no e-mail).

The answers provided are confidential and are all treated anonymously, as is methodological practice usual in social and political sciences. The data for publication have a statistical nature, and for so, it is impossible to trace the identity of the respondents, which will always be kept strictly confidential. After the data collection in 14 countries and after the elimination of any personal information of respondents, the databases are made available to the scientific community.

The data was colected between January and September, 2010. By request of some MPs, some questionnaires were send my mail or fielded through face to face interviews.

This websurvey had as reference the 2009 elections, for the Portuguese National Parliament (*Assembleia da República*, AR), and 2008 elections, for the Regional Parliaments of Azores ((*Assembleia Legislativa Regional dos Açores*, ALRA) )and Madeira (*Assembleia Legislativa Regional da Madeira*, ALRM).

The biographical data used as sources for the backgound variableswere colected mainly in the sites of the Parliaments:

- Assembly of the Republic: [www.parlamento.pt](http://www.parlamento.pt)

- Madeira’s Parliament: [www.alram.pt](http://www.alram.pt)

- Azores Parliament: [www.alra.pt](http://www.alra.pt)

It was also used in Azores a small questionnaire with the background variables that was passed to the MPs that participated in the survey. That questionnaire was distributed by mail by the Socialist MP Piedade Lalanda that also collected all the answers and sent them to the research team.

1. **Micro data:**

See Questionnaire below:

A1. Partirep MP Survey Questionnaire – Regional MPs in Multilevel States

A2. Partirep MP Survey Questionnaire – National MPs in Unitary States

1. **Background Variables:**

See background variables below.

1. **Macro data (for comparative purposes):**

See Macro variables below.

**The Portuguese background variables:**

Regarding the Portuguese background variables dataset, there are some notes that are necessary to be made:

1. We decided to use as the variables “active 1” and “active 2” the initiatives presented by the MP (private members bills) in the first case, and the questions asked during the plenary sessions, in the second case.

* Regarding the National Parliament we do not have any problems collecting the data. We present the number of bill proposals made by each one of the MPs in the first legislative session (from 15th of October 2009 to 22th of July 2010) and the number of questions asked during those sessions.
* In Madeira the MPs do not present private members bills, all the proposals are made in behalf of the party. We counted the number of regional proposals the parties made between 29th of June 2007 and 9th of November 2010. They were presented in four legislative sessions (the fourth only have six plenary sessions). In Madeira we could not have the information regarding the questions asked, so we count the “clarification requests” made by the MPs.
* In Azores we could not have access to all the information we needed. As in Madeira, the billing proposals are made in behalf of the party. We present the ones that were made between 17th of November 2008 and 29th of November 2010 (we could not have access to the information of CDS-PP and MPT because it was not available online). They also do not have available the number of questions or clarification requests made by the MPs. They only present the number of interventions made by the MP but do not distinguish between questions, statements, comments, etc.

1. **In general:**

* Regarding the MPs that answered the survey, there are some missing information in Azores and Madeira. In the case of Azores, the biographic information of the MPs is not available online and we had to contact a MP that offered to help us, to collect the information that we needed, but there are some missing data nevertheless. For example for one of the MPs that answered, we do not have information in some of the variables. Additionally, we only have the year of birth for the MPs that answered the questionnaire, not all of them.
* In Madeira, in spite of all the MPs’ biographical data is available on-line, they only have the information of the MPs that are currently in the Parliament. Some of the MPs that answered the questionnaire are no longer in the Parliament, so it was hard to collect all the information we needed. We had the help from a PHD student that knows very well the Madeira’s Parliament, but she could not collect all the information that we needed.

**Norms for quotation**

**Rules for Citation when using this dataset:**

Freire, A. & Viegas, J. M. L. (2010b) ‘Portuguese MPs survey: 2009 legislative election’, Research project at ISCTE-IUL and CIES-IUL, *Portuguese Deputies in Comparative Perspective: Elections, Leadership, and Political Representation*, FCT: PTDC/CPO/64469/2006, available online at: <http://er.cies.iscte-iul.pt/>

**Publications using this data and that included the Portuguese data and team (by February 2015):**

Audrey André, André Freire & Zsófia Papp (2014), “Electoral rules and Legislators’ Personal Vote-Seeking”, in Kris Deschouwer & Sam Depaw (editors), *Representing the people. A survey among members of statewide and substate parliaments*, Oxford University Press, pp. 87-109.

Kris Deschouwer & Sam Depaw (editors) (2014), *Representing the people. A survey among members of statewide and substate parliaments*, Oxford University Press.

**CONTACTS**

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1. **Micro Data**

**A.1. Partirep MP Survey Questionnaire – (Regional MPs in Multi-Level States)**

We would like to start off with a number of questions about the workings of Parliament in general and the responsibilities of a Member of the regional Parliament.

**Question 1.** For each of the following tasks, how satisfied are you with [insert name of Parliament]’s and its members’ performance?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | very  unsatisfied | fairly  unsatisfied | rather satisfied | very satisfied |
| 1. in scrutinising the government |  |  |  |  |
| 2. in representing the views and interests of the voters |  |  |  |  |
| 3. in doing legislative work\* |  |  |  |  |

\* in amending and voting the proposals of your region (if more appropriate)

**Question 2.** The following question is about day-to-day practice in your regional Parliament. Thinking of your fellow members of the regional Parliament, would you say that the following statements are true or false?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | false | mostly false | neither | mostly true | true |
| 1. members frequently question another member’s sincerity and integrity in public |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. in private, it is not uncommon for women’s competence to be questioned |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. members are mostly preoccupied with local issues |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. the parliamentary party group spokesperson/specialist gets to determine the party’s position on his/her topics |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. members frequently contact the media on a topic for which another member of that party is the party’s spokesperson |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. almost as a rule confidential party discussions find their way to the media |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. members frequently take initiatives without the parliamentary party’s authorization |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 3.** What do you yourself consider the most important task you fulfill as a Member of the regional 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.*)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1st choice | 2nd choice |
| 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 |  |  |

**Question 4.** Some Members of the regional Parliament specialize in one or two policy domains, while others prefer to speak on a wide range of issues from different policy domains? How would you define yourself?

(*Please tick one box*.)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| I specialize in one or two policy domains |  |
| I try to keep up with a wide range of issues |  |

**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?

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| about once a month | about every three months | about once a year | (almost) never |
|  |  |  |  |

**Question 6.** And how should, in your opinion, a Member of the regional Parliament vote in this situation?

(*Please tick one box*.)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| MP should vote according to his/her own opinion |  |
| MP should vote according to his/her party’s opinion |  |

**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?

(*Please tick one box*.)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| MP should vote according to his/her own opinion |  |
| MP should vote according to the opinion of his/her voters |  |

**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?

(*Please tick one box*.)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| MP should vote according to the opinion of his/her voters |  |
| MP should vote according to his/her party’s opinion |  |

**Question 9.** How should, in your opinion, a Member of the regional Parliament vote if his/her regional party has one opinion and his/her national party takes a different position?

(*Please tick one box*.)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| MP should vote according to his/her regional party’s opinion |  |
| MP should vote according to his/her national party’s opinion |  |

Next are a few, more general questions about the alleged decline of trust in politics and politicians among voters.

**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?

(*Please tick one box in each row – randomized order*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | strongly disagree | disagree | neither | agree | strongly agree |
| 1. the state no longer possesses the necessary instruments to solve society’s most pressing needs |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. journalists’ ways of covering politics mainly focus on soundbites and conflictual issues |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. too many citizens fail to see that their own interest is only one out of many diverging interests in society |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. most citizens have no clear policy preferences |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. political parties are not offering really different options to the people |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. parties make too many promises on which they cannot deliver |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. most politicians are out of touch with people’s concerns |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. politicians let their own position on political issues be determined by the campaign advisers and the polls |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9. politicians are more concerned with the clash of persons than with the confrontation of ideas |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10. special interests have too much influence on public policies |  |  |  |  |  |

**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?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | not at all desirable | not very desirable | fairly desirable | very desirable |
| 1. to increase the number of referendums |  |  |  |  |
| 2. to create more opportunities for citizens to set the political agenda |  |  |  |  |
| 3. to have renomination decided on the basis of primaries in which all party members can take part |  |  |  |  |
| 4. to delegate more decision-making to experts and independent agencies |  |  |  |  |
| 5. to involve interest groups in society more often in decision-making |  |  |  |  |
| 6. to increase the number of deliberative events, where groups of regular citizens debate and decide on a particular issue |  |  |  |  |

Now we would like to turn your attention to the people you speak for and on whose behalf you act in the regional Parliament.

**Question 12.** How important is it to you, personally, to promote the views and interests of the following groups of people?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | of no importance | |  |  |  | of great importance | |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| all the people who voted for you  (by preference vote)\* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| all the people who voted for your party |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| all the people in your constituency |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| your party |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| a specific group in society |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| all people in your region |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

\* except in closed-list systems

*For those answering “(1) of no importance” to a specific group in society, skip Question 17.*

**Question 13.** Thinking about various groups in society, how important is it to you, personally, to promote their views and interests?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | of no importance | |  |  |  | of great importance | |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1. young people |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. the elderly |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. employees |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. employers and self-employed |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. women |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. farmers and fishermen |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. ethnic minorities |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. a church or religious group |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9. other  Which one ? |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 14**. Some interests are inextricably tied 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?

So, how important do you personally find it to promote the collective interests of …

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | of no importance | |  | |  |  | of great importance | |
|  | 1 | 2 | | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1. your town |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. your electoral canton\* |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. your province\* |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. another geographical area (*e.g. de Westhoek, Kempen, les Ardennes*)\*  Which one? |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |

**\* adapt to country-specific areas and examples**

The next few questions will focus on how you keep in touch with the people you represent.

**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?

(*Please tick one box in each row – randomized order*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Actually do it** | | | |  |  |
|  | at least once a week | at least once a fortnight | at least once a month | at least every three months | might do it | would never |
| 1. attending (or sending out letters on the occasion of) weddings, wedding anniversaries, and funerals in your local area |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. meeting with (small parties of) constituents in their private home to talk about their wants and needs |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. giving lectures and speaking at debate nights |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. sending out a personal newsletter and direct mailing |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. holding surgeries |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. advertising your constituency work services (e.g. in newspaper ads or by visiting neighbourhoods) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. publicizing your successes in attracting business and obtaining government grants for the local area |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. meeting local businesses and action groups |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9. featuring in the local media |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10. other  *(please specify)* |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 16.** In a typical month, how many *working* *hours* (incl. at public events and meetings) would you say you spend in your constituency?

|  |
| --- |
| number of *working hours* per month |
|  |

**Question 17.** Roughly what proportion of this time is taken up by attending local community functions and social events in the constituency?

|  |
| --- |
| proportion spent attending local community functions |
| % |

**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?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | number of requests per week |
| requests for help in dealing with public authorities |  |
| policy-related requests |  |

**Question 19.** How many hours per week would you say you, personally, spend dealing with these requests for help in dealing with public authorities?

|  |
| --- |
| number of hours per week |
|  |

**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?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | strongly disagree | disagree | neither | agree | strongly agree |
| 1. I would lose a significant number of votes as a result\* |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. I could well face a serious challenge in the candidate selection process as a result |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. I would lose touch with the problems voters face in their daily lives as a result |  |  |  |  |  |

\* In closed-list systems: My party would lose a significant number of votes in my local area

**Question 21.** To retain their seat in the regional Parliament, Members of the regional 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?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1. on a personal campaign | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | on a party campaign |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. to mobilize the party faithful | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | to persuade floating voters and supporters of the other parties |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. to retain the support from the groups in society that have supported you in the past | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | to seek out groups in society that haven’t supported you  in the past |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. to be considered a leader by voters | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | to be considered by voters  as *one of them* |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. to obtain the regional party leadership’s support | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | to obtain the local  party’s support |
|  |  |  |  |  |

Now we would like to ask you a few questions about the people and organizations you meet, and consult with.

**Question 22.** In your role as a Member of the regional Parliament, how often in the last year have you had contact with the following groups, persons, or organizations?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | at least once a week | at least once a month | at least every three months | at least once a year | (almost) no contact |
| 1. youth organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. organizations for the elderly |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. workers’ organizations and trade unions |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. employers’ organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. women’s organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. farmers’ organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. organizations of ethnic minorities |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. churches or religious organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9. environmental organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10. journalists |  |  |  |  |  |

**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 Members of the regional Parliament from other parties. What is the case with you? Are there other parties which include MPs with whom you have good contacts? And if you have such contacts, have they been helpful politically?

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| I don’t have very good contacts with MPs from other parties. |  |  |  |
| I have such contacts with MPs from the following parliamentary party or parliamentary parties (*please write in parliamentary party name*) | ………  (Party) | ………  (Party) | ………  (Party) |

For each of the contacts you mentioned, have they been helpful politically?

(*Please answer for each party separately in the column below the parliamentary party name)*

*(Multiple answers are possible)*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1. No, contacts have a purely private nature |  |  |  |
| 2. Yes, for doing something for my local area |  |  |  |
| 3. Yes, for understanding internal affairs of the other party |  |  |  |
| 4. Yes, for sending informal messages to the other party |  |  |  |
| 5. Yes, to ensure fair play between the parties |  |  |  |
| 6. Yes, to seed ideas within the other party |  |  |  |
| 7. Yes, to get concessions in inter-party negotiations |  |  |  |
| 8. Yes, to start joint initiatives in parliament |  |  |  |
| 9. Yes, to create a coalition government with another party |  |  |  |
| 10. Yes, when in opposition, to get information about government policy |  |  |  |
| 11. Yes, for promoting women’s interests |  |  |  |

**Question 24.** And if you think of Members of the national Parliament. Are there Members of the national Parliament – in your party and of other parties – with whom you have very good contacts? And if you have such contacts, have they been helpful politically?

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| I don’t have very good contacts with Members of the national Parliament |  |  |  |
| I have such contacts with MPs from the following parliamentary party or parliamentary parties (*please write in parliamentary party name*) | **in my own party** | ………  (Party) | ………  (Party) |

For each of the contacts you mentioned, have they been helpful politically?

(*Please answer for each party separately in the column below the parliamentary party name)*

*(Multiple answers are possible)*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1. No, contacts have a purely private nature |  |  |  |
| 2. Yes, for doing something for my local area |  |  |  |
| 3. Yes, to coordinate national and regional policy |  |  |  |
| 4. Yes, to pass on individual voters’ requests for help that are related to the national level |  |  |  |
| 5. Yes, to undertake joint initiatives and actions |  |  |  |
| 6. Yes, to improve relations between the regions |  |  |  |
| 7. Yes, for promoting women’s interests |  |  |  |

Next are a few questions about the initiatives you took in Parliament and what prompted you to act.

**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?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. the media | % |
| 2. interest and action groups | % |
| 3. within the party (e.g. leadership, research centre) | % |
| 4. meeting with individual citizens | % |
| 5. personal experience | % |
| 6. other  (*Please specify*) | % |

**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.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| informed the media (out of the total of initiatives raised) | % |

**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.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| actual coverage (out of the total of initiatives raised) | % |

**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, 0 being not at all effective and 10 being very effective?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | not at all effective | |  |  |  | very effective | |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1. boycott certain products |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. vote in elections |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. participate in public demonstrations |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. participate in illegal protest activities |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. work in a political party |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. contact politicians by mail |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. contact politicians by e-mail |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. sign a petition |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9. feature in the media |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10. work in voluntary organizations |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 11. join an Internet political forum or discussion group |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 29.** How often do you speak at the meetings of your parliamentary party group?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (almost) at every meeting | at least once a month | at least every three months | at least once a year | (almost) never |
| speak at the PPG meeting |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 30.** And how often would you say you speak at the meetings of your parliamentary party group to signal a situation in society that you consider disadvantageous for women?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (almost) at every meeting | at least once a month | at least every three months | at least once a year | (almost) never |
| speak about a situation that you consider disadvantageous for women |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 31.** And how often would you say you yourself bring a proposal to your parliamentary party group to resolve such a situation in society that you consider disadvantageous for women?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (almost) at every meeting | at least once a month | at least every three months | at least once a year | (almost) never |
| bring a proposal to resolve a situation that you consider disadvantageous for women |  |  |  |  |  |

**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?

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | should be more strict | should remain as it is | should be less strict |
| party discipline |  |  |  |

**Question 33.** More specifically, what is your opinion about party discipline in your parliamentary party group when it comes to the following aspects?

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | should be more strict | should remain as it is | should be less strict |
| 1. keeping internal party discussions confidential |  |  |  |
| 2. taking political initiatives only with the parliamentary party’s authorization |  |  |  |
| 3. sticking to parliamentary party line in votes |  |  |  |

**Question 34.** Members of the regional Parliament face tough choices everyday 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 the regional Parliament should make.

Comparing the statement on the left hand side with the statement on the right hand side, could you each time position yourself on the scale?

*If you agree completely with the statement on the left hand side please indicate 1. If you agree completely with the position on the right hand side please indicate 5.*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1. politicians should translate the political views of citizens into policy as accurate as possible. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | politicians should seek support from the voters for the political views of one’s party. |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. in elections, politicians should account to the voters for their actions in the past. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | in elections, politicians should put their plans for the future to the voters. |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. the most important policy questions should be put to the voters in a referendum | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | the representatives of the people should have the final word in all decisions |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. a Member of the regional Parliament should hold to the party platform against competing interests | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | a Member of the regional Parliament should compromise with competing interests |
|  |  |  |  |  |

The next question is about democracy in general.

**Question 35.** There are different opinions about what makes a country a democracy. How important would you say it is in a democracy …

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | not at all important | not very important | fairly important | very important |
| 1. that the majority of the population does not override the concerns of any significant minority |  |  |  |  |
| 2. that the same political party does not remain in power for a long period of time |  |  |  |  |
| 3. that the state manages to solve society’s problems – even if its actions sometimes cause protests |  |  |  |  |
| 4. that the representatives of the people have the final word in all decisions |  |  |  |  |
| 5. that organized groups in society are consulted on policy when they are concerned |  |  |  |  |
| 6. that the electoral system allows voters, and not the party leaders, to decide who will sit in Parliament |  |  |  |  |
| 7. that the most important policy questions are put to the voters in a referendum |  |  |  |  |
| 8. that people be given ample opportunities to participate in public decision-making |  |  |  |  |

**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?

*(Tick one box in each row)*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | not at all important | not very important | fairly important | very important |
| 1. gender |  |  |  |  |
| 2. age |  |  |  |  |
| 3. region |  |  |  |  |
| 4. social class |  |  |  |  |
| 5. ethnic origin |  |  |  |  |
| 6. religion |  |  |  |  |
| 7. language (or culture)\* |  |  |  |  |
| 8. other  (*please specify*) |  |  |  |  |

\* only where appropriate

Now we would like to turn to your opinion about a number of topical issues.

**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 …

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Left | | |  |  |  |  |  | Right | | |
| 1. your own views? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. your regional party? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. your national party? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. the electorate at large in your region | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 38.** 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 [insert region]. Others think that more powers should go to [insert country]. Where would you place …

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | more powers to [region] | | |  | good as it is | | |  | more powers to [country] | | |
| 1. your own views? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. your regional party? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. your national party? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 39.** Some say European integration should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. Where would you place …

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | has already gone too far | | |  |  |  |  |  | should be pushed further | | |
| your own views? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 40.** People hold different views on political issues. What do you think of the following?

(*Tick one box in each row – randomized order*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | strongly disagree | disagree | neither | agree | strongly agree |
| 1. larger income differences are needed as incentives for individual effort |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. government should play a smaller role in the management of the economy |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. people who break the law should be given stiffer sentences |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of our country |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. government should make sure that films and magazines uphold moral standards |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 41.** And how about the following statements about women and men in society, what do you think?

(*Tick one box in each row – randomized order*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | strongly disagree | disagree | neither | agree | strongly agree |
| 1. on the whole, women and men enjoy real equality today |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. government should ensure that women and men have equal opportunities |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. affirmative action is a legitimate measure to address the under-representation of women in politics |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. women organizations are no longer necessary today |  |  |  |  |  |

The final few questions are about your intentions for the future.

**Question 42.** If you were to decide to stand at the next elections, how confident do you feel that you would be renominated by your party?

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| I would surely win the reselection contest | I would probably win the reselection contest | It could  go either way | I would probably lose the reselection contest | I would surely lose the reselection contest |
|  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 43.** If you were to decide to stand at the next elections, how confident do you feel you would be re-elected?

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| I would surely be elected | I would probably be elected | It could go either way | I would probably not be elected | I would surely not be elected |
|  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 44.** Do you intend to stand in the next regional elections?

A. In mixed-member systems:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. district candidate |  |
| 2. list candidate |  |
| 3. both district and list |  |
| 4. not decided yet |  |
| 5. no |  |

B. In all other systems:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. yes |  |
| 2. not decided yet |  |
| 3. no |  |

**Question 45.** If it was up to you alone, where would you most like to be five years from now?

(*Multiple answers are possible*)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| A member of the national Parliament |  | A member of the regional Parliament |  |
| A member of the national government |  | A member of the regional government |  |
| A member of the European Parliament |  | Provincial governor |  |
| Mayor |  | Other *(please specify)* |  |
| Retired from public life |  |

**A.2. Partirep MP Survey Questionnaire – (National MPs in Unitary States)**

We would like to start off with a number of questions about the workings of Parliament in general and the responsibilities of a Member of Parliament.

**Question 1.** For each of the following tasks, how satisfied are you with [insert name of Parliament]’s and its members’ performance?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | very  unsatisfied | fairly  unsatisfied | rather satisfied | very satisfied |
| 1. in scrutinising the government |  |  |  |  |
| 2. in representing the views and interests of the voters |  |  |  |  |
| 3. in doing legislative work |  |  |  |  |

**Question 2.** The following question is about day-to-day practice in the [insert name Parliament]. Thinking of your fellow members of the [insert name Parliament], would you say that the following statements are true or false?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | false | mostly false | neither | mostly true | true |
| 1. members frequently question another member’s sincerity and integrity in public |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. in private, it is not uncommon for women’s competence to be questioned |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. members are mostly preoccupied with local issues |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. the parliamentary party group spokesperson/specialist gets to determine the party’s position on his/her topics |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. members frequently contact the media on a topic for which another member of that party is the party’s spokesperson |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. almost as a rule confidential party discussions find their way to the media |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. members frequently take initiatives without the parliamentary party’s authorization |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 3.** What do you yourself consider the most important task you fulfill 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.*)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1st choice | 2nd choice |
| 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 |  |  |

**Question 4.** Some Members of Parliament specialize in one or two policy domains, while others prefer to speak on a wide range of issues from different policy domains? How would you define yourself?

(*Please tick one box*.)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| I specialize in one or two policy domains |  |
| I try to keep up with a wide range of issues |  |

**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?

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| about once a month | about every three months | about once a year | (almost) never |
|  |  |  |  |

**Question 6.** And how should, in your opinion, a Member of Parliament vote in this situation?

(*Please tick one box*.)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| MP should vote according to his/her own opinion |  |
| MP should vote according to his/her party’s opinion |  |

**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?

(*Please tick one box*.)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| MP should vote according to his/her own opinion |  |
| MP should vote according to the opinion of his/her voters |  |

**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?

(*Please tick one box*.)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| MP should vote according to the opinion of his/her voters |  |
| MP should vote according to his/her party’s opinion |  |

Next are a few, more general questions about the alleged decline of trust in politics and politicians among voters.

**Question 9.** 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?

(*Please tick one box in each row – randomized order*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | strongly disagree | disagree | neither | agree | strongly agree |
| 1. the state no longer possesses the necessary instruments to solve society’s most pressing needs |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. journalists’ ways of covering politics mainly focus on soundbites and conflictual issues |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. too many citizens fail to see that their own interest is only one out of many diverging interests in society |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. most citizens have no clear policy preferences |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. political parties are not offering really different options to the people |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. parties make too many promises on which they cannot deliver |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. most politicians are out of touch with people’s concerns |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. politicians let their own position on political issues be determined by the campaign advisers and the polls |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9. politicians are more concerned with the clash of persons than with the confrontation of ideas |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10. special interests have too much influence on public policies |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 10.** 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?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | not at all desirable | not very desirable | fairly desirable | very desirable |
| 1. to increase the number of referendums |  |  |  |  |
| 2. to create more opportunities for citizens to set the political agenda |  |  |  |  |
| 3. to have renomination decided on the basis of primaries in which all party members can take part |  |  |  |  |
| 4. to delegate more decision-making to experts and independent agencies |  |  |  |  |
| 5. to involve interest groups in society more often in decision-making |  |  |  |  |
| 6. to increase the number of deliberative events, where groups of regular citizens debate and decide on a particular issue |  |  |  |  |

Now we would like to turn your attention to the people you speak for and on whose behalf you act in Parliament.

**Question 11.** How important is it to you, personally, to promote the views and interests of the following groups of people?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | of no importance | |  |  |  | of great importance | |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| all the people who voted for you  (by preference vote)\* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| all the people who voted for your party |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| all the people in your constituency |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| your party |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| a specific group in society |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| all people in the country |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

\* except in closed-list systems

*For those answering “(1) of no importance” to a specific group in society, skip Question 17.*

**Question 12.** Thinking about various groups in society, how important is it to you, personally, to promote their views and interests?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | of no importance | |  |  |  | of great importance | |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1. young people |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. the elderly |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. employees |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. employers and self-employed |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. women |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. farmers and fishermen |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. ethnic minorities |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. a church or religious group |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9. other  Which one ? |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 13**. Some interests are inextricably tied 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?

So, how important do you personally find it to promote the collective interests of …

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | of no importance | |  | |  |  | of great importance | |
|  | 1 | 2 | | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1. your town |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. your electoral canton\* |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. your province\* |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. another geographical area (*e.g. de Westhoek, Kempen, les Ardennes*)\*  Which one? |  |  | |  |  |  |  |  |

**\* adapt to country-specific areas and examples**

The next few questions will focus on how you keep in touch with the people you represent.

**Question 14.** 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?

(*Please tick one box in each row – randomized order*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Actually do it** | | | |  |  |
|  | at least once a week | at least once a fortnight | at least once a month | at least every three months | might do it | would never |
| 1. attending (or sending out letters on the occasion of) weddings, wedding anniversaries, and funerals in your local area |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. meeting with (small parties of) constituents in their private home to talk about their wants and needs |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. giving lectures and speaking at debate nights |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. sending out a personal newsletter and direct mailing |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. holding surgeries |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. advertising your constituency work services (e.g. in newspaper ads or by visiting neighbourhoods) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. publicizing your successes in attracting business and obtaining government grants for the local area |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. meeting local businesses and action groups |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9. featuring in the local media |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10. other  *(please specify)* |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 15.** In a typical month, how many *working* *hours* (incl. at public events and meetings) would you say you spend in your constituency?

|  |
| --- |
| number of *working hours* per month |
|  |

**Question 16.** Roughly what proportion of this time is taken up by attending local community functions and social events in the constituency?

|  |
| --- |
| proportion spent attending local community functions |
| % |

**Question 17.** 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?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | number of requests per week |
| requests for help in dealing with public authorities |  |
| policy-related requests |  |

**Question 18.** How many hours per week would you say you, personally, spend dealing with these requests for help in dealing with public authorities?

|  |
| --- |
| number of hours per week |
|  |

**Question 19.** What do you think would happen, if you were to reduce the efforts you make in assisting voters in their dealings with public authorities?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | strongly disagree | disagree | neither | agree | strongly agree |
| 1. I would lose a significant number of votes as a result\* |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. I could well face a serious challenge in the candidate selection process as a result |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. I would lose touch with the problems voters face in their daily lives as a result |  |  |  |  |  |

\* In closed-list systems: My party would lose a significant number of votes in my local area

**Question 20.** 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?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1. on a personal campaign | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | on a party campaign |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. to mobilize the party faithful | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | to persuade floating voters and supporters of the other parties |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. to retain the support from the groups in society that have supported you in the past | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | to seek out groups in society that haven’t supported you  in the past |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. to be considered a leader by voters | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | to be considered by voters  as *one of them* |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. to obtain the national party leadership’s support | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | to obtain the local  party’s support |
|  |  |  |  |  |

Now we would like to ask you a few questions about the people and organizations you meet, and consult with.

**Question 21.** 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?

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | at least once a week | at least once a month | at least every three months | at least once a year | (almost) no contact |
| 1. youth organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. organizations for the elderly |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. workers’ organizations and trade unions |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. employers’ organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. women’s organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. farmers’ organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. organizations of ethnic minorities |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. churches or religious organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9. environmental organizations |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10. journalists |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 22.** 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? And if you have such contacts, have they been helpful politically?

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| I don’t have very good contacts with MPs from other parties. |  |  |  |
| I have such contacts with MPs from the following parliamentary party or parliamentary parties (*please write in parliamentary party name*) | ………  (Party) | ………  (Party) | ………  (Party) |

For each of the contacts you mentioned, have they been helpful politically?

(*Please answer for each party separately in the column below the parliamentary party name)*

*(Multiple answers are possible)*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1. No, contacts have a purely private nature |  |  |  |
| 2. Yes, for doing something for my local area |  |  |  |
| 3. Yes, for understanding internal affairs of the other party |  |  |  |
| 4. Yes, for sending informal messages to the other party |  |  |  |
| 5. Yes, to ensure fair play between the parties |  |  |  |
| 6. Yes, to seed ideas within the other party |  |  |  |
| 7. Yes, to get concessions in inter-party negotiations |  |  |  |
| 8. Yes, to start joint initiatives in parliament |  |  |  |
| 9. Yes, to create a coalition government with another party |  |  |  |
| 10. Yes, when in opposition, to get information about government policy |  |  |  |
| 11. Yes, for promoting women’s interests |  |  |  |

Next are a few questions about the initiatives you took in Parliament and what prompted you to act.

**Question 23.** 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?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. the media | % |
| 2. interest and action groups | % |
| 3. within the party (e.g. leadership, research centre) | % |
| 4. meeting with individual citizens | % |
| 5. personal experience | % |
| 6. other  (*Please specify*) | % |

**Question 24.** Thinking of these initiatives, how often have you or a spokesperson informed the media about them? A rough estimate in percentages is sufficient.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| informed the media (out of the total of initiatives raised) | % |

**Question 25.** And how often have these initiatives that you raised actually been covered by the media? Again, a rough estimate in percentages is sufficient.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| actual coverage (out of the total of initiatives raised) | % |

**Question 26.** 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, 0 being not at all effective and 10 being very effective?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | not at all effective | |  |  |  | very effective | |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1. boycott certain products |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. vote in elections |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. participate in public demonstrations |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. participate in illegal protest activities |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. work in a political party |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. contact politicians by mail |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. contact politicians by e-mail |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. sign a petition |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9. feature in the media |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10. work in voluntary organizations |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 11. join an Internet political forum or discussion group |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 27.** How often do you speak at the meetings of your parliamentary party group?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (almost) at every meeting | at least once a month | at least every three months | at least once a year | (almost) never |
| speak at the PPG meeting |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 28.** And how often would you say you speak at the meetings of your parliamentary party group to signal a situation in society that you consider disadvantageous for women?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (almost) at every meeting | at least once a month | at least every three months | at least once a year | (almost) never |
| speak about a situation that you consider disadvantageous for women |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 29.** And how often would you say you yourself bring a proposal to your parliamentary party group to resolve such a situation in society that you consider disadvantageous for women?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (almost) at every meeting | at least once a month | at least every three months | at least once a year | (almost) never |
| bring a proposal to resolve a situation that you consider disadvantageous for women |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 30.** 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?

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | should be more strict | should remain as it is | should be less strict |
| party discipline |  |  |  |

**Question 31.** More specifically, what is your opinion about party discipline in your parliamentary party group when it comes to the following aspects?

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | should be more strict | should remain as it is | should be less strict |
| 1. keeping internal party discussions confidential |  |  |  |
| 2. taking political initiatives only with the parliamentary party’s authorization |  |  |  |
| 3. sticking to parliamentary party line in votes |  |  |  |

**Question 32.** Members of Parliament face tough choices everyday 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.

Comparing the statement on the left hand side with the statement on the right hand side, could you each time position yourself on the scale?

*If you agree completely with the statement on the left hand side please indicate 1. If you agree completely with the position on the right hand side please indicate 5.*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1. politicians should translate the political views of citizens into policy as accurate as possible. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | politicians should seek support from the voters for the political views of one’s party. |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. in elections, politicians should account to the voters for their actions in the past. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | in elections, politicians should put their plans for the future to the voters. |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. the most important policy questions should be put to the voters in a referendum | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | the representatives of the people should have the final word in all decisions |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. a Member of Parliament should hold to the party platform against competing interests | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | a Member of Parliament  should compromise with competing interests |
|  |  |  |  |  |

The next question is about democracy in general.

**Question 33.** There are different opinions about what makes a country a democracy. How important would you say it is in a democracy …

(*Please tick one box in each row*)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | not at all important | not very important | fairly important | very important |
| 1. that the majority of the population does not override the concerns of any significant minority |  |  |  |  |
| 2. that the same political party does not remain in power for a long period of time |  |  |  |  |
| 3. that the state manages to solve society’s problems – even if its actions sometimes cause protests |  |  |  |  |
| 4. that the representatives of the people have the final word in all decisions |  |  |  |  |
| 5. that organized groups in society are consulted on policy when they are concerned |  |  |  |  |
| 6. that the electoral system allows voters, and not the party leaders, to decide who will sit in Parliament |  |  |  |  |
| 7. that the most important policy questions are put to the voters in a referendum |  |  |  |  |
| 8. that people be given ample opportunities to participate in public decision-making |  |  |  |  |

**Question 34.** 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?

*(Tick one box in each row)*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | not at all important | not very important | fairly important | very important |
| 1. gender |  |  |  |  |
| 2. age |  |  |  |  |
| 3. region |  |  |  |  |
| 4. social class |  |  |  |  |
| 5. ethnic origin |  |  |  |  |
| 6. religion |  |  |  |  |
| 7. language (or culture)\* |  |  |  |  |
| 8. other  (*please specify*) |  |  |  |  |

\* only where appropriate

Now we would like to turn to your opinion about a number of topical issues.

**Question 35.** 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 …

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Left | | |  |  |  |  |  | Right | | |
| 1. your own views? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. your party? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. the electorate at large | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 36.** Some say European integration should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. Where would you place …

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | has already gone too far | | |  |  |  |  |  | should be pushed further | | |
| your own views? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 37.** People hold different views on political issues. What do you think of the following?

(*Tick one box in each row – randomized order*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | strongly disagree | disagree | neither | agree | strongly agree |
| 1. larger income differences are needed as incentives for individual effort |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. government should play a smaller role in the management of the economy |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. people who break the law should be given stiffer sentences |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of our country |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. government should make sure that films and magazines uphold moral standards |  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 38.** And how about the following statements about women and men in society, what do you think?

(*Tick one box in each row – randomized order*)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | strongly disagree | disagree | neither | agree | strongly agree |
| 1. on the whole, women and men enjoy real equality today |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. government should ensure that women and men have equal opportunities |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. affirmative action is a legitimate measure to address the under-representation of women in politics |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. women organizations are no longer necessary today |  |  |  |  |  |

The final few questions are about your intentions for the future.

**Question 39.** If you were to decide to stand at the next elections, how confident do you feel that you would be renominated by your party?

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| I would surely win the reselection contest | I would probably win the reselection contest | It could  go either way | I would probably lose the reselection contest | I would surely lose the reselection contest |
|  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 40.** If you were to decide to stand at the next elections, how confident do you feel you would be re-elected?

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| I would surely be elected | I would probably be elected | It could go either way | I would probably not be elected | I would surely not be elected |
|  |  |  |  |  |

**Question 41.** Do you intend to stand in the next general elections?

A. In mixed-member systems:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. district candidate |  |
| 2. list candidate |  |
| 3. both district and list |  |
| 4. not decided yet |  |
| 5. no |  |

B. In all other systems:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1. yes |  |
| 2. not decided yet |  |
| 3. no |  |

**Question 42.** If it was up to you alone, where would you most like to be five years from now?

(*Multiple answers are possible*)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| A member of Parliament |  |
| A member of the government |  |
| A member of the European Parliament |  |
| Mayor |  |
| Provincial governor |  |
| Retired from public life |  |
| Other *(please specify)* |  |

1. **Background Variables**

**A. All Members of parliament :**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Variable | Description |
| IDNR\* | identification number (e.g. AUT00001) |
| Name\* | name |
| First\_name\* | first name |
| Parliament\* | country code + parliament number  Portugal (POR)  National 00  Azores 01  Madeira 02 |
| PPG\* | name of the Parliamentary Party Group |
| GOV | is the party part of the government (at the time of the survey) ?  0: opposition  1: government |
| Party | name of the party  (Note: if different from the PPG – in case PPGs combine multiple parties) |
| Tier | the *level* on which the Member was elected:  1: 1st Tier (e.g. Hungary: district level; Germany: district level; France: constituency)  2: 2nd Tier (e.g. Hungary: regional list level; Germany: Land level)  3: 3rd Tier (e.g. Hungary: national list level) |
| Constit\_elect | name of the constituency in which the Member was elected  (note: to check representativeness of the dataset) |
| Language\* | 13 Portuguese |
| Sex\* | 0: Male  1: Female |
| Year of Birth | *yyyy* |

\* included in the contact file for those who opted for the online survey.

**B. Additional variables for Members of parliament who responded :**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  |  |
| Method | the method of responding:  1: online web-survey  2: hardcopy  3: telephone  4: face-to-face |
| Date | date of response (if not online web-survey) |
|  |  |
| **1. Socio-Demographics** | |
| Education | highest level of education:  1: Primary and/or secondary education  2: Non-university higher education  3: University |
| Occupation | last occupation prior to first entry into Parliament:  (i.e. provide a job title in English that is as accurate and precise as possible) |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 2. Political Career and Positions | |
| *1. Political Career:* | |
| Seniority | year (*yyyy*) of first election to the Parliament he/she is now a Member of  (i.e. even if he/she has not served continuously – or was first elected to an assembly at another level of government) |
| Local Start | MP held elected office at the local level before FIRST elected office at the regional/national level?  0: no – at the same time  1: yes – local elected office PRIOR to national/regional elected office  99: missing |
|  |  |
| *2. Current Positions* | |
| Cumul\_reg | of national/federal MPs only: is the Member simultaneously member of the regional parliament ?  0: no  1: yes |
| Cumul\_loc | does the Member hold an elected office at a LOWER level than the region (e.g. municipality/“département”/province) ?  0: no  1: yes |
| Speaker | Speaker, or deputy speaker of the Parliament  0: no  1: yes |
| PPGLeader | Leader of the Parliamentary Party Group  0: no  1: yes |
| Mayor | (if a relevant political function – otherwise: 0 = no)  0: no  1: yes |
| Comm\_Chair | Chair of a permanent committee  0: no  1: yes |
| Other1 | any other position that is of importance to understand MPs’ parliamentary or extra-parliamentary behaviour in a particular country, but may not exist elsewhere (or data are not available): e.g. whips or parliamentary private secretaries in the UK House of Commons, or vice-presidents of the PPG in Germany, party presidents in Belgium …). Including members of the government, if there are any responding. |
| Other2 | id. |
| Other3 | id. |
|  |  |
| **3. Degree of activity in Parliament** | |
| Active1 | note: to verify the partirep survey does not only include the least active MPs, we need a measurement of the individual MP’s degree of activity in Parliament. And we need those data to be available on the aggregate level for all MPs in the Parliament for comparison. The indicators may differ cross-nationally: e.g. number of bill proposals is not applicable in Germany, number of committees on which Member serves is not applicable in Norway …  We’d ask you to choose two indicators and provide 1) the data for the individual MPs who responded, 2) a table with aggregated data on all MPs. |
| Active2 | id. |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 4. Elections | |
| DM | District magnitude of the constituency (nr of seats) |
| Candidate | in mixed-member systems:  1: candidate at the nominal level only  2: candidate at the proportional level only  3: candidate at both levels |
| District | for dual candidates (district candidate=3) in mixed-member systems:  name of the district in which Member was a candidate  (note: needed to link electoral results with survey data) |
| Start\_term | year (*yyyy*) the current term started |
| End\_term | year (*yyyy*) the current term will end (disregarding early elections) |

**C. 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 | What is the maximum number of preference votes a voter may indicate? |
|  | DM: equal to district magnitude |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| ES\_Vote\_cumul | Is there cumulative voting? |
|  | 0: no |
|  | 1: yes |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| ES\_Vote\_pan | Is there panachage? |
|  | 0: no |
|  | 1: yes |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| ES\_Vote\_ord | Is there ordinal voting? |
|  | 0: no |
|  | 1: yes |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| ES\_Vote\_neg | Is there negative preference voting? |
|  | 0: no |
|  | 1: yes |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| ES\_Pool | Are votes for candidates pooled for the allocation of seats … ? |
|  | a: across the party list |
|  | b: below the party level |
|  | c: no pooling |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| ES\_Ballot | List type: what is the impact of preference votes on candidates' (re)election |
|  | chances … ? |
|  | a: open list |
|  | b: flexible list, but rather open |
|  | c: flexible list, but rather closed |
|  | d: closed list |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| ES\_quotum1 | 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 = the number of preference votes of the candidate |
|  | v = the number of votes for the party |
|  | e = the number of seats of the party |
|  | c = the number of candidates the party presents |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| ES\_quotum2 | If there is an alternative condition, what is the formula of the second quotum? |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| 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, culturaleducational |
|  | policy, welfare state policy |
|  | 2: authoritative competencies in at least two areas: economic policy, cultural |
|  | educational policy, welfare state policy |
|  | 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 |
|  | 4: the regional government meets the criteria for 3, and has authority over |
|  | immigration or citizenship |
| DEV\_fisc1 | The extent to which a regional government can independently tax its |
|  | population. |
|  | 0: the central government sets base and rate of all regional taxes |
|  | 1: the regional government sets the rate of minor taxes |
|  | 2: the regional government sets base and rate of minor taxes |
|  | 3: the regional government sets the rate of at least one major tax: personal |
|  | income, corporate, value added or sales tax |
|  | 4: the regional government sets base and rate of at least one major tax: |
|  | personal income, corporate, value added or sales tax |
| DEV\_rep | The extent to which a region is endowed with an independent legislature and |
|  | executive. |
|  | Assembly: |
|  | +0: no regional assembly |
|  | +1: an indirectly elected regional assembly |
|  | +2: a directly elected assembly |
|  | Executive: |
|  | +0: the regional executive is appointed by central government |
|  | +1: dual executives appointed by central government and the regional |
|  | assembly |
|  | +2: the regional executive is appointed by a regional assembly or directly |
|  | elected |
| DEV\_self | The sum of Institutional depth, policy scope, fiscal autonomy, and |
|  | representation. |
| DEV\_law | The extent to which regional representatives co-determine national legislation. |
|  | +0.5: regions are the unit of representation in the legislature |
|  | +0.5: regional governments designate representatives in the legislature |
|  | +0.5: regions have majority representation in the legislature |
|  | +0.5: the legislature with regional representation has extensive legislative |
|  | authority |
| DEV\_gov | The extent to which regional government co-determines national policy in |
|  | inter-governmental meetings. |
|  | 0: no routine meetings between central and regional governments to negotiate |
|  | policy |
|  | 1: routine meetings between central and regional governments without legally |
|  | binding authority |
|  | 2: routine meetings between central and regional governments with authority |
|  | to reach legally binding decisions |
| 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 |
| **5. candidate selection** | |
| CS\_inclus | Inclusiveness of the nomination procedure: |
|  | a: by party primaries |
|  | b: by party agency |
|  | c: by party leader(s) |
|  | 99999: missing |
| CS\_decen | Decentralization of the nomination procedure: |
|  | a: at the local level |
|  | b: at the district level |
|  | c: at the regional level |
|  | d: at the national level |
|  | 99999: missing |
| **6. Party Organization** | |
| PO\_mem | Total number of party members |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| PO\_voter | Total number of votes the party received in the most regional/national recent |
|  | elections |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| PO\_change | Index of volatility of party voters: vote share at election t / vote share at |
|  | election t-1 |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| PO\_ppg | PPG power: the PPG is … |
|  | a: dominated by the extra-parliamentary party organization |
|  | b: dominant over the extra-parliamentary party organization |
|  | 99999: missing |
| PO\_meet | How often does the Parliamentary Party Group meet? |
|  | a: more than once a week |
|  | b: once a week |
|  | c: once a fortnight |
|  | d: once a month |
|  | e: less than once a month |
|  | 99999: missing |
| PO\_mood | Party mood: in the next election, the party is expected to … |
|  | a: lose seats |
|  | b: retain the status quo |
|  | c: win seats |
|  | 99999: missing |
|  | 7. Constituency |
| e | Number of inhabitants in the district (in 1,000 inhabitants) |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| area | Surface area of the district (in km²) |
|  | 88888: not applicable |
|  | 99999: missing |
| **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) |
| Tweight | weight referring to the total population of national and regional |
|  | parliamentarians in the selection of countries (= total nr of seats of the party in |
|  | the national parliament or across all regional parliaments/ nr of responses in |
|  | the sample of the party in the national parliament or across all regional |
|  | parliaments) |
|  | note: the weight corrects for the selection of regions in some countries (France, |
|  | Germany, Italy, Spain) – the total weights refer to all regional parliaments in |
|  | these countries. |