

## Appendix A. Parties included for different countries

### **Belgium – Wallonia**

PS (Parti Socialiste)

MR (Mouvement Réformateur)

Ecolo (Écologistes Confédérés pour l'organisation de lutes originales) DéFi (Démocrate, Fédéraliste, Indépendant)

cdH Centre Démocrate Humaniste PDB (Parti du Travail)

### **Belgium – Flanders**

CD&V

Groen

Open VLD

N-VA

PVDA

sp.a

Vlaam Belang

### **France**

REM (La République en Marche!)

MoDem (Mouvement démocrate)

LR (Les Républicains)

FI (La France Insoumise)

PS (Parti Socialiste)

RN (Rassemblement National)

EELV (Europe Écologie – Les Verts)

### **Germany**

CDU

CSU

SPD  
AFD  
FDP  
Die Linke  
Bündnis 90/Die Grünen

### **Greece**

ND (New Democracy) –Νέα Δημοκρατία  
Syriza –Σύριζα  
PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) – ΠΑΣΟΚ  
KKE (Communist party) – ΚΚΕ  
EL (Greek solution) –Ελληνική Λύση  
MeRA25 (DiEM25 - European realistic disobedience front) – ΜΕΡΑ25

### **Italy**

Movimento 5 Stelle  
Lega  
Forze Italia  
Partito Democratico  
Fratelli d'Italia  
Italia Viva  
Liberi e Uguali

### **Poland**

PiS (Law and Justice)  
PSL (Polish People's Party)  
PO (Civic Platform)  
New Left (united Democratic Left Alliance and Wisona)  
Lewica Razem (Left Together)

## **Spain**

PSOE

PP

Vox

UP – Unidad Podemos

ERC – Sobiranistes

C's (Ciudadanos)

JxCat

EAJ/PNV

EH Bildu

## **The Netherlands**

CDA

D66

Forum voor Democratie

GroenLinks

Partij voor de Dieren

PvdA

PVV

SP

VVD

## **The United Kingdom**

Conservative Party

Labour

Lib Dem

Scottish National Party

Liberal Democrats

Brexit Party

## Appendix B. Master questionnaire

### General information

The questionnaire presented here is a generic version of the EIAPS. However, some items in this survey include **country-specific information or references**. At the beginning of the survey (SFQ2a\_1BL\_NATIONALITY - NAT\_CHOOSE, respectively NAT\_BE), respondents are asked for which country (respectively, if Belgium is selected, which part of the country) they can answer the survey. Usually, this refers to respondents' nationality and the country in which they are eligible to vote. In case respondents have multiple nationalities, they can choose the country (or part of the country) for which they feel most comfortable answering questions about politics and society. The response recorded in SFQ2a\_1BL\_NATIONALITY - NAT\_CHOOSE (respectively NAT\_BE) determines which country-specific information must be inserted throughout the survey, as listed in Appendix 2. This applies to items including the reference

- a) [COUNTRY]
- b) [PARTY\_FIRST], [...], [PARTY\_LAST]
- c) [PICTURE\_NATIONALITY\_MINISTER\_OF\_HEALTH]
- d) [OFFICIAL\_TITLE\_OF\_MINISTER\_OF\_HEALTH\_IN\_COUNTRY]
- e) [POLITICIAN\_FIRST], [...], [POLITICIAN\_LAST], [NEWSPAPER\_FIRST] [...], [NEWSPAPER\_LAST].

Whenever country-specific information must be inserted, the relevant passages are **marked in grey** (e.g., [COUNTRY]). To demonstrate this, in Appendix 3 includes a version of the EIAPS adapted to the Netherlands.

Moreover, **square brackets** indicate information on the survey flow or format and country-specific information. **These instructions shall not, or only when replaced by country-specific information, be visible for respondents.**

The numbers behind which response options are listed indicate their corresponding **codes**.

In the pilot EIAPS, respondents indicate their responses to items with response scales from 0 to 10, 0 to 100 and the DEHUM item with a **slider**. For items with a response scale for 0 to 10, the

slider can be set to the full numbers indicated above the slider (e.g., 0, 1, 2, ...). For items with a response scale from 0 to 100 and the DEHUM item, the slider can be set to any position on the slider (e.g., 0, 10, 20, 22, 54, ...), including, but not limited to the numbers or images indicated above the slider.

## Full survey text

### *Introduction [INTRO]*

Dear student,

Thank you for taking interest in our survey.

This questionnaire is part of a study on European ideological and affective polarisation. For this survey, we would like to ask you to act as a political expert on your country of origin. With this in mind, we would like to ask you some questions about politics and society. The questionnaire is designed to take repeated measures on similar topics. It is therefore **repetitive** at times. This serves a specific purpose. Please bear with us and answer each question carefully.

In exchange for your patience, time and expertise, at the end of the survey you will be given the chance to sign up for a **lottery** rewarding one prize of **100 €** (1x), or one of four prizes of **50€** (4x) in VVV vouchers or bank transfer.

**You are only eligible if you hold citizenship in Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, or the United Kingdom.** If you do not hold citizenship in any of these countries, you are unfortunately not eligible to participate in this survey.

This study is conducted by a research team coordinated by Dr. Luana Russo, based at the department of Political Science of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASoS). If you have any questions regarding this survey, please reach out via email to [l.russo@maastrichtuniversity.nl](mailto:l.russo@maastrichtuniversity.nl).

Your responses are recorded and the gathered data will be processed by the researchers for possible publication. Confidentiality of this data is maintained at each stage of the research. After the data collection, all data enabling identification will be omitted from the analyses so that the data cannot be traced back to individual participants in any way.

The survey will last approximately 25 minutes. Participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. Your answers will be treated completely confidentially.

- (1) I read and understood the information above. By ticking this box, I **consent to take part in this study**. With this, I retain the right to withdraw my consent, without having to give a reason for doing so. I am aware that I may halt my participation in the experiment at any time. If my research results are used in scientific publications or are made public in another way, this will be done such a way that my anonymity is completely safeguarded. My personal data will not be passed on to third parties without my expressed permission. I understand that to consent I need to be 18 years or older and have no fiduciary or other legal representative.
- (2) I **do not agree** with the terms of this survey and therefore choose not to participate.

[If (2) is selected: end survey]

*Survey flow questions [SFQ]*

*[SFQ\_INTRO]*

intro Firstly, to be able to present you with the right information in this survey, we would like to ask you a few questions about your national identity.

*[SFQ\_NUMBER]*

How many official nationalities do you have?

- 1. 1
- 2. 2
- 3. 3
- 4. 4
- 5. Other, namely: \_\_\_\_\_

*[SFQ\_ELIGIBILITY\_NATIONALITY]*

Do you hold a nationality in **at least one** of these countries: **Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain or the UK?**

1. Yes
2. No

[If (2) is selected: end survey]

*[SFQ\_CHOOSE]*

What is your nationality?

In case you hold more than one of the following nationalities, please choose the one for which you are most comfortable answering questions about politics and society.

[Drop-down menu]

1. Belgium
2. France
3. Germany
4. Greece
5. Italy
6. Poland
7. Spain
8. The Netherlands
9. The United Kingdom

[If (1) is selected: NAT\_BE. Else: SFQ3a\_2BL-Nationality\_Voting]

*[SFQ\_CHOOSE\_BE]*

Q145 In Belgium, do you vote for French-speaking parties or Dutch-speaking parties?



*Please select the one that you are most familiar with. In case you are familiar with more than one language group, please select one.*

[Drop-down menu]

2. French-speaking parties
4. Dutch-speaking parties

*[SFQ\_ELIGIBILITY\_VOTE]*

Are you eligible to vote in [COUNTRY]?

1. Yes
2. No

[If (2) is selected: end survey]

Ideological polarisation [IP]

Self-placement [IP\_SP]

*Introduction [IP\_SP\_INTRO]*

Please notice that in this survey the abbreviation DK stands for "I don't know", and NA for "Not Applicable"

Now, we would like to ask you some questions about your **general political views**.

*Left-right [IP\_SP\_LR]*

Political views are sometimes described to be "left" or "right". How would you place yourself on a spectrum from left to right where '0' means "far left" and '10' means "far right"?

Far left										Far right	DK
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

*Progressive-conservative [IP\_SP\_PC]*

Political views are sometimes described to be “progressive” or “conservative”. How would you place yourself on a spectrum from “progressive” to “conservative” where ‘0’ means “extremely progressive” and ‘10’ means “extremely conservative”?

Extremely progressive										Extremely conservative	DK
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

Issue stances and importance [IP\_IS]

*Wealth and income redistribution [IP\_IS\_WIR]*

[IP\_IS\_WIR\_INTRO]

We would like to ask you about your opinion on **wealth and income redistribution**. For each issue we present you with several statements and ask you to give your opinion on those statements.

We would like to ask you to position yourself on a scale from 0 to 10 where ‘0’ means “I fully **disagree** with the statement” and ‘10’ means “I fully **agree** with the statement”. If your views are somewhere in between, you can choose any number between 0 and 10 that describes your position best. Do not think too long about your responses.

There are no wrong or right answers, we are simply interested in your views.

[IP\_IS\_WIR\_Q1]; [IP\_IS\_WIR\_Q2]; [IP\_IS\_WIR\_QImp]

	Fully Disagree	Fully Agree	DK
People with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
Fighting poverty is pointless, it will always exist.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
The topic of wealth redistribution is very important to me.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

*Government interference [IP\_IS\_GI]*

[IP\_IS\_GI\_INTRO]

We would like to ask you about your opinion on **government interference**.

We would like to ask you to position yourself on a scale from 0 to 10. As for previous questions, 0 means fully disagree and 10 means fully agree.

[IP\_IS\_GI\_Q1]; [IP\_IS\_GI\_Q2]; [IP\_IS\_GI\_QImp]

	Fully Disagree	Fully Agree	DK
The government should be responsible to provide a job for everyone who wants one.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
I am in favour of more government regulations in business.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

The topic of government interference is very important to me. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 99

*Migration [IP\_IS\_MG]*

**[IP\_IS\_MG\_INTRO]**

We would like to ask you about your opinion on **migration**.

We would like to ask you to position yourself on a scale from 0 to 10. As for previous questions, 0 means fully disagree and 10 means fully agree.

**[IP\_IS\_MG\_Q1] to [IP\_IS\_MG\_Q4] + [IP\_IS\_MG\_QImp]**

	Fully Disagree	Fully Agree	DK
There should be no limits on the number of people who can enter [COUNTRY].	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

Migration is generally bad for the economy.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
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Immigrants make [COUNTRY] a worse place to live.

	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99	
Immigrants should have the same rights and access to social welfare as people born in [COUNTRY].	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

The topic of migration is very important to me.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
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*Climate Change [IP\_IS\_CC]*

[IP\_IS\_CC\_INTRO]

We would like to ask you about your opinion on **climate change**.

We would like to ask you to position yourself on a scale from 0 to 10. As for previous questions, 0 means fully disagree and 10 means fully agree.

[IP\_IS\_CC\_Q1] to [IP\_IS\_CC\_Q4] + [IP\_IS\_CC\_QImp]

	Fully Disagree	Fully Agree	DK
To my knowledge, the world's climate is changing.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
If there is climate change, it is caused mostly by natural or other factors, rather than by human activities.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
Climate change is not a threat to [COUNTRY].	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
It is necessary to take steps to tackle climate change.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

The topic of climate change is very important to me.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 99

*European Union [IP\_IS\_EU]*

**[IP\_IS\_EU\_INTRO]**

We would like to ask you about your opinion on **the European Union**.

We would like to ask you to position yourself on a scale from 0 to 10. As for previous questions, 0 means fully disagree and 10 means fully agree.

**[IP\_IS\_EU\_Q1] to [IP\_IS\_EU\_Q3] + [IP\_IS\_EU\_QImp]**

	Fully Disagree	Fully Agree	DK
At the present time, in general, things are going in the right direction in the European Union.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
Being a member of the European Union is more beneficial than burdensome for [COUNTRY].	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
In the future, more decisions should be taken at the European level.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
The topic of the European Union is very important to me.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

*Cultural issues [IP\_IS\_CU]*

**[IP\_IS\_CU\_INTRO]**

We would like to ask your opinion about **cultural issues**.

We would like to ask you to position yourself on a scale from 0 to 10. As for previous questions, 0 means fully disagree and 10 means fully agree.

[IP\_IS\_CU\_Q1] to [IP\_IS\_CU\_Q3] + [IP\_IS\_CU\_QImp]

	Fully Disagree	Fully Agree	DK
By law, abortion should never be permitted.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
Only heterosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children.			
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99		
Transgender people should be required to use the public restrooms of the sex they were assigned at birth.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
At least one of the topics in the last three statements is very important to me.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

*COVID-19 [IP\_IS\_COV]*

[IP\_IS\_COV\_INTRO]

We would like to ask you about your opinion on **the COVID-19 crisis**.

We would like to ask you to position yourself on a scale from 0 to 10. As for previous questions, 0 means fully disagree and 10 means fully agree.

[IP\_IS\_COV\_Q1] to [IP\_IS\_COV\_Q4] + [IP\_IS\_COV\_QImp]

	Fully Disagree	Fully Agree	DK
If there was a vaccine for COVID-19 I would want to be vaccinated as soon as possible.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
Social distancing is essential to stop the spread of the virus.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
Wearing a mask in public spaces should be mandatory.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
We are currently overemphasising stabilising the economy over battling the coronavirus.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
At least one of the topics in the last four statements is very important to me.			



## Affective polarisation [AP]

### *General attitudes [AP\_GA]*

#### [AP\_GA\_INTRO]

In this section, we will ask you to answer a few questions about the **political and societal situation** in [COUNTRY].

We would like to ask you about your feelings and opinions about different people. Specifically, you will be asked **pairs of questions** about both the **leading politicians** of different parties, as well as **people who vote** for those parties. Please keep in mind the difference when answering these questions.

1. Continue

2.

#### *Like-dislike [AP\_GA\_LD]*

We would like to know how you feel both towards the leading politicians and the voters of different parties, and if there is any difference between the two.

On a scale from '0' meaning "dislike" to '10' meaning "like", how do you feel towards these people?

#### [PARTY\_FIRST]

	Dislike	Like	DK
Leading Politicians	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
Voters	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

[...]

#### [PARTY\_LAST]

	Dislike										Like	DK	
Leading Politicians	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		99
Voters	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		99

*Trust [AP\_GA\_TRUST]*

The following two questions will ask you to evaluate the level of **TRUST** that you have in leading politicians and voters of specific political parties.

How much do you think you can trust the **leading politicians** and voters of the following parties?

Please give your answer on a scale from '0' meaning "not at all" to '10' meaning "completely".

[PARTY\_FIRST]

	Dislike										Like	DK	
Leading Politicians	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		99
Voters	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		99

[...]

[PARTY\_LAST]

	Dislike										Like	DK	
Leading Politicians	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		99
Voters	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		99

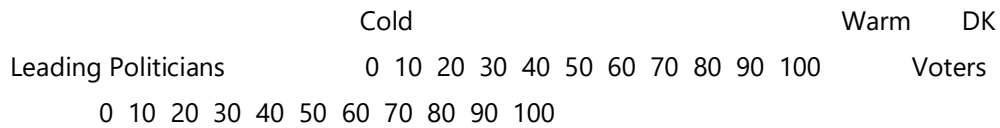
[Page Break]

*Thermometer [AP\_GA\_THERM]*

The following two questions will ask you to evaluate how you **FEEL** about leading politicians and voters of specific political parties. Please use the thermometer scales below to indicate how you feel towards the **leading politicians and voters** of the different parties.

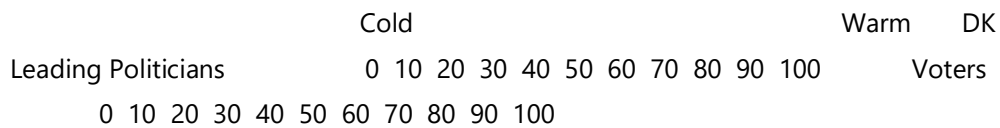
Ratings between 50° and 100° mean that you feel favourable and warm. Ratings between 0° and 50° mean that you do not feel favourable and that you do not care too much for them. You would rate the leading politicians of a party at the 50° mark if you do not feel particularly warm or cold toward them.

[PARTY\_FIRST]



[...]

[PARTY\_LAST]



*General attitudes – thermometer – ideological groups [AP\_GA\_THERM\_ID]*

Please use the thermometer scales below to indicate how you feel towards people with different opinions on a number of issues.

Ratings between 50° and 100° mean that you feel favourable and warm. Ratings between 0° and 50° mean that you do not feel favourable toward those people and that you do not care too much for them. You would rate people at the 50° mark if you do not feel particularly warm or cold toward them.

	Cold	Warm	DK
People who are in favour of more refugees entering the country	0	10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100	
People who are opposed to more refugees entering the country	0	10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100	
People who think income differences should become smaller	0	10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100	
People who think income differences should become larger	0	10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100	
People who want to spend much more to battle climate change	0	10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100	
People who want to spend much less to battle climate change	0	10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100	
People who have traditional views on women	0	10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100	
People who have feminist views on women	0	10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100	

*Social distance [AP\_SD]*

**Introduction [AP\_SD\_INTRO]**

We would also like to know how comfortable or uncomfortable you are **in your relationships with voters of certain parties.**

Each of the following questions presents you with a different type of relationship one can have with another person. Please indicate how comfortable or uncomfortable you feel having such relationships with voters of the parties listed for each question.

[Page Break]

*Romantic relationship [AP\_SD\_RR]*

First, we would like to know how comfortable or uncomfortable you feel having a **romantic relationship** with someone who votes for a certain party.

For each party, please indicate your position on a scale from '0' meaning "I feel very uncomfortable having a romantic relationship with a voter of this party" to '10' meaning "I am very comfortable having a romantic relationship with a voter of this party".

	Very Comfortable	Very Uncomfortable	DK
[PARTY_FIRST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[...]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[PARTY_LAST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

[Page Break]

*Close friendship [AP\_SD\_CF]*

Now, we would like to know how comfortable or uncomfortable you feel having a **close friend** who votes for a certain party.

	Very Comfortable	Very Uncomfortable	DK
[PARTY_FIRST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[...]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[PARTY_LAST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

[Page Break]

*Loose Acquaintance [AP\_SD\_LA]*

Now, we would like to know how comfortable or uncomfortable you feel having a **loose acquaintance** who votes for a certain party.

	Very Comfortable	Very Uncomfortable	DK
[PARTY_FIRST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[...]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[PARTY_LAST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

[Page Break]

*Friend's relationship [AP\_SD\_FR]*

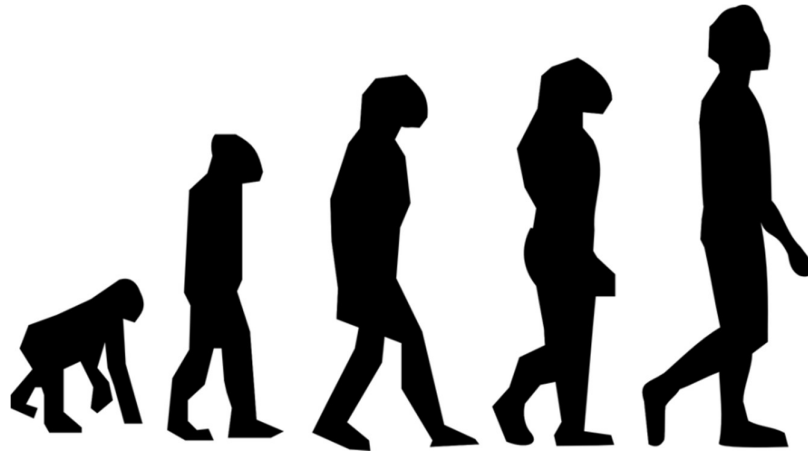
Lastly, we would like to know how comfortable or uncomfortable you would feel if a **close friend of yours had a romantic relationship** with a voter of a certain party.

	Very Comfortable	Very Uncomfortable	DK
[PARTY_FIRST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[...]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[PARTY_LAST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

*Dehumanisation [AP\_DEHUM]*

People can vary in how human-like they behave. Use the slider to indicate how evolved the average members of each group appear to you. Remember, with this question we ask you to

assess how human you think the supporters of each party behave, not how much you do or do not share their political views.



(Clicer-Free-Vector-Images, n.d.)

[PARTY\_FIRST]

[SLIDER]

DK

[...]

[SLIDER]

DK

[PARTY\_LAST]

[SLIDER]

DK

*AP Summary items [AP\_SI]*

[AP\_SI\_INTRO]

Please indicate to what extent the following statements apply to you on a scale of 0-10 where '0' means the statement does not apply to you at all, and '10' means that the statement very much applies to you.

[AP\_SI\_Q1] to [AP\_SI\_Q3]

Not at all

Very much

DK

There are people I started to dislike based on their views

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

You can tell whether a person is good or bad if you know their politics 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

I tend to avoid some people because of their opinions 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

### Attention check [ATTENTION\_Q]

Great, you are now almost at the end of the survey. Just a few more questions!  
This is an attention check question, please move the slider all the way to the right.

Fully Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Fully Agree

### Related variables [RV]

*Political attitudes [RV\_PA]*

*Political interest [RV\_PA\_PI]*

### [RV\_PA\_PI\_INTRO]

People differ in their **interest in politics**. We are trying to find out more about these differences.

Please indicate how true the statements below are for you personally. A '0' means the statement does not apply to you at all, a '10' means that the statement very much applies to you

[RV\_PA\_PI\_Q1]; [RV\_PA\_PI\_Q2]

Not at all

Very much

DK



I am interested in politics 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

I closely follow what is going on in government and politics 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

[Page Break]

[RV\_PA\_PI\_Q3]

Politics is also something that people discuss with others. How often would you say you discuss politics and current affairs?

1. Daily
2. Several times a week
3. Once a week
4. Several times a month
5. Once a month
6. Less than once a month
7. Never
8. I don't know

[Page Break]

*Political knowledge [RV\_PA\_PK]*

*Subjective political knowledge [RV\_PA\_PK\_S]*

[RV\_PA\_PK\_S\_INTRO]

People do not only differ in their interest in politics, but also in how **knowledgeable** they feel about politics.

To what extent do these statements about your own knowledge of politics apply to you? A '0' means the statement does not apply to you at all, a '10' means that the statement fully applies to you.

[RV\_PA\_PK\_S\_Q1] to [RV\_PA\_PK\_S\_Q4]

	Not at all	Very much	DK
I know a lot about politics	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
I classify myself as an expert in politics	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
Compared to most people I know more about political issues	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
I am knowledgeable about political issues	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		

*Objective political knowledge [RV\_PA\_PK\_O]*

[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_INTRO]

The following six questions assess your general knowledge on politics in [COUNTRY] and Europe. It is no problem if you do not know the answer, in that case you can simply respond "I do not know".

[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q1\_Content]

How long does a standard election cycle for the national parliament last in [COUNTRY]? Please indicate a **number** of years.

1. Please type your answer here: \_\_\_\_\_
2. I don't know

[If (2) is selected: Skip to [RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q2\_Content]]

**[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q1\_Certainty]**

How sure would you say you are of the answer you gave to the previous question?

1. Not sure at all
2. Somewhat unsure
3. Neither sure nor unsure
4. Somewhat sure
5. Very sure

[Page Break]

**[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q2\_Content]**

In May 2018, the EU passed a new regulation called the GDPR. What does GDPR stand for?

1. Geneva Data Policy Rule
2. General Data Protection Regulation
3. Gross Domestic Product Review
4. General Document Protocol Review
5. I don't know

[If (5) is selected: Skip to [RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q3]]

**[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q2\_Certainty]**

How sure would you say you are of the answer you gave to the previous question?

1. Not sure at all
2. Somewhat unsure
3. Neither sure nor unsure
4. Somewhat sure

5. Very sure

[Page Break]

[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q3\_INTRO]

In the following three questions, we are going to show you pictures of leading politicians and ask you to identify them.

It is no problem if you do not know the answer, in that case you can simply respond "I do not know".

[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q3.1\_Content]

[PICTURE\_NATIONALITY\_MINISTER\_OF\_HEALTH]

Do you know who the person in the picture is?

1. Minister of Development Cooperation
2. [OFFICIAL\_TITLE\_OF\_MINISTER\_OF\_HEALTH\_IN\_COUNTRY]
3. Minister of Foreign Affairs, European Affairs and Foreign Trade and the Federal Cultural Institutions
4. Minister of Finance
5. I don't know

[If (5) is selected: Skip to [RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q3.2]]

[Page Break]

[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q3.1\_Certainty]

How sure would you say you are of the answer you gave to the previous question?

1. Not sure at all
2. Somewhat unsure
3. Neither sure nor unsure
4. Somewhat sure
5. Very sure

[Page Break]

[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q3.2\_Content]



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Do you know who the person in the picture is?

1. President of the European Council
2. President of the European Parliament
3. President of the European Commission
4. President of the Council of the EU

5. I don't know

[If (5) is selected: Skip to [RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q3.3]] [Page Break]

[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q3.2\_Certainty]

How sure would you say you are of the answer you gave to the previous question?

1. Not sure at all
2. Somewhat unsure
3. Neither sure nor unsure
4. Somewhat sure
5. Very sure

[Page Break]

[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q3.3\_Content]



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Do you know who the person in the picture above is?

1. US Senate majority leader
2. Speaker of the US house of representatives
3. Justice of the US Supreme Court
4. White House chief of staff
5. I don't know

[If (5) is selected: Skip to [RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_HELP]]

[Page Break]

**[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q3.3\_Certainty]**

How sure would you say you are of the answer you gave to the previous question?

1. Not sure at all
2. Somewhat unsure
3. Neither sure nor unsure
4. Somewhat sure
5. Very sure

[Page Break]

**[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_HELP]**

Sometimes people need help to identify these public figures. Did you need to use the internet to find an answer to any of these questions?

1. Yes
2. No

[Page Break]

[RV\_PA\_PK\_O\_Q4]

Please place these politicians and newspapers on a scale from 0-10 where '0' means far left and '10' means far right.

	Far Left	Far right	DK
[POLITICIAN_FIRST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[...]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[POLITICIAN_LAST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[NEWSPAPER_FIRST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[...]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99
[NEWSPAPER_LAST]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		99

Efficacy [RV\_EFI]

*Internal efficacy [RV\_EFI\_I]*

[RV\_EFI\_I\_INTRO]

People differ in their belief about their **personal ability to influence political processes**. We are trying to find out more about these differences.

On a scale of 0-10, where '0' means *not at all* and '10' means *a great deal*, please answer the following questions

[RV\_EFI\_I\_Q1]; [RV\_EFI\_I\_Q1]

	Not at all	A great deal	DK
How able do you think you are to take an active role in a group involved with political issues?	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		



And how confident are you in your ability to participate in politics? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

*External efficacy [RV\_EFI\_E]*

[RV\_EFI\_E\_INTRO]

We are also interested to find out what you think on **how responsive the political system** in [COUNTRY] is in listening and reacting to your demands and opinions.

Same as before, '0' means *not at all* and '10' means *a great deal*.

[RV\_EFI\_E\_Q1]; [RV\_EFI\_E\_Q2]

	Not at all	A great deal	DK
How much would you say the political system in [COUNTRY] takes into account the opinions of people like you?	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		

And how much would you say that the political system in [COUNTRY] allows people like you to have an influence on politics? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

[Page Break]

System attitudes [RV\_SA]

*Trust in political institutions [RV\_SA\_PT]*

[RV\_PT\_SA\_INTRO]

Please indicate on a scale ranging from '0' to '10' how **much you personally trust each of the following institutions.**

0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust.

[RV\_PT\_SA\_Q1] to [RV\_PT\_SA\_Q7]

	Not at all	Complete trust	DK
The parliament of [COUNTRY]	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
The legal system	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
The police	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
Politicians	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
Political Parties	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
The European Parliament	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
The United Nations	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		

[Page Break]

*Satisfaction with democracy [RV\_SA\_SD]*

The political system of [COUNTRY] is a democracy. We are interested in how **satisfied you generally are with the way democracy works** in [COUNTRY].

You can indicate how satisfied or unsatisfied you generally are with the way democracy works in [COUNTRY] on the scale below with '0' meaning that you are "very dissatisfied" and '10' meaning that you are "very satisfied". What is your position?

Very dissatisfied									Very satisfied	DK	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

Political identity [RV\_PI]

*Partisanship [RV\_PI\_PS]*

[RV\_PI\_PS\_INTRO]

We are also interested in what your **relation to different political parties** in [COUNTRY] is. In the following questions, we will ask you whether you feel particularly close or distant to a certain party.

[RV\_PI\_PS\_CLOSE\_WHICH]

Which party in [COUNTRY] do you feel **closest** to?

1. [PARTY\_FIRST]
2. [...]
3. [PARTY\_LAST]
4. None of them

[If ("None of them" ((4) - item number variable)) is selected: Skip to [RV\_PI\_PS\_DISTANT\_WHICH]]

[Page Break]

[RV\_PI\_PS\_CLOSE\_DEGREE]

How **close** do you feel to that party?

1. A great deal
2. A lot
3. A moderate amount
4. A little
5. Not at all

[Page Break]

[RV\_PI\_PS\_DISTANT\_WHICH]

Which party in [COUNTRY] do you feel most **distant** from?

5. [PARTY\_FIRST]
6. [...]
7. [PARTY\_LAST]
8. None of them

[If (4 (item number variable) - "None of them") is selected: Skip to [RV\_PI\_RIII\_INTRO]]

[Page Break]

[RV\_PI\_PS\_DISTANT\_DEGREE]

How **distant** do you feel to that party?

1. A great deal
2. A lot
3. A moderate amount
4. A little
5. Not at all

*Relative importance of ideological ideology [RV\_PI\_RIII]*

[RV\_PI\_RIII\_INTRO]

People can consider a range of factors to be important parts of their **identity**. Could you tell us what you consider to be important or unimportant factors for your identity?

Please indicate on a scale from '0' meaning "not important at all" to '10' meaning "very important" how important each of the factors listed below is for your identity.

[RV\_PI\_RIII\_SC]; [RV\_PI\_RIII\_EI]; [RV\_PI\_RIII\_PI]; [RV\_PI\_RIII\_NA]; [RV\_PI\_RIII\_RE];  
[RV\_PI\_RIII\_GE]

	Not important at all	Very important	DK
Social class	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
Ethnic identity	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
Political ideology	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
Nationality	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
Religion	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
Gender	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		

### Socio-demographics [SD]

[SD\_INTRO]

Lastly, for us to be able to contextualize your answers, we would like to know a bit more about you.

[SD\_AGE]

In which year were you born?

---

[SD\_BIRTHPLACE\_RESPONDENT] In  
which country were you born?

---

[Page Break]

[SD\_BIRTHPLACE\_PARENTS\_1]; [SD\_BIRTHPLACE\_PARENTS\_2]

In which country or countries was/were your parent(s)/primary caretaker(s) born?  
*In case you do not know or the options do not apply to you, please leave the (respective) field(s)  
blank.*

1. Parent/caretaker 1 \_\_\_\_\_
2. Parent/caretaker 2 \_\_\_\_\_

[SD\_PARENTS\_IDEOLOGY\_1]; [SD\_PARENTS\_IDEOLOGY\_2]

Where would you place your parent(s) or caretaker(s) on a left-to-right scale in terms of their  
political ideology?

Please indicate your answer on a scale from 0-10, where 0 means "far left" and 10 means "far  
right".

	Far Left	Far Right	DK/NA
Parent/Caretaker 1	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		
Parent/Caretaker 2	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		

[SD\_GENDER]

What gender do you identify with?

1. Man
2. Woman
3. Non-Binary
4. Other, namely: \_\_\_\_\_

[Page Break]

**[SD\_EDUCATION\_CURRENTLY]**

What level of education are you currently following?

1. BA level
2. MA level
3. Other, namely: \_\_\_\_\_

**[SD\_EDUCATION\_FACULTY]**

In which UM Faculty are you currently enrolled?

[Drop-down menu]

1. FASoS
2. FLaw
3. FSE
4. FHML
5. FPN
6. SBE

**[SD\_EDUCATION\_GENDER]**

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

- 
- High school or secondary school degree
- Some college credit, no degree
- Bachelor's degree



Master's degree

Professional degree

Doctorate

Other, namely: \_\_\_\_\_ [Page Break]

**[SD\_EMPLOYMENT]**

What is your current employment status?

1. Employed, full-time
2. Employed, part-time
3. Temporary employee
4. Self-employed
5. Unemployed
6. Other, namely: \_\_\_\_\_

**[SD\_RELIGION]**

Which of the following terms describe you? You can select multiple answers.

1. Christian
2. Jewish
3. Muslim
4. Sikh
5. Buddhist
6. Hindu
7. Atheist
8. Agnostic
9. Do not want to say
10. Other, namely: \_\_\_\_\_
11. Not religious

**[SD\_CLASS]**

If you were asked to choose one of the following five names for your social class, which one would you choose?

1. Working class
2. Lower middle class 3. Middle class
4. Upper middle class
5. Upper class
6. I don't know
7. Other, namely: \_\_\_\_\_

[LOTTERY]

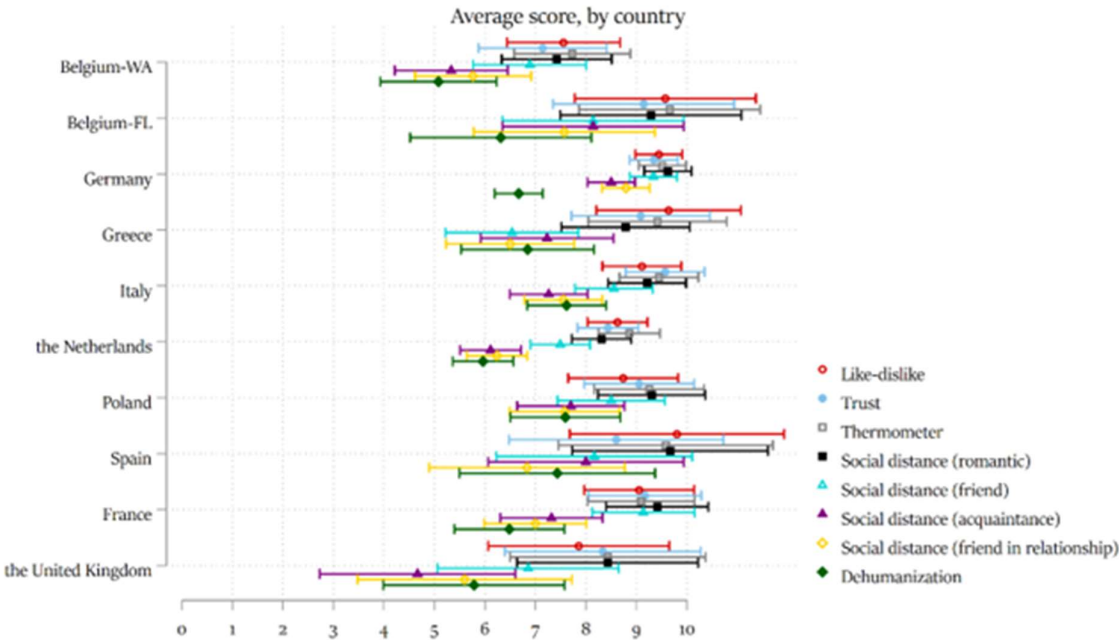
Would you like to enter in the lottery?

By participating in the lottery you have a chance to win a voucher of 100€ or a voucher of 50€.

*Please be assured that the survey responses will be kept separate from your email address.*

8. Yes
9. No

Appendix C. Average scores of the different measures, split by country



Note: scores for least liked voter group, higher scores denote more negative evaluations; all items rescaled 0-10. With 95% confidence intervals.