

# Public Attitudes towards the Liberal Script (PALS) Survey Master Questionnaire

Dataset version 1.0

<http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/refubium-41265>

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Public Attitudes towards the Liberal Script (PALS) Survey

[www.pals-scripts.eu](http://www.pals-scripts.eu)

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<sup>2</sup> PALS is part of the Cluster of Excellence “Contestations of the Liberal Script” (EXC 2055, Project-ID: 390715649), funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany’s Excellence Strategy.

**Whenever working with PALS data, please cite the different sources as follows:**

**Dataset:**

Giebler, Heiko / Antoine, Lukas / Ollroge, Rasmus / Gerhards, Jürgen / Zürn, Michael / Giesecke, Johannes / Humphreys, Macartan (2023): *Public Attitudes towards the Liberal Script (PALS) Survey: Dataset v1.0*. Berlin: Cluster of Excellence 2055 "Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)". <http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/refubium-41265>.

**Background and Summary Paper:**

Giebler, Heiko / Antoine, Lukas / Ollroge, Rasmus / Gerhards, Jürgen / Zürn, Michael / Giesecke, Johannes / Humphreys, Macartan (2023): *Public Attitudes towards the Liberal Script (PALS) Survey: Conceptual Framework, Implementation, and Data*, SCRIPTS Working Paper Series, Berlin: Cluster of Excellence 2055 "Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)".

**Study Report:**

Giebler, Heiko / Antoine, Lukas / Ollroge, Rasmus / Gerhards, Jürgen / Zürn, Michael / Giesecke, Johannes / Humphreys, Macartan (2023): *Public Attitudes towards the Liberal Script (PALS) Survey: Study Report*. Berlin: Cluster of Excellence 2055 "Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)". <http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/refubium-41265>.

**Codebook:**

Giebler, Heiko / Antoine, Lukas / Ollroge, Rasmus / Gerhards, Jürgen / Zürn, Michael / Giesecke, Johannes / Humphreys, Macartan (2023): *Public Attitudes towards the Liberal Script (PALS) Survey: Codebook*. Berlin: Cluster of Excellence 2055 "Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)". <http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/refubium-41265>.

## Module A: Acceptance of the liberal script I: individual self-determination

### A01 | *Self-determination*

Some argue that people should be allowed to live their lives as they want to, to foster individual freedom even if this contradicts the values of the society. Others argue that people should live in line with the values of the society to foster social cohesion. Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

(1) "1 – Everyone should be allowed to live as they want to, to foster individual freedom."

...

(6) "6 – Everyone should live in line with the values of the society to foster social cohesion."

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### A02 | *Restrictions of freedom*

As people are living together in a community, some restrictions of how people are living might be necessary. To what extent should each of the following be allowed to restrict a person's freedom?

(a) Religious groups or leaders

(b) The state or the government

(c) A person's family

(d) The police

(e) Large businesses and companies

(f) The values of the majority of the society

(1) "1 – Not at all allowed to restrict freedom"

...

(6) "6 – Fully allowed to restrict freedom"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### A03 | *Live freely*

People have very different opinions on what is absolutely necessary to be able to live freely and as one wants to. Below is a list of different aspects. Thinking about your own life, which of these aspects are absolutely necessary for you personally to live freely?

Select as many as applicable.

- (a1) Being accepted for who you are
- (a2) Being healthy
- (a3) Having a say in political decisions
- (a4) Having a certain degree of economic security
- (a5) Being able to learn and gain knowledge

Individual self-determination domain:

- (b1) Having the state and companies respecting my privacy
- (b2) Possibility of assisted suicide to relieve one's own suffering
- (b3) Possibility of legal abortion
- (b4) Voluntary childlessness
- (b5) More say for women in society
- (b6) Not having to hide one's sexuality
- (b7) Being able to travel to other countries
- (b8) Living free from pollution

Political domain:

- (c1) Being able to express one's opinion
- (c2) Living in a country with a fair legal system
- (c3) Living in a country free from war and forced displacement
- (c4) Living in a country with low crime rates

Economic domain:

- (d1) Having job security
- (d2) Owning a home
- (d3) Having enough time for leisure
- (d4) Living in a country with low economic inequality

Socio-cultural domain:

- (e1) Not being restricted by traditions
- (e2) Being able to practice one's religion
- (e3) Being part of a community of people sharing similar values
- (e4) Having access to free media and information

(0) Not selected

(1) Selected

(none) "None of these are absolutely necessary for me to live freely."

(REF) "I prefer not to say."

(DK) "Don't know"

*Notes: Each respondent receives a list of 10 items. The first five items (a1-5) are presented to all respondents, while an additional set of five items is randomly selected from different domains: Two items are selected from the Individual self-determination domain (b1-8), and one item each from the Political (c1-4), Economic (d1-4), and Socio-cultural (e1-4) domains.*

## Module B: Acceptance of the liberal script II: political, economic, and socio-cultural elements

### B01 | *Collective self-determination*

There is often disagreement about what should be taken into consideration in policy-making. For each of the following situations, whose opinion should be most decisive for policy-making according to you?

#### B01\_a | *Collective self-determination: Political leaders*

What if citizens and political leaders disagree? On the scale below, please indicate whose opinion should be most decisive for policy-making according to you.

- (1) "1 – Citizens' opinion should be most decisive for policy-making."
- ...
- (6) "6 – Strong political leaders' opinion should be most decisive for policy-making."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

#### B01\_b | *Collective self-determination: Elected politicians*

What if citizens and elected politicians disagree? On the scale below, please indicate whose opinion should be most decisive for policy-making according to you.

- (1) "1 – Citizens' opinion should be most decisive for policy-making."
- ...
- (6) "6 – Elected politicians' opinion should be most decisive for policy-making."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

#### B01\_c | *Collective self-determination: Established experts*

What if citizens and established experts disagree? On the scale below, please indicate whose opinion should be most decisive for policy-making according to you.

- (1) "1 – Citizens' opinion should be most decisive for policy-making."
- ...
- (6) "6 – Established experts' opinion should be most decisive for policy-making."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

#### B01\_d | *Collective self-determination: Religious leaders*

What if citizens and religious leaders disagree? On the scale below, please indicate whose opinion should be most decisive for policy-making according to you.

- (1) "1 – Citizens' opinion should be most decisive for policy-making."
- ...
- (6) "6 – Religious leaders' opinion should be most decisive for policy-making."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

### B01\_e | *Collective self-determination: The military*

What if citizens and the military disagree? On the scale below, please indicate whose opinion should be most decisive for policy-making according to you.

- (1) "1 – Citizens' opinion should be most decisive for policy-making."
- ...
- (6) "6 – The military's opinion should be most decisive for policy-making."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

### B02 | *Rule of law*

There are different opinions on the role of laws in society and to whom they should apply to. Some prefer that rules apply to everyone alike while others claim that this is not reasonable. Where would you place yourself on each of the following scales?

#### B02\_a | *Rule of law: Judicial control of government*

Should the government always obey the laws and court decisions, even if it hinders its work or should the government not be bound at all by laws or court decisions in all instances to be able to work unhindered?

- (1) "1 – The government should always obey the laws and the court decisions, even if it hinders its work."
- ...
- (6) "6 – The government should not be bound at all by laws or court decisions in all instances to be able to work unhindered."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

#### B02\_b | *Rule of law: Equal enforcement of laws*

Should laws be enforced equally for everyone in society or can they, under certain circumstances, be enforced differently for different people?

- (1) "1 – Laws should be enforced equally for everyone in society."
- ...
- (6) "6 – Under certain circumstances, laws can be enforced differently for different people."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

#### B02\_c | *Rule of law: Basic rights across countries*

Should every human have the same basic rights in all countries or should a country's society decide which rights people have in its country?

- (1) "1 – Every human should have the same basic rights in all countries."
- ...
- (6) "6 – A country's society should decide which rights people have in its country."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

### B03 | *Market economy*

Now, we want to know what you think on how the economy should be working and how resources should be distributed. Where would you place yourself on the following scales?

#### B03\_a | *Market economy: Private vs. state control*

What should be increased: private or state ownership of businesses and industry?

(1) "1 – Private ownership of businesses and industry should be increased."

...

(6) "6 – State ownership of businesses and industry should be increased."

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

#### B03\_b | *Market economy: Competition good/bad for society*

Is competition between businesses good or harmful to society?

(1) "1 – Competition between businesses is good for a society."

...

(6) "6 – Competition between businesses is harmful for a society."

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

#### B03\_c | *Market economy: Source of wealth and status*

What should a person's wealth and status be based on: always on talents and efforts or always on ancestry and contacts?

(1) "1 – A person's wealth and status should always be based on talents and efforts."

...

(6) "6 – A person's wealth and status should always be based on ancestry and contacts."

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### B04 | *Progress: Change vs. tradition*

Some argue that society has to think primarily about a better future while others argue that it is all about preserving what works well nowadays. Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

(1) "1 – Society should be open for change trying to ensure a bright future."

...

(6) "6 – Society should preserve well-established traditions trying to protect what works well nowadays."

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

## B05 | *Rationality*

There are different opinions on what should be guiding important decisions in a society. Scientific research is often described as preferable while others argue that people should consider personal experiences, traditions, and common sense more strongly. Please, tell us where you would position yourself on each of the following scales.

### B05\_a | *Rationality: Science vs. experiences, traditions, and common sense*

Should societal decisions primarily be based on scientific research or on personal experiences, traditions, and common sense?

(1) "1 – Societal decisions should be primarily based on scientific research."

...

(6) "6 – Societal decisions should be primarily based on personal experiences, traditions, and common sense."

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### B05\_b | *Rationality: Political influence of established scientists*

When politicians make important decisions, should established scientist have more influence or less influence?

(1) "1 – Established scientists should have more influence when politicians make important decisions."

...

(6) "6 – Established scientists should have less influence when politicians make important decisions."

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### B05\_c | *Rationality: Limits of scientific explanations*

In a society, is it important to accept that all things can be explained by scientific research or is it important to accept that not all things can be explained by scientific research?

(1) "1 – In a society, it is important to accept that all things can be explained by scientific research."

...

(6) "6 – In a society, it is important to accept that not all things can be explained by scientific research."

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### B05\_d | *Rationality: Individual vs. public determination of facts*

Should everyone figure out for themselves what is correct by looking for facts or should what is correct result from public discussions of facts?

(1) "1 – Everyone should figure out for themselves what is correct by looking for facts."

...

(6) "6 – What is correct should result from public discussions of facts."

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"



## B06 | *Tolerance: Equal acceptance*

People are very different, for example, in terms of gender, religion, age, ethnicity or education, but should this be taken into consideration in the way they are accepted in a society? If everyone is accepted equally, this would mean that people whose behavior and beliefs are different or which are even seen as morally wrong are also accepted. How would you place yourself on the following scale?

- (1) "1 – Society should accept all people equally."
- ...
- (6) "6 – Society should decide on whom to accept."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

## B07 | *Conjoint Task 1: Preferred country*

We are now going to show you descriptions of two fictional countries. We would like you to imagine both of these countries and tell us which of the two countries you would prefer to live in if you had to make a choice.

Dimension	Country A	Country B
<i>Dimension 1</i>	<i>Realized treatment level</i>	<i>Realized treatment level</i>
...	...	...

### Treatments

Dimension (Label)	Level 1	Level 2
Rule of law (Minority rights)	The government is not free to make decisions that it thinks are good for society as a whole if these go against the rights of minority groups.	The government is free to make decisions that it thinks are good for society as a whole even if these go against the rights of minority groups.
Collective self-determination (Democracy)	Most major policy decisions are controlled by democratically elected representatives not by government experts.	Most major policy decisions are controlled by government experts not by elected representatives.
Market economy (Economic policy)	The government tries to ensure that the economy is strong by putting few controls on major industries.	The government tries to ensure that the economy is strong by actively controlling major industries.
Property rights (Tax policy)	Taxes are kept low so that individuals, and not the government, get to decide how best to use their money.	Taxes are relatively high so that the government can ensure greater equality in society.
Tolerance (Legal status of homosexuality)	Homosexual couples have the same rights as heterosexual couples.	Homosexual relationships are penalized.
Openness (Immigration)	The government encourages talented foreigners to come to work as this enriches the nation's culture.	The government makes sure that immigration is kept to a minimum to protect the nation's culture.
Benchmark (Economic situation)	The income per capita is around [3,500 / 23,000 / 43,000 / 63,000] USD. For comparison: in [COUNTRY], the income per capita is [NATIONAL GDP PER CAPITA IN USD] USD per year.	

Which of countries A or B would you prefer to live in?

- (1) "1 – I strongly prefer Country A."
- (2) "2 – I somewhat prefer Country A."
- (3) "3 – I somewhat prefer Country B."
- (4) "4 – I strongly prefer Country B."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: Each respondent is shown a set of two countries which are described according to the seven attributes. The dimensions vary on two levels each. The levels of each dimension are randomly selected. The order of the seven dimensions is randomized but kept stable between task 1 and task 2. It is ruled out that country 1 and country 2 are equal in all dimensions. In the benchmark category, the real GDP of the respondent's survey country (in USD per capita) is inserted.*

### B08 | Conjoint Task 2: Preferred country

We are now going to show you descriptions of two more fictional countries. We would like you to again imagine both of these countries and tell us which of the two countries you would prefer to live in if you had to make a choice.

Dimension	Country A	Country B
Dimension 1	Realized treatment level	Realized treatment level
...	...	...

...

Which of countries A or B would you prefer to live in?

- (1) "1 – I strongly prefer Country A."
- (2) "2 – I somewhat prefer Country A."
- (3) "3 – I somewhat prefer Country B."
- (4) "4 – I strongly prefer Country B."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: A second set of countries is displayed following the same randomized selection rules as for B07. The order of the dimensions is equal to task 1. It is ruled out that two sets of presented countries are equal.*

### B09 | Conjoint Task 2: More liberal country

Sometimes societies are described as being "liberal." Which of countries A and B do you consider to be more liberal?

- (1) "1 – Country A is much more liberal."
- (2) "2 – Country A is somewhat more liberal."
- (3) "3 – Country B is somewhat more liberal."
- (4) "4 – Country B is much more liberal."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: B08 and B09 are shown on the same screen.*

## Module C: The liberal script in practice: applications and contestations

### C01 | Borders

Now we are interested in your opinion concerning the borders of [COUNTRY]. Some people think that a country should have the right to substantially limit cross-border activities, like travel or trade. Others think that the borders of a country should be rather open.

To what extent would you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

- (a) My country should have the right to ban citizens' access to foreign media and websites.
- (b) My country should have the right to hinder citizens from leaving their country.
- (c) My country should have the right to reject refugees coming from other countries, even if they are persecuted in their home country.
- (d) My country should have the right to reject immigrants who want to live in my country.
- (e) My country should have the right to restrict foreign companies from buying [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] companies in order to protect my country's economy.
- (f) My country should have the right to shoot at a person who crosses the country's border illegally.
- (g) My country should have the right to take fingerprints from people entering the country.
- (h) My country should have the right to prevent a region from becoming independent, even if the vast majority of citizens of that region wants to become independent and establish its own state.
- (i) Please select answer option "4" for this statement.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

*Notes: Item "i" is an attention check.*

### C02 | Level of decision-making

Political decisions can be made on the local, national, or even on different international levels – for example, the region you are living in or globally. Looking at the list of policy areas below, on which level or levels do you think each should be best addressed?

You can select up to two levels for each policy area.

- (a) Human rights
  - (b) Climate change
  - (c) Health care
  - (d) Education
- 
- (1) Primarily on the local level
  - (2) Primarily on the national level
  - (3) Primarily on the regional level ([REGION])
  - (4) Primarily on the global level
  - (REF) "I prefer not to say."
  - (DK) "Don't know"

*Notes: Respondents were able to select up to two answers for each item. The country-specific region refers to the supranational subregions of the UN geoscheme.*

### C03 | *Interventions*

Some people argue that under certain circumstances, the international community should have the right to intervene in other countries. Others argue that a country's independence should always be respected. To what extent would you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

#### C03\_a | *Interventions: Human rights*

What if human rights are massively violated in a country?

- (1) The international community should have the right to sanction the country economically.
- (2) The international community should have the right to intervene with military force.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

#### C03\_b | *Interventions: Dictatorship*

What if a country is not ruled by its people but by a dictator?

- (1) The international community should have the right to sanction the country economically.
- (2) The international community should have the right to intervene with military force.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### C04 | *Public good provisions*

Some people argue that a society is responsible for providing certain things for all individuals in a country to improve living conditions, even if this comes with financial costs for everyone. Others argue that individuals are responsible for themselves. To what extent would you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

- (a) Society should provide school education without tuition fees for everyone.
- (b) Society should provide free basic healthcare for everyone.
- (c) Society should provide welfare benefits for everyone in need.
- (d) Society should provide support for people from disadvantaged groups, like minorities or the poor.
- (e) Society should provide support for women to foster gender equality.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### C05 | *Scarce jobs*

Now, we would like to talk about the criteria for selecting people for a job. Some argue that certain groups should be preferred regardless of qualifications, especially when jobs are scarce. To what extent would you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

- (a) When jobs are scarce, men should be preferred over women.
- (b) When jobs are scarce, [COUNTRY CITIZENS] should be preferred over migrants living already a long time in my country.
- (c) When jobs are scarce, heterosexuals should be preferred over homosexuals.
- (d) When jobs are scarce, people who really need the job to make their living should be preferred over those who are economically already better off.
- (e) When jobs are scarce, family members and friends should be preferred over others.
- (f) When jobs are scarce, people who have the same religion as me should be preferred over others.
- (g) When jobs are scarce people who belong to the same ethnic group as me should be preferred over others.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### C06 | *Leadership positions*

Leadership positions in politics, the economy and society are unequally distributed between groups. Some people argue that this all comes down to competition between individuals and their qualifications. Others argue that leadership positions should be assigned with the goal of achieving equal representation. Do you agree or disagree to the following statements about who should get selected for leadership positions in [COUNTRY]?

- (a) Women should be preferred over men until an equal representation is achieved.
- (b) People from ethnic minorities should be preferred until an equal representation is achieved.
- (c) People from poorer economic backgrounds should be preferred until an equal representation is achieved.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### C07 | *Generational conflict*

In a society, the interests of current generations can come into conflict with the interests of future generations. To what extent would you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

- (a) Current generations should accept less prosperity in order to protect the environment for future generations.
- (b) Current generations should be allowed to take on public debt to maintain their prosperity regardless of the fact that this constitutes a burden for future generations.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

## C08 | *Temporality*

People think differently about how people should use their time and about the future. To what extent would you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

- (a) One should always be on time.
- (b) People should not feel forced to always use their time efficiently.
- (c) Having free time should be more important than working and earning money.
- (d) Enjoying the present and the moment is more important than planning the future.
- (e) People should be in control of what their future looks like.
- (f) A person's life should be better than that of their parents.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

## Module D: Political values and attitudes

### D01 | *Challenges*

Current developments are perceived differently by different people. Some argue that certain developments pose major threats to [COUNTRY] and its population while others consider this to be exaggerated. Thinking about the situation today, please tell us, whether you consider one or several issues on this list to be a major threat to [COUNTRY] and its population. Select as many as applicable.

- (a1) People from other countries moving to the country
- (a2) People having not enough influence on political decision making
- (a3) The gap between the rich and the poor
- (a4) Human-made climate change
- (a5) Gender inequality

- (b1) Young and educated people leaving the country
- (b2) Governments and companies collecting data on people
- (b3) Large companies' influence
- (b4) Discrimination and intolerance towards minorities
- (b5) War and violence
- (b6) Pandemics and other health crises
- (b7) Religious fundamentalism
- (b8) Aging population and low birth rates
- (b9) Tax evasion by big companies and the rich
- (b10) Hunger and poverty

(0) Not selected

(1) Selected

(none) "None of the above is a major threat to [COUNTRY]."

(REF) "I prefer not to say."

(DK) "Don't know"

*Notes: Each respondent receives a list of eight issues. The first five items (a1-5) are presented to all respondents, while three differ between respondents: They are randomly selected from a second set of 10 items (b1-10).*

## D02 | Satisfaction

Now, we want to know how well you think different parts of society are working. How satisfied are you with how...

- (a) ...the political system is functioning in [COUNTRY] these days?
- (b) ...the economic system is functioning in [COUNTRY] these days?

(1) "1 – Fully dissatisfied"

...

(6) "6 – Fully satisfied"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

## D03 | Political and social evaluations

To what extent do you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

- (a) Generally speaking, most people can be trusted.
- (b) During the Covid-19 pandemic in [COUNTRY], it was more important to fight the pandemic than to uphold all citizens' rights (like the right to free movement).
- (c) I see myself as someone who has lost more than gained through globalization.
- (d) The government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves.
- (e) Government officials use their power to try to improve people's lives.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

*Notes: Items "d" and "e" were always presented following each other.*

## D04 | Deprivation

There is often a discussion about whether different groups in [COUNTRY] nowadays actually have or get what they deserve. Some people even become angry when they think about this issue, because they think they are treated unfairly.

To what extent do you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

- (a) It makes me angry that nowadays people like me do not have as much influence on what the government does as we should.
- (b) It makes me angry that nowadays people like me do not earn or own as much as we deserve.
- (c) It makes me angry that nowadays people like me do not get to live in line with our traditions and customs as much as we should.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### D05 | Subjective identity

People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. How close do you feel to...

- (a) ...the village, town or city you live in?
- (b) ...[COUNTRY]
- (c) ...[REGION]

(1) "1 - Not close at all."

...

(6) "6 - Very close."

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

*Notes: The country-specific region refers to the supranational subregions of the UN geoscheme.*

### D06 | Postmaterialism

There are different opinions about what society's goals should be for the next ten years. Below are listed some of the goals which different people would give top priority. Please, pick the two that are most important to you.

- (a) Maintaining order in the nation.
- (b) Giving people more say in important government decision.
- (c) Fighting rising prices.
- (d) Protecting freedom of speech.

(0) Not selected

(1) Selected

(REF) "I prefer not to say."

(DK) "Don't know"

*Notes: Respondents were able to select up to two answers.*

### D07 | Right-Wing Authoritarianism

There are different opinions on how society should be organized and how people should act. To what extent do you agree or disagree to each of the following statements?

- (a) It's great that many young people today are prepared to defy authority.
- (b) What our country needs most is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity.
- (c) The "old-fashioned ways" and "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live.
- (d) There is nothing wrong with premarital sexual intercourse.
- (e) Our society does not need tougher government and stricter laws.
- (f) The facts on crime and the recent public disorders show we have to crack down harder on troublemakers, if we are going to preserve law and order.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"



## D08 | Globalization

There are different opinions about various important issues that affect [COUNTRY]. How much do you agree or disagree to the following statements?

- (a) [COUNTRY] should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect its national economy.
- (b) International organizations are taking away too much power from the [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] government.
- (c) Immigrants endanger the [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] society by bringing new ideas and cultures.

(1) "1 – Fully disagree"

...

(6) "6 – Fully agree"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

## D09 | Freedom vs. Security Trade-offs

Now, we present you some scenarios how your government might want to deal with different threats and also what experts think about these rules and laws. Please, tell us for each instance whether you consider the government's measures as acceptable or not.

### D09\_a | Anti-terror measure: Acceptance

The government wants to protect the population of [COUNTRY] against future terrorist attacks. To do this, it plans to [LEVEL 1 or 2 from DIMENSION GOVERNEMENT]. Experts argue that this measure would [LEVEL 1 or 2 from DIMENSION EXPERTS] decrease the threat of future terror attacks.

	<i>Level 1</i>	<i>Level 2</i>
<b>Treatment dimension GOVERNMENT</b>	increase monitoring of public places with cameras	monitor the telephone calls and Internet activities of everyone without judicial warrant
<b>Treatment dimension EXPERTS</b>	slightly	strongly

Would you consider the government's measure as acceptable or not?

(1) "1 – Not acceptable at all"

...

(6) "6 – Fully acceptable"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

*Notes: Random selection of levels within the two dimensions.*

### D09\_b | Health data collection: Acceptance

The government wants to protect the population of [COUNTRY] against an increasing number of deaths from cancer. To do this, it plans to [LEVEL 1 or 2 from DIMENSION GOVERNEMENT]. Experts argue that this measure would [LEVEL 1 or 2 from DIMENSION EXPERTS] decrease the threat of an increasing number of deaths from cancer.

	<i>Level 1</i>	<i>Level 2</i>
<b>Treatment dimension GOVERNMENT</b>	collect more data to better understand the course of disease of cancer patients	monitor the medical records of everyone
<b>Treatment dimension EXPERTS</b>	slightly	strongly

Would you consider the government's measure as acceptable or not?

(1) "1 – Not acceptable at all"

...

(6) "6 – Fully acceptable"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

*Notes: Random selection of levels within the two dimensions.*

### D09\_c | Tax fraud/corruption prevention: Acceptance

The government wants to protect the population of [COUNTRY] against tax fraud and corruption. To do this, it plans to [LEVEL 1 or 2 from DIMENSION GOVERNEMENT]. Experts argue that this measure would [LEVEL 1 or 2 from DIMENSION EXPERTS] decrease the threat of tax fraud and corruption.

	<i>Level 1</i>	<i>Level 2</i>
<b>Treatment dimension GOVERNMENT</b>	increase penalties for not reporting all income and earnings to the authorities	monitor the bank account activities of everyone
<b>Treatment dimension EXPERTS</b>	slightly	strongly

Would you consider the government's measure as acceptable or not?

(1) "1 – Not acceptable at all"

...

(6) "6 – Fully acceptable"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

*Notes: Random selection of levels within the two dimensions.*

## Module E: Voting behavior

### V1 | Electoral participation (last election)

Did you vote in the last [NATIONALITY] parliamentary election that took place in [MONTH-YEAR OF ELECTION]?

(1) "Yes"

(2) "No"

(3) "I was not eligible to vote."

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"



## V2 | Vote choice (last election)

For which party or which party's candidate did you vote?

- (1) "Party A"
- (2) "Party B"
- (3) "Party C"
- ...
- (96) Other (specify)
- (97) "I voted blank/null."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: The item was only presented to respondents who answered (1) "Yes" on V1. Answer categories were based on country-specific lists of relevant parties.*

## V3 | Vote intention

If there were a general election held tomorrow, for which party would you be most likely to vote?

- (1) "Party A"
- (2) "Party B"
- (3) "Party C"
- ...
- (94) "I am still undecided."
- (95) Other (specify)
- (96) "I will vote blank/null."
- (97) "I would not vote."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: Answer categories were based on country-specific lists of relevant parties.*

## Module F: Sociodemographic questions

### F01 | Gender

Do you identify as...

- (1) "...male?"
- (2) "...female?"
- (3) "...other?"

### F02 | Year of birth

When were you born? Please give us your birth year.

YYYY

### F03 | Education

What is the highest educational level that you have attained? If you have attained your highest educational degree outside [COUNTRY], please select the educational level that comes closest to the highest educational level that you have attained elsewhere.

- (1) "Less than lower secondary education (including no formal education, early childhood education, primary education) (ISCED 0-1)"
- (2) "Lower secondary education (ISCED 2)"
- (3) "Upper secondary education (ISCED 3)"
- (4) "Post-secondary non-tertiary education (ISCED 4)"
- (5) "Lower tertiary education, BA level (including short-cycle tertiary education) (ISCED 5 - 6)"
- (6) "Higher tertiary education, MA level or higher (ISCED 7-8)"
- (7) "Still in education, without prior degree"
- (97) "Other"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: Answer categories were based on country-specific lists of educational degrees.*

### F04 | Years of schooling

How many years have you been in formal education?

Include all years in school, university, and formal vocational education and training measures. Please do not include nursery school, pre-school, kindergarten and similar. Please do also not include repeated years.

If you're currently in education, count the number of years you have completed so far.

Number of years

- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

### F05 | Employment status

Now, we want to learn a bit more about your personal situation.

Which of the following describes your current situation? If more than one description applies, pick the category which describes your current situation best.

- (1) "Paid employment full time (30 hours a week or more)"
- (2) "Paid employment part time (less than 30 hours a week)"
- (3) "Self-employed"
- (4) "Retired/pensioned"
- (5) "Doing housework/unpaid care work/helping family member/working to produce food for my family"
- (6) "In education (in school or university, not paid for by employer)"
- (7) "Unemployed"
- (8) "Permanently sick or disabled"
- (97) "Other"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

#### F06 | Retired: Prior employment status

Which of the following best describes the situation prior to your retirement?

- (1) "Paid employment full time (30 hours a week or more)"
- (2) "Paid employment part time (less than 30 hours a week)"
- (3) "Self-employed"
- (5) "Doing housework/unpaid care work/helping family member/working to produce food for my family"
- (7) "Unemployed"
- (97) "Other"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: The item was only presented to respondents who answered (4) "Retired/pensioned" on F05.*

#### F07 | Housework: Prior employment status

Prior to your current situation, what best describes your situation back then?

- (5) "I have always been doing housework/unpaid care work/helping family member/working to produce food for my family."
- (1) "Paid employment full time (30 hours a week or more)"
- (2) "Paid employment part time (less than 30 hours a week)"
- (3) "Self-employed"
- (6) "In education (in school or university, not paid for by employer)"
- (7) "Unemployed"
- (97) "Other"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: The item was only presented to respondents who answered (5) "Doing housework/unpaid care work/helping family member/working to produce food for my family" on F05.*

#### F08 | In education: Prior employment status

Prior to your current situation, what best describes your situation back then?

- (6) "I have always been in education (in school or university, not paid for by employer)."
- (1) "Paid employment full time (30 hours a week or more)"
- (2) "Paid employment part time (less than 30 hours a week)"
- (3) "Self-employed"
- (5) "Doing housework/unpaid care work/helping family member/working to produce food for my family"
- (7) "Unemployed"
- (97) "Other"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: The item was only presented to respondents who answered (6) "In education (in school or university, not paid for by employer)" on F05.*

### F09 | *Unemployed: Prior employment status*

Prior to your current situation, what best describes your situation back then?

- (1) "Paid employment full time (30 hours a week or more)"
- (2) "Paid employment part time (less than 30 hours a week)"
- (3) "Self-employed"
- (5) "Doing housework/unpaid care work/helping family member/working to produce food for my family"
- (6) "In education (in school or university, not paid for by employer)"
- (97) "Other"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: The item was only presented to respondents who answered (7) "Unemployed" on F05.*

### F10 | *Permanently sick or disabled: Prior employment status*

Prior to your current situation, what best describes your situation back then?

- (8) "I have always been permanently sick or disabled."
- (1) "Paid employment full time (30 hours a week or more)"
- (2) "Paid employment part time (less than 30 hours a week)"
- (3) "Self-employed"
- (5) "Doing housework/unpaid care work/helping family member/working to produce food for my family"
- (6) "In education (in school or university, not paid for by employer)"
- (7) "Unemployed"
- (97) "Other"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: The item was only presented to respondents who answered (8) "Permanently sick or disabled" on F05.*

### F11 | *Internet usage*

How often do you use the Internet for private purposes? This is regardless of whether you access the Internet on a smartphone, tablet or a computer and also whether you own the device or not.

- (1) "Never"
- (2) "Less than monthly"
- (3) "Monthly"
- (4) "Weekly"
- (5) "Daily"
- (6) "I am more or less always online."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

#### F12 | *Citizenship: Surveyed country, at birth*

What was your citizenship at birth?

- (1) "[COUNTRY NATIONALITY]"
- (2) "[COUNTRY NATIONALITY] and other nationality"
- (3) "Other nationality"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

#### F13 | *Citizenship: Which other country, at birth*

Please tell us your citizenship at birth.

- Drop-down list of all countries
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: The item was only presented to respondents who answered (3) "Other nationality" on F12.*

#### F14 | *Citizenship: Surveyed country, today*

Today, do you hold the [COUNTRY NATIONALITY] citizenship?

- (1) "Yes"
- (0) "No"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: The item was only presented to respondents who answered (3) "Other nationality" on F12.*

#### F15 | *Country of birth: Surveyed country*

In which country were you born?

Please base your answer on today's country borders and where your birthplace is located today.

- (1) "[COUNTRY]"
- (2) "Other"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

#### F16 | *Country of birth: Which other country*

Please tell us in which country you were born.

Please base your answer on today's country borders and where your birthplace is located today

- Drop down list of all countries
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: The item was only presented to respondents who answered (2) "Other" on F15.*



### F17 | *Country of birth: Parents*

In which country were your parents born?

Please base your answer on today's country borders and where their birthplace is located today.

- (1) "Both parents were born in [COUNTRY]."
- (2) "One parent was born in [COUNTRY]."
- (3) "Both of my parents were born outside of [COUNTRY]."
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

### F18 | *Religious denomination*

Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination? If yes, which one?

- (0) "No"
- (1) "Religion A"
- (2) "Religion B"
- (3) "Religion C"
- ...
- (97) "Other"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: Answer categories were based on country-specific lists of relevant denominations.*

### F19 | *Religious practices*

Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days?

- (1) "Never"
- (2) "Once a year"
- (3) "Several times a year"
- (4) "Once a month"
- (5) "2 or 3 times a month"
- ...
- (6) "Once a week"
- (7) "Several times a week or more often"
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

### F20 | *Residential environment*

Would you say you live in a...

- (1) "...rural area or village?"
- (2) "...small or middle size town?"
- (3) "...large town or city?"

### F21 | *Region of living*

In which of the following regions do you currently live?

National lists

*Notes: Answer categories were based on country-specific lists of subnational regions.*

### F22 | *Household size*

How many people - including yourself and children - live regularly in your household?

Number of people

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### F23 | *Household size: Persons <15 years*

How many of those people living regularly in your household are 14 years old or younger?

Number of people

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

*Notes: The item was only presented to respondents who answered >1 on F22.*

### F24 | *Children (yes/no)*

Do you have one or more children? This is regardless of their current age or whether they live in your household or not.

(0) "No"

(1) "Yes"

(98) "I prefer not to say."

(99) "Don't know"

### F25 | *Ownership*

Do you or your household own the following?

(a) Television

(b) Computer, tablet or smartphone

(c) House or flat

(d) Livestock

(e) Savings higher than [50% of mean national yearly income]

(f) Shares, bonds or similar

(0) Not selected

(1) Selected

(none) "None of the above"

(REF) "I prefer not to say."

(DK) "Don't know"

*Notes: Respondents could select as many as applicable.*

## F26 | Household income

Considering everyone living regularly in your household, what is your household's total monthly income, after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources (including wages, profits, investments, social benefits)?

If you don't know the exact figure, please give an estimate. If you are living on your own, this refers just to you.

- (1) Less than [40% of mean national income]
- (2) [40%-60% of mean national income]
- (3) [60%-80% of mean national income]
- (4) [80%-100% of mean national income]
- (5) [100%-150% of mean national income]
- (6) [150%-200% of mean national income]
- (7) [200%-250% of mean national income]
- (8) [250%-350% of mean national income]
- (9) More than [350% of the mean national income]
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"

*Notes: Answer categories were based on national income figures.*

## F27 | Postal code

What is the postal code of the area you live in?

- Postal code
- (98) "I prefer not to say."
- (99) "Don't know"