

ZA7876

The TRI 2007 and CMP 2013 Surveys of Members of Parliament

**Basic Questionnaire
2013**

TRI Replication Survey of Parliamentarians 2013
Questionnaire Final

March 5, 2013

Q1. Country of interview

- 1 Chile
- 2 Germany
- 3 Poland
- 4 South Africa
- 5 South Korea
- 6 Sweden
- 7 Turkey

Q2. Date of interview

D D M M Y Y

(Introduction by interviewer):

Hello. I am from the _____ (*mention name of the interview organization*). We are carrying out a comparative study analyzing the attitudes of members of seven national parliaments/legislatures on crucial matters concerning democracy and other related issues. Your name has been selected as part of a representative sample in _____ (*mention country in which interview is conducted*). I'd like to ask your views on a number of different subjects. Your input will be treated with the strictest of confidence.

(Show Card C)

Q21. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Using this card on which 1 means you are "completely dissatisfied" and 10 means you are "completely satisfied" where would you put your satisfaction with your life as a whole? (*Code one number*):

Completely dissatisfied	Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

Q22. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people? (*Code one answer*):

- 1 Most people can be trusted.
- 2 Need to be very careful.

(Show Card D)

On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors? (*Code an answer for each group*):

	Mentioned	Not mentioned
Q23. People of a different race	1	2
Q24. Atheists	1	2
Q25. Immigrants/foreign workers	1	2
Q26. People of a different religion	1	2

Q27. What proportion of the [South African] population do you think would not want an immigrant/foreign worker as a neighbour? (respondent to give a percentage)

- 997 Don't know [INT. DON'T READ]
- 998 Refused [INT. DON'T READ]

Q28. And how about the voters [or supporters] of your own party? (respondent to give a percentage)

- 997 Don't know (INT. DON'T READ)
- 998 Refused (INT. DON'T READ)

Q29. Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means "none at all" and 10 means "a great deal" to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out (Code one number):

None at all		A great deal							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Q30. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair? Please show your response on this card, where 1 means that "people would try to take advantage of you," and 10 means that "people would try to be fair" (Code one number):

People would try to take advantage of you		People would try to be fair							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

(Show Card E)

Q31. People sometimes talk about what the aims of this country should be for the next ten years. On this card are listed some of the goals which different people would give top priority. Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, consider the most important? (Code one answer only under "first choice")

Q32. And which would be the next most important? (Code one answer only under "second choice"):

	First choice	Second choice
Maintaining order in the nation	1	1
Giving people more say in important government decisions	2	2
Fighting rising prices	3	3
Protecting freedom of speech	4	4

(Hand respondent the questionnaire and ask her/him to mark their position on Card G)

Q39. In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right." How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking? (Code one number)

Left Right
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Q40. And where would you place your party's position? (Code one number)

Left Right
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Q41. And your party's voters' position? (Code one number)

Left Right
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Q42. And where would you place the position of the [South African] population as a whole? (Code one number)

Left Right
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(Show Card H)

Q43. Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between. (Code one number for each issue):

Incomes should be made more equal		We need larger income differences as incentives for individual effort							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Q44. Private ownership of business and industry should be increased		Government ownership of business and industry should be increased							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Q45. The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for		People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Q46. Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas		Competition is harmful. It brings out the worst in people							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all? (Code one answer for each):

(Show Card I and leave for the following questions)

	A great deal	Quite a lot	Not very much	None at all
Q53. The [churches]*	1	2	3	4
Q54. The armed forces	1	2	3	4
Q55. The press	1	2	3	4
Q56. Television	1	2	3	4
Q57. Labor unions	1	2	3	4
Q58. The police	1	2	3	4
Q59. The courts	1	2	3	4
Q60. The government (in your nation's capital)	1	2	3	4
Q61. Political parties	1	2	3	4
Q62. Parliament	1	2	3	4
Q63. The Civil service	1	2	3	4
Q64a. Major Companies	1	2	3	4
Q64b. Banks	1	2	3	4
Q65. Environmental organizations	1	2	3	4
Q66. Women's organizations	1	2	3	4
Q67. Charitable or humanitarian organizations	1	2	3	4
Q68. The [African Union]**	1	2	3	4
Q69. The United Nations	1	2	3	4
Q70. The Constitutional Court	1	2	3	4

* [Substitute "religious communities" in non-Christian countries]

** [Substitute appropriate regional organization]

(Show Card J)

I'm going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? (Code one answer for each):

	Very good	Fairly good	Fairly bad	Very bad
Q75. Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections	1	2	3	4
Q77. Having the army rule	1	2	3	4
Q78. Having a democratic political system	1	2	3	4

(Show Card K)

Many things may be desirable, but not all of them are essential characteristics of democracy. Please tell me for each of the following things how essential you think it is as a characteristic of democracy. Use this scale where 1 means “not at all an essential characteristic of democracy” and 10 means it definitely is “an essential characteristic of democracy” (read out and *code one answer for each*):

		Not an essential characteristic of democracy					An essential characteristic of democracy				
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q80.	Governments tax the rich and subsidize the poor.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q81.	The individual human right to dignity (e.g. respect of others) is upheld	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q82.	People choose their leaders in free elections.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q83.	People receive state aid for unemployment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q84.	Civil rights protect people’s liberty against oppression.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q85.	The economy is prospering.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q87.	Women have the same rights as men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q89.	Complete freedom for anyone to criticize the government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q90.	Equality of the vote in elections	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q91.	Basic necessities like shelter, food and water for everyone	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q92.	Jobs for everyone	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q93.	Equal opportunity in education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Q94.	Minority Rights	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters I am going to read to you now? Very badly, fairly badly, fairly well or very well?

		Very Badly	Fairly badly	Fairly well	Very well
Q96	Government taxes the rich and subsidizes the poor.	1	2	3	4
Q97	The individual human right to dignity (e.g. respect of others) is upheld	1	2	3	4
Q98	People choose their leaders in free elections.	1	2	3	4
Q99	People receive state aid for unemployment.	1	2	3	4
Q100	Civil rights protect people’s liberty against oppression.	1	2	3	4
Q101	The economy is prospering.	1	2	3	4
Q103	Women have the same rights as men.	1	2	3	4
Q105	Complete freedom for anyone to criticize the government	1	2	3	4
Q106	Equality of the vote in elections	1	2	3	4
Q107	Basic necessities like shelter, food and water for everyone	1	2	3	4
Q108	Jobs for everyone	1	2	3	4
Q109	Equal opportunity in education	1	2	3	4
Q110	Minority Rights	1	2	3	4

Q112. I am going to read a statement that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. Could you please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

Although democracy has many shortcomings, it is still better than any other political system.

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly Disagree

Q114. How democratically is this country being governed today? Again using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that it is “not at all democratic” and 10 means that it is “completely democratic,” what position would you choose? (Code one number):

Not at all democratic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Completely democratic	10
--------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------------	----

Q115. On the whole are you very satisfied, rather satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy is developing in our country? (Code one answer):

- 1 Very satisfied
- 2 Rather satisfied
- 3 Not very satisfied
- 4 Not at all satisfied

Q117. How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays here in [South Africa]? Do you feel there is (Code one answer):

- 1. A great deal of respect for individual human rights
- 2. Fairly much respect
- 3. Not much respect
- 4. No respect at all

How likely do you think it would be that the authorities could enforce the law if a person like yourself [interviewer insert text]: Very likely, likely, not very likely or not at all likely?

	Very likely	Likely	Not very likely	Not at all likely
Q118. Committed a serious crime	1	2	3	4
Q119. Did not pay tax on some of the income they earned	1	2	3	4

How likely do you think it is that the courts will punish [interviewer: insert category] who take bribes. Very likely, likely, not very likely or not at all likely?

		Very Likely	Likely	Not very likely	Not at all likely
Q120. Elected public office holders	1	2	3	4	
Q121. Civil servants	1	2	3	4	
Q122. Managers of private businesses	1	2	3	4	

(Show Card M)

How widespread do you think corruption is in this country?

		Very few are corrupt	Less than half are corrupt	Most are engaged in it	Almost all are engaged in it
Q123.	Amongst elected public office holders	1	2	3	4
Q124.	Amongst civil servants	1	2	3	4
Q125.	Amongst managers of private businesses	1	2	3	4

(Show Card N)

Here are some things people often say about our current political system. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Q126. People have freedom of speech	1	2	3	4	5
Q127. People have freedom of association	1	2	3	4	5
Q129. Nobody needs to be afraid of arbitrary arrest	1	2	3	4	5
Q130. People have the freedom to choose who to vote for without being pressured	1	2	3	4	5

(Show Card P)

Communication to reach mutual understanding is as important in politics as in our everyday life. How well or badly do you feel such communication takes place between the following groups here in [South Africa]? Very badly, fairly badly, fairly well or very well?

		Very badly	Fairly badly	Fairly well	Very well
Q146.	The governing and opposition parties	1	2	3	4
Q147.	The governing party/parties and mass media	1	2	3	4
Q148.	The opposition parties and mass media	1	2	3	4
Q149.	The governing party/parties and NGOs	1	2	3	4
Q150.	The opposition parties and NGOs	1	2	3	4

Q156. Now let's turn to another topic. How often, if at all, do you think about the meaning and purpose of life?
(Code one answer!)

- 1 Often
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Rarely
- 4 Never

Q160. Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination? If yes, which one? (Code answer due to list below. Code 0, if respondent answers to have no denomination!)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| No: do not belong to a denomination | 0 |
| Yes: Roman Catholic | 1 |
| Protestant | 2 |
| If protestant, specify: _____ | |
| Orthodox (Russian/Greek/etc.) | 3 |
| Jewish | 4 |
| Muslim | 5 |
| Hindu | 6 |
| Buddhist | 7 |
| Other (please specify): _____ | 8 |

(NOTE: If your own society does not fit into this coding system, please devise an alternative, following this as closely as possible; for example, in Islamic countries, ask about Sunni, Shia, etc. Send a list of the categories used here along with your data.)

Q161. Apart from weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services these days? [INT: Read and code one answer]:

1. More than once a week
2. Once a week
3. Once a month
4. Only on special holy days
5. Once a year
6. Less often
7. Never, practically never

(NOTE: In Islamic societies, ask how frequently the respondent prays!)

Q162. Independently of whether you attend religious services or not, would you say you are (Code one answer):

1. A religious person
2. Not a religious person
3. An atheist

Generally speaking, do you think that the [churches]* in your country are giving adequate answers to (read out and code one answer for each):

	Yes	No
Q163. The moral problems and needs of the individual	1	2
Q164. The problems of family life	1	2
Q165. People's spiritual needs	1	2
Q166. The social problems facing our society	1	2

[In non-Christian societies substitute "religious communities" for "churches"!]

N3. Compared to the situation before the onset of the global financial and economic crisis, do you think that the general economic situation in this country is [INT: READ OPTIONS 1-5]

- 1 a lot better
- 2 a little better
- 3 has stayed the same
- 4 is a little worse
- 5 is a lot worse?

N4. And over the next 12 months, how do you think the general economic situation in this country will be? [INT: READ OPTIONS 1-5]

- 1 a lot better
- 2 a little better
- 3 will stay the same**
- 4 a little worse
- 5 a lot worse

Please evaluate the impact of the global financial and economic crisis on *country*, using a scale from 1 to 10. "1" means that it has had no negative impact at all and "10" means that the crisis has had a severe negative impact.

		no negative impact at all			severe negative impact						
N5.	<i>Country</i> in general	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N6.	<i>Country's</i> economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N7.	<i>Country's</i> banking system	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N8.	The people's standard of living in <i>country</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N9.	The quality of democracy in <i>country</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

How do you rate the performance of different national and international actors in handling the impact of the crisis. "1" means that the performance of the actor was very poor and "10" means that it was very competent.

		very poor			very competent						
N10.	<i>Country's</i> national government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N11.	Party A*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N12.	Party B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N13.	Party C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N14.	Party D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N15.	Party E	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N16.	Party F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N17.	Party G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N18.	Party H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N19.	Other Party, please specify	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<hr/>											
N20.	The IMF	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N21.	The G20	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N22.	The EU	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

How do you rate the positions of the most important political parties in *country* on matters of economic and welfare policies on a scale from "1" meaning that a party favors laissez-faire policies relying primarily on market forces (neo-liberalism) and "10" meaning that the party favors state interventionist policies (strong welfare state).

[INT: Ask for each party plus other party]

		in favor of market forces					in favor of a strong welfare state				
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N35.	Party A*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N36.	Party B*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N37.	Party C*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N38.	Party D*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N39.	Party E*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N40.	Party F*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N41.	Party G*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N42.	Party H*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N43.	Other Party, please specify	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

* Insert names of all political parties represented in your national sample of MPs in descending order plus "other party, please specify".

N44: Are you personally in favor of strengthening existing or introducing additional social welfare programs to help those citizens who have been hit hardest by the financial and economic crisis or do you believe that it is necessary to cut back social welfare programs to balance the public budget or to become globally more competitive? "1" means that you are in favor of cutting back on social welfare programs and "10" means that you are in favor of strengthening existing or introducing additional social welfare programs.

cut back on existing social welfare programs					strengthen existing or introduce additional social welfare programs				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

N45: Do you think that national policy measures for dealing with the impact of the global financial and economic crisis can be effective or will they have no effect in the present situation? Please use a scale from 1 to 10 "1" means that you consider purely national policies as totally ineffective and "10" means that they can contribute a lot to overcoming the crisis.

totally ineffective			can contribute to overcoming the crisis						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

N46: How fair do you think that the income distribution is in *country*? [INT: READ OPTIONS 1-5]

- 1 Very Fair
- 2 Fair
- 3 Unfair
- 4 Very Unfair

N47: Do you think that the income distribution in *country* has been negatively affected by the economic crisis? Which of the following is the most appropriate description for *country*? [INT: READ OPTIONS 1-3]

- 1 Differences of income have become much larger than before
- 2 Differences of income have become somewhat larger than before
- 3 Differences of income have remained about the same as before?

Thinking about *country*, how often would you say the following occurs today? 1 means 'hardly ever' and 7 means 'almost always'

N48: Firms that provide the most favorable kickbacks to senior officials are awarded public procurement contracts in favor of firms making the lowest bid?

hardly ever						almost always
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

N49: When deciding how to implement policies in individual cases, public sector employees treat some groups in society unfairly?

hardly ever						almost always
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

N50: When granting licenses to start up private firms, public sector employees favor applicants with which they have strong personal contacts?

hardly ever						almost always
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

N51. Generally speaking, how often would you say that public sector employees today, in country, act impartially when deciding how to implement a policy in an individual case?

[INT: If respondent asks what is meant by "impartial", provide the following explanation: "By a common definition, impartiality implies that when implementing policies, public sector employees should not take anything about the citizen/case into consideration that is not stipulated in the policy"]

hardly ever						almost always
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

N52. Would you say that it is better for the economic policy in a democracy to be run by elected politicians or by experts, who are not elected? Choose your answer from this card where 1 means your democracy should be run by elected politicians and 10 means you think a democracy should be run by experts who have not been elected.

Economic policy should be run by elected politicians					Economic policy should be run by non-elected experts				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

N53. To what extent would you say economic policy in *country* is run by elected politicians or by experts? 10 point scale: 1=completely run by elected politicians 10=completely run by experts

economic policy is run by elected politicians					economic policy is run by non-elected experts				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

N54. Please indicate on a scale from 1 to 10 what you think about globalization. "1" means that you consider it to be a bad thing and "10" means you consider it to be a good thing.

bad thing					good thing				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

We also want to find out about the social backgrounds of opinion-leaders in this country. Now I'd like to ask you a few final questions for statistical purposes.

- Q186. Gender of respondent
1. Male
 2. Female
- Q187. In what year were you born? **WRITE IN: 19__**
- Q188. In which country were you born?
1. Chile
 2. Germany
 3. Poland
 4. South Africa
 5. South Korea
 6. Sweden
 7. Turkey
 8. Other (Please specify)
- Q189. What is the highest level of formal education you have completed? Please select only one option by circling the number of your choice.
1. Primary
 2. Secondary
 3. Tertiary
 4. If tertiary, specify_____
- Q191. What is your marital status?
1. Married

2. Divorced/separated
3. Widow/widower
4. Living with a partner
5. Never been married

- Q194. What is your father's highest level of formal education?
1. Primary
 2. Secondary
 3. Tertiary
 4. If tertiary, specify _____

- Q195. And your mother's?
1. Primary
 2. Secondary
 3. Tertiary
 4. If tertiary, specify _____

Q185b. Party of Respondent

INT: Tick Appropriate Party

Chile

Germany

- 201 CDU/CSU – Christlich-Demokratische Union (Christian Democrats)
- 202 SPD – Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democrats)
- 203 FDP – Freie Demokratische Partei (Free Democrats)
- 204 Die Linke (Left Party)
- 205 Bündnis '90/Die Grünen (Green Party)

Poland

- 301 PO - Platforma Obywatelska
- 302 PiS - Prawo I Sprawiedliwosc
- 303 RP - Ruch Poparcia (Palikot's Movement)
- 304 PSL - Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe
- 305 SLD - Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej
- 306 SP - Solidarna Polska

South Africa

- 401 ANC – African National Congress
- 402 DA – Democratic Alliance
- 403 Inkatha Freedom Party

South Korea

501 NFP - Saenuri Party (Saenuri dang)
502 DUP - Democratic United Party (Minju Tonghap-dang)

Sweden

601 S - Arbetarepartied-Socialdemokratema) (Social Democratic Party)
602 M - Moderata samlingspartied (Moderate Party)
603 MP - Miljöpartiet de Gröna (Green Party)
604 FL - Folkpartiet liberalerna (Liberal Party)
605 C – Centerpartiet (Centre Party)
606 Sweden Democrats (Swedish Democrats)
607 V – Vänsterpartiet (Left Party)
608 KD – Kristdemokraterna (Christian Democrats)

Turkey

701 AKP - Justice and Development Party 702 CHP - Republican People's Party
703 MHP - Nationalist Action Party
704 BDP - Peace and Democracy Party