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The "Public Attitudes towards the Liberal Script" (PALS) Survey. Conceptual Framework, Implementation, and Data

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ABSTRACT

The norms and institutions of liberal democracy, market economy, and open society have become increasingly contested worldwide. Is the rise of illiberal and authoritarian contestations reflected in a decline of citizens' acceptance of liberal ideas and values? Are these contestations a response to unfulfilled promises, inherent tensions, or other unresolved challenges? The comparative public opinion survey "Public Attitudes towards the Liberal Script" (PALS) provides data that lets scholars address these questions.

The goal of PALS is first and foremost to measure attitudes towards what we call the liberal script. PALS was conducted in 26 countries (+50,000 respondents) using CAWI (quota sampling) and CAPI (random probability sampling) modes of data collection. The sample draws from a diverse set of countries to provide a global perspective. Here, we give a comprehensive description of the conceptual framework, content, and methodology of the survey as a background paper for the overall endeavor.

1 INTRODUCTION

When the Soviet Union collapsed in the early 1990s, many scholars and politicians believed it was the definitive victory of the liberal model for organising societies. The American political scientist Francis Fukuyama (1992) argued that not only a new stage of social development would begin, but history had come to its end, as liberal democracy would prevail all over the world. More than thirty years later, we know that things turned out differently. The liberal model is by no means uncontroversial and is subject to multiple challenges. Some liberal democracies, such as Hungary, Poland, and India, to name just a few, have moved in more authoritarian directions, while others are internally challenged by right-wing populist movements and parties that challenge liberal principles. Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine has demonstrated how little international law based on liberal principles is respected by a major superpower. The recapturing of power by the Taliban in Afghanistan and the withdrawal of Western troops can be seen as a failure to institutionalise democracy and liberal values, including equal rights for women by outsiders. Criticism also comes from voices in the Global South who criticize liberalism as an ideology that has legitimised and continues to legitimise domination and exploitation.

The Cluster of Excellence "Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)" analyses reasons for why the liberal model has fallen into crisis despite its political, economic, and social achievements, whether alternative concepts of social order are on the rise, how these contestations differ from earlier contestations, and what the consequences are for the global challenges of our time. SCRIPTS is a multidisciplinary research consortium operating since 2019, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) until the end of 2025 (EXC 2055, Project-ID: 390715649). As such, SCRIPTS recognised the need to generate empirical evidence to further its research agenda.

The comparative public opinion survey "Public Attitudes towards the Liberal Script" (PALS) is part of the SCRIPTS research agenda, and it aims, first and

foremost, to measure citizen attitudes in different countries around the globe towards the liberal script. Based on the notion of the world society approach (Meyer et al. 1997), we define a "script" as a shared understanding of the organisation of society that is expressed in normative statements on how society ought to be (*Sollen*) and empirical statements on how it works (*Sein*) (Börzel/Zürn 2020). Scripts also contain grammar and action repertoires for arriving from *Sein* to *Sollen* and *vice versa*. Different scripts compete for relevance and dominance as well as the appropriate organisation of society. Especially dominant scripts also justify and legitimise the exercise of political rule, i.e. polity, politics, and policies.

Two types of research questions are at the heart of PALS: First, to what extent do citizens around the globe support the liberal script and its components? Which components of the liberal script are supported, which are strongly contested, and how do individuals from different countries or different social groups differ in their preferences? Second, how can we explain differences in the degree of support or opposition to the liberal script? Which country features and socio-structural characteristics of individuals can help understand why some citizens support, and others reject the liberal script?

Why are citizen opinions significant and important for studying these questions? According to Max Weber's (1985) seminal work, the institutionalisation of a social order needs to be accompanied by citizen beliefs in the appropriateness and legitimacy of this order. Without the belief of citizens in the appropriateness and legitimacy of a given political order, it cannot survive in the long run. A similar argument can be found in political culture research, whose tradition stems from Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba's *The Civic Culture* (1963). This perspective assumes that political institutions are stable only when there is congruence between institutions and citizen attitudes

(Fuchs 2007). Thus, the relative relevance of the liberal order depends on whether citizens accept its prescriptions. Against this background, we ask to which extent the belief of individuals around the world aligns with the liberal script. Is the liberal script broadly accepted, or only certain parts of it in certain parts of the world?

PALS was conducted in 26 countries between December 2021 and July 2022, with over 50,000 respondents.[1] There are a variety of other comparative surveys that measure individuals' values as well as social and political attitudes. Many of these surveys only refer to a specific world region, mostly Europe, such as the Eurobarometer survey (EB), the European Social Survey (ESS) or the European Value Study (EVS). In contrast, PALS covers all regions of the globe and very diverse political and cultural contexts. Surveys that take into account non-European countries and especially countries from the so-called Global South, such as the International Survey Programme (ISSP), tend to include more Western than non-Western countries, while the included countries from non-Western are often the most socio-economically developed countries from the respective region (e.g. Chile, South Africa, or Japan). In contrast, PALS aims for a more heterogeneous set of countries to achieve a global perspective.

The World Value Survey (WVS) is the survey that comes closest to PALS. Currently, the WVS consists of seven waves and is carried out in even more countries than PALS. The WVS focuses on the question of to what extent modernisation processes influence people's values and whether there is a shift from religious and traditional values to secular and self-expression values. In contrast, PALS focuses on the extent to which citizens support liberal values and liberal social

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1   A second wave adding four new countries (Hungary, Israel, Serbia, and Thailand) and revisiting six countries already part of the first wave (France, Germany, Latvia, Poland, Turkey, and the USA), is in preparation.

order. Even though there is an overlap between modern and liberal values, several key elements of the liberal script are not directly covered by the WVS. For example, the WVS only tangentially addresses individual self-determination. While some items in the WVS touch on this core principle of the liberal script (e.g. important child qualities, preferences for freedom over equality), PALS goes into much more detail. In the same vein, the principle of the rule of law is covered much more substantially in PALS compared to the WVS, which mainly addresses respondents' evaluation of corruption in their country. We explain in more detail what we mean by liberal values and the liberal script in the next section. Additionally, existing comparative surveys tend to produce solely observational data. As some of the research questions of SCRIPTS are causal, PALS includes survey experimental components.[2]

The goal of this paper is to describe the conceptual framework, content, and methodology of the survey in a comprehensive manner. In describing the core features of the liberal script, we will be brief and refer to considerations published elsewhere. More detailed descriptions of several aspects of PALS can be found in referenced documentation.[3]

2 CONCEPTUAL APPROACH AND CONTENT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The liberal script is one among several competing scripts of how to organise a society. While it is relatively easy to define the concept of scripts (see Section 1), it is more difficult to grasp the specific content of the liberal script, given the enormous variation and scholarly debate. Hence, the liberal script is not a static and unchanging work in a library, where it can be consulted in case of need or dispute. Indeed, while we often talk about "the" liberal script we are conscious that there is no single stable liberal script that remains unchanged in different times, different social contexts, or different regions of the world (Fukuyama 2022). Instead, the liberal script describes a socially contextualised, internally contested, combination of ideas and social practices. With PALS, we aim to measure attitudes towards the liberal script in its contemporary global form(s) at the beginning of the 21st century – meaning, we allow for variation between and within societies but do not focus on a historical perspective.

To capture the contemporary liberal script, we opted for a descriptive reconstruction of what is defined as liberal by those who are regarded by others as liberals (Zürn/Gerschewski 2021: 11). The point, then, is to analyse the claims and practices of liberals regarding the organisation of society. In doing so, one can distinguish between core normative principles and institutions, standards, and procedures for enacting them. Freedom, self-determination, and equality of worth are central here. Hence, these normative principles constitute the core sphere of the liberal script and fulfil a double function. On the one hand, they are seen as desirable ideals, and on the other hand, they serve as justificatory reference points for additional elements of the liberal script (Zürn/Gerschewski 2021: 15–16). The latter elements are, in this sense, second-order principles that can be separated into different spheres. For example, they describe institutional features or subsystems that belong to liberalism but do so in varying intensity and changing composition (Zürn/Gerschewski 2021: 17). Along these lines, it is important to emphasise that we are interested in measuring acceptance of core principles and liberal elements in terms of preferences and not

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2   For example, the survey includes a conjoint experiment to measure which aspects respondents consider to be liberal or a measurement approach to what respondents consider to be necessary for a self-determined life.

3   Dataset, Study Report, Codebook, and Country Questionnaires can be found here: http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/refubium-41265, additional information on the project can be found here: www.pals-scripts.eu.

the performance of liberal actors and institutions directly.

PALS has translated this conception for the purposes of a survey and developed spheres to measure the different elements of the liberal script. In addition to the core principles constituting the core sphere, we distinguish three second-order spheres: a political, economic, and socio-cultural sphere. This distinction reflects the historical development of liberalism as political thought and political praxis. Liberalism first turned against arbitrary power exercised by monarchs and the church to establish fundamental civil rights (Fawcett 2018; Rosenblatt 2018). It is often claimed that in 1814 the *liberales* in Spain were the first to adopt the word for their political struggle in reviving the constitution and re-establishing principles of freedom, criticising the *serviles* for their blind obedience to the crown. Later, liberals demanded more political participation and social inclusion (Marshall 1950). With the advent of "new liberalism" in the 19th century, liberals like J.A. Hobson, Leonard Hobhouse, and later John Maynard Keynes considered questions of social progress more thoroughly. Fundamentally rethinking justifications for state interventions into the market, social rights, ranging from social welfare to education, became an integral part of the liberal script (Rosenblatt 2018: 100–115, 184–207).

What does this mean more specifically for our survey? As outlined, the concept of liberty or individual self-determination is central to the core of the liberal script. Liberty cannot be reduced to what Bernard Williams (2005: 78) calls "primitive freedom," i.e. the "simple idea of being unobstructed in doing what you want by some form of humanly imposed coercion." Primitive freedom is a "proto-political" value. Liberty thus refers not only to private freedom but to authoritative limitations to liberty to protect the liberty of others (Williams 2005: 83). The key question for liberty as the core principle of liberalism thus is

how far a person's freedom should be extended or protected, which, in turn, must be determined collectively. Historically, there have been social institutions that can and historically have restricted individual freedom, such as religious authorities, the family, or the state (Berlin 2002: 169–178; Mill 1989; Rosenblatt 2018: 68). In the questionnaire, respondents' attitudes towards individual self-determination are thus measured as the trade-off they make between individual freedom and these societal constraints. Additionally, the survey measures what respondents themselves value for leading a self-determined life.

In the political sphere, the principles of the liberal script aim to ensure that individuals have a say in political decision-making (popular sovereignty) and that rules are applied to everyone equally in a society (the rule of law). Derived from the rights of individuals to self-determination and to associate, individuals form collectives that have the right to collective self-determination, as long as every individual of the collective has a voice to decide on binding decisions through free and equal consent. Popular sovereignty or democracy thus describes the extent to which individuals have an influence on the political decision-making process (as proposed by Dahl 2006: 59).

Moreover, a self-determined life crucially depends on individual rights and a society organised by the rule of law that ensures the protection of these rights. Self-determination entails, on the one hand, limited and constitutional government and the restriction of rulers by previously established legal rules, and on the other hand, that rules are enforced equally for every member of the society (von Hayek 1960: 127). The liberal script has a universalist understanding of human rights – they should be equal for all human beings across all countries, trumping the rights of collectives to enact their own preferences in this regard.

In the economic sphere, the liberal script enacts individual self-determination through the principles of the market economy and the principle of merit. A market economy is a system of exchange based on private ownership of the means of production and the laws of supply and demand. In the liberal script, emphasis is put on private over state ownership of the economy and on the belief that (economic) competition generally has a positive effect on society, as it contributes to economic growth and a fair allocation of resources. This private ownership is organised through the principle of merit over traditional or family privileges with a system of high social mobility, in which talented and determined individuals are permitted to rise to the top (Young 1961).

In the socio-cultural sphere, the liberal script proposes to organise society according to the principles of tolerance, rationality, and progress. It follows from the right to self-determination as well as the various types of equal rights that no individual should be placed above others. Thus, the societal norm of tolerance is a central principle of the liberal script. It speaks to the acceptance of the lifestyles and social identities of other individuals belonging to different societal groups. Moreover, tolerance refers to the neutrality of the state, the status of social groups, and inter-group relations, which are characterised by the principles of equality and non-discrimination. The idea of progress is also inherent to the liberal script, even if there is an overlap with ideas of modernity in this respect. Progress is based on the idea of systematic knowledge production. Thus, liberals emphasise the importance of education as well as science (Wall 2015: 4–6). Lastly, liberals view human nature as rational. They distrust fixed, absolute truth and absolute rule. Formulated by Karl Popper (2013: 203) in his differentiation between open and closed societies, the principle of openness emphasises the belief in the plurality of truth, scientific innovation, and incremental

reforms over fundamental social engineering as methods for solving social problems.

Potential users of PALS data can decide for themselves which elements they consider necessary components of the liberal script or whether all spheres should be of equal weight. We measure attitudes toward the different elements of the liberal script with strongly liberal views on one end of the scale and strongly illiberal views on the other. This method allows users of PALS data to decide for themselves where on the scale they define the threshold that marks an attitude as liberal. As some of the elements of the liberal script can be in tension, we also measure whether individuals put different weights on and make trade-offs between juxtaposed elements. This distinction can provide an answer as to which elements respondents value the most and which elements they actually consider to be "liberal." In other words, while we designed the questionnaire with a clear conceptual approach in mind, PALS allows for the operationalisation of very different concepts within the realm of liberalism and even beyond. Moreover, our approach is very well suited to measure the aforementioned variations between contemporary societies.

Table 1 lists the main elements of the liberal script, how they are assigned to spheres, and provides information on their operationalisation in the questionnaire.[4]

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4   More information on actual measurement can be found in later sections as well as in the master questionnaire (Appendix I).

Table 1: Elements of the liberal script

Sphere	Measurement
Core Sphere	
Individual self-determination	(1) Tension between individual freedom and collective values. (2) Which groups and institutions have the right to restrict individual freedom? (3) Individual understanding of self-determination and what is necessary to live freely.
Political Sphere	
Popular sovereignty	Citizens decisive for policy making vs the influence of other actors.
Rule of law	(1) Horizontal accountability. (2) Rule of law. (3) Universality of human rights.
Economic Sphere	
Market economy	(1) Private vs state ownership. (2) Economic competition.
Principle of merit	Meritocracy decisive for wealth and success.
Socio-Cultural Sphere	
Tolerance	Tolerance for all individuals vs majority decision on what is accepted.
Progress	Focus on moral and economic progress as well as future generations vs superiority of traditions.
Rationality	(1) Modes of knowledge generation. (2) Role and relevance of science.

Going beyond the abstract acceptance of the specific elements of the liberal script, we focus on four issues that highlight inherent tensions between different elements of the liberal script and point to common critiques (Zürn/Gerschewski 2021: 6). These broad issues constitute less abstract and more day-to-day life topics which allow researchers to relate the elements of the liberal script presented in Table 1 to more specific topics and situations.

The first issue is national borders as a focal point of societal challenges in the age of globalisation. Here, the principle of individual self-determination, expressed in the rights of citizens to move beyond borders –including taking refuge in another country – is fundamentally in tension with the right to collective self-determination in the form of states being able to control their borders as they see fit (Drewski/Gerhards 2020). The second issue is the international order and the formation of international institutions and global governance structures, which pose questions about the adequate level for political decision-making and whether the sovereignty of states can be infringed upon by international authorities (Zürn 2018). The third issue is the (re-)allocation of resources and life opportunities, which responds to one of the central critiques of the liberal script. Such critiques often argue that the liberal script is unable to prevent unfair or, at least, immense levels of inequality and thus undermines the ideal of equal opportunity (Piketty 2020). Moreover, debates within liberal theory about the role of the state in interfering in the market economy, for example, by providing resources for individuals or ensuring equal representation in leadership positions as well as considerable variation in liberal societies concerning the role of the state in this regard, point to ambiguity of the liberal

Table 2: Modules of PALS

Liberal Script	Covariates and political behaviour	
MODULE A: ACCEPTANCE OF THE LIBERAL SCRIPT I: INDIVIDUAL SELF-DETERMINATION *A01 | Self-determination* *A02 | Restrictions of freedom* *A03 | Live freely*	**MODULE D: POLITICAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES** *D01 | Challenges* *D02 | Satisfaction* *D03 | Political and social evaluations* *D04 | Deprivation* *D05 | Subjective identity* *D06 | Postmaterialism* *D07 | Right-Wing Authoritarianism* *D08 | Globalization* *D09 | Freedom vs. Security Trade-offs*	**MODULE F: SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS** *F01 | Gender* *F02 | Year of birth* *F03 | Education* *F04 | Years of schooling* *F05 | Employment status* *F06 | Retired: Prior employment status* *F07 | Housework: Prior employment status* *F08 | In education: Prior employment status* *F09 | Unemployed: Prior employment status*
MODULE B: ACCEPTANCE OF THE LIBERAL SCRIPT II: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ELEMENTS *B01 | Collective self-determination* *B02 | Rule of law* *B03 | Market economy* *B04 | Progress: Change vs. tradition* *B05 | Rationality* *B06 | Tolerance: Equal acceptance* *B07 | Conjoint Task 1: Preferred country* *B08 | Conjoint Task 2: Preferred country* *B09 | Conjoint Task 2: More liberal country*	**MODULE E: VOTING BEHAVIOR** *E01 | Electoral participation (last election)* *E02 | Vote choice (last election)* *E03 | Vote intention*	*F10 | Permanently sick or disabled: Prior employment status* *F11 | Internet usage* *F12 | Citizenship: Surveyed country, at birth* *F13 | Citizenship: Which other country, at birth* *F14 | Citizenship: Surveyed country, today* *F15 | Country of birth: Surveyed country* *F16 | Country of birth: Which other country* *F17 | Country of birth: Parents* *F18 | Religious denomination* *F19 | Religious practices*
MODULE C: THE LIBERAL SCRIPT IN PRACTICE: APPLICATIONS AND CONTESTATIONS *C01 | Borders* *C02 | Level of decision-making* *C03 | Interventions* *C04 | Public good provisions* *C05 | Scarce jobs* *C06 | Leadership positions* *C07 | Generational conflict* *C08 | Temporality*		*F20 | Residential environment* *F21 | Region of living* *F22 | Household size* *F23 | Household size: Persons <15 years* *F24 | Children (yes/no)* *F25 | Ownership* *F26 | Household income*

script in this aspect (Esping-Andersen 1990). The fourth issue is the temporality of society, that is, societal perceptions of time and the future, which play an important role in how societies approach the challenge of climate change. Whether current generations should consider the fates of future generations when making societal decisions relates to a question within the liberal script. Lastly, as these four issues do not include all possible challenges to contemporary societies and the liberal script, we also focus on what respondents themselves perceive as fundamental challenges of this time.

Measuring the acceptance of the liberal script in a more abstract and situational way can help us better evaluate how much it is supported and rejected globally. In addition to differences between countries and contextual factors, we expect the level of acceptance of the liberal script to differ substantially between individuals and across social groups. For this purpose, we focus on concepts used in survey research that speak to different contestations of the liberal script, including values and attitudes and demographic features (Zetterberg 1966; see also Burgess 2018;

Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik/Warner 2018; Hoffmeyer-Zlot-nik/Wolf 2003.)

Data on values and attitudes include data on post-materialism (Inglehart 1971), right-wing authoritarianism (Adorno et al. 1950; see also Bizumic/Duckitt 2018 for the used short RWA scale), or subjective deprivation (Smith et al. 2012; Townsend 1987). We also look at topics such as globalisation, protection of privacy, or anti-elitist attitudes. To relate respondents' values to their behaviour, we also include questions on voting behaviour and party preferences. Data on demographics include data on education, economic resources, migration background, urbanity, and religiosity.

We clustered the thematic parts of the questionnaire in modules of which Table 2 provides an overview.

3   IMPLEMENTATION

Conducting a comparative survey in many countries around the world to measure citizen attitudes toward liberal values was part of the SCRIPTS research proposal. After approval of the proposal, a research group was established to implement the survey.[5] This group was supported by an advisory council, which regularly monitored the progress of the project and was involved in decision-making processes, such as the final selection of countries or determining the content of the master questionnaire.[6] Members of SCRIPTS provided extensive input based on their country- and region-specific knowledge. Moreover, various international experts were consulted to discuss the methodological challenges of such a large project

– especially in surveying such heterogenous countries all over the world. By means of a public invitation to tender, a survey company – Gallup International – was selected. The company oversaw translations, scripting, and data collection, as well as all kinds of pre-tests (detailed in Subsections 3.1 and 3.2). The survey team, as well as Gallup International, worked intensely with local partners in various countries.

3.1   COUNTRY SELECTION, SAMPLING, AND MODE

The survey aimed to measure attitudes towards the liberal script from a global perspective. Therefore, the set of surveyed countries had to cover all regions of the world and, within each region, cover variations in economic and political conditions. Our country selection followed in two steps.

In the first step, we selected 13 countries to ensure variance on three dimensions: (a) geographical region (distinguishing between Africa, the Americas, Asia (including Oceania), and Europe, following the UN classification); (b) Varieties of Democracy's (V-Dem) Electoral Democracy Index (Coppedge et al. 2016, 2022); (c) a combination of the Human Development Index and the Gini coefficient which adds information on the status of societal development and core socio-economic issues. We restricted our set of countries to those with at least one million inhabitants and for which we had valid empirical data on all three dimensions. This process left us with 142 countries. We then made use of the logic of experimental research to generate strata. A fully crossed design would produce 16 strata ($4*2^2 = 16$) (i.e. a two-by-two table for each geographic region). Using tools from fractional factorial designs, we could generate 13 strata that varied over these three dimensions, which represents an efficient design (see Appendix II). We then purposively selected one country within each of these strata based on feasibility and geopolitical relevance of the countries.

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5   The group consists of Heiko Giebler, Lukas Antoine, and Rasmus Ollroge.

6   The members of the advisory council are Marianne Braig, Jürgen Gerhards, Johannes Giesecke, Macartan Humphreys, Slava Jankin, and Michael Zürn.

Figure 1: Selected countries
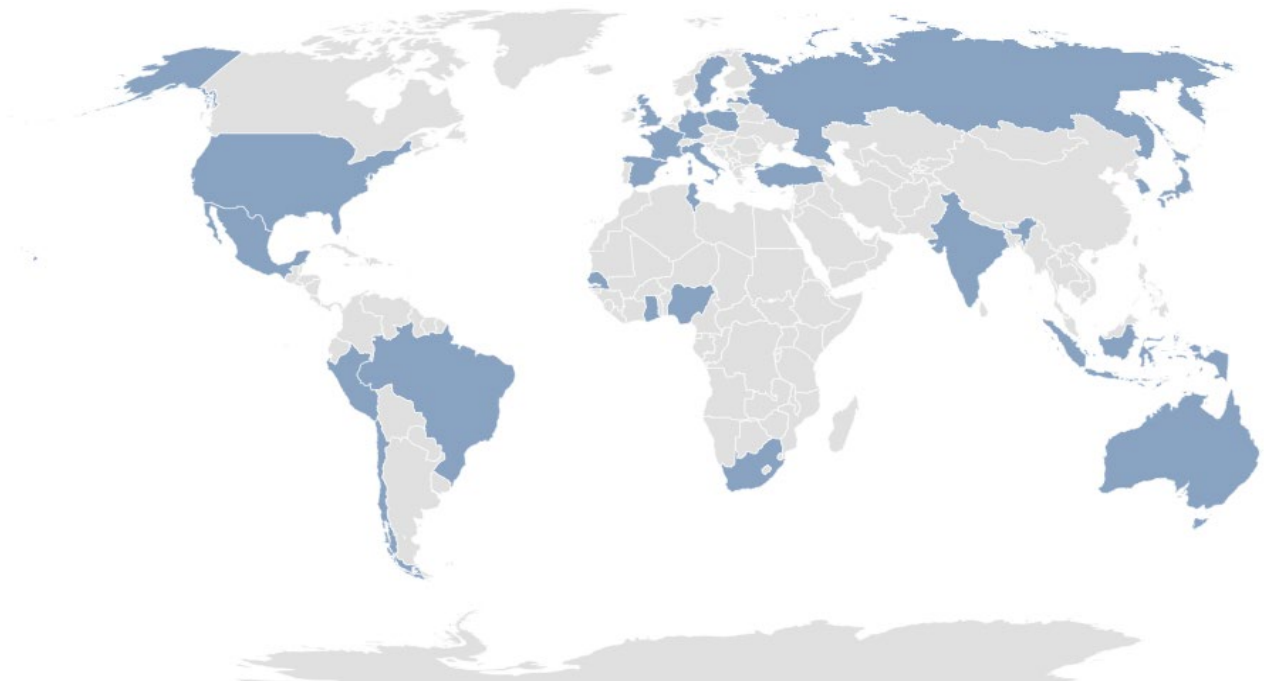
Region	No of countries in PALS	Countries selected
Africa	5	Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tunisia
Americas	5	Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, USA
Asia and Oceania	7	Australia, India, Indonesia, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Turkey
Europe	9	France, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Russia, Spain, Sweden, UK
Total	26	

In the second step, we added a group of 13 additional countries. For these, the rationale was (a) to select cases that have appeared prominently in existing literature or are of special geopolitical relevance and (b) to oversample from the group of more liberal countries to assess the support or rejection of the liberal script within more liberal societies. Figure 1 shows the 26 selected countries.[7]

The survey was implemented using a mixed-mode design. In 19 out of the 26 countries, data was collected via computer-assisted web interviews

(CAWI) with respondents recruited from pre-existing online-access panels. Internet coverage has increased in many countries over the past decades to the point where over 90% of the population has access to the Internet. In parallel, infrastructure for survey and market research in the form of large-scale online-access panels has emerged in many countries around the globe. These developments have led to online surveys being an increasingly reliable tool for fast, timely, and relatively low-cost data collection that still produces high-quality data (Callegaro et al. 2014). Moreover, getting representative samples using probability sampling (either via phone or personal interviews) suffers more and more from respondents' unwillingness to participate (Olson et al. 2020). Nevertheless, in countries where Internet

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7   Originally, Morocco was among the 26 selected countries. However, during the fieldwork phase, the Moroccan government withdrew the official permission to conduct the survey in the country. As a result, Tunisia was added to the country set as a substitute for Morocco.

coverage and infrastructure of online access panels were not sufficient, we opted for traditional face-to-face data collection via computer-assisted personal interviews (CAPI).[8]

Permanent residents aged 18 or older living in private households – regardless of nationality – were the target population in all countries. In CAWI countries, samples are quota-based according to age, gender, education, region of living, and degree of urbanity. The quotas are based on population statistics of the "offline population" (resident population aged 18 and over). Respondents received a small incentive for participation assigned by the survey company. In CAPI countries, random probability samples were drawn. The samples are stratified by region of living and degree of urbanity.[9] Within each stratum, several sampling points were randomly selected. From each sampling point, households were selected via a "random-walk procedure." Sampling points and households were chosen proportionate to the population. Within selected households, interviewees were selected by the "next birthday rule". For more details concerning mode and sampling design, see section 2.1 of the PALS Study Report.

3.2 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN, PRE-TESTING, AND FIELDWORK

All items that measure attitudes use questions that ask respondents to place themselves on six-point Likert scales.[10] The scale endpoints represent opposing views. In some cases, the end poles of the scale were labelled with opposing statements, while in other cases, a single statement was presented to the respondents in the question, and the endpoints were labelled with "Fully disagree" and "Fully agree." Items in the socio-demographic module had nominal and ordinal answering scales corresponding to the content of the item.

For all items in the questionnaire, respondents were presented with the answering options "Don't know" and "I prefer not to say." The only items where respondents were required to give a substantive answer were items used for the quota sampling in the CAWI questionnaires, namely gender, year of birth, education, region of living, and locality.[11] The CAPI questionnaire allowed non-substantive answers on these items, as they were not needed for the sampling in the CAPI countries. In the CAWI questionnaire, questions were presented to the respondents on separate pages of the questionnaire, except for some item batteries, where items had identical scales, which were presented in a matrix format on a single page.

Some aspects of ordering items in the questionnaire were randomised between respondents. First, the overall order of the questionnaire modules (see Table 2) was randomised, such that the position of module C (items related to the liberal script in practice: applications and contestations) and module D (political values and attitudes) were randomly assigned to respondents in order to control for respondent-fatigue, which could potentially affect the answers to items placed later in the questionnaire. Second, the order of items within item batteries was randomised to prevent any ordering effects.

The English master questionnaire was translated by the survey company using two professional

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8   Since it is difficult to administer more complex survey items (e.g. experiments) via telephone interviews, we opted for the use of CAPI and CAWI interviews only.

9   In Ghana, Senegal, South Africa, and Tunisia, all regions of the respective countries were covered by the sampling frame. In India, Nigeria, and Peru, some regions were excluded from the sampling frame for feasibility reasons, e.g. security issues.

10   The only exceptions were items C02 and D06, in which respondents were asked to select up to two out of four answer options.

11   Respondents who did not want to answer the quota questions, as well as respondents whose responses fell outside of the sampling frame (e.g. being too young) or who fell into categories for which the quotas had already been filled, were screened out.

translators with native speaker equivalency in each language. Translators worked independently from each other on each translation. A third person was used to decide if there were conflicts between the two translations. For languages spoken in multiple surveyed countries (English, Spanish, French, and Russian), the translated questionnaires were nevertheless "localised" for each country to make the language as accessible to the respective population as possible. Finally, questionnaires were evaluated by researchers with contextual and language knowledge. For more details concerning the translation process, see section 2.4 of the PALS Study Report.

The questionnaire underwent a pre-testing phase consisting of cognitive interviews and pilot studies in Chile, Germany, Japan, and Nigeria. The rationale for selecting these four countries for the pre-tests was to test the questionnaire in countries from all four sampled world regions and across different political and cultural contexts. We also wanted to test the implementation of the survey across countries with different quality levels of survey infrastructure, different modes, and different sampling designs. The cognitive interviews were conducted with the goal of better understanding respondents' perceptions of the length of the questionnaire, as well as the performance of individual items, to optimise respondents' understanding and experience of the questionnaire (see Farrall et al. 2012). In each country, six in-depth interviews were conducted with respondents with varying combinations of characteristics concerning age, gender, education, locality, and interest in politics. Each respondent filled out the questionnaire, followed by an in-depth interview on general perceptions of the questionnaire and problems with understanding specific items. The general feedback from the interviews was positive: Most items were well-understood by the respondents, the topic was of interest to them, and the duration of the questionnaire was perceived as acceptable. Yet the wording of

several items was revised based on feedback from the interviews to make the meaning easier to understand.

After adapting the questionnaire, pilot studies were conducted using the same sampling strategy as planned for the main fieldwork (quota samples and CAWI in Chile, Germany, and Japan; probability sample and CAPI in Nigeria). The fieldwork for the pilots took place in September and October of 2021. We collected 1,000 interviews in each of the three CAWI countries and 500 interviews in Nigeria. The data from the pilot studies were analysed to identify problems concerning the questionnaire as well as the overall implementation of the survey. This analysis led to minor changes to the questionnaire. While most items that were newly constructed for use in PALS functioned well, some had to be excluded, as responses indicated that respondents did not fully understand the meaning. Concerning the implementation of the survey, the collected data performed reasonably well compared to benchmarks of official statistics on socio-demographics and voting behaviour. For more details concerning questionnaire development and pre-testing, see section 2.3 of the PALS Study Report.

The main fieldwork started in the CAWI countries in December 2021 and lasted between four and six weeks per country. While the progress of the fieldwork was constantly monitored during the whole fieldwork period via an online platform, several additional quality controls were enacted at specific points of the fieldwork. First, after 1,000 interviews were completed across countries, a preliminary dataset was checked to validate the correct implementation of the questionnaires. Second, after reaching 75% of the targeted interviews per country, each country dataset was thoroughly rechecked to potentially identify and correct any country-specific issues. In addition, this step was used to calculate the threshold for identifying and excluding "speeders" (Greszki et al. 2015). As

Figure 2: Schedule of pretests and fieldwork
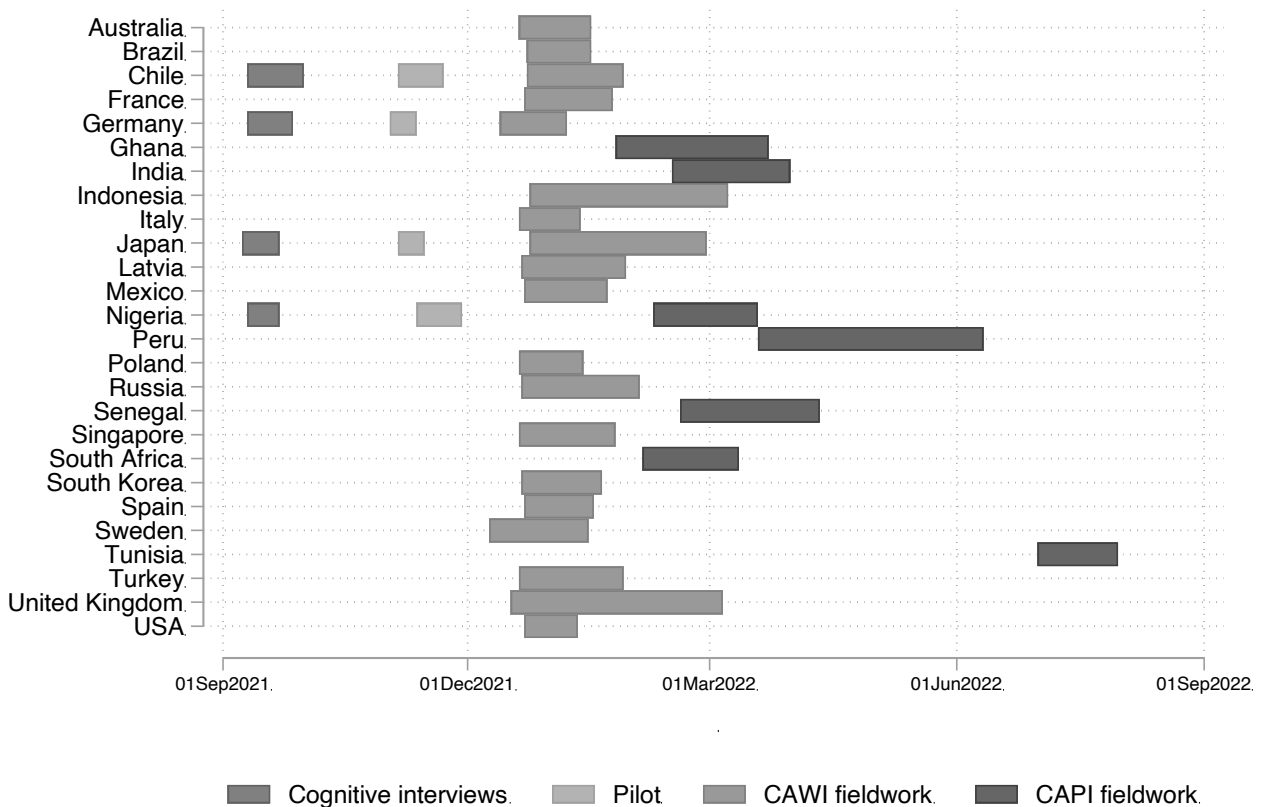
we explain in more detail in Section 4, interviews with an overall duration below 50% of the median duration of each country and, if applicable, the language version were considered too short and, therefore, excluded. In addition, we excluded interviews that gave too many non-substantive responses (respondents answering "I prefer not to say" or "Don't know" 60 times or more).[12] This exclusion was implemented when 75% of the data had been collected to allow quota targets to be replaced. A slight oversampling per country allowed us to also exclude invalid interviews after finishing fieldwork.

The fieldwork period for the CAPI countries lasted from January to April 2022 and took six to ten weeks to complete all interviews. After the first 1,000 interviews, fieldwork was closely monitored

to ensure reaching the sample targets. A substantial proportion of interviewees were called up after the interview by local supervisors to ensure that the interview took place as reported. Since speeding is considered less of a problem in CAPI surveys, we only set a general minimum threshold of 15 minutes for an interview to last and made the local administrators back-check all interviews that lasted 15 to 20 minutes. The collection of geocodes, which was permitted in most countries, also allowed us to validate the location of the interviews.[13]

Figure 2 provides a more detailed overview of the schedule of the data collection efforts. Except for differences due to the data collection mode,

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12   The total number of items shown to respondents slightly varied between 115 and 120 due to filtering.

13   We collected metadata and background information to measure interview quality and interview conditions, such as time spent on answering specific questions, overall duration, the device used (CAWI), or interview situation (CAPI). This information might also be used for substantial and methodological research, but data protection issues apply.

cognitive interviews, pilot surveys, and the main fieldwork overlap as much as possible in different countries. We see this compressed schedule as an advantage over other comparative public opinion studies where data collection often takes place over a period of years.

4 DESCRIPTION OF THE DATASET

In this section, we provide additional information on the dataset, its contents as well as on how to access it. This information should give users an easy approach to obtaining data for their own research.

4.1 NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS AND QUOTA FULFILLMENT

Table 3 gives an overview of the countries included, details for each country, the mode, the languages in which the questionnaire was delivered, the fieldwork period, the number of contacts, the response rate, and the number of observations in the dataset. For CAWI countries, the number of contacts refers to the total number of panel members that received an invitation to participate in the survey and thus includes persons screened out for eligibility reasons because their quota was already filled and persons that did not complete the questionnaire. For CAPI countries, the number of contacts refers to the total number of households contacted and thus includes households or individuals within households that chose not to participate in the survey, households that did not respond to four contact attempts, and interviews that were not completed. For both modes, the response rate is calculated by dividing the number of completed interviews (including those that were subsequently deleted for quality reasons) by the total number of contacts according to AAPOR's (2016) standard definition. The figures reflect what we already know from previous research on surveys; the response rate for

face-to-face interviews (CAPI) is higher (56.47%) than the CAWI mode (39.59%). All in all, the rates do not show problematic levels or patterns. Finally, the column "Observations" refers to the number of responses in the dataset for a specific country after excluding interviews deemed invalid due to quality concerns.

4.2 VARIABLES

The dataset includes variables depicting respondents' answers to the questionnaire as well as variables containing administrative information. The names of non-administrative variables are capitalised while names of administrative variables are not capitalised. Administrative variables include the unique respondent identifier, the name of the country as well as alphabetic and numeric country codes from the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), the language and mode of the interview, the start and end dates and times of the interview, the device used for conducting the interview, quota variables, weighting variables, and a duration variable. Additional administrative variables can be found in an auxiliary dataset that can be merged with the main dataset using the unique respondent identifier. The auxiliary dataset contains, for example, information on the CAPI sampling, randomisation processes, and timestamps.

4.3 CODING OF MISSING VALUES

For all variables in the dataset, the digit "9" is added to the code for missing answers so that its value is larger than the range of valid values per variable. For example, the code for "I prefer not to say" always ends with 98 and, depending on the range of valid answers of each variable, can consist of additional digits (e.g. 998, 9998…). There are four types of missing value codes:

– "Not applicable" is coded with the ending 96. "Not applicable" refers to instances when

Table 3: Overview by country

Country	Mode	Languages	Fieldwork period (DD.MM.YY)	Number of contacts	Response rate	Observations
Australia	CAWI	English	20.12.21–16.01.22	5,933	35.72%	2,032
Brazil	CAWI	Portuguese	23.12.21–16.01.22	5,109	43.86%	2,110
Chile	CAWI	Spanish	23.12.21–28.01.22	4,144	52.63%	2,005
France	CAWI	French	22.12.21–24.01.22	4,718	45.04%	2,001
Germany	CAWI	German	13.12.21–07.01.22	5,205	41.33%	2,020
Ghana	CAPI	Akan, English	25.01.22–23.03.22	3,424	58.41%	2,000
India	CAPI	Hindi, Telegu, Assamese, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Tamil, Bengali, English	15.02.22–31.03.22	4,844	58.26%	2,822
Indonesia	CAWI	Indonesian, Javanese	24.12.21–08.03.22	4,845	44.64%	2,001
Italy	CAWI	Italian	20.12.21–12.01.22	5,927	36.90%	2,119
Japan	CAWI	Japanese	24.12.21–28.02.22	6,357	33.90%	2,000
Latvia	CAWI	Latvian, Russian	21.12.21–29.01.22	4,348	50.25%	2,100
Mexico	CAWI	Spanish	22.12.21–22.01.22	4,647	48.78%	2,160
Nigeria	CAPI	English, Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba	08.02.22–19.03.22	3,808	52.52%	2,000
Peru	CAPI	Spanish, Quechua	19.03.22–11.06.22	3,697	54.83%	2,018
Poland	CAWI	Polish	20.12.21–13.01.22	5,344	39.84%	2,037
Russia	CAWI	Russian	21.12.21–03.02.22	5,854	38.32%	2,143
Senegal	CAPI	French, Wolof	18.02.22–11.04.22	3,290	60.79%	1,996
Singapore	CAWI	English, Malay, Mandarin	20.12.21–25.01.22	6,357	32.50%	2,010
South Africa	CAPI	Afrikaans, Xhosa, English, Zulu	04.02.22–12.03.22	4,372	46.43%	2,030
South Korea	CAWI	Korean	21.12.21–20.01.22	6,703	31.75%	2,084
Spain	CAWI	Catalan, Spanish	22.12.21–17.01.22	4,905	44.06%	2,114
Sweden	CAWI	Swedish	09.12.21–15.01.22	6,683	32.68%	2,090
Tunisia	CAPI	Arabic	01.07.22–31.07.22	2,985	68.38%	2,012
Turkey	CAWI	Turkish	20.12.21–28.01.22	4,341	51.03%	2,016
United Kingdom	CAWI	English	17.12.21–06.03.22	6,618	32.90%	2,007
USA	CAWI	English, Spanish	22.12.21–11.01.22	6,113	35.33%	2,033
Total observations in dataset						53,960

the missing value is not due to the respondent's answer but the nature of the variable, for example, not affected cases on metadata variables specific to one of the modes or filtered-out cases on items with a filter.

– "Other" is coded with the ending 97.

– "I prefer not to say" is coded with the ending 98.

– "Don't know" is coded with the ending 99.

Figure 3: Items with the most missing values
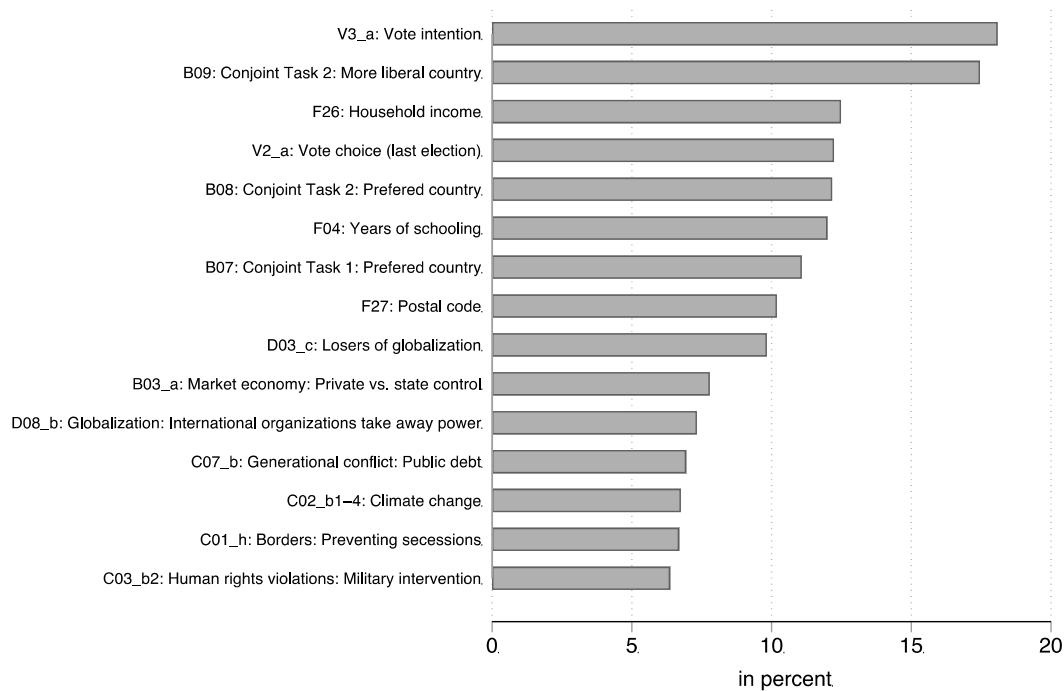
For items where respondents were able to select multiple answers, invalid answer categories are coded into separate variables that have the same name as the main variable and end with "_REF" ("I prefer not to say"), "_DK" ("Don't know"), or "_none" ("None of the above"). While cognitive interviews and the pilot studies already suggested no problematic questionnaire items – neither regarding complexity nor in regard to sensitive topics – actual fieldwork can reveal surprises. Hence, we had a look at the proportion of missing values. Figure 3 presents an overview of those survey items with the highest number of missing values. First and foremost, the proportion of missing values is rather low for most items. Furthermore, we see that larger proportions correspond to items for which missing values are more often expected. These items represent more complex tasks like reading a conjoint table and evaluating the profiles or questions on somewhat sensitive topics – like voting or income. All in all, there is no indication, based on the main data collection effort, that there are any issues with the questionnaire.

4.4 WEIGHTS

The dataset contains two sets of weights, one consisting of poststratification weights and the other of weights to adjust the sizes of the country samples. As countries were selected purposively we do not include contry level sampling weights. All weights were constructed for each country separately using iterative proportional fitting (raking) with a lower threshold of .2, an upper threshold of 5, and a mean of 1.

1) The poststratification weights aim to adjust the sample distributions to known characteristics of the within country target population to increase the representativeness of the samples. Three post-stratification weights are included that differ slightly in their construction:

– For the first weight (w1a), the country samples are weighted to fit official population distributions on gender and age (interlocked), education, subjective residential environment, and region of residence. The same procedure

is applied to CAWI and CAPI countries, ignoring the different sampling strategies for the two modes.

- The second poststratification weight (w1b) considers the different sampling strategies for CAWI and CAPI. For the CAWI countries, the weight is constructed identically to w1a. For the CAPI countries, an objective residential environment classification based on the sampling point classification from the sampling frame is used instead of the respondents' subjective evaluation of their residential environment. Additionally, the objective residential environment is interlocked with the region where the respondents live.

- The third poststratification weight (w2) is constructed similarly to w1a and thus identical for both modes. The difference to w1a lies in the omission of the subjective residential environment variable from the target profile, as the respondents' subjective assessment of their residential environment might differ from the objective classification taken from population statistics.

2) The population weights aim to adjust the sampling sizes of the countries:

- The first population weight (w3) adjusts the sample sizes to the relative size of the country population to the total population of all countries included in the survey. This type of weight is common for international comparative surveys and is used to adjust the results of the whole-survey averages.

- The second population weight (w4) adjusts sample sizes to an equal number of respondents.

Efforts to ensure representativeness, regardless of whether we follow a probability-sampling approach or apply quotas, are never fully successful. One way to evaluate the representativeness of a sample is by looking at the post-stratification weights. Figure 4 shows the distribution of weighted values (w1b) for each country. There are differences between countries and, most importantly, between modes, with CAPI countries showing a wider distribution. This occurrence is not only expected but also the case in other comparative survey projects – meaning that probability samples imperfectly represent the actual population. Even still, we believe that none of the country-specific figures indicate unusually large problems.

4.5   DATA ACCESS

The dataset and associated documentation will be available through Freie Universität's data repository "Refubium" (Giebler et al. 2023) as well as through a website created specifically for the PALS project.[14] The dataset will be available to the public in May 2024 after an embargo, during which SCRIPTS researchers will have first access to the data. Due to the broad scope of the questionnaire and the objective that as many researchers as possible can to work with the data set, it is our priority to make merging the PALS dataset with other data sets as easy as possible. The adding of country indicators is possible via the country codes (ISO 3166-1 alpha-3 and ISO 3166-1 numeric) and information on party preferences can be added from party datasets such as MARPOR, V-Dem Party, or Global Party Survey via the Partyfacts ID (Döring/Regel 2019).

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14   Freie Universität's data repository "Refubium": http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/refubium-41265. PALS website: www.pals-scripts.eu.

Figure 4: Weight distribution by country
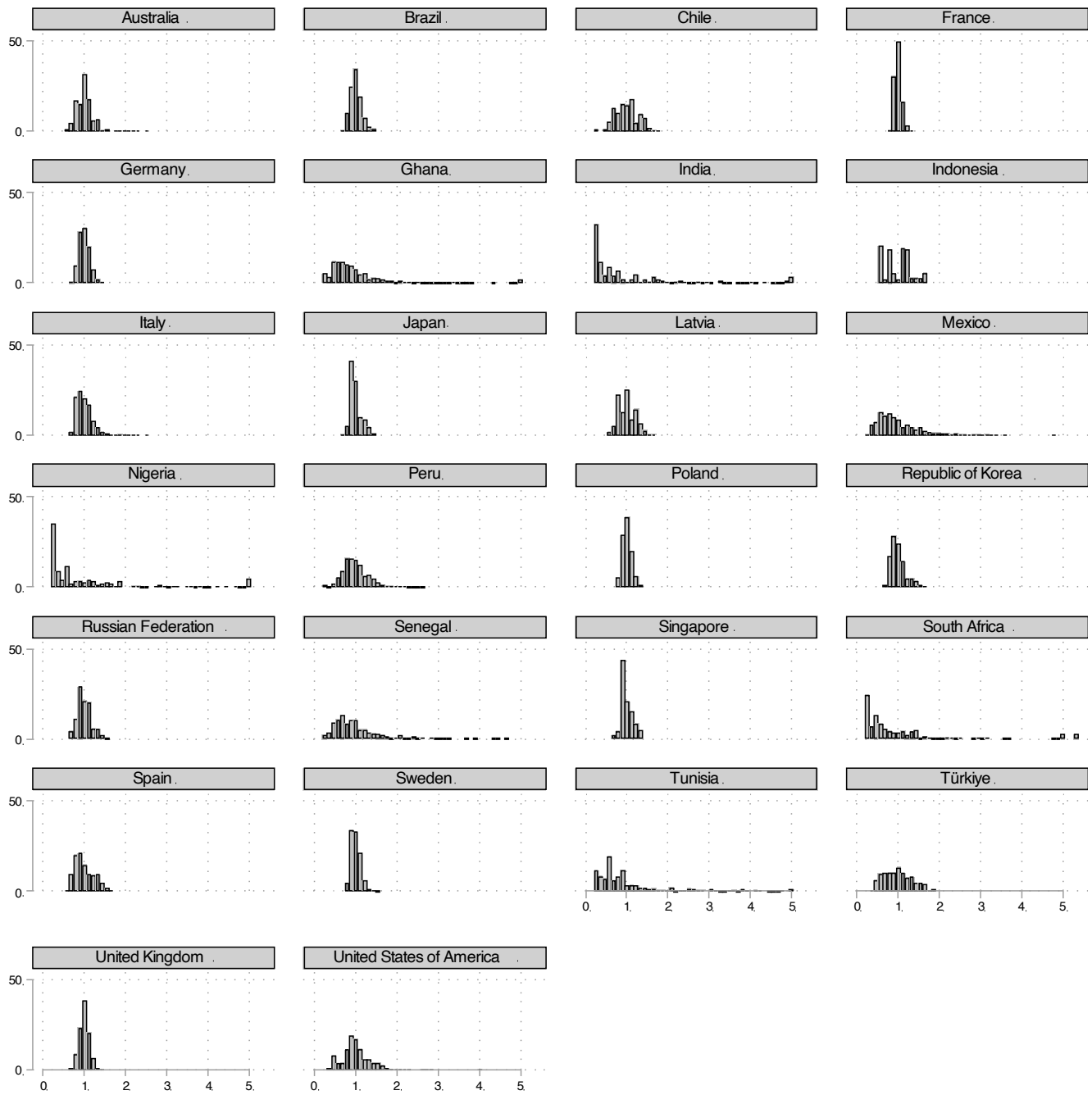
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APPENDIX I: MASTER QUESTIONNAIRE

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

A03 | Live freely

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: Prefered 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
Dimension 1	Realized treatment level	Realized treatment level
…	…	…

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: Prefered 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 supra-national 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 erveryone.

(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 of.

(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.

	Level 1	*Level 2*
Treatment dimension GOVERNMENT	*increase monitoring of public places with cameras*	*monitor the telephone calls and Internet activities of everyone without judicial warrant*
Treatment dimension EXPERTS	*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.

	Level 1	Level 2
Treatment dimension GOVERNMENT	*collect more data to better understand the course of disease of cancer patients*	*monitor the medical records of everyone*
Treatment dimension EXPERTS	*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.

	Level 1	Level 2
Treatment dimension GOVERNMENT	*increase penalties for not reporting all income and earnings to the authorities*	*monitor the bank account activities of everyone*
Treatment dimension EXPERTS	*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) 45

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-speific 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.

APPENDIX II: COUNTRY SELECTION

Using tools from fractional factorial designs, we could generate 13 strata, which represents an efficient design. This means that the grey-shaded combinations are not needed. We then purposively selected at least one country within each of these strata based on feasibility and geopolitical relevance of the countries.

AFRICA

		Political Dimension	
		more autocratic	more democratic
Socio-economic Dimension	bad conditions		Nigeria, Senegal
	good conditions	*Morocco**	South Africa, Ghana, *Tunisia**

* Originally, Morocco was among the 26 selected countries. However, during the fieldwork phase, the Moroccan government withdrew the official permission to conduct the survey in the country. It was not feasible to conduct fieldwork in any other country of the same stratum as Morocco nor of the grey-shaded stratum in Africa. As a result, Tunisia was added to the country set as a substitute for Morocco even though this results in no longer fulfilling the efficient design.

AMERICAS

		Political Dimension	
		more autocratic	more democratic
Socio-economic Dimension	bad conditions	Brazil	Mexico, Peru
	good conditions		USA, Chile

ASIA

		Political Dimension	
		more autocratic	more democratic
Socio-economic Dimension	bad conditions		India, Indonesia
	good conditions	Singapore, Turkey	Australia, Japan, South Korea

EUROPE

		Political Dimension	
		more autocratic	more democratic
Socio-economic Dimension	bad conditions	Russia	Italy, Latvia
	good conditions	Poland	France, Germany, Spain, Sweden, UK

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