

ESS Round 10

Rotating module:
Europeans' understandings and evaluations of
democracy

Module documentation – Final module

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1 Europeans' understandings and evaluations of democracy

There are four major changes in European democracies that call for a repeat module on democracy: 1) New political forces have come to 'storm the democratic stage'; 2) Referendums – the essential instrument of direct democracy – have troubled both the European democracies and the European Union; 3) For many Europeans, the European Union has become the 'enemy'; and 4) A generation of 'outraged' youth has appeared in Europe, as a consequence of the several crises that have affected European democracies. The European Social Survey is best placed to measure these changes and their implications for European democracy. The first rotating module was fielded in the midst of one of the worst global economic crises, with severe consequences for European democracies (amongst which those we mention above). The repeat module is scheduled in 2020/1, a perfect time span to assess the direction in which democracies are moving following the economic crisis of the early 2010s. By measuring changes in Europeans' attitudes to democracy within and across countries, the ESS will address one of the most crucial themes of today.

1.1 DIRECT MODEL OF DEMOCRACY

1.1.1 Participation (REPEAT)

According to Morlino, participation is “the entire set of behaviours, be they conventional or unconventional, legal or borderline vis-à-vis legality, that allows women and men, as individuals or group, to create, revive or strengthen a group identification or try to influence the recruitment of and decisions by political authorities (the representative and/ or governmental ones) in order to maintain or change the allocation of existing values.” (Morlino 2009: 39). Participation refers, therefore, to the citizens' capacity and possibilities to take part in a democracy. For Dahl (1989, 2000: 37), effective participation is one of five criteria to be fulfilled by democracies: ‘Before a policy is adopted...., all the members must have equal and effective opportunities for making their views known to the other members as to what the policy should be’. ‘Inclusion of all adults’ is another one of these criteria for Dahl (1989, 2000: 38): ‘All, or at any rate most, adult permanent residents should have the full rights of citizens that are implied by the first four criteria’.

Participation refers to the existing possibilities of any citizen/resident to effectively influence the government or the policy making and may entail different forms. We ask in the ESS about referenda.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts:

The concept of participation is expected to be negatively related to the concept of representation. Participation and representation are indeed the two poles of a continuum. On the one side, strong participation is equivalent to direct democracy, where everybody directly participates in the decision-making process. On the other side, in a strong representation system, there is little room for participation (except from the elections); once the government has been elected citizens cannot influence politics anymore. Accordingly, we expect that stronger preferences for participation are opposed to stronger preferences for representation. Nevertheless, it is possible that the two forms of democracy are perceived to be complementary, i.e. citizens may want both, strong representation and strong participation. ESS 6 data show that Europeans are generally favourable towards referenda (although differently across Europe), and that direct participation is not conceived in opposition to the liberal model of democracy. The concept of participation is also expected to be related to the concept of responsiveness.

1.1.1.1 Participation – Forms of participation (REPEAT)

There are different, more or less demanding forms of participation in a democracy. The least demanding is probably the vote. Other, more demanding forms include participation in referenda, public deliberation or public assemblies. Because the elections are included in the competition dimension, the use of referenda (public consultations to include all citizens significantly affected by a policy question at local or national levels (Held 2006: 250)), are included.

Question item(s)

D5

FORPMEAN

STILL CARD 35

(IF NECESSARY: How important do you think it is for democracy in general...) **READ OUT...** that citizens have the final say on the most important political issues by voting on them directly in referendums?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

D17

FORPEVAL

STILL CARD 36

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent do you think each of the following statements applies in [country]?) **READ OUT** Citizens in [country] have the final say on the most important political issues by voting on them directly in referendums.

Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0
	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

1.2 LIBERAL MODEL OF DEMOCRACY

1.2.1 Competition (REPEAT)

Competition is a key attribute in any democracy (above all for minimalist theories of democracy). Elections must be competitive in order to be democratic. Competition guarantees that elections are free, open, and fair; and that the leaders are successfully replaced in the government. Competition is crucial, not merely as a defensive mechanism against Leviathan, but because it is a precondition for responsiveness – it obliges the elite to take into account the preferences of the voters.

Free and fair elections are the key institution in a democracy. However, some conditions must be fulfilled if elections are to be competitive (Bartolini 1999). We distinguish between the following sub concepts: ‘compet1.1. Free and fair elections’, and ‘compet1.2. Differentiated offer (decidability)’.

Bartolini (1999, 2000) discusses four concepts of political competition: contestability (open access to electoral contests), decidability (availability of distinctive political offers), availability (of the citizens public), and vulnerability (of incumbents). Decidability (‘differentiated offer’) refers to the availability of distinctive political offers. As long as the voters can only choose between more or less identical political programs, we cannot speak of political competition, even if the access to the political contest is open. In order to have a real choice, the parties competing in the elections need to offer the voters different political programs.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts:

A positive relationship is found between this concept and all other concepts of the liberal democracy scale.

1.2.1.1 Competition – Differentiated offer (REPEAT)

There must be enough parties so as to cover all the preferences of the citizens; parties should offer non-overlapping programs (see description of ‘competition’ for further details).

Question item(s)

D2

DIFOMEAN

STILL CARD 35

(IF NECESSARY: How important do you think it is for democracy in general...) **READ OUT...** that different political parties¹ offer clear alternatives to one another?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	

	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ Countries should refer to ‘candidates’ instead of or in addition to ‘political parties’ if this is more appropriate.

D14

DIFOEVAL

STILL CARD 36

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent do you think each of the following statements applies in [country]?) **READ OUT** Different political parties¹ in [country] offer clear alternatives to one another.

Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0
	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ Countries should refer to ‘candidates’ instead of or in addition to ‘political parties’ if this is more appropriate.

1.2.1.2 Competition – Free and fair elections (REPEAT)

The basic principle of any elections is that they are free and fair, that is, nobody is obliged to vote or constrained to vote for a party, he/she does not want to. All votes have the same weight. A single item is used to measure this sub concept.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts:

All sub concepts of competition are positively related.

Question item(s)

D1

ELECMEAN

Now some questions about democracy. Later on I will ask you about how democracy is working in [country]. First, however, I want you to think instead about how important you think different things

are for democracy in general. There are no right or wrong answers so please just tell me what you think.

CARD 35^{1,2}

Using this card, please tell me how important you think it is for democracy in general...**READ OUT**...that national elections³ are free and fair⁴?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ The full scale and the end labels **MUST** appear on the showcard.

² ‘Extremely’ in the sense of ‘an end point on the scale where nothing can go beyond it. This might also be represented by ‘completely’, ‘fully’, ‘absolutely’, ‘totally’, etc. This applies to all references to ‘extremely’ throughout this section.

³ ‘National elections’ refers to national elections for a country’s primary legislative assembly. Under no circumstances should the actual name of a national parliament be included in this question.

⁴ Both senses – ‘free and fair’ – **MUST** be expressed in all translations; this can be done by using one or two adjectives or by using an idiomatic expression, if this exists.

**D13
ELECEVAL**

Now some questions about the same topics, but this time about how you think democracy is working in [country] today. Again, there are no right or wrong answers, so please just tell me what you think.

CARD 36

Still using this card, please tell me to what extent you think each of the following statements applies in [country]. **READ OUT EACH STATEMENT**. National elections³ in [country] are free and fair⁴.

Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0
	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77

	Don't Know	88
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Translation notes:

- ¹ The full scale and the end labels MUST appear on the showcard.
- ² 'Extremely' in the sense of 'an end point on the scale where nothing can go beyond it. This might also be represented by 'completely', 'fully', 'absolutely', 'totally', etc. This applies to all references to 'extremely' throughout this section.
- ³ 'National elections' refers to national elections for a country's primary legislative assembly. Under no circumstances should the actual name of a national parliament be included in this question.
- ⁴ Both senses – 'free and fair' – MUST be expressed in all translations; this can be done by using one or two adjectives or by using an idiomatic expression, if this exists.

1.2.2 Freedom – Freedom of press (REPEAT)

Freedom refers to the whole set of rights and liberties available to the citizens in a given democracy (Morlino 2009). It ensures not only personal dignity, but also civil and political rights, which should be equal for everybody.

Civil rights above all are rights that protect an individual against infringements by the state. Historically, the most important aspects are the right to own property and the protection of private property against state power. Over time, the list of civil rights has grown and the protection and guarantee of these rights have become one of the minimal conditions for democratic regimes (e.g. freedom of opinion, freedom of association, freedom of information; see Merkel et al. 2003). One item is expected to operationalize the concept of freedom: Freedom of press (E5 and E21 in ESS 6).

Question item(s)

D3

MEDIMEAN

STILL CARD 35

(IF NECESSARY: How important do you think it is for democracy in general...) **READ OUT...** that the media are free to¹ criticise² the government?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

- ¹ 'Are free to' in the sense of 'are allowed to'.

² ‘Criticise’ in the sense of ‘contest’ or ‘dispute’ rather than ‘being able to disrupt’

D15
MEDIEVAL

STILL CARD 36

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent do you think each of the following statements applies in [country]?) **READ OUT** The media in [country] are free to¹ criticise² the government.

Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0
	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ ‘Are free to’ in the sense of ‘are allowed to’.

² ‘Criticise’ in the sense of ‘contest’ or ‘dispute’ rather than ‘being able to disrupt’

1.2.3 Multi-level democracy (EU) (NEW)

In a multi-level governance structure such as the EU we are likely to witness increasing tensions between the principles of responsiveness and responsibility, as Mair (2009) has observed. As representatives of the national citizen publics, governments are expected to be responsive and accountable to their voters; as responsible governments, they are expected to take into account the increasing numbers of principals constituted by the many veto players who now surround national governments in its multilevel institutional setting. In the case of EU countries, the most important of these veto players is the EU itself. This aspect of multilateral democracies should be apparent to citizens due to increasing powers of oversight that the EU enjoys over, for example, the budgetary policy of the member states. In any case, other multilateral institutions such as the IMF, the UN or the WTO also constrain national governments’ manoeuvring space.

The concept of multilevel democracy is restricted to a single dimension: in the European Union - as a multilevel democracy - member states have the duty to be responsible to the EU.

Question item(s)

D12
GOVEU

STILL CARD 35

(IF NECESSARY: How important do you think it is for democracy in general...) **READ OUT...** that key decisions are made by national governments rather than the European Union?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

D24
GVEUEVAL

STILL CARD 36

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent do you think each of the following statements applies in [country]?) **READ OUT** Key decisions in [country] are made by the national government rather than the European Union.

Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0
	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Notes:

This item is optional for countries that are not currently members of the European Union.

1.2.4 Representation (REPEAT)

The concept of representation makes reference to the translation of votes into policies that represent people's choices. It is the inclusion of citizens' preferences into the political arena (Bühlmann 2010). This classical definition of representation, however, is currently at stake. Indeed, although Western democracies have for a long time been called 'representative democracies', nowadays there is a debate on the function of representation in a democratic regime (Mair 2009). Some voices speak of a crisis of representation and the need to reform it or to replace it by a more participative form of democracy (Pitkin 2004).

Representation refers to the mechanisms through which the votes of the citizens are transformed into policies. Above all, it is a function of the transformation of votes into seats in parliament and government, i.e. of the composition of the two powers, and of the way they govern. There clearly are two visions of representation: a majoritarian and a proportional vision (Powell 2000). Each one of the two has its own advantages and disadvantages. According to the majoritarian vision, representation is more exclusive, according to the proportional vision it is more inclusive.

Representation requires two sub concepts to define it: the subjects of representation, and the type of electoral system. Depending on the features of these elements, we may talk about one representation or another.

reprst1. Subjects of representation: who is represented – the whole diversity of interests in a given society, or only certain interests?

reprst2. Type of electoral system: a crucial factor determining the diversity of representation is the electoral rules. Democracy is majority rule, but there are also rules to include minorities: there may be rules which guarantee a minimal representation for certain minorities, a proportional representation, or an overrepresentation of minorities (of which parity representation is a particularly conspicuous variant). There are two fundamental types of electoral systems which determine the type of representation in a democracy: proportional and majoritarian systems. The first one implies a better correspondence between votes and seats, while the second one facilitates governance, as it typically leads to one-party governments instead of government coalitions.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts:

A negative relationship is expected between majoritarian and/or more exclusive forms of representation, on the one hand, and more demanding forms of participation, on the other hand (see definition of participation for more details). By contrast, we expect a positive relationship between opportunities of effective participation and proportional and/or more inclusive forms of representations.

1.2.4.1 Representation – Subjects of representation (REPEAT)

Representation may refer to the whole population (including citizens and non-citizens) or to different groups. These are the subjects of representation. We operationalize the concept of subjects of representation by referring to protection of minority groups.

The protection of minority groups is a key aspect of consensus democracies, which are to be distinguished from majoritarian democracies (see Lijphart 1999). In addition to the protection of

minorities, we also introduce another key aspect of consensus democracies – the power sharing in coalition governments (see reprst2).

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts:

We expect a negative relationship between responsiveness to the will of the people and representation of minorities.

Question item(s)

D4

MINRMEAN

STILL CARD 35

(IF NECESSARY: How important do you think it is for democracy in general...) **READ OUT...** that the rights of minority groups are protected?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

D16

MINREVAL

STILL CARD 36

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent do you think each of the following statements applies in [country]?) **READ OUT** The rights of minority groups in [country] are protected.

Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0
	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

1.2.5 Rule of law (REPEAT)

Rule of law designates the independence, the primacy, and the absolute warrant of and by the law against the state. This requires the same prevalence of rights as well as formal and procedural justice for all individuals (Bühlmann 2010: 7). In the words of Morlino, Rule of law refers “not only to the enforcement of legal norms. It basically connotes the principle of supremacy of law, that is the Ciceronian *legum servi sumus*, and entails, at least, the capacity, even if limited, of authorities to enforce the law, and to have laws that are non-retroactive and in public knowledge universal, stable, predictable and unambiguous.” (Morlino 2009: 34). Rule of law ensures, then, that each individual respects the law, but also that he/she is protected against the abuses from the state or any other person.

The rule of law is the principle that the state is bound to the effective law and acts according to clearly defined prerogatives. The rule of law concerns contention and limitation of state power, but also puts limits to the acts of all individuals or groups, so that each particular individual is protected against arbitrary acts of the others. Four basic, interdependent characteristics are needed so that rule of law is effective, but we are able to measure only one due to space constraints.

All citizens are equally treated by the law, independently of their social, economic or political status. We expect this sub concept can be measured by a single item, about people’s equality before the law. The question refers to the key institution of the legal system – the courts. It would also have been possible to ask about equal treatment by the police, but the courts were given priority due to space limitations.

The principle of rule of law is transversal to all the other attributes of democracy, as the primacy of the law is required so that the other attributes can exist. It is the core element of democracy according to most Europeans in ESS 6.

Question item(s)

D6

ROLMEAN

STILL CARD 35^{1,2}

Still thinking generally rather than about [country], how important do you think it is for democracy in general...**READ OUT**...that the courts treat³ everyone the same⁴?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ The full scale and the end labels MUST appear on the showcard.

² ‘Extremely’ in the sense of ‘an end point on the scale where nothing can go beyond it. This might also be represented by ‘completely’, ‘fully’, ‘absolutely’, ‘totally’, etc. This applies to all references to ‘extremely’ throughout this section.

³ ‘Treat’ in the sense of ‘deal with’.

⁴ ‘The same’ in the sense of ‘exactly the same way in the same situation’.

D18 ROLEVAL

(STILL CARD 36)

Still using this card, please tell me to what extent you think each of the following statements applies in [country]. **READ OUT EACH STATEMENT.** The courts in [country] treat¹ everyone the same².

Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0
	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

1 ‘Treat’ in the sense of ‘deal with’.

2 ‘The same’ in the sense of ‘exactly the same way in the same situation.’

1.2.6 Vertical accountability – Retrospective accountability (REPEAT)

Vertical accountability is defined as the mechanism through which the people control their representatives. It refers to the obligation of incumbent governments to assume responsibility for their acts and to enable voters to respond with electoral sanctions, if the political output does not correspond to their preferences. Accountability combines an obligation of justification on the part of the representatives (they have to explain and justify their decisions to their voters) with the possibility of control on the part of the voters (they can sanction their representatives, if they do not deliver) (Papadopoulos 2007: 470). Another one of the five criteria for a democratic process according to Dahl (1989: 112) is the ‘criterion of enlightened understanding’: ‘Each citizen ought to have adequate and equal opportunities for discovering and validating (within the time permitted by the need for a decision) the choice on the matter to be decided that would best serve the citizen’s interests’. If the process of opinion formation is to lead to enlightened understanding, it presupposes transparency (open access to government information); accessibility to the relevant information about government policies (information about available options), the policy outputs, and the implications of these decisions (policy outcomes); clarity of responsibilities for the decisions taken; and critical evaluations from a diversity of viewpoints.

Vertical accountability relates to the citizens' control of the government. It is the process through which the citizens ensure that the government remains responsive. The term 'accountability' has no exact equivalent in other languages, such as French, Spanish, German, Dutch or Japanese, which do not distinguish semantically between 'responsibility' and 'accountability' (Bovens 2007). The English meaning of the term is twofold (Strom 2000: 267): an agent (e.g. the government) is accountable to his principal (e.g. the voter) if he is obliged to act on the latter's behalf, and the latter is empowered to reward or punish him for his performance in this capacity. Strom (2000: 267): 'Indeed, what makes democratic regimes democratic, is precisely that they contain mechanisms by which the people, the ultimate principals in democratic societies, can select and control their representatives'.

The most evident mechanism of vertical accountability is elections, which allow citizens to control the government. It is during the elections that the citizens can decide whether to vote for (to reward) or not (to punish) the actual government, depending on how they perceive it has been performing. More precisely, it is the regular repetition of elections which constitutes the crucial mechanism that allows voters to influence the decisions of those who govern, i.e. to incite their representatives to be responsive and to hold them accountable (Manin 1995). Based on this repetitive mechanism, the elected representatives are forced to take into account the retrospective (and, we should add, the prospective) judgement of the voters about the policies they have adopted (or are promising to adopt). Repetition creates anticipatory pressure on elected representatives to take into consideration the preferences of the voters (i.e. to be responsive to them), which allows the voters to have an influence on their representatives on a daily basis. However, such pressure only exists, if there is political competition.

Although we can theoretically distinguish between prospective and retrospective accountability, we measure here only retrospective accountability, as it seems very difficult to formulate a question that correctly taps prospective accountability.

vertacc1. Retrospective accountability: citizens reward or punish the government according to what it has done in the preceding legislature. Because elections are the basic mechanism of accountability, retrospective accountability basically functions through the elections. Citizens vote for a party if they feel this party has done a good job when it was in the government; and they use instead the elections to punish the party if they feel it has done a bad job – that is, they vote for another party or do not vote. An item is employed to measure this sub concept.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts:

This concept is expected to be positively related to the dimensions of competition and responsiveness, in particular, as competitive elections are the principal mechanism through which accountability is ensured, and because vertical accountability is the best guarantee for the government's responsiveness.

Question item(s)

D7

VAMEAN

STILL CARD 35

(IF NECESSARY: How important do you think it is for democracy in general...) **READ OUT...**
that governing parties are punished in elections¹ when they have done a bad job?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]

SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ 'Punished in elections' in the sense of 'getting fewer votes than in the previous election'.

D19

VAEVAL

STILL CARD 36

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent do you think each of the following statements applies in [country]?) **READ OUT** Governing parties in [country] are punished in elections¹ when they have done a bad job.

Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0
	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ 'Punished in elections' in the sense of 'getting fewer votes than in the previous election'.

1.2.7 Responsiveness – Responsiveness to citizens (REPEAT)

This sub-concept falls under both the Liberal and Populist models of democracy.

Responsiveness is understood as “the capacity to satisfy the governed by executing [government] policies in a way that corresponds to [public] demands”. (Morlino 2009: 41). In the words of Powell, responsiveness is understood as the formation and implementation of policies that citizens want, which requires the formulation and the translation of the wishes of the citizens (Powell 2004: 91).

Responsiveness is an extremely important dimension in any democracy. Democratic responsiveness occurs when the democratic process induces the government to form and implement policies that citizens want (Powell 2004a: 91). If citizens perceive that they are not listened to by the government, vertical accountability is the mechanism that helps to correct for this, by punishing the government

that did not sufficiently listen to them. In addition, populists advocate extreme responsiveness, against mainstream political parties whose responsible acts do not respond to “the people” general will (Mair 2002, 2009, 2013). The concept of responsiveness is therefore divided into two sub concepts: responsiveness to the citizens (responsv1) and responsiveness to the ‘will of the people’ (responsv2).

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts:

A positive relationship is expected between responsiveness and vertical accountability (responsiveness is better if vertical accountability is better). A negative relationship is expected between responsiveness and horizontal accountability. A positive relationship is expected between responsiveness to the citizens and retrospective accountability.

Responsiveness refers in the first place to the citizens as a whole. The government should listen to their preferences and take them into account in the decision-making process. The ‘chain of responsiveness’ links the citizens’ preferences to the results of policy-making. Democratic responsiveness occurs when the democratic process induces the government to form and implement policies that citizens want (Powell 2004: 91). The final link in the chain of responsiveness concerns the implementation of public policies. An adequate translation of preferences into seats is only one necessary condition for responsiveness. ‘Doing what the citizens want’ must eventually be reflected in the decisions adopted by the political representatives, i.e. substantive representation is most important for the idea of responsiveness. ‘Democratic representation means that the actions of these policy makers are supposed to be responsive to the wishes of the people’ (Powell 2004b: 273).

Question item(s)

At the next questions, I’ll first ask you to choose between two options. Then I’ll ask how important you think your choice is for democracy in general. Finally, I’ll ask you to think about this issue in [country] today.

D25
PLPOLTO

CARD 37

Sometimes the government disagrees with what most people think is best for the country. Which one of the statements on this card describes what you think is best for democracy in general?

INTERVIEWER: CODE ONE ANSWER ONLY.

IF CODE 1, 2, 7 OR 8 NOT MENTIONED EXPLICITLY, PROBE ONCE:

‘PLEASE TRY TO CHOOSE AN ANSWER FROM THIS CARD THAT BEST MATCHES YOUR OPINION’.

Mixed [PLPOLTO + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [PLPOLTO + DKREF]	
LIST	PLPOLTO	
	The government should <u>change</u> its planned policies in response to what most people think	1
	The government should <u>stick to</u> ¹ its planned policies regardless of what most people think	2
	(It depends on the circumstances)	5

MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	7
	Don't Know	8

Translation notes:

¹ 'Stick to' in the sense of 'not change'.

D26a

RESCMEAN

ASK IF GOVERNMENT SHOULD CHANGE ITS PLANNED POLICIES AT D25 (IF D25 = 1).

CARD 38

How important do you think it is for democracy in general that the government changes its planned policies in response to what most people think? Please use this card.

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

D26b

RESCEVAL1

ASK IF GOVERNMENT SHOULD CHANGE ITS PLANNED POLICIES, IT DEPENDS, REFUSAL OR DON'T KNOW AT D25 (IF D25 = 1, 5, 7, 8)

CARD 39

Using this card, please tell me how often you think the government in [country] today changes its planned policies in response to what most people think?

Mixed [RESCEVAL2 + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [RESCEVAL2 + DKREF]	
SCALE	RESCEVAL2	
	Never	0
	Always	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77

	Don't Know	88
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D27a
RESCMEAN2

ASK IF GOVERNMENT SHOULD STICK TO ITS PLANNED POLICIES AT D25 (IF D25 = 2)

CARD 40

How important do you think it is for democracy in general that the government sticks to its planned policies regardless of what most people think? Please use this card.

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

D27b
RESCEVAL2

ASK IF GOVERNMENT SHOULD STICK TO ITS PLANNED POLICIES AT D25 (IF D25 = 2)

CARD 41

Using this card, please tell me how often you think the government in [country] today sticks to its planned policies regardless of what most people think?

Mixed [RESCEVAL2 + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [RESCEVAL2 + DKREF]	
SCALE	RESCEVAL2	
	Never	0
	Always	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

1.3 POPULIST MODEL OF DEMOCRACY

According to the ideational definition of populism, which has become the dominant definition in the field of the study of populism, populism conceives of society as split into two internally homogenous and antagonistic camps – the virtuous people and the corrupt elite and argues that politics should be an unrestricted expression of the sovereignty of the people (Mudde 2004: 543).

1.3.1 Anti-elitism (NEW)

Literature on populism has not been very extensive on the conceptualization of anti-elitism. Generally, anti-elitism refers to the "condemnation of the corrupt, homogenous elite", the elites are seen as corrupt, betraying, and deceiving the people (Schulz et al. 2017). "The elite is accused of being alienated from the people, of having no idea what ordinary people find important and of only representing its own interests (Barr 2009; Goodwyn 1978; Laclau 2005; Mudde 2004). The accusations differ from arrogance and selfishness to incompetence and corruption. In most cases these allegations go hand in hand. Like people-centrism, anti-elitism is dependent on the context and can take different forms. It could be directed to a political elite (politicians in general, political parties, the 'established' political order), an economic elite (business elites, bank executives or capitalism in general), a cultural elite (intellectuals), a media elite (journalists) or a legal elite (judges). No matter which type of elite is criticized, the general message is the same: that of a conflict between those without power (the people) and those with power (the elite)." (Rooduijn 2013: 575).

Whereas some studies on populism have measured citizens' anti-elitist attitudes (Castanho Silva et al 2018); others refer to citizens' elitist attitudes (Akkerman et al. 2014; Schulz et al 2017). Neither conceptually nor empirically are these two concepts antithetic. Most previous studies on populism phrase the anti-elitist items as respondents' opinions about general truths such as that the elite/politicians/etc. are corrupt/bad/etc. (e.g. "The government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves", Castanho Silva et al. 2017). This type of items tends to be skewed towards the negative opinions. There are very few examples that use alternative operationalizations and refer to the people vs. the politicians, and in relation to some function of the political system (e.g. "MPs in Parliament very quickly lose touch with ordinary people." Schulz et al. 2017). None of the items used in previous studies does refer to democracy. It is important to keep this in mind, when evaluating potential indicators (see, for example, Castanho Silva et al. forthcoming).

Question item(s)

D10
ANTIEMIIM

STILL CARD 35

And still thinking generally rather than about [country], how important do you think it is for democracy in general...**READ OUT**...that the views of ordinary people¹ prevail over the views of the political elite?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]
SCALE	DEMMEAN

	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ For the term 'ordinary people' the translation should not sound pejorative, but just express neutrally the opposite to 'political elite'. Do not translate 'ordinary people' to 'general public' or 'general population' as this may infer a majority.

D22

ANTIELEVAL

STILL CARD 36

And still using this card, please tell me to what extent you think each of the following statements applies in [country]? **READ OUT EACH STATEMENT.** In [country] the views of ordinary people¹ prevail over the views of the political elite.

	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0
	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ For the term 'ordinary people' the translation should not sound pejorative, but just express neutrally the opposite to 'political elite'. Do not translate 'ordinary people' to 'general public' or 'general population' as this may infer a majority.

1.3.2 Unrestricted popular sovereignty (NEW)

Unrestrained popular sovereignty implies 1) that the power is left to the people, that is, that there is a direct connection between the people and the political power; and 2) that the power of the people to decide is unlimited by the traditional democratic checks and balances (e.g. courts, parliament, etc.). In this sense populist democracy is “illiberal” (Caramani, 2017).

Items to measure this concept should, therefore, reflect a trade-off between the primacy of the “people” and its “will” and the existence of institutions that can constrain the realization of the “will of the people”.

Question item(s)

D11
RESWMEAN

STILL CARD 35

(IF NECESSARY: How important do you think it is for democracy in general...) **READ OUT...** that the will of the people cannot be stopped¹?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ ‘Cannot be stopped’ should be translated in the sense that it cannot be prevented from being realised, that there is no way of stopping it, or that it will always happen.

D23
RESWEVAL

STILL CARD 36

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent do you think each of the following statements applies in [country]?) **READ OUT** In [country] the will of the people cannot be stopped¹.

Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0

	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ 'Cannot be stopped' should be translated in the sense that it cannot be prevented from being realised, that there is no way of stopping it, or that it will always happen.

1.4 SOCIAL DEMOCRACY MODEL

1.4.1 Equality (REPEAT)

Traditionally, Equality has been given two different interpretations in the discussion on democracy. On the one hand, it is understood as Political Equality. On the other hand, it may refer to Social Equality. Political Equality ensures that all citizens have equal opportunities to participate politically in a society, equal opportunities to access the law, and to receiving equal treatment before the law and the political institutions. Social Equality is the elimination of social and economic differences that would stand in the way of the exercise of political equality.

There are two different traditions in the definition of equality, which we try to include in our module. In order to do so, we distinguish two sub concepts as constituents of equality: social equality; and welfare.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts:

We expected a negative relationship between equality and rule of law. We find in ESS6 that there is a positive relationship between the two, indicating that the two dimensions of democracy are complementary (against previous literature). Yet the degree of complementarity varies much across countries: while in some countries the relationship between the two is positive and very strong (e.g. Hungary, Ireland); in some other countries the relationship is still positive but very weak (e.g. Norway, Denmark).

1.4.1.1 Equality – Welfare (REPEAT)

The welfare sub concept of equality is an extension of both the social and political equality. On the one hand, welfare is needed so that everybody can effectively participate in political life. Indeed, political equality is not enough to ensure that people can participate in politics, because people need the means (economic, but also educational) to be able to participate in politics. A minimum standard of life is therefore necessary. In addition, ensuring a minimum welfare to the people helps to reduce differences between poor and rich and therefore is a step towards social equality. On the other hand, the government should be able to protect the citizens against the adverse consequences of the economy (such as in the last economic crisis) and protect citizens' welfare.

1.4.1.1.1 Equality – Welfare – Protection against poverty (REPEAT)

People need the means (economic, but also educational) to be able to participate in politics. As such, a minimum standard of life is necessary.

Question item(s)

D8

POVMEAN

STILL CARD 35

(IF NECESSARY: How important do you think it is for democracy in general...) READ OUT...
that the government protects all citizens against poverty?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

D20
POVEVAL

STILL CARD 36

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent do you think each of the following statements applies in [country]?) **READ OUT** The government in [country] protects all citizens against poverty.

Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0
	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

1.4.1.2 Equality – Social equality (REPEAT)

Social equality means that every citizen has a similar income, that there are no big differences among rich and poor in a society. Social democratic models of democracy emphasize social equality as the essential characteristic of democracy (Held 2006).

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts:

A positive relationship is expected between social equality and welfare.

Question item(s)

D9
EQUAMEAN

STILL CARD 35

(IF NECESSARY: How important do you think it is for democracy in general...) **READ OUT**... that the government takes measures to reduce differences in income levels?

Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMMEAN + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMMEAN	
	Not at all important for democracy in general	0
	Extremely important for democracy in general	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

D21
EQUAEVAL

STILL CARD 36

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent do you think each of the following statements applies in [country]?) **READ OUT** The government in [country] takes measures to reduce differences in income levels.

Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [DEMEVAL + DKREF]	
SCALE	DEMEVAL	
	Does not apply at all	0
	Applies completely	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

1.5 OVERALL VIEW OF DEMOCRACY

1.5.1 Core of democracy (NEW)

This concept is aimed at capturing the most essential dimension of democracy.

We propose to include a new general concept on the “meaning of democracy”. The idea is that one dimension of democracy prevails upon all the others in citizens’ views of democracy. As such, this concept is aimed at uncovering the dimension of democracy citizens consider is essential in a democracy. From an empirical point of view, we believe this item will allow 1) correcting for satisficing and over-reporting of the views items; and 2) providing an additional tool to test the validity of the items in ESS-6.

We expect to use this concept to weight the importance given to all other dimensions of democracy.

Question item(s)

D28a

COREDEMA

ASK IF ORDER A AT D28Order (IF D28Order = 1)

CARD A

Now I want you to think again about how important you think different things are for democracy in general. Using this card please tell me which one of these five things you think is most important for democracy in general. **CODE ONE**

Mixed [COREDEM + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [COREDEM + DKREF]	
LIST	COREDEM	
	That national elections are free and fair	1
	That the courts treat everyone the same	2
	That the government protects all citizens against poverty	3
	That citizens have the final say on the most important political issues by voting in referendums	4
	That the views of ordinary people prevail over the views of the political elite	5
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	7
	Don't Know	8

D28b

COREDEMB

ASK IF ORDER B AT D28Order (IF D28Order = 2)

CARD B

Now I want you to think again about how important you think different things are for democracy in general. Using this card please tell me which one of these five things you think is most important for democracy in general. **CODE ONE**

Mixed [COREDEM + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [COREDEM + DKREF]	
LIST	COREDEM	
	That the views of ordinary people prevail over the views of the political elite	1
	That national elections are free and fair	2
	That the courts treat everyone the same	3
	That the government protects all citizens against poverty	4
	That citizens have the final say on the most important political issues by voting in referendums	5
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	7
	Don't Know	8

D28c

COREDEMC

ASK IF ORDER C AT D28Order (IF D28Order = 3)

CARD C

Now I want you to think again about how important you think different things are for democracy in general. Using this card please tell me which one of these five things you think is most important for democracy in general. **CODE ONE**

Mixed [COREDEM + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [COREDEM + DKREF]	
LIST	COREDEM	
	That citizens have the final say on the most important political issues by voting in referendums	1
	That the views of ordinary people prevail over the views of the political elite	2
	That national elections are free and fair	3
	That the courts treat everyone the same	4
	That the government protects all citizens against poverty	5
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	7
	Don't Know	8

D28d
COREDEMD

ASK IF ORDER D AT D28Order (IF D28Order = 4)

CARD D

Now I want you to think again about how important you think different things are for democracy in general. Using this card please tell me which one of these five things you think is most important for democracy in general. **CODE ONE**

Mixed [COREDEM + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [COREDEM + DKREF]	
LIST	COREDEM	
	That the government protects all citizens against poverty	1
	That citizens have the final say on the most important political issues by voting in referendums	2
	That the views of ordinary people prevail over the views of the political elite	3
	That national elections are free and fair	4
	That the courts treat everyone the same	5
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	7
	Don't Know	8

D28e
COREDEME

ASK IF ORDER E AT D28Order (IF D28Order = 5)

CARD E

Now I want you to think again about how important you think different things are for democracy in general. Using this card please tell me which one of these five things you think is most important for democracy in general. **CODE ONE**

Mixed [COREDEM + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [COREDEM + DKREF]	
LIST	COREDEM	
	That the courts treat everyone the same	1
	That the government protects all citizens against poverty	2
	That citizens have the final say on the most important political issues by voting in referendums	3
	That the views of ordinary people prevail over the views of the political elite	4
	That national elections are free and fair	5

MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	7
	Don't Know	8

1.5.2 Regime support (NEW)

This concept comes close to Easton's concept of diffuse support (in this case support for the regime): the “Reservoir of favourable attitudes or good will that helps members to accept or tolerate inputs to which they are opposed or the effect of which they see as damaging to their wants.” (Easton, 1965: 273). The regime is divided by Easton into three sub-objects: (a) the regime as values and principles, which “impose constraints on the purposes for which the energies and resources of the system may be committed.” (Easton, 1965: 194); (b) the regime as norms and procedures, which are those “norms that specify the way in which members of a system are expected to behave in political life.” (Easton, 1965: 200); and (c) the regime as structure, which is defined as a stable set of roles that “consist of regularized patterns of behaviour and expectations about the way in which the occupants of particular positions in society will behave and of how others ought to behave toward them.” (Easton, 1965: 206). In this case, two types of regime are considered: 1) democracy and 2) autocracy.

1.5.2.1 Regime support – Support for autocracy (NEW)

Favourable attitudes towards an autocratic regime. An autocratic regime is one where: 1) there are no free and fair elections; or 2) the power is concentrated in a single person/body; or 3) there are no limits to the power of the governor/government. Ideally, we should measure support for the different attributes of an autocracy as we do with democracy. This is however impossible due to space constraints, and therefore we propose to operationalize it by tapping into one of these three main characteristics of autocracy.

Question item(s)

B37a

SUPAUT

CARD 16

How acceptable for you would it be for [country] to have a strong leader¹ who is above the law?
Choose your answer from this card where 0 is not at all acceptable and 10 is completely acceptable.

Mixed [ACCEPT + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [ACCEPT + DKREF]	
SCALE	ACCEPT	
	Not at all acceptable	0
	Completely acceptable	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77

	Don't Know	88
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Translation notes:

¹ 'Strong leader' here refers to a strong leader in government.

1.5.2.1 Regime support – Support for democracy (REPEAT)

This concept measures favourable attitudes in general towards democracy.

Expected relationships with other complex and simple concepts:

This overall assessment of the importance of democracy should positively correlate with all the concepts characterizing specific aspects of the democracy.

Question item(s)

B25a

DEMIMP

CARD 10

How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? Choose your answer from this card where 0 is not at all important and 10 is extremely important.

Mixed [EXTIMP + DKREF]		
MIXED	Mixed [EXTIMP + DKREF]	
SCALE	EXTIMP	
	Not at all important	0
	Extremely important	10
MISSING_GROUP	DKREF	
	Refusal	77
	Don't Know	88

Translation notes:

¹ 'Extremely' in the sense of 'an end point on the scale where nothing can go beyond it. This might also be represented by 'completely', 'fully', 'absolutely', 'totally', etc.