European
Social
Survey

QUESTION MODULE DESIGN TEAM (ESS ROUND 6) APPLICATION FORM FOR NEW MODULES[1]	
Please return this form by email to:	Mary Keane ess@city.ac.uk (PDF files only)

CLOSING DATE FOR APPLICATIONS: 17:00 hours UK Time on 12th May 2010

USE THE ARROW KEYS TO NAVIGATE ROUND THE FORM

1. Principal Applicant *(person to whom all correspondence will be sent):*

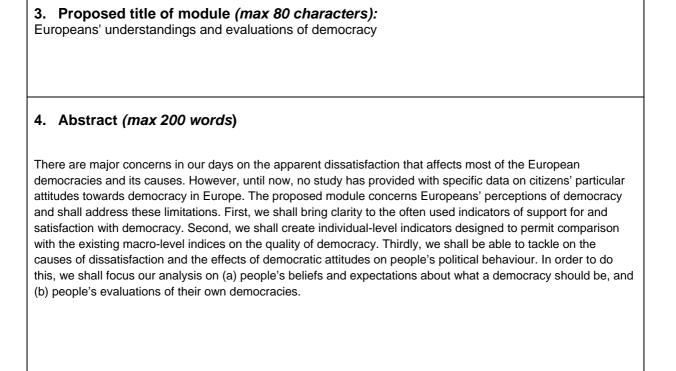| **Forename:** Hanspeter	**Surname:** Kriesi
Position: Professor	
Department: Department of Political Science	
Institution: University of Zürich	
Full Address:	Universität Zürich Institut für Politikwissenschaft Seilergraben 53 CH-8001 Zürich SWITZERLAND
Tel No: + 41446344010	Email: hanspeter.kriesi@ipz.uzh.ch

2. Co-Applicants *(up to 4):*

(i) Forename: Leonardo	**Surname:** Morlino
Department: Department of Political Science	
Institution: Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane	
Country: Italy	Email: morlino@sumitalia.it

(ii) Forename: Pedro	**Surname:** Magalhães
Department: Instituto de Ciências Sociais	
Institution: Universidade de Lisboa	
Country: Portugal	Email: pedro.magalhaes@ics.ul.pt

(iii) Forename: Sonia	**Surname:** Alonso
Department: DSL	
Institution: Wissenshaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung	
Country: Germany	Email: alonso@wzb.eu

(iv) Forename: Mónica	**Surname:** Ferrín
Department: Social and Political Sciences	
Institution: European University Institute	
Country: Italy	Email: monica.ferrin@eui.eu

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[1] A totally new topic not previously fielded as a rotating module on the ESS OR a partial repeat of a prior rotating module where fewer than 60% of the questions in the new module are identical.

3. Proposed title of module *(max 80 characters):*
Europeans' understandings and evaluations of democracy

4. Abstract *(max 200 words)*

There are major concerns in our days on the apparent dissatisfaction that affects most of the European democracies and its causes. However, until now, no study has provided with specific data on citizens' particular attitudes towards democracy in Europe. The proposed module concerns Europeans' perceptions of democracy and shall address these limitations. First, we shall bring clarity to the often used indicators of support for and satisfaction with democracy. Second, we shall create individual-level indicators designed to permit comparison with the existing macro-level indices on the quality of democracy. Thirdly, we shall be able to tackle on the causes of dissatisfaction and the effects of democratic attitudes on people's political behaviour. In order to do this, we shall focus our analysis on (a) people's beliefs and expectations about what a democracy should be, and (b) people's evaluations of their own democracies.

5. Curriculum vitae

(Please provide a brief CV for each applicant, including subject expertise, questionnaire design and analysis experience, relevant publications and record of joint working – maximum one page per applicant.)

<u>Principal Applicant:</u>

Hanspeter Kriesi is Professor in Political Science at the University of Zurich and current director of the NCCR-democracy, a large programme financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation dedicated to the study of democracy. He specializes in comparative politics and Swiss politics. He has been in charge of the Swiss election studies for many years and Director of the Center for Comparative and International Studies at the University of Zurich. Among other things, he is currently involved in a project on the effect of campaign strategies on the opinion formation in Swiss direct democratic campaigns.

Recent publications include:

- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, Timotheos Frey 2008. West European Politics in the Age of Globalization. Cambridge University Press.

- Kriesi, H. and Trechsel, A. 2008. The politics of Switzerland. Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy. Cambridge University Press.

- Kriesi, H. and Westholm, A. 2007. 'Small-scale democracy: the determinants of action', in Citizenship and Involvement in European Democracies. A comparative analysis, edited by Jan W. van Deth, José Ramon Montero and Anders Westholm. London: Routledge.

- Kriesi, H. 2007. 'The Participation in Swiss Direct-Democratic Votes', pp. 117-141 in The Dynamics of Referendum Campaigns. An International Perspective, edited by Claes H. de Vreese. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Kriesi, H. 2005. Direct democratic choice. The Swiss experience. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Press.

**Curriculum vitae (continued)*:*

<u>Co-applicant 1:</u>

Leonardo Morlino is professor of Political Science at the Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane (Firenze) since 2006 and director of Graduate School in Political Science at the same Institute since 2005. He is also the President of International Political Science Association (IPSA) (2009-12). In 2004 he was awarded the Jean Monnet Chair in European Studies. He was Bechtel Visiting Professor at Stanford University, Stanford, Ca, (USA) (2002-3); Jemolo Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford University (UK) in 1998, 2007, and 2009; among others. During his large career, he has devoted special attention to the conceptualization of democracy and its qualities. With the collaboration of a large network of other scholars, he is in fact actually directing a comparative research on 'The quality of Democracy in Latin America' on 18 Latin American countries.

Among his recent contributions:

- Morlino, L. and Sadurski, W. (ed.) 2010. Democratization and the European Union. Comparing Central and Eastern European post-communist countries, London, Routledge.

- Morlino, L. and Palombella (ed.) 2010. Rule of Law and Democracy: Internal and External Issues, Leiden and Boston, Brill.

- Morlino, L. 2009. "The Quality of Democracy: An Agenda for Future Research?" in Participation, 33 (2): 3-4

- Morlino, L. and Magen, A. (Ed.) 2008. International Actors, Democratization and the Rule of Law: Anchoring Democracy?, London, Routledge, 2008 (paperback 2009)

- Morlino, L. and Diamond, L. (ed.) 2005. Assessing the Quality of Democracy. Theory and Empirical Analysis, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press

- Morlino, L. and Diamond, L. 2004. "The Quality of Democracy. An Overview", Journal of Democracy, 15 (4): 20-31.

- Morlino, L. 2004. "What is a 'Good' Democracy?", Democratization, 11(5): 10-32.

- Morlino, L. 2004. "'Good' and 'Bad' Democracies: How to Conduct Research into the Quality of Democracy", Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 20 (1): 5-27.

Curriculum vitae (continued)*:*

<u>Co-applicant 2:</u>

Pedro C. Magalhães (Ph.D, Ohio State University, 2003) is Researcher at the Social Sciences Institute of the University of Lisbon and Director of the Centre for Public Opinion Studies and Polls of the Portuguese Catholic University. He has done research on political attitudes and behaviour, particularly focusing on attitudes towards democracy, political engagement and disaffection, political trust and electoral turnout. Another research interest has been the study of judicial institutions, rule of law and judicial behaviour. He is one of the creators and coordinators of the Portuguese Election Study. He is a member of the steering committees of the European Science Foundations's Quantitative Methods in the Social Sciences network, of the PIREDEU Design Study (Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the European Union), as well as a research collaborator in a number of international projects based on survey data.

Some recent contributions:

- Magalhães, P. and Costa Lobo, M. 2009. "Room for Manouevre: Euroscepticism in the Portuguese Parties and Electorate, 1976-2005", South European Politics and Society, 14 (1).

- Magalhães, P. 2007. "What Are (Semi)Presidential Elections About? A Case Study of the Portuguese 2006 Elections", Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties 17 (3): 263-291.

- Magalhães, P., Freire, A. and Costa Lobo, M. 2007. Portugal at the Polls. Lanham: Lexington Books.

- Magalhães, P. 2007. "Voting and Intermediation: Informational Biases and Electoral Choices in Comparative Perspective," in R. Gunther, H.-J. Puhle, and J. R. Montero (eds.), Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting in Four Continents. Oxford. Oxford University Press: 208-254.

- Magalhães, P., Guarnieri, C. and Kaminis, Y. 2007. "Democratic Consolidation, Judicial Reform, and the Judicialization of Politics in Southern Europe,", in R. Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, and Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos (eds.), Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 138-196.

- Magalhães, P. 2006. "Confidence in Parliaments: Performance, Representation and Accountability," in M. Torcal and J. R. Montero (eds.), Political Disaffection in Contemporary Democracies: Social Capital, Institutions, and Politics. London: Routledge:190-214.

- Magalhães, P. 2005. "Disaffected Democrats: Political Culture and Political Action in Portugal," West European Politics 28 (5):973-991.

- Magalhães, P. 1999. "The Politics of Judicial Reform in Eastern Europe," Comparative Politics 32 (1): 43-62.

Curriculum vitae (continued)

<u>Co-applicant 3</u> *(if applicable):*

Sonia Alonso is Researcher at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung. She has worked extensively on the field of democratization and the quality of democratic regimes from a comparative macro perspective, focusing particularly in the new democracies of Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. She has also studied the effects of ethnic conflict on the quality of democratic institutions in both Western and Eastern Europe. She participated as country expert for Spain in the elaboration of the Bertelsmann Reform Index (2007), to measure the capacity of reform and the quality of democratic institutions in the OECD countries.

Some recent contributions:

- Alonso, S., Keane, J. and Merkel, W. (eds.) Forthcoming. The Future of Representative Democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Alonso, S. Forthcoming. "Representative Democracy and the Multinational Demos" in Alonso, Sonia; Keane, John and Wolfgang Merkel (eds.) The Future of Representative Democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Alonso, S. 2008. "Enduring ethnicity: the political survival of incumbent ethnic parties in western democracies", in Maravall, J.M. and Sánchez-Cuenca, I. (eds.), Controlling Governments. Voters, Institutions and Accountability. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Alonso, S. and Ruiz-.Rufino, R. 2007. "Political Representation and Ethnic Conflict in New Democracies", European Journal of Political Research 46 (2): 237-267.

- Alonso, S. and Maravall, J. M. 2003. "Democratization in the European Periphery", in Jack Hayward and Anand Menon, eds., Governing Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Curriculum vitae (continued)

<u>Co-applicant 4</u> *(if applicable):*

Mónica Ferrín is PhD student at the European University Institute. From 2002 to 2008, she has been working at the University of Santiago de Compostela (Spain) and the Escola Galega de Administración Pública (EGAP, Spain), where she has been doing a number of activities related to the development, testing and analysis of surveys. She is currently researching on public opinion for democracy for her thesis and part of the European Union Democracy Observatory (EUDO).

Some recent contributions:

- Ferrín, M., Casal Bértoa, F. y Pardos-Prado, S. 2010. "Spain". En Gagatek, W. (ed.) *The 2009 Elections to the European Parliament*, European University Institute, Florence.

- Ferrín, M. y León, S. 2007. "La Atribución de Competencias sobre las Políticas Públicas en un Contexto de Gobierno Multi-nivel", en *Administración y Ciudadanía*, Vol. 2, 1.

- Ferrín, M. y León, S. 2007. *A quen responsabilizan os Cidadáns?: A Atribución de Responsabilidades Sobre As Políticas Públicas nun Sistema de Goberno Multinivel*. Documento de Traballo 03, Escola Galega de Administración Pública, Santiago de Compostela

Module proposal – for NEW Modules

PART 1: Theory behind proposed module (max 6000 words)

Dissatisfaction and the quality of democracy

Citizens' attitudes towards their democratic systems have become a major topic in the social sciences over the recent years. One of the reasons for the emphasis on democracy is the changing context of established democracies resulting from the most recent wave of democratization and the interest in the consolidation of democracy in the transition countries. A second reason is that, with the breakdown of the state-socialist regimes in Eastern Europe and the fall of the so-called iron curtain, researchers studying political support and democratic attitudes observed a decline in satisfaction with the working of democracy in some established democracies of Western Europe (among others, see, Gunther, Montero and Torcal 1997; Klingemann 1999; Dalton 1999; Pharr and Putnam 2000; Norris 2001; Dalton 2004; Montero and Torcal 2006). In spite of this apparent trend of "democratic dissatisfaction", existing indicators on people's views about their democratic regime in industrialized democracies paint a less clear picture than the one assumed by these authors. Indeed, although dissatisfaction appears as a persistent and widespread phenomenon in Western democracies, it is also true that there is a great deal of variation across and within countries regarding their levels of satisfaction with the performance of particular regimes (Dogan 2005). Until now, however, no study has provided with specific data on what particular aspects people are dissatisfied with in their democracies. More critically, this has impeded a systematic analysis of the causes of citizens' dissatisfaction and its variation across European countries.

Explanations on the causes of dissatisfaction with the political system among the mass public have mainly taken two different perspectives. The micro-level perspective has focused on citizens' attitudes and evaluations whereas the macro-level perspective has focused on institutions and socioeconomic structures. These perspectives have been applied independently from one another and with little, if any, cross-fertilization. During the last fifteen years, the macro-level perspective has been enriched by the elaboration of several indices of democracy that have become very popular among social scientists (Coppedge and Reinicke 1991; Gastil 1991; Vanhanen 1997, 2000 and 2003; Marshall and Jaggers 2001; for a summary of this literature, see Munck and Verkuilen 2002). These indices measure the quality of existing democracies according to some theoretical yardstick of what democracy ought to be. However, they confront two main problems.First, they do not provide

enough variance when applied to Western established democracies[2]. Second, they have not been complemented by data which allows us to investigate the relationship between these 'objective' properties of the political systems and people's views about how the regime works.

Concerning the micro-level perspective, and despite the historical evolution towards a nearly universal acceptance of democracy as the best form of government, it has not yet been empirically established what people think about their democracies, and how they evaluate them. Firstly, neither regarding support nor regarding satisfaction has there been a clear concern for the need to relate these indicators to a referent, that is, to ascertain what sort of democracy is supported by citizens, or what it is about democracy that they find unsatisfactory. Secondly, existing indicators- support and satisfaction- have yielded somewhat frustrating results both as dependent and independent variables. Particularly missing is and understanding of the relationship between support (or satisfaction) on the one hand and political behaviour on the other, we need further clarification how support and satisfaction affect people's political behaviour. We need better specified and more exhaustive measures of people's standards regarding what democracy is as well as people's concrete evaluations of regime performance in different dimensions so as to be able to comprehensively investigate the role of democratic attitudes in people's political behaviour.

This project shall address these limitations regarding both the macro and the micro perspectives. First, we shall bring clarity to the often used indicators of *support for* and *satisfaction with* democracy. Second, we shall create individual-level indicators designed to permit comparison with the existing macro-level indices on the quality of democracy. Thirdly, we shall be able to tackle on the causes of dissatisfaction and the effects of democratic attitudes on people's political behaviour. In order to do this, we shall focus our analysis on (a) people's beliefs and expectations about what a democracy should be, and (b) people's evaluations of their own democracies.

Understanding support for democracy and satisfaction with democracy

Few concepts have been so confusedly used in the literature as political support. Departing from Easton's conceptualization (1975), the same indicators have indistinctly been used both to measure different concepts and different indicators have been employed to assess the same concept. This has made research on this field particularly difficult. The module proposed here intends to bring more clarity to this area of research. Two specific deficits are addressed.

Democracy is a highly contested notion, difficult to conceptualize and to operationalize. Most indicators of democratic support and satisfaction with democracy circumvent these

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[2] In order to put an end to this deficit, the Democracy Barometer project, a Swiss-German collaboration of the NCCR Democracy in Zurich, has developed a macro-level index that makes it possible to differentiate among the quality of OECD democracies (Bühlmann et al. 2008; Bühlmann, Merkel, Weßels 2007).

conceptual difficulties by using the term democracy without any further specification as to what it may mean. Accordingly, previous attempts to study public attitudes to democracy incorporate at least two strong assumptions: first that all respondents have in mind the same concept when responding to the unspecific stimuli; and, as a consequence, that we can compare their responses. Both of these assumptions may be invalid and may lead to erroneous inferences and conclusions. In fact, recent research in the field has been challenging these assumptions, providing evidence that individuals do not share a common view of democracy (Schedler and Sarsfield, 2004; Baviskar and Malone, 2004). To correctly assess citizens' support for democracy and satisfaction with democracy, we need data on citizens' understanding of democracy, i.e. on their expectations with respect to democratic regimes under contemporary circumstances. We need to avoid applying incorrect interpretations of democracy to individuals. Although some cross-national surveys have included some indicators related to the preferred dimensions of democracy (see, for example, WVS 2005), their scope has been limited in that they do not clarify what citizens themselves mean by *democracy*.

In addition, questions on support for democracy[3] and satisfaction with democracy[4] have been used as measures of citizens' evaluations of their democratic systems. Yet, these measures are only partial and indirect indicators. On the one hand, it is still unknown what is it in particular that they are evaluating when asked about their satisfaction with democracy. On the other hand, most of their evaluations have been interpreted as output oriented. Indeed, in the vast literature on political support, output performance is assumed to be the driving force behind citizens' evaluations. By contrast, we believe that there is more to democracy than just the evaluation of what it delivers in terms of material goods in comparison with what it ought to deliver (in line with Linde and Eckman 2003). David Easton has laid the conceptual ground for most of the empirical research done so far (Easton 1976; 1975; 1965; 1979). The criteria used by Easton to evaluate the degree of political support for democracy are based, mainly, on outcome-related performance, despite the prominent role played in his approach by evaluative orientations towards the authorities and the regime. Further refinements of Easton's perspective have conceptualized the evaluative basis of political support for democracy in more detail (Fuchs 1993; 1989; Fuchs, Guidorossi, Svensson 1995). Still, the evaluation criteria applied are rather limited and mainly oriented either toward the behaviour of authorities or to particular outputs (or outcomes). The latest work emphasizing the outcome dimension of democracy's performance-based support is Stein Ringen's "What democracy is good for" (Ringen 2007). The problem with this perspective is that it restricts people's evaluations of their democratic system to a singular aspect, which might not be the most important in terms of democratic performance. Correctly addressing people's evaluations of their democratic system implies broadening the number

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[3] Democracy as the best system.
[4] How satisfied are you with the way democracy works.

of dimensions to be evaluated. Only then will we be able to assess how citizens evaluate the quality of their democracies.

Summing up, both major perspectives in the study of democracy have been insufficiently concerned with the need to relate indicators of satisfaction with or support for democracy to individual standards of reference – that is, to assess evaluations of democracy in relation to individuals' understanding of what democracy is or ought to be. Seen in this light, available data for the systematic study of attitudes towards democracy are incomplete. Only a small number of surveys have included appropriate questions about attitudes towards democracy, usually country specific studies (for countries of Latin America see Ai Camp 1998, Baviskar and Malone 2004 or Lagos 2005; for Africa see Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi 2005; and for the ex-U.S.S.R see Reisinger, Miller, Hesli and Miller 1995, Whitefield and Evans 1996). These countries have had special characteristics as democracies: either they are "under democratized" countries or countries that experienced a transition recently. These studies, however, suffer from lack of comparability, both in terms of sampling and in terms of questionnaire design. The proposed ESS module is intended to provide, for the first time, a rigorous and systematic study of attitudes to democracy in Europe.

Theoretical framework

As already mentioned above, this project derives from the combination of two different perspectives, which help to support it theoretically: on the one hand, the literature on public opinion on democracy (particularly, literature focusing on the explanations of political support) and, on the other, the literature on the quality of democracy. Four main objectives underlie this innovative approach:

1. The study of the quality of democracy: what do citizens mean by it?
2. The study of the quality of democracy: how do citizens evaluate their democracy?
3. The study of people's dissatisfaction with democracy: why are they dissatisfied?
4. The study of the quality of democracy at the micro and macro levels: is there a relationship?

1. The study of the quality of democracy: what do citizens mean by it?

Most of the research on public attitudes towards democracy has placed emphasis on the lack of sophistication among the citizenry. It has been said that the average citizen can hardly say what politics are about (Converse 1963). This is particularly so in relation to the concept of democracy, because of its complexity. People are often assumed to express support for democracy simply as a consequence of social desirability (Inglehart and Welzel 2005, for example), without having a clear understanding of what democracy means or what it should be. Only recently new studies have shed some light on people's conceptions of democracy (Baviskar and Malone 2004; Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi 2005).

According to these new findings, people understand what democracy is, although they do it with different levels of sophistication. This has implications of extreme relevance for the study of public attitudes towards democracy. Indeed, if people did not have what we might call a "democratic" definition of democracy, their evaluations would be nonsensical. It is therefore very important to investigate how people define democracy (*what democracy is and what democracy ought to be*). We will argue, in addition, that people's understandings of what democracy ought to be strongly affect their expectations about the functioning of concrete democracies. In other words, if a particular citizen considers that democracy is primarily about freedom, she will expect to enjoy freedom if she lives in a democracy.

As the concept of democracy has been so recurrently used and there are so many different definitions in existence, we expect that there will be a great deal of variation among the citizens. Of special interest here is the conception of political representation, which is allegedly suffering from a crisis. We are persuaded by Rehfeld (2009) and Mansbridge (2003) that there are recently invented ways of thinking about representation that should be empirically considered by means of looking at other actors than just parties and governments. We must try to encompass the difference between what Mansbridge calls "promissory representation" (the mandate or trustee version) with other understandings of representation. As it will be shown later, the representation and participation dimensions will be combined in order to shed some light on the new understandings of democracy.

2. The study of the quality of democracy: how do citizens evaluate their democracy?

Few studies have considered citizens' evaluations of democracy as a measure of the quality of democracy. Except for the Costa Rican example of the Democratic Audit (Vargas Cullel 2004), the Asian (Chu and Chang 2009) and Afrobarometer (Mattes 2010) from 2005 on, and the Spanish and Portuguese surveys on the quality of democracy performed by researchers signing this application (Fortes, Palacios, Vargas-Machuca 2009; Magalhâes 2009), no previous research has incorporated the publics' opinions in an assessment of the quality of democracy. Although these evaluations cannot substitute for expert judgements, we affirm that they provide valuable material to complement and provide nuance for indices derived from expert judgements. As the main consumers of democracy, citizens will give us with a richer evaluation on how their democratic systems are performing.

In order to provide such an evaluation, the classical questions on support for and satisfaction with democracy are not enough. High levels of support for democracy have been interpreted, on the one hand, as a sign that citizens in Western countries preferred democracy to any other type of political regime. On the other hand, the question on satisfaction with democracy has been mainly used to test the impact of the political context, as an item which basically captures citizens' satisfaction with the main political actors. However, by using a unique question to evaluate the state of democracy, we are unable to trace which of the

components of democracy is been pointed by the citizens; in other words, we are unable to know whether dissatisfaction is the result of a bad functioning of the justice, the lack of transparency of the system, or of any other aspect. We need instead to provide citizens with an adequate instrument to evaluate their democracies. Such an instrument needs to evaluate democracy in all its dimensions, in order to provide a full picture on how citizens judge their democracies. This is the second objective of this project.

3. The study of people's dissatisfaction with democracy: why are they dissatisfied?

The two questions posed above appear to be of fundamental relevance for explaining why people are dissatisfied. Different explanations have been developed to explain levels of satisfaction with democracy: the economic and performance of the system – outputs (McAllister 1999; Listhaug 2006); the procedure of the system – inputs (Miller and Listhaug 1999); the institutional design in a democracy (Frey and Stutzer 2001); the availability of parties with which to identify (Anderson and Guillory 1997), and so on. However, none of these studies has investigated a possibly more proximate source of dissatisfaction: the existence of a gap between citizens' expectations and citizens' evaluations of the democratic system.

Although some studies have tried to incorporate this argument in their explanations of levels of satisfaction with democracy (Pharr and Putnam 2000; Norris 2010), lack of data has made this task impossible. In fact, most of these attempts have been limited to interpretation of the available data and therefore have tested this relationship indirectly. This is therefore the third objective of this project.

4. The study of the quality of democracy at the micro and macro levels: is there a relationship?

Lastly, our project deals with a recurrent question in many writings from the early 60s onwards (Almond and Verba 1963; Sniderman, 1975; Putnam 1993; Klingemann and Fuchs 1995; Gibson, 1997; Nevitte 1996; Inglehart, 1997; Pettigrew, 1998, etc.): whether there is correspondence between citizens' orientations and the objective political system. Our aim is to compare citizens' evaluations of the quality of democracy with objective indicators of the quality of democracy. This is interesting for two reasons:

- Firstly, it aims to address for the first time the question to what degree citizens' attitudes line up with the institutions and practices of democracy – a question underlying (but not directly addressed) in political culture studies.
- Secondly, it aims to play a role in providing a more proximate or "democratic" view of how democracies really work. Indeed, citizens' satisfaction with their democracies is also an indicator of the quality of a democracy.

Together with the ESS, the NCCR Barometer is the complementary tool to accomplish these two tasks[5]. It is therefore of great relevance for our project.

The concept of democracy

It is necessary, however, in order to complete the theoretical framework, to make clear what will be the concept of democracy we will be using here. Democracy is clearly a contested concept with many different meanings, and it is difficult to apprehend all of them. The task is particularly difficult when dealing with individuals, as citizens may understand democracy in many different ways. A broad conception of democracy is needed, then, in order to cope with this diversity.

The concept of democracy which we plan to use in this project is adapted from one formulated by Diamond and Morlino (2005) and later on reformulated by Morlino (2009). It breaks democratic practices into nine dimensions all of which have to be fulfilled in order for a system to qualify as a democracy. Because this allows for a great deal of variation among survey respondents, we think this conception provides an appropriate basis for our investigations. The dimensions are: rule of law, vertical accountability, horizontal accountability, participation, competition, representation, responsiveness, freedom, and equality.

According to 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). In addition, citizens need protection before the state, and the protection fromt each others. *Rule of law* ensures, then, that each individual can enjoy her freedom within limits set by the need to avoid harming others. In our conception of rule of law we distinguish four main sub-dimensions (Table 1).

Table 1 The Rule of Law Dimension

Dimension	Sub-dimensions
Rule of law (RL)	RL-1. Individual security and civil order
	RL-2. Accessibility and equality of the judicial system.
	RL-3. Independence of the judicial system.
	RL-4. Institutional and administrative capacity to enforce the law

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[5] See footnote 1.

Vertical accountability is defined as the mechanism through which the people control their representatives, and the obligation of the representatives to be responsible to the citizenry for their actions (Table 2). *Horizontal accountability* – sometimes called institutional accountability (Morlino 2009) – "is the obligation of the elected political leaders to 'account', to be responsible, to answer for their political decisions to other institutions or collective actors that have the expertise and power to control the behaviour of their governors." (Morlino 2009: 37). Basically, it refers to the balance of power among the several institutions in a State and to the capacity of each of the institutions to control the others, also from other levels of government (Table 2).

Table 2 Vertical Accountability and Institutional Accountability Dimensions

Dimension	Sub-dimensions
Vertical accountability (VA)	VA-1. Retrospective accountability
	VA-2. Prospective accountability
	VA-3. Transparency of political decisions and public administration
	VA-4. Availability of alternative sources of information and informational openness
Horizontal accountability (HA)	HA-1. Capacity to control of several institutions on abusive practices by the government
	HA-2. Decentralization

Participation involves all the instruments that permit citizens to take part in a democracy (Table 3). According to Morlino, "It 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). In combination with the representation dimension, it aims to provide information on variations in Europeans' conception of representation. Indeed, clear preferences for an increase in forms of participation such as deliberative or direct practices might underline changes in the citizens' relation with their governments.

Table 3 The Participation Dimension

Dimension	Sub-dimensions
Participation (P)	P-1. Opportunities of participation
	P-2. Types of participation

The *Competition* dimension is probably the most commonly found in the literature and the key attribute for minimalist theories of democracy. *Elections*, in democratic theory, should be fair, open and free. But the *Electoral* dimension also relates to other features of the electoral system, such as the number of competing parties, the type of election, etc (Table 4).

Table 4 The Competition Dimension

Dimension	Sub-dimensions
Competition (C)	C-1. Elections free and fair
	C-2. Fair electoral system to all political parties
	C-3. Alternation of parties in office
	C-4. Sufficient number of parties
	C-5. Internal party democracy

The *Representation* dimension is probably one of the most discussed by the literature, as already mentioned. Western democracies have indeed for a long time been called 'representative democracies'. Changes in the configuration of Western democracies have initiated a debate on the function of Representation in a democratic regime. On the one hand, there is the question *who* should be represented – only the electorate (delegate model) or the public interest (trustee model). On the other hand, the *nature* of Representation itself has been discussed, and some voices begin to be heard that herald a crisis of representation and the need to reform it or replace it by a new form of democracy (Pitkin 2004) (Table 5). For our purposes, the *Representation* dimension is combined with the participation dimension, as already illustrated before.

Table 5 The Representation Dimension

Dimension	Sub-dimensions
Representation (R)	R-1. Nature of representation
	R-2. Subjects of representation
	R-3. Type of decision rule

Responsiveness is understood as "the capacity to satisfy the governed by executing [government] policies in a way that corresponds to [pubic] demands". (Morlino 2009: 41). *Responsiveness* refers to the mechanism through which politicians take into account citizens interests and desires, which is a different process than being accountable to them or than representing them (Table 6).

Table 6 The Responsiveness Dimension

Dimension	Sub-dimensions
Responsiveness (RE)	RE-1. Implementation of policies that citizens want

Freedom refers to the whole set of rights and liberties available to the citizens in a given society. It ensures not only personal dignity, but also civil and political rights, which should be equal for everybody. As such, it is clearly related to tolerance as the respect for the lives and the rights of the others.

Table 7 The Freedom Dimension

Dimension	Sub-dimensions
Freedom (F)	F-1. Individual liberty and effective guarantee of civil rights

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. It is therefore, again, a transversal principle, which underlies all the other dimensions. *Social Equality* is the elimination of social and economic differences that would stand in the way of the exercise of political equality. *Social Equality* is strongly linked to the idea of Justice. Both conceptions of Equality are considered in our dimension of *Equality*.

Table 8 The Equality Dimension

Dimension	Sub-dimensions
Equality (E)	E-1. Political equality
	E-2. Social equality

A special issue: economic governance

Finally, we think that the extent of the present economic crisis, of a depth unknown for the last 50 years in the Western world, requires that we look for a relationship between economic governance and economic results, on the one hand, and the quality of democracy, on the other. We should expand on the models of democracy, from the welfare regimes perspective in particular. This is where our ideas about 'outputs' of democracies should start. We seriously doubt that a proper evaluation of the functioning of democracy can be accomplished only by taking into account what type of democracy is being evaluated. The post-2008 economic crisis has its (indirect, of course) roots in how democracy operates and the extent to which democracy was unable to avoid and/or confine the crisis. We know nothing about how citizens perceive and evaluate democracy from the perspective of "rules of economic community", along the lines of Linz and Stepan's (1996) arguments that for a effectively working, just and transparent democracy one needs to have a set of socially approved and formally legitimized set of norms, rules and procedures that control wild market forces (and the financial sector). This has been called *Economic Governance*.

Table 9 Economic Governance

Economic governance (EG)	EG-1. Economic security
	EG-2. Government's de facto implementation of its economic policies
	EG-4. Governmental autonomy to govern the economy

An aggregate team

Of special importance for this project is the composition of the team. It is the result of a joint effort to bring together two different groups with similar concerns. On the one hand, a concern about the need to provide a clear map of European citizens' attitudes towards democracy that would go beyond the existing indicators. On the other hand, a concern about understanding the diverse ways in which European citizens view their democracies. It is commonly assumed by most analysts that all Europeans are equally "democrats" and think of democracy in the same terms. Different conceptions of democracy, however, might be at the root of European's dissatisfaction with the functioning of democracy both at the national and European levels. We think therefore that Europe is a new and unexplored universe in terms of this topic, where it is urgent to collect relevant data.

These two common interests have led us to jointly apply for the ESS Round 5, and to benefit from each others' experiences. Besides the applicants signing this application, the team is further composed of Mark Franklin, Bernard Wessels, Mariano Torcal, Braulio Gómez, Alexander Trechsel, Radek Markowski, Wolfgang Merkel and Todd Landmann.

Mark Franklin Mark Franklin is the Stein Rokkan Professor of Comparative Politics at the European University Institute. He was previously the John R. Reitemeyer Professor of International Politics at Trinity College Connecticut after teaching at the University of Houston, Texas and the University of Stratclyde, Scotland. He has been a director of the European Elections Studies project since 1987 and is the co-director of PIREDEU (Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democarcy in Europe). His research interests focus on the opinions and political behaviour of elites and mass publics especially in Europe. *Bernard Wessels* is senior researcher and deputy director of the research unit Democracy Research, at the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB). He teaches political science at the Humboldt-University, at the Institute for the Social Sciences and at the Berlin Graduate School of the Social Sciences. He has worked in numerous research projects on political attitudes, political behaviour, interest intermediation and political representation in comparative perspective with particular emphasis on the working and quality of democracy. *Mariano Torcal* is professor in the department of Political Science at the University Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona, Spain). Since 2009, he is co-director of the Research and Expertise Centre for Survey Methodology (RECSM) and from 2001 on he is the Spanish national coordinator of the European Social Survey. He is also member of the Comparative National Elections Project and has been involved in many projects dealing with public opinion. He specializes in electoral behaviour, political culture and attitudes, political and social participation and democratization. *Braulio Gómez Fortes* is a Research Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Social Studies of the Spanish National Research Council (IESA-CSIC) and Director of the Quality of Democracy Barometer in Spain (CIS-IESA-CSIC). His main

research focus is on quality of democracy. **Alexander Trechsel** is Professor of Political Science and the first full-time holder of the Swiss Chair in Federalism and Democracy at the European University Institute (Florence, Italy). He initiated and coordinates the new European Union Democracy Observatory (EUDO) at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies of the EUI. **Radek Markowski** is Director of the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the Warsaw School for the Social Sciences and Humanities and Head of the Comparative Politics Department and the Political Science Department at the Institute of Political Studies (Polish Academy of Sciences). He has been a principal investigator and/or director of many Polish and international/comparative projects related directly to the study of democracy. Among the most important are: the Polish National Election Study, European Election Study, Democratic Consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe and Comparative Study of Electoral Systems. **Wolfgang Merkel** is professor of political science at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Since 2004, he has been director of the research unit "Democracy: Structures, Performance, Challenges" at the Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB) and deputy chairman of the Fachkollegium Sozialwissenschaften in der DFG (review board for the social sciences of the German Research Foundation. He is also member of the Wissenschaftlicher Beirat beim Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (advisory council of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) and, since December 2007, member of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. A main research project he is involved in is the "Quality of Democracy – Democracy Barometer for Established Democracies" (project 14) National Center for Competence in Research (NCCR). **Todd Landmann** is the Director of the Centre for Democratic Governance of the University of Essex and a Professor of Government at the same University. He has been involved, either as coordinator or consultant, in numerous initiatives of democratic and human rights assessment, in relation with inter-governmental organisations, governments, and international non-governmental organisations.

PART 3: Proposed module design (max 3000 words)

Many of the questions of the ESS core questionnaire are extremely relevant for our study. Yet, the new module intends to be a separate battery, which includes all the dimensions defined above. For each of the dimensions we have selected 24 indicators (sub-dimensions above) from a large battery of possible indicators. As these indicators intend to be doubled into "meaning" and "evaluation", we currently have of 48 items for this battery. We provide examples of questions which have been or might be used for each of these indicators (Tables 10 to 13). This battery constitutes a complete new module to be added, and although some items are based on previous scales for which tests for reliability and internal consistency are available from previous surveys (for example, Kaase, 1971; McClosky and Zaller, 1984; Gibson, Duch and Tedin, 1992; Reisinger et al., 1995; etc.) we have added new questions in a number of cases. In addition, as many of these questions have already been included in a questionnaire in Portugal and Spain, tests of reliability and validity can be conducted that will make the selection easier (IESA-SEDES in the table). However, because it is a rather new and unexplored field – above all in what regards the meaning of democracy – we expect much work will be conducted in the selection and testing of the items.

No more than one item can be included per indicator, due to restrictions of space. However, we believe that a single question can be designed that will tap each concept, which in any case will be strengthened through the inclusion of more than one indicator for each dimension. In any case, because more items might be required for assessing the public's evaluations, we might have to make particular emphasis on the selection of a unique item that taps the meaning of each indicator.

Table 10 The Meaning of Democracy

Dimension	Indicator	Items – The *Meaning* of democracy
Rule of law	RL-1. Individual security and civil order	Thinking now of what democracy means to you, how important would you say it is for a democracy that everybody respects the law? (similar to ESS 2002)
	RL-2. Accessibility and equality of the judicial system	How important is it to you to live in a country where there is a Judicial system that treats everyone in the same way? (PEW 2009)
	RL-3. Independence of the judicial system	When you think of a democracy, would you say that judges should act independently always, sometimes, almost never or never?
	RL-4. Institutional and administrative capacity to enforce the law	How important is it for you in a democracy that the law is always enforced?
Vertical accountability	VA-1. Retrospective accountability	Many things can be desirable, but not all of them are essential characteristics of democracy. Please tell me for each of the following things how essential you think it is as characteristics of democracy… that elections are held so that parties that are doing a bad job are punished?
	VA-2. Prospective accountability	MPs should take decisions in accordance with what they think their voters will expect from them in the future – at around the next election.
	VA-3. Transparency of political decisions and public administration	Do you think that political institutions should always act publicly or that on some issues they should decide without making it public?
	VA-4. Availability of alternative sources of information and informational openness	How important is it in a democracy that politicians explain what they do to the citizens? Which would you say should be the most important characteristics of the media in a democratic society? (select among several options)
Horizontal accountability	HA-1. Capacity of control of several institutions on abusive practices by the government	How important is for you for a democracy to work that the government is controlled by the Constitutional Court (or by the Media, by the Ombudsman, by the head of State)?
	HA-2. Decentralization	How important would you say that is in a democracy that decisions are taken at the administrative level that is closest to the people?
Participation	P-1. Opportunities of participation	There are different opinions about citizens' rights in a democracy. How important is it: that people be given more opportunities to participate in public decision-making? (ISSP 2004) Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statement? Participation of the people is not necessary if decision-making is left in the hands of a few trusted, competent leaders.
	P-2. Types of participation	Regarding the meaning of democracy, there are different perspectives. Could you please tell me for each of these characteristics how important it is for you in a democracy? that the most important political issues are decided through referenda. (PARTIREP 2009) In your view, how important is it for democracy that new technologies (Internet, etc.) are employed to facilitate political participation? (EU-Profiler 2009)

Table 11 The Meaning of democracy (ctd.)

Dimension	Indicator	Items – The *Meaning* of democracy
Competition	C-1. Elections free and fair	People associate democracy with many divergent meanings such as the ones that I will mention now. Is each of these absolutely essential, important, not very important or not important at all: free and fair elections? (CNEP)
	C-2. Fair electoral system to all political parties	How important is it for the quality of a democracy that the electoral system does not give advantage to some parties over others?
	C-3. Alternation of parties in office	Regarding the meaning of democracy, there are different perspectives. Could you please tell me for each of these characteristics how important it is for you in a democracy? That the same party does not stay in power for a too long period (PARTIREP 2009)
	C-4. Sufficient number of parties	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? It is not conceivable to have a viable democracy without a political opposition. (IESA-SEDES)
	C-5. Internal party democracy	Would you say that it matters whether candidates are elected democratically within their own parties or that it has no importance at all?
Representation	R-1. Nature of representation	Regarding the meaning of democracy, there are different perspectives. Could you please tell me for each of these characteristics how important it is for you in a democracy? That the representatives of the people have the last word in any political decision. (PARTIREP 2009)
	R-2. Subjects of representation	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? Members of parliament should always vote in accordance with their party guidelines. (IESA-SEDES) Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? "MPs should represent individuals and groups that did not vote for them (or their party) directly, those outside their constituency or electorate".
	R-3. Type of decision rule	Regarding the meaning of democracy, there are different perspectives. Could you please tell me for each of these characteristics how important it is for you in a democracy? That the majority of the population takes into account the significant minorities. (PARTIREP 2009)
Responsiveness	RE-1. Implementation of policies that citizens want	There are different opinions about people's rights in a democracy. How important is it: that politicians take into account the view of citizens before making decisions? (ISSP 2004)
Freedom	F-1. Individual liberty and effective guarantee of civil rights	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? Everyone should have the right to express his opinion even if he differs from the majority Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? It is better to live in an orderly society than to allow people so much freedom that they can become disruptive
Equality	E-1. Political equality	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? Every citizen should have an equal chance to influence government policy
	E-2. Social equality	There are different opinions about people's rights in a democracy. How important is it: that all citizens have an adequate standard of living? (ISSP 2004) Do you think that the democratic system favours or impedes that wealth is equally distributed? (IESA-SEDES)

Table 12 The Evaluations of democracy

Dimension	Indicator	Items – The *Evaluation* of democracy
Rule of law	RL-1. Individual security and civil order	Do you think that citizens in general respect the law? Scale from 0 (nobody respects the law) to 10 (all citizens respect the law). (similar to IESA-SEDES) How many of the following categories of people do you think are involved in corruption (Five points scale five points): police? Judges and magistrates? politicians? (similar to IESA-SEDES)
	RL-2. Accessibility and equality of the judicial system.	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? Independently of who you are, people can always access the justice
	RL-3. Independence of the judicial system.	To what extent do you think that judges are independent in the exercise of their functions? Scale from 0 (not at all independent) to 10 (completely independent). (IESA-SEDES)
	RL-4. Institutional and administrative capacity to enforce the law	Do you think that laws in [country] are enforced always, sometimes, seldom or never? Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? Sometimes justice functions so badly that it is better for the people to take the law into their own hands (similar to IESA-SEDES)
Vertical accountability	VA-1. Retrospective accountability	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? Elections work well as a mechanism to reward those governments that have done a good job and to punish those that have done a bad job.
	VA-2. Prospective accountability	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? All parties present very similar governing programs/proposals (IESA-SEDES)
	VA-3. Transparency of political decisions and public administration	Do you believe that the decisions made by your political representatives are transparent? Scale from 0 (not at all transparent) to 10 (very transparent) Do you think that, in general, members of parliament always, quite often, sometimes, hardly ever or never explain what they do? (IESA-SEDES)
	VA-4. Availability of alternative sources of information and informational openness	To what extent do you think that the mass media reflect the plurality of opinions that exists in society? Scale from 0 (not at all) to 10 (it is completely reflected). (IESA-SEDES) Do you think that the state television channel is impartial when presenting information about politics? Scale from 1 (very impartial) to 5 (not at all impartial) (IESA-SEDES)
Horizontal accountability	HA-1. Capacity of control of several institutions on abusive practices by the government	To what degree do you think that the Constitutional Court is capable of controlling abusive practices by the government? Scale from 1 (very capable) to 5 (not at all capable)? (alternatives: the opposition, the media, the ombudsman, the head of state) (IESA-SEDES)
	HA-2. Decentralization	To what extent do you think that your municipality/regional level has the capacity to deal with your most immediate problems?
Participation	P-1. Opportunities of participation	Talking now about participation in the political life, would you say that you have many, enough, few or no opportunity to influence the decision-making process?
	P-2. Types of participation	How well do you think that the following instruments of participation are helpful to influence the decision-making process: referenda, manifestations, internet, etc…

Table 13 The Evaluations of democracy (ctd.)

Dimension	Indicator	Items – The *Evaluation* of democracy
Competition	C-1. Elections free and fair	How would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national election, held in [election date]? Scale from completely free and fair to not at all free and fair.
	C-2. Fair electoral system to all political parties	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? The electoral system benefits the big parties. (IESA-SEDES) Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? All parties have equal opportunities to convey their ideas and policy proposals to the citizenry.
	C-3. Alternation of parties in office	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? During the last years, there has bee sufficient alternation of parties in office
	C-4. Sufficient number of parties	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? There is a sufficient number of parties to vote for at elections (IESA-SEDES)
	C-5. Internal party democracy	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? Parties elect their candidates through democratic procedures (IESA-SEDES)
Representation	R-1. Nature of representation	How well do you feel you are represented by the political institutions?
	R-2. Subjects of representation	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? Parties in government do only care to the necessities of the people who voted them
	R-3. Type of decision rule	Would you say that they way in which our representatives are elected in our country is very good, good, bad or very bad?
Responsiveness	RE-1. Implementation of policies that citizens want	In your opinion, the governing leaders make decisions based on the demands of the majority of citizens always, almost always, sometimes, hardly ever, never. (IESA-SEDES)
Freedom	F-1. Individual liberty and effective guarantee of civil rights	In [country], how free are you to (from totally free to not free at all): Nowadays all the ideas can be freely expressed/ Join any political organization you want?/ Choose who to vote for without feeling pressured? (similar to IESA-SEDES)
Equality	E-1. Political equality	Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? The citizens that belong to the party in government receive a better treatment by the state administration (IESA-SEDES) Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? Justice is the same for rich and poor (IESA-SEDES) We would like you to tell us if you have ever had the following experience with a public employee: you have felt discriminated against. (IESA-SEDES) Do you think that any of these groups find obstacles to participate in public deliberations/ public life?(Islamic extremists; Extreme left activists; Immigrants; Homosexuals; Christian fundamentalists; Racists; Extreme right activists; Supporters of territorial secession; None of these groups should be excluded. (IESA-SEDES) Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? There are gender discriminations that hinder the participation of women in public life (IESA-SEDES) Could you tell me if you strongly agree (1)…. or strongly disagree (5) with the following statements? There are discriminations of other social groups that hinder their participation in public life (IESA-SEDES) Would you describe yourself as being a member of a group which is discriminated against in this country? (ESS)
	E-2. Social equality	Do you think that social inequalities have diminished during the last two years in your country? A lot, quite a bit, somewhat, a little, not at all. How much do you think that democracy in [country] helps to reduce economic inequalities? Scale from a lot to nothing. (IESA-SEDES)

Some items of the core questionnaire may complement this battery and act as control variables – in particular, social equality (B30), freedom (B31), accountability (B32) or attitudes towards immigration (B35-B40). In addition, other questions already part of the core questionnaire are of fundamental importance for our project: usage of media (A1 – A7); political interest (B1); internal efficacy (B2 – B3); social trust (A8 – A10), trust in political institutions (B4 – B10); political participation (B13, B15 – B24); ideology (B23); satisfaction with democracy (B27) and satisfaction with the government (B26); and perceived discrimination (C16 – C17). These will constitute fundamental variables for our analysis.

Finally, we aim to include two more items to tap citizens' evaluations of economic performance (Table 14). Together with the whole battery on the meaning and evaluations of democracy we expect therefore not to surpass the number of 50 items allowed by the ESS module. However, on this matter, support from the ESS staff will be of extreme help for the correct selection of the items.

Table 14 The Economic Governance

Concept	Indicator	Items – The Evaluation of Economic Governance
Economic governance	EG-1. Government's de facto implementation of its economic policies	Do you think that the government's economic policies are implemented always, often, sometimes, seldom, never?
	EG-2. Governmental autonomy to govern the economy	To what extent do you think that the decisions of the [country] government are protected against the economic power? Scale from very much conditioned to not at all conditioned (0-10). (IESA-SEDES)
		To what extent do you think that the decisions of the [country] government are protected against the governments of other countries? Scale from very much conditioned to not at all conditioned (0-10).

PART 4: Methodological or Practical difficulties (max 2000 words)

As this project is dependent on context (because we might expect that there will be different conceptions of democracy depending on the country people live in), there might be some issues we have to pay particular attention to when implementing the new questions. On the one hand, we have to make sure that all respondents will understand the questions in the same way (so that good translation is really fundamental in this point). On the other hand, standards of quality might vary from one country to another. Therefore, the selection of the items should be very much guided by these peculiarities. Possibly, a way to proceed about this would be to avoid formulating the questions in too abstract terms or to provide definitions for these questions which are excessively abstract. We should be particularly cautious in the formulation of the questions on the meaning of democracy, as people might all expect "everything" from democracy. There certainly is a trade-off between ensuring comparability of the measures and avoiding the possibility that people rate all items high in all the dimensions because of social desirability.

We are also aware of the importance of the ordering of the questions. It might be the case that asking first about the meaning in a particular dimension can influence later evaluations of this dimension. Questions should probably be completely randomised (so that items on the same dimension do not follow), in order to avoid these ordering effects. In addressing these and other difficulties, we look forward to working with the EES staff in honing our questions.