Europe Election Study 2004
- Codebook -
Preface

This second edition of the codebook and dataset of the European Election Study 2004 is a service to the future user of the data. We have tried to make it more userfriendly by harmonising variable names in the codebook and data-set; by harmonising the treatment of missing values across the different national studies; and by adding a number of constructed variables that were found to be useful in previous work with the data.

All changes that were made from version 1 to version 2 of codebook and dataset are documented in a voluminous appendix composed by Sascha Adam who was also in charge of implementing the changes in both dataset and documentation.

The European Election Study 2004 has already been heavily used by the academic community. We hope it will be subjected to many more stimulating analyses on the basis of this improved edition.

For the editorial team

Hermann Schmitt

April 2004
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Acknowledgement to be made by users of the data

All manuscripts utilizing the data documented in this codebook should identify the original collectors of the data. All users are urged to include some adaptation of the following statement in their publication (the brackets indicate items which can be inserted or deleted as appropriate):

The data utilized in this publication were originally collected by the 2004 European Election Study research group. This study has been made possible by various grants. Neither the original collectors of the data nor their sponsors bear any responsibility for the analyses or interpretations published here. The data are available from the homepage of the European Election Study (www.europeanelectionstudies.net) and from the Archive Department of GESIS (the former Central Archive for Empirical Social Research (ZA) at the University of Cologne – www.gesis.org), Germany.

Any publication based on these data should be noted in the EES Publications Database available at the homepage of the European Elections Study research group (www.europeanectionstudies.net).
PART I

GENERAL INFORMATION
ORGANIZATION AND DESIGN

Introduction and Study Design

The European Election Study 2004 is a sample survey of the electorates of 24 of the member states of the European Union: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom. It focuses in particular on the direct elections to the European Parliament, which were conducted in June 2004; and in most cases was fielded immediately following these elections. It was not found possible to conduct a survey in Malta.

Every attempt was made for the questionnaires of this study to be identical across the various member states. However, as the field work was undertaken by 25 different research groups, discrepancies did arise. Despite this, the data file presented here provides one with wide opportunities for comparative analyses across the European Union member states.

The contents of the questionnaire are briefly described in the VARIABLE DESCRIPTION LIST, and verbatim (in its English version) in the section containing the QUESTION WORDING AND RESPONSE CATEGORIES FOR EACH VARIABLE. Appendices and further documentation follow this section. Finally, copies of the questionnaires as they were used in the various EU member-states are provided where available as additional documentation. The coded data from the study have been organized in a single SPSS data file, containing 28861 cases and 318 variables. The number of interviews conducted in the different member-states of the European Union was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Section in dataset (if sorted by country):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1010</td>
<td>1 1010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>1011 1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain (Great Britain)</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>1900 3399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>3400 3899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>3900 4788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>1317</td>
<td>4789 6105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td>6106 7711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>7712 8611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1406</td>
<td>8612 10017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>10018 10613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>10614 11113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>11114 12313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>1154</td>
<td>12314 13467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1553</td>
<td>13468 15020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>15021 16020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>1005</td>
<td>16021 17025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>1335</td>
<td>17026 18360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1586</td>
<td>18361 19946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>1582</td>
<td>19947 21528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>21529 22488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>22489 23488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>1063</td>
<td>23489 24551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>1002</td>
<td>24551 25553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1208</td>
<td>25553 26761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2100</td>
<td>26762 28861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28861</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Organization and Funding

The European Election Study 2004 was organized by the EES Workgroup, an international group of researchers that, on the occasion of previous European elections in 1989, 1994, and 1999 organized similar surveys of the voting age population in the member states of the European Union (see, e.g., van der Eijk et al., 2002; Schmitt et al., 1997; van der Eijk et al., 1993). The 2004 study was prepared by a group of principle investigators. In their preparation of the 2004 study, the group convened several times, in particular in Canterbury (September 1999) and Florence (May 2003). The group consisted of Stefano Bartolini (EUI Florence, Italy), Cees van der Eijk (now University of Nottingham, UK), Mark Franklin (Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, USA), Dieter Fuchs (University of Stuttgart, GFR), Michael Marsh (Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland), and Hermann Schmitt (University of Mannheim, GFR).

A list of the National Study Directors (NSD’s) are included on the front page of this document and on the website, which includes contact and institutional affiliations. In March 2004, a meeting of almost all NSD’s convened at the MZES, University of Mannheim; this same group reconvened at the University of Nottingham in January 2005 to report on data collection matters, and in May 2005 in Budapest to present first results of data analyses.

After completion of the fieldwork the datasets were processed into the format described in this document. The nature of this processing is described below (see section on CLEANING AND DATA PREPARATION).

This study would not have been possible without the support from a variety of sources. Unlike previous years, each country’s data set was funded by the National Study Directors in their respective countries. Below is the collection of the various sources of funding from each of the countries. Non-field work costs for cleaning, datafile production, and documentation were covered by the Mannheim Center for European Social Research.

Sources of Funding by Country (if reported)

Austria
Institute for Social Research and Analysis (SORA)
Österreichische Gesellschaft für Europapolitik (OGFE)
Federal Chancellery Austria
Austrian Parliament / Parliamentary Directorate

Belgium
'Instituut voor Sociaal en Politiek Opinieonderzoek' (ISPO), K.U.Leuven, Belgium and the 'Point d'appui Interuniversitair sur l'Opinion publique et la Politique', (PIOP), U.C.Louvain, Belgium

Britain
ESRC: reference number RES-000-22-0745 (see also Northern Ireland)

Denmark
The Danish Social Science Research Council.

Estonia
Targeted Financing Grant 0182573s03 of the Estonian Science Foundation.

Finland
The Ministry of Justice

Germany
MZES, University of Mannheim

Greece
Secretary General of Information (Dr. Panos Livadas)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Institution/Grant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>International Policy Fellowship grant to Gabor Toka from the Center for Policy Studies at the Central European University, Budapest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>Chambre des députés du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>University of Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council) of the UK. Award no: RES-000-22-0804 (John Garry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>National Council for Eurasian and East European Research (U.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Instituto de Ciências Sociais, University of Lisbon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>1.EC, within the project - ONG/2004/333, 2. additional support for analysis - Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>Public Opinion and Mass Communication Research Centre (CPOMC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Analisis Sociologicos, Economicos Y Politicos, S.A. (A.S.E.P.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Researchers interested in using the European Election Study 2004 may find it advantageous to take notice of the contents of the previous three European Election Studies of 1989, 1994 and 1999. In spite of each study’s unique emphasis on particular aspects of European elections and the contexts within which they take place, each of these three studies is designed along similar principles. Therefore, the four European Election Studies of 1989, 1994, 1999, and 2004 offer not only ample opportunities for comparisons across political systems, but for longitudinal comparison as well. All three studies are archived by Steinmetz Archives, and can be obtained from there, as well as from most other social science data archives (such as the Zentral Archive in Cologne, or the ICPSR in Ann Arbor).

The European Elections Study Workgroup maintains a website that contains the following useful information for analysts of the EES data:

- A list of publications based on EES data (to the extent that they have been brought to the attention of the webmaster).
- Information about both past and future conferences where materials from the EES’s have been or will be presented and discussed.
- Information about the Euromanifestos Project (current and past studies)

The URL of this website is: [http://www.europeanelectionstudies.net/](http://www.europeanelectionstudies.net/).
REPORT OF FIELDWORK

The Technical Implementation of the Survey

The methodology of the 2004 European Elections Studies differs from previous versions. Unlike the previous studies, this episode of data collection was conducted on a country by country basis as the National Study Directors were responsible for funding and executing a survey in their own country. This resulted in a variety of survey methodologies although often similar in techniques. This section will describe the core components of the technical implementation of the 2004 EES; however, due to the high number of differences within even the sub-sets of survey collection methodology, country by country comparisons must be left up to individual researchers.

Period of Fieldwork

Overall, nearly all of the surveys were completed shortly following the 2004 European Parliamentary elections of June 2004. Eleven of the countries were able to begin the interviews in June, starting as early as the 12th (Austria, Britain, Czech Republic, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia). Nine were completed before the end of July (Cyprus, Estonia, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Northern Ireland, Portugal, and Spain). The remaining countries (Denmark, Ireland, and Sweden) all began in June 2004 but were unable to be completed until late September or early October. Belgium - including separate Wallonia and Flanders surveys - were conducted in December 2004 - January 2005.

Sample Frame:

Of the 24 surveys, the interview mode of nine (9) were telephone surveys: including Austria, Britain, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, Luxembourg, Portugal, Slovenia. Four (4) were mail surveys (including the Netherlands’ email survey): Belgium (Wallonia and Flanders), Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands. Eleven (11) were face-to-face interviews: Cyprus (did not include the territory under military Turkish occupation), Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Northern Ireland, Poland, Slovakia, Spain, and Sweden.

Sample Design:

Overall, the sampling frames were roughly consistent. The age of participation was uniformly over 18 and explicit exclusions to participation included institutionalized individuals, military personnel, citizenship requirements, and those nationals living abroad during the period of the survey ultimately resulting in a mean of 5.8 (std dev: 7.0) for the percent of total exclusions for the entire survey. For the telephone surveys, the mean exclusion rate was 10.1 (std dev: 9.8, n = 7); for mail surveys: 5.7 (std dev: 4.0, n = 3); and face-to-face interviews: 2.2 (std dev: 2.3, n = 8).

Beyond these basic similarities, at the application level, these methods have many differences between these survey techniques, therefore we will delineate among them for clarity. For telephone interviews, respondents’ number was selected by random digit dialing (4), a listed sample (4), or through the use of a dual frame (1). For surveys conducted by mail, all used a national registry (voter or citizens registry) from which to randomly select addresses. For the face-to-face interviews, four (4) were designed and conducted through quota sampling (either SES or geographic quotas) and seven (7) were selected randomly (country’s specific procedures can be reviewed in their individual Technical Reports).

Response Rates:

Again, as each of these surveys was conducted independent of the other, we illustrate the comparative response rates across techniques. For telephone interviews, the mean was 39.0% (std dev: 19.8, n = 7); for

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1 France did not report the technical implementation of its study.
2 Of those reported: 18 of 24.
mail: 44.5% (std dev: 12.5, n = 2); and for face-to-face interviews: 69.0% (std dev: 12.1, n = 7). While many of the countries reported ‘total number of sample lines issued’, ‘non-response’, and ‘completion rates’, the cross-national pattern of reporting is simply too inconsistent to permit effective aggregate summaries to be made. Losses used to calculate unsuccessful attempts vary across techniques (hang ups vs. not mailed back) and within groups as even CATI telephone organizations do not recorded attempts in similar manners.

For example, in calculating the completion rate, one must decide what kinds of "losses" of telephone numbers do not affect the quality of the sample (so called "neutral losses") and what categories do actually have an impact on the quality of the sample. This is a matter of definition which can be solved in many different ways. For our calculation of the completion rate we decided in favor of a more conservative way: households\(^3\) or target persons that were not available in the limited two weeks fieldwork period are defined as „quality neutral losses“, since they did not have any chance to enter the net sample and since we believe that this group does not differ from the group of respondents. Thus these "losses" are taken off the gross sample and not considered in the calculation of the completion rate. On the other hand telephone numbers with which no contact was made („nobody in the household“) are defined as losses which have an impact on the quality of the sample. They are part of the net sample and are thus considered in the calculation of the completion rate, although they might include also corporate lines, not working numbers, fax, modems etc., which are quality neutral losses. When assessing the completion rate in the next section this should be kept in mind, since any quality neutral losses in the net sample require the completion rate to be corrected upwards.

In general the variance between the countries concerning most of the kinds of losses from the gross sample is tremendous, reflecting different social and cultural situations and differences in the technical implementation of the survey by the local institutes (e.g. random digit dialing, time management: phoning only in the evening or also at other moments).

Overall: Technical Implementation of the Survey

Inferences about a population can be derived from a sample of that population if it is both sufficiently random and large. On a whole, these surveys individually meet these criteria. Although their separate means of satisfying these criteria may be at first glance off-putting, this fact should be largely moot in a pooled analysis. The investigation of the individual methodologies of the 2004 EES surveys by country has demonstrated variation across individual countries; however, as a technical issue, their methodologies are rigorous, public, and replicable. Therefore, the aggregation of these surveys should be unproblematic.

\(^3\) Information that a household is not available in the fieldwork period can be obtained from the cleaning lady or anybody else who answers the phone in the household but does not belong to the household.
CLEANING AND DATA-PREPARATION

The preparation of the final datasets and their documentation was carried out by Matthew Loveless, Daniela Braun and Sascha Adam. This data processing included the following:

- **cleaning**: The data were checked for non-documented or incorrect codes. This process was made more difficult given the disaggregated approach of each country executing their own survey. The data were evaluated separately (by country) for basic coherency and consistency and, where possible and necessary, assigned missing data codes for 'don't know', 'not ascertained' and 'inappropriate'.

- **systematization of coding**: As far as possible, and where this was originally not the case, the same numerical values were assigned to categories of different variables which had (essentially) the same set of response options. For example, various questions involve coding of political parties. A second systematization involves the checking the ordering of the response codings to assure a consistent direction, e.g. from low to high codes for the different response options. A final case involves the systematization of missing data codes, to facilitate their uniform handling by the analyst. In such cases in which a reasonable congruency could not be reached between a particular country’s question and/or responses code and the Master Questionnaire, an alternative variable was added to handle this discrepancy.

- **adding of analytical variables and tools**: The data file contains a series of variables added for the convenience of users. They comprise variables such as weighting factors, etc. The construction of these additional variables is documented in separate appendices.

- **ordering of variables into coherent blocks**: the ordering of the variables in the files has been arranged in such a way that identification of relevant information and navigation through the files is greatly facilitated. Quick reviews of the contents of the EES-04 data files can be attained by scanning the VARIABLE DESCRIPTION LIST.

- **Second edition**: In the course of 2008, additional measures were taken to harmonise country specifics in the coding of variables. These include:
  - the adjustment of variable names as they appear in this codebook and in the data file
  - the consistent coding of missing values
  - the documentation of response categories for each variable
  - the correction of a few errors that were found in the 1st edition of the data set
  - a revision of a number of appendices that became necessary due to the harmonization of variables
  - a documentation of all these revisions in a “pre-/post-revision table” for each variable, that is available on the webpage as a separate additional file accompanying this codebook
  - the integration of appendix 13 (Country Deviations) into the section “question wording for each variable”
  - a translation of the question numbers used in the English master questionnaire into variable numbers resp. variable names.

- **Missing Values**: Missing values are either coded as “-1” indicating a process-generated missing value (when a question is not asked in a specific country) or as “9”, “99”, “999” etc. indicating a respondent-generated missing value (e.g. when a respondent “doesn’t know”, provides “no answer” or “refuses” to answer). In the Swedish survey, a short questionnaire was used as a last resort for a part of the national sample. Questions that were not included in this short questionnaire are also coded “-1”. A few
exceptions to this rule are mentioned in the section “QUESTION WORDING AND RESPONSE CATEGORIES FOR EACH VARIABLE” when a particular question/variable is documented.

✓ **Mode Effects and Sampling Bias.** Till Weber from the European University Institute in Florence contributes an analysis of interview mode effects on the response rates and the representativity of the samples more generally which is included in this 2nd edition of the codebook. This analysis is reprinted in the following section of this codebook.
MODE EFFECTS AND SAMPLE BIAS

by Till Weber, European University Institute (till.weber@eui.eu)

The EES 2004 may not only be viewed as a comparative election study, but also as a large-scale experiment on the effect of survey mode on data quality. 25 generally identical surveys were administered by three different modes: phone interviews in ten countries, mail-back questionnaires in four countries, and face-to-face interviews in eleven countries.

The general performance of the three modes can be compared in terms of coverage and response rates. The preceding section documents that face-to-face interviews scored best with regard to both criteria, followed by mail-back questionnaires and phone interviews in that order. But of course high exclusion rates and low response rates are not problematic per se. Other criteria are required to check whether representativeness is affected.

Mode-induced differences in the data may be due to two classes of effects: mode effects that affect the response itself, and sampling effects that affect the selection of respondents. Mode effects are a rather broad category that contains phenomena such as social desirability, acquiescence, question-order and response-order effects, satisficing, item non-response, etc. Sampling bias is more clearly defined since it may only result from systematic exclusion of certain parts of the population owing to sampling design or from differential non-response among sampled individuals.

The major difficulty of evaluating sampling and mode effects is that both types of bias occur simultaneously. If we obtain a sample with exceptionally high interest in politics, it is hard to say whether we have systematically failed to interview people who are not interested in politics or whether the interview itself prompted people to overstate their interest. We can, however, test hypotheses concerning the variation of such effects between modes.

In general mode effects can be derived from two dimensions: interviewer contact and cognitive/technical difficulty. Bias due to interviewer contact should be highest for face-to-face interviews followed by phone interviews and mail-back questionnaires. Bias due to difficulty should be distributed the other way around, i.e. highest for mail-back followed by phone and face-to-face.

Mode effects like social desirability or acquiescence are clearly related to interviewer contact. Other mode effects such as satisficing or primacy result from cognitive or technical difficulty. All the tests reported here are then designed to exploit the fact that potential sampling effects induce bias in the opposite direction in each case. Let us turn to some examples to illustrate this procedure.

In an election study the obvious example for a mode effect due to interviewer contact is over-reporting of turnout. Turning out is generally seen as socially desirable. We can test this by comparing official
statistics to the percentage of respondents who report having turned out in the EP election or in the preceding national election. In case of a mode effect we expect over-reporting to be highest for face-to-face followed by phone and mail-back. The opposite order is expected for sampling effects: highest for mail-back, then phone, then face-to-face. Mail-back questionnaires should be more likely to be returned by citizens who also turned out. This effect should decrease for the other modes where self-selection is less important.

Table 1 shows evidence for sampling effects. For the EP election no mode produces realistic results, but performance clearly declines from face-to-face through phone to mail-back. For national elections phone and face-to-face interviews come very close to reality, but mail-back questionnaires still overestimate turnout substantially.

Table 1   Over-reporting of turnout

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EP election</th>
<th>National election</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mail-back</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face-to-face</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own calculations controlling for time of interview, compulsory voting, official turnout (ceiling).

An example for a mode effect due to technical difficulty concerns response to open-ended questions. In the EES respondents are asked to mention the most important problems in their country (including requests to mention more problems). Such items may be subject to satisficing: respondents may simply consider the task complete after the first response. This should be especially likely in self-administered questionnaires. A sampling effect, however, would again produce the opposite pattern. Self-selection of respondents who are more interested in politics and therefore more likely to come up with a longer list of political problems is expected for mail-back questionnaires but not for the other modes.

Table 2 shows the number of problems mentioned by the average respondent. Again we find evidence for a sampling effect rather than for a mode effect. On average mail-back questionnaires produce almost one problem more than phone or face-to-face interviews.

Table 2   Response to open-ended questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of problems mentioned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mail-back</td>
<td>2.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face-to-face</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own calculations controlling for unemployment, gdp pc, crime rate, health spending, problems recorded.
Sampling effects can be tested more directly when a basis for comparison is available from official sources, as is the case with most demographics. As an example, Figure 1 shows how the different modes perform in representing the age structure of the population. The sample was divided into five age categories that correspond to data available from Eurostat. The vertical axis depicts the ratio obtained from dividing the share of a category in the sample by its share according to official statistics. A point above the gray lines means the category is overrepresented; a point below the line means the category is underrepresented.

Figure 1  Age bias

Two observations stand out. First, on average all modes underrepresent citizens in the oldest category, and only few individual surveys achieve a realistic ratio. Second, mail-back questionnaires also fail to adequately represent citizens in the youngest category, whereas phone and face-to-face interviews perform relatively well in this respect.
The examples described above are taken from a more extensive series of tests including:

- Face-to-face performs best in estimating unemployment rates. Phone and mail-back underestimate unemployment due to sampling bias.

- Mail-back questionnaires underrepresent women.

- Item non-response for a series of non-sensitive questions increased from mail-back through phone to face-to-face, suggesting sampling bias in the better-performing modes.

- A significant share of new voters report having turned out in the preceding national election even though they are too young to have been eligible at that time. However, variance across countries could not be explained in terms of desirability.

- Agreement to issue questions is highest for face-to-face. This may result from acquiescence (a mode effect), but may also reflect sampling bias for phone and mail-back.

- Face-to-face seems to give rise to equality bias in the income distribution with poor respondents overstating income and rich respondents understating it. However, the effect could not be found for phone interviews.

Evidence for sampling bias is more frequent and clear than evidence for mode effects. Of course this is not to say we can safely exclude the possibility of mode effects. The EES 2004 does not possess all the qualities of a fully controlled mode experiment. Country effects may interfere with mode effects, and sampling effects and mode effects may cancel each other out to some degree. However, the results reported here are supported by large parts of the literature on “true” mode experiments. Mode effects are generally small, and the real problem seems to be about sampling bias.
PART II

VARIABLES
## VARIABLE DESCRIPTION LIST

### Identification, Weighting and Interviewing Characteristics

- **election**: study identification
- **country**: country code
- **postcom**: post-communist
- **idnum**: interview number
- **date**: date of interview
- **region**: region - see appendix 6
- **sesweight1**: socio-economic/demographic weight 1 - see appendix 5
- **sesweight2**: socio-economic/demographic weight 2 - see appendix 5
- **sesweight3**: socio-economic/demographic weight 3 - see appendix 5
- **nweigh**: sample n weight - see appendix 5
- **psweigh**: party strength/turnout weight - see appendix 5
- **epweigh**: european election weight - see appendix 5
- **lang**: language of interview (Estonia and Latvia only)

### Most Important Problem

**NOTE:** There are harmonized versions of these variables (v015 - v028) available starting with v275.

- **v015**: problem mentioned 1 - see appendix 1
- **v016**: problem mentioned 2 - "
- **v017**: problem mentioned 3 - "
- **v018**: problem mentioned 4 - "
- **v019**: problem mentioned 5 - "
- **v020**: problem mentioned 6 - "
- **v021**: problem mentioned 7 - "
- **v022**: problem mentioned 8 - "
- **v023**: problem mentioned 9 - "
- **v024**: problem mentioned 10 - "
- **v025**: problem mentioned 11 - "
- **v026**: problem mentioned 12 - "
- **v027**: problem mentioned 13 - "
- **v028**: most important problem (MIP) - see appendix 1
- **v029**: party that best deals with MIP - see appendix 2
- **v030**: level of gov. dealing with MIP
- **v031**: level of gov. dealing with MIP (Italy only)
- **v032**: level of gov. most appropriate to deal with MIP
- **v033**: level of gov. most appropriate to deal with MIP (Italy only)

### Media Usage

- **v034**: days a week watching TV
- **v035**: channel 1 - see appendix 3
- **v036**: channel 2 - "
- **v037**: channel 3 - "
- **v038**: channel 4 - "
- **v039**: channel 5 - "
- **v040**: channel 6 - "
- **v041**: channel 7 - "
- **v042**: channel 8 - "
- **v043**: channel 9 - "

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*European Election Study 2004*
v044 channel 10 -  "
v045 channel 11 -  "
v046 channel 12 -  "
v047 channel 13 -  "
v048 channel 14 -  "
v049 channel 15 -  "
v050 channel 16 -  "
v051 channel 17 -  "
v052 channel 18 -  "
v053 channel 19 -  "
v054 channel 20 -  "
v055 channel 21 -  "
v056 channel 22 -  "
v057 channel 23 -  "
v058 channel 24 -  "
v059 channel 25 -  "
v060 channel 26 -  "
v061 channel 27 -  "
v062 channel 28 -  "
v063 channel 29 -  "
v064 channel 30 -  "
v065 channel 31 -  "
v066 channel 32 -  "
v067 channel 33 -  "
v068 channel 34 -  "
v069 days a week reading newspaper
v070 read one or several newspapers regularly (Sweden only)
v071 newspaper 1 - see appendix 4
v072 newspaper 2 -  "
v073 newspaper 3 -  "
v074 newspaper 4 -  "
v075 newspaper 5 -  "
v076 newspaper 6 -  "
v077 newspaper 7 -  "
v078 newspaper 8 -  "
v079 newspaper 9 -  "
v080 newspaper 10 -  "
v081 newspaper 11 -  "
v082 newspaper 12 -  "
v083 newspaper 13 -  "
v084 newspaper 14 -  "
v085 newspaper 15 -  "
v086 newspaper 16 -  "
v087 newspaper 17 -  "
v088 newspaper 18 -  "
v089 newspaper 19 -  "
v090 newspaper 20 -  "
v091 newspaper 21 -  "
v092 newspaper 22 -  "
v093 newspaper 23 -  "
v094 newspaper 24 - "
v095 newspaper 25 - "
v096 newspaper 26 - "
v097 newspaper 27 - "
v098 newspaper 28 - "
v099 newspaper 29 - "
v100 newspaper 30 - "
v101 newspaper 31 - "
v102 newspaper 32 - "
v103 newspaper 33 - "
v104 newspaper 34 - "

Participation in EE campaign
v105 how often did you watch a program about the election on television?
v106 how often did you read about the election in a newspaper?
v107 how often did you talk to friends or family about the election?
v108 how often did you attend a public meeting or rally about the election?
v109 how often did you look into a website concerned with the election?

Voting and Party Attachment
v110 interest in EP elections
v111 vote in EP elections
v112 vote recall EP elections - see appendix 2
v113 vote recall previous national elections - see appendix 2
v114 vote intention next national election - see appendix 2

Probability of Vote Choice
v115 probability vote for party 1 - see appendix 2
v116 probability vote for party 2 - "
v117 probability vote for party 3 - "
v118 probability vote for party 4 - "
v119 probability vote for party 5 - "
v120 probability vote for party 6 - "
v121 probability vote for party 7 - "
v122 probability vote for party 8 - "
v123 probability vote for party 9 - "
v124 probability vote for party 10 - "
v125 probability vote for party 11 - "
v126 probability vote for party 12 - "
v127 probability vote for party 13 - "
v128 probability vote for party 14 - "

Institutional Trust
v129 trust in [country] parliament
v130 trust in European Parliament
v131 trust in [country] government
v132 trust in European Commission
v133 trust in Council of Ministers
Left-Right Placement
v134 left-right self-placement
v135 left-right placement: party 1 - see appendix 2
v136 left-right placement: party 2 - ”
v137 left-right placement: party 3 - ”
v138 left-right placement: party 4 - ”
v139 left-right placement: party 5 - ”
v140 left-right placement: party 6 - ”
v141 left-right placement: party 7 - ”
v142 left-right placement: party 8 - ”
v143 left-right placement: party 9 - ”
v144 left-right placement: party 10 - ”
v145 left-right placement: party 11 - ”
v146 left-right placement: party 12 - ”
v147 left-right placement: party 13 - ”
v148 left-right placement: party 14 - ”

Economic Evaluations
v149 retrospective sociotropic economic evaluation
v150 prospective sociotropic economic evaluation

Attitudes towards Issues of European Unification
v151 for scarce jobs priority to be given to [country] citizens
v152 citizens of EU countries should vote in [country] local elections
v153 citizens of EU countries should receive social benefits in [country]

Perception of Parties’ Positions towards European Unification
v154 interest in politics
v155 EU membership good or bad
v156 attitude to European unification
v157 European unification: perception of party 1 - see appendix 2
v158 European unification: perception of party 2 - ”
v159 European unification: perception of party 3 - ”
v160 European unification: perception of party 4 - ”
v161 European unification: perception of party 5 - ”
v162 European unification: perception of party 6 - ”
v163 European unification: perception of party 7 - ”
v164 European unification: perception of party 8 - ”
v165 European unification: perception of party 9 - ”
v166 European unification: perception of party 10 - ”
v167 European unification: perception of party 11 - ”
v168 European unification: perception of party 12 - ”
v169 European unification: perception of party 13 - ”
v170 European unification: perception of party 14 - ”

Perceptions of Citizenship
v171 not only [country] citizen, but also European citizen
v172 proud of EU citizenship
Referendum
v173 vote in second referendum on the Nice Treaty (Ireland only)
v174 hypothetical vote on EU enlargement (Austria and Germany only)
v175 vote in referendum on question of EU membership (new member countries only)

Trust
v176 trust in Austrians
v177 trust in Belgians
v178 trust in British
v179 trust in Bulgarians
v180 trust in Croatians
v181 trust in Cypriots
v182 trust in Czechs
v183 trust in Danes
v184 trust in Dutch
v185 trust in Estonians
v186 trust in Finns
v187 trust in French
v188 trust in Germans
v189 trust in Greek
v190 trust in Hungarians
v191 trust in Irish
v192 trust in Italians
v193 trust in Latvians
v194 trust in Lithuanians
v195 trust in Luxembourgers
v196 trust in Maltese
v197 trust in Norwegians
v198 trust in Poles
v199 trust in Portuguese
v200 trust in Romanians
v201 trust in Serbs
v202 trust in Slovaks
v203 trust in Slovenes
v204 trust in Spaniards
v205 trust in Swedes
v206 trust in Swiss
v207 trust in Turks

Satisfaction with Government and Democracy
v208 satisfaction with democracy in [country]
v209 satisfaction with democracy in EU
v210 approval of [country] government's record

Party Identification and European Union
v211 direction of party identification (PID) - see appendix 2
v212 strength of party identification (PID)
v213 EU policies in the interest of [country]
v214 EU policies in respondent's interest
Demographics and Background Characteristics
v215 member of trade union
v216 age when stopped full-time education
v217 gender
v218 year of birth
v219 country of origin – see appendix 8
v220 if not born in [country], when did you come here
v221 size of household 18+
v222 employment status – see appendix 9
v223 sector of work
v224 social class
v225 urban vs. rural
v226 urban vs. rural (Netherlands only)
v227 urban vs. rural (Poland only)
v228 denomination – see appendix 7
v229 attendance at religious services - see appendix 7
v230 income quintiles

Additional Questions
v231 candidates superficial in debate?
v232 the campaign was more about strategy than content?

Alternatively Coded Media Questions
v233 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 1 - see appendix 3
v234 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 2 - ”
v235 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 3 - ”
v236 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 4 - ”
v237 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 5 - ”
v238 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 6 - ”
v239 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 7 - ”
v240 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 8 - ”
v241 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 9 - ”
v242 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 10 - ”
v243 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 11 - ”
v244 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 12 - ”
v245 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 13 - ”
v246 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 14 - ”
v247 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 15 - ”
v248 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 16 - ”
v249 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 17 - ”
v250 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 18 - ”
v251 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 19 - ”
v252 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 20 - ”

v253 alternative coding: newspaper read 1 - see appendix 4
v254 alternative coding: newspaper read 2 - ”
v255 alternative coding: newspaper read 3 - ”
v256 alternative coding: newspaper read 4 - ”
v257 alternative coding: newspaper read 5 - ”
v258 alternative coding: newspaper read 6 - ”
Standardized Most Important Problem – see appendix 1

v275 unemployment/employment
v276 pensions
v277 government/politics in general
v278 social cohesion
v279 taxes/taxation
v280 welfare policy
v281 economy
v282 crime and violence
v283 education
v284 health care system
v285 ecology/environment
v286 other problems
v287 other social problems/conflicts
v288 other political problems/conflicts
v289 inflation
v290 infrastructure/traffic/transports
v291 EU
v292 drugs, drugs policy/regulation
v293 poverty/high prices/costs
v294 political fraud/corruption
v295 wages and earnings
v296 housing

Standardized Single Most Important Problem – see appendix 1

v297 pensions_si
v298 government/politics in general_si
v299 social cohesion_si
v300 taxes/taxation_si
v301 welfare policy_si
v302 economy_si
v303 crime and violence_si
v304 education_si
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v305</td>
<td>health care system_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v306</td>
<td>ecology/environment_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v307</td>
<td>other problems_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v308</td>
<td>other social problems/conflicts_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v309</td>
<td>other political problems/conflicts_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v310</td>
<td>inflation_si</td>
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<td>v311</td>
<td>infrastructure/ traffic/ transports_si</td>
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<td>v312</td>
<td>EU_si</td>
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<td>v313</td>
<td>drugs, drugs policy/regulation _si</td>
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<td>v314</td>
<td>poverty/high prices/costs_si</td>
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<td>v315</td>
<td>political fraud/corruption_si</td>
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<td>v316</td>
<td>wages and earnings_si</td>
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<td>v317</td>
<td>housing_si</td>
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<td>v318</td>
<td>unemployment/employment_si</td>
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<tr>
<td>v319</td>
<td>single most important problem</td>
</tr>
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</table>
QUESTION WORDING AND RESPONSE CATEGORIES FOR EACH VARIABLE

Note: Missing values are either coded as “-1” indicating a process-generated missing value (when a question is not asked in a specific country) or as “9”, ”99”, ”999” etc. indicating a respondent-generated missing value (e.g. when a respondent “doesn’t know”, provides “no answer” or “refuses” to answer). In the Swedish survey, a short questionnaire was used as a last resort for a part of the national sample. Questions that were not included in this short questionnaire are also coded “-1”. A few exceptions to this rule are mentioned next to the documentation of a particular question/variable.

Identification, Weighting and Interviewing Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>election</th>
<th>study identification</th>
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<td>GB</td>
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<td>4 = Cyprus</td>
<td>CY</td>
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<td>5 = Czech Republic</td>
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<td>6 = Denmark</td>
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<td>EE</td>
</tr>
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<td>8 = Finland</td>
<td>FI</td>
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<td>9 = France</td>
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<td>12 = Hungary</td>
<td>HU</td>
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<td>17 = Luxembourg</td>
<td>LU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 = *</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 = Northern Ireland</td>
<td>NIR</td>
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<td>21 = Poland</td>
<td>PL</td>
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<td>22 = Portugal</td>
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<td>SK</td>
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<td>24 = Slovenia</td>
<td>SI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 = Spain</td>
<td>ES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 = Sweden</td>
<td>SE</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*: code 18 was reserved for Malta, which conducted no survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>postcom</th>
<th>post-communist?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 = no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 = yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 23 -
idnum interview number

date date of interview (format: yyyy-mm-dd)
-1 = (AT, BE, CY, FI, FR, IE, IT, LT, LU, NIR, PL, SK)
999 = d/n, n/a

region region
-1 = (AT, CY, DK, IE, IT, LT, PL, SE)
99 = d/n, n/a
[see appendix 6 for codes]

sesweight1 socio-economic/demographic weight 1
[see appendix 5]

sesweight2 socio-economic/demographic weight 2
[see appendix 5]

sesweight3 socio-economic/demographic weight 3
[see appendix 5]

nweigh sample n weight
[see appendix 5]

psweigh party strength/turnout weight
[see appendix 5]

epweigh european election weight
[see appendix 5]

lang language of interview (Estonia and Latvia only)
-1 = (all countries exept EE and LV)
1 = official language
2 = russian

Most Important Problem

v015 problem mentioned 1
What do you think are the most important problems in [country] at present?
Any other important problems?
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v016 problem mentioned 2
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v017 problem mentioned 3
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]
v018 problem mentioned 4
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v019 problem mentioned 5
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v020 problem mentioned 6
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v021 problem mentioned 7
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v022 problem mentioned 8
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v023 problem mentioned 9
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v024 problem mentioned 10
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v025 problem mentioned 11
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v026 problem mentioned 12
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v027 problem mentioned 13
[see v015 for complete question text]
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v028 most important problem (MIP)
Of those you have mentioned what would you say is the single most important problem?
[see appendix 1 for codes]
NL: asks for Most Important Problem by naming v015 – v027

v029 party that best deals with MIP
Which political party do you think would be best at dealing with <the most important problem (MIP)>?
[see appendix 2 for codes]
v030  level of gov. dealing with MIP  
As of today, is <the most important issue> mainly dealt with by regional, national, or European political authorities?  
-1 = (LT -- IT: but see v031 -- SE: due to short questionnaire)  
1 = regional  
2 = national  
3 = European  
5 = nobody (LV) -- combinations (SE)  
7 = none (SE)  
9 = d/k, n/a  
NIR : 1 = N. Ireland, 2 = UK, 3 = EU

v031  level of gov. dealing with MIP (Italy only)  
-1 = (all countries exept IT)  
1 = municipality  
2 = district  
3 = regional  
4 = national  
5 = european  
9 = d/k, n/a

v032  level of gov. most appropriate to deal with MIP  
And who do you think would be most appropriate to deal with <the most important issue>: regional, national, or European political authorities?  
-1 = (LT, LU -- IT: but see v033 -- SE: due to short questionnaire)  
1 = regional  
2 = national  
3 = european  
5 = nobody (LV) -- combinations (SE)  
6 = global (SE)  
9 = d/k, n/a  
NIR : 1 = N. Ireland, 2 = UK, 3 = EU

v033  level of gov. most appropriate to deal with MIP (Italy only)  
-1 = (all countries exept IT)  
1 = municipality  
2 = district  
3 = regional  
4 = national  
5 = european  
9 = d/k, n/a
Media Usage

v034  days a week watching TV

Normally, how many days of the week do you watch the news on television?
-1 = (LT -- SE: due to short questionnaire)
0 = zero days a week
1 = one day a week
2 = two days a week
3 = three days a week
4 = four days a week
5 = five days a week
6 = six days a week
7 = every day of a week
9 = d/k, n/a

BE: 0=never
LU: 7 = 6 to 7 days
ES: Question wording: “Which channels or television news programmes did
you watch yesterday?”
SE: Not in the Swedish study. This variable is derived from v233 and v234:

v035  channel 1

Which channels or television news programs do you watch regularly?
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v036  channel 2
[see v035 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v037  channel 3
[see v035 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v038  channel 4
[see v035 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v039  channel 5
[see v035 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v040  channel 6
[see v035 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v041  channel 7
[see v035 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| v042 | channel 8 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
| v043 | channel 9 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
| v044 | channel 10 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
| v045 | channel 11 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
| v046 | channel 12 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
| v047 | channel 13 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
| v048 | channel 14 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
| v049 | channel 15 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
| v050 | channel 16 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
| v051 | channel 17 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
| v052 | channel 18 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
| v053 | channel 19 | [see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes] |
v054  channel 20
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]

v055  channel 21
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]

v056  channel 22
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]

v057  channel 23
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]

v058  channel 24
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]

v059  channel 25
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]

v060  channel 26
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]

v061  channel 27
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]

v062  channel 28
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]

v063  channel 29
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]

v064  channel 30
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]

v065  channel 31
       [see v035 for complete question text]
       [see appendix 3 for codes]
v066  channel 32  
[see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes]  

v067  channel 33  
[see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes]  

v068  channel 34  
[see v035 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 3 for codes]  

v069  days a week reading newspaper  
And how many days of the week do you read a newspaper?  
-1 = (LT -- SE: but see v070)  
0 = days a week -- (never: only in BE)  
1 = one day a week  
2 = two days a week  
3 = three days a week  
4 = four days a week  
5 = five days a week  
6 = six days a week  
7 = every day of a week  
9 = d/k, n/a  
ES: Question wording: “which paper did you read yesterday?”  

v070  read one or several newspapers regularly (Sweden only)  
Do you usually read one or several newspapers regularly? With regularly I mean at least one time a week?  
-1 = (all countries exept SE)  
0 = no  
1 = yes  
9 = d/k, n/a  
99 = short questionnaire  

v071  newspaper 1  
Which newspaper or newspapers do you read regularly?  
[see appendix 4 for codes]  

v072  newspaper 2  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]  

v073  newspaper 3  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]  

v074  newspaper 4  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]  

- 30 -
v075  
**newspaper 5**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v076  
**newspaper 6**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v077  
**newspaper 7**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v078  
**newspaper 8**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v079  
**newspaper 9**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v080  
**newspaper 10**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v081  
**newspaper 11**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v082  
**newspaper 12**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v083  
**newspaper 13**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v084  
**newspaper 14**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v085  
**newspaper 15**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v086  
**newspaper 16**  
[see v069 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 4 for codes]
newspaper 17
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

newspaper 18
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

newspaper 19
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

newspaper 20
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

newspaper 21
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

newspaper 22
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

newspaper 23
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

newspaper 24
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

newspaper 25
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

newspaper 26
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

newspaper 27
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

newspaper 28
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]
Participation in European Election Campaign

BE: Question wording for the Belgian questionnaire added “European” to the question in order to clarify it.

v099 newspaper 29
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v100 newspaper 30
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v101 newspaper 31
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v102 newspaper 32
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v103 newspaper 33
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v104 newspaper 34
[see v069 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v105 how often did you watch a program about the election on television?
How often did you do any of the following during the three or four weeks before the European election? How often did you: watch a program about the election on television?
-1 = (LT, SE)
1 = often
2 = sometimes
3 = never
9 = d/k, n/a

v106 how often did you read about the election in a newspaper?
[see v105 for complete question text] … read about the election in a newspaper?
-1 = (LT, SE)
[see v105 for codes]

v107 how often did you talk to friends or family about the election?
[see v105 for complete question text] … talk to friends or family about the election?
-1 = (LT, SE)
[see v105 for codes]
v108 how often did you attend a public meeting or rally about the election? [see v105 for complete question text] … attend a public meeting or rally about the election? -1 = (LT, SE) [see v105 for codes]

v109 how often did you look into a website concerned with the election? [see v105 for complete question text] … look into a website concerned with the election? -1 = (LT, SE) [see v105 for codes]

Voting and Party Attachment

SE: answers can be validated to register data telling if the respondent actually voted or not. v110, v112 and v113 are NOT validated with register data.

v110 interest in EP elections Thinking back to just before the elections for the European Parliament were held, how interested were you in the campaign for those elections? -1 = (LT, SE) 1 very 2 = somewhat 3 = a little 4 = not at all 9 = d/k, n/a BE: “of June 13, 2004” added to clarify question.

v111 vote in EP elections A lot of people abstained in the European Parliament elections of June 13, while others voted. Did you cast your vote? -1 = (BE, LT) 1 = yes, voted 2 = no, did not vote 9 = d/k, n/a IT: 7 = “don’t remember” was recoded into “d/k, n/a” NL: “not eligible” was recoded into the “d/n, n/a”

v112 vote recall EP elections Which party did you vote for? [see appendix 2 for codes] NIR: asks for “first preference” party rather than party actually voted for.

v113 vote recall previous national elections Which party did you vote for at the [General Election] of [Year of Last General Election]? [see appendix 2 for codes] BE: “at the European elections of 13 June 2004” added to clarify; “not valid” recoded to “d/k, n/a” NL: “not eligible” was recoded into the “d/n, n/a”
v114 vote intention next national election
And if there was a general election tomorrow, which party would you vote
for?
[see appendix 2 for codes]
BE: v114: “not valid” was recoded into “d/k, n/a”

Probability of Vote Choice

v115 probability vote for party 1
We have a number of parties in [country] each of which would like to get
your vote. How probable is it that you will ever vote for the following
parties? Please specify your views on a 10-point-scale where 1 means "not at
all probable" and 10 means "very probable". If you think of [Party 1]: what
mark out of ten best describes how probable it is that you will ever vote for
[Party 1]?
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v116 probability vote for party 2
[see v115 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v117 probability vote for party 3
[see v115 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v118 probability vote for party 4
[see v115 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v119 probability vote for party 5
[see v115 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v120 probability vote for party 6
[see v115 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v121 probability vote for party 7
[see v115 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v122 probability vote for party 8
[see v115 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v123 probability vote for party 9
[see v115 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]
v124 probability vote for party 10  
[see v115 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 2 for codes]  

v125 probability vote for party 11  
[see v115 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 2 for codes]  

v126 probability vote for party 12  
[see v115 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 2 for codes]  

v127 probability vote for party 13  
[see v115 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 2 for codes]  

v128 probability vote for party 14  
[see v115 for complete question text]  
[see appendix 2 for codes]  

Institutional Trust  

v129 trust in [country] parliament  
Please tell me on a score of 1-10 [0-10 in ES and SE] how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 1 means that you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust. If you do not know an institution well enough, just say so and I will go on to the next. Firstly, the [country] parliament?  
-1 = (LT – SE: due to short questionnaire)  

0 = an 11-point scale (0-10) was used in ES & SE  
1 = “1” no trust at all  
2 = “2”  
3 = “3”  
4 = “4”  
5 = “5”  
6 = “6”  
7 = “7”  
8 = “8”  
9 = “9”  
10 = “10” no trust at all  
97 = refuse (FR, PL)  
99 = d/k, n/a  

v130 trust in European Parliament  
[see v129 for complete question text]  
-1 = (LT – SE: due to short questionnaire)  
97 = refuse (FR, PL)  
99 = d/k, n/a  
[see v129 for codes]
v131  trust in [country] government
[see v129 for complete question text]
-1 = (LT – SE: due to short questionnaire)
97 = refuse (FR, PL)
99 = d/k, n/a
[see v129 for codes]

v132  trust in European Commission
[see v129 for complete question text]
-1 = (LT – SE: short questionnaire)
97 = refuse (FR, PL)
99 = d/k, n/a
[see v129 for codes]

v133  trust in Council of Ministers
[see v129 for complete question text]
-1 = (IT, LT -- SE: due to short questionnaire)
97 = refuse (FR, PL)
99 = d/k, n/a
[see v129 for codes]

Left-Right Placement

v134  left-right self-placement
In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right". What is your position? Please indicate your views using any number on a 10-point-scale. On this scale, where 1 means "left" and 10 means "right," which number best describes your position?
-1 = (LT – SE: due to short questionnaire)

0 = an 11-point scale (0-10) was used in SE
1 = “1” left
2 = “2”
3 = “3”
4 = “4”
5 = “5”
6 = “6”
7 = “7”
8 = “8”
9 = “9”
10 = “10” right

97 = refuse
99 = d/k, n/a

v135  left-right placement: party 1
[see v134 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]
v136 left-right placement: party 2
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]

v137 left-right placement: party 3
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]

v138 left-right placement: party 4
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]

v139 left-right placement: party 5
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]

v140 left-right placement: party 6
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]

v141 left-right placement: party 7
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]

v142 left-right placement: party 8
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]

v143 left-right placement: party 9
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]

v144 left-right placement: party 10
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]

v145 left-right placement: party 11
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]

v146 left-right placement: party 12
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]

v147 left-right placement: party 13
    [see v134 for complete question text]
    [see appendix 2 for codes]
v148  left-right placement: party 14
[see v134 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

Economic Evaluations

v149  retrospective sociotropic economic evaluation
What do you think about the economy? Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the general economic situation in [country] is….
-1 = (LT – SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = a lot better
2 = a little better
3 = stayed the same
4 = a little worse
5 = a lot worse
9 = d/k, n/a

ES: Spanish question is compared to 6 months ago.
SE: Question wording: “Would you say that the Swedish economy has improved, remained the same or gone worse during the past 12 months?”
-1 = Short questionnaire
1 = Improved
3 = Remained the same
5 = Gone worse
9 = ”d/n, n/a”

v150  prospective sociotropic economic evaluation
And over the next 12 months, how do you think the general economic situation in this country will be?
-1 = (LT – SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = a lot better
2 = a little better
3 = stayed the same
4 = a little worse
5 = a lot worse
9 = d/k, n/a

SE: Question wording: “How do you think the Swedish economy will develop in the next 12 months? Will it improve, remain the same or will it go worse?”
-1 = Short questionnaire
1 =Will improve
3 = Will remain the same
5 = Will go worse
9 = ”d/n, n/a”
Attitudes towards Issues of European Unification

v151 for scarce jobs priority to be given to [country] citizens
When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to [country] people over citizens from other EU member-countries who want to work here.
-1 = (LT -- SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = agree very much
2 = agree
3 = disagree
4 = disagree very much
9 = d/k, n/a

v152 citizens of EU countries should vote in [country] local elections
Citizens from other EU member-countries who live in [country] should be entitled to vote in local elections.
-1 = (BE, LT, SE)
1 = agree very much
2 = agree
3 = disagree
4 = disagree very much
9 = d/k, n/a

v153 citizens of EU countries should receive social benefits in [country]
Citizens from other EU member-countries who live in [country] should not be entitled to social security or unemployment benefits.
-1 = (LT -- SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = agree very much
2 = agree
3 = disagree
4 = disagree very much
9 = d/k, n/a

Perception of Parties’ Positions towards European Unification

v154 interest in politics
To what extent would you say you are interested in politics?
-1 = (LT-- SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = very
2 = somewhat
3 = a little
4 = not at all
9 = d/k, n/a

SE: Question wording: “In general, how interested in politics are you? Which of the answers on this card describes you most accurately? Are you very interested, fairly interested, not very interested or not at all interested in politics?”
-1 = Short questionnaire
1 = Very interested
2 = Fairly interested
3 = Not very interested
4 = Not at all interested
9 = "d/n, n/a"

v155 EU membership good or bad
Generally speaking, do you think that [country's] membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad?
-1 = (LT – SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = good thing
2 = bad thing
3 = neither
9 = d/k, n/a

v156 attitude to European unification
Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion? Please indicate your views using a 10-point-scale. On this scale, 1 means unification 'has already gone too far' and 10 means it 'should be pushed further'. What number on this scale best describes your position?
-1 = (LT-- SE: due to short questionnaire)
0 = an 11-point scale (0-10) was used in SE
1 = unification has already gone too far
2 = 2
3 = 3
4 = 4
5 = 5
6 = 6
7 = 7
8 = 8
9 = 9
10 = unification should be pushed further
99 = d/k, n/a

v157 European unification: perception of party 1
And about where would you place the following parties on this scale?
[see v156 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v158 European unification: perception of party 2
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v159 European unification: perception of party 3
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]
v160 European unification: perception of party 4
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v161 European unification: perception of party 5
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v162 European unification: perception of party 6
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v163 European unification: perception of party 7
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v164 European unification: perception of party 8
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v165 European unification: perception of party 9
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v166 European unification: perception of party 10
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v167 European unification: perception of party 11
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v168 European unification: perception of party 12
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v169 European unification: perception of party 13
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v170 European unification: perception of party 14
[see v156/v157 for complete question text]
[see appendix 2 for codes]
Perceptions of Citizenship

v171  
not only [country] citizen, but also European citizen
Do you ever think of yourself not only as a [country] citizen, but also as a citizen of the European Union?
-1 = (LT, SE)
1 = often
2 = sometimes
3 = never
9 = d/k, n/a

v172  
proud of EU citizenship
Are you personally proud or not to be a citizen of the European Union?
-1 = (LT -- SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = very proud
2 = fairly proud
3 = not very proud
4 = not at all proud
9 = d/k, n/a

SE: Question wording: “How proud are you of being a citizen of the European Union?”

Referendum

v173  
vote in second referendum on the Nice Treaty (Ireland only)
Thinking back to the second referendum held in Ireland on the Nice Treaty in which the Eastern enlargement of the EU is laid down, do you remember whether you cast your vote and whether you voted in favour or against?
-1 = (all countries exept IE)
1 = did not cast a vote
2 = voted in favour
3 = voted against
9 = d/k, n/a

v174  
hypothetical vote on EU enlargement (Austria and Germany only)
If a referendum would be held in [country] on the question of EU enlargement, would you vote in favour or against or would you abstain?
-1 = (all countries exept AT and DE)
1 = abstain
2 = voted in favour
3 = voted against
9 = d/k, n/a
v175 vote in referendum on question of EU membership
(new member countries only)
Thinking back to the referendum held in [country] on the question of EU membership, do you remember whether you cast a vote and whether you voted in favour or against?
-1 = (all countries except CZ, EE, HU, LV, PL, SK, SI)
1 = did not cast a vote
2 = voted in favour
3 = voted against
9 = d/k, n/a

Trust
v176 trust in Austrians
Now I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in people from various countries. Can you please tell me for each, whether you have a lot of trust of them or not very much trust. If you do not know a country well enough, just say so and I will go on to the next. How about the Austrians: do you have a lot of trust of them or not very much trust?
-1 = (BE, GB, LT, SE)
0 = a lot of trust
1 = not much trust
9 = d/k, n/a

v177 trust in Belgians
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v178 trust in British
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v179 trust in Bulgarians
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v180 trust in Croatians
(only in AT, LU, PL; all others: -1)
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v181 trust in Cypriots
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v182 trust in Czechs
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]
v183  trust in Danes  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]  

v184  trust in Dutch  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]  

v185  trust in Estonians  
(Also not asked in EE: -1)  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]  

v186  trust in Finns  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]  

v187  trust in French  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]  

v188  trust in Germans  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]  

v189  trust in Greek  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]  

v190  trust in Hungarians  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]  

v191  trust in Irish  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]  

v192  trust in Italians  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]  

v193  trust in Latvians  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]  

v194  trust in Lithuanians  
[see v176 for complete question text]  
[see v176 for codes]
v195  trust in Luxembourgers
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v196  trust in Maltese
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v197  trust in Norwegians
(only in AT, PL; all others: -1)
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v198  trust in Poles
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v199  trust in Portuguese
(also not asked in HU: -1)
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v200  trust in Romanians
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v201  trust in Serbs
(only in AT, PL; all others: -1)
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v202  trust in Slovaks
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v203  trust in Slovenes
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v204  trust in Spaniards
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v205  trust in Swedes
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]

v206  trust in Swiss
[see v176 for complete question text]
[see v176 for codes]
Satisfaction with Government and Democracy

v208 satisfaction with democracy in [country]
On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [c.]?
-1 = (LT – SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = very satisfied
2 = fairly satisfied
3 = not very satisfied
4 = not at all satisfied
5 = neither (only in ES)
9 = d/k, n/a

SE: Question wording: “On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Sweden?”

v209 satisfaction with democracy in EU
All in all again, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in the European Union?
-1 = (LT – SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = very satisfied
2 = fairly satisfied
3 = not very satisfied
4 = not at all satisfied
9 = d/k, n/a

SE: Question wording: “On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in EU?

v210 approval of [country] government's record
Let us now come back to [country]. Do you approve or disapprove the government's record to date?
-1 = (LT, NIR, SE)
1 = approve
2 = disapprove
3 = neither (only in ES)
9 = d/k, n/a

Party Identification and European Union

v211 direction of party identification (PID)
Do you consider yourself to be close to any particular party? If so, which party do you feel close to?
[see appendix 2 for codes]

v212 strength of party identification (PID)
Do you feel yourself to be very close to this party, fairly close, or merely a sympathiser?
-1 = (BE, LT, -- SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = very close
2 = fairly close
3 = merely a sympathiser
4 = no sympathiser (only in SE)
9 = d/k, n/a

v213  EU policies in the interest of [country]
How much confidence do you have that decisions made by the European Union will be in the interest of [country]?
-1 = (LT, SE)
1 = a great deal of confidence
2 = a fair amount
3 = not very much
4 = no confidence at all
9 = d/k, n/a

v214  EU policies in respondent's interest
And how much confidence do you have that decisions made by the European Union will be in the interest of people like you?
-1 = (LT, SE)
1 = a great deal of confidence
2 = a fair amount
3 = not very much
4 = no confidence at all
9 = d/k, n/a

Demographics and Background Characteristics

v215  member of trade union
Are you yourself a member of a trade union or is anyone else in your household a member of a trade union?
-1 = (BE, LT -- SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = yes, i am
2 = yes, someone else is
3 = yes both (1) and (2)
4 = no
5 = respondent not member, dk about others in household (only in SE)
6 = respondent not member, alone (only in SE)
9 = d/k, n/a

v216  age when stopped full-time education
How old were you when you stopped full-time education?
-1 = (LT -- SE: due to short questionnaire)
0- 95: age in year
97 = still studying
99 = d/k, n/a
SE: No question about when respondent stopped full-time education. The
values are derived from a question about the respondent’s level of education.

**v217**

**gender**
Are you ... [gender]
-1 = (LT)
1 = male
2 = female
9 = d/k, n/a
SE: register data

**v218**

**year of birth**
What year were you born?
-1 = (LT, LU)
9999 = d/k, n/a
SE: register data

**v219**

**country of origin**
In which country were you born?
-1 = (LT)
100 = country where the interview took place
9000 = other country
9999 = d/k, n/a
[see appendix 8 for codes]
SE: register data

**v220**

**if not born in [country], when did you come here**
If other, when did you first come to [country]?
-1 = (BE, LT, PL, ES)
9997 = born in [country] (code 1 in v219)
9999 = d/k, n/a
SE: register data

**v221**

**size of household 18+**
How many people live in your household including yourself, who are 18 years of age or older? (range 1-9; whereas 9 = 9 and more)
-1 = (LT)
99 = d/k, n/a
BE: includes 0 (recoded to 0/1) and 10 (recoded to 9 and more)

**v222**

**employment status**
What is your current work situation?
-1 = (SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = self-employed
2 = employed
3 = student
4 = working in the household
5 = retired
6 = unemployed
7 = other
99 = d/k, n/a
v223 sector of work
If self-employed, unemployed, or retired, are/were you working in …
-1 = (LT)
 1 = agriculture
 2 = manufacturing industries/state owned
 3 = manufacturing industries/private sector
 4 = public services
 5 = services/private sector
 6 = other
 7 = have never worked
 9 = d/k, n/a

DK: 10 (not relevant) was recoded into 9 (d/k, n/a)
LU: 3 (student) or 4 (housewife) in v222, were coded 7 in v223
SK: 2 combines 'state industry' and 'public sector'
SE: Not in the Swedish study. This variable is derived from the Swedish 6-cut analysis variable of which working sector the respondent belongs to and a question about private or public occupation.

v224 social class
If you were asked to chose one of these five names for your social class, which would you say you belong to - the working class, the lower middle class, the middle class, the upper middle class or the upper class?
-1 = (LT -- SE: due to short questionnaire)
 1 = working class
 2 = lower middle class
 3 = middle class
 4 = upper middle class
 5 = upper class
 6 = other
 7 = refused to be classified
 9 = d/k, n/a

SE: Not in the Swedish study. This variable is a construction between two variables; subjective occupational group and subjective family class.

v225 urban vs. rural
Would you say you live in a rural area or village, in a small or middle size town, or in a large town?
-1 = (BE -- NL: but see v226 -- PL: but see v227)
 1 = rural area or village
 2 = small or middle size town
 3 = large town
 9 = d/k, n/a

v226 urban vs. rural (Netherlands only)
-1 = (all countries except NL)
1 = Very strongly urbanized
2 = Strongly urbanized
3 = Somewhat urbanized
4 = Little urbanized
5 = Not at all urbanized
9 = d/k, n/a

v227  
**urban vs. rural (Poland only)**
-1 = (all countries except PL)
1 = village
2 = town to 19 999
3 = town 20 000 - 49 999
4 = town 50 000 - 99 999
5 = city 100 000 - 499 999
6 = city 500 000 and more
9 = d/k, n/a

v228  
**denomination**
Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion? (If yes:)
Which one?
-1 = (LT)
1 = roman catholic
2 = protestant
3 = orthodox
4 = jewish
5 = muslim
6 = buddhist
7 = hindu
8 = other
9 = none
99 = d/k, n/a
[see appendix 7 for county deviations and additional codes]

v229  
**attendance at religious services**
How often do you attend religious services: several times a week, once a week, a few times a year, once a year or less, or never?
-1 = (LT -- SE: due to short questionnaire)
1 = several times a week
2 = once a week
3 = a few times a year
4 = once a year or less
5 = never
9 = d/k, n/a
[see appendix 7 for county deviations and additional codes]

v230  
**income quintiles**
We also need some information about the income of this household to be
able to analyze the survey results for different types of households. Please count the total wages and salaries per month of all members of this household; all pensions and social insurance benefits; child allowances and any other income like rents etc ... Of course your answer as all other replies in this survey will be treated confidentially and referring back to you or your household will be impossible. Can you please tell me, what about is the monthly income of your household? {in the EES 04’s 2nd edition all information about income is available as “quintiles of income”}
1 = first quintile
2 = second quintile
3 = third quintile
4 = fourth quintile
5 = fifth quintile
9 = d/k, n/a

Additional Questions

v231 candidates superficial in debate?
The candidates were very superficial in their debates.
-1 = (BE, GB, CY, CZ, FI, FR, DE, HU, IE, LT, NIR, PT, ES, SE)
1 = agree very much
2 = agree
3 = disagree
4 = disagree very much
9 = d/k, n/a

v232 the campaign was more about strategy than content?
The electoral campaign was more concerned with political strategies than with actual problems.
-1 = (BE, GB, CY, CZ, FI, FR, DE, HU, IE, LT, NIR, PT, ES, SE)
1 = agree very much
2 = agree
3 = disagree
4 = disagree very much
9 = d/k, n/a

Alternatively Coded Media Questions

v233 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 1
Which channels or television news programs do you watch regularly?
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v234 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 2
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v235 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 3
[see v239 for complete question text]
v236  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 4
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v237  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 5
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v238  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 6
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v239  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 7
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v240  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 8
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v241  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 9
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v242  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 10
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v243  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 11
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v244  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 12
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v245  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 13
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v246  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 14
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v247  alternative coding: tv-channel watched 15
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v248 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 16
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v249 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 17
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v250 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 18
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v251 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 19
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v252 alternative coding: tv-channel watched 20
[see v239 for complete question text]
[see appendix 3 for codes]

v253 alternative coding: newspaper read 1
Which newspaper or newspapers do you read regularly?
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v254 alternative coding: newspaper read 2
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v255 alternative coding: newspaper read 3
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v256 alternative coding: newspaper read 4
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v257 alternative coding: newspaper read 5
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v258 alternative coding: newspaper read 6
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v259 alternative coding: newspaper read 7
[see v253 for complete question text]
v260
alternative coding: newspaper read 8
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v261
alternative coding: newspaper read 9
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v262
alternative coding: newspaper read 10
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v263
alternative coding: newspaper read 11
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v264
alternative coding: newspaper read 12
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v265
alternative coding: newspaper read 13
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v266
alternative coding: newspaper read 14
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v267
alternative coding: newspaper read 15
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v268
alternative coding: newspaper read 16
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v269
alternative coding: newspaper read 17
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v270
alternative coding: newspaper read 18
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v271
alternative coding: newspaper read 19
[see v253 for complete question text]
v272 alterantive coding: newspaper read 20
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v273 alterantive coding: newspaper read 21
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

v274 alterantive coding: newspaper read 22
[see v253 for complete question text]
[see appendix 4 for codes]

Standardized Most Important Problem - see appendix 1

v275 unemployment/employment
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v276 pensions
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v277 government/ politics in general
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v278 social cohesion
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v279 taxes/taxation
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v280 welfare policy
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v281 economy
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v282 crime and violence
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v283 education
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v284 health care system
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v285 ecology/environment
[see appendix 1 for codes]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v286</td>
<td>other problems</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v287</td>
<td>other social problems/conflicts</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v288</td>
<td>other political problems/conflicts</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v289</td>
<td>inflation</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v290</td>
<td>infrastructure/traffic/transport</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v291</td>
<td>EU</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v292</td>
<td>drugs, drugs policy/regulation</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v293</td>
<td>poverty/high prices/costs</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v294</td>
<td>political fraud/corruption</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v295</td>
<td>wages and earnings</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v296</td>
<td>housing</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Standardized Single Most Important Problem**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v297</td>
<td>pensions_si</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v298</td>
<td>government/politics in general_si</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v299</td>
<td>social cohesion_si</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v300</td>
<td>taxes/taxation_si</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v301</td>
<td>welfare policy_si</td>
<td>[see appendix 1 for codes]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
v302  economy_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v303  crime and violence_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v304  education_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v305  health care system_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v306  ecology/environment_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v307  other problems_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v308  other social problems/conflicts_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v309  other political problems/conflicts_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v310  inflation_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v311  infrastructure/ traffic/ transports_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v312  EU_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v313  drugs, drugs policy/regulation_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v314  poverty/high prices/costs_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v315  political fraud/corruption_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v316  wages and earnings_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v317  housing_si
[see appendix 1 for codes]
v318 unemployment/employment si
[see appendix 1 for codes]

v319 single most important problem
[see appendix 1 for codes]
PART III

APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1: MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM

This appendix relates to v015 to v028 & v275 to v319

v015 to v028 are labeled according to the list of topics below. Respondents’ verbatim answers were converted to match these codes. Many of the countries made additions to this list and in some cases replaced the list altogether. Both of these deviations are documented following this list. For v015 to v028, respondents were asked to cite the most important problems often resulting in several answers. In the case in which the respondent gave one answer, that answer was recorded as the most important problem (v028). When there were more than one answer (v015 to v027), the respondent was asked to choose which was the most important problem (v028).

v015 – v028: Standard Codes for the MIP

Missing Values:
-1 In Austria, Britain, Luxembourg and The Netherlands only the single most important problem (v028) is asked. Therefore v015 to v027 are coded -1 in those countries.

In Lithuania variables v015 to v028 are not established at all and therefore are coded -1.

In Sweden a short questionnaire was used for a part of the national sample. In these interviews v015 to v028 are not asked and coded as -1.

999 “d/k, n/a”: Interview-generated missings (“No Answer”, “Not applicable”, “Don’t know”)

Elections
10 European Elections: Election and voting procedure, no. of seats in the European parliament etc.
11 European Elections: profiles of candidates, politicians, parties; their images and strategic positions
   Note: This has to be a topic of the story! If substantial topics are used to simply illustrate the campaign or the differences between parties: these topics have to be coded instead.
12 European Elections: Campaign strategies
13 European elections: advertising, commercials
14 European elections: polls and surveys
15 European Elections: electoral results of parties and candidates
16 European Elections: turnout
17 European Elections: list of party positions on issues (a “manifesto story“)
   Note: Use only if answer consists largely of a list of points in which the parties differ, and if there is not one issue that is discussed more thoroughly.
18 European Elections: (Formal, public) debates (as an event) between parties, politicians
   Note: has to be a topic!
19 Other EU election-related topics (please list!)
20 National elections in EU Countries (Belgium, Italy etc.)
21 National elections in non-EU Countries (Indonesia, South-Africa etc.)
25 The Government (generic response)
29 Other topic related to elections


**Economic topics and topics related to economic politics**

30 Stock market and its developments (shares, bonds, AEX, DAX, Dow Jones, etc.)
31 Budget of a community (national, regional, local)
32 Business (companies, banks, industry, mergers, manufacturing, bankruptcy)
33 Competition policy
34 Consumer policy
35 Debt (public debt of a state, a community etc.)
36 Euro and its introduction
37 Inflation
38 Pensions, retirement policy, retirement options
39 Taxes
40 Trade (international trade), trade deficits
41 Unemployment, jobs, employment
42 Wages and Earnings
43 Welfare policy (social security costs, child benefits, social subsidies)
45 The Economy (generic response)
49 Other topics from the area of economy or economic policy

**Other political topics**

50 Agriculture, fisheries,
51 political corruption, fraud
52 Courts, trials, court decisions
53 Crime prevention policy, law and order
54 Cultural policy (subsidies for theatre’s, movies, music etc.; the export of own culture, language etc.)
55 Defence and national security
56 Drugs, drugs regulations, drugs policy
57 Education (from elementary school to the university)
58 Science: earth science, physics, geology, astronomy, space research
59 Science: medical and pharmaceutical research (incl. genetics and cloning, new pharmaceutical - prescription drug discoveries/testing, transplants, etc.)
60 Environment (from policy toward slaughtering baby seals to global warming)
61 Energy (from policy toward windmills and energy-saving plans to nuclear power)
62 EU evolution (e.g., enlargement, more/less integration)
63 EU institutions (e.g., EU parliament. the Commission, council, Europol), their (re-) organisation
64 European Union politics in general
65 Foreign policy, relations between states or (international) political organisations, state visits
66 Food safety—except Genetic food (Code: 67): BSE and other animal diseases, poison in plants, etc.
67 Genetic foods
68 Health care and its regulations, health-care reforms
69 Housing (building of homes, apartments, prices, rents, mortgages etc.)
70 Information (communication, media, audio-visual policy, media policy, telecommunications and information technology)
71 Infrastructure, traffic, transports
72 Inter- and Intraparty conflicts, disagreements, fights between groups or politicians within a party or a coalition

**Note:** has to be a topic! Otherwise: Code the topic the conflict is about.

73 Kosovo (refugees, bombings, negotiations etc.)

**Note:** The conflict has to be the topic, not only mentioned: e.g. stories about the inter-national human rights tribunal in Den Haag dealing with Milosovic and other dictators are not coded here!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Middle-East peace process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Politics of migration/immigration: politics about the movement of people and the (lack of) residence rights of immigrants (from illegality to permanent residence permits: asylum, family reunification, work permits, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Politics of minorities/integration: politics on the (lack of) integration of minorities. These politics pertain to social, political and/or cultural rights and participation of minorities as well as to (anti-)discrimination and equal rights issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Regions, politics toward regions within a nation state (Scotland, Catalonia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Violent conflicts, also violent demonstrations—except in Kosovo (see Code 73) (e.g. Northern Ireland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Human rights (as a topic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>other social conflicts, problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>peace/war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>public administration/bureaucracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>norms and values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Other political topic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other political topics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Accidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Crime story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Culture (arts, films/movies, theatre, music, media)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Human interest (soft news: about prominent persons, celebrities, anniversaries, weddings, animals, strange/funny events, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>(Natural) disasters (earthquakes, floods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Weather Report/ Forecast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Any other topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
v015 – v028: Additional codes and different schemes for the MIP

In a number of countries, additional categories are used for the coding of the most important problem, or an altogether different coding scheme is applied. This is documented in the following:

**Austria**: (NOTE: This list replaces the above list):
1. Unemployment
2. Unemployment of youth
3. Pensions, retirement system
4. Social security (reduction of social security)
5. Traffic, transit through Austria
6. Current government, political instability
7. Immigration, refugees
8. EU (enlargement, loss of self-determination)
9. Environment
10. Health Care system (decline of)
11. Other
12. Politics in general
13. Economy in general
14. Educational system (decline)
15. Debts, taxes, rising costs
16. Crime, Security

**Britain**: (NOTE: This list replaces the above list):
1. Health (e.g. NHS, etc…)
2. Education (schools, universities, tuition)
3. Law and Order (e.g. crime, police, etc…)
4. Unemployment
5. Taxation
6. Inflation (price increases, standard of living)
7. Transport (e.g. roads, railways, etc…)
8. Immigration (asylum seekers)
9. European Union
10. Foreign Affairs (e.g. Iraqi Was, etc…)
11. Terrorism
12. Housing
13. War
14. Government
15. Moral standards
16. Pension
17. Racial issues
18. Poverty
19. Iraq issue
20. Crime
21. Tony Blair
22. Justice/law
23. Health service
24. Vandalism
25. Environmental problem
26 Petrol  
27 Disability  
28 Drugs  
29 Pollution  
30 Foreign affairs  
31 Low pay  
32 Accept responsibility  
33 Economy  
34 Religion  
35 Obesity  
36 The Labour Government  
37 Youths  
38 Elderly rights  
39 Child care  
40 Homelessness  
41 British identity/culture  
42 Speeding cameras  
43 The weather  
44 Overcrowded country  
45 Council tax  
46 Alcohol  
47 Litter  
48 Corruption  
49 Public Service  
50 Lack of representation for people  
51 Debt  
52 Transport  
53 Social Issue  
54 Jobs  
55 Interest Rates  
56 Urban regeneration  

Cyprus: (NOTE: This list replaces the above list):  
1 Drugs  
2 Cyprus issue  
3 Education  
4 Economy  
5 Foreign workers  
6 Cost of living  
7 Crime  
8 Unemployment  
9 Favoritism  
10 Traffic and road accidents  
11 Fall in tourism  
12 Agriculture  
13 Various others
### Czech Republic:

- 26 Instability of cabinet and demise of PM
- 82 Politicians as a problem (stupid, unable to solve problems..)

### Denmark:

- 75 Includes “immigrants”, “politics of immigrants”, and “foreigners”
- 76 Includes “problem with immigrants”, “problems with foreigners”
- 65 Includes Danish foreign policy

### Finland:

- 44 The elderly/problems in care
- 45 Problems related to young people
- 46 Study grants/students’ situation
- 47 Displacement/polarization/inequality
- 48 China phenomenon/companies leaving the country

### France:

- 1 Employment, work
- 2 The employment of the young people, work for the young people
- 3 Unemployment, rise of unemployment
- 4 The unemployment of the young people
- 5 The budget
- 6 The use of public money
- 7 Waste of public money
- 8 The budget deficit, the national debt
- 9 Taxation, taxes
- 10 Reform of the State
- 11 Poverty, precariousness, exclusion
- 12 Society, social problems, social inequalities
- 13 Social security, Health insurance
- 14 Social protection, Social assistance
- 15 Solidarity
- 16 The place of the handicapped
- 17 Reform of social security
- 18 Social reforms
- 19 Reforms
- 20 Social rights
- 21 Housing, social housing
- 22 Health, the politics of health
- 23 Retirement
- 24 The ageing of the population
- 25 Education (from nursery to university)
- 26 Purchasing power (wages, etc…)
- 27 Inflation, the rise of prices
- 28 Drugs, drug trafficking
- 29 Security
- 30 Insecurity
- 31 Delinquency, violence
- 32 Incivility
- 33 School violence
34 Youth violence
35 Values
36 Discipline
37 Immigration, foreigners
38 Racism, xenophobia
39 Anti-Semitism
40 Integration
41 The integration of young people
42 Discrimination
43 Energy (including nuclear power)
44 The environment, ecology
45 Pollution
46 The economy, the economic situation
47 Economic growth, economic development
48 Companies moving abroad
49 The survival of companies in France
50 The closing of companies
51 Justice, decisions of the court
52 Universalization
53 Intolerance
54 Europe
55 The European Elections
56 The EU Enlargement (Europe with 25 countries)
57 The European Constitution
58 The palace of France in Europe
59 Foreign policy
60 North-South relations
61 Iraq
62 Terrorism
63 War
64 Peace
65 Family
66 Security
67 The quality of politicians
68 Democracy, taking into account the opinion of citizens
69 The government
70 Of other subjects relating to policy in France
71 Trade unions
72 Economic policy
73 The Euro
74 Israeli-Palestinian conflict
75 The privatization of public companies
76 Agriculture, fishing
77 Homosexuality
78 Public utility
79 Religious or intercommunity conflicts
80 Administration
81 Transport
97 Other
Germany:
82 Political dissatisfaction (Politikverdrossenheit)
83 Dissatisfaction with government (Regierung/Regierungsparteie)
84 Social imbalance (Soziale Gerechtigkeit/Ungleichheit)
431 Child care (Kinderbetreuung)
432 ABM (providing jobs)
891 Reform politics (Reformen, Agenda2010 etc.)
892 Demography
893 Foreigners

Ireland:
1 High prices/overpricing, cost of living
2 Poverty
3 Waste management, pollution
4 Homelessness
7 Gap between rich and poor, inequality, social justice
8 Insurance market
9 Money wasted by government, e.g. tribunals
169 High house prices/affordability for young couples
561 Underage Drinking

Italy:
0 The Political Class

Luxembourg: (NOTE: This list replaces the above list):
1 Budgetary balance
2 Environment
3 Unemployment and labour
4 School and education
5 Transports
6 Pensions (in general)
7 Purchase power
8 Violence and insecurity
9 Health and social
10 European constitution
11 Housing
12 Participation of immigrants to political life
13 Gender equality
14 Struggle against corruption and administrative dysfunctioning
15 Double nationality
16 Education benefits for mothers in parental leave
17 Food security
18 Agriculture
19 Refugees and asylum seekers
20 The economy
21 Land planning
22 Old people care
23 Bank secrecy
24 Social security
25 Animal protection
Poland:
0  didn’t mention any particular problem
1  Poverty, impoverishment
2  politics, authorities, government, officials
3  youth, children, next generations
4  the role of the Church
5  Economic Conditions – in general
6  social problems, inequalities, social tension
7  medicines
8  threat to stability of the state
9  didn’t mention any particular problem

Slovenia:
300  Economy in general
400  Prices
500  Other problems
v275 – v319: Most Important Problems - standardization coding

The purpose of this re-coding is to harmonize the disparate national codings for the open ended responses to the question of the most important problem (v015 – v027) in order to bring them in line with the original codings. While individual national codings are included in the codebook (as are the responses in the dataset), this is supplemental in order to aid researchers in making comparisons cross-nationally consistent.

First, we produced a table with 49 the ‘most important problems’ (MIPs) and 23 countries for all of "problems mentioned” that reached a minimum of 5 percent of the valid responses. Second, the number of MIPs was reduced to 22 by combining items that were deemed similar enough (e.g., the "poverty" codes in country A and the "high prices/cost of living" codes in country B). These 22 MIPs were coded as dummy variables (mentioned/not mentioned) [v275-v296]. We repeated this process for the "single most important problem" (v028) as well resulting in a nominal variable ranging from 1 to 22 (plus missing data codes) [v297-v318]. Third, we integrated these responses into a single variable [v319]. Finally, additional syntax was created that integrated MIP codes for countries whose MIP codes are not included in the integrated data file.

The code necessary to create these variables is available on the website for review by researchers and has been performed on the integrated EES2004 dataset.

For Britain, Luxembourg and Lithuania, Syntax B and Syntax C does not contain any information (coded: -1) because of a different data structure of these variables in the original national files.

Syntax A: Standardized Most Important Problem
Generates the following dichotomous variables: mentioned (1) / not mentioned (0)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v275</td>
<td>unemployment/employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v276</td>
<td>pensions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v277</td>
<td>government/politics in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v278</td>
<td>social cohesion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v279</td>
<td>taxes/taxation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v280</td>
<td>welfare policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v281</td>
<td>economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v282</td>
<td>crime and violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v283</td>
<td>education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v284</td>
<td>health care system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v285</td>
<td>ecology/environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v286</td>
<td>other problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v287</td>
<td>other social problems/conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v288</td>
<td>other political problems/conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v289</td>
<td>inflation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v290</td>
<td>infrastructure/traffic/transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v291</td>
<td>EU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v292</td>
<td>drugs, drugs policy/regulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v293</td>
<td>poverty/high prices/costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v294</td>
<td>political fraud/corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v295</td>
<td>wages and earnings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v296</td>
<td>housing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Syntax B: Standardized Single Most Important Problem:**
Generates the following dichotomous variables: mentioned (1) / not mentioned (0)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v297</td>
<td>unemployment/employment_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v298</td>
<td>pensions_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v299</td>
<td>government/politics in general_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v300</td>
<td>social cohesion_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v301</td>
<td>taxes/taxation_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v302</td>
<td>welfare policy_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v303</td>
<td>economy_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v304</td>
<td>crime and violence_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v305</td>
<td>education_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v306</td>
<td>health care system_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v307</td>
<td>ecology/environment_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v308</td>
<td>other problems_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v309</td>
<td>other social problems/conflicts_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v310</td>
<td>other political problems/conflicts_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v311</td>
<td>inflation_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v312</td>
<td>infrastructure/traffic/transport_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v313</td>
<td>EU_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v314</td>
<td>drugs, drugs policy/regulation_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v315</td>
<td>poverty/high prices/costs_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v316</td>
<td>political fraud/corruption_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v317</td>
<td>wages and earnings_si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v318</td>
<td>housing_si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Syntax C: Single Most Important Problem – single MIP variable:

Therefore, this syntax was added to create a single cross-nationally consistent MIP variable. It generates the following variable. (Variable Name in syntax on website is singlemip. It was integrated as v319)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v319</td>
<td>0  no response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1  Unemployment/ employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2  Pensions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3  Government/ politics in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4  Social cohesion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5  Taxes/ taxation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6  Welfare policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7  Economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8  Crime and violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9  Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 Health care system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 Ecology/ environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 Other problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 Other social problems/ conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 Other political problems/ conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 Inflation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 Infrastructure/ traffic/ transports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17 EU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 Drugs, drugs policy/regulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19 Poverty/ high prices/ costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 Political fraud/ corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21 Wages and earnings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22 Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99 missing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 2: POLITICAL PARTIES

This appendix relates to v029, v112, v113, v114, v115 to v128, v135 to v148, v157 to v170 and v211.

Coding of Parties

In the case of variables whose categories are national specific parties, the codes do obviously not mean
the same in the different party systems: party (1) in country (1) is a different party than party (1) in country (2).
In addition, however, in the 1st edition of this data set the meaning of categories of the different party
variables did even vary within a country: party (1) in question (1) in country (1) was different from party (1) in
question (2) in country (1). These differences have been harmonized in the present 2nd edition of the data set –
as far as possible.

There are eight sets of questions pertaining to political parties. These sets of questions have been
recoded in order to create a unified party list for each country. The number of parties varies from country to
country, and from one question to the next, between 4 and 34. This results in a maximum of 46 individual
parties (Czech Republic) for the unified list. One reason for this diversity is the fluidity of party systems in the
new member countries of the European Union that were included in the survey. One result of this is the
substantial fluctuation of parties from one election to the next which prevented national study directors to
put forth a unified party list in the original data set.

Five of the eight party questions have party names as response categories. They include: party that best
deals with most important problem (v029); vote recall EP elections (v112); vote recall previous national elections (v113);
vote intention next national election (v114); and direction of party identification (v211).

Three other sets of questions also pertain to national political parties by asking for respondents’
attitudes about them. More in particular, these attitudes are the probability of voting for a party (v115 to v128); the
perceived left/right position of a party (v135 to v148); and the perceived position of a party regarding European unification
(v157 to v170). In each country, those questions have been asked for nationally relevant parties only, by
leaving out a number of smaller parties. Respectively v115, v135 and v157 refer to each country’s party “no. 1”, whereas v116, v136 and v158 refer to each country’s party “no. 2” and so on.

We used the sequence of nationally relevant parties (e.g. the order of parties in v115 to v128) for the
harmonization of the order in which political parties are presented in the other party variables. Parties that
were only mentioned in some of the questions have been added to that list. Coalitions and/or electoral
alliances of parties have also been added at the bottom of the combined list, even if in some cases individual
components of these coalitions/alliances appeared as an individual party elsewhere. This procedure implies
for some questions (e.g. v112) and in some countries, the unified party list starts and ends with “valid codes”,
while some code categories in the middle remain empty.

In a few cases where it was not possible to create a unified party list, deviations from the above
procedure are documented.
GENERAL CODES:

For all party variables and all countries:
90 other
91 none
99 d/k, n/a

only v029:
-1 (LT and SE in cases where the short questionnaire has been applied)

only v112:
95 refused
96 vote blanc or nil
97 did not vote
98 do not remember

only v113:
-1 (LT)
94 no right to vote
95 refused
96 vote blanc or nil
97 did not vote
98 do not remember

only v114:
-1 (BE)
95 refused
96 would vote blanc or nil
97 would not vote

only v211:
-1 (BE, LT and SE in cases when the short questionnaire has been applied)
94 no party-ID
95 refused

only v115 – v128:
-1 (BE, LT, LU, and SE in cases when the short questionnaire has been applied)
0 an 11-point scale (0-10) was used in SE
1 “1” not at all probable
2 “2”
3 “3”
4 “4”
5 “5”
6 “6”
7 “7”
8 “8”
9 “9”
10 “10” very probable
**only v135 – v148:**

-1 (BE, LT and SE in cases when the short questionnaire has been applied)

0 an 11-point scale (0-10) was used in SE

1 “1” left

2 “2”

3 “3”

4 “4”

5 “5”

6 “6”

7 “7”

8 “8”

9 “8”

10 “10” right

**only v157 – v170:**

-1 (BE, LT, and SE in cases when the short questionnaire has been applied)

0 an 11-point scale (0-10) was used in SE

1 “1” unification has already gone too far

2 “2”

3 “3”

4 “4”

5 “5”

6 “6”

7 “7”

8 “8”

9 “8”

10 “10” unification should be pushed further
COUNTRY SPECIFIC CODES:

**Austria:**
1. SPÖ
2. ÖVP
3. FPÖ
4. GRÜNE
5. KPÖ
6. Die LINKE
7. Liste H.-P. Martin

**Belgium:** *(v114, v115-v128, v135-v148, v157-v170 and v211 were not collected)*
1. VLD - Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten
2. SP.A-SPRIT - Socialistische Partij. Anders
3. CD&V - Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams
4. VB - Vlaams Blok
5. N-VA
6. Agalev/Groen!
7. RESIST
8. Vivant
9. PS
10. MR
11. CDH
12. Ecolo
13. Front National
14. PTB-UA

**Britain:** *(Note: this does not include Northern Ireland which was conducted separately)*
1. Labour
2. Conservatives
3. Liberal Democrats
4. UK Independence Party
5. Scottish National Party
6. Plaid Cymru
7. Green Party
8. British National Party
9. Scottish Socialist Party
10. Respect
11. George Galloway
12. Christian Alliance
13. National Front

**Cyprus:**
1. ΑΚΕΛ (“AKEL“)
2. ΔΗΣΥ (“DISI“)
3. ΔΗΚΟ (“DIKO“)
4. ΕΔΕΚ (“EDEK“)
5. For Europe
6. “EDI”
7. New Horizons
Czech Republic:

1. ČSSD - Česká strana sociálně demokratická
2. KDU-CSL - Krestanska-demokraticka strana-Ceskoslovenska strana lidova
3. KSČM - Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy
4. ODS - Občanská demokratická strana
5. US-DEU - Unie svobody
6. SNK - Sdružení nezávislých a Evropští demokraté
7. SZ - Strana zelených (Greens)
8. NEZ - Hnutí Nezávislý
9. PB - Pravý blok
10. SZJ - Strana za životní jistoty
11. BPS - Balbínová poetická strana
12. SPR-RSČ - Sdružení pro republiky – Republikánska strana Ceskoslovenska
13. SDS - Strana demokratického socialismu
14. HA - Humanistická aliance
15. SZR - Strana zdravého rozumu
16. SV-SOS - Strana venkova – spojené občanské síly
17. RMS - Republikánská Miroslava Sládka
18. CZ - Cesta změny
19. ODA - Občanská demokratická aliance
20. VPB - Volba pro budoucnost
21. Akce za zrušení Senátu a proti vytunelování důchodových fondů
22. Naděje
23. NH - Nové hnutí
24. ČSNS - Česká strana národně sociální
25. ROI ČR - Romská občanská iniciativa ČR
26. ČSS - Československá strana socialistická
27. ČSDH - České sociálně demokratické hnutí
28. ČP - Česká pravice
29. Republikánská
30. NDS - Národně demokratická stran
31. DL - Demokratická liga
32. Národní koalice
33. Strana pro otevřenou společnost
34. Konzervativní strana
35. Sdružení nestraníků
36. Strana občanů republiky České
37. Masarykova demokratická strana
38. Všeobecná občanská strana
39. Dělnická strana
40. Strana práce
41. Za zájmy Moravy ve sjednocené Evropě
42. Nezávislá iniciativa (NEI)
43. Svobodní
44. Viktor Kožený - Občanská federální demokracie
45. Koruna Česká
46. Helax-Ostrava se baví
47. ULD - Unie liberálních demokratů CZ (18), US-DEU (5), ODA (19) [only in v029 and v211]
Denmark:
1 Social Democratic Party
2 Radical Liberals
3 Conservative Peoples Party
4 Socialist Peoples Party
5 Danish Peoples Party
6 Liberal Party
7 The Movement of June
8 The people’s movement against EU
9 Christian Peoples Party
10 Christian Peoples Party / The Christian Democrats
11 Leftwing Alliance
12 Centre Democratic Party
13 Progressive Party
14 The Minority Party
15 Democratic Renewal

Estonia:
1 Eesti Keskerakond
2 Ühendus Vabariigi Eest – Res Publica
3 Eesti Reformierakond
4 Eestimaa Rahvaliit
5 Erakond Isamaaliit
6 Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond
7 Eestimaa Ühendatud Rahvapartei
8 Eesti Kristlik Rahvapartei
9 Eesti Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Tööpartei
10 Mõni muu erakond
11 Vene Erakond Eestis
12 Eesti Demokraatlik Partei
13 Eesti Pensionäride Erakond

Finland:
1 SDP: Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue (Finnish Social Democratic Party)
2 KESK: Suomen Keskusta (Center Party of Finland)
3 KOK: Kansallinen Kokoomus (National Coalition Party)
4 VAS: Vasemmistoliitto (Left Alliance)
5 VIHR: Vihreä liitto (Green League)
6 RKP: Ruotsalainen kansanpuolue (Swedish People’s Party)
7 KD: Suomen Kristillisdemokraatit (Christian Democrats in Finland)
8 PS: Perussuomalaiset (True Finns)
9 SKP: Suomen Kommunistinen Puolue (Communist Party of Finland)
10 Liberaalit (Liberals)
### France:

**Party List:** (v029, v112, v113, v114, v115-v128, v211)

1. Extrême gauche – EXTG (LO/ LCR) (Lutte Ouvrière / Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire)
2. PCF (Parti Communiste français)
3. PS
4. Les Verts
5. UDF
6. UMP + DVD
7. FN, MNR (Front national, Mouvement National Républicain)
8. MPF, RPF (Mouvement Pour la France / Rassemblement Pour la France
9. CPNT (Chasse, Pêche, Nature et Traditions)
10. Pôle républicain de Jean-Pierre Chevènement

**Party List:** (v135-v148); (v157-v170)

1. LO (Lutte Ouvrière)
2. LCR (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire)
3. PC (Parti Communiste français)
4. PS
5. Les Verts
6. UDF
7. UMP
8. MPF (Mouvement Pour la France)
9. FN (Front national)
10. MNR (Mouvement National Républicain)
11. CPNT (Chasse, Pêche, Nature et Traditions)

### Germany:

**Party List:** (v029, v112, v113, v114, v115-v128, v211)

1. CDU/CSU
2. SPD
3. Bündnis 90/Die Grünen
4. PDS
5. FDP
6. Republikaner
7. Die Tierschutzpartei
8. NPD
9. Die Grauen
10. ÖDP
11. Die Frauen
12. Partei bibeltreuer Christen
13. DKP
14. Bayernpartei BP
15. Familienpartei
16. Schill
17. Freie Wähler
European Election Study 2004

Party List: (v135-v148); (v157-v170)
1 CDU
2 CSU
3 SPD
4 Bündnis 90/Die Grünen
5 PDS
6 FDP
7 Republikaner

Greece:
1 New Democracy (ΝΔ: Nea Dimokratia)
2 PASOK (ΠΑΣΟΚ: Panellino Socialistiko Kinima)
3 ΚΚΕ (Kommunistiko Komma Ellados)
4 ΣΥΝ (ΣΥΝΑΣΠΙΣΜΟΣ: Sinaspismos tis Aristeras ke ti Proodu)
5 ΛΑ.Ο.Σ (LAOS)
6 DIKKI
7 ENOSSI KENTROON
8 Iera
9 CHRYYSSI AVGI
10 Patriot coalition
11 MERA
12 Women for other Europe
13 Democratic Periphery Union
14 Ecologists-Greens
15 Green party

Hungary:
1 Fidesz-MPP, Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Alliance
2 MDF, Hungarian Democratic Forum
3 MIÉP, Party of Hungarian Justice and Life
4 MSZP, Hungarian Socialist Party
5 MP, Workers Party
6 SZDSZ, Alliance of Free Democrats
7 SZDP, Social Democratic Party
8 MNSZ, Hungarian National Alliance
9 FKgP, Independent Small Holders Party
10 ÖMCP, Center Party
11 Joint list of Fidesz-MPP (1) and MDF (2) [only in v113]

Ireland:
1 FF: Fianna Fail
2 FG: Fine Gael
3 GP: Green Party
4 Lab: Labour Party
5 PDS
6 SF: Sinn Fein
7 Independent Candidate
### Italy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Party Name and Leader(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rifondazione comunista (Bertinotti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>DS-Democratici di sinistra (Fassino)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>La Margherita (Rutelli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Comunisti Italiani (Diliberto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Verdi (Pecoraro Scanio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>SDI (Boselli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Alleanza Popolare - UDEUR (Mastella)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Italia dei valori (Di Pietro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Forza Italia (Berlusconi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>AN-Alleanza nazionale (Fini)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Udc (Follini e Buttiglione)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lega Nord (Bossi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nuovo PSI (De Michelis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Radicali /Lista Bonino (Capezzone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Alternativa Sociale con Alessandra Mussolini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Fiamma Tricolore (Rauti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Lista Uniti nell’ULIVO [DS(2), MARGHERITA(3), SDI(6) only in v112]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Girasole [Verdi (5), SDI(6) only in v113]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Latvia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Party Name and Leader(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jaunais Laiks (New Era)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PCTVL (For Human Rights in a United Latvia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tautas Partija (People’s Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Zalo un Zemnieku Savieniba (Union of the Green and Farmers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Latvijas Pirma Partija (Latvia’s First Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tevzemes un Brovobai/ LNNK (For Fatherland and Freedom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Latvijas Cels (Latvia’s Way)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>KDS (Christian Democratic Union)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Russian National Bolshevik Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>LSDSP (Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Conservative Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Future Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tautas Saskanas Partija (People's Harmony Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>United Social Democratic Welfare Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>&quot;Latgales Gaisma&quot; (Latgales' Light)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Latvian Socialist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Latviesu Partija (Latvian Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>SDS (Social Democratic Union)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Communists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Political organization &quot;Eurosceptics&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>All together [only in v029]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Lithuania: *(v029, v113, v115-v128, v135-v148, v157-v170 and v211 were not collected)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Party Name and Leader(s)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>1</td>
<td>VNDNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>LSDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>LCS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>LKD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NS/SL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Coalition of LLRA and LRS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
European Election Study 2004

7  TPP
8  NCP
9  TS
10 KKSS
11 DP
12 LDP

Luxembourg: *(v115-v128 were not collected)*
1  KPL
2  Déi Lenk
3  Déi Gréng
4  LSAP
5  DP
6  CSV
7  ADR
8  Fräi Partei Lëtzebuerg
9  GAL (Jupp Weber)

The Netherlands:
1  PvdA
2  CDA
3  VVD
4  D'66
5  Groen Links
6  LPF
7  ChristenUnie
8  SGP
9  SP
10 Leefbaar Nederland / Leefbar Europa
11 Partij voor het Noorden
12 Nieuw Rechts
13 Europa Transparent
14 Partij voor de Dieren
15 Respect Nu
16 Democratisch Europa
17 CD10
18 Joint List of ChristenUnie (7) and SGP (8) [only in v112]

Northern Ireland:
1  Alliance Party
2  Democratic Unionist Party – DUP
3  Sinn Fein
4  Social Democratic Labour Party – SDLP
5  Ulster Unionist Party – UUP
6  Independent Candidate
Poland:
1. LPR - League of Polish Families
2. PSL - Polish People’s Party
3. PiS - Law and Justice
4. PO - Civic Platform
5. SRP - Self-Defense of the Republic of Poland (Sambroona)
6. SDPL - Social-Democracy of Poland
7. SLD - Democratic Left Alliance
8. UP - Labor Union
9. UW - Freedom Union
10. UPR - Union of Real Politics
11. National Electoral Committee of Voters
12. Initiative for Poland
13. All-Polish Citizens Caucus "OKO"
14. KPEiR-PLD Coalition - National Party of Retirees and Pensioners
15. Anticlerical Progress Party "Racja"
16. PPN - Polish National Party
17. Confederation Defense Movement of the Unemployed
19. NOP - National Revival of Poland
20. "Together for the Future"
21. Party of Democratic Left
22. AWS-P – Solidarity: Electoral Action of the Right
23. PPP - Polish Labor Party
24. Democratic Left Alliance (7) and Labor Union (8) [only in v112 and v113]

Portugal:
1. Bloco de Esquerda
2. CDS-PP
3. CDU (PCP-PEV)
4. Partido da Nova Democracia
5. PS
6. PSD
7. PCTP / MRPP
8. Coligação: PSD (6), CDS - PP (2), Força Portugal [only in v112]
9. Numa coligação PSD/CDS [only in v114]

Slovakia:
1. ĽS-HZDS (Ľudová strana–HZDS)
2. SMER
3. KSS (Komunistická strana Slovenska)
4. SDKÚ (Slovenská demokratická a krest’anská únia)
5. SMK (Strana maďarskej koalície) / MKP (Magyar Koalíció Pártja)
6. KDH (Krest’anskо-demokratické hnutie)
7. ANO (Aliancia nového občana)
8. SNS (Slovenská národná strana) / Pravá SNS
9. DS (Demokratická strana)
10. HZD (Hnutie za demokraciu) / IÚ (Ľudová únia)
11. SDA (Sociálnodemokratická alternatíva)
12. SDL (Strana demokratickej ej Šance)
13 Slobodné fórum
14 SZS (Green Party in Slovakia)
15 OKS (Občianska konzervatívna strana)
16 Maďarská federalistická strana
17 Živnostenská strana Slovenskej republiky
18 Demokratická únia Slovenska
19 Slovenská udová strana
20 Aktívne ženy - OS Slovenska

**Slovenia:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Party Name (in native language)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>DESUS - demokratska stranka upokojencev Slovenije</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>LDS - liberalna demokracija Slovenije</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>NSI - krscanska ljudska stranka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>SLS - slovenska ljudska stranka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>SMS - stranka mladih Slovenije</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>SNS - slovenska nacionalna stranka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>SDS - slovenska demokratska stranka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ZLSD - združeno listo socialnih demokratov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>SJN - Slovenija je naša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>LDS (2) + DESUS (1) [only in v112]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spain:**

**Party List: (v029, v112, v113, v114, v211)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Party Name (in native language)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PP (Partido Popular) / UPN (Unión del Pueblo Navarro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>IU (Izquierda Unida) / IC-V (Iniciativa per Catalunya – Verds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Regional Party of Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Regional Party of Left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ecologist Party</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Regional Party of Center** may be: GiU (Convergencia i Unió), PNV (Partido Nacionalista Vasco), Coalición Galega (CG), CC (Coalición Canaria), Partido Andalucista (PA), UV (Unió Valenciana)

**Regional Party of Left** may be: EA (Eusko Alkartasuna), Ezquerra Republicana de Cataluña (ERC), Chunta Aragonesista (CHA), Nai – Bai, Bloque Nacionalista Gallego (BNG)

**Party List: (v115-v128); (v135-v148); (v157-v170)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Party Name (in native language)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PP (Partido Popular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>IU (Izquierda Unida)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Galeusca – Pueblos de Europa (Leer partidos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>EdP (Europa de los Pueblos) (Leer partidos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>CC (Coalición Europea) (Leer partidos)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Galeusca – Pueblos de Europa:** Bloque Nacionalista Galego, PSM-Entesa Nacionalistas, GiU, Bloque Nacionalista Valenciano, Partido Nacionalista Vasco

**EdP (Europa de los Pueblos):** ERC, EA, Chunta Aragonesista, Iniciativa Ciudadana de la Rioja, Partido Socialista de Andalucía, Esquerra Republicana del País Valenciano
CC (Coalición Europea): Partido Andalucista, Partido de Aragón, Partiu Asturianista, Extremadura Unida, Convergencia de Demócratas de Navarra, Unió Valenciana

**Sweden:** (v115-v128 and v157-v170 were not asked in the short questionnaire)
1 Left party
2 Social Democrats
3 Centre Party
4 Peoples Party, liberals
5 Moderate Party (conservatives)
6 Christian Democrats
7 Green Party
8 June-list
9 more than one party mentioned *[only in v029]*
APPENDIX 3: MEDIA LIST - TELEVISION

This appendix relates to v035 to v068 & v233 to v252

v035 to v068 are labeled ‘News channel used 1’ to ‘News channel used 34’. Each of these variables is coded either 0 (‘no’ -> not mentioned) or 1 (‘yes’ -> mentioned). This appendix lists for each of the EU member countries the identity of up to 34 of the different channels/programmes that were coded.

Alternative coding (v233 to v252) asked respondents to select from a list of television stations/programs. The variables may be interpreted like this: v233 -> “the most watched channel”; v234 -> ”the second most watched channel” and so on.

v035 – v068: Codes for channel/programms used: yes/no

Missing Values:
-1 In Belgium and Lithuania v035 to v068 were not recorded at all and therefore coded -1. Countries that are coded alternatively (v233 to v252) are also coded -1 here.

9 “d/k, n/a”: Interview-generated missings (“No Answer”, “Not applicable”, “Don’t know”)

Austria:
1 ORF ZIB um 9 Uhr
2 ORF ZIB um 12/13 Uhr
3 ORF ZIB 1 um 19 Uhr 30
4 ORF ZIB 2 um 22 Uhr
5 ORF ZIB 3 um 0 Uhr
6 ORF Bundesland heute
7 ORF Newsflash
8 ATV
9 PRO 7 Nachrichten um 20 Uhr
10 local news channel
11 other
12 d/k
13 n/a

Britain:
1 BBC 9 o clock news
2 BBC 6 o clock (early evening) news
3 BBC lunchtime news
4 ITN 6.30 news (itv's main evening news programme)
5 ITN 11.00 pm news (late news headlines)
6 ITN lunchtime news
7 Channel four news at 7pm
8 Channel five news (anytime)
9 BBC2's newsnight (daily programme at 10.30pm)
10 Sky news (anytime)
11 Breakfast news
12 ITV
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>News Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>BBC news 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Question time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>CNN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Scotish news</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>BBC1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>BBC1 10 o'clock news</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Anglia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Local News</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>d/k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Internet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Radio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Czech Republic:**
1. CT News
2. NOVA – News
3. PRIMA – News
4. Sedmicka
5. Udalosti, komentare

**Denmark:**
1. TV aisen on DR1 (7.00, 18.30 and 21.00)
2. Deadline on DR2
3. Nyhederne on TV2 (includes Go Morgen Danmark)
4. Regional nyheder on TV2
5. 15 minutter on TV Danmark
6. BB C, CNN, Euro News and Sky News
7. Local news
8. Other
9. d/k

**Estonia:**
1. ETV Aktuaalne Kaamera
2. Kanal 2 Uued Uudised
3. TV3 Seitsmesed Uudised
4. ETV Terevisiooni uudised
5. ETV venekeelne Aktuaalne Kaamera
6. Esimese Balti Kanali uudised
7. other news
8. d/k
9. n/a

**Finland:**
1. YLE:n 18:00 uutiset
2. YL E:n 20:30 uutiset
3. YLE:n 21:50 uutiset
4. FST:n TV-nytt 18:15
5. MTV3:n 19:00 uutiset
6. MTV3:n 22:00 uutiset
7 Nelosen uutiset 20:00
8 Local News
9 Other
10 can't say
11 n/a

Germany:
1 ARD."Tagessschau" (20.00 Uhr)
2 ARD."Tagesthemen" (22.30 Uhr)
3 ZDF."heute" (19.00 Uhr)
4 ZDF."heute journal" (21.45 Uhr)
5 RTL."aktuell" (18.45 Uhr)
6 Sat1."18.30 Uhr" (18.30 Uhr)
7 local
8 Other
9 d/k
10 n/a

Ireland:
1 RTE lunchtime
2 RTE early evening
3 RTE nighttime
4 NT lunchtime
5 NT early evening
6 NT nighttime
7 TVT lunchtime
8 TVT early evening
9 TVT nighttime

Italy:
1 Tg1 (RAI1)
2 Tg2 (RAI2)
3 Tg3 (RAI3)
4 Tg4 (Rete 4)
5 Tg5 (Canale 5)
6 Studio Aperto (Italia 1)
7 TMC News (Tele Monte Carlo)
8 Local News
9 other

Latvia:
1 LTV1 7:00am programme Rits
2 LNT 4:00pm news
3 LNT 4:55pm news
4 LTV1 6pm news
5 LTV1 7pm regional news
6 LTV1 7:18pm programme Tautas Kontrole
7 TV3 7:30pm programme Bez Tabu Laiks
8 LNT 8pm news
9 LTV1 8:30pm news ("Panorama")
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10 LTV1 9:58pm programme Musu Cilveks
11 LTV7 9:50pm news (in Russian)
12 LTV1 11pm news (late-night news)
13 Local (regional) news
14 Other
15 d/k

Luxembourg:
1 RTL Luxembourg
2 Tango TV
3 Chamber TV
4 DoK
5 ZDF
6 ARD
7 RTL Deutschland
8 RTL II
9 DW
10 Arte
11 TF1
12 France 2
13 France 3
14 TV5
15 RTBF
16 RTL TVI
17 BBC World
18 CNN
19 RTP Portugal
20 TVE Spuenien
21 RAI Italien
22 Sky News
23 S3, H3...
24 Sat 1
25 3Sat
26 other programmes
27 PRO7
28 vox
29 N24
30 Euronews
31 NTV
32 M6
33 d/k
34 n/a

The Netherlands:
1 NOS Journaal 20:00 uur
2 NOS Journaal 18:00 uur
3 NOS Journaal 22:00 uur
4 RTL Nieuws & Weer 19:30 uur
5 RTL Nieuws 18:30 uur

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1. RTL Nieuws 23:00 uur
2. SBS Nieuws 19:30 uur
3. Hart van Nederland 22:30 uur
4. RTL5 Nieuws (alle tijden)
5. NL 1 Netwerk 20:30 uur
6. NL 2 2 Vandaag 17:30 uur
7. NL 3 NOVA 22:30 uur
8. NL 3 Den Haag Vandaag 23:00 uur
9. foreign newscasts
10. regional or local newscasts
11. other programma
12. d/k

Northern Ireland:
1. BBC
2. UTV
3. Channel 4
4. Channel 5
5. Sky News
6. RTE/ Network 2
7. Other
8. None
9. d/k

Portugal:
1. RTP1 - Bom Dia Portugal (7.00h-10.00h)
2. RTP1 - Jornal da Tarde (13.00h)
3. RTP1 - Telejornal (20.00 h)
4. RTP2 - Jornal 2: (21.30h)
5. SIC - Primeiro Jornal (13.00h)
6. SIC - Jornal da Noite (20.00h)
7. SIC Noticias (a qualquer altura)
8. TVI - TVI Jornal (13.00h)
9. TVI – Jornal Nacional (20.00h)
10. Other
11. d/k
12. n/a

Spain:
TV-news afternoon programme
1. TVE 1
2. Antena 3
3. Tele5
4. Canal Sur
5. TV 3
6. C9
7. TVG
8. Telemadrid
9. ETB 2
### TV-news evening programme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Station</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>TVE 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>La 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Antena 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tele5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Canal +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Canal Sur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>TV 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>C9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>TVG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Telemadrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ETB 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TV-news night programme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Station</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>TVE 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Antena 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Tele5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Canal Sur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>TV 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>TVG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>ETB 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
v233 – v252: Alternative coding: select from a list

**Missing Values:**
-1 In Belgium and Lithuania v233 to v252 were not recorded at all and therefore coded -1. Countries that are coded according to the former scheme (v035 to v068) are coded -1 here.

999 “d/k, n/a”: Interview-generated missings (“No Answer”, “Not applicable”, “Don’t know”)

**Cyprus:**
1 ANT
2 MEGA
3 ŅÉÊ („PIK“)
4 SIGMA
5 ÅÔ1 („ET1“)
6 Local news

**France:**
1 F2: Télématin
2 F2: 20h
3 F2: 13h
4 TF1: 20h
5 TF1: 13h
6 Arte: 19h45
7 F3 : 19h30
8 F3 : 12h30
Greek: NB: some of the descriptions require a font that supports Greek characters
1 MEGA – κεντρικό δελτίο ώρα 20.00 (MEGA central evening news 20:00)
2 MEGA – μεσημεριανό δελτίο ώρα 14.00 (MEGA lunchtime news 14:00)
3 MEGA – βραδινό δελτίο ώρα 24.00 (MEGA night news 24:00)
4 ANT – κεντρικό δελτίο ώρα 20.00 (ANT-central evening news 20:00)
5 ANT – μεσημεριανό δελτίο ώρα 14.00 (ANT-lunchtime news 14:00)
6 ANT – βραδινό δελτίο ώρα 24.00 (ANT-night news 24:00)
7 ALPHA – κεντρικό δελτίο ώρα 20.00 (ALPHA central evening news 20:00)
8 ALPHA – μεσημεριανό δελτίο ώρα 14.00 (ALPHA lunchtime news 14:00)
9 ALPHA – βραδινό δελτίο ώρα 24.00 (ALPHA night news 24:00)
10 ALTER – κεντρικό δελτίο ώρα 18.45 (ALTER central evening news 18:45)
11 ALTER – βραδινό δελτίο ώρα 24.00 (ALTER night news 24:00)
12 STAR – κεντρικό δελτίο ώρα 19.30 (STAR central evening news 19:30)
13 STAR – βραδινό δελτίο ώρα 24.00 (STAR night news 24:00)
14 ET1 – βραδινό δελτίο ώρα 23.00 (ET 1 night news 23:00)
15 NET – κεντρικό δελτίο ώρα 21.00 (NET central evening news 21:00)
16 ET3 – βραδινό δελτίο ώρα 20.30 (ET3 central evening news 20:30)
17 local channel news
18 other

Hungary:
1 Napkelte az M1-en (breakfast news on M1)
2 RTL Klub Híradó (18.30-kor) (RTL Klub evening news)
3 TV2 Tények (18.30-kor) (TV2 evening news)
4 M1 Híradó (19.30-kor) (M1 evening news)
5 Este az M1-en (22.00-kor) (M1 late night news)
6 DunaTV Híradó (Duna evening news)
7 Jó estét Magyarország késő este az TV2-n (TV2 late night news)
8 Hírtévé (24 hour news)
9 ATV News
10 other news programs

Poland:
1 7 Dni Gwiat
2 Agrobiznes
3 Aktualnoœci
4 BBC
5 Biznes-Informacje Polsat
6 CNN
7 Co pani na to?
8 Dziennik TV – ogólne
9 Dziennik Lubelski
10 Dziennik TV4
11 Echa Dnia
| 12 | Echa Tygodnia |
| 13 | Express Reporterów |
| 14 | Eurotel TVP3 |
| 15 | Eurotydzień |
| 16 | Euro TVN |
| 17 | Falcy Regionalne |
| 18 | Falcy Wrocławskie |
| 19 | Falcy Gorzowski |
| 20 | Flash TV4 |
| 21 | Forum Gospodarcze |
| 22 | Forum Wiedzy i Kultury |
| 23 | Forum Jedynki |
| 24 | Forum TVP3 |
| 25 | Forum TVP2 |
| 26 | Forum TVP2 Gospodarcze |
| 27 | Forum Wiedzy i Kultury |
| 28 | Forum Regionalne |
| 29 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne |
| 30 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Gospodarcze |
| 31 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Wiedzy i Kultury |
| 32 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Jedynki |
| 33 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Gorzowski |
| 34 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Wrocławskie |
| 35 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Flash TV4 |
| 36 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Express Reporterów |
| 37 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurotydzień |
| 38 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurotel TVP3 |
| 39 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Euronie |
| 40 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowarszawianów |
| 41 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Euroniemieckich |
| 42 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Euroeuropejskich |
| 43 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczeslnych |
| 44 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych |
| 45 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych |
| 46 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Jedynki |
| 47 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Gorzowski |
| 48 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Wrocławskie |
| 49 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Flash TV4 |
| 50 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Express Reporterów |
| 51 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurotydzień |
| 52 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurotel TVP3 |
| 53 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Euronie |
| 54 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Euroeuropejskich |
| 55 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczeslnych |
| 56 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych |
| 57 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych |
| 58 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Jedynki |
| 59 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Gorzowski |
| 60 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Wrocławskie |
| 61 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Flash TV4 |
| 62 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Express Reporterów |
| 63 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurotydzień |
| 64 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurotel TVP3 |
| 65 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Euronie |
| 66 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Euroeuropejskich |
| 67 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczeslnych |
| 68 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych |
| 69 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Jedynki |
| 70 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Gorzowski |
| 71 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Wrocławskie |
| 72 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Flash TV4 |
| 73 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Express Reporterów |
| 74 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurotydzień |
| 75 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurotel TVP3 |
| 76 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Euronie |
| 77 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Euroeuropejskich |
| 78 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczeslnych |
| 79 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych |
| 80 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Jedynki |
| 81 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Gorzowski |
| 82 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Wrocławskie |
| 83 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Flash TV4 |
| 84 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Express Reporterów |
| 85 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurotydzień |
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| 87 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Euronie |
| 88 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Euroeuropejskich |
| 89 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczeslnych |
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| 92 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Gorzowski |
| 93 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Wrocławskie |
| 94 | Forum TVP2 Regionalne Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Eurowczesnych Tymczasowych Flash TV4 |
233: Concerning news programmes on radio and television: How often do you watch Rapport/Aktuellt in VT1 or SVT2?

-1 short questionnaire
1 6-7 days a week
2 3-5 days a week
3 1-2 days a week
4 more seldom
5 never

Slovakia:

1 STV
2 Markíza
3 TV JOJ
4 TA3
5 Hungarian Television Programs/Stations
6 Czech television Programs/Stations
7 Other foreign television Programs/Stations
8 Local television
9 other
97 don’t watch

Slovenia:

1 TV Dnevnik
2 24 ur
3 foreign programs
11 local programs
12 other

Sweden:

Sweden used a different question format. Here, the frequency of watching each of two specific news magazines was determined. These codes are in v233 and v234. The following variables v241 – v258 are coded as -1 in Sweden.

v233: Concerning news programmes on radio and television: How often do you watch Rapport/Aktuellt in SVT1 or SVT2?

v234: Concerning news programmes on radio and television: How often do you watch Nyheterna in TV4?
6-7 days a week
2 3-5 days a week
3 1-2 days a week
4 more seldom
5 never

APPENDIX 4: MEDIA LIST – NEWSPAPERS

This appendix relates to v071 to v104 & v253 to v274

v071 to v104 are labeled ‘Newspaper used 1’ to ‘Newspaper used 34’. Each of these variables is coded either 0 (‘no’ -> not mentioned) or 1 (‘yes’ -> mentioned). This appendix lists the identity of up to 34 of the different newspapers that were coded in each of the EU member countries.

Alternative coding (v253 to v274) asked respondents to select from a list of television stations/programs. The variables may be interpreted like this: v253 -> “the most read newspaper”; v254 -> ”the second most read newspaper” and so on.

v071 – v104: Codes for newspaper used: yes/no

Missing Values:
-1 In Belgium and Lithuania v071 to v104 were not recorded at all and therefore coded -1.
  Countries that are coded alternatively (v253 to v274) are also coded -1 here.

9 “d/k, n/a”: Interview-generated missings (“No Answer”, “Not applicable”, “Don’t know”)

Austria:
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<td>other newspaper</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Daily record</td>
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<td>The people</td>
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<td>4 Irish Independent</td>
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<td>6 Star</td>
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<td>7 Mail</td>
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<td>8 Express</td>
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v253 – v274: Alternative coding: select from a list

Missing Values:
-1 In Belgium and Lithuania v253 to v274 were not recorded at all and therefore coded -1. Countries that were coded according to the former scheme (v071 to v104) are coded -1 here.

“d/k, n/a”: Interview-generated missings (“No Answer”, “Not applicable”, “Don’t know”)

Cyprus:
1 ΦΙΛΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ („Pheleleftheros“)
2 ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ („Politis“)
3 ΣΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ („Simerini“)
4 ΑΛΙΘΙΑ („Alithia“)
5 ΧΑΡΑΥΓΗ („Haravgi“)
6 ΜΑΧΗ („Machi“)
7 CYPRUS MAIL („Cyprus Mail“)
8 Local Newspaper

France:
1 Le Monde
2 Libération
3 Le Figaro
4 L’Humanité
5 Les Échos
6 France soir
7 La Tribune
8 Le Parisien / Aujourd’hui en France
9 La Croix
21 regional newspaper
22 free newspaper
23 other

Greece: NB: some of the descriptions require a font that supports Greek characters
1 ΝΕΑ (TA NEA)
2 ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΤΥΠΙΑ (ELEFTERTOTYPIA)
3 ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ (KATHIMERINI)
4 ΒΗΜΑ (TO VIMA)
5 ΑΠΟΓΕΥΜΑΤΙΝΗ (APOGUVMAINTI)
6 ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ ΤΥΠΟΣ (ELEFTEROS TYPOS)
7 ΡΙΖΟΠΛΑΣΤΗΣ (RIZOSPASTHIS)
8 ΑΥΓΗ (AVGI)
9 ΕΘΝΟΣ (ETHNOS)
10 ΑΔΕΣΜΕΥΤΟΣ ΤΥΠΟΣ (ADESMETOS TYPOS (RIZOS))
11 ΕΠΕΝΔΥΤΗΣ (O KOSMOS TOU EPENDYTI)
12 ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ (HMERHSA)
13 ΝΑΥΤΕΜΠΟΡΙΚΗ (NAUTEMPORIKI)
14 ΕΣΤΙΑ (ESTIA)
15 ΒΡΑΔΥΝΗ (BRADYNI)
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European Election Study 2004

26 Echo
27 Echo Dnia
28 Echo Ponidzia
29 Enter
30 Express
31 Express Bydgoski
32 Express Ilustrowany
33 Fakt
34 Fakty
35 Fokus
36 Forum
37 Gazeta Dolnośląska
38 Gazeta Kętżyńska
39 Gazeta Krakowska
40 Gazeta Kujawska
41 Gazeta Lubuska
42 Gazeta Olsztyńska
43 Gazeta Ostrowska
44 Gazeta Podatkowa
45 Gazeta Pomorska
46 Gazeta Poznańska
47 Gazeta Prawna
48 Gazeta Regionalna
49 Gazeta Robotnicza
50 Gazeta Rycka
51 Gazeta Sportowa
52 Gazeta Starachowicka
53 Gazeta Wielkopolska
54 Gazeta Wrocławska
55 Gazeta Współczesna
56 Gazeta Wyborcza
57 Głoś Koszaliński
58 Głoś Płocki
59 Głoś Pomorski
60 Głoś Słupski
61 Głoś Szczeciński
62 Głoś Wielkopolski
63 Goniec Bartoszycki
64 Imperium
65 Informacja Regionalna
66 Koleje małe i duże
67 Konkrety
68 Kronika
69 Kulisy
70 Kurier
71 Kurier Lubelski
72 Kurier Poranny
73 Kurier Szczeciński
74 Kurier Telewizyjny
75 Metro
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Spain:
0 PROVINCIA, La
1 EL PAIS
2 ABC
3 DIARIO 16
4 CRONICA DE LEON
5 SUPERDEPORTE
6 LA VANGUARDIA
7 ADELANTO
8 TRIBUNA DE ALBACETE
9 ALERTA
10 EXPANSION
11 AS
12 AVUI
13 EL MUNDO
14 BALEARES
15 Diario de Ibiza
16 CANARIAS-7
17 GACETA REGIONAL
18 CINCO DIAS
19 Diario Sabadell
20 EL COMERCIO
21 CORDOBA
22 CORREO ANDALUZ
23 EUROPA SUR
24 CORREO ESPVasco
25 CORREO GALLEGO
26 CORREO ZAMORANO
27 DEIA
28 TRIBUNA ALBACETE
29 DIA, EL
30 DIARIO DE AVILA
31 La razon
32 D ALTO ARAGON
33 DIARIO BURGOS
34 DIARIO CADIZ
35 D CASTELLON
36 La Opinion
37 Metro
38 DIARIO JAEN
39 DIARIO JEREZ
40 DIARIO LEON
41 DIARIO MALLORCA
42 DIARIO MONTAÑES
43 DIARIO NAVARRA
44 D LAS PALMAS
45 D TARRAGONA
46 D TERRASSA
47 DIARIO VASCO
48 EGIN
Sweden:

In Sweden, only 3 newspapers were coded in v253-v255 (v256 – v274 are coded as -1). The meaning of the three substantive codes is the following: “Which newspaper or newspapers do you read regularly?”

In Sweden this is an open ended question. The definition of “regularly” is: “with regularly I mean at least one time a week.”. v253 – v255 contain up to three possible answers. {Newspaper used 1, Newspaper used 2, Newspaper used 3}

001 Metro
002 Stockholm City (ny 2002)
| 003 | Näringsliv |
| 004 | Finans Vision |
| 010 | Tidningen Ångermanland |
| 021 | Stockholms Fria Tidning (ny 2001) |
| 202 | Arbetarbladet |
| 204 | Dagbladet Nya Samhället |
| 205 | Dala-Demokraten |
| 206 | Folkbladet Östgöten |
| 207 | Folket |
| 208 | Gotlands Tidningar |
| 209 | Karlskogakuriren |
| 211 | Länstidningen (Östersund) |
| 212 | Norrländska socialdemokraten (NSD) |
| 215 | Piteå-Tidningen |
| 217 | Sydöstran - Sydöstra Sveriges Dagblad |
| 219 | Värmlands Folkblad |
| 220 | Västerbottens Folkblad |
| 223 | Nya Västmanlands Folkblad |
| 224 | Örebro-Kuriren |
| 225 | Östra Småland |
| 226 | Nyheterna (syskontidning till Östra Småland) |
| 236 | Hälsinge-Kuriren |
| 301 | Blekinge-Posten |
| 302 | Dalabygden |
| 305 | Hallands Nyheter |
| 307 | Hudiksvalls Tidning/Hälsinglands tidning |
| 309 | Kalmar Läns Tidning m Nybro Tidning |
| 311 | Laholms Tidning |
| 312 | Läns-Posten (Örebro) |
| 313 | Länstidningen Södertälje |
| 314 | Länstidningen Östergötland |
| 316 | Nord-Sverige |
| 317 | Norra Halland/Nordhålland |
| 318 | Norra Skåne |
| 319 | Norrtelje Tidning |
| 320 | Nynäshamns-Posten |
| 321 | Sjuhäradsbygdens Tidning |
| 322 | Skaraborgs-Bygden |
| 323 | Skånska Dagbladet |
| 324 | Smålandsbygdens Tidning |
| 325 | Södermanlands Nyheter |
| 326 | Sörmlandsbygden |
| 327 | Vimmerby Tidning - Kinda-Posten |
| 328 | Värmlands-Bygden |
| 329 | Västerbygden |
| 330 | Västmanlands Nyheter |
| 331 | Uddevalla-Posten |
| 332 | Växjö-Bladet/Kronobergaren |
| 333 | Östersunds-Posten |
| 334 | Upplands Nyheter |
335 Västerbottningen
337 Gästriklands Tidning
401 Alingsås Tidning med Elfsborgs Läns Tidning
402 Arboga Tidning
403 Bohusläningen
406 Bergslags-Posten
406 Bärgslagsbladet med Arboga Tidning
408 Eskilstuna-Kuriren med Strengnäs Tidning
410 Falu-Kuriren
411 Gefle Dagblad
414 Göteborgs-Posten
415 Hallands-Posten
416 Karlstads-Tidningen
417 Katrineholms-Kuriren
418 Kristianstadsbladet
421 Ljusnan
423 Motala Tidning med Vadstena Tidning
424 Nertikes Allehanda
425 Norra Västerbotten
426 Nya Länstidningen/Nya Lidköpingstidningen
427 Provinstidningen Dalsland
428 Skövde Nyheter
430 Smålands-Tidningen Eksjö/Smålands Dagblad (med Tranås Tidning & med Vetlanda-Posten)
433 Sundsvalls Tidning
434 Sydsvenska Dagbladet
437 Sölvesborgs-Tidningen
439 Trelleborgs Allehanda
440 Upsala Nya Tidning
444 Västerbottens-Kuriren
445 Ystads Allehanda
446 Örnsköldsviks Allehanda
501 Barometern/OT
502 Borås Tidning
503 Einköpings-Posten
504 Falköpings Tidning
505 Filipstads Tidning
506 Gotlands Allehanda
507 Haparandabladet
509 Hjo Tidning
510 Mariestads-Tidningen
512 Norrköpings Tidningar
513 Nya Kristinehamns-Posten
514 Nya Wermlandstidningen
516 Smålandsposten
517 Svenska Dagbladet
518 Tranås-Posten
519 Ulricehamns Tidning
520 Västerviks-Tidningen
522 Östgöta Correspondenten
European Election Study 2004

161 Arvika Nyheter
166 Blekinge Läns Tidning/Karlshamns Allehanda
169 Smålänningen
170 Nordvästra Skånes Tidningar/ Landskrona-Posten (NST)
171 Norrbottens-Kuriren
172 Skaraborgs Allehanda (SLA)
173 Skaraborgs Läns Tidning (SkaraTidning)
175 Västgötaland Tidning
176 Ölandsbladet
179 Arbetaren
182 Internationalen
184 Proletären
185 Flamman
186 Avesta Tidning/Avesta-Posten
192 Dalslättningen Bengtsfors-Tidningen
193 Borlänge Tidning
194 Nya Dagen
195 Dagens Nyheter
197 Eesti Päevaleht – Estniska Dagbladet
198 Elfbsborgs Läns Annonsblad (Allehanda)
199 Fagersta-Posten
201 Fryksdals-Bygden/Sunnebygden
202 Helsingborgs Dagblad
204 Härjedalen
205 Jönköpings-Posten
206 Karlskoga Tidning
208 Kungälvs-Posten
209 Lidingö Tidning med Lidingö Nyheter
210 Ljusdals-Posten
211 Nya Ludvika Tidning
212 Lysekilsposten med Orust Tjörn
213 Mora tidning
214 Möln达尔-Posten
216 Sala Allehanda
217 Strömstads Tidning Norra Bohuslän
218 Säffle-Tidningen Västra Värmland
219 Södra Dalarnas Tidning/Säters Tidning
220 Trollhättans Tidning med Lilla Edet-Posten
221 Värnamo Nyheter
222 Kungsbacka Tidning
223 Tempus
224 Dagens Industri
225 Finnveden Fredag
226 Stenungsundsposten
227 Östhammars Nyheter
228 Utländsk dagstidning
229 Nyhetstidningen Sesam
230 Finanstidningen
231 Aftonbladet
232 Expressen
APPENDIX 5: WEIGHTING

This appendix relates to:

sesweight1, sesweight2, sesweight3, nweight, psweight, epweight

This appendix sets out the methodology of constructing the weight variables in the EES 2004 integrated data set. There are four main weight variables, two at the national level and two at the European level. The national level variables consist of socio-demographic weight(s) and a turnout/party strength weight. These are designed to aid the sample in more closely approximating the populations from which they were taken. The European weights are included to aid in pooled analyses.

sesweight1, sesweight2, and sesweight3 are weight variables constructed for each country by the fieldwork organizations in that country. They are meant to weight on the basis of socio-demographic characteristics. For most of the countries, the exact manner in which this weight was constructed has been documented by the fieldwork organizations (see below). The weights are intended to bring the sample in socio-demographic congruence with the populations from which they were drawn. In other cases, a socio-demographic weight is not included. (The fieldwork organization did not construct a socio-demographic weight either because a close approximation of the sample to the population or through the use of particular sampling methods (e.g. quota sampling methods).

psweight is a political weight variable. When applied, it generates a turnout and distribution of party choice that is identical to the actual results of the 2004 European elections of the respective countries (see appendix 10). This variable was constructed in a similar manner as its counterparts in 1989, 1994, and 1999 European Election study data sets. Applying this weight leaves the effective number of cases unchanged from the raw data for each country.

nweight is a transformation of the psweight variable that consists of multiplying by a constant in each political system so that the effective number of cases is equal for each of the systems. When applying this weight to analyses that are conducted for each of the political systems separately, it produces results identical to those obtained when using psweight, except for the (effective) number of cases (and consequently for standard errors and tests of significance). This variable is particularly useful when one is interested in the effects of systemic or contextual factors in a pooled analysis. An unbiased estimate of the effect of these factors requires each system to be weighted equally in the analysis. This variable accomplishes this, while at the same time ensuring that the sample distribution of voting behavior in each system mirrors the actual outcome of the European elections in that system.

epweight is a variable that can be used to create a European weight. Using this weight ensures that the effective number of cases in each system reflects the share of that system’s electorate in the EU-wide electorate. Application of this weight is useful in analyses of the entire (pooled) dataset, when this is regarded as a sample of the EU-electorate at large. This variable can be used in either of two ways. It can be used as a weight by itself (on the unweighted data), or it can be used in conjunction with psweight by straightforward multiplication. The latter procedure ensures that the (weighted) cases in the pooled dataset reflect actual voting behavior in each of the systems of the EU and in the EU as a whole.
OVERVIEW ABOUT WEIGHTING VARIABLES BY COUNTRY:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>country</th>
<th>sesweight1</th>
<th>sesweight2</th>
<th>sesweight3</th>
<th>nweight</th>
<th>psweight</th>
<th>epweight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands, The</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Legend:* x = weight reported/included
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC WEIGHTING BY COUNTRY: (sesweight1, sesweight2, sesweight 3)

Austria:

The socio-demographic weight was generated by iterative, proportional fitting. The demographic characteristics in the variable include: age by gender, educational level, occupational status, results of European Election, results of last national election (11/2002) by region.

Belgium:

The method used by the ISPO/PIOP is a population-based method, in which information on population subclasses is used to calculate weighting coefficients. A first set weighting coefficients (age_vla, age_waal) is based on the joint distribution of age (A), gender (G) and education (E) in the official statistics (NIS data, 2003). The age categories, three, are 18-34; 35-54; 55 +. The education categories, four, are ‘No Education or Primary Education’; ‘Lower Secondary Education’; ‘Higher Secondary Education’; ‘Higher Education/University’. Two weighting coefficients of this kind are produced, one for each region

age_vla ==> flemish
age_waal ==> walloon

For some analysis, the correct distribution of the political parties at Election Day (European Election June 13th 2004) may be of interest. Four variables are then used for post stratification: age, gender, education and voting behavior in European Election. Since the joint distribution of these three variables in the population is not known, IPF (iterative proportional fitting), a technique that uses all the available information on the known population distributions and known sample information is used. The idea behind this method is to make marginal distributions of the stratification variables conform to the population marginal distribution without distorting the pattern of the joint sample distribution. To obtain the weighting coefficients for the joint distribution of age (A), gender (G), education (E) and voting behavior (V) with IPF, the procedure uses the known marginal distribution of the compound variable age*gender*education and the known marginal distribution of voting behavior in 2004 (European Elections). Two weighting coefficients of this kind are produced:

agev_vla ==> flemish region
agev_waal ==> wallon/brussels region

The Belgian weight variables were combined such that “age_vla” (for the Flemish respondents) and “age_waal” (for the Wallonian respondents) became “sesweight1”. Similarly, “agev_vla” and “agev_waal” became “sesweight2”

Britain:

The demographic weights included in the data file are for Gender, Age, Tenure, Working Status & Region Weighted to the profile of all adults across the GB population, taken from the “National Readership Survey” comprising of 34,000 interviews.
Estonia:

The demographic weight includes sex, age, and locality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Demographic Characteristic</th>
<th>Population (Estimates)</th>
<th>Sample (not weighted)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-40</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-65</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 65</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 inhabitants</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-20000</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20000-100000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 100000</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* - eligible voters

Germany:

Includes 3 demographic weights.
- The first is a SES adjusted weight.
- The second is a Transformation Weight (probability adjustment) based on the use of phone interviews.
- The third is these simply multiplied together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Demographic Characteristic</th>
<th>Population (Estimates)</th>
<th>not weighted</th>
<th>weighted to correct design effects only</th>
<th>completely weighted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex: Male</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-39</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-69</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 70</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hungary:

Weights based on the 2004 EP election results:
- Those who said they do not know which party they voted for the EP election or did not answer the question are assigned a missing value on the weighting variable.
- All self-reported non-voters are assigned the same weight.
- The formula used in calculating the weights is \((\frac{Pi}{pi}) \times (\frac{n}{N})\), where \(Pi\) is actual number of votes for a given Party \(i\); \(pi\) is the number of voters for Party \(i\) in the sample; \(N\) (i.e. 8046247) is the total number of eligible voters in the register at the end of polling day; and \(n\) (1122) is the number of non-missing cases on the q10 variables (i.e. respondent who report which party list they voted for or...
declare that they did not vote).
  - Since no one reported casting an invalid vote, the (unweighted) mean value of this weight variable is slightly less than 1.00, and the sum of the weights is just 1120.

Ireland:
The Irish data are weighted according to Age, education, gender, and geographic region (province).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-demographic Characteristics</th>
<th>Population (Estimates)</th>
<th>Sample weighted to correct design effects only</th>
<th>completely weighted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not weighted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>49.09</td>
<td>50.13</td>
<td>49.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>50.91</td>
<td>49.87</td>
<td>50.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong> (or similar categories)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>19.62</td>
<td>8.21</td>
<td>17.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>20.33</td>
<td>19.06</td>
<td>20.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-45</td>
<td>18.05</td>
<td>20.83</td>
<td>18.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>16.49</td>
<td>20.04</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-65</td>
<td>11.39</td>
<td>14.39</td>
<td>12.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-75</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>12.36</td>
<td>9.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 75</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>5.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong> (or similar categories)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None/Completed Natl</td>
<td>24.53</td>
<td>12.10</td>
<td>23.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Certificate</td>
<td>22.33</td>
<td>19.66</td>
<td>22.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaving Certificate</td>
<td>24.93</td>
<td>34.79</td>
<td>25.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Level</td>
<td>28.21</td>
<td>33.45</td>
<td>28.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provinces</strong> (or similar categories)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>29.35</td>
<td>20.02</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leinster</td>
<td>26.24</td>
<td>32.69</td>
<td>25.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munster</td>
<td>28.82</td>
<td>28.85</td>
<td>27.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connacht-Ulster</td>
<td>17.59</td>
<td>18.44</td>
<td>18.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Italy:
Weight included without documentation.

Latvia:
Since the sample constituted of households and within the household a respondent was chosen according to the first birthday method according to the probability theory it is possible that some groups (e.g. male vs. female, different age groups, etc.) are overrepresented and vice versa. To correct such outcomes data were weighted by gender, six age groups and region according to the available data from the State Statistical Bureau (see Table below). Due to the lack of socio-demographic data on party selection among respondents data were not weighted by party selection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>7%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational, specialized</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncompleted higher (University etc.)</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher (BA degree etc.)</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Max</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Luxembourg:
The weighting is according to crossing age/sex, activity and region. However, while it was not specified that the variable EDUCATION should be a quota for the sample, we ended up with an important deviation from the evaluation made in the 2001 census about the distribution of that variable in the Luxembourg population (the figures I give in the document are raw figures as 4.2 percent did not respond. If one were interested, one could merge primary and lower secondary categories in order to get a more reasonable bias (that could be a basis for re-weighting too, as re-weighting with all categories may be too drastic a move).

Northern Ireland:
The ‘weight’ variable is in fact a political weight to adjust for first preference voting behaviour at 2004 Euro elections. The unweighted data is close to reality in terms of turnout and voting for the DUP, SDLP and ‘others’ but underestimates Sinn Fein voting (which is very common in Northern Ireland surveys) and overestimates somewhat the vote of the UUP. Also, there is a slight under-representation of Catholics as compared to Protestants in the unweighted sample. However, when the political ‘weight’ is applied the religion demographic moves into line with the reality (this is because upweighting Sinn Fein and downweighting the UUP means upweighting Catholics a bit and downweighting Protestants a bit. Thus, there is no need for more complicated weights other than the (political) weight provided. (When the weight is applied other characteristics such as age, and work status and sex are very much in line with reality)
### Poland:

The demographic weight includes age categories, gender, the level of education, and the economic activity of the population aged 18 and more.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Demographic Characteristic</th>
<th>Population (Estimates)</th>
<th>not weighted</th>
<th>completely weighted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>53.8%</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Degree</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic vocational</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of residence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>43.2%</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban up to 19 999 residents</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban 20 000 - 100 000 residents</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban with more than 100 000 residents</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
<td>30.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic activity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically inactive persons</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Portugal:

Weight 1: Socio-demographic: gender, age, education
Weight 2: district/habitat: population characteristics in districts and size of locality
Weight 3: Election vote: results of 2002 legislative elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Demographic Characteristic</th>
<th>Population (Estimates)</th>
<th>not weighted</th>
<th>completely weighted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-40</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>23.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>41-65</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>38.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 65</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Slovakia:**

The socio-demographic weight is weighted according: gender, age, education, nationality, size of the community, region, election outcomes in national election 2002, election outcome of EP election.

**Slovenia:**

Weight includes both Sex and Residence (urban, rural, etc…).

**Spain:**

The socio-demographic weight includes sex and age at the national level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Demographic Characteristic</th>
<th>Population (Estimates)</th>
<th>not weighted</th>
<th>completely weighted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex:</strong></td>
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<td>49%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>48%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age:</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-65</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td><strong>Education:</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>Secondary</td>
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<td>Post-Secondary</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trade/Vocational</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Type of residence:</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 2,000 inhabitants</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>2,000-10,000</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000-50,000</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000-100,000</td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 100,000 inhabitants</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX 6: REGION

This appendix relates to variable “region”

The region of the interview was not documented in: Austria, Cyprus, Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Poland and Sweden. The codes for the remaining countries are listed below:

Belgium:
1  Flanders
2  Wallonia

Britain:
1  Scotland
2  North East
3  North West
4  Yorks & Humberside
5  East Midlands
6  West Midlands
7  Wales
8  Eastern
9  Greater London
10 South East
11 South West

Czech Republic:
1  Hl. mìsto Praha
2  Støedoèeský
3  Jihoèeský
4  Plzeòský
5  Karlovarský
6  Ústecký
7  Liberecký
8  Královehradecký
9  Pardubický
10 Vysoèina
11 Jihomoravský
12 Olomoucký
13 Zlínský
14 Moravskoslezský
15 BEZ ODPOVIDI

Estonia:
1  Harjumaa
2  Ida-Virumaa
3  Jõgevamaa
4  Järvamaa
5  Läänmee
6  Lääne-Virumaa
7 Põlvamaa
8 Pärnumaa
9 Raplamaa
10 Saaremaa
11 Tartumaa
12 Valgamaa
13 Viljandimaa
14 Võrumaa
15 Hiiumaa
16 Tallinn

Finland:
1 Uusimaa
2 Varsinais-Suomi
3 Satakunta
4 Kanta-Häme
5 Pirkanmaa
6 Päijät-Häme
7 Kymenlaakso
8 Etelä-Karjala
9 Etelä-Savo
10 Pohjois-Savo
11 Pohjois-Karjala
12 Keski-Suomi
13 Etelä-Pohjanmaa
14 Pohjanmaa
15 Keski-Pohjanmaa
16 Pohjois-Pohjanmaa
17 Kainuu
18 Lappi
19 Ahvenanmaa

France:
1 Basse-Normandie
2 Haute-Normandie
3 Nord-Pas-de-Calais
4 Picardie
5 Bretagne
6 Pays-De-La-Loire
7 Poitou-Charentes
8 Aquitaine
9 Languedoc-Roussillon
10 Midi-Pyrenees
11 Auvergne
12 Limousin
13 Centre
14 Corse
15 PACA
16 Rhone-Alpes
17 Alsace
Europe:
18 Bourgogne
19 Champagne-Ardenne
20 Franche-Comte
21 Lorraine
22 Ile de France

Germany:
1 Baden-Württemberg
2 Bayern
3 Berlin
4 Brandenburg
5 Bremen
6 Hamburg
7 Hessen
8 Mecklenburg-Vorpommern
9 Niedersachsen
10 Nordrhein-Westfalen
11 Rheinland-Pfalz
12 Saarland
13 Sachsen
14 Sachsen-Anhalt
15 Schleswig-Holstein
16 Thüringen

Greece:
1 Athens
2 Thessaloniki
3 Urban
4 Semi Urban-Rural

Hungary:
1 Central Hungary (Budapest, Pest)
2 Central Transdanubia (Fejer, Komarom)
3 Western Transdanubia (Gyor, Vas)
4 Southern Transdanubia (Baranya, Somogy, Tolna)
5 North Hungary (Borsod, Heves, Nograd)
6 North of the Plain (Hajdu, Szaboles, Szolnok)
7 South of the Plain (Hajdu, Szaboles, Szolnok)

Latvia:
1 Riga
2 Vidzeme
3 Kurzeme
4 Zemgale
5 Latgale

Luxembourg:
1 Luxembourg-Ville
2 Center
3 South
4 North
5 East

The Netherlands:
1 Groningen
2 Friesland
3 Drenthe
4 Overijssel
5 Flevoland
6 Gelderland
7 Utrecht
8 Noord Holland (including Amsterdam)
9 Zuid Holland (including Rotterdam and the Hague)
10 Zeeland
11 Noord Brabant
12 Limburg

Northern Ireland:
1 Northern Ireland
2 Rest of UK
3 Republic of Ireland
4 Other

Portugal:
1 Aveiro
2 Beja
3 Braga
4 Bragança
5 Castelo Branco
6 Coimbra
7 Évora
8 Faro
9 Guarda
10 Leiria
11 Lisboa
12 Portalegre
13 Porto
14 Santarém
15 Setubal
16 Viana do Castelo
17 Vila Real
18 Viseu

Slovakia:
1 Bratislavský
2 Trnavský
3 Trenčiansky
4 Nitriansky
5 Žilinský
6 Banskobystrický
Slovenia:
1  POMURSKA
2  PODRAVSKA
3  KOROJSKA
4  SAVINJSKA
5  GORENJSKA
6  ZASAVSKA
7  OSREDNJA
8  SPOD. POSAJSKA
9  DOLENJSKA
10 GORIJSKA
11 OBALNO-KRAJSKA
12 KRAJSKA

Spain:
1  Andalucia
2  Aragon
3  Asturias
4  Baleares
5  Cataluña
6  Canarias
7  Cantabria
8  Castilla-León
9  Castilla-LaMancha
10 Extremadura
11 Galicia
12 La Rioja
13 Madrid
14 Murcia
15 Navarra
16 Pais Vasco
17 Comunidad Valenciana
APPENDIX 7: RELIGION

This appendix relates to v228 and v229

v228 asks: “Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion? (If yes:) Which one?”. Countries not listed here adhere to the original response categories. The common codes are:

1 = roman catholic
2 = protestant
3 = orthodox
4 = jewish
5 = muslim
6 = buddhist
7 = hindu
8 = other
9 = none
99 = d/k, n/a

In a few countries additional codes are used. These are:

**Latvia:**
10 Russian old believer
12 Dievturi (Latvian pre-Christian religion)

**Luxembourg:**
10 Agnostic
11 Atheist
12 Libre penseur Fräidenker Fräimaurer Loge

**Northern Ireland**
10 Church of Ireland
11 Presbyterian
12 Methodist
13 Free Presbyterian
14 Other Protestant

**Slovakia**
10 Greek Catholic

**Sweden**
The Swedish question is open-ended. When no fixed alternative are offered to the respondents, many of them answer just “christian”. This is coded as 10. Another frequent answer is “the Swedish church”, which has been coded 2 (protestant).
v229 asks, “How often do you attend religious services: several times a week, once a week, a few times a year, once a year or less, or never?” Countries not listed here adhere to the original response categories. These are:

1 = several times a week
2 = once a week
3 = a few times a year
4 = once a year or less
5 = never
9 = d/k, n/a

In a few countries somewhat different, but comparable codes are used. These are:

**Belgium**
Question wording: “When you don’t take into account religious service such as weddings, baptisms, and funerals, how often do you participate in religious services?”
1 several times a week
2 once a week
3 a couple of times a month / a few times a year
4 once a year or less
5 never

**Luxembourg**
1 several times a week
2 once a week
3 1-2 times a month / 1-2 times per three months / a few times a year
4 once a year or less
5 never

**Sweden**
1 every week
2 2 or more times a week
3 once a month
4 2-11 times a year / once a year
5 never
### APPENDIX 8: COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

This appendix relates to v219

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>0100</td>
<td>Country where the Interview took place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(for Germany includes the GDR; for The Netherlands includes former Dutch East Indies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9000</td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9999</td>
<td>d/k, n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Abkhazia</td>
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<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
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<td>Antigua and Barbuda</td>
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1919 Spain
1920 Sri Lanka
1921 Sudan
1922 Suriname
1923 Swaziland
1924 Sweden
1925 Switzerland
1926 Syria

2001 Taiwan
2002 Tajikistan
2003 Tanzania
2004 Thailand
2005 Togo
2006 Tonga
2007 Transnistria
2008 Trinidad and Tobago
2009 Tunisia
2010 Turkey
2011 Turkmenistan
2012 Tuvalu

2101 Uganda
2102 Ukraine
2103 United Arab Emirates
2104 United Kingdom
2105 United States
2106 Uruguay
2107 Uzbekistan

2201 Vanuatu
2202 Vatican City
2203 Venezuela
2204 Vietnam

2301 Western Sahara

2401 Yemen
2402 former Yugoslavia

2501 Zambia
2502 Zimbabwe

3001 EU 15
3002 other new EU member country
3003 Africa (unspecified)
APPENDIX 9: EMPLOYMENT STATUS

This appendix relates to v222

The common coding categories for this variable are:

1 = self-employed
2 = employed
3 = student
4 = working in the household
5 = retired
6 = unemployed
7 = other
99 = d/k, n/a

In a number of countries, different categories have been used to code the employment status of the respondent. This is documented in the following on a country by country basis:

Belgium:
1    Yes, if "no" in previous question, 2-10 responses:
2    Retired
3    Housewife/man
4    On sick leave or maternity leave
5    On leave without pay/career interruption
6    Disabled
7    Unemployed
8    Looking for first job
9    Pursuing full-time education
10   Doing something else

Britain:
1    self employed
2    employed part time (8-29 hours per week)
3    employed full time (30+ per week)
4    studying full time
5    not working but seeking work/ temporarily unemployed sick
6    not working/ not seeking work/ retired
7    refused

France:
2    “employed” does not distinguish between “self-employed” and “employed”

Italy:
1    Entrepreneur
2    Freelancer
3    Independently employed, trader, craftsman
4    Employee, Teacher
5    Laborer, store clerk
6    Student
7 Housewife
8 Retired
9 Unemployed
10 Other

_Latvia:_ (in addition)
7 Occasional Employment
9 Employer/entrepreneur
10 Handicapped
11 on child-care leave
15 on pregnancy leave

_Lithuania:_
1 Unemployed
2 Housewife
3 Pensioner
4 Student, at school
5 Specialist with university education
6 Specialist without university education
7 Manual worker

_Luxembourg:_ (in addition)
7 sick or invalid
8 child-caring

_The Netherlands:_
1 Works in paid employment
2 Works in family enterprise
3 Works in a self-employed form (freelance)
4 Unemployed, looking after having been employed
5 Unemployed, looking for first time
6 In school or student
7 Manages a household
8 Pensioner
9 Disabled or partially disabled
10 Non-paid work while drawing from social security or unemployment
11 Active as a volunteer
12 Does something else/other

_Poland:_
1 full-time job
2 part-time job
3 odd jobs
4 doesn’t work

_Spain:_ (in addition)
7   helping family member
8   permanently disabled
9   others not in labor force
10  business man

Sweden:
Not asked in the Swedish study. This variable is derived from a similar question and a question about which group of education the respondent belong to. “In school” comes from the Swedish 8-cut analysis variable of occupation.
APPENDIX 10: RESULTS OF THE 2004 EUROPEAN ELECTION

**THIS APPENDIX RELATES TO VAR012**

The election results reported in this appendix are correct to the best of our knowledge. Using the European parliamentary election results website, the reported percentages were used for the construction of the weight variables (see appendix 1). The tables below report the share of the valid vote (in percentages) for the parties listed, and the percentage of the populations eligible to vote that did cast a valid vote.

At the time of publishing the 2nd edition of this codebook, a more detailed and also somewhat more accurate documentation has become available: the “Mannheim documentation of the results of the European elections 1979 to 2004”. This documentation can be downloaded from the section “Parties and Elections” at:

http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/fs_daten_e.html

### Austria:

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Valid Votes: 42.43%

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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Others Flanders</td>
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<tr>
<td>MR</td>
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<td>CDH</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ecolo</td>
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<tr>
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Valid Votes: 90.81%

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## Britain:

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Valid Votes: 38.83%

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Valid Votes: 71.19%

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Valid Votes: 28.32%

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Valid Votes: 47.90%
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Valid Votes: 26.83%

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Valid Votes: 39.40%

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Valid Votes: 42.76%

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Valid Votes: 43.00%
### Greece:
- **ND**: 43.0
- **PASOK**: 34.0
- **KKE**: 9.5
- **SYN**: 4.2
- **LAOS**: 4.1
- **Others**: 5.2

Valid Votes: 63.40%

### Hungary:
- **FIDESZ-MPP**: 47.4
- **MSZP**: 34.3
- **SZDSZ**: 7.7
- **MDF**: 5.3
- **Others**: 5.3

Valid Votes: 38.50%

### Ireland:
- **FF**: 29.5
- **FG**: 27.8
- **Ind**: 16.7
- **SF**: 11.1
- **Lab.**: 10.6
- **Others**: 4.3

Valid Votes: 58.80%

### Italy:
- **UNITI D'ULIVO**: 31.1
- **FI**: 21.0
- **AN**: 11.5
- **RC**: 6.1
- **UDC**: 5.9
- **LN**: 5.0
- **Fed.Verdi**: 2.5
- **PdCI**: 2.4
- **Lista BONINO**: 2.3
- **S.C.D.P. (IDV)**: 2.1
- **S.U.P.E.(npsi+us)**: 2.0
- **UDEUR-AP**: 1.3
- **A.S.-L.Mussolini**: 1.2
- **P.Pensionati**: 1.1
- **F.Tricolore**: 0.7
- **Others**: 3.8

Valid Votes: 73.10%
### Latvia:
- TB/LNNK: 29.8
- JL: 19.7
- PCTVL: 10.7
- TP: 6.6
- LC: 6.5
- Others: 26.7
- Valid Votes: 41.34%

### Lithuania:
- DP: 30.2
- LSDP: 14.4
- TS: 12.6
- LCS: 11.2
- VNDPS: 7.4
- LDP: 6.8
- Others: 17.4
- Valid Votes: 48.38%

### Luxembourg:
- CSV: 37.9
- LSAP: 20.0
- DP: 15.9
- Déi Greng: 15.2
- Others: 11.0
- Valid Votes: 89.00%

### The Netherlands:
- CDA: 24.4
- PvdA: 23.6
- VVD: 13.2
- Groen Links: 7.4
- EurTrans: 7.3
- SP: 7.0
- CU/SGP: 5.9
- D66: 4.2
- Others: 7.0
- Valid Votes: 39.30%
## Northern Ireland:

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Valid Votes: 51.21%

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Valid Votes: 20.87%

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Valid Votes: 38.60%

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Valid Votes: 16.96%

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<tr>
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<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDS</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZLSD</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Valid Votes: 28.30%
**Spain:**
PSOE / Los Verdes  43.5
PP  41.2
Galeuzca:Ciu (cdc) / PNV  5.1
IU/IC-V  4.1
Europa de los Pueblos: ERC  2.5
Others  3.6

Valid Votes:  45.10%

**Sweden:**
S  24.6
M  18.2
Junilistan  14.5
V  12.8
Fp  9.9
C  6.3
Mp  6.0
Kd  5.7
Others  2.0

Valid Votes:  37.80%
APPENDIX 11: ELECTORAL SUMMARIES

This section contains nation-specific information about national events surrounding the European Elections in June 2004. Some of the National Study Directors included brief summaries and/or links to summaries that report and explain political, economic, and social realities taking place around the time of the European Parliamentary elections.

Austria:

Belgium:

Britain:
<none>

Cyprus:
<none>

Czech Republic
<none>

Denmark:

Estonia:
The campaign leading to the European Parliament elections in general was relatively subdued in Estonia. However, some of the parties (especially prime minister's Res Publica) spent substantial amounts (Res Publica close to 0.5 million €) on both TV ads and outdoor posters. World-famous fashion model Carmen Kass joined the party shortly before EP elections and was their candidate – a fact that received much and frequently adverse attention in the media. Despite strongly advocating Estonia's accession to the EU before referendum in 2003, Res Publica’s campaign before the European Parliament elections was strongly against furthering of integration, if not outright Eurosceptic. The result, however, was very disappointing for the leading government party as it failed to win any seats.

The big winner of the elections was the Social Democratic party with former foreign minister Toomas-Hendrik Ilves as their top candidate. He received almost one third of all votes (an open list PR electoral system was used) and his party won half of the mandates with 37% of votes in total. Thus, the success of Social Democrats was primarily due to the overwhelming popularity of their top candidate vis-à-vis the ones of other parties.

The Center Party (the other of the two biggest parties in the parliament) had been divided between Eurosceptics and -optimists since the congress before the accession referendum. In spring 2004, most of their prominent pro-EU MP’s left the party and it won only one of the six Estonian seats despite being the most popular party in surveys in May.

The Reform Party and Fatherland Union received one mandate each. The People’s Union (a partner in the governing coalition) failed to win any seats.

The election produced the lowest electoral turnout ever in Estonia with only 27% of the voters participating.

Allan Sikk
Finland:
Summary: http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/documents/epernep2004finland.pdf

France:
<none>

Germany:
43.0% of the registered voters participated, as compared to 79.1% in the BT (Bundestag, the national parliament) election of 2002, and to 45.2% in the EP election of 1999. The party distribution is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPD</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDU/CSU</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grüne</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDP</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDS</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result of the German EP election is striking in at least two respects. One is the spectacular defeat of the main government party, the SPD. The government popularity is currently at a low (-1.3 on an 11-point scale from -5 to +5). The “regular” loss of this party, as predicted on the basis of the national cycle of government popularity over the past 7 election periods, would have resulted in a vote-share between 31 and 36%. This is to say that the 21.5% for the SPD come close to a catastrophic defeat. Interestingly, the other government party – the minor coalition partner Die Grünen – did comparatively well, they could actually increase their share of the vote.

Still, taken together, the governing coalition lost some 14% compared to the last first-order national election (47.1% - 33.4%). Small parties, on the other hand, did somewhat better than in the last Bundestagswahl (not the liberal FDP though). And the share of “other” parties and of invalid votes is significantly higher than it was in 2002, higher also than in 1999.

The election campaign leading up to this result was shallow. Only the Greens managed perhaps to fight a issue and policy oriented campaign (genetic food manipulation etc). The FDP tried to personalise the electoral competition and put their list leader in the centre of the campaign, while the Christian-democrats fought a consequent national, anti-government campaign. The campaign of the SPD was the least concrete, and full of platitudes and new word creations (like “Zukunftsgerecht”). The extreme-right Republikaner campaigned against a potential future Turkish EU membership, but did not succeed.

The poor social-democratic result is to be seen on the background of a recent change in party leadership, from chancellor Gerhard Schröder to the chief of the SPD-group in the German Bundestag Franz Müntefering. This change was actually designed to render the fortunes of the party more independent from those of the government, and to avoid such large-scale losses – a strategy which obviously did not succeed.

Note that there was a concurrent Landtagswahl (election of members of a Land parliament) held in Thüringen, as well as a series of local elections (mayors, members of local councils of various sorts (Gemeinde- or Stadträte, Verbandsgemeinderäte, Kreistage, Bezirkstag etc.) in Baden-Württemberg and Rhineland-Palatinate. The results there are basically the same: dramatic losses for the SPD, major gains for the Greens and the parties of the opposition. These “additional” elections might have helped to keep participation over the 40 percent margin.

Hermann Schmitt
2004-06-16
**Greece:**

1. General points

The last European Election in Greece was held shortly after the general election of 7th March 2004. The marker set by the recent national election had not yet lost its saliency. The context was of marginal importance to determine voting, and the election went on smoothly.

2. Turnout

The European Parliament election has been marked by the lowest turnout of any election held in Greece: only 63.1% turned out to vote. This fact is especially relevant, since in Greece voting at the EU elections is obligatory. In comparison with the General election held on 7th March 2004, the fall is of 13.3 points, which confirms the second order character of the election (K. Reif/H. Schmitt, 1980). In Greece the percentage of turnout is always higher in comparison with the EU average.

3. Contextual information on the events surrounding the elections

There are not identified any contingent events which may have shaped the election in one way or another. The election campaign operated in almost three different levels with different significance each one: the first one was focused on domestic issues, the other one on European issues and the third one can be considered as independent and is the issue of the organisation of the Olympic Games in August. The domestic issues have been salient. Among the main issues at stake could be identified the followings:

- The protracted electoral period determined the interest of the voters, which was low due to "electoral fatigue". Actually, the 2004 general election campaign ran throughout 2003, with politicians from both major parties electioneering all over Greece.
- The events surrounding the European election were overshadowed by the UEFA Euro-2004 championship in Portugal and the participation of the Greek national team.
- The summer weather put a stopper on electoral participation.
- The party leaders’ decisions concerning the manning of each party’s list. Among the foremost of the N.D. list were Ioannis Varvitsiotis and Antonios Samaras (who has returned to his erstwhile political home, having previously left to form his own party, POL.AN. –Political Spring). The leader of PASOK, G. Papandreou decided to enter a completely new list. It was considered as a big surprise that the list did not include Dimitris Tsatsos and Giorgos Katiforis both of whom were members of the body that drew up the European Constitution.
- The dynamic of the Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS), which emphasized the identification of Hellenism and opposing immigration and multiculturalism.
- The political, economical, social (human rights) and ecological consequences of the Olympic Games. The state of the economy after the Olympic Games.
- By the summer of 2003, opinion polls suggested that since the euro began to circulate, it has become associated with uncontrolled price rises and identified as the most important electoral issue (S. Verney, 2004:11). During the European election campaign the currency issue was on debate as well.
- The European issues were more on Turkey’s membership and the solution of the Cyprus question. The constitutional treaty was partly discussed.
- Iraq did not emerge as a central issue and, unlike other members of the EU, it does not seem to have played a crucial role in the outcome of the poll.
- On 8th June 2004, a TV-debate with the 4 leaders (ND, PASOK, KKE, SUN) was held. The Greek debate for the European Election was the only one across the EU members.
- The only party talking about Europe was the hard-line eurosceptical Communist Party of Greece (KKE). There is an EU consensus between the two bigger political parties and thus “Europe” was a “missing issue”.

Up until the outgoing European Parliament the two main political parties, had an equal share of nine seats apiece, while the smaller parties shared seven seats between them (all part of the GUE/NGL group). The results of the polls of 13th June 2004 have changed the balance of seats. The winner was ND, the government party since March 2004, which won two more seats compared to 1999.
The ND won the elections with 43,01% of the voters cast. The government party maintained the result of the general elections with a fall of 2,35%. The popularity of the ND government had not yet been damaged by unpopular measures and is still benefited from a “honeymoon” period. The losses for the opposition party have been bigger: the power of PASOK has fallen from 40,55% (March 2004) to 34,03%, a decrease of 6,52%. The context and the results represent a reproduction of the joint vote share of these two parties. The European Elections 2004 are considered as a re-run of the general election and reflect the dynamics: the government party -ND expanded the difference with the socialist party which is under crisis, having lost its hegemonic position within the party system. The electorate has been polarized between the two bigger parties.

The smaller parties have been the victims of this polarization. Among the smaller parties, the Communist share (by 8,67%), compared to the E.P. election of 1999. Comparing with the March general election, KKE did better in the E.P. one (+ 3,58%), this increase confirms the second order type of the election.

The performance of, the other small party of the Left, SYN was not so favourable. It won only +0,9%, compared to the general elections of March. (It had many problems, and did not manage to rally its forces because of the performance of the List “Women of other Europe”). The other small party, LAOS did better, compared to the general election of March (+1,93) and for the first time a Greek MEP (G. Karatzaferis) becomes a member of the IND/DEM group.


Hungary:

An alternative source includes:

Ireland:
<none>

Italy:
<none>

Latvia:
<none>

Lithuania:
<none>

Luxembourg:

The Netherlands:
<none>
Northern Ireland:

Better summary: http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fe04.htm

Also, for those with access to Irish Political Studies the following is a good description of the election:


Poland:
<none>

Portugal:
<none>

Slovakia:
Summary: http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/documents/epernep2004slovakia.pdf

Slovenia:
For the election year 2004

30 January
Quadriilateral - a meeting of the Prime Ministers of Croatia, Hungary, Italy and Slovenia took place on Friday, January 30 at Brdo pri Kranju. Slovenia, which chaired Quadrilateral in 2003, passed the presidency to Hungary.

11 February
Ljubljana Archbishop and Slovenian Metropolitan Franc Rode had been appointed the prefect of one of the seven congregations of the Curia Romana. Rode would be heading the Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life.

25 February
Almost 120,000 workers took part in a one-hour token strike by the industrial trade unions, who demand an immediate start of negotiations on changes to collective wage agreements for individual sectors, which would secure wage increases.

27 February
The opposition Slovenian democrats (SDS) and New Slovenia (NSi) filed an interpellation motion against Health Minister Dušan Keber, accusing him of "obvious violations of legislation". A day later, the SDS announced it had filed a similar motion against Interior Minister Rado Bohinc. The main complaint against Bohinc is that the Interior Ministry started issuing permanent residence permits to the "erased" directly, on the basis of a Constitutional Court ruling.

10 March
Ljubljana mayor Danica Simšič designated as unconstitutional a referendum petition (signed by about 12,000 residents), which challenges the city's spatial plan which allows the construction of the mosque in the area. Slovenia is the only European country aside from Switzerland which does not have a mosque, so Slovenian Muslims (about 47,000, according to the latest census, or 2.4 percent of the population) have to gather in sports halls even for major holidays.
29 March
Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia formally became members of NATO by depositing their instruments of accession with the United States Government.

2 April
Ceremony to Mark Accession of Seven New NATO Members FM Dimitrij Rupel is to attend a flag-rising ceremony at the NATO headquarters in Brussels upon the accession of seven countries to the alliance. Afterwards, foreign ministers of the 26-member NATO are to meet for a ceremonial session of the North Atlantic Council (NAC).

4 April
A referendum on the technicalities act on the erased.

1 May
10 new countries join the European Union - Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia.

13 June

18 June
The leaders of the European Union are expected to continue their search for a deal on the first EU constitution at the EU summit. Prime Minister Anton Rop is heading Slovenia's delegation at the meeting.

29 June
Extraordinary EU summit in Brussels. Prime Minister Anton Rop is to attend the extraordinary EU summit in Brussels, which is expected to appoint Jose Manuel Durao Barroso, Portuguese prime minister, the next president of the European Commission.

13 July
Prime Minister Anton Rop visits the Posočje region which was struck by a moderate earthquake.

22 September
Relations between Slovenia and Croatia hit rock-bottom when Croatian police arrested 12 Slovenes in a disputed border area. In response, Slovenia withdrew its support for Croatia’s EU membership application. Among the 12 arrested Slovenes were Janez Podobnik, a former speaker of parliament, as well as another member of parliament.

3 October

25 - 26 November
Republic of Slovenia is hosting the Summit of the Prime Ministers of Central European Initiative (CEI) countries at St. Bernardin Convention Center in Portorož-Portorose on November 25-26 2004.

6 December
The parliament elected a new government, the ministers of the Janez Janša centre-right government. More on events in 2004: http://www.uvi.si/eng/calendar/archive/2004/
Spain:

The European Elections in Spain were still very much under the influence of the very recent General Parliamentary Elections of 14 March 2004, which had taken place under the great impact of the Madrid terrorist bombings of 11 March.

Up until March 11 voting estimates derived from ASEP’s monthly national survey indicated that the party in government, the Popular Party (PP), had been continuously reducing its advantage over the Socialist Party (PSOE), due to the Government’s standing on the Iraq war. Had there been no terrorist bombings the PP would probably have won the elections by the small margin of two or three percent points or even less. But the bad handling of the situation after the bombings by the PP Government, which the PSOE was able to use in its favour, produced an increment of turnout by about seven or eight percent points, most of them PSOE voters, for which reason the PSOE won the elections by three percent points.

Taking this precedent into account, the European elections three months later were given great importance by both parties, though they did little to illustrate it. The PP expected to win and take its revenge in order to demonstrate that they had lost the parliamentary elections because of the terrorist bombings. The PSOE expected to revalidate and even improve its results in the general elections to demonstrate that they had won the elections on their own merit, without any influence from the bombings. However, the campaign was dull on both parties, and turnout was much lower than in the general elections, about 30 percent points lower, and though the PSOE won the elections, it did so by a margin of only one percent point over the PP. The fact is that the electorate wasn’t interested at all in the European elections, and that they were tired of elections and neither party was able to persuade the citizens of the importance of voting, or to explain to them why they should be interested and concerned about European (vs. domestic) issues.

Or Summary: http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/documents/epernep2004spain.pdf

Sweden:

<none>
PART IV

ENGLISH MASTER QUESTIONNAIRE
QUESTIONNAIRE

OF THE

VOTERS STUDY

OF THE

EUROPEAN ELECTIONS STUDY 2004

21 April 2004

This questionnaire was prepared by the Planning Committee of the 2004 European Election Study. It was discussed during the meeting of the National Directors of the Study in Mannheim in early March 2004 and thereafter, and revised accordingly.
Q01_x [coded in v015 - v027 and v275-v296] What do you think are the most important problems [in country] at present? Any other important problems? [INT: note as many problems as R mentions.] <Source A1-A4: EES99>

Q01 [coded in v028, v297 – v318 and v319] If more than one problem mentioned: Of those you have mentioned what would you say is the single most important problem?

Q02 [coded in v029] Which political party do you think would be best at dealing with <the most important problem>?

1 party A
2 party B
...
98 dk
99 na

Q03 [coded in v030] As of today, is <the most important issue> mainly dealt with by regional, national, or European political authorities?

1 regional
2 national
3 European
8 dk
9 na

Q04 [coded in v032] And who do you think would be most appropriate to deal with <the most important issue>: regional, national, or European political authorities?

1 regional
2 national
3 European
8 dk
9 na

Q05 [coded in v034] Normally, how many days of the week do you watch the news on television? <Source C1-C5: EES’99>

0
...
Q05_x [coded in v035 – v068 and v233 – v252] Which channels or television news programmes do you watch regularly? [open, precodes, multiple answers possible]

1 Channel 1
2 Channel 2
...
98 dk
99 na

Q06 [coded in v069] And how many days of the week do you read a newspaper?

0
...
7
8 dk
9 na


1 Newspaper 1
2 Newspaper 2
...
998 dk
999 na

How often did you do any of the following during the three or four weeks before the European election? How often did you:

Q07_1 [coded in v105] … watch a program about the election on television? Often, sometimes, or never?
1 often
2 sometimes
3 never
8 dk
9 na

Q07_2 [coded in v106] … read about the election in a newspaper? Often, sometimes, or never?
1 often
2 sometimes
3 never
8 dk
9 na

Q07_3 [coded in v107] … talk to friends or family about the election?
1 often
2 sometimes
3 never
Q07_4 [coded in v108] … attend a public meeting or rally about the election?
   1 often
   2 sometimes
   3 never
   8 dk
   9 na

Q07_5 [coded in v109] … look into a website concerned with the election?
   1 often
   2 sometimes
   3 never
   8 dk
   9 na

Q08 Thinking back to just before the elections for the European Parliament were held, how interested were you in the campaign for those elections: very, somewhat, a little, or not at all?
   1 very
   2 somewhat
   3 a little
   4 not at all
   8 dk
   9 na

Q09 [coded in v110] A lot of people abstained in the European Parliament elections of June 13 [check date if workday voting applied], while others voted. Did you cast your vote? <Source Q10 to Q13d: EES99 and earlier studies>
   1 yes, voted
   2 no, did not vote
   8 dk
   9 na
   \[\text{go to Q11}\]

Q10 [coded in v112] Which party did you vote for?
   1 Party 1
   2 Party 2
   \[\ldots\]
   95 refused
   96 did vote blanc or nil
   97 did not vote
   98 do not remember
   99 no answer

Q11 [coded in v113] Which party did you vote for at the [General Election] of [Year of Last General Election]?
   1 Party 1
   2 Party 2
   \[\ldots\]
   95 refused
96 did vote blanc or nil
97 did not vote
98 do not remember
99 no answer

Q12 [coded in v114] And if there was a general election tomorrow, which party would you vote for?
   1 Party 1
   2 Party 2
   ...
   95 refused
   96 would vote blanc or nil
   97 would not vote
   98 do not know
   99 no answer

Q12_1 [coded in v115] We have a number of parties in [country] each of which would like to get your vote. How probable is it that you will ever vote for the following parties? Please specify your views on a 10-point-scale where 1 means "not at all probable" and 10 means "very probable". If you think of [Party 1]: what mark out of ten best describes how probable it is that you will ever vote for [Party 1]?
   1 not at all probable
   2
   ...
   10 very probable
   98 dk
   99 na

Q12_2 [coded in v116] And [Party 2]: what mark out of ten best describes how probable it is that you will ever vote for [Party 2]?
   1 not at all probable
   2
   ...
   10 very probable
   98 dk
   99 na

Q12_x [coded in v117 – v128] [Party x]
   1 not at all probable
   2
   ...
   10 very probable
   98 dk
   99 na

Please tell me on a score of 1-10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 1 means that you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust. If you do not know an institution well enough, just say so and I will go on to the next. <Source T1 to T5: ESS adapted>

Q13_1 [coded in v129] Firstly, the [country] parliament?
   1 no trust at all
   2
... 
10 complete trust 
98 dk 
99 na

Q13_2 [coded in v130] The European Parliament? 
  1 no trust at all 
  2 
  ... 
  10 complete trust 
  98 dk 
  99 na

Q13_3 [coded in v131] The [country] government? 
  1 no trust at all 
  2 
  ... 
  10 complete trust 
  98 dk 
  99 na

Q13_4 [coded in v132] The European Commission? 
  1 no trust at all 
  2 
  ... 
  10 complete trust 
  98 dk 
  99 na

Q13_5 [coded in v133] The Council of Ministers? 
  1 no trust at all 
  2 
  ... 
  10 complete trust 
  98 dk 
  99 na

Q14 [coded in v134] In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right". What is your position? Please indicate your views using any number on a 10-point-scale. On this scale, where 1 means "left" and 10 means "right," which number best describes your position? 
  1 left 
  2 
  ... 
  10 right 
  97 refused 
  98 dk 
  99 na

Q14_1 [coded in v135] And about where would you place the following parties on this scale? How about the [Party 1]?
Q14_2 [coded in v136] [Party 2]?
1 left
2
...
10 right
98 dk
99 na

Q14_x [coded in v137 – v148] [Party x]?
1 left
2
...
10 right
98 dk
99 na

Q15 [coded in v149] What do you think about the economy? Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the general economic situation in this country is <Source Q16a,b: EES94>
1 a lot better
2 a little better
3 stayed the same
4 a little worse
5 a lot worse
8 dk
9 na

Q16 [coded in v150] And over the next 12 months, how do you think the general economic situation in this country will be?
1 get a lot better
...
5 get a lot worse
8 dk
9 na

Q17 [coded in v151] When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to [country] people over citizens from other EU member-countries who want to work here <Source CL1 to CL3: WVS 2000, adapted>
1 agree very much
2 agree
3 disagree
4 disagree very much
8 dk
9 na
Q18 [coded in v152] Citizens from other EU member-countries who live in [country] should be entitled to vote in local elections.
   1 agree very much
   2 agree
   3 disagree
   4 disagree very much
   8 dk
   9 na

Q19 [coded in v153] Citizens from other EU member-countries who live in [country] should not be entitled to social security or unemployment benefits.
   1 agree very much
   2 agree
   3 disagree
   4 disagree very much
   8 dk
   9 na

Q20 [coded in v154] To what extent would you say you are interested in politics? Very, somewhat, a little, or not at all? <Source: EES89, EES94, and EES99>
   1 very
   2 somewhat
   3 a little
   4 not at all
   8 dk
   9 na

Q21 [coded in v155] Generally speaking, do you think that [country’s] membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad? <Source: EES89, EES94, and EES99>
   1 good thing
   2 bad thing
   3 neither
   8 dk
   9 na

Q22 [coded in v156] Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion? Please indicate your views using a 10-point-scale. On this scale, 1 means unification 'has already gone too far' and 10 means it 'should be pushed further'. What number on this scale best describes your position? <Source: EES99>
   1 unification has already gone too far
   2
   ...
   98 dk
   99 na

Q22_1 [coded in v157] And about where would you place the following parties on this scale? How about the [Party 1]?
   1 unification has already gone too far
   2
...  
10 unification should be pushed further 
98 dk 
99 na 

Q22_2 [coded in v158] [Party 2]?  
1 unification has already gone too far 
2 
... 
10 unification should be pushed further 
98 dk 
99 na 

Q22_x [coded in v159 – v170] [Party x]? 
1 unification has already gone too far 
2 
... 
10 unification should be pushed further 
98 dk 
99 na 

Q23 [coded in v171] Do you ever think of yourself not only as a [country] citizen, but also as a citizen of the European Union? <Source: Eurobarometers >  
1 often 
2 sometimes 
3 never 
8 dk 
9 na 

Q24 [coded in v172] Are you personally proud or not to be a citizen of the European Union? Would you say you are <Source: Eurobarometers and EES94>  
1 very proud 
2 fairly proud 
3 not very proud 
4 not at all proud 
8 dk 
9 na 

Q25a [coded in v173] IN OLD MEMBER COUNTRIES WITH REFERENDUM ON NICE [=IRELAND ONLY] Thinking back to the second referendum held in [IRELAND] on the Nice Treaty in which the Eastern enlargement of the EU is laid down, do you remember whether you cast your vote and whether you voted in favour or against?  
1 did not cast a vote 
2 voted in favour 
3 voted against 
8 dk 
9 na 

Q25b [coded in v174] IN OLD MEMBER COUNTRIES [AUSTRIA & GERMANY ONLY]: If a referendum would be held in [country] on the question of EU enlargement, would you vote in favour or
against or would you abstain?

1 would not cast a vote
2 would vote in favour
3 would vote against
8 dk
9 na

Q25c [coded in v175] IN NEW MEMBER COUNTRIES Thinking back to the referendum held in [country] on the question of EU membership, do you remember whether you cast a vote and whether you voted in favour or against?

1 did not cast a vote
2 voted in favour
3 voted against
8 dk
9 na

Q26_x [coded in v176 – v207] Now I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in people from various countries. Can you please tell me for each, whether you have a lot of trust of them or not very much trust. If you do not know a country well enough, just say so and I will go on to the next. How about the Austrians: do have a lot of trust of them or not very much trust? And the Belgians? ...

<Eurobarometer trend modified, question wording kept, four-fold scale collapsed to dichotomy>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>A lot of trust (0)</th>
<th>Not very much trust (1)</th>
<th>dk (8)</th>
<th>na (9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q26_1</td>
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European Election Study 2004

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</table>

Q27 [coded in v208] On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [country]? Are you <Source RS1 and RS2: EES89, EES94, EES99>

1 very satisfied
2 fairly satisfied
3 not very satisfied
4 not at all satisfied
8 dk
9 na

Q28 [coded in v209] All in all again, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in the European Union?

1 very satisfied
2 fairly satisfied
3 not very satisfied
4 not at all satisfied
8 dk
9 na

Q29 [coded in v210] Let us now come back to [country]. Do you approve or disapprove the government’s record to date? <Source: EES89 and EES99>

1 approve
2 disapprove
8 dk
9 na

Q30 [coded in v211] Do you consider yourself to be close to any particular party? If so, which party do you feel close to? <Source Q30a+b: EES89, EES94, and EES99>

1 Party 1
2 Party 2
...
96 no
97 refused
98 dk
99 na

GO TO Q31

Q30a [coded in v212] Do you feel yourself to be very close to this party, fairly close, or merely a sympathiser?

1 very close
2 fairly close
3 merely a sympathiser
Q31 [coded in v213] How much confidence do you have that decisions made by the European Union will be in the interest of [country]? <Source Q31 and Q32: EES94>
   1 a great deal of confidence
   2 a fair amount
   3 not very much
   4 no confidence at all
   8 dk
   9 na

Q32 [coded in v214] And how much confidence do you have that decisions made by the European Union will be in the interest of people like you?
   1 a great deal of confidence
   2 a fair amount
   3 not very much
   4 no confidence at all
   8 dk
   9 na

D01 [coded in v215] Are you yourself a member of a trade union or is anyone else in your household a member of a trade union?
   1 yes, I am
   2 yes, someone else is
   3 yes both (1) and (2)
   4 no
   8 dk
   9 na

D02 [coded in v216] How old were you when you stopped full-time education?
   xy [age in years]
   97 still studying
   98 dk
   99 na

D03 [coded in v217] Are you …
   1 male
   2 female
   8 dk
   9 na

D04 [coded in v218] What year were you born?
   wxyz [year]
   9998 dk
   9999 na

D04a [coded in v219] In which country were you born?
   1 [Country]
   2 other, please specify
98 dk
99 na

D04b [coded in v220] IF OTHER When did you first come to [country]? wxyz [year]
9998 dk
9999 na

D05 [coded in v221] How many people live in your household including yourself, who are 18 years of age or older?
1
2
...
9 and more
98 dk
99 na

D06 [coded in v222] What is your current work situation? Are you:
1 self-employed
2 employed
3 in school
4 working in the household
5 retired
6 unemployed
7 other
98 dk
99 na

D06a [coded in v223] IF SELF-EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED or RETIRED: Are/were you working in
...
1 agriculture
2 state industry
3 private industry
4 public services
5 private services
6 other
7 inap
8 dk
9 na

D07 [coded in v224] If you were asked to chose one of these five names for your social class, which would you say you belong to - the working class, the lower middle class, the middle class, the upper middle class or the upper class?
1 working class
2 lower middle class
3 middle class
4 upper middle class
5 upper class
6 other
7 refused to be classified
D08 [coded in v225] Would you say you live in a rural area or village, in a small or middle size town, or in a large town?
   1 rural area or village
   2 small or middle size town
   3 large town
   8 dk
   9 na

D09 [coded in v228] Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion? (If yes:) Which one?
   1 roman catholic
   2 protestant
   3 orthodox
   4 jewish
   5 muslim
   6 buddhist
   7 hindu
   8 other
   9 none
   98 dk
   99 na

D10 [coded in v229] How often do you attend religious services: several times a week, once a week, a few times a year, once a year or less, or never?
   1 several times a week
   2 once a week
   3 a few times a year
   4 once a year or less
   5 never
   8 dk
   9 na

D11 [coded in v230] We also need some information about the income of this household to be able to analyse the survey results for different types of households. Please count the total wages and salaries per month of all members of this household; all pensions and social insurance benefits; child allowances and any other income like rents etc ... Of course your answer as all other replies in this survey will be treated confidentially and referring back to you or your household will be impossible. Can you please tell me, what about is the monthly income of your household?

   uvwxyp       [in country currency]
   999997        refusal
   999998        dk
   999999        na

At the end of the interview, there are usually a number of technical variables filled in by the interviewer. Those of common interest for the study as a whole are:
T01 [coded in ‘date’] Date of Interview

T02 [dropped in 2nd edition] Time Interview Started

T03 [dropped in 2nd edition] Duration of Interview -- minutes

T04 [coded in ‘region’] Region of Interview (e.g., Bundesland in Germany)

Additional Questions (for a select number of countries):

Thinking about the campaign before European elections, how much do you agree with the following statements:

CDV1: [coded in v231] The candidates were very superficial in their debates
   1 agree very much
   2 agree
   3 disagree
   4 disagree very much
   8 dk
   9 na

CDV2: [coded in v232] The electoral campaign was more concerned with political strategies than with actual problems
   1 agree very much
   2 agree
   3 disagree
   4 disagree very much
   8 dk
   9 na