Online Appendix to The Italian political class

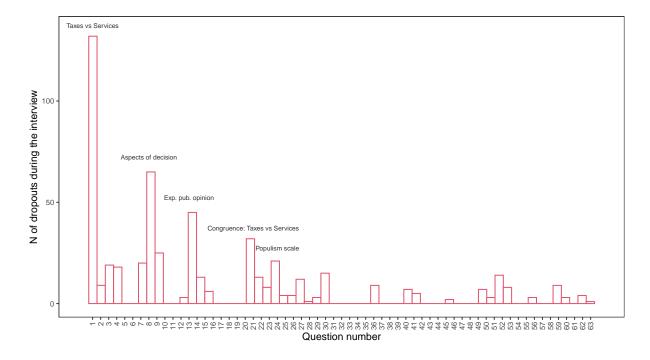
Two multilevel datasets on the profiles and opinions of elected politicians.

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1 Dropouts during the interview

Figure A1: Number of dropouts by question



2 Sample bias

Table A1: Population and sample characteristics (%).

	Population		Sample			
	City	Regional	National/EU	City	Regional	National/EU
Age class						
18-34	12.8	6.9	7.4	17.5	7.6	5. <i>7</i>
35-54	52.1	62.7	60.0	51.9	64.5	49.6
>54	33.4	30.2	32.3	29.2	27.3	44.7
Not available	1.7	0.2	0.2	1.4	0.6	-
Area (of election)						
North-West	23.4	22.1	25.9	24.9	15.1	23.6
North-East	19.5	24.1	18.6	23.9	25.0	13.0
Centre	21.5	16.4	20.2	24.2	18.6	26.8
South-Islands	35.7	37.4	33.6	26.9	41.3	35.0
Not available	-	-	1.8	-	-	1.6
Education						
Non-tertiary	43.9	34.5	28.8	40.1	34.9	26.0
Tertiary	51.1	64.0	70.3	56.9	64.0	74.0
Not available	5.0	1.6	0.9	3.0	1.2	-
Political list						
FdI	1.4	6.9	5.7	1.6	4.7	2.4
FI	5.3	8.6	16.6	4.0	5.3	14.6
Lega	10.8	20.9	21.0	9.6	14.5	17.1
PD	17.5	18.9	17.4	21.7	19.8	22.0
M5S	6.1	9.7	32.7	8.2	19.8	31.7
Civic list	42.1	21.6	-	43.5	22.7	-
Other right-wing	3.8	3.1	-	3.2	2.9	-
Other left-wing	1.5	2.2	2.1	1.4	4.1	7.3
Other list	0.6	3.8	4.6	0.7	2.9	4.8
Not available	10.9	4.3	-	6.3	3.5	-
N	18,511	1,032	1,021	2,294	172	123

Note: Education is the one provided by the Ministry of the Interior and updated by LAPS. Specification of acronyms: FdI=Brothers of Italy, FI=Go Italy!, PD=Democratic Party, Civic list=lists that are not affiliated to any specific party but usually to a local political leader

3 Survey dataset

3.1 Survey experiments

3.1.1 Experiment on public opinion influence in decisions

[ROTATE EXPERIMENT 1 AND EXPERIMENT 2]

[EXPERIMENT 1: RAPIDITY VS WEIGHTING]

We will now show you two hypothetical political decisions. For each of them, please indicate

how you would behave if you had to make this decision. Please read each scenario carefully and indicate which of the proposed solutions you would choose.

[SPLIT 1/4, 1/4, 1/4, 1/4: elite_lop4_splita, elite_lop4_splitb, elite_lop4_splitc, elite_lop4_splitd]

Imagine being a [Minister/ President of region /Mayor] [match depending on the level of the politician] and having to come up with a proposal on an unexpected problem. As the legislature will soon end, the proposal must be approved quickly. Here the information you have at your disposal:

- There are two solutions to the problem: called "Plan A" and "Plan B".
- Doing nothing is not a realistic solution, as it will cause a number of problems in the near future.
- Party experts and administrative officials believe that Plan A is better, because it is consistent with their party's governing philosophy, and more effective, because it generates significant savings in public money.
- The media largely emphasizes [government] inaction.
- According to polls, the majority of the public (68%) prefer Plan B, only 15% choose Plan A, with 17% undecided.
- The opposition, while acknowledging that both plans are viable, panders to the mood of public opinion, thus pushing for Plan B.

elite_lop4_splita

CONTROL GROUP (NO HISTORY)

elite_lop4_splitb

POSITIVE FRAMING

Party experts expect that, despite initial resistance, public support for Plan A will grow once the decision is made. According to a pollster you trust, this is the typical issue on which people easily change their opinions, and the government could be given credit for making a difficult choice.

elite_lop4_splitc

NEGATIVE FRAMING/LOW SALIENCE

The party's experts expect that, despite initial public resistance to Plan A, once the decision is made, the issue will disappear from the media and will no longer be the focus of voters' attention. According to a pollster you trust, this is the typical issue that, once decided, ceases to be a priority for people, who quickly forget about it.

elite_lop4_splitd

NEGATIVE FRAMING/HIGH SALIENCE

Party experts expect that public resistance to Plan A will persist over time. Even if the decision

proves successful, the opposition of most voters will remain unchanged. According to a pollster you trust, this is the typical issue on which it is difficult to move the initial orientations of voters, and she is sure that the issue will remain on the agenda until the next elections.

Which of the two solutions would you choose?

1 Plan A

2 Plan B

98 NA

99 DK

Figure A2: Example of one of the vignettes (positive framing) for "rapidity vs weighting" experiment.

Le sottoporremo ora due decisioni politiche ipotetiche. Per ciascuna di esse, La invitiamo a indicare come si comporterebbe se fosse lei a dover prendere questa decisione. La preghiamo di leggere con attenzione ciascun scenario e indicare quale delle soluzioni proposte sceglierebbe.
Immagini di essere un Sindaco e dover presentare una proposta su un problema inatteso. Poiché la legislatura si concluderà presto la proposta deve essere approvata in breve tempo. Ecco le informazioni in suo possesso:
• Ci sono due soluzioni al problema, dette "Piano A" e "Piano B".
• Non fare niente non è una soluzione realistica, poiché causerà una serie di problemi in un futuro prossimo.
• Gli esperti di partito e i funzionari amministrativi ritengono che il Piano A sia migliore, perché coerente con la filosofia di governo del suo partito, e più efficace, perché genera significativi risparmi di denaro pubblico.
• I media enfatizzano ampiamente l'inazione della giunta.
• Secondo i sondaggi la maggioranza del pubblico (68%) preferisce il Piano B, solo un 15% sceglie il Piano A, con un 17% di indecisi.
L'opposizione, pur riconoscendo che entrambi i piani siano praticabili, asseconda gli umori dell'opinione pubblica, spingendo quindi per il Piano B.
Gli esperti del partito si aspettano che, nonostante le resistenze iniziali, il sostegno dell'opinione pubblica per il Piano A crescerà sempre più, una volta presa la decisione. Secondo un sondaggista di Sua fiducia, questa è la tipica questione sulla quale la gente cambia facilmente opinione e il governo potrebbe anche vedersi riconosciuto il merito di aver fatto una scelta difficile.
Lei quale soluzione sceglierebbe?
Piano A
O Piano B

Avanti

[EXPERIMENT 2: TEMPORARY FOREIGN WORKERS]

[SPLIT 1/3, 1/3, 1/3: elite_lop6_splita, elite_lop6_splitb, elite_lop6_splitc]

Imagine having to provide political advice to the Minister of the Interior on the problem of temporary foreign workers. Here the information you have at your disposal:

- There are two solutions on the table: 1) increase the number of temporary foreign workers; 2) Keep the current numbers.
- Ministry officials are strongly in favour of option 1), to address the growing labour shortage in some sectors.
- Opposition parties are divided on the issue. Some are in favour of increasing temporary foreign workers and others are opposed.
- Businesses are strongly in favour of the measure, while trade unions are opposed.
- So far, the issue has not attracted media attention.
- According to polls, public opinion is ambivalent on the issue, with 36% opposed to the increase in temporary foreign workers, 25% in favour and 39% undecided. The issue is not a priority for citizens: only 18% of the public consider it important for their choice of vote, and only 10% say they have informed themselves about the issue.

elite_lop6_splita

CONTROL GROUP (NO TREATMENT)

elite_lop6_splitb

AD OPPOSED/SALIENT

One of the opposition parties sees this decision as an excellent opportunity to boost its electoral fortunes: it will argue that foreign temporary workers will take jobs away from Italians. A pollster you trust predicts that this strategy will win the opposition media attention, turning the matter into a priority for the public who will turn against the decision.

elite_lop6_splitc

AD OPPOSED/AS NON-SALIENT

One of the opposition parties sees this decision as an excellent opportunity to boost its electoral fortunes: it will argue that foreign temporary workers will take jobs away from Italians. A pollster you trust, however, predicts that this strategy will not receive much media attention and is unlikely to become a priority for the public until the next election.

Which of the two solutions would you recommend?

1 Increase the number of temporary foreign workers

2 Keep the numbers current

98 NA

99 DK

Figure A3: Example of one of the vignettes (AD OPPOSED/SALIENT) for "temporary foreign workers".

Adesso le presenteremo uno scenario diverso e, come per la precedente domanda, alla fine le chiederemo di prendere una decisione.

Immagini di dover fornire una consulenza politica al Ministro degli Interni in merito al problema dei lavoratori stranieri temporanei. Ecco le informazioni in suo possesso:

- Due sono le soluzioni sul tappeto: 1) aumentare il numero di lavoratori stranieri temporanei; 2) mantenere i numeri attuali.
- I funzionari del ministero sono fortemente favorevoli all'opzione 1, per far fronte alla crescente carenza di manodopera in alcuni settori.
- I partiti di opposizione sono divisi sulla questione. Alcuni sono favorevoli all'aumento dei lavoratori stranieri temporanei e altri si oppongono.
- $\bullet \ Le \ imprese \ sono \ fortemente \ a \ favore \ della \ misura, \ mentre \ i \ sindacati \ si \ oppongono.$
- Sino ad ora la questione non ha attirato l'attenzione dei media.
- Secondo i sondaggi, l'opinione pubblica è ambivalente sul tema, con il 36% di contrari all'aumento dei lavoratori stranieri temporanei, il 25% di favorevoli e il 39% di indecisi. La questione non è una priorità per i cittadini: solo il 18% del pubblico la considera importante o molto importante per la sua scelta di voto, e solo il 10% dice di essersi informato sulla questione.

Uno dei partiti all'opposizione vede in questa decisione un'ottima occasione per accrescere le proprie fortune elettorali: sosterrà che i lavoratori temporanei stranieri toglieranno il lavoro agli italiani. Un sondaggista di Sua fiducia prevede che questa strategia farà guadagnare all'opposizione l'attenzione dei media, trasformando la faccenda in una priorità per il pubblico che si rivolterà contro la decisione

Lei quale delle due soluzioni raccomanderebbe?

Aumentare il numero di lavoratori stranieri temporanei

Mantenere i numeri attuali.

Avanti

3.1.2 Experiment on legitimacy of different decision-making procedures

Consider the following situation. In your region, a decision has to be made on an important political issue, and the decision can have great consequences.

Many believe that politicians, scientists and experts, when it comes to dealing with these problems [e4bsplit1a really care about the interests of the citizens of the region, after all they are citizens themselves and live in the same region / e4bsplit1b they are mainly concerned with their own specific interests, rather than those of the citizenry as a whole, being far from the everyday problems of the people].

The decision is taken [e4bsplit2a by the elected regional council/ e4bsplit2b by a group of 200 citizens randomly selected from among the inhabitants of the region in order to represent the population of the region in terms of gender, age, education, residence and political orientation/ e4bsplit2c by a referendum among the inhabitants of the region / e4bsplit2d by a group of experts selected from among the best in the field].

e4b Would you be willing to accept this decision or not?

ences?

1 Yes 2 No

```
1 Not at all willing
2
3
4
5
7 Very willing
98 NA
99 DK
e4b_prA [IF e4b == 5 to 7]
Would you remain of the same opinion even if this decision went against your prefer-
ences?
1 Yes
2 No
98 NA
99 DK
e4b_prB [IF e4b == 1 to 3]
Would you remain of the same opinion even if this decision were in line with your prefer-
```

98 NA
99 DK
$e4b_prC$ [IF $e4b == 4$] [SPLIT $1/2, \frac{1}{2}$]
e4b_prA Would you remain of the same opinion even if this decision went against your prefer-
ences?
1 Yes
2 No
98 NA
99 DK
99 DK
e4b_prD Would you remain of the same opinion even if this decision were in line with your
preferences?
F
1 Yes
2 No
98 NA
99 DK
Figure A4: Example of one of the vignettes (pro-elite and minipublic).
Consideri la seguente situazione. Nella sua Regione si deve prendere una decisione su un tema politico importante e la decisione può avere grandi conseguenze.
Molti ritengono che i politici, gli scienziati e gli esperti, quando si tratta di affrontare questi problemi si preoccupino realmente degli interessi dei cittadini della Regione, dopo tutto sono cittadini anche loro e vivono nella stessa Regione.
La decisione è presa da un gruppo di 200 cittadini selezionati casualmente tra gli abitanti della Regione in modo da rappresentare la popolazione della Regione in termini di genere, età, istruzione, residenza e orientamento politico.
Lei sarebbe disposto ad accettare questa decisione oppure no?
1 Per niente disposto
○ 3 ○ 4
O 5
O 6

7 Molto disposto

3.1.3 Conjoint experiment on the "Good Politician"

[OPTIONAL FOR NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN MP AND REGIONAL REP.]

"There is some talk about the characteristics a candidate should have to enter politics at the European level. We will provide you with several pieces of information on potential candidates for the [SPLIT 1/2, 1/2: National Parliament/ City Council of your municipality]. For each pair of candidates, please indicate the candidate you think is most suitable. This exercise is purely hypothetical. Even if you aren't entirely sure, please indicate which of the two you prefer."

Table A2: Attributes and levels manipulated

{[}RANDOM ORDER{]}	Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Gender	{[}CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}	{[}CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}
	GEND	GEND
	Male	Male
	Female	Female
ob experience	{[]CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]} POS	{[]CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]} POS
	Was a manual worker outside of politics	Was a manual worker outside of politics
	Was a farmer outside of politics	Was a farmer outside of politics
	Was a manager outside of politics	Was a manager outside of politics
	Was a university professor outside of politics	Was a university professor outside of politics
	Was an engineer outside of politics	Was an engineer outside of politics
	Was a professional politician	Was a professional politician
Communication	{[}CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}	{[}CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}
20mmumeuron	STYLE	STYLE
	Uses proper and refined language to convey messages	Uses proper and refined language to convey messages
	Uses coarse and rude type of language to convey messages	Uses coarse and rude type of language to convey messages
Social skills	{[}CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}	{[]CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}
octur sixins	CAPA	CAPA
	Tends to be emotionally involved in problems	Tends to be emotionally involved in problems
	and really enjoy caring for other people	and really enjoy caring for other people
	Tends to be distant without involving emotionally	Tends to be distant without involving emotionally
	in problems of other people	in problems of other people
ntoquity	{[]CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}	{[]CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}
Integrity	[[]CHOOSE I AI RANDOM{]] INTE	INTE
	Has a clean criminal record	Has a clean criminal record
	Is under investigation for using public reimbursements	Is under investigation for using public reimbursements
	for personal expenses	for personal expenses
Competence	{[]CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]]} COMPE	{[]CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]]} COMPE
	Has no skills in specific policy areas and does not speak English	Has no skills in specific policy areas and does not speak English
	Has skills in specific policy areas but does not speak English	Has skills in specific policy areas but does not speak English
	Has no skills in specific policy areas but speaks English fluently	Has no skills in specific policy areas but speaks English fluently
	Has skills in specific policy areas and speaks English fluently	Has skills in specific policy areas and speaks English fluently
View of role	{[]CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}	{[]CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}
	VISI	VISI
	Is focused on needs of the wide public even at the expenses of the interests	Is focused on needs of the wide public even at the expenses of the interes
	of voters he/she represents and promises he/she made	of voters he/she represents and promises he/she made
	Is focused on the interests of voters he/she represents and promises he/she	Is focused on the interests of voters he/she represents and promises he/s
	made, at expenses of the general public	made, at expenses of the general public
Leadership	{[}CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}	{[}CHOOSE 1 AT RANDOM{]}
	LEAD	LEAD
	Does not provide strong and charismatic leadership,	Does not provides strong and charismatic leadership,
	but s/he is able to listen at different views	but s/he is able to listen at different views
	Provides strong and charismatic leadership,	Provides strong and charismatic leadership,
	but s/he falls short of listening at different views	but s/he falls short of listening at different views

[DO NOT SHOW THE SAME PROFILE FOR CANDIDATE 2]

e4a9 If you had to choose between them, which of these two candidates would you like to see elected to the [SPLIT 1/2, 1/2: National Parliament/ City Council of your municipality]?

[ROTATE ITEMS]

Candidate 1

Candidate 2

We now ask you to repeat the exercise. You will be shown another pair of candidates, please indicate again which of the two candidates would prefer to get elected to the [SPLIT 1/2, 1/2:

National Parliament/ City Council of your municipality].

[REPEAT THE PREVIOUS EXERCISE AND RELATED QUESTIONS. ORDER OF CATE-GORIES MUST BE THE SAME OF THAT SHOWN PREVIOUSLY. DO NOT SHOW THE SAME PROFILE FOR THE 2 CANDIDATES AND DO NOT SHOW THE SAME PROFILE OF THE 2 CANDIDATES PRESENTED IN THE PREVIOUS EXPERIMENT.]

Si parla spesso delle caratteristiche che un candidato dovrebbe avere per entrare in politica. Le forniremo diverse informazioni su potenziali candidati al Parlamento nazionale. Per ogni coppia di persone, La preghiamo di indicare il candidato che ritiene più adatto. Questo esercizio è puramente ipotetico. Anche se non è del tutto sicuro/a, La preghiamo di indicare quale dei due candidati preferisce. **CANDIDATO 1** È emotivamente coinvolto\a con i problemi delle singole persone È emotivamente distante e non si lascia coinvolgere dai problemi delle singole persone Capacità relazionali Uomo Donna Sesso // // Usa un linguaggio appropriato ed elegante Usa un linguaggio rozzo e popolare Stile comunicativo Non ha competenze su specifiche politiche né parla l'inglese Non ha competenze su specifiche politiche né parla l'inglese Competenze È indagato\a per aver usato soldi pubblici per spese personali È incensurato\a Integrità È concentrato\a sugli interessi di coloro che lo\a hanno eletto\a e sulle promesse fatte, anche a spese della collettività in generale È concentrato\a sugli interessi della collettività in generale, anche a spese di coloro che lo\a hanno eletto\a e delle promesse fatte Visione del proprio ruolo Ha grandi capacità di leadership ed è carismatico\a ma ascolta poco le differenti posizioni Non ha grandi capacità di leadership e non è carismatico\a ma ascolta molto le differenti posizioni Capacità di leadership Al di fuori della politica, è un\a agricoltore\trice Al di fuori della politica, è un\a professore\ssa Lavoro Se dovesse scegliere, a quale di questi due candidati darebbe la sua preferenza per essere eletto al Parlamento nazionale? Candidato 1 Candidato 2

Figure A5: Example of one of the conjoint tasks.

Avanti

3.2 List of variables

Metadata		
id	Serial ID	Number
completion	Completion of questionnaire in %	0 100%
		1 more than 90%
		2 75-89%
		3 50-74%
		4 less than 50%
datestart	Date start of interview	Date format (DD/MM/YYYY)
dataend	Date end of interview	Date format (DD/MM/YYYY)
Profile		
Socio-demographi		110.04
ageclass	Age class (source: Ministry	1 18-34
	of Interior updated by CIRCaP-LAPS)	2 35-54
1 .	F1 e 1 1/ Merc	3 > 54
edumin	Education level (source: Ministry	1 Non-tertiary
1	of Interior updated by CIRCaP-LAPS)	2 Tertiary
edusurvey	Education level (source:	1 Non-tertiary
	questionnaire)	2 Tertiary
geoarea	Geographic zone (area of election)	1 Northwest
		2 Northeast
		3 Middle
Daliatana in DICD	00.09	4 South and Islands
Religion: in DISP ELITE_14A	Do you consider yourself to belong	1 Yes
ELITE-14A	to a particular religion or religious	2 No
	denomination?	98 NA
ELITE_14B	Which one? (religion)	1 Catholic
ELITE_14D	writeri orie: (rengiori)	2 Protestant
		3 Orthodox
		4 Jewish
		5 Muslim
		6 Eastern religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, etc.)
		7 Other non-Christian religions 98 NA
ELITE_14C	Excluding ceremonies (such as	1 At least once a week
ELITE_14C	weddings and funerals) how often	2 Two-three times a month
	do you attend religious services?	3 Once a month
	do you attend rengious services:	4 Two-three times a year
		5 Once a year
		6 Never
		98 NA
English proficienc	y: in DISPOC-GfK	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
S1C1A	How do you describe your	1 None
	knowledge of the English	2. Little
	language?	3 Fairly good
	0 0	4 Good
	Speaking	5 Very good
	1 0	98 NA
		99 DK
S1C1B	How do you describe your	1 None
	knowledge of the English	2. Little
	language?	3 Fairly good
		4 Good
	Listening	5 Very good
	-	98 NA
		99 DK
S1C1C	How do you describe your	1 None
	knowledge of the English	2. Little

	language?	3 Fairly good
	ianguage.	4 Good
	Writing	5 Very good
		98 NA
		99 DK
S1C1D	How do you describe your	1 None
	knowledge of the English	2. Little
	language?	3 Fairly good
		4 Good
	Reading	5 Very good
		98 NA
		99 DK
Political features		
politicalist	Political list	1 Brothers of Italy
		2 Go Italy
		3 League
		4 Democratic party
		5 Five Star Movement
		6 Civic List (non affiliated)
		7 Other centre-left
		8 Other centre-right
	Dente in mainte	9 Other List
inmajority	Party in majority	0 No 1 Yes
level	Lovel of authority	1 Municipal
level	Level of authority	2 Regional
		3 National-European
Democratic challenges		or muorital European
	acy of different decision-making proced	ures: DISPOC-GfK
E4B_SPLIT1	Split 1 exp. on procedures of	0 Pro-elite
	decision-making	1 Anti-elite
E4B_SPLIT2	Split 2 exp. on procedures of	1 Regional council
	decision-making	2 200 citizen at random
		3 Referendum
		4 Experts
SPLIT_E4B	Split exp. on procedures of	1 SP1A2A
	decision-making (8 groups)	2 SP1A2B
		3 SP1A2C
		4 SP1A2D
		5 SP1B2A
		6 SP1B2B
		7 SP1B2C
TAD CD1 A O A		7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D
E4B_SP1A2A	Split exp. on procedures of	7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing
E4B_SP1A2A	Split exp. on procedures of decision-making (group 1)	7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2
E4B_SP1A2A		7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2
E4B_SP1A2A		7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3
E4B_SP1A2A		7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5
E4B_SP1A2A		7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5
E4B_SP1A2A		7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very willing
E4B_SP1A2A		7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5
E4B_SP1A2A E4B_SP1A2B	decision-making (group 1)	7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very willing 98 NA 99 DK
		7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very willing 98 NA
	decision-making (group 1) Split exp. on procedures of	7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very willing 98 NA 99 DK 1 Not at all willing
	decision-making (group 1) Split exp. on procedures of	7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very willing 98 NA 99 DK 1 Not at all willing 2
	decision-making (group 1) Split exp. on procedures of	7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very willing 98 NA 99 DK 1 Not at all willing 2 3
	decision-making (group 1) Split exp. on procedures of	7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very willing 98 NA 99 DK 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5 6
	decision-making (group 1) Split exp. on procedures of	7 SP1B2C 8 SP1B2D 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very willing 98 NA 99 DK 1 Not at all willing 2 3 4 5 5

		99 DK
E4B_SP1A2C	Split exp. on procedures of	1 Not at all willing
	decision-making (group 3)	2
	0 .0 1	3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very willing
		98 NA
		99 DK
E4B_SP1A2D	Split exp. on procedures of	1 Not at all willing
E10-01 11120	decision-making (group 4)	2
	decision making (group 4)	3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very willing
		98 NA
		99 DK
E4B_SP1B2A	Culit over on mucocdures of	
E4D_5F1D2A	Split exp. on procedures of	1 Not at all willing
	decision-making (group 5)	2
		3
		4
		5
		6 7 Vary willing
		7 Very willing
		98 NA
E4D CD1D0D	C-1:t	99 DK
E4B_SP1B2B	Split exp. on procedures of	1 Not at all willing
	decision-making (group 6)	2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very willing
		98 NA
E.D. 001000		99 DK
E4B_SP1B2C	Split exp. on procedures of	1 Not at all willing
	decision-making (group 7)	2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very willing
		98 NA
		99 DK
E4B_SP1B2D	Split exp. on procedures of	1 Not at all willing
	decision-making (group 8)	2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very willing
		98 NA
		99 DK
E4B_PRA	Probe scores 5-7	1 Yes
		2 No
		98 NA
		99 DK
E4B_PRB	Probe scores 1-3	1 Yes

		2.11
		2 No 98 NA
		98 NA 99 DK
E4B_PRC	Proba scarce 4 (against)	1 Yes
E4D_I KC	Probe scores 4 (against)	2 No
		98 NA
		99 DK
E4B_PRD	Probe scores 4 (in favour)	1 Yes
212210	Trope becree I (milavour)	2 No
		98 NA
		99 DK
Satisfaction with dem	ocracy: Adapted from EUENGAGE (ma	ss and elite survey) (Cotta et al. 2021), European Social Survey (various
waves), also in Europ	-	(Wessel et al. 1999) also included in DISPOC-GfK
V6A	On a scale of 1 to 7, where 1	1 Not at all satisfied
	indicates "not at all satisfied" and	2
	7 indicates "completely satisfied"	3
	overall, how satisfied are you with	4
	the way democracy works in Italy?	5
		6
		7 Completely satisfied 98 NA
		99 DK
Populist attitudes: Ak	kerman et al. (2014), also included in D	
P10_A	How much do you agree or	1 Strongly disagree
	disagree with each one of the	2 Fairly disagree
	following items	3 Neither agree nor disagree
		4 Fairly agree
	The politicians in the [country]	5 Strongly agree
	parliament need to follow the will	98 NA
	of the people	99 DK
P10_B	The people, and not politicians,	1 Strongly disagree
	should make our most important	2 Fairly disagree
	policy decisions	3 Neither agree nor disagree
		4 Fairly agree
		5 Strongly agree
		98 NA
P10_C	The molitical differences between	99 DK
F10-C	The political differences between	1 Strongly disagree
	the elite and the people are larger than the differences among the	2 Fairly disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree
	people	4 Fairly agree
	People	5 Strongly agree
		98 NA
		99 DK
P10_D	I would rather be represented by a	1 Strongly disagree
	citizen than by a specialized	2 Fairly disagree
	politician	3 Neither agree nor disagree
		4 Fairly agree
		5 Strongly agree
		98 NA
		99 DK
P10_E	Elected officials talk too much and	1 Strongly disagree
	take too little action	2 Fairly disagree
		3 Neither agree nor disagree
		4 Fairly agree
		5 Strongly agree
		98 NA 99 DK
P10_F	What people call "compromise" in	1 Strongly disagree
1 10-1	politics is really just selling out on	2 Fairly disagree
	ronnes to really just senting out off	- ming mongree

	one's principles	3 Neither agree nor disagree
		4 Fairly agree
		5 Strongly agree
		98 NA
		99 DK
Opinion on different in DISPOC-GfK	political systems: Adapted from Europe	ean Value Survey and World Value Survey, also included
P13_A	We will now describe various	1 Very bad
	types of political systems and ask	2
	you what you think about each	3
	way of governing our country.	4
	Please indicate for each of the	5
	following political systems how	6
	good or bad you think it is.	7 Very good 98 NA
	A system in which citizens directly	99 DK
	decide on major laws	
P13_B	A system in which only	1 Very bad
	parliamentarians decide on major	2
	laws	3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very good
		98 NA
		99 DK
P13_C	A system in which experts decide	1 Very bad
	on major laws	2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very good
		98 NA
D4.0 D		99 DK
P13_D	A system in which a strong leader	1 Very bad
	decides on major laws	2
		3
		4 5
		6
		7 Very good
		98 NA
		99 DK
Opinion on declining	politicians' reputation	**
- F	According to many opinion	
	surveys, political representatives	
	overall have a bad reputation	
	among citizens. In your opinion,	
	which of the following reasons	
	explains this general opinion. You	
	can indicate up to a maximum of 3	
	options in order of priority.	
ELITE_10_1	Because politicians are often	1
	corrupt	2
		3
ELITE_10_2	Because for too long politicians	1
	have been portrayed negatively in	2
	the media	3
ELITE 10.2	Dogguesa the agreeminational dealine	1

1

Because the organizational decline

ELITE_10_3

	of parties has made politicians	2
ELITE_10_4	fragile and sometimes incompetent	3 1
ELITE_10_4	Because people dwell too much on the negative aspects of politics,	2
	without evaluating its merits	3
ELITE_10_5	Because the meddling of the	1
	judiciary in recent decades has	2
	undermined the nobility of politics	3
ELITE_10_6	Because only leaders matter, and	1
	they are often surrounded by	2
	inadequate politicians	3
ELITE_10_98	DK	1
		2
		3
ELITE_10_99	NA	1
		2
		3
Problems of democra	-	
	Could you indicate how much you	
	agree or disagree with the	
	following statements regarding the	
	problems of democratic	
ELITE_11_A	representation? Councils and parliaments should	1 Strongly disagree
LLIIL.II.A	deal exclusively with scrutiny of	2
	the executive's acts and analysis of	3
	its legislative proposals	4
		5
		6
		7 Strongly agree
		98 NA
		99 DK
ELITE_11_B	People's elected representatives	1 Strongly disagree
	should spend less time on social	2
	networks and study concrete	3
	solutions to society's many	4
	problems	5
		6
		7 Strongly agree
		98 NA 99 DK
ELITE_11_C	Representatives should take public	1 Strongly disagree
EEITE-IT-C	positions and decisions only after	2
	consulting their constituents	3
	8	4
		5
		6
		7 Strongly agree
		98 NA
		99 DK
ELITE_12_A	The final decision regarding a	1 Strongly disagree
	public infrastructure such as an	2
	airport or hospital should be left to	3
	the territorial entity this work is	4
	located in, regardless of the social	5
	and economic impact of the work itself	6 7 Strongly agree
	113011	7 Strongly agree 98 NA
		99 DK
Conjoint experiment	on the "Good Politician": in DISPOK-G	
		,

OPTOUTCJ	Opted out of conjoint (not municipal)	1 Yes
SPLIT_CJEXP	Split conjoint	2 No 1 National parliament
01 211 - C) 27 ti		2 City council
GEND1	Gender: profile 1	1 Male 2 Female
POS1	Job position: profile 1	Was a manual worker outside of politics
	, ,	2 Was a farmer outside of politics
		3 Was a manager outside of politics
		4 Was a university professor outside of politics 5 Was an engineer outside of politics
		6 Was a professional politician
STYLE1	Communication style: profile 1	Uses proper and refined language to convey messages Uses coarse and rude type of language to convey
CARA	0 11111 01 4	messages
CAPA1	Social skills: profile 1	1 Tends to be emotionally involved in problems and really enjoy caring for other people
		2 Tends to be distant without involving emotionally in
		problems of other people
INTE1	Integrity: profile 1	1 Has a clean criminal record
		2 Is under investigation for using public reimbursements
COMPE1	Competence: profile 1	for personal expenses 1 Has no skills in specific policy areas and does not
COMILI	Competence. prome r	speak English
		2 Has skills in specific policy areas but does not speak
		English
		3 Has no skills in specific policy areas but speaks
		English fluently 4 Has skills in specific policy areas and speaks English
		fluently
VISI1	Vision of role: profile 1	1 Is focused on needs of the wide public even at the
		expenses of the interests of voters he/she represents and
		promises he/she made 2 Is focused on the interests of voters he/she represents
		and promises he/she made, at expenses of the general
		public
LEAD1	Leadership: profile 1	1 Provides strong and charismatic leadership, but s/he
		falls short of listening at different views 2 Does not provide strong and charismatic leadership,
		but s/he is able to listen at different views
GEND2	Gender: profile 2	1 Male
D00-		2 Female
POS2	Job position: profile 2	1 Was a manual worker outside of politics 2 Was a farmer outside of politics
		3 Was a manager outside of politics
		4 Was a university professor outside of politics
		5 Was an engineer outside of politics
STYLE2	Communication style: profile 2	6 Was a professional politician 1 Uses proper and refined language to convey messages
STILEZ	Communication style. prome 2	2 Uses coarse and rude type of language to convey messages
CAPA2	Social skills: profile 2	1 Tends to be emotionally involved in problems
		and really enjoy caring for other people
		2 Tends to be distant without involving emotionally in
INTE2	Integrity: profile 2	problems of other people 1 Has a clean criminal record
11 1 1 1 1 1 1	megniy. prome 2	2 Is under investigation for using public reimbursements
		for personal expenses
COMPE2	Competence: profile 2	1 Has no skills in specific policy areas and does not
		speak English

		2 Has skills in specific policy areas but does not speak
		English
		3 Has no skills in specific policy areas but speaks
		English fluently
		4 Has skills in specific policy areas and speaks English
		fluently
VISI2	Vision of role: profile 2	1 Is focused on needs of the wide public even at the
		expenses of the interests of voters he/she represents and
		promises he/she made
		2 Is focused on the interests of voters he/she represents
		and promises he/she made, at expenses of the general
LEAD2	Log donahim, mustilo 2	public
LEADZ	Leadership: profile 2	1 Provides strong and charismatic leadership, but s/he
		falls short of listening at different views 2 Does not provide strong and charismatic leadership,
		but s/he is able to listen at different views
GEND3	Gender: profile 3	1 Male
GENDO	Gender. Prome o	2 Female
POS3	Job position: profile 3	1 Was a manual worker outside of politics
	Jos Frances Frances	2 Was a farmer outside of politics
		3 Was a manager outside of politics
		4 Was a university professor outside of politics
		5 Was an engineer outside of politics
		6 Was a professional politician
STYLE3	Communication style: profile 3	1 Uses proper and refined language to convey messages
		2 Uses coarse and rude type of language to convey messages
CAPA3	Social skills: profile 3	1 Tends to be emotionally involved in problems
		and really enjoy caring for other people
		2 Tends to be distant without involving emotionally in
		problems of other people
INTE3	Integrity: profile 3	1 Has a clean criminal record
		2 Is under investigation for using public reimbursements
		for personal expenses
COMPE3	Competence: profile 3	1 Has no skills in specific policy areas and does not
		speak English
		2 Has skills in specific policy areas but does not speak
		English
		3 Has no skills in specific policy areas but speaks
		English fluently 4 Has skills in specific policy areas and speaks English
		fluently
VISI3	Vision of role: profile 3	1 Is focused on needs of the wide public even at the
V 1010	vision of role. prome o	expenses of the interests of voters he/she represents and
		promises he/she made
		2 Is focused on the interests of voters he/she represents
		and promises he/she made, at expenses of the general
		public
LEAD3	Leadership: profile 3	1 Provides strong and charismatic leadership, but s/he
		falls short of listening at different views
		2 Does not provide strong and charismatic leadership,
		but s/he is able to listen at different views
GEND4	Gender: profile 4	1 Male
		2 Female
POS4	Job position: profile 4	1 Was a manual worker outside of politics
		2 Was a farmer outside of politics
		3 Was a manager outside of politics
		4 Was a university professor outside of politics
		5 Was an engineer outside of politics
CTV/LEA		6 Was a professional politician
STYLE4	Communication style: profile 4	1 Uses proper and refined language to convey messages

		2 Uses coarse and rude type of language to convey
CAPA4	Carial akilla, muakila 4	messages
CAFA4	Social skills: profile 4	1 Tends to be emotionally involved in problems and really enjoy caring for other people
		2 Tends to be distant without involving emotionally in
		problems of other people
INTE4	Integrity: profile 4	1 Has a clean criminal record
		2 Is under investigation for using public reimbursements
		for personal expenses
COMPE4	Competence: profile 4	1 Has no skills in specific policy areas and does not
		speak English
		2 Has skills in specific policy areas but does not speak
		English
		3 Has no skills in specific policy areas but speaks
		English fluently 4 Has skills in specific policy areas and speaks English
		fluently
VISI4	Vision of role: profile 4	1 Is focused on needs of the wide public even at the
	1	expenses of the interests of voters he/she represents and
		promises he/she made
		2 Is focused on the interests of voters he/she represents
		and promises he/she made, at expenses of the general
		public
LEAD4	Leadership: profile 4	1 Provides strong and charismatic leadership, but s/he
		falls short of listening at different views
		2 Does not provide strong and charismatic leadership, but s/he is able to listen at different views
GEND5	Gender: profile 5	1 Male
GENDO	Genden prome o	2 Female
POS5	Job position: profile 5	1 Was a manual worker outside of politics
		2 Was a farmer outside of politics
		3 Was a manager outside of politics
		4 Was a university professor outside of politics
		5 Was an engineer outside of politics
OTT) (I. F.E.		6 Was a professional politician
STYLE5	Communication style: profile 5	1 Uses proper and rede time of lenguage to convey messages
		2 Uses coarse and rude type of language to convey messages
CAPA5	Social skills: profile 5	1 Tends to be emotionally involved in problems
Crario	occiai omioi prome o	and really enjoy caring for other people
		2 Tends to be distant without involving emotionally in
		problems of other people
INTE5	Integrity: profile 5	1 Has a clean criminal record
		2 Is under investigation for using public reimbursements for personal expenses
COMPE5	Competence: profile 5	1 Has no skills in specific policy areas and does not
		speak English
		2 Has skills in specific policy areas but does not speak
		English
		3 Has no skills in specific policy areas but speaks
		English fluently
		4 Has skills in specific policy areas and speaks English fluently
VISI5	Vision of role: profile 5	1 Is focused on needs of the wide public even at the
, 1010	violoti of fole. profile o	expenses of the interests of voters he/she represents and
		promises he/she made
		2 Is focused on the interests of voters he/she represents
		and promises he/she made, at expenses of the general
		public
LEAD5	Leadership: profile 5	1 Provides strong and charismatic leadership, but s/he

ELITE_1	Do you think it is more important	1 Valuing the interests of citizens in your territory
Citizens vs interes		
Focus of represen	* * *	
	Parliament/City Council of your municipality]?	
	give your preference to in order to be elected to [National	98 NA 99 DK
E4A9_3	If you had to choose, which of these two candidates would you	1 Candidate 5 2 Candidate 6
F440.2	Parliament/City Council of your municipality]?	
	these two candidates would you give your preference to in order to be elected to [National	2 Candidate 4 98 NA 99 DK
E4A9_2	Parliament/City Council of your municipality]? If you had to choose, which of	1 Candidate 3
E4A9_I	these two candidates would you give your preference to in order to be elected to [National	1 Candidate 1 2 Candidate 2 98 NA 99 DK
E4A9_1	If you had to choose, which of	2 Does not provide strong and charismatic leadership, but s/he is able to listen at different views 1 Candidate 1
LEAD6	Leadership: profile 6	and promises he/she made, at expenses of the general public 1 Provides strong and charismatic leadership, but s/he falls short of listening at different views
520	, as on the prome o	expenses of the interests of voters he/she represents and promises he/she made 2 Is focused on the interests of voters he/she represents
VISI6	Vision of role: profile 6	4 Has skills in specific policy areas and speaks English fluently 1 Is focused on needs of the wide public even at the
		English 3 Has no skills in specific policy areas but speaks English fluently
COMPE6	Competence: profile 6	1 Has no skills in specific policy areas and does not speak English 2 Has skills in specific policy areas but does not speak
IIVILU	megmy. prome o	2 Is under investigation for using public reimbursements for personal expenses
INTE6	Integrity: profile 6	and really enjoy caring for other people 2 Tends to be distant without involving emotionally in problems of other people 1 Has a clean criminal record
CAPA6	Social skills: profile 6	messages 1 Tends to be emotionally involved in problems
STYLE6	Communication style: profile 6	6 Was a professional politician1 Uses proper and refined language to convey messages2 Uses coarse and rude type of language to convey
		2 Was a farmer outside of politics3 Was a manager outside of politics4 Was a university professor outside of politics5 Was an engineer outside of politics
POS6	Job position: profile 6	Female Was a manual worker outside of politics
GEND6	Gender: profile 6	2 Does not provide strong and charismatic leadership, but s/he is able to listen at different views 1 Male
		falls short of listening at different views

to value the interests of citizens in your territory or the interests of organized groups in your 4 municipality [for politicians at 5 municipal level] /in your region 6 [for politicians at regional level] 7. Valuing interests of organized groups in your /in the country [for politicians at municipality [for politicians at the municipal level] /in national and European level]? your region [for politicians at the regional level] / in the country [for politicians at the national and European Position yourself on a scale of 1 to level]. 7 where 1 means "Valuing the 98 NA interests of citizens in your 99 DK territory" and 7 means "Valuing interests of organized groups in your municipality [for politicians at the municipal level] /in your region [for politicians at the regional level] / in the country [for politicians at the national and European level]."

Level of representation collective vs. individual representation. Adapted from the Dutch Parliamentary Study 2001, Andeweg & Thomassen (2005)

ELITE_6 In their relationship with their 1 Translate the political views of citizens into policy as constituents, politicians may accurately as possible

constituents, politicians may ac emphasize different aspects of 2 representation. According to some, in particular, politicians should 4 "translate the political views of citizens into policy as accurately as 6

possible" According to others, 7 Seek support from the voters for the political views of politicians should "seek support their own party

from the voters for the political 98 NA views of their own party" Where 99 DK

would you place yourself?

Role of elections retrospective vs. prospective: Adapted from the Dutch Parliamentary Study 2001, Andeweg & Thomassen (2005)

ELITE.7 In our political system, elections 1 In elections, politicians account to the voters for their

have different functions. actions in the past According to some, "In elections, 2

politicians account to the voters for their actions in the past", according to others, "In elections, politicians put their plans for the future to the 6

voters". Where would you place 7 In elections, politicians put their plans for the future to yourself? the voters

self? the voter 98 NA 99 DK

Role of representative main aspects and relative importance: Adapted from MEP survey 1996, Wessel et al. (1999)

ELITE.8A When you think about your work 1 Not at all important

as a representativ2, how important 2 are the following aspects of your 3 work? 4

4 5

Taking part in legislation

7 Very important

98 NA 99 DK

ELITE_8B Monitoring the activity of the 1 Not at all important

executive

3

		4
		5
		6
		7 Very important 98 NA
		99 DK
ELITE_8C	Auticulation of improvement assistal	
ELITE_OC	Articulation of important societal	1 Not at all important
	needs and interests	2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very important
		98 NA
		99 DK
ELITE_8D	Development of political strategies	1 Not at all important
		2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very important
		98 NA
		99 DK
ELITE_8E	Mediation between different	1 Not at all important
	interests in society	2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very important
		98 NA
		99 DK
ELITE_8F	Representation of individual	1 Not at all important
	interests of individual citizens	2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very important
		98 NA
		99 DK
Locus of representation		
		r (starting with 82.1), also in DISPOC-GfK
P6A_1	Italians may experience attachment	1 Not at all attached
	to their region, country, and	2 Not very attached
	Europe.How attached you feel	3 Fairly attached
	to?	4 Very attached
		98 NA
DCA 0	Italy	99 DK
P6A_2	Europe	1 Not at all attached
		2 Not very attached
		3 Fairly attached
		4 Very attached
		98 NA
		99 DK
ELITE_3A	City/town	1 Not at all attached
		2 Not very attached
		3 Fairly attached
		4 Very attached

		98 NA 99 DK
ELITE_3B	Region	1 Not at all attached
	105011	2 Not very attached
		3 Fairly attached
		4 Very attached
		98 NA
		99 DK
Importance of differen	t political offices	
ELITE_4A	There has been much talk in recent	1 Not at all important
	years about institutional reforms	2
	aimed at simplifying the	3
	institutions of political	4
	representation. Please indicate how	5
	important you consider the	6
	following representative offices to	7 Very important
	be in representing the interests and	98 NA
	demands of citizens?	99 DK
	City councillor	
ELITE_4B	Region councillor	1 Not at all important
		2
		3
		4
		5
		6 7 Vory important
		7 Very important 98 NA
		99 DK
ELITE_4C	National MP	1 Not at all important
	- 11110-111	2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Very important
		98 NA
		99 DK
ELITE_4D	European MP	1 Not at all important
		2
		3
		4
		5
		6 7 Very important
		98 NA
		99 DK
Opinions on the reduc	tion of Parliamentarians	
ELITE_5SPLITA	Can you illustrate for us your	1 Strongly disagree
	degree of agreement with the	2
	following statement?	3
		4
	The reduction of parliamentarians	5
	would [improve] the functioning of	6
	representative democracy in Italy.	7 Strongly agree
	[D ::: 6]	98 NA
El lac ecol tab	[Positive frame]	99 DK
ELITE_5SPLITB	The reduction of parliamentarians	1 Strongly disagree
	would [worsen] the functioning of representative democracy in Italy.	2
	representative democracy in Italy.	3

	4
[Negative frame]	5
	6
	7 Strongly agree
	98 NA
	99 DK

Propensity for responsiveness

Factors that matter for political decision: Adapted from Merkley & Owen (2019)		
	Based on your experience, which	
	factors matter most in determining	
	the outcome of a policy decision?	
	Please indicate a maximum of 3	
	responses in order of importance.	
ELITE_LOP1_1	The fit between the policy and	1
	your party leader's brand	2
		3
ELITE_LOP1_2	Stakeholder group leaders'	1
	suggestions	2
		3
ELITE_LOP1_3	Recommendations from experts	1
		2
		3
ELITE_LOP1_4	Reaction from public opinion if the	1
	decision is taken	2
		3
ELITE_LOP1_5	The reaction of his party's	1
	electorate, should the decision be	2
	made.	3
ELITE_LOP1_6	The recommendations of the	1
	public administration	2
		3
ELITE_LOP1_7	Tone of media	1
		2
		3
ELITE_LOP1_8	The position of opposition parties	1
		2
		3
ELITE_LOP1_9	The consequences on internal	1
	relations between groups in his	2
	party	3
ELITE_LOP1_10	The consequences on relations	1
	with allied parties	2
		3
ELITE_LOP1_98	DK	1
		2
		3
ELITE_LOP1_99	NA	1
		2
		3
Role and nature of public opinion: Adapted from Merkley & Owen (2019)		

In assessing the importance of public opinion in decision making, indicate on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 means "not at all important" and 7 means "very important," how important do you consider, for a decision to be made today: the position of public opinion at the time of the last election, the

ELITE_LOP2_A	position of public opinion at the time the decision is made, and the position of public opinion that will exist at the next election? The position of public opinion at the time of the last election	1 Not at all important 2 3 4 5
ELITE_LOP2_B	The position of public opinion at the time the decision is made	6 7 Very important 98 NA 99 DK 1 Not at all important 2 3 4 5
ELITE_LOP2.C	The position of public opinion that will exist at the next election	7 Very important 98 NA 99 DK 1 Not at all important 2 3 4 5
ELITE_LOP3	On a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 means "unstable" and 7 means "stable," how do you think public	6 7 Very important 98 NA 99 DK 1 Unstable 2 3
Experiment: public op	opinion is generally when it comes to politics? Dinion influence in decisions: Adapted	4 5 6 7 Stable 98 NA 99 DK from Merkley & Owen (2019)
RLOP4LOP6	(Random) rotation experiment 1/2 on latent opinion	1 Experiment 1 in position 1 2 Experiment 1 in position 2
ELITE_LOP4_SPLITA	Latent opinion 1: Control	2 Experiment 1 in position 2 1 Plan A 2 Plan B 98 NA 99 DK
ELITE_LOP4_SPLITB	Latent opinion 1: Positive framing	1 Plan A 2 Plan B 98 NA 99 DK
ELITE_LOP4_SPLITC	Latent opinion 1: Negative framing/low salience	1 Plan A 2 Plan B 98 NA 99 DK
ELITE_LOP4_SPLITD	Latent opinion 1: Negative framing/high salience	99 DK 1 Plan A 2 Plan B 98 NA 99 DK
ELITE_LOP6_SPLITA	Latent opinion 2: Control	1 Plan A

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2 Plan B
                                                                98 NA
                                                                99 DK
ELITE_LOP6_SPLITB
                        Latent opinion 2: AD opposed/AS
                                                                1 Plan A
                                                                2 Plan B
                        salient
                                                                98 NA
                                                                99 DK
ELITE_LOP6_SPLITC
                        Latent opinion 2: AD opposed /AS
                                                                1 Plan A
                        non-salient
                                                                2 Plan B
                                                                98 NA
                                                                99 DK
Perceived congruence
Left-Right placement (self): Adapted from the European Election Study 1994 and European Members of Parliament Study 1996
(Wessel et al. 1999), the European Social Survey (various waves), also included in DISPOC-GfK
RV4A
                        (Random) rotation ideology block
                                                                1 Item self-placement in position 1
                                                                2 Item self-placement in position 2
V4A
                        In politics people sometimes talk
                                                                1 Left
                        of "left" and "right". Where would
                                                                2
                        you place yourself on scale from 1
                                                                3
                        to 7, where 1 means the "Left" and
                                                                4
                        7 means the "Right"? You can
                                                                5
                        choose any value between 1 and 7
                                                                6
                        to define your position.
                                                                7 Right
                                                                96 Not able to locate on this scale
                                                                98 NA
                                                                99 DK
Left-Right placement (parties): Adapted from the Italian National Election Study (ITANES), also included in DISPOC-GfK
V4B1
                        Thinking about political parties,
                                                                1 Left
                        where would you place each of the
                                                                3
                        following, using a scale from
                        "Left" to "Right"?
                                                                4
                                                                5
                        On a scale of 1 to 7, where 1
                                                                6
                        represents "Left" and 7 represents
                                                                7 Right
                        "Right," where would you place ...?
                                                                96 Not able to locate the party on this scale
                                                                98 NA
                                                                99 DK
                        Democratic Party
V4B2
                                                                1 Left
                        Five Star Movement
                                                                2
                                                                3
                                                                4
                                                                5
                                                                6
                                                                7 Right
                                                                96 Not able to locate the party on this scale
                                                                98 NA
                                                                99 DK
V4B3
                        Go Italy!
                                                                1 Left
                                                                2
                                                                3
                                                                4
                                                                5
                                                                7 Right
                                                                96 Not able to locate the party on this scale
                                                                98 NA
                                                                99 DK
V4B4
                                                                1 Left
                        League
                                                                2
                                                                3
```

		4
		5
		6
		7 Right
		96 Not able to locate the party on this scale
		98 NA
		99 DK
V4B5	Brothers of Italy	1 Left
V 1D3	brothers of feary	2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7 Right
		96 Not able to locate the party on this scale
		98 NA
		99 DK
Issue congruence		
ELITE_13A	Now think about public opinion [in	1 Fully opposed to redistribution of wealth from the rich
	Italy/of your region/municipality]	to the poor
	[depending on level] in general.	2
		3
	Redistribution of wealth	4
	Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1	5
	means "Fully opposed to	6
	redistribution of wealth from the	7 Fully in favour of redistribution of wealth from the rich
	rich to the poor" and 7 means	to the poor
	"Fully in favour of redistribution	98 NA
	of wealth from the rich to the	99 DK
	poor", where would place public	
	opinion [in Italy/of your	
	region/municipality] [depending	
	on level]?	
ELITE_13B	European integration	1 European integration has already gone too far
	Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1	2
	means "European integration has	3
	already gone too far" and 7 means	4
	"European unification should be	5
	strengthened", where would place	6
	public opinion [in Italy/of your	7 European integration should be further developed
	region/municipality] [depending	98 NA
	on level]?	99 DK
ELITE_13C	Regularization of immigrants	1 The government should be sympathetic in accepting
	Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1	applications for regularization from immigrants
	means "The government should be	2
	sympathetic in accepting	3
	applications for regularization	4
	from immigrants and 7 means	5
	"The government should not be	6
	sympathetic in accepting	7 The government should not be sympathetic in
	applications for regularization	accepting applications for regularization from
	from immigrants", where would	immigrants
	place public opinion [in Italy/of	98 NA
	your region/municipality]	99 DK
	[depending on level]?	
Redistribution of wea		
V10A	Now think about the party/list you	1 Fully opposed to redistribution of wealth from the rich
	were elected with. Where would	to the poor
	you position it with respect to the	2
	following issues.	3
	=	

Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 5 means "Fully opposed to 6 redistribution of wealth from the 7 Fully in favour of redistribution of wealth from the rich rich to the poor" and 7 means to the poor 98 NA "Fully in favour of redistribution 99 DK of wealth from the rich to the poor", where would place the party/list you were elected with? European integration: in DISPOC-GfK V10B Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 1 European integration has already gone too far means "European integration has already gone too far" and 7 means 3 "European unification should be 4 5 strengthened", where would place the party/list you were elected 6 7 European integration should be further developed with? 98 NA 99 DK Regularization of immigrants: in DISPOC-GfK V10C Using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 1 The government should be sympathetic in accepting means "The government should be applications for regularization from immigrants sympathetic in accepting 3 applications for regularization from immigrants and 7 means 4 "The government should not be 5 sympathetic in accepting 6 applications for regularization 7 The government should not be sympathetic in from immigrants", where would accepting applications for regularization from place the party/list you were immigrants elected with? 98 NA 99 DK Relevant policy issues Taxes vs. public services: EUENGAGE (mass and elite survey) (Cotta et al. 2021), also in DISPOC-GfK Some argue that "Public services A2B 1 Public services should be increased by raising taxes should be increased by raising 2 3 taxes". For others, instead, "Public services should be cut in order to 4 reduce taxes". Where would you 5 place yourself? 6 7 Public services should be cut in order to reduce taxes 98 NA 99 DK Redistribution of wealth: EUENGAGE(mass and elite survey) (Cotta et al. 2021), also in DISPOC-GfK A2C Some are "Fully opposed to 1 Fully opposed to redistribution of wealth from the rich redistribution of wealth from the to the poor rich to the poor". Others, instead, are "Fully in favour of 3 redistribution of wealth from the 4 rich to the poor". Where would 5 you place yourself? 7 Fully in favour of redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor 98 NA 99 DK Regularization of immigrants: in DISPOC-GfK A3D Some people think that "The 1 The government should be sympathetic in accepting government should be sympathetic applications for regularization from immigrants 2 in accepting applications for 3 regularization from immigrants".

	Others think that "The government	4
	should not be sympathetic in	5
	accepting applications for	6
	regularization from immigrants." Where would you place yourself?	7 The government should not be sympathetic in accepting applications for regularization from
		immigrants 98 NA
DAOD	(Donadona) notation conichts ADD	99 DK
RA2B	(Random) rotation variable A2B	1 Item in position 1 2 Item in position 2
RA2C	(Random) rotation variable A2C	3 Item in position 3 1 Item in position 1
KAZC	(Kandoni) Iolation variable A2C	2 Item in position 2
		3 Item in position 3
RA3D	(Random) rotation variable A2D	1 Item in position 1 2 Item in position 2
		3 Item in position 3
Attitudes towards	immigration: EUENGAGE (mass and elite) (Cotta et al. 2021), also in in DISPOC-GfK
A3A_1	You will read below a series of	1 Strongly agree
	statements about the overall impact	2 Fairly agree
	of immigration on Italy and	3 Fairly disagree
	Italians. How much do you agree	4 Strongly disagree 98 NA
	or disagree with each statement?	99 DK
	Immigrants contribute more in taxes than they benefit from health	
	and welfare services.	
A3A_2	Immigration in general will	1 Strongly agree
	improve our culture with new ideas	2 Fairly agree
	and customs	3 Fairly disagree 4 Strongly disagree
		98 NA
		99 DK
A3A_3	Immigrants are a significant cause	1 Strongly agree
	of crime in [country]	2 Fairly agree
		3 Fairly disagree
		4 Strongly disagree
		98 NA
	**************************************	99 DK
	on: INTUNE (2007, 2009) (Cotta et al. 2007	•
A4B	Some say "European unification should be strengthened". Others	1 European integration has already gone too far 2
	say it already "has gone too far".	3
	What is your opinion? You can	4
	choose any value between 0 and 10	5
	to define your position.	6
	7	7 European integration should be further developed
	Using a scale of 1 to 7, where 1	98 NA
	means that "European integration	99 DK
	has already gone too far" and 7	
	means that "European integration	
	should be further developed"	
COVID 10 1 ''	where would you place yourself?	ralfana
ELITE_12_B	effects on de-centralization of power and w	
LLII L-14-D	The COVID-19 emergency has highlighted the limits of	1 Strongly disagree 2
	regionalism and federalism	3
	- 5g.common and redefinion	4
		5
		6

		7 Strongly agree
		98 NA
EL IEEE 10 C	EL COMP 10	99 DK
ELITE_12_C	The COVID-19 emergency	1 Strongly disagree
	highlighted the long-term problems	2
	produced by continued cuts in	3
	welfare and the national health	4
	care system	5
		6 7 Chan also a sure
		7 Strongly agree
		98 NA
COMID 10 1 W	1 (1111 : DIC	99 DK
	des towards lockdown measures: in DIS	
COV10	In light of the Coronavirus	1 Prioritize the growth of the national economy, even at
	experience, some issues have	the expense of increasing the number of contagions
	emerged as particularly relevant to	2
	economic activities.	3
		4
		5
	According to some, we should	6
	"Prioritize the growth of the	7 Prioritize reducing the number of contagions, even at
	national economy, even at the	the expense of growth in national economy
	expense of increasing the number	98 NA
	of contagions". According to	99 DK
	others, instead, one should	
	"Prioritize reducing the number of	
	contagions, even at the expense of	
	growth in national economy".	
	Where would you place yourself?	
COV12	In light of the Coronavirus	1 To ensure collective health, it is right to give up some
	experience, some issues have	basic individual freedoms
	emerged as particularly relevant to	2
	the containment of the pandemic.	3
		4
	According to some, "To ensure	5
	collective health, it is right to give	6
	up some basic individual	7 Individual freedoms should never be sacrificed to
	freedoms". According to others,	ensure collective health
	instead, "Individual freedoms	98 NA
	should never be sacrificed to	99 DK
	ensure collective health". Where	
	would you place yourself?	

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