

QUESTIONNAIRE

BELGIAN ELECTION STUDY 2003

NAME INTERVIEWER

NUMBER INTERVIEWER

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NUMBER RESPONDENT

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REGION

PROVINCE

CITY

0.6

year:
month:
day:

0.7

Start of interview:..... hour min

1 When were you born ?

				1	9		
<i>Day</i>		<i>Month</i>		<i>Year</i>			

2

Male 1
Female 2

3 Which language do you usually speak at home?

Dutch 1
 French 2
 English 3
 Berber 4
 Arabic 5
 Yiddish 6
 Turkish 7
 German 8
 Italian 9
 Spanish 10
 Other 11

4 Do you have a paid job right now?

Yes 1 → V8
No 2

5 What are you doing right now? You can use Card No. 1 to answer.

- Retired 1
- Housewife/man 2
- On sick leave or maternity leave 3
- On leave without pay/career interruption 4
- Disabled 5
- Unemployed 6 → V7
- Looking for first job 7 → V15
- Pursuing full-time education 8
- Doing something else 9

6 Have you ever had a job before?

- Yes 1 → V8
- No 2 → V15

7 Have you been unemployed for more than 12 months?

- Yes 1
- No 2

8 Please describe as accurately as possible what your occupation involves/involved.

.....

.....

.....

.....

9 Do/did you work for wages or salary or are/were you self-employed or are/were you a company administrator?

- Wage earner 1
 - Self-employed 2 → V12
 - A company administrator 3 → V12
-

10 Did/do you directly manage employees?

Yes 1
No 2 → V14

11 How many employees?

Number: ... → V14

Questions 12 and 13 only for the self-employed and company administrators

12 Did/do you directly manage employees?

Yes 1
No 2 → V14

13 How many employees?

Number:

14 In which sector are/were you employed? You can use Card No. 2 to answer.

Agriculture and fishing	1
Mineral extraction and industry	2
Utility companies	3
Construction industry	4
Trade	5
Restaurant industry	6
Transportation	7
Communication and IT	8
Financial institutions (banks, assurance companies)	9
Service industry	10
Civil services	11
Education	12
Health care and social welfare	13
Culture and other services	14
Other	15

- 15 Card No. 3 shows a number of diplomas and certificates. Take your time to read them. What is the highest qualification you have earned? Just state the number that is written next to it. (If the respondent is still going to school, ask him/her to indicate the present study level.)

None	1
Elementary education	2
Lower secondary education	
Vocational	3
Technical	4
General	5
Higher secondary education	
Vocational	6
Technical	7
General	8
Non university higher education	9
University education	10
Other	11

- 16 As you know, people are divided into the working class, the lower middle class, the upper middle class and the upper class. Could you tell me which class you think you belong in?

Working class	1
Lower middle class	2
Upper middle class	3
Upper class	4
Don't know	7

Next questions concern your household

- 17 Do you have children, adopted children included?

Yes 1
No2 → V18

- 17.1. How many of your children are younger than 18?

Number:

- 18 Do you live together with a partner?

Yes 1
No 2

- 19 Do you consider yourself as belonging to one of the religions on Card No. 5, or do you consider yourself to have no religious beliefs?

Non-believer	1
Free-thinker	2
Protestant	3
Catholic	4
Christian but not catholic	5
Islam	6
Judaism	7
Eastern religion: Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoïsm	8
Other	9
None	10

- 20 When you don't take into account religious services such as weddings, baptisms and funerals, how often do you participate in religious services? You can use Card No. 6 to answer.

Never	1
Very seldom	2
A few times a year during Holy Days (Christmas, Easter, others)	3
Monthly	4
A few times a month	5
Weekly	6

- 21 I'm going to read a few commonly heard statements. To what degree do you agree or disagree with these statements. You can use Card No. 7 to answer. However, if you don't have an opinion on the subject, you are free to say so.

	Completely agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1 Humanity', 'brotherhood' and 'solidarity' what nonsense. Everybody has to take care of themselves first and defend their own interests.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2 Striving for personal success is more important than looking out for good relations with your fellow man.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3 One must always pursue his/her own personal pleasure, and shouldn't care too much about others.	1	2	3	4	5	7
4 These days, you really don't know anymore who or what to trust.	1	2	3	4	5	7
5 These days, things are so complicated that I don't know what to do.	1	2	3	4	5	7
6 Most people disappoint you once you get to know them better.	1	2	3	4	5	7
7 Nowadays, I can't understand what is going on.	1	2	3	4	5	7
8 Nowadays, one can still trust most people.	1	2	3	4	5	7
9 Most of our social problems would be solved if we could get rid of the immoral and crooked people, one or another way.	1	2	3	4	5	7
10 We need strong leaders who tell us what to do.	1	2	3	4	5	7

The next questions concern political attitudes and voting behavior.

- 22 In politics, people sometimes talk about "left" and "right". Card No. 8 represents this. "0" stands for someone whose views are entirely to the "left", "10" stands for someone whose views are entirely to the "right". Of course, there are intermediary positions to the extent that one's views are more or less to the "left" or to the "right". When you think about your own ideas on this, where would you place yourself on this scale?

Number

23 During the elections on Sunday, May 18th 2003, you could vote on two different lists: for the Chamber of Representatives and for the Senate. When voting, it happens that people vote differently for the Chamber and the Senate. We would like to know for which party you actually voted.

To refresh your memory it might be easier for you to think about the persons you voted for. In that way, it might help you to remember for whom you voted.

Please use Card No. 9 to state for which party you voted for the Chamber and the Senate. It's also possible that you voted blank or invalid.

For which party did you vote for the Chamber of Representatives or did you vote blank or invalid (white polling form)?			For which party did you vote for the Senate (pink polling form)?	
VLD	→ V25	1	VLD	1
SP.A-SPIRIT		2	SP.A-SPIRIT	2
CD&V	→ V25	3	CD&V	3
Vlaams Blok	→ V25	4	Vlaams Blok	4
NVA	→ V25	5	NVA	5
Agalev	→ V25	6	Agalev	6
RESIST	→ V25	7	RESIST	7
Vivant	→ V25	8	Vivant	8
PS	→ V25	9	PS	9
MR	→ V25	10	MR	10
CDH	→ V25	11	CDH	11
Ecolo	→ V25	12	Ecolo	12
Front National	→ V25	13	Front National	13
PTB-UA	→ V25	14	PTB-UA	14
Other	→ V25	50	Other	50
Blank	→ V28	51	Blank	51
Invalid	→ V28	52	Invalid	52
Didnot vote	→ V28	66	Didnot vote	66
Don't know	→ V29	77	Don't know	77
No answer	→ V29	99	No answer	99

- 24.a You voted SP.A-SPIRIT and/or for the Chamber of Representatives and/or the Senate. As you know, SP.A-SPIRIT was a cartel of two parties – SP.A and SPIRIT - whom each had his own program. Do you consider your vote for SP.A-SPIRIT as vote for SP.A, as vote for SPIRIT, or didn't you make that distinction?

[Question only asked in Dutch questionnaire]

SP.A	1
SPIRIT	2
No distinction	3

- 24.b The MR is a coalition of three parties with each party having his own program. Did you vote for a FDF, PRL or MCC candidate or didn't you make a distinction?

[Question only asked in French questionnaire]

PRL	1
FDF	2
MCC	3
No distinction	4

- 24.1 Did you hear talking about 'centre left', linking the French-speaking socialists and ecologists?

[Question only asked in French questionnaire]

Yes	1
No	2

- 24.2 Do you have a favorable opinion about 'centre left'?

[Question only asked in French questionnaire]

Very favorable	1
Not very favorable	2
Middling favorable	3
Little favorable	4
Not at all favorable	5

24.3 Before the last elections, the 'Parti Social Chrétien (PSC)' changed its name into 'Centre Démocrate Humaniste (CDH)'? Were you aware of this name change?

[Question only asked in French questionnaire]

Yes	1
No	2

24.4 Do you think the changing of the name is ...?

[Question only asked in French questionnaire]

Something good for sure	1
Rather something	2
Doesn't change a thing	3
Rather something bad	4
Something bad for sure	5

25 When you voted for the Chamber of Representatives, did you vote by party, by candidates or did you do both?

Party	1 → V28
Candidates	2
Both	3
Don't know	7 → V28

26 Did you vote only for men, only for women, or did you vote for men as well as women.

Only men	1
Only women	2
Men and women	3
Don't know	7

27 Did you vote only for candidates with Belgian roots, only for candidates with foreign roots – so called immigrants, or did you vote for Belgian candidates as well as candidates with foreign roots.

Belgian roots	1
Foreign roots (so called immigrants)	2
Belgian candidates and candidates with foreign roots as well	3
Don't know	7

28

- 28.1 The outcome of the June 2003 elections was a surprise for a lot of people. The green party, Agalev, now called Groen!, didn't get one seat in the national parliament, and the N-VA of Geert Bourgeois only got one seat. Now that you know the outcome, are you considering voting differently for the 2004 regional elections compared to June 2003?

[Question only asked in Dutch questionnaire]

Yes 1
No 2 →V29

- 28.2 For which party would you vote now?

[Question only asked in Dutch questionnaire]

VLD	1	Agalev/Groen!	6	CDH	11
SP.A.-SPIRIT	2	RESIST	7	Ecolo	12
CD&V	3	Vivant	8	Front National	13
Vlaams Blok	4	PS	9	PTB-UA	14
N-VA	5	MR	10	Other	50

Party

- 29 Some voters, when they vote, first take into account the program of the different political parties, others care less about the program but consider the qualities of the different candidates as more important, and still others think that both are equally important. What about you? What do you consider as most important, the program of the party or the candidates? You can use Card No. 10 to answer.

Only program	More program than candidates	Equally program and candidates	More candidates than program	Only candidates	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5	7

- 29.1 Some voters, when they vote, first take into account the things parties did in the past, others first take into account the promises parties make concerning what they are going to do in the future, and still others think that both, future and past are equally important. What about you? What do you consider as most important? You can use Card No. 11 to answer.

Only past policy	More past than future	Equally past and future	More future than past	Only future program	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5	7

- 30 When did you decide to vote for a particular party for the Chamber of Representatives (or to vote blank, invalid or not to vote)? You can use Card No. 12 to answer.

The day of the elections	1
The last few days before the elections	2
The last few weeks before the election day	3
The start of the election campaign	4
Longer ago than that	5
Don't know	7
Did not vote	9

- 31 If voting for parliament were no longer obligatory in Belgium, would you then always, generally, sometimes, or never vote- or don't you know for certain? You can use Card No. 13 to answer.

Always	1
Generally	2
Sometimes	3
Never	4
Don't know for certain	7

- 32 We are now going to talk about your voting behavior in the past. We will now talk about National Elections of June 13th 1999. These were neither the city council elections nor the European elections of the year before. The elections of 1999 were the last national elections before those of 2003. For which political party did you vote for the Chamber of Representatives during the elections of that Sunday, June 13th 1999. You can use Card No. 14 to answer.

Agalev	1	PS	14
CVP	2	PSC	15
VLD	3	PRL-FDF	16
SP	4	Ecolo	17
Vlaams Blok	5	Front National	18
VU	6	AGIR	19
WOW	7	PTB	20
PVDA-AE	8	Other	10

Blank	11 → V34
Invalid	12 → V34
Didn't vote	65 → V34
Was not allowed to vote	66 → V34
Don't know	77 → V34
No answer	99 → V34

32.1 How well did the party you voted for then perform over the past 4 years till May 18th, 2003? Did the party do a very good job, a good job, a bad job or a very bad job?

- Very good job 1
- Good job 2
- Bad job 3
- Very bad job 4
- Don't know 7

33 From the instant you were allowed to vote, when there was an election for the Chamber of Representatives have you always voted for the same party or have you sometimes voted for another party?

- Always for the same party 1
- Mostly for the same party 2
- For different parties 3
- Not applicable (in 2003 voted for the first time) 9

34 Suppose that you chose a candidate. We would like to know what you would take into consideration in order to choose a candidate. We will present you a list of characteristics. Could you score each characteristic? '0' means that the characteristic is, according to you, 'not at all important' to choose a candidate and '10' means that the characteristic is 'extremely important'. So, the higher you score a characteristic the more important you think it is. You can use Card No. 15 to answer.

A good candidate	How important is this?	No opinion
1. A good candidate is someone who is really concerned with the people's needs and wishes.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	77
2. A good candidate is someone who gives everybody the opportunity to express him/herself and to formulate his/her own opinion.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	77
3. A good candidate is someone who is dignified and polite all of the time.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	77
4. A good candidate is someone who shares my beliefs or principles.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	77
5. A good candidate is someone who doesn't discriminate against anyone, no matter what his/her race, sexual preference, language, religion or gender may be.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	77
6. A good candidate is someone who is always ready to help.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	77

7. A good candidate is someone who is honest.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
8. A good candidate is someone who, based on the actual needs, takes the right measures even when these measures are unpopular.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
9. A good candidate is someone who had higher non-university education or who	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
10. A good candidate is someone who is always well dressed.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
11. A good candidate is someone who has the same social background as you.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
12. A good candidate is a man.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
13. A good candidate is someone who is a real Flemish/Walloon.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
14. A good candidate is someone who looks good on television.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
15. A good candidate is someone who is an expert in important policy domains.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
16. A good candidate is someone who is physically fit and in good health.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
17. A good candidate is someone who is young.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
18. A good candidate is someone who is hard working.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
19. A good candidate is someone who is experienced and wise.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
20. A good candidate is someone who is a good father or mother, and husband or wife.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77

35 People often call upon politicians to solve personal problems. Have you called upon the services of a politician in the last four years for the resolution of one or more personal problems?

Yes 1

No 2 → V38

36 Did the involvement of this politician help you resolve your problem?

Yes 1

No 2

37 Did you vote for this politician in the last parliamentary elections?

Yes 1
No 2

38 Of the topics listed on Form A, could you give three topics which were important issues that you considered when you made the choice to vote for a certain party during the past elections of May 18, 2003? (or voted blank, invalid, did not vote)

Stance of Belgium concerning war in Iraq	1
Airtraffic during night	2
Traffic safety	3
Public transportation	4
Crime	5
Tax reform	6
Refugees	7
Food quality	8
Representation of the Flemish in Brussels	9
Employment	10
Environment	11
Trade of weapons	12
Ban of tobacco advertisements during sporting events	13
Immigrants	14
Financing of retirement pay	15
Toleration of soft drugs	16
Law concerning crimes against humanity	17
Future of public enterprises: NMBS, SABENA, De Post,...	18
Euthanasia	19
Bankruptcy of companies	20
Isolation of far right	21
Protection of children	22
Reform of public administration (Copernicus)	23
Nuclear phase out	24

38.1. Which of the three topics you chose is most important?

Number

- 39 To what extent are you satisfied with the latest government policy regarding these topics? You can use Card No. 16 to answer.

	Very satisfied	More or less satisfied	Neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied	More or less dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Don't know
1 First topic:	1	2	3	4	5	7
2 Second topic:	1	2	3	4	5	7
3 Third topic:	1	2	3	4	5	7

- 40 In June 2004, we vote for the Flemish, Brussels or Walloon Parliament. Do you already know for sure which party you are going to vote for?

Yes 1
No 2 → V40.2

- 40.1. Which party are you going to vote for?

VLD	1	Agalev/Groen!	6	CDH	11
SP.A.-SPIRIT	2	RESIST	7	Ecolo	12
CD&V	3	Vivant	8	Front National	13
Vlaams Blok	4	PS	9	PTB-UA	14
N-VA	5	MR	10	Other	50

Party → V41.1

- 40.2. You are not sure yet which party you are going to vote for. Which party might you vote for during the elections of June 13th 2004 for the Flemish, Brussels or Walloon Parliament? You can choose more than one party.

VLD	1	Agalev/Groen!	6	CDH	11
SP.A.-SPIRIT	2	RESIST	7	Ecolo	12
CD&V	3	Vivant	8	Front National	13
Vlaams Blok	4	PS	9	PTB-UA	14
N-VA	5	MR	10	Other	50

Party 1:

Party 2:

Party 3:

41.1 During the approach of the national elections of 2003, did you participate in the voting test of the VRT?

[Question only asked in Dutch questionnaire]

Yes 1
No 2 →V42
Don't know 7 →V42

41.2. Did you change your voting behavior because of the result of the voting test?

[Question only asked in Dutch questionnaire]

Yes 1
No 2 →V42

41.3 What was the original party you were going to vote for?

[Question only asked in Dutch questionnaire]

VLD	1	Agalev/Groen!	6	CDH	11
SP.A.-SPIRIT	2	RESIST	7	Ecolo	12
CD&V	3	Vivant	8	Front National	13
Vlaams Blok	4	PS	9	PTB-UA	14
N-VA	5	MR	10	Other	50

Original party:

42 Could you tell me to what extent you agree with the following statements? You can use Card No. 17. If you haven't thought about it before, just say so.

	Completely agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1 During the War in Iraq, the Belgian government should have supported the American policy more.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2 The social security system should be defederalize.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3 More fixed speed guns are needed in order to battle people who speed.	1	2	3	4	5	7
4 The government needs to invest more in public transportation.	1	2	3	4	5	7
5 Economic interests should not be allowed to reduce the quality of our food.	1	2	3	4	5	7
6 Retirement benefits should increase when the general welfare and incomes of citizens improve.	1	2	3	4	5	7
7 Products that are not environmental-friendly should be made more expensive.	1	2	3	4	5	7
8 Youth prisons should be built for criminals who are underage.	1	2	3	4	5	7

9	There should be higher taxation for the rich.	1	2	3	4	5	7
10	The government has made it too easy to get Belgian nationality for immigrants.	1	2	3	4	5	7
11	Tobacco ad's should be prohibited everywhere, even during big sporting events.	1	2	3	4	5	7
12	The tax reforms favor high incomes too much.	1	2	3	4	5	7

- 43 Some people are very interested in politics. Others are not interested at all. Are you very interested in politics or not at all interested? You can use Card No. 18 to answer.

Very much 1
 Much 2
 Some 3
 Little 4
 None 5

- 44 I'll now ask you a number of things about political activities. You may use Card No. 19 to answer.

	(Almost) always	Often	Now and then	Seldom	Never
1. How often do you follow political news on radio and television or in the newspaper?	1	2	3	4	5
2. When you are among friends, do you discuss politics?	1	2	3	4	5
3. When you have a clear, definite opinion regarding a certain issue, do you try to convince your friends, members of your family, or colleagues to agree with	1	2	3	4	5

- 45 Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party?

Yes 1
 No 2 → V46
 Don't know 7 → V46

45.1 Which party or parties are they? You can use Form B to answer

VLD	1	Agalev/Groen!	6	CDH	11
SP.A.-SPIRIT	2	RESIST	7	Ecolo	12
CD&V	3	Vivant	8	Front National	13
Vlaams Blok	4	PS	9	PTB-UA	14
N-VA	5	MR	10	Other	50

First party:

Second party:

Third party:

Don't know 77 → V46

If respondent mentions more than one party go to V45.2 if respondents only mentions one party go to → V45.3

45.2 Which party do you feel closest to?

VLD	1	Agalev/Groen!	6	CDH	11
SP.A.-SPIRIT	2	RESIST	7	Ecolo	12
CD&V	3	Vivant	8	Front National	13
Vlaams Blok	4	PS	9	PTB-UA	14
N-VA	5	MR	10	Other	50

Party:

Don't know 77 → V46

45.1. Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?

Very close 1

Somewhat close 2

Not very close 3

Don't know 7

46 People are sometimes classified according to the degree in which they are "catholic" or "non-catholic" Card No. 20 presents this. Someone who is very "catholic" would mark the "0," and someone who is very strongly "non-catholic" would mark "10." Of course, there are intermediary positions to the degree that one is more or less "catholic" or "non-catholic." When you consider you own ideas on this, where would you place yourself?

Number

47 In politics, there are differing ideas about the organization of the economy. Some think that "businesses must be completely free to do what they want", others think that "businesses must be supervised by the community". Where would place yourself on Scale No. 21?

Number

- 48 People have differing ideas about immigrants, (and here we mean Turks and Moroccans). Some think that they must receive “the same rights” as the Belgians, and others think that they should have “fewer rights” than Belgians. Where would you place yourself on Scale No. 22?

Number

- 49 In politics, one sometimes has to choose between alternatives. Suppose that a choice had to be made between “conservation/protection of the environment” and “jobs”. Where would you place yourself on Scale No. 23?

Number

Also political parties sometimes have to choose between “conservation/protection of the environment” and “jobs”. Could you indicate to which extent, according to you, the following parties will chose for “conservation/protection of the environment” or for “jobs” when they have to choose? If you don’t know a party, just say so.

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------|--------|-------|
| 49.1 | Agalev | Number | ..... |
| 49.2 | CD&V | Number | ..... |
| 49.3 | VLD | Number | ..... |
| 49.4 | SP.A | Number | ..... |
| 49.5 | Vlaams Blok | Number | ..... |
| 39.6 | N-VA | Number | ..... |
| 49.7 | SPIRIT | Number | ..... |
| 49.8 | Ecolo | Number | ..... |
| 49.9 | MR | Number | ..... |
| 49.10 | PS | Number | ..... |
| 49.11 | CDH | Number | ..... |
| 49.12 | Vivant | Number | ..... |
| 49.13 | FN | Number | ..... |

- 50 In politics, one sometimes also has to choose between “public order” and “freedom of speech”. Where would you place yourself on Scale No. 24?

Number

- 51 Sometimes, one must choose between “the quality of life” and “the preservation of a high rate of economic growth”. Where would you place yourself on Scale No. 25?

Number

- 52 The form of government that the country should have is still a matter of discussion. Some think that “Flanders and Wallonia must each be able to decide everything by themselves”. Others think that “Belgium, Flemish, and Walloons together, must be able to decide about everything”. Where would you place yourself on Scale No. 26?

Number

-
- 53 I am going to read four possibilities concerning the evolution of Belgium. First, the Belgian Unitarian State must be restored. Second, a federal state must be developed with more power for the central authorities than is the case now. Third, a federal state with more power for the communities and regions must be developed than is the case now. Fourth, the present situation must be kept. Which one of these four possibilities comes closest to your own opinion, or do you think there is another possibility? You can use Card No. 27 to answer.

Restoration of the Unitarian Belgian state	1
A federal state, but more power for the central authorities	2
A federal state, but more power for the communities and regions	3
Keep the present situation	4
Other	5
Don't know	7

-
- 53.1 Imagine that Belgium no longer exists. In that case which solution would you prefer?

[Question only asked in Dutch questionnaire]

A constitution of a new state based on the existing Walloon part of Belgium	1
Reunite with France	2
Other	3
Don't know	7

- 54 In politics, it is sometimes impossible to achieve different things at the same time. Card No. 28 gives a list of 12 objectives. Some are more important than others. Please indicate which five of the political objectives listed are most important to you.

Maintaining law and order in the country	1
Giving people more say in the decisions of the government	2
Fighting inflation	3
Protecting freedom of speech	4
Preserving a high rate of economic growth	5
Providing a strong army in the country	6
Giving people more say in decisions at work and in local government	7
Improving the environment	8
Maintaining a stable economy	9
Fighting crime	10
Build a friendlier and less impersonal community	11
Develop a community where ideas are more important than money	12

- 55 Please tell me whether or not you agree with the following statements. Use Card No. 29 to answer. If you haven't thought about it, just say so.

	Completely agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1. The trade unions have to be more aggressive if they are to promote workers' interests.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2. Workers still have to struggle for an equal position in society.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3. The differences between classes should be smaller than they are at present.	1	2	3	4	5	7
4. The differences between the high and low incomes should stay as they are.	1	2	3	4	5	7
5. The government should interfere in order to reduce income differentials	1	2	3	4	5	7

- 56 Now thinking about the performance of the Purple-Green Government, Verhofstadt I, how good or bad a job do you think the government has done during the four years, 1999-2003? Did the government do a very good job, a good job, a bad job, or a very bad job? You can use Card No. 30 to answer.

Very good job	1
Good job	2
Bad job	3
Very bad job	4
Don't know	7

57 In your opinion, to what extent is it acceptable for a woman to have an abortion if she wishes to? You can use Card No. 31 to answer.

['0' not acceptable; '10' acceptable]

Number

58. Suppose a doctor can stop someone's suffering by giving the person a lethal injection at his/her request. How acceptable do you think this is? You can again use Card No. 31 to answer.

['0' not acceptable; '10' acceptable]

Number

59 To what extent is it acceptable for a gay or a lesbian couple to obtain the right to adopt children? You can use Card No. 31 to answer.

['0' not acceptable; '10' acceptable]

Number

60 On the whole are you very satisfied, more or less satisfied, more or less dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in Belgium? You can use Card No. 32 to answer.

- Very satisfied 1
- More or less satisfied 2
- More or less dissatisfied 3
- Very dissatisfied 4
- Don't know 7

61 And what is your opinion about the following statements? You can use Card No. 33 to answer.

	Completely agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1. There's no sense in voting; the parties do what they want to do anyway.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2. Parties are only interested in my vote, not in my opinion.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3. If people like me let the politicians know what we think, then they will take our opinions into account.	1	2	3	4	5	7
4. Most politicians promise a lot, but don't do anything.	1	2	3	4	5	7
5. As soon as they are elected, politicians think they are better than people like me.	1	2	3	4	5	7
6. Most of our politicians are competent people who know what they are doing.	1	2	3	4	5	7

61.1. Some people say it makes a big difference who is in power. Others say it doesn't make any difference who is in power. Using the scale on Card No. 34, (where "1" means that it makes a big difference who is in power and "5" means that it doesn't make any difference who is in power), where would you place yourself?

It makes a big difference who is in power		It makes no difference who is in power	Don't know
1	2	3	4
			5
			7

61.2. Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a big difference in what happens. Using the scale on Card No. 35, (where "1" means that voting won't make any difference to what happens and "5" means that voting can make a big difference), where would you place yourself?

Who people vote for won't make any difference		Who people vote for makes a difference	Don't know
1	2	3	4
			5
			7

62 When you think of politics, what feeling does it arouse? Use Card No. 36.

- Interest 1
 - Distrust 2
 - Boredom 3
 - Respect 4
 - Revulsion 5
 - Hope 6
 - Anger 7
 - Trust 8
-

63 There are a lot of different opinions on who has to be in charge when it comes to politics. What is your opinion regarding the next statements? You can use Card No. 37 to answer.

	Completely agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1. Politics should be left to men.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2. I have more confidence in a male politician than in a female one.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3. Since half of the population is female, it would be logical for half of the elected politicians to be women as well.	1	2	3	4	5	7
4. If more women participated in politics, the functioning of democracy would improve.	1	2	3	4	5	7

I want to ask you a few questions about the associations and organizations that you may be a member of.

64 Are you a member of a political party?

- Yes 1
- No 2 → V65

64.1 Which one?

.....

65 Are you a member of a trade union or of an organization of employers or the self-employed?

- Yes 1
- No 2 → V66

65.1 Which one?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

66 Which health insurance organization or “mutual society” are you a member of? (It may be via your parents or guardian.)

- Christian mutual society 1
- Socialist mutual society 2
- Liberal mutual society 3
- Neutral mutual society 4
- Other 5
- Don't know 7

67 Are you an active member (i.e. during the last year (2003), have you participated in activities or meetings) of any club, association or society?

- Yes 1
- No 2 → V69

- 68 Of the associations of which you are a member, can you tell us what their ideological tendencies are? Use Card No. 38 to answer.

	Most important association
1. Catholic	1
2. Socialist	2
3. Liberal	3
4. Free thinking	4
5. Flemish nationalist	5
6. Pluralist	6
7. No ideological trend	7
8. Other	8

- 69 The following statements concern immigrants. Please tell me whether or not you agree with the following statements. Use Card No. 39 to answer.

	Completely agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1. In general, immigrants cannot be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2. Immigrants contribute to the country's welfare.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3. Immigrants come to Belgium to exploit the social security system.	1	2	3	4	5	7
4. Foreigners who have been living in Belgium for at least 5 years should be given voting rights for the local elections	1	2	3	4	5	7
5. Immigrants are a threat to our culture and customs.	1	2	3	4	5	7
6. The presence of different cultures enriches our society.	1	2	3	4	5	7
7. People who fled political violence in their country should get permission to stay in Belgium.	1	2	3	4	5	7
8. Belgium has to close its borders for asylum seekers.	1	2	3	4	5	7

- 70 Do you know the answer to following questions? When you don't know the answer don't be afraid to say so. Not everybody is that interested in politics

		Don't know
1. Finland is a member of the EU.	Yes 1 No 2	7
2. How many years do city council members serve in a term: 4, 5 or 6 years?	4 1 5 2 6 3	7
3. How many representatives are there in the Chamber of Representatives 150, 175, or 212??	150 1 175 2 212 3	7
4. Green is the color of the Agalev/ECOLO; orange the color for the CD&V/CDH; what color for the VLD/MR?	Red 1 Yellow 2 Blue 3 Purple 4	7
5. Who is the vice-president of the United States (USA), Cheney, Powel, or Rumsfeld??	Dick Cheney 1 Colin Powel 2 Donald Rumsfeld 3	7

- 71 Which group do you consider yourself to be a member of in the first place? Use Card No. 40 to answer.

	First place	Second place
1. Belgium	1	1
2. French-speaking community	2	2
3. Flemish Community/Region	3	3
4. German-speaking community	4	4
5. Walloon Region	5	5
6. Brussels Region	6	6
7. Province	7	7
8. Commune or city	8	8
77. Don't know	77	77

- 72 You have mentioned X and X as the two groups you consider yourself to be member of. Where would you place Europe in this list?

At the top 1
In between 2
At the bottom 3
Don't know 7

73 Are there according to you major or minor differences in mentality and lifestyle between Flemish and Walloon?

Major differences	1
Minor differences	2
Don't know	7

74 In general, do you feel closer to a Dutchman or a French speaking Belgian?

[Question only asked in Dutch questionnaire]

In general, do you feel closer to a Frenchman or a Dutch speaking Belgian?

[Question only asked in French questionnaire]

You can use Card No. 41 to answer.

Closer to a Dutchman/Frenchman	1
Closer to a French/Dutch speaking Belgian	2
No difference between the two	3
It depends	4
Don't know	7

75 Which one of the following statements applies most to you? You can use Card No.42 to answer.

I consider myself to be only Flemish/Walloon	1
I feel more Flemish/Walloon than Belgian	2
I feel myself to be equally Flemish/Walloon and Belgian	3
I feel more Belgian than Flemish/Walloon	4
I consider myself to be only a Belgian	5
Don't know	7

76 Do you sometimes feel that you are not only a Belgian, but a European citizen as well? Does this happen never, sometimes, or never?

Never	1
Sometimes	2
Often	3
Don't know	7

77 To what extent are you satisfied with life in our society? You can use Card No. 43 to answer

['0' very dissatisfied, '10' very satisfied]

Number:

78 If you compare your life in our society to your situation four or five years ago, are you more or less satisfied? You can use Card No. 44 to answer.

['0' less satisfied, '10' more satisfied]

Number:

79 Does the total household income allow you to cover your expenses in a satisfactory way? You can answer with Card No. 45

- We have more than enough, we even manage to save money 1
- We have sufficient money to live without problems 2
- We have barely enough money and it is hard for us to live 3
- We do not have enough money and it is very hard for us to live 4
- Don't know 7

80 Do you think your living situation at the moment is better, worse, or the same in comparison to your parents' situation?

- Better 1
- Worse 2
- The same 3
- Can't compare 4
- Don't know 7

81 The following question deals with safety at home, in the neighborhood, or town. We aren't talking about traffic safety.

In general, how secure or insecure do you feel? You can use Card No. 46 to answer. If you feel insecure all the time answer -3. At the opposite extreme, if you always feel completely secure, answer +3.

Always insecure						Always secure
-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

82 Do you agree with the following statements? U can use card 47.

	Completely agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1. For crimes like murder, manslaughter and dealing hard drugs, adolescents older than 13 years old should receive the same punishment as adults.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2. There should be a crack down on street crimes.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3. These days, criminals have too many rights.	1	2	3	4	5	7
4. Prison sentences should be carried out fully.	1	2	3	4	5	7

83 Let's now turn to the environment. The following statements concern only what you yourself can do about it. Use Card No. 48 to answer

	Certainly	Probably yes	Not so sure	Probably no	Certainly not	No opinion
1. I am prepared to voice my opinion about a sharp traffic reduction.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2. I will join campaigns who try to do something against acid rain.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3. I am prepared to give something up for a cleaner environment.	1	2	3	4	5	7
4. I would be prepared to pay higher prices if that would mean less industrial pollution.	1	2	3	4	5	7

84 We are going to give you a few more statements. You may use Card No. 49 to answer, and if you haven't thought about it just say so.

	Completely agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1. Air, soil, and water are already very severely polluted.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2. Protecting endangered plants and animals is an excessive luxury.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3. If the present economic development continues as it is now going, both nature and man are condemned	1	2	3	4	5	7

- 85 Now I am going to read you a list of institutions. Could you tell me, for each of these institutions, whether you trust them a lot or a little? You can use Card No. 50 to answer.

		Trust very much	Trust	No trust, no distrust	Distrust	Distrust very much	Don't know
1.	The legal system	1	2	3	4	5	7
2.	The national police	1	2	3	4	5	7
3.	The press	1	2	3	4	5	7
4.	The political parties	1	2	3	4	5	7
5.	The government	1	2	3	4	5	7
6.	The parliament	1	2	3	4	5	7
7.	The king	1	2	3	4	5	7
8.	Preferred political party	1	2	3	4	5	7

- 86 Some say Belgium needs a king. Others say that Belgium doesn't need one. Still others have no opinion about that. Which of these opinions comes closest to your opinion about Belgium needing a king?

- Belgium needs a king 1
Belgium doesn't need a king 2
No opinion 3

- 87 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? You can use Card No. 51 to answer.

		Completely agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Completely disagree	No opinion
1.	Information concerning the Royal Family distracts us too much from the real problems in our society.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2.	We should be glad to have a king, otherwise Belgium would fall apart.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3.	In a modern democracy as ours, a royal family is out of date.	1	2	3	4	5	7
4.	The king is important for the international prestige of our country.	1	2	3	4	5	7
5.	The king should have more say in political affairs.	1	2	3	4	5	7

- 88 Which of following ideas come closest to your opinion concerning the paying of taxes? You can use Card No. 52 to answer.

- I do it because it is the civic duty of each civilian 1
I do it because it is obligatory 2
I do it because I benefit from the policy the government is
running thanks to the income of taxes 3
None of these come close to my opinion 4
I don't have a taxable income 5
No opinion 7

- 89 Political parties in Belgium have decided to not form an alliance with extreme right wing parties (Vlaams Blok, FN, FNB). Do you agree with this policy?

Yes 1 → V90
 No 2
 Don't know 7 → V90

- 89.1 Opponents of this policy use different arguments. Which of the following arguments comes closest to your opinion or are you against the isolation of extreme right wing parties for other reasons? You can use Card No. 53 to answer.

Their views deserve to be accounted for 1
 The isolation gives them free publicity 2
 In a democracy every party has the right to be treated equally 3
 Other 4

- 90 For the national elections, the former national government has introduced a policy that requires parties to reach a threshold of 5% of votes in each province. Parties who stay under this threshold will not have elected members in parliament. Are you for or against this measure or don't you have an opinion about it?

For 1
 Against 2
 No opinion 3

- 90.1 Did the existence of such a threshold influence your voting behavior in 2003?

Yes 1
 No 2

- 91 Some people think of themselves as being rather 'left', others as being rather 'right', and still others don't see themselves as 'left' or 'right'. What about you, do you think of yourself as rather 'left', rather 'right' or nor 'left' nor 'right'?

Rather left 1
 Rather right 2
 Neither left, neither right 3
 Don't know 7

Here is a list of things some people do during elections. Which, if any, did you do during the 2003 electoral campaign?

92.1 Did you talk to other people to persuade them to vote for a particular party or candidate?

Yes	1
No	2 → V92.2

92.1.1 How often did you do this? Would you say...

Frequently	1
Occasionally	2
Rarely	3

92.2 Did you show support for a particular party or candidate by, for example, attending a meeting, putting up a poster, or in some other way?

Yes	1
No	2 → V93

92.2.1 How often did you do this? Would you say...

Frequently	1
Occasionally	2
Rarely	3

93 During the last election campaign, election of May 2003, did a candidate or anyone from a political party contact you to persuade you to vote for them?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	7

94 Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement.

Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government. Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with this statement?

Agree strongly	1
Agree	2
Disagree	3
Disagree strongly	4
Don't know	7

- 95 Thinking about how elections in Belgium work in practice, how well do elections ensure that the views of voters are represented by members of Parliament-very well, quite well, not very well, or not well at all?

Very well	1
Quite well	2
Not very well	3
Not well at all	4
Don't know	7

-
- 96 I'd like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.

96.1	Agalev	Number	.....
96.2	CD&V	Number	.....
96.3	VLD	Number	.....
96.4	SP.A	Number	.....
96.5	Vlaams Blok	Number	.....
96.6	N-VA	Number	.....
96.7	SPIRIT	Number	.....
96.8	Ecolo	Number	.....
96.9	MR	Number	.....
96.10	PS	Number	.....
96.11	CDH	Number	.....
96.12	Vivant	Number	.....
96.13	FN	Number	.....

-
- 97 Over the past five years or so, have you done any of the following things to express your views about something the government should or should not be doing?

- 97.1 Contacted a politician or government official either in person, in writing, or in some other way?

Yes	1
No	2

-
- 97.2 Taken part in a protest, march or demonstration?

Yes	1
No	2

97.3 Worked with people who share the same concern?

Yes	1
No	2

98 How much respect is there for individual freedom and human rights nowadays in Belgium? Do you feel there is...

A lot of respect	1
Some respect	2
Not much respect	3
No respect at all	4
Don't know	7

99 How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is among politicians in Belgium?

Very widespread	1
Quite widespread	2
Not very widespread	3
It hardly happens at all	4
Don't know	7

Now, I'm going to read some statements about opinion polls concerning political preference and voting behavior.

100 When predicting, election outcomes, do you think opinion polls concerning political preference are always accurate, most of the time accurate, sometimes accurate, seldom accurate, or almost never accurate? You can use Card No. 55 to answer.

Always	1
Most of the time	2
Sometimes	3
Seldom	4
Almost never	5
Don't know	7

101 Do you think people answer honestly when asked which party they are going to vote for? You can use Card No. 56 to answer

Almost everybody answers honestly	1
Most people answers honestly	2
About half answers honestly	3
A minority answers honestly	4
Only a few answer honestly	5
Don't know	7

- 102 To what extent do you think opinion polls concerning political preference are useful for the population?
Do you think they are very useful; rather useful; neither useful, nor useless; rather useless; or no use at all?
You can use Card No. 57 to answer.

Very useful	1
Rather useful	2
Neither useful, nor useless	3
Rather useless	4
No use at all	5
Don't know	7

- 103 Do you think that the outcome of opinion polls concerning political preference might influence decisions?
Do you think that happens very often, often, sometimes, seldom, almost never? You can use Card No. 58
to answer

Very often	1
Often	2
Sometimes	3
Seldom	4
Almost never	5
Don't know	7

- 104 If one would call you one week before the elections and asks you to participate in an opinion poll
concerning political preference, would you participate certainly, probably, maybe/maybe not, probably not,
certainly not. You can use Card No. 59 to answer.

Certainly	1
Probably	2
Maybe/maybe not	3
Probably not	4
Certainly not	5
Don't know	7

- 105 Generally speaking, how difficult or easy was it for you to answer the questions in this interview? You
can use Card No. 60 to answer.

Very difficult	1
Difficult	2
Not difficult, not easy	3
Easy	4
Very easy	5
Don't know	7

<i>Questions filled out by interviewer</i>
--

200 Was anyone present during the interview who could hear the questions and the answers apart from yourself and the respondent?

Nobody present	1	→ V203
Other present	2	

201 Who was present?

Partner	1
Children	2
Partner and children	3
Parents (in law)	4
Brothers, sisters (in law))	5
Others	6

202 Did anyone of those present interfere with the interview: Never, now and then constantly?

Never	1
Now and then	2
Constantly	3

203 Did the respondent ask for clarifications?

Very often	1
Often	2
Now and then	3
Almost never	4
Never	5

204 Did you feel any resistance on the part of the respondent in answering some questions?

Very often	1
Often	2
Now and then	3
Almost never	4
Never	5

205 How would you evaluate the willingness of the respondent to cooperate?

Highly motivated	1
Moderately motivated	2
Rather indifferent	3
Reserved	4
Very reserved	5

206 How would you, in general, evaluate the capability of the respondent to understand the questions asked in the interview and to give answers that are meaningful to himself or herself?

Very high	1
High	2
Adequate	3
Poor	4
Very poor	5
Totally inadequate	6

207 Do you have remarks concerning the interview?

Yes	1
No	2