Start of Block: Q1. Introduction

Q1.1 Dear survey participant,

In this survey, which is organized by researchers working at various European universities, we will ask you to answer a set of questions about political and economic decisions by governments.

What you will do in this study:

You will evaluate different kinds of government economic policies. Your honest and thoughtful responses are important to us and to the study. There are no right or wrong answers.

Length of time required: We expect people to take less than 10 minutes on average to complete the survey.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: Your participation in this research is confidential and anonymous. Neither the survey company nor the researcher will have any means of associating your responses with you.

Reporting of Results: The results of the research will be reported in research papers published in scientific journals and books. Thank you for your participation in this study

Q1.2 I have read the above text and I want to participate in the study.

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

End of Block: Q1. Introduction

Start of Block: Q2. Demographics

Q2.1
Are you an [Irish, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek] citizen?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q2.2 Are you male or female?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)

Q2.3 To which age group do you belong?

- ○ Under 18 (1)
- ○ 18-29 (2)
- ○ 30-39 (3)
- ○ 40-49 (4)
- ○ 50-59 (6)
- ○ 60-69 (7)
- ○ 70 or older (8)

Q2.4 Which province of [Ireland, Spain, Portugal Greece] do you live in?

End of Block: Q2. Demographics

Start of Block: Q3. Partisanship

Q3.1 Generally speaking, do you see yourself as a supporter of one of the following parties?

- ○ Country specific list of political parties (list included at the end of the survey)
- ○ Other party (77) _____
- ○ None (88)
- ○ Don't know (99)

Page Break

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you see yourself as a supporter of one of the following parties? != None

And Generally speaking, do you see yourself as a supporter of one of the following parties? != Don't know

Q3.2 You chose ${Q3.1/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}. Would you call yourself a very strong, a fairly strong, or not a very strong supporter of that party?

- Very strong (1)
- Fairly strong (2)
- Not very strong (3)
- Don't know (99)

Q3.3 If there were an Irish General Election tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

- Country specific list of political parties (list included at the end of the survey)
- Other party (77) _____
- None (88)
- Don't know (99)

Q3.4 Many people don't vote in elections these days. If there were an [Irish, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek] General Election tomorrow, how likely is it that you would vote?

- Very unlikely that I would vote (1)
- Fairly unlikely (2)
- Neither likely nor unlikely (3)
- Fairly likely (4)
- Very likely that I would vote (5)

Q3.5 In politics, people sometimes talk about left and right. Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

	Left				Center				Right		
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
()											

End of Block: Q3. Partisanship

Start of Block: Q4. Economic ideology

Q4.1 Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements:

	Strongly disagree (1)	Somewhat disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Somewhat agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
Governments should redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well off (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Major public services and industries ought to be in state ownership (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Competition is bad and mostly favors the strongest (4)	○	○	○	○	○
People can only get rich at the expense of others (5)	○	○	○	○	○

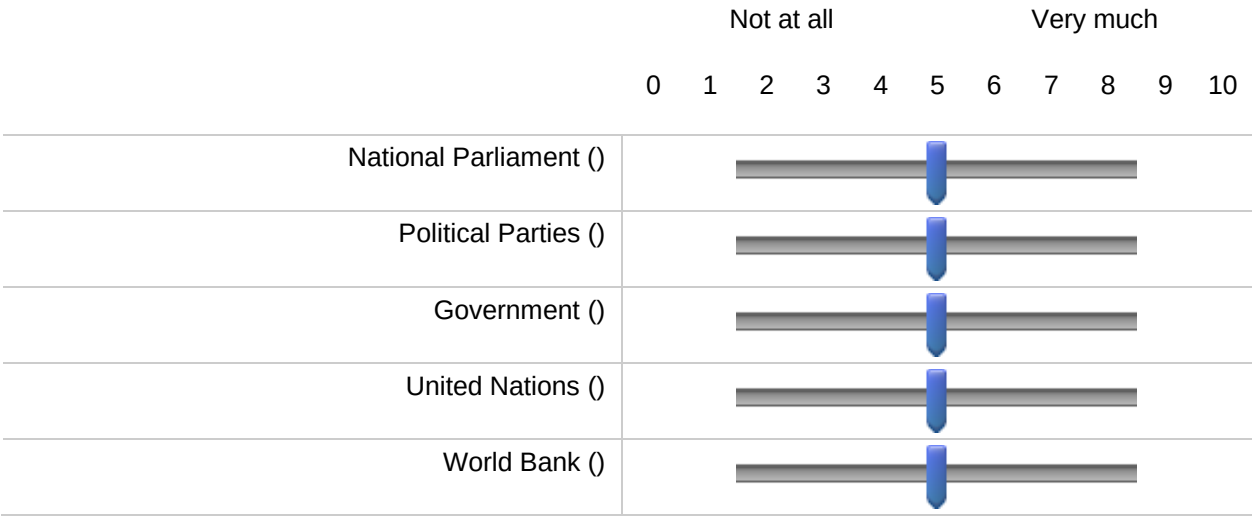
End of Block: Q4. Economic ideology

Start of Block: Q5. Trust in Politics

Q5.1
Please indicate how confident you are that the government is able to deliver the following policy outcomes in the near future:

	Not confident at all (1)	Not confident (2)	Neither Nor (3)	Somewhat confident (4)	Very confident (5)
Protect jobs (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Protect the environment and nature (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Reduce social inequalities (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Integrate migrants in the society (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Preserve economic wealth (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Provide a well-functioning educational system (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Foster economic prosperity (7)	○	○	○	○	○
Balance the public budget (8)	○	○	○	○	○

Q5.2 Please indicate how much you personally trust each of the following institutions:



End of Block: Q5. Trust in Politics

Start of Block: IMF. Mediation Analysis

See online appendix for the different treatments.

IMF.B.0 We are going to describe a situation Ireland could face in the future, in 2026. Some parts of the description may seem important to you; other parts may seem unimportant.

Page Break

IMF.B.1 **Here is some background:** [Ireland/Spain/Portugal/Greece] has experienced a ${e://Field/publicdebt} increase in the level of public debt. The debt level is ${e://Field/debtlevel} troubling. The government is finding it ${e://Field/borrowing} difficult to borrow money on financial markets to pay for public spending. This presents a ${e://Field/urgency} urgent threat to the security of your savings and to the broader economic situation in Ireland.

Page Break

IMF.B.2 **Here is some more background:** To address the economic concerns, the ${e://Field/party} Prime Minister announces in a televised speech that the government will implement ${e://Field/spendingcuts} spending cuts to limit the increase in public debt. These cuts will ${e://Field/extent} affect funding for pensions, health care, education and public transport, for instance. The main opposition party, ${e://Field/oppositionparty}, criticizes the measures and doubts whether they will be successful.

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IMF.B.3 **Here is some additional background:**

The Prime Minister says that these spending cuts are necessary. This is because the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has made these cuts a precondition for Ireland to get an emergency loan that could stabilise the financial situation. The IMF is an international organization that provides emergency loans to countries in crisis, but only to governments who commit to carry out certain reforms. Ireland would not receive the IMF loan without the cuts.

Page Break

IMF.B.4 **Here is a summary of the situation again, for your reference:**

- [Ireland/Spain/Portugal/Greece] has experienced a ${e://Field/publicdebt} increase in the level of public debt.

- The Prime Minister is a member of ${e://Field/party}.

- The government will implement ${e://Field/spendingcuts} spending cuts to limit the increase in public debt.

${e://Field/imf_text}

IMF.Q.1.1 To what extent would you approve of the Prime Minister's announcement to impose spending cuts in response to the debt crisis?

Strongly disapprove Strongly approve

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1 ()

IMF.Q.1.2 Would you vote for the government after this announcement?

- No (0)
- Yes (1)

Page Break

IMF.B.5 **Here is another summary of the situation again, for your reference:**

- [Ireland/Spain/Portugal/Greece] has experienced a ${e://Field/publicdebt} increase in the level of public debt.

- The Prime Minister is a member of ${e://Field/party}.

- The government will implement ${e://Field/spendingcuts} spending cuts to limit the increase in public debt.

${e://Field/imf_text} .

IMF.Q.2.1 Do you think that, in this debt crisis, the government proved to be a competent or an incompetent manager of the economy?

Completely incompetent Completely competent

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1 ()

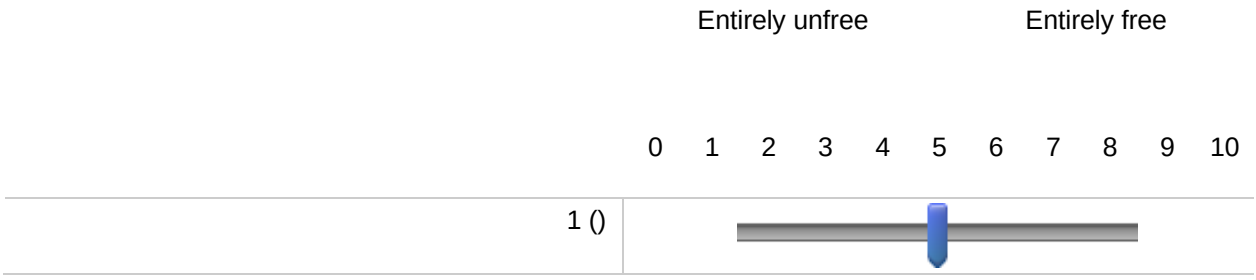
IMF.Q.2.2 Do you think the government's decision to cut spending will be successful or unsuccessful in resolving the debt crisis?

Completely unsuccessful Completely successful

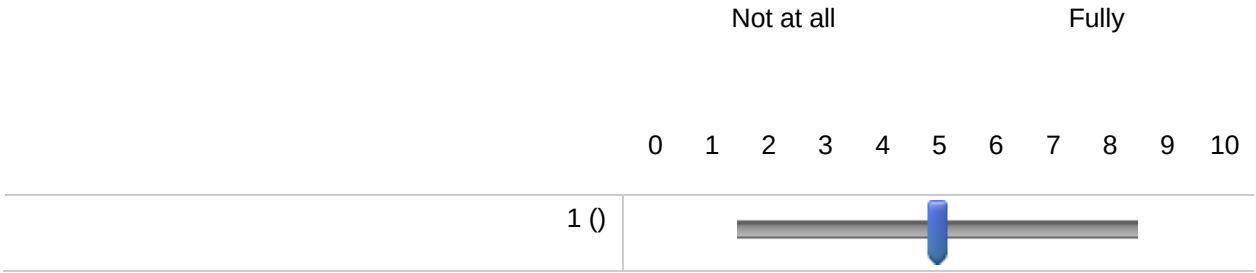
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1 ()

IMF.Q.2.3 To what extent do you think that the government was free to choose its own response to this debt crisis?



IMF.Q.2.4 To what extent do you think that the decision to cut spending matches the views of the Irish voters?



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IMF.B.6 We will now ask you some questions to see how much you remember about the scenario you just read. Please do not go back to the scenario in your browser – just answer the questions as best you can.

IMF.M.1 Which party was the Prime Minister from?

- ○ Fine Gael (1)
- ○ Fianna Fáil (2)

IMF.M.2 Did the government seek assistance from an international organization?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

IMF.M.3 Was the increase in public debt moderate or massive?

- Moderate (1)
- Massive (2)

IMF.M.4 Were the proposed spending cuts moderate or extensive?

- Moderate (1)
- Extensive (2)

End of Block: IMF. Mediation Analysis

Start of Block: Q6. Employment Status and Industry

Q6.1
You have reached the final part of the survey. In what follows, we will ask you to answer a number of questions related to your educational and professional background.

Which statement best describes your current employment status?

- Working (paid employee) (1)
- Working (self-employed) (2)
- Retired (3)
- Still pursuing education (4)
- Not working (looking for work) (5)
- Not working (looking after family or home) (6)
- Not working (disabled) (7)
- Not working (other) (8)
- Prefer not to answer (99)

Skip To: End of Block If You have reached the final part of the survey. In what follows, we will ask you to answer a numbe... = Still pursuing education

Q6.2 Which type of organization do/did you work for?

- Central or local government (1)
- Other public sector (such as education or health) (2)
- State owned enterprise (3)
- Private firm (4)
- Self-employed (5)
- Other (6)
- Refusal (77)
- Not applicable (88)

End of Block: Q6. Employment Status and Industry

Start of Block: Q7. Education and Income

Q7.1 At what age did you finish full-time education?

- 15 or under (1)
- 16 (2)
- 17-18 (3)
- 19 (4)
- 20+ (5)
- Still at school/Full time student (6)
- Don’t remember (99)

Q7.2 Have you passed any of the examinations listed below? Please choose the category that applies to your HIGHEST level of education.

(Followed by country-specific list examinations)

Q7.3 If you add up the income from all sources, what is your household's total net income per month (in Euro)?

- ○ Followed by country-specific income brackets (10 brackets)
- ○ Refuse to answer (55)

End of Block: Q7. Education and Income

Country-specific list of political parties (relevant for Q 3.1, Q 3.3.)

Ireland	**Portugal**	**Spain**	**Greece**
Fianna Fáil	Partido Socialista (PS)	Partido Popular	PASOK
Sinn Féin	Partido Social Democrata (PSD)	Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol (PSOE)	SYRIZA
Fine Gael	Bloco de Esquerda (BE)	Podemos	New Democracy (ND)
Green Party	Partido Comunista	Ciudadanos	People's Association – Golden Dawn
Labour Party	Centro Democratico e Social	Vox	KKE /Communist Party of Greece
Social Democrats	Pessoas-Animais-Natureza (PAN)		ANEL
Solidarity-PBP	Partido Ecologista "Os Verdes"		EK (Enosi Kentroon)
			DIMAR
			LE (Laiki Enotita)
			TP (To Potami)