Religion and Gender in Chile's 2013 Elections

Survey questionnaire—English

Taylor Boas
Amy Erica Smith

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This survey was administered online via Qualtrics from October 29, 2013 to November 16, 2013. Respondents were recruited via advertisements on Facebook, targeted to residents of Chile ages 18 or older. Approval was obtained from the Institutional Review Boards of Boston University and Iowa State University. For assistance with pretesting, we are grateful to David Altman, Ignacio Arana, Rubí Arana, Arturo Arriagada, Matias Bargsted, Paloma Baytelman, Fernanda Boidi, Tomás Chuaqui, Paula Herrera, Matt Singer, Sergio Toro, and several anonymous testers.

The survey is further described, and the results analyzed, in the following publications and working papers:

> Boas, Taylor C. Forthcoming. "Pastors for Pinochet: Authoritarian Stereotypes and Voting for Evangelicals in Chile." *Journal of Experimental Political Science.*

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1. Consent form

2. Do you live in Chile?
   (1) Yes (2) No

3. How old are you? [drop-down menu]

4. Choose the region and comuna where you vote. [drop-down menus]

5. How interested are you in the current electoral campaign? You can choose any point between "not at all" and "a lot."

Not at all o o o o o o o A lot

6. Here is a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means left and 10 means right. When we talk about political tendencies, many people talk about "left" and "right." According to what "left" and "right" mean to you, where are you located on this scale?

1 Left	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Right
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. There are many serious problems in society. Some problems are not so serious for politicians, but are for researchers. For example, sometimes people don't read instructions carefully. To show that you read this, don't choose any of the options below, just type the letter 'k' on your keyboard.

   In your opinion, what is the most serious problem facing the country?

   (1) Crime
   (2) Health
   (3) Education
   (4) Wages
   (5) Drugs
   (6) Employment
   (7) Judicial system
   (8) Inflation
   (9) Housing
   (10) Corruption
   (11) Environment
   (12) Other

8. You can leave the following questions blank if you are unsure of your answer.

   Suppose that Carlos González is running for deputy. He is 42 years old and has finished high school. He is the owner of a local bakery. He has worked in the community for more than 20 years [and he participates actively in the homosexual movement]. [Various evangelical pastors have criticized his political stance.]

   How likely would you be to vote for a person like this?

   Not at all o o o o o o o Very much

   How likely is it that a person like this will be elected?

   Not at all o o o o o o o Very much

9. Evangelical Christians have taken a variety of political positions in Chile. In recent years, the National Evangelical Union has opposed the legalization of abortion and gay marriage. In the 1990s, the National Christian Alliance pushed for the Religion Law, which guarantees to all religious groups the same rights as the Catholic Church. [In the 1970s and 1980s, the Council of Pastors lent their support to the government of Gen. Augusto Pinochet.]

   To what extent to you agree or disagree with the political positions of evangelical Christians in Chile? You can choose any point between "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree."

Strongly disagree o o o o o o o Strongly agree

10. *For respondents from a district with evangelical candidates (varying name/details as appropriate):*

    You can leave the following questions blank if you are unsure of your answer.

    Francesca Muñoz is running for Congress for the Alliance for Chile. She is 33 years old, married, a teacher, [and a member of an evangelical church].

    How likely are you to vote for her? You can choose any point between "not at all" and "very much."

    Not at all o o o o o o o Very much

    For respondents from a district without an evangelical candidate:

    You can leave the following questions blank if you are unsure of your answer.

    Suppose that Alejandro Pérez is running for Congress for the [Alliance for Chile/New Majority *(randomize)*]. He is 35 years old, a businessman, [and a member of an evangelical church]**.**

    How likely are you to vote for a person like this? You can choose any point between "not at all" and "very much."

    Not at all o o o o o o o Very much

Changing the topic, there are many qualities that children should have. If you had to choose, which of the following two characteristics is more important for a child?

11. ☐ Independence, or	☐ Respect for elders
12. ☐ Obedience, or	☐ Self-sufficiency
13. ☐ Creativity, or	☐ Discipline

For each of the following statements, indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the content. You can choose any point between "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree."

14. When there are not enough jobs, men should have more right to work than women. To what extent do you agree or disagree?

    Strongly disagree o o o o o o o Strongly agree

15. Democracy might have problems, but it's better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree?

    Strongly disagree o o o o o o o Strongly agree

16. Chile's current system of government is fair and deserves respect. To what extent do you agree or disagree?

    Strongly disagree o o o o o o o Strongly agree

In Chile, there are politicians with a variety of different religious beliefs. In general, which of the following positions best describes politicians of each religion? You can choose more than one political position for each group.

	Rightist	Leftist	Centrist	Pinochetista	Communist	Progressive	Neoliberal	Conservative
17. Catholic Politicians	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. Evangelical Politicians	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. Atheist/Agnostic Politicians	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

20. People have a variety of different ways to learn about things going on today. Many have a favorite newspaper that they read in order to learn about the situation of the country. Some people read newspapers carefully, but they do not pay close attention to survey questions. To show that you have read this, please ignore the question below and choose none of the above and La Segunda as your answers.

    Which of the following newspapers do you read on a regular basis? (Choose all that apply)

    (13) El Mercurio
    (14) La Cuarta
    (15) La Tercera
    (16) Las Últimas Notícias
    (17) La Segunda
    (18) La Hora
    (19) Publimetro
    (20) El Gráfico
    (21) Hoy x Hoy

(22) None of the Above

21. *The following question will not be asked of the control group (approx. 20% of sample):*

    [Show photo of Michelle Bachelet/Evelyn Matthei.] As you know, [Michelle Bachelet/Evelyn Matthei] is the candidate for president from the [Alianza por Chile/Nueva Mayoría]. She has promised [to improve children's access to health care and education/to combat crime and help Chilean businesses grow].

    To what extent do you agree or disagree with [Bachelet's/Matthei's] political positions?

    Strongly disagree o o o o o o o Strongly agree

22. Some say that in general, men are better political leaders than women. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree?
    (1) Strongly agree
    (2) Agree
    (3) Disagree
    (4) Strongly disagree

23. What is your religion, if you have one?
    (1) Catholic
    (2) Evangelical or Protestant
    (3) None (I believe in a supreme being but I don't belong to any religion)
    (4) Atheist/Agnostic/I don't believe in God
    (5) Other (Jewish, Jehovah's Witness, Mormon, etc.)

24. Do you consider yourself a Pentecostal or charismatic Christian?
    (1) Pentecostal (2) Charismatic (3) Neither

25. How often do you go to religious services?
    (1) More than once a week
    (2) Once a week
    (3) Once a month
    (4) Once or twice a year
    (5) Never or almost never

26. Do you currently identify with a political party?
    (1) Yes
    (2) No

27. *Skip if they answer "no" to the previous question.*

    With which political party do you identify? [drop-down menu]

28. Who did you vote for in the first round of the 2009 presidential election?

(1) Sebastián Piñera
(2) Eduardo Frei
(3) Marco Enríquez-Ominami
(4) Jorge Arrate
(5) I didn't vote or was excused
(6) I cast a blank/spoiled ballot
(7) I don't remember

29. Do you intend to vote in the November 17 election?
(1) Yes
(2) No

30. *Skip if they answer "no" to the previous question.*

For whom will you vote for president of Chile?
(1) Franco Parisi
(2) Marcel Claude
(3) Ricardo Israel
(4) Marco Enríquez-Ominami
(5) Roxana Miranda
(6) Michelle Bachelet
(7) Evelyn Matthei
(8) Alfredo Sfeir
(9) Tomás Jocelyn-Holt
(10) I will cast a blank/spoiled ballot
(11) I don't know

31. Your sex is:
(1) Male
(2) Female

32. What is your level of education?
(1) None
(2) Primary incomplete
(3) Primary complete
(4) Secondary incomplete
(5) Secondary complete
(6) Non-university higher education incomplete
(7) Non-university higher education complete
(8) University incomplete
(9) University complete
(10) Post-graduate, master's, doctorate
(11) Don't remember

33. Would you like to enter the drawing for an iPad?
(1) Yes (In this case, you will go to another site where you will be able to enter your

name and email)
(2) No

Second Qualtrics survey

34. [FOR THOSE ENTERING THE DRAWING]
To enroll in the drawing for an iPad, please type your name and email below. We will get in contact with the person who is selected in December 2013.

Name: _____

Email: _____