Politicians' Theories of Voting Behavior
Variables and Codebook

Politician Survey
Presentation order: Q70-Q72 were displayed in randomized order. Q73-Q78 were then displayed in randomized order.

Q70. Some say that voters often blame or reward politicians for events that are totally outside the politician's control. Others say that voters are good at knowing which events politicians are and are not responsible for. Where would you position yourself in this debate?

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]
0 = Unfairly blame/reward politicians
10 = Fairly blame/reward politicians

Q71. Some say that voters make their decisions based on their policy preferences. Others say that voters' choices have much more to do with their deeply held partisan or other group identities. Where would you position yourself in this debate?

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]
0 = Policy preferences
10 = Partisan or other group identities

Q72. Selecting candidates on promises for the future or past performance: "Some say that voters make decisions based on candidates' policy commitments and promises for the next term. Others say that voters base their decisions on rewarding or punishing their elected representatives for how well they have performed in the previous term. Where would you position yourself in this debate?

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]
0 = Look to the future
10 = Look to the past

Q73. Judging governments on improvements to personal or everyone's lives: "Some say that voters judge governments on whether they've improved everyone's lives. Others say that voters judge governments on whether they've improved their own personal lives. Where would you position yourself in this debate?

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]
0 = Improvements to everyone's lives
10 = Improvements to personal lives

Q75. Making choices based on one or two issues, or a wide range of issues: "Some say that voters make voting decisions based on one or two policy issues they care strongly about. Others say voters decide based on a wide range of policy issues. Where would you position yourself in this debate?

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]
0 = One or two issues

10 = A wide range of issues

Q76. Some say that voters care more about the ideas parties stand for than about the party leader's character and competence. Others say that voters care about the leader's qualities more than the party's platform. Where would you position yourself in this debate?

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = The party's ideas

10 = The leader's character & competence

Q77. Being knowledgeable or largely ignorant about political issues: "Some say that when citizens vote they are by and large knowledgeable about political issues, while others say they generally know very little. Where would you position yourself in this debate?

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Are knowledgeable about political issues

10 = Are ignorant about political issues

Q78. Focusing on the short or the long term: "Some say that voters are impatient and think about the short term when they vote. Others say that voters focus on the long term. Where would you position yourself in this debate?

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Think about the short term

10 = Think about the long term

Citizen Survey

Presentation order: Q70-Q72 were displayed in randomized order. Q73-Q78 were then displayed in randomized order.

> *Note: randomization to "how you vote / position in debate" happened at the level of the respondents, rather than the questions. Half of respondents were assigned to answer all questions in the "how you vote" setup. The other half were assigned to answer all questions in the "position yourself in this debate" setup. This randomization was done using Qualtrics.*

Q70. Some say that voters often blame or reward politicians for events that are totally outside the politician's control. Others say that voters are good at knowing which events politicians are and are not responsible for. [*Randomize*: Which of these views best describes how you vote?/Where would you position yourself in this debate?"]

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Unfairly blame/reward politicians

10 = Fairly blame/reward politicians

Q71. Some say that voters make their decisions based on their policy preferences. Others say that voters' choices have much more to do with their deeply held partisan or other group

identities. [*Randomize*: Where would you position yourself in this debate? / Which of these views best describes how you vote?"]

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

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[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

0 = Look to the future

10 = Look to the past

Q73. Judging governments on improvements to personal or everyone's lives: "Some say that voters judge governments on whether they've improved everyone's lives. Others say that voters
judge governments on whether they've improved their own personal lives. [*Randomize*: Where would you position yourself in this debate? / Which of these views best describes how you vote?"]

[Answer format: 0-10 scale]

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10 = Improvements to personal lives

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[Answer format: 0-10 scale]
0 = Think about the short term
10 = Think about the long term

Additional Variables

Country. The respondent's country.

1 = Australia
2 = Canada
3 = Czechia
4 = Denmark
5 = Flanders (Belgium)
6 = Germany
7 = Israel
9 = Netherlands
10 = Norway
11 = Portugal
12 = Sweden
13 = Switzerland

Type. In pooled datasets, the respondent type.

Citizens = respondents to the public opinion survey
Politicians = respondents to the politician survey.