PREPPS – Political Representation, Executives, and Political Parties Survey
Latin American part

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Expert surveys conducted autumn 2018, mid 2019
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Conditions of use

1. Citation

When using this data please cite as:

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The survey questionnaire translated all of the dimensions below into Spanish, except for Brazil where Portuguese was used. (Original language dimension wording is available upon request from the authors). In the dataset, “score_pos” and “sd_pos” indicate positioning and standard deviation on a policy dimension, while “score_imp” and “sd_imp” indicate these values for the dimension of importance. In the case of the linkage questions, “score_pos” and “sd_pos” indicate the means and standard deviation respectively, with the exception of Civil Society Organizations. These indicate the proportion of respondents having selected that category. The dataset also provides a variable indicating the number of valid answers. We suggest to filter out observations that rely on four or fewer ratings.

- *Errata Note Version 3*: For Colombia, the values for the president sitting (Santos) and the president elect (Duque) were interchanged. No other variables or countries were affected. Please use this version (3) for further analyses.

El cuestionario fue traducido a castellano y – para Brazil – a portugués y está disponible si lo solicitan. En la base de datos, "score_pos" y "sd_pos" indican el posicionamiento y la desviación estándar en una dimensión de política, mientras que "score_imp" y "sd_imp" indican estos valores para la dimensión de importancia. En el caso de las preguntas de vinculación, "score_position" y "sd_position" indican el valor medio y la desviación estándar respectivamente, con la excepción de las organizaciones de la sociedad civil. En este caso los valores indican la proporción de encuestados que seleccionaron esa categoría. La base de datos también proporciona una variable que indica el número de respuestas válidas. Sugerimos filtrar las observaciones que se basan en cuatro o menos clasificaciones.

- *Nota de Errata Versión 3*: Para Colombia se intercambiaron los valores de presidente en funciones (Santos) y presidente electo (Duque). Ninguna otra variable o país se vio afectado. Utilice esta versión (3) para análisis adicionales.

English Dimension Wording

The survey asked respondents to place political actors thinking about the current situation in their respective country. We asked about parties and presidents separately, i.e. the questions about positioning the president appeared in a separate block. Linkage mechanisms were asked for parties only. All questions contained a don’t know option.

ISSUE POSITIONS

Prompt for positioning:
Where would you place each of the political actors on the following issue?

Prompt for importance:
And how important is that issue for each political actor?

TAXES V. SPENDING

Promotes raising taxes to increase public services. (1)
Promotes cutting public services to cut taxes. (20)

SOCIAL POLICY
Favors liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, divorce and euthanasia. (1)
Opposes liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, divorce and euthanasia. (20)

PRIVATIZATION
Promotes maximum state ownership of business and industry, such as gas, oil, electricity and telecommunications. (1)
Opposes all state ownership of business and industry, such as gas, oil, electricity and telecommunications. (20)

ENVIRONMENT
Supports protection of the environment, even at the cost of economic growth. (1)
Supports economic growth, even at the cost of damage to the environment. (20)

DEREGULATION
Favors high levels of state regulation and control of the market. (1)
Favors deregulation of markets at every opportunity. (20)

REDISTRIBUTION
Position on redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor.

Strongly favors redistribution (1)
Strongly opposes redistribution (20)

RELIGION
Supports religious principles in politics. (1)
Supports secular principles in politics. (20)

INDIGENOUS PEOPLE/MINORITIES
Supports the assimilation of minorities and their abidance by the laws the majority needs. (1)
Supports the right of minorities to live their own lifestyle even if this renders necessary special laws. (20)

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES/ SECURITY
Promotes protection of civil liberties, even when this hampers efforts to fight crime/delinquency, violence and organized crime. (1)
Supports tough measures to fight crime/delinquency, violence and organized crime, even when this means curtailing civil liberties. (20)

RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES
Rejects a close relationship of [COUNTRY] with the United States.
Supports a close relationship of [COUNTRY] with the United States

RELATIONS WITH CHINA
Rejects a close relationship of [COUNTRY] with China. (1)
Supports a close relationship of [COUNTRY] with China. (20)

RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION
Rejects a close relationship of [COUNTRY] with the European Union. (1)
Supports a close relationship of [COUNTRY] with the European Unions. (20)

IMMIGRATION
Strongly opposes tough policy against immigration (1)
Strongly favors tough policy against immigration (20)

UNIVERSALISM

A) TRANSFERS
Supports income transfer policies that guarantee generous benefits to all [NATIONALITY] (1)
Supports income transfer policies focused on those people most in need or favors the discretional distribution of transfers to those people. (20)

B) SERVICES
Supports financing high quality public health and education services for all [NATIONALITY] (1)
Does not support financing high quality health and education services or favors the use of public funds for the expansion of private services. (20)

MECHANISMS OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY

A) POPULAR VOTE
Supports politicians having the authority to activate a popular vote by their citizens on important political issues. (1)
Rejects politicians having the authority to activate a popular vote by their citizens on important political issues. (20)

B) CONSTITUTIONAL RATIFICATION
Supports the ratification (or rejection) of constitutional changes by citizens. (1)
Opposes the ratification (or rejection) of constitutional changes by citizens. (20)

C) POPULAR INITIATIVE
Supports citizens having the authority to activate a popular vote on laws (enacted or not) via the collection of necessary signatures.
Rejects citizens having the authority to activate a popular vote on laws (enacted or not) via the collection of necessary signatures. (20)

D) RECALL

Supports citizens having the authority to activate a vote to recall the mandate of an elected representative via the collection of the necessary signatures. (1)
Rejects citizens having the authority to activate a vote to recall the mandate of an elected representative via the collection of the necessary signatures (20)

THE GENERAL LEFT-RIGHT DIMENSION

Please locate each party on a general left-right dimension, taking all aspects of party policy into account.
Left (1) Right (20)

RHETORIC AND APPEALS

PEOPLE-CENTRISM

Refers to the common people as an authentic and homogeneous unit, with which s/he identifies. (1)
Refers more generally to citizens with their different interests and values. (20)

VILIFY

Demonizes and vilifies opponents. (1)
Treats opponents with respect (20)

ANTI-ELITE RHETORIC

For each of the following actors, how important is anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric?
Not important at all (1)
Extremely important (20)

LINKAGE MECHANISMS AND ORGANIZATION

In some democracies, political parties may give or promise benefits to *specific* individual citizens or *identifiable small groups* of citizens. In exchange, politicians anticipate receiving the electoral votes cast by those individuals and small groups of voters. The box below presents several examples of such behavior:

E X A M P L E S

- **A company/industry receives subsidies *if and only if* its management credibly promises to deliver the votes cast by the firm's employees to the victorious party.**
- **A citizen is granted public housing by the authorities *because* authorities know that the citizen supports their political party.**
- ***Only* those poor families that voted for the victorious party receive basic food relief.**

In the questions that follow, you are asked to assess the efforts parties make to organize such transfers of benefits to individual voters and small groups which are expected to deliver their votes in return for such transfers and benefits. The table below should help you assess the amount of effort that politicians exert to mobilize voters in this way:

1	**A negligible effort or none at all**	The party does not use targeted benefits to **mobilise** its **voter or supporter base**.
2	**Only a mild effort**	The party uses the distribution of targeted benefits **sporadically** or to selectively **incentivize** a small **proportion** of its voter and supporter base.
3	**A moderate effort**	The party **regularly** uses targeted benefits to mobilise **part** of its voter and supporter base.
4	**A major effort**	The party **regularly** uses targeted benefits to **mobilise** a **substantial proportion** of its voter and supporter base. *Please note that in reality it may still be a rather small proportion of voters who in fact get such benefits.*

When answering the questions, please, consider the role of targeted material benefits in *national* electoral party competition.

CONSUMER GOODS
Consider whether candidates and parties give or promise to give voters ***consumer goods*** as inducement to obtain their votes, where "consumer goods" entails for example food or liquor, clothes, cookware, appliances, medicines, building materials, etc. *How much effort do candidates and parties expend to attract voters by providing consumer goods?*

PUBLIC SOCIAL POLICY SCHEMES
Consider whether candidates and parties give or promise to give voters ***preferential access to material advantages in public social policy schemes*** as inducement to obtain their votes, where "material advantages" entails, for example, preferential access to subsidized prescription drugs, public scholarships, public housing, better police protection etc. *How much effort do candidates and parties expend to attract voters by providing preferential public benefits?*

PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYMENT
Consider whether candidates or parties give or promise to give voters ***preferential access to employment in the public sector or in the publicly regulated private sector*** as inducement to obtain their vote, where "preferential access to employment" entails, for example, jobs at the post office, janitorial services, maintenance work, jobs at various skill levels in state owned enterprises, or in large private enterprises with government contracts and subsidies, etc. *How much effort do candidates or parties expend to attract voters by providing preferential access to employment opportunities?*

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS
Consider whether candidates or parties give or promise to give voters and businesses ***preferential access to government contracts or procurement opportunities*** as inducement to gain their and their employees' votes, where "government contracts" could entail, for example, public works/construction projects, military procurement projects without competitive bidding to companies whose employees support the awarding party, etc. *How much effort do candidates or parties expend to attract voters by offering them preferential access to government contracts or procurement opportunities?*

REGULATORY RULES
Consider whether candidates or parties influence or promise to influence the ***application of regulatory rules issued by government agencies*** in order to favor individual citizens or specific businesses as inducement to gain their and their employees' vote, where "regulatory rules" could entail, for example, more lenient tax assessments and audits, more favorable interpretation of import and export regulation, less strict interpretation of fire and escape facilities in buildings, etc. *How much effort do candidates or parties expend to attract voters and the businesses for which they work by influencing regulatory proceedings in their favor?*

Now thinking of the use of all of these forms of targeted material benefits, please assess **how effective** political parties are in their efforts to mobilize voters by offering targeted benefits.

1 - Not effective at all
2 - Little effective
3 - Moderately effective
4 - Very effective

Local and municipal-level organizations

Political parties differ greatly in the extensiveness of their local and municipal-level organizations. Some parties have very little organization below national level Executive Committees and Conferences, or maintain local offices and staff only intermittently during important election periods. Other parties have a permanent presence at the local and municipal level, with real estate, professional staff, and ongoing interaction between the community and local party members. *Do the following parties maintain offices and paid staff at the local or municipal level? If yes, are these offices and staff permanent or only during national elections?*

1	2	3	4
Yes, the party maintains permanent offices in MOST municipalities or localities	Yes, the party maintains permanent local offices, in SOME municipalities or localities	Yes, the party maintains local offices, but only during national elections	No, the party does not maintain local offices

Local intermediaries

Some parties have local intermediaries (e.g. neighborhood leaders, local notables, religious leaders) who operate on the parties' behalf. These intermediaries perform a variety of important tasks such as maintaining contact with large groups of voters, organizing electoral support and voter turnout, and distributing party resources to voters and supporters. *Do the following parties or their individual candidates use local intermediaries?*

1	2	3
Yes, they have local intermediaries in MOST municipalities or localities	Yes, they have local intermediaries in SOME municipalities or localities	No, they have almost no local intermediaries

Linkages to civil society organizations

Political parties often have more or less routine and explicit linkages to civil society organizations such as unions, business or professional organizations, and cultural organizations based on religion, language, or ethnicity. The linkages might include leadership and membership overlap, mutual financial support, reserved positions for representatives of these organizations at National Conventions, etc. *Do the following parties have strong linkages to one or more of the following civil society organizations?* ***Please check ALL relevant categories for each party.***

- Unions
- Business associations and professional associations
- Religious Organizations
- Ethnic/ linguistic organizations
- Urban neighborhood associations
- Rural associations / movements
- Women's organizations
- Transnational Migrant organizations

Monitoring

If parties try to monitor specific individuals' or small groups of citizens' voting behavior (including whether they voted or who they voted for), how successful are they in getting that information?

1	2	3	4
Very Successful	Somewhat Successful	Not at All Successful	Does Not Try to Monitor How Individuals Voted

MOBILIZATION

Please indicate to what extent do parties seek to mobilize electoral support by featuring a party leader's *charismatic* personality?*

*Leaders have ***charisma***, if their followers are attracted to their "***personal magic of leadership*** [that] arous[es] special popular loyalty or enthusiasm" (Webster's dictionary). Leaders project charismatic personal capabilities, if they can evoke emotion, affection, faith, loyalty, and even sacrifice on the part of their followers. Charismatic leadership is thus separate from (1) featuring the competence of party leaders to govern or (2) identifying the leader with the attractive policy positions.

Please indicate the extent to which parties seek to mobilize electoral support by emphasizing the attractiveness of the party's *positions on policy issues*.

Please indicate the extent to which parties seek to mobilize electoral support by emphasizing the capacity of the party to deliver *targeted material benefits* to its electoral supporters.

Parties may feature party symbols and rituals to cultivate party identification. They may invoke their historical origins or the achievements of historical leaders. Please indicate the extent to which parties draw on and appeal to voters' *long-term partisan loyalty* ("party identification").

All four questions use the following answering scale

1	2	3	4
Not at all	To a small extent	To a moderate extent	To a great extent