

CHES-LA 2020

**Welcome!**

**Dear colleague,**

We are contacting you because you have been identified as an expert on political parties, public opinion, elections, or legislative behavior in [country]. Our goal is to collect internationally comparable estimates on political party positions. This survey follows several previous studies which CHES (Chapel Hill Expert Survey) has conducted since 1999. Over 1,100 scholarly articles have used CHES data to this date.

Your participation in this survey is particularly valuable given that this will be the first survey of a panel study in Latin America. This survey will be conducted every two or three years, allowing scholars to evaluate how positions of political parties change over a wide range of topics over time.

At the end of the survey, we will give you the option to be listed as a research associate on the CHES website.

We would like you to answer all questions, however, you have the option to skip questions or parties unfamiliar to you. **We would rather that you return an incomplete questionnaire than no questionnaire at all.**

All responses are anonymous, and no identifiable personal data is collected in this survey. Data will be treated in the strictest confidence, under the terms of the European Union Data protection law and will be used solely for the purposes of the CHES survey.

Queries should be sent to the Survey Administrator, [chesla@unc.edu](mailto:chesla@unc.edu)

**We will make the entire dataset available freely publicly on a dedicated website and will email you a link to the full dataset once it is published.**

**Thank you in advance for sharing your expertise with us!**

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Please reflect on the position of the **leadership of national parties and the president in [country] in 2020**. The leadership of a political party consists of the top officials, i.e. the party's chair, the party presidium, and legislative party (as distinct from the party membership base or local and regional party officials).

Below are the abbreviations and full names of national parties in your country.

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Full Name</b>	<b>English Translation</b>
FT	Frente de Todos	Everyone's Front
JC	Juntos por el Cambio	Together for Change
CF	Consenso Federal	Federal Consensus
FI	Frente de Izquierda – Unidad	Workers' Left Front
Fenández	Alberto Fernández	

### Section 1: Ideological Questions

We would like to start with a few questions on the **ideological positions** of political parties and the president in 2020, including party positions, blurring/dissent, and salience.

1. Parties and presidents can be classified in terms of their stance on ECONOMIC ISSUES such as privatization, taxes, regulation, government spending, and the welfare state. Parties on the economic left want government to play an active role in the economy. Those on the economic right want a reduced role for government.

Party	0: Extreme Left	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extreme Right	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

2. Next, some parties and presidents may blur positions on ECONOMIC ISSUES by taking vague, ambiguous, or contradictory stances. In 2020, how BLURRY, would you say, is each party's position on ECONOMIC ISSUES? **[RANDOMIZE WITH QUESTION ON DISSENT BELOW]**

Party	0: Not at all blurred	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extremely Blurred	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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Next, we would like you to think about CONFLICT or DISSENT within the party on ECONOMIC ISSUES. In 2020, how DIVIDED, would you say, has each party been on ECONOMIC ISSUES?

[RANDOMIZE WITH QUESTION ON BLURRING ABOVE]

Party	0: Party was completely united	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Party was extremely divided	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

3. We would like you to think about the SALIENCE or IMPORTANCE of ECONOMIC ISSUES for the following parties and the president. In 2020, how important were ECONOMIC ISSUES to the parties and the president in their public stance?

Party	0: No importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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4. Parties and presidents can be classified in terms of their **VIEWES ON SOCIAL AND CULTURAL VALUES**. “Postmaterialist” parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, divorce, and same-sex marriage. “Traditional” or “authoritarian” parties often reject these ideas; they value order, tradition, and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues.

Party	0: Post-materialist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Traditional	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

5. Some parties and presidents may **BLUR POSITIONS ON TRADITIONAL/POSTMATERIALIST ISSUES**, by taking vague, ambiguous, or contradictory stances. In 2020, how **BLURRY**, would you say, is each party's position on **TRADITIONAL/POSTMATERIALIST ISSUES**? **[RANDOMIZE WITH QUESTION ON DISSENT BELOW]**

Party	0: Not at all blurred	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extremely blurred	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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Next, we would like you to think about the degree of DISSENT within the party on TRADITIONAL/POSTMATERIALIST issues. In 2020, how divided, would you say, has each party been on TRADITIONAL/POSTMATERIALIST issues? [RANDOMIZE WITH QUESTION ON BLURRING ABOVE]

Party	0: Party was completely united	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Party was extremely divided	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

6. In 2020, HOW SALIENT OR IMPORTANT were TRADITIONAL/POSTMATERIALIST issues to the parties and president?

Party	0: No importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

7. Before we move to questions on specific policy dimensions, please tick the box that best describes each party's and the president's OVERALL IDEOLOGY on a scale ranging from 0 (extreme left) to 10 (extreme right).

Party	0: Extreme Left	1	2	3	4	5: Center	6	7	8	9	10: Extreme Right	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

### Section 2: Policy dimensions

Now we would like you to consider where political parties and the president have stood on the following policy dimensions in 2020.

#### 8. What has been the parties' and president's position on responding to the COVID-19 crisis since it emerged in 2020?

Party	0: Prioritizing keeping the economy open	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Prioritizing containing the spread of the virus	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

#### 9. What has been the position of parties and the president on whether the public health emergency created by COVID-19 requires considerable additional concentration of power in the national executive:

Party	0: Does not require additional concentration of power	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Requires considerable additional concentration of power	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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On each dimension, we ask you to assess the **position** of the **party leadership**, and then to assess the **importance/salience** of this dimension for a party's and the president's public stance.

**10. Position on IMMIGRATION in 2020.**

Party	0: Strongly opposes a restrictive policy on immigration	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Fully in favor of a restrictive policy on immigration	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**11. Importance/salience of IMMIGRATION POLICY in 2020.**

Party	0: No importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**12. Next, where did these political parties and the president stand on REDISTRIBUTION in 2020?**

Party	0: Strongly favors redistribution	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly opposes redistribution	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99



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**13. Importance/salience of REDISTRIBUTION for each of the political parties and the president in 2020.**

Party	0: No Importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great Importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**14. Position towards ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY in 2020.**

Party	0: Strongly supports environmental protection even at the cost of economic growth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly supports economic growth even at the cost of environmental protection	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**15. Importance/salience of ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY for each of the following political parties and the president in 2020.**

Party	0: No Importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great Importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**16. Position on improving public services vs. reducing taxes in 2020.**

Party	0: Strongly favors improving public services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly favors reducing taxes	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**17. Importance/salience of improving public services vs. reducing taxes for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.**

Party	0: No Importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great Importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**18. Turning to specific policies, where did political parties and the president stand on DEREGULATION OF MARKETS in 2020?**

Party	0: Strongly opposes deregulation of markets	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly favors deregulation of markets	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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**19. Importance/salience of DEREGULATING MARKETS for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.**

<b>Party</b>	<b>0: No Importance</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10: Great Importance</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**20. Position on LIBERAL SOCIAL POLICIES (e.g. same sex marriage, gender equality).**

<b>Party</b>	<b>0: Strongly supports liberal policies</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10: Strongly opposes liberal policies</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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**21. Importance/salience of LIBERAL SOCIAL POLICIES (For example, same-sex marriage, gender equality) in 2020.**

Party	0: No Importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great Importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**22. Position on the role of RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES in politics.**

Party	0: Strongly opposes religious principles in politics	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly supports religious principles in politics	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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**23. Importance/salience of RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.**

Party	0: No Importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great Importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**24. Position towards TRADE LIBERALIZATION/PROTECTIONISM.**

Party	0: Strongly favors trade liberalization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly favors protection of domestic producers	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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**25. Importance/salience of TRADE LIBERALIZATION/ PROTECTIONISM for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.**

Party	0: No Importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great Importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**26. Position on POLITICAL DECENTRALIZATION to regions (for example, provincias or estados) and localities (municipios).**

Party	0: Strongly favors political decentralization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly opposes political decentralization	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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**27. Importance/salience of POLITICAL DECENTRALIZATION for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.**

Party	0: No Importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great Importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**28. Parties disagree on the best ways to FIGHT CRIME AND IMPROVE CITIZEN SECURITY. Some of them primarily favor addressing the root causes of crime, for example, through employment, education or other social policies. Others, in turn, favor more punitive approaches to addressing crime.**

Party	0: Strongly favors fighting the root causes of crime	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly favors punitive approaches to fighting crime	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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**29. Importance/salience of FIGHTING CRIME AND IMPROVING CITIZEN SECURITY for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.**

<b>Party</b>	<b>0: No Importance</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10: Great Importance</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**30. Position towards advancing RIGHTS FOR INDIGENOUS AND AFRO-DESCENDANT PEOPLES.**

<b>Party</b>	<b>0: Strongly supports advancing rights for indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10: Strongly opposes advancing rights for indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99



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**31. Importance/salience of POLICIES IN FAVOR OF INDIGENOUS AND AFRO-DESCENDANT PEOPLES for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.**

Party	0: No Importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great Importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**32. Position towards COLLABORATION THROUGH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION in which the United States plays a role such as the OAS (Organization of American States), IDB (Inter-American Development Bank), and the World Bank.**

Party	0: Strongly favors strengthening international organizations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Strongly opposes strengthening international organizations	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**33. Importance/salience of collaboration through these types of INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS for each of the following parties and the president in 2020.**

Party	0: No Importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great Importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**Part 3: Characteristics of Political Parties and of the President**

In this next section of the survey, we would like your evaluation of a few characteristics of the parties and the president.

- 34. Some political parties take the position that 'THE PEOPLE' should have the final say on the most important political issues, for example, by voting directly in referendums. At the opposite pole are political parties that believe that ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES should make the most important political decisions. Where do the parties and president fall on this dimension in 2020?**

Party	0: Elected office holders should make the most important decisions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: "The people", not politicians, should make the most important decisions	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

- 35. How salient has ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT AND ANTI-ELITE RHETORIC been to the party and the president over 2020?**

Party	0: No importance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great Importance	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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**36. How salient has REDUCING POLITICAL CORRUPTION (e.g., the stealing, embezzling or misappropriation of public funds for private or partisan gain) been to the party and the president over 2020?**

Party	0: Not Important at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extremely Important	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**37. Could you please assess the power of leadership versus members/activists to make party policy choices?**

Party	0: Members/activist have complete control over policy choices	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Leadership has complete control over policy choices	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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**38. Some political parties believe that the leader of the country should have authority to make decisions WITHOUT LEGISLATIVE OR JUDICIAL CONSTRAINT. Other parties believe that the leader should be ACCOUNTABLE TO THE LEGISLATURE AND COURTS. Where do the parties fall on this dimension?**

<b>Party</b>	<b>0: Favors strong accountability</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10: Favors strong leader</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**39. Importance/salience of ACCOUNTABILITY TO THE LEGISLATURE AND COURTS.**

<b>Party</b>	<b>0: No Importance</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>Great Importance</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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**40. Some actors refer to the common people as an authentic and homogeneous unit, with which they identify. Other actors refer more generally to citizens with different interests and values. Where do the following parties and president fall?**

Party	0: People as homogeneous unit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Citizens with different interests and values	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**41. Some actors DEMONIZE AND VILIFY the opponents. Other actors TREAT OPPONENTS WITH RESPECT. Where do the following parties and president fall?**

Party	0: Demonize and vilify opponents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Treat opponents with respect	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**42. How salient has COMBATING CLIENTELISM OR PATRONAGE (i.e. the appropriation or misuse of public resources through personalistic channels for electoral support) been to the party and the president over 2020?**

Party	0: Not Important at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Extremely Important	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**43. To what extent do parties seek to mobilize electoral support by stressing the PARTY LEADER'S CHARISMATIC PERSONALITY?**

Party	0: Charismatic leadership is not part of mobilization strategy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Charismatic leadership is an important mobilization strategy	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**44. Please indicate the extent to which parties and the president seek to mobilize electoral support by emphasizing the capacity of the party to DELIVER TARGETED MATERIAL BENEFITS to its electoral supporters.**

Party	0: Delivering targeted material is NOT part of party's mobilization strategy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Delivering targeted material benefits is AN IMPORTANT part of party's mobilization strategy	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

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45. 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").

Party	0: Long term partisan loyalty is not part of mobilization strategy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Long term partisan loyalty is an important mobilization strategy	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**46. Sometimes, candidates and parties PROMISE OR GIVE voters some of the following things in exchange for their support:**

- **Consumer goods.**
- **Preferential access to public social policy schemes**
- **Access to employment in the public sector or in the publicly regulated private sector.**
- **Preferential access to government contracts or procurement opportunities.**
- **Influence or promise to influence the application of regulatory rules issued by government agencies.**

**HOW MUCH EFFORT do candidates and parties expend to attract voters by providing these goods and services?**

Party	0: No Effort	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Great Effort	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

**47. Please indicate the extent to which parties seek to mobilize electoral support by emphasizing the attractiveness of the PARTY'S POSITION on policy issues.**

Party	0: Party position on policy issues is not part of mobilization strategy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10: Party position on policy issues is an important mobilization strategy	Don't Know
FT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
JC	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
CF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
FI	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Fernández	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99



#### Section 4: Hypothetical Parties

Finally, we are going to present you with descriptions of 3 hypothetical parties and their views towards ECONOMIC ISSUES. We would like you to place these hypothetical parties on the ECONOMIC DIMENSION.

48. Party A supports a strong role for government in redistributing wealth, protecting jobs, and regulating business. It favors steeply progressive taxes to fund social programs. Where would you place this party on the scale below?

Party A	0: Extreme Left	1	2	3	4	5: Center	6	7	9	10: Extreme Right	Don't Know
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49. Party B believes in small government. It favors minimal regulation of business, supports the privatization of many government operations, and opposes high taxes. Where would you place this party on the scale below?

Party B	0: Extreme Left	1	2	3	4	5: Center	6	7	9	10: Extreme Right	Don't Know
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50. Party C advocates welfare policies within a market economy. This party supports social investment in education and health to spread individual opportunity, while rejecting major income redistribution. Where would you place this party on the scale below?

Party C	0: Extreme Left	1	2	3	4	5: Center	6	7	9	10: Extreme Right	Don't Know
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**Section 5: Expert demographics**

**51. What is your gender?**

1	Male
2	Female
3	Other or Prefer not to choose

**52. In what year were you born? [dropdown]**

**53. In political matters people talk of the economic "left" and the "right". What is your position? Please indicate your views using any number on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "left" and 10 means "right". Which number best describes you?**

0: Left					5: Center						10: Right	Don't Know
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**54. In political matters people talk of the traditional/postmaterialist dimension. What is your position? Please indicate your views using any number on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "traditional/authoritarian" and 10 means "postmaterialist". Which number best describes you?**

0: Traditional											10: Postmaterialist	Don't Know
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**55. Taking all aspects of party policy into account, please score each party in terms of how close it is to your personal views.**

Party	0: Very far											10: Very close	Don't Know
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**56. Would you like to be recognized as a research associate on the CHES website?**

1	Yes
2	No

**57. Would you be willing to answer this survey for another country?**

1	Yes	Which one? [dropdown]
2	No	

Many thanks for your participation! Please visit our website ([www.chesdata.eu](http://www.chesdata.eu)) for free access to all previous waves of the data and follow us on Twitter (@ches\_data) for information regarding the release of the 2020 wave.