# **Appendix: Question Wording and Experimental Instruments**

Note: This appendix presents the English-language translations of all questions and instruments. Respondents were interviewed in the dominant language of their country. In Moldova, respondents could choose to be interviewed in either Romanian or Russian.

#### **QUESTION WORDING**

## **Party Identification**

Please tell me, is there any one among the present parties, movements, and associations about which you would say, "This is my party, my movement, my association"? [yes/no]

[IF YES] Which party, movement, or association is that? Please name it for me.

To what degree does this party, movement, or association reflect your interests, views, and concerns? [it reflects them completely, it reflects them partially]

[IF NO] Please tell me, does there exist a party, movement, or association which more than the others reflects your interests, views, and concerns? [yes/no]

Which party, movement, or association would that be? Please name it for me.

Great Britain

Please tell us, is there any one political party in Britain today about which you would say, "This is my party"? [yes/no]

[IF YES] Which party is that?

To what degree does this party reflect your interests, views, and concerns? [it reflects them completely, it reflects them partially]

[IF NO] Please tell us, is there a party in Britain today that more accurately reflects your interests, views, and concerns than other parties? [yes/no]

Which party would that be?

Bulgaria

**Generally speaking**, do you **usually** identify with the Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Movement of Rights and Freedoms, The National Union Attack, the Blue Coalition, or some other party? Or do you think of yourself as an Independent who stands apart from all parties?

[IF YES] Would you say you identify with this party strongly or not so strongly?

[IF NO] Do you usually think of yourself as closer to one of these parties than the others? If so, which one?

Moldova

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a supporter of the Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Democratic Party of Moldova, The Liberal Party, or some other party? Or do you think of yourself as an Independent who stands apart from all parties?

[IF YES] Would you say you identify with this party strongly or not so strongly?

[IF NO] Do you usually think of yourself as closer to one of these parties than the others? If so, which one?

## **Party Closeness (Identification)**

Russia, Poland, Hungary

Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party, movement, or association? [yes/no]

[IF YES] Which party, movement, or association is that?

[IF MORE THAN ONE] And which party, movement, or association of those you have named do you feel closest to?

[IF NO] Is there a party to which you feel yourself a little closer than to the others? [yes/no]

Which party is that? Name it, please.

[FOR ALL WHO NAME A PARTY] Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?

Great Britain, Bulgaria, Moldova

Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party? [yes/no]

[IF YES] Which part is that? (If you feel close to more than one party, please tell us the name of the one party you feel closest to.)

[IF NO] Is there a party to which you feel yourself a little closer than to the others? [yes/no]

Which part is that?

[FOR ALL WHO NAME A PARTY] Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?

## **Partisan Social Identification Battery**

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following questions about [respondent's preferred party]. Do you strongly agree, more or less agree, more or less disagree, or strongly disagree that...

When I talk about supporters of [respondent's preferred party], I usually say "we" rather than "they."

I don't have much in common with supporters of [respondent's preferred party].

When someone criticizes [respondent's preferred party], it feels like a personal insult.

When [respondent's preferred party] does well in an election or achieves its goals, I feel very proud.

When [respondent's preferred party] does poorly in an election or fails to achieve its goals, I feel very disappointed or upset.

## Political Knowledge

#### RUSSIA

I am going to read you the names of several people. Please say which office each of them occupies.

What position does Sergei Ivanov occupy? [Minister of Defense and/or Deputy Prime Minister]
And Sergei Mironov? {Chairman of the Federation Council]
Mintimer Shaimiev? [President of Tatarstan]
And Aleksei Kudrin? [Minister of Finance]

Is it true or untrue that the State Duma has approximately 100 members?

Russia has had two prime ministers under President Putin. Can you give me their names?

Four political parties received party list seats in the Duma following the 2003 parliamentary election by surpassing 5% of the national vote. Can you please name as many of them that you remember for me?

### **POLAND**

I am going to read you the names of several people. Please say which office each of them occupies.

What position does Radoslaw Sikorski occupy? [Minister of Defense]
And Leszek Balcerowicz? [Chairman of the National Bank of Poland]
And Roman Giertych? [Deputy Prime Minister or Minister of Education or Chairman of the LPR]
And Anna Fotyga? [Minister of Foreign Affairs]

Is it true or untrue that the Sejm has approximately 250 members?

Please name the current Prime Minister.

Six political parties received seats in the Sejm following the 2005 parliamentary election by receiving at least 5% of the national vote. Can you please name as many of them that you remember for me?

#### **HUNGARY**

I am going to read you the names of several people. Please say which office each of them occupies.

What position does Szekeres Imre occupy? [Minister of Defense] And Andras Simor? [Chairman of the National Bank of Hungary] And Veres János? [Minister of Finance] And Göncz Kinga? [Minister of Foreign Affairs]

Is it true or untrue that the National Assembly has approximately 250 members? Please name the current Prime Minister.

Five political parties received seats in the National Assembly following the 2006 parliamentary election. Can you please name as many of them that you remember for me?

#### GREAT BRITAIN

Now we would like to ask you a few factual questions about politics. Some people follow politics all of the time, others are not that interested in politics. We're curious about which facts people remember off the top of their head, without needing to look them up.

If you don't know the answer, you may try your best guess or simply tick the "don't know" option. When a question appears, type up your answer in the box as quickly and accurately as you can. After approximately fifteen seconds the survey will advance automatically to the next question. When you are ready to proceed to the first question, go to the next screen.

For the first set of questions, we are going to ask you about several people. Please say which public office each of them occupies.

What position does Des Browne occupy? [Defense Secretary] How about Mervyn King? [Governor of the Bank of England] How about David Miliband? [Foreign Secretary]

Is the following statement true or false...? "The House of Commons has approximately 450 members."

#### **BULGARIA**

Now we would like to ask you a few factual questions about politics. Some people follow politics all of the time, others are not that interested in politics. We're curious about which facts people remember off the top of their head, without looking them up or asking anyone else. If you don't know the answer, you may guess or simply write "don't know."

First, we are going to ask you about several people. Please write in the box which public office the person occupies.

What position does Simeon Djankov occupy? [Minister of Finance] What position does Angel Marin occupy? [Vice President]

What position does Evgeni Tanchev occupy? [Chair of Constitutional Court] What position does Nickolay Mladenov occupy? [Minister of Foreign Affairs]

What position does Elena Poptodorova occupy? Please choose from the list below.

- 1. Governor of Silistra Oblast
- 2. Minister of Culture
- 3. Minister of Environment and Waters
- 4. Permanent Representative to the United Nations
- 5. Ambassador to the United States

How many deputies are elected to serve in the National Assembly of Bulgaria?

- 1. 200
- 2 240
- 3. 280
- 4. 340
- 5. 400

When did Bulgaria become a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)?

- 1. 1998
- 2. 2000
- 3. 2002
- 4. 2004
- 5. 2006

In the 2009 parliamentary elections, which of the following parties won seats in the National Assembly of Bulgaria? Please mark all of the parties that won seats.

- O Blue Coalition
- O Lider
- O Coalition for Bulgaria
- O Movement of Rights and Freedoms
- O The Greens
- O Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria
- O Order, Law, and Justice
- O The National Union Attack
- O National Movement for Stability and Progress

#### *MOLDOVA*

Now we would like to ask you a few factual questions about politics. Some people follow politics all of the time, others are not that interested in politics. We're curious about which facts people remember off the top of their head, without asking anyone else.

What job or position does Vlad Filat occupy? [Prime Minister]

Who is the current mayor of Chisenau?

What job or position does Iurie Leanca occupy? [Foreign Minister]

What job or position does Dorin Dragutan occupy? [Governor of the Central Bank]

How many deputies are elected to serve in the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova?

- 1. 95
- 2. 99
   3. 101
- 4. 105
- 5. 151

Please tell us the names of as many parties you can remember that won seats in the November 2010 parliamentary elections

#### **Party and Self Placement Issue Batteries**

[proximity experiment treatments]

RUSSIA

#### [Issue #1]

There is a lot of discussion today about matters of legality, law and order, corruption, and crime in Russia. Various points of view exist about how order should be brought about in our country. So what do you think about this? For example, some people believe that order should be introduced at all costs, even if the rights of citizens are violated. Supposed these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people believe that it is necessary to provide order in the country, but citizens' rights must not be violated. Suppose that these people are at the other end of a scale at point 7. And, of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

[1 = order at all costs .... 7 = order without violating rights]

Where would you place the Communist Party of the Russian Federation? How about Unified Russia? Union of Right Forces? Liberal Democratic Party of Russia? Yabloko? Motherland? Now, please tell us where you would place **vourself** on this same scale?

#### [Issue #2]

Some people say Russia committed a huge blunder by beginning market reforms. As a result, they believe that Russia should try, as much as possible, to return to some of the policies that existed under communism. Imagine that these people are at one end of a scale, at 1. Other people think that under socialism the economy worked very poorly and it was necessary to change it. They believe that temporary hardships for most people are unavoidable in any reform, but, to turn Russia into a prosperous country, it is necessary for Russia to to accelerate market reforms. Imagine that these people are at the other end of the scale, at point 7. And, of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

[1 = return to socialism .... 7 = accelerate market reforms]

Where would you place the Communist Party of the Russian Federation? How about Unified Russia? Union of Right Forces? Liberal Democratic Party of Russia? Yabloko? Motherland? Now, please tell us where you would place **yourself** on this same scale?

#### [Issue #3]

Some people think that Russia should work closely with Western countries to combat threats to Russia's security, such as international terrorists. Imagine that these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people think that Western countries cannot be trusted, and therefore Russia should never cooperate with them. Imagine these people are at the other end of a scale, at point 7. And, of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

[1 = cooperate with Western countries .... 7 = never cooperate with Western countries]

Where would you place the Communist Party of the Russian Federation? How about Unified Russia? Union of Right Forces? Liberal Democratic Party of Russia? Yabloko? Motherland? Now, please tell us where you would place **yourself** on this same scale?

#### **POLAND**

# [Issue #1]

There has been a lot of talk recently about crime in Poland. Some people believe that to fight crime it is necessary to be tough, even if means restricting the right and freedoms of ordinary citizens. Supposed these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people believe that it is necessary to fight crime, but without restricting the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens. Suppose that these people are at the other end of a scale at point 7. And, of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

[1 = fight crime at all costs .... 7 = fight crime without violating rights]

Where would you place the Citizen's Platform (PO)? How about Law and Justice (PiS)? Samoobrona RP? Democratic Left Alliance (SLD)? League of Polish Families (LPR)? Polish Peasant's Party (PSL)? Now, please tell us where you would place **yourself** on this same scale?

# [Issue #2]

There was a lot of discussion in the recent election campaigns about the issues of taxes. For example, some people believe that the higher one's income, the higher the percentage at which it should be taxed. Supposed these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people believe that everyone should be taxed the same percentage of his/her income. Suppose that these people are at the other end of a scale at point 7. And, of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

 $[1 = tax \text{ higher incomes at higher percentage} \dots 7 = tax \text{ all incomes at same percentage}]$ 

Where would you place the Citizen's Platform (PO)? How about Law and Justice (PiS)? Samoobrona RP? Democratic Left Alliance (SLD)? League of Polish Families (LPR)? Polish Peasant's Party (PSL)? Now, please tell us where you would place **yourself** on this same scale?

# [Issue #3]

People in Poland have a variety of opinions on the relationship between Polish foreign policy and the European Union (EU). For example, some people believe that Our foreign policy should rely on the closest cooperation with the European Union and acceptance of its rules and laws. Supposed these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people believe that our foreign policy should first of all defend our political and economic independence, even if it leads to withdrawal from the European Union. Suppose that these people are at the other end of a scale at point 7. And, of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

[1 = cooperate closely with EU .... 7 = defend Polish independence even if it means leaving EU]

Where would you place the Citizen's Platform (PO)? How about Law and Justice (PiS)? Samoobrona RP? Democratic Left Alliance (SLD)? League of Polish Families (LPR)? Polish Peasant's Party (PSL)? Now, please tell us where you would place **yourself** on this same scale?

#### *HUNGARY*

## [Issue #1]

There has been a lot of talk recently about crime in Hungary. Some people believe that to fight crime it is necessary to be tough, even if means restricting the right and freedoms of ordinary citizens. Supposed these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people believe that it is necessary to fight crime, but without restricting the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens. Suppose that these people are at the other end of a scale at point 7. And, of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

[1 = fight crime at all costs .... 7 = fight crime without violating rights]

Where would you place the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP)? How about Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Union? Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ)? Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)? Now, please tell us where you would place **yourself** on this same scale?

# [Issue #2]

There has been a lot of discussion in Hungary about the issue of the budget deficit. For example, some people believe that it is necessary to cut the budget deficit, even if that means that social services provided by the state will be reduced and taxes will be raised. Supposed these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people believe that it is more important to preserve social services and minimize the tax burden on Hungarians, even if that means that it will take longer to reduce the budget deficit. Suppose that these people are at the other end of a scale at point 7. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

[1 = cut budget deficit .... 7 = preserve social services]

Where would you place the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP)? How about Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Union? Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ)? Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)? Now, please tell us where you would place **vourself** on this same scale?

### [Issue #3]

People in Hungary have a variety of opinions on the relationship between Hungarian foreign policy and the European Union (EU). For example, some people believe that our foreign policy should rely on the closest cooperation with the European Union and acceptance of its rules and laws. Supposed these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people believe that our foreign policy should first of all defend our political and economic independence, even if it leads to withdrawal from the European Union. Suppose that these people are at the other end of a scale at point 7. And, of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

[1 = cooperate closely with EU .... 7 = defend Hungarian independence even if it means leaving EU]

Where would you place the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP)? How about Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Union? Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ)? Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)? Now, please tell us where you would place **yourself** on this same scale?

#### GREAT BRITAIN

#### [Issue #1]

Various points of view exist about how best to fight crime in our country. Some believe that it is important to reduce crime even if this means occasionally violating the rights of people accused of committing crimes. Others believe that everyone's rights must be protected, even if this means fewer criminals will be caught and punished. Of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

[1 = reduce crime, even if rights are occasionally violated ... 7 = protect rights, even if fewer criminals are caught and punished]

Where would you place the Labour Party? And where would you place the Conservative Party on this scale? Where would you place the Liberal Democrats on this scale? And where would you place the UK Independence Party on this scale? And where would you place Plaid Cymru on this scale? And where would you place the Scottish National Party on this scale? And finally, where would you place yourself on this scale?

## [Issue #2]

The recent nationalisation of the Northern Rock bank caused a lot of discussion about how far, if at all, the state should intervene in our economy. Some people believe that it is sometimes necessary for the state to intervene to protect or nationalise industries, irrespective of the cost to the taxpayer. Others believe that taxpayers' money should not be spent in this way, and that the fate of industries should be left to the market. Of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

[1 = intervene in the economy ... 7 = leave to the market]

Where would you place the Labour Party? And where would you place the Conservative Party on this scale? Where would you place the Liberal Democrats on this scale? And where would you place the UK Independence Party on this scale? And where would you place Plaid Cymru on this scale? And where would you place the Scottish National Party on this scale? And finally, where would you place yourself on this scale?

### [Issue #3]

People have a variety of opinions on Britain's relationship with the European Union (EU). Some people believe that Britain should seek to integrate as closely as possible with the EU. Others believe that Britain should first of all defend our political and economic independence, even if it leads to withdrawal from the EU. Of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between. Please tell us where you would place the political parties on this scale.

[1 = cooperate closely with the EU ... 7 = defend British independence even if it means leaving the EU]

Where would you place the Labour Party? And where would you place the Conservative Party on this scale? Where would you place the Liberal Democrats on this scale? And where would you place the UK Independence Party on this scale? And where would you place Plaid Cymru on this scale? And where would you place the Scottish National Party on this scale? And finally, where would you place yourself on this scale?

#### BULGARIA

[Issue #1] There has been a lot of talk recently about crime in Bulgaria. Some people believe that the government should take tough actions to reduce crime, even if it means restricting the right and freedoms of ordinary citizens. Other people believe that the government must protect the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens at all costs, even if that makes it harder to reduce crime.

Please tell us where you would place **yourself** on this scale?

Now, in your opinion, where would you say each of the political parties below should be placed on this scale (in terms of the policies they support)? Where would you place the Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB)? How about the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)? How about The National Union Attack (Ataka)? How about the Blue Coalition?

[1 = tough actions to reduce crime, even if means restricting freedoms ... 7 = protect rights, even if it makes it harder to reduce crime]

[Issue #2] There has been a lot of discussion in Bulgaria about the budget deficit. Some people believe that it is necessary to cut the budget deficit, even if that means social services provided by the state will be reduced and taxes will be raised. Other people believe that it is more important to preserve social services and minimize the tax burden on Bulgarians, even if that means it will take longer to reduce the budget deficit.

Please tell us where you would place yourself on this scale?

Now, in your opinion, where would you say each of the political parties below should be placed on this scale (in terms of the policies they support)? Where would you place the Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB)? How about the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)? How about The National Union Attack (Ataka)? How about the Blue Coalition?

[1 = it is necessary to cut the deficit, even if that means reducing social services and raising taxes .... 7 = it is more important to preserve social services and minimize taxes, even if that means it will take longer to reduce the deficit]

[Issue #3] People in Bulgaria have a variety of opinions on Bulgaria's relationship with the European Union (EU). Some people believe that we should pursue close cooperation with the EU and full acceptance of its rules and laws. Other people believe that we should defend our political and economic independence, even if it jeopardizes Bulgarian membership in the EU.

Please tell us where you would place **yourself** on this scale?

Now, in your opinion, where would you say each of the political parties below should be placed on this scale (in terms of the policies they support)? Where would you place the Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB)? How about the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)? How about The National Union Attack (Ataka)? How about the Blue Coalition?

[1 = Bulgaria should pursue close cooperation with the EU and full acceptance of its rules and laws ... 7 = Bulgaria should defend its political and economic independence, even if it jeopardizes Bulgarian membership in the EU]

#### *MOLDOVA*

#### [Issue #1]

Please tell us where you would place **yourself** on a 1-7 scale where 1 means that the government should take tough actions to reduce crime, even if it means restricting the rights and freedoms or ordinary citizens and 7 means the government must protect the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens at all costs, even if that makes it harder to reduce crime?

[1 = the government should take tough actions to reduce crime, even if it means restricting the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens ... 7 = the government must protect rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens at all costs, even if that makes it harder to reduce crime]

Now please tell us where you think each of the following parties stands on the same scale: Where would you place the Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM)? How about the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)? How about the Democratic Party of Moldova (DP)? How about The Liberal Party (LP)?

# [Issue #2]

Please tell us where you would place **yourself** on a 1-7 scale where 1 means that Moldova should try, as much as possible, to return to some of the economic policies that existed under Soviet era communism and 7 means that it is necessary for Moldova to move on to a more market-based economy (like what Germany or the United States has) in order to turn Moldova into a prosperous country.

[1 = Moldova should try, as much as possible, to return to some of the economic policies that existed under Soviet era communism .... 7= It is necessary for Moldova to accelerate market reforms in order to turn Moldova into a prosperous country]

Now please tell us where you think each of the following parties stands on the same scale: Where would you place the Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM)? How about the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)? How about the Democratic Party of Moldova (DP)? How about The Liberal Party (LP)?

#### [Issue #3]

Please tell us where you would place **yourself** on a 1-7 scale where 1 means that EU membership would greatly help Moldova and 7 means that EU membership would greatly harm Moldova.

[1 = EU membership would greatly help Moldova ... 7 = EU membership would greatly harm Moldova]

Now please tell us where you think each of the following parties stands on the same scale: Where would you place the Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM)? How about the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)? How about the Democratic Party of Moldova (DP)? How about The Liberal Party (LP)?

# PARTY INFORMATION SHOW CARDS OR SCREENS [policy information experiment treatments]

Russia, Poland, Hungary

[INTRO TEXT] Here is some information about a number of major political parties in [country] today. Please read over this information now, and then I will ask you some questions about these political parties.

Great Britain

[INTRO TEXT] Here is some information about a number of major political parties in [country] today. Please read over this information now, and then you will be asked some questions about these political parties.

Note that, in the control conditions, respondents were shown a card or screen laid out similarly to the treatment card/screen, but all of the policy details were absent. The control versions contained only the party name, symbol, and the name of the party's leader.



# The Communist Party of the Russian Federation

Leader: Genadii Zyuganov

- Retains communist ideals
- Supports a socialist-market economy
- Protects the interests of the working class
- Favors state control of oil and gas companies
- Party of Russian patriots
- Supports Russia as a great power
- Opposes the Euro-Atlantic alliance



#### **Yabloko**

Leader: Grigory Yavlinksy

- Believes state must guarantee individual rights and freedoms
- Supports a new democratic course for Russia
- Supports a free civil society and a law-based state
- Advocates a market based economy, but believe state must ensure equality of opportunity by helping those that are worse off
- Believes Russia should seek to join the European Union and other European institutions
- Opposes war in Chechnya



#### **Unified Russia**

Leader: Boris Gryzlov

- Formed in 2001 by merger of Unity and Fartherland All Russia parties
- Neither a party of the left or right, but instead a pragmatic cnetrist party
- Supports strong presidential power to guarantee political stability
- Wants to reduce the size of the bureaucracy
- Seeks to provide the president with a working majority in the Duma to pass legislation
- Seeks to defend Russia's national interest without predispositions towards allying with or against particular countries



# The Union of Rightist Forces

Leaders: Boris Nemtsov, Nikita Belykh

- For a strong effective government
- Supports a competitive market economy
- Supports additional economic reforms
- Favors strong guarantees of private property
- Supports individual rights and personal freedoms
- Advocates freedom of the press
- Has proposed eliminating conscription and instituting a professional army
- Favors cooperation with the West when it is in Russia's interest



# **Liberal Democratic Party of Russia**.

Leader: Vladmir Zhirinovskii

- Supports a very strong state
- Seeks to eliminate national republics
- Calls for Russian as a single national language
- Seeks reunification with Belarus, Ukraine, and other former Soviet Republics
- Strives for total victory of Russian patriotism against the ideology of Islamic revolution
- Supports free housing for pensioners and young families
- Wants to reform judicial system and institute tougher penalties for criminal acts
- Believes state must ensure law and order



#### **Motherland**

Leaders: Dmitry Rogozin, Sergei Baburin, Sergei Glazev

- Social-patriotic party
- Support a very strong state
- Believes Russia must be vigilant against threats posed by foreigners, including Muslims and Zionists
- Strongly opposes illegal immigration
- Seeks to ensure social justices
- Believes minimum wage should be raised
- Supports renationalization of illegally privatized assets
- In favor of imprisoning corrupt oligarchs
- Strongly opposed monetization of social welfare payments



Experts say this about the party:

- -Created in 2001 from members of UW and AWS
- Supports liberal ideas and policies that assist private entrepreneurs and businesses while also fighting corruption
- Supports a free-market economy and the principle of competition
- Seeks to reduce tax burdens on Polish citizens and companies
- Strongly supports a flat tax
- Seeks to consolidate the Polish stance on the international political stage through alliances in the region, within the EU, and with the USA.
- Center-right party



# Party of Law and Jusice (PiS)

Leader: Jarosław Kaczyński

Experts say this about the party:

- Created in 2001 by many former members of AWS
- Favors a traditional social order
- Supports principal of law and order and a resolute fight against crime and corruption
- Supports a market economy but also believes in protecting those who are weaker economically
- Less interested in privatization and tax cuts than other center-right parties
- Supports integration with the EU, but not at the expense of Polish domestic interests
- Center-right party



# Samoobrona RP (SRP)

Leader: Andrzej Lepper

Experts say this about the party:

- Created from the Samoobrona movement known for its public protests
- Supports policies designed to help the unemployed, former state farm workers and unskilled workers
- Opposed to payment of foreign debts
- Believes state should help fund agriculture
- Hostile towards foreign investment
- Does not oppose the EU, but believes Poland needs to be very careful about protecting its own interests
- Left-wing populist party



# **Polish Peasant Party (PSL)**

Leader: Waldemar Pawlak

Experts say this about the party:

- "dominated by former members of the ZSL, a communist satellite party active from 1949 to 1989"
- Strongly supports subsidies for farmers and agricultural employees
- Has cooperated with a range of parties in government, including both post-communist and postsolidarity parties
- Although initially skeptical of EU membership, actively supports using EU funds to promote Polish agricultural interests.
- Agrarian party that considers itself centrist on other matters



# **Democratic Left Alliance (SLD)**

Leader: Wojciech Olejniczak

Experts say this about the party:

- created by many former members of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR)
- Originally an electoral alliance of several social democratic groups led by the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, in 1999 re-organized and registered as a political party
- Strongly supported and oversaw Poland's accession to the EU
- Seeks to combine concern for working people with responsible state financial policy
- Headed government from 2001-2005
- Pursues pro-US foreign policy
- Member party of Party of European Socialists



# League of Polish Families (LPR)

Leader: Roman Giertych

- Created in 2001 as a bloc of national-catholic parties and movements
- Favors high level of government intervention in the economy
- Opposes selling of land to foreigners
- Seeks to protect traditional values such as religion
- Opposes abortion and gay marriage
- Promotes policies based on the ideas of catholic conservatism
- One of the only organized groups in Poland that opposed EU membership
- Continues to be anti-EU
- Far right party with nationalist views



# Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party(Fidesz) Leaders: Orbán Viktor, Kövér László

Experts say this about the party:

A JÖVŐ SZÖVETSÉGE

- Fidesz was created in 1988 as anticommunist youth movement
- Party was renamed Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party in 1993 and people over 35 were allowed to join
- Controlled the government from 1998-2002
- Strongly supports remedying injustices faced by Hungarian communities in the region outside of Hungary
- Believes state should protect people's economic interests, and opposes changes to health care systems and pensions
- Has led street protests against government over past year
- Increasingly skeptical about benefits for Hungary of EU membership
- Since 1998, considered a conservative and nationalist party



# Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) Leaders: Kóka János, Kuncze Gábor

Experts say this about the party

- Founded in 1988 as a communist opposition party committed to democratic values, rights and liberties
- Supports a free-market economy and the principle of competition
- Support the importance of the rule of law
- Advocate of privatization and reducing budget deficits
- Supports the rights of minority groups within Hungary to participate in the political process
- Has served as a coalition partner of the MSzP in government from 1994-1998 and 2002-the present
- Has always been strongly identified as a liberal party



# Hungarian Socialist Party Leaders: Gyurcsány Ferenc. Hiller István

Experts say this about the party:

- Legal Successor to the communist Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, but renounced Marxism in 1989
- Supports liberal, free market policies
- Lead member of coalition governments from 1994-1998 and 2002-present
- Has in the past been associated with implementing austerity measures to restore fiscal discipline
- Believes government support should be targeted to the neediest members of society
- Opposed to extending Hungarian citizenship to ethnic Hungarians living outside of Hungary
- Strong supporter of Hungarian membership in the EU
- Considered a social-democratic party



# Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) Leaders: Dávid Ibolya, Kálmán Katona



- Established in 1988
- Christian, conservative party
- Led Hungary's first post-communist government from 1990-1994
- Concerned about the rights of Hungarian minorities living outside of Hungary
- Ran for office in coalition with Fidesz in 1998 and 2002, but decided to run separately from Fidesz in 2006
- Supports limited government, free markets, individual responsibility, individual freedom and Judeo-Christian values
- Supports contacts with right-wing American institutions



Leader: **David Cameron** 

Experts say this about the party:

- Created in 1830 from the old Tory Party
- Have been the official opposition party in Parliament since 1997
- Traditionally the party of the right, but under David Cameron it has moved to the centre-right
- Supports a free-market economy and the principle of competition
- Seeks to reduce direct taxation
- Supports traditional family values
- Supports close ties with the USA
- Has been divided over EU membership, but recently has become more anti-Europe



Leader: Nick Clegg

Experts say this about the party:

- Founded in 1988 by merging the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party
- Third largest party in the UK Parliament with 63 seats in the House of Commons
- Promotes social liberalism
- Against state involvement in personal affairs
- Supports higher taxes for the rich
- Supports environmental protection and action to tackle climate change
- The most pro-European party in the UK



Leader: Gordon Brown

*Experts say this about the party:* 

- Formed as a political party in 1906
- Has been in Government since 1997
- Developed from the trade union movement as a democratic socialist party
- Traditionally the main left-wing party, but it moved towards the centre in the late 1980s
- Supports free market economic policies
- Seeks social justice and poverty reduction
- Supports modernization of public services
- Generally a pro-European party



Leader: Nigel Farage

- Established in 1993 by members of the Anti-Federalist League (AFL)
- Currently has one member of Parliament and 10 members of the European Parliament
- Many of UKIP's members are former members of the Conservative Party
- Committed to withdrawing Britain from the European Union.
- Seeks to replace EU membership with agreements on free trade and international cooperation
- Supports lower taxes
- Right-wing, nationalist party

Note: In Great Britain, respondents residing in Wales received information about Plaid Cymru (top of adjacent column) in place of information about UKIP. Respondents residing in Scotland received information about the SNP (bottom of adjacent column) in place of information about UKIP.



# Leader: Ieuan Wyn Jones

Experts say this about the party:

- Founded in 1925
- Won its first seat in the House of Commons in 1966
- Currently has three seats in the House of Commons
- Is the junior partner in a coalition government in the National Assembly for Wales
- Promotes decentralist socialism
- Supports social justice and environmental protection
- Seeks full national status for Wales in the European Union.
- Promotes the use of the Welsh language
- A left-wing, nationalist party



Leader: Alex Salmond

- Formed in 1934 by merging the National Party of Scotland and the Scottish Party
- Has six seats in the House of Commons
- Leads a minority government in the Scottish Parliament
- Promotes social democracy
- Supports higher taxes for the rich
- Committed to an Independent Scotland
- Seeks full national status for Scotland in the European Union.
- A centre-left, nationalist party