**Polarization survey draft**

**Survey 2.**

**SURVEY CONSENT FORM**

**Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study**

**Georgetown University**

**Location:** Online survey implemented in Spain

**Key Information:**The following is a summary of this study to help you decide whether or not to be a part of this study.

**Why am I being invited to take part in a research study?**

We invite you to take part in a research study because you are in the respondents’ pool of 40db survey company.

**What should I know about a research study?**

1. Whether or not you take part is up to you.
2. You can choose not to take part.
3. You can agree to take part and later change your mind.
4. Your decision will not be held against you.

**Why is this research being done?**

The purpose of the research is to learn about views about politics in Spain.

**How long will the research last and what will I need to do?**

We expect that you will be in this research study for 12 minutes. We will ask you to answer to some survey questions and the survey includes reading a news article.

The researchers will not have access to your name or to any information could identify you. You will not be identified in any report or publication resulting from this study. All the published data will be anonymous.

If you agree to participate, after providing consent, you will begin the survey.

**Who can I talk to?**

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, talk to Dr. Laia Balcells at [laia.balcells@georgetown.edu](mailto:laia.balcells@georgetown.edu). This research has been reviewed and approved by an Institutional Review Board (“IRB”). You may talk to them at (202) 687-1506 or [irboard@georgetown.edu](mailto:irboard@georgetown.edu) if:

1. Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
2. You cannot reach the research team.
3. You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
4. You have questions about your rights as a research subject.
5. You want to get information or provide input about this research.

**By clicking “Next”, you confirm you are at least 18, you agree with the above information, and you consent to participate.**

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*Basic demographics (quotas)*

Q1. Do you have Spanish citizenship?

-Yes

-No

[If not a Spanish citizen, stop the survey]

Q2. What is your age?

[If under 18 years old, stop the survey]

Q3. What is your gender?

* Male
* Female
* Other/non-binary

Q4. In which Autonomous Community do you live?

[Autonomous Communities of Spain listed here]

Q5. What is your zipcode?

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*Measure media preference and ideology*

Q6. We are interested in knowing about what kind of media sources people usually prefer to read. If you were given the three options below, which one would you choose?

* El País
* ABC
* I prefer to read other type of media (ej. 20 Minutos, HOLA, Pronto, Marca, El Mundo Deportivo, National Geographic, etc.)

Q7. If you were given a longer list of options, which one would you choose?

* El País
* ABC
* El Mundo
* La Vanguardia
* El Periódico de Catalunya
* La Razón
* La Voz de Galicia
* El Diario de Navarra
* El Correo
* El Día
* El Diario Vasco
* La Nueva España
* El Norte de Castilla
* Heraldo de Aragón
* Ideal
* Diari Ara
* I prefer to read other media (ej. 20 Minutos, HOLA, Pronto, Marca, El Mundo Deportivo, National Geographic, etc)
* Other

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*[Washout. Demographics]*

Q8. What is your level of education completed?

-Less than 5 years of schooling

-Elementary

-Secondary

-High School

-Vocational training

-BA

-MA

-PhD

-Other

-I prefer not to answer

Q9. How many people live in your household?

Q10a. What is your employment status?

* Working
* Retired
* Unemployed
* Student
* Housekeeping
* Other

Q10b. [If Q10a = “Working”]. And you work as…

-Business owner

-Autonomous worker

-For an external employer (fixed contract)

-For an external employer (temporary contract)

-Other

Q11. Adding the **net** monthly income of the people that make up your household, what is your best guess as to your household’s total income each month?

* No income
* Less or equal to 500€
* From 501 to 900€
* From 901 to 1200€
* From 1201 to 1500€
* From 1501 to 2500€
* From 2501 to 4000€
* From 4001 to 6000€
* More than 6000€

Q12. When people talk about politics, they normally talk about “left” and “right”. In a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means “left” and 10 means “right”, where would you place yourself?

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10

Q13. Did you vote in the last general elections of November 2019?

-Yes

-No

Q14. If there were to be national elections tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

[Rotate order of parties randomly]

* PSOE
* PP
* Vox
* Podemos
* Sumar
* ERC
* Junts per Catalunya
* CUP
* PNV
* Bildu
* BNG
* UPN
* Coalición Canaria
* Others
* I don’t know

Q15. Could you say who has been the latest President of the Congress during this last legislature?

* Meritxell Batet Lamaña
* Alberto Núñez Feijóo
* Cuca Gamarra
* Pedro Sánchez
* Irene Montero
* No lo sé

Q16. We would like to know if you are paying attention. Please ignore the following question and select ‘unemployment’ as the least important issue. Of the following issues, which one would you say is the least important issue facing your country today?

* Health care
* Unemployment
* Refugee crises
* COVID-19
* Crime
* Education
* Relations with other countries
* Global warming

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*Reading articles*

[Random topic: **conflict / economy / immigration / nuclear energy**, same probability (1/4)]

[For each topic, assign El País, ABC, o control condition, with same probability (1/3)]

Q17. We will now show you an article. Please, read it with attention before answering the following questions.

[SHOW CORRESPONDING ARTICLE]

Q18-22. We would like to know your general impression about the article. You might have read some ideas you generally agree with, disagree with, or a mixture of both. Any case is OK. But thinking about the article in general, how it is written, how the ideas are presented, and so on, how likely would you:

[very likely - likely - not likely - not likely at all]

Q18. Look up for more information on the topic from the same source.

Q19a. Look up for more information on different sources.

Q19b. [**Only If Q19a = “likely” o “very likely”**] ¿In which source would you look for more information?

* + El País
  + ABC
  + El Mundo
  + La Vanguardia
  + El Periódico de Catalunya
  + La Razón
  + La Voz de Galicia
  + El Diario de Navarra
  + El Correo
  + El Día
  + El Diario Vasco
  + La Nueva España
  + El Norte de Castilla
  + Heraldo de Aragón
  + Ideal
  + Otro

Q20. Discuss the article with a family member or a friend.

Q21. Share the article on social media.

Q22. Discuss the article publicly (e.g. post a message about it, send a letter to the source)

Q23. Generally speaking, do you agree with the article?

[completely agree / agree / neither agree nor disagree / disagree / completely disagree]

Q24. Have your views about this topic changed after reading this article?

-No, I think the same as before

-Not much

-Fairly

-Very much, I think very differently now

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*Topic questions*

[If **conflict condition**: only Q24-Q28]

[If **economy condition**: only Q29-Q33]

[If **immigration condition**: only Q34-Q38]

[If **nuclear energy condition**: only Q39-Q43]

**Conflict condition**

Q25-29. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

[completely agree / agree / neither agree nor disagree / disagree / completely disagree]

Q25. Passing a new Law of Historical Memory is necessary to achieve true reconciliation from the Spanish Civil War and Francoism.

Q26. The divisions and resentment brough about by the Civil War and Francoism have already been forgotten. It is useless to talk about them.

Q27. Create a public list of victims of the Civil War and Francoism is necessary to achieve a true reconciliation.

Q28. Passing a new Law of Historical Memory is negative because it opens old wounds and divides even more the Spanish people.

Q29. Issues such as Historical Memory or Francoism are irrelevant for people like me.

**Economy condition**

Q30. To reduce inflation, the government should limit the prices of basic goods and services.

Q31. Price control would reduce the cost of essential goods and services.

Q32. State intervention in the economy is always detrimental to the general welfare.

Q33. Price control would lead to a situation of scarcity of basic goods and services.

Q34. In order for a society to thrive, more freedom should be given to businesses and excessive regulation or taxes should be avoided, which can hinder the economy.

**Immigration condition**

Q35. Increased immigration is beneficial for our economy and society.

Q36. The presence of immigrants may result in less job opportunities for Spaniards.

Q37. The government should take measures to promote the integration of immigrants into our society, including providing them access to education and employment.

Q38. Our culture and society would not change even if immigration were to increase.

Q39. Although Spain has experienced immigration in recent years, it can still accommodate many more immigrants.

**Nuclear energy condition**

Q40. Nuclear energy should be promoted as one of the main sources of energy for Spain.

Q41. Nowadays, nuclear energy is a clean and low-risk energy source.

Q42. Nuclear energy is a good alternative to fossil fuels such as oil, coal, and natural gas.

Q43. The risks associated with nuclear energy, including accidents and waste, do not outweigh its benefits.

Q44. We should not only refrain from building more nuclear power plants, but also immediately close the ones that are already operational.

Q45.**[Exclude if respondent is in control condition and thus read 20 Minutos]** Generally speaking, would you say the article you just read is biased towards the left, biased towards the right, or neutral?

* Biased towards the left
* Biased towards the right
* Neutral

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*General questions*

*Trust questions*

Q46: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?

1 Most people can be trusted.

2 Need to be very careful.

Q47. How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically?

[Sliding scale: Not at all important - Absolutely important]

Q48-Q56: I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them?

Q48. The Spanish government

Q49. Your regional government

Q50. Political parties

Q51. The armed forces

Q52. The police

Q53. The judges

Q54. Businessmen

Q55. The European Union

Q56. Trade Unions

*Affective polarization*

Q57. We would like to know what you think about each of the following political parties. Please rate them on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If you do not like or dislike a party in particularly, you should choose a value of 5. If there is any party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so.

[random option order]

1. PSOE
2. PP
3. VOX
4. Unidas Podemos
5. Ciudadanos
6. ERC
7. Junts per Catalunya
8. EAJ-PNV
9. Bildu

Q58. And now, using the same scale from 0 to 10, we would like to ask you how much you like or dislike the voters of each of these political parties.

[random option order]

1. PSOE voters
2. PP voters
3. VOX voters
4. Unidas Podemos voters
5. Ciudadanos voters
6. ERC voters
7. Junts per Catalunya voters
8. EAJ-PNV voters
9. Bildu voters

Q59. Suppose that someone who votes for [least liked party in Q52] moved in as your new neighbor. How would you feel, on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means very uncomfortable and 10 means very comfortable?

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10

Q60. And how would you feel if you had a son or daughter and they got married to someone who votes for [least liked party in Q52]? Please respond using the same scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means very uncomfortable and 10 means very comfortable.

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10

Q61. In a scale where a 0 means “left” and a 10 means “right’, where do you place yourself?

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10

Q62. Could you indicate how Spanish do you identify in a scale 0-10 where 0 means you do not feel Spanish at all and 10 means you feel very Spanish?

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10

Q63. And could you indicate how **[regional id]** do you feel in a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that you do not feel **[regional id]** y 10 means very **[regional id]**?

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10

We are now going to ask you a few questions about the Spanish civil war and the Francoist dictatorship:

Q64. Which side do you think caused more deaths during the Spanish Civil War?

1. Nationalist/Francoist
2. Republican/Loyalist
3. Both about the same

Q65. Who do you think was responsible for the outbreak of the Civil War?

1. The Left
2. The Right
3. Both the Left and the Right

Q66a. In your opinion, should an independent commission be created to investigate human right violations during the Civil War?

1. Yes
2. No

Q66b. And to investigate human right violations during Franco’s regime?

1. Yes
2. No

Q67. And to exhume all the mass graves from the Civil War?

1. Yes
2. No

Q68. In your opinion, ¿what should be done with the Valley of the Fallen?

1. Leave it as it is
2. Turn it into a museum dedicated to all the victims of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism
3. Demolish it
4. Other
5. I don’t know

[**Randomize** Q69a/Q69b, 0.5 probability each]

Q69a. Now support you move to a new apartment or house within your neighborhood. How would you feel if most of your neighbors sympathize with the Republican side of the Civil War? Please respond using the same scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means very uncomfortable and 10 means very comfortable.

Q69b. Now support you move to a new apartment or house within your neighborhood. How would you feel if most of your neighbors sympathize with the Nationalist side of the Civil War? Please respond using the same scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means very uncomfortable and 10 means very comfortable.

**DEBRIEF**

​​You have now completed the survey. Thank you for your time and participation. Below is a debriefing about the purpose of the study.

This survey was designed to measure how people evaluate information from different news media sources. The article you were asked to read and comment on was **entirely fictional**. While the content of the article was based on existing news sources and references real people and events, the claims and quotes in the article were entirely fabricated for the purpose of the study.

The researchers provided you with some fictional information in order to have more control over the message being delivered and the reactions to the message. The information that you provided will help the researchers to better understand how people form political attitudes. The researchers regret these small deceptions, but found them necessary in order to more precisely measure the desired outcomes.

Thank you again for your participation in this research. If you have any further questions, please contact [estudiomedioses@gmail.com](mailto:estudiomedioses@gmail.com)

Q70. If you have any comments about the survey or would like to add anything else about the topics covered in the survey, you can do it here:

[open ended survey]