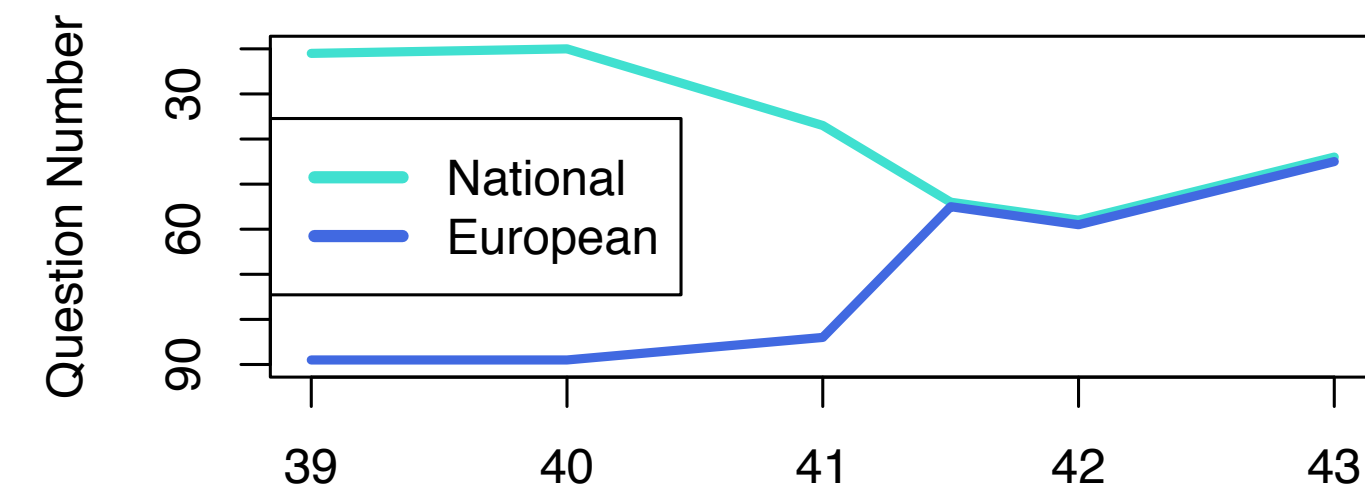


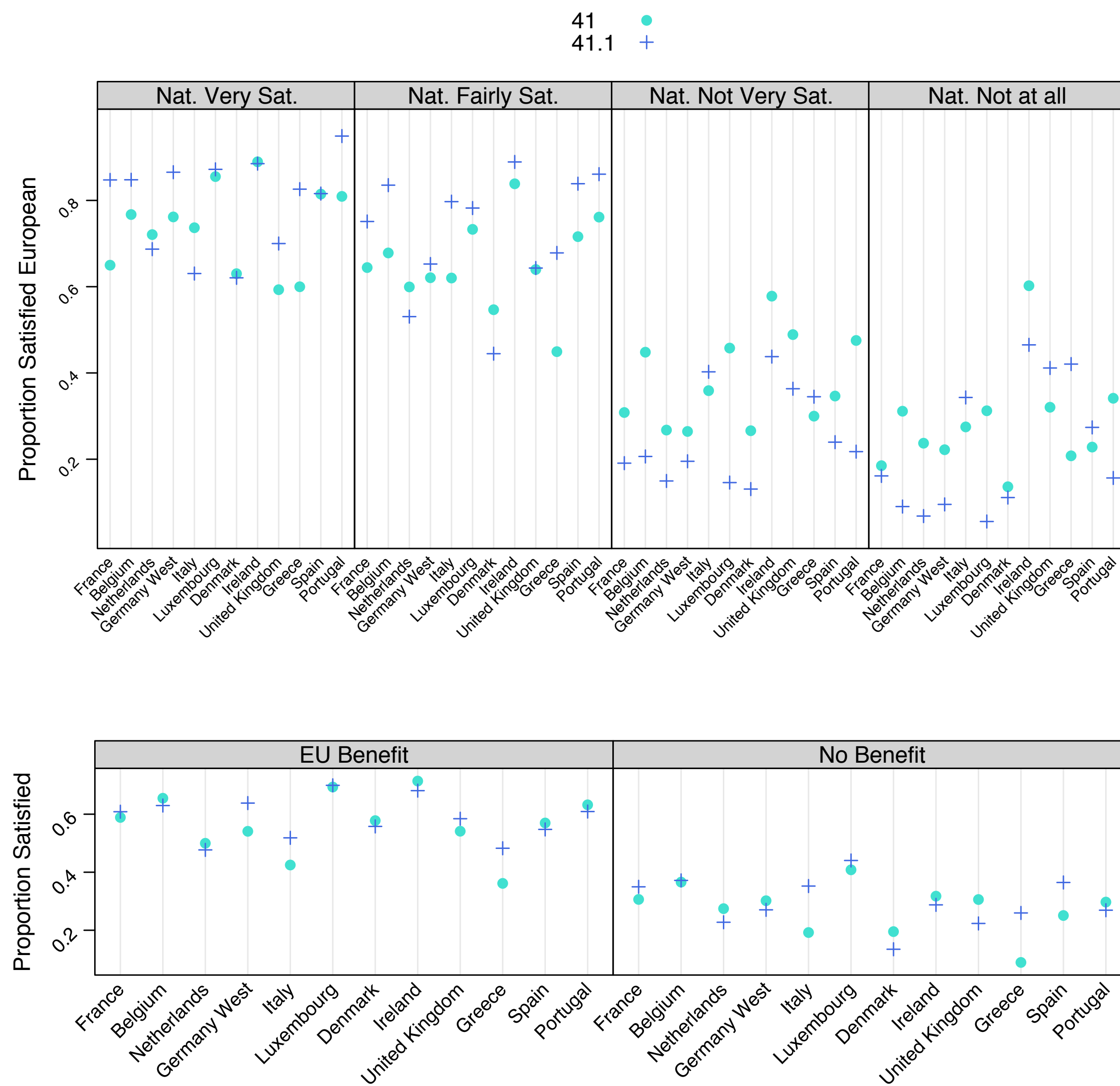
	40	41	41.1	42
Country-Aggregate Cor.	.89	.84	.35	.18
Individual Cor.	.30	.30	.42	.36



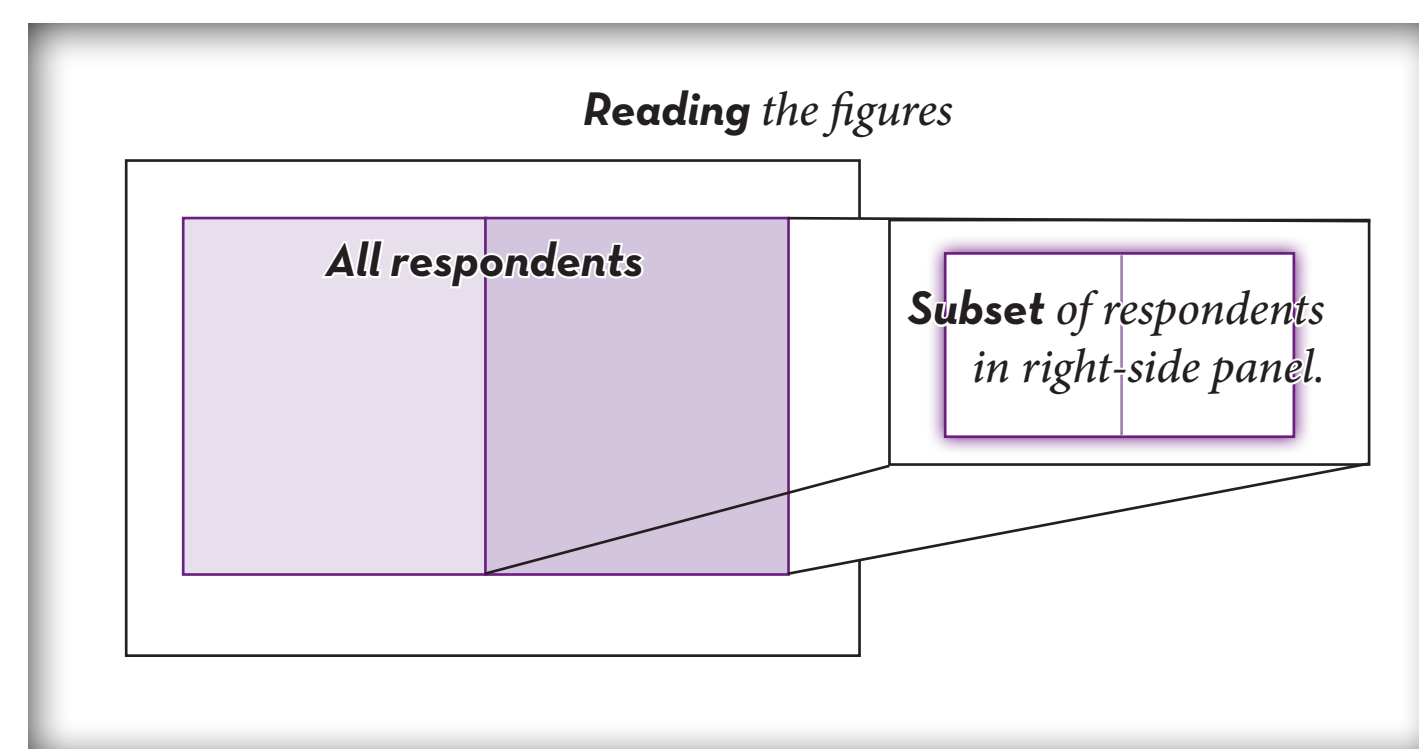
What happened in 1994 to cause this change? The Eurobarometer survey moved the satisfaction questions (EU and national). Prior to Summer 1994, these questions were separated by as many as 69 other questions. Starting with EB41.1 in June 1994 and continuing today, the EU satisfaction with democracy question is asked immediately after the national one.

**Weighted correlation** between percent satisfied with National and European democracy, for Euro-12 country series (aggregate) and for individuals. The country-series correlation declines, while individual bivariate correlations go up, suggesting that respondents across countries are more likely drawing on the same aspects of the a multidimensional "satisfaction" attitude. However, correlation does not imply correspondence. The aggregate series indicate that the increase in satisfaction with the EU that is associated with an increase in satisfaction with national democracy is based on different baseline levels of EU satisfaction across countries. These baselines are less connected to levels of satisfaction with national democracy after the survey change.

**Polarization** seemed to result when the question about EU democracy was posed immediately after that for national democracy. Given a "satisfied" national response, respondents became more likely to express satisfaction with the EU – the post-treatment results are higher in most countries. Similarly, given dissatisfaction with national institutions, the juxtaposition caused respondents in most countries to be more dissatisfied with the EU institutions as well.



**By contrast** the change in question ordering did not affect how respondents' evaluations of the performance of the EU relate to their satisfaction with democracy at the EU level. In fact, believing that the EU has benefited one's country is a much weaker predictor of satisfaction with EU democracy than national satisfaction, especially after the order change.



# A SURVEY EXPERIMENT ON SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY

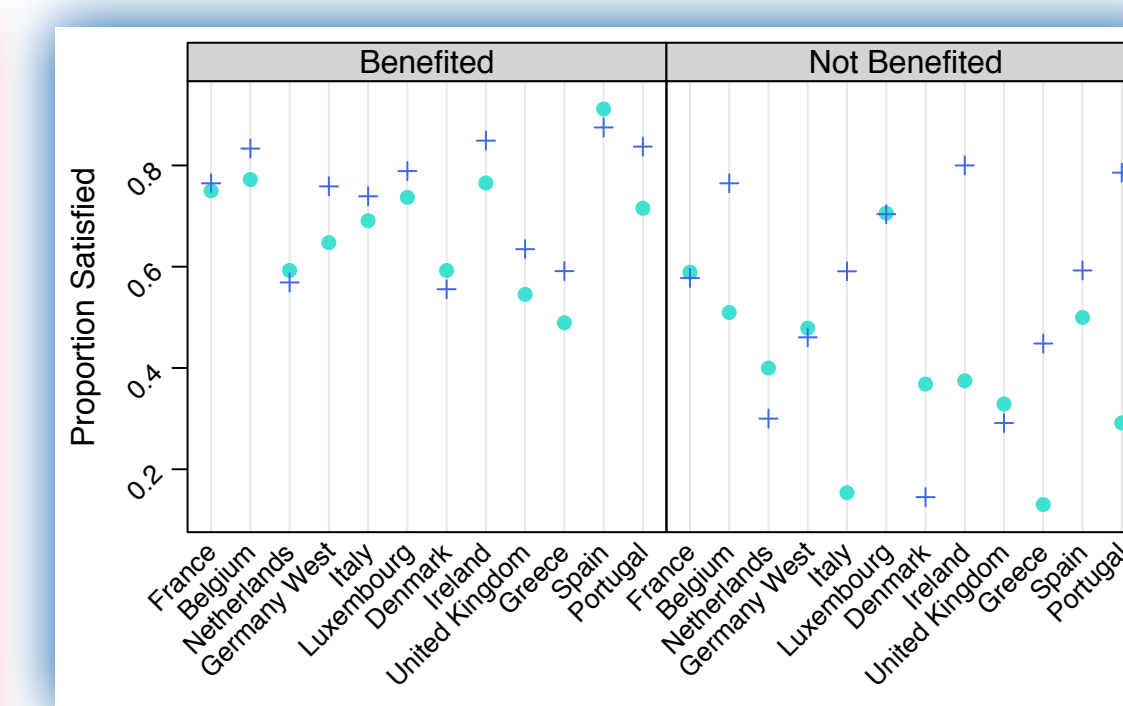
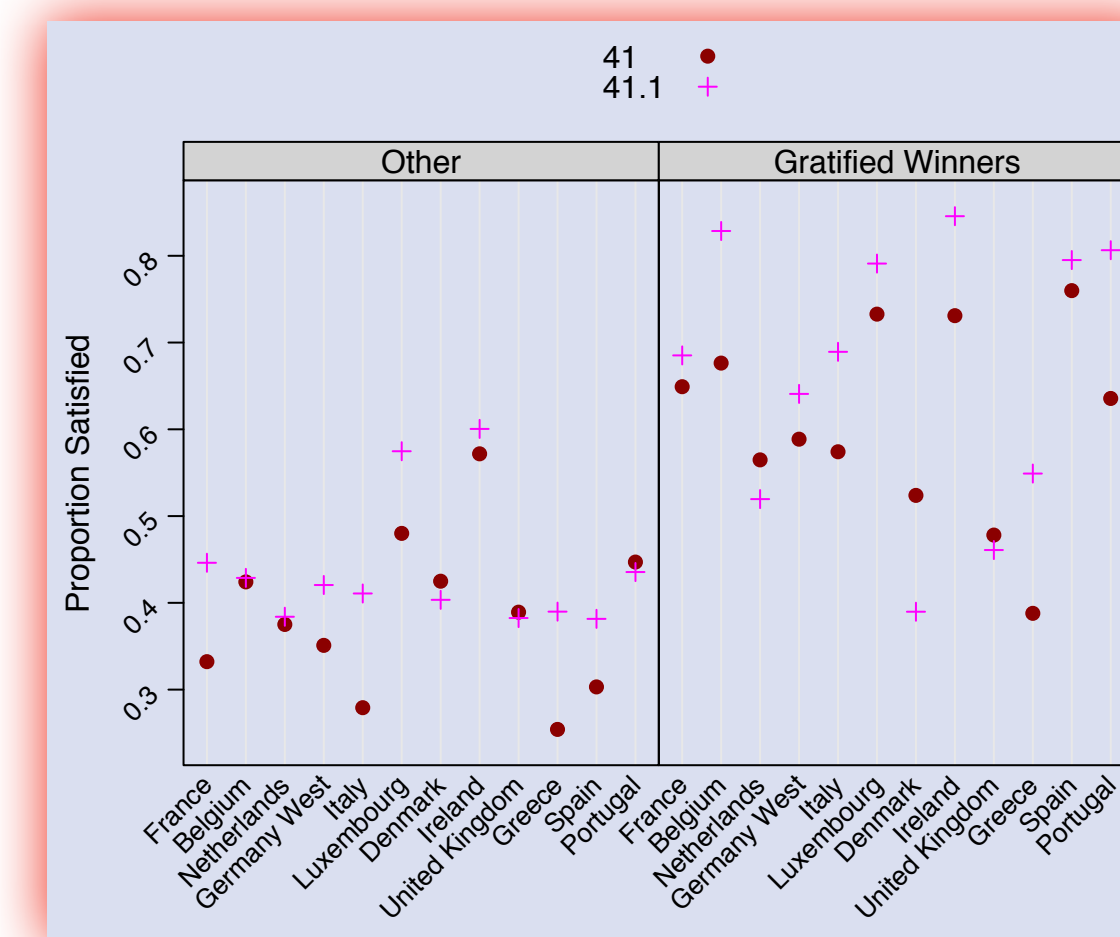
## How Question Order Shapes Respondents' Evaluations of Democratic Institutions

Michael Malecki and Matthew J. Gabel  
Washington University in St. Louis

	National Government	
	Winner	Loser
Satisfied with National Democracy	Gratified Winner	Committed Loser
Dissatisfied with National Democracy	Disillusioned Winner	Sore Loser

The effect of the survey change varies by country. Specifically, **France, Germany, Spain, and Luxembourg** experience mainly an “anchoring” effect, where respondents who are most (least) committed to national institutions adjust their satisfaction with the EU down (up) after the survey treatment. For **other countries**, national support (opposition) leads to greater (lower) EU satisfaction – an apparent “projection” effect.

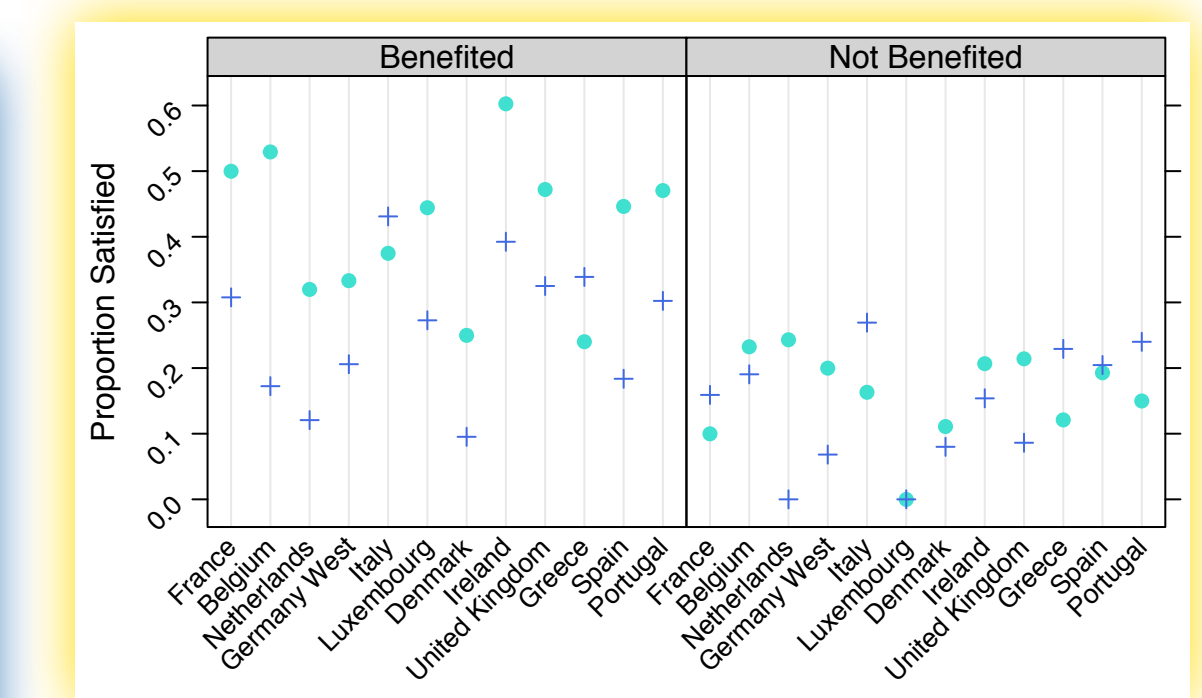
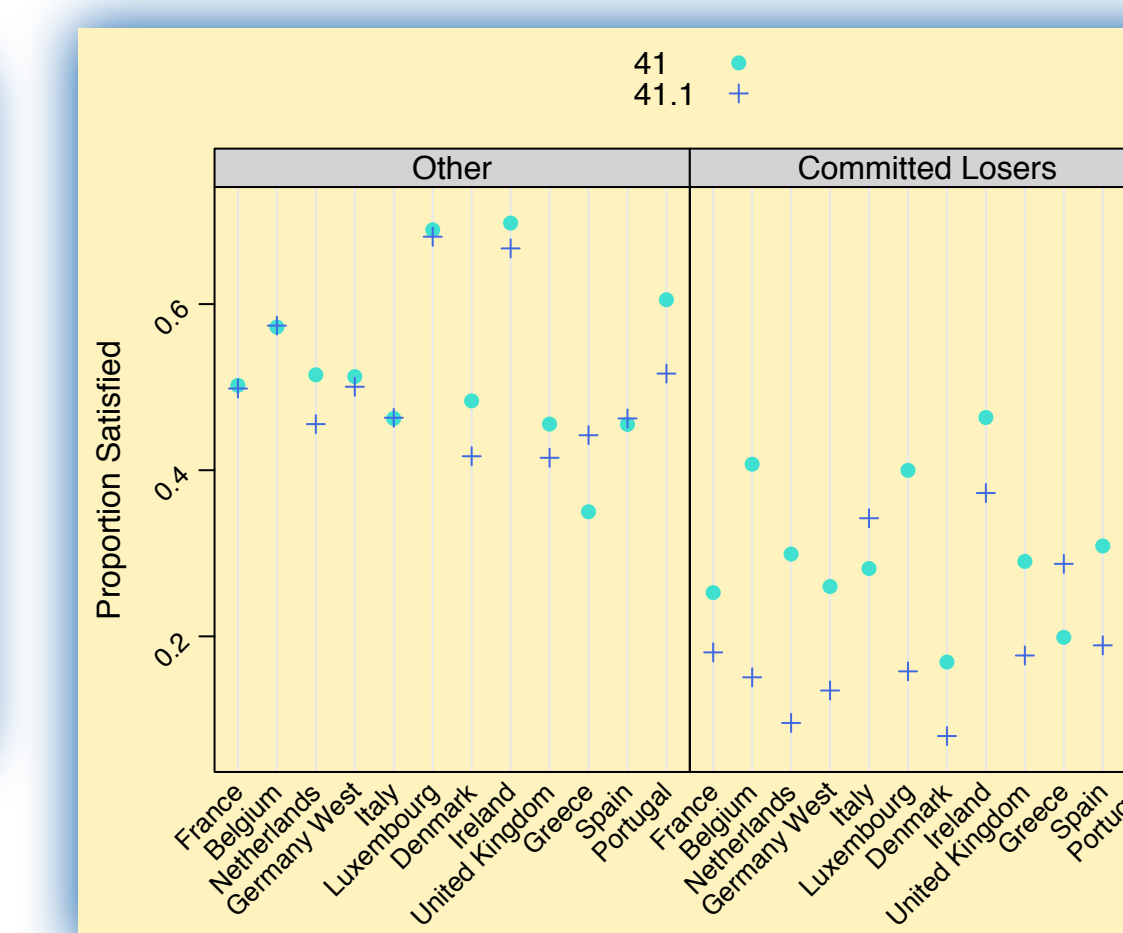
**Gratified Winners** support national democracy and the incumbent government – both of which reinforce their satisfaction with democracy and the outputs of government. The survey question order causes them to think about the activities of the European Union through this lens too. In almost all countries, gratified winners view the EU more positively when the survey frames EU democracy as an extension of national institutions.



**EU-favorable** Gratified Winners were satisfied with EU democracy; for most countries, the survey effect increased EU satisfaction.

**Gratified Winners** who did not perceive EU benefits varied widely in treatment effect

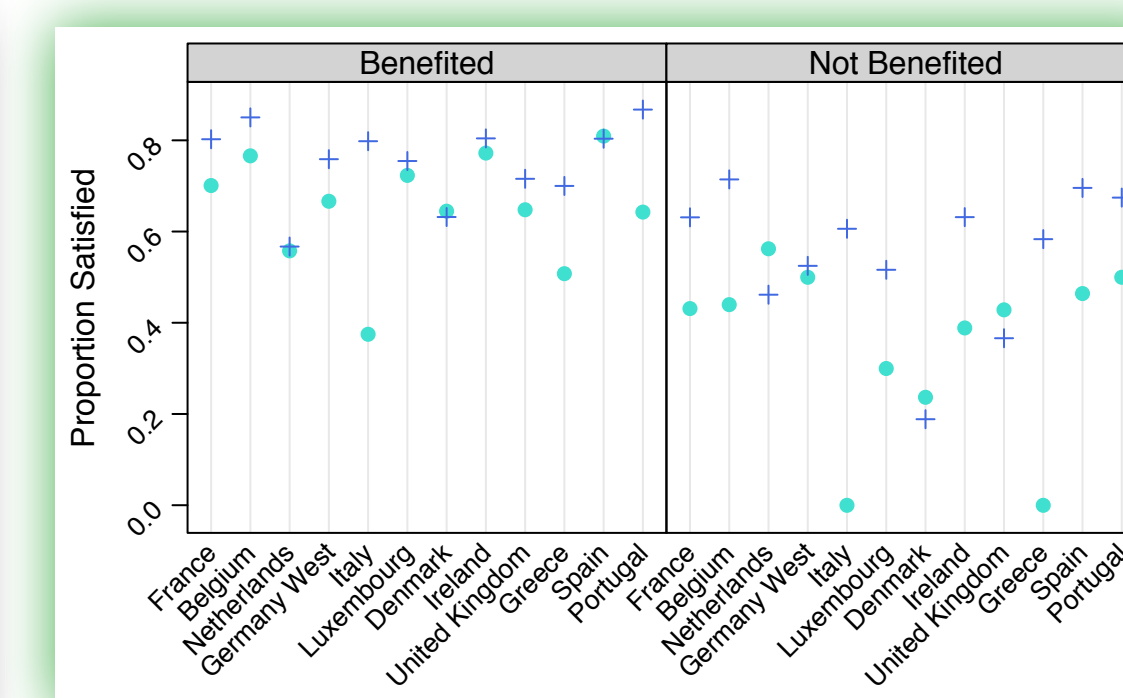
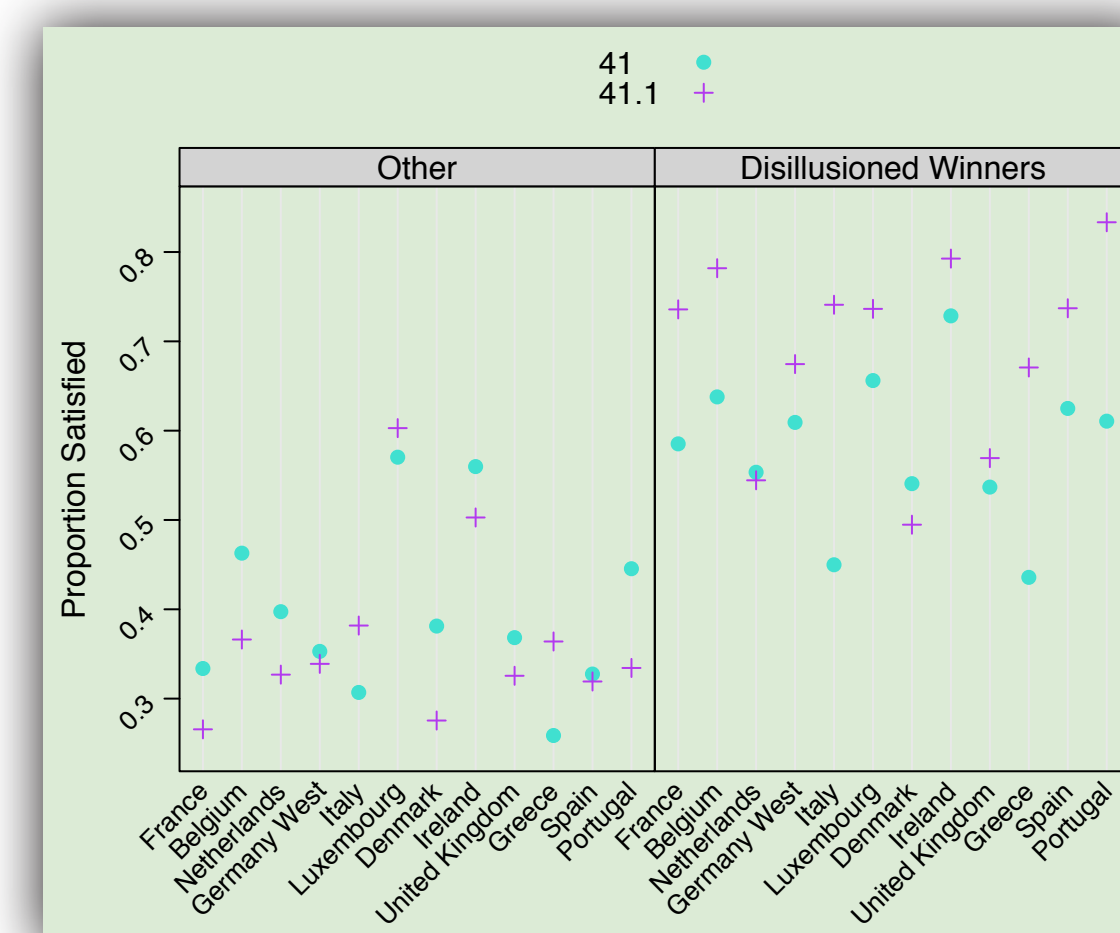
**Committed Losers** are satisfied with national institutions even when the parties they support are not in power. When the survey causes them to think about European democracy as a contrast to their national context, they rate it lower.



**However**, the survey effect may remind Committed Losers that EU power comes at the expense of the national government and institutions they support, even if they believe the EU has produced benefits.

**Most** Committed Losers were affected strongly by the national-institution frame.

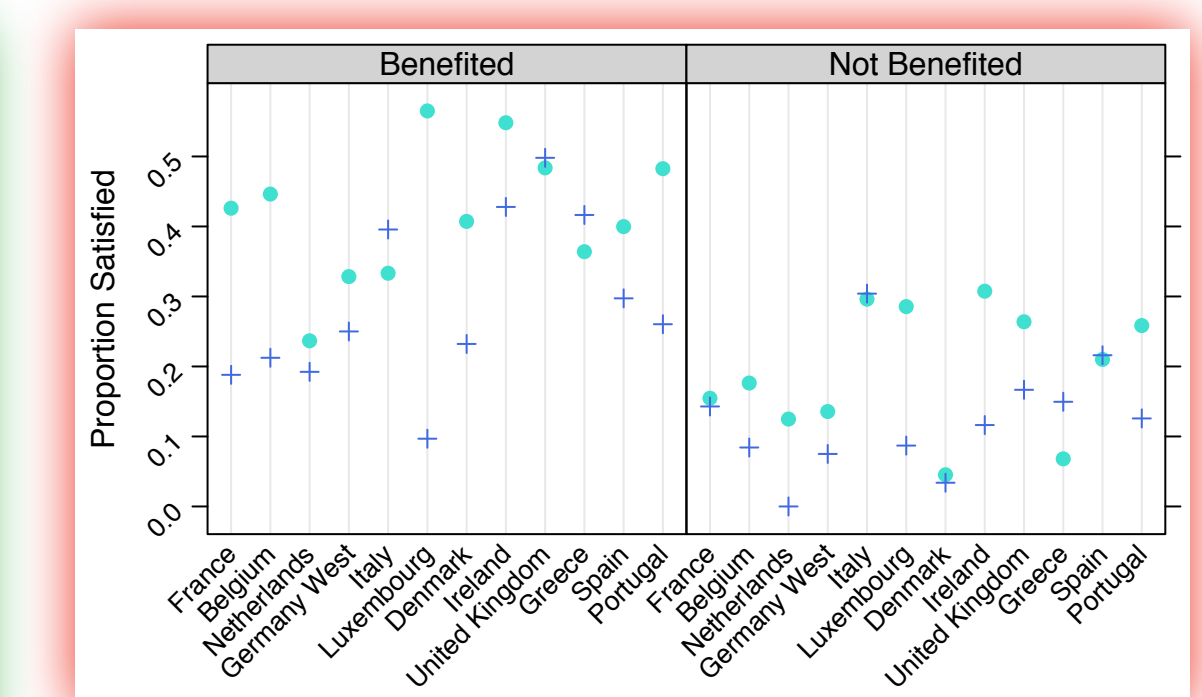
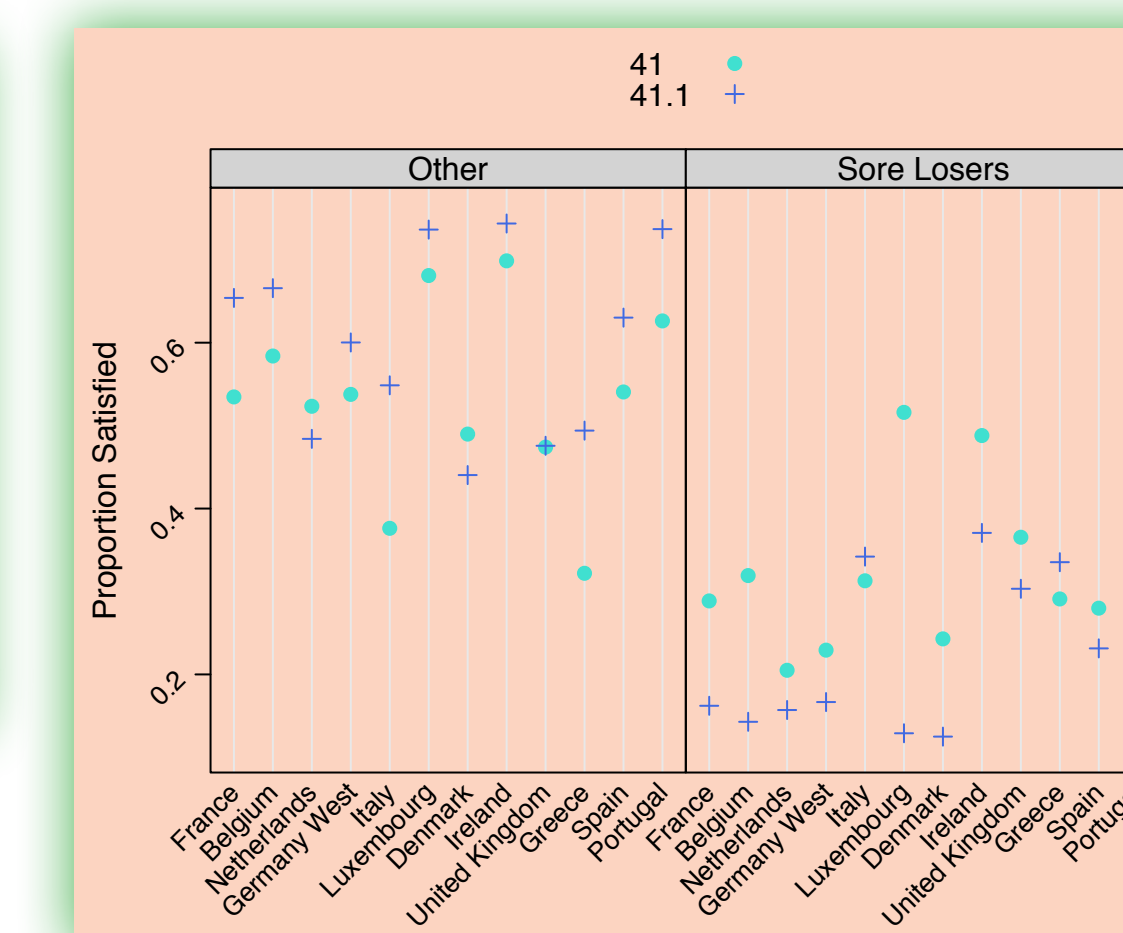
**Disillusioned Winners** do not support national democratic institutions even when their preferred parties are in government. They are relatively less likely to perceive a benefit from the EU, which leads them to decrease their satisfaction with EU democracy post-treatment.



**Most** Disillusioned Winners who believed their country had benefited from the EU were only slightly affected by the treatment.

**However**, those who believed their country had not benefited were surprisingly more likely to indicate satisfaction with EU democracy, except in relatively Euro-skeptical countries.

**Sore Losers** support neither the executive nor the national regime institutions. Like Disillusioned Winners, they are unlikely to see benefits of membership, except in countries such as Italy and Greece that stand out here, where institutions are notoriously lacking and on average citizens are less satisfied with them.



**Wide variation** by country characterizes both the relationship of EU performance and the survey effect on satisfaction.

**Those who deny** EU benefits were almost universally more likely to indicate dissatisfaction with the EU when the question order changed.