

# Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2017

## CODEBOOK

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In the 2017 Chapel Hill Expert Survey, 228 experts estimated positioning of 132 parties in 14 EU member states. The online survey was launched mid-January and ran for approximately three weeks. The online survey was administered with Qualtrics.<sup>1</sup>

Country	# political parties	# expert evaluations
Czech Republic	9	14
Estonia	6	15
France	10	20
Germany	9	14
Greece	9	13
Hungary	8	22
Italy	12	15
Netherlands	13	15
Poland	9	22
Portugal	8	12
Slovakia	10	20
Spain	10	14
Sweden	10	18
United Kingdom	9	14
	132	228

## General Questions

**COUNTRY** = unique identifier for each country.

Country ID	Country Abbreviation	Country
3	<b>GER</b>	Germany
4	<b>GR</b>	Greece
5	<b>ESP</b>	Spain
6	<b>FR</b>	France
8	<b>IT</b>	Italy
10	<b>NL</b>	Netherlands
11	<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
12	<b>POR</b>	Portugal
16	<b>SWE</b>	Sweden
21	<b>CZ</b>	Czech Republic
22	<b>EST</b>	Estonia
23	<b>HUN</b>	Hungary
26	<b>POL</b>	Poland
28	<b>SLO</b>	Slovakia

<sup>1</sup> Prior waves (1999, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014) can be downloaded from <https://www.chesdata.eu>.

**YEAR** = year for which party experts were asked to evaluate: 2017.

**EXPERTS** = number of experts who evaluated this party.

**PARTY\_ID** = unique identifier for each party.

**PARTY** = party abbreviation

Country	Party ID	Party Abbrev	Party Name	Party Name (English)
<b>GER</b>	301	CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands	Christian Democratic Union of Germany
	302	SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands	Social Democratic Party of Germany
	303	FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei	Free Democratic Party
	304	Grünen	Bündnis '90; Die Grünen	Alliance 90; The Greens
	306	Linke	Die Linke	The Left
	308	CSU	Christlich Soziale Union in Bayern	Christian Social Union in Bavaria
	310	AfD	Alternative für Deutschland	Alternative for Germany
	350	LKR	Liberal-Konservative Reformer	Liberal Conservative Party
	351	BLAU	Die Blaue Partei	The Blue Party
	<b>GR</b>	401	PASOK	Panellinio Sosialistikó Kínima
402		ND	Néa Dimokratía	New Democracy
403		SYRIZA	Synaspismó's Rizospastikís Aristerás	Coalition of the Radical Left
404		KKE	Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas	Communist Party of Greece
412		ANEL	Anexartitoi Ellines	Independent Greeks
413		Potami	To Potami	The River
414		DIMAR	Dimokratiki Aristera	Democratic Left
415		XA	Laïkós Síndesmos—Chrysí Avgí	Popular Association-Golden Dawn
450		EK	Enosi Kentroon	Union of Centrists
<b>ESP</b>	501	PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party
	502	PP	Partido Popular	People's Party
	504	IU	Izquierda Unida	United Left
	506	EAJ/PNV	Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea/ Partido Nacionalista Vasco	Basque Nationalist Party

	507	EA/EH BILDU	Eusko Alkartasuna/ Euskal Herria Bildu	Basque Solidarity/ Basque Country Unite
	511	ERC-CatSI	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	Republican Left of Catalonia
	517	CC	Coalición Canaria	Coalición Canaria
	525	Podemos	Podemos	We Can
	526	C's	Ciudadanos- Partido de la Ciudadanía	Citizens- Party of the Citizenry
	550	CDC/PDeCAT	Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya/ Partit Demòcrata Europeu Català	Democratic Convergence of Catalonia/ Catalan European Democratic Party
<b>FR</b>	601	PCF	Parti Communiste Français	French Communist Party
	602	PS	Parti Socialiste	Socialist Party
	605	EELV	Europe Ecologie Les Verts	Europe Ecology—The Greens
	609	LR	Les Républicains	The Republicans
	610	FN	Front National	National Front
	613	MODEM	Mouvement Démocrate	Democratic Movement
	621	NC	Nouveau Centre	New Center
	626	LREM	La République en Marche	The Republic on the Move
	627	Insoumis	La France Insoumise	France Unbowed
	628	DLF	Debout la France	France Arise
<b>IT</b>	811	LN	Lega Nord	Northern League
	814	UDC	Unione de Centro	Union of the Centre
	815	FI	Forza Italia	Forward Italy
	827	SVP	Südtiroler Volkspartei	South Tyrolean People's Party
	837	PD	Partido Democratico	Democratic Party
	843	CD	Centro Democratico—Diritti e Libertá	Democratic Centre
	844	FdI	Fratelli d'Italia	Brothers of Italy
	845	M5S	Movimento Cinque Stelle	Five Star Movement
	847	VdA	Vallée d'Aoste	Aosta Valley
	850	SI	Sinistra Italiana	Italian Left
	851	MDP	Progressista	Democratic and Progressive Movement
	852	AP	Alternativa Popolare	Popular Alternative

<b>NL</b>	1001	CDA	Christen-Democratisch Appel	Christian Democratic Appeal
	1002	PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid	Labour Party
	1003	VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy
	1004	D66	Democraten 66	Democrats 66
	1005	GL	GroenLinks	GreenLeft
	1006	SGP	Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij	Political Reformed Party
	1014	SP	Socialistische Partij	Socialist Party
	1016	CU	ChristenUnie	Christian Union
	1017	PVV	Partij voor de Vrijheid	Party for Freedom
	1018	PvdD	Partij voor de Dieren	Party for the Animals
	1020	50PLUS	50PLUS	50PLUS
	1050	Denk	Denk	Think/Equality
	1051	FvD	Forum voor Democratie	Forum for Democracy
<b>UK</b>	1101	Cons	Conservative Party	Conservative Party
	1102	Lab	Labour Party	Labour Party
	1104	LibDem	Liberal Democratic Party	Liberal Democratic Party
	1105	SNP	Scottish National Party	Scottish National Party
	1106	Plaid	Plaid Cymru	Party of Wales
	1107	Greens	Green Party	Green Party
	1108	UKIP	UK Independence Party	UK Independence Party
	1150	SF	Sinn Féin	Ourselves
	1151	DUP	Democratic Unionist Party	Democratic Unionist Party
<b>POR</b>	1201	CDU/PCP-PEV	Coligação Democrática Unitária	Democratic Unitarian Coalition
	1202	CDS-PP	Partido Popular	People's Party
	1205	PS	Partido Socialista	Socialist Party
	1206	PSD	Partido Social Democrata	Social Democratic Party
	1208	BE/O Bloco	Bloco de Esquerda	Left Bloc
	1209	MPT	Partido da Terra	Earth Party
	1250	PAN	Pessoas-Animais-Natureza	People-Animals-Nature
	1251	PDR	Partido Democrático Republicano	Democratic Republican Party
<b>SV</b>	1601	V	Vänsterpartiet	Left Party
	1602	SAP	Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti	Swedish Social Democratic Party
	1603	C	Centerpartiet	Center Party

	1604	FP	Folkpartiet Liberalna	Liberal People's Party
	1605	M	Moderata Samlingspartiet	Moderate Party
	1606	KD	Kristdemokraternah	Christian Democrats
	1607	MP	Miljöpartiet de Gröna	Environment Party— The Greens
	1610	SD	Sverigedemokraterna	Sweden Democrats
	1611	PIRAT	Piratpartiet	Pirate Party
	1612	FI	Feministiskt Initiativ	Feminist Initiative
<b>CZ</b>	2101	CSSD	Česká strana sociálně demokratická	Czech Social Democratic Party
	2102	ODS	Občanská Demokratická Strana	Civic Democratic Party
	2103	KSCM	Komunistická strana Cech a Moravy	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia
	2104	KDU-CSL	Křesťanská demokratická unie - Československá strana lidová	Christian Democratic Union—Czechoslovak People's Party
	2109	TOP09	TOP09	TOP09
	2111	ANO2011	ANO2011, Akce nespokojených občanů	ANO2011, Action of Dissatisfied Citizens
	2114	Pirates	Pirátská strana	Pirate Party
	2115	SPD	Svoboda a přímá demokracie	Freedom and Direct Democracy
	2116	STAN	Starostové a nezávislí	Mayors and Independents
<b>EST</b>	2201	IRL	Erakond Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit	Pro Patria and Res Publica Union
	2202	EK	Eesti Keskerakond	Estonian Center Party
	2203	ER	Eesti Reformierakond	Estonian Reform Party
	2204	SDE	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond	Social Democratic Party
	2208	EVE	Eesti Vabaerakond	Estonian Free Party
	2209	EKRE	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond	Conservative People's Party of Estonia
<b>HUN</b>	2301	MSzP	Magyar Szocialista Párt	Hungarian Socialist Party
	2302	Fidesz	Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség	Fidesz- Hungarian Civic Union
	2308	JOBBIK	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom	Jobbik- Movement for a Better Hungary
	2309	LMP	Lehet Más a Politika	Politics Can Be Different
	2310	E14	Együtt – A Korszakváltók Pártja	Together-Party for a New Era

	2311	DK	Demokratikus Koalíció	Democratic Coalition
	2312	PM	Párbeszéd Magyarországért	Dialogue for Hungary
	2313	MLP	Magyar Liberális Párt (Liberálisok)	Hungarian Liberal Party
<b>POL</b>	2601	SLD	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	Democratic Left Alliance
	2603	PO	Platforma Obywatelska	Civic Platform
	2605	PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	Law and Justice Party
	2606	PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	Polish People's Party
	2613	TR	Twój Ruch (Ruch Palikota)	Your Movement (Palikot's Movement)
	2617	Kukiz	Kukiz'15	Kukiz'15
	2618	Novo	Nowoczesna	Modern
	2619	Korwin	Wolność (Korwin-Mikke)	Liberty (Korwin- Mikke)
	2620	Razem	Partia Razem	Together Party
<b>SLO</b>	2803	Smer	Smer–sociálna demokracia	Direction- Social Democracy
	2804	SMK-MDP	Strana maďarskej komunity	Party of the Hungarian Community
	2805	KDH	Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie	Christian Democratic Movement
	2809	SNS	Slovenská národná strana	Slovak National Party
	2812	SaS	Sloboda a Solidarita	Freedom and Solidarity
	2813	Most-Híd	Most–Híd	Bridge
	2814	OlaNO- NOVA	Obyčajní Ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti-NOVA	Ordinary People and Independent Personalities-NOVA
	2816	Siet	Siet'	Network
	2817	Kotleba LSNS	Ľudová strana – Naše Slovensko (Marian Kotleba)	People's Party- Our Slovakia
	2818	Sme Rodina	Sme Rodina	We Are Family

**VOTE**= vote percentage received by the party in the national election most prior to 2017.

**SEAT**= seat share of the party in the national elections most prior to 2017.<sup>2</sup>

**ELECTIONYEAR**= year for national election most prior to 2017, used to calculate **VOTE** and **SEAT**.

<sup>2</sup> When vote information is not available for separate coalition partners, vote percentage is calculated on the basis of the proportion of seats held by the coalition partner in parliament.

**FAMILY**= family attribution is based primarily on Derksen classification (now incorporated in Wikipedia), triangulated by a) membership or affiliation with EP party families b) ParlGov classifications<sup>3</sup> and c) self-identification.<sup>4</sup>

Family ID	Family
1	Radical Right
2	Conservative
3	Liberal
4	Christian Democratic
5	Socialist
6	Radical Left
7	Green
8	Regionalist
9	No Family
10	Confessional
11	Agrarian/Center

**GOVT**= government participation in 2017.

- 0= Party not in government
- 0.5= Party in government for part of the year
- 1= Party in government full year

Entries for the questions on the following pages are the mean of expert responses for a particular party.

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<sup>3</sup> Holger Döring and Philip Manow. 2016. "Parliament and governments database (ParlGov): Information on parties, elections and cabinets in modern democracies."

<sup>4</sup> Note: We endeavor to carefully classify all parties; however, some parties are easier to categorize than others. For instance, some parties fit into two or more categories (e.g., Lega Nord can be classified as Radical Right and Regionalist). CHES users are advised to review family codings to ensure they match their own research goals.



## General Questions on European Integration

**POSITION**= overall orientation of the party leadership towards European integration.

- 1 = Strongly opposed
- 2 = Opposed
- 3 = Somewhat opposed
- 4 = Neutral
- 5 = Somewhat in favor
- 6 = In favor
- 7 = Strongly in favor

**EU\_SALIENCE**= relative salience of European integration in the party's public stance [11-point scale].

- 0 = European Integration is of no importance, never mentioned.
- :
- 10 = European Integration is the most important issue.

**EU\_DISSENT** = degree of dissent on European integration [11-point scale].

- 0 = Party was completely united.
- :
- 10 = Party was extremely divided

## Specific EU Policy Questions

**EU\_ASYLUM** = position of the party leadership on a common policy on political asylum.

- 1= Strongly opposes
- :
- 7= Strongly favors

**EU\_BUDGETS** = position of the party leadership on EU authority over member states' economic and budgetary policies.

- 1= Strongly opposes
- :
- 7= Strongly favors

## Ideological Questions

**LRGEN** = position of the party in terms of its overall ideological stance.

0= Extreme left  
:  
5= Center  
:  
10= Extreme right

**LRECON** = position of the party in terms of its ideological stance on economic issues. Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on economic issues. Parties on the economic left want government to play an active role in the economy. Parties on the economic right emphasize a reduced economic role for government: privatization, lower taxes, less regulation, less government spending, and a leaner welfare state.

0= Extreme left  
:  
5= Center  
:  
10= Extreme right

**LRECON\_CLEAR** = clarity of a party's position on economic issues.

0= Not at all clear  
:  
10= Completely clear

**LRECON\_SALIENCE** = relative salience of economic issues in the party's public stance in **YEAR**.

0= No importance  
:  
10= Great importance

**GALTAN** = position of the party in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights. "Libertarian" or "postmaterialist" parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, active euthanasia, same-sex marriage, or greater democratic participation. "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.

0 = Libertarian/Postmaterialist  
:  
5 = Center  
:  
10 = Traditional/Authoritarian

**GALTAN\_CLEAR** = clarity of a party's position on libertarian/traditional issues.

0= Not at all clear

:

10= Completely clear

**GALTAN\_SALIENCE** = relative salience of libertarian/traditional issues in the party's public stance.

0= No importance

:

10= Great importance

## **Policy Questions**

**IMMIGRATE\_POLICY** = position on immigration policy.

0= Fully opposed to a restrictive policy on immigration.

:

10= Fully in favour of a restrictive policy on immigration.

**IMMIGRA\_SALIENCE** = importance/salience of immigration policy.

0= No importance

:

10= Great importance

**IMMIGRATE\_DISSENT** = degree of dissent on immigration policy [11-point scale]

0= Party was completely united

:

10= Party was extremely divided

**MULTICULTURALISM** = position on integration of immigrants and asylum seekers (multiculturalism vs. assimilation).

0= Strongly favors multiculturalism

:

10= Strongly favors assimilation

**MULTICULT\_SALIENCE** = importance/salience of integration policy for immigrants and asylum seekers.

0= No importance  
:  
10= Great importance

**MULTICULT\_DISSENT** = degree of dissent on integration policy for immigrants and asylum seekers.

0= Party was completely united  
:  
10= Party was extremely divided

**ETHNIC\_MINORITIES** = position towards ethnic minorities.

0= Strongly supports more rights for ethnic minorities  
:  
10= Strongly opposes more rights for ethnic minorities

**GALTAN\_NEW** = position of the party in terms of a cultural dimension with Green/Alternative/Libertarian (GAL) at one extreme and Traditionalist/Nationalist/Authoritarian (TAN) at the other extreme.

0: Green/Authoritarian/Libertarian (GAL)  
:  
10: Traditional/Authoritarian/Nationalist (TAN)

**GALTAN\_NEW\_CLEAR** = clarity of a party's position on the cultural or GAL/TAN dimension.

0: Not at all clear  
:  
10: Completely clear

**GALTAN\_NEW\_SALIENCE** = importance/salience of a party's position on the cultural or GAL/TAN dimension.

0 : No importance  
:  
10 : Great importance

## **Populism, Corruption, and Internal Party Democracy Questions**

**PEOPLE\_VS\_ELITE** = position on direct vs. representative democracy. Some political parties take the position that ‘the people’ should have the final say on the most important 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.

0= Elected office holders should make the most important decisions

:

10= “The people”, not politicians, should make the most important decisions

**ANTIELITE\_SALIENCE** = salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric.

0= Not important at all

:

10= Extremely important

**CORRUPT\_SALIENCE** = salience of reducing political corruption.

0= Not important at all

:

10= Extremely important

**MEMBERS\_VS\_LEADERSHIP** = position on whether members/activists or leadership has control over party policy choices.

0= Members/activists have complete control over party policy choices

:

10= Leadership has complete control over party policy choices