

Codebook

2019 Chapel Hill Expert Survey EU Candidates

December 2020

This dataset provides the data for the 2019 Chapel Hill Expert Survey on the positioning of 58 political parties on political ideology, European integration, and policy positions in EU accession countries. The survey was administered between July 2020 to September 2020 to experts specializing in political parties and European integration in one of the countries considered.

The Chapel Hill expert survey was conducted by Ryan Bakker, Liesbet Hooghe, Seth Jolly, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen and Milada Anna Vachudova. The CHES team gratefully acknowledges research assistance from Courtney Blackington and Martin Naunov. In addition, we acknowledge funding from the following organizations and grants.

- The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill’s European Union Center of Excellence and the W.R. Kenan and Burton Craige Research Funds.
- The European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (No. 649281).
- The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, EUI, Florence.
- A public grant overseen by the French National Research Agency (ANR) as part of the “Investissements d’Avenir” program LIEPP (ANR-11-LABX-0091, ANR-11-IDEX-0005-02).
- Swedish Research Council, grant number: 2016-01810.
- The Maxwell School of Syracuse University’s Appleby-Mosher Fund.

The *2019_CHES_Candidate_means.dta* Stata file contains average expert judgments per political party. The *2019_CHES_Candidate_expert-level.dta* dataset provides information at the level of the individual expert and allows researchers to aggregate expert scores and estimate standard deviations among expert judgments. The survey questionnaire specifies the full question format.

*In papers or publications utilizing this dataset, we ask users to refer to the dataset as the 2019 Chapel Hill candidate survey and cite documentation as follows (this citation will be replaced by the article of record for the data set when information is available):

Ryan Bakker, Liesbet Hooghe, Seth Jolly, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, and Milada Vachudova. 2020. “2019 Chapel Hill Candidate Survey.” Version 2019.1. Available on chesdata.eu. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

General Questions

COUNTRY = unique identifier for each country.

| Country ID | Country |
|------------|------------------------|
| 30 | Bosnia and Herzegovina |
| 32 | North Macedonia |
| 33 | Serbia |
| 41 | Albania |
| 42 | Kosovo |
| 43 | Montenegro |

PARTY_ID = unique identifier for each party.¹

PARTY = party abbreviation.

¹Included are political parties that obtain at least 3 percent of the vote in the national election immediately prior to the survey year or that elect at least one representative to the national parliament.

PARTY = party abbreviation

| Country | Party ID | Party Abbrev | Party Name | Party Name (English) |
|--------------|----------|--------------|---|---|
| BiH | 3001 | SDA | Stranka Demokratske Akcije | Party of Democratic Action |
| BiH | 3003 | SDP | Socijaldemokratska Partija Bosne i Hercegovine | Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina |
| BiH | 3004 | HDZ BiH | Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine | Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina |
| BiH | 3006 | SNSD | Savez nezavisnih socijaldemokrata | Alliance of Independent Social Democrats |
| BiH | 3007 | SDS | Srpska Demokratska Stranka | Serbian Democratic Party |
| BiH | 3008 | DF | Demokratska Fronta | Democratic Front |
| BiH | 3009 | SBB BiH | Savez za bolju buducnost BiH | Union for a Better Future |
| BiH | 3011 | PDP | Partija Demokratskog progressa | Party of Democratic Progress |
| BiH | 3013 | DNS | Demokratski Narodni Savez | Democratic People's Alliance |
| BiH | 3014 | NS | Nasa stranka | Our Party |
| BiH | 3015 | PDA | Pokret demokratske akcije | Movement of Democratic Action |
| BiH | 3016 | SP | Socijalisticka Partija | Socialist Party |
| BiH | 3017 | ASDA | Stranka demokratske aktivnosti | Party of Democratic Activity |
| N. Macedonia | 3201 | VMRO-DPMNE | Vnاتresna Makedonska Revolucionerna Organizacija | Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization |
| N. Macedonia | 3202 | SDSM | Demokratska Partija za Makedonsko Nacionalno Edinstvo | Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity |
| N. Macedonia | 3204 | DUI | Socijaldemokratski Sojuz na Makedonija | Social Democratic Union of Macedonia |
| N. Macedonia | 3205 | DPA | Demokratska Unija za Integracija | Democratic Union for Integration |
| N. Macedonia | 3210 | BESA | Bashkimi Demokratik per Integrim | Democratic Party of Albanians |
| N. Macedonia | 3211 | AA | Partia Demokratike Shqiptare | Besa Movement |
| N. Macedonia | 3212 | Levica | Dvizenje Besa | Alliance for Albanians |
| Serbia | 3301 | SRS | Levizja Besa | The Left |
| Serbia | 3302 | DS | Alijansa za Albancite | Serbian Radical Party |
| Serbia | 3307 | SPS | Aleanca per Shqiptaret | Democratic Party |
| Serbia | 3310 | SNS | Levica | Socialist Party of Serbia |
| Serbia | 3315 | Dveri | Srpska Radikalna Stranka | Serbian Progressive Party |
| Serbia | 3316 | SPAS | Demokratska Stranka | Serbian Movement Dveri |
| Serbia | 3317 | NS | Socijalisticka Partija Srbije | Serbian Patriotic Alliance |
| Serbia | 3318 | SSP | Srpska Napredna Stranka | People's Party |
| Serbia | 3319 | PSG | Srpski patriotski savez | Party of Freedom and Justice |
| Albania | 4101 | PS | Narodna stranka | Movement of Free Citizens |
| Albania | 4102 | LSI | Stranka slobode i pravde | Socialist Party of Albania |
| Albania | 4105 | PD | Pokret slobodnih gradana | Socialist Movement for Integration |
| Albania | 4107 | PDIU | Partia Socialiste e Shqiperise | Democratic Party of Albania |
| Albania | 4108 | PSD | Levizja Socialiste per Integrim | The Party for Justice, Integration and Unity |
| | | | Partia Demokratike e Shqiperise | Social Democratic Party of Albania |

Continued on next page

PARTY = party abbreviation (continued from previous page)

| Country | Party ID | Party Abbrev | Party Name | Party Name (English) |
|------------|----------|-------------------------|--|--|
| Albania | 4109 | Grupi Demokrat | Grupi Demokrat | Democratic Group |
| Albania | 4110 | Grupi partite e djathta | Grupi partite e djathta | Democracy and Justice Group |
| Albania | 4111 | Te Parvur | Te Pavarur | Independent Group |
| Kosovo | 4201 | PDK | Partia Demokratike e Kosoves | Democratic Party of Kosovo |
| Kosovo | 4202 | LDK | Lidhja Demokratike e Kosoves | Democratic League of Kosovo |
| Kosovo | 4203 | LV | Vetevendosje | Self-determination |
| Kosovo | 4205 | SL | Srpska Lista | Serb List |
| Kosovo | 4207 | AKR | Aleanca Kosova e Re | New Kosovo Alliance |
| Kosovo | 4208 | NISMA | Nisma Socialdemokrate | Socialdemocratic Initiative |
| Kosovo | 4209 | Vakat | Koalicija Vakati | Coalition Vakati |
| Kosovo | 4210 | KDTP | Kosova Demokratik Turk Partisi | The Turkish Democratic Party of Kosovo |
| Montenegro | 4301 | DPS | Demokratska Partija Socijalista | Democratic Party of Socialists |
| Montenegro | 4302 | SDP | Socijaldemokratska Partija Crne Gore | Social Democratic Party of Montenegro |
| Montenegro | 4304 | NOVA | Nova srpska demokratija | New Serb Democracy |
| Montenegro | 4305 | PzP | Pokret za promjene | Movement for Changes |
| Montenegro | 4306 | SNP | Socijalisticka Narodna Partija Crne Gore | Socialist People's Party of Montenegro |
| Montenegro | 4308 | BS | Bosnjacka Stranka | Bosniak Party |
| Montenegro | 4309 | DEMOS | Demokratski Savez | Democratic Alliance |
| Montenegro | 4310 | URA | Ujedinjena Reformnska Akcija | United Reform Action |
| Montenegro | 4311 | DCG | Demokratska Crna Gora | Democratic Montenegro |
| Montenegro | 4312 | SD | Socijaldemokrate Crne Gore | Social Democrats of Montenegro |
| Montenegro | 4313 | FORCA | Nova Demokratska Snaga | New Democratic Force |
| Montenegro | 4314 | HGI | Hrvatska Gradzanska Inicijativa | Croatian Civic Initiative |
| Montenegro | 4315 | DNP | Demokratska narodna partija | Democratic People's Party |

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

General Questions on European Integration

POSITION = overall orientation of the party leadership towards membership of the European Union 2019.

- 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 in 2019.

- 0 = European Integration is of no importance.
- :
- 10 = European Integration is of great importance.

EU_DISSENT = degree of dissent on European integration in 2019.

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

EU_BLUR = how blurry was each party's position on on European integration in 2019.

- 0 = Not at all blurred.
- :
- 10 = Extremely blurred.

Ideological Questions

LRGEN = position of the party in 2019 in terms of its overall ideological stance.

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

LRECON = position of the party in 2019 in terms of its ideological stance on economic issues. Parties 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. Parties on the economic right want a reduced role for government.

0 = extreme left
:
5 = center
:
10 = extreme right

LRECON_SD = standard deviation of expert placement of the party in 2019 in terms of its ideological stance on economic issues.

LRECON_SALIENCE = relative salience of economic issues in the party's public stance in 2019.

0 = No importance.
:
10 = Great importance.

LRECON_DISSENT = degree of dissent on economic issues in 2019.

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

LRECON_BLUR = how blurry was each party's position on economic issues in 2019.

0 = Not at all blurred.
:
10 = Extremely blurred.

GALTAN = position of the party in 2019 in terms of their views on social and cultural values. “Libertarian” or “postmaterialist” parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, abortion rights, divorce, and same-sex marriage. “Traditional” or “authoritarian” parties reject these ideas in favor of order, tradition, and stability, believing that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues.

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

GALTAN_SD = standard deviation of expert placement of the party in 2019 in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights.

GALTAN_SALIENCE = relative salience of libertarian/traditional issues in the party’s public stance in 2019.

0 = No importance.
:
10 = Great importance.

GALTAN_DISSENT = degree of dissent on libertarian/traditional issues in 2019.

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

GALTAN_BLUR = how blurry was each party’s position on libertarian/traditional issues in 2019.

0 = Not at all blurred.
:
10 = Extremely blurred.

Policy Dimensions

IMMIGRATE_POLICY = position on immigration policy.

0 = Strongly favors a liberal policy on immigration
:
10 = Strongly favors a restrictive policy on immigration

IMMIGRATE_SALIENCE = relative salience of immigration policy in the party's public stance in 2019.

0 = No importance.
:
10 = Great importance.

IMMIGRATE_DISSENT = degree of dissent on immigration policy in 2019.

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 = relative salience of immigrants and asylum seekers issues in the party's public stance in 2019.

0 = No importance.
:
10 = Great importance.

MULTICULT_DISSENT = degree of dissent on immigrants and asylum seekers issues in 2019.

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

REDISTRIBUTION = position on redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor. poor.

0 = Strongly favors redistribution :
10 = Strongly opposes redistribution

REDIST_SALIENCE = relative salience of redistribution in the party's public stance in 2019.

0 = No importance.
:
10 = Great importance.

ENVIRONMENT = position towards environmental sustainability.

0 = Strongly supports environmental protection even at the cost of economic growth
:
10 = Strongly supports economic growth even at the cost of environmental protection.

ENVIRO_SALIEN = relative salience of environmental sustainability in the party's public stance in 2019.

0 = No importance.
:
10 = Great importance.

SPENDVTAX = position on improving public services vs. reducing taxes during 2019.

0 = Strongly favors improving public services
:
10 = Strongly favors reducing taxes.

DEREGULATION = position on deregulation of markets.

0 = Strongly opposes deregulation of markets
:
10 = Strongly favors deregulation of markets

ECON_INTERVEN = position on state intervention in the economy.

0 = Fully in favor of state intervention
:
10 = Fully opposed to state intervention

CIVLIB_LAWORDER = position on civil liberties vs. law and order.

0 = Strongly favors civil liberties
:
10 = Strongly favors tough measures to fight crime

SOCIALLIFESTYLE = position on social lifestyle (e.g. rights for homosexuals, gender equality).

0 = Strongly supports liberal policies
:
10 = Strongly opposes liberal policies

RELIGIOUS_PRINCIPLES = position on role of religious principles in politics.

0 = Strongly opposes religious principles in politics
:
10 = Strongly supports religious principles in politics

ETHNIC_MINORITIES = position towards ethnic minority rights.

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

NATIONALISM = position towards cosmopolitanism vs. nationalism.

0 = Strongly promotes cosmopolitan conceptions of society
:
10 = Strongly promotes nationalist conceptions of society

URBAN_RURAL = position on urban/rural interests.

0 = Strongly supports urban interests
:
10 = Strongly supports rural interests.

PROTECTIONISM = position towards trade liberalization/protectionism.

0 = Strongly favors trade liberalization
:
10 = Strongly favors protection of domestic producers.

REGIONS = position on political decentralization to regions/localities.

0 = Strongly favors political decentralization
:
10 = Strongly opposes political decentralization.

RUSSIAN_INTERFERENCE = salience of Russian interference in domestic affairs for the party leadership.

0 = No importance
:
10 = Great importance.

ANTI_ISLAM = salience of anti-Islam rhetoric for the party leadership. [Question not asked in Albania]

0 = Not important at all
:
10 = Extremely important.

Party characteristics

PEOPLE_VS_ELITE = position on people vs elected representatives. 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.

ANTI_ELITE_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 party leadership vs. members/activists making party policy choices.

0 = Members/activists have complete control over policy choices
:
10 = Leadership has complete control over policy choices.

Specific EU Accession Questions

EU_ECON_REQUIRE = position on fulfilling the economic requirements of EU membership.

1 = Strongly opposed to fulfilling economic requirements
:
7 = Strongly in favor of fulfilling economic requirements.

EU_POLITICAL_REQUIRE = position on fulfilling the political requirements of EU membership.

1 = Strongly opposed to fulfilling political requirements
:
7 = Strongly in favor of fulfilling political requirements.

EU_GOOGOV_REQUIRE = position on fulfilling the good governance requirements of EU membership.

1 = Strongly opposed to fulfilling good governance requirements
:
7 = Strongly in favor of fulfilling good governance requirements.