# Integrated codebook – Expert Surveys on Party Stances in West and Central-Eastern Europe 2007-2008

**Principal Investigators:** 

Robert Rohrschneider &
Stephen Whitefield

When using the data, please reference our book and the data set which together explain and document the data collection.

Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield. 2012. **The Strain of Representation. How Parties represent diverse Voters in Western and Eastern Europe**. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

----. 2008. An Expert Survey of 208 parties in Europe.

The questions in this codebook are the aggregated and recoded responses to the combined East West European expert surveys. Additional variables have been added in order to aid researchers (e.g. Year, Country, and partyname). Included are the original survey questions and accompanying variable names.

**Most Important Issues**: We would like to begin by asking about the party system as a whole. Some countries may have multiple issue dimensions structuring party competition, others only one, and some of course may have none at all.

Could you please indicate how important each issue dimension is in the party system of [country]? If two issue dimensions are about equally important, please still rank order them for the purpose of the next question.

- 1. Most important issue
- 2. Second most important issue
- 3. Third most important issue
- 4. Fourth most important issue
- 5. Insignificant as an issue (not mentioned by an respondents)
- A. Economy: redistributional issues (for example, tax levels, welfare state spending)

issue\_a Distributional Issues 1 2 3 4th cleavage issue\_ar Distributional Issues 1 2 3 4 5th cleavage¹

issue\_av % selecting A 1-42

B. Economy: State-run versus market economy

issue\_b State vs Market Econ 1 2 3 4th cleavage issue\_br State vs Market Econ 1 2 3 4 5th cleavage

issue\_bv % selecting B 1-4

C. Democracy: strengthening democratic institutions

issue\_c Democracy 1 2 3 4th cleavage issue\_cr Democracy 1 2 3 4 5th cleavage

issue\_cv % selecting C 1-4

D. Ethnic rights (for example, minorities)

issue\_d Ethnicity 1 2 3 4th cleavage issue\_dr Ethnicity 1 2 3 4 5th cleavage

issue\_dv % selecting D 1-4

E. Nationalism and Internationalism (for example, views about the EU)

issue\_e Nationalism Intnat 1 2 3 4th cleavage issue\_er Nationalism Intnat 1 2 3 4 5th cleavage

**issue\_ev** % selecting E 1-4

F. Religiosity (role of church)

<sup>1</sup> This includes blanks and 99 as category 5 in question 1 in a new variable (to indicate insignificance of dimensions not mentioned).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This computes a variable indicating the proportion who selects a 99 or 9 blank in question 1.

issue_f issue_fr issue_fv	Religiosity 1 2 3 4th cleavage Religiosity 1 2 3 4 5th cleavage % selecting F 1-4												
G. Social rights (	for example, choic	e of non-c	onformist lifes	estyle, women's rights, etc)									
issue_g issue_gr issue_g v	ssue_gr Social Rights 1 2 3 4 5th cleavage ssue_g v % selecting G 1-4												
H. Views of the	Communist past as	nd its legac	ries										
issue_h issue_hr Communist Legacy 1 2 3 4th cleavage Communist Legacy 1 2 3 4 5th cleavage issue_hv % selecting H 1-4													
I. Regional divis	sions												
issue_i issue_ir issue_iv	Regional Division Regional Division % selecting I 1-4	ns 1 2 3 4 .											
J. Urban-rural d	livisions												
issue_j issue_jr issue_jv	Urban Rural 1 2 . Urban Rural 1 2 . % selecting J 1-4												
parties' positions on the	ne issues you just io s represented by th	dentified. I ne main pa	Please note tha rty leaders. (W	ask you next about the main nat we are interested in the official We ask you later to assess the y stances.)									
to score the position of	of a party. A score e e least liberal posit	of 7 indica	tes the most st	y]? Please use a seven-point scale strongly liberal position and a sue. If a party has no stance on a									
posA Party Position	on Distributional Is	ssues											
Pro-distribution 1 2	3	4	5	Anti-Distribution No position 6 7 99									
posB State vs. Mar	rket Party Position	Distributi	onal Issues										
Against Markets 1 2	3	4	5	Pro Market   No position 6 7 99									

Anti-Democra 1	2 2	3	4	5	Pro-3	Democracy 7	No position 99
posD Party	y Position Eth	nnicity					
Anti-Ethnic R 1	ights 2	3	4	5	Pro-Et	hnic Rights 7	No position 99
posE Party	y Position Nat	tionalism					
Nationalist 1	2	3	4	5	Inte	rnationalist   7	No position 99
posF Party	y Position Rel	igiosity					
Religious 1	2	3	4	5	6	Secular 7	No position 99
posG Party	y Position Soc	ial Rights					
Pro Social Rig 1	hts 2	3	4	5	Against So 6	ocial Rights   7	No position 99
posH Party	y Position Cor	mmunist Leg	асу				
Pro-communi 1	sm 2	3	4	5	Anti-0	Communist 7	No position 99
posI Party	y Position Reg	gional Divisio	on				
Regional 1	2	3	4	5	6	National 7	No position 99
posJ Party	y Position Url	oan-Rural					
Rural 1	2	3	4	5	6	Urban   7	No position 99
Additional: q2i1 q2i1r		position - iss ponses to q2i		' & '99' not '	O <b>'</b>		
q2i2 q2i2r		position - iss ponses to q2i		' & '99' not '	0'		
q2i3 q2i3r		position - iss ponses to q2i		' & '99' not '	0'		
q2i4	un-recoded	position - iss	ue 4 where '.'	' & '99' not '	0'		

# **q2i4r** % valid responses to q2i4

**Salience of Most Important Issue:** Next, and again using a 7-point scale, please indicate how important each issue is in defining a party's political orientation. Again, we are interested in the party's official stances. A 1 indicates no importance at all; a 7 stands for very important:

Not at all important						Very important	No position
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99
salA salB salC salD salE salF salG salH salI salJ	Party Salience Distributiona State vs Marl Democracy Ethnicity Nationalism Religiosity Social Rights Communist I Reg Division Urban-Rural	al Issues ket Econ Legacy					
with missing salAmd salBmd salCmd salDmd salEmd salFmd salGmd salHmd salImd salImd salImd	data coded as	1					
q2i1imp q2i1impr	un-recoded s % valid respo			& '99' not '0'			
q2i2imp q2i2impr	un-recoded s % valid respo			& '99' not '0'			
q2i3imp q2i3impr	un-recoded s % valid respo			& '99' not '0'			
q2i4imp q2i4impr	un-recoded s % valid respo			& '99' not '0'			

What position do parties take on social inequality in [country]? Does the party take the position that social inequality is unjustified and undesirable (in which case it would score 1) or that it is justified (because of incentives, justice etc) and desirable (in which case it would score 7) or something in between?

Social inequality is					Social inequality is No pos				
unjustified a	nd		justified and desirable						
undesirable									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99		

q3 Social Inequalityq3r % valid responses to q3

And how important is the issue of social inequality in the country to how the party appeals to the public? Is it very important (in which case score 7) or not important at all to how the party appeals (in which case score 1)?

Not at all						Very	No position
important						important	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99

**q3imp** Salience Social Inequality **q3impr** % valid responses to q3imp

#### Question 4.

What position does each party take on taxation? First, in general, please say whether a party favours raising taxes to increase public spending (this would score 1) or favours cutting public spending to cut taxes (this would score 7) or something in between.

Raise taxes to increase						Cut spending to cut No position		
public spend	ling					taxes		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99	

q4 Taxation

**q4r** % valid responses to q4

And how important is the issue of taxation and public spending to the way in which the party appeals to the electorate?

Not at all						Very	No position
important						important	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99

**q4imp** Salience Taxation

**q4impr** % valid responses to q4imp

#### Question 5.

And what position do parties take on the form that taxation should take. Do they favour progressive taxation in which those with higher incomes pay more in tax than those with low incomes (in which case they would score 1) or a flat tax, in which people pay the same rate of tax whatever their income level (in which case they would score 7) or something in between?

Favour prog	gressive		Favour	No position			
taxation 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99
q5 q5r	Tax Forr % valid r	n esponses to c	<b>q</b> 5				

And how important is the issue of progressive or flat tax to how parties appeal to the electorate

Not at all						Very	No position
important						important	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99
q5imp	Salience '	Гах Form					
q5impr	% valid r	esponses to o	q5imp				

#### Question 6.

Now thinking about specific welfare and labour market measures, what stances do parties take on the following provisions? Do they strongly support (score 7) or strongly oppose (score 1) or something in between?

And how important are their views of these specific welfare and labour market measures to how the party appeals to the public?

#### a. minimum wage laws

Strongly oppos	sed				Stron	gly in favour	No position
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99
q6ia q6iar	Min Wag % valid r	e esponses to c	<sub>1</sub> 6ia				
Not at all important 1	2	3	4	5	6	Very important 7	No position
q6iaimp q6iaimpr		Min Wage esponses to c	16iaimp				
b. maxir	num wage	e laws					
Strongly oppos				_			No position
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99
q6ib q6ibr	Max Wag % valid r	ge esponses to c	<sub>1</sub> 6ib				
Not at all important						Very important	No position

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99			
q6ibimp q6ibimpr	Salience M % valid res	ax Wage ponses to q6	ibimp							
c. universal or means tested benefits										
Favour univer welfare benefi 1		3	4	5	Favour mea welfare bene 6		No position			
q6ic q6icr	Welfare Be			J	v	,	1 77			
Not at all important	2	3	4	5	6	Very important 7	No position			
q6icimp q6icimpr		elfare Benefit ponses to q6i								
Question 7.										
should provide	e universal fr ld be paid by	ee health care	e (in which o	case they w	ey advocate tha yould score 1) o in which case t	or that medic	al			
Universal free care	health				Individuals :	and private	No position			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99			
q7 q7r	Health Car % valid res	e ponses to q7								
And how import the public?	ortant is the i	ssue of health	n care provis	sion to the	way in which	the party app	eals to			
Not at all important 1	2	3	4	5	6	Very important 7	No position			
q7imp q7impr	Salience He	ealth Care ponses to q7i	imp							

## Question 8.

And what stance do parties take on support for higher education. Should the state make higher education available free to all who have the appropriate qualifications (in which case they would score 1) or should higher education be paid for (for example, via savings and loans) by individuals (in which case they would score 7) or something in between?

Higher education available free Should be paid for 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 99

q8 Higher Education 99

q8 Wy valid responses to q8

And how important is the issue of charges for higher education to parties?

Not at all Very important a limportant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 99

q8imp Salience Higher Education 9 valid responses to q8imp

#### Question 9.

First, can you say what position a party favours liberal policies on matters such as abortion, equal opportunities for women, homosexuality or euthanasia (in which case it would score 1) or opposes liberal policies on such issues (in which case it would score 7) or something in between?

Liberal policies

Oppose liberal policies | No position

Oppose liberal policies | No position

99

q9

Higher Education
q9r
% valid responses to q8

And how important are issues such as abortion, equal opportunities for women, homosexuality or euthanasia to the party?

 Not at all important
 Very important
 No position important

 1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 99

q9impq9imprSalience Liberal Policiesw valid responses to q9imp

Next, can you say whether the party supports protection of the environment, even at the cost of some economic growth (in which case it would score 1) or supports economic growth, even at the cost of damage to the environment (in which case it would score 7) or something in between?

Supports pro			Supports economic No posi				
the environr	nent					growth	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99
~10	E accionan						

q10 Environment

**q10r** % valid responses to q10

And how important are issues of the environment to political parties?

Not at all						Very	No position
important						important	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99

q10impSalience Environmentq10impr% valid responses to q10imp

#### Question 11.

Can you say whether parties support policies to promote civil liberties, even when this hampers efforts to fight crime and promote law and order (in which case they would score 1) or supports tough measures to fight crime and promote law and order, even when this means curtailing civil liberties (in which case they would score 7) or something in between?

Promote civil	liberties			Promote lav	No position		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99
q11 q11r	Civil Libe % valid re	erties esponses to c	<sub>1</sub> 11				

And how important are issues of civil liberties, crime and law and order to parties?

Not at all						Very	No position
important						important	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99

**q11imp** Salience Civil Liberties **q11impr** % valid responses to q11imp

#### Question 12.

First, what about the parties' positions on integration with Europe?

Strong oppo	osition				Str	rong support	No position
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99

q12 West Integrationq12r % valid responses to q12

And how important an issue is integration with Europe to how the party appeals to the public? Again, we use a seven point scale, with 7 meaning very important and 1 meaning not important at all.

Not at all						Very	No position	
important	ortant important							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99	
401	0.1:	1377 T						
q12imp		West Integra						
q12impr	% valid r	responses to o	q12imp					

#### Question 13.

How about the EU? Regardless of the specific form that integration may take, where do parties stand on creating a politically unified Europe? Do they strongly support a politically unified Europe (in which case they would score 7) or do they strongly oppose a politically unified Europe (in which case they would score 1) or something in between?

Not at all important						Very important	No position
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99
q13 q13r	EU Politi % valid r	cal Unity esponses to c	13				

#### Question 14.

To the extent that parties support political unity, do they favour an inter-governmental arrangement where the most important decisions are made by a Europe-wide executive that represents the national governments? Or do they favour a "federal" Europe-wide government where a Europe-wide executive answers to the European parliament? If they favour elements of both, please select the middle category.

Support	1				Sup	port federal	No position		
intergovernmental									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99		
q14 q14r		ical Unity esponses to c	<sub>[</sub> 14						

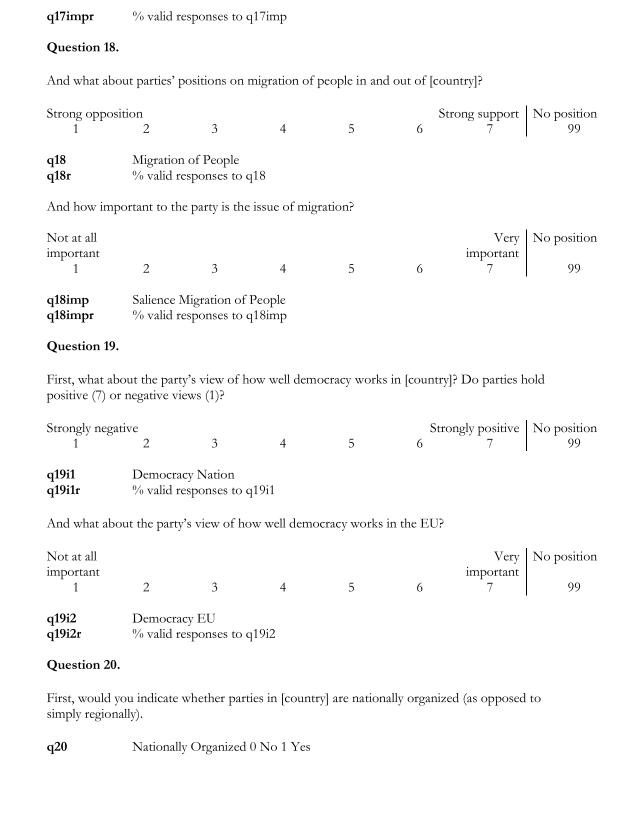
And how important an issue is the formation of a Europe-wide government (regardless of the specific form) in how the party appeals to the public? Again, we use a seven point scale, with 7 meaning very important and 1 meaning not important at all.

Not at all						Very	No position		
important						important			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99		
q14imp	q14imp Salience EU Political Unity								
q14impr	% valid r	esponses to o	q14imp						

#### Question 15.

Strong opposit	ion 2	3	4	5	6	Strong support 7	No position 99			
q15 q15r	Market Integ % valid respo									
	o the public? A	gain, we use				general to how ning very import				
Not at all important	2	3	4	5	6	Very important 7	No position 99			
q15imp q15impr	Salience Market Integration % valid responses to q15imp									
Question 16.										
And where do	parties stand o	n the questio	n of foreign	ownership of	f land?	)				
Strong opposit	ion 2	3	4	5	6	Strong support	No position 99			
q16 q16r And how impo	FO Land % valid respontant an issue		s foreign owr	nership of lan	nd?					
Not at all important	2	3	4	5	6	Very important 7	No position 99			
q16imp q16impr	Salience FO l		mp							
Question 17.										
And what abou	ıt foreign own	ership of indu	astrial enterp	rises?						
Strong opposit	ion 2	3	4	5	6	Strong support	No position 99			
q17 q17r	FO Industria % valid respo									
And how impo	ortant an issue	to the party is	s foreign owr	nership of inc	dustria	l enterprises?				
Not at all important	2	3	4	5	6	Very important 7	No position			
q17imp	Salience FO			J	U	1	77			

Where do the parties in [country] stand on creating a Europe-wide, integrated market for the European Union?



#### Question 21.

And does the party have a 'significant' membership base in terms of numbers? We realize that the determination of a 'significant membership base' is somewhat arbitrary and may vary from country to country depending on its population. Our main concern is to distinguish between parties that have few members and those that relatively large numbers of members. We are interested in your expert judgment in this regard.

#### **q21** Significant Numbers 0 No 1 Yes

#### Question 22.

Does the party have an organisational affiliation with any interest group or civil society group, such as trade unions, business associations, church groups, etc?

#### q22 Organisational Affiliation 0 No 1 Yes

#### Question 23.

Would you please estimate the extent to which each 'face' of the party is strong in determining party policy? A 1 would indicate "Not at all important"; a 7 would indicate that a party section is very important.

a. Party membership

Not at all important 1	2	3	4	5	6	Very   No position important   7   99			
q23iaimp q23iaimpr	Party Membership Important %valid responses to q23iaimp								
b. Party	apparatus								
Not at all important	2	3	4	5	6	Very No position important 7 99			
q23ibimp q23ibimpr									
c. Party	leadership								
Not at all important	2	3	4	5	6	Very No position important 7 99			
q23icimp q23icimpr		ader Importar esponses to q							

#### Question 24.

Can you say how divided each party in [country] is in policy terms? A division means that there are significant and public disagreements among party members at any level (leaders, apparatus, membership) about policy issues. These disagreements may also take numerous forms. Please provide an "average" assessment across those policy domains you deem central to the party where a 1 would indicate a "strongly divided" party and a 7 a "strongly united" party.

Strongly divided Strongly united									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99		
a24	Dollar Di	ricione							

q24 Policy Divisions

**q24r** %valid responses to q24

#### Question 25

Thinking now about social differences between individuals and groups, do the parties make explicit claims about the importance of such social differences in their programmes? Please select from the list one that is most strongly appealed to in the party's programme.

q25_chall	Catch All	0 No 1 Yes
q25_econ	Economic Class	0 No 1 Yes
q25_eth	Ethnic Group	0 No 1 Yes
q25_reg	Regional Group	0 No 1 Yes
q25_gen	Gender	0 No 1 Yes
q25_age	Age	0 No 1 Yes
q25_cul	Cultural (i.e. education, taste, etc)	0 No 1 Yes
q25_none	No appeal to social differences	0 No 1 Yes

#### Question 26.

Not at

Some distinctions have been made in writing on parties between different ideal-typical ways in which parties may build ties with the electorate. First, parties may appeal to the electorate through broad electoral programmes that specify alternative ways of running the country. Second, parties may appeal to specific social or geographic constituencies on the basis of providing them with targeted benefits (generally economic). Third, parties may appeal to the electorate on the basis of the charisma of the party leader. Please indicate the importance of each factor on a 7 point scale. A 1 means a factor is not important at all, a 7 means it is very important.

**a.** Broad electoral programmes that specify alternative ways of running the country

Not at all						Very	No position
important						important	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99
241	D 4	1.70					
q26iaimp	Party Ap	peal: Progran	1				

q26iaimpr %valid responses to q26iaimpb. Specific social or geographic constituencies on the basis of providing them

with targeted benefits			
at all		Very	No position

riot at an						vciy	140 Position
important						important	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99

**q26ibimp** Party Appeal: Targeted Benefits **q26ibimpr** %valid responses to q26ibimp

c. Charisma of the party leader

Not at all						Very	No position
important						important	-
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	99

q26icimpParty Appeal: Charismatic Leaderq26icimpr%valid responses to q26icimp

#### Question 27.

In [country], parties may be located to the left or the right of the political spectrum. In general terms, please locate each party on the ideological spectrum in [country], with 1 standing for left wing, and 7 standing for right wing.

Left wing 1	2	3	4	5	6	Right wing 7	No position 99
q27 q27r	Ideology % valid re	esponses to q	27				•

And what would you say is the position taken by parties on the introduction of the Euro in [country x]? And how important an issue to the party is the introduction of the Euro?

Oppose 1	2	3	4	5	6	Support 7	No position 99
Not at all Important 1	2	3	4	5	6	Very important 7	No position
q11_03 q11_03r q12_03 q12_03r	Salience	responses to conference to con	•				

And what about parties' positions on EU directives on the rights of ethnic minorities? And how important to the party is the issue of EU directives on the rights of ethnic minorities?

Oppose 1	2	3	4	5	6	Support 7	No position 99
Not at all important	2	3	4	5	6	Very important 7	No position
q13_03 q13_03r q14_03 q14_03r	EU Directives Minorities % valid responses to q13_03 Salience of EU Directives Minorities % valid responses to q14_03						

And now what about their position on NATO? And how important an issue is NATO to the party?

Oppose 1	2	3	4	5	6	Support 1	No position 99
Not at all							No position
important 1	2	3	4	5	6	important 7	99

**q21\_03** NATO

**q21\_03r** % valid responses to q21\_03

q21imp\_03 Salience NATO

bv	country	:tab	partyname

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-> country = Bulgaria

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
CfB cedb nmss mrf udf nua dsb bpu		12.50 12.50 12.50 12.50 12.50 12.50 12.50 12.50	12.50 25.00 37.50 50.00 62.50 75.00 87.50 100.00
Total	8	100.00	

\_\_\_\_\_\_

-> country = Czech Re

Party Names by Country		Freq.	Percent	Cum.
ods	i	1	20.00	20.00
cssd	1	1	20.00	40.00
kscm	1	1	20.00	60.00
KDU-CSL		1	20.00	80.00
SZ	1	1	20.00	100.00
Total		5	100.00	

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-> country = Estonia

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
re ek irl sde er rl		16.67 16.67 16.67 16.67 16.67	16.67 33.33 50.00 66.67 83.33 100.00
Total	6	100.00	

\_\_\_\_\_\_

-> country = Hungary

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
mszp fidesz szdsz mdf kdnp miep		16.67 16.67 16.67 16.67 16.67	16.67 33.33 50.00 66.67 83.33 100.00
Total	6	100.00	

\_\_\_\_\_\_

-> country = Latvia

Party Names by Country		Percent	Cum.
tp	1	12.50	12.50

lzs	1	1	12.50	25.00
jl		1	12.50	37.50
sc		1	12.50	50.00
lpp		1	12.50	62.50
TB/LNNK		1	12.50	75.00
pctvl		1	12.50	87.50
LSdSP	1	1	12.50	100.00
	+			
Total		8	100.00	

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-> country = Lithuani

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
lsdp TS-LK ns TiT lrls dp lcs lvls awpl		10.00 10.00 10.00 10.00 10.00 10.00 10.00 10.00	10.00 20.00 30.00 40.00 50.00 60.00 70.00 80.00 90.00
Total	10	100.00	

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\_\_\_\_\_

-> country = Moldova

Party Names by Country	   Freq. +	Percent	Cum.
pcrm pamn pdm psl ppcd psm psrm		14.29 14.29 14.29 14.29 14.29 14.29	14.29 28.57 42.86 57.14 71.43 85.71 100.00
Total	, 1 7	100.00	

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\_\_\_\_\_

-> country = Poland

Cum.	Percent	Freq.	Party Names by   Country
16.67 33.33 50.00 66.67 83.33 100.00	16.67 16.67 16.67 16.67 16.67	1 1 1 1 1	pis   po   LiD   srp   lpr   psl
	100.00	 6	Total

\_\_\_\_\_\_

-> country = Romania

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
psd	,	10.00	10.00
pd	1	10.00	20.00
pnl	1	10.00	30.00
prm	1	10.00	40.00
рс	1	10.00	50.00
udmr	1	10.00	60.00
png	1	10.00	70.00

pld		1	10.00	80.00
pntcd		1	10.00	90.00
pin		1	10.00	100.00
Total	+	10	100.00	

\_\_\_\_\_\_

-> country = Russia

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
er kprf ldpr rodina	1   1   1   1	25.00 25.00 25.00 25.00	25.00 50.00 75.00 100.00
Total	4	100.00	

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-> country = Slovakia

Party Names by Country	1	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
kdh		1	16.67	16.67
hzds		1	16.67	33.33
sdku		1	16.67	50.00
Smer		1	16.67	66.67
mkp		1	16.67	83.33
sns	1	1	16.67	100.00
Total	-+-	6	100.00	

\_\_\_\_\_\_

-> country = Slovenia

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
lds sds sd sls ns sns		14.29 14.29 14.29 14.29 14.29 14.29	14.29 28.57 42.86 57.14 71.43 85.71
dsus  Total	1  +	14.29  100.00	100.00

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-> country = Ukraine

Party Names by Country		Percent	Cum.
pru	1	9.09	9.09
bjup	1	9.09	18.18
nsnu	1	9.09	27.27
spu	1	9.09	36.36
kpu	1	9.09	45.45
ns	1	9.09	54.55
pspu	1	9.09	63.64
nbl	1	9.09	72.73
pv	1	9.09	81.82
BBT-UP	1	9.09	90.91
pzu	1	9.09	100.00
Total	11	100.00	

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<sup>-&</sup>gt; country = Austria

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
spo ovp grune fpo bzo		20.00 20.00 20.00 20.00 20.00	20.00 40.00 60.00 80.00 100.00
Total	5	100.00	

-> country = Belgium

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
CD&V	1	7.69	7.69
N-VA	j 1	7.69	15.38
mr	1	7.69	23.08
vb	1	7.69	30.77
vld	1	7.69	38.46
ps	1	7.69	46.15
spa	1	7.69	53.85
spirit	1	7.69	61.54
cdh	1	7.69	69.23
ecolo	1	7.69	76.92
ldd	1	7.69	84.62
groen	1	7.69	92.31
fn	1	7.69	100.00
Total	13	100.00	

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-> country = Denmark

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
v s df sf kf rv na el		12.50 12.50 12.50 12.50 12.50 12.50 12.50	12.50 25.00 37.50 50.00 62.50 75.00 87.50
Total	8	100.00	

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-> country = Finland

Party Names by		D	<b>a</b>
Country	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
kesk	1	12.50	12.50
kok	1	12.50	25.00
sdp	1	12.50	37.50
vas	1	12.50	50.00
vihr	1	12.50	62.50
kd	1	12.50	75.00
sfp	1	12.50	87.50
ps	1	12.50	100.00
Total	·+   8	100.00	

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-> country = France

Party Names by | Country | Freq. Percent Cum.

	+		
ump	1	11.11	11.11
ps	1	11.11	22.22
MoDem	1	11.11	33.33
pcf	1	11.11	44.44
fn	1	11.11	55.56
verts	1	11.11	66.67
nc	1	11.11	77.78
prg	1	11.11	88.89
mpf	1	11.11	100.00
	+		
Total	9	100.00	

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-> country = Germany

Party Names by Country		Freq.	Percent	Cum.
cdu csu spd fdp DIE LINKE grune	 	1 1 1 1 1	16.67 16.67 16.67 16.67 16.67	16.67 33.33 50.00 66.67 83.33 100.00
Total		6	100.00	

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-> country = Greece

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
nd pasok kke syn laos		20.00 20.00 20.00 20.00 20.00	20.00 40.00 60.00 80.00 100.00
Total	5	100.00	

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-> country = Ireland

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
ff fg lab sf gp pd sp		14.29 14.29 14.29 14.29 14.29 14.29	14.29 28.57 42.86 57.14 71.43 85.71 100.00
Total	+	100.00	

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-> country = Italy

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Left Dem	1	9.09	9.09
prc	1	9.09	18.18
sdi	1	9.09	27.27
ri	1	9.09	36.36
PdCI	1	9.09	45.45
IdV	1	9.09	54.55
verdi	1	9.09	63.64
fi	1	9.09	72.73
an	1	9.09	81.82

udc		1	9.09	90.91
ln		1	9.09	100.00
Total	+	11	100.00	

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-> country = the Neth

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
cda	i 1	9.09	9.09
PvdA	j 1	9.09	18.18
sp	1	9.09	27.27
vvd	1	9.09	36.36
pvv	1	9.09	45.45
gl	1	9.09	54.55
cu	1	9.09	63.64
D66	1	9.09	72.73
PvdD	1	9.09	81.82
Verdonk	1	9.09	90.91
sgp	1	9.09	100.00
Total	11	100.00	

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-> country = Portugal

Party Names by   Country	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
ps	1	16.67	16.67
psd	1	16.67	33.33
pcp	1	16.67	50.00
pev	1	16.67	66.67
CDS-PP	1	16.67	83.33
be	1	16.67	100.00
+			
Total	6	100.00	

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-> country = Spain

Party Names by Country	   Freq.	Percent	Cum.
psoe	1	8.33	8.33
pp	1	8.33	16.67
iu	1	8.33	25.00
icv	1	8.33	33.33
CiU	1	8.33	41.67
erc	1	8.33	50.00
EAJ-PNV	1	8.33	58.33
cc	1	8.33	66.67
bng	1	8.33	75.00
ea	1	8.33	83.33
cha	1	8.33	91.67
Na-Bai	1	8.33	100.00
Total	12	100 00	

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-> country = Sweden

Country   Freq. Percent	Cum.
m   1 12.50 c   1 12.50 fp   1 12.50 kd   1 12.50	12.50 25.00 37.50 50.00 62.50 75.00

mp Sweden Democrats		1	12.50 12.50	87.50 100.00
Total		8	100.00	

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-> country = uk

Cum.	Percent	   Freq.	Party Names by Country
20.00 40.00 60.00 80.00 100.00	20.00 20.00 20.00 20.00 20.00	1   1   1   1	lab con ld snp pc
	100.00	5	Total

Party labels and names (number in parentheses refers to the number of experts responding to our survey in each country).

Country	Party Name in RW survey	Label
Bulgaria (11)	Bulgarian Socialist Party	CfB
Bulgaria	National Movement for Stability and Progress	NMSS
Bulgaria	Movement for Rights and Freedoms	MrF
Bulgaria	Union of Democratic Forces	UDF
Bulgaria	National Union Attack	NUA
Bulgaria	Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria	DSB
Czech-Republic	Civic Democratic Party	
(10)	,	ODS
Czech-Republic	Czech Social Democratic Party	CSSD
Czech-Republic	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	KSCM
Czech-Republic	Christian and Democratic Union	KDU-CSL
Czech-Republic	Green Party	SZ
Estonia (10)	Estonian Reform Party	RF (RE)
Estonia	Estonian Centre Party	EK
Estonia	Pro Patria and Res Publica Union	IrL
Estonia	Social Democratic Party	SDE
Estonia	Estonian Greens	Er
Estonia	Estonian People's Union	RL
Hungary (9)	Hungarian Socialist Party	MSZP
Hungary	Fidesz - Hungarian Civic Union	FIDESZ
Hungary	Union of Free Democrats	SZDSZ
Hungary	Hungarian Democratic Forum	MDF
Hungary	Christian Democratic People's Party	KDNP
Latvia (10)	People's Party	TP
Latvia (10)	Union of Greens and Peasants	ZZS
Latvia	New Era	JL
Latvia	Harmony Centre	SC
Latvia	Latvia's First Party / Latvia's Way	LPP
Latvia	Fatherland and Freedom	TB/LNNK
Latvia	For Human Rights in United Latvia	PCTVL
Latvia	Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party	LSdSP
Lithuania (10)	Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	LSDP
Lithuania	Fatherland Union	TS-LK
Lithuania	New Union - Social Liberals	NS NS
Lithuania	Order and Justice - Liberal Democrats	TiT
Lithuania	Liberals' Movement of the Republic of Lithuania	LrLS
Lithuania	Labour Party	DP
Lithuania	Liberal and Centre Union	LCS
Lithuania	Lithuanian Peasant Popular Union	LVLS
Lithuania	Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Alliance	LrA
Lithuania	Civic Democratic Party	PDP
Moldova (9)	Communist Party of the Republic of Moldova	PCRM
Moldova (5)	Party Alliance Our Moldova	PAMN
Moldova	Democratic Party of Moldova	PDM
Moldova	Social-Liberal Party	PSL
Moldova	Christian Democratic People's Party	PPCD
Moldova	Socialist Party from Moldova	PSM
Moldova	Party of Socialists from Republic of Moldova	PSRM
Poland (9)	Law and Justice	PIS
Poland	Civic Platform	PO
Poland	Left and Democrats	LiD
Poland	Self-Defense of the Republic of Poland	SrP
Poland	League of Polish Families	LPr

Poland	Polish People's Party	PSL
Romania (8)	Social Democratic Party	PSD
Romania	Democratic Party	PD
Romania	National Liberal Party	PNL
Romania	Great Romania Party	PrM
Romania	Conservative Party	PC
Romania	Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania	UDMr
Romania	New Generation Party	PNG
Romania	Liberal Democratic Party	PLD
Romania	Christian Democratic National Peasant's Party	PNTCD
Romania	National Iniziative Party	PIN
Russia (10)	Unified Russia	ER
Russia	Communist Party of the Russian Federation	KPRF
Russia	Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia	LDPR
Russia	Fair Russia	SR
Russia	Union of Rightist Forces	SPS
Slovakia (10)	Christian Democratic Movement	KDH
Slovakia	People's Party - Movement for a Democratic Slovakia	HZDS
Slovakia	Slovak Democratic and Christian Union	SDKU
Slovakia	Direction - Social Democracy	Smer
Slovakia	Party of the Hungarian Coalition	SMK
Slovakia	Slovak National Party	SNS
Slovenia (9)	Liberal Democracy of Slovenia	LDS
Slovenia	Slovenian Democratic Party	SDS
Slovenia	Social Democrats	SD
Slovenia	Slovenian People's Party	SLS
Slovenia	New Slovenia - Christian People's Party	NS
Slovenia	Slovenian National Party	SNS
Slovenia	Democratic Pensioners' Party of Slovenia	DSUS
Ukraine (9)	Party of Regions	PRU
Ukraine	Bloc Yulia Tymoshenko	BJUT
Ukraine	People's Union Our Ukraine	NSNU
Ukraine	Socialist Party of Ukraine	SPU
Ukraine	Communist Party of Ukraine	KPU
Ukraine	Bloc of Yuri Lutsenko "People's Self-Defense	NS
Ukraine	Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine	PSPU
Ukraine	People's Bloc Lytvyn	NBL
Ukraine	Viche Party	PV
Ukraine	Bloc of Borys Tarasyk	BBT-UP
Ukraine	Green Party	PZU

### Western Europe:

Country	Party Name in RW survey	
Austria (10)	Social Democratic Party of Austria	SPO
Austria	Austrian People's Party	OVP
Austria	The Greens	GRUNE
Austria	Freedom Party of Austria	FPO
Austria	Alliance for the Future of Austria	BZO
Belgium (10)	Christian-Democratic & Flemish	CDV
Belgium	New Flemish Alliance	N-VA
Belgium	Reform Movement	MR
Belgium	Flemish Interest	VB
Belgium	Flemish Liberals and Democrats	VLD
Belgium	Socialist Party	PS
Belgium	Socialist Party. Different	SPA
Belgium	Humanist Democratic Centre	CDH
Belgium	Ecologists	ECOLO
Belgium	List Dedecker	LDD
Belgium	The Flemish Greens	GROEN

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Belgium	National Front	FN
Denmark (9)	Denmark's Liberal Party	V
Denmark	Social Democracy	S
Denmark	Danish People's Party	DF
Denmark	Socialist People's Party	SF
Denmark	Conservative People's Party	KF
Denmark	Radical Liberals	RV
Denmark	Unity List - The Red-Greens	EL
Finland (9)	Finnish Centre	KESK
Finland	National Coalition Party	KOK
Finland	Finnish Social Democratic Party	SDP
Finland	Left Alliance	VAS
Finland	Green Alliance	VIHR
Finland	Finnish Christian Democrats	KD
Finland	Swedish People's Party in Finland	SFP
Finland	True Finns	PS
France (10)	Union for a Popular Movement	UMP
France	Socialist Party	PS
France	Democratic Movement	MoDem
France	French Communist Party	PCF
France	National Front	FN
France	The Greens	VERTS
France	Movement for France	MPF
Germany (10)	Christian Democracy Union	CDU
Germany	Christian Social Union	CSU
Germany	Social Democratic Party of Germany	SPD
Germany	Free Democratic Party	FDP
Germany	The Left (Party of Democratic Socialism, PDS)	DIE LINKE
Germany	Alliance 90/The Greens	GRUNE
Greece (10)	New Democracy	ND
Greece	Panhellenic Socialist Movement	PASOK
Greece	Communist Party of Greece	KKE
Greece	Coalition of the Left, the Movements and the Ecology	SYN
Greece	Popular Orthodox Rally	LAOS
Ireland (10)	Soldiers of Destiny	FF
Ireland	Family of the Irish	FG
Ireland	Labour Party	LAB
Ireland	We Ourselves	SF
Ireland	Green Party	GP
Ireland	Progressive Democrats	PD
Ireland	Communist	SP
Italy (10)	Left Democrats	Left Dem
Italy	Communist Refoundation Party	PRC
Italy	Italian Democratic Socialists	SDI
Italy	Party of Italian Communists	PdCl
Italy	Italy of Values	IdV
Italy	Green Federation	VERDI
Italy	National Alliance	AN
Italy	Union of Christian and Centre Democrats	UDC
Netherlands	Christian Democratic Appeal	CDA
(9)	11	
Netherlands	Labour Party	PvdA
Netherlands	Socialist Party	SP
Netherlands	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy	VVD
Netherlands	Freedom Party	PVV
Netherlands	Green Left	GL
Netherlands	Christian Union	CU
Netherlands	Democrats 66	D66
Netherlands	Party for the Animals	PvdD
Netherlands	List Rita Verdonk	VERDONK
		, 2111

Netherlands	Reformed Political Party	SGP
Portugal (10)	Socialist Party	PS
Portugal	Social Democratic Party	PSD
Portugal	Portuguese Communist Party	PCP
Portugal	Ecological Party The Greens	PEV
Portugal	Democratic Social Centre	CDS-PP
Portugal	Left Bloc	BE
Spain (10)	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party	PSOE
Spain	People's Party	PP
Spain	United Left	IU
Spain	Convergence and Union of Catalonia	CiU
Spain	Republican Left of Catalonia	ERC
Spain	Basque National Party	EAJ-PNV
Spain	Aragonese Council	CHA
Spain	Navarre Yes	Na-Bai
Sweden (10)	Social Democratic Workers' Party	SAP
Sweden	Moderate Rally Party	M
Sweden	Centre Party	C
Sweden	Liberal People's Party	FP
Sweden	Christian Democrats	KD
Sweden	Left Party	VP
Sweden	Environment Party The Greens	MP
Sweden	Sweden Democrats	SD
UK (10)	Labour Party	LAB
UK	Conservative Party	CON
UK	Liberal Democrats	LD
UK	Scottish National Party	SNP
UK	Party of Wales	PC