# Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2024 – CODEBOOK

Feb 2025 Version 1

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CHES was administered between October 10 and November 20 2024 for EU-West countries plus Turkey, and between November 1, 2024 to December 17, 2024 for EU-East countries. The survey was completed by 609 political scientists specializing in political parties and European integration. This wave of the Chapel Hill Expert survey provides information about the positioning of the leadership of 279 parties in 31 countries over the course of 2024 on ideology, policy, populism, democracy, European integration, and select EU policy questions. Country coverage includes all European Union member states except for Luxembourg -- plus Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. The dataset adopts the country code and party id schema of the CHES Trend file (Jolly et al. 2022) and the Speed CHES survey on Ukraine (Hooghe et al. 2024) with extensions for newly covered parties.

This survey was conducted by Ryan Bakker, Liesbet Hooghe, Seth Jolly, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, and Milada Vachudova. The platform used was Qualtrics. The CHES gratefully acknowledges research assistance from Spencer Corp, Marcos Echevarria, and Mathilda Gustafsson. We acknowledge funding from the Kenan and Burton Craige Chairs at UNC-Chapel Hill, ERC Grant #885026 TRANSNATIONAL at the EUI-Florence, and Horizon Europe project 101060899 AUTHLIB.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Too few experts completed Luxembourg.

## Country and party coverage

	# parties		# parties
Austria	5	Lithuania	10
Belgium	12	Malta	2
Bulgaria	11	Netherlands	15
Croatia	8	Poland	7
Cyprus	7	Portugal	9
Czech Republic	11	Romania	7
Denmark	12	Slovakia	9
Estonia	8	Slovenia	8
Finland	10	Spain	14
France	10	Sweden	8
Germany	9		
Greece	9	Norway	9
Hungary	9	Iceland	8
Ireland	8	Switzerland	10
Italy	10	Turkey	7
Latvia	10	UK	7

# **IDENTIFIERS AND GENERAL INFORMATION**

# country = unique identifier for each country

1	BE	Belgium	22	EST	Estonia
2	DK	Denmark	23	HUN	Hungary
3	GE	Germany	24	LAT	Latvia
4	GR	Greece	25	LITH	Lithuania
5	ESP	Spain	26	POL	Poland
6	FR	France	27	ROM	Romania
7	IRL	Ireland	28	SLO	Slovakia
8	IT	Italy	29	SLE	Slovenia
10	NL	Netherlands	31	CRO	Croatia
11	UK	United Kingdom	34	TUR	Turkey
12	POR	Portugal	35	NOR	Norway
13	AUS	Austria	36	SWI	Switzerland
14	FIN	Finland	37	MAL	Malta
16	SV	Sweden	38	LUX	Luxembourg
20	BUL	Bulgaria	40	CYP	Cyprus
21	CZ	Czech Republic	45	ICE	Iceland

## party\_id = unique identifier for each party<sup>2</sup>

## party = party abbreviation

**family** = This classification was initially based on Hix and Lord (1997) and Marks and Wilson (2000), except that we place confessional and agrarian parties in separate categories. Family association for parties in Central/Eastern Europe was initially based on the Derksen classification (now incorporated in Wikipedia). Classifications are triangulated by a) membership or affiliation with international and EU party associations, b) self-identification, and c) extant categorizations including Parlgov (Doring and Manow 2011) and the Comparative Manifesto Project (Volkens et al. 2020). We update family codings based on ideological shifts or organizational changes as documented on the party's website or Wikipedia.<sup>3</sup>

Family id	Family	Dummies
1	Radical Right	RADRT
2	Conservatives	CON
3	Liberal	LIB
4	Christian-Democratic	CD
5	Socialist	SOC
6	Radical Left	RADLEFT
7	Green	GREEN
8	Regionalist	REG
9	No family	NOFAMILY
10	Confessional	CONFESS
11	Agrarian/Centre	AGRARIAN/CENTRE

<sup>2</sup> Political parties that obtained 3% or more in the national election immediately prior to the survey or that elected at least one representative to the national or European parliament are included.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Some parties may fit into two or more categories (e.g., at various times, Lega can be classified as TAN and Regionalist). CHES users are advised to review family codings to ensure they match their own research goals and definitions.

**electionyear** = year for national election most prior to the survey, used to calculate vote and seat.

**vote** = vote percentage received by the party in the national election most prior to the survey.<sup>4</sup>

**seat** = seat # of the party in the national election most prior to the survey.

**seatperc** = seat share of the party in the national election most prior to the survey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> All national party vote and seat shares up to December 2023 are collected from the ParlGov database (http://www.parlgov.org) and checked with wikipedia.org. Source: Döring, Holger, and Philip Manow. 2024. "Parliaments and Governments Database (ParlGov): Release 2024." Harvard Dataverse, V1. — doi:10.7910/DVN/2VZ5ZC. Data on national elections held since January 2024 are collected with our own research using digital sources. Parties that either did not run in the most recent election or did not receive enough votes to pass the threshold are coded as missing (.). 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.

COUNTRY	PARTY_ID	PARTY	PARTY NAME IN LOCAL LANGUAGE	PARTY NAME IN ENGLISH
Belgium	102	PS	Parti Socialiste	Socialist Party
Ü	103	Vooruit/ SP	Vooruit; Socialistische Partij	Onward; Socialist Party
	104	ECOLO	Écologistes Confédérés pour l'organisation de luttes originales	Confederated ecologists for the organisation of original struggles
	105	Groen; Agalev	Groen!	Green!
	106	MR; PRL	Mouvement Réformateur; Parti Réformateur Libéral	Reformist Movement; Liberal Reformist Party
	107	Open VLD; PVV	Open Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten; Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang	Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats; Party of Liberty and Progress
	108	LE; CDH; PSC	Les Engagés; Centre Démocrate Humaniste; Parti Social Chrétien	The Committed Ones; Humanist Democratic Centre; Christian Social Party
	109	CD&V CVP	Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams; Christelijke Volkspartij	Christian Democratic & Flemish; Christian People's Party
	110	N-VA; VU	Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie; Volksunie	New Flemish Alliance; People's Union
	111	DéFI; FDF	Démocrate fédéraliste independent; Front Démocratique des Francophones	Democratic, Federalist, Independent; Francophone Democratic Front
	112	VB	Vlaams Belang; Vlaams Blok	Flemish Interest; Flemish Bloc
	119	PVDA-PTB	Partij van de Arbeid van België/Parti du travail de Belgique	Workers' Party of Belgium
Denmark	201	S; SD	Socialdemokratiet	Social Democrats
	202	RV	Det Radikale Venstre	Radical Left-Social Liberal Party
	203	DKF; KF	Det Konservative Folkeparti	Conservatives
	206	SF	Socialistisk Folkeparti	Green Left; Socialist People's Party
	211	V	Venstre; Danmarks Liberale Parti	Liberal Party of Denmark
	213	EL; ENO	Enhedslisten De Rød-Grønne	Unity List-Red/Green Alliance
	215	DF, DPP	Dansk Folkeparti	Danish People's Party
	218	LA; NLA	Liberal Alliance (LA); Ny Alliance	Liberal Alliance; New Alliance
	219	ALT; A	Alternativet (Å)	The Alternative
	220	NB	Nye Borgerlige	New Right, New Bourgeois
	221	M	Moderaterne	Moderates
	222	DD	Danmarksdemokraterne	Denmark Democrats

Germany	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	Grunen	Die Grünen; Bündnis '90	The Greens; Alliance 90
	306	DL/Die Linke; Linkspartei; PDS	Die Linke; Die Linkspartei; Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus	The Left; Left Party; Party of Democratic Socialism
	308	CSU	Christlich Soziale Union in Bayern	Christian Social Union in Bavaria
	310	AfD	Alternative für Deutschland	Alternative for Germany
	311	BSW	Bündnis Sahra Wagenknecht	Sahra Wagenknecht Alliance
	312	FW	Freie Wähler	Free Voters
Greece	401	PASOK	Panellinio Sosialistikó Kínima -Kinima Allagís	Panhellenic Socialist Movement
	402	ND	Néa Dimokratía	New Democracy
	403	SYRIZA; SYN	Synaspismó's Rizospastikís Aristerás; Synaspismós tïs Aristerás kai tïs Proódou	Coalition of the Radical Left; Coalition of the Left and Progress
	404	KKE	Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas	Communist Party of Greece
	416	EL	Elliniki Lysi	Greek Solution
	419	Niki	Dimokratikó Patriotikó Kínima – Níki	Democratic Patriotic Movement – Victory
	420	PE	Plefsi Eleftherias	Course of Freedom
	421	FL	Foní Loyikís	Voice of Reason
	422	Spartans	Spartiátes	Spartans
Spain	501	PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party
	502	PP	Partido Popular; Alianza-Partido Popular	People's Party; People's Alliance Party
	504	IU	Izquierda Unida; Partido Comunista	United Left; Communist Party
	506	EAJ/PNV	Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea/Partido Nacionalista Vasco	Basque Nationalist Party
	511	ERC	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	Republican Left of Catalonia
	513	BNG	Bloque Nacionalista Galego	Galacian Nationalist Bloc
	517	CC	Coalición Canaria (CCa)	Canarian Coalition
	524	EHB	Euskal Herria Bildu; Amaiur	Basque Country Unite/Gather; Amaiur

	525	Podemos	Podemos; Unidas Podemos	We Can
	527	Vox	Vox	Voice (Latin)
	550	PdCAT/JxCat	Partit Demòcrata Europeu Català (Junts per Cataluynar)	Catalan European Democratic Party (Together for Catalonia Partner)
	551	Sumar	Sumar	Unite
	552	Salf	Se Acabó La Fiesta	The Party is Over
	553	UPN	Unión del Pueblo Navarro	Navarrese People's Union
France	601	PCF	Parti Communiste Français	French Communist Party
	602	PS	Parti Socialiste	Socialist Party
	605	LE/EELV	Les Ecologistes; Europe Ecologie Les Verts	The Ecologists; Europe Ecology the Greens
	609	LR	Les Républicains	The Republicans
	610	RN	Le Rassemblement National	National Rally
	613	MoDem	Mouvement pour la démocratie; Union pour la Démocratie Française	Democratic Movement; Union for French Democracy
	626	RE; REM	Rennaissance; La République en Marche!	Renaissance; The Republic Onwards!
	627	FI	La France insoumise	Unbowed France
	630	REC	Reconquête	Reconquest
	631	Horizons	Horizons	Horizons
Ireland	701	- FF	Fianna Fáil	Soldiers of Destiny
	702	FG	Fine Gael	Family of the Irish
	703	Lab	Páirti Lucht Oibre	Labour
	705	GP	Comhaontas Glas	Green Party
	707	SF	Sinn Féin	We Ourselves
	709	S-PBP	People Before ProfitSolidarity	People Before ProfitSolidarity
	710	SD	Daonlathaigh Shóisialta	Social Democrats
	713	Aon	Aontú	Unity

Italy	811	Lega	Lega	Lega; Lega Nord
,	815	FI	Forza Italia -II Popolo della Libertà	Forward Italy-The People of Freedom
	827	SVP	Südtiroler Volkspartei	South Tyrolean People's Party
	832	+E	Più Europa; Movimento Repubblicani Europei	More Europe; European Republican Movement
	837	PD	Partito Democratico	Democratic Party
	838	SI-EV/AVS	Alleanza Verdi e Sinistra	Green and Left Alliance
	844	FDI	Fratelli d'Italia	Brothers of Italy
	845	M5S	Movimento Cinque Stelle	Five Star Movement
	849	A-IV	Azione-Italia Viva	Action-Italy Alive
	850	EV	Europa Verde	Green Europe
Netherlands	1001	CDA	Christen-Democratisch Appèl	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	ChristianUnion
	1017	PVV	Partij voor de Vrijheid	Party for Freedom
	1018	PvdD	Partij voor de Dieren	Party for the Animals
	1050	DENK	Beweging DENK	Think
	1051	FvD	Forum voor Vrijheid en Democratie	Forum for Freedom in Democracy
	1052	Volt	Volt Nederland	Volt Netherlands
	1054	BBB	BoerBurgerBeweging	Farmer-Citizen Movement
	1056	NSC	Nieuw Sociaal Contract	New Social Contract
UK	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	Plaid Cymru
	1107	Green	Green Party	Green Party
	1110	REF UK	Reform UK	Reform UK
Portugal	1201	CDU	Coligação Democrática Unitária	Democratic Unitarian Coalition
J	1202	CDS-PP	Centro Democrático e SocialPartido Poplar	CDSPeople's Party
	1205	PS	Partido Socialista	Socialist Party
	1206	PPD/PSD	Partido Popular Democrático/ Partido Social Democrata	Democratic People's Party/ Social Democratic Party
	1208	BE	Bloco de Esquerda	Left Bloc
	1250	PAN	Pessosas - Animais - Natureza	People - Animals - Nature
	1251	L	Livre	Free
	1252	IL	Iniciativa Liberal	Liberal Initiative
	1253	CHEGA	Chega	Enough
Austria	1301	SPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs
	1302	ÖVP	Österreichische Volkspartei	Österreichische Volkspartei
	1303	FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs	Freedom Party of Austria
	1304	Grüne	Die Grünen	The Austrian Green Party
	1306	NEOS	NEOSDas Neue Österreich und Liberales Forum; Liberales Forum (LIF)	NEOSThe New Austria and Liberal Forum; Liberal Forum
Finland	1401	SDP;SSDP	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen; Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue – Finlands Socialdemokratiska Parti	Social Democratic Party of Finland
	1402	KOK	Kansallinen Kokoomus	National Coalition Party
	1403	KESK	Suomen Keskusta	Finnish Center Party
	1404	VAS; DL	Vasemmistoliitto; Demokraattinen Liitto – Demokratiska Förbundet	Left Alliance; Democratic Union
	1405	PS; P; SP	Suomen Puolue; Persussuomalaiset; Perussuomalaiset – Sannfinländarna	Finnish Party; True Finns; Finns Party
	1406	RKP/SFP	Ruotsalainen kansanpuolu/Svenska folkpartiet	Swedish People's Party
	1408	VIHR	Vihreä Liitto	Green League

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	2104	KDU-CSL	Křesťanská a demokratická unie – Československá strana lidová	Christian Democratic Union- Czechoslovak People's Party
	2109	TOP09	Tradice Odpovědnost Prosperita 09	Tradition Responsibility Prosperity 09
	2111	ANO2011	Akce nespokojených ob canů	Action of Dissatisfied Citizens
	2114	Pirates	Ceska piratska strana	Czech Pirate Party
	2115	SPD	Svoboda a přrímá demokracie Tomio Okamura	Freedom and Direct Democracy Tomio Okamura
	2116	STAN	Starostové a nezávislí	Mayors and Independents
	2117	Přisaha	Přísaha	Oath
	2118	MOTO	Motoristé sobě	Motorists for Themselves
Estonia	2201	Isamaa	Isamaa	Fatherland
	2202	EK	Eesti Keskerakond	Estonian Centre Party
	2203	ER	Eesti Reformierakond	Estonian Reform Party
	2204	SDE	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond	Social Democratic Party
	2209	EKRE	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond	Conservative People's Party
	2210	E200	Erakond Eesti 200	Estonia 200
	2211	Parempoolsed	Parempoolsed	The Right
	2212	Vasakliit	Vasakliit	Left Alliance
Hungary	2301	MSZP	Magyar Szocialista Párt	Hungarian Socialist Party
0 /	2302	Fidesz	Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség / Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt	FideszHungarian Civic Alliance - Christian Democratic People's Party
	2308	JOBBIK	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom	Jobbik Movement for a Better Hungary
	2309	LMP-MZP	Lehet Más a Politika-Magyarország Zöld Pártja	Politics can be Different-Hungary's Green Party
	2311	DK	Demokratikus Koalíció	Democratic Coalition
	2314	Momentum	Momentum Mozgalom/MM	Momentum Movement
	2315	MKKP	Magyar Kétfarkú Kutya Párt	Hungarian Two Tailed Dog Party
	2316	MHM	Mi Hazánk Mozgalom	Our Homeland Movement
	2318	Tisza	Tisztelet és Szabadság Pártja	Tisza – Respect and Freedom Party
Latvia	2402	LKS	Latvijas Krievu savienība	Latvian Russian Union
	2405	ZZS	Zaļo un Zemnieku savienība	Green and Farmers' Union
	2406	NA	Nacionālā apvienība / Tēvzemei un Brīvībai / LNNK	National Alliance/For Fatherland and Freedom/ LNNk

	2410	Saskaņa/SDPS	Sociāldemokrātiskā Partija "Saskaņa"	Social Democratic Party "Harmony"
	2412	Vienotiba/V	Jaunā Vienotība	New Unity
	2414	AS/LRA	Latvijas Reģionu apvienība	Latvian Association of Regions
	2417	AP!/ LA	Attīstībai/Par!/ Latvijas attīstībai	Development/For
	2418	S!	Stabilitātei!	For Stability!
	2419	LPV	Latvija pirmajā vietā	Latvia First
	2420	Progresivie/PRO	Progresīvie	The Progressives
Lithuania	2501	LSDP	Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija	Lithuanian Social Democratic Party
	2506	TS-LKD	Tėvynės Sąjunga	Homeland Union
	2507	LVZS	Lietuvos valstiečių sąjunga	Lithuanian Peasant Union
	2511	LLRA	Lietuvos lenkų rinkimų akcija	Election Action of Lithuania's Poles
	2518	LS; LRLS	Liberalų Sąjūdis	Liberal Movement
	2524	Laisves/LP	Laisvės partija	Freedom Party
	2525	PPNA	Nemuno aušra	Dawn of Nemunas
	2526	DSVL	Demokratų sąjunga "Vardan Lietuvos"	Union of Democrats "For Lithuania"
	2527	NS	Nacionalinis susivienijimas	National Alliance
	2528	PLT	Laisvė ir Teisingumas	Freedom and Justice
Poland	2601	Nowa Lewica/SLD	Nowa Lewica	New Left (continuation of SLD)
	2603	PO	Platforma Obywatelska	Civic Platform
	2605	PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	Law and Justice
	2606	PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	Polish People's Party
	2619	Konfederacja	Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość	Confederation Liberty and Independence
	2620	Razem	Razem	Together
	2623	Polska 2050	Polska 2050 Szymona Hołowni	Szymon Hołownia's Poland 2050
Romania	2701	PSD	Partidul Social Democrat	Social Democratic Party
	2705	PNL	Partidul Naţional Liberal	National Liberal Party
	2706	UDMR	Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România	Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania
	2713	USR	Uniunea Salvaţi România	Save Romania Union
	2715	AUR	Alianța pentru Unirea Românilor	Alliance for the Union of Romanians

	2716	SOS RO	SOS România	S.O.S. Romania
	2717	POT	Partidul Oamenilor Tineri	Party of Young People
Slovakia	2803	Smer-SD	Smer – sociálna demokracia	DirectionSocial Democracy
	2805	KDH	Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie	Christian Democratic Movement
	2809	SNS	Slovenská národná strana	Slovak National Party
	2812	SaS	Sloboda a solidarita	Freedom and Solidarity
	2814	OlaNO	Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti	Ordinary People and Independent
	2819	PS	Progresívne Slovensko	Progressive Slovakia
	2822	Aliancia	Aliancia – Szövetség	Alliance
	2823	Hlas	Hlas – sociálna demokracia	Voice – Social Democracy
	2824	Republika	Hnutie Republika	Republic Movement
Slovenia	2902	SDS	Slovenska demokratska stranka	Slovenian Democratic Party
	2903	SD	Socialni demokrati	Social Democrats
	2905	NSi	Nova Slovenija – Krščanski demokrati	New SloveniaChristian Democrats
	2912	Levica	Levica	The Left
	2916	GS	Gibanje Svoboda	Freedom Movement
	2917	Vesna	VESNA – zelena stranka	Spring – Green party
	2918	Resni.ca	Resni.ca	Tru.th
	2919	SLS	Slovenska ljudska stranka	Slovenian People's Party (part successor SNS-2905
Croatia	3101	HDZ	Hrvatska demokratska zajednica	Croatian Democratic Union
	3102	SDP	Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske	Social Democratic Party of Croatia
	3106	IDS	Istarski demokratski sabor	Istrian Democratic Assembly
	3110	SDSS	Samostalna demokratska srpska stranka	Independent Democratic Serb Party
	3115	Most	Most nezavisnih lista	Bridge of Independent Lists
	3120	M!	Možemo!	We Can!
	3121	Centar	Centar	Centre
	3122	DPS	Domovinski pokret	Homeland Movement

Turkey	3401	AKP	Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi	Justice and Development Party
	3402	CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi	Republican People's Party
	3403	MHP	Milliyetci Hareket Partisi	Nationalist Movement Party
	3408	IYI	lyi Parti	Good Party
	3415	DEM/YSP	Halkların Eşitlik ve Demokrasi Partisi	Peoples' Equality and Democracy Party
	3416	YRP	Yeniden Refah Partisi	New Welfare Party
	3417	TiP	Türkiye İşçi Partisi	Workers' Party of Turkey
Norway	3501	Ар	Arbeiderpartiet	Labour Party
	3502	FrP	Fremskrittspartiet	Progress Party
	3503	Н	Høyre	Conservative Party
	3504	SV	Sosialistisk Venstreparti	Socialist Left Party
	3505	Sp	Senterpartiet	Centre Party
	3506	KrF	Kristelig Folkeparti	Christian Democratic Party
	3507	V	Venstre	Liberal Party
	3508	MDG	Miljøpartiet De Grønne	Green Party
	3509	RV	Rød Valgallianse	Red Electoral Alliance
Switzerland	3601	SVP/UDC	Schweizerische Volkspartei – Union Démocratique du Centre	Swiss People's Party
	3602	SP/PS	Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz – Parti Socialiste Suisse	Social Democratic Party of Switzerland
	3603	FDP/PLR; FDP	Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei der Schweiz – Parti Radical-Democratique Suisse	The Liberals
	3604	DM/LC/AdC	Die Mitte (merger of Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei/Parti démocrate-chrétien (CVP/PDC) & Bürgerlich- Demokratische Partei /Parti bourgeois démocratique (BDP/PBD)	The Centre; Catholic Conservative/ Christian Democratic People's Party and Conservative Democratic Party
	3605	GPS/PES; Grue	Grüne – Écologiste	Green Party
	3606	GPL/PVL	Grünliberale Partei der Schweiz – Parti Vert-Libéral	Green Liberal Party
	3607	EVP/PEV	Evangelische Volkspartei der Schweiz/Parti Populaire Evangélique Suisse	Evangelical People's Party

	3608	EDU/UDF	Eidgenössisch-Demokratische Union/Union Démocratique Fédérale (EDU/UDF)	Federal Democratic Union
	3610	Lega	Lega dei Ticinesi	Ticino League
	3615	MCG	Mouvement Citoyens Genevois	Geneva Citizens' Movement
Malta	3701	PL	Partit Laburista	Labour Party
	3702	PN	Partit Nazzjonalista	Nationalist Party
Cyprus	4001	DISY	Dimokratikós Sinagermós	Democratic Rally
	4003	AKEL	Anorthotikó Kómma Ergazómenou Laoú	Progressive Party of Working People
	4004	DIKO	Dimokratikó Kómma	Democratic Party
	4005	EDEK	Sosialistiko Komma	Movement for Social Democracy
	4006	KOSP	Kínima Oikológon – Synergasía Politón	Movement of Ecologists – Citizens' Cooperation
	4009	ELAM	Ethniko Laiko Metopo	National Popular Front
	4015	DiPa	Dimokratiki Parataxi	Democratic Front
Iceland	4501	Sj	Sjálfstæðisflokkurinn	Independence Party
	4502	Graen	Vinstrihreyfingin – grænt framboð	Left-Green Movement
	4503	F	Framsóknarflokkurinn	Progressive Party
	4504	M	Miðflokkurinn	Centre Party
	4505	Sam	Samfylkingin	Social Democratic Alliance
	4506	Pi	Pírata	Pirate Party
	4507	V	Viðreisn	Revival / Liberal Reform Party
	4508	FIF	Flokkur fólksins	People's Party

# General Questions on European Integration<sup>5</sup>

eu\_position: How would you describe the GENERAL POSITION ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION that the party leadership took during 2024?

```
1 = strongly opposed
```

2= opposed

3 = somewhat opposed

4 = neutral

5 = somewhat in favor

6 = in favor

7 = strongly in favor

eu\_salience: Next, we would like you to think about the SALIENCE of European integration for a party. During 2024, how important was the EU to the parties in their public stance?

```
0 = No importance
```

10 = great importance

eu\_dissent: What about CONFLICT OR DISSENT within parties over European integration during 2024?

0 = party was completely united

.

10=party was extremely divided

eu\_blur: How blurry was each party's position on European integration during 2024?

0 = not at all blurred

•

10= extremely blurred

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Experts were provided with a 'don't know' option when assessing the positioning of political parties on a policy or ideology. When compiling the means dataset, these scores were recoded as missing.

# **Ideological Questions**

We now turn to a few questions on the **ideological positions** of political parties in **[country] in 2024.** 

Irecon: 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. Those on the economic right want a reduced role for government.

```
0 = extreme left.10 = extreme right
```

Irecon\_blur: Some parties may BLUR POSITIONS on economic issues, by taking vague, ambiguous, or contradictory stances. During 2024, how blurry, would you say, is each party's position on economic issues?

```
0 = not at all blurred.10 = extremely blurred
```

Irecon\_dissent: During 2024, how DIVIDED has each party been on ECONOMIC issues?

```
0 = party was completed united.10 = party was extremely divided
```

Irecon\_salience: We would now like you to think about the SALIENCE or importance of economic issues for a party. During 2024, how important were economic issues to the parties in their public stance?

```
0 = no importance.10 = of great importance
```

galtan: Parties can be classified in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights. "LIBERTARIAN" OR "POSTMATERIALIST" parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, abortion rights, same-sex marriage, and democratic participation. "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.10 = traditional/authoritarian
```

galtan\_blur: Some parties may BLUR positions, by taking vague, ambiguous, or contradictory stances on libertarian/traditional issues. During 2024, how blurry is each party's position on economic issues?

```
0 = not at all blurred.10 = extremely blurred
```

galtan\_dissent: During 2024, how divided has each party been on LIBERTARIAN/TRADITIONAL issues?

```
0 = party was completed united.10 = party was extremely divided
```

galtan\_salience: During 2024, how important or SALIENT were libertarian/traditional issues to the parties in their public stance?

```
0 = no importance.10 = of great importance
```

Irgen: And finally, please tick the box that best describes each party's OVERALL IDEOLOGY on a scale ranging from 0 (extreme left) to 10 (extreme right).

```
0 = extreme left.10 = extreme right
```

# Policy dimensions

And now we'd like to ask you about the positions of the party leadership on **some specific policy** areas.

immigrate policy: Where did political parties stand on IMMIGRATION in 2024?

```
0 = strongly favors a liberal policy on immigration
```

10 = strongly favors a restrictive policy on immigration

immigrate\_salience: IMPORTANCE/SALIENCE of IMMIGRATION POLICY for each of the following parties.

```
0 = no importance
```

.

10 = great importance

immigrate\_dissent: What about how DIVIDED the parties were on IMMIGRATION POLICY?

0 = party was completed united

10 = party was extremely divided

multiculturalism: Next, what was their POSITION ON INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS AND ASYLUM SEEKERS (multiculturalism vs. assimilation) in 2024?

0 = strongly favors multiculturalism

.

10 = strongly favors assimilation

multicult\_salience: IMPORTANCE/SALIENCE of INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS AND ASYLUM SEEKERS (multiculturalism vs. assimilation)

0 = no importance

.

10 = great importance

# redistribution: Next, where did these political parties stand on REDISTRIBUTION in 2024? 0 = strongly favors redistribution 10 = Strongly opposes redistribution redist\_salience: IMPORTANCE/SALIENCE of REDISTRIBUTION for each of the following parties 0 = no importance10 = great importance climate\_change: What was their position towards CLIMATE CHANGE POLICIES during 2024? 0 = strongly supports climate change policies even at the cost of economic growth 10 = strongly supports economic growth even at the cost of climate change policies climate change salience: IMPORTANCE/SALIENCE of CLIMATE CHANGE POLICIES for each of the following parties 0 = no importance10 = great importance environment: What was their position towards ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY during 2024? 0 = strongly supports environmental protection even at the cost of economic growth 10 = strongly supports economic growth even at the cost of environmental protection environment salience: IMPORTANCE/SALIENCE of ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY for each of the following parties 0 = no importance10 = great importance

spendvstax: Position on IMPROVING PUBLIC SERVICES VS. REDUCING TAXES during 2024 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

### civlib laworder: Position on CIVIL LIBERTIES VS. LAW AND ORDER

0 = strongly favors civil liberties

.

10 = strongly favors tough measures to fight crime

# womens\_rights: Position on policies supporting WOMEN'S RIGHTS (e.g. equal pay, family leave, reproductive health)

0 = strongly supports women's rights policies

.

10 = strongly opposes women's rights policies

# lgbtq\_rights: Position on policies supporting LGBTQ+ RIGHTS (e.g. marriage equality, adoption rights, transgender rights)

0 = strongly supports LGBTQ+ rights

.

10 = strongly opposes LGBTQ+ rights

#### samesex marriage: Position on same-sex marriage

0 = strongly supports supports same-sex marriage rights

10 = strongly opposes supports same-sex marriage rights

## religious\_principles: Position on the 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 VS. 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 DECENTRALISATION TO REGIONS/LOCALITIES

0 = strongly favors political decentralisation

10 = strongly opposes political decentralisation

### executive\_power: Position on EXECUTIVE POWER

0 = executive leaders should be constrained in their actions

10 = executive leaders should be able to act without constraint

## judicial\_independence: Position on JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE

0 = the judiciary should be independent

•

10 = the government should have influence over the judiciary

In the next section of the survey, we'd like your evaluation of party characteristics.

corrupt\_salience: How salient has REDUCING POLITICAL CORRUPTION been to each party in 2024?

```
0 = not important at all.10 = extremely important
```

anti islam: How salient has ANTI-ISLAM RHETORIC been for the party leadership in 2024?

```
0 = not important at all.10 = extremely important
```

people\_v\_elite: 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. Where did the parties fall on this dimension during 2024?

```
0 = elected office holders should make the most important decisions10 = 'the people", not politicians, should make the most important decisions
```

anti\_elite\_salience: How salient has ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT and ANTI-ELITE RHETORIC been to each party during 2024?

```
0 = not important at all10 = extremely important
```

# Questions on EU policies

Now we would like your opinion on where the party leadership stood in 2024 on the following EU policy in 2024?

## eu\_foreign: EU authority over FOREIGN and SECURITY POLICY

- 1 = strongly opposes
- 2= opposes
- 3 = somewhat opposes
- 4 = neutral
- 5 = somewhat favors
- 6 = favors
- 7 = strongly favors

# eu\_intmark: The INTERNAL MARKET (i.e. free movement of goods, services, capital and labor)

- 1 = strongly opposes
- 2= opposes
- 3 = somewhat opposes
- 4 = neutral
- 5 = somewhat favors
- 6 = favors
- 7 = strongly favors

# eu\_russia: Thinking about the European Union's relationship with Russia, where do you place each party on its preferred action for European countries to take?

0 = European countries should invest more in defence and security to defend against Russian aggression

10 = European countries should invest more in trade and diplomacy with Russia to improve relations