## 1999 EXPERT SURVEY ON NATIONAL PARTIES AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Center for European Studies University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

## **Instructions**

- Please answer the questions in this survey by circling the response that best captures your view
  of the positions of the national parties of [COUNTRY]. A list of party abbreviations is included
  as a separate sheet with this survey.
- In answering the questions, please keep in mind that we would like you to reflect on the positions of the **national** parties over the course of **1999** (unless we state differently in the questions).
- Some questions are easier to answer than others. We would like you to answer all questions. However, should you encounter a question that you do not know the answer to, please feel free to skip that question. You can also skip particular parties if you do not feel sufficiently familiar with them. We would rather have you return an incomplete questionnaire than no questionnaire at all.
- After you have filled out the survey, please place it in the addressed return envelope and return it to the Center for European Studies of the University of North Carolina.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Q.1. We would like to start this questionnaire with several **broad** questions about the positions of political parties vis-à-vis the EU. In the rows below you will find statements that describe various positions toward the EU. In the columns we have listed the names of the most important parties in [COUNTRY]. In each party column, please circle the number that corresponds to the statement that, in your mind, best describes the position toward the EU that the party's leadership has taken over the course of 1999. Please, circle only one number.

The overall orientation of the <u>party leadership</u> towards European Integration:	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) Strongly opposed to European Integration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Opposed to European Integration	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) Somewhat opposed to European Integration	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4) Neutral towards European Integration	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5) Somewhat in favor of European Integration	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
(6) In favor of European Integration	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
(7) Strongly in favor of European Integration	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7

Q.2. Next, we would like you to think about the salience of European integration to the political parties of [COUNTRY]. During 1999, how important has the EU been to the parties in their public stance? Please, circle the appropriate response for each of the following parties.

The relative <u>importance</u> of this issue in the <u>party's</u> <u>public stance</u> :	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) European Integration is of no importance at all	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) European Integration is of little importance	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) European Integration is of some importance	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4) European Integration is of great importance	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

Q.3. How much internal dissent has there been in the various parties in [COUNTRY] over the issue of European integration in 1999? Please, circle a response for each party listed in the columns.

The extent of <u>internal dissent</u> over the party's position on the issue:	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) Complete unity	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Minor dissent	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) Significant dissent	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4) Party evenly split on issue	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5) Leadership position opposed by a majority of party activists	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
party activists			ĺ	ĺ					ĺ	

**Q.4.** In Q.1 we asked you to characterize the position of the party leaderships of various parties with a single number. In reality, party leaderships rarely speak in a single voice. Rather, it is more appropriate to characterize the opinions of the leadership by a **range**. In some cases this range is narrow, in other cases it is quite wide.

Using the same scale that you used in Q.1 we would like you to mark the range of opinions that, in your opinion, characterizes the leadership of the parties in [COUNTRY] over the course of **1999**. We ask you to do this by circling two numbers that give the boundaries of this range. If you believe that there is virtually no agreement about European integration and that the leadership contains both significant strong opponents and significant strong proponents of the EU, you should circle (1) and (7) as the boundaries. If you think the range of opinions is narrower, you should circle numbers that are closer together. Finally, if you believe that everyone in the party leadership agrees on the proper position toward Europe, you should circle the same number that you used in Q.1.

The overall orientation of the <u>party leadership</u> towards European Integration:	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) Strongly opposed to European Integration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Opposed to European Integration	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) Somewhat opposed to European Integration	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4) Neutral towards European Integration	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5) Somewhat in favor of European Integration	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
(6) In favor of European Integration	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
(7) Strongly in favor of European Integration	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7

**Q.5.** Looking ahead to the future of the EU, where do you think the leadership of the parties in [COUNTRY] stand on the scope of **further integration**? In your opinion, does the leadership of the parties below think that unification has already gone too far or does it think unification should be pushed further?

The orientation of the <u>party leadership</u> towards <u>further</u> European Integration:	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) Unification has gone much too far.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Unification has gone somewhat too far.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) Just the right amount of unification has been	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
accomplished at this point.										
(4) Unification should be pushed somewhat further.	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5) Unification should be pushed much further.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

- **Q.6.** Now we would like to ask you several questions about **specific aspects** of European integration. Below you will find several plans and proposals that have been developed concerning the future of the EU. Please, indicate what position the party leaderships of the political parties below have taken on these plans and proposals over the past year. If you are confident that a party leadership has not taken a position and one cannot be inferred from its actions, you may indicate that as well.
- **(a)** We would like to start with the party leadership's position on the powers of the **European Parliament**. Some parties advocate that the powers of the European Parliament should be drastically expanded, to remove the so-called "democratic deficit." Other parties argue that the powers of the European Parliament are already extensive and that there is no need to expand these powers further. In your judgment, where does the leadership of the parties listed below stand vis-à-vis expansion of the powers of the EP?

The position of the party leadership on the powers of the European Parliament:	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) Strongly opposes expanding EP powers	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Opposes expanding EP powers	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) Somewhat opposed to expanding EP powers	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4) Neutral towards expanding EP powers	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5) Somewhat in favor of expanding EP powers	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
(6) Favors expanding EP powers	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
(7) Strongly favors expanding EP powers	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
(8) Party has not yet taken a position	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8

(b) Next, consider the issue of **fiscal policy**. There is an ongoing debate about regime competition and "social dumping" in the EU. Some political parties wish to harmonize VAT rates, corporate taxes, and savings taxes across EU member states so as to constrain regime competition. Other parties, on the other hand, wish to leave such competencies in the hands of national governments. Where does the leadership of the following parties fall?

The position of the party leadership on European fiscal policy:	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) Strongly opposes tax harmonization	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Opposes tax harmonization	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) Somewhat opposed to tax harmonization	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4) Neutral towards tax harmonization	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5) Somewhat in favor of tax harmonization	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
(6) Favors tax harmonization	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
(7) Strongly favors tax harmonization	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
(8) Party has not yet taken a position	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8

(c) Now consider the issue of a common **employment** policy. Some political parties have argued that the EU should move in the direction of developing a common policy for assuring job opportunities for citizens. They view a common employment policy as the best route toward reducing unemployment. Other parties have argued that economic circumstances across EU member states are too diverse to permit a common employment policy. Moreover, the national government ought to retain full sovereignty in the domain of employment policy. Where does the leadership of the following parties fall?

The position of the party leadership on <u>common</u> employment policy:	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) Strongly opposes a common employment policy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Opposes a common employment policy	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) Somewhat opposed to a common employment policy	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4) Neutral towards a common employment policy	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5) Somewhat in favor of a common employment policy	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
(6) Favors a common employment policy	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
(7) Strongly favors a common employment policy	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
(8) Party has not yet taken a position	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8

(d) Now consider the issue of structural or cohesion policy. This policy transfers resources to the poorest regions of the EU and is the second largest item in the EU's budget. Some political parties wish to rein in or eliminate the EU's cohesion policy, whereas others wish to sustain or expand it. What about the leadership of the parties listed below?

The position of the party leadership on <u>cohesion</u> <u>policy:</u>	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) Strongly opposes the EU's cohesion policy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Opposes the EU's cohesion policy	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) Somewhat opposed to the EU's cohesion policy	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4) Neutral towards the EU's cohesion policy	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5) Somewhat in favor of the EU's cohesion policy	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
(6) Favors the EU's cohesion policy	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
(7) Strongly favors the EU's cohesion policy	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
(8) Party has not yet taken a position	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8

(e) The next issue is environmental policy. Some political parties think that the EU should stay out off environmental policy. However, other parties believe that a European environmental policy is necessary because environmental problems know no boundaries. Where does the leadership of the following parties stand on this issue?

The position of the party leadership on a common environmental policy:	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) Strongly opposes a common policy on the environment	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Opposes a common policy on the environment	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) Somewhat opposed to a common policy on the environment	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4) Neutral towards a common policy on the environment	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5) Somewhat in favor of a common policy on the environment	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
(6) Favors a common policy on the environment	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
(7) Strongly favors a common policy on the environment	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
(8) Party has not yet taken a position	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8

(f) Now consider the issue of political refugees. There has been talk that the EU should adopt a common policy concerning aliens who seek political asylum in EU member states. This policy should harmonize the standards for political asylum across EU member states by providing for a common status for everyone who seeks asylum. Some political parties view such a policy as very desirable, while other parties view it as undesirable. How about the parties below?

The position of the party leadership on a common policy in regards of <u>political asylum:</u>	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) Strongly opposes a common policy on political asylum	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Opposes a common policy on political asylum	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) Somewhat opposed to a common policy on political asylum	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4) Neutral towards a common policy on political asylum	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5) Somewhat in favor of a common policy on political asylum	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
(6) Favors a common policy on political asylum	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
(7) Strongly favors a common policy on political asylum	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
(8) Party has not yet taken a position	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8

(g) Finally, consider the issue of a common foreign and security policy in the EU. Some political parties believe that it would be a good thing if the EU were to develop a common foreign and security policy, so that the EU member states could speak with a single voice in foreign affairs. Other parties believe that foreign and security policies are the prerogatives of national governments. Where does the leadership of the parties below stand?

The position of the party on a <u>common foreign and security policy</u> :	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
(1) Strongly opposes a common foreign and security policy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
(2) Opposes a common foreign and security policy	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3) Somewhat opposed to a common foreign and security policy	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4) Neutral towards a common foreign and security policy	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5) Somewhat in favor of a common foreign and security policy	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
(6) Favors a common foreign and security policy	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
(7) Strongly favors a common foreign and security policy	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
(8) Party has not yet taken a position	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8

- Q.8. Now we would like to ask you some questions concerning the ideological position of political parties in [COUNTRY].
- (a) First, we would like you to characterize the parties in terms of their **broad ideological stances**. On the scale below, 0 indicates that a party is at the extreme left of the ideological spectrum, 10 indicates that it is at the extreme right, and 5 means that it is at the center. For each party, please circle the ideological position that you believe best characterizes where a party is located in terms of its overall ideology.

Broad Ideology	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
0 Extreme Left	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5 Center	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
10 Extreme Right	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

(b) Next we want to ask you about the ideological positions of parties on more specific matters. Political scientists often classify parties in terms of the ideological stance they take on economic issues. Parties to the right on economic issues tend to emphasize a reduction of the economic role of the government; they want lower taxes, less regulation, privatization, reduced government spending, and a leaner welfare state that poses fewer burdens on employers. Parties to the left on economic issues want the government to retain an active role in the economy. Using these criteria, please indicate where the parties are located in terms of their economic ideology.

Economic Ideology	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
0 Extreme Left	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5 Center	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
10 Extreme Right	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

(c) Another way parties are sometimes classified is in terms of their views of **democratic** freedoms and rights. "Libertarian" or "post-materialist" parties tend to favor expanded personal freedoms and rights. Such parties, for example, support abortion, doctor-assisted suicide, same-sex marriages. They favor increased democratic participation and freedom of speech. At the same time, they oppose discrimination on ethnic, religious, political or sexual grounds. In sum, these parties want government to stay out of the life choices that people make and they promote widespread democracy. "Traditional" or "authoritarian" parties often reject these ideas. These parties believe that the government should be a firm authority that expresses moral voice. To these parties, order is preferable to unbridled participation and freedom. On the scale below, please indicate where parties are located in terms of their ideological views of freedoms and rights.

Freedoms and Rights	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E	Party F	Party G	Party H	Party I	Party J
0 "Libertarian" /	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Post-materialist"										
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5 Center	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
10 "Traditional" / "Authoritarian"	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

This completes the survey. Thank you for your participation.