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# 2002 EXPERT SURVEY

## ON NATIONAL PARTIES AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Center for European Studies  
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

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### Instructions

- Please answer the questions in this survey by circling the response that best captures your view of the positions of the leadership of national parties of [COUNTRY]. We have attached a list of the local abbreviations of the national parties along with their full names.
- Please keep in mind that we would like you to reflect on the positions of the **national parties in 2002** (unless we state differently in the questions).
- Please keep in mind as well that we are interested in the views of the party leadership: the chairperson, the party presidium, and the parliamentary party (as opposed to the views of the party base.)
- We would like you to answer all questions. However, please feel free to skip questions you cannot answer, and to skip parties that are unfamiliar to you. **We would rather that you return an incomplete questionnaire than no questionnaire at all.**
- After you have filled out the survey, please mail it to the Center for European Studies of the University of North Carolina in the enclosed envelope. Or you can download the questionnaire from <http://www.....>, and fill it out online.

We thank you very much for taking the time to share your knowledge with us.

I. We would like to start this questionnaire with two **broad questions** about the positions of political parties on European integration. We have listed the most important parties in [COUNTRY].

**Q.1.** First, how would you describe the **general position on European integration** that the party's leadership has taken over the **course of 2002**? For each party row, please circle the number that corresponds best to your view. Circle only one number.

	Strongly <u>opposed</u> to European integration	Opposed to European integration	Somewhat opposed to European integration	Neutral towards European integration	Somewhat in favor of European integration	In favor of European integration	Strongly in <u>favor</u> of European integration
Party A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Party B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Party C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Party D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Party E	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Party F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Party G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Party H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Party I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Party J	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Q.2.** Next, we would like you to think about the **salience** of European integration. Over the course of **2002**, how important has the EU been to the parties in their public stance?

	European integration is <u>of no importance at all</u>	European integration is of little importance	European integration is of some importance	European integration is <u>of great importance</u>
Party A	1	2	3	4
Party B	1	2	3	4
Party C	1	2	3	4
Party D	1	2	3	4
Party E	1	2	3	4
Party F	1	2	3	4
Party G	1	2	3	4
Party H	1	2	3	4
Party I	1	2	3	4
Party J	1	2	3	4

**II.** Now we would like to ask about **specific policies** related to European integration. What **position** have party leaderships taken over the course of **2002?**

**Q.3.** First, take the position of the party leadership on the **powers of the European Parliament**. Some parties want more powers for the European Parliament. Other parties are opposed to expanding further the powers of the European Parliament. Where does the leadership of the following parties stand?

If you are confident that a party leadership has not taken a position and one cannot be deduced from its actions, circle number 8 in the last column.

	Strongly <u>opposes</u> expanding EU powers	Opposes expanding EU powers	Somewhat opposes	Neutral	Somewhat in favor	Favors expanding EU powers	Strongly <u>favors</u> expanding EU powers	Party has not taken a position
Party A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party E	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party J	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

**Q.4.** Next consider the **internal market**. Some parties wish to strengthen EU powers to eliminate market barriers (i.e. free movement of goods, services, capital, and labor). Other parties oppose strengthening EU powers in this area. Where does the leadership of the following parties stand?

	Strongly <u>opposes</u> expanding EU powers on the internal market	Opposes expanding EU powers on the internal market	Somewhat opposes	Neutral	Somewhat in favor	Favors expanding EU powers on the internal market	Strongly <u>favors</u> expanding EU powers on the internal market	Party has not taken a position
Party A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party E	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party J	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

**Q.5.** Now consider **EU employment policy**. Some political parties support strengthening the EU's common employment policy. Other parties oppose a common employment policy. Where does the leadership of the following parties stand?

	Strongly <u>opposes</u> EU employment policy	Opposes EU employment policy	Somewhat opposes	Neutral	Somewhat in favor	Favors EU employment policy	Strongly <u>favors</u> EU employment policy	Party has not taken a position
Party A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party E	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party J	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

**Q.6. Next is EU agricultural spending.** Some political parties wish to maintain EU agricultural spending, while other parties oppose agricultural spending. Where does the leadership of the following parties stand?

	Strongly <u>opposes</u> EU agricultural spending	Opposes EU agricultural spending	Somewhat opposes	Neutral	Somewhat in favor	Favors EU agricultural spending	Strongly <u>favors</u> EU agricultural spending	Party has not taken a position
Party A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party E	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party J	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

**Q.7.** Now consider **EU cohesion or regional policy (e.g. the structural funds)**. Some political parties wish to maintain or expand the EU's cohesion policy, whereas others wish to reduce or eliminate it. Where does the leadership of the following parties stand?

	Strongly <u>opposes</u> EU cohesion policy	Opposes EU cohesion policy	Somewhat opposes	Neutral	Somewhat in favor	Favors EU cohesion policy	Strongly <u>favors</u> EU cohesion policy	Party has not taken a position
Party A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party E	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party J	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8



**Q.8. How about EU environmental policy?** Some political parties think that the EU's role in environmental policy should be expanded. Other parties oppose this. Where does the leadership of the following parties stand?

	Strongly <u>opposes</u> EU environ- mental policy	Opposes EU environ- mental policy	Somewhat opposes	Neutral	Somewhat in favor	Favors EU environ- mental policy	Strongly <u>favors</u> EU environ- mental policy	Party has not taken a position
Party A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party E	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party J	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

**Q.9.** Now consider **EU policy toward asylum seekers**. Some political parties support the development of a common policy on the treatment of asylum seekers across EU member states. Other parties oppose this. Where does the leadership of the following parties stand?

	Strongly opposes a common asylum policy	Opposes a common asylum policy	Somewhat opposes	Neutral	Somewhat in favor	Favors a common asylum policy	Strongly favors a common asylum policy	Party has not taken a position
Party A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party E	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party J	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

**Q.10.** Next, consider **EU foreign and security policy**. Some political parties believe that the EU should strengthen its common foreign policy and security policy. Other parties believe that these should remain under national control. Where does the leadership of the following parties stand?

	Strongly <u>opposes</u> EU foreign & security policy	Opposes EU foreign & security policy	Somewhat opposes	Neutral	Somewhat in favor	Favors EU foreign & security policy	Strongly <u>favors</u> EU foreign & security policy	Party has not taken a position
Party A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party E	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party J	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

**Q.11.** Finally, consider **EU enlargement** to the candidate countries of postcommunist Europe. Some parties strongly support admitting a large wave of new members (six to eight)\* by 2005; others are opposed or show great reluctance. Where does the party leadership of the following parties stand?

	Strongly <u>opposes</u> accession of large wave	Opposes accession of large wave	Somewhat opposes	Neutral	Somewhat in favor	Favors accession of large wave	Strongly <u>favors</u> accession of large wave	Party has not taken a position
Party A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party E	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party F	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Party J	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

\*The eight candidate countries that may enter by 2005 are: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

III. So far we have asked you to evaluate the position of the party leadership in general on European integration and EU policies. Yet a party leadership may or may not be united on an issue. We would now like you to think about conflict or dissent within parties.

**Q.12.** How much **internal dissent** has there been in the various parties in [COUNTRY] over European integration over the course of **2002**? If you believe that a party is completely united on European integration, please circle **1**. If you believe it is extremely divided, circle **10**. Intermediate numbers reflect the scale and intensity of disagreement inside the party.

	Party is completely united													Party is extremely divided					
Party A	1	—	2	—	3	—	4	—	5	—	6	—	7	—	8	—	9	—	10
Party B	1	—	2	—	3	—	4	—	5	—	6	—	7	—	8	—	9	—	10
Party C	1	—	2	—	3	—	4	—	5	—	6	—	7	—	8	—	9	—	10
Party D	1	—	2	—	3	—	4	—	5	—	6	—	7	—	8	—	9	—	10
Party E	1	—	2	—	3	—	4	—	5	—	6	—	7	—	8	—	9	—	10
Party F	1	—	2	—	3	—	4	—	5	—	6	—	7	—	8	—	9	—	10
Party G	1	—	2	—	3	—	4	—	5	—	6	—	7	—	8	—	9	—	10
Party H	1	—	2	—	3	—	4	—	5	—	6	—	7	—	8	—	9	—	10
Party I	1	—	2	—	3	—	4	—	5	—	6	—	7	—	8	—	9	—	10
Party J	1	—	2	—	3	—	4	—	5	—	6	—	7	—	8	—	9	—	10



**IV. And finally, we would like to ask you some questions concerning the ideological position of political parties in [COUNTRY] in 2002.**

**Q.14.** First, we would like you to classify the parties in terms of their **broad ideology**. 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 best describes a party's overall ideology.

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

**Q.15.** Political scientists often classify parties in terms of their ideological stance on **economic issues**. Parties to the **right** emphasize a reduced economic role for government. They want privatization, lower taxes, less regulation, reduced government spending, and a leaner welfare state. Parties to the **left** want government to play an active role in the economy. Using these criteria, indicate where parties are located in terms of their **economic ideology**.

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



**Q.16.** Parties may also be classified in terms of their views on **democratic freedoms and rights**. **“Libertarian”** or **“post-materialist”** parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, doctor-assisted suicide, same-sex marriages, and greater democratic participation. **“Traditional”** or **“authoritarian”** parties often reject these ideas; they value order and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority. Where are parties located in terms of their **ideological views on freedoms and rights**?

	“Libertarian”/ “Postmaterialist”	Center	“Traditional”/ “Authoritarian”
Party A	0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10		
Party B	0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10		
Party C	0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10		
Party D	0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10		
Party E	0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10		
Party F	0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10		
Party G	0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10		
Party H	0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10		
Party I	0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10		
Party J	0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10		

This completes the survey. Thank you for your participation.