Codebook 'Expert Survey on Party Claims on Corruption and Anti-Establishment Rhetoric' (ESCAE)

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ESCAE covers the electoral campaigns of 118 parties in 42 national parliamentary elections in the 11 EU member states of Central and Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia between 2000 and 2016. It measures the salience on anti-corruption claims and on anti-establishment rhetoric in the parties' campaigns. The dataset consists of two waves. The first wave was conducted in spring 2016 and covers national parliamentary elections between 2000 and March 2016. The second wave was conducted in spring 2017 and covered all national parliamentary elections in 2016.

Party coverage: All parties are included that belonged to the five strongest parties (considering their vote share) and received five percent of the votes or more in at least one of the covered elections (indicated by the variable *important*).[1]

For more information on the reliability, internal and external validity of the dataset, see:

Engler, Sarah. 2018. The survival of new centrist anti-establishment parties. The interplay of anti-corruption discourse and ideology over time. PhD thesis. University of Bern (link): Appendix A.

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[1] Some minor parties are additionally included: Bulgaria without Censorship (BBZ), Dawn of Direct Democracy (Usvit), Christian Democratic Union-People's Party (KDU-CSL), Human Wall (ZZ), Milan Bandić 365-(MB), Conservatives (EKRE), Democratic Coalition (DK), Together (EGY), People's Movement Party (PMP), Alliance of New Citizens (ANO), Network (Siet'), New Slovenia–Christian People's Party (NSI), Alliance of Alenka Bratusek (ZAAB).

Table 1: **Field period, coverage and number of experts**

Country	Field period	No. Parties	No. elections	Year of election	Surveys sent to experts	Surveys returned	Response Rate
1 Bulgaria	1 Feb – 11 Mar 2016	10	5	2001-2014	18	15	83.3%
2 Croatia	17 Mar – 15 Apr 2016	7	2	2011-2015	13	12	92.3%
3 Czech R.	28 Jan – 11 Mar 2016	8	2	2010-2013	19	18	94.7%
4 Estonia	22 Feb – 16 Mar 2016	9	4	2003-2015	15	8	53.3%
5 Hungary	29 Feb – 24 Mar 2016	6	2	2010-2014	17	12	70.6%
6 Latvia	22 Feb – 16 Mar 2016	12	5	2002-2014	9	5	55.6%
7 Lithuania	22 Feb – 16 Mar 2016	10	4	2000-2012	12	7	58.3%
8 Poland	15 Feb – 16 Mar 2016	9	5	2001-2015	18	13	72.2%
9 Romania	2 Feb – 31 Mar 2016	5	2	2008-2012	15	12	80.0%
10 Slovakia	15 Feb – 16 Mar 2016	11	5	2002-2016	14	11	78.6%
11 Slovenia	22 Feb – 28 Mar 2016	10	2	2011-2014	12	9	75.0%
Total	28. Jan – 15. Apr 2016	97	38		162	122	75.3%
Follow-up survey elections 2016							
2 Croatia	15 Mar – 20 Apr 2017	7	1	2016	13	10	76.9%
7 Lithuania	15 Mar – 20 Apr 2017	8	1	2016	12	11	91.7%
9 Romania	15 Mar – 20 Apr 2017	6	1	2016	14	9	64.3%
Total	15 Mar – 20 Apr 2017	21	3		39	30	76.9%

Variables

Expert-level dataset

country	Name of the country
country_code	Unique country identifier 1 Bulgaria 2 Croatia 3 Czech Republic 4 Estonia 5 Hungary 6 Latvia 7 Lithuania 8 Poland 9 Romania 10 Slovakia 11 Slovenia
year	Year of the election
expert	Number of expert, by country
expert_id	Unique expert identifier
party_name	Name of the party (abbreviation)
party_code	Unique party identifier
anti-corr	Salience on anti-corruption claims 0 not important at all … … … 10 extremely important ***Question:*** *'We would like you to consider the salience (i.e. importance) of the following issues for [party] in the electoral campaign of the national parliamentary elections between [year] and [year].'* *Salience of reducing corruption (0 not important at all; 10 extremely important)*

anti-elite	Salience on anti-elite and anti-establishment rhetoric 0 not important at all … … … 10 extremely important ***Question:*** *'We would like you to consider the salience (i.e. importance) of the following issues for [party] in the electoral campaign of the national parliamentary elections between [year] and [year].'* *Salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric (0 not important at all; 10 extremely important)* ***Definition:*** *Those engaging in anti-establishment rhetoric explicitly identify with 'ordinary people' and contrast themselves against a separate and coherent 'political class' that is composed of all political opponents undifferentiated by party affiliation and may also (but need not) include economic, intellectual and/or international elites'*
confidence	Expert's confidence in his judgement 0 not confident at all … … 4 extremely confident *Question: Now, we would like you to self-assess your judgement in the last two questions. How confident are you of your responses on [party] for each election?' (1 very uncertain; 4 very confident)*

Party-level dataset

country	Name of the country
country_code	Unique country identifier 1 Bulgaria 2 Croatia 3 Czech Republic 4 Estonia 5 Hungary 6 Latvia 7 Lithuania 8 Poland

	9 Romania 10 Slovakia 11 Slovenia
year	Year of the election
party_name	Name of the party (abbreviation)
party_code	Unique party identifier
corrupt_salience	Salience on anti-corruption claims (mean value) 0 not important at all … … … 10 extremely important ***Note:*** Mean value of all expert evaluations with confidence level higher or equal 3 (see variable ***confidence***) ***Question:*** *'We would like you to consider the salience (i.e. importance) of the following issues for [party] in the electoral campaign of the national parliamentary elections between [year] and [year].'* *Salience of reducing corruption (0 not important at all; 10 extremely important)*
antielite_salience	Salience on anti-elite and anti-establishment rhetoric (mean value) 0 not important at all … … … 10 extremely important ***Note:*** Mean value of all expert evaluations with confidence level higher or equal 3 (see variable ***confidence***) ***Question:*** *'We would like you to consider the salience (i.e. importance) of the following issues for [party] in the electoral campaign of the national parliamentary elections between [year] and [year].'* *Salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric (0 not important at all; 10 extremely important)*

	Definition: *Those engaging in anti-establishment rhetoric explicitly identify with 'ordinary people' and contrast themselves against a separate and coherent 'political class' that is composed of all political opponents undifferentiated by party affiliation and may also (but need not) include economic, intellectual and/or international elites'*
corrupt_sd	Standard deviation of expert evaluations on the salience on anti-corruption claims
antielite_sd	Standard deviation of expert evaluations on the salience of anti-establishment rhetoric
N	Number of experts
important	This variable indicates whether the party is a major or minor party in that specific election 1 major party 0.5 part of major electoral alliance (two parties) 0.33 part of major electoral alliance (three parties) 0 no major party ***Notes:*** A party is considered major (important =1) if it belongs to the five strongest parties of that election and received at least five percent of the votes. This variable helps researchers to filter minor parties from the sample.

Country	party_code	party_name	Name	Name (in English)
Bulgaria	101	GERB	Граждани за европейско развитие на България	Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria
Bulgaria	102	BSP	Българска социалистическа партия	Bulgarian Socialist Party
Bulgaria	103	DSB	Демократи за силна България	Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria
Bulgaria	104	BNG	Движение „България на гражданите"	Bulgaria for Citizens Movement
Bulgaria	105	SDS	Съюз на демократичните сили	Union of Democratic Forces
Bulgaria	106	DPS	Движение за права и свободи	Movement for Rights and Freedoms
Bulgaria	107	ATAKA	Атака	Attack
Bulgaria	108	NDSV	Национално движение за стабилност и възход (2001-2007: Национално движение Симеон Втори)	National Movement for Stability and Progress (2001-2007: National Movement Simeon II)
Bulgaria	109	NFSB	национален фронт за спасение на България	National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria
Bulgaria	110	BBZ	България без цензура	Bulgaria Without Censorship
Croatia	201	SDP	Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske	Social Democratic Party of Croatia
Croatia	202	HNS	Hrvatska narodna stranka–Liberalni demokrati	Croatian People's Party-Liberal Democrats
Croatia	203	HL_SR	Hrvatski laburisti-Stranka rada	Croatian Labourists-Labour Party
Croatia	204	HDZ	Hrvatska demokratska zajednica	Croatian Democratic Union
Croatia	205	MOST	Most nezavisnih lista	Bridge of Independent Lists
Croatia	206	ZZ	Živi zid	Human Wall
Croatia	207	MB	Milan Bandić 365-Stranka rada i solidarnosti	Milan Bandić 365-The Party of Labour and Solidarity
Czech Republic	301	CSSD	Česká strana sociálně demokratická	Czech Social Democratic Party
Czech Republic	302	TOP09	Tradice Odpovědnost Prosperita 09	Tradition Responsibility Prosperity 09
Czech Republic	303	ANO11	Akce nespokojených občanů	Action of Dissatisfied Citizens
Czech Republic	304	KSCM	Komunistická strana Cech a Moravy	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia
Czech Republic	305	ODS	Občanská demokratická strana	Civic Democratic Party
Czech Republic	306	KDU_CLS	Křesťanská a demokratická unie–Československá strana lidová	Christian Democratic Union-People's Party
Czech Republic	307	VV	Věci veřejné	Public Affairs
Czech Republic	308	USVIT	Úsvit přímé demokracie	Dawn of Direct Democracy
Estonia	401	RE	Eesti Reformierakond	Estonian Reform Party
Estonia	402	KE	Eesti Keskerakond	Estonian Centre Party

Estonia	403	SDE	Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond (2003: Mõõdukad)	Social Democratic Party (2003: Moderates)
Estonia	404	IRL	Erakond Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit	Union of Pro Patria and Res Publica
Estonia	405	RP	Erakond Res Publica	Res Publica Party
Estonia	406	IL	Isamaaliit	Pro Patria Union
Estonia	407	EV	Eesti Vabaerakond	Free Party
Estonia	408	EKRE	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond	Conservative People's Party
Estonia	409	RL	Eestimaa Rahvalliit	People's Union of Estonia
Hungary	501	Fidesz	Fidesz-Magyar Polgári Szövetség	Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Union
Hungary	502	MSZP	Magyar Szocialista Párt	Hungarian Socialist Party
Hungary	503	Jobbik	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom	Jobbik Movement for a Better Hungary
Hungary	504	LMP	Lehet Más a Politika	Politics Can Be Different
Hungary	505	DK	Demokratikus Koalíció	Democratic Coalition
Hungary	506	EGY	Együtt–A Korszakváltók Pártja	Together-Party for a New Era
Latvia	601	JL / V	Jaunais Laiks (since 2010: Vienotība)	New Era (since 2011: Unity)
Latvia	603	SC	Saskaņa	Harmony
Latvia	604	PCTVL	Par cilvēka tiesībām vienotā Latvijā	For Human Rights in a United Latvia
Latvia	605	ZZS	Zaļo un Zemnieku savienība	Green and Farmers' Union
Latvia	606	NA	Nacionālā apvienība „Visu Latvijai!"–Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK	National Alliance 'All For Latvia!'-For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK
Latvia	607	TB_LNNK	Tēvzemei un Brīvībai / LNNK	For Fatherland and Freedom / LNNK
Latvia	608	NSL	No sirds Latvijai	For Latvia from the Heart
Latvia	609	ZRP	Zatlera Reformu partija	Zatler's Reform Party
Latvia	610	TP	Tautas Partija	People's Party
Latvia	611	LPP_LC	Latvijas Pirmā partija / Latvijas Ceļš	Latvian First Party / Latvian Way
Latvia	612	LPP	Latvijas Pirmā partija	Latvia's First Party
Lithuania	701	DP	Darbo Partija	Labour Party
Lithuania	702	LSDP	Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija	Lithuanian Social Democratic Party
Lithuania	703	TS_LKD	Tėvynės sąjunga-Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai	Homeland Union-Lithuanian Christian Democrats
Lithuania	704	DK	Drąsos Kelias	The Way of Courage

Lithuania	705	LRLS	Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis	Liberals Movement of the Republic of Lithuania
Lithuania	706	TT	Tvarka ir teisingumas	Order and Justice
Lithuania	707	TPP	Tautos prisikėlimo partija	National Resurrection Party
Lithuania	708	NS	Naujoji sąjunga (socialliberalai)	New Union (Social Liberals)
Lithuania	709	LICS	Liberalų ir centro sąjunga	Liberal and Centre Union
Lithuania	710	LLIS	Lietuvos liberalų sąjunga	Liberal Union of Lithuania
Lithuania	711	LVZS	Lietuvos valstiečių ir žaliųjų sąjunga	Lithuanian Peasant and Greens Union
Lithuania	712	LCP	Lietuvos Centro Partija (Antikorupcinė koalicija)	Lithuanian Centre Party (Anti-corruption coalition)
Poland	801	PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	Law and Justice
Poland	802	PO	Platforma Obywatelska	Civic Platform
Poland	803	PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	Polish People's Party
Poland	804	SLD	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej	Democratic Left Alliance
Poland	805	TR	Twój Ruch (2011: Ruch Palikota)	Your Movement (2011: Palikot's Movement)
Poland	806	KUKIZ	Kukiz'15	Kukiz'15
Poland	807	N	Nowoczesna	Modern
Poland	808	SRP	Samoobrona	Self-Defense
Poland	809	LPR	Liga Polskich Rodzin	League of Polish Families
Romania	901	PSD	Partidul Social Democrat	Social Democratic Party
Romania	902	PNL	Partidul Naţional Liberal	National Liberal Party
Romania	903	PDL	Partidul Democrat-Liberal	Democratic Liberal Party
Romania	904	PPDD	Partidul Poporului – Dan Diaconescu	People's Party - Dan Diaconescu
Romania	905	UDMR	Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România	Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania
Romania	906	USR	Uniunea Salvaţi România	Save Romania Union
Romania	907	ALDE	Alianţa Liberalilor şi Democraţilor	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats
Romania	908	PMP	Partidul Mișcarea Populară	People's Movement Party
Slovakia	1001	Smer	Smer–sociálna demokracia	Direction-Social Democracy
Slovakia	1002	KDH	Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie	Christian Democratic Movement
Slovakia	1003	SDKU	Slovenská demokratická a kresťanská únia	Slovak Democratic and Christian Union
Slovakia	1004	OLANO	Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti	Ordinary People and Independent Personalities
Slovakia	1005	SAS	Sloboda a solidarita	Freedom and Solidarity

Slovakia	1006	SIET	siet'	Network
Slovakia	1007	MOST	Most-Híd	Bridge
Slovakia	1008	SMK_MKP	Maďarskej koalície – Magyar koalíció	Hungarian Coalition
Slovakia	1009	SNS	Slovenská národná strana	Slovak National Party
Slovakia	1010	HZDS	Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko	Movement for a Democratic Slovakia
Slovakia	1011	ANO	Aliancia nového občana	Alliance of the New Citizen
Slovenia	1101	SMC	Stranka Mira Cerarja	Party of Miro Cerar
Slovenia	1102	SDS	Slovenska demokratska stranka	Slovenian Democratic Party
Slovenia	1103	DESUS	Demokratična stranka upokojencev Slovenije	Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia
Slovenia	1104	SD	Socialni demokrati	Social Democrats
Slovenia	1105	ZDLE	Združena levica	United Left
Slovenia	1106	NSI	Nova Slovenija–Krščanska ljudska stranka	New Slovenia–Christian People's Party
Slovenia	1107	ZAAB	Zavezništvo Alenke Bratušek	Alliance of Alenka Bratusek
Slovenia	1108	PS	Pozitivna Slovenija (2011: Lista Zorana Jankovića)	Positive Slovenia (2011: Zoran Jankovic's List)
Slovenia	1109	DL	Državljanska lista (2011: Državljanska lista Gregorja Viranta)	Civic List (2011: Gregor Virant's Civic List)
Slovenia	1110	SLS	Slovenska ljudska stranka	Slovenian People's Party