Codebook

Länder Expert Survey (LES) 2025

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Information for data import: Use UTF-8 encoding and ";" (semicolon) as a separator (exported using write.csv2 with base R)

Overview

The content variables were surveyed on a scale of 1 to 20. It was also possible not to rate individual parties. This document contains the exact question texts as well as the labeling of the poles of the rating scale for each variable.

Datestamp

Datestemp, when the survey was completed.

bl

Bundesland (State)

hh: Hamburg

1_nat: Federal level

n_answered

Number of items that a person has rated (max. 20)

expert_id

Consecutive numbering of the experts (positions of the parties can therefore be assigned to an expert)

party

CDU (cdu), SPD (spd), FDP (fdp), Die Linke (linke), AfD (afd), B90/ Die Grünen (greens), Bündnis Sahra Wagenknecht (bsw), Freie Wähler (fw)

n_answered

Number of questions that the respective person has answered (max. 21).

leftrightgeneral

Where would you place the parties on a general left-right dimension?
(1: very left, 20: very right)

lrecon

Parties can be classified according to their positions on economic issues, such as privatization, taxes, regulation, government spending and the welfare state. Parties on the economic left want the state to play an active role in the economy. Parties on the economic right want less state intervention. Where do you place the parties? (1: economically very left, 20: economically very right)

galtan

Parties can be classified according to their views on socio-cultural values. Libertarian or post-materialist parties are in favor of expanding personal freedoms, for example in the areas of abortion, divorce and same-sex marriage. Traditional or Authoritarian (in the original CHES survey) parties reject this and instead stand for order, tradition and stability. They believe that the state should be a clear moral authority on socio-cultural issues. Please position the parties.
(1: liberal/post-materialist, 20: traditional/authoritarian)

genderlanguage

To make different genders visible, public administration and the media are increasingly using inclusive language and spelling, for example the so-called gender asterisk. In your opinion, what positions do the parties take on this?
(1: ban gender-neutral language in public institutions, 20: introduce gender-neutral language broadly in public institutions)

genderroles

While some advocate a traditional understanding of the family, in which the man should continue to be the main breadwinner in the family and the woman should primarily take care of children, relatives and the household, others advocate a different division of labor. In your opinion, what positions do the parties take on this? (1: traditional labour division has been proven itself, 20: traditional labour division must be modernized through policies)

childcare

In the area of early childhood education, there is a contrast between the following positions: For a public system (state-funded with low private fees) versus for a private system (childcare within families or in private or public facilities with high private fees). In your opinion, what positions do the parties take on this? (1: in favor of a public system, 20: in favor of a private system)

communityschool

Education policy is one of the core policies over which federal state have legislative powers. In this policy area, there is a contrast between the following positions: For a multi-tier school system (Hauptschulen, Realschulen and Gymnasien) versus a community school system. In your opinion, what position do the parties take on this? (1: in favor of a pure community school system, 20: in favor of a pure multi-tier school system)

antielitism

Some parties have a strong anti-establishment or anti-elitist position. In your opinion, how strongly do these parties hold this view? (1: not at all, 20: very strongly)

peoplecentrism

Some say that not the political elite but citizens directly should make the most important decision. In your opinion, how strongly do these parties represent this view? (1: not at all, 20: very strongly)

publicdebt

In your opinion, how strongly do the parties support the position that new borrowing should be constitutionally limited by means of a ‘debt brake’? (1: not at all, 20: very strongly)

migrantbenefit

When it comes to immigrants' access to state benefits (education, health, social security), there is a contrast between the following positions: Immigrants should be excluded from access to state benefits versus immigrants should have the same access to state benefits as German citizens. In your opinion, what position do the parties take on this? (1: exclude immigrants (exclusive), 20: include immigrants (inclusive))

assimilation

In integration policy, there is a contrast between the following positions: Migrants are obliged to adapt to a uniform German majority culture and language (assimilation) versus migrants have the right to maintain their culture and language of origin and to contribute to a culturally diverse German society (multiculturalism). Where do the parties stand? (1: assimilation, 20: multiculturalism)

liberalism

In this policy area, there is a contrast between the following positions: For a liberal policy on issues such as abortion, homosexuality and euthanasia versus against a liberal policy on issues such as abortion, homosexuality and euthanasia. In your opinion, what position do the parties take on this? (1: in favor of liberal policies, 20: against liberal policies)

climatepolicy

In climate and environmental protection policy, there is a contrast between the following positions: For environmental and climate protection, even if this is at the expense of economic growth versus for economic growth, even if this is at the expense of environmental and climate protection. In your opinion, what position do the parties take on this? (1: in favor of climate/environmental protection, 20: in favor of economic growth)

immigration

In the area of immigration, there is a contrast between the following positions: In favor of a policy that facilitates immigration versus a policy that makes immigration more difficult. In your opinion, what position do the parties take on this? (1: facilitate immigration, 20: make immigration more difficult)

lawandorder

When it comes to civil liberties, there is a contrast between the following positions: In favor of strong protection of civil liberties, even if this makes it more difficult to fight crime, versus stronger intervention in civil liberties in order to fight crime better. In your opinion, what position do the parties take on this? (1: in favor of protection of civil liberties, 20: in favor of tough crime laws)

asylum

Regarding asylum policies, some parties are in favor of accepting more refugees from crisis regions. Others want to restrict the right to asylum as much as possible in order to reduce the influx of asylum seekers to almost zero. In your opinion, what position do the parties take on this? (1: take more asylum seekers, 20: strongly restrict the right to asylum)

rentcontrol

In the area of housing policies, some are calling for the abolition ‘Mietpreisbremse’ (instrument to slow down the increase of rents), while others want to further extend and tighten its regulations. In your opinion, what position do the parties take on this? (1: abolish rent control, 20: extend rent control)

ukraine

There are two opposing positions in the Ukraine war: Continue to support Ukraine with arms deliveries and thus strengthen its negotiating position vs. no further arms deliveries in order to create pressure towards negotiations/peace talks. In your opinion, what position do the parties take on this? (1: more arms deliveries, 20: stop arms deliveries)

publicbroadcast

There are different positions on public service broadcasting. Some say that it should be abolished/dissolved, others want to further strengthen and expand it. In your opinion, what position do the parties take on this? (1: abolish public broadcast, 20: strengthen/expand public broadcast)

Difference between the federal party and state branch

The expert-level wide dataset contains calculated differences for all variables that an expert has specified between the state party and the federal party. The positions of the individual parties are named according to the pattern [variable]_[party]_[level] _bb/_sn/_th for the positions of the state parties in Brandenburg, Saxony and Thuringia and 1nat for the federal parties. For example, antiestablishment_afd_1nat stands for the position of the AfD for the variable antiestablishment” of the federal party. The suffix _diff_[land] stands for the difference between a state party and the federal party.

Example:

$$\text{antiestablishment_afd_diff_bb} = \text{antiestablishment_afd_bb} - \text{antiestablishment_afd_1nat}$$