



Electoral Legacies of War: Political Competition in Postwar Southeast Europe

ELWar Expert Survey Trend File Codebook



Version 1.0.0

The dataset *ELWar expert survey - Trend File* contains the combined data from the 2018 and 2020 ELWar expert surveys on parties' political ideology, policy positions, and behavior in six countries in South-East Europe: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia. In 2018, 73 experts estimated the positions of 70 political parties, and in 2020, 121 experts estimated the positions of 63 political parties

These surveys were conducted by Christophe Lesschaeve, Josip Glaurdić, and Michal Mochtak as part of the ELWar project – Electoral Legacies of War: Political Competition in Postwar Southeast Europe. This project, hosted by the University of Luxembourg, has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement No 714589).

The "ELWarES - Trend File.dta" Stata file contains average expert judgments per political party. The file also contains the number of valid expert judgements and their standard deviation. In papers or publications utilizing this dataset, we ask users to refer to the dataset as the ELWar expert survey and cite documentation as follows:

Lesschaeve, Christophe, Josip Glaurdić, and Michal Mochtak (2022): 2018 – 2020 ELWar Expert Survey Trend File. Data File Version 1.0.0. GESIS, Cologne. <https://doi.org/10.7802/2400>. This survey was supported by an ERC Starting Grant No. 714589 for the project "Electoral Legacies of War: Political Competition in Postwar Southeast Europe" (ELWar)"

Contents

General variables	4
Ideology variables.....	9
Policy dimension variables.....	10
Party behavior	11
Geopolitical outlook	12
COVID-19 pandemic	14

General variables

country_id = unique identifier for each country

country = country name

country_id	Country name
1	Bosnia and Herzegovina
2	Croatia
3	Kosovo
4	North Macedonia
5	Montenegro
6	Serbia

year = year for which party experts were asked to evaluate: 2018, 2020.

party_id = unique identifier for each party

party = party abbreviation

party_name = party name (native language)

party_en = party name (English)

country	party_id	party	party_name	party_en
BIH	101	BPS	Bosanskohercegovačka patriotska stranka	Bosnian-Herzegovinian Patriotic Party
	102	DF	Demokratska fronta	Democratic Front
	103	DNS	Demokratski narodni savez	Democratic National Alliance
	104	HDZ 1990	Hrvatska demokratska zajednica 1990	Croatian Democratic Union 1990
	105	HDZ BiH	Hrvatska demokratska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine	Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina
	106	NS	Naša stranka	Our Party
	107	NBL	Nezavisna bosanskohercegovačka lista	Independent Bosnian-Herzegovinian List
	108	NB	Nezavisni blok	Independent Bloc
	109	PDA BiH	Pokret demokratske akcije	Democratic Action Movement
	110	SNSD	Savez nezavisnih socijaldemokrata	Alliance of Independent Social Democrats
	111	SBB BiH	Savez za bolju budućnost BiH	Union for a Better Future of BiH
	112	SDP BiH	Socijaldemokratska partija Bosne i Hercegovine	Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina
	113	SP	Socijalistička partija	Socialist Party
	114	SDS	Srpska demokratska stranka	Serb Democratic Party
	115	SNS RS	Srpska napredna stranka Republike Srpske	Serbian Progressive Party of Republika Srpska
	116	SDA	Stranka demokratske akcije	Party of Democratic Action
	117	PDP	Partija demokratskog progresa	Party of Democratic Progress

country	party_id	party	party_name	party_en
HRV	201	Bandić Milan 365	Bandić Milan 365 - Stranka rada i solidarnosti	Bandić Milan 365 - Labour and Solidarity Party
	202	GLAS	Građansko-liberalni savez	Civic Liberal Alliance
	203	HDZ	Hrvatska demokratska zajednica	Croatian Democratic Union
	204	HNS	Hrvatska narodna stranka - liberalni demokrati	Croatian People's Party - Liberal Democrats
	205	HSS	Hrvatska seljačka stranka	Croatian Peasant Party
	206	HSLŠ	Hrvatska socijalno-liberalna stranka	Croatian Social Liberal Party
	207	HSP	Hrvatska stranka prava	Croatian Party of Rights
	208	IDS	Istarski demokratski sabor	Istrian Democratic Assembly
	209	Most	Most nezavisnih lista	Bridge of Independent Lists
	210	Pametno	Pametno	Smart
	211	SDSS	Samostalna demokratska srpska stranka	Independent Democratic Serb Party
	212	SDP	Socijaldemokratska partija	Social Democratic Party of Croatia
	213	ŽZ	Živi zid	Human Blockade
	214	Možemo!	Možemo!	We Can!
	215	DPMŠ	Domovinski pokret Miroslava Škore	Miroslav Škoro Homeland Movement
216	HS	Hrvatski suverenisti	Croatian sovereignists	
XKX	301	AAK	Aleanca për Ardhmërinë e Kosovës	Alliance for the Future of Kosovo
	302	PG	G.I. Pokret Za Gora	Movement for the Gora
	303	LV	Lëvizja Vetëvendosje	Self-Determination Movement
	304	LDK	Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës	Democratic League of Kosovo
	305	NISMA	Nisma Për Kosovën	Social Democratic Initiative
	306	PDK	Partia Demokratike e Kosovës	Democratic Party of Kosovo
	307	PDS	Progressive Democratic Party	Progresivna Demokratska Stranka
	308	SLS	Samostalna liberalna stranka	Independent Liberal Party
	309	SL	Srpska lista	Serb List
	310	AKR	Aleanca Kosova e Re	New Kosovo Alliance
	311	KDTP	Kosova Demokratik Türk Partisi	Turkish Democratic Party of Kosovo

country	party_id	party	party_name	party_en
MKD	401	AA	Aleanca për Shqiptarët	Alliance for Albanians
	402	BDI	Bashkimi Demokratik për Integrim	Democratic Union for Integration
	403	EM	Edinstvena Makedonija	United Macedonia
	404	LB	Lëvizja Besa	Besa Movement
	405	LDP	Liberalno-demokratska Partija	Liberal Democratic Party
	406	DPA	Partia Demokratike Shqiptare	Democratic Party of Albanians
	407	SDSM	Socijaldemokratski sojuz na Makedonija	Social Democratic Union of Macedonia
	408	VMRO-DPMNE	Vnatrešna makedonska revolucionerna organizacija – Demokratska partija za makedonsko nacionalno edinstvo	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity
			409	NSDP
	410	SPM	Socijalistička Partija na Makedonija	Socialist Party of Macedonia
MNE	501	BS	Bošnjačka stranka	Bosniak Party
	502	DCG	Demokratska Crna Gora	Democratic Montenegro
	503	DNP	Demokratska narodna partija	Democratic People's Party
	504	DPS	Demokratska partija socijalista	Democratic Party of Socialists
	505	DEMOS	Demokratski savez	Democratic Alliance
	506	NSD	Nova srpska demokratija	New Serb Democracy
	507	PzP	Pokret za promjene	Movement for Changes
	508	SD	Socijaldemokrate Crne Gore	Social Democrats
	509	SDP	Socijaldemokratska partija	Social Democratic Party
	510	SNP	Socijalistička narodna partija	Socialist People's Party
	511	UCG	Ujedinjena Crna Gora	United Montenegro
	512	URA	Ujedinjena reformska akcija	United Reform Action

country	party_id	party	party_name	party_en
SRB	601	DS	Demokratska stranka	Democratic Party
	602	DSS	Demokratska stranka Srbije	Democratic Party of Serbia
	603	DJB	Dosta je bilo – Restart	Enough is Enough
	604	JS	Jedinstvena Srbija	United Serbia
	605	LDP	Liberalno-demokratska partija	Liberal Democratic Party
	606	LSV	Liga socijaldemokrata Vojvodine	League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina
	607	SDS	Socijaldemokratska stranka	Social Democratic Party
	608	SPS	Socijalistička partija Srbije	Socialist Party of Serbia
	609	SNS	Srpska napredna stranka	Serbian Progressive Party
	610	SRS	Srpska radikalna stranka	Serbian Radical Party
	611	Dveri	Srpski Pokret Dveri	Dveri (Doors)
	612	VMSZ -	Vajdasági Magyar Szövetség - Vajdasági Magyar	Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians - Democratic
		VMDP	Demokrata Párt	Party of Vojvodina Hungarians
	613	SPAS	Srpski patriotski savez	Serbian Patriotic Alliance
	614	PUPS	Partija ujedinjenih penzionera Srbije	Party of United Pensioners of Serbia
615	SDPS	Socijaldemokratska partija Srbije	Social Democratic Party of Serbia	

Ideology variables

leftright = position of the party in **year** in terms of its overall ideological stance.

0 = Extreme left

5 = Center

10 = Extreme right

leftright_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its overall ideological stance.

leftright_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its overall ideological stance.

irecon = position of the party in **year** in terms of its stance on economic issues. Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on economic issues. Parties on the economic left want government to play an active role in the economy. Parties on the economic right emphasize a reduced economic role for government: privatization, lower taxes, less regulation, less government spending, and a leaner welfare state.

0 = Extreme left

5 = Center

10 = Extreme right

irecon_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its stance on economic issues.

irecon_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its stance on economic issues.

galton = position of the party in **year** in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights. "Libertarian" or "postmaterialist" parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, active euthanasia, same-sex marriage, or greater democratic participation. "Traditional" or "authoritarian" parties often reject these ideas; they value order, tradition, and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues.

0 = Libertarian/Postmaterialist

5 = Center

10 = Traditional/Authoritarian

galton_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its views on democratic freedoms and rights.

galton_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its views on democratic freedoms and rights.

Policy dimension variables

nationalism = position of the party in **year** towards nationalism.

0 = Strongly promotes cosmopolitan rather than nationalist conceptions of society

10 = Strongly promotes nationalist rather than cosmopolitan conceptions of society

nationalism_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position towards nationalism.

nationalism_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position towards nationalism.

minorities = position of the party in **year** towards ethnic minorities

0 = Strongly supports more rights for ethnic minorities

10 = Strongly opposes more rights for ethnic minorities

minorities_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position towards ethnic minorities.

minorities_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position towards ethnic minorities.

military = position of the party in **year** towards the military (asked only in 2018)

0 = Strongly opposes making the military stronger

10 = Strongly supports making the military stronger

military_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position towards the military

military_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position towards the military

warpast = position of the party in **year** towards acknowledging harmful acts committed against other groups during the [war].

0 = Strongly opposes acknowledging harmful acts committed to other groups

10 = Strongly supports acknowledging harmful acts committed to other groups

Remarks:

[war] was different in each version of the survey: BA = war in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995; HR = war in Croatia between 1991 and 1995; XK = war in Kosovo in 1998-1999; MK = conflict in Macedonia in 2001; ME = wars Montenegro, as a part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was involved in during the 90's; RS = wars Serbia, as a part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was involved in during the 90's.

warpast_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position towards acknowledging harmful acts committed to other groups

warpast_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position towards acknowledging harmful acts committed to other groups

corruption = salience of reducing political corruption in **year**.

0 = Not important at all

10 = Extremely important

corruption_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of the salience of reducing political corruption

corruption_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of the salience of reducing political corruption

Party behavior

force = position of the party in **year** towards using force instead of mitigation and negotiation as a means to solve issues like, for example, public protest or drug abuse

0 = Strong preference for the use of mitigation and negotiation

10 = Strong preference for the use of force

force_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position towards using force instead of mitigation and negotiation as a means to solve issues

force_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position on towards using force instead of mitigation and negotiation as a means to solve issues

fakenews = position of the party in **year** towards using fake news and false claims in their narratives

0 = Very unlikely to use fake news and alternative facts

10 = Very likely to use fake news and alternative facts

fakenews_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position towards using fake news and false claims in their narratives

fakenews_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position towards using fake news and false claims in their narratives

Geopolitical outlook

culturalidentity = view of the party in **year** on whether the country culturally belongs to the east or to the west

0 = Part of the East

10 = Part of the West

culturalidentity_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its stance on the country's cultural identity

culturalidentity_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its stance on the country's cultural identity

foreignpolicy_EU = position of the party in **year** on whether the country's foreign policy should align with EU

0 = It should not align at all

10 = It should align completely

foreignpolicy_EU_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position on foreign policy alignment with the EU

foreignpolicy_EU_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position on foreign policy alignment with the EU

foreignpolicy_USA = position of the party in **year** on whether the country's foreign policy should align with the United States

0 = It should not align at all

10 = It should align completely

foreignpolicy_USA_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position on foreign policy alignment with the United States

foreignpolicy_USA_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position on foreign policy alignment with the United States

foreignpolicy_Russia = position of the party in **year** on whether the country's foreign policy should align with Russia

0 = It should not align at all

10 = It should align completely

foreignpolicy_Russia_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position on foreign policy alignment with Russia

foreignpolicy_Russia_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position on foreign policy alignment with Russia

foreignpolicy_China = position of the party in **year** on whether the country's foreign policy should align with China

0 = It should not align at all

10 = It should align completely

foreignpolicy_China_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position on foreign policy alignment with China

foreignpolicy_China_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in **year** in terms of its position on foreign policy alignment with China

COVID-19 pandemic

COVID19_liberties = position of the party on temporarily limiting civil liberties, such as freedom of the press, right to privacy, and freedom of movement, to combat the COVID-19 virus

0 = Very unwilling to temporarily limit civil liberties

10 = Very willing to temporarily limit civil liberties

COVID19_liberties_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in terms of its position on temporarily limiting civil liberties to combat the COVID-19 virus

COVID19_liberties_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in terms of its position on temporarily limiting civil liberties to combat the COVID-19 virus

COVID19_experts = the extent to which the party trust experts and scientists in efforts to combat the COVID-19 virus

0 = Completely distrusts experts in efforts to combat the COVID-19 virus

10 = Completely trusts experts in efforts to combat the COVID-19 virus

COVID19_experts_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in terms of its trust in experts in efforts to combat the COVID-19 virus

COVID19_experts_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in terms of its trust in experts in efforts to combat the COVID-19 virus

COVID19_healthwealth = position of the party on the trade-off between public health and the economy when combatting the COVID-19 virus

0 = Prevent COVID-casualties at any economic cost

10 = Prevent an economic recession at any human cost

COVID19_healthwealth_sd = standard deviation of expert placements of the party in terms of its position of the party on the trade-off between public health and the economy when combatting the COVID-19 virus

COVID19_healthwealth_count = number of valid expert placements of the party in terms of its position of the party on the trade-off between public health and the economy when combatting the COVID-19 virus