

WWU Münster, Münster & University of Twente, Enschede

Management Society and Technology/ Public Governance across Borders

Bachelor thesis

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20th of July 2023

Dreaming of George Orwell's 1984?

What values to Hessian parties support in the context of Hessendata and AI-policing systems?

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s2818191

Wordcount:11878

Ethical Approval: 230806

Abstract

This paper analyses the values promoted by political parties in the context of AI systems in law enforcement in order to gain insights into the values that form the legal framework for further AI implications and e-governance concepts. It thereby focuses on the German federal state of Hesse and its political landscape in the context of already in use system Hessendata. Four political parties (CDU, FDP, Grüne, SPD) are analysed by conducting a quantitative content analysis of parties' textual data and conducted interviews with politicians from the Hessian parliament. The paper seeks to shed light on the rarely researched influence of values on public administration to give an outlook on the values that might shape the policy framework for AI usage in public administration. The analysis finds wide spectrum of liberal and conservative values, that are found in the parties' value systems. The parties showed differences in the spectrum of promoted values and the focus on different value cluster, representing the clash between individual freedom versus public security. The results further show that political parties tend to consider different values as important the more specific a topic gets, resulting in a clear shift of values in the context of Hessendata.

Abbreviations

BVerfG.....	Federal Constitutional Court of Germany (Bundesverfassungsgericht)
CDU.....	Christian Democratic Union of Germany
FDP.....	Free Democratic Party
Grüne.....	BÜNDNIS 90/ DIE GRÜNE
HSOG.....	Hessian Security and Public Order Act
ICT.....	Information and Communication Technology
SPD.....	Social Democratic Party of Germany
QCA.....	Qualitative content analysis

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1. Introduction

In 2017 a new tool was presented by the Hessian interior ministry to support the federal police in its fight against extremists and terrorist attacks. The software *Hessendata* is able to gather, analyse, and categorise data in order to further connect it to data from multiple police databases. The software is based on Palantir's program Gotham and offers AI data mining possibilities as it scans through huge amounts of it, analysing relevant aspects and connections. Such connections are combined in profiles to find and connect persons of interests. This AI-ready system enables police officers to use data more efficiently as it functions with efficiency and speed beyond human talent. The system is composed of machine learning and artificial intelligence aspects creating a system with many possibilities (Hessischer Landtag, 2019). Feldstein (2019) categorises it as a *Smart Policing System*, namely a data driven analytical technology used to facilitate investigations and police response, holding the possibility to incorporate algorithmic analysis in order to create predictions about future crimes.

On February 16th 2023, Germany's highest court, the BVerfG, ruled that the use of Hessendata infringes upon constitutional individual rights, requiring a review of the legal basis, §25a HSOG. The case of Hessendata raises questions about the emerging possibilities of AI systems and how society and politics will implement it. With AI poised to revolutionise our world, there are opportunities to rethink current concepts of public administration and incorporate approaches, such as e-governance. However, the implementation of AI systems also demands a re-examination of the existing policy framework and ethical, political, and societal discussions concerning their appropriate use (Margetts & Dorobantu 2019). In light of the Hessendata and the ongoing AI debate, this thesis will encompass the intersections of values, policymaking, and police work. The research question is therefore formulated as follows:

What values to Hessian parties support in the context of Hessendata and AI-policing systems?

The question seeks to answer what values party's advocate for in the named context, to give an overview of the current state of values in the debate. The research also attempts to present an outlook into the future of the debate and research as political party's implement the legal framework for the usage of AI systems in public administration and law enforcement, based on their values. As the topic is relatively new and poses an emerging challenge to current administration and politics the importance of this research comes with the topic's possibilities and novelty.

Regarding the current scientific landscape, it can be observed that previous research was conducted regarding the implementation of AI technologies by scholars, including Moses & Chan (2018), Shama Ams (2021) and Babuta & Oswald (2020), identified limitations and challenges arising on the legal and societal level.

The challenge of AI implementation was also discussed in regard to underlying values and its benefit for societies. Robinson (2020), Buchholtz (2020) and, Cheek et al. (2022), therefore, discuss how to combine societal values and AI technology. Further research supports the thesis that conservative ideology predicts aversion against AI (Castelo & Ward, 2021).

The implications of AI for public administration are addressed by scholar discussing its possibilities and its significance for the scientific community. Kankanhalli et al. (2019) discusses the meaning of AI for public administration research and Berk (2021) discusses possible value trade-offs when it comes to AI and law enforcement, calling for a framework with clearly ranked values.

It, thus, can be stated that while the topic was already approached from multiple perspectives, a research gap can be identified regarding connections and influences between the approaches taken. As, the current research is focused on the ethical question around AI, its possibilities of implementation or how to address the occurring legal challenges, the research conducted in this thesis combines the former approaches, namely the political, societal, and legal views. It therefore analyses how political parties as representatives of the citizens view AI usage in law enforcement and the possible implementation of further systems and its meaning for public administration and society. This is done by examining the values that political parties in Hesse, Germany advocate for in this matter. For the research the four parties with the most voters in the Hessian parliament have been selected. These stakeholders are the channelled voice of the majority of citizens, regulating the society with policies, protecting the citizens interests and the foundation of the state. AI systems pose many challenges to policy makers but also can have a great impact on the societies and public administration as it could be a key factor to an effective e-governance strategy.

In order to answer the research question, the four parties with the most votes in the Hessian parliament will be inductively analysed. The state of the art suggests a qualitative approach such as a content analysis (Noble & Smith, 2015; Oehmer-Pedrazzi et al., 2022) especially when it comes to election campaigns and political actors (Blassnig, 2022; Steppat & Castro, 2022). The research framework consists of a qualitative content analysis concept by Mayring (2010) which is used to analyse textual data gathered from party documents and conducted

interviews with politicians. The first layer of data is the party's manifest which will be examined to find core party values. They are expected to lay the foundation for the further analysis as they function as value framework. The second layer of analysis will be the election program of the parties in Hesse from the last election in 2018. This is done to find values that are addressed in the context of public security and Hessendata. The last and most concrete data will be gathered and analysed through interviews with politicians from the Hessian parliament and members of the home affairs committee to examine the values of the individuals that are considered experts on this field of policy making in their parties. The interviews are conducted to gather more detailed information about the politicians' values on AI, predictive policing and Hessendata.

The analysis will be split in two sub-questions to first see what values are actually found on each level of data to and then to examine how coherent the values in each party are.

1. *What values are promoted on each level of the parties' data?*
2. *To what extend are the parties promoting the same values on all three level of analysis?*

To analyse the values an inductive coding scheme will be applied to include all values without structural limitations. The results will be examined to find which values are promoted and how important they are to the party. Further will the results be used to test the coherence of values within the parties by looking at what values are found in which layers of party data. This is done to see how predictable the standpoint of the party is in the context of its core values and its view on home affairs.

2. Theoretical Framework

The following section will lay the theoretical foundation for the further analysis that aims to answer the research question. Its aim is to discuss the definitions and concepts and to examine different explanations to create a fitting theoretical framework for the analysis. As the research is set on coding and analysing values, their implications for the research question and their importance in the political system needs to be highlighted. The value term will be defined through a literature review that examines different definitions. Further will the importance of values be highlighted, and the concept of clashing values be examined. To give a broad understanding of the parties that are included into the analysis a short introduction will be included, based on a distinction between different types of values. At last, the importance of the policy making process and party values will be examined by defining the concept of e-governance in which the AI policing and Hessendata fit in. As values frame parties' policy making decisions, values also influence the how the framework for Hessendata and AI policing looks like.

2.1 Defining the “Value” term

For the research project a theoretical framework is necessary that defines the main aspects and concepts of the analysis. One of the core concepts of this project are values and more precisely political values. A review of the current state of academic literature will be conducted to give an overview of the scientific debate around the topic of values and its definition.

Thome (2019) emphasizes the significance of the value conception for societal living and politics by highlighting the role of shared values for social integration. However, he also acknowledges opposing values as a factor of separation and social conflicts. Thome reviews various definitions of the value concept distinguishing between two types: Value as empirically observable attribution to objectives and value as a concept of the desirable.

Thome (2019) reviews the work of Thomas & Znaniecki. They define value as a directly connected attribution of an object, linking empirical content to the meaning of an objective. Turner (1968) defines values as a category of objects, offering an alternative definition.

The concept of values as desirable, mainly discussed by sociological scientists, includes Kluckhohn's (1951) prominent work. He distinguishes between *desired* and *desirable*

objectives. Desired is everything you wish for; desirable is everything you aim for. The definition incorporates a circular element as both distinctions occur in the value expression. Formally known as the *circularity of value*-problem.

Thome (2019) offers a concept that deaden the *circularity of value* as he introduces values as desires of the first and second order by ranking them into desirable/good or bad/wrong values. The ranked value concept emerges from the problem of circularity. The aim derives from the individual thought of its necessity and availability. In the light of this distinction Thome (2019) notes that values can get attached to empirical objects elevating them to be more than their sole material characteristics but get connected to emotions and norms. He addresses the *circularity problem* in the concept by introducing values ranked into desirable/good or bad/wrong values of the first or second order. The applied ranking mitigates circularity, with value being determined by individual thoughts of necessity and availability. Thome notes that values can elevate empirical objects beyond their material characteristics, connecting them to emotions and norms.

Another value conception by Hans Joas (1999) acknowledges the circularity problem and emphasizes the significance of values in human interactions and shaping social life. According to Thome (2019) Joas regards values as a fluid concept constantly evaluated by social interactions. Values are deeply intertwined with emotions and meanings people attach to them, as they are actively embedded in interactions and individual perception. Societal groups assign values to objects based on evaluated standards, forming social values. These evaluated standards are binary codes that classify objects as good/bad or positive/negative.

Individuals receive these social values from social groups as reference points which require evaluation throughout their lifelong process of socialization. Conflicting values may arise when actions involve multiple values as they are ranked differently in their relationship to one another. Thome (2019) argues that values remain consistent in their existence but are not static, as changes in meaning and significance can occur, leading to changes in their relations.

Kallos & Trasnea (1982) focus on the connection between values and politics, proposing an axiological approach based on social situations, history, and basic interests. They argue that politicians should adhere to values derived from the prevailing meaning within a given national society, rather than individual experiences. They further differentiate between objective facts with societal meanings and subjective phenomena. The authors highlight that societal and individual meanings are intertwined and influence each other.

2.2 Political values

Paul Goren (2005) sets a narrower perspective on *political values*, describing them as shaped by individual experiences and its resulting point of view. His definition aligns with the work of Kallos & Trasnea (1982). Goren (2005) finds core political values and party values being intertwined suggesting that political elites activate partisan biases in citizens affecting their core political values and perception. Partisan bias refers to individual's support of a particular political idea or party adopting political elites' values and following the ideology and perspective the elites create. Nevertheless, Goren recognises the relativity of this phenomena stating that party identification does not determine value positions, but rather influences individual values.

Thacher & Rein (2004) provide a broad definition of values as "the ultimate ends of public policies," (p.460) highlighting the significance of political values in political communication and guiding political goal setting.

The literature review demonstrates that the academic community lacks a coherent definition of the value term itself. Therefore, this project will adopt a broader definition of values. The review revealed a pattern of value concepts that allows for categorizing values into a dichotomous value. This linear categorization, combined with the concept of values as attributes assigned to objects, will form the basis of the analysis. To comprehend the political significance of values in a European democratic society, the definitions presented by Thacher & Rein (2004) regarding values as the goals of political actions serve as useful determinant. Additionally, the definitions by Kluckhohn (1951) and Goren (2005) highlight the emergence of values from both societal and individual consciousness and will therefore be included in the framework to derive individual and group values.

2.3 Importance of values for parties and society

Values play a substantial role for political parties, as they not only shape the opinions of their members and supporters but also form the foundation of political ideology (Goren, 2005). Party values establish a worldview that members can identify with, leading to supportive policy opinions. The values and opinions held by voters, especially party supporters, are influenced by party values. In the face of societal and economic changes, the importance of certain values may shift, resulting in changes in values (Inglehart, 2015).

Roßteutscher (2013) critiques Inglehart's early work on value change in European countries after the World War era. Inglehart argued that societal change was driven by a shift from materialism to post-materialism, as extreme experiences of material and physical insecurity left

societies seeking security. He argues that democracy and emancipation became the new foundations of societal and political action. Roßteutscher's critique questions the linear division between materialism and post-materialism, as well as the need for implementing a ranking of values in light of value changes. However, he further acknowledges that without ranking and prioritizing values, resulting actions can become erratic and lack a clear goal. This is particularly important for political participation and parties, as they reflect segments of society and their values, connecting society and political elites and shaping the political agenda.

2.4 Importance of values when it comes to governance

Values play a crucial role in governance, serving as the foundation of Germany's democratic constitutional law (Oberreuter, n.d.). Politics and decision-making are inseparable from values, which influences policies and decision-making processes. The general values of democratic countries are embedded in their political systems, guiding the regulation and establishment of frameworks for new social, economic, and technological phenomena. These values are constantly challenged and shape the goals of politics. As times change, values also experience reassessment to ensure continued relevance. Societal change entails partial value change rather than a loss of values, reaffirming the integral role of values in politics as societies values change slowly.

The European Commission underlines the significance of values for good governance and published a report that outlines principles and values fundamental to public administration (Hauser et al., 2017). These principles serve as enduring foundations engraved in the Fundamental Rights of the EU.

Bryson et al. (2014) discuss a public administration movement that promotes values beyond effectiveness and efficiency, focussing on more democratic values. The paper discusses the possibilities of an administrative approach that is based on values as a basis for problem solving. The paper highlights the problem of undefined and changing values in this approach this leads to new obstacles for public administration.

Another article supports the implementation of values in public administration through an organisational culture perspective. Public administrators are regarded as normative criteria and therefore should be based on a coherent set of values. A clash between democracy and bureaucracy occurs with the values associated which poses a challenge for administrations (Molina, 2009).

2.5 Value clash

Values, shaped by individual and societal experiences, can vary significantly in their importance to different groups and individuals. When promoted values conflict with each other but are attributed to the same object or action, it results in a clash of values. Willems (2016) defines this type of conflict as a clash between opposing values which results in the necessity to determine which value is more essential to the decision-making entity.

Goyal & Iychettira (2022) examine the concept of value conflicts in policy decision-making, involving opposing actors driven by their values. They also discuss value change triggered by technological advancements, generational shifts, and major events leading to societal changes.

The ethical construction and use of such technology pose additional challenges and raise questions about the values implemented within the policy framework (Albrechtslund, 2007).

2.6 Defining values of parties by looking at party manifest

Lucardie (2018) defines political parties in three categories:

Liberal parties aim to minimize state influence on society, emphasizing the protection of basic rights while allowing for the free development of individuals and companies. Individual freedom is regarded as the highest value.

Socialist parties advocate for a strong connection between the state and society, with active state interventions to shape society. Social justice, solidarity, and equality are the core values promoted by these parties, although the extent of state interference may vary within the socialist party family.

Conservative parties support a social market economy, where the state is not the sole regulator. Instead, social partners such as trade unions and employers' associations play a crucial role in regulating the market. Conservative parties view society as a network of interdependent actors, individuals, and groups who should collaborate.

These general categorizations give rise to differences in goals and values of a party. For a better understanding a short introduction to the parties of analysis is provided:

2.6.1 CDU - Christian Democratic Union

The CDU is a highly influential party in recent German history with values based on conservatism, liberalism, and Christian-social values. Their party manifesto promotes a

Christian perspective on society, coupled with individual freedom and public responsibility. They also highlight patriotic values, Christian faith, and national pride, positioning themselves as a party for middle-class conservative citizens.

2.6.2 SPD - Social Democratic Party Germany

The SPD is one of Germany's most prominent and significant political parties, existing since the Weimar Republic. Initially focused on workers' rights, the party advocates for social policies and a strong welfare state. The SPD promotes social values like peace, equality, solidarity, and social justice. The party promotes strong state regulation with a focus on the welfare state (SPD-Parteivorstand, 2007).

2.6.3 Green Party - BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE

BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE emerged from the Peace and Sustainability Movements in Germany during the late 1970s. The green party highlights five core values that form the foundation of their value framework: Ecology/Sustainability, Justice, Self-determination/Empowerment, Democracy, and Peace (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE, 2020).

2.6.4 FDP - Free Democratic Party

The FDP is a liberal party known for its economic liberal views and policies advocating minimal state regulation. The party promotes liberalism and individual freedom. Positioned as a centrist party between left and right political ideologies, the FDP upholds liberal democratic values such as freedom, liberalism, and individualism as their core principle for a well-functioning society (Freie Demokratische Partei, 2012).

2.7 E-Governance

E-governance, a concept involving the use of ICTs in public administration and governance, is a significant aspect of this project. The implementation of Hessendata aims to enhance the effectiveness of police forces and improve their overall structure. This program enables the administration, categorization, and connection of data to identify profiles and connections that would otherwise be challenging due to the vast amount of collected data. It serves as one of several systems supporting police forces and reducing personnel workload. Moreover, it represents a pivotal component of the digitalization efforts and the use of AI systems by state security institutions, signifying its integration into e-governance in Germany's administration.

Bannister and Connolly (2012) discuss various definitions of e-governance put forth by different sources, including UNESCO and Oakley. In their understanding e-governance refers to the utilization of ICTs to provide public services, bureaucratic procedures, and engage with

stakeholders. According to UNESCO, e-governance involves the public sector's use of ICTs to enhance information and service delivery, foster citizen participation in decision-making, and enhance government accountability, transparency, and effectiveness. Oakley's research leads to a definition of e-governance as a technology-mediated service that transforms the relationship between government and citizens.

Bannister and Connolly (2012) further identify three dimensions of ICTs in governance structures: their transformative impact on governance structures and processes, the introduction of new governance structures and processes facilitated by ICTs, and the reevaluation of normative aspects of governance. While ICTs offer significant possibilities for e-governance, the authors note that they do not create entirely new spheres in normative governance. Instead, they prompt a reassessment of existing norms by altering governmental structures and processes, including those within police work and security institutions.

Ultimately, e-governance aims to improve information and service delivery, enhance citizen participation, and increase government accountability, transparency, and effectiveness, which is the basis for all discussed definitions (Margetts & Dorobantu 2019).

2.8 Theoretical Background Summary

The provided theoretical background lays the foundation for the research question and its sub-questions. The theoretical framework aimed to highlight the significance of values in the policy-making process going from individual and core values to political values and their significance for parties and the policy-making process. This therefore results in the given policy framework established around a well-functioning public administration. The concept of E-governance showed the significance of technology and its possibilities in modern times, where emerging technologies are set to change societal and administrative structures. Hessendata as a smart policing system could be the base for further AI application creating a network of programs that can change the structures of police work. The values that create the basis for its usage are significant to the public administration.

3. Methodology

In the following section the methodology of this thesis will be explained to give an overview of the structure of the analysis, the used data, and methods of analysis.

3.1 Case Description

The project seeks to find and compare the underlying values of the parties when it comes to the case of Data mining and AI-applications used by police forces. The scope of the analysis includes three parts with separate data gathered for each part. The three parts aim on three levels of the parties' value structure. The methodology is set to answer the research question:

What values to Hessian parties support in the context of Hessendata and AI-policing systems?

The analysis is further divided into three parts to analyse three levels of data and answer the three sub-question that have been introduced before:

- *What values are promoted on each level of the parties' data?*
- *To what extend are the parties promoting the same values on all three level of analysis?*

To answer these questions a qualitative approach has been chosen to analyse the values that can be derived from textual data gathered from the parties. As discussed in the theory part do definitions of the value term vary which is linked to individual and social beliefs and structures. Also does the meaning in the value matter to this analysis not the quantity of its term, therefore a qualitative analysis is more applicable. Furthermore, are previous studies in values research for public administration relatively rare, which does not provide a sufficient methodological foundation. Therefore, an inductive approach to content analysis will be used, as suggested by Nobel & Smith (2015).

3.2 Methods of data collection

The data collection methods are divided into desk research where textual data was gathered from publications of parties and internet research, and another part where interviews have been conducted with politicians from each party. The four chosen parties have been selected for the possible impact on the policy making process as they are the parties with the most voters in the Hessian parliament.

For the analysis of the core party values the parties' manifests have been gathered via a web search. Each party published their manifest on their website where the textual data has been collected from. Via a short scan the gathered data showed evidence of addressed values. It is of probable significance to the project. The used data for this level of analysis is as follows:

- CDU – „Grundwertecharta der CDU Deutschlands“ (CDU, 2022)

- SPD – „Hamburger Programm: Grundsatz Programm der SPD“ (SPD-Parteivorstand, 2007)
- Grüne – „Grundsatzprogramm“ (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE, 2020)
- FDP – „Verantwortung für die Freiheit. Karlsruher Freiheitsthesen der FDP für eine offene Bürgergesellschaft“ (Freie Demokratische Partei, 2012)

For the analysis of the parties' values in Hesse in the context of public security issues, Policing and AI-Systems in police work the parties' election program for the 20th election period 2019-2024 have been gathered via an online search. The data was chosen for their clear statements of policy-planning and goal setting. The online search led to the election programs from 2018 which are published on several websites. For data reliability reasons all documents have been downloaded directly from the parties' websites. After a short scan through the texts, it showed that the analysis should be focussed on the *Public Security/ Domestic Security* parts of the documents as they explicitly mention aspects of goal setting for the federal state police forces and policy recommendations for increased public security. Hence, the textual data has been chosen for their clearly structured content on the issue of this thesis and its broader context. The chosen data the following:

- CDU – „Programm der CDU Hessen zur Landtagswahl 2018“ (CDU Hessen, 2018)
- SPD – „Sozialdemokratisches Regierungsprogramm für Hessen 2019-2024“ (SPD-Landesverband Hessen, 2018)
- Grüne – „Das Grüne Regierungsprogramm 2019-2024“ (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN Hessen, 2018).
- FDP - Die nächste Stufe Hessen.: Das Programm der Freien Demokraten Hessen zur Landtagswahl 2018 (FDP Hessen, 2018)

The third level of analysis is set on the personal level of politicians in the Hessian federal parliament. It aims to analyse the personal standpoint and values that policymakers promote. Interviews are chosen as a method of data collection to specifically ask politicians about the certain topic of Hessendata and AI policing in order to get concrete answers for the further analysis. Therefore, interview partners have been selected who are involved in the policy and decision-making process around interior matters and public security issues. The Interviewees are all members of the Hessian parliament and further members of the parliamentary committee of interior matters for the state of Hesse. These politicians have been chosen and contacted because of their expertise and insight in the field and especially because of their function as experts in their parliamentary party groups. All interviews have been conducted via a telephone

or online conference call, with semi-structured questioning. The semi-structured questioning was chosen for its possibility to ask about values and standpoints but also be open to discussions that might reveal aspects interesting for the analysis which have not been previously considered. The interviews are anonymised to protect the privacy of the interviewees and offer a possibility to speak freely. The politicians have been selected for interview requests via an assessment of their profession, specialisation in political fields and background. For each party one interview has been conducted. The interviews' semi-structured framework was set to address values that can be connected to the topics of public security, police work, policy regulation and Hessendata. During the interview interviewees were asked for opinions on aspects of their party's election program, the use of Hessendata, the ruling of the BVerfG and the possibilities of AI-systems in police work. The interviewees all got the same set of question with slightly altered introductions or aspects when the questions addressed aspects of the party program. The interviewees had the opportunity to answer freely, and the questions only gave a framework for the interviews. The interviews are named as follows:

- CDU – Interview CDU
- SPD – Interview SPD
- Grüne – Interview Grüne
- FDP – Interview FDP

3.3 Methods of data analysis

The analysis will be based on the work of Mayring (2010) for qualitative textual analysis methods. The author introduces two variants of the qualitative content analysis of textual data. The data is structured in three levels from abstract core values to values in the context of public security and personal values of politicians in the same context. Mayring further distinguishes between three types of interpretation: *reduction*, *explication*, and *structuring*. The analysis is set on a mix of reduction and structuring as it aims to reduce the data to its core values by applying a deductive categorisation. For the analysis atlas.ti is used to code the gathered textual data.

The project is based on textual data from Interviews and documents published by the previously presented political parties. The textual data will be analysed using methods of qualitative textual content analysis. For this kind of analysis Mayring (2010) distinguishes between two models:

3.3.1 Inductive procedure of qualitative content analysis

The inductive procedure of content analysis provides no codebook before the analysis of the given data but is set on the idea of coding the data while analysing it to create definitions fitting to the framework of the analysis. The basic idea is to establish a definition criterion derived from the question of the study and theoretically justified, which determines which aspects are to be considered in the material. If this framework is set up, the process proceeds to work through the material step by step according to this. The categories developed are revised in a feedback loop, subjected to a reliability test, and can later also be combined into subcategories and evaluated according to quantitative aspects, depending on the research question.

3.3.2 Deductive procedure of qualitative content analysis

The deductive approach of content analysis differs from the inductive procedure by the basis of coding and analysis. The deductive approach uses a pre-defined coding scheme which is created based on review data and the theoretical evaluation aspects. The qualitative analysis step consists of assigning deductively obtained categories to text passages in a methodologically sound way. The most important aspect is the precise definition of the given categories and the definition of content-analytical rules when a text passage can be assigned to them.

3.3.3 Procedures used for each level

The analysis of the parties' core values the mentioned data will be analysed using an inductive approach of content analysis as it gives the option to find values that may not be addressed in a theoretical framework or pre-set coding scheme. The values found in this data set will be used to later compare the value sets of each party with one another and set the foundation for the further analysis of the party programs and interviews.

The second part of the analysis will include the coding of the parties' election program from 2018 that have been mentioned before. The programs will be analysed for the underlying values of the program. As the pre-evaluation of the data showed is the *Public Security* section of each program of special interest for the analysis which will be the focus. An inductive approach to content analysis will be also applied, with respect to the pre-set of coded values from the first analysis. This enables a later analysis of the data regarding its coherence with the other parts of the analysis.

The third part of the analysis is based on the conducted interviews. The transcribed interviews will be analysed using a combination of inductive and deductive approach to the content analysis using a pre-set of values that are connected to question. The deductive part will address

the pre-set of values that could be connected to the asked questions asked. The values found in the first to parts of the analysis will also be applied to the interview analysis. The inductive part of the analysis will be the openness of the questions to new or differing values from the politicians, which will also be included in the analysis.

3.4 Conclusion

To summarize the methodology applied in this thesis, textual data has been gathered on three different levels of the parties. The parties' manifests, Hessian election programs, and politicians' interviews will be analysed using Mayring's (2010) inductive and deductive content analysis approach to code underlying values. Afterwards the three levels of data for each party will be used to answer the described research question and its sub-questions.

4. Analysis

The following analysis aims to find the values that underly the textual data gathered from political parties. This is done to answer the research question and the sub-questions and will give valuable insights into the values that are promoted in the context of AI-Security systems for public administration. As discussed in the methodology part the data will be analysed in three steps from general statement and core values towards the more detailed questions about the specific case of Hessendata and police work. The coding scheme has been developed using the discussed theoretical framework of the value term. Appendix A shows the complete Codebook. The analysis is structured to answer the sub-questions of the thesis' research question.

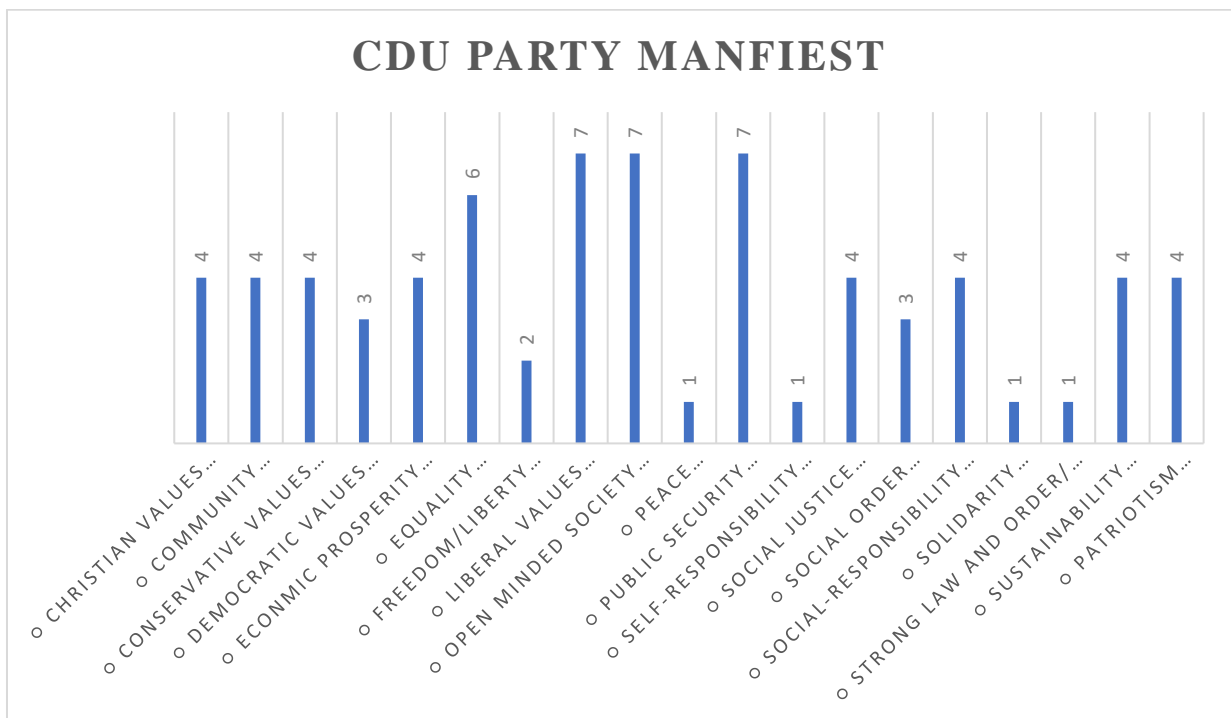
4.1 What values are promoted on each level of the party's data?

In the following the gathered data is analysed to find underlying values that the parties promote. The analysis is based on a QCA. The results of the analysis depict the values that have been found during the coding process.

4.1.1 CDU

4.1.1.1 Party Manifest

The CDU's party manifest addressed several core values which are depicted in Graphic 1. The party sets itself on three areas of core values: Christian values, conservative values, and liberal values. On this basis freedom, solidarity, social justice, and equality are highlighted values as they reflect Christian faith for the party. The liberal values that are highlighted are self-responsibility and freedom/ liberty. The textual data further highlights the values of patriotism, sustainability, law and order, and inclusion which are regraded conservative values. The content analysis further showed that the values of an open-minded society and public security are of special importance as they illustrate the connection between conservative and liberal values based on traditions and Christianity. Out of the 19 coded values 4 have been coded more than 4 times, as shown in Graphic 1. Important values are highlighted in the data by direct mentioning's of their importance or frequency of coding.

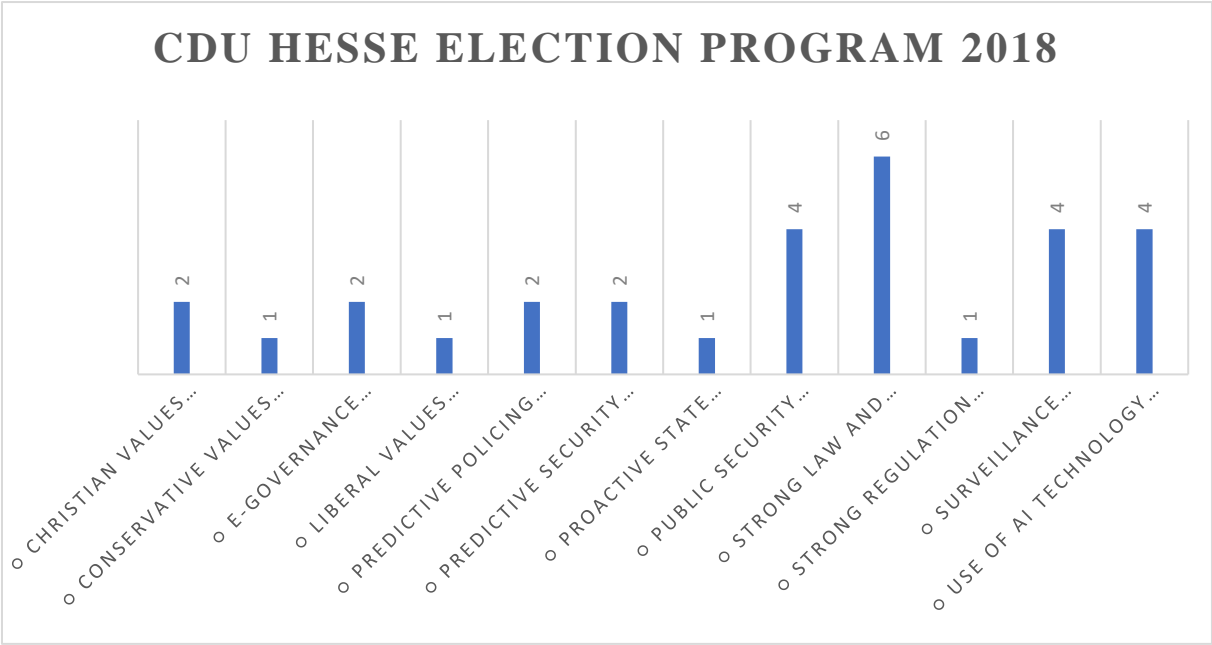


Graphic 1. CDU Party Manifest values

4.1.1.2 Election Program

The values from the election program 2018 are highlighted in Graphic 2. The analysis only focused on the part of the election program that discussed public security measures in order to not dilute the analysis results with findings outside of the set scope. In total 12 values have been

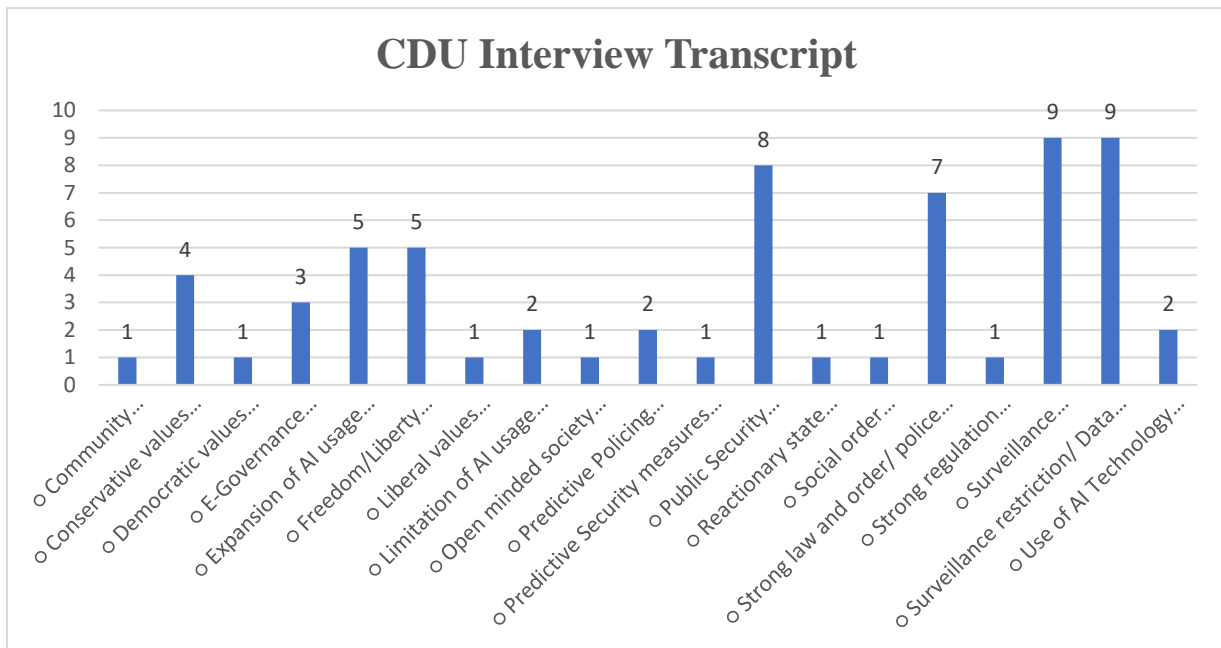
coded during the analysis of the textual data of which 4 are of special importance due to their outstanding coding frequency. Strong law and order is coded 6 which shows a strong support for law enforcement agencies and commitment to support their interests. This is encouraged by public security and use of surveillance technology, which can be clustered as conservative values. The Christian-democratic union mainly advocated for such conservative values as well as liberal values. The liberal values are mainly connected to strong regulations of police competences and the promotion to protect liberal values part of social order. This can also be connected to Christian values being promoted. The analysis further show that the CDU supports the push for further implementations in the name of e-governance for police forces. Technological equipment like Hessendata is implemented to react better on current threats to society and social order. New equipment and the use of advanced ICTs can also be connected to the use of AI systems and specifically Hessendata. Further do the found values support predictive policing and a proactive state as the party promotes the use of predictive policing measures. Including surveillance technology in public places or preventive help for specific groups of society. Predictive security measures, which include actions against individual threats, such as preventive detention are also found in the analysis and extend the preventive measures of a proactive state.



Graphic 2. CDU Hesse Election Program 2018 values

4.1.1.3 Interview CDU

The coding of the interview shows 19 values that are depicted in Graphic 3. The analysis highlights 4 values with outstanding frequency: Public Security, Strong law and order, Surveillance and Surveillance restriction. The first three values can be clustered into conservative values while the fourth can be connected to a more liberal view. The content of the interview showed that the interviewee in general is in favour of surveillance and public security measures as the promoted values are generally in favour of more police competences and equipment. The interviewee stated that public security is of meaningful importance, legitimising surveillance in the name of public security. He stated, “I would say that if you don't have any dirt on you, you don't have to worry about such things” (Interview CDU, line 58f.). He argued that more surveillance is reasonable if you live in a state without arbitrariness. The promoted surveillance restriction value is bound to the core values of Germany's Basic Law. The politician argued that surveillance should be extended in a way that benefits the public security efforts but limits such benefits in a comparison to the public surveillance and social credit system in China, where citizens are monitored, and actions are judged based on their conformity with the social benefit. The interviewee shows that he is in favour of individual freedom and liberal values in the context of such system but also favours greater expansion of Surveillance and public security measures using all means possible like Hessendata. It is a clash of values between liberal and conservative values. Further does the interviewee support the values of Surveillance and the use of AI systems and Hessendata. He points out that “data protection should not become protection of perpetrators” when it comes to child abuse (Interview CDU, Line 167). This is set in contrast with the values freedom/ liberty and surveillance restriction as he limits the use of Hessendata when it comes to internet access. The interviewee therefore supports the current use of Hessendata which he would extend. The legal basis of Hessendata should not restrict the usage any further than necessary, even in the context of the BVerfG ruling.

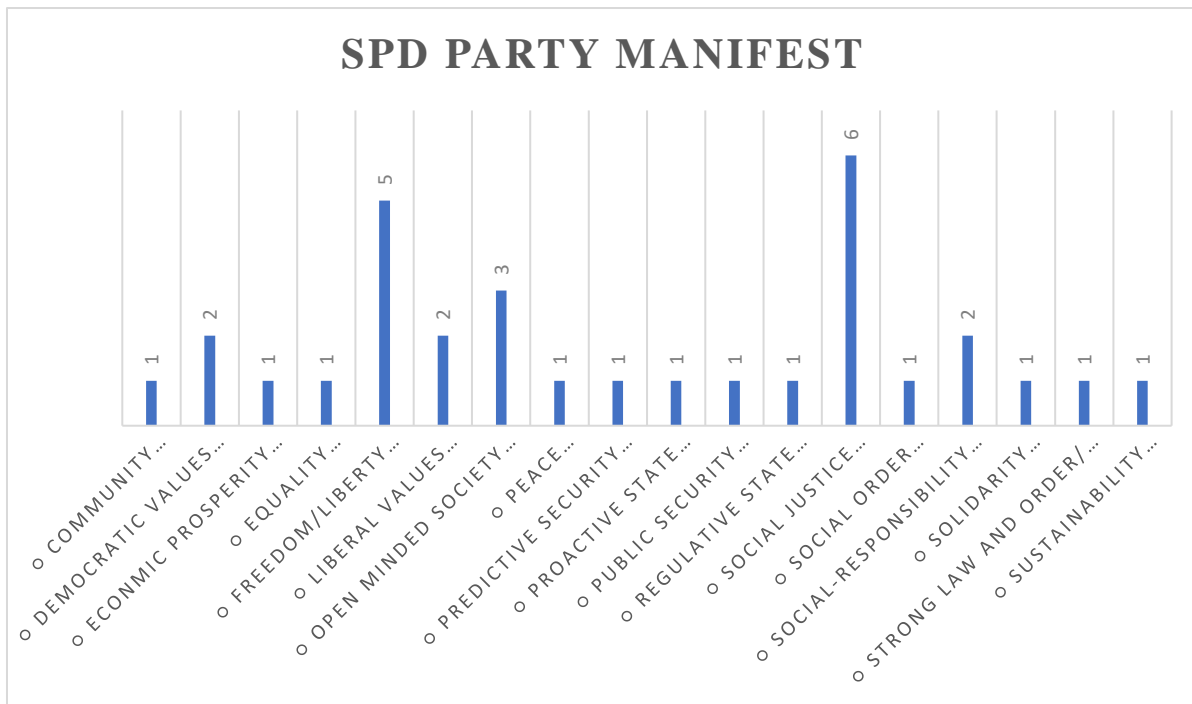


Graphic 3. CDU Interview transcript values

4.1.2 SPD

4.1.2.1 Party Manifest

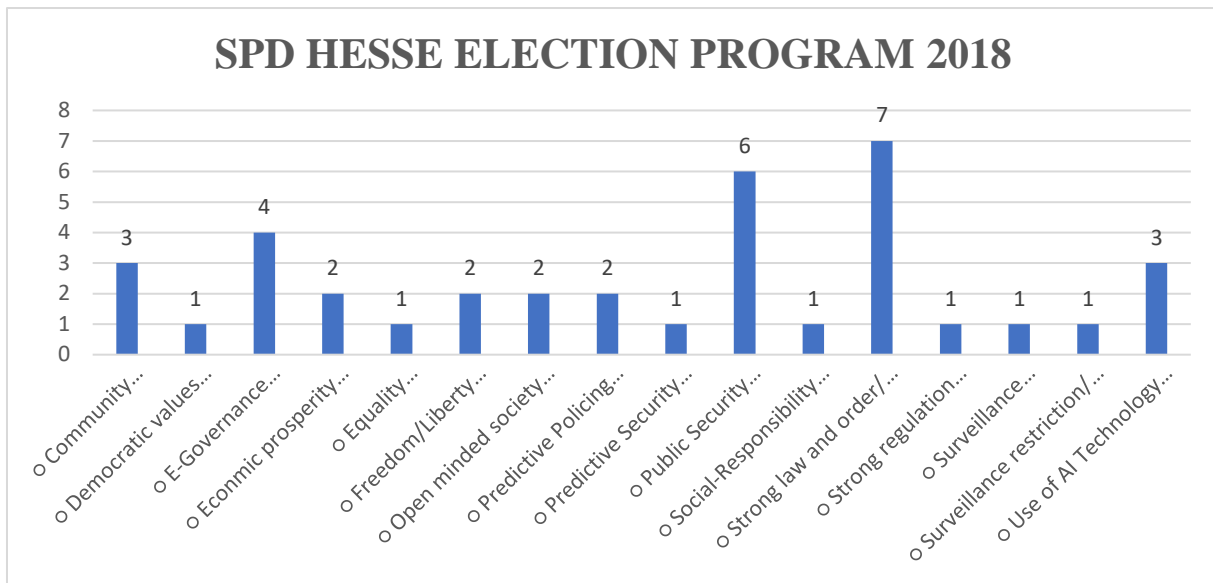
The party manifest of the social-democratic party SPD inherits 18 values (Graphic 4). The party manifest *Hamburger Programm* (SPD-Parteivorstand, 2007) support liberal values and the social engagement through a strong welfare state as highlighted by the coding. Social justice and Freedom/ Liberty are the two values that are found most in the analysed text. Freedom, Justice, and Solidarity are the main values which supports the argument that liberal values, social justice and welfare are of most importance as they fit into the cluster of liberal and social values. The third value that is highlighted in the findings of the analysis is the value of an open-minded society. The value includes inclusive behaviour and a welcoming mindset for new perspectives and ideas from all humans. It also fits into the realm of liberal values. Further does the SPD address more conservative values such as social order, strong law and order and the value of public security. Further does the text inherit democratic values, the value of a proactive state and predictive security measures which are all connected to the values of public security and peace. The foundation of the party's values is based around liberal and social values, supporting the democratic state. It also supports the societal cohesion and freedom/ liberty through equality. Yet, the SPD also supports values that are the basis for a more robust state and can be categorized into the realm of conservative values.



Graphic 4. SPD party manifest values

4.1.2.2 Party Program

The analysis of the party program focused on the public security part of the election program. The tone for the public security section is made clear in the first sentence of the section stating that every citizen has the right to publicly guaranteed security, giving an outlook on what values are important to the party in this context (SPD Landesverband Hesse, 2018). As graphic 5 show the most found values are strong law and order/ police force and public security. All 16 values that have been found are depicted in Graphic 5. Altogether does the party promote more conservative values focusing on police competences and social order but also liberal values play a role. The third most often coded value is e-governance, as the SPD showed a big interest in implementing technologies that support such efforts. This is shown by the party's standing on AI technology for policing and the value of surveillance by public security institutions. These values can be argued to be the intersection between public security and e-governance, leaning in the realm of more conservative values as it supports ICTs in law enforcement. Yet, contrary to that, the values of community, strong regulation, surveillance restriction/ data privacy and freedom/ liberty are also included, showing a liberal standpoint. The values predictive policing and predictive security measures further suggest a willingness to implement proactive measures against criminal activities. Yet, predictive policing focuses on objects and preventive actions like surveillance cameras or securing public spaces.

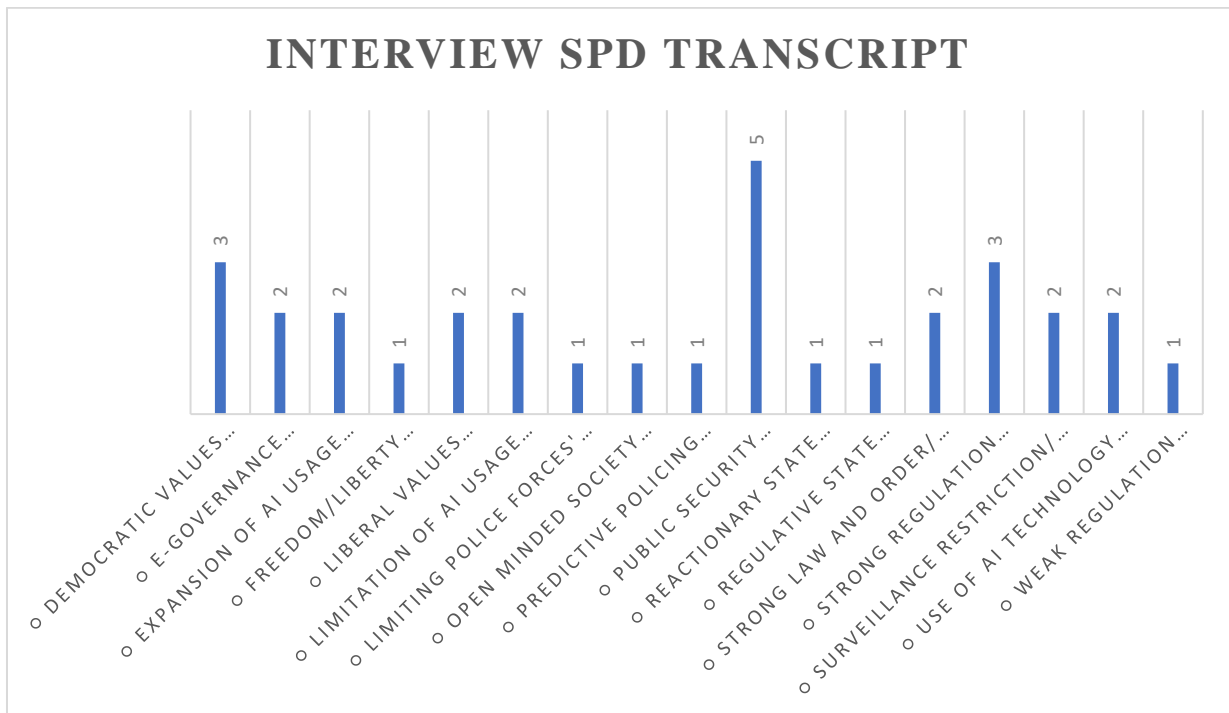


Graphic 5. SPD Hesse Election Program 2018 values

4.1.2.3 Interview

The results of the analysis include 17 codes that have been found in the interview transcript (Graphic 6). The interviewee, a member of the Hessian parliament showed a variety of values connected to different value cluster. Graphic 6 shows the most found value, public security highlighting the importance of this value. The support for more police personnel and more and advanced equipment for law enforcement leads to the values of public security and strong law and order/ police force. Further does the interviewee show support for the values of more surveillance and the use of AI technology in police work. Nevertheless, the analysis revealed a support for the value of a strong regulation over the value weak regulation. He therefore supports the limitation of AI technology usage and further argued in favour of limitations of police capabilities. Public security should be the main priority but not if it cuts into individual rights or data privacy laws, regulating the possibilities of police surveillance. It can be stated that the interviewee supports liberal values as limitation in surveillance and police competences but advocates a strong state and law enforcement (Interview SPD, line 87ff.). Democratic values and the Germany's moral code should be the basis for the use of such tech, as the found values clarify. These standards should also be secured if software from foreign countries is used (Interview SPD, line 137-143). The second most frequently coded values are strong regulation and democratic values suggesting a more liberal stance. 7 values have been found that have been coded twice, which highlights the diversity within the coding and the values that the interviewee promotes. The value of predictive policing shows a tendency to support preventive

measure that are aimed at securing objects and locations, yet the interviewee supports a naturally reactive law enforcement.



Graphic 6. SPD Interview transcript values

4.1.3 Die Grüne

4.1.3.1 Party Manifest

BÜNDNIS 90/ DIE GRÜNEN focusses on ecological matters, Freedom, Democracy, Social Justice, and Peace as their core values (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE, 2020). The data inherits 16 different codes as shown in Graphic 7. Equality is the most found value as the coding results show followed by democracy, freedom/ liberty, liberal values in general and open-minded. All these values promote individuality, freedom and can therefore be clustered as liberal values in the context of social values. The found values support the values the party highlights themselves. The values social justice and sustainability have also been found supporting the argument even further. Even if coded fewer times, the coding still supports a high standing of such values. Noticeable is the minimal number of codes that are connected to societal conservatism and a strong law enforcement. Public security and strong law and order have both been found only one time in the data. Social order, social responsibility and community all have a higher standing in the party manifest than the public security values. These values along with social justice, open minded society and social justice are clustered as social/ welfare

values. Altogether, the green party manifest shows primarily liberal values in connection with social well-being and welfare values. Public security values and conservatism are not of primary importance only highlightable when it comes to ecological sustainability.

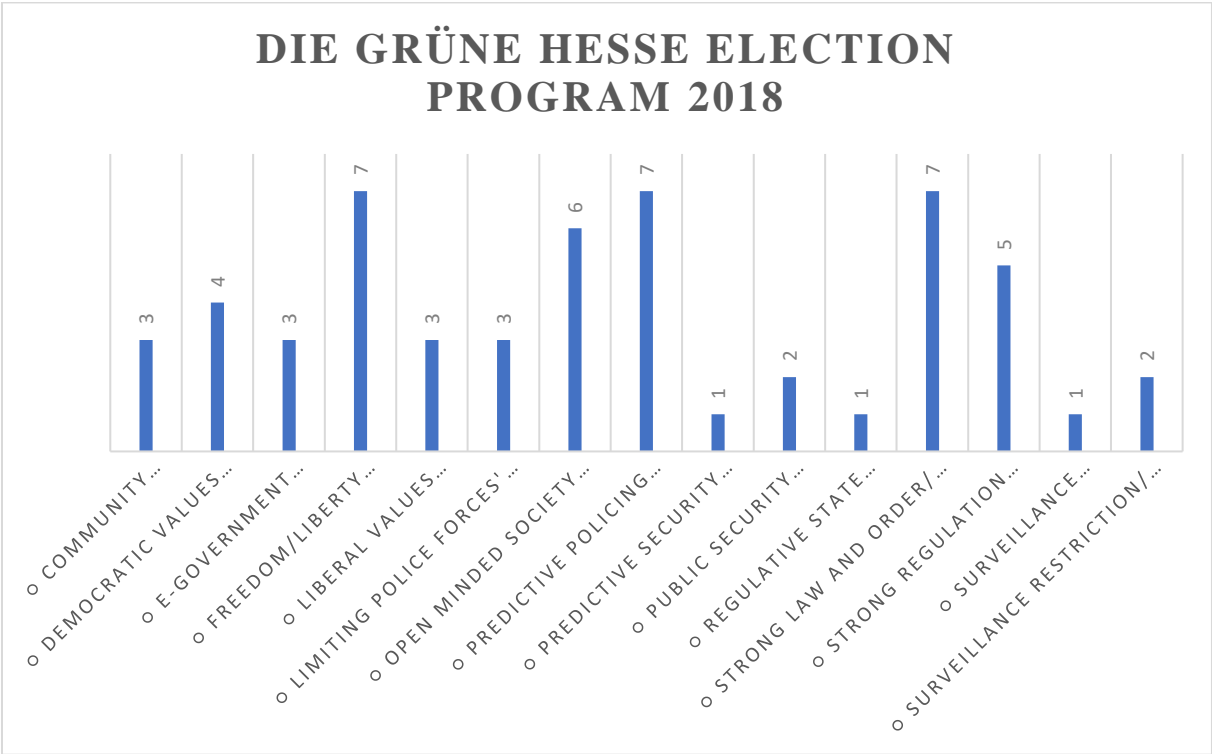


Graphic 7. Die Grüne Party manifest values

4.1.3.2 Election Program

The election program analysis results show 15 values as depicted in graphic 8. The three most often found values freedom/ liberty, predictive policing, and strong law and order/ police force show three different value clusters that can be distinguished. Open minded society a value that has been found frequently in the text, freedom/ liberty, and community can be clustered in a group of liberal values. Further values connected to the cluster are AI usage limitations, surveillance restriction or limitations in police forces as they limit the state interventions in individual freedom. Another cluster of values that can be found is public security and conservative values. It is not found as frequently as the liberal value cluster. This cluster includes surveillance, strong law and order, public security, predictive policing, and predictive security measures as it mainly supports a strong active state with robust competences to counteract threats to social order. As only the parts of the data are analysed that fit into the scope of the research question it needs to be highlighted that the liberal values prevail in the text and public security values. Conservative values are not dominating the analysis. Another cluster

focuses on values around use of ICTs. E-governance, predictive police measures, as well as surveillance indicate that the party is in favour of Hessendata and AI-systems for police work. The usage of such systems allows for more efficient predictive measures and an effective public administration. In the light of that the analysis also shows that the party wants to strictly monitor and regulate such systems and the police, as they still mainly promote liberal values.

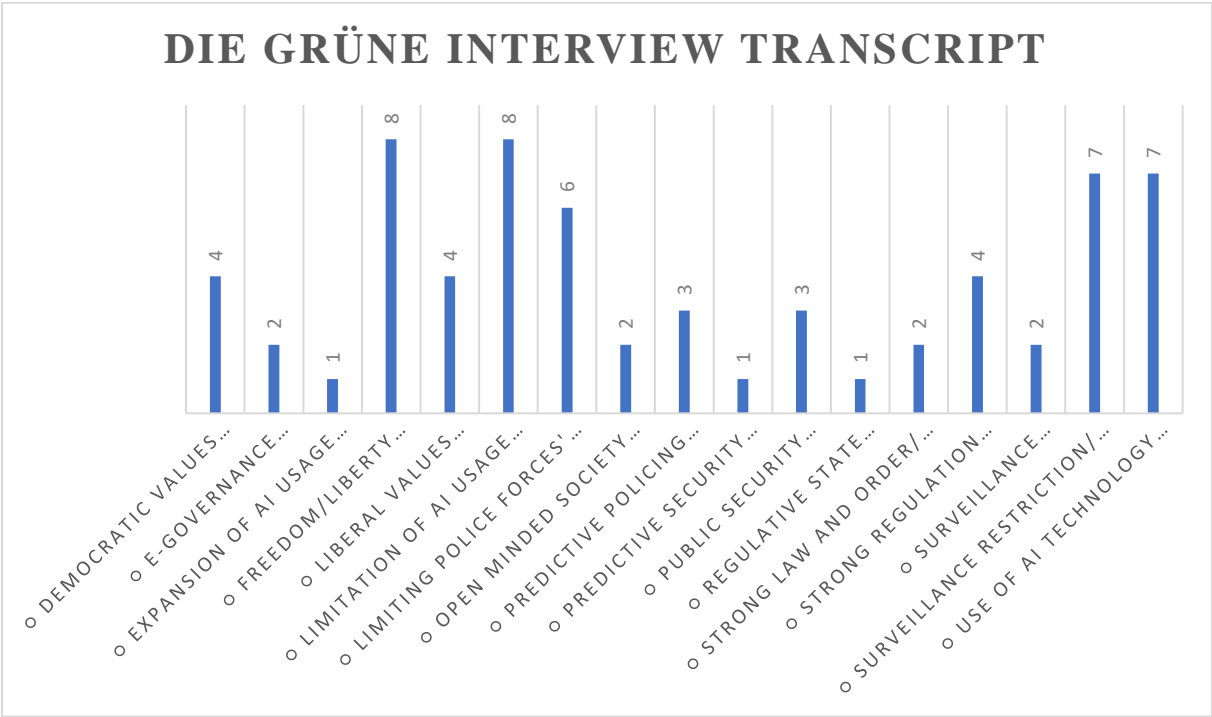


Graphic 8. Die Grüne Hesse election program 2018 values

4.1.3.3 Interview

The analysis showed 17 values that have been found during the analysis (Graphic 9). The interviewee showed great support for freedom/ liberty as he views the implementation of AI systems and more surveillance critically. He stated that the use of Hessendata should be regulated more effectively in the framework the BVerfG ruling set and the usage should be comprehensible (Quote?). The individual freedom should be protected and surveillance technologies like facial recognition cameras or AI systems that are connected to the internet are not intended to be allowed for the police. The coding shows a frequent occurrence of liberal values such as freedom/ liberty, open minded society, surveillance restriction or liberal values in general. Further are conservative and security related values not included frequently if found at all. It suggests that the politician’s decision making is rather based on values that restrict the

police work and surveillance itself. It is found that the interviewee supports a strong law and order and the use of AI technology generally but favours a strong regulation and a regulative state that controls such usage. Another realm of interest to the analysis is the one of e-governance as for e-governance, usage of AI technology and predictive policing are found. It can be suggested that the values of predictive policing and predictive security measures in combination with AI technology values and g-governance can be clustered as values that support AI policing. All in all, it is found that the interviewee holds strong liberal values and positions against an extensive use of AI technology and surveillance. The politician holds up the value of freedom and the limitations of police competences. Yet, the usage of Hessendata and other technological advancements is not completely ruled out as the values only suggest a clearly liberal standpoint limiting these systems but no prohibiting them.



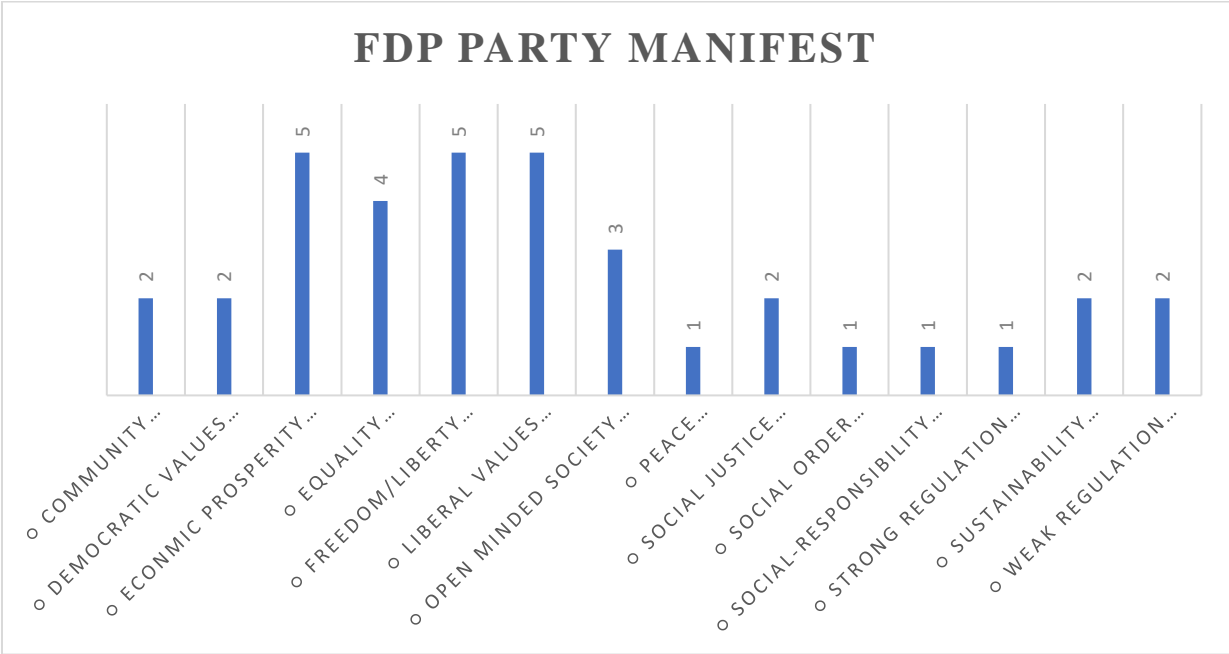
Graphic 9. Die Grüne Interview transcript values

4.1.4 FDP

4.1.4.1 Party Manifest

The FDP Party Manifest included several values of which liberal values prevailed. The party is focused on individual rights and liberal values when it comes to societal and economic questions. This focus is clearly visible in the found values, depicted in Graphic 10. The values of economic prosperity, freedom/ liberty and liberal values are the ones most often found.

Freedom is the central aspect in the party’s manifest as it is the basis for the party’s self-understanding. Other important values are equality and open-minded society which are also coded in the text. These values fit into the cluster of liberal values as they promote individuality and self-expression. These values highlight the individual freedom and the self-responsibility of the citizens. Community, Social Justice, Social order, and social responsibility shows another aspect of core values as it focuses on social aspects and the state’s role in the community. The value of weak regulations dominates that of strong regulations indicating that the party’s core is solely liberal. The values of sustainability, peace, social order, and social responsibility also add to a rather conservative aspect of the party’s value mix. Yet, the party is primarily liberally embossed.

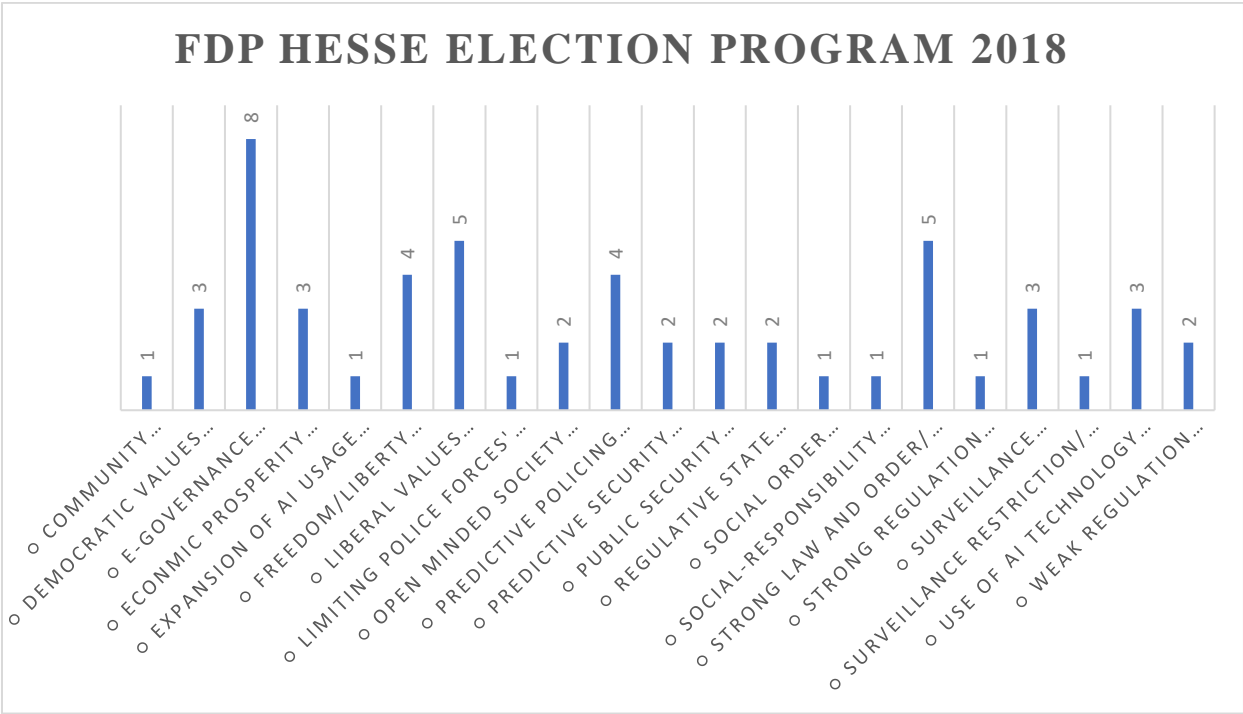


Graphic 10. FDP Party manifest values

4.1.4.2 Election program

The 2018 election program of the FDP includes 21 codes as Graphic 11 shows. The different codes that are found in the textual data can be clustered based on the three values that are included most frequently. The e-governance value has the highest frequency and highlights the party’s standpoint to value the implementation of ICT and especially AI-systems into public administration. The cluster around this topic includes the codes e-governance, expansion of AI usage, economic prosperity, use of AI technology and expansion of AI technology. Another cluster of values can be drawn around the liberal values. As the foundation of the party’s

ideology, liberal values make up the biggest part of the found values. Open minded society, liberal values, freedom/ liberty, surveillance restriction, limiting police forces' powers, and weak regulations can all be associated with a liberal standpoint. The last cluster can be drawn around the more conservative value of strong law and order and public security. The cluster includes all values that favour a strong law enforcement with the capacities to implement and use systems such as Hessendata and be equipped with tools to prevent criminal offenses. The values of predictive policing and predictive security measures need to be highlighted as they show a more opposing approach. that the FDP is prone to implement policies that might favour surveillance and strong public security measures and are not completely bound to liberal views.

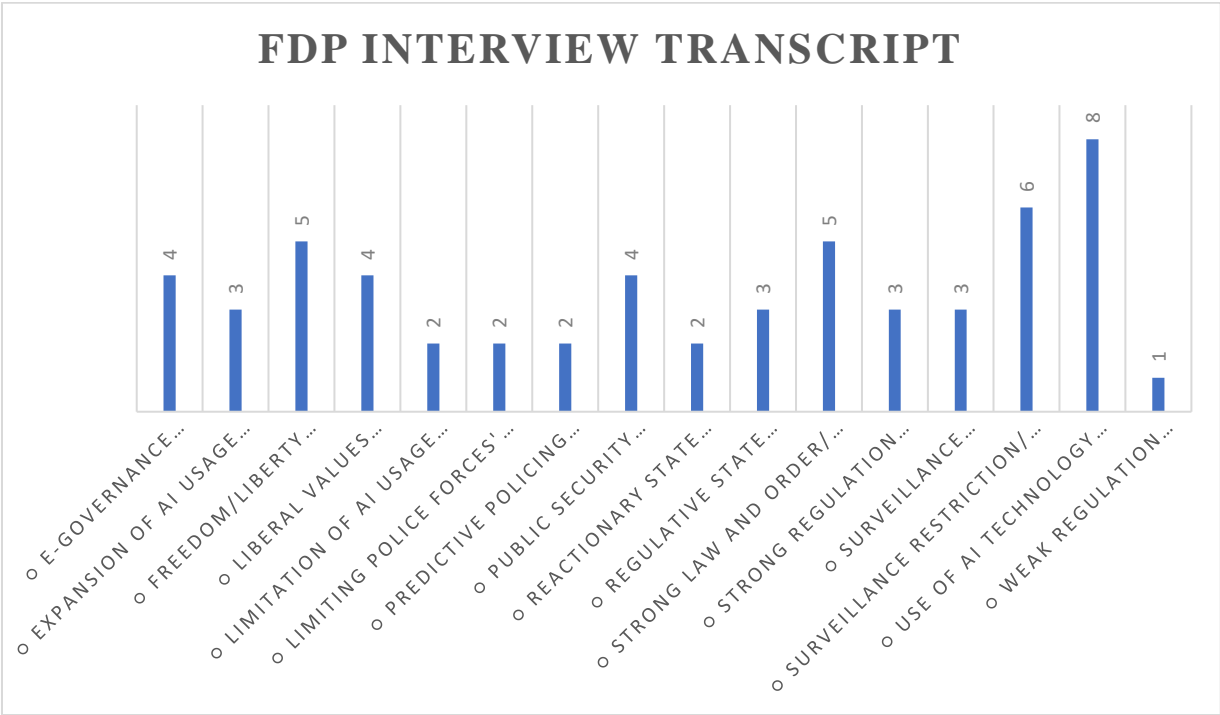


Graphic 11. FDP Hesse election program 2018 values

4.1.4.3 Interview

The interview transcript for the FDP resulted in 12 values that have been coded as depicted on graphic 12. The most prominent value is use of AI technology, which can be connected to the use of Hessendata and the general willingness to use such a program. The second most coded value is surveillance restriction/ data privacy, highlighting the interviewees standpoint to regulate surveillance strictly and not cut into individual rights for public security. This dilemma is further depicted in the third most coded values: Freedom/ Liberty and Strong law and order.

These two values show a clash of values as the policies implemented to reach such goals may contradict each other. The interviewee in general is in favour of predictive policing measures, with a highlighted absence of predictive security measures, showing that the individual should not be the aim of such preventive police tactics. This is further picked up by the reactionary state value, as it supports the use of preventive measures passively against criminal activities but may exclude the use of direct preventive measures against possibly criminal individuals. In general, it can be said that the politician is in favour of Hessendata and the usage of AI systems in the context of policing, as it plays into the aspiration of e-governance. All together does the analysis show values that can be mainly divided into liberal values and conservative values. The conservative values dominate as they lay a strict focus on strong law and order and public security, promoted by the politician.



Graphic 12. FDP Interview transcript values

4.2 To what extend are the parties promoting the same values on all three level of analysis?

The analysis seeks to highlight the importance of the found values by highlighting how coherent the constellation of values within each party is. The results show on what level the found values occur to assess between which levels the coherence is observable. The coherence for each party

will answer the sub-question, leading to a qualified answer for the research question of this thesis. It further examines the internal validity of values through its coherence.

4.2.1 CDU

The analysis of value coherence between the CDU party levels is shown in table 1. From the total of 30 values 4 have been found to occur in all three layers. This indicates a rather weak coherence of values between the layers with only 13% of values found in all the party data. Yet, 12 values are found to appear in two data sets which combined with the other coherent values marks a coherence above 50%. This is a close calculation as 14 values show no multiple occurrences. The values that are promoted on all levels are conservative values, liberal values, public security, and strong law and order/ police force as displayed in Appendix B. Table 2, further shows which two levels share the most values. The greatest connection of values is between the election program and interview data as they share 10 values. The manifest level and the election program share the least values with only 5 connections. The analysis shows that the conservative and liberal values are promoted on all levels and therefore mark the core of the party’s actions. But the number of total coherent values and the relatively low but even number of total value connections show that a coherence is given only on a basic level. The 4 highlighted values are of a rather abstract nature yet reflect the standpoint of the party on all three levels. The conservative party promotes mainly values in connection with an increase in security and strong law enforcement, on the levels of the election program and interview. Yet, liberal values are included but do not prevail.

Table 1.

Value coherence CDU

Levels connected by value	Number of values
One data set	14
Two data sets	12
Three data sets	4
Total number of values	30

Table 2.

Value connections between two data levels CDU

Analysis levels connected	Number of value connections
Manifest and Election program	5
Election program and Interview	10
Manifest and Interview	8

4.2.2 SPD

The analysis of value coherence within the data of the SPD showed that nearly half of the values showed no connection at all (table 3). Out of 29 values 15 have been coded in at least two out of three levels of data. The analysis shows that only 5 out of 29 values are included on all levels showing an inchoate coherence of values. The 28% of values that occur in two data sets leave the question of how coherent the connection between the individual levels is. Table 4 gives an answer to this question as it shows the analysis of value overlapping between the levels. Both connections with the election program show a higher significance than the third connection between the party manifest and the interview. This is highlighted by the found connections between the levels of analysis. This suggests the importance of the election program and its values as connective element. The SPD supports 5 values on all levels of analysis from the abstract manifest level to the individual level of politicians. These values are namely, democratic values, freedom/liberty, open minded society, public security and strong law and order/ police force (Appendix C). The values reflect two sides of the party’s value spectrum, including a more social and community-based cluster with liberal values and a more conservative side advocating for more public security and strict law and order. In the manifest the liberal side is pronounced while security values are predominant in the election program. The connection between these two sides is incorporated in the interview data tending towards security values while including liberal values as well.

Table 3.***Value coherence SPD***

Levels connected by value	Number of values
One data set	14
Two data sets	10
Three data sets	5
Total number of values	29

Table 4.***Value connections between two data levels SPD***

Analysis levels connected	Number of value connections
Manifest and Election program	10
Election program and Interview	10
Manifest and Interview	5

4.2.3 Grüne

For the green party 25 values have been coded. The analysis results (table 5) shows that 10 values (40%) have no coherence at all, 7 values are occurring in two datasets (28%), and 8 out of 25 values are found on all three levels of analysis (32%). The values and their coherence are listed in Appendix D showing the complete results of the analysis. The majority of values are coherent to some extent as they form 60% of the total values yet a in total numbers the values with no connection dominate even if not significantly. In opposition to that a clear difference can be seen in table 6 showing the value shared between two levels. The number of values occurring in the election program and the interview is significantly higher than the rest. 15 values can be connected to more than one party level (table 5). The analysis of the election program and interview show 14 values that are occurring in both data, marking a near perfect coherence. In general, it can be said that a coherence is found as the majority of values is found in more than one data set. Out of these 15 values 14 are found in the election program and interview, marking a significantly higher number than the rest. The values that have been found

throughout all three levels can be divided between mainly liberal values regarding an open society in connection with more conservative values that promote a strong law and order through a regulative state. The values depict the results of the previous analysis and the clustering of these values greatly as they promote the standpoint of the interviewee as well as the policy recommendations in the election program.

Table 5.

Value coherence Grüne

Levels connected by value	Number of values
One data set	10
Two data sets	7
Three data sets	8
Total number of values	25

Table 6.

Value connections between two data levels Grüne

Analysis levels connected	Number of value connections
Manifest and Election program	9
Election program and Interview	14
Manifest and Interview	8

4.2.4 FDP

During the coding of the data set for the FDP 27 values have been found in total (table 7). 3 values have been found in every data of the party, while 17 have been found to occur only on two levels. 7 values only occur in one data set (table 7). In total 74% of the values show some coherence but only 11% are found on all levels. The discrepancy suggests differences between the connections of the data’s values. Table 8 highlights the weak connection between the manifest values and interview values as only 3 out of 27 values occur in both data sets. These 3 values are the ones that are coherent through every level of the party, namely freedom/liberty, strong regulation, and weak regulation (Appendix E). The findings may highlight a absent

connection between the interviewee and the party manifest. The found values focus on liberal values and the role of the state. Yet, it falls short of the prevailing values in the context of Hessendata and public security, as they focus more on conservative values and a strong regulative state. The values found in all three layers of analysis reflect the liberal standpoint of the party and its promotion on the restrained attitude of the state. However, the limited number of value connections suggest a shift in the priorities of values highlighted by the previous analysis and Appendix E.

Table 7.

Value coherence FDP

Levels connected by value	Number of values
One data set	3
Two data sets	17
Three data sets	7
Total number of values	27

Table 8.

Value connections between two data levels FDP

Analysis levels connected	Number of value connections
Manifest and Election program	10
Election program and Interview	13
Manifest and Interview	3

4.3 Analysis conclusion

Altogether the analysis of the collected data from desk research and interviews showed a variety of values that are promoted by every party. The analysis was set to answer the sub-questions:

- *What values are promoted on each level of the parties?*

Analysing the CDU’s data revealed a set of conservative values that are promoted throughout the all the data. While liberal values are also frequently found in the party manifest, they retract

in the other two data sets. The SPD show a mix of different values as they advocated for social and liberal values in their manifest, more conservative values, and public security issues in the other layers of analysis. For the Grüne, the analysis resulted in a clear cluster of liberal and social values that dominate the standpoint of the party. Conservative and security values are also included in the value spectrum are clearly ranked under liberal values. The liberal FDP promotes a mix of liberal and conservative values. With the shift towards a narrower aim on public security issues and AI policing on each level of analysis the liberal standpoint of the FDP shifted and values such as public security, preventive policing and AI usage are found. The FDP therefore shows a clear tendency for the usage of AI systems but in combination with liberal values and regulations.

- *To what extent are the parties promoting the same values on all three level of analysis?*

When it comes to coherency the CDU showed 13% of values that were coded in all the data, yet the values found in all layers promote the standpoint of the CDU on every level. This suggests a divergence of values but a stable set of core values. The value coherence of the SPD is set to 52% of the values that occur more than once, yet only 17% (5 values) are found in all three layers of the party. The promoted values are changed between all layers, with the personal level combing the other more opposing value sets. The analysis of the green party shows that 8 values have been found in all layers making a 32% coherency and 60% of the values are found at least twice. The core values mark a cluster of liberal values that are ranked above everything else. The FDP showed a clear coherence as 74% percent of the values were found in at least two data sets of the party marking the highest value of all parties. Yet only a small percentage of 11% have been found in all three layers, representing a liberal standing. All in all, it can be said that no party showed a clear coherency of values throughout all three layers of party data, yet combining all values that occur more than once their share of values is always in majority. Hence differences are observable when it comes to values that occur in two layers of data and what layers are mostly connected. CDU and Grüne show a clear cluster of coherent core values, representing the values promoted in all the data.

5. Discussion

In the following the research framework and the analysis results are discussed in the context of possible limitations or further research suggestions.

All value positions of the parties are based on the free democratic basic order in Germany, as addressed by all interviewees. All interviewees reject the idea of any kind of social surveillance and credit system as promoted by the Chinese government. In context of Molina (2009) the findings might show the values included in a possible value framework around the implementation of AI in public administration. The Grüne interviewee stated that threatening events have shown to heat up the discussion about more security and tend to be used to implement further security measures. For example, the threat of Islamic terror led to the implementation of Hessendata. This is supported by the fact that no party advocated to limit the use of AI before a possible implementation. This supports the paper of Cheek et al. (2022) about the topic of value balance in crises.

When it comes to the CDU values proposed by the party, do not fit into the findings by Castelo and Ward (2021) suggesting aversion towards AI technology. They clearly not expressed a negative attitude towards AI policing technology. They show strong support to use means necessary to fight crime as they introduced Hessendata. However, AI policing technology is one of many AI possibilities and conservative parties could still hold aversion against other possibilities of AI usage creating space for further research.

The analysis further showed that the two parties with the most coherent value framework between the three layers are the Grüne and the CDU. The parties hold strong value positions in the given context of public security and Hessendata, which may oppose each other especially when it comes to the extent of AI usage. As both parties form a governing coalition in Hesse further research into the power relations could help improve the predictions about the future implications of this topic.

The work of Robinson (2020) showed the implication of societal values into national AI strategies in Nordic states. The findings of this thesis suggest a that all parties support a clear value framework on the current values of the German society. Interviewees and textual data often referred to the values of the German basic law and the protection of society's free democratic principles. AI is therefore not directly set to implement a stricter regulative state that change societies values but should be used to protect the current values.

The analysis revealed a relatively low value coherence between the party levels. This finding could be based on the scopes of the different levels. The interviews aimed on finding personal values in relation with Hessendata and AI policing, election programs were analysed for values in the context of public security. These specific scopes are not directly applicable to the abstractness of party manifest values. Which may suggest the discrepancies in the values found.

Nonetheless, does the analysis show a clear discrepancy of core values, especially for SPD and FDP between the analysed data. Goren (2005) suggest a that party identification is ranked above personal beliefs however the results show a weak connection of values between the interviews and the party manifest. This could be partially explained with the different scopes of the data.

When it comes to the methodological framework of the paper a few things can be discussed. The coding scheme (Appendix A) shows a number of codes that may have overlapping's or interact with each other. The relationship between the codes has not been addressed in the analysis as the limitations of the work don't allow for more extensive analysis. Yet, an inductive coding may also need more coding personnel. A single coder limits the internal validity of the findings (Noble & Smith, 2015). This can be explained by the limited framework of a bachelor thesis. More internal validity could be achieved with more coding personnel to validate each other. Further would more interviews support the generalisability of data. The generalisability is naturally bound to the scope of the analysis but could be upscaled on the national level with more data.

Further does the analysis suggest a deeper look into the values that are advocated by public administrators when it comes to AI policing and Hessendata. Further research could include research teams of the police forces, analyse other AI projects, and find a value framework around the use of such systems.

6. Conclusion

Concluding the discussed research and its findings an answer to the question *What values to Hessian parties support in the context of Hessendata and AI-policing systems?* can be formulated.

The analysis shows differences between the parties when it comes to the values that they promote throughout all levels of data and between each other. Even though the differences between the parties are limited as all parties are based on the free democratic principles of German society and no party promotes a totally proactive law enforcement using AI technology to predict possible criminal individuals. Yet the differences especially between the values of individual freedom or public security are found to a noticeable extent.

The CDU generally support conservative values in all the data advocating for a focus on public security and strong law enforcement agencies. They support the use of Hessendata and the improvement of further capabilities in this area and further surveillance. Predictive policing should be primarily focused on objects.

The SPD showed a weak coherence between the levels of analysis supporting different clusters of values. They support the use of Hessendata and advocate for conservative as well as social values, promoting public security measures and surveillance in this context.

The FDP showed support for the use of AI technology and Hessendata with a strict legal framework. The party promoted liberal values in the manifest and more conservative values in the context of public security. The party shows a strong support for values connected to e-governance. The party showed a strong coherence of values between two out of three levels.

The Grüne supports liberal values on all three levels and in the given context. The party advocates for freedom and restrictive measures for police work and surveillance technology. The party is still in favour of the use of Hessendata but shows strong support for strict laws and a values framework focusing on individual freedom rather than public security through surveillance and AI.

The values supported by the governing coalition of Grüne and CDU might lead to a value clash as the values oppose policies that result from them.

Altogether it can be said that all party are in favour of Hessendata and see a benefit in its usage, but all parties want to prevent an encroaching use of AI policing systems. The question is to what can be defined as too much surveillance even in the limitations of national basic law. This research contributes to the current state of the art by establishing a foundation for further studies on AI usage in public administration and the values guiding e-governance. The study bridges the gap between theoretical and practical discussions surrounding AI's possibilities and challenges, shedding light on the crucial topic of values in public administration research. It integrates ethical, political, and administrative perspectives involved in the emerging debate about AI technology.

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8. Data Appendix

Appendix A

QCA Coding-Scheme

Code	Definition	Example
Christian values	Values and opinions derived from the bible or connected to the Christian faith	"As a being created by God, every human being is unique, unavailable and should live freely and self-determined. This image of man guides our political actions." (CDU, 2022)
Community	Acknowledging the importance of a connected and functioning citizenship for a good state	"We stand for a strong dialogue and more opportunities for citizens to participate." (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN Hessen, 2018)
Conservative values	Values based on history and traditions trying to preserve the status quo with minimal change	"We as the CDU are conservative because we think about the present and the future in the knowledge of traditions, cultural imprinting and experiences of our civilisation." (CDU, 2022)
Democratic values	Promoting freedom, equality, inclusion, democratic-participation, and human rights	"Democracy is more than the rule of the majority, because it guarantees the protection of human rights, freedom and minority rights on the basis of a liberal constitutional state." (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE, 2020)
E-Governance	The goal to improve public services and enhance transparency and structures in bureaucracy	"The consistent digitisation of the public administration of the state and the municipalities offers great potential for making official processes faster, simpler and more efficient, so that the quality of services for citizens can be comprehensively increased and costs can be saved." (FDP Hessen, 2018)
Economic prosperity	Economic growth, wealth creation, improved standards of living for society and individuals, job opportunities	"A functioning judiciary is not least an important locational advantage for business and industry." (FDP Hesse, 2018)

Equality	The goal that all individuals have the same rights, opportunities and are treated without biases or discrimination	"An equally just society makes it possible to participate equally in social life. This requires strong public spaces and institutions" (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE, 2020)
Expansion of AI usage	The goal to expand the use of AI programs in the context of security forces	"You would not stand in the way of expanding the use of the system, but then with clear guidelines and controls." (Interview SPD)
Freedom/Liberty	The value of making decisions without oppression or undue constraints	"Lived freedom and guaranteed dignity require peace. The coexistence of people is based on the ability to resolve conflicts non-violently and peacefully and to uphold the human rights of all." (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE, 2020)
Liberal values	Set on the goals of individual freedom, limited government, and equality. Based on protection of individual freedom of choice	"The freedom of the individual is the basis and the limit of liberal politics. To be free means to be able to determine one's own life without external coercion." (Freie Demokratische Partei, 2012)
Limitation of AI usage	The goal to limit the use of AI technology in the public security sector	"We will not allow Hessendata access to the internet under our bill" (Interview Grüne)
Limiting police forces' powers	The goal to limit the power of intervention and competences of the police forces	"So, in my opinion, the rights of the police must also be curtailed where they are not needed, so to speak" (Interview Grüne)
Open minded society	Embracing diversity, societal exchange and dialogue and welcoming to people and ideas	"We consider the expansion of the culture of error and discourse, increased awareness of racism, sexism and homophobia and transphobia to be important in this context. " (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE Hessen, 2018)
Peace	Harmony and the absence of conflict or violence in combination with mutual respect	"We are convinced that lasting peace is only possible if structural causes of conflict such as hunger, poverty and lack of resources are overcome. War must not be a means of politics." (SPD-Parteivorstand, 2007)

Predictive Policing	The goal of a more efficient policing system based on data analysis and algorithms to forecast crime and prevent such (object/ situation based)	"Having already successfully set up and implemented special prevention programmes against right-wing extremism and against Salafism in Hesse and pursuing them with great vigour, we want to develop prevention concepts [...]" (CDU Hessen, 2018)
Predictive Security measures	Promoting proactive law enforcement strategies aiming on possible criminal individuals (person based)	Dangerous persons belong behind bars, explicitly in preventive police custody, as long as this is constitutionally possible." (CDU Hessen, 2018)
Proactive state	Enabling the state to act before a problem occurs to prevent harm or possible negative situations	"It is not the defence of civil rights and liberties, but their restriction that requires justification." (SPD-Parteivorstand, 2007)
Public Security	The value of creating a safe environment for individuals, their community, and institutions	"Every citizen has the right to publicly guaranteed security. An SPD-led government will take this into account." (SPD Hessen, 2018)
Reactionary state	The goal to sanction individuals and groups that misuse their freedom to act unlawful	" With the help of Hessendata, it will only be possible to pursue plans that have actually already been concretised." (Interview Grüne)
Regulative state	The states position to regulate issues is heavily emphasized	We want to create a legal basis in the Hessian police law that will enable the surveillance of identified dangerous persons by means of electronic ankle bracelets for the purpose of averting danger by judicial order. (FDP Hessen, 2018)
Self-responsibility	The value of taking care for oneself and being responsible for one's own prosperity	"Responsibility for oneself and co-responsibility for our fellow human beings, the community and nature [...]" (CDU, 2022)
Social justice	Equality and fairness in the distribution of resources and creation of opportunities for the well-being of all	"Human dignity and freedom are realised in an equally just and solidary society. Solidarity creates social cohesion. For us, justice means equal and the greatest possible freedom for all. It is the basis for a good life." (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE, 2020)

Social order	The goal of a harmonious and stable society based on a respected framework of values, norms and rules	"It demands an order of economy, state and society in which basic civil, political, social and economic rights are guaranteed for all people, in which all people can live a life without exploitation, oppression and violence, i.e., in social and human security." (SPD-Parteivorstand, 2007)
Social responsibility	The value of taking care for everybody in a society no matter their own personal circumstances and based on the wish for general welfare	"The financing of strong services of general interest is a public task." (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE, 2020)
Solidarity	The value of unity and support among individuals and communities	"Solidarity is a commandment of love for one's neighbour and corresponds to the social nature of human beings. It is based on reciprocity and establishes claims as well as duties." (CDU, 2022)
Strong law and order/ police force	The value to create a strong bureaucratic system of law-and-order institutions and especially police forces to ensure social harmony and stability	"Crime in Hesse has fallen to its lowest level in almost 40 years. At the same time, more crimes are being solved than ever before. We have set standards with our recruitment drive for the judiciary and the police. We have more police officers in training than ever before." (CDU Hesse, 2018)
Strong regulation	The goal to create a policy framework that sets tight limitations and rules on a specific topic	"New laws should be evaluated thoroughly and for a limited period of time so that interventions in civil liberties can be checked for their effectiveness and necessity. Existing regulations should also be evaluated again and again and corrected if necessary." (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN Hessen, 2018)
Surveillance	Systematic monitoring to observe actions and enhance security by gathering information	"Video surveillance is a useful tool to convict and deter offenders." (CDU Hessen, 2018)
Surveillance restriction/ Data privacy	The goal to limit the possibilities of surveillance and information gathering on the basis to embrace data privacy and informational self-determination	"We reject the surveillance of everyone without any reason. This also applies to rampant video surveillance."

		(BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE Hessen, 2018)
Sustainability	The goal to preserve balance by meeting own needs without compromising future generation's ability to meet their needs	"Protecting and preserving the environment is a prerequisite for living in dignity and freedom. Clean water and air, biodiversity and fertile soil are necessary conditions for our freedom of development and emancipation." (BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNE, 2020)
Use of AI Technology	Promoting the implementation and use of AI systems in the realm of law enforcement	"Our police must always be up to date in terms of equipment, but also in terms of methods. The rule of law must not take a back seat to the technical possibilities of its enemies. We need the latest investigative possibilities to avert danger and apprehend perpetrators." (CDU Hessen, 2018)
Patriotisms	The strong devotion and positive emotions towards a country including pride and loyalty towards its prosperity	"Today, Germany is a strong and respected country with a great responsibility for Europe and in the world." (CDU, 2022)
Weak regulation	The goal to create a policy framework that gives great freedom in the implementation of a specific topic	"In 2018, freedom is threatened less by a surveillance state than by an over-bureaucratising state. We want an uncomplicated state. It should concentrate on its core tasks and carry them out efficiently and quickly. Less is more: This also applies to laws, regulations and prohibitions." (FDP Hessen, 2018)

Appendix B

QCA Results CDU

Code	Party Manifest	Election Program	Interview Transcript	Coherence
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Christian values	4	2	0	Mid
Community	4	0	1	Mid
Conservative values	4	1	4	Full
Democratic values	3	0	1	Mid
E-Governance	0	2	3	Mid
Economic prosperity	4	0	0	None
Equality	6	0	0	None
Expansion of AI usage	0	0	5	None
Freedom/Liberty	2	0	5	Mid
Liberal values	7	1	1	Full
Limitation of AI usage	0	0	2	None
Open minded society	7	0	1	Mid
Peace	1	0	0	None
Predictive Policing	0	2	2	Mid
Predictive Security measures	0	2	1	Mid
Proactive state	0	1	0	None
Public Security	7	4	8	Full
Reactionary state	0	0	1	None
Self-responsibility	1	0	0	None
Social justice	4	0	0	None
Social order	3	0	1	Mid
Social-Responsibility	4	0	0	None
Solidarity	1	0	0	None

Strong law and order/ police force	1	6	7	Full
Strong regulation	0	1	1	Mid
Surveillance	0	4	9	Mid
Surveillance restriction/ Data privacy	0	0	9	None
Sustainability	4	0	0	None
Use of AI Technology	0	4	2	Mid
Patriotism	4	0	0	None

Note: Numbers represent the number of codings for the value. For coherence: None = Found in 1 data set; Mid = Found in two data sets; Full = Found in all 3 data sets

Appendix C

QCA results SPD

Code	Party Manifest	Election Program	Interview Transcript	Coherence
Community	1	3	0	Mid
Democratic values	2	1	3	Full
E-Government	0	4	2	Mid
Economic prosperity	1	2	0	Mid
Equality	1	1	0	Mid
Expansion of AI usage	0	0	2	None
Freedom/Liberty	5	2	1	Full
Liberal values	2	0	2	None
Limitation of AI usage	0	0	2	None
Limiting police forces' powers	0	0	1	None

Open minded society	3	2	1	Full
Peace	1	0	0	None
Predictive Policing	0	2	1	Mid
Predictive Security measures	1	1	0	Mid
Proactive state	1	0	0	None
Public Security	1	6	5	Full
Reactionary state	0	0	1	None
Regulative state	1	0	1	None
Social justice	6	0	0	None
Social order	1	0	0	None
Social-Responsibility	2	1	0	Mid
Solidarity	1	0	0	None
Strong law and order/ police force	1	7	2	Full
Strong regulation	0	1	3	Mid
Surveillance	0	1	0	None
Surveillance restriction/ data privacy	0	1	2	Mid
Sustainability	1	0	0	None
Use of AI-Technology	0	3	2	Mid
Weak regulation	0	0	1	Full

Note: Numbers represent the number of codings for the value. For coherence: None = Found in 1 data set; Mid = Found in two data sets; Full = Found in all 3 data sets

Appendix D

QCA results Grüne

Code	Party Manifest	Election Program	Interview Transcript	Coherence
Community	5	3	0	Mid
Democratic values	8	4	4	Full
E-Governance	0	3	2	Mid
Economic prosperity	3	0	0	None
Equality	15	0	0	None
Expansion of AI usage	0	0	1	None
Freedom/Liberty	8	7	8	Full
Liberal values	8	3	4	Full
Limitation of AI usage	0	0	8	None
Limiting police forces' powers	0	3	6	Mid
Open minded society	8	6	2	Full
Peace	2	0	0	None
Predictive Policing	0	7	3	Mid
Predictive Security measures	0	1	1	Mid
Public Security	1	2	3	Full
Regulative state	3	1	1	Full
Social justice	6	0	0	None
Social order	4	0	0	None
Social-Responsibility	2	0	0	None
Strong law and order/police force	1	7	2	Full
Strong regulation	1	5	4	Full
Surveillance	0	1	2	Mid

Surveillance restriction/ Data privacy	0	2	7	Mid
Sustainability	6	0	0	None
Use of AI Technology	0	0	7	None

Note: Numbers represent the number of codings for the value. For coherence: None = Found in 1 data set; Mid = Found in two data sets; Full = Found in all 3 data sets

Appendix E

QCA results FDP

Values	Party Manifest	Election Program	Interview Transcript	Coherence
Community	2	1	0	Mid
Democratic values	2	3	0	Mid
E-Governance	0	8	4	Mid
Economic prosperity	5	3	0	Mid
Equality	4	0	0	None
Expansion of AI usage	0	1	3	Mid
Freedom/Liberty	5	4	5	Full
Liberal values	5	5	0	Mid
Limitation of AI usage	0	0	2	None
Limiting police forces' powers	0	1	2	Mid
Open minded society	3	2	0	Mid
Peace	1	0	0	None
Predictive Policing	0	4	2	Mid
Predictive Security measures	0	2	0	None
Public Security	0	2	4	Mid

Reactionary state	0	0	2	None
Regulative state	0	2	3	Mid
Social justice	2	0	0	None
Social order	1	1	0	Mid
Social-Responsibility	1	1	0	Mid
Strong law and order/ police force	0	5	5	Mid
Strong regulation	1	1	3	Full
Surveillance	0	3	3	Mid
Surveillance restriction/ Data privacy	0	1	6	Mid
Sustainability	2	0	0	None
Use of AI Technology	0	3	8	Mid
Weak regulation	2	2	1	Full

Note: Numbers represent the number of codings for the value. For coherence: None = Found in 1 data set; Mid = Found in two data sets; Full = Found in all 3 data sets