

The Agendas of Parties and Voters in the European Parliament Election 1999

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Political Representation in Europe and the Elections to the European Parliament 1999.¹

The current crisis of the European Union

Europe is in the year 2005 on the midway to a European Constitution designed to facilitate the Governance with 25 member states in the European Union (EU). Politicians all over Europe and from the whole political spectrum emphasize that “Europe will be more democratic and thus come closer to the European citizens”. At the end of May 2005 however the citizens in two founder states of the European Union, France and the Netherlands, have declined the European Constitution with clear majorities in national referenda within a week. In direct reaction to these defeats several states, e.g. Ireland, Portugal, Great Britain, Sweden and Poland, have canceled or deferred their ratification process. The next one was held in July 2005 in Luxembourg and a majority of 57% voted for the constitution, so that thirteen states have ratified the constitution until today. In Eleven states the European Constitution was ratified by the national parliaments without a referendum, although in some of these states a referendum would have brought a close run as well. It seems that two lost referenda managed to bring a latent European crisis to the top, which is willingly picked up by the anti-European Union and -enlargement forces in some member states. Most politicians puzzle about the reasons for this development and try to find answers in the two decisions of the last years that will change the face and the body of the European Union: the enlargement of the EU and the new constitution. But why are one year after the last European Election obviously so many citizens in Europe against these decisions their elected representatives in Brussels and their national capitals have reached? Do the European citizens think that their representatives in Europe do not consider their interests and topics? The present evolution in Europe brings the familiar problems of political representation in Europe to the surface and leads to the question how good the system of political representation in Europe is working.

The different ways of political representation in the European Union and the role of the European Parliament.

Studying political representation in the European Union is a complex task, since the European Union is a multi-tiered political system, which involves the citizens’ will on different institutional levels. Since 1979 the political representatives of the European people

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in the European Parliament (EP) are no longer sent by their national parliaments but directly elected by the European people in the European election, held separately in all member states. Six European elections have been performed until today and still one good way of describing them is as second order elections: most of the people do not really care about them, so that the turnout is lower than in national elections, parties forming the national governments probably loose support and small political parties have a higher chance to perform better in European Elections (Reif/Schmitt 1980; Oppenhuis et al. 1996, Schmitt 2005).

On the European level, the people are not only represented directly in the European Parliament but also indirectly in the European Council and the Council of Ministers, where the leaders of the national governments, respectively the ministers, meet their counterparts from the other states. Furthermore, there exists the European Commission consisting of delegates send by the national governments, which are independent from national orders after their appointment. Therefore, the political structure of the EU combines two different channels of political representation for the European people/electorate.

First the indirect confederal/intergovernmental channel, which works via the representation of the people by their national government, elected in first-order-elections (Reif/Schmitt 1980; Schmitt 2005), in the European Council / the Council of Ministers. Second the direct European/Federal channel involves the direct elections to the European Parliament in all member states of the European Union (Thomassen/Schmitt 1994; Marsh/Norris 1997). Thus, as Thomassen and Schmitt (1997) point out, the structure of political representation in the European Union can best be described as a mixture of the confederal model, which sees the European Union as a cooperation between sovereign states, and the federal model of representation, which wants a supranational government to be responsible to the people. A future supranational government elected in one election might remove the diagnosed democratic deficit and the weakness of legitimacy in the European Union (Franklin et al. 1996; Franklin/van der Eijk 1996; Marsh/Norris 1997; Rohrschneider 2002). Though national governments still have the power to influence policy decisions in the European Union but the influence of the European channel has grown since the early beginnings (# Maurer this volume). The Treaty of Nice 2003 has extended the rights of the European Parliament and it will have more competencies ever once the European Constitution will be ratified by all member states (# Maurer this volume). The European Parliament today certainly still lacks the most important right of all national parliaments, the formation of a European government. Instead it has the important budgetary control, it might reject the European Commission as a whole, so that in fact no candidate can be a member of the EU

Commission against the will of the majority in the European Parliament, it has the right of a vote of no confidence against the Commission and it is together with the European Council responsible for most of the legislative acts. Thus, the members of the European Parliament have a huge impact on the policy decisions in the European Union as well. Furthermore, the influence of the European Union in policy making does not stop at the constitutional development of the European Union but goes on to several important policy areas, e.g. economic and social policy (Hooghe/Marks 2000; Herz 2002; #Maurer this volume). Many European people might not see and not want this huge influence of the European Union on the national public policy and still see their national government as the most powerful legislator. A detailed consideration of the legislative decision-making process in Europe and the role of the European Parliament is beyond the scope of this article but is discussed elsewhere (e.g. Wessels 1991; Tsebelis 1994; Steunenberg 1994; Corbett 1995; Tsebelis/Garrett 2000).

Political parties and their role in the process of political representation in the European Parliament

The growing influence of the European Parliament in the political system of the European Union increases the importance of the political representation of the citizens in the EP. Political representation is generally understood as the representation of citizens by their elected representatives in the political system, which might be evaluated by analyzing different indicators, e.g. territorial representation, social representation, policy representation or role representation (Holmberg 1996). According to familiar models of political representation, e.g. the delegate-model or the responsible-party-model, the preferences of the voters have to be the starting point for the representation process, which are linked by elected agents (delegates or parties) to the government. Thus, when the agents are responsive to voters' priorities and the preferences of the voters are linked to the governments' public policies, the process of political representation may be called effective (Luttberg 1974; Thomassen 1994). In most representative democracies, political parties play the central role in transforming public problems into public policies. It is therefore, that according to Thomassen (1994) the responsible-party-model is a good departure point for studying the political representation in western European political systems, since they are transmitting the voters' policy preferences to the top of the political system. This should even be the case in the federal channel of the European Union. Since European Union policy is decided in two arenas, the citizens are not only able to vote according to their preferences concerning the European Union and other policy areas in the national first order elections but also in the

European second order elections. The political parties then transmit these preferences into the political process. Therefore, the competing parties publish their manifestos before every election, in which they give an overview about their policy plans for the next election period. According to salience theory most of the issues in the political universe are not position-issues, as spatial models assume but valence-issues (e.g. unemployment, environmental protection or European integration) (Stokes 1992). Parties are reacting to valence-issues not by discussing the pros and cons of different policies but by emphasizing these issues to a certain amount in their manifestos and introduce the topics to the political arena. The parties' manifestos are not binding for the party members in the parliaments but still they are generally considered as documents, which symbolize the collective will and the policy plans of the parties best after exhausting debates on party congresses, in which every little sentence is discussed (Budge 1987). Parties are assumed to include actual topics in their manifestos but also try to convince their loyal voters every election again by accentuating their important issues (Klingemann 1987). Thereby the parties shape their agendas by accentuating selective issues and in doing so, try to confirm their competences in solving these issues (Budge/Farlie 1977; Budge 2001; Budge et al. 2001).

But do voters care about the parties' manifestos or read them at all? It is a fair argument that most voters do not read the parties' manifestos word by word but the most salient topics and the core policy-plans of the different parties are nevertheless communicated via television, newspapers, radio and internet to the citizens and frame their perception (McCombs/Shaw 1972; Schönbach/Semetko 1992; Budge 2001). Politicians and parties use this media attention strategically in order to lead the campaign and the public discussion to their salient issues. Furthermore, the core statements of the manifestos are often presented and discussed in a condensed version in the main political newspapers and since several years a popular vote helping tool, in Germany called the 'Wahl-O-Mat'², founded on the parties' manifestos, is on the internet available in order to help the people to choose a party according to their preferences and the statements in the parties' manifestos. Competing politicians even refer to their own or the manifestos of the other parties in political talk shows or debates. Thus, the core messages of the manifestos are forwarded to the citizens on different ways. An effective political representation of the voters' preferences in this process might only be assumed when the debated issues in the election have an real influence on the citizens' voting decisions, since only from these issues a voter preference might be deducted. On the voters'

² For the German Version of the 'Wahl-O-Mat' for the European Elections 2004 see: http://www.bpb.de/methodik/Z5FFO5,,0,Willkommen_beim_WahlOMat.html accessed on [15.07.2005]. For the Dutch original see: <http://www.stemwijzer.nl/> accessed on [15.07.2005].

side it is assumed that they give their vote to the party, which has the highest perceived competence for solving their salient issues. Therefore, only salient issues have a real chance to influence the voting decision (Butler/Stokes 1972; Schmitt 2001). For the process of political representation and the responsiveness of the political parties on the European level it is crucial that first the parties address the salient issues of the voters and second that European topics are on the agenda of parties and voters, so that the European Elections are not only held on national politics. But which topics are European issues? There are two sorts of topics, one with a direct European reference, e.g. European Integration, while the other does not have this European reference at all, e.g. the issue unemployment. But both topics are nevertheless potential European topics since the policy of the European Union reaches both. Therefore, European topics might be topics from all different policy areas (Schmitt/Thomassen 1999; Hooghe/Marks 2000). Earlier studies show that national politics play a major role in the European Elections campaigns (see different country chapters in van der Eijk/Franklin 1996). Despite this strong concentration on the national arena most citizens in the European Union show the ability to differentiate between the different governance levels in the Europe Union and the tendency to have a clear preferred level for their salient issues (Schmitt/Scheuer 1996; De Winter/Swyngedouw 1999). The salience of the different issues is an important foundation for the process of political representation in the European Union. When the parties are acting responsive to the citizens, they cover their important topics in the political process. Since only salient issues have a potential influence on the voting decisions of the citizens, it arises the question as how important the citizens perceive the European topics? This problem includes two aspects: how salient are topics with direct reference to Europe and which topics do the citizens want to be solved on the European level. Both perspectives are considered in this paper, the results present the salient topics of the parties and the citizens and a comparison of the agendas.

Research design and paper organization

The research purpose of this paper is to identify and analyze the parties' and the citizens' agendas in the European Election 1999 in order to study the process of political representation in the European Union. The results are used to compare the agendas between the parties and their voters or the demand side and the supply side in the arena of the European Election 1999.

The citizens' agendas in the European countries were determined by analyzing survey data from the European Election Study (EES) 1999. The EES 1999 carried out representative

telephone interviews in all 15 member countries of the European Union after the Election to the European Parliament. These mass surveys included open-ended questions concerning the most important problem(s) and the political level (European, National, Regional), on which the problem is solved or should be solved³. The answers to these survey questions give not only an insight into the general political agenda of the respondents but they also give information about the difference in salience or relative emphasis between the topics and issues. The research strategy used here to access the agenda of the citizens is to analyse the most pressing problems the respondents mentioned in the European Election Study 1999 post-election survey. Therefore, the respondents in the post-election survey had only one answer option. This procedure has the advantage that the mentioned most important problem is linked with information from several other questions, which is useful in the further development of this study.

The agendas of the parties were identified by analysing their manifestos. The Euromanifestos project is a component of the EES 1999, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and executed at the Mannheim Institute for European Social Research (MZES) at the University of Mannheim. In this research project expert-coders from the different countries coded available manifestos or other equivalent electoral documents of the competing parties in the European elections from 1979 to 2004 using the Euromanifestos Coding Scheme (EMCS; Wüst/Volkens 2003), which is a further 'European' development of the original MRG-scheme (Volkens 2002). Four different topics with direct European reference were elaborated in the EMCS to determine the content of the manifestos and the open-ended questions: European Integration (e.g. mentions concerning the further development/evolution of the EU), European Institutions (e.g. mentions concerning the EP, EU Council etc.), European Politics in General and the Euro. In order to realize a comparison

³ Questions as they were asked according to the English Master questionnaire for the EES 1999:

Q 1a. What do you think are the most important problems facing <name of your country>? Any other important problems? *[INT: note as many problems as R mentions. If R starts telling stories, ask to summarize in one or two words.]* _____

Q 1b. *If more than one problem mentioned:* Of those you have mentioned what would you say is the siNGLe most important problem? _____

Q 1d. As of today, is <the most important issue> mainly dealt with at a regional, national, or European level?
 1 regional 2 national 3 European 8 dk 9 na

Q 1e. (EES94) And do you think it would be most appropriate to deal with <the most important issue>: at a regional, national, or European level?
 1 regional 2 national 3 European 8 dk 9 na

For Italy, the first mentioned problem was used in the analysis, since Q 1a is missing..

between parties' and citizens' agendas for 1999, an additional computerized content analysis for the party manifestos has been performed for this particular year. The dictionary based categories for the manifestos have been created in respect to the categories, which were used to code the answers to the open-ended question concerning the most important problems according to the survey. The dictionaries link text units (single words and longer expressions) in the manifestos with the coding categories so that for all categories the proportion of the text can be specified and interpreted as salience of the topic or issue within the party's manifesto. The software then identifies meaningful codes in the manifestos covered by the dictionaries⁴. Thus, a lot of intellectual manpower had to be invested into a valid and reliable construction of dictionaries in the different languages⁵. Despite this exhausting task dictionaries could be created for the following languages: Dutch, English, Flemish, French, German, Italian, Swedish. The analyses in this paper are thereby limited to these countries: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Ireland, Italy, Sweden. The different dictionaries for each language have been evolved simultaneously, so that the reliability between the dictionaries is assumed to be high. Existing differences in the usage of words and expressions in the manifestos of different countries were considered and entered into the dictionaries. The dictionaries are therefore no simple translation of a master dictionary but country- and language-specific elaborations, which work in the context of the covered manifestos. Some national parties did not publish their own manifesto but accepted the manifesto of their party federation as main manifesto (the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD) in Germany, the *Labour Party* in Great Britain, the *Parti Socialiste* (PS) in France and the *Christen Democratisch Appel* (CDA) in the Netherlands). Other parties joined an election alliance. Overall 84 manifestos or equivalent documents in 11 countries could be coded and prepared for analyses. Unfortunately it was impossible to gain some manifestos from smaller parties but in all countries the most important manifestos of the strongest parties could be obtained. Therefore, 11 elected parties or independent members of the European Parliament 1999, which occupy altogether 17 seats in the EP, could not be included in the analyses⁶.

How to compare political agendas

⁴ The software 'TEXTPACK', developed by the Center for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA) in Mannheim, was used for this purpose.

⁵ I want to thank Tanja Binder (Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin) for her essential work on the development of the dictionaries.

⁶ Parties with seat(s) in the EP 1999, which could not be considered:
Italy: Patto Segni (3), Federazioni del Verdi (2), Socialisti Democratici (2), Udeur (1), Rinnovamento Italiano - Dini (1), Movimento Sociale Tricolore (1), Pensionati (1) and CDU (2).
Ireland: Independent MEPs: Pat Cox (1) and Dana Scallan (1).
Great Britain: Scottish National Party (2).

In order to enable a systematic comparison between parties and voters in the countries, a method has to be used, which relates the salience of the different topics in a matter that does not increase confusion. There exist several techniques for this purpose like e.g. the Duncan-Index, which inspects two distributions for Dissimilarity (Duncan/Duncan 1955; Kalter 2000). The advantage of the Duncan-Index is the easy interpretation of the measured values. On the other side it does not give any information about the structural differences in the salience of the topics between the parties and voters. For this reason another method proposed for the analyses of manifestos should be used here, which makes a spatial interpretation of the salience possible – the multidimensional scaling (MDS) (Torgerson 1958; Kruskal/Wish 1978). Using the multidimensional scaling method for the analyses of the manifestos facilitates the consideration of all information of the parties and the voters; it shows the tendencies of the saliences of different topics and the general accordance between the agendas of voters and parties as spatial distances (van der Brug 2001). For this analysis the assumption has to be accepted that distances in a Euclidean space can illustrate the differences in the saliences between parties and voters. The MDS then detects the best corresponding graphical configuration among the given starting distances. The solutions of the MDS are salience-dots in a multidimensional space, which illustrate the given distances. Thus, parties and voter groups emphasising the same topics show lower distances, while distances between parties and voter groups with highly different accentuations of the topics are higher. In contrast to other inductive methods, like e.g. the factor analysis, the dimensions of the configured space do not have a clear meaning. An interpretation is possible by using salience vectors, which indicate the topics related to the dimensions (van der Brug 2001)⁷. These vectors present the structure of the determined space and give additional information for the interpretation of the distances between the parties and voters. A directional vector points towards a higher salience of the topic, while the length of a vector has no meaning. The number of related vectors can be different from country to country. In this analysis the common salience space is limited on two dimensions, which is confirmed by the s-stress values in the different settings. The results of the MDS analyses give an insight into the salience of different topics for different parties and voter groups and are therefore helpful, although the MDS might overestimate the similarity of parties and voter groups with low distances and have problems with outliers (van der Brug 2001). Outliers in this setting are cases, which distort the detected configurations by high dissimilarity.

⁷ In order to determine the topics and the direction of the vectors, regressions with the MDS coordinates of the parties and voters as independent variables and the topics/categories of the coding scheme as dependent variables were performed. The illustrated topics were chosen by considering the explained variance in the regression.

Results

The peoples' agendas for the European Election 1999.

There is no need for enumerating all the mentioned political matters in all the considered countries but it is definitely worth to consider the most important ones and the importance of the European topics in each country. It seems that European citizens in almost all countries agreed according to the survey on the most pressing political problem in 1999: the problem of employment and the fight against the high unemployment rate in their countries (Table 1). In eight out of ten considered countries the mentions of most respondents fell into the category of employment/unemployment. Other pressing concerns captured only the first rank in Belgium and the Netherlands. Despite this, there are high differences between the states. In France, unemployment was mentioned by over 2/3 (67,8%) of the people, in Ireland by only 12,6%, which made it still problem number one. Taking the proportion of respondents who mentioned this topics as a salience indicator for the pressure of the unemployment issue in the different countries, the unemployment or job situation 1999 seemed to be worse in France, Italy (63,1%) and Germany (57,3%), and much better in Luxembourg (25,4%), Great Britain (18,4%) and Belgium (17,7%). Interestingly, this issue did not play any role in the Netherlands, where only 3,9% of the respondents mentioned the topic unemployment. These results confirm the findings of Schmitt and Binder (2004) who found that unemployment was the European citizens' most important concern in 1999. Furthermore, these proportions can be confirmed with the actual unemployment rates in the European countries of 1999. According to the official press release of Eurostat⁸ for June 1999, the month the European Elections were actually held (10.06.1999 – 13.06.1999), the highest unemployment rates in our sample were reported for France (11,2%) and Germany (9,1%). Lowest rates were reported for the Netherlands (3,2%) and Luxembourg (2,8%). The average for the 15 members of the EU was reported with 9,4%. For Belgium, the respondents' most important problem is food safety. This was probably caused by the huge dioxin scandal, which was fought on the European level and was on its peak level before the European Parliament Elections 1999. Although the Belgian dioxin scandal was a topic, which was discussed all over Europe, food safety made it only in one other country, Luxembourg, into the 15 most important topics. If Belgium is split up in the two political systems Wallonia and Flanders, the results change a bit. In Wallonia, the respondents mentioned unemployment (25,5%) and food safety (22,5%) most. In Flanders food safety was first (23,1%) and

⁸ <http://www.eubusiness.com/Employment/9860> accessed on [09.08.2005].

Data for Great Britain and Italy are unavailable.

unemployment was on the third rank (10,7%). It seems that unemployment was considered to be a bigger issue in Wallonia and less in Flanders in 1999. In the Netherlands, as mentioned before, unemployment played no important role among all issues, which comes as no surprise given the very low unemployment rate. Migration was the top Dutch topic with 16,2%. This matter was as well very important in Belgium, France, Luxembourg and Italy. The overall results show that every country had its special national combination of pressing concerns with some topics to be mentioned in many countries. The face validity of these findings for the different countries confirms the strategy to access the agenda of the voters by considering their most important issues. But how important were European topics for the European citizens?

The importance of European topics for the citizens in the ten states.

In most European countries the respondents did according to the survey not consider these European topics as the most pressing problems. In two countries (Belgium, Luxembourg) the proportion of mentions was equal or close to zero. In France, Germany and Italy at least one European topic is among the top 15 but the proportion of mentions was still very small. While the Germans saw the euro as the most important European topic, probably because of the loss of the German Mark, the French and Italians considered the European integration most important. In the Netherlands no European topic was among the top 15 but all together share a proportion of 2,6%. In the four other countries (Great Britain, Ireland, Austria and Sweden) the European topics were seen as very important problems. In Great Britain three of the European topics were among the top nine (EU politics in General 5. / Euro 7. / EU integration 9.) and they shared a proportion of 14,6%, which was the highest rate in all countries. Austria, Sweden and Ireland were the next countries with a proportion of 6,3%, 6,2% and 5,5% for all European topics. In Austria and Sweden, EU politics in general was more important than the euro, while in Ireland the order was reverse. Why did citizens in these countries and especially in Great Britain see the European topics as a much more important problem than the people in the other countries? It is beyond the scope of this article to give a detailed answer to this question but one possible cause might be that these countries are traditionally very sceptical about the further development of the European Union as a European Superstate and therefore are much more concerned about issues linked with the European Union. Austria and Sweden joined the EU as recently as 1995. In 2005 Sweden is still not member of the 1999 created euro-zone, since the people rejected the euro in a referendum in 2003. In Great Britain a planned referendum on the introduction of the euro

was delayed, since the Labour government feared a defeat by the citizens in this sensitive question. In addition, Great Britain and Ireland did not join the Schengen Pact, which abolished border controls between the member states of the EU. Many people in Great Britain seem to accept the membership in the European Union as necessary evil but act against Europe by supporting parties like the *United Kingdom Independence Party* (UKIP) and their successful campaign, which gained 7,0% of the votes in 1999 (Franklin/Curtice 1996; Marsh 1996). It is interesting that asked about their attitude towards European Unification in the EES 1999⁹, over 50% of the respondents in Great Britain (65%), Ireland (51%), Sweden (59%) and Austria (59%) tended towards the answer that EU integration has already gone to far, while e.g. in Germany only (39%) showed the trend in this direction. Two preliminary conclusions could be drawn from these results. First, in 1999 European citizens in most countries in this sample did not really care about European issues concerning the further constitutional development of the European Union but had other most pressing problems to care about like unemployment etc. Second, it seems that the people who worried most about the further development of Europe live in countries, which are traditionally more sceptical about the European Union and its growing influence on the national legislation and the national sovereignty. After the identification of the respondents' most salient concerns in the ten considered countries, it is now important to examine on which governmental level European citizens saw their most important problem and where they wanted it to be solved. This consideration could give some insight into the perceived and preferred role of the European Union and the European Parliament.

Which topics are European topics for the citizens in the ten states?

The European Union is a powerful player in the legislation process in Europe, since almost half of the legislative acts in the multi-tiered political system are nowadays initiated by the European level covering all kinds of different policy areas (Hooghe/Marks 2000). According to the results (*Table # on CD/Internet*), most citizens in Europe do not recognize the influence of European governance. While in Sweden only 16% of the citizens thought that their problem is solved on the European level, in Luxembourg 46% thought this way. There

⁹ Not all country results reported here.

Question as they were asked according to the English Master questionnaire for the EES 1999:

Q 25 Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion? Please indicate your views using a 10-point-scale. On this scale, 1 means unification 'has already gone too far' and 10 means it 'should be pushed further'. What number on this scale best describes your position? You may use any number between 1 and 10 to specify your views.

1 unification has already gone too far 2 ... 9 10 unification should be pushed further 98 dk 99 na

Results reported in text were calculated by adding the proportions from 1-5 (too far) and 6-10 (push further) for each country.

was only one country, Austria, where the respondents supposed that there is more influence on the national than on the European level. Taken all countries together, a narrow majority (51%) was convinced that their problem is dealt with on the national level, while not even one third of the respondents in the survey thought that the EU has much influence on their concerns. Therefore, the results give evidence that most citizens in the considered European countries were either not informed about the real legislative power of the EU or simply ignored the fact of the far-reaching influence of the EU. Turning to the preferred level of governance, the results show that in almost all countries the respondents wished to increase the European and decrease the national competences compared to the perceived status quo. This was not the case in Ireland and in Luxembourg. The differences between perceived and preferred level of European involvement were highest in the Netherlands (28% to 48%) and France (22% to 37%), and lowest in Austria (42% to 45%) and Great Britain (23% to 25%). In the Netherlands and Austria almost half of the people wished that their problem is worked out on the European level, while in Great Britain, Ireland (23%) and Sweden (20%) the proportion was much smaller. It is remarkable that the last three countries were as well among the countries with the highest relevance of European topics. Thus, in these countries many respondents saw a European topic as their most important problem but they did not want to provide the European Union with competences to handle these problems. In contrast most citizens in these countries did not prefer the influence of the European Union but rather liked the nation state as the governmental level for their problem.

Did respondents wish a European solution for certain special issues? First of all, there were differences between the numbers of European issues in the countries (*Table # on CD/Internet*). While e.g. the German citizens preferred nine of their top 15 topics, the Irish only preferred one of their top 15 to be handled in Europe. Second, it appears that issues with a supranational character were in almost all countries preferred to be solved on the European level: the Kosovo conflict and war and peace in general, food safety, environment, drug policy, EU integration and EU politics in general, while in contrast the following topics were situated on the national or even regional agenda: education, taxes, health care, welfare policy, pensions, norms and values and unemployment. These topics were apparently conceived more as domestic issues. The results for the single countries can be backed by the results of the aggregated data for all 10 states (Table 2). Therefore, most European citizens had the opinion that Europe should be in charge of the problems, which go clearly beyond the national state, whereas the political sublevels should care about the issues, which were perceived as domestic topics.

It comes as no surprise that the citizens wanted some supranational topics to be solved on the European level, since they just cannot be solved by one state alone. For some of the mentioned topics the European Union holds competencies. The formation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the Europe Union by the ratification of the Treaty on the European Union 1993 (Maastricht) and the Amsterdam Treaty 1999 included that problems like the Kosovo conflict and war and peace in general and the policies for them were located in one of the most institutionalized intergovernmental decision-making process in the EU. Another supranational topic is the environmental policy. Since 1993 the European Council, with majoritarian vote, and the European Parliament are equal partners in the environmental policy in the European Union. Their decisions have binding commitment for the member states, which must implement the decisions into national law. Therefore, it seems that in some policy areas the EU competencies and the solution preferences of most citizens are corresponding pretty well and most people might even wish more activity by the EU.

Parties' agendas for the European Election 1999.

Which topics did the competing parties emphasize in their manifestos for the European Election 1999? The country-specific results give a clear answer to this question (Table 3). The parties in all ten countries did, on average, mostly emphasize topics with direct reference to the European Union. Between one fourth and one third of the content of the manifestos in all countries were devoted to the issues concerning the EU integration, EU institutions and EU politics in general, while the topic Euro did not make it to the top 10 in any country. Further topics, which were emphasized in almost all countries, were issues concerning party conflicts, the environment, economy in general, the relationship between state and regions and issues of democracy. Thus, two issues, which were emphasized on the citizens' European agenda, were deeper discussed in the manifestos: environment and economy in general. But this was not the case for the peoples' number one European issue, the Kosovo conflict (Table 2). The issue unemployment, which citizens in Europe cared most about, was only further discussed in the manifestos in four countries (France, Austria, Sweden and Luxembourg). Although the parties in the other countries might write about the economy in general and include the topics employment and unemployment in these general parts without using the keywords. Thus, it seems that the parties devoted most of their manifestos for the European Election to the discussion of constitutional European issues. The accentuation of other issues took place on a much lower level. Comparing the manifestos with the voters, which wanted their problem to be solved on the European level, shows indeed not much correspondence (Table 4). For the

actual voters, as discussed before, European topics played a more important role in Great Britain, Sweden and Austria. Food safety in Belgium, war and peace in Ireland, migration in the Netherlands and unemployment in all other countries were the most important issues. These topics achieved only a minimum of space in the parties' manifestos in the considered European countries.

The role of political groups and their agendas.

Most parties in the European Parliament are organised in party federations. They try to bring together the national parties from all countries, which belong to the same political family. There were five such party federations in the year 1999: *the Party of European Socialists* (PES), *the European People's Party* (EPP), *the European Liberal, Democratic and Reformist Party* (ELDR), *the European Federation of Green Parties* (Greens) and *the Democratic Party of the Peoples of Europe – European Free Alliance* (DPPE-EFA) (Corbett et al. 2000). The first four federations have published their own European manifesto before the European Elections 1999. Some of their national member parties even took these documents as their main party manifesto. Party federations are committed to some of the political groups in the European Parliament, which structure the EP. The discipline and cohesion of the political groups in the EP becomes especially important when voting patterns at roll calls are explained (Thomassen 1994; Thomassen/Schmitt 1997). But how committing at all is the membership to a political group for a member of the European Parliament? Within the political groups there exist strong networks of national party delegations working closely together in order to find compromises for the whole group. The voting behaviour of the members of parliament is free but they nevertheless receive voting instructions from the group for every amendment. These group instructions tell them how important a single decision in the parliament is and propose a course of action for the whole group (Corbett et al. 2000). Several studies propose that the political groups in the European Parliament show a very high level of group cohesion in their voting behaviour (e.g. Faas 2002). However, there are several requirements to fulfil for the formation of a new political group, which includes financial support and other advantages for the members of the groups so that there are several incentives for such a formation (Corbett et al. 2000). The Greens and the DPPE-EFA federations together formed the Greens-EFA political group in the European Parliament 1999. But there are several more loosely organized political groups starting each election period again with the same or with other members (Marsh/Norris 1997). Overall the elected European Parliament in 1999 consisted of eight political groups (for the member parties of the

political groups in the considered countries see Table 7): *the group of European Socialists (PES), the group of the Christian and European Democrats (EPP), the group of the European Liberal Democrats (ELDR), the group of the Greens and the European Free Alliance (Green-EFA), the group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUEN/NGL), the group of Europe of Nations (UEN), the group of Democracies and Diversities (EDD)* and a group whose formation was caused more by technical reasons: *the group for the technical group of independent members (TDI)*¹⁰ (Corbett et al. 2000). The agendas of these political groups were reconstructed by combining their manifestos, weighted by the proportion of party representatives in the group. Although the sample is not complete, the manifestos cover 75% of the members of the European Parliament between 1999 and 2004 and therefore can give us more than a tendency in party emphasises on different topics and an answer to the question, whether different political groups in the European Parliament 1999 emphasized different topics.

Regarding the agendas of the political groups, only slightly differences appeared between them on the European topics (Table 6). The conservative EPP group was a little bit more concerned about the EU politics in general and the UEN group talked a lot more about the EU integration / EU institutions than the other groups. On average all groups devoted around one third of their manifestos to the EU topics. The PES showed more emphasis on unemployment, minorities, social conflicts and the economy altogether, whereas the Greens-EFA placed emphasis on the topics democracy and environment, which might confirm some expectations about green politics. In the manifestos of the Green-EFA group the topic environment is even catching up with the less important European issues. While the ELDR group wrote more about education and law and order than their competitors, the GUE/NGL group which consisted of left-wing and communist parties, accentuated left topics, the issues of minorities, war and peace and the welfare policy. In contrast, the TDI group, which included the right-wings parties *Lega Nord (LN), Vlaams Blok (VB)* and the *Front National (FN)*, dealt more with issues of the relationship between state and regions and national and European security. The EDD/EDU group instead worked out the issues of culture and agriculture.

Thus all different political groups in the European Parliament 1999 concentrated mainly on the European topics. Every political group on the other side showed a different agenda composition behind these European topics, although on a much lower salience level. Therefore, the political groups dedicated most of their manifestos to the idea of the European

¹⁰ The TDI group lost the state of a political group in October 2001.

Union and did not devote as much attention to their special topics as could have been expected, like e.g. the environment for the Greens-EFA, the welfare policy for the GUE/NGL and unemployment and social conflicts for the PES. All these issues rank behind the European Union when it comes to salience.

The voters of the political groups

Among the voters of the EDD group the European topics reached almost one fifth of all mentions, which was the highest proportion in all voter groups (Table 7). For the rest of the voters EU related topics and the euro did not play a very important role according to the survey. Unemployment was still the most important issue with an average of 38% over all voters. In the GUEN/NGL group almost 50% of the respondents mentioned a most pressing concern problem, the political group did not consider much in the manifesto. The voters of the conservative EPP group were in relation to the other voters most concerned about food safety and pensions, while for the liberal democrats ELDR voters migration, law and order and education were very important. The latter both topics were emphasized in the ELDR manifestos as well. The green voters were, as their political group, most concerned about the environment, while the left GUEN/NGL voters accentuated the topics social conflicts, the Kosovo conflict and war and peace in general, which meant some congruence between voters and parties' manifestos. The voters of the TDI group were most concerned about issues of law and order, a topic their political group did not devote much attention to. These results make clear that there was some correspondence between the salience of topics of political groups in the European Parliament 1999 and their voters, mostly in single topics like environment for the Green-EFA group, education, law and order and migration for the ELDR, or war and peace for the left GUEN/NGL and on a lower level.

The MDS Analyses

The discussion of the MDS results in this article is limited to three examples, which can best illustrate the differences in the results. For this purpose the MDS analyses of the political groups, Great Britain and Italy are discussed (*all other configurations are reported in the appendix/CD*). The results of the political groups have the advantage that they can be compared directly with the results above. Great Britain was selected because of the high number of respondents who were concerned about European topics in 1999 and Italy was selected as one of the states in which the people did not really care about these topics.

Considering the salience space of the political groups and their voters in the European Parliament 1999, it seems that the parties took one side and the voters took the other side of the political space (Figure 1). Most political groups clustered around each other, while the EDD group deviated a bit on the second dimension from the cluster of the other political groups. The voters were much more spread over the configuration space. The salience vectors illustrate which differences between the agendas of the political groups and their voters were responsible for this configuration. As seen above, the parties emphasized 1999 the European topics and issues of democracy, party conflicts and state and regions, while the voters on the other side were much more concerned about the problem unemployment and especially the voters of the GUEN/NGL group, which consisted of left-wing parties, about the Kosovo conflict. In contrast the EDD voters were much less concerned about unemployment than the other voters and show a higher salience of the European topics. Therefore, the EDD voters were on the left side of the space and thus closer to their political group. The six topics of the salience vectors were among the ten most important topics of the political groups, so that the determined MDS configuration with an s-stress of 0,03 seems to confirm the results in Table # and Table #. Unfortunately, the salience vectors do not give an explanation for every deviation in the space but they nevertheless give additional information and help to understand the configuration.

The Italian salience space includes seven salience vectors or topics for the interpretation of the configuration (Figure 2). The space in Italy was 1999 very similar to the space of the political groups discussed above. The parties were on the left side and the voters on the right side of the space with much distance between each other. The parties were concentrating on three topics. EU politics in general and the topic democracy was especially emphasized by the *Ulivo-Alliance* and the liberal alliance *Liberali Democratici Italiano* (FLI/PRI). Second, the relationship between state and regions was a very important topic for the *Südtiroler Volkspartei* (SVP) and the *Lega Nord* (LN). The development of the welfare states was very salient for the communist parties *Partito Rifondazione Comunista* (RC) and *Comunisti Italiani* (PdCI) but as well for the conservative *Centro Cristiano Democratico* (CCD). In contrast to the parties the voters were more concerned about migration (LN, *Cristiani Democratici Uniti* (PPI-DC) and the CCD), while unemployment was very salient especially for the voters of the CCD. Topics of War and Peace were most important for the voters of the communist PdCI. The good s-stress value of 0,02 suggests evidence that the determined configuration is a useful result. Only in Sweden and in Great Britain the configurations show a different pattern.

Both configurations show a clear strong separation between the parties and the voters in the common salience space. Topics like the European issues, democracy and e.g. state and regions pull the political groups and parties to the left side, while the voters are situated on the other side, mostly caused by their high accentuation of the issue unemployment. This configuration is found in most states (*compare Figures # to # on CD/Internet*).

In Great Britain the determined salience space shows a different configuration for 1999 (Figure 3). The parties stood very close together in the middle of the space, while the voters were distributed around them. What does this result mean and what were the differences between Great Britain and Italy (and most other countries)? In Great Britain, as reported above, many voters saw the further development of Europe and the euro as a main problem. Therefore, the differences between parties and voters in the MDS configuration show voter groups which were very concerned about the European issues. The results confirm on the one side that all parties were more or less concerned about Europe but on the other side they show that there were two voter groups especially concerned about European topics – the voters of the *United Kingdom Independence Party* (UKIP) and the *Conservative Party* (Con). The voters of the *Labour Party* (Lab), the *Liberal Democratic Party* (LDP) and the *Green Party* were much less concerned about the Europe Union and the euro. The green voters instead emphasized the environment, while the Labour voters were concerned about the issue unemployment. The regional parties *Democratic Unionist Party* (DUP) and *Ulster Unionist Party* (UUP) from Northern Ireland and the voters of the *Plaid Cymru* (PC) from Wales show a higher salience for the topics of violent conflicts, which might be caused by the Northern Ireland conflict and other regional tensions in Great Britain. Therefore, in Great Britain we can identify two voter groups for which European topics are highly salient – the voters of the UKIP and the voters of the Conservative Party, which show even a higher salience of the European topics than their parties.

The contemplation of these inductive results makes clear that the differences between the agendas of the political groups and parties in most states were rather small, since a proportion of around one third in all manifestos were devoted to the European topics. These topics were not really salient for most voters. Only in Great Britain the voters of the UKIP and the Conservative Party emphasized these topics to a very high level. The voters of the green parties in Great Britain, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Sweden showed a high salience on the topic environment, while the voters of conservative and right wing parties in Sweden, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy were more concerned with the topic migration. The topic unemployment was salient for the voters in all states, while most parties did not

cover this special topic but accentuated more the development of the economy in general. Most parties have a special mix of lower salient topics behind the European topics. Thus, e.g. green parties devoted more attention to the topic environment than to most other topics but less to the European ones.

Conclusion.

As far as the analysis of the available Euromanifesto data and the European Election survey data for the Elections to the European Parliament 1999 suggest, there was not much correspondence between the parties' and the citizens'/their voters' agenda in the ten considered countries. The results presented in this study show that parties (and political groups) in all countries were in their manifestos for the European Elections 1999 highly concerned about the constitutional questions of developing the European Union - the polity and therefore devoted most attention to these topics while other issues were discussed on a much lower salience level. Most citizens in these countries on the other side rather showed more interest in the solution of down to earth problems of normal European politics like (un)employment, the Kosovo conflict, food safety or the issues of environmental protection. Some correspondence between the agendas on these topics only appeared when looking behind the European topics. Furthermore, it seems that on average most citizens in Europe just did not know about the strong influence the European level has on the legislative process in the European Union. Most of them thought that their problem was worked out on the national level, while a minority saw their topic on the European level. Many people on the other side were assigning responsibility and competences to the European Union for clearly supranational topics, which may be interpreted as an encouraging result. The EU related topics were only in a few countries, especially in Great Britain, salient for a major proportion of citizens. In Great Britain mainly the voters of the *United Kingdom Independence Party* and the *Conservative Party* were highly concerned about the Euro and the further constitutional European development so that these issues were much more salient for them than for other voter groups. What do these analyses indicate for the process of political representation in the European Elections? Considering the comparison of the agendas the representation of the citizens' issues in the Election to the European Parliament appears as insufficient, since the parties did not focus to a corresponding degree to the issues of their voters but rather were concentrated on other topics. Therefore, the voting decisions of most voters might not be interpreted as an enlightened policy judgement linked to their salient issues. But what would be the alternative? Parties competing for the European Parliament without writing a word

about the European Union, just because most citizens do not care? Before pronouncing a overhasty judgment based on these results, it must be considered that parties not only react to the salient issues of the voters but as well try to bring important issues into the political arena so that the citizens might notice them. This might be the case in the manifestos for the European Elections. The competing parties tried to point on the European topics in an act of issue leadership in the hope that first the media and than the citizens might notice these topics. This was apparently not the case in the European Elections 1999, which is shown by several studies (e.g. Brettschneider/Rettich 2005). National politics and actors prevailed in the media so that the citizens did not get much information about the European topics from these sources. Facing these results the most important task seems to quicken the interest of the people for the development of Europe. This might solve the biggest problem of the existing perception gap.

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		Italy (N=3563)		Luxembourg (N=243)		Netherlands (N=832)		Austria (N=461)		Sweden (N=412)				
problem	rank	%	problem	rank	%	problem	rank	%	problem	rank	%			
Unemployment	1	63,1	Unemployment	1	25,2	Migration	1	16,2	Unemployment	1	49,7	Unemployment	1	41,5
Migration	2	6,1	Education	2	21,3	Law and Order	2	13,7	Foreign Policy	2	14,1	Welfare Policy	2	10,4
Law and Order	3	5,8	Pensions	3	21,1	Infrastructure	3	7,4	Other political topic	3	4,7	Health Care	3	6,9
Economy in General	4	5,1	Social Conflicts	4	5,3	Environment	4	6,5	EU in General	4	4,5	Economy in General	4	6,2
Kosovo Conflict	5	3,1	Other political topic	5	4,7	Public Service	5	5,4	Inequality and Minorities	5	3,9	Environment	5	5,9
War and Peace	6	2,6	Environment	6	4,6	Agriculture and Fisheries	6	5,1	Economy in General	6	2,8	Education	6	4,0
Taxes	7	2,0	Migration	7	3,1	Economy in General	7	4,7	Environment	7	2,6	EU in General	7	3,9
Health Care	8	1,4	Health Care	8	3,1	Unemployment	8	3,9	Inter- and Intraparty Conflicts	8	2,1	Taxes	8	3,9
Budget and Public Debts	9	1,3	Economy in General	9	2,5	Health Care	9	3,8	Taxes	9	1,7	Public Service	9	3,0
Inflation and Monetary	10	1,0	Inequality and Minorities	10	1,8	Inequality and Minorities	10	3,3	Infrastructure	10	1,6	Euro	10	2,3
Other political topic	11	1,0	Welfare Policy	11	1,1	Norms and Values	11	3,3	Euro	11	1,3	Pensions	11	1,0
EU Evolution	12	<1	Taxes	12	1,0	Social Conflicts	12	3,1	Agriculture and Fisheries	12	1,2	Other political topic	12	1,0
Environment	13	<1	Food Safety	13	<1	Defence and National Security	13	2,3	Kosovo Conflict	13	1,1	Norms and Values	13	<1
Education	14	<1	Infrastructure	14	<1	Welfare Policy	14	2,2	Social Conflicts	14	1,1	War and Peace	14	<1
EU in General	15	<1	Inflation and Monetary	15	<1	Drugs Policy	15	1,7	Pensions	15	1,1	Law and Order	15	<1
Euro		0,4	Euro		0,5	Euro		1,2	Euro		1,3	Euro		2,3
EU Evolution	12	0,9	EU Evolution		0,5	EU Evolution		0,6	EU Evolution		0,5	EU Evolution		2,3
EU in General	15	0,6	EU in General		0,5	EU in General		0,8	EU in General	4	4,5	EU in General	7	3,9
EU Institutions			EU Institutions			EU Institutions			EU Institutions			EU Institutions		
„Europe“ total		1,9	„Europe“ total		0,5	„Europe“ total		2,6	„Europe“ total		6,3	„Europe“ total		6,2

problem	Belgium (Flanders) (N=246)		Belgium (Wallonia) (N=217)	
	rank	%	rank	%
Food Safety	1	23,1	1	25,5
Law and Order	2	22,0	2	22,5
Unemployment	3	10,7	3	8,2
Other political topic	4	10,3	4	6,6
Inequality and Minorities	5	5,2	5	5,7
Migration	6	4,4	6	3,5
Taxes	7	4,2	7	3,5
Economy in General	8	3,3	8	3,5
Welfare Policy	9	2,6	9	2,3
Health Care	10	1,9	10	2,2
Drug Policy	11	1,8	11	1,8
Infrastructure	12	1,7	12	1,8
Environment	13	1,3	13	1,7
Social Conflicts	14	<1	14	1,6
Political Corruption, Fraud	15	<1	15	<1
Euro				
EU Evolution			EU Evolution	
EU in General			EU in General	
EU Institutions			EU Institutions	
„Europe“ total	0		„Europe“ total	0

Source: European Election Study 1999 post-election survey. Data are weighted.

Table # on the CD/Internet: Most important problem: Perceived and Preferred level of Government.

All Countries		Should deal with			
Is dealing with	Europe	Nation	Region	All	
Europe	19	7	4	30	
Nation	12	31	8	51	
Region	4	7	8	19	
All	35	45	20	N=6665	
<hr/>					
Austria		Should deal with			
Is dealing with	Europe	Nation	Region	All	
Europe	27	8	7	42	
Nation	11	24	2	37	
Region	7	5	6	18	
All	45	37	15	N=417	
<hr/>					
Belgium		Should deal with			
Is dealing with	Europe	Nation	Region	All	
Europe	24	5	3	32	
Nation	7	42	5	54	
Region	3	7	4	14	
All	34	54	12	N=334	
<hr/>					
Belgium-Flanders		Should deal with			
Is dealing with	Europe	Nation	Region	All	
Europe	22	5	2	29	
Nation	6	46	5	57	
Region	4	7	2	13	
All	32	58	9	N=166	
<hr/>					
Belgium-Wallonia		Should deal with			
Is dealing with	Europe	Nation	Region	All	
Europe	25	5	4	34	
Nation	7	38	6	51	
Region	2	7	6	15	
All	34	50	16	N=169	

France		Should deal with				
Is dealing with	Europe	Nation	Region	All		
Europe	16	4	2	22		
Nation	15	29	11	55		
Region	6	8	10	24		
All	37	41	23	N=768		
Germany		Should deal with				
Is dealing with	Europe	Nation	Region	All		
Europe	18	6	7	31		
Nation	10	21	6	37		
Region	10	10	12	32		
All	38	37	25	N=851		
Great Britain		Should deal with				
Is dealing with	Europe	Nation	Region	All		
Europe	12	8	3	23		
Nation	9	30	14	53		
Region	4	7	13	24		
All	25	45	30	N=712		
Luxembourg		Should deal with				
Is dealing with	Europe	Nation	Region	All		
Europe	29	12	5	46		
Nation	11	37	1	49		
Region	1	2	4	7		
All	41	51	10	N=191		
Netherlands		Should deal with				
Is dealing with	Europe	Nation	Region	All		
Europe	16	9	3	28		
Nation	27	24	9	60		
Region	5	4	3	12		
All	48	37	15	N=703		
Ireland		Should deal with				
Is dealing with	Europe	Nation	Region	All		
Europe	10	10	9	29		
Nation	12	28	13	53		
Region	1	9	8	18		
All	23	47	30	N=394		

Italy		Should deal with				
Is dealing with		Europe	Nation	Region	All	
Europe	20	3	1	24		
Nation	14	39	8	61		
Region	2	5	8	15		
All	36	47	17			N=2536

Sweden		Should deal with				
Is dealing with		Europe	Nation	Region	All	
Europe	8	5	3	16		
Nation	8	34	9	51		
Region	4	12	17	33		
All	20	51	29			N=297

Source: European Election Study 1999 post-election survey.

Table # on CD/Internet: Citizens' most important problems and their preferred level of Government in ten European countries.

	Belgium (N=408)	Germany (N=944)	France (N=882)	Great Britain (N=783)	Ireland (N=459)
problem	level	problem	level	problem	level
<i>Food Safety</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Unemployment	Nation	Unemployment	Region
Unemployment	Nation	Pensions	Nation	Law and Order	Region
Law and Order	Nation	Taxes	Nation	<i>Social Conflicts</i>	War and Peace
Other political topic	Nation	<i>Economy in General</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Taxes	Nation
Migration	Nation	<i>Kosovo Conflict</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Migration	Health Care
State and Regions	Nation	Other political topic	Nation	EU Integration	Region
Economy in General	Nation	<i>Inequality and Minorities</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Economy in General</i>	Euro
Taxes	Nation	Budget and Public Debts	Nation	Other political topic	Norms and Values
Inequality and Minorities	Nation	<i>War and Peace</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Political corruption	EU Integration
Courts, Trials, Court Decisions	Nation	<i>Social Conflicts</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Environment</i>	Nation
Health Care	Nation	<i>Norms and Values</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Norms and Values	War and Peace
<i>Environment</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Education	Region	Health Care	<i>Other political topic</i>
Inter- and Intraparty conflicts	Nation	<i>Euro</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Inter- and Intraparty Conflicts	<i>Environment</i>
Welfare Policy	Nation	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Pensions</i>	<i>Europe / Region</i>
Social Conflicts	nation	<i>Law and Order</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Education	Inflation and Monetary Policy
Euro	Euro	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Nation</i>	<i>Kosovo conflict</i>	<i>Europe</i>
EU Integration	EU Integration	EU Integration	Region	Euro	Agriculture and Fisheries
EU in General	EU in General	EU in General	Nation	<i>Europe</i>	Fisheries
EU Institutions	EU Institutions	EU Institutions	Nation	EU Institutions	EU Integration
„Europe“ Total	„Europe“ Total	„Europe“ Total	Nation	„Europe“ Total	EU in General
					EU Institutions
					„Europe“ Total
					Nation

	Italy (N=3016)	Luxembourg (N=208)	Netherlands (N=800)	Austria (N=447)	Sweden (N=357)				
problem	level	problem	level	problem	level				
Unemployment, <i>Migration</i>	Nation <i>Europe</i>	<i>Unemployment</i> Education Pensions	<i>Europe</i> Nation Nation	<i>Migration</i> <i>Law and Order</i> Infrastructure	<i>Europe</i> <i>Europe</i> Nation	Unemployment Welfare Policy Health Care	Nation Nation Region		
Law and Order	Nation								
<i>Economy in</i> <i>General</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Social Conflicts	Nation	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>EU in General</i> topic	<i>Europe</i>	Economy in General	Nation
<i>Kosovo Conflict</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Other political topic	Nation	Public Service and Bureaucracy	Nation	<i>Inequality and</i> <i>Minorities</i>	<i>Europe / nation</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Europe / region</i>
<i>War and Peace</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Agriculture and</i> <i>Fisheries</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Economy in</i> <i>General</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Education	Region
Taxes	Nation	Migration	Region	Economy in General	Nation	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Europe</i>	EU in General	Nation
<i>Health Care</i>	<i>Europe / nation</i>	Health Care	Nation	<i>Unemployment,</i> <i>Jobs</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Inter- and Intraparty Conflicts	Nation	Taxes	Nation
Budget and Public Debts	Nation	Economy in General	Nation	Health Care	Nation	Taxes	Nation	Public Service and Bureaucracy	Nation
Inflation and Monetary	Nation / region	<i>Inequality and</i> <i>Minorities</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Inequality and</i> <i>Minorities</i> Norms and Values	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Infrastructure</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Euro	Nation
Other political topic	Nation	<i>Welfare Policy</i>	<i>Europe / nation</i>		Nation	<i>Euro</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Pensions	Nation
<i>EU Integration</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Taxes	Nation	<i>Social Conflicts</i>	<i>Europe / region</i>	Agriculture and Fisheries	Region	Other political topic	Nation
<i>Environment</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Food Safety</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Defence and Nation Security	all	<i>Kosovo Conflict</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Norms and Values	Region
Education <i>EU in General</i>	Nation <i>Europe</i>	Infrastructure Inflation and Monetary	Nation Nation	Welfare Policy <i>Drugs Policy</i>	Nation <i>Europe</i>	Social Conflicts Pensions	Nation nation	<i>War and Peace</i> <i>Law and Order</i>	<i>Europe</i> <i>Europe</i>
Euro EU Integration EU in General EU Institutions	<i>Europe</i> <i>Europe</i> <i>Europe</i> <i>Europe</i>	Euro EU Integration EU in General EU Institutions	Region Region	Euro EU Integration EU in General EU Institutions	<i>Europe</i> <i>Europe</i> <i>Europe</i> <i>Europe</i>	Euro EU Evolution EU in General EU Institutions	<i>Europe / nation</i> <i>Europe</i> <i>Europe</i> <i>Europe</i>	Euro EU Integration EU in General EU Institutions	Nation Nation Nation
„ <i>Europe</i> “ <i>total</i>	<i>Europe</i>	„ <i>Europe</i> “ <i>Total</i>	Region	„ <i>Europe</i> “ <i>Total</i>	<i>Europe</i>	„ <i>Europe</i> “ <i>Total</i>	<i>Europe</i>	„ <i>Europe</i> “ <i>Total</i>	Nation

		Belgium (Flanders) (N=224)		Belgium (Wallonia) (N=184)	
problem	level	problem	Level		
<i>Food Safety</i>	<i>Europe</i>	Unemployment	Nation		
Law and Order	Nation	<i>Food Safety</i>	<i>Europe</i>		
Unemployment	nation	State and Regions	Nation		
Other political topic	Nation	<i>Law and Order</i>	<i>Europe</i>		
Inequality and Minorities	nation	Courts, Trials, Court Decisions	Nation		
Migration	Nation	Economy in General	Nation		
Taxes	Nation	Inter- and Intraparty conflicts	Nation		
Economy in General	Nation	Migration	Nation		
Welfare Policy	Nation	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Europe / region</i>		
Health Care	Nation	Health Care	Nation		
Drug Policy	Nation	<i>Taxes</i>	<i>Europe / nation</i>		
<i>Infrastructure</i>	<i>Europe / nation</i>	Other political topic	Nation		
<i>Environment</i>	<i>Europe / nation</i>	Democracy	Nation		
<i>Social Conflicts</i>	<i>Europe / nation</i>	<i>Social Conflicts</i>	Nation		
Political Corruption, Fraud	nation	Welfare Policy	nation		
Euro		Euro			
EU Integration		EU Integration			
EU in General		EU in General			
EU Institutions		EU Institutions			
„Europe“ total		„Europe“ total			

Source: European Election Study 1999 post-election survey. Data are weighted.

Table 2: Citizens' most important problems and their preferred level of Governance in ten European countries.

Problem	Europe (%)	Nation (%)	Region (%)	N
Kosovo conflict	86	12	2	90
food safety	57	38	5	315
war and peace	57	38	5	153
environment	53	26	21	188
EU politics in general	48	36	16	118
inequality and minorities	40	45	15	136
social conflicts	38	43	20	154
drug policy	36	33	31	139
euro	34	47	19	100
unemployment	34	41	25	2646
foreign policy	33	54	13	118
taxes	32	56	12	179
EU integration	30	55	14	56
violent conflicts	29	52	19	90
law and order	29	46	24	483
pensions	28	58	14	213
education	22	51	27	236
public service and bureaucracy	22	66	12	67
welfare policy	19	62	20	130
health care	10	54	37	254

Source: European Election Study 1999 post-election survey. Data are weighted.

Table 3: Most important topics from parties' manifestos, which competed in the ten countries. Numbers are average percentages.

Belgium 11 Parties	Germany (7)	France (11)	Great Britain (9)	Ireland (5)	Italy (13)	Luxembourg (4)	Netherlands (7)	Austria (5)	Sweden (7)
% of manifestos	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
EU in General (17)	EU in General (17)	EU in General (17)	EU in General (15)	EU in General (15)	EU in General (15)	EU in General (20)	EU in General (18)	EU in General (15)	EU in General (20)
EU Institutions (10)	EU Integration (10)	EU integration (8)	EU Institutions (8)	Inter-/Intraparty conflicts (10)	EU integration (7)	EU integration (9)	EU integration (10)	Inter-/Intraparty conflicts (8)	EU Integration (10)
EU Integration (8)	EU Institutions (6)	EU Institutions (6)	State and Regions (7)	EU Institutions (8)	Inter-/Intraparty conflicts (6)	EU Institutions (8)	EU Institutions (9)	EU Institutions (7)	Environment (8)
State and Regions (5)	State and regions (5)	Inter-/Intraparty conflicts (6)	Inter-/Intraparty conflicts (7)	EU Integration (6)	Economy in General (6)	State and Regions (6)	Environment (5)	EU Integration (7)	EU Institutions (5)
Democracy (4)	Economy in General (5)	Welfare Policy (4)	EU Integration (5)	Economy in General (4)	EU Institutions (5)	Foreign Policy (6)	Economy in General (4)	Economy in General (5)	State and Regions (4)
Environment (4)	Environment (4)	State and Regions (4)	Economy in General (5)	Foreign Policy (4)	State and Regions (5)	Inequality and Minorities (5)	Inter-/Intraparty conflict (4)	Democracy (4)	Democracy (3)
Welfare Policy (4)	Inter-/Intraparty conflict (4)	Inequality and Minorities (4)	Environment (4)	Inequality and Minorities (4)	Welfare Policy (5)	Inter-/Intraparty conflict (5)	Welfare Policy (4)	Unemployment (3)	Foreign Policy (3)
Economy in General (4)	Inequality and Minorities (3)	Environment (3)	Violent conflicts (3)	Environment (4)	Inequality and Minorities (4)	Economy in General (4)	Democracy (4)	Agriculture (3)	War and Peace (3)
Inter-/Intraparty conflicts (3)	Competition policy (3)	Economy in General (3)	Inequality and Minorities (3)	National and European security (3)	Democracy (3)	Democracy (4)	Foreign Policy (3)	Welfare Policy (3)	Unemployment (3)
Foreign Policy (2)	Democracy (3)	Unemployment (3)	Infrastructure (3)	State and Regions (3)	Cultural policy (3)	Unemployment (3)	Competition policy (3)	National and European security (3)	Inter-/Intraparty conflicts (3)

Source: Euromanipesto Project. Not for every country could all competing parties be included.

Table 4: Voters whose most important problems should be solved on European level (N=1837). Numbers are percentages.

Belgium	Germany	France	Great Britain	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands	Austria	Sweden
N=105	N=206	N=231	N=59	N=47	N=834	N=77	N=121	N=120	N=37
Food Safety (40)	Unemployment (55)	Unemployment (71)	Unemployment (51)	War and Peace (29)	Unemployment (51)	Unemployment (58)	Migration (25)	Unemployment (58)	Unemployment (45)
Unemployment (18)	Kosovo conflict (8)	Social conflicts (5)	EU in General (6)	Unemployment (16)	Kosovo conflict (8)	Pensions (15)	Environment (10)	Foreign Policy (10)	Environment (11)
Law and Order (17)	Pensions (6)	Law and Order (4)	Economy in General (10)	Violent conflict (14)	War and Peace (7)	Education (15)	Agriculture (8)	EU in General (6)	Economy in General (10)
Economy in General (4)	Economy in General (6)	Economy in General (2)	Kosovo conflict (10)	Drugs Policy (11)	Migration (7)	Environment (8)	Law and Order (5)	Economy in General (6)	Public Service and Bureaucracy (5)
Environment (3)	War and Peace (5)	EU Integration (2)	Euro (9)	Economy in General (7)	Economy in General (6)	Social conflicts (6)	Infrastructure (4)	Inequality and Minorities (5)	Euro (4)
Taxes (3)	Inequality and Minorities (4)	Environment (2)	Trade (5)	Taxes (5)	Law and Order (4)	Inequality and Minorities (4)	Public Service and Bureaucracy (4)	Environment (5)	War and Peace (4)
Social conflicts (2)	Norms and Values (3)	Kosovo conflict (2)	Drugs Policy (5)	Agriculture (3)	EU Integration (3)	Economy in General (2)	Health Care (4)	War and Peace (3)	EU in General (4)
Welfare Policy (2)	Taxes (3)	Migration (2)	Taxes (4)	Euro (3)	EU in General (2)	Food Safety (2)	Economy in General (4)	Kosovo conflict (2)	Welfare Policy (4)
Drugs Policy (2)	Environment (2)	Pensions (1)	Law and Order (3)	Political corruption (3)	Health Care (2)	Migration (2)	Inequality and Minorities (3)	Infrastructure (2)	Migration (3)
Infrastructure (2)	Budget and Public Debts (2)	Taxes (1)	War and Peace (3)	Health care (3)	Food Safety (1)	Welfare Policy (2)	Kosovo Conflict (3)	Taxes (2)	Budget and Public Debts (2)

Source: EES 1999 post-election survey. Data are weighted.

Table 5: Parties from the ten countries organized in the different political groups 1999. (* = One manifesto analysed)

	EPP (European People's Party)	PES (Party of European Socialists)	ELDR (European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party)	Green-EFA (Green/European Free Alliance)	GUE/NGL (European United Left/ Nordic Green Left)	EDD / EDU (Europe of Democracies and Diversities)	UEN (Union for a Europe of Nations)	TDI (technical group of independent members)	Not organized
Seats (total)	173 (232)	125 (181)	37 (50)	38 (48)	27 (42)	12 (16)	27 (30)	18 (18)	6 (9)
Ireland	Fianna Gail	Labour		Greens			FF		
Great Britain	Conservative	Labour	LDP	PC Greens		UKIP			
North-Ireland	UUP	SLDP							DUP
Austria	ÖVP	SPÖ		GA					FPÖ
Germany	CDU CSU	SPD		B'90/Grüne	PDS				
	SVP Forza Italia CCD PPI	PDS	FLI/PR1* Dem		RC PdCI		AN	PR/Bonino LN	
France	RPR/DL* UDF	PRG PS		Les Verts	LCR LO PCF	CPNT	RPF	FN	
Luxembourg	CSV	LSAP	DP	DG					
The Netherlands	CDA	PvdA	VVD D66	GL	SP	RPF/SGP/GPV*			
Belgium- Wallonia	PSC	PS	PRL/FDF/MCC*	Ecolo					
Belgium- Flanders	CVP	SP	VLD	VUID 21 Agalev				Vlaams Blok	
Sweden	KID M	S	CP FP	MP	V				

Table 6: Political groups in the EP 1999 and the content of their party manifestos for the European Election 1999.

	EPP	PES	ELDR	Greens-EFA	GUEN/NGL	EDD	UEN	TDI	No member	Average
EU in General *	20	18	16	16	16	18	15	15	6	15
EU integration *	8	8	8	8	7	8	10	8	5	8
EU institutions *	7	5	8	7	5	8	11	6	9	7
Party conflict	6	5	4	3	6	9	3	3	15	6
State and Regions	5	3	4	5	4	4	4	8	2	4
Economy in Gen. \$	4	8	4	4	4	2	5	3	2	4
Environment	2	4	5	8	3	4	1	1	1	3
Inequality and Min.	2	5	3	3	5	3	3	2	1	3
Agriculture	2		1	2	1	5	2	2	10	3
Democracy	3	4	3	4	4	3	3	2	2	3
Welfare Policy	3	3	3	3	4	2	2	3	3	3
Unemployment \$	2	5	2	2	3	1	3	2	3	3
Budget and Debt	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	2
Euro *	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	7	2
Competition \$	3	2	2	2	3	1	1	4	1	2
Trade	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	1	2
Culture	2	3	1	1	1	5	1	2		2
Defence	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	1	2
Education	2	2	3	2	1		2	3		2
Infrastructure	1	1	2	2	1	5	2	2	2	2
Public Service	1		1	1	1	3	1	2	6	2
Law and Order	1	1	3	1	1		1	1	2	1
War and Peace	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	1		1
Migration	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Total « Europe » *	36	33	33	32	32	36	38	30	27	30
Total Economy \$	9	15	8	8	10	4	9	9	5	9

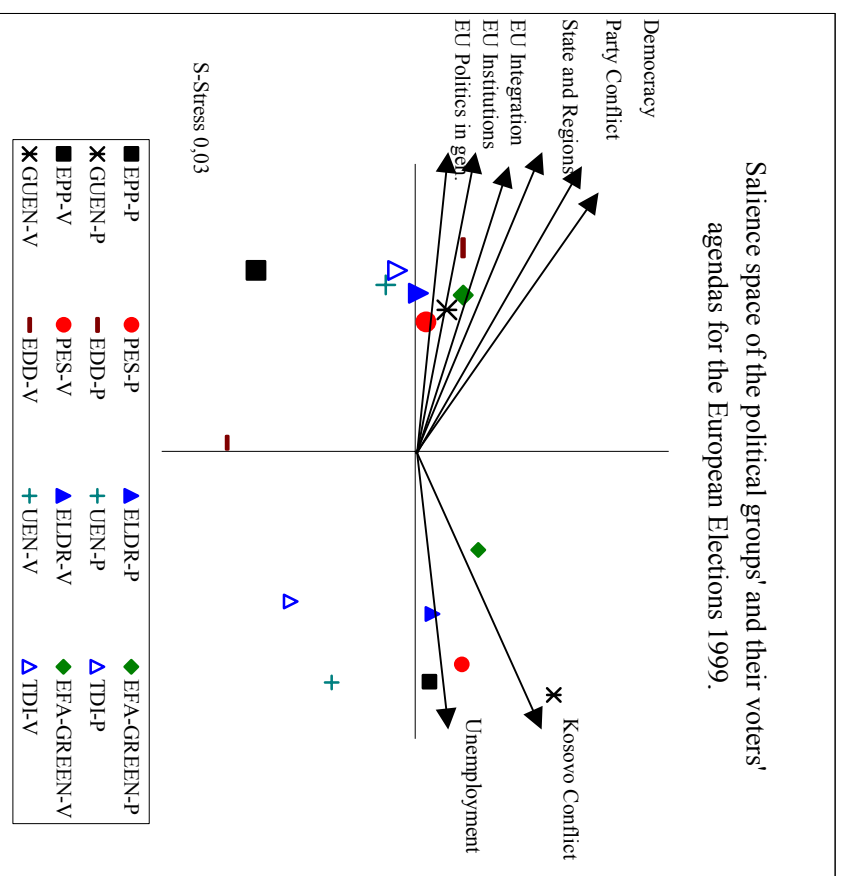
Source: Euromanifesto Project. Table includes members of party federations only from ten countries. Parties' proportions of the federations are weighted according to parties' seats in EP 1999-2004. Highest row percentage is **bold**.

Table 7: EU Party Federations' voters in the EES 1999 and their most important problem (European Election 1999), which should be solved on the European level.

Most important problem	EPP (N=381)	PES (N=378)	ELDR (N=167)	Greens-EFA (N=166)	GUEN/NGL (N=46)	EDD (N=13)	UEN (N=68)	TDI (N=45)	Not organized (N=25)	Average
Unemployment	40	42	35	27	49	18	40	33	56	38
Economy in General	5	3	2	6	4		9	14	22	7
Law and Order	2	3	11	11		7	2	20		6
Environment	1	4	6	16	6	7		1	11	6
Food Safety	17	10	10	6						5
War and Peace	3	3	2	2	5		15	3		4
Social Conflicts	1	3	2	4	12	7				3
Inequality and Min.	3	2	1	5				5	11	3
Kosovo	3	3	3	4	8		1	5		3
Migration	5	1	5	1	2		3	3		2
Public Service		1	1			14		1		2
Education	3	3	5	2			2			2
Drugs Policy		1	1				9	4		2
Pensions	6	5	5							2
Euro *	1	1	1		3		3	1		2
EU in General *	2	2	1			6		1		1
EU Integration *	1		1		1		1	2		1
Competition					5					1
Agriculture	1	1	2	3	1					1
Total « Europe » *	4	3	3		4	17	4	4		4

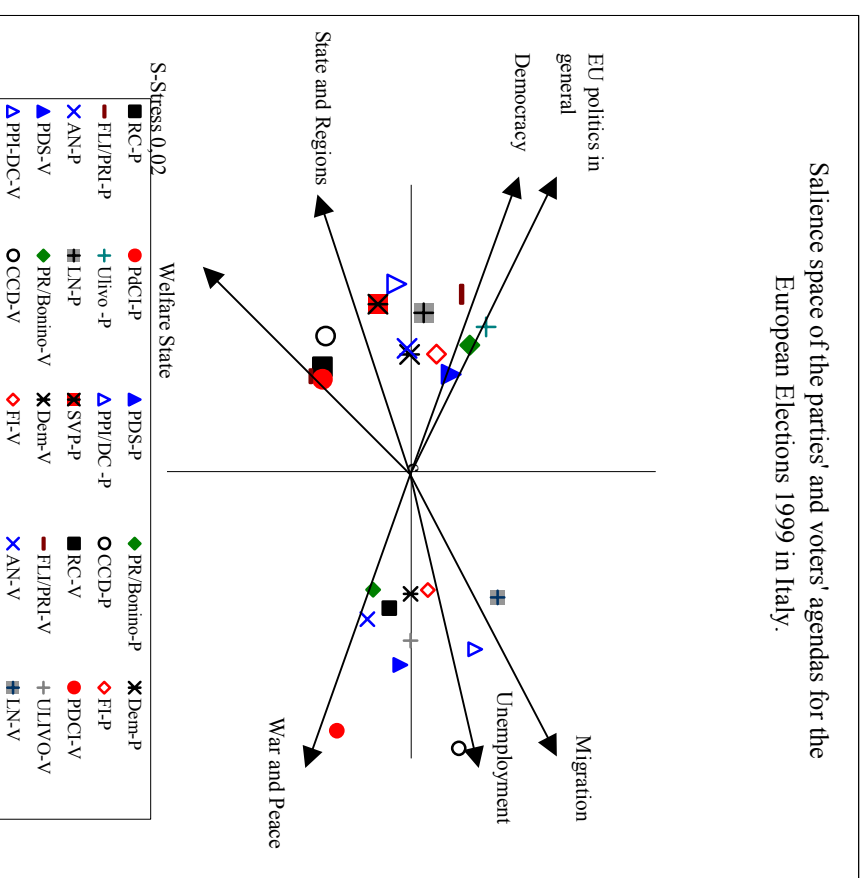
Source: EES1999 post-election survey. Table includes EP party federation's voters from ten countries only. Data are weighted. Highest row percentage is **bold**.

Figure 1: Saliency space of the political groups' and their voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999.



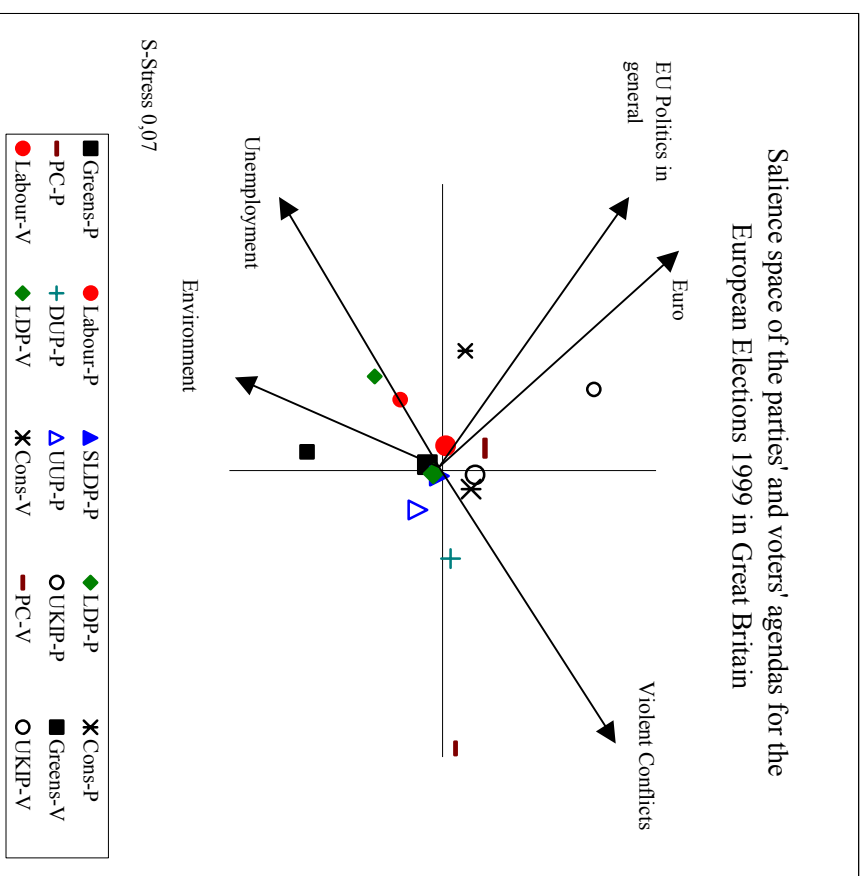
Source: Euromanifestos Project and European Election Study 1999 post-election-survey.
R² of the topics between 0,8 (EU Integration) und 0,99 (Unemployment).

Figure 2: Saliense space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in Italy.



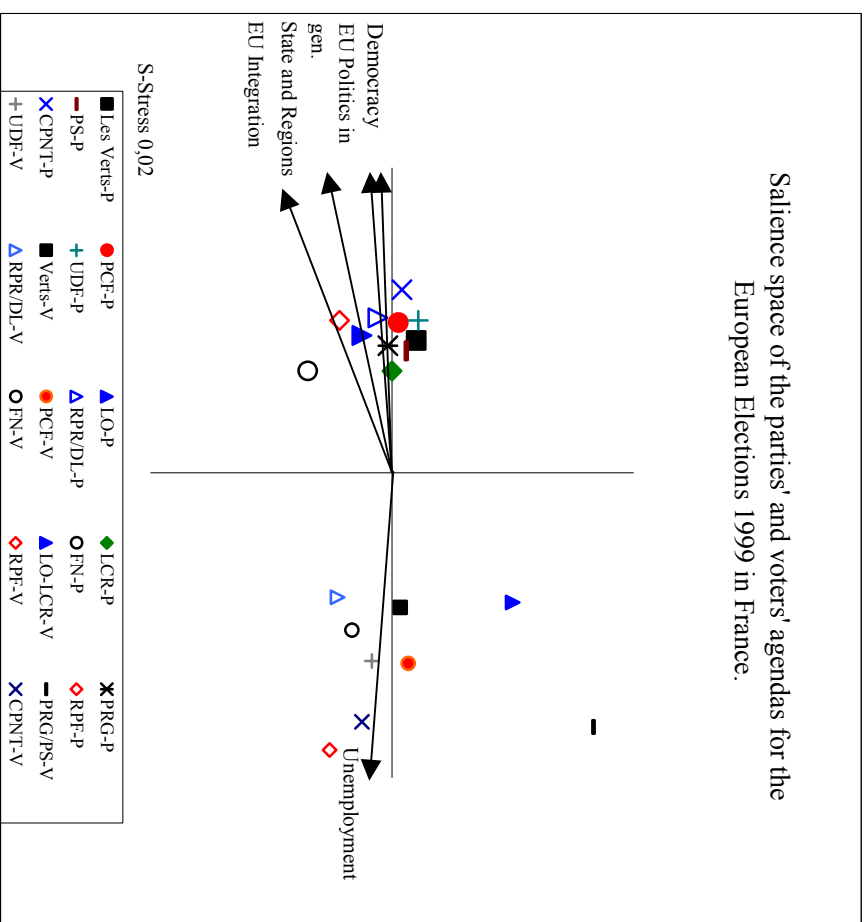
Source: Euromanifestos Project and European Election Study 1999 post-election-survey.
R² of the topics between 0,5 (Welfare State) und 0,98 (Unemployment).

Figure 3: Saliense space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in Great Britain.



Source: Euromanipistos Project and European Election Study 1999 post-election-survey.
 R^2 of the topics between 0,6 (Unemployment) und 0,79 (Violent Conflicts).

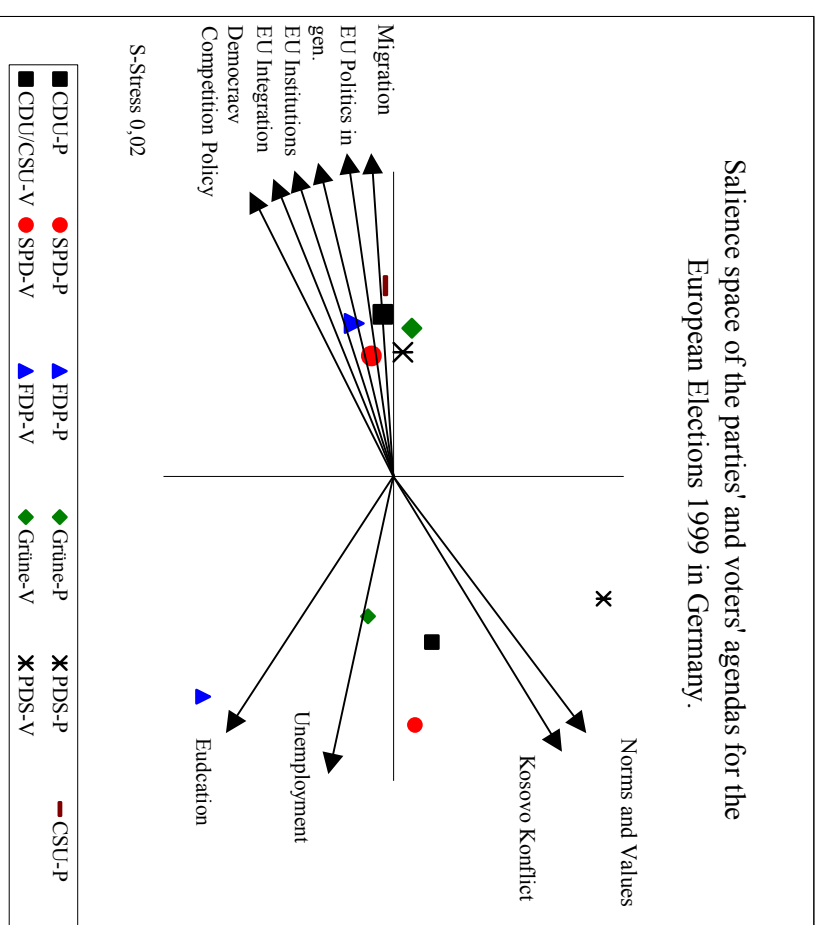
Figure #: Salience space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in France.



Source: Euromanipifestos Project and European Election Study 1999 post-election-survey.
 R^2 of the topics between 0,6 (EU Integration) und 0,99 (Unemployment).

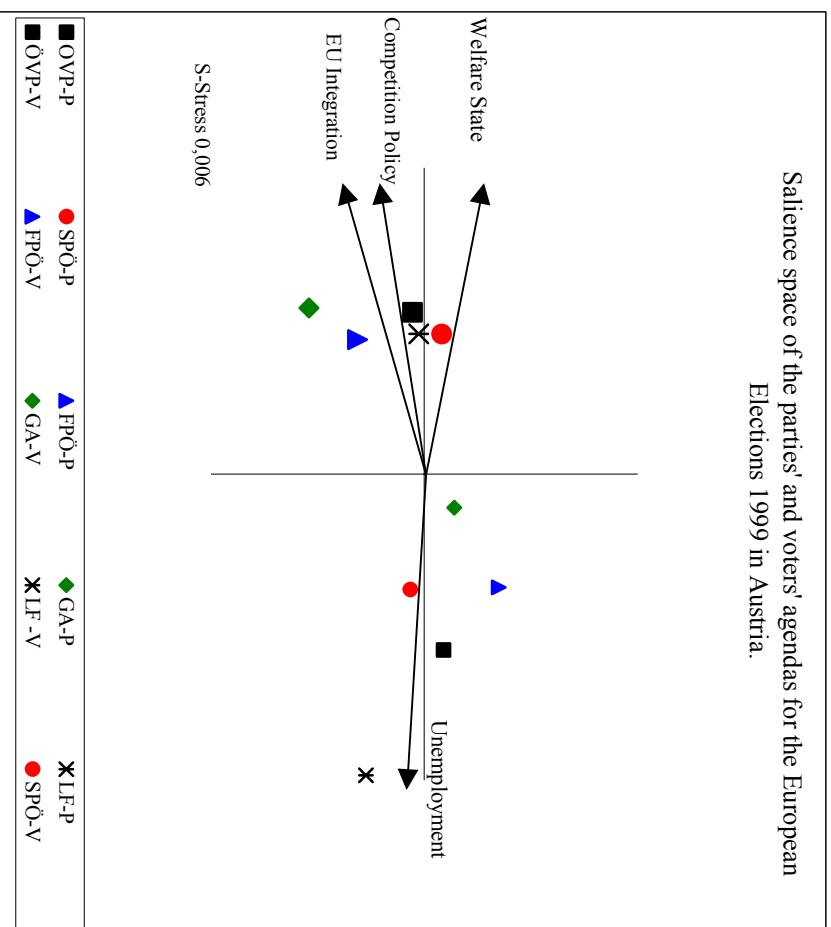
Figure #: Salience space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in Germany.

Salience space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in Germany.



Source: Euromanifestos Project and European Election Study 1999 post-election-survey.
 R^2 of the topics between 0,65 (Education) und 0,98 (Unemployment).

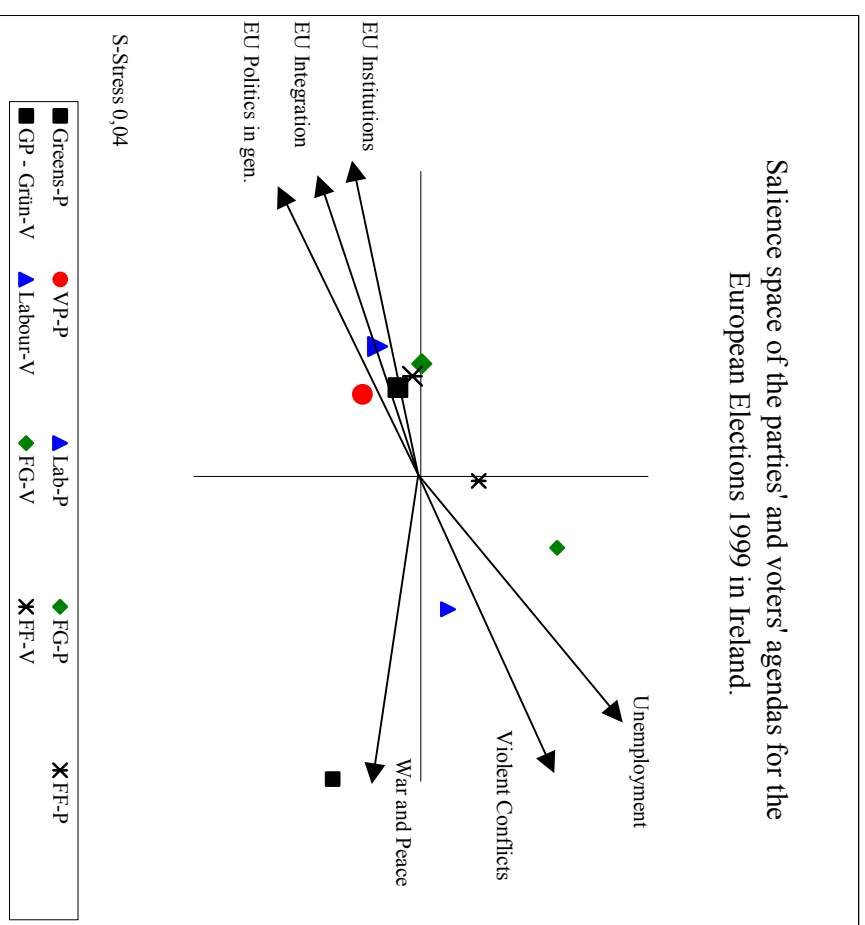
Figure #: Salience space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in Austria.



Source: Euromanifestos Project and European Election Study 1999 post-election-survey.
 R^2 of the topics between 0,71 (Competition Policy) und 0,99 (Unemployment).

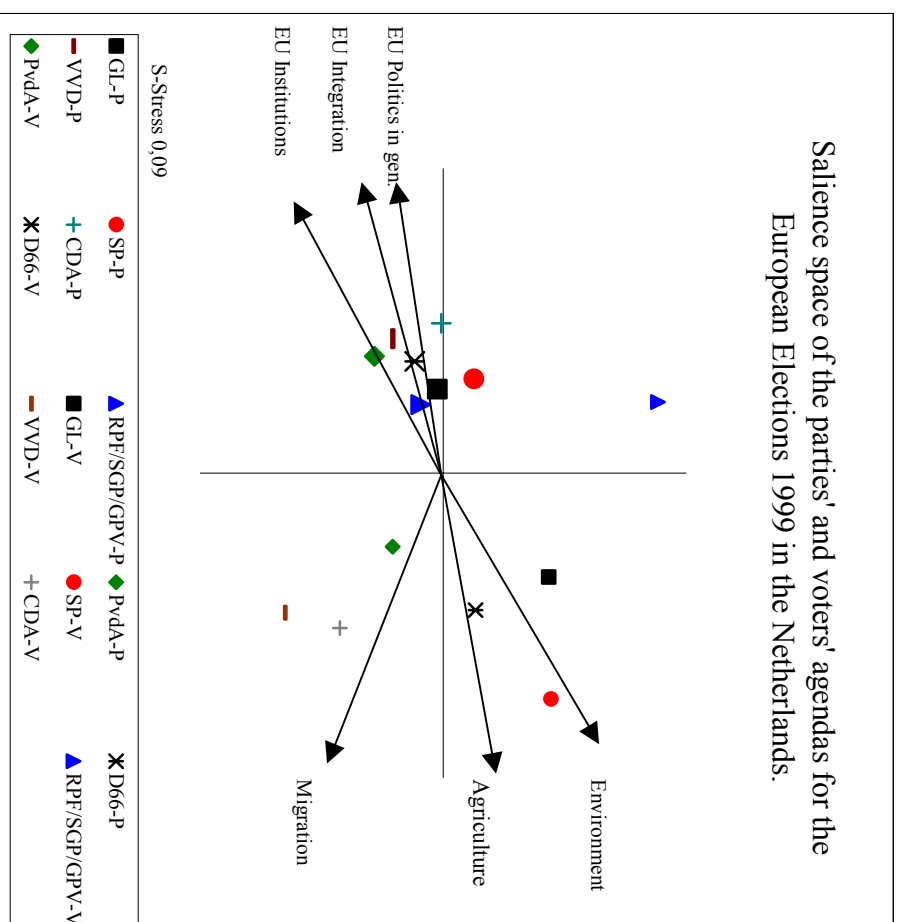
Figure #: Salience space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in Ireland.

Salience space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in Ireland.



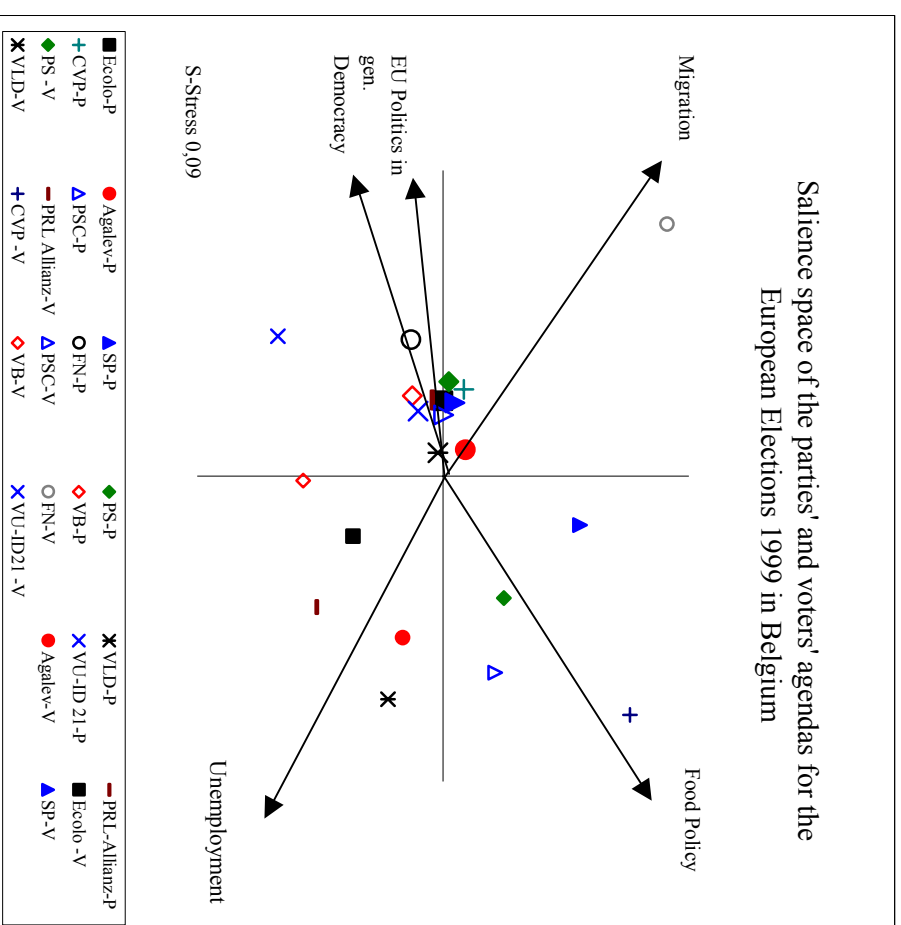
Source: Euromanifestos Project and European Election Study 1999 post-election-survey.
 R^2 of the topics between 0,5 (Unemployment) und 0,94 (War and Peace).

Figure #: Salience space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in the Netherlands.



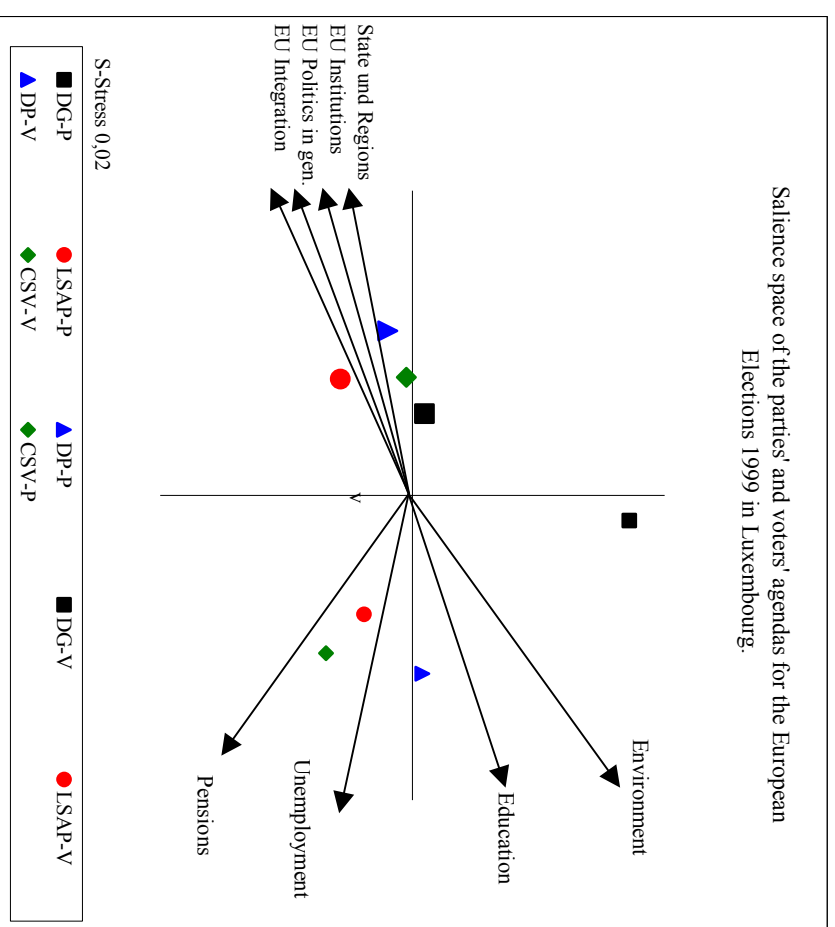
Source: Euromanifestos Project and European Election Study 1999 post-election-survey.
 R^2 of the topics between 0,64 (EU Institutions) and 0,85 (Migration).

Figure #: Salience space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in Belgium.



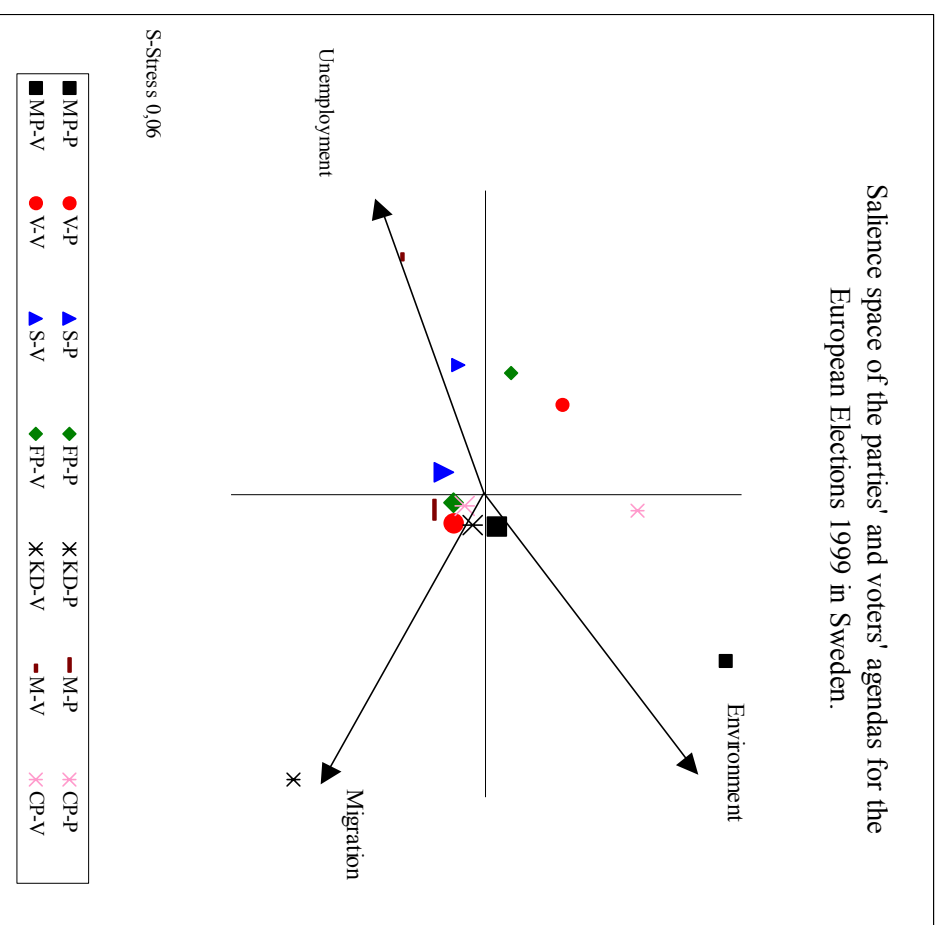
Source: Euromanifestos Project and European Election Study 1999 post-election-survey.
R² of the topics between 0,23 (Unemployment) und 0,85 (Food Policy).

Figure #: Salience space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in Luxembourg.



Source: Euromanifestos Project and European Election Study 1999 post-election-survey.
 R^2 of the topics between 0,81 (Pensions) and 0,97 (Unemployment).

Figure #: Saliences space of the parties' and voters' agendas for the European Elections 1999 in Sweden.



Source: Euromanifestos Project and European Election Study 1999 post-election-survey.
 R^2 of the topics between 0,68 (Unemployment) und 0,85 (Environment).