

**EES Spring Meeting 2006 on  
The European Parliament Election of 2004**

Organised by the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon (ICS)  
with the support of the CONNEX Network of Excellence (an activity of the 6<sup>th</sup> framework  
programme of the European Commission)

Local Organisers: Marina Costa Lobo, André Freire & Pedro Magalhães  
Academic Convenors: Michael Marsh & Hermann Schmitt

**Agenda Proposal**

**Thursday, May 11**

Arrival of participants

**Friday, May 12**

9:00 – 9:30            welcome & intro

**1<sup>st</sup> section**

**Campaign, Turnout & Voting  
paper**

**discussant**

9:30 – 10:00            de Vreese et al., news coverage            Loveless

10:00 – 10:30            Franklin, turnout            Wessels

*10:30 – 11:00            coffee break*

11:00 – 11:30            Marsh, vote switching            Tilley

11:30 – 12:00            Lobo et al., left-right            van der Eijk

12:00 – 12:30            v. d. Eijk, electoral competition            Matilla

*12:30 – 14:30            lunch break*

14:30 – 15:00            Toka, knowledge            Dewinter et al.

**2<sup>nd</sup> section**

**EU attitudes and Voting Decisions  
paper**

**discussant**

15:00 – 15:30            Tilley & Garry, love and hate            Gyarfasowa

15:30 – 16:00            Wessels, turnout and EU            v. d. Brug

*16:00 – 16:30            coffee break*

16:30 – 17:00            Markowski, Euro-skepticism            Marsh

17:00 – 17:30            Matilla & Rauino, EU competition            Toka

17:30 – 18:00            v. d. Brug & Co., anti-immigration            Lobo et al.

*Evening t.b.a.*

## Saturday, May 13

<b>3<sup>rd</sup> section</b>	<b>National Case Studies paper</b>	<b>discussant</b>
9:00 – 9:30	Linek & Lyons, Czech Republic	Teperoglu & Skrinis
9:30 – 10:00	Gyarfasowa, Slovakia	Garry
10:00 – 10:30	Teperoglu & Skrinis, Greece	Scheuer
10:30 – 11:00	<i>coffee break</i>	
11:00 – 11:30	Garry, Northern Ireland	Linek & Lyons
<b>4<sup>th</sup> section</b>	<b>EU Democracy paper</b>	<b>discussant</b>
11:30 – 12:00	Dewinter et al., scope of gov't	Schmitt
12:00 – 12:30	Thomassen, citizenship & identity	Rohrschneider
12:30 – 14:30	<i>Lunch break</i>	
14:30 – 15:00	Stebe, EU - our new nation	Faas & Wüst
15:00 – 15:30	Scheuer & Schmitt, dynamics	Thomassen
15:30 – 16:00	Loveless & Co, democratic deficit	Franklin
16:00 – 16:30	<i>coffee break</i>	
16:30 – 17:00	Faas & Wüst, doing and saying	Rauino
17:00 – 18:00	summary and perspectives	
20:00	<i>Conference dinner</i>	

## Sunday, May 14

Departure of participants

The format of paper presentations is as follows: each paper is presented during 10 to 15 minutes max., followed by a prepared discussion of 5 minutes, followed by 10 minutes general discussion. As we are facing a tight programme, it will be essential that participants stick to their allotted time.

## Paper abstracts

### 1<sup>st</sup> section: Campaign, Turnout & Voting

De Vreese, C. H., Banducci, S., Semetko, H. A. & Boomgaarden, H. A.

#### **The news coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign in 25 countries**

This paper analyses the news coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary (EP) elections in all 25 member countries of the European Union (EU). It provides a unique pan-European overview of the campaign coverage in each country, based on an analysis of three national newspapers and the most widely watched main evening private and public television news programs in each country in the final two weeks leading up to the elections. The average visibility of the elections on television news in the 'old' EU-15 increased in comparison with the previous EP election in 1999, while it decreased marginally in national newspapers. On average, the elections were more visible in the 'new' 10 member states than in the 'old' 15 EU member states. Public television news and broadsheet papers covered the elections more elaborately than private television news and tabloids in both 'old' and 'new' member countries. The news coverage in general was more domestically focused than EU-focused. The political personalities and institutional actors featured in news stories about the elections were generally domestic or national political actors and not EU actors though there were more EU actors in the news in 2004 than in 1999. The tone of the news was predominantly neutral. When evaluative, the news in the 'old' EU-15 was generally negative towards the EU, while in the 'new' countries a mixed pattern was found with the broadsheet press and television news being, on average, positive and tabloid papers, on average, negative. The findings of the study are discussed in the light of the literature on the EU's legitimacy and communication deficit.

Mark N. Franklin

#### **Turning out or turning off? How the EP elections of 2004 shed light on turnout dynamics**

The European Parliament elections of 2004 were extraordinary in bringing to the polls citizens of 25 countries, ten of them participating for the first time in EP elections. Turnout levels in established member states at these elections was very much as would have been expected from past patterns, but turnout in new member states was generally very low, though highly variable. This is surprising in the light of expectations that countries participating for the first time in EP elections would demonstrate higher turnout than at later elections. The variability in turnout among citizens of new EU member states provides us with leverage that may help us understand dynamic features of turnout variations that are still puzzling to researchers. A variety of explanations for low turnout among new members have been proposed, from the fact that all of them had recently conducted referendums on EU membership that might have resulted in electoral fatigue to the fact that many of them are consolidating democracies with patterns of electoral behavior that are not yet settled. This paper will investigate these and other ideas, using the EP elections of 2004 as a resource that helps us to better understand the mainsprings of turnout variations.

Michael Marsh

#### **Vote Switching in the European Parliament election of 2004**

This paper focusses on a review of theories of lower stimulus elections, exploring differences and similarities between them, in order to assess what each can tell us about European Parliament elections. Most offer something of value, although some have a wider potential than others. Several clear patterns emerge in the results, many of them quite consistent with theory and thus interpretable in such terms. In addition, many similarities between the old and new member states are found in respect to the dynamics of change, although volatility in the new states remains much higher than in the old states. Moreover, certain types of volatility, that within the sets of parties in government or in opposition, is not envisaged by theories of surge and decline or 'referendums', but might be in accordance with second-order theory regarding the differential prospects of large and small parties.

Weak party attachment seems to be a factor in all of this, but more work needs to be done to explore the precise patterns of within-camp changes.

Marina Costa Lobo, André Freire & Pedro Magalhães

### **Left, Right and the EP Vote in 2004**

The importance of the left-right divide is well established. However, the conditions under which the left-right cleavage is more or less important in explaining the vote are clearly understudied. This paper aims at determining under what conditions the left-right divide is more or less important in explaining the vote, and whether these conditions are at work both in established and consolidating democracies. European Elections are used as a “laboratory” to understand electoral behaviour in general, precisely because these electoral contests take place simultaneously under different social, political and institutional conditions. Our first major goal is to examine whether the ideological location of citizens – in terms of left-right self-placement — has a different impact on the vote in different types of democratic regime (consolidating versus established democracies), defined in terms of their level of party system institutionalization and the patterns of partisan ideological competition. Our second goal is to examine whether the generic differences found between democracies in terms of their level of democratic “consolidation” or “establishment” resist the introduction of controls for three other factors hypothesized to make a difference in the extent to which left-right orientations have a greater influence on the vote.

Cees van der Eijk

### **Analysing Electoral Competition: A Latent Structure Approach**

In this paper, we analyse electoral competition in the member states of the European Union. In the process of doing so we discuss the merits of different approaches, of various kinds of empirical information and of ways of analysis. We argue that an adequate empirical description and comparative analysis of electoral competition requires specific data – information on electoral utilities – and specific analytical procedures – a form of latent structure analysis usually referred to as unfolding. We apply such methods to the data of the European Election Study 2004 and compare the major results across the political systems of the EU.

## **2<sup>nd</sup> section: EU attitudes and Voting Decisions**

James Tilley & John Garry

### **Learning to love (and hate) the EU: An cross-national examination of how the structure of support for integration varies by the duration of EU membership**

This paper explores attitudes to European integration using the most recent wave of the European Election Study. We test a range of individual level and contextual level theories. At the individual level we follow Gabel (1998) and test theories based on cognitive mobilisation, political values, partisanship, and utilitarian expectations. At the contextual level we follow Gabel and Palmer (manuscript) and test the impact on attitudes of: time since one's country entered; the openness of the trade of one's country; and security related aspects. In particular we examine how individual level theories of support depend on the length of time that states have been EU members, looking especially at the recent new entrant countries.

Bernhard Wessels

### **Turnout and EU**

no abstract available

Radoslaw Markowski

### **Political Representation and Euroskepticism**

The aim of the paper is to dwell upon one aspect of contemporary democracies' quality, namely the relationship between the level of party systems representativeness and euroskeptical attitudes of the part of the electorate. Skepticism towards the new pan-European Union is a real-world phenomenon in all of the 25 countries. These attitudes differ in their intensity and frequency across countries and within countries. For the quality of political representation and ultimately for the quality of democracy it is important to know whether reservations towards the EU project are finding its way in the public domain by way of the formation of new parties, which exclusively represent those who are against EU or are these attitudes more or less evenly scattered among the well-established, "old" systemic parties. In the first case, it might be that newly established anti-EU parties, that resulted in response to a demand of the electoral market, de facto contribute to a better quality of political representation, operationalized here as congruence / proximity between parties' and voters' policy or ideological stances. This, however, not necessarily leads to a better quality of a democracy, its liberal version in particular. In the second case, if the old parties were able to attract the EU-discontent of the population, the legitimate questions to be asked and tested are: did it contribute to their lower representativeness at the aggregate level or did it improve their overall fit or did it simply create more diffuse, more heterogeneous party electorates. And did it apply to all or selected parties? If the latter, then which parties were more successful in attracting the skeptical voters?

Mikko Mattila & Tapio Raunio

### **From Consensus to Competition? Ideological Range on the EU Dimension**

According to literature on EP elections, parties do not offer real choices to voters on European integration. Indeed, in most EU countries there has been broad consensus about integration between the main parties. Importantly, previous research shows that this elite convergence is not replicated among the voters. Using EES data from 1979 to 2004, this paper analyses the ideological range of parties on the EU dimension in the EU member states. The analysis contains two stages. First we describe longitudinally the development of inter-party competition on the EU dimension between since the first EP elections. Moving to the empirical analysis, we then examine the impact of various factors – e.g. number of parties, range on the left/right dimension, government composition – on the level of party competition over integration.

Wouter van der Brug and Meindert Fennema

### **The support base of anti-immigration parties in the European Union**

In the last two decades of the twentieth century many western democracies have seen the rise of parties that have been labelled extreme-right (Ignazi, ), New Radical Right (Kitschelt ), Radical Right (Norris), right-wing populist ( ) or anti-immigration parties (Fennema ). Until the late 1990s, socio-structural models inspired most research on anti-immigration parties. According to this perspective, the rise of these parties should be seen as a backlash response to modernization. The crux of these explanations is the suggestion that support for anti-immigrant parties comes from citizens who feel threatened by rapid changes in postindustrial societies. Manual workers with low education tend to lose their jobs as a result of changes in modes of production. Moreover, they are competing with immigrant groups for scarce resources such as jobs and houses. These "losers of modernity" (Betz 1998) feel threatened by rapid social change and tend to support radical right-wing parties out of general discontent.

More recent contributions have challenged this perspective that was dominant until the late 1990s. Van der Brug, Fennema and Tillie (2000) showed that socio-structural characteristics of voters explain less of the variance in support for anti-immigration parties than in support for the more established parties. This means that anti-immigration parties attract their support, more than established parties, across various social boundaries. Moreover, they showed that support for anti-immigration parties is motivated by the same kind of ideological and pragmatic considerations as support for established parties. These analyses were based on 1994 data for 7 electoral systems in the EU. A replicating study of 1999 data in 8 political systems gave a different picture. For the large and successful anti-immigration parties, such as the FPÖ, Vlaams Blok and Alleanza Nazionale these conclusions were still valid. However, support for small and unsuccessful anti-immigration parties such as the Wallonian Front National, the German Republikaner and the Dutch Centrumdemocraten,

this was not the case. So, they concluded that two groups of anti-immigration parties have developed in 1999. One group of parties that is evaluated by their potential supporters on the basis of the same kind of substantive considerations that also motivate support for other parties. We could say that citizens treat them as 'normal' parties. The other group of parties is apparently not evaluated on the basis of ideological and pragmatic considerations.

The purpose of the current paper is to replicate the analyses of 1994 and 1999 with data from the EES 2004. This will enable us to assess whether the situation has changed compared to 1999. Moreover, this new data set enables us to assess the determinants of the vote for three anti-immigration parties that were not included in previous studies: Laos (from Greece), the LPF (from the Netherlands) and Magyar Igazság és Elet Pártja (from Hungary).

### **3<sup>rd</sup> section: National Case Studies**

Lukas Linek & Pat Lyons

#### **Vote switching in the 2004 European Parliament elections in the Czech Republic: Testing some of the implications of the Second-Order Election thesis**

The Second-Order Election Thesis (SOET) is one of a family of multi-level electoral behaviour theories that was specifically developed to explain changes in voting behaviour in general and European elections within the European Union. This influential explanation of relatively lower turnout in European elections, loss in support by government parties, increase in support for smaller, new and radical parties at the expense of established larger parties has received much validation within the literature. Our paper argues that SOET is fundamentally an aggregate level explanation and that many of the previous empirical tests of this theory are limited. Vote switching has often been simply imputed by changing levels of total support and gains and losses are correlated to one another thereby running the risk of the ecological fallacy. Using an ecological inference technique this paper examines vote switching in the Czech Republic between the 2002 Chamber elections and 2004 European elections. These results are compared with two individual level mass survey results. The results of these analyses confirm many of the predictions of SOET and generate further hypotheses for future research.

Olga Gyrfasowa

#### **The Slovak EP vote in a broader European context**

Slovak citizens introduced themselves on the European scene with critically low turnout - only 17% of eligible voters participated in the selection of 14 Slovak EP members. On the other hand - in spite of mid-term unpopularity, the election was successful mainly for pro-European coalition parties and not for parties which would really mobilize the voters by appealing the anti-EU sentiments. That means the trend in Slovakia did not follow the prevailing EU pattern – strengthening the opposition and voting for smaller euro-sceptical or anti-EU parties. Euro-phobes like communists or nationalists failed completely. More mobilized have been voters who stand for Europe/European union, not only as the winners of EU integration. The traditionally better mobilized constituencies of national populist parties were not motivated by the idea of Europe. This issue has lower salience for them, they perceive it rather ambivalently. The differentiated mobilization lead to the success of coalition parties.

The voting pattern of EP election in Slovakia represents one case study out of 8 post-communist countries that joined the Union in 2004. What differentiates the newcomers from the established EU15 and how the second-order model works in the new member states has been analyzed by Marsh (2005) and Schmitt (2005). This paper will look comparatively at Slovakia and other EEC in the broader context of EU membership perception and the EU issues in the party competition after the accession.

Eftichia Teperoglou and Stavros Skrinis

#### **The 2004 European Election in Greece: second-order election?**

The paper is divided in two parts and tries to answer two questions. In the first part we try to examine the 2004 European Election in Greece with the help of the Second-order election

(SOE) model. After a brief introduction to the theoretical framework, we examine the main axes of the model, focused on the European election. In the beginning, participation in the European Election is compared with that in the March 2004 General Election and we present the evolution in participation in various 'types' of elections (European and General ones from 1981 to 2004 and Prefecture ones since 1994). The second parameter we examine has to do with losses in the share of votes for the governmental and big parties. The third parameter is concentrated to the electoral appeal of the smaller parties. We present the vote switching between the General and the European elections of 2004. The main conclusion is that the hypotheses of the SOE model are verified. Therefore, the 2004 European Election in Greece was a SOE. Since the answer to the first question is affirmative, the main question that runs through the second part of our paper is an attempt to extend this question one step further: *Second-order election, for whom?* In other words, we want to find if all voters treated the election as a SOE. We attempt to answer these questions using data (Eurobarometer Flash 162, exit polls by OPINION S.A. conducted on March 7<sup>th</sup> and June 13<sup>th</sup> and results of the EES 2004 study) on sociodemographic variables as well as party attachment.

John Garry

### **Religion and Voting in the European Elections: Northern Ireland in Comparative European Perspective**

This paper will assess the strength of the relationship between religion and voting in the European Parliament elections. The starting point is an interest in voting behaviour in Northern Ireland and the typically very strong association there between religion and vote choice. The 2004 wave of the European Election Study provides an opportunity for the first time to systematically assess just how strong - relative to her European neighbours - the religious basis of voting actually is in Northern Ireland. Using Northern Ireland as a benchmark of religiously determined voting behaviour allows us to identify which European polities, if any, approximate to the Northern Ireland case and which polities are most dissimilar to the Northern Ireland case.

### **4<sup>th</sup> section: Issues of EU Democracy**

Lieven Dewinter, Marc Swyngedouw & Bruno Cautrès

#### **Scope of Government**

no abstract available

Jacques Thomassen

#### **European Citizenship and Identity**

This paper is part of a larger project trying to assess the legitimacy of the European Union. It is mainly based on the European Election Study 2004. In order to assess the democratic legitimacy of any polity evaluation criteria need to be deduced from normative democratic theory. From this perspective three dimensions of legitimacy are distinguished: *Identity*, *Representation* and *Accountability* and *Performance*. This paper is limited to the dimension of Identity. The issue of identity is crucial for political legitimacy because 'who constitutes the people' is one of the most fundamental aspects of legitimacy. However, there are two contrasting views on what from the perspective of legitimacy 'the people' really means. In one view the establishment of a legitimate democracy requires the pre-existence of a collective identity, whereas in an alternative view citizenship is primarily a legal construct that – once established – can enhance the development of a sense of community. In the European Election Study these alternative concepts of citizenship and identity were operationalised. A preliminary descriptive analysis of the development of both the sense of European citizenship and the

sense of a collective European identity is presented. Also, the possible consequences for the legitimacy of the European Union are discussed.

Janez Stebe

### **Europe as our new nation: trust and legitimacy**

Citizenship as a set of roles and expectations on the individual level is in a process of transformation. In a modern view it was attached to a nation state. The question of an empirical research remains if EU as new institutional and political entity resembles the type of emotionally laden attachment typical for national states, or is the attachment of citizens to it of a more dispersed and unaffected kind. The question resembles that of a change in territorial identity in a process of globalisation. Moreover it is interesting to explore into a topic comparing the old and new members of EU, and to look at the factors influencing the support to institutions at different levels in a hierarchy. One may contemplate about the dynamic of different strategies that actors are choosing fulfilling their interests as members of groups in a political and social spectrum, much of it traversing national state boundaries, but including also national elites' interest, like exit or veto strategies. A topic is important for evaluation of legitimacy of institutions.

Angelika Scheuer & Hermann Schmitt

### **Dynamics in European Political Identity**

EU democracy requires a European 'demos' in which the people of the member countries are united. In more modern language, this requirement is translated as the need for a European political identity. In earlier work, we have identified major indicators that allow to analyse whether a European political identity is about to emerge. They include (1) personal identification of the citizens as Europeans, (2) a sense of we-feeling among the people in the EU beyond national borders, and (3) a clear notion about who is in and who is out. Ten years later – which brought about as important developments as the introduction of a common currency and the inclusion of ten new member countries – the European Election Study 2004 contains the necessary data to address this issue again and to determine the degree of change that has happened within a decade. The questions guiding the analysis will be whether citizens' identification with the EU has increased over time, whether the bonds among the European people have gained in strength, and whether the new member countries have been integrated into the European demos.

Robert Rohrschneider and Mathew Loveless

### **The Democratic Deficit in Old and New Member States**

Is there a democracy deficit in the newly enlarged EU? This paper will examine citizens' perception of representation within the European Union. We will examine whether explanations developed for West European countries apply to the new member-states. Specifically, previous models often view the representation deficit through the lens of national-level performance, predominantly economic performance, which presumably serves as an evaluative proxy for institutions at the supra-national level. More recently, however, analyses suggest that West European citizens evaluate the EU on its own terms on the basis of a range of political criteria, such as its capacity to represent citizens. We will examine to what extent this mechanism applies to the new member-states. Do East-Central Europeans perceive a democracy deficit? If so, what drives these perceptions? And what similarities and differences emerges across the East-West divide? Data from the European Elections Studies 2004 allow us to begin to tackle these questions. We will supplement them with appropriate data from the Eurobarometer surveys.

Thorsten Faas & Andreas Wüst

### **Do MEPs do What Their Parties Say? Euromanifesto Content and EP Roll Call Voting Compared**

In the chain of political representation in Europe, an important element is the voting behavior of elected members in the European Parliament. Voters expect their representatives to not only act in their interest, but also based on the programmatic profile the respective parties presented in the EP election campaigns. Combining the record on MEP's roll call voting behaviour and the content of election manifestos issued for the EP elections, we are able to analyze the congruence between the two. Similar analyses have so far only been done using national and not EP election manifestos which have only recently become available. Compared to national manifesto content, Euromanifestos show a significantly larger variance on EU-related content which makes them specifically valuable for our analyses. We intend to analyze this relationship between programs and RCVs for core issue areas and for the time period ranging from 1979 to 2004.