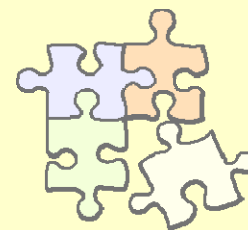


Lorenzo De Sio (Università di Firenze)
Guido Legnante (Università di Pavia)

Governi e opinioni pubbliche verso le elezioni

Torino, Centro Einaudi e Urge,
Giovedì 21 maggio 2009

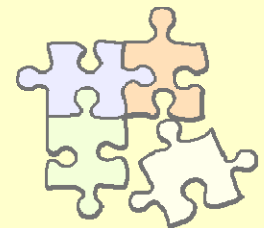


Second-order elections

- “second-order model”: “less at stake” + “national agendas”
=>
 - Low electoral participation (and more non valid votes)
 - Good outcome for small&/new parties
 - Losses for governing parties

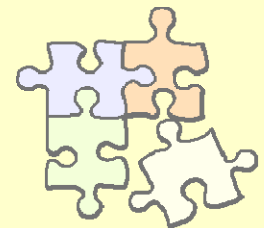
The 2009 climate

- Economic crisis
- EU: Enough coordination on the economic crisis?
- National factors?



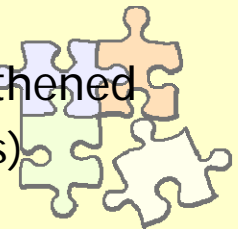
This research: countries and data

- Countries
 - At
 - De
 - Es
 - Fr
 - It
 - NI
 - Pl
 - Uk
- Electoral results and survey data
 - Electoral participation
 - Concentration (Neff; Bipolarism)
 - Electoral party results
 - Survey data (Jan 2008 onwards)
 - Party classification



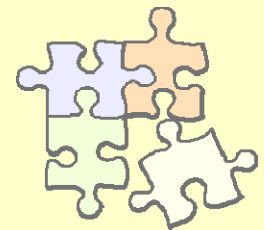
This research: hypotheses and indicators

- Hyp1: in EE participation is lower than in NE
⇒ indicator: electoral participation
- Hyp2: in EE voting concentration is lower than in NE
⇒ indicators: Neff, bipolarism
- Hyp3: in EE anti-European parties are stronger than in NE
⇒ indicators: (through party classification) electoral results
- Hyp4: in EE governing parties are weaker than in NE
⇒ indicators: data from Schmitt (2005)
- Hyp5: since autumn 2008 (economic crisis), governing parties weakened
⇒ indicators: (through party classification) survey data (and past electoral results)
- Hyp6: since autumn 2008 (economic crisis), anti-European parties strengthened
⇒ indicators: (through party classification) survey data (and past electoral results)

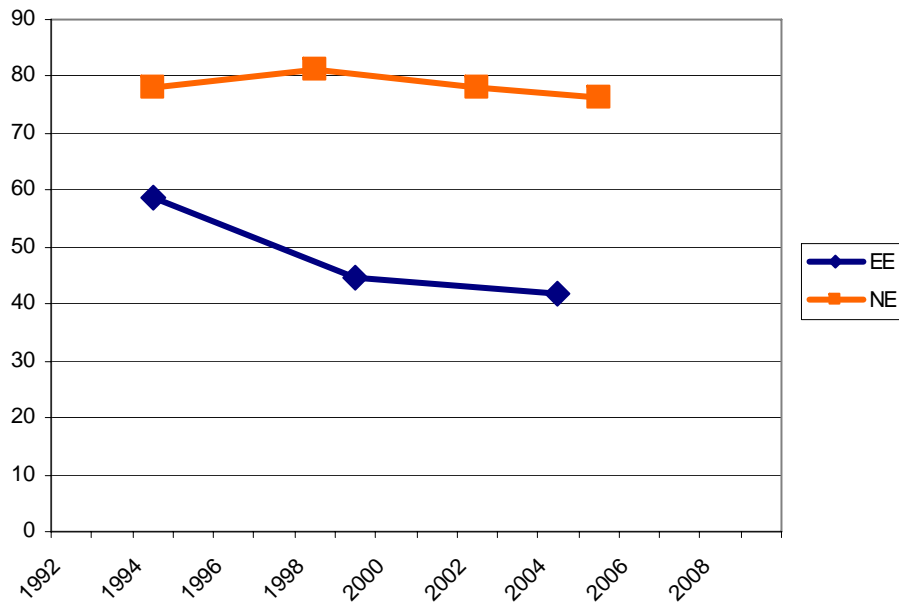


Electoral participation

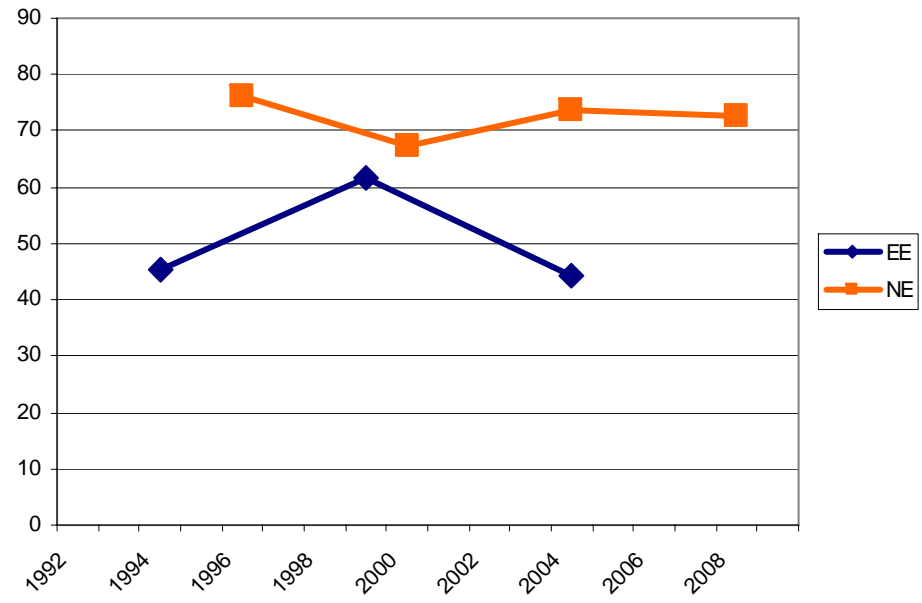
- In EE electoral participation is lower or much lower than in NE
- Outlier (few differences): Italy
- Apart France (c.a. 2/3 of NE voter vote at EE), around half of NE voters vote in EE



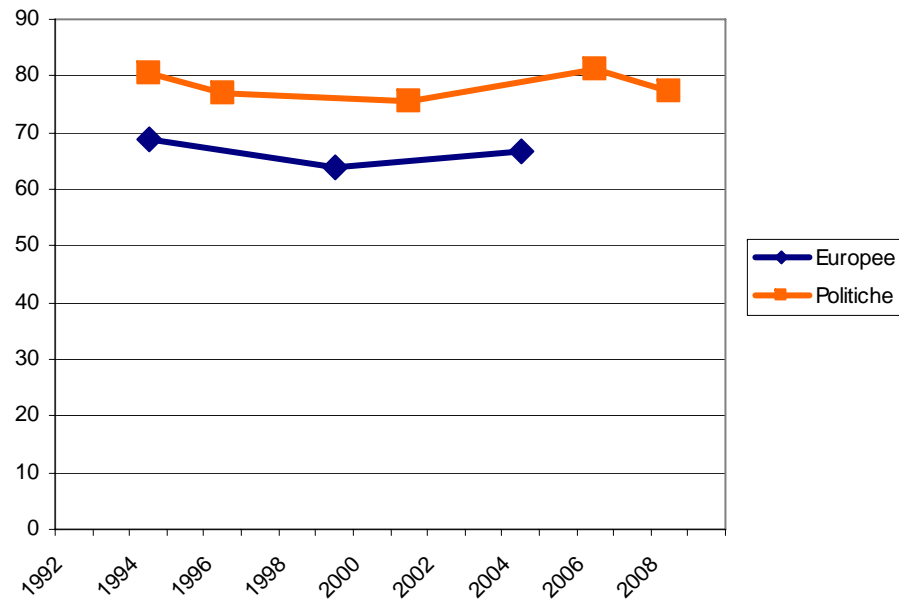
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - Germany



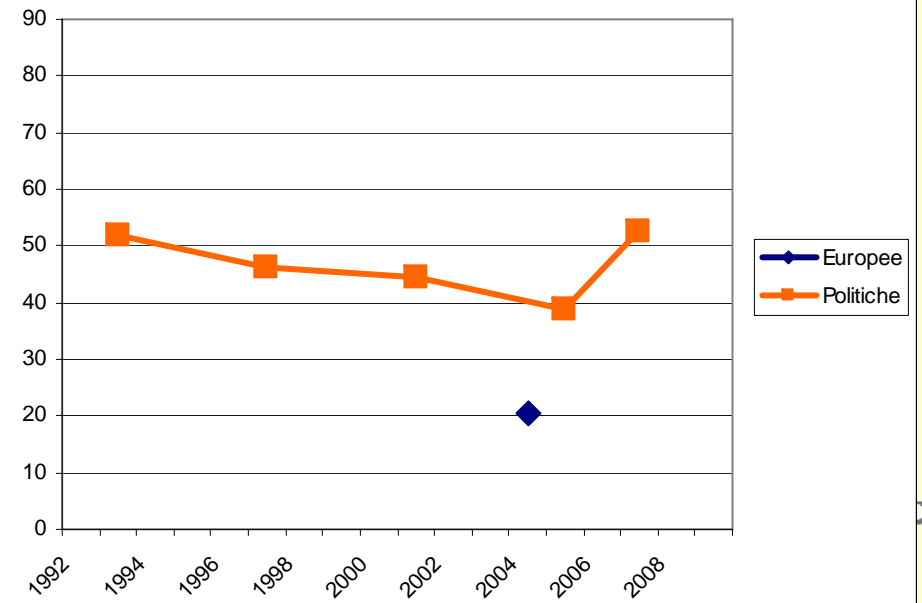
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - Spain



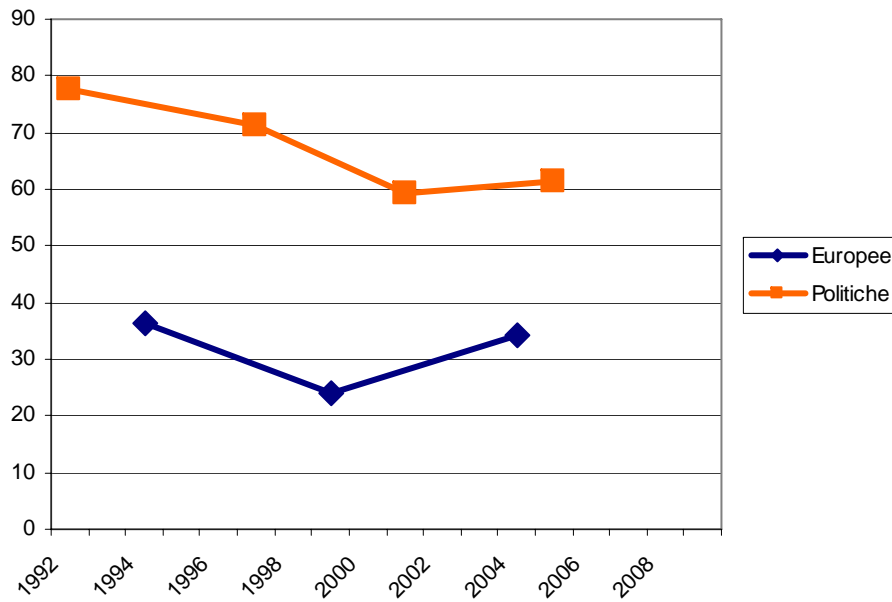
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - Italy



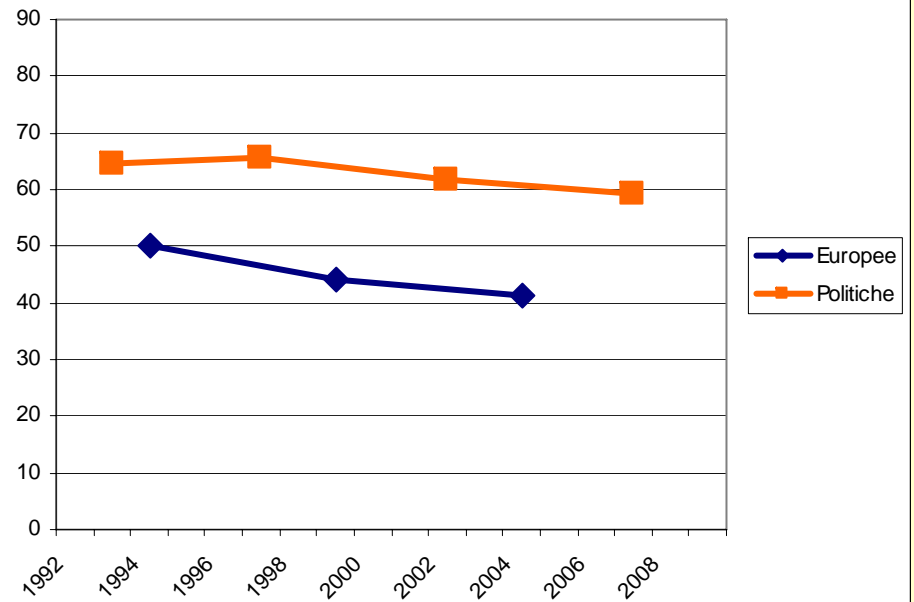
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - Poland



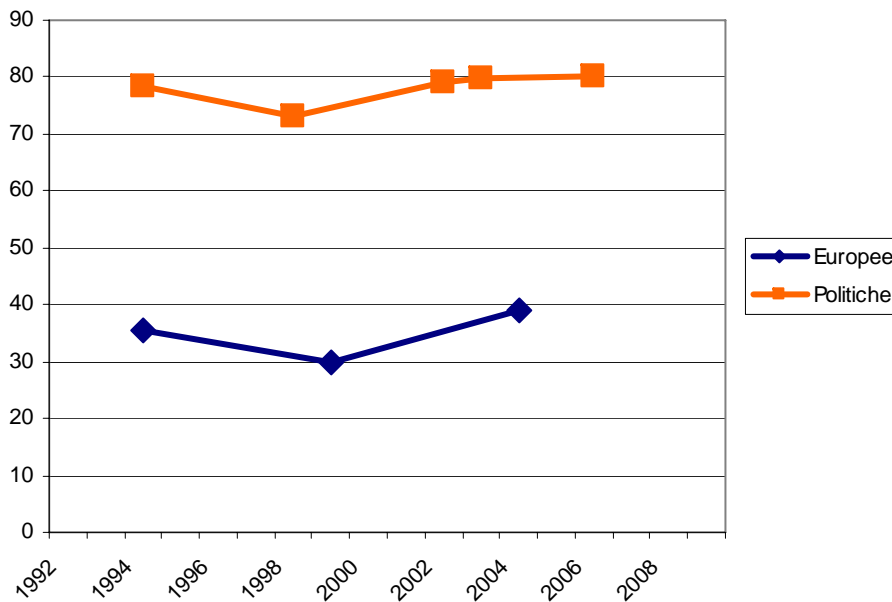
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - UK



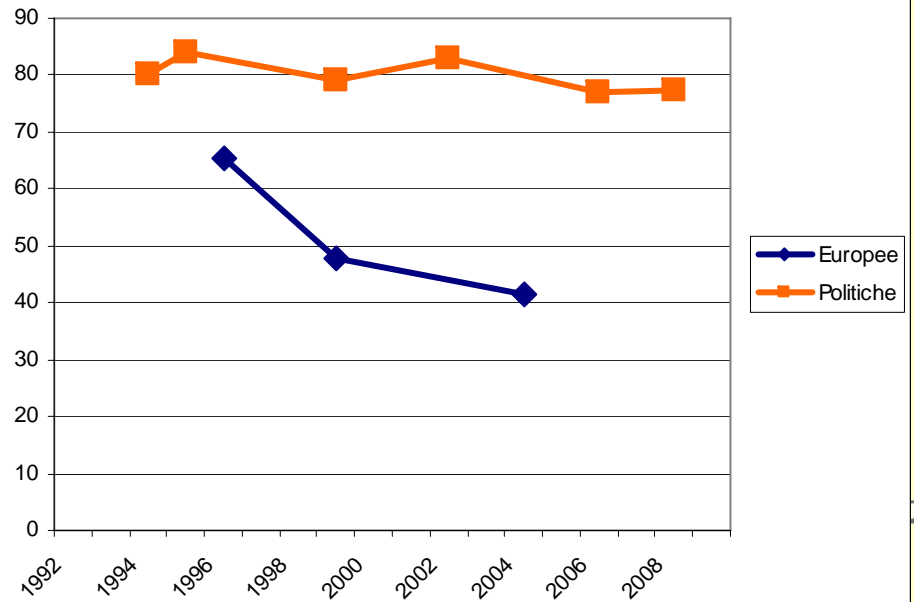
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - France



Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - Netherlands

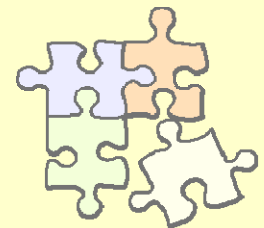


Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - Austria

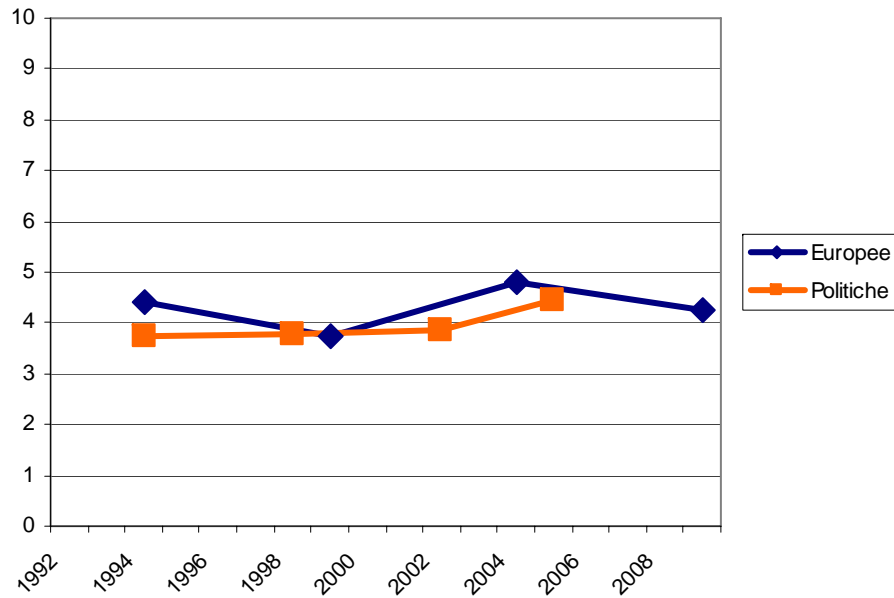


Electoral fragmentation/concentration

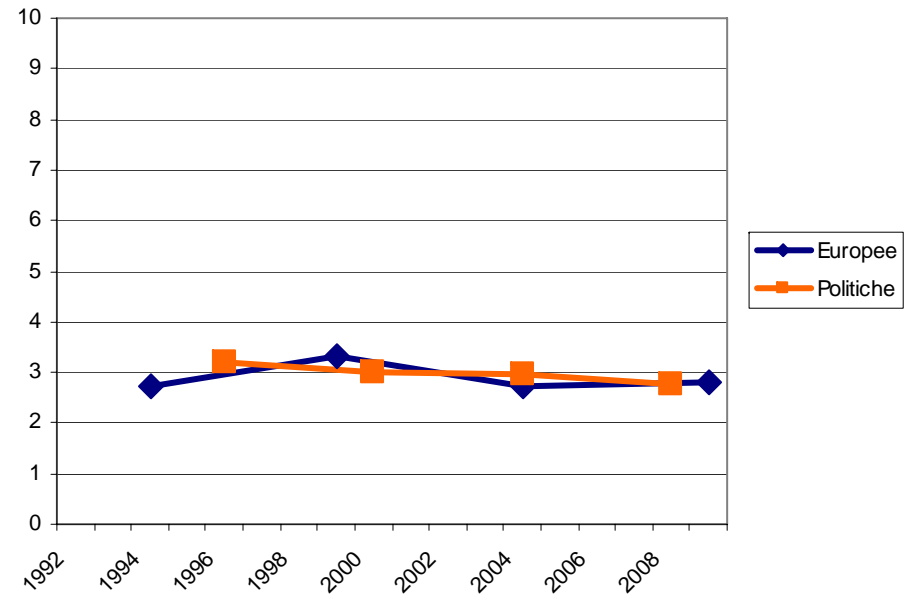
- Two indicators
 - Neff
 - Bipolarism index
- NEFF:
 - Apart France, Netherlands and partly UK, there are not huge differences between the effective number of parties in NE and EE
 - Different electoral systems in NE and EE have to taken into consideration, too
- Bipolarism index:
 - France remains the only exception



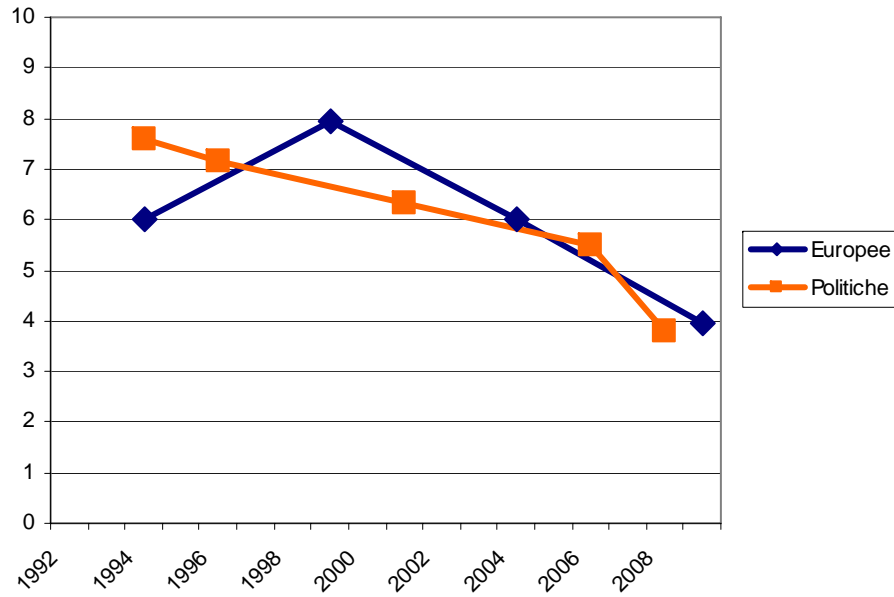
Frammentazione (N_{eff}) - Germania



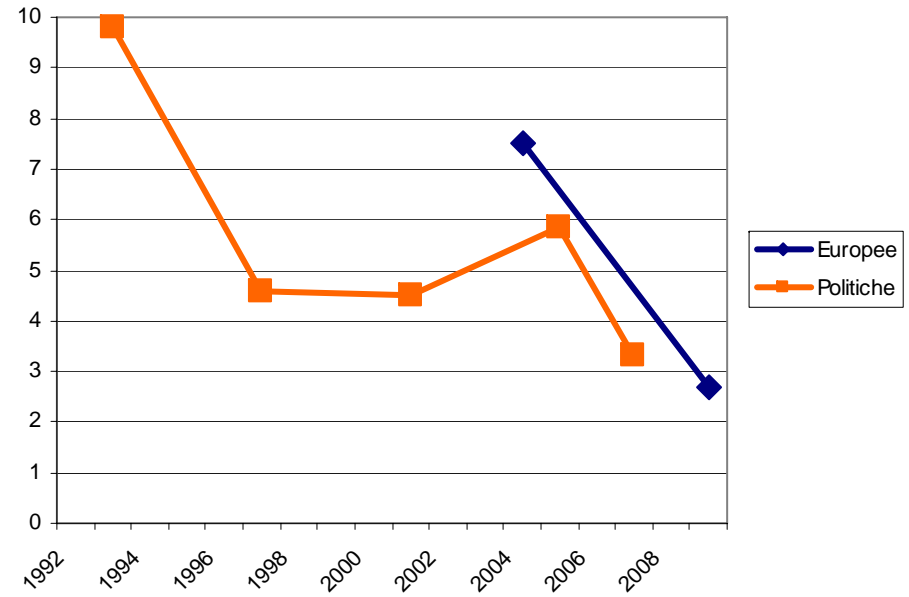
Frammentazione (N_{eff}) - Spagna



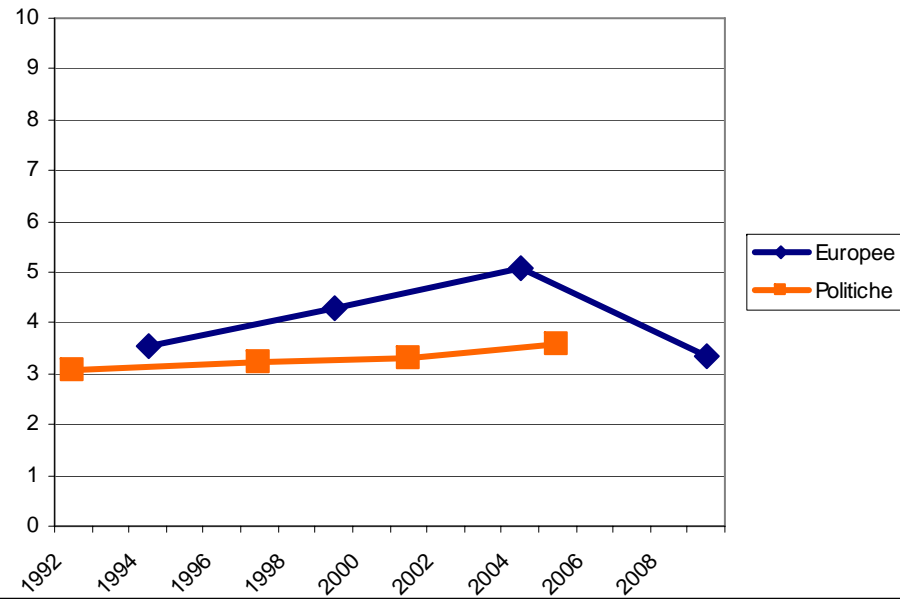
Frammentazione (N_{eff}) - Italia



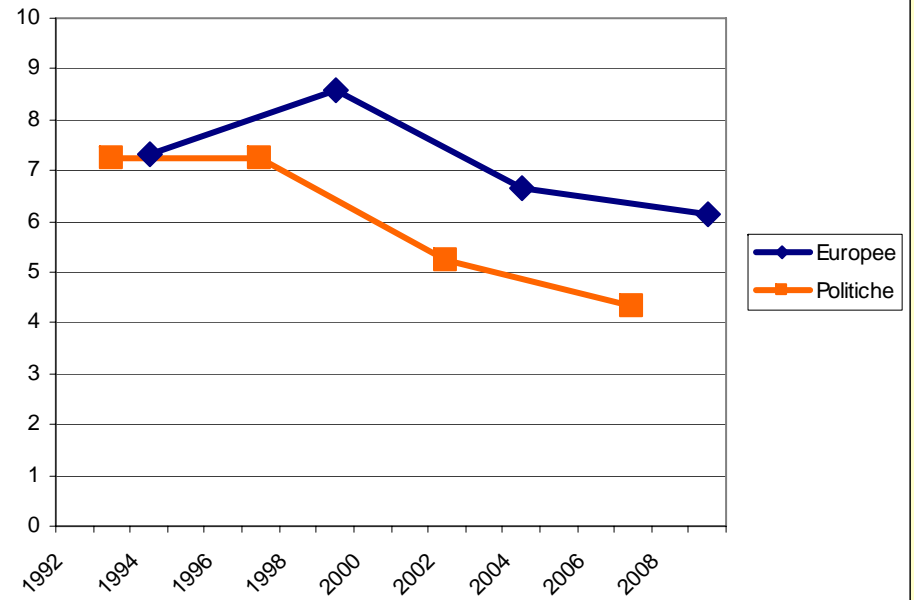
Frammentazione (N_{eff}) - Polonia



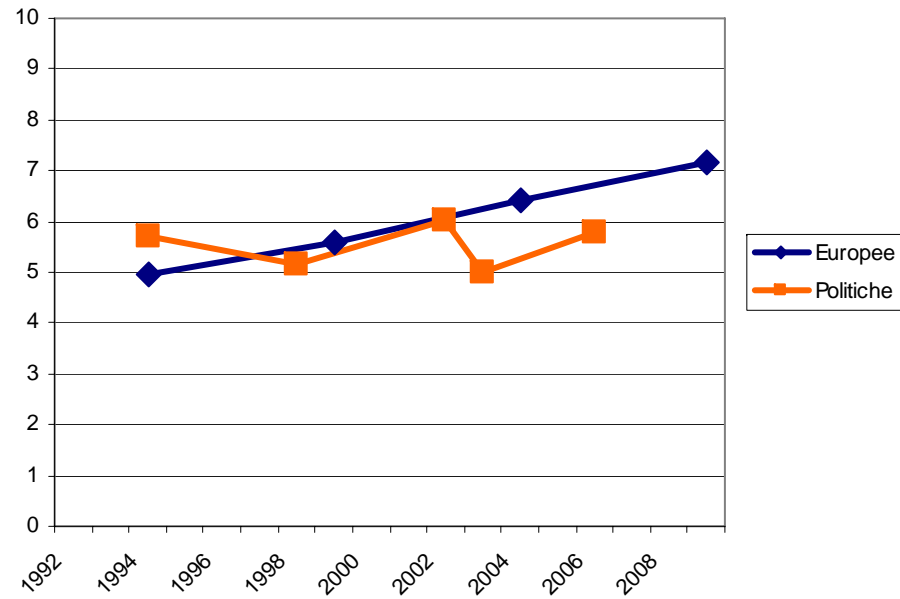
Frammentazione (N_{eff}) - Gran Bretagna



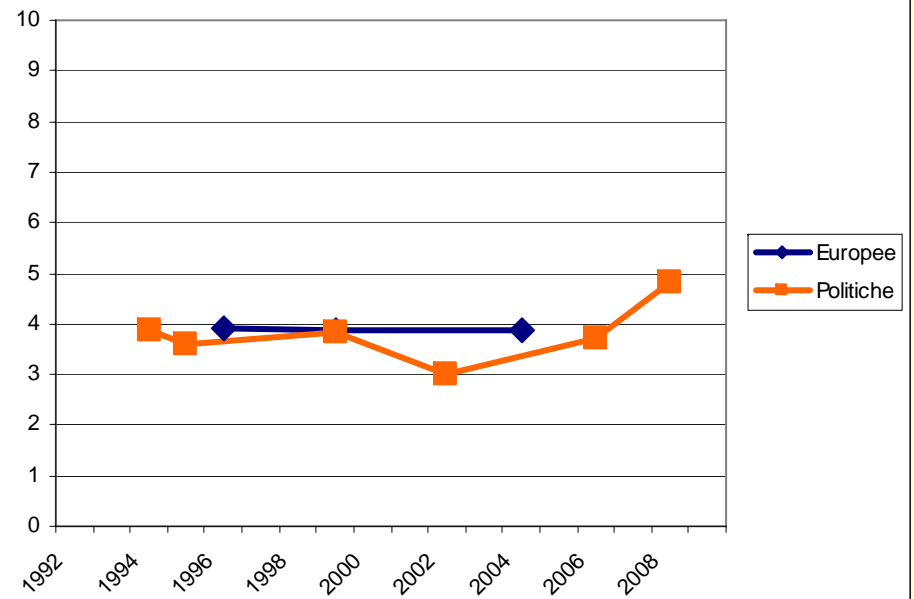
Frammentazione (N_{eff}) - Francia



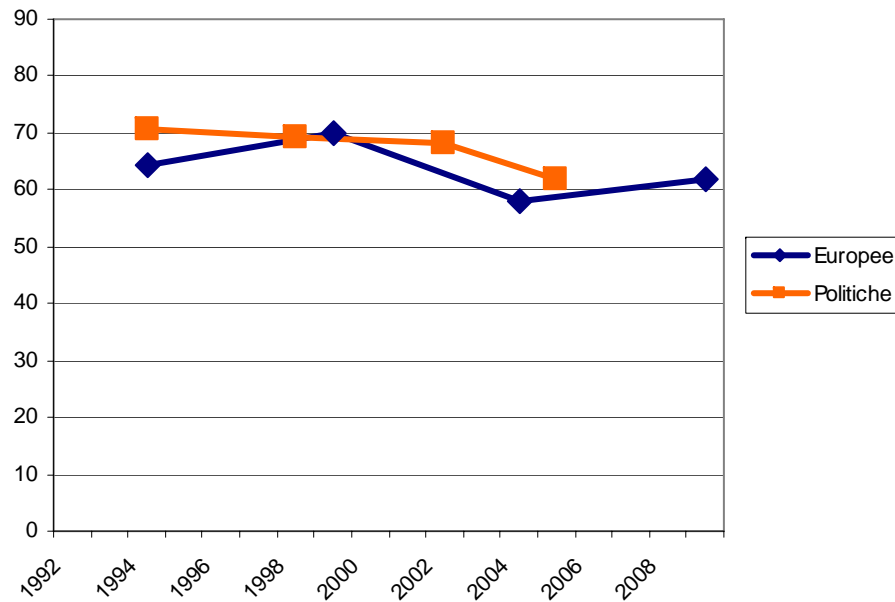
Frammentazione (N_{eff}) - Paesi Bassi



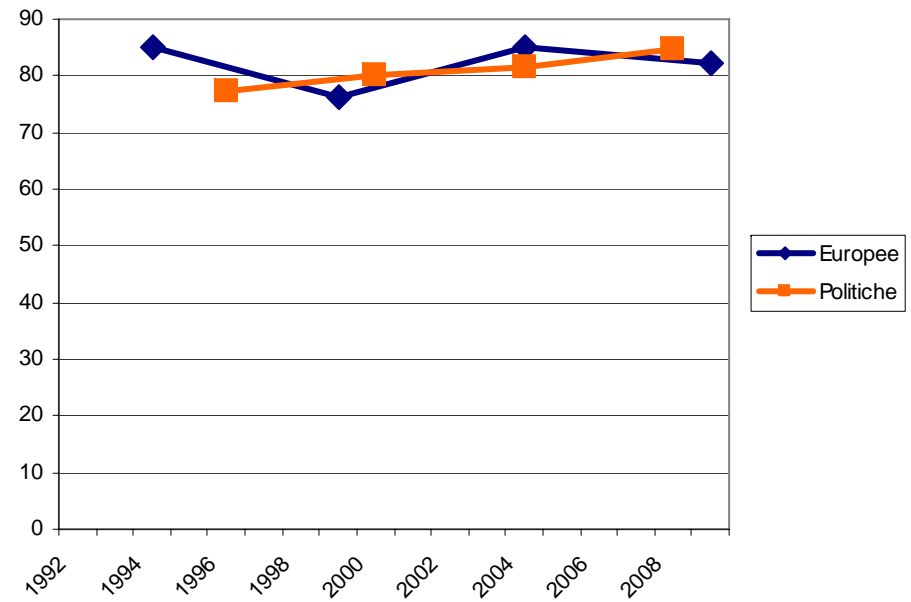
Frammentazione (N_{eff}) - Austria



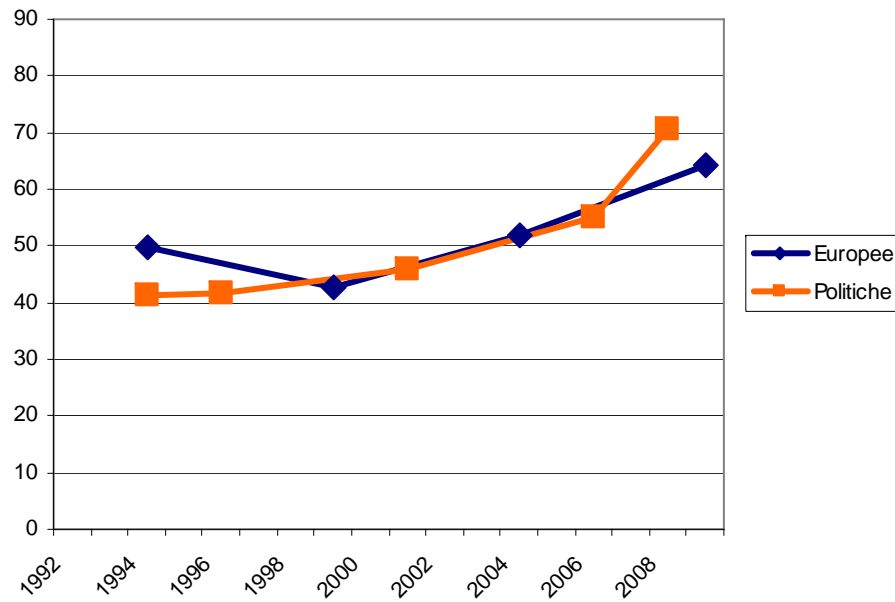
Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Germania



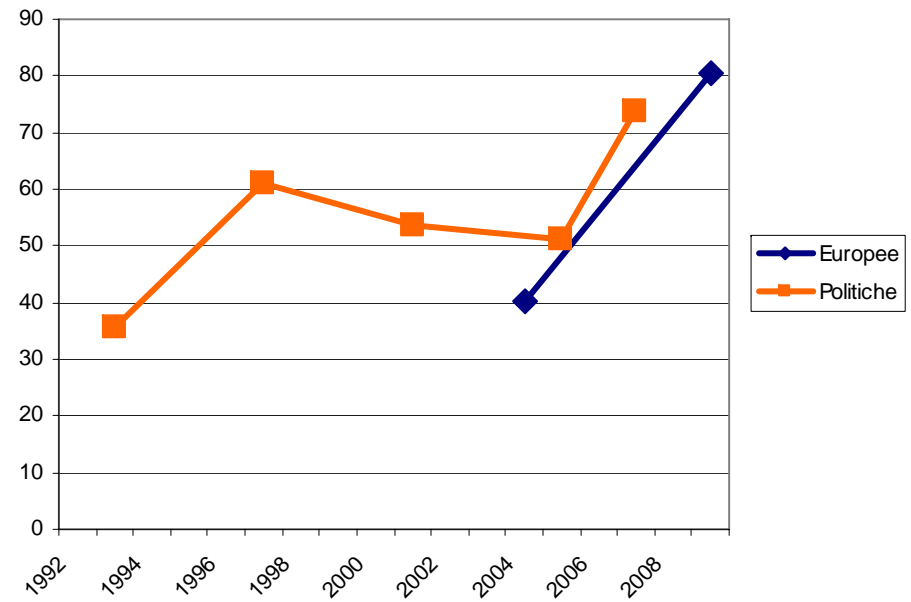
Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Spagna



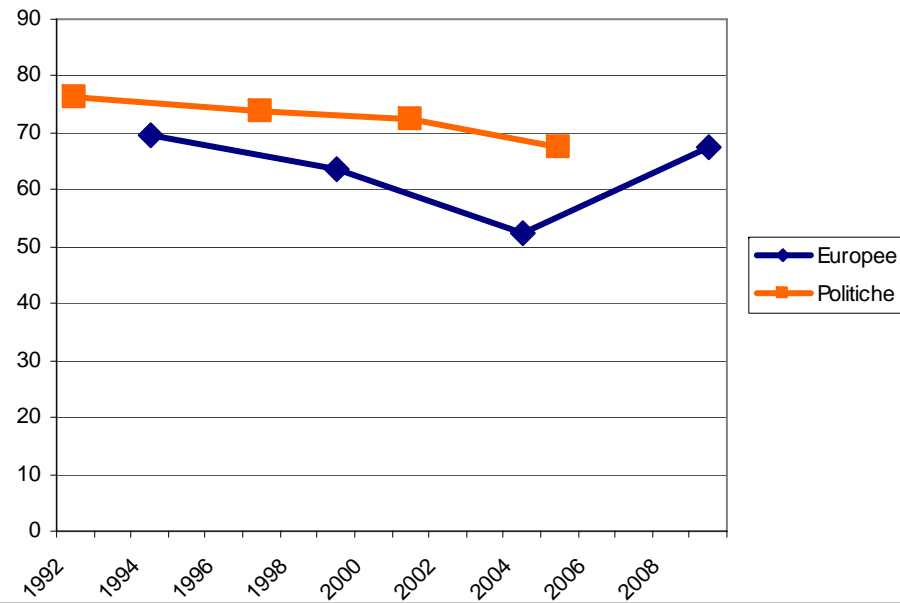
Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Italia



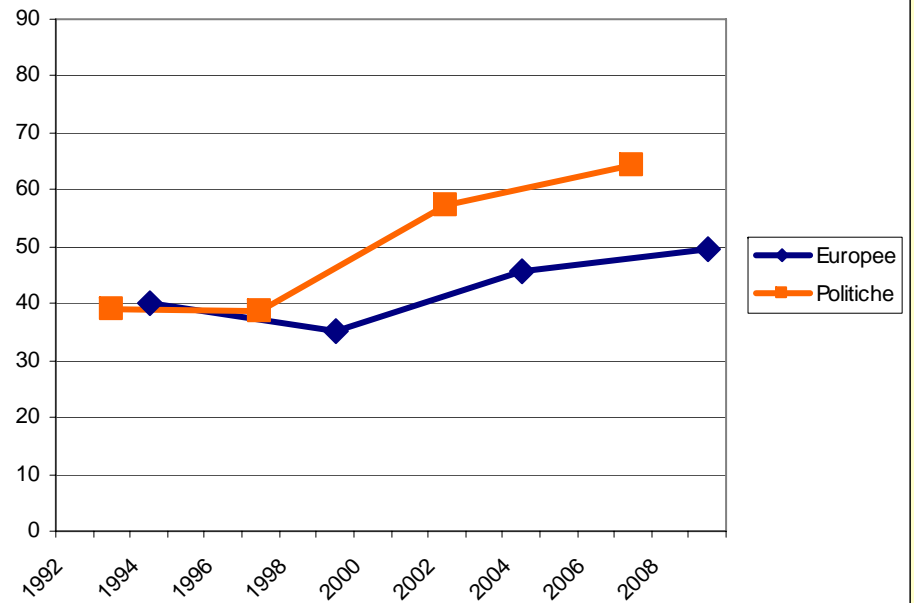
Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Polonia



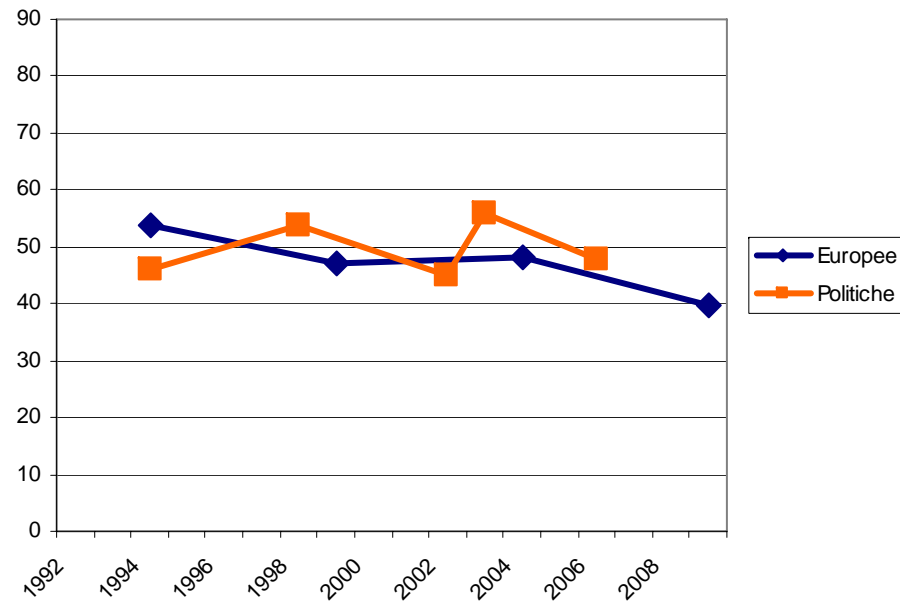
Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Gran Bretagna



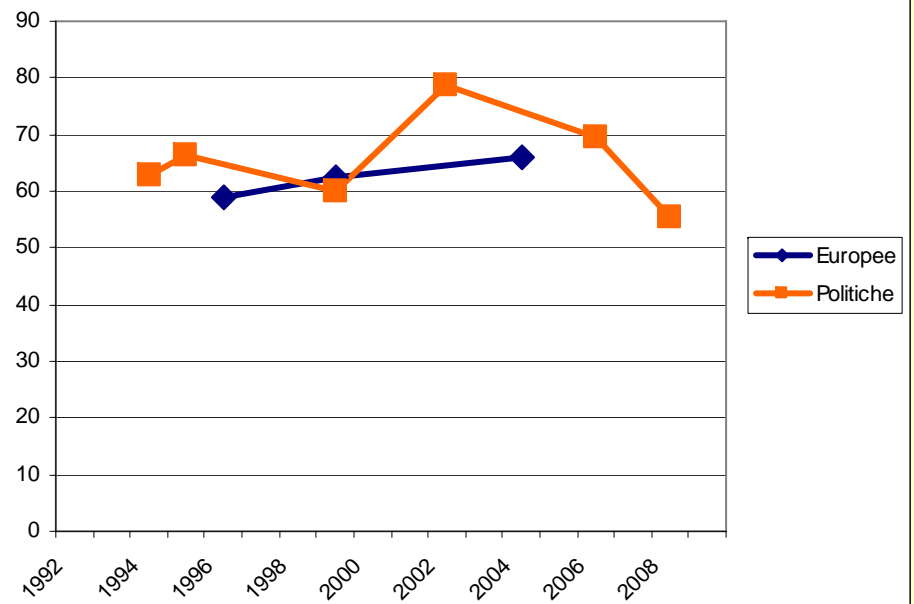
Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Francia



Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Paesi Bassi

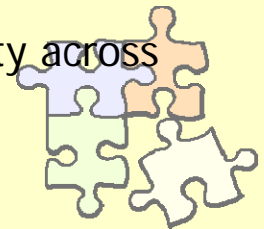


Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Austria



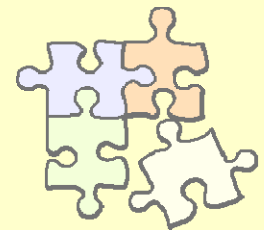
The pro/anti-european dimension

- Classification according to the PPMD (Party Policy in Modern Democracies) expert survey by Benoit & Laver (2006).
- Different issues:
 - a) EU: AUTHORITY: Favours INCREASING vs. REDUCING the range of areas in which the EU can set policy. (all countries except France and Poland)
 - b) EU: LARGER/STRONGER: OPPOSES vs. FAVORS an expanded and stronger EU. (France)
 - c) EU JOINING: OPPOSES vs. FAVORS joining the European Union (Poland)
- ⇒ **0-20 scale** (after reversing b and c) of Anti-Europeanism
 - ⇒ **0-10,5: pro-European**
 - ⇒ **10,5-14,5: moderately anti-European**
 - ⇒ **14,5-20: anti-European**
- Some notes of caution:
 - Manual classifications were required for small or new parties
 - The nature of single parties and of the party systems affects the comparability across countries



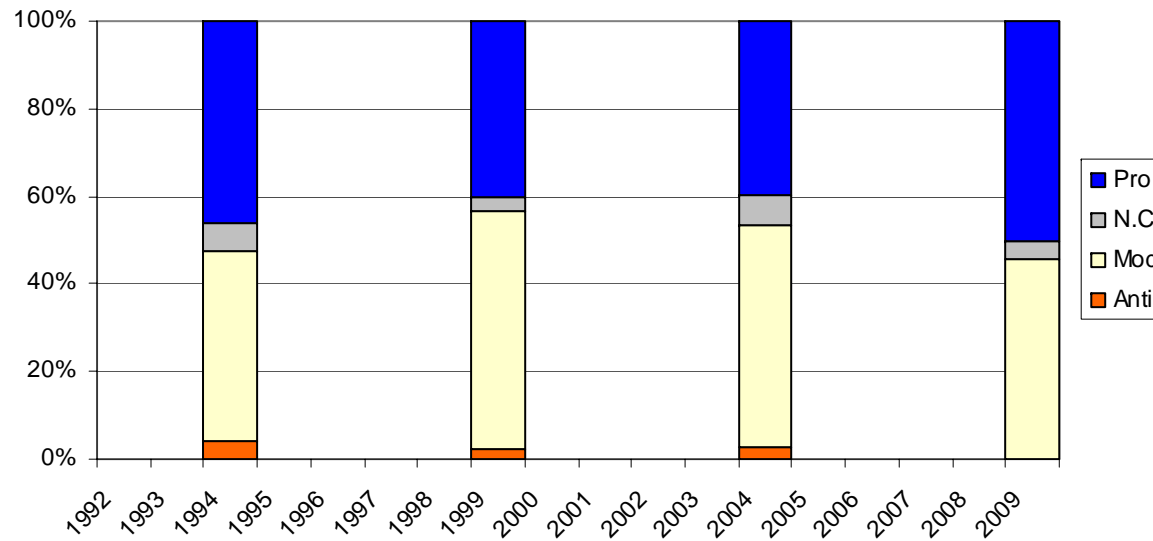
The pro/anti-european dimension

- Sometimes EE are the opportunity for the emergence/strengthening of anti-European parties (e.g. France '94, Poland '04)
- But sometimes anti-European parties start their trend in national elections (e.g. Netherlands beginning '00s, Austria, UK)

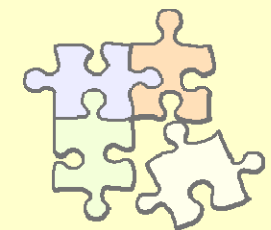
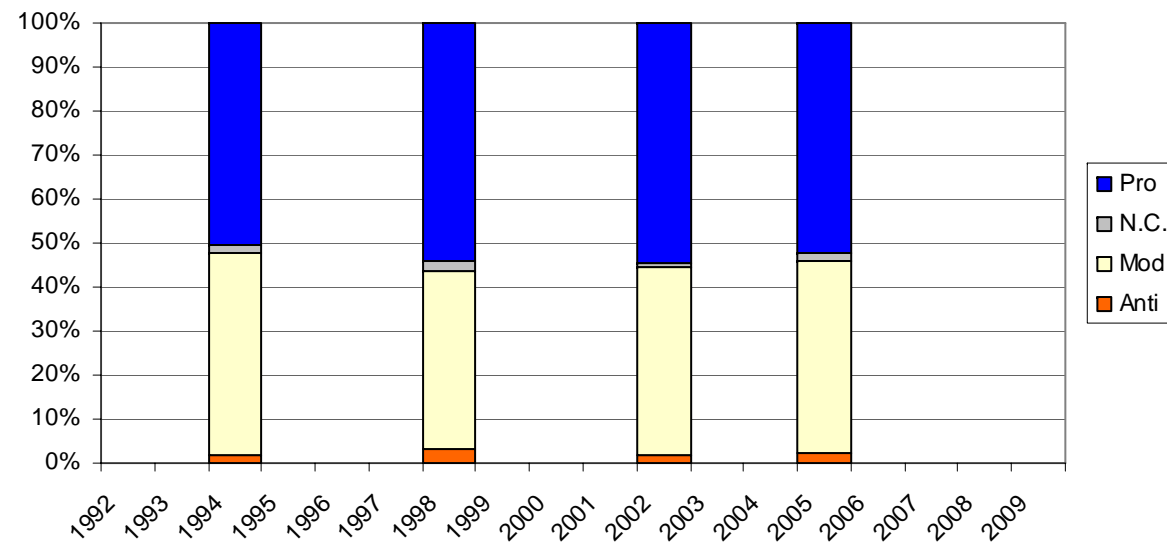


Germany

Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE
Germania - Elezioni Europee

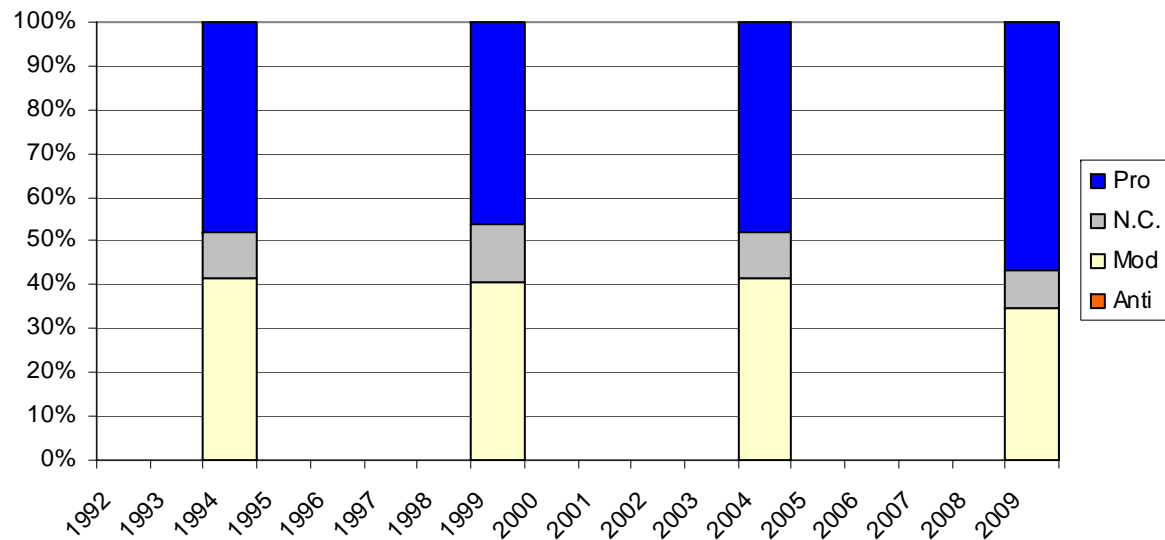


Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE
Germania - Elezioni Politiche

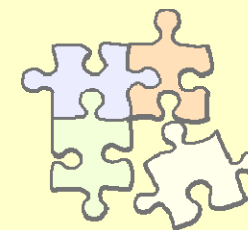
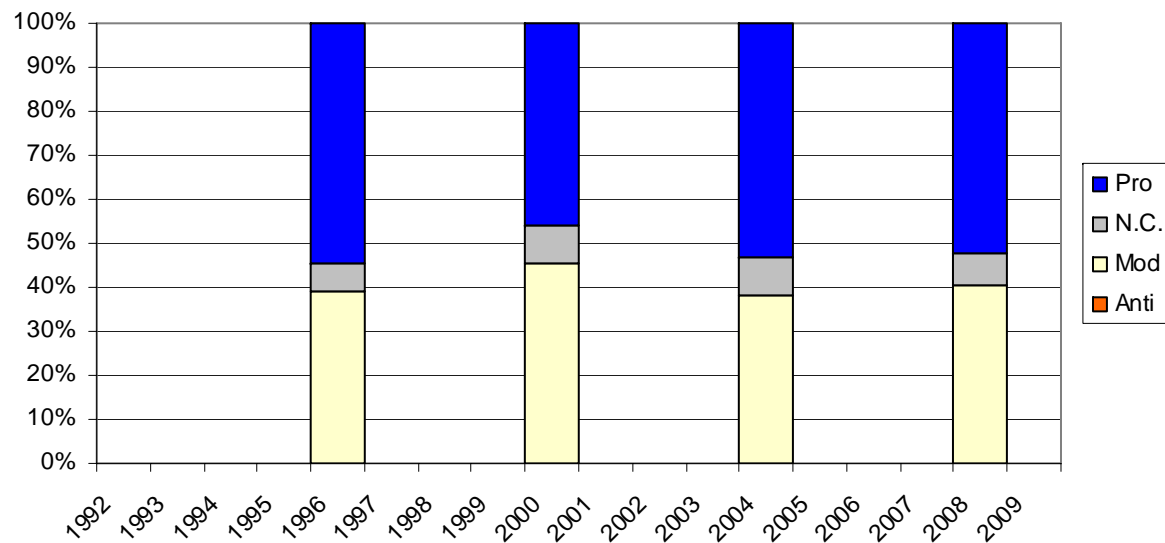


Spain

Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE
Spagna - Elezioni Europee

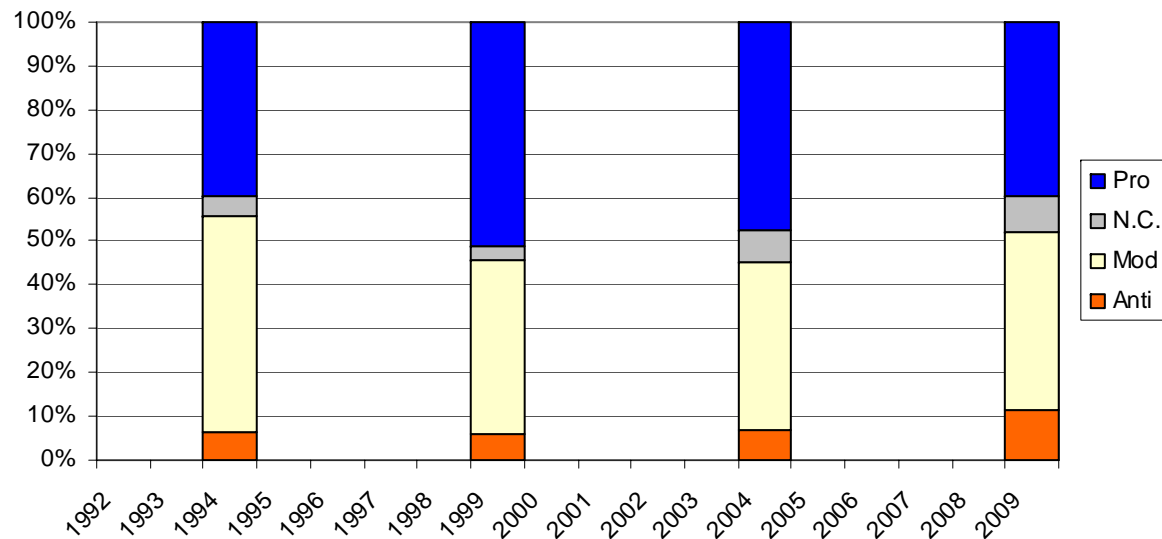


Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE
Spagna - Elezioni Politiche

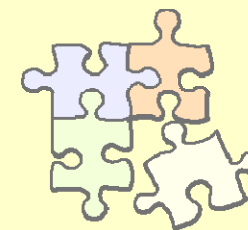
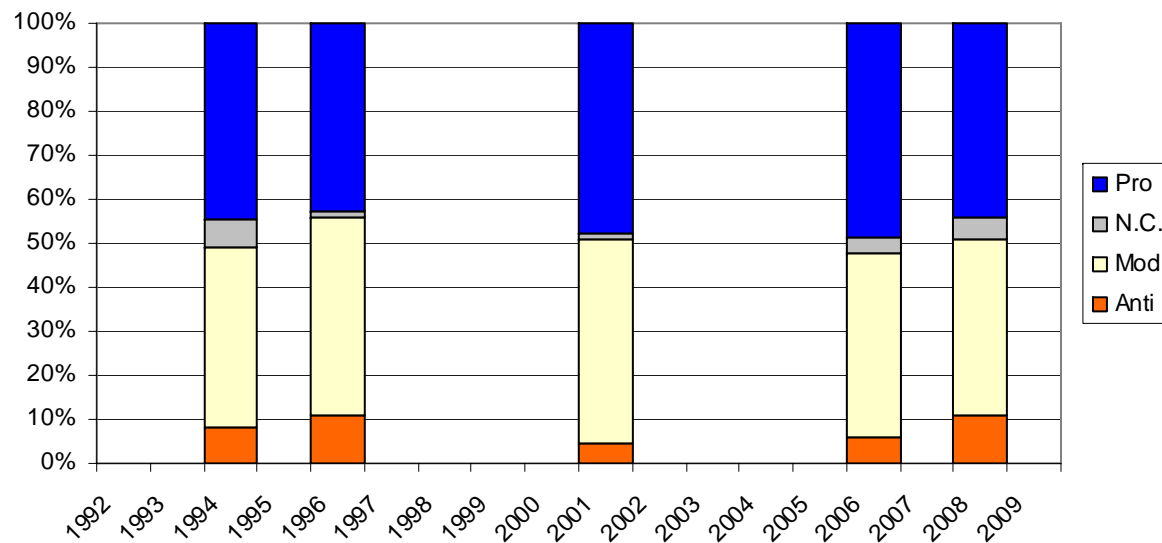


Italy

Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE
Italia - Elezioni Europee

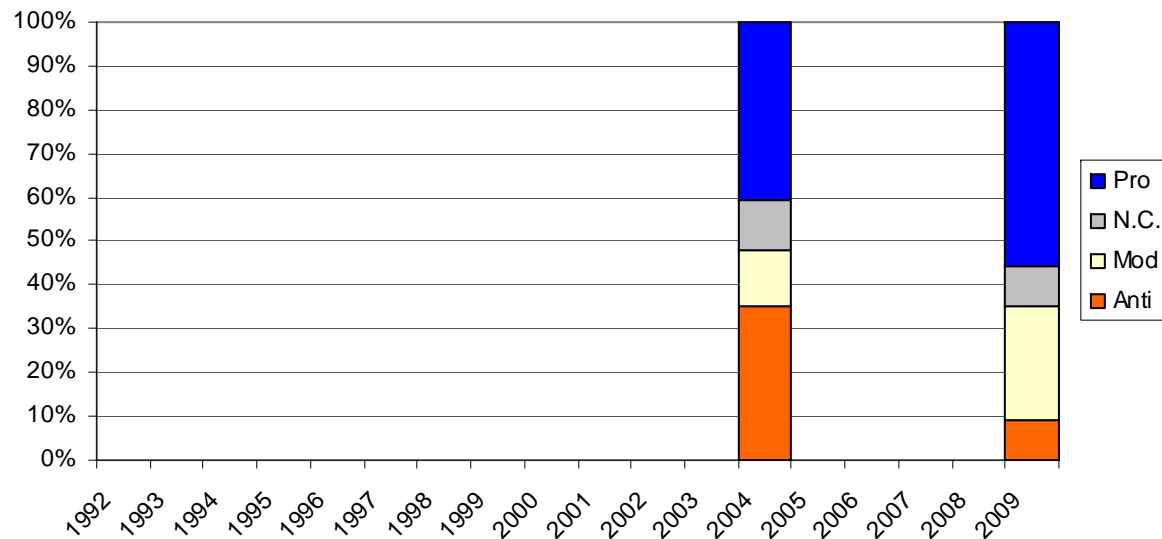


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Italia - Elezioni Politiche

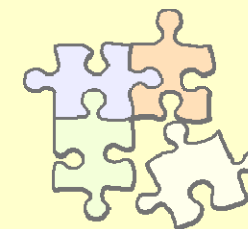
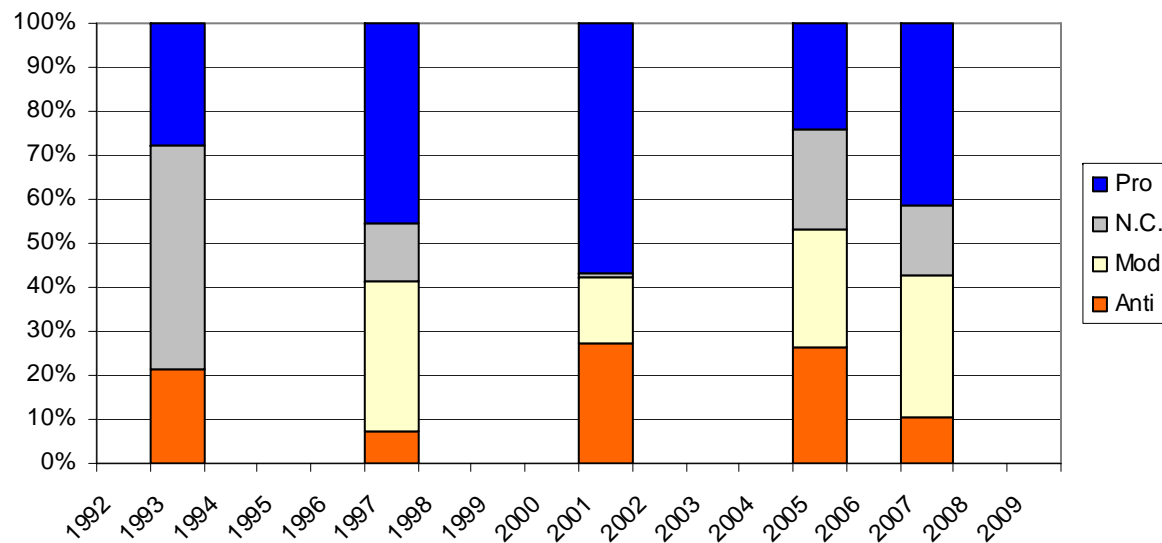


Poland

Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE
Polonia - Elezioni Europee

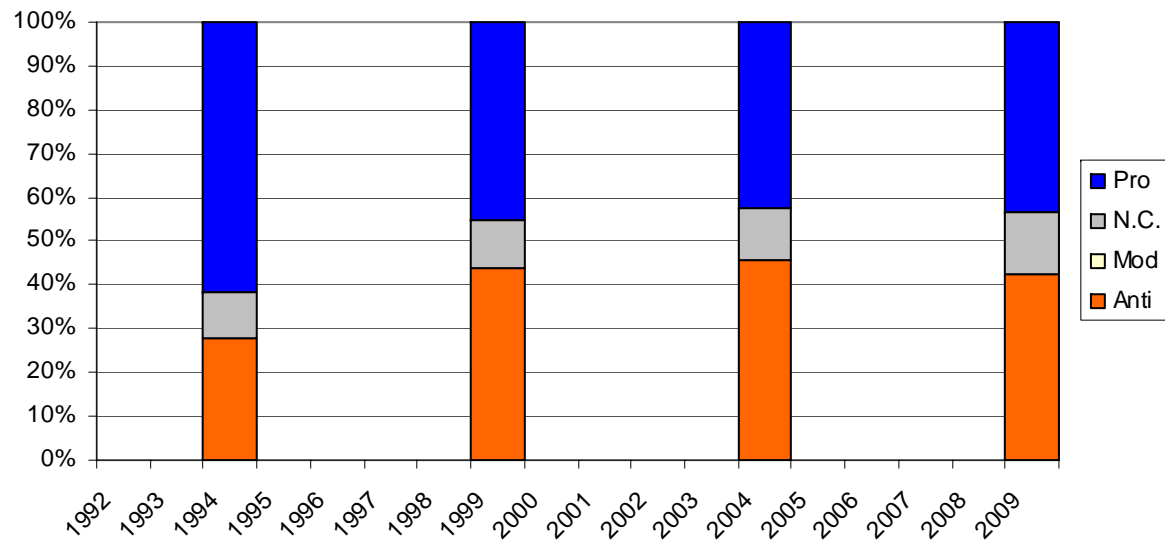


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Polonia - Elezioni Politiche

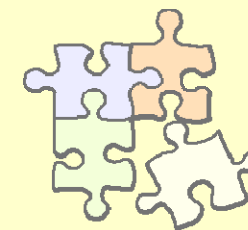
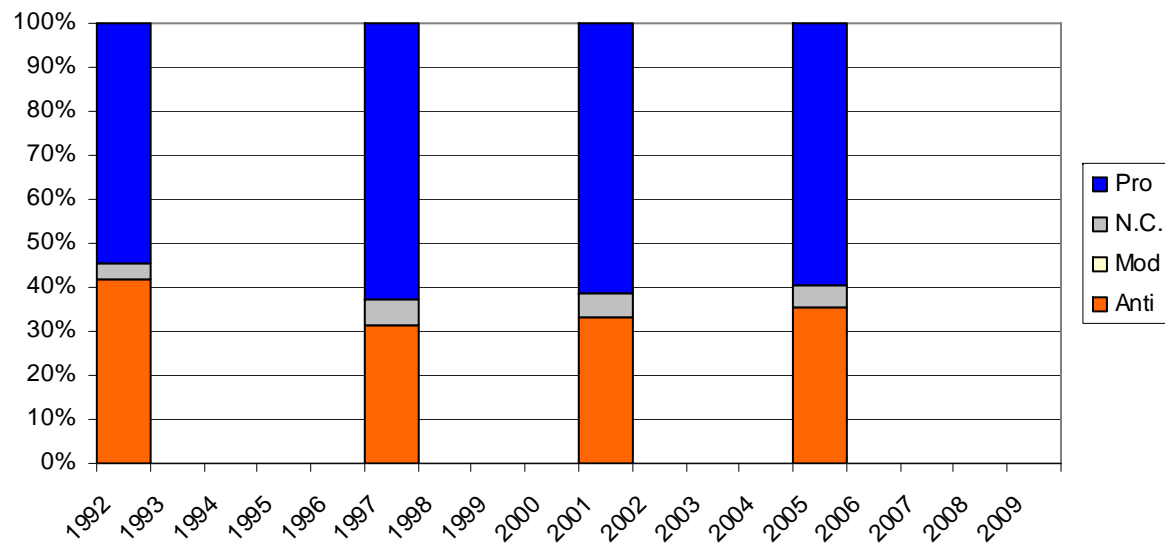


UK

Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE Gran Bretagna - Elezioni Europee

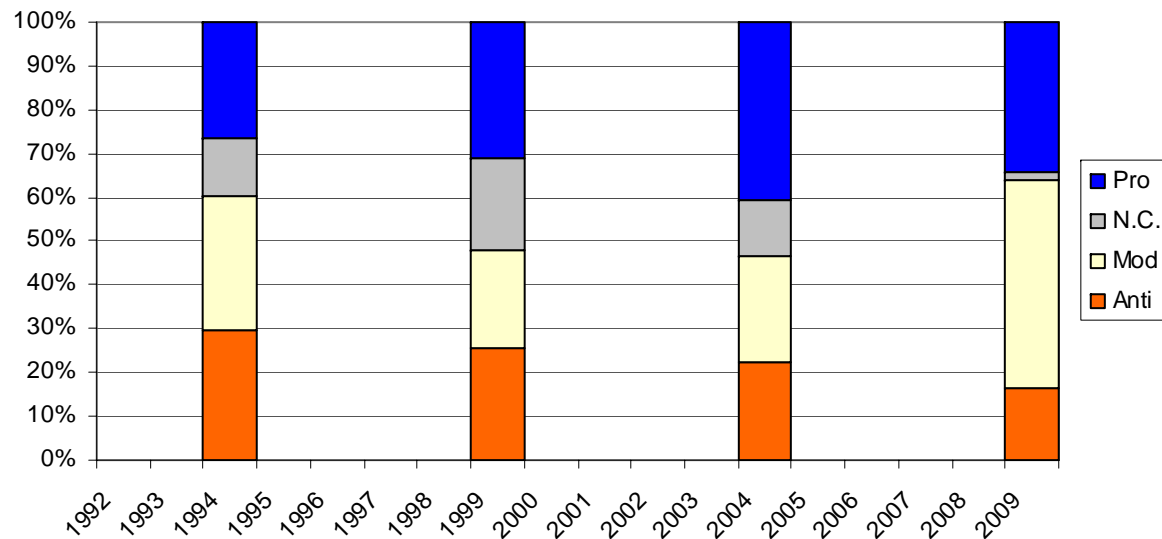


Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE Gran Bretagna - Elezioni Politiche

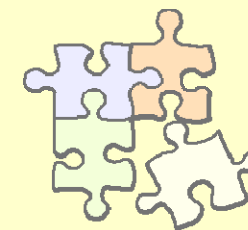
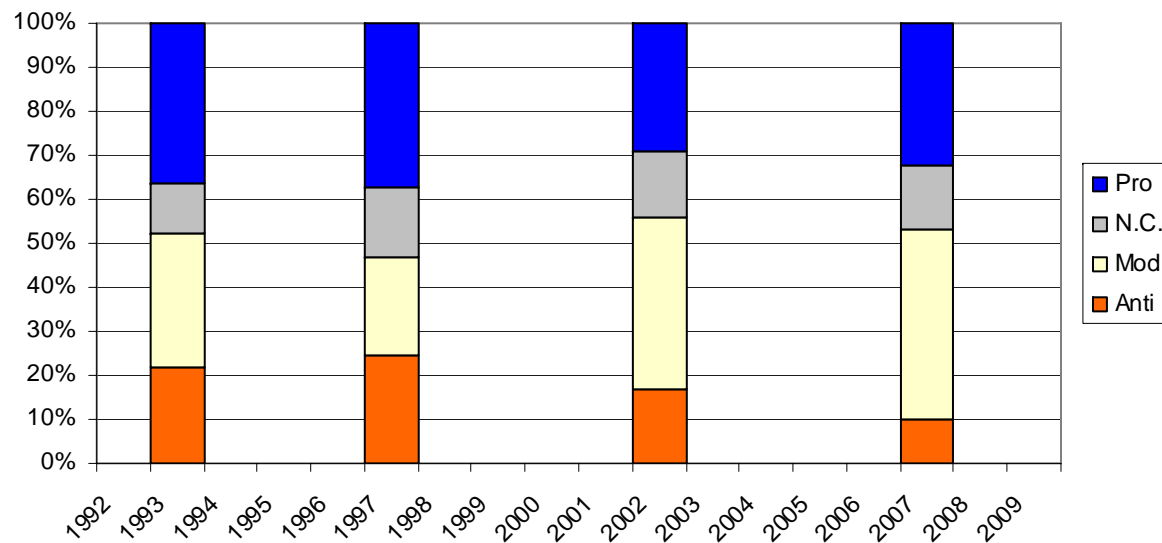


France

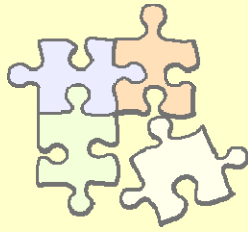
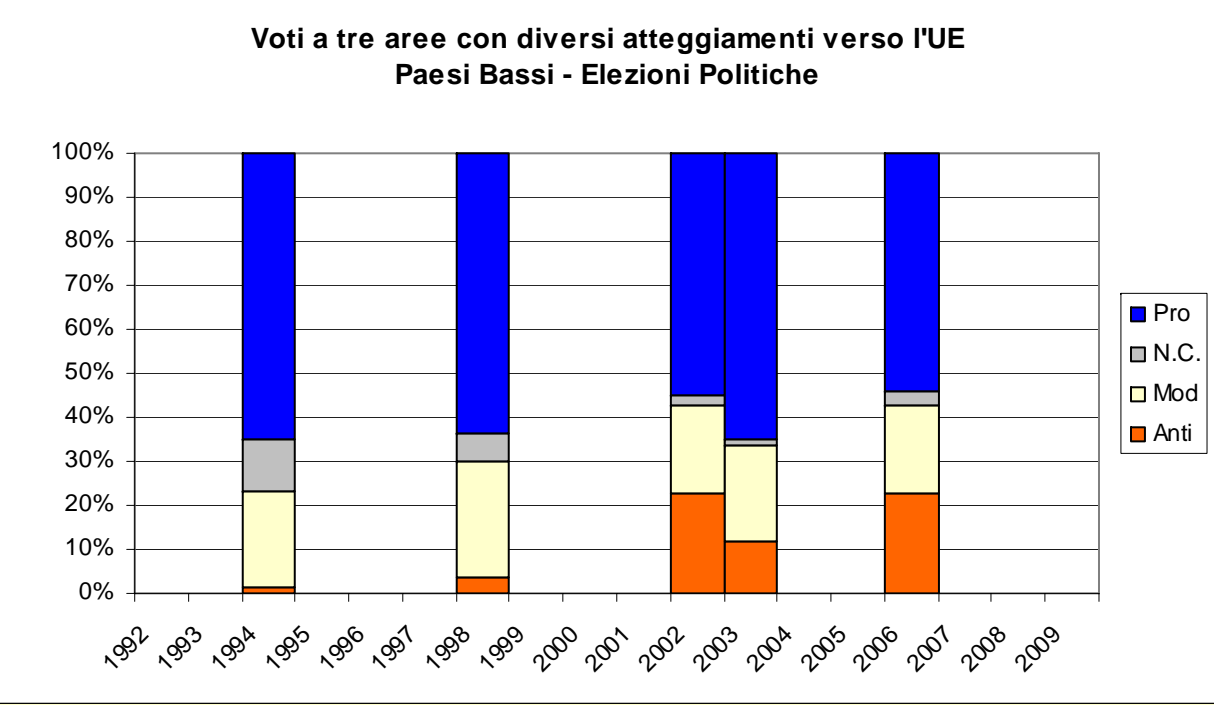
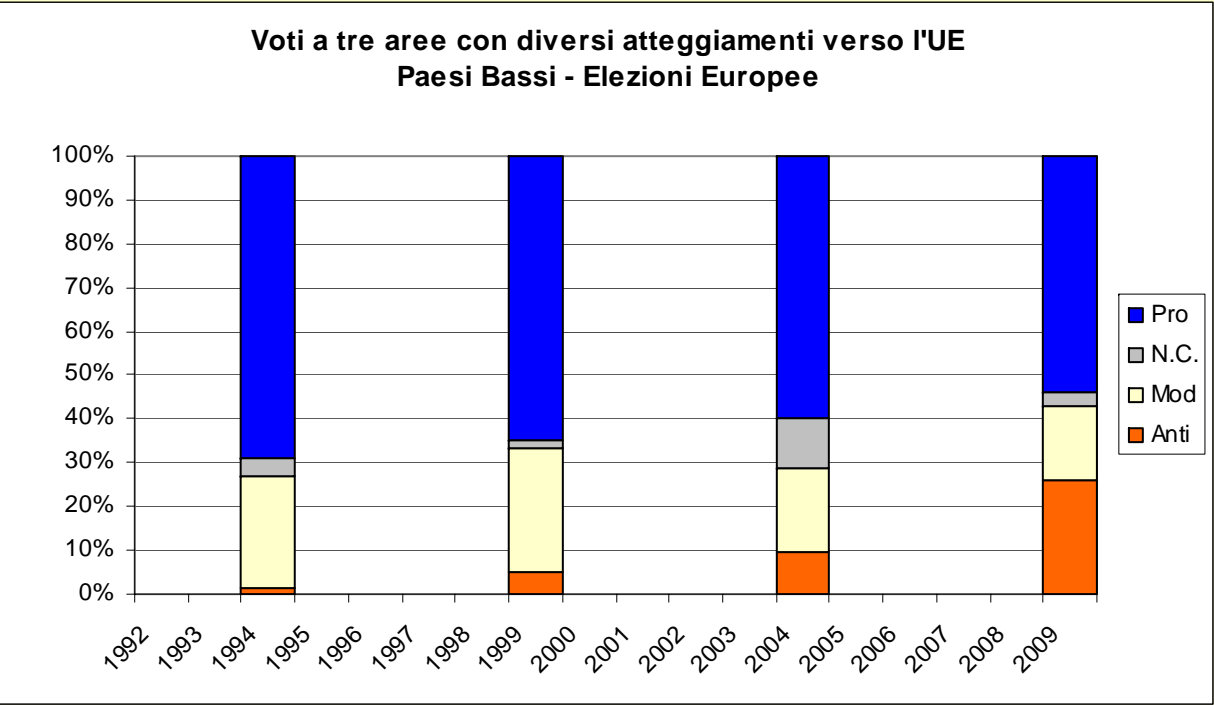
Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE
Francia - Elezioni Europee



Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE
Francia - Elezioni Politiche

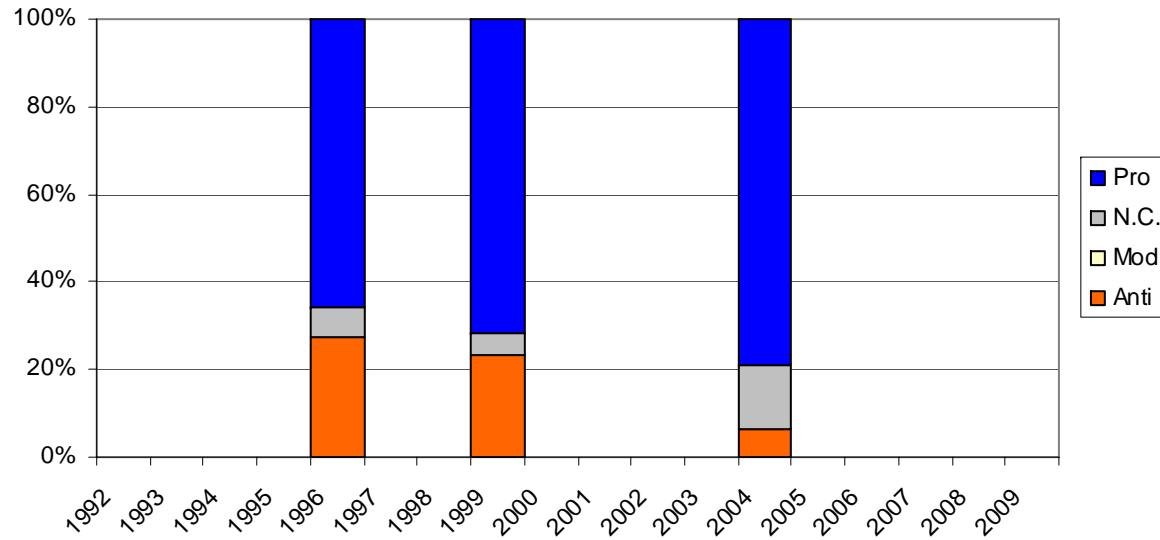


Netherlands

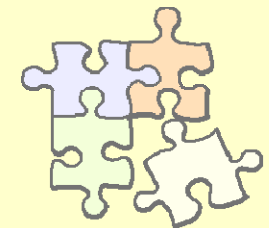
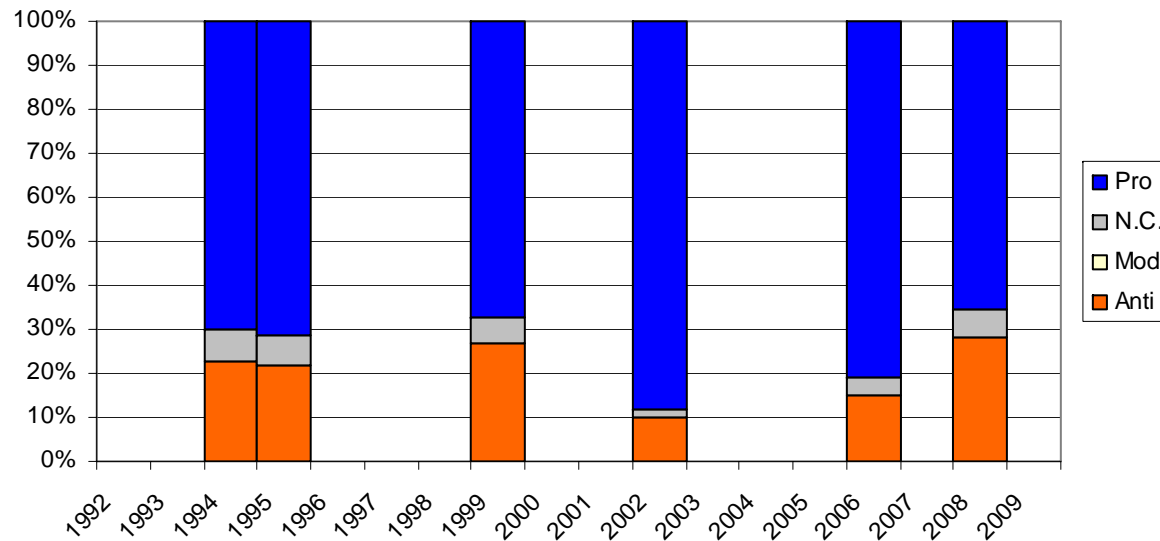


Austria

Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE
Austria - Elezioni Europee

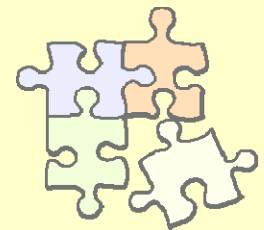


Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE
Austria - Elezioni Politiche

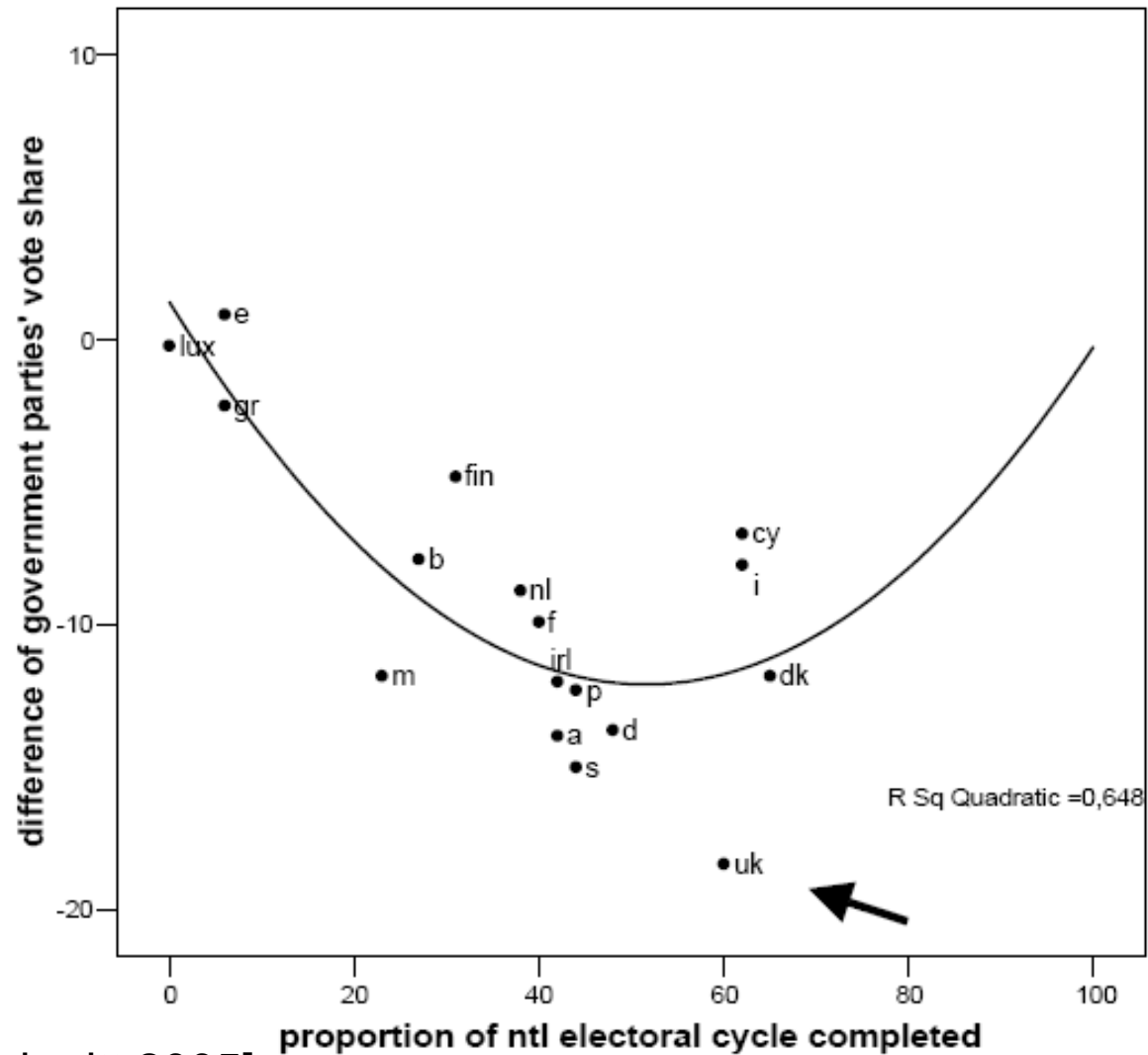


Governing parties' strength in EE

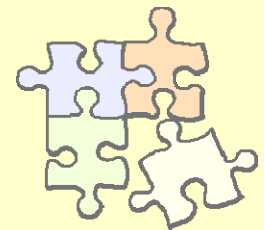
- Indicator: difference of government parties' vote share (EE – NE);
- The electoral cycle matters: the (mostly negative) difference between EE and NE is higher as the government reaches the middle of the electoral cycle;
- A quadratic model [Schmitt 2005].



Governing parties' strength in EE

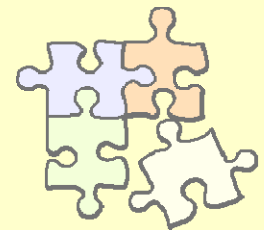


[Schmitt 2005]



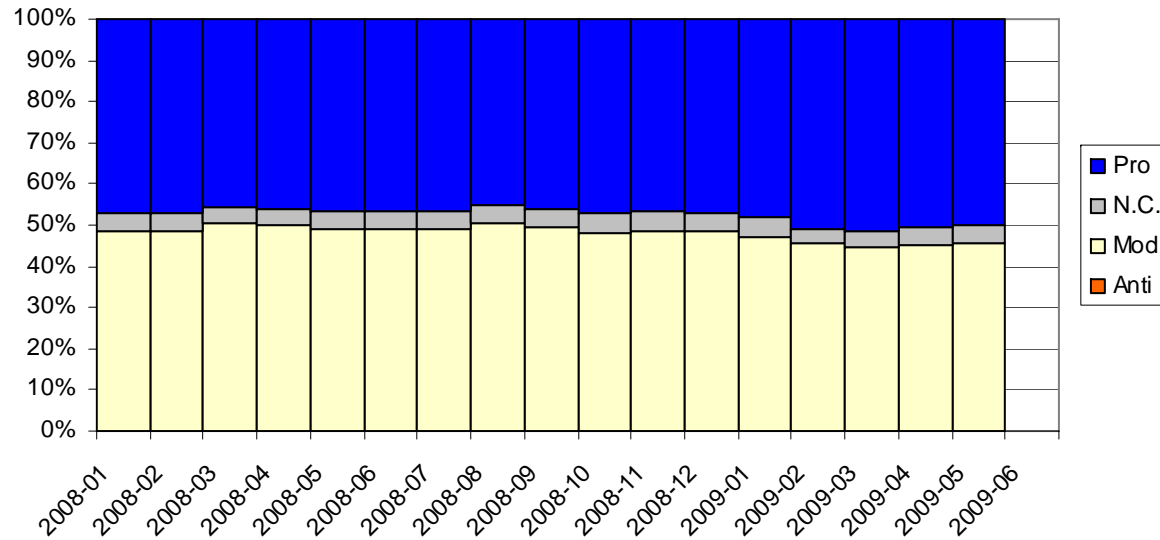
Public opinion: government/opposition

- Government/opposition
 - Instability in the trend Netherlands, Poland, UK
 - Stability in the other countries
- Pro/anti Europe:
 - Where government support varies, there is also some variation in pro/anti Europe support

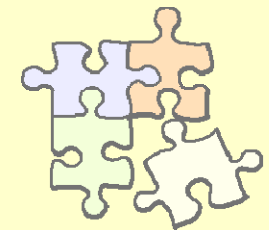
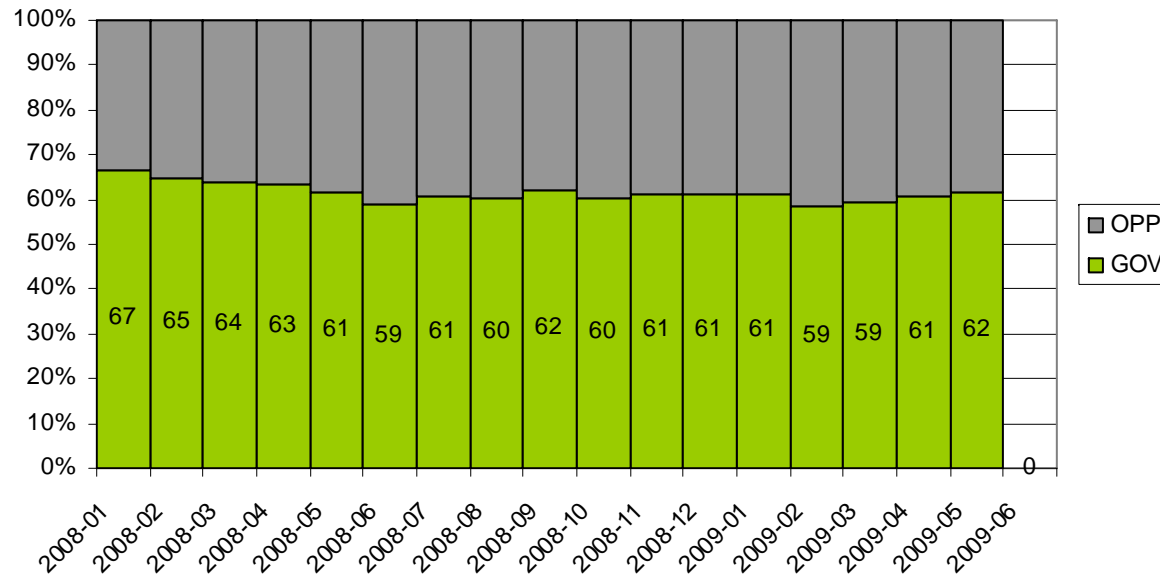


Germany

Intenzioni di voto a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE - Germania

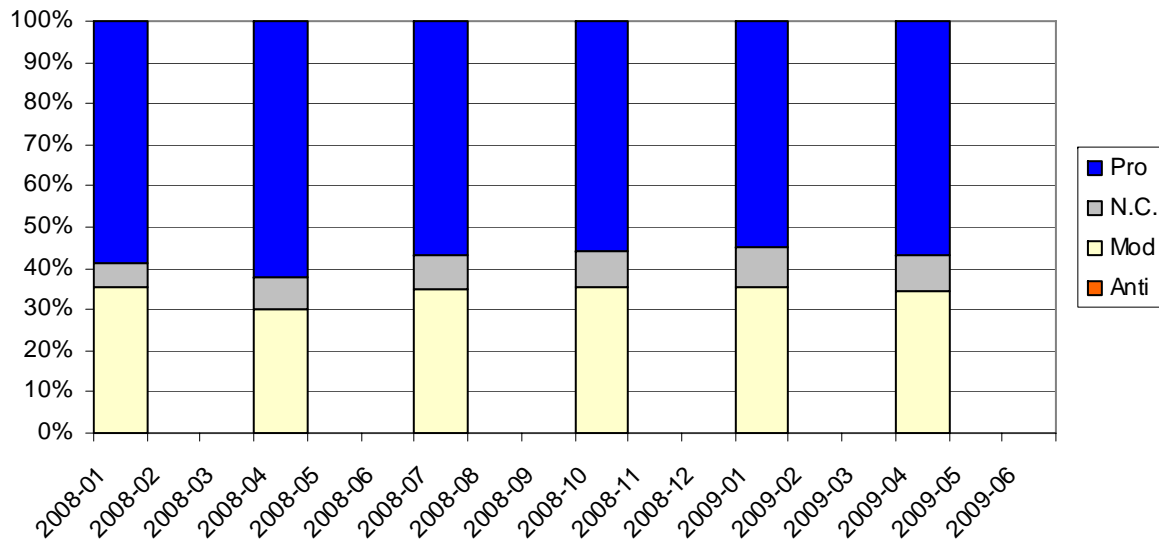


Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Germania

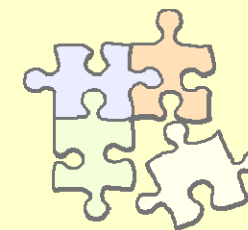
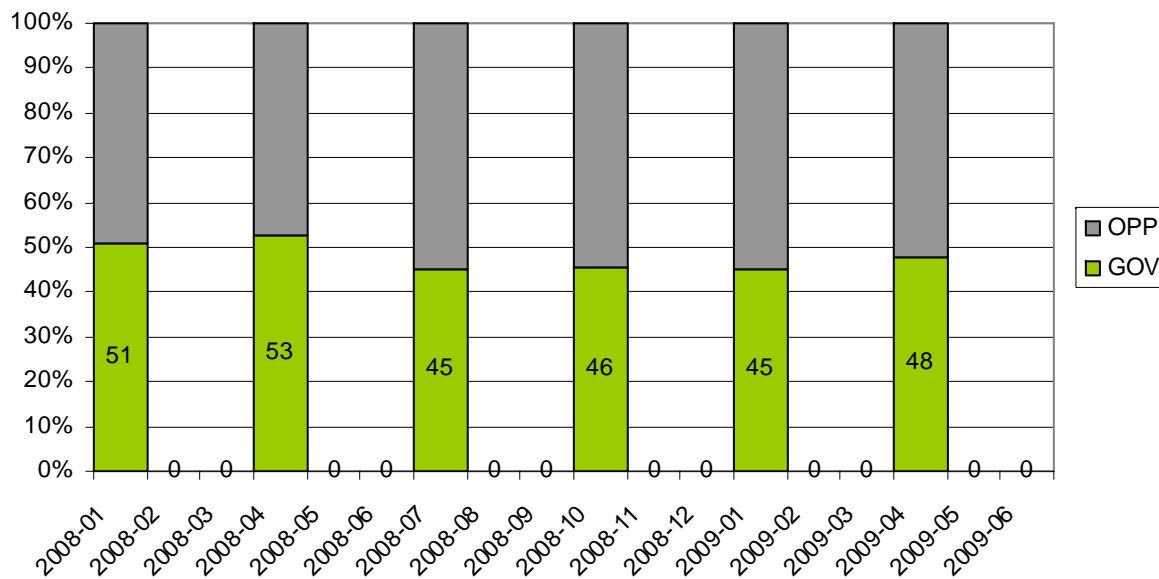


Spain

Intenzioni di voto a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE - Spagna

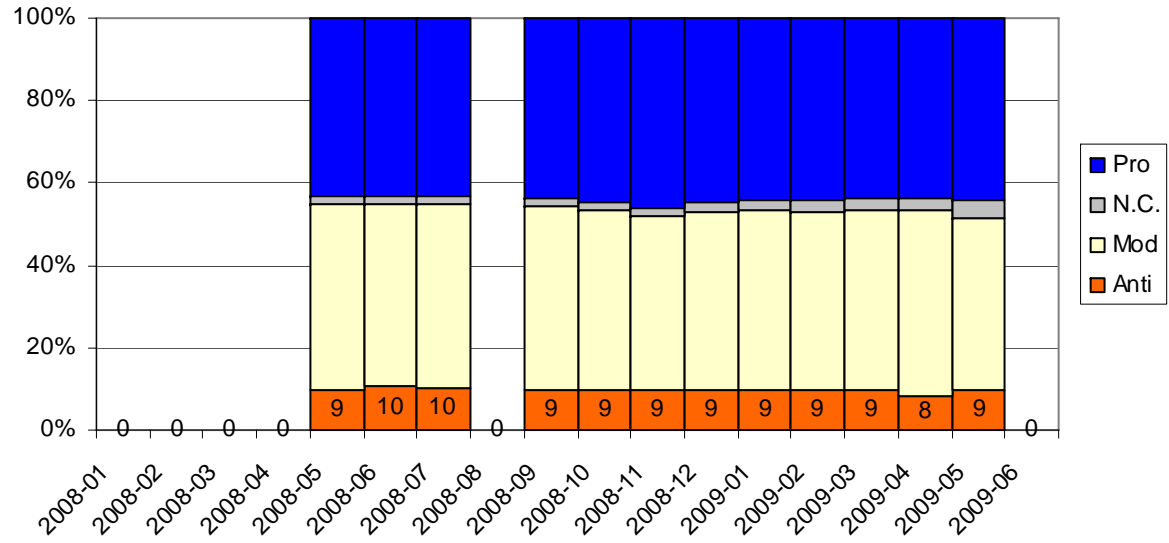


Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Spagna

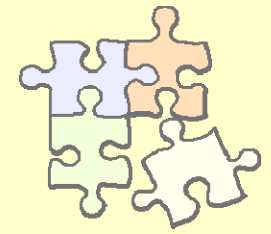
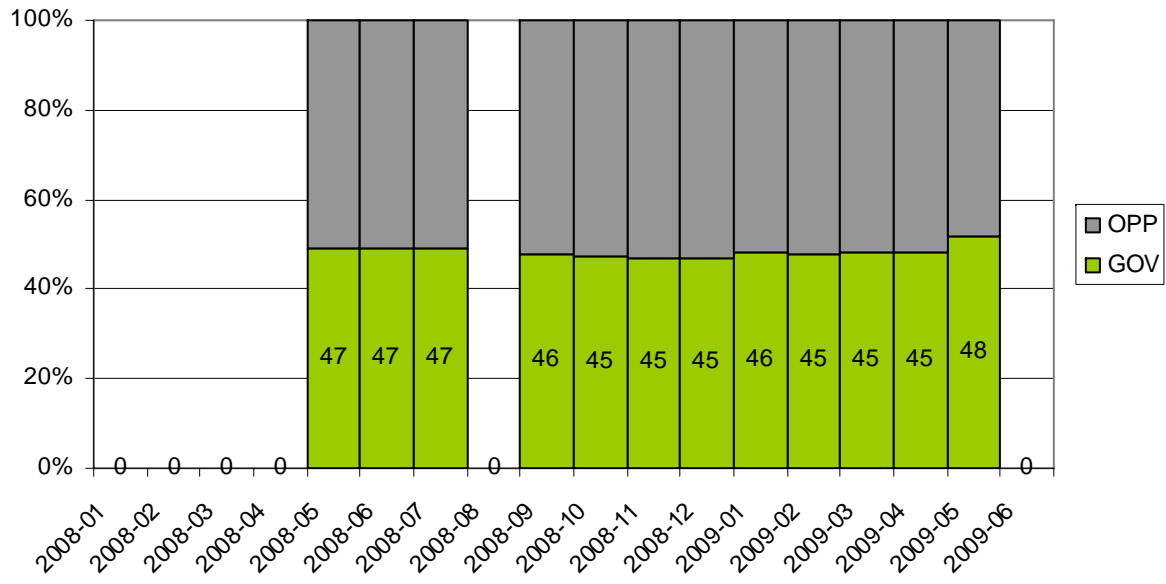


Italy

Intenzioni di voto a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE - Italia

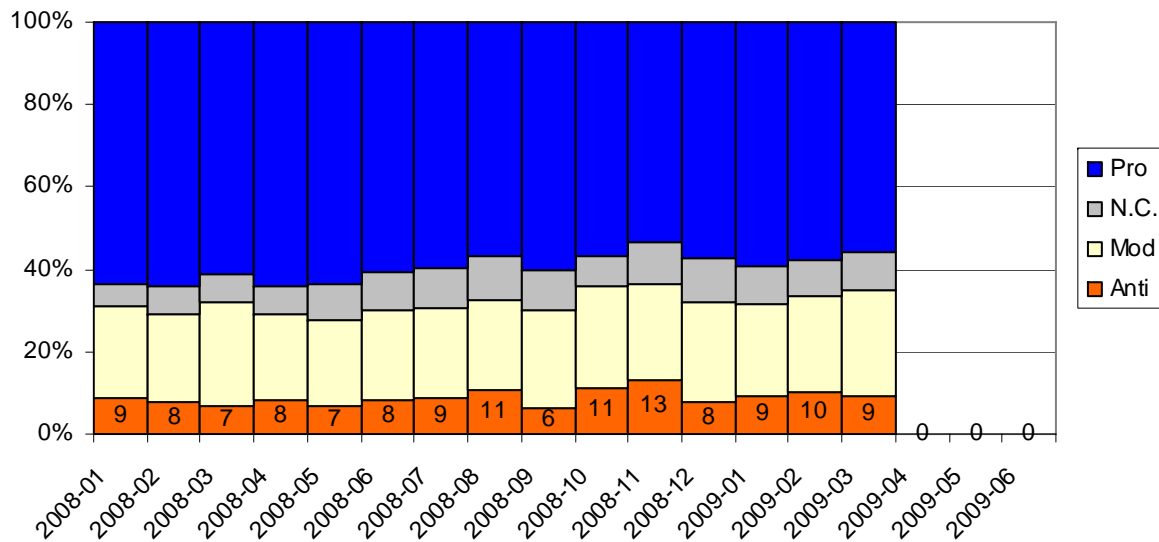


Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Italia

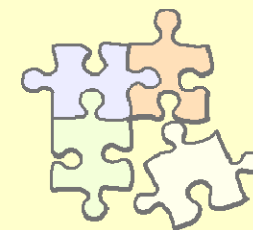
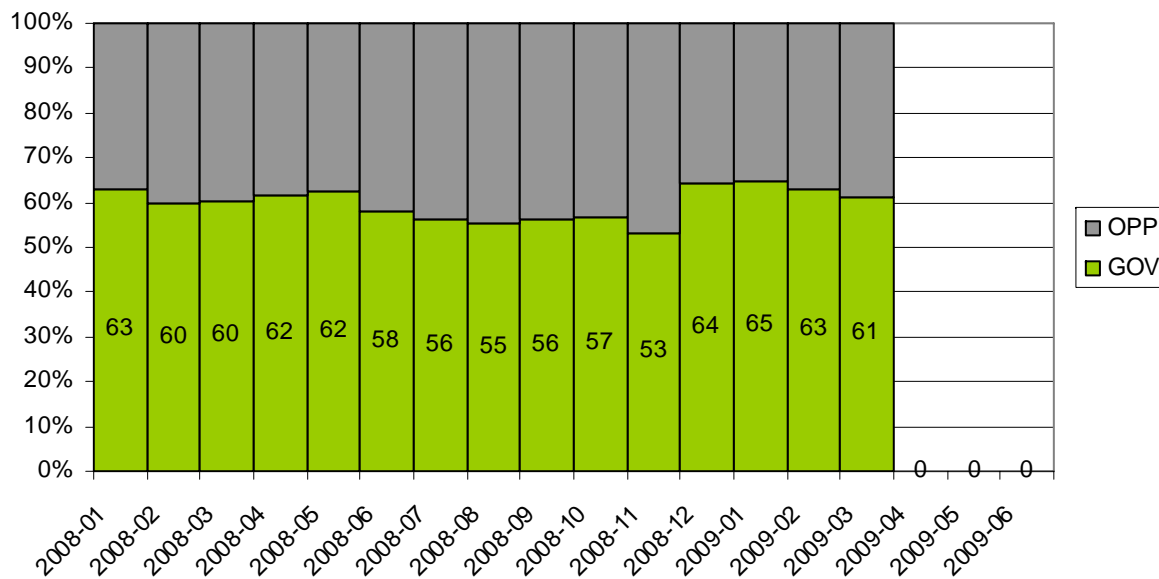


Poland

Intenzioni di voto a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE - Polonia

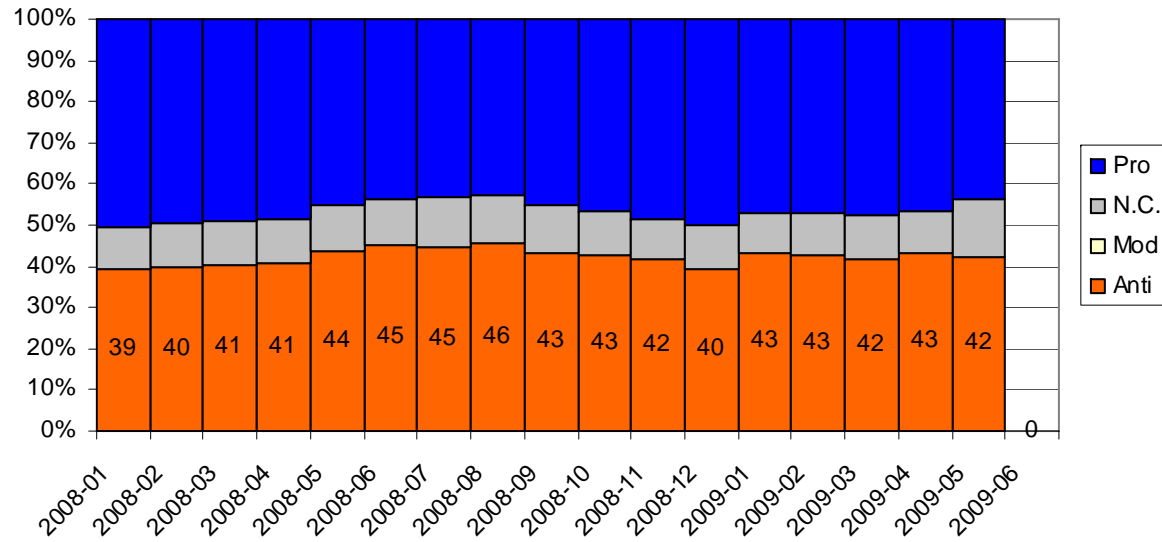


Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Polonia

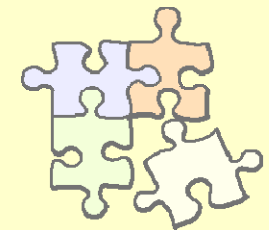
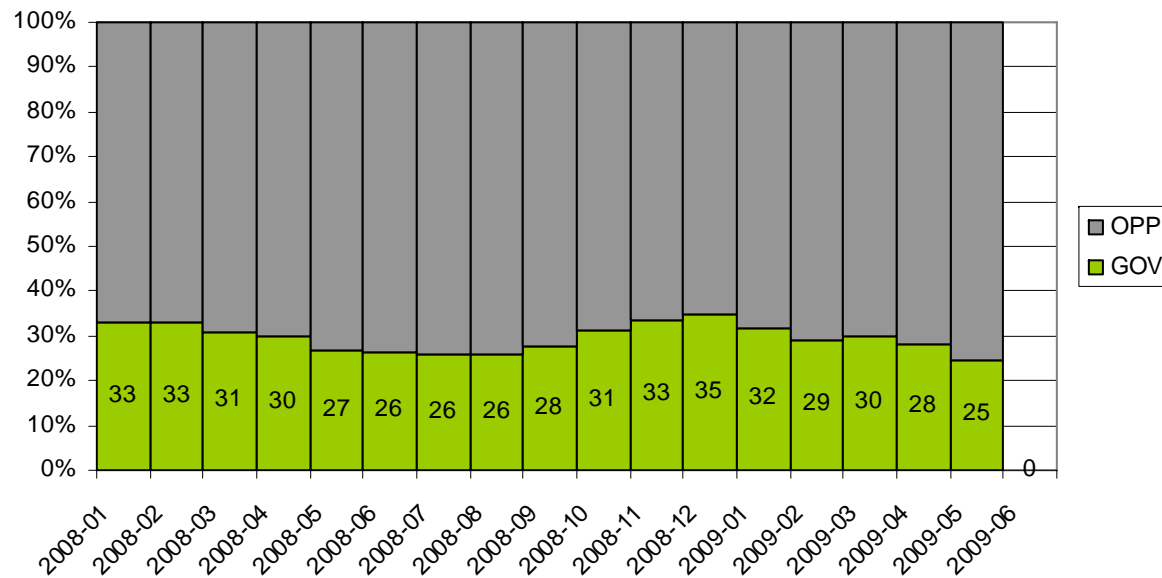


UK

Intenzioni di voto a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE - Gran Bretagna

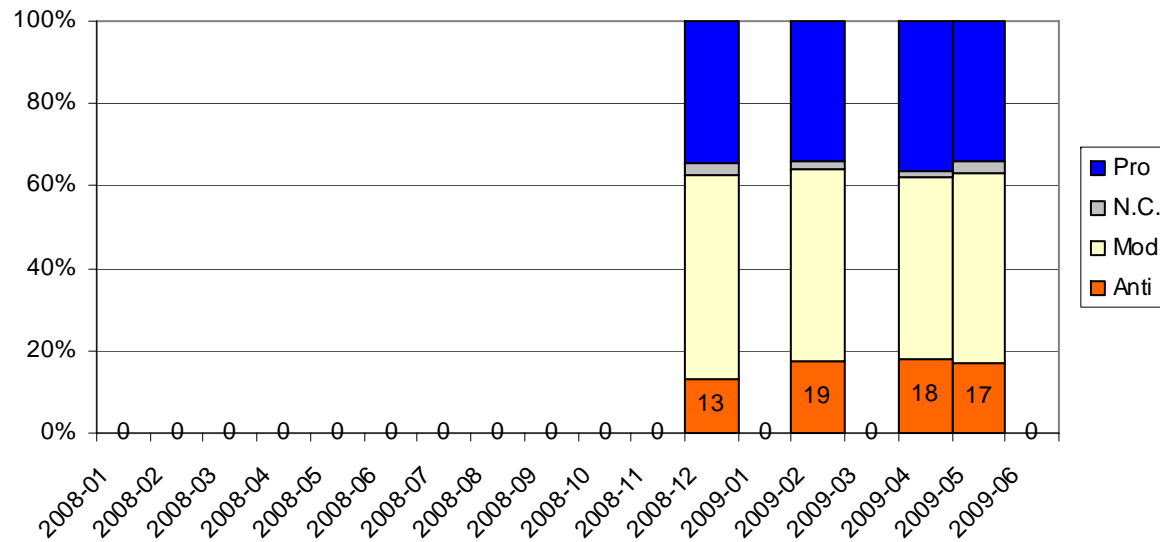


Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Gran Bretagna

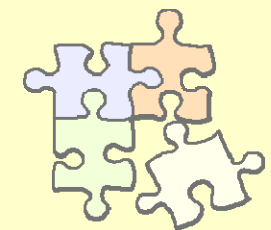
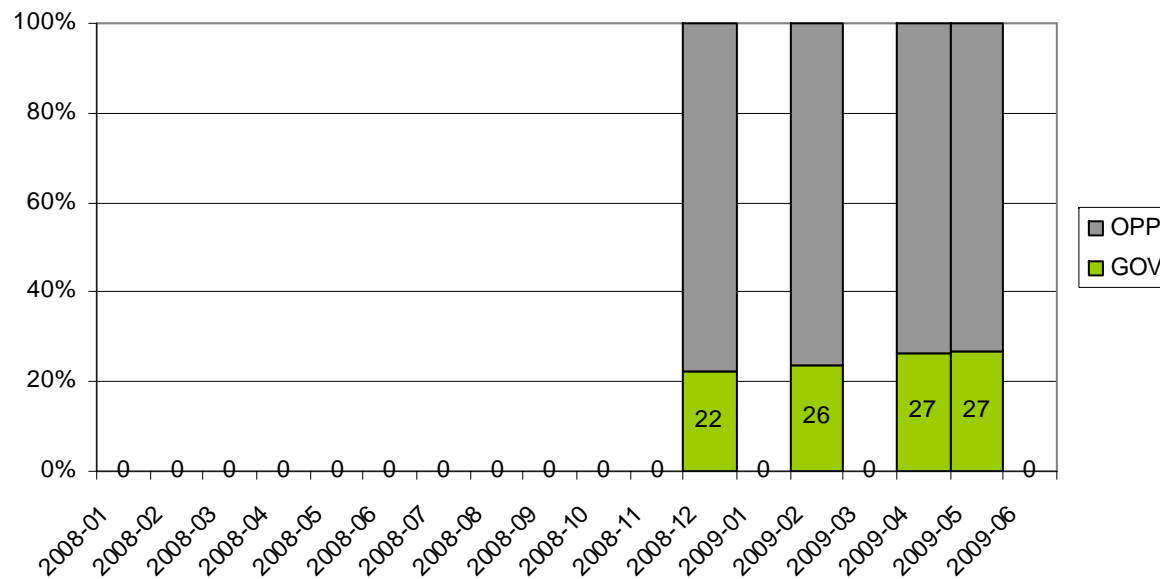


France

Intenzioni di voto a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE - Francia

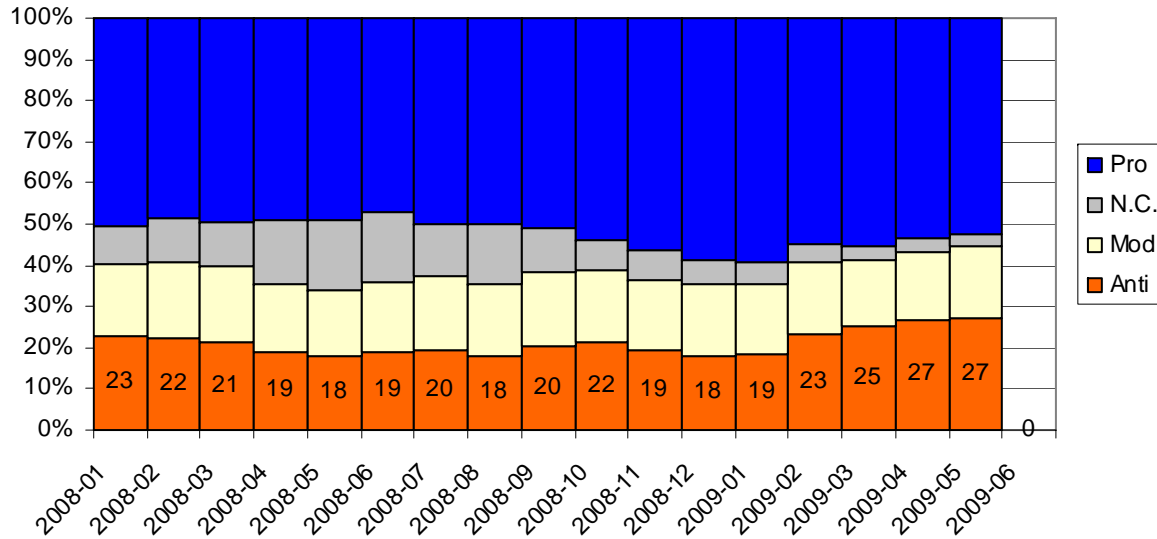


Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Francia

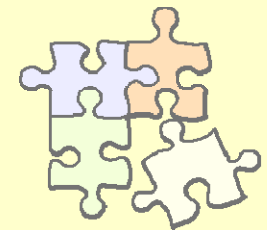
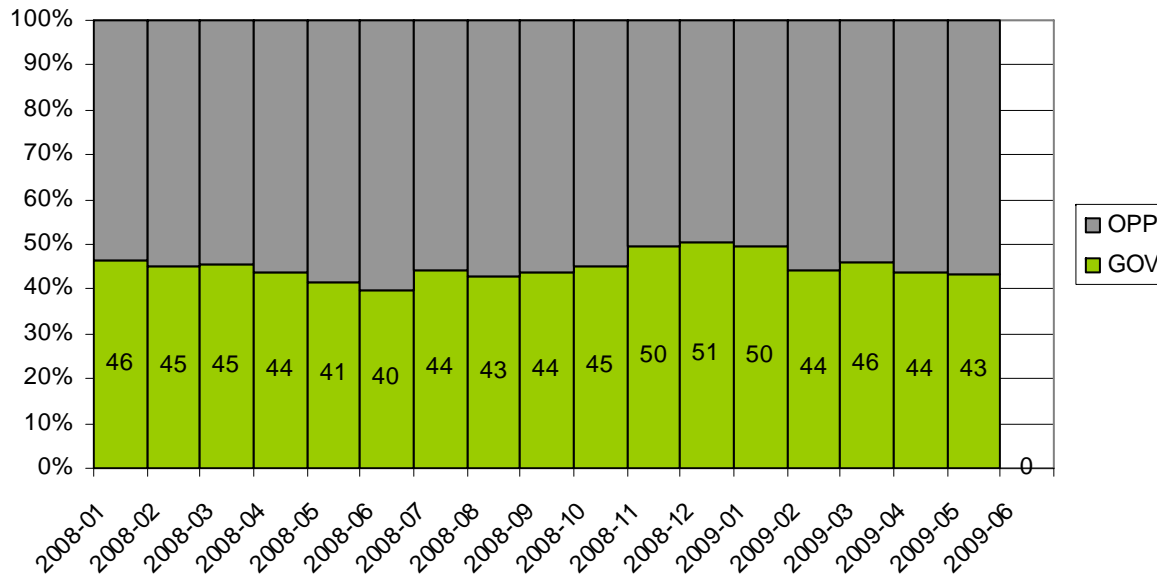


Netherlands

Intenzioni di voto a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE - Paesi Bassi

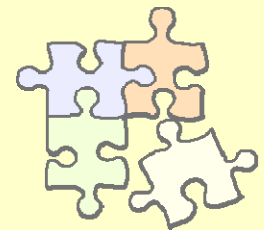


Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Paesi Bassi



Conclusions

- Hyp1: in EE participation is lower than in NE
=> confirmed (partial outlier: Italy)
- Hyp2: in EE voting concentration is lower than in NE
=> not confirmed (partial outlier: France)
- Hyp3: in EE anti-European parties are stronger than in NE
=> confirmed only partially (France '94, Poland '04; but also Netherlands'00s, Austria, UK)
- Hyp4: in EE governing parties are weaker than in NE
- Hyp5: since autumn 2008 (economic crisis), governing parties weakened
=> confirmed only partially (instability in the trend Netherlands, Poland, UK)
- Hyp6: since autumn 2008 (economic crisis), anti-European parties strengthened
=> confirmed only where government support varies



Concluding remarks

- EE “second-order” nature seems to be confirmed especially
 - as far as electoral participation
 - and government support (in the electoral cycle) are concerned
- As far as the dimensions of the party systems and the direction of voting, however
 - in EE voting concentration is not significantly lower than in NE
 - in EE anti-European parties are stronger than in NE only in some cases
- Only in some countries (Netherlands, Poland, UK) governing parties’ support changed since 2008
- It is hard to find any effect of the economic crisis on these trends and voting projections for 4-7 June
- Except a strengthening of governing parties in the end of 2008 and then a decline since the beginning of 2009 (“Obama effect”?)
- Public opinion trends and voting behaviour of 4-7 June will very likely be affected only by national factors

