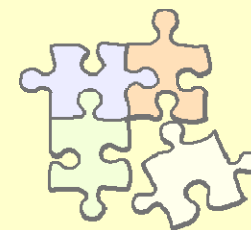


**Lorenzo De Sio (Università di Firenze)**  
**Guido Legnante (Università di Pavia)**

## **Governi e opinioni pubbliche verso le elezioni**

Torino, Centro Einaudi e Urge,  
Giovedì 21 maggio 2009

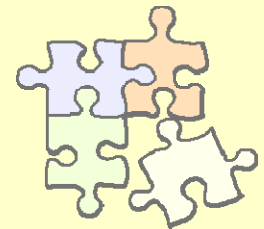


# Second-order elections

- “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

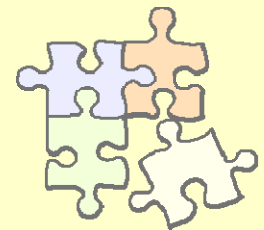
## The 2009 climate

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



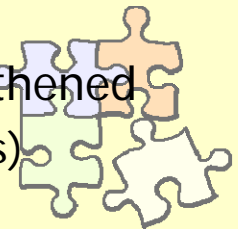
# This research: countries and data

- 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



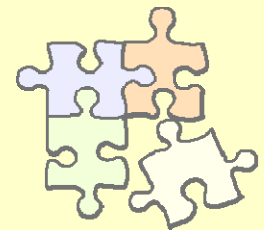
# This research: hypotheses and indicators

- 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)

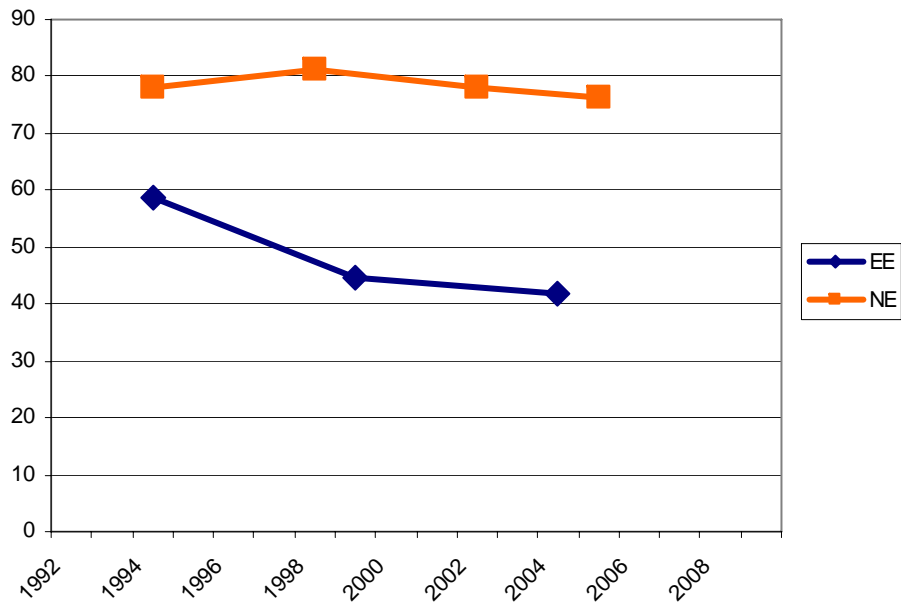


# Electoral participation

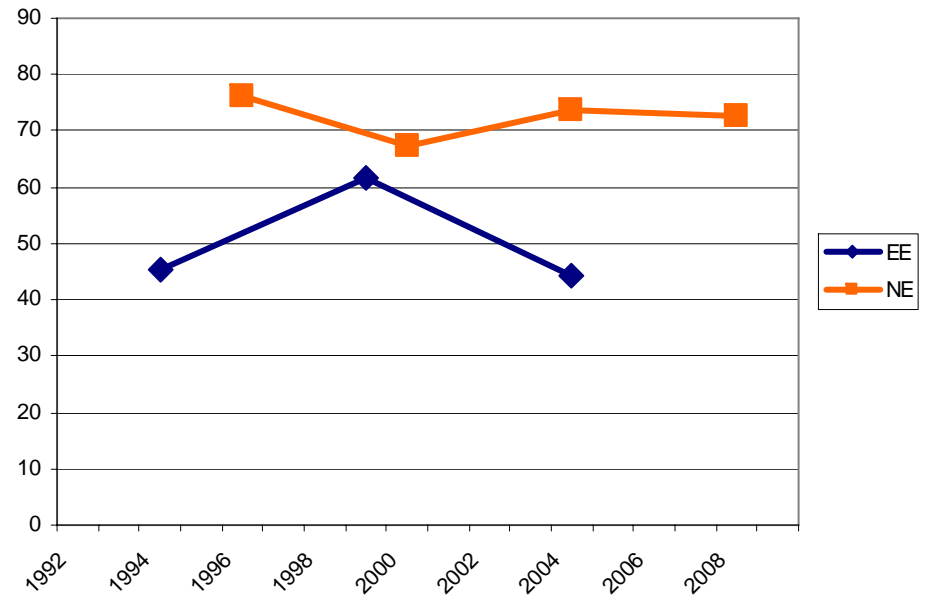
- In EE electoral participation is lower or much lower than in NE
- Outlier (few differences): Italy
- Apart France (c.a. 2/3 of NE voter vote at EE), around half of NE voters vote in EE



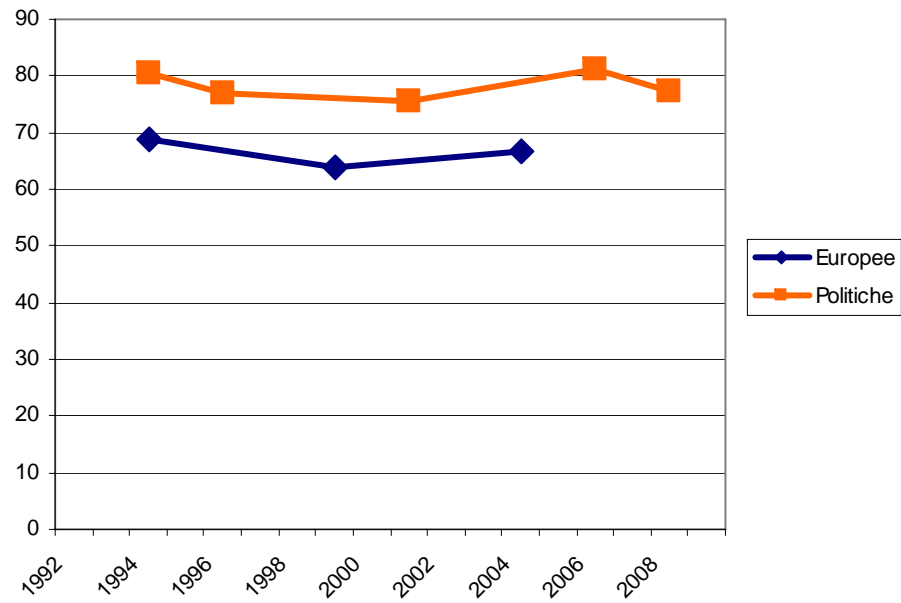
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - Germany



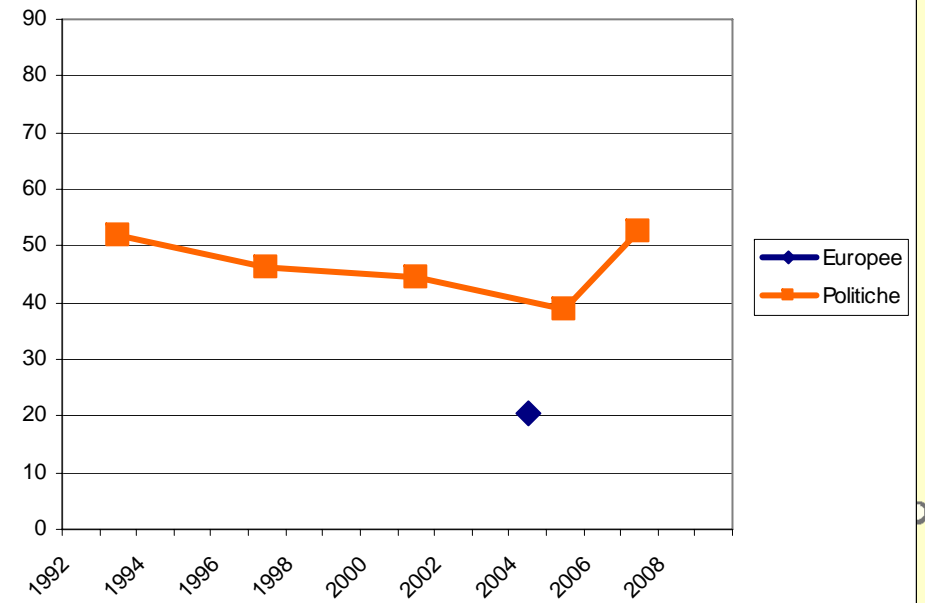
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - Spain



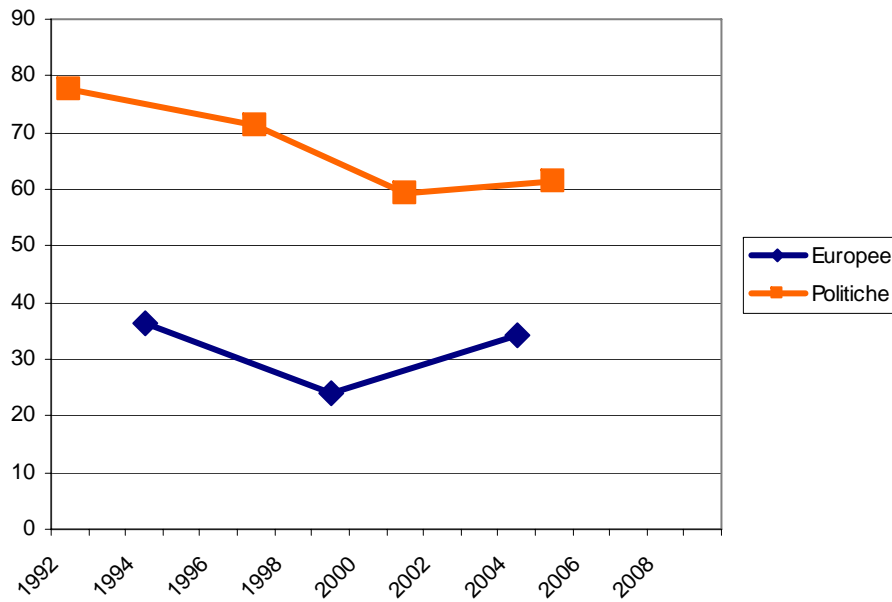
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - Italy



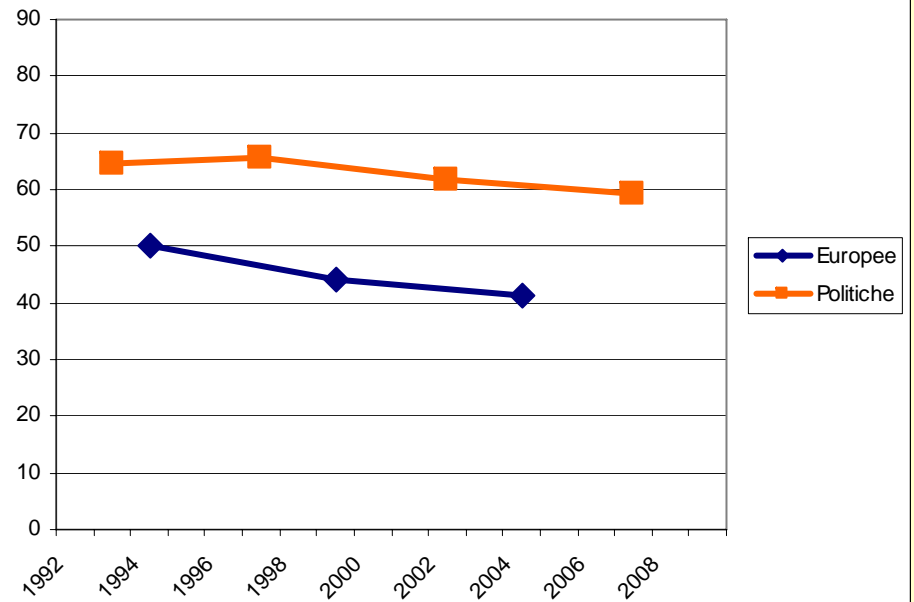
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - Poland



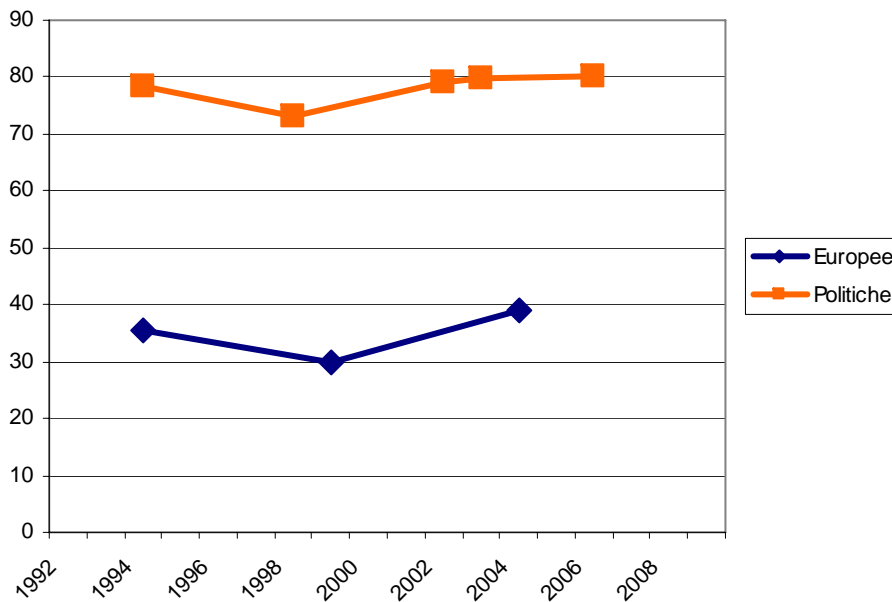
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - UK



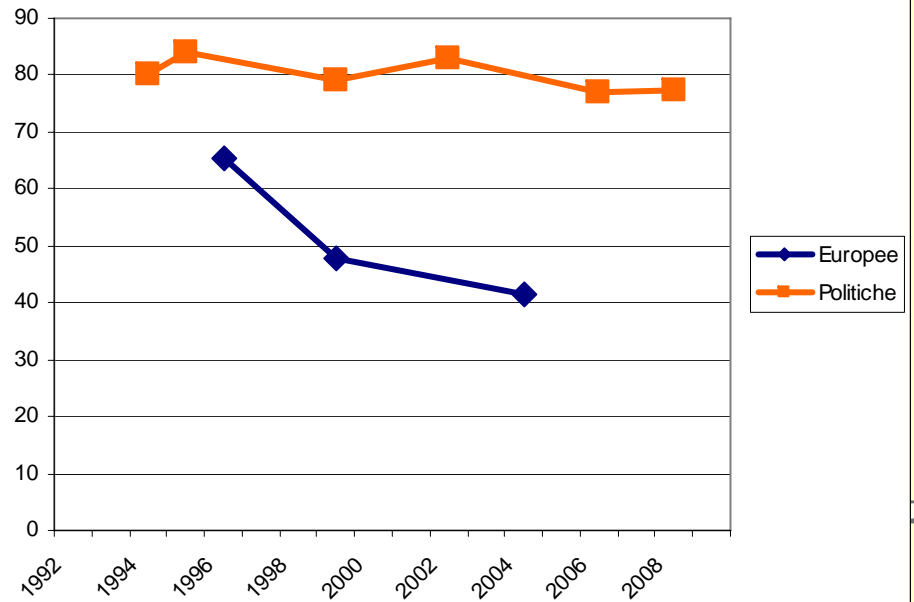
Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - France



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

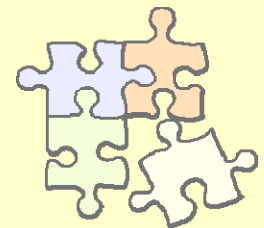


Participation (% valid votes on reg.voters) - Austria



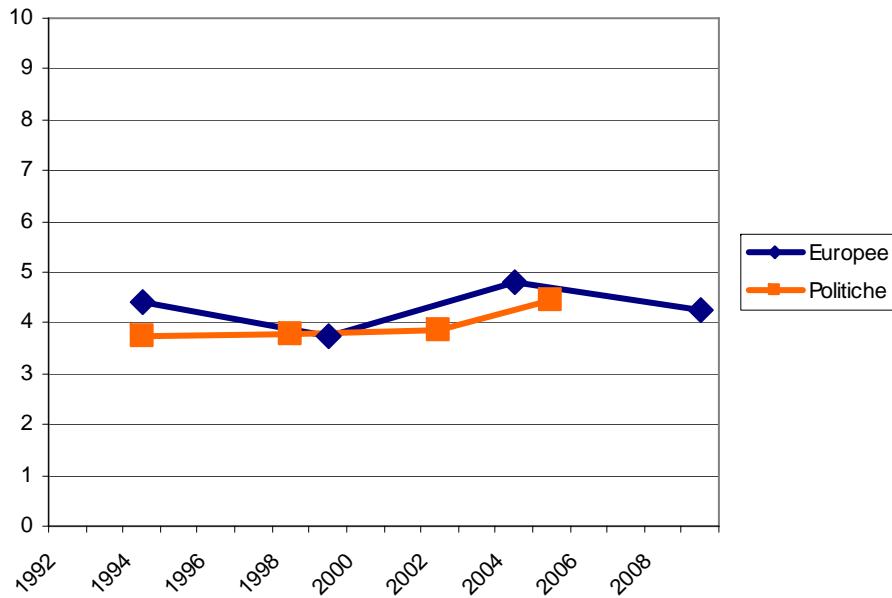
# Electoral fragmentation/concentration

- 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

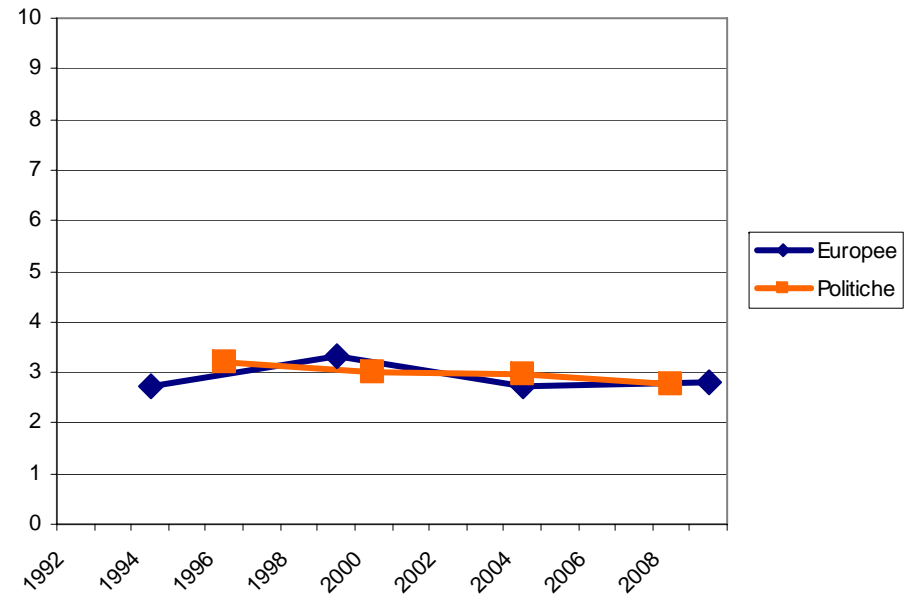




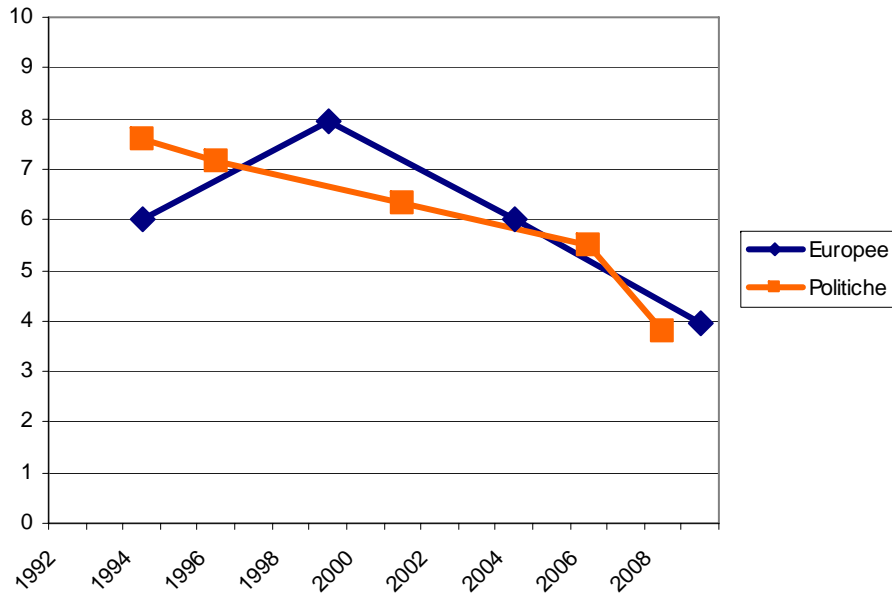
Frammentazione ( $N_{eff}$ ) - Germania



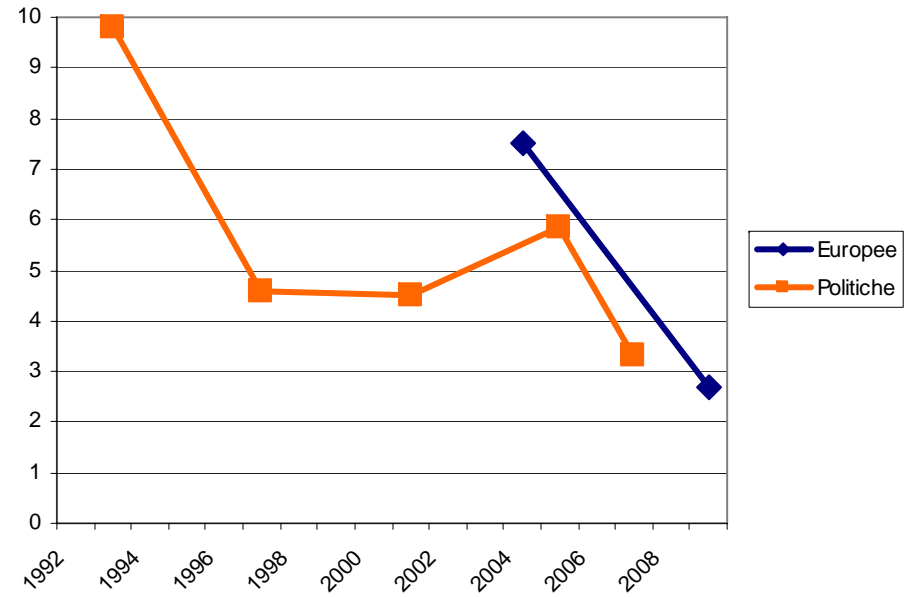
Frammentazione ( $N_{eff}$ ) - Spagna



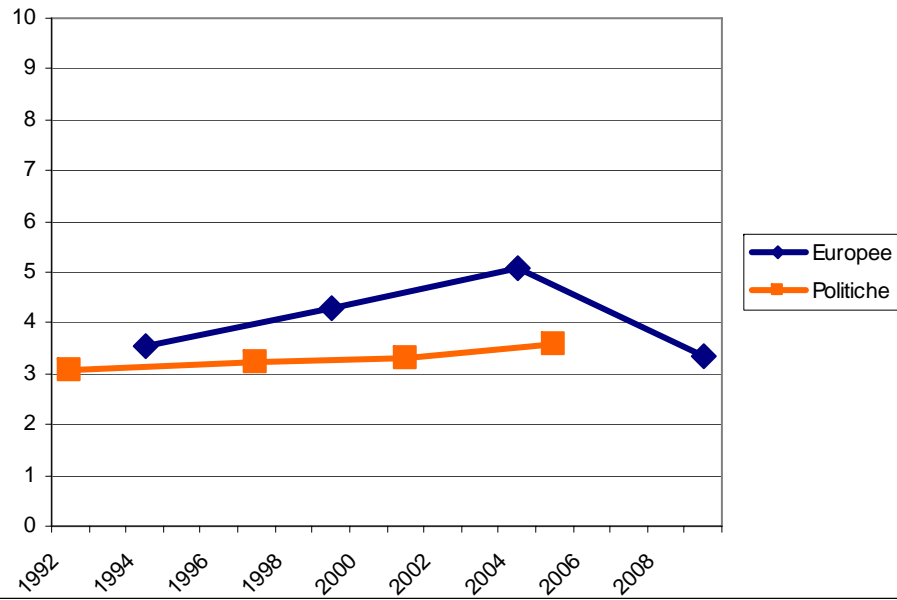
Frammentazione ( $N_{eff}$ ) - Italia



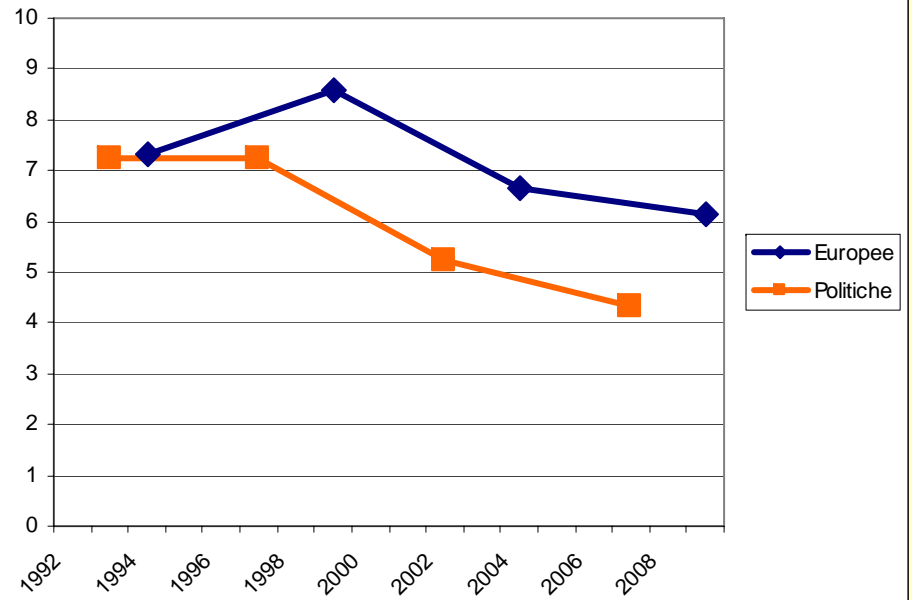
Frammentazione ( $N_{eff}$ ) - Polonia



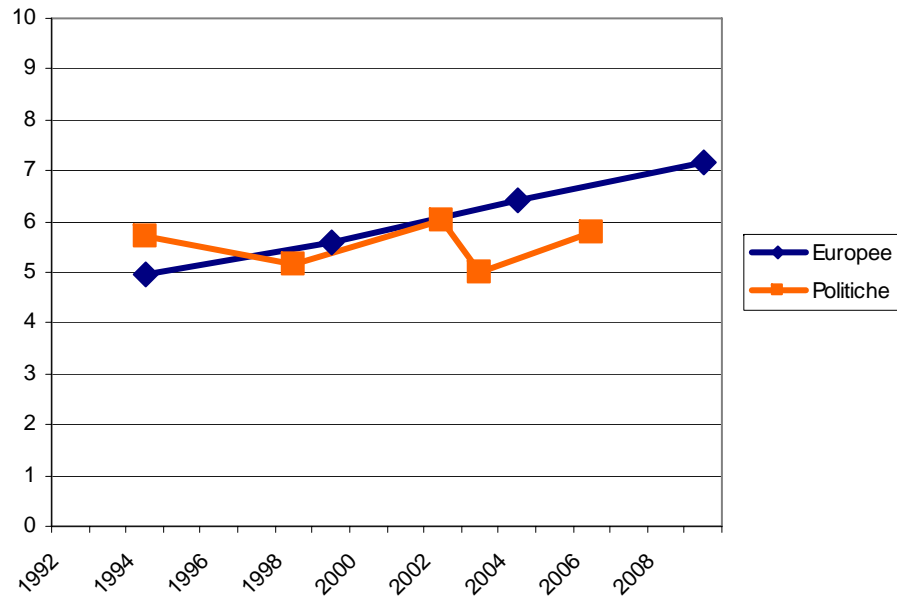
Frammentazione ( $N_{eff}$ ) - Gran Bretagna



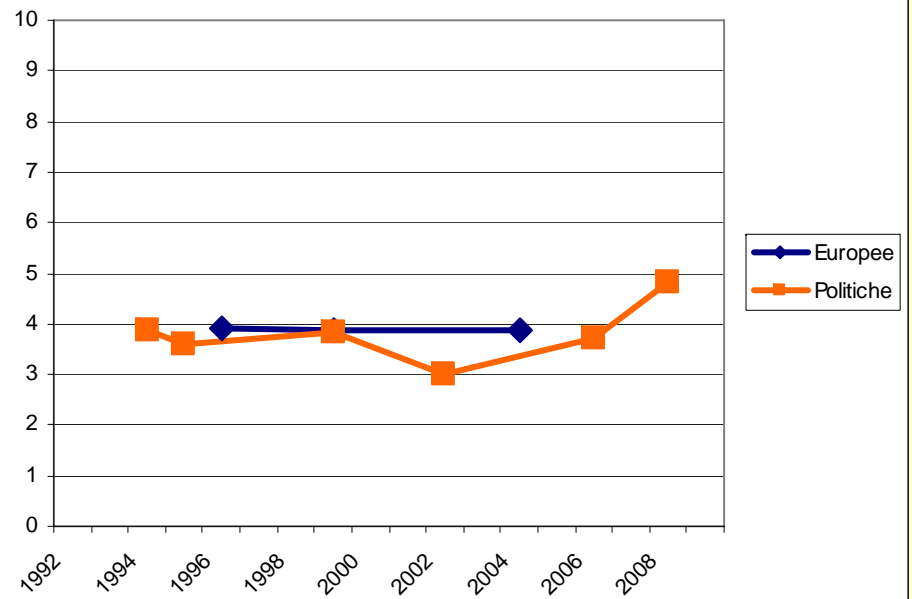
Frammentazione ( $N_{eff}$ ) - Francia



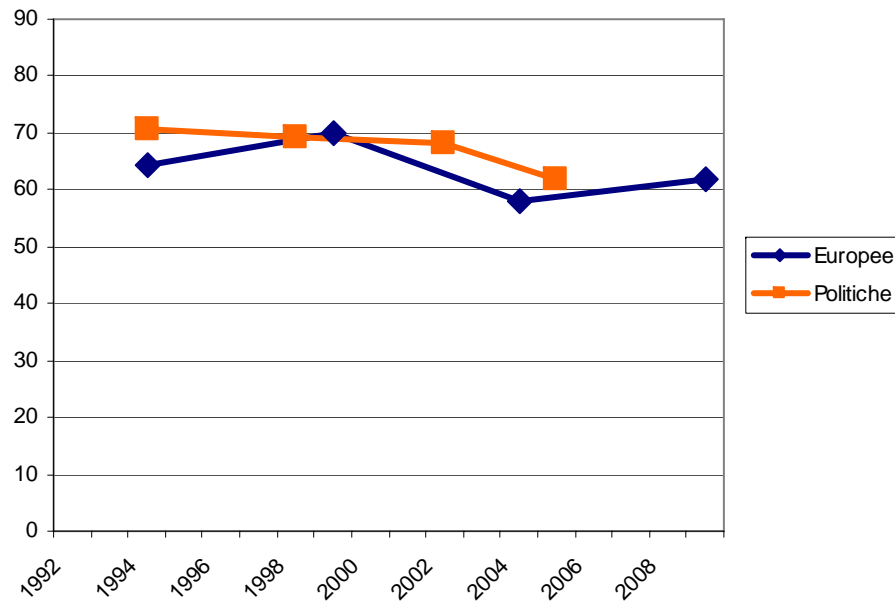
Frammentazione ( $N_{eff}$ ) - Paesi Bassi



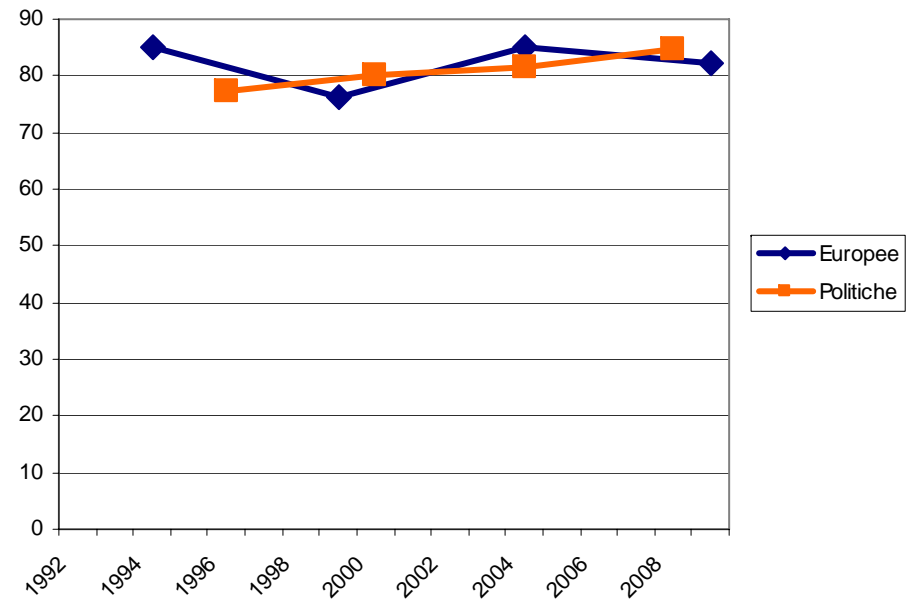
Frammentazione ( $N_{eff}$ ) - Austria



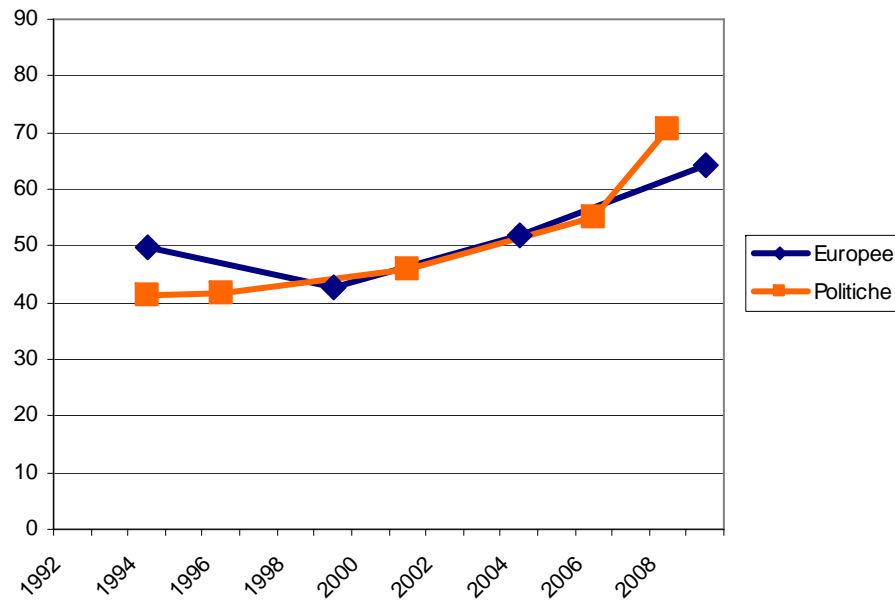
Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Germania



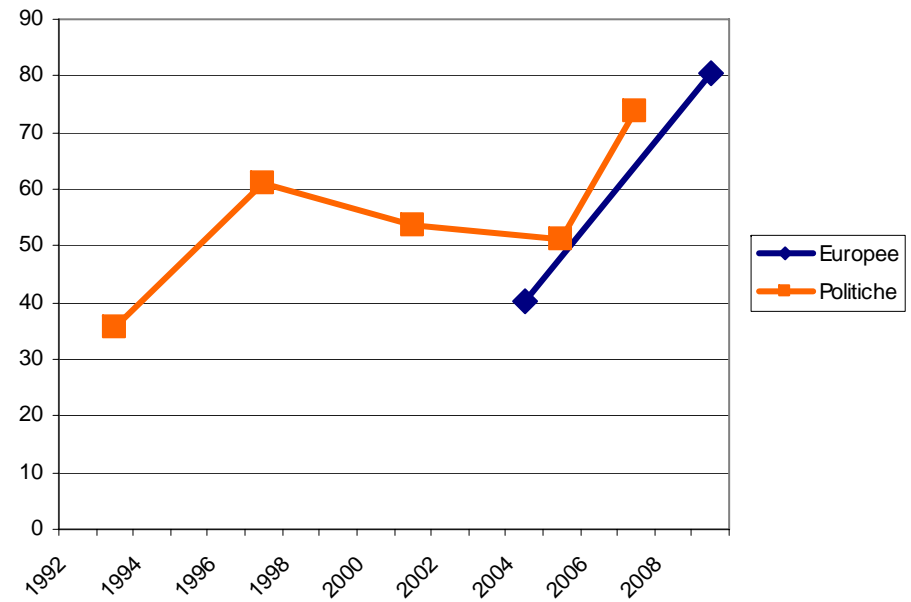
Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Spagna



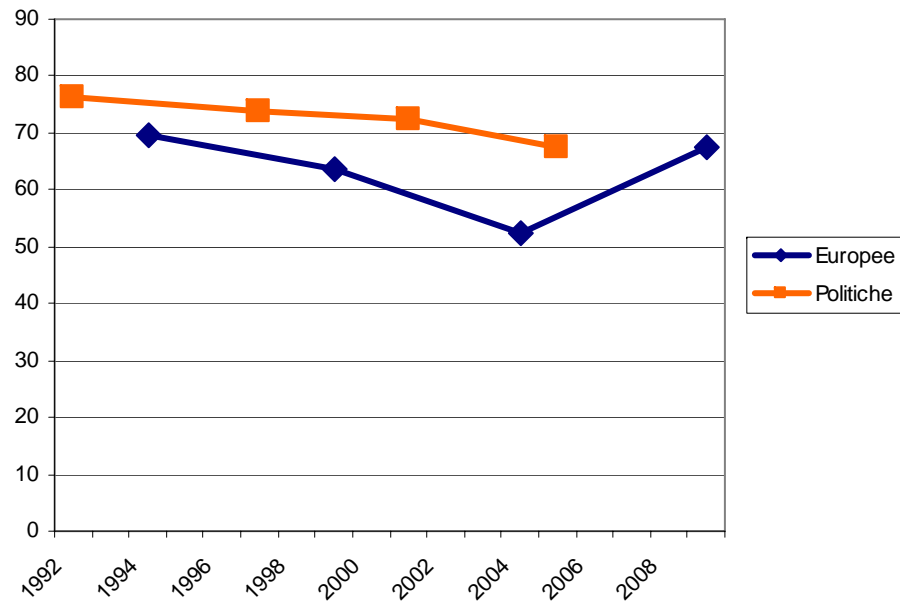
Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Italia



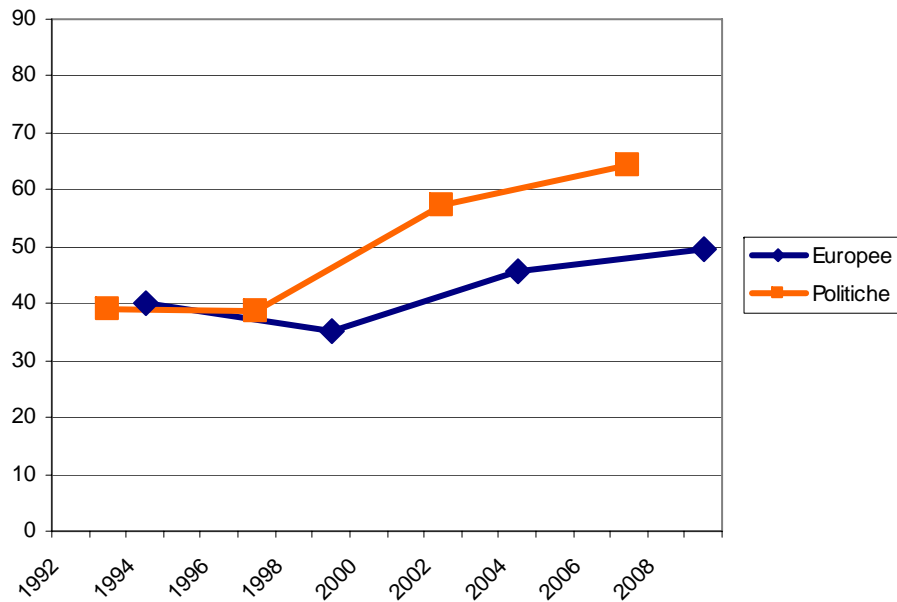
Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Polonia



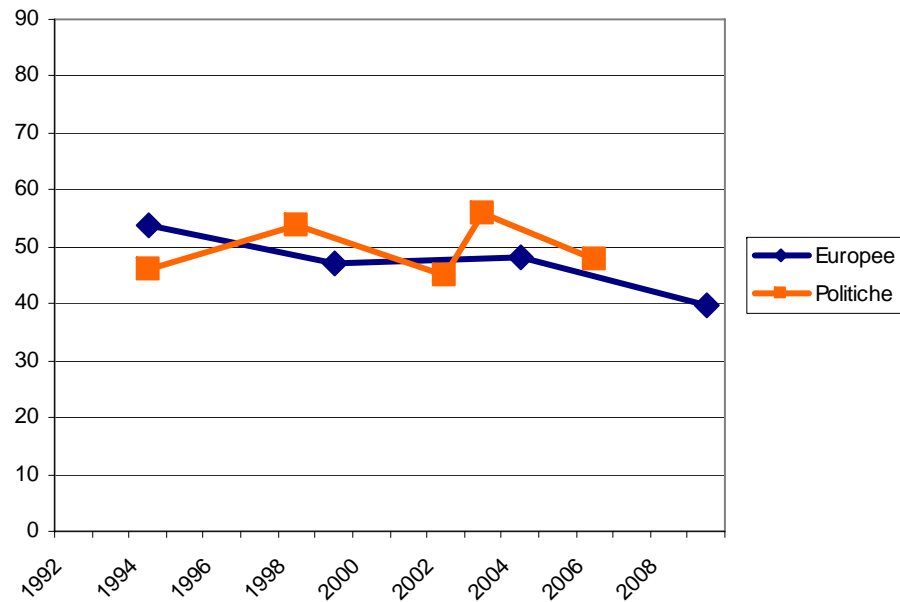
**Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Gran Bretagna**



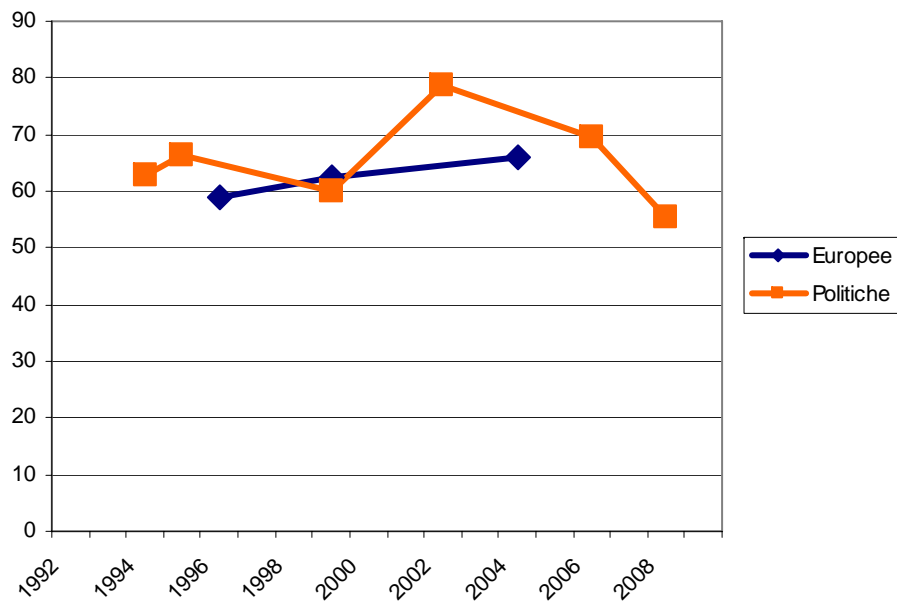
**Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Francia**



**Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Paesi Bassi**

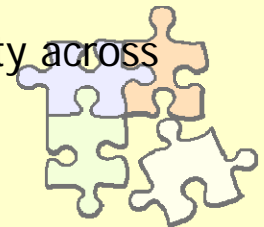


**Bipolarismo (% prime due liste) - Austria**



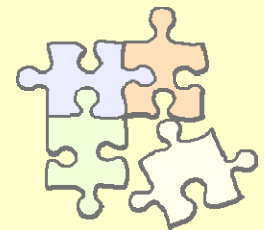
# The pro/anti-european dimension

- 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



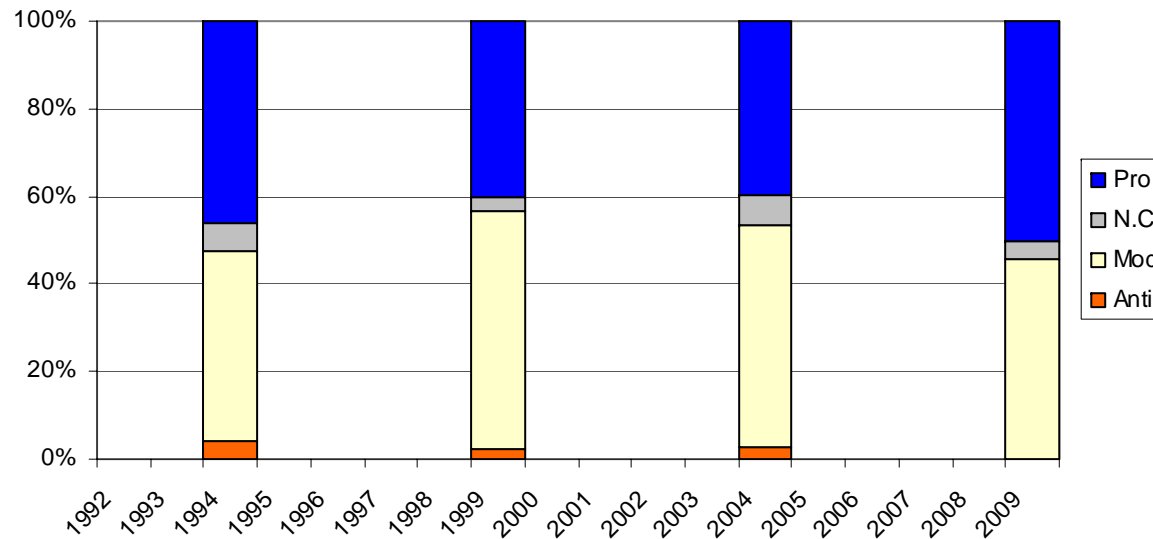
# The pro/anti-european dimension

- 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)

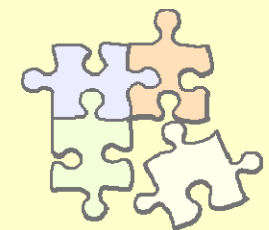
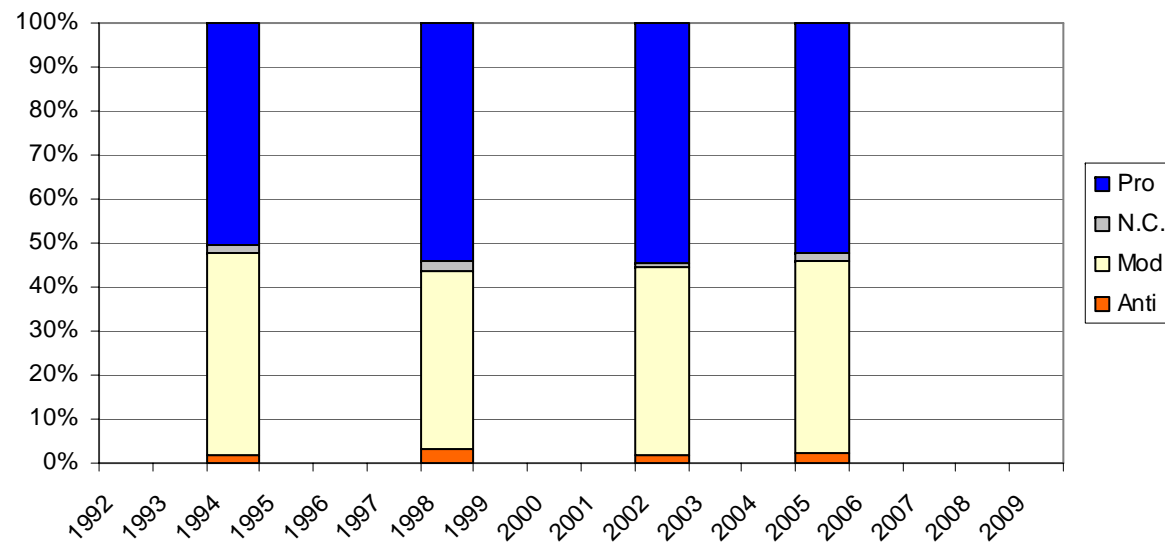


# Germany

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

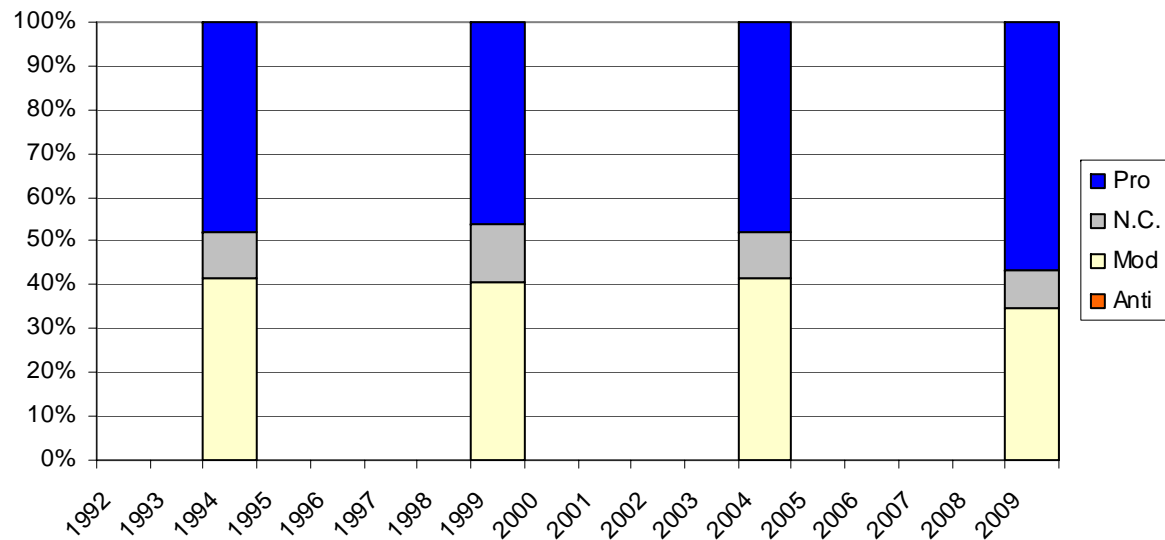


Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE  
Germania - Elezioni Politiche

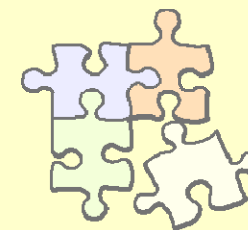
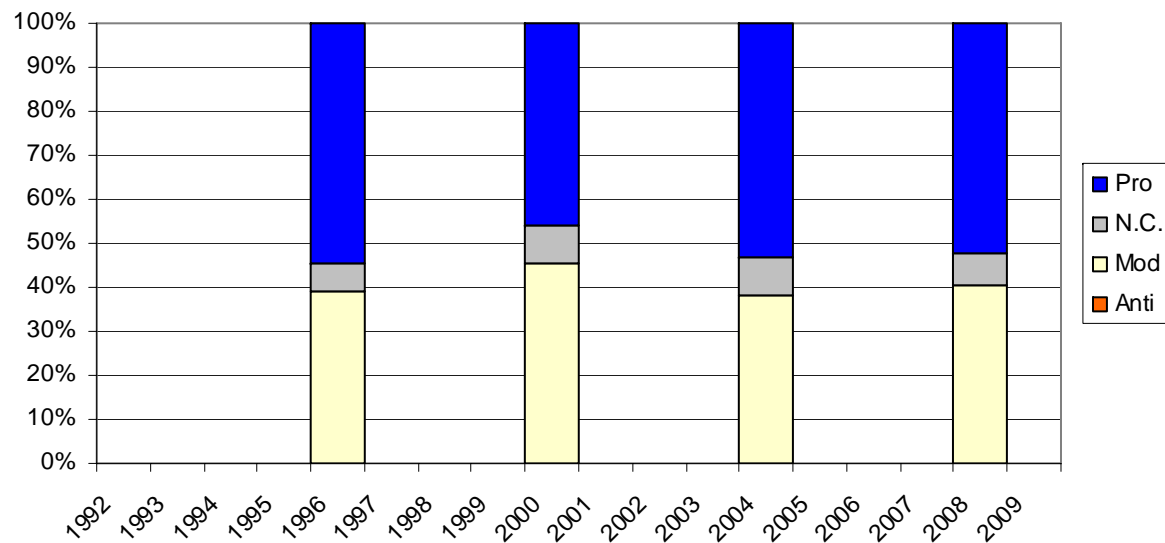


# Spain

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



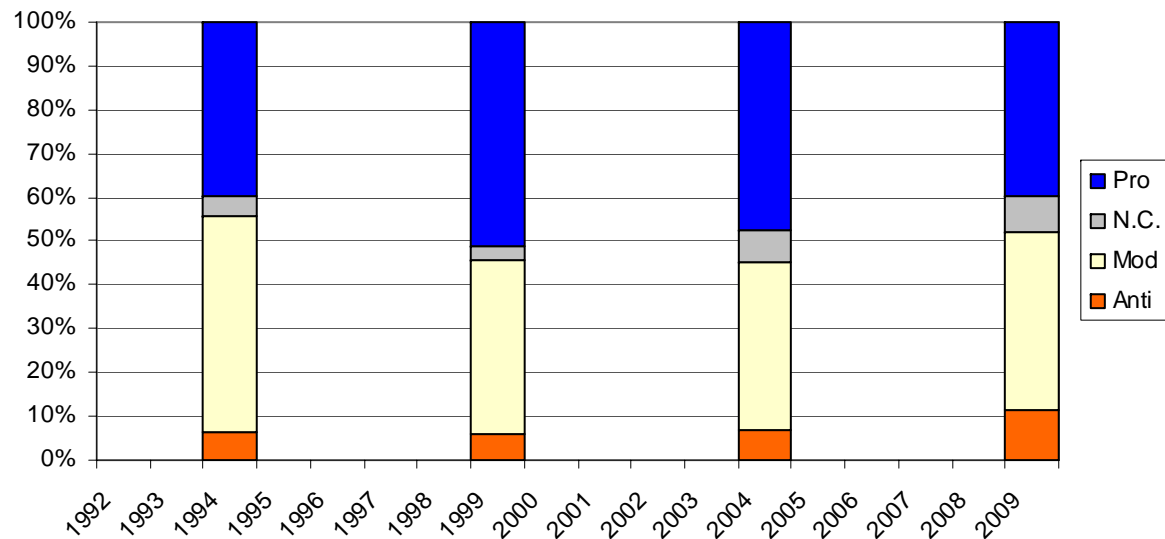
Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE  
Spagna - Elezioni Politiche



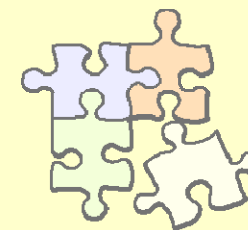
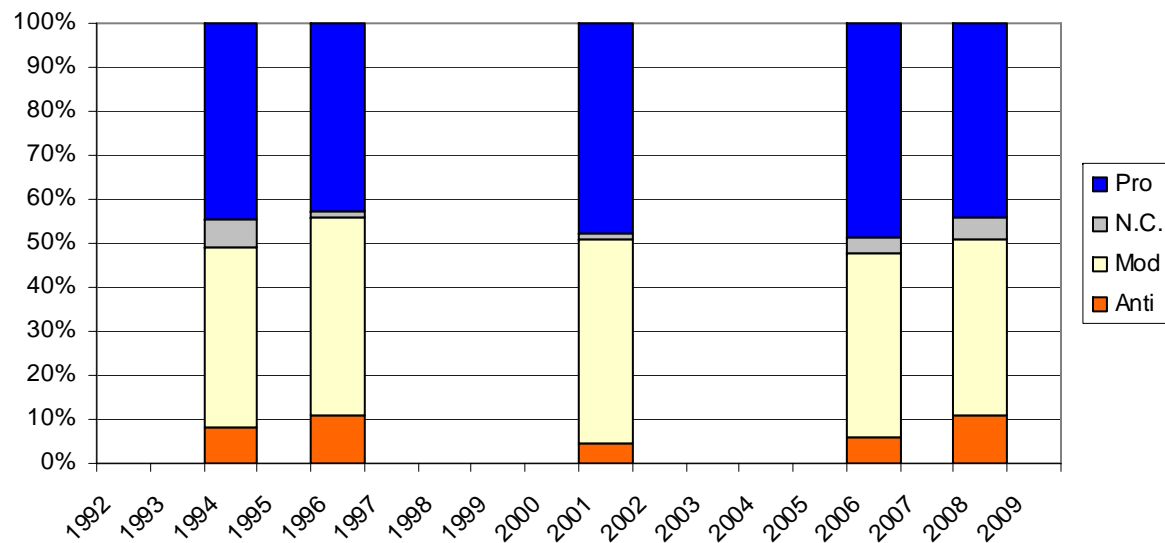


# Italy

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

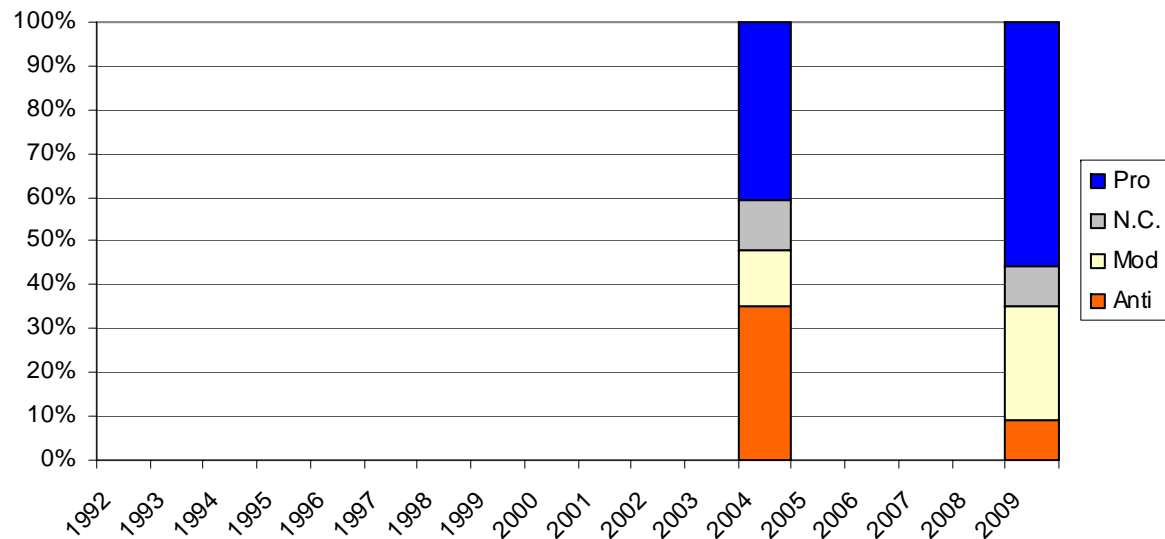


Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE  
Italia - Elezioni Politiche

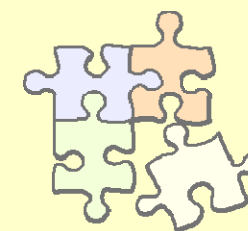
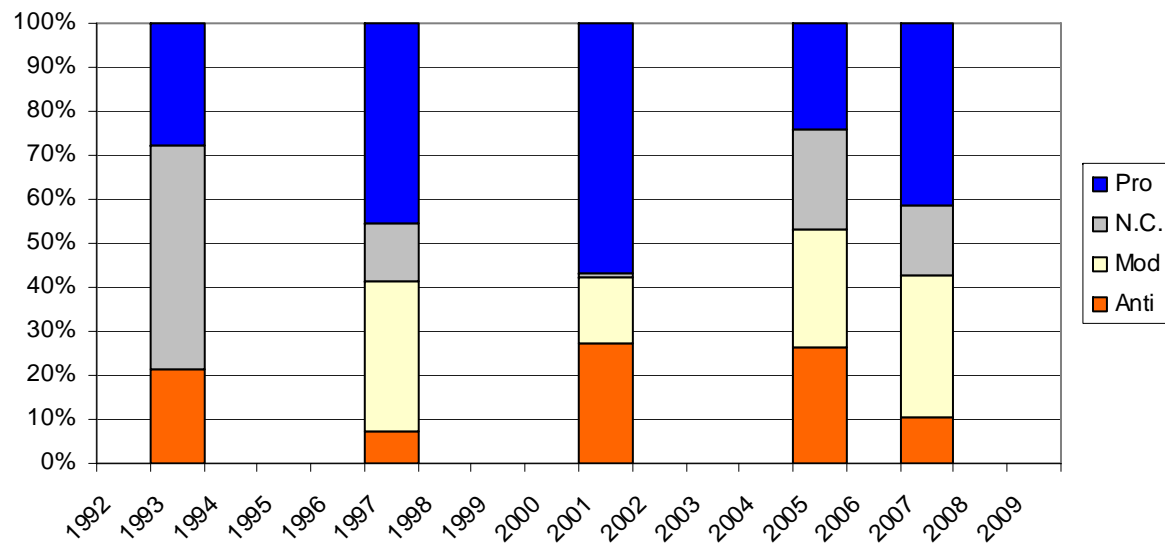


# Poland

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

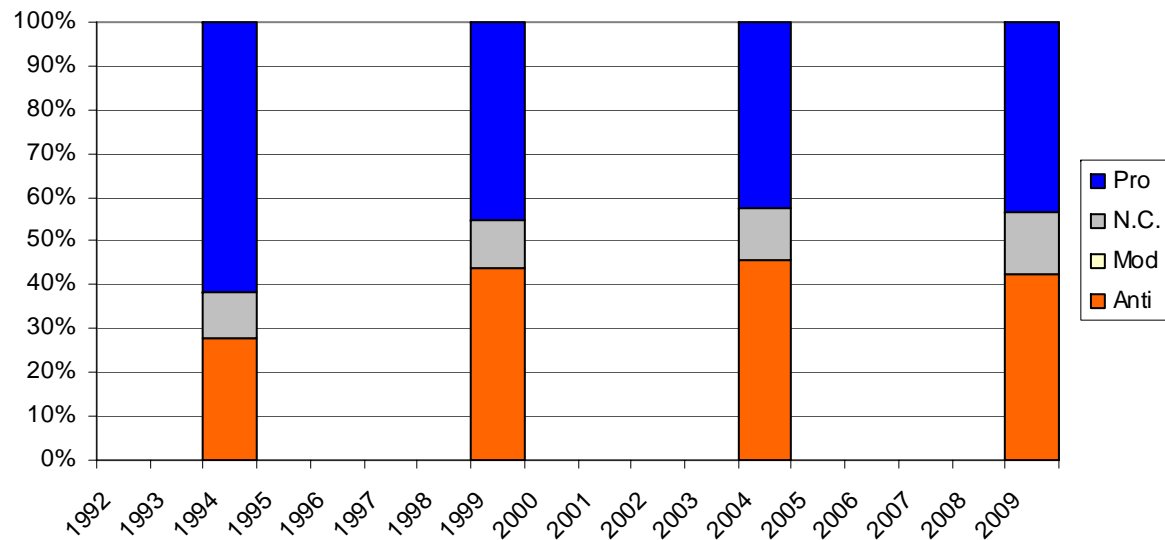


Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE  
Polonia - Elezioni Politiche

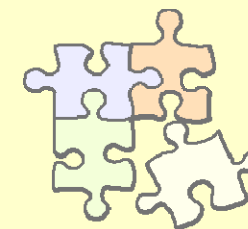
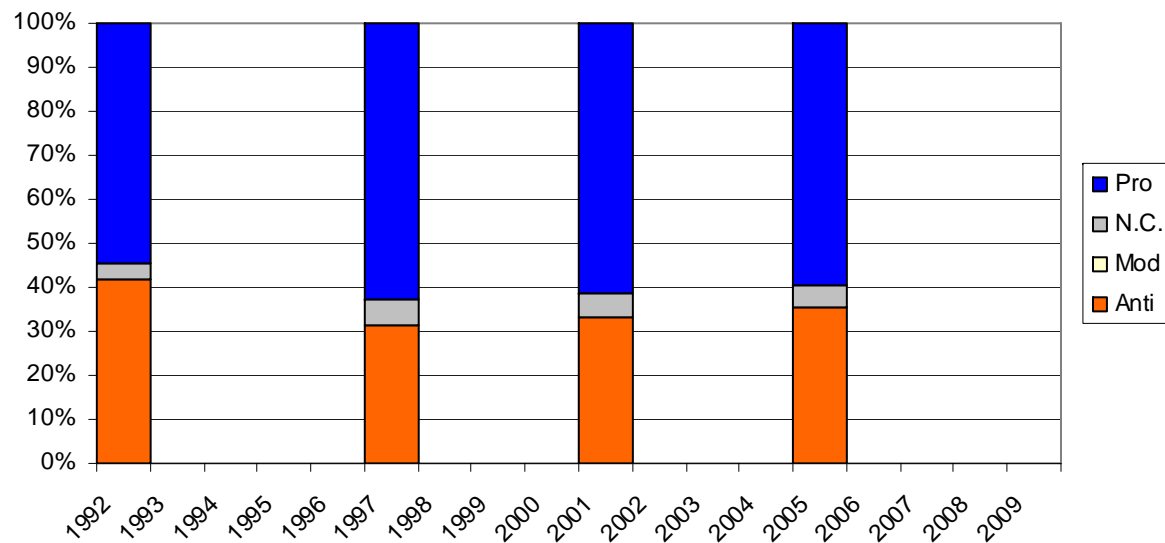


# UK

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

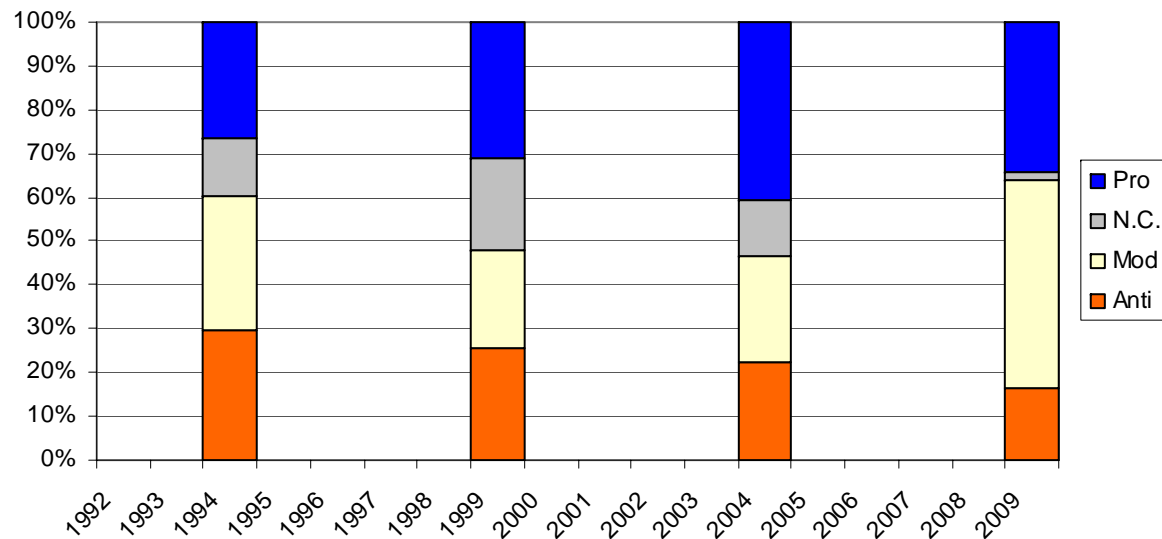


### Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE Gran Bretagna - Elezioni Politiche

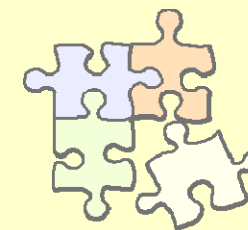
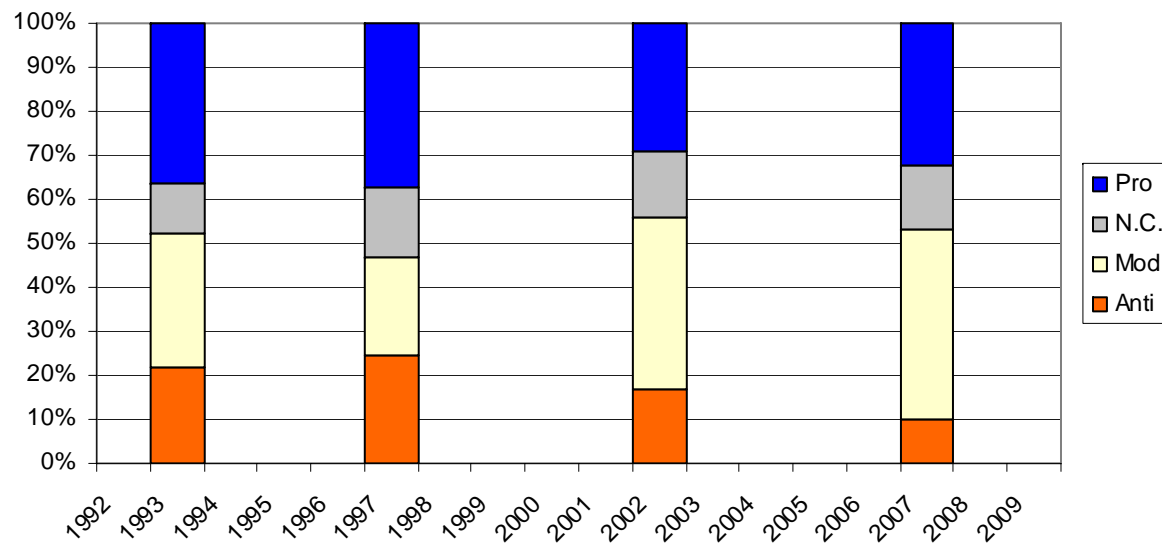


# France

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

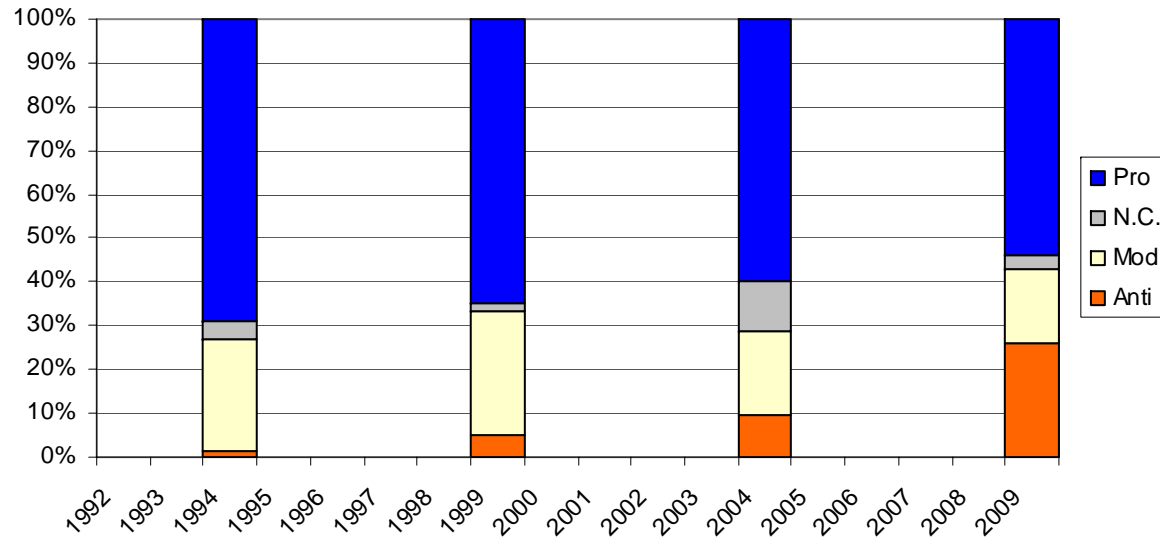


Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE  
Francia - Elezioni Politiche

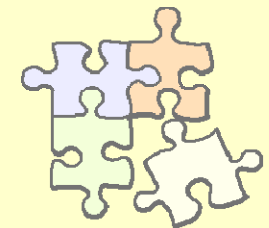
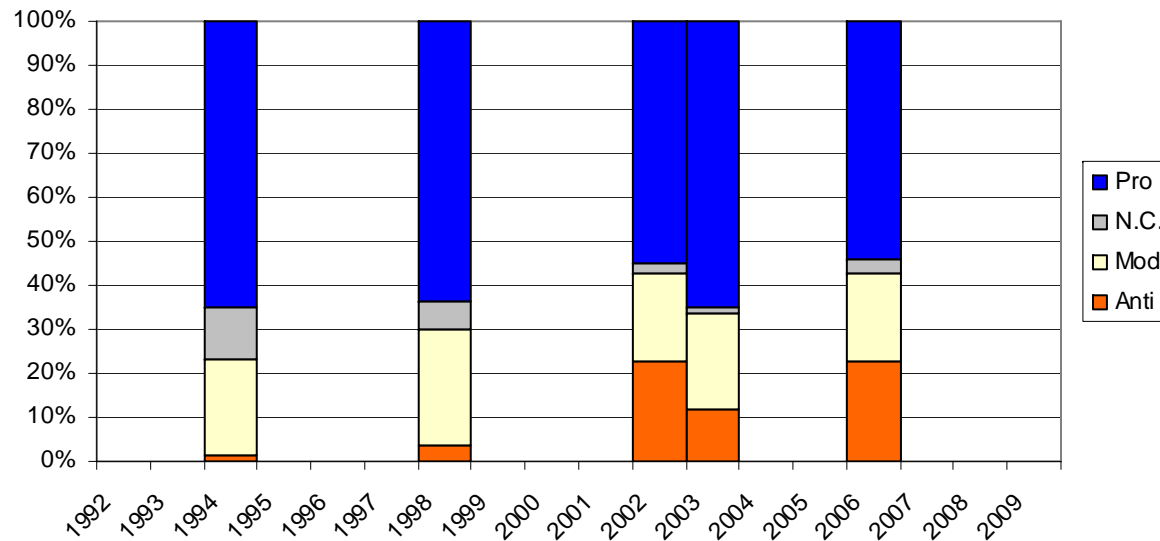


# Netherlands

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

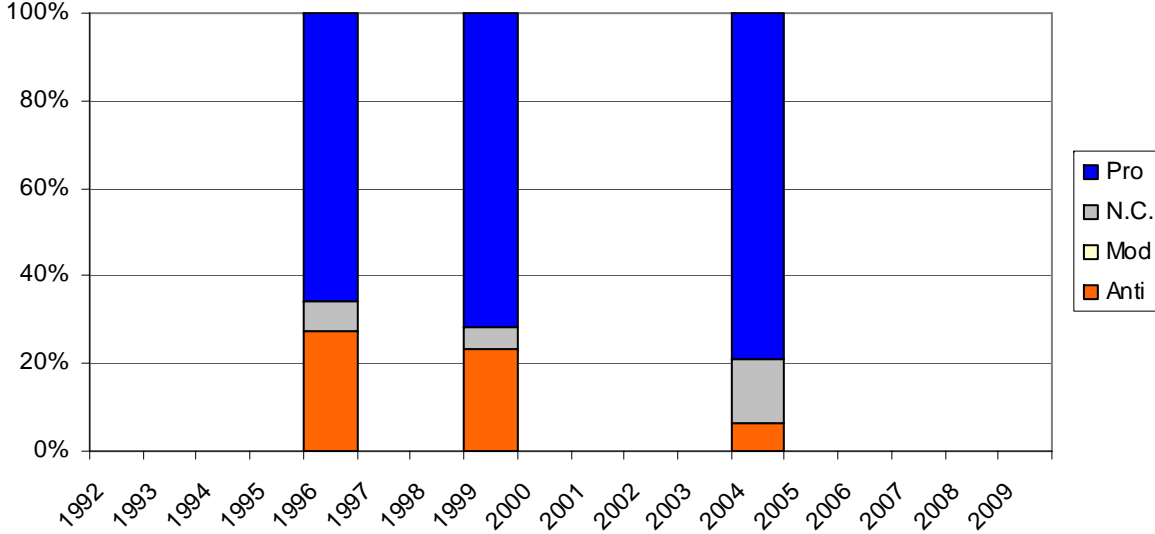


Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE  
Paesi Bassi - Elezioni Politiche

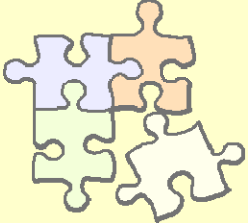
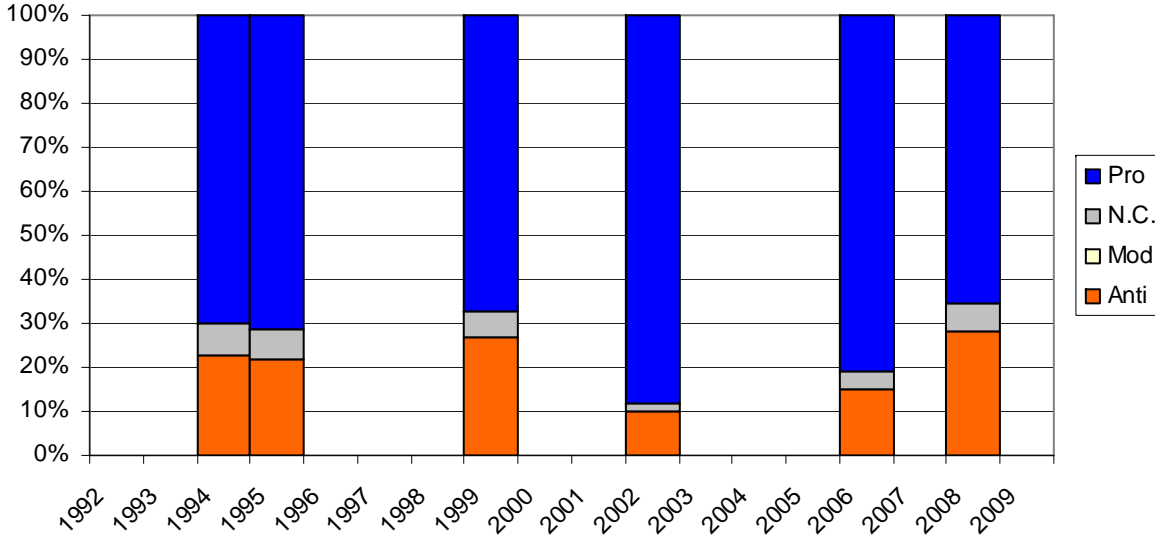


# Austria

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

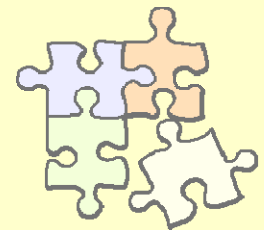


Voti a tre aree con diversi atteggiamenti verso l'UE  
Austria - Elezioni Politiche

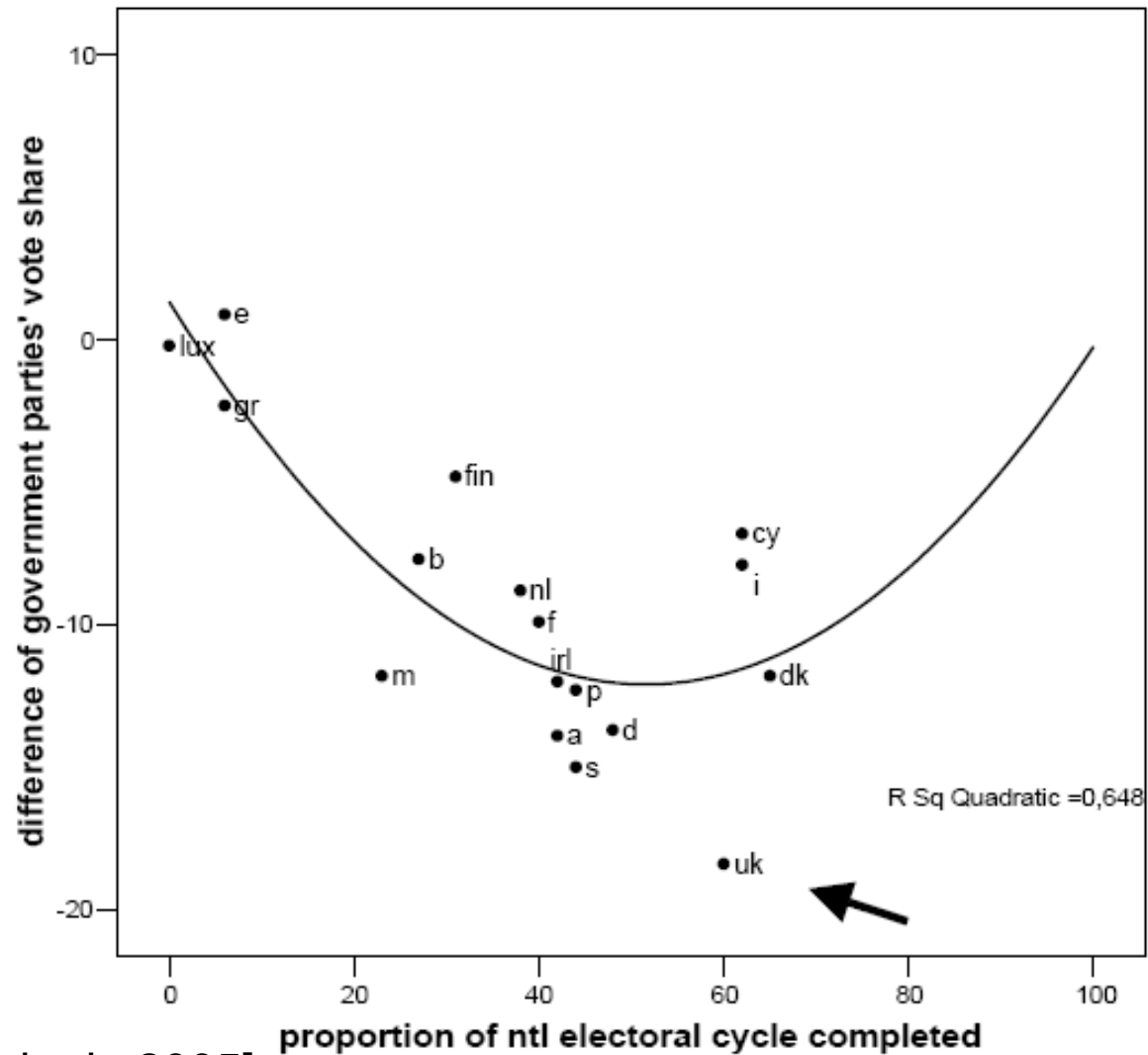


# Governing parties' strength in EE

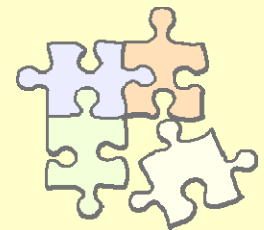
- Indicator: difference of government parties' vote share (EE – NE);
- The electoral cycle matters: the (mostly negative) difference between EE and NE is higher as the government reaches the middle of the electoral cycle;
- A quadratic model [Schmitt 2005].



# Governing parties' strength in EE



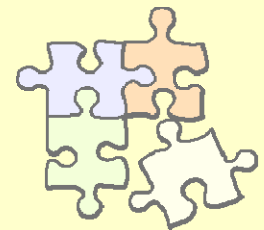
[Schmitt 2005]





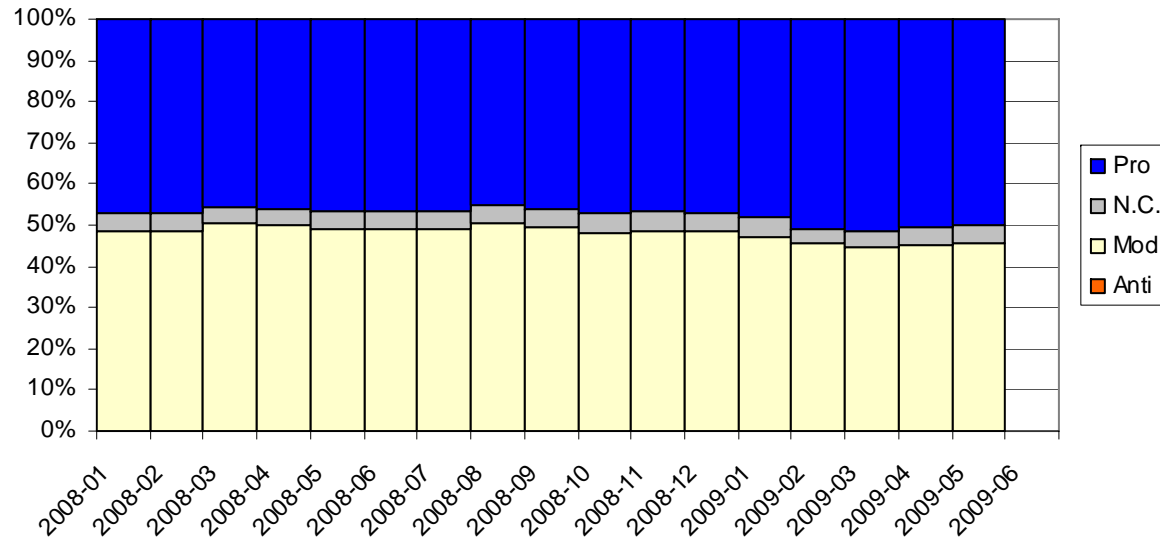
# Public opinion: government/opposition

- 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

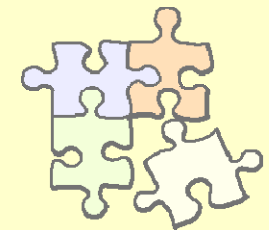
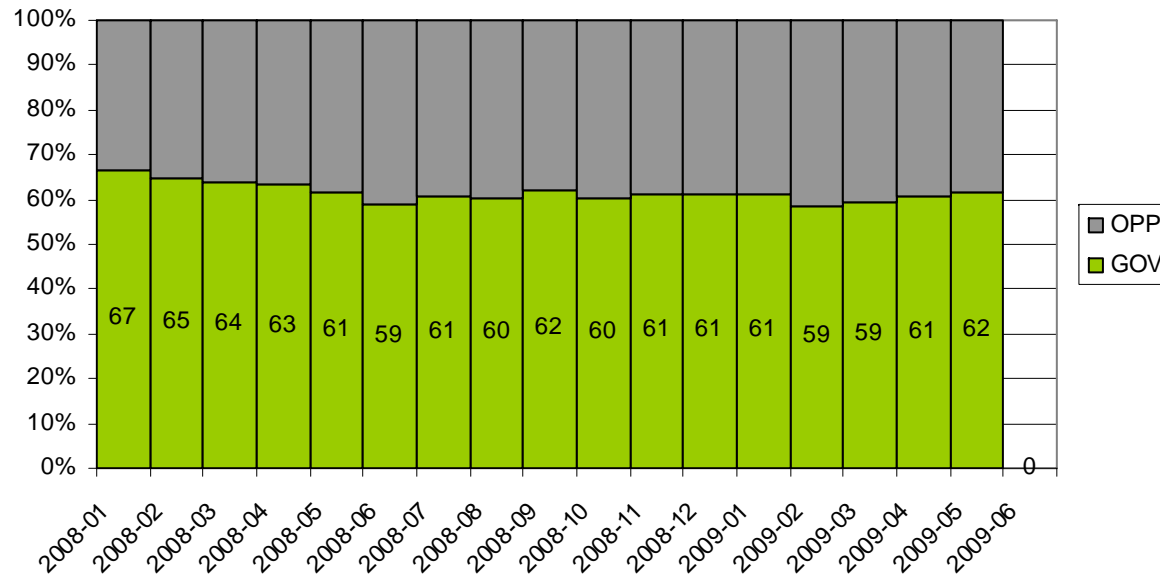


# Germany

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

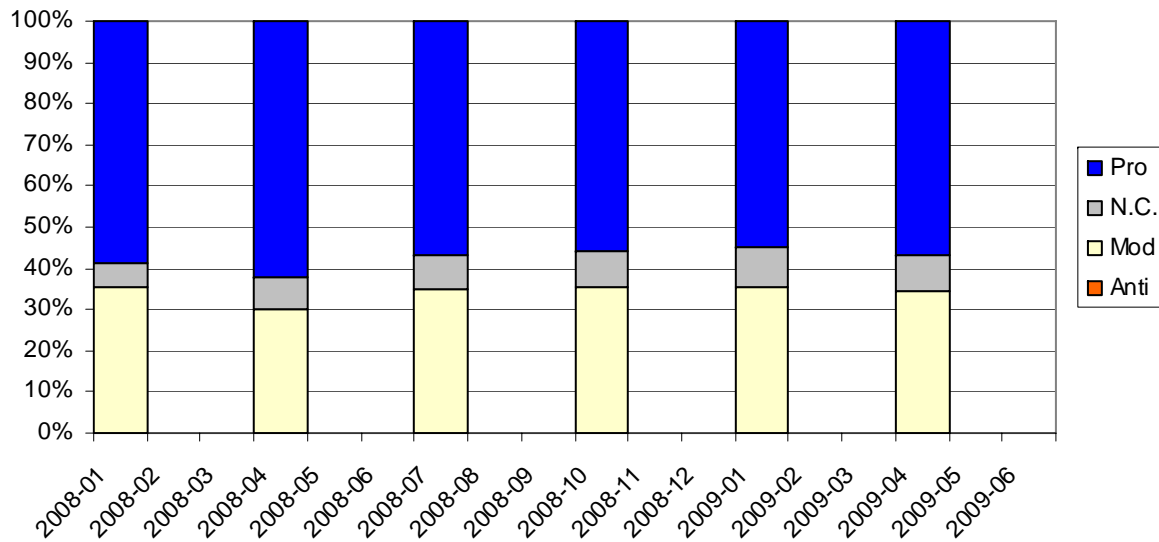


**Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Germania**

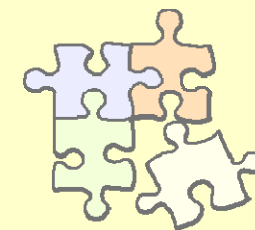
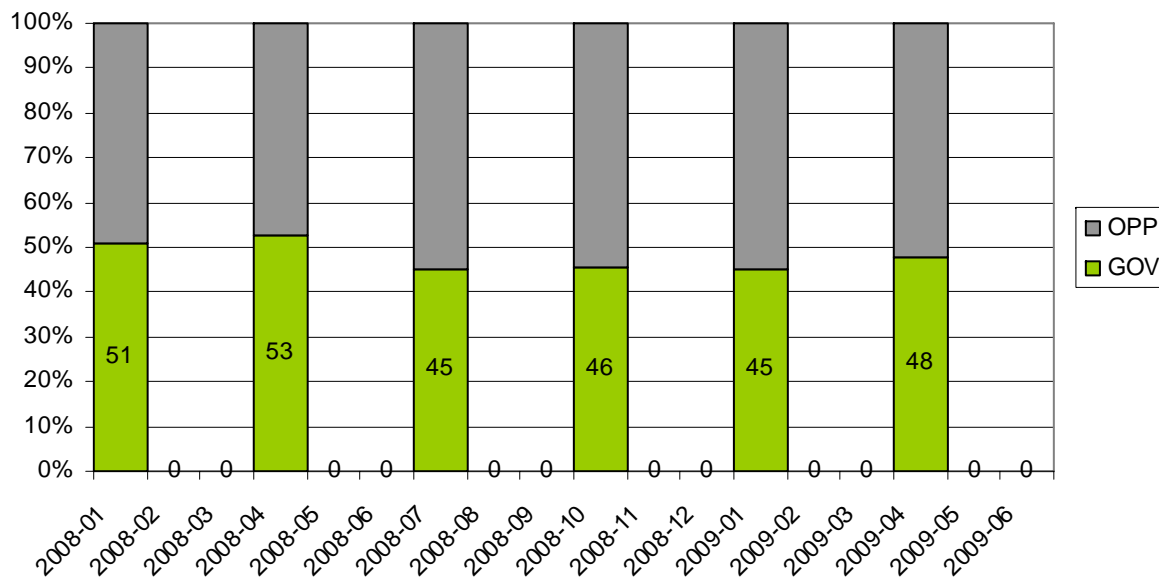


# Spain

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

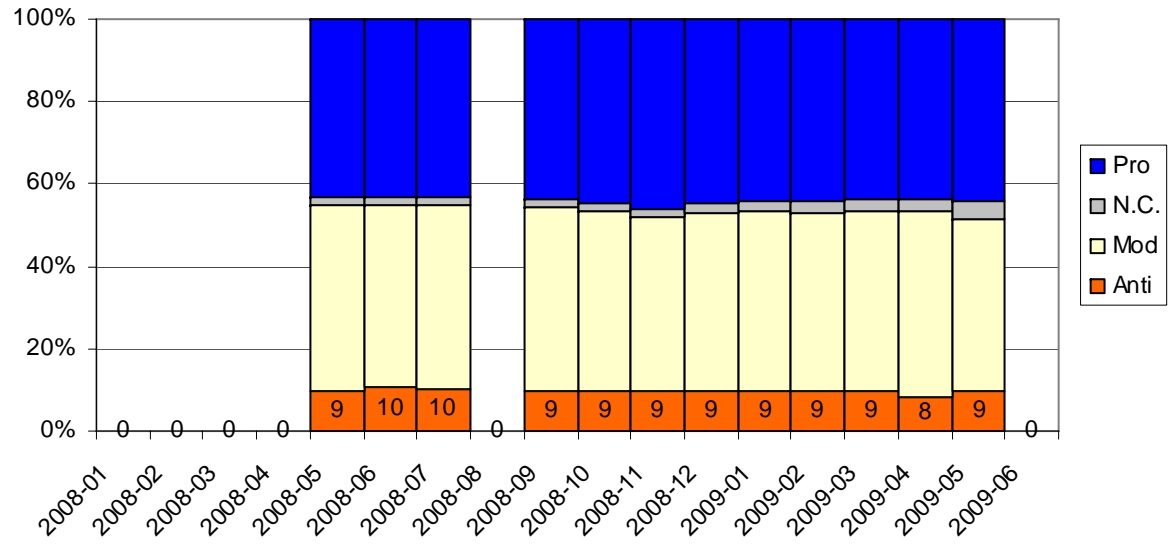


Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Spagna

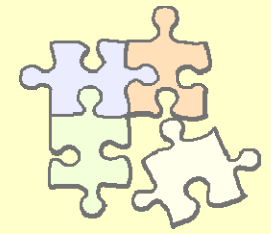
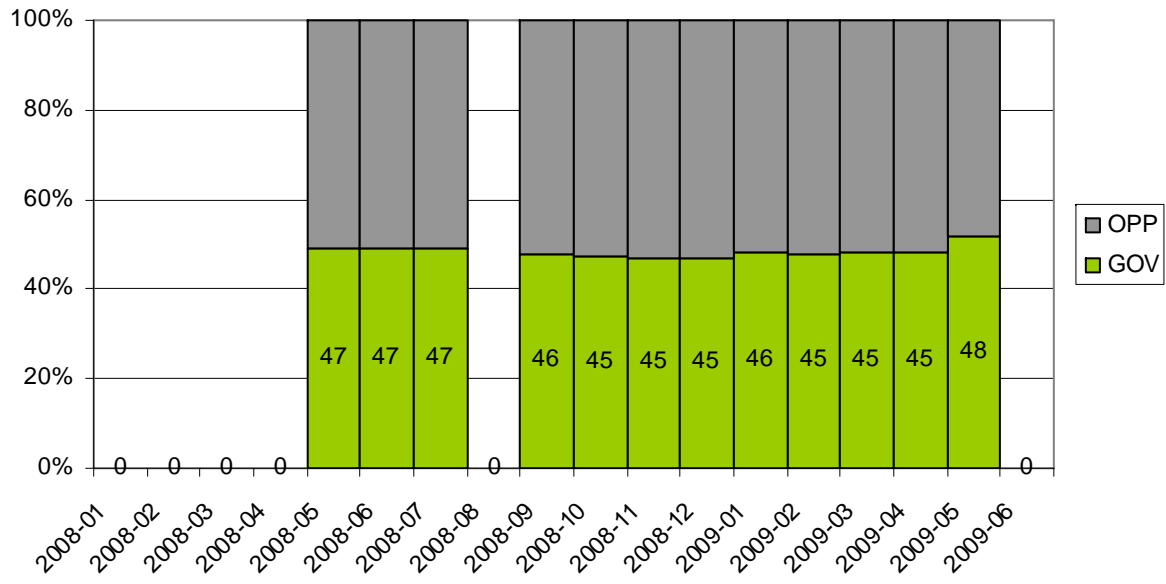


# Italy

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

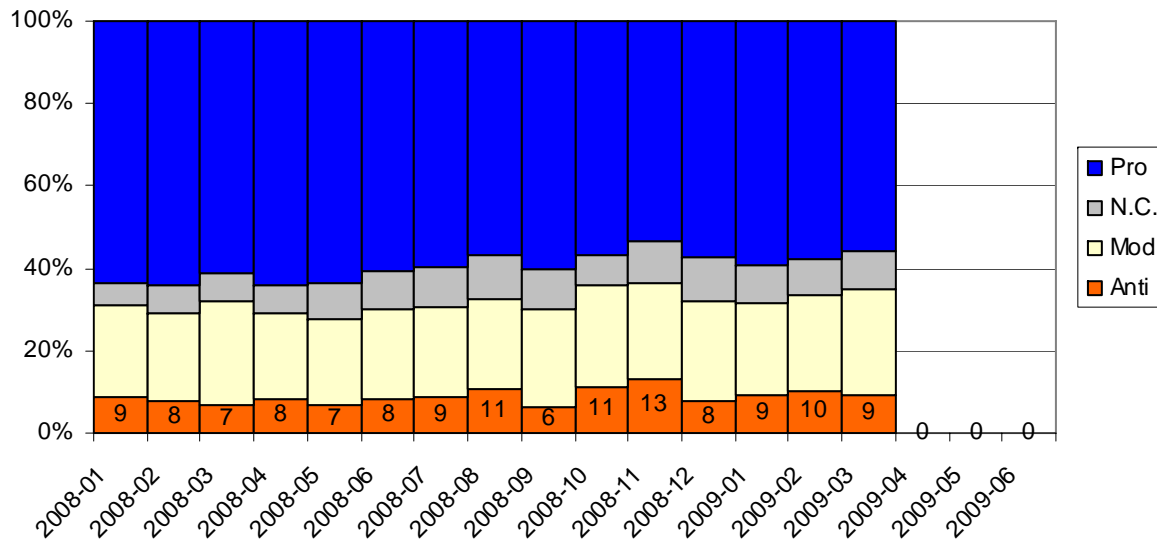


Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Italia

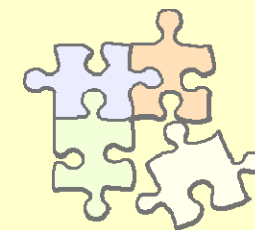
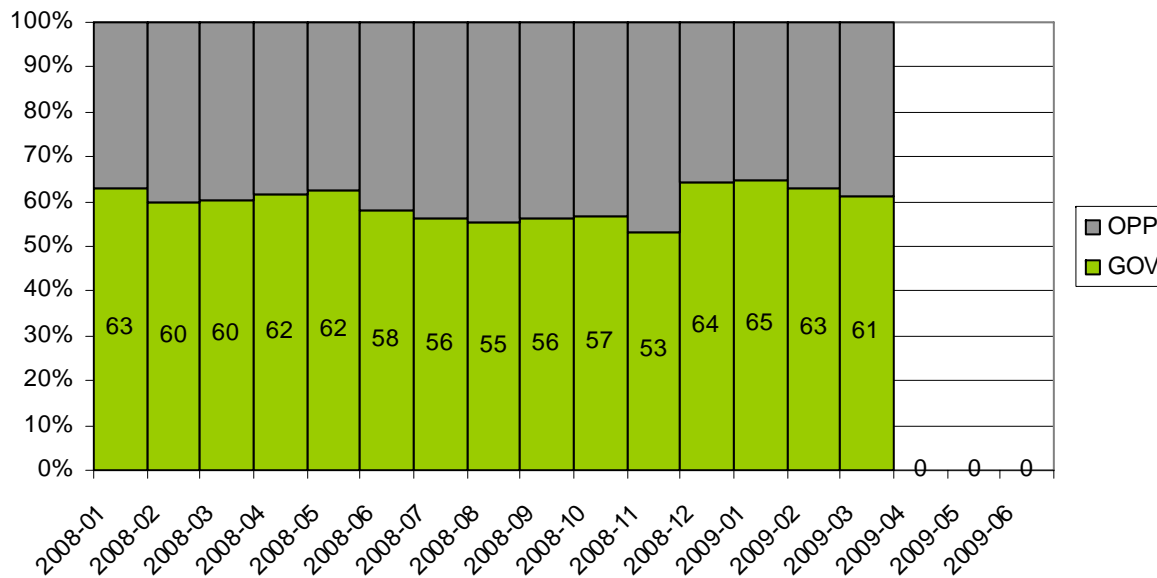


# Poland

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

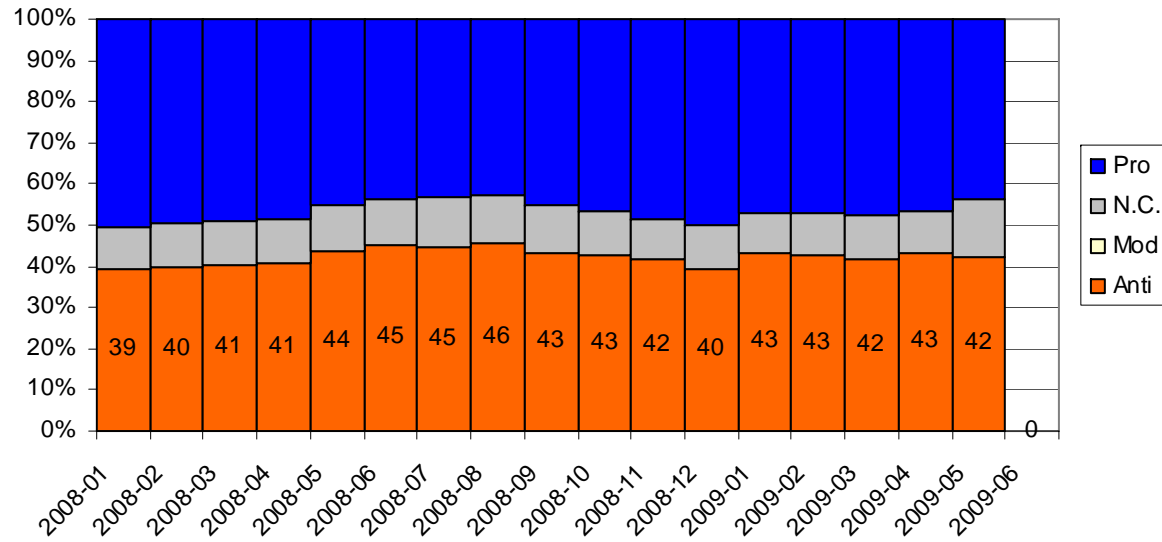


Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Polonia

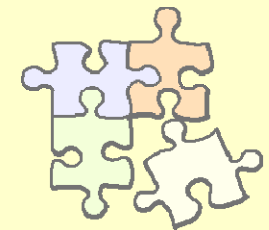
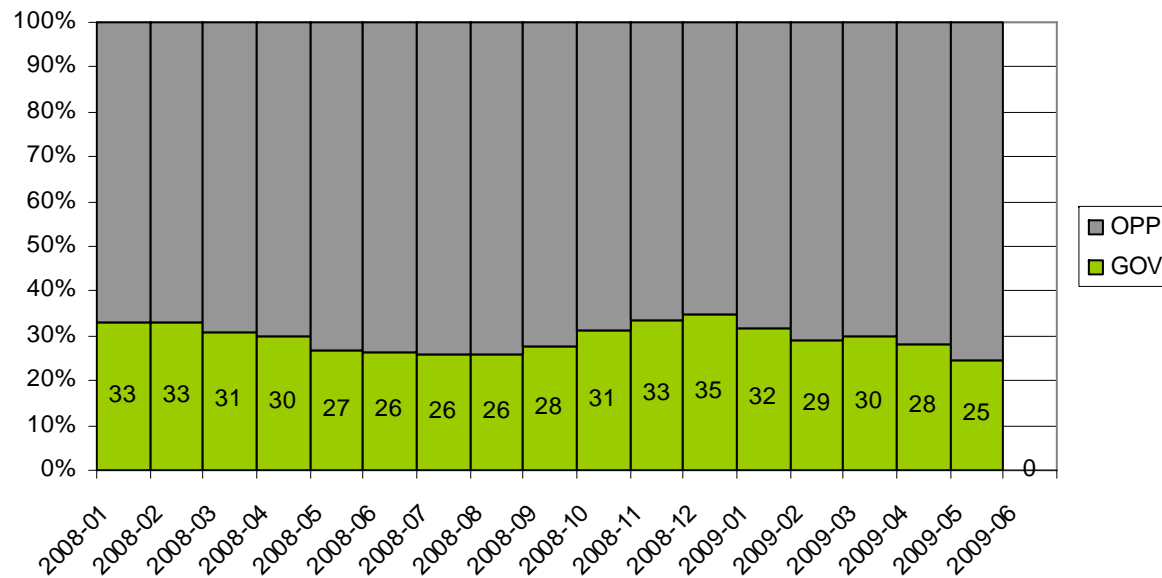


# UK

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

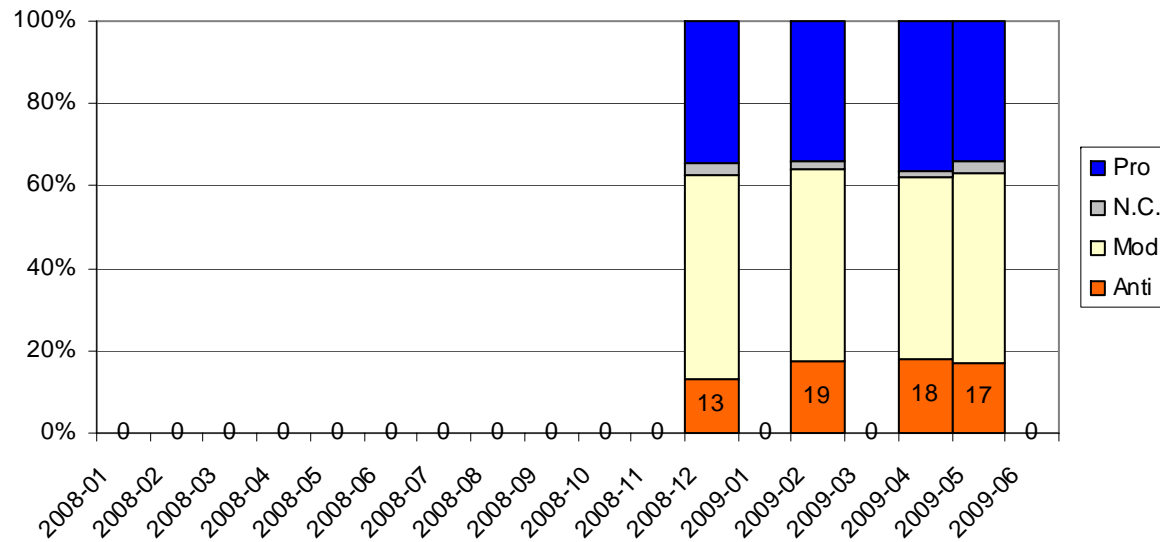


### Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Gran Bretagna

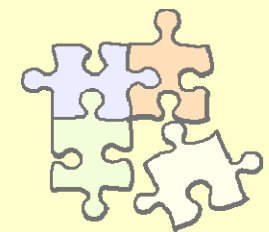
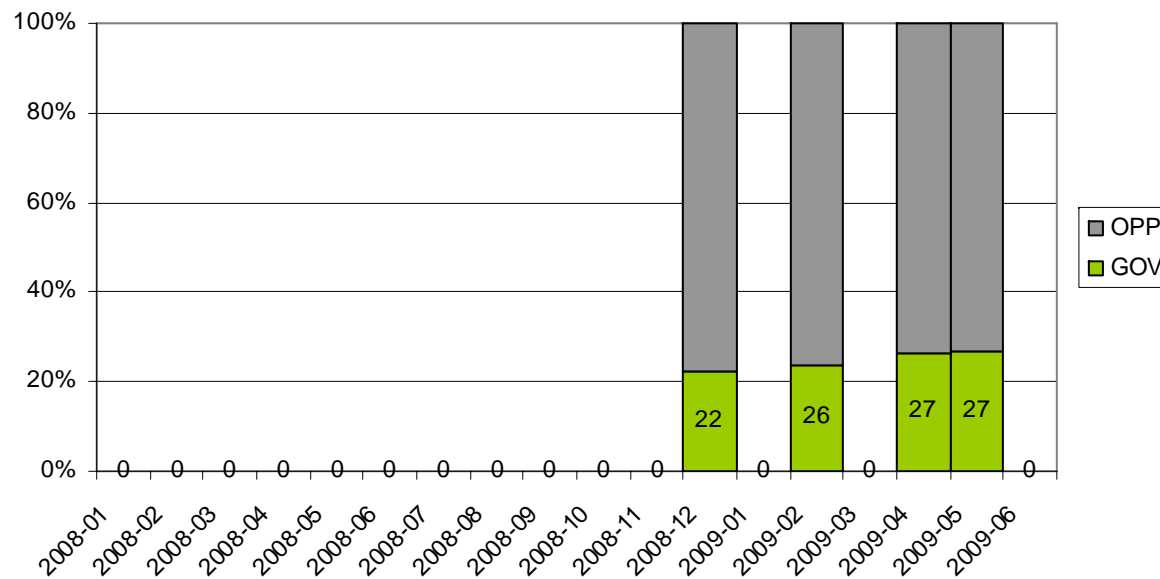


# France

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

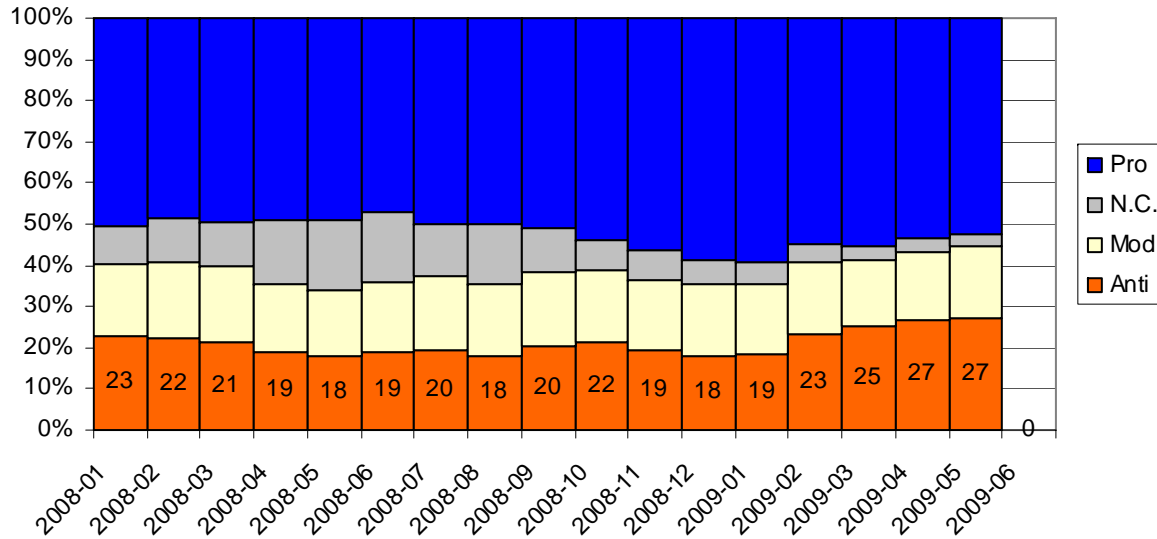


Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Francia

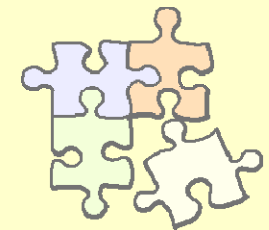
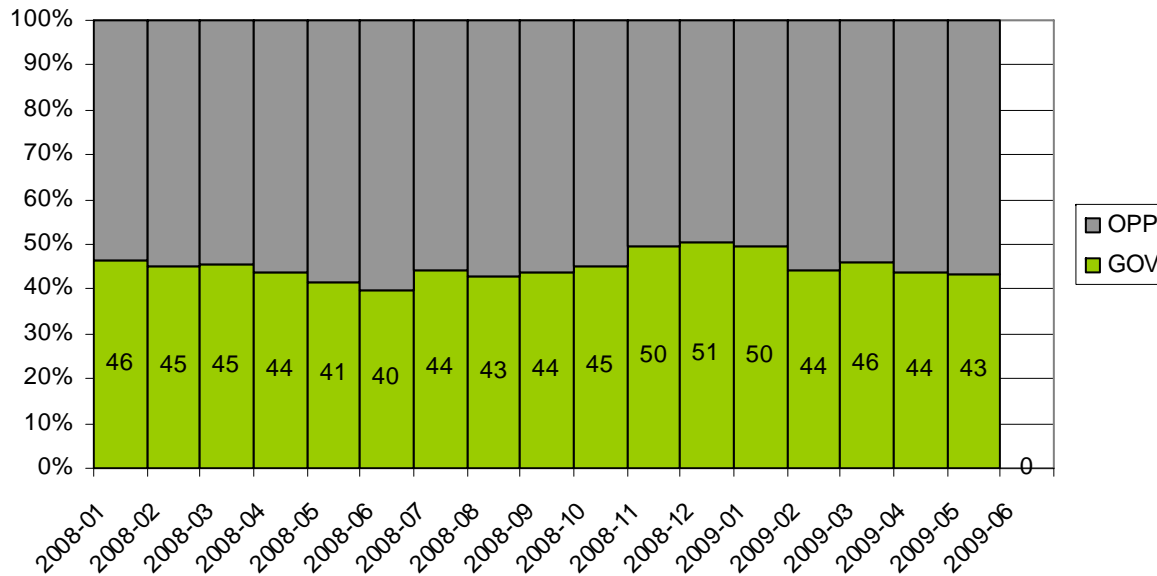


# Netherlands

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



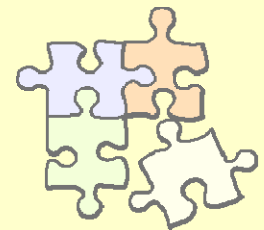
Intenzioni di voto ai partiti al governo - Paesi Bassi





# 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

