

3-Länder-Tagung 2016 in Heidelberg „Regionalismus in einer entgrenzten Welt“

Workshop Die Europäisierung politischer Repräsentation: Die Interaktion von Wählern und Parteien im europäischen Mehrebenensystem

(Giger, Klüver, Praprotnik und Tiemann)

Panel 46: Wähler und Wahlverhalten: Europäische Politikgestaltung als Wahlmotiv?

Freitag, 30.09.2016, 14:00 – 15:30 Uhr

Panel Chair: Katrin Praprotnik (Universität Hamburg)

Discussant: Heike Klüver (Universität Hamburg)

Zoe Lefkofridi, Iannis Konstanidis, Roula Nezi	Universitäten Salzburg, Macedonia, GESIS	'Ticket-splitting' in EU 'Split-Level Democracy': Seeking Policy Representation across National & EP Arenas
Julian Bernauer	Universität Bern	A Geographic Perspective on Voting in Swiss Direct Democracy
Simon Lanz	Universität Genf/Mannheim	Issue Ownership Voting in the Context of Europeanisation
Guido Tiemann	Institut für Höhere Studien, Wien	Voter Uncertainty and Party Ambiguity in EP Elections
Andreas Goldberg	Universität Genf/Amsterdam	The evolution of cleavage voting in Europe – Structural, behavioural or political dealignment?

Abstracts

Zoe Lefkofridi, Iannis Konstanidis, Roula Nezi	Universitäten Salzburg, Macedonia, GESIS	'Ticket-splitting' in EU 'Split-Level Democracy': Seeking Policy Representation across National & EP Arenas
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One way of assessing democratic representation is to examine the degree of issue congruence between representatives and their electors. The European Union (EU) is a 'split-level democracy', whereby the basic democratic legitimizing mechanisms are split between supranational and national levels of governance (Schmidt 2006). Empirical research documents that citizens also split their tickets across the EU's electoral arenas (e.g. Carruba & Timpone 2005; Hix & Marsh 2007; Sanz 2008). The reasons, however, behind this political behavior are as yet contested. And while the extent to which issue congruence matters for ticketsplitting remain debatable, studies of the EU further disagree on which dimension is more important for issue congruence. Hence, we examine the extent to which issue congruence matters for ticket-splitting in two dimensions of conflict (left-right and EU). Drawing on previous works and progressively relaxing the congruence assumption, we identify three types of

ticket-splitting and test the effects of EU and LR congruence, EU media coverage, EU polarization, electoral rules and timing of EP election. We find that issue incongruence in both dimensions with the party selected in the national arena is an important factor for splitting tickets. LR issue incongruence is more so, especially for citizens nested in countries, where barriers for smaller parties are higher in the national than in the EP arena. Party polarization on EU dimension enhances ticket-splitting, an impact which is not conditioned by voter's distance on EU terms from the party selected at the national election. Importantly, media coverage and timing of EP election do not seem to play a role for the decision to split-tickets. Our analysis thus sheds new light on the national/European causes of voters' split-ticketing -and consequently of different electoral outcomes- across electoral arenas in the EU.

Julian Bernauer	Universität Bern	A Geographic Perspective on Voting in Swiss Direct Democracy
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Switzerland produces high-quality individual- and aggregate level data on voting as well as regional or local contexts. These are already used to study geographic aspects of political behaviour to some extent, but the theoretical and methodological tools available invite extensions. The paper proposes a theoretical framework and initial analyses for a geographic perspective on voting in Swiss direct democracy, with a focus on Swiss-EU relations such as the vote on the "Masseneinwanderungsinitiative". The research question is: Can the results of initiatives or referendums (partly) be explained by geographic factors? The thrust of the theoretical model is a geographic extension of standard voting models. For an empirical application, voting results at the communal level and/or the individual voting decisions are explained not only by the usual variables such as rural or urban area or (individual) social status, but also considering spatially structured context factors such as the local share of migrants, the share of migrants in neighbouring areas, streams of cross-border commuters and the influence of further, unobserved geographically structured factors. The research setup requires the use of (hierarchical) spatial regression models.

Simon Lanz	Universität Genf/Mannheim	Issue Ownership Voting in the Context of Europeanisation
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This paper investigates issue ownership voting in the context of Europeanisation. Issue ownership theory postulates that voting is based on perceptions about a party's competence to handle an important issue. The literature usually defines competence as "the ability to resolve a problem of concern to voters" (Petrocik 1996: p. 826). However, many of today's pressing issues are handled on the European level. Thus, even if in office, national parties can no longer independently resolve these problems. In turn, this development might influence the way voters attribute issue-handling competence and use issue ownership as decision-making criterion. This paper thus evolves around two questions: (i) Can national parties build reputations of competence on issues even when these issues are considered "European issues"? (ii) Does issue-handling competence pay fewer electoral dividends on "European issues" than on "national issues"? Put differently, do voters base their vote decision on issue competence of national parties even if they agree that these issues are largely

handled on the European level? The empirical test is based on data from the 2009 European Parliament Elections (PIREDU) covering 25 member states of the European Union.

Guido Tiemann	Institut für Höhere Studien, Wien	Voter Uncertainty and Party Ambiguity in EP Elections
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Voter uncertainty is much higher concerning European Union politics than national politics. Our empirical analysis demonstrates that voter uncertainty is equally caused by voter sophistication and by strategic ambiguity of political parties. Abstract: The spatial model of voting requires voters to be (fully) informed and (fully) rational decision-makers. Relations between the locations of voters and parties in a political space matter for party evaluation and for vote choice. This paper uses the unique comparative data provided by the European Election Studies to explore what happens when the idealized assumptions of full and correct information are violated. The argument is developed in two consecutive steps: (1) We begin with a definition of vote uncertainty about spatial party locations and discriminate between voter-induced, perceptual uncertainty which is predominantly a consequences of political sophistication and party-induced, strategic uncertainty which traces back to party ambiguity and equivocation. (2) The second step links voter uncertainty with vote choice. We hypothesize that higher levels of uncertainty reduce the voters' capacity to use spatial considerations for vote choice and systematically depress voter utilities for a specific party.

Andreas Goldberg	Universität Genf/Amsterdam	The evolution of cleavage voting in Europe – Structural, behavioural or political dealignment?
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Since the heyday of cleavage voting in the 1960s/70s, the majority of studies in that field presents evidence of a decline in cleavage voting. Developments such as societal modernisation, the so called cognitive mobilisation and the resulting individualisation of politics have been said to weaken cleavage voting. Surprisingly, though, the exact role these factors played for the found decline are rather understudied. Broadly speaking one can group the factors into structural and behavioural changes. Structural dealignment would argue that changes in group sizes, e.g. a declining group of workers or religious people, are responsible for the decrease in cleavage voting. Behavioural dealignment, in contrast, speaks of behavioural changes, e.g. a weakening party-voter link between workers and left parties, that led to the weakening cleavage impact. A rather modern third phenomenon is collective voting abstention by certain social groups (e.g. lower classes), here referred to political dealignment, resulting in a new type of division in terms of voting vs. abstention.

The importance of these three types of dealignment may vary across countries. This might be systematically linked to differences in the economic and social structure of the countries and related changes in there over time. For instance, economic developments such as tertiarization have taken place to a different degree and with different speed across countries. Similarly, the amount of secularisation also varies across Europe. These crosscountry variations may then result in a higher/lower importance of structural or behavioural dealignment when regarding the longitudinal impact of cleavages. The purpose of this paper is thus to examine the underlying mechanisms for the decline in cleavage voting in more detail. For this purpose I aim to compare longitudinal data across

European countries. Preliminary results from Switzerland show that the decreasing impact is mainly due to behavioural changes, leaving little influence to structural developments. Evidence for a new type of division in terms of voting vs. abstention is equally present. These results shall be put to a broader test using data from other European countries.

Panel 47: Europäisierung nationaler Wahlkämpfe? Die Auswirkungen der europäischen Integration auf den nationalen Parteienwettbewerb

Freitag, 30.09.2016, 16:00 – 17:30 Uhr

Panel Chair: Guido Tiemann (Institut für Höhere Studien, Wien)

Discussant: Katrin Praprotnik (Universität Hamburg)

Anke Tresch und Alexandra Feddersen	University of Lausanne, Geneva	Campaign communication, media coverage and their effect on issue ownership
Jae-Jae Spoon und Heike Klüver	University of North Texas, Universität Hamburg	The rise of extremist parties: The effect of mainstream party convergence
Alejandro Ecker, Marcelo Jenny, Wolfgang C. Müller und Katrin Praprotnik	Universitäten Wien, Hamburg	Cross-validating Party Position Estimates from Experts and Manifestos. New Insights from the IntUne Elite Survey
Martin Gross und Constantin Schäfer	Universität Mannheim	Euro-scepticism and the Euro Crisis: A multi-dimensional approach
Daniela Braun und Tobias Schwarzbözl	Universität München	Representation of a multifaceted Europe: An empirical study on the link between party's EU issue emphasis and public opinion over different types of European issues

Abstracts

Anke Tresch und Alexandra Feddersen	University of Lausanne, Geneva	Campaign communication, media coverage and their effect on issue ownership
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Issue ownership refers to the fact that parties are, in the minds of voters, associated with certain issues and considered best able to handle them. During the last 15 years, the Swiss people's party has not only gained a considerable amount of votes during elections, it is also increasingly considered to be most competent to tackle the issue of European integration. While the Social Democrats were until recently seen as best able to handle this problem, the Swiss people's party has gained clear ownership of the European integration issue. This paper looks at the effects of party communication on issue ownership perceptions in Switzerland. Combining four different datasets in a multilevel analysis, we argue that issue ownership can partly be shaped by parties' campaign communication on issues and

by party-issue linkages in media coverage. The results show that it is easier for parties to strengthen their issue ownership perceptions in the public's mind rather than to damage the reputation of others.

Jae-Jae Spoon und Heike Klüver	University of North Texas, Universität Hamburg	The rise of extremist parties: The effect of mainstream party convergence
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The European political space has changed dramatically over the past twenty years. We have seen the rise and success of new parties, from the greens and the far-right, to left-wing anti-austerity parties, such as Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain, and Eurosceptic parties, such as the Alternative für Deutschland. We have also seen smaller parties, such as the Scottish National Party, vastly improve their electoral fortunes. In looking for an answer for what explains this political and electoral volatility, we can turn to Anthony Downs's (1957) seminal spatial argument that as mainstream political parties' policy positions converge, voters will look for alternatives which better represent their preferences. Although an oft-cited expectation, there has not yet been a systematic cross-national analysis of whether the empirical evidence supports this claim. In this paper, we seek to fill this gap. By examining voter and party behavior over time and across countries, we argue that there is indeed evidence to support Downs's expectation. At the individual level, we argue that as large, mainstream parties converge on the left-right scale, voters will switch from supporting a mainstream party to a small/niche/fringe party in the next election. At the party level, we argue that as large, mainstream parties converge on the left-right scale, the vote shares of mainstream parties will decrease; whereas, the vote shares of small/niche/fringe parties will increase in the next election. To test our theoretical expectations, we combine data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems and Comparative Manifestos Project. We examine voter and party behavior in 19 European countries from 1996-2011. Our findings have important implications for understanding party competition and the relationship between voters and parties.

Alejandro Ecker, Marcelo Jenny, Wolfgang C. Müller und Katrin Praprotnik	Universitäten Wien, Hamburg	Cross-validating Party Position Estimates from Experts and Manifestos. New Insights from the IntUne Elite Survey
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Locating the positions of political parties on a given policy continuum is a fundamental prerequisite of testing much of today's theories of party competition, government formation, and legislative decision-making. For this purpose, political scientists have developed a variety of alternative approaches for estimating policy positions of political parties. This paper examines the validity of three of the most popular approaches to estimate these policy positions: elite surveys, expert surveys, and content analyses of party manifestos. We combine the comprehensive IntUne elite survey among national MPs of 131 parties in 17 European democracies with existing expert survey and manifesto data. This allows us to compare party positions derived from three different sources at the same point in time. Our main empirical results are twofold: First, we find that the general left-right estimates generated by elites and experts show a higher congruence than those derived from party manifestos. With regard to party stances on European integration neither measure clearly materializes as more valid

approximation of the position estimates. Second, we identify several determinant factors which explain when estimates derived from elite surveys diverge from those of the other two sources (e.g. party extremism). These findings enhance our knowledge on which estimates are more suitable for the research question at hand.

Martin Gross und Constantin Schäfer	Universität Mannheim	Euroscepticism and the Euro Crisis: A multi-dimensional approach
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During the severe economic and sovereign debt crisis in Europe, citizens' political trust in the problem-solving capacities of the European Union has faced such a stark decline that it puts the future of the European integration process into question. Yet, it is not totally clear whether the rise of Euroscepticism that has been seen all over Europe can be causally linked to the difficult economic and political circumstances in the EU. It thus remains an open question whether and how citizens and political parties in the EU member states have responded similarly to the crisis regarding their stance on European integration, especially since we understand Euroscepticism as a multi-dimensional phenomenon that manifests itself on the level of both voters and parties alike.

In this paper, we aim at addressing this question by exploring different ways in which the Euro crisis has affected political behavior of citizens and the policy positions of parties throughout the European Union. In particular, we are taking into account citizens' and parties' first 'real' chance to react to the crisis by voting in and adopting election manifestos for the European Parliament elections in 2014. By conducting first-differences regression models, we will be able to measure the effects of the Euro crisis on various manifestations of Euroscepticism between 2004, 2009 and 2014: Have citizens and political parties become more Eurosceptic in countries that have been hit harder by the crisis and has this happened to the same extent? And to what degree do the outcomes of European elections reflect these processes? In order to answer these research questions, we exploit different data sources such as macro-economic indicators, the European Elections Studies post-election survey and the Euromanifesto dataset. The findings will improve our understanding about whether voters and parties respond to external pressures in a similar fashion over various political and economic contexts.

Daniela Braun und Tobias Schwarzbözl	Universität München	Representation of a multifaceted Europe: An empirical study on the link between party's EU issue emphasis and public opinion over different types of European issues
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Although European issue salience and public opinion over Europe have been widely researched independently, studies on the linkage between these two subjects are almost negligible. This is insofar surprising as representation theory suggests that a key function of political parties is to aggregate and articulate voter's preferences, which implicates that issues raised by parties should be reflected at the voters' level. Against this theoretical background and the perpetual debate of the European Union's democratic deficit, the aim of our paper is to investigate the specific link between issue emphasis of political parties in elections to the European Parliament (EP) and voter's priorities over European

issues. In line with recent findings, we assume that parties listen to their voters when elaborating their election manifestos – also when it comes to European issues (representation hypothesis). This assumption should be confirmed in particular by empirical evidence in the later periods of European integration when times of ‘permissive consensus’ have been overcome and European issues play a significant role for voting behavior in EP elections (deepening hypothesis). Moreover, we take into account that Europe is a compound political issue, highlighting the crucial difference between three different types of European issues (namely general, constitutive, and policy-related European issues), and assume that the link between parties issue emphasis and voter’s issue attention is most prevalent in the case of constitutive European issues (constitutive hypothesis). We use data from the Euromanifesto project to map the three types of European issues emphasized by political parties. To grasp these three issue types on the voter’s side, we use data from the European Election Study and combine the vote intention of each respondent with her/ his attitude over the three types of European issues. Our aim is to map the linkage over time from 1979 to 2014.

Panel 48: Politische Repräsentation im europäischen Mehrebenensystem

Samstag, 01.10.2016, 09:00 – 10:30 Uhr

Panel Chair: Heike Klüver (Universität Hamburg)

Discussant: Guido Tiemann (Institut für Höhere Studien, Wien)

Daniela Beyer	Universität Konstanz	Representing Europeans – A Study of the Match of Policy Agendas and Citizens’ Priorities
Elena Frech	Universität Mannheim	Delegierte oder Repräsentanten? Die Repräsentativen Rollen der Mitglieder des Europäischen Parlaments
Stefanie Bailer, Christian Breunig, Nathalie Giger, Andreas Wüst	Universitäten Basel/Konstanz/Genf/Mannheim	Minority MPs in the German Bundestag: Between Minority Representation and Individual Career Paths
Roman Senninger Daniel Bischof Julian, Hörner	Universitäten Aarhus, Zürich, LSE	Scrutiny, Representation and Scandal: The Nature of Parliamentary Oversight Instruments in EU Affairs
Patrick Bernhagen, Uwe Remer-Bollow und Richard Rose	Universität Stuttgart, University of Strathclyde	Consequences of Low Turnout for Political Representation in the European Parliament

Abstracts

Daniela Beyer	Universität Konstanz	Representing Europeans – A Study of the Match of Policy Agendas and Citizens’ Priorities
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Who represents Europe’s citizens – who responds to their concerns? The responsiveness of political systems to citizens’ demands is of crucial importance for all considerations on democratic governance, public policy-making, and questions of legitimacy. For nation states this assumption is generally accepted and reason for a lot of scholarly attention. The European Union, instead, while not being a major focus of the debate, is criticized for being undemocratic and lacking the context for representation and responsiveness to succeed. I claim that policy representation in Europe can only be understood when analyzing responsiveness in the multilevel framework of EU and member states’ shared responsibilities as defined by the European treaties. This paper thus examines both levels’ responsiveness to citizens’ major concerns on the basis of EU institutions and member states’ public policy agendas and citizens stated “Most Important Problems”. The main argument is that today’s EU has become responsive to citizens’ demands given that it has the competencies in the relevant policy field and that an issue of cross-national importance is concerned. I argue that the EU can be responsive if one of the following three conditions hold: When (a) all agree, (b) cross-national coalitions form, or (c) one individual country plays a major role. This is most likely to happen in times of crises or external focusing events that no individual country can tackle alone. I test this claim empirically with Eurobarometer data on citizens’ Most Important Problem survey responses coded into policy areas along the same lines as legislation in individual member states and European Council Conclusions. The findings suggest that the EU’s responsiveness to citizen’s concerns takes up a comparatively bigger share in the multilevel framework than what was previously expected.

Elena Frech	Universität Mannheim	Delegierte oder Repräsentanten? Die Repräsentativen Rollen der Mitglieder des Europäischen Parlaments
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Im Zusammenhang mit dem vieldiskutierten Demokratischen Defizit der Europäischen Union und der Legitimität Ihrer Macht ist die Frage nach den repräsentativen Rollen der Europaparlamentarier von immenser Bedeutung. Dieser Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit der Frage wen Europaparlamentarier repräsentieren und warum. Auf Basis von Umfragedaten wird das subjektive Rollenverständnis von Europaparlamentariern analysiert um herauszufinden, ob diese sich eher als Delegierte ihrer nationalen Partei oder als Repräsentanten gesellschaftlicher Gruppen sehen. In einem zweiten Schritt wird untersucht, was die repräsentative Rollenorientierung von Europaparlamentariern beeinflusst. Hier sind neben dem Wahlsystem eines Landes zur Europawahl im Allgemeinen und den Verfahren der Parteien zu Kandidatenaufstellung im Speziellen auch die Einstellungen der Europaparlamentarier und ihrer Parteien gegenüber der EU von Interesse.

Stefanie Bailer, Christian Breunig, Nathalie Giger, Andreas Wüst	Universitäten Basel/Konstanz/Genf/Mannheim	Minority MPs in the German Bundestag: Between Minority Representation and Individual Career Paths
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The social background of elected representatives has become a more salient topic in political science. Especially since the growing evidence of unequal representation (e.g. Bartels 2008, Giger et al. 2012), an obvious question to ask is whether the unequal representation of societal groups is related to the political elite level and the sparse representation of minority groups in parliaments for example.

We present a more nuanced argument and posit that the substantive representation of minority interests is not only a function of the number of MPs in parliament but also of their personal career paths in parliament. MPs with a minority background will be more inclined to act as minority representatives at the beginning of their parliamentary career than after serving for a few years (see also Wüst 2014). We argue that they choose to represent their minority particularly at the beginning of their mandate since it gives them credibility when they have no other previous legislative record to demonstrate their expertise. We expect that they will reduce this representational activity during their legislative mandate when they have built up more expertise in other policy areas.

Importantly, we broaden the perspective by looking at different minority groups (women, poor/workers, young, homosexuals, disabled and migrants) which allows us to categorize the groups in terms of their size and their prevalence for the MPs identity. It will also allow us to distinguish between various minorities and explore whether some minorities will be represented over the whole course of a career and some only at the beginning.

Empirically, we bring together biographical information on MPs' backgrounds with an analysis of their parliamentary activities (collective parliamentary questions) coded according to the Comparative Agenda project for the time between 1998-2013.

Roman Senninger	Universitäten Aarhus, Zürich,	Scrutiny, Representation and Scandal: The Nature of Parliamentary Oversight Instruments in EU Affairs
Daniel Bischof	LSE	
Julian, Hörner		

Domestic legislatures have very limited means to influence EU policy-making. In order to counteract negative implications for the quality of democracy in the European Union and to compensate for their lack of power, members of parliament (MPs) and parliamentary groups have a wide range of instruments at their disposal allowing them to scrutinize decision-making in EU affairs. They can ask written and oral questions, debate in the plenary, submit reasoned opinions and adopt resolutions. While recent research has investigated the extent to which parliamentary actors make use of those instruments and thus looked into the functioning of democratic accountability in EU affairs, we still know very little about the actual purpose of EU scrutiny. In this study we therefore aim to grasp the nature of parliamentary oversight instruments in EU affairs. We suggest that parties and MPs get engaged in EU scrutiny for three reasons: (1) to control the government; (2) to represent citizens; and (3) to harm political competitors. We expect purposes to differ due party characteristics (e.g. position towards the EU, ideological orientation) and features of oversight instruments (e.g. publicity, effectiveness). To test our arguments we apply hand coded and supervised methods of text analysis on parliamentary questions and resolutions in Austria and Germany (1996-2012). Our results will shed light on the purpose of oversight instruments in parliamentary systems and democratic accountability

in EU affairs in particular. Moreover, we contribute to knowledge on the application of automated text analysis in the area of legislative studies.

Patrick Bernhagen, Uwe Remer-Bollow und Richard Rose	Universität Stuttgart, University of Strathclyde	Consequences of Low Turnout for Political Representation in the European Parliament
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The 2014 EP elections brought a considerable shift towards a more Euro-sceptic composition of the European Parliament. As a result, one out of five MEPs is a member of a Euro-sceptic or nationalist parliamentary group. While EU-critical parties were able to mobilise their voters with programmatic demands to decelerate or even reverse the process of European integration and to re-align European legislation to national concerns, the overall turnout remained at a very low level. It is therefore important to consider the consequences of low turnout for the representation of citizens and the partisan composition of the European Parliament. To date, only little is known about the implications of lower turnout on the parliamentary representation of the European electorate. Since voters may differ from non-voters with regard to party preferences, low levels of turnout might affect party vote shares and ultimately the allocation of seats. We investigate the implications of low turnout for political representation in the EU by analysing turnout effects according to party characteristics including ideological position and Euro-scepticism. To this end, we simulate the counterfactual situation of higher turnout by estimating the potential vote choice of the non-voters survey data from the 2009 and 2014 European Election Studies. Comparing the turnout effects at the 2009 and 2014 elections, we draw conclusions about the extent to which the success of the Euro-sceptic parties is consequence (a) of low turnout, as indicated by a composition effect, or (b) of a shift in citizen preferences.