

**A TWELVE COUNTRY STUDY
OF THE 1989 EUROPEAN
ELECTIONS**

by

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Summary:

How does a national party system arise from pre-existing allegiances to place of birth and social group? What is the process by which local loyalties and parochial orientations give way to wider concerns? These are questions that were not asked during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century nation-building experiences in Europe and the United States. Yet without answers to these questions and others like them, it is impossible for us fully to understand our own history and, more importantly, impossible to advise today's emergent democracies on the routes they should be following.

In coming years we have a unique opportunity to see mechanisms of social and political development at work. With the effective abolition of national frontiers within the European Community after 1992, it is evident that European politics will become increasingly central to the European electorate. This project sought to establish a baseline from which the evolution of a truly European political system can be tracked over the coming centuries of political development. In this first study, the European-ness of the 1989 elections is being explored in depth to see whether there are differences between EC countries, and to search for clues about likely future changes.

To do this, a series of three surveys were conducted: the first in November 1988, the second in April 1989 and the third immediately following the elections in June 1989. To reduce costs, the first two of these were fielded in conjunction with the regular Eurobarometre autumn and spring surveys. The final survey was fielded in conjunction with a special Eurobarometre survey organized by the CEC as its contribution to our research effort. The grant from the ESRC went part-way towards funding the final wave: additional funding for it and previous waves was provided from a variety of sources.

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The major findings from this study are explored in some depth in the articles published in a special issue of the *European Journal of Political Research* (January 1991), and will be further investigated in *Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union* (University of Michigan Press, forthcoming) and elsewhere. The most important of these can be summarized as follows.

(1) Voters behave much the same in European as in national elections. European elections seem different from national elections when looked at from a distance (either in prospect or in retrospect) because Europe is not very salient to most voters. So when they are asked whether they will vote in an election that seems to them somewhat hypothetical, they give answers that are rather different from those they would give when asked about a national election. In particular, the normal mechanisms of party loyalty and inertia seem from this perspective to be overlaid by the differential importance ascribed to European matters by different respondents. Seen from a distance, intentions to vote (and recall of having voted) appear to be related to pro-European attitudes. As the election date approaches, however, and becomes less hypothetical, normal mechanisms appear to assert themselves (Schmitt and Mannheimer, 1991).

(2) European voters appear to respond to appeals from national parties to regard the European Elections as an opportunity to register their continued support for the parties to which they normally owe allegiance (Franklin, 1991).

(3) A single mechanism appears to structure party competition in all European countries. This mechanism has to do with pre-existing party strengths and the uniqueness of the appeal made by parties. By comparison with these variables, ideological position is much less important, and incumbency has no influence whatsoever (van der Eijk and Oppenhuis, 1991).

(4) Issues appear not to be of great importance in determining the outcome of this European election. More important are evaluations of the competence of parties, but longstanding party loyalties appear to be the driving force that determines the outcome in particular countries and over Europe as a whole (Kuechler, 1991).

(5) European voters generally support European integration and the election can be regarded as something of an endorsement of parties' policies towards European integration. This is despite the fact that parties do not acquire votes on the basis of European issue concerns, but on the basis of national political concerns (van der Eijk and Franklin, 1991).

(6) European elections have consequences that go beyond the election of Euro-MPs. These consequences include providing an opportunity for new parties to become established, raising issues that might have been ignored within national political contexts, and having consequences for the standing of national party leaders.

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8. Changes to the original award

None

9. Research staff

None

10 Publications

Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union is the major English language publication now in preparation that is intended to disseminate the results of this research. It will incorporate chapters based on the same research as already published in a Special Issue of the *European Journal of Political Research* (see Annex), together with chapters about voting behaviour in each of the countries of the EC. It will be edited by Cees van der Eijk and myself, and published in Ann Arbor by the University of Michigan Press.

Le comportement électoral en Europe by Colette Ysmal and Roland Cayrol is the major French language publication now in preparation to disseminate the results of this research. It will be concerned mainly with mass communication in the European Elections of 1989 and will be published in Paris by the Presses de la FNSP.

Wahlen Und Europaeische Integration, edited by Oskar Niedermayer and Hermann Schmitt is the major German publication disseminating the results of this research. Focussing mainly on the election as experienced in Germany, it was published in Opladen by Westdeutscher Verlag in 1991.

In addition, two other books are planned that as yet do not have publishers contracts: Pilar Castillo and Giacomo Sani, *The Spanish electoral Market* and Cees van der Eijk, *Party Competition in Western Europe*.

For other publications see annexed list.

11 Dissemination

The most important professional meetings associated with this research took place in Paris in April 1988 (a workshop of the Joint Sessions of the European Consortium for Political Research); in Chicago in May 1990 (a panel in the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting); and in San Francisco in August/September 1990 (a panel in the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting). The first of these meetings took place under the title "The European Elections of 1990" while the other two took place under the title "The European Electorate on the Eve of Unification". The papers presented at these and other meetings are listed as part of an Annex to this report. The research has already given rise to numerous

Full report of research results (contd)

conference papers and published articles (see annexed list) and to a dataset that is now being archived for use by other researchers (see continuation of item 11 on attached sheet).

The survey

Although the European elections of 1989 provided the third occasion upon which European voters had simultaneously gone to the polls in all the member states to select those who would represent them in the Parliament of the European Community, this is the first time that a Europe-wide election study has been conducted to look systematically at the factors affecting the final results. In a major research effort, almost forty thousand EC citizens were interviewed in connection with the study, which is, from this perspective, the most extensive election study ever conducted anywhere in the world. It consists of three representative surveys conducted simultaneously in the 12 member states of the European Community in the fall of 1988, the spring of 1989, and shortly after the June elections. Samples of about 1000 citizens were interviewed in each country (except for Luxembourg, where smaller samples were investigated), yielding information on party preferences, electoral participation, orientations towards a broad range of European and national problems, policy preferences, ideological leanings, and sociodemographic background. A first round of data analysis, focussing on the elections as a European event, has been completed and was published as a special issue of the European Journal of Political Research in early in 1991.

The research team

The grantholder is the only investigator associated with this project who is mentioned on Page 3, but the research team involved in this study actually included a number of other individuals. A core group of scholars planned the survey and its analyses. This group consisted of:

Pilar del Castillo (University of Madrid)
Roland Cayrol (University of Paris)
Cees van der Eijk (University of Amsterdam)
Mark Franklin (Universities of Houston and Strathclyde)
Manfred Kuechler (Hunter College, City University of New York)
Renato Mannheimer (University of Genova)
Karlheinz Reif (Commission of the European Community)
Hermann Schmitt (University of Mannheim)
Colette Ysmal (University of Paris)

In addition to this core group of scholars, a second group was recruited to provide expertise on countries not represented among the core group. These additional scholars are as follows:

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Joachim Bacalao (Portugal)
Neil Collins (Northern Ireland)
John Curtice (Britain)
Panayote Dimitras (Greece)
Mario Hirsch (Luxembourg)
Michael Marsh (Ireland)
Erik Oppenhuis (the Netherlands)
Lieven de Winter (Belgium)
Torben Worre (Denmark)

So this final report does not relate to my work alone, but also to the work of these other individuals (and their associates).

Timetable

The period for which the ESRC provided a grant to support this study came to an end in December 1990, but the research concerned is still very much under way. Data analysis is a lengthy process when you have (as we do) some 39,000 respondents to analyse. Thus the project is by no means complete, and this Final Report should not be regarded as final in the normal sense. It can only be a report on the progress made during the period of the grant.

Progress with the European Election Study was necessarily linked to the fielding of the Eurobarometre surveys which constituted the vehicle for the study. The first wave was thus fielded in November 1988 in conjunction with EB30 before the start of the grant period. The second wave was fielded in March/April 1989 in conjunction with EB31 and the third wave in June/July in conjunction with EB31a. This is the wave in which questions were included that were paid for by the ESRC grant. All three waves were coded by the commercial agencies responsible for fielding the surveys, and analysed by members of the research team.

A conference was held in Paris in April 1989 (as part of the Joint Sessions Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research) in which papers were presented based on analysis of first wave data. These papers were then revised in the light of second and third wave data, for publication as part of a Special Issue of the *European Journal of Political Research* in January 1991. Some of these papers were also presented at other conferences in revised form; in particular in Atlanta in August/September 1989, in Amsterdam in December 1989, in Chicago in April 1990 and in San Francisco in August/September 1990. The Amsterdam meeting was concerned with discussing preliminary results of the third wave of the survey (the wave primarily funded by the ESRC). The other meetings consisted of panels that formed part of the Midwest Political Science Association and American Political Science Association annual meetings. The Amsterdam meeting also served as a planning session for a major book-length publication. Entitled *Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union*, it

Full report of research results (contd)

focuses on results of the European elections country by country and places these in cross-national perspective to assess the extent to which that election was a European as opposed to a national phenomenon. The book will be published by the University of Michigan Press. The above panels and other meetings were uniquely concerned with the results of the European Election Study. Papers have also been presented at meetings that were not specifically concerned with the this study, but at which our findings were relevant for other reasons. Such papers are listed as part of the attached Annex along with the papers presented at the meetings specifically listed above.

Progress towards completion of *The European Electorate in the Face of Union* has been facilitated by meetings held in conjunction with the Joint Sessions Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research in each year since 1989, not only at the meeting in Paris which was specifically dedicated to the study of the 1989 elections. For example, the workshops held in Essex in 1991 provided an opportunity for the editors to discuss with contributors the details of their country chapters. A further opportunity of this kind will be provided by the Joint Sessions in Limerick in 1992.

A meeting of the entire research group is being held in Mannheim, in February 1992, funded by the Mannheim Centre of European Social Research. At this meeting we will discuss progress on the book, and also begin to plan for the 1994 European Election study which no longer seems very far away.

Findings (1): the Europeanness of European elections

Although the book of the election study is still in preparation, the pattern of findings are already clear. European elections seem different from national elections when looked at from a distance (either in prospect or in retrospect) because Europe is not very salient to most voters. So when they are asked whether they will vote in an election that seems to them somewhat hypothetical, they give answers that are rather different from those they would give when asked about a national election. In particular, the normal mechanisms of party loyalty and inertia seem from this perspective to be overlaid by the differential importance ascribed to European matters by different respondents. Seen from a distance, intentions to vote (and recall of having voted) appear to be related to pro-European attitudes. As the election date approaches, however, and becomes less hypothetical, normal mechanisms appear to assert themselves. The actual turnout in European elections appears to respond to much the same forces as does turnout in national elections, and the basis for party choice appears much the same as well. Most voters in the European Election could be described as 'habitual voters' who participated in the elections just as they would have in national elections (Schmitt and Mannheimer, 1991). On the other hand, a small number of respondents do vote differently in European elections than they would in a national election, and the nature of these differences provide us with clues as to the likely future

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development of the European electorate. All these matters are explored in some depth in the articles for the *European Journal of Political Research* already referred to, and are further investigated in the research upon which the chapters of *The European Electorate in the Face of Union* are based.

A major innovation was introduced in this election study. Voters were asked not only what party they supported, but also how likely it was that they would support other parties in their political system. For each such party they were asked to rate the probability (on a scale from 1 to 10) of the likelihood that they would ever support it. The resulting data are very rich, and will be investigated in detail in the proposed book by Cees van der Eijk. Preliminary findings have already led to a number of conclusions. First, a single mechanism seems to structure electoral competition in all EC member countries. Second, the competitive performance of political parties is not affected by their governmental status, their ideological position, or by the degree of politicisation of the electoral environment. Third, parties' competitive performance is strongly affected by the degree of uniqueness of their electoral potential, their mobilising capacities, their ideological extremity and their sheer size (van der Eijk and Oppenhuis, 1991).

A detailed study of the issues that played a part in the European Election campaign gives little support for the cognitive, rational choice approach to electoral outcomes. A large segment of the national electorates does not perceive any particular party as best able to handle any of the problems they personally feel most important. Moreover, when particular parties are considered able to handle a problem, our findings suggest that this view reflects a pre-existing commitment to that party rather than to a conscious evaluation of the party's real ability to deal with the problem in question. Voters do tend to support the party they see as most competent to handle important questions, but this is probably a reflection of pre-existing commitments (Kuechler, 1991).

Nevertheless, our data do enable us to come to grips with the question of whether European voters support the policies of their preferred parties in regard to European integration. Our findings show that only a very few parties take positions towards the Community which are clearly out of line with the average position of their voters. The parties involved are the orthodox-Protestant combination in the Netherlands, the Workers Party in Ireland, the Italian MSI and the Greens in several countries - Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland and (to some extent) Luxembourg. The discrepancies between these parties' positions and the attitudes of their electorates - taken with their generally successful electoral performance - underscores what is already known from other research: parties do not acquire votes on the basis of European issue concerns but rather on the basis of national political concerns. Nevertheless, and with the exceptions mentioned, the result of the European Elections may still be considered as an *ex post facto* endorsement and legitimation of parties' policies towards European integration (van

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der Eijk and Franklin, 1991).

The importance of national concerns and national cues in what should have been a European election was found repeatedly in our analyses. One possible explanation for this is the fact that national party leaders exhort their followers to support the same parties in European elections as they support in national elections in order to further national political ends. In other words, European elections may be treated as a means of demonstrating support for national programs and policies. Our data are not well suited to testing this hypothesis, but a detailed investigation of the available evidence suggests that this is indeed what is happening. European elections are not really European in terms of the major determinants of voting choice (Franklin, 1991).

Perhaps the most definitive respect in which we can describe the 1989 European elections as being truly European is the extent to which the same processes of decision-making and policy evaluation appear to have taken place in all countries. The very fact that it is possible to make general statements about the European Elections - statements that are not prefixed by lists of country names - indicates that Europe is in many ways already a single political system in which much the same political processes occur in all countries, even if one of the things that European voters have most in common is the low salience to them of European political issues and the lack of impact of the European election on their longstanding (national) political preferences.

In *The European Electorate in the Face of Union* we are exploring these themes in more detail, country by country. Our expectation, based on analyses of all countries taken together, is that turnout and party choice in the European Election can be explained to a large extent by the same factors as turnout and party choice in national elections. The major differences we expect to find will be in the level of arousal generated by parties and media (lower in European Elections than in national ones), and in the absence of formal consequences for (national) government composition, which may occasionally promote voting for small or extremist or new parties.

This general expectation means that analyses conducted in our country chapters cannot be limited to the European Election, but also have to take into account what happens in national elections. National vote-intention is included in the data of the European Election Study; furthermore, our country experts will make use of established insights from national voting studies, or perhaps run comparable analyses on other datasets which deal with national elections and which contain the same or similar variables to those contained in the European Election Study. In particular, it may be necessary in many cases to contrast descriptions or explanations/interpretations deriving from the European Election Study with experience from earlier European Elections (those held in 1979/1981 and in 1984).

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The European Electorate in the Face of Union addresses two basic questions. First, it investigates the extent to which the elections to the European Parliament are actually perceived as European elections: to what extent do issues relating to the European Community govern the interest partisan choice of individual voters. Secondly, it investigates the impact of these elections on national and European political processes.

With respect to the first of these two questions, previous research focussing on the elections of 1979 and 1984 suggested that European elections should be viewed mainly as 'second order' national elections in which the choices made by voters should not be seen as being different from the choices they would make in other second order (e.g. regional) elections. While the 'second-order' interpretation of European elections clearly still holds true for the 1989 European elections, first analyses of the data we have collected regarding voter motivations point to differences in degree between the various member states. Comparisons with the findings of earlier European elections will attempt to gauge the extent to which national electorates are acquiring a new European identity.

Obviously, the election results can be viewed from at least two separate perspectives: (a) turnout, and (b) party or candidate choice. Explaining and interpreting each of these (sets of) dependent variables may require our country experts to take account of numerous factors such as issues, the current domestic political climate, the politicisation of European or EC-related issues, and so on.

Concerning turnout, our country experts will document briefly any differences in turnout in European Elections, as compared to other elections. They will comment upon these in the light of election rules, procedures, thresholds, etc. One of the most important substantive questions to be addressed is whether or not, or to what extent, individual turnout is structured in terms of variables which are related to substantive political interests or preferences. In other words, are specific groups (characterized in terms of objective interests, ideological leanings, some kind of party preference, preferences respecting salient political issues or respecting the EC) over- or under-represented among those who turn out to vote? When turnout is selective in these ways, electoral representation will be biased, and this may indeed affect the legitimacy of elected assemblies including the European Parliament. Obviously, in addition to asking how selective turnout is, one has also to investigate whether, and if so in what ways, such selectivity is more pronounced in European than in national elections. Finally, we must keep in mind that certain kinds of selectivity in turnout cannot be construed as resulting in biased representation. If, for example, one finds that the politically involved are turning out in higher numbers than the uninvolved, this will not bias the contents of electoral representation unless it can be demonstrated that substantive political opinions, preferences and orientations are strongly related to involvement.

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In order to answer this set of questions empirically, the authors of our country chapters will have to consider in any case the possible effects of major socio-demographic variables, of major social and political cleavages in each country, of political or ideological preferences of one kind or another, and much more. To a large extent this amounts to the question to what extent the pattern of explanation described by Schmitt and Mannheim (1991) is adequate, or to what extent it has to be supplemented with other variables, or amended in some other way before it fits the conditions observed in particular countries.

Concerning party choice, our country experts will document briefly any difference in distribution of party choice in the European Elections, as compared to other elections, and comment upon this in the light of possible differences in the supply-side of the election (i.e. are the participating parties/lists/candidates the same as in national elections bearing in mind, for example, the effect of combination lists or electoral pacts). They will also comment upon any such differences in party strength between European Elections and national elections in the light of possible differences between the two kinds of elections in terms of election rules, procedures, definitions of constituencies, thresholds, etc.

Findings (2): the effect of European elections on national politics

The country chapters in *The European Electorate in the Face of Union* will document the extent to which national politics were affected in each country by the very fact that a European election was held, the policy debates that resulted, and the success or otherwise of parties in gaining or losing electoral support as compared with previous national elections; as well as by the fact that European elections provided an opportunity in some countries for new parties to gain a prominence that might have been denied them in national elections.

Despite the fact that elections to the European Parliament may prove to be not very European in some countries, it is clear that even in such countries they add an important date to the political calendar. The stronger the second-order character of a European election in a particular country, the more the current national government of that country is subject to the endorsement or criticism that its electorate expresses, the result of which may affect government stability and party behavior in a number of ways. Also, without the allocation of national executive power being formally at stake, the structural disadvantage that may afflict smaller and more radical parties at national elections is largely alleviated. Such parties can attempt to use European elections to improve their visibility and, in turn, their chances in subsequent national elections. From this point of view, European elections may be seen as the 'midwife assisting in the birth of new parties'. Since the election is nevertheless a European one, it may turn out to be the case that European issues come in this manner to affect domestic politics. So elections to the European Parliament may have political consequences in ways different from those envisioned by their original proponents. The analysis

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of these consequences constitutes the second major theme of this book.

In particular, the absence, in most member states, of strong European effects on voters' behavior in 1979 and 1984 has led us to ask whether national political parties offer to the voters of each member country sufficient choice among Europe-related policies and objectives for the election to differ in any significant way from a purely national election. If the answer is in the negative (as we believe on the basis of our overall analyses that we will generally find it to be) we will have discovered a clear negative impact of national parties on the procedures for European democratic accountability and control. Parties, after all, play a major role in shaping the nature of political debate in each country, and it is partly up to them to offer the policy proposals that would enable a European election to differ in any significant way from a purely national election. If our country experts do find that parties in their countries have indeed presented such alternatives to the voters, then they need to take the next step and ask whether the differences they observe carry sufficient weight in the minds of the electorate of their country as to lead voters to diverge at all from domestic-national party preferences, even when parties offer different stands with respect to European policy and the development of the Community.

Some of the kinds of effects which European Elections may have on domestic politics, which will be explored in detail in the country chapters of *The European Electorate in the Face of Union* are:

a) Consequences for government stability.

Particularly in the case of coalition governments, the relations between coalition partners may come under pressure when their relative sizes have been changed dramatically by the election result, compared to the start of the current coalition. In some cases this may lead to change of personnel, in some to a break-up of the coalition, or, if applicable, to calling (early) national elections. In the case of single-party government, the election result may contribute to a cabinet reshuffle, or possible even to a decision to call (early) elections.

b) Consequences for internal relations of parties.

Internal power positions may change in parties that do exceptionally well or exceptionally poorly in the European Election. (Doing well or doing poorly is hard to define. Sometimes performance is best viewed in relation to previous elections, sometimes in relation to common expectations before the elections, i.e. a party did not lose as much as was anticipated, thereby strengthening the position of whoever is perceived as the cause of this 'success'). The major importance is not so much who is gaining or losing power within their own parties, but what effect such changes in internal power relations have for parties' stances with respect to (domestic and European) issues, collaboration with or opposition to other parties, and so on.

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c) Consequences for policy positions of parties and governments.

Depending on the interpretation given to favorable or unfavorable results at the polls, politicians, parties or governments may alter their own policy positions, not so much because a shift in internal power relations forces them to change (that is covered in the previous points), but because of adaptive behavior of unchanged party elites or leadership.

d) Consequences for the agenda of public debate and political decision-making.

The European Election provides one of the few opportunities for wide-ranging public debate about the EC. Its institutions exist independent of the occurrence of European elections, but a public debate may not emerge outside the context of European Elections owing to the primarily domestic orientation of mass communications, of national political parties, and the of the national government. European Elections and their campaigns offer the possibility of increasing the saliency of such issues (which does not imply that this possibility is always realized), possibly to such an extent that they remain on the public (and political) agenda even after the European Election is over.

e) Consequences for the party system.

This heading covers a number of different possibilities, which partly have to do with election results and partly with the fact that the rules for European Elections may be more or less different from those of national elections. For example, the fact that small countries can fill only a small number of European Parliamentary seats effectively enforces a threshold, which may be higher than is customary in national elections; or the size of and demarcation of constituencies may differ from normal. These differences may stimulate or facilitate the formation of electoral pacts. Particularly interesting are cases where such collaboration continues after the European Election, possibly leading to lasting collaboration, to structural electoral pacts, or even to party mergers. Moreover, European Elections may be seen as occasions to test the waters for newly formed parties. Such occasions may be more friendly than national elections, owing to the second-order nature of European Elections. Having achieved a respectable showing may alter the climate of opinion with respect to the potential of a new party; and this may, in turn, may affect that party's performance in subsequent national elections. Finally, European Elections may serve as a cause of dissension and fragmentation in existing parties. To the extent that European Elections contribute to the saliency and politicisation of issues (see above) which are not lined up with dominant domestic conflict dimensions, they may generate (or make manifest) divisions the impact of which may extend beyond the European Electoral context proper (possibly leading to splits and the emergence of new parties) and thereby affecting the future course of domestic politics.

Findings (3): the emergence of a new political force

Apart from this research agenda, already anticipated in the original proposal to

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study the 1989 European elections, the startling success of the British Green Party in these elections (based on voter preferences already visible in the April pre-election wave of our study) has provided the opportunity to employ the data as part of a major project on Green Party politics in Britain for which preliminary funding was provided by the University of Strathclyde, and for which additional funding was later granted by the ESRC. Wolfgang Rüdiger (the Principal Investigator) and myself gave papers on this subject at the American Political Science Association annual meeting held in San Francisco in August/September 1990, and elsewhere. Two of these papers are now published, and others are in preparation. A book contract has been signed with Oxford University Press for a work entitled *Green Party Dynamics* which is scheduled for completion during 1993. This research, though separately funded, can be considered a product of the European Election Study insofar as it involves the behaviour of European voters, and the links between voting behaviour and party activism. The papers and publications resulting from this project that make use of European Election Study data are included in the Annex to this report. The most important findings are summarized below.

With very few exceptions, theories of green politics have hitherto been tested only on the basis of empirical data taken from individual countries, and many theoretical constructs clearly reflect particular national experiences. The European Election Study data on green voting in the European Elections of 1989 provide a first opportunity to confront the wide range of hypotheses which have emerged from this theoretical literature with truly appropriate data.

First, our results show that theories of green politics have probably overstated the role of a range of socio-demographic variables. It is true that overall we do find support for the thesis that highly educated young voters employed in the public sector or outside full-time employment are more likely to vote green than others; but overall, socio-demographic variables explain very little variance (between 5 and 7 per cent) in actual or potential green voting.

Secondly, looking at the profile of green voters in terms of left-right placement, post-materialism, and the importance of environmental issues, we found that all of these factors independently contribute to an explanation of actual and potential green voting. Environmental concern was clearly the single variable which had the broadest appeal across all countries. The influence of post-materialism and left-wing orientations was more patchy; though in some instances (particularly in Germany) these variables were far stronger predictors of green voting than was environmental concern.

Overall, our findings seem to show that stability may be a characteristic of German green voting, while other green parties may have to contend with more flexible, but also more volatile, green electorates. One implication of our analysis is that it is probably misleading to talk about a "European" green voter as someone with specific characteristics. The variability of our findings from

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country to country does suggest that differences between countries may be more pronounced than hitherto assumed.

This research continues, and *Green Party Dynamics* will not be published before 1994.

other dissemination of results

The data collected in this study was embargoed until January 1991. It is now being deposited in the ESRC Data Archive at the University of Essex, and at other data archives in Europe, where it will be available to scholars for secondary analysis. This is a major research resource consisting of three linked surveys of a total of 39,000 voters in twelve countries. The data can be employed in a variety of ways, and is being archived in such a manner as to facilitate various different forms of analysis (by country, by wave, etc.). The data are documented in a rather large number of codebooks: one for each country and one for each wave, making fifteen altogether. This major aspect of the research effort was funded by the Dutch National Science Foundation in a grant to Cees van der Eijk. The same agency is funding my visits to Holland to work with my co-editor on *The European Electorate in the Face of Union*.

NOTE: *The grantholder moved from the University of Strathclyde to the University of Houston in October, 1989, after the bulk of the work actually paid for by the ESRC grant had been completed.*

Annex: Scholarly output additional to books already listed in (10) above

(1) Articles, monographs and reports published or in press

Cayrol, Roland (1991). European Elections and the Pre-Electoral Period: Media Use and Campaign Evaluations. *European Journal of Political Research* (19:1), pp. 17-30.

Eijk, Cees van der (1990). Ongerustheid over kiezersopkomst - Terecht of niet? [Turnout - cause for concern or not?], *Namens*, Vol. 5, 8, October 1990, pp. 18-22.

Eijk, Cees van der, Manfred Kuechler and Hermann Schmitt (1990). *The European Voters Study 1989*. IASSIST Quarterly Vol 14,2, pp. 9-13.

Eijk, Cees van der and Mark N. Franklin (1991). *Community Politics*

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- and Electoral Representation: Evidence from the 1989 European Election Study. *European Journal of Political Research* (19:1), pp. 105-128.
- Eijk, Cees van der and Erik Oppenhuis (1990). Turnout and Second-Order Effects in the European Elections of June 1989 - Evidence from the Netherlands. *Acta Politica*, 1990/1, pp. 76-94.
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The data will also be employed as the basis of a PhD dissertation by Eric Oppenhuis and for a Habilitation by Hermann Schmitt.