ROUTLEDGE

Political Communication in European Parliamentary Elections

EDITED BY MICHAELA MAIER,
JESPER STRÖMBÄCK AND LYNDA LEE KAID

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Just before this book was sent to press, Lynda Lee Kaid sadly passed away. For us and for many others, this was a tragic loss. Lynda Lee Kaid was not only a distinguished and highly productive scholar who helped to train numerous other scholars, a pioneer in advancing collaborative and comparative political communication research, and a close colleague. She was also a friend and a mentor, always there to provide support, advice and encouragement when needed.

We have benefited greatly from working with her, and our debt and gratitude towards her is enormous. This book is dedicated to the memory of Lynda Lee Kaid.

Scholar, Mentor, and Friend

Michaela Maier Jesper Strömbäck

Political Communication in European Parliamentary Elections

Edited by
MICHAELA MAIER
University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany
JESPER STRÖMBÄCK
Mid Sweden University, Sweden
and
LYNDA LEE KAID
University of Florida, USA

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2011 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © Michaela Maier, Jesper Strömbäck and Lynda Lee Kaid 2011

Michaela Maier, Jesper Strömbäck and Lynda Lee Kaid have asserted their right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the editors of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:
Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Political communication in European parliamentary elections.
1. European Parliament--Elections. 2. Campaign management--European Union countries. 3. Campaign management--European Union countries--Case studies. 4. Mass media--Political aspects--European Union countries. 5. Mass media--Political aspects--European Union countries--Case studies. 6. Mass media and public opinion--European Union countries. 7. Mass media and public opinion--European Union countries--Case studies. 8. Voting--European Union countries.
I. Maier, Michaela. II. Strömbäck, Jesper. III. Kaid, Lynda Lee.
324.7'3'094-dc22

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Maier, Michaela.
Political communication in European parliamentary elections / by Michaela Maier, Jesper Strömbäck, and Lynda Lee Kaid.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-4094-1132-1 (hbk)
1. Communication in politics--European Union countries. 2. European Parliament--Elections. 3. Elections--European Union countries. 4. European Union countries--Politics and government. I. Strömbäck, Jesper. II. Kaid, Lynda Lee. III. Title.
JA85.2.E85M35 2011
324.7'3094--dc22

2010053033

ISBN 9781409411321 (hbk)
ISBN 9781315601144 (ebk)

Contents

List of Figures *ix*
List of Tables and Appendices *xi*
Notes on Contributors *xv*
Acknowledgements *xxi*
List of Abbreviations *xxiii*

PART I PERSPECTIVES ON THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

1 Political Communication and Election Campaigns for the European Parliament 3
Jesper Strömbäck, Michaela Maier, and Lynda Lee Kaid

2 The Legal and Institutional Framework of the 2009 European Parliament Elections in the Shadow of the Lisbon Treaty 17
Clifford A. Jones

PART II PARTY CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

3 Campaign Professionalization and Political Structures: A Comparative Study of Election Campaigning in Finland and Sweden in the 2009 EP Elections 45
Tom Moring, Juri Mykkänen, Lars Nord and Marie Grusell

4 Similarities and Differences in Transformational Democracies: EP Campaigns in Bulgaria and Hungary 61
Lilia Raycheva and Jolán Róka

5 Campaigning in but not for Europe: European Campaign Strategies in the UK and the Czech Republic 75
Ralph Negrine, Vaclav Stetka and Marta Fialová

6 Televised Advertising in the 2009 European Parliamentary Elections: Comparing Campaign Strategies and Videostyles 91
Lynda Lee Kaid, Silke Adam, Michaela Maier, Matthias Balzer, Rosa Berganza, Carlos Jalali, Ralph Negrine, Lilia Raycheva, Jolán Róka, Andreas R.T. Schuck, Vaclav Stetka and Claes de Vreese

7 Everyone Ignores Europe? Party Campaigns and Media Coverage in the 2009 European Parliament Elections 111
Carlos Jalali and Tiago Silva

PART III MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

8 Mediatizing Europe while Ignoring the European Election: The Paradox of the Italian Case 129
Franca Roncarolo

9 The 2009 European Parliamentary Election News Coverage in Poland: Entrenched or Critical Journalism? 145
Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska and Bartłomiej Łódzki

10 The Mediatization and Framing of European Parliamentary Election Campaigns 161
Jesper Strömbäck, Ralph Negrine, David Nicolas Hopmann, Michaela Maier, Carlos Jalali, Rosa Berganza, Gilg U.H. Seeber, Andra Seceleanu, Jaromír Volek, Boguslawa Dobek-Ostrowska, Juri Mykkänen, Marinella Belluati and Jolán Róka

11 Media Visibility and Framing of the European Parliamentary Elections 2009: A Media Content Analysis in 27 Countries 175
Andreas R.T. Schuck, Rachid Azrout, Hajo Boomgaarden, Matthijs Elenbaas, Joost van Spanje, Rens Vliegenthart and Claes de Vreese

PART IV EFFECTS OF CAMPAIGNS ON EU CITIZENS

12 The 2009 European Parliamentary Elections in Perspective 199
Michael Marsh

13 Why Europeans (Don't) Turn Out to Vote 213
Gilg U.H. Seeber and Markus Steinbrecher

14 Between Integration and Demarcation: Effects of Europeanized and National Campaigns on Voters in the 2009 European Parliament Election 233
Michaela Maier, Silke Adam, Claes de Vreese, Andreas R.T. Schuck, Rosa Berganza, Vaclav Stetka, Ralph Negrine, Carlos Jalali, Gilg U.H. Seeber, Lilia Raycheva, Jolán Róka, Boguslawa Dobek-Ostrowska and Marie Grusell

Index *257*

This page has been left blank intentionally

List of Figures

4.1	Participation Rates in Hungary Compared to European Union Members (%)	64
4.2	Willingness to Participate in the 2009 EP Election in Hungary (%)	66
4.3	Hungarian Political Party Messages in the 2009 EP Campaign	70
4.4	Main Topics in Fidesz Party Advertising for the 2009 EP Election	71
4.5	Main Topics in MSZP Party Advertising for the 2009 EP Election	71
4.6	Main Topics in JOBBIK Party Advertising for the 2009 EP Elections	72
4.7	Main Topics in MDF Party Advertising for the 2009 EP Election	72
4.8	Main Topics in SZDSZ Party Advertising for the 2009 EP Elections	72
5.1	Support Membership of the EU (%)	78
7.1	Media Coverage Frames, 2009 EP Election Campaign in Portugal	119
7.2	Focus on Issues – Party Campaigns vs. Media Coverage	120
7.3	EU vs. Domestic Politics in Party Campaigns and Media Coverage	120
7.4	Focus on EP vs. National Politicians in Party Campaigns and Media Coverage	121
7.5	EU vs. Domestic Politics in the Incumbent and Opposition Parties' Campaigns	122
7.6	EU vs. Domestic Politics in the Media Coverage of National Incumbent and Opposition Parties' Campaigns	123
8.1	Press Coverage of the European Union in Italy, 1992–2009	131
8.2	Attention Barometers for Europe and the EP Election Campaign in the Italian Media System	134
8.3	Political Parties' Attention and Stance on Europe in Posters and TV	139
8.4	Attention and Stance on Europe of North-West Constituency Candidates	140
8.5	Europe and European Elections in the Press Coverage	141
8.6	Europe and European Elections in the Television News	141
9.1	The 2009 EU Election Campaign Coverage (Numbers)	150
9.2	Journalistic Genres (%)	151
9.3	Dominant Journalist Style (%)	154
9.4	Degree of Candidate Control of News Situations (%)	155
9.5	Major Focus of Politicians' Ink-bites/Sound-bites (%)	157

11.1 Visibility of EU and EU Election News in TV Coverage in all 27 EU Member Countries (2009 EP Elections) 182
11.2 Visibility of EU and EU Election News in Newspaper Coverage in all 27 EU Member Countries (2009 EP Elections) 183
11.3 Tone Toward the EU in the News Media in all 27 EU Member States (2009 EP Elections) 184
11.4 Presence of Benefit Frame in News Coverage in all 27 EU Member States (2009 EP Elections) 185
11.5 Presence of Disadvantage Frame in News Coverage in all 27 EU Member States (2009 EP Elections) 186
11.6 Relative Prominence of Benefit versus Disadvantage Frame in News Coverage in all 27 EU Member States (2009 EP Elections) 187
11.7 Evaluation of the "State of EU Democracy" in News Coverage in all 27 EU Member States (2009 EP Elections) 189
11.8 Negative References to a "Gap between EU and its Citizens" in News Coverage all 27 EU Member States (2009 EP Elections) 190
11.9 Positive References to a "Responsiveness of the EU towards its Citizens" in News Coverage in all 27 EU Member States (2009 EP Elections) 191
11.10 Relative Prominence of Positive versus Negative References in News Coverage in all 27 EU Member States (2009 EP Elections) 192

12.1 Average Turnout in EP and General Elections, 1979–2009 202
12.2 Record of Government Losses since 1979 204
12.3 Performance of Governments in EP Elections based on Timing within National Election Cycle 205
12.4 EP Election Performance and Party Size 207
12.5 Gains and Losses in European Elections by Party Family 208

13.1 Voter Turnout in Elections to National and European Parliaments in West European Member States (EU15) since 1979 214
13.2 Voter Turnout in Elections to National and European Parliaments in New Member States (EU-15+) since 1979 216

List of Tables and Appendices

Tables

2.1	Grants from the European Parliament to Political Parties at European Level 2004–2010	31
2.2	Grants from the European Parliament to Political Foundations at European Level 2008–2010	35
3.1	Campaign Professionalization in EP Elections in Finland and Sweden 2009	54
3.2	Finnish and Swedish Political Parties and Party-Centered Theory Dimensions	55
4.1	Comparison of Basic Data for Bulgaria and Hungary	61
4.2	Returns of European Parliament Elections in Bulgaria on June 7, 2009	63
4.3	Financial Support of the Parties in the 2009 EP Campaign	69
5.1	If There Were a Referendum Now on Whether Britain Should Stay in or Get Out of the European Union, How Would You Vote?	77
5.2	Comparing Election Expenditures in the 2006 National Election and the 2009 EP Election in the Czech Republic (in Million Kc)	80
5.3	Comparing Election Expenditures in the 2005 General Election and the 2009 EP Election in the UK (in Million £)	80
5.4	Content Analysis of TV Spots from the 2009 EP Elections in the UK and the Czech Republic (Total Numbers)	82
5.5	EP Election Turnout and Seats Won: 2004 and 2009 (Czech Republic)	86
5.6	UK EP Election Turnout and Seats Won: 2004 and 2009	87
6.1	Spot Emphasis by Country (N = 198)	95
6.2	Topics Discussed in the 2009 EP Spots (N = 198)	96
6.3	Topics by Country in the 2009 EP Spots (%)	97
6.4	Main Actors in the Spots: National versus EU Politicians (%)	99
6.5	Evaluations of the EU in Spots for the 2009 EP Elections (%)	100
6.6	Nonverbal Aspects of Spots: Appearance of EP Candidates and Symbols (%)	101

6.7 Spot Formats in the 2009 EP Campaign Spots 103
6.8 Comparison of the 2009 EP Spots in Established and New Member States 105

7.1 News Coverage of the 2009 EP Election Campaign in Portugal 117
7.2 Party Campaign Materials in the 2009 EP Campaigns in Portugal 118

8.1 Lead and Opinion Articles about European Themes and Elections in the Italian Press 134
8.2 Type of Article by Format and Focus of the References to Europe 135
8.3 Subjects of Newspaper Front Page Headlines (May 1–June 6, 2009) 137

10.1 Number of News Stories on the 2009 EP Election Campaigns 166
10.2 Mean Length of Politicians' Sound Bites in 2009 EP Election News (Seconds) 167
10.3 Journalistic Visibility in the 2009 EP Election News 168
10.4 Framing of Politics as a Strategic Game in the 2009 EP Election News (%) 170
10.5 Pro- and Anti-EU Framing in 2009 EP Election News 171

13.1 Voter Turnout in West European Member States since 1979 215
13.2 Country-Level Predictors of EP 2009 Turnout 221
13.3 Predicted Differences for the Probability of Turnout: Socio-Demographic Characteristics (Model 1) 222
13.4 Predicted Differences for the Probability of Turnout: Political Attitudes (Model 2) 223
13.5 Predicted Differences for the Probability of Turnout: EU-Related Variables (Model 3) 224
13.6 Predicted Differences for the Probability of Turnout: Campaign-Related Variables (Model 4) 225

14.1 Treatment Selection and Case Numbers in the Eleven Countries 241
14.2a Effects of Campaign Material on Attitude Formation Example: Negative Consequences of Further EU-Integration – First- and Second-Order Campaigns 243
14.2b Effects of Campaign Material on Attitude Formation Example: Negative Consequences of Further EU-Integration — Positive and Negative First-Order Campaigns 243
14.3 Effects of the Information Content of Positive and Negative First-Order Campaign Material on Attitude Formation: EU Membership Support; Advantages/Disadvantages from EU-Membership; Negative Consequences of further EU-Integration 246

Appendices

13.A1 Variables Used in Logistic Linear Mixed Models 226
13.A2 2009 EP Voter Study – Parameter Estimates for Logistic Linear Mixed Models 227

14.A1 Effects of First- and Second-Order Campaign Material on Political Involvement: Information Efficacy; Interest in the EU-Campaign; Active Information Seeking 250
14.A2 Effects of First- and Second-Order Campaign Material on Attitude Formation: EU Membership Support; Advantages/Disadvantages from EU-Membership 251
14.A3 Effects of First- and Second-Order Campaign Material on Political Behavior: Electoral Participation and Certainty of Voting 252

This page has been left blank intentionally

Notes on Contributors

Silke Adam is Professor of Political Communication at the University of Bern. Her research focuses on comparative political communication, media impact and European integration and identity.

Rachid Azrout is a PhD candidate at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research (ASCoR) at the University of Amsterdam. His research focuses on public opinion about the EU, with special interest for EU enlargement, and the role of the media in opinion formation.

Matthias Balzer is a student assistant at the Institute for Communication Psychology and Media Pedagogics (IKM) at the University of Koblenz-Landau. He is currently working on a project on party campaign strategies and effects in the context of the European Parliament Elections 2009.

Marinella Belluati is a Lecturer at the University of Turin, where she teaches "Sociology of the Media" and "Communication Research". Her research and theoretical interests are focused on Political Communication and Intercultural Communication.

Rosa Berganza is Professor and Chair of Theory of Communication and Political Communication at the Faculty of Communication at University Rey Juan Carlos (URJC), Madrid, Spain. Her research primarily focuses on political communication, European Union campaigns, election coverage and campaigning, public opinion and women and the media.

Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska is a Professor of Communication and Chair of the Department of Communication and Journalism at the University of Wrocław in Poland. She is a founder of, and the president of, the Polish Communication Association. Her research focuses on political communication, comparative media systems and media in Central and Eastern Europe.

Hajo Boomgaarden is Associate Professor of Political Communication at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research (ASCoR) at the University of Amsterdam and Board Member of the Center for Politics and Communication. His research interests focus on media effects on political cognition, attitudes and behaviour, on election campaigns and on political populism.

Matthijs Elenbaas is a PhD candidate at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research. His doctoral dissertation focuses on knowledge, learning, and opinion change in the context of European Union politics.

Marta Fialová is a graduate student of International Relations at the Faculty of Social studies, Masaryk University, Brno and at the same time she is in the last year of her studies at the Department of Media Studies and Journalism at the Masaryk University. In her master thesis she dealt with the European identity and now she approaches the theme of EURO 2008 and the media representation of the national identity.

Marie Grusell is Assistant Professor in Media and Communication at the University of Gothenburg. Her research focus is on advertising, strategic communications and political communication.

David Nicolas Hopmann is Assistant Professor in Media and Politics at the Centre for Journalism, Department of Political Science, University of Southern Denmark. He works on the production of media content and how it affects news consumers.

Carlos Jalali is Assistant Professor at the University of Aveiro, where he is also researcher at the *Governance, Competitiveness and Public Policies Research Centre*. He has published widely on Portuguese political institutions, parties and electoral behavior in comparative perspective and is associate editor for political science of *Análise Social*.

Clifford A. Jones teaches at the University of Florida's Frederic G. Levin College of Law. His teaching and research interests include European Union Law, Election and Campaign Finance Law, Media Law, Constitutional Law, and Competition and Antitrust Law.

Lynda Lee Kaid was a Professor of Telecommunication and a Research Foundation Professor at the University of Florida. Her research specializations included political advertising and media coverage of elections and political events. A three-time Fulbright Senior Scholar, Kaid coordinated the UVote research team, an international consortium at 32 universities in the US and 12 international universities, who joined together to conduct political communication research. She authored or edited over 30 books and nearly 200 refereed articles and book chapters and founded the Political Commercial Archive at the University of Oklahoma which was designated one of "America's Treasures" by the White House Millennium Council and the National Historic Preservation Trust in 1999. She was a recipient of the University of Florida's Outstanding Doctoral Mentoring and Advising award for 2010–2011, and in November 2010 the National

Communication Association named the annual Lynda Lee Kaid Outstanding Dissertation in Political Communication award in her honor.

Bartłomiej Łódzki, PhD, is an Assistant Professor at the University of Lower Silesia in Wrocław, Poland. His academic and research activity focuses on political communication. His empirical research is focused on agenda-setting, mass media influences and media systems.

Michaela Maier is Professor for Applied Communication Psychology at the University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany. Her research focuses on political communication with a specific interest in the reception and effects of campaign communication.

Michael Marsh is Professor of Comparative Political Behavior at Trinity College Dublin. His research focuses on parties and electoral behavior, both in Irish and EU elections.

Tom Moring is Professor in Communication and Journalism at the Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki. He is also Chair of the Board of HSS Media, the publisher of four newspapers in Finland. His research focuses on political communication, election campaigns, and media structures.

Juri Mykkänen, PhD, is a University Lecturer in Political Science in the Department of Political and Economic Studies at the University of Helsinki. His research interests are in the fields of political campaign communication, political advertising and mediatization of politics.

Ralph Negrine is Professor of Political Communication in the department of Journalism Studies at the University of Sheffield, England. His research interests are in the fields of political communication and communication policy.

Lars Nord is Professor and Chair in Political Communication at Mid Sweden University, where he is also Director at the Centre for Political Communication Research. His research focuses on political journalism, strategic political communication and media policy.

Lilia Raycheva is Associate Professor at the St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia. She has served as a member of the Council for Electronic Media and as a member of the Standing Committee on Transfrontier Television at the Council of Europe (2005–2008). Her scientific interests relate to information and communication technologies' impacts and media developments.

Jolán Róka is Professor in Communication and Media and Director of Undergraduate and Graduate Programs in Communication and Media Studies

at the Budapest College of Communication and Business, where she is also Vice Rector for International Relations and the main editor of the journal Communication – Media – Business. Her research focuses on political communication, media effects, interpersonal communication, and intercultural and cross-cultural communication.

Franca Roncarolo is Professor in Political communication at the University of Turin where she leads the Turin Political Communication Observatory, which monitors the flow of messages produced by social and political actors in both new and old media. Her main research interests focus on election campaigns, political leadership in mediatized democracies, political news journalism and the gendered mediation of politics.

Andreas R.T. Schuck is Assistant Professor of Political Communication at The Amsterdam School of Communication Research (ASCoR) at the University of Amsterdam. His research focuses on media effects and public opinion dynamics during election campaigns, electoral mobilization, and public support for EU integration and direct democracy.

Andra Seceleanu is Assistant Professor in Communication at the Journalism and Political Sciences Department of "Andrei Saguna" University, where she is also Research Director at the Center for Socio-Humane Studies and Surveys. Her research focuses on political communication and public opinion.

Gilg U.H. Seeber is a Professor of Statistics in the Department of Political Science at the University of Innsbruck. Within the realm of social sciences his research focuses on elections and public opinion.

Tiago Silva is a member of the Governance, Competitiveness and Public Policies Research Centre of the University of Aveiro and completed his MA in Political Science at the same university. His research focuses on political communication and mediatization of political campaigns.

Joost van Spanje is an Assistant Professor at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research, University of Amsterdam. He specializes in political behavior, electoral studies, and political communication.

Markus Steinbrecher is Assistant Professor at the Chair of Comparative Political Behaviour at the University of Mannheim. His research focuses on turnout, non-electoral political participation, economic voting, and the effects of personality traits on political behavior.

Vaclav Stetka is Senior Research Fellow at the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, where he works on the comparative

research project "Media and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe". His current research interests include post-communist media systems, political communication and processes of media transnationalization.

Jesper Strömbäck is Professor in Media and Communication and holds the Ludvig Nordström Chair in Journalism at Mid Sweden University, where he is also Research Director at the Centre for Political Communication Research. His research focuses on political communication, political news journalism, public opinion and the mediatization of politics.

Rens Vliegenthart is an Associate Professor of Political Communication at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research (ASCoR), University of Amsterdam. His research interests include politics–media relations, election campaigns, media effects on public opinion, social movements and time-series analysis.

Jaromír Volek is communication theoretician and head of the Media Studies program at the Department of Media Studies and Journalism at Masaryk University. His research focuses on professional transformation of Czech journalists after the collapse of the communist media system. He is also interested in the theory and research of new media audiences.

Claes H. de Vreese is Professor of Political Communication and Director of The Amsterdam School of Communication Research ASCoR at the University of Amsterdam. He has published widely on political communication, European integration, campaigns, and elections.

This page has been left blank intentionally

Acknowledgements

For such endeavors as the research projects which are presented in the chapters of this volume, as well as for the book project as such, three resources are essential: Sponsors who are willing to support research, collaboration, joint working sessions and publications; colleagues who are willing to cooperate and invest time and engagement in the projects; and several helping hands in the background. In the case of this book, we thus want to thank the Swedish Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, which funded our first research meeting in July 2008, in Sigtuna, Sweden, and the Fritz-Thyssen-Foundation and the Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Culture Rhineland-Palatina, which sponsored our International Symposium "Campaigning for Europe" in October 2009 in Landau, Germany. This book is one important outcome from these working sessions and presentations, and it would not have been possible without the financial resources provided by these sponsors.

We also want to thank the many colleagues who were involved in the different research collaborations regarding the 2009 European Parliament elections that are represented in this book. Without their interest, support and hard work, the research projects would also not have been possible. Other publications will follow in different outlets, and we also wish to thank those colleagues who worked with us and whose research is not represented in this volume. We especially want to thank Jens Tenscher, whose idea the "Campaigning in Europe"-symposia in 2004 and 2009 were, and with whom it has been a pleasure to collaborate with.

The number of helping hands in the background is almost endless, as in many of our projects. However, we specifically would like to thank Karin Stengel and Bärbel Ruzika, who helped organize our research meetings, as well as Ramona Teich, Simone Wind, Eleonore Hertweck and June Findlay who did a great job helping to edit this volume.

Last but not least, we also want to thank Natalja Mortensen at Ashgate Publishing, who believed in this book project from the very beginning and who has been very supportive and helpful throughout the process. Special thanks also belongs to Adam Guppy who did the editing with us. It has been a great pleasure working together with both of you.

Landau, Germany	Sundsvall, Sweden	Gainesville, USA
Michaela Maier	Jesper Strömbäck	Lynda Lee Kaid

This page has been left blank intentionally

List of Abbreviations

AT	Austria
BEL	Belgium
BE	Bloco de Esquerda (Left block, Portugal)
BG	Bulgaria
BNP	British National Party
BSP	Bulgarska sotsialisticheska partiya (Bulgarian Socialist Party)
CDS-PP	Centro Democrático e Social – Partido Popular (Right-wing Democratic Social Centre-Popular Party, Portugal)
CDU	Coligação Democrática Unitária (Democratic Unity Coalition, Portugal)
CDU	Christliche Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union, Germany)
CEE	Central and Eastern European
ČSSD	Ceská strana sociálně demokratická (Social Democratic Party, Czech Republic)
CU	ChristenUnie (Christian Union, the Netherlands)
CZ	Czech Republic
DE	Germany
DK	Denmark
DVU	Deutsche Volksunion (German People's Union)
EC	European Community
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDE	Europa Demokratie Esperanto (Europe Democracy Esperanto, Germany)
EDS	Evropská demokratická strana (European Democratic Party, Czech Republic)
EEC	European Economic Community
EES	European Parliament Election Voter Study
EL	Greece
ELDR	European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party
ELF	Political foundation at European level
ELP	Political party at European level
EP	European Parliament/European Parliamentary
EPP	European People's Party
ES	Spain

EU	European Union
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei (Free Democratic Party, Germany)
FI	Finland
Fidesz-MPP	Fidesz-Magyar Polgári Párt (The Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party)
FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Austrian Freedom Party)
FR	France
GB	Great Britain
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GERB	Grazhdanizaevropeyskorazvitiena Balgariya (Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria)
GW	Gazeta Wyborcza (Polish national broadsheet)
HU	Hungary
Idv	Italia deiValori (Italy of Values)
IE	Ireland
IT	Italy
Jobbik	Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom (The Movement for Better Hungary)
KDU-ČSL	Křest'ansko-demokratická unie-Československá strana lidová (Christian Democrats, Czech Republic)
KFG	Kollegforschergruppe (German Research Group)
KNDP	Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt (The Christian Democratic People's Party, Hungary)
KSČM	Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, Czech Republic)
LMP-HP	Lehet Más a Politika – Humanista Párt (Politics Can Be Different, Hungary)
LPR	Liga Polskich Rodzin (League of Polish Families, Poland)
LU	Luxembourg
MDF	Magyar Demokrata Fórum (Hungarian Democratic Forum)
MEP	Member(s) of European Parliament MEP
MRF	Dvizhenie za prava i svobodi (Movement for Rights and Freedoms, Bulgaria)
MSZMP	Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt (Hungarian Socialist People's Party)
MSZP	Magyar Szocialista Párt (Hungarian Socialist Party)
NL	the Netherlands
NMSS	Nacionalnodviženiezastabilnost i văzhod (National Movement Simeon the Second, Bulgaria)
ODS	Občanská demokratická strana (Civic Democratic Party, Czech Republic)
ÖVP	Österreichische Volkspartei (Austrian People's Party)
PC	Plaid Cymru (The Party of Wales)

PD	Partito Democratico (Democratic Party, Italy)
Pdl	Popolo della Libertà (Freedom Party, Italy)
PES	Party of European Socialists
PIREDEU	Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the European Union
PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice, Poland)
PO	Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform, Poland)
PL	Poland
PP	Partido Popular (People's Party, Spain)
PPP	Purchasing power parity
PS	Partido Socialista (Center-left Socialist Party, Portugal)
PSD	Partido Democrático Social (Center-right Social-Democrat Party, Portugal)
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol (Socialist Party, Spain)
PT	Portugal
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party, the Netherlands)
PVV	Partijvoor de Vrijheid (Party for Freedom, the Netherlands)
RZ	Rzeczpospolita (Polish national broadsheet)
SE	Sweden
SEA	Single European Act
SNK-ED	SNK sdružení nezávislých – Evropští demokraté (Association of Independent Candidates-European Democrats, Czech Republic)
SNP	Scottish National Party
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party, Germany)
SPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (Austrian Social Democratic Party)
SSO	Strana svobodných občanů (Party of Free Citizens, Czech)
STV	Single Transferable Vote
SZ	Strana zelených (Green Party, Czech Republic)
SZDSZ	Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége – a Magyar Liberális Párt (Alliance of Free Democrats, Hungary)
TEU	Treaty on European Union
UDC	Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e di Centro (Union of Christian and Center Democrats, Italy)
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
UpyD	Unión Progresso y Democracia (Progressive and Democratic Union, Spain)

This page has been left blank intentionally

PART I
Perspectives on the European Parliamentary Elections

This page has been left blank intentionally

Chapter 1
Political Communication and Election Campaigns for the European Parliament

Jesper Strömbäck, Michaela Maier, and Lynda Lee Kaid

Introduction

Without political communication, there is no democracy. Democracy and political communication are inextricably linked, on the local as well as the regional, national, and transnational level. As suggested by Blumler and Gurevitch (1975: pp. 167–8):

> If politics is about power, the holder's possession of and readiness to exercise it must in some manner be conveyed to those expected to respond to it. […] If politics is about the legitimation of supreme authority, then the values and procedural norms of regimes have to be symbolically expressed, and the acts of government have to be justified in broad popular terms. And if politics is about choice, then information flows clarifying alternative policy options must circulate to those concerned with decisions, whether as their shapers or as consumers of their consequences.

Similarly, if politics is about popular participation or the representation of the will of the people, then participation ultimately consists of, while the representation of people requires, communication.

This is true both between and during election campaigns, although the importance of political communication may be even more obvious during campaigns than otherwise. Not only do political parties and candidates increase their efforts at communicating with the electorate, directly or through advertising or the news media, but the media devote greater attention to politics during election campaigns. In addition, the outcome of political communication may be particularly consequential, as it will help shape people's votes, which in turn will decide the allocation of power and policymaking over the next term.

Political communication and election research have consequently been closely intertwined ever since the 1940s and the publication of the classic *People's Choice* study (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, 1948), and reviews suggest that election campaigns remain the single most important theme in political communication research (Blumler and McQuail, 2001; Graber, 2005).