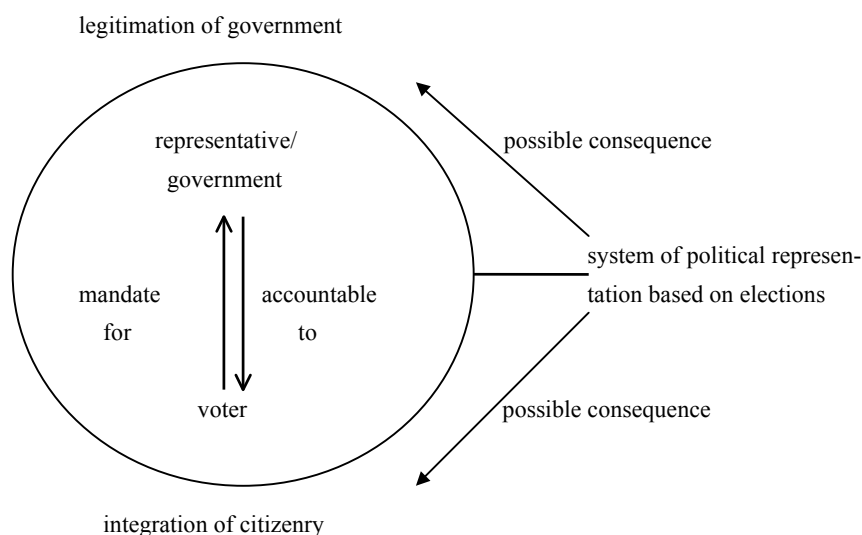


Proposed Title **Political Representation and Party Choice in the European Union**

Proposed Short Title **Representation in Europe**

1. Research Topic

This network is to explore the functioning of representative democracy in the European Union. Well functioning political representation entails a number of more specific processes between voters and elected: one is providing a mandate for the future government; another is holding the present government accountable when next election comes up; together, these processes are capable of legitimating government action and of integrating the public into the political regime. The following graph may illustrate this:

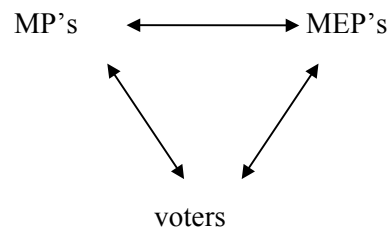


Existing normative theories of political representation are all based on some notion of congruence between the political behaviour of representatives and the interest or will of those they represent. There are two alternative models of political representation in the European Union; they coincide with the two main alternative models of European integration.

In the *federal* model, the European electorate chooses from among a plurality of European political parties. Those elected convene in the European Parliament, form groups and install and control a European government. In the *confederal* model, now 15 national electorates choose from among a plurality of national parties; those elected convene in their national parliaments and form national governments answerable to these national parliaments. These 15 national governments together constitute the European Council -- the European government.

These models are ideal types rather than accurate descriptions of present day European Union government; they are meant to guide our analytic view rather than describe reality. How different are the views of MP's and MEP's -- does the confederal control structure of government arrive at different policies than the federal? Is there a closer link between voters and their national MP's than between voters and MEP's -- does representation work better the confederal way? Or vice versa? These

different perspectives can be displayed as a triangle which, in the course of project preparations, has often helped to clarify our theoretical argument:



Unlike the US, European political systems are party- rather than candidate-centered. Moreover, elections are mostly organised following a proportional representation rather than a plurality system. It is obvious that the „representational bond“ in such an environment is to be sought in the party elite-party electorate dyad rather than in the individual representative-local constituency dyad.

The material basis of this link, and how close it actually ought to be, is a matter of ongoing dispute. The prevalent concept of policy representation is, in Burckian terms, in accordance with the „delegate“ type of a representative (the delegate is expected to know the policy preferences of his constituents and to behave accordingly). A different view on representation focusses on interests and concerns rather than on specific policy positions; this view is more in accordance with his „trustee“ type (the trustee is expected to know the interests of his constituents and to behave accordingly, even if this might mean to neglect their specific policy preferences). The question of which of the two approaches is more appropriate leads us all the way back to the analysis of voting behaviour and the determinants of vote choice: how important issue effects on the vote are relative to other factors, and which of two approaches to issue voting -- position issues and smallest distance vs valence issue and party competence -- is of greater explanatory value.

2. Project Objectives.

Political representation can also be described as the process by which the political actions of the governors are brought into accordance with the political preferences of the governed. Elections to the European Parliament are portrayed as rather unsuccessful in achieving this objective. They have been characterised as „second-order national elections“ which both fail to provide a mandate for EU policy making, and do not as yet contribute to the formation of a European government which could be held accountable by the voter at election time. European Election campaigns typically provide only weak stimuli to the voter which also puts their legitimation and integration capacity into question.

But there is very little empirical evidence to support many of these assertions. Most importantly we do not know to what degree the European Parliament actually represents the political preferences of the EU electorate and thus, to what degree European Parliament elections fulfil their representation task.

Perhaps more surprisingly, comparative empirical research into the functioning of national first order elections is also relatively rare. While there are a few national representation studies, there is hardly any comparable data available of the kind which would allow us to identify the relative success of different institutional arrangements which are particularly effective at fostering political

representation. The same is true of studies into how people decide for which party to vote. Because of their lack of comparative focus currently these do not enable us to identify under which conditions (i) governments are more likely to be held accountable for what they have done or promised to do; (ii) elections are more effective at legitimising the political regime, or (iii) can successfully integrate the electorate into the polity.

While cross-national comparative research into the functioning of elections is extremely rare, cross-level comparative analyses do not exist at all. We simply do not know whether political representation is better achieved in European or in first-order national elections.

This network proposal is thus designed to secure a major advance in our understanding of the existing electoral processes within the EU. In so doing it will substantially extend the scope of comparative research in European political science and sociology and so help develop an integrated European research base in the study of political behaviour and institutions.

3. Scientific originality.

Present-day European government is multi-tiered government. While there is considerable theoretical interest in the growing complexity of governmental structures and processes, empirical assessments of its functioning are virtually non-existent. This study is the first which actually sets out to measure the functioning of political representation on different levels (better: in different branches) of the European governmental system.

Cross-level (or cross-branches) comparisons will be complemented by cross-national ones. The functioning of national systems of political representation (aggregated in the confederal model) are certainly not immune to variations in the institutional set-up of national polities. To give just one example: institutional arrangements favouring single party governments, like a first-past-the-post electoral system, are said to make it easier for the public to clearly attribute responsibility for government policies to an individual party, and thus to make it easier for the voter to hold this party accountable at election day, and thus to strengthen the representational bond. A cross-national comparative representation study design is required to test those assumptions. The study described here is the first cross-national comparative representation study involving primary data collection.

4. Research Method.

To undertake empirical research into political representation we need to be able to compare the issue positions and problem perceptions of voters and parliamentarians. In addition we should compare their conceptions of the role of members of parliament, and how far the socio-economic background of politicians differs from that of voters. Meanwhile, studies of accountability are based on the perception of the performance of governments and the role this perception plays in determining how people vote. Similarly, the study of legitimacy and integration items requires information on the beliefs, degree of trust and ideological orientations of voters. For all these purposes, the best means of securing most of the necessary information is through representative surveys of both voters and political elites.

There are plenty of national election studies (albeit more for some countries than for others) which contain information on the issue positions and policy preferences of voters, on their social background, reasons of party choice, legitimacy beliefs and ideological orientations. However, these national studies usually lack any equivalent information about the attitudes and characteristics of the elite. Further they are often designed in an idiosyncratic way which does not allow, or at least not easily, comparisons across countries. Still, some of the data-sets of earlier national election studies which do allow comparative mass-elite analyses within a country and/or comparative cross-national analyses will be utilised, particularly where they make it possible to look at trends over time. The **International Committee for Research into Elections and Representative Democracy (ICORE)**, the European members of which are part of this proposed network, has already invested considerable effort in the translation of questionnaires and codebooks of those studies into English and in securing availability of data and documentation of these studies to scholars from other countries. (The Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, British, Dutch, Belgian, French and German NES have been co-operating within the framework of ICORE since 1989 while the European Election Study joined in 1991).

The **Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES)**, an ICORE sponsored research programme, has designed a common module of questions to be administered in national election studies worldwide between 1996 and 1999. This questionnaire module concentrates on the relationship between voting behaviour and electoral arrangements and is thus of central relevance for the present study. The module will be administered in all EU countries (except in Luxembourg where a national election study is not conducted) and will make it possible to secure straightforward and strict comparisons of political representation, accountability, legitimacy and integration in national elections in the EU. CSES participants from EU countries are part of the proposed network.

The **European Election Study (EES)** has conducted, both in 1989 and in 1994, large-scale representative mass surveys in every member-country of the EU at the occasion of European Parliament elections. Besides establishing electoral participation and party choice in European and national elections, those surveys have been focusing, inter alia, on issue preferences and party loyalties of the voters as well as on their attitudes towards the EU, their legitimacy beliefs and ideological positions. The members of the EES are part of the proposed network. (The core group of the European Election Study has been co-operating since 1987).

While the 1989 EES was designed to tap processes of electoral mobilisation (two pre-electoral and one post-electoral wave of surveys), the 1994 EES is a pure representation study. In addition to a post-electoral representative mass survey (funded by the German and Dutch national science foundations, completed, n=13,096, face to face interviews), it incorporates three different elite survey operations.

- a. a survey among the candidates standing for EP office (local funding, completed, 1,231 respondents, mail questionnaire survey);
- b. a survey among the Members of the European Parliament (funded by the German Research Foundation, completed in the fall of 1996, 626 respondents, face-to-face interview study); and
- c. surveys among the members of the national parliaments of all member countries of the EU (funded by scattered European sources, 5 surveys have been finished during 1996; others are still in the field).

These elite surveys contain many of the EES'94 and CSES questions in identical format and wording in order to facilitate comparison of electors and elected.

While these survey studies are completed and analysed, the **European Elections Study 1999** is being prepared. Focusing on political representation again, this study will be based in part on content-analytic methods rather than on surveys. It will involve altogether six study modules:

- a. a content analysis of the European Parliament election programmes of political parties represented in the European Parliament, from 1979 to 1999 (European Party Manifestoes Project); this project is currently prepared in Mannheim and Berlin;
- b. a content analysis of party pledges issued at the occasion of the 1999 European Parliament elections -- prepared in Dublin;
- c. a study of mass communication during the campaign of the 1999 European Parliament election based content analytical methods -- prepared at Harvard and in Berlin;
- d. a voters study involving, at least, a representative survey of each national electorate shortly after the election -- prepared in Amsterdam;
- e. a roll-call analysis of the European Parliament -- prepared in Enschede;
- f. a survey among the members of the European Parliament after the 1999 election -- prepared in Gothenburg.

The latter are project plans rather than current research projects. However, some of these plans are likely to materialise during the lifespan of the proposed network, and young scholars will have ample opportunity to contribute to these projects. Generally, this network proposal brings together a number of national and international projects enquiring into voting behaviour and political representation. All of these projects are pursued in any event. This proposal would ensure that the opportunities they create are fully exploited and contribute to the development of a new generation of scholars who will be able to build on the foundations which will have been laid.

5. Work Plan.

The work plan of the network concentrates on the completion of the fieldwork, the analysis of data which is gathered, and the preparation of publications based on the results of that analysis.

The network envisions holding two meetings a year, in spring and autumn. These will be of two kinds. First, plenary meetings of all participants would be held at the beginning (spring 1997), at about midterm (autumn 1998), and at the end (winter 1999/2000). Second, there would be workshops on a specific theme or workshops serving a specific purpose (like the discussion of book chapter drafts, etc.), which would be attended by those participants most immediately involved.

The first of the plenary meetings (spring 1997) would define the division of labour between the members of the network more strictly, and establish a number of fundamental principles of network co-operation (such as the sharing of data sets). The second plenary meeting at midterm (autumn 1998) would consist of presentations of the results to date and facilitate a critical network-wide discussion. This second plenary meeting would also provide an opportunity for midterm evaluation of research

progress. The third plenary meeting at the end of the lifetime of the network (winter 1999/2000) would be used as a launchpad to present its work to a wider academic community and, with the help of the media, to the public at large.

Project Milestones.

The main milestones of the project can be identified by the data-sets to be created and the publications to be produced.

Data-sets.

National elections will be held in a majority of EU member-countries during the lifetime of the network (though of course their timing in some countries is rather hard to predict). National election studies (carrying the CSES module) will be conducted in their own country by members of the network on the occasion of these elections. The resulting data-sets will be made available for comparative research to other network participants as soon as possible.

The EES surveys among voters and MEPs are completed and data-sets and documentation are available.

A majority of surveys of the members of the 15 national parliaments operating within the European Union is still in the field. A collated Europe wide documented data-set should be available in autumn 1997, though separate data files are available already now.

Publications.

The network intends to produce six major collaborative publications during its lifetime. They will be based on three kind of study.

VOTING STUDIES. These studies are designed to analyse the behaviour, motivations and attitudes of the voters at election time. The first publication will analyse the relative success of the 1994 European Parliament election in achieving its proper functions. It will be based on the findings of the 1994 EES post-electoral voters study:

Michael Marsh and Hermann Schmitt, eds. *How Europe Voted 1994*. London and New York (Macmillan and Praeger). Intended publication 1998.

Another volume will be based on comparative analyses in national elections in the EU and on a comparative analysis of voting in European elections and national elections. It will focus on how voting behaviour is influenced by the institutional arrangements for an election.

John Curtice et al., eds. *Comparing European Electoral Behaviour* [Working Title]. Intended publication 1999.

STUDIES OF CANDIDATES AND ELECTED MPS. Political elites are of central importance for the functioning of democracy. Their success can be influenced by how they are recruited, their career patterns, their political socialisation and orientations, their role perceptions and their task performance. A central study involving a detailed comparison between MEPs and MPs is planned for publication in 1998:

Richard S. Katz and Bernhard Wessels, eds. *The European Parliament*. Intended publication 1989.

REPRESENTATION STUDIES. The central theme of these studies is the question whether political elites (candidates and/or elected) represent the political preferences of their voters adequately. An initial European Union level study will compare the social background, policy preferences and ideological orientations of voters and candidates standing for office in the European Parliament elections of 1994:

Michael Marsh and Pippa Norris, eds. *The European Elections of 1994*. Dordrecht (Kluwer)[=Special Issue of the European Journal of Political research, Vol. 25]. To be published in the summer of 1997.

This will be followed by a volume which will focus on the politics of the European Union and compare the success of European Parliament elections and national elections in representing the voters views:

Hermann Schmitt and Jacques Thomassen, eds. *Political Representation in Europe* [Working Title]. Intended publication 1999.

THE FINAL VOLUME. The final volume of the network will address the overall topic of the effectiveness of democratic elections in the European Union:

Hans-Dieter Klingemann et al. *Democracy in the European Union* [Working Title]. Intended publication 2000.

It should be emphasised that this programme of collaborative cross-national work will be undertaken at centres where there will continue to be an active programme of national study. For example, voting studies are in preparation almost everywhere in the ICORE based nodes in the network. Similarly, national representation studies (e.g. Essaiason and Holmberg 1996) are also envisaged. Thus each node of the network will provide a lively and intellectually advanced environment in which young scholars from elsewhere in the EU will profitably develop their skills.

The professional research effort (in man/month) invested by each of the participants over the lifespan of the network is displayed in the following table:

	U Mann heim	ISF Oslo	U Göte borg	CREST	Trinity	CE VIPOF	U Louvain	U Twente	U A'dam	WZB	UNED	U Genova
regular staff	36+ 36*	18	18	18	18	18	36	18	36	18	18	36
young researchers	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36

* network manager

6. Collective Experience.

6.1. The Team at the „Mannheimer Zentrum fuer Europäische Sozialforschung“ (network co-ordination).

Role in the network.

This research team will concentrate its efforts on the theoretical clarification of concepts, on the empirical study of political representation in the European Union, and on network co-ordination.

Composition of the team.

Headed by Dr Hermann Schmitt, this team includes the electoral researchers of the Mannheim faculty of social sciences. Members are Professor Jan van Deth (comparative political behaviour, value change, and political involvement); Professor Franz U. Pappi (formal theories of electoral behaviour and political representation, network analysis); and Dr. Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (voting and political communication).

Quantifiable input.

The Mannheim team will invest about 12 man/months p.a. in the activities of this network (Schmitt 6, van Deth 2, Pappi 2, Schmitt-Beck 2).

Recent publications.

Hermann Schmitt, Cees van der Eijk, Franz U. Pappi, Evi Scholz et al. 1997. *The European Elections Study 1994: Design, Implementation and Results* [computer file and documentation]. Köln (Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung an der Universität zu Köln).

Jan van Deth and Elinor Scarbrough, eds. 1995. *The Impact of Values*. Oxford; New York (Oxford University Press)

Franz U. Pappi and Hermann Schmitt, eds. 1994. *Parteien und Wahlen in Skandinavien*. Frankfurt (Campus).

Oskar Niedermayer and Hermann Schmitt, eds. 1994. *Wahlen und Europäische Einigung*. Opladen (Westdeutscher Verlag).

Hermann Schmitt and Renato Mannheimer, eds. 1991. *The European Elections of June 1989*. Dordrecht (Kluwer) [=Special Issue of the European Journal of Political Research, Vol. 19, 1].

Background of the prospective network co-ordinator.

Dr Schmitt has been the co-ordinator of the European Election Study (EES) research group from 1987 on. Since then, the EES has been designing and conducting the 1989 and the 1994 European Voters Study and the Elites Surveys of 1994-7 (mentioned earlier), and has been publishing widely on the results of its research. In addition, Dr Schmitt has served as the scientific secretary of the ICORE from 1992 on and as the editor of its newsletter since 1993. He was a participant of the Beliefs in Government (BiG) research programme set up by the European Science Foundation, from 1990-5. He is currently preparing a second round of co-operation for the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

(CSES) at the ISR in Ann Arbor and teaching at the Department of Political Science of the University of Michigan. He is coordinating efforts to prepare a European Elections Study 1999. He was the convenor of three ECPR workshops on related topics. He has published widely, both in German and English, on political parties and party system change, electoral behaviour, and political representation.

6.2. The Team at the Institute for Social Research in Oslo, Norway - The Norwegian National Election Study Programme.

Role in the network.

The team will participate in the collaborative empirical studies both of political representation and electoral behaviour.

Composition of the team.

Professor Henry Valen (voting behavior, nominations, mass-elite linkage) and Dr Bernt Aardal (voting behavior, public opinion, conflict structure) are co-directors of the group. Further members are Cand.polit. Hanne Marthe Narud (mass-elite linkage, nominations), Cand. polit. Frode Berglund (party identification, statistics), and Professor Ola Listhaug (voting behavior, trust in government, directional theory - University of Trondheim).

Quantifiable input.

The Oslo team will invest about 6 man/months p.a. in the activities of this network (Aardal 3, Valen 1, Narud 1, Listhaug 1).

Recent publications.

Bernt Aardal with Henry Valen. 1995. *Konflikt og opinion*. (Conflict and Opinion). Oslo (NKS-forlaget).

Bernt Aardal. 1994. „The 1993 Storting Election: Volatile Voters Opposing the European Union.“ *Scandinavian Political Studies* 17:2.

Bernt Aardal. 1994. „Hva er en politisk skillelinje? En begrepsmessig grenseoppgang“ (What is a political cleavage. A conceptual demarcation). *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning* Vol. 2.

Bernt Aardal. 1993. „Energi og miljø. Nye stridsspørsmål i møte med gamle strukturer“ (Energy and environment. New issues meeting old structures). *ISF-Rapport* 93:15.

Stuart Elaine Macdonald, Ola Listhaug and George Rabinowitz. 1991. „Issues and Party Support in Multiparty Systems.“ *American Political Science Review* 85: 1107-31.

6.3. The Team at Göteborg University, Sweden - The Swedish Election Study Group

Role in the network.

The team is concerned with the determinants of voting behaviour (including campaign and media effects on the vote) and with the empirical assessment of representative democracy.

Composition of the team.

The Göteborg team is headed by Professor Sören Holmberg (voting behaviour and empirical representation studies) and includes 5 full time researchers among whom are Dr Mikael Gilljam (voting behaviour) and Dr Peter Esaiasson (campaign studies and legislative behaviour).

Quantifiable input.

The Göteborg team will invest about 6 man/month p.a. in the research activities of the network (Holmberg 2, Gilljam 2, Esaiasson 2).

Recent publications.

Peter Esaiasson and Sören Holmberg. 1996. *Representation from Above. Members of Parliament and Representative Democracy in Sweden*. Dartmouth (Aldershot).

Donald Granberg and Sören Holmberg. 1995. „Attitude Constraint and Stability Among Elite and Mass in Sweden.“ *European Journal of Political Research* (forthcoming).

Mikael Gilljam and Sören Holmberg. 1995. „Should we take the don't know for an answer?“ *Public Opinion Quarterly* (forthcoming).

6.4 The Centre for Research into Elections and Social Trends (CREST), United Kingdom.

Role in the network.

CREST would contribute to the work of the network in two areas. First, it would undertake comparative research into the effectiveness or otherwise of the different domestic democratic arrangements in European countries and ascertain what lessons might be drawn for the future structure of the European Union. Second, it would undertake methodological research into the best means of analysing surveys which have been administered cross-nationally. These two objectives would be pursued side by side through the comparative analysis of the behaviour and attitudes of voters and MPs at the time of national elections. Particular use would be made of data collected by the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) project.

Composition and expertise of the team.

CREST is a Research Centre funded by the British Economic and Social Research Council. Spanning three of the leading social science research institutions in Great Britain, it is co-directed by Prof. Roger Jowell (Director of Social and Community Planning Research, London, and Visiting Professor, London School of Economics), and Prof. Anthony Heath (Official Fellow in Sociology, Nuffield College, Oxford), while the Deputy Director is John Curtice (Reader in Politics, Univ. of Strathclyde).

The work of the centre is supported by Dr. Geoff Evans (Associate Fellow at Nuffield College) and six research officer staff, Lindsay Brook, Caroline Bryson, Alison Park and Katarina Thomson at SCPR, Dr. Bridget Taylor at Nuffield College and Ann Mair at Strathclyde. These staff have a critical knowledge of survey methodology. The Centre has a number of associate members working in collaboration with the centre on specific aspects of the centre's work. These include Dr. Pippa Norris (Harvard University) who is a co-director of the 1997 British Election Study and with whom we are currently also collaborating on the 1996/7 British Representation Study. The directors of the centre have between them wide experience of survey research into electoral behaviour and attitudes, including international research. Members of the centre have been responsible since 1983 for both the British Election Study and the British Social Attitudes Survey, the principal vehicles in Great Britain for the study of electoral behaviour and social attitudes respectively. They were also founder members of both the International Social Survey Programme and the International Committee for Research into Elections and Representative Democracy. As a result of the latter CREST already has a research link with seven other nodes in the network.

Quantifiable Input.

CREST will contribute six man months of its existing research staff to the work of the network (Curtice 2, Norris 2, Jowell 1, Heath 1).

Recent Publications.

R. Jowell, J. Curtice, A. Park, L. Brook and K. Thomson (eds.). 1996. British Social Attitudes; the 13th. Report . Aldershot (Dartmouth)

De Graaf, N.D., Nieuwbeerta, P. and Heath, A. 1994. Class mobility and political preferences: individual and contextual effects', *American Journal of Sociology*, 100, 997-1027.

A. Heath, R. Jowell and J. Curtice with B. Taylor (eds.) 1994. Labour's Last Chance? The 1992 Election and Beyond. Aldershot (Dartmouth)

R. Jowell, L. Brook and L. Dowds with D. Ahrendt (eds.). 1993. International Social Attitudes: the 10th BSA Report. Aldershot (Dartmouth)

A. Heath, R. Jowell, J. Curtice, G. Evans, J. Field and S. Witherspoon. 1989. Understanding Political Change: The British Voter 1964-87. Oxford (Pergamon)

6.5. The Team at Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland.

Role in the network.

This team is concerned with structures of representation and democratic accountability in Europe and with the electoral process in Ireland.

Composition of the team.

The team comprises the senior staff in the Department of Political Science at TCD with interests in this field: Profesor Michael Laver (Coalition theory and behaviour, electoral behaviour), Dr Michael Gallagher (Political parties, electoral systems) and Dr Michael Marsh (Political parties, electoral behaviour)

Quantifiable input.

The Trinity team will invest about 6 man/months p.a. in the activities of this network (Laver 2, Gallagher 2, and Marsh 2).

Recent publications.

Michael Gallagher and Pier Uleri, eds. 1996. *The referendum experience in Europe*. London: Macmillan.

Cees van der Eijk, Mark Franklin and Michael Marsh. 1995. "European Elections and National Political Processes." *Electoral Studies* forthcoming.

Michael Gallagher, Michael Laver and Peter Mair. 1995. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. McGraw-Hill (2nd Edition)

Mark Franklin, Michael Marsh and Lauren McLaren. 1994. "Uncorking the Bottle: Popular Opposition to European Unification in the Wake of Maastricht." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 33:455-472.

Michael Gallagher and Michael Laver, eds. 1993. *How Ireland Voted 1992*. Dublin and Limerick (Folens: PSAI Press).

6.6. The Team at CEVIPOF in Paris, France.

Role in the network.

This research team will concentrate its efforts on a theoretical approach to the concept of representation and on the empirical study of political representation on a European level.

Composition of the team.

The French team includes researchers of the CEVIPOF involved in both electoral and political elite studies. Members are Roland Cayrol, Directeur de Recherche at the Fondation National des Sciences Politiques (FNSP; his research foci are: comparative electoral behaviour, media and value change studies); Colette Ysmal, Directeur de Recherche at the FNSP (comparative electoral behaviour, political elites) and Dr Bruno Cautrès (CDISP), associate researcher to the CEVIPOF (comparative electoral behaviour and value change).

Quantifiable input.

The French team will invest about 6 man/month p.a. in the research activities of the network (Cayrol 2, Ysmal 2, Cautres 2).

Recent publications.

Bruno Cautrès et al. 1995. „L'évolution des attitudes à l'égard de l'Europe.“ In *Les Élections Européennes de 1994*, eds. Pascal Perrineau and Colette Ysmal. Paris (Editions de Science-po).

Colette Ysmal and Roland Cayrol. 1995. „The 1989 Election in France: The midwife came to call.“ In *Choosing Europe*, eds. Cees van der Eijk and Mark Franklin. Ann Arbor (The University of Michigan Press). Forthcoming.

Roland Cayrol. 1994. *Le Grand Malentendu. Les Français et la politique*. Paris (Le Seuil).

Pascal Perrineau and Colette Ysmal, eds. 1994. *Le Vote des Douze. Les élections européennes de 1994*. Paris (Presses de Science po).

Colette Ysmal. 1990. *Le comportement électoral des Français*. Paris (La Découverte).

6.7. The PIOP team at the Catholic University of Louvain (in collaboration with the ISPO team at the University of Leuven), Belgium.

Role in the network.

This team will focus on the comparative empirical analysis of the Wallon and the Flemish voting behaviour based on data collected after the November 1991 general election and on the panel data collected after the May 1995 general election. Specific themes are the vote for the green and for the extreme-right parties, the effect of ethnicity on voting behaviour, the quality of political representation on the various levels, and more generally the nature of political participation and the development of new social movements in the EU. One major focus of the team is methodological: the cross-validation of the scales of the most important concepts in models of voting behaviour, and the testing of explanatory models of political behaviour using advanced research techniques (like structural equations modeling, multilevel analysis, loglinear analysis).

Composition of the team.

A.P. Frogner (promoter of the PIOP project; comparative politics, Belgian politics, cabinet decision-making, electoral behaviour); L. De Winter (comparative politics, political representation); A. M. Aish-Van Vaerenberg (comparative survey research, political psychology, causal models of political attitudes and behaviour). The team works in collaboration with the ISPO group at the University of Leuven, and more in particular with J Billiet (promoter of the ISPO project, ethnocentrism and racism, extreme right parties) and M. Swyngedouw (electoral volatility, electoral behaviour).

Quantifiable input.

The Belgian team will invest about 12 man/month p.a. in the research activities of the network (Frogner 2, De Winter 3, Aish 3, Billiet 2, Swyngedouw 2).

Recent publications.

Frogner, A. P. and A. M. Aish-Van Vaerenbergh, eds. 1994. *Elections: la féture*. Bruxelles (De Boeck Université).

Frogner, A. P. 1993. „Groupes et comportements électoraux, votes écologiques et votes d’extreme droite.“ In *L’Extreme Droite en Belgique Francophone*. Bruxelles (De Boeck Université).

De Winter, L. 1994. „De Belgische parlamentsleden tussen de kiezer en de partij.“ In *Wegwijs Politiek*, ed. R Dillemans. Leuven (Davidsfonds).

Swyngedouw, M., J. Billiet, A. Carton and R. Beerten, eds. 1993. *Kiezen is verliezen*. Onderzoek naar de politieke opvattingen van Vlamingen. Leuven (Acco).

6.8. The team at the University of Twente, Enschede, The Netherlands.

Role in the network.

This team will focus its contribution on (1) the study of representation at both the European and the national level, and (2) the study of national electorates in a comparative context.

Composition of the team.

The team is headed by Professor Jacques Thomassen, Department of Political Science at the University of Twente. Other members of the team include Dr Kees Aarts, Lecturer of Political Science, Dr Peter Geurts, Lecturer of Research Methodology, and several junior researchers and research assistants. Thomassen has (co)directed or is currently (co)directing the surveys among the candidates for the European Parliament (1994), the members of the European Parliament (1995) and the members of the national parliaments (1995-1996). He is also chair of ICORE. Geurts is cooperating in these European representation studies. Thomassen and Aarts were participants in the "Beliefs in Government" research program set up by the European Science Foundation (1988-1993). They are involved in the planning and conduct of the Dutch National Election Studies, and are chair and board member of the Dutch Foundation for Electoral Research.

Quantifiable input.

The team at Twente will invest at least 6 man/month p.a. in the research activities of the network (Thomassen 2, Aarts 2, Geurts 2).

Recent publications:

Jacques Thomassen. 1995. „Attitudes towards democracy.“ In *Citizens and their State*, eds. Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs. Oxford (Oxford University Press).

Jacques Thomassen, ed. 1994. *The Intellectual History of Election Studies*. Special Issue of the European Journal for Political Research.

Jacques Thomassen. 1993. „Models of Political representation: Failing democracy or failing models.“ In *Elections at Home and Abroad, Essays in Honor of Warren Miller*, eds. M. Kent Jennings and Thomas E. Mann. Ann Arbor (University of Michigan Press).

Jacques Thomassen. 1993. „Party identification as a cross-national concept: its meaning in the Netherlands.“ In *Classics in Voting Behavior*, eds. Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg. Washington (CQ-Press).

Jacques Thomassen. 1991. „Empirical research into political representation, a critical reappraisal.“ In *Politische Klasse und politische Institutionen*, eds. Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Richard Stöss and Bernhard Wessels. Westdeutscher Verlag, Berlin.

6.9. The team at the University of Amsterdam.

Role in the network.

This research team will focus (a) on advanced conceptual, comparative and methodological methods of voter and elite studies, in particular by providing training facilities in these areas in the form of a 'Winter School' for network participants, (b) contribute to comparative empirical voter and elite studies, (c) contribute to the linkage of empirical voter and elite studies on the one hand and democratic theories on the other.

Composition of the team.

Headed by Professor Cees van der Eijk (political processes, political behaviour, methodology), this team includes researchers of the Amsterdam departments of political science and methodology. Members are Dr Kees Niemöller (methodology, voter behavior), Dr Jean Tillie (voter behaviour, utility theories), Dr Wouter van der Brug (survey research, over-time comparisons), Dr. Hans Anker (Comparative Electoral Studies, Survey Research Methodology), other members of the departments on a more occasional basis, and several junior researchers, graduate students and research assistants. Professor van der Eijk, currently president of the Dutch Political Science Association, and member of the board of the Dutch Foundation for Election Studies (SKON), has since 1987 been a member of the core group of the 'European Election Study' (EES) workgroup, and has contributed actively to the design, conduct and analysis of the 1989 and 1994 European Voter Studies. He has been one of the principal investigators of the Dutch National Election Studies from 1979 to 1986. He has published widely on voter behaviour, elections, representation and democracy, in English, Dutch and German.

Quantifiable input.

The Amsterdam team will collectively invest approximately 12 man/months per annum in the activities of this network (van der Eijk 2, Niemöller 2, Tillie 2, van der Brug 3, Anker 3).

Recent publications.

Wouter van der Brug. 1997. *Where's the Party? Voters' Perceptions of Party Positions*. Amsterdam (PhD dissertation University of Amsterdam).

Cees van der Eijk and Mark N. Franklin et al. 1996. *Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union*. Ann Arbor (The University of Michigan Press).

Jean Tillie. 1995. *Party Utility and Voting Behavior*. Amsterdam (Het Spinhuis).

Mark N. Franklin, Cees van der Eijk and Michael Marsh. 1995. „Referendum Outcomes and Trust in Government: Public Support for Europe in the Wake of Maastricht.“ *West European Politics* 18: 101-117.

Cees van der Eijk and Mark N. Franklin. 1991. „European Community Politics and Electoral Representation.“ *European Journal of Political Research* 19:105-128.

6.10. The Team at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin fuer Sozialforschung, Research Unit "Institutions and Social Change"

Role in the network

This team in the network is concerned with electoral research and research into political representation in a cross-national perspective - in particular with macro-structural conditions of voting behaviour and political representation. It will concentrate its efforts on the empirical clarification of theoretical concepts of macro-micro linkages with respect to political behaviour.

Composition of the team

Headed by Prof. Dr. Hans-Dieter Klingemann, this team includes the electoral researchers of the research unit "Institutions and Social Change" at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin fuer Sozialforschung, which include Dr. Dieter Fuchs (rational choice and voting), Dipl.-Soz. Katrin Voltmer (political communication and voting) and Dr. Bernhard Wessels (cleavages and voting, political representation. Research assistance is currently provided by Achim Kielhorn (cand. pol.) and Jan Flickschu (cand. math.).

Quantifiable input

The research unit will invest about 6 man/months p.a. (or 1/2 man/year) in the research activities of the network (Klingemann 2, Fuchs 2, Wessels 2).

Recent publications.

Goodin, Robert E., Hans-Dieter Klingemann, eds. 1996. *A new handbook of political science*. Oxford [England] and New York : Oxford University Press.

Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Dieter Fuchs, eds. 1995. *Citizens and the State*. Oxford (Oxford University Press).

Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Max Kaase, eds. 1994. *Wahlen und Wähler. Beiträge aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 1990*. Opladen (Westdeutscher Verlag).

Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Richard I. Hofferbert, Ian Budge. 1994. *Parties, Policies and Democracy*. Boulder, Colorado (Westview Press).

Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Wolfgang Luthardt, eds. 1993. *Wohlfahrtsstaat, Sozialstruktur und Verfassungsanalyse*. Opladen (Westdeutscher Verlag).

6.11. The Team at the UNED in Madrid.

Role in the network.

In addition to its focus on Spanish electoral politics, this team will participate in the study of electoral behaviour on the European level as well as in the empirical study of political representation in Spain and in the European Union.

Composition of the team.

Members are Professor Pilar del Castillo (Spanish electoral behaviour and comparative political behaviour); Professor Andres de Blas (political representation, theories of nationalism); Associate Professor Lourdes Lopez Nieto (political elites and comparative political behaviour); Associate Professor Jaime Pastor (new social movements). Research assistance is provided by Dipl. Irene Delgado.

Quantifiable input.

The team at Madrid will invest at least 6 man/month p.a. in the research activities of the network (del Castillo 1, Blas 1, Nieto 2, Pastor 2).

Recent publications.

Pilar del Castillo and Ismael Crespo (eds.). 1997. *Cultura Política. Enfoque teoricos y aproximaciones analíticas*. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch.

Pilar del Castillo, ed. 1995. *Comportamiento Político y Electoral*. Madrid (Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas).

Andre de Blas. 1995. *Nacionalismos y Naciones en Europa*. Madrid (Alianza Editorial).

Lourdes Lopez Nieto. 1995. „The Center-Right in Spain.“ In *Factional Politics and Democratization*, eds. M. Woller and L. Lopez Nieto. London (Frank Cass).

6.12. The Team at the University of Genova in Italy.

Role in the network.

This research team will contribute to the theoretical clarification of concepts and will carry out empirical analyses of political representation both on the Italian and the the European level.

Composition of the team.

Headed by Professor Renato Mannheimer (electoral behaviour), this team includes the electoral researchers of the Institute of Political Science at the University of Genova. Members are Professor Giorgio Sola (political theory, political elites), Dr Fulvio Venturino (electoral behaviour, political economy), Dr Dorian Saracino (electoral behaviour, political parties), Dr. Ugo Amoretti (electoral behaviour, federalism), Dr. Luisa Gardelly (European electoral behaviour); Dr. Nicola Iacobone (European electoral behaviour, parliaments); Dr. Stefania Operto (European electoral behaviour).

Quantifiable output.

The Genova team will invest about 12 man/month p.a. (or 1 man/year) in the research activities of the network (Mannheimer 1, Sola 1, Venturino 1, Saracino 1, Amoretti 2, Gardelli 2, Iacobone 2, Operto 2).

Recent publications.

Renato Mannheimer. 1996. "Le elezioni del 1996." *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*

Giorgio Sola. 1996. *Storia della Scienza Politica*. Torino (La Nuova Italia).

Fulvio Venturino. 1995. „Le conseguenze politiche del nuovo sistema elettorale comunale: un esame empirico.“ *Quaderni del Osservatorio Elettorale*.

Renato Manheimer and Ilvo Diamanti. 1994. *Da Milano a Roma*. Roma (Donzelli).

Renato Mannheimer. 1993. *Quale mobilità elettorale? Tendenze e modelli*. Milano (Agneli).

Dorian Saraciono. 1993. „La Lega Nord nelli orientamenti dell’ettorato genovese. Le elezioni politiche del 1992.“ *La Protesta dei Forti*, eds. A. Mazette and G.C. Rovati. Milano (Agneli).

7. Collaboration between the teams.

The proposed network is made up of twelve teams which have been successfully co-operating over years in three different research connections: The EES, the ICORE, and the CSES. These twelve teams are located in 9 different EU member countries (Germany and the Netherlands are represented with two nodes, and Norway decided against EU membership). EU member countries which are not represented lack a continuous national election study (with the exeption of Denmark) and are therefore less closely involved in the research connections upon which this network proposal builds. The teams combined here together represent the main body of electoral research in Western Europe. They bring

together a sufficiently rich variety of different national-specific research tradition and expertise to cover the whole variety of institutional contexts and approaches to the study of elections in the European Union.

country	team	research connection		
		EES	ICORE	CSES
Belgium	- U.Louvain	affiliated	yes	yes
France	- CEVIPOF	yes	yes	yes
Germany	- WZB	yes	yes	yes
	- U.Mannheim	yes	yes	yes
Ireland	- Trinity	yes		
Italy	- U.Genova	yes		yes
Netherlands	- U.A'dam	yes		
	- U.Enschede	yes	yes	yes
Norway	- ISF.Oslo		yes	yes
Spain	- UNED	yes		
Sweden	- U.Göteborg	yes	yes	yes
UK	- CREST	affiliated	yes	yes

8. Network Management and Organisation.

It is intended to hire a full-time network manager for the duration of the project. The manager's tasks, among other things will include:

- the preparation of plenary and research sessions (see above, project milestones) and the writing and dissemination of the results (minutes) of each meeting. The network manager will be requested to attend every network meeting (this something which worked out very well in the „Beliefs in Government“ (BiG) programme).
- the overseeing of the contracts with young postdoc researchers in the network, and supporting them in their adaptation to a new network environment.
- the edition of a network newsletter, to be published twice a year or more often, informing network participants about developments in the network.
- the support of the editors of common - network-wide - publications with regard to the keeping of deadlines on the part of the contributors, etc.

A midterm review of the network's activities could be undertaken by holding a midterm plenary meeting at which it can be assessed whether:

- the surveys as described above have been completed as planned;
- plenary and research meetings have been held as envisaged;

- publications are progressing according to schedule;
- the involvement of young postdoc researchers in the research and publication activities is progressing satisfactorily.

9. Training Need.

Improving methodological skills.

The study of electoral behaviour and of political representation more generally is among the most advanced fields at the intersect of political science and sociology. This is particularly the case with regard to methodological standards. One important training aspect of this network proposal therefore is the advancement of methodological skills of the participating young researchers. They will profit from the outstanding research experience and methodological competence of the scholars involved at each node, and in the course of their research develop a solid methodological and statistical basis (including, for example, multivariate regression analysis, logistic regression analysis, structural equations analysis) for future endeavours. In addition, they will have the opportunity to attend the ICPSR summer school and a special Winter School in Amsterdam.

Overcoming national boundaries and restrictions.

At first glance, the study of electoral behaviour and political representation appears to be guided in all countries by a small number of general theories. These include the work of Stein Rokkan on the development of social cleavages, the rational voter theory of Anthony Downs, the social-psychological theory of voting behaviour and the role of party identifications developed at the University of Michigan, and the analytical model of political representation put forward by Warren Miller and Donald Stokes. But in practice, national research traditions in Europe differ considerably as do the conditions under which such research can be performed. To advance our knowledge about the functioning of democratic elections, comparative research needs to overcome the national specific character of much of present day electoral research in Europe, and arrive at a common research agenda and common tools (and skills to use these tools).

In addition to all this, there is a need for encouraging co-operative publications and for learning international communication.

10. Training Programme.

Improving methodological skills.

It is intended to conduct seminars (Winter Schools) which will provide training in the methodological issues which will arise in the research if the network (e.g., multi-level analyses). These seminars would last one full week and it is anticipated that every young visiting scholar in the network would attend them. Professor Cees van der Eijk at the University of Amsterdam accepted responsibility to act as a convenor and director of these seminars. He would be supported in this capacity by Professor Aish-Van Vaerenberg from the University of Louvain.

In addition to these training seminars each young visiting scholar will be required to attend the „Summer School“ in Empirical Social Research at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor at least once, if possible twice. This Summer School is well known as the best place in the world to acquire the most advanced and sophisticated training in quantitative methods of social research. Kathryn Cirksena, the Director of Studies of the US National Election Studies at the ISR in Ann Arbor, will act as a liaison person to the members of the network who during their attendance on the programme will become acquainted with the US-NES which currently hosts the secretariat for the CSES project.

Overcoming national boundaries and restrictions.

Electoral geography is still an important research perspective in France while it receives relatively little attention elsewhere. The recent debate about class voting in Britain is hardly paralleled elsewhere, while the current crisis perspective applied by many Italian colleagues is not easily understood or adapted by others. One important objective of this proposal is to overcome those national-specific boundaries and restrictions - not to eliminate them. But rather to disseminate them and make them more broadly known by having young researchers working in different nodes of the network for a limited period of time and thus enjoying the rare opportunity of multiple professional socialisations.

Encouraging co-operative publications.

Young researchers participating in the network activities will be encouraged to collaborate both locally with the senior staff members of their node and net-wide across nodes in the writing of publications. Publication projects outlined above will be open for them to participate. They will also be encouraged to produce an edited volume in English, on their own. The young scholars should emerge from the project able to make a significant independent contribution to the advancement of knowledge.

Learning international communication.

Young researchers participating in the network activities will be trained in the use of internet communication facilities (e.g., ftp, telnet, www). They will be given the opportunity to participate fully in network meetings, in particular the bi-annual research sessions. And they will be supported in their efforts to cope with foreign languages. While the central network-wide working language inevitably will be English, young researchers will be encouraged to improve their French in Paris, their Italian in Genova, or their German in Mannheim, etc.

It will be evident from the above that most of the work undertaken by the researchers will contribute to their training. The training in specific methodological, statistical and computing skills will constitute approximately six man month of each young researcher's time.

11. Connection to the industry.

The institutes and researchers participating in this network proposal all have close working relations to national and international polling firms. The MZES, to give just one example, is in close contact with *INRA Europe* (the institute in charge of the fieldwork of standard Eurobarometer surveys) and *Gallup Europe* (Eurobarometer flashes) in Brussels, and with the *Forschungsgruppe Wahlen* in Mannheim

(Politbarometer, election research ZDF). This is very much the same elsewhere. Young researchers during their stay will have ample opportunity to learn how things are done in these non-academic research places (which even might, in one or the other case, lead to a career as a professional pollster).

12. Financial Information.

Grants and salaries to young visiting researchers.

Personel costs vary considerably between EU member-countries, while the cost of living is less different. The salary discrepancies would tend to hinder intra-network mobility would we base the salary of visiting researchers on local salary levels. It is therefore proposed to pay viting researchers the same grant wherever they stay (with the one exception of the UK). It is thought that such a grant should amount to 2,000 ECU, be payed 12 times a year over a period of 3 years.

2,000 ECU x 12 months x 11 nodes x 3 years	792,000 ECU
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The UK team would not be in a position to follow this grant strategy but would have to pay regular salaries to young visiting researchers. To pay a 32 years old, single post-doc at a British university over three years would cost about

	85,000 ECU
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NB. The salary costs for the network manager to be domiciled in Mannheim will be payed according to the German „Bundesange-stellentarif“ (BAT), category IIa. The costs are estimated at 44,200 ECU p.a. which over three years results in an overall salary cost estimate of about 135,00 ECU. This sum is thought to come from the overheads (see below).

Networking.

Travel.

38 people x 1,5 meetings x 3 years x 1000 ECU	171,000 ECU
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There will be three plenary meetings, in the beginning of the network, at about midterm, and at the end. There will be specialised research sessions in addition the costs of which are estimated to amount to 50 per cent of the plenary meetings.

Assuming an average of two „regular“ scholars are more closely involved than others in the common research at each place plus the one young „visiting“ researcher, and considering the fact that there are

12 nodes in the network, we are up to 36 likely participants at a plenary meeting. Adding network co-ordinator and network manager, we are up to 38.

Travel costs will be kept at a minimum. Meetings will be organised such as to involve a weekend each time. This will allow network participants to travel on particularly low air fares (APEX and equivalent). The average expenses per meeting per participant are estimated at ECU 1,000.

Training of visiting researchers.

12 people 2 x Ann Arbor Summer School a 3,000 ECU	72,000 ECU
12 people 3 x Amsterdam Winter School a 2,500 ECU	90,000 ECU

Estimates are thought to include all sorts of costs including school fees, travel and stay abroad.

Together	1,210,000 ECU
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Overheads (ca 18 per cent of 6.3.)	255,000 ECU
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This sum is calculated to cover local overheads (10,000 ECU per node, i.e. 120,000 ECU) as well as central co-ordination costs (135,000 ECU salary for the network manager to be domiciled in Mannheim).

Overall	1,465,000 ECU
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Share of individual nodes

Each of the twelve nodes would be allocated an equal share of the budget positions 6.2. and 6.4., while the grant cost/salary cost for young visiting researchers (6.1) would somewhat differ between the UK and the remainder of network nodes.

The overall sum attributed to each node (except CREST in the UK) is thus	121,000 ECU
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The overall sum attributed to CREST is	134,000 ECU
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