

The Supply Side of Second-Order Elections in the Czech Republic: A Light at the End of the Tunnel?

Jan Kovar*

Abstract: *This paper attempts to contribute to the debate on the Europeanization of European Parliament elections. Because these elections are supposedly fought over national political issues, the analysis focuses on one aspect of political parties' supply for these elections, namely their election programmes. To this aim, a content analysis is conducted, within a comparative framework, of selected Czech political parties' programmatic documents. At the same time, the question is asked: to what extent do these programmes offer EU-level solutions—in other words, in terms of issues, does Europeanization or domestication prevail in the manifestos? The results show that parties focus on EU issues in their Euro manifestos and feature an apparent degree of Europeanization of this part of their supply for EP elections. From this perspective, these results can be considered a light at the end of the (second-order) tunnel, given that at least the programmatic part of parties' supply is about European integration after all.*

Keywords: *European Parliament elections, second-order elections, political parties, Europeanization, election manifestos*

Introduction

The decision to hold direct elections to the European Parliament (EP) was intended to establish a direct link between the citizens and decision-making at the European Union (EU) level. This presumption is based on the fact that in a representative democracy, elections serve as an 'instrument of democracy' (Powell 2000), connecting the policy preferences of the voters to public policy. Now, when Article 10 of the Lisbon Treaty stipulates that the 'functioning of the Union shall be founded on representative democracy' and 'citizens are directly represented at Union level in the European Parliament' (Official Journal of the European Union 2010), the logic of EP elections as instruments of representative democracy is also formally recognized (see Rittberger 2012).

During the 1970s a number of optimists appeared on the European stage to express their high expectations as regards the introduction of direct elections to the EP. In 1975, Leo Tindemans, the then Belgian foreign minister, told the EP: 'The election of your Assembly by universal suffrage would undoubtedly set the seal on the authority of Community democracy. Such an Assembly would undeniably be in a position to express the desires of the European nations' (Tindemans 1975b). To colleagues

* Jan Kovar is PhD Candidate, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Metropolitan University Prague, Czech Republic. Email: jan.kovar@mup.cz

in the European Council he told that direct elections ‘will reinforce the democratic legitimacy of the whole European institutional apparatus’ (Tindemans 1975a). Many hoped that, by the introduction of direct elections, issues related to the European integration process would come to the fore through the electoral campaign (see, e.g., Tindemans 1975a: 28). Former Commission President, Walter Hallstein, claimed that the introduction of direct elections would promote an

“...election campaign about European issues. Such a campaign would force those entitled to vote to look at and examine the questions and the various options on which the European Parliament would have to decide in the months and years ahead. It would give the candidates who emerged victorious from such a campaign a truly European mandate from their electors; and it would encourage the emergence of truly European political parties” (Hallstein 1972: 74).

For democratic elections to create this electoral, representative link and fulfil their other crucial functions, the electorate needs to deliver a political verdict ‘emanating from the political preferences of voters, preferences that are relevant to the decision-making arena concerned’ in these elections (van der Eijk and Franklin 1996: 6). In modern representative democracy, political parties play a key role in this process (McDonald and Budge 2005: 3), which is also the case in the EU (Abromeit 1998: 33-34). In the EU, political parties present the citizens with a European view on issues, discuss core EU issues, and offer the voters different choices on the EU and European integration. In other words, voters must have some awareness of political parties’ stances and be offered a real choice to cast their votes on the basis of their preferences (Schattschneider 1942). Throughout Europe representation is commonly understood to work via the ‘responsible party government’ model (Powell 2004). The model has certain minimum conditions: on the *supply side*, political parties need to provide an alternative set of programmes on the major issues facing the polity; on the *demand side*, voters need to choose parties based on retrospective evaluations of their record in government, or prospective evaluations of their policy platforms; and *free and fair elections* need to be held at regular intervals to translate votes into parliamentary seats (Marsh and Norris 1997).

Yet, related to the supply side of the model, many commentators and scholars alike assert that European Parliament (EP) elections fail to fulfil these conditions, given that they have been labelled second-order national elections (Reif and Schmitt 1980) in which political parties fight mainly over national political issues and concerns. But unless parties campaign on EU-level issues and offer alternative positions, there are few ways in which public preferences can be expressed in an effective manner (Marsh and Norris 1997: 155). Under present conditions, EP elections are thought not to create an effective representative link through the fulfilment of the minimum conditions of the supply side of the responsible party government model. Accordingly, it is suggested that EP elections are failing as an instrument of democracy in that they fail to express the will of the European people on European issues (Mair and Thomassen 2010: 21).

This paper aims to analyse the supply side of the second-order election (SOE) model in the Czech Republic, namely the fact that SOE campaigns are influenced

by the constellation of the national political arena and are fought over national political issues (Norris and Reif 1997: 117). To this end, a content analysis, within a comparative framework, of selected Czech political parties' programmatic documents is conducted. At the same time, the question is asked: to what extent do these programmatic documents offer EU-level solutions or, in other words, to what extent is the EP election campaign *Europeanized*, or alternately, *domesticated* through political parties' programmatic documents?

The paper is structured in several sections, the next section outlining the theoretical and conceptual background, before unveiling the expectations. The third section clarifies methodological issues, operationalizes concepts, presents the data, and delimits the analysed time period. The fourth section presents the results of the analysis, and the final section summarizes the findings and discusses their implications in the light of relevant literature.

Existing Literature

Second-Order Election Model

In the immediate aftermath of the first direct EP elections, Reif and Schmitt (1980) labelled them 'second-order national elections' (for an overview, see Marsh and Mikhaylov 2010). The defining features of SOEs are (1) that, relative to first-order elections (FOEs), there is less at stake in SOEs, since they do not determine the composition of government (Reif and Schmitt 1980), and voter behaviour is thus different from what it is in FOEs; and (2) that SOE results and campaigns are influenced by the political constellation of the national — first-order — political arena and are characterised by the dominance of the first-order arena national political issues (Norris and Reif 1997; van der Brug et al. 2008).¹ In other words, the essence of the SOE model is that the issues remain the same as in the FOEs — domestic political issues (Auers 2005; Irwin 1995; Siaroff 2001). To put it differently, EP elections are generally considered to be highly domesticated rather than Europeanised whereas they 'should be about European politics and the questions of Europe itself' (Mair 2000: 43).

After six more sets of EP elections, the SOE model has, by and large, become one of the most widely tested and supported theories of voting behaviour in elections to the EP (e.g. Ferrara and Weishaupt 2004; Hix and Marsh 2007; Marsh 1998; Schmitt 2005). Most of the work on SOEs (see Reif and Schmitt 1980)—given the aggregate nature of the model's predictions—has focused on election results and election-related survey data. However, by focusing on the strategies of voters only, the theory fails to take into account any form of independent action by the other political actors (cf. Marsh 1998: 607; Weber 2007). Therefore, recent studies focus on the context surrounding actual voting choices and thus integrate the SOE model with the behaviours of the other actors that are at the center of attention during election time: the *media* and the *political parties* (e.g. Adam and Maier 2011; Tóka 2007; Weber 2007). These contributions

¹ Note that the SOE model does not preclude a potential influence of European issues on national elections but it does suggest a strong role for non-European issues (Marsh and Mikhaylov 2010: 13).

suggest that the behaviour of the parties and the news media is crucial in shaping the nature of electoral choices and levels of turnout in second-order EP elections (Hobolt and Spoon 2010). Furthermore, the findings of these studies point to (a) the second-order character of EP election campaigns that are highly domesticated (as opposed to Europeanised) in terms of contested political issues (de Vreese 2009; Tenscher and Maier 2009); (b) parties' low budgets for EP elections, much lower than those of FOEs (Hertner 2011; Maier and Tenscher 2009); and (c) low levels of (nationally framed) coverage that EP elections receive in the media (de Vreese et al. 2006; Kovář 2010; Leroy and Siune 1994). In other words, one cannot blame voters for their electoral behaviour without taking the behaviour of the political parties and the media into account and hence the SOE theory should be integrated with the behaviour of political parties and the media (Strömbäck et al. 2011: 13).

Europeanization of Political Parties

Given that the aim of the paper is to analyse the degree of Europeanization of the supply side of second-order EP elections through the analysis of political parties' programmatic documents, it is necessary to clarify our understanding of the Europeanization concept. The research agenda on Europeanization is somewhat recent; only since the second half of the 1990s has the term 'Europeanization' come to denote a distinctive research area in EU studies (Sedelmeier 2011: 5). There is considerable debate about how to define Europeanization (Börzel and Risse 2003; Cowles et al. 2001; Featherstone and Radaelli 2003), but the literature generally uses the concept as shorthand for 'domestic impact of the EU' or 'influence of/on the EU' (Börzel and Risse 2000; Ladrech 2002; Poguntke et al. 2007a).²

The research programme on the domestic impact of the EU has been applied to all three standard dimensions of political science research: *polity*, *policies*, and *politics* (see Börzel and Risse 2000). Nevertheless, probably the latest as well as the least-researched area is the EU's impact on the *politics* dimension, that is, on political actors and their interactions as well as processes of political contestation and interest aggregation (Fiala et al. 2006). Specifically, the Europeanization of national political parties, party systems, and interest groups has emerged only recently as a separate research area (Ladrech 2009: 4-5; Mair 2006), particularly as it relates to the new EU member states (MS) as well as the candidate countries in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, given their historical detachment from the European integration process (Enyedi 2007; Haughton 2010; Sedelmeier 2011: 20-21).

Following the pioneering work of Ladrech (1994, 2002), most of the studies focus on one or more areas in which evidence of Europeanization could be reflected: (a) programmatic change; (b) organizational change; (c) patterns of party competition; (d) party-government relations; and (e) relations beyond the national political system. So far, the research of the pre-2004 EU MSs (Ladrech 2002; Mair 2000; Poguntke et

² For a 'maximalist approach' (Featherstone 2003) that does not limit Europeanization only to the processes related to European integration see, e.g. Flockhart (2010).

al. 2007b) and the candidate countries from the Balkans (Fink-Hafner 2008; Ladrech 2008) has shown no significant impact of European integration upon national political parties and party systems, while studies of the Central and Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 have reported a more significant impact of the EU (Enyedi 2007; Hloušek and Pšejka 2009) — of course, with some notable exceptions (Ágh 2006; Sikk 2009).

According to Ladrech (2002: 396), one of the most obvious and explicit areas in which the impact of European integration unfolded is that of programmatic changes (see also Haughton 2010). Thus far, research on the Europeanization of political parties' programmatic documents has reported ambiguous results in terms of qualitative and quantitative changes incurred by the European integration process. One strand of literature concludes that party programmes tend to embody only limited qualitative and quantitative EU-related changes (Hloušek and Pšejka 2009; Ladrech 2008; Pennings 2006), while the other strand of literature reports much more intensive EU-related changes of political parties' programmes (Baun et al. 2006; Deželan 2007; Havlík 2010). More precisely, studies dealing with the Europeanization of parties' programmes for EP elections report more intensive changes incurred by the EU than research dealing with manifestos for national parliamentary and/or local elections (Kritzinger et al. 2004; Wüst 2009).

Expectations

Based on the discussion in previous sections, I draw expectations concerning the Europeanization of political parties' programmes. Since our aim is to integrate the SOE model with political parties' behaviour, the analysis focuses on one aspect of parties' supply – *election manifestos* – arguing that an analysis of political parties' supply allows us to evaluate and determine whether parties treat EP elections as SOEs. National political parties stand for EP elections, put together the lists of candidates, and establish the procedures governing EP elections. They also formulate election manifestos and control the content of and funding for the campaigns (Hix and Lord 1997: 84-90). The elections are held under national electoral laws and are covered by national media systems. Moreover, national political competition remains crucial for structuring vote choice (Thorlakson 2005). To put it differently, national political parties are 'principal gatekeepers within the European electoral arena' (Mair 2000: 38) and thus remain the major aggregate actors in EU politics and the key actors in EP elections (Hix 2008). Stemming from the highly 'national' structuring of the context of EP elections and following the characterisation of EP elections as SOEs, where the national political arena provides the dominant frame of reference, it is hardly surprising that the campaigns should be nationally differentiated.

Given that I aim to analyse parties' supply for SOEs, I base the expectations on the SOE model, namely on the fact that SOE campaigns are influenced by the

constellation of national political arena and are fought over national political issues.³ Having this in mind, I expect political parties' election manifestos to display a low level of Europeanization or, in other words, to embody a high level of domestication. Furthermore, previous research on EP elections argues that, given the novelty of the event, the first EP elections ever held in each country embody a lower level of second-order characteristics than subsequent elections (de Vreese et al. 2007; Franklin 2006; Leroy and Siune 1994). Hence, I expect the Euro manifestos for the 2004 EP elections to display a higher level of Europeanization — to be less domesticated — than the Euro manifestos for the 2009 EP elections.

Research Design and Methodology

For our purposes and following the majority of scholars, Europeanization, as a concept applied to the study of political parties' programmes, is employed here in its most generally understood sense. Thus, Europeanization is understood as a process by which domestic actors and institutions adapt to the institutional framework and logic of the EU or, in other words, as the responses of national actors to the impact of European integration (e.g. Cowles et al. 2001; Ladrech 2002). Our research interest is restricted to the top-down, as opposed to the bottom-up or bottom-up-down approach (Exadaktylos and Radaelli 2009) to the Europeanization of the *politics* dimension and more specifically the Europeanization of political parties. Hence, I understand the Europeanization of election programs as a process inspired by European integration. Our definition includes reflection of European integration in national political discourse. This study thus focuses on one of Ladrech's (2002) five research areas of party Europeanization or, more specifically, to the top-down Europeanization of political parties' programmatic documents.

Following our aim to analyse the supply side of second-order—EP—elections, there are several reasons to focus on political parties' programmes. First, given that the election manifestos are issued by the party central office, these documents provide authoritative statements of parties' official positions and thus could be considered an accurate representation of the positions of parties as unitary actors (Budge et al. 2001; Klingemann et al. 2007). Second, election manifestos are 'major elements of the democratic theory of mandate' (Budge 1994; Ihl 2005) since they are arguably the most articulated platforms through which parties place issues on the agenda, presenting to the public the parties' policy preferences and commitments (cf. Gabel and Hix 2002; Mair 2001). Third, given that Europeanization is a process, the choice of parties' programmes allows for a better standardization of the documents, with one document for each party at each election, and hence allows for analyses and comparisons to be made over time and between elections as well as between states (cf. Budge et al. 1987; Pennings 2006). Lastly, they are one of the central aspects of election campaigns and an important source used by the media and parties to shape discussion in the public

³ If we look at parties' election manifestos, since I am analysing the EP election campaigns, the question of which issues prevail in these manifestos is somewhat intangible. Naturally, EU-related topics will prevail in EP election manifestos. Nonetheless, European issues are often not dominant in EP election manifestos (Wüst 2009), and that is why the expectations are derived from the SOE model.

sphere (cf. Hloušek and Pšejja 2009)⁴.

Furthermore, following Brunsbach et al. (2012), I understand political parties — organisations that seek three different goals: office, policy, and votes (Müller and Strom 1999) — as rational actors that attempt to achieve these goals efficiently and thus distribute their resources reacting to voter behaviour and the institutional context of elections. Pertaining to EP elections, this means that ‘rational parties should perceive European elections as second-order elections’ (for elaborate discussion, see Brunsbach et al. 2012: 93-94). Based on these arguments, I argue that analysing election manifestos, which represent an important aspect of the supply side of election next to parties’ and individual candidates’ campaigning and media portrayal of the campaign, can provide insights into whether parties’ supply for EP elections is of second-order nature. In other words, an analysis of parties’ programmatic supply is a suitable way to determine whether parties regard EP elections as SOEs, given that the creation of election programmes constrains parties’ resources. Therefore, the order of the election should have a direct influence on the characteristics of these documents (Brunsbach et al. 2012: 94).

Only relevant political parties are included in this study. To be included, a party had to have gained seats in both the sixth and the seventh European Parliaments. Specifically, I will be analysing programmes of the Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD), the Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People’s Party (KDU-ČSL), the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM), and the Civic Democratic Party (ODS). After selecting which political parties to include in the study, another question to answer is which election manifestos to analyse. Since our aim is to analyse one aspect of the supply side of second-order elections, the choice for the manifestos that political parties issue ahead of EP elections (the so-called ‘Euro manifestos’) is obvious.

The last question to be addressed before the analysis itself is the question of the method used to determine the extent of *Europeanization* or, conversely, *domestication* of the Euro manifestos of Czech. The methods I will use to achieve this goal will be content analysis of Euro manifestos of selected Czech political parties. Content analysis is among the most frequently used techniques for the analysis of political parties’ programmatic documents (cf. Havlík 2008: 352-54). Starting from the above-mentioned definition of Europeanization of political parties’ programmes, and postulating that relevant changes incurred by the process of European integration may be observed in terms of qualitative and quantitative transformation, I use an approach developed by Havlík (Havlík and Vykoupilová 2008; 2010) in which the extent of the Europeanization of election programmes is examined on the basis of two interconnected dimensions: *quantitative* and *qualitative*. Havlík’s approach is suitable, in particular, because it does not demand any area specification and it is neutral towards both political parties’

⁴ One could question the real importance of election programmes since they are often only formal acts, bearing little relevance in reality. Moreover, these documents are not widely known among European citizens and are barely used in parties’ election campaign. Even though election manifestos are read by hardly any voters, they still serve as guidelines for the party candidates in the campaign and they help the media to deal with issue emphases of parties and conflicting positions between parties (Klingemann et al. 1994: 21) and thus represent an important aspect of the supply side of elections.

positive or negative attitude to the EU and the degree of consolidation of the respective party system (cf. Smrčková and Hloušek 2011). On the other hand, because Havlík's approach is developed for the analysis of manifestos for national legislative elections and not transnational contests, it is necessary to modify it slightly. The inspiration for this modification partly stems from the work of Hrabicová (2010).⁵

The quantitative dimension reflects the space devoted to the theme of European integration, while the qualitative dimension addresses the detailed elaboration of 'EU' themes in the analysed programmes (see Havlík and Vykoupilová 2008). For the quantitative dimension of Europeanization of election manifestos, Havlík distinguishes four levels: (0) Absence of EU issues — political party leaves out European integration in its election programme (less than 1%; strong-second-order character); (1) *Domination of national issues* — national issues are combined with EU issues but national issues prevail (1–49.9%; strong second-order character); (2) *EU issues mixed with national issues* — the issue of European integration is combined with national issues in the election programme but it is however dominant (50–74.9%; weak second-order character); and (3) *Domination of EU issues* — European integration constitutes the major subject of the programme as a whole (75–100%; no second-order character). For the quantitative dimension to assign issues into categories, it is necessary to come up with an operationalization of issues⁶. I will differentiate between A) national issues, B) European integration issues, and C) international, global, and other issues.

With respect to the qualitative dimension of Europeanization of parties' programmes, Havlík's approach differentiates four levels of elaboration of EU issues: (0) *Absence of issues* — European integration issues are not elaborated on in the programme; (1) *General mention of European integration* — involving normative evaluation of the entire integration process; (2) *Reaction to individual (long-term) aspects of European integration and agenda of the EU* — involving EU policies and their reform, institutional structure, and model of organization; enlargement in general; and (3) *Reflection on current issues having to do with the European integration process* — concerning heretofore unapproved or discussed aspects of European integration such as the Treaty reform, reform of the EU's institutional framework, enlargement in concrete terms, and others (for more information about the methodological approach, see Havlík and Vykoupilová 2008; Hrabicová 2010).⁷

⁵ Due to space limitations, it is not possible to provide a detailed discussion of both approaches. Interested readers may see the works of the respective authors.

⁶ Following Hrabicová, issues can be expressed in several ways in the programme: either in a form of short mention, sentence, and passage, or as a whole chapter. The smallest unit that is categorised is a sentence or quasi-sentence.

⁷ In relation to the last level of qualitative dimension, Havlík points out that, while analysing concrete election manifestos, it is necessary to reflect the current state of European integration process, meaning that there will be different current issues related to European integration at different points in time.

Analysis of Election Programmes

A content analysis of Czech political parties' programmes for EP elections in 2004 and 2009 was carried out in order to study the Europeanization of the supply side of EP — second-order — elections. All analysed political parties presented to voters a Euro manifesto for both the 2004 and the 2009 EP elections.

The Civic Democratic Party (ODS)

The ODS programme for the 2004 EP elections, entitled *Equal Chances for All*⁸, was divided into three sections: "The Future of the European Union," "The Czech Republic and the European Union," and "The Priorities of ODS in the European Parliament." The Euro manifesto reacted to the then-recent wave of EU enlargement and the new possibilities granted to EU newcomers to influence the character of the European integration process. In the programme, it was stated that by joining the EU, the Czech Republic 'becomes an active co-creator of the European integration and ceases to be its passive, at times infra dig, recipient, as was the case in the past' (p. 1). The European integration issue constitutes the only subject of the election programme. ODS generally attaches an important meaning to the geographical and geopolitical position of the Czech Republic, and hence it is important 'to promote the institutional configuration of the EU and the decision-making procedures that will ensure the most attainable level of equality among all EU MSs, regardless of their size or population' (p. 2). ODS regarded the state as the basis of the EU, particularly when the manifesto spoke of social and economic policy.

In the last part of the 2004 Euro manifesto, titled "The Priorities of ODS in the European Parliament," ODS presented its priorities concerning the long-term aspects of European integration, such as the EU's institutional framework (Constitution for Europe), the EU's budget, Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), and the monetary union. Among the current EU issues, ODS mentioned its membership in the European Democrat Union and espoused its future membership in the European People's Party – European Democrats (EPP-ED) political group in the EP. Probably the most articulated formulation towards current aspects having to do with European integration relates to ODS preference concerning the future form of the EU or, more concretely, over the Constitution for Europe: 'ODS supports the simplification and elucidation of the EU's treaty basis but does not deem it necessary to construct a constitutional text for the EU [...] ODS considers the draft constitution, refused at the intergovernmental conference in December 2003, unsatisfactory' (p. 4).

Overall, European integration issues constitute the only subject of the ODS 2004 Euro manifesto. From a content viewpoint, the party provided a rather detailed description of its preferences concerning certain individual (long-term) aspects of European integration as well as a rather general description of priorities towards specific current EU issues, such as the Constitution for Europe.

⁸ Stejně šance pro všechny, 2004. ODS EP Election Manifesto, Available at www.ods.cz/eu/download/docs/program_EP.pdf, accessed 10 January 2010.

The title of the ODS Euro manifesto for the 2009 EP elections was simply *ODS Election Programme — EU Election '09*⁹. The preface of the programme was written by the ODS chairman, Mirek Topolánek, and by the leader of the ballot for EP elections, Jan Zahradil. It was followed by the introduction and five sections of the program itself: “The Solution to the Crisis,” “The Solution for Maintenance of Job Opportunities,” “The Solution for a Fair Social System,” “The Solution for Energy Security,” and “The Solution for the Czech Republic in the EU.” In contrast to the 2004 Euro manifesto, this time ODS avoided an exclusive focus on European integration issues and combined both EU and national issues in its 2009 Euro manifesto. The debated issues related to the national level of decision-making included measures to address the economic crisis, tax policy, employment strategy, national social system and pension policy, and Czech energy security. Throughout the programme, these national issues were often framed in terms of criticism of previous social-democratic governments.

For ODS, European integration ‘is not an end but a means to achieve the prosperity of the Czech Republic and its citizens’ (p. 7). In the section of the programme titled “The Solution for the Czech Republic in the EU,” ODS presented its preferences concerning certain long-term aspects of European integration, such as CAP and the related reform of the EU’s budget, EU energy policy, EU security and foreign relations including enlargement, communitarian law, and cohesion policy. ODS thus argues, for example, ‘against a contingent increase in the volume of the EU’s budget in the next financial term after 2013’ (p. 32). The current issues discussed in the programme involved a declaration on the creation of a new conservative European political party as well as a political group in the EP to be established after the 2009 EP elections, and the construction of the Nabucco pipeline, which, it was said, would ‘weaken the strong position of Russia towards the EU in the field of energy’ (p. 23).

In summary, the European integration issue was mixed with national issues in the 2009 Euro manifesto. Most of the time, the party presented a rather general description of preferences concerning individual (long-term) aspects of European integration as well as general references to the EU. ODS also presented its priorities related to specific current EU issues, such as the creation of a new EU political party. The preferences concerning the current EU issues were, however, often developed only at a general level.

The Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD)

The Euro manifesto of ČSSD for the 2004 EP elections, *Europe Primarily for the People*¹⁰, was divided into 10 sectorally defined sections, plus a preface by the chairman of the party, Vladimír Špidla, and an addendum by the statutory vice-chairman, Stanislav Gross. Each of the chapters was matched with one of the party’s candidates for the elections. European integration issues constituted the main subject of the programme, but the party also reflected on a few national issues. Among the

⁹ Volební program ODS – EU volby 09, 2009, ODS EP Election Manifesto, Available at http://www.cssd.cz/soubory/ke-stazeni/cssd_jistota_ep2009.pdf, accessed 12 January 2010

¹⁰ *Evropa hlavně pro lidi*, 2004, ČSSD EP Election Manifesto, Available at http://www.cssd.cz/soubory/kestazeni/brozura_eu_2004_komplet.pdf, accessed 10 January 2009.

national issues discussed were increased support for R&D, development of the Czech countryside and protection of the Czech environment, and consumer protection. ČSSD also called for amelioration of the 'material conditions of the Czech educational system' (p. 12).

A significant part of the Euro manifesto reflected EU issues in terms of general references to European integration. The party understands the EU as a 'community of people living in a fair world, based on solidarity' (p. 14), it regards the EP as the only 'directly elected EU institution representing important democratic linkage to the citizens' (p. 18), and calls for improved transparency of EU decision-making achieved through more effective communication of EU institutions and intensified dialogue with the citizens. The Social Democrats also stressed the importance of values such as equality of opportunities, democracy, basic rights, and prosperity in relation to the EU. ČSSD often discussed its preferences concerning the (long-term) agenda of the EU. The party mentioned, for instance, the construction of the CFSP, cross-border cooperation in criminal matters, protection of external borders, regional policy and structural funds, and the European Welfare Model, which, it was said, would achieve 'European labour for European wages' (p. 6). Reform of the CAP, which is a 'pivotal pillar of the integration system', is also mentioned, as the party promises to aim for the 'achievement of an equal position of our farmers with European farmers' (p. 7). The party did not reflect on any of the current issues pertaining to the European integration process.

To sum up, in the 2004 Euro manifesto European integration issues were mixed with national issues. In terms of qualitative elaboration, ČSSD presented a rather general discussion of preferences concerning individual long-term aspects of European integration. The party also included general and normative references to EU issues but resigned to the discussion of current issues and problems of the EU.

The 2009 EP election manifesto was titled *Certainty for the People, Hope for Europe*¹¹, and constituted only one part of the broader ČSSD programme for the year 2009 that was titled *Certainty*¹² and consisted of the foreword by the chairman of ČSSD, Jiří Paroubek, and by the leader of the ballot for EP elections, Jiří Havel, the abovementioned Euro manifesto and two other parts: "ČSSD Programme against the Crisis" and the "Manifesto of the Party of European Socialists" (ČSSD is a member of the PES). Only the part related to EP elections is considered in the analysis. ČSSD argues that EP elections are 'as important as other elections in our country' (p. 14), then argues elsewhere, 'European elections are nothing but another referendum on Topolánek's government' (p. 8). A significant part of the Euro manifesto is devoted to the economic crisis. The discussion on it is, nonetheless, confined to the borders of, and in terms of issues and frames related to the Czech polity, not the EU. Given the opposition status of ČSSD at the national level, an important feature of its Euro manifesto consists of criticism of the current ODS-led Czech government in general, and a discussion of economic crisis and measures to tackle it in particular.

¹¹ *Jistota pro lidi, naděje pro Evropu*, 2009, ČSSD EP Election Manifesto, Available at www.elections2009.pes.org/files/u1/CSSD_PROGRAM_web.pdf, accessed 12 January 2010.

¹² *Jistota*, 2009, ČSSD 2009 Manifesto.

In the Euro manifesto, ČSSD reacts to several long-term aspects of the EU; however, the presentation of preferences is overly general, to the point of being dull. The party tackles the issue of the European Social Model, arguing that

“today the development and protection of our social model begins in the European Parliament. You can be confident that the convergence of social standards, fight against social pandering, struggle for equal employment rights, and protection of social justice will always be principal objectives of social-democratic Members of European Parliament” (p. 11).

Other long-term aspects of European integration addressed consisted of issues such as immigration policy, EU-level price regulation of monopolies in energy and telecommunication, EU common security policy and energy policy, bureaucracy in the EU, and coordination of education and research and development (R&D) policies. The party hardly reflected on current EU issues at all; the only such reflections concerned the regulation of financial markets, European instruments to prevent future financial crises, and ČSSD’s (programmatically) anchorage in the PES.

Overall, EU issues are dominated by national-level issues in the 2009 Euro manifesto. From a content viewpoint, the Social Democrats presented their priorities towards individual (long-term) aspects of European integration in a markedly general way, without attempting to outline concrete approaches and solutions in respective policy areas. In addition, the party often resorted to a simple normative evaluation of Czech membership in the EU and normative proclamations related to specific policy areas, such as when the Euro manifesto reads: ‘The concept of common European security within the scope of the EU demands deeper coherence and ability to act’ (p. 13).

The Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People’s Party (KDU-ČSL)

The Euro manifesto for the 2004 EP elections was entitled *European Election Programme of KDU-ČSL*¹³. The programme was divided into five sections: “Social Market and Competitive European Economy,” “European Agriculture as a New Culture of Countryside,” “Safer Europe,” “Unified and Strong Voice of Europe in the World,” and “Europe Respecting Family Values.” KDU-ČSL addresses mainly EU issues in its 2004 Euro manifesto, with only limited coverage of national issues. National issues addressed in the programme included tax policy, employment, protection of families, and development of the countryside.

A noticeable part of the programme deals with a general mention of European integration issues and normative evaluation of the integration process. KDU-ČSL mentions education and research, competitiveness, economic prosperity, small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and the corporate environment generally, as well as values such as freedom and family values. A good example is the party’s proclamation that

¹³ Evropský volební program KDU-ČSL, 2004, KDU-ČSL EP Election Manifesto, Available at <http://kdu.cz/Dokumenty/Volby/2004/Volby-do-Evropskehoparlamentu/2004/Evropsky-volebni-program-KDU---CSL.aspx>, accessed 12 January 2010.

the 'EU has to be a place where it is not hard to establish a company' (p. 2). Most of the EU issues mentioned in the Euro manifesto relate to individual (long-term) aspects of European integration such as the CAP, cohesion and regional policy, foreign and security policy, immigration and asylum policies and family policy and its related decision-making at the EU level¹⁴. For instance, the party pointed out that the 'aim of European defence policy shall be the ability to act swiftly and efficiently in the case of regional conflict (...) as well as the conduct of humanitarian operations anywhere in the world' (p. 7).

A relatively small part of the programme consists of the party's presentation of priorities towards current issues having to do with European integration, such as the development of police and judicial cooperation (strengthening of Europol and Eurojust), the creation of a European corps to protect the EU's external borders, putting the European Arrest Warrant into practice, and the adoption of a common definition of terrorism. The party argues that 'Eurojust should gain legal personality' (p. 5) and applauds the creation of a European minister for foreign affairs who provides the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) with 'a communitarian extent which we consider as a correct step from the perspective of future policy development' (p. 6).

In sum, the European integration issue constitutes the major subject of the 2004 Euro manifesto. In terms of qualitative elaboration, KDU-ČSL particularly presented rather detailed preferences concerning specific long-term aspects of European integration. The party also included general and normative references to EU issues, as well as the discussion of the priorities related to current issues of the European integration process, especially concerning the then second and third pillar of the EU.

The 2009 Euro manifesto, entitled *Election Programme for the Election to the European Parliament 2009–2014*¹⁵, was divided into an introduction and six broader thematic sections. Discussion of preferences concerning both EU-level and national issues is combined throughout the programme. National issues discussed in the Euro manifesto included measures to tackle financial crisis, budgetary deficit issues, education and R&D, employment and pension system, family policy, energy policy, environmental and agricultural issues, and support for SMEs.

Often, the party presents the EU issue in terms of general references to European integration. KDU-ČSL discussed issues such as the historical development of the EU and the contribution of Christian-democratic politicians to it, mentions its more-than-a-decade-long membership in the European People's Party, and mentions its MEPs, stating they 'were the most successful of Czech backbenchers' (p. 2). Moreover, the party refers to the EU as an area of peace, freedom, and solidarity, an area of freedom of workers and services, and argues that solutions to global problems are possible at the EU level and against protectionism. In the EP, KDU-ČSL says it will 'fight for the EU that is strong, able to make compromise, willing to fight for its citizens and protect them from negative influences of globalisation' (p. 2).

¹⁴ KDU-ČSL argued for the preservation of unanimous decision-making in the Council of Ministers in the field of family policy.

¹⁵ *Volební program pro volby do Evropského parlamentu 2009-2014, 2009*, KDU-ČSL EP Election Manifesto, Available at: http://kdu.cz/Kdu/media/Kdu/Volby/Volebni_program_KDU-CSL_do_EP_2009-2014.pdf, accessed 15 January 2010.

KDU-ČSL also discusses its priorities towards both individual (long-term) aspects of, as well as current issues related to, European integration. Among the long-term aspects mentioned were EU internal and external security issues including organised crime and illegal immigration, external relations, modernisation of European social model, EU's neighbourhood policy, and common energy policy 'removing market barriers, derogating monopolies (...) [which] will enable diversification of resources and decrease dependence on Russian price policy' (p. 12). The current issues related to European integration on which the party elaborated in the programme included control and regulation of financial markets at the EU level 'to prevent a similar financial crisis' (p. 5), the construction of the Nabucco pipeline, explicit refusal of future Turkey's membership in the EU, which is a potential 'risk in terms of the creation and strengthening of European identity' (p. 15), and the introduction of common asylum policy.

European integration issues were mixed with national issues in the 2009 Euro manifesto. From a content viewpoint, for the most part KDU-ČSL provided a rather general discussion of its preferences concerning the concrete (long-term) agenda of the EU. Nevertheless, an important part of the Euro manifesto is devoted to general and normative references to the process of European integration and only a limited part to the discussion of current aspects of the EU.

The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM)

The Euro manifesto KSČM put together for the 2004 EP elections was entitled *With You and for You, at Home as Well as in the EU*¹⁶. The document was divided into five broadly defined sections and the conclusion.¹⁷ EU issues constituted the major subject of the 2004 Euro manifesto; nonetheless, the party also included a (limited) number of national-level issues. The national issues debated in the programme included (un-)employment and the generation of new job opportunities, cooperation with neighbouring countries and with Slovakia in particular and social policy and non-discrimination. The largest part of the Euro manifesto focused on the discussion of general and normative references to European integration issues. Here the party states that 'the entry conditions of the Czech Republic are considered inconvenient in many respects' (p. 1) and that

"[not]withstanding the critical relationship toward the current form of European integration, the accession of the Czech Republic into the European Union is a reality. The participation of KSČM representatives in European legislative structures is thus a logical component of our political activities" (p. 6).

The Communists also stressed values such as the 'equality of EU member states' (p. 2), their territorial integrity, peace and prosperity, social state and solidarity, and

¹⁶ S vámi a pro vás, doma i v EU, 2004, KSČM EP Election Manifesto, Available at <http://www.kscm.cz/index.asp?thema=3303&item=28372&category>, accessed 14 January 2010.

¹⁷ These sections revolve around democratic and equal cooperation; solidarity, social rights and equality; economic productivity and sustainable development; openness, peace and cooperation; and European left-wing values.

the common commercial policy. To a lesser extent, the party presented its preferences concerning the individual (long-term) aspects of European integration. KSČM discussed, for instance, the democratization of EU institutions in a bid to 'reduce the gap between EU decision-making centres, citizens, and national parliaments' (p. 2), strengthening the competences of the EP, EU structural and regional funds, the revision of the Stability and Growth Pact, deeper involvement of the Committee of Regions and the European Economic and Social Committee in the EU's decision-making, EU security and defence policy, immigration policy and police cross-border cooperation, and energy policy. Only a few references relate to actual issues having to do with the EU. These references pertain to two areas: first, KSČM argued that the Charter of Fundamental Rights has to be an 'essential pillar' of the EU (p. 2). Second the Communists declared their forthcoming participation in the European United Left/Nordic Green Left political group in the EP.

In sum, preferences in the Euro manifesto concerning EU issues clearly dominated over national and other issues. In terms of content, KSČM mostly dealt with EU issues in terms of general references and normative evaluations. The party also discussed individual (long-term) aspects of European integration and provided a rather general description of priorities towards specific current EU issues.

*KSČM Open Election Manifesto for the 2009 European Parliament Elections*¹⁸ was the title chosen by the KSČM for the 2009 Euro manifesto. The programme was divided into six broadly defined sections. The largest part of the document was devoted to a discussion of national political issues, followed by and combined with the discussion of priorities over European integration-related issues. National issues featured involved national-level measures to tackle the financial crisis, rejection of the further privatization of public sector, rejection of Czech participation in foreign military missions or placement of foreign troops or bases on Czech territory, tax and price dumping, price stability, support for Czech businesses, development of a strong public sector, environment, transport policy, employment and education policy and support for enterprises.

When the party presented its preferences concerning EU issues, it did so predominantly in terms of general reference to European integration. KSČM thus argues that 'European integration with the ability to act is important' (n.p.) and that the EU shall be an 'area of social and territorial coherence and solidarity between member states' (n.p.). The party mentioned values such as freedom, human dignity, solidarity, rule of law, equality, and democracy; the internal market; rejection of the continuation of neo-liberal policy; and the unification of the European Left. The general nature of KSČM's preferences is well-documented by the following statement: 'We want Europe to be a space in which it is possible to overcome any discrimination against citizens, irrespective of their residence, age, sex, health, religion, etc.' (n.p.).

The Communists also elaborated on individual (long-term) aspects of European integration and did not present their priorities towards any current EU issues. Among the EU long-term agenda issues discussed were the EU's security and defence issues,

¹⁸ Otevřený volební program KSČM pro volby do Evropského parlamentu 2009, 2009, KSČM EP Election Manifesto, Available at <http://www.kscm.cz/index.asp?thema=4146&category>, accessed 14 January 2010.

social policy, growing bureaucracy in the EU, and the EU's institutional framework. In the area of social policy, KSČM argues for the 'introduction of a European minimal wage, minimal pensions, and minimal unemployment allowances' (n.p.). The party also demands 'direct democracy and stronger competences for the European Parliament and national parliaments' and rejects 'discriminatory conditions for new EU MSs including the Czech Republic' (n.p.).

Overall, national issues slightly dominated over the European integration-related issues in the 2009 Euro manifesto. National issues, however, outnumbered European integration issues. In terms of qualitative elaboration, the party particularly presented general references about European integration. KSČM also included a discussion of preferences concerning the specific (long-term) agenda of the EU. The Communists did not elaborate on any of the current issues having to do with the European integration process.

Results of the Analysis

The analysis of Czech parties' Euro manifestos provides evidence that the parties include and reflect on EU issues with varying levels of intensity. On the whole, the intensity of Czech parties' treatment of EU issues decreased from 2004 to 2009. At the outset of the paper, I put forward two expectations related to the Europeanization of election manifestos for second-order, EP elections. As concerns the first expectation — that Euro manifestos display a low level of Europeanization and a high level of domestication — the results are presented in Table 1. Contrary to our expectation, out of the 8 Euro manifestos analysed, only two exhibited a strong second-order character according to the conceptualisation presented in the methodological section: the 2009 Euro manifestos of ČSSD and KSČM. Furthermore, Euro manifestos of three more parties embody weak second-order characteristics according to our conceptualisation (ČSSD 2004; KDU-ČSL 2009; ODS 2009).

Table 1. Location of parties on the quantitative and qualitative dimension

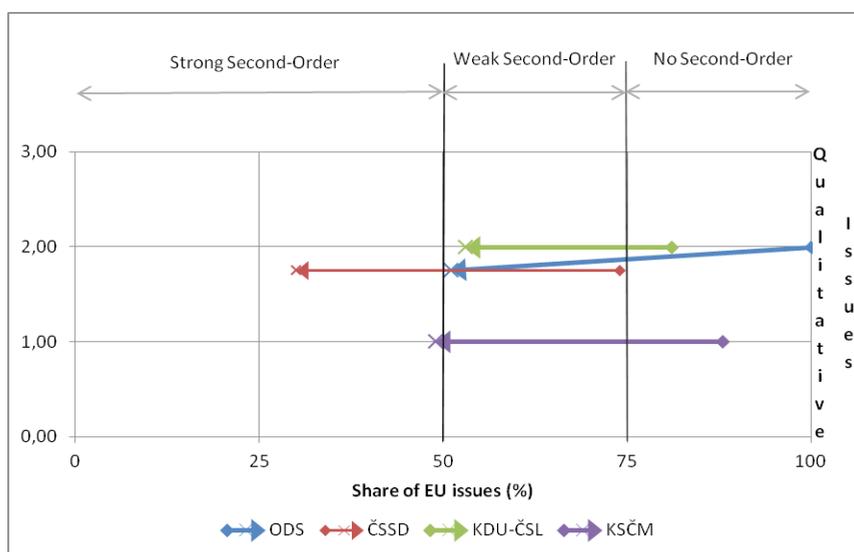
		Quantitative dimension		
		National issues dominate (strong second-order character)	EU issues mixed with national issues (weak second-order character)	EU issues dominate (no second-order character)
Qualitative dimension	General and normative references to the EU	KSČM 2009		KSČM 2004
	Reflection to the long-term agenda of the EU	ČSSD 2009 ↑	ODS 2009 ↑ ČSSD 2004 ↑ KDU-ČSL 2009	ODS 2004 KDU-ČSL 2004
	Reflection on current issues related to the EU			

Three other parties' Euro manifestos embody a reasonably high quantitative level of Europeanization and the SOE-theory-driven domestication hypothesis does not apply to them. Thus, the results show that when Czech parties put together an election manifesto for EP elections, in most cases the Euro manifestos do not display second-order characteristics at all or display only weak second-order characteristic, according to presented conceptualisation. These results contrast with our initial expectation regarding the presence of national/EU issues. When evaluating the qualitative dimension of Europeanization of Czech parties' programmatic supply, it may be argued that in none of the Euro manifestos did reflection on current issues pertaining to the European integration process dominate the document. On the other hand, in only two out of 8 analysed Euro manifestos, parties resorted to mere general and normative references without much attempt to reflect on the concrete EU long-term agenda and actual problems and issues related to the EU. Most of the Euro manifestos embody the middle layer of Europeanization of our conceptualisation, the parties reflecting on individual long-term aspects of European integration in their Euro manifestos.

For the most part, Czech parties' election programmes for EP elections display a medium to high level of Europeanization on both the quantitative and qualitative dimensions, which contradicts our first expectation derived from the SOE model. Nevertheless, on the qualitative dimension, which is the more significant regarding the importance the party attaches to European integration in its election programme (Havlík and Vykoupilová 2008: 168), none of the analysed parties attained the highest conceptual level. Thus, while in quantitative terms Euro manifestos are mostly dominated by EU issues rather than national issues, the qualitative dimension suggests that the Europeanization of parties' programmatic supply does not reach the highest possible level.

Second, given the conclusion of previous research documenting the intensification of the second-order character of the EP election with subsequent contests held (Leroy and Siune 1994), I hypothesised that the 2004 Euro manifestos would display a higher level of Europeanization — in other words, they would be less domesticated — than the Euro manifestos for the 2009 EP elections. Figure 1 presents the spatial positions of parties' Euro manifestos according to the two-dimensional conceptualisation presented at the beginning of the paper. The expectation was confirmed in all four cases. The Europeanization of ODS Euro manifestos declined on both the quantitative and qualitative dimensions from 2004 to 2009. The decline on the quantitative dimension was considerable: EU issues dropped from 100% to 51% of the Euro manifesto. The Europeanization of Euro manifestos of the other three Czech parties analysed, namely ČSSD, KDU-ČSL, and KSČM, declined only on the quantitative dimension (30–40%), while retaining the level of Europeanization on the qualitative dimension. Overall, the second expectation is confirmed in all four cases documenting that the second-order character of EP elections usually intensifies in subsequent European contests.

Figure 1. EU issues in Euro manifestos, Czech Republic



Conclusion

This article has examined one aspect of political parties' supply for SOEs in new EU member states, namely the fact that SOE campaigns are dominated by national political issues in the new EU member states, by analysing the Euromanifestos of four Czech political parties. Using party manifestos for EP elections and the concept of Europeanisation, the analysis has sought to explore two expectations about the ways political parties behave in SOEs to the EP. The analysis did not find much evidence to support the first expectation of the study — that the Euro manifestos display a low level of Europeanization and are dominated by national issues. Parties clearly focus on European integration issues in their Euro manifestos and feature an apparent degree of Europeanization of this part of their supply for EP elections. This trend is, moreover, consistent with the arguments made in the literature analysing Euro manifestos in other countries (Brunsbach et al. 2012; Kritzinger et al. 2004; Wüst 2009). However the second expectation of the study was supported by the data—all of the Czech parties' Euro manifestos displayed a higher level of Europeanization in the first EP elections than in subsequent ones held in a country.

But how do these results fit into the wider literature on the SOE theory and EP elections in general? At the beginning of the paper, it was argued that EP elections are failing as instruments of democracy, given that they fail to create an effective representative link through the fulfilment of the minimum conditions of the supply side of the responsible party government model. In other words, because parties do not campaign on EU-level issues, there are few ways in which public preferences can be expressed in an effective manner. Consequently, the fact that political parties do not compete for votes on the basis of EU issues is considered a key element of the EU's democratic deficit (Føllesdal and Hix 2006) and is seen as decreasing the legitimacy of the only directly elected EU institution (Fiala 2004). From this perspective, the fact that EP elections are not 'stolen' by parties to sell national issues but that instead an apparent degree of Europeanization of Euro manifestos is observable can be considered a light at the end of the (second-order) tunnel, given that at least the programmatic part of parties' supply is about European integration.

The importance of the EU may be stronger than generally anticipated. However, one should not overestimate the importance of election programmes during EP election campaign, and not just because the 'real policy' may markedly differ from the programmatic proclamations. Furthermore, the findings related to our second expectation dovetail with previous studies arguing that the second-order character of EP elections intensifies as subsequent elections are held in a country, particularly in relation to the behaviour of political parties and media in these elections (de Vreese et al. 2006). In most cases, from 2004 to 2009, the degree of Europeanization of parties' programmatic supply for EP elections declined.

Moreover, and related to the SOE model, the fact that the results support the Europeanization thesis of the programmatic aspect of parties' supply does not mean that other aspects of parties' supply are treated in the same manner (see also Brunsbach et al. 2012). The literature analysing a wide range of campaign elements in SOEs points out that the party representatives (and the media) leave out EU issues when pointing

out the most important issues in the campaign (Deželan 2007; Wüst 2009), and thus a high degree of Europeanization of Euro manifestos may be irrelevant. Thus, unlike other aspects of election campaigns, Euro manifestos seem to be the exception rather than the rule.

Lastly, a range of studies recently started to concentrate on the behaviour of the political parties and media in SOEs to understand the second-order character of voting behaviour in EP elections. The literature in this field argues that there is a reciprocal link among party behaviour, media coverage and voting behaviour and thus the strategies of political parties and media are crucial in shaping the nature of electoral choices and levels of turnout in second-order EP elections (de Vries et al. 2011; Hobolt and Spoon 2010; Hobolt and Wittrock 2011). Hence, the SOE theory should be integrated with the behaviour of political parties and the media instead of focusing only on voters (Hobolt and Franklin 2011; Strömbäck et al. 2011: 13). In this paper, I have attempted to contribute to this line of research by conducting an analysis of the programmatic aspect of parties' supply for SOEs and discovering that the programmatic documents for EP elections embody less of a second-order character than is widely assumed.

References

- Abromeit, Heidrun (1998), *Democracy in Europe: Legitimising Politics in a Non-State Polity* (New York: Berghahn Books).
- Adam, Silke and Maier, Michaela (2011), 'National parties as politicizers of EU integration? Party campaign communication in the run-up to the 2009 European Parliament election', *European Union Politics*, 12 (3), 431-53.
- Ágh, Attila (2006), 'East-Central Europe: Parties in Crisis and the External and Internal Europeanisation of the Party Systems', in Peter J. Burnell (ed.), *Globalizing democracy: party politics in emerging democracies* (London: Routledge), 88–103.
- Auers, Daniel (2005), 'European elections in eight new EU member states', *Electoral Studies*, 24 (3), 747-54.
- Baun, Michael, et al. (2006), 'The Europeanization of Czech Politics: The Political Parties and the EU Referendum', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44 (2), 249-80.
- Börzel, Tanja A. and Risse, Thomas (2000), 'When Europe Hits Home: Europeanization and Domestic Change', *European Integration online Papers (EIoP)*, 4.
- Börzel, Tanja A. and Risse, Thomas (2003), 'Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe', in Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli (eds.), *The Politics of Europeanisation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 55-78.
- Brunsbach, Sandra, John, Stefanie, and Werner, Annika (2012), 'The Supply Side of Second-Order Elections: Comparing German National and European Election Manifestos', *German Politics*, 21 (1), 91-115.
- Budge, Ian (1994), 'A New Spatial Theory of Party Competition: Uncertainty, Ideology and Policy Equilibria Viewed Comparatively and Temporally', *British Journal of Political Science*, 24 (04), 443-67.
- Budge, Ian, et al. (2001), *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments 1945-1998* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Budge, Ian, Robertson, David, and Hearl, Derek (eds.) (1987), *Ideology, Strategy and Party Change: Spatial Analyses of Post-War Election Programmes in 19 Democracies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Cowles, Maria Green, Caporaso, James A., and Risse, Thomas (2001), *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and domestic change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- de Vreese, Claes H. (2009), 'Second-Rate Election Campaigning? An Analysis of Campaign Styles in European Parliamentary Elections', *Journal of Political Marketing*, 8 (1), 7-19.
- de Vreese, Claes H., Lauf, Edmund, and Peter, Jochen (2007), 'The Media and European Parliament Elections: Second-Rate Coverage of a Second-Order Event?', in Wouter van der Brug and Cees van der Eijk (eds.), *European Elections and Domestic Politics: Lessons from the Past and Scenarios for the Future* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press), 116-30.
- de Vreese, Claes H., et al. (2006), 'The News Coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign in 25 Countries', *European Union Politics*, 7 (4), 477-504.

- de Vries, Catherine E., et al. (2011), 'Individual and contextual variation in EU issue voting: The role of political information', *Electoral Studies*, 30 (1), 16-28.
- Deželan, Tomaž (2007), 'Does Europeanisation matter? The Case of Slovenian Political Party Electoral Campaign for the European Union', *Politics in Central Europe*, 3 (1-2), 11-25.
- Enyedi, Zsolt (2007), 'The Europeanisation of Eastern Central European Party Systems', *The NET Journal of Political Science*, 5 (1), 65-75.
- Exadaktylos, Theofanis and Radaelli, Claudio M. (2009), 'Research Design in European Studies: The Case of Europeanization', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*
- Featherstone, Kevin (2003), 'In the Name of "Europe"', in Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli (eds.), *The Politics of Europeanization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 3-26.
- Featherstone, Kevin and Radaelli, Claudio M. (2003), *The Politics of Europeanization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Ferrara, Federico and Weishaupt, Timo J. (2004), 'Get your Act Together: Party Performance in European Parliament Elections', *European Union Politics*, 5 (3), 283-306.
- Fiala, Petr (2004), 'Evropští voliči a volby do Evropského parlamentu', *Revue politika*, 2 (5), 26-28.
- Fiala, Petr, et al. (2006), 'Evropeizace politických stran a zájmových skupin: základní problémy a směry analýzy', *Politologický časopis*, 13 (1), 3-26.
- Fink-Hafner, Danica (2008), 'Europeanization and party system mechanics: comparing Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro', *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans Online*, 10 (2), 167-81.
- Flockhart, Trine (2010), 'Europeanization or EU-ization? The Transfer of European Norms across Time and Space', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48 (4), 787-810.
- Føllesdal, Andreas and Hix, Simon (2006), 'Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44 (3), 533-62.
- Franklin, Mark N. (2006), 'European Elections and the European Voter', in Jeremy John Richardson (ed.), *European Union: power and policy-making* (London: Routledge), 227-45.
- Gabel, Matthew J. and Hix, Simon (2002), 'Defining the EU Political Space: An Empirical Study of the European Elections Manifestos, 1979-1999', *Comparative Political Studies*, 35 (8), 934-64.
- Hallstein, Walter (1972), *Europe in the making* (London: George Allen and Unwin).
- Haughton, Tim (ed.), (2010), *Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe: Does EU Membership Matter?* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Havlík, Vlastimil (2008), 'Jak měřit? Přístupy a metody analýzy postojů politických stran k evropské integraci', *Central European Political Studies Review*, 10 (4).

- Havlík, Vlastimil (2010), *České politické strany a evropská integrace: Evropeizace, evropanství, euroskepticismus?* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita. Mezinárodní politologický ústav).
- Havlík, Vlastimil and Vykoupilová, Hana (2008), 'Two dimensions of the Europeanization of election programs: The case of the Czech Republic', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 41 (2), 163-87.
- Hertner, Isabelle (2011), 'Are European Election Campaigns Europeanized? The Case of the Party of European Socialists in 2009', *Government and Opposition*, 46 (3), 321-44.
- Hix, Simon (2008), 'Towards a partisan theory of EU politics', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15 (8), 1254-65.
- Hix, Simon and Lord, Christopher (1997), *Political Parties in the European Union* (New York.: St. Martin's Press).
- Hix, Simon and Marsh, Michael (2007), 'Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections', *The Journal of Politics*, 69 (2), 495-510.
- Hloušek, Vít and Pšejja, Pavel (2009), 'Europeanization of Political Parties and the Party System in the Czech Republic', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 25 (4), 513 - 39.
- Hobolt, Sara Binzer and Spoon, Jae-Jae (2010), 'Motivating the European Voter: Parties, Issues, and Campaigns in European Parliament Elections', *PIREDEU Final Conference* (Brussels, Belgium), 1-40.
- Hobolt, Sara Binzer and Franklin, Mark N. (2011), 'Introduction: Electoral democracy in the European Union', *Electoral Studies*, 30 (1), 1-3.
- Hobolt, Sara Binzer and Wittrock, Jill (2011), 'The second-order election model revisited: An experimental test of vote choices in European Parliament elections', *Electoral Studies*, 30 (1), 29-40.
- Hrabíková, Zdeňka (2010), 'Evropská témata v evropských volbách 2004 a 2009 - prohloubení zájmu českých politických stran o evropské otázky?', MA Thesis (Masarykova univerzita).
- Ihl, Oliver (2005), 'Programme électoral', in Yves Deloye (ed.), *Dictionnaire des élections européennes* (Paris: Economica), 568-71.
- Irwin, Gael (1995), 'Second-order or Third-rate? - Issues in the Campaign for the Elections for the European Parliament 1994', *Electoral Studies*, 14 (2), 183-99.
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Hofferbert, Richard I., and Budge, Ian (1994), *Parties, policies, and democracy* (Boulder: Westview Press).
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, et al. (2007), *Mapping Policy Preferences II: Estimates for Parties, Electors and Governments in Central and Eastern Europe, European Union and OECD 1990-2003 [With: ... European Union, and OECD 1990-2003: v. 2* (Oxford University Press).
- Kovář, Jan (2010), 'Second-rate coverage of second-order elections: Czech and Slovak elections to the EP in the media', *Central European Political Studies Review*, 12 (4), 225-54.
- Kritzinger, Sylvia, Cavatorta, Francesco, and Chari, Raj (2004), 'Continuity and change in party positions towards Europe in Italian parties: an examination of parties' manifestos', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 11 (6), 954-74.

- Ladrech, Robert (1994), 'Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 32 (1), 69-88.
- Ladrech, Robert (2002), 'Europeanization and Political Parties: Towards a Framework for Analysis', *Party Politics*, 8 (4), 389-403.
- Ladrech, Robert (2008), 'Europeanization and the variable influence of the EU: national parties and party systems in Western and Eastern Europe', *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans Online*, 10 (2), 139-50.
- Ladrech, Robert (2009), 'Europeanization and political parties', *Living Reviews in European Governance*, 4 (1).
- Leroy, Pascale and Siune, Karen (1994), 'The Role of Television in European Elections: The Cases of Belgium and Denmark', *European Journal of Communication*, 9 (1), 47-69.
- Maier, Michaela and Tenschler, Jens (2009), "'Struggling for Voters": European Campaigning in Germany', *Journal of Political Marketing*, 8 (1), 20-34.
- Mair, Peter (2000), 'The limited impact of Europe on national party systems', *West European Politics*, 23 (4), 27 - 51.
- Mair, Peter (2001), 'Searching for the positions of political actors: a review of approaches and a critical evaluation of expert surveys', in Michael Laver (ed.), *Estimating the Policy Position of Political Actors* (London: Routledge), 10-30.
- Mair, Peter (2006), 'Political Parties and Party Systems', in Paolo Graziano and Maarten Peter Vink (eds.), *Europeanization: New Research Agendas* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 154-66.
- Mair, Peter and Thomassen, Jacques (2010), 'Political representation and government in the European Union', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17 (1), 20-35.
- Marsh, Michael (1998), 'Testing the Second-Order Election Model after Four European Elections', *British Journal of Political Science*, 28 (04), 591-607.
- Marsh, Michael and Norris, Pippa (1997), 'Political representation in the European Parliament', *European Journal of Political Research*, 32 (2), 153-64.
- Marsh, Michael and Mikhaylov, Slava (2010), 'European Parliament elections and EU governance', *Living Reviews in European Governance*, 5 (4).
- McDonald, Michael Dennis and Budge, Ian (2005), *Elections, parties, democracy: conferring the median mandate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Müller, Wolfgang C. and Strom, Kaare (1999), 'Conclusions: Party Behavior and Representative Democracy', in Wolfgang C. Müller and Kaare Strom (eds.), *Policy, Office, Or Votes?: How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 279-309.
- Norris, Pippa and Reif, Karlheinz (1997), 'Second-order elections', *European Journal of Political Research*, 31 (1), 109-24.
- Official Journal of the European Union (2010), 'Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union', 2010/C 83/01 (Luxembourg: Publications office of the European Union).
- Pennings, Paul (2006), 'An Empirical Analysis of the Europeanization of National Party Manifestos, 1960-2003', *European Union Politics*, 7 (2), 257-70.
- Poguntke, Thomas, et al. (2007a), 'The Europeanisation of national party organisations: A conceptual analysis', *European Journal of Political Research*, 46 (6), 747-71.

- Poguntke, Thomas, et al. (2007b), *The Europeanization of national political parties: power and organizational adaptation* (New York: Routledge).
- Powell, G. Bingham (2000), *Elections as instruments of democracy: majoritarian and proportional visions* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Powell, G. Bingham (2004), 'Political Representation in Comparative Politics', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7, 273-96.
- Reif, Karlheinz and Schmitt, Hermann (1980), 'Nine Second-Order National Elections - A Conceptual Framework For the Analysis of European Elections Results', *European Journal of Political Research*, 8 (1), 3-44.
- Rittberger, Berthold (2012), 'Institutionalizing Representative Democracy in the European Union: The Case of the European Parliament', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50, 18-37.
- Sedelmeier, Ulrich (2011), 'Europeanisation in new member and candidate states', *Living Reviews in European Governance*, 6 (1).
- Schattschneider, Elmer E. (1942), *Party government* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston).
- Schmitt, Hermann (2005), 'The European Parliament Elections of June 2004: Still Second-Order?', *West European Politics*, 28 (3), 650-79.
- Siaroff, Alan (2001), 'Elections to the European parliament: Testing alternative models of what they indicate in the member nations', *Journal of European Integration*, 23 (3), 237-55.
- Sikk, Allan (2009), 'Force Mineure? The Effects of the EU on Party Politics in a Small Country: The Case of Estonia', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 25 (4), 468-90.
- Smrčková, Markéta and Hloušek, Vít (2011), 'Evropeizace programatiky bulharských a rumunských politických stran', *Central European Political Studies Review*, 13 (2-3), 110-34.
- Strömbäck, Jesper, Maier, Michaela, and Kaid, Lynda Lee (2011), 'Political Communication and Election Campaigns for the European Parliament', in Michaela Maier, Jesper Strömbäck, and Lynda Lee Kaid (eds.), *Political Communication in European Parliamentary Elections* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Tenscher, Jens and Maier, Michaela (2009), 'European Parliamentary Elections 2004: Studies on Political Campaigning and Media Framing of a Second-Order Event', *Journal of Political Marketing*, 8 (1), 1-6.
- Thorlakson, Lori (2005), 'Federalism and the European party system', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12 (3), 468-87.
- Tindemans, Leo C. (1975a), 'European Union. Report by Mr. Leo Tindemans, Prime Minister of Belgium, to the European Council', (Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 1/76 edn.: Commission of the European Communities), 32.
- Tindemans, Leo C. (1975b), '1975-1976 Session: Report of the Proceedings from 7 to 11 July 1975', *Official Journal of the European Communities: Debates of the European Parliament*, EC Publications Office, Luxembourg.
- Tóka, Gábor (2007), 'Information Effects on Vote Choices in European Elections', in Michael Marsh and Slava Mikhaylov (eds.), *European elections after Eastern enlargement : preliminary results from the European election study 2004* (Mannheim: CONNEX), 141-79.

- van der Brug, Wouter, Franklin, Mark N., and Tóka, Gábor (2008), 'One electorate or many? Differences in party preference formation between new and established European democracies', *Electoral Studies*, 27 (4), 589-600.
- van der Eijk, Cees and Franklin, Mark N. (1996), *Choosing Europe?: The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Michigan University Press).
- Weber, Till (2007), 'Campaign Effects and Second-Order Cycles: A Top-Down Approach to European Parliament Elections', *European Union Politics*, 8 (4), 509-36.
- Wüst, Andreas M. (2009), 'Parties in European Parliament Elections: Issues, Framing, the EU, and the Question of Supply and Demand', *German Politics*, 18 (3), 426-40.