

## **Revisiting and Extending Peter Mair: The Impact of Europe on National Parties and Party Systems in the Times of Economic Crisis**

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### **Abstract**

In the times of economic crisis everything becomes more complicated. Explanations that we have accepted can be reconsidered since the conditions are different than before. In Europe, the context has been changing not only because of the crisis but also thanks to further European integration. This paper aims to revisit and extend Peter Mair's article on the limited impact of Europe on national party systems in the light of the current economic and political situation, after five painful years of crisis and many other changes Europe has been going through. This work will follow Mair, checking the direct impact of Europe on the format and mechanics of national party systems with recent data. The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (2010) will be used to define party positioning on pro vs. anti-European integration dimension. The study will cover 25 Member States (MSs), provide information on newly established parties that are directly related to European integration and analyse their vote distribution in the most recent national elections in every MS. The work will continue discussing the spill over mechanism from European arena to the national arena, the role of Europarties and a possibility of competition in Europe without the existence of an executive office. This will also open the floor to discussion of less *second-order-ness* of the European Parliament (EP) elections while keeping an eye on the less *first-order-ness* of the national elections.

**Key Words:** Political Parties, multilevel electoral behaviour, representation, crisis

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## **Introduction**

Europe has been going through drastic changes for many decades. As of 1950, starting as the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Union (EU) became a *sui-generis* international organization that nobody could ever dream of. Becoming more and more crowded over years, the supranational body started to affect and shape its members in different dimensions. First the European integration literature with many theories behind ((Haas 1961), (Moravcsik 1993), among many others) followed by the policy-making analysis in this new entity. Conditionality for Candidate States and Europeanization literature ((Borzel 2006), etc.), is full of different attempts to measure the effect of Europe on different countries.

There are many dimensions to measure, without any doubts. Following Peter Mair (2000) this paper focuses on the effect of Europe on national party systems. I argue that today Europe has more impact on national party systems, not only because of the economic crisis, but also because of further integration in the EU.

If Peter Mair was still alive, he may have re-written his article on the impact of Europe on national party systems (Mair 2000) with the current situation in Europe, after five painful years of economic crisis. He gave the signals of this intention in his EUI Working Paper in 2011 stating that the national level no longer has the adequate resources to deal with the financial crises, using the Irish example (Mair 2011). Before moving further, it is beneficial to sum up what he has been claiming in his 2000 paper, which gave inspiration to this work.

Mair claimed that Europe has a very limited direct impact on national party systems. He looked through the format and mechanics of 15 Member States using the party positioning data of Leonard Ray (Ray 1999). He also provided country specific information about parties and their vote distribution in the latest national election. In addition, Mair discussed the limits of spill over mechanism, the absence of a European party system and the competences of different arenas, the European and national arena. In short, Mair has been commenting on various issues, which may have gone through changes regarding to the very dynamic character of the Union.

With all the respect to his memory, this paper will revisit and extend his work after thirteen years, 13 new Member States (as we can see from Table 1 given below) and years of economic, financial and social crisis. The paper will follow the same structure; check the format and mechanics of the national party systems, after providing some general information on the indicators of party systems.

**Table 1: The Enlargement Waves of the European Union (1957 - 2013)**

<b>Founding Countries (1957)</b>	<b>1st (1973)</b>	<b>2nd (1981)</b>	<b>3rd (1986)</b>	<b>4th (1995)</b>	<b>5th (2004)</b>	<b>6th (2007)</b>	<b>7th (2013)</b>
Belgium Germany France Italy Luxembourg Netherlands	Denmark Ireland United Kingdom	Greece	Spain Portugal	Austria Finland Sweden	Czech Republic Estonia Cyprus Latvia Lithuania Hungary Malta Poland Slovakia Slovenia	Bulgaria Romania	Croatia

*Source:* Author's self evaluation from the European Commission's Website

It is observable that today most European governments want to share the responsibility of increasing taxes or cutting government spending etc., they even want to put blame on someone else. They keep on claiming that economic integration decreases the power of the governments (Menendez 2012). Governments across Europe, mainly in Southern Europe that is fighting with the economic crisis, try to put the blame on the EU for the unpopular measures. The Socialist leader Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero can be given as a good example of this intention, especially at the end of his term.

In this regard, it is acceptable to say that the roles of arenas have been changing, the distinction between the national arena and the European arena is blurring, keeping in mind that Europe has been giving many important decisions related to daily lives of citizens. European Commission evaluating national budgets after parliamentary approval or all the measures demanded from the rescued countries can be given as examples here. However, the electoral access to European decision-making and the

proportion of consultation with the mass public is questionable. Even if the EU has been going through Treaty changes, using new instruments and increasing the role of the European Parliament (EP), it is still debatable who is representing Europe's citizens. This work will look for the answers according to the changes Europe has been going through in the last decade.

In short, this paper claims that the impact of Europe in general, Europeanization of political parties, party systems and representation mechanism in particular, has been increasing with the economic crisis. However, the scope of the paper would have been too wide to handle if we had taken all the actors at the same time. For this reason, this paper will focus on the national party systems. This analysis will be connected to the European Parliament elections. Mair claimed that the effect of Europe is quite limited also because of the non-existence of an elected European executive office. This issue has been on the table for a really long time, also in Brussels. This work will also comment on the topic, after the certain proposal of Martin Schulz as the Socialist candidate for the President of the European Commission, succeeding Jose Manuel Barroso.

All in all, this work will try to measure the effect of Europe on national party systems, following Peter Mair, in the light of the economic crisis. There are many elements that define the party systems. For this reason the paper will continue with a short assessment of these elements with related indices. There will be a short assessment on the change of these indices with the crisis. Afterwards, it will continue with parallel arguments to Mair, with new data, providing comments on the change in format and mechanics of the party systems. In addition to Mair's arguments, this paper will discuss the European arena in detail. In conclusion, the paper will present the result and compare them with Mair's.

### **Main Elements of the Party Systems**

There is a huge literature on the description of main elements and types of the party systems. Duverger (Duverger 1954) identified two-party and multiparty systems as the major types, while Blondel (Blondel 1968) introduced new categories. Following

that Rokkan (Rokkan 1970) has shifted the party system classification from vote share to seat share, focusing analysis on relative strengths of parties, instead of absolute strengths. According to the well-known definition of Sartori (Sartori 1976), a party system is a “system of interactions resulting from inter-party competition”. Following various descriptions, Laakso and Taagepera (Laakso and Taagepera 1979) offered the effective number of parties calculations and Pedersen (Pedersen 1980) proposed various indicators (the Gini-coefficient, the index of fractionalization, the fragmentation index etc.). Including Mair himself (Bardi and Mair 2008), there has been a certain effort to define the parameters of party systems. These indicators provide us the opportunity to make comparisons among different party systems.

Before reproducing the analyses of Mair, it is quite useful to provide brief information on election indices in the literature. For this reason we use the book of Gallagher and Mitchell (Gallagher and Mitchell 2008)<sup>2</sup> and the dataset of Gallagher (Gallagher 2013). The author has collected the related data of the EU Member States, since the original dataset is way broader.

Table 2 shows the party system indicators for MSs before and after the economic crisis. Even if there is a discussion on the starting time of the crisis, mainly the elections before 2008 are taken as pre-crisis, while the ones afterwards are taken as post-crisis, even if the crisis is not finished yet<sup>3</sup>.

The indices can be explained as:

- The least squares index (LSq): Measures disproportionality between the distributions of votes and of seats
- The effective number of parties at the electoral level (Eff N<sub>v</sub>, also termed ENEP)
- The effective number of parties at the parliamentary or legislative level (Eff N<sub>s</sub> also termed ENPP)

While N of seats refers to the number given in the sources used and is the number on which the calculations were based.

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<sup>2</sup> The calculation of the indices and further information can be found in the book.

<sup>3</sup> Even if the economic crisis is not finished yet, the post-crisis data assumes to capture the effect of it on the indicators.

**Table 2: Comparative Election Indices (Pre/Post-Economic Crisis in Europe)**

	Country	LSq		Eff Nv (ENEP)		Eff Ns (ENPP)	
		Pre-Crisis	Post-Crisis	Pre-Crisis	Post-Crisis	Pre-Crisis	Post-Crisis
1	Austria	2.92	NA	4.79	NA	4.24	NA
2	Belgium	3.37	3.77	9.04	10.04	7.91	8.42
3	Bulgaria	3.97	10.88	5.8	5.34	3.34	3.15
4	Croatia	7.58	12.31	4.23	4.57	3.07	2.59
5	Cyprus	2.42	1.69	4.29	3.86	3.9	3.6
6	Czech Republic	5.72	8.76	3.91	6.75	3.1	4.51
7	Denmark	1.76	0.73	5.19	5.71	4.89	5.61
8	Estonia	3.43	5.09	5.02	4.78	4.37	3.84
9	Finland	3.2	2.95	5.88	6.47	5.13	5.83
10	France	13.58	17.66	4.32	5.27	2.49	2.83
11	Germany	2.16	3.4	4.46	5.58	4.05	4.83
12	Greece	6.99	9.96	3.02	5.2	2.62	3.76
13	Hungary	5.13	11.67	2.8	2.82	2.4	2
14	Ireland	5.85	8.69	3.77	4.77	3.03	3.52
15	Italy	3.61	17.34	5.69	5.33	5.06	3.47
16	Latvia	4.77	2.76	7.49	5.06	6	4.52
17	Lithuania	5.03	9.08	5.78	7.59	5.46	5.28
18	Luxembourg	3.36	4.22	4.26	4.25	3.81	3.63
19	Malta	1.81	1.75	2.02	2.05	1.99	1.97
20	Netherlands	1.03	0.99	5.8	5.94	5.54	5.7
21	Poland	4.67	5.95	3.32	3.74	2.82	3
22	Portugal	5.75	5.68	3.13	3.66	2.56	2.93
23	Romania	3.74	6.2	3.9	2.54	3.36	2.12
24	Slovakia	5.53	9.77	6.11	4.36	4.81	2.85
25	Slovenia	4.79	3.64	6.02	5.57	4.9	4.73
26	Spain	4.25	6.93	3	3.34	2.53	2.6
27	Sweden	3.02	1.25	4.66	4.79	4.15	4.54
28	United Kingdom	16.73	15.1	3.59	3.71	2.46	2.57

*Source:* Author's Self Evaluation from Gallager (2013)

*Note:* Austria (2006, NA), Belgium (2007, 2010), Bulgaria (2005, 2013), Croatia (2007, 2011), Cyprus (2006, 2011), Czech Republic (2006, 2010), Denmark (2005, 2011), Estonia (2007, 2011), Finland (2007, 2011), France (2007, 2012), Germany (2005, 2009), Greece (2007, 2012 June), Hungary (2006, 2010 (overall)), Ireland (2007, 2011), Italy (2006, 2013), Latvia (2006, 2011), Lithuania (2004, 2012), Luxembourg (2004, 2009), Malta (2003, 2013), Netherlands (2006, 2012), Poland (2007, 2011), Portugal (2005, 2011), Romania (2004, 2012), Slovakia (2006, 2012), Slovenia (2004, 2011), Spain (2004, 2011), Sweden (2006, 2010), United Kingdom (2005, 2010)

Here it is hard to comment on the changes on party system indicators without knowing the changes in each country's electoral law. Depending on how permissive

the system is, or how easy to access, there are certain differences in the format and the mechanics of the party systems. We can use the comparison before and after the crisis to see how the number of parties changed through years. This will open the floor to our new discussions on how the party systems have changed, how many new parties have been established and how Europe has been affecting this process.

### **Europe and National Political Party Systems in the Times of Economic Crisis**

Even if we do not exactly know the long run of the economic implications of the crisis, the political implications have started to get visible also in the short run. Since the public debt increased very quickly in many countries, their national economy became unsustainable for some MSs and they required a bailout mechanism from the EU and some austerity measures. These countries even became a threat to the entire monetary union and the common currency Euro itself. For this reason, the EU as a whole in general, European Central Bank (ECB) in cooperation with International Monetary Fund (IMF) in particular, started to get involved more and more on the policy making of national governments and the political parties that make up those governments. The situation in Greece, Portugal, and Ireland, and even in Spain, can be given as the examples of this. The case of Italy is even further; the EU forced a change of government, put so much pressure on the Berlusconi government that led to the election of a technocrat, Mario Monti, as the Prime Minister of the country from 2011 to 2013. When we look at the party system indicators of these countries, we can observe a certain increase in the number of political parties in the electoral system. The ENEP index of Greece rises to 5.2 in 2012, while it was 3.02 in 2007. Ireland shows a point increase, from 3.77 to 4.77. Portugal and Spain demonstrates slight increases 3.13 to 3.66 and 3 to 3.34 respectively. Italy is the only counter example, showing a minor decrease, from 5.69 to 5.33, still way higher than all the other countries we have been mentioning.

This discussion, which is also mentioned by Mair in his paper, is the most important reason behind the creation of this paper. The roles of arenas, European and national arena, has been changing drastically due to the economic and financial crisis. The European arena is deciding more and more about the lives of European citizens. This



has been the case with the establishment of the EU, however, became even more visible first with the common currency Euro and then with the austerity measures and rescue packages of the economic crisis, as we mentioned above. Especially government spending has been under control of the EU in some countries.

Mair claimed that, the national party systems are resistant to change coming from Europe since a certain spillover mechanism is absent due to the non-existence of a European executive office. He gave some credit to europarties, however also mentioned the absence of European party system. These two issues still keep their validity today. There are certain rumours in Brussels claiming that the European Parliament (EP) will elect the president of the European Commission (EC). If this happens, there will be a competition for a European executive office, which may change the spillover mechanism dynamics. However this is not yet the case.

For all these reasons, the impact of Europe on MSs has been increasing in many dimensions. With the economic crisis, the EU started to affect more the internal economic dynamics of its members. This work starts with an analysis of the direct impact of European integration on the *format* and *mechanics* of the national party systems. *Format* of a party system can be described as the number of relevant parties in the electoral arena. The *mechanics* of a party system on the other hand concerns the modes of interaction between the related parties.

### **Format**

Following Mair's argument, we claim that Europeanization might have an effect on the *format* of the party systems, which is the number of political parties in national arena. This means that as a direct consequence, new political parties might have been established. In addition, it is also important to analyse how many parties have been established with a specific focus on the EU. In other words, it is interesting to figure out which parties can be directly linked to the issue of European integration. These parties can be pro-EU integration, which is mainly the case for the main parties governing the Member States, since the cost of exiting the EU is quite high, or on the opposite side, against.

**Table 3: Newly Established Political Parties in Member States**

Country	Name of the Newly Established Political Party	Year	Placement - Anti/Pro Scale EU Integration	% of the Votes in the last National Elections
<b>Austria</b>	Team Frank Stronach (FRANK)	2012	1	5.7
	The New Austria and Liberal Forum	2012	3	5
<b>Croatia</b>	Croatia Labourists - Labour Party	2010	2	5.2
<b>Czech Republic</b>	ANO 2011	2012	1	18.7
	Dawn of Direct Democracy	2013	2	6.9
<b>Germany</b>	Alternative for Germany	2013	1	4.7
<b>Greece</b>	Independent Greeks	2012	1	7.5
	Democratic Left	2010	3	6.3
<b>Italy</b>	Democratic Centre	2012	3	0.5
	Brothers of Italy	2012	2	2
	Five Star Movement	2009	1	25.6
	Civic Choice	2012	3	8.3
<b>Lithuania</b>	Way of Courage	2012	2	8
<b>Polonia</b>	Your Movement	2011	3	10
<b>Slovakia</b>	Ordinary People and Independent Personalities	2011	2	8.6
<b>Slovenia</b>	Positive Slovenia	2011	3	28.5
	Civic List	2011	3	8.4
<b>Spain</b>	Amaiur	2011	2	1.4
	Compromise Coalition	2010	2	0.5
	Asturian Forum	2011	2	0.4
	Yes to the Future	2011	2	0.2

*Source:* Author's self evaluation for completing the Chapel Hill Expert Survey

*Note:* There are some political parties that are not newly established, however still haven't been coded by the Chapel Hill Expert Survey. These parties are Left Front (France, Group 1), Radical Party of the Left (France, Group 3), Radical Party (France, Group 3), Golden Dawn (Greece, Group 1), People Before Profit (Ireland, Group 1), Latvian Way (Latvia, Group 2), 50 Plus (Netherlands, Group 2), Initiative for Catalanian Greens (Spain, Group 2), Sinn Fein (UK, Group 1), Democratic Unionist Party (UK, Group 1)

Table 3 includes all the newly established parties, their groups of pro/anti-EU integration dimension and their percentage of votes in the latest national elections. The location of parties in the pro/anti EU integration scale is done by personal judgement, which is open to discussion.

## **Mechanics**

The second way Europeanization might have affected the party systems in MSs is the mechanics of the party system, which is, basically, the interaction between the relevant political parties. Political parties in national arena can locate themselves in anti/pro-European integration dimension and compete over it. This will provide us the opportunity to observe the possible existence of new clustering. If any clustering can be observed, this can be taken as an indication of the effect of the European integration. For more accurate analysis, the positioning of the national political parties should be investigated over time. However, these analyses are beyond the scope of this paper and will be left for another future work.

Before moving to the analysis related to the positioning of the political parties, it is quite beneficial to skim through the national parliamentary elections in Europe. Appendix Table 1 demonstrates the national parliamentary elections in every MS in between three European Parliament Elections (2004, 2009 and 2014). Every country had at least two national parliamentary elections in the meantime. These elections can be named as pre-crisis and post-crisis according to the year they have been held. This gives us the opportunity to analyse the impact of Europe in the times of economic crisis on political parties and national party systems.

This work will try to define the possible competition on the anti/pro-European integration dimension. We claim that this analysis will provide us the opportunity the inclusion of the EU as a dimension in the newly established parties. That should be underlined that the effect of the EU can be positive or negative. For the purpose, some recent data derived from the 2010 Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) (Bakker, de Vries et al. 2012). The dataset provides expert data on the positioning of 237 political parties on European integration in all EU member states except Luxembourg, Cyprus and Malta. The survey also includes political parties in Norway, Switzerland and Turkey.

Table 4 replicates the Mair table about the mechanics of the party systems with new data. However, in this analysis there is a certain problem of time mismatch. The

“newest” complete comparative expert survey that we can use is still the 2010 Chapel Hill Expert Survey. However, for a better analysis of the effects of the economic crisis latest national elections should be used. This means that our expert survey does not contain certain information on political parties that recently established.

**Table 4: Support for Parties in the Most Recent National Elections, By Position on European Integration**

	Country	Percentage Votes for Strongly Pro-European Integration Parties (N of Parties)	Percentage Votes for Strongly Anti-European Integration Parties (N of Parties)	Percentage Votes for Parties Neither Strongly Pro nor Strongly Anti European Integration (N of Parties)
1	Austria	68.2 (4)	29.7 (3)	0 (1)
2	Belgium	83.9 (10)	8.2 (3)	2.3 (1)
3	Bulgaria	72.7 (7)	7.3 (1)	1.7 (2)
4	Croatia	76.4 (6)	5.6 (1)	13.1 (5)
5	Czech Republic	46.2 (5)	33.6 (2)	7.7 (2)
6	Denmark	71 (5)	19.8 (3)	9.2 (1)
7	Estonia	93.3 (5)	0 (0)	2.1 (1)
8	Finland	66.8 (5)	19 (1)	12.1 (2)
9	France	68.9 (8)	20.5 (4)	0 (0)
10	Germany	73 (3)	4.7 (1)	16 (2)
11	Greece	48.3 (4)	45.8 (5)	0 (0)
12	Hungary	75 (5)	16.7 (1)	7.2 (1)
13	Ireland	72.9 (3)	12.1 (3)	1.8 (1)
14	Italy	35.8 (10)	29.7 (2)	29.4 (6)
15	Latvia	39.6 (2)	0 (0)	56.9 (4)
16	Lithuania	73.7 (9)	0 (1)	15.3 (2)
17	Netherlands	43.5 (4)	19.7 (2)	35.5 (5)
18	Poland	65.8 (6)	29.9 (2)	0 (1)
19	Portugal	78.5 (3)	0 (0)	13.1 (2)
20	Romania	80.2 (5)	0 (0)	0 (1)
21	Slovakia	57.4 (6)	0 (1)	27.9 (4)
22	Slovenia	75.9 (6)	0 (0)	26.5 (4)
23	Spain	84.2 (8)	0 (0)	10.8 (9)
24	Sweden	80.1 (5)	11.3 (3)	7.3 (1)
25	United Kingdom	24.7 (2)	37.3 (5)	30.5 (3)

*Source:* Author’s self-evaluation from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and the database of <http://parties-and-elections.eu>.

*Note:* For a better comparison we group the parties same way as he did, 6 and 7 being strongly-pro European integration; 1 and 2 being strongly anti-European integration and 3, 4, 5 being neither strongly pro nor strongly anti European integration. Since the parties without any seats in the national parliaments are left out, the vote percentages don’t some up to 100%.

For this reason, personal judgment is included in newly established parties, which are mentioned in Table 3<sup>4</sup>. To start with, in the case of Austria, the newly established Eurosceptic party *Team Frank Stronach (FRANK)* got 5.7 percentages of the votes and won 11 seats in the Parliament<sup>5</sup>.

On the contrary to the rising Euroscepticism in Europe, in the case of Czech Republic, the Eurosceptic party *Civic Democratic Party (ODS)* lost 12.5 percent of the votes and 37 seats in the Parliament, in between 2010 and 2013. However these votes have been taken by ANO 2011, newly established centre-right party, who has taken 18.7 percent of the votes and won 47 seats in the Parliament, following the winning Social Democrats. This party is a party opposing the adaptation of the euro, and does not want any deeper integration or any more bureaucracy from Brussels.

We should also comment on right wing extreme movements. In France *Front National (FN)* increased its votes from 4.3 to 13.6 percent in the last elections. Because of the electoral system in France, they only have 2 chairs on the Parliament. When the right wing extreme is mentioned, Greece should be underlined with its strongly anti-European party Golden Dawn. It was established in 1993, however in 2012 they got 6.9 percent of the votes and won 18 seats in the Parliament. In addition to Golden Dawn, ANEL, the newly established conservative party, is a softer Eurosceptic. Finally, Democratic Left (DIMAR) is a social democratic pro-European small party that belongs to the current coalition (ND, PASOK and DIMAR).

When we look at Germany, *Alternative fur Deutschland (AfD)* won 4.7 percent of the votes in 2013. However they are not represented in the Parliament because of the 5 percent threshold. Still this is an important party in Germany because of the political history of the country. In general, the political parties in Germany are pro-European, as a certain heritage from the past.

Italy has a very *sui generis* case. There are four new parties established and participated in 2013 national elections. Their votes are summing up to 36.4 percent of

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<sup>4</sup> In our opinion, some existing parties also changed their positions in the scale. However they are left as they are in the expert survey.

<sup>5</sup> The party is located in the anti-European group 1.

the votes. The success of *Movimento 5 Stelle* (Five Star Movement – MCS) needs to be underlined. With 25.6 percent of the votes, they have 109 seats in the Parliament. As the main leftist Eurosceptic party, an anti-establishment movement founded by the former comedian Beppe Grillo who advocates a referendum to withdraw Italy from the Eurozone. In the right politics, the main Eurosceptic party is the older *Legia Nord*; which is regionalist and right-wing populist. *Scelta Civica*, for its part, is a new party strongly pro-European and founded by the former PM Mario Monti.

Case of Slovenia is also important since its winner is a newly established party, *Pozitivna Slovenija* (Positive Slovenia – PS) that has taken 28.4 percent of the votes and won 28 seats in the Parliament is a pro-European party.

The discussion on newly established parties can be extended. In addition, Table 5 makes a comparative analysis of political parties and their vote shares with Mair paper.

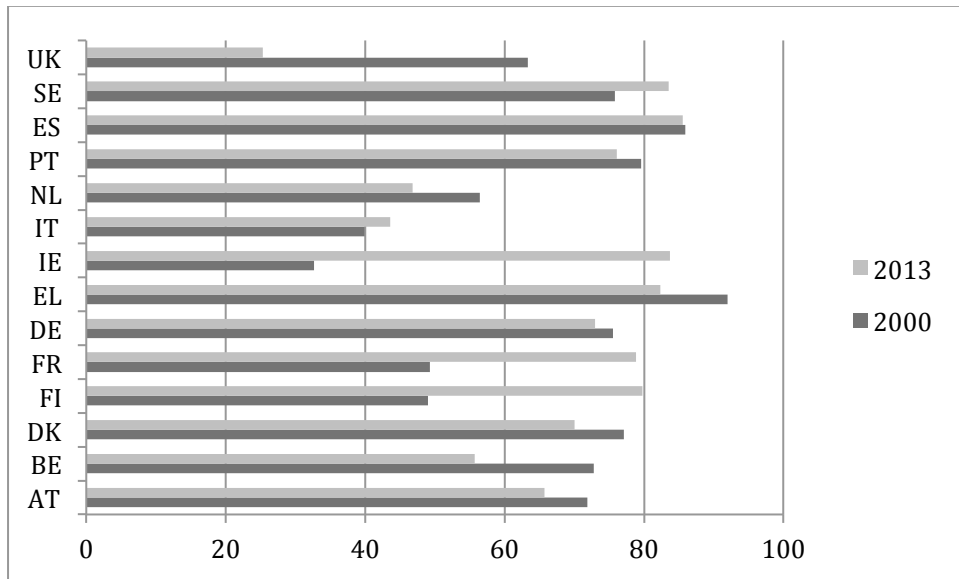
**Table 5: Support for Parties in the Most Recent National Elections, By Position on European Integration**

	Country	Percentage Votes for Strongly Pro-European Integration Parties (N of Parties)		Percentage Votes for Strongly Anti-European Integration Parties (N of Parties)		Percentage Votes for Parties Neither Strongly Pro nor Strongly Anti European Integration (N of Parties)	
		2000 (Mair)	2013 (Toygur)	2000 (Mair)	2013 (Toygur)	2000 (Mair)	2013 (Toygur)
1	Austria	71.9 (3)	68.2 (4)	22.2 (2)	29.7 (3)	4.8 (1)	0 (1)
2	Belgium	72.8 (7)	83.9 (10)	0(0)	8.2 (3)	21.0 (5)	2.3 (1)
3	Denmark	77.1 (5)	71 (5)	12.5 (3)	19.8 (3)	10.0 (2)	9.2 (1)
4	Finland	49.0 (3)	66.8 (5)	6.0 (2)	19 (1)	40.6 (3)	12.1 (2)
5	France	49.3 (4)	68.9 (8)	16.1 (2)	20.5 (4)	20.2 (2)	0 (0)
6	Germany	75.5 (3)	73 (3)	1.8 (1)	4.7 (1)	18.5 (3)	16 (2)
7	Greece	92.0 (4)	48.3 (4)	5.6 (1)	45.8 (5)	0 (0)	0 (0)
8	Ireland	32.7 (2)	72.9 (3)	0(0)	12.1 (3)	58.0 (6)	1.8 (1)
9	Italy	39.9 (4)	35.8 (10)	24.3 (2)	29.7 (2)	28.9 (3)	29.4 (6)
10	Netherlands	56.4 (3)	43.5 (4)	0.6 (1)	19.7 (2)	37.1 (5)	35.5 (5)
11	Portugal	79.6 (3)	78.5 (3)	9.9 (3)	0 (0)	9.3 (2)	13.1 (2)
12	Spain	85.9 (10)	84.2 (8)	0(0)	0 (0)	10.7 (1)	10.8 (9)
13	Sweden	75.8 (4)	80.1 (5)	16.5 (2)	11.3 (3)	5.1 (1)	7.3 (1)
14	United Kingdom	63.3 (5)	24.7 (2)	2.6 (1)	37.3 (5)	30.7 (1)	30.5 (3)

*Source:* Author’s self-evaluation from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey and the database of <http://parties-and-elections.eu> and Mair (2000) (Member States in common in both of the papers)

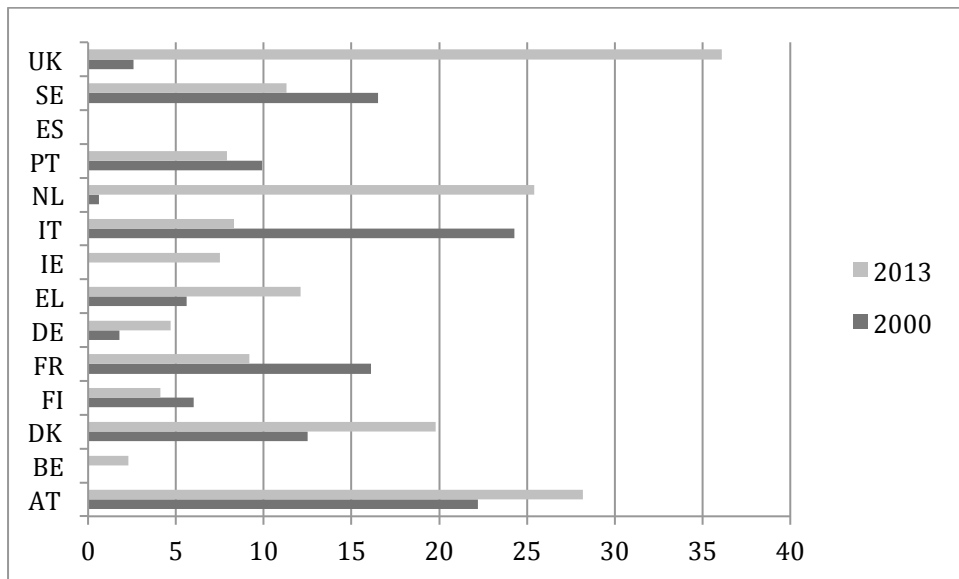
As we can see from Table 5, there is a certain difference between Mair’s analyses in 2000 and today. Graph 1 and 2 provides a visual display for the changes. There is a general trend of increasing Euroscepticism among Member States.

**Graph 1: Pro-European Integration Political Parties A Comparison – Mair & Toygur**



*Source:* Author's self evaluation

**Graph 2: Anti-European Integration Political Parties A Comparison – Mair & Toygur**

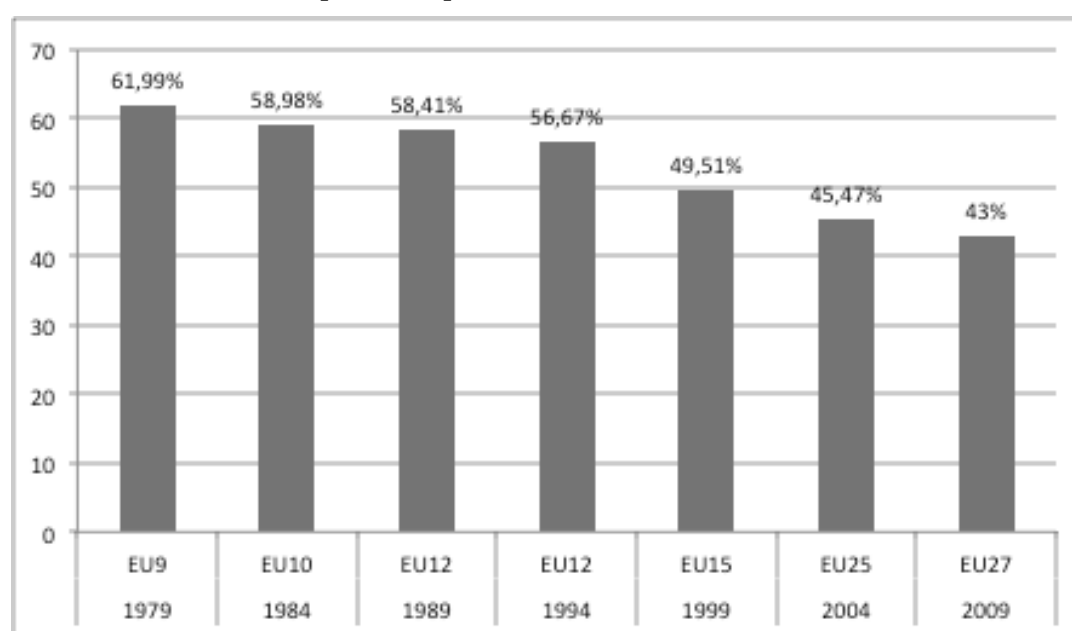


*Source:* Author's self evaluation

## A Short Analysis of the Impact of the European Arena in the Times of Economic Crisis

It is beneficial to underline that the direct elections to the European Parliament, starting from 1979, is an important cornerstone of direct representation in the EU. It opened a whole new arena for electoral representation and created another incentive for political parties. However, there has always been a problem, which even got deeper throughout years. The turnout in the EP elections has been low, also with a downward trend. Many scholars are still trying to explain the reasons behind this phenomenon ((Franklin 2001), (Flickinger and Studlar 2007), (van der Eijk and van Egmond 2007), among many others). Graph 3 below shows the turnout rate at the European Parliament elections.

**Graph 3: European Parliament Elections' Turnout**



*Source:* Author's Self Evaluation from the European Parliament Database

There have been seven elections (8<sup>th</sup> will be held in 2014). The participation rate has been showing a downward trend since then. For this reason, it is important to link national political parties and Europe. In the end, with the current system, they are the ones running for the EP elections and becoming parliamentary groups in Brussels.



As we also mentioned before this paper claims that the EP elections are becoming less second – order. As mentioned by Reif and Schmitt (Reif and Schmitt 1980), and also restated by Schmitt later (Schmitt 2005) the EP elections are tend to be second-order national elections since people vote with national concerns. Hix and Marsh are measuring what they call “European effects” in 25 EU States and conclude that the position a party takes on Europe is largely irrelevant to its performance (Hix and Marsh 2007). For proving the less-second-orderness argument we need further analysis and also the results of the forthcoming elections in 2014. However there is a certain idea that we want to claim even before. The effects of the decisions taken by the EU will be measured. In case the European citizens’ awareness on the importance of the EU increased lately, we will have the chance of observing certain changes on the second-order character of the EP elections.

The European Parliament elections in 2014 are the first elections that to be held under the Treaty. With the mentioned Treaty, the legislative power of the EU increased significantly. Today Europe has certain effects on daily lives of citizens of Europe. For this reasons the positions of the political groups in the EP, their votes and decisions have more importance. As the only elected institution of the EU, if the EP, political groups and MEPs don’t play their roles, and represent the citizens of Europe, there is a certain representation mismatch.

Mair claimed that without a European party system and an elected EU executive position, the spill over mechanism to national party systems would always be limited. In this case there are certain discussions on representative versus responsible government, also discussed by Mair himself (Mair 2009).

## **Conclusion**

This paper revisits the analyses of Peter Mair (2000) on the limited effect of Europe on national political parties and party systems. The same methodology and grouping of political parties have been used for possible comparisons. The Chapel Hill Expert Survey has been used for replicating Mair’s analysis. However, there was a certain time mismatch between the latest expert survey and the national elections that we can

observe the possible effects of the EU. For this reason, all the newly established political parties are recoded and situated into the existing groups, following the logic of the expert survey and the grouping done by Mair. All the new information has been provided in the paper.

The paper claims that Europe has way more impact on national politics, government agenda's and political parties in general. This is not only because of the economic crisis also thanks to further integration. There are certain countries that are further affected from European policies. The changes in their party systems deserve further attention.

Also the link between the national arena and the European arena deserves more focus. The forthcoming European Parliament elections, which will be the first elections held under the Lisbon Treaty, will play an important role. The analysis regarding the less-second-orderness of the European Parliament elections will make much more sense when we have further data. However this paper claims we have some evidence to claim the national elections are less-second-order.

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## APPENDIX

**Appendix Table 1: National Parliamentary Elections in the EU (2004 - 2013)**

	Country	Years									
		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
1	Austria					X					X
2	Belgium				X			X			
3	Bulgaria		X				X				X
4	Croatia				X				X		
5	Cyprus			X					X		
6	Czech Republic			X				X			X
7	Denmark		X		X				X		
8	Estonia				X				X		
9	Finland				X				X		
10	France				X					X	
11	Germany						X				X
12	Greece*				X		X			X	
13	Hungary			X				X			
14	Ireland				X				X		
15	Italy			X		X					X
16	Latvia			X				X	X		
17	Lithuania					X				X	
18	Luxembourg	X					X				X
19	Malta					X					X
20	Netherlands			X				X		X	
21	Poland		X		X				X		
22	Portugal		X				X		X		
23	Romania					X				X	
24	Slovakia			X				X		X	
25	Slovenia					X			X		
26	Spain					X			X		
27	Sweden			X				X			
28	United Kingdom		X					X			

*Source:* Author's Self Evaluation from European Election Database

\* Two elections took place in Greece in (May and June) 2012.