Aberystwyth University

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Farrell, David M.; Scully, Roger

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The European Parliament: One Parliament, Several Modes of Political Representation?

David M. Farrell   Roger Scully

School of Social Sciences   Department of International Politics

University of Manchester   University of Wales, Aberystwyth

Manchester M13 9PL   Ceredigion SY23 3FE.

David.Farrell@manchester.ac.uk   rgs@aber.ac.uk

The European Parliament: One Parliament, Several Modes of Political Representation?

Europe has possessed an elected, representative institution for almost thirty years. There are several reasons why this can be considered important. For some, the existence of the European Parliament (EP) has been a powerful symbol of a continent turning away from its past divisions and conflicts.[1] For many others, the EP is also of practical interest, as a fascinating – if far from wholly successful – experiment in multi-national representative politics. For a significant number of scholars, however, the EP is important at least in part because it offers a fascinating research site for the investigation of important issues in the study of political representation. This is certainly the case for those concerned with understanding how electoral institutions shape political representation. For this burgeoning, though still in some important respects under-developed field of research, Europe's elected parliament presents the opportunity to craft powerful research designs incorporating an unusual, indeed probably unique, degree of controlled comparison: between members of the same political institution chosen under a range of very different electoral arrangements.

This is the starting point for our paper, which seeks to exploit the potential of the EP to help us understand more about how the institution's individuals are elected shapes the way in which they interpret and carry out their role as representatives. We do so by drawing on data gathered in a 2006 survey of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs). The paper follows the following format. First, we discuss the dependent variable in our analysis, political representation, and explain our particular

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[1]   In his acceptance speech for winning the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize, the Northern Irish politician John Hume observed that:

> On my first visit to Strasbourg in 1979 as a Member of the European Parliament, I went for a walk across the bridge from Strasbourg to Kehl. Strasbourg is in France. Kehl is in Germany. They are very close. I stopped in the middle of the bridge and I meditated… If I had stood on this bridge 30 years before at the end of the Second World War when 25 million people lay dead across our continent and if I had said: 'Don't worry. In 30 years time we will all be together in a new Europe, our conflicts and wars will be ended and we will be working together in our common parliament', I would have been sent to a psychiatrist. But it has happened, and it is now clear that the European Union is the best example in the history of the world of conflict resolution (Oslo, 10th December 1998).

focus on the attitudes and behaviour of those elected towards the representation of a 'constituency'. Second, we then discuss how electoral systems might be categorised in relation to their possible impact on representatives' attitudes and behaviours. We then elaborate a classification of the electoral systems used for EP elections. Finally, we examine some of the evidence available on the extent to which the variation in these systems is linked to differences in what representatives think and what they do.

Representation and representatives

Representation is one of the most central, fundamental, and important of political concepts. It is not, however, one of the simplest. Indeed, given that to represent, or to 're-present' means to make present (in some sense) that which is (in some other, perhaps more literal sense) not present, one could well say that to speak of representation is to enter the realm of the paradoxical. At the very least, the implication of some of the most outstanding scholarly studies of the concept has been to affirm its complexity (for examples, see Mainsbridge 2003; Pitkin 1967, 1969). Representation can legitimately be conceptualised in a range of different ways and studied from a number of alternative angles; practices of representation can reasonably be evaluated according to varying criteria.

This paper does not attempt to resolve, or even to discuss, many of the issues that animate much of the broader literature on representation. We set our parameters much more narrowly. We are concerned here with the role that electoral institutions may play in shaping some important aspects of political representation. The following section will outline our understanding of electoral systems, and how the differences in them may most effectively be categorised. First, however, we wish to define the dependent variable of our analysis. What is it about political representation that we are concerned with investigating?

The defining feature of representative democracy, as a genus of political system, is that the votes of (much of) the populace determine the membership of key political institutions. Such institutions can include those held by single individuals – typically an elected Presidency – as well as the multi-member representative parliaments that are a ubiquitous part of representative democracies. A necessary feature of such democracies is their electoral systems, or the means by which votes

are translated into seats in the process of electing politicians into office. These systems shape representation by influencing the numbers of seats won by various parties.

But political representation is about far more than just the partisan balance of a legislature. And electoral systems affect the representative process not only via their direct impact on the partisan outcome of elections. Previous research has shown that electoral systems not only affect which parties are represented, and in what proportions, but also *whom* is elected on behalf of these parties.[2] The basic rule is that more proportional voting systems generate parliaments that are more descriptively representative of a society: as well as being more closely aligned to the partisan preferences of the people, these parliaments are more similar in terms of objective social characteristics, and also in relation to measurable political attitudes (e.g. Huber and Powell 1994; Lijphart 1999; Powell 2000). The relationship is not an inevitable one: it is certainly *possible* to have non-proportional electoral systems that produce a legislature scoring highly on descriptive representation, while the use of an electoral system that guarantees a high degree of partisan proportionality does not necessitate that women and minorities will be present in the parliament. Nonetheless, the relationship is an empirically strong and consistent one. In return, however, non-proportional systems have been argued to have other merits: producing strong and stable one-party governments (and thus, it is often suggested, leading to better policy-making); and making it more difficult for extreme parties to win political representation. The provenance of some of these latter claims can be disputed. While PR systems do produce somewhat greater government instability on average they appear, if anything, associated with somewhat *better* policy outcomes (Lijphart 1999; Powell 2000). And some important recent work refutes the widely assumed link between PR and the electoral success of extreme right-wing parties (Carter 2005; although see Norris 2005).

But it has long been accepted that representation is about more than simply a 'match' between people and politicians (or the policies that politicians pursue); it is an

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[2]   It is worth noting in passing that the issue of whom is elected can also involve questions over whether the 'correct' candidate (the Condorcet winner) is actually the one elected (e.g. Saari 2001).

on-going, dynamic process (Pitkin 1967). And to understand important aspects of this process, we need to move from a macro perspective on institutions and aggregate outcomes towards a more micro-level analysis of individuals. We need to consider how those elected interpret and seek to carry out their role as representatives. Much work in this vein has explored the policy responsiveness of individual representatives: the extent to which they view their role as being to act as 'delegates', in place to loyally represent the (perceived) views of the represented, or as 'trustees' with a mandate to pursue their own vision of the best interests of those whom they represent – even to the extent of directly opposing the immediate views of the majority of such people (e.g. Wahlke et al 1962). And an increasing body of comparative work, following the lead of Fenno's (1978) study of U.S. Congressional 'Home Styles', and David Mayhew's (1974) ideas on the 'electoral connection', has investigated whether electoral systems that appear to create electoral incentives for representatives to try to garner a 'personal vote' within a particular geographical constituency will indeed prompt behaviour consistent with those incentives (Ames 1995; Bowler and Farrell 1993; Cox 1990; Shugart 2001). Nonetheless, the evidence for this is limited in scope and fragmentary in nature. The weakness of work in this area is attributable in large part to problems of research design. In most single-country studies, the electoral system is a constant, not a variable. And comparative studies usually have great difficulties distinguishing electoral system effects from other institutional influences (such as how the organization of particular parliaments shapes representatives' attitudes and behaviour) and from broader cultural differences in how the representative relationship is defined. Moreover, in the relatively few cases where a major electoral reform has been experienced (such as New Zealand in the 1990s), such changes have accompanied – and often been prompted by – a broader transformation of politics and political culture (Boston et al. 1999). As a result, little established knowledge exists about how electoral systems shape the manner in which elected representatives define and carry out this important part of their role.

However, the ability of the EP to provide for the study of representatives within the same institution, but chosen under different electoral systems, provides the opportunity for an important advance in our understanding. This paper will therefore examine the attitudes and behaviours of MEPs with regard to the geographic area that they represent, and the individuals within it. It is common to refer to this feature of

representation as 'constituency representation'. Given the fact that, apart from those cases such as Ireland that have adopted small regional 'constituencies' most EU member states have opted for national lists, it would be misleading to apply this term here. Instead, we prefer to refer to this as geographical representation (or representation of individual voters on the ground), as opposed to thematic or functional representation (which tends, on the whole, to privilege organised interests). What would constitute evidence of a strong degree of geographical or constituency focus among MEPs?

Once they have been elected MEPs can decide to give time to any of an almost infinite number of activities. But an MEP with a high degree of constituency focus should be expected, *ceteris paribus*, to spend significant amounts of time on political work in their domestic base, rather than concentrating solely or mainly on work inside the EP. We should also expect such MEPs to maintain an active political base (such as a well-resourced office) in their constituency/region; and to be in frequent contact with ordinary, individual citizens (in addition to the many organised groups and political actors that all MEPs will frequently interact with). Tables 1 to 3, respectively, display aggregate information from the 2006 MEP survey on the extent to which MEPs do, in fact, report spending substantial time on domestic political work, maintain a full-time office of their own within their constituency and other forms of voter contact, and are frequently in contact with ordinary citizens (with additional information, for the purposes of comparison, on the frequency of MEPs' contact with other individuals and groups). The task now is to consider whether electoral-institutional factors might help explain variance among MEPs on these measures.

[Tables 1 – 3 about here]

Electoral systems and representative behaviour

Whereas study of the proportional consequences of electoral systems tends to lead to a concentration on the district magnitude and electoral formula characteristics of electoral systems, a shift of focus to the behavioural consequences of electoral systems requires us to pay attention to other features of electoral system design. The factors that previous scholars have drawn attention to in this regard are *ballot*

structure and, to a somewhat lesser extent, a particular aspect of *district magnitude* that is distinct from the aspects of M relevant to assessing proportionality. Taken together, these factors have been hypothesized to influence the behaviour (the 'style') of elected representatives. We deal with each of these characteristics in turn.

From Douglas Rae (1967) onwards, scholars studying electoral systems have distinguished between categorical and ordinal ballot structures. The former allow for only a single, undifferentiated vote for either a party or candidate; the latter allows voters – to varying degrees – to influence which actual candidates get elected. This distinction is a logical way of separating different types of ballot structures, and – despite Rae's own misgivings – has been shown to be a useful variable for explaining variation in the systemic proportionality of voting systems (Lijphart 1994a). However, the categorical/ordinal distinction is insufficiently nuanced to delineate the full range of variation in ballot structures. For instance, it lumps single member plurality (SMP) systems together with closed list systems: yet these two systems differ not only with regard to district magnitude, but also in terms of the apparent incentives they impose on representative behaviour (Katz 1980). Research suggests that representatives working under SMP systems are much more likely than those under closed list systems to feel the need to nurse a personal vote (e.g. Bowler and Farrell 1993); equally, voters under SMP systems are more likely to pay attention to the work of individual MPs. The categorical/ordinal distinction also treats those systems where voters vote for closed party lists as equivalent to systems where voters can vote only for one candidate from a party list. Both of these systems involve a categorical choice, but in the latter case there is a motivation for candidates to chase personal votes in the hope of leapfrogging over those candidates higher in the list and thus secure a seat (as, for instance, an adult movie star did so colourfully in the early 1980s in Italy).

In addition to the categorical/ordinal distinction, another means of differentiating among types of ballot structure is whether the voting act is *candidate*-based or *party*-based (Bowler and Farrell 1993). This relates to a key feature of electoral system variation, the extent to which the fate of individual candidates is determined by personal votes, or as Carey and Shugart put it (1995: 419), 'the degree to which electoral systems reward politicians' personal reputations'. Adding this additional dimension, one can produce a two-by-two typology of electoral systems based on electoral structure characteristics, which is summarized in Figure 1. The

heavy grey arrow indicates the flow from 'closed' to 'open' electoral systems relating to the nature of the ballot structure design. As the system becomes more open, greater emphasis is placed on individual politicians, who in turn, it can be hypothesised, place greater emphasis on the representation of individual constituents and on personal vote chasing.

[Figure 1 about here]

But in addition to developing this more refined understanding of ballot structure, an adequate understanding of the possible influence of electoral system design on representative behaviour must also take into account the size of the region that is being represented. District magnitude, understood in this sense, has if anything featured even more prominently in previous research than has ballot structure (e.g. Cox 1997; Wessels 1999), and close analysis of representative roles has found evidence of significant differences based on size of region characteristics (Bowler and Farrell 1993; Cowley and Lochore 2000; Lancaster and Patterson 1990; Lundberg 2002).

There is a peculiarity of the electoral system used for electing Italian MEPs that is relevant here. This relates to a disjuncture between the size of the district in terms of calculating the distribution of seats to parties (i.e. the 'district magnitude', or M) and the size of the district that the Italian MEPs are actually elected to (we shall refer to this as the 'locus of representation', or LoR). The standard measure of M is based on the level at which seats are allocated to the parties. In elections to Ireland's national parliament, for example, seats are allocated to the parties in a given multi-member constituency based on their votes in that constituency, and therefore the average M for, say, Ireland as a whole is based on the range across the various constituencies. By contrast, in Israel's national elections, seat allocations are based on the parties' national votes, and so there is just one M (= 120) for the entire country. In Italy's European Parliament elections, however, this picture is somewhat complicated by the fact that while seats are allocated nationally (M = 87), the national vote proportions are based on aggregate party votes from each of Italy's five regions (producing an average LoR of 17.4); and the seats are allocated to the parties' candidates based on their rankings on the regional list and (crucially for our discussion) the personal votes received by the candidates in the region. So, while it is correct to talk of M=87 for the purposes of analysing aggregate proportionality in

Italian European Parliament elections, in this specific case it would not be correct to use M as the basis for examining the effects of electoral system design on styles of parliamentary representation.

To date, only limited systematic research has examined the impact of electoral systems on representative behaviour. Our established knowledge of constituency representation comes largely from research, mainly conducted in the US and British contexts, where electoral systems have been a constant, not a variable, factor. Much derives from the work of Richard Fenno (1978) on representatives' 'home styles'. Constituency representation, for Fenno, was not only something that representatives put a great deal of time and effort into; the manner and forms of that representation could tell scholars much about how representatives perceived their constituency and understood the representative relationship:

> [W]e cannot know all we need to know about House members in Washington unless we move out beyond the capitol city into the country and into its congressional districts. Washington and home are different milieus… But they are not unconnected worlds. The theory and practice of a representative form of government links them one to the other. Though a congressman be immersed in one, he remains mindful of the other (Fenno 1978: 214).

Although clearly aware of possible links between 'home-styles' and representatives' behaviour in the chamber, Fenno placed greater emphasis on the electoral implications of constituency representation (see also Kuklinksi 1979). The 'electoral connection' angle on constituency representation was further developed by Cain et al. (1987). An important part of the stimulus for constituency service behaviour, they suggested, was the electoral benefits accruing to representatives in terms of a 'personal vote'. British MPs and US Congressmen, operating under a single member plurality (SMP) system, appeared to be motivated in their constituency service activities to a high degree by strategic-electoral considerations of vote-maximization. By making oneself known in a district, and particularly known as someone who worked hard for the interests of the district, both US representatives and, it was suggested, (although to a rather lesser degree) British MPs, could enhance their electoral prospects.

The implication was that under different electoral rules, different behaviour would follow from representatives, with constituency representation likely to be downgraded or to at least take different forms: 'a polity's electoral process, its policy processes, and the finer details of its institutional structure are bound together. If one changes the others adjust accordingly' (Cain et al. 1987: 9). Consistent with this perspective, Bowler and Farrell's (1993) study of MEPs argued that party list systems impose a need for those seeking re-election to orient their activities around the needs of a party leadership, and less of an incentive for non-partisan constituency service activities: 'it is relatively easier for legislators to shirk in satisfying voter demands under some electoral systems than others' (1993: 53). However, a cross-national collaborative research project in the 1980s reached the rather contrary conclusion that 'electoral systems are *not* fundamental in determining parliamentarian/constituency relationships…electoral systems are, perhaps, rather more passive elements…than either supporters or opponents of electoral reform tend to believe' (Bogdanor 1985: 299).

In addition to a considerable body of literature exploring constituency representation further in the US context,[3] other work conducted in the UK has reinforced the finding that constituency representation is increasingly central to the role of British MPs (e.g., Norton and Wood 1993). Some doubt has, however, been cast on the degree to which this behaviour is motivated primarily by vote-winning considerations (Searing 1994), leading some scholars to term the growing constituency-related activity of most UK MPs 'the puzzle of constituency service' (Norris 1997). Indeed, the puzzle grows given the limited awareness of most MPs by their constituents (Crewe 1985; Weir and Beetham 1999: 70), while the work of Gaines (1998) has produced little support for the idea that growing levels of constituency service activity by MPs has led to an increased 'incumbency advantage'. Other work conducted in Ireland, however, has found high levels of constituency activity by representatives, and a possible link to the candidate-centred electoral system operating there (Farrell 1985; Wood and Young 1997; though see Gallagher 1987),[4] while research in Australia, Canada and Germany has also found some

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[3]   For a useful overview, see Smith (2003).

[4]   See also Chan (1988) on Korea and Hazan on Israel (1999).

suggestive evidence of the 'personal vote' phenomenon (Bean 1990; Ferejohn and Gaines 1991; Lancaster and Patterson 1990).[5]

Finally, a very limited body of work has examined constituency representation in the context of the EP. Bowler and Farrell (1993) used evidence from a mail survey of MEPs that indicated a strong empirical relationship between the electoral systems used in EU member states and aspects of MEPs' constituency service behaviour. Where voting is linked to individual candidates rather than parties, such as in Britain with SMP (at the time of that survey) and Ireland with single transferable vote (STV), representatives placed greater emphasis on developing contacts with individual voters via constituency case-work, personal appearances, or maintaining a constituency office. Those elected under PR-list concentrated more on building links with their party machinery and with large-scale organized interests. However, this work was limited in that only a small range of behaviours was examined, not much attention was paid to individual-level variance, and (as acknowledged by the authors) they had little ability to control for factors like political culture (see below) that might offer alternative explanations of apparent electoral systems' effects. Indeed, more recent evidence from the 1994 European Elections Study has led Katz to support the view that cultural factors are rather more important than strategic-electoral considerations promoted directly by an electoral system. Katz therefore concludes that the stronger constituency emphasis among British MEPs compared to MEPs from other member states has little to do with electoral systems effects, but rather 'is suggestive of a cultural effect' (1997a: 218; also Katz 1999). He therefore warns against predicting that electoral reform will generate a mechanistic response from representatives: '"political culture" plays an important part in determining the political consequences of electoral systems; the same institutions may be associated with quite different outcomes if the actors pursue a different mix of objectives' (1999a: 16).

To summarize, we now have considerable knowledge about constituency service activity by representatives. However, scholars remain some way from achieving consensus on the factors that shape legislators' understanding of their representative role and that promote greater levels and different forms of constituency

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5   Bean's evidence in favour of a personal vote in Australia is somewhat contradicted by the findings of Studlar and McAllister (1996) who find that local constituency service activity is actually negatively correlated with voting support for members of the House of Representatives.

service effort from elected representatives. At least three alternative sources of variance are clearly identifiable in extant work in this area:

- *Individual-level*: individual differences in interpretation of the role of representative (e.g. Searing 1994), or in actual or perceived electoral vulnerability (Fenno 1978),[6] are one likely source of variation in the quantity and form of constituency representation.

- *Electoral System*: Broad differences following the strategic-electoral incentives created by an electoral system are a second likely source of variance identified (Cain et al. 1987; Bowler and Farrell 1993).

- *Cultural*: General cultural differences across country or region in the expectations and demands placed upon elected representatives are a third source of variance identified (Katz 1997, 1999).

Unfortunately, while previous work has been able to identify these different factors as plausible explanations of variation in constituency service activity, there has been little progress made in understanding when and to what extent each is important. This failure on the part of previous work has largely *not* been a function of sloppy or incomplete analysis of available data. Rather, the problem has usually been the more fundamental (and intractable) one of limitations in research design. For instance, while research in a single political system (e.g. Fenno 1978; Searing 1994; Norris 1997) and even some comparative analysis (notably Cain et al. 1987) has been able to examine individual sources of variance in behaviour – such as electoral vulnerability, role choices, and so on – such work, however, is generally unable to explore strategic-electoral or cultural influences, because such factors are largely if not wholly constant. Needless to say, cross-national work does open up the possibility of being able to explore cultural and electoral systems variables. However, several factors have often been at play in limiting the conclusions drawn from cross-national comparisons: (a) cross-national work that compared members of different political institutions might be ignoring a further important source of variance – behavioural

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6   Fenno observes of members of Congress that 'their perception of a reelection constituency is fraught with *uncertainty*… House members see electoral uncertainty where outsiders would fail to unearth a single objective indicator of it' (1978: 10-11. Emphasis added).

imperatives in some way imposed upon representatives by the institution itself;[7] (b) much cross-national work (Bowler and Farrell 1993; Katz 1997a), in concentrating on the broader comparative perspective, has ended up paying only limited attention to individual differences; and (c) a fundamental problem has often existed in attempting to disentangle electoral-system effects from cultural ones. Often, the two may appear largely coterminous in particular cases, particularly as in the long run an electoral system plausibly shapes the broader political culture of a country.

Thus, despite the accumulation of work in this area, some key questions remain essentially unanswered. Is the constituency service phenomenon inherently bound-up in a broader political culture that defines the representative relationship in particular ways, or is such behaviour by politicians primarily driven by individual strategic considerations of maximising their own electoral prospects by seeking a 'personal vote'? How, then, might the behaviour of representatives vary across different electoral systems and political cultures? And how does their broader interpretation of the representative role differ in response to such factors? These are questions that this paper explores within the context of the EP. Before we begin to do so, however, we must first explain how and why the EP provides a particularly appropriate research site for investigating these questions, despite it ostensibly being elected under 'uniform' electoral procedures.

The 2002 Legislation and the Notion of Electoral System 'Uniformity'

After a long, rather tortuous process of negotiation, in 2002 the EU finally managed to pass legislation establishing Uniform Electoral Procedures (UEPs) for elections to the European Parliament. By these were 'uniform' to a degree. More accurately they can be described as a set of parameters guiding national legislation on the design of electoral systems for the EP – parameters so general that they required

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[7]   As Bowler and Farrell observe, 'while legislators face electorally-imposed incentives, it is also the case that they face incentives imposed by the chambers in which they work…it is all too easy – especially when comparing across different nations – to forget factors which affect the behaviour of parliamentarians that are more related to the legislature in which they work' (1993: 48-49).

no reform of existing EP electoral systems. The main provisions of the 2002 legislation can be summarized quite clearly and simply:[8]

- That EP elections shall be held under a proportional representation electoral system, using either a list system or the single transferable vote (STV);

- That there is scope for member states to adopt some form of preferential voting, but this is not a requirement;

- That member states shall be free to establish regional lists, providing that these do not affect the proportional nature of the voting system;

- That a legal minimum threshold for representation of parties may be set, though it should not exceed 5 percent;

- That subject to the provisions of the Act, there is scope for national legislation to take account of the specific situation of a member state, but this cannot affect the proportional nature of the electoral system.

The legislation on UEPs, coming after many years of failed attempts, was undoubtedly significant in embedding a common set of principles by which all representatives would be elected to the EU's democratic chamber. Nonetheless, the fact remains that the legislation encompasses considerable scope for member states to operate electoral systems that are far from identical. This scope was to a substantial extent utilised in June 2004 (Table 4). Examining the electoral arrangements deployed in the 25 member states (the Table comprises 26 cases, because of the internal differentiation in the UK between mainland Britain and Northern Ireland) we can detail differences across the systems according to three main features of electoral systems: the electoral formula, district magnitude and ballot structure.

[Table 4 about here]

In terms of *electoral formula*, two levels of difference can be observed. There is the obvious distinction between STV and list systems. But within the list systems we see a mixture of highest average (d'Hondt, Saine Laguë, modified Sainte Laguë), and

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[8]   The following summary is based on a note from the General Secretariat of the Council of the EU on February 22, 2002 (6151/02 PE 14 INST 21). This memo anticipated the subsequent Assent of the EP in June 2002.

largest remainder (Hare, Droop) formulas. It is well established in the voluminous electoral systems literature (see summary in Farrell 2001: 156) that the choice of electoral formula can have important implications for the overall proportionality of the electoral system; in this regard, it is interesting to note how a plurality of member states (12 in all) have opted for the least proportional formula available, namely d'Hondt.

As far as *district magnitude* is concerned, variation is less than in the past: since Britain's shift to list PR in 1999, no state operates a single member constituency-based system. The most pertinent distinction now in types of electoral system is that between regional and national systems. The 2002 UEP legislation refers to the possibility that member states might consider regionalizing their representation in the EP (i.e. through the use of regional list systems or STV).[9] As we saw, this was stated more prescriptively in earlier drafts of the legislation – *requiring* larger states (those with more than 20 million citizens) to move in this direction, a provision that would have necessitated changes on the part of larger member states. But these proposals were watered down, in anticipation of likely national resistance; in 2004 France was the sole pre-accession member state to voluntarily 'regionalise' its system.

As with electoral formulas, current district magnitudes vary substantially – something that can be seen with reference to both the direct measure of magnitude (M) and the measure of effective threshold (T_{eff}; essentially the mirror image of M). The latter measure is included as it is intuitively easier to interpret, and it also facilitates easy comparison with legal thresholds wherever these are applied. The variations in T_{eff} follow from three factors:

- In part, they result from the small number of MEPs elected in some places (notably Luxembourg and Northern Ireland whose T_{eff}s of 10.7 and 18.7 respectively are very much on the high [i.e., disproportional] side);

- They also result from some member states electing MEPs in geographical regions (resulting in higher than average T_{eff}s in Britain, and Ireland);[10]

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9   See the note from the General Secretariat of the Council of the EU on February 22, 2002 (6151/02 PE 14 INST 21).

10   Note that France, which changed from national to regional list in 2004, adopted a 5 percent legal threshold (at regional level) at the same time, which ironically was lower than the T_{eff} (of 6.9) that would have been required for parties to win seats. Had

- Finally, they are also affected by the use of legal thresholds in 14 cases (Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, and Sweden), although bizarrely in six of these cases the legal threshold is actually set lower than the T_{eff} (Belgium, France, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, and most dramatically of all, Cyprus).

Apart from the mechanical effects of electoral systems on who is elected to parliament, there are also potentially important consequences of electoral systems for how representatives operate once elected – the principal focus of this paper. The third of our major electoral system features – *ballot structure* – could be expected to have an impact in both respects. Ballot structure is referred to in the new legislation, which states that member states 'may authorise' preferential voting. In earlier legislative drafts, the case was put more strongly in favour of requiring member states to move in this direction, but this was soon watered down once it was clear that most member states were not sympathetic.

[Figure 2 about here]

Following the ballot structure typology set out in Figure 1, Figure 2 plots the main areas of variation in ballot structure design in the 2004 EP elections, showing three main forms of variation: 'open', 'ordered' and 'closed'. The open systems – in which the candidates' electoral fates are affected by their personal vote-chasing activities – are used in nine cases, three of these recent EU entrants (Estonia, Malta and Lithuania[11]). At the other extreme, closed systems – in which candidates' electoral fates are determined by their party list placement – are used in eight member

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the proposal in the original draft of the EP legislation requiring larger member states to adopt regional lists been implemented, this would have required changes by all the larger member states, including Germany (which permits a regional balance on the party lists, through the use of combined Land lists, an option that tends to be used by the CDU and CSU). The interesting case here is Italy, whose electoral system incorporates a national list calculation for determining seat allocation with a 5-region system for locating the MEPs. In terms of measuring overall proportionality, therefore, the T_{eff} is a very low 0.9; however, this masks the fact that the MEPs are regionally anchored.

[11] Lithuanian parties are free to opt for either open or closed list design. With the exception of the Labour Party, all the other parties opted for open lists (information supplied by Ingrida Unikaite).

states. Finally, there are ordered list systems, in which there is some, limited scope for candidates to improve their list placement through personal votes. These are used in nine member states, five of which joined in the most recent accession (for more discussion on ballot structure design, see, inter alia, Shugart 2005).

In most cases the ordered list system takes account of party votes as well as personal votes, and therefore it is rare for a low-placed candidate to accumulate sufficient personal votes to move high enough up the rankings to get into a winnable position.[12] Denmark stands out in this regard, because under its electoral law, the parties are able to decide whether to use party votes to top up the personal votes of the candidates at the top of the list (as happens, for instance, in Belgium and the Netherlands), or to allocate seats to candidates according to the number of personal votes each receives (in essence, what happens in Finland).[13] In the past, the Danish Socialist People's Party tended to take the first option, but in recent elections it has fallen in line with all the other parties in opting for what is in essence the open list version (albeit one where the very act of parties putting up ordered lists still connotes an advantage for those candidates ranked higher on the ballot paper). Given its similarity with the Finnish system, we have located Denmark (and Estonia) in the cluster of 'open systems'. Similarly, since candidates' personal votes matter greatly in Irish, Maltese, Italian, Luxembourg and Lithuanian elections, we also include them on the 'open' cluster (see also Bardi 1987). Our working hypothesis is that we should expect to find significant differences in 'geographical representation' by MEPs depending on which of the three electoral system clusters they were elected under, with the relationship being broadly linear – from higher levels of such representation under open systems, through more modest levels under ordered systems, and lower still in closed systems.

The second important dimension for analysing potential electoral systems effects on representative roles is *District Magnitude* – the size of the area they are

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[12]   The proportions of personal votes that candidates need to leapfrog up the list and secure a seat vary from one case to the next. This is usually determined by straightforward percentile thresholds, such as: Australia, 7 percent; Czech Republic, 5 percent; Netherlands, 10 percent; and Sweden, 5 percent. In Belgium, however, the threshold amounts to a d'Hondt quota of the party vote.

[13]   Lithuania also allows its parties to opt for open or closed lists, and all bar the Labour party have opted for open lists.

representing. Any individual voter-orientation promoted by a more open ballot structure might be limited in the case of national list systems (which inevitably require a large district magnitude). For this reason, earlier studies have tended to place great stress on district magnitude; indeed, if anything this has featured even more prominently in previous research then has ballot structure (e.g. Cox 1997; Wessels 1999), and close analysis of representative roles has found evidence of significant differences based on district magnitude (M) or size of region characteristics (Bowler and Farrell 1993; Cowley and Lochore 2000; Lancaster and Patterson 1990; Lundberg 2002).

In their theoretical modelling of electoral system effects on incentives for politicians to cultivate a personal vote, Carey and Shugart propose a modification of the relationship between M and MPs' personal vote-chasing activities, based on the degree of openness of the ballot structure: their central idea is that a non-linear relationship is likely to operate, with a representative's 'personal reputation' being worth less and less as M rises in closed systems, but more and more in open systems (1995: 431). This suggests a lower emphasis on 'constituency service' activities in the closed/national list cases, but also implies the need for an interactive term in multivariate analysis that combines M with electoral system type. In the analysis that follows we therefore include variables for ballot structure (closed, ordered, open) and district magnitude (variations in M) separately and in combined interaction terms. But in order to provide an *additional* test of how these variables, operating in conjunction with each other, may interact with politicians' representative roles, we also take account of recent work by Shugart (Shugart 2001; Carey and Shugart 1995) to develop an index of 'intra-party efficiency'. This index takes account of ballot structure and district magnitude variations to categorize the EP's electoral systems in terms of a *single* measure. The index is based on three main characteristics that Shugart terms *Ballot*, *Vote* and *District*, in which higher scores across these components are indicative of a candidate-centred ordinal system and lower scores of a party-centred categorical system (see also Farrell and McAllister 2006: ch. 7).

The *Ballot* component measures the degree of party versus voter control over the ballot placement of candidates. This characteristic incorporates features of electoral system design as well as parties' candidate selection rules. The rationale here is that

the lower the extent of party control, the greater the potential incentive for candidates to develop personal reputation. The coding is as follows:

1   Ballot access dominated by parties, and voters may not disturb order of list;

2   Ballot access dominated by parties, but voters may disturb list;

3   Ballot access nearly unrestricted.

The *Vote* component distinguishes between systems that require voters to vote for party lists or candidates (a nominal vote). Following Farrell and McAllister (2006), our coding of this component differs from Shugart's with regard to where to locate single transferable vote and open list systems. Accordingly, our adapted *Vote* coding is as follows:

1   Vote for list only;

2   Vote is list or nominal, but list votes predominate;

3   Vote is nominal or list, but nominal votes predominate and pool to other candidates;

4   Vote is nominal only, but vote may pool or transfer to other candidates.

Finally, the *District* component takes account of the potential effect of district magnitude, and the likelihood that this can vary depending on the nature of the ballot structure. In systems where voters cast party-based votes, they find that the personal reputation of the candidate declines in significance as district magnitude rises, whereas in systems characterised by candidate-based (nominal) votes, as district magnitude rises and candidates face more inter- and intra-party competitors, the incentives for personal vote chasing increases. This characteristic is coded as follows:

1   District magnitude is greater than one, with Vote<3;

2   District magnitude is greater than one, with Vote>2, provided that Ballot>1.

Using this coding scheme, we categorise the 26 electoral systems for EP elections as shown in Table 5. We include this modified Shugart index, along with the other electoral system variables indicated above, in the multivariate analysis that follows.

[Table 5 about here]

As the discussion in this section has demonstrated, the provisions of the 2002 UEP legislation left significant scope for variation in the electoral systems used by EU member states for EP elections. Furthermore, across all three dimensions of electoral system discussed – electoral formula, district magnitude and ballot structure – substantial variation was indeed experienced.

Analysing Electoral System Effects on MEPs' Representative Behaviour

As indicated above, there are multiple observable implications of geographical representation among MEPs for which we have available survey evidence. We do not propose to try to isolate one or two of these observable implications as the most important and examine only them; rather, we have chosen to run a parallel series of explanatory multivariate models on numerous dependent variables, and to then examine the overall patterns emerging from these multiple indicators.

The electoral system-related variables included in the analysis are specified as follows. First, we include two sets of variables for ballot structure differences: (1) our dichotomous 'STV/list' measure (coded '1' for an MEP elected under STV, '0' otherwise); (2) our more nuanced ballot structure variable (based on Figure 2), which we have coded as two dummies: '1' for those elected under open and ordered systems, '0' otherwise, with MEPs elected under closed systems serving as the comparator category. Second, we include a variable for the average district magnitude for each our cases.[14] Third, to allow for the possibility that there is an important inter-relationship between ballot structure and district magnitude, we include two interaction terms, where our measure of M is combined with our main (nuanced) ballot structure variable. Fourth, we also specify a variable for our modified Shugart index, coded in the manner indicated previously. And finally, we include a dummy variable for MEPs from Britain – to capture the possibility that there might be a

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[14]   For all the analyses reported, we did also try running the models with the measure of district magnitude specified as the natural log of M, rather than M itself. However, this made no substantive difference to any of the important findings, and tended to lower the model fit. We have therefore reported the analyses conducted using M, rather than the logged form.

persisting culture of constituency representation here that is not present in many of the other member states operating closed electoral systems for EP elections.

For each dependent variable, we specify three versions of the multivariate model. The first includes only our basic measures of STV/list, ballot structure and district magnitude, plus the dummy variable for British MEPs. The second model includes all of these variables, plus our modified Shugart index. The final model omits the Shugart index but includes the interaction terms combining ballot structure with district magnitude. These models are specified for eight different dependent variables. Three of the dependent variables are concerned with campaigning activities: the amount of time an MEP reports having put into campaigning, and the amount of effort they placed on telephone and door-to-door canvassing. Two further dependent variables are concerned with MEPs' attitudes to the representation of individual constituents. The final three dependent variables concern their reported behaviours once in office: the amount of time that they spend on political work at home, and whether or not their have an individual office of their own, and whether or not they conduct personal consultation sessions for individual voters. OLS regression estimates for the explanatory models applied to these several dependent variables are reported in the multiple panels of Table 6.

[Table 6 about here]

The general expectations concerning relationships between our independent variables and the various dependent variables specified should by now be clear. If more open electoral systems do promote greater geographical representation and a more active effort by MEPs to project an individual presence, we should observe such patterns in the results presented in Table 6. Thus, we should expect MEPs from more open systems to campaign more vigorously in elections, and particularly to engage in those types of campaigning that connect then to individual voters. We should also expect them to accord greater importance to representing individual constituents, and to spend more time and effort on domestic political work and in upholding their regional presence. If such patterns do generally prevail, then their manifestation in our respective independent variables may be somewhat complex, due both to the close inter-relationships between some of our predictor variables (notably between that for our two main ballot structure variables) and because the specification of interaction terms can complicate the interpretation of the original 'main effects' variables (Black

1999: 488-513). But the broad understanding of the hypothesized relationship is apparent.

The various models for which results are presented show a generally modest 'fit': electoral system effects do not come anywhere close to wholly accounting for MEPs' attitudes and behaviour – nor would we have expected them to. Nonetheless, there are interesting and important results for some of our electoral system variables.

Panel A shows that the only variable having a consistent impact on the amount of election campaigning conducted is the national dummy for British MEPs – the sign of the coefficient indicating them to have campaigned harder than most of their counterparts from other member states – although the coefficients for ordered systems (both the main effects coefficient and the interaction) are also modestly significant in our third model. But we see, as suggested above, much stronger effects when we look at the type of election campaigning conducted. Efforts to connect with individual voters, via telephone and doorstep canvassing, are strongly predicted not only by the dummy variable for British MEPs, but also by the STV/list variable (with those elected under STV much more likely to engage in such activities), and by the more nuanced ballot structure variable and district magnitude once these latter two factors are specified together in an interaction term. More open electoral systems are associated with greater personal campaigning, in particular for MEPs representing larger regions.

Our two dependent variables on MEPs' attitudes towards representing their constituents produce rather inconsistent findings. The model for 'representing all people in the constituency/region' has a very poor model fit with only the British dummy variable emerging with a (weakly) significant coefficient. However, when we examine attitudes on the 'importance of representing citizens' individual interests' we find not only a strong positive coefficient for British MEPs, but also a similarly strong effect for the STV/list variable in our simple model, and a somewhat weaker effect for our general measure of 'open' systems in our fuller model, with those elected under STV/Open systems again according greater importance to this aspect of representation.

When we examine our final three dependent variables, which are all concerned with MEPs' representative behaviour, we find only modest model fits. Nonetheless,

on each occasion electoral system variables still emerge as significant predictors in all three cases. Our models for 'time spent on political work in an MEP's home country' produce positive and significant coefficients not only for the British dummy variable, but also in two of the three models for STV/list (again those elected under STV giving more time to domestic political work) and in our first, simple model for open and ordered electoral systems. Our model for whether an MEP maintains a full-time office again produces a positive coefficient for British MEPs, but also, in our simplest model, for STV/list and in our final model (once the interaction terms are included) for open and ordered systems: suggesting that MEPs from such systems are more likely to maintain offices, particularly in smaller district magnitudes. Our model for the 'conduct of consultations with individual voters' also produces a somewhat complex pattern of coefficients, but one indicating that such behaviour is engaged in most by MEPs from open (and ordered) systems, and particularly when they operate in smaller district magnitudes.

Overall, our findings do not suggest that electoral system-related factors are all-important for shaping the attitudes and behaviours of MEPs with regard to constituency representation. Electoral system factors do not, for instance, explain the persistence of the 'British effect' that we have observed in nearly all of our multivariate models. But there are electoral system effects, and they tend to be very much in the direction hypothesized. MEPs elected under more open electoral systems, and particularly STV, are more likely to engage in personal election campaigning, to accord importance to representing individual constituents, and to engage in post-election activities that maintain and build their presence among those voters who may shape their re-election prospects.

Conclusion

In this paper we have explored evidence as to whether electoral system-related factors shape geographical representation in the European Parliament. We began by considering the numerous possible observable implications of greater or lesser concern with this dimension of representation. We also spent some time assessing how electoral system differences might be specified for our empirical analysis. Finally, we conducted multivariate analyses which showed that, while the relationship

is not a particularly simple or wholly consistent one, there is a general empirical link between the systems under which MEPs are elected and their orientation towards constituency representation. More 'open' systems are associated with a greater constituency focus by elected representatives.

There remain some important factors that our analysis has not adequately explained. One of these is the persistent distinctiveness of British MEPs – elected under a closed list system, yet tending to accord a high priority to geographical representation. But as we show elsewhere in our wider study, even this has responded to the changed electoral arrangements introduced in the UK in 1999.

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Table 1: Time spent by MEPs in member states

Response	%
Most of my time each week	9.3
Some of my time each week	48.1
Limited time, mostly at weekend	33.2
Little or no time	2.8
Varies too much to say	6.5

N = 214

Note: The question asked was: 'How much time do you spend on political work in your home country rather than work at the European Parliament?'

Source: 2006 MEP Survey

Table 2: Forms of Voter Contact

Response	%
Access via a permanently staffed office of my own	86.0
Access via a permanently staffed office shared with other MEPs	8.4
Personal consultation sessions for individual voters	60.3

N = 214

Note: The question asked was: 'Which of the following forms of contact with individual voters do you have?'

Source: 2006 MEP Survey

Table 3: MEP Contacts with Organised Groups and Individuals (%)

	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least every three months	At least once a year	Less often/No contact	N
Ordinary citizens	73.1	21.7	3.8	0.9	0.5	212
Organised groups	52.1	42.2	12.8	1.9	0.9	211
Lobbyists	40.3	32.3	16.4	5.0	6.0	201
Journalists	55.5	38.8	4.8	0.5	0.5	209
National Party Members	57.0	36.2	4.3	0.5	2.0	207
National Party Executive	36.1	37.0	18.3	4.3	4.3	208
National MPs	23.8	48.1	20.0	3.3	4.8	210
National Ministers	9.5	31.4	30.5	14.8	13.8	210

Note: The question asked was: 'How frequently are you in contact with the following groups, people or institutions?'

Source: 2006 MEP Survey

Table 4: The European Parliament's Electoral Systems, 2004

	No. MEPs	Electoral formula	Ballot structure	No. of districts	Mean M	Eff thres $(T_{eff})^a$
Austria	18	d'Hondt	Ordered[b]; single vote	1	18	4.0 (3.9)
Belgium	24	d'Hondt	Ordered; multi-vote[c]	3	8.0	5.0 (8.3*)
Britain	75	d'Hondt	Closed; single vote	11	6.8	9.6*
Cyprus	6	Hare	Ordered; multi-vote	1	6	1.8 (10.7)
Czech Rep.	24	d'Hondt	Ordered; multi-vote	1	24	5.0 (3.0)
Denmark	14	d'Hondt	Open; single vote	1	14	5.0
Estonia	6	d'Hondt	Open; single vote	1	6	10.7
Finland	14	d'Hondt	Open; single vote	1	14	5.0
France	78	Hare/d'Hondt	Closed; single vote[c]	8	9.8	5.0*[d] (6.9)
Germany	99	Hare-Niemeyer	Closed; single vote	1 [e]	99	5.0 (0.7)
Greece	24	Largest remainder-Droop	Closed; single vote	1	24	3.0 (3.0)
Hungary	24	d'Hondt	Closed; single vote	1	24	5.0 (3.0)
Ireland	13	STV-Droop	Open; multi-vote	4	3.3	17.4*
Italy	78	Hare	Open; multi-vote[c]	1 [f]	78	0.9
Latvia	9	St. Laguë	Ordered; multi-vote	1	9	5.0 (7.5)
Lithuania	13	Hare	Open; multi-vote[g]	1	13	5.0 (5.3)
Luxembourg	6	d'Hondt	Open; multi vote	1	6	10.7
Malta	5	STV-Droop	Open; multi vote	1	5	12.5
Netherlands	27	Hare/d'Hondt	Ordered; single vote	1	27	2.6
N. Ireland	3	STV-Droop	Open; multi vote	1	3	18.7
Poland	54	d'Hondt[h]	Closed; single vote	1 [h]	54	5.0 (1.3)
Portugal	24	d'Hondt	Closed; single vote	1	24	3.0
Slovak Rep.	14	Largest remainder-Droop	Ordered; single vote	1	14	5.0 (5.0)
Slovenia	7	d'Hondt	Ordered; single vote	1	7	4.0 (9.3)
Spain	54	d'Hondt	Closed; single vote	1	54	1.3
Sweden	19	Modified St. Laguë	Ordered; single vote	1	19	4.0 (3.7)

Notes:

a   Effective Threshold: $T_{eff} = 75\%/(M + 1)$. Effectively a mirror image of M, the lower the T_{eff}, the more proportional the system. Because it is seen as an approximation, T_{eff} is recorded to just one decimal point (* indicates those cases where it is based on a national average). In those cases where there is a legal threshold – which is usually (the exceptions are underlined) greater than T_{eff} – the legal threshold is reported (and T_{eff} is provided, for the sake of record, in brackets).

b   In ordered list systems, the rules vary regarding the proportion of 'personal votes' a candidate requires in order to win a seat regardless of where s/he is ranked. Information is patchy, but the rules we are aware of are as follows: Austria, 7%; Belgium, d'Hondt quota of the party vote; Czech Republic 5%; Netherlands, 10%; Sweden 5%.

c   Multi-vote implies that voters can express a vote/preference for more than one candidate. Gender equality law applies requiring the parties to balance their lists.

d   5% in the region.

e   Parties can balance lists to ensure a fair regional representation. This option tends to be used by CDU and CSU.

f   In this table, Italy is treated as having one national constituency (mean M = 78) reflecting the fact that the seat allocation is based on national votes. However, for the purpose of examining MEPs' representative roles, it should be noted that Italy is divided into five regions (mean M = 15.6).

g   Parties can opt to have closed lists, an option used by the Labour Party. All other parties operated open lists.

h   Available sources are unclear, but it seems that the seats are allocated nationally using d'Hondt and are then filled within each of the 13 regions (using Hare-Niemeyer).

Source: Various. In particular: www.elections2004.eu.int; www.electionsineurope.org; www.MEPs.org.uk; http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/; Lodge (2005); Maier and Tenscher (2006);information supplied by Allan Sikk, Philip Stöver, Ingrida Unikaite, and Andreas Wüst.

Table 5: Scoring the European Parliament's Electoral Systems on the Intra-Party Dimension

Index	Component scores	Description of system	Cases	Number of Cases in 2006 MEP Survey
9	3, 4, 2	STV	Ireland, N. Ireland, Malta	7
8	2, 4, 2	Quasi-list	Finland	5
7	2, 3, 2	Open list, panachage	Denmark, Estonia, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg	56
5	2, 2, 1	Ordered list	Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Rep., Latvia, Netherlands, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden	74
3	1, 1, 1	Closed list	Britain, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Spain	201

Table 6: Regression Estimates (standard errors) for Eight Dependent Variables

Panel A: Time Spent on Campaigning in Final Weeks of 2004 EP Election Campaign

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
STV/list	.47 (.37)	.81 (.90)	.91 (.56)
Open System	.06 (.20)	.80 (1.81)	- .60 (.60)
Ordered System	- .24 (.19)	.13 (.89)	- .85 (.34)**
District Magnitude	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
British	.51 (.23)**	.51 (.23)**	.456 (.23)**
Modified Shugart Index		- .18 (.44)	
Open * M Interaction			.04 (.04)
Ordered * M Interaction			.04 (.02)**
(Constant)	4.47 (.18)	5.02 (1.32)	4.53 (.18)
Adjusted R^2 =	.04	.04	.06
N =	220	220	220

* < .10; ** < .05; *** < .01

Panel B: Effort Made on Telephone Canvassing in 2004 EP Election Campaign

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
STV/list	.356 (.42)	- .01 (.95)	1.45 (.61)**
Open System	.13 (.22)	- .65 (1.90)	-1.33 (.64)**
Ordered System	- .36 (.20)*	- .74 (.93)	- .48 (.37)
District Magnitude	- .01 (.00)**	- .01 (.00)**	- .01 (.00)***
British	.88 (.25)***	.88 (.25)***	.85 (.24)***
Modified Shugart Index		.19 (.46)	
Open * M Interaction			.10 (.04)**
Ordered * M Interaction			.01 (.02)
(Constant)	2.21 (.19)	1.64 (1.38)	2.25 (.19)
Adjusted R^2 =	.19	.19	.21
N =	210	210	210

* < .10; ** < .05; *** < .01

Panel C: Effort Made on Door-to-door Canvassing in 2004 EP Election Campaign

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
STV/list	1.58 (.42)***	4.40 (.98)***	2.54 (.63)***
Open System	- .54 (.23)**	5.67 (1.98)***	-1.86 (.67)***
Ordered System	- .98 (.21)***	2.03 (.98)**	-1.19 (.40)***
District Magnitude	- .01 (.00)***	- .01 (.00)***	- .01 (.00)***
British	.36 (.26)	.36 (.26)**	.33 (.26)
Modified Shugart Index		-1.51 (.48)***	
Open * M Interaction			.09 (.04)**
Ordered * M Interaction			.01 (.02)
(Constant)	3.00 (.20)	7.51 (1.45)	3.04 (.21)
Adjusted R^2 =	.23	.26	.24
N =	212	212	212

* < .10; ** < .05; *** < .01

Panel D: Importance Accorded to Representing All People in Constituency/Region

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
STV/list	.57 (.44)	.74 (1.00)	.11 (.65)
Open System	- .01 (.23)	.36 (2.00)	.62 (.68)
Ordered System	- .17 (.22)	.01 (.99)	- .16 (.38)
District Magnitude	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
British	.49 (.26)*	.49 (.26)*	.50 (.26)*
Modified Shugart Index		- .09 (.48)	
Open * M Interaction			- .04 (.04)
Ordered * M Interaction			.00 (.02)
(Constant)	4.26 (.20)	4.53 (1.46)	4.25 (.20)
Adjusted R^2 =	.02	.02	.02
N =	203	203	203

* < .10; ** < .05; *** < .01

Panel E: Importance of Representing Citizens' Individual Interests

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
STV/list	2.26 (.60)***	1.46 (1.27)	1.20 (.83)
Open System	.14 (.29)	-1.64 (2.50)	1.58 (.85)*
Ordered System	.21 (.26)	- .64 (1.23)	.22 (.47)
District Magnitude	.01 (.00)**	.01 (.00)**	.01 (.00)**
British	1.33 (.32)***	1.33 (.32)***	1.36 (.32)***
Modified Shugart Index		.43 (.60)	
Open * M Interaction			- .10 (.06)*
Ordered * M Interaction			.00 (.02)
(Constant)	2.57 (.25)	1.29 (1.82)	2.55 (.25)
Adjusted R^2 =	.12	.12	.13
N =	208	208	208

* < .10; ** < .05; *** < .01

Panel F: Time Spent on Political Work in Home Country

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
STV/list	.60 (.30)**	.57 (.75)	1.00 (.47)**
Open System	.23 (.16)	.17 (1.50)	- .31 (.50)
Ordered System	.29 (.15)*	.26 (.74)	.28 (.26)
District Magnitude	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
British	.30 (.18)*	.30 (.18)*	.29 (.18)
Modified Shugart Index		.02 (.37)	
Open * M Interaction			.04 (.00)
Ordered * M Interaction			.00 (.01)
(Constant)	2.50 (.14)	2.45 (1.09)	2.51 (.14)
Adjusted R^2 =	.04	.03	.04
N =	200	200	200

* < .10; ** < .05; *** < .01

Panel G: Does MEP Maintain Full-Time Office of Own?

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
STV/list	.36 (.20)*	- .25 (.48)	.13 (.29)
Open System	.08 (.09)	-1.23 (.94)	.38 (.29)
Ordered System	.15 (.08)*	- .49 (.47)	.26 (.15)*
District Magnitude	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
British	.28 (.10)***	.28 (.10)***	.29 (.10)***
Modified Shugart Index		.32 (.23)	
Open * M Interaction			- .02 (.02)
Ordered * M Interaction			- .01 (.01)
(Constant)	.42 (.07)	- .54 (.70)	.41 (.07)
Adjusted R^2 =	.02	.02	.02
N =	220	220	220

* < .10; ** < .05; *** < .01

Panel H: Does MEP Conduct Consultations with Individual Voters?

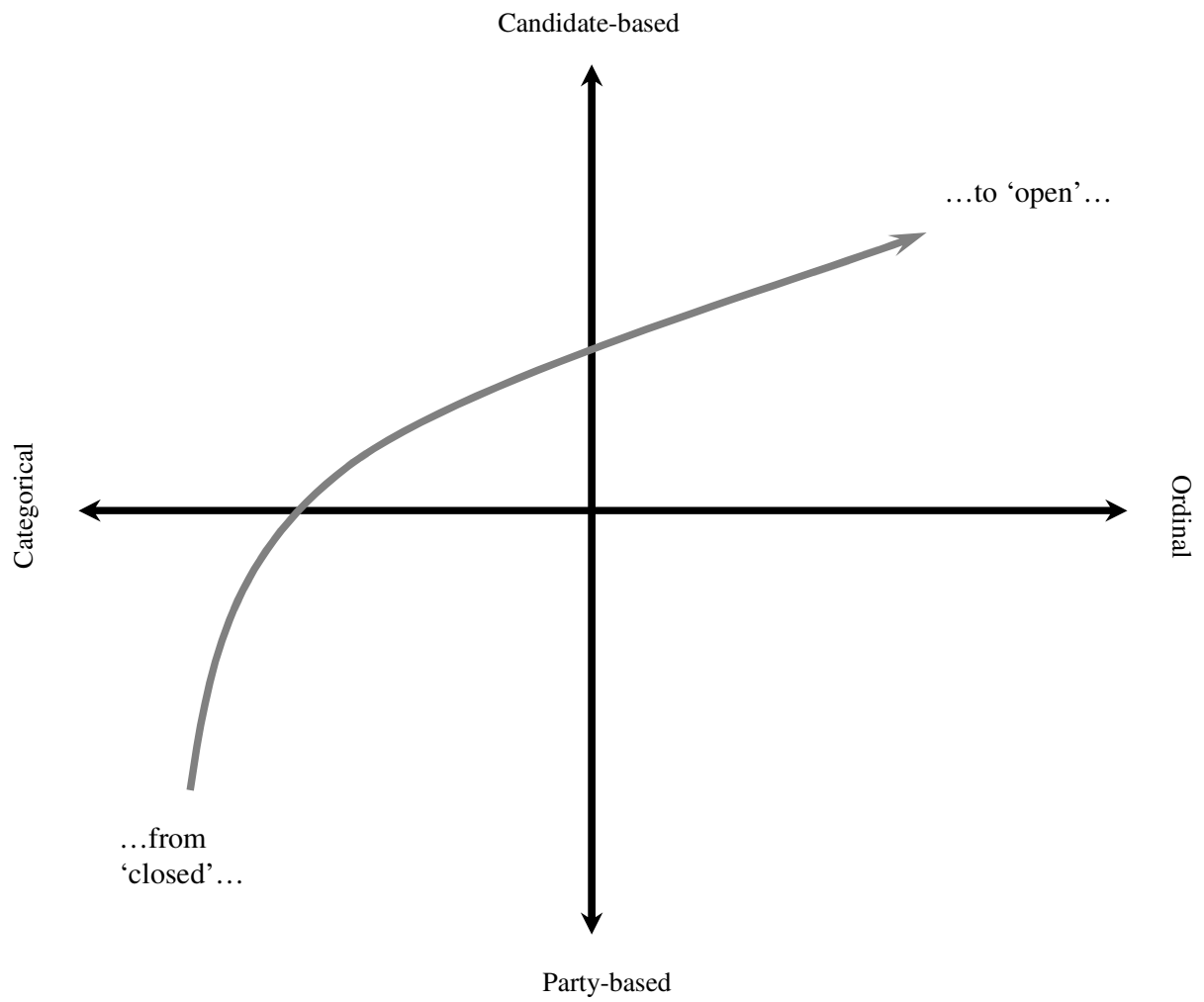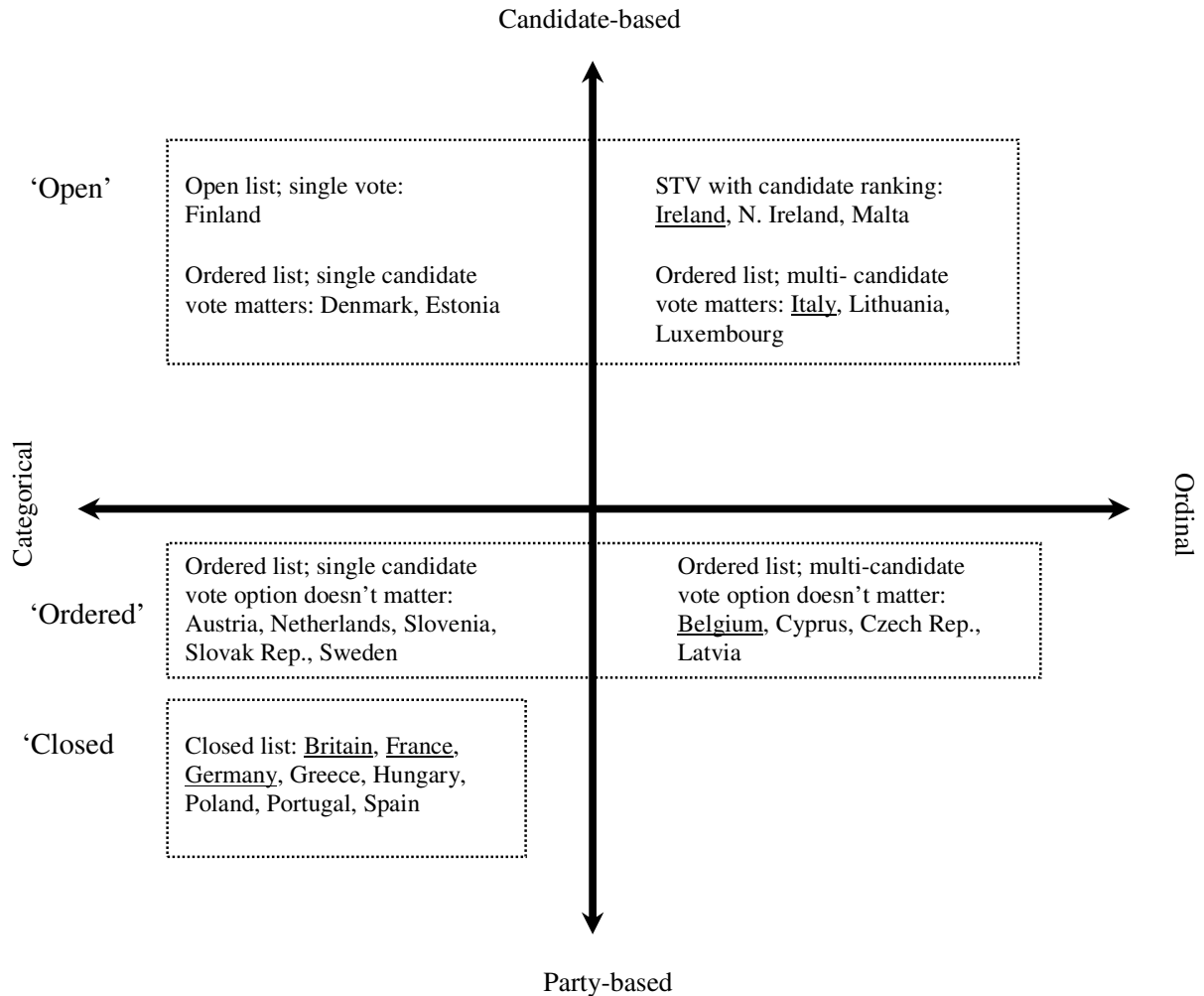| Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
STV/list	.24 (.19)	-1.13 (.47)**	- .14 (.28)
Open System	.06 (.08)	-2.87 (.92)***	.58 (.28)**
Ordered System	.16 (.08)*	-1.28 (.45)***	.34 (.15)**
District Magnitude	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.02 (.01)*
British	.11 (.10)	.11 (.09)	.13 (.10)
Modified Shugart Index		.72 (.22)***	
Open * M Interaction			- .03 (.02)*
Ordered * M Interaction			- .01 (.01)
(Constant)	.27 (.07)	-1.88 (.67)	.25 (.07)
Adjusted R^2 =	.00	.03	.01
N =	220	220	220

* < .10; ** < .05; *** < .01

Figure 1: Degrees of 'Openness' in Ballot Structure Design

Figure 2: Variations in the Ballot Structures used for European Parliament Elections in 2004

Candidate-based

'Open'

Open list; single vote: Finland

Ordered list; single candidate vote matters: Denmark, Estonia

STV with candidate ranking: Ireland, N. Ireland, Malta

Ordered list; multi- candidate vote matters: Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg

Categorical ——————————————— Ordinal

'Ordered'

Ordered list; single candidate vote option doesn't matter: Austria, Netherlands, Slovenia, Slovak Rep., Sweden

Ordered list; multi-candidate vote option doesn't matter: Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Rep., Latvia

'Closed

Closed list: Britain, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Spain

Party-based

Note:
Regional list cases are underlined, including Italy and Germany whose MEPs are regionally-anchored.

Sources:
As for Table 1.