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Appendices

Appendix A
European Election Study 1999 (used in Chapter 1, 3, and 4)

The data utilized in this publication were originally collected for the European Election Study Workgroup, consisting of Cees van der Eijk, Klaus Schoenbach, Hermann Schmitt, Holli Semetko, Wouter van der Brug, Michael Marsh, Mark Franklin, Sören Holmberg, Renato Mannheimer, Jacques Thomassen and Bernhard Wessels. Fieldwork took place immediately after the European Parliament Elections, between June 14 and July 8, 1999; it was carried out by a consortium of European survey organizations, co-ordinated by IPSOS (Hamburg, GFR). This study has been made possible by grants from the University of Amsterdam, the Dutch National Science Foundation (NWO, the Netherlands), The Bundespresseamt (Bonn, GFR), the CIS (Madrid, Spain), the University of Mannheim, the ISPO Institute (Milan, Italy) and Trinity College (Hartford. Conn., USA). Neither the original collectors of the data nor their sponsors bear any responsibility for the analyses or interpretations published here. The data are distributed by Steinmetz Archive, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and associated data-archives.

Detailed reports of fieldwork, coding and weighting, response rates, etc., can be obtained from http://www.europeanelectionstudies.net.

Response rates, in % of the net sample:

Finland 41.2; Sweden 31.0; Denmark 59.0; United Kingdom 49.0; Ireland 29.4; Germany 49.3; Austria 50.4; Netherlands 30.2; Belgium 37.0; Luxembourg 30.1; France 44.0; Portugal 44.5; Greece 28.0; Spain Not appropriate (quota study); Italy Not appropriate (Internet study).

Appendix B
Specification of variables used in the analyses of Chapter 1 and 4

Electoral participation EP elections 1999	"A lot of people abstained in the European Parliament elections on June 10 while others voted. Did you cast your vote?" Yes (1) No (0).
Age	Age at time of interview.
Attendance of religious services	"How often do you attend religious services: several times a week(5), once a week (4), a few times a year (3), once a year or less (2), or never (1)?"
Individual media exposure	A variable constructed from a series of separate observations regarding exposure to newspaper titles and TV news programmes. See Chapter 1, footnote 19.
Party attachment	"Do you consider yourself to be close to any political party?" very close (3), fairly close (2), merely a sympathiser (1), not at all (0).
Internal efficacy	"So many people vote in elections that my vote does not matter." (1) Strongly disagree; (2) disagree; (3) agree; (4) strongly agree.
EU good thing	"Generally speaking, do you think that <your country's > membership of the European Union is a good thing (1), a bad thing (0), or neither good nor bad (0)?" (Recoded into a dichotomy).
MPP	Contextual measure for the homogeneity of media use groups. See Appendix C.
Party preference	The following question was asked for each of the political parties in a country: "We have a number of parties in <name of your country> each of which would like to get your vote. How probable is it that you will ever vote for the following parties? Please specify your views on a 10-point-scale where 1 means "not at all probable" and 10 means "very probable"." (Follows separate item for each party).
TV news programme exposure	(Open question) "Which channels or television news programs do you watch regularly?" Coded per programme (0) no regular exposure; (1) regular exposure.
Newspaper exposure	(Open question) "Which newspaper or newspapers do you read regularly?" Coded per newspaper (0) no regular exposure; (1) regular exposure.
Compulsory voting	Compulsory voting law in effect? (1) Belgium and Luxembourg; (0) all other countries.
Concurrent national elections	(1) Belgium, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Spain; (0) all other countries.
Self-reported social class	"If you were asked to choose one of these five names for your social class, which would you say you belong to – the working class, the lower middle class, the middle class, the upper middle class or the upper class?"
Urbanization	"Would you say you live in a rural area or village, in a small or middle size town, or in a large town?"
Religion	"Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion?" (If yes:) Which one?
Membership of trade union	"Are you a member of a trade union?" Yes (1); No (0).

Political interest

For two items in the questionnaire relating to political interest, scaling has been used in order to ascertain whether or not these two items can be regarded as tapping a single, unidimensional latent trait. The two questions "To what extent would you say you are interested in politics? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, a little interested or not at all interested?" and "Thinking back to just before the elections for the European Parliament were held, how interested were you in the campaign for those elections: very, somewhat, a little, or not at all?" jointly indicate political interest.

The analyses for unidimensionality has been performed with a stochastic cumulative scaling model, known as Mokken-scaling[54]. The results are reported below in terms of difficulties (i.e. proportion of the sample providing a 'positive' response), and coefficients of scalability, H (in the case of a 2-item scale, as exists here, the item scalability coefficients and the coefficient for the entire scale are identical). In general, the following guidelines for interpreting scalability coefficients are used: H < 0.30: no scale;.30 < H <.40: weak scale;.40 < H <.50: medium scale;.50 < H: strong scale.

Political Interest Scale

Country	**Difficulty of interest politics** ('positive': codes 3, 4)	**Difficulty of interest campaign** ('positive': codes 3, 4)	**Scalability (H)**
Austria	.60	.42	.50
Belgium – Flanders	.27	.30	.69
Belgium – Wallonia	.39	.31	.58
Britain	.54	.30	.55
Denmark	.67	.52	.53
Finland	.50	.24	.54
France	.52	.27	.68
Germany	.70	.36	.52
Greece	.49	.22	.54
Ireland	.59	.40	.43
Italy	.30	.31	.41
Luxembourg	.59	.26	.62
Northern Ireland	.52	.20	.54
The Netherlands	.48	.42	.85
Portugal	.30	.31	.59
Spain	.31	.33	.46
Sweden	.75	.22	.54

54 See: Mokken, 1971; Niemöller & Van Schuur, 1983.

Appendix C
Example of the calculation of the MPP-variable (used in Chapters 1, 2, and 4)

The calculation of the MPP variable, as it is used in Chapters 1, 2, and 4, is explained below. For all countries it is constructed in an analogous fashion. The final scores of the calculations (for each country) indicate the size of MPP and are used in the subsequent analyses of explaining variation in electoral participation. Below the calculation is illustrated for Austria, 1999.

For each of the parties included in the party preference question (see Appendix B) a regression of the following kind was estimated:

$$Y_1 = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_5 + b_6X_6 + b_7X_7 + b_8X_8 + b_9X_9 + b_{10}X_{10} + b_{11}X_{11} + b_{12}X_{12} + e$$

where

Y1 = score on party preference scale for – in this case – the 'SPÖ' party (10-point scale);
X_1 = Regular readership of '*Kronen-Zeitung*' (dummy);
X_2 = Regular readership of '*Kleine Zeitung*' (dummy);
X_3 = Regular readership of '*Kurier*' (dummy);
X_4 = Regular readership of '*Der Standard*' (dummy);
X_5 = Regular readership of '*Die Presse*' (dummy);
X_6 = Regular readership of '*Täglich Alles*' (dummy);
X_7 = Regular readership of '*Salzburger Nachrichten*' (dummy);
X_8 = Regular readership of '*Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*' (dummy);
X_9 = Regular exposure to '*Zeit im Bild 1*' (dummy);
X_{10} = Regular exposure to '*Zeit im Bild 2*' (dummy);
X_{11} = Regular exposure to '*Zeit im Bild 3*' (dummy);
X_{12} = Regular exposure to '*ARD/ZDF-Nachrichten*' (dummy).

Analogous regressions were estimated for Y_2 through Y_6, the other parties included in the party preference question – 'ÖVP', 'FPÖ', 'Grüne', 'LIF', and 'CSA'. In all these equations, the independents consist of all newspaper titles that were separately coded from the responses to the newspaper exposure question (see Appendix B). The adjusted R^2s for each of these estimated equations are summed to arrive at the country-level MPP variable, after having been weighted by the percentage of votes obtained at the last national parliamentary election.

In the case of Austria in 1999, this yields the following result per party, and – after weighted summation – for the country's MPP value:

Party	Adjusted R^2	Size of party#	Size * adj. R^2
SPÖ	0.026	38.1	0.9906
ÖVP	0.029	28.3	0.8207
FPÖ	0.085	21.9	1.8615
Grüne	0.143	4.8	0.6864
LIF	0.152	5.5	0.8360
CSA	0.016	0.0	0.0000
Total for parties distinguished		98.6§	5.1952
MPP			**5.27** (=5.1952/98.6*100)

In percentage of votes gained at last national parliamentary election before EP election in June, 1999.

§ The difference between this total and 100% represents 'other' parties.

Appendix D
Standardized regression coefficients from regressions of party preferences on exposure to newspapers and TV channels – per country, Chapter 1

The tables below indicate the relationships between party preferences and media use, resulting in the MPP scores stated below the tables for each country. The coefficients are standardized regression coefficients, thus allowing comparison within columns, not between columns.

Austria

	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	Grüne	LIF	CSA
Zeit im Bild 1 (ORF), 19:30	.108*	-.105*	-.018	-.060	.023	-.056
Zeit im Bild 2 (ORF), gegen 22.00 Uhr	-.019	.036	-.060	.046	.104*	.058
Zeit im Bild 3 (ORF), gegen Mitternacht	.032	.015	.021	-.040	-.009	-.061
ARD, ZDF-Nachrichten	-.099	-.032	-.050	-.096*	-.101*	-.060
Kronen-Zeitung	.087	.035	.159**	-.174**	-.131**	.066
Kleine Zeitung	-.006	.046	-.060	-.030	.100*	.131*
Kurier	-.022	.126*	-.125*	.017	.109*	.082
Der Standard	.071	-.180**	-.184**	.281**	.257**	-.108*
Die Presse	-.081	.038	.038	-.028	.029	-.002
Täglich Alles	.081	-.001	.028	-.037	-.058	-.014
Salzburger Nachrichten	.067	-.021	-.058	.114*	.011	.019
Oberösterreichische Nachrichten	-.021	.121*	-.002	.020	-.010	.103*
n	409	408	406	403	402	388
Adj. R^2	.026	.029	.085	.143	.152	.016
Size of party	38.1	28.3	21.9	4.8	5.5	0.0

Weighted adj. R^2 =.053

Belgium – Flanders

	SP	VLD	Agalev	CVP	Vlaams Blok	VU-ID21
TV 1 "Het journaal", 19:00	.092	.143	-.014	.389**	-.152*	-.012
Canvas "Journaal", 20:00	.163*	.031	-.056	-.034	-.037	-.071
TV 1 "Het journaal laat", rond 23 uur	-.185**	.003	-.040	-.039	.058	-.008
"VTM "Nieuws en sport" 19:00	.050	-.081	-.187*	.038	.276**	-.016
"VTM-Laat", rond 23 uur	-.039	-.030	-.195**	-.039	-.012	-.060
Het Laatste Nieuws	-.156*	.019	-.301**	-.083	.251**	-.212**
De Gazet van Antwerpen	.027	.093	-.200**	-.039	.027	-.134
n	196	196	196	197	200	197
Adj. R^2	.066	.019	.170	.127	.239	.021
Size of party	12.6	13.1	4.4	17.2	7.8	4.7

Weighted adj. R^2 =.100

Belgium – Wallonia

	PS	PRL-FDP-MCC	Ecolo	PSC	FN
RTBF La Une "Journal", 19:30	-.082	-.063	-.168	-.016	.000
RTL-TVI "Journal", 19:00	.046	-.018	-.020	.200*	.184*
TV 1 "Het journaal", 19:00	-.031	.044	.022	-.124	-.008
Le Soir	-.025	-.112	.075	-.199*	-.011
La Dernière Heure	-.132	-.192*	-.127	-.167	.231*
La Meuse / La Lanterne	.113	-.133	.119	-.231*	-.041
n	125	122	126	126	125
Adj. R^2	.001	.008	.017	.076	.052
Size of party	11.9	10.3	4.0	7.7	2.3

Weighted adj. R^2 =.024

Britain

	Conser-vative	Labour	Lib. Dem.	SNP	Plaid Cymru	Green Party	UKIP
BBC 9 o clock news	.083*	.018	.022	-.057	-.039	.031	-.031
BBC 6 o clock (early evening) news	-.009	.063	.023	-.043	.026	-.001	-.059
BBC lunchtime news	.066	-.051	.004	.002	.011	-.039	-.001
ITN 6.30 news (ITV's main evening news programme)	.029	.070	.016	.009	.020	-.047	.048
ITN 11.00 pm news (late news headlines)	.045	.010	-.022	-.035	-.041	-.024	.006
ITN lunchtime news	.012	-.010	-.043	.009	-.008	.036	.069
Channel Four News at 7pm	-.035	.027	-.038	-.027	-.011	-.003	.009
Channel Five News (anytime)	.050	-.022	.016	.122**	.067	.067	.070
BBC2's Newsnight (daily programme at 10.30pm)	.011	-.026	-.031	-.046	-.006	.016	.068
SKY News (anytime)	.000	.003	-.021	-.033	-.007	.033	-.011
Telegraph	.149**	-.194**	-.027	-.071	.016	-.074*	.033
Times	.063	-.036	-.021	-.062	-.023	-.019	-.003
Guardian	-.075*	.081*	.072	-.030	.023	.084*	-.009
Financial Times	-.030	.045	.031	.006	-.034	.002	-.018
Independent	-.097**	.006	.059	-.054	-.005	.067	-.074
Mail	.183**	-.051	-.022	-.110**	-.059	-.069	.025
Express	.103**	-.117**	-.021	-.038	-.024	-.073*	.012
Sun	.038	-.020	-.081	.066	.119**	-.108**	.050
Mirror	-.097**	.092**	-.042	-.021	.016	.006	-.034
Star	-.058	.052	.015	-.012	.009	-.001	.003
n	767	767	762	694	641	752	703
Adj. R^2	.112	.073	.000	.030	.002	.032	.010
Size of party	30.7	43.2	16.8	2.0	0.5	0.2	0.0

Weighted adj. R^2 =.071

Denmark

	Social-demokr.	Venstre	Kons. Folk.	Soc. Folk.	Junibev.	Folkebev.
DR1 18.30 (TV-Avisen)	.024	-.037	-.025	-.051	.054	.016
DR1 21.00 (TV-Avisen)	.043	-.099**	.007	.087*	.068	.059
TV2 19.00 (Nyhederne)	.096**	.016	.041	-.035	-.031	-.029
TV2 22.00	-.027	.008	-.065	-.011	-.047	-.045
TV3 18.15 (Dagens Nyheder)	.017	.068*	-.001	-.036	-.025	-.041
Politiken	.079*	-.122**	-.055	.243**	.084*	.078*
Berlingske Tidende	-.190**	.221**	.224**	-.100**	-.093**	-.113**
JyllandsPosten	-.146**	.233**	.194**	-.113**	-.085*	-.091*
Ekstra Bladet	-.042	-.059	-.025	.071*	.160**	.183**
BT	-.018	.080*	.010	-.033	-.039	-.073*
Børsen	-.028	.056	.034	-.080*	-.055	-.044
Aktuelt	.115**	-.116**	-.047	.075*	-.014	.004
Kristeligt Dagblad	.016	-.043	-.017	-.017	-.002	-.005
n	809	811	808	807	801	802
Adj. R^2	.075	.154	.085	.113	.049	.058
Size of party	36.0	24.0	8.9	7.5	0.0	0.0

Denmark (continued)

	Dansk folkep.	CD	Radikale V.	Rød-grønne	Krist. Folkep.	Fremskr.p.
DR1 18.30 (TV-Avisen)	-.021	-.094**	-.043	.005	-.005	-.031
DR1 21.00 (TV-Avisen)	-.114**	.010	.094**	.041	.028	-.111**
TV2 19.00 (Nyhederne)	-.015	.004	-.015	-.065	-.011	-.042
TV2 22.00	.031	.012	-.053	-.006	.008	.038
TV3 18.15 (Dagens Nyheder)	.069*	.010	-.028	-.046	-.002	.036
Politiken	-.136**	.013	.193**	.142**	-.046	-.127**
Berlingske Tidende	-.056	.090*	.024	-.070*	.044	-.049
JyllandsPosten	-.010	.104**	.060	-.088*	.045	-.027
Ekstra Bladet	.086*	-.095**	-.115**	-.024	-.044	.104**
BT	.129**	.007	-.071*	-.008	-.004	.036
Børsen	-.035	-.060	-.009	-.064	-.033	.020
Aktuelt	-.014	.003	.000	.088*	-.034	-.056
Kristeligt Dagblad	-.016	.032	.006	.057	.069	-.018
n	806	804	805	803	804	804
Adj. R^2	.065	.021	.068	.053	-.001	.040
Size of party	7.4	4.3	3.9	2.7	2.5	2.4

Weighted adj. R^2 =.091

Finland

	SDP	Kes kusta	Kokoo-mus	RKP	Vih reät	Vasem-mist.	Kristilli-set	PS Perus
MTV3:n 19	.047	.029	-.031	-.110*	-.030	-.059	-.023	-.024
Nelosen 20	.040	-.044	-.009	-.046	-.053	.029	.039	.085
FST:n 18.15	-.021	-.037	-.069	.096	.028	-.015	-.025	-.043
YLEn 20.30	.109*	-.019	.018	-.142**	.001	-.052	.074	-.027
Helsingin Sanomat	.002	-.185**	.124*	.067	.146**	.005	-.008	-.072
Hufvudstadsbladet	.010	-.030	.027	.261**	-.034	-.013	-.077	-.014
Ilta-Sanomat	.043	-.031	.063	-.044	-.039	.039	-.004	-.041
Iltalehti	.085	-.042	-.012	.067	.065	.187**	-.028	.043
Turun Sanomat	.028	-.027	.082	.072	-.013	.045	-.003	-.023
Aamulehti	.038	-.148**	-.048	.035	-.042	.030	-.059	-.093
n	401	398	391	388	394	395	398	363
Adj. R^2	.002	.031	.014	.092	.008	.018	-.007	-.006
Size of party	22.9	22.4	21.0	5.1	7.3	10.9	4.2	1.0

Weighted adj. R^2 =.018

France

	PS – PRG	RPR	UDF	PC
F2 Télématin	.014	.040	.010	.017
F2 20h	.145**	-.069	-.057	.080
F2 13h	.038	-.036	-.035	.040
TF1 20h	-.069	.155**	.094*	-.042
TF1 13h	-.003	.110**	.081	.049
Arte 7$^{1/2}$	-.003	.022	.047	.043
F319h30	.005	-.039	-.025	.080
F3 12h30	.013	.016	-.029	-.021
F3 22h30	.012	-.049	-.058	.086*
LCI	-.052	.093*	-.006	.030
Le Monde	.079	-.052	-.015	.052
Libération	.108*	-.113**	-.080	.059
LeFigaro/L'Aurore	-.182**	.132**	.062	-.159**
L'Humanité	-.031	-.033	-.045	.274**
Présent /Minute	-.082	-.065	-.095*	-.074
Les Echos	-.040	.062	.042	-.068
France soir	-.051	.046	.105*	-.023
La Tribune	.035	-.011	-.004	.006
Parisien/Aujourd'hui	.007	.003	-.036	-.048
La Croix	.009	-.048	.022	-.025
n	556	551	543	554
Adj. R^2	.075	.101	.039	.112
Size of party	38.6	22.7	21.0	3.7

France (continued)

	Verts	LCR	DL	FN / MN	RPF
F2 Télématin	.058	-.017	-.003	.056	.007
F2 20h	.040	.024	-.026	-.068	-.056
F2 13h	-.012	-.066	-.128**	-.026	-.062
TF1 20h	-.108*	-.038	.133**	.106*	.084
TF1 13h	.000	.039	.157**	.202**	.087*
Arte 7$^{1/2}$	.042	.087*	.015	-.030	-.021
F319h30	-.017	.082	.045	.078	-.004
F3 12h30	-.034	-.001	.054	.004	.065
F3 22h30	.031	.015	-.065	-.007	-.001
LCI	-.024	.009	-.028	.022	.002
Le Monde	.096*	.019	-.060	-.061	-.140**
Libération	.117**	.014	-.096*	-.038	-.174**
LeFigaro/L'Aurore	-.204**	-.140**	.151**	.035	.227**
L'Humanité	.042	.156**	.054	.028	-.029
Présent /Minute	-.092	-.046	-.079	.168**	.027
Les Echos	.000	-.049	.036	-.017	.004
France soir	-.045	-.030	.088	-.035	.036
La Tribune	.017	.014	.033	-.020	-.002
Parisien/Aujourd'hui	.023	.088*	-.064	-.056	-.003
La Croix	.018	-.077	-.051	-.068	-.079
n	556	552	522	559	549
Adj. R^2	.068	.042	.103	.078	.117
Size of party	1.7	2.1	2.0	5.7	0.0

Weighted adj. R^2 =.075

Germany

	CDU / CSU	SPD	Bündnis90/ Grünen	FDP	Republikaner	PDS
ARDTagesschau 20.00	.024	.035	.028	-.008	-.021	-.018
ARDTagesthemen 22.30	.019	.006	.074*	.056	-.002	-.013
ZDF heute 19.00	.058	-.050	-.088**	-.034	-.057	-.053
ZDF heute 21.45	.017	.030	.028	.021	-.050	-.002
RTL aktuell 18.45	.019	.013	-.085	-.018	.039	.006
Sat1 18:30	.010	-.048	.026	.034	.068	-.022
FAZ-Frankfurter Allgemein Zeitung	.085*	-.015	-.003	.093**	.014	-.045
Die Welt	.090**	-.056	-.076*	.030	-.017	-.043
Frankfurter Rundschau	-.077*	.025	.080*	-.010	-.040	.036
Sueddeutsche Zeitung	-.032	.030	.027	.013	-.029	-.034
BILD	-.058	-.026	-.098**	-.032	.124**	-.013
taz	.003	-.078*	.002	.065	-.001	.041
n	846	846	851	850	844	850
Adj. R^2	.012	.005	.038	.007	.022	-.002
Size of party	35.1	40.9	6.7	6.2	1.8	5.1

Weighted adj. R^2 =.010

Greece

	PASOK	ND	KKE	SIN	DIKKI	Pol. Aniksi	Fileleyt
MEGA- κεντρικό δελτίο ώρα 20.00	-.008	-.031	.076	.120	.055	.016	.096
MEGA- μεσημεριανό δελτίο ώρα 14.00	.032	-.070	.031	-.055	-.087	-.090	-.173*
MEGA- βραδυνό δελτίο ώρα 24.00	-.009	-.129*	.145	.135	-.040	-.143	.047
ANT- κεντρικό δελτίο ώρα 20.00	-.138*	.141*	-.014	-.082	.056	.026	-.070
ANT- μεσημεριανό δελτίο ώρα 14.00	.070	-.019	-.098	-.017	.065	-.052	-.002
ANT- βραδυνό δελτίο ώρα 24.00	.013	.099	.043	.110	-.015	-.045	-.040
SKAI 20:00– κεντρικό δελτίο ώρα	.004	-.078	.089	.066	.118	.102	.049
SKAI 14:00	-.035	.011	.028	.013	-.017	.035	.110
SKAI 24:00	.059	.004	-.009	-.071	.052	.021	-.018
STAR 20:00	-.018	.149*	.099	.000	.072	.059	-.036
STAR 14:00	.037	-.067	-.126	.004	-.034	-.123	-.038
STAR 24:00	-.144*	-.008	-.062	-.112	.008	.147*	.018
ET1 20:00	.156*	-.109	-.079	.020	-.028	-.209**	-.128
ET1 14:00	.024	-.156*	.031	-.062	.046	.175*	-.154
ET1 24:00	-.093	.038	.092	-.025	.040	-.056	.136
NET 20:00	-.058	-.033	.077	.085	.103	.071	.090
NET 14:00	.092	.070	.044	.074	.013	-.085	.058
NET 24:00	-.086	-.028	-.007	-.018	-.016	-.039	-.090
EA	.116*	-.143**	-.013	-.111	-.057	-.058	-.161*
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΤΥΠΙΑ	-.082	-.092	.094	.160*	.020	.020	-.018
ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ	-.127*	.099	-.086	-.069	-.156*	-.020	.080
ΒΗΜΑ	.156**	-.040	-.110	.079	-.047	.058	.081
ΑΠΟΓΕΥΜΑΤΙΝΗ	-.162**	.179**	-.068	-.095	-.014	.001	-.050
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ ΤΥΠΟΣ	-.320**	.282**	-.016	-.061	-.031	-.004	.114
ΕΘΝΟΣ	.096	-.030	-.040	.034	-.020	-.058	-.066
n	265	268	266	266	267	267	263
Adj. R^2	.205	.272	.032	.058	-.004	.046	.042
Size of party	41.5	38.1	5.6	5.1	4.4	2.9	0.0

Weighted adj. R^2 =.199

Ireland

	Fianna Fail	Fine Gael	Labour	Progr. Dem.	Sinn Fein	Green party	Dem. Left
RTE 1 o'cl news	.048	.013	-.030	.026	.069	.006	-.012
RTE 1 6:00 NEWS	.006	.034	.047	.004	.030	.058	.047
RTE 1 News – 9pm	.065	.050	.033	.102*	-.112*	-.004	-.052
RTE "Primetime"	-.001	-.046	.018	-.215**	.003	.050	-.047
RTE "Questions and Answers"	-.074	-.041	-.019	.190**	-.022	-.055	.086
TV3 news at 7	-.018	-.139**	.044	-.066	-.012	.069	.043
TV3 11 news tonight	.077	.069	-.040	-.102*	-.023	-.081	.015
TV3 "20-20"	.005	.008	.004	.010	.062	.097	.114*
Netw 2 8:25 news 2	.090	-.051	-.021	.030	.101	.014	-.088
Netw 2 10:45 news 2	-.063	-.008	.039	.058	-.013	.036	.171**
Irish Independent	.128*	-.052	-.099	.048	-.042	-.030	-.065
Irish Times	-.004	.021	.069	.153**	-.014	.177**	.109*
The Star	.128*	.006	-.043	.006	.115*	.003	-.040
The Examiner	-.024	-.043	.043	.022	.031	.053	.066
n	440	437	434	430	436	434	396
Adj. R^2	.025	.002	-.002	.048	.021	.026	.032
Size of party	39.3	28.0	10.4	4.7	2.6	2.8	2.5

Weighted adj. R^2 =.016

Italy

	Forza Italia	Dem. Di Sin.	All. Nazionale	Lista Pann./Bonin.
Tg1 (RAI1)	-.059**	.084**	-.054**	-.055**
Tg2 (RAI2)	-.032	.105**	-.019	-.001
Tg3 (RAI3)	-.148**	.100**	-.135**	-.086**
Tg4 (Rete 4)	.080**	-.069**	.069**	.002
Tg5 (Canale 5)	.284**	-.162**	.210**	.151**
Studio Aperto (Italia 1)	.079**	-.047*	.067**	.011
TMC News (Tele Monte Carlo)	.010	-.002	.022	-.027
Il Corriere della Sera	-.010	.003	-.004	.033
Il Foglio	-.002	-.031	-.022	-.031
Il Giornale	.072**	-.048*	.058**	.062
Il Giornale di Sicilia	.050**	.004	.011	.005
Il Giorno	-.038*	.016	-.042*	-.062**
Il Mattino	-.016	.062**	-.001	.005
Il Messaggero	-.041*	.026	.026	-.015
Il Resto del Carlino	.012	.016	.006	.007
Il Secolo XIX	.008	-.008	-.002	.028
Il Sole 24 Ore	.025	-.012	.055**	.003
La Nazione	-.017	.029	-.043*	-.054**
La Repubblica	-.201**	.228**	-.198**	-.111**
La Stampa	-.030	.005	-.024	.005
Il Manifesto	-.064**	-.018	-.070**	-.071**
n	2285	2234	2257	2235
Adj. R^2	.231	.156	.164	.076
Size of party	20.6	21.1	15.7	1.9

Italy (continued)

	I Democratici	Lega Nord	Rif. Comun.	PPI	CCD
Tg1 (RAI1)	.132**	-.047*	-.033	.136**	.093**
Tg2 (RAI2)	.028	-.067**	.002	.000	.000
Tg3 (RAI3)	.055**	-.062**	.104**	.005	-.059**
Tg4 (Rete 4)	-.057**	.016	-.077**	-.021	-.011
Tg5 (Canale 5)	-.062**	-.020	-.144**	-.053*	.088**
Studio Aperto (Italia 1)	-.023	.021	-.013	.030	.040
TMC News	.033	.040	.008	-.008	-.066
Il Corriere della Sera	.049*	.065**	.027	.027	-.009
Il Foglio	-.004	.047*	.007	.030	.012
Il Giornale	-.031	.079**	-.025	-.002	.092**
Il Giornale di Sicilia	.078**	-.045*	-.019	.098**	.089**
Il Giorno	-.010	.090**	.034	.032	-.015
Il Mattino	.064**	-.063**	.048*	.048*	.025
Il Messaggero	-.006	-.035	.015	-.028	-.050*
Il Resto del Carlino	.020	-.018	-.040*	-.020	-.032
Il Secolo XIX	-.023	.025	.044*	-.019	-.013
Il Sole 24 Ore	.019	-.023	-.004	.000	.024
La Nazione	-.011	-.038	.033	-.025	-.035
La Repubblica	.114**	-.100**	.081**	-.036	-.139**
La Stampa	.001	.081**	.031	-.016	-.056**
Il Manifesto	-.072**	-.027	.189**	-.040	-.050*
n	2210	2216	2215	2198	2203
Adj. R^2	.066	.065	.097	.037	.066
Size of party	2.5	10.1	8.6	3.7	5.8

Weighted adj. R^2 =.144

Luxembourg

	CSV / PCS	DP / PD	LSAP / POSL	ADR	Déi Greng	Déi Lenk	GAL
RTL Eng Stonn fir Lëtzebuerg	.205**	-.041	-.120	-.046	-.041	-.086	-.031
ARD 20.00	.135*	-.012	.031	-.071	.059	-.054	-.129
RTL (D) 6.00/7.00/12.00	-.011	-.061	-.020	.005	-.034	-.081	.016
Pro7 19.30	-.133*	-.039	.041	.090	-.068	.035	-.073
TF1 13.00/20.00	-.033	-.061	.014	-.150*	-.035	-.057	-.064
d'Lëtebuerger Wort	.078	.117	.029	.013	-.122	-.070	-.161*
d'Tageblatt	-.081	-.123	.258**	-.071	-.160*	.044	-.120
de Republicain Lorrain	-.074	.017	-.049	-.014	-.051	-.047	-.078
n	239	235	232	233	237	230	225
Adj. R^2	.094	.011	.042	.010	.010	-.002	.028
Size of party	30.3	19.3	25.4	9.0	9.9	1.8	1.7

Weighted adj. R^2 =.045

Netherlands

	PvdA	CDA	VVD	D66	GroenLinks
20.00 NOS Journaal	-.029	.022	.015	-.038	.047
18.00 NOS Journaal	-.033	-.012	-.075*	-.075*	-.012
22.00 NOS Journaal	.061	-.023	-.013	.019	.044
RTL Nieuws 19.30	.036	.060	.066*	.014	-.014
RTL Nieuws 18.30	-.031	-.041	-.026	.017	.022
RTL Nieuws 23.00	-.043	-.048	.045	-.052	-.010
SBS Nieuws 19.30	.021	.027	-.053	.051	-.009
22.30 Hart v Nederland	.041	-.015	-.049	.031	.029
RTL5 Nieuws (alle tijden)	-.062	-.005	.036	-.034	-.012
20.30 NL 1 Netwerk	.081*	-.005	-.035	.111**	.105**
17.30 TV2 2 Vandaag	.022	.025	-.009	.036	.039
22.30 NL 3 NOVA	-.003	-.035	.016	-.001	.016
Volkskrant	.104**	-.175**	-.186**	.037	.214**
Telegraaf	-.167**	-.018	.222**	-.146**	-.124**
Algemeen Dagblad	-.009	.007	.030	-.059	-.034
NRC Handelsblad	-.046	-.115**	.061	.034	.031
n	860	861	860	858	859
Adj. R^2	.043	.042	.097	.039	.085
Size of party	29.0	18.4	24.7	9.0	7.3

Netherlands (continued)

	SGP	SP	CD	RPF	GPV
20.00 NOS Journaal	-.012	-.039	-.044	-.011	-.045
18.00 NOS Journaal	-.020	.029	-.065	-.017	-.008
22.00 NOS Journaal	-.026	.030	-.044	.031	.012
RTL Nieuws 19.30	-.056	-.044	.015	-.086*	-.059
RTL Nieuws 18.30	.038	.060	.051	.024	.006
RTL Nieuws 23.00	-.016	.006	.063	-.009	.002
SBS Nieuws 19.30	.015	.048	.054	.109**	.055
22.30 Hart v Nederland	-.008	-.018	-.010	.040	.022
RTL5 Nieuws (alle tijden)	.036	.002	-.044	.005	.005
20.30 NL 1 Netwerk	-.051	.010	-.055	-.067	-.060
17.30 TV2 2 Vandaag	.047	.046	.049	.076*	.078*
22.30 NL 3 NOVA	.033	.082*	-.056	.054	.041
Volkskrant	-.066	.145**	-.065	-.083*	-.083*
Telegraaf	.043	-.074*	.050	-.015	.031
Algemeen Dagblad	-.010	-.034	.001	-.011	-.011
NRC Handelsblad	-.040	-.050	-.034	-.060	-.031
n	842	855	854	843	840
Adj. R^2	.001	.038	.026	.023	.008
Size of party	1.8	3.5	0.6	2.0	1.2

Weighted adj. R^2 =.057

Portugal

	PS	PSD	CDS / PP	CDU	Bloco de Esq.
20.00 RPT1 – Telejornal	-.044	-.043	-.099	-.039	-.036
RPT1 – 24 Horas	-.077	-.144*	-.035	.097	.039
13.00 RTP1 Jor. da tarde	-.093	-.083	.079	.040	.040
22.00 RPT2 – Jornal 2	-.226**	.058	.100	.098	.114
20.00 SIC Jor. da noite	-.070	.112	-.147*	-.009	.036
01.00 SIC Último jor.	.043	.066	.045	.064	.167*
13.00 SIC – Primeiro jor.	-.181**	-.040	-.182**	-.128*	-.028
21.00 TVI – Directo XXI	.036	.051	-.004	-.004	-.034
Correio da Manhã	.104	.076	-.006	.003	.045
Diário de Noticias	.047	.156**	-.027	-.012	-.070
Jornal de Noticias	.118	.114	.082	-.021	-.146*
Público	.046	.080	.100	.040	.079
n	276	315	276	276	276
Adj. R^2	.076	.056	.065	.011	.053
Size of party	43.9	34.0	9.1	8.6	0.0

Weighted adj. R^2 =.062

Spain

	PP	PSOE	IU	CiU	PNV	EH
21.00 TVE 1	.057	.045	-.118**	-.086*	-.093*	-.079
ANTENA 3 Noticias 21.00	-.001	-.039	-.047	.015	-.009	.019
TELE 5 20.30	.018	.030	.009	-.074	.008	.004
TVE1 15.00	.105**	.011	.004	-.026	-.053	-.010
Antena 3 15.00	.044	.072	-.069	-.045	-.011	-.079
TELE 5 14.30	-.112**	.097*	.013	-.058	-.043	-.045
TVE2 22.00	.018	.017	.017	-.071	-.030	-.045
Canal+ 21.00	-.128**	-.008	.033	.099*	-.011	.051
El Pais	-.189**	.145**	.093*	-.071	-.067	-.075
ABC	.155**	-.069	-.079	-.038	-.004	-.037
El Mundo	.072	-.144**	.051	-.016	-.035	.026
La Vangurdia	-.006	.000	.024	.250**	.070	.031
El Periodico	-.179**	.062	.026	.195**	.023	.008
El Correo	-.083*	-.038	.025	-.049	.302**	.116**
n	604	603	599	595	586	588
Adj. R^2	.172	.052	.029	.169	.104	.019
Size of party	38.9	37.5	10.6	4.6	1.3	0.7

Weighted adj. R^2 =.105

Sweden

	Vänsterpartiet	Socialdem.	Miljöpartiet	Centerpartiet
Rapport TV2	.008	.053	-.030	-.078
Nyheterna TV4	.075	.023	.051	-.001
Aktuellt Kanal1	-.119*	-.112*	-.069	-.003
TV3 Direkt	.017	.034	-.007	.006
Aftonbladet	.145**	.148**	-.005	-.073
Dag. Nyheter	.045	-.011	.088	-.067
Svenska Dagbladet	-.220**	-.212**	-.213**	-.129**
Göteborgs-Posten	.070	.041	-.020	-.021
n	452	459	454	453
Adj. R^2	.084	.074	.044	.015
Size of party	36.4	22.9	12.0	11.8

Sweden (continued)

	Folkpartiet	Kristdem.	Moderaterna
Rapport TV2	-.076	.013	-.051
Nyheterna TV4	-.015	-.026	-.049
Aktuellt Kanal 1	.153**	.081	.078
TV3 Direkt	.026	-.023	-.020
Aftonbladet	-.172**	-.106**	-.145**
Dag. Nyheter	.088	-.047	.024
Svenska Dagbladet	.192**	.212**	.250**
Göteborgs-Posten	-.025	.001	-.102*
n	455	456	456
Adj. R^2	.094	.054	.099
Size of party	5.1	4.7	4.5

Weighted adj. R^2 =.068

All tables
* Significant on 5% level
** Significant on 1% level

Appendix E
Specification of variables used in the analyses of Chapter 2

Age	Age at election year in 3 categories: 1) 21-30; 2) 31-60; 3) 61-80.
Read about politics	"How often do you read news and articles about politics in the daily press?" 1) never reads news and articles about politics; 2) occasionally reads news and articles about politics in the daily press 3) often reads news and articles about politics 4) reads what there is in the newspaper of news and articles about politics.
Political interest	"In general, how interested in politics are you?" 1) not at all interested; 2) not very interested; 3) fairly interested; 4) very interested.
Party attachment	Party identification, strength. 1) no party preference; 2) party preference; 3) adherent; 4) strongly convinced adherent.
Political efficacy	"The parties are only interested in people's votes, not in what they think". 1) strongly agree; 2) agree; 3) disagree; 4) strongly disagree.
PPP	Contextual measure press-party parallelism, calculated in a similar fashion as MPP (media-party parallelism, see Appendix C; solely calculated for newspaper exposure)
Cleavage Voting	See appendix F

Appendix F
Construction of the variable 'cleavage voting', used in Chapter 2

The procedure of measurement of the 'cleavage voting' variable is based on Franklin (1992), and it is analogous to the measurement of MPP. Like in MPP, the dependent variables are party preference scores. These scores were regressed on 11 variables which distinguish cleavage groups. Seven dummies[55] were included for subjective class; 1 dummy for having paid employment or not; 1 dummy for trade union membership; 1 variable (4 categories) for the degree of urbanization; and one variable (5 categories) for income. The adjusted R^2's – the amount of variance of the sympathy score of each party explained by these variables – are summed after weighting by party size (national parliamentary election result). For Sweden in 1979, this is the result per party:

Party	Adjusted R^2	Size of party#	Size* adj. R^2
Vänsterpartiet	0.097	5.6	0.5410
Socialdemokraterna	0.194	43.2	8.3722
Centerpartiet	0.099	18.1	1.7973
Folkpartiet	0.051	10.6	0.5438
Moderaterna	0.148	20.3	3.0085
		97.8	14.2627
Cleavage voting			**14.58** (=14.26/97.8*100)

percentage of votes gained at national parliamentary election.

For the other election years analysed in Chapter 2, it is constructed in an analogous fashion. The results are 13.86 (1982), 13.07 (1985), 10.69 (1988), 7.96 (1991), 10.28 (1994), 7.00 (1998), 5.49 (2002).

55 In the Swedish election studies, subjective class is usually asked in 8 categories, resulting in 7 dummy variables.

Appendix G
Specification of variables used in the analyses of Chapter 3

Electoral participation EP elections 1999	"A lot of people abstained in the European Parliament elections on June 10 while others voted. Did you cast your vote?" Yes (1) no (0)
Electoral participation last General Elections	"Which party did you vote for at the 1997 General Election?" Did not vote (0) voted for any party (1)
Consonance between attitude towards the EU and exposure to European discourse in newspaper	Consonance category (1) contrasted to those who do neither experience consonance nor dissonance (cross-pressures) on this topic (0)
Cross-Pressures between attitude towards the EU and exposure to European discourse in newspaper	Cross-pressured (dissonance) category (1) contrasted to those who do neither experience consonance nor dissonance (cross-pressures) on this topic (0)
Political interest	Political interest score, see Appendix B.
Number of days reading a newspaper	"Normally, how many days of the week do you read a newspaper?" (0-7 days)
Attention to news about Europe	"How much attention do you pay to news about Europe?" A lot (4), some (3), a little (2), or none (1)?
EU 'good thing'	"Generally speaking, do you think that Britain's membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad?" 'Good thing' (1) contrasted to 'neither' (0)
EU 'bad thing'	"Generally speaking, do you think that Britain's membership of the European Union is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad?" 'Bad thing' (1) contrasted to 'neither' (0)
Social class	"If you were asked to chose one of these five names for your social class, which would you say you belong to?" The working class (1), the lower middle class (2), the middle class (3), the upper middle class (4) or the upper class (5)?
Age	Age at time of interview

Appendix H
Construction of the weighting variable used in Chapter 1, 3, and 4

Source: http://www.europeanelectionstudies.net

The weighting variable used in all analyses (except for those reported in Chapter 2), is a political weight variable, that is transformed so that the effective number of cases is equal for each of the political systems. The first part of this Appendix describes the technical construction of the variable. The second part focuses on the effects of the use of this variable.

Technical construction of the weighting variable

The first step of the weighting procedure consisted of applying (fractional) weights which ensure that in each of the member states of the European Union the sample distribution of reported voting behavior and party choice in the European elections was rendered identical to the official election result. This first step assigned equal weights to all non-voters, i.e. assumed all kinds of non-voters to be equally under- or over-represented in the sample. This assumption appears implausible in the light of the low level of turnout in most countries. A more plausible assumption would be that over- or under-representation in the sample of groups with specific party preferences applies to both voters and non-voters. This assumption lets us take advantage of the close resemblance that exists in all countries between European vote and national vote intention. In other words, we make the assumption that when preferences for a particular party are overrepresented among the voters in the sample (as can be gauged from their European party choice), they are also overrepresented among the European non-voters (for whom party preferences can be gauged from their intended party choice in national elections). A correction for any such overrepresentation or corresponding under-representation of non-voters was made in the second step of the weighting procedure.

The following table illustrates the procedure by means of a hypothetical example, which describes the distributions in a fictional sample from a country with three parties A, B and C. The cell-entries in this table (aa, nb, C_{tot}) are frequency counts. The quantities A_{EE} etc. are target frequency counts, i.e. the numbers of observations which should occur in each row, had the sample reflected the election result exactly.

	National vote intention					
European Party Choice	Party A	Party B	Party C	No vote	Total	Target Distribution
Party A	aa	eb	ac	an	A_{tot}	A_{EE}
Party B	ba	bb	bc	bn	B_{tot}	B_{EE}
Party C	ca	cb	cc	cn	C_{tot}	C_{EE}
No vote	na	nb	nc	nn	N_{tot}	N_{EE}

For those who voted in the European elections the weighting procedure is quite simple. Respondents who voted for party A, were assigned a weighting coefficient $w_a=A_{EE}/A_{tot}$. Respondents voting for party B were assigned a weighting coefficient $w_b=B_{EE}/B_{tot}$ and those who voted for party C a coefficient $w_c=C_{EE} / C_{tot}$.

For European non-voters the procedure is more complicated and consists of two stages. In the first stage preliminary weights are calculated: European non-voters who indicate a national party preference for party A are assigned a first-stage weighting coefficient as follows:

$$w_p = (aa*w_a + ba*w_b + ca*w_c) / (aa+ba+ca)$$

Likewise for European non-voters who intend to vote for party B, or party C in national elections, first-stage coefficients w_q and w_r are defined as follows:

$$w_q = (ab*w_a + bb*w_b + cb*w_c) / (ab+bb+cb)$$
$$w_r = (ac*w_a + bc*w_b + cc*w_c) / (ac+bc+cc)$$

European non-voters who express no intended party choice for national elections are assigned a first-stage coefficient ws as follows:

$$w_s = (an*w_a + bn*w_b + cn*w_c + nn*(N_{EE} / N_{tot})) / (an+bn+cn+nn)$$

The second stage, in which final weighting coefficients for European non-voters are defined, is necessary in order to ensure the same proportion of non-voters in the weighted sample as in the population. The weights involved are as follows:

For European non-voters with a national vote intention for A: $w_u = w_p*w_t$
For European non-voters with a national vote intention for B: $w_v = w_q*w_t$
For European non-voters with a national vote intention for C: $w_w = w_r*w_t$
For European non-voters with no national vote intention: $w_x = w_s*w_t$

where

$$w = N_{EE} / (na*w_p + nb*w_q + nc*w_r + nn*w_s)$$

Application of the variable

When applied, the weighting variable generates a distribution of turnout and party choice that is identical to the actual results of the June 1999 European election in the respective countries. This variable was constructed in the same way as its counterparts in the 1989 and 1994 European election study datasets. Applying this weight leaves the effective number of cases unchanged from the raw data for each country, which vary from 500 in the case of Luxembourg to 3,700 for Italy. In order to estimate and test the effects of contextual variables such as MPP without bias, each political system should weight equally in the comparative analyses. In order to ascertain this, the weighting variable described above is transformed by multiplication with a system-specific constant so that the effective number of cases is equal for each of the political systems, while the pooled number of cases across systems is unaffected. This variable thus accomplishes equal weights for the different political systems, while at the same time ensuring that the sample distribution of voting behavior in each system mirrors the actual outcome of the European elections in that system. More information on the weighting variable described above can be found on http://www.europeanelectionstudies.net.