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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>Age at time of interview.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attendance of religious services</strong></td>
<td>“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)?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individual media exposure</strong></td>
<td>A variable constructed from a series of separate observations regarding exposure to newspaper titles and TV news programmes. See Chapter 1, footnote 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Party attachment</strong></td>
<td>“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).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Internal efficacy</strong></td>
<td>“So many people vote in elections that my vote does not matter.” (1) Strongly disagree; (2) disagree; (3) agree; (4) strongly agree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EU good thing</strong></td>
<td>“Generally speaking, do you think that &lt;your country’s&gt; membership of the European Union is a good thing (1), a bad thing (0), or neither good nor bad (0)?” (Recoded into a dichotomy).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MPP</strong></td>
<td>Contextual measure for the homogeneity of media use groups. See Appendix C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Party preference</strong></td>
<td>The following question was asked for each of the political parties in a country: “We have a number of parties in &lt;name of your country&gt; 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).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TV news programme exposure</strong></td>
<td>(Open question) “Which channels or television news programs do you watch regularly?” Coded per programme (0) no regular exposure; (1) regular exposure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Newspaper exposure</strong></td>
<td>(Open question) “Which newspaper or newspapers do you read regularly?” Coded per newspaper (0) no regular exposure; (1) regular exposure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compulsory voting</strong></td>
<td>Compulsory voting law in effect? (1) Belgium and Luxembourg; (0) all other countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Concurrent national elections</strong></td>
<td>(1) Belgium, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Spain; (0) all other countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self-reported social class</strong></td>
<td>“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?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urbanization</strong></td>
<td>“Would you say you live in a rural area or village, in a small or middle size town, or in a large town?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td>“Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion?” (If yes:) Which one?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Membership of trade union</strong></td>
<td>“Are you a member of a trade union?” Yes (1); No (0).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 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; 0.30 < H < 0.40: weak scale; 0.40 < H < 0.50: medium scale; 0.50 < H: strong scale.

Political Interest Scale

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

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:

\[ Y_1 = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_5 + b_6X_6 + b_7X_7 + b_8X_8 + b_9X_9 + b_{10}X_{10} + b_{11}X_{11} + b_{12}X_{12} + \epsilon \]

where
- \( Y_1 \) = 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 \( Y_i \) 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 \( R^2 \)s 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Adjusted R²</th>
<th>Size of party*</th>
<th>Size * adj. R²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPÖ</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>0.9906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÖVP</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>0.8207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPO</td>
<td>0.085</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>1.8615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grüne</td>
<td>0.143</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>0.6864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIF</td>
<td>0.152</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>0.8360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSA</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total for parties distinguished</td>
<td>98.6(^{†})</td>
<td>5.1952</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MPP \(=\frac{5.1952}{98.6\(^{†}\)}\times 100\)

† 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SPÖ</th>
<th>ÖVP</th>
<th>FPÖ</th>
<th>Grüne</th>
<th>LIF</th>
<th>CSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zeit im Bild 1 (ORF), 19:30</td>
<td>.108*</td>
<td>-.105*</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td>-.060</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>-.056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeit im Bild 2 (ORF), gegen 22.00 Uhr</td>
<td>-.019</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td>-.060</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.104*</td>
<td>.058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeit im Bild 3 (ORF), gegen Mitternacht</td>
<td>.032</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td>-.040</td>
<td>-.009</td>
<td>-.061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARD, ZDF-Nachrichten</td>
<td>-.099</td>
<td>-.032</td>
<td>-.050</td>
<td>-.096*</td>
<td>-.101*</td>
<td>-.060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kronen-Zeitung</td>
<td>.087</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>.159**</td>
<td>-.174**</td>
<td>-.131**</td>
<td>.066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kleine Zeitung</td>
<td>-.006</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>-.060</td>
<td>-.030</td>
<td>.100*</td>
<td>.131*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurier</td>
<td>-.022</td>
<td>.126*</td>
<td>-.125*</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>.109*</td>
<td>.082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Standard</td>
<td>.071</td>
<td>-.180**</td>
<td>-.184**</td>
<td>.281**</td>
<td>.257**</td>
<td>-.108*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Presse</td>
<td>-.081</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>-.028</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>-.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Täglich Alles</td>
<td>.081</td>
<td>-.001</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>-.037</td>
<td>-.058</td>
<td>-.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salzburger Nachrichten</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>-.021</td>
<td>-.058</td>
<td>.114*</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oberösterreichische Nachrichten</td>
<td>-.021</td>
<td>.121*</td>
<td>-.002</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td>-.010</td>
<td>.103*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n 409 408 406 403 402 388
Adj. R² .026 .029 .085 .143 .752 .016
Size of party 38.1 28.3 21.9 4.8 5.5 0.0

*Weighted adj. R² = .053
### Belgium – Flanders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SP</th>
<th>VLD</th>
<th>Agalev</th>
<th>CVP</th>
<th>Vlaams Blok</th>
<th>VU-ID21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV 1 “Het journaal”, 19:00</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>.143</td>
<td>-.014</td>
<td>.389**</td>
<td>-.152*</td>
<td>-.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canvas “Journaal”, 20:00</td>
<td>.163*</td>
<td>.031</td>
<td>-.056</td>
<td>-.034</td>
<td>-.037</td>
<td>-.071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV 1 “Het journaal laat”, rond 23 uur</td>
<td>-.185**</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>-.040</td>
<td>-.039</td>
<td>.058</td>
<td>-.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“VTM “Nieuws en sport” 19:00</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>-.081</td>
<td>-.187*</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.276**</td>
<td>-.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“VTM-Laat”, rond 23 uur</td>
<td>-.039</td>
<td>-.030</td>
<td>-.195**</td>
<td>-.039</td>
<td>-.012</td>
<td>-.060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Het Laatste Nieuws</td>
<td>-.156*</td>
<td>.019</td>
<td>-.301**</td>
<td>-.083</td>
<td>.251**</td>
<td>-.212**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Gazet van Antwerpen</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>.093</td>
<td>-.200**</td>
<td>-.039</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>-.134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R²</td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>.019</td>
<td>.170</td>
<td>.127</td>
<td>.239</td>
<td>.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of party</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Weighted adj. R² = .100

### Belgium – Wallonia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PS</th>
<th>PRL-FDP-MCC</th>
<th>Ecolo</th>
<th>PSC</th>
<th>FN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RTBF La Une “Journal”, 19:30</td>
<td>-.082</td>
<td>-.063</td>
<td>-.168</td>
<td>-.016</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTL-TVI “Journal”, 19:00</td>
<td>-.046</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td>-.020</td>
<td>.200*</td>
<td>.184*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV 1 “Het journaal”, 19:00</td>
<td>-.031</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>-.124</td>
<td>-.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Soir</td>
<td>-.025</td>
<td>-.112</td>
<td>.075</td>
<td>-.199*</td>
<td>-.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Dernière Heure</td>
<td>-.132</td>
<td>-.192*</td>
<td>-.127</td>
<td>-.167</td>
<td>.231*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Meuse / La Lanterne</td>
<td>.113</td>
<td>-.133</td>
<td>.119</td>
<td>-.231*</td>
<td>-.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R²</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td>.052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of party</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Weighted adj. R² = .024
### Britain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>Lib. Dem.</th>
<th>SNP</th>
<th>Plaid Cymru</th>
<th>Green Party</th>
<th>UKIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BBC 9 o clock news</strong></td>
<td>.083***</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>-.057</td>
<td>-.039</td>
<td>.031</td>
<td>-.031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BBC 6 o clock (early evening) news</strong></td>
<td>-.009</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>-.043</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>-.001</td>
<td>-.059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BBC lunchtime news</strong></td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>-.051</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>-.039</td>
<td>-.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ITN 6.30 news (ITV’s main evening news programme)</strong></td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>.070</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td>-.047</td>
<td>.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ITN 11.00 pm news (late news headlines)</strong></td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>-.022</td>
<td>-.035</td>
<td>-.041</td>
<td>-.024</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ITN lunchtime news</strong></td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>-.010</td>
<td>-.043</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td>.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Channel Four News at 7pm</strong></td>
<td>-.035</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>-.038</td>
<td>-.027</td>
<td>-.011</td>
<td>-.003</td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Channel Five News (anytime)</strong></td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>-.022</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.122**</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>.070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BBC2’s Newsnight (daily programme at 10.30pm)</strong></td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>-.026</td>
<td>-.031</td>
<td>-.046</td>
<td>-.006</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SKY News (anytime)</strong></td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>-.021</td>
<td>-.033</td>
<td>-.007</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>-.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Telegraph</strong></td>
<td>.149**</td>
<td>-.194**</td>
<td>-.027</td>
<td>-.071</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>-.074**</td>
<td>.033</td>
</tr>
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*Weighted adj. R² = .071
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*Weighted adj. R² = .091
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*Weighted adj. R² – 0.18

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*Weighted adj. R² = .075
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- Die Welt: .090** -.056 -.076* .030 -.017 -.043
- Frankfurter Rundschau: -.077* .025 .080* -.010 -.040 .036
- Süddeutsche Zeitung: -.032 .030 .027 .013 -.029 -.034
- BILD: -.058 -.026 -.098** -.032 .124** -.013
- taz: .003 -.078* .002 .065 -.001 .041

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Size of party: 35.1 40.9 6.7 6.2 1.8 5.1

*Weighted adj. $R^2 = .010$
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*Weighted adj. R² = 0.199
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*Weighted adj. R² = .016
### Italy

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* Adj. R² indicates adjusted R-squared, which adjusts for the number of predictors in the model. Significance levels are denoted as: **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05.
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| Size of party | 2.6 | 10.1 | 8.6 | 3.7 | 5.8 |

*Weighted adj. R² = .144

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| Size of party | 30.3 | 19.3 | 25.4 | 9.0 | 9.9 | 1.8 | 1.7 |

*Weighted adj. R² = .045
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*Weighted adj. $R^2 = .057$
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- Weighted adj. $R^2 = 0.62$

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### Spain

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<td>.017</td>
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### Notes

- Weighted adj. $R^2 = 0.105$
### Sweden

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vänsterpartiet</th>
<th>Socialdem.</th>
<th>Miljöpartiet</th>
<th>Centerpartiet</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rapport TV2</td>
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<td>-.030</td>
<td>-.078</td>
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<td>Nyheterna TV4</td>
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<td>.051</td>
<td>-.001</td>
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<td>Aktuellt Kanal1</td>
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<td>-.069</td>
<td>-.003</td>
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<td>TV3 Direkt</td>
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<td>.006</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aftonbladet</td>
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<td>.148**</td>
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<td>Dag. Nyheter</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>-.011</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>.067</td>
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<tr>
<td>Svenska Dagbladet</td>
<td>-.220**</td>
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<td>-.213**</td>
<td>-.129**</td>
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<td>Goteborgs-Posten</td>
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<td>-.021</td>
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<td>459</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>453</td>
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<td>Adj. R²</td>
<td>.084</td>
<td>.074</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>.015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Size of party</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
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### Sweden (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Folkpartiet</th>
<th>Kristdem.</th>
<th>Moderaterna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rapport TV2</td>
<td>-.076</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>-.051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyheterna TV4</td>
<td>-.015</td>
<td>-.026</td>
<td>.049</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aktuellt Kanal1</td>
<td>.153**</td>
<td>.081</td>
<td>.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV3 Direkt</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>-.023</td>
<td>-.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aftonbladet</td>
<td>-.172**</td>
<td>-.106**</td>
<td>-.145**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dag. Nyheter</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>-.047</td>
<td>.024</td>
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<td>Svenska Dagbladet</td>
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<td>Goteborgs-Posten</td>
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<td>n</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. R²</td>
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<td>.054</td>
<td>.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of party</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All tables

* Significant on 5% level

** Significant on 1% level

Weighted adj. R² = 0.068
Appendix E
Specification of variables used in the analyses of Chapter 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Age at election year in 3 categories: 1) 21-30; 2) 31-60; 3) 61-80.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read about politics</td>
<td>“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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political interest</td>
<td>“In general, how interested in politics are you?” 1) not at all interested; 2) not very interested; 3) fairly interested; 4) very interested.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party attachment</td>
<td>Party identification, strength. 1) no party preference; 2) party preference; 3) adherent; 4) strongly convinced adherent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political efficacy</td>
<td>“The parties are only interested in people’s votes, not in what they think”. 1) strongly agree; 2) agree; 3) disagree; 4) strongly disagree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Contextual measure press-party parallelism, calculated in a similar fashion as MPP (media-party parallelism, see Appendix C; solely calculated for newspaper exposure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleavage Voting</td>
<td>See appendix F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

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

\(^*\) percentage of votes gained at national parliamentary election.


\(^{55}\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electoral participation EP elections 1999</td>
<td>“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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral participation last General Elections</td>
<td>“Which party did you vote for at the 1997 General Election?” Did not vote (0) voted for any party (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consonance between attitude towards the EU and exposure to European discourse in newspaper</td>
<td>Consonance category (1) contrasted to those who do neither experience consonance nor dissonance (cross-pressures) on this topic (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-Pressures between attitude towards the EU and exposure to European discourse in newspaper</td>
<td>Cross-pressured (dissonance) category (1) contrasted to those who do neither experience consonance nor dissonance (cross-pressures) on this topic (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political interest</td>
<td>Political interest score, see Appendix B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days reading a newspaper</td>
<td>“Normally, how many days of the week do you read a newspaper?” (0-7 days)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attention to news about Europe</td>
<td>“How much attention do you pay to news about Europe?” A lot (4), some (3), a little (2), or none (1)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU ‘good thing’</td>
<td>“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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU ‘bad thing’</td>
<td>“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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social class</td>
<td>“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)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Age at time of interview</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, Ctot) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>European Party Choice</th>
<th>Party A</th>
<th>Party B</th>
<th>Party C</th>
<th>No vote</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Target Distribution</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Party A</td>
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<td>eb</td>
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<td>an</td>
<td>A_{tot} A_{EE}</td>
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<tr>
<td>Party B</td>
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<td>bb</td>
<td>bc</td>
<td>bn</td>
<td>B_{tot} B_{EE}</td>
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<tr>
<td>Party C</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>cb</td>
<td>cc</td>
<td>cn</td>
<td>C_{tot} C_{EE}</td>
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<tr>
<td>No vote</td>
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<td>nb</td>
<td>nc</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td>N_{tot} N_{EE}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[
w_p = \frac{(aa*w_a + ba*w_b + ca*w_c)}{(aa+ba+ca)}
\]

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:

\[
w_q = \frac{(ab*w_a + bb*w_b + cb*w_c)}{(ab+bb+cb)}
\]
\[
w_r = \frac{(ac*w_a + bc*w_b + cc*w_c)}{(ac+bc+cc)}
\]

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

\[
w_s = \frac{(an*w_a + bn*w_b + cn*w_c + nn*(N_{EE}/N_{tot}))}{(an+bn+cn+nn)}
\]

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

\[
w = \frac{N_{EE}}{(na*w_p + nb*w_q + nc*w_r + nn*w_s)}
\]
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.