



European Elections
Monitoring Center

EEMC

The EEMC 20-23 Companion

Edited by Stamatis Poulakidakos

The EEMC 20-23 Companion

Collected and edited by Stamatis Poulakidakos



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Edited By Stamatis Poulakidakos

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Part 1: The Archives

The European Elections Monitoring Center (EEMC) - www.electionsmonitoringcenter.eu- is an academic research center composed of universities, international scholars and researchers, The team brings together considerable experience in the field of political communication and European affairs from every European Union Member State. Premised on the idea that publicity materials produced for the European parliamentary elections are essential for documenting the history of the European Union and its political culture, the Center aims to ensure their preservation for future study.

The objects of the European Election Monitoring Center are:

- to support the development of the European Elections Monitoring Center
- to promote the diffusion of knowledge about electoral debates in European election campaigns;
- to improve the transnational circulation of election related material produced in the different nations;
- to allow European citizens to access and compare different national European campaigns;
- to improve the study and knowledge of European political communication, political cultures, and political history.

Led by Professor Edoardo Novelli of Roma Tre University, the EEMC network has been operational for 15 years. In this time it has monitored and studied the 2009, 2014 and 2019 European election campaigns, published scientific papers and research reports, and organized international conferences, workshops and seminars all over Europe.

In 2019, thanks to the **Platform Europe** project (n. COMM/SUBV/2018/E/0147), funded by the European Parliament in support of the 2019 European Elections, and coordinated by prof. Bengt Johansson, (University of Gothenburg), and prof. Edoardo Novelli (Roma Tre University), the European Elections Monitoring Center provided real time monitoring of the 2019 electoral campaign across all 28 EU Member States using a data crawling platform based on automated analysis systems and AI models. The EEMC created a web archive containing more than 12,000 electoral related items produced by rival political parties in every member state of the EU, organized 28 European workshops on the

campaign, and published periodic reports, as well as the final report - 2019 European elections campaign. Images, topics, media in the 28 member states - which was published by the Public Opinion Monitoring Unit - DG Comm of the European Parliament (<https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/e6767a95-a386-11e9-9d01-01aa75ed71a1/language-en>) and was presented at the House of European History in Brussels on July 11, 2019.

In 2020 the EEMC launched a three-year research project, the **EEMC Network 20-23** (n. 20911-EPP-1-2020-1-IT-EPPJMO-NETWORK), funded by the European Commission within the Erasmus+ Programme Jean Monnet Actions Network. The new project has focused on the conservation, dissemination, analysis, and study of electoral materials produced for the European Elections over the years.

The primary goals of the Network 20-23 were:

- to create a digital and online archive devoted to all the European Elections held since 1979;
- to publish a database of archives, foundations, private and public libraries, and political parties who collect European electoral materials;
- to organize four conferences focused on different aspects of the European election campaigns;
- to produce publications concerning different activities of the project and issues relating to EU elections campaigning;
- to conduct an online educational course about European Elections.

Members and coordinators of EEMC Network 20-23 project are Associate Professor Norbert Merkóvity (University of Szeged), Professor Edoardo Novelli (Roma Tre University), Assistant Professor Stamatis Poulakidakos (University of Western Macedonia) and Professor Dominic Wring (Loughborough University).

Thanks to the work of researchers and collaborations with various archives and foundations, the **Archive of the European elections** is now available on the EEMC website (www.electionsmonitorigcenter.eu). It provides free access to all the campaign materials that have been collected, thereby promoting the dissemination of the project's findings as well as public and scientific debate about European elections. The EEMC archive currently contains 3,706 posters, 11,103 social media contents, 879 tv commercials and 110 press advertisements produced by hundreds of national political parties during the European elections from 1979 to 2019. The EEMC archive can be consulted online through different chronological, geographical and thematic search keys. It is the most important and complete online documentation of the European election campaigns, of the evolution of forms and languages of political communication, and of the history of the main European political cultures.

The EEMC 20-23 Companion is one of the publications produced by the EEMC20-23 project and is divided into two different sections. The first one includes a brief presentation of the public and private archives and founda-

tions, some of which are linked to national political parties, based in Europe that contributed to the EEMC activities through giving information and providing electoral material from the various European elections held since 1979. The section includes basic information about these archives and the material that was given to the EEMC Network 20-23 research team and then incorporated into the EEMC archive. The hope is that it constitutes a useful collection for researchers, students and scholars interested in a particular type of visual documentation that is often not considered worthy of preservation. The book is also a public acknowledgement of the existence and important work done by the archives that contributed to our research. After having contacted more than 400 archives -public and private ones- all over Europe, the archives included in this book are the ones that corresponded to our call and provided us with the electoral material that enriched the Archive of the European elections.

The second section includes the texts that formed the basis for the scenarios included in educational videos produced by the EEMC project about the Center's work and the European elections (one video presents the project and the other considers each election held from 1979 to 2019). The texts were produced to be accessible to a wide audience of students interested in learning more about the topic and the various sources of information used in the project. We hope that this book makes its own small contribution to the wider dissemination of information about European elections and serves as a useful supplementary material for understanding the past and present of the European elections.

The EEMC 20-23 Coordinators

AUSTRIA

Poster Collection at the Austrian National Library

Contact Information

- Website: www.onb.ac.at
- Contact: bildarchiv@onb.ac.at
- Country: Austria
- Address: Josefsplatz 1, 1015 Vienna- Austria
- Foundation: 1916
- Affiliation: Austrian National Library

The Poster and Graphic Design Collection is an intergral part of the Picture Archives and Graphics Department housed within the Austrian National Library.

Archive History

The Picture Archives and Graphics Department stands as Austria's most extensive repository of historical media, boasting over three million objects. Serving as an archive, library, scientific picture agency, and reproduction service point for various departments of the Austrian National Library, it holds a diverse collection. Originally founded in 1916 through a generous donation from Austria's foremost poster collector within the former Court Library, the Poster Collection now encompasses nearly 100,000 posters accessible for online research. Notably, a significant portion of this digital collection comprises political and election posters dating back to 1911. The Austrian National Library remains committed to expanding its repository, actively collecting contemporary posters through legal deposit.

European Elections Materials

The archive houses 312 posters, with 170 available online. These posters were created for the last six European Parliament Elections since Austria joined the EU on January 1st, 1995. The collection spans from 1994 to 2019.

Materials by Year of Election

- European Parliament Elections 1996 (Austria only): 18 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1999: 61 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2004: 34 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2009: 41 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2014: 8 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2019: 8 posters

Additionally, there is a collection of 142 posters for the European Parliament Elections 1999 from the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden. As these posters originate from abroad, they are not digitized and not yet integrated into our digital library.

Party Materials Collected by the Archive

The archive gathers materials produced by the following parties in Austria:

- ÖVP (Österreichische Volkspartei)
- SPÖ (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs)
- FPÖ (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs)
- Liberales Forum
- Die Grünen
- BZÖ (Bundnis Zukunft Österreich)
- KPÖ (Kommunistische Partei Österreichs)
- EU-STOP Partei.

Policy

All electoral materials and documents on the www.onb.ac.at website are available for study purposes. The Austrian National Library does not hold the copyright of these materials. Users are responsible for obtaining permission for usage on their own.

BELGIUM



HOUSE OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

House of European History

Contact Information

- Website: <https://historia-europa.ep.eu>.
- Contact: Historia@europarl.europa.eu.
- Country: Belgium
- Visiting address: Rue Belliard 135, 1000 Brussels
- Postal address: House of European History, European Parliament, Rue Wiertz 60, 1047 Brussels
- Opening: 2017
- Affiliation: European Parliament

Archive History

The House of European History is a museum dedicated to exploring the transnational phenomena that have intrinsically shaped the history of the European continent. A project of the European Parliament and part of its visitor offerings, the House operates with academic independence. Founded in May 2017, the museum's genesis dates back to 2007 when the European Parliament appointed a committee of experts to conceptualize the project.

Taking a transnational approach, the House interprets history from a European perspective, while connecting and comparing shared experiences and their diverse interpretations. Its overarching aim is to foster learning on transnational perspectives across Europe. Serving as a forum for learning, reflection and debate, it is open to audiences from all generations and backgrounds whose primary mission is to enhance understanding of European history in all its complexity, to encourage the exchange of ideas and equally to question all inquisitive assumptions.

The House presents Europe's history in a way that raises awareness about the multiplicity of perspectives and perceptions. It preserves shared and divisive memories. It also exhibits and collects the history of European integration and its foundations. Its transnational collection, its exhibitions and its programmes provide unexpected and inspiring experiences.

Through outreach and partnerships, it seeks to strengthen the European dimension in debating, exhibiting and learning about history. A place for encounters and exchange, the House's multi-faceted interpretation of the past builds bridges to questions relevant to contemporary Europe.

European Elections Materials

The collection of the House of European History contains about 7,000 posters, among which a myriad of posters related to the European elections spanning from 1979 to 2014 induced by different political parties of the EU member states.

KADOC – KU Leuven

Contact Information

- Website: <https://kadoc.kuleuven.be/english/index>.
- Contact: info.kadoc@kuleuven.be.
- Country: Belgium
- Address: Vlamingenstraat, 39 3000, Leuven
- Foundation: 1976
- Affiliation: KU Leuven

About

KADOC is the Interfaculty Documentation and Research Centre on Religion, Culture and Society at KU Leuven. Established in 1976, KADOC is not only one of the leading cultural heritage institutions in Belgium, but also an international centre devoted for the study of the interaction between religion, culture and society in the 19th and 20th centuries. It preserves and discloses an impressive collection of archives, data, and heritage that has emerged from the interplay between religion, culture and society in a Belgian, European, and respectively, a global context. In 2022, the KADOC heritage collections contained 35 current kilometers of archival units, 300,000 books, and 16,500 periodicals. Most significantly, these KADOC collections extend beyond geographical boundaries as they document interactions between Europe and the Americas, Asia and Africa that were intermediated by missionaries, political movements, churches, NGOs and migrants, shaping, in turn, the world we inhabit nowadays. This collection offers a lens into political and social developments, namely the development of civil society, the welfare state, democratization, European integration, and secularization. It holds a rich set of materials from political movements, politicians with a European/international profile, trade unions, NGOs to religious congregations. KADOC stimulates international research within its collections by organizing international conferences, launching networks with European universities and partner-institutions, publishing innovative studies, and hosting researchers from across the globe, both junior and senior.

Materials Collected

Within KADOC's collections lie approximately 35,000 running meters of archives and 350,000 publications. It gives much significance to the heritage of Christian democracy which evolved from 1945 until the present day. Together with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Germany and the Istituto Luigi Sturzo in Italy, KADOC co-founded the Civitas Forum of Archives and Research on Christian Democracy (<https://civitas-farcdeu.eu/civitas/s/civitas/page/home>). This part-

nership promotes historical research on the history of Christian democracy within and beyond Europe. It preserves the archives, audiovisual materials and publications of Belgian and Flemish Christian democracy.

The poster collection has around 36,000 units. Most of them have been described online and can be consulted digitally. Freely accessible, they provided the KADOC repository as is mentioned in the website link (<http://abs.lias.be/Query/suchinfo.aspx>). The election posters—local, national, European—in this collection mostly come from the paper and digital archives of Belgian Christian Democratic politicians and the Belgian/Flemish Christian Democratic Party. In historical research, they should, therefore, be related to the electoral programs and campaigns present in those archives. For the EEMC database, KADOC has selected 161 posters pivotal for the European elections.



Liberass

Contact Information

- Website: <https://www.liberass.eu/en/>
- E-mail: info@liberass.eu
- Country: Belgium
- Address: Kramersplein 23, 9000, Gent, Belgium
- Foundation: 1982

Archive History

Established in 1982, Liberass stands as a living repository dedicated to chronicling the history of liberalism in Flanders and Belgium. Functioning as an open house with a dynamic public outreach program, Liberass is also a cultural archive recognised by the Flemish Government and a holder of the ISO certification ISO (9001:2015).

Liberass is the heritage centre for the history of the freedom ideal in all its facets. This ideal is translated into the pursuit of freedom, emancipation, self-fulfilment and democracy. All these aspects fall into the focus on freedom of thought and action, political and personal freedom (guaranteed by an independent administration of justice), freedom of religion and conscience, Church and State separation, freedom of association and non-association, freedom of expression, privacy protection, the free choice of profession, the freedom of educa-

tion, the right to private property and personal initiative, freedom to conduct a business, gender equality, and also, the social conditions essential for enjoying these freedoms.

Liberas targets individuals, associations and groups keen on shaping these aspirations. It seeks to be a solid and independent custodian of the rich cultural, social and political heritage of liberalism as expressed in the Oxford Charter. Its main misión is to preserve the past and map the present of all those organisations, associations, companies, schools, discussion groups, research centres and socially active persons inspired by the ideal of freedom, free thinking and free action.

Collection of Electoral Materials

Liberas holds a collection of 20, 114 electoral pamphlets, 5,559 electoral posters spanning from 1830 to the present. The archive contains numerous archival records, photographs, snapshots of websites, gadgets and videos related to elections.

European Electoral Materials

The iconographical collection roughly holds 1,300 items capturing the essence of European elections from 1979 to 2019. Liberas has contributed affectively by providing about 250 posters for the project. The selection consists of both campaign posters from candidates as well as general party propaganda.

As it mainly focuses on liberalism and freethought, Liberas holds electoral materials from the liberal parties in Flanders, with a secondary emphasis on the French-speaking part of Belgium. The main party represented in its collection is Open Vld (and its predecessors Liberale Partij, Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang (PVV) and Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten (VLD)). The French speaking parties MR and Défi (and their respective predecessors) are also present in the collection. Additionally, some smaller short-lived parties are respectively found in the archives such as Lijst Dedecker (LDD), Liberaal Appel and Veilig Blauw.

FINLAND



Keskustan ja Maaseudun Arkisto

Contact Information

- Website: <https://keskusta.fi/meista/keskustan-ja-maaseudun-arkisto/>
- Contact: Tuomo Sohlman, tuomo.sohlman@keskusta.fi
- Country: Finland
- Address: Apollonkatu 11a, 00100, Helsinki - Finland
- Foundation: 1970
- Affiliation: Keskusta (political party)

Archive History

The archive Keskustan ja maaseudun arkisto is one of the Finnish private central archives holding the Finnish centrist movement's archive material. The archive offers research services that include giving out information about the archived material and documents. This valuable repository provides scans of materials and lends some of these through mail. The archive was founded in 1970 and it holds material since the establishment of Maalaisliitto (the Centre Party of Finland, known as Keskusta) from 1906 onwards.

Materials Collected

The collection of Keskustan ja maaseudun arkisto has gathered material from numerous organizations affiliated with the political party Keskusta (previously Maalaisliitto). These organizations include the Centre Party of Finland, the Centre party's parliamentary group, newspaper associations (Maalaisliitto and Keskustan Lehtimiehet), the student association of Keskusta, Maakansa-Suomenmaa publishing company, Centre Party women, the Centre Party's youth organization and numerous other associations affiliated with the party. Additionally, the archive holds material from district and municipality organizations and other regional organizations. The archive currently holds around 160, 000 photographs affiliated with the Centre movement. The collections also include 1600 posters, recordings, over 50 movies, microfilms- and fiches and interviews (recordings and transcripts). It equally collects newspapers such as Avain, Kansamme Puolesta, Keskusta, Kyntäjä, Nuori Keskusta, Peltomies, Suomenmaa, Tukimies and Vesainen.

Policy

The archive offers numerous services free of charge, including research services and other guidance. Information and material related to public party

meetings are available and accessible to researchers and other individuals at not cost. However, for other materials, permission from the archive's manager is requested. The archive offers additional services such as photocopies, scans, material loans by mail, educational services, and extensive processes of investigation for a fee. Licensing is mandatory for the use of materials in commercial and public displays if the archive holds rights to the items.

European Election Materials

The archive contains material used in European Election campaigning from the Keskusta party since 1996 onwards. Contributing to the European Elections Monitoring Center, the archive provided 100 individual files comprising 5 post-cards, 1 election program, and 94 small prints such as fliers and postcards from 1996 – 2019.



Ruotsalainen kansanpuolue – Svenska folkpartiet i Finland

Contact Information

- Website: <https://sfp.fi/fi/etusivu/>
- Contact: Maria Grundström, maria.grundstrom@sfp.fi
- Country: Finland
- Address: Yrjönkatu 27, 00100 Helsinki
- Foundation: 1906
- Affiliation: Suomen ruotsalainen kansanpuolue / Svenska folkpartiet i Finland / the Swedish People's Party of Finland.

Archive History

Founded in 1906, Suomen Ruotsalainen Kansanpuolue - Svenska Folkpartiet i Finland, commonly known as the Swedish People's Party of Finland, is a political party dedicated to representing the Swedish-speaking minority population in Finland.

Materials Collected

The party holds material from the previous European Elections of 2009 to 2019. Older material of the party's campaigns is collected by the Svenska Centralarkivet.

Policy

There are no pre-stated policies regarding materials.

European Election Materials

The European Elections Monitoring Centre received a total of 12 materials from the archive for the year 2009, including 9 posters, the election program, and copies of various campaign materials. In 2014, a total of 6 files were contributed, encompassing 3 posters, 2 versions of the election program, and a copy of the pin design. Similarly, the archive provided 3 posters, 2 versions of the election program, and one flyer, for the year 2019.

SVENSKA
centralarkivet

Svenska Centralarkivet

Contact Information

- Website: <https://svenskacentralarkivet.fi/>
- Contact: Helena Kajander, helena.kajander@svenskacentralarkivet.fi
- Country: Finland
- Address: Snellmaninkatu 13 13 A, 00170 Helsinki
- Foundation: 1977
- Affiliation: Svenska folkpartiet i Finland / Suomen ruotsalainen kansanpuolue (political party)

Archive History

The archive Svenska Centralarkivet is one of the Finnish private central archives and holds material affiliated with Finnish-Swedish organizations and research in Finland.

The archive is open for researchers and offers two research places. The archive has material from 320 different archivists, research, and organisations. In addition, the Svenska Centralarkivet has 76 person archives.

Materials Collected

The archive focuses mostly on different documents, photographs, and posters. The archive collects transcripts, campaign material, correspondence, and other material from the Swedish People's Party of Finland and its regional organizations, numerous student organizations, women's organizations, the Swedish cultural foundation and so on. The archive holds material from 1890's onwards.

Policy

Different rights to the material need to be requested from the archive.

European Election Materials

The European Elections Monitoring Center received from the archive the EU programs of 1996 and 1999, 36 fliers and other small prints, 3 newspaper items, and 6 posters. In total 53 individual materials were received from the archive. All material received are from years 1996 and 1999.



Turun yliopisto
University of Turku

Turun Yliopiston Kirjasto, Sanomalehti- ja pienpain- atepalvelut

Contact Information

- Website: <https://www.utu.fi/fi/yliopisto/kirjasto>
- Contact: Sara Kannisto, sara.kannisto@utu.fi / kirjasto@utu.fi
- Country: Finland
- Address: Kalustekatu 1 b, 20320, Raisio
- Foundation: 1919 (the rights to The Legal Deposit Office)
- Affiliation: The University of Turku

Archive History

The library was granted the rights to the legal deposit office's material in 1919.

Materials Collected

The University library of Turku stands as a rich resource hub, boasting an extensive collection that over 900,000 E-books, more than 43,000 E-magazines, 1, 179, 000 books, 32, 000 magazines, 4, 400, 000 small prints and 17, 000 maps. The archive holds material dating back to before 1919 and provides access to small print material for research use in the facility located in Raisio, Finland. The small prints are not digitalized by the library, but the facilities offer scanning devices and cameras for recording. The facility in Raisio holds small prints and posters from all types of elections (Parliamentary, EU, Presidential, Municipal, Congregation), different parties and other political organizations. Additionally, the library holds small prints from other countries such as Bulgaria, China, Sweden, Sudan, Hungary, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, DDR, and USSR.

Policy

The wealth of materials at the University's facility is accessible for research purposes in Raisio. The material should be ordered beforehand. Materials are freely available for research use. In case of publishing any of the material, permissions for the use need to be requested from the owners of the original material.

European Election Materials

The European Elections Monitoring Center holds 424 scans of small prints from the library's material. Additionally, 7 posters and 25 newspaper pages were photographed.



Työväen Arkisto

Contact Information

- Website: <https://www.tyark.fi/>.
- Contact: Jani Kaunismäki & Hanna Jäntti, info@tyark.fi.
- Country: Finland
- Address: Sörnäisten rantatie 25, 00500 Helsinki
- Foundation: 1909
- Affiliation: The Finnish social democratic labour movement

Archive History

The archive Työväen Arkisto is one of the 11 Finnish private central archives, dedicated to providing material affiliated with the Finnish social democratic labour movement. The archive was founded by the Finnish Social democratic party (SDP) and the Finnish trade union (SAJ).

Materials Collected

The archive stores a diverse range of materials, encompassing documents, digital records, recordings, photographs, and videos from various organisations, companies, and individuals. The Social democratic party, and its regional associations, are significantly represented in the archive as well. In addition to the political labour movement, the archive collects material from labour unions, youth- and woman organizations and so on. Most of the Social democratic party's transcript documents are digitalised and the process of digitalisation of materials is in its ongoing.

The archive holds nearly a million photographs from late 1890's onwards (partly

digitalized), posters from the Finnish social democratic party and other organizations (in total tens of thousands of posters). The already digitalised photographs and posters are available at arjenhistoria.fi. As for films, the archive maintains its database where information on thousands of movies are gathered. While some films can be seen at the archive, the majority of film material is now stored at another archive, namely Kansallinen Audiovisuaalinen Arkisto.

Policy

The archive's material is public and freely accessible for research purposes, with the exception of some restricted materials. The latter can be accessed by first applying for a research permission. The material is under the restriction of copyright- and personal data protection laws. In cases where the material is publicly displayed, it is required that the archive is clearly mentioned in the publication.

European Election Materials

The European Elections Monitoring Centre has received a valuable contribution from the archive, including 10 posters and 4 small prints. The materials are from campaigns 1996 to 2019.



Vihreät
De Gröna

Vihreät De Gröna

Contact Information

- Website: <https://www.vihreat.fi/>
- Contact: Risto Kankaanpää, risto.kankaanpaa@vihreat.fi.
- Country: Finland
- Address: Mannerheimintie 15b A, 00260, Helsinki
- Foundation: 1987
- Affiliation: Vihreä liitto r.p.

Archive History

Most of the party's material is housed in one of the 11 private central archives Kansan Arkisto. The party holds some digitalized posters of previous elections.

Materials Collected

The party has digitalized posters of previous elections such as previous Parliamentary, Regional, and European Elections. Most of the party's campaign materials are accessible through the archive Kansan Arkisto.

Policy

There are no pre-stated policies regarding materials.

European Election Materials

The European Elections Monitoring Centre received posters from the European Elections 2009 and 2019. And, in total, 9 posters were being received.

FRANCE



Archives de la Fondation de l'écologie Politique

Contact Information

- Website: <https://www.archivesecolo.org/>
- Contact: Meixin Tambay, m.tambay@fondationecolo.org
- Country: France
- Address : 33 rue de la Colonie, 75013 Paris, France.
- Foundation: 2013

Archive History

The Political ecology foundation – Fondation de l'écologie politique or FEP – contributes to the preservation of the memory of environmental movements, French or European, by collecting and allowing access to their archives. It not only seeks to encourage research in this field but also to highlight this notable memory. Since 2015, the Foundation ensures the custody of fonds which were transferred by donation or deposit. The fonds come from green political parties and their various echelons as well as environmental activists.

Materials Collected

The Political ecology foundation – Fondation de l'écologie politique or FEP – custodies about 100 linear meters of archives which contain documents dating from the 1970s to the present day. The inventories of the fonds are available on the website of the archives of the foundation. Some documents have been digitized and can be consulted online.

Policy

All the electoral materials can be freely used with the necessary requirement to cite the source.

European Elections Materials

The archive contains 36 posters, produced in occasion of the European Parliament Elections from 1979 to 2019.

Materials by Year of Election

- European Parliament Elections 1979: 3 posters.
- European Parliament Elections 1984: 6 posters

- European Parliament Elections 1999: 5 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2004: 16 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2009: 4 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2014: 1 poster
- European Parliament Elections 2019: 1 poster

The archive collects materials produced by the following parties:

FRANCE:

- Les Verts.
- Europe Écologie.
- Europe Écologie Les Verts.

GERMANY:

- Die Grünen.



Fondation Jean-Jaurès

Contact Information:

- Website: www.archives-socialistes.fr
- Contact : TOUATI Guillaume
- Country: France
- Address: 12 cité Malesherbes, 75009, Paris
- Foundation: Fondée en 1992

About

France's leading political foundation, the Jean-Jaurès Foundation was recognized as being of 'public utility' since its initiation in 1992. Embracing independence, a European outlook and a commitment to social-democracy, the Jean-Jaurès foundation pursues the aim to shape the future in order to directly impact public policy through analysis and proposals and help re-conceptualise social democracy across the world, in general, and in Europe and France, particularly.

Archive History

Since its inception in 1992, the Fondation Jean-Jaurès set itself, among other objectives, to "promote the study and history of the workers' movement and international socialism". In 1997, it signed an agreement with the Socialist Party for the preservation of the archives and memory of the socialist movement - an agreement that was renewed in 2006. Similar agreements were established

with the Mouvement des jeunes socialistes in 2001 and the Socialist group in the National Assembly in 2013. It also regularly receives, by donation or deposit, personal collections of activists, elected officials and political leaders. The creation of the Socialist Archives Centre in 1999 was a response to the desire to professionalise the tasks of collecting, classifying and promoting the archives of the socialist movement, which have been entrusted to the Foundation since its creation.

Missions of the Archive Centre

Collecting, classifying, preserving, communicating to the public and promoting the archives of the socialist movement are the fundamental missions of the Archive Centre. These archives are mainly made up of working files, series of correspondence and press releases, transcriptions of congress debate and thematic press reviews, but also collections of socialist newspapers and magazines, posters, leaflets, photographic and audio-visual collections. At the rhythm of the socialist movement's high points (congresses, elections, etc.), the Archive Centre gathers documents to ensure the preservation of the socialist heritage. It offers advice to departmental federations and sections of the Socialist Party encountered with the problems of archiving their internal documents and publications. As a sight for research and meetings between researchers, the Fondation Jean-Jaurès implements a dynamic policy of promoting its archives through publications and events, often working in partnership with other foundations or documentation centres. It publishes research works and each year rewards the best master's thesis on the socialist movement with the Prix de la Fondation Jean-Jaurès. With unwavering support of the Ministry of Culture, a major digitisation project has been carried out since 2001 on part of the archive collections. These documents, namely texts, statements, speeches, press, photographs, posters, etc ... are presented on the archives-socialistes.fr portal.

European Elections Materials

The archive contains 90 posters produced for the European Parliament elections from 1979 to 2014.

Materials by Year of Election

- European Parliament Elections 1979: 17 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1984: 17 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1989: 20 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1994: 7 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1999: 11 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2004: 6 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2009: 5 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2014: 7 posters

GREECE



Front of the Greek Anti-Capitalist Left

Contact Information

- Website: <https://antarsya.gr/>
- E-mail : info@antarsya.gr
- Country: Greece
- Foundation: 2009

About

The Front of the Greek Anti-Capitalist Left (ANTARSYA) is a Greek communist party that was formed in March 2009 through the collaborative efforts of forces and individuals within the anti-capitalist, communist Left, as well as radical ecological circles. Since its inception, the party has played a decisive role in a plethora of social mobilizations of recent Greek political life. The forces currently involved in the Front of the Greek Anti-Capitalist Left are as in what follows: the Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece (EKKE), the New Left Current for the Communist Liberation (NAR), the Communist Liberation Youth (NKA), the Alternative Ecologists (OE), the Organization of Communist Internationalists of Greece – Spartacus (OKDE – Spartacus) and the Socialist Workers Party (SEK).

European Elections Materials

The Front of the Greek Anti-Capitalist Left has participated in all European elections held since its formation, but remains unattached to any political group in the European Parliament. Essentially, the party holds a strong anti-EU stance; it advocates Greece's exit from the European Union and the abandonment of the European currency. For the needs of the EEMC project, the Front of the Greek Anti-Capitalist Left provided campaign materials from the 2019 European elections in Greece.



Lab of Political Communication and Information Media

Contact Information

- Website: <http://lab-com.pspa.uoa.gr/>
- E-mail: labcom@labcom-uoa.gr
- Country: Greece
- Address: 42-44 Aiolou Street, 105 60, Athens, Greece
- Foundation: 1884
- Affiliation: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

About

Founded in 1986 under the guidance of Professor Anastasios-Ioannis D. Metaxas, who served as its inaugural Director until 2007, the Lab of Political Communication and Information Media operates within the Section of Political Science of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration. This department is affiliated with the School of Economics and Political Sciences of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. The Lab pursues interdisciplinary research, focusing on issues directly or indirectly related to its name, such as electoral procedures, political polls and public opinion surveys, new media and politics, contemporary modes of political and social representation, etc. What's more, it partners with other sectors, departments, universities, political, educational and cultural institutions, either in Greece or abroad that share similar objectives.

Materials Collected

Among the collections maintained by the Lab, there is an archive of iconological campaign materials and political posters, dating back to the 1977 general elections. For the needs of the EEMC project, the Lab provided 77 posters of various political parties for the 1984 European elections in Greece.



National Historical Museum

Contact Information

- Website: <https://www.nhmuseum.gr/en/>.
- E-mail: For requests concerning the Collections Department, the Archive of Historical Documents and the Photographic Archive: collections@nhmuseum.gr.

For requests concerning the Museum's Library: library@nhmuseum.gr.

For other requests: info@nhmuseum.gr.

- Country: Greece
- Address: Old Parliament Building, 13 Stadiou Street, 105 61, Athens, Greece
- Foundation: 1884

About

Established by the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece in 1882, the National Historical Museum is a testament to the rich history of modern Hellenism. Oriented towards key epochs like the period of Turkish and Frankish rule, the Revolution of 1821, the liberation struggles, the creation of independent state, the museum's collections and archives trace the evolution of Hellenism in its political, social and spiritual dimensions up to the present day.

The Museum was born through the joint action of a rapidly evolving society, and it emerged during a time of creating relevant institutions. Since then, the Museum operated for the public for over half a century in the halls of the Athens Polytechnic, becoming a reliable reference to city's life. It actively enriched its collections both within the country and by organizing excursions to areas of Hellenism outside the borders of the time, in Macedonia, Epirus, Asia Minor, Constantinople, Alexandria. Since 1962, the Museum has found its home in the Old Parliament House on Stadiou Street (Kolokotroni Square). The building, directly connected with Greek history, serves as the first permanent base of the Greek National Assembly.

European Elections Materials

The poster collection is the newest one of the Museum's collections, as it was formed in the 1980s. Today, it includes over 3,000 posters related to political, artistic and social events, dated after 1974. For the needs of the EEMC project, the Museum provided 30 posters from European elections in Greece, dating from 1984 to 2004.



δημιουργία, ξανά!

Recreate Greece

Contact Information

- Website: <https://www.dimiourgiaxana.gr/en/>.
- E-mail: info@dimiourgiaxana.gr.
- Country: Greece
- Foundation: 2011

About

Founded in December 2011, Recreate Greece stands as a beacon of liberalism in the Greek political landscape. The party's inaugural conference, held in March 2012, marked the election of its leader, Thanos Tzimeros, and National Committee. The Greek parliamentary elections of the same year were the first ones in which the party participated, forming an electoral alliance with two more parties of similar size. Since then, Recreate Greece has participated in most Greek elections, without ever managing to cross the parliamentary threshold entry.

European Elections Materials

Recreate Greece, a staunch supporter of Greece's EU membership, emphasized the importance of collaborative efforts between the Greek people and their European counterparts. Aiming to shield the European civilization against authoritarian regimes of all types, Recreate Greece provided campaign materials from the 2014 and 2019 European elections in Greece for the basic needs of the EEMC project.



Union of Centrists

Contact Information

- Website: <https://enosi-kentroon.gr/ek/english/>.
- E-mail: info@enosi-kentroon.gr.
- Country: Greece
- Address: 28 Karolou Street, 104 37, Athens, Greece
- Foundation: 1992

About

The Union of Centrists, though its name was later modified, was founded in 1992 by Vasilis Leventis under the title “Union of Centrists and Ecologists”. Conceived of as a centrist party, it identifies itself as a historical continuation of the Centre Union party of the late George Papandreou, former Prime Minister of Greece. With a political agenda centered on anti-corruption and transparency, the party has been one of the longest standing parties of the country’s modern political life, having participated in all elections held since its establishment. In that regard, Vasilis Leventis remains one of the enduring entities in Greece’s modern political landscape.

European Elections Materials

Since 2016, the Union of Centrists has become a member of the European Democratic Party (Parti Démocrate Européen, EDP – PDE). The party is in favor of Greece’s EU membership and stresses the need for the country’s proper political representation in European institutions. For the EEMC project, the Union of Centrists generously shared its collection of posters and commercials from the 2009, 2014 and 2019 European elections in Greece.

ITALY



The Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna

Manifestipolitici.it emerges as a visionary project conceived by the Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna, whose work is concerned with preserving and promoting contemporary historical records, and making them available for research purposes. The project consists of an online, open access database of posters, postcards and flyers related to political, social and cultural issues.

Archive History

Launched in 2000, this project was designed to make available paper records meant for walls or hand-to-hand circulation, though susceptible to quick deterioration, hence, can be difficult to collect and preserve. Posters, postcards and flyers represent significant historical evidence, which might have a strong iconographical, textual or emotional impact. These artifacts are crucial for comprehending both the present and the past, offering a window into cultural seasons, socio-political changes, and the evolution of contemporary visual communication and graphics.

The original posters, postcards and flyers available in the online catalogue belong to various collections, both public and private, including that of the Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna itself. From the very start, the project has been carried out in collaboration with other conservation bodies; the Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna always pursues the involvement of new subjects so as to build a wide network and set up a rich, varied and valid source of documentary resources.

To bring together different subjects and professional skills is to create an innovative source of information in a singularly virtual space, acting as a reservoir of (otherwise ephemeral) iconographic documents pertaining to various disciplines: history, politics, culture, language, communication, graphics, and iconography. Manifestipolitici.it is constantly being enriched with new materials. With over 16,000 pieces available, the database offers free access to various materials studied through analytical and standardized descriptive data. Each element in the collection is accessible through diversified searches, combining traditional methods for bibliographic research (e.g. by author, client, illustrator, topic, event, year) with the user-friendliness of online search engines, which makes the database versatile and accessible to variant audiences.

Collected Materials

Manifestipolitici.it provides an extensive collection of national and international paper records on social and political issues. The database contains historical posters of political propaganda for elections and referendums, self-productions of the youth movement, the communication of local authorities, testimonies from various European and Latin American countries, the creative expression of the movements of the early 2000s. Materials, commissioned predominantly by parties, movements, associations and unions, especially post-World War II period, were created by eminent artists and designers. Notable contributors include Albe Steiner, Nani Tedeschi, Ennio Calabria, Ettore Vitale, Bruno Magno, Massimo Dolcini, Michele Spera, Pablo Echaurren, Tadahiko Ogawa, Dario Fo, Jean-Michel Folon, Emanuele Luzzati, Rainer Hachfeld, Andrea Rauch, Panebarco, Claudio Pesci.

Policy

Materials present in the database are freely available online. For citations : « Manifestipolitici.it, banca dati sul manifesto politico e sociale contemporaneo della Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna - www.manifestipolitici.it ». For commercial use of the images: contact the Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna Onlus (manifesti@iger.org).

European Elections Materials

Among the over 16, 000 pieces present in the Manifestipolitici.it catalogue, 384 posters are related to the elections to the European Parliament (1979-2019).

European Elections Materials by Year

- 1979 European Parliament elections: 10 documents
- 1984 European Parliament elections: 35 documents
- 1989 European Parliament elections: 52 documents
- 1994 European Parliament elections: 29 documents
- 1999 European Parliament elections: 68 documents
- 2004 European Parliament elections: 148 documents
- 2009 European Parliament elections: 9 documents
- 2014 European Parliament elections: 14 documents
- 2019 European Parliament elections: 19 documents

The archive collects materials preserved by the following subjects:

- Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna (Bologna)
- Archivio Albe e Lica Steiner (Milan)
- Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio (Bologna)
- Biblioteca di Storia moderna e contemporanea (Rome)
- Fondazione Istituto Piemontese A. Gramsci (Turin)
- Fondazione Archivio Luigi Nono (Venice)
- Centro di documentazione F. Madaschi, formerly Centro Documentazione Ar-

cigay (Bologna)

- Istituto Storico di Modena
- Casa per la Pace la Filanda (Casalecchio di Reno, Bo)
- Provincia di Bologna
- Centro Partiti Politici dell'Università di Macerata
- Centro Documentazione UISP (Bologna)
- Comune di Castelnuovo Rangone (Mo)
- Associazione Caiçara de Promoçào Humana, ONG (Icapui, Brazil)
- Istituto Gramsci Marche (Ancona)
- Raccolta De Felice-Sbriziolo (Naples)

An experimental collection of digital documents is also included which are downloaded from the internet, and also, a collection of posters was donated to the Fondazione Gramsci Emilia-Romagna by the Partito Socialista Italiano.

Note: Organizations listed above contribute to the Manifestipolitici.it project by making available partially or totally of their collections of political propaganda and political communication.

Fondazione Istituto Piemontese A. Gramsci

Contact Information

- Website: <http://www.gramscitorino.it/>
- Contact: Claudio Salin; archivio@gramscitorino.it
- Country: Italy
- Address: via del Carmine 14, 10122, Turin - Italy
- Foundation: 1974

Archive History

Established in 1974, the Fondazione Istituto Piemontese Antonio Gramsci became a significant cultural beacon in Turin, acting as a meeting point between the various left-wing cultures. Viewed as a privileged observatory of the socio-economic development of the city, the Fondazione has been specializing in the history of the labor movement, while addressing critical issues of contemporary society (work, young people, flexibility) and new cultural and political trends for local development. From these two instances arises the need to explore new communication and productive paths, in collaboration with similar Institutions and Foundations and with subjects from different fields. The Fondazione's activity focuses on three fronts:

- The dissemination of culture through seminars, conferences, research, courses for schools, etc.
- The Library.
- The Archive.

The Fondazione Gramsci, guided by its statutory purposes, is devoted to collecting, conserving, and enhancing the archival funds that are related to the Turin workers and democratic movement. It is an integral concentration of materials from 1879 up to the present, remarkable not only from a quantitative but also qualitative point of view, managing to document extended and sometimes unpublished aspects and periods of the history. With over 200 archival collections preserved by the Fondazione Piemontese A. Gramsci covering approximately 1800 linear meters of shelves, an archival heritage that can be traced back to such athenatic areas as—trade union policy, cooperative and mutual aid, associations' policies, and also enriched by a large number of significant personal archival collections. More specifically, the funds can be attributed to the following insights:

1. Political Area:

It includes the archives of the PCI (regional of Piedmont, Federation of Turin, Youth Federation of Turin, areas and sections, individual managers and officials): 8 collections for a total of 105 linear meters, for the period 1937-1991. Other political funds, including PSIUP, PDUP, Proletarian Democracy, Student Movement and other movements.

2. Trade Union Area:

Encompassing archives of the Piedmont CGIL, the Turin Chamber of Labor, the trade unions, some structures, and individual officials. These funds extensively document the bargaining activity of the employment relationship, a specific function of Workers union, followed by that relating to economic and social policy, especially for the last forty years. Worthy of note, although quantitatively smaller, is the documentation of the activities of management bodies, and decision-making activities which relate to conferences.

3. Cooperative and Mutualistic Area:

It includes the archives of the Turin Cooperative Alliance, the most important consumer cooperative established in our city (30 linear meters for the period 1879-1987), two archives of mutual aid societies

4. Association Area:

Housing archives of the UDI - Italian Provincial Women's Union of Turin (9 linear meters for the period 1945-1974) and the Cogidas (Parents coordination for the democratic and anti-fascist initiative in the school, 9 linear meters for the period 1969-1989).

5. Personal Funds:

Boasting 100 funds in the names of individuals who together cover the entire 20th century.

6. Photographic, Print and Audiovisual Funds:

The archive comprises over 35, 000 phototypes, mainly photographic positives, related to the Turin workers and democratic movement. Among the riches are about 4000 political and union posters, and a tape library containing more than 1, 100 hours of meeting recordings, political and union demonstrations as well as oral testimonies of various personalities, who, at different levels, have been active in the aforementioned movements. In addition, there are audiovisual materials, over 800 pieces (Vhs, Umatic, cinema films, etc.) for more than 600 hours of recording, mostly produced by trade union and political organizations of Turin, regarding propaganda spots, broadcasts on local television channels, events, conferences, etc.

The archives have undergone meticulous scientific interventions, including filing, sorting and inventorying, with a commitment to digitization according to a

well-defined schedule. They are conditioned and stored with materials and in deposits in accordance with the law, and offered for free and public consultation. With the Fondazione's adhesion to the Polo del '900 and to the integrated consultation project on the 9centRo IT platform, the inventoried archival collections can be accessed online, on the IT platform at <http://archivi.polodel900.it/>.

European Elections Materials

The archive contains 22 posters produced in occasion of the last seven European Parliament Elections from 1979 to 1994.

Materials by Year of Election

1979	Donna rinnova la tua vita, trasforma il tuo paese - Vota PCI	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:145651_donna-rinnova-la-tua-vita-trasforma-il-tuo-paese
1979	Per l'Europa in un mondo di pace e di collaborazione: Vota PCI	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:145650_per-l-europa-in-un-mondo-di-pace-e-di-collaborazione
1979	Per una Europa di sinistra l'Italia vota comunista	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:145648_per-una-europa-di-sinistra-l-italia-vota-comunista
1979	Vota PCI per una Europa dei lavoratori	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146691_vota-pci-per-una-europa-dei-lavoratori
1984	Esiste un'altra Europa - Un voto al Pci per la sinistra in Europa	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146801_esiste-unaltra-europa
1989	Le tue idee, non quelle degli altri - Il 18 giugno a sinistra in Europa con il nuovo Pci	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146061_le-tue-idee-non-quelle-degli-altri
1989	Le donne cambiano. Cambia l'Europa, vota PCI	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146046_le-donne-cambiano-cambia-l-europa-vota-pci
1989	L'Europa che verrà sarà senza razzismi: Dipende da te : A sinistra, con il nuovo Pci	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146042_l-europa-che-verra-sara-senza-razzismi
1989	L'Europa che verrà sarà dei diritti dei lavoratori : Dipende da te : A sinistra, con il nuovo Pci	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146044_l-europa-che-verra-sara-dei-diritti-dei-lavoratori

1989	Dai forza al nuovo Pci : 18 giugno. Un voto per l'Europa	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146059_18-giugno-1989-si-vota-per-l-europa
1989	In Europa. A sinistra, con il nuovo PCI	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146040_in-europa-a-sinistra-con-il-nuovo-pci
1989	L'Europa che verrà sarà senza tasse ingiuste. Dipende da te. A sinistra, con il nuovo PCI	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146041_l-europa-che-verra-sara-senza-tasse-ingiuste
1989	Accelera l'alternativa. (...) In Europa. A sinistra, con il nuovo PCI	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146038_accelera-lalternativa
1989	In Europa si sceglie. (...) In Europa. A sinistra, con il nuovo PCI	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146039_in-europa-si-sceglie-o-con-i-conservatori-o-con-i-progressisti
1989	18 giugno 1989. Si vota per l'Europa	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146043_l-europa-che-verra-sara-dei-diritti-dei-cittadini
1989	L'Europa che verrà sarà dei diritti dei cittadini. Dipende da te. A sinistra, con il nuovo PCI	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146608_vota-pds
1989	12 giugno elezioni europee - Vota Partito democratico della sinistra	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146608_vota-pds
1994	Più forti in un'Europa più unita - Con il PDS sicuri in Europa	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146609_piu-forti-in-un-europa-piu-unita
1994	Achille Occhetto, capolista alle elezioni europee	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146611_achille-occhetto-capolista-alle-elezioni-europee
1994	Con i Progressisti italiani per un'Europa della pace, dei diritti, della solidarietà	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146612_con-i-progressisti-italiani-per-un-europa-della-pace-dei-diritti-e-della-solidarieta
1994	Porta l'Italia nel cuore dell'Europa: Con il PDS sicuri in Europa	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146610_porta-l-italia-nel-cuore-dell-europa

1979	Rinaldo Bontempi candidato al parlamento europeo	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146607_bontempi
1979	Tullio Regge candidato indipendente alle Elezioni Europee	https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146060_tullio-regge

The archive collects materials produced by the following parties:

ITALY:

- **Partito Comunista Italiano**
- **Partito Democratico della Sinistra**
- **Progressisti**
- **Mario Guidi**

le invio con wetransfer i manifesti mancanti e di seguito le indico i link

https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:145783_il-pci-e-il-primo-partito-d-italia

https://archivi.polodel900.it/scheda/oai:polo900.it:146045_dai-forza-al-nuovo-pci

manifesti novelli triade

Gramsci Foundation

Contact Information

- Website: <http://www.fondazionegramsci.org/>
- Contact: Giovanna Bosman (archivio@fondazionegramsci.org), Cristiana Pipitone (archivio1@fondazionegramsci.org)
- Country: Italy
- Address: via Sebino 43A, 00199, Rome – Italy
- Foundation: 1950
- Affiliation: Fondazione Gramsci onlus

Archive History

The history of the Archive is deeply linked with the history of the Gramsci Foundation and the cultural strategy of the Italian Communist Party. One of the main objectives in the project for the establishment of the Gramsci Foundation was the recovery of archival documents relating to the Italian workers' movement. The statue established an office dedicated to the recovery and preservation of archival documentation as one of its strategic activities.

During the Fifties, the focus shifted to retrieving Antonio Gramsci and gathering documents from the Resistance. Progressing into the Sixties, the Foundation extended its reach, collecting copies of documents from the first post-war period until 1926 (from the Communist international archive in Moscow). The work ended with the acquisition of a copy of the entire archive of the Communist Party of Italy (PCD'I). A significant milestone was achieved in 1986 when the entire archive of the PCI was bestowed upon the Institute. The whole archive was deposited in 1996; it consisted of 4, 184 folders of papers produced and received by the party from 1943 to 1990, the personal archives of the leaders and some aggregate funds. The Foundation's Archive also includes a section of archives of personalities from the culture, art, theater, cinema and literature. All the archives whose papers dates back to 30 years are open for scholars, and part of them has been digitized and are available online. In 2015 the Foundation acquired the archive of PDS and DS, that includes a large collection of photographs and a collection of political posters (1945-2007).

Posters and leaflet collection consist of over 3,500 documents spanning 1945 to 2007. A portion has been described and digitized and will be published online on www.archivipci.it in a close future. They are related to a wide range of topics: from peace movement to electoral campaigns, demonstrations, and the public life within a political party.

Policy

The use of materials is allowed only for personal or academic purposes or for further non-commercial dissemination, provided that the entire item is reproduced and the source is acknowledged.

European Elections Materials

The archive contains 55 produced for the occasion of the first six European Parliament Elections spanning 1979 to 2004 by PCI, PDS and DS.

Materials by Year of Election

- European Parliament Elections 1979: 10 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1984: 15 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1989: 9 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1994: 6 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1999: 5 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2004: 11 posters

Historical Archives of the European Union

Contact Information

- Website: www.eui.eu/HistArchives.
- Database: <http://archives.eui.eu>.
- Contact: archiv@eui.eu.
- Country: Italy
- Address: Via Bolognese 156 - 50139 Firenze
- Foundation: 1984

Archive History

Established in 1984, the Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU) is the official repository for the historical documents of the institutions, bodies and agencies of the European Union. It preserves and makes accessible, under the 30-year access rule, the archival documents of EU institutions for research purposes. Added to that, it holds more than 160 private collections of European personalities, key politicians, movements and associations. The HAEU is part of the European University Institute (EUI) and provides modern research facilities. The Archives' five grant programmes support postgraduate research on European integration. Around 150 academics come to our facilities per year to consult our collections on site, while hundreds of thousands of visits are made to our archival database. A multi-lingual team of professional archivists assists users in consulting the collections.

Material Collected

The state-of-the-art archival vaults, located beneath Villa Salviati in Florence, Italy, hold approximately 9000 linear meters of documents. Nearly 650, 000 items are described in the online database, including around 560, 000 files, more than 900 oral history interviews, 60, 000 photographs, and more than 8200 audio recordings, 1200 video recordings, and around 60, 000 digitalised files. Around 7000 linear meters of paper files have been sent from EU institutions, agencies and advisory bodies to the HAEU, the central preservation and access point for research on European integration. These holdings document the decisions and policies leading to a united Europe, and contain the written memory and testimonies of the men and women engaged in its construction.

Posters Collection

There are currently more than 2247 posters preserved in Florence, mostly on

paper. They date from the 1950s to the 1990s, and derive from 45 different fonds and collections, including:

- 262 posters from the deposits of the EU Institutions, such as the European Parliament and the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training.
- 671 posters in holdings from corporate bodies, such as the Centro Italiano di Formazione Europea; the Consiglio Italiano del Movimento Europeo; the European University Institute; the Mouvement européen; the Centro Italiano di Formazione Europea, and others.
- 121 posters from the archives of private individuals, such Alcide De Gasperi, Giancarlo Zoli, Otto Molden, Enrico Gibellieri, and others.
- 1189 among the Archival Collections, including the HAEU collection and the Nicola Di Gioia collection.



Istituto Luigi Sturzo

Contact Information

- Website: <https://sturzo.it/>.
- Contact: Concetta Argiolas, archivio@sturzo.it.
- Country: Italy
- Address: Via delle Coppelle 35 – 00186 Rome, Italy
- Foundation: 1951

Archive History

Thanks to its large and valuable documentation resource, the Istituto Luigi Sturzo is a popular location for intellectual exchange. This comes as a result of the progressive enlargement of the dedicated library which contains around 145 thousand publications and pamphlets, and an extensive emerographic section. But also, it is influenced by the development of the Historical Archive which was created by the bequeathing of Luigi Sturzo who decided to donate his vast and varied archival heritage as mentioned in his will. Over the decades, the Historical Archive has grown organically, assimilating both the original corpus of the Luigi Sturzo collection and the archives of key figures within the Italian Catholic movement. The archive is focused and specialised in the recovery and valorisation of the sources for the history of the popularism and democratic Catholicism in Italy since the end of the 19th century. Today, it holds a significant documentary heritage consisting of the documents of all those Catholics who played a crucial role in the establishment of the Partito Popolare Italiano, the Democrazia Cristiana and even in the politics of Italian governments from the post-World War II period to the present day.

Materials Collected

Nowadays, the archival heritage houses a trove over 10, 500 documents, amounting to two linear kilometres of shelving and comprising 80 archival collections. Among these collections are the invaluable contributions of prominent figures such as Luigi Sturzo, Mario Scelba, Giovanni Gronchi, Emilio Colombo, Giulio Andreotti, Filippo Meda, Vittorino Veronese, Giuseppe Spataro, Giulio Rodinò, Ivo Coccia, Mario Cingolani, Francesco Luigi Ferrari, Piero Malvestiti, Guido Gonella, Vito. G. Galati, Antonino Anile, Sergio Paronetto, Francesco Bartolotta, Flaminio Piccoli, Giovanni Marcora, Luigi Granelli, Luciano Dal Falco, Giacomo Sedati, Mario Vittorio Rossi, Maria De Unterrichter, Franca Falcucci,

Tina Anselmi, Silvia Costa. Also mentioned are the collections of Democrazia Cristiana, Sinistra Cristiana, Movimento Democratici-L'Ulivo, and those of Dc-Ppi Groups of the Italian Parliament. The archival collections preserved are declared of significant historical value by the Archival Superintendence Office for the Region of Lazio, and are distinguished in private fonds of individuals and private fonds of parties and organisations.

The iconographic and audiovisual documentation in its various expressions is an integral part of the Historical Archive. The latter has enlarged over the years its field of action with the acquisition, integration and use of traditional documentary sources, and of oral, photographic, audiovisual and cinematographic ones. In particular, the Posters Fund includes electoral and information posters produced by the Spes Office of the Democrazia Cristiana between 1946 and 1993. It consists of about 1, 300 documents.

Policy

Considering the current archival standards, all the collections electoral can be freely consulted by the public as soon as they are provided with the appropriate consultation tools.

European Elections Materials

Based on the roles covered by their holders, the archival fonds of Piero Malvestiti, Mario Scelba, and Emilio Colombo contain documentation explicitly concerning the European Union from its origins. The Historical Archive of the Istituto Luigi Sturzo contains 19 posters produced in occasion of the European Parliament Elections from 1979 to 1989.

Materials by Year of Election

- European Parliament Elections 1979: 3 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1984: 8 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1989: 8 posters commercials

The archive collects materials produced by the following parties

- Democrazia Cristiana

SPAIN

ASTERISC. Communication Research Group

Contact Information

- Website: <https://www.comunicacio.urv.cat/en/research/>
- Contact: Juan Luis Gonzalo Iglesia
- Country: Spain
- Address: Av. Catalunya, 35. 43002 Tarragona
- Foundation: 2009
- Affiliation: Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Archive History

Within the hallowed halls of the Universitat Rovira i Virgili of Tarragona, the ASTERISC group serves as a central process in the activity of societies, placing special emphasis on new technologies and formats. Thematically, two main lines have been conceived which perfectly demonstrate the singularity and plurality of our group's research activities:

• **Strategic communication in risk environments**

In its widest sense, it covers the fields of strategic communication such as consulting services in political communication, planning institutional communication, initiating communicative campaigns for corporations and institutions, public institutions and political parties press offices, public relations in the aforementioned areas and journalistic specialization in topics related to politics -electoral campaigns, political crisis management-, institutions, industry, health and the environment.

• **Identities and cultural studies**

Some of the subjects studied, in this line, are gender, sexuality, migrations, transnational studies, new religious forms, ethnographic and biographical narratives, organizations, youth studies and media. It deals with how the symbols constructed both by more traditional means and by social networks are appropriated and reformulated by different generations, in a context of technological revolution characterized by the ubiquity of media and mobility.

In all of them, the group's research activity is driven by two backbones, which become the essence of ASTERISC:

- a) **Transdisciplinarity:** the ability to think in a network, i.e. to be able to address complex realities, beyond the corsets of the disciplines
- b) **Interdisciplinarity:** the attitude of acting in a network, in which approaches,

methodologies and technologies from different disciplines must coexist, oriented towards common objectives where communication as a crossroads becomes central.

Material by Year of Elections

- European Parliament Elections 1987: 8 commercials
- European Parliament Elections 1989: 8 commercials
- European Parliament Elections 1994: 9 commercials
- European Parliament Elections 2004: 14 commercials

The Archive collects materials produced by the following parties

- Alianza Popular
- Partido Popular
- Convergència i Unió
- Coalición por la Europa de los Pueblos
- Herri Batasuna
- Izquierda Unida-Iniciativa per Europa
- Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya
- Partido Socialista Obrero Español
- Centro Democrático y Social
- Agrupación de Electores Ruiz-Mateos
- GalEuSca – Pueblos de Europa
- Coalición Europa de los Pueblos
- Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya
- Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds-Esquerra Unida i Alternativa
- Coalición Nacionalista
- Iniciativa per Catalunya
- Izquierda Unida



Documentation Centre on Communication (CEDOC)

Contact Information

- Website: <https://www.uab.cat/web/libraries-1345738247610.html>
- Contact: cedoc@uab.cat
- Country: Barcelona
- Address: CEDOC. Biblioteca de Comunicació i Hemeroteca General Edifici N, Planta 1 Plaça Cívica 08193 Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès)
- Foundation: 1973
- Affiliation: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (<https://www.uab.cat>)

The Documentation Centre on Communication, known as CEDOC, is a specialized division in the Communication Library and General Newspaper Archives at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. It aims to collect, classify, preserve, and disseminate materials and documents essential for analyzing the contemporary political situation in Catalonia and Spain.

Archive History

CEDOC traces its roots back to 1973 when Professor Eugeni Giral and his collaborator Toni Estupinyà initiated the collection of clandestine periodicals that were unavailable in the libraries of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Situated at the Faculty of Communication Studies, the centre brought their focus to documenting media. The name CEDOC was chosen to reflect its emphasis on communication studies, and the initials today serve as an acronym in Catalan, a tribute to its origins. With the advent of democracy and the transition period, CEDOC adapted its focus to preserve and disseminate materials generated by political entities, including parties, unions, platforms, associations, and others, which often have a fleeting lifespan. Simultaneously, the centre seeks to collect testimonies from the Franco era and the anti-Franco movement, acknowledging them as precursors to the transition to democracy. To be sure, CEDOC remains accessible to the entire university community and is open to society at large.

Materials Collected at CEDOC

The collections preserved at CEDOC are essential for analyzing the contemporary political situation in Catalonia and Spain. A substantial portion of the documentation originates from anti-Franco movements, and is particularly valuable

as it contains publications born out of clandestine operations. The documents have been collected from diverse organizations, such as political parties, trade unions, neighborhood associations, NGOs, municipal entities, and various social movements. The Documentation Centre on Communication boasts a comprehensive collection over 45,000 documents, with particular emphasis on:

- books (over 21,000)
- periodicals (over 9,000)
- paper posters (over 15,000)

Added to that, it houses other materials such as flyers, stickers, and many more. On an equal footing, there is a distinct political propaganda collection, encompassing materials from local, regional, national, European Parliament elections, as well as referendums. Of special mention is the collection of Catalan political press, mainly from the Franco era and the 60s/70s. A part of this collection has been digitized and is accessible for online consultation at the Digital Deposit of Documents: <https://ddd.uab.cat/collection/ppc?ln=en>.

A prerequisite of the periodical publications collection is the Viladot collection, primarily anti-Franco press, which is curated by the journalist Albert Viladot. As for the collection of political posters on paper, over 6,000 documents have been catalogued and digitized and are available for online perusal at the UAB's Digital Document Repository: <https://ddd.uab.cat/collection/carpol?ln=en>. CEDOC's political posters collection stands out as one of its most notable holdings, giving a glimpse of the political activities during the transitional years of Spanish democracy. It encompasses election propaganda at different government levels—European, national, regional, and local—as it also features political party and trade union advertisements, along with contributions from civil society organizations. Noteworthy is the dynamic nature of the political posters collection that is adapting to contemporary methodologies. In today's digital era, political posters are distributed as native digital documents, which are automatically gathered through the social media channels of political parties. CEDOC, allegiant to its original mission, persists in maintaining and sharing this ephemeral material, ensuring its vitality for future generations to glean insights from.

Other Unique Collections

- Books: Cartellism, Western Sahara, Basque Country.
- Political stickers: collection of political stickers, starting in the 1960s: <https://ddd.uab.cat/collection/adhpol?ln=en>.
- Entity archives:
- National Liberation Socialist Party (PSAN): <https://ddd.uab.cat/record/168400?ln=en>
- Party of Labour of Spain / Workers' Party of Catalonia (PTE, PTC): <https://ddd.uab.cat/record/144582?ln=en>

European Elections Materials by Year

- European Parliament Elections 1987: 20 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1989: 38 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1994: 25 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1999: 13 posters
- European Parliament Elections 2004: 17 posters
- European Parliament Elections 1987: 25 posters

The archive collects materials produced by the following parties:

- Acció Catalana
- Alianza Popular
- Alianza por la Unidad Nacional
- Alternativa Demócrata Nacional
- Candidatura d'Unitat Popular
- Catalunya Lliure
- Centre Democràtic i Social
- Centro Democrático y Social
- Chunta Aragonesista, Ciutadans
- Coalició Socialdemòcrata
- Coalición Galega
- Comité de Apoyo a la Candidatura de HB al Parlamento Europeo
- Comunió Tradicionalista Carlista
- Convergència i Unió
- Entesa dels Nacionalistes d'Esquerra
- Esquerra dels Pobles
- Estat Català, Europa de les Nacions
- Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya
- Esquerra Unida
- Europa de los Pueblos-Verdes
- Eusko Alkartasuna
- Ezker Batua Berdeak
- Frente Nacional
- Herri Batasuna
- Moviment de Defensa de la Terra
- Iniciativa Internacionalista
- Iniciativa per Catalunya
- Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds
- Izquierda Anticapitalista-Revolta Global
- Izquierda de los Pueblos
- Izquierda Unida
- Izquierda Unida - Iniciativa per Catalunya
- Izquierda Unida - Iniciativa per Europa
- Joventut Nacionalista de Catalunya
- Joventut Socialista de Catalunya
- Joventuts d'Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya
- Joves d'Esquerra Nacionalista-PSM
- Lliga Comunista Revolucionària
- Moviment de Defensa de la Terra
- Movimiento Social Republicano
- Partido Socialista Obrero Español
- Partido Aragonés
- Partido Autónomico Nacionalista de Castilla y León
- Partido Comunista de los Pueblos de España
- Partido de los trabajadores de España. Unidad comunista
- Partido Popular
- Partido Popular de Catalunya
- Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores - Partido obrero Revolucionario de España
- Partido Socialista Obrero Español
- Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (PSC-PSOE)
- Partit Obrer Revolucionari
- Partit Popular de Balears
- Partit Socialista de Mallorca-Nacionalistes de Mallorca
- Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya
- Per l'Europa de les Nacions
- Plataforma Humanista
- Por la Europa de los Pueblos
- Revolta Global-Esquerra Anticapitalista
- Unificación Comunista de España
- Unión Aragonesista
- Unión Progreso y Democracia
- Unitat del Poble Valencià
- Verds
- Confederació Ecologista de Catalunya
- Verds-Les Esquerres dels Pobles
- Verts, Zutik

SWEDEN



Liberalerna

Contact Information

- Website: <https://www.liberalerna.se/>
- Contact: Martin Andreasson, martin.andreasson@riksdagen.se
- Country: Sweden
- Address: Box 2253, 103 16, Stockholm
- Foundation: 1934 (Folkpartiet)
- Affiliation: Liberalerna

Archive History

The party's nondigital archive finds its abode in the hallowed halls of the National Archive of Sweden (Riksarkivet) where the material is available for research purposes upon request. However, this material is not open for the public nor is it available for publication. For those seeking a digital glimpse into the party's history, the party office holds some of its digitalized materials.

Materials Collected

The party holds digitalized material from previous elections. The non-digitalized material is archived in the National Archive of Sweden.

Policy

There are no pre-stated policies regarding materials.

European Election Materials

The European Elections Monitoring Centre received 5 posters and one commercial from the 2004 and 2019 elections, in addition to 2 small prints being received.

UNITED KINGDOM



Bodleian Libraries
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

University of Oxford, The Bodleian Archive

Contact Information

- Website: <https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>
- Contact: Jeremy McIlwaine (Jeremy.mcilwaine@bodleian.ac.uk)
- Country: England, United Kingdom.
- Address: Bodleian Libraries, Broad Street, Oxford OX1 3BG
- Foundation: University of Oxford
- Affiliations: Conservative Party Trust

Archive History

Founded in 1602, the Bodleian library in Oxford stands as an iconic institution whose archival roots can be traced back further in history. Actively collecting materials since the early 17th century, the archive serves as a repository for the institutional records of the University, as well as other important political collections such as the Gladstone and Disraeli papers. The Conservative Party Trust holds its archival materials in the Bodleian libraries. Much of the party's historical material, which ranges from political posters, correspondence and committee meeting minutes, can be accessed at the Bodleian archive. Many political posters from a range of elections has been digitised and can be found here: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collections/conservative-party/>. The collection contains posters from 1886 onwards and is a useful resource for researchers interested in investigating political advertising from an historical perspective. The digital collection contains 21 posters from European elections between 1979 and 1997. The John Johnson collections at the Bodleian archives also holds an impressive collection of European election campaign material including a selection Margaret Thatcher's "personal filings", photographs of various candidates during elections and European Election Manifestos. The collection stores campaign leaflets from of European leaflets from a range of different constituencies.

Election Material Collected: 33

1979: 6 / 1984: 4 / 1999: 1 / 2004: 11

University of Bristol

Contact Information:

- Website: <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/library/special-collections/>
- Contact: Hannah Lowery (H.J.Lowery@bristol.ac.uk)
- Country: England, United Kingdom
- Address: Special Collections, Arts and Social Sciences Library, University of Bristol, Tyndall Avenue, Bristol, BS8 1TJ
- Foundation: 1876
- Affiliations: University of Bristol

Archive History

The origins of the University of Bristol Special Collections are traced back to the foundation of the University of Bristol in 1876. Following the Wills Memorial Building, the archives expanded further with notable acquisitions of material, including Fry Collection of English Literature which contains significant first edition literary works by Charles Dickens and Jane Austen. The Special Collections of the University of Bristol library comprise a rich and diverse range of books and journals, archival resources, and artefacts.

The archive contains a range of electoral materials associated with electoral addresses for Council Elections, By-Elections, and General Elections. It holds various type of content such as articles, results information, press coverage and political party leaflets. Equally important, it encompasses a rich set of political leaflets from all the major parties in the United Kingdom. There are thousands of leaflets which are related to the European Elections from numerous different constituencies each election year. Though only few of these leaflets are digitised, visitors can gain insight into the impressive collection in Bristol. It's significant to note that the archive mainly contains political leaflets, and does not as yet hold any party-political posters for European Parliamentary elections that were used as at-home window posters.

Election Material Collected: 21

1979: 12 / 1989: 7 / 1994: 8 / 1999: 2

London School of Economics Archives

Contact Information:

- Website: <https://www.lse.ac.uk/library/using-the-library/access-archives-and-special-collections>
- Contact: Daniel Payne (D.Payne1@lse.ac.uk)
- Country: United Kingdom
- Address: London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London WC2AE, UK
- Foundation: London School of Economics

Archive History

The LSE archives, the sanctum of the London School of Economics and Political Science's institutional memory, were formally established in 1963. Originally in 1895, the LSE has been a crucible of thought, and its archives reflect a wide range of topics, including the history of the LSE, the development of social sciences and social reform movements.

Additionally, the archive involves primary research material covering aspects of the debate around Britain and the European Union. This collection holds material for various organisations such as The Federal Trust (a think tank formed in 1945), The European Movement (all-party group supported European integration), The Bruges Group (a group with the aim of promoting a less centralised European structure) and a collection of Eurosceptic papers. The archive also contains the papers of various key political figures such as Alan Sked and Peter Shore and political parties.

The archive equally includes various election ephemera like digitised leaflets during the 1975 and 2016 referendums. It also holds various European parliamentary election posters, including those from Germany, France, and Belgium. Although there aren't enough posters held at the archive, there are nonetheless original ones dating as far back as to the 1979 European elections. The archives contain hundreds of European Election leaflets and several press cuttings. We collected relevant posters from the LSE archive and shared them with the central EEMC team. The posters were only available in physical copy, so we liaised with the staff at LSE to provide digitised copies of the material.

Election Material Collected: 16

Material collected for other countries:

- Italy 1979 - 4
- France 1979- 7
- Germany 1979- 5



People's History Museum

Contact Information

- Website: <https://phm.org.uk/>
- Contact: Simon Sheppard (simon.sheppard@phm.org.ac.uk)
- Country: United Kingdom
- Address: Left Bank, Manchester M3 3ER
- Foundation: People's History Museum

Archive History

Nestled in the heart of Manchester, England, the People's History Museum showcases the history of the working-class movement and its impact on the development of democracy in Britain. Originally, the National Museum of Labour History, which was opened by Harold Wilson in 1975, changed its name ahead of the Commonwealth Games in 2002. Despite its long history of connections with the Labour Party, the Museum has been regarded as an independent charity with no political affiliation. It stores the Labour History Archive which houses material from a range of political parties, but primarily the Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain. The archives hold an impressive collection of the General Election material from 1910 to 2017. They contain leaflets, stickers, manifestos, posters and other various election ephemera. The archive also encompasses various leaflets, stickers, and manifestos for the European Parliamentary elections.

The large majority of European election material are leaflets, yet some of them are designed to be house window posters. It's worth noting that the election ephemera is not digitised, and so, it requires a physical visit by the researcher to look over the material. The archive also involves the European election manifestos for the Conservative Party and the Labour Party dating back to 1979. And also, it holds various European Parliamentary Labour Papers, those of key figures in the Labour Party such as David Candler, Ron Leighton, Colin Beever, and Michael Foot. And it significantly extends beyond the lines to include historic journals such as Labour Weekly and New Socialist.

Election Material Collected: 39

- 1989: 16
- 1994: 24
- 1999: 3

Part 2: The European elections

The European elections stand as a cornerstone of the European Union's (EU) democratic process, representing a unique and complex system of transnational governance. The history of these elections is closely intertwined with the evolution of the EU itself, reflecting the changing dynamics of European politics and the quest for a united continent.

The inaugural European Parliament elections took place in 1979, marking a significant step towards a more integrated Europe. Until then, the European Parliament had been composed of delegates appointed by national parliaments. However, as the EU sought to enhance its democratic legitimacy and transparency, direct elections became a crucial instrument.

The early years of the European elections were marked by a relatively low voter turnout and a limited understanding of the European Parliament's role. Many citizens perceived the EU as a distant and bureaucratic entity, detached from their everyday concerns. Over time, efforts were made to bridge this gap and raise awareness about the EU's functions and impact on citizens' lives.

The Maastricht Treaty of 1992 played a pivotal role in shaping the political landscape of the European Union. It not only introduced the concept of European citizenship but also expanded the powers of the European Parliament. As a result, the elections gained importance as a means for citizens to influence the direction of the EU.

Subsequent treaties, such as the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997 and the Lisbon Treaty in 2009, further strengthened the role of the European Parliament, empowering it in areas like co-legislation with the Council of the European Union and approving the European Commission's president.

One of the defining features of the European elections is the transnational nature of political groups. Unlike national elections, where political parties are organized along national lines, European Parliament elections see the formation of pan-European political groups. These groups bring together like-minded parties from different member states, transcending traditional national boundaries. This unique structure fosters a sense of European identity and encourages collaboration across borders.

The impact of European elections on the broader political landscape cannot be overstated. The results influence the composition of the European Parliament and, by extension, the choice of the European Commission president. This in-

terplay of political forces shapes the policies and priorities of the EU, impacting issues ranging from economic governance to environmental regulations. Moreover, the European elections serve as a barometer of public sentiment towards the EU project. They provide citizens with an opportunity to voice their opinions on European integration, the role of the EU in their lives, and broader geopolitical issues. The rise of populist movements and Euroscepticism in some member states has added a layer of complexity to these elections, reflecting a growing tension between national identities and the push for European unity. In conclusion, the history and effects of European elections are deeply intertwined with the evolution of the European Union. From modest beginnings in 1979, these elections have grown in significance, shaping the democratic fabric of the EU and reflecting the diverse political landscape across member states. As the European project continues to evolve, the role of these elections in shaping the future of the continent remains crucial.

The EEMC 20-23 Coordinators

A Legacy of Votes: EU Elections from the Late '70s to Today

I. 1979: The first EU elections. The beginning of a new era?

The 1979 direct elections to the European Parliament (EP) were the result of intense intra-community debate that had spanned over three decades. This event holds historic significance since it has improved the democratic legitimacy of the European Parliament and has strengthened its potential for a self-confident and assertive role in the decision-making apparatus of the European Community. Before 1979, the European Parliament (previously known as the European Parliamentary Assembly until 1962) operated primarily as a debating club with little incentive for political aspirants in national legislatures. MEPs were typically chosen from those who had made minimal contributions in their respective national legislatures, and therefore did not represent the top talent of their respective countries.

The concept of direct elections to the European Parliament dates back to the late 1940s, when Winston Churchill called for the creation of a United Europe at the Hague Congress of 1948. The Parliamentary wing that developed within the Council of Europe (established in 1949) was designated the Consultative Assembly, but lacked real legislative powers. The need for direct elections to the European Parliament was recognized in the Rome Treaty of 1957. Article 138, paragraph 3, of the treaty stipulated that the Assembly should propose direct universal suffrage in all member states, with a uniform procedure. The Council would unanimously decide on the provisions to recommend to member states for adoption, in accordance with their respective constitutional rules. It is important to understand that the question of direct elections to the European Parliament was not a simple matter. It carried significant implications, particularly regarding the political development of the European Community and the national prerogatives of each member state's parliament. This is why French President Charles de Gaulle did not recognize the European Parliamentary Assembly as a parliament. Rather, he believed it was merely a consultative assembly, and that parliaments as law-making bodies existed only in the six founding member states. It was not until December 1974, under the presidency of Giscard d'Estaing, that the perspective of European unity began to shift. A newly formed non-statutory body, the European Council, consisting of heads of state/government (established under Giscard d'Estaing's inspiration), made the decision at the Paris summit to have the Euro-Parliament elected directly through universal suffrage. However, the EEC Council of Ministers could not agree on a joint electoral law for the Europoll held in June 1979. As a result, the nine member states of the EEC were left to elect 410 members according to their own national electoral laws. Since 1974, structural changes have taken place in

the transnational political groups. As part of the political “preparation” for direct elections, various transnational political and ideological groups were formed, including the European Peoples’ Party (EPP), the Confederation of Socialists, the Liberals, the Communists, and the Conservatives (a group ideologically closer to the EPP). Despite the direct elections to the European Parliament, which began in 1979 for a five-year term, the European Economic Community (EEC) had not given much thought to augmenting its powers under the Treaties of Rome. These powers included the right to reject the entire EEC budget, to pass a vote of censure and dismiss the Commission as a whole, and to elicit information through public questioning of the members of the Ministerial Council and the Commission.

Despite the European Parliament’s limited role in the EU at that time, there were possible reasons behind the first direct elections for MEPs. First, Western Europe was facing one of its most severe economic crises, which included high levels of unemployment and inflation. The European Parliament provided an additional community-wide democratic forum that could help member states combat economic adversity and subversive forces. Secondly, the EEC projected the image of a superpower in the making, capable of increasing the weight of its member states in the fast-changing balance of power in the international system. Additionally, political leadership in member states had realised that West European countries could not individually cope with problems of global dimensions. Briefly, in defiance of the significant challenges of forging transnational unity, Europe appeared to be moving towards greater political cohesion and solidarity.

In the first direct elections for MEPs, Denmark, Ireland, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom voted on June 7, while the rest of the member states voted on June 10, 1979. All member states, except England, Scotland, and Wales, used proportional representation. Although the turnout could be estimated roughly after the polls closed on June 7, the votes were not counted until the polls had closed everywhere, which effectively meant at the end of polling in Italy on June 10 at 10 p.m. As a result, no Community-wide election-night special could be run. Long before the elections, the European Commission and Parliament launched information programs designed to persuade voters to turn out and counter critics of direct elections to a parliament with very limited authority and minimal role in the Community’s legislative process. A high turnout was expected to enhance the democratic legitimacy of the Community and its Parliament and justify the latter’s claims for greater powers. The level of turnout in the EC was, therefore, a major concern for politicians and observers alike. Although turnout across Europe averaged 61% on June 7 and 10, it varied significantly between states. The exceptionally low poll in Britain (32%) requires explanation anyhow. Among the reasons mentioned were the unobtrusive character of the information programs, the lack of enthusiasm and leadership by the major parties, the few appearances of Mrs. Thatcher (Tories) and Mr. Callaghan (Labour Party), and public scepticism towards the EEC. After the elections, it was also

claimed that people had been deterred from voting because they had insufficient information about what the elections were about or their significance.

The European Parliament and Commission launched information programmes in 1978 to prepare for the European elections. In 1979, they collaborated on a joint programme that built upon the "awareness-building" activities of the previous year. In fact, the 1978 programme had aimed to indirectly generate interest through opinion leaders disseminating information to their groups. The joint programme used advertising and public relations agencies to implement media campaigns, including press advertising, exhibitions, and television and radio advertisements. At the beginning of 1979, there was a debate about whether the information programme should be suspended during any general election. However, the decision to limit the official information programmes to the early months of 1979 was primarily driven by some member governments' concerns about EC intervention in their domestic affairs rather than financial constraints. In Germany, a wide range of activities, including street theatre, sponsored by the Europa-Union and the specially created Lander committees for the European elections, took place. The enthusiastic support of national and Lander governments and other bodies greatly assisted in the realisation of the information programme. This support was made possible by the underlying commitment to European integration and the governing parties' backing of direct elections. By contrast, in Britain, despite the establishment of two special offices in Manchester and Birmingham to bring the Community closer to the people, and despite the presence of permanent EC press and information offices in Edinburgh and Cardiff (with the possibility of another one opening in Belfast in 1979), the EC's visibility did not appear to have been much enhanced. None of these efforts generated enthusiasm for the European elections among the general public. In Denmark, opportunities were seized to involve all sectors of the public, including school children who were too young to vote. The intervention of general elections, on 3 and 10 June 1979, did not entirely overshadow the European elections in Luxembourg and Italy. Radio jingles in Italy precisely urged people to vote and colourful magazine advertisements explained all aspects of the EC with regard to its Parliament and direct elections.

The turnout of the Europoll provides some interesting insights into the public's response in different countries. The low turnout in Britain suggests that the idea of Europe had not yet fully permeated the public consciousness. A private poll conducted by the Euro-Parliament a month before the Europoll revealed that almost 40% of voters had never heard of the European Parliament, and only 4% knew the election date. Notwithstanding, the overwhelming turnout in Italy (85%) demonstrated a relatively high level of interest in the Europoll. This may be due, in part, to the mobilisation of Italian workers by the Italian Communists and other progressive forces. Added to that, Italy has large underdeveloped regions, and it was expected that these regions would benefit more from a directly elected Euro-Parliament. Television advertisements calling on voters to cast their ballots were aired in Italy, Belgium, France, Germany, and Ireland. And

yet, even in those countries where the major parties had assisted in promoting the elections, turnout was lower than expected: 65.9% in Germany, 57.8% in the Netherlands, 61.3% in France, 47% in Denmark, 63.6% in Ireland, 91.4% in Belgium, and 85% in Luxembourg.

Interestingly, the turnout in the first direct elections to the European Parliament was problematic from the outset, with only three countries showing relatively high turnout: Italy, Belgium, and Luxembourg where voting was compulsory. On the other hand, turnout was lowest in two of the three states which joined the EC in 1972, namely Denmark and Britain. The higher turnout in Northern Ireland led to suggestions that proportional representation encouraged voters since it meant that votes wouldn't be wasted. Besides, there were three issues with voter involvement in the election process. First, the decision to hold the elections was a deliberate measure of "political engineering" taken in elite circles, partly with the hope of increasing Community consciousness among mass publics. But, it was uncertain whether the election process could overcome, or would itself be held back by, prevalent popular indifference. Second, the campaign organisation was like trying to pour new (European) wine into old (domestic) bottles. Although many cross-national currents of party cooperation and journalistic reporting began to flow in anticipation of the contest, in most countries, the campaign to elect members to a transnational Parliament was predominantly waged by national party systems through national media systems. Third, the campaign commitments of many party and media organisations were in doubt. In national general elections, political parties typically mobilise all available resources in their attempts to maximise support, and the mass media provide saturation coverage of their activities. The incentives to mount full-scale efforts for the European elections were yet weaker and less clear-cut.

Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that voter turnout for the European elections fell significantly short of national election standards in all countries where voting is not mandatory. Relevant research indicates that in five out of seven countries (excluding Germany and Ireland), more respondents endorsed at least one critical statement about the campaign than found it to have any merit. The most frequent criticisms of the television campaign were that "It seemed rather boring," "It didn't provide information on the advantages and disadvantages for [the country concerned] of being in the European Community," and "It left me feeling confused." In spite of this, it should be noted that the campaign did prompt some viewers "to think more about the future of Europe" and helped them to determine where their own party stood on European issues. Without pretext, the German and Irish television campaigns received the most positive responses, while the Belgian and French campaigns scored no better than the British ones in terms of provoking more complaints than appreciation. Compared to other electorates, Dutch viewers made fewer judgments about the quality of their campaign. In a survey, they were asked to rate whether television had spent "far too much time," "a bit too much time," "about the right amount," or "not enough time" on the European elections. The responses do

not suggest that many Europeans found the campaign an imposition due to excessive coverage. Only in France did nearly half of the sample complain of "too much" television programming. In Italy and Britain, however, many viewers said that their television networks had paid too little attention to the elections.

One challenge of the first EU elections was that there was no shared election agenda among the European electorate. Belgians and French citizens were most concerned about unemployment, while Italians gave priority to inflation and rising prices. The Irish showed approximately equal levels of concern with inflation, unemployment, and agricultural policy questions. In Britain, issues of agriculture and food prices were more often emphasized than any other problem. The Danes were preoccupied with their country's overall place in the Common Market and the case for staying in or leaving it. Dutch citizens viewed unemployment, energy shortages, and the need to promote more European cooperation as the three most important issues. German voters were unique in that they mentioned the need for more cooperation more often than any other issue on the list, and also perceived the election in terms of rival ideological visions of Europe (e.g., Socialist vs. Christian).

In each of the Community countries, television was the primary channel through which most people followed the campaign, highlighting the increasing importance of television in political communication. The elections also sparked a significant amount of interpersonal conversation, possibly due to their novelty and the fact that they made Europe a topic of discussion in many households and workplaces. Other channels that were mentioned by sizeable minorities included posters, newspaper reports, and advertisements. Party literature was read by between a fifth and a third of most sampled electorates. However, meetings and rallies played a negligible role in this election, and there were few direct exchanges between voters and party workers, except in Ireland and Italy where activists apparently made more effort to contact voters. The enigma of the first European elections remains. From the perspective of the average voter, they lacked interest, compelling issues for deliberation and decision-making, and communication reward. Despite these shortcomings, however, many Europeans still made their way to the polling booths on Election Day, although admittedly fewer than in general elections.

The 1979 European elections managed to introduce many voters, journalists, and even politicians to the unfamiliar body of the European Parliament, relying mainly on the already established national election institutions and campaign procedures. This mixture of European and domestic elements may have contributed to ensuring that turnout reached at least minimally respectable levels in most of the participating countries. The combination of various impulses, although not very powerful on their own, proved capable of prompting a reasonably large turnout. While the 1979 European elections introduced many voters, journalists, and politicians to the unfamiliar European Parliament, their appeal was limited due to their reliance on national institutions to perform a transnational function. This issue is compounded by the rudimentary development of

the European Community, which is the root cause of the problem. A European election that primarily consists of national parties following domestic campaign procedures may appear to voters as a poor imitation of a general election, resulting in low turnout. To overcome this, European elections should present voters with new frameworks and challenges that encourage them to adapt their political thought and communication patterns accordingly. This transformation would require political preconditions, such as a structural shift towards federalism in the relationship between Community and national-governmental institutions or a greater transfer of campaigning powers to transnational party federations. Alternatively, the European Parliament could acquire new roles, such as raising questions of "general policy" and forcing debates on them to inject a political dimension into Europe. Without such developments, European elections are likely to be compared unfavourably to national general elections, resulting in low turnout.

The results of the European elections were largely interpreted through the lens of national politics in almost every EC Member State. While this was expected in the case of countries that held national elections at the same time, such as Luxembourg, it was hoped that the European elections would not be solely seen as measures of public satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the current government. Unfortunately, this is what generally occurred. Instead of being viewed as a distinct and separate event, the European elections were often overshadowed by national issues and concerns.

II. 1984: The lessons from 1979 that were not learned.

In the European elections of June 1984, voter turnout either declined or remained stagnant in all Community states except Denmark, which saw a 5% increase in participation. This outcome was catastrophic for the aspirations of the European Parliament (EP), the destiny of the draft treaty on European Union (EUT), and all those who had hoped that the EP would gain greater democratic legitimacy from its direct election.

The actual turnout was not the primary cause for concern. Instead, what was disconcerting was the low level of public awareness of the EP and the purpose of the elections. According to successive Eurobarometer polls, this awareness was even lower than during comparable periods in the pre-1979 election era. This was a significant setback for those who had campaigned for a higher turnout since 1982. They had convincingly argued that a poor turnout would undermine the EP's credibility and its claim for an increase in its powers. Despite this, no specific number was set for what would be considered a satisfactory turnout level. It was simply hoped that between the first and second direct elections, the visibility and comprehensibility of the European Parliament (EP) to the electorate would increase enough to persuade voters of the necessity of voting. However, this hope was based on several assumptions that were not fulfilled. The majority of these assumptions were founded on the belief that

increased media coverage of the EP would result in higher voter turnout. It was anticipated that media exposure of the elected Members of the European Parliament's (MEPs) endeavours would surge, causing individuals to associate positive developments in the European Community (EC) and their benefits with their chosen representatives. It was also expected that the MEPs would create a career path in the EP, seek reelection, and campaign promoting their accomplishments. And yet, all of these presuppositions depended on the EP's reputation enhancing, and public knowledge of and support for it growing, rather than staying the same or decreasing after the inaugural elections in 1979.

Regarding the strategic communication of the European Parliament (EP), European Election Information Programmes (EEIPs) were organised by the European Commission in Brussels and the EP through their national press and information offices in 1977, 1978, and 1979. These programs aimed to make people, most notably "opinion leaders," aware of the EP's existence, organisation, composition, and functions. Whatever the strengths and weaknesses of the various EEIPs, they were seen as a one-time exercise for the first European elections. Henceforth, it was anticipated that while the institutions would continue their normal information activities, they would have less of a role (or perhaps none at all) in the EP elections. It was assumed that the political parties would be the main actors in the second EP elections and that they would take on the task of mobilising voters, which is typically associated with political parties in elections. Indeed, the political groups represented in the EP had insisted that they would assume these functions and had sought funding accordingly. Notwithstanding, there were only limited EEIPs in 1984, and some media advertising was undertaken by the national EP offices. Yet, as before, such efforts were insufficient to counteract negative press and television coverage about the EP in the pre-campaign and campaign periods. Additionally, they were not enough to make individuals who were unaware of the EP and MEPs conscious of them, their record, performance, manifestos, and aspirations.

Similar to the 1979 elections, the activities of the Confederation of Socialist Parties-CSP, the European People's Party-EPP, and the European Liberals and Democrats-ELD were the most significant in 1984. However, some other political parties developed transnational linkages and created rudimentary electoral material. The most notable of these were, as in what follows: 1) the alliance between the Dutch *Demokraten 66* (D'66), the Danish *Radikale Venstre*, the French *Mouvement des Radicaux de Gauche* (MRG), and the Greek *Komma Dimokratikou Socialismou* (KODISO), and 2) the Green Alliance that formed after much internal division and dissent but eventually won sufficient votes to enter the EP. After discussions in working groups, the transnational federations drafted common manifestos and helped organise electoral events such as the EPP's boat that cruised up and down the Rhine and the ELD train that traversed some EC member states. Many MEPs in the EP's party groups expected that there would be some common campaign issues throughout the Ten. In fact, they and national party delegates were both involved in the campaign delib-

erations of transnational party federations. In February 1984, the EP adopted the draft treaty establishing a European Union (EUT). Supporters of the treaty hoped that this would be the catalyst for a far-reaching debate on the highly controversial and vexed question of institutional reform in the EC. They believed that unless EC decision-making procedures were fundamentally changed, the EC would be unable to pursue effective policies in a range of socio-economic, international, security, and defense areas. And also, they believed that it could be a central issue for the election campaign as it dealt with the future of the EC. They saw it as a chance to engage voters on the topic of European integration and believed it could be a unifying issue for the election.

The Media, on behalf of some political parties, emphasized budgetary concerns and criticized the United Kingdom's perceived lack of commitment to the European project. At the same time, the draft EUT was presented to national parliaments to draw attention to a common electoral issue, and there was a discreet revival of the idea of a two-tier EC. It was widely believed that the UK would be placed in a second or third tier along with Denmark and Greece, two other countries seen as reluctant to fully embrace European integration. The EP party coalitions attempted to project and relate common election issues based on their party-specific ideologies. The CSP manifesto preamble, for instance, stated that the EC was a supplementary instrument for the realisation of European Socialists' goals of social justice, solidarity, and freedom: "We need a fraternal Europe of the people, not a commercial and technocratic Europe. The 1984 elections can contribute to this transformation." However, the British Labour Party and Danish Social Democrats distanced themselves from the calls to increase the EP's influence.

The ELD's manifesto, titled "Pour une Europe libérale et démocratique", was adopted in December 1983 at Munich by eleven parties from nine member states, excluding Ireland. It was twice the length of the CSP manifesto and was organised into five main chapters, covering a wide range of topics that had been debated during the campaign period. The ELD emphasized the importance of progress towards a European Union based on democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. The manifesto opened with references to both topical debates, such as the budget crisis, and the supposed major common election issue, the European Union, whilst also addressing various themes, including the Common Agricultural Policy, energy, security, and the economy. The Christian Democrats, like the Liberals, have a strong pro-integrationist heritage which they sought to exploit during the election campaign. The European Union, which was launched in Rome from April 2 to 4, 1984, was at the forefront of the EPP campaign when the EPP Congress adopted an Action Programme for the EP's second term of office. The introduction of the Action Programme highlights the need for a European Union and united action in a variety of areas. Subsequent chapters of the programme focus on general themes such as jobs, justice, civil rights, peace, and democracy, similar to the CSP and ELD manifestos. The importance of coordination by the Ten to avoid national policy initiatives from be-

ing negated, especially in the economic sector, is also emphasized. The section on social policy, like the CSP and ELD manifestos, stresses the consequences of micro- and information technology, advocates for more worker co-determination, calls for strengthening the Social Fund and EC labor legislation, and advocates measures to prevent job creation from having adverse effects on the environment, the Third World, and underprivileged groups.

In spite of the efforts to promote an EU-centric discussion in national public spheres, national issues seemed to overshadow the European dimension in the EP election. Although the elections were about electing MEPs to the European Parliament, few viewed the results in terms of changes within the Strasbourg chamber.

Accordingly, the elections appeared more like midterm referendums on national governments. During the first half of 1984, parties were mainly focused on their national issues, with little attention paid to the European elections. Denmark was the only country where the EC was a campaign issue, and the election became a second referendum on Danish Community membership, with pro-EC and anti-EC parties polarizing. The issue of withdrawal from the EC was a live topic in Denmark, which may have contributed to the slightly higher turnout compared to 1979. In the other nine member states, the primary focus was on how voters would express confidence in their national governments' economic and security policies. The main opposition parties in Greece, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and West Germany aimed to show the extent to which their respective governing parties had lost the confidence of the voters. None of the governments were concerned that the European election results would cause them to lose power. On the other side, the European elections in Greece were fought as fiercely as a general election campaign, but this was not the case in other countries.

In the 1984 European Parliament elections, significant political changes took place across Europe. In France, the left-wing parties saw a decline in their support, while the Communist Party suffered a defeat. At the same time, the extreme right made significant gains. In West Germany, the Free Democrats (FDP) lost all their seats in the European Parliament due to corruption scandals, failing to meet the five per cent electoral threshold. However, the West German Greens managed to achieve representation in Strasbourg for the first time. In Italy, the Communist Party achieved equality with the Christian Democrats for the first time, while Bettino Craxi's Socialist Party failed to improve its electoral percentage. Meanwhile, the Labour Party in the UK made a recovery from their 1983 General Election defeat. During the election campaigns, various national issues dominated the public debate. In France, there were heated discussions between the private and public sectors over matters such as liberties, educational reforms, industrial, and employment policies. In West Germany, concerns were raised about whether the FDP and the Greens would manage to secure the five per cent share of the vote needed to win seats. In like manner, national issues such as the P2 scandal involving the Masonic lodge and the mid-term

referendum on the Spadolini government, were at the forefront of the public discourse in Italy. The deployment of cruise missiles became a hot topic in the Netherlands, capturing the headlines and securing television coverage. While this issue was not directly related to EC matters, it became an electoral issue though. Finally, in Greece, the European Parliament elections were seen as a significant test of the Socialist (PASOK) government's popularity and an opportunity to debate Greece's recent accession to the EC. In most member states, including the United Kingdom, continued membership in the EC was taken for granted, given the parties' strong commitment to European integration. However, Denmark, like the UK, referred to "the Common Market" rather than the EC, and was the only country with a party campaigning against EC membership - the Folkebevægelsen EF (Anti-EEC Movement). National issues were also at the forefront of the debate in Ireland and Belgium. In Luxembourg, the indivisibility of national and EC concerns was emphasized due to the coincidence of the EP and general election. National politicians led EP lists despite being unlikely to take up EP seats, and only one sitting MEP was re-elected in Luxembourg.

Given the apparent absence of common European election issues throughout the member states, it is not surprising that the results should be interpreted in national terms, mainly as swings against national governments. But one of the basic problems of the European Community and its Parliament was the lack of visibility. Although direct elections made the composition of the European Parliament more democratic, the public still lacked understanding of its role. The problems of improving interest in the European Parliament, dispelling myths about it, and combating its poor image, as well as mobilising a largely apathetic or ignorant electorate, proved to be tremendous. The widespread media characterization of the European Parliament as an impotent talking shop was hardly prone to overcome public indifference. The overall effect was to undermine voters' sense of political efficacy at a time when awareness of the European Parliament's and MEPs' records was low, and awareness of continual and seemingly insoluble EC crises was high. The 1984 European elections took place in a context where member governments lacked the political will for any significant transfer of power to the European Parliament. Despite this, voter turnout was surprisingly high. However, without being able to fully exercise its formal powers, the Parliament had limited ability to raise its public profile and gain greater legitimacy.

As a result, the elections did not have a significant impact on the politics of the Community. Instead, they served more as a reflection of the popularity of member state governments rather than a true assessment of the balance of power between political parties in the European Parliament. Overall, the 1984 elections were more akin to a series of national referendums than a truly community-wide verdict.

III. 1989: The pro-integration, left-wing era.

The 1989 European Parliament elections were held across the 12 EC member states in June 1989. They marked the third European election, but it was the first time that Spain and Portugal voted simultaneously with the other members since their joining of the European Commission in 1986. Ineptly, the previous two direct Euro-elections were disappointing. Turnout was low, with 60.7% in 1979 and 57.0% in 1984. The elections seemed to function more as plebiscites on the performance of national governments rather than as genuinely transnational events. Politicians struggled to demonstrate their relevance to a wider public. The third Euro-elections followed a similar path, both in terms of voter participation (58.5%) and the prevailing rationale behind the electoral campaigns of the political parties vying for popular support across the 12 EC member states. In most countries, European elections are often seen as mere beauty contests between national parties, primarily focused on national political concerns. These elections do not directly impact the composition of the national government. Consequently, many analysts studying voting behaviour in European elections have reached the conclusion that party choices in these elections are influenced by “normal” national factors. The absence of formal results for those in power allows voters to express themselves more freely and be more experimental in their choices, to some extent. In European elections, where no supra-national governmental power is allocated, it is natural for parties to prioritize national reasons and instrumentalize the elections accordingly. What's more, the absence of integrating factors such as a common electoral law and election day, even symbolically, contributes to perceiving the direct elections to the European Parliament (EP) as a collection of loosely coordinated national elections rather than a truly European election. During the first two European elections, campaigns in most member states were in fact dominated by national aspects, and there is an argument that the 1984 elections witnessed a further re-nationalization compared to 1979. Regarding the third direct elections in 1989, the situation remained unchanged. Transnational actors such as the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European party federations held minor relevance, and genuine European issues rarely played a significant role in shaping the campaigns. It is understandable that in countries where national elections were held together, the transnational dimension of the European election itself was largely marginalized. In Greece, for instance, the campaign revolved around the scandals that had been rocking the country for some time. Increasing indications of involvement by the government and the ruling PASOK party's elite, including Prime Minister Papandreou, in these aspersions dominated the narrative. In Ireland, where Prime Minister Haughey called for a concurrent national election just three weeks before the European elections, the campaign was centered on national economic and social issues. In Luxembourg, a recently established action committee successfully made the issue of extending the civil servants' pension, which equated to 5/6 of their

highest salary, a central focus of the campaign for all Luxembourgers reaching retirement age.

Apart from the three countries where national and European elections coincided, two other countries experienced national governmental crises shortly before the European elections, leading to a prominent focus on national aspects during the direct election campaigns. In the Netherlands, Prime Minister Lubbers, a member of the Christian Democratic Party, resigned following the rejection of the government's proposed financing measures for a comprehensive national environmental protection plan by the parliamentary group of his coalition partner, the Liberals (VD). Despite the announcement of general elections scheduled for September, which was expected to generate mobilisation for the European election campaign, these expectations went unfulfilled. In Italy, Prime Minister De Mita resigned in mid-May, and his relinquishment came after losing his position as the chairman of the Christian Democratic Party in February and facing political attacks from Bettino Craxi, the chairman of his crucial coalition partner, the Socialists. The European election provided an opportunity for the Italian parties to gauge their relative strength ahead of new coalition negotiations. The start of the campaign was notably marked by the government crisis and its consequences, which held significant sway. However, towards the end, domestic concerns were overshadowed by the violent crackdown on the protest movement in China. This event was vigorously exploited by bourgeois and right-wing parties to launch vehement attacks on the Italian Communist Party, labelling it as an "ideological accomplice" of the Chinese regime.

Even in countries without governmental crises or simultaneous general elections, Europe remained a secondary concern during the campaigns. In Belgium, the Liberal opposition faced challenges in differentiating itself from the successful ruling coalition composed of the Socialists, Christian Democrats, and the Flemish VU. Eventually, the campaign unfolded with minimal inter-party conflict, focusing neither on national nor European issues. Similarly, in Germany, Europe played a minor role. Alongside discussions about the right-wing "Republicans," public interest primarily revolved around international affairs such as developments in China and the missile controversy within NATO, as well as the visits of George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev. In France, as in many other countries, major parties encountered difficulties in setting themselves apart from their opponents on European policies.

Although the European dimension had some presence, the European election ultimately functioned as a national test election. The primary focus was on how voters would respond to the attempt to restructure the bourgeois opposition through two separate lists: a center list led by Simone Veil and the UDF/RPR list led by Giscard d'Estaing. Similarly, in Portugal, the European election was primarily viewed through a national lens. Particularly for the Socialist opposition, who had suffered clear electoral defeats in the past two national elections, this occasion provided an opportunity to present themselves as a viable alternative to the Social Democrats, who had held an absolute majority since 1987.

The European election in Spain also had a significant national test character, as the political landscape had been influenced by the conflict between Felipe Gonzalez's Socialist government and the trade unions regarding state economic policy. This dynamic presented an opportunity for the opposition People's Party to break free from its long-standing stagnation and make political gains. In Denmark and Great Britain, where a campaign with a strong European dimension was anticipated due to specific conflict configurations regarding European matters, the dynamics had shifted during this particular election. In Denmark, public opinion surveys had indicated a growing pro-European sentiment for some time, and in February 1986, the majority of Danes (56%) had approved the Single European Act in a referendum. As a result, the question of Danish membership in the European Commission was no longer a prominent issue on the political agenda.

While the People's Movement against the EC, comprising opponents of the EC from various parties, participated again, the campaign was primarily dominated by a domestic issue, albeit partially influenced by European considerations: the tax and budgetary reform plan proposed by the bourgeois coalition government in May. In Great Britain, on the other hand, the Labour Party, which had adopted a more pragmatic stance compared to 1979, showcased a noticeably pro-European rhetoric to the voters. However, within the ruling Conservative Party, a controversy emerged – particularly evident in the public disputes between Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Heath – regarding future European policy, which dominated a significant portion of the British campaign. It is worth noting that the Labour Party also utilized the European election campaign to seek voter judgement on ten years of Thatcherism.

In the 1989 European elections, significant losses were experienced by the major parties in all member states, except for Luxembourg. This led some political commentators to suggest the existence of a European-wide wave of right-wing extremism. However, when examining the electoral results of extreme right-wing parties across the EC, it becomes evident that such an argument lacks substantial empirical evidence.

Whilst it is true that the right-wing parties' share of the vote increased in five member states compared to the last national election, this phenomenon does not hold true to a large extent throughout the European Union. In the Flemish region of Belgium, the Vlaams Blok saw an increase in its share of the vote, at the expense of the VU, and secured a seat in the European Parliament. Le Pen's National Front also experienced a 2% increase in its share. In Luxembourg, the previously insignificant National Bewegong gained 2.9% of the vote. In the Netherlands, the Lijst Janmaat Centrumdemocraten received 0.8% of the vote, a significant decrease from the 2.5% it had gained in the 1984 European election. In Italy, the MSI, which had faced an internal crisis following the death of its charismatic founder, Almirante, suffered losses compared to both the previous national and European elections, resulting in the loss of one seat in the European Parliament. Lastly, the Greek National Political Union (EPEN) gained 1.2%

of the vote in 1989 (compared to 0.3% in the concurrent national election), but experienced a significant decline in its share compared to the 1984 European elections (2.3%), ultimately losing its seat in the European Parliament.

In contrast to the varying performance of right-wing parties, the Green parties experienced an overall increase in their share of the vote in the European elections compared to both the corresponding national elections and the 1984 European elections. Germany, however, stands as a unique case, as the German Greens were the only Green party in the European Union that did not significantly increase its share of the vote. In all other countries, the Green parties achieved much higher gains in votes compared to the corresponding gains of the right-wing parties. Notably, the British Green Party, previously marginal, achieved the highest increase, reaching 14.5% of the vote, the highest share ever attained by a Green party in European elections. It is worth mentioning that despite this achievement, the British Green Party is not represented in the European Parliament due to the British electoral system. In Greece, Luxembourg, and Spain, the fragmentation of the Green parties into three (or four in Spain) separate entities participating in the European elections resulted in their inability to secure the EP seats that could have been attained based on their combined share of the vote in each respective country. In Portugal, the coalition of Communists and Greens (CDU), on the other hand, achieved notable success, gaining 14.4% of the vote and securing four seats in the European Parliament. One of the seats was specifically designated for a candidate from the Greens. Among all the member states, Denmark was the only country where the Greens did not field their own electoral list or form an alliance with other parties for the European elections. Instead, they joined forces with other small left-wing parties, urging their supporters to vote for the People's Movement against the EC.

When considering the European implications of the election results, it is important to note that the composition of the European Parliament following the 1989 elections cannot be directly compared to its previous composition. This comparison is further complicated by the fact that in Spain and Portugal, the first direct elections to the European Parliament were held as recently as 1987, and there have been instances of MEPs switching parliamentary groups over the past five years.

Contrary to the press's claims of a Europe-wide shift to the left, there has not been a significant overall swing in that direction. The increased strength of the Socialist Group can primarily be attributed to the British Labour Party's 5% gain in votes, resulting in an additional 13 seats. On the contrary, the Christian Democrats were able to offset the losses incurred by the poor performance of the German CDU/KSU by incorporating the Spanish Partido Popular into their group. This, along with the decline of the British Conservatives, led to a 50% reduction in the European Democratic Group's representation. The Liberals managed to compensate for the underperformance of their two Italian member parties with the addition of new Spanish members and the re-entry of the German F.D.P. party. Furthermore, the extreme right-wing parties experienced a boost

with the German Republicans securing six seats.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that only the right-wing parties from France, Germany, and Belgium managed to form a technical group, resulting in no significant change in the strength of the European Right. The other two existing parliamentary groups prior to the 1989 elections have split into separate groups. The Italian Communists, led by Archille Occhetto, continued their new direction in the European Parliament, distancing themselves from their more orthodox counterparts, particularly those from France. Additionally, the Greens, who were previously part of the Rainbow Group alongside Danish opponents of the EC and small regionalist parties, decided to establish their own parliamentary group.

Many comments on the 1989 election emphasized the majority achieved by left-wing parties when considering the Socialists, Greens, Communists, and Rainbow Group together (51%). However, categorizing all members of the Greens and Rainbow Group as strictly left-wing is not accurate. Moreover, drawing definitive conclusions about future left-wing policies based on seat distribution is misleading. The cohesion of European Parliament groups differs from national parliamentary groups, and the EP's role within the EC's political system requires strategic considerations. The EP's increased influence in recent years was largely due to cooperation between the Socialists and Christian Democrats. It was expected that this "grand coalition" would continue to shape the newly elected EP, as evident in the election of Socialist Enrique Baron Crespo as president, agreed upon by both groups.

Overall, the 1989 European elections reflected a predominantly pro-integration stance among the majority of parties and voters. This can be seen as a retrospective endorsement and validation of the Parliament's endeavours and initiatives aimed at advancing further integration of the Community.

IV. 1994: The conquest of national political issues in the aftermath of the signing of the Maastricht Treaty.

Between the European Parliament elections of 1989 and 1994, voters faced a tumultuous period of change. The end of the Cold War resulted in the reunification of Germany, replacing a monolithic security problem with a new set of challenges, including the agonizing conflict in Bosnia. Without doubt, the disintegration of the Soviet Union further added to the complexity of the situation. The period was also marked by economic recession, leading to a continent-wide unemployment rate above 10% for the European Union.

In June 1994, the fourth European Parliament (EP) elections were held, inviting over 265 million citizens from the 12 member countries of the European Union (EU) to exercise their right to vote. These elections were significant as the Maastricht treaty introduced new procedures, granting enhanced decision-making powers to the EP and a role in the nomination of the Commission and its president, making the parliament more influential. With the inclusion of

these new powers and the ongoing enlargement debates and intergovernmental conference, one might have anticipated a higher level of attention and interest in these European elections compared to previous ones. However, despite efforts by party groups in the European Parliament, particularly the Party of European Socialists (PES) and the European People's Party (EPP), to "Europeanize" the election campaign and coordinate campaigns with their national party organizations, the diversity in campaigning and voting behavior remained as significant as ever. Almost a year after the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty and coinciding with the Austrian vote in favor of joining the EU by a significant margin, one would have anticipated a decrease in expressions of anti-integration sentiments. Contrary to expectations, there was yet an increase in the number of explicitly anti-integration movements emerging in several European countries. Accordingly, these developments defied many stereotypical assumptions. In other respects, the election results challenged preconceived notions: it was the French voters, rather than the Danes, who cast the highest proportion and number of explicitly anti-integration votes. Similarly, the Dutch voters exhibited greater apathy towards participating in the polls compared to the British electorate. In most cases, election campaigns revolved around previous national contests and debates rather than focusing on the new role of the European Parliament in the post-Maastricht and post-enlargement era. This was primarily due to the early stage of the EU political system, which still required autonomous legitimacy, and the tendencies of politicians and media to prioritize the domestic implications of the elections and associated discussions. In consequence, there was a notable emphasis on abstentionism and anti-government votes in many post-election analyses. Ludicrously, it was only in Germany that Chancellor Helmut Kohl's CDU party remained committed to an integrationist stance, leading to a more forward-looking and 'European' election campaign. Kohl, more than any other European leader, enjoyed the advantages of German economic dominance within the European Union and the alignment between German federal political structures, traditions, and those emerging in the European Union. And besides, Kohl had a vested interest in the upcoming Bundestag elections on 16 October 1994.

The 1994 elections marked a significant decline in voter turnout, reaching the lowest point up to that moment with only 56.5 % participation. The turnout of 63.0 % in 1979, although somewhat disappointing, was still considered acceptable. The subsequent elections witnessed a further decline in turnout, with 61.0 % in 1984 and 58.7 % in 1989, which was seen as a natural development. The overall decrease in turnout was largely attributed to voter apathy in countries that traditionally showed high levels of support for European integration. Most notably, the Netherlands experienced a substantial drop in voting participation, with turnout falling from 47.2 % in 1989 to 35.6 % in 1994, marking the lowest turnout among member states. In Germany, the turnout declined from 62.3 % to 58 percent, while in Italy, it decreased from 81 % to 74.8 %. Ireland, on the other hand, witnessed a particularly dramatic decline in voting, plummeting from 68.3

% to 37 %. Even in Greece, where voting was compulsory, the turnout fell from 79.9 % to 71.9 %. By contrast, the two countries that held Maastricht ratification referendums, France and Denmark, witnessed an increase in voter participation. In France, for instance, voter turnout rose from 48.7 % to 53.5 %, while in Denmark, it increased from 46.2 % to 52.5 %. Spain also experienced a similar increase, with turnout rising from 54.8 % to 59.6 %. Interestingly, even in the UK, there was a slight uptick in participation from 36.2 % to 36.4 %. Meanwhile, in Belgium and Luxembourg, where voting is compulsory, the turnout remained largely unchanged at a high level of 90 %.

The outcome of the 1994 elections can be seen as a continuation of the downward trend in voter turnout, which aligns with similar patterns observed in several Western democracies, particularly since the 1980s. According to the majority of commentaries, the voters who did choose to participate seemed primarily motivated by domestic issues and concerns. In regard to the election results, the latter revealed a decrease in the dominance of the two major groups, the PES and EPP, within the parliament. During the inaugural session of the new Parliament in July 1994, these groups collectively held 355 out of the 567 seats, compared to their previous stronghold of 359 out of 518 seats. This relative decline in their representation has been accompanied by an increase in the number of smaller groups.

The 1994 campaign itself was markedly brief and received relatively limited attention. In Britain, for example, the major parties unveiled their European manifestos as late as 24 May. In the Netherlands, where the parties were fatigued from their third election campaign in four months, their focus was mainly on the formation of a new national cabinet rather than the European elections. The international press seemed uncertain about how to cover the elections, with many articles feeling obligatory rather than genuinely engaging. During this period, much greater emphasis was placed on the 50th anniversary commemorations of the Allied Invasion in Normandy. On the European stage, the transition of Jacques Delors as chairman of the European Commission garnered far more attention than the European Parliament elections. In Denmark, political parties aligned themselves on European issues and presented lists to the electorate, making it the country that most closely resembles a developing European party system. In France and Great Britain, there was also substantial public debate surrounding European issues.

The European (27 May-2 June 1994) reported that "France is engaging in the Euro-contest with such fervor that the campaign appears to be on the brink of overheating. With new parties emerging seemingly out of nowhere, even the French themselves are bewildered." Various parties emerged on both the left and right, challenging the established parties on matters related to Europe. In Britain, the debate on Europe was stimulated by the existing national parties rather than new political parties. The different stands taken by Prime Minister Major and the opposition parties, Labour and the Liberal Democrats, on the proposal for a multiple-speed Europe became a significant issue. The far-right

and new parties in Germany also contributed to the production of debate. The European (20–26 May 1994) reported that figures like Schoenhuber and the Republikaners shared a belief that Germany is constantly persecuted by the rest of Europe, unable to take pride in its Germanness, and allowing too many foreigners into the country. There were also skeptical outsiders, such as Manfred Brunner, a disillusioned former Brussels representative who led the Free Citizen's League, attempting to stir up European debate. Under other conditions, the presence of undesirable neo-fascists or far-right elements posed a threat to any movement in Germany that emphasized a nationalistic tone, and even a marginal increase in their votes would be cause for concern. The only other prominent European issue in Germany appeared to revolve around the question of whether Germany should contribute such a significant share of the Union budget (*International Herald Tribune*, 7 June 1994).

In the remaining countries, the European content of the campaign appeared to be even less prominent. In Ireland, although the campaign had some European content, it was not entirely focused on it. Italy was preoccupied with internal politics, and the new political parties had yet to generate a significant debate on Europe. In the Netherlands, the parties were primarily concerned with the outcome of the national election and the formation of a new cabinet. There was a growing sense of disenchantment in Spain and Portugal, but the major parties still maintained strong pro-European stances. In Spain, however, the disgruntled Jose Maria Ruiz Mategos campaigned against Europe and Premier Gonzalez with the provocative slogan, "Vote for me if you have the balls." While the European Union experienced a decline in popularity in Greece due to the Macedonia question, all parties emphasized the importance of receiving assistance for infrastructure projects in the coming years. In Belgium, the debate on European issues was minimal, and a similar situation occurred in Luxembourg, where national elections coincided with the European elections. Attempting to rank the European content of the campaigns is challenging, but a rough grouping of countries can be observed. Denmark, France, and Great Britain appeared to have the highest level of European debate, while Germany and possibly Ireland fall into an intermediate category. Yet, in the majority of member states, European issues were given minimal attention.

On the whole, the campaigns for the European elections took place within national political contexts and boundaries. Despite the potential for EU-wide campaigning and voter mobilization due to institutional factors, various factors within each country, such as political, economic, and institutional constraints, played a more significant role.

Under other conditions, the death of John Smith at the beginning of the campaign and the absence of prominent public figures as candidates in the UK did little to generate interest. The Conservatives aimed to address Europe but used simplistic messaging to keep their divided party united. Labour, the Liberals, and the Nationalists focused on highlighting Conservative divisions, criticizing the incumbent government's domestic policies, and emphasizing the

potential benefits of the social chapter of Maastricht under a new government. The campaigns gained some attention due to lesser-known groups' televised efforts, such as the Natural Law Party (known for levitation ideas) and the UK Independence Party. Surprising opinion polls indicated the significance of the Nationalists in Scotland (which proved accurate with the SNP winning 32.6% of the votes and two seats). There was also speculation about the Liberal Democrats surpassing the Conservatives, which turned out to be an illusion as they secured only 16.7% of the votes and two seats. In Spain, a similar dynamic to Britain emerged as the unpopular incumbent government faced criticism. The Socialist government focused on Europe while opposition parties targeted the government's failures and widespread corruption scandals. In France, voters were presented with 20 lists to choose from, leading to a complex political landscape. The split between the moderate Right and the Extreme Right National Front of Jean-Marie Le Pen was further complicated by the emergence of an anti-Maastricht group within the moderate Right parties. On the Left, alongside the traditional Communist-Socialist divide, a Socialist-Radical division arose with the creation of a separate list led by the controversial Bernard Tapie. Interestingly, both these groups shared similar views on Europe but disagreed on leadership within the Centre-Left forces in the post-Mitterrand era. The Italian campaign was comparatively simpler and subdued. Berlusconi, with the support of his resources and media empire, sought to increase the political influence of Forza Italia, while other parties aimed to retain their existing supporters. Most parties faced resource constraints due to the close proximity of the European elections to the costly general elections. In Portugal, much of the interest revolved around the Socialist opposition's criticisms of the Social-Democrat government and its handling of the ongoing recession. In Ireland, the familiar rivalry between Fianna Fail and Fine Gael was enlivened by the Greens, who successfully doubled their previous vote share with an effective campaign.

In other ways, Denmark saw criticism of the Socialist Prime Minister not only from the existing anti-integration parties but also from a new group called the June Movement. While the three anti-integration groups shaped the campaign, they only accounted for one third of the votes. Germany stood out with its focus on European issues, although the issue of European integration played a lesser role in the overall campaign. The incumbent Chancellor, committed to European integration, received support and gained momentum. This assisted Kohl in his quest to secure a new majority in the Bundestag elections, a task that initially seemed daunting. Kohl's success can be attributed to his ability to create a coherent package that linked national and European themes, an achievement that others either did not attempt or pursued with less influence.

The impact of incumbency on voting behavior varied across countries. In Britain and Spain, incumbency was supported, while in Italy, Greece, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, and Denmark, incumbency yielded rewards. However, in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, it had limited relevance. The European elections either encouraged the emergence of new political movements or rein-

forced the strength of recently emerged movements in Denmark, Italy, Greece, France, and Ireland. Traditional opposition parties were reinforced in some cases, such as Labour in the UK and the Popular Party in Spain. The largest changes occurred in the major states, magnified by the increased seat allocations for those countries. In Germany, the Free Democrats and the Republicans lost all their seats, while the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats gained seats. France saw a smaller increase in seats, allowing the Socialists to lose only a few seats despite a significant drop in their vote share. The RPR-UDF coalition also increased its seats. The winners in France were the Centre-Right 'Other Europe' list and the 'Radical Energy' list, which together obtained 26 seats. In Italy, the Popular Party and the Socialist Party saw a decline in seats, while Silvio Berlusconi's Forza Italia emerged as the big winner. In Great Britain, Labour gained seats while the Conservatives experienced losses. In Spain, the Popular Party gained seats with minor losses for the Socialists.

This in-depth analysis of the diverse results and voting trends across the 12 EU member-states leads to the inevitable conclusion that electoral behavior was primarily driven by national political considerations. Only in Denmark and France did the national political agenda prioritize questions of European integration and national identities. This led to a fragmentation of the usual political forces, as the European integration issue crossed traditional party and voter lines. Given the prominence of the European issue in the national political agenda, the election results were widely seen as having significant repercussions on domestic party competition.

V. 1999: 20 years of EU elections: Alienation from the Parliament and the electoral process.

The last European Parliament elections of the 20th century left an uncertain view of the future of European citizenship with low turnouts, apathy and a lack of media debate on EU policies raising the question as to when this level of governance would be balanced by public participation. "Je Pense Donc Je Vote": The slogan of the European Parliament's promotional campaign in France to encourage voters to participate in the 1999 European elections struck a spectacularly false note. The citizens not only of France, but of Europe as a whole, reacted with striking indifference to the prospect of the fifth direct elections to the world's only transnational parliament.

During the elections held on 10-13 June, voter turnout declined in most of the fifteen member states, with an average of less than half of the eligible electorate participating for the first time since 1979. Media coverage of the contest was notably subdued, even in the countries where general elections were held on the same day, such as Belgium and Luxembourg. Throughout the European Union, there was a lack of significant choices being shaped or resolved, both at the national and continental levels. As described by David Butler, the European elections of 1999, like their predecessors, resembled tactical exercises with-

out actual engagement—a theoretical, self-contained war of interests among the political leaders. In 1999, all 15 member states implemented various forms of proportional representation, marking the first time this voting system was used universally. As a result, the composition of the fifth European Parliament, elected through universal suffrage, differed significantly from both its predecessor and the expectations based on opinion polls. Most remarkably, there was a notable shift in the positions of the two largest groups. The Party of European Socialists experienced a loss of 30 seats, while the European People's Party gained over 20 additional seats, emerging as the largest group in the new assembly. The Greens also experienced significant developments. By the same token, voters defied the downward trend in participation in only four countries (Belgium, Spain, Ireland, and Portugal). Belgium, for example, stands out as voting is compulsory and the elections coincided with national parliamentary elections. The slight increase in turnout in Ireland and Spain was due to the presence of a referendum or a large number of local elections held on the same day. Generally, countries with mandatory voting (Belgium, Luxembourg, and Greece) or strong social customs (Italy and Spain) exhibit higher turnout. The northern states (Britain, the Netherlands, Finland, and Sweden) generally have the lowest turnout, although Denmark and Ireland had over half of their registered voters participating. For the first time, both France and Germany had a turnout below 50%. Overall, the 1999 European elections highlight the worsening challenge of communicating the relevance of the European Parliament to citizens in most EU states. Besides, there was significant variation in visibility among EU countries during the elections. In most Scandinavian and Mediterranean countries, as well as Austria, election coverage accounted for at least 13% of all political coverage. However, in the UK, Spain, both parts of Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Germany, election coverage amounted to no more than 6% of political coverage, with virtually no coverage in the Netherlands, Germany, and Flanders.

In the majority of countries, EU representatives were more visible in political news compared to non-EU representatives, providing the EU with some representation in the European election campaign. However, there was also a significant group of countries where EU representatives were rarely seen, indicating a decline in their newsworthiness over time. The “second-order” nature of European elections, observed since the first elections, is further reflected in the coverage of EU representatives. The repetitive and unexciting nature of these elections has resulted in limited media coverage of EU representatives. In contrast, the novelty of European elections in ‘new’ EU member countries generated greater coverage of EU representatives, in line with research on news value. And yet, in five ‘old’ EU member states, no more than 10 EU representatives were featured in the two most prominent television outlets. Given the significant role that media plays in democratic processes, it is crucial to address the representation deficit of the EU in TV news coverage in certain EU countries.

The coincidence or proximity to national elections continues to be a signif-

icant factor in all member states. This is evident in the high turnout observed in Belgium and Luxembourg, where voting is obligatory and national parliamentary elections were held at the same time (including regional elections in Belgium). Similar reasons contributed to the increased turnout in Ireland and Spain. Conversely, the decline in voter participation in Finland, along with the election outcome, can be attributed to voter fatigue following closely held national elections in March. In Austria, where national elections took place in early October 1999, the European elections were seen as a precursor to the upcoming real battle by both politicians and the media.

The 1999 European elections were also seen as a preparatory step for competing national parties in Greece and Spain, where national elections were scheduled for 2000. In the case of Britain, the institutional context was shaped not by the proximity of national elections but rather by the aftermath of elections to the devolved parliaments in Cardiff and Edinburgh, as well as the introduction of a new electoral system for the European elections. Party leaders in each member state approached the elections based on their perceptions of the nationally differentiated context. Factors such as institutional arrangements, electoral rules, political competition, economic conditions, and media structures influenced voter attitudes and priorities. The coincidence of national, regional, local elections, or referendums in certain countries shifted the focus of debates to national political issues. Surprising results were seen in Luxembourg, where the Socialists faced losses in the national parliament. In Belgium, the meat contamination scandal dominated the campaign. Greek parties focused on domestic issues in preparation for upcoming national elections. Campaigns in Portugal were seen as a popularity contest before the “real” elections in 2000. France witnessed internal battles within each political camp, while Germany had a low-profile campaign. Italy saw active campaigning by Berlusconi and Forza Italia, with the media paying significant attention. Lack of interest was observed in the UK, except for the Greens, UK Independence Party, and nationalists in Scotland and Wales. The Labour government, having made the decision to change the electoral system, appeared to have forgotten about the campaign. This lack of attention and inspiration from Labour contributed to an anticipated significant defeat. Interestingly, during a crucial period of the campaign, Labour’s campaign manager went on holiday to France. Different EU countries report and perceive common institutional and political developments at the EU level in varying ways.

In 1999, there were significant policy and institutional changes that had the potential to bridge the gap between national contexts and increase citizen engagement in the campaign. These developments included the freezing of exchange rates in Euro states and the transfer of monetary policy management to the European Central Bank in January, as well as the implementation of the Amsterdam Treaty in May, which enhanced the powers of the European Parliament in scrutinizing appointments and influencing EU legislation. Communicating the significance of institutional changes to voters proves to be a challenge. Another

important EU-level development is the slow progress and cautious approach towards EU enlargement, including the admission of Central and Eastern European states. Reforms to existing policies and institutions, particularly in agriculture, are necessary for successful enlargement. However, attempts by the PES and EPP groups to run trans-European campaigns on common issues were hindered by the dominance of national party machinery and media structures. None of the aforementioned developments have had a positive impact on the electorate. The increased power of the European Parliament remains largely theoretical and hasn't been prominently featured in media reporting. Despite the Parliament's more confrontational stance towards the European Commission, it has failed to significantly influence public perceptions of the directly-elected assembly. The mixed signals sent by the Parliament's role in the Commission crisis have contributed to this lack of impact. Initially, major political groups did not intend for the Commission to resign, and the socialist PES Group even advocated for collective responsibility to protect individual Commissioners, many of whom were socialists. However, this strategy backfired as evidence of misconduct emerged, leading to the dramatic resignation of the Commission.

The 1999 European Parliament elections once again functioned as national events, with candidates representing national parties and a focus on national issues. Analyzing the messages conveyed by citizens to their leaders through these elections is a delicate task, as the results exhibited significant cross-national diversity and the absence of clear trans-European trends, similar to the 1994 elections. The main reason for low voter turnout in 1999 appears to be a sense of alienation from the Parliament and the electoral process. Widespread ignorance about the Parliament, its work, and its influence persists, particularly exacerbated by a lack of understanding about the electoral system in the UK. Among those informed about the European Parliament and its activities, there is substantial criticism regarding wastefulness, minor corruption (such as travel expenses), and limited participation of certain MEPs. Not to mince words, the EP as a whole has faced widespread press criticism for its failures and perceived ineffectiveness, notably in preventing misconduct by Commissioners, resulting in the resignation of the entire Commission.

VI. 2004: The first elections after the bigger enlargement of the EU.

The 2004 elections to the European Parliament (EP) were a turning point in the history of European integration. As several political analysts have agreed, they were probably the last Euroelections under the old treaties, and the first in a wider, more heterogeneous, fragmented and disparate Europe. With more than 350 million people in 25 countries having the right to vote, the 2004 European Parliamentary elections took place only a few weeks after the accession of 10 new Member States to the European Union (EU)—the largest political and economic expansion ever. During these elections, a broad range of issues was raised, including the Voter turnout, suffrage, and the incompatibilities of man-

dates.

Typified by a rejection of particular EU policies and measures, the Eurosceptics expressed skepticism towards the European project since at least Britain's entry into the European Economic Community (EEC). Eventually, the debate over the European Union has been as strong inside the political parties, counting in their ranks people with contrasting views. By some means or other, the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs) sought the EP elections of 2004 to rebuff their new EU partners along two tracks. As a matter of fact, the minority of the electorate that bothered to vote seized to back anti-EU parties with great passion, whilst showing a lack of significant concerns. Given that there was no main ground of voter apathy in the new Member States, two recurring features of the post-election commentary covered both disillusionment with national governments and suspicion of what EU membership might bring in subsequence. Austria, for instance, called for a halt to Turkey's European Union membership talks. The Socialists, Democrats and Greens group, on the other hand, vested their political and economic interests which run counter to the professed core values of the Union. In a complementary fashion, these parties were tempted to amplify their differences, rather than trying to bring fairer contributions to Europe. And this in due course might be related to the resistance to the liberalization of Austrian water resources, the fight against both the use of atomic energy and the financial privileges within the European Parliament. The crucial debate, therefore, was imbued with (false) accusations, standing primarily on the credibility and consistency of the contenders' plausible arguments.

The inward looking and nationally-oriented contest between the governing parties and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) were accompanied by a public discourse and growing awareness of the need to focus on European issues, and at the same time, to hold a definite European perspective. The 2004 European elections in Belgium were a typical example of 'second-order' national contests. Contrariwise, the campaign, the issues, and the media coverage were dominated by 'first-order' national affairs, resulting from the co-occurrence of the European Parliament and those regional elections. The outcomes strongly converged for Wallonia and Flanders insofar as the winners could be held among the opposition parties only when the government parties lost their votes. The quest to render Cyprus' national problem turned out to be the focal point of most campaigns, as in what follows: (1) the 24 April referendum, with the pro-fund consumption it entailed; (2) the controversy of such a cosmogonic matter in relation to the Euro-election which left no room for the Cypriots to immerse themselves in labyrinthine European issues; (3) after showing a considerable support for European integration, a sense of discontent with the European Union had been set in motion owing to any lack of assistance provided by the Commission and other EU organs which called for a 'European', or, better say, a 'fairer' plan than that of Kofi Annan; (4) finally, voters seemed convinced that the priority was to concentrate on how the EU would address and solve Cyprus'

own disputes. In the Czech Republic, the Socialist Party highlighted common principles with other Socialist, Social Democratic and Labour parties whose shared ideas became more visible during their participation in the European Convention. Nevertheless, the Democratic Union of Freedom (UDL), formed after the division of the Civic Democratic Party (CDP) in 1998, presented itself as Euro-optimistic. It essentially sought to further expand the European Union, while making the 'European card' part of the main convergence between the Official Document System of the United Nations (ODS) and its efficiency. In the same vein, the Christian and Democratic Union–Czechoslovak Peoples' Party (KDU–CSL), supported the European orientation of the country, and conceived of the EU as an embodiment of its own Christian democratic values. Needless to say, the CDP, until recently led by Vaclav Klaus, has always proclaimed EU membership as a key objective in Czech foreign policy. On the contrary, the ODS has debated over certain concepts, such as 'Europe of the Regions,' or the 'Social State,' much as it opposed further political integration. The parties, on the whole, did not fall back on the EP transnational party groups, although some direct references were made to them.

At all events, the campaign in Denmark was not only shorter than those before national elections, but also more enclosed and less intense. Voter ignorance about the candidates and insufficient female representation were in fact among the serious issues addressed throughout the political campaign. The EU financial support for the agricultural industry was put on the agenda when a national TV station broadcast made a list of Danish beneficiaries, thereby provoking all parties to call for a change in the EU system. In like manner, the prospect of Turkish EU membership was taken into consideration. Whereas the Danish People's Party opposed Turkey's accession, other parties considered it as something that would maintain European security.

In the same context, Estonian parties based their campaigns on matters concerned with the eligible party alliances in the European Parliament. On the local level, the Res Publica asked for cooperation between the six Estonian Members of the EP in order to protect the republic's interests within the EU. Whilst the Reform Party's campaign preordained lower taxes, the Centre Party stressed the free movement of workers, alongside the high social welfare benefits in Europe. By and large, EU issues had been given speech on the EU funding to Estonia, and how these funds were to be used at a national scale.

One of the most common arguments put forward for the enlargement of the EU was that the rule of law and respect for human rights would spread systematically eastwards, and that EU membership would somehow guarantee Western-style ideals of democracy. Opponents of EU membership in Estonia, however, believed that the real source of power would be the EU Commission, which was considered as overly centralized and bureaucratized, and that was of the same mind as to Post-Soviet states. In this respect, they argued that the legacy of soviet-style bureaucratization attracted no significant attention. The parties in Finland, meanwhile, had diverted their focus away from the elections,

since they had enough time, money, and energy to be spent on the elections.

Given the intricate nature of the present campaigning, it was indeed difficult to pinpoint any primary themes of the EP elections. As the case may be, defending Finland's national interests was perhaps the main issue whereby the whole debate was focalized on familiar topics in Finnish EU policy—defense, along with the decision on whether Finland should apply for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) membership, agriculture, regional policy, and, for sure, without dismissal of the welfare state. In such a line of thought, the EP elections in France were utterly overshadowed by domestic politics. Even though the President Jacques Chirac championed the EU, he was for the most part laconic especially in the press conference of 29 April 2004 where the mainstream parties were distracted by power struggles. Notwithstanding his support for the EP's powerful status, his words of encouragement for the French MEPs marked a departure from the campaign. Until then, the President endeavoured to pursue a traditional way by belittling the significance of the European Parliament and ignoring the MEPs' potential to formulate an efficient French policy in the EU. To such a degree, his bait and switch scheme was an ongoing strategy to arrest France's fall influences on an enlarged EU.

Arguably, the 2004 European Parliament elections confirmed the pattern established in the five previous polls that were held in Germany. When combined with the predominance of national issues to determine voter decisions, the elections were momentarily the same as in many other Member States. The Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) attempted to consider the subject matters which in effect had been successful in the two previous Bundestag elections. In reality, its TV commercials plugged social justice (*soziale Gerechtigkeit*), like in the 1998 election, while the CDU Campaign Poster propagated Europe as a force for peace (*Friedensmacht Europa*). Particularly noteworthy was that the present campaign constructed itself around the indistinct slogan of 'Germany can do more in Europe' (*Europa 2004: Deutschland kann mehr*). Yet again, it was the party's TV commercials which were more blatant in their attempt to benefit from an anti-government vote by focusing exclusively on the SPD-Green government's record. On the other side, the New Democracy in Greece declared its full support for the EU Constitution and federal solutions to European integration whose message, however, followed a domestic debate. Interestingly enough, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, known by the acronym PASOK, was characterized by its complex campaign. In point of fact, the EP election's widely circulating slogan, 'We Demand Development and Jobs for Everyone; We Pursue Knowledge and Jobs for the Young, We Vote for Greece in Europe,' aimed beyond doubt to present Papandreou's priorities for the party policy. It could be that the Communist Party was the only one which sought to target Europe in particular, as well as the EU Constitution and European integration in general. It simply embraced the motto of 'Resistance, Disobedience, Revolt' against the EU.

With its main concern developing on domestic issues, the Coalition of the

Radical Left (SYN) tried to persuade the public by claiming that “there is another way; take it to the left!” The SYN’s chief reference to Europe during the campaign had been the inclination towards the constitution, yet only with certain qualifications, so as to prevent Europe from becoming a fortress, and to ensure that the EU’s so-called ‘Fight Against Terrorism’ would not compromise nor eliminate citizens’ rights and liberties. The success of the new far-right party was, to everyone’s surprise, of paramount significance. The LAOS, which adopted a religious orthodox support and xenophobic rhetoric, followed a campaign whose leader, George Karatzaferis, believed in the ‘Vote YES for Him who Knows How to Say NO.’

Consistent with this trend, the Hungarian parties’ distinct attitudes towards European integration might have set the stage for a campaign coping with policies through which the newly elected MEPs could influence. Howbeit, the salience of EU policy issues remained ground-level during the campaign period. This signified a closer examination at the main issues as in the hereafter referred: the EU budget (with all four parties pledging to maximize transfers to Hungary , while simultaneously denouncing breach of the Stability Pact by some populous Member States), the next President of the Commission (with parties showing support to candidates who were to be nominated by their respective transnational EP party groups), apace with certain institutional aspects of the EU Constitution by which parties were in favour of ‘One Country–One Commissioner’, to take one example). The question as to whether the Constitution should make reference to Europe’s Christian roots sparked controversy. Both Conservative parties, Fidesz and the Democratic Forum were giving back to this proposal, while in contrast, the more secular Socialists would have preferred other Member States to take the initiative.

Although the main political parties in the EP election were affiliated to European party groups, the campaign in Ireland was marked by a complete absence of issues pertaining to the EU. The high degree of consensus across the electorate distinguished Ireland from other EU countries where the principle of membership is still politically divisive. Nevertheless, the Irish party manifestos suggested more polarization than what actually emerged on the campaign trail. The so-called Lisbon Strategy, for instance, evoked a variety of positions. While the Greens and the Labour Party drew attention to the environmental and social objectives of the aforementioned Strategy, Fine Gael emphasized free enterprise, competition and free trade, though it acknowledged some concern for the ‘less well off’. The Conservative and Christian-democratic political party, namely Fianna Fail, in keeping with its ‘catch-all’ traditions and broad cross-class appeal, attempted to bridge the gap between the haves and have-nots: ‘we cannot isolate the need for social inclusion from any growth agenda, nor can we ignore the environment in which people live’. Correspondingly, the political campaign in Italy was run by national parties in cooperation with EP transnational political groups. The Socialists, FI and Verdi, in the same manner, contributed to draft the common manifesto of the Party of the European Social-

ists, the European People's Party and the Greens. Forza Italia inserted Partito Popolare European, while the Italian Communists added Sinistra European in their respective lists. Overall, the campaign was scarcely associated with EU issues; it was concerned nothing but with Europe's inability to express opinion over Iraq.

As in other parts of Europe, the EP elections in Latvia granted two main parties the chance to win political recognition. The first was Latvia's Way (Latvijas Ceļš) that used the EP elections as a way of re-emerging in Latvian politics and the second was the relatively recent and unknown Conservative Party which was financed by businessman Valerijs Belokons. According to Auers, the Conservative Party's essential policy platform was to employ its influence in the European Parliament in order to adjust the Lat-euro exchange rate and to bring about lower petrol prices. There was also a myriad of Social Democratic parties that participated in the elections like the United Social Democratic Welfare Party, the Social Democratic Union, the regional Latgale Light, as well as the unknown Eurosceptics, to name but a few. With the presidential elections taking place on the same day, campaigns in Lithuania focused alternatively on domestic and local issues such as agricultural subsidies, taxes, education, health, and pace of economic reforms. The new Labour Party, for example, campaigned on the basis that it would defend Lithuania's interests in the EU. In spite of some public meetings, the EP campaign in Luxembourg was almost invisible since the campaign teams were very small. Except for the Green Party, there was no official distinction between the EP and the national campaign. EU transport policy was also figured out because, apart from the Democratic Party, all parties opposed the EU's privatization of rail, hoping that Luxembourg would be among their list of priorities. Accordingly, national and European issues merged in as much as they were nationalized, shifting their attention towards both personalities and domestic politics.

In Malta, campaigning began only six weeks before 12 June. As the emphasis was on the mass media and billboards, the two main parties had an advantage, yet with little, if any, exposure of non-party candidates on their political stations. An interesting blend of domestic concerns and European factors appeared to dominate the electoral campaigns. As might be expected, most candidates were preoccupied with promoting their credentials as effective MEPs. To be specific, wider European issues, such as the new constitution or adoption of the euro were complete non-starters. The leader of the Opposition, despite this, argued that it was rather a question of jobs, unemployment, and the cost of living than the debate over the Constitution. As in most EU states, national rather than European issues dominated the campaign in the Netherlands. In contrast to countries like France and Germany, a set of highly sensitive issues like the scope of the future constitutional treaty or the possible accession of Turkey were seldom raised in discussion. The European dimension was often limited to the question of whether 'Brussels' should interfere in these policy domains and subsidiarity. Notwithstanding the participation of the Eurocritical

and Eurosceptic parties, the debates of the established parties were flat and even did slide into jokes about the need for an accurate number of unusual European rules.

Although the tempo improved during the last couple of weeks, the campaign in Poland was somewhat extremely low key, and so, it failed to capture the public's imagination. Yet, only three of the eight main groupings' slogans mentioned Europe including: the SLD-UP ('Europe for Development–Development for Poland'), Law and Justice ('Honourable Representation in Europe'), and Polish Social Democracy ('Let's Take Advantage of the European Opportunity'). Attempts to introduce European elements were to be confined to persuading voters as to who would best represent Poland's interests. Furthermore, Civic Platform, SLD-UP, Freedom Union and Polish Social Democracy presented the EU in a positive light, while the LPR and Self-Defence perceived it as a warning threat. Whereas the former revived its old accession referendum slogan of 'Yesterday Moscow, Today Brussels', the latter, describing their approach as 'Eurorealist', called for a complete renegotiation of the accession terms, and a withdrawal from the EU, if this could not be achieved. This being said, non-European and general domestic themes dominated the Polish campaign, particularly the socio-economic issues such as unemployment, taxation, and pensions.

At the end of April, the campaign began in Portugal. European issues were far more prominent than that in the 1999 elections. In truth, the political groupings tended to stress the growing convergence of European and national policies. The most European of all candidates was Antonio Sousa Franco from the Socialist Party which itself endorsed the European policies. The party's slogan was in short 'With Europe in All Big Events' ('Com a Europa em todos grandes momentos'). Not only it emphasized the importance of the EU policies for the future development of the country, but also it highlighted the need to defend national interests. On an equal footing, the Communist coalition coordinated its campaign with the remaining European communist parties. The common platform agreed in Nicosia considered the view that the EU should be a counterbalance to the United States and be proactive in promoting peace. In Slovakia, the election campaign concentrated mainly on the personalities of the candidates. The lack of topics and their abstract content reflected the absence of discussion about their European politics inside the political parties. Surprisingly, no political party or movement rejected the membership of Slovakia in the EU, yet a more skeptical approach was quite noticeable in the marginal Civic Conservative Party (OKS). Together with the Communists, it also rejected the Constitution for Europe, while the Christian Democrats made its acceptance of the draft Constitution granting the inclusion of explicit recognition of God in the preamble. The parties on the right of the political spectrum accentuated the fulfilment of the Four Freedoms especially SDKU, the Slovak Democratic and Christian Union of PM Dzurinda which advocated implementation of the euro in 2006. The left-wing parties, on the other hand, concentrated on the social dimensions of European integration. The nationalistic formation, the Coalition of Slovak National

Party, the Right Slovak National Party, as well as the LS-HZDS of Meciar, were among the few parties who openly expressed their anti-Hungarian grievances. In Slovenia, the campaigns used mass media, especially TV, and sustained a direct contact with partisans and voters. TV debates were in most cases dominated by domestic issues. Directly or indirectly, candidates stressed the need to include Slovene national interests in the EU. As yet, several well-rehearsed arguments from the EU accession campaign resurfaced. Consequently, voters did not pay attention to the campaign where the public quickly realized that seven Slovene MEPs would not have much say in the 732-member EP or in its political groups. From this perspective, the issue of who would be elected to the EP seemed irrelevant. The campaign in Spain was highly personalized as it largely focused on domestic issues. The latter meant that any reference to, or participation of, EP parties was marginal. Although the campaign itself was largely centred on domestic topics, the parties tried to link those concerns with Europe-related images. The campaign was largely fought over domestic issues. The PP emphasized the successes achieved in their eight years in government, seeking to shake away their March electoral defeat and the negative image left by their handling of the Madrid terrorist attacks. They presented the new ruling *Parti Socialiste Ouvrier Espagnol* (PSOE) as corrupt and spendthrift, looking for contradictions in the Socialists' policies. Meanwhile, the PSOE told citizens that 'your vote decides', reminding them that the March election had meant a change in unpopular foreign policies and the return of Spanish troops from Iraq. To their left, IU presented themselves as the true defenders of 'social Europe', and also attacked the Socialists for having acquiesced in the past with neoliberal policies. The three coalitions of smaller parties, for their part, tried to shift the debate towards the rights of regions and nations, with demands that went from the recognition of Catalan and Euskera as official EU languages, an EU intervention in the Gibraltar dispute, and a special statute for peripheral regions such as the Canary Island, to the self-determination of the Basque Country. In Sweden, the organization of the parties' election campaigns is a distinctly national affair, despite the obvious European dimensions. Very scant use was made of the transnational party groups' manifestos and centrally produced information material. Awareness of the Eurosceptic climate of public opinion and increasing hesitancy towards European integration led campaign managers of almost entire parties to opt for the theme of limiting EU power to fewer policy areas, but with stronger policy-making powers in areas where the public wanted more EU cooperation, such as crime generally and trafficking in particular. In this sense, some of the parties' campaigns were populist in supporting and reinforcing the preferences of 'ordinary people'.

Compared to the 1999 EP elections, European issues in the UK, principally the Constitution and the question of Britain's continued membership of the EU, had a much higher profile. Yet, more often than not, the word 'Euro' appeared with reference to football rather than the single currency. As is usually the case in European Parliamentary elections, national issues were central. Precisely, the

government's decision to go to war in Iraq featured as did the economy and public services. However, opposition parties exploited the practical problems resulting from the government's decision to use postal voting for parts of Britain. Overall, the discussion of national issues was stimulated by the simultaneous local council and London mayoral elections. And this indeed was a much vivid campaign than the UK experienced in 1999. National issues were nevertheless of great importance and the results were in keeping with the usual midterm losses for governing parties in European elections.

VII. 2009: 30 years of EU elections: Participation still in decline.

One of the most recurrent dictums regarding European elections is that they are “not about Europe”—a statement which reflects the common perception of European Parliament elections as ‘second-order’ national contests. The implications of this model have altogether been assessed at the voter-choice level, most notably in terms of Voter turnout with reference to punishing incumbents, and greater expressive voting. Along the same line, it tempts to create expectations concerning party campaigns and media coverage which, in turn, plays a role in generating the “Europe-shaped hole” in EP election campaigns. It should be pointed out that the 2009 elections marked the 30th anniversary of the first direct elections to the European Parliament. As yet, there is little semblance between this initial plebiscite and the elections that took place in early summer 2009.

In 30 years, the number of MEPs being elected increased from 410 to nearly 736 members. In due course, the electorate almost doubled, from over 190 million in 9 countries to 375 million voters in 27 countries, whereby the parliament saw a massive expansion of its powers within the European Union (EU). Notwithstanding these leaps and bounds, there still remains a persistent problem, that is, the relative insignificance of the European elections. In a seminal article published in the aftermath of the 1979 elections, Reif and Schmitt defined EP elections as ‘second-order’ national elections because no government was formed as a result of them. What's even more important is that the present model has a twofold dimension. First, the stakes are lower than that of ‘first-order’ elections since they have no immediate impact on the formation of executives. A second aspect is that they are not necessarily ‘about’ the offices which stand up for these alleged elections. Conceding that the latter are “fought on national issues, but lacking national salience,” the second-order model, then, suggests that EP elections have been competing over domestic issues rather than addressing Europe overall, and so, they are treated as ‘mid-term national contests’ Not alarmingly, most issues were to be evaluated as ‘mixed’ for a variety of reasons. Whereas the EP elections were contextualized and framed in national terms relevant to domestic political contexts, policy issues themselves could not be wholly isolated from EU policy-making.

While employment and the economic affairs were considered the most salient

issues during the campaign, enlargement and the Lisbon Treaty were among the less significant matters, added to terrorism and security. Hither a full scope of government policy in which the officeholders had invested heavily during the 2004–2009 legislature, advocating ever more EU-wide cooperation, coordination and joint action across police and judicial systems, together with information exchange. Of vital importance as well were climate change and energy, followed by immigration, foreign affairs, and agriculture. Furthermore, issues striking a European appeal across EU 27 countries were climate change, economic affairs without disregarding the Treaty of Lisbon. Other thematic concerns, such as employment and immigration, by contrast, were subject to national framing, with job creation being seen as a huge national responsibility.

The degree of 'Europeanisation' varied considerably in the member states. Germany, for instance, had the most Europeanized campaign, even though the impending federal elections of September 2009 led politicians to define their positions in advance for the national contest, whilst giving them a European flavor. The major parties, namely the centre-right Christian Democratic Union (CDU)/Christian Social Union (CSU), alongside the Social Democratic Party (SDP), implied that their domestic recipes for employment and social protection could be Europeanized, serving as models for other EU members. Indeed, their broad vision of a social market economy was widely shared by other EU states and the European Commission. Two non-eurozone states like Denmark and Sweden had, in like manner, Europeanized campaigns. The global summit on climate change in Copenhagen in December 2009 and such other transnational issues as international crime and border security dominated the debate in Denmark. On the other side, the environment and energy policy were high on the agenda in Sweden, where a heated debate among European legislators pertaining to cross-border health care figured in the campaign. Likewise, the regulation of Internet communications gained an unexpected salience owing to the emergence of the so-called Pirate Party that was bound to privacy rights and to the unlimited use of peer-to-peer networks. It goes without saying that domestic divisions over Europe in the Czech Republic and in Finland also created the impression of great European prominence in the EP campaigns. European framing arose on grounds of concern over employment and security matters relatively linked to immigration and anxiety by which the Turkish accession and Eastern enlargement would precipitate unemployment and a collapse of the social security system. Perceived as home to the EU institutions, Belgium saw a campaign that might evince speculation over who would assume key posts viz. Commission President, Council 'EU' President, and High Representative, in the post-Lisbon era, with a preference shown for pro-integrationists. Its EP campaign, however, was overshadowed by regional elections in Flanders, Wallonia, and the German-speaking communities. On a similar note, European framing in Greece sought to portray the country as a 'gateway to Europe' where immigration and the border security were viewed as key electoral subjects in the campaign. Although they were carried on being sensitive topics, traditional and

national anxieties in divided Cyprus could not be separated from the European framing, and this was, to some extent, a Europeanisation of a national agenda, therefore, an attempt to legitimize it. The same applies to Estonia where the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy topped the agenda due to fears of Russian dominance and threats to the security of energy supplies. In point of fact, the fear of Russian cuts to their supplies impels Estonian people to support a common EU energy policy, but also to criticize bilateral agreements including the Russo-German Nord Stream pipelines under the Baltic Sea.

Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Italy, and Slovenia, to name but a few, have had considerable national campaign frames which might be explained by the imminence of 2010 Hungarian parliamentary elections. Higher European salience could be equally expected in Ireland with the foreseen second referendum on the Lisbon Treaty on 2 October 2009 and Slovenia's recent EU Presidency. Elsewhere in Italy, European salience is elucidated by the prominence of national scandals, whereas in Latvia the major reasons revolved around ethnic divisions between Latvians and Russians, and objections to adopting the euro as a solution to enliven the economic downturn.

1. European Salience and National Framing

Insofar as framing and salience of individual topics are concerned, economic and financial affairs were essentially the two conspicuous for most states. Thus far, national and European framing tend to present countries clustering at the extremes of the horizontal axis, with national framing prevailing in the Mediterranean coast of Spain, Portugal, Italy, Slovenia, Malta, Sweden, Poland and Estonia, and European framing in Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Romania. Aside from these, unemployment and social protection reflect a national framing, except in Finland. With an almost equal division on either side of national and European targets, climate change and energy were highly impactful in 16 countries out of the EU-27. Recording unusual salience and a European framing have demonstrated that the debate on the labeled 'green economy' was intense in Belgium, apart from Lithuania, where the closure of a nuclear plant was among the electoral priorities. By the same token, the environment in Malta was prominent, yet only framed from a national perspective since the main issue focused exclusively on water production for the island's own consumption. Then again, foreign affairs had nevertheless a national framing and low salience that some would equate it with protecting national interests as in the following list: the UK, Austria, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Latvia, and Hungary. A better European framing in Estonia and Romania was related to concerns over energy, where in the Czech Republic holding to it the EU Presidency in the first half of 2009, and also in Germany possibly assigned to its traditional Europeanisation of national goals in the foreign policy.

EU enlargement particularly to Bulgaria and Romania, in relation to the pros-

pects of welcoming Croatia in 2010 and other Balkan states shortly thereafter had low salience for the large part. Moreover, immigration, with its connotation of defining otherness and exclusion, was a noteworthy issue in the Netherlands, while on the other hand, high salience was linked to real national matters (as in Slovenia regarding Croatian accession and Cyprus over Turkish concerns). Respectively, national framing dominated because voters saw national governments as responsible for acting upon it, even though some sought an enhanced EU cooperation via Frontex—the European border management agency. The issue had low salience in Spain which, like Malta, had sought and secured some EU cooperation to manage illegal migration especially through the Canary Islands. In Italy, another state with problems relating to migration, a European framing showed interest in EU action inasmuch as its brevity compels it to rely on European aid in order to manage migration. The Finns Party, formally known as the True Finns in Finland, has taken a tough line on immigration. The issue in Denmark gained extraordinary salience as a result of the *Metock* judgement of the European Court of Justice in 2008, overruling national restrictions on the rights of immigrants' families to join them. The threat of global terrorism had somewhat low salience and mixed framing except in Spain and the UK both of which had suffered international terrorism. Environmentalist references to food security and overfishing did not lead to the current issues, though they became major sources of contention during the campaign other than in Estonia, Finland, Lithuania and Latvia, where national framing was marked. Constitutional reform and the prospect of the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty following a second Irish referendum on 2 October 2009 had, in equal measure, a low salience, yet a European-wide frame. In Ireland, the imminent referendum and Treaty debate were attached to concerns over the deteriorating economy and prospective post-Lisbon influence in the EU. After the Irish re-vote in the UK, a referendum on the Treaty was a key electoral theme bound up with the ambiguous position of the Conservative Party. Owing to its EU Presidency and continent-wide awareness of Eurosceptic pledges by the President, called Vaclav Klaus, a European frame gained dominance in the Czech Republic.

Approaching salience and framing of issues as key matters for the 2009–2014 legislature yields two interesting conclusions. First, areas, which have been subject to increasing cooperation, such as foreign affairs, cross-border security, counter-terrorism, and immigration, are still of nearly low European salience in EP elections, and are framed from a national perspective. The disjunction between politics and policy at the EU level reflects in part the constitutional distribution of authority since many of the issues that have been dealt with by the European Parliament were not spaces of party confrontation during the campaign. To a certain degree, this is because coalition and consensus-building are the norm in the EP, and also because national parties and campaigners are not necessarily well informed about EU policies nor about its origins. Even core EU policies failed to generate EU-wide interest, echoing perhaps (1) their differential impact in the member states, (2) the relatively unengaging and semi-visi-

ble way policy that is believed to be made, and (3) the differential mediation achieved by the media. And secondly, the presence of Eurosceptic parties does not necessarily mean that an EP campaign will be constrained by exclusive national matters. The more EU issues have become domesticized per se, the more domestic issues have become Europeanized. In spite of this merging of dimensions, national framing is still expanding its ascendancy. In most states, the 'we' called to the polls is seen as 'we the nation,' rather than 'we the Europeans.' Even so, there is still evidence for potential European framing on other issues of transnational concern like the global financial crisis, energy security and climate change. Despite this, much has to be done providing that such issues are to be shown by the electorate as having an equal relevance across the EU.

The anticipated emphasis on EU-level measures employed to combat terrorism, boost cross-border security, and manage immigration persuades governments more apparently than it does to voters. The EP of the post-Lisbon era should help to increase the areas of pan-European contestation in line with its significant role in shaping European legislation, its stauncher interrogation of Commissioner designates, and above all its intention to track their performance, and seek to oust by any means necessary individual Commissioners, instead of the entire Commission.

VIII. 2014: In the "middle" of the crisis.

With the aim of encouraging broader participation in European politics, voters from the 28 European Union (EU) member states were given the opportunity in 2014 to show support for the European Commission president who had backing of the major political parties. The spitzenkandidaten process, however, was difficult to comprehend due to the following reasons. Firstly, such European leaders as Angela Merkel, a German Chancellor, employed some delaying tactics when asked whether the ability to bestow power upon electors would be much vaunted. Another point to consider was the hypothetical 'technocratic' nature of the European Commission and its valid legitimacy. Politicizing the elections would introduce, in fact, an ideological dimension to an entity that had quasi-judicial powers in regulating and sanctioning fair competition in the common market. An additional reason was related to the desperate attempt to give Europe a joint face at a time when the Commission's influence was at its lowest ebb. The integration in a televised debate was mostly side-splitting insofar as the discussion had to cope with the dramatic European economic crisis in an environment where Euroscepticism had become the new norm for public opinion in the EU.

During the years of 2009 and 2014, the European Parliament elections were marked by a financial and sovereign debt crisis that drastically challenged the European project. The continuity of the monetary union and the irrevocability of EU membership were threatened particularly by the sticky situation in Greece. On the opposite side, Germany emerged as the 'true sovereign' of Europe. When EU citizens went to the polls in May 2014, the continent was withal

'entrapped' on the assumption that the euro might be designed. Undoing the currency at that time could have been presumptively the worst of cases. As anticipated, the 2014 European elections witnessed the rise of Eurosceptic and radical parties from both extremes of the ideological spectrum. For instance, non-aligned Members of the European Parliament, those who showed rejection to the European project, increased from 33 to 52 MEPs. In 2014, austerity policies had an impact on campaign discourse. To take an example, Southern European countries had nearly 60% of videos with negative censure, around 33% of them being produced in the region, and only 2% out of the total being analyzed. This was in stark contrast with the lucid optimistic mood in Eastern Europe, which represented 18% of the videos in the sample, but had about 31% of them evoking positive emotions.

Although inflicting a somewhat pessimistic discourse, the economic downturn appeared to have shaped campaign videos in Southern Europe by other means, especially with an increase in real-life testimonies of hardships. From all appearances, meridional member states accounted for more than half of the videos showcasing some factual stories, and also for a majority of the commercials with testimonial justifications. Eastern Europe, in equal manner, enjoyed its fair share of this kind of videoing with 39% seeing that these countries served less than 20% of the entire sample. Being either a founding EU member or being at the hinterland of former Carolingian Europe seemed to make a difference in the European character of campaign video. Continental Europe member states have offered in some measure the most European-focused videos whereby continental countries were disposed of 7% of videos based on national affairs. Conversely, Eastern and Southern Europe have had around half of nationally centered videos, whereas 5% of them in each area were mainly concerned with Europe. Germane to issues covered in the campaign videos, it is not surprising to find that Southern European countries were a lot more involved in economic matters as in the current recession, while accounting for a higher proportion of videos mainly dealing with unemployment. Within this region, 14% of ads took a stand in joblessness and nearly one-fifth focused on the economic crisis. It must be the case that the countries in Southern Europe did seldom relate this quandary to the European-level leaders, but also to their national politicians. And so, encircling 75% of videos from Northern and Eastern Europe included more officeholders than Continental Europe and South Europe would do. Hence, we might say that both Scandinavian and post-2004 accession countries sought to filter the European project through national lenses. Interestingly enough, this pro-European stance in Eastern European countries was balanced by the presence of certain items inclusive of national and European flags with 35% being displayed in as much as about one-fifth of Southern Europe presenting 16% of them. Only 9.9% of videos, nevertheless, could provide a visible sign demonstrating the inclusion of parties in European political groups. The image of the EU as a bureaucratic institution has resonated in its visual representation in campaign videos where the European flag had occurred in one-fifth of them,

followed by politicians being involved in 7% of all videos, buildings with 5.6%, and maps being taken solely for 4.7%. It would seem that two-thirds of the videos covered some form of the EU evaluation, being either positive (30.7%), negative (22.6%), or neutral (22.3%). Thereby, we could say that the intention of political advertising in the EU in 2016 was to some extent positive in Eastern Europe, but less likely to be considered in Southern Europe. Now when it comes to posters used in the 2014 campaign, any of those which marked politicians, present in Eastern and Northern Europe, featured candidates in much higher fraction with 75% and 67% respectively than those from Continental and Southern Europe. What's more, campaign posters from Eastern Europe were notable for their use of visual representations of their member states. Yet, this proportion dawdled between 10% and 15% in the rest of the regions. The most recurrent depiction was for the most part national flags, made visible in 14% of posters in Eastern Europe as compared to 9% in Continental Europe, and only just 4% in Southern Europe. As for the perceptibility of the EU, both Continental and Eastern Europe highlighted EU-related aspects in one-fourth of their posters at a considerable distance from Southern Europe with 17% and in Northern Europe showing 7%. Perhaps, the most frequently pictured item was the European flag, appearing in one-fifth of posters from Continental Europe, yet having simultaneously a relevant presence in Southern as well as in Eastern Europe. The latter, however, gave prominence to the EU flag with only 3% of its ads. While the core of posters was national per se in Southern Europe (40%), the sum of European and mixed items, i.e. national and European ones, reached around 50% of posters in the other European areas. When evaluating the EU, Continental Europe seized to house a strident debate with Eastern Europe being neutral-positive and Northern Europe seen as neutral-negative. Due to its national polestar, Southern Europe avoided any estimation of the EU in almost 70% of posters. The themes in campaign posters offer a glimpse into the concerns of the four European areas raised in the present chapter. Unpredictably, the issue of labour was more intermittent in the well-off regions of Continental and Northern Europe with 7% and 6% of posters.

Given the impact of EU-level decisions in the peripheral economies of Europe, some policies were more frequently referred to from Southern Europe with 8% in the ballpark. Continental and Northern Europe were indeed on similar ground if we consider the impact of adversity on both regions whereby one-third of the posters fell into this category, whereas 25% was limited to Southern Europe. The main targets of these seemingly anti-claims were national governments and the European organizations, while EU institutions have been subject to 19% in Northern Europe and to 18% in Continental Europe.

The economic turmoil, which began in 2008 in the United States and spread across Europe, has fueled Euroscepticism in several member states that had previously supported European integration. In order to avoid any misapprehension, this section endeavours to present Eurobarometer data from October 2004 used as a reference to generate a division between Eurosceptic and Eu-

rophile countries. By way of illustration, those member states namely, Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, the UK, Sweden, Finland and Latvia, with an approval of 50% are to be considered as Eurosceptic, while those above 50% are regarded as Europhile. The former makes a significant use of fiction, a genre present in one-fifth of their videos, compared to 12% of them being held accountable for Europhiles. Although European elections offered a great opportunity to express antagonistic views as regards the EU, the Eurosceptics did show hostility to the commercials in EU-friendly countries. Notwithstanding, contingency was prone to occur in EU institutions which were higher in Eurosceptic countries with 12% than in Europhile states. Although Eurosceptics often handled the serious issue with their mainstream competitors, divergence in attacks towards national political parties did not carry a heavy weight. Campaign videos in both Eurosceptic and Europhile countries did not differ in their focus on national items. While the former paid more attention to European issues, typified in 15% of their campaign videos, the latter made evidence of solely 10%.

The similarities between Eurosceptic and Europhile countries persist when taking into consideration the presence of European items in commercials. The EU, in point of fact, showed up as a core issue in 12% of spots particularly in Eurosceptic countries and in 14% in Europhile countries. Antieuro sentiments were hardly noticeable in conventional Europhile countries than they were in Eurosceptic states. Beyond doubt, the visual representations of the member states were more frequent in Europhile countries in comparison to Eurosceptic states. This is also true regarding the recurrence of national flags in videos: 16.6 % in Eurosceptic countries and 22% in Europhile states. The pro-EU member states also accounted for more visual aids with 38% in Europhile states and 24% Eurosceptic states. This convergence might be reflected in the depiction of European flags which were featured in 21% of videos from Europhile countries, but only 13% from Eurosceptic states which themselves performed in verbal reference to their national constituencies as a class of people such as the Czechs and the Britons. This innuendo was apparent in 17% of their videos, and only 7% in Europhile countries. Following the same pattern, posters in the 2014 European Parliament campaign provided almost the same path when bearing comparison between Eurosceptic and Europhile countries. If the former included a considerable number of national leaders with 61% of their ads, only a 10-point difference was marked with the latter. Added to representations of the respective member states, which were visible in one-fifth of their posters, as opposed to 13% in Europhile countries. Nonetheless, these proportions were prone to be reversed when considering the depictions of the EU. In other words, posters from Europhile states demonstrated over 20% of them, compared to 14% in Eurosceptic countries. Although both poles attributed a similar proportion of national flags, the European flag seemed to appear twice as frequently in Europhile countries than in Eurosceptic nations. Posters from Europhile member states were equally created to introduce the description of the political party to its European family (11% of posters contrasted with only 1% in Eurosceptic

countries). It stands to reason that EU-critical nations were keen on making verbal references to territories either to their own member states or else to Europe in general than to demonyms like 'we the Polish' and 'we the Europeans'. Topically, the issues raised in the posters did not differ to a great degree since there was little room for labour in the posters of Eurosceptic countries than those of Europhile nations. Other issues likewise offered similar proportions in both groups as development, unemployment, and European policies, to mention but a few. Even anti-euro sentiment was relatively similar in its characterization in the campaign posters with 3.2% for Eurosceptics and 2.2% for Europhile countries.

This comprehensive analysis has proven that Eurosceptic nations were more or less negative by presenting approximately 30% of the posters, than in Europhile countries with 25%, alongside EU institutions capturing perilous attacks illustrated in 19% of posters from Eurosceptic countries and 12% of them from Europhile member states. During the European financial crisis, the peripheral member states of the EU were derisively labelled as PIGS viz. Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain. Divided between its industrial north and its less competitive Mezzogiorno, Italy was added to the group in haste by doubling the 'I' in the acronym, therefore becoming the fifth troubled economy that threatened the survival of the euro as a viable currency.

In the subsequent section, we tend to compare these maligned 'debtor' countries to some of their main creditors, most notably to France, Germany, and the UK. One of the key differences between debtor and creditor countries was the retreat to 'real-life' stories among the former group. Dramatizations of personal testimonies account for 35% of videos from the PIIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain) group, where they simply represent 10% of videos in creditor member states. To be sure, there has been twice as much disapproval in videos from debtor countries with 31% which were classified as 'negative/attack' than in videos from the creditor triad (15%). In consequence, the focus of this skepticism was not shifted toward Europe, or even the EU, instead toward the national political establishment. Both European and national politicians were unquestionably less attacked in videos from the PIIGS countries, but not in those from creditor states. National political parties were addressed negatively in one-fifth of videos from debtor countries with 20% in our sample, but only 6% of videos from creditor states. Besides, the national government was attacked in PIIGS commercials with 16%, but only 9% of the videos were produced by parties in creditor states. In other respects, EU institutions were criticized in videos produced in debtor countries with 14%, but 6% of videos from creditor member states. The creditor countries, that is to say, Britain, France, and Germany, stressed the limited national focus that featured 21% in their commercials when comparing the debtor countries with the rest of the countries. The creditor countries, on the contrary, have had a higher percentage of videos dealing with European or international topics, in opposition to debtor countries, or the rest of member states in the study with 11%.

Despite the dread effects of the bankruptcy, and the attention paid to the euro in wider public discourse, our key findings have sought to present the debate as one that is more nationally bound to most affected countries. The videos of debtor and creditor member states have surely some similarities, as perceived through the prism of political advertising, yet have tended to hold quite a few differences. Both fronts of countries have been ostensibly alike given the weight they provide to labour issues (19% in debtor and 22% creditor countries) and the EU (17%). Yet the two groups might differ sharply in the relevance they give to development and unemployment. The crisis itself has been a significant matter of concern in one-fifth of the commercials from debtor nations with 22%, but nearly 4% was anecdotal among creditors.

Needless to say that anti-euro sentiment has been equally shared by debtors with 8% and 7% of creditors indicative of the (restricted) disgust of the common currency shared by debtors and creditors, or else a lack of identification between the crisis and the monetary union. Austerity policies in the infected countries hardly left anyone untouched; thus, it should be noted that the commercials from PIIGS countries were remarkably more emotional than those from the creditor nations. Anger strikes as being prevalent in the debtor commercials with 19% and creditor countries by having 15% than in the rest of member states in the sample. This could be suggestive of a mutual animosity between debtors and creditors. Fear or enthusiasm have been similarly present in both groups.

Although the visual presence of the EU is roughly similar in the two groups (featured in the three videos), the member states have been far more distinguishable in the PIIGS videos with 62% than in campaign spots from creditor nations of 23%. When evaluated, the EU accounts for a similar proportion of positive appraisals in one-third of the videos from both groups. When viewed negatively though, the debtor countries outpace creditor nations, if only a little. To explain, the EU has been assessed in 32% of the videos from PIIGS countries and in 25% from the creditor member states. The posters brought from these countries showcase that leaders—national politicians—were present in one-quarter of posters through 24%, whereas posters emphasize 43% coming from debtor countries. In the rest of the member states, howbeit, they appeared on two-thirds of posters. In the same spirit, national items dominate the focus of the posters in debtor countries with 44%. Creditor countries, on the other hand, were more European-oriented, with one-third of the posters dealing with European or international topics. Europe was measured in some other form in half of the posters, but it was in the group of creditor countries where this assessment was more negative with 27% including a criticism of the EU and/or its institutions. Leaving aside the candidates, the posters dealt with a wide array of topics as European policies, which have been salient in posters from debtor countries counting 11.4% than in the creditor nations with 4% or only 3% of the other countries as manifested in the entire sample. The EU, under other conditions, was made conspicuous in 12% of posters, yet the debtor countries have been handling it more than above the average with 18%. In this inquiry, we

have found that negative advertising has been more common among debt or member states, underscoring 36% and creditor countries 41%, than in posters in the rest of the representative sample with 20%. One of the main justifications of such negativity could be palpable in the EU itself which was attacked in 13% of all the posters. In debtor nations, this proportion has been on a small scale greater, while having 16%, and far higher among creditor countries with 23%. As a result, trust in the EU declined deliberately across all member states during the crisis. And so, by using content analysis data from posters and commercials in 2014, our comparative study aims to draw parallels between traditionally Eurosceptic and Europhile countries, and also highlighting their discrepancies. The geographic divisions between a debtor periphery mostly from Southern Europe and a creditor center from Continental and Northern Europe were also to be verified in the political communication of the parties.

It is worth mentioning that, although several analysts blame the deficient monetary regime of the single currency for much of the economic travails marring the eurozone, the euro was not in truth the sole object of critique in the posters and TV advertisements in the 2014 elections. Not to mince words, our findings show that the political elites, being either European or national, have taken most of the rhetorical blows.

IX. 2019: After the crisis what?

The electoral campaign for the 2019 European elections did not take place in a vacuum so far as similar forms in legion countries called to vote. While there are ample signs of discrepancy among the 28 European nations, each of which yet is marked by certain specificities and idiosyncrasies. In the time following the regulations of political campaigning and the electoral laws, a variant use of Tv-ads in private and public televisions has come to pass, ending with the different possibilities of exploiting public or commercial spaces to present the posters. A further element of difference is the coincidence of the European election with other elections in many countries, thus affecting the tone and the topics of the European elections campaign. Should this be the case of Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Lithuania, Romania and, in particular, Spain, with a record of 5 elections per month. Besides, the concurrence with presidential, general and local elections, or referendum, appeals to support the level of participation in voting and reducing the abstentions, on the one hand, and distracts the election campaigns from Europe and European topics, on the other.

1. Not a Supranational Campaign

It is necessary to note that the distinct national electoral campaigns evinced, by then, a low degree of internationalization. Out of a thousand of materials collected in diverse countries, the presence of European campaigns, or the contents examined at the supranational level was hardly detectable. With regard to

electoral communication, one important aspect has proved that national identities are more prevalent among European political affiliations. Indeed, a trend that did not seem obstructive in 2014 was the designation of candidacies by the European political parties concerning the role of Commission President. In addition to the electoral campaigns of the political parties, those of the Spitzenkandidaten, which have been as now a main target of the European Elections Monitoring Center (EEMC), were systematically adjusted. A significant section of the EEMC website has collected all the electoral materials produced by them. Only a few of the European executed campaigns, however, left no stone unturned but to converge on themselves and engage in electoral tours across the various countries. The decision not to indicate their Spitzenkandidaten, or else, as in the case of Alde, to exert a group of politicians to this duty, has conceivably limited the communicative potential of these figures.

2.The Impact of Social Network

Considering the number of materials produced by the three hundred European political parties, a paradigm shift in the instruments of the campaigning seems to be evident. As a matter of fact, Social Networks, whose web service represents the biggest news of the electoral campaign, effectively outclassed the traditional posters as well as the more recent TV commercials. Given the range of issues encountered, it is worth noting that the exhibition of the electoral posters in the streets during the campaign is not allowed as in some countries like Estonia. Where they are permitted in Italy, for instance, the use of these posters has been gradually degrading in favor of the Social Network. Despite delay, there are nations in which posters remain a central tool of the electoral campaign where the parties produced many of them such as in Germany. Another relevant evidence that is equally highlighted in the current research is the remarkable presence of differences in the production and use of Social Network among the four geographical areas and political families. Two weeks before the vote, the electoral campaign still had an obstacle taking off. It was only in some countries that we could possibly talk of an 'intense' electoral campaign, whereas in the majority of other nations, European campaigning was barely perceptible. In this way, we might conceive it as holding a low-intensity degree.

3.More National than European

The prevalence of domestic themes over European ones was a general trend in almost all countries. The topics discussed by the political parties and their candidates along with their declination and viewpoints, were mainly national. For example, we can take the case of immigration which, despite it being potentially supranational, while depending on European politics, laws, and choices, was frequently discussed within the limits of its domestic consequences and/or relapses as in Hungary and Italy. Environmental topics, by contrast, were

usually dealt with in a supranational dimension.

4.Exploring the Macro-themes

Apropos the macro-themes investigated further during the elections campaign, ranking Europe at the top of the chart, a somewhat predictable result shows that subitems are prone to be different from each other like National values and Solidarity, and Economics attributed to taxes, inflation, crisis, banks, and the like. We can also take into account the environmental macro-theme that involves specific themes as climate change, energetic issues, and environmental sustainability. Environment and immigration, having inaptly lower values than expected, depict a marked geographical characterization. While the immigration-related issues are more present in the Eastern Europe elections campaign, the green ones, nevertheless, are strictly related to Northern and Western Europe.

5.A pro-Europe Campaign

In spite of being characterized by great activism and a significant presence of Eurosceptic feelings, alongside the Euro-critic parties, the most powerful forces in the electoral campaign were more strongly epithetical to Europe than to other nations. From a quantitative perspective, the 2019 European elections campaign, therefore, was not dominated by the propaganda of the eurocritic or Eurosceptic motives nor by the generally defined front of the sovereign forces. Although this year has limited their criticism on specific aspects of the EU and its foreign policies, it is still a fact that could be linked to the change in the topics of the electoral campaign of some political parties which have had approving positions of radical opposition towards Europe up to the exit from the Euro.

During the European election campaign, scholars in the EEMC network collected around 12.556 campaign messages. The vast majority of them were scraped from 193 official party accounts on Facebook in the 28 member states of the EU (n=11.083). In this way, the 2019 European elections can be considered as a social media election campaign. The parties spend both extensive time and resources on their social media accounts, posted and shared web cards, webcasts, pictures and videos. Even so, more traditional campaign channels are still commonly used whereby election posters and even newspaper advertisements play a significant role. More than 1.000 posters and press ads (n=1.016) were collected across Europe during the last four weeks of the campaign. Television commercials, likewise, act out in countries where political communication is privileged, yet, they are prohibited in some of the member states. Due to high costs, some parties also opted out this campaign channel in the European elections of 2019. Social media posts outnumber other ways of campaigning in all geographical areas and all member countries. The use of Facebook as a campaign tool seems to be most accentuated in southern Europe where we

explore the highest activity in Italy and Portugal. Southern Europe also differs in as much as television commercials are more frequently used, compared with posters and press ads. Correspondingly, the current situation is dissimilar in other parts of Europe. To illustrate, posters and/or press ads form a part of campaigning all over Europe 2019 under the following conditions. The campaigns in the United Kingdom and Greece were carried through without printed political propaganda. Instead, Greek parties put great emphasis on television, publishing over 87 commercials during the campaign. No other country could reach that number, even if the use of television commercials was extensive in Portugal (n=63), Germany (n=40), Poland (n=32) and Hungary (n=31). In brief, there are differences within countries that might be dependent on legislation and traditions of political communication, even though there is a similar picture of campaigning for Europe,

On a more general level, the European campaign had at least a national (36,3%) if not a comparing and contrasting perspective with 32,9%. It is apparent that one fifth of the campaign appeals focused on Europe and European prospects where only a small share (1,5%) of the campaign content could be categorized, having a different outlook of searching outside EU. In most cases, these "Extra EU" allures would cope with climate change from a new angle. But there are significant differences if we compare different parts of Europe and those single countries. In truth, campaigns in eastern and southern Europe tend to be more nationally oriented or contrasting national and European dimensions in the appeals. In western and to some extent in northern Europe, we find more campaign messages with an exclusively European perspective. As pinpointed above, there are significant differences between single countries when considering the various dimensions of the campaign. Countries like Bulgaria or Portugal have almost no appeal with a European perspective, while the campaigns in Belgium, Luxembourg and Sweden would have an intricate focus on Europe. The most nationally oriented campaigns actually are to be found in Lithuania, Croatia, Portugal and the United Kingdom, where more than 50% of the content had a national perspective. Countries where the campaign emphasized European dimensions, on the other side, have had quite naturally a less national oriented campaign. In this regard, the Belgian campaign can be seen as the most extreme, where there is no single appeal found with a national dimension.

A large part of the campaign contents of the EU elections had either no clear representation of Europe with 31,3% or simply a neutral assessment, having solely 23,1 %. This means that a majority of the campaign messages did not evaluate Europe/EU at all. When addressing positive and negative perspectives, there are three times as many messages with 34, 2% of positive perspectives on Europe and EU than 11,4 % of assessments being more critical. This picture seems to be familiar in different regions of Europe, in terms of the positive share towards Europe. One remarkable difference between the regions can pertain to the question of whether both Europe and EU are represented negatively. It appears that one fifth of all campaign messages view Europe from a critical

light, perceived with negative assessments of Europe in western and northern Europe. Eastern and southern Europe are to be disparaged on the margin of the scale, where negative representations of Europe are rarely examined. So even if predictions of the EU elections argued over a landslide of Euroscepticism, the campaign seemed to be more Pro-Europe than anti-Europe. When representations of Europe are analyzed, there are to be sure differences detected. In most countries, assessments being more positive toward Europe are in majority. Yet, we only find small shares of negative representations of Europe and a vast majority of appeals presenting Europe as something positive in countries such as Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Romania and Slovenia. In other countries, the share can be recognized even between negative and positive representation like France and Malta. In addition to that, there are countries where EU and Europe are viewed in a predominately negative perspective as the United Kingdom which is also the case for the campaign in the Netherlands and Denmark. The negative evaluations of Europe are more common than positive ones in the Czech Republic, too.

The most common issue of the European Elections campaign was “Europe” with around 15% out of the total amount of the topics covered. In the broadest sense, we can assume that there are a lot of subcategories like appeals about the EU economy, the Euro and more general aspects of the European Union, such as treaties. Added to these issues, we also have spotted more critical views on the EU, such as Anti-EU, Brexit and content covering discussion about “Another EU” and “EU integration”. In many countries, “Europe” dealt with the discussion about the country’s position and future role in the EU. On the next level of the covered issues, there are values, economic issues, social issues, labour and environment with approximately 5%. As for Europe, they contain a number of subsections. Values hitherto can be centered on national identity, but also dealing with cultural differences. And yet, even if there were predictions about a polarized election campaign, this might not be the case, at least not all over the European Union. The general share of negative attacks has been in fact only limited to 12% of the classified content.

Behind this general figure, we discover large divergences marked in negative appeals depending on the country being observed. In the UK, Netherlands and Malta, there was around 20% of negative campaigning content. On the opposite side, we find Slovenia, Belgium, Germany and Luxembourg where negative campaigning was almost not visible at all. The targets of the negative campaigns were to a large extent national institutions, politicians and parties with 72% respectively. What can be concluded on this subject is that negative attacks are to be aimed at political opponents specially on the national level. When candidates and parties decide to maintain a negative perspective, they mostly attack competitors, i.e. other political parties in their home country. Hence, around one fifth of all attacks are directed toward institutions, politicians and parties outside the country with 21%. Howbeit, it is not the same type of attacks hiding behind these negative appeals. When negative campaigning goes beyond

the country border, parties and politicians alike are not considered the primary target. Instead, we suppose that the EU and Brussels are to be deemed as the main target of the attacks. Only a few attacking messages are directed toward (national and foreign) media, and also other famous people or associations. Accusations of “Fake news” was never a significant trait during the 2019 elections campaign in Europe since attacks were directed toward national competitors or the EU as a collective actor, presumably inside the political system.

By studying all posters, newspaper ads, television commercials and Facebook posts, we conclude that 67% of all content could show pictures of one or more politicians. One important feature of the 2019 European elections campaign might be to show an extensive personalization which is often discussed in political communication both in positive and negative ways.

Just as for other indicators, we have been able to catch some significant differences between the member countries. Around 17 countries could reach a personalization level that is probably higher than average, where Ireland is on the head of the line. Moreover, the Irish campaign contained 90% of all messages with a picture of a politician. In fact, no other country has ever had such a personalized campaign. Albeit Slovakia, Croatia and the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) which all reached high numbers in the personalization scale. In terms of depicting politicians, the least personalized campaign is found in Germany, where only around one third of all content portrays a politician. Luxembourg is by no means an overlooked country in which the campaign was less personalized than anticipated.

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