

Contents

Foreword by Prof. Jerzy Buzek MEP	5
Preface: Eighteen Views on the Legitimacy Crisis and the Elections to the European Parliament	15
Abbreviations	23

PART ONE – THE INSTITUTION

1 How European are the European Elections? The European Parliament's Long Struggle for a Direct and Universal Suffrage Conducted According to a Uniform Electoral Procedure.....	27
<i>Rafał Trzaskowski MEP and Joanna Popielawska</i>	
1.1 The European Parliament's struggle for a direct universal suffrage	28
1.2 Towards a more uniform electoral system.	31
1.3 How much uniform are European elections today?.....	33
1.4 The European Parliament's latest struggle for a more uniform electoral system.	36
1.5 What next?.....	38
1.6 Conclusion.....	40
Bibliography	41
2 Do the Groups in the European Parliament Really Form a Party System?.....	43
<i>Davide Denti</i>	
2.1 Introduction	43
2.2 European Party Groups: are they parties?.....	44
2.2.1 Party organisation.....	45
2.2.2 Party cohesion.....	46
2.2.3 Party stability and structure	48
2.3 The party system of the European Parliament.....	49
2.3.1 Alignment	49
2.3.2 Competition	50
2.3.3 Linkage and congruence.....	51

2.3.4	The party system of the European Parliament: prospects and challenges	52
2.4	Conclusions.....	53
	Bibliography	55
3	Can “Electoral Engineering” Bring Europe Closer to its Citizens?	57
	<i>Elena Cîncea</i>	
3.1	Introduction	57
3.2	Direct elections - a first step towards a European polity.....	58
3.3	The role of European parties and electoral engineering in reducing the “democratic deficit”	61
3.4	The effects of the electoral reform on the Romanian electorate ..	68
3.5	Conclusions	70
	Bibliography	72
4	Gender Quotas in the Elections to the European Parliament	75
	<i>Magdalena Póltorak</i>	
4.1	Introduction	75
4.2	Definition, concept and types of quotas	76
4.3	Belgium	78
4.4	France	79
4.5	Spain.....	80
4.6	Portugal.....	81
4.7	Slovenia	82
4.8	Italy.....	83
4.9	Poland.....	83
4.10	Conclusions	85
	Bibliography	87
5	Citizen – European Parliament – External Action of the European Union: Selected Issues	89
	<i>Tomasz Dubowski</i>	
5.1	Introduction	89
5.2	Citizen – European Parliament. The concept of representation ..	90
5.3	Citizen – EU external action. Selected issues	93
5.4	European Parliament – EU external actions. Selected issues	98
5.5	Conclusions	101
	Bibliography	103

6 The Empowerment of the European Parliament in Political and Constitutional Discourse.....	105
<i>Franciszek Strzyczkowski</i>	
6.1 Introduction	105
6.2 Historical account	106
6.3 Discourse	109
6.4 Rational choice theory	110
6.5 Sociological institutionalism	115
6.6 Conclusion	117
Bibliography	118

PART TWO

VOTING SYSTEMS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN SELECTED MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

7 European Parliamentary Elections in Belgium	123
<i>Maaïke Geuens</i>	
7.1. Introduction	123
7.2. European context	124
7.2.1 European electoral legislation	124
7.2.2 Voter turnout on the EU level	125
7.2.2.1 General assessment	125
7.2.2.2 Why a decline in voter turnout?	127
7.2.3 Possible recommendations on the European level	130
7.3 Belgium	136
7.3.1 National electoral legislation applicable to European Parliamentary elections	136
7.3.2 Belgian turnout in European elections	137
7.3.2.1 Coinciding regional and European elections.	138
7.3.2.2 Compulsory voting	140
7.3.2.3 Second-order elections	140
7.3.2.4 Recent developments.	141
7.3.3 Possible recommendations for Belgium.	141
7.4 Conclusion	142
Bibliography	145
 8 Voting to the European Parliament in the Czech Republic: the Second-Order Elections	 149
<i>Helena Bončková</i>	
8.1 Introduction	149
8.2 Theory of second-order elections	150

8.3 Methodology	151
8.4 Elections, electoral systems and party landscape	152
8.5 Voter participation in European Parliament elections	154
8.6 Surprising results of the first European Parliament elections ...	157
8.7 Winners and losers of the second European Parliament elections	159
8.8 Conclusion	163
Bibliography	165
9 The Spanish Electoral System for the European Parliament: Proportional Representation vs. Territorial Identity	167
<i>Francisco J. Vanaclocha and Rubén Sánchez Medero</i>	
9.1 A new electoral system for Europe	167
9.2 The configuration of the Spanish electoral system for the EP. ...	168
9.3 Political consequences of the electoral system applied	172
9.3.1 Results of effective proportionality	172
9.3.2 Limited fragmentation and small effective number of parties	173
9.3.3 Institutionalization and diminished representation of the nationalist offer	176
9.3.4 Scarce presence of small parties in a situation of electoral opportunity	178
9.4 The situation of political competition in the elections for the EP: a limited model for second order elections	180
9.5 Efficiency and functionality of the electoral system applied. Conclusions	185
Bibliography	188
10 European Parliament Elections in Spain: on the Proportionality and Representation of Nationalist and Regionalist Parties	191
<i>Guillermo Cordero and José Ramón Montero</i>	
10.1 The electoral system for the European Parliament in Spain ...	192
10.2 Proportionality, (regional) representation, and nationalist parties	197
10.3 Electoral simulations: The real system and three alternative models	199
10.4 Disproportionality and number of parties	208
10.5 Concluding remarks	211
Bibliography	213

11 The Transposition of the Common Electoral Rules for the European Parliament into National Legislation in Greece.....	215
<i>Georgia Christina Kosmidou</i>	
11.1 Introduction	215
11.2 The electoral process and the system of allocation of seats ...	216
11.3 The exercise of the electoral rights of Greek nationals living in the EU and EU nationals living in Greece	219
11.4 The financing of political parties running in the EP elections. .	220
11.5 The insufficient transposition of the EU legislation on the matter at hand	222
11.6 Prospects	224
Bibliography	226
12 The Fatal Republic: how France is Going Full Speed Towards its Multi-Layer Electoral Walls which Create Incoherency and Uncertainty for the Future.....	227
<i>Bernhard Kitous</i>	
12.1 Introduction	227
12.2 Figuring out reality from maps: republican France from 1789 on	229
12.2.1 European project for France imposed administrative reforms	234
12.3 Figuring out the contradictions inherent in the electors (from electoral data)	240
12.4 Diagnosis of the perception of the European Parliament in France	243
12.4.1 Monarchy versus the republic benchmark	246
12.5 Questions raised by the notion of legitimacy for the European Parliament	251
12.6 How to create and later improve Legitimacy for the European Parliament?	256
Bibliography	262
13 The Electoral Law for the European Parliament in Malta. Effects for Europe of a Single Transferable Vote System in a Polarised Society	263
<i>Davide Denti</i>	
13.1 Introduction.....	263
13.2 The context of Maltese politics.....	264

13.2.1	Polarisation of society along party lines and high turnout levels.	264
13.2.2	The Single Transferable Vote system for the domestic elections in Malta	266
13.3	The electoral law for the European Parliament election in Malta	269
13.4	European Parliament elections in Malta in 2004 and 2009. . . .	271
13.4.1	The 2004 European election: reversing the result of the accession referendum	271
13.4.2	The 2009 European election: the consolidation of “normal” elections.	274
13.5	Conclusions	276
	Bibliography	278
14	Polish European Parliament Election Law in the Context of Universality of Elections and Civic Participation	279
	<i>Andrzej Jackiewicz</i>	
14.1	Introductory remarks about the problem of low voter turnout. .	279
14.1.1	European elections as a second order elections	279
14.1.2	Polish perspective of low voter turnout	281
14.1.3	The Electoral Code – new Polish act containing electoral regulations	282
14.2	Provisions of the Electoral Code	283
14.2.1	Sources of electoral law in Polish legal system	283
14.2.2	Principle of universal elections	283
14.2.3	Location of the voting stations	284
14.2.4	Voter registers and lists of voters	285
14.2.5	Time of voting and the issue of the two-day vote	286
14.2.6	Voting by proxy	287
14.2.7	Voting by mail	290
14.2.8	Meaning of the information on the new solutions	293
14.3	Conclusion.	293
	Bibliography	295
15	Low Turnout in European Elections: the Swedish Electoral System and Prospects for a Single Voting System in the European Union	297
	<i>Davide Carrino</i>	
15.1	Introduction	297

15.2. European Elections in Sweden: a short story, many highlights ..	298
15.2.1 Riksdag and EP elections compared: same electorate, different outcomes	298
15.2.2 The electoral system for the Riksdag and European elections	301
15.2.3 Between protest voting and national politics: an analysis of the low turn-out in EP elections in Sweden	302
15.3 Twenty-eight countries, one electoral system? A long way to go and the 'Italian option'	304
15.3.1 Participation in EP elections: the factors underlying a constant decline	304
15.3.2 An attempt to make EP elections 'European': the Duff report	306
15.3.3 Towards a single voting system: the 'Italian option' ...	307
15.4 Conclusions	308
Bibliography	310

16 Europeanising European Elections: A view from the United Kingdom

Bogusia Puchalska

16.1 Introduction	313
16.2 The UK – the most Eurosceptic member of the EU	314
16.2.1 Origins and nature of British Euroscepticism	314
16.2.2 Historic background and national identity	315
16.2.3 Impact of the accession and political Euroscepticism ..	316
16.2.4 The latest developments	319
16.3 British Euroscepticism and Europe's democratic failings	320
16.3.1 Lack of European public space and the British media ..	320
16.3.2 The absence of European political parties	323
16.3.3 The EU's place in schools syllabi	325
16.4 Some other procedural reforms	325
16.5 The Eurozone crisis	326
16.6 Conclusions	327
Bibliography	329