

A SURVEY OF MEPS IN THE 2004-09 EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we describe the aims, methodology and results of a major survey of Members of the European Parliament conducted in 2006. We first outline the political and intellectual background to the survey. We then explain the major priorities of the 2006 survey, and how these were translated into specific questions. In the following section, we explain why a web-based methodology was chosen for implementing the survey, and the key practical issues associated with this choice. We then go on to outline the sample and response rate obtained, before presenting some of the key findings contained within the data. As we explain, perhaps the most notable finding (in the context of the 2004 enlargement of the EU) is the substantial similarity on many questions between MEPs from pre- and post-accession states. In the final section we briefly outline the main points of the paper before providing details on how the data from the survey are to be made freely available to the scholarly community.

1. INTRODUCTION

The European Parliament has become a substantially more important European Union institution over the last twenty years. As it has grown in power, so academic analysis of the parliament has also developed. This paper will report findings from one major research project on the chamber – a detailed survey of MEPs in the current (2004-09) European Parliament. The survey, implemented in early-2006, provides substantial information on the current parliament; by replicating many previous questions, it also permits direct comparisons with surveys conducted during the previous two (1994-99 and 1999-2004) parliaments.

Our paper offers the first public presentation of results from the survey. We will explain the methodology of the survey and the areas covered; outline the major findings on MEPs' attitudes and behaviour emerging from the data; and make an initial attempt to assess the impact of the 2004 European Union enlargement on the parliament, in relation to four main dimensions:

- Campaigns and Election: What were MEPs' experiences of the process by which they won election?
- Major Policy Issues: What are MEPs' attitudes towards major socio-economic policy issues facing the European Union?
- Norms of Behaviour: How do MEPs view the major factor shaping their voting and committee behaviour within the parliament?
- Representative Attitudes: How do MEPs view the role of the European Parliament as a representative institution, and how do they understand and carry out their own role as individual representatives?

Finally, our paper will also outline how the survey data will be made available to the research community.

2. BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

The most significant change in the institutional structure of the EP over the past two decades has been the growing power of the EP (cf. Hix, 2005a). Over the last twenty years, the European Parliament (EP) has experienced a greater amount of change than any other major EU institution. Indeed, either the EP's legislative powers or its executive oversight powers, or both, have been increased in every reform of the EU Treaties since the mid-1980s. The cumulative effect has been to enhance greatly the role of the parliament within European politics. For much of its life, the EP could have been justly labelled a 'multi-lingual talking shop'. This is no longer the case: the EP is now one of the most powerful legislatures in the world. The parliament has for some years been a major player in EU legislative politics. And, as Senor Barroso discovered when attempting to appoint his new Commission in October 2004, the EP's powers of executive scrutiny can no longer be ignored either.

As the power and influence of the EP has grown, so scholarly work on the institution has developed rapidly in recent years. This work has had to face problems of analysing the 'moving target' of an institution undergoing rapid reforms, a situation that creates both intellectual opportunities and challenges. Such issues are now posed with

particular urgency in the context of EU enlargement. The entry of 10 new member states to the Union in May 2004 – and hence the entry of members from those states into the Union’s parliament – poses the challenge of studying a chamber that has now become even larger and more heterogeneous in its membership. But enlargement also offers the opportunity to investigate whether established understandings of the EP are sufficiently robust to withstand this latest substantial change.

Enlargement has had three main sets of consequences for the EP, each of which has formed an important rationale for this survey, and guided the main sets of questions that were asked of our respondents. First, it is likely to have had significant organizational impacts. As Bardi (1996) has demonstrated, after every election cycle there is a period of disequilibrium in which party groups form or reform and the larger groups establish the next coalition of authority in the Chamber. This is also the phase in which new MEPs become ‘socialized’ into the mores of the EP and its procedures of operation (Scully 2005), and this unusually large proportion of new members could well have consequences for norms of behaviour in the chamber (Bowler and Farrell 1999).

Second, there are likely to be policy implications. The new member states include a number that manifest high degrees of Euro-scepticism. In addition, the nature of the party systems at national level would lead us to expect shifts along the left-right dimension.

Third, we can expect to see implications for the roles and activities of individual MEPs. As Scarrow’s research has demonstrated (1997), there are significant behavioural variations between MEPs from different member states over the degree to which they see their work in the EP as their primary role; and, indeed, over the degree to which they turn up, and participate in the EP legislative activities. In large part, this is related to how many of them treat work in the EP as their main function. We might expect to see evidence of this among members from some of the newer member states, particularly those in East and Central European (ECE) countries, in which there are not strong, fully formed traditions of parliamentary democracy. And there are also likely to be important differences over the role of MEPs ‘on the ground’. For instance, nine of the 10 new member states have opted for electoral systems that promote party interests over those of individual voters (Farrell and Scully 2006).

Just as a survey of MEPs in the current parliament can help inform us about the impact of enlargement, it can also – in conjunction with the findings of previous surveys of the chamber, tell us much about changes over time in the attitudes and behaviour of European Parliamentarians.

We know from the study of ‘roll-call’ voting in the EP that this increase in powers has dramatically changed the voting behaviour of MEPs (Hix 2001; Hix et al. 2005a). Voting in the parliament is increasingly split along left-right lines, and the cohesion of the party groups has risen dramatically, particularly in the fourth and fifth parliaments. We do not know, however, how far increases in the EP’s powers have affected other aspects of MEP behaviour. For example, have changes in the EP’s powers altered MEPs’ contacts with interest groups, MEPs’ relations with their national parties ‘back home’, or MEPs’ attitudes towards their work in the EP’s committees? We also do not know how far increases in the EP’s powers have affected MEP policy preferences. For example, have changes in the EP’s powers led to more or less favourable attitudes amongst MEPs to European integration, or more or less favourable attitudes amongst MEPs towards EU regulation or expenditure policies?

Our project aimed to conduct a survey of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs). This survey is intended to provide an invaluable source of evidence for

scholars to investigate the post-enlargement EP. Specifically, the data gathered and disseminated from this survey will make possible the following:

- First and foremost, the survey enables scholars to assess the consequences of enlargement for the cohesion and operational ability of the post-2004 EP;
- Second, the data gathered will help explain whether and to what extent increases in the EP's powers have altered the behaviour and preferences of MEPs;
- Third, the data gathered extends a valuable time-series of surveys of MEPs, running back to every directly elected Parliament since 1979; and
- Finally, the project also has a methodological contribution to make, by testing the potential of web-based surveys of political/social elites.

3. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SURVEY

Our survey is not the first such attempt to explore the membership of the EP. To date, each directly elected EP has been surveyed. The details are as follows:

- The 1979-84 parliament saw a survey conducted by a group led by Karlheinz Reif and Rudolf Wildenman (e.g. Bardi 1989; Westlake 1994);
- In the 1984-89 parliament there was a survey conducted by Rudolf Hrbek and Carl-Christoph Schweitzer (Hrbek and Schweitzer 1989);
- In the 1989-94, there was a survey conducted by Shaun Bowler and David Farrell (see Bowler and Farrell 1993);
- In the 1994-99 parliament, a survey was conducted by a group led by Bernhard Wessels (e.g. Katz and Wessels 1999; Schmitt and Thomassen 1999). This survey was linked to a parallel study conducted with members of national parliaments in 11 EU member states;
- In the 1999-2004 parliament a survey was conducted by the European Parliament Research Group (EPRG) (e.g. Hix 2002, 2005b; Farrell and Scully 2006).

The 2006 survey was funded principally by a grant from the Economic and Social Research Council of the United Kingdom; additional financial support came from the European Commission's FP6 programme, and the Dutch Science Foundation.¹ With substantial continuity between the teams designing the 2006 survey and that implemented by the EPRG in 2000, we were able to replicate many questions from the survey of the fifth directly-elected EP.

Our survey was innovative in being the first survey of MEPs, and thus far one of only very few surveys of political elites, to be implemented via the internet. The internet has already been recognised to offer great potential as a survey methodology in the future: its value is increasingly being explored both by commercial market research

¹ ESRC Grant (RES-000-22-1554) for 'A Survey of MEPs in the 2004-09 European Parliament; the European Commission FP6 programme (the CIVICACTIVE project, directed by Professor Richard Sinnott of University College Dublin; David Farrell is a member of this project) provided £26,000; Professor Claes de Vreese, University of Amsterdam who is in receipt of NWO (Dutch Science Foundation) funding for a study of the 2004 EP campaign provided €2,500 from his budget.

companies and by more academic surveys.² The internet potentially offers many of the advantages of computer-assisted interviewing (CAI). Of particular note are potential improvements in the quality of data relative to paper and pencil interviewing (PAPI) methods. CAI, and the internet, grant the ability to implement complex routing within the questionnaire, so that people with certain characteristics can be asked additional questions of relevance, whilst those not in possession of such characteristics need not be. A computer enforcing such routing means that everyone who should be asked a question is; thus, errors associated with interviewers or respondents misreading or misunderstanding routing instructions are eliminated. CAI also means that 'checks' on answers can be set so that answers outside of a particular range, or otherwise nonsensical, are queried, with the respondent sometimes asked to look again at their answer. (For example, if asking someone when they started their current job they gave a date in the future, they can be requested to re-enter the date. Similarly, if they were asked to give their top two priorities from a list of options, they can be prevented from giving the same answer twice). Furthermore, since CAI surveys obviate the need for data to be entered into a database separately after the survey is conducted, not only is the possibility of coding errors dramatically reduced, but the data can often be made available much more quickly after the conclusion of the fieldwork.

As well as these advantages pertaining to the quality of data, there is also the possibility for introducing more innovative and interactive methods. These include randomising the order certain questions are asked, to enable researchers to look at apparent context effects (the British Election Study implemented a number of randomisations of this nature). There is also the potential to more easily divide the sample into random groups, to compare answers to slightly differently worded questions or to try out alternate answer options. Researchers can show respondents images or let them listen to recordings which may be relevant to the topic being asked about.

Whilst the internet offers these advantages of CAI, it can also provide some of the typical advantages of postal surveys. Prominent among these is the greater degree of anonymity offered to respondents, something that many respondents value. Additionally by eliminating the interviewer the potential impact on data consistency of interviewer variability is also eliminated. Related to this, the lack of an interviewer means that respondents are not under pressure to give answers, and thus may take more time to give greater thought to them. Furthermore, the direct costs associated with employing qualified interviewers are not incurred.

Internet surveys of the general population are as yet hampered by an absence of an adequate method of producing random samples of e-mail addresses, as well as the limited internet coverage among certain groups (particularly, the older, less educated and lower paid parts of the population). However, for elite surveys, internet interviewing is very attractive. These groups have high internet access; sample frames with e-mail addresses are generally available; and they are also groups that may be particularly difficult to reach with traditional interviewer-administered surveys (because they are geographically dispersed and busy people). This is even more so when the sample is international and the questionnaire needs to be translated. Interviewer-administered surveys then become very costly. Postal methods may be used for such surveys, but the internet holds great promise. This is not only because of the advantages

² An example of the use of the internet within academic surveys is the funding by the ESRC of the UK of a substantial internet component within the 2005 British Election Study.

of CAI mentioned above, but also because the immediacy of an e-mail approach may well result in higher response rates than postal questionnaires.

The other innovative feature of our survey relative to previous surveys of MEPs was the number of languages in which it was available. Respondents were offered the choice to complete the survey in any one of 19 official EU languages.³ Each translation was made from English by at least two speakers of the language in question. All the translators were familiar with the aims and objectives of the research, and all had considerable knowledge about European politics.

The implementation of the survey was conducted by the UK National Centre for Social Research (NatCen). NatCen designed the web-site on which the survey was hosted. Each MEP was contacted personally by letter (translated into their mother tongue), and invited to participate in the survey. MEPs were directed to the web-site established for the survey, where the purpose of the survey was explained and respondents asked to give their password (the initial contact letters had each contained a unique password for each MEP) in order to begin. The content of the survey was then divided between eight subsequent pages, that each contained questions from one section of the survey. The eight sections were:

- 1. Personal Details (member-state, date first elected to EP, previous political experience etc**
- 2. Electoral Systems and Candidate Selection**
- 3. Campaigning Aims and Activities in 2004 Elections**
- 4. Attitudes/Behaviour to Representation**
- 5. Committees and Voting Inside the Parliament**
- 6. General Political Attitudes**
- 7. Attitudes to Specific EU Policies**
- 8. Attitudes to EU Institutional Reform**

After the initial contact letter, MEPs were sent further reminders by e-mail (again, translated into their mother tongues) if they had failed to respond to the initial invitation to participate. MEPs received up to four reminder contacts.

The survey site went 'live' in early March 2006, and initial letters were then sent to all 732 MEPs. The first respondent logged-in on 15th March; responses continued to be generated (with notable surges in responses after each wave of reminder messages) until the final one was received on 15th June. The web-site was closed down shortly afterwards.

As would be expected with a survey of this length we encountered quite a large degree of respondent attrition at each page. Some 344 respondents logged into the site, but only 217 MEPs persisted as far as the final page of the survey. The number of respondents who completed at least a substantial part of the survey, listed by member-state, was as listed in Table 1, which gives an overall response rate of 37.2%. This compares with a response rate of 31.8% for the 2000 EPRG survey and one of 50.2% for the 1996 survey. Amidst generally declining response rates for both mass and elite surveys (Groves and Couper, 1998; de Heer, 1999; de Heer and de Leeuw, 2002), the

³ The languages offered were: Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, Slovak, Slovene and Swedish. Limited resources prevented us from being able to offer the survey in Maltese or Irish, which are also official EU languages, or in any minority languages (such as Catalan or Welsh).

rate secured for this survey is modestly, although not overwhelmingly, encouraging for the use of the internet for the conduct of elite surveys.⁴

[Table 1 about here; see also Table A1 in Appendix for details on sample by national party]

4. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

As we have just indicated, our survey has gathered a very wide range of information from a sizeable sample of MEPs. The data gathered provides a substantial body of evidence that scholars can draw now upon, to develop further their knowledge about the EP and test theories and hypotheses about the parliament. In this paper we do not intend to explore any particular aspects of the data in great depth. Rather, we will limit ourselves to providing a descriptive overview of some of the main areas in which data have been gathered, and tentatively exploring some possible reasons for the patterns observed in the data. In particular, at the end of this section we will conduct some simple tests for whether there are observable differences between MEPs from the ‘old’ member states (EU15) and those from the ten ‘new’ accession states.

4.1. Campaigns and Elections: One of our major interests in the survey was the process by which MEPs came to be selected as candidates and then elected to the EP. We thus included in the survey a substantial number of questions about candidate selection and the campaign for the June 2004 election (as well as a few questions gauging MEPs’ views on prevailing and desired electoral systems). Here, we present and briefly analyse information about MEPs’ campaign activities.

Among the questions we asked were some about the quantity and type of campaigning that MEPs engaged in. The findings from these questions are reported in Table 2, which details the amount of their own time per week that MEPs state they spent on campaigning activities in the period immediately before the 2004 EP election, and the degree of effort placed into various types of campaigning. Most MEPs report having spent a substantial amount of time on campaigning. But the figures show a substantial (and perhaps surprising) degree of variation across many of the items. While most MEPs report having spent considerable time on speaking to party and public meetings, and engaging in some form of relations with the news media, a significant number are also willing to admit not having spent a great deal of effort on many typical campaign activities.

[Table 2 about here]

We also enquired into MEPs’ perceptions of the 2004 election campaign, and the coverage that the campaign received. Findings from some of these questions are reported in Table 3. As can be seen, although many MEPs believe that the EP election campaign actually received quite a lot of publicity in at least some quarters, they tend to the view – one shared by many distinguished analysts of EP elections – that the coverage is insufficient.

[Table 3 about here]

⁴ An ideal test of the value of the internet for an elite survey such as this would, of course, be a split run experiment with random groups getting internet/paper/whatever of interest then comparing response to the two. But this was not feasible for this project given the small size of the population and the issue of translation.

We do not have the space to analyse these data in greater detail here. However, by providing substantial information about the EP election campaign, and campaigning activities, as experienced by those who were elected, the survey data offer the scope for analyses both of the factors underpinning differences in campaigning activities and also for analyses linking the perceptions of those elected with those of the public.

4.2. Major Policy Issues: A large battery of questions was included in the survey, to gauge MEPs' ideological positions and their views on a wide range of policy issues. These included questions on:

- MEPs' left-right orientation: where respondents were asked both to place themselves on the left-right scale and also their national party and European party group
- Integration: As with the left-right dimension, MEPs were asked to place themselves along a dimension of favouring greater/lesser integration, and also to place their national party and European party group
- Left-Right Issues: Views were also measured on a number of general political issues that are typically seen as tapping into the left-right dimension
- EU Regulation: Respondents were asked if they favoured greater or lesser degrees of EU regulation in a number of policy areas
- EU Budget: Respondents were asked if they favoured a greater or lesser amount of the EU budget being spent in a number of policy areas
- EMU: Respondents were asked a number of questions about the management of EMU and the Eurozone
- Trade: respondents were asked a number of questions about the development of EU trade policy
- JHA: respondents were asked a number of questions about the development of EU policy on Justice and Home Affairs matters
- CFSP: respondents were asked a number of questions about the development of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy
- Future Membership: Finally, respondents were asked about which states (from a list supplied) they believed should be allowed to join the EU in the future.

As can be seen, the survey data thus offer enormous scope for analysis that probes various aspects of MEPs' attitudes, and the many possible factors that may underlay those attitudes. While there is far too much policy- and ideology-relevant material for us to present here, let alone analyse, the final part of this section of the paper will probe the extent to which there are broad ideological differences among MEPs from older and newer member states.

4.3. Norms of Behaviour: As well as understanding MEPs' attitudes on a broad range of political issues, our survey was also concerned to explore further the reasons for MEPs' behaviour inside the chamber. As the EP has grown in importance, explaining MEPs' behaviour has become a more vital analytic task. And, while much information can be gathered by other methods (close observation, interview, and analysis of data on voting behaviour), our survey offers further data from a different source.

The survey examined a number of matters concerning MEPs' voting and committee behaviour within the parliament. These included MEPs' reasons for seeking

membership of the committees on which they were serving; the relative importance they accord to different possible pressures on their behaviour; and the frequency with which they receive pressures from various sources as to how they vote within the EP. Findings from these questions are reported in Table 4.

[Table 4 about here]

The questions on committee membership indicate that MEPs are guided mainly by three factors – the importance of the committee, their personal interests and their own expertise. While providing no clear guidance as to which view is correct, these data, along with other types of evidence, may prove of value in testing the relevance of difference theories of committee structuring – such as preference-based and information-based theories – to the EP. When examining the data on MEPs' voting behaviour it is interesting to observe the extent to which the EP party group leadership appear to be an important influence. This is intriguing given the previous evidence that national party delegations, rather than the broader party group, are often the crucial influence on MEPs' behaviour, but that nonetheless politics in the EP is becoming increasingly based around party and ideology (Hix et al 2007). In this regard, it is also noteworthy that while MEPs indicate that their own judgement is the major factor shaping their decisions, they place the EP party group higher in importance than they do leaders of their own national party.

4.4. Representative Attitudes: Our survey also explored various aspects of MEPs attitudes and behaviour that relate to central questions regarding political representation in the EU. Here, we briefly review some of the evidence gathered on these matters.

First, we gathered substantial data relevant to issues of 'macro-representation': that is, the institution of the European Parliament, and its position as a representative body within the EU. While there have been sporadic investigations of MEPs' general attitudes towards integration (for a review, see Scully 2005, ch. 3), the extant academic literature remains sparse in the extreme. In Table 5 we present aggregate responses from our sample of MEPs on several questions concerning the powers and status of the EP. As can readily be observed, opinion among MEPs across these different items is, in general, strongly skewed towards support for an enhanced EP role in most respects. However, there is also a persistent body of opposition. Moreover, when presented with a particularly radical (and arguably unrealistic) option – empowering the EP to shape Euro-zone interest rates, something that contravenes established international models of monetary policy-making – most MEPs oppose this proposition. In other words, while the majority of MEPs support the EP becoming a more powerful representative body within the EU, the evidence of our survey suggests that their support is not indiscriminate or uncritical.⁵

[Table 5 about here]

What individual differences, and what general patterns, lie behind these overall findings? To explore MEPs' attitudes beyond the broad aggregate results, we first construct a correlation matrix of the various items to test their patterns of association. The bivariate correlation coefficients for responses to these seven questions are reported

⁵ Previous surveys of MEPs offer a very similar picture to that presented here, indicating that MEPs are generally supportive of further empowerment of their institution, but not uncritically so. Moreover, the differences between their attitudes and those of national MPs on such questions are generally very small (Scully 2005, ch. 5).

in Table 6. The results show that MEPs' answers on all the items are positively and at least moderately strongly inter-related, with one exception – the question concerning EP plenary sessions. While supporting greater powers for the EP in legislation is positively associated with also supporting greater powers over the EU budget, over the Commission and in managing the Eurozone (and the converse is also true: an MEP inclined to oppose one of these options will also likely oppose the others), this pattern does not hold true for the question of the parliament's location. While the latter might intuitively appear to be, no less than the other six questions, a matter concerning the status and autonomy of the EP, positive answers on the other items are not significantly associated with supporting the EP's right to locate itself where it chooses. This finding is confirmed by a reliability analysis, which indicates that without the EP plenary item included, the remaining six items generate a highly reliable Likert additive scale of MEPs' opinions on the position of the EP within the institutional structures of the Union.⁶ In the next section of the paper we will test whether there are differences among MEPs from the older and newer EU states in their attitudes towards the role of the EP.

[Table 6 about here]

We now turn from examining MEPs' attitudes to the representative role of their institution to explore their attitudes to their own roles. How do MEPs understand their position as representatives, and what are their individual priorities as representatives?

We could reasonably expect that there will be substantial differences among MEPs in how they understand and seek to carry out their role as elected representatives. In addition to individual idiosyncrasies, MEPs represent different ideological positions, emerge from very different national (and sometimes sub-national) political cultures, and are elected under very different electoral systems (Farrell and Scully 2005). It seems unlikely that prevailing expectations and beliefs concerning the role of the elected representative are wholly invariant throughout the EU.

Among the matters addressed in the 2006 MEP survey were MEPs' attitudes to representation – in particular, *whom* did most MEPs regard themselves as representing, and *what* aspects of their work as elected representatives did MEPs view as the most important? Results from a question probing the former ('How important is it to you to represent the following groups of people in the European Parliament?'), where several different response categories were offered, are presented in Table 7.

[Table 7 about here]

At the aggregate level (as indicated by the mean averages for each category) the data show some significant, although far from vast, differences in the importance accorded to the representation of different groups. The representation of 'all people in my member state', and 'all people in my constituency/region' are accorded the highest levels of importance, while representing the EP party group and 'all people in Europe' attain the lowest ratings. The differences here, however, are fairly modest (a mean difference of .71 on a 5-point scale between the highest and lowest rated items), and even the lowest rated groups score well above the mid-point on the scale. This suggests that most MEPs have little problem in acknowledging that their representative role is one with numerous dimensions – or to put it in the language of much contemporary

⁶ The Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of reliability for a scale of all the seven items is .70. While this indicates that the seven items form an acceptable scale – the general rule is that items are regarded as forming a reasonable additive scale if the Alpha coefficient is at or exceeds .7 (Pennings et al. 1999: 96-98), the scale value rises substantially, to .79, if the item on the location of EP plenaries is excluded.

political science literature, these ‘agents’ accept that they have important responsibilities to represent multiple ‘principals’.

An additional question in the 2006 survey probed further into MEPs’ priorities as representatives, by asking them directly about the importance they accord to different activities and areas of work that representatives typically engage in (‘When thinking about your work as an MEP, how important are the following aspects of your work?’). Aggregate results for the six response categories offered in the survey are shown in Table 8. These items produce somewhat clearer distinctions than our previous set of questions: while the mean average for all the responses categories is above the mid-point of the 5-point scale, there is a substantial and significant gap between the average importance accorded to the highest rated item (‘legislating’, which has a mean rating of nearly 4.5 out of 5) and that given to the lowest rated matters (‘representation of individual interests of individual citizens’, and ‘mediation between different interests in society’, which attain average ratings of 3.15 and 3.27 respectively). While almost ninety percent of MEPs indicate that they rate legislative work above the mid-point on the 5-point scale, one-third of them score the representation of individual citizens below the mid-point. Their duties in parliament, and the representation of broad social interests, appear to most MEPs as being clearly of greater importance than representing the smaller-scale concerns of individual citizens.

[Table 8 about here]

Beneath these aggregate responses, however, how do MEPs differ in their individual attitudes? Are there any observable patterns in terms of different types of MEPs responding differently? To explore such matters, we examined the bivariate correlations between the individual survey items; the full correlation matrix of all the items from Tables 7 and 8 is presented in Table 9. The results here show a large number of significant correlations between items. Such results are unexpected; it is intuitively unsurprising that MEPs’ attitudes to various aspects of their role should be empirically associated. Taken together, the results are suggestive of three broad factors along which MEPs’ attitudes seem to vary.

[Table 9 about here]

First, we can observe in the table several fairly strong positive correlations (a Pearson’s r coefficient greater than 0.3) among items that seem to relate to variation along questions that tap into attitudes concerning core parliamentary activities of legislating, parliamentary oversight and policy development. Second, we observe the strongest individual correlations among items that appear to reflect varying degrees of concern with Europe-wide matters: EU policy development and the representation of both the EP party group and all people across Europe. Third, we can see strong correlations also for attitudes related to local and national representation: a positive relationship between attitudes towards the representation of the constituency/region, voters in the member-state, and an MEP’s national party.

To test the validity of this interpretation of the correlations, the twelve items in Tables 7 and 8 were subjected to a principal components factor analysis.⁷ Results from this analysis are reported in Table 10. These results confirm that three main factors account for the majority of variance in MEPs’ responses to these survey items, and that no other factors approach the same level of importance;⁸ the results also strongly

⁷ The principal components analysis employed Varimax rotation, with listwise deletion of missing cases.

⁸ The three factors for which loadings are reported in Table 5.7 were the only ones attaining an Eigen value above 1.0 and the only ones accounting for more than 10% of variance in MEPs’ reported attitudes.

indicate that the three factors can be interpreted in the manner suggested above. The rotated factor loadings reported in the table are labelled to summarise the variables that load most heavily on them. The first factor is thus labelled ‘Parliamentarism’: scores on this factor, which accounts for slightly under one fifth of explained variance, are very strongly associated with attitudes towards traditional parliamentary activities – legislating, representing individual interests and parliamentary oversight, as well as with policy development and interest mediation.

[Table 10 about here]

The second factor, which we label ‘Local/National Representation’, is most strongly associated with three survey items (the representation of national party voters, voters in the constituency/region, and representation of the national party itself), and also moderately strongly with according importance to the representation of individual citizens as a feature of an MEP’s work. This factor, like the first identified, also accounts for almost 20% of variance in MEPs’ responses to these surveys items. The third factor, responsible for another 18% of variance, is labelled ‘European Orientation’: this represents differences among MEPs with regard to the importance (or otherwise) of representing ‘all people in Europe’ and the European party group, and developing EU-wide policies, although the item for representing ‘all people in my member-state’ also loads quite strongly on this factor. The substantive implications, and causal factors behind this structuring of MEPs’ attitudes, will be something to be explored further in future research (Farrell and Scully 2007).

4.5. Has Enlargement Changed the EP? As explained earlier on, one of the central questions driving our research project has been to assess the impact of the 2004 EU enlargement on the politics of the EP. The impact of enlargement is a large question, the full examination of which would require very detailed and careful analysis. While we are not able to conduct that here, we can begin the process of examining the impact of enlargement by considering the differences between MEPs from the older and newer member states on a few basic matters. Specifically, we here consider three:

- Has enlargement made a difference to the ideological composition of the EP along the left-right dimension?
- Has enlargement shifted the balance of opinion within the EP on broad questions of European integrations; and
- Has enlargement introduced into the chamber a group of MEPs who lack the attachment to the institution possessed by those from longer-established member states?

To explore these questions, we conduct a simple difference-of-means test for three dependent variables: left-right self-placement (where the scale runs from 1 as the farthest point to the left to 10 at the extreme right); integration self-placement (where the scale runs from 1 for those very hostile to closer integration to 10 for those very supportive of it); and the index of support for EP empowerment mentioned earlier (where the scale runs from 6 for those adopting the least supportive positions on all items to 30 for those supporting the greatest degree of EP empowerment on all items). The test run is very simple – is the mean value on any of these variables different for MEPs from the newer member-states compared to those from pre-accession states?

Results for this test are reported in Table 11. The findings must obviously be interpreted with some caution. Nonetheless, they do appear to show some distinct differences between MEPs from the accession states compared to those from the pre-accession ones. On average, MEPs from the newer states are slightly less supportive of empowering the EP, place themselves significantly further to the right, and are somewhat less enthusiastic in general terms about European integration. To at least some extent, enlargement of the EU *does* appear to have changed the EP.

[Table 11 about here]

5. CONCLUSION

This paper has described the design and conduct of a survey of MEPs that was conducted in the first half of 2006, and has also given a brief indication of some of the findings of this survey. As we have explained, the survey has covered a wide range of topics. Particularly when combined with evidence from the previous surveys of MEPs that have been conducted, the data from this new survey offer the opportunity to researchers to develop substantially their knowledge of the EP, and to test prevailing theories of the political dynamics of the EU's elected chamber.

The data from the survey will be used by us in much of our own on-going research (e.g. Farrell and Scully 2007). But the data will also be made freely available to the scholarly community. The data from the 2006 survey will be integrated with the data from the EPRG survey in 2000. We will put the two datasets in a single excel file, with separate sheets that will contain:

- a description of the two datasets;
- descriptions of the variables in both surveys;
- the 2000 data;
- the 2006 data;
- and the two datasets 'integrated' for all the questions that were used on both surveys.

This file will then be available from a dedicated page on the EPRG website (see <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EPRG/survey.htm>). This web page will also contain information about how to cite the datasets, descriptions of the datasets, some tables comparing the two samples, and links to papers that use the data. We invite the scholarly community to draw upon this valuable new source of data.

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Table 1: The 2000 and 2006 EPRG MEP Survey Samples Compared

	2000 Survey				2006 Survey			
	N MEPs	Resp- ondents	% MEPs	Resp- ondents	N MEPs	Resp- ondents	% MEPs	Resp- ondents
Austria	21	2	3.4	1.0	18	7	2.5	2.6
Belgium	25	6	4.0	3.1	24	13	3.3	4.8
Cyprus					6	5	0.8	1.8
Czech Rep.					24	11	3.3	4.0
Denmark	16	7	2.6	3.6	14	6	1.9	2.2
Estonia					6	3	0.8	1.1
Finland	16	7	2.6	3.6	14	5	1.9	1.8
France	87	22	13.9	11.3	78	23	10.7	8.5
Germany	99	27	15.8	13.8	99	34	13.5	12.5
Greece	25	8	4.0	4.1	24	2	3.3	0.7
Hungary					24	8	3.3	2.9
Ireland	15	4	2.4	2.1	13	7	1.8	2.6
Italy	87	23	13.9	11.8	78	29	10.7	10.7
Latvia					9	4	1.2	1.5
Lithuania					13	6	1.8	2.2
Luxembourg	6	5	1.0	2.6	6	3	0.8	1.1
Malta					5	1	0.7	0.4
Netherlands	31	15	5.0	7.7	27	9	3.7	3.3
Poland					54	22	7.4	8.1
Portugal	25	11	4.0	5.6	24	9	3.3	3.3
Slovakia					14	3	1.9	1.1
Slovenia					7	5	1.0	1.8
Spain	64	17	10.2	8.7	54	11	7.4	4.0
Sweden	22	10	3.5	5.1	19	9	2.6	3.3
UK	87	31	13.9	15.9	78	37	10.7	13.6
Correlation				0.940				0.940
Chi² test				0.099				0.094
EPP	232	72	37.1	36.9	263	95	35.9	34.9
PES	180	61	28.8	31.3	201	73	27.5	26.8
ELDR (ALDE)	52	20	8.3	10.3	89	44	12.2	16.2
G/EFA	48	13	7.7	6.7	42	18	5.7	6.6
EUL/NGL	42	14	6.7	7.2	41	15	5.6	5.5
UEN	30	5	4.8	2.6	30	11	4.1	4.0
EDD (IND/DEM)	16	5	2.6	2.6	29	8	4.0	2.9
Na	26	5	4.2	2.6	37	8	5.1	2.9
Correlation				0.994				0.989
Chi² test				0.025				0.027
Men	438	144	70.0	73.8	511	184	69.8	67.6
Women	188	51	30.0	26.2	221	88	30.2	32.4
Correlation				1.000				1.000
Chi² test				0.007				0.002

Totals	626	195	732	272
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Table 2: Campaigning Measures (%)

<i>'In the final weeks of the election campaign how much time did you spend per week on the campaign?'</i>						
<i>Response</i>	<i>< 2 hours</i>	<i>2-10 hours</i>	<i>11-20 hours</i>	<i>21-30 hours</i>	<i>>30 hours</i>	<i>N of Respondents</i>
	1.4	5.9	5.0	9.1	78.6	220
<i>'How much effort did you and your team put into the following activities in the 2004 election campaign?'</i>						
	<i>None</i>	<i>Very Little</i>	<i>Some</i>	<i>A lot</i>		<i>N of Respondents</i>
<i>Telephone Canvassing</i>	40.5	24.8	22.9	11.9		210
<i>Door-to-door canvassing</i>	29.2	21.7	24.1	25.0		212
<i>Direct Mail</i>	14.1	16.0	40.8	29.1		213
<i>Party Meetings</i>	1.4	10.3	24.8	63.6		214
<i>Public Meetings</i>	0.5	6.3	17.2	76.0		221
<i>Press Conferences</i>	2.8	15.3	42.3	39.5		215
<i>Media Relations</i>	1.4	5.9	31.1	61.6		219
<i>Campaign Website</i>	15.8	13.5	30.2	40.5		215
<i>Direct E-Mail</i>	29.9	24.5	26.5	19.1		204
<i>Web-Logs</i>	71.7	11.0	9.4	7.9		191

Source: 2006 MEP Survey

Table 3: Media Attention to the 2004 EP Election (%)

<i>During the election campaign generally, how much coverage did you get in the following media?</i>					
<i>Response</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>Very Little</i>	<i>Some</i>	<i>A lot</i>	<i>N of Respondents</i>
Television	5.5	34.1	42.7	12.7	220
National radio	15.3	30.1	42.61	12.0	216
Local radio	4.7	18.8	49.8	26.8	213
National Newspapers	15.1	29.2	42.9	12.7	212
Local newspapers	1.9	12.6	50.7	34.9	215
Internet	11.7	36.5	43.1	8.6	197
Party Website	4.7	17.4	40.8	37.1	213
<i>In your opinion, how much attention did the 2004 European elections get in the news media in your member state?</i>					
<i>Response</i>	<i>Too Much</i>	<i>About Right</i>	<i>Too Little</i>		<i>N of Respondents</i>
	1.4	33.2	65.5		220

Source: 2006 MEP Survey

Table 4: Norms of MEP Behaviour Measures (%)

<i>How important were each of these reasons for you in deciding which committee to join after the 2004 European elections?</i>						
<i>Importance (/5)</i>	<i>1 (Not at all important)</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5 (Very important)</i>	<i>N of Respondents</i>
The committee concerns my personal interests	8.9	5.9	7.9	22.7	54.7	203
The committee is important to my voters	3.9	7.4	20.2	34.0	34.5	203
The committee tackles topics in which I have professional expertise	1.0	3.4	17.2	24.5	53.9	204
The committee covers important issues	0.5	3.4	13.2	32.7	50.2	205
I was asked to serve on the committee by my European political group	39.9	16.6	24.9	14.0	4.7	193
I was asked to serve on the committee by my national party	44.4	16.0	18.7	15.5	5.3	187
I was a member of this committee in the last European Parliament	54.1	4.7	8.7	13.4	19.2	172
<i>How often do you receive recommendations on which way to vote from the following parties or groups?</i>						
<i>Frequency (/5)</i>	<i>1 (Never)</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5 (On almost every vote)</i>	<i>N of Respondents</i>
National Party leaders	27.8	35.9	23.2	9.1	4.0	198
European Party Group leaders	6.4	7.4	12.9	20.8	52.5	202
National Party MEPs	11.1	7.1	17.7	33.3	30.8	198
EP Committee leaders	28.6	13.0	21.4	20.8	16.1	192
European Commission	58.6	25.7	10.5	3.1	2.1	191
National Government	16.8	30.5	33.0	14.2	5.6	197
European Interest Groups	7.6	14.1	28.3	34.8	15.2	198
National Interest Groups	2.0	15.6	38.2	35.2	9.0	199
Private Citizens	11.6	32.2	37.7	16.6	2.0	199
<i>In many cases people have different views concerning matters before the European Parliament. In general, which of these are you most inclined to do? (Order options from 1st to 4th).</i>						
		<i>% rank 1st</i>	<i>% rank 2nd</i>	<i>% rank 3rd</i>	<i>% rank 4th</i>	<i>N of Respondents</i>
Follow Own Judgement		67.5	20.1	6.5	8.1	= 200
Follow views of national party voters		6.5	30.7	37.6	24.9	
Follow views of national party leadership		8.5	20.1	32.8	34.6	

Follow views of EP political group	17.5	29.1	23.1	32.4	
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Source: 2006 MEP Survey

Table 5: MEPs' opinions (%) on the powers of the EP#

<i>Item</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
The EP should have more power to influence interest rates in the Eurozone	6.1	16.7	19.4	30.6
The EP should have the right to initiate legislation	37.8	37.2	9.6	11.2
The EP should have equal power with the Council in all areas of law-making	40.2	32.3	10.1	14.3
The EP should have equal power with the Council to amend <i>all</i> areas of expenditure in the budget	46.0	33.3	8.5	10.6
The Commission President should be nominated by the EP, rather than the European Council	32.3	26.5	19.6	17.5
The EP should be able to remove individual Commissioners from office	38.7	33.5	11.0	13.6
The EP should be allowed to hold all its plenary sessions in Brussels	54.7	17.4	11.6	8.4

For all items in this table, the survey question was worded as “To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the powers of the European Parliament?”, except for the first item, where the relevant question was “To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Economic and Monetary Union and EU monetary policies?”

Source: 2006 MEP Survey

Table 6: Bivariate Correlation Coefficients (*r*) for EP Powers Items

	EP - initiate leg.	EP – equal power law-making	EP - equal power budget	EP – Commission President nomination	EP - individual Commissioners	EP – Brussels plenaries
EP - Eurozone	.39*	.27*	.27*	.32*	.24*	-.12
EP - initiate leg.		.42*	.45*	.47*	.31*	-.01
EP – equal power law-making			.68*	.53*	.27*	.00
EP - equal power budget				.55*	.29*	.07
EP – Commission President nomination					.33*	-.21*
EP - individual Commissioners						.11

Table 7: ‘How important is it to you to represent the following groups of people in the European Parliament?’ (%)

<i>Response Category</i>	<i>Of little importance</i>					<i>Of great importance</i>	<i>Mean importance (out of 5)</i>	<i>N of respondents</i>
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>			
All people in Europe	10.6	8.7	18.3	31.3	31.3	3.64	208	
All people in my member state	1.0	6.7	13.5	21.2	57.7	4.28	208	
All people in my constituency/region	2.0	4.9	12.3	17.2	63.5	4.16	203	
All people who voted for my party	1.4	6.8	14.5	29.0	48.3	4.35	207	
My national party	2.0	6.4	17.7	34.5	39.4	4.03	203	
My EP party group	6.8	3.9	26.3	26.8	36.1	3.81	205	

Source: MEP 2006 Survey.

Table 8: ‘When thinking about your work as an MEP, how important are the following aspects of your work?’

<i>Response Category</i>	<i>Of little importance</i>					<i>Of great importance</i>	<i>Mean importance (out of 5)</i>	<i>N of respondents</i>
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>			
Working on Legislation	1.9	2.4	8.1	23.2	64.5	4.46	211	
Parliamentary Oversight	5.3	10.2	20.9	26.2	37.4	3.80	206	
Articulation of important societal needs and interests	5.7	3.3	13.3	33.8	43.8	4.07	210	
Developing common strategies for EU policies	4.3	9.5	15.2	34.8	36.2	3.89	210	
Mediation between different interests in society	9.1	16.7	29.2	28.2	16.7	3.27	209	
Representation of individual interests of individual citizens	13.9	18.8	26.0	20.7	20.7	3.15	208	

Source: MEP 2006 Survey.

Table 9: Correlations of MEP Individual Role Items

	Parliamentary Oversight	Articulation of important societal needs and interests	Developing common strategies for EU policies	Mediation between different interests in society	Representation of individual interests of individual citizens	All people in Europe	All people in my member state
Working on Legislation	.35*	.35*	.38*	.30*	.10	.25*	
Parliamentary Oversight		.33*	.28*	.26*	.20*	.23*	
Articulation of important societal needs and interests			.41*	.28*	.10	.21*	
Developing common strategies for EU policies				.53*	.03	.63*	
Mediation between different interests in society					.25*	.37*	
Representation of individual interests of individual citizens						-.09	
All people in Europe							
All people in my member state							
All people in my constituency/region							
All people who voted for my party							
My national party							

Table 10: Rotated factor loadings for MEPs' responses to attitudinal items (varimax rotation)

Item	Parliamentarism	Local/Nat. Representation	European Orientation
Role:			
Legislating	.68	-.02	.11
Oversight	.74	.15	.09
Societal Needs/Interests	.61	.09	.16
Policy Strategies	.54	-.21	.63
Social Mediation	.58	-.05	.44
Individual Citizens	.47	.41	-.28
Representing:			
All in Europe	.22	-.21	.81
All in Member State	-.04	.36	.62
National Party Voters	.02	.81	.10
People in Const/Region	.17	.72	-.09
National Party	-.03	.78	.14
EP Party Group	.18	.33	.58
% of variance explained	19.54	19.20	17.69

Table 11: Difference of Means Tests on Three Items

<i>Item</i>	<i>Mean: EU-15 MEPs</i>	<i>Mean: Accession MEPs</i>	<i>F Value</i>	<i>N of Respondents</i>
Integration	6.49	5.96	2.03	204
Left-Right	4.82	5.93	11.00*	202
EP Powers	22.27	21.00	2.53	189

* $p < .00$

Appendix

Table A1. 2006 Sample by National Political Party

National Party	Member State	Actual (n)	Sample (n)	Actual (%)	Sample (%)
Die Grünen - Die Grüne Alternative	Austria	2	1	0.273	0.368
Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs	Austria	1	1	0.137	0.368
Liste Dr. Hans-Peter Martin	Austria	2	0	0.273	0.000
Österreichische Volkspartei - Liste Ursula Stenzel	Austria	6	3	0.820	1.103
Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs	Austria	7	2	0.956	0.735
Centre Démocrate Humaniste	Belgium	1	1	0.137	0.368
Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams - Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie	Belgium	4	4	0.546	1.471
Christlich Soziale Partei	Belgium	1	0	0.137	0.000
Ecologistes	Belgium	1	0	0.137	0.000
Groen	Belgium	1	1	0.137	0.368
Mouvement Réformateur	Belgium	3	1	0.410	0.368
Parti Socialiste	Belgium	4	1	0.546	0.368
Socialistische Partij.Anders	Belgium	3	1	0.410	0.368
Vlaams Belang	Belgium	3	2	0.410	0.735
Vlaamse Liberale en Democraten - Vivant	Belgium	3	2	0.410	0.735
Anorthotiko Komma Ergazomenou Laou	Cyprus	2	2	0.273	0.735
Dimokratiko Komma	Cyprus	1	1	0.137	0.368
Dimokratikos Synagermos	Cyprus	2	1	0.273	0.368
Gia tin Evropi	Cyprus	1	1	0.137	0.368
Česká strana sociálně demokratická	Czech Rep.	2	2	0.273	0.735
Evropští demokraté	Czech Rep.	1	1	0.137	0.368
Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy	Czech Rep.	6	3	0.820	1.103
Křesťanská a demokratická unie	Czech Rep.	2	1	0.273	0.368
NEZÁVISLÍ	Czech Rep.	2	0	0.273	0.000
Občanská demokratická strana	Czech Rep.	9	4	1.230	1.471
SNK sdružení nezávislých a Evropští demokraté	Czech Rep.	2	0	0.273	0.000
Dansk Folkeparti	Denmark	1	0	0.137	0.000
Det Konservative Folkeparti	Denmark	1	1	0.137	0.368
Det Radikale Venstre	Denmark	1	1	0.137	0.368
Folkebevægelsen mod EU	Denmark	1	0	0.137	0.000
JuniBevægelsen - Mod Unionen	Denmark	1	0	0.137	0.000
Socialdemokratiet	Denmark	5	2	0.683	0.735
Socialistisk Folkeparti	Denmark	1	0	0.137	0.000
Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti	Denmark	3	2	0.410	0.735
Eesti Keskerakond	Estonia	1	1	0.137	0.368
Eesti Reformierakond	Estonia	1	0	0.137	0.000
Erakond Isamaaliit (Pro Patria Union)	Estonia	1	1	0.137	0.368
Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond	Estonia	3	1	0.410	0.368
Kansallinen Kokoomus	Finland	4	2	0.546	0.735
Suomen Keskusta	Finland	4	0	0.546	0.000
Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue	Finland	3	1	0.410	0.368
Svenska folkpartiet	Finland	1	1	0.137	0.368
Vasemmistoliitto	Finland	1	0	0.137	0.000
Vihreä liitto	Finland	1	1	0.137	0.368

Table A1. continued

National Party	Member State	Actual (n)	Sample (n)	Actual (%)	Sample (%)
Front national	France	7	1	0.956	0.368
Les Verts-Europe-Ecologie	France	6	2	0.820	0.735
Mouvement pour la France	France	3	0	0.410	0.000
Parti communiste français	France	3	1	0.410	0.368
Parti Socialiste	France	31	12	4.235	4.412
Union pour la démocratie française	France	11	5	1.503	1.838
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire	France	17	3	2.322	1.103
Bündnis 90/Die Grünen	Germany	13	6	1.776	2.206
Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands	Germany	40	15	5.464	5.515
Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern e.V.	Germany	9	4	1.230	1.471
Freie Demokratische Partei - Die Liberalen	Germany	7	2	0.956	0.735
Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus	Germany	7	3	0.956	1.103
Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands	Germany	23	4	3.142	1.471
Kommounistiko Komma Elladas	Greece	3	0	0.410	0.000
Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos - G. Karatzaferis	Greece	1	0	0.137	0.000
Nea Dimokratia	Greece	11	0	1.503	0.000
Panellinio Socialistiko Kinima	Greece	8	1	1.093	0.368
Synaspismos tis Aristeras	Greece	1	1	0.137	0.368
Fidesz-Magyar Polgári Szövetség	Hungary	12	2	1.639	0.735
Magyar Demokrata Fórum	Hungary	1	1	0.137	0.368
Magyar Szocialista Párt	Hungary	9	4	1.230	1.471
Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége	Hungary	2	1	0.273	0.368
Fianna Fáil Party	Ireland	4	2	0.546	0.735
Fine Gael Party	Ireland	5	3	0.683	1.103
Independent	Ireland	2	1	0.273	0.368
Labour Party	Ireland	1	1	0.137	0.368
Sinn Féin	Ireland	1	0	0.137	0.000
Alleanza nazionale	Italy	8	1	1.093	0.368
Alleanza Popolare - Unione Democratici per l'Europa	Italy	1	0	0.137	0.000
Alleanza Siciliana	Italy	1	0	0.137	0.000
Alternativa sociale: Lista Mussolini	Italy	1	0	0.137	0.000
Democratici di Sinistra	Italy	12	3	1.639	1.103
Federazione dei Verdi	Italy	2	2	0.273	0.735
Forza Italia	Italy	16	8	2.186	2.941
Indipendente	Italy	1	1	0.137	0.368
Indipendente - Lista Di Pietro-Occhetto Società Civile	Italy	1	1	0.137	0.368
Italia dei Valori	Italy	1	0	0.137	0.000
La Margherita	Italy	8	4	1.093	1.471
Lega Nord per l'indipendenza della Padania	Italy	4	0	0.546	0.000
Lista Emma Bonino	Italy	2	1	0.273	0.368
Movimento Repubblicani Europei	Italy	1	0	0.137	0.000
Movimento Sociale Fiamma tricolore	Italy	1	1	0.137	0.368
Partito dei Comunisti Italiani	Italy	2	2	0.273	0.735
Partito della Rifondazione Comunista	Italy	5	1	0.683	0.368
Partito Pensionati	Italy	1	0	0.137	0.000
Partito Socialista Nuovo PSI	Italy	2	0	0.273	0.000
Socialisti democratici italiani	Italy	1	1	0.137	0.368
Südtiroler Volkspartei (Partito popolare sudtirolese)	Italy	1	0	0.137	0.000
Unione dei Democratici cristiani	Italy	5	2	0.683	0.735
Uniti nell'Ulivo	Italy	1	0	0.137	0.000

Table A1. continued

National Party	Member State	Actual (n)	Sample (n)	Actual (%)	Sample (%)
Jaunais laiks	Latvia	2	0	0.273	0.000
Politisko organizāciju savienība	Latvia	1	1	0.137	0.368
Savienība "Latvijas Cels"	Latvia	1	0	0.137	0.000
Tautas partija	Latvia	1	0	0.137	0.000
Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK	Latvia	4	3	0.546	1.103
Darbo partija	Lithuania	5	3	0.683	1.103
Liberalu demokratu partija	Lithuania	1	0	0.137	0.000
Liberalu ir centro sajunga	Lithuania	2	1	0.273	0.368
Lietuvos socialdemokratu partija	Lithuania	2	1	0.273	0.368
Tēvynės sajunga	Lithuania	2	0	0.273	0.000
Valstiečių ir Naujosios demokratijos partijų sąjunga	Lithuania	1	1	0.137	0.368
Les Verts	Luxemb.	1	0	0.137	0.000
Parti chrétien social	Luxemb.	3	2	0.410	0.735
Parti démocratique	Luxemb.	1	1	0.137	0.368
Parti ouvrier socialiste luxembourgeois	Luxemb.	1	0	0.137	0.000
Partit Laburista	Malta	3	1	0.410	0.368
Partit Nazzjonalista	Malta	2	0	0.273	0.000
Christen Democratisch Appèl	Netherl.	7	0	0.956	0.000
ChristenUnie - Staatskundig Gereformeerde Parti	Netherl.	2	1	0.273	0.368
Democraten 66	Netherl.	1	0	0.137	0.000
Europa Transparant	Netherl.	2	0	0.273	0.000
GroenLinks	Netherl.	2	0	0.273	0.000
Partij van de Arbeid	Netherl.	7	4	0.956	1.471
Socialistische Partij	Netherl.	2	1	0.273	0.368
Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	Netherl.	4	3	0.546	1.103
Liga Polskich Rodzin	Poland	10	2	1.366	0.735
Platforma Obywatelska	Poland	15	6	2.049	2.206
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	Poland	4	1	0.546	0.368
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	Poland	7	4	0.956	1.471
Samoobrona RP	Poland	6	2	0.820	0.735
Socjaldemocracja Polska	Poland	3	2	0.410	0.735
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej - Unia Pracy	Poland	4	2	0.546	0.735
Unia Pracy	Poland	1	0	0.137	0.000
Unia Wolności/Partia Demokratyczna - demokraci.pl	Poland	4	3	0.546	1.103
Bloco de Esquerda	Portugal	1	0	0.137	0.000
Coligação Democrática Unitária (PCP-PEV)	Portugal	1	0	0.137	0.000
Coligação Força Portugal (PPD/PSD.CDS-PP)	Portugal	9	3	1.230	1.103
Partido Comunista Português	Portugal	1	0	0.137	0.000
Partido Socialista	Portugal	12	6	1.639	2.206
Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko	Slovakia	3	0	0.410	0.000
Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie	Slovakia	3	0	0.410	0.000
Slovenská demokratická a kresťanská únia	Slovakia	3	1	0.410	0.368
Smer	Slovakia	2	1	0.273	0.368
Strana demokratickej ľavice	Slovakia	1	1	0.137	0.368
Strana maďarskej koalície - Magyar Koalíció Pártja	Slovakia	2	0	0.273	0.000
Liberalna Demokracija Slovenije	Slovenia	2	0	0.273	0.000
Nova Slovenija	Slovenia	2	2	0.273	0.735
Slovenska demokratska stranka	Slovenia	2	2	0.273	0.735
Socialni demokrati	Slovenia	1	1	0.137	0.368

Table A1. continued

National Party	Member State	Actual (n)	Sample (n)	Actual (%)	Sample (%)
Convergència Democràtica Catalunya	Spain	1	1	0.137	0.368
Europa de los Pueblos	Spain	1	0	0.137	0.000
Iniciativa Per Catalunya Verds - Esquerra Unida	Spain	1	1	0.137	0.368
Izquierda Unida	Spain	1	1	0.137	0.368
Los Verdes	Spain	1	0	0.137	0.000
Partido Nacionalista Vasco	Spain	1	0	0.137	0.000
Partido Popular	Spain	23	5	3.142	1.838
Partido Socialista Obrero Español	Spain	22	2	3.005	0.735
Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya	Spain	2	1	0.273	0.368
Unión del Pueblo Navarro	Spain	1	0	0.137	0.000
Arbetarepartiet- Socialdemokraterna	Sweden	5	3	0.683	1.103
Centerpartiet	Sweden	1	0	0.137	0.000
Folkpartiet liberalerna	Sweden	2	2	0.273	0.735
Junilistan	Sweden	3	1	0.410	0.368
Kristdemokraterna	Sweden	1	1	0.137	0.368
Miljöpartiet	Sweden	1	1	0.137	0.368
Moderata Samlingspartiet	Sweden	4	1	0.546	0.368
Vänsterpartiet	Sweden	2	0	0.273	0.000
Conservative and Unionist Party	UK	27	14	3.689	5.147
Democratic Unionist Party	UK	1	0	0.137	0.000
Green Party	UK	2	1	0.273	0.368
Independent	UK	1	0	0.137	0.000
Labour Party	UK	19	10	2.596	3.676
Liberal Democrat Party	UK	12	6	1.639	2.206
Plaid Cymru - Parti of Wales	UK	1	1	0.137	0.368
Scottish National Party	UK	2	0	0.273	0.000
Sinn Féin	UK	1	0	0.137	0.000
UK Independence Party	UK	11	5	1.503	1.838
Ulster Unionist Party	UK	1	0	0.137	0.000
Total		732	272	1	1
Correlation					0.860
Chi-squared					0.465

MEP Survey 2000

By the European Parliament Research Group (EPRG) (<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/eprg>)

Funded under the "One Europe or Several" Programme of the Economic and Social Research Council of the UK

**THIS IS A CONFIDENTIAL SURVEY
FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH**

Please complete and return to

European Parliament Research Group
c/o Dr. Simon Hix
Department of Government
London School of Economics and Political Science
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE
United Kingdom

*Estimated time to
complete survey:
20 minutes*

SECTION I. BASIC INFORMATION

1. In which member state were you elected?

2. What is your NATIONAL political party?

3. What is your Party Group in the European Parliament?

4. Which region, locality or city do you represent (if any)?

5. On what date did you become an MEP?

6. Are you also a member of your national parliament (either house)?

Yes . No .

7. Are you a member of an executive organ of your national party?

Yes . No .

8. Are you, or have you ever been, a President, Vice-President
or Quaestor of the EP?

Yes . No .

9. Are you, or have you ever been, a member of the Bureau of your
EP party group?

Yes . No .

10. Are you, or have you ever been, a Chairperson or Vice-Chairperson
of one of the EP committees?

Yes . No .

SECTION II. BACKGROUND

11. What was your age at the beginning of July 1999 (in years)? _____ YEARS

12. What is your gender? Male
Female

13. What do you consider your social class background (e.g. the occupation of your father)? **(please tick one box only)**

- Manager or company director
- Private sector professional/white collar
- Public sector professional/white collar
- Self-employed
- Skilled worker
- Manual worker

14. How old were you when you stopped full-time education?

- Younger than 16 years
- Between 16 and 19 years
- Older than 20 years

SECTION III. CAREER

15. Have you ever held, or do you currently hold, any of these positions? **(please tick as many boxes as apply)**

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Member of national parliament | . | Official (<i>fonctionnaire</i>) in the EP | . |
| Member of national government | . | Official in another EU institution | . |
| Regional elected office | . | Official in a professional association | . |
| Local elected office | . | Official in a trade union | . |
| European Commissioner | . | Official in a student organisation | . |
| National party office | . | Official in a women's organisation | . |
| Regional/local party office | . | Official in a regional/local interest group | . |
| European party office | . | Official in a national interest group | . |
| Assistant to an MEP | . | Official in a European interest group | . |
| Assistant to a national politician | . | A 'lobbyist' in Brussels | . |

16. Where would you most like to be 10 years from now?

(tick as many boxes as you wish)

- | | |
|---|---|
| Member of the European Parliament | . |
| Chair of an EP committee | . |
| Chair of an EP party group | . |
| Member of national parliament | . |
| Member of national government | . |
| European Commissioner | . |
| Head of a European/International Agency | . |
| Retired from public life | . |

SECTION IV. ATTITUDES

17. Where would you place yourself on the Left-Right spectrum? **(tick one box only)**

.	----	.	----	.	----	.	----	.	----	.	----	.	----	.	----	.	----	.	----	.	
1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10			
LEFT																					RIGHT

18. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? **(tick one box per line)**

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
a. Greater effort should be made to reduce inequality of income
b. Tougher action should be taken against criminals
c. Government should play a greater role in managing the economy
d. Women should be free to decide for themselves on abortion
e. Current welfare spending should be maintained even if it means raising taxes
f. The use of marijuana should be decriminalised
g. It is more important to reduce inflation than to reduce unemployment

19. Where would you place yourself on the question of European integration? **(tick one box only)**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
European integration has gone much too far					The EU should become a federal state immediately				

20. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that your country has benefited or not from EU membership?
(tick one box only)

Benefited

Not Benefited

Don't Know

21. Do you identify most with Europe, your member state, or your region, and which second and third? **(tick one box per column)**

	First	Second	Third
Europe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My member state	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My region	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

SECTION V. EU POLICIES

22. Do you think there should be more or less EU-wide regulation in the following areas? **(tick one box per line)**

	A lot more	A little more	About the same	A little less	A lot less
a. Health and safety at work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Labour rights (e.g. working time rules)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Consumer protection standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Environmental protection standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Food safety standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Taxation rates (e.g. harmonised business taxes)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. media, broadcasting and audiovisual standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. Do you think more or less of the EU budget should be spent on the following areas? **(tick one box per line)**

	A lot more	A little more	About the same	A little less	A lot less
a. Agricultural price support	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Economic and social cohesion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Scientific research and development	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Development aid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Direct unemployment assistance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Support for member states with the most refugees	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about EMU and EU monetary policies?
(tick one box per line)

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
a. The current interest rate of the European Central Bank is too low
b. EcoFin (not the ECB) should set inflation targets in the Euro-zone
c. The EP should have more power to influence interest rates in EMU
d. The minutes of the ECB Governing Council should be available to the public
e. Governments should be allowed to run deficits of more than 3% of GDP

25. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about EU trade policies? **(tick one box per line)**

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
a. The EU should promote global free trade at all costs
b. The EU should abide by all World Trade Organization rules and rulings
c. The EU should support uniform global labour standards
d. The EU should support uniform global environmental standards
e. All trade barriers between the EU and the USA should be abolished

26. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about EU Justice and Home Affairs policies?

(tick one box per line)

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
a. The EU should agree common rules for granting political asylum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. The EU should agree common rules for granting EU citizenship	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. For serious crimes, the police in each member state should be able to issue arrest warrants which apply throughout the EU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. For serious crimes, national courts should automatically recognise rulings by courts in other member states	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. The Council should vote by QMV on all JHA issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. JHA policies should be adopted using the Co-decision Procedure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about EU foreign and defence policies?

(tick one box per line)

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
a. "Mr. CFSP" should have the power to set the EU foreign policy agenda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. The Commission should have the power to set the EU foreign policy agenda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. The Council should vote by QMV when adopting 'joint actions'	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. The EP should have the power to reject some foreign policy decisions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. The EU should have its own military units available for 'rapid reaction'	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. The EU rather than NATO should be responsible for Europe's defence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

SECTION VI. INSTITUTIONAL REFORM

28. To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements about reform of the EU? **(tick one box per line)**

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
a. The member states, not the Commission nor the European Parliament, ought to remain the central pillars of the EU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. It is imperative that the European Commission becomes the true government of the European Union	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. QMV should be used in all legislative decisions in the Council	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. The voting-weights of the larger member states (under QMV) should be increased	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. The larger states should have no more than one Commissioner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Member states should NOT have an automatic right to a Commissioner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. The powers of the ECJ should be curtailed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. The European Parliament should have the right to initiative legislation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. The European Parliament should have equal legislative power with the Council in ALL areas of EU policy-making	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. The EP should be able to amend ALL areas of expenditure in the EU budget	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k. The Commission President should be nominated by the EP, rather than the national governments	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l. Commissioners should be individually approved by the EP under the Assent Procedure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m. The EP should be able to remove individual Commissioners from office	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n. The President of the Commission should be directly-elected	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o. The EP should be allowed to hold all its plenary sessions in Brussels	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

SECTION VII. REPRESENTATION

29. When thinking about your work as an MEP, how important are the following aspects of your work? **(tick one box per line)**

	Of little importance				Of great importance
	1	2	3	4	5
Taking part in legislation	-	-	-	-	-
Parliamentary oversight	-	-	-	-	-
Articulation of important societal needs and interests	-	-	-	-	-
Developing common strategies for EU policies	-	-	-	-	-
Mediation between different interests in society	-	-	-	-	-
Representation of individual interests of individual citizens	-	-	-	-	-

30. How important is it to you to represent the following groups of people in the European Parliament? **(tick one box per line)**

	Of little importance				Of great importance
	1	2	3	4	5
All people in Europe	-	-	-	-	-
All people in my member state	-	-	-	-	-
All the people who voted for my party	-	-	-	-	-
All the people in my constituency	-	-	-	-	-
My national party	-	-	-	-	-
My EP party group	-	-	-	-	-
A specific group in society	-	-	-	-	-
Which one? _____	-	-	-	-	-

31. How much time do you spend on political work in your home country rather than work at the European Parliament?

- (tick one box only)**
- Most of my time each week
 - Some of my time each week
 - Limited time, mostly at weekends
 - Little or no time
 - Don't Know

32. MEPs receive requests for information or action both from constituents and from interest groups. About how many requests from the following might you receive in a typical week? **(tick one box per line)**

- | | 0-10 | 10-25 | 25-50 | 50-100 | >100 |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Individuals from my constituency | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Other individuals from my country | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Individuals from other countries | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. National interest groups | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. European interest groups | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

33. Which of the following forms of contact with individuals voters do you have? **(tick all the boxes that apply)**

- Access via a permanently staffed office of my own
- Access via a permanently staffed office shared with other MEPs
- Access via party-ran regional or national office
- A PO box or an Automated Telephone Link
- Regular consultation sessions (surgeries) for individual constituents
- Occasional consultation sessions (surgeries) for individual constituents

SECTION VIII. CONTACTS

34. How frequently are you in contact with the following groups, people or institutions? **(tick one box per line)**

	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least every three months	At least once a year	Less often	No contact
Ordinary citizens	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organised groups	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lobbyists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Journalists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leaders of my EP party group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEPs of other parties from my member state	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Officials in the Commission	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
European Commissioners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Officials in the Council Secretariat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Members of COREPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ministers in the Council	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Members of the Economic and Social Committee	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Officials in the European Court of Justice	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Members of the Committee of the Regions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Members of my national party executive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MPs from my national parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ministers from my national government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Civil servants from my national government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

35. How frequently are you in contact with the following interest groups? **(tick one box per line)**

	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least every three months	At least once a year	Less often	No contact
<i>National Interest Groups</i>						
Consumer associations	-	-	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trade unions	-	-	-	-	-	-
Professional associations	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agriculture/fisheries organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-
Industry organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transport associations	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trade and commerce associations	-	-	-	-	-	-
Banking and insurance associations	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>European Interest Groups</i>						
Consumer associations (e.g. EUROCOOP, BEUC)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Environmental organisations (e.g. EEB, Greenpeace)	-	-	-	-	-	-
European trade unions (e.g. ETUC)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Professional associations (e.g. SEPLIS)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agriculture/fisheries organisations (e.g. COPA)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Industry organisations (e.g. UNICE)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transport associations (e.g. LR/RU)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trade and commerce associations (e.g. FIPMEC)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Banking and insurance associations (e.g. GCECEE)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Human rights organisations (e.g. Amnesty)	-	-	-	-	-	-

SECTION IX. LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOUR

36. How often do you receive recommendations on which way to vote from the following parties or groups? **(tick one box per line)**

On almost every vote Never

1 2 3 4 5

You national party leadership

Your EP party group leadership

Your national party delegation of MEPs

Your EP committee leadership

The European Commission

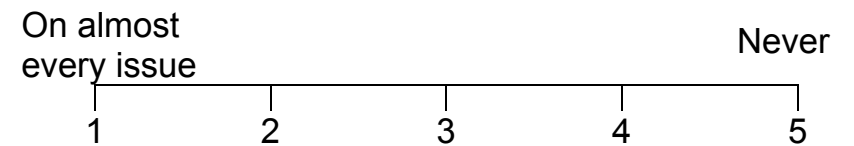
Your national government

European interest groups

National interest groups

Private citizens

37. On issues in the EP, how often is your position the same as the majority in these Party Groups? **(tick one box per line)**



- European People’s Party/European Democrats (PPE/DE)
- Party of European Socialists (PSE)
- European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party (ELDR)
- Greens/European Free Alliance (V/ALE)
- European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL)
- Union for a Europe of Nations (UEN)
- Technical Group of Independents (TDI)
- Group for a Europe of Democracies and Diversities (EDD)

38. In many cases people have different views concerning matters before the European Parliament. On which of the following would you be most inclined to base your decision in such cases? **(tick one box per column)**

	1st choice	2nd choice	3rd choice
Follow my own judgement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Follow the views of the voters of my party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Follow the view of my national party leadership	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Follow the view of my EP party group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. If you had the chance to win any of the following posts, which one would you choose? **(tick one box per column)**

	1st choice	2nd choice	3rd choice
President of my EP party group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leader of my national party delegation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
President of the European Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Chairperson of my EP committee	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

40. Here are a list of reasons why MEPs choose which EP committee to join. How important were each of these reasons in deciding which committee to join after the 1999 European elections? **(tick one box per line)**

	Extremely Important	Moderately important	Somewhat important	Only a little important	Not at all important
a. The committee concerns my personal interests	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. The committee is important to my constituents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. The committee tackles topics in which I have professional expertise	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. The committee covers important issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. I was asked to serve on the committee by my EP party group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. I was asked to serve on the committee by my national party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. I was a member of this committee in the last European Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

NATCEN/EPRG

1.1. In which member state were you elected?

1.2. What is your Political Group in the European Parliament?

1.3. When did you first become an MEP?

Month:

Year:

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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1.4. Have you ever previously held, or do you currently hold, any of these positions?

Tick all boxes that apply.

	previously held, but not now	currently hold
Member of national parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Member of national government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Regional or local elected office	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
European Commissioner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
President of the European Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
President of a European political group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leader of a national party delegation in the European Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Chair or Vice-Chair of a European Parliament committee	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Group Coordinator in a European Parliament committee	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vice-President or Quaestor of the European Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Observer to the European Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Domestic party official	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
European party or political group official	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Assistant to an MEP	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Official (fonctionnaire) in the European Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Official in the Commission	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Official in the Council	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Official in a professional association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Official in a trade union	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Official in a women's organisation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Official in a national interest group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Official in a European interest group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A 'lobbyist' in Brussels	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

1.5. What would you like to be doing 10 years from now?

Tick as many boxes as you wish.

- Member of the European Parliament
- Chair of a European Parliament committee
- Chair of a European political group
- Member of a national parliament
- Member of a national government
- European Commissioner
- Retired from public life
- Something else, please specify:

2.1. Do you think that MEPs should be elected in your member state in one national district or in several regional or local districts?

Tick one box only.

- One national district
- Several regional or local districts

2.2. It has been suggested that some MEPs should be elected on a European-wide 'top-up' list. Which of the following statements about a European 'top-up' list comes closest to your views?

Tick one box only.

- More than ten percent of MEPs should be elected on a European-wide list
- About ten percent of MEPs should be elected on a European-wide list
- About five percent of MEPs should be elected on a European-wide list
- About two percent of MEPs should be elected on a European-wide list
- I am opposed to a European-wide list

2.3. In the 2004 elections some countries adopted laws requiring that a certain percentage of candidates must be women. Which of the following statements on quotas for women candidates comes closest to your views?

Tick one box only.

- There should be common European-wide rules on quotas for women candidates
- Each member state should be free to set quotas for women candidates
- Each political party should be free to set its own quota for women candidates
- Quotas for women candidates should not be allowed

2.4. In your party, how important are the following groups in the selection of candidates for the European Parliament?

Tick one box per line.

	Not at all Important	2	3	4	Extremely Important
National party officials	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Regional/local party officials	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Individual party members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Non-party members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Interest groups, for example, trade unions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2.5. When you first became a candidate for the European Parliament did any of the following encourage you to stand?

Tick all boxes that apply.

- A national party official
- A regional/local party official
- A sitting MEP
- A retired MEP
- Other community leaders
- A representative of an interest group
- My spouse/partner
- Other members of my family
- Other, please specify:
- No-one encouraged me to stand

3.1. How much effort did you and your team put into the following activities in the 2004 election campaign?

Tick one box per line.

	A lot	Some	Very little	None
Telephone canvassing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Door-to-door canvassing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organising direct mailing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Party meetings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public meetings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Press conferences	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Media relations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Maintaining a campaign website	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Direct email	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Weblogs ('blogs')	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fundraising	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other campaign activities, please specify:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.2. What sort of campaign material was produced by you, or on your behalf, during the 2004 election campaign?

Tick all boxes that apply.

- Campaign brochures/newsletters/leaflets
- Campaign posters
- Email messages
- Personal webpage
- Stickers/badges/buttons
- Radio advertisements
- Television advertisements
- Newspaper advertisements

3.3. In the final weeks of the election campaign how much time did you spend per week on the campaign?

Tick one box only.

- Less than 2 hours
- 2-10 hours
- 11-20 hours
- 21-30 hours
- More than 30 hours

3.4. During your campaign, how much contact did you have with your party's campaign headquarters?

Tick one box only.

- Daily contact
- Weekly contact
- Little or no contact
- No party campaign headquarters

3.5. During the election campaign generally, how much coverage did you get in the following media?

Tick one box per line.

	A lot	Some	Very little	None
Television	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
National radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
National newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Internet in general	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Party website	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.6. In which order of importance would you place these campaign objectives for you personally?

Order from 1st to 4th.

- Maximising voter turnout generally
- Maximising the vote for your party
- Maximising your personal vote
- Preventing another party from getting votes

First:

Second:

Third:

Fourth:

3.7. In your opinion, how much attention did the 2004 European elections get in the news media in your member state?

Tick one box only.

- Too much
- About right
- Too little

4.1. When thinking about your work as an MEP, how important are the following aspects of your work?

Tick one box per line.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Of little importance				Of great importance
Working on legislation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parliamentary oversight	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Articulation of important societal needs and interests	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Developing common strategies for EU policies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mediation between different interests in society	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Representation of individual interests of individual citizens	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4.2. How important is it to you to represent the following groups of people in the European Parliament?

Tick one box per line.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Of little importance				Of great importance
All people in Europe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
All people in my member state	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
All the people who voted for my party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
All the people in my constituency/region	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My national party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My European political group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Women	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Another group in society, please specify:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4.3. How much time do you spend on political work in your home country rather than work at the European Parliament?

Tick one box only.

- Most of my time each week
- Some of my time each week
- Limited time, mostly at weekends
- Little or no time
- Varies too much to say

4.4. Which of the following forms of contact with individual voters do you have?

Tick all the boxes that apply.

- Access via a permanently staffed office of my own
- Access via a permanently staffed office shared with other MEPs
- Access via party-run regional or national office
- Access via a personal website
- Personal consultation sessions for individual voters

4.5. How frequently are you in contact with the following groups, people or institutions?

Tick one box per line.

	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least every three months	At least once a year	Less often	No contact
Ordinary citizens	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organised groups	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lobbyists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Journalists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leaders of my European political group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEPs of other parties from my member state	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Officials in the Commission	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
European Commissioners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Members of my national political party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Members of my national party executive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MPs from my national parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ministers from my national government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public officials from my national government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4.6. How frequently are you in contact with the following interest groups?

Tick one box per line.

National Interest Groups	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least every three months	At least once a year	Less often	No contact
Consumer associations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Environmental organisations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Women's organisations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trade unions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Professional associations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Agriculture/fisheries organisations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Industry organisations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Transport associations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trade and commerce associations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Banking and insurance associations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other, please specify:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4.7. How frequently are you in contact with the following interest groups?

Tick one box per line.

European Interest Groups	At least once a week	At least once a month	At least every three months	At least once a year	Less often	No contact
Consumer associations (e.g. BEUC)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Environmental organisations (e.g. EEB, Greenpeace)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Women's organisations (e.g. EWL)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
European trade unions (e.g. ETUC)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Professional associations (e.g. CEPLIS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Agriculture/fisheries organisations (e.g. COPA)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Industry organisations (e.g. UNICE)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Transport associations (e.g. AET)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trade and commerce associations (e.g. UEAPME)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Banking and insurance associations (e.g. GCECEE, CEA)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Human rights organisations (e.g. Amnesty)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other, please specify:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5.1. How often do you receive recommendations on which way to vote from the following parties or groups?

Tick one box per line.

	Never	2	3	4	On almost every vote
Your national party leadership	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your European political group leadership	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your national party delegation of MEPs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your European Parliament committee leadership	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The European Commission	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your national government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
European Interest Groups	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
National interest groups	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Private citizens	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5.2. In many cases people have different views concerning matters before the European Parliament. In general, which of these are you most inclined to do?

Order the options from 1st to 4th.

- Follow my own judgement
- Follow the views of the voters of my national party
- Follow the view of my national party leadership
- Follow the view of my European political group

First:

Second:

Third:

Fourth:

5.3. How often is your position on an issue the same as the majority in your European political group?

Tick one box only.

- On almost every issue
- On most issues
- About half the time
- Only on some issues
- Rarely

5.4. If you had the chance to obtain any of the following posts, which would you choose?

Order the options from 1st to 4th.

- President of a European political group
- Leader of a national party delegation
- President of the European Parliament
- Chairperson of a European Parliament committee

First:

Second:

Third:

Fourth:

5.5. Here is a list of reasons why MEPs choose which European Parliament committee to join. How important were each of these reasons for you in deciding which committee to join after the 2004 European elections?

Tick one box per line.

	Not at all Important	2	3	4	Extremely Important
The committee concerns my personal interests	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The committee is important to my voters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The committee tackles topics in which I have professional expertise	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The committee covers important issues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was asked to serve on the committee by my European political group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was asked to serve on the committee by my national party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was a member of this committee in the last European Parliament	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5.6. How many reports have you authored in the current Parliamentary term?

Enter number.

6.1. Where would you place yourself on the Left-Right spectrum?

Tick one box only.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LEFT								RIGHT	

6.2. Where would you place your national political party on the Left-Right spectrum?

Tick one box only.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LEFT								RIGHT	

6.3. Where would you place your European political group on the Left-Right spectrum?

Tick one box only.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LEFT								RIGHT	

6.4. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following general political statements?

Tick one box per line.

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Greater effort should be made to reduce inequality of income	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tougher action should be taken against criminals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Government should play a greater role in managing the economy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Current welfare spending should be maintained even if it means raising taxes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The use of marijuana should be decriminalised	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is more important to reduce inflation than to reduce unemployment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There should be fewer restrictions on immigration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Women should be free to decide for themselves on abortion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6.5. Where would you place yourself on the question of European integration?

Tick one box only.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
European integration has gone much too far								The EU should become a federal state immediately	

6.6. Where would you place your national political party on the question of European integration?

Tick one box only.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
European integration has gone much too far								The EU should become a federal state immediately	

6.7. Where would you place your European political group on the question of European integration?

Tick one box only.

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

European integration
has gone much too far

The EU should become a
federal state immediately

6.8. Do you see yourself as?

Tick one box only.

- British only
 British and European
 European and British
 European only

7.1. Do you think there should be more or less EU-wide regulation in the following areas?

Tick one box per line.

	A lot more	A little more	About the same	A little less	A lot less
Health and safety at work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labour rights (e.g. working time rules)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Discrimination (on the grounds of gender, race, religion, age, disability, and sexual orientation)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parental leave	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Protecting the health and safety of pregnant workers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Environmental protection standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Food safety standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Taxation rates (e.g. harmonized business taxes)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
National immigration policies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7.2. Do you think more or less of the EU budget should be spent on the following areas?

Tick one box per line.

	A lot more	A little more	About the same	A little less	A lot less
Agricultural price support	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Economic and social cohesion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Scientific research and development	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Development aid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Direct unemployment assistance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Support for member states with the most refugees	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7.3. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Economic and Monetary Union and EU monetary policies?

Tick one box per line.

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
The current interest rate of the European Central Bank is too low	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
EcoFin (not the European Central Bank) should set inflation targets in the Eurozone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The European Parliament should have more power to influence interest rates in the Eurozone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Governments should be allowed to run deficits of more than 3% of GDP	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Britain should be a member of the Eurozone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7.4. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about EU trade policies?

Tick one box per line.

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
The EU should promote global free trade at all costs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The EU should abide by all World Trade Organization rules and rulings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The EU should support uniform global labour standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The EU should support uniform global environmental standards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
All trade barriers between the EU and the USA should be abolished	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7.5. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about EU Justice and Home Affairs policies?

Tick one box per line.

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
There should be a common EU policy on granting political asylum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There should be a common EU policy on economic migrants from third countries	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There should be a common EU policy on how to treat illegal migrants	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Information on the identity of suspected terrorists should be shared between the member states	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For serious crimes, the police in each member state should be able to issue arrest warrants which apply throughout the EU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
For serious crimes, national courts should automatically recognise rulings by courts in other member states	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7.6. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about EU foreign and defence policies?

Tick one box per line.

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
The EU rather than NATO should be responsible for European defence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
EU foreign policy should develop as a counterweight to the United States	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The EU should have its own Diplomatic Service	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The member states should make every effort to adhere to the EU's Security Strategy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The EU should develop closer political ties with Russia despite concerns about democracy and press freedom in that country	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The EU should lift the embargo on the export of arms to China	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7.7. Which of the following states do you think should be allowed to join the EU if they apply for EU membership and successfully meet the Copenhagen Criteria for membership?

Tick all those that you think should be allowed to join the EU under these conditions.

- Albania
- Belarus
- Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Bulgaria
- Croatia
- Israel
- Kosovo
- Macedonia
- Moldova
- Morocco
- Romania
- Russia
- Serbia and Montenegro
- Turkey
- Ukraine

7.8. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the powers of the European Parliament?
Tick one box per line.

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
The European Parliament should have the right to initiate legislation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The European Parliament should have equal power with the Council in <i>all</i> areas of EU legislation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The European Parliament should have equal power with the Council to amend <i>all</i> areas of expenditure in the budget	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Commission President should be nominated by the European Parliament, rather than by the European Council	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The European Parliament should be able to remove individual Commissioners from office	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The European Parliament should be allowed to hold all its plenary sessions in Brussels	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you for completing this questionnaire

Would you like to receive a summary of some of the key results?

Yes

No