



**COHESIFY**

The Impact of EU Cohesion Policy  
on European Identification

# Positions on and issue emphasis of European integration and EU Cohesion policy: Analysing (sub-)national party manifestos

Marc Debus and Martin Gross

## **COHESIFY RESEARCH PAPER 4**

### **WP 2 – Task 2.5: O2.5**

University of Mannheim & Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES)  
University of Mannheim, MZES  
A6, 5 Building A, 68159 Mannheim  
[marc.debus@uni-mannheim.de](mailto:marc.debus@uni-mannheim.de); [martin.gross@mzes.uni-mannheim.de](mailto:martin.gross@mzes.uni-mannheim.de)



The COHESIFY project (February 2016-April 2018) has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 693127

## Abstract

One key element of the European Union's (EU) attempt to foster citizens' identification with the EU has been (and still is) its Cohesion policy (CP). This policy targets regions and cities across the EU with the overall goal of reducing economic and social disparities across regions and countries and improving citizens' quality of life. Since CP accounts for almost one-third of the total EU budget in 2014-20 it might attract the attention of political parties—both at the national and regional level—to promote and communicate this policy among citizens, in particular by referring to potentially financial benefits of EU structural funds in their election manifestos. In this contribution, we first map national parties' policy positions on European integration and CP in the COHESIFY project countries: Cyprus, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom (UK). Secondly, we estimate, for the first time, sub-national parties' positions on these two policy dimensions in nine European regions—Andalusia, Baden-Wuerttemberg, Castile and León, Flevoland, Limburg, Lombardy, Scotland, Thuringia, and Wales—using the fully-automated computerised 'Wordscores' approach. Thirdly, we manually extract all EU-related information in national and sub-national parties' election manifestos via an original coding scheme, thus distinguishing between general mentions of the EU and more specific statements on several EU funds. Finally, we draw comparative conclusions about political positions and issue emphasis on the EU and Cohesion policy in the manifestos across cases, territorial levels and EU funding allocated to countries and regions. The empirical results show that in all countries and regions under study parties differ more in their views on European integration than on CP. Yet, national parties' emphasis of European issues in their manifestos is clearly correlated with the EU funding per capita a country receives.



## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>1 Introduction .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>2 Methodology .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>2.1 Party positioning.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>2.2 Issue emphasis .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>3 Political parties' orientations towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Cyprus.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>3.2 Germany.....</b>	<b>12</b>
<i>a. Baden-Wuerttemberg.....</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>b. Thuringia.....</i>	<i>15</i>
<b>3.3 Greece.....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>3.4 Hungary .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>3.5 Ireland.....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>3.6 Italy.....</b>	<b>25</b>
<i>a. Lombardy.....</i>	<i>26</i>
<b>3.7 Poland .....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>3.8 Romania.....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>3.9 Slovenia .....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>3.10 Spain .....</b>	<b>35</b>
<i>a. Andalusia.....</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>b. Castile and León.....</i>	<i>38</i>
<b>3.11 The Netherlands .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<i>a. Flevoland .....</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>b. Limburg.....</i>	<i>43</i>
<b>3.12 United Kingdom .....</b>	<b>45</b>

<i>a. Scotland</i> .....	45
<i>b. Wales</i> .....	48
<b>4 Party positions, political salience and Cohesion funding intensity .....</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>5 Concluding remarks .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>References .....</b>	<b>55</b>

# 1 Introduction

Political parties are important actors in the process of European integration by linking policies of the European Union (EU) to the citizens. Hence, parties' orientations towards European integration and the way in which they communicate EU policies to citizens is important for the democratic legitimacy of the EU. Yet, research mostly focuses on national party positions on European integration, although the regional level is a crucial political level of the EU's strategy to foster European integration by devoting approximately one-third of the EU's budget to its regional policy (George & Bache, 2001, p. 303), which is the EU's core element to reduce regional disparities, support job creation, and enhance the economic well-being of European regions, among others. Furthermore, as Bachtler *et al.* (2013: 12) note, "as an expression of solidarity, Cohesion policy buttresses European integration".<sup>1</sup>

One main goal of EU Cohesion policy (CP) is the increase of citizens' identification with the EU. Hence, a corollary of this goal is that citizens have to aware of CP measures and activities. Parties are one of the most important actor that have the possibility to raise citizens' awareness of CP by referring to CP projects in national and regional election campaigns, and by adopting positive positions on European integration issues. Yet, even though there exists some empirical research on how national parties position themselves on the issues of European integration and CP, there are at least two lacunae that are addresses in this contribution: (i) sub-national parties' positioning on European integration and CP, and (ii) parties' emphasis of European issues in national and sub-national electoral campaigns.

While the measurement of party orientations towards European integration has received increasing attention in recent years, parties' stances on EU regional policy are still not very well explored, in particular in the case of parties acting on the sub-state level. Although EU Cohesion policy (CP) primarily focuses on the *regional* level, we lack data on how sub-national parties position themselves both on European integration and CP. This contribution addresses this research gap by applying a computerised method of content analysis—the 'Wordscores' approach (Laver *et al.*, 2003; Lowe, 2008)—to the full text of election manifestos of parties on the regional level covered in COHESIFY to estimate their party policy positions on European integration, in general, and on Cohesion policy, in particular. In those cases that are studied on the national level, we present data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) (Bakker *et al.*, 2015) on national party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy. Additionally, we present data on national and regional parties' emphasis of European issues in their election manifestos, based on a newly developed coding scheme of European issues and EU Cohesion policy.

The empirical results firstly show that there are differences between national and sub-national party positions on both European integration and CP. However, these policy differences are most of the time more pronounced on the issue of European integration than on CP. Secondly, sub-national parties can have distinct positions on European integration and CP. Thirdly, there is not only variation between parties but also within parties, i.e. sub-national party branches might differ in their views on European integration and EU Cohesion policy which adds to previous findings in the literature on sub-national parties' leeway in deviating to a specific degree from national parties' positions (Debus *et al.* 2011; Müller 2009, 2013, Stefuriuc 2009a, 2009b). Fourthly, national parties talk much more about European issues than parties on the regional level, especially if the level of EU funding is high.

In the next section, we describe the methodology used to assess parties' orientations on European integration and EU Cohesion policy (section 2.1) as well as their emphasis of European topics in their

---

<sup>1</sup> In this paper, the terms 'regional policy' and 'cohesion policy' are used interchangeably as an abbreviation for EU cohesion, regional, and urban policies.

election manifestos (section 2.2). The empirical findings for each country and the respective regions covered in COHESIFY are presented in section three. Section four is devoted to the comparison of the empirical findings across cases by showing the relationships between party positions, issue emphasis and CP funding. The final section concludes.

## 2 Methodology

### 2.1 Party positioning

Party positions on policy issues, in general, as well as on European integration and EU Cohesion policy, in particular, most of the time are measured by either using expert surveys or content analyses of parties' election manifestos.<sup>2</sup> Several expert surveys on party positions on the issue of European integration have been conducted in the last decades (Ray, 1999; Rohrschneider & Whitefield, 2012). Additionally, expert judgements on national parties' policy stances towards European integration are part of broader projects on assessing party positions on a variety of policy issues (Bakker et al., 2015; Benoit & Laver, 2006; Laver & Hunt, 1992). With the exception of CHES (see Bakker et al., 2015), however, there is also on the national level a lack of data on party policy positions on EU Cohesion policy. This is, for instance, also the case for data sets on party positions based on the analysis of party documents. Both the Manifesto Research on Political Representation (MARPOR; see Budge et al., 2001; Klingemann et al., 2006; Merz et al., 2016) and the Euromanifesto Project (EMP; see Braun et al., 2015) manually code 'quasi-sentences' referring to European integration issues in parties' manifestos for national elections and European Parliament (EP) elections. EMP additionally provides data on Europarties' policy positions on European integration by analysing election manifestos of the transnational party federations of national parties in the EP (see, e.g. Klüver & Rodon, 2013; also see Gabel & Hix, 2002). Furthermore, EMP comprises data on national parties' and Europarties' stances towards EU Structural Funds: Coders have to decide if a 'quasi-sentence' belongs to the sub-category "Positive: Need to maintain or to extend EC/EU funds for structurally underdeveloped areas" or to the sub-category "Negative: Support for cutback or suspension of funds for structurally underdeveloped areas".

This variety of measurements on party orientations towards European integration led to a vibrant debate on the quality of the different measures (Marks et al., 2007; Netjes & Binnema, 2007; Ray, 2007; Whitefield et al., 2007). To put it in a nutshell, both expert surveys and manifesto data are valid measures of party positions on European integration (Marks et al., 2007; Ray, 2007). Government parties in particular take a positive stance for a further deepening of European integration while opposition parties, radical left parties, and parties leaning towards a more nationalist and authoritarian state are more Eurosceptic (Hooghe et al., 2004). Yet, researchers have to bear in mind that especially "[s]mall, extreme, parties appear more difficult to pin down than larger, centrist ones" (Marks et al., 2007, p. 24). Experts sometimes do not have enough information on small and extreme parties and thus differ in their judgements. To sum up, expert surveys and manifesto data are two sources with valuable information on party positions towards European integration and CP. These sources, however, have one severe weakness: party positions on European integration and CP are *only* available for national parties or Europarties. If and how *sub-national* parties have different policy orientations on these two issues is a question that has not been addressed yet.

The measurement of sub-national party policy positions gained momentum in the last years. Scholars focused on sub-national parties' left-right orientation in a unidimensional policy space or on parties'

---

<sup>2</sup> Using mass public opinion surveys as a third method for determining the issue positions of political parties will not be discussed here.

orientations towards economic and societal policy issues in a two-dimensional setting (see, e.g., Bäck et al., 2013; Benoit et al., 2009; Debus & Gross, 2016; Stefuriuc, 2013). For example, adapting the MARPOR coding scheme to the regional level in Spain and Great Britain, the Regional Manifestos Project (RMP; see Alonso et al., 2013, 2015) additionally allows scholars to empirically address research questions on how sub-national parties position themselves on territorial issues, among others. There is, however, no data set based on regional election manifestos dealing with party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy. Furthermore, to the best of our knowledge, expert surveys on sub-national party policy positions do not exist. Jolly (2007), for instance, evaluates how parties on the regional level perceive the EU using CHES data on party positions on European integration issues, but his study is limited to *regionalist* parties—like the Scottish National Party (SNP)—that are covered in the CHES survey (which asks experts to position parties competing on the *national* level on several policy dimensions). All in all, there is still a lack of data for policy positions of national parties' regional branches on European integration and CP. This is surprising, given the empirical evidence that party branches' policy positions both differ from branches of the same party and from the national party's positions (Debus et al., 2011; Müller, 2009, 2013; Stefuriuc, 2009a, 2009b).

Most of the countries that are part of COHESIFY are either studied on the national level (Cyprus, Hungary, Ireland, Romania, Slovenia) or parties are not drafting election manifestos for the regions under study (Greece, Poland). In these cases, we use data from CHES in 2006, 2010, and 2014 to present national parties' orientations towards European integration, in general, and EU Cohesion policy, in particular. CHES data is based on experts' evaluation of the overall orientation of the party leadership towards European integration in the years 1999, 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2014 on a seven-point scale ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7). Additionally, experts were asked to locate parties' orientations towards EU Cohesion policy based on an evaluation of the position of the party leadership in 1999, 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2014, again on the aforementioned seven-point scale. For a better comparison between *countries* under study in COHESIFY, we additionally present national parties' orientations towards European integration and CP in Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United Kingdom (UK), even though the main focus lies on COHESIFY's selected regions for in-depth case studies. Note that CHES only includes parties "that obtain at least 3 percent of the vote in the national election immediately prior to the survey year or that elect at least one representative to the national or European parliament" (Bakker et al., 2015, p. 144).

For the cases with regions under study, and where parties draft regional election manifestos, we are able to estimate these *regional* policy positions more precisely than by just presenting party positions on the *national* level. We are using sub-national parties' election manifestos as a valid source for deriving sub-national party positions on European integration and EU regional policy (Marks et al., 2007; Ray, 2007). We apply fully-computerised automated text analysis and here the 'Wordscores' method to derive sub-national party positions on European integration and European regional policy from election manifestos (for a detailed description see Bräuninger et al., 2013; Laver et al., 2003; Lowe, 2008). Following the suggestions by Hjorth *et al.* (2015), the usage of 'Wordscores' to estimate sub-national party positions on European integration and CP is appropriate for two reasons. First, *ex ante* position estimates of national party positions on both policy dimensions are available from CHES (Bakker et al., 2015) and thus can serve as 'reference scores' for the 'Wordscores' analyses, while parties' national election manifestos are used as 'reference texts'. Parties' regional manifestos in Germany, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands and the UK are so-called 'virgin texts', i.e. programmatic documents with *a priori* unknown policy positions. Secondly, the availability of expert judgements on *both* dimensions allows researchers to assess whether sub-national parties differ in their policy views between European integration and CP.

Sub-national parties' policy positions are unknown. To estimate these unknown policy positions, we need documents with known policy positions and, thus, 'Wordscores' requires the identification of



'reference texts' and 'reference scores' (for a detailed description see Bräuninger et al., 2013; Laver et al., 2003; Lowe, 2008). 'Reference texts' are documents—in this case: national election manifestos—where parties' positions on specific policy dimensions are known, for instance, by using expert judgements as 'reference scores'. Briefly speaking, the word distribution of the 'reference text' is compared to the relative frequency of words of the 'virgin text' (Bräuninger et al., 2013, p. 10). If words in a 'virgin text' are used with the exact same relative frequency of words as in the 'reference text' with a 'reference score' of 5 (for instance, on a 0-10 left-right scale), then 'Wordscores' assigns a value of 5 to the 'virgin text'. This is based on the assumption that political actors do not use words randomly, but rather in a deliberate way to send "ideological signals" (Pappi & Shikano, 2004) to voters.

One crucial aspect for the application of 'Wordscores' is that the selected 'reference texts' are of the same character and of the same language as the 'virgin texts'.<sup>3</sup> The common way to estimate policy positions of sub-national parties' election manifestos is to use parties' national election manifestos as 'reference texts' and assigning to them 'reference scores' based on expert judgements (see, e.g., Bäck et al., 2013; Bräuninger et al., 2013; Müller, 2009, 2013). Since 'Wordscores' is a policy-blind approach, i.e. the content of a document is not changed (Laver et al., 2003), the estimations of parties' positions on specific policy dimensions are driven by the assignment of the 'reference scores'. This means, for instance, that scholars interested in estimating parties' positions on economic issues have to assign different 'reference scores' than scholars interested in estimating parties' positions on immigration. Fortunately, however, the majority of expert surveys asks experts to locate parties on several policy dimensions, which means that scholars most of the time have the possibility to assign appropriate 'reference scores'. Several studies show that national parties' left-right positions estimated with 'Wordscores' positively correlate with left-right estimations based on MARPOR data and expert survey data, although with some variation between countries (Bräuninger et al., 2013; Klemmensen et al., 2007; Laver et al., 2003). Furthermore, sub-national party positions estimated with 'Wordscores' by and large resemble the pattern of party competition on the national level (Bäck et al., 2013; Bräuninger et al., 2013; Bräuninger & Debus, 2012; Debus & Gross, 2016; Gross, 2014, 2016; Müller, 2009, 2013).

To comprise the time period of COHESIFY as broad as possible (both funding periods in 2007-13 and 2014-20), CHES data in 2006, 2010 and 2014, respectively, is used as 'reference scores' and assigned to the respective election manifestos of the parties for the national elections closest to the CHES surveys.<sup>4</sup> In the case of Germany, we refer to the 2005, 2009, and 2013 federal election manifestos, using CHES data in 2006, 2010, and 2014.<sup>5</sup> The Spanish data uses parties' national election manifestos in 2004 and 2011 as 'reference texts' and assigns CHES data in 2006 and 2010 as 'reference scores'.<sup>6</sup> In the case of the Netherlands, the 'reference texts' are the general election manifestos in 2006, 2010, and 2012, correspondingly assigning 'reference scores' from CHES data in 2006, 2010, and 2014. For Scotland and Wales, we refer to the programmatic documents written before the general elections in 2007, 2011, and 2015 in the UK, using CHES data in 2006, 2010, and 2014.<sup>7</sup> For

---

<sup>3</sup> This is the only language-related issue scholars have to be aware of. Apart from that, 'Wordscores' is a language-blind procedure.

<sup>4</sup> If regional parties ran with a joint platform for election, we coded the manifesto as belonging to the larger party. If parties drafted more than one election manifesto, we coded the more comprehensive one.

<sup>5</sup> The Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) and the Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU) adopt a joint election manifesto for federal elections but run in different geographical regions—the CSU in Bavaria, the CDU in the rest of Germany. Hence, the 'reference texts' are joint election manifestos while the CHES data provide expert judgements on both the CDU and the CSU. Therefore, the average values of the CDU's and CSU's positions are used as 'reference scores'.

<sup>6</sup> The national election manifestos of 2008 are not used because it is not possible to either assign the expert judgements of 2006 (already assigned to 'reference texts' in 2004) or the ones of 2010 (already assigned to 'reference texts' in 2011) to these manifestos. For Partido Andalucista we combined its "bases conceptuales" and its "medidas concretas" to one manifesto in 2012.

<sup>7</sup> Only the Scottish National Party (SNP) and Plaid Cymru are covered in the CHES data because they also compete in UK general elections. In order to cover both policy dimensions of European integration and EU Cohesion policy, national



Italy, programmatic documents written before the general elections in 2008 and 2013 are combined with CHES data in 2010 and 2014.<sup>8</sup> In all cases, only parties and election manifestos both covered in the *Political Documents Archive* (Benoit et al., 2009; www.polidoc.net) and the CHES trend file, 1999-2014 (Bakker et al., 2015) have been used for the selection of 'reference texts' and the assignment of 'reference scores'. We aimed at including as many national parties and manifestos as possible in order to get a wide range of 'reference texts' and 'reference scores' and a high percentage of scored words (cf. Bräuninger et al., 2013). To sum up, this leaves us with the degree of support of regional parties for European integration, in general, and EU Cohesion policy, in particular. The higher the scores a party receives on the respective dimensions, the more in favour the party is on European integration and CP.

## 2.2 Issue emphasis

Regarding national and sub-national parties' emphasis of European issues and EU Cohesion policy, we focus on the percentage of a party's manifesto devoted to these issues. Manifestos have been manually coded by, first, extracting every paragraph in which EU-related issues are mentioned, and, secondly, assigning these paragraphs to seven EU-related categories:

1. EU/Europe in general;
2. EU funding in general
3. European Regional and Development Fund (ERDF)
4. European Social Fund (ESF)
5. Cohesion Fund (CF)
6. Agricultural funds (combined category)<sup>9</sup>
7. Fisheries funds (combined category)<sup>10</sup>

The two combined categories comprise EU funds that are only partly part of CP. Yet, pre-tests on German and Dutch election manifestos showed, for instance, that national and sub-national parties do not distinguish in their election manifestos between CP funds and the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Furthermore, parties sometimes mention their intention to finance specific measures by using money of more than one EU fund. In order to not miss such valuable information, a broader category had to be included.

In the following section, we first present the percentage of a party's manifesto devoted to European issues and CP (*EUPER*), i.e. we compare the number of words related to EU-relevant paragraphs with the total number of words of the manifesto. Subsequently, we take a closer look at parties' emphasis of European issues by distinguishing between the percentage of words a party devotes to EU/Europe in general (*EUGEN*) and to EU and CP funding in particular (*SUMFUND*), i.e. we compare the word share of category 1 with the cumulated word share of categories 2-6. Note that we do *not* make any statements about whether or not a party speaks positively, negatively, or neutral about European issues—we answer the question *if* national and sub-national parties talk about European issues and if they do so, how much space they devote in their election manifestos to these issues. In other words,

---

election manifestos of the Conservative Party, Labour Party, Liberal Democratic Party, Green Party, and United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) for the general elections in 2005, 2010 and 2015 are additionally used as 'reference texts'.

<sup>8</sup> If national parties ran on a joint list for a general election, we used the average score of all parties that are both part of the list and included in CHES. Additionally, in the case of PdL's regional election manifesto in Lombardy we used the 'reference score' of Forza Italia (FI) in CHES 2014.

<sup>9</sup> This category comprises the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD), the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) and the European Agricultural Guarantee Fund (EAGF).

<sup>10</sup> This category includes the Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance (FIFG), the European Fisheries Fund (EFF) and the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF).

we are interested in answering the question “how salient is Europe for national and sub-national parties” (cf. Spoon, 2012)?

### 3 Political parties’ orientations towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy

In the following, we present *national* political parties’ orientations towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy in 2006, 2010 and 2014 (years of CHES data) for all countries. Note that some countries have not been part of every survey, thus we are limited to the presentation of the data at hand. *Regional* party positions are additionally presented for the years, regional elections were held. Subsequently, we graphically show how much emphasis parties put on European issues and specific EU funds in their national or regional election manifestos, respectively. If a party’s election manifesto was not coded, this has happened for two reasons: a party did not run for the election under study or the manifesto has not been available.

#### Cyprus

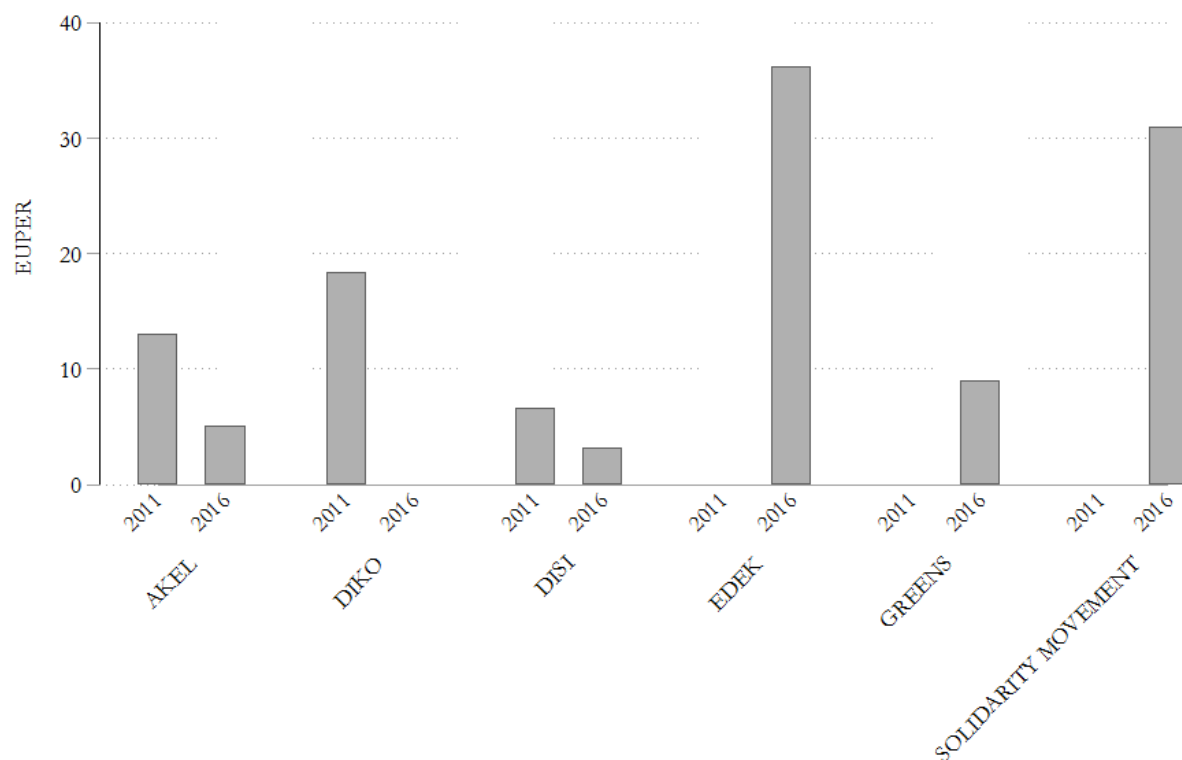
In 2014, parties in Cyprus are overwhelmingly evaluated as being in favour of European integration and CP (see Table 1). Whereas there is almost no difference in parties’ orientations towards CP, party positions on European integration considerably differ. The Democratic Rally (DISY) is seen as the most pro-European integration party in Cyprus, whereas the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) has the most negative stance towards European integration but still is slightly in favour of it. This is surprising since AKEL is considered as a Eurosceptic party, being part of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL) European parliamentary group (see, e.g., Hobolt, 2015).

Table 1: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Cyprus

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
DISI	2014	6.75	6.25
Evroko	2014	6.00	6.25
AKEL	2014	4.50	6.00
DIKO	2014	5.50	6.25
EDEK	2014	5.75	6.25
KOP	2014	5.50	6.25

Note: Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from ‘strongly opposed’ (1) to ‘strongly in favour’ (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

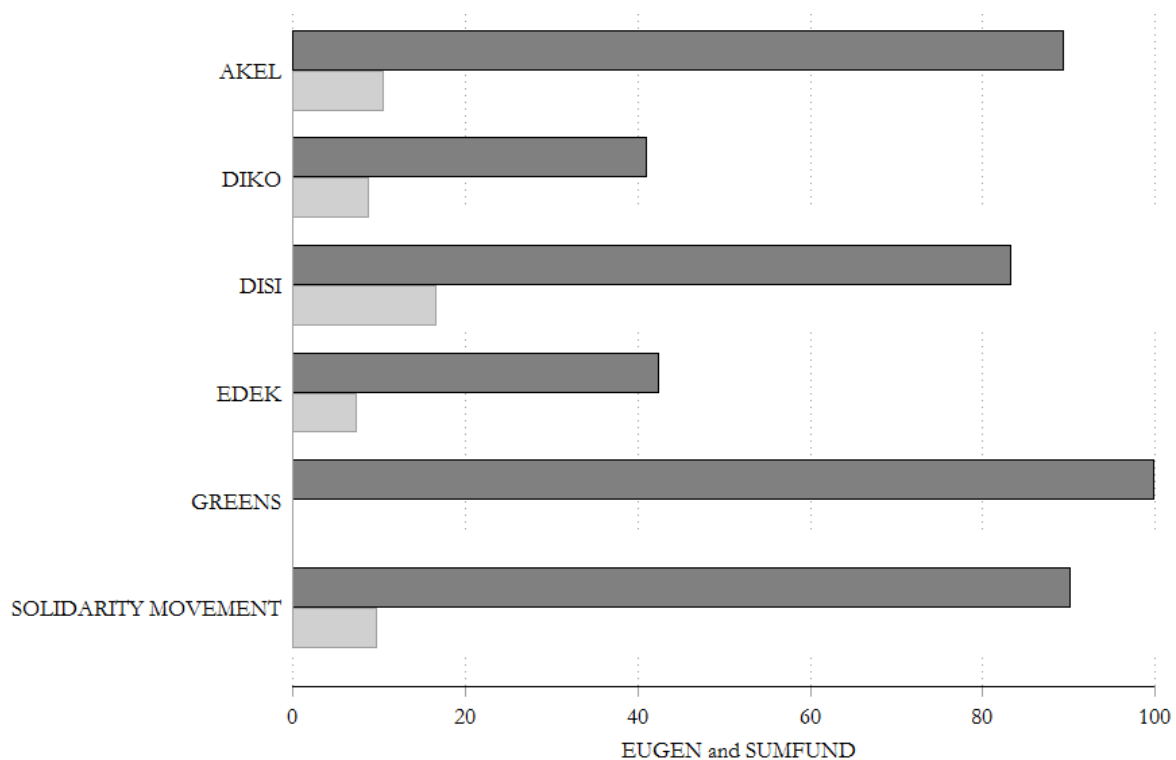
Figure 1: EUPER by parties by election year in Cyprus



*Note:* Bars show the percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party either did not mention any European issues in its election manifesto (DIKO in 2016; EDEK in 2011) or that a party's election manifesto could not be coded (GREENS and SOLIDARTY MOVEMENT in 2011).

The national election manifestos in 2011 did not comprise a large amount of European issues compared to the manifestos drafted by EDEK and SOLIDARTY MOVEMENT for the elections in 2016 (see Figure 1). These two parties clearly focused on European issues in their election campaigns, whereas AKEL, DIKO and DISI decreased their emphasis on European issues in the 2016 elections. If parties in Cyprus mention European issues in their election manifestos, they predominantly focus on EU and European topics in general. EU funding only plays a minor role (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Cyprus



*Note:* Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' national manifestos.

### 3.2 Germany

In Germany, most of the parties are generally in favour of European integration and—in some cases to a lesser extent—EU Cohesion policy (see Table 2). The two rather Eurosceptic parties—The Left Party and the 'Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)—differ considerably in their policy stances towards CP. The Socialists are in favour of CP because CP entails a redistributive element (Bache, 2008, p. 39), whereas the AfD strongly opposes EU regional policy.

Table 2: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Germany

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
CDU	2006	6.63	5.67
	2010	6.00	4.75
	2014	6.38	5.44
SPD	2006	6.00	5.80
	2010	5.88	5.27
	2014	6.38	5.67
FDP	2006	6.27	4.67
	2010	6.00	4.00
	2014	5.69	4.56
Greens	2006	5.82	5.78
	2010	6.00	5.40
	2014	6.23	5.44
PDS/The Left	2006	3.27	5.25
	2010	3.29	4.50
	2014	3.00	4.38
CSU	2006	5.36	5.50
	2010	4.94	4.25
	2014	4.84	5.22
NPD	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	1.67	1.80
AfD	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	1.62	2.44
Pirate Party	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	4.71	4.50
Animal Party	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	4.00	5.00

Note: Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

#### *a. Baden-Wuerttemberg*

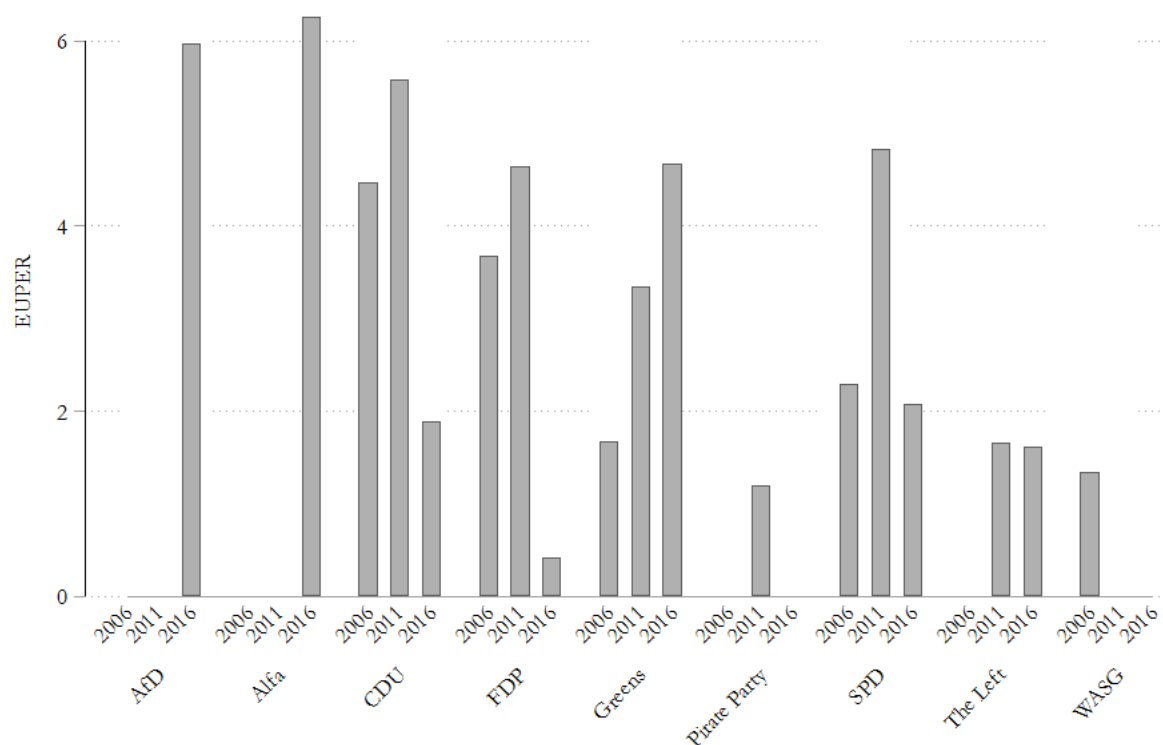
The patterns of sub-national parties' policy positions on European integration and CP in Baden-Wuerttemberg closely resemble national parties' policy positions. Particularly CDU, FDP, Greens, and SPD are strongly in favour of European integration, whereas The Left, AfD and Alfa oppose it (see Table 3). As it is the case on the national level, the Liberals (FDP) are more sceptical about EU Cohesion policy than about European integration.

Table 3: Regional party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Baden-Wuerttemberg

Party	Election year	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
CDU	2011	6.53	5.48
	2016	5.96	5.18
SPD	2011	5.07	5.29
	2016	6.39	5.89
FDP	2011	6.30	4.87
	2016	6.03	4.83
Greens	2011	5.68	5.40
	2016	6.42	5.87
PDS/The Left	2011	2.45	4.09
	2016	2.46	4.11
AfD	2011	—	—
	2016	3.21	2.92
Pirate Party	2011	4.43	4.19
	2016	—	—
Alfa	2001	—	—
	2016	2.43	2.30

Note: Party policy positions are based on 'Wordscores' estimations of regional parties' election manifestos. Low scores indicate opposed positions towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy, respectively, while high scores indicate positions in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy.

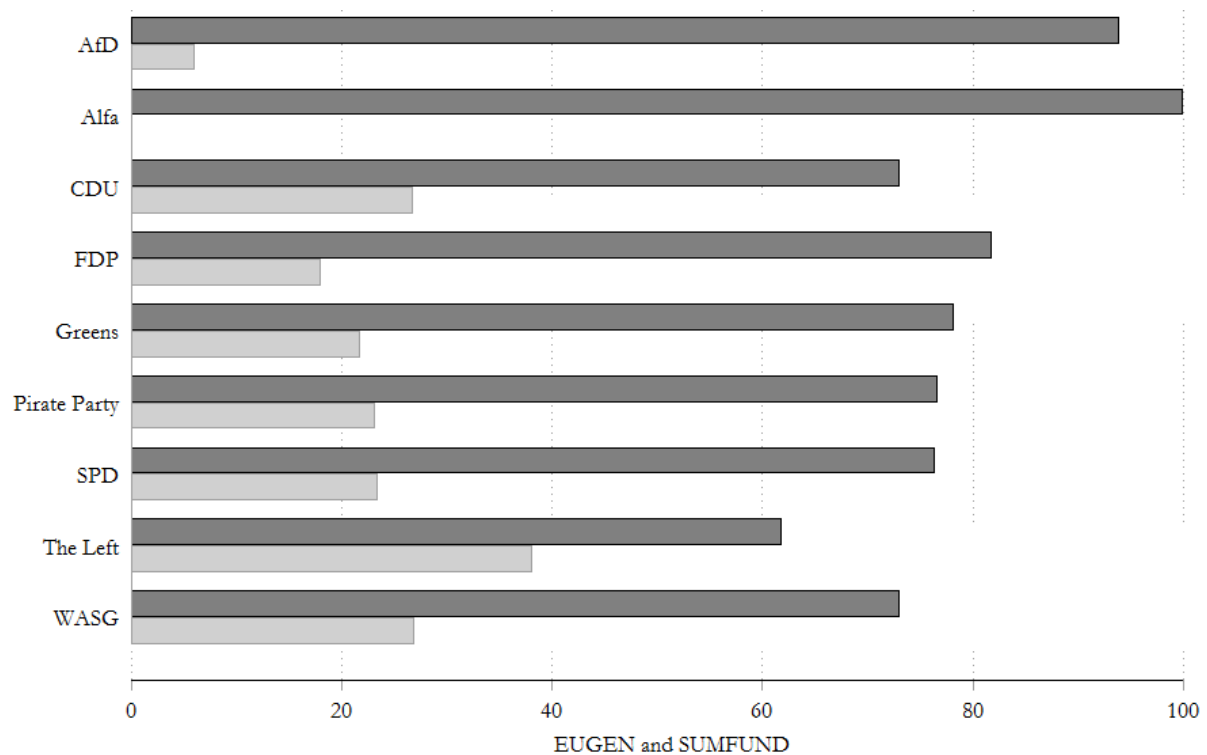
Figure 3: EUPER by parties by election year in Baden-Wuerttemberg



Note: Bars show the percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party did not run for election in the respective year.

The data on percentages of the regional manifestos devoted to European issues by parties in Baden-Wuerttemberg shows that European issues only play a marginal role in the election campaigns under study (see Figure 3). Parties only devote 0.4 (FDP in 2016) to 6.2 percent (Alfa in 2016) of their manifestos to European issues, and if they talk about European issues, they most of the time talk about Europe and the EU in general (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Baden-Wuerttemberg



Note: Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' regional manifestos.

#### *b. Thuringia*

Regional parties' positions on European integration and CP in Thuringia are almost identical to the ones in Baden-Wuerttemberg with one notable exception: The Left is far more pro-European than its counterpart in Baden-Wuerttemberg. This might be due to the fact that the Socialists in Thuringia adopted more moderate positions on European integration because they had good prospects to either be part of the regional government or to win the prime ministership (which they actually did in 2014).

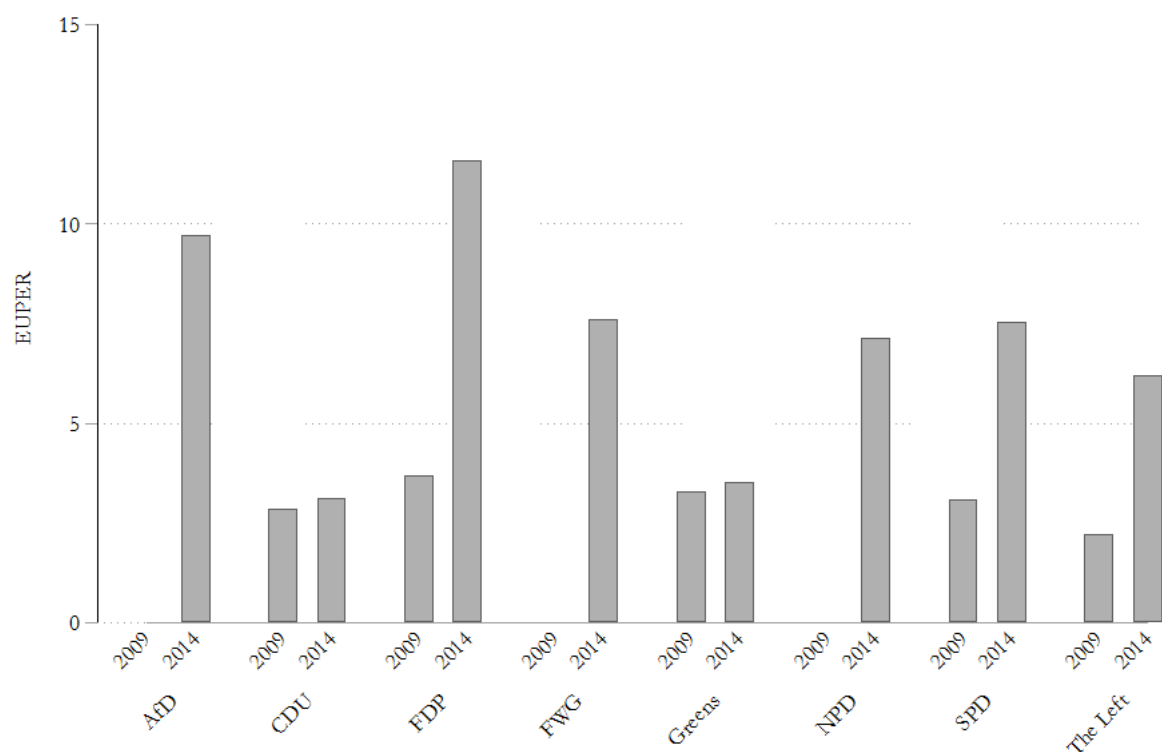


Table 4: Regional party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Thuringia

Party	Election year	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
CDU	2009	6.73	5.69
	2014	6.73	5.92
SPD	2009	6.06	5.87
	2014	6.22	5.81
FDP	2009	5.52	4.24
	2014	6.18	4.62
Greens	2009	6.00	6.01
	2014	6.18	5.91
PDS/The Left	2009	4.00	4.96
	2014	4.18	4.99
AfD	2009	—	—
	2014	3.65	2.84
FWG	2009	—	—
	2014	4.44	4.04
NPD	2009	—	—
	2014	0.71	1.05

Note: Party policy positions are based on 'Wordscores' estimations of regional parties' election manifestos. Low scores indicate opposed positions towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy, respectively, while high scores indicate positions in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy.

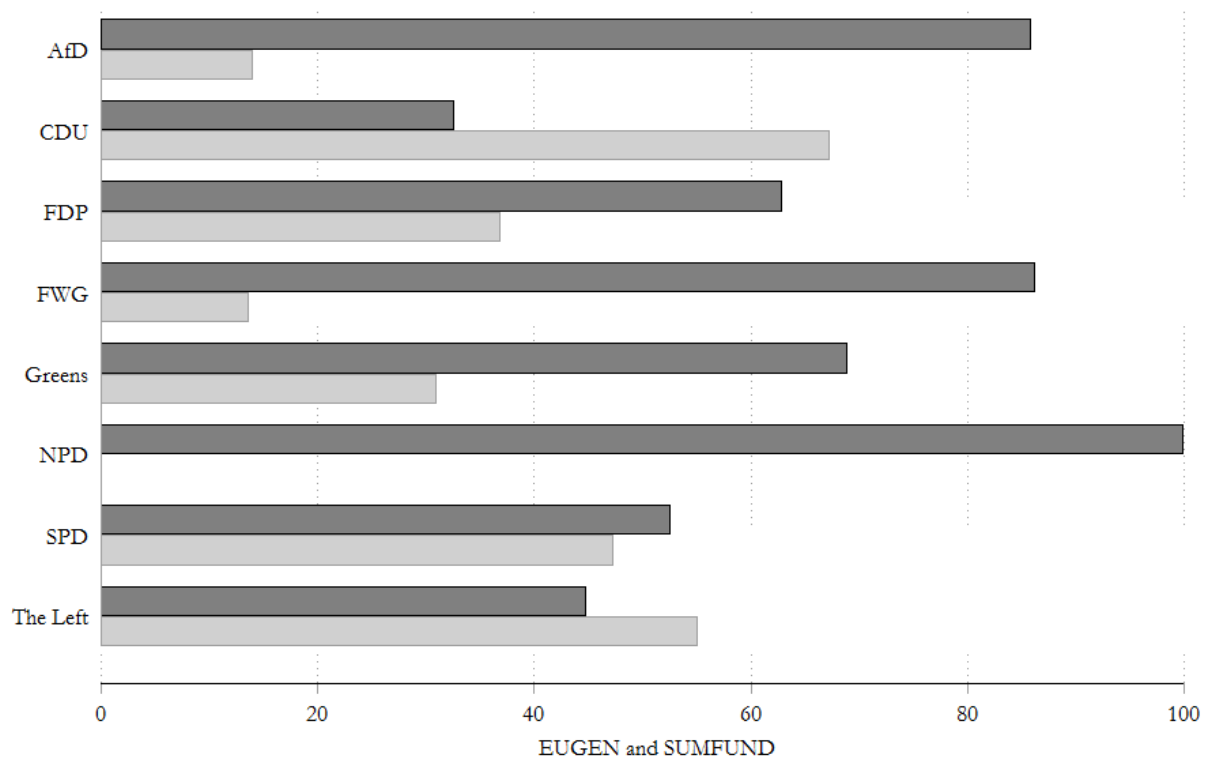
Figure 5: EUPER by parties by election year in Thuringia



Note: Bars show the percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party did not run for election in the respective year.

The data on percentages of the regional manifestos devoted to European issues by parties in Thuringia clearly shows that all parties running in 2009 and 2014 talked more about European issues in 2014 than in 2009 (see Figure 5). Yet, if this might be the case because Thuringia had to deal with reductions in EU funding in the programming period 2014-20, compared to the previous funding period, is questionable because even though parties in Thuringia focus on EU funding to a great degree (compared to parties in Baden-Wuerttemberg; see Figure 6), they mostly did so in their manifestos for the elections in 2009.

Figure 6: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Thuringia



*Note:* Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' regional manifestos.

### 3.3 Greece

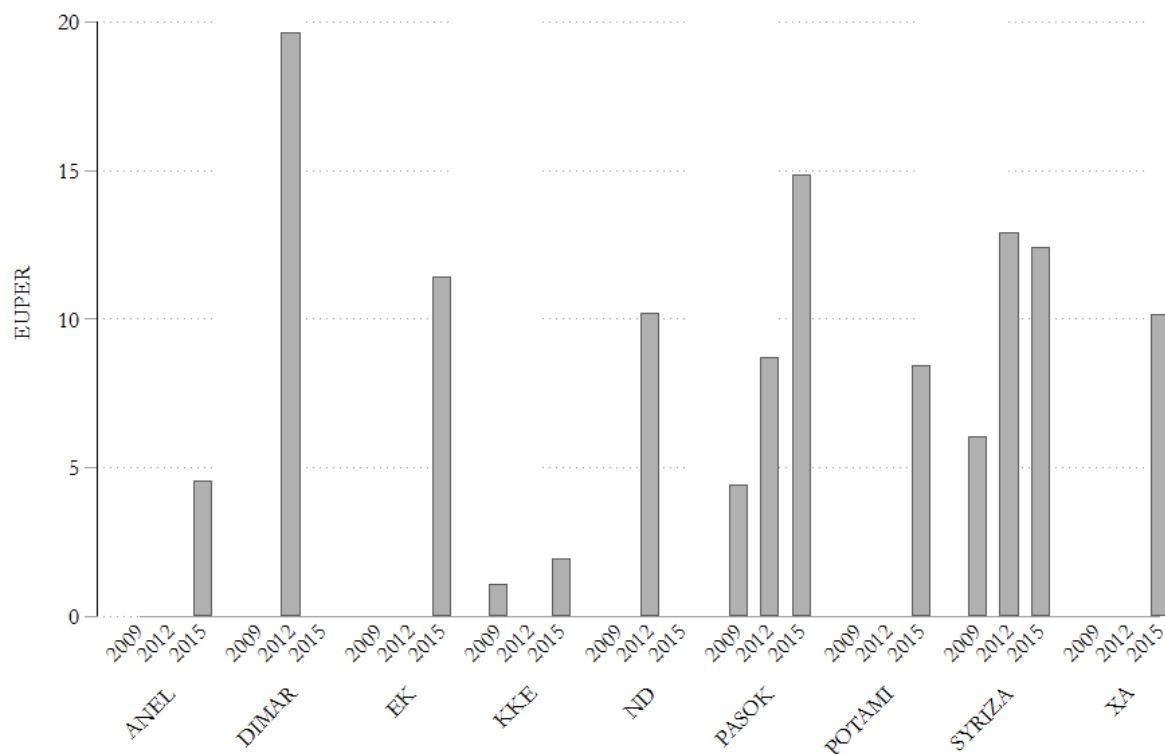
Table 5 shows that party competition in Greece regarding European integration is clearly divided between parties strongly in favour of the EU (PASOK, ND, OP, Potami, and DIMAR) and parties heavily opposed to it (SYRIZA, KKE, DIKKI, LAO, ANEL, and XA). The differences are not that much pronounced regarding EU Cohesion policy, where most of the parties are in favour of EU's regional policy. This comes as no surprise since most of the Greek regions almost exclusively rely on EU regional transfer money in order to finance infrastructure projects (Huliaras & Petropoulos, 2016, p. 1345).

Table 5: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Greece

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
PASOK	2006	6.78	7.00
	2010	6.09	6.45
	2014	6.56	6.78
ND	2006	6.67	7.00
	2010	5.27	6.36
	2014	6.55	6.78
SYRIZA	2006	3.10	5.25
	2010	2.18	5.00
	2014	3.44	5.11
KKE	2006	1.00	3.63
	2010	1.00	3.00
	2014	1.11	2.33
DIKKI	2006	2.40	—
	2010	1.80	5.25
	2014	—	—
LAOS	2006	2.38	5.80
	2010	3.27	5.40
	2014	3.25	4.67
OP	2006	—	—
	2010	5.57	6.43
	2014	—	—
ANEL	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	2.22	3.50
POTAMI	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	6.00	6.56
DIMAR	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	5.78	6.67
XA	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	1.11	2.20

Note: Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

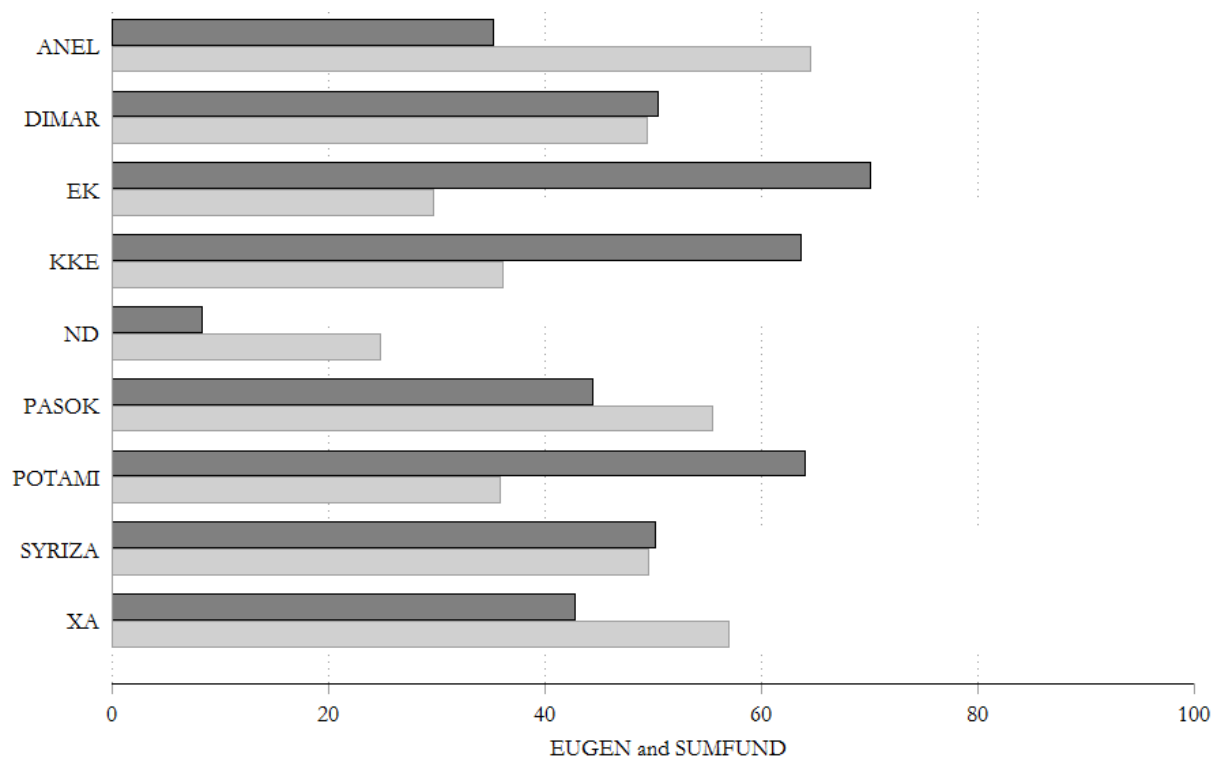
Figure 7: EUPER by parties by election year in Greece



*Note:* Bars show the percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party either did not mention any European issues in its election manifesto (ND in 2009 and 2015) or that a party's election manifesto could not be coded.

European issues play a considerable role in national parties' election manifestos in Greece, particularly in the elections in 2012 and 2015, i.e. following the beginning of the Euro crisis in October 2009 (see Figure 7). In 2012 and 2015, many parties devoted more than ten percent of their manifestos to European issues. Greek parties' focus on EU Cohesion policy is also apparent in Figure 8: compared to other countries under study, by talking about European issues Greek parties particularly highlight EU funding topics in their manifestos.

Figure 8:EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Greece



*Note:* Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' national manifestos.

### 3.4 Hungary

With the exception of JOBBIK, national parties in Hungary are strongly in favour of both European integration and EU Cohesion policy. Note, however, that Fidesz, governing with an absolute majority, changed its position on European integration radically in 2014. Fidesz is now heavily opposed to European integration issues but still in favour of CP (see Table 6).

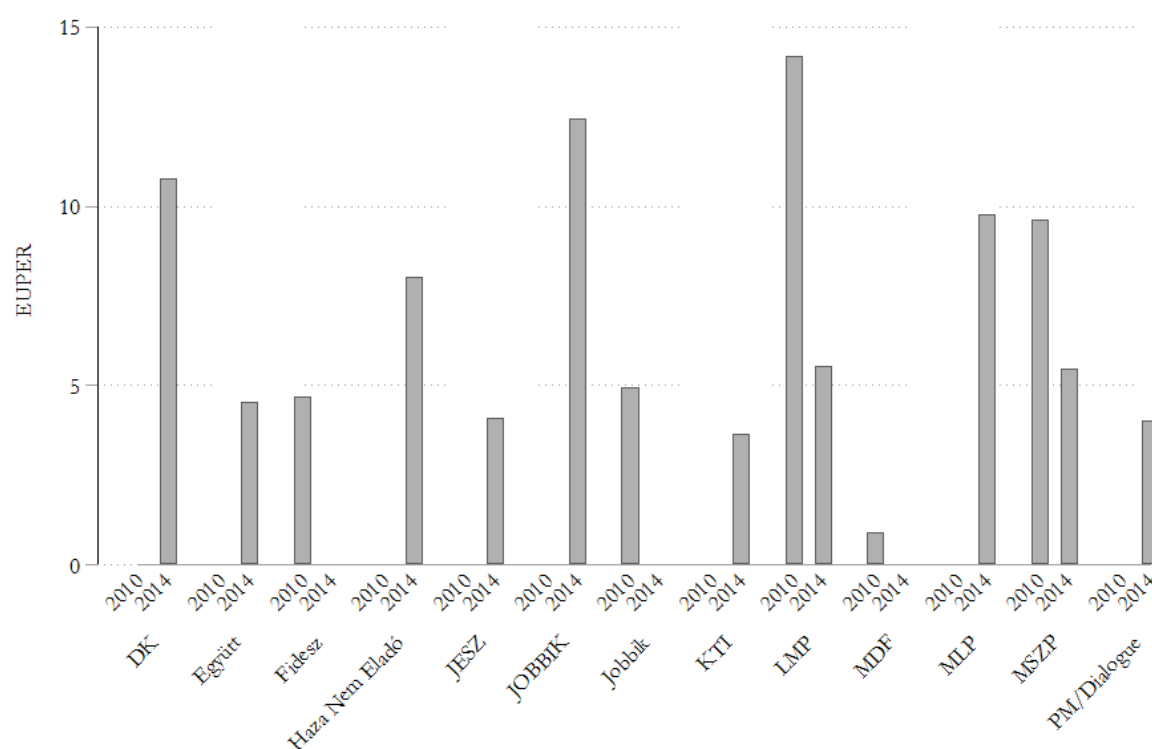
Table 6: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Hungary

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
MSZP	2006	6.83	6.40
	2010	6.65	6.47
	2014	6.07	6.50
Fidesz-M	2006	5.50	6.20
	2010	5.35	6.06
	2014	2.70	5.92
MDF	2006	6.60	6.40
	2010	5.93	6.00
	2014	—	—
SZDSZ	2006	7.00	6.40
	2010	6.60	6.25
	2014	—	—
KDNP	2006	4.50	6.20
	2010	4.88	5.47
	2014	—	—
JOBBIK	2006	—	—
	2010	2.35	4.31
	2014	1.21	4.50
LMP	2006	—	—
	2010	6.47	6.19
	2014	5.29	6.09
E14	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	6.64	6.42
DK	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	6.71	6.58

Note: Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

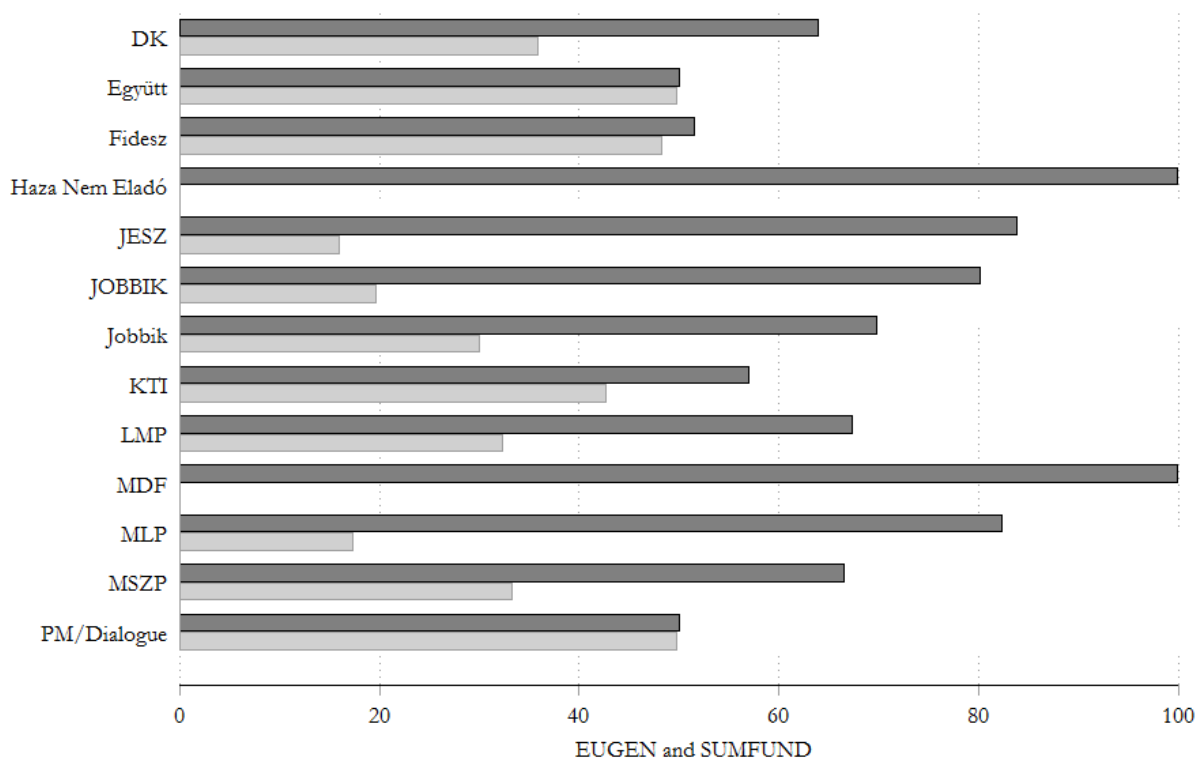
Unfortunately, only the 2010 Fidesz election manifesto was available for coding European issues. Hence, there is no possibility to draw any conclusion regarding if Fidesz' radical shift on its policy stances towards European integration in 2014 might be mirrored in an increasing or decreasing issue emphasis of European issues in the 2014 election manifesto. Yet, it seems that European issues featured more prominently in the 2010 elections than in the following election (see Figure 9). CP does play a role for parties' election campaigns but most of the Hungarian parties talk more about Europe and the EU in general than about EU funding (see Figure 10).

Figure 9: EUPER by parties by election year in Hungary



Note: Bars show the percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party's election manifesto could not be coded.

Figure 10: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Hungary



Note: Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' national manifestos.



### 3.5 Ireland

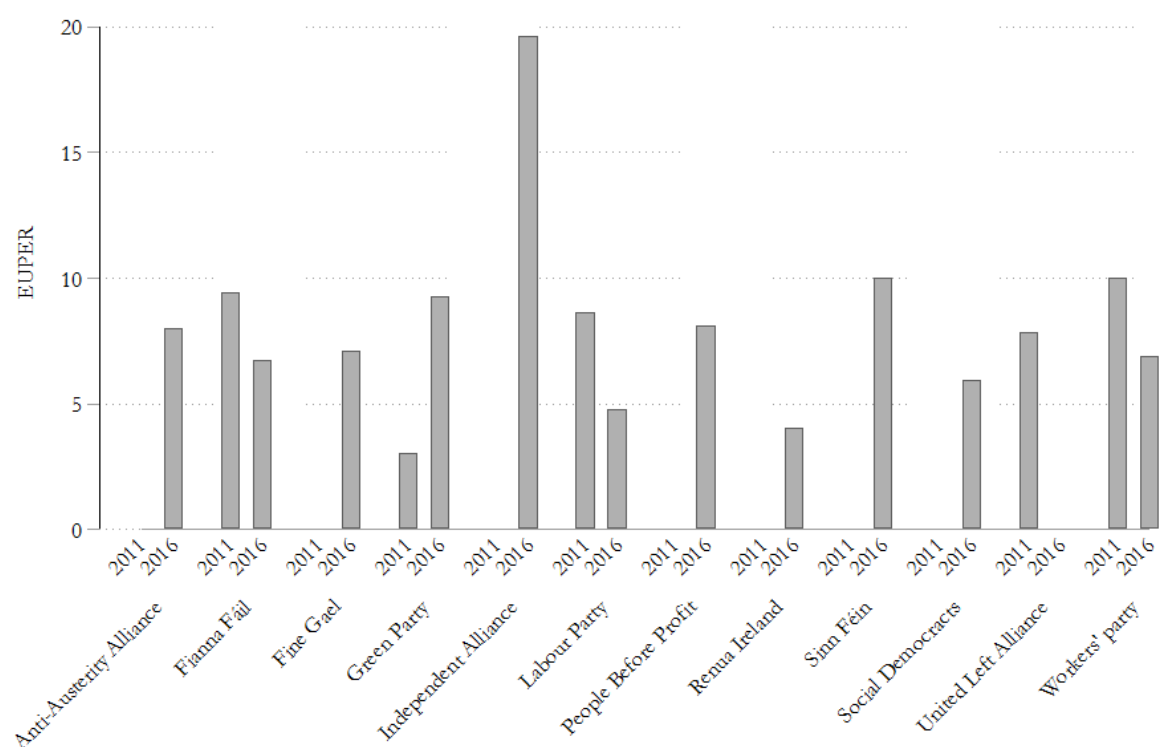
In Ireland, all parties are in favour of EU Cohesion policy (see Table 7). However, there is a clear distinction between the three pro-European parties FF, FG and the Labour Party, and the other, more Eurosceptical parties. The Green Party is somewhere in between these two positions. Yet, this is not reflected in parties' emphasis on European issues (see Figure 11): there is no evidence in the data that pro-European parties emphasise European issues more than Eurosceptic parties, or vice versa. With the exception of the Independent Alliance, all parties predominantly emphasise EU topics in general and not specific issues related to EU Cohesion policy (see Figure 12).

Table 7: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Ireland

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
FF	2006	6.10	6.40
	2010	6.38	6.29
	2014	5.56	6.50
FG	2006	6.50	6.40
	2010	6.50	6.43
	2014	6.44	6.50
Lab	2006	5.60	6.40
	2010	5.88	6.43
	2014	5.89	6.50
GP	2006	3.10	5.90
	2010	5.00	5.71
	2014	4.38	5.00
PD	2006	5.70	6.40
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
SF	2006	2.70	5.90
	2010	2.63	5.71
	2014	2.78	5.63
SP	2006	—	—
	2010	2.43	5.00
	2014	2.22	5.00
PBPA	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	2.25	5.00

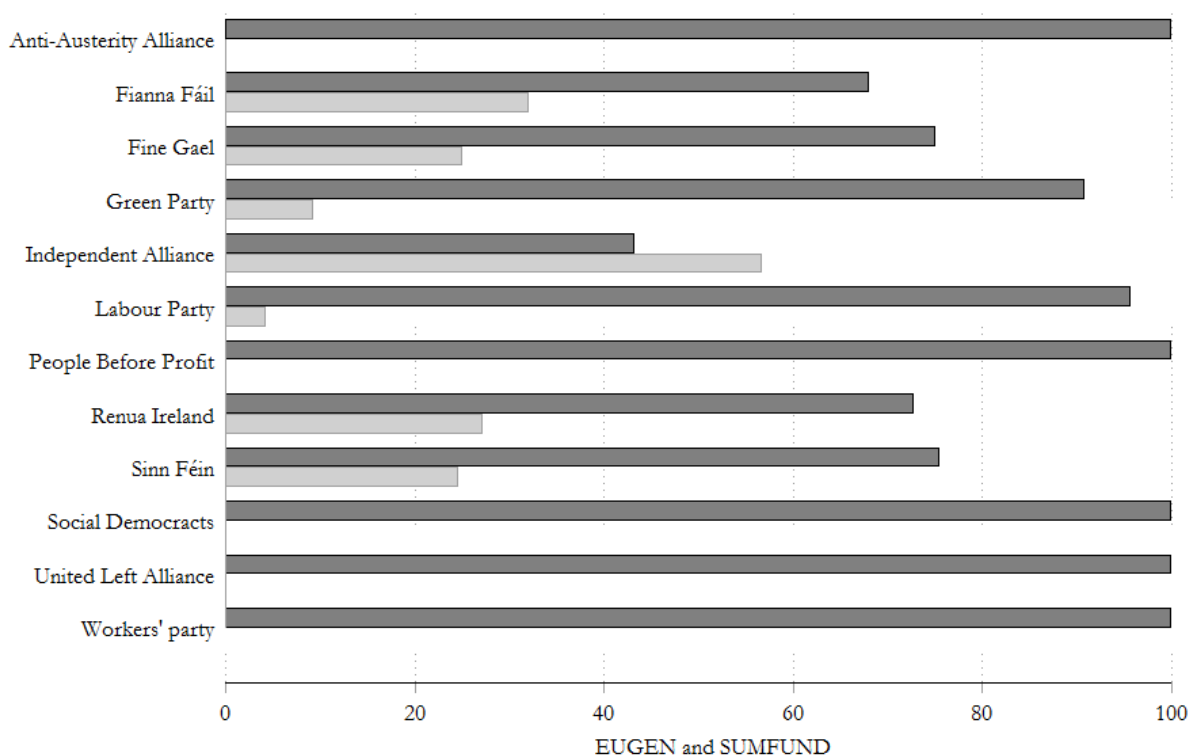
*Note:* Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

Figure 11: EUPER by parties by election year in Ireland



Note: Bars show the percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party's election manifesto could not be coded.

Figure 12: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Ireland



Note: Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' national manifestos.

### 3.6 Italy

Almost all parties in Italy are in favour of EU Cohesion policy (see Table 8). Only M5S is rather sceptical. Regarding European integration, however, UDC, PD, SC, CD, VdA and NCD are strongly in favour of, whereas RC, LN, SL/SEL, FI and M5S oppose European integration. To put it in a nutshell, the current party system is clearly divided on the issue of European integration.

Table 8: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Italy

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
DS	2006	6.88	6.20
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
RC	2006	3.00	5.60
	2010	3.25	5.71
	2014	2.00	6.00
AN	2006	4.75	5.80
	2010	5.75	6.60
	2014	—	—
SDI	2006	6.43	5.80
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
VERDI	2006	5.88	6.00
	2010	5.86	6.40
	2014	—	—
LN	2006	1.50	3.40
	2010	2.67	4.33
	2014	1.14	4.40
RAD	2006	6.50	6.00
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
UDC	2006	6.25	6.00
	2010	6.33	6.14
	2014	6.14	6.33
FI	2006	4.13	5.40
	2010	—	—
	2014	3.43	6.00
DL	2006	7.00	6.20
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
SVP	2006	6.33	5.00
	2010	6.40	6.50
	2014	5.67	6.33
IdV	2006	5.57	6.00
	2010	6.14	5.83
	2014	—	—
UDEUR	2006	6.29	5.80
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
PP	2006	4.60	5.25
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
MRE	2006	7.00	6.25
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
NPSI	2006	5.33	5.60
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
PdCI	2006	2.75	5.80

PDL	2010	3.75	6.33
	2014	—	—
	2006	—	—
PD	2010	4.67	6.15
	2014	—	—
	2006	—	—
SL/SEL	2010	6.56	6.14
	2014	6.57	6.71
	2006	—	—
PSI	2010	4.50	6.25
	2014	3.14	5.50
	2006	—	—
MpA	2010	5.75	6.67
	2014	—	—
	2006	—	—
SD	2010	4.67	6.75
	2014	—	—
	2006	—	—
CD	2010	5.75	6.50
	2014	—	—
	2006	—	—
FDL	2010	—	—
	2014	5.80	6.40
	2006	—	—
M5S	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
	2006	—	—
SC	2010	—	—
	2014	1.43	3.25
	2006	—	—
VdA	2010	—	—
	2014	6.86	6.80
	2006	—	—
NCD	2010	—	—
	2014	5.33	6.67
	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	5.71	6.40

Note: Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

#### *a. Lombardy*

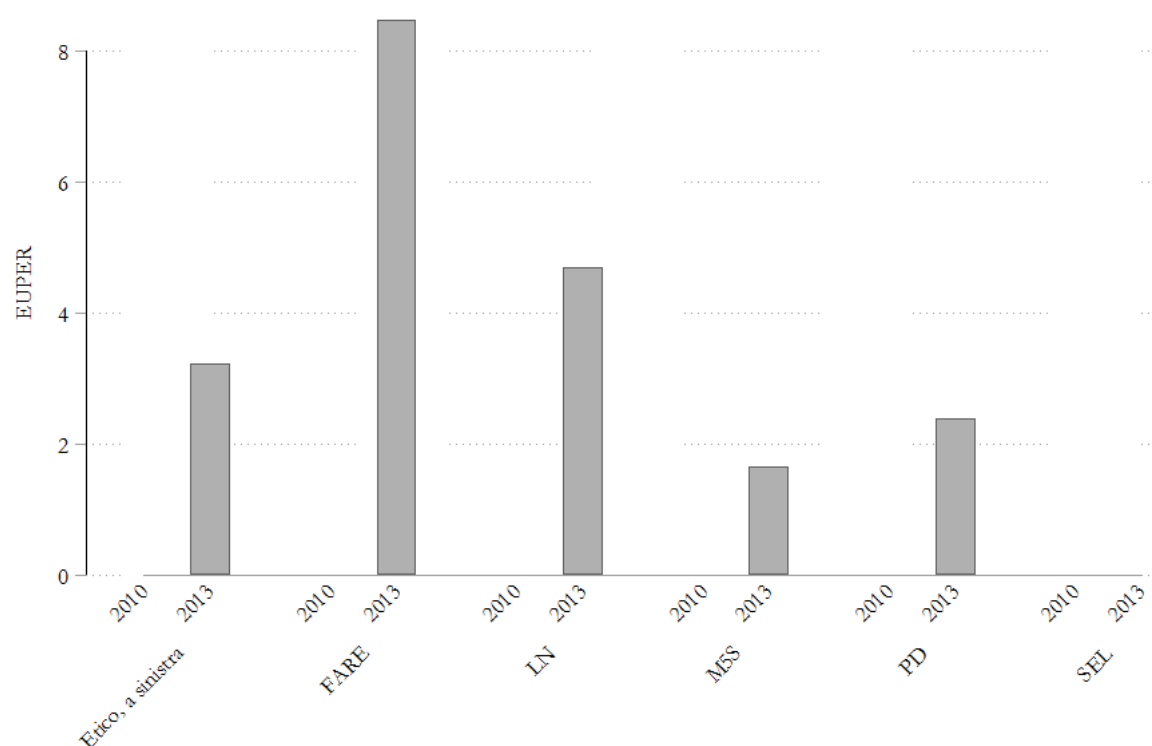
Unfortunately, for the 2010 elections in Lombardy only the election manifesto of M5S could be coded. Additionally, regional party positions in Lombardy estimated with 'Wordscores' have to be interpreted with caution since the estimated positions of M5S (in 2010) and LN (2013) are counterintuitive. In the case of M5S in 2010, the election manifesto has been very short (only 593 words). 'Wordscores' estimations, however, are more accurate if texts are longer, for instance longer than 1,000 words (Klemmensen et al., 2007, p. 750). Furthermore, M5S does not talk at all about European issues in its 2010 manifesto (see Figure 13). Yet, this line of reasoning does not apply to the Lega Nord manifesto in 2013 with a document length of 14,807 words. One reason for the pro-EU position estimated with 'Wordscores' might be that LN also does not talk much about European issues in its regional manifesto. This seems to be a common pattern of all regional parties running for elections in 2013. Note that particularly the two regional parties "Per un'altra Lombardia – Etico, a sinistra" and "FARE per Fermare il Declino" are talking more about CP than about Europe in general (see Figure 14).

Table 9: Regional party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Lombardy

Party	Election year	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
M5s	2010	6.18	6.12
	2013	1.42	3.86
Per un'altra Lombardia – Etico, a sinistra	2010	—	—
	2013	5.13	5.38
FARE per Fermare il Declino	2010	—	—
	2013	6.00	6.47
LN	2010	—	—
	2013	5.18	6.44
PD	2010	—	—
	2013	6.94	7.02
SEL	2010	—	—
	2013	6.38	6.43

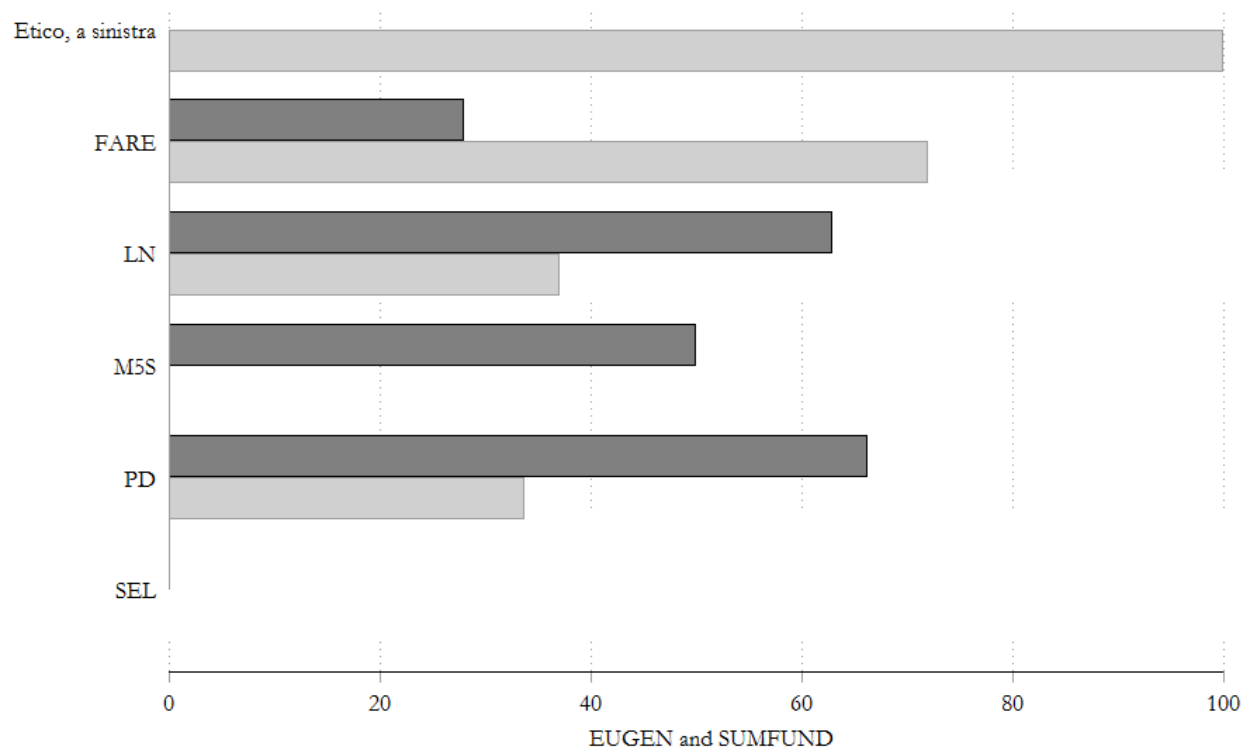
*Note:* Party policy positions are based on 'Wordscores' estimations of regional parties' election manifestos. Low scores indicate opposed positions towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy, respectively, while high scores indicate positions in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy.

Figure 13: EUPER by parties by election year in Lombardy



*Note:* Bars show the percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party's election manifesto could not be coded.

Figure 14: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Lombardy



*Note:* Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' regional manifestos.

### 3.7 Poland

CHES data nicely shows the shifts in Polish party competition regarding European integration. The 2014 survey results clearly distinguish between pro-EU and Eurosceptic parties (see Table 10). With the exception of the KNP, however, *all* parties are strongly in favour of EU Cohesion policy which may be attributed to the fact that Poland is a net beneficiary of EU regional policy. Polish parties devote a large amount of their manifestos to European issues (see Figure 15). This is particularly the case for three of the largest parties: PO, PSL and PiS. Yet, for all of the parties the main focus of European issues rather lies on EU and European topics in general and less on EU Cohesion policy (see Figure 16). Compared to other countries and regions, however, Polish parties considerably talk about European issues and CP in their national election manifestos.

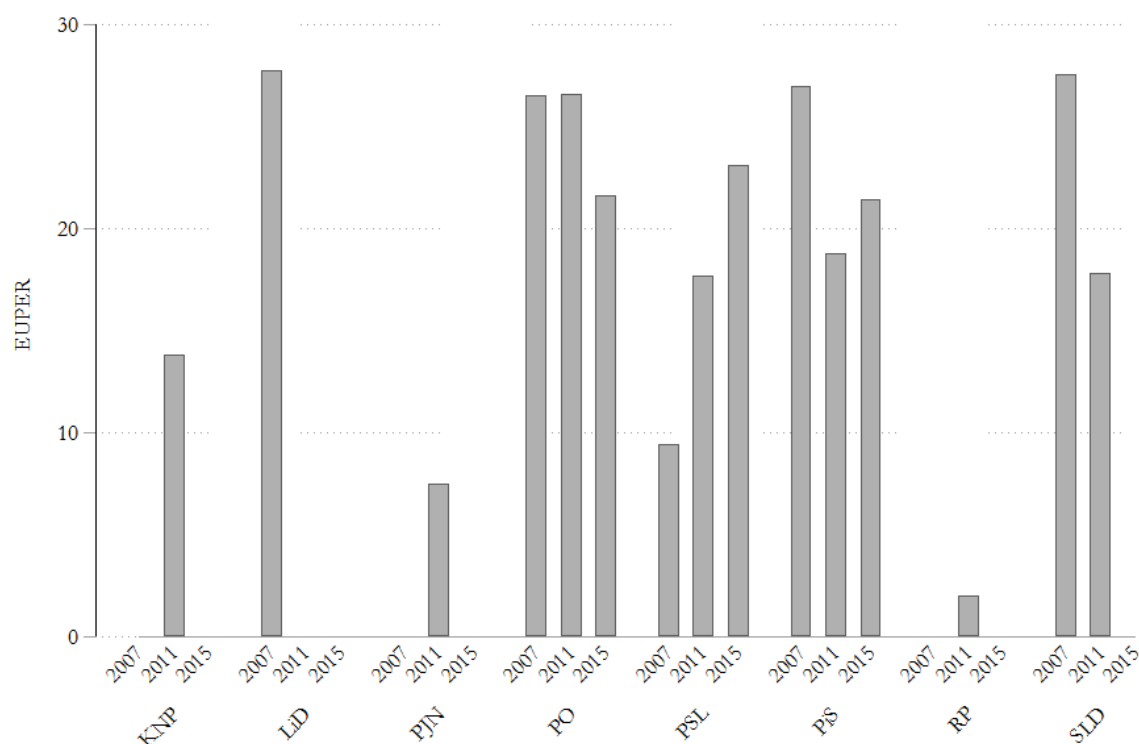
Table 10: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Poland

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
SLD	2006	6.00	6.17
	2010	6.60	6.54
	2014	6.59	6.69
PO	2006	6.63	6.67
	2010	6.60	6.54
	2014	6.53	6.88
SRP	2006	2.29	4.33
	2010	3.27	5.43
	2014	—	—
PiS	2006	3.50	5.00
	2010	2.93	6.08
	2014	3.82	6.38
PSL	2006	4.75	5.67
	2010	5.13	6.15
	2014	5.47	6.69
LPR	2006	1.38	4.00
	2010	1.67	4.25
	2014	—	—
PD	2006	6.83	6.67
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
SDPL	2006	6.14	6.33
	2010	6.71	6.63
	2014	—	—
SD	2006	—	—
	2010	6.67	6.60
	2014	—	—
RP	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	6.71	6.87
KNP	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	1.06	2.29
PR	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	4.00	5.69
SP	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	3.00	5.54

Note: Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

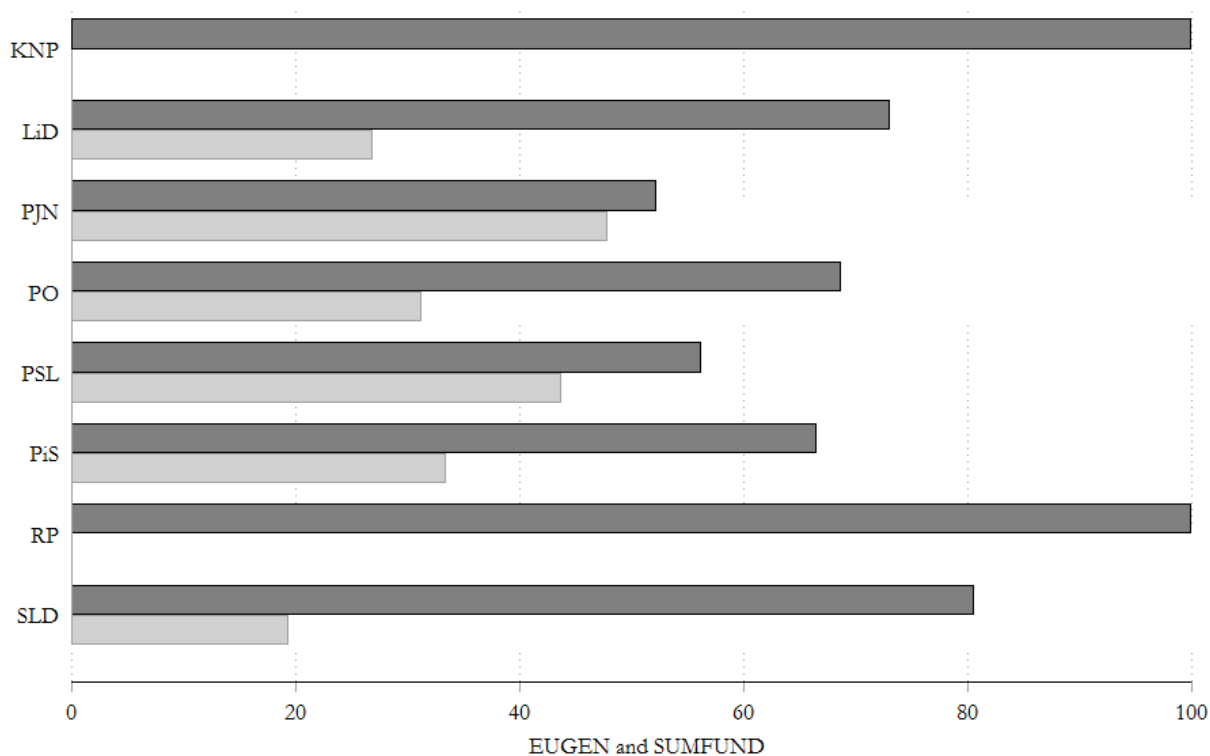


Figure 15: EUPER by parties by election year in Poland



Note: Bars show the percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party's election manifesto could not be coded.

Figure 16: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Poland



Note: Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' national manifestos.

### 3.8 Romania

All Romanian parties are in favour of both European integration and EU Cohesion policy. Party policy shifts in both policy areas are rather small over time (see Table 11). Yet, compared to Polish parties, parties in Romania devote much less space of their manifestos to European issues (see Figure 17).<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, if they talk about European issues they frequently talk about EU funding (see Figure 18).

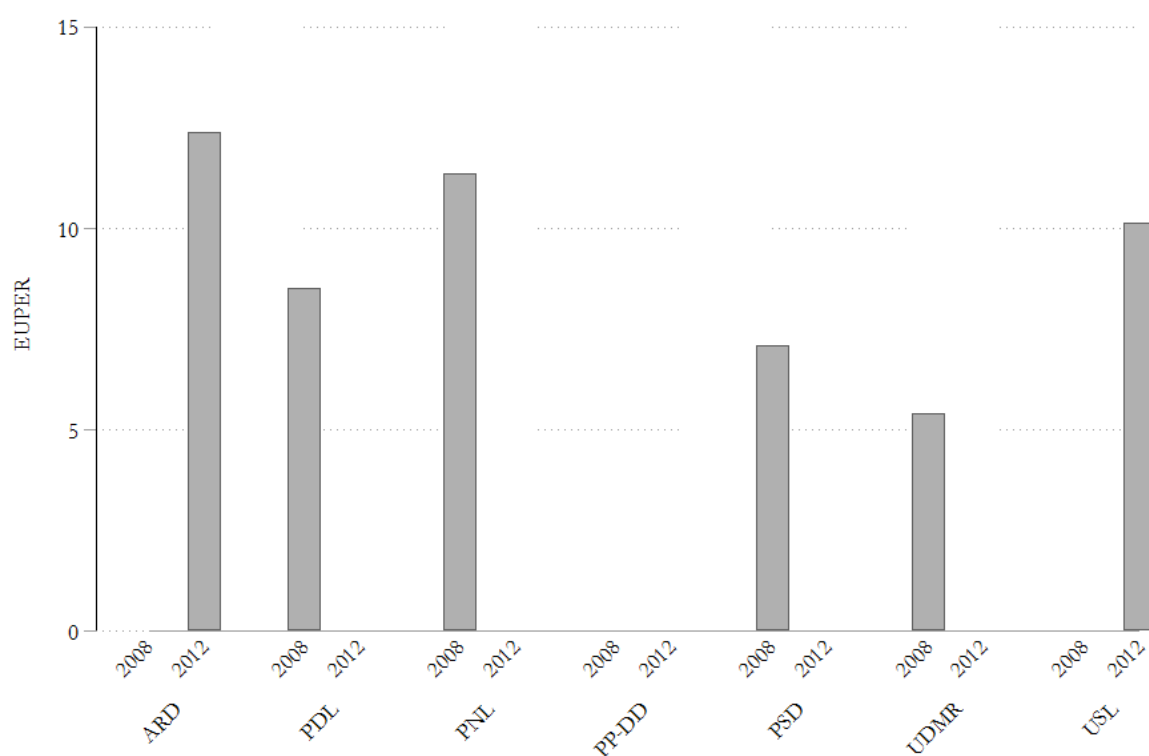
Table 11: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Romania

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
PSD	2006	6.20	5.89
	2010	6.14	6.21
	2014	5.82	6.71
PC	2006	5.89	5.78
	2010	5.47	5.80
	2014	5.35	6.44
PRM	2006	4.20	4.78
	2010	3.70	5.13
	2014	—	—
PDL	2006	6.80	6.33
	2010	6.36	6.26
	2014	6.65	6.75
PNL	2006	6.70	6.33
	2010	6.27	6.16
	2014	6.53	6.71
UDMR	2006	6.60	6.44
	2010	6.45	6.42
	2014	6.29	6.50
FDGR	2006	6.43	6.17
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
UNPR	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	5.59	6.50
PP-DD	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	4.53	5.92
PMP	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	6.50	6.60
PLR	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	6.29	6.69

Note: Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

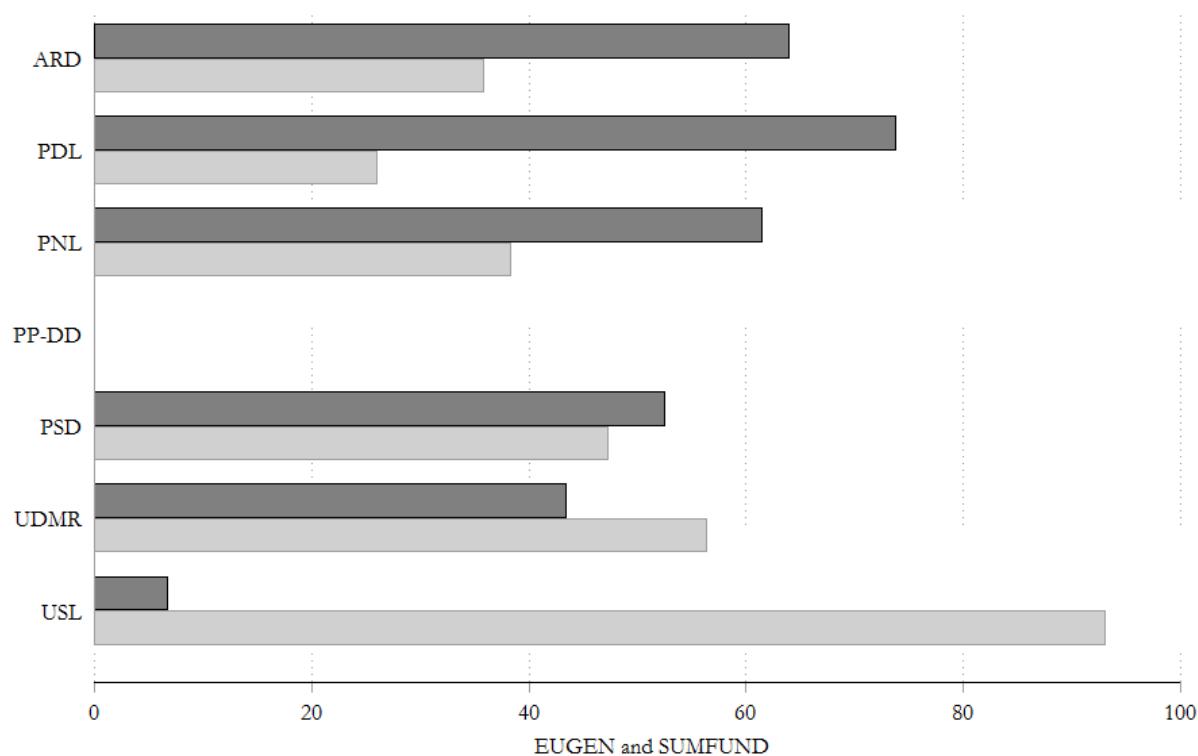
<sup>11</sup> PP-DD does not talk about European issues at all in 2012.

Figure 17: EUPER by parties by election year in Romania



Note: Bars show the percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party's election manifesto could not be coded.

Figure 18: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Romania



Note: Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' national manifestos.

### 3.9 Slovenia

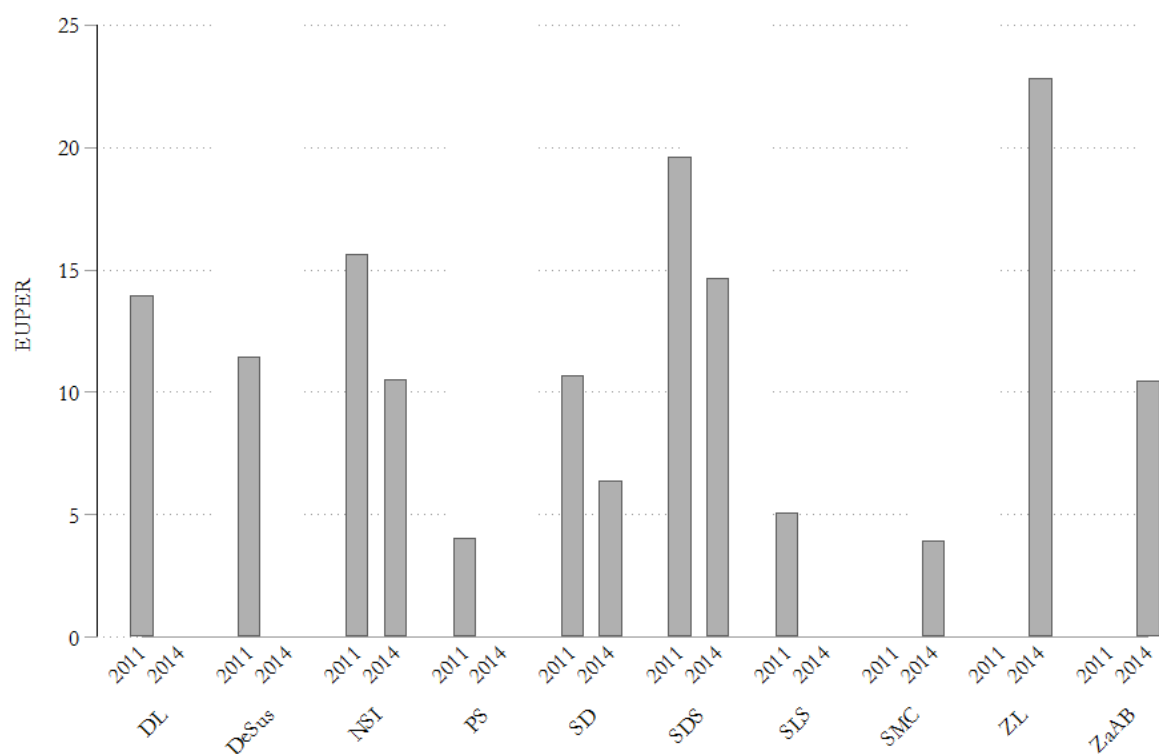
As it is the case for Romania, (almost) all parties in Slovenia are strongly in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy (see Table 12). On average, Slovenian parties devote a considerable amount of their manifesto space to European issues, although with a declining rate if one takes a look at the parties competing both in 2011 and 2014 (see Figure 19). All parties clearly do not focus on EU funding in their manifestos (see Figure 20).

Table 12: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Slovenia

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
LDS	2006	6.40	4.83
	2010	6.55	6.22
	2014	—	—
SDS	2006	6.40	5.50
	2010	5.82	5.89
	2014	6.38	6.10
ZLSD/SD	2006	6.20	6.40
	2010	6.55	6.56
	2014	5.85	6.00
SLS/SLD-SMS	2006	5.00	5.60
	2010	4.73	5.75
	2014	6.08	6.10
NSI	2006	6.25	6.20
	2010	4.90	6.29
	2014	6.46	6.10
DeSUS	2006	5.40	5.40
	2010	4.90	5.38
	2014	5.77	6.10
SNS	2006	2.60	4.20
	2010	3.00	4.00
	2014	—	—
AS	2006	5.40	5.40
	2010	—	—
	2014	—	—
Zares	2006	—	—
	2010	6.36	6.11
	2014	—	—
SMC	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	6.42	6.30
ZL	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	3.69	5.60
ZaAB	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	6.58	6.30
PS	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	6.08	5.90

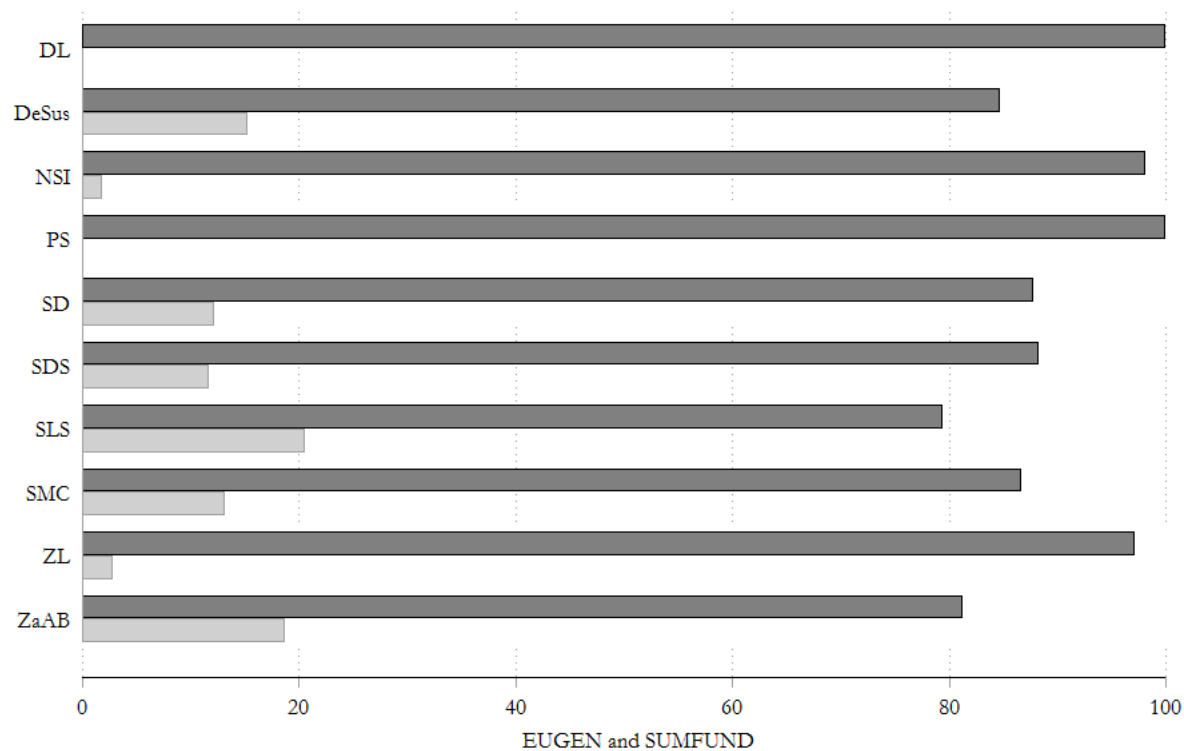
Note: Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

Figure 19: EUPER by parties by election year in Slovenia



Note: Bars show the percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party's election manifesto could not be coded.

Figure 20: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Slovenia



Note: Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the national manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' national manifestos.

### 3.10 Spain

In Spain, there is almost no variation in national parties' positions on EU Cohesion policy: all parties are strongly in favour of CP (see Table 13). Regarding the issue of European integration, all Spanish parties are in favour of it; yet, the ideological distance between Podemos and PP and PSOE is much larger than on the issue of CP.

Table 13: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Spain

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
PSOE	2006	7.00	6.85
	2010	6.75	6.73
	2014	6.70	6.88
PP	2006	5.92	6.54
	2010	6.00	6.50
	2014	6.80	6.75
IU	2006	4.54	6.38
	2010	4.75	6.73
	2014	4.60	6.88
CiU	2006	6.31	6.58
	2010	6.09	6.27
	2014	6.30	6.75
PNV/EAJ-PNV	2006	5.62	6.55
	2010	5.73	6.27
	2014	6.44	6.75
EA	2006	4.78	6.29
	2010	5.00	6.60
	2014	6.38	6.86
ERC	2006	4.46	6.18
	2010	5.27	6.36
	2014	5.56	6.71
BNG	2006	4.50	6.63
	2010	4.82	6.73
	2014	5.00	7.00
CC	2006	5.27	6.75
	2010	5.60	6.73
	2014	6.38	7.00
CHA	2006	5.00	6.13
	2010	5.00	7.00
	2014	—	—
CpE	2006	—	—
	2010	5.00	6.29
	2014	—	—
EdP-V	2006	—	—
	2010	5.50	6.50
	2014	—	—
UPyD	2006	—	—
	2010	5.27	6.50
	2014	6.67	6.75
ICV	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	4.80	6.86
Amaiur	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	4.71	6.80
Podemos	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	4.44	7.00
C's	2006	—	—

	2010 2014	— 6.67	— 6.75
--	--------------	-----------	-----------

*Note:* Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

#### *a. Andalusia*

Sub-national parties in Andalusia are in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy. Note, however, that there are some deviations from national party positions. For example, Podemos adopts a more positive stance towards European integration in Andalusia than on the national level (see Table 14). Parties in Andalusia rarely talk about European issues in their regional election manifestos (see Figure 21). Only PA in 2012 and PSOE in 2008 devote more than six percent of their election manifestos to European issues. If European issues play a role, however, then particularly PP, Podemos and UPyD talk a lot about EU funding and Cohesion policy (see Figure 22).

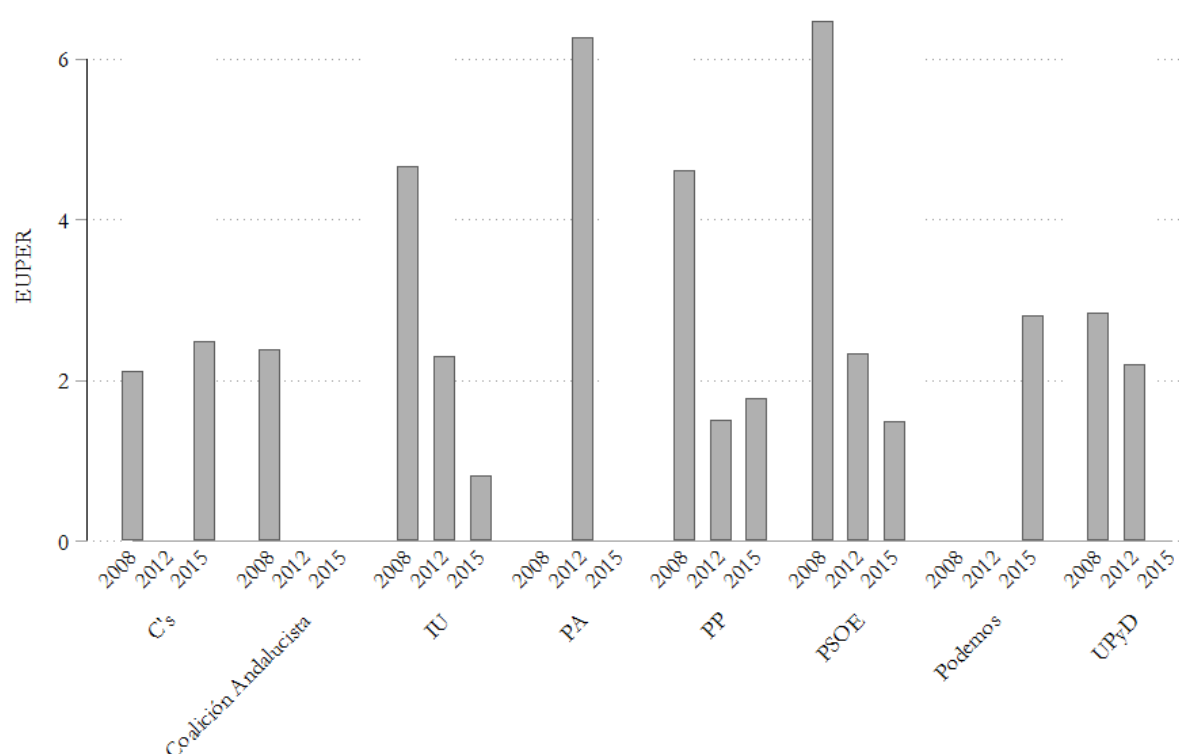
Table 14: Regional party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Andalusia

Party	Election year	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
C's	2008	5.88	6.51
	2012	—	—
	2015	6.64	6.66
Coalición Andalucista	2008	5.44	6.67
	2012	—	—
	2015	—	—
IU	2008	4.61	6.61
	2012	5.57	6.83
	2015	4.78	6.72
PP	2008	5.89	6.70
	2012	6.56	6.65
	2015	6.27	6.81
PSOE	2008	5.99	6.66
	2012	6.89	6.72
	2015	7.12	6.79
UPyD	2008	5.77	6.60
	2012	5.15	6.52
	2015	—	—
Partido Andalucista	2008	—	—
	2012	6.10	6.68
	2015	—	—
Podemos	2008	—	—
	2012	—	—
	2015	5.43	6.77

*Note:* Party policy positions are based on 'Wordscores' estimations of regional parties' election manifestos. Low scores indicate opposed positions towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy, respectively, while high scores indicate positions in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy.

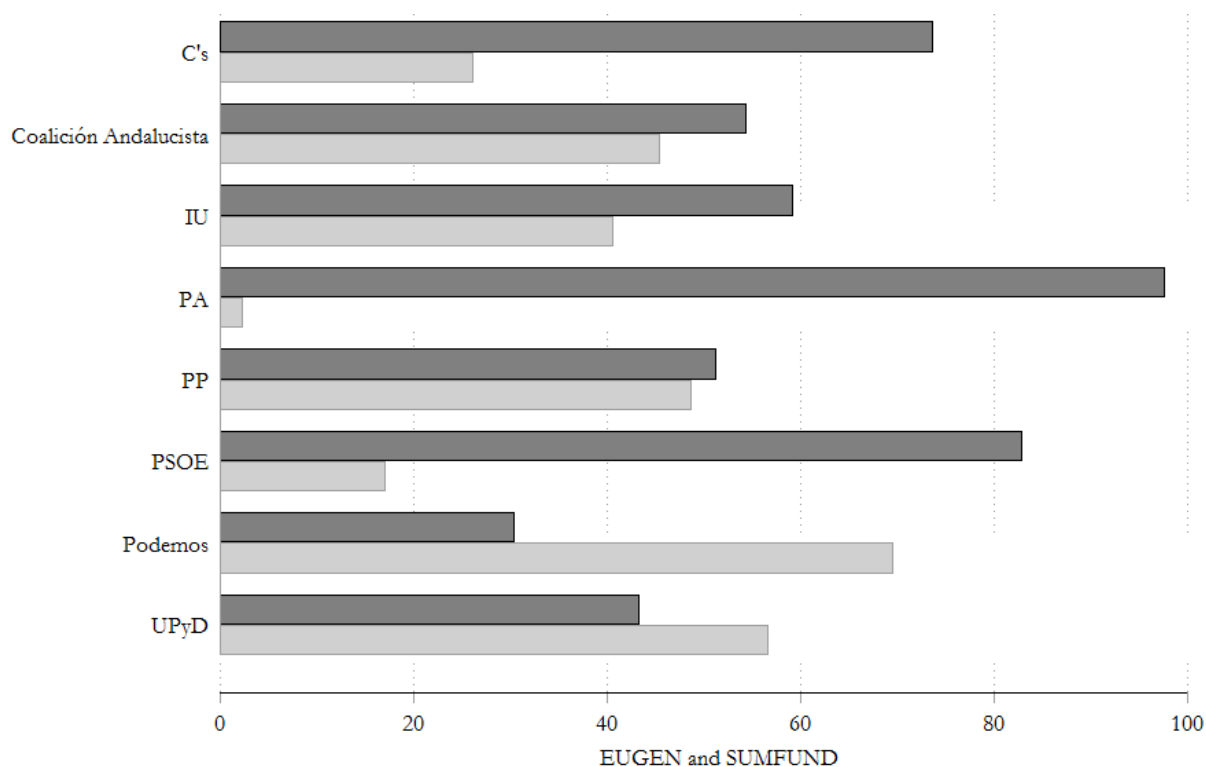


Figure 21: EUPER by parties by election year in Andalusia



Note: Bars show the percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party's election manifesto could not be coded.

Figure 22: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Andalusia



Note: Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' regional manifestos.

### b. Castile and León

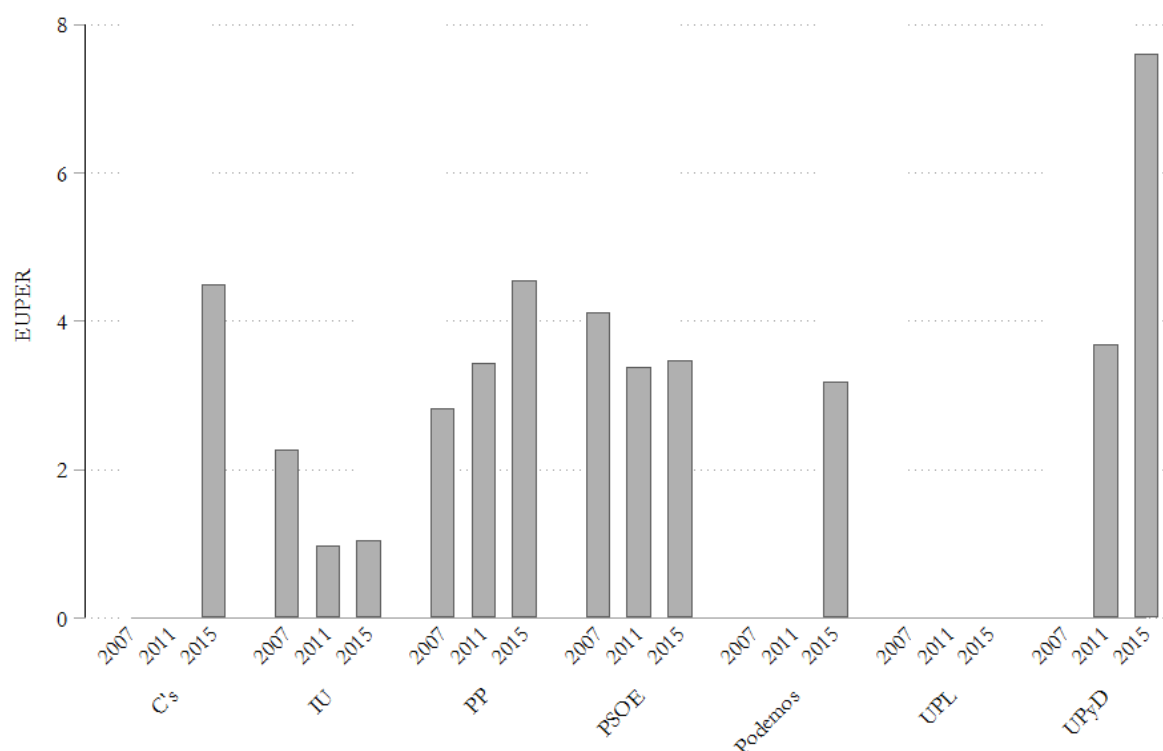
As it is the case for Andalusia, sub-national parties in Castile and León also adopt pro-EU positions and deviate to some extent from national parties' policy positions (see Table 15). In contrast to Andalusia, however, parties in Castile and León mention European issues to a lesser extent in their regional election manifestos (see Figure 23)—with the UPL in 2011 not mentioning the EU at all—and with a clear focus on EU and European topics in general. EU Cohesion policy is not important to parties running for elections in Castile and León (see Figure 24).

Table 15: Regional party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Castile and León

Party	Election year	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
C's	2007	—	—
	2011	—	—
	2015	6.61	6.74
UPL	2007	—	—
	2011	4.98	5.66
	2015	—	—
IU	2007	4.81	6.69
	2011	4.19	6.78
	2015	5.15	6.78
PP	2007	7.08	6.58
	2011	6.77	6.72
	2015	7.19	6.84
PSOE	2007	5.86	6.70
	2011	6.38	6.73
	2015	6.18	6.85
UPyD	2007	—	—
	2011	5.58	6.51
	2015	6.03	6.74
Podemos	2007	—	—
	2011	—	—
	2015	5.24	6.85

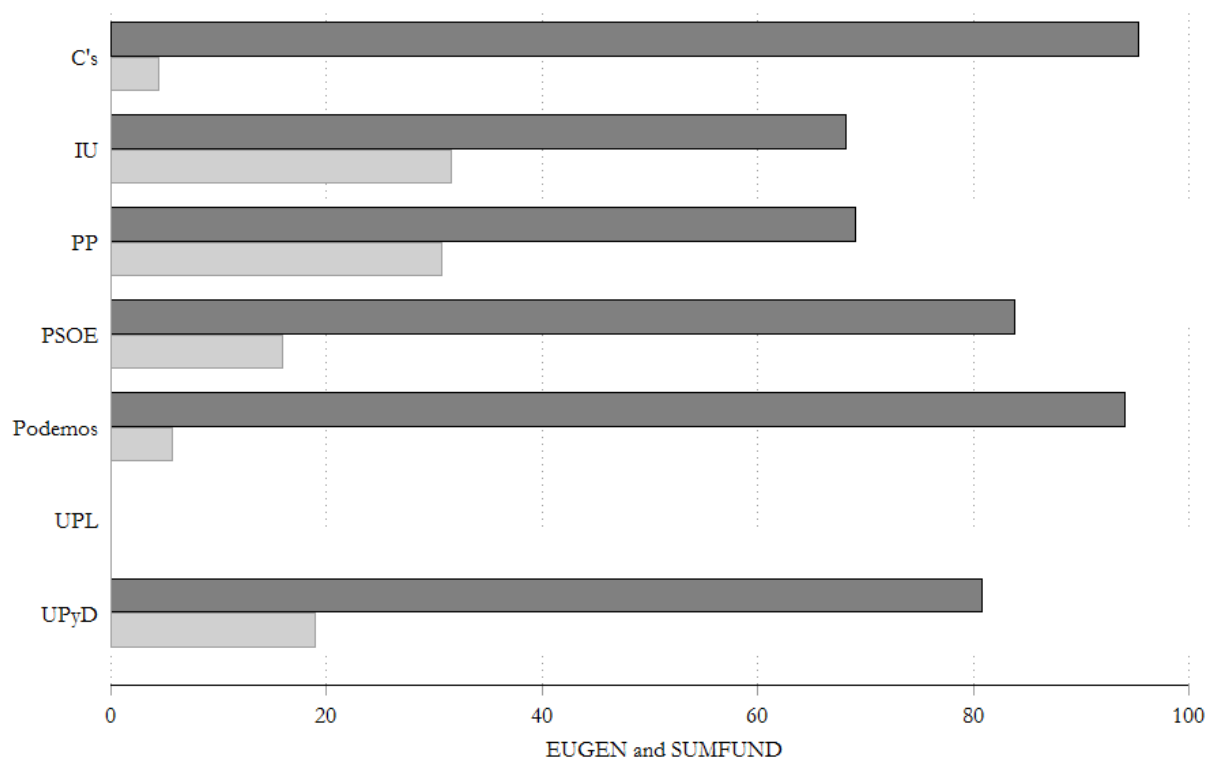
*Note:* Party policy positions are based on 'Wordscores' estimations of regional parties' election manifestos. Low scores indicate opposed positions towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy, respectively, while high scores indicate positions in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy.

Figure 23: EUPER by parties by election year in Castile and León



Note: Bars show the percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party's election manifesto could not be coded.

Figure 24: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Castile and León



Note: Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' regional manifestos.

### 3.11 The Netherlands

The Dutch party system is more divided on European integration and EU Cohesion policy than most of the other countries under study. CU, SGP, SP, PVdD and PVV are explicitly against a further deepening of European integration and these parties also oppose CP (see Table 16). Particularly CDA, D66, GL and PvdA are in favour of both European integration and CP.

Table 16: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in the Netherlands

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
CDA	2006	5.33	4.80
	2010	5.29	5.25
	2014	5.55	6.00
PvdA	2006	5.58	5.20
	2010	5.29	5.13
	2014	5.46	5.40
VVD	2006	4.50	2.60
	2010	3.93	3.86
	2014	5.18	4.50
D66	2006	6.50	5.20
	2010	6.64	5.38
	2014	6.82	5.60
GL	2006	5.45	4.80
	2010	6.21	5.25
	2014	6.55	5.80
SP	2006	2.00	2.60
	2010	2.42	3.14
	2014	2.10	3.00
CU	2006	3.45	3.20
	2010	3.79	4.50
	2014	3.44	2.50
PVV	2006	1.55	1.60
	2010	1.36	2.00
	2014	1.09	1.20
SGP	2006	—	—
	2010	3.00	4.33
	2014	2.56	2.50
PvdD	2006	—	—
	2010	3.63	4.20
	2014	3.71	1.50
50PLUS	2006	—	—
	2010	—	—
	2014	4.80	3.50

Note: Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

#### a. Flevoland

The same pattern as on the national level can also be found in sub-national parties' positions on European integration and CP in Flevoland (see Table 17). Note that the positions of 50PLUS have to be interpreted with caution since both manifestos in 2011 and 2015 are very short (85 and 219 words, respectively). Furthermore, PVV uses a language that is much more anti-European than in their national election manifestos, thus driving the estimations 'out of the scale'.

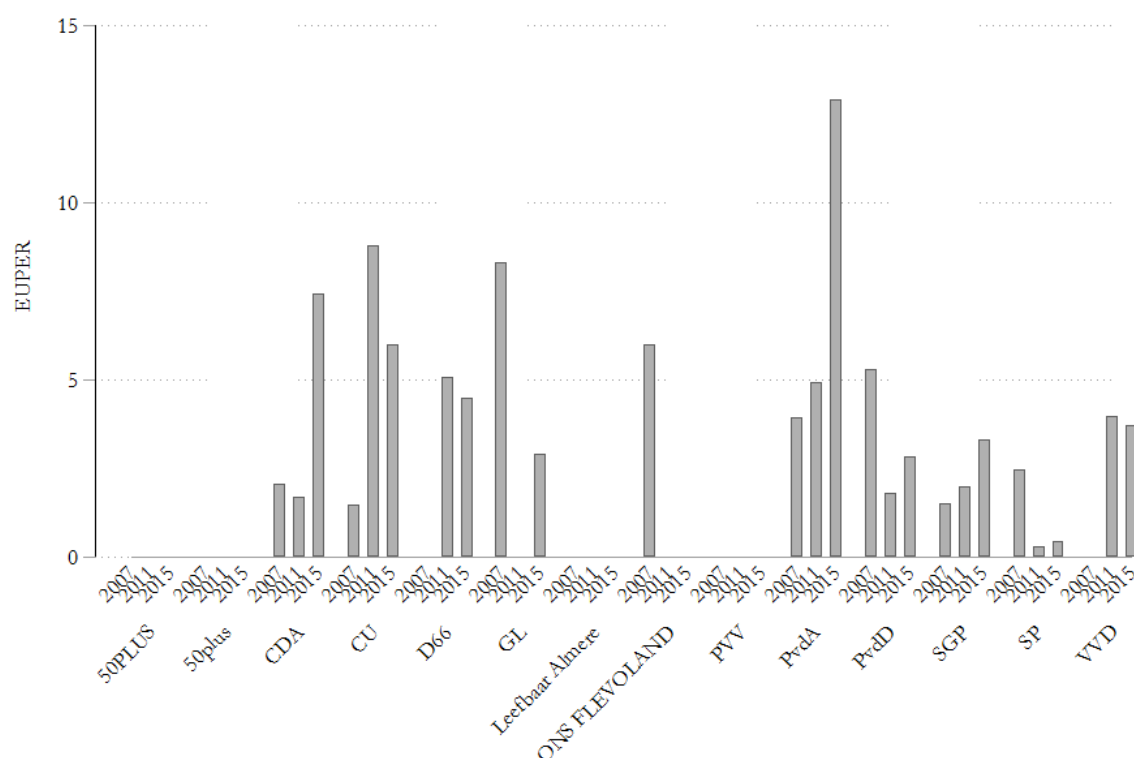
Table 17: Regional party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Flevoland

Party	Election year	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
CDA	2007	6.24	5.50
	2011	5.50	5.17
	2015	6.08	5.69
CU	2007	4.07	3.66
	2011	4.97	4.31
	2015	4.78	4.16
GL	2007	6.59	5.16
	2011	6.81	5.20
	2015	6.44	5.14
ONS Flevoland	2007	3.95	3.77
	2011	—	—
	2015	—	—
PvdD	2007	3.45	2.04
	2011	3.34	1.26
	2015	2.57	0.08
PvdA	2007	5.77	5.25
	2011	5.22	4.80
	2015	5.35	4.94
SGP	2007	3.23	3.38
	2011	3.35	3.47
	2015	3.87	3.64
SP	2007	3.23	3.38
	2011	4.31	3.82
	2015	4.37	3.88
D66	2007	—	—
	2011	5.66	4.68
	2015	6.67	5.32
Leefbaar Almere	2007	—	—
	2011	3.58	3.46
	2015	—	—
50PLUS	2007	—	—
	2011	-1.54	-1.08
	2015	4.92	4.42
PVV	2007	—	—
	2011	-1.20	0.25
	2015	0.95	1.34
VVD	2007	—	—
	2011	5.50	4.90
	2015	5.04	4.45

*Note:* Party policy positions are based on 'Wordscores' estimations of regional parties' election manifestos. Low scores indicate opposed positions towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy, respectively, while high scores indicate positions in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy.

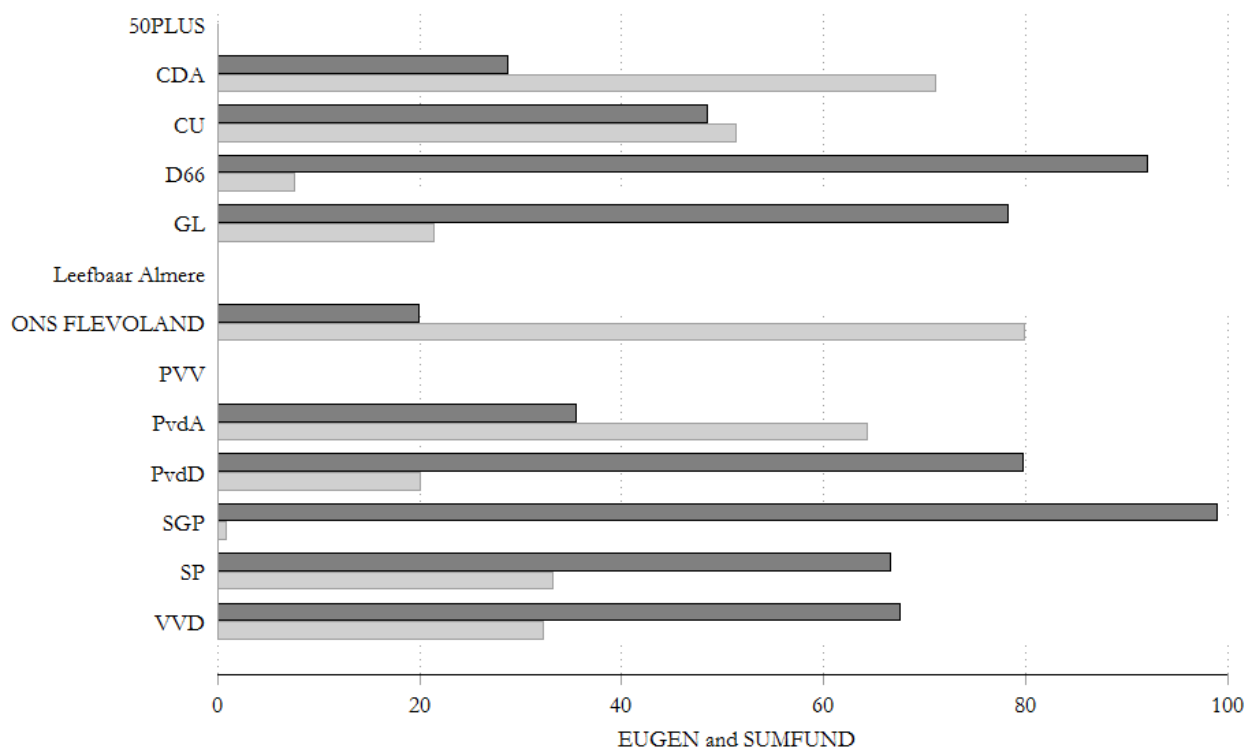
The 'negative' position of PVV on the issue of European integration in 2011 is mainly due to the fact that the party does not talk about European issues at all in its regional manifesto (see Figure 25), but is also due to the transformation of 'Wordscores' raw scores on the original scale of the reference scores (Laver et al., 2003; Lowe, 2008). Whereas sub-national parties in Flevoland only devote 3.33 percent of their manifestos to European issues, particularly CDA, CU, D66 and PvdA talk much more about these issues. In that regard, CP plays a major role for CDA's, CU's and PvdA's rhetoric when addressing European issues (see Figure 26).

Figure 25: EUPER by parties by election year in Flevoland



Note: Bars show the percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party's election manifesto could not be coded.

Figure 26: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Flevoland



Note: Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' regional manifestos.

### b. Limburg

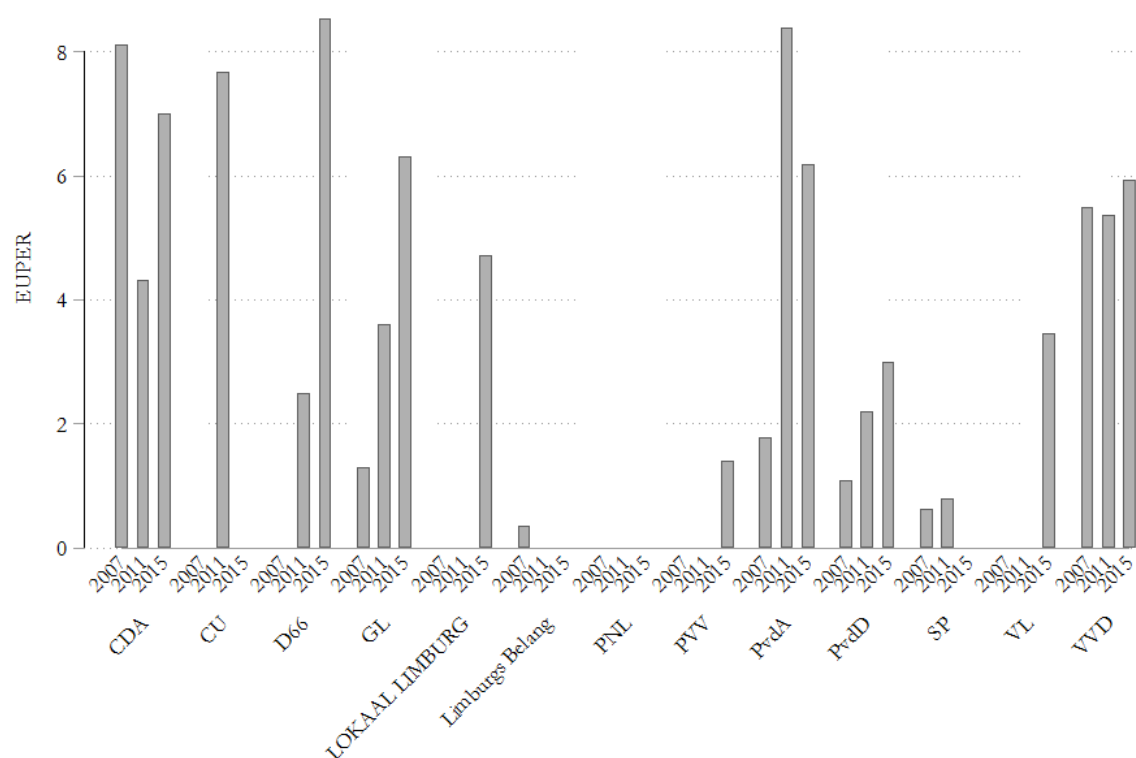
Limburg's pattern of sub-national party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy is similar to the one in Flevoland. One exception is that PvdA is more opposed to European integration and CP in Limburg than in Flevoland (see Table 18). Sub-national parties in Limburg on average devote slightly more space to European issues than parties in Flevoland (3.70 percent) and this is the case for most of the parties (see Figure 27). EU funding does indeed play a role in parties' manifestos in Limburg, particularly for the regionalist party LOKAAL LIMBURG, but also for CDA (see Figure 28).

Table 18: Regional party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Limburg

Party	Election year	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
CDA	2007	6.13	6.07
	2011	5.48	5.23
	2015	5.01	5.27
CU	2007	4.67	4.15
	2011	4.82	4.40
	2015	—	—
GL	2007	5.51	5.00
	2011	3.81	3.88
	2015	5.19	4.72
Limburgs Belang	2007	3.45	3.79
	2011	—	—
	2015	—	—
PvdD	2007	3.70	2.30
	2011	3.15	1.14
	2015	2.49	-0.05
PvdA	2007	5.58	5.41
	2011	4.37	4.44
	2015	3.21	3.70
SP	2007	3.29	3.75
	2011	2.94	3.05
	2015	4.02	4.06
D66	2007	5.27	5.09
	2011	6.72	5.89
	2015	6.61	5.51
PNL	2007	2.49	2.45
	2011	4.56	4.72
	2015	—	—
50PLUS	2007	—	—
	2011	5.01	4.82
	2015	—	—
PVV	2007	—	—
	2011	0.47	1.62
	2015	-0.68	0.76
LOOKAL-LIMBURG	2007	—	—
	2011	—	—
	2015	5.67	5.38
Volkspartij Limburg	2007	—	—
	2011	—	—
	2015	4.70	4.50
VVD	2007	5.55	5.15
	2011	4.73	4.78
	2015	4.36	4.40

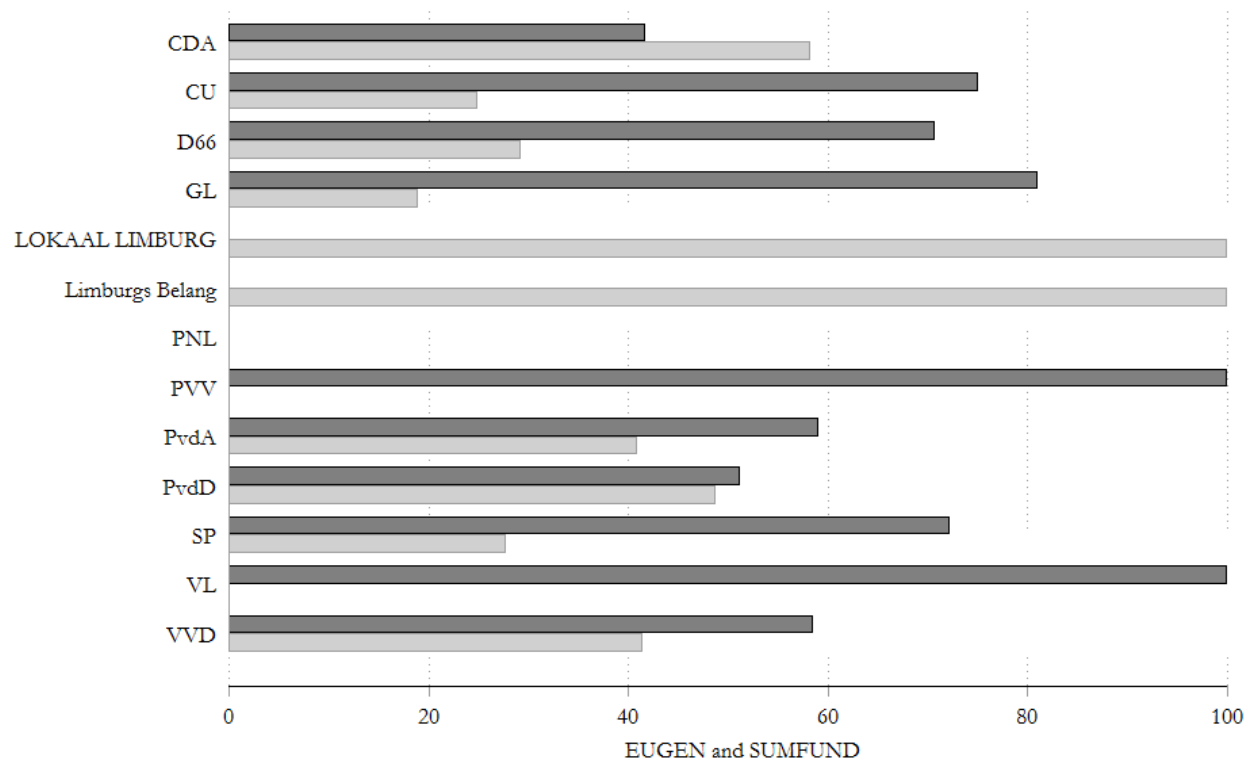
*Note:* Party policy positions are based on 'Wordscores' estimations of regional parties' election manifestos. Low scores indicate opposed positions towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy, respectively, while high scores indicate positions in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy.

Figure 27: EUPER by parties by election year in Limburg



Note: Bars show the percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that a party's election manifesto could not be coded.

Figure 28: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Limburg



Note: Bars in dark grey show the average percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the average sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' regional manifestos.



### 3.12 United Kingdom

Whereas the Conservative Party, BNP and UKIP are heavily opposed to European integration and EU Cohesion policy, the Labour Party, the Liberal Democrats and the Green Party are strongly in favour of it on the national level (see Table 19). That this is also the case for SNP in Scotland and Plaid Cymru in Wales is corroborated by their manifestos drafted for regional elections (see Tables 20 and 21).

Table 19: National party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in the United Kingdom

Party	Year (CHES data)	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
Conservative Party	2006	2.56	4.25
	2010	2.27	3.42
	2014	3.14	3.20
Labour Party	2006	5.22	5.63
	2010	4.80	5.42
	2014	5.57	5.80
Liberal Democrats	2006	6.22	6.38
	2010	6.00	5.50
	2014	6.71	6.60
SNP	2006	5.22	6.43
	2010	5.13	5.82
	2014	6.29	6.80
Plaid Cymru	2006	5.40	6.71
	2010	5.00	5.82
	2014	6.00	7.00
GREEN	2006	3.78	5.67
	2010	4.69	5.00
	2014	5.17	6.50
UKIP	2006	1.00	1.86
	2010	1.00	1.17
	2014	1.14	1.29
BNP	2006	—	—
	2010	1.20	1.27
	2014	—	—

Note: Party policy positions are based on a CHES seven-point scale, ranging from 'strongly opposed' (1) to 'strongly in favour' (7); see (Bakker et al., 2015).

#### a. Scotland

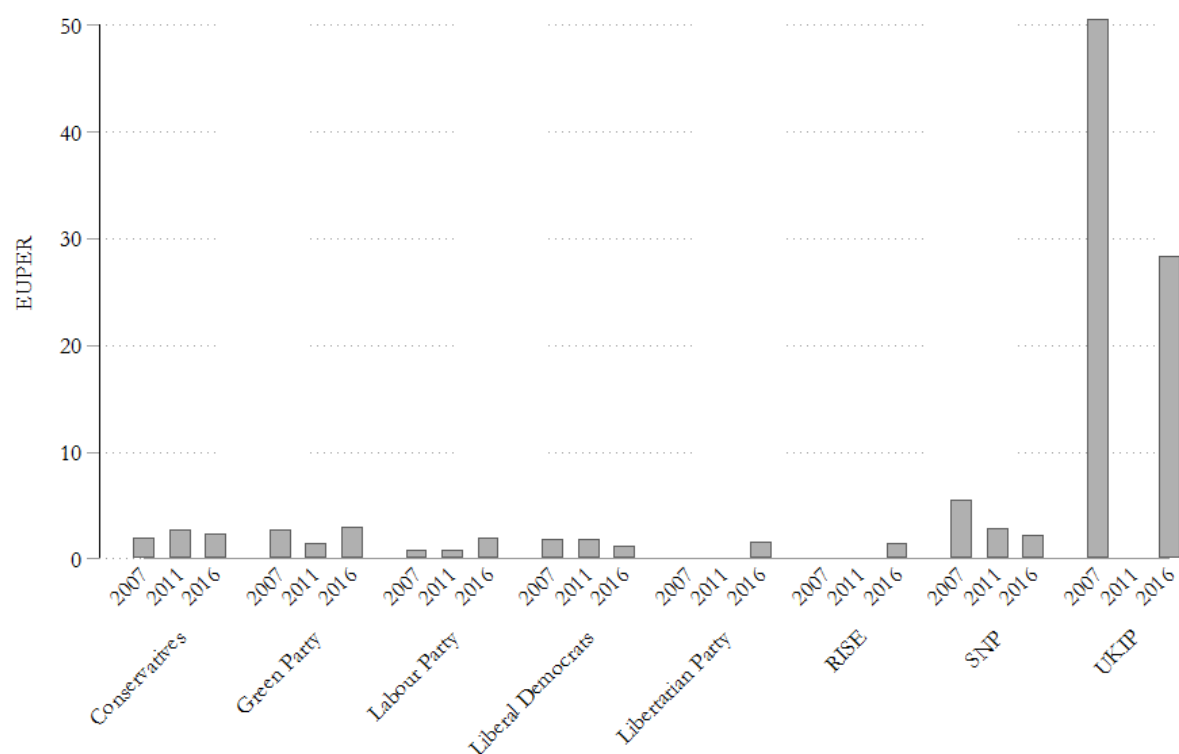
Scottish parties only slightly deviate from their counterparts on the national level regarding European integration and CP (see Table 20). Yet, the Scottish Conservative Party takes on more EU-friendly positions in its regional election manifestos than the national party. Most notably, UKIP spends more than 50 percent of its regional election manifestos in Scotland on European issues, predominantly by criticising Europe and the EU (see Figures 29 and 30). All other parties do not devote more than six percent of their manifestos to European issues. CP is not a major issue in Scottish election campaigns.

Table 20: Regional party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Scotland

Party	Election year	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
Scottish Conservative Party	2007	2.86	3.65
	2011	4.13	4.73
	2016	4.49	5.01
Scottish Labour Party	2007	5.52	5.97
	2011	5.48	5.96
	2016	5.27	5.64
Scottish Liberal Democrats	2007	5.45	5.84
	2011	5.40	5.69
	2016	5.56	5.77
SNP	2007	5.36	6.10
	2011	5.64	6.19
	2016	5.63	5.94
Scottish Green Party	2007	4.72	5.51
	2011	5.44	6.17
	2016	5.78	6.37
UKIP Scotland	2007	0.02	1.37
	2011	—	—
	2016	-0.33	0.33
Scottish Libertarian Party	2007	—	—
	2011	—	—
	2016	2.75	3.34
RISE	2007	—	—
	2011	—	—
	2016	4.36	4.95

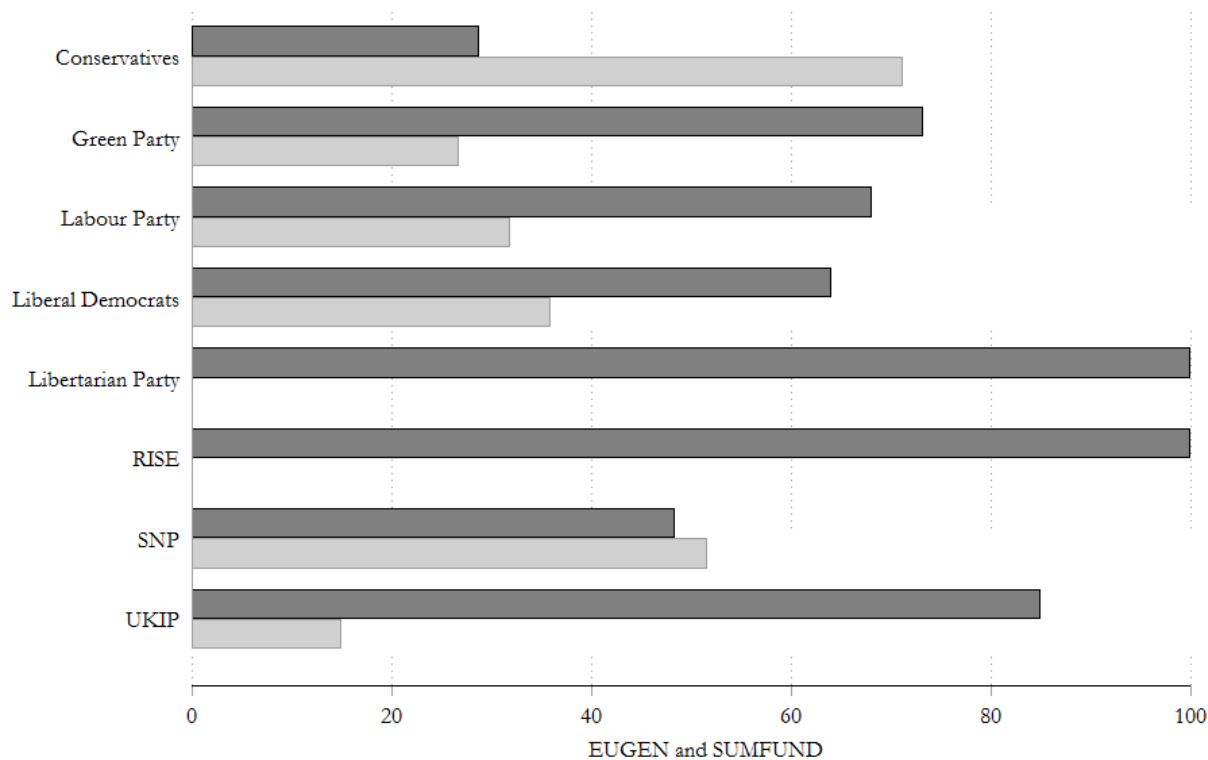
*Note:* Party policy positions are based on 'Wordscores' estimations of regional parties' election manifestos. Low scores indicate opposed positions towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy, respectively, while high scores indicate positions in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy.

Figure 29: EUPER by parties by election year in Scotland



Note: Bars show the percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that no manifestos from this party is included in the dataset for that election year.

Figure 30: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Scotland



Note: Bars in dark grey show the percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' regional manifestos.

### b. Wales

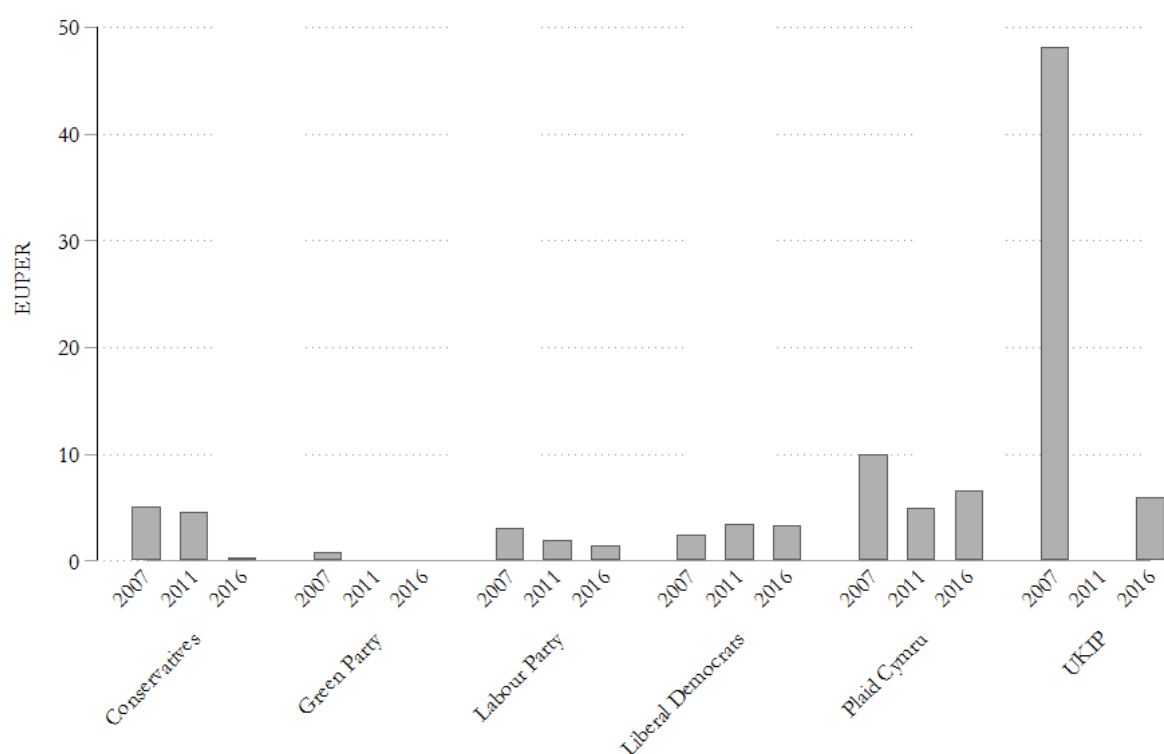
With the exception of UKIP, parties running for elections in Welsh regional elections are in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy. This even holds for the Welsh Conservatives (see Table 21). Party competition on European issues is similar to the one in Scotland: European issues, and particularly EU funding, do not play a major role in Welsh election campaigns (see Figure 31). Only UKIP devotes a lot of its manifesto space to European issues. Yet, if other parties do talk about European issues, they frequently mention topics on EU funding (see Figure 32).

Table 21: Regional party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in Wales

Party	Election year	Policy positions	
		(a) European integration	(b) Cohesion policy
Welsh Conservatives	2007	3.89	3.89
	2011	4.76	4.76
	2016	4.98	5.00
Welsh Labour	2007	4.81	4.84
	2011	5.26	5.27
	2016	5.10	5.16
Welsh Liberal Democrats	2007	5.02	5.01
	2011	4.35	4.38
	2016	5.39	5.39
Plaid Cymru	2007	4.66	4.68
	2011	5.08	5.09
	2016	4.31	4.34
Wales Green Party	2007	3.42	3.42
	2011	—	—
	2016	5.50	5.49
UKIP	2007	-2.03	-1.96
	2011	—	—
	2016	1.57	1.66

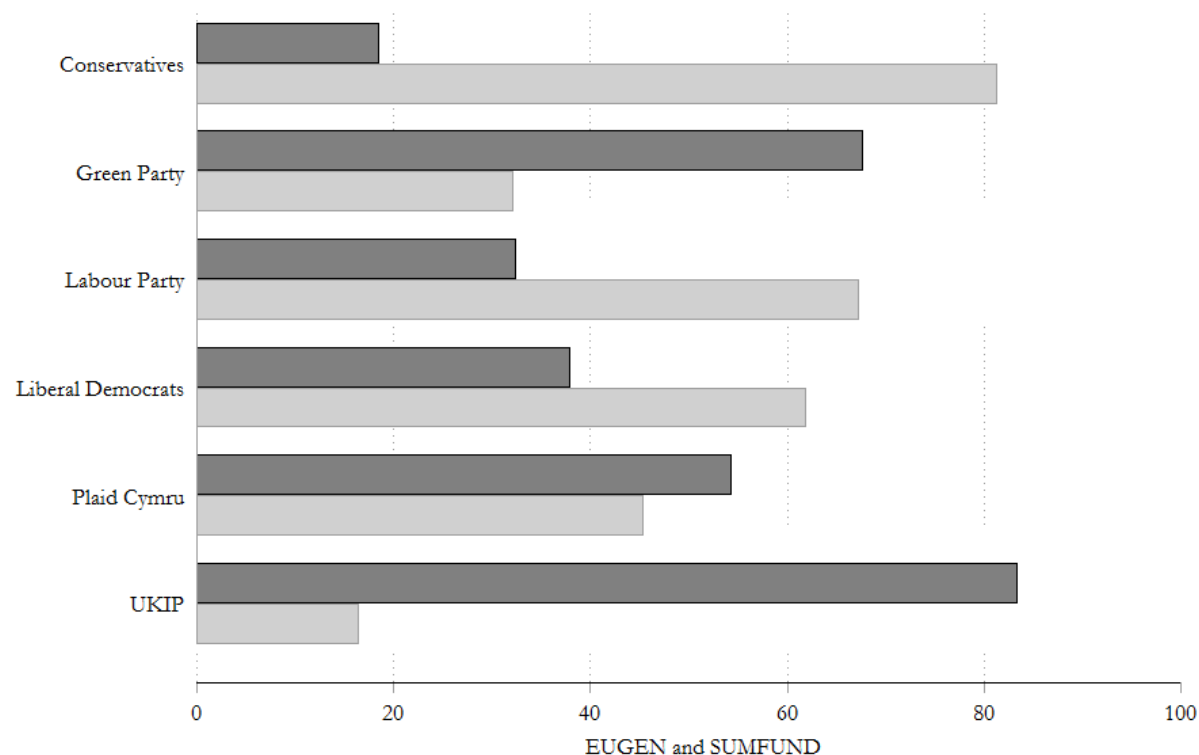
*Note:* Party policy positions are based on 'Wordscores' estimations of regional parties' election manifestos. Low scores indicate opposed positions towards European integration and EU Cohesion policy, respectively, while high scores indicate positions in favour of European integration and EU Cohesion policy.

Figure 31: EUPER by parties by election year in Wales



Note: Bars show the percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party and election year) that focuses on European issues (EUPER). A blank space indicates that no manifestos from this party is included in the dataset for that election year. An exception is the regional manifesto of the Welsh Green Party in 2016: the party did not mention any European issues.

Figure 32: EUGEN and SUMFUND by parties in Wales

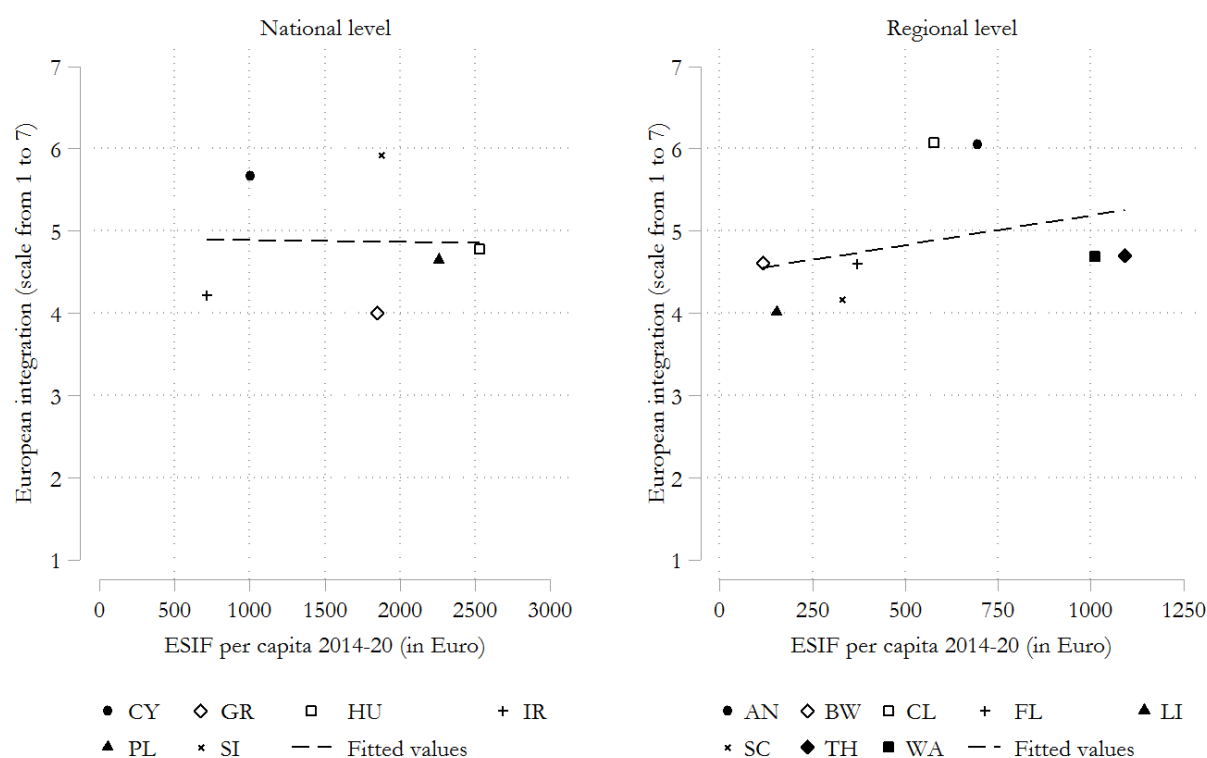


Note: Bars in dark grey show the percentage of the regional manifestos (grouped by party) that focuses on Europe in general (EUGEN). Bars in light grey show the sum of all categories related to EU funding (SUMFUND) in parties' regional manifestos.

## 4 Party positions, political salience and Cohesion funding intensity

Is there a relationship between the scale of Cohesion policy transfers and parties' positions on European integration and CP as well as of parties' emphasis of European issues? In the following, we show several scatterplots correlating party positions (and party issue emphasis, respectively) with the EU funding per capita a country or a region is allocated by the EU in the 2014-20 programming period. Funding data is based on the five European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIFs): ERDF, ESF, CF, EAFRD, and EMFF. For cases studies on the national level, we used national data (only EU funding; not national share) provided by the European Commission (<https://cohesiondata.ec.europa.eu/countries>), whereas for cases studies on the regional level, the *regional* data is based on funding data in "Regional Programmes", i.e. we only deal with EU funding for specific regions, leaving aside cross-border, transnational or interregional funding.<sup>12</sup> Position data is based on the country/region average of parties' positions on European integration and CP, respectively. Parties' emphasis of European issues in their election manifestos is presented in two versions: (i) the share of words that is devoted to European issues and CP in a manifesto (EUPER), and—if parties actually do talk about European issues and CP—the share of EU funding issues on all European issues in the manifesto (SUMFUND).<sup>13</sup>

Figure 33: ESIF funding and party positions on European integration



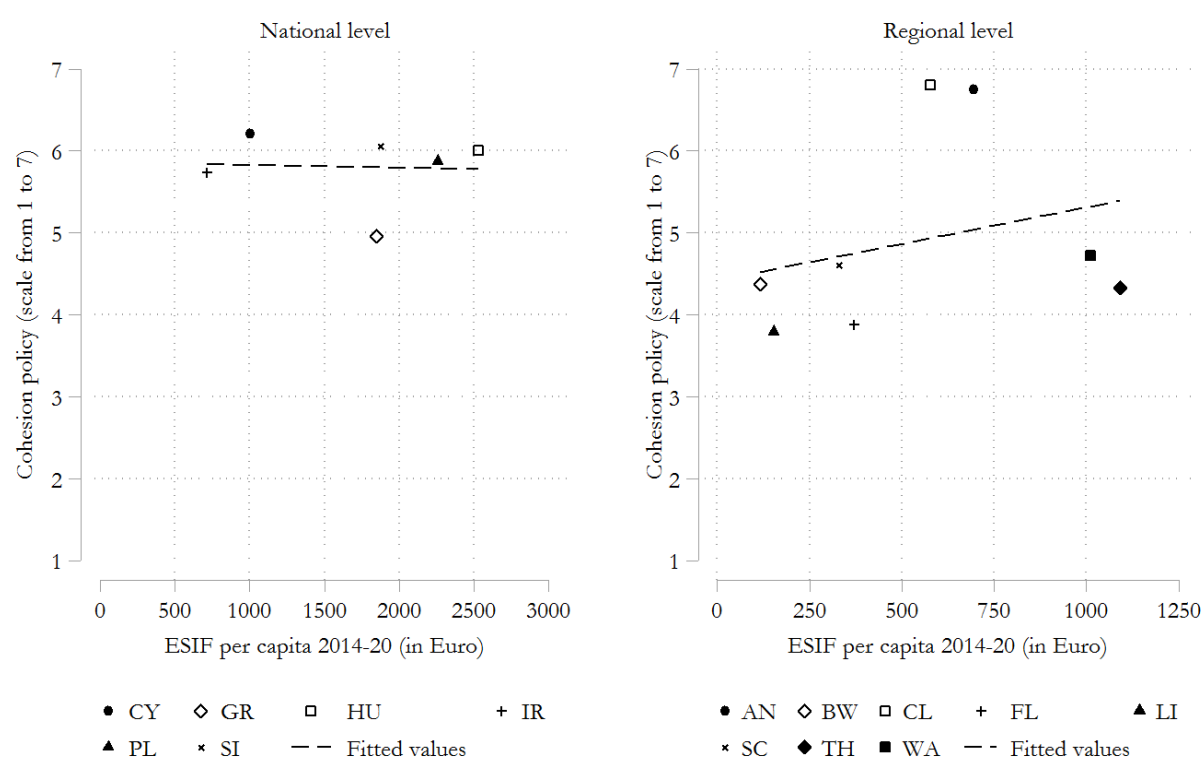
Note: Country codes: CY = Cyprus; GR = Greece; HU = Hungary; IR = Ireland; PL = Poland; SI = Slovenia. Region codes: AN = Andalusia; BW = Baden-Wuerttemberg; CL = Castile and León; FL = Flevoland; SC = Scotland; TH = Thuringia; WA = Wales. The dashed line shows the correlation between ESIF per capita and the country/region average of parties' positions on European integration.

<sup>12</sup> We do not include EU funding that is part of the "Youth Employment Initiative" (YEI). Some transfer money from specific funds is allocated to more than one region. Note that EMFF money is allocated to countries, not regions. Due to a lack of more fine-grained data, we divided EMFF transfer money by the number of regions in each country.

<sup>13</sup> Note that at the time of writing, Romania and Lombardy did not held national (Romania) or regional (Lombardy) elections in the programming period 2014-20. Hence, Romania and Lombardy are not included in the scatterplots.

Figures 33 and 34 clearly show that there is no correlation between EU funding per capita and *national* party positions on European integration and CP, and also the correlation between EU funding per capita and *sub-national* party positions on European integration and CP is rather weak (Pearson's  $r = 0.34$  for European integration). On the national level, particularly parties in Slovenia and Hungary are in favour of European integration and CP, whereas on the regional level, especially the Spanish parties are in favour of both issues.

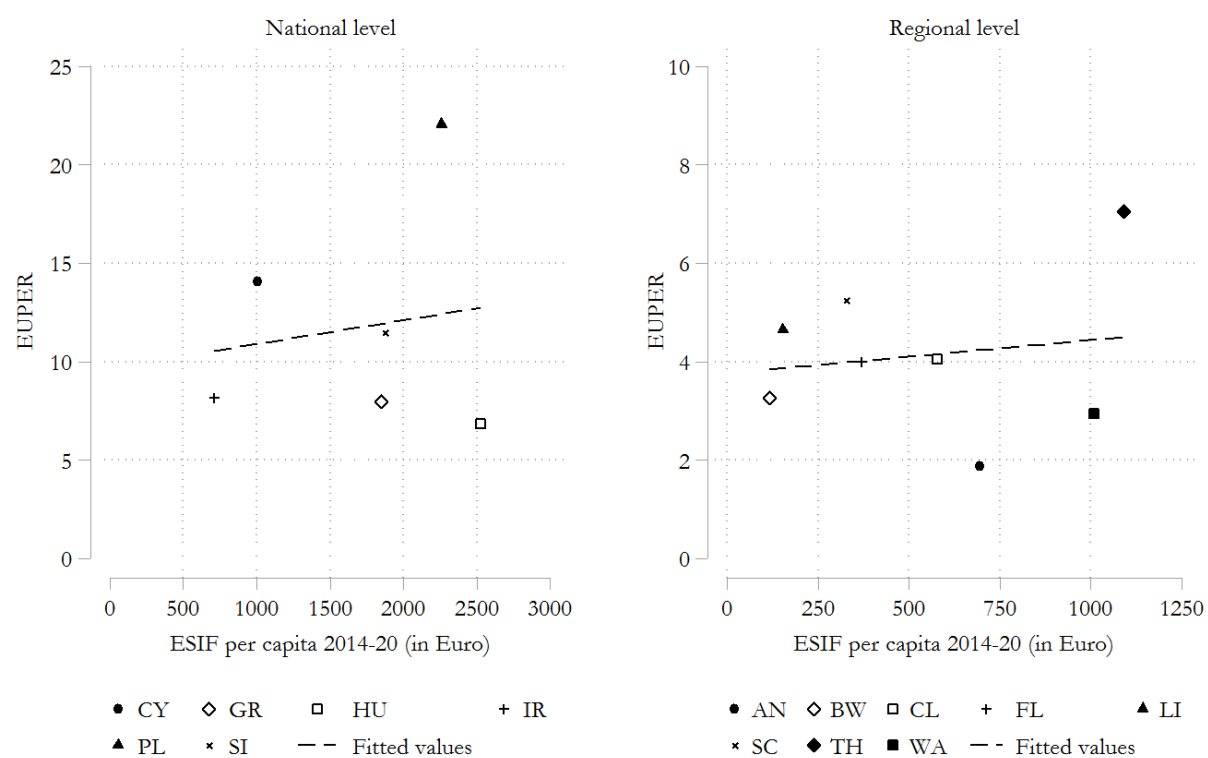
Figure 34: ESIF funding and party positions on Cohesion policy



Note: Country codes: CY = Cyprus; GR = Greece; HU = Hungary; IR = Ireland; PL = Poland; SI = Slovenia. Region codes: AN = Andalusia; BW = Baden-Wuerttemberg; CL = Castile and León; FL = Flevoland; SC = Scotland; TH = Thuringia; WA = Wales. The dashed line shows the correlation between ESIF per capita and the country/region average of parties' positions on Cohesion policy.

Regarding the salience of European issues in general and EU funding in particular in national and regional election manifestos, the picture looks different. Compared to parties in other countries, Polish parties devote much more space to European issues in their national election manifestos. This is also the case for parties in Thuringia on the regional level (see Figure 35). If parties on the national level talk about European issues in their manifestos, then we can see a clear correlation between EU funding per capita and parties' share of EU funding issues in their manifestos (see Figure 36; Pearson's  $r = 0.62$ ). This could be an indication that the more EU transfer money is allocated to a country, the more do parties talk about EU funding when referring to the EU. The correlation is much weaker, though, for parties' emphasis of EU funding issues on the regional level. Either EU funding per capita does not play an important role in sub-national parties' communications about ESIF funding in their election manifestos, or alternatively sub-national parties' might talk more about ESIF funding if they have the feeling that the region is allocated not enough money *compared to other regions*. Yet, with the data at hand, this has to remain an open question.

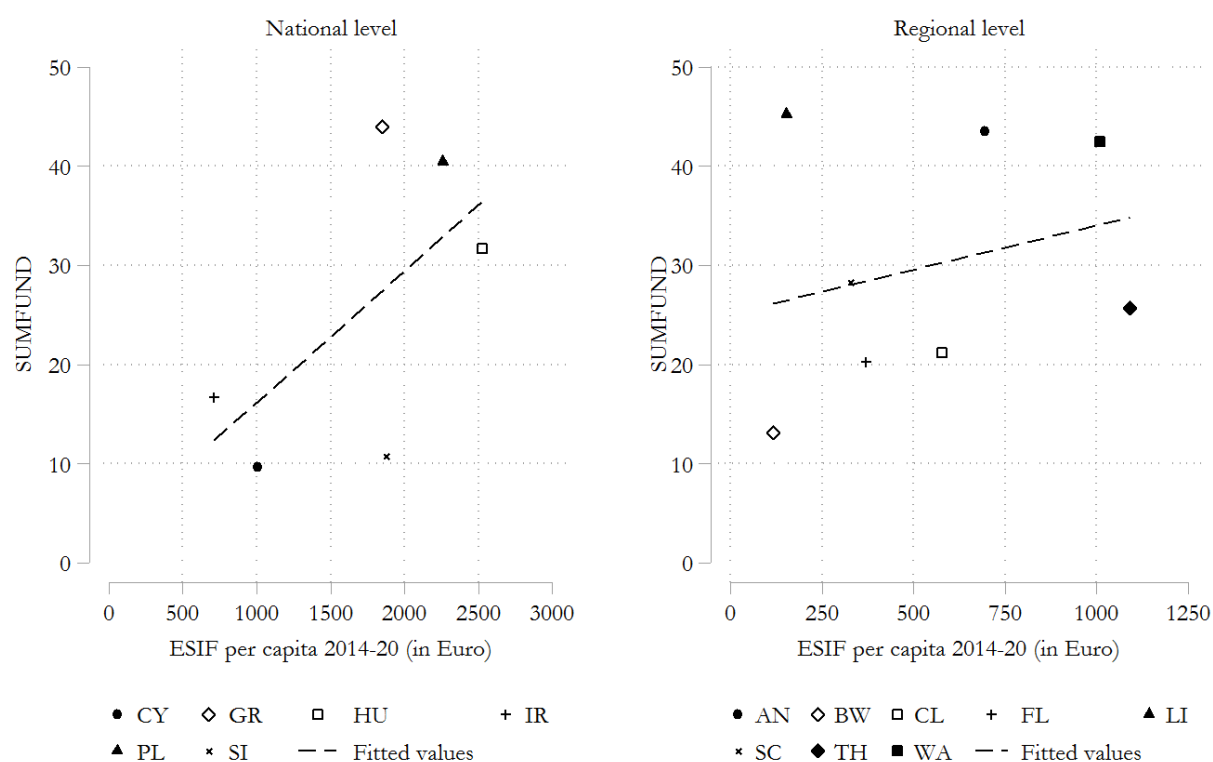
Figure 35: ESIF funding and party emphasis of European issues in election manifestos



Note: Country codes: CY = Cyprus; GR = Greece; HU = Hungary; IR = Ireland; PL = Poland; SI = Slovenia. Region codes: AN = Andalusia; BW = Baden-Wuerttemberg; CL = Castile and León; FL = Flevoland; SC = Scotland; TH = Thuringia; WA = Wales. The dashed line shows the correlation between ESIF per capita and the country/region average of parties' emphasis of European issues and CP (EUPER).



Figure 36: ESIF funding and party emphasis of EU funding issues in election manifestos



Note: Country codes: CY = Cyprus; GR = Greece; HU = Hungary; IR = Ireland; PL = Poland; SI = Slovenia. Region codes: AN = Andalusia; BW = Baden-Wuerttemberg; CL = Castile and León; FL = Flevoland; SC = Scotland; TH = Thuringia; WA = Wales. The dashed line shows the correlation between ESIF per capita and the country/region average of parties' share of EU funding on all European issues talked about in a manifesto (SUMFUND).

## 5 Concluding remarks

The purpose of this study was threefold. First, using expert survey data on parties' positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy (CP) from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES), we compared *national* parties' positions on both issues for the countries under study in the COHESIFY project. Secondly, we estimated *sub-national* parties' positions on European integration and CP by applying the 'Wordscores' approach to parties' election manifestos in nine regions. Thirdly, we manually coded national and regional election manifestos with regard to parties' emphasis of European issues in their manifestos.

Even though it is not easy to compare national and sub-national party positions on European integration and EU Cohesion policy in a meaningful way, there are several findings that are worthwhile to note. First, in all countries there are differences between national and sub-national party positions on both European integration and CP. However, these policy differences are most of the time more pronounced on the issue of European integration than on CP. Secondly, sub-national parties' estimations using 'Wordscores' have a high face validity because parties are ordered in the exact same order that one would expect based on case-based knowledge. For instance, the 'established' parties in Germany with government experience, i.e. CDU, FDP, Greens, and SPD, on average are far more in favour of European integration and cohesion policy than The Left and the AfD which are known to have more sceptical views on the EU and the Euro, among others. This finding also holds for Dutch, Scottish, Spanish and Welsh parties. Thirdly, sub-national parties can have

distinct positions on European integration and CP. For example, sub-national party branches of the FDP in Germany are far more in favour of European integration than of CP. This is intuitively plausible since the Liberals promote financial self-responsibility of regions rather than the reallocation of money between regions. This seems also to be the case for VVD and D66 in the Netherlands. Fourthly, the figures show that there is not only variation between parties but also within parties, i.e. sub-national party branches might differ in their views on European integration and EU cohesion policy. This adds to previous findings showing that sub-national party branches have some leeway in positioning themselves on, for instance, economic and societal issues, and that they also are allowed to deviate to a specific degree from national parties' positions (Debus et al. 2011; Müller 2009, 2013, Stefuriuc 2009a, 2009b). Fifthly, regarding parties' issue emphasis of European issues it comes as no surprise that national parties talk much more about these issues than parties on the regional level. National parties probably address the entire country in their manifestos, whereas sub-national parties especially restrict their statements on EU funding on the respective region (if they talk about it at all). Alternatively, this could also be an indication that region's impact on politics and policy lies more on the national than on the EU level (Ladrech, 2015, p. 86).

In conclusion, although there are policy differences between countries and regions on European integration and CP, the limited number of cases under study render it impossible to draw systematic conclusions about the *determinants* of (sub-)national parties' policy positions and issue emphasis of European issues. Expanding the analysis to all EU Member states or 'going regional' by focusing on sub-national parties competing in a variety of European regions seems to be a more appropriate way to pin down if, for instance, the allocation level of EU funding (compared to other regions in a country), a party's government status, a party's general orientation towards European integration, or the fact that a party only competes on the regional level might explain the differences in sub-national parties' policy positions on and issue emphasis of European integration and EU Cohesion policy (Gross, 2017; Gross & Debus, 2016). Furthermore, the relationship between parties' positions on and emphasis of European integration and CP issues and citizens' identification has to be explored in more detail. Although this would require to collect new data on citizens' awareness of, satisfaction and identification with the EU and its Cohesion policy (particularly on the regional level), this seems a route worthwhile to take in order to answer the question if political actors might have an impact on citizens' identification with the European Union.

## References

- Alonso, S., Cabeza, L. & Gómez, B. (2013). Regional Manifestos Project [CSO2009-11241]. *Regional & Federal Studies* 23(2): 189–211.
- Alonso, S., Cabeza, L. & Gómez, B. (2015). Parties' electoral strategies in a two-dimensional political space: Evidence from Spain and Great Britain. *Party Politics* 21(6): 851–865.
- Bache, I. (2008). *Europeanization and Multilevel Governance. Cohesion Policy in the European Union and Britain*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Bachtler, J., Mendez, C. & Wishlade, F. (2013). *EU Cohesion Policy and European Integration. The Dynamics of EU Budget and Regional Policy Reform*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Bäck, H., Debus, M., Müller, J. & Bäck, H. (2013). Regional Government Formation in Varying Multilevel Contexts: A Comparison of Eight European Countries. *Regional Studies* 47(3): 368–387.
- Bakker, R., de Vries, C., Edwards, E., Hooghe, L., Jolly, S., Marks, G., ... Vachudova, M.A. (2015). Measuring party positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill expert survey trend file, 1999–2010. *Party Politics* 21(1): 143–152.
- Benoit, K., Bräuninger, T. & Debus, M. (2009). Challenges for Estimating Policy Preferences: Announcing an Open Access Archive of Political Documents. *German Politics* 18(3): 441–454.
- Benoit, K. & Laver, M. (2006). *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. London: Routledge.
- Braun, D., Schmitt, H., Wüst, A.M., Popa, S.A., Mikhaylov, S. & Dwinger, F. (2015). Euromanifestos Project (EMP) 1979-2009.
- Bräuninger, T. & Debus, M. (2012). *Parteienwettbewerb in den deutschen Bundesländern*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Bräuninger, T., Debus, M. & Müller, J. (2013). Estimating Policy Positions of Political Actors Across Countries and Time. *MZES Arbeitspapiere - Working Papers* (153).
- Budge, I., Klingemann, H.-D., Volkens, A., Bara, J. & Tanenbaum, E. (eds.). (2001). *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments 1945-1998*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Debus, M. & Gross, M. (2016). Coalition formation at the local level: Institutional constraints, party policy conflict, and office-seeking political parties. *Party Politics* 22(6): 835–846.
- Debus, M., Müller, J. & Obert, P. (2011). Europeanization and government formation in multi-level systems: Evidence from the Czech Republic. *European Union Politics* 12(3): 381–403.
- Gabel, M. & Hix, S. (2002). Defining the EU Political Space. An Empirical Study of the European Election Manifestos, 1979-1999. *Comparative Political Studies* 35(8): 934–964.
- George, S. & Bache, I. (2001). *Politics in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Gross, M. (2014). Koalitionsbildung in deutschen Großstädten: Empirische Befunde aus Nordrhein-Westfalen. *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 24(1–2): 109–143.
- Gross, M. (2016). *Koalitionsbildungsprozesse auf kommunaler Ebene. Schwarz-Grün in deutschen Großstädten*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Gross, M. (2017). Does anyone care? Explaining the variation in sub-national parties' emphasis of European issues and EU Cohesion policy. *Unpublished manuscript*.
- Gross, M. & Debus, M. (2016). EU regional policy and the support for European integration among political parties. *Unpublished manuscript*.
- Hjorth, F., Klemmensen, R., Hobolt, S., Hansen, M.E. & Kurrild-Klitgaard, P. (2015). Computers, coders, and voters: Comparing automated methods for estimating party positions. *Research & Politics* April-June.
- Hobolt, S.B. (2015). The 2014 European Parliament Elections: Divided in Unity? *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(S1): 6–21.
- Hooghe, L., Marks, G. & Wilson, C.J. (2004). Does left/right structure party positions on European integration? In G. Marks & M. R. Steenbergen (eds.), *European Integration and Political Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 120–140.
- Huliaras, A. & Petropoulos, S. (2016). European Money in Greece: In Search of the Real Impact of EU Structural Funds. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54(6): 1332–1349.
- Jolly, S.K. (2007). The Europhile Fringe? Regionalist Party Support for European Integration. *European Union Politics* 8(1): 109–130.
- Klemmensen, R., Hobolt, S.B. & Hansen, M.E. (2007). Estimating policy positions using political texts: An evaluation of the Wordscores approach. *Electoral Studies* 26(4): 746–755.
- Klingemann, H.-D., Volkens, A., Bara, J., Budge, I. & McDonald, M.D. (eds.). (2006). *Mapping Policy Preferences II: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments in Eastern Europe, European Union and OECD, 1990–2003*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Klüver, H. & Rodon, T. (2013). Explaining Policy Position Choice of Europarties: The Effect of Legislative Resources. *British Journal of Political Science* 43(4): 629–650.
- Ladrech, R. (2015). Europeanization and Subnational Parliaments - A Research Perspective. In G. Abels & A. Eppler (eds.), *Subnational Parliaments in the EU Multi-Level Parliamentary System: Taking Stock of the Post-Lisbon Era*. Innsbruck: Studienverlag: 77–89.
- Laver, M., Benoit, K. & Garry, J. (2003). Extracting Policy Positions from Political Texts Using Words as Data. *American Political Science Review* 97(2): 311–331.
- Laver, M. & Hunt, W.B. (1992). *Policy and Party Competition*. New York: Routledge.
- Lowe, W. (2008). Understanding Wordscores. *Political Analysis* 16(4): 356–371.
- Marks, G., Hooghe, L., Steenbergen, M.R. & Bakker, R. (2007). Crossvalidating data on party positioning on European integration. *Electoral Studies* 26(1): 23–38.

- Merz, N., Regel, S. & Lewandowski, J. (2016). The Manifesto Corpus: A new resource for research on political parties and quantitative text analysis. *Research & Politics* 3(2).
- Müller, J. (2009). The Impact of the Socio-Economic Context on the Länder Parties' Policy Positions. *German Politics* 18(3): 365–384.
- Müller, J. (2013). On a Short Leash? Sub-National Party Positions between Regional Context and National Party Unity. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 23(2): 177–199.
- Netjes, C.E. & Binnema, H.A. (2007). The salience of the European integration issue: Three data sources compared. *Electoral Studies* 26(1): 39–49.
- Pappi, F.U. & Shikano, S. (2004). Ideologische Signale in den Wahlprogrammen der deutschen Bundestagsparteien 1980 bis 2002. *MZES Working Papers, Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung* (76).
- Ray, L. (1999). Measuring party orientations towards European integration: Results from an expert survey. *European Journal of Political Research* 36(2): 283–306.
- Ray, L. (2007). Validity of measured party positions on European integration: Assumptions, approaches, and a comparison of alternative measures. *Electoral Studies* 26(1): 11–22.
- Rohrschneider, R. & Whitefield, S. (2012). *The Strain of Representation. How Parties Represent Diverse Voters in Western and Eastern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Spoon, J.-J. (2012). How salient is Europe? An analysis of European election manifestos, 1979–2004. *European Union Politics* 13(4): 558–579.
- Stefuriuc, I. (2009a). Government Coalition and Multi-Level Settings - Institutional Determinant and Party Strategy. *Regional and Federal Studies* 19(1): 1–12.
- Stefuriuc, I. (2009b). Government Formation in Multi-Level Settings: Spanish Regional Coalitions and the Quest for Vertical Congruence. *Party Politics* 15(1): 93–115.
- Stefuriuc, I. (2013). *Government Formation in Multi-Level Settings: Party Strategy and Institutional Constraints*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Whitefield, S., Vachudova, M.A., Steenbergen, M.R., Rohrschneider, R., Marks, G., Loveless, M.P. & Hooghe, L. (2007). Do expert surveys produce consistent estimates of party stances on European integration? Comparing expert surveys in the difficult case of Central and Eastern Europe. *Electoral Studies* 26(1): 50–61.