

Professor  
Reinhard H e i n i s c h, Ph.D. M.A.  
Professor of Austrian Politics in  
European Perspective  
Department & Division Chair  
[reinhard.c.heinisch@sbg.ac.at](mailto:reinhard.c.heinisch@sbg.ac.at)  
<http://www.sbg.ac.at/pol>

DIVISION OF  
POLITICAL SCIENCE &  
SOCIOLOGY  
**Dept. of Political Science**

Tel: +43 (0)662 – 8044-6615; Fax: 6389-6615

A – 5020 SALZBURG  
RUDOLFSKAI 42  
AUSTRIA

**FP7-PEOPLE-2010-RG MC-IRG Project ID: 268340**

## Determinants of Eurosceptical Voting Behavior in CEE Countries and Party Responses

DEVBCEEC

**PROJECT REPORT**

by

***Reinhard Heinisch***

### **IMPORTANT PRELIMINARY NOTE**

For several months from late 2011 through October 2012 a significant portion of the project had to be put on hold while we, the researchers, were waiting to obtain an ethics review of the survey portion of our project in order to comply with a requirement under ANNEX I of the Grant Agreement.

We had been required to seek reviews of “competent national review bodies” before implementing our field survey in three countries. This turned out to be very difficult and despite much time and effort invested in this (from 02/02/2011-01/01/2012) and despite initial assurances from Slovakia, Poland and Hungary, we were unable to obtain such a review for Slovakia and Poland, while being delayed in Hungary (we have email copies to verify this process). Finally, in Hungary we were able to secure such a review and permission from a reviewer designated by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences/Social Sciences on 5 September 2012.

We then tried to pursue an alternative course by seeking to obtain a review by our own university’s ethics board, which happened to be undergoing a reconstitution phase itself. Nonetheless, we received the go-ahead from the University of Salzburg Ethics Board on 11

November 2012, yet we could not proceed without having this alternative procedure also approved by the European Commission. Already on 26 March 2012 with follow-ups on 17 April, 25 September, and 16 October 2012, we petitioned the European Commission to allow us to turn to our University's review board. Finally, on February 1, 2013 we did get permission and have resumed our activities at full speed. The delay in the survey and the uncertainty about the entire process also has caused us to delay this report as we wanted to include the most up-to-date information in this report, which remained unclear as of a few weeks ago (see appendix).

However, we want to stress that we continued with ALL OTHER aspects of the project as best as we could. After receiving the positive Hungarian ethics review, we quickly implemented our survey there (completed and the analysis is ongoing). We are now engaged in the survey in Slovakia and are awaiting results and will follow up with Poland shortly.

We have also use the time to complete several conference papers, a journal articles, and a lengthy book contribution using data that were publically available while working to refine our conceptualization (see the details below). This unfortunate turn of events had one positive side aspect. It enabled us to revise our initially planned survey in light of the Euro-crisis and it also allowed us to postpone the surveys until after the most virulent phase of the financial crisis which would have had an incalculable effect on the findings and might have distorted any general conclusions. In this sense, the delay may have actually helped and strengthened the project.

## **Detailed Report on Project Implementation**

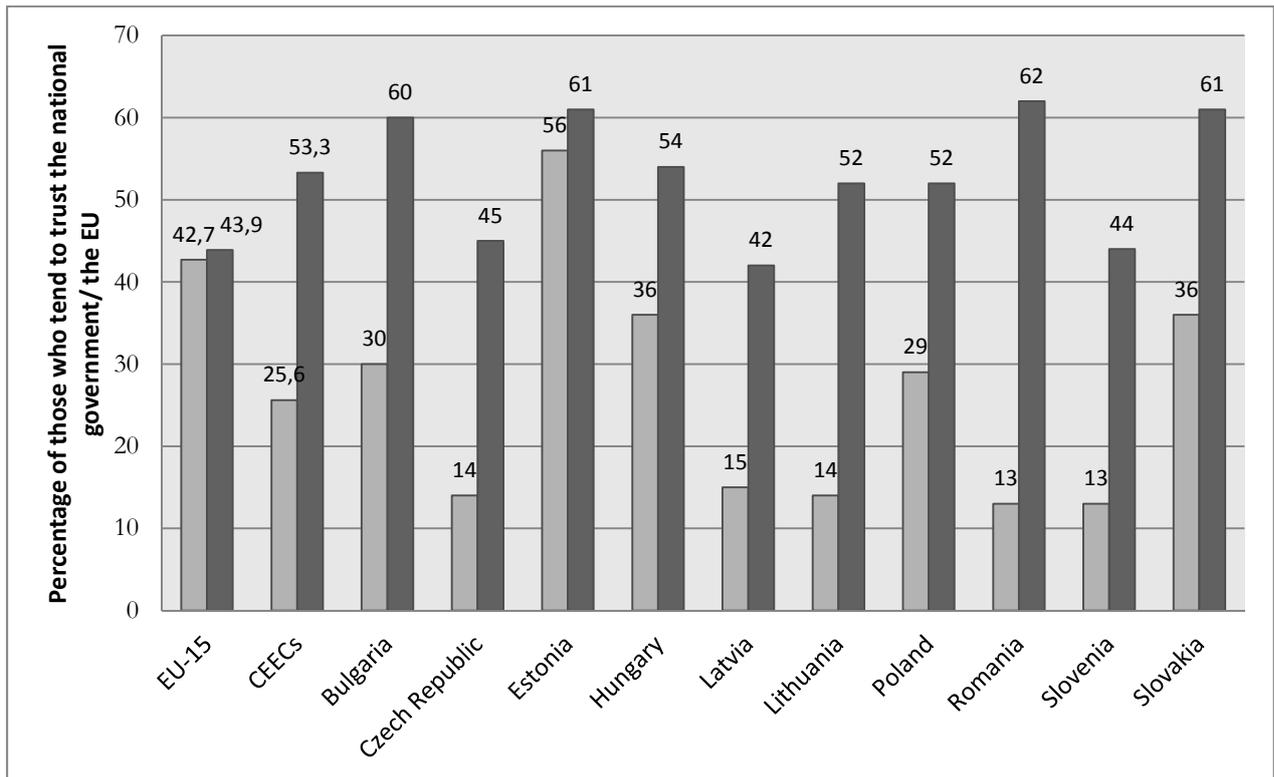
As a first step within the project we wrote case studies of each country covered by the project. The case studies provided basic information about the general economic development, population, ethnic minorities, religious groups, etc., an overview of the historical background, of institutional characteristics (political system, electoral system), and of the development of the national party system. This helped us to identify factors that potentially influence the behavior of political parties. Moreover, a review of the literature on Euroscepticism and Populism in the target countries gave us a starting point for our research as we are now in the position to carry on work that has already been done. What is more, comparing divergent classifications of Eurosceptic parties gave us the opportunity to underline the usefulness of a new typology that we developed in the context of our project work (see below).

Every case study ended with a detailed timeline reaching from the first free elections until today. Major developments in domestic politics, such as elections and government formations were summarized in a comprehensive way. This enabled us to take into account possible effects of specific events on the behavior of political parties.

The findings of the case studies were useful for writing a contribution to a *Routledge Publishing Consortium* book project titled *Prospects on East Central Europe in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. After EU accession, in all Central and East European Countries – with the exception of Slovakia – the initial public Euroenthusiasm has been partly replaced by Eurorealism, i.e., “[...] support for the principle of European integration and disapproval of the accession conditions offered to the CEECs” (Neumayer 2008: 136). As a result, some political parties tried to capitalize on this change in public opinion by adopting Eurorealistic stances, e.g., the Polish party PiS. Only in Slovakia, EU membership as well as the accession conditions continued to be an uncontested issue. This was a result of the special case of Slovakia as a country whose accession to the EU was initially rejected in 1997 because of failing to

meet the political criteria during the Mečiar government. Consequently, the dominant discourse in Slovakia does not deal with the question “[...] *whether Slovakia wanted to join the EU, and what sort of EU it wished to be a member of, but – rather – whether the EU wanted Slovakia to join and, if not, whose fault this was*” (Henderson 2008: 279). To sum up, the broad pro-EU consensus of the political elites in CEE partly disappeared when the goal of EU accession had been achieved. By contrast, some political actors adopted critical stances towards Europe while the public in large remained more pro-EU than the Western public. Above all, this is shown by a comparison of the extent of public trust in the EU and in national governments: People in CEE tend to trust the EU more than their national government while people in Western Europe have on average an equal degree of trust in their national government and in the EU (see Graph 1).

Graph 1: Trust in the EU and in National Government in 2011



Source: Own presentation of data provided by Eurobarometer 75

We hope to solve this empirical puzzle by arguing that political parties in CEE use criticism on Europe only as an additional means to distance themselves from the pro-EU political mainstream. Hence, we expect voting decisions in favor of this type of parties to be motivated by protest attitudes toward domestic politics and not by opposition to the EU.

With regard to the party level, we developed a new typology of party-based Euroscepticism, by adding salience as another dimension to the conventional one-dimensional classifications focused on party positions on Europe. By doing so, we were able to distinguish between parties attaching high relevance to their Euroscepticism and those treating their criticism on Europe as a minor issue. While we expect parties committed to Euroscepticism to influence the behavior of other parties, parties for whom Euroscepticism is a secondary issue will not affect the actions of political competitors with respect to Euroscepticism. Consequently, we classify only parties attaching high salience to their criticism of Europe as genuine Eurosceptic parties while other parties showing Eurosceptical attitudes are called Mixed Protest parties. As this typology contributes to research on party-based Euroscepticism beyond the specific use in our research project, we wrote a research note that explains our way to classify Eurosceptic parties in more detail. This note was submitted to the journal *Government & Opposition*.

First empirical results based on data provided by the recent Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2010 support our argument: All of the parties in Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia that adopt Eurosceptical positions attach relatively low salience to their criticism on Europe. Thus, all of them belong to the group of Mixed Protest parties. Consequently, we do not expect their electoral success to be due to their positions on European integration. In a next step, we made preparations to conduct our surveys in the three countries (Hungary, Slovakia, Poland) in order to test our argument empirically. The questionnaire we developed contains questions about the individual voting decision in the last

parliamentary elections, the individual position towards European integration and other issues, and the degree of relevance individuals attach to different issues, including EU issues. On the basis of this data we are able to evaluate the effect of individual attitudes and the priority ordering of issues on the voting decision in favor of Mixed Protest parties.

We were then in contact with survey agencies in each of the target countries and obtained cost estimations of the planned survey. However, as a condition for undertaking voter surveys in three East and Central European countries we were required to seek prior approval from responsible ethics review boards. This turned out to be more difficult than imagined and until fall 2012, and was described in detail above.

However, there was also a substantive reason not to push on more quickly with the survey portion in 2011 and 2012: This was because we felt strongly that the unfolding financial crisis would severely impinge on the results we hoped to obtain about the relationship of political protest and Euroscepticism. We believe given the circumstances, this decision on our part was prudent and well-justified.

Nonetheless, we were able to complete a paper based on our preliminary work, an earlier draft of which is being published as a working paper of the Salzburg Center for European Union Studies. Another version, as already mentioned, has been submitted for review to the *Journal of Government and Politics*. Three additional papers based on this research have been and will be presented at various scholarly conferences. A book chapter based on our research will be forthcoming with in a consortium project with Routledge which currently going through an editing phase. The time has also been used to develop a follow-up and ad-on grant that was submitted to an Austrian funding agency in order to expand the scope of the survey – a decision is pending.

Once the most virulent part of the Euro-crisis subsided by the summer of 2012 and once we obtained a positive ethics review by a competent Hungarian review body affiliated with the national Academy of Sciences and once having been cleared also by the review body of our own university we immediately proceeded to undertake the survey in Hungary. Following the preliminaries in October, data collection took place in November and the Hungarian agency delivered the data to us at the beginning of December when we began with the analysis. After receiving a green light from the European Commission, we then solicited bids from a Slovak survey agency in February 2013 and are currently engaged in finalizing the questionnaire. The data collection phase is to take place in March 2013. Following this we will continue with the Polish case.

In the meanwhile we used the time to finalize three conference papers, a book chapter as well as a working paper and journal article. There have also been important personnel changes in the research team. A PhD research we hired to help with the start-up phase of the project has since left the university, while starting in March 2013 a post-doc researcher with a background in mathematics and empirical research is being brought in to help with the data analysis portion. Post-doc researcher Bernd Schlipphak has left the University of Salzburg to take a position with the University of Göttingen in Germany but has nonetheless remained committed to the project and has been co-authoring two of the papers thus far.

#### References:

Henderson, Karen (2008): "Exceptionalism or Convergence? Euroscepticism and Party Systems in Central and Eastern Europe." In: Szczerbiak, Aleks and Paul Taggart (eds.): *Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party*

*Politics of Euroscepticism. Vol. 2: Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Neumayer, Laure (2008): “Euroscepticism as a Political Label: The Use of European Union Issues in Political Competition in the New Member States”. In: *European Journal of Political Research* 47(2): 135-160.

#### Conference Papers:

- 1) *The Financial Crisis and Its Impact on Citizens' Electoral Behavior on the National Level: A Text of Hypothesis*. Paper presented at the National Austrian Political Science Association Meeting (ÖGPW Tag der Politikwissenschaft). November 29-30, 2012 in Graz, Austria.
- 2) With Christa Landsberger: *Salience Matters – An Innovative Approach to Capturing the Effects of Eurosceptical Attitudes in Parties and Publics*. Paper presented at the National Austrian Political Science Association Meeting (ÖGPW Tag der Politikwissenschaft). December 2-3, 2011 in Salzburg, Austria.
- 3) *Europe – European Integration and the Euro Crisis*. To be presented at the German Association for Political Science (DVPW)—Working Group Elections and Political Attitudes, Mannheim, MZES, 6-7 June, 2013, Germany.
- 4) Workshop Presentation On Comparative Euroscepticism upon Invitation, University of Skopje 19-23 March, 2012

#### Articles:

- (1) Reinhard Heinisch and Christa Landsberger. “Returning to Europe: Between Europhilia and Euroscepticism in East European Party Politics.” In *The Routledge History of East Central Europe in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Project*. Arpad Stephan Klimo, Irina Livezeanu (eds.).
- (2) Reinhard Heinisch, Christa Landsberger, Bernd Schlipphak. *Conceptualizing the Salience of Euroscepticism: Capturing the Effects of Eurosceptical Attitudes in Parties and Publics* (SCEUS Working Paper Series), revised version submitted for review to *Government & Politics*.

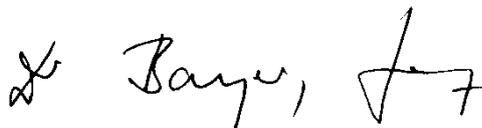
**Ethics Review/Hungary**

**ETHICS REVIEW SUBMITTED TO THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION**  
Pertaining to project *Determinants of Eurosceptical Voting Behavior in CEE Countries and Party Responses*

Pursuant to a request concerning an ethics review of the research project *Determinants of Eurosceptical Voting Behavior in CEE Countries and Party Responses* (Number PIRG07-GA-2010-268340) and upon the submission of the annotated documents, we, the XXX, state the following:

- (A) We are a competent national ethics review board of an appropriate Hungarian academic institution fully capable of evaluating the research in question based on the submitted documents.
- (B) The research in question does not constitute “human subject research” in a manner in which sensitive data about particular identifiable individuals are gathered. Rather it conforms to a standard survey of attitudes of a sample of randomized and anonymous respondents, who answer a structured closed-question questionnaire.
- (C) The researchers use a professional and experienced survey research institute to carry out the surveys.
- (D) The researchers have provided documentation about the handling and storage of data that corresponds to best practices typically applied in such cases.

We, therefore, recommend the survey research go forward in the manner outlined in the research proposal.



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\_Budapest, 05.09. 2012\_

Prof. Dr. József Bayer  
Full Member  
of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (H.A.S.)  
Department IX. (For Economic and Legal  
Studies)  
On behalf of the  
Science Ethics Committee of H.A.S.

Salzburg, am 29.11.2012

### VOTUM DER ETHIKKOMMISSION

Projekttitle: Determinants of Eurosceptical Voting Behavior in CEE  
Countries and Party Responses (Numer PIRGO7-GA-2010-  
268340)

Antragsteller: Univ.Prof.Dr.Reinhold Heinisch, Ph.D.  
Chair of Austrian Politics in European Perspective  
Department & Division Chair  
Rudolfskai 42  
5020 Salzburg

Nach Beratung der Ethikkommission der Paris Lodron-Universität Salzburg am  
27.11.2012 ergeht folgender Beschluss:

**Es besteht kein Einwand gegen die Durchführung des beantragten Projekts.**



Univ.Prof.DDr. Maria Eder  
Vorsitzende der Ethikkommission

## Communication with the European Commission concerning the Ethics Review

**Von:** [Laurent.CORREIA@ec.europa.eu](mailto:Laurent.CORREIA@ec.europa.eu) [<mailto:Laurent.CORREIA@ec.europa.eu>]

**Gesendet:** Freitag, 1. Februar 2013 16:09

**An:** Heinisch, Reinhard

**Betreff:** RE: 268340 - DEVBCEEC : Ethical issue and closing of negotiation

Dear Sir,

First of all you should have received an answer earlier.

I have discussed this issue with the unit in charge of ethics at DG Research and Innovation, European Commission.

And you have the green light to proceed.

They would like to meet you when you are in Brussels to discuss these difficulties so we can learn from your experience.

I tried to call you this afternoon to apologise and discuss with you.

I will try next week

Best regards,

Laurent Correia

**From:** Heinisch, Reinhard [<mailto:reinhard.c.heinisch@sbg.ac.at>]

**Sent:** Tuesday, April 17, 2012 6:30 PM

**To:** CORREIA Laurent (REA)

**Subject:** AW: 268340 - DEVBCEEC : Ethical issue and closing of negotiation

Dear Laurent:

This is just to let you know that we are still waiting for news on our ethics review from Hungary and Slovakia (since Dec.). I need to point out that at the current rate I can keep financing my PhD researcher through early next year by which date we need to have concluded the survey and processed the data at the very least. We have been created and mining available data with a publication coming out in the US hopefully this fall but somehow we need to advance on our survey process – everything is ready to go, survey agencies, questions.

I will keep you posted but any information would be helpful.

Best Reinhard Heinisch

**Von:** [Laurent.CORREIA@ec.europa.eu](mailto:Laurent.CORREIA@ec.europa.eu) [<mailto:Laurent.CORREIA@ec.europa.eu>]

**Gesendet:** Montag, 26. März 2012 10:27

**An:** Heinisch, Reinhard

**Cc:** [Isidoros.Karatzas@ec.europa.eu](mailto:Isidoros.Karatzas@ec.europa.eu); [Stefan.DE-VOS@ec.europa.eu](mailto:Stefan.DE-VOS@ec.europa.eu); [Yves.Dumont@ec.europa.eu](mailto:Yves.Dumont@ec.europa.eu)

**Betreff:** RE: 268340 - DEVBCEEC : Ethical issue and closing of negotiation

Dear Sir,

Thank you very much for this information.

I will discuss this issue with colleagues in charge of ethics at DG Research. We will come back to you as soon as possible with our decision.

Best regards,

Laurent

**Laurent Correia**  
Research Programme officer  
and  
Call Coordinator



**RESEARCH EXECUTIVE AGENCY**

COV2 19/17

B-1049 Brussels

Tel: +32/ 2 / 298.05.32

Fax: +32/ 2 / 297.96.48

DISCLAIMER: The views expressed are purely those of the writer and may not in any circumstances be regarded as stating an official position of the REA.

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**From:** Reinhard Heinisch [<mailto:reinhard.c.heinisch@sbg.ac.at>]  
**Sent:** Monday, March 26, 2012 1:40 AM  
**To:** CORREIA Laurent (REA)  
**Cc:** [reinhard.c.heinisch@sbg.ac.at](mailto:reinhard.c.heinisch@sbg.ac.at)  
**Subject:** Re: 268340 - DEVBCEEC : Ethical issue and closing of negotiation

Dear Laurent:

According to Clause 15 included in the FP7 Grant Agreement concluded with European Commission in 2010, we were obligated to obtain ethical approvals for the research project from national ethics commissions or review boards in each country covered by the project. The project investigates the determinants of Eurosceptical voting in Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, involving 25-question randomized and anonymous survey of voters' attitudes on a number of questions.

Unfortunately this requirement has proved exceedingly challenging and has put our project on hold for at least half a year as we have sought to contact possible institutions in the target countries to assist with such a review. After not really making any progress by contacting institutions such as the respective Academies of Sciences and their established screening bodies directly, we were able to make contact indirectly through networks of colleagues. Essentially, we were told that our type of research does either not fall within the purview of the respective review bodies because we are (a) not engaged in biomedical research, not affiliated with a local university, or (c) our research does not originate from within those countries. In that case, the university with which researchers are affiliated would submit the research to an ethics review commissions of the home institution. However, as we are based outside these countries, this avenue is not readily open to us.

After much back and forth and with growing desperation on our part, we may have found different solutions for the different target countries. In Hungary, the President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Head of Academy's Standing Committee on Ethics have referred us to a noted scholar in our field affiliated with a Hungarian university who has agreed to review our project. A similar approach was taken with respect to Slovakia – however, we have been waiting for its completion since December. In the case of Poland, the responsible bodies at the universities we contacted and at the Academy of Science stated that they were not authorized to accommodate us because this is the task of the survey agency for it (CBOS) must comply (and can certify compliance) with the law on data gathering (The Act of 29 August 1997 on the Protection of Personal Data (i.e. Journal of Laws of 2002, No. 101, item 926, with amendments). Moreover, the Inspector General for the Protection of Personal Data (GIODO) in Poland is entitled to supervision over ensuring the compliance of data processing with the provisions on the protection of personal data by CBOS.

I hope that these approaches will be acceptable to the Commission and we would provide full documentation as it becomes available and once we receive the documents from Hungary and Slovakia. I feel however at this point that I need to inform you of these developments. Any suggestion on your part, that would help in this matter would be greatly appreciated. Alternatively, we have, of course, no difficulty submitting our research to the ethnics review process of our own university.

Best regard,

Reinhard Heinisch

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**Reinhard Heinisch Ph.D., M.A.**

Professor of Austrian Politics in European Perspective  
Department of Political Science, Chair  
Division of Sociology and Political Science, Chair  
University of Salzburg  
A-5020 Salzburg, Rudolfskai 42, AUSTRIA  
[reinhard.c.heinisch@sbg.ac.at](mailto:reinhard.c.heinisch@sbg.ac.at)  
Tel.:0043(0)662 8044-6615  
Fax.: 0043 (0)0662-6389-6615  
Secretary: Tel.: 0043(0)662-8044-6610

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PS: As an example of our dealings in the Hungarian case, I copy-pasted my exchange with the respective individuals:

**Von:** [Laurent.CORREIA@ec.europa.eu](mailto:Laurent.CORREIA@ec.europa.eu) [<mailto:Laurent.CORREIA@ec.europa.eu>]

**Gesendet:** Mittwoch, 7. Juli 2010 11:08

**An:** Heinisch, Reinhard

**Cc:** Schröder, Tim; WEICHBOLD, Martin; [Isabelle.SAS@ec.europa.eu](mailto:Isabelle.SAS@ec.europa.eu)

**Betreff:** 268340 - DEVBCEEC : Ethical issue and closing of negotiation

Dear Reinhard,

Sorry for the delay.

Your second assumption is the right one : the negotiations WILL be concluded and the agreement can be SIGNED now BUT you will have to submit the required local ethics authorization prior to start of the research.

I will add in the grant agreement the special clause 15 allowing this; i.e.

"Special clause 15 "

**15. ETHICAL REVIEW**

*1. The beneficiary(ies) shall provide the Commission with a written confirmation that it has received (a) favourable opinion(s) of the relevant ethics committee(s) and, if applicable, the regulatory approval(s) of the competent national or local authority(ies) in the country in which the research is to be carried out before beginning any Commission approved research requiring such opinions or approvals. The copy of the official approval from the relevant national or local ethics committees must also be provided to the Commission."*

In order to close the negotiation, could you please add this paragraph in the Part B section 5 page 32 of your proposal **in track change or highlight in an other color (the rest of the text cannot be change)** and send it to me as soon as possible in WORD version

**B5.1 Additional steps to maintain high ethical standards in Project "Risk-Update"**

1. Copies of ethical approvals by the competent local/national ethical/legal bodies will be forwarded to the Research Executive Agency prior to the commencement of the research.
2. when applying for research ethical approval from the competent local/national Ethics Committees or bodies, that detailed information must be provided on privacy/confidentiality and the procedures that will be implemented for data collection, storage, protection, retention and destruction and confirmation that they comply with national and EU legislation.

I stay at your disposal for further information.

Best regards,

Laurent