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# The Evolving Nature of EU Integration

Issue embedding in the EP election online campaign communication

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### Overview

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- ▶ How issues around EU integration shape party competition

#### **Research Questions**

Across online campaign communication:

- ▶ Which parties are the main drivers behind the salience of the EU issue?
  - ▶ How do parties link (embed) the EU to other political issues?
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- ▶ Focus on social media allows to study the direct communication of parties with voters

### EU Salience - The role of challenger parties

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- ▶ Challenger vs. dominant parties
- ▶ EU issues-Polity (nature of the EU) vs. Policy (role in policy making)
- ▶ Salience of these issues has increased over time (De Vries, 2018; Braun and Grande, 2021; Bakker et al., 2018)
- ▶ EU salience previously driven by challenger parties (De Vries and Hobolt, 2020; Hobolt and de Vries, 2015; Ehin and Talving, 2021)
- ▶ Consistent evidence of a shift in this pattern since 2014
  - ▶ Dominant parties increasingly likely to engage with EU issue (Eugster et al., 2021; Braun and Grande, 2021; Fazekas et al., 2020)

### EU Issue Embedding - Polity or Policy?

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- ▶ Gradual shift from challenger parties outward hostility to EU, towards calls for reform (Braun et al., 2016; Brack, 2020; Treib, 2021)
  - ▶ Shift in strategy to link the EU to core issue ownership
- ▶ Dominant parties-no longer risky and costly to talk about the EU
  - ▶ But post-Brexit, shift towards emphasising positives of the EU project (Hobolt et al., 2022)

H1 Challenger parties are more likely to **embed EU policy issues** than dominant parties.

### EU issues - Polity or Policy?

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H2a Green parties are more likely to **embed EU policy issues** than dominant parties.

H2b Far-right eurosceptic parties are more likely to focus on EU **polity debates** than dominant parties.

H2c Far-left & moderate eurosceptic parties are more likely to **embed EU policy issues** than dominant parties.

### EU Policy Issue - Embedding Style

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How many other issues do parties link to EU policy debates?

- ▶ Challenger parties
  - ▶ Can link EU to their core issue owned at the national level
  - ▶ Thereby boosting its relevance
  
- ▶ Dominant parties
  - ▶ When parties make it to government they are expected need to cover undisturbed topics
  - ▶ Broad embedding allows for transferring broad public appeal from national level
  - ▶ Can help accommodate intra-party dissent

### EU policy issues - Type of embedding

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- H3B** Dominant parties have **broader policy appeals** in their EU related communication in comparison to challenger parties.
- H3B** Among **challenger parties**, we expect far-right eurosceptic parties to have the **broadest policy appeals** in their EU communication



### Data

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- ▶ EP 2019 Political campaigning on twitter dataset ([Stier et al., 2020](#))
  - ▶ All tweets by MEP candidates, as well as public replies, mentions, and retweets
  - ▶ 16 million tweets
  - ▶ 28 countries, 31 languages
  - ▶ 500,000 MEP candidate tweets
  - ▶ 23 April - 30 May 2019

### Manual Coding

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- ▶ 17 research assistants hired to code tweets across 11 languages
- ▶ 9,000 tweets per coder
- ▶ tweets split by candidate/public, then by country (for candidates), and language
- ▶ random sample taken for each language
  - ▶ weighted so that 75% candidate tweets, 25% public
- ▶ for languages with more than one coder, 2,000 of the tweets were coded by both for inter-coder reliability checks

### Coding Process

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- ▶ Coders were asked to label tweets across a range of features, including:
  - ▶ sentiment
  - ▶ communication style (broadcasting opinions, vs engaging with other users)
  - ▶ campaign messaging
  - ▶ political issues

For tweets that mentioned political issues, these were then grouped into 10 categories:

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| 1. Economy     | 6. Support for democratic values         |
| 2. Environment | 7. Opposition to democratic values       |
| 3. Immigration | 8. Anti-elitism                          |
| 4. Brexit      | 9. Crime and justice                     |
| 5. EU          | 10. Other (transport, health, education) |

## Sampling

Table: Tweet language distribution and sampling

Country	Language	All tweets		Sampled tweets	
		Candidates	Public	Candidates	Public
UK	English	131,332	5,113,760	13,500	4,500
France	French	62,403	2,911,611	13,500	4,500
Spain	Spanish	52,824	2,328,691	13,500	4,500
Italy	Italian	17,826	1,834,711	13,500	4,500
Poland	Polish	43,770	1,048,559	13,500	4,500
Ireland	English	14,697	0	6,000	0
Netherlands	Dutch	13,793	433,309	7,500	2,750
Germany*	German	13,156	371,372	13,156	4,500
Greece*	Greek	4,349	72,301	4,349	32,000
Hungary*	Hungarian	326	2,118	326	2,118

\* All candidate tweets were manually coded for these countries

### Machine Learning Classifier

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- ▶ For countries/languages where all tweets cannot be manually coded, we apply classification methods using the human coded training set
- ▶ Text pre-processing
- ▶ Binary classification models for each individual issue at the tweet level
  - ▶ Extreme Gradient Boosting (xgBoost) models
- ▶ Model performance varies across issues and languages, performing worst where we have limited human coded samples
- ▶ Results consistent between random random sample of human coded tweets and classifier

### Analysis

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#### Dependent Variables

- ▶ **EU issue salience**
  - ▶ Proportion of candidate tweets mentioning EU issue / All candidate tweets
  
- ▶ **EU issue embedding**
  - ▶ Proportion of tweets that mention the EU + other issues / All EU issue tweets
  
- ▶ **Embedding style**
  - ▶ Normalised Shannon's H Information Entropy, ranges between 0-1
  - ▶ Measures how tweets are distributed across different issues
  - ▶ (0 = all tweets concentrated in single category, 1 = tweets evenly distributed across all issue categories)

### Independent Variables

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- ▶ **Dominant/Challenger party (dummy)**

- ▶ Dominant = has ever been in government

- ▶ **Party Types**

- ▶ Dominant (baseline)
- ▶ Greens
- ▶ Eurosceptic far-right parties
- ▶ Other Eurosceptic parties (far-left & moderate)
- ▶ Other challenger parties

- ▶ **Controls**

- ▶ Country fixed effects
- ▶ Candidate incumbency, Party EU dissent, General issue attention diversity (embedding style)

Multi-level linear regression, candidate level unit of analysis

# The Issues Parties Mention when Discussing the EU

Tweets by 2019 MEP candidates that mention the EU

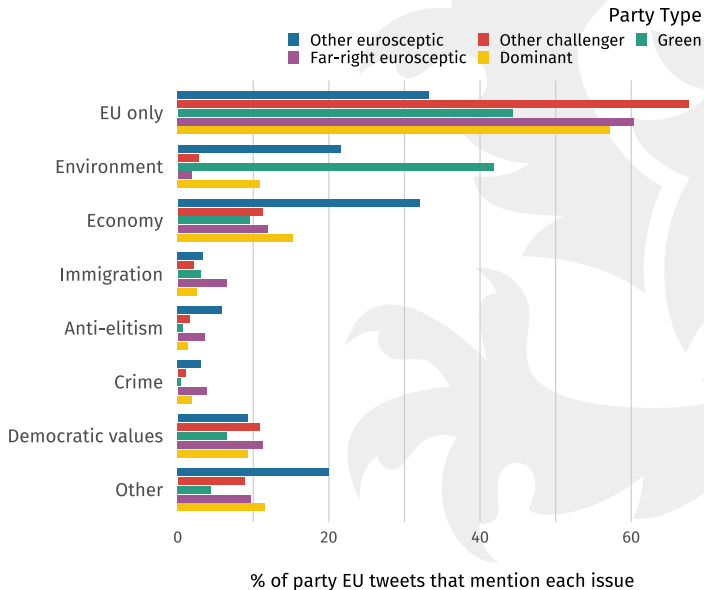




Table: EU salience as proportion of all campaign Twitter communication

	(1) All	(1) HC	(2) All	(2) HC
Challenger party	-0.23*	-0.25		
	(0.11)	(0.13)		
Eurosceptic party			-0.31*	-0.29*
			(0.12)	(0.14)
Green-challenger			-0.58*	-1.00**
			(0.26)	(0.32)
Other challengers			-0.25	-0.35
			(0.20)	(0.23)
Politicians	2235	1915	2235	1915
Parties	61	61	61	61
Var: party	0.14	0.19	0.13	0.16

\*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*  $p < 0.05$ . Dominant as baseline.

Table: EU embedding as EU tweets including other issues from total EU tweets

	(1) All	(1) HC	(2) All	(2) HC
Challenger party	0.09 (0.13)	0.10 (0.16)		
Eurosceptic party			0.42* (0.20)	0.35 (0.24)
Eurosceptic FR party			-0.15 (0.18)	-0.12 (0.22)
Green-challenger			0.85** (0.31)	1.45*** (0.43)
Other challengers			-0.09 (0.23)	-0.09 (0.27)
Politicians	1842	1400	1842	1400
Parties	61	61	61	61
Var: party	0.18	0.24	0.14	0.17

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ . Dominant as baseline.

Table: Broadness of EU embedding as Normalized Shannon's H (politician level)

	(1) All	(1) HC	(2) All	(2) HC
Challenger party	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)		
Eurosceptic party			0.04 (0.06)	0.10* (0.05)
Eurosceptic FR party			-0.15** (0.05)	-0.11* (0.04)
Green-challenger			-0.13 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.07)
Other challengers			-0.02 (0.07)	0.00 (0.05)
Politicians	1657	1174	1657	1174
Parties	61	61	61	61
Var: party	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00
Var: residual	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.05

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ . Dominant as baseline.

## Results

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### ► **Salience**

- Substantial degree of cross-national variation
- Challenger parties, particularly Greens and Eurosceptics, dedicate less attention to the EU than dominant parties

### ► **Embedding**

- No sig overall differences between dominant/challenger parties in terms of EU issue embedding (H1)
- No sig difference between far-right eurosceptic, and dominant parties likelihood of embedding EU issues (H2B)
- Greens and Non-far right eurosceptic parties more likely to embed policy issues with EU compared to dominant parties (H2A, H2C)

### ► **Embedding style**

- No sig overall differences between dominant/challenger parties in terms of style of EU issue embedding (H3A)
- Far right eurosceptic parties seem to embed across a narrower range of issues than other parties (H3B)

## Results

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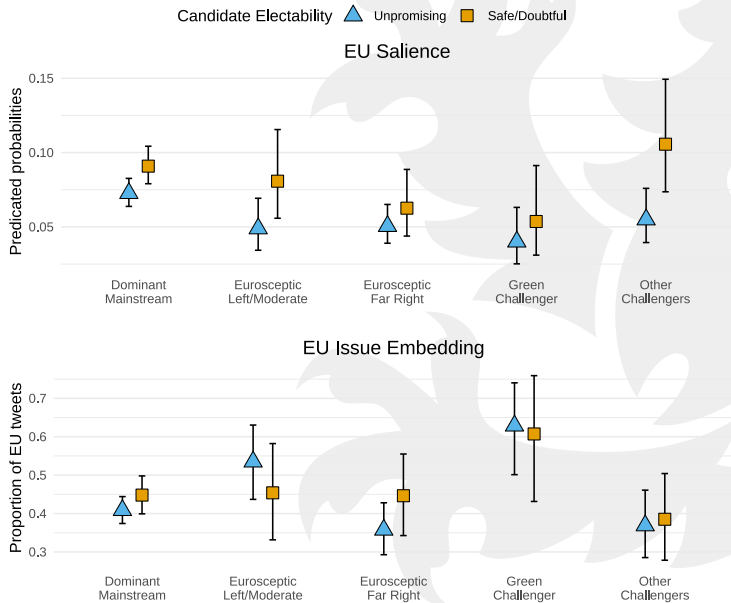
### 2019 EP Campaign Findings

- ▶ Substantial cross-national variation across all three items
- ▶ Dominant parties tend to be the main promoter of the EU issue
- ▶ Certain challenger parties more likely to embed EU policy issues
  - ▶ Greens, far-left & moderate eurosceptics
- ▶ Far-right eurosceptic parties seem to link the EU to a narrower set of issues than dominant parties,

### Next Steps

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1. Complete manual coding for all 11 languages
2. Extend analysis to all EU member states and the 2014 EP elections data
3. Categorise opened ended 'other issue' category
4. Explore interplay between different types of candidates (viability, pro-anti EU position), and strategies of dominant/challenger parties
5. Decide on issue attention diversity aggregation method
6. Exchange the dominant/challenger framing to pro-anti EU parties framing?



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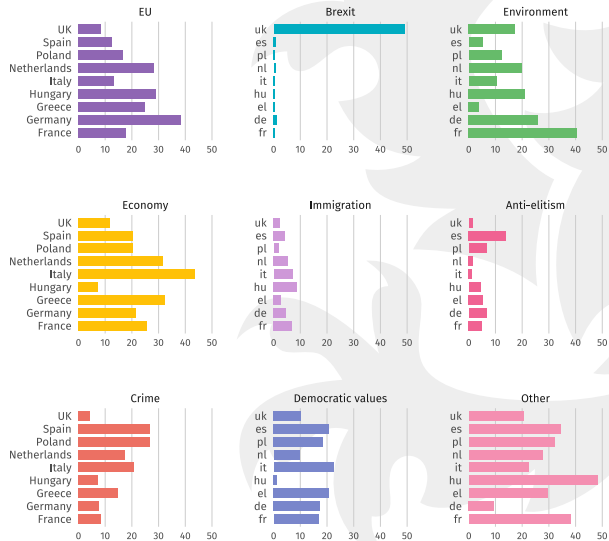
### Descriptives

Table: Issue Salience - Country summaries

	Personal	Other political	EU alone	EU embedded
France	0.05	0.88	0.02	0.05
Germany	0.12	0.71	0.10	0.06
Greece	0.13	0.79	0.04	0.05
Hungary	0.16	0.69	0.07	0.07
Ireland	0.11	0.83	0.03	0.02
Italy	0.01	0.96	0.01	0.02
Netherlands	0.07	0.84	0.05	0.03
Poland	0.08	0.88	0.03	0.01
Spain	0.02	0.95	0.01	0.01
UK	0.11	0.67	0.18	0.04

## Political Issues Discussed by 2019 EP Candidates on Twitter

Tweets by 2019 MEP candidates that mention at least one political issue



% of country tweets that mention each issue