Democratic Participation and Political Communication in Systems of Multi-level Governance

Germany:
Supplementing Sense of Duty by Cognitive Mobilisation

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University of Bamberg
Turnout ...
• over time
• at different levels of governance
• in geographical perspective
• at the individual level
## Voter stability (% identical vote in both elections)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CDU</td>
<td>83.5*</td>
<td>69.8</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPD</td>
<td>95.7</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDP</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greens</td>
<td>80.2</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>31.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>PDS</td>
<td>87.6</td>
<td>79.9</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstainers</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>79.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*reading example: 83.5% of those who voted CDU in 1994 did so as well in 1998
Perceived power of the European and German Parliament

Power of EP minus power of Bundestag

Bundestag more power
both equal
EP more power

Power of EP minus power of Bundestag

1994
1999
Perceived difference it makes which party wins (percent)

- **National Election: 1994**
  - Very low: very low percentage
  - Fairly low: fairly low percentage
  - Fairly high: fairly high percentage
  - Very high: very high percentage
  - Do not know: do not know percentage

- **European Election: 1994**
  - Very low: very low percentage
  - Fairly low: fairly low percentage
  - Fairly high: fairly high percentage
  - Very high: very high percentage
  - Do not know: do not know percentage

- **European Election: 1999**
  - Very low: very low percentage
  - Fairly low: fairly low percentage
  - Fairly high: fairly high percentage
  - Very high: very high percentage
  - Do not know: do not know percentage
Perceived difference it makes which party wins by turnout in EP-Elections (averages on scale from 1 to 10)
Stability of geographical patterns of turnout, Gemeinden in Bavaria

European Parliamentary Elections

1979

1999
Explaining turnout by individual characteristics

Socio-demographic factors contribute to explain turnout to a limited extent:

- age
- education
- occupation
Explaining turnout by individual characteristics

In contrast to habitual voters in national elections, regular voters in European elections are primarily characterized by a strong *feeling of an obligation to vote* (citizen duty)!
Perceived difference it makes which party wins (percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1994 National Election</th>
<th>1994 European Election</th>
<th>1999 European Election</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very low</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fairly low</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>19.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>fairly high</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>44.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>very high</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td><strong>1919</strong></td>
<td><strong>1921</strong></td>
<td><strong>1934</strong></td>
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</table>
Perceived difference it makes which party wins by turnout (averages on scale from 1 to 10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>European Election 1994</th>
<th>European Election 1999</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voters</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-voters</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can’t remember/ refused</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>1700</td>
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</tbody>
</table>