Europeanization of European Election Campaigns

A Study of the Swedish Social Democratic Party's and Green Party's European Election Campaigns in 2014 and 2019

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Abstract

Since Sweden held its first election to the European Parliament in 1995, Swedish political parties have arranged campaigns and elected national candidates for the European elections. Europarties also arrange campaigns for the European elections, and elect candidates for the President of the European Commission. Europarties however experience difficulties reaching the voters in the EU Member States. National parties therefore have a unique role to play as the link between the Europarties and the national voters. However, scholars have found that the national political parties have a stronger national than European focus. The aim of this thesis is therefore to bring more understanding to the coordination and content of Swedish national parties' European election campaigns. The thesis seeks to find to what extent the campaigns of Swedish national political parties for the European election have become Europeanized. This is done by conducting a qualitative comparative case study of the campaigns of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and the Swedish Green Party prior to the European elections in 2014 and 2019. Interviews with MEPs and Campaign Managers have been conducted, as well as a document analysis of the parties' election campaign evaluations in 2014. The findings show that the national campaigns in 2019 have become Europeanized, both in terms of programmatic content of the campaigns and in terms of relations with their Europarties, but to a medium extent.

Key words: European Parliament election, national political parties, Europarties, election campaigns, Europeanization
Words: 19926

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Abbreviations

EC	European Commission
EGP	European Green Party
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
Europarty	European Political Party
GGEP	Green Group in the European Parliament
MEP	Member of European Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
MS	Member State(s) of the European Union
PES	Party of European Socialists
S&D	Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats [in the European Parliament]
TEU	Treaty on the European Union
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

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1   Introduction

Swedish political parties have had representatives in the European Parliament (EP) since the first Swedish European election in 1995. For over 20 years, Sweden's national political parties have arranged election campaigns and national candidates have competed for the increasingly influential positions as Members of the European Parliament (MEPs). The most recent elections to the EP took place in 2014 and 2019. The European elections contain both national and European dimensions (Garcia and Priestley 2014, 14; Hertner 2011, 323). The European Parliament is a European institution with the aim of representing the views of every European citizen: "Citizens are directly represented at Union level in the EP" (Article 10 TEU). Almost all national political parties are members of a European party, or "Europarty". Since 2014 Europarties have been able to elect candidates for the President of the European Commission (EC), so called "Spitzencandidates". The EC President 2014-2019, Jean-Claude Juncker, was elected with this procedure. However, this year's EC President, Ursula von Der Leyen, was not elected by the Spitzencandidate process. The Europarties also interpret the election of Spitzencandidates differently. Some Europarties elect one lead candidate, while others chose two lead candidates, such as the EGP and the Party of the European Left (EL). The Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) even choose seven candidates (European Parliament, 2019). The national dimension of the elections are the national candidates who are elected by the mandate from their national parties, and their national constituencies. Hence, the European elections and the campaigns can be seen as a complex interplay between the national and European level of politics (Hertner 2011, 323).

Political parties are argued to be one of the most important actors in the democratic function because of their ability to create and participate in the public debate on politics (Priestley n.d., 1; Strömvik 2016, 12). Two levels of political parties, the Europarties and the national parties, arrange campaigns for the EP election. *"As a Europarty, it is the European Greens and its' national Member Parties that run and contest the European elections"* (European Green Party, n.d.).

The purpose of the Europarties is to create a European debate and public awareness of European politics (Article 10 TEU), while the main purpose of the national parties in the European arena is to create a national debate on European politics and to elect candidates for the EP election. Since Sweden joined the European Union (EU) in 1995, Swedish parties' coordination with their European sister parties has increased substantially (Tallberg and Demokratirådet 2010, 25). European and national political parties are key players in both the national and the European political system (Aylott, Bergman, and Blomgren 2013, 1; Hertner 2011, 321), and the link between them is therefore essential to study. Further reason for studying the coordination between national political parties and Europarties in the election campaigns is the research gap on national political parties and their relation to Europarties (Aylott, Bergman, and Blomgren 2013, 1; Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 1; Hertner 2011, 322). The research on European political parties is scarce partly because of the lack of importance that has been transcribed to Europarties (Hertner 2011, 322–23).

Scholars have found that the European dimension of the national parties' European election campaigns is low. The Spitzencandidates receive little attention by the national parties and the voters and national parties are criticized for tending to place emphasis on issues which are mainly national concerns (Aylott and Sundström 2009, 1, 13–14; Bolin et al. 2019, 42, 51; Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 8, 17; Hix and Høyland 2011, 152). The Europarties can as well be seen as falling short on creating a public debate on EU politics (Hertner 2011, 344; Priestley 2010, 1). The public debate is largely overshadowed by national public debates on national politics, and the Europarties' campaigns have had difficulties reaching the European citizens (Garcia and Priestley 2014, 1). This leaves it up to the national parties to ensure that the Europarty campaigns reach the voters. The national parties therefore need to coordinate the link between the national organization and the Europarty. The national parties also have the responsibility for the coordination between the national organization and the MEPs. This means that the capacity of coordination and organization, or intra-party aspects, is essential to analyse when studying political parties (Aylott, Bergman, and Blomgren 2013, 13–14) and European election campaigns.

Interestingly, researchers have found signs of a development towards a more European dimension of the European election campaigns (Aylott and Sundström 2009, 1, 13–14; Bolin et al. 2019, 13; Hooghe and Marks 2009). The effect of European integration on the political system of the EU Member States (MS) can be referred to as 'Europeanization'. In broad

terms, Europeanization can be used to describe the effects of European integration on the politics and policies of the MS, as well as the process of enhancing European institutions (Ladrech 2002, 1).

Swedish political parties' European election campaigns are important to study because of the national parties' campaigns' central role in the European elections. The vital and increased role of the Europarties in the European elections makes the Europarties essential to study when analysing European election campaigns. The lack of research on the link between the Europarties and Swedish parties is further reason for giving attention to the question of how the national political parties coordinate their European election campaigns.

1.1   Research Aim and Question

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the field of research on Europeanization of political parties by providing more understanding to the coordination and content of Swedish national parties' European election campaigns. The main research question is therefore: ***To what extent have Swedish national political parties' campaigns for the European election became Europeanized?***

The main research question will be answered by analysing how two national political parties, the Swedish Social Democratic Party and the Swedish Green Party, coordinated their European election campaigns in 2014 and 2019 with their Europarties, their MEPs and their political group in the European Parliament.

1.2   Thesis Outline and Scope

The outline of this thesis is as follows; it begins with a description of national and European parties, with a focus on the cases studied in this thesis. Chapter 3 presents previous literature in the field of Europeanization, political parties and European election campaigns.
The following chapter explains the methodology used in the thesis, including the practical analytical framework (operationalization) applied in the analysis. Chapter 5 presents the

analysis of the parties' election campaigns, and the thesis ends with a conclusion of the findings of the analysis.

It is important to emphasize that this thesis does not apply any normative value to the question of the extent of Europeanization of the national parties' electoral campaigns. One could argue that it is positive if the findings show strong coordination between the national and European level, for example concerning the content of the parties' election manifestos and the prioritized issues that can be solved on a European level. However, similarly, it could be argued that Europeanization of the national parties' election campaigns may lead to an increase in distance between the voter and the EP. The campaigns might be more difficult for the Swedish voters to comprehend, since concepts that are rarely mentioned in the media are given space in the election campaigns, for example, the Spitzencandidates and the Europarties. Seen from an electoral strategic point of view, the parties may gain voter support by focusing on national issues instead of European issues (Hertner 2011, 344). This thesis is descriptive, and analyses *how* national parties' election campaigns are coordinated. It is therefore not within the scope of this thesis to add normative value to the analysis of the campaigns.

The scope of the thesis extends to the range of a Swedish context, and Swedish actors in a European context. The aim of the thesis is to contribute to the study of Swedish national parties and their European election campaigns. The election campaigns of national parties in other MS may be coordinated with great differences from Swedish parties. Sweden is an interesting case to study since it has been a member of the EU for over 20 years, meaning the parties have had time to adapt to the European level. Euroscepticism was present among parties and citizens when Sweden joined the EU (Aylott, Bergman, and Blomgren 2013, 151)**,** but both parties and citizens in Sweden are becoming more positive towards the EU (SOM-institutet 2019). The reason for studying the Green Party and the Social Democratic Party are based on a strategic selection of typical cases of Swedish national parties and is further presented in chapter 4.

2 National and European Political Parties

This chapter begins with a general description of national political parties in Sweden and then presents the two Swedish parties chosen to study in this thesis, the Green Party and the Social Democratic Party. Sub-chapter 2.2 begins with a general description of Europarties and then describes the two Europarties studied in this thesis, the European Green Party and the Party of European Socialists.

2.1 National Political Parties

National political parties are key players in the European political system for several reasons. First, the national parties elect national party candidates who will run in the elections for a seat in the EP as MEPs. The system of electing candidates for the EP election in Sweden provides influence for national parties. In Sweden, the national parties conducts internal party selection processes of which candidates will be the party's official candidates in the European election. In the election, the voters can either vote for the party as a whole or choose a candidate from the parties' official list of 30-40 candidates. MEPs are therefore first selected as candidates by their national party organization, there after elected by the mandate of their national constituencies. There is an ongoing discussion on the proposal to establish a common European constituency. The aim is to Europeanize the European elections (European Parliament 2019). However, today and most likely for a time forward, the MEPs are elected by the mandate of national constituencies (Verger 2010, 10). Second, the national parties arrange campaigns for the European elections and the national election. In the campaigns, the parties set the agenda for the public debate by pushing certain political issues. Third, the national political parties are an important link between the European debate and the national citizens (Strömvik 2016, 12).

Two national political parties have been chosen for this study, the Swedish Green Party and the Swedish Social Democratic Party. The parties' election campaigns in 2014 and 2019 are analysed in chapter 5. For the benefit of the analysis of the parties' election campaigns, a description of the two political parties' history and organization is presented in the following sections.

2.1.1 The Social Democratic Party

The Swedish Social Democratic Party's full name is Social Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden ('Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti', S). The Social Democratic Party was founded in 1889 (The Social Democratic Party, 2017).

The party is a member of the Party of European Socialists (PES), and part of the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D). The Social Democratic Party had six seats in the EP in 2009-2014, five seats in 2014-2019, and five seats in 2019-2024. The success of the Social Democrats' election campaigns has been somewhat stagnant. The Social Democratic Party performed quite the same in the latest two elections, with five seats won in the European election in 2014 and five seats in the election in 2019. The party themselves sees this as a low result, since the party had aimed higher in the EP election and performs relatively better in the national election (Micko et al. 2015, 2).

Between 1998 and 2006, the Social Democratic Party was the leader of a minority government with the formal political support of the Left Party and the Green Party. The three parties have since 2006 had a close cooperation. In 2008 the three left-of-centre parties, the Green Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Left Party, formed their own 'Red–Green' pre- electoral coalition (Aylott, Bergman, and Blomgren 2013, 154–56). The Green Party and the Social Democratic Party formed a coalition government in the national election of 2014, which they continued in the national election in 2018. The Green Party and the Social Democratic Party have different ideologies, social democracy and green ideology, but are both on the centre-left side of the political scale.

2.1.2 The Green Party

The Swedish Green Party's full name is the Green Environmental Party ('Miljöpartiet de gröna', MP). The Green Party was founded in 1981 and has since then run in the elections of the national parliament and the EP. The Green Party is a member of the European Green Party (EGP), and part of The Greens/European Free Alliance Group in the EP. The Greens' Group in the EP is hereafter referred to as "GGEP".

The party had two seats in the EP in 2009-2014, four seats in 2014-2019, and three seats in 2019-2024 including one 'Brexit-seat' which the Green Party will be able to fill when (or if) the UK leaves the EU. The Green Party had a successful election campaign in 2014 where they won four seats in the EP (Hagberg 2014, 2, 33; Micko et al. 2015, 23). In the campaign in 2019 the party won three seats in the EP (Valmyndigheten 2019).

The Social Democrats and the Green Party were both sceptical of the EU before the people's vote on Sweden's membership in the EU. The Social Democrats were divided in two sides; those who campaigned against Sweden's membership and those who campaigned for Sweden to join the EU. The Green Party did not want Sweden to join the EU before the people's vote on the membership (Aylott, Bergman, and Blomgren 2013, 158–60). Both parties have however become more pro-EU over time. The parties' views of the EU differ from their respective Europarties. The EGP and the PES are positive towards a development of a more federal EU, while the Swedish parties are more critical towards transferring Member State competences to the EU (Wallner 2019; Stenevi 2019; Guteland 2019; Hassel 2019).

2.2 European Political Parties

There are two party organizational structures at the European level. One is the political groups of the EP, which the MEPs are members of. The other structure consists of transnational party federations (Europarties) (Hix and Høyland 2011, 140).

"Political parties at European level contribute to forming European political awareness and to expressing the will of citizens of the Union" (Article 10 TEU)

Europarties have not been seen as important actors in the European party system (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 11) and, partly because of their lack of resources, have not been given much scholarly attention (Hertner 2011, 322). However, Europarties have been subject to change in the last 20 years. Since the financing from the EP and the recognition of the Europarties as political parties instead of federations, the role of the Europarties has changed (European Parliament n.d.).

In 2003, the EU introduced a system for financing of Europarties and enabled the opportunity to form political foundations at a European level. Hence, political parties on the European level were officially established in 2003. One outcome of the new funds from the EP was that some Europarties used the funds to finance their national member parties. A new regulation (EU 2018/673) was therefore set in force that ensured that the funds where not allocated to national political parties. The new regulation had the aim to increase the Europarties' European dimension and established the right of the Europarties use of their funds to campaign for the European elections. Thanks to this, the Europarties are able to arrange Europe-wide campaigns for the European election, create common European manifestos and establish common policy positions among the MS (The European Green Party n.d.). Important to note is that the *political groups in the EP*, for example S&D and GGEP are not allowed to use EU funds to campaign for elections. This includes the MEPs. The political groups are however included in this thesis' analysis, but with a focus on the MS national parties' top candidates in the EP elections.

Since 2014 the Europarties' has the right to nominate candidates for the President of the EC (Article 17 TEU). The aim of the Spitzencandidate system is to strengthen the political legitimacy of the EP and the EC (European Parliament 2019). After the election in 2014 the European People's Party's (EPP) Spitzencandidate Jean-Claude Juncker was elected President of the EC. In 2019 the EPP's Spitzencandidate was Max Weber. However, neither Weber nor any other Europarty's Spitzencandidate was elected as President of the EC in 2019. Instead, the European Council put forward von der Leyen as their nominee, and the EP's role was essentially bypassed (De La Baume 2019). What this means for the coming Spitzencandidates and the European election remains to be seen.

2.2.1 The Party of European Socialists (PES)

In 1957, Six European socialist parties founded the Confederation "Socialist Parties of the European Community". The PES was officially founded in 1992 but has "created common manifestos for the European elections since the European elections in 1979." (Party of European Socialists n.d.). In 2019, the PES consisted of 33 full member parties, 12 associate parties and 12 observer parties. The member, associate and observer parties are socialist, social democratic, labour and democratic parties from the EU and Norway. Marita Ulvskog, currently MEP for the Social Democratic Party, is one of the PES four Vice-Presidents. The PES leadership consists of the President, Vice-presidents and the Prime Ministers and Deputy Prime Ministers of the member parties. Stefan Löfven, Sweden's Prime Minister and Party Leader of the Swedish Social Democrats, is therefore part of the PES's leadership (Party of European Socialists n.d.)

The PES's affiliated group in the EP is the Group of Socialists & Democrats in the EP (S&D). The PES's Spitzencandidate in 2014 was Martin Schulz and Frans Timmermans in 2019.

2.2.2 The European Green Party (EGP)

The EGP was funded in 2004 by 34 national parties. The same year the EGP conducted their first common European election campaign (The European Green Party n.d.). The EGP's affiliated group in the EP is the GGEP.

The EGP has 37 full member parties, four associate parties and three candidate parties. The Swedish Green Party is a full member party and a special member party, meaning that the party has MEPs in the GGEP. These MEPs exercise their membership collectively and exclusively through the GGEP's delegation to the EGP (European Green Party 2018, 4, 23). The EGP's political direction is decided in its Council meetings. The meetings are held twice a year, and delegates from all member parties are invited.

A tradition of European Green parties is to have two party leaders. According to tradition, the EGP have also put forward two nominees for the candidature as President of the EC. The

Spitzencandidates in 2014 was Ska Keller and José Bové, in 2019 Ska Keller was re-elected as a candidate together with Bas Eickhout.

3 Theoretical Framework

In this third chapter, an overview of previous research in the field of Europeanization, political parties and European election campaigns, is presented. The research presented in this chapter is discussed in relation to this thesis' research aim. The chapter explains how the thesis applies the theory of Europeanization to national political parties' European election campaigns.

The chapter will begin with a discussion and presentation of the definition of Europeanization that is applied in this thesis. Thereafter literature on Europeanization of national political parties and European elections is presented.

3.1 Theoretical Definition of Europeanization

A popular route to take when studying political parties and European integration is to apply the theory of Europeanization. The term Europeanization has been criticised by various scholars because of its vagueness and stretch of the definition (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 4–5; Ladrech 2002, 1). It is therefore essential to establish a clear definition of Europeanization. The definition of Europeanization in academic research is broad and depends on which aspects the theory is applied to. There have been quite a few studies applying Europeanization on national government institutions, policies, private and semi-public actors (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 1; Ladrech 2007, 211). There is, however, not many studies describing Europeanization and national political parties. Either as creators of European integration, or as influenced by European integration (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 1–2; Hertner 2011; Ladrech 2002, 389–90). Since the focus of this thesis is on national political parties, the definition of Europeanization applied is based on how the main researchers in the field of Europeanization of national political parties has defined Europeanization. In this field there is still variance in which definition that is applied (see (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 5–7; Hertner 2011; Poguntke et al. 2007). One of the

most established researchers in the field is Dr Robert Ladrech, Professor in Politics in the School of Politics, International Relations and Philosophy, Keele University, UK. This thesis applies the definition of Europanization as defined by Robert Ladrech in *Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions* (1994) and later further explained in *Europeanization and political parties - towards a framework for analysis* (2002). According to Ladrech, Europeanization is **"an incremental process re-orienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making. By 'organizational logic' is meant the 'adaptive processes of organisations to a changed or changing environment'. The emphasis is on the role of organizational adaptation, learning and policy change."** (Ladrech 1994, 2002, 391). Ladrech's definition is frequently used in previous literature (Hertner 2011; Poguntke et al. 2007). For example, Poguntke et al. have studied power and organization adaptation of political parties as an effect of Europeanization (Poguntke et al. 2007). The researchers here bases their definition on Ladrech's study and further defines Europeanization as "the impact of European integration on the internal organizational dynamics of national political parties" (Poguntke et al. 2007, 2).

Ladrech uses the term "domestic actors" or "national political parties", and sometimes "domestic systems" or "national party systems". The focus for this study, the national political parties, are domestic actors. Therefore, the concept of Europeanization is relevant to this thesis. However, an important distinction to be made is that this thesis does not study the national party system and the national parliament election. The national parties are a part of the European party system, since they are members of the Europarties and elect candidates for the EP election. At the same time, the MEPs are elected on the mandate of their national party and national constituency. Another sign of the complexity of the European election is seen in the research by Carter, Luther and Poguntke who state that several studies have addressed the issue of how parties have adapted their European election campaigns to European integration. They continue, however, by saying that the impact of European integration on national parties have been neglected (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 9–10). This highlights a part of the complexity of European elections - sometimes the election campaigns are separated from the national party organizations, even though both national and Europarties arrange European election campaigns. Since national parties are the ones who are creating European election

campaigns, in this thesis, Europeanization of election campaigns is seen as an extension of Europeanization of political parties.

3.1.1 Programmatic Content and Relations Beyond the Party System

Ladrech further defines Europeanization into five areas of investigation for evidence of Europeanization in parties and party activity. These are policy/programmatic content, organizational change, patterns of party competition, party–government relations, and relations beyond the national party system (Ladrech 2002, 396). This thesis will look at *programmatic content* and *relations beyond the party system*. The choice to focus on programmatic content and relations beyond the party system is based on the importance of these two aspects in election campaigns. The two areas are intertwined, which will be seen more clearly in the analysis. Ladrech's programmatic content means references in the party programme (election manifesto) to the EU, European issues, as well as references to the Europarties or other European colleagues (Ladrech 2002, 396). A change in party programme is one of the most obvious signs of Europeanization. Relations beyond the party system refers to transnational cooperation with parties from other EU MS. Europeanization can be seen in this aspect if the transnational relations leads to new organizational and programmatic activities.

These aspects have as well been chosen based on party theory. According to party theory, European integration influences intra-party organization in two aspects; votes and policy (Aylott 2002, 442; Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 8). The European dimension of the elections can differ in terms of both the content of the campaigns (policy) and the coordination with the MEPs and the Europarties (votes). Policy is characterized in this thesis as programmatic content, since programmatic content refers to election manifestos and prioritized campaign issues. Votes is characterized as relations beyond the party system, since relations beyond the party system regards campaign strategy and organization to compete for votes in the election.

All five of Ladrech's Europeanization aspects are connected to each other. Dimensions from the third aspect, *organizational change,* is included in the theoretical framework, however to a smaller extent than programmatic content and relations beyond the party system.

Organizational change refers to organizational modifications evolving from cooperation with European affiliations. Organizational modifications are internal party rules and statutes regarding the role and influence of the delegation to the EP, as well as organizational links with actors outside the national system. The fourth aspect, *patterns of party competition,* is seen when parties politicize the EU itself by targeting new voters by running a campaign with the message of pro-EU or anti-EU (Ladrech 2002, 397). The final aspect is *party-government relations.* The relations in EU issues between party and government becomes a push-pull relation, meaning that the party pushes the government to go further in EU issues that suits the party programme. The party then pulls the government in institutional EU matters (Ladrech 2002, 398).

3.1.2 Bottom-up and Top-down Approach

Ladrech further explains Europeanization as **"[…] the response of national actors to EU inputs could be believed to influence the supranational level as well, thereby suggesting that in some cases we may identify a reflexive relationship"** (Ladrech 2002, 39). Carter, Luther and Poguntke agrees with Ladrech's explanation of the inclusion of "Bottom-up" European integration (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 4–5). However, neither Ladrech nor Carter et al. places emphasis on the bottom-up approach in their studies (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 5; Ladrech 2002, 39). Other prominent researchers in this field have as well analysed Europeanization of political parties from both a top-down and bottom-up perspective. Börzel defines Europeanization as consisting of two dimensions, in where MS shape and apply to European policy outcomes. Börzel states that "Member States have an incentive to 'upload' their policies to the European level to minimize the costs in 'downloading". (Börzel 2002, 193–95) Europeanization can therefore be a circular flow and a two-way process. In this thesis, bottom-up then refers to how much (if at all) the national party influences the European party.

The purpose of this thesis is to describe to which extent national political parties have adapted their electoral campaign organizations to the European level of politics. This includes prioritizing activities of influencing the European level. Therefore, although this thesis focuses on the top-down aspect of Europeanization, it will also include the bottom-up approach.

3.2 Europeanization of National Political Parties Literature

As mentioned above, extensive research has been conducted on the main analytical framework used for this thesis, Europeanization. It is however recently that the impact of European integration on national political parties has started being systematically researched (Ladrech 2002, 389). Even less literature analyses national and Europarties' election campaigns, even though this research has begun to increase (Hertner 2011, 323). Research on Swedish parties is as well something that requires further scholarly attention (Aylott, Bergman, and Blomgren 2013, 2; Blomgren 2003, 1).

Since this thesis studies Europeanization of Swedish political parties, the aim is to add upon the research established by the leading professors of this field. Nicholas Aylott, Senior Lecturer at Södertörn University, Sweden, has done extensive research on Europeanization of the Swedish national party system, Swedish parties and EU politics. Aylott's research on Swedish political parties in *The Europeanization of National Political Parties* (2007) is valuable to this thesis. The findings of the research are that there has been a limited degree of organizational adaptation by political parties in Sweden and in several other MS (Aylott 2007, 207–8; Ladrech 2007, 212–13, 218). The authors find that MEPs and other EU specialists are not enhanced in their intra-party influence. Aylott argues in his study *Let's discuss this later - party responses to Euro-Division in Scandinavia* (2002), that Swedish politics as well suffers from compartmentalization, meaning that political parties are dividing national politics from EU politics. Party leaders compartmentalize EU issues by using referendums in important EU decisions, making voters disconnect European politics from national politics. European politics is seen as a special political issue that needs special political tools, such as referendums. The party leaders refer to this strategy because they do not want the voters to realise that the party has an internal conflict on the EU issue. Aylott further explains that the three arenas the parties act in are the electoral, parliamentary and intra-party, and means that compartmentalization has consequences for the party in the electoral arena (Aylott 2002, 442). It could be hard for a party to lead an effective election campaign because the voters do not know what the party stands for in European politics (Aylott 2002, 456–57). This conclusion is connected to the aspects presented by Ladrech, especially referring to

programmatic content. This aspect of compartmentalization can then be a sign of the party's election not being Europeanized. The opposite, if the parties connect EU issues to national issues, could similarly be a sign of Europeanization.

Senior Lecturer in Political Science and Head of the Department of Political Science at Umeå University, Magnus Blomgren, agrees with Aylott and highlights the same issue of compartmentalization. Blomgren further finds that compartmentalization is a method evolved to handle intra-party conflicts on EU issues (Aylott 2002, 1; Aylott, Bergman, and Blomgren 2013, 159). The issue of European integration has disrupted party politics in Denmark, Norway and Sweden in various ways. The article assesses the impact of internal division over Europe within certain parties, and parties' responses to it. It is argued that party leaderships have increasingly attempted to compartmentalize and to isolate certain European questions. This can be observed in, for example, party leaders' resort to referendums to decide contentious EU-related matters. However, Lisbeth Hooghe and Gary Marks, both Professors of Political Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, argues in *A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus* (2009), that the national debate in European MS is becoming more connected to the European debate. If that is the case, the increased connection is likely to be partly based on the parties' clearer focus on European issues in their campaigns and increased cooperation between the national and European level. The content of the national debate leading up to the European election is not analysed on its own in this thesis, but the parties' programmatic content in the campaigns is discussed in chapter 5.

Blomgren has as well conducted extensive research comparing national party links to the MEPs by applying role theory in *Cross-pressure and political representation in Europe: A comparative study of MEPs and the intra-party arena* (2003). Here, Blomgren reaches the conclusion that Swedish political party organizations have not managed the coordination with the MEPs and the parties struggle to include the MEPs in their organization. There is a lack of interest and knowledge of the EU and the MEPs, which leads to a weakening of the MEPs' influence (Blomgren 2003, IV, 292). This research was conducted in 2003 when Sweden had been a member of the EU for 8 years, which leads to interesting questions regarding the current situation. Is the coordination between the national party and the MEPs still not well functioning, and the MEPs still not included in the party organization? Blomgren's study brings up the aspect of EU expertise by emphasizing the importance of MEPs' influence in

the internal party organization. EU specialists or EU experts are MEPs or party staff with an EU brief. As mentioned above, according to Carter et al. EU expertise is another sign of Europeanization (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 8–14). If the EU specialists have received a higher degree of influence in the national party because of their EU expertise, it is a sign of Europeanization. This accounts for both formal processes (alterations to party structures) and informal processes (change in actor behaviour within the party structures). One of the informal processes mentioned in the study is MEPs' role in creation of election manifestos (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 17–18). In this thesis, the MEPs' role in the creation of the manifesto and the prioritized issues is evaluated as a part of the aspect of 'programmatic content'. The aspect of EU expertise is therefore included in the theoretical framework of this thesis. However, EU expertise is given a less significant role than in Carter, Luther and Poguntke's research. This thesis focuses on the campaigns, and therefore only includes the role of the MEPs in the campaigns. The role of the MEPs is most significant in the creation of the manifesto and the prioritized issues.

3.3   Elections to the European Parliament Literature

Besides the literature on national political parties and European integration, the literature on European elections and campaigns is relevant for this thesis. Much of the current literature on European elections pays attention to the "second-order" aspect, meaning that national elections are perceived more important than European elections. These studies have shown significant findings of the effect of many voters' perception of European elections as less important than national elections. The most obvious effect of the second-order view is low voter turnout (Hix and Høyland 2011, 146-149). At the same time as the EP's decision-making powers are increasing, the public support for the EP is decreasing and the voter turnout to the European Parliament remains low in almost all MS. Sweden is in fact one of the MS with the highest difference in turnouts to the national parliament elections and the European Parliament elections. In 2014 the turnout in the national parliament election was 85,81%, and 51.07% in the EP election the same year. In 2018 the voter turnout to the national election was 87,18%, and in 2019 the voter turnout to the EP election was 55,27% (Valmyndigheten 2019). One explanation of why European elections are seen as second-order elections has been given to the lack of attention given to European politics by national

political parties(Hix and Høyland 2011, 151). The lack of attention from the media, education system and politicians has led to a view of the European election as insignificant and complicated. It is therefore necessary to study the actors with the responsibility to create a public debate on European issues in Sweden – national political parties.

Several studies have been conducted on national political parties' general campaign strategies, and some even on European election campaigns. See for example *Political Communication in European Parliamentary Elections* by Strömbäck, Maier and Lee Kaid (2011). Less researched are the intra-party aspects of the European elections, both of national and of Europarties (Aylott, Bergman, and Blomgren 2013, 1). The theory of Europeanization has rarely been systematically applied to European election campaigns. Furthermore, the role of the Europarties in the campaigns have received little scholarly attention (Hertner 2011, 321, 323–24). The following section will present the most relevant literature on Europeanization of European election campaigns, for this thesis.

Dr Isabelle Hertner, Lecturer in Political Science at King's College, London, has conducted a study on social democratic parties' campaigns prior to the 2009 EP Election (2011). Hertner's study emphasizes the co-ordinational and programmatic aspects of the campaigns. She states in her study that European elections are an interplay between the national and the European level, and the European dimension of the elections is therefore essential to study. Hertner raises the question of why the European dimension of the European elections should be analysed – are they not European in nature? According to party theory it is not certain that external stimuli will lead to an intra-party change (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 8). Furthermore, the fact is though that the Europarties have for a long time neither had the financial nor organizational resources to arrange European campaigns (Hertner 2011, 322–24). The less significant role of Europarties has led to more pressure being put on national parties to arrange successful campaigns. The parties have had to adapt to European integration by arranging these European election campaigns, and there is a wide spectrum between *how* the election campaigns are arranged. "The underlying question remains one of whether national parties see a benefit in Europeanizing their election campaigns. In 2009, this was not the case" (Hertner 2011, 344).

Nicholas Aylott and Malena Rosén Sundström, Senior Lecturer at the Department of Political Science, Lund University, study Swedish parties' campaigns prior to the European election in

2009 in *European parliament election briefing no.37 - The European parliament election in Sweden* (2009). The authors reach the conclusion that the European election campaigns in 2009 were genuinely European in their nature and that European politics has been smoothly internalised in the Swedish debate. However, the researchers emphasize that the European common manifestos were never mentioned in the campaigns. Other aspects as well signalled that European politics still has a marginalised position in the Swedish discourse (Aylott and Sundström 2009, 13–14). The study further finds that the parties' lead candidates are highly important in the European elections (Aylott and Sundström 2009, 13). This thesis has therefore chosen to focus on the MEPs in their role as MEPs as well as lead candidates for the national party in the election. Aylott and Sundström finds that the Green Party campaigned in accordance with the EGP's campaign "A Green New Deal" in the national arena. The Social Democratic Party's campaign slogan was "Jobs first", which can be linked back to the fact that the party did not place enough emphasis on the issue of unemployment in the earlier national election. Also seen in the study was that there was a more Eurosceptical feeling in the Social Democratic Party's platform in the election campaign of 2009 (Aylott and Sundström 2009, 6–7).

Nicholas Aylott, Magnus Blomgren and Torbjörn Bergman conducted an extensive study of Nordic parties in multi-level polities (2013). The study applies the theory of principals and agents to the 'black box' that is intra-party organization. Blomgren's chapter on Swedish parties explains the European election results in 2004 and 2009, and states that Euroscepticism among voters has declined. Another conclusion reached is that the Swedish parties have a long tradition of close relations with their international affiliations (Aylott, Bergman, and Blomgren 2013, 162–63).

To conclude, the theoretical framework of this thesis relies on the following aspects of Europeanization: change in programmatic content and relations beyond the party system, and includes both top-down and bottom-up influence.

Figure 1 - Theoretical Framework, constructed from Ladrech (2002), Hertner (2011), Börzel (2002) and Poguntke et al. (2007)
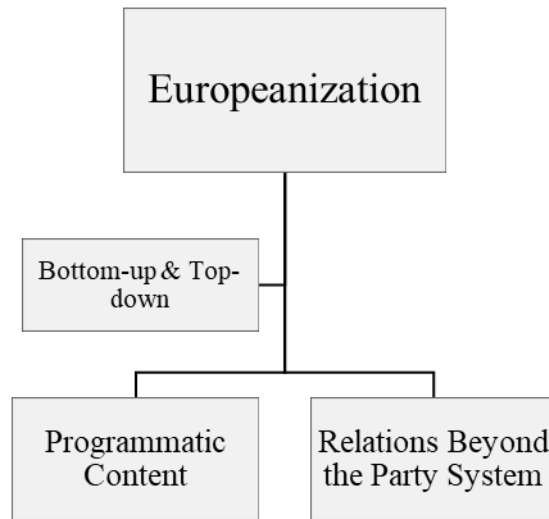
4 Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology applied in the thesis, including discussions on the strengths and weaknesses of the chosen research design. The research design of the thesis is qualitative, and the aim of the research is to provide a descriptive comparison of two Swedish political parties' coordination of their campaigns prior to the elections to the EP in 2014 and in 2019, in order to see to what extent the election campaigns have been Europeanized. The chosen method is therefore to compare to describe.

The empirical material consists of interviews with campaign managers and MEPs and information collected from the parties' election campaigns evaluations in 2014.

4.1 Qualitative Design: Compare to Describe

In order to answer the question of how the political parties have adapted to the European level of politics, this thesis conducts a qualitative comparative case study of the structure of the electoral campaigns of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and the Swedish Green Party in 2014 and 2019.

This thesis applies the method of qualitative design. It does so because the field of research on the research topic is limited and there is a need for a detailed analysis of the development of European election campaigns. As mentioned in the literature review, there is need for more research on the field of Europeanization of political parties' and election campaigns (Hertner 2011, 322; Ladrech 2002, 389). Therefore, in order to answer the research question, to what extent the Swedish national political parties' campaigns for the European election have become Europeanized, empirical material on the organization of the parties' election campaigns has been collected. It is essential that every aspect of the campaign is accounted for, in order for the conclusion to be correct. A qualitative design is therefore chosen based on going into depth of the party campaigns.

One of the weaknesses of qualitative design is that only a limited number of cases can be analysed in depth. It would have been interesting to, for instance, conduct a statistical analysis of a larger number of national parties and compare their election campaigns. The qualitative design presented in this thesis will though hopefully lead to a deeper understanding of how national parties adapt to the European level of politics. A further weakness of a qualitative descriptive design is the difficulty for the researcher to choose how to evaluate the values of the aspects measured (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 135–36). In this thesis this refers to the measuring of the level of Europeanization of the campaigns. This obstacle is tackled by creating a detailed operationalization index based on previous studies by prominent researchers in the field of Europeanization.

The study is deductive since it starts from a theoretical point of view and applies the theoretical framework to the empirical material. The theoretical framework is based on the theory of Europeanization. An operationalization of Europeanization is then applied to the empirical material to analyse the development of the Social Democratic Party's and the Green Party's election campaigns. This thesis is *theory consuming*. It is an appropriate method to use when there are few studies conducted on the thesis topic (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 40–41), which is the case in the field of Europeanization of election campaigns. Theory consuming is as well relevant when the focus of the thesis is on a few specific events. In this thesis, European election campaigns are analysed based on their form of organization. This thesis could also have *tested* the theory of Europeanization, by testing if Europeanization is the explanation for how the parties' campaigns are arranged. If the European election campaigns are not Europeanized, then is the theory of Europeanization a credible theory? However, in order to answer the research question of this thesis, theory testing is not necessary.

4.1.1 Generalization, Reliability and Validity

The thesis is a theory-oriented case study in the field of Europeanization of national political parties (George and Bennett 2005, 69). A focused structured comparison is conducted, and variables from established scholars in the field of Europeanization and election campaigns are applied to the empirical material. The analysis is conducted on four campaigns in total. The low number of cases that can be analysed in a comparative few case study is a weakness of

the research design. Scholars mean that no generalizations can be drawn from such a low number of cases. The reason for studying two parties in this thesis rather than conducting a single case study is the ability to improve the conclusions that can be drawn from the study (Yin 2007, 76). If one development or sign of Europeanization can be seen in both parties, the credibility of the findings increases. Other researchers, however, state that the criteria for generalization is not dependent on the number of cases but in the *strategic selection* when collecting the cases (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 158–59). This thesis has applied the method of strategic selection of cases, which will be described in the next section. Furthermore, the aim of this thesis is not to generalize, but to find new empirical data on election campaigns and to create a framework that may be applied or adapted by more scholars. The findings may also be built upon by further studies who uses structured focused comparisons to analyse other national political parties' election campaigns.

George and Bennett (2005) establish certain criteria that needs to be achieved for a structured focused comparison to be made. Following their advice during the data collection, the same set of standardised questions were asked to all interviewees, with the distinction of minor differences between the interviews with the MEPs and the campaign managers. The standardised questions are essential for the data to be comparable and reliable (George and Bennett 2005, 69–70; Yin 2007, 54–55). The questions have been carefully selected to reflect the operationalization index. Prior to the data collection an operationalization must be made, since the reliability of the study also depends on a correctly created operationalization (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 57–59; Yin 2007, 59–60). Operationalization is a detailed description of how to add values (low/medium/high coordination) to the variables (programmatic content and relations beyond the party system) of the analytical units (the parties' campaigns) through empirical observations, or "how to measure what we intend to measure". This study uses the reasoning strategy, meaning it will apply an operationalization used by previous researchers (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 60).

This thesis is descriptive and therefore seeks to describe the development by applying the theory of Europeanization. Since the aim is to describe development with the aid of Europeanization, it is essential to know how to characterise the development (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 19). Is the change a cause of European integration or something else? When seeking causality, or internal validity, it is important to exclude factors that are not connected to the theory that is used (Yin 2007, 54–57). External factors that could have

impacted the parties' campaigns that does not count as Europeanization are national circumstances. In 2014 there was the "super election year", meaning that both the European election and the national, regional and local elections took place in the same year in Sweden. It is likely that this had an influence on how the parties campaigned. In order to ensure that a change in campaign strategy is not a result of national circumstances (Ladrech 2002, 396), the empirical material is collected with these circumstances in mind. In practice, the interviewees were asked why the party had made or not made changes in their organization.

4.1.2 Comparative Case Study

The analytical cases of the study consist of the Swedish Social Democratic Party in 2014 and in 2019, and the Swedish Green Party in 2014 and in 2019. Robert Ladrech states that the researcher of Europeanization and political parties should trace changes in a party back to an EU source, or else to recognize an intended use of the EU as a possible aid in the resolution of an issue, or to evaluate the problems that the presence of the EU issue presents for parties. Ladrech further states that covering a definite link would be a persuasive evidence of national parties' multilevel cooperation (Ladrech 2002, 396). The analysis uses time as a comparative point (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 147), to describe the adaptation of parties to the European level of politics. The analysis is based on the question of how the parties' election campaigns have changed between the years and identifies the characteristics of the election campaigns in 2014 and 2019. The campaigns are then classified as low, medium or highly coordinated (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 136–136).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, a number of authors have conducted research on European election campaigns, in 2009 (Aylott and Sundström 2009; Hertner 2011), 2004, 1999 and 1995 (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 18). This study draws upon the findings of the studies of the election in 2009 and complements this research by analysing campaigns in 2014 and 2019. The campaigns to the European elections generally start one month before the elections, and the preparations of the campaigns often begins one year before the election (Hassel 2019; Wallner 2019). The analysis includes the period from when the campaign planning starts to the election day. This means that the fall of 2013 and the fall of 2018 is included in the case of 2014 and in the case of 2019. The study will not use 2009 as a comparative time period. In order for the thesis to include 2009 as a case, it would require

more empirical data from the campaign managers, MEPs as well as election evaluations in 2009. However, the interviewees who worked with the election campaign in 2014 may provide valuable insight on the development of the campaigns from 2009. The year of 2009 will therefore be included as well in the analysis, but to a smaller extent than 2014 and 2019.

The choice of studying *Swedish* political parties is based on both practical and theoretical reasons. The main practical reason is Swedish language skills which are valuable to the data collection, primarily the election evaluations which are written in Swedish. The main theoretical reason is the low amount of research that has been conducted on Swedish parties' European election campaigns. A further theoretical reason is the fact that Sweden is sometimes seen as a "reluctant" Member State. When Sweden joined the EU, Swedes were some of the most unenthusiastic citizens in the EU and Euroscepticism has remained, however to a smaller extent, in the national party system (Aylott, Bergman, and Blomgren 2013, 151). This makes Sweden an interesting case study for Europeanization.

The Social Democratic Party and the Green Party in 2014 and 2019 are chosen on the selection of typical cases (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 164–65) Typical cases are units of analysis which are typical for the whole population the study seeks to analyse. In this thesis, national political parties. Although, as mentioned above, the aim of this thesis is not to generalize the results but to add more understanding to the study of Europeanization and European election campaigns, it is important to strategically select which cases to study (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 164–65). The selection of the Social Democratic Party and the Green Party is based on the parties' similarities and differences in intra-party aspects likely to influence the European dimension of the parties' election campaigns. The parties share similar views of the EU, and have been in a coalition government in the national parliament since 2014. The parties' main differences are political ideology and history. It is therefore interesting to study their European election campaigns to see if certain developments can be seen or not seen in the two parties' election campaigns.

4.1.3 Ideal Type Analysis

The parties' campaigns are analysed based on "Ideal Type analysis" (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 140). An ideal type is a thought construction that is used as an analytical instrument to purify

certain characteristics, classify the cases, and to shape hypotheses (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 137). An ideal type does not exist in reality (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 146–47). The question asked in this thesis' analysis is not if the parties are ideal type Europeanized parties, but rather how far the parties have developed in terms of Europeanization. Furthermore, the ideal type is a political-theoretical framework that is used as a grid on the information that is to be analysed (Bergström and Boréus 2005, 159–60). This thesis applies the theoretical framework of Europeanization established by Robert Ladrech (2002), and specifically looks at programmatic content and relations beyond the party system. The ideal type is as well based on Hertner's (2011), Börzel's (2002) and Poguntke et al.'s (2007) studies.

The variable of coordination between the national and European level in campaigning and election manifestos are given values of high, medium, or low (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 45). The ideal type of this thesis is a fully Europeanized party, meaning a party that reaches "high" in all coordination levels. The hypothesis is that the parties have not reached high in coordination of programmatic and relations beyond the party system. However, the parties are expected to reach higher levels in 2019 than in 2014, and therefore having experienced a certain degree of Europeanization.

4.2 Operationalization

In order to properly apply the method of ideal type analysis, an operationalization of the theoretical framework needs to be established (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 57–59; Yin 2007, 59–60). The aspects of top-down and bottom-up, as well as EU expertise, is included in the operationalization. A different imaginable operationalization could be to focus more on the aspect of EU experts as well as bottom-up influencing, as has been done in previous studies and is relevant to the study of Europeanized election campaigns. In this thesis, these aspects are not analysed by themselves as in Börzel's study (2002) or in Poguntke et al. (2007), but rather as a part of the programmatic content and relations beyond the party system. Ladrech's third aspect 'organizational change' is included in both programmatic content and relations beyond the party system. It is included because it refers to international and European relations as well as the role of the MEPs (Ladrech 2002, 397).

Hertner states that a fully Europeanized European election campaign entails*:* "Increased campaign funding; a campaign focusing on European topics; a widely supported and used common European election manifesto; close cooperation between the Europarties and their member parties at different levels of the party organization and a common candidate for the presidency of the European Commission" (Hertner 2011, 325).

Poguntke et al. sees a Europeanized party as one where EU specialists have active involvement in intra-party processes and EU specialization is an asset in intra-party power relations (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 18). Hertner's, Börzel's and Poguntke et al.'s Europeanization aspects are put into Ladrech's framework of programmatic content and relations beyond the party system.

The programmatic content refers primarily to the coordination and the content of the national party's and the European party's election manifestos, as well as the prioritized issues that the national and the Europarty emphasizes during the campaign. The aspect of EU expertise is included here in the "Role of the MEPs".

Relations beyond the party system refers to the relation between the national party and the Europarty (EGP/PES), the political group in the EP and the Spitzencandidates. The aspect of bottom-up and top-down is included here.

To summarize, the ideal type of a Europeanized party is one that campaigns with its' Europarty, includes the MEPs, focuses on European issues, and uses the European common manifesto. The full operationalization index is presented below.

Figure 2 - Operationalization of Europanization, based on Ladrech (2002), Hertner (2011), Börzel (2002) and Poguntke et al. (2007)

ASPECTS	COORDINATION		
PROGRAMMATIC CONTENT	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
Election Manifesto	*The party has not created a national manifesto. The party only uses the common manifesto*	*The national manifesto is influenced by the common manifesto. The common manifesto is promoted in the national campaign*	*The national manifesto is not influenced by the common manifesto. The common manifesto is not promoted in the national campaign*
Prioritized Issues	*The prioritized issues in the national campaign can be solved on a European level*	*The topic of the national campaign is a mix between European and national issues*	*The prioritized issues of the national campaign can only be solved on a national level*
Role of the MEPs	*MEPs have an active role in creating the national manifesto and the prioritized issues*	*MEPs are marginally included in creating the national manifesto and the prioritized issues*	*MEPs are not included in creating the national manifesto and the prioritized issues*
RELATIONS BEYOND THE PARTY SYSTEM			
Europarty Campaign Resources	*The Europarty campaign resources are widely used in the campaigns*	*The Europarty campaign resources are marginally used in the campaigns*	*The Europarty campaign resources are not used in the campaigns*
The Spitzencandidates	*The Spitzencandidates are widely promoted in the national campaign*	*The Spitzencandidates are invited to the national campaign*	*The Spitzencandidates are not mentioned in the national campaign*
EP Political Group	*The party promotes the EP group in the national campaign*	*The party mentions the EP group in the campaign*	*The party does not mention the EP group in the campaign*
National Party Influence	*The party actively influences the Europarty's policies and candidates*	*The national party attends the meetings of the Europarty*	*The national party does not attend the meetings of the Europarty*

4.3   Data Collection Methods

The empirical material for this thesis consists of interviews with party officials and of internal party documents. The interviews were conducted with representatives from the national party organization and from the EP, who have deep insight and personal experience from the campaigns in 2014 and in 2019.

It is essential that the study is not too far in time from the actual period that is being studied (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 19). The year of 2014 is recent enough for the interviewees to be able to answer questions on the 2014 campaigns. To strengthen the empirical material, the parties' election evaluations from 2014 are analysed as well. The other part of the empirical material therefore consists of internal party election campaign evaluations from 2014.

4.3.1   Semi-structured Interviews

The main empirical data is collected from interviews with informants with deep insight in the campaigns in 2014 and 2019 (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 266). The choice of conducting interviews as the main empirical material for the thesis is to complement previous research (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 256–57).

Interviews are the most effective method to use in this study since the aim is to develop a deeper understanding of internal party structure, campaign coordination and relations between different levels of politicians and party staff. Interviews is the most appropriate method to use in this thesis since the information sought is difficult to find in other ways. The interviews were focused (Yin 2007, 116) and semi-structured (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 266) meaning that the interviews began with open questions of the type "how did you organize the party's campaign?" and "how did the party create the election manifesto?". The interviewees were given space both in the beginning and in the end to share their own views of the coordination of the campaigns. These open questions increase the chances for as many aspects as possible are included, even aspects not considered by the interviewer. After the open questions more direct questions were asked. The full interview guides are found in Appendix 1.

One important aspect to consider when conducting an interview study is how the information collected from the interviews will be used. In this thesis, the empirical material is to be seen as descriptions of reality as the interviewees perceive it (Lundquist 1993, 108–10). Furthermore, interviewees might have a tendency (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 285–86; Lundquist 1993, 109–11) to paint a picture that is in their favour. The interviewees may therefore be reluctant to provide critical views of the party campaigns since they have been the ones participating in or organizing them. On a positive note, this also means that if an interviewee criticises a campaign, the information is likely to be true. The tendency to provide a version of the campaigns in order for something to seem worse than it is is quite low (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 285–86). However, in order to minimize the risk of gathering skewed empirical material, two informants have been interviewed on each campaign (the campaign manager and the MEP). This reduces the risks of relying too heavily on one informant's perspective and experiences. Besides interviews on the campaigns in 2014, election evaluations of 2014 are analysed as well. This ensures that if the interviewees would miss some vital piece of information, it will be picked up in the election evaluation analysis. Furthermore, the conclusion takes all these factors into account, and it should therefore not negatively influence the quality of the research.

The selection of interviewees is based on the interviewees' ability to provide information and their own perspective of the election campaigns. In some cases, the "snowball effect" was used when finding the interviewees. Interviews were conducted 'face-to-face' when possible and over the phone when it was not possible to meet. The interviews were 30-45 minutes in length, and in Swedish.

The interviews have been with the following informants:

- *Anders Wallner, Campaign Manager 2014, The Green Party*
  Anders Wallner was the party secretary in 2011 to 2016, and in this role elected as the campaign manager of the European election campaign and the national election campaign.

- *Märta Stenevi, Party Secretary 2019, The Green Party*
  As Party Secretary, Märta Stenevi was actively involved in the party's European

election campaign in 2019. Stenevi also participated in the campaign as one of the party's top 10 candidates.

- *Bodil Valero, MEP 2014-2019, The Green Party*
  Bodil Valero was an MP in the Swedish national parliament in 2006-2014, and in 2014 she was elected as MEP. Valero was one of the party's top candidates in the Green Party election campaign in 2014 and in 2019.

- *Emma Lennartsson, Deputy Campaign Manager and Head of Staff 2014, The Social Democratic Party*
  Emma Lennartsson has had many leading positions in the Social Democratic Party and was in 2013 elected as the Deputy Campaign Manager for the European election and the national election.

- *Johan Hassel, International Secretary 2019, The Social Democratic Party*
  As international secretary, Johan Hassel oversees the relations with the party's international and European partners. Hassel has been involved in all aspetcs of the 2019 European election campaign, especially by handling the relations between the Social Democratic Party and the PES.

- *Jytte Guteland, MEP 2014-2019 and 2019-2024, The Social Democratic Party*
  Jytte Guteland has been a MEP since 2014 and was the party's lead candidate in 2014 and in 2019.

4.3.2 Document Analysis

The other part of the empirical material consists of the Social Democratic Party's and the Green Party's evaluations of their European Parliament election campaigns in 2014. A qualitative document analysis (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 210–12) is conducted in the analysis. Qualitative document analysis means a thorough analysis of the content, the document as a whole and the context of it. Similarly as for the interviews, the operationalization index is used on the document analysis to classify (Esaiasson et al. 2012, 210–11) parts of the

evaluations into low/medium/high coordination. The following documents has been collected for analysis:

- *The Green Party Election Evaluation 2014*
  Author: Emilia Hagberg, 2014.
- *The Social Democratic Party Election Evaluation 2014*
  Authors: Lena Micko, Åsa Westlund, Jesper Bengtsson, 2015.

These evaluations are valuable for the study since they are important documents for the parties in their development of the campaigns. The evaluations can therefore be expected to provide a relatively accurate depiction of the campaigns.

Evaluations from 2019 have not been able to be included in the analysis, since they have not been completed yet. However, it has been more important to find more information from 2014 since it is further away in time and the interviews on 2014 therefore naturally lacks more information than the ones conducted on the campaigns in 2019.

5   Analysis

The analysis is based on the empirical material consisting of interviews and election evaluations. The ideal type operationalization is placed as a grid on the empirical material. The aim of the analysis is to find the level of coordination between the national and the Europarties during the campaigns in 2014 and 2019.

The analysis is divided in two sub-chapters: programmatic content and relations beyond the party system. The sub-chapters consist of sections divided by the variables presented in the operationalization index. Each section begins with a description of the Green Party's campaigns in 2014 and in 2019, after which the Social Democratic Party's campaigns in 2014 and in 2019 are described. The sections are concluded by an analytical discussion. The main findings from the analysis are concluded in Chapter 6.

The aspects are interlinked and at times overlap, but have been divided into sections with the aim of making the analysis as clear as possible.

5.1   Programmatic Content

Programmatic content refers to the content and creation of the national manifestos and the party's prioritized issues in the campaigns. It also includes the role of the MEPs in the process of creating the manifestos and establishing the prioritized issues.

5.1.1 National and European Common Election Manifestos

PROGRAMMATIC CONTENT	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
Election Manifesto	*The party has not created a national manifesto. The party only uses the common manifesto*	*The national manifesto is influenced by the common manifesto. The common manifesto is promoted in the national campaign*	*The national manifesto is not influenced by the common manifesto. The common manifesto is not promoted in the national campaign*

In 2014, the Green Party felt they could stand behind the main part of the EGP's common European manifesto in the national campaign, and "it was the first time some of us thought that next time we might be able to campaign with it" (Wallner, 2019). The Green Party therefore used the European common manifesto in the 2014 election campaign. The use of the manifesto was however quite modest. The common manifesto was published on the party website but was not highlighted in the national campaign. The reason for not relying on the common manifesto in the campaigns was the Green Party's aim to push issues in which the party has high credibility and that mobilizes high support in Sweden (Wallner 2019).

Neither in 2019 did the Green Party use the common manifesto in the campaigns. The Green Party used their national manifesto with their own formulations and priorities. Certain issues, such as phasing out the use of coal in energy production, is emphasized by the EGP since it is an important topic in many MS. Sweden has already phased out coal, which means that it is not an important topic for Swedish voters. Hence, the issue of coal is not emphasized in the Green Party's national manifesto (Valero 2019). The national manifesto was however influenced by the common manifesto, and the EGP's prioritized issues are mirrored in the national manifesto. There has been a close cooperation between the national and European level, "during this election, the Green movement in Europe has put a lot of effort into keeping a close dialogue between all national green parties in Europe" (Stenevi 2019).

The Green Party's MEP used the EGP's manifesto in the campaigns in 2009, 2014 and 2019, because the EGP produces well-made online material that can be spread to the voters. Valero suggests that Sweden is a bit stubborn in the sense that the Swedish parties are still relying on national manifestos, "many other MS campaign with the common manifesto, but we [parties in Sweden] insists on creating our own manifesto" (Valero 2019).

The Social Democratic Party in 2014 share a similar image as the Green Party in 2014. The party published the common manifesto on their website but did not use it in the campaigns (Lennartsson 2019). The Social Democratic Party's national manifesto in 2019 and the PES manifesto in 2019 are similar in content. In certain issues, such as environment and climate, the national and the Europarty share the same views. Furthermore, the Social Democratic Party stand behind PES's main message (Hassel 2019). However, regarding especially welfare policies, the policies are similar, but the emphasis is different. Sweden's level of welfare is higher than in many other MS, which makes the proposals in the common manifesto not ambitious enough in a Swedish context (Hassel 2019). Certain issues, such as minimum level wages, are important on a European level for many Social Democratic parties in Europe. However, "it is something that is not applicable in Sweden since we have collective agreements regulating minimum wages, so it is an issue we would support in other European countries but not emphasize in a Swedish campaign" (Hassel 2019). The Social Democratic Party did not use the PES manifesto in the campaigns in 2019 since the content of it is not relevant to the Swedish voters (Hassel 2019; Guteland 2019). The point of the election campaigns is to reach Swedish voters, and Swedes are interested in what the Swedish Social Democrats will do in the EP. Therefore, it is the national manifesto that is relevant (Hassel 2019).

Besides looking at the PES manifesto, the content of the Social Democratic Party's national manifesto depends on other factors. The party looks at which processes are currently ongoing in the EU and what the party's MEPs have done and said in these processes. The party studies the work by the MEPs in the last five years to see where actions need to be complemented and proposals added into the manifesto (Hassel 2019). The aim is to build upon the current work by the MEPs. The promises the party has made in the national election campaigns matter as well. National and European issues are woven together because political decisions are made on both national and European level for certain issues (Hassel 2019). Hence, many political issues the Social Democratic government works with in Sweden are connected to the work by the Swedish Social Democratic MEPs.

To conclude, both the Green Party and the Social Democratic Party has created national manifesto in 2014 and in 2019. The Green Party does mention the possibility of relying solely upon the European common manifesto and the Green MEP has relied on the common manifesto in her campaigns. However, it does not seem to be near in the future for neither

party to solely rely on the European common manifesto. This means that the national parties do not reach 'high' in coordination, neither in 2014 nor in 2019. The parties were, both in 2014 and 2019, influenced by the Europarties when creating their own manifestos (Stenevi 2019; Wallner 2019; Lennartsson 2019; Hassel 2019). The Social Democratic Party share that they were more influenced by the PES manifesto in 2014 than in the campaign in 2009 (Lennartsson 2019). The Green Party share an image of intentional closer cooperation between the national and European level in 2019 (Stenevi 2019). However, the sector policies that the parties run in the campaigns may differ from the Europarties' sector policies. How much the national party can rely on the common manifesto depends on how relevant the policy proposals in the common manifesto are to the Swedish audience. To conclude, the parties are influenced by the common manifestos but does not promote the European manifestos in the national campaigns in 2014 and 2019. The parties' coordination is therefore valued into 'medium' to 'low' coordination. This means that a development towards more use of the European common manifesto, is not found.

5.1.2 Prioritized Issues

PROGRAMMATIC CONTENT	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
Prioritized Issues	*The prioritized issues in the national campaign can be solved on a European level*	*The topic of the national campaign is a mix between European and national issues*	*The prioritized issues of the national campaign can only be solved on a national level*

The Green Party's 2014 campaign manager means that "The Green Party has since 2009 been proud of creating European election campaigns on issues that the EP can actually work with" (Wallner 2019). The Green Party have had similar prioritized issues both 2014 and 2019: climate and an open Europe in 2014, and climate and human rights in 2019 (Stenevi 2019; Wallner 2019; Valero 2019; Hagberg 2014, 10). The Green Party emphasize these topics in the campaigns because climate, human rights and fair migration politics are the most important issues to work with in the EP (Valero 2019; Hagberg 2014, 10). In 2014, however, there were some proposals that were not in the area of competence of the EP in the Green

Party's manifesto. This year it was ensured that only issues that can be solved on a European level were in the manifesto (Valero, 2019).

Climate, human rights, development and other European and global issues are topics many voters believe that the EP should work with (Wallner 2019; Stenevi 2019). The Green Party has high credibility in these fields (Wallner 2019) and part of the Green Party's ideology is globalism (Stenevi 2019). Hence, it has been both natural and strategic for the Green Party to discuss European issues both in 2014 and in 2019 (Stenevi 2019; Wallner 2019): "The Green Party haven't always liked the EU, but we have liked the issues that can be focused on in European elections" (Wallner 2019).

The Green Party and the EGP had synced campaign messages and common prioritized issues in 2019; the climate and human rights (Valero 2019; Stenevi 2019). The similarities were even to the point of the Green Party's campaign being mostly a translation of the EGP's campaign (Wallner 2019). The similarity in prioritized issues has made it easier for the Green Party to have a coordinated campaign with the EGP.

The Social Democratic Party's 2014 deputy campaign manager says that "We have, in every European election campaign, driven issues that we think can make a difference on the European level." (Lennartsson 2019). In 2014, the Social Democrats' campaign focused on jobs, a fair work market and the environment. The manifesto explained to the voter why they should vote for the Social Democrats by providing arguments of why their policies were of benefit to the Swedish citizens. The content of the manifesto therefore partly gave the impression that the party pursue their European political goals for the purpose of protecting Swedish interests, and that this should make Swedish citizens more inclined to vote for the Social Democrats (Micko et al. 2015, 42). In the case of job policies, the party did not have any concrete European policy proposals. The proposals that were put forward were in the competence of MS (Micko et al. 2015, 43). In the areas of a fair work market and environmental protection, the party had proposals solvable on the European level. The environmental issue was not prioritized as much as the fair work market in the campaign (Micko et al. 2015, 42-44).

The ambition of the Social Democrats 2019 election campaign was to emphasize European level politics and to link national issues to European issues. This strategy increased the voters'

knowledge of the national and European level's connection and has likely helped to shift the political debate to include more European issues (Hassel 2019). The Social Democrats in 2019 chose their prioritized issues based on the conflict of values from the national election in 2018 and which of these matter on the European level. These conflicts were in the areas of democracy, worker's rights and climate. These three topics became the Social Democrats prioritized issues in the European election in 2019 (Hassel 2019).

The programmatic content of both the Social Democratic Party's and the Green Party's European election campaigns in 2014 was also influenced by the national election that took place in September in the same year. The year of 2014 has been referred to as the 'super election year' ('Supervalår') because of the European election in May and the national, regional and local election in September. The European election was a dress rehearsal for the national election campaign, both by the parties (Wallner 2019; Micko et al. 2015, 46; Hagberg 2014, 7) and by the media (Micko et al. 2015, 36)**.** 22 % of the media's reporting of the European election included some reference to the national election (Micko et al 201, 36). The European election was very much a 'second-order' election and the national election a 'first-order' election (Micko et al. 2015, 11). The Social Democratic Party's campaign in 2009 was even more focused on the national election, that took place in September 2010. This national focus in the Social Democratic Party's European election campaign in 2009 had a negative impact on the party's credibility. Learning from this, the party placed a stronger emphasis on European politics in the campaign in 2019 (Micko et al. 2015, 7-8). Another effect of the super election year was that the connection between national and European politics was seen more clearly with the two elections so close in time (Micko et al. 2015, 46-47).

To conclude, both parties share that the prioritized issues in the European election campaigns seem to have been more European and less influenced by national circumstances in 2019 than in 2009 (Guteland 2019; Valero 2019; Hassel 2019; Micko et al. 2015, 4-5, 45). The content of the 2019 campaigns was also more focused on European sector policies and contained "less discussion on how the EU functions, which earlier election campaigns have been very tinged by" (Hassel 2019). The election campaign in 2019 took one step towards discussing policies in the same way that parties discuss policies in national election campaigns. This refers to discussing sector policies rather than how the EU functions. Hence, it appears as if there may be a development towards more European content in the national campaigns.

This perceived shift in prioritized issues could be explained partly by the issues that have been on the agenda: climate and human rights and democracy (Wallner 2019, Hassel 2019). In 2019 the climate was ranked as the public's most prioritized issue for the EP to work with. With the rise of extreme right-winged parties in Europe, human rights and democracy rose high on the agenda as well (European Parliament 'Eurobarometer' 2019) A lot of the policies influencing these issues are under EU competence. In 2014, the issues were the economic situation, unemployment and on third place climate change and environment (European Commission 'Eurobarometer' 2014) The shift is also explained by the issue that was not on the agenda: Sweden's membership in the EU. Some had anticipated that the Left Party and the Swedish Democrats would run campaigns with the messages of a "Swexit" (Svenska Dagbladet 2019). This was anticipated because both parties are EU-sceptics and have many party members who are critical of the EU. However, neither party run campaigns with critical messages of Sweden's membership in the EU. This had an impact on the content of the public debate, since a larger part of the debate could focus on policy proposals rather than the membership issue. In 2019, there was therefore less debate on Sweden's EU membership (Hassel 2019; Guteland 2019).

Both parties, however, point to the fact that it is not fully up to the political parties to set the agenda for which issues will be discussed in the public debate in the election campaign. The media also has an important role to play (Valero 2019; Guteland 2019). Media reports the news they find most relevant, which is not often European policy proposals. As an example, a few months prior to the European election in 2019 Swedish news reported widely on how MEPs declare their receipts from EU grants: "The media is completely uninterested in what we do here [in the EP], they are more interested in receipts" (Valero 2019). MEPs are trying to make the media understand the importance of the MEPs' work in the EP and its' effect on the Swedish citizens as well.

Furthermore, both in 2014 and 2019, the media and the public became aware of the election campaign two to three weeks before the election (Guteland, 2019; S EE 2015; p. 34; Valero 2019). "This is a similarity between 2014 and 2019 - as a candidate I felt that society was not really in it" (Guteland 2019). In the public debate, the election campaign was on the agenda for a period of time too short to engage voters (Micko et al. 2015, 22; 34; Hagberg 2014, 30). According to both parties, both the parties and the media have a responsibility in this. The

Green Party states that the party should discuss European politics regularly: "The election campaign begins the day after the election" (Valero 2019). (Guteland 2019). The party needs to show that hat European politics is Swedish politics and arrange congresses, study circles and small campaigns in between the elections (Guteland 2019; Micko et al. 2015, 6). "I'm not afraid to say that in order to increase the voter turnout and establish more faith in representative democracy, European issues needs to be more present at the parties at home in between the elections" (Guteland 2019). If the parties communicate that the European election is important, they cannot grow quiet after the election. This is crucial for the party to be able to conduct a successful European election campaign. The scope of the European election campaign is as well influenced by the fact that the national parliament does not close 1-2 months prior to the European election, as it does for the national election. In the national election, all representatives and staff can commit fulltime to the national election since there is no work in the national parliament. The EP closes during the campaign period, but that only affects the MEPs and the staff in Brussels. For the national staff, work goes on as usual and they are limited in how much time they can spend on the European campaigns (Lennartsson 2019; Hagberg 2014, 12).

5.1.3 Role of the MEPs

PROGRAMMATIC CONTENT	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
Role of the MEPs	*MEPs have an active role in creating the national manifesto and the prioritized issues*	*MEPs are marginally included in creating the national manifesto and the prioritized issues*	*MEPs are not included in creating the national manifesto and the prioritized issues*

The national manifestos are the basis for the national parties' campaigns, but the manifestos also have great importance for the party's MEPs. The importance is not only connected to the campaigning, but to the fact that the manifestos are the MEPs', who are re-running for office, operation plans for the next five years in the EP. It is the document the MEPs follow and evaluate after the election period to see which goals have been fulfilled. The manifestos are a platform and a basis for the continued work in the EP. It is from them that the MEPs get the party's and the voters' confidence (Valero 2019; Guteland 2019).

Both parties' processes of creating the national manifesto is as follows; a working group drafts a manifesto together with MEPs and other members of the party. The draft is then put up for consideration, and this part of the process looks a bit differently in the two parties. After the consideration, the party board makes the final decision to accept the manifesto.

The Green Party's process of creating the manifesto in 2014 and 2019 did not experience much change between the years. A working group creates a manifesto draft, with the advice from MEPs and other party representatives and staff. The draft is then sent to party members and the local and regional party departments for evaluation and feedback (Valero 2019; Stenevi 2019). 2014 was the first time there was no congress, instead the draft was published on an internal website for members to electronically vote. The same process took place in 2019. In 2019, there were only a few weeks reserved for evaluation of the draft manifesto (Valero 2019). After this process, the party board has the last say. This means that the party board has the most influence over the manifesto for the Green Party. The MEPs who are also members of the party board have the most active role of the MEPs in the creation of the manifesto (Wallner 2019).

For the Social Democratic Party, the process of creating the manifesto has also been similar in 2014 and 2019. The first step is to prepare the draft in a working group. The working group consists of staff from the national party organization and from the EU offices (Lennartsson 2019). The MEPs have the possibility to send feedback to the working group. The MEP who was the party's top candidate has a formal secured access to the process by being automatically co-opted in the meetings of the executive committee. In 2014 this was Marita Ulvskog, and she attended several meetings and had contact with her Swedish party colleagues in the EP prior to the meetings (Lennartsson 2019). After the consideration process, the draft is processed in the executive committee that consists of elected representatives. The final step is to give the draft to the party board for the final decision.

The national party board has the most influence over the manifesto for both parties. The MEPs become representatives of what the party board decides. The MEPs' role is to participate in the process, to add important issues they will work with in the EP and to make changes if certain proposals are unrealistic (Guteland 2019). The MEPs have more expert knowledge of the political processes happening in the EP during the MEPs' term of office, than the Party Board has. The Party Board focuses on the election, but does not follow up on

the manifestos in between elections (Guteland 2019). It is a natural role for the MEPs to take on this expert role and it is important that the MEPs are given influence, to ensure that the manifesto only contains policy proposals that are solvable on a European level (Valero 2019). "It is bit of praise and blame from an MEP - we do not participate as much as we would like but are still able to put our grid on the manifesto" (Guteland 2019). Furthermore, when the process is as open as it is for the Green Party, the risk is that parts of the manifesto are changed by the members into proposals that are not possible to achieve in the EP (Valero 2019). Perhaps, the MEPs should be given some more influence over the manifesto and be able to have the last say before establishing the final product. After all, it is the MEPs who knows the competences of the EU and the EP (Valero 2019).

Besides the MEPs, the MEPs' staff in Brussels are also defined as EU experts (Carter, Luther, and Poguntke 2007, 8–14). In 2014, there was a lack of cooperation between the Social Democratic Party's national organization and the party's staff in Brussels and "the staff in Brussels perceived that their knowledge and competence was undervalued" (Micko et al. 2015, 47). The national party organization, on their hand, found the material provided by the MEPs' staff could not be used in the campaign. This led to a weakened coordination between the Brussels staff and the national staff (Micko et al. 2015, 47).

The decision of the national party's prioritized issues is another essential part of the campaigns where the role of the MEPs matter. For the Social Democrats in 2014, the MEPs were included in the process of creating campaign material and similar activities (Lennartsson 2019). However, the prioritized issues are chosen first and the party's candidates second. The candidates are chosen based on representation of target voter groups and the prioritized issues.

In 2019, The Green Party's prioritized issues were chosen in discussion with the party's top candidate. But the top candidates were not as included as the party had wished in 2014 (Wallner 2019; Hagberg 2014, 10). The Green Party's top candidates have become more influential since 2009 and 2014. One of the main changes between the Green Party's campaign in 2014 and 2019 was the role of the top candidates and the MEPs. In 2014, the campaign focus was on the two top candidates. This year, the party spread the focus to the four top candidates (Valero 2019).

MEP Jytte Guteland was re-elected as one of the party's top candidates in the 2019 European election. This time as an MEP she participated in the general activities of the campaign, in the preparatory discussions and could communicate her Brussels staff's views of the campaign. While in 2014, when Guteland run for EP office for the first time, she was less involved in the party's central election campaigns. Therefore, Guteland had more influence in 2019 than in 2014 because of her role as an MEP (Guteland 2019). The role of the top candidates depends on whether they are MEPs or not. Similarly, the role of the MEPs in the election campaigns depends on whether they are candidates or not. The most influential actors in the campaigns are the MEPs who are re-running for the EP (Guteland 2019; Hassel 2019).

To conclude, the MEPs are involved in the creation of the national manifesto. The Green Party's MEPs (who are also top candidates) are more involved than the Social Democrats' MEPs (who are also top candidates), when deciding which issues to prioritize in the election campaigns. Both parties' MEPs share that they could be more involved in the process of creating the manifesto, meaning they are still a bit undervalued as EU experts. However, neither MEPs emphasizes this as a main issue. In 2014 and 2019, the Social Democratic Party's MEPs and top candidates are included in the process of creating the manifesto, but only the top MEP has a formal seat in the process and is actively involved. The party's MEPs/top candidates are marginally included in deciding the prioritized issues. The findings suggests that there has been a small development towards a more active role of the EU experts, the MEPs, in the campaigns of the Green Party.

5.2   Relations Beyond the Party System

Relations beyond the party system refers to the coordination between the national party's and the Europarty's campaign, the Spitzencandidate, the political groups of the EP. It also includes the national parties' influence on the Europarties.

5.2.1 European Party Campaign Resources

RELATIONS BEYOND THE PARTY SYSTEM	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
Europarty Campaign Resources	*The Europarty campaign resources are widely used in the campaigns*	*The Europarty campaign resources are marginally used in the campaigns*	*The Europarty campaign resources are not used in the campaigns*

"As I remember it, the EGP were barely even mentioned in the 2009 election campaign plan" (Wallner 2019). In 2014, the Green Party wanted to make it more visible that the election campaign was coordinated with the Europarty and the Green Party's European sister parties (Wallner 2019). Although the inclusion of the EGP was only symbolical, the party felt it was important to connect the national party to the Europarty. One symbolic action was to, for the first time, use the EGP's logo in the national manifesto. This is a symbolic action because the use of the EGP's logo is not in any way a "vote-magnet" since the party does not gain support from including the Europarty in this way (Wallner 2019). In 2014, the EGP arranged common campaign days across Europe. The campaign focused on EU maritime policies. The national parties campaigned at the same time in the different MS, Sweden included. Besides this, the Green Party's Spitzencandidate Ska Keller visited Sweden for the party's election kick-off in Stockholm. All in all, the Green Party arranged around a handful of activities coordinated or connected with the EGP (Wallner 2019).

The EGP hired a campaign coordinator in 2018 which made it easier for the Green Party to work with the EGP in the election campaign in 2019 (Valero 2019). The improved status and financing of the EGP may have increasingly strengthened the role of the EGP (Wallner 2019; Valero 2019). In 2019, "it is clear that the EGP has had a much higher level of ambition to arrange a truly green European campaign that everyone can recognize themselves in" (Stenevi 2019). The EGP entered the 2019 election campaign with a clear ambition of cooperation between the national parties to be able to arrange a coordinated European campaign. Many Green national parties in Europe have arranged their own national campaigns, but the voters have been able to recognize traits from the different national Green parties.

The Spitzencandidates Ska Keller and Bas Eickhout both visited the national Green Party campaign in 2019 (Stenevi 2019). Their visits are described further in section 5.2.2. Regarding the campaign material, the Swedish Green Party used their national material, their own graphic profile and focused on the most important European issues for the Swedish voters. The Green Party has, however, shared parts of EGP's common campaign which they adapted to their campaign material and used in the national campaign. This refers mostly to the EGP's social media campaigns, where the Green Party used the EGP's base and adapted the material to fit the national campaign better (Stenevi 2019).

The Green Party was given the possibility in 2014 and 2019 to use more of the campaign material produced by the EGP, but for an interesting reason they rather used national campaign material. The EGP's material (flyers, poster etc) is produced in English and not often translated to Swedish, and when it is, the quality of the Swedish texts is too low for the party to use it in the campaign (Valero 2019). The national parties cannot expect their voters to understand perfect English and therefore need the material in Swedish. The national parties have the possibility to get the material translated to Swedish (Valero 2019). The translated version is correctly written but the language has a short of flow and makes the texts uninteresting. In an election campaign, it is crucial that the texts are easy to follow and convincing. The party could be better at requesting to get the material in Swedish, but if it is not well done then there is no point (Valero 2019).

There is another interesting reason for why the parties does not rely on the Europarties' campaign resources, in terms of both campaign material and visits by the Spitzencandidate (Wallner 2019; Hassel 2019). One of the aims of the European campaigns is to aid the national political parties who have limited resources to campaign themselves. These parties have low support in their member state and does therefore not receive enough funding to conduct successful election campaigns. The Europarties' resources are therefore essential for the national parties' election campaigns. In comparison with other Green parties, the Swedish Green Party was quite unique in 2014 in having such high national support. The Social Democratic Party also has high national support. Both the Green Party and the Social Democratic Party are relatively well resourced and able to conduct far-reaching election campaigns. The parties therefore wished to leave the EGP's campaign resources to national parties who needed it more. A comparison between the different national political parties' use of the Europarties campaign resources could be an interesting focus for further studies.

Further research may study if there is a difference between how national parties with low support and national parties with high support use their European resources.

The PES had higher ambitions in 2014 than in 2009 in coordination of the campaigns. The Social Democratic Party welcomed the PES's campaigns but did not take any own initiatives since the party was satisfied with the activities arranged by the PES (Lennartsson 2019). The campaign included a visit by the Spitzencandidate Martin Schulz to Umeå. High coordination between the national party and the Europarty is important for the Social Democratic Party to be able to say that "these are issues that all social democrats in Europe stands behind" (Lennartsson 2019). A strong link increases the credibility of the party living up to the promises they make in the election campaign (Lennartsson 2019). However, the Social Democratic Party mentions that there was no official aim to coordinate more with the PES in 2014 than in 2009, and the party does not work specifically with increasing the cooperation during the campaigns. Because of the difference in pre-conditions in the MS during the campaigns, there may not be any gain in coordinating more between the national and European level. The campaigns need to be adapted to national circumstances, which makes it difficult to have too high ambitions to campaign together with the PES. There are more shared views among the MS today than before, but in the end it all comes down to what works for the party's own voters. When parties arrange an election campaign, they base the content and activities of the national public (Lennartsson 2019).

The Social Democratic Party's election evaluation of the campaign in 2014 focused on the content of the campaign, but as well on the organization and coordination of the campaign. The evaluation brings up the coordination between the national party organization and the MEPs and the Brussels staff. The Green Party's election evaluation brings up the successful coordination between the different levels of local, regional and national party organization (Hagberg 2014, 33). However, in neither election evaluation is there a mention of the Europarties. Not to include the coordination between the national and the Europarties may indicate the national parties' view of the Europarties as unimportant actors in the 2014 campaigns.

In 2019 the Social Democratic Party coordinated campaigns together with the PES. The most important part of the national campaigns was the visit by, and the party's communication of, the PES's Spitzencandidate Frans Timmermans. Besides the visits by Timmermans, the

Social Democratic Party did not arrange further campaign activities with the PES. However, the national party's own campaign was experienced as more coordinated in 2019 than in 2014. The national party campaign seemed to contain more activities in 2019 than in 2014. For example, there was a start-up conference for the campaign in February 2019, which there was not in 2014 (Guteland 2019). Important to mention is that this perception may be influenced by the fact that Guteland was not an MEP in the election in 2014 and therefore may not have noticed all the party's central campaign activities (Guteland 2019).

The super election year in 2014 influenced the European election campaigns, both in the sense of which issues to prioritize, as discussed in section 5.1.2, and which strategies to use (Micke et al. 2015, 2; Hassel 2019; Hagberg 2014, 8). The national elections are important to the development of the European election campaigns. The personnel resources in the European election campaign in 2014 were higher than in the 2009 campaign, in order to 'trim' the election organizational staff for the national election in 2014 (Wallner 2019; Micko et al. 2015, 4). Both the Green Party's and the Social Democratic Party's kept their European election organization and European campaign strategy in the national election campaign in 2014 (Wallner 2019; Lennartsson 2019). In 2018 the Social Democrats performed a successful national election campaign and therefore used the experiences of the national election. The Social Democratic Party built upon the experiences from the 2014 national and European election when planning the 2019 election campaign. The 2019 campaign was also built from the national election in 2018 in deciding which campaign strategies to use etc (e.g. door-knocking) and to a certain extent which issues to prioritize (Hassel 2019).

To conclude, the Green Party and the Social Democratic Party marginally used the EGP's campaign resources in 2014. In 2019, the Green Party relied on the EGP's campaign resources to a higher extent than in 2014, and the coordination between the national and European level experienced a considerable increase. The coordination in the campaign activities between the Social Democratic Party and the PES in 2019 does not seem to have experienced any major changes, besides from the Spitzencandidate, which will be further analysed in the next section.

5.2.2 The Spitzencandidates

RELATIONS BEYOND THE PARTY SYSTEM	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
The Spitzencandidates	*The Spitzencandidates are widely promoted in the national campaign*	*The Spitzencandidates are invited to the national campaign*	*The Spitzencandidates are not mentioned in the national campaign*

The previous section generally discussed the link between the national and the Europarties' campaigns. Important aspects in this link are the Spitzencandidates, and the candidates to the political group of the EP (GGEP and S&D) which will be analysed in the next section. Important to note here is that the Spitzencandidate system was introduced for the first time in 2014. The analysis therefore naturally excludes aspects from the campaigns in 2009.

In 2014, the EGP's Spitzencandidates were Ska Keller and José Bové. Keller visited Stockholm in April 2014 where she attended and spoke on the Green Party's election kick-off (Wallner 2019). Keller also campaigned together with the Green Party in Stockholm's subway stations. The Green Party used social media to push for the debate between the Spitzencandidates where Keller debated for the EGP. The Green Party communicated Keller to the Swedish voters by sharing a picture of the debate between the Spitzencandidates. Keller stood out among the other candidates as the only young female candidate. Feminism was ranked high on the public agenda in the European election in 2014, and it was a clear message that the EGP was the only Europarty with a young woman as candidate for the Commission President.

In 2019, both EGP's Spitzencandidates, Ska Keller and Bas Eickhout, visited Sweden. Keller visited Sweden for an interview in the beginning of the campaign, and Eickhout campaigned in Sweden towards the end of the campaign (Stenevi 2019). The Spitzencandidates have their own coordinators who invites the candidates to the national campaigns (Valero 2019). In one instance, the Green Party had to turn down the Spitzencandidates offer to visit because of the national party lacked the time to organize the visits. The visits require a considerable amount of extra work because the activities need to raise a lot of media coverage. Otherwise it is not worth the effort for the Spitzencandidates to visit the national campaign. The amount of extra work is hard to prioritize for the campaigners (Valero 2019).

In 2014, the PES arranged common European campaign days with the Spitzencandidat Martin Schulz (Lennartsson 2019). Party leader and Prime Minister Stefan Löfven met with Schulz in Berlin in April 2014. In May 2014, Schulz was invited to the Swedish national campaign to attend a party campaign activity in Umeå. The event was successful in terms of voter and media attention. The Social Democratic Party found the visit exciting since something like it had never been done by the party before. But it was also a risk to invite a politician from another country. It was not certain that Schulz, who has a background in German politics, knows precisely where his political views separates from the Swedish social democrats' views (Lennartsson 2019). The Social Democratic Party were, furthermore, generally sceptical of the Spitzencandidat system in 2014 (Lennartsson 2019; Hassel 2019).

In 2019, the Social Democratic Party remained sceptical towards the Spitzencandidate system. The party argues that the position of the President of the EC is not a political post and with the EP electing the President it creates a stronger federal dimension of the EU (Hassel 2019). Furthermore, on a more practical note, the Social Democratic Party and its' candidates are more recognizable to the voters than their MEPs, the Spitzencandidate or the S&D leader. The MEPs, the Spitzencandidate and the S&D are further from the voters, and the Swedish voters are more interested in the Swedish parties' lead candidates than the European colleagues and the Spitzencandidate. The parties' need to reach out to their voters with a campaign specifically aimed and adapted to the Swedish audience (Hassel 2019). However, the party is gradually becoming more accepting of the Spitzencandidate process, and does believe that the Spitzencandidates increases the feeling of a European constituency and a common European debate (Hassel 2019).

In the 2019 campaign, the PES's Spitzencandidate Frans Timmermans visited the national campaign on two occasions. The first time was to the party congress where he spoke to party members and other interested listeners from the public. During this visit Timmermans was interviewed by Swedish media, the media channel SVT, to discuss European social democratic policies. The second time was to participate in conversations with Margot Wallström and Stefan Löfven on the topic of the European election. The party used these visits to increase Timmerman's visibility among the Swedish voters. Besides these visits, the Social Democrats mentions Timmermans in the national manifesto (Hassel 2019). Timmermans was perceived to be a good representative and spokesperson for social

democrats in Europe with his focus on climate and feminist issues (Hassel 2019; Guteland 2019). Timmerman's rhetoric and politics are similar to the Social Democratic Party's way of communicating (Guteland 2019). "In this campaign, the Spitzencandidate has been more important for us than the European common manifesto" (Hassel 2019). Hence, Timmermans was a candidate well suited for the Swedish electorate (Hassel 2019), and the party promoted Timmermans more than they promoted Schulz in the 2014 campaign (Guteland 2019). It matters *who* is the Spitzencandidate, for the party to use or not use the Spitzencandidate in the campaign. The development is therefore connected to personality (Hassel 2019). But the development may also be connected to the fact that the Spitzencandidat is becoming more "popular" and a more natural part of the European election (Guteland 2019), both for the public but also for the Social Democratic Party.

To conclude, the Spitzencandidates were definitely promoted in the national parties' campaigns in 2014 and 2019, both by visiting the national campaign and by the national party communicating the candidates on social media or in the national manifesto. The Spitzencandidates were seen more often in the Green Party's and the Social Democratic Party's campaigns in 2019 than in 2014. However, even in 2019 the Spitzencandidates were quite modestly promoted and the Spitzencandidate is given much less attention than the national party's top candidates. The coordination level is "medium", both in 2014 and 2019.

5.2.3 Political Groups of the European Parliament (GGEP/S&D)

RELATIONS BEYOND THE PARTY SYSTEM	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
EP Political Group	*The party promotes the EP political group in the national campaign*	*The party mentions the EP political group in the campaign*	*The party does not mention the EP political group in the campaign*

The Green Party emphasizes the difficulty of communicating the GGEP in the election campaigns in 2014 (Wallner 2019). In the European election campaigns, the national parties must spread awareness and information on the European election, which national party and national candidates to vote for. To include information on the political groups in the EP and the sister parties in Europe is complicated to package into a message that is easily accessible for the voters. It is difficult especially since there is such a limited public and media space for

a small party such as the Green Party. The party needs to use this limited space to talk about their national candidates (Wallner 2019). Therefore, the communication of the GGEP in 2014 was low. The Green Party is however becoming increasingly proud of the GGEP and the EGP. In 2014, the Green Party did use the GGEP and the party's progressive sister parties in Europe as arguments in the national debates. To use the groups in this way is an effective way of showing the European political conflicts between the national parties.

In 2019, MEP Valero wrote debate articles with other Scandinavian MEPs and with her Catalonian colleagues (Valero 2019). Prior and during the election campaign in 2019 there was a frequent dialogue between the national green parties' top candidates to the EP. The GGEP strategically worked towards creating a united group that is a credible actor in the negotiations in the EP, and that can handle being the balance of power (Stenevi 2019).

The Social Democratic Party has had more cooperation between the national party/MEPs and the European colleagues in between the elections than during them, in both the election campaign in 2014 and in 2019. High coordination between the different levels is important for the top candidates to be more prepared for their time in office (Lennartsson 2019). The party has for a long time sought to strengthen the shared structures between the national party, the PES and other European social democrats: "the EU is an important decision-making arena, and the more coordinated we [social democrats in Europe] are, the stronger is our influence on the questions we are prioritizing" (Lennartsson 2019). The MEPs in the S&D are often active in the PES as well, which makes the coordination between these organizations smooth. And the Social Democratic Party has staff who follow different policy processes in the S&D and in the PES, so the horizontal link good as well (Guteland 2019).

However, since the voters elect national MEPs, it is less relevant for the voters to be introduced to MEPs or national parties' top candidates from other MS (Hassel 2019). Both the Green Party and the Social Democratic parties also share a risk of campaigning with the other national parties (Wallner 2019; Lennartsson 2019; Hassel 2019). By communicating the Spitzencandidates and other MS national parties' top candidates, the national parties clearly connect themselves to the European party. "The closer you connect yourself to another actor, the more you have to take responsibility over their politics" (Wallner 2019). To make this connection is a risk because it means that the national parties need to take responsibility for all European candidates instead of only their own national candidates, and "it is quite enough

to have a list of 25 candidates and make sure they have not been involved in any scandals" (Wallner 2019). Election campaigns are focused on risk minimizing (Wallner 2019; Hassel 2019), and if a national party communicates the political group of the EP as very central, it opens for a possibility for journalists to scrutinize all parties' MEPs and European candidates (Wallner 2019). The connection between the national party and the political group of the EP makes the national parties vulnerable, since there is no way for the Green Party or the Social Democrats to control the other MS national parties' candidates. Other top candidates may support policy proposals that may be perceived as negative in a Swedish context. For example, some candidates might have federal views of the EU and propose, in a Swedish context, controversial proposals (Wallner 2019). It can be quite tough for the national party to defend other countries' candidates. This strategy was even used by the Swedish Green Youth Party in 2014, when they connected the Swedish Moderates to Silvio Berlusconi (Wallner 2019), since both the Moderates and Forza Italia are members of the EPP-group in the EP. The Green Youth Party successfully communicated to the voters that the Swedish Moderates and Christian Democrats were in the same group as other parties that seem extreme from a Swedish perspective.

5.2.4 National Parties' Influence on the European Parties

RELATIONS BEYOND THE PARTY SYSTEM	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
National Party Influence	*The party actively influences the Europarty's policies and candidates*	*The national party attends the meetings of the Europarty*	*The national party does not attend the meetings of the Europarty*

In 2014, the Green Party's influence on the EGP's election manifesto creation was focused on "damage control" (Wallner, 2019). This meant ensuring that the issues of conflict between the MS were not included in the manifesto. The Green Party saw the risk of having to defend issues in the national campaign that the Green Party did not stand for. The engagement of the Swedish Green Party in the EGP was defensive (Wallner 2019). The delegation to the Europarties attempts to direct the common manifesto to include more issues relevant to the Swedish voters (Wallner 2019; Valero 2019). The Green Party MEP shares a similar image of the general role by Swedish national parties in the EU and means that "the other member

parties think that Sweden is a bit special. We sit on our high horses and have another type of moral compass, which can get a bit corny sometimes" (Valero 2019).

In 2014 the EGP attempted to engage its members in the process of selecting the Spitzencandidates. This process was however difficult for the Green Party to communicate internally. Under a short period of time the Green Party's members voted on the Spitzencandidates, the national manifesto, and the national candidate list. To communicate these processes internally and at the same time preparing its members for the upcoming campaign was a challenge (Wallner 2019).

In 2014, the EGP was dedicated to making all green parties in Europe feel like the organization is perceptive and that the parties belong together. The Green Party felt more listened to by the EGP in 2014 than in 2009. The party also felt that the EGP was paying more attention to the parties who were more reluctant than other parties of transferring more competences to the EU. The Green Party was an important part of the transnational organization and were able to use the material produced at the meetings. This was a substantial change from earlier European common campaigns in 2004 and 2009. In 2004 and 2009 the Green Party attended the meetings but felt that the finished campaign products, especially the common manifesto, was very far from the Green Party's politics. The material was not relevant to the Swedish voters (Wallner 2019).

In 2019, the EGPs seem to have become continued the development of more acceptance of the national parties who are more reluctant to a federal EU (Valero 2019; Stenevi 2019). The political differences between the member parties of the EGP in 2019 are still regarding EU competences.

From 2009, the Green Party has moved in a political direction that has enabled a closer cooperation with the EGP (Wallner 2019; Stenevi 2019). "The party has developed from being Eurosceptic to becoming one of Sweden's most pro-EU parties" (Stenevi 2019). Before 2014, the Green Party's participation in the EGP's meetings was more focused on creating relations with European colleagues than influencing the policies of the EGP (Wallner 2019). The Green Party's internal development has influenced their activities and made the party spend more resources actively participating in the democratic processes in the EGP.

The Social Democratic Party share the same challenge of being members of a Europarty with other member parties with more federal views of the EU (Wallner 2019; Hassel 2019; Lennartsson 2019). In 2014, some European social democratic parties wished for more far going proposals in the manifesto, especially regarding welfare policies. But the Social Democratic Party views welfare policies as belonging in national competence and does not support a European tax system. The Social Democratic Party therefore sought to hinder these more federal views in the common manifesto. However, when it comes to environment and climate issues, most MS in the PES have the same political views on how far-reaching the proposals should be.

In 2019, the Social Democratic Party has been in the Presidency of the PES and has therefore taken an important role in the process of creating the European common manifesto. The Party Leader Stefan Löfven attended the PES European election kick-off where the manifesto was approved. The party states that it is substantial that the party engages in the creation of the European common manifesto (Hassel 2019). The most important process in the PES in 2019 was however the election of the Spitzencandidate. Here, the Social Democrats have increased their presence (Hassel 2019). Furthermore, there is a constant uploading and downloading of policy exchange. The Social Democratic Party learn from their sister parties' policies and strategies and downloads the experiences to the national campaign (Hassel 2019; Guteland 2019). The Social Democratic Party influences the PES as well, and even uploads more than they download social democratic politics to the PES (Hassel 2019).

To conclude, both parties influence the Europarties in the process of creating the election manifesto, deciding which issues to prioritize in the European campaigns and electing the Spitzencandidate. Furthermore, both parties placed great emphasis on their actions as influencers of the Europarties (bottom-up). Almost all interviewees brought up early in the interview how their supranational influence as an important part of the cooperation between the national party and the European party (Valero 2019, Wallner 2019, Lennartsson 2019; Hassel 2019). A development towards a more active engagement by the Green Party and the Social Democratic Party can be seen, and the coordination is 'medium' in 2014 and 'high' in 2019.

6   Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to provide more understanding to the coordination and content of Swedish national parties' European election campaign. By following the theoretical framework conducted from previous researcher's studies, the thesis has analysed the Swedish Green Party's and Social Democratic Party's campaigns in 2014 and 2019. The analysis has sought differences between the campaigns in 2014 and 2019, to see to what extent the campaigns have become Europeanized.

The findings from the analysis suggests that that there has been a development in the aspect of programmatic content for both parties between the elections in 2014 to 2019. Both parties securely state that the 2019 campaigns' prioritized issues were European in nature, and that the content of the campaigns are becoming more and more European. Both parties have made efforts to ensure their manifestos contain issues relevant for the EP, not for the national parliament. However, the programmatic content of the campaigns are prioritized based on the relevance for the Swedish voters rather than how important the topics are in the EU.

Further findings from the analysis are that the national parties' relations beyond the party system are increasingly becoming more coordinated. The parties are using the resources of their Europarties more in the campaigns and the campaigns have experienced better coordination between the national and the European level. Both parties have also increased their own role in the relations with the Europarty since 2009 and 2014, mainly regarding the creation of the manifesto and selecting the Spitzencandidate.

The role of the MEPs in the campaigns does not seem to have experienced any significant changes between 2014 and 2019. A question that remains is whether the Social Democratic Party's Brussels staff still see themselves as undervalued in 2019, and if the Green Party's Brussels' staff feel as their EU expertise is valued? An interesting topic for further research would be to study the role of the Brussels staff in the election campaigns in 2014 and 2019.

Further studies could also be conducted on the perspective of the Europarties, with a focus on how European campaign coordinators experience the European campaigns in 2014 and 2019.

Hertner emphasized in her study that an essential part of the European election campaigns is whether or not the national parties gain votes from arranging more "European" campaigns. For the Green Party it seems as if they do, at least in terms of the prioritized issues. For the Social Democrats, they may not gain from cooperating more with their European counterparties during the election campaigns, but rather in between the elections.

It seems as if although the Europeanization has been to a rather "medium" extent, the national parties' European election campaigns are moving towards more European content and are being closer linked to the Europarties. It remains to see whether this development will continue in the same pace or speed up as the national parties and the Europarties become more and more coordinated in the campaigns to the European elections.

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Appendix 1

Topic Guide for Campaign Managers

Steg 1: Introduktion

- Hur länge har du varit engagerad i Socialdemokraterna/Miljöpartiet?
- Vilken roll har du under Socialdemokraternas/Miljöpartiets valkampanj till Europaparlamentsvalet i år/2014?

Steg 2: Det nationella partiet

- Hur såg processen ut för att ta fram partiets nationella valmanifest inför EP-valskampanjen 2019/2014?
  - Influerades partiets valmanifest av PES/EGP:s valmanifest (det europeiska valmanifestet)?
- Vilken roll hade Europaparlamentarikerna (mandatperioden 2009-2014 och/eller 2014-2019) i skapandet av partiets valmanifest till EP-valet?
  - Inklusive att ta fram partiets huvudfrågor inför EP-valet?

Steg 3: Det europeiska partiet (PES/EGP)

- Har ni använt det europeiska partiets valmanifest i EP-valskampanjen?
- Har ni samarbetat med PES/EGP inför och under EP-valskampanjen?
  - Har det nationella partiet och PES/EGP genomfört någon kampanj tillsammans?
- Har det europeiska partiets Spitzenkandidat på något sätt varit inkluderad i det nationella partiets EP-valskampanj?

Steg 4: Den europeiska partigruppen (S&D/EGPG)

- Har ni samarbetat med Europaparlamentarikernas kollegor i partigruppen i Europaparlamentet i EP-valskampanjen?

Steg 5: Avslutning och sammanfattning
- Har du märkt någon förändring mellan det nationella partiets valkampanjer 2009-2014/2014-2019?
- Ser du partiets EP-valskampanjer som främst nationella, europeiska eller både och?

Topic Guide for Members of the European Parliament

Steg 1: Introduktion
- Hur länge har du varit engagerad i Socialdemokraterna/Miljöpartiet?

Steg 2: Nationella partiet
- Hur kampanjade du inför EP-valet år 2014 samt inför årets EP-val?
  - Exempelvis prioritering av debattartiklar/valstugor/sociala medier
  - Med europeiska kollegor i PES/S&D-gruppen
- Hur såg processen ut för att ta fram partiets nationella valmanifest inför EP-valskampanjen år 2014 samt detta år?
- Vilken roll hade du som Europaparlamentariker samt/eller som toppkandidat i skapandet av Socialdemokraternas valmanifest till EP-valet år 2014 samt detta år?
  - Inklusive att ta fram Socialdemokraternas huvudfrågor inför EP-valen?
  - Influerades Socialdemokraternas valmanifest av PES:s valmanifest?

Steg 3: Europeiska partiet (PES/EGP)
- Har ni använt det europeiska partiets valmanifest i EP-valskampanjen 2014 samt detta år?
- Hur såg samarbetet med PES/EGP ut under 2014 års EP-valskampanj?
  - Genomförde ni någon kampanj tillsammans med det europeiska partiet?
  - Genomförde ni någon kampanj tillsammans med Spitzenkandidaten?

- Hur såg samarbetet med PES/EGP ut under årets EP-valskampanj?

  - Genomförde ni någon kampanj tillsammans med det europeiska partiet?

  - Genomförde ni någon kampanj tillsammans med Spitzenkandidaten?

Steg 4: Den europeiska partigruppen (S&D/GGEP)

- Har du samarbetat med dina europeiska kollegor i partigruppen i Europaparlamentet under EP-valskampanjen 2014 eller 2019?

Steg 5: Avslutning och sammanfattning

- Har du märkt någon förändring mellan det nationella partiets valkampanjer år 2014 och detta år?

- Ser du det nationella partiets EP-valskampanjer som främst nationella, europeiska eller både och?