



# Did The Kitchen Get the Second Order?

## Europeanisation on the Supply (and Demand) Side of EP Elections 2019–2024

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### Introduction

Rising politicisation and rising European attachment both suggest EP elections are becoming more "European." But is this true, and did it change from 2019 to 2024? We separate between issue Europeanisation and identity Europeanisation (how do parties relate nation and Europe?).

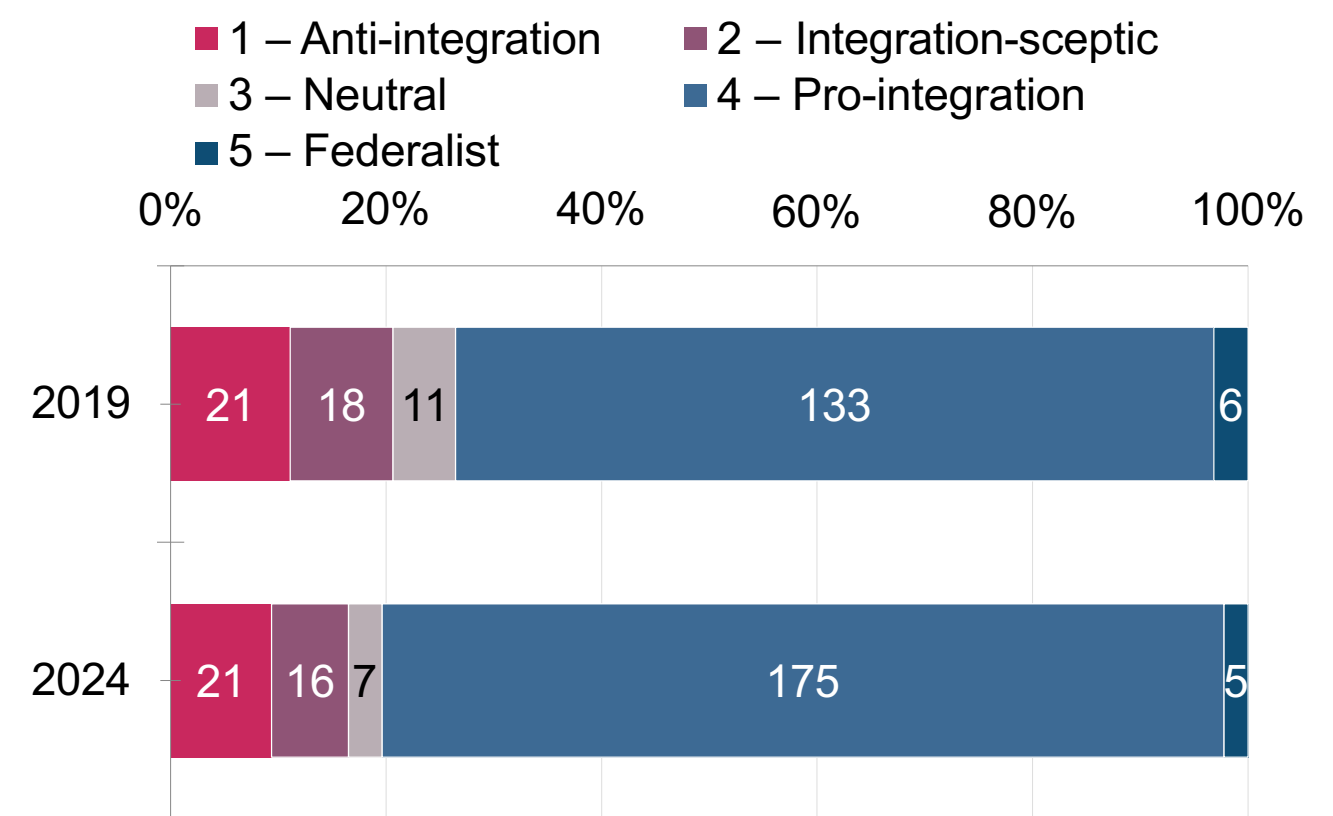
On the supply side, we analyse party manifestos from all EU member states, measuring not only which issues are salient, but how they are framed, and how parties construct the relationship between nation and Europe. This establishes whether elite campaign communication has become more Europeanised. Later it will be supplemented by demand-side analysis (e.g., Google Trends).

### Methods

| Measure                        | What it captures                                               | Scale / Output                                                       | Coding                  | n ('19 / '24) |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| <b>EU integration salience</b> | How strongly a manifesto politicises EU integration            | 0–3 (0 absent → 3 structuring conflict)                              | LLM*                    | 189 / 224     |
| <b>Evaluative framing</b>      | Stance from hard / soft Eurosceptic to supportive / federalist | 1–5 qualitative                                                      | LLM*                    | 189 / 224     |
| <b>Issue Europeanisation</b>   | European vs. national framing (10 policy topics)               | European share 0–1 (Europeanised if > .50)                           | Keyword counts (Python) | 189 / 224     |
| <b>Identity construction</b>   | How nation and Europe relate (+ civic vs. cultural)            | 0–4: exclusive → separate → cross-cutting → Matryoshka → Marble Cake | LLM*                    | 96 / 88       |

\* LLM coding: Claude Opus 4.8, zero-shot, codebook-guided; all readable manifestos.

Fig. 1: EU Integration Position by Election (share)



### Preliminary Results

- **EU integration remains more salient in Eurosceptic manifestos.**
- **Issue Europeanisation remained high:** ~65% Eurosceptic and ~ 75% others.
- **Parties remained pro-integration**, and the apparent softening of Euroscepticism is an artefact of a growing manifesto pool (Fig. 1).
- **Identities are strikingly stable.** Eurosceptics concentrate on the exclusive nation- vs. -Europe type; non-Eurosceptics on nested / Marble Cake constructions (Fig. 2).

- **Civic vs. cultural Europe.** Civic Europe dominates among non-Eurosceptics, while Eurosceptics invoke a cultural Europe ; 2024 Eurosceptics also articulate civic images (Fig. 3).

→ **Broad continuity of issue Europeanisation but shifts in Identity construction.**

#### Next steps:

- Develop our own LLM
- Expand the analysis from 1974 to 2024
- Supplement with demand-side data

#### Philipp König

**Research Interests:**  
European Identity -  
Politicisation - LLM



Fig. 2: Structural identity model (share)

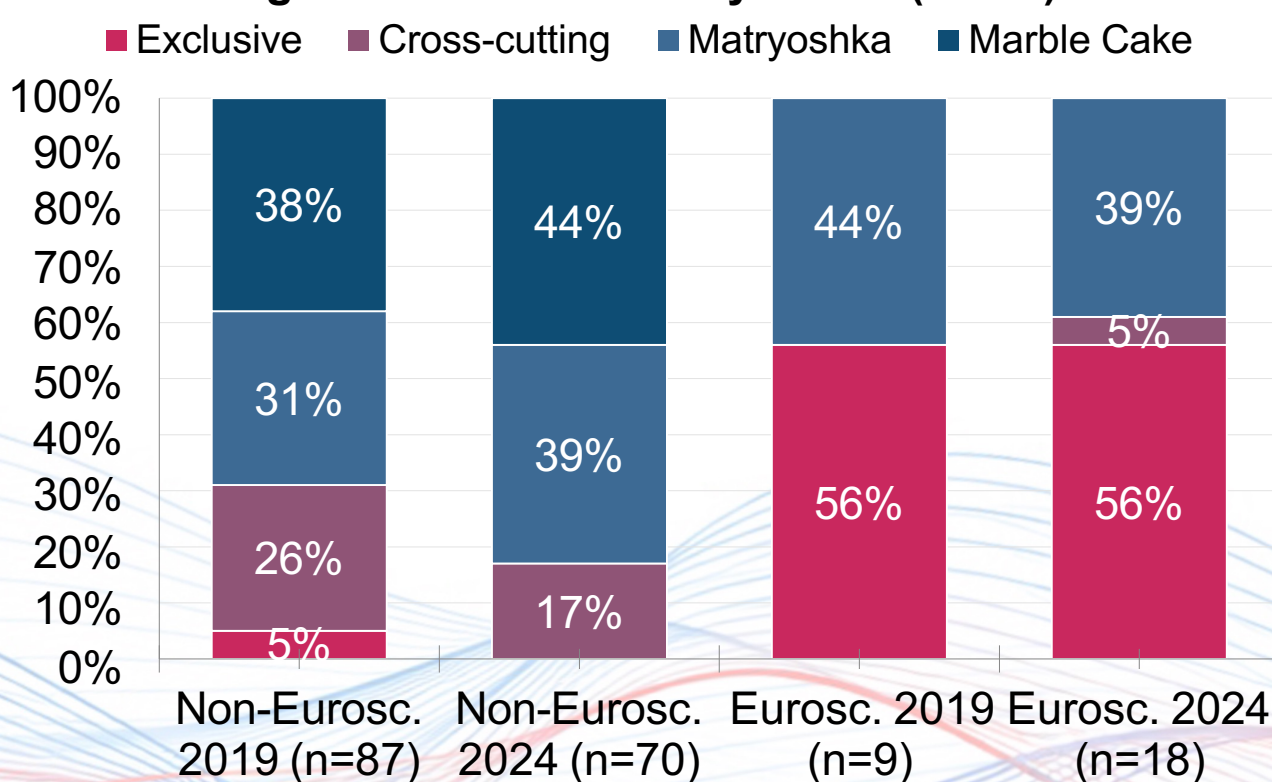


Fig. 3: Europe-image: civic vs. cultural (share)

