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East-West convergence or divergence?

The (possible) influence of the European People's Party on affiliated parties in Central and Eastern Europe 1990-2014

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(WORK IN PROGRESS: PLEASE DO NOT CITE WITHOUT AUTHORS' PERMISSION!)

Abstract:

This paper analyses the (possible) ideological influence of Europarties on their member parties in Central and Eastern Europe. The specific focus of the study is the Christian democratic European People's Party (EPP) and the main theoretical point of departure is the theoretical framework for Europarty cooperation, developed by Poguntke and von dem Berge. The analysis is based on elections manifesto data from 1990 to 2015. The aim is to provide an overview on possible trends of convergence (or divergence) between the Western and Eastern EPP-affiliated parties and to evaluate the extent of influence that the EPP has exerted on Christian democratic and conservative parties in Central and Eastern Europe. The analysis is based on a mean-value comparison of the West European member parties and the affiliated parties from post-communist countries when it comes to Left-Right positions and issue specific positions. Furthermore the analysis is complemented with in-depth analysis of specific cases. Finally the relevance of party size is evaluated in relation to ideological convergence and Europarty influence.

Key words: Ideological convergence, Europarty, Europeanisation, Christian democracy

A NOTE TO THE READER:

THIS PAPER IS STILL VERY MUCH A "WORK IN PROGRESS". ALL COMMENTS ARE WELCOME REGARDING THE DATA, METHOD, HOW TO INTERPRET THE RESULTS ETC. THE COUNTRY-SPECIFIC SECTION IS BASICALLY STILL UNDER CONSTRUCTION AND ALL IDEAS/COMMENTS ON HOW TO STRUCTURE OR IMPROVE THIS SECTION ARE WELCOME.

IF YOU PLAN TO PRINT THIS PAPER, WE ADVICE YOU TO USE COLOR-PRINTER AS OUR GRAPHS ON PARTY POSITIONS HAVE PARTY TRENDS IN DIFFERENT COLORS.

/THE AUTHORS

Introduction

It has often been assumed that the prospect of European Union (EU) membership has been a guiding-line and contribution to the democratisation process in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In the same line the influence of the EU on Central and Eastern Europe has attracted much scholarly attention (see for example Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier 2005; Grabbe 2006). However, less attention has been directed towards the parallel process on the level of political parties and this is particularly true when it comes to the European party federations (hereafter 'Europarties') and their eastward enlargement.

Even if the Europarties are relatively weak actors in the EU-system, they have played a central role in integrating the political parties from Central and Eastern Europe into EU party politics. The Europarties, like any serious party organisation, must preserve a certain degree of internal homogeneity in terms of ideology, policy, and internal organisation. Too much internal heterogeneity complicates daily interactions and threatens the party's legitimacy and credibility. Consequently, there have been incentives for each Europarty to influence its sister parties from Central and Eastern Europe in order to adapt and internalise the norms, values, and organisational habits of the party family[1]. Here we can discern an East-West power dimension in the process of Eastern enlargement (Böröcz 2001; Goetz 2003) where the Eastern applicants are assumed to accept and adapt to Western demands for change. Just like the relation between EU and its member states, the Europarties exert are expected to influence their partner parties in Central and Eastern Europe as they integrate them into their respective party family. However, the question is to what degree the parties in Central and Eastern Europe have converged ideologically with their European party families. Departing from the discussion on the EU democratic deficit, such analysis is highly relevant. Without coherent transnational

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[1] A European party family is generally defined as consisting of three components: (1) national member parties, (2) group in the EP, and (3) extra-parliamentary Europarty (Hix & Lord 1997: 18). In this paper, a 'Europarty' is thus seen as the organisational chore within the broader 'party family'.

European party families, there can be no European electorate and thereby democracy at the EU-level would remain a "paper-product".

Is it reasonable then to expect such a convergence of party ideologies through the adaptation of the Central and East European parties according to the expectations of their respective party family? Theoretically, the case has been frequently analysed although often indirectly while discussing the general impact of the EU on political parties in Central and Eastern Europe. Yet, one conclusion is interesting, namely that political parties and party systems in Central and Eastern Europe should be more open to external influence (e.g. Enyedi 2007; Ladrech 2008). This has been explained by the fact that the political systems in general (including the parties) went through an intensive transition process making them more open for external assistance and influence (Pridham 2005:6). Another, interrelated explanation is that the new party systems possess a lower degree of institutionalization and therefore potentially more open to external influences (Lewis 2006: 8-12). When it comes to empirical findings, there are some indications for Europarty influence on partner parties from Central and Eastern Europe. While some studies focus on the general process of East/West transnational party cooperation (e.g. Pridham 2006, 2008) others focus on one or two specific Europarties (Delsoldato 2002; Holmes & Lightfoot 2011; Johansson 2008). A general conclusion among these studies seems to be that the Europarties have considerable influence concerning the development of parties and party systems among the post-communist EU-accession countries (von dem Berge & Poguntke 2013: 314). In the words of Enyedi and Lewis, Europarties "are the most crucial vehicles for standardization" when it comes to political parties in Central and Eastern Europe (Enyedi & Lewis 2006: 245).

However, in spite of this intuitive consensus among party scholars, question marks remain. According to Paul Lewis, "any clear pattern of influence or discrete set of consequences remain quite elusive" (Lewis 2011: 3). When it comes to Europarty influence on

Central and Eastern European parties, the conclusion is roughly the same referring to a "research lacunae" and a "scattered empirical evidence" (von dem Berge & Poguntke 2013: 312, 329). One reason is obviously connected to the broad empirical field, which makes it difficult to overview. In this context, the recent proposition of an integrated theoretical framework by Benjamin von dem Berge and Thomas Poguntke (2013) is welcome. The explicit aim of the model is to understand and explain the influence of Europarties on their partner parties in Central and Eastern Europe. This kind of integrated theoretical framework – no matter of potential pitfalls – is a positive injection to the research field. Theoretically, it offers a point of departure (which may be criticised or revised) that may structure and systematise the conceptualisation of Europarty influence and empirically it offers a concrete point of reference for empirical tests.

However, even with the mentioned theoretical framework at hand, there is still the tricky question of causality (Lewis & Mansfeldová 2006: 6). If we assume that the new political parties in Central and Eastern Europe have turned more similar to their party families throughout the 1990s, how can we know that this is related to Europarty influence and not merely a normal process of institutionalisation and stabilisation within a newly created political system? In order to deal with this question, the importance of time is crucial. If we could follow the party development throughout a longer period of time; beyond the transition and consolidation of democracy and beyond EU-membership, the possibility to pinpoint a possible Europarty influence should be improved. It is interesting that the most comprehensive among the recent studies on Europarties in the light of EU enlargement – Bressanelli's "Europarties after Enlargement" (2014) tends to focus on the situation *after* enlargement and not the adaptation process before.[2]

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[2] Moreover, Bressanelli bases his analysis on manifestos for the elections to the European parliament. In our view, this is problematic as the elections to the European Parliament are generally viewed as "second-order elections", which for the national parties have no real significance compared to national elections.

This is basically the aim of this paper; to fill this "empirical gap" by analysing whether the Central and Eastern European parties have tended to convergence vis-à-vis their party family over a longer period of time. The specific focus is on the Christian democratic "European People's Party" (EPP) and its partner parties in Central and Eastern Europe from 1990 to 2014. By analysing the degree of convergence of the EPP-affiliated parties in Central and Eastern Europe, the ambition is not only to assess the empirical question of Europarty influence but also to discuss the predictability of the theoretical model. The paper is structured as follows: the introduction is followed by a section on the theoretical model which is the point of departure for this analysis. Thereafter follows a section on the data and method and this in turn is followed by the findings; first for the EPP as a whole and thereafter for the context-specific section on Hungary and Slovakia. Finally, there will be a concluding section where the results are discussed and evaluated.

A theoretical framework for Europarty influence

The theoretical model to be presented here is based on two core concepts: 'Europeanisation' and 'party change'. The former constitutes the overarching framework while the latter is seen as the central theoretical entity. Europeanisation generally refers to the impact of European integration on the national level. This hierarchical way of understanding the concept is generally more typical for Europeanisation processes in Central and Eastern Europe as it has taken place in a context of coercion and leverage (Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier 2005; Grabbe 2006: 39-40). Moreover, the model distinguishes between indirect and direct Europeanisation. *Indirect* Europeanisation refers to the effects of European integration on the political environment, in which national parties are active whereas *direct* Europeanisation refers to the impact of Europarty activity towards their political partners in Central and Eastern Europe. The latter concerns direct contacts and do not take a 'detour' via the national environment. In this sense,

it can give rise to more immediate and extensive changes. It is this form of "direct Europeanisation" that is the main focus of the theoretical framework. The general expectation is that the Europarty aims at influencing its eastern partner parties into becoming "mainstream" member parties of the party family. The authors refers to this as "West Europeanisation" and argues that this influence should become visible on three dimensions: the structure of party competition, policy orientations, and the intra-party dimension (2013: 316). Thus, it should be underlined that this article focuses on *one* of several dimensions of party change, namely policy-positions.[3]

When it comes to party change in relation to Europeanisation, the authors distinguishes two alternative processes: "exchange processes" and the "socialisation model". The first is derived from the "external incentives model" used by Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier to explain Europeanisation processes in Central and Eastern Europe (2005: 10-12). In this model, actors use their material and immaterial resources to influence others according to their preferences. This in turn leads to a bargaining process, where the outcome depends highly on the relative bargaining power of the actors. In the context of this study, Europarties seek to influence their partners in Central and Eastern Europe by offering them incentives such as legitimacy, know-how, contact networks and above all full membership. Membership is the strongest incentive as it strengthens and secures all other incentives on the long-term. for party change. In the same way applicant parties from Central and Eastern Europe can offer incentives to be accepted like seats in the European Parliament and access to national policy-making (if the party is in government). Consequently, the main instrument for the Europarty is a mix of various incentives and persuasion (threats of exclusion, less priviliges), in order to gain influence on potential member parties.

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[3] There are also other classifications of party Europeanisation. Robert Ladrech for instance suggests five dimensions. See Ladrech 2002.

When it comes to the socialisation model, the expected influence is less straightforward. However, it is still conceptualised as a strategy as it involves intentional actions to create meeting arenas where norms and ideas might be changed. Contrary to the external incentives model where party change is primarily motivated by interest maximisation, socialisation generates a durable internalisation of new norms and values. Socialisation can be more or less direct. For example the Europarty may attempts to persuade the partner party in some specific issues and this often takes place at seminars or courses. Here, Europarties can be viewed as "norm entrepreneurs, which persuade their partners to redefine their identities and interests by engaging in a social learning process" (Dakowska 2002: 288). At the same time, socialisation is a day-to-day process without any specific activity by the Europarty. Here it takes place rather informally through regular and frequent personal interactions between the Europarty (and its Western members) and the partner party. Through these interactions (conferences, seminars, courses, invitations to party congresses etc.) the eastern partner parties are assumed to change themselves gradually by internalising the rules and norms in the party family that the Europarty represents (von dem Berge and Poguntke 2013: 321-323).

In the model developed by von dem Berge and Poguntke, the two alternative processes influence is seen as a double strategy of the Europarty to induce change among their eastern partner parties. Within the scope of exchange process, the Europarty aims at directly influencing the Eastern partner party and through socialisation they convince the partner parties of the appropriateness of change. Moreover, the model makes two distinctions: 1) weak and strong partner parties, 2) time-period in the process of cooperation.[4] The time variable marks out three phases of Europarty cooperation: informal contacts, observer status, and full member. Each phase contains expectations of Europarty strategy (exchange process or socialisation) and

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[4] Party strength is here seen a multi-dimensional concept where share of votes and seats in parliament, ministerial posts, legitimacy and financial resources as main ingredients.

outcome. This means that the model is a convenient theoretical starting point for empirical longitudinal analysis of party change. By clarifying the expected outcome for strong and weak partner parties within a certain time period, it is possible to test the argument empirically.[5]

Table 1. Expected strategies and outcomes of Europarty influence

	Strong partner party	**Weak partner party**
Phase 1: **Informal contact**	Strategy: Exchange process and socialisation Expected outcome: Little or no change	Strategy: Exchange process and socialisation Expected outcome: Substantial and abrupt change
Phase 2: **Observer status**	Strategy: Exchange process and socialisation Expected outcome: Little or no change	Strategy: Exchange process and socialisation Expected outcome: Substantial and abrupt change
Phase 3: **Full membership**	Strategy: Socialisation Expected outcome: Gradual ongoing change	Strategy: Socialisation Expected outcome: Gradual ongoing change

Note: This is a simplified and shortened version of the original model. For the complete model, see Berge & Poguntke 2013: 324.

When it comes to expected outcomes, a strong partner party is expected to resist incentives to change, while a weak partner party is expected to go through substantial and abrupt changes as a result of Europarty influence (see Table 1). The second factor, time period in the cooperation process, reveals how incentives is expected to play a role in the first two phases but are more or less replaced by socialisation in the third phase. Once a party has been accepted as a full member of a Europarty, its expulsion is unlikely. This means that the Europarty's main weapon (threat of exclusion) is removed from the table at this point, and the remaining tool of influence is the slower and gradual alternative: persuasion through socialisation. This also affects the expected outcomes. In the first and second phase, the Europarty is expected to have little or no influence on strong parties but substantial influence on weaker parties. However, in phase three, there is no expected difference between strong and weak parties. Both are expected to change

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[5] The model also includes three alternative scenarios. These are not included in this paper as we have prioritised party strength and time-period in order to perform a robust empirical analysis.

slowly and gradually due to socialisation. These expected outcomes will later be evaluated in relation to the development of party ideology among the Eastern partner parties. First, however, comes a section on data and method.

Data and method

The data used in this paper are retrieved from the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) Dataset. This dataset provides estimates of party policy positions and covers a wide range of countries. The database is constructed through quantitative content analysis of party election manifestos, which are coded for specific policy issues (Klingemann et al. 2006: xxi).[6]

One potential weakness of this kind of data is its narrow focus on election manifestos, thus excluding other relevant sources such as election slogans, party leader speeches, and debate articles. It is also narrow in the sense that election manifestos are generally products of party elites and influence from local party sections is limited. Even if the CMP dataset illustrates how individual parties position themselves along ideological dimensions, it is based on content analysis of election manifestos, which are based on both ideological and strategic considerations (Klingemann et al. 2006: 109). For example, harsh statements on topics such as the Roma issue, may be avoided in the official election manifesto even if the party markets anti-Roma messages in other arenas. Consequently, there is a risk that parties are positioned in a way which feels "intuitively wrong", such as when radical-right parties are classified as "centre-right" and socialist parties are placed further to the left than some communist parties (Pelizzo 2003: 67; Kitschelt 1994: 139).

Alternative data that avoid these problems of validity exist, but they are still not suitable for this study. Surveys among party sympathisers can be useful to a certain degree as a reflection

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[6] The CMP database is divided into seven "Domains", of which each includes a number of categories. For an overview of these, see "Description of the Manifesto Dataset Full Dataset – Version 2013b" on the website: https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/

of parties' ideological positions. However, these say little about specific parties' positioning but rather what kind of sympathisers the parties attract. Moreover, both voting behaviour and party systems in Central and Eastern Europe are still relatively fluid and weakly institutionalised (see Berglund, Deegan-Krause & Ekman 2013: 826-827). A more realistic alternative to the CMP dataset is the use of expert interviews, which are built on country-experts' evaluations of party positions on certain issues (see, for example, Benoit and Laver 2006). However, this method has been criticised for basing its conclusions on subjective evaluations that are based on party family affiliation and reputation rather than undertaking systematic analysis (see McDonald and Mendés 2001). Moreover, expert interviews lack a clear time aspect, and therefore such a method lacks dynamic qualities. Consequently, we assert that the CMP dataset is the most accurate tool for this study. Firstly, it is based on the parties' own image of their ideas and concrete policy positions, which strengthens the data's legitimacy (Klingemann et al.: xvi). Secondly, the data enable systematic longitudinal analysis, as they contain information on party positions for each election. This is in fact a precondition for a study such as this one. Finally, comparisons indicate that the differences between CMP data and expert interviews are in general small (Benoit & Laver 2007: 103; Klingemann et al 2006: 65-66, 83-84). Consequently, the results would most likely not be radically different if expert interviews were used.

In terms of method, this is a longitudinal analysis of possible convergence over time within one European party family in terms of party policy. The analysis is performed both at the macro-level and on the micro-level. For the macro-level analysis, our main interest lies in whether the parties from post-communist countries *as a group* have converged with the West European parties within the EPP. Thus, only the estimated position for each group as a whole and not individual party positions will be analysed. The micro-level analysis concerns the EPP strategies on the ground and the ideological development among the EPP-affiliated parties in

two countries: Hungary and Slovakia. The macro-data, which are presented in the analysis, represent the mean position along a specific ideological dimension for Eastern and Western European parties within each respective party family. The aim is in this sense to illustrate the general trends for possible policy convergence within a party family. The main tool this analysis deploys is descriptive statistics, with illustrative diagrams for each Europarty.

However, independent sample T-tests and bivariate correlation will be performed to evaluate the robustness of the illustrated trends. T-tests will be performed to identify statistically significant differences between the policy positions of the East and west European parties. Convergence is operationalized as occurring when a time period in which there is a statistically significant (p<.05) difference in the policy positions of East and West European parties within a party family is followed by a time period where no such statistically significant difference is apparent. Divergence reversely occurs as a period when no statistical differences in policy positions are identified is followed by a period where such statistically significant difference emerge. The T-tests are presented in Appendix A.

Now follows a presentation of some specific methodological concerns related to this analysis: time-series, selection of parties and selection of issues. The chosen time-period is 1990-2014. The starting point was straightforward to determine, as the first free elections in Central and Eastern Europe took place in 1990. The ending point on the other hand is steered by the dataset, which has currently registered elections until March 2014.[7] The time period is divided into four phases among which comparisons are drawn in order to reveal possible trends 2009-2014. By distinguishing two time periods before EU membership (in 2004) and two time periods afterwards, it is possible to analyse whether a convergence has taken place before or after the 2004 enlargement. Moreover, three consecutive phases are selected for statistical

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[7] The latest registered election for this dataset is the Hungarian parliamentary elections 6 April 2014.

analysis of policy change (see figure 1).[8] This means that it is possible to assess whether a convergence took place *before* EU enlargement in 2004 and in the same way whether convergence has taken place after the EU enlargement of 2004.[9]

[Insert figure 1 here]

For the selection of parties, the study chose to focus on one party family: the Christian democratic EPP. Except for its role as the most influential political force in Europe together with the social democratic party family (see Hanley 2008: 43; Hix & Hoyeland 2011:142; Hix & Lord 1997: 52), it has been the main driving force behind European integration and a forerunner in building European-level party structures. Since the 1990s, it has even stepped forward as the single leading European party family since the 1990s. This is partly a result of an alliance with the British Conservative party in the European Parliament but perhaps mostly from the EU eastern enlargement in 2004/2007. In the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, socialism was discredited and there was a weak liberal tradition (Öhlén 2013: 238-239). Consequently, the potential for strengthening the party family with EU enlargement eastwards was strongest for the EPP and in this sense it is an interesting point of departure for analysis.

As for the national parties from included in this study, we will refer to them as "West European" and "East European" and sometimes as "Western" or "Eastern". By East European

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[8] Each phase for statistical analysis compares the mean values of the two periods measured. For example, T1-T2 compares the mean values for the period 1990-1996 with those of the period 1997-2003.

[9] One methodological concern here is that two member states, Bulgaria and Romania, joined the EU three years later in 2007. Moreover, no election at all has been registered for Latvia after 2004. Any suggestion that EU membership has encouraged policy convergence towards the party family should therefore be taken with some caution in the cases of these three countries.

parties, we refer to parties from countries that became EU members in 2004 and 2007, and by West European parties, we refer to parties from countries that were EU members before the enlargement in 2004. The selection of national parties, on which the CMP data is based, was largely steered by party family affiliation. Parties were included only if they have or have had a formal linkage to the EPP. One methodological concern is how to address electoral coalitions, which are quite common in Central and Eastern Europe. Here we have exercised a case by case approach. We applied the following rule: if it was obvious which party was strongest in the coalition, it was located according to the dominating party; and if it was difficult to judge which party dominated the electoral coalition, it was not included in the analysis.

The selection of policy dimensions can be divided into two sections. Firstly, the analysis starts from the left-right dimension, which is an aggregated variable based on a number of socioeconomic and sociocultural issues. Secondly, we have selected specific policy dimensions based on the issues that were "sensitive" for the Western parties when evaluating Eastern applicant parties in the 1990s. Consequently, we have selected the following four policy dimensions[10]:

- Left-right

- European Union (positive)

- Traditional morality (positive)

- National way of life (positive)

This selection is based on in-depth interviews with EPP-representatives combined with party documents and secondary literature. Except for the general left-right dimension, the three dimensions above summarise the EPP's main concerns for its potential eastern partners since the early 1990s: recurrent elements of nationalism, clerical conservatism, and anti-EU

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[10] Specific subtexts for each dimension can be found in a "Description of the Manifesto Dataset Full Dataset – Version 2013b" on the website: https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/

sentiments (Ágh 1998: 62-63; Pridham 2001: 186-187). Moreover, the awareness that many of the potential sister parties were national conservative rather than Christian democrat spurred the EPP to set up criteria for membership in the parallel organisation European Union of Christian democrats (EUCD) were set up already in 1992 and this included support for European integration and acceptance of the "Manifesto of the European Christian Democrats" (EUCD Constitution 1992, article 3c). The worries regarding nationalism is confirmed through interviews with EPP officials but in a letter from the EPP chairman to Helmut Kohl 22 October 1991.

When it comes to the three time-periods in the theoretical model (before observer-status, observer/associate status, full membership) the case of the EPP is somewhat complicated as there were two parallel Christian Democratic EU-level party organisations in the 1990s: the EPP and the EUCD. The EUCD was founded already in 1965 and wanted to all Christian democratic parties in the democratic countries of Europe. The workload with two parallel organisations led to plans of merging the EUCD into the EPP. However, with the new situation in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989, it was decided postpone this merger. The idea was to use the EUCD as a "waiting-room and training school" for the potential new member parties before possible EPP-membership (Martens 2006: 190). This means that there were in fact two separate periods observer status for the applicant parties and the second period is somewhat extended. We will define this period as the time-frame between observer status in the EUCD until full membership in the EPP. This is not problematic per se, but for any conclusion regarding expectations regarding time-periods we should keep this distinct EPP-periodisation in mind.

Assessing party strength as a variable

According to the model from von dem Berge and Poguntke (2013: 324), the national party's strength is of central importance for its negotiating position vis-à-vis the Europarty. "Party strength" is a multi-dimensional concept, involving several factors such as share of votes, seats in parliament, and minister posts. In this paper, party size will be evaluated but not in detail. Rather, we are interested in assessing whether party size matters in general when it comes to Eastern partner parties' ideological closeness to their party families (and thereby possible Europarty influence). Thus, the analysis will include a correlation sample including not only EPP but also the two other main party families: Party of European Socialists (PES) and Alliance of Liberals and Democrats in Europe (ALDE), where each East European party is compared with the mean position of West European parties within the same family. "Party size" will be strictly measured according to votes in national parliamentary elections. Since we are mainly interested in whether party size matters in general, no party family-specific dimensions will be included. Instead, the dimension included in the analysis is left-right. As mentioned above, this is an aggregated category reflecting a broader set of dimensions.

Findings: party family level

This section is divided into two parts. The first evaluates the relevance of party size to possible convergence. The second assesses possible East-West convergence by focusing first on the left-right positions and thereafter on specific policy issues included in the analysis. Exact values are found in Appendices A.

Party size

The results when it comes to the relevance of party size is presented for each of the three main party families in Table 3. The results indicate somewhat surprisingly that there is hardly any

correlation at all between party size and closeness to the Western member parties' mean position.

Table 3. Bivariate correlation between party size (vote share in national parliamentary elections) and distance to the mean position of Western parties in the party family on the Left-Right ideological scale

	Pearsons-r	**Sig.**	**N**
EPP	-.048	.669	83
PES	.137	.264	68
ALDE	.152	.293	50
All	.095	.178	201

For the EPP, the correlation is the weakest and moreover, there seems to be no significant statistical correlation. Consequently, the assumption of the theoretical model that party size matter when it comes to the probability of converging (coming closer) to the perceived positions of the West European member parties remains unconfirmed in this specific analysis.

Party policy positions

The development within the EPP party family generally indicate no clear East-West difference when it comes to left-right positions. On the contrary, the West and East European Christian democratic parties appear to have roughly similar left-right positions throughout the analysed time period (see Figure 2). From a small initial difference in 1990-1996, the two groups converged in 1997-2003 and remained close in 2004-2008. After 2008, the two groups diverged somewhat, mostly caused by a strong rightward shift among the Western Christian democrats. Yet, there are no significant differences between the Eastern and West European parties throughout the period of analysis.

[Insert figure 2 here]

In terms of the EU dimension, the initial trend (1990-2003) indicates a clear East-West convergence within the party family (see Figure 3). In this early phase, the Central and East European parties exhibit a clear change from a rather cool position towards the EU to a more explicit pro-European stance. After the second period (1997-2003), there seems to be no dramatic changes. The western and eastern groups followed each other in becoming a little less enthusiastic about the EU, although the Eastern group became somewhat more positive after obtaining EU membership. The Western parties within the EPP demonstrate a clear trend throughout the whole period, developing a gradually less EU-positive tone in their policy stance. However, the Eastern parties' early change is clear and might be related to the membership criteria the EPP put forward in the 1990s, which demanded a positive view on EU integration (see Öhlén 2013: 165). In terms of statistical variation, the eastern group has become more diversified over time in its view towards the EU. This could be interpreted as a result of larger tolerance from the Europarty after EU enlargement. This confirms the analytical model, which expects greater Europarty tolerance of diverging views after accepting the party as full member.

[Insert figure 3 here]

On the issue of nationalism, there was a trend of East-West divergence in the 1990s wherein the eastern parties became more nationalistic and the western parties took the opposite turn. After the eastward EU enlargement in 2004, a clear trend of East-West convergence emerges. This is a result of the fact that both the Western and Eastern parties came closer to each other. In the last period measured (2009-2014), the Eastern group was even somewhat less nationalist than its Western counterpart.

The issue of traditional moral values revealed a rather interesting development over time. The Eastern parties gradually moved from a rather strong traditional moral position in the early phase towards a rather cool position on this issue in later phases. At the same time, the Western parties reveal a rather unstable development, with an initial "conservative turn" and thereafter a radical shift towards more toned-down rhetoric on the issue. Over time, an apparent trend of East-West convergence on the issue emerges, especially after the 2004 EU enlargement, but this change is not statistically verified. The variation was initially large within both groups, but over time, coherence apparently became stronger both between and within the Western and Eastern groups.

In summary, we have observed some indications of East-West convergence over time. Whether these indications of convergence are results of Europarty influence cannot be fully settled here. This question will be further discussed in the context-specific section. Yet, the abrupt change towards a more EU-positive stance in the period 1990-1996 among the Eastern parties indicates that the membership criteria (which included supporting EU-integration) had effect and supports the model's prediction that incentives and persuasion as strategy was more relevant before the applicant party became full member of the Europarty. Regarding nationalism and traditional moral values, the trend of East-West convergence is less obvious and should be treated with more caution. The gradual weakening of strong traditional moral values among the Eastern sister parties during the whole time-period (1990-2014) could however be interpreted as a long-term process of both Europarty persuasion and socialisation into the more pragmatic tradition of West European Christian democracy especially through the massive programme of courses and seminars set up by the EPP especially for younger politicians from the applicant parties (see Öhlén 2013: 160-163). When it comes to nationalism the downward trend is mainly seen after 2004. If any Europarty influence has been exercised at all, it should be interpreted as results of socialisation rather than incentives.

Context-specific discussion of Europarty influence: Hungary and Slovakia

(NOTE: THIS SECTION IS STILL A WORK IN PROGRESS!)

In the following pages, we will present empirical evidence on how the EPP has influenced partner parties in Central and Eastern Europe with a specific focus on two countries: Hungary, and Slovakia. We will not include the Left-Right dimension but delimit this analysis to the specific policy dimensions analysed above: European Union (positive), National way of life (positive) and Traditional morality (positive). The concerns of the EPP of anti-EU sentiments, nationalism and too strong focus on religion discussed in the methods section were all present in these two countries but in different forms and in different circumstances. The analysis is not a full-covering narrative of the party development in the two countries but rather an overview of how the EPP has acted towards these parties and how the parties have developed ideologically in relation to the EPP attempts of influence.

Table 4 and 5 summarise the development of the EPP-related parties in Hungary and Slovakia from the first democratic elections until 2014.[11] This provides an interesting comparative outset where the potential time-specific EPP influence may be compared in two different settings. In Hungary, the centre-right party landscape was relatively scattered in the 1990s with three parties competing for influence: the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), the Independent Smallholders' Party (FKGP) and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP). However, from 1998 and onwards the Christian democratic/conservative party landscape became increasingly monopolised by Fidesz, which in the early 1990s was a liberal party but became gradually more national-conservative from the mid-1990s.

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[11] Since this analysis is delimited to the period between the first free elections in 1989-1990 until 2014, no later elections are included in the tables.

Table 4. Elections results (votes %) for EPP-related parties in Hungary. (See footnote for abbreviations)[12]

	1990	1994	1998	2002	2006	2010	2014
MDF	24,7	12,0	3,1	-*	5,0	2,7	Defunct
FKGP	11,7	8,8	13,8	0,8	0,02	0,01	0,16
KDNP	6,5	7,0	2,6	3,9**	- ***	-***	-***
Fidesz	9,0	7,0	28,2	41,1*	42,0***	52,7***	44,9***

*Coalition betwen MDF and Fidesz with Fidesz as the bigger party. **Coalition between KDNP and the Centre Party. ***Joint list between Fidesz and KDNP with Fidesz as the bigger party.

Table 5. Elections results (votes %) for EPP-related parties in Slovakia. (See footnote for abbreviations)[13]

	1990	1992	1994	1998	2002	2006	2010	2012
KDH	19,2	8,9	10,1	26,3****	8,3	8,3	8,5	8,8
HZDS	-	37,3	35,0***	27,0	19,5	8,8	4,3	0,9
MKDH	8,7*	7,4	10,2**	Defunct	Defunct	Defunct	Defunct	Defunct
MKP-SMK	-	-	-	9,1	11,2	11,7	4,3	4,3
SDKU-DS	-	-	-	26,3****	15,1	18,4	15,4	6,1

*Electoral coalition between MKM and Co-existence (E). **Electoral coalition between MKM, MPP and Co-existence (E), ***Electoral coalition between HZDS and Peasant's Party of Slovakia. ****As part of an electoral coalition between five parties.

From 2010, this has become even more evident with Fidesz as the only centre-right party on the Hungarian political scene. In Slovakia, the development could be described as the opposite compared to Hungary. In the 1990s one party dominated the centre-right party landscape: Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). This party was founded in 1991 as a splinter from the umbrella organisation Public Against Violence and was led by the charismatic Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. However, in the 1998 elections HZDS was weakened and lost its hold on government. Since then, it has gradually shrinked and three relatively small parties constituted the potential members of the EPP.

The challenges and strategies of the EPP in Hungary and Slovakia

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[12] MDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum), FKGP (Independent smallholders' party), KDNP (Christian democratic people's party), Fidesz (Alliance of young democrats)

[13] KDH: Christian Democratic Movement, HZDS: Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, MKDH: Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, MKP-SMK: Party of Hungarian Coalition, SDK: Slovak Democratic Coalition, SDKU-DS: Slovak Democratic and Christian Union

In the initial phase, Hungary seemed to qualify as the "ideal case" from the EPP perspective. Compared to the chaotic situation in Poland, there was a certain stability in the early Hungarian party system. This was partially a consequence of the fact that the multi-party system was allowed to establish itself in Hungary already in 1987. Consequently, there were three stable Christian democratic or conservative parties: the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), the Independent Smallholders' Party (FKGP) and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP). After the first democratic elections in 1990, MDF became a dominant force and formed a coalition government together with FKGP and KDNP (Körösenyi 1998: 35-39). Thus, in Hungary there was a strong and stable partner for the EPP. Compared to Hungary, the EPP's early search for new partner parties was somewhat delayed in Slovakia due to the fact that it was not clear what would happen with the Czechoslovak federation. Moreover, the rapid transition process made the umbrella organisations (Civic Forum in Czech Republic and Public Against Violence in Slovakia) stronger than in Hungary or Poland. It was soon clear that the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH) became EPP's partner in the country. The party Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) became affiliated to the conservative "European Democrat Union", which was a close ally to the EPP. Therefore, the EPP regarded it as a potential future member party.

Can we detect any signs of EPP influence in this early phase of party cooperation? Apart from the general arrangement of meetings and conferences, the main carrot of the EPP was recognition.[14] By officially recognizing the party as a partner, it provided some legitimacy to the party. In Von dem Berge & Poguntke (2013: 326) it is argued that some "broad material assistance" was provided by the EPP and that this should lead to some party change among the partner parties. We are not convinced about this conclusion. Interviews with one

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[14] This is confirmed in interviews with both EPP officials and representatives of EPP-related parties in Central and Eastern Europe.

EPP official even supports the contrary argument: that there was some disappointment among the partner parties of the lack of material support.[15]

When we enter into the second phase of party cooperation starting around 1992 (observe that it is difficult to settle exact year for the phases as different parties became affiliated at different times) the EPP became increasingly concerned of its partner parties in the two countries. In Hungary, the relations worsened between the parties in the governing coalition Hungarian Democratic Forum, Christian Democratic People's Party and the Independent Smallholders' Party.[16] In 1992, the Smallholders' Party left the government to form a right-wing opposition. For the EUCD, the situation became highly problematic as they were now trapped with three relatively small parties, with very strained relations. The most problematic case was the Smallholders' Party, which according to a senior EPP official became increasingly nationalist/populist and its party leader appeared to be a dictatorial figure. Eventually, the EUCD decided to expel the party in 1992. The results of the 1994 elections (see Table 4) illustrated the tendency of a weakened and scattered centre-right, which lost the elections to the former communist Hungarian Socialist Party. After the 1994 elections, also the Christian Democratic People's Party began to show signs of nationalism and populism. After several meetings and negotiations, the situation was no longer manageable and the EUCD decided to suspend the Hungarian Christian democrats in 1997.[17]

The problems of nationalism and authoritarian tendencies of Hungary became a problem also in Slovakia. The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia turned out to be

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[15] Interview with Thomas Jansen, 14 June 2007.

[16] The main issues for conflict concerned the privatisation of land assets that had been expropriated by the ruling communist party. The agrarian Smallholders' Party argued for a return of these assets to the pre-communist owners and the Democratic Forum held a more pragmatic view. Another conflict concerned the new constitution. Here the Democratic Forum made a pact with the liberal opposition party without informing their coalition partners. See Tamas 1999: 31-33.

[17] EPP-delegates made a visit to Hungary in March 1997 to sort out the situation with the Christian Democratic People's Party. An agreement was reached, which meant that no cooperation would take place with the Hungarian extreme right and to initiate talks with the Democratic Forum for an electoral coalition. After only a month it was clear that the agreement was broken and the EUCD Council claimed that "…the KDNP had, by its actions and inactions expelled itself." EPP/EUCD Yearbook 1997.

somewhat different then the EPP expected. Even though it performed well in the 1992 elections and became the leading party of the country, it composed a mixture of aggressive nationalism, left-wing populism and an authoritarian figure in the party leader Vladimir Meciar (Wightman 2001: 127-128). But also the Christian Democratic Movement contained elements of xenophobia and nationalism and this was much more disturbing for the EPP as this party was already affiliated to the EUCD. The party leader had for example made several nationalist statements directed against the Hungarian minority. The EPP acted first with direct meetings with the party leader and thereafter with arranging conferences on national minorities in Slovakia and with new resolutions against racism and xenophobia.[18] However, no exclusion seems to have been on the agenda.

In sum, the EPP/EUCD had great concerns in the early 1990s due to the fact that affiliated parties turned out to have nationalist, anti-European and xenophobic tendencies. It is important to underline here that the EPP had no problem with moderate nationalism. Yet once it turned anti-European or openly xenophobic, it reacted with decisiveness. In Hungary, two parties were suspended and in Slovakia there were "crisis meetings" coupled with resolutions against racism and xenophobia. It is important to underline that the EUCD set up membership criteria in 1992, which included a criteria of accepting the "Manifesto of the European Christian Democrats"[19]. Moreover the phasing out of the EUCD into the EPP in 1997 was also prepared with new even tougher criteria, which also included "endorsing European integration.[20] This is a clear indication of an exchange process logic in the cooperation, where the Europarty offer membership but demands something in return. However, probably

When we enter the third phase (approximately from 2004 until today) the party landscape in Hungary had changed with transformation of Fidesz from a radical-liberal party

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[18] Letter from EPP chairman , 22 Oct. 1991; Europa im Blickfeldt no. 11 1993, p. 23-24.
[19] EUCD Constitution, article 3d
[20] EVP News no 67, August 1996

towards a more national-conservative party (Lanczi 2005: 32). In 2000, Fidesz left the liberal Europarty ALDE (then ELDR) and joined the EPP as an associate member. Since then, it has been the dominant force on the Hungarian centre-right and at the same time increased its nationalist and populist rhetoric. Interestingly, the EPP has not expelled or suspended Fidesz. It has even been accused of a "strategy of booming silence" towards Fidesz despite strong criticism from the different EU institutions against Hungary on several dimensions of independence of certain administrative institutions (Der Spiegel 2012). **(More on Slovakia here).**

In retrospect, we can analyse the EPP strategies as a confirmation of the theoretical model's expectation that the strength of the partner party matters. The smaller parties that showed tendencies towards populism and nationalism were either excluded from the Europarty in Hungary or quickly confronted with "serious talks" like in Slovakia. The stronger Fidesz, which also had a strong government position was left without hardly any criticism at all. This can be rather clearly linked to the exchange processes assumed in the theoretical model. Excluding Fidesz would mean that the EPP lost several seats in the European Parliament and they would also lose representation in the Council, and European Council. They simply got too much from the party in terms of influence in the EU institutions. However, even for the EPP there were limits. In 2017, the EPP met with the Fidesz party leader after raising the possibility to suspend Fidesz from the EPP group in the European Parliament. The background was a new legislation against a liberal and regime-critical university in Hungary and the strong anti-EU rhetoric of Fidesz (Hungarian Free Press 2017). Interestingly, Fidesz agreed to amend some controversial laws after this meeting. Even if Fidesz had built much of its strength as a nationalist, EU-sceptic party, it will not risk to be cast out in the cold from the EPP-family.

Ideological party positions in Hungary and Slovakia: Is there a Europarty influence?

Let us now turn to the concrete party positions of the Hungarian and Slovakian parties which were potential member of the EPP. Starting with Hungary, there are signs of convergence to more "Western" positions in the early years. In the dimension of European integration, both the MDF and the FKGP become more pro-EU in the second period (1997-2003) than in the first (1990-1996). Interestingly, MDF becomes cooler on European integration in period three (2004-2008), which may indicate that they had already become accepted as full member of the EPP and did not have to adapt. Fidesz, which was in the liberal Europarty ALDE until 2000 when it joined the EPP, had a stronger pro-EU position in 2004-2008 than in the previous period. However, in the last phase 2009-2014 it becomes radically cooler on the issue.

[Insert figure 4. Party positions of Hungarian parties 1990-2014]

When it comes to traditional morality, the KDNP had a very strong traditional position in the early stage but this was clearly more toned down in the next period. Thereafter the trend continues with gradually weaker attention to this issue and it also continues in phase four when it is in coalition with Fidesz. The pattern of becoming "more Western" in the second phase compared to the first has been confirmed in both the view on EU integration and on traditional values. The same can be seen on the issue National way of life where the KDNP starts from a relatively high level but is clearly more toned down in the second phase. In phase three, it is again more nationalistic. Is this again an example that in phase three, the party was already a full member and had no incentive to adapt? The FKGP on the other hand, goes against the pattern. It started from a very high level of nationalism and this becomes even stronger in the second phase. But one could argue that this party was anyway suspended from the EUCD and thus, it was of no importance for the EPP/EUCD.

If we turn to Slovakia, we can observe the same pattern as in Hungary with parties becoming more "western" in the second phase compared to the first. When it comes to European integration, both KDH and HZDS became clearly more EU-positive in phase 2. Interestingly, the KDH becomes clearly more cool towards European integration in period 3 which (again) points to the fact that the first swing was a temporary effect due to EPP pressure as condition for membership. This is not crystal clear, especially since KDH again becomes more EU-enthusiastic in phase 4. SDKU-DS, which was founded in 1998, was rather EU-positive in period 2 and 3 but the somewhat cooler in period 4.

[Insert figure 5. Party positions of Slovakian parties 1990-2014]

As for the national issue, both KDH and HZDS become less focused on the nation in period 2 compared to period 1. This is most clear for the HZDS, which became clearly more moderate. However, in period 4 it became more nationalistic again. Over time, KDH is generally mainstream with a decreasing focus on the issue. The same decreasing trend goes for the SDKU-DS which also starts from a lower position. When it comes to traditional morality, both KDH and HZDS became less traditional in period 2 compared to period 1. Interestingly, KDH became more traditional again in period 3, just as it became cooler on EU integration in period 3 after a peak in period 2.

In sum, there are rather clear indications that the EPP-affiliated (or potentially affiliated) parties in Hungary and Slovakia became more "Western" in the second period 1997-2003 than in the first period 1990-1996. This could indeed be explained by a range of alternative factors but the fact that both Slovakia and Hungary confirms the pattern in all three dimensions points to the fact that the EPP has exerted influence on its affiliated parties in Central and

Eastern Europe through exchange process in the early years. The third and fourth period however do not show any clear pattern and here, we assume that the parties are less bound by the "EPP-conditionality" as they had become full members.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that the main effort of the EPP to influence its Hungarian and Slovakian partner parties was most likely through socialisation. The ambitious educational project for new Christian democratic and conservative politicians in Central and Eastern Europe described above was more systematic and ambitious than similar efforts by the PES and ALDE (Öhlén 2013: 310-311). From 1991, young politicians with a centre-right affiliation has participated in training seminars, courses and work-shops and through this internalised Christian democratic values, norms and code of conduct together with young politicians from other countries and built up a network of "new generation" Christian democrats from Central and Eastern Europe. According to the party leader of the Christian Democratic People's Party in Hungary, his party would through these various courses and seminars "…get acquainted with the ideas of Christian Democracy [sic] in details but at the same time (…) avoid the ideas of the great danger of future building: the extremist nationalism that turns nations against one another."[21]

Concluding discussion

(WORK IN PROGRESS!)

This paper presents findings which partly counter the expectations of the theoretical model of Europarty influence and which partly confirm its expectations. When it comes to party size, the result was somewhat surprisingly that it seems to play no role at all for the tendency of adapting to Western expectations/criteria. When it comes to the macro-level analysis of the EPP, there

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[21] The statement of KDNP party leader László Surján is retrieved from van Velzen (2006) p. 12.

are some indications of convergence over time. The clearest sign of convergence is the abrubt change towards a more EU-positive stance in 1997-2003 compared to the period before (1990-1996). The gradual weakening of strong traditional moral values among the Eastern sister parties during the whole time-period (1990-2014) could however be interpreted as a long-term process of both exchange process and socialisation into the more pragmatic tradition of West European Christian democracy especially through the massive programme of courses and seminars set up by the EPP especially for younger politicians from the applicant parties (see Öhlén 2013: 160-163). When it comes to nationalism the downward trend is mainly seen after 2004. If any Europarty influence has been exercised at all, it should be interpreted as results of socialisation rather than incentives.

The country specific section confirms the indication of a convergence towards Western expectations when it comes to the view on European integration. Indeed, this section goes even further and can conclude that in all three dimensions there is a pattern of adapting to Western expectations during the first years. After that, there are some examples of convergence but also on the contrary. This confirms to a large degree the main expectation of the model relating to time periods: after full membership in the Europarty, the incentive for adaptation is weaker as there is no "carrot" any more. Nevertheless, some caution should be taken regarding the ideological influence of the EPP on its partner parties. The main concern of the EPP in the early stage was rather the instability and fragmentation of the new party systems. In many countries there were several potential member parties and the first 5-6 years were characterised by recurrent party splits and shifts in size. (ref) As the EPP can be characterised as a pragmatic rather than principle-based party family, party size and party strength was prioritised when seeking partners. Much energy was spent on convincing the applicant parties to come together in coalitions, alliances or even to merge (ref). Moreover, the fact that EUCD existed and could be used as a "waiting room" for EPP-membership allowed them to include a broad spectrum of

parties into the family without risking too much. Consequently, ideological distance to "Christian Democracy" was not seen as a critical problem as long as the party was "ideologically close" such as conservative. It was rather the other way around. Several parties were strongly profiled as Christian democratic or even "Catholic" parties with a narrow voter base. The main effort or the EPP when it comes to ideological influence was rather the massive educational project of the applicant parties in CEE, which was institutionalised in 1991 as the "Christian Democratic Academy" in Budapest and which continued well over ten years in arranging courses, seminars, conferences, lectures for young future EPP politicians.[22] If any long-term ideological influence took place, it was reasonably from socialisation.

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[22] This was replaced in 1995 by the "Robert Schuman Institute for Developing Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe" still based in Budapest. This had an even higher ambition by arranging a higher number of courses for mainly young politicians from EPP-related parties in Central and Eastern Europe. See Von der Bank and Szabó (2006) p. 43-46, 105-111.

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Figure 1. Time-series, periodization model

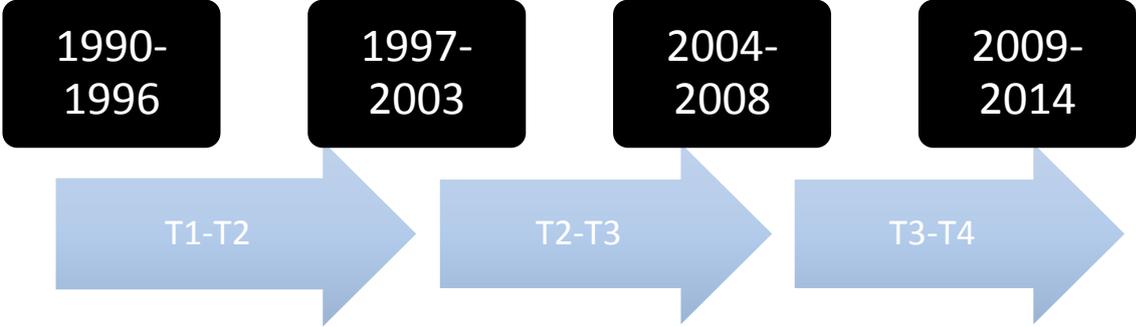**Figure 2:** Left-right positions of West – and East European parties

EPP - Left - Right Ideology

	1990-1996	1997-2003	2004-2008	2009-2015
East	8,53	7,83	1,36	4,74
West	11,77	8,64	0,57	5,69
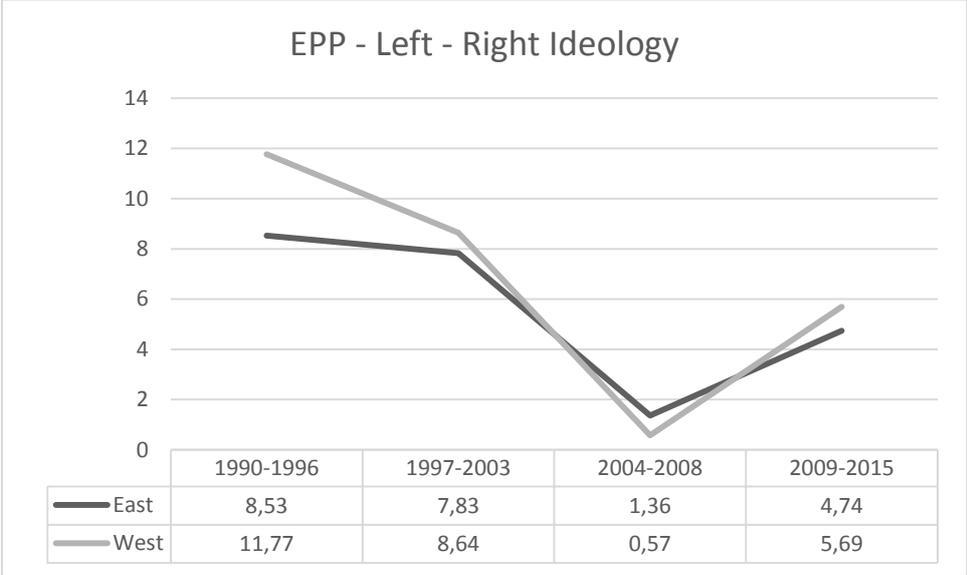
Figure 3: EPP affiliated parties on the European Union, Traditional morality and National way of life)

EPP - Europe

	1990-1996	1997-2003	2004-2008	2009-2015
East	1,05	2,85	2,15	2,43
West	3,72	3,28	2,39	1,73

EPP - Traditional morality

	1990-1996	1997-2003	2004-2008	2009-2015
East	5,01	3,46	2,94	1,85
West	3,57	5,25	2,5	2,16

EPP - National way of life

	1990-1996	1997-2003	2004-2008	2009-2015
East	1,98	2,32	2,22	1,06
West	1,41	1,02	1,79	2,03
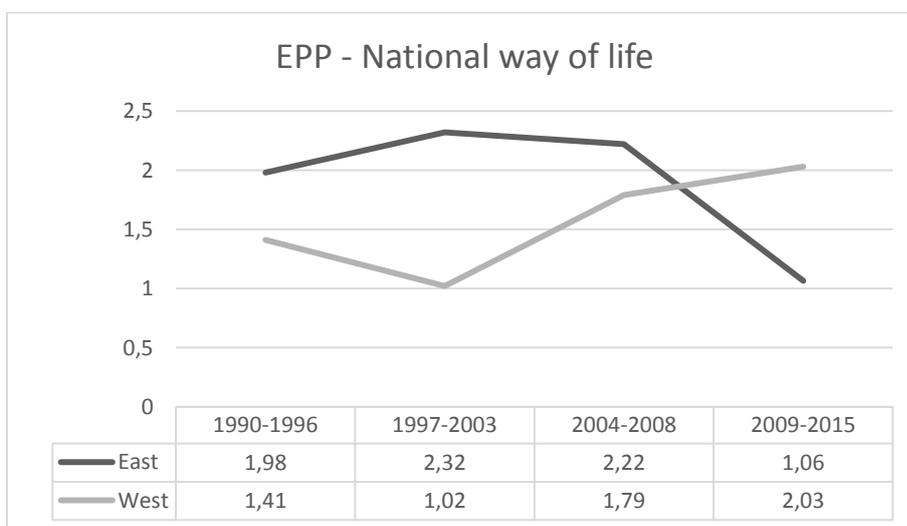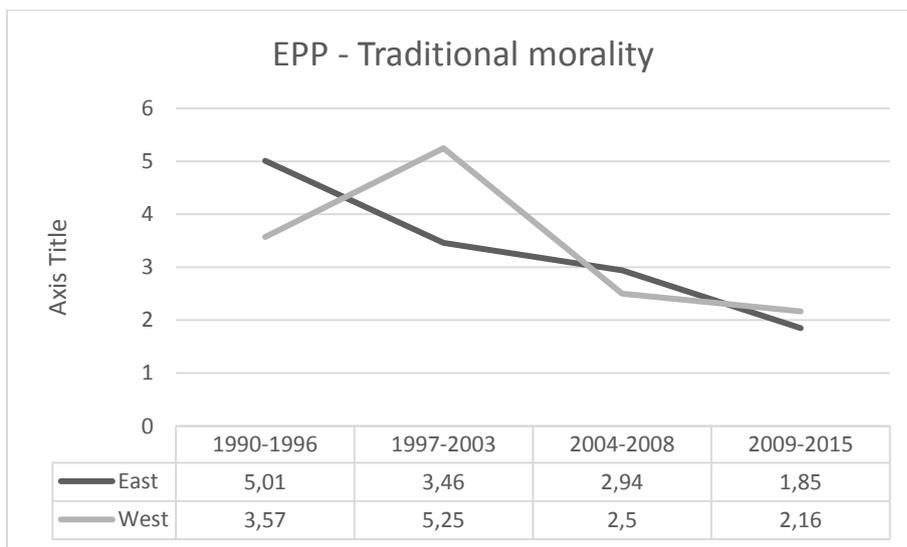
Figure 4. EPP affiliated parties in Hungary on the dimensions European integration, Traditional morality and National way of life

Figure 5. EPP affiliated parties in Slovakia on the dimensions European integration, Traditional morality and National way of life
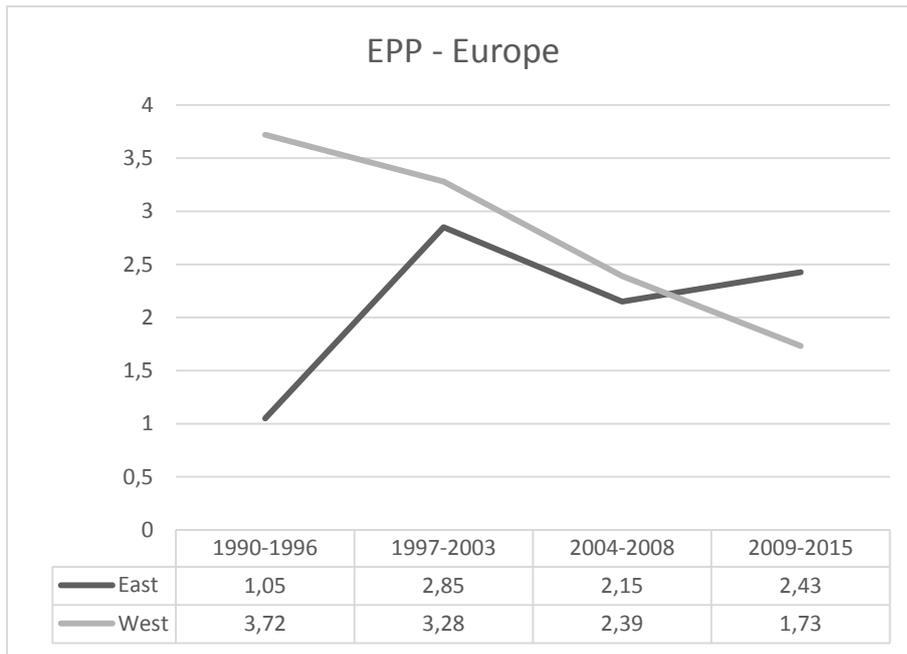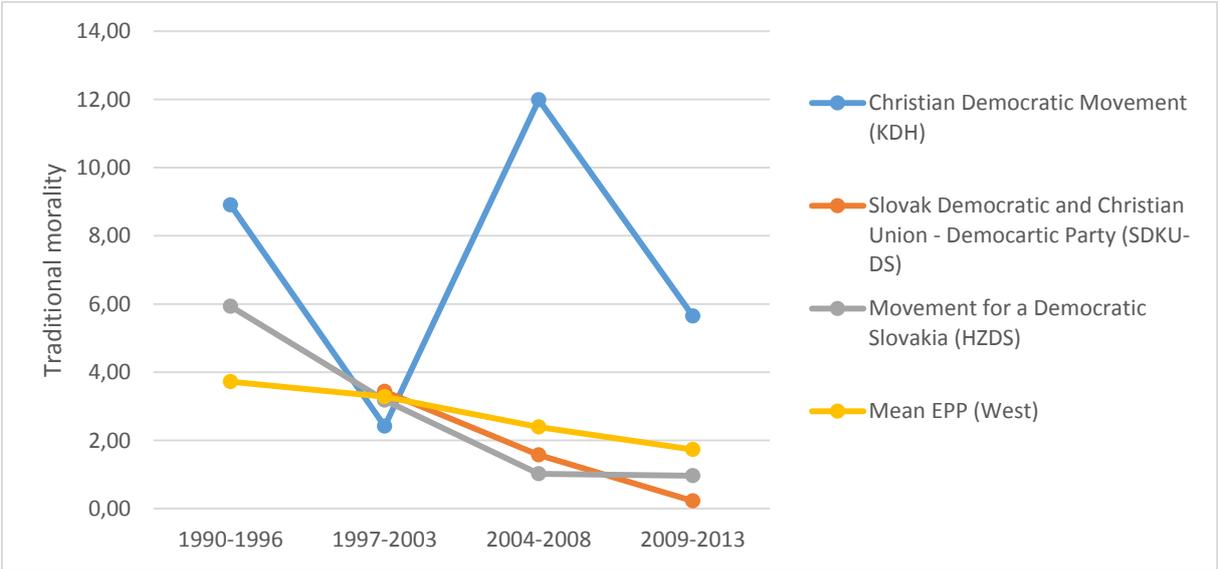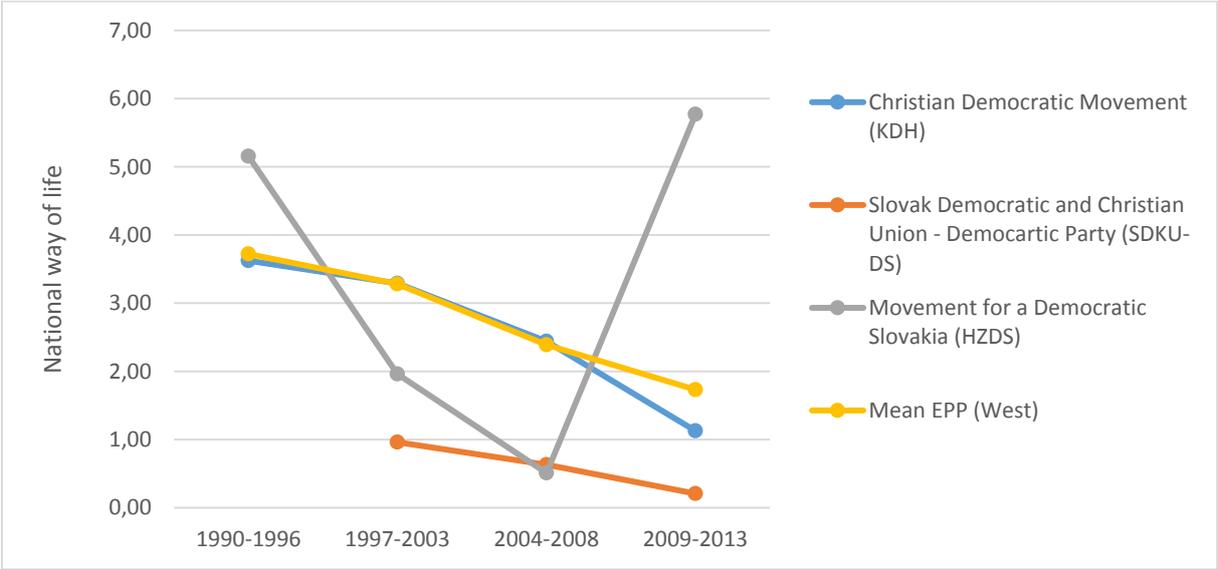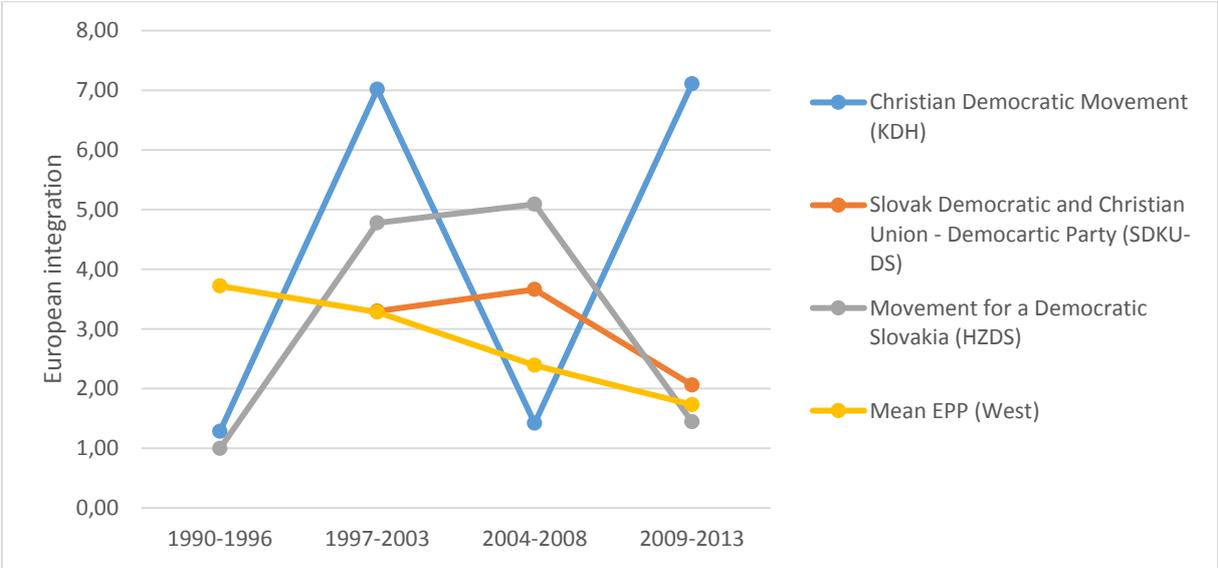
Appendix A: Detailed figures for the party family analysis

Mean value East-West comparisons of ideological positioning among EPP member parties

		1990-1996			1997-2003			2004-2008			2009-2014		
	Issue	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**
East	Europe+	23	1.05	1.1	20	2.85	2.18	22	2.15	1.72	19	2.43	2.12
	National way of life+	23	1.98	2.89	20	2.32	2.15	22	2.22	2.62	19	1.06	1.44
	Traditional morality+	23	5.01	6.07	20	3.46	3.42	22	2.94	3.74	19	1.85	2.27
	Left-Right	23	8.53	11.26	20	7.83	15.01	22	1.36	10.44	19	4.74	8.62
West	Europe+	30	3.72	3.31	32	3.28	2.53	24	2.39	1.68	24	1.73	2.06
	National way of life+	30	1.41	3.21	32	1.02	1.55	24	1.79	1.35	24	2.03	2.55
	Traditional morality+	30	3.57	5.32	32	5.25	7.33	24	2.5	3.45	24	2.16	2.27
	Left-Right	30	11.77	20.04	32	8.64	15.77	24	.57	19.29	24	5.69	16.44
Dif.	Europe+	53	-2.67	-2.21	52	-.43	-.35	46	-.24	.04	43	.69	.07
	National way of life+	53	.57	-.32	52	1.3	.6	46	.43	1.27	43	-.97	-1.11
	Traditional morality+	53	1.44	.75	52	-1.79	-3.91	46	.45	.3	43	-.32	.00
	Left-Right	53	-3.24	-8.78	52	-.81	-.76	46	.79	-8.86	43	-.95	-7.81

Independent sample T-tests investigating differences in ideological positioning between new and old EPP member parties 1990-2014

	1990-1996			1997-2003			2004-2008			2009-2014		
	M dif.	**T**	**Sig.**	**M dif.**	**T**	**Sig.**	**M dif.**	**T**	**Sig.**	**M dif.**	**T**	**Sig.**
Europe+	-2.67	4.138	.000	-.43	.631	.531	-.24	.484	.631	.69	-1.084	.29
National way of life+	.57	-.666	.509	1.30	-2.524	.015	.43	-.69	.495	-.97	1.567	.125
Traditional morality+	1.44	-.920	.371	-1.79	1.021	.312	.45	-.422	.675	-.32	.453	.653
Left-Right	-3.24	.744	.46	-.81	.184	.855	.79	-.174	.863	-0.95	.229	.820

Summary of results: EPP

Issue	**T1-T2**	**T2-T3**	**T3-T4**
Europe+	Convergence	No change	No change
National way of life+	Divergence	Convergence	No change
Traditional morality+	No change	No change	No change
Left-Right	No change	No change	No change

Appendix B: Detailed figures for party positions in Hungary

Hungary

Europe +				
	T1	T2	T3	T4
	1990-1996	1997-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013
Federation of Young Democrats (Fidesz)	0,63	2,61	1,23	0,49
Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)	1,33	2,13	0,54	-
Christian Democratic People?s Party (KDNP)	1,16	0,74	-	-
Independent Smallholders? Party (FKGP)	0,60	1,24	-	-
Mean - Hungary (EPP)	0,93	1,82	0,88	0,49
Mean EPP (West)	3,72	3,28	2,39	1,73
Mean EPP (East)	1,05	2,85	2,15	2,43

National way of life +				
	T1	T2	T3	T4
	1990-1996	1997-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013
Federation of Young Democrats (Fidesz)	1,02	2,15	6,55	1,07
Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)	0,16	2,98	5,42	-
Christian Democratic People?s Party (KDNP)	5,12	3,30	-	-
Independent Smallholders? Party (FKGP)	6,64	7,57	-	-
Mean - Hungary (EPP)	3,23	4,10	5,98	1,07
Mean EPP (West)	1,41	1,02	1,79	2,03
Mean EPP (East)	1,98	2,32	2,22	1,06

Traditional morality +				
	T1	T2	T3	T4
	1990-1996	1997-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013
Federation of Young Democrats (Fidesz)	0,00	4,49	5,05	2,81
Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)	1,23	6,82	1,84	-
Christian Democratic People?s Party (KDNP)	17,23	6,02	-	-
Independent Smallholders? Party (FKGP)	3,86	4,05	-	-
Mean - Hungary (EPP)	5,58	5,25	3,44	2,81
Mean EPP (West)	3,57	5,25	2,50	2,16
Mean EPP (East)	5,01	4,46	2,94	1,85

Appendix C: Detailed figures on party positions in Slovakia

Europe +				
	T1	T2	T3	T4
	1990-1996	1997-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	1,28	7,02	1,42	7,11
Slovak Democratic and Christian Union - Democartic Party (SDKU-DS)	-	3,30	3,66	2,06
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS)	1,00	4,78	5,09	1,44
Mean EPP (West)	3,72	3,28	2,39	1,73
Mean EPP (East)	1,05	2,85	2,15	2,43

National way of life +				
	T1	T2	T3	T4
	1990-1996	1997-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	3,62	3,29	2,44	1,13
Slovak Democratic and Christian Union – Democartic Party (SDKU-DS)		0,96	0,63	0,21
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS)	5,15	1,96	0,51	5,77
Mean EPP (West)	3,72	3,28	2,39	1,73
Mean EPP (East)	1,05	2,85	2,15	2,43

Traditional morality +				
	T1	T2	T3	T4
	1990-1996	1997-2003	2004-2008	2009-2013
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	8,90	2,41	11,99	5,64
Slovak Democratic and Christian Union - Democartic Party (SDKU-DS)		3,43	1,57	0,22
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS)	5,93	3,18	1,02	0,96
Mean EPP (West)	3,72	3,28	2,39	1,73
Mean EPP (East)	1,05	2,85	2,15	2,43