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Directorate-General for Communication Directorate for Relations with the Citizens Public Opinion Monitoring Unit

Brussels, 13 November 2012

#### 2009 EUROPEAN ELECTIONS DESK RESEARCH

Abstention and voting behaviour in the 2009 European elections

#### MAIN FINDINGS

This synthesis is based on desk research carried out on abstention and voting behaviour in June 2009. This is the first step in DG Communication's social marketing strategy in the run-up to the 2014 European elections.

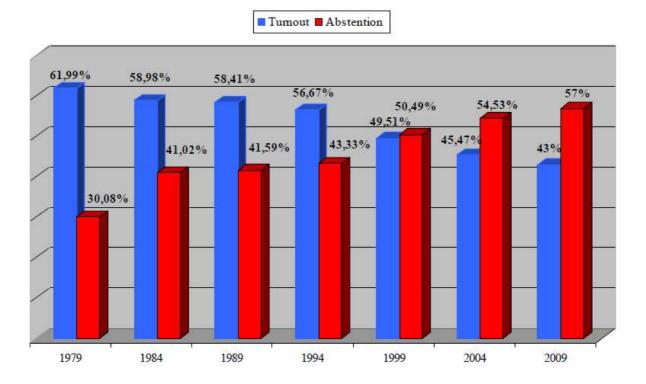
The data are from a Eurobarometer survey conducted by TNS Opinion after the elections in 2009. The fieldwork took place between 12 June and 6 July 2009, with 26 830 European citizens of voting age participating (aged 18 or over, and aged 16 or over in Austria).

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### I. TURNOUT IN THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

#### 1. <u>1979-2009</u>: Turnout trends in the European elections

- > Turnout in the European elections decreased by almost 19 percentage points over 30 years, from 61.99% in 1979 to 43% in 2009.
- ➤ **Abstention increased by almost 27 percentage points**, from 30.08% in 1979 to 57% in 2009.



#### 2. 2004-2009: Turnout trends by groups of Member States

➤ **Turnout trends** in the 27 Member States can be divided into four groups:

Significant increase in turnout in 8 Member States		Stable turnout in 8 Member States	Decrease in turnout of fewer than 4 points in 7 Member States	Decrease in turnout of between -6 and -27 points in 4 Member States
Estonia	+17.07	Finland +0.87	UK -3.82	Lithuania -27.40
Latvia	+12.36	Germany +0.30	Malta -3.60	Cyprus -13.10
Denmark	+11.65	Ireland +0.06	Netherlands-2.51	Greece -10.61
Bulgaria	+9.77	Luxembourg -0.59	Hungary -2.19	Italy -6.67
Sweden	+7.68	Belgium -0.42	France -2.13	
Poland	+3.66	Spain -0.27	Portugal -1.82	
Austria	+3.54	Czech Rep0.10	Romania -1.80	
Slovakia	+2.67	Slovenia -0.02		

### 3. 1979-2009: Turnout in European elections by Member State

Member States	1979	1984	1989	1994	1999	2004	2009	Difference 2009-2004
Belgium	91.36%	92.09%	90.73%	90.66%	91.05%	90.81%	90.39%	-0.42
Denmark	47.82%	52.38%	46.17%	52.92%	50.46%	47.89%	59.54%	+11.65
Germany	65.73%	56.76%	62.28%	60.02%	45.19%	43.00%	43.30%	+0.3
Ireland	63.61%	47.56%	68.28%	43.98%	50.21%	58.58%	58.64%	+0.06
France	60.71%	56.72%	48.80%	52.71%	46.76%	42.76%	40.63%	-2.13
Italy	85.65%	82.47%	81.07%	73.60%	69.76%	71.72%	65.05%	-6.67
Luxembourg	88.91%	88.79%	87.39%	88.55%	87.27%	91.35%	90.75%	-0.6
Netherlands	58.12%	50.88%	47.48%	35.69%	30.02%	39.26%	36.75%	-2.51
United Kingdom	32.35%	32.57%	36.37%	36.43%	24.00%	38.52%	34.70%	-3.82
Greece		80.59%	80.03%	73.18%	70.25%	63.22%	52.61%	-10.61
Spain			54.71%	59.14%	63.05%	45.14%	44.90%	-0.24
Portugal			51.10%	35.54%	39.93%	38.60%	36.78%	-1.82
Sweden					38.84%	37.85%	45.53%	+7.68
Austria					49.40%	42.43%	45.97%	+3.54
Finland					30.14%	39.43%	40.30%	+0.87
Czech Republic						28.30%	28.20%	-0.1
Estonia						26.83%	43.90%	+17.07
Cyprus						72.50%	59.40%	-13.1
Lithuania						48.38%	20.98%	-27.4
Latvia						41.34%	53.70%	+12.36
Hungary						38.50%	36.31%	-2.19
Malta						82.39%	78.79%	-3.6
Poland						20.87%	24.53%	+3.66
Slovenia						28.35%	28.33%	-0.02
Slovakia						16.97%	19.64%	+2.67
Bulgaria							38.99%	
Romania							27.67%	-
AVERAGE	61.99%	58.98%	58.41%	56.67%	49.51%	45.47%	43.00%	-2.47

- Excluding the three countries where voting is compulsory, turnout is highest in **Malta** (78.8%), **Italy** (65%) and **Denmark** (59.5%).
- ➤ Slovakia (80.4%), Lithuania (79%) and Poland (75.5%) have the highest proportions of non-voters.

# 4. <u>Differences in turnout between the 2009 European elections and national parliamentary elections</u>

The following table shows the differences in turnout between European elections and national parliamentary elections.

For each Member State the turnout for the European elections of June 2009 was compared with the turnout in the most recent parliamentary elections.

#### The following points stood out:

- National parliamentary elections have been held in 23 Member States since 2009. In 20 Member States, turnout in the national elections was greater than in the European elections, with variations ranging from 6.80 percentage points (Latvia, September 2011) to 39.47 (Slovakia, March 2012).
- In four Member States, no national elections have been held since 2009. Consequently, the results of the national parliamentary elections preceding the 2009 European elections were used for the calculation. This too shows that turnout in the national elections was higher than it was in European elections, with variations reaching 32.84 percentage points (Austria, September 2008).

			Differences in turno	ut between	the 2009 Euro	pean electio	ons and the m	ost recent na	tional parliam	entary elect	ions	
	National	elections	European elections									
Country	2008		June 2009		2009	2	2010	2	2011		2012	Difference in turnout
	Date	Turnout	Turnout	Date	Turnout	Date	Turnout	Date	Turnout	Date	Turnout	
BE			90.39%			Jun-10	89.28%					+1.11
BG			38.99%	Jul-09	60.20%							-21.21
CZ			28.22%			May-10	62.60%					-34.38
DK			59.54%					Sep-11	87.70%			-28.16
DE			43.27%	Sep-09	70.80%							-27.53
EE			43.90%					Mar-11	63.50%			-19.60
IE			58.64%					Feb-11	69.19%			-10.55
EL			52.61%							Jun-12	62.47%	-9.86
ES			44.87%					Nov-11	71.69%			-26.82
FR*			40.63%							Jun-12	55.4%	-14.77
IT	Apr-08	80.51%	65.05%									-15.46
CY			59.40%					May-11	78.70%			-19.30
LT*			20.98%							Oct-12	35.91%	-14.93
LV			53.70%					Sep-11	60.50%			-6.80
LU			90.76%	Jun-09	89.15%							+1.61
HU*			36.31%			Apr-10	64.17%					-7.86
MT	Mar-08	93.30%	78.79%									-14.51
NL			36.75%							Sep-12	74.6%	-37.85
AT	Sep-08	78.81%	45.97%									-32.84
PL			24.53%					Oct-11	48.90%			-24.37
PT			36.77%					Jun-11	58.07%			-21.30
RO	Nov-08	39.20%	27.67%									-11.53
SI			28.37%					Dec-11	65.60%			-37.23
SK			19.64%							Mar-12	59.11%	-39.47
FI			38.60%					Apr-11	70.50%			-31.90
SE			45.53%			Sep-10	84.63%	_				-39.10
UK			34.70%			May-10	65.10%					-30.40

<sup>\*</sup> In FR, LT and HU: turnout of second round.

# II. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF VOTERS AND NON-VOTERS

Source: Postelectoral EB/EP 73.1. EU27 – Fieldwork: 12 June-6 July 2009 (TNS Opinion)

Turnout in 2009 F	European elections	S
	VOTED	DID NOT VOTE
SEX		
Male	43.9%	56.1%
Female	42.1%	57.9%
AGE		
18-24 years old	29.1%	70.9%
25-39 years old	35.7%	64.3%
40-54 years old	43.7%	56.3%
55 years old or over	50.0%	50.0%
EDUCATION (END OF)		
15 years old or younger	42.6%	57.4%
between 16 and 19 years old	39.9%	60.1%
20 years old or over	51.9%	48.1%
still studying	33.9%	66.1%
OCCUPATION		
Self-employed	51.2%	48.8%
Manager	53.5%	46.5%
Other white-collar worker	44.4%	55.6%
Manual worker	35.9%	64.1%
Homemaker	41.7%	58.3%
Unemployed	28.0%	72.0%
Retired	49.0%	51.0%
Student	33.9%	66.1%
PLACE OF RESIDENCE		
Rural village	44.1%	55.9%
Small/medium-sized town	43.0%	57.0%
Large town/City	41.4%	58.6%
SELF-POSITIONING ON THE SOCIAL LADDER		
Low (1-4)	33.2%	66.8%
Medium (5-6)	44.3%	55.7%
High (7-10)	53.5%	46.5%
USE OF THE INTERNET		
Every day	44.7%	55.3%
Often/Sometimes	44.0%	56.0%
Never	42.9%	57.1%
SENSE OF ATTACHMENT TO EUROPE		
Yes	49%	51%
No	33.5%	66.5%
SENSE OF ATTACHMENT TO ONE'S COUNTRY		
Yes	44.1%	55.9%
No	33.6%	66.4%
SENSE OF BEING A CITIZEN OF THE EU		
Yes	49.1%	50.9%
No	33.0%	67.0%

# III. <u>VOTERS AND NON-VOTERS IN THE 2009 EUROPEAN ELECTIONS:</u> <u>VOTING BEHAVIOUR CUTS ACROSS SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS</u>

1. Behaviour of those who voted (43%): 71% had taken the decision to vote a long time beforehand.

#### > When did they decide to vote?

- **50%** of voters said they *always* vote for the same political party or the same candidate. 21% had made their decision several *months* before the elections.
- A minority of voters decided in the *weeks* (13%) and the *days* (9%) prior to the elections, or on *election day* itself (6%).
- > It is reasonable to assume that the 28% of voters who decided in the weeks or days prior to the elections are likely to be the group that is most responsive to election campaigns, with media coverage increasing in the days running up to the election.

VOTED	You have <u>always</u> voted like this	You decided a few months ago	You decided a few weeks ago	You decided a few <u>days</u> before the elections	You decided on the day of the elections	Don't know
AGE						
18-24	30%	28%	17%	17%	8%	-
25-39	41%	26%	14%	9%	8%	2%
40-54	47%	22%	13%	9%	8%	1%
55+	58%	17%	12%	8%	4%	1%
OCCUPATION						
Self-employed	52%	24%	13%	5%	4%	2%
Manager	41%	23%	15%	12%	8%	1%
Other white-collar worker	47%	24%	11%	10%	7%	1%
Manual worker	43%	23%	14%	10%	9%	1%
Homemaker	57%	17%	14%	6%	4%	2%
Unemployed	41%	25%	12%	10%	12%	-
Retired	60%	16%	11%	8%	4%	1%
Student	28%	26%	20%	18%	7%	1%

Source: Postelectoral EB/EP 73.1. EU27 - - Fieldwork: 12 June - 6 July 2009 (TNS Opinion)

#### 2. Behaviour of non-voters (57%): 32% decided not to vote at the last moment.

- ➤ When did they decide not to vote?
  - 22% of non-voters said they *never* vote.
  - 32% of non-voters said they had decided not to vote either several *days* before the election (16%) or on *election day* itself (16%).
- ➤ It would be reasonable to assume that, for this latter group, everything is still to be decided in the week prior to the elections, meaning that they **could potentially be persuaded to vote**.

DID NOT VOTE	You <u>never</u> vote	You decided a few months ago	You decided a few weeks ago	You decided a few <u>days</u> before the elections	You decided on the day of the elections	Don't know
AGE						
18-24	33%	11%	8%	17%	14%	17%
25-39	28%	14%	12%	14%	18%	14%
40-54	18%	20%	18%	16%	18%	10%
55+	16%	23%	18%	18%	13%	12%
OCCUPATION						
Self-employed	18%	19%	14%	18%	20%	11%
Manager	9%	15%	15%	18%	28%	15%
Other white-collar worker	19%	18%	13%	17%	20%	13%
Manual worker	24%	18%	15%	15%	15%	13%
Homemaker	25%	16%	16%	14%	16%	13%
Unemployed	38%	17%	12%	12%	11%	10%
Retired	15%	23%	18%	18%	13%	13%
Student	26%	9%	8%	21%	16%	20%

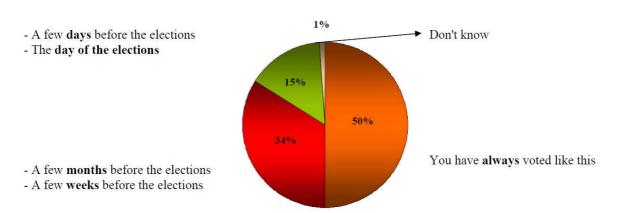
Source: Postelectoral EB/EP 73.1. EU27 – Fieldwork: 12 June – 6 July 2009 (TNS Opinion)

### IV. FOCUS ON 2009 VOTERS

#### 1. Voter categories

# ➤ Among the 43% of voters in the 2009 European elections, 50% said they always vote in the same way.

Q: When did you decide to vote?



2. Reasons for voting

Q: What are the main reasons why you decided to vote in the European elections? (max. 3 answers)

EU27 (43% of voters)		Categories of reasons
Because voting is compulsory	2%	compulsory vote
This is your duty as citizen	47%	civic vote
You always vote	40%	civic vote
To support the political party you feel close to	24%	gunnout note
To support your government	9%	support vote
To express your disagreement	11%	
To impose sanctions to your government	5%	protest vote
To impose sanctions to the EU	2%	
You can make things change in voting on the European elections	19%	
You are in favour of the EU	16%	
You feel European / citizen of the EU	13%	European vote
The EU plays an important role in your everyday life	6%	
You are very interested in European affairs	5%	
The information you received during the campaign convinced you to go to vote	5%	Effect of campaigns
Other (spontaneous)	1%	
Don't know	1%	

Source: Postelectoral EB/EP 73.1. EU27 - Fieldwork: 12 June - 6 July 2009 (TNS

### 3. Reasons for voting: by age and occupation

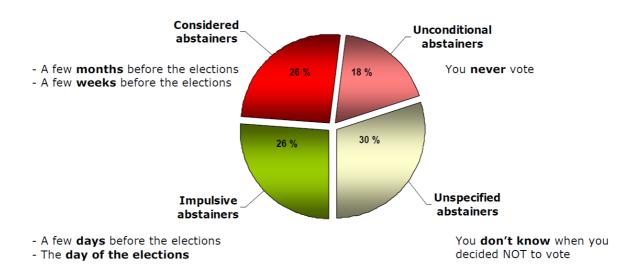
			A(	<b>JE</b>		OCCUPATION							
	EU27	18-24	25-39	40-54	55+	Self- employed	Manager	Other white-collar worker	Manual worker	Homemaker	Unemployed	Retired	Student
This is your duty as citizen	47%	46%	42%	48%	49%	40%	50%	48%	46%	45%	47%	50%	44%
You always vote	40%	28%	39%	39%	43%	37%	43%	37%	43%	40%	30%	43%	27%
To support the political party you feel close to	24%	23%	24%	24%	25%	22%	21%	25%	24%	23%	25%	26%	25%
You can make things change in voting on the European elections	19%	22%	20%	21%	17%	24%	23%	20%	20%	19%	18%	15%	23%
You are in favour of the EU	16%	16%	16%	18%	16%	18%	22%	16%	15%	15%	11%	15%	18%
You feel European / citizen of the EU	13%	18%	15%	13%	12%	9%	21%	13%	15%	10%	9%	11%	23%
To express your disagreement	11%	12%	12%	12%	9%	11%	10%	11%	14%	7%	12%	10%	12%
To support your government	9%	9%	9%	8%	9%	9%	8%	8%	9%	11%	7%	9%	10%
The EU plays an important role in your everyday life	6%	8%	8%	7%	5%	6%	11%	10%	5%	5%	5%	4%	8%
To impose sanctions to your government	5%	6%	5%	7%	5%	7%	4%	6%	6%	5%	9%	5%	5%
You are very interested in European affairs	5%	3%	8%	5%	5%	5%	7%	6%	6%	3%	4%	5%	7%
The information you received during the campaign convinced you to go to vote	5%	7%	5%	4%	4%	5%	2%	5%	5%	6%	5%	4%	8%
To impose sanctions to the EU	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%	3%	3%	2%	3%	1%	3%	2%	1%
Because voting is compulsory	2%	3%	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	3%	2%	4%	2%	3%
Other (spontaneous)	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%	2%
Don't know	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%

#### V. FOCUS ON NON-VOTERS IN 2009

#### 1. Non-voter categories

➤ Among the 57% of non-voters ('abstainers') in the 2009 European elections, four categories were identified.

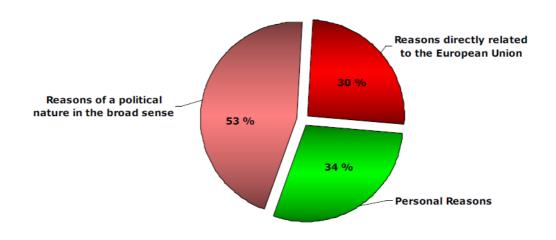
Q: When did you decide not to vote?



#### 2. Reasons for not voting

> The reasons for not voting in 2009 were mainly linked to politics in general.

# Q: What are the main reasons why you did NOT vote in the recent European Parliament elections?



### 3. Reasons for not voting: by age and occupation

			AC	SE .					OCCUPATION				
	UE27	18- 24	25- 39	40- 54	55+	Self- employed	Manager	Other white-collar worker	Manual worker	Home maker	Unemployed	Retired	Student
Lack of trust in / dissatisfaction with politics generally	28%	19%	26%	32%	31%	26%	25%	28%	31%	29%	30%	29%	16%
Not interested in politics as such	17%	20%	17%	15%	15%	13%	9%	16%	19%	17%	25%	15%	12%
Vote has no consequences / vote does not change anything	17%	12%	17%	17%	18%	12%	10%	14%	18%	16%	24%	18%	7%
On holiday / away from home	10%	11%	11%	10%	9%	13%	19%	11%	9%	12%	7%	9%	14%
Too busy / no time/ work	10%	16%	14%	11%	5%	17%	16%	14%	15%	6%	5%	3%	19%
Do not know much about the EU/EP or the EP elections	10%	9%	12%	8%	12%	7%	6%	8%	13%	13%	9%	12%	10%
Rarely or never vote	10%	14%	12%	9%	6%	8%	4%	11%	11%	10%	17%	5%	9%
Not interested in European matters	9%	7%	7%	10%	9%	4%	3%	6%	9%	10%	12%	11%	4%
Not really satisfied with the EP as an institution	8%	5%	7%	9%	10%	6%	12%	7%	9%	8%	7%	10%	4%
Sick / health problem at the time	7%	2%	4%	5%	14%	3%	3%	2%	3%	11%	4%	18%	2%
Lack of public debate / lack of electoral campaign	6%	5%	5%	6%	6%	6%	7%	5%	6%	5%	6%	6%	4%
Involved in a family / leisure activity	5%	5%	7%	5%	5%	8%	7%	7%	6%	7%	4%	3%	6%
Opposed to the EU	4%	2%	2%	6%	5%	3%	2%	4%	4%	4%	3%	5%	2%
Registration or voting card problems	3%	5%	4%	3%	2%	4%	7%	2%	3%	2%	6%	2%	4%
Did not know there were elections	2%	3%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	2%
Other (spontaneous)	6%	9%	5%	6%	6%	5%	9%	8%	6%	3%	4%	7%	12%
Don't know	3%	5%	3%	2%	3%	4%	2%	2%	2%	3%	3%	4%	7%

Table 1: Detailed profiles of the four categories of non-voters ('abstainers')

IMPULSIVE ABSTAINERS	UNSPECIFIED ABSTAINERS					
<b>26% Definition</b>	30% Definition					
<ul> <li>They decided not to vote just a few days before the election or sometimes even on the day itself.</li> </ul>	They did not answer the question concerning when the decision not to vote was taken.					
Socio-demographics	Socio-demographics					
<ul> <li>Mostly women</li> <li>Very slightly younger (3 points more aged 18-39 than total proportion of non-voters)</li> <li>More educated</li> <li>Mostly working people, slightly fewer unemployed and retired people, higher-level professions well represented, in particular managers</li> <li>Slightly more in rural areas (3 points more in rural areas than total proportion of non-voters)</li> <li>Use the internet most frequently: two thirds use it, 44% almost daily</li> <li>68% voted in last national elections</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Slightly higher proportion of men</li> <li>Slightly older (6 points more aged 55+ than total proportion of non-voters)</li> <li>Lower percentage of those who left school between the ages of 16 and 19</li> <li>Slightly higher proportion of retired people</li> <li>Fewer unemployed people and manual workers</li> <li>Slightly more in urban areas (3 points more in small and medium-sized towns than total proportion of non-voters)</li> <li>Use of internet is comparable to that among total proportion of non-voters</li> <li>73% voted in last national elections</li> </ul>					
Reasons for not voting	Reasons for not voting					
Broadly political reasons (53% of all nonvoters) 38%	Broadly political reasons (53% of all non-voters)					
Personal reasons (34% of all non-voters) 53%	Personal reasons (34% of all non-voters) 50%					
Reasons directly related to the EU (30% of all non-voters)	Reasons directly related to the EU (30% of all non-voters)					
CONSIDERED ABSTAINERS 26%	UNCONDITIONAL ABSTAINERS 18%					
<u>Definition</u>	<u>Definition</u>					
<ul> <li>They took the decision not to vote weeks or even months before the election.</li> <li>Socio-demographics</li> <li>Slightly higher proportion of men</li> <li>The oldest (9 points more aged 40+ than total proportion of non-voters)</li> <li>Few differences in terms of education, although slightly higher proportion of respondents whose education stopped before age 20</li> <li>More retired people</li> <li>Slightly more in rural areas (3 points more in rural areas than total proportion of non-voters)</li> <li>Use the internet the least often</li> <li>58% voted in last national elections</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>They never vote.</li> <li>Socio-demographics</li> <li>Mostly men</li> <li>The youngest (17 points more aged 18-39 than total proportion of non-voters)</li> <li>Less educated</li> <li>More manual workers, and especially more unemployed people</li> <li>The most urban (6 points more in small, medium-sized or large towns and cities than total proportion of non-voters)</li> <li>Just above-average internet use (striking in such a young group)</li> <li>14% voted in last national elections</li> </ul>					
Reasons for not voting	Reasons for not voting					
Broadly political reasons (53% of all non- voters) 64%	Broadly political reasons (53% of all 74% non-voters)					
Personal reasons (34% of all non-voters) 23%	Personal reasons (34% of all non-voters) 14%					
Reasons directly related to the EU (30% of all non-voters) 41%	Reasons directly related to the EU (30% of all non-voters)					

Table 2: Reasons for not voting by category of non-voter ('abstainer')

	TOTAL Abstainers EU27	Impulsive Abstainers	Considered Abstainers	Unconditional Abstainers	Unspecified Abstainers
Global reasons	100%	26%	26%	18%	30%
Broadly political reasons*	53%	38%	64%	74%	25%
Reasons directly related to the European Union**	30%	27%	41%	29%	12%
Personal reasons***	34%	53%	23%	14%	50%
Detailed reasons					
Lack of trust in / dissatisfaction with politics generally*	28%	23%	43%	23%	12%
Vote has no consequences / vote does not change anything*	17%	13%	23%	18%	6%
Not interested in politics as such*	17%	11%	17%	29%	9%
Do not know much about the EU/EP or the EP elections**	10%	10%	13%	11%	6%
Too busy / no time / work***	10%	18%	6%	5%	12%
On holiday / away from home***	10%	15%	8%	2%	20%
Rarely or never vote*	9%	3%	4%	31%	4%
Not interested in European matters**	9%	6%	11%	12%	4%
Not really satisfied with the European Parliament as an institution**	8%	7%	14%	5%	1%
Sick / health problem at the time***	7%	11%	6%	3%	7%
Lack of public debate/lack of electoral campaign**	6%	8%	7%	2%	3%
Involved in a family / leisure activity***	5%	11%	3%	1%	4%
Opposed to the EU**	4%	2%	7%	3%	1%
Registration or voting card problems***	3%	3%	1%	3%	10%
Did not know there were elections	2%	1%	1%	2%	6%
Other (spontaneous)	6%	6%	5%	4%	13%
Don't know	3%	1%	2%	3%	11%

# VI. ANNEXES

- 1) 27 factsheet 'Abstention'
- 2) 27 factsheet 'Voters' profile'

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