

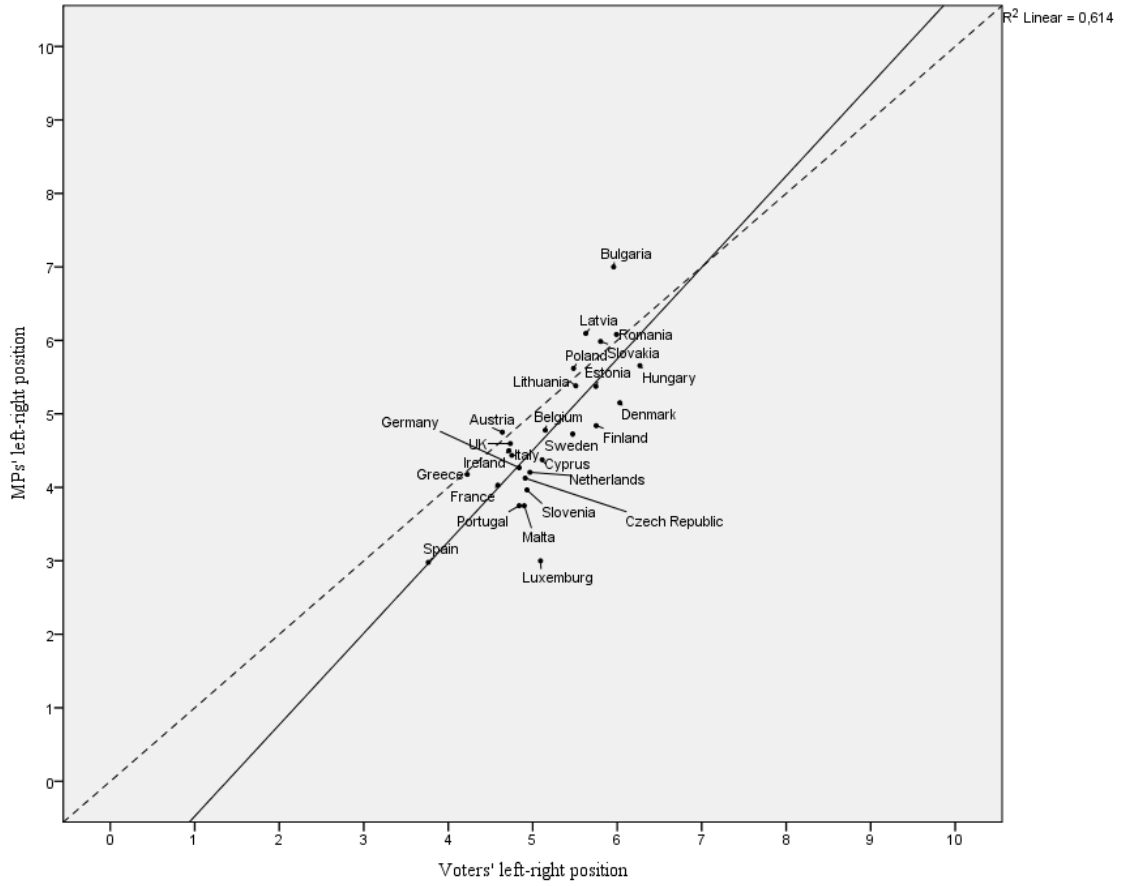
Figure 1: Research Hypotheses for the Three Models

The three models:	Higher congruence is expected:
<p>Downs - May (Spatial Voting Theory & Law of Curvilinear Disparities)</p>	<p>H1a: Among politically sophisticated and involved voters and with a high level of education.</p> <p>H1b: Among MPs with high political experience and with accurate perceptions on voters' positions.</p> <p>H1c: Among political parties with high cohesion and low intra-party polarization.</p>
<p>Przeworski - Sprague (Party competition theory)</p>	<p>H2: Among political parties whose electoral competition is closer to the ideological centre.</p>
<p>Huber-Powell-Wessels (Party system / Institutional explanations)</p>	<p>H3: In more differentiated and proportional electoral systems.</p>

Table 1: Variables and Operationalization of the Three Causal Models of Ideological Congruence

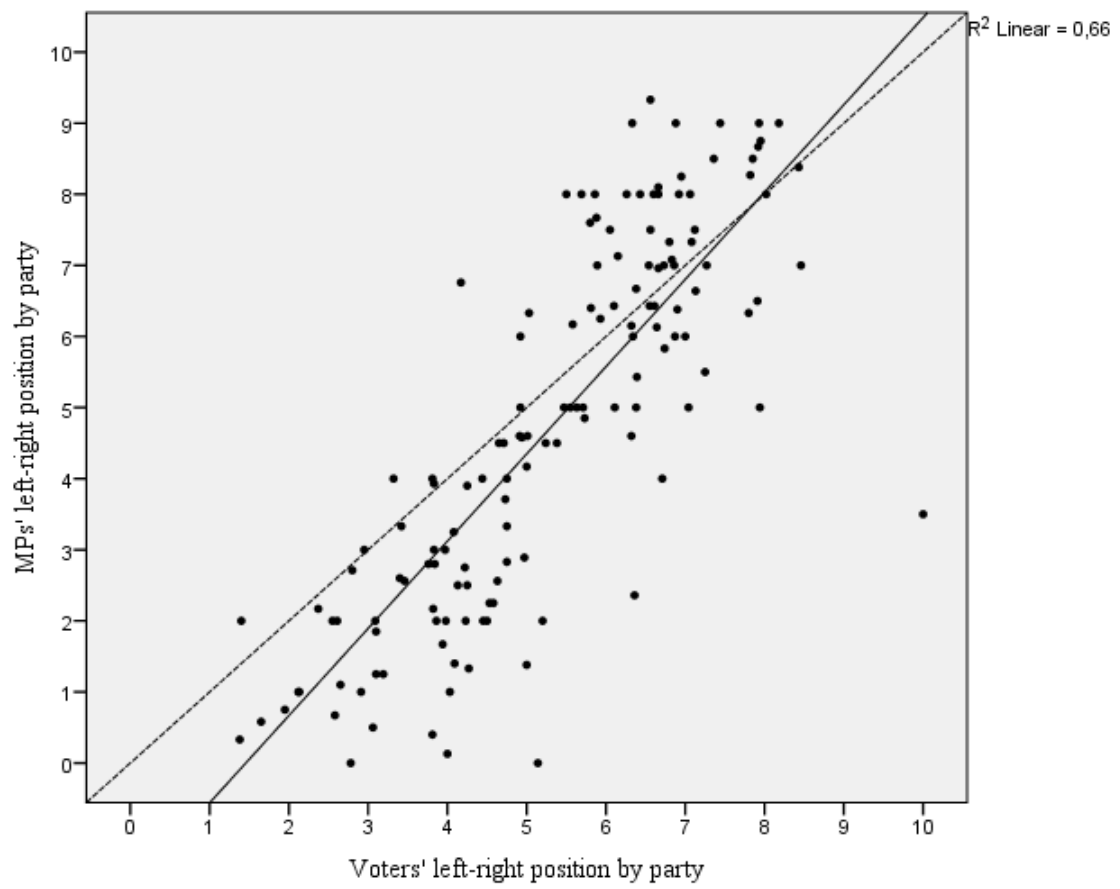
	INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	Operationalization
	Voters' political involvement - follow news index	0 = not involved
	Voters' political involvement - follow campaign index	0 = not involved
	Voters' political information - read news index	0 = not informed
Downs - May	Voters' number of years of education	-
Spatial Voting Theory & Law of Curvilinear Disparities	MPs' political experience (index)	0 = no experience
	MPs' number of years in the party	-
	MPs' perceptual inaccuracy on voters' left-right position	0 = left to 10 = right
	Left-right party cohesion - MPs	Standard deviation (MPs' left-right position)
	Intra-party polarization - MPs	MPs' distance to the neutral ideological centre - 5
	Party Ideological position	In party election manifestoes (1 = left to 10 = right)
	Party distance to the neutral centre	In party election manifestoes (1 = left to 10 = right)
	Party dimension	Total number of votes in the party / Total population
Przeworski - Sprague	Communist party family	0 = other parties; 1 = communist party
Party competition theory	Special interest party family	0 = other parties; 1 = special interest party
	Nationalist party family	0 = other parties; 1 = nationalist party
	Social-democrat party family	0 = other parties; 1 = social-democrat party
	Christian-democrat party family	0 = other parties; 1 = christian-democrat party
	Party system differentiation	Standard deviation of left-right position in election manifestoes (2)
Huber-Powell-Wessels	Proportionality of the electoral system	Gallagher index (1 = not proportional; 14 = proportional) (2)
Party system / Institutional explanations	National election fractionalization	Rae index of national legislative fractionalization (2)
	European election fractionalization	Rae index of European legislative fractionalization (2)
	Effective number of parties	Laakso and Taagepera formula (1979) (2)
	DEPENDENT VARIABLE	
	Ideological Distance	Distance between voters' and MPs' left-right mean position in the party (0 = congruence ; 10 = no congruence)

Figure 2: MP and Voter Left-right Spatial Distribution across European Party Systems



Sources: EES (2009a and 2009b).

Figure 3: MP and Voter Left-Right Spatial Distribution across European Political Parties



Sources: EES (2009a and 2009b).

Table 2: The Downs-May Causal Model of MP-Voter Ideological Distance**(dependent variable: 0 = congruence; 10 = no congruence)**

Indicador	Adj. R²	B	Beta	Sig.
<i>Voters' political sophistication and involvement</i>				
Voters' political involvement - follow news index (0 = not involved)	6,2%	0,01	0,12	0,043
Voters' political involvement - follow campaign index (0 = not involved)	5,4%	0,40	0,22	0,000
Voters' political information - read news index (0 = not informed)	-	0,03	0,04	0,529
Voters' number of years of education	1,1%	0,00	-0,01	0,894
Adj. R² Bloc		10,0%		
<i>MPs' political experience and perceptions</i>				
MPs' political experience (index) (0 = no experience)	-	-0,09	-0,01	0,841
MPs' number of years in the party	4,5%	0,02	0,17	0,006
MPs' perceptual inaccuracy on voters' left-right position (0 = accurate)	36,2%	0,68	0,60	0,000
Adj. R² Bloc		46,9%		
<i>Parties' cohesion and polarization</i>				
Left-right party cohesion - MPs (standard deviation of MPs' left-right self-positioning)	-	-0,01	-0,14	0,012
Intra-party polarization - MPs (distance to the neutral ideological centre - 5)	19,3%	0,26	0,33	0,000
Adj. R² Bloc		59,7%		

N = 144 (parties).

Table 3: The Przeworski Sprague Causal Model of MP-Voter Ideological Distance (dependent variable: 0 = congruence; 10 = no congruence)

Indicador	Adj. R²	B	Beta	Sig.
Party Ideological position in party election manifestoes (1 = left to 10 = right)	2,2%	-0,08	-0,18	0,088
Party distance to the neutral centre (centre = 5)	1,0%	0,19	0,21	0,023
Party dimension	3,7%	-2,95	-0,20	0,014
Communist party family (1 = communist)	-	-0,08	-0,02	0,841
Special interest party family (1 = special interest)	3,5%	1,22	0,26	0,002
Nationalist party family (1 = nationalist)	-	0,32	0,09	0,300
Social-democrat party family (1 = social-democrat)	1,3%	0,57	0,20	0,029
Christian-democrat party family (1 = christian-democrat)	0,3%	0,20	0,06	0,489
	Adj. R²	13,2%		

N = 144 (parties).

Table 4: The Huber-Powell-Wessels Causal Model of MP-Voter Ideological Distance (dependent variable: 0 = congruence; 10 = no congruence)

Indicador	Adj. R²	B	Beta	Sig.
Party System differentiation - standard deviation of parties' left-right position in election manifestoes	0,2%	-0,03	-0,13	0,147
Proportionality of the electoral system - Gallagher index (1 = not proportional; 14 = proportional)	3,5%	0,11	0,26	0,005
National legislative election fractionalization	-	-0,39	-0,03	0,784
European legislative election fractionalization	-	-3,02	-0,23	0,248
Effective number of parties	-	0,17	0,27	0,174
	Adj. R²	3,2%		

N = 27 (party systems).

APPENDIX

Table A1. Studies and Questions of the Three Causal Models

	INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	Study / questions
Downs - May	Voters' political involvement - follow news index	EES, 2009a / q7+q8a+q8b
	Voters' political involvement - follow campaign index	EES, 2009a / q16+q17+q18
	Voters' political information - read news index	EES, 2009a / q12a+q12b+q12c
	Voters' number of years of education	EES, 2009a / q100
	MPs' political experience (index)	EES, 2009b / v045c
	MPs' number of years in the party	EES, 2009b / v006_2
	MPs' perceptual inaccuracy on voters' left-right position	EES, 2009a and EES, 2009b / voters' LR mean position (q46)- MP's perception on voters position (v18_1), by party
	Left-right party cohesion - MPs	EES, 2009b / v18_1
	Intra-party polarization - MPs	EES, 2009b / v18_1
	Przeworski - Sprague	Party Ideological position
Party distance to the neutral centre		EES, 2009c / m_left
Party dimension		EES, 2009d / cc_tot_voters / cc_tot_population
Communist party family		EES, 2009c / pfamily
Special interest party family		EES, 2009c / pfamily
Nationalist party family		EES, 2009c / pfamily
Social-democrat party family		EES, 2009c / pfamily
Christian-democrat party family		EES, 2009c / pfamily
Huber-Powell-Wessels	Party system differentiation	EES, 2009c / rile_mrg
	Proportionality of the electoral system	EES, 2009d / cc_GallagerIndex
	National election fractionalization	EES, 2009d / cc_RaeIndex_NationalLeg
	European election fractionalization	EES, 2009d / cc_RaeIndex_EuropeCLeg
	Effective number of parties	-
	DEPENDENT VARIABLE	
	Ideological Distance	EES, 2009a and EES, 2009b / voters' - q46), MP's - v18_1), by party

Table A2. Parties and party families

Country	Party	Party family	Voters		MPs		Ideological Distace
			Mean left-right position	SD	Mean left-right position	SD	
Austria	GRÜNE	Greens	3,40	1,77	2,60	1,24	0,80
	SPÖ	Social democrat	4,22	2,33	2,75	1,50	1,47
	FPÖ	Liberal	6,66	2,22	8,00	0,00	1,34
	ÖVP	Christian democrat	5,81	1,81	6,40	1,07	0,59
	IND	Special interest	4,75	3,30	4,00	,00	0,75
Belgium	ECOLO	Greens	3,76	2,34	2,80	1,92	0,96
	GROEN!	Greens	4,45	2,60	2,00	0,93	2,45
	SP.A	Social democrat	4,13	2,88	2,50	1,00	1,63
	PS	Social democrat	3,10	2,59	1,25	0,96	1,85
	OPEN VLD	Liberal	5,58	2,13	6,17	1,47	0,59
	MR	Liberal	6,38	2,14	5,00	0,82	1,38
	LDD	Liberal	5,80	1,64	7,60	1,14	1,80
	CD&V	Christian democrat	5,38	2,17	4,50	1,00	0,88
	FN	Nationalist	6,33	2,31	9,00	1,41	2,67
	NVA	Regional	5,24	1,92	4,50	1,73	0,74
	VB	Regional	6,26	2,86	8,00	1,41	1,74
Bulgaria	SK	Liberal	8,02	2,15	8,00	0,00	0,02
	GERB	Conservative	7,27	2,31	7,00	1,41	0,27
	ATAKA	Nationalist	6,87	2,02	6,00	0,00	0,87
Cyprus	AKEL	Communist	1,40	2,22	2,00	2,83	0,60
	EDEK	Social democrat	4,25	2,44	2,50	0,71	1,75
	DIKO	Liberal	6,34	2,35	6,00	1,41	0,34
	DISY	Christian democrat	8,46	1,97	7,00	0,00	1,46
Czech Republic	KSCM	Communist	2,13	2,45	1,00	1,41	1,13
	CSDD	Social democrat	3,82	2,22	2,17	1,47	1,65
	ODS	Liberal	7,80	2,02	6,33	2,89	1,46
	KDU-CSL	Christian democrat	5,89	2,01	7,00	1,15	1,11
Denmark	SF	Communist	2,80	2,12	2,71	1,98	0,09
	SD	Social democrat	4,23	2,39	2,00	1,00	2,23
	RV	Liberal	4,44	1,47	4,00	1,00	0,44
	V	Liberal	7,12	2,08	7,50	0,71	0,38
	KF	Conservative	7,06	1,88	8,00	0,00	0,94
	DF	Nationalist	6,56	2,62	7,50	1,73	0,94
	FB	Special interest	10,00	0,00	3,50	4,95	6,50
Estonia	SDE	Liberal	5,20	1,96	2,00	0,00	3,20
	KE	Liberal	4,65	2,17	4,50	0,71	0,15
	ER	Liberal	6,60	2,13	8,00	0,00	1,40
	IRL	Nationalist	6,54	1,74	7,00	0,00	0,46
Finland	VIHR	Greens	5,01	1,76	4,60	2,30	0,41
	VAS	Communist	2,91	2,25	1,00	0,82	1,91
	SDP	Social democrat	4,63	2,06	2,56	1,01	2,08
	KD	Christian democrat	6,71	1,82	4,00	4,24	2,71

	KOK	Conservative	7,93	1,30	9,00	0,00	1,07
	PERUS	Nationalist	5,63	1,94	5,00	1,87	0,63
	KESK	Agrarian	6,64	1,78	6,13	1,64	0,52
	RKP/SFP	Regional	6,55	1,96	6,43	1,51	0,12
	EE	Greens	5,00	0,00	1,38	1,19	3,62
	Extr.Gauche	Communist	1,38	1,50	0,33	0,71	1,05
	FG	Communist	4,00	1,00	0,13	0,35	3,87
France	PS	Social democrat	3,10	2,05	1,85	1,18	1,25
	UMP	Conservative	7,13	1,66	6,64	1,22	0,50
	FN	Nationalist	6,56	3,09	9,33	1,66	2,78
	MoDEM	Special interest	4,94	1,37	4,58	0,67	0,36
	B90/GR	Greens	3,81	1,51	4,00	1,63	0,19
	Die Linke	Communist	2,65	2,76	1,10	1,10	1,55
Germany	SPD	Social democrat	4,53	2,24	2,25	0,98	2,28
	FDP	Liberal	5,73	1,52	4,85	1,35	0,88
	CDU/CSU	Christian democrat	6,32	1,99	6,15	1,46	0,17
	SYRIZA	Communist	3,06	2,00	0,50	0,71	2,56
	PASOK	Social democrat	3,97	2,25	3,00	0,00	0,97
Greece	ND	Christian democrat	6,90	2,24	6,38	1,92	0,52
	OP	Nationalist	3,83	2,14	3,00	,00	0,83
	LAOS	Nationalist	5,86	2,49	8,00	1,41	2,14
	MSZP	Communist	3,94	2,81	1,67	2,08	2,28
	SZDSZ	Liberal	4,91	1,34	4,60	1,14	0,31
Hungary	MDF	Christian democrat	6,15	3,08	7,13	1,55	0,97
	FIDESZ	Christian democrat	7,91	1,96	6,50	2,12	1,41
	JOBBIK	Nationalist	8,43	1,51	8,38	1,60	0,05
	Lab	Social democrat	4,03	2,52	1,00	1,41	3,03
Ireland	FG	Christian democrat	6,05	2,31	7,50	2,12	1,45
	FF	Conservative	6,11	2,32	5,00	0,00	1,11
	PD	Social democrat	2,37	1,99	2,17	1,27	0,20
	IdV	Liberal	4,08	2,74	3,25	0,96	0,83
Italy	UDC	Christian democrat	5,93	1,58	6,25	1,67	0,32
	PDL	Conservative	7,95	1,86	8,75	0,96	0,80
	LN	Nationalist	7,94	1,76	5,00	0,00	2,94
	SC	Communist	3,32	2,33	4,00	4,24	0,68
	LPP/LC	Liberal	5,55	2,17	5,00	0,00	0,55
Latvia	JL	Liberal	6,80	2,20	7,33	0,58	0,53
	TP	Conservative	6,88	2,18	9,00	1,00	2,13
	TB/LNNK	Nationalist	7,36	2,36	8,50	1,91	1,14
	PCTVL	Special interest	3,86	2,37	2,00	0,71	1,86
	LSDP	Social democrat	3,98	2,61	2,00	0,00	1,98
Lithuania	DP	Social democrat	4,92	2,36	6,00	0,00	1,08
	LRLS	Liberal	5,50	1,14	8,00	1,63	2,50
	LiCS	Liberal	5,69	,95	8,00	1,41	2,31
	LVLS	Christian democrat	5,71	1,77	5,00	0,00	0,71

	TS-LKD	Conservative	7,92	2,35	8,67	0,58	0,74
	LLRA	Special interest	5,14	1,10	0,00	0,00	5,14
Luxembourg	LSAP	Social democrat	4,09	2,26	1,40	1,34	2,69
	CSV	Christian democrat	6,32	1,99	4,60	1,82	1,72
Malta	PL	Social democrat	2,55	2,80	2,00	1,22	0,55
	PN	Christian democrat	7,25	2,55	5,50	0,71	1,75
Netherlands	GL	Greens	3,19	2,08	1,25	0,96	1,94
	SP	Communist	3,81	2,57	0,40	0,55	3,41
	PvdA	Social democrat	3,84	2,41	2,80	0,45	1,04
	D66	Social democrat	4,25	1,85	3,90	1,79	0,35
	VVD	Liberal	6,86	1,55	7,00	1,41	0,14
	CDA	Christian democrat	6,39	1,75	5,43	0,53	0,97
	PVV	Nationalist	6,43	2,77	8,00	0,00	1,57
Poland	SLD-UP	Communist	2,61	2,62	2,00	1,15	0,61
	PO	Liberal	5,88	2,47	7,67	1,51	1,79
	PiS	Liberal	7,44	2,27	9,00	1,15	1,56
	PSL	Agrarian	6,38	2,38	6,67	2,73	0,29
Portugal	B.E.	Communist	2,58	2,14	0,67	0,58	1,91
	CDU	Communist	2,12	1,89	1,00	0,00	1,12
	PS	Social democrat	4,58	1,92	2,25	1,26	2,33
	PSD	Social democrat	6,74	2,15	5,83	1,83	0,91
	CDS-PP	Conservative	8,18	2,17	9,00	1,73	0,82
Romania	PD-L	Social democrat	6,66	2,92	8,10	1,91	1,44
	PNL	Liberal	7,08	2,56	7,33	0,58	0,26
	PRM	Nationalist	4,97	3,86	2,89	3,14	2,08
	UDMR	Special interest	7,00	2,96	6,00	0,00	1,00
	Smer	Liberal	4,27	2,46	1,33	1,15	2,94
Slovakia	KDH	Christian democrat	6,92	2,60	8,00	0,00	1,08
	SDKÚ-DS	Christian democrat	6,95	2,25	8,25	0,50	1,30
	SNS	Nationalist	4,92	2,36	5,00	0,00	0,08
	L'S-HZDS	Nationalist	5,03	2,93	6,33	3,21	1,31
	SMK-MKP	Special interest	6,73	2,72	7,00	0,00	0,27
	SD	Social democrat	2,78	2,73	0,00	0,00	2,78
Slovenia	LDS	Liberal	3,42	3,01	3,33	0,58	0,09
	Zares	Liberal	2,95	2,40	3,00	0,00	0,05
	NSi	Christian democrat	7,85	2,17	8,50	0,71	0,65
	SLS	Conservative	5,47	3,14	5,00	1,41	0,47
	IU-ICV	Communist	1,95	2,07	0,75	0,50	1,20
Spain	PSOE	Social democrat	3,09	2,38	2,00	0,00	1,09
	UPyD	Liberal	5,00	2,04	4,17	1,59	0,83
	PP	Conservative	7,04	1,93	5,00	,00	2,04
	MP	Greens	3,83	1,76	3,93	1,28	0,10
Sweden	V	Communist	1,65	1,97	0,58	0,51	1,07
	S	Social democrat	6,36	2,84	2,36	1,15	4,01
	FP	Liberal	6,61	1,50	6,43	1,31	0,17

	KD	Christian democrat	6,66	1,81	6,96	1,43	0,30
	M	Conservative	7,82	1,67	8,27	1,33	0,45
	C	Agrarian	6,10	1,65	6,43	1,56	0,33
	PP	Special interest	4,75	2,99	3,33	2,07	1,42
United Kingdom	Greens	Greens	3,46	2,90	2,56	1,39	0,90
	Lab	Social democrat	4,75	2,37	2,83	0,99	1,92
	LDP	Liberal	4,73	1,93	3,71	1,59	1,02
	CON	Conservative	6,83	2,14	7,08	1,44	0,26
	PC	Regional	4,50	,71	2,00	0,00	2,50
	SNP	Regional	4,71	2,08	4,50	0,71	0,21
	UKIP	Special interest	4,17	4,58	6,76	1,36	2,59

Sources: EES (2009a and 2009b).