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**EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT MEMBERS' ACTIVISM: THE
CASE OF THE BALTIC STATES**

Master thesis

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I have written this Master's thesis independently. All viewpoints of other authors, literary sources and data from elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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Abstract

The main aim of this thesis is to discern the activism of the European Parliament Members (MEPs) representing the Baltic states, with a secondary aim to find out the differences of activism between European Union founding states and Central-Eastern European countries that joined the union in 2004. The argumentation for the research stems from finding out, which of the MEPs representing any of the Baltic states can be considered the most active, as a common misconception in modern Europe is that MEPs are inactive in their day-to-day duties in the European Parliament. Additionally, the secondary aim attempts at comparing the aforementioned country groups to see whether or not countries with greater experience in the union are more active than relative newcomers.

The research utilizes 9 different parameters that depict parliamentary activities in the EP by which activism of each MEP is measured in this research. To display the activism of both countries and individual MEPs, a suite of methods is designed to discern the relevant results. The research includes the collection of required data on every MEP currently serving in the current European Parliament that is later used for necessary calculations. The results for both the analysis of countries and Baltic MEPs are gathered in several graphs and relevant conclusions are drawn from them. Based on the available results, the Baltic MEPs are further classified into two divisions of parliamentary activities inspired by Bíró-Nagy (2016).

Keywords: MEPs, activism, parliamentary activities

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Introduction

Nowadays the European Parliament plays a crucial role in every EU country, because the laws that are adopted there are implemented in each member state. Every EU member state has their representatives in the European Parliament, which are elected considering degressive proportionality criteria, which means that EU member states with lower population size are allocated with more seats than those that have larger populations. Different policies and rules are made in the European Parliament that in many instances are not always in favor of the member state. Because of this reason every EU member state has chosen certain politicians through the process of a national level elections to implement and reject certain policies that are important for the member state in the European Parliament. The main aim of Members of European Parliament (MEPs) is to represent their constituency in the EP. MEPs overall performance in the EP stems from the results of parliamentary activities in the EP. MEPs that show higher results in parliamentary activities have a better opportunity to represent their member states' interests in the EP, but the EP elections do not always provide the information to voters about the EU politics and does not clarify the future development of the EU (Scully, Farrell 2003:270).

The region chosen for the research are the Baltic states. The Baltic states are chosen due to several reasons, by the main reason being the fact that by several scholars the Baltic states are being grouped together with other Eastern and Central European (CEE) countries, while geographically Baltic states are located in the Northern Europe as according to the UN (Bochasler 2005, Nyćkowiak 2014, Grotz and Weber 2012). The Baltic states themselves would rather nowadays be associated with the Northern Europe both geographically and geopolitically, nevertheless being a part of the Soviet Union and having socialist structure for about 50 years cannot be forgotten (Pyzik 2014). When the Baltic states were still a part of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union positioned them as having a better life than people in all other Sovietized countries. Most of the facts that were complementing this idea were pure propaganda of the Soviet Union (Antonevics 2018). Baltic states have been viewed as a separate union from all the other former Eastern Bloc countries, to which nowadays we refer as Central European countries. In this research the Baltic states are compared to the Central and Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004. The goal for this research is to find out are there in terms of the MEPs parliamentary activism visible differences or the patterns for the former

Eastern bloc countries are similar to each other when it comes to the MEPs activism in the EP.

Furthermore regarding the MEPs activism in the EP the CEE countries will be compared with the 6 founding states of the EU in order to find out do the MEPs in the EP all share similar levels of activism in different parameters, or the two groups of countries' MEPs show remarkable differences in the officially documented parliamentary activities.

The main aim of this research is to compare the activism of MEPs of all three Baltic states in the European Parliament. By activism is meant professional political activities of MEPs in the EP (Drozd 2015:229-230). In order to compare the Baltic states MEPs activism there is brought out comparison of parliamentary activities of MEPs by calculating the EU average for MEPs that represent Central and Eastern European countries (CEE) that joined the EU in 2004 (among them 3 Baltic states) and Western European countries, which includes the 6 founding member states of the European Communities (Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Italy and Western Germany). The goal of this comparison is to acknowledge the differences in the voting and political behavior between the two blocks of European countries. Afterwards there is examined the comparison of the Baltic states and other CEE countries that joined the EU in 2004 in order to find out do the three Baltic countries share similar levels of activism as the CEE countries in different parameters, or the Baltic states should be taken as a separate case and the results of activism measurement are vastly different. The final comparison is between the three Baltic states as based on the calculated EU average to find out which of the Baltic states in the overall is the most and least active based on the officially documented dataset of MEPs parliamentary activities. As the Baltic states is the main group of research for each member state there is brought out activism measurement of each MEP that represents the particular member state in order to find out the most active and the least active MEP of the Baltic states. In the European Parliament 6 MEPs represent Estonia, 8 MEPs represent Latvia and 11 MEPs represent Lithuania. All three Baltic states joined the EU in 2004.

The EU in 2004 accessed 10 countries – Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. For the purposes of this research there are chosen only the Central and Eastern European countries (The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia).

The division of these countries as Eastern European is derived from the Eastern Bloc, which after 1945 meant all the countries in Europe that were occupied by the Soviet army (Worldatlas 2018). Despite the fact that 5 of the Eastern European countries mentioned were officially independent from the Soviet Union, in all of these countries were adopted communist rule and therefore those were the satellite states of the Soviet Union. The Baltic states were in different position than the other 5 Eastern European countries due to annexation by the Soviet Union, which made the Baltic states a part of the Soviet Union.

The 6 founding states of the EU are Belgium, Western Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The predecessors of the EU are the European Coal and Steel Community that was founded by the aforementioned six member states. Later in 1957 there was founded the European Economic Community and after that the European Atomic Energy Community. The main aim after the Second World war was to foster the economic cooperation and through trading of goods would be possible to make the countries interdependent, which would help to avoid conflict situations (European Commission 2018). For the purposes of the research are chosen particularly the 6 founding states as the representative states of the Western Europe due to a simple reason – these were the first countries that constructed the EU as it is nowadays.

Considering the differences experienced by the CEE and WE countries in the 20th century, one could expect that the founding states would be more active in terms of parliamentary actions in the EP. The major factors for this line of thinking could be their experience in the EP and, as already described, their role in establishing the EU. However, such assertions cannot be automatically assumed correct due to the inherit complicated nature of political processes. Thus, it can be reasonably assumed that CEE countries can potentially excel at some activities more than their WE colleagues that may have had greater experience in the EP.

The research questions are as follows:

1. Are the EU member states parliamentary activities similar among the Baltic states, Central and Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004 and the 6 EU founding countries, or they display varying patterns of behavior?

2. Which of the Baltic states MEPs show the highest and the lowest levels of activism according to officially documented MEPs parliamentary activities?
3. Which of the parliamentary activities – policy-related or politics-type – are preferred by the Central and Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004, the 6 EU founding states and MEPs of the Baltic states?

The research is composed of several parts:

- The theoretical research background provides the research with the theoretical base of explanations on the concept of activism, the candidate selection for the EP elections, the history of the Baltic States in the EP elections, etc.;
- The methodology provides information on the methods and principles employed in the research;
- The analysis of WE and CEE countries provides information on similarities and differences in parliamentary activities between both groups, providing conclusions to the first research question;
- The analysis of Baltic MEPs provides information on the state of activism between representatives from the Baltic States, providing conclusions to the second research question;
- The analysis of parliamentary activity preferences provides information the categorization of WE, CEE and Baltic MEPs, providing conclusions to the third research question;
- The conclusion provides a summary of the research results.

1. Theoretical research background

The theoretical research background includes information required for the research to base the assumptions and analysis made during the course of the thesis. In this case, this section of the thesis describes the concept of activism, the candidate selection principles for EP elections, the history of the Baltic States in the EP, the choice of priorities for the MEPs, their voting behavior and their division into parliamentary activity preferences.

1.1. The concept of activism

Nowadays, the concepts of “activism” and “political activism” is used frequently and is treated differently. In most cases the term activism refers to participation of different social groups and individuals in political events. By activism in this research is meant the parliamentary behavior of MEPs in the EP.

The individual and group political activism are widely discussed in such fields as philosophy, history, political science, sociology and political psychology. Political activism can be described as activity of political groups or individuals, which is in connection with the formation and expression of personal demands and interests with the aim to change political, social or economic system and the appropriate institutions (Drozd 2015: 230).

Activism in politics is described as a professional political activity of MPs, high level officials, political parties and leaders and members of certain organizations and even states (Drozd 2015:229-230). Scholars of different disciplines usually address different aspects of activism. (Joyce 2014:20-21) Activism can occur in different types of activism efforts: individual actions, collective tactics, campaigns, and social movements. At each of the types of the activism the scale and complexity of the particular unit increases, for example, from the action of an individual to the action of a social movement (Joyce 2014: 23). Regarding the MEPs of the Baltic states their actions in the EP can be treated as individual activism, while their activities in the European Party Groups (EPGs) or respectable committees can be also measured as collective tactics as MEPs have to vote in the lines of their represented party group or committee.

1.2. National party candidate selection for the EP elections

National parties and their listed MEPs for the EP elections have a palpable connection. Even though national parties consider EP elections as their second priority and therefore there is a chance for smaller political groups to perform better in these elections, because voters can show their disapproval with the current governing parties (Klüver, Spoon 2015:554). Due to this second priority or second-order status of the EP elections, national parties are being considered as policy-seeking actors (Klüver, Spoon 2015:554). The main aim of the national parties in the EP is to bring their policy agenda to the European level and gain the best policy outcome. Due to growing re-distribution of competences, there is a visible transfer of competences from the national level to the European level and the EP (Klüver, Spoon 2015:554). According to Klüver and Spoon (2015) in some policy areas, such as in agriculture, environment and internal market, more than 80% of current policies are being decided in Brussels, which gave the power to the EP in the past decades among all the other European Institutions. For instance, the EP can veto all legislation under the ordinary decision-making procedure (formerly co-decision), which has been prolonged to almost all policy areas in the Treaty of Lisbon EP (Klüver, Spoon 2015:554). Therefore policy-seeking national parties have a chance to influence the European decision-making through the EP (Klüver, Spoon 2015:554). Thanks to this the national political parties can achieve their policy goals through their MEPs by shaping their voting behavior regarding the legislature. In some instances, to shape their MEPs voting behavior and activities in the EP, national political parties are even imposing threats on their MEPs, claiming they will lose their parliamentary seats and will have no chance of getting committee positions that are desired by many MEPs and national politicians in general (Klüver, Spoon 2015:555). It is not easy for the MEPs, because they need to follow both national and the EP political party lines. As Simon Hix (2002) brings out the MEPs are agents, who have two principals – their national parties and the EP party groups (Hix 2002:668). The policy positions of national parties can be completely different from the positions of the MEPs party groups.

Other scholars as well point out the fact that European political groups can also interfere in the voting of MEP's despite their individual or national party preferences. National party groups that form up European parties can also decide on the path of voting preferences of MEPs despite their individual preferences diverge. In both cases the

national political parties that can also form up European parties impose discipline on their MEPs despite their own preferences, the matter is that one influence can be measured as top-down, while the other as bottom-up. (Hix et al. 2007: 132) The main finding is that MEPs are mainly controlled by their national parties than their European political groups. In the case when MEP has to vote either along the lines of the national party that a MEP represents or European party the MEP is more likely to vote along the lines of the national party (Hix et al. 2007: 133).

National parties do have more importance than the European parties regarding the re-election of a MEP to the EP due to the fact that national parties control the selection of candidates for the European elections. Therefore, MEPs tend to not give importance to their performance in the European political groups, while being more popular on the national level raises the chance to be re-elected. National parties have also impact on the future career of a MEP, who could seek to win elections to their national parliaments in order to have influence on national policies or to get a seat in the national governmental office. In many cases MEPs choose to stay in the EP or at least try to apply for a position in other EU institutions. Vast number of MEPs also return back to their national political careers (Hix et al. 2007:134). Despite that the European political groups have their influence on MEPs when a MEP has an aim to secure policy or office goals in the EP. This is due to the fact that European party leaderships are in control of the division of committee assignments and rapporteur ships, the parliamentary agenda, access to political group leadership positions and other offices in the parliament as well as speaking time in the plenary sessions (Hix et al. 2007:134).

It is considered that in spite of the fact that European political groups are perceived as relatively weak, they have the opportunity to remove an individual MEP or a national party delegation from the group. Those national parties that are not members of political groups and are placed as 'non-attached members' are not completely involved in the internal workings of the parliament. Their access to the legislative agenda and resources is mainly limited (Hix et al. 2007:135). Even if expulsion from the political groups is rare, there has been a case in the 5th European Parliament, when British Conservative MEP's voted against the majority of the EPP. In this case most of the MEPs voted against initiative to expel such a large national delegation, because that would have weakened the EPP.

Regarding MEP activities and pressure from their national parties, some scholars refer to the concept of legislative leverage. In this context ‘leverage’ can be interpreted as power, which can influence a person or a situation (Frech 2015: 74). It has been considered that one of the main aspects of leverage is legislative activity, because only active MEPs can have the chance to influence policies (Frech 2015: 74).

In order to sum up MEPs are being considered as typical elected parliamentarians in democratic political systems, but the only difference that they share is that they have two competing principals – their national political parties and European parties. These two groups mainly shape the behavior of MEPs. While national parties can control the election and re-elections of the MEP in the Parliament, the European Parties can affect the MEP’s policy making inside the Parliament. (Hix et. al. 2007: 136)

1.3. The Baltic States in the European Parliament

The Baltic States attained membership in the EU in 2004. Later that same year these countries experienced their first EP elections that saw the accession of respectively 9, 6 and 13 MEPs from Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. (EPv: 2017). The number of MEPs from every member state in most cases is proportional to its population. However, such principles contradict themselves in terms of smaller countries that are permitted to elect more MEPs than their population numbers allow (EPE:2017).

Table 1.1 European Parliament elections in Estonia (EPv:2017)

Year of elections	Number of parties represented in elections	Number of candidates represented	The amount of electorate participating in the election
2004	18	95	26,8%
2009	14	101	43,9%
2014	9	88	36,5%

In the first Estonian EP elections in 2004 participated between 18 political parties and unions, in total 95 candidates (EPv: 2017). During the 2009 EP elections 43.9% of the electorate voted, significantly higher than the elections in 2004. However, the number of political parties has declined since the previous election, while the number of candidates has marginally increased. The 2009 elections introduced closed party lists thus eliminating individual candidate lists (Mayer 2010:96). The reason behind the sudden increase of voter activity was the Global Financial Crisis of 2008 (Mayer 2010:99). Domestic politics also influenced voter activity due to Estonia having its own municipal elections in 2009 (Mayer 2010:99). Mayer (2010) elaborates further that the EP elections might have been a protest vote by the population to show its disapproval with the government and the country's overall situation. (Mayer 2010:99) Estonia is remarkable for having the first e-voting capabilities in the EU during the elections in 2009, which may have influenced the voter turnout. (Mayer 2010:101).

Table 1.2 European Parliament elections in Latvia (EPV:2017)

Year of elections	Number of parties represented in elections	Number of candidates represented	The amount of the electorate participating in election
2004	16	245	41,3%
2009	16	186	53,7%
2014	14	170	30,2%

The first Latvian EP elections saw the participation of 16 political parties and unions, and 245 MEP candidates. (EPV: 2017) The high number of candidates may be explained with such elections happening for the first time. However, after the first elections voter activity has steadily decreased. Analysis of EP elections display that the highest voter activity was observed in 2009, which could be linked to the financial crisis at the time. Of all three Baltic States, Latvia experienced the greatest hardship economically and politically (MFA 2009). The 2009 elections coincided with the municipal elections to attract more voters not only in Latvia, but also abroad. The Latvian electorate had the second lowest level of trust in the EP (39%) in 2008 and the lowest of any EU country in terms of considering the membership as beneficial – only 42% of the population considered membership in the EU as favorable (Auers 2010:175).

Table 1.3 European Parliament elections in Lithuania (EPE:2017, VRK:2017)

Year of elections	Number of parties represented in elections	Number of candidates represented	The amount of electorate participating in the election
2004	12	242	48,4%
2009	15	262	21%
2014	10	301	47,4%

In 2004 and 2009 there were more political parties represented in the EP elections, while in their lists were less candidates. The low voter activity in Lithuania could be related with the number of national elections in 2008 and 2009, for example, two rounds of municipal election in October 2008 and the presidential elections at approximately the same period as the EP elections (Braghiroli 2010a:180). First EP elections in June 2004 showed that in Lithuania there was rather low voter activity (48%) and the votes were gained mainly by liberal parties, which got 10 out of 13 seats for Lithuania (Braghiroli 2010a:178). The global financial crisis in 2009 was one of the main motivators for Lithuania to join the Eurozone, which it did on the 1st of January on 2015. Lithuania was the last of all three Baltic states to join the Eurozone. In comparison to Latvia and Estonia, Lithuania didn't have visible Euroscepticism among the political parties. In the EU accession referendum, which was held in 2003, more than 90% of the voters voted for Lithuania's membership in the EU (Braghiroli 2010a:178). One of the main factors why in Lithuania there was a low EP election turnout can be explained by the general lack of information and public frustration with the existing political elite lead to such poor result (Braghiroli 2010a:184). It has been claimed that in Lithuania the low voter turnout is mainly a result of voters' lack of interest towards the EP elections, which is due to lack of information from the media and politicians (Braghiroli 2010a:186).

When comparing these results from the first elections of the European Parliament in Latvia and Estonia there is visible a vast difference. In Latvia even if the

activity of voters can't be registered as high in the first EP elections, it is still higher than in Estonia and the difference between the first and second EP elections is 12,4% if we compare to 17,1% in Estonia. In the EP elections the amount of political parties and political unions is high if compared to Estonia. While in Estonia there was a tendency of the number of political parties to drop off. In both countries the number of candidates listed is also decreasing.

In Lithuania the same as in Latvia and Estonia the amount of political parties represented in the EP elections has been decreasing since the first EP elections in 2004. One remarkable difference that Lithuania has is that the number of candidates represented in the EP has only grown, while in Latvia and Estonia we can see decrease both in the number of political parties and in the number of candidates represented in the party lists. In Lithuania this could be a result of a political party merge. Another significant difference is that in Lithuania in 2009 the activity of voters is very low, if compared to other two Baltic state countries. In the EP elections of 2009 in Latvia and Lithuania was recorded the highest voter activity.

1.4. MEP's daily life in the European Parliament: choice of priorities

MEP activities in the European Parliament (EP) are not easy to measure, one should take into consideration several different variables. Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) have done similar research focusing more on the likelihood of MEPs re-election. According to research by Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) re-election stems from the MEPs individual performance or activism in the EP (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:5-6). In this regard MEPs voting behaviour, their plenary attendance rate and the general parliamentary output level should be taken into consideration as important observable implications that raise the probability of MEPs to be re-elected in the EP, which is desired by most of them. Despite the fact that the EP elections are of a second-order and that what counts is the performance of these MEPs on national, but not on the EP level if a MEP desires to be re-elected. This was not empirically tested and for this reason Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) decided to take into consideration all the before mentioned variables (plenary session attendance, reports drafted and amended, opinions, questions, speeches, motions for resolutions and written declarations) and voting loyalty. They measure voting loyalty through roll-call votes as they claim that those should reflect it and because these votes

are being recorded. The likelihood that MEPs will attend these votings that are recorded is greater and according to the scholars will not say much of their relative activism in the EP. They also take into consideration the average age of MEPs. From this goes that those MEPs that are older are more likely to be more experienced in the national politics and for them it would be easy to find their way in the EP (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:5-6). At some point being older for the MEP can be beneficial, but the closer a MEP is getting to his retirement age the more likely he will not be re-elected once more.

The amount of each MEP's productivity in the EP can be seen in their legislative, contemplative and supervision functions of the EP. Drafting and amending reports has been considered as one of the main processes for shaping and adjusting policies at the EU level (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). Non-legislative reports also are essential, because these are written by the rapporteur, who is the main person for the Commission and for all the other institutions and groups, which need to coordinate this procedure. Parliamentary questions are used for different reasons, for example, when it is needed to receive or send information to other EU institutions, when giving importance to issues and analysing the Commissioners (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). Plenary speeches are those that enable MEPs to reach the wider public and allow them to communicate their own views on different issues to their national party, their European group and to their national constituencies (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). Written declarations and motions for resolutions are made to give importance and to push the Commission to act. Written declarations and motions for resolutions have different functions and are useful for MEPs to show their activity in the EP for their constituencies and national parties. In this regard it can be expected that MEPs activism or how these authors name it 'outcome' is in connection with the possibility to be re-elected. This correlation is true if a MEP is active not only in the EP, but also pays attention of having political ties also 'back home' otherwise their overall parliamentary activity in the EP if it is at expense of the national one will not grant them a place in the European Parliament twice. From this goes that MEPs plenary session attendance rate in the Parliament should be high to be re-elected, because it correlates positively with their general activism, because if one attends plenary sessions he can bring out more policy change and it refers to the one of the main duties of a MEP – voting (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). It has also been assumed that the EP is a test ground for new MEPs, who are seeking re-elections or aim for a desirable higher position either in the EU institutions or at the national stage (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:7).

An active MEP can have well done rapporteur ships and his influence in the EP can be seen, but if he loses touch with his constituency there is a high possibility that he will not be re-elected in the EP once more (Corbett et al. 2007:65).

Many MEPs after the end of their terms in the EP become ministers in their member states and they have had the necessary experience in the EP level. It has been mentioned that a good MP in the national context is a one who is successful in debates and is able to score points over his opponents (Corbett et al. 2007:9). An effective MEP is one who can explain, advise and negotiate with his colleagues from 27 different countries in 3 different levels (Corbett et al. 2007:9). MEPs need to have a common position as a group within their political group work and then also they need to find a common ground with other political groups in the EP (Corbett et al. 2007:10). When the Parliament has a position, they need to have a negotiation process with the Council to receive the outcome. This gives an active MEP a broad sphere to show his attachment to the EP (Corbett et al. 2007:10). The Rules of the Parliament are stating that MEPs: “[...] shall not be bound by any instructions and shall not receive a binding mandate [...]” (Corbett et al. 2007:10). This is emphasized further by the Members Statute of 28 September 2005, which continues with that: “Members shall be free and independent” and that “Members shall vote on an individual and personal basis” (Corbett et al. 2007:10). They should be free from any external influence on how they vote, how they organize their work and should have freedom of speech regarding what they want to say. Usually while being in the EP MEPs tend to follow their party group lines (Corbett et al. 2007:61).

Priorities of MEPs are vastly different the same as their background in the EP. Some are usually more visible in plenary, other are more successful within committee, in their political group or their national party delegation. Others pay more attention to their national or regional political image. Some members remain generalists, because they are not focusing on one specific area in the EP. Others specialize and can be regarded as specialists and always allocate reports or opinions within a policy area. Some can be regarded as functionalists and are not focused on policies. Some are having only short amount of their working time in Brussels, while others are always present (Corbett et al. 2007:65).

Despite being in two locations, Brussels or Strasbourg, MEPs must deal with the fact that several meetings can overlap, for example, the meeting with the main committee may overlap with a hearing or debate in another committee, which could be valuable to the MEP. Intergroup meetings also are time consuming. MEPs also must organize their time, because there are frequent visitors from their constituency, region or home country. In many cases MEPs are being invited to participate in seminars and conferences due to their knowledge of European affairs. MEPs as every politician also need to deal with the press and must give interviews to the journalists residing in Brussels or of their home country (Hix et al. 2007:61).

In some positions that MEPs hold the pressure is even greater, for example, the Parliament's president, the leaders of the Political groups and of national party delegations, committee chairmen and committee coordinators, together with rapporteurs on controversial policy issues. The aforementioned positions that MEPs are filling are even more time consuming. MEPs that have shown themselves as experts in a certain field can also be more occupied (Hix et al. 2007:61).

Every MEP must make a tough decision regarding their priorities. While being successful in the committee or political group work can help to gain power within the Parliament, there is a chance to lose touch with a national political party, which can result in that the MEP can risk with re-election possibilities. There are several factors that affect priorities set by each MEP, such as geographical proximity of the working places of the Parliament (Hix et al. 2007:62).

Another factor is the MEPs own interests and responsibilities. MEPs in different positions in the EP can have different priorities. Those that are members of small groups and non-attached members pay more interest to plenary sessions, while those residing in large groups will pay more attention to committee work. Cultural differences can also play a role in the choice of priorities, for example, MEPs of Northern Europe spend more time on technical legislation than members of Southern European countries. Members from the UK traditionally give more significance on the Question Time in the plenary. One can say that every MEP shares different priorities within the European Parliament, but what they all have in common is that they have relatively freedom to set their own priorities. They only need to follow the internal rules of the Political Groups to which they belong (Hix et al. 2007:63).

1.5. MEPs voting behaviour and division of MEPs parliamentary preferences in the EP

Many scholars have identified similar patterns when it comes to division of preferences by MEPs in the EP. For example, Stefano Braghiroli mentions that there are MEPs who have skills that are Europe-oriented and are in connection with their parliamentary activism in their home country and some are building EP careers separately from their national politics (Braghiroli 2010b:8). The second representation style is usually favored by MEPs that have been in office for a longer period. Bale and Taggart offer a different division of MEPs preferences by grouping them by several roles as: “1. policy advocate (dedication to a limited range of issues); 2. constituency representative (emphasis on a particular constituency or interest group); 3. European evangelist (strong commitment to the European project); 4. institutionalist (focus on a specific institution, be it national or European). (Bale, Taggart 2005: 11).” In the particular interest of this research Bale and Taggart describe that those MEPs that belong to the constituency representative group could be representatives of small states, such as Latvia and Estonia. Bale and Taggart broaden this division into additional 3 types of constituency (local/regional, national or functional) (Bale, Taggart 2005: 12-13). Scholars elaborate more on this by mentioning that such MEPs will tend to represent their electoral constituency. Bale and Taggart define that those MEPs representing national level constituency type will try to represent their country in the EP and in the EU institutions in general (Bale, Taggart 2005: 12-13). This particular type is probably represented by every small state including the Baltic States, where one of the main triggers for MEPs is to address certain important issues of their country in the EP and in the EU while making an attractive image of their country in the EP and in the whole EU. Nevertheless, it does not exclude MEPs from relatively bigger countries than the Baltic states to be those to represent national level constituency type. Supposedly MEPs that are European-oriented are trying to bring into light their local issues through the framework of the EU. Bale and Taggart describe members of functional group as those that put emphasis on their own identity, which is not territorially defined, for example, ethnic or religious identity, and will try to empower themselves as the spokesperson of this group through the framework of the EP. One of the factors, which makes it difficult for these MEPs is that in order to be attractive to their constituencies they need to travel a lot between Brussels and their home country, which makes the working life for themselves a lot harder. As the authors

mention, national constituency orientation is preferred by the new member states, especially the small states. There are MEPs that are representing the European Evangelist role, which is described as the one where a MEP has devoted himself equally for work in national and party group lines. They focus on the issues that are comprehensive and pan-European (Bale, Taggart 2005:13-16).

A different view of MEPs preferences is shared by Simon Hix. He provides a model with two ideological dimensions in European politics: the left/right dimension and the pro/anti-Europe dimension (Hix et al. 2006:2). The place where the MEP can be found in this scale is a good indicator of his ideological preferences on issues in the EP (Hix 2002:689). He claims that the reason why MEPs legislative behavior is different also is based on the fact that EP as a chamber is a relatively new idea where several political parties are represented, with different decision rules and influences and different policy preferences. For example, MEPs can be influenced by national interests and their own national party policies and can have European party affiliations. In a way MEP needs to respond to two “principals”: their national parties, who are responsible for their election and the political groups in the EP, who are in charge of controlling private interests in the EP, as leadership positions, committee assignments, speaking time, and the legislative agenda (Hix 2002:690). Simon Hix compares this pressure on MEPs with the one of U.S. Representatives, who have their pressure between constituency and legislative convention interests, and by legislators in parliamentary systems, between local parties and parliamentary factions (Hix 2002:688-689). He offers three possible explanations of MEP voting behavior: personal ideological beliefs, European party discipline, or national party discipline (Hix 2002:690-692). He emphasizes that those MEPs that vote based on their personal ideological beliefs are voting solely following their ideology. MEPs that have European party discipline usually belong to strong EP parties that are powerful organizations and can impose sanctions on MEP’s that defects from those. As Hix claims, any MEP should follow the leadership of his party group regardless his ideological location (Hix 2002: 690). MEPs that follow National party discipline are a larger group due to the fact that MEPs are elected through their national party candidacy in the EP, so they have the strongest influence. In all European Union member states national party leaders do have at least some control over their candidates’ election in the EP, either through the national party executive determining the list of candidates (as in France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark,

Finland or Austria etc.) or via the national party executive approving candidates selected by regional organs (as in Britain, Germany, Italy, or Ireland) (Hix 2002: 691). The results by Hix confirm that the EP is driven mainly by national party preferences and that those are the ones to blame in case of a MEP defecting from its EP party group (Hix 2002: 694).

To test aforementioned assumptions, he compares MEP's policy preferences with their legislative behavior. In his research he states a central claim: in the EP the political groups have a significant impact on MEPs voting behavior (Hix 2002:689). The author mentions that EP political groups are those that advise and support MEPs to overcome their collective action problems by organizing a division of labor with like-minded legislators, MEPs can reach legislative agenda, resources, and committee assignments (Hix 2002:689). In return MEPs must follow the path on how to vote given by their EP party leaders. One of the indications that it works is the growing level of intra-party voting likeness, or "party cohesion" (Hix 2002:689). In this case we can compare it to the U.S. system, where several scholars claim that legislative parties are the ones that control voting behavior in the House and Senate (Hix 2002:689). As Hix claims, if a political group in the EP shows a high level of cohesion in voting, it doesn't mean only that the leaders of the political group have pushed their MEPs to vote together or that the national member parties have the same policy positions as the EP party. A MEP can also vote in favor of their EP party position disregarding his national party connection (Hix 2002:689-690).

Thorsten Faas brings out 3 main directions chosen by MEPs in the EP: re-election seeking, office-seeking and policy-seeking (Faas 2002:7-9). He in his research tries to explain the influence of electoral system differences on MEP behavior. As Faas outlines mostly in EU member states are used party lists and within those lists some countries have chosen preferential voting (voting for individual candidates within the list) (Faas 2002:7). He admits that these voting differences affect MEPs' behavior in the European Parliament, because of responsibility that MEPs' have towards their voter requests. As voters are interested in the functioning of the EP and cannot oversee their elected MEPs' behavior, MEP's don't need to adapt their voting behavior and can have time also for their constituency or devote their time for other individual goals (Faas 2002:7). Faas stresses that in the EP there is a great variety of methods for candidate

selection in each member state. This can be dated with the time when member states candidates are chosen through their national parties without any influence from Europe (Faas 2002:8). Some parties have chosen a centralized method, where the main party officials are the main candidates, while others choose a system in which other members have the final word. The author mentions that communication of MEPs and their national parties is relatively weak once they are elected (Faas 2002:8). All this points to that EP party groups don't have control over MEPs' and some cases their national parties are highly interested to control their MEPs' behavior in strong manner and then they behave in so-called "home style" behavior (Faas 2002:7). As already mentioned by other scholars, MEPs' are often planning to have a successful career also outside of the EP. Today there are more such MEPs that have set as their goal to build a European career, rather than return back to their home countries. As another point the author brings out the party group cohesion in the EP due to strong influence of national parties on the MEPs voting behavior (Faas 2002:7). National parties can have their pressure on MEPs voting patterns if it involves re-election possibility for the MEP. Faas continues with data where is showed that 40 % of parties are providing voting manuals to their MEPs, when important issues are being touched which bring their attention to their second objective – office-seeking (Faas 2002:7). As MEPs usually are party group members party groups can issue advantages in connection with internal action in the EP. Party groups are those that have control over the committee assignments. The author compares the EP system with the US system, where such discretion is not visible and where "seniority" is important (Faas 2002:8). Party groups can also control the distribution of main positions in the EP, for example, positions in the Bureau of the EP, committee chairs and vice-chairs and rapporteur ships and in this case, it is different from the US. (Faas 2002:8). These positions are distributed proportionally regarding the strength among the party groups. Party group leadership has a major impact on the career paths of MEPs within the EP, because they have the right to distribute essential committee positions and rapporteur ships among their members. When speaking about party group cohesion then in situation when national parties are involved in the voting process in the EP there is a high chance that national delegation is likely to defect in case of a conflict situation and the party group leadership can't affect anything, but only accept this fact. On condition when there is no push from the national parties, the party group leaders can influence their MEPs to push their agenda to have party group cohesion (Faas 2002:8).

Faas further elaborates on that the party group leadership is more interested in the actions taking part in the EU than the national party's leadership. So, in a scenario when national party doesn't interfere in party groups' voting patterns the party group cohesion remains strong. The last type mentioned by Faas is policy-seeking in the EP (Faas 2002:8). He mentions that institutional environment in the EP is very significant and is in the scale of power as powerful as the Commission and Council. For a policy to be effective, majority of MEPs must participate in the voting for the proposal, this is often called "grand coalition" due to the low attendance of MEPs in the EP. Only by "grand coalition" it is possible to overcome the high threshold (Faas 2002:8). This can lead either to higher cohesiveness among the party groups, or it can lead also to the interference of national parties in such important policy decisions, which would lead to lower party group cohesiveness. These differences in majority requirements and in legislative agenda can cause diverse behavior of MEPs.

This research recalls also on that in the EP there are some Euro-sceptic or anti-Euro parties represented. These parties are assumed to show anti-European standing in many decisions made in the EP. In this case they practice "home style" behavior and one of their goals is to correspond to the Euro-sceptic attitude of their national party and to defect from all other European party groups agenda.

Robert van Geffen (2016) has divided MEPs in two categories: former national politicians and 'one-off' MEPs (Geffen 2016:1017). He has made his division based on different career paths that MEPs choose while being in the EP. By dividing MEPs in two categories he also links MEPs chosen career paths with their activities in the EP. According to Robert van Geffen (2016) politicians change their behavior according to their own career ambitions (Geffen 2016:1017). He has based his paper on a research made by Scarrow (1997). She focuses on how EP membership fits into the political career paths of MEPs by dividing them in three categories: (1) the young 'stepping-stone' politicians aiming for a career in domestic politics; (2) the long-term 'EP careerists'; and (3) the short-term MEPs close to retirement or looking for a career outside politics (Geffen 2016:1017). Robert van Geffen (2016) in his research adds up two more categories of MEP: MEPs who have already had a political career at national level but are not close to retirement and 'one-off' MEPs who only stay in the EP for a short period of time (Geffen 2016:1018). Robert van Geffen (2016) measures the impact on behavior

of the different types of MEPs in a number of OLS regression models where certain types of activities are included as dependent variables such as roll-call votes, reports amended, and motions tabled. The data is taken from the website Votewatch.eu. These certain activities have been chosen, because those can measure the overall level of activity in the EP (Geffen 2016:1024).

According to the empirical findings of Robert van Geffen (2016) the attendance rate of EP careerists, former national politicians and one-off MEPs in plenary can be considered as high. EP careerists attend more votes and their attendance rates are about 10 % higher than other MEPs plenary attendance rates (Geffen 2016:1026). According to number of reports amended in the EP young MEPs and one-off MEPs on average submit amendments to around three to four more reports than their colleagues. This is explained by the fact that MEPs seeking a career in the EP are more likely to be rapporteurs themselves, therefore they would submit less amendments to reports (Geffen 2016:1027). Another parliamentary activity analyzed is number of motions tabled by an MEP. In this certain activity EP careerists can be considered as the most active among all other MEPs in the EP by tabling seven motions more than their peers. The young MEPs, former national politicians and one-off MEPs do not show a substantially high number of motions tabled in Parliament. The dominance of EP careerists in this activity could be explained by the fact that EP careerists aim to be more visible among the EPG and Parliament leadership in order to grant themselves the desired seats in the EP. Young, retiring and one-off MEPs do not show such interest towards this activity. Former national politicians could also be expected to show similar levels of activity as EP careerists, but they have already served as national politicians and have showed their excellence as national politicians (Geffen 2016:1027).

This concludes that young and unexperienced MEPs who, after a short period of time in the EP, seek for a career in domestic politics were not expected to show high levels of activism in the EP. This can be proven by their low attendance rate in the plenary and by the limited number of motions tabled in the Parliament (Geffen 2016:1028). The only parameter where young MEPs are showing higher level of activity is by submitting amendments to reports as if they are seeking to become rapporteurs tabling amendments is the main way to influence legislation (Geffen 2016:1028). The EP careerists can be considered as very active in the EP's work. As mentioned they attend plenary sessions

more than other types of MEPs and are eager to table more motions than their other colleagues. In this way EP careerists can opt for their desired position in the EP by appealing to their EPG leadership. EP careerists table fewer amendments to reports, because usually they are rapporteurs themselves (Geffen 2016:1029). The former domestic politicians, who have had a career in domestic politics and who desire to build a career in the EP are overall active in the EP. They have lower plenary meetings attendance rates and they table fewer motions than the EP careerists (Geffen 2016:1029). They could have less pressure and therefore they have no need for conducting a lot of the groundwork as tabling motions, because they have proved their ability in the national political arena (Geffen 2016:1029). The one-off MEPs are more active than expected by the scholar, however they are active in areas which do not demand particular qualities or previous political experience, such as attending plenary voting sessions and tabling amendments to reports, which (Geffen 2016:1029).

1.6. MEPs division into parliamentary activities preferences in the EP

András Bíró-Nagy (2016) in his research has examined the role orientations of Central European MEPs based on the factors that influence their strategies and on the relationship between their roles and activities. He has chosen Central and Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004 the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia and has evaluated MEPs role orientations in the term of 2009-2014. According to the quantitative research by Bíró-Nagy (2016) the roles of MEPs can be explained by two divisions: policy/politics and European/national. These two divisions can be influenced by different socio-demographic factors, attitudes and political socialization and that can determine what roles MEPs choose. The author in his research focuses on important variables as the time spent in the EP, age, previous political experience, party affiliation, left-right self-definition and career ambitions. These aforementioned factors can explain the political behavior of MEPs. The Central European MEPs' focus on politics vs. policy and the European vs. national political arena have different roots, and different variables explain them. Orientation towards politics and policy mostly depends on previous political experience and future career ambitions of a MEP, while focus on the European or the national level is best explained by age, party affiliation and left-right self-definition (Bíró-Nagy 2016:1). In order to explain the socio-demographic factors that can influence that role orientations of MEPs the author

has conducted a field research, which is a questionnaire-based representative survey covering 40% of Central European MEPs in the 2009–2014 term (Bíró-Nagy 2016:3). Based on the poles of the two dimensions, Bíró-Nagy (2016) constructs 4 homogenous groups, which are substantially different and serves as a basis for further analysis:

- 1) EU Policy-makers (MEPs who are specialized in policy making in the EP);
- 2) National Policy-makers (MEPs who are specialized in policy making on national level);
- 3) EU Politicians (MEPs that are by territorial distribution focused on the European level);
- 4) National Politicians (MEPs that are by territorial distribution focused on the national level).

According to the results of Bíró-Nagy (2016) it is visible that Central European MEPs with focus on the European level outnumber the nationally-oriented Central European MEPs (28 to 17) (Bíró-Nagy 2016:13). The policy/politics division features 30 MEPs on its policy side and 15 MEPs who are geared more towards politics. Bíró-Nagy (2016) mentions that pure roles are rare amongst MEPs. It is more important to point out that some roles are dominant, but those are not exclusive ones. From this goes that MEPs can choose to fill other roles depending on the situation (Bíró-Nagy 2016:14). MEP needs to give preference to certain activities in the EP, be it politics vs. policy or national vs. European career. A MEP can choose either to be more generalist in the EP or focus more on one field and become an expert in it. There can exist a situation when a MEP builds a strong profile as an EU Policy-maker, but regularly weighs in on matters of domestic politics in his or her home country. Role overlapping, or role switch is not considered as a negative aspect, but rather as a positive in the terms of a career possibilities for a MEP in the EP (Bíró-Nagy 2016:14). If a MEP's concern is possible re-election it is possible that a MEP will leave national political career behind (Bíró-Nagy 2016:3). For MEPs their national constituency is of a special importance due to the re-election factor, therefore a MEP must balance between having links in the EP and outside of it, which are of the same importance. A MEP should have contacts with other institutions, national politics, the domestic press, advocacy groups and citizens (Bíró-Nagy 2016:5).

In addition to the various socio-demographic factors that influence the role orientations of Central European MEPs, it is of a high importance to review the relationship that exists between various roles and the work of legislators, because the roles are not only made of attitudes but also of behavioral characteristics. The activities of MEPs can be split in two parts: officially documented activities inside the European Parliament and all other work conducted outside of the institution (Bíró-Nagy 2016:18-19). In the fifth chapter of his research Bíró-Nagy (2016) analyses role orientations of Central European MEPs and the particular analysis includes their activities within and outside of the European Parliament (Bíró-Nagy 2016:2). Bíró-Nagy (2016) sets a hypothesis that the policy/politics dimension of political roles is clearly visible in the activities MEPs choose in the EP (Bíró-Nagy 2016:2). In order to test this hypothesis Bíró-Nagy examines officially documented activities in the EP by using the data from Votewatch. eu and calculating the average mark for each of the parameters: plenary speeches, motions for resolutions, parliamentary questions, written declarations, reports, opinions and amendments.

Bíró-Nagy (2016) claims that orientation towards politics or policy is very visible when we look at what parliamentary activities MEPs spend their energy on. He has divided all activities as either policy-related (being a rapporteur, drafting opinions and submitting amendments) and as politics-type activities (plenary speeches, motions for resolutions, parliamentary questions, and written declarations).

If looking at concrete numbers, it appears that Central European MEPs who have a Politician profile are not more active in politics-type activities than Policy-makers, but within their own activities these actions have a bigger role. While the activities of policy-makers cover all the genres to at least an average degree, for Politicians it counts only for politics-type tasks (Bíró-Nagy 2016:19-21). On average, National Politicians and EU Politicians are delivering more speeches in plenary sessions than National Policy makers and therefore they are not far behind EU Policy-makers, who are the most active group of MEPs. Moreover, National Politicians do not reach the average in any other forms of activity, which shows that National Politicians are rather passive towards policy and politics related activities which are somewhat more difficult to resolve. In all of their activities EU Politicians surpass National Politicians, for example, when compared with National Politicians they use parliamentary questions, motions for resolutions and

written statements more, and they are not as passive in the field of policy as their nationally focused peers (Bíró-Nagy 2016:19-21). As based on the data Bíró-Nagy (2016) states that role orientations are visible in MEPs behavior within the European Parliament. MEPs with a politics focus show average political activity, while they deal less with policy work. Policy-makers use political tools to an average degree, but they show high results of activity when it comes to policy genres (Bíró-Nagy 2016:19-21).

Bíró-Nagy (2016) concludes that variables as time spent in the EP, age, the nature of previous political experience, party affiliation, left-right self-definition and future career ambitions are parameters that allow to accurately determine the role orientation of a MEP (Bíró-Nagy 2016:19-25). Furthermore, the author admits that the policy/politics and European/national axes have different roots and that those are explained by different variables. As for activity trends inside and outside of the EP demonstrate that the dimensions used to divide role orientations are visible in the behavior of Central European MEPs. The differences between politics and policy orientations are visible in officially documented parliamentary genres (plenary speeches, motions for resolutions, parliamentary questions, written declarations, reports, opinions and amendments) (Bíró-Nagy 2016:19-25). By this the author refers to the data collected from the website Votewatch.eu, which monitors MEPs parliamentary activities in the EP.

2. Methodology

The methodology section includes information on the methods and process of how the analysis is conducted. It additionally provides argumentation for the choice of certain data sets in the research and how the data is used to answer the research questions. The section describes the type of information collected for the research, methods used for collecting data for the research, the research process itself, as well as explanations and definitions for designations used in the analysis.

2.1. Activism measurement by 9 parameters

This research is based on the empirical data that consists of activism measurement of each MEP in the EP in 9 parameters. These 9 parameters (Reports as a Rapporteur, Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur, Opinions as a Rapporteur, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Reports Amended, Parliamentary Questions (PQs), Motions for Resolutions, Written Declarations, Speeches in the Plenary) are from the website Mepranking.eu that monitors daily duties of MEPs in the EP. The data that is represented in this section is collected in October 2018 with the final update of the data in the website listed as 31st October 2018.

Although the source includes 12 parameters for every MEP, only the aforementioned nine parameters are used for the research. This exclusion of parameters, which are Explanation of Vote, Plenary Attendance and Roll-call Votes, is explained with their exclusion in the division of parliamentary activity preference by Bíró-Nagy (2016) on which the analysis of preference is based upon. Roll-call Votes and Plenary Attendance are also excluded because the likelihood that MEPs will attend these is greater and, according to the scholars Sigalas and Tiemann (2012), will not say much of their relative activism in the EP (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:5-6).

2.2. Selection of data by a common attribute

To avoid discrepancies and inaccuracies in the data the research requires one certain attribute that can be applied to all data. Selecting a single common attribute in all the collected data ensures that all the parameter numbers of MEPs are comparable. Thus, the common attribute that can be comparable for this research is the time period that a

MEP has spent in the 8th EP. Since this particular EP started serving on 1st of July 2014, then this date is adequate for the research, as it includes the greatest number of MEPs parameter data that can be used for the analysis based on data available on Mepranking.eu.

By selecting the data of MEPs that started their mandate on 1st of July 2014, this exclude a number of MEPs that started their mandates on a later date, even the same year. For example, in the case of Baltic MEPs, the analysis does not include MEPs like Ivari Padar, who started his mandate on 6th of November 2017. The same argumentation is utilized throughout all the MEPs of every EU member state.

Since the common attribute excludes certain MEPs, it is vital to know the number of MEPs eligible for analysis. According to the source of the data, currently 741 MEPs from all member states are serving in the EP. By selecting the MEPs that fit the common attribute restriction, the total number of MEPs for analysis is 643.

The common attribute – time spent – is also considered as valid for this research, because the activities of a MEP, who has spent more time in the EP, are not directly comparable to a MEP that has served a shorter time period. However, although that may not be the case, as time spent in the EP may not cause the MEP to be more active, this ensures that all MEPs have had the same amount of time to garner significant results for analysis.

2.3. Research and analysis process

The data collection process is conducted by in total lasted two days. Data is collected by selecting the required information from the source of data and inserted into a table. The method of collection is selecting a specific MEP and recording their parameter results, displayed in whole numbers, into the table. The process itself provides difficulties, as there is no automated data collection solution provided by the managers of the source, thus the data was collected manually for every entry. The acquired data is relevant for the time period of 1st of July 2014 (the start of the current EP) and 31st of October 2018 (the date of the last update of data).

The MEPs are initially categorized by member state in individual tables. After this, the averages for every parameter of every member state are included in a separate table. This table also includes calculations for the EU average of every parameter by member state, as well as the activism of every member state. The produced table serves as the basis for the analysis of WE and CEE countries.

The second part of calculations comes in the form of calculating the parameter averages and activism of all MEPs regardless of member state. The process is similar for the table regarding WE and CEE countries, i.e., all MEPs are included in a separate table where necessary calculations are performed. After this, the MEPs from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are selected for the analysis of Baltic MEPs.

After the collection and sorting of data by requirements, and performing the necessary calculations, the analysis of activism can be produced. For the six EU founding states and for CEE countries (including the three Baltic states) that joined the EU in 2004 the calculation results, including the EU average, are displayed in several graphs – one for every parameter and one for activism. The separation of states into groups and the inclusion of what country is counted as an EU founding state or CEE is explained in the theoretical basis. Then the produced graphs are displayed with additional commentary provided on the available results, including comparison between WE and CEE and the importance of every parameter in terms of activism.

2.4. Formula for calculating activism

The formula that is used in this research to measure the average activism of MEPs has been used by Stefano Braghiroli in his research about MEP parliamentary loyalty. This research measures MEPs' parliamentary activism. When calculating the activism of MEPs by using activism measurement formula there are excluded two parameters (roll-call votes and plenary session attendance) as these two parameters are measured in percentage and the likelihood that MEPs will attend these votings that are recorded is greater and according to the scholars Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) will not say much of their relative activism in the EP (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:5-6). The averages for all parameters are identified by AVG[n], where n is the sequential number of the parameter abbreviation ATR, for example, AVG1 would be the average of ATR1 in the EP.

The formula is modified to suit the needs of this research by dividing the number of elements in it:

Table 2.1 Formula for the measurement of activism (Braghiroli 2010b)

$$\text{ACTIVISM} = \left(\frac{ATR1}{AVG1} + \frac{ATR2}{AVG2} + \frac{ATR3}{AVG3} + \frac{ATR4}{AVG4} + \frac{ATR5}{AVG5} + \frac{ATR6}{AVG6} + \frac{ATR7}{AVG7} + \frac{ATR8}{AVG8} + \frac{ATR9}{AVG9} \right) / 9$$

2.5. Parameter descriptions

ATR1 – Written Questions (parliamentary questions)

Parliamentary questions are represented by MEPs to other European Union Institutions and bodies. These questions are considered as parliamentary inspection of other EU institutions and bodies (TERM:2014). MEPs can use parliamentary questions to improve their public image and reputation among relevant groups (party, constituency, interest groups). For those MEPs that belong to national opposition parties can use questions to inform the Commission about potential violation of certain rights by their own countries (Sozzi 2016:349).

ATR2 – Motions (motions for resolutions)

Motions of resolutions are usually tabled by a committee, a political group or at least 40 MEPs. The part-session agenda demonstrates whether statements by the Council, the Commission or the European Council (Rule 123), and oral questions to the Council and the Commission (Rule 128), will be followed by a vote on a motion for a resolution. Debates on cases of breaches of human rights, democracy and the rule of law (Rule 135), among others, may end up with a resolution (TERM:2014). When adopting reports the committee comprises a motion of resolution, which can be debated and voted on in the plenary sessions (Europarl1:2018).

ATR3 – Speeches (speeches in the plenary)

Parliament meets in plenary session every month (except August) in Strasbourg, for a ‘part-session’ lasting four days. Six times a year, it also meets in Brussels for two

days (TERM:2014). During these plenary sessions MEPs can present their policy agenda. The right to speak out is given by the President of the European Parliament. During the sitting, the President calls upon speakers and ensures that the proceedings are properly conducted (Europarl5:2018).

ATR4 – Opinions (opinions as a Rapporteur)

If a committee assumes that matters discussed by a report refers to another committee it can request to be recognized as ‘opinion-giving committee’ (Rule 53) (Europarl3:2018). Opinions consist of amendments to the text referred to the committee followed where needed by short justifications given by the rapporteur. Opinions are usually given to documents of a legislative nature (TERM:2014).

ATR5 – Opinions shadow (Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur)

The same as for reports also for opinions as the shadow rapporteur must follow up the progress of the opinions of the rapporteur (TERM:2014) (Costello, Thomson 2010:222).

ATR6 – Declarations (written declarations)

A written declaration is a text of a maximum of 200 words, which relates on matters in connection with the competence of the European Union. These matters do not apply to the Parliament, because those are not considered as an act of the Parliament representing its position. It only shows the positions of its authors and signatories (TERM:2014).

ATR7– Reports (reports as a Rapporteur)

The main task of a rapporteur is to create a report (TERM:2014). These reports contain proposals for resolutions or legislative amendments that are put on vote for the entire Parliament. Reports are usually known by the names of the MEPs who draft and present them, for example, “the Spinneli report” (Europarl1: 2018). Once a draft report has been amended and a final vote taken in the committee, it becomes a report and is then presented in the plenary session (TERM:2014). This role has been rewarded with a high importance in the Parliament and MEPs that write the reports are known by the French

term “rapporteur” (Europarl1:2018). The rapporteur's main task is to analyze the project, consult with specialists in the particular field and with those who could be affected, have discussion with other members of the Parliament and propose the political path to be followed (Europarl1:2018). Drafting and amending reports has a serious impact on shaping and adjusting policies at the EU level (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). Lyder Hermansen (2014) has found out that drafting reports increases the chance that a MEP could be re-elected in the EP – the more reports a MEP drafts, the more likely the chance to change opinions and influence the legislative outcome (Frech 2015: 74).

ATR8 – Reports shadow (reports as a Shadow Rapporteur)

The shadow rapporteur is chosen by the EP political groups for each report. The main duties of a shadow rapporteur are to follow the progress of the report and to have discussions with the committee and the rapporteur in order to reach compromises on behalf of the particular political group (TERM:2014). It is of a high importance for the shadow rapporteur to reach compromise on the legislative proposal (Europarl2:2018). European Parliament party groups that do not have the rapporteur ship on a legislative proposal nominate one of their members to act as shadow rapporteur, to monitor the work of the main committee rapporteur (Costello, Thomson 2010:222).

ATR9 – Report amendments

At the time when a draft report has been submitted to the committee, members of the committee are given the opportunity to submit amendments. The committee then sets a deadline when all amendments should be signed in. Afterwards proposed amendments are discussed and voted upon in the committee meeting. If an amendment is adopted, then it is included in the draft text (Europarl4).

2.6. Division of MEPs in four types of parliamentary activities

As discussed in the chapter (Chapter 1) about MEPs parliamentary preferences in the EP in this research there will be used the division of MEPs into four types of parliamentary activities based on the research by Bíró-Nagy (2016), where he examines role orientations of Central European MEPs based on different socio-demographic factors and on documented parliamentary activities. The certain research is chosen due to several reasons, one of the reasons being that all of the Central and Eastern European

countries chosen by Bíró-Nagy (2016) accessed the EU on the same year (2004). Another reason would be that by several scholars in their research the Baltic states have been grouped together with other CEE countries (Bochasler 2005, Nyćkowiak 2014, Grotz and Weber 2012). The division into 4 types of parliamentary activities will be also applied for the 6 EU founding states.

While Bíró-Nagy (2016) in his research focuses on different variables as the time spent in the EP, age, previous political experience, party affiliation, left-right self-definition and career ambitions, the aim of this research is to focus on the part of his research where he examines the officially documented activities inside the European Parliament. Nevertheless, work conducted outside of the EP could be essential when speaking about MEPs role orientation, but to evaluate the work conducted outside of the EP one has to create a survey with questions that would be related with this dimension of MEPs daily duties outside the EP. These results can also turn out to be biased as MEPs are themselves asked to provide certain numbers of meetings that they have had on monthly/daily basis, for example, with individual citizens, organized interests' groups, lobbyists and journalists (Bíró-Nagy 2016:21-22). A survey would have complemented this research, but as Bíró-Nagy mentions that the expected MEPs respond rates can vary and for his research it was 40% of all Central European MEPs, while the European Parliamentary Research Group's 2010 MEP survey included only 4 out of 22 surveys with Hungarian representatives (Bíró-Nagy 2016:5).

The aim for this research is to divide the Baltic states MEPs into four divisions of parliamentary activities – policy-related and politics-type – as given by Bíró-Nagy (2016) to examine the preferences of parliamentary activities for the CEE and WE countries and the Baltic states MEPs.

In order to divide MEPs of the Baltic states in 4 divisions of preferences as given by Bíró-Nagy there will be used the officially documented data about MEPs parliamentary activities from the website Mepranking.eu, which monitors MEPs daily parliamentary activities in the EP. From the website will be chosen such parliamentary genres as Speeches in the Plenary, Motions for Resolutions, Parliamentary Questions, Written Declarations, reports, opinions and amendments. For these parameters will be calculated the mean and standard deviation for each MEP of the Baltic States. This follows the method used by Bíró-Nagy, who calculates the average grade for the MEPs

of the Central and Eastern Europe in the aforementioned parameters. The specific parameters will be chosen due to the fact that Bíró-Nagy in his research has described which of the parliamentary activities are characteristic for the certain group of MEPs.

If in the case of Bíró-Nagy's research parliamentary activities are attached to a certain role, in this research based on the results in each of the 9 parameters will be chosen the most suitable type of parliamentary activity for each MEP of the Baltic states.

In the following table there are showed the two divisions of MEP parliamentary activities – policy-related and politics-type. As Bíró-Nagy (2016) has only in his research provided data for 7 parameters in this research will be provided data for 9 parameters instead of 7, as reports and opinions can be written both by a Rapporteur and a Shadow Rapporteur.

Table 2.4 Division of 9 parameters into policy-related and politics-type parliamentary activities

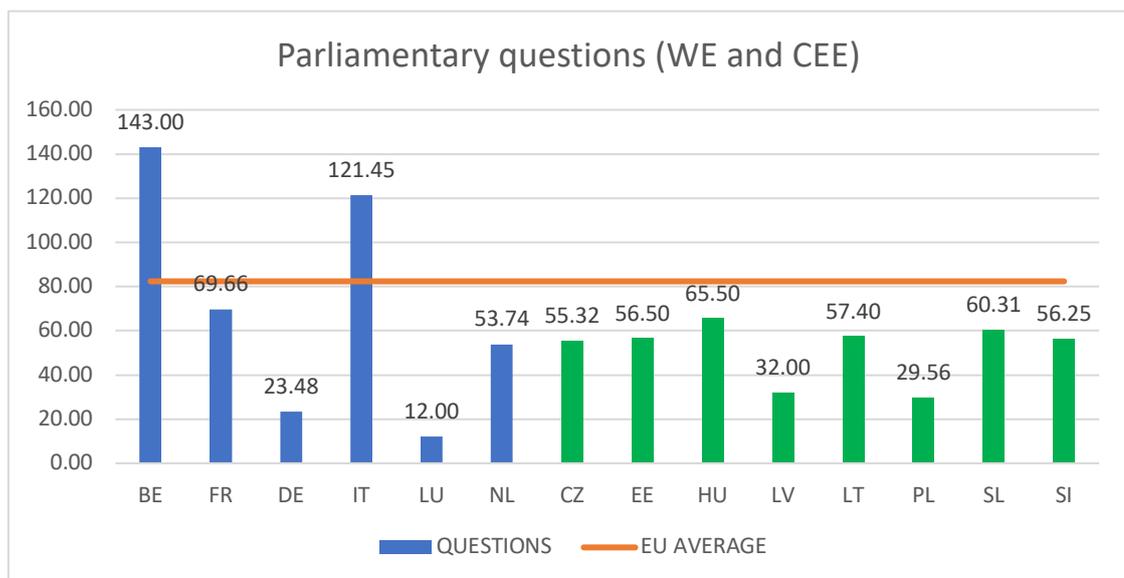
Policy-related parliamentary activities	Politics-type parliamentary activities
Reports as a Rapporteur	Speeches in the plenary
Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur	Motions for resolutions
Opinions as a Rapporteur	Parliamentary questions (PQs)
Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur	Written declarations
Reports amended	-

The division of parliamentary activities preferences by the Baltic states MEPs as given by Bíró-Nagy (2016) will be later discussed in the empirical part. The 9 parameters will be divided in 4 groups using the framework of Bíró-Nagy (2016).

3. Analysis of the activism of MEPs representing CEE and Western European countries

The following empirical part of the thesis provides graphs of results about 9 parliamentary activities. The first 9 graphs calculate the EU average for the certain parameter. MEPs representing CEE and the 6 EU founding states (later WE countries) are divided by color – WE are in blue and CEE are in green. The final graph – Graph 10 – calculates the activism of CEE and WE, and the same color coding from the previous nine Graphs also applies there. After the description of every graph, the section ends with a conclusion of the presented results.

Graph 1 Results of WE and CEE countries and the EU average in the parameter of Parliamentary Questions (PQs)

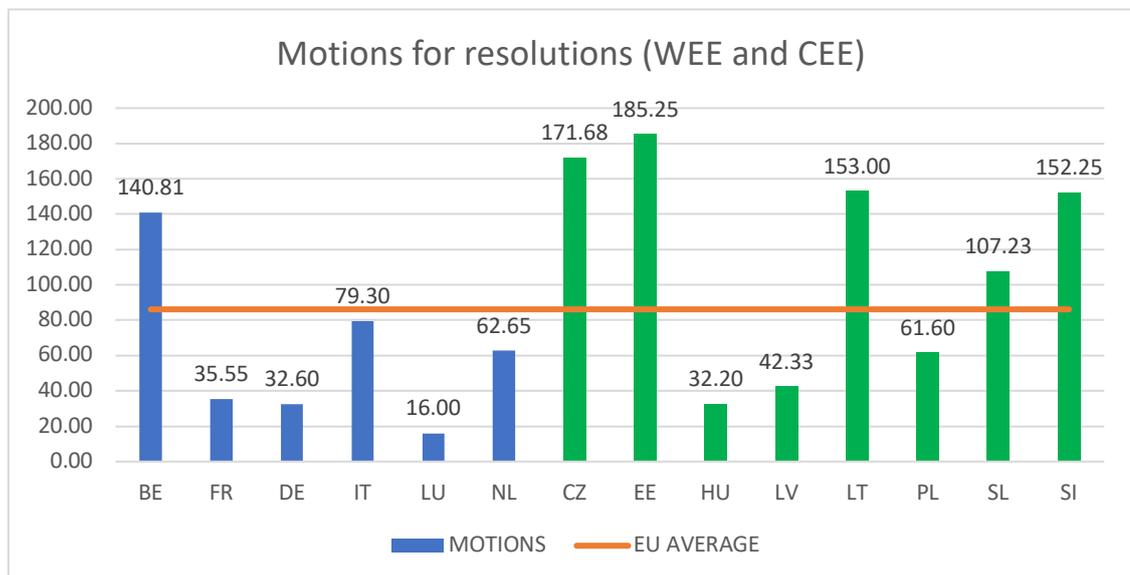


According to the results displayed in the Graph 1 the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Parliamentary Questions is 82,37. Based on the results in Graph 1, the WE countries that show results above the EU average are Belgium (143,00) and Italy (121,45). None of the CEE countries are showing results in this parameter above the EU average. Closest results among CEE countries to the mean are Hungary (65,50) and Slovakia (60,31). Results that are the lowest among WE countries are for Germany (23,48) and Luxembourg (12,00), but for CEE countries the lowest results are for Poland and Latvia. Referring to the highest results in the parameter among all WE and CEE countries the three highest resulting countries are Belgium (143,00), Italy (121,45) and France (69,66), while the lowest results among WE and CEE countries in this parameter

are for Poland (29,56), Germany (23,48) and Luxembourg (12,00). It is possible to conclude from this data that among countries that show the best results in this parameter are WE countries and among the countries of the lowest results are as well two WE and one CEE country. The results of the CEE countries in this parameter are very close to each other in the range of starting from 29,56 to 65,50.

Parliamentary questions are represented by MEPs to other European Union Institutions and bodies. These questions are considered as parliamentary inspection of other EU institutions and bodies (TERM:2014). MEPs can use parliamentary questions to improve their public image and reputation among relevant groups (party, constituency, interest groups) (Sozzi 2016:349). According to scholars Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) parliamentary questions can be used for different purposes, which includes receiving and sending information to other EU institutions, raising issue awareness and inspecting the Commissioners (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6).

Graph 2 Results of WE and CEE countries and the EU average in the parameter of Motions for Resolutions

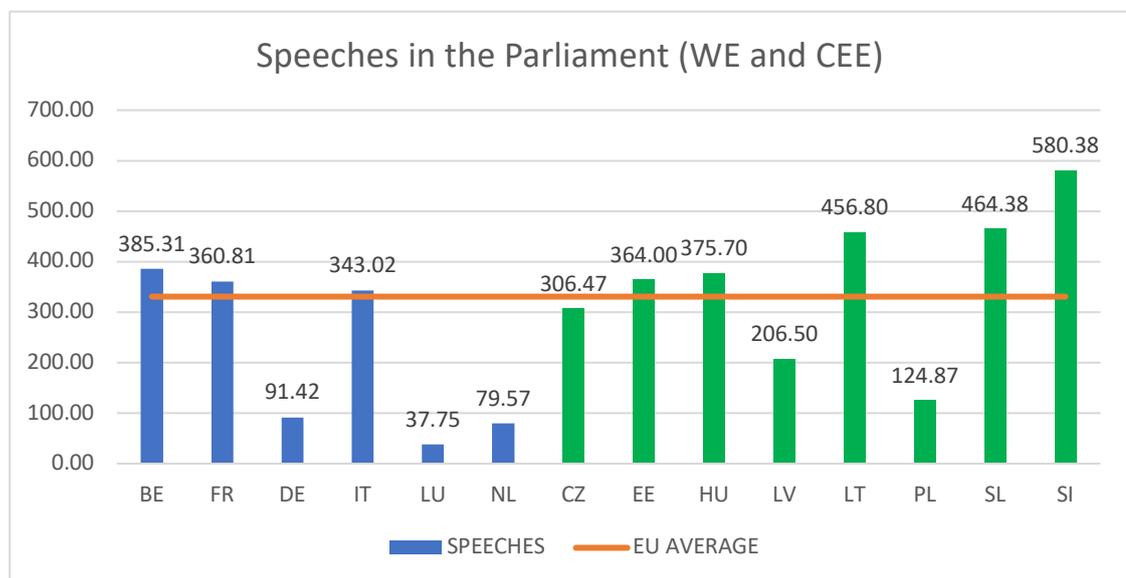


Displayed in Graph 2, the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Motions for Resolutions is 86,13. From the results in Graph 2 only one WE country shows results above the EU average - Belgium (140,81). Amongst the CEE countries with results above the EU average are the Czech Republic (171,68), Lithuania (153,00), Slovenia (152,25) and Slovakia (107,23). Results that are the lowest below the EU average for WE countries are found with France (35,55), Germany (32,60) and Luxembourg (16,00).

Amidst the CEE countries the lowest results that are below the EU average are for Hungary (32,20), Latvia (42,33) and Poland (61,60). The three highest resulting countries are the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Lithuania, while the lowest results are for France, Hungary and Luxembourg. Overall from the data visible in Graph 2 it is noticeable that amongst the top countries in this parameter are all CEE countries and among the lowest resulting are two WE and one CEE country. The results displayed in this graph show that the results vary from one country to another, which shows that there is not a clear dominance of the certain parameter amongst WE or CEE countries.

Motions of resolutions are usually tabled by a committee, a political group or at least 40 MEPs (TERM:2014). According to Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) motions for resolutions are normally used by MEPs to raise awareness or to prompt the Commission to act (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). In addition, motions for resolutions, speeches in the plenary and parliamentary questions are the parliamentary activities that MEPs prefer to do in the EP (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:9).

Graph 3 Results of WE and CEE countries and the EU average in the parameter of Speeches in the Plenary

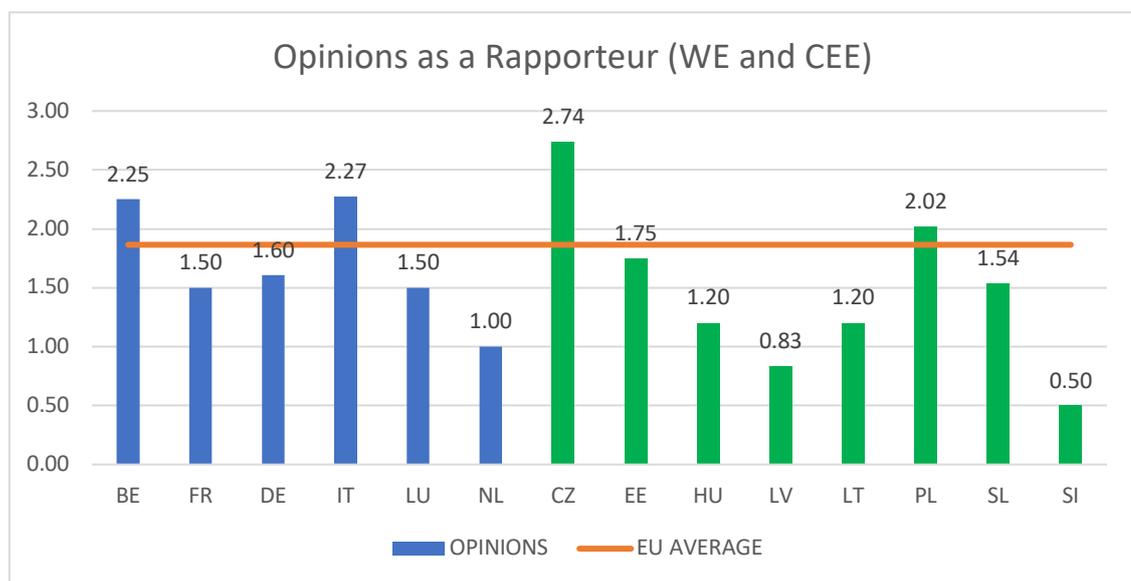


According to the results presented in Graph 3, the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Speeches in the Plenary is 330,78. The WE countries that show results above the mean are Belgium (385,31), France (360,81) and Italy (343,02), but in contrast several CEE countries are above the mean – Hungary (375,70), Lithuania (456,80), Slovenia (580,38) and Slovakia (464,38). Results that are the lowest below the

EU average concerning WE countries are for Germany (91,42), Luxembourg (37,75) and the Netherlands (79,57). In terms of CEE countries, the lowest results that are below the mean are for the Czech Republic (306,47), Estonia (364,00), Latvia (206,50) and Poland (124,87). Looking at the highest results of the parameter, the three highest resulting countries are Slovenia, Slovakia and Lithuania, while the lowest are Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Germany. It is safe to conclude from the data that CEE countries dominate this parameter in terms of the research. While some countries are close to the mean result, surprisingly mostly WE countries are displaying poor results in this activity.

According to Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) plenary speeches enable MEPs to make their positions public and to communicate their views to their national party, their European group and to their constituencies back home (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). During these plenary sessions MEPs can present their policy agenda (Europarl5:2018).

Graph 4 Results of WE and CEE countries and the EU average in the parameter of Opinions as a Rapporteur



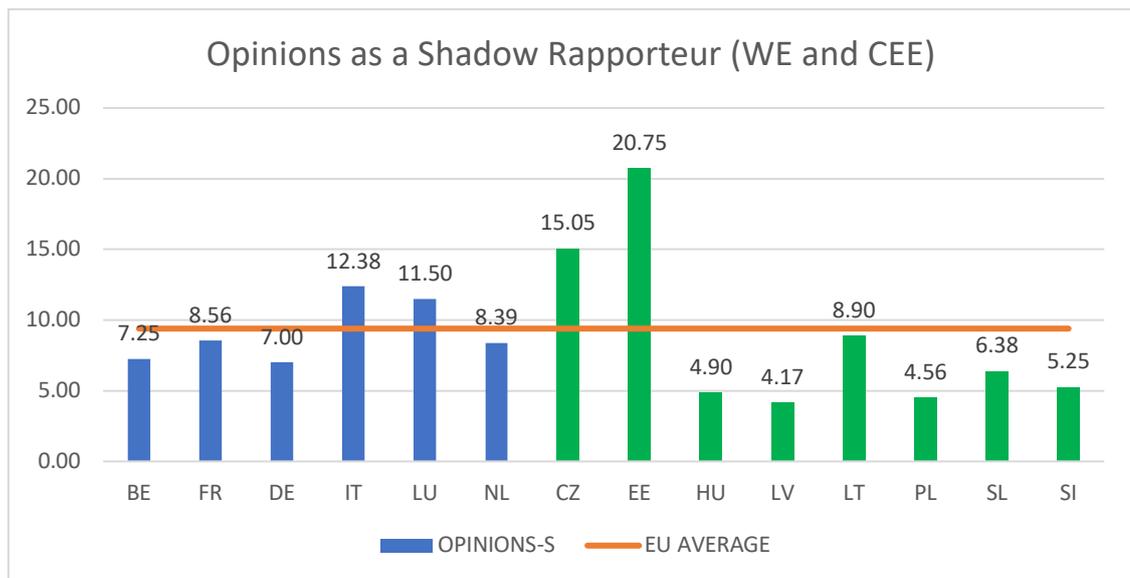
When referring to the results in Graph 4 the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Opinions as a Rapporteur is 1,86.

From the results it can be discerned that the countries above the EU average are Belgium (2,25), the Czech Republic (2,74), Italy (2,27) and Poland (2,02), while 10 countries are below the mean. WE and CEE countries that are the closest to the mean are

Estonia and Slovakia. In conclusion, two WE countries and two CEE countries have the highest results in this parameter, while the opposite is true for the lowest scoring countries. A common denominator for most of the WE and CEE countries is that the results in this parameter are below the EU average. This could be expected as not all of the MEPs are granted a rapporteur ship in the EP.

Opinions consist of amendments to the text referred to the committee followed where needed by short justifications given by the rapporteur. Opinions are usually given to documents of a legislative nature (TERM:2014). The findings of this research can be complemented with the findings of Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) as they mention that MEPs draft on average far fewer reports than they amend, and they deliver an even smaller number of opinions (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:8).

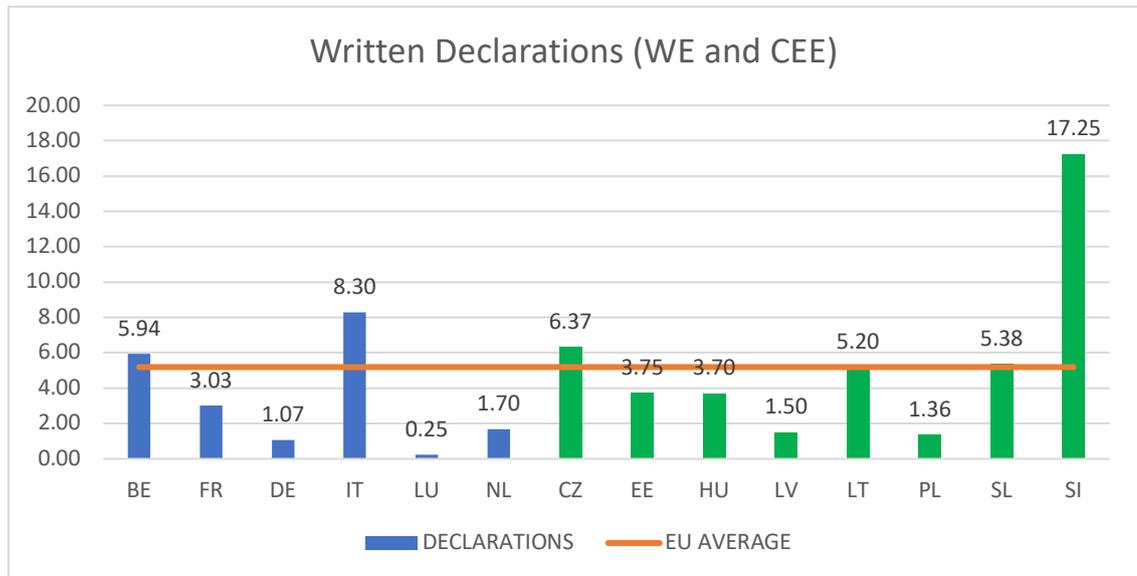
Graph 5 Results of WE and CEE countries and the EU average in the parameter of Opinions as a Shadow rapporteur



As shown in Graph 5 the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur is 9,40. From the results it can be discerned that in Graph 5 the countries above the EU average are Italy (12,38), the Czech Republic (15,05), Luxembourg (11,50) and Estonia (20,75), while Lithuania (8,90) is the closest to the mean from the other countries. In conclusion, the highest resulting countries in this parameter are two CEE and two WE countries. While the CEE countries display greater variety, the WE country block is more consistent. Apparently, the MEPs that represent the Czech Republic and Estonia are active in the role of a Shadow Rapporteur.

The same as for reports also for opinions as the shadow rapporteur must follow up the progress of the opinions of the rapporteur (TERM:2014) (Costello, Thomson 2010:222).

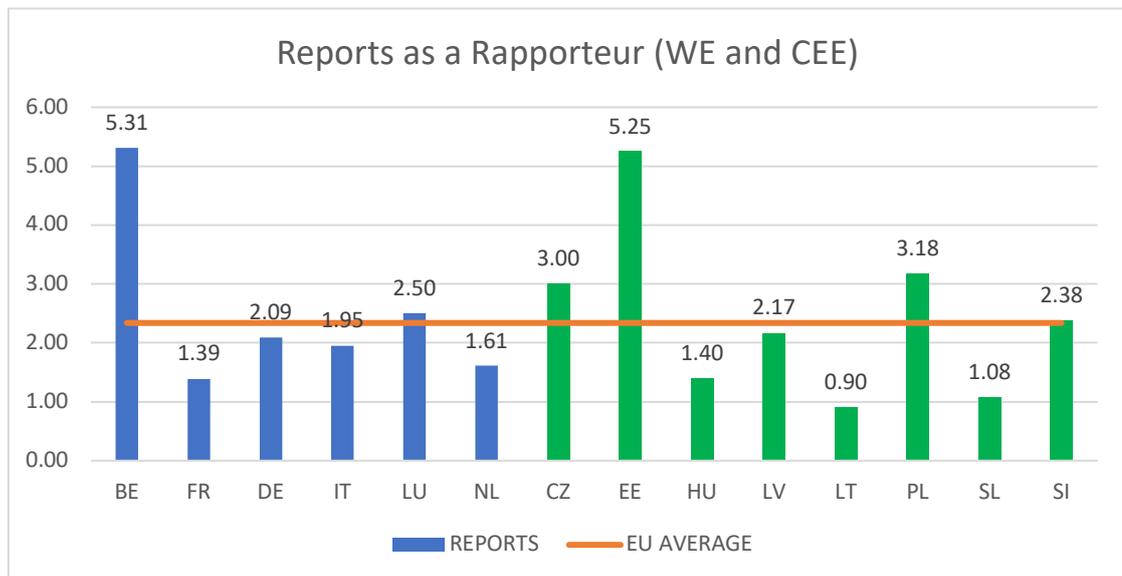
Graph 6 Results of WE and CEE countries and the EU average in the parameter of Written declarations



The EU average in the parliamentary activity of Written Declarations is 5,19. Countries above the mean are Belgium, Italy, the Czech Republic, Lithuania (just slightly), Slovakia and Slovenia, which also displays the highest result in this parameter in terms of this research. All other countries are below the mean and show great variety in terms of results, as no country block shows immediate dominance over the other. Overall from the data it can be discerned that CEE countries have higher results in this parameter when averaged. The results displayed show that among all WE and CEE countries is one country that has outstanding results – Slovenia. MEPs of Slovenia are one of the most active writers of written declarations in the entire EP.

A written declaration is a text of a maximum of 200 words, which relates on matters in connection with the competence of the European Union. These matters do not apply to the Parliament, because those are not considered as an act of the Parliament representing its position. It only shows the positions of its authors and signatories (TERM:2014). According to Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) written declarations the same as motions for resolutions are usually used to raise awareness or to prompt the Commission to act (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6).

Graph 7 Results of WE and CEE countries and the EU average in the parameter of Reports as a Rapporteur



When referring to the results depicted in Graph 7, the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Reports as a Rapporteur is 2,34.

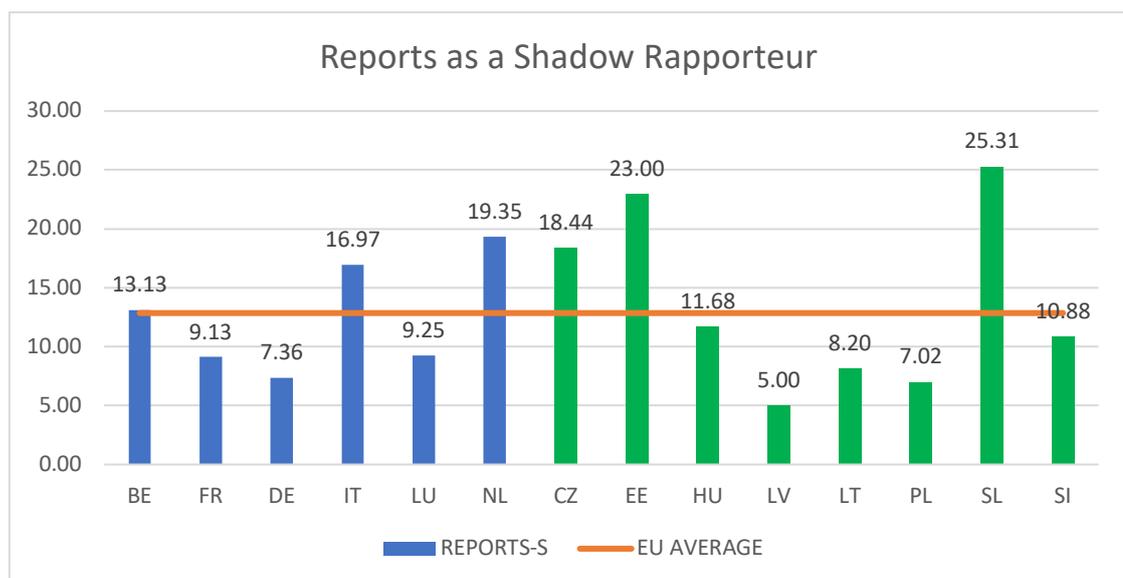
The countries that show results above the mean are Belgium (5,31), the Czech Republic (3,00), Estonia (5,25), Poland (3,18) and Slovenia (2,38), showing a clear advantage for CEE countries. The rest of the countries are below the mean with Lithuania showing the lowest result. The analysis of the graph shows how both WE and CEE countries display competent results, with CEE displaying greater variety, with four countries being above the mean and the other four being below. Despite only Belgium and Luxembourg being above the mean, the rest of the WE countries are relatively close by to each other, showing a modicum of some consistency and similar activity.

Interestingly countries such as Lithuania and Slovakia, which have high scores in the other parameters, show low results in this parameter, while Latvia has a relatively better result than in other parameters.

The main task of a rapporteur is to create a report (TERM 2014). These reports contain proposals for resolutions or legislative amendments that are put on vote for the entire Parliament. Once a draft report has been amended and a final vote taken in the committee, it becomes a report and is then presented in the plenary session (TERM 2014). This role has been rewarded with a high importance in the Parliament and MEPs

that write the reports are known by the French term “rapporteur” (Europarl1:2018). The rapporteur's main task is to analyze the project, consult with specialists in the particular field and with those who could be affected, have discussion with other members of the Parliament and propose the political path to be followed (Europarl1:2018). The findings of this research can be complemented with the findings of Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) as they mention that drafting and amending reports has a serious impact on shaping and adjusting policies at the EU level (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). Robert Van Geffen mentions that a MEP with a domestic political background might be better positioned to take on certain rapporteur ships which could increase his ability to build a career in the EP. MEPs with a domestic political background are more likely to enter at a higher level in the EP, with a better chance of getting a high-profile rapporteur ships or senior positions (Geffen 2016:1021).

Graph 8 Results of WE and CEE countries and the EU average in the parameter of Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur



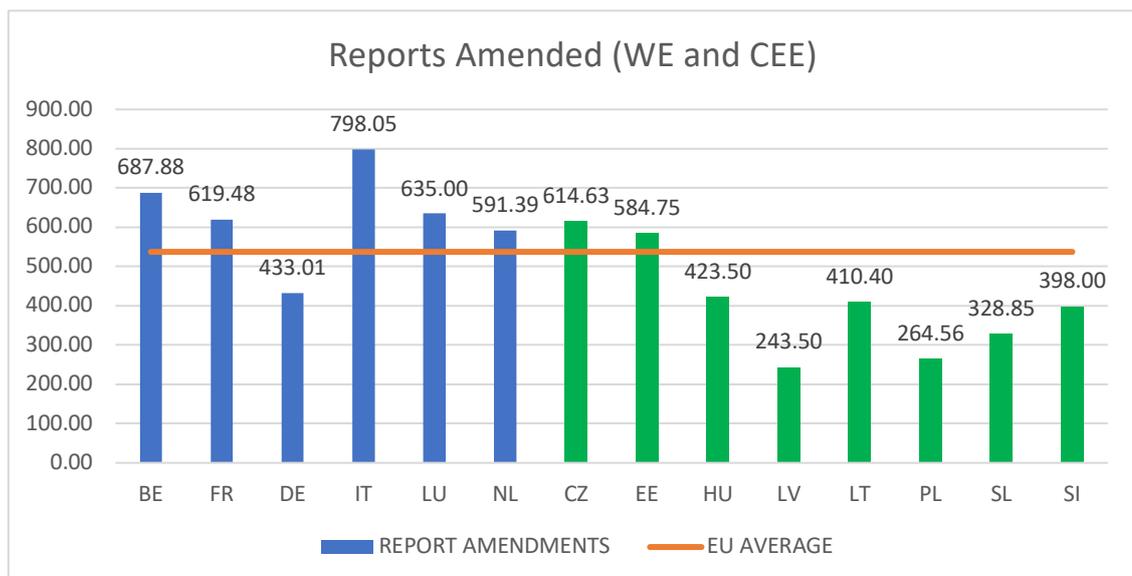
When referring to the results depicted in Graph 8 the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur is 12,86.

The countries that show results above the EU average are Belgium (13,13), Italy (16,97), the Netherlands (19,35), the Czech Republic (18,44), Estonia (23,00) and Slovakia (25,31). The rest of the countries show results below the mean with Latvia showing the lowest results. Once again, the data provides variety between both groups and within these groups. Seemingly at first notice the CEE countries appear to perform

slightly better than their WE colleagues, however, the high result of Slovakia is definitely one of key factors as to why on average the CEE countries may overtake WE countries in this parameter. The findings show that the three highest resulting and the bottom three countries are from the same groups as it is for the parameter of reports as a Rapporteur. In Graph 8 it is visible that two countries stand out from all others – Slovakia and Latvia. While for Slovakia in this particular parameter is a high result that stands out, for Latvia the result is in fact the opposite as the result is remarkably lower than for all other CEE and WE countries. This could be related with Latvia having relatively high results in the parameter of Reports as a Rapporteur.

The shadow rapporteur is chosen by the EP political groups for each report. The main duties of a shadow rapporteur are following the progress of the report and to have discussions with the committee and the rapporteur in order to reach compromises on behalf of the particular political group (TERM:2014). It is of a high importance for the shadow rapporteur to reach compromise on the legislative proposal (Europarl2:2018). European Parliament party groups that do not have the rapporteur ship on a legislative proposal nominate one of their members to act as shadow rapporteur, to monitor the work of the main committee rapporteur (Costello, Thomson 2010:222).

Graph 9 Results of WE and CEE countries and the EU average in the parameter of Report amendments

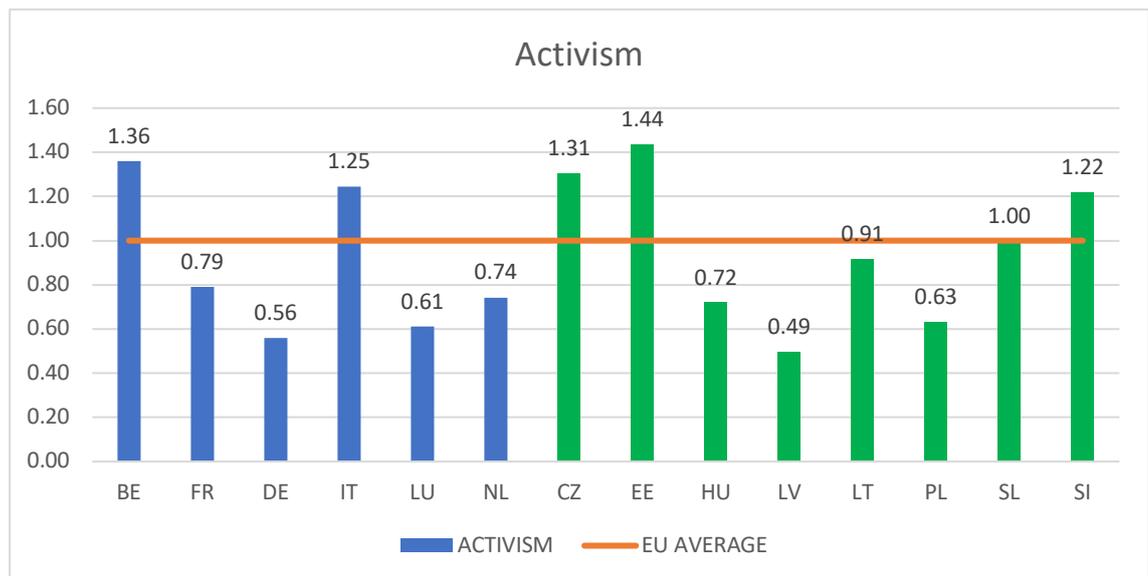


As displayed in Graph 9 the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Report amendments is 537,33. In total four WE countries show results above the EU average,

while only the Czech Republic displays results above the mean from the CEE countries. Comparing to some of the previous parameters, the CEE countries are certainly lacking behind WE countries in terms of activity, and seemingly by a considerable margin. This echoes the results of the mean in this parameter where WE countries show higher results and CEE countries are mostly positioned below. It is also noticeable how most of the CEE country results are even lower than WE country results that are below the mean as well.

At the time when a draft report has been submitted to the committee, members of the committee are given the opportunity to submit amendments (Europarl4:2018). According to Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) the parameter of reports amended is of a second order as it does not make a difference to the re-nomination of the MEP in the EP (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:8). Nevertheless Robert Van Geffen (2016) mentions that MEPs who do not have a long-term career in the EP are more likely to submit amendments to reports than MEPs who wish to pursue a career in the EP. MEPs who pursue their career in the EP are possibly more often the rapporteurs themselves. They would therefore be less likely to submit amendments to reports (Geffen 2016:1027).

Graph 10 Results of WE and CEE countries and the EU average in activism



The results of Graph 10 are calculated by using the activism measurement formula. The overall activism is calculated for 9 parameters that measure the parliamentary activities of MEPs in the EP. According to the results displayed in Graph 13, the EU average activism is 1.00. The countries above the mean are Belgium (1,36),

Italy (1,25), the Czech Republic (1,31), Estonia (1,44), and Slovenia (1,22). Slovakia has the same result as the EU average (1,00). Overall only two from six WE countries are showing results above the EU average, while from the CEE countries 3 out of 8 countries are showing results above the EU average and one is showing a result which is the same as the EU average. From these results regarding the activism of MEPs in the EP we can conclude that the most active group are CEE countries with Estonia (1,44) having the best scores overall in all of the 10 activism measurement parameters. From the 6 EU founding states the most active MEPs as according to the results in the 10 parliamentary activities have Belgium and Italy, while the rest of the 4 countries show relatively low results that are below the EU average activism mean. The lowest activism amongst MEPs are for the following countries: Germany (0,56), Latvia (0,49) and Luxembourg (0,61).

From all three Baltic states the most active MEPs in the 10 parliamentary activities have: Estonia (1.44). As the next follows Lithuania with a result close to the EU average (0,91). From the Baltic states the least active MEPs regarding the activism measurement of 10 parameters are from Latvia (0,49), with result that is below the EU average activism mean.

3.1. Conclusion of analysis of the activism of MEPs representing CEE and Western European countries

According to the results regarding the parliamentary activities of MEPs representing CEE and Western European countries (the 6 EU founding countries) it is noticeable that the CEE countries outperform the WE countries when looking at the overall activism in the 9 parameters that measure the parliamentary activities of MEPs in the EP. This shows that despite the fact that the CEE countries have joined the EU only in 2004 most of these countries MEPs devote a lot of energy to show to their peers in the EP and to their national constituencies that they are elected in the EP for a reason. Behind the relatively low results of activism in the EP for 4 out of 6 WE countries could be the reason that from these countries many MEPs have high positions in Committees and other EP structures therefore they lack spare time to devote their energy for the certain parliamentary activities in the EP.

When comparing the CEE countries that accessed the EU in 2004 to the Baltic states it is visible that in some parameters the results are similar for both groups, while

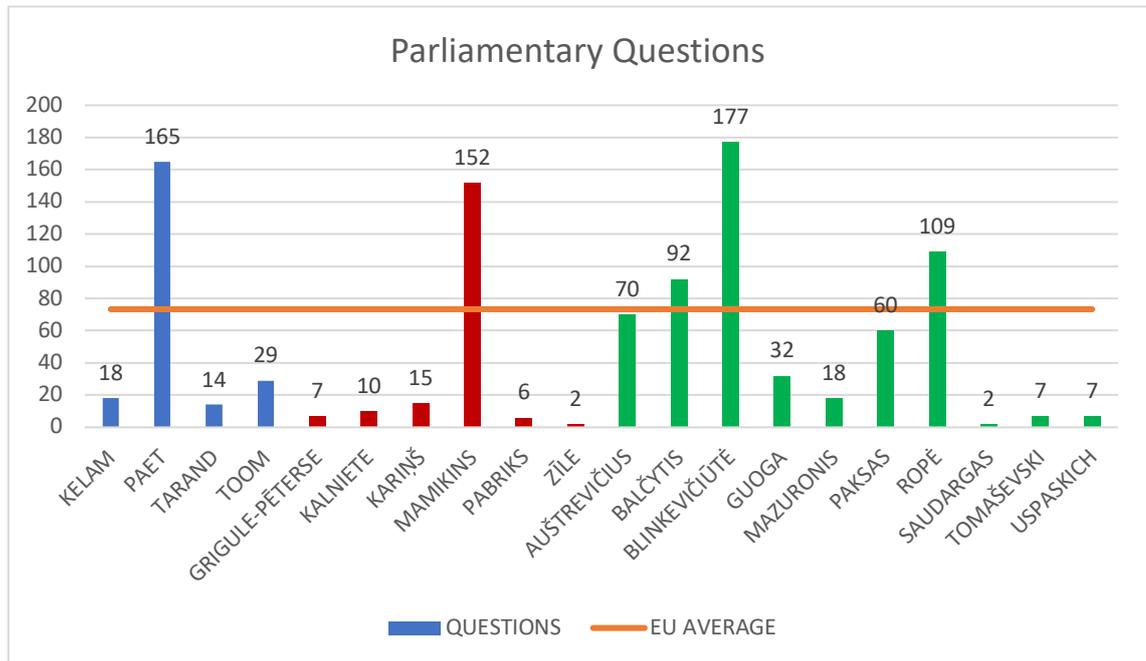
in other all three groups WE, CEE and the Baltic states MEPs share similar voting patterns. In parameters such as parliamentary questions (see Graph 1), speeches in the plenary (see Graph 3), opinions as a Rapporteur (see Graph 4), opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur (see Graph 5) and report amendments (see Graph 9) there is visible that CEE countries and the Baltic states share similar voting patterns with some countries as exceptions that have results higher than the EU average and countries that show lower than the EU average. In all other parameters that are not mentioned results differ from one country to another and it is hard to find any common denominator among the groups of countries. The certain pattern can be visible also in the activism measurement of MEPs representing WE and CEE countries (see Graph 10).

4. Analysis of the activism of MEPs representing the Baltic States

The following empirical part of the thesis provides Graphs of results about 9 parliamentary activities. The first 9 Graphs there calculate the EU average for the certain parameter. Baltic state MEPs are divided into their respective countries by color in the Graph – Estonian MEPs are in blue, Latvian MEPs are in red, and Lithuanian MEPs are in green. The final Graph – Graph 23 – calculates the activism of Baltic state MEPs, and the same color coding from the previous twelve Graphs also applies there. After the description of every Graph, the section ends with a conclusion of the presented results.

As per the limitation of the common attribute described in section 2.2., the time spent in the EP has to be equal among all MEPs eligible for analysis. The data represented in the analysis is for the time period of 1st of July 2014 to 31st of October 2018, with the former being the common attribute for all MEPs. At this moment, the MEPs that represent Estonia are 6 (Igor Grāzin, Ivairi Padar, Tunne Kelam, Urmas Paet, Indrek Tarand, Yana Toom), the MEPs that represent Latvia are 8 (Iveta Grigule-Pēterse, Sandra Kalniete, Krišjānis Kariņš, Andrejs Mamikins, Miroslavs Mitrofanovs, Inese Vaidere, Roberts Zīle, Kārlis Šadurskis), and the MEPs that represent Lithuania are 11 (Laima Liucija Andrikienė, Petras Auštrevičius, Zigmantas Balčytis, Vilija Blinkevičiūtė, Antanas Guoga, Valentinas Mazuronis, Rolandas Paksas, Bronis Ropė, Algirdas Saudargas, Valdemar Tomaševski, Viktor Uspaskich). In total, the Baltic States are represented by 25 MEPs. However, by utilizing the common attribute, the following MEPs are not included within the analysis: Igor Grāzin (EE), Ivairi Padar (EE), Inese Vaidere (LV), Tatjana Ždanoka (LV) and Laima Liucija Andrikienė (LT). This excludes five of the total 25 Baltic MEPs, as their results are not comparable to their colleagues that have served in the EP longer.

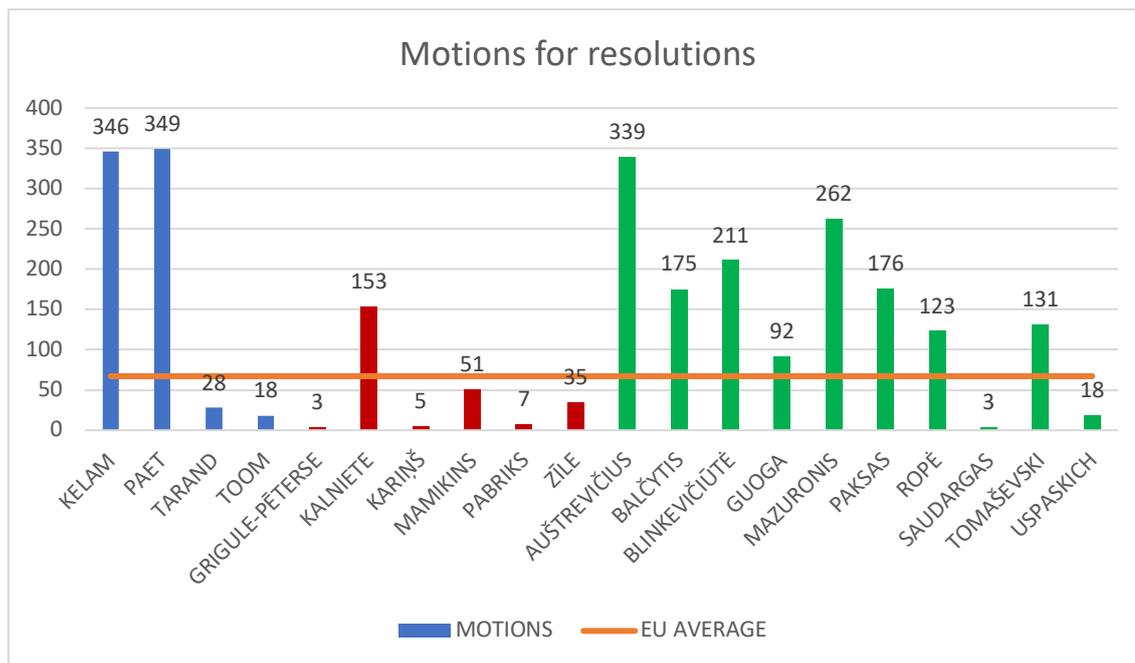
Graph 11 The Baltic MEP and EU average in the parameter of Parliamentary Questions (PQs)



Graph 11 displays the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Parliamentary Questions as 73,33. The results show that among all MEPs representing the Baltic states above the EU average are Paet (165), Mamikins (152), Balčytis (92), Blinkevičiūtė (177), and Ropė (109). All others (15) representing Baltic states are showing results below the EU average. The closest results to the EU average are for Auštrevičius (70) and Paksas (60). The MEPs with the highest score in the particular parameter are Paet (165), Mamikins (152) and Blinkevičiūtė (177), however, the lowest scores are for Zīle (2), Saudargas (2) and Pabriks (6).

It is possible to conclude from this data that from each of the Baltic states there is at least one MEP that shows high levels of activism in this parameter. For most of the MEPs the results are under the EU average, which shows that MEPs of the Baltic states are not the most active here. Parliamentary Questions are represented by MEPs to other European Union Institutions and bodies. MEPs can use Parliamentary Questions to improve their public image and reputation among relevant groups (party, constituency, interest groups) (Sozzi 2016:349). As mentioned by Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) not all MEPs are willing to address Parliamentary Questions to other European Union Institutions and bodies therefore the numbers among MEPs in the EP in the certain parameter are not that high (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:8).

Graph 12 The Baltic MEP and EU average in the parameter of Motions for Resolutions

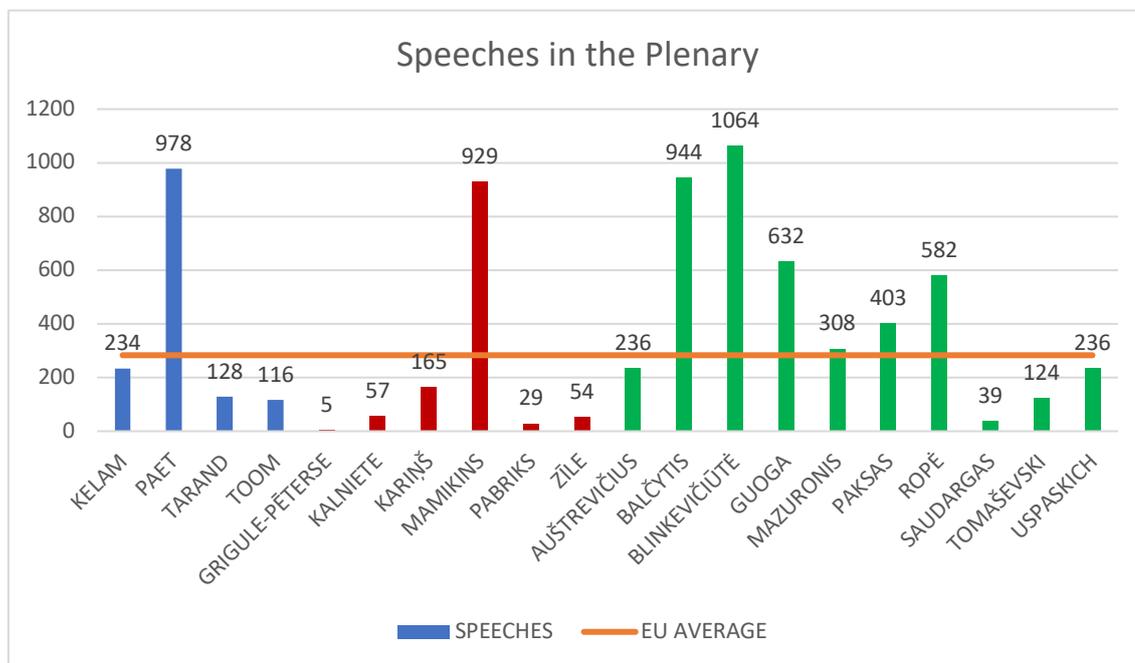


According to the results displayed in Graph 12, the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Motions for Resolutions is 67,10. Graph 12 shows MEPs representing the Baltic states, who are above the EU average, are the Estonian Kelam (346) and Paet (349), the Latvian Kalniete (153) and several Lithuanian representatives – Auštrevičius (339), Balčytis (175), Blinkevičiūtė (211), Guoga (92), Mazuronis (262), Paksas (176), Ropė (123) and Tomaševski (131). Amongst the MEPs of the Baltic states the highest score in this particular parameter belongs to Auštrevičius (339), Kelam (346) and Paet (349). The lowest scores are for Grigule-Pēterse (3), Saudragas (3) and Kariņš (5). From the Baltic states in this particular parliamentary activity the best results belong to two Estonian MEPs and one Lithuanian MEP, but the lowest scoring MEPs are two Latvian MEPs and one Lithuanian MEP. A common denominator in this parameter is that most of the MEPs representing Lithuania show results that are above the EU average, which means that MEPs representing Lithuania are eager to devote their energy when it comes to the parliamentary activity of tabling Motions for Resolutions.

Motions for Resolutions are usually tabled by a committee, a political group or at least 40 MEPs (TERM:2014). According to Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) Motions for Resolutions are normally used by MEPs to raise awareness or to prompt the Commission to act (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). In addition, Motions for Resolutions, Speeches in the Plenary and Parliamentary Questions are the parliamentary activities that MEPs prefer

to do in the EP, which explains the overall levels of activism of the Baltic states MEPs in this parameter (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:9).

Graph 13 The Baltic MEP and EU average in the parameter of Speeches in the Plenary

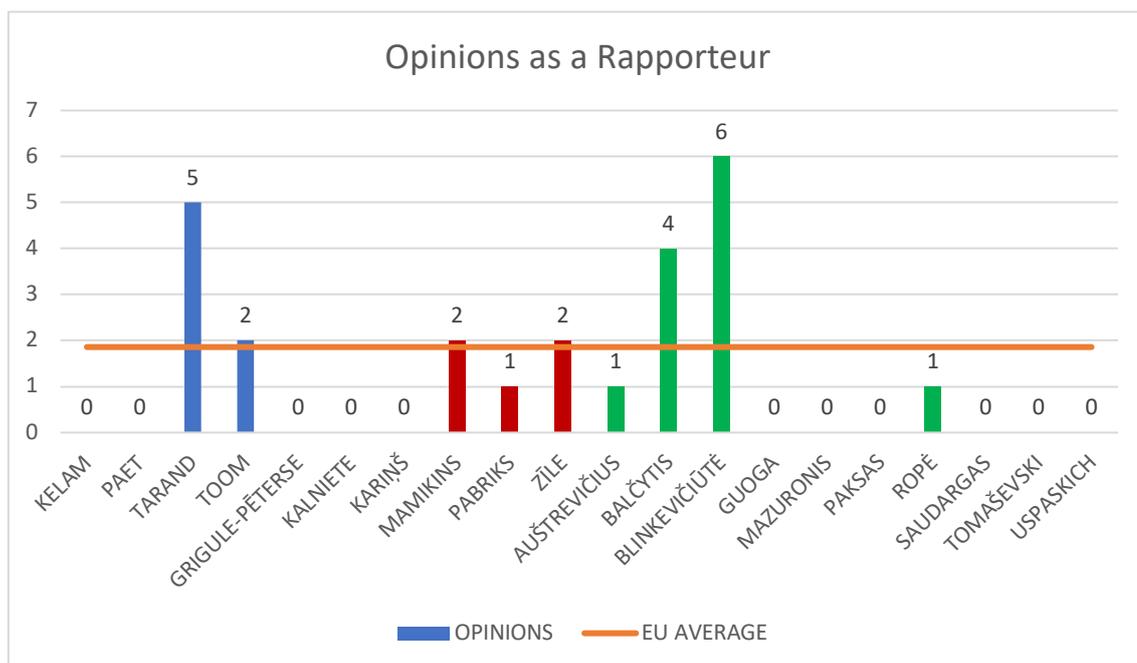


In Graph 13 the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Speeches in the Plenary is 283,08. Based on the results in Graph 13 the MEPs representing the Baltic states that are above the EU average are Paet (978), Mamikins (929) Balčytis (944), Blinkevičiūtė (1064), Guoga (632), Mazuronis (308), Paksas (403) and Ropė (582). The MEPs closest to the EU average are Kelam (234), Auštrevičius (236) and Uspaskich (236). Amongst the MEPs of the Baltic states the highest score in this particular parameter belongs to Blinkevičiūtė (1064), Paet (978) and Balčytis (944). The lowest scores are for Grigule-Pēterse (5), Pabriks (29) and Saudargas (39). From the Baltic states in this particular parliamentary activity the best results belong to two MEPs representing Lithuania and one MEP representing Estonia, but from the lowest scoring MEPs two are Latvian and one is Lithuanian. While among the MEPs that have been in the EP since the starting of the term in 2014 the lowest result among all of the Baltic states MEPs belongs Grigule-Pēterse (5).

According to the results it is noticeable that in this parameter several MEPs representing Latvia show lower results than their peers from Estonia and Lithuania.

According to Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) Speeches in the Plenary enable MEPs to make their positions public and to communicate their views to their national party, their European group and to their constituencies back home (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). When referring to this assumption it can be concluded that those MEPs that show higher results can bring out more of the policy agenda of their represented constituency.

Graph 14 The Baltic MEP and EU average in the parameter of Opinions as a Rapporteur

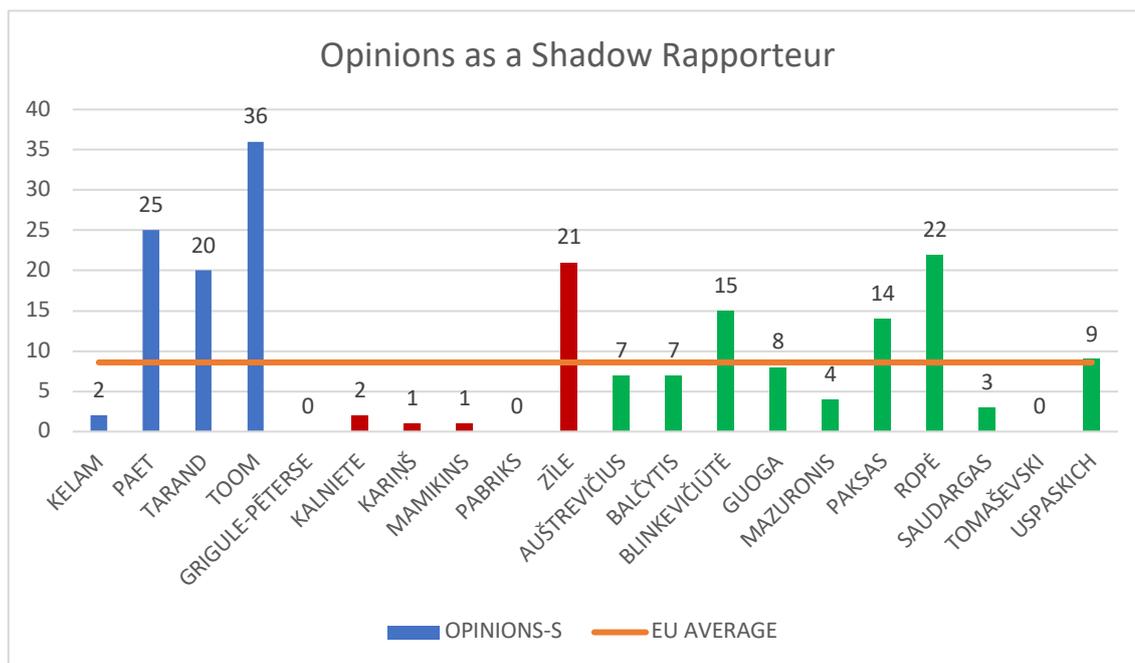


In Graph 14 the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Opinions as a Rapporteur is 1,86. Based on the results in the Graph 14 the MEPs representing the Baltic states that are above the EU average are Tarand (5), Toom (2), Mamikins (2), Zile (2), Balčytis (4) and Blinkevičiūtė (6). Only 3 more MEPs have written at least one opinion as a Rapporteur. All other MEPs (11) are showing results below the EU average and have not written any Opinions as a Rapporteur. The MEPs with the highest result in this parameter are Blinkevičiūtė (6), Tarand (5) and Balčytis (4).

In this parameter there are MEPs that have had the opportunity to fill the duties of a Rapporteur, which is considered as the the most prestigious policy role in the EP (Bíró-Nagy 2016:12). Rapporteurships are by definition restricted in number and distributed in a competitive fashion (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:8). Opinions consist of amendments to the text referred to the committee followed where needed by short justifications given by the rapporteur. Opinions are usually given to documents of a

legislative nature (TERM 2014). Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) mention that MEPs draft on average far fewer reports than they amend, and they deliver an even smaller number of opinions (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:8). According to the results depicted in Graph 14 the assumption of Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) proves to be true.

Graph 15 The Baltic MEP and EU average in the parameter of Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur

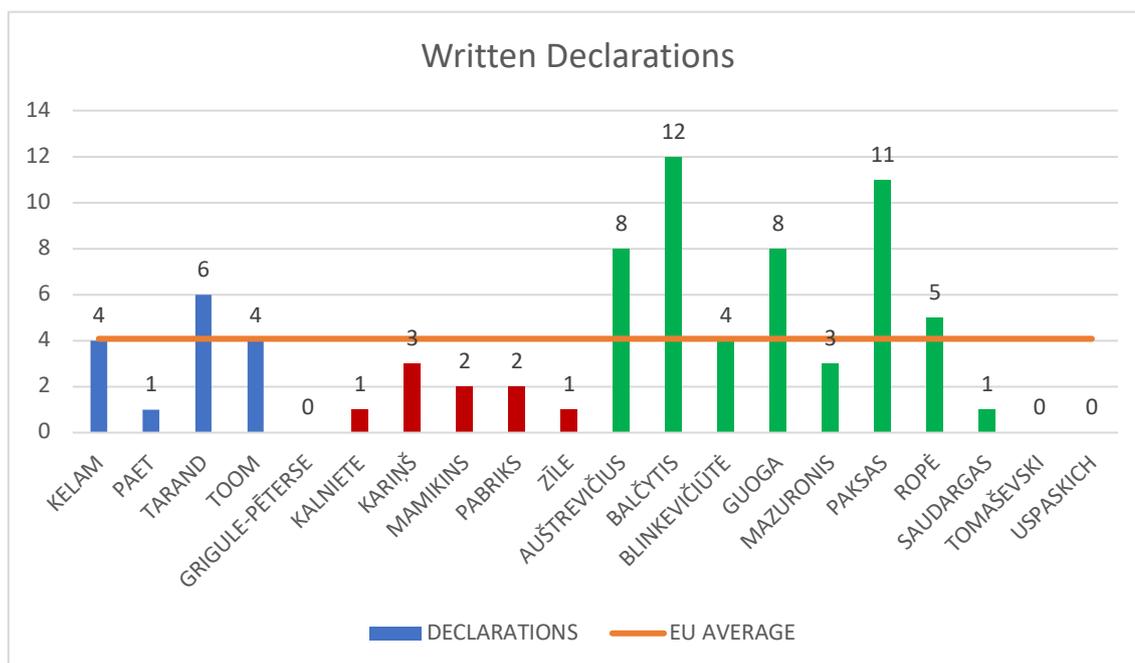


In Graph 15 the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur is 8,59. Among all of the MEPs representing the Baltic states that are above the EU average are Paet (25), Tarand (20), Toom (36), Zīle (21), Blinkevičiūtė (15), Paksas (14), Ropė (22) and Uspaskich (9). The other 12 representatives are below the EU average. Results closest to the EU average are for Auštrevičius (7), Balčytis (7), Guoga (8) and Uspaskich (9). The best results in this parameter are expressed by Toom (36), Paet (25) and Ropė (22). The lowest scores are for Grigule-Pēterse (0), Pabriks (0) and Tomaševski (0).

According to the results, the highest results are shown by 3 MEPs representing Estonia, and 4 MEPs representing Lithuania are above the EU average. The lowest results are for MEPs that represent Latvia, but the only Latvian MEP that has a result above the EU average is Zīle (21).

If compared to the parameter of Opinions as a Rapporteur, then the Baltic MEPs usually allocate themselves for the position of a Shadow Rapporteur. MEPs having this position have to follow up the progress of the opinions of the rapporteur (TERM 2014). The vast difference in the results could be associated with the complexity of creating Opinions as a Rapporteur and with the fact that most of the MEPs have not been nominated as Rapporteurs to deal with such tasks.

Graph 16 The Baltic MEP and EU average in the parameter of Written Declarations

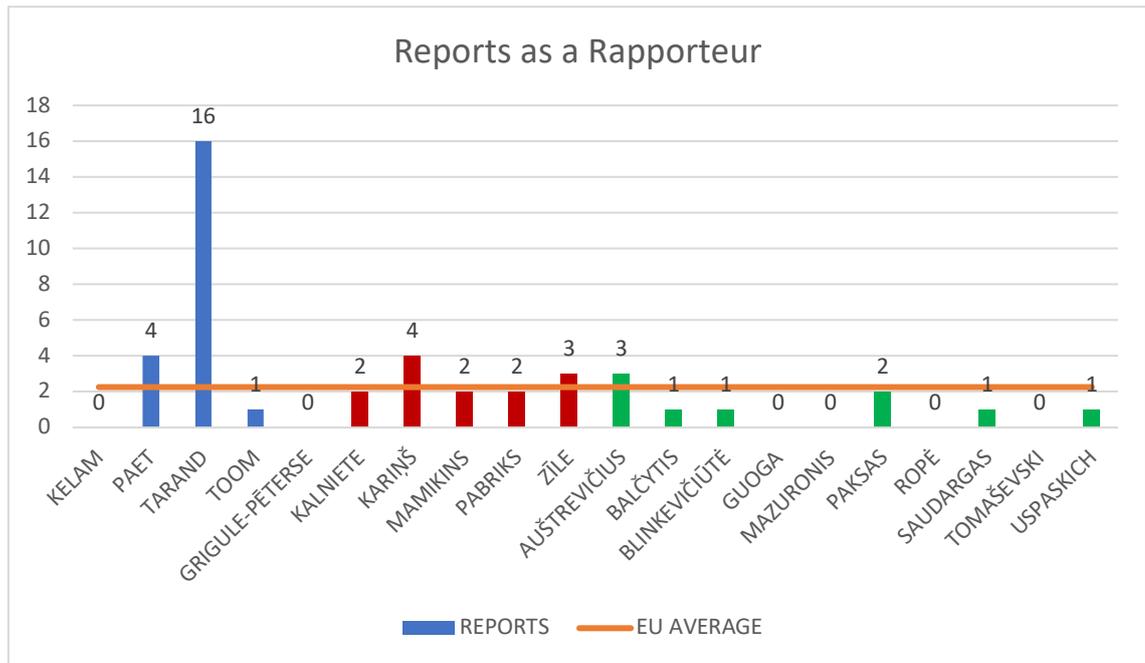


In Graph 16 the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Written Declarations is 4,08. Based on the results in the graph, MEPs representing the Baltic states that are above the EU average are: Tarand (6), Toom (6), Auštrevičius (8), Balčytis (12), Blinkevičiūtė (4), Guoga (8) and Ropė (5). Results below the mean are shown by 13 out of 20 MEPs representing the Baltic states. Results closest to the EU average amongst the MEPs are displayed by Kelam (4), Blinkevičiūtė (4), Kariņš (3) and Mazuronis (3). The best results in the parameter of Written Declarations are expressed by Balčytis (12), Paksas (11), Auštrevičius (8) and Guoga (8). The lowest scores are for Grigule-Pēterse (0), Tomaševski (0) and Uspaskich (0).

MEPs representing Lithuania outperform their peers from Estonia and Latvia. In general, the lowest results among all three Baltic states are for Latvian representatives. According to Sigalas and Tiemann (2012) Written Declarations are usually used to raise

awareness or to prompt the Commission to act (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). These matters do not apply to the Parliament, because those are not considered as an act of the Parliament representing its position. It only shows the positions of its authors and signatories (TERM 2014).

Graph 17 The Baltic MEP and EU average in the parameter of Reports as a Rapporteur



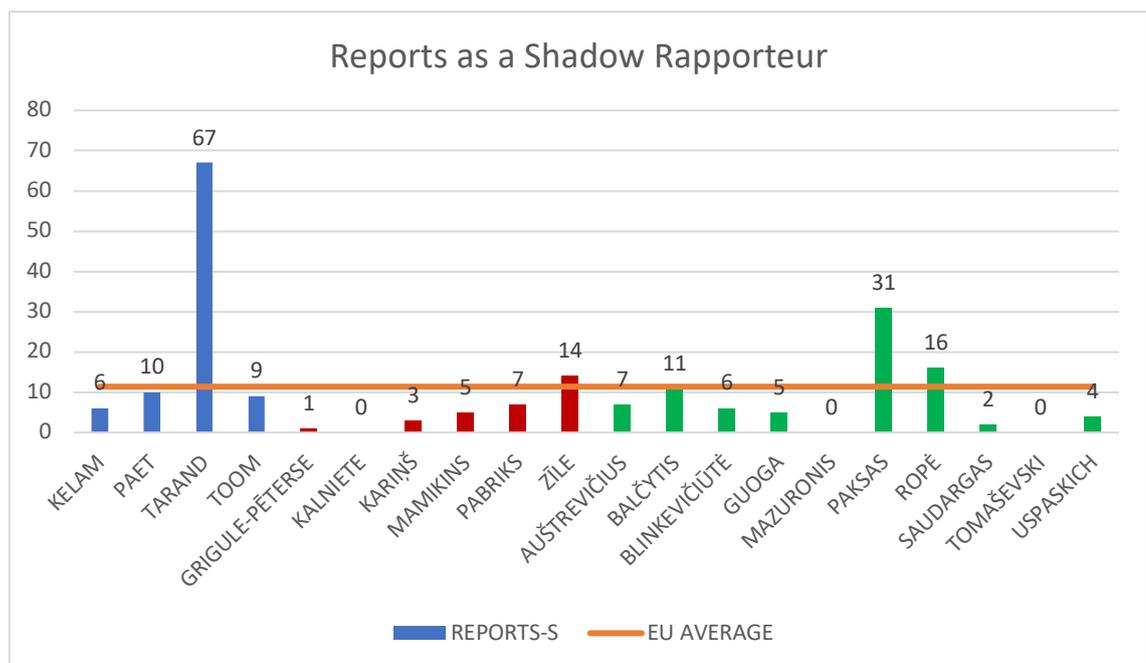
Graph 17 presents the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Reports as a Rapporteur as 2,26. Among all of the MEPs representing the Baltic states above, the individuals above the EU average are Paet (4), Tarand (16), Kariņš (4), Žīle (3) and Auštrevičius (3). The MEPs with the closest results to the mean belong to Kalniete (2), Mamikins (2), Pabriks (2) and Paksas (2). The best results in this parameter are displayed by Tarand (16), Paet (4) and Kariņš (4). The lowest scores are for Kelam (0), Grigule-Pēterse (0), Guoga (0), Mazuronis (0), Ropē (0) and Tomaševski (0).

Drafting and amending reports has been considered as one of the main processes for shaping and adjusting policies at the EU level (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). Non-legislative reports also are essential, because these are written by the Rapporteur, who is the main person for the Commission and for all the other institutions and groups, which need to coordinate this procedure.

In this particular parameter MEPs representing Estonia and Latvia outperform MEPs that represent Lithuania. From all MEPs that represent the Baltic states in the EP,

there is one MEP that has an outstanding result – Indrek Tarand. He has created 16 reports, which greatly exceeds the the EU average of 2 reports per MEP. This could justify lower results in all other parameters as creating report is time consuming and involves discussions within and outside the EP with different groups that could be affected (Europarl 4:2018). Another common denominator for the certain parameter is that MEPs representing Latvia overall have the highest results as a group in this parameter, while in other parameters MEPs that represent Latvia are underperforming if compared to MEPs that represent Estonia and Lithuania. Results of MEPs of the Baltic states in this certain parameter are of a high importance as drafting reports has a serious impact on shaping and adjusting policies at the EU level (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). Being a rapporteur puts even more pressure to a MEP as his or her main task is to analyze the project, consult with specialists in the particular field and with those who could be affected, have discussion with other members of the Parliament and propose the political path to be followed (Europarl 4:2018). All these aforementioned activities are time consuming therefore those MEPs that have granted a rapporteurship can be more occupied and in other parameters would show lower results than their peers who are not granted rapporteur ship (Hix et al. 2007:61).

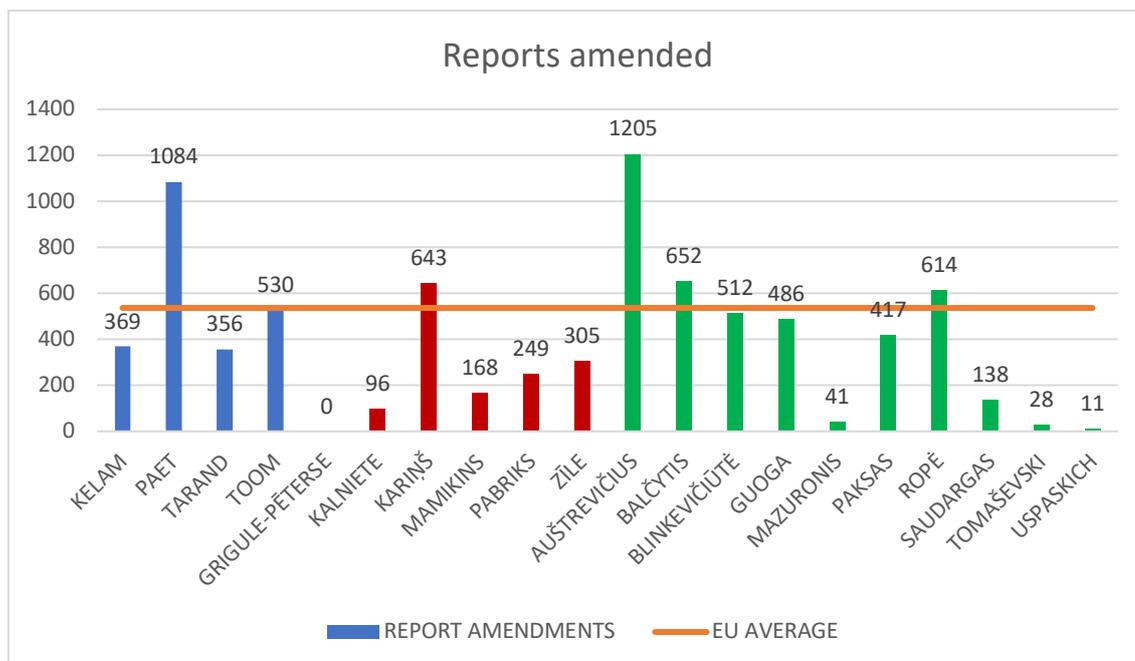
Graph 18 The Baltic MEP and EU average in the parameter of Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur



Graph 18 presents the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur as 11,39. MEPs representing the Baltic states that are above the EU average are Tarand (67), Zīle (14), Paksas (31), Ropė (16) and Balčytis (11), and the other 15 out of 20 MEPs are below it. Results closest to the EU average are for Paet (10) and Toom (9). The best results in this parameter are shown by Tarand (67), Paksas (31) and Ropė (16), while the lowest results are presented by Kalniete (0), Mazuronis (0) and Tomaševski (0). The results in this parameter are very similar, the only MEP that stands out the same as in the previous parameter is Indrek Tarand. He has a strong position as a policy maker as in both parameters that are made by a Rapporteur he has results that exceed the results of most of the MEPs in the EP as he shows results that are greater than the EU average.

The shadow rapporteur is chosen by the EP political groups for each report. The main duties of a shadow rapporteur are to follow the progress of the report and to have discussions with the committee and the rapporteur in order to reach compromises on behalf of the particular political group (TERM 2014). It is of a high importance for the shadow rapporteur to reach compromise on the legislative proposal (Europarl 5:2018).

Graph 19 The Baltic MEP and EU average in the parameter of Reports Amended

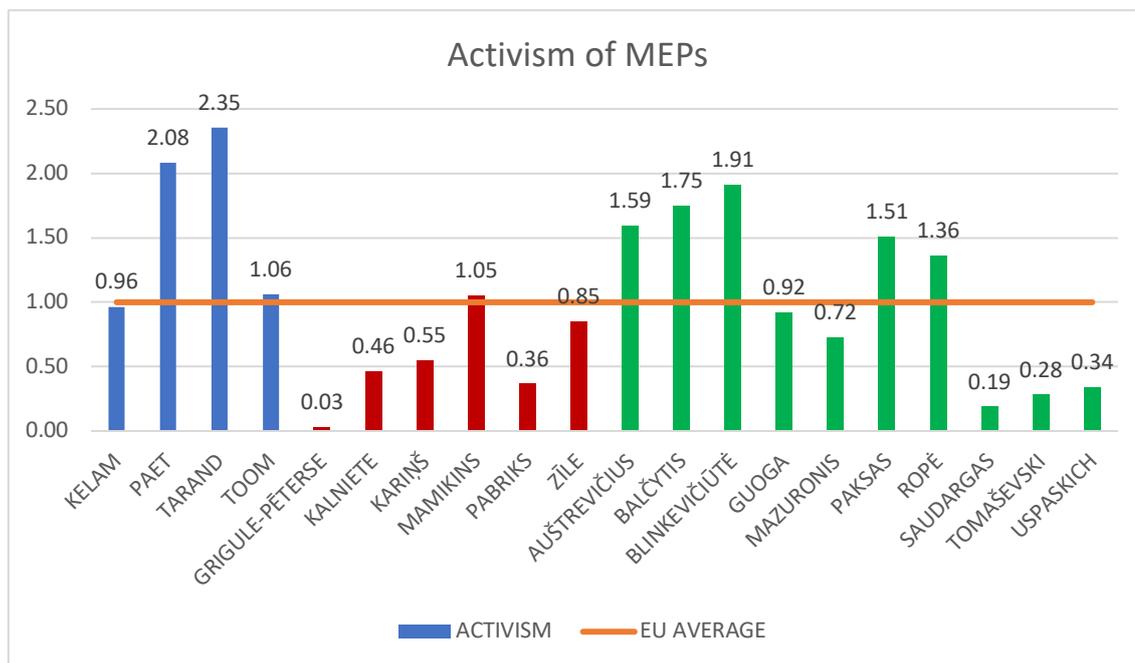


Graph 19 shows the EU average in the parliamentary activity of Reports Amended as 536,48. MEPs representing the Baltic states that are above the EU average

are Paet (1084), Kariņš (643), Auštrevičius (1205), Balčytis (652), Blinkevičiūtė (512), Ropė (614), while the other 14 representatives are below the mean. Results closest to the EU average are for Toom (530), Blinkevičiūtė (512) and Guoga (486). The highest results in this parameter belongs to Paet (1084), Auštrevičius (1205) and Balčytis (652), while the lowest results are displayed by Grigule-Pēterse (0) and Uspaskich (11).

There are two MEPs that have outstanding results in this – Paet (1084) and Auštrevičius (1205). Lithuanian MEPs are outperforming Estonian and Latvian MEPs, while in the Reports as a Rapporteur, Lithuanian MEPs are showing lower results than their peers. It can be explained by the fact that MEPs seeking a career in the EP are more likely to be Rapporteurs themselves, therefore they would submit less amendments to reports (Geffen 2016:1027). For MEPs that are not granted a rapporteur ship, tabling amendments is the main way to influence legislation (Geffen 2016:1028)

Graph 20 Activism of MEPs representing the Baltic states



The results of Graph 20 are calculated by using the activism measurement formula. The overall activism is calculated for 9 parameters that measure the parliamentary activities of MEPs (Reports as a Rapporteur, Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur, Opinions as a Rapporteur, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Reports Amended, Parliamentary Questions (PQs), Motions for Resolutions, Written Declarations, Speeches in the Plenary).

According to the results displayed in Graph 20 the EU average is 1.00. Among the MEPs representing the Baltic states, the individuals above the EU average are Paet (2,08), Tarand (2,35), Toom (1,06), Mamikins (1,05), Auštrevičius (1,59), Balčytis (1,75), Blinkevičiūtė (1,91), Paksas (1,51) and Ropė (1,36). The highest levels of activism are shown by Paet (2,08), Tarand (2,35) and Blinkevičiūtė (1,91).

The highest levels of activism are shown by representatives of Estonia and Lithuania, while only one Latvian representative is above the EU average. It is noticeable that, despite excluding two parameters, the results are about the same as when only looking at the previous 9 graphs.

4.1. Conclusion of analysis of the activism of MEPs representing the Baltic states

According to the results about the 9 parliamentary activities of the Baltic state MEPs it is noticeable that MEPs from Estonia and Lithuania outperform MEPs from Latvia. The same is true also when looking at the overall activism. The least active MEP that started mandate on 1st of July 2014 is Grigule-Pēterse (0,03).

Among the most active MEPs that represent the Baltic states in the EP it is visible that they have results above the EU average in almost all of the parameters despite the fact that some of the political activities that MEPs choose to devote their time are not as influential as others when it comes to policy change.

5. Analysis of the parliamentary activity preferences

5.1. Method of classification of parliamentary activity preference

The classification of parliamentary activity preference utilizes the framework by Bíró-Nagy (2016) described in detail in section 2.6. For the purposes of this research, the framework has been modified to include additional classification options.

The total number of parameters used in the classification is 9 and the parameters that determine the classification in either *Policy-oriented* or *Politics-type* group are listed in Table 5.1

Table 5.1 Division of 9 parameters into policy-related and politics-type parliamentary activities

Policy-related parliamentary activities	Politics-type parliamentary activities
Reports as a Rapporteur	Speeches in the plenary
Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur	Motions for resolutions
Opinions as a Rapporteur	Parliamentary questions (PQs)
Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur	Written declarations
Reports amended	-

Classification in a group depends on the number of parameters in which a country or a MEP has results higher than the EU average. For example, if a MEP obtains results in Parliamentary Questions higher than the EU average, then that counts towards being classified as a Politics-type MEP. The same principle applies to parameters of every country and MEP.

The framework by Bíró-Nagy (2016) is complimented by two additional categories for the purposes of this research:

- The category *Politics/Policy* includes the countries or MEPs that cannot be grouped in either the *Policy-oriented* or *Politics-type* due to the results of countries or MEPs not clearly defining the inclusion in either of the two aforementioned groups. This category displays that, although a country or a MEP shows results higher than the EU average in some parameters, it cannot be conclusively grouped in either in the *Policy-oriented* or *Politics-type* groups.
- The category *Neither* includes the countries or MEPs that cannot be grouped in either group if any of the countries or MEPs do not have any of the parameters higher than the EU average.

The requirements for a country or a MEP to be classified in any of the four classifications are as follows:

- To be classified in either *Policy-oriented* or *Politics-type*, the country or MEP in question must have results above the EU average in at least half, or the next closest number to the half mark, of the parameters in any category – in the case of *Policy-oriented* the number of parameters with results higher than the EU average has to be at least 3 and in the case of *Politics-type* the number of parameters with results higher than the EU average has to be at least 2.
- To be classified in the *Politics/Policy* group, the country or MEP in question must have results above the EU average in less than half of the parameters in any category – in the case of *Policy-oriented* the number of parameters with results higher than the EU average has to be 2 or less or in the case of *Politics-type* the number of parameters with results higher than the EU average has to be 1. However, this group also contains countries or MEPs that have any results that are above the EU average in any of the parameters. Additionally, if a country or a MEP has results above the EU average in all of the parameters, the country or MEP in question are categorized in this group.

- To be classified in the *Neither* group, the country or MEP in question must show no results above the EU average in any of the parameters in *Policy-oriented* and *Politics-type*, signifying that these countries or MEPs cannot be grouped in any of the categories listed above. In other words, the result of all parameters must be 0.

5.2. Classification of parliamentary activity preference of WE and CEE countries

The table displays CEE countries and the 6 EU founding states that are divided into 4 types of parliamentary activities where their MEPs show results that are above the EU average. The EU member states that have results in all of the 9 parameters below the EU average are grouped in the section *Neither*, however, the countries with MEPs showing results above the EU average in parameters that are both politics and policy oriented are grouped in *Politics/Policy oriented*.

Table 5.1 Division of countries into 4 types of parliamentary activities

Policy-oriented	Politics-type	Politics/Policy oriented	Neither
Italy	Belgium	France	Germany
Luxembourg	Lithuania	The Netherlands	Latvia
The Czech Republic	Slovakia	Hungary	
Estonia	Slovenia	Poland	

The group *Policy-oriented* includes the following countries: Italy, Luxembourg, the Czech Republic and Estonia. MEPs representing Estonia show results above the EU average in Motions for Resolutions, Speeches in the Plenary, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Reports as a Rapporteur and Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur and Reports Amendments. According to the conclusions from the analysis in Chapter 3, it is reasonable to assume that MEPs representing Estonia are often granted the most

influential position for a MEP regarding policy making, which is being a Rapporteur. For a country that only has 6 MEPs in the EP it is remarkable as most of the MEPs have proved their eligibility for a rapporteurship, which is the most desired position amongst MEPs (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). The next country with results above the EU average in parameters concerning policy is Luxembourg. MEPs representing Luxembourg show results above the EU average in Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Reports as a Rapporteur and Reports Amended. Another CEE country that shows results above the EU average is the Czech Republic, as it shows results above the EU average in Motions for Resolutions, Opinions as a Rapporteur, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Written Declarations, Reports as a Rapporteur, Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur and Reports Amendments. Also, MEPs representing Italy show results above the EU average in various type of parliamentary activities: Parliamentary Questions, Speeches in the Plenary, Opinions as a Rapporteur, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Written Declarations, Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur and Reports Amended. Surprisingly, the EU founding states in terms of policy-oriented activities seem to be lacking, which can be discerned from the results of the research, as these types of activities are of higher importance in the EP regarding policy making if compared to the political type of activities (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:6). These activities are also granted for MEPs that are more experienced in the EP according to Bíró-Nagy (2016).

Regarding *Politics-oriented*, member states show high results in Motions for Resolutions. The high results in this parameter can be justified with this parliamentary activity being one of the activities that MEPs prefer to do in the parliament (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:9). MEPs representing Lithuania show results above the EU average Motions for Resolutions, Speeches in the Plenary and Written Declarations. Two of these – Motions for Resolutions and Speeches in the Plenary – are the most preferred parliamentary activities of MEPs in the EP. Another two countries that show results above the EU average in the politics-type of activities are Slovakia and Slovenia. Both countries show results above the EU average in Motions for Resolutions, Speeches in the Plenary and Written declarations. It should be noted that Slovakia has an above-average result in Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur and Slovenia has an above-average result in Reports as a Rapporteur. MEPs representing Belgium show results above the EU average in almost all of the 9 parliamentary activities: Parliamentary Questions, Motions for Resolutions, Opinions as a Rapporteur, Written declarations, Reports as a Rapporteur,

Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur and Report Amendments. This shows that MEPs can have different parliamentary activity preferences and are not limiting themselves to either politics or policy type of activities. The results in these types of activities indicate that some MEPs have been granted rapporteurship and are focusing not only on political activities. As depicted in the table all countries that show results above the EU average in politics-type of parliamentary activities are CEE countries.

The group *Politics/Policy* includes France, The Netherlands, Hungary and Poland. MEPs representing France show results above the EU average in just two parameters, where one is of politics-type (Speeches in the Plenary), while the other is of policy-type (Report Amendments). The MEPs representing the Netherlands show results above the EU average in two parameters, where both are of policy-oriented Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur and Reports Amended. From the CEE countries Poland shows results above the EU average in two parameters that are of policy-oriented Opinions as a Rapporteur and Reports as a Rapporteur. Another country that could be listed as this type is Hungary, as the country's MEPs have results above the EU average in Speeches in the Plenary. Overall also in this category are represented two CEE and respectively two WE countries. Mostly these countries show results in parliamentary activities that are of policy-oriented.

The group of countries that do not correspond with the requirements of the aforementioned 3 groups, which is appropriately named *Neither*, consists of Germany and Latvia. These countries also display the lowest results of both WE and CEE countries that have been analyzed in this research.

5.3. Classification of parliamentary activity preference of Baltic MEPs

The following table depicts possible parliamentary activities orientations of the Baltic state MEPs based on the research by Bíró-Nagy (2016). The same type of classification used for WE and CEE is also utilized for classifying MEPs from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Additionally, each MEP has the activism index next to their name the first time they are mentioned in this section.

Table 5.2 Division of Baltic states MEPs into 4 types of parliamentary activities

Policy-oriented	Politics-type	Politics/Policy oriented	Neither
Tarand	Paet	Kelam	Grigule-Pēterse
Zīle	Auštrevičius	Toom	Pabriks
	Balčytis	Kalniete	Saudargas
	Blinkevičiūtė	Kariņš	
	Guoga	Tomaševski	=
	Mazuronis	Uspaskich	
	Paksas		
	Ropė		
	Mamikins		

The MEPs that have a *Policy-oriented* profile are Tarand and Zīle. The next MEP in the group is Tarand (2,35), having above-average results in Opinions as a Rapporteur, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Written Declarations, Reports as a Rapporteur and Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur. It is noticeable that Tarand especially devotes time to parliamentary activities that are of policy-type (Bíró-Nagy 2016:6). The next MEP in the group is Zīle (0,85). He has above-average results in Opinions as a Rapporteur, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Reports as a Rapporteur and Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur. Zīle has a strong profile in the parliamentary activities that involve policy making. In this certain class MEPs representing Estonia and Latvia dominate, despite the fact that Latvia as a country does not show above-average results in any of the 9 parameters, however, Latvian representatives individually are showing better results than others when it comes to the important role in terms of the EP of being a Rapporteur.

The group of MEPs that have preference in terms of *Politics-type* activities mainly consist of Lithuanian representatives. The only Estonian MEP in the class is Paet (2,08), however, he has results above the EU average in Parliamentary Questions, Motions for Resolutions, Speeches in the Plenary, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Reports as a Rapporteur and Reports Amended. Auštrevičius (1,59) has results that are above-average in Parliamentary Questions, Motions for Resolutions, Reports as a Rapporteur and Reports Amended. He has the highest results in the parameters of Motions for Resolutions and Reports Amended. Balčytis (1,75) expresses high levels of activism in Parliamentary Questions, Motions for Resolutions, Speeches in the Plenary, Opinions as a Rapporteur, Written Declarations, Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur and Reports Amended. Overall Balčytis express high levels of activism in almost all of the 9 parameters, while focusing more on politics-type activities. The most active MEP among the Lithuanian delegation is Blinkevičiūtė (1,91). She expresses high levels of activism in Written Questions, Motions for Resolutions, Speeches in the Plenary, Opinions as a Rapporteur, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Written Declarations and Reports Amended. Blinkevičiūtė has excellent results in all of the 9 parameters, mostly excelling in parameters that are in connection with political-type activities. Guoga (0,92) has results that are above the EU average in Motions for Resolutions, Speeches in the Plenary and Written Declarations. He has the highest result in Speeches in the Plenary. Mazuronis (0,72) has results above the EU average in Motions for Resolutions and Speeches in the Plenary. The next Lithuanian MEP in the category is Paksas (1,51). His results above the EU average are in Motions for Resolutions, Speeches in the Plenary, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Written Declarations and Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur. In total he shows the highest levels of activism in parliamentary activities that are of political-type. Ropè (1,36) has results that are above the EU average in Parliamentary Questions, Motions for Resolutions, Speeches in the Plenary, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Written Declarations, Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur and Reports Amended. Overall Ropè is a MEP that devotes his energy both for politics-type and policy-related parliamentary activities, but if statistically counted then he has devoted more time for politics-type activities. The only Latvian MEP in this group is Mamikins (1,05). He has results above the EU average in Parliamentary Questions, Speeches in the Plenary and Opinions as a Rapporteur. It is noticeable that Mamikins prefers more the political-type of parliamentary activities. Almost all of the MEPs in this group have devoted most of their time in the EP for tabling motions, which, according to the results, is the most

preferred political-type of activity not only by the MEPs of the Baltic states, but also for MEPs representing other CEE and WE countries.

The class of MEPs in the *Policy/Politics* group consists of two Lithuanian, two Latvian and two Estonian representatives. This is also the second largest group with seven MEPs in it. Kelam (0,96) has results above the EU average in Motions for Resolutions, which shows preference for politics-type activities in the EP. Toom (1,06) shows results above the EU average in Opinions as a Rapporteur and Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur. According to the results displayed in the Graph 5 (Chapter 4) she has outstanding results in Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur and has written a considerable amount of Opinions as a Rapporteur as well (see Graph 4 Chapter 4). Kariņš (0,55) has results above the EU average in Reports as a Rapporteur and Reports Amended and has a result close to the EU average in Written Declarations. The next Latvian MEP is Kalniete (0,46) she has results above the EU average in Motions for Resolutions and a close result to the EU average in Reports as a Rapporteur. Uspaskich (0,34) has results that are above the EU average in Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur. Tomaševski (0,28) has results above the EU average in Motions for Resolution. For MEPs representing this group there is in common that most of them have low rates in the activism measurement.

The *Neither* group, which includes individuals that cannot be classified in the three aforementioned groups, consist of two Latvian and one Lithuanian representatives. From MEPs that started their mandate in 2014 the lowest results are displayed by Saudargas (0,19), Pabriks (0,36) and Grigule-Pēterse (0,03). From MEPs representing Latvia in the EP the least active MEP is Grigule-Pēterse. She only has results in some of the parliamentary activities that are policy-related (Parliamentary Questions, Motions for Resolutions, Speeches in the Plenary and Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur). Pabriks with activism of 0,36 has results closest to the EU average in Reports as a Rapporteur, Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur and Plenary Attendance. Overall, he shows the highest results in policy-type of parliamentary activities (Bíró-Nagy 2016:6). The least active MEP among MEPs that represent Lithuania is Saudargas. He has the result closest to the EU average in Speeches in the Plenary, while his lowest results are all politics-type.

In conclusion, most of the Baltic MEPs devote their time for politics-type activities as not all of the MEPs are granted rapporteurship. MEPs of Lithuania are mostly devoting their time for parliamentary activities that are politics-type or both

politics/policy types, while among MEPs representing Latvia and Estonia most of the MEPs are devoting their time more for policy-related activities or neither. Some of the MEPs representing Latvia and Estonia also devote time for politics-type activities. The number of questions, speeches, amendments, opinions, written declarations and motions for resolutions, the respective coefficients are all statistically insignificant when it comes to the re-nomination of a MEP in the EP (Sigalas, Tiemann 2012:9). From this assumption it can be concluded that some of the parliamentary activities are more influential than others when it comes to possible re-nomination and those activities in many cases are also more time consuming, therefore MEPs that are focused more towards the policy-related activities tend to have lower results in political-type of activities.

6. Conclusions

To the author's knowledge, such research comparing all three Baltic states MEPs with regards to their activities in the EP is done for the first time. This was done by collecting all the data from the website that monitors the daily activities of MEPs in the EP – mepranking.eu. The MEPs are initially categorized by member state, and then the average of all member states is calculated. After the calculations for every member state are completed, the European Union average of member states is calculated for every parameter. The second part of calculations comes in the form of calculating the parameter averages of all MEPs. After that there is analysis for the 6 EU founding states and for CEE countries (including the three Baltic states) that joined the EU in 2004. Additionally, the activism of every MEP, as well as the EU average, is calculated. The measurement of activism is derived from a activism measurement formula.

Among the 6 EU founding states the most active are MEPs from Belgium (1,36) and the least active are MEPs from Germany (0,56). From the CEE countries the most active MEPs are from Estonia (1,44) and the least active MEPs from Latvia (0,49). As according to the results of activism measurement for these two groups of countries it can be concluded that CEE MEPs are showing higher levels of activism than the 6 EU founding states MEPs.

To display the average activism of the MEPs representing the Baltic states the average mark of the 9 parameters of all the MEPs was divided by the average mark of the MEPs of the Baltic states in a certain parameter. Therefore, in the result it was calculated that the most active MEPs from the Baltic states are representing Estonia, with respectively overall activism index 1,44, then follows Lithuania with 0,91 and the lowest activism was shown by MEPs representing Latvia with a result of 0,49. The least active MEP from Latvia is Grigule-Pēterse (0,03) and the most active is Mamikins (1,05). The least active MEP from Estonia is Kelam (0,96) and the most active MEP is Tarand (2,35). For Lithuania the lowest activism index rate has Saudargas (0,19) and the highest activism index rate shows Blinkevičiūtė (1,91).

The third part of the empirical analysis employs parliamentary activities preferences of both CEE and WE countries and the Baltic states MEP as based on the research by Bíró-Nagy (2016). MEPs are divided into four groups of parliamentary

activities – policy-related, politics-type, politics/policy oriented and neither – as based on their results in 9 parliamentary activities: Reports as a Rapporteur, Reports as a Shadow Rapporteur, Opinions as a Rapporteur, Opinions as a Shadow Rapporteur, Reports Amended, Parliamentary Questions (PQs), Motions for Resolutions, Written Declarations and Speeches in the Plenary. As according to the results that are shown in the Chapter 4 from the CEE and WE countries devoting more time for policy-related activities are: Estonia, Italy, Luxembourg and the Czech Republic. CEE and WE countries that are devoting more time for politics-type of activities are: Belgium, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia. Countries that show results above the EU average in politics/policy type of parliamentary activities are France, The Netherlands, Hungary and Poland. Countries that have their results below the EU average in all parameters are: Latvia and Germany.

Baltic State MEPs that are devoting their time more for policy-oriented activities are Tarand and Zile. Baltic states MEPs that are more focusing on politics-type of parliamentary activities are Paet, Auštrevičius, Balčytis, Blinkėvičiūtė, Guoga, Mazuronis, Paksas, Ropė and Mamikins. MEPs that have results above the EU average in politics/policy type of parliamentary activities are Kelam, Toom, Kalniete, Kariņš, Tomaševski and Uspaskich. MEPs that have in all of the 9 parameters results below the EU average are: Grigule-Pēterse, Pabriks and Saudargas.

Overall most of the Baltic states MEPs are devoting their time for politics-type of parliamentary activities. The data shows that for Lithuania both country and most of individual MEP results are in the group of politics-type of parliamentary activities. Regarding Estonia it is visible that while country is in the group of Policy-oriented, only one Estonian is also in this group, while the 3 other MEPs are respectively represented in two other groups politics-type and politics/policy oriented. Latvia is grouped by parliamentary activities in the group of neither the same as two of MEPs representing Latvia in the EP are in this group. Latvia is the only one from the Baltic states that has MEPs in all of the 4 groups of parliamentary activities.

The shortcomings of this research mainly are that it does not explain what is the reason behind MEPs preferences of certain parliamentary activities. The data only contains statistical calculations of parliamentary activities inside in the EP, but as Bírónagy (2016) mentions that also activities outside the EP can be measured equally in terms

of re-election of a MEP in the EP. There are also excluded other factors that could influence the overall activism of the MEPs of the Baltic states, such as age and experience in the EP.

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