

THE TENTH LEGISLATIVE TERM OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: A CHANGE IN THE PROFILE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT?

Victor NEGRESCU

National University of Political Studies and Public Administration
Bucharest / Romania

Abstract

The profiles and backgrounds of the Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) in the tenth legislative term are considered by many to be unique due to changes in European politics, particularly in terms of practices, rhetoric, and methods. The article seeks to discover whether this is the case by analyzing the educational backgrounds, social profiles, professional experiences and political engagements of the MEPs while highlighting the similarities and the differences to the findings of existing studies conducted on the previous terms. It will also explore the links between the profiles of the MEPs and the leadership positions obtained within the institution. The study will use a quantitative methodology and will contribute to existing literature in the field by offering a new perspective on the trends when it comes to political profiles at the level of the European Parliament.

Keywords

European Parliament; European politics; political parties; political profile

1. INTRODUCTION

The study of the background of the political elites has continuously attracted the attention of academics researching for deeper explanations of the democratic leadership. Researchers have examined multiple aspects of the profile of the elected officials including their educational backgrounds, social profiles, professional experiences and political engagements.

The analysis of the profiles of the Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) has represented particular interest since their first direct election in 1979 and the increasing power accumulated through several treaty revisions. After the Maastricht Treaty, the European Parliament became an integral part of the legislative process of the European Union. The decisions of the MEPs have a key impact in various domains of particular importance for EU citizens such as budget, consumer rights, agriculture (Akrill 2000, Czarnecka 2024, Mata 2024) or enlargement (Toderas 2024). The European legislative co-decides on legislation with the Council of the European Union on a significant number of policies (Tsebelis et al. 2001).

Therefore, MEPs have an important role in defining EU legislation directly affecting the lives of EU citizens. Within the academic literature on the study of the profiles of European parliamentarians, the *Harvard dataset on Members of the European Parliament and the study conducted by Eugenio Salvati* represent key references in this specific field of research providing a dense set of data and conclusions on the profiling of MEPs. That is why our article will elaborate on the results of this research designed to reconstruct the professional political background and career of individual MEPs from 1979 to 2019 (Salvati, 2024). Our study will compare those conclusions to the MEPs data that we have extracted from the 10th term of the European Parliament. We will seek to evaluate if the conclusions of Salvati check for this new term, identify the limits of his study and recommend new avenues of research using the specific set of data.

Moreover, the 2024 European elections are considered by many researchers to be unique due to changes in European politics, particularly in terms of practices, rhetoric, and methods. Authors remark the significant presence of populist

parties and MEPs within the new European Parliament (Ivaldi & Zankina 2024), the relative weakness of centrist political forces (Costello 2020), the importance of new topics like the war in Ukraine (Drevet 2024) or the significant transformation of the party and political system within the EU (Guseletov 2024). Our study will consider these perspectives by analyzing and comparing the social, political and professional backgrounds and the access to leadership positions within the European Parliament of the 10th term MEPs.

Within his study, Salvati identifies four key interconnected research themes of MEPs profiles that we have adapted as follows (Salvati 2024):

1. One of the areas he identifies is the study of the variables that influence the performance of MEPs. In our research we seek to evaluate whether the political and personal backgrounds of the 10th European legislative term led us to different conclusions in comparison to his study. We will elaborate on the similarities or changes while adding new variables to the profiling research.
2. His study underlines the importance of gender perspective based on his results and previous academic research. Our study will evaluate whether there is a notable change and additional evolutions when it comes to their access to political positions of influence.
3. His research emphasizes the role of seniority in European politics. Based on the hypothesis that the 2024 European elections have generated a unique outcome in terms of political representation, our study will seek to assess whether there is a new generation of politicians that got access to European politics.
4. Lastly, his study elaborates on the topic of professional politicians. Our research will conclude if based on our dataset we can identify new trends or MEP profile.

Therefore, our study will start by presenting an overview of the academic research in the field by exploring the variables, analysis tools and methodologies that have been used in the analysis of MEPs and political elites' profiles. Afterwards, we will dive deeper into the Harvard Dataset on MEPs political careers by identifying its relevance and the limits while adding new variables that will offer our research a particular perspective. In the last part, we will

focus on the analysis of the 10th European legislative term by elaborating on the similarities and changes in comparison to the conclusions related to previous mandates while adding in our study the new variables that can enable us to better assess the uniqueness of the 2024 electoral outcome in terms of political and MEPs representation.

2. PROFILING THE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: VARIABLES, ANALYSIS TOOLS AND METHODOLOGIES

The European elections represent a very particular electoral moment. The 2024 elections proceedings mobilized over 400 million voters across 27 countries, each with different electoral systems, making it the largest transnational election in the world (Mudde 2024). MEPs are the only directly elected members of an EU institution, making them a vital democratic link between the EU and its citizens. This democratic mandate allows them to represent a wide spectrum of political views, from euro-enthusiasts to Eurosceptics (Gerkrath 2005, Schiatti 2016).

The transition from an appointed assembly to an elected parliament in 1979 marked a significant step in European integration, with MEPs serving as the clearest political expression of the EU's commitment to democratic governance (Hix et al. 2006). MEPs contribute to the dynamic development of the EU by engaging in debates and shaping policies that address contemporary challenges, such as intra-EU migration and the EU's relationship with the UK (Whitaker 2014). They also play a role in fostering cultural diversity and advocating for policies that reflect the diverse interests of their constituencies and their national political parties as seen in different legislative debates (Lindberg et al. 2008; Grünhut 2024).

Salvati's research explores key variables influencing MEP profiling, referencing studies on election type (Beauvallet and Michon., 2010), recruitment formalization (Kelbel 2020), and political promotion (Yoshinaka et al. 2010; Salvati 2024). But this perspective does not take into consideration the fact that

the European elections are often dominated by national issues, with voters relying on domestic topics rather than European policy considerations. This mismatch between the MEPs intended roles and the level of party competition results in a democratic deficit, as the European Parliament fails to effectively represent European citizens' preferences on EU policies (Schleicher 2011).

Moreover, the European elections serve as a platform for new parties and independent politicians, particularly Eurosceptic, populist or policy-based ones, to gain traction. This is partly due to the habit-forming nature of voting, which encourages support for parties that might not be favored in national elections. Young voters tend to have an impact on the outcome depending on their presence and their key policy interests (Stockemer 2020). To what extent the turnout of the 2024 European elections has changed the profiles of the 10th term MEPs is something that we seek to assess in our research.

The use of digital communication by MEPs and European elections candidates is growing. This trend reflects an effort to enhance electoral communication and engage with voters, potentially influencing election outcomes and political strategies (Braghiroli 2010). This trend was of growing importance during the European elections for new candidates, parties and European movements. Social media significantly impacted European elections, particularly since the 2019 European Parliament elections (Fusiek et al 2022). Digital platforms provide new avenues for MEPs to engage with constituents and enhance their political profiles, potentially influencing their leadership roles within the European Parliament (Castillero-Ostio et al., 2023). We might presume that these new tools of communication have led to a growing number of young or less professionalized MEPs.

Salvati continues by exploring the path toward a European career (Verzichelli and Edinger 2005) (Salvati 2016) while talking about European political elites (Verzichelli and Edinger 2005; Whitaker 2014), underlining the diversity of MEPs backgrounds (Stolz 2003) and the nonexistence of a one-way model (Salvati 2024)

However, some authors have concluded that political professionalization can negatively impact political responsiveness and accountability, as it often leads to a closed political elite that is less representative of the general population

(Paneque, 2022). The social classes and categories from which political elites emerge impact their political careers and the interests they represent (Gaxie 2018). Analyzing the background of the MEPs could allow us to see if for the 10th term we still assist in a professionalization of the European Parliament.

Three authors have marked the studies on political elites. Vilfredo Pareto identified the circulation of elites (Higley 2010; Pakulski 2018), Gaetano Masco introduced the concept of political class (Higley 2010; Pakulski 2018) while Robert Michels concluded on the existence of an iron law of oligarchy of the political elites (Higley 2010; Pakulski 2018). Modern academic literature identifies two theoretical evolutions, represented by contemporary expansion such as socio-political dynamics of elites (Parmigiani 2020) and the intersectional approaches that included interdisciplinary methods to address unique challenges faced by specific groups within the elite class (Zapędowska-Kling 2017).

Our study will seek to integrate these new methodological trends in our approach of profiling the Members of the European Parliament elected during the 2024 European elections.

3. THE 10TH EUROPEAN LEGISLATIVE TERM: A CHANGE IN PROFILE?

The *Harvard dataset* on Members of the European Parliament (DMEP) 1979-2019 collected a wide range of data from several EP parliamentary terms, aiming to reconstruct the political career of all the individual MEPs in a temporal frame (Salvati 2024). This is not the first dataset of this kind, other authors having collected demographic data (Michon and Wiest 2021), introduced automatized methods (Hoyland et al. 2009) or seek to elaborate on the individual political background (Corbett et al. 2007) or the parliamentary activities in a singular parliamentary term (Kantola 2022). (Salvati 2024). Some new datasets focus even on particular issues like MEPs meetings (Gorostiza 2024) or their social media accounts and communication (Vliet 2024).

The DMEP dataset identifies three key variables that have also been included in our study on the 10th term MEPs: (1) party membership – country of origin, European Political Group and the national party (2) political background before the election to the EP – with experience or not in politics (3) offices held within the EP – positions within the EP. (Salvati 2024)

In addition to the update, we provide to the database our study has included new variables and will make new considerations on the following points: (1) assessing the profile of newcomers; (2) the turnout level impact; (3) the access to leadership positions; (4) the impact of education and the European personal experience; (5) the impact of their age; (6) the impact of the elections in the member states.

Our study consists in building and analyzing a dataset of the Member of the European Parliament for the mandate 2024-2029. The data have been collected in December 2024 – January 2025 based on the information available on open data websites, including the official portal of the European Parliament. The dataset contains the names and information of the active MEPs during the data collection period (719 members).

This part of our research will seek to build a quantitative analysis of the 10th European legislative term while assessing if there is a change in the profiles of the MEPs. Based on the four interconnected research themes identified by Salvati, we have updated the variables for our study as follows (Salvati 2024):

1. Salvati talks about the variables that influence the performance of the MEP. Our article will seek to evaluate the profiles of the 2024 elected MEPs based on their personal, educational and professional background.
2. A second variable is the gender perspective. We will evaluate the impact of the gender dimension on the political influence within the European Parliament in the 10th legislative term.
3. The role of seniority and professionalization. Our article will assess whether age or seniority still plays a role in the access to key positions in the EP or in the political groups.
4. Patterns of professional politicians. Our study will try to identify existing patterns for the 10th European legislative term.

To conduct this data analysis, we will be using different AI supported tools including Excel AI tools, Copilot or different AI agents supported by OpenAI and ChatGPT.

3.1. The new turnout rate and its political impact

According to available data, the 2024 European elections did not bring any significant changes in terms of turnout, with a small increase in comparison to the 2019 elections. The countries with the highest turnout were Belgium: 90% (+2% from 2019), Luxembourg: 96% (+12% from 2019), Malta: 73%, where the ones with the lowest turnout were Croatia: 20% (-10% from 2019), Lithuania: 28% (-25% from 2019) and Slovakia: 34% (+11% from 2019). 54% of MEPs were newly-elected at the beginning of the mandate (in 2019 the share of newcomers was 61%).

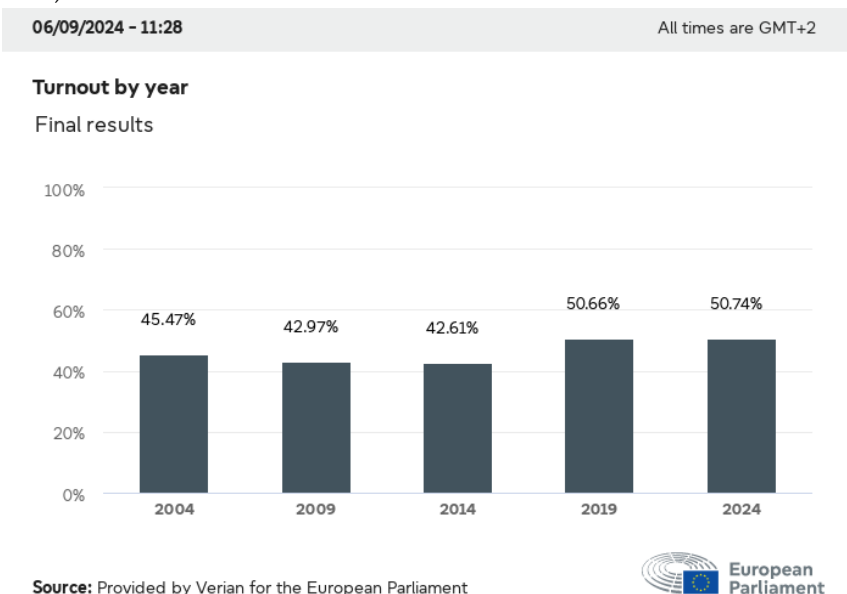


Figure 1. The turnout rate at the European elections (EP source)

This data confirms the conclusion of Salvati that there is no specific trend when it comes to turnout level at European level (Salvati 2024) but also illustrates that at national level there are changes that can have a significant impact in terms of political representation and the profiles of MEPs confirming the key role national parties still play in European politics (Gouglas and Maddens 2017).

Even though the data selected illustrates a significant number of newcomers in the European Parliament (364 MEPs in our dataset), this does not seem to be influenced by the turnout level. The correlation between the number of newcomers in a country and the 2024 voter turnout is extremely low. The countries with the most newcomers in terms of number are Italy, France, Germany, Poland and Spain whereas Portugal, Slovenia and Hungary have the biggest percentage of new members.

Regarding the correlation between turnout and political representation we noticed that left-leaning parties (GUE/NGL, Greens, S&D) tend to be better represented when there is a higher voter turnout, suggesting stronger engagement in their electoral base, whereas centrist groups (EPP, Renew, S&D) have a consistent representation across elections. Populist and nationalist groups (ECR, Patriots for Europe, Europe of Sovereign Nations) and non-attached members (independent MEPs) seem to be helped by lower turnout.

3.2. Profile and Leadership Positions

Authors have analysed the profiles of legislators and the impact it had on their access to leadership positions. They conclude that their political experience and competencies are crucial in determining their leadership roles within the EP (Dodeigne et al 2024).

To assess this situation for the 10th EP legislative term, we will conduct several interrogations on the dataset starting with the political experience that the Members of the European Parliament had prior to their election in the European Parliament.

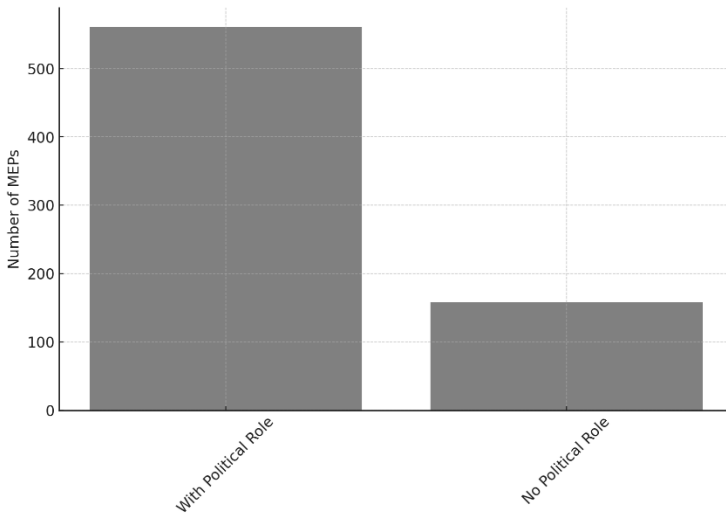


Figure 2. Political experience before being elected in the European Parliament

Our data illustrates that most MEPs held a political role at national or local level before being elected. Many of them were members of the Parliament or local or regional councilors. We conclude that indeed the political experience has been a relevant criterion in their selection and election to the European Parliament.

3.3. Gender representation as a key variable of the 10th European legislative term

The share of women elected in 2024 was 39%, one percentage point less than in 2019. In our dataset, the percentage of women has dropped to 38.7%. Among the newcomers the share of women is higher, 40.4%. Many studies have illustrated the relation between gender and political representation. According to them, women MEPs often possess fewer traditional political resources, relying more on networks to acquire political capital and navigate in the EP (Beauvallet and Robert 2025).

We have therefore interrogated our dataset to see what the correlation between gender and access to relevant and influential political positions is (Ahrens and Kantola 2022). Out of the 278 women MEPs in our dataset, 37.4% have a role in the EP whereas 40.6% have a role in their political groups. This means that 61.5% of all female MEPs hold at least one leadership role. These figures illustrate that out of all MEPs with a role in the EP, women make up 41.1%, and 36% of all MEPs with a role in the party group. Moreover, we discovered that 2/3 of women had a previous political experience at local or national level before being elected in the European Parliament confirming the conclusions of previous studies on the matter (Ahrens and Kantola 2022).

This data shows that women have managed, due also to gender requirements and criteria, to gain a better representation in comparison to their weight in the entire EP. We can conclude that the 10th European legislative term ensures a fair gender representation of political leadership.

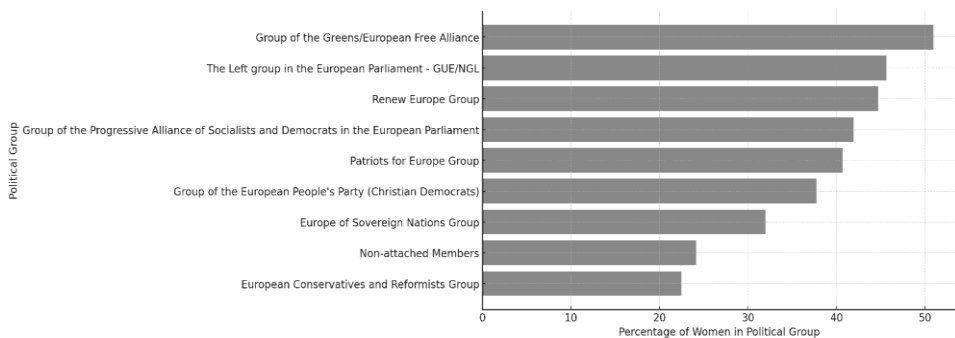


Figure 3. Political representation of women within the different political groups

Precisely for this reason we tried to assess the links between the different political groups and the gender representation in the European Parliament. Data confirms that pro-European and left-leaning parties are keener to have a better gender representation (Chiva 2018)

3.4. Social Profiles

Social background has often been identified as a key criterion regarding political involvement. Researchers have seen education as a variable affecting the political performance and how MEPs engage with political processes (Persson 2015; Mühleck & Hadjar 2023). One of the criteria that has often been ignored, that we consider relevant at European level, is the experience MEPs had working or studying in other countries. We have, therefore, analysed the data to try to identify any correlations between that criterion and access to political leadership.

Based on the data that we could identify, around 1/3 of the MEPs have studied or worked abroad. This experience in other countries could actually constitute an argument in their selection to represent their countries or parties at European level. It is also interesting to acknowledge that many have studies in the United States or the United Kingdom which illustrates the language factor (English) as a catalyzer for success and the fact most of them had a good social background.

More than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the MEPs that have had an international experience had access to an influential role in the EP or in their political group, illustrating how relevant this criterion is in the political success at European level. This kind of experience develops social and language skills and enables MEPs to have a better understanding of cultural diversity and use that effectively in their work.

3.5. The role of seniority and radicalization in the 10th European legislative term

The average age of MEPs in July 2024, when the 10th European legislative term started, was 49 years old. Lena Schilling (Greens/EFA) from Austria (23 years old) was the youngest MEP to be elected, while Leoluca Orlando (Greens/EFA) from Italy (77 years old) was the oldest. The average age of the EP has dropped across elections.

We have therefore realized a profile of the under 40 MEPs to better understand the backgrounds of the younger generation of members of the EP. We notice

that among the 151 MEPs that had under 40 on July 2024, more than half are women, 80% of them have studied or worked abroad, almost half have a party group role, $\frac{1}{4}$ an EP role and that half of them studied law or political science. This new generation of European politicians has similarities but also a few consistent differences to the previous generations, showing a potential swift in terms of profiles of MEPs in the future.

Regarding the profile of newcomers, we acknowledge that they are relatively younger, with an average age of around 47 years (versus 49 years for all MEPs), the gender distribution is quite similar to the rest of the EP, the majority of them had prior political experience, around 50% of them having had a local or national local before their election in the EP. Interestingly, more than 70% of the newcomers did not work or study abroad before being elected and even among those many did so outside the European Union. More than half of the newcomers got access nevertheless to relevant roles in the EP or in their political groups, therefore infirming some of the conclusions of previous studies (Verzichelli and Edinger 2005; Hermansen 2018; Salvati and Vercesi 2018 and 2019; Yoshinaka et al. 2010; Salvati 2024).

With regards the political affiliation, we notice that the highest influx of newcomers are members of the populist and nationalist groups (Europe of Sovereign Nations, ECR, Patriots for Europe) confirming the political trend of these parties, followed by the Left (GUE/NGL), suggesting a renewal in far-left representation. Traditional centrist groups (EPP, S&D, RE) seem to have more stability, with less than half newcomers, whereas the Greens seem to be the most stable despite having lost in terms of overall political representation. This data partially confirms that fringe parties support the reelection of MEPs (Daniel 2015) whereas successful parties tend to support reelection (Hobolt and Hoyland 2011), the case of the greens being an exception.

This pushes us in having a more complex look at the profile of the Eurosceptic MEPs that are now active in three political groups (Europe of Sovereign Nations, European Conservatives and Reformists, and Patriots for Europe). Based on our dataset, it seems that around 70% of them are men, $\frac{2}{3}$ of them have had a previous experience abroad whereas only 20% had access to relevant roles in the EP also due to the containment belt imposed by pro-European

political groups. This confirms the different studies showing the lack of involvement of Eurosceptic MEPs in the EP activity (Brack 2015; Ripoll Servant and Panning 2019).

3.6. Educational Backgrounds

Education serves as a foundational element for MEPs, providing them with the necessary cultural capital to have a meaningful impact in their work equipping them with knowledge, skills, and behaviors essential for political participation and adaptation within the EP (Gaxie & Godmer 2007). The educational backgrounds of MEPs can influence their political involvement and career trajectories (Persson, 2015; Mühleck & Hadjar, 2023). We have interrogated our dataset to elaborate the educational profile of MEPs in the 10th legislative term. Since the vast majority of MEPs have university studies, we focused on their initial formation domain.

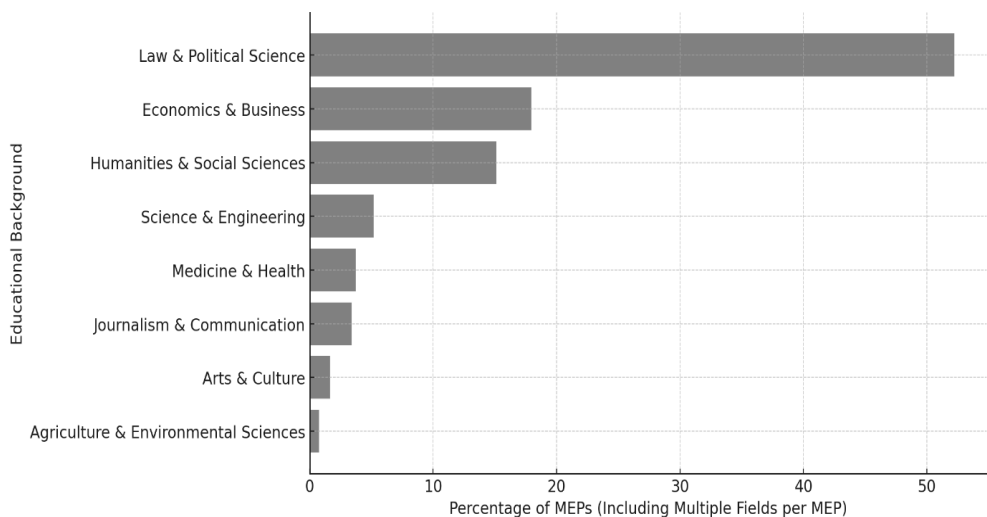


Figure 4. Educational background of 10th legislative term MEPs

Based on the data that was identified, we note that a large number of MEPs from the 10th legislative term have a law or political science educational background followed by economics and social science. We also notice that the more technical and artistic educational profiles are less represented in the European Parliament. Therefore, we have decided to go deeper into our research and explore the relation between educational backgrounds and leadership roles and we discovered that indeed those with a law and political educational background seem also to get better access to those key decision-making positions. There is an even and fair educational representation in leadership positions in the European Parliament.

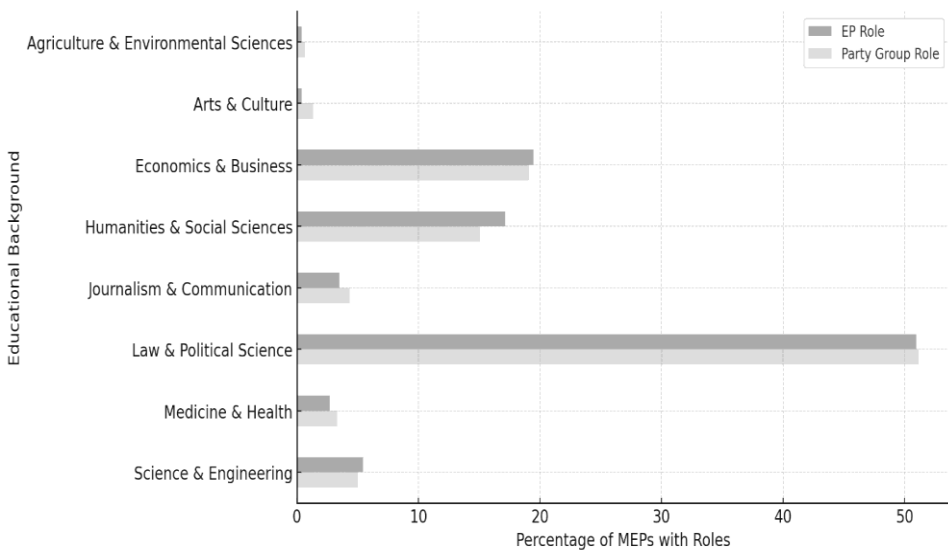


Figure 5. Relation between educational background and leadership role

3.7. The role of the multilevel political arena on the 10th European legislative term

Salvati links the political representation with the Regional Autonomy Index and discovers that members states with the higher RAI are those with the higher number of newcomer MEPs elected. He concludes that MEPs with experience have local and regional experience (65% in 2009, 58% in 2014 and 55% in 2019) (Salvati 2024). This data is partially invalidated by our dataset for the 10th European legislative term that shows that newcomers also have a significant local and national background.

That pushes us to acknowledge the role of electoral laws, of national parties and of the electoral volatility on the political life of the EP (Daniel and Metzger 2018). We have decided to build a chart illustrating the electoral moments (local/regional, national and presidential) in each member state of the European Union and the impact of election frequency on European elections.

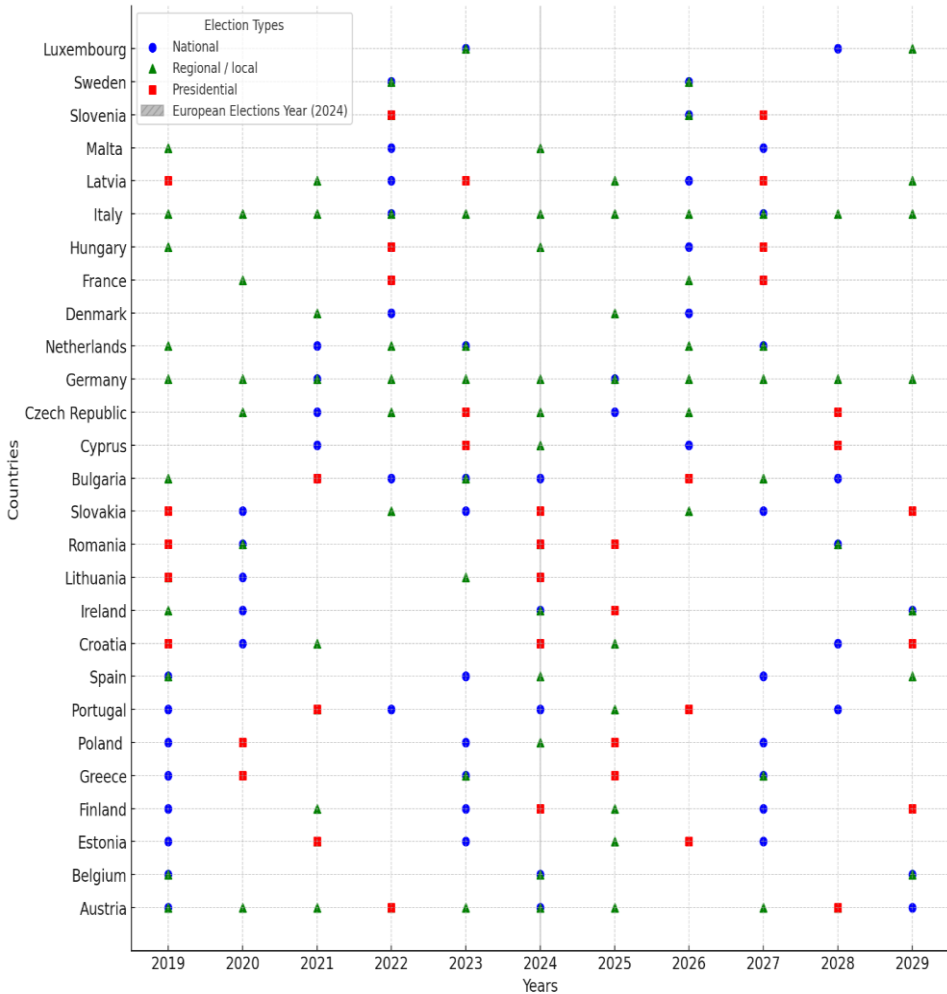


Figure 6. Distribution of elections periods across the European Union

We have correlated this data with the support of AI tools, and we discovered that countries with frequent elections tend to have lower turnout in the European Parliament elections while countries with fewer elections generally have higher voter turnout. This suggests that election fatigue may contribute to

lower participation in European elections, while countries with fewer elections might have more engaged voters. Nevertheless, the correlation between those two variables remains low. At the same time, our data suggests that countries with lower voter turnout tend to have a higher proportion of populist MEPs whereas those with higher voter turnout generally have a lower representation of Eurosceptic MEPs.

These conclusions correlated with the profile of Eurosceptic MEPs and of their political background confirm the growing role of MEPs both for their national parties and their European party groups, balancing domestic political interests with those of the EP (Bíró-Nagy 2016). The EP provides MEPs with opportunities to build strong political profiles, which can be leveraged for career advancement both within the EP and in domestic politics (Bíró-Nagy 2016). These facts require deeper analysis based on a long-term and detailed assessment of the different variables and opens the path towards a deeper analysis and potential future studies.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis of the profiles of the MEPs from the 10th legislative term confirms some of the conclusions from previous studies but also indicates changes and suggests trends that should be assessed in the future. To better understand the added value of our study and the general conclusions we will compare our results with the one obtained by Salvati as mentioned at the beginning of our research (Salvati 2024).

The first conclusion of Salvati was that there is a stabilization of MEPs profiles and a consolidation of a core group of European politicians. Indeed, the rate of change of MEPs is lower than in previous mandates but the 10th European legislative term profiling shows that newcomers managed to gain access to relevant positions within the EP. There is a growing correlation between the national political situation, the level of turnout and the results of the different European political parties that should be analysed deeper.

A second conclusion indicates the gender dimension as key for the EP profile. Our study illustrates a better representation of women leading to a growing influence within the EP, beyond their weight in the total number of members. We also acknowledge the presence of a growing number of women MEPs with a solid political background.

Salvati suggests also that there is a strong connection between the level of political professionalization and the distribution of senior positions within the EP and the stabilization, among newcomers, of the number of political amateurs and of politicians with political experience at the local/regional level only. We can partially infirm this conclusion as long as in the 10th legislative term newcomers managed to get access to top and key positions in the EP or in their political groups. But, as Salvati concluded, most of the newcomers have a previous political experience confirming the existence of political filters before being listed to run for the European Parliament.

Salvati defends the idea of a direct connection between the subnational and European arenas explained by the existence of a federal/decentralized framework of power and authority. He indicates a close link between the different governance levels that determine the existence of a nested political space, and the continuous flow and replacement of career politicians. Indeed, many MEPs had a consistent local or regional background confirming the relevance of the decentralized framework. Our study could not elaborate further on this conclusion due to the lack of updated data on regional autonomy but managed to contribute to the research field with several additional elements based on the new variables introduced in our dataset.

Our study and our dataset show a growing professionalization of the MEP activity. A large part of the members from the 10th legislative term have studied law, political studies or have worked in the political field, including for the European institutions. This trend is the result of the growing complexity of the European decision-making process but also of the growing relevance of this activity at European but also at national level.

A second key additional conclusion is the growing relevance of the experience abroad that starts to become an important argument in the designation of candidates for the European Parliament. Such an experience abroad allows

members to become more effective in their activity in the EP, most of them obtaining for the 10th European legislative term access to key and influential positions in the EP or in their group.

Finally, our study concludes that seniority or age do not have an impact on the access to leadership position within the EP or in the different political groups. Our dataset allowed us to profile those specific groups of MEPs that suggest potential future trends or changes in the MEP profile in particular with regards to gender, age or educational backgrounds.

Our research opens several key debates and potential study areas like the profiling of populists MEPs or the impact of electoral frequency and of the turnout on the political representation in the European Parliament. In conclusion the 10th European legislative term represents a turning point in the evolution of the European Parliament that could either lead to significant changes in the criteria selection of MEPs or confirm the trend towards a deeper professionalization of these legislators.

REFERENCES

- Ackrill, Robert. 2000. "The European Union Budget, the Balanced Budget Rule and the Development of Common European Policies." *Journal of Public Policy*, vol. 20(1): 1-19 (April). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143814X00000738>.
- Ahrens, Petra and Kantola, Johanna. 2022. "Political group formation in the European parliament: Negotiating democracy and gender." *Party Politics*, 29(5): 817-828. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221106295>
- Aldrich, Andrea S., and Daniel, William T. 2020. "The Consequences of Quotas: Assessing the Effect of Varied Gender Quotas on Legislator Experience in the European Parliament." *Politics & Gender*, 16 (3): 738-767. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X19000291>
- Beauvallet, Willy and Michon, Sébastien. 2010. "Professionalization and socialization of the members of the European Parliament." *French Politics*, 8: 145-165. <https://doi.org/10.1057/fp.2010.6>
- Beauvallet, Willy, and Robert, Cécile. 2025. *Political Sociology Perspectives on Lobbying in the EU*. Palgrave Studies in European Political Sociology. 978-3-

031-81328-3. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-81328-3>

- Bíró-Nagy, András. 2016. "Central European MEPs and Their Roles: Behavioral Strategies in the European Parliament." *World Political Science* 12 (1): 147-174. <https://doi.org/10.1515/wps-2016-0004>.
- Brack, Nathalie. 2015. "The Roles of Eurosceptic Members of the European Parliament and Their Implications." *International Political Science Review*, 36 (3): 337-350. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512115571590>.
- Braghiroli, Stefano. 2010. "Politicians Online! MEP Communication Strategies in the Internet Era." *EPIN Working Paper* No. 29. <https://www.ceps.eu/publications/politicians-online-mep-communication-strategies-internet-era>.
- Castellero-Ostio, Elizabet, Serna-Ortega, Álvaro, and Moreno-Cabanillas, Andrea. 2023. [Dataset] *Digital Platforms for Participatory Politics as a Space for Dialogue between Citizens and Public Representatives*. Harvard Dataverse, V1. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/S5RVD8>.
- Castillo Esparcia, Antonio, Almansa Martinez, Ana & Gorostiza Cervino, Aritz. 2024. "European Parliament Commission Meetings: A Comprehensive and Monitored Dataset". Harvard Dataverse, V2. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/DPZQVY>
- Chiva, Cristina, 2018. *Gender, institutions and political representation*. Palgrave Macmillan: London. <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-01177-0>
- Corbett, Richard, Francis Jacobs, and Michael Shackleton. 2007. *The European Parliament*. London: Harper.
- Costello, Rory, Thomassen, Jacques, and Rosema, Martin. 2020. "European Parliament elections and political representation: policy congruence between voters and parties", In: Cristine Arnold and Mark. N. Franklin (eds.) *Assesing Political Representation in Europe*, 10-32. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003061335-2>
- Czarnecka, Marzena, and Zych, Grzegorz. 2024. "Consumer Protection in the European Union" In: Tina Soliman Hunter, Marcin Krasniewski, Jurgita Malinauskaite, Marzena Czarnecka (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Consumer Protection and Behaviour in Energy Markets*, 9-24. Routledge: London. doi:10.4324/9781003375883-3.
- Daniel, William T. 2015. *Career Behaviour and the European Parliament: All Roads Lead Through Brussels?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198716402.001.0001>

- Daniel, William T., and Metzger, Shawna K. 2018. "Within or between Jobs? Determinants of Membership Volatility in the European Parliament, 1979–2014." *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 24 (1): 90–108. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13572334.2018.1444628>
- Dodeigne, Jérémy, Randour, François, and Kopsch, Sophie. 2024. "The (De-)Europeanization of the Political Class in the European Parliament: A Longitudinal Analysis of Members of the European Parliament's Career Patterns (1979–2019)." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, July. Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13643>.
- Drevet, Jean-François. 2024. "The Question of Ukraine's Borders." *Futuribles*, no. 459: 89–96. <https://doi.org/10.3917/futur.459.0089>.
- European Parliament. "Turnout in European Elections 2024." *Results.Elections.Europa.eu*. Accessed 2 March 2025. <https://results.elections.europa.eu/en/turnout/>
- Fusiek, Dawid Aristotelis, Stougiannou, Angeliki Elli, and Efthymiou-Egleton, Theoharris William. 2022. "Digital Democracy and Disinformation: The European Approach to Disinformation on Social Media in the Case of 2019 European Parliament Elections." *Journal of Politics and Ethics in New Technologies and AI*, 1 (1): 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.12681/jpentai.31215>.
- Gaxie, Daniel, and Godmer, Laurent. 2007. "Cultural Capital and Political Selection: Educational Backgrounds of Parliamentarians." In Maurizio Cotta and Heinrich Best (eds.) *Democratic Representation in Europe: Diversity, Change, and Convergence*, 106–135. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780199234202.003.0005>.
- Gerkrath, Jörg. 2005. "Representation of Citizens by the EP: Articles EC 189; Draft Convention I-19, I-45 and III-232 et Seq." *European Constitutional Law Review*, 1 (1):73-78. Cambridge University Press (CUP). doi:10.1017/S1574019605000738.
- Gouglas, Athanassios, and Maddens, Bart. 2017. "Legislative turnover and its sources: it's the selection." *Politics*, 39(1): 101-112. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263395717701161>
- Grünhut, Zoltán. 2024. "Superstate Europe and Europe of Nations: Polarizing Conceptual Trends in European Studies." *Europolity*, 18(1): 107–131. <https://doi.org/10.25019/europolity.2024.18.1.4>
- Guseletov, Boris P. 2024. "Transformation of the EU Political Party System on the Eve of the 2024 European Election." *World Economy and International*

Relations, 68 (3): 34–45. <https://doi.org/10.20542/0131-2227-2024-68-3-34-45>.

- Hermansen, Silje Synnøve Lyder. 2018. "Striving for Influence: The Effect of Performance on Candidate Selection." *Party Politics*, 24(4): 382–396. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068816663036>.
- Higley, J. 2010. "Elite Theory and Elites." In: Leicht, K.T., Jenkins, J.C. (eds) *Handbook of Politics. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research*, 161-176. Springer: New York. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-68930-2_9
- Hix, Simon, Noury, Abdul, and Roland, Gérard. 2006. "Dimensions of politics in the European Parliament," *American Journal of political Science*, 50(2): 494-520. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2006.00198.x>
- Hobolt, Sara B., and Høyland, Bjørn. 2011. "Selection and Sanctioning in European Parliamentary Elections." *British Journal of Political Science*, 41(3): 477–98. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123411000081>.
- Hoyland, Bjorn and Sircar, Indraneel & Hix, Simon. 2009. "Forum Section An Automated Database of the European Parliament". *European Union Politics*, 10(1): 143-152. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116508099764>.
- Ivaldi, Gilles and Zankina, Emilia (Eds). 2024. *2024 EP Elections under the Shadow of Rising Populism*. European Center for Populism Studies (ECPS). October 29, 2024. Brussels. <https://doi.org/10.55271/rp0059>
- Kantola, Johanna and Miller, Cherry, 2022. "Eternal friends or jubilant brexiteers? the impact of brexit on uk meps' parliamentary work in the European Parliament," *JCMS Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61(3): 712-729. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13424>
- Kelbel, Camille. 2020. "'I Bend, Indeed, but Never Break': Formal Rules and Informal Processes of Candidate Selection for European Elections." *Party Politics*, 26(1): 135–146. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068818754602>.
- Lindberg, Björn, Rasmussen, Anne, and Warntjen, Andreas. 2008. "Party Politics as Usual? The role of political parties in EU legislative decision-making", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15(8): 1107-1126. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760802407623>
- Lühiste, Madelaine, and Kenny, Meryl. 2016. "Pathways to Power: Women's Representation in the 2014 European Parliament Elections." *European Journal of Political Research*, 55(3): 626–641. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12144>.

- Mata, Fernando, and Dos Santos, Maria. 2024. "European Citizens' Evaluation of the Common Agricultural Policy." *Sustainability*, 16(10) 3970. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su16103970>.
- Michon, Sébastien, and Wiest, Lars. 2021. "A Database About the Members of European Parliament: Contributions and Limitations of Automated Data Collection in the Study of European Political Elites." *Bulletin of Social Methodology/ Bulletin de Méthodologie Sociologique*, 152: 125–141. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07591063211040235>.
- Mudde, Cas. 2024. "The 2024 EU Elections: The Far Right at the Polls." *Journal of Democracy*, 35 (4): 121–134. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2024.a937738>.
- Mühleck, Kai, and Hadjar, Andreas. 2023. "Higher Education and Active Citizenship in Five European Countries: How Institutions, Fields of Study and Types of Degree Shape the Political Participation of Graduates." *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 18(1): 32–54. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17454999231157160>.
- Pakulski, Jan. 2018 "Populism and Political Elites." *Zoon Politikon*, 9: 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.4467/2543408XZOP.18.001.10057>
- Paneque, Andreu. 2022. "Are they one of us? The effect of political professionalization on the political elite's social closure and the principal-agent problems, 1978–2019." *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 42: 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02606755.2022.2139889>.
- Parmigiani, Alberto. 2020. *The Political Power of Economic Elites in Contemporary Western Democracies: A Literature Review. Overcoming Inequalities in a Fractured World: Between Elite Power and Social Mobilization*, UNRISD Working Paper 2020-14. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/278141/1/1798334046.pdf>
- Persson, Mikael. 2015. "Education and Political Participation." *British Journal of Political Science*, 45 (03): 689–703. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123413000409>.
- Ripoll Servent, Ariadna, and Panning, Lara. 2019. "Eurosceptics in Trilogue Settings: Interest Formation and Contestation in the European Parliament." *West European Politics*, 42 (4): 755–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2019.1575639>.
- Salvati, Eugenio. 2016. "Towards an European Parliamentary Class? A Proposal for a Typology of the MEPs." *Journal of Comparative Politics*, 9(1):

59–74.

<https://www.proquest.com/openview/ce96504a7189c0114d7fedb6b0abecd1/1?cbl=426376&pq-origsite=gscholar>.

- Salvati, Eugenio and Vercesi, Michelangelo. 2018. "Party Organizations and Legislative Turnover: Signals of an Unstable Parliamentary Class?" *Italian Political Science*, 13: 82-94.
<https://italianpoliticalscience.com/index.php/ips/article/view/28/27>
- Salvati, Eugenio and Vercesi, Michelangelo. 2019. "Party Euroscepticism and the Conditions for Its Success: Conceptualization and Explanation." *Quaderni di scienza politica*, 26: 299-328.
- Salvati, Eugenio. 2024. "Members of the European Parliament's Political Careers across Different Levels: Presenting a New Dataset of Members of the European Parliament." *Political Studies Review*, 22 (1): 32–54.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/14789299221135239>.
- Salvati, Eugenio. 2022. "Dataset on Members of the European Parliament (1979-2019)." Harvard Dataverse, V5. Accessed January-March 2025.
<https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/V2FJEF>.
- Schiatti, Elena. 2016. "The Democratic Legitimacy of the European Parliament: Citizens' Representation within an Ever Closer Union", MA Thesis, University of Strasbourg.
<https://repository.gchumanrights.org/handle/20.500.11825/214>.
- Schleicher, David. 2011. "What If Europe Held an Election and No One Cared?" *Harvard International Law Journal*, 52(1): 103–129.
<https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1525015>.
- Stockemer, Daniel, and Amengay, Abdelkarim. 2020. "The 2019 elections to the European Parliament: The continuation of a populist wave but not a populist tsunami" *JCMS Journal of Common Market Studies*, 58: 28-42.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13077>.
- Stolz, Klaus. 2003. "Moving Up, Moving Down: Political Careers across Territorial Levels." *European Journal of Political Research*, 42(2): 223–248.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.00081>
- Toderaş, Nicolae. 2024. "Romania's Role in EU Enlargement: Challenges, Opportunities, and Strategic Preferences for the Republic of Moldova's Accession." *Europolity*, 18 (2): 159-180.
<https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.5061369>.
- Tsebelis, George, Jensen, Christian B., Kalandrakis, Anastassios, & Kreppel, Amie. 2001. "Legislative procedures in the European Union: An empirical

- analysis." *British Journal of Political Science*, 31(3): 573–599. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123401000229>.
- van Vliet, Livia, Chueri, Juliana, Törnberg, Petter, and Uitermark, Justus. 2024. "Political Groups over National Parties: Measuring the Europeanization of the Political Arena through MEPs' Twitter Interactions." *Party Politics*, 30 (3): 479–492. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688231158486>.
 - Verzichelli, Luca and Edinger, Michael. 2005. "A Critical Juncture? The 2004 European Elections and the Making of a Supranational Elite." *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 11(2): 254–274. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13572330500166618>.
 - Whitaker, Richard. 2014. "Tenure, Turnover and Careers in the European Parliament: MEPs as Policy-Seekers." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21 (10): 1509–1527. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2014.926963>.
 - Yoshinaka, Antoine, McElroy, Gail, and Bowler, Shaun. 2010. "The Appointment of Rapporteurs in the European Parliament." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 35 (4): 457–486. <https://doi.org/10.3162/036298010793322384>.
 - Zapędowska-Kling, Kaja. 2017. "Intersekcjonalność w Polityce Społecznej, (Intersectionality in social policy)" January. *Społeczeństwo i ekonomia (Society and Economics)*, 2(8): 20–34. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego we Wrocławiu. DOI: 10.15611/sie.2017.2.02.