***Nil* Points, *Douze* Points, and Everything In Between:**
An Analysis of Political Voting Bias in the Eurovision Song Contest

Anna Boulos
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Advisor: Dr. Judith Kelley
Sanford School of Public Policy
Master's of Public Policy Program
Duke University

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Abstract

Most viewers assume voting in the Eurovision Song Contest (ESC) is politically motivated, but few empirical studies have addressed political voting bias. If these claims have any validity then Eurovision voting results would provide meaningful insight into European public opinion and the degree of assimilation amongst contest participants. This study examines political voting bias by estimating what predicts votes from participating countries across voting systems using data from 1989 – 2012, as well as numerous song, performance, and country variables. The findings suggest voting is politically biased, although song popularity is significant and predictive of voting behavior. The results further indicate that contest participants form into smaller regional voting blocs and are statistically likely to vote for their neighbors. This study supports the claims of political voting and that Eurovision voting patterns are meaningful indicators of public opinion and inter-regional relations.

Policy Question

Is voting in the Eurovision Song Contest politically biased? What do the biases in Eurovision voting tell us about European public opinion and intra-continental relations?

1. Introduction

The Eurovision Song Contest, also called Eurovision or the ESC, is an annual competition between member broadcasters in the European Broadcasting Union (EBU). While the contest is technically between member broadcasters, each broadcaster represents a country, making Eurovision a competition between countries. The Contest started in 1956 to promote cultural unity as Europe pursued economic and political integration. Although many people now perceive Eurovision as a kitschy, frivolous event, the contest has undoubtedly grown into a key European cultural icon and one that promotes European unity (Allatson 2007). Moreover, it is highly politically charged, particularly in regards to whether countries vote for one another. As a 2012 Telegraph article states, "One night of Eurovision says more about European politics than a year of debates in the Strasbourg parliament" (Nelson 2012). Importantly, even though it is called *Euro*vision, countries from Asia and the Middle East regularly participate; in 2012, there were 42 participating countries. The enlargement of the competition calls into question the definition of Europe and what it means to be European.

Eurovision offers insights into European politics and public opinion; however, the contest is not meant to be political (Yair 1995) and the EBU staunchly denies these claims. Despite widespread allegations that Eurovision is political and that song quality does not matter, few studies have addressed this issue. Understanding whether voting is political is important for the EBU, participants, and fans; it also provides valuable insight into European identity and relations. For the purposes of this paper, political bias means voting that is not driven by song or performance characteristics; political bias does not just refer to the political relationships between countries, but also includes social, cultural, and normative ties. This project aims to address the political bias of Eurovision voting by examining voting behavior of participants from 1989 – present, with an emphasis on televoting since 1997. First, I provide a brief overview of the contest before explaining its political and cultural significance within Europe. Then I discuss the importance of resolving potential biases in the voting structure, as well as previous studies on this topic. After providing this background, I outline my hypotheses and methodology for testing political bias. Lastly, I provide the results and discuss their implications for the contest.

2. Overview of Eurovision and the Rules of the Contest

Eurovision is annual song competition between member broadcasters of the European Broadcasting Union. Each country submits an original song, which is performed live at the televised competition. While performers typically represent their home country, an artist does

not have to be a citizen of the country; for example, Celine Dion, a Canadian citizen, performed and won for Switzerland in 1988.

Since 1999, songs may be in any language and most are performed in English. Under the EBU rules, "The lyrics and/or performance of the songs shall not bring the Shows, the ESC as such or the EBU into disrepute. No lyrics, speeches, gestures of a political or similar nature shall be permitted during the ESC. No swearing or other unacceptable language shall be allowed in the lyrics or in the performances of the songs. No commercial messages of any kind shall be allowed" (2012 Eurovision Song Contest Rules, 1.2.2.G). Though this rule prohibits political songs, countries have performed politically charged songs or used the contest for political purposes.

The number of participants varies, but 25 countries usually participate in the final. After the performances, countries vote for their favorite songs, but they cannot vote for themselves. Each individual country awards points to ten different countries; the ten votes are valued 1-8, 10, and 12. The country with the most points wins. Country votes are based on a national jury vote and a general public televote. National juries are made up of music industry officials; under the EBU rules, national jury members must pursue one of the following professions: radio DJ, artist, composer, lyricist, or music producer (ESC Rules, 1.3.1).

The voting structure has changed over the years. From 1956 – 1996, only juries awarded points. In 1997, five countries implemented televoting, and from 1998 – 2008 countries exclusively used televoting, although occasionally some countries used juries for technical reasons. Beginning in 2009, individual country votes have been split 50/50 between the jury and televote. The move to the split vote was motivated by claims of political voting. As will be discussed, countries were upset because televoters were not voting for songs based on their quality, but rather their country of origin. The split vote addressed the concerns of member countries. Under the split vote, each jury member secretly ranks his/her ten favorite songs. The individual votes are combined to create a total jury vote, where the most preferred song receives 12 points and the tenth ranked song receives one point. For the televote, the song with the most televotes receives 12 points and the song with the tenth most votes receives one point. The jury vote and televote are then combined and the ten countries with the highest combined votes receive points. Twelve points are given to the country with the highest combined score and one point is given to the country with the tenth highest combined score.

With the breakup of the Soviet Union the number of participating countries increased. In 1989, there were 22 competing countries; in 2012, there were 42 participants. Because the EBU limits the number of countries that can be in the final, they began using semi-finals in 2004.[1] The semi-finals are structured like the finals and the ten countries with the most votes qualify for the final. Five countries – France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and the UK – automatically qualify because they are the EBU's biggest financial contributors. Also, the country that wins automatically qualifies for the next year's final and hosts the competition.

In addition to these rules, it is worth noting that Eurovision is synonymous with kitsch and camp. The stereotypical songs are mediocre universal pop songs discussing themes of love or world peace. Songs not sung in English have gratuitous English to give them universal appeal and many lyrics are simply syllables, e.g., "la-la-la." To make the performance more appealing there is usually dancing and many contestants wear costumes or sequins. For these reasons, people do not consider Eurovision to be highbrow culture, which, for many viewers, may be the basis of its appeal

[1] Prior to 2004, when there were too many participants the countries that had received the lowest number of points in the previous year did not qualify for the finals.

2.A. Eurovision's Importance in Europe

The ESC is deceiving because while it appears to be frivolous, the contest is undoubtedly a key cultural event in Europe. How countries choose to represent themselves in Eurovision is suggestive of their relationship with Europe (Sandvoss 2008; Wolther 2012) and how other countries react to these performances, through televoting, reflects their opinions of that country. As a result, many countries on the periphery of traditional European borders use the contest as a platform to assert their "European-ness." Smaller countries cannot compete geopolitically with the more powerful European countries, but in Eurovision they have equal footing; thus, these countries see Eurovision as a gateway to Europe (Jones 2011). In fact, Latvia and Estonia used their experience hosting Eurovision as part of their bid for EU membership (Wolther 2012).

Countries on the periphery of Europe are most anxious to assert their European identity because it is contested (Tobin 2007). Moreover, with over 125 million viewers, Eurovision entries are effectively advertisements or PR messages for each country. For example, Ukraine's 2012 entry, *Be My Guest*, was about hosting the 2012 UEFA Euro Cup and was controversial inside Ukraine because the performer, Gaitana, was half-Congolese. A right-wing party official said of Ukraine's entry, "Millions of people who will be watching will see that Ukraine is represented by a person who does not belong to our race. The vision of Ukraine as a country located somewhere in remote Africa will take root" (qtd. in Karpyak 2012). The overt racism is lamentable, but the comment illustrates that countries believe Eurovision is a way to demonstrate their compatibility with Europe.

Dovetailing these arguments are claims that Eurovision is political.[2] The contest is considered political in different ways; for example, Eurovision can be used as a political tool or platform or the contest itself can alter a country's political climate[3] (Wolther 2012). However, the most prominent political aspect of Eurovision is the voting structure. Again, political voting here is not just related to international politics or governance, but any voting that is motivated by non-song factors, which includes specifically political votes. For example, many believe the UK's act in 2003 finished the competition with zero points because of the UK's involvement in the Iraq War, with the British commentator Terry Wogan stating that the UK was "suffering from post-Iraq backlash" (BBC 2003).

For the most part, though, political voting is likely cultural or social. Since countries cannot vote for themselves many people believe countries vote for their neighbors, allies, or countries with shared heritage and culture, e.g., Scandinavian countries. It is unsurprising that individuals in countries would vote for the country's neighbors or that expat populations would vote for their home country because they have cultural and social ties and, as will be discussed, studies have examined different aspects of neighborly, patriotic, and political voting (Spierdijk and Vellekoop 2006; Yair 1995; Ginsburgh and Noury 2008). The EBU denies these claims, but they are generally accepted among viewers. If these claims have any validity, then Eurovision's voting patterns offer insight into European public opinion and relationships between countries.

The enlargement of Eurovision is, to a certain extent, analogous to the expansion of Europe and the EU. Voting patterns may reflect perceptions about European enlargement and

[2] For an additional discussion of politics and Eurovision see Appendix A.

[3] For example Ukraine's 2005 entry was a celebration of the Orange Revolution. More recently, Eurovision brought Azerbaijan's undemocratic practices and human rights abuses to the public's attention.

integration. Western European countries used to dominate the competition, but with the breakup of the USSR, they have lost their prominence. Viewers assert, though it has not been shown statistically, this is because Eastern European countries vote amongst themselves (Georgiou 2008). In Britain, for example, public cries to leave the competition surface every year because the newer countries vote politically amongst themselves; or, in the words of Terry Wogan, the British Eurovision announcer, "We won the Cold War but we lost Eurovision" (Savage 2007).

Just as Eastern European countries vote within themselves, Western European countries have historically done so as well (Yair 1995). Similar to the claims of neighborly and patriotic voting, different regions, e.g., Western and Eastern Europe or the Balkan and Nordic countries, are likely to vote for one another because they have shared cultures and links to one another. Voting patterns post-expansion are suggestive of public opinion regarding intra-European relations and regionalism. If there is little voting between the East and West then political and economic integration may be outpacing cultural integration; moreover, voting patterns may also reflect regionalization with Europe, e.g., Balkans and Scandinavian rather than a simple East-West divide.

For countries on the periphery of Europe, voting for 'traditional' European countries may be a sign of wanting to join "Europe" and, likewise, receiving votes from 'traditional' European countries is a sign of acceptance. Estonia raised this very issue in an analysis of voting patterns included in its 2000 Human Development Report: "Have generous scores from our geographical-cultural neighbors contributed to an excellent song and appropriate performer, or does the reason for our success lie in our natural affiliation with Europe? Is it that Estonia is part and parcel of modern cultural Europe and possesses the skill to stand up and be noticed even before economic and political integration?" (Estonia Human Development Report 2000, 68).

2.B. Eurovision and European Relations

Eurovision literature is consistent with the larger scholarship on European relations and it is likely that potential voting biases reflect intra-European relations. As will be discussed, studies on ESC voting found evidence of voting blocs (Gatherer 2006; Yair 1995). Europe, too, is composed of "macro-regions" or communities, e.g., Baltics or Balkans, and thus the presence of these blocs in Eurovision, particularly in regards to the televote, demonstrates the prominence of these regions on an individual level. Moreover, the voting blocs support the idea of "kin-country" syndrome, outlined in Huntington (1993), where countries that are alike based on their civilization form coalitions; the strength of voting blocs suggest these coalitions operate at grassroots levels within countries. Scholarship on macro-regions within Europe indicates "mental barriers" exist between Eastern and Western regions (Agh 2010). Although this research has not been applied to Eurovision, these mental barriers are consistent with the claims that Eastern and Western European countries, as well as smaller, regional voting blocs, vote within themselves.

In his seminal work, Edward Said (1978) argued that Western Europe viewed other cultures as an "other," and scholars have since argued this paradigm still applies in regards to former-Soviet countries (Hagen 2004) and the Balkans (Mishkova 2008), with these regions being understood in terms of their contrast with Western Europe. In an analysis of EU relations with the Balkans, Kentrotis (2010) describes the EU's attitude toward the Balkans as "tolerance

of a necessary evil" (64). In a study of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP),[4] Agh (2010) found that the ENP was more successful in endeavors in Eastern Europe than its policies with Southern Europe and that programs in the "Danube region" and Western Balkans are still in their early stages. These relationships would suggest limited inter-regional voting in Eurovision.

In a comparison of Balkan countries, Subotic (2011) found that while Croatia is undergoing identity convergence with the EU, Serbia is exhibiting identity divergence, which explains the different trajectories of EU-accession in these countries. In a study of Euro-skepticism in former-Soviet countries, Beichelt (2004) found that Euro-skepticism was high in the Czech Republic and Poland, but relatively low in Lithuania, Hungary, and Slovenia. Thus, it is not just the West's negative association with the East, but also skepticism in the East about Western Europe, which could influence voting patterns.

Applying this analysis to Eurovision, the extent to which Western European countries vote for these countries on the "periphery" of Europe could indicate how much the West views them as an "other." Similarly, whether these non-Western European countries reciprocate and how they perform suggest the degree of identity convergence or divergence with the West; this is consistent with the Eurovision scholarship that claims countries use Eurovision as a platform to assert their "European-ness." The analysis of Eurovision voting, particularly the televote, will therefore complement these studies.

It does seem, owing to "mental barriers," that Western European and EU countries would be unlikely to vote for the countries and regions outside of traditional Europe and vice versa. Further, given that Europe is broken up into different regions, regionalism likely influences voting so that countries within a region vote for others in the region, e.g., Norway is more likely to vote for Sweden or Denmark. Beyond just those regions, there is also likely to be an East-West divide so that, continuing with the Norway example, Norway is more likely to vote for a non-Nordic Western European country than a non-Nordic Eastern European country. Accordingly, the claims about political voting in Eurovision, as well as the literature on intra-European relations, suggest there could be an East-West divide in Eurovision voting because televoters will be more likely to vote for countries within their region.

2.C. Potential Voting Biases Need to be Better Understood

While the political nature of voting may be informative about European relations, these potential biases also need to be addressed because they affect the meaning of the contest. Winning Eurovision through regional voting blocs, rather than universal support and song quality, matters for the cultural reasons just discussed. Hosting the contest, too, has important economic benefits in terms of tourism and country marketing (Fleischer and Felsenstein 2002). The Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs valued hosting the ESC in 2002 at US$1 billion (Wolther 2012). On a more immediate level, these biases are important for the contest organizers and participants. After all, the EBU claims the purpose of the contest is to "promote high-quality original songs in the field of popular music, by encouraging competition among artists, songwriters and composers through the international comparison of their songs" (qtd. in Haan et al. 2005). Eurovision is an important symbol of European unity; if there is little inter-regional voting then Eurovision may not be the unifying event that it claims to be. The presence of political biases undermines the true spirit and purpose of the competition.

[4] The ENP is a commission of the EU designed to strengthen relations with countries outside of the EU.

Participating countries and viewers have expressed outrage over the allegedly unfair voting structure. In 2007, Dutch politicians and journalists started an initiative to create their own song contest for only EU countries that would be held on May 9th, Europe Day (Cendrowicz 2007). In that same year, Malta asked the EBU to ban certain countries from televoting until they can be monitored and a British MP put forward a motion to change the voting system because it was "harmful to the relationship between the peoples of Europe" (MaltaMedia 2007). The EBU responded to these complaints by implementing the split vote in 2009. The reintroduction of the jury aimed to mitigate possible political voting concerns because professional juries are more likely to vote based on the song rather than non-song factors, e.g., neighbor or patriotic voting. However, the jury may be biased or may not fully offset the alleged political biases of televoters. In fact, after the 2012 competition hundreds of viewers in the UK asked the BBC to withdraw from the competition (Gayle 2012) and Turkey withdrew from the 2013 contest because of the voting structure and automatic qualification of the Big Five countries (EurovisionTimes 2012).

Owing to Eurovision's cultural importance and the anger voiced by member states, it is essential that the EBU recognize potential biases so that it can make the contest more equitable. First, though, it is necessary to discern if, and to what extent, voting is politically motivated, or motivated by anything other than song characteristics. Political voting is a hallmark of the competition, but it is far from empirically proven. Determining if voting is politically motivated will not only illuminate intra-European relations and be useful for future research, but it will also allow the EBU to rectify the voting system and address concerns about the contest's legitimacy.

3. Current Literature on ESC Voting

As mentioned, studies have examined potential voting biases in the ESC; however, there is no consensus about political voting. In his analysis of voting patterns from 1975 – 1992, Gad Yair (1995) first discovered voting blocs. Specifically, he found participating countries formed five key cliques,[5] which translated into three main voting blocs: the Western bloc (England, Ireland, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Malta, Luxembourg, and Israel), the Northern bloc (Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Belgium), and the Mediterranean bloc (Italy, Greece, Spain, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Monaco). Countries that were not in cliques, such as Austria, Finland, and Portugal, had very little chance of winning. Austria and Portugal have not won the contest, although Finland won in 2006, which may be a result of shifting voting blocs.

In a later study, Yair (1996) explored deeper into the voting blocs and the hegemony of the Western bloc. He found significant within-bloc voting, but when countries not in the Western bloc voted outside their bloc, most votes were directed to the Western bloc, making it the most universal and dominant. An important conclusion of this study was that the only way to break the Western bloc's hegemony was to appear universal and attract surplus votes from other blocs. This means countries that promote their own culture or cater to their bloc's cultural preferences are unlikely to win; again reaffirming the universal identity of the contest. Importantly, this study was conducted before the expansion of the contest so the residual votes

[5] The first was Ireland, Malta, and Luxembourg; the second was Turkey and Yugoslavia; the third: Italy, Spain, Monaco, and Greece; the fourth: England, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Israel, and France; the fifth: Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Belgium. Austria, Finland, and Portugal were not part of any cliques.

may not be directed at the West. Owing to the "mental barriers" residual votes from bloc members could go to countries in the wider region, e.g., Eastern or Western Europe.

Following Yair's (1995; 1996) findings, other studies have attempted to explain voting patterns. A study by Fenn, et al. (2006) looked at voting as a dynamic network and found the existence of voting cliques in the contest. The study found a strong correlation between Greece and Cyprus – unsurprising to any Eurovision viewer – Bosnia and Turkey, Belgium and the Netherlands, France and Portugal, as well as a cluster between the Nordic countries. Interestingly, despite the UK's complaints about political voting, Fenn's analysis found that the UK had the greatest number of links and was therefore "more in tune with Europe" (9). Sweden and Malta were also "in tune," whereas France and Spain were "out of tune."

Ginsburgh and Noury (2008) examined voting patterns from 1956 – 2003. They argue that, apart from song quality, linguistic and cultural factors explain voting behavior[6] and that vote trading and singer characteristics were insignificant. Unlike the other studies, Ginsburgh and Noury examined song quality and found it was significant but not the sole determinant of votes, which undermines the EBU's position on political voting.

Gatherer (2006) found the existence of many voting blocs using Monte Carlo simulation to determine if voting patterns were biased. The Balkan bloc emerged in the early-90s with the break-up of Yugoslavia and has since developed into a huge 11-country bloc, incorporating many non-Balkan countries. According to Gatherer's findings, the Balkan bloc includes: Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Greece, Cyprus, and Romania. He identifies a Viking bloc made up of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; and a Warsaw bloc made up of Poland, Ukraine, and Russia.[7] Given the size of these blocs and that countries can only award ten votes – and considering the findings of Yair (1996) – countries have fewer residual votes to give, which may explain why claims of political voting have become more prominent because these blocs are large and influential. Importantly, countries that are not in a bloc have to compete for the residual votes and are at a significant disadvantage.

A study by Spierdijk and Vellekoop (2009) found that geographical factors, measured in terms of latitudinal and longitudinal distance, were significant in explaining voting behavior from 1975 – 2003. The authors also controlled for religion and ethnicity – although they only used the Turkish diaspora for ethnicity – as well as cultural and linguistic differences using the same measures as the Ginsburgh and Noury (2008). They found geographical factors influenced voting for 14 out of 36 countries. Religion influenced voting in five countries and countries with a Turkish population were more likely to give Turkey points, which they termed "patriotic voting." In terms of language and culture, juries tended to vote for songs in a similar language and from a similar culture as their own, which is consistent with the cultural voting in Ginsburgh and Noury (2008). When examining the years 1998 – 2003, i.e., the years using televoting, many of these biases were more pronounced. In terms of the level of significance and coefficient, religion, language, culture, and patriotic voting played a bigger role under the televote than the jury vote.

Haan, Dijkstra et al. (2005) looked at differences in Eurovision voting to see if juries were better judges of quality than the general public, particularly in regards to order of

[6] For a given country X, the authors measured quality as a function of votes that came from countries not in X's voting bloc and not country X itself. They measured linguistic differences using Swadesh's lexicostatisical method and cultural differences were measured using Hofstede's four dimensions.

[7] Many former Soviet countries have since joined the contest so the Warsaw Pact is likely a more powerful bloc.

appearance. The authors found that the order of appearance biases jury votes; songs performed later in the competition do better than those that perform earlier, with the exception of the opening act. The authors also tested whether juries or televoters exhibits greater bias using data from 70 national song finals for Eurovision. Consistent with Spierdijk and Vellekoop (2008), the authors found televoters were more biased than juries based on the order of appearance. In this way, non-quality factors influenced both the juries and televoters, but non-quality factors more heavily influenced televoters. This is consistent with complaints about televoters and the need to bring back the juries and suggests the split vote should exhibit less bias than the televote.

The academic literature on Eurovision demonstrates the lack of consensus about voting biases in the contest. These studies focus on certain biases, leaving an incomplete picture of the contest; moreover, many of the studies were either published before, or do not incorporate, more recent voting. This study addresses these concerns by incorporating cultural, linguistic, political, musical, and performance characteristics. The analysis includes voting data from 1989 – 2012, with an emphasis on voting from 1997 – 2012. As will be discussed in the methodology section, the analysis includes song popularity rather than song quality because quality cannot objectively be measure. By including all these variables and more recent contests, the study aims to show the extent and evolution of voting biases, as well as the efficacy of the split vote in combating them. In the next section, I provide my hypotheses about the political voting in Eurovision and then outline my methodology for testing these hypotheses.

4. Hypotheses

Based on the previous studies of Eurovision and European relations discussed in sections two and three, I offer the following hypotheses about voting in Eurovision:

1. Song popularity will be a positive and significant predictor of votes, but it will not be the sole significant predictor.
2. Even after controlling for popularity and other song and performance characteristics, political variables will be significant predictors of votes.
3. Countries will be more likely to vote for their neighbors and expat populations will vote for their home country.
4. Countries in a voting bloc will be more likely to vote for other bloc members, while countries outside the bloc will not have a statistically significant relationship with the bloc.
5. Countries will be more likely to vote for their macro-region, i.e., either Eastern or Western Europe. An Eastern European country, for the most part, will not be unlikely to vote for a Western European country, but it will be more likely to vote for an Eastern European country and vice versa.
6. Professional juries, while still biased, will exhibit less bias than televoters.

5. Methodology

5.A. Voting Data

To test the potential biases in Eurovision voting I examine voting data from 1989 – 2012. This time period incorporates the break-up of the Soviet Union and expansion of the contest, as well as three distinct voting systems: exclusive jury vote from 1989 – 1997, exclusive televote from 1998 – 2008, and 50/50 split from 2009 – 2012. The bulk of the analysis focuses on the difference between the televote and split voting systems because many of the newer entrants did not participate under the exclusive jury vote; moreover, the purpose of this inquiry is to assess voting bias and public opinion through the televote. The exclusive jury votes are primarily used to provide a baseline assessment of voting preferences, particularly in regards to song and performance characteristics.

The data includes the votes for individual countries as well as aggregate totals. However, the analysis focuses on votes from individual countries and differentiates between televotes, jury votes, and split votes received. Specifically, it looks at differences between televotes from country Y and votes received under the split system. Country voting data was taken from *The Complete Eurovision Song Contest Companion 1999* (Gambaccini, Rice et al. 1999) and Eurovision's official website: eurovision.tv.

5.B. Song and Performance Characteristics

Song and performance characteristics should be the only predictors of a country's vote. I consider a country's vote to be biased if any non-song or performance characteristics are significant, either positive or negatively, predictors of votes. For that reason, numerous song characteristics are included in the analysis.

Song quality should be the most important determinant of voting, but quality cannot be measured objectively. Other studies measured quality by aggregating votes from non-bloc countries, assuming the country is in a voting bloc; however, given that political voting has not been empirically proven and that blocs may shift, it is premature to subtract votes from potential bloc members. Moreover, using votes as a quality measure when testing for voting bias allows for substantial endogeneity bias. Because quality cannot be measured, I examine song popularity. Popularity and quality are distinct, but if a song is popular it at least means that people like it and are listening to it.

My measure of popularity looks at the number of YouTube views for songs. To do this, I searched the song name, artist, and Eurovision into YouTube and tallied only the top three links that showed up based on vote counts and videos that actually showed the song. For example, many times videos included multiple songs from either that year or from the specific country, but I did not include this in my analysis. Because there are so many viewers, I performed a log-linear transformation and standardized the number of views for each year, since more recent songs had more views than older ones. It is likely that because a song won the contest it had more views; however, this was not always the case. For some years, non-winning songs had more views; nonetheless, this measure may be somewhat endogenous, particularly for the years before YouTube was created. This is not an entirely objective measure of popularity because

some populations may be more inclined to watch their country's songs, but since YouTube is available internationally, it does lessen concerns of individual country bias.[8]

Language has a significant effect on voting (Spierdijk and Vellekoop 2006; Ginsburgh and Noury 2007). Because songs have been sung in dozens of languages – including imaginary languages – I focus on songs that are performed in English versus songs in other languages. Most songs are now in English and for this reason, the distinction between an English and a non-English song is appropriate.

Before 1999, songs had to be performed in a country's official language, which put many countries at a disadvantage. To overcome language barriers and make songs more universal many songs had nonsense lyrics, which are essentially just repeated syllables such as "la-la-la." Countries also used token words often in English or French, such as "bye-bye baby," "rock me baby," or "je ne sais quoi." I include dummy variables for nonsense lyrics and token words.

Although there are many lyrical genres, the analysis focuses on two types of songs: love and non-unity.[9] Love songs are by far the most common in the competition, which is why this genre is included; these include songs about relationships, break-ups, having a crush, or the importance of love. Non-unity songs celebrate the performer's own culture or only discuss his/her own nation; create political divisions or highlight divisions of nation-states; celebrate a single other culture, e.g., the U.S.; or blame another country for something. Song lyrics and translations were taken from the Diggiloo Thrush website,[10] which is a database of Eurovision songs and has been used in many of the previously cited studies. Whenever possible the song genre was cross-referenced in Gambaccini, Rice, et al. (1999), in *The Eurovision Song Contest: The Official History* by O'Connor (2010), or any other relevant literature.

There are three song types: ballad, mid-tempo, and upbeat. Upbeat songs have become more popular since the introduction of televoting and therefore the song type may influence voting. Song information was gathered from the BBC's EuroHistory website.[11] I include a dummy variable for songs with rap sequences because many people think rap songs do not perform well in the contest. The EuroHistory website also includes information about the type of act – solo, duo, or group – as well as the gender(s) of the performer(s) – male, female, or both.

Because of accusations that race affects outcomes (Heller 2007; Wootton 2012), I include a dummy variable for minorities. Minority will only mean racial minorities because it is unlikely the average voter will know if the performer has a different kind of minority status – e.g., sexual orientation or religion; further, it is unlikely sexual orientation will adversely affect outcomes because many in the LGBT community see the ESC as something that promotes and celebrates their culture (Tobin 2007).[12] The minority variable will also only apply to main performers; minority back-up singers or dancers are not included. Back-up singers/dancers have different levels of visibility, which could bias outcomes.

Because many countries use Eurovision as a way to celebrate their culture, I include dummy variables for ethnic music and ethnic costumes. Ethnic music is difficult to measure objectively, as it is music that reflects a country's historical or cultural roots (Bjornberg 2007), and in that way the measurement of variable may be biased. If a song used traditional

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[8] I considered using chart rankings and CD sales, but this information is not readily available and varies by country.

[9] I originally used seven categories of song/lyric genre: love, living life, religious, non-unity, unity, music, and other. These categories stemmed from the literature on Eurovision as well as a thematic analysis of the lyrics.

[10] http://www.diggiloo.net/

[11] http://www.bbc.co.uk/eurovision/eurohistory/

[12] Eurovision is so closely associated with the LGBT community that when the contest was held in Azerbaijan, Iran withdrew its Ambassador because the tolerance of homosexuals constituted anti-Islamic behavior (Telegraph 2012).

instruments or beats, e.g., Greece's *My Number One*, then it was considered ethnic. Many countries have also performed "exotic" songs; these are songs that represent another country's historical or cultural roots, e.g., Yugoslavia's 1991 entry *Brazil*. Because Eurovision is often used to celebrate culture, countries may react differently to a country promoting its own versus another's culture. Whenever possible I cross-referenced previous Eurovision literature to assess the "ethnic" or "exotic" dimensions of songs.

I include many performance variables. In addition to ethnic costumes, I have a variable for non-ethnic costumes, which included performances were the singer is not dressed as him/herself by wearing the wardrobe of another occupation, e.g., a doctor, dressing as something non-human, e.g., a monster or robot, or wearing an outfit to increase the theatrical value of the performance. I have a dance variable for when the performer dances or has backup dancers.[13] I include an instrument variable if the performer plays an instrument on stage. There is a prop variable for when the performance uses props. I also include variables for pyrotechnics, strobe/flashing lights, and wind machines.

Eurovision has many stereotypes and the extent to which a country adheres to them may influence outcomes. Many of the above-mentioned variables try to capture these stereotypes, but I could not incorporate all of them. Most importantly, I could not objectively code for a kitschy or campy song. Kitsch and camp are undoubtedly huge aspects of Eurovision, but, like quality, they are subjective and are not included in the analysis.

5.C. Country Variables

Since voting may be politically biased, which is voting not driven by song or performance characteristics, I include binary country variables in my analysis, e.g., Spain or Portugal. These measure fixed effects in voting. For example, they measure whether Spain likes voting for ballads and because Portugal has a high proportion of ballads the countries exchange votes, or if Spain tends to vote for Portugal regardless of song type.

The study by Spierdijk and Vellekoop (2009) found religion to be important so I include religion variables: Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, and Orthodox.[14] I control for whether a country votes for another because they share one of those four religions. For this, I include a country's official religions(s) and any religion practiced by at least 10% of the population; this information was gathered from the CIA World Factbook 2012, except for countries that no longer exist, such as Serbia and Montenegro and Yugoslavia, in which case I used older versions of the World Factbook. I use the 10% cutoff because that is a substantial minority in the population and each country is able to allocate 10 different point values.

Looking at expat Turkish populations, Spierdijk and Vellekoop (2009) argued that diaspora or "patriotic" voting was significant. I include a dummy variable for immigrant or foreign national populations. Unlike religion, patriotic voting has a much more direct link to a specific country and for that reason I use a lower threshold of 2.5%.[15] The foreign national information was also taken from the CIA World Factbook 2012.

[13] I do not consider swaying to be dancing.
[14] Israel is the only country that would be classified as Jewish; therefore it was not included in the analysis.
[15] For example, there are multiple Catholic countries, which does not provide a direct link to a single country, whereas a German citizen of Turkish descent has a direct link to Turkey.

Because Eastern and Western Europe are broad terms that do not have a uniform definition, I look at possible East-West divides by looking at smaller regional blocs. Using Gatherer's (2006) analysis of voting patterns as a starting point, I developed key voting blocs or regions.[16] The Balkan bloc consists of Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Romania, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, and Slovenia, as well as Yugoslavia and Serbia and Montenegro for the relevant years.[17] The Nordic bloc includes Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Denmark, and Finland. Gatherer (2006) indicates the three Baltic countries – Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania – are integrating into the Nordic bloc; however, I examine the Baltic countries separately because they could be considered part of the Nordic bloc, as well as the former-Soviet bloc. For this reason, I treat the Baltics separately with the intent to parse out if these three countries are aligning themselves more closely with either region

While Gatherer (2006) found a "Warsaw Pact" bloc of Poland, Ukraine, and Russia, I include a variable for seven of the ten former-Soviet countries: Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine, and Belarus.[18] I changed the Warsaw Pact because many of the former-Soviet countries did not participate for the years included in his regression. I also use a variable for the Big Five countries: Germany, Spain, France, Italy, and the UK. These countries automatically qualify for the finals, which may influence outcomes because viewers do not hear these songs before the final, whereas the other songs have been performed in the semi-finals. More importantly, though, these five countries represent traditional Western Europe.

I include a dummy variable for EU members. In terms of EU membership, since I am using data 1989 – 2012, a country will only be defined as a EU-member for the years it was a member, rather than for all years, which may reflect acceptance and integration after the country becomes an official member. Although the EU spans Eastern and Western Europe, for many of the earlier years it only includes Western European countries. Also, because there are allegations of neighborly voting (Clerides and Stengos 2006), I have a dummy variable for neighbor for each individual country, e.g., Albania neighbor or Belgium neighbor.

5.D. Statistical Model

Taking the song, performance, and country characteristics I estimate what predicts votes from individual countries using a linear regression model. The unit of analysis is each entry, which is a song-country dyad. The dependent variable is the number of points country Y awarded, with the performance, song, and country characteristics as the independent variables. The coefficients of the regressions reflect the number of points that country Y is likely to award for each independent variable.

The analysis will produce predictions for each country that has participated in the competition, although because some countries only participated a few times, e.g., Czech Republic, they are not included in the analysis. Moreover, since not all countries participate every year the data is unbalanced. I have dummy variables for whether the country participated and was eligible to receive votes from the dependent variable country. The EBU introduced semi-finals in 2004, which provides more competitions to test voting bias; accordingly, I

[16] I do not include his bi-country voting blocs such as the Netherlands – Belgium or Spain – Andorra.

[17] Gatherer (2006) included Cyprus and Turkey in the Balkan bloc, which I do not because they each only have one country linking them to the bloc (Greece and Bosnia, respectively) and geographically these countries are not in the Balkans. I also included Bulgaria in the bloc because it is traditionally considered a Balkan country.

[18] Again, the Baltic countries are treated as their own bloc for the bloc analysis.

incorporate semi-final voting. The regressions will only include countries that participated and eligible to receive votes so as not to bias the data.

Apart from the YouTube popularity variable, all other independent variables in the regression are binary. Because the view counts were so large, I took their natural log before standardizing the view counts per year. After transforming the variable, I could not reject the null hypothesis that it was normal under the skewness/kurtosis, Shapiro-Wilk, or Shapiro-Francia tests of normality. I also used robust standard errors for all regressions to mitigate any potential heteroskedasticity in the analysis.

This statistical model illustrates the voting biases of individual countries towards blocs and specific countries. For the purpose of the analysis, significance is defined at the 5% level. In terms of voting blocs, I ran regressions on whether, for example, Cyprus is more inclined to vote for any of the blocs. The bloc analysis informed the individual country analysis, e.g., Cyprus may be more likely to vote for the Balkan bloc because Greece is a member and not because of the other Balkan countries.

Regarding individual countries, the analysis shows, for example, if the UK likes certain songs or if they just like voting for Ireland. Thus, if the coefficient for a country or bloc variable is positive and significant, it suggests there is political voting bias and that country Y is more likely to vote for that country or bloc, e.g., if being Ireland significantly predicts receiving votes from the UK, the UK has a positive bias toward Ireland. Conversely, I define that a country is unlikely to vote for another country or bloc if the coefficient is negative and significant. The same is true for song and performance characteristics; for example, if ballads have a negative and significant coefficient for country Y, then that country is less likely to vote for ballads and vice versa. It is important to note that having a positive (or negative) bias does not mean country Y will definitely (or never) vote for the recipient country or bloc. Rather, the bias suggests that given the certain song and performance characteristics, country Y is either more or less inclined to award points to the recipient country.

Not all countries have the same bias, but the prevalence of voting bias indicates whether the EBU needs to reevaluate the current voting system. Moreover, looking at these biases on the aggregate will provide insight into public opinion; for example, it is meaningful if all Balkan or Nordic countries exhibit the same preferences or if the majority of EU countries are unlikely to vote for non-members. Thus, looking at voting preferences at both the macro and individual country levels reflect public opinion about the other countries or blocs.

6. Results

The results found significant evidence of political bias across countries, blocs, and voting systems. As mentioned, I focus on the difference between the televote and split voting systems since the purpose of this inquiry is to assess political biases amongst televoters and the difference between the split and televote systems is the reintroduction of the jury. I ran regressions for each country using song, performance, and bloc variables. The bloc variables included: Balkan, Nordic, EU, former-Soviet, Baltic, and Big Five countries. The results of the bloc and individual country analysis support the hypothesis that political variables are significant predictors of votes. In this section, I offer the results of neighborly and patriotic voting regression and each voting bloc. A discussion of the song and performance characteristic results is included in appendix C.

I provide a map of the countries that were statistically likely and unlikely to vote for each bloc; however, because the analysis includes over 40 countries I do not have a map for each individual country results. The complete results for each voting bloc, including the country coefficients for the tables, are provided in appendices F through K.

6.A. Neighbor and Patriotic Voting[19]

The results of patriotic and neighborly voting support the hypothesis that countries vote for their neighbors and expat populations vote for their home countries. The individual countries and coefficients for neighbor and patriotic voting are included in appendix E and the country codes used in the tables are provided in appendix D. Of the 24 countries under the televote that had expat populations, 12 were statistically more likely to vote for their home country; so, for example, Germany is likely to vote for Turkey because it has a Turkish population. No countries with expat populations were significantly unlikely to vote for their home countries. The degree of patriotic voting, even with a 2.5% threshold, suggests that expat populations have a strong allegiance to their home country.

The regression under the split vote included 21 countries with expat populations and eight were more likely to vote for the home country; all eight were likely to under the televote, meaning the split vote reduced the number of biases but not the composition. This may mean the jury is biased in favor of these countries or the televoters are sufficiently biased so that the home countries are still awarded points under the split system. Either way, the split system offset some of the bias of the televote, but not the majority of it.

Under the televote, 11 countries were more likely to vote for their neighbors and only one country, Belgium, was unlikely to vote for its neighbors. Under the split, six countries were more likely to vote for their neighbors; these six countries were all likely to under the televote. No country under the split was unlikely to vote for its neighbor. It bears mention that some countries, apart from Belgium in the televote, do not vote for their neighbors. For example, Azerbaijan and Armenia are unlikely to vote for one another, but as a whole most countries are not significantly unlikely to vote for their neighboring countries. Again, this is consistent with the claims that countries vote for their neighbors.

6.B. Balkan Bloc

Under the televote, eight countries were statistically more likely to vote for Balkan states after controlling for religion, neighbors, and expat population when appropriate.[20] As figure 1 illustrates, the majority of these countries (six) were members of the Balkan bloc, which supports the hypothesis that bloc members are more likely to vote for other members. Austrian and Turkish televoters were the only ones more likely to vote for the Balkans. Both countries have ties to the Balkans through geographic borders and/or expat populations.

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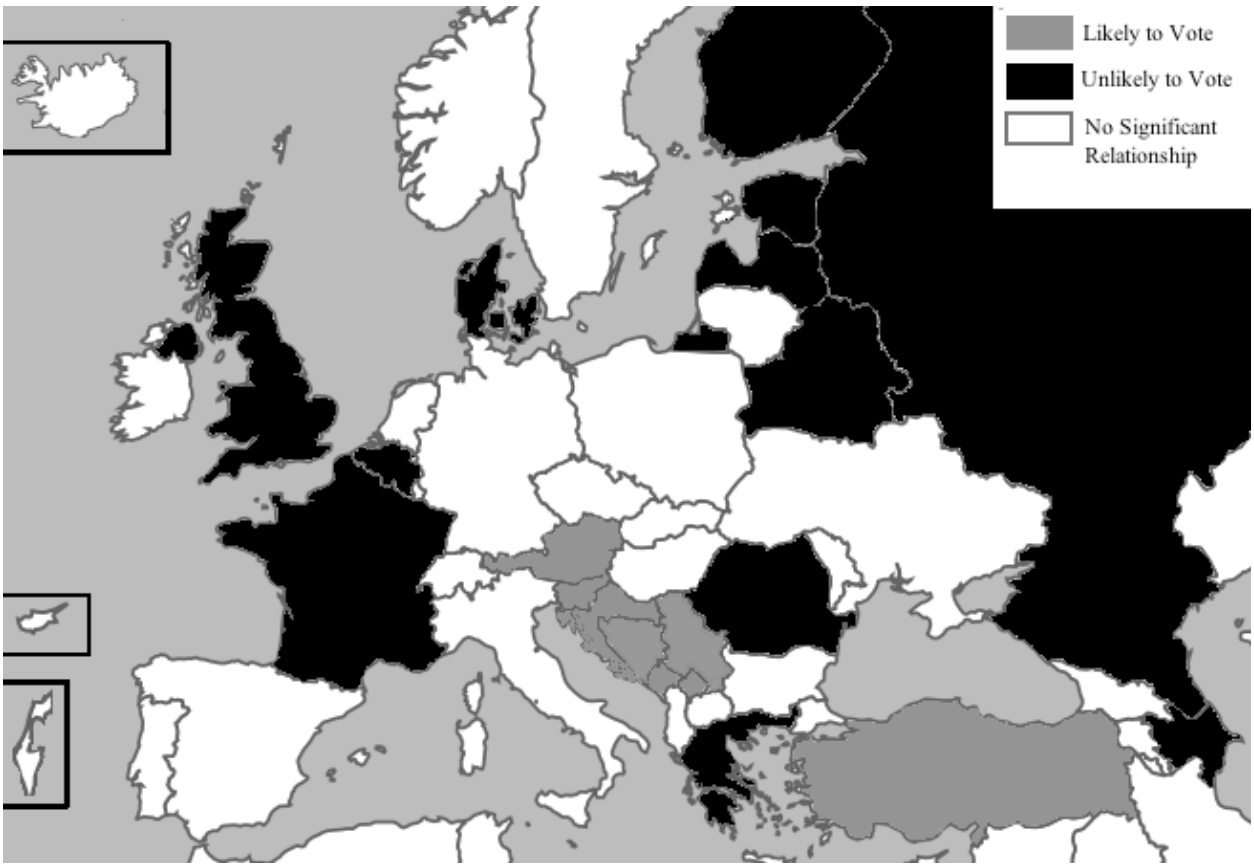
[19] I also controlled for religion. Six televoting countries were likely to vote for countries with shared religions: Bosnia, Greece, Iceland, Romania, Switzerland, and Turkey. Three were unlikely: France, Malta, and the UK. Religion represents shared culture and is important, but it is not the focus of this analysis.

[20] If there was perfect overlap between diaspora, religion, and neighbor variables then one of the variables was dropped. The neighbor variable was dropped if countries had no neighbors. Also, if there was only one country in population, religion, or neighbor then the variable was dropped, as it would just measure the specific country.

Figure 1. Countries' Relationship with the Balkan Bloc under the Televote



Individual Balkan countries were likely to vote for one another. With the exception of Romania, every Balkan country had at least one positive and significant bias from another bloc member.[21] In total, the Balkans had 38 cases of positive internal bias under the televote. Serbia and Macedonia were recipients of six positive biases, while Albania, Bosnia, Croatia and Montenegro each received five, indicating the Balkan countries have strong links to each other.

Thirteen countries were statistically unlikely to vote for the Balkan bloc under the televote, two of which – Greece and Romania – are Balkan countries. Ten of the 13 countries, including Greece and Romania, are EU countries and mainly from Northern or Western Europe.[22] The results are inconsistent with the hypothesis that non-bloc countries would not have a bias toward another bloc, as 12 non-bloc countries exhibited a bias, 11 of which were negative. Nonetheless, the results are consistent with the notion that the ENP has not been successful in the Balkans and that the EU views the region as a "necessary evil" (Kentrotis 2010). Further, the findings suggest Greece and Romania do not have strong ties to the Balkan bloc and may be assimilating with EU countries while dissociating themselves from the bloc.

Outside of the bloc, only one Soviet country was likely to vote for a Balkan country – Moldova was likely to vote for Romania – while the Soviet bloc had six cases of negative bias.

[21] Slovenia had one positive bias from a Balkan country (Montenegro). Slovenia's position in the EU may underscore the lack of voting or the fact that it does not see itself as a Balkan country (Bunic and Sabic 2011).
[22] The ten countries: Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, France, Greece, Iceland, Latvia, Poland, Romania and the UK. The other three countries are Andorra, Armenia, and Russia.

Nordic countries were only more likely to vote for Bosnia and Serbia, whereas Nordic bloc members were unlikely to vote for six other Balkan states. Notably no Baltic country was likely to vote for any Balkan country, but the Baltics were unlikely to vote for five Balkan countries. These results suggest the Nordic, Baltic, and Soviet blocs have a predominately negative relationship with both the Balkan bloc and many individual Balkan countries.

Figure 2. Countries' Relationship with the Balkan Bloc under the Split Vote

Under the split system, six countries were more likely to vote for the Balkan bloc; four were bloc members, as well as Turkey and Cyprus. However, Turkey was only more likely to vote for the Balkans because of its relationship with Bosnia; after controlling for Bosnia, Turkey was not statistically likely to vote for the bloc. In terms of non-Balkan countries, Austria and Switzerland were likely to vote for five Balkan countries, but not the bloc. Apart from these two Western countries, there were only four instances of a positive bias from Western country for a Balkan country, two of which were for Romania. Again, the results are consistent with the academic literature that argues the Western relationship with the Balkans is not very strong.

Under the split vote, Finland was the only country unlikely to vote for the Balkan bloc. Looking at individual countries, there were only 18 cases of negative bias toward the Balkans, one of which was internal and one from a Soviet country. Western countries accounted for 15 of

these negative biases.[23] The split vote decreased the number of biases but it offers a more stark contrast in terms of an East-West divide.

The Balkan bloc results suggest political bias exists. Balkan countries were much more likely to vote for one another than non-bloc countries, supporting the claim that bloc members vote for themselves. Many countries – roughly one-third – were significantly unlikely to vote for the Balkan bloc. These countries are primarily from Western and Northern Europe, which may suggest that greater distances translate into fewer votes, and it also supports the idea of "mental barriers" (Agh 2010) between Eastern and Western Europe. The majority of the thirteen countries are EU members and since most of the Balkan countries are not in the EU, there may be bias between members and non-members; especially considering that Greece and Romania were less likely to vote for other Balkan countries. Lastly, the difference between the voting systems indicates that the split system, and therefore reintroduction of the jury, mitigated much of the negative bias against the Balkans. On an individual country level, the split system more than halved the absolute number of biases against the Balkans from 141 to 64, which supports the hypothesis that televoters are more biased than the jury.

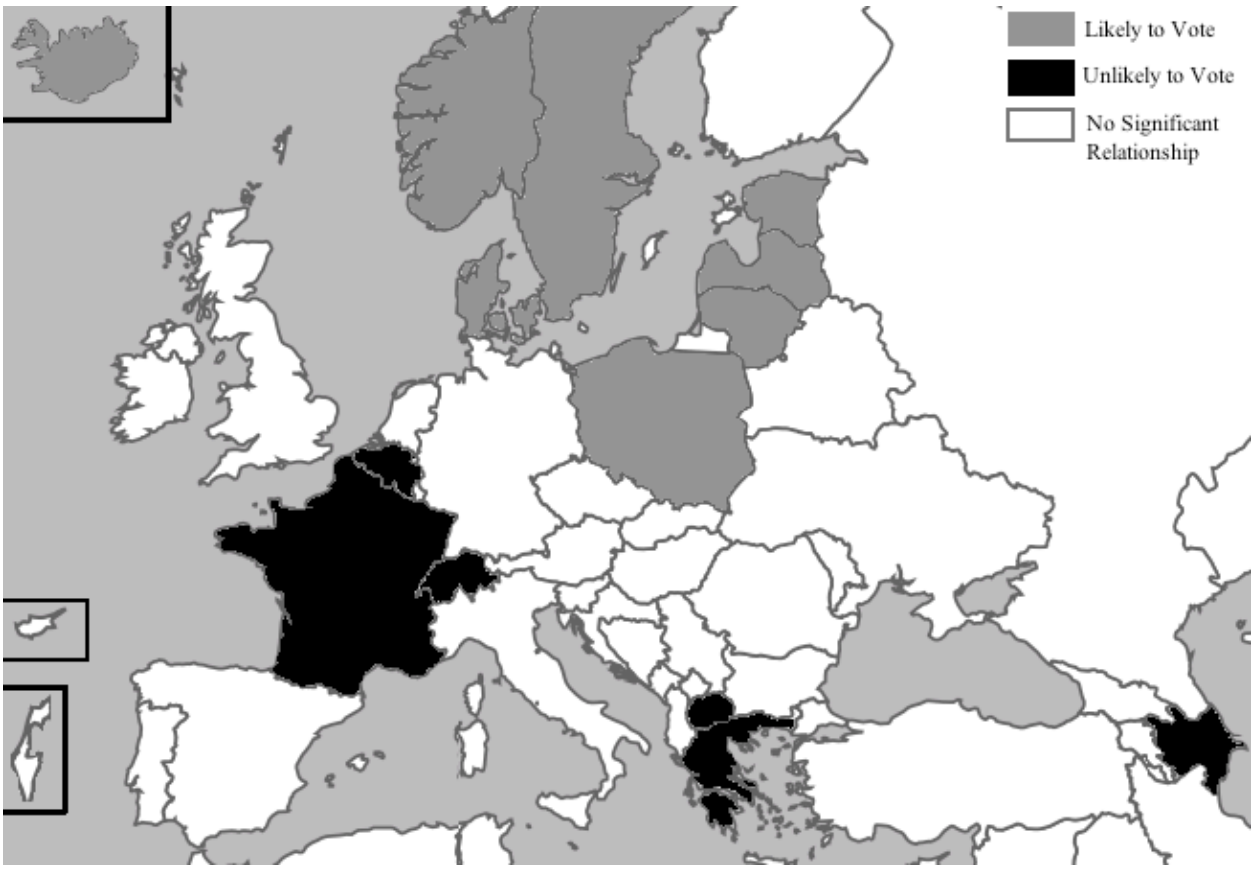
6.C. Nordic Bloc

As figure 3 on the following page illustrates, nine countries were more likely to vote for the Nordic bloc under the televote. Four of the nine were Nordic states. Finland was the only Nordic country unlikely to vote for the bloc, although on a per country basis Finland was likely to vote for Norway, Iceland, and Sweden. The three Baltic countries were likely to vote for the Nordic bloc. Baltic countries were likely to vote for every Nordic country except Iceland, which supports Gatherer's (2006) analysis that the Baltic bloc is aligning with the Nordic countries. Interestingly, no other Western country was likely to vote for the Nordic bloc and no Soviet or Balkan country was likely to vote for the Nordic bloc. Two Soviet countries were likely to vote for Norway, but no Balkan country was likely to vote for any Nordic country.

Six countries' televoters were significantly unlikely to vote for the Nordic bloc. Three of the countries were Western – Belgium, France, and Switzerland – two were Balkan, and one was Soviet. In terms of individual countries, Soviet and Balkan countries each had three cases of negative bias against Nordic countries. Considering that Soviet and Balkan countries did not have a positive relationship with the Nordic bloc, these findings suggest a negative, rather than neutral, relationship between the blocs. Moreover, since the Nordic countries are part of Western Europe, this supports the idea of an East-West divide.

[23] Four of the biases were from the Nordic countries; six were from Western countries and five from the Big Five.

Figure 3. Countries' Relationship with the Nordic Bloc under the Televote



Looking at the split vote, seven countries were likely to vote for the bloc, including three bloc members. As figure 4 on the following page illustrates, only one Western country, Ireland, was likely to vote for the bloc, while three Eastern European countries were statistically likely. At the country level, two Balkan countries were more likely to vote for Denmark and no Soviet country was likely to vote for any Nordic country; overall suggesting a weak relationship between the blocs. No country was unlikely to vote for the Nordic bloc under the split vote, although at the country level, there were 12 cases of negative bias, with eight countries unlikely to vote for Norway. The 12 cases of negative bias are greater than negative biases under the televote, which suggests the European public has an overall positive, or at the very least neutral, opinion of Nordic countries.

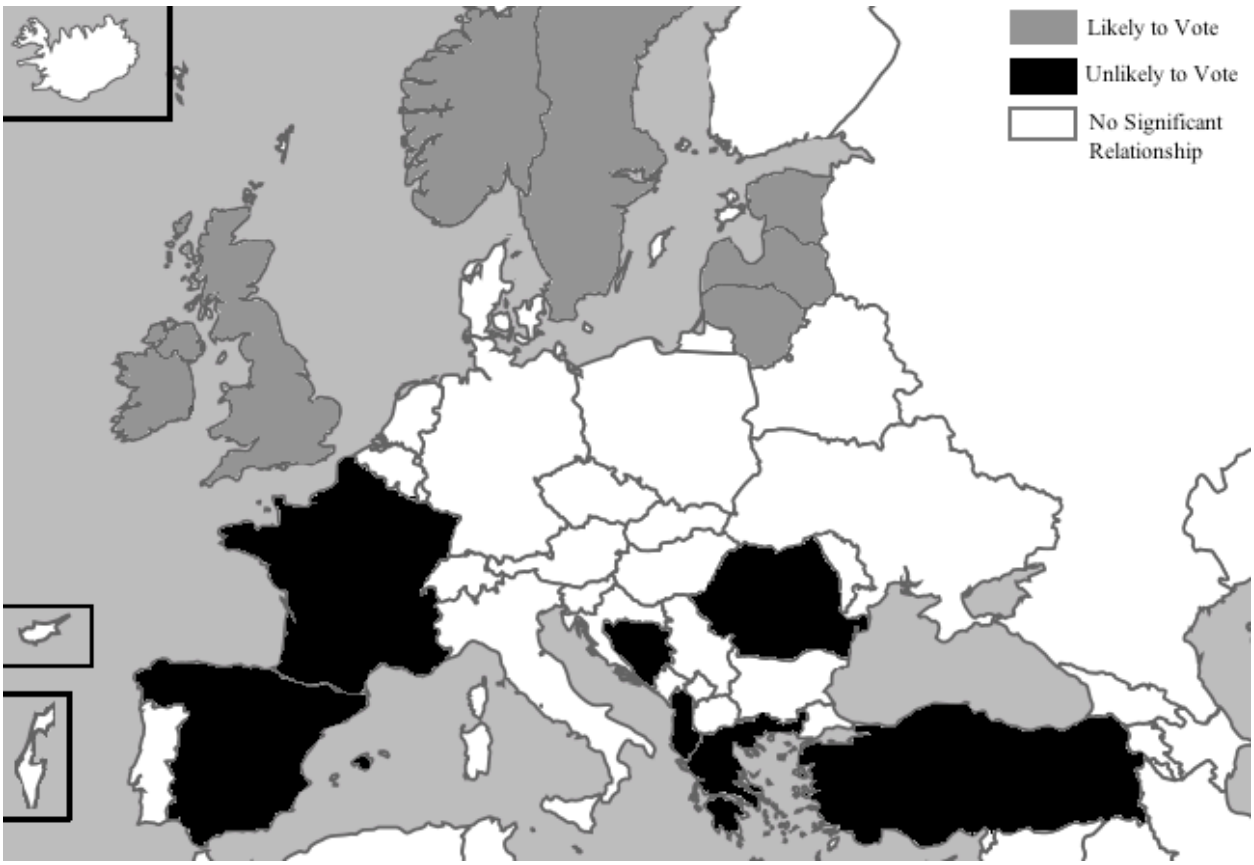
Figure 4. Countries' Relationship with the Nordic Bloc under the Split Vote

6.D. Baltic Countries[24]

Under the televote, seven countries were more likely to vote for Baltic bloc, including the three Baltic countries. Two Nordic countries (Norway and Sweden) and two Western countries (Ireland and the UK) have positive biases for the Baltic bloc. None of the former-Soviet countries and no other Eastern European country were more likely to vote for the Baltic bloc. Notably, at the individual country level only one Soviet country was likely to vote for a Baltic country: Azerbaijan for Latvia. Apart from that, no other Eastern European country was likely to vote for any of the Baltic States. This suggests the Baltic region is shifting its association toward Western European countries rather than Eastern European.

[24] The Baltic countries are analyzed separately from the former-Soviet bloc given their association with both the Soviet and Nordic blocs. For the purposes of this paper, I do not define the Baltic countries as part of either bloc, even though the Baltic States are former-Soviet countries. Because of their relationship with both blocs, I treat them separately in the hopes of parsing out the Baltic bloc's relationship with Nordic and former-Soviet countries.

Figure 5. Countries' Relationship with the Baltic countries under the Televote



Eight countries were unlikely to vote for the Baltic bloc under the televote, none of which were Baltic, Soviet, or Nordic. Four Balkan countries were unlikely to vote for the Baltic bloc and, on the country level, Balkan countries had ten cases of negative bias for the three Baltic countries. Only one Soviet country was unlikely to vote for a Baltic country. The relationship between other former-Soviet televoters' and the Baltic countries may stem from the Baltic countries' standing with the Nordic bloc or perhaps even their accession to the EU. Overall, it appears the other former-Soviet countries have a neutral relationship with the Baltic countries; they are neither likely nor unlikely to vote for them.

Seven countries, including Lithuania, have a positive bias for the Baltic countries under the split vote. Unlike with the televote, two former-Soviet countries – Russia and Georgia – are more likely to vote for the Baltic bloc, although on the country level the Soviet countries had only three positive biases for Baltic States. Bosnia is the only country unlikely to vote for the Baltic bloc under the split vote; Bosnian televoters were unlikely to vote for the bloc as well. At the country level, the Baltic countries had only four cases of negative bias; three of which came from Balkan countries, which suggests two blocs have a mutual dislike for one another.

Figure 6. Countries' Relationship with the Baltic Bloc under the Split Vote

Most of the positive bias for the Baltic bloc, excluding bloc members, came from the West. In this way, the Baltic States are a counter-example to the hypothesis that Western countries do not vote for Eastern countries. This may also suggest the Baltic bloc is assimilating with the West, particularly the Nordic bloc, and the borders of Western Europe are changing.

6.E. Former-Soviet Countries

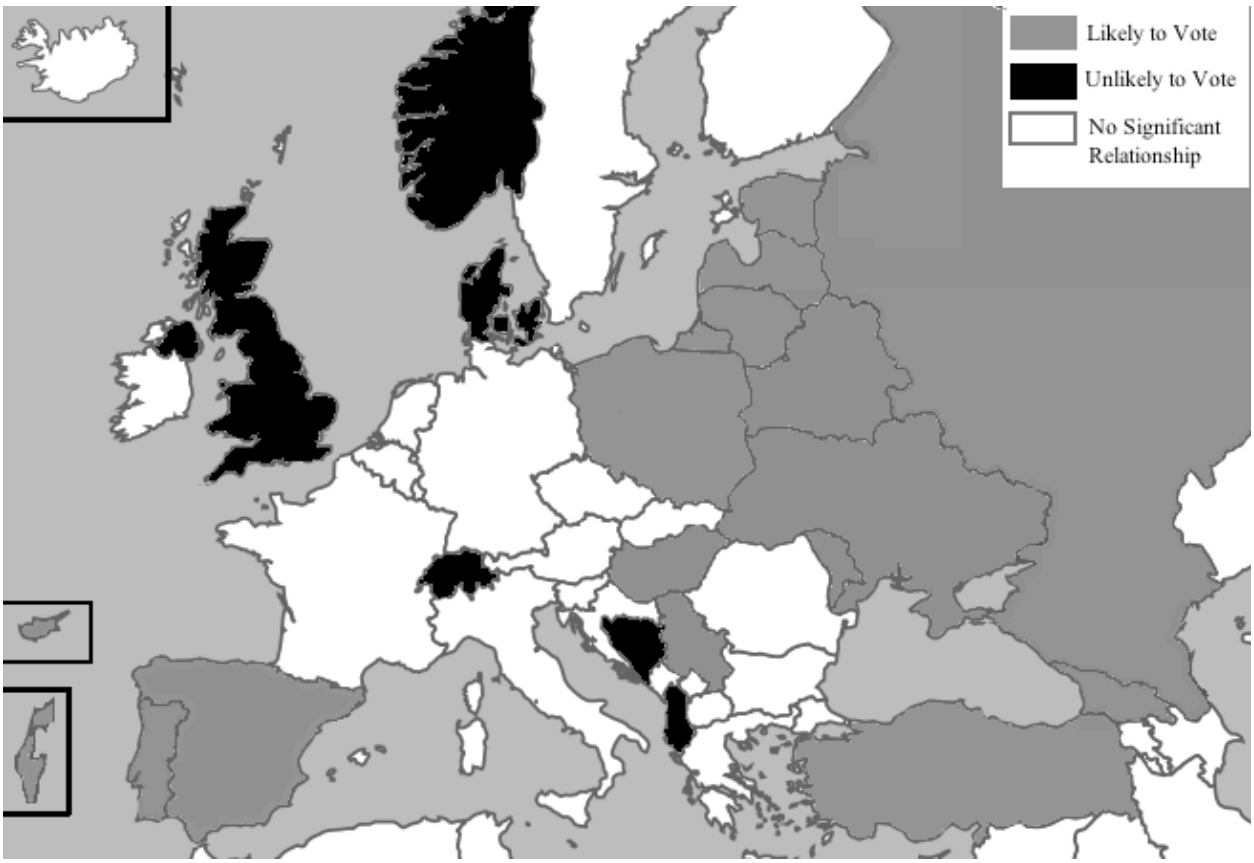
Fifteen countries, including five bloc members and two Baltic countries, were likely to vote for the former-Soviet bloc under the televote. Two were from Western Europe: Portugal and Spain; and only one Balkan country, Serbia, was likely to vote for the Soviet bloc.[25] Ten of the fifteen positive biases were from Eastern Europe versus three from the West, suggesting intra-regional voting.

At the country level, the former-Soviet bloc had 28 cases of internal bias. On average each bloc member was statistically likely to receive votes from four other bloc members, which is higher than the other blocs. Russia was likely to receive votes from the three Baltic countries

[25] Many former-Soviet countries are Orthodox, which suggests a shared culture may underscore the voting. Further, Russia has developed a strong relationship with Serbia in the past few years (Subotic 2011).

and every bloc member except Georgia.[26] The three Baltic countries were likely to vote for all but two former-Soviet countries (Moldova and Armenia); considering that only one Soviet country was likely to vote for a Baltic State, the Baltics' relationship with the Soviet countries is unreciprocated. Combined, the former-Soviet bloc countries had 80 cases of positive bias. Moldova had the fewest positive biases (seven) but on average the former-Soviet countries were statistically likely to receive votes from 11.4 countries, putting them at a significant advantage. Only nine of the 80 positive biases came from any Western European country[27] and not a single Western country was likely to vote for Russia, which may be residual animosity from the Cold War and is consistent with the idea that Russia is viewed as an "other."

Figure 7. Countries' Relationship with the Former-Soviet Countries under the Televote



Six countries, but no bloc members, were unlikely to vote for the Soviet bloc. Two were Balkan and four were from Western Europe. At the country level, the Soviet countries had 23 cases of negative bias; two were internal: Azerbaijan and Armenia. Fourteen of the negative

[26] It is unsurprising that Georgians are not likely to vote for Russia given their tense relations and the invasion of 2008. Moreover, Georgia withdrew from the contest when Russia hosted in 2008 after the EBU declared their song, *We Don't Want to Put in*, a play on President Vladimir Putin, too political (Jonze 2009).

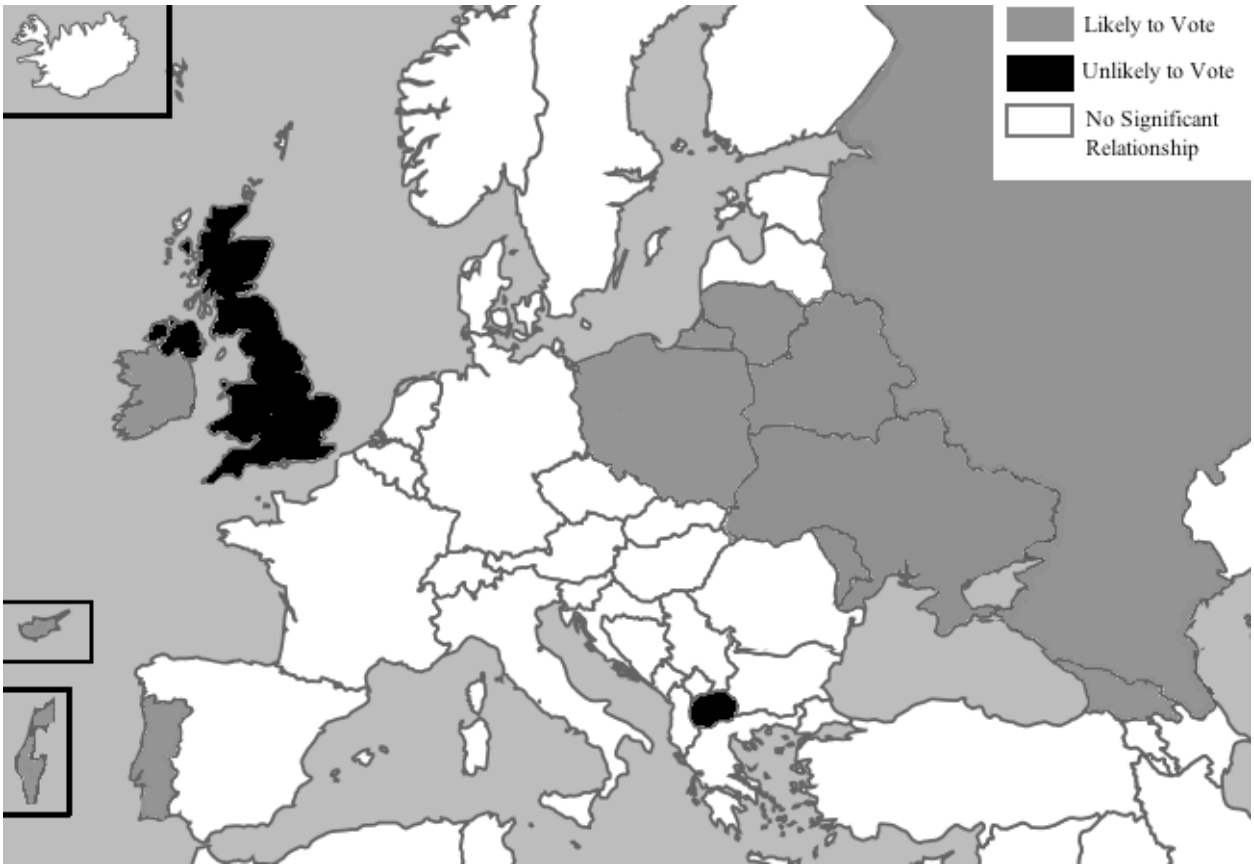
[27] Four of the biases were for the Caucasus. The EU increased its attention to the Caucasus region, including involvement in the ENP (Haydar 2012), which may underscore these relations, although no Western country was likely to vote for Georgia.

country biases were from Western countries, with four directed at Russia. Again, this illustrates a clear distinction between the East and West, as well as strong bloc cohesion.

The televoting results illustrate a difference in voting patterns regarding the Baltic States and other former-Soviet countries. Excluding the bloc members, there were just seven cases of positive bias for the Baltic States; of these seven, six (86%) were from Western European countries. The former-Soviet countries had 52 cases of positive bias (excluding bloc members), of which nine (17%) were from Western Europe. In terms of negative bias, the Baltic States had 15 cases with just two (13%) from Western Europe, while the former-Soviet countries had 23 cases with 14 (61%) from the West. Thus, Western European countries have different opinions of the former-Soviet countries; they view the Baltic States as distinct from the rest of the bloc and are more likely to vote for the Baltic States.

Similarly, if you combine the Baltic and former-Soviet bloc so that it includes all former-USSR countries, the Balkans and other non-bloc Eastern European countries had 13 cases of positive bias; none of which were for the Baltic States. The combined Baltic-Soviet bloc had 15 cases of negative bias from Eastern European countries; three were internal and 12 were from the Balkans. Of these negative biases, 11 were directed at the three Baltic States, with ten coming from the Balkan countries, implying that Eastern European countries, and in particular the Balkans, do not have a negative relationship with all of the former-Soviet countries, but rather the Baltic States. This again suggests the perception of the Baltic countries is changing in Europe, with a clear dissociation from other Eastern European countries.

Figure 8. Countries' Relationship with the Former-Soviet Countries under the Split Vote



Under the split vote, eleven countries are more likely to vote for the former-Soviet bloc. Of the 11, five were bloc members and one was a Baltic State; thus more than half of the positive biases were from former-Soviet countries. In terms of individual bloc countries, there were 40 cases of positive bias for the former-Soviet countries. Twenty-four were internal and three were from Baltic countries. Just three were from Western European countries, none of which were from a Nordic country. The paucity of Western-Soviet voting supports the idea of intra-regional voting rather than inter-regional.

Only two countries are unlikely to vote for the Soviet bloc: Macedonia and the UK. Under the individual country regression the former-Soviet countries had just nine cases of negative bias, with one internal case: Azerbaijan was unlikely to vote for Armenia. Western countries accounted for seven of the nine negative biases. Although the split vote reduced the number of biases, these results illustrate that not only are Western countries, in a relative sense, not likely to vote for Eastern blocs and countries, they are statistically unlikely to vote for Eastern countries. The majority of positive biases for Eastern European countries come from within Eastern Europe and the majority of negative biases come from the West.

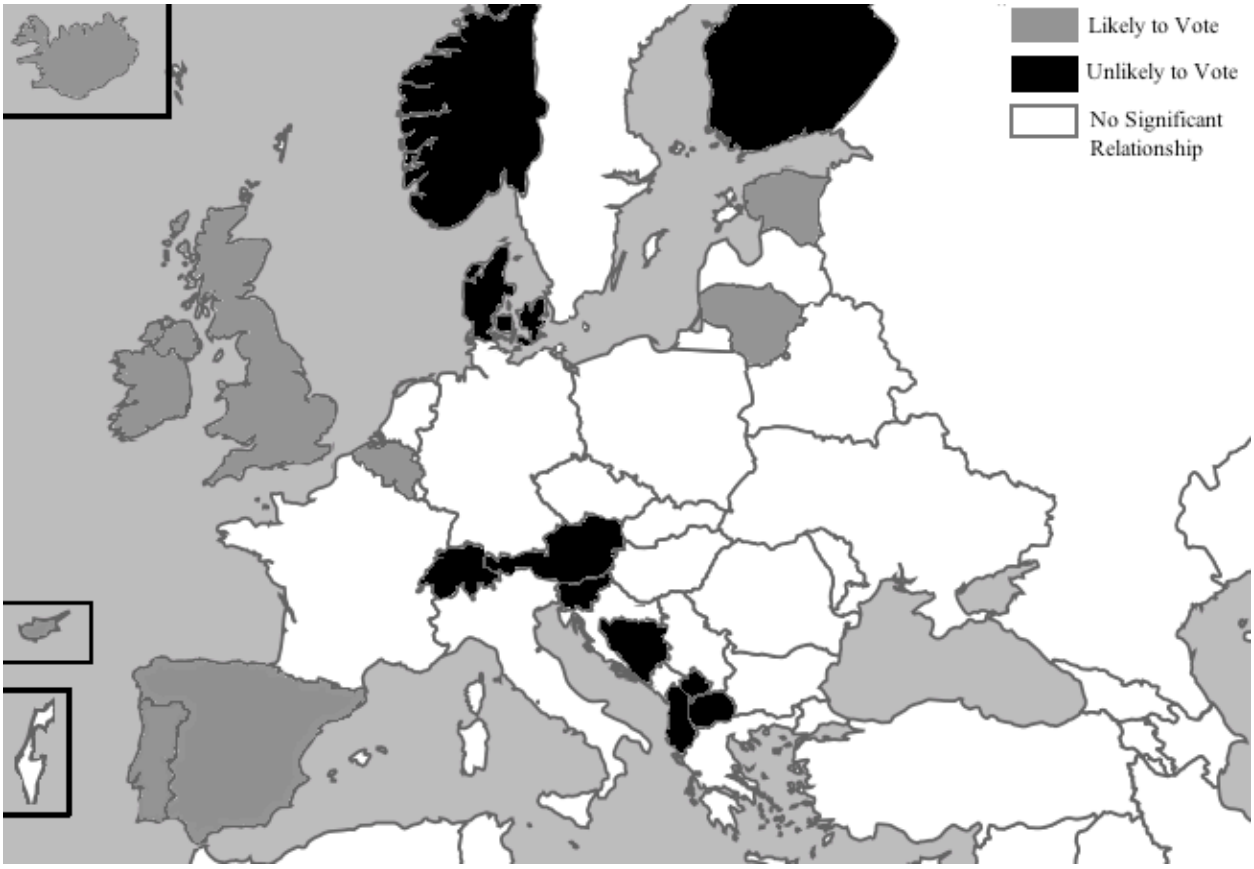
6.F. EU Countries

As figure 9 on the following page illustrates, nine countries were likely to vote for EU members under the televote. Eight of the nine were EU members; Iceland was the only non-member. Six of the countries, including Iceland, were Western. Estonia and Lithuania were the only two Eastern European countries likely to vote for the EU, while Cyprus, which is classified as neither Eastern nor Western Europe, was also more likely. Although the EU spans Eastern and Western Europe, it is telling that eight of the nine countries more likely to vote for the EU were member states. The EU works like the other blocs; it is cohesive and may have a shared identity. Bloc members identify with one another and are more likely to vote for each other, similar to the other regional blocs.

Ten countries were unlikely to vote for the EU under the televote. Four of the ten were EU members: Austria, Denmark, Finland, and Slovenia. Austria and Slovenia are likely to vote for the Balkan bloc and since few Balkan countries are in the EU, this may explain why they are unlikely to vote for EU members. Although the difference between members and non-members is smaller than with positive biases, fewer member countries were unlikely to vote for the EU than non-members.

The Soviet countries had no bias, either positive or negative, for EU countries. Five Balkan countries were unlikely to vote for the EU: Albania, Bosnia, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Slovenia. Given that Balkan countries are inclined to vote for one another and there are ten countries in the Balkan bloc, most of which are not in the EU, this leaves fewer countries outside the bloc for whom they can vote and may explain the negative coefficients for EU countries. The negative relationship between the Balkans and EU is consistent with the wider literature that describes strained relations between the regions (Mishkova 2008; Kentrotis 2010; Subotic 2011).

Figure 9. Countries' Relationship with EU Members under the Televote



Five negative biases were from Western countries. Three were Nordic: Denmark, Finland, and Norway. Norway and Iceland are non-members, which may explain the high proportion of Nordic countries. Austria is unlikely to vote for the bloc, as mentioned, and Switzerland is the other Western country. The ten negative biases against the EU were split between Eastern and Western Europe, which makes sense given that the EU, although predominately in Western Europe, spans both regions. Importantly, most of the countries likely to vote for the EU were EU members and most of the countries unlikely were non-members, suggesting voting behavior regarding the EU worked similar to the other blocs.

As figure 10 on the following page shows, under the split system two countries – Ireland and Iceland – were likely to vote for EU members; both countries were more likely under televoting as well. Three countries were less likely: Slovenia, Macedonia, and Finland. These five countries' biases were consistent across voting systems. The split system simply cut down on the number of biases for the EU; it did not change the countries involved.

Figure 10. Countries' Relationship with EU Members under the Split Vote

6.G. Big Five Countries[28]

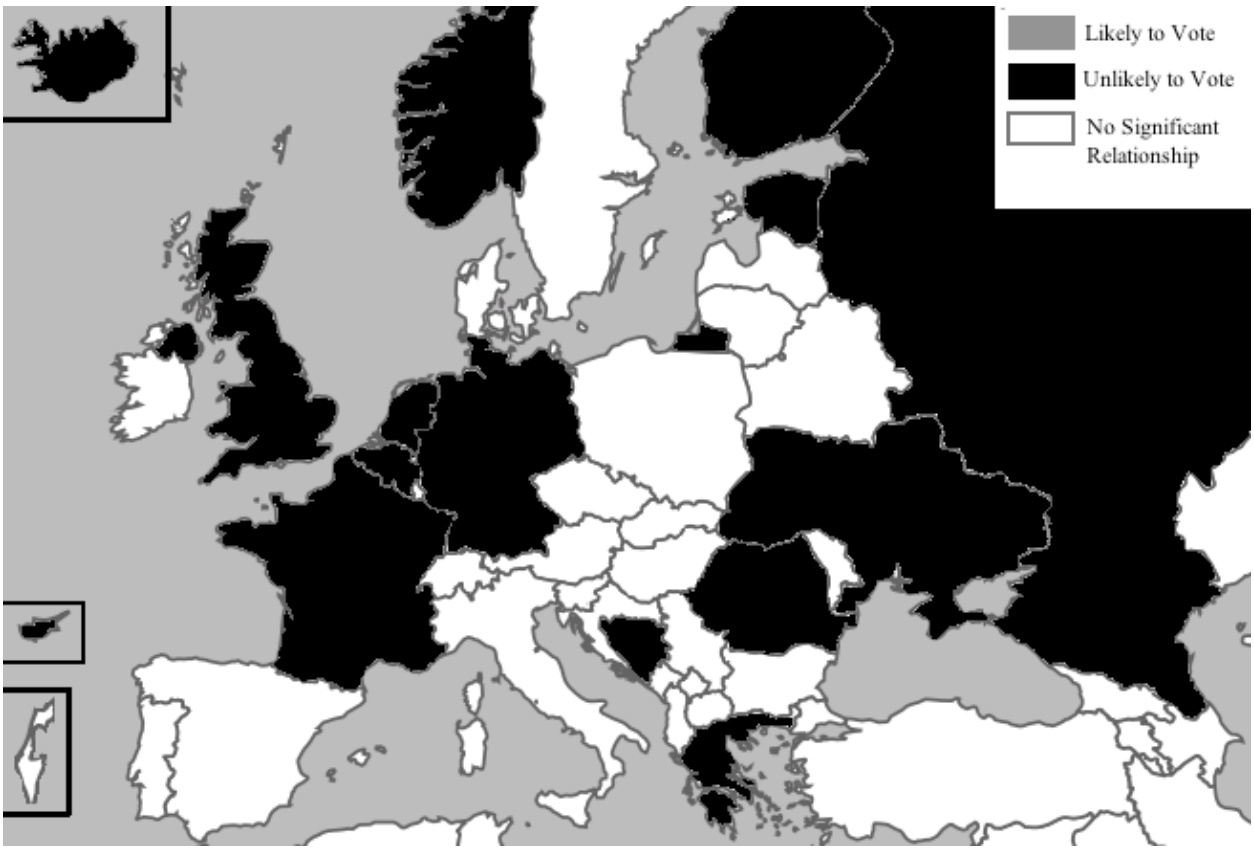
As figure 11 illustrates, the Big Five is the only bloc that does not have a single positive bias under the televote. Moreover, on an individual country level, there were just five cases of positive bias for a Big Five country, all of which were from Western Europe. Not a single Eastern European country was likely to vote for any of the Big Five countries. Further, no countries' televoters were likely to vote for either France or the UK.

By contrast, 17 countries were significantly unlikely to vote for the Big Five.[29] France, Germany, and the UK are among the 17 countries; meaning the Big Five countries do not vote for each other like other blocs. Aggregating across individual countries, the Big Five had 46 cases of negative bias; the Big Five had nine times as many cases of negative bias than positive bias. In total, Western European countries accounted for 16 negative biases, while Eastern European countries had 27 cases (with zero positive biases).

[28] Italy has not participated in enough competitions to analyze their voting behavior under the televote or split system; the majority of Big Five analysis will therefore focus on France, Germany, Spain, and the UK.

[29] Twenty-two countries were unlikely to vote for the Big Five at the 10% significance level.

Figure 11. Countries' Relationships with the Big Five under the Televote



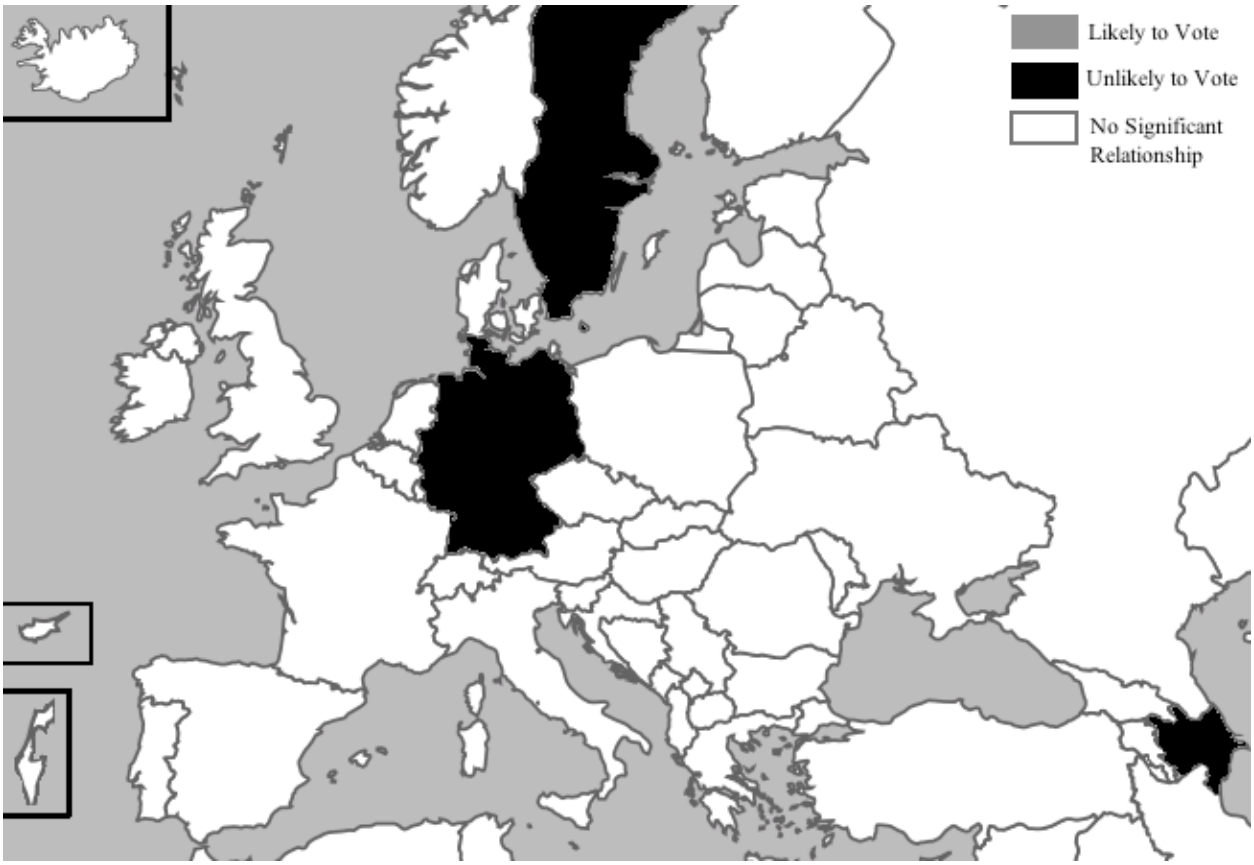
The results support the idea of regional voting differences, but also illustrate that all regions and blocs were unlikely to vote for the Big Five. Contrary to Yair's previous research (1995; 1996) and the study by Fenn (2006), the results suggest the Western bloc countries lost their hegemonic position and that the UK is no longer "in tune" with Europe. Whether this is a political statement, a statement about their automatic final qualification, or something entirely different is unclear. Voters may be resentful that these countries use their money and influence in the EBU to receive automatic qualification. It may be that because all countries have equal voting power in Eurovision televoters use the contest to level the playing field; the Big Five may be geopolitically powerful, but in Eurovision the smaller countries can outperform them. Along these lines, televoters' unwillingness to vote for the Big Five may be politically driven; they are making a statement about the political actions of the Big Five. Since it is the televoters, and not the politicians who vote in Eurovision, these results indicate that public in participating countries do not support the Big Five. Regardless of the reason, that the vast majority of Western countries and over one-third of all countries included in the analysis are unlikely to vote for the Big Five is significant.

Although not as stark, Eastern countries were also unlikely to vote for other (non-Big Five) Western European countries. Eastern countries had only eight cases of positive bias for the other Western countries and, of these, five were for San Marino. Eastern European countries had 15 cases of negative bias against other Western European countries. Thus, very few Eastern European countries were inclined to vote for the West with many disinclined to vote for Western Europe. Thus, the idea of the "mental barriers" between Eastern and Western Europe is present

in Eurovision, but considering the results of the Big Five and other Western countries, it seems that the barrier may actually be larger going East-West than vice versa.

Under the split vote no country was likely to vote for the Big Five bloc, but they did have nine cases of positive bias at the country level. Three were from Western countries and five were from Eastern, including three from the Balkans. Contrary to the hypothesis, more Eastern countries had positive biases than Western, although in absolute terms the numbers are small.

Figure 12. Countries' Relationship with the Big Five under the Split Vote



In contrast to the 17 negative biases, the Big Five bloc only had three negative biases under the split; Azerbaijan, Germany, and Sweden were unlikely to vote for them. At the country level, the Big Five had just five cases of negative bias. Two of the biases were from Nordic countries and one was from another Western European country. Only one bias was from an Eastern European country. More Western countries were unlikely to vote for the Big Five than Eastern, but for the most part countries did not have a significant relationship with the Big Five countries under the split.

The move to the split reduced the overwhelming negative bias and allowed for some East-West voting. The difference between televoting and split voting for the Big Five suggest these countries have quality songs and the reintroduction of the juries mitigated much of the televoters' animosity. Further, it bears mention that Germany won the contest in 2010 with Lena's *Satellite*, meaning the biases are not determinative. Popular or quality songs can overcome the negative bias. That no country is likely to vote for the Big Five and yet Germany

won indicates Germany's song was of high quality or popularity and political biases are not necessarily determinative.

The results demonstrate that political biases are, for the most part, greater under exclusive televoting than either the split or jury systems. This suggests that televoting reflects public opinion in participating countries and that, on a more immediate level, re-introducing the jury in 2009 mitigated countries' legitimate concerns about political voting. The findings also indicate there is a divide between the regions of Eastern and Western Europe. The analysis cannot parse out whether these biases reflect larger cultural or political differences, rather than merely musical tastes. Nonetheless, the consistency of many biases – even after controlling for popularity – across regions, time, and voting systems suggests Eurovision voting, particularly in regards to the televote, is more than just a song contest. In the following section I discuss the findings and limitations of this study, as well as areas for future research.

7. Discussion

The results of the analysis strongly support the first hypothesis that song popularity is a positive and significant predictor of votes. The YouTube variable was insignificant for only a handful of countries, which supports the hypothesis but also lends itself to assertions that some countries vote primarily for political reasons. Still, song popularity, as measured by YouTube views, is predictive of votes, which illustrates televoters are voting for the songs they like. Again, this does not mean the songs are necessarily of high quality, but they are at least popular.

As section six demonstrated, the results support the second hypothesis that political variables are significant predictors of votes. All countries have significant preferences for other countries and regions even after controlling for popularity and other song characteristics. This indicates that Eurovision is not merely a song contest; it is a reflection of European politics and public opinion. Televoters have preferences for other countries and these underscore their votes. In this way, Eurovision voting is meaningful because people incorporate their political and cultural opinions into their votes.

The analysis strongly supported the third hypothesis, which built upon the findings of Spierdijk and Vellekoop (2006), that neighborly and patriotic voting influence outcomes. Both the neighbor and patriotic variables were positive and consistent across countries. This does not imply countries always vote for their neighbors or countries with expat populations because they do not. Belgian televoters were unlikely to vote for their neighbors. However, on the whole, countries are more likely to vote for their neighbors. The results also suggest that geography may be an important aspect of voting; neighboring countries were likely to vote for each other and many of the countries that were unlikely to vote for each other were distant. Therefore, it may not be simply that the countries shared a border, but that they were close to each other. When patriotic voting was significant for a country it was always positive, suggesting expat populations' identities are still attached to home countries and may indicate that if countries were allowed to vote for themselves they would. The most prominent example, as referenced in Spierdijk and Vellekoop (2006), is the Turkish diaspora. All Western European countries with a substantial Turkish population were more likely to vote for Turkey.

Across voting blocs, with the exception of the Big Five, bloc members were more likely to vote for other members, which is similar to Yair's (1996) finding of significant within bloc voting. Admittedly this hypothesis seems self-evident, as why else would these countries be in

voting blocs if they were not more likely to vote for each other? Nonetheless, the results indicate that voting blocs exist and the Big Five is undoubtedly not a voting bloc. Moreover, the results demonstrate the importance of regions within Europe, including regional differences within Eastern and Western Europe. This analysis builds upon previous research on voting blocs (Gatherer 2006) and adds to it by incorporating a seven country former-Soviet bloc. The results suggest the Baltic countries are distancing themselves from the Soviet bloc and assimilating with Western Europe. Additionally, since bloc countries vote within themselves, non-bloc countries are disadvantaged because they have to compete with bloc members that are statistically more likely to receive votes even controlling for song popularity.

Interestingly, the results did not support the latter part of the hypothesis that non-bloc countries would not have a statistically significant relationship with the bloc. As the analysis illustrated, many non-bloc countries have significant relationships – both positive and negative – with bloc countries and the bloc as a whole. Most notable was the relationship between Balkan and Baltic countries. Both blocs were unlikely to vote for each other and looking at the relationship on a country level, most Baltic and Balkan countries were unlikely to vote for one another. The Balkan and Nordic countries had a similar relationship, although not as pronounced as the poor relationship between the Balkan and Baltic blocs.

The results support the idea of intra-regional voting versus inter-regional voting. Eastern European countries have more cases of bias than Western European countries, although on average the two regions have roughly the same number of biases.[30] Aggregating Eastern and Western European preferences indicates cross-regional voting exists but the majority of the positive biases stem from within the region, meaning the majority of positive Eastern European biases come from Eastern Europe and vice versa for the West. Similarly, the majority of negative biases for Western Europe come from Eastern Europe and vice versa. The exceptions are the Big Five countries, in which the majority of negative biases come from Western Europe and more of the positive biases come from Eastern European countries. Also, more Eastern European countries were less likely to vote for the Baltic countries because so many Balkan countries were unlikely to vote for Baltic States.

Unlike Yair's (1996) findings, it seems that when votes are directed outside of a country's own bloc they go toward the countries macro-region, i.e., either the East or the West. This supports the claim that Eastern and Western European countries face "mental barriers," including the perception of the other blocs as "exotic" or an "other," which prevents full integration (Agh 2010; Said 1978). Moreover, the results indicate that, contrary to Yair (1996) and Fenn (2006) Western countries no longer form a hegemonic bloc and the UK is "out of tune" with Europe; although, consistent with Fenn, it seems France is still out of tune.

Lastly, the reintroduction of the jury reduced the level of bias in the contest. Across blocs, the split vote decreased biases. Aggregating across all countries, there were 438 biases under the televote. Of these, 239 were positive and 199 were negative, meaning countries have approximately 5.7 positive biases and 4.7 negative biases on average. The 5.7 positive biases suggest that much, but not all, of a country's voting is predetermined by political considerations. The West had 168 televoting biases and the East had 222. Eastern European countries accounted for a larger percentage of the total bias; however, the average number of biases per country is roughly the same between regions, with the West slightly edging out the East.

[30] Here, Western Europe is defined as the Big Five, the Nordic countries minus the three Baltic States, as well as Andorra, Austria, Belgium, Ireland, Portugal, San Marino, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Eastern Europe is the former-Soviet Bloc, including the Baltic countries, the Balkan bloc, as well as Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia.

The split vote had 204 cases of bias, less than half the amount of the televote, which is consistent with the sixth hypothesis that televoters are more biased than the jury. Of these biases, 137 were positive and 67 were negative. The move to the split dropped the average positive bias per country to 3.45 and negative bias to just 1.675. A much higher percentage of biases were positive under the split vote, indicating that the jury votes more on quality because they are not as likely to *not* vote for a country based on political reasons. The West accounted for 82 of the biases and the East had 103; on a per country basis, the West and East had roughly the same number of biases.

Although televoting may be a more democratic way to select the winner, it was clearly biased; thus, the reintroduction of the jury was a prudent decision. The split system balances the benefits of the professional jury and desire to engage the audience. Admittedly, even with the split vote, Azerbaijan is unlikely to vote for Armenia no matter how good Armenia's song may be and Cyprus and Greece will never have the dreaded *nul* points so long as they can vote for each other. Televoters vote for countries they like, but song popularity is a factor. It may be that citizens have a range of countries for which they are willing – or more receptive – to vote and within these countries song quality determines their votes. It is also important to consider that televoters can only vote for one country, whereas jurors get to rank ten countries in their vote. Given that each participant is a country-song dyad, the individual televoter likely weighs both the country and song component when deciding how to vote. Nevertheless, because Eurovision is a competition between countries, televoters will inevitably consider the nation involved, which is why Eurovision offers insights into public opinion and regional differences in Europe.

The results indicate a divergence between Eastern and Western Europe. There is more intra-regional voting than inter-regional voting, suggesting Europe is made up of heterogeneous regions and may underscore the lack of a unified European identity. Intra-bloc voting is even more prominent, which undermines the idea of universality in the contest. The winning song may attract universal support, but most songs primarily receive within bloc support. Similar to Yair's (1996) analysis regarding the hegemony of the Western bloc, countries vote for their bloc members but because they have ten votes to give they will vote outside their bloc; therefore the key is to attract these excess votes. For some countries this is difficult; a Soviet country will more likely attract excess Balkan votes than a Baltic country, but this does not mean it cannot be done. Further, televoting behavior may be a reflection of political relations but it may operate independently of international politics. The propensity of televoters to vote for another country, particularly countries outside its bloc, reflects the general public's affinity with the other country.

Although the results suggest televoting is indicative of public opinion, the findings should not be taken out of context. That Eastern and Western countries are more likely to vote within themselves does not mean Europe should stop integration. Moreover, being unlikely to vote for a country does not mean the two countries are on bad terms, although in some cases, e.g., Cyprus and Turkey, tense political relations underscore the lack of voting. Positive biases are indicative of connections between the two countries, connections that could be cultural, political, social, geographic, etc. Countries that vote for one another are connected, which implies unity. This is consistent with the idea of neighborly or patriotic voting, as neighbors or expat populations have links to other countries, while distant countries lack these links. Countries that do not vote for each other lack these connections; this does not mean they have animosity towards one another, but their televoters do not have the links of the countries that do exchange votes. The results of this study indicate that Europe is made up of united regions, but

did not find evidence that many of these links transcend regions. This implies that although the EU has fostered economic and political integration, Europe is still regionally divided.

As Europe integrates the East-West divisions will likely decrease, just as the Baltic countries now receive more votes from Western Europe than Eastern. Changes in Europe are reflected in Eurovision; as Europe expanded so did the contest. As the voting results for the EU demonstrated the EU acts like other blocs; non-EU countries in the contest may see themselves as distinct from EU members and therefore have a shared identity with other non-members. Eurovision begins with the phrase "Good evening, Europe!" but some participants may perceive themselves outside of Europe and will exchange votes with other outsiders.

The evolution of voting in Eurovision can reflect changing identities and public opinion. Huntington (1993) claimed that for a country to redefine its identity in civilization its own public must support the change, as must the populations in the recipient civilization. Televoting in Eurovision can measure these two aspects of identity change and cultural assimilation; voting patterns show a country's willingness to vote for a certain region as well as the votes received from that region. Televoting can indicate to what extent a country sees itself as part of Europe and, likewise, whether other countries see it as European. Similarly, voting trends are likely illustrative of a country's soft power. Baltic countries have relatively less soft power with the Balkans than Western European countries and the results suggest the Big Five have minimal soft power.

The findings of this study support many of the claims made in the broader academic literature on European relations, including a dissonance between many of the Eastern and Western regions. Analyzing Eurovision voting is a meaningful way to gauge public opinion in participating countries. Voting patterns can provide insight into larger geo-political changes, although they should not be the only tool, or even the main tool, to analyze these changes.

7.A. Limitations and Concluding Remarks

As discussed, the analysis has many limitations that affect the interpretation and robustness of the results. Three limitations bear additional mention. First, as an observational study, the results cannot prove causation. That most countries had political biases is highly suggestive of political voting, but the regression cannot parse out if it political considerations alone determined the results or if other factors were influential.

The inability to measure song quality is a major limitation. This study used a popularity variable based on YouTube views. YouTube did not exist for the early years of the contest, which could bias the view counts for the earlier years. The analysis focused on the later years, limiting this concern, but YouTube views may not be the best measure. Similarly, popularity is not quality; song quality should determine votes, but since quality cannot be objectively measured, I used popularity. The omission of quality, as well as other song and performance variables not included in the regression, should be considered when interpreting these results.

Third, the EBU reintroduced the jury for the 2009 finals, meaning the split vote has been used for only four years. The televote, on the other hand, began for all countries in 1998, allowing for a more accurate analysis of televoting patterns. Although the regression illustrated differences between the televoting and split systems, as more contests use the split vote the regressions will become more accurate. Future studies can provide a more clear and conclusive comparison. On that note, the EBU should release the complete split results as they did in 2009

so that researchers can more accurately assess differences between the jury and televoters; this would offer more insight into political voting and public opinion.

This paper found substantial evidence that Eurovision voting is politically motivated across all countries, but owing to its limitations it is not the *Waterloo* of the EBU's political voting denials. Song popularity is undoubtedly important for televoters, but regional preferences likely influence which country wins the contest, even if they are not the sole determinant. A country cannot win by only receiving bloc votes, but countries are more likely to give points to countries with which they have a link or connection. Thus, looking at voting patterns offers a perspective to view the relationships and links between participating countries; it is another lens to examine intra-European relations and a way to look at public opinion and relations, which can often be obscure. The results of this study indicate a divergence between Western and Eastern regions. The findings suggest integration with many Balkan and former-Soviet countries is inchoate. Western European voters perceive the Balkans and former-Soviet countries as external or distinct, or at the very least countries for which they will not vote. Similarly, Eastern European voters are reluctant to vote for the Western countries. By contrast, the Baltic countries appear to be separating from the East and integrating with the West.

The findings illustrated that Eurovision voting is a meaningful reflection of Europe. Voting patterns can confirm opinions on intra-regional relations but could also suggest different levels of integration and assimilation than expected. The current findings suggest a divergence between Eastern and Western regions, which is consistent with the wider academic research, but this could change as Europe expands and integrates. Voting patterns in future competitions could highlight inter-regional assimilation, or conversely, could demonstrate more concrete regionalization in the wake of the Euro crisis. Importantly, these results show, for better or worse, that Eurovision is so much more than just a music competition.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Politics and Eurovision

Most viewers of Eurovision accept that the contest is political and for some it may be the basis of its appeal. Voting is the most commonly discussed aspect of politics and Eurovision, but the contest's political nature extends far beyond voting. Eurovision has altered countries' national policies, particularly in regards to Visas, influences political discourse, and is an immense source of pride and identity in participating countries. Moreover, as a platform for international relations, "Eurovision is legendary as an arena for settling diplomatic scores, venting ethnic grievance, baiting national rivals and undermining governments" (Mueller 2005).

Many countries use Eurovision for political purposes. Song lyrics are a prominent way to disseminate a political message. With the break-up of Yugoslavia, Bosnia's 1992 entry, *All the Pain in the World*, claimed, "All the pain in the world tonight is in Bosnia." In 2000, Israel's participant Ping Pong performed a song called "Be Happy" about an Israeli girl in love with a Syrian boy. The performance featured the singers waving Israeli and Syrian flags, which led to the Israeli Broadcasting Authority disowning the group and saying, "They will compete there, but not on behalf of the Israeli Broadcasting Authority or the Israeli people" (Goldenberg 2000). In 2007, Israel's entry, *Push the Button*, was a commentary on the dangers of Iran's nuclear program. In 2009, Georgia withdrew from the contest, which was being held in Moscow, because the EBU declared its song "We Don't Want to Put In," a reference to Vladimir Putin, too political (Jonze 2009). In the 2010 competition, Armenia's entry, *Apricot Stone*, was a tribute to the Armenian Genocide, which neither Azerbaijan nor Turkey recognize.

Apart from these divisive political songs, many countries have also used Eurovision to encourage unity. For example Italy won the contest in 1990 with the song "Together: 1992," a reference to the European Union. Although political songs are technically prohibited, as these examples illustrate countries have and will continue to use Eurovision songs to further their political agenda.

Another aspect of Eurovision's political nature is its association with the LGBT community. The contest has essentially become synonymous with camp. This association has at times been problematic for countries unaccepting of LGBT individuals, but, at the same time, countries have used their Eurovision acts to signal their acceptance of the LGBT community. In 1998, Israel sent Dana International, a transgender woman, as their representative. Conservative Israelis were outraged at the selection, but Israel's decision to send Dana International was a signal to the West that Israel accepts Western ideals rather than the more orthodox beliefs in the Middle East (Tobin 2007).

In 2002, Slovenia selected a trio of transvestites, a group called "The Sisters," to represent them, which created a widespread backlash in the country. A public opinion poll found that 51.4% of Slovenians did not want The Sisters to represent them. Slovenians' anger over the decision prompted a member of the European Parliament's committee on Citizens' Freedoms and Rights, Justice, and Home Affairs to question Slovenia's EU accession: "Now that the results of the Eurovision contest are being debated and the issue of gay rights is coming up, it confronts us with the fact that Slovenia is perhaps not yet ready for EU membership" (Gaube 2002). Ultimately, Slovenia kept The Sisters as its representative.

In 2007, Serbia chose Marija Šerifović to be its representative. This was a notable victory because Šerifović is Romany and an out lesbian in a strongly Orthodox country; moreover, her song, *Molitva* or "Prayer," is about lesbian love. More recently, Azerbaijan hosted the 2012 competition, which caused Iran to withdraw its Ambassador because by hosting Eurovision Azerbaijan was committing anti-Islamic behavior and "insulting religious saints" (Telegraph 2012). In this way, participation in Eurovision catalyzes the LGBT movement and, at the very least, brings this issue to the political sphere when it otherwise would not.

The state of relations between participating countries is also expressed on Eurovision's stage. Austria refused to participate to protest Franco's regime in 1969 when the contest was held in Madrid and Greece withdrew from the contest in 1975 to protest Turkey's debut. Many people believe Ireland's consecutive victories in the 1990s were Continental Europe's way of showing its disapprobation of British policies (Raykoff 2007). Lebanon was going to participate in 2005 but had to withdraw because its national laws prohibited viewing the Israeli entrant, which violated Eurovision rules.

A more recent example of tensions playing out on stage is the poor relationship between Azerbaijan and Armenia. When Azerbaijan was due to host the competition in 2012, an Armenian MP claimed that the war over Karabakh was "canceled due to Eurovision." Armenia later withdrew from the 2012 contest over security concerns, which Azerbaijan asserted was political propaganda and prompted an Azeri government official to claim, "The Armenian refusal to take part in such a respected contest will cause even further damage to the already damaged image of Armenia" (Adams 2012). In 2009, while reading the results the Armenian broadcaster held up a clipboard containing a picture of the "We are our Mountains" statue in Nagorno-Karabakh, as a way to assert Armenia's claim over the disputed territory. The same year, Azeri officials seized the televoting records and interrogated individuals who voted for Armenia.

As these examples illustrate, Eurovision is an immensely political event. This is just a brief introduction to the politics of the Eurovision Song Contest. For further reading on Eurovision and politics see Raykoff and Tobin (2007) A Song for Europe: Popular Music and Politics in the Eurovision Song Contest.

Appendix B: Song and Performance Results

	Points Received By Voting System			
	Jury Votes	Televotes	Split Votes	All Votes
YouTube	90.27***	261.9***	224.6***	211.2***
	(17.01)	(17.99)	(29.62)	(12.40)
English	44.91***	14.05***	8.941	23.74***
	(9.408)	(4.843)	(6.440)	(3.470)
Ballad	7.238	13.54**	-10.84	2.576
	(7.959)	(5.963)	(7.511)	(4.262)
Rap	-37.86*	-38.14***	-8.003	-25.82***
	(19.80)	(9.884)	(14.66)	(8.452)
Solo	5.740	4.922	3.588	2.376
	(6.607)	(4.892)	(6.894)	(3.682)
Male	-12.53**	13.26***	0.0659	4.420
	(6.022)	(5.030)	(6.782)	(3.592)
Minority	13.78	-3.340	7.414	-1.350
	(11.68)	(7.148)	(13.81)	(5.967)
Dancing	-10.48	-9.503*	-20.24***	-9.078**
	(8.502)	(5.712)	(7.593)	(4.110)
Non-Unity Song	-8.532	-26.18**	-41.96**	-28.81***
	(13.06)	(13.16)	(17.02)	(8.210)
Love Song	-8.917	2.087	0.772	-1.174
	(6.452)	(5.317)	(6.933)	(3.676)
Nonsense Lyrics	-17.78*	-7.755	-13.60*	-12.15***
	(9.562)	(6.480)	(7.157)	(4.507)
Token	14.00	-1.737	-3.668	3.537
	(9.045)	(8.408)	(12.67)	(6.161)
Ethnic Song	16.16*	27.04***	10.04	23.66***
	(8.276)	(6.727)	(10.36)	(5.029)
Exotic Song	10.27	-0.805	-26.13	-4.432
	(15.40)	(9.701)	(47.12)	(9.596)
Costumes	-72.78***	0.905	-7.349	-6.110
	(15.99)	(8.605)	(12.17)	(6.726)
Ethnic Costume	0.936	-2.263	36.78**	5.804
	(16.21)	(8.894)	(16.89)	(8.197)
Props	-9.734	11.39**	3.512	10.11**
	(13.57)	(5.530)	(7.974)	(4.505)
Instrument	-3.506	10.75*	2.435	7.676*
	(6.904)	(5.617)	(7.951)	(4.151)
Strobe Lights	5.883	3.357	-16.67**	-1.196
	(8.292)	(5.267)	(7.096)	(3.846)
Wind Machines	58.66***	5.352	7.102	7.004
	(15.44)	(6.185)	(7.247)	(4.445)
Pyrotechnics	0.541	-7.334	-11.15	-7.312
	(18.19)	(6.762)	(7.027)	(4.798)
Observations	261	433	201	841
R-squared	0.334	0.521	0.427	0.411

Appendix C: Song and Performance Characteristics of the Bloc Analysis

In the bloc analysis, YouTube hits were a significant and positive predictor of every country's televoters, suggesting that popularity is a key determinant of votes. Interestingly, under the split system, popularity was not significant for six countries: Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Serbia, and Turkey. This suggests the juries of these countries have a different opinion about song quality and that what is popular is not necessarily of high quality. The main similarity between these six countries is that they not Western European and, notably, four are former-Soviet states. Overall, these results support the first hypothesis that popularity is a key determinant and, as the further results will show, it is not the sole determinant.

The bloc analysis supports the previous finding that Europeans do not like rap. Nineteen countries' televoters are significantly less likely to vote for rap songs. Notably, these countries span all regions and blocs.[31] Seven of the countries are from the Nordic bloc, indicating that Nordic countries particularly dislike rap. Under split votes, six countries are less likely to vote for rap songs and Georgia is more likely. That so many fewer countries have a negative bias may result from the fact that either fewer countries choose to perform rap songs, given how poorly they fare, or that the jury appreciates that rap can be of high quality even if televoters dislike these songs.

Countries also disliked non-unity songs. No country, under any voting system, was likely to vote for a non-unity song. Five televoting countries – Georgia, Germany, Israel, Malta, and Turkey – and eight countries under the split – Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, and Malta – were unlikely to vote for non-unity songs. This is consistent with the idea that Eurovision is meant to unite Europe and therefore messages that run counter to this ideal are more likely to be rejected.

Seven countries' televoters were less likely to vote for minority singers: Albania, Belarus, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Turkey, and Ukraine. All of these countries fall outside of Western Europe, and apart from Turkey are either from the Balkan or former-Soviet bloc. Interestingly, Ukraine sent a minority singer in the 2012 contest, although as mentioned previously this was highly controversial, especially among conservative party members. Under the split system, five countries are less likely to vote for minority singers and Ireland is more likely. Interestingly, the five countries are Belgium, Croatia, Estonia, Romania, and the Netherlands. Thus, there is a different composition than under the televote and two Western European countries exhibit a voting bias. Estonian televoters were unlikely to vote for minorities but it was only significant at the 10% level.[32] If you consider voting behavior under both the televote and the split Eastern European countries are less likely to vote for minorities, particularly in the Balkans and former-Soviet bloc.

Televoters largely preferred ethnic songs; eleven countries were more likely to vote for ethnic songs and no countries were less likely.[33] This suggests that televoters like to see and hear a representation of culture in Eurovision. Under the split, only two countries – France and Norway – are more likely to vote for ethnic songs and Finland is less likely. By contrast, exotic

[31] The 19 countries are: Belarus, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Israel, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Moldova, Norway, Poland, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, and the UK.
[32] Lithuanian and Bosnian televoters and Ukraine under the split were also unlikely at the 10% level.
[33] The eleven countries were: Austria, Belgium, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Israel, the Netherlands, Romania, Russia, and Turkey.

songs do not perform well. Only Maltese televoters are unlikely to vote for exotic songs; but under the split system ten countries are unlikely to vote for exotic songs: Armenia, Belgium, France, Israel, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Spain, and Switzerland; whereas Iceland and Slovakia are more likely. Of the ten countries, seven are Western European, suggesting that, in particular, these countries do not like to see performances of another culture. It may be they perceive these performances as disingenuous or dislike the culture they are trying to emulate. Regardless, considering both the ethnic and exotic results indicates that countries appreciate when others showcase their own culture and dislike representations of other cultures.

Overall, these results suggest popularity is not the only predictor of doing well; certain song characteristics predict votes, regardless of popularity. Importantly, the song and performance variables were consistently significant; countries liked ethnic songs, but disliked rap, non-unity and exotic songs, and, unfortunately, minority singers. A few exceptions existed, but when the results were significant they were one-sided and, in some cases, geographically linked, which suggests that some preferences are similar across countries and blocs.

Appendix D: Country Codes Used in the Tables

Albania	ALB
Andorra	AND
Armenia	ARM
Austria	AUS
Azerbaijan	AZE
Belarus	BLR
Belgium	BEL
BIH	BIH
Bulgaria	BUL
Croatia	CRO
Cyprus	CYP
Denmark	DEN
Estonia	EST
Finland	FIN
France	FRA
Georgia	GA
Germany	GER
Greece	GRC
Hungary	HUN
Iceland	ICE
Ireland	IRE
Israel	ISR
Italy	ITA
Latvia	LAT
Lithuania	LIT
Macedonia	MAC
Malta	MAL
Moldova	MLV
Montenegro	MTN
Netherlands	NET
Norway	NOR
Poland	POL
Portugal	POR
Romania	ROM
Russia	RUS
San Marino	SMO
Serbia	SRB
Slovakia	SVK
Slovenia	SLV
Spain	SPA
Sweden	SWE
Switzerland	SWS
Turkey	TUR
Ukraine	UKR
UK	UK

Appendix E: Neighborly and Patriotic Voting

Likely to Vote For Neighbor
(Televote)

ALB	3.13***	MAC	3.16***
AND	3.85***	MLV	4.82***
BUL	3.37***	ROM	2.02***
EST	3.68***	SLV	2.84***
HUN	1.59**	TUR	3.46***
LIT	1.92**		

Unlikely to Vote For Neighbor
(Televote)

BEL	-2.57**

Likely to Vote For Neighbor
(Split Vote)

BUL	3.26***	MLV	5.97***
CRO	5.78***	ROM	2.59**
EST	6.23***	TUR	3.08**

Likely to Vote For Home Country[34]
(Televote)

AND	7.34***	FRA	4.94***
ARM	3.15**	GER	5.09***
AUS	4.04***	ISR	1.99***
BEL	6.26***	NET	3.25***
CYP	2.32***	SWE	3.47***
FIN	2.73**	SWS	3.98***

Likely to Vote For Home Country
(Split Vote)

AUS	4.28***	FRA	4.88***
BEL	3.87**	GER	3.55***
CYP	2.18**	SWE	3.75***
FIN	6.06***	SWS	3.52***

[34] Here the countries listed have expat populations that are likely to vote for their home countries. The countries listed are not the recipients; rather they have expat populations.

Appendix F: Vote Results for the Balkan Bloc

Likely to Vote For Balkans
(Televote)

AUS	1.22**	MTN	4.39***
BIH	1.43**	SRB	4.72***
CRO	2.21***	SLV	3.67***
MAC	2.73***	TUR	0.92**

Unlikely to Vote For Balkans
(Televote)

AND	-1.37**	FRA	-1.12**
AZE	-3.05**	GRC	-2.08***
BLR	-1.06**	LAT	-0.87**
BEL	-1.09***	ROM	-1.63***
DEN	-1.73***	RUS	-0.98**
EST	-1.24***	UK	-2.04***
FIN	-0.96**		

Likely to Vote For Balkans
(Split Vote)

ALB	2.77***	SRB	3.69***
CYP	3.36***	SLV	4.86***
MAC	3.51***	TUR	1.72**

Unlikely to Vote For Balkans
(Split Vote)

FIN	-1.63**

Appendix G: Vote Results for the Nordic Bloc

Likely to Vote For Nordic Bloc
(Televote)

DEN	3.47***	LIT	1.22**
EST	3.07***	NOR	5.05***
ICE	4.02***	POL	1.58***
ISR	1.46***	SWE	5.43***
LAT	1.45**		

Unlikely to Vote For Nordic Bloc
(Televote)

AZE	-3.92**	GRC	-1.11**
BEL	-1.05**	MAC	-0.94**
FRA	-2.48***	SWS	-1.30***

Likely to Vote For Nordic Bloc
(Split Vote)

DEN	3.25***	NOR	4.72***
EST	4.64***	POL	2.62**
ICE	4.36***	SLV	2.95***
IRE	2.06**		

Appendix H: Vote Results for Baltic Bloc

Likely to Vote For Baltic Bloc
(Televote)

EST	2.14***	NOR	1.23**
IRE	3.52***	SWE	1.39**
LAT	5.08***	UK	1.76**
LIT	5.26***		

Unlikely to Vote For Baltic Bloc
(Televote)

ALB	-1.21***	GRC	-3.76***
AND	-1.32**	ROM	-1.90***
BIH	-0.87**	SPA	-1.54***
FRA	-1.95***	TUR	-0.80**

Likely to Vote For Baltic Bloc
(Split Vote)

GA	4.56**	POL	5.52***
IRE	6.41***	POR	3.16**
LIT	6.56***	RUS	4.00**
NOR	5.35***		

Unlikely to Vote For Baltic Bloc
(Split Vote)

BIH	-1.77**

Appendix I: Vote Results for the Soviet Bloc

Likely to Vote For Soviet Bloc
(Televote)

BLR	5.42***	POL	4.06***
CYP	4.09***	POR	2.51***
GA	4.43***	RUS	5.71***
HUN	1.61**	SRB	2.27***
ISR	4.06***	SPA	1.45**
LAT	2.56***	TUR	2.95***
LIT	3.21***	UKR	6.12***
MLV	3.58***		

Unlikely to Vote For Soviet Bloc
(Televote)

ALB	-2.72***	NOR	-1.04**
BIH	-1.02**	SWS	-2.31***
DEN	-2.91***	UK	-1.73***

Likely to Vote For Soviet Bloc
(Split Vote)

BLR	5.97***	MLV	5.83***
CYP	4.47***	POL	4.30***
GA	5.68***	POR	2.49**
IRE	1.98**	RUS	4.86**
ISR	3.04**	UKR	5.44***
LIT	4.04***		

Unlikely to Vote For Soviet Bloc
(Split Vote)

MAC	-3.39***	UK	-2.32**

Appendix J: Vote Results for the EU

Likely to Vote For EU
(Televote)

BEL	1.33***	LIT	0.85**
CYP	1.09**	POR	1.08***
EST	0.75**	SPA	0.91**
ICE	0.93**	UK	1.14***
IRE	1.34***		

Unlikely to Vote For EU
(Televote)

ALB	-1.31**	MAC	-1.43***
AUS	-1.02**	MTN	-2.89***
BIH	-1.23***	NOR	-0.82**
DEN	-1.05***	SLV	-1.03***
FIN	-0.99**	SWS	-1.14***

Likely to Vote For EU
(Split Vote)

ICE	1.87**	IRE	1.99***

Unlikely to Vote For EU
(Split Vote)

FIN	-1.31**	SLV	-1.92**
MAC	-3.78***		

Appendix K: Vote Results for Big Five Bloc

Unlikely to Vote For Big Five
(Televote)

AND	-8.76***	ICE	-1.83***
BEL	-2.86***	MAL	-1.45***
BIH	-0.71**	NET	-2.16***
CYP	-1.36**	NOR	-1.19**
EST	-1.22**	ROM	-1.55***
FIN	-1.59***	RUS	-1.08**
FRA	-3.16***	UKR	-1.79***
GER	-1.92***	UK	-1.85***
GRC	-2.57***		

Unlikely to Vote For Big Five
(Split Vote)

AZE	-2.33***	SWE	-1.96**
GER	-2.11**		

Appendix L: Vote Results for the Balkan Countries

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient[35] (Televote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Televote)			
Albania	CRO	4.285***	MTN	5.425***				
	GER	2.345**	SLV	2.953**				
	GRC	8.016***	SWS	8.001***				
	MAC	10.95***	TUR	3.166***				
Bosnia	AUS	6.27***	NOR	6.59***	BLR	-2.27**	LIT	-1.80**
	CRO	5.58***	SRB	8.27***	GRC	-1.97**	SPA	-2.46***
	DEN	3.42***	SLV	8.08***	LAT	-1.99***	UK	-2.42**
	GER	2.95***	SWE	5.51***				
	MAC	4.96***	SWS	6.03***				
	MTN	9.24***	TUR	7.67***				
	NET	3.89***						
Bulgaria	CYP	6.98***	SPA	5.34***	ARM	-3.54***	NET	-2.65***
	GRC	4.47***	TUR	3.04**	BLR	-2.71***	NOR	-3.15***
	MAC	5.25***			BEL	-1.70**	ROM	-2.08**
					DEN	-2.97***	SWE	-2.80***
					IRE	-3.72***	SWS	-1.64**
					LIT	-2.65***		
Croatia	BIH	4.91***	SRB	6.56**	BEL	-2.28***	IRE	-2.79***
	MAC	5.55***	SLV	6.73***	DEN	-1.86**	ROM	-1.94***
	MTN	6.65***	SWS	4.21***	GRC	-2.46**	UK	-3.42***
Greece	BEL	2.67**	MAC	2.35**	DEN	-3.36***	NOR	-2.62***
	BUL	7.42***	ROM	4.72***	FIN	-2.40**		
	CYP	9.01***	SWS	1.58**				
	GER	5.08***	TUR	3.75***				
	HUN	4.12***	UK	3.45**				

[35] The country code is provided next to the coefficient. A double asterisk (**) next to the coefficient means it is significant at the 5% level and a triple asterisk (***) means it is significant at the 1% level.

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient (Televote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Televote)			
Macedonia	ALB	4.50***	SRB	8.72***	BLR	-3.11***	LIT	-2.00**
	BIH	4.45***	SLV	4.83***	BEL	-2.74***	MAL	-2.27***
	BUL	6.64***	SWS	3.39***	CYP	-2.47**	NET	-2.04**
	MTN	6.64***	TUR	3.12***	DEN	-2.07**	NOR	-3.02***
					FIN	-2.75***	POL	-2.29**
					FRA	-2.33***	POR	-2.29***
					GER	-1.64**	ROM	-1.90**
					GRC	-3.04***	RUS	-2.70***
					ICE	-2.05**	SPA	-2.56***
					IRE	-2.88***	UK	-3.76***
					LAT	-1.74**		
Montenegro	ALB	5.67***	GER	1.63**				
	BEL	7.98***	MAC	5.09**				
	CRO	3.42***	SLV	7.67***				
Romania	CYP	2.96**	MLV	8.31***	BLR	-2.36***	SWE	-2.10**
	HUN	4.39**	POR	4.18***	CRO	-3.35***	SWS	-1.42**
	ISR	5.94***	SPA	8.10***	LAT	-2.12***	UK	-3.05**
					LIT	-2.64***		
Serbia	BIH	8.04***	NET	4.28***	EST	-2.58***	SPA	-1.98**
	BUL	2.82**	NOR	2.55**	LAT	-1.77**	TUR	-2.52***
	CRO	6.90***	ROM	2.24***	LIT	-2.44***	UK	-4.54***
	FRA	5.07***	SLV	8.80***				
	GER	3.88***	SWE	4.47***				
	HUN	6.19**	SWS	8.87***				
	MAC	9.29***						
Slovenia	MTN	7.45***			DEN	-1.67**	ROM	-1.39**
					GRC	-1.67**	UK	-3.00***
					IRE	-1.99***		

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)			
Albania	AUS	8.95***	GRC	9.35***	IRE	-4.25***	NOR	-2.10**
	BIH	2.34**	SWS	7.87***				
	CRO	5.08***	TUR	6.05***				
Bosnia	AUS	8.26***	SRB	7.05**	IRE	-3.62**	UK	-3.88**
	CRO	10.47***	SLV	8.04***				
	NET	4.09**	TUR	8.60***				
Bulgaria	CYP	8.30***	TUR	8.38***				
	SWS	3.53**						
Croatia	AUS	5.493***	SRB	7.425**	BEL	-4.41**	SWE	-3.14**
	BIH	5.819**	SLV	5.486**	IRE	-4.32***		
	GRC	3.666**						
Greece	ALB	8.17***	ROM	6.42***	SLV	-3.64**		
	CYP	10.23***						
Macedonia	ALB	8.60***	SLV	5.16***	GER	-3.89**	SPA	-4.07**
	BIH	8.18***	TUR	7.22***	POR	-2.66**		
	CRO	6.34***	UKR	4.97***				
	SRB	6.85**						
Montenegro	ALB	11.73***			MLV	-5.09**		
Romania	AZE	4.83***	ITA	12.78***	FIN	-4.49**	FRA	-3.15**
	CYP	4.94**	MLV	9.31***				
	ISR	4.81**	SPA	4.51**				
Serbia	AUS	6.19**	NOR	3.89***	HUN	-3.92**	SPA	-6.26***
	BIH	7.67***	SWS	7.59***				
	CRO	7.75***						

Appendix M: Voting Results for Nordic Countries

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient (Televote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Televote)			
Denmark	EST	3.41***	MAL	1.97**	ARM	-3.75***		
	ICE	9.03***	NOR	6.52***				
	IRE	3.55***	POR	2.96**				
	ISR	2.46**	SPA	2.43**				
	LAT	2.75**	SWE	5.58***				
Finland	AND	3.51**	NOR	2.47**	ARM	-4.65***	ROM	-1.58**
	EST	7.73***	SWE	6.69***				
	ICE	5.25***						
Iceland	DEN	6.36***	NOR	6.31***	GA	-4.24**	IRE	-1.61**
	FIN	3.33**	POR	2.43**				
	ISR	2.96**	SWE	4.89***				
Norway	AZE	5.17***	LAT	3.13***				
	DEN	3.67***	POL	2.88**				
	EST	3.58***	SWE	4.69***				
	FIN	3.62**	UKR	2.27**				
	ICE	5.34***						
Sweden	DEN	5.29***	ICE	3.18***	CRO	-3.28***	TUR	-1.27**
	EST	3.96***	NOR	4.36***	GRC	-2.74***		
	FIN	3.92***						

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)			
Denmark	ICE	7.64***	SLV	3.97***	GRC	-2.96**		
	ROM	4.30**						
Finland	EST	5.52***	NOR	7.64***				
	ICE	7.84***	SWE	5.06***				
Iceland	DEN	4.62***	HUN	5.13**	FRA	-3.72**		
	FIN	4.67**	NOR	6.26***				
Norway					BEL	-3.47**	GRC	-3.05**
					CRO	-3.08**	HUN	-6.25***
					FRA	-3.24**	RUS	-3.38**
					GER	-4.70**	SLV	-3.35***
Sweden	DEN	6.27***	NET	5.06**				
	EST	8.04***	NOR	6.59***				
	FRA	5.75**						

Appendix N: Voting Results for the Soviet and Baltic Countries

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient (Televote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Televote)			
Armenia	BLR	4.56***	ISR	6.08***	AZE	-6.52**	MAL	-2.43***
	BEL	8.76***	NET	8.95***	CRO	-3.76***	POR	-1.58**
	BUL	5.69***	POL	6.38***	IRE	-1.93**		
	CYP	7.09***	RUS	8.80***				
	FRA	8.92***	SPA	7.72***				
	GA	11.46***	TUR	8.11***				
	GER	4.18***	UKR	5.23***				
	GRC	6.52***						
Azerbaijan	BLR	5.87***	LIT	4.32***	ARM	-3.22**	UK	-2.77**
	BEL	3.81**	MLV	6.31***	MAL	-2.05**		
	EST	3.29**	NET	2.62**				
	GRC	2.84**	POL	7.81***				
	HUN	9.19***	RUS	7.97***				
	ISR	3.29***	TUR	10.51***				
	LAT	3.68***	UKR	5.97***				
Belarus	CYP	3.57**	MAC	2.89**	DEN	-1.80**		
	EST	3.48**	MLV	5.11**				
	ISR	5.02**	POL	4.32**				
	LAT	4.58**	RUS	10.34***				
	LIT	4.11***	UKR	7.58***				
Georgia	AZE	5.13**	LAT	7.69***	DEN	-2.63***	UK	-2.49**
	BLR	5.91***	LIT	8.30***				
	CYP	5.74**	RUS	7.70***				
	EST	6.71***	TUR	6.84***				
	GRC	3.34***	UKR	8.56***				
	ISR	4.80***						
Moldova	AZE	5.41**	RUS	4.69***	ALB	-1.78**	MAL	-2.01**
	BLR	3.79**	TUR	5.08***	DEN	-2.89***	SWE	-2.39**
	POR	5.95***	UKR	4.53***				
	ROM	9.97***						

Russia	ARM	5.52***	ISR	6.63***	BEL	-2.43***	SWS	-2.19***
	AZE	6.56***	LAT	8.11***	DEN	-3.39***	UK	-3.99***
	BLR	7.74***	LIT	6.73***	NET	-2.60***		
	BUL	3.54**	MLV	4.45***				
	CYP	3.82***	UKR	7.09***				
	EST	7.34***						
Ukraine	AZE	9.46***	LIT	2.98**	SWS	-2.26**		
	BLR	5.31***	MLV	4.31***				
	EST	2.92**	POL	6.71***				
	HUN	4.24***	POR	6.40***				
	ISR	5.27***	RUS	4.66***				
	LAT	4.54***	TUR	3.84***				

Recipient	**Likely to Vote For Recipient** (Televote)				**Unlikely to Vote For Recipient** (Televote)			
Estonia	FIN	5.17***	LIT	4.05**	ALB	-1.32**	MTN	-2.83**
	LAT	8.09***			ARM	-2.15**	ROM	-1.63***
					BEL	-1.49**	SWS	-1.78***
					BIH	-2.20**	TUR	-1.43***
					GRC	-1.98**		
Latvia	EST	6.75***	LIT	7.31***	BIH	-2.56***	TUR	-1.25**
	IRE	3.94***	POR	2.86**	GRC	-1.98**		
	ISR	2.92**						
Lithuania	AZE	5.86**	LAT	7.71***	ALB	-1.07**	CRO	-1.94**
	EST	2.87***	UK	4.45***	BIH	-1.87**		
	IRE	6.75***						

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)			
Armenia	BUL	5.93***	NET	6.36**	AZE	-3.01**	SLV	-3.79***
	CYP	6.76**	ROM	4.89***	NOR	-4.34***		
	FRA	3.95**	RUS	8.42***				
	ISR	9.42***						
Azerbaijan	BLR	5.66***	RUS	6.66***	GER	-5.35***	IRE	-4.31**
	CYP	6.95***	TUR	9.04***				
	GA	7.31***	UKR	10.36***				
	MLV	6.29***						
Belarus	GA	6.69***	UKR	7.73**	UK	-4.68***		
Georgia	ARM	10.39***	LIT	8.74***	GER	-4.047**		
	AZE	7.43***	RUS	6.29***				
	BLR	9.11***	TUR	5.06***				
	EST	3.95**	UKR	8.51***				
	GRC	5.11***						
Moldova	AZE	3.86**	POR	7.28***				
	BLR	4.77**	ROM	11.47***				
Russia	ARM	8.14**	ISR	5.74***	IRE	-3.74**	UK	-5.33***
	AZE	4.41***	MLV	4.99**				
	BLR	8.05***	UKR	8.87***				
	EST	7.16***						
Ukraine	AZE	6.39***	GA	4.25**				
	BLR	8.02***	RUS	5.69***				

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)			
Estonia	FIN	4.96***	NOR	4.86**	BIH	-1.88***	SLV	-3.28***
	IRE	3.85**	POR	3.44**				
	LIT	5.19***						
Latvia	EST	5.49***	RUS	3.08**	ROM	-2.68**		
Lithuania	GA	6.40**	POL	7.75**	BEL	-4.41***		
	IRE	6.43**	RUS	2.74**				
	NOR	5.77***						

Appendix O: Voting Results for the Big Five Countries

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient (Televote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Televote)			
France					AUS	-3.79***	IRE	-1.98***
					BIH	-2.34**	MAL	-1.86**
					CRO	-3.01***	SPA	-1.57**
					FIN	-2.10**	TUR	-0.89**
					GRC	-2.26***		
Germany	SPA	3.28***	SWS	4.34***	ARM	-4.06***	IRE	-1.55**
					BLR	-2.41***	LIT	-1.49**
					BIH	-1.85**	MAL	-1.66**
					CRO	-2.68***	MTN	-2.47**
					FIN	-2.23***	NOR	-1.66**
					GA	-4.68**	ROM	-1.28**
					GRC	-2.07**	RUS	-1.25**
Spain	AND	5.85**	SWS	2.64***	ARM	-3.46**	LAT	-1.98***
	POR	4.15**			AUS	-4.32***	LIT	-2.68***
					BLR	-1.95***	NOR	-2.18***
					BIH	-3.19***	POL	-2.57***
					CRO	-2.96***	RUS	-2.15***
					DEN	-2.13***	SLV	-2.52***
					EST	-2.17***	SWE	-1.56**
					FIN	-2.86***	UKR	-2.61***
					GER	-2.50***	UK	-3.52***
					IRE	-2.05***		
UK					ARM	-3.36*	ROM	-1.61**
					NOR	-2.23**	UKR	-1.69**

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)			
France	BIH	2.50**	GRC	4.93**				
Germany	DEN	5.342***			ISR	-3.59**		
Italy	ALB	8.39**	MAL	8.15***	SWE	-3.12**		
	EST	5.94***	POL	8.16**				
Spain	POR	6.85***	SWS	5.83***	IRE	-4.42**	SLV	-3.12**
UK					FIN	-3.67**		

Appendix P: Voting Results for Western Europe

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient (Televote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Televote)			
Andorra	SPA	8.96***			ARM	-2.49***	BEL	-1.32**
					AUS	-2.64**		
Austria	SWS	3.69***			ARM	-3.29**	UKR	-1.79**
Belgium	GA	8.55**	NET	4.81***	BLR	-1.74**	FIN	-1.51**
					BIH	-2.08**	IRE	-1.52**
					CRO	-2.37***		
Ireland	EST	3.11***	POR	2.22**	BLR	-1.88**		
	MAL	2.90**	UK	5.74***				
Netherlands	BEL	7.02***	MAL	2.57**	BUL	-1.64**		
Portugal	AND	8.38***	SPA	2.87**	AUS	-3.91***	IRE	-1.29**
	FRA	7.65***	SWS	7.04***	AZE	-4.41**	NOR	-1.62**
					BIH	-2.21**	SLV	-1.25**
					CRO	-2.62***	TUR	-1.37***
					GRC	-1.61**		
San Marino	AUS	5.43***	ROM	2.52**	LIT	-3.78***		
	CYP	5.48***	RUS	3.52***				
	FRA	4.14***	SLV	6.85***				
	GRC	3.39**	SWE	4.67**				
	MAC	6.24***	SWS	8.60***				
	NET	3.29**						
Switzerland	EST	3.31**			ARM	-3.49***	UK	-2.06**
					BEL	-1.31**		

Recipient	Likely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)				Unlikely to Vote For Recipient (Split Vote)			
Austria	BIH	5.68***	SLV	2.46**	FIN	-3.46**	SRB	-4.49**
	GER	7.14***	SWS	6.06***	FRA	-4.47***	UK	-5.95***
					LIT	-3.30**		
Belgium	GRC	2.21**	POL	9.78***	UK	-6.84***		
	MAL	6.47***	ROM	3.91**				
Ireland	UK	5.21***			FRA	-3.04**	SLV	-4.53***
Netherlands	BEL	5.60***	TUR	5.35***	AZE	-4.15**	POR	-3.50**
Portugal	FRA	5.08***	SWS	4.28***	FIN	-5.75***	IRE	-4.83***
					HUN	-5.65***	UK	-4.41**
Switzerland					BEL	-2.57**	MAL	-7.69**

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