European Integration and Political Conflict

Over the past half-century, Europe has experienced the most radical reallocation of authority that has ever taken place in peace-time, yet the ideological conflicts that will emerge from this are only now becoming apparent. The editors of this volume, Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen, have brought together a formidable group of scholars of European and comparative politics to investigate patterns of conflict that are arising in the European Union. Using diverse sources of data, and examining a range of actors, including citizens, political parties, members of the European Parliament, social movements, and interest groups, the authors of this volume conclude that political contestation concerning European integration is indeed rooted in the basic conflicts that have shaped political life in Western Europe for many years. This volume provides a comprehensive analysis of political conflict in the European Union that will shape the field for years to come.

Gary Marks is Professor of Political Science at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and founding Director of the UNC Center for European Studies. Marks’ recent books include Multi-Level Governance and European Integration (with Liesbet Hooghe; 2001), and It Didn’t Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States (with Seymour Martin Lipset; 2000).

The evolving European systems of governance, in particular the European Union, challenge and transform the state, the most important locus of governance and political identity and loyalty over the past 200 years. The series Themes in European Governance aims to publish the best theoretical and analytical scholarship on the impact of European governance on the core institutions, policies and identities of nation-states. It focuses upon the implications for issues such as citizenship, welfare, political decision-making, and economic, monetary and fiscal policies.

An initiative of Cambridge University Press and the Programme on Advanced Research on the Europeanization of the Nation-State (ARENA), Norway, the series includes contributions in the social sciences, humanities and law. The series aims to provide theoretically informed studies analysing key issues at the European level and within European states. Volumes in the series will be of interest to scholars and students of Europe both within Europe and worldwide. They will be of particular relevance to those interested in the development of sovereignty and governance of European states and in the issues raised by multi-level governance and multi-national integration throughout the world.

Other books in the series:

Paulette Kurzer *Markets and Moral Regulation: Cultural Change in the European Union*

Christoph Knill *The Europeanisation of National Administrations: Patterns of Institutional Change and Persistence*

Tanja Börzel *States and Regions in the European Union: Institutional Adaptation in Germany and Spain*

Liesbet Hooghe *The European Commission and the Integration of Europe: Images of Governance*

Gallya Lahav *Immigration and Politics in the New Europe: Reinventing Europe*

Frank Schimmelfennig *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric*
European Integration and Political Conflict

Edited by
Gary Marks
Marco R. Steenbergen
Contents

List of figures vii
List of tables ix
List of contributors xii
Preface xiii

Introduction: Models of political conflict in the European Union 1
MARCO R. STEENBERGEN AND GARY MARKS

Part I: Citizens

1 The structure of citizen attitudes and the European political space 13
MATTHEW J. GABEL AND CHRISTOPHER J. ANDERSON

2 Potential for contestation on European matters at national elections in Europe 32
CEES VAN DER EIJK AND MARK N. FRANKLIN

3 Don’t rock the boat: expectations, fears, and opposition to EU-level policy-making 51
LEONARD RAY

4 Varieties of capitalism and political divides over European integration 62
ADAM P. BRINEGAR, SETH K. JOLLY, AND HERBERT KITSCHELT

Part II: Political parties

5 Defining the EU political space: an empirical study of the European election manifestos, 1979–1999 93
MATTHEW J. GABEL AND SIMON HIX
vi Contents

6 Does left/right structure party positions on European integration? 120
  LIESBET HOOGHE, GARY MARKS, AND CAROLE J. WILSON

7 Political competition in the European Parliament: evidence from roll call and survey analyses 141
  JACQUES J. A. THOMASSEN, ABDUL G. NOURY, AND ERIK VOETEN

8 Contesting Europe? The salience of European integration as a party issue 165
  MARCO R. STEENBERGEN AND DAVID J. SCOTT

Part III: Groups

9 Contestation potential of interest groups in the EU: emergence, structure, and political alliances 195
  BERNHARD WESSELS

10 Contestation in the streets: European protest and the emerging Euro-polity 216
  DOUG IMIG

11 Conclusion: European integration and political conflict 235
  GARY MARKS

References 260
Index 275
Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>The international relations model</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>The Hix–Lord model</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>The regulation model</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>The Hooghe–Marks model</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Voter positions in left/right (horizontal) and less/more EU integration (vertical) terms</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Parties’ positions on left/right (horizontal) and anti-/pro-integration (vertical) dimensions</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Party positions in left/right (horizontal) and less/more EU integration (vertical) terms</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Party positions in left/right (horizontal) and less/more EU integration (vertical) terms; parties weighted by size</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Expectation of loss of social benefits as a function of current social protection</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Fear of loss of benefits by income level and social protection status quo</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>The contingent relationship between ideology and support for the EU</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Euro-party locations over time</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Euro-party positions in a two-dimensional space</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Support for European integration by party family since 1984</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Positioning on selected EU policies by left/right dimension</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Positioning on selected EU policies by new politics dimension</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>A typology of democratic regimes</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>The salience of European integration over time</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>The salience of European integration by party family</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>The salience of European integration by member state</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of figures

8.4 The relationship between salience and dissent (1992–6) 186
9.1 Alternative routes for contestation 198
9.2 The scope and character of contestation 198
9.3 The “circle of institutionalization” of interest groups at the supranational level 200
9.4 The dynamics of European interest group formation: empirical values and estimates of “reaction” and “anticipation” hypotheses 204
9.5 Size of the economy and number of countries’ member organizations in European umbrella organizations 205
9.6 Trade dependency and standardized number of countries’ member organizations in European umbrella organizations 206
9.7 Differentiation and degree of “European encompassiveness” of interest domains 208
9.8 Fragmentation of interest group systems of different domains 209
9.9 Alliances between interest groups and political parties at the national level 212
9.10 Alliances between interest groups and political parties at the European level 213
9.11 Regulated capitalism vs. neoliberalism – political positions of members of the European Parliament with frequent interest group contact 215
10.1 Frequency and percentage of Western European contentious events provoked by EU policies and institutions, 1984–1997 224
10.2 Dimensions of contestation in Euro-protests, 1984–1997 230
10.3 Distribution of Euro-protests along six dimensions of contestation, 1984–1997 231
11.1 A model of coalition formation 249
11.2 Patterns of contestation 250
11.3 Party positions on European issues 254
11.4 Public opinion on European issues 255
1.1 Policy areas included in the survey .......................... page 18
1.2 Correlations between responses to policy questions .......... 20
1.3 Factor patterns (standardized solutions) for single-factor models .................................................. 24
1.4 Factor patterns (standardized solutions) for Hix–Lord model .................................................. 26
1.5 Factor patterns (standardized solutions) for Hooghe–Marks model .................................................. 27
2.1 Correlations between left/right and pro-/anti-EU measures .................................................. 34
2.2 Characteristics of voters’ self-placement on EU integration and left/right scales .................................................. 38
2.3 Variance in party positions on left/right and EU orientation .................................................. 42
3.1 Fear of a loss of social benefits as a function of the national status quo .................................................. 55
3.2 Probability that respondent prefers policy made at the national level only (logit results) .................................................. 57
3.3 The contingent effect of ideology on support for the European Union .................................................. 58
4.1 Five specifications of varieties of capitalism .................................................. 70
4.2 Two measures of dispositions to European integration and their national mean scores .................................................. 75
4.3 Varieties of capitalism and national evaluations of European integration .................................................. 78
4.4 Contextual models with aggregate and individual-level data .................................................. 80
4.5 Ideology and contextual determinants of dispositions toward the EU integration process .................................................. 82
4.6 Left/right self-placement and endorsement of European integration: bivariate correlations by country .................................................. 84
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of tables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.7 Direct effects and interactions between ideology and context as determinants of European integration views</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Number of political statements (“raw scores”) in the manifestos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Percentage of all the parties’ manifestos dedicated to each issue category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Correlation matrix (Pearson correlation coefficients)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Factor patterns (standardized solution)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Multiple regression analysis for party positioning on European integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Multiple regression analysis for party positioning on European integration and EU policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1 The transnationality of European party groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 Mean and variance of political groups’ positions in the EP (fourth parliament)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3 Impact of party and nationality on ideal point locations (entries are eta-squared)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4 Issue dimensions in the European Parliament (factor loadings &gt; 0.4 are in bold)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5 Mean and variance of party groups on the issue dimensions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6 Influence of party and nationality on MEP attitudes (entries are eta-squared)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1 Descriptive statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2 Salience and the political environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3 Salience and vote-seeking – model without election effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4 Salience and vote-seeking – pooled model with election effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5 Salience and office-seeking – model without election effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.6 Salience and office-seeking – pooled model with election effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.7 Salience and cohesion-seeking – model without election effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.8 Salience and cohesion-seeking – pooled model with election effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.9 Salience and party goals in 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1 Anticipation or reaction? Founding of European interest groups</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of tables

10.1 The domestic and European repertoires of contentious action for occupational and non-occupational groups, 1984–1997 226
11.1 Country and ideology 257
Contributors

CHRISTOPHER J. ANDERSON, Syracuse University
ADAM P. BRINEGAR, Duke University
CEES VAN DER EIJK, University of Amsterdam
MARK N. FRANKLIN, Trinity College, Connecticut and University of Amsterdam
MATTHEW J. GABEL, University of Kentucky (Lexington)
SIMON HIX, London School of Economics and Political Science
LIESBET HOOGHE, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
DOUG IMIG, University of Memphis
SETH K. JOLLY, Duke University
HERBERT KITSCHELT, Duke University
GARY MARKS, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
ABDUL G. NOURY, European Center for Advanced Research in Economics (Brussels)
LEONARD RAY, Louisiana State University (Baton Rouge)
DAVID J. SCOTT, Virginia Commonwealth University (Richmond)
MARCO R. STEENBERGEN, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
JACQUES J. A. THOMASSEN, University of Twente
ERIK VOETEN, George Washington University (Washington, DC)
BERNHARD WESSELS, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB)
CAROLE J. WILSON, University of Texas at Dallas
This book grew out of three workshops held at the University of North Carolina Center for European Studies between October 1998 and May 2000 organized by Gary Marks, Marco Steenbergen, David Scott, and Carole J. Wilson. By the late 1990s the notion that the European Union was part of an overarching, multilayered polity was commonplace, as was the conviction that comparative politics provided a powerful set of tools for analyzing that polity. Scholars of social movements, interest groups, political parties, mass publics, legislatures, elites, and bureaucracies were drawn to the study of the European Union both to encompass it within existing theories and to refine those theories.

This is the intellectual background to our project. Our goal was to bring together comparativists who could shed light on the underlying structure of conflict in the European Union and who could relate this to the conflicts that shaped politics within European countries. The project draws on two scholarly traditions: the analysis of cleavages and dimensions of contestation that stems from the work of Stein Rokkan and Seymour Martin Lipset, and the analysis of political conflict in the European Union that originated in the writings of Ernst Haas and Philippe Schmitter.

At the time we were formulating this project we had the sense that we were engaging fundamentally new questions, or combining old questions in novel ways. The dimensionality of European integration and its connection to domestic contestation is indeed a relatively new topic. But we were keenly aware that the line of inquiry that we were pursuing – investigating the underlying structure of political preferences and of political conflict – is well established in political science.

We seek to probe a single, fundamental, question in depth: how is political contestation at the European level connected to that in domestic arenas? We engage this precise question on a broad front. We examine how citizens, national political parties, members of the European Parliament, European political parties, social movements, and interest groups conceive the issues arising from European integration and how this is linked to dimensions of contestation in national politics. This research
is only possible because of the efforts of numerous scholars, including
several authors of chapters in this volume, to build data sets. We analyze
Eurobarometer data, manifesto data for national and European political
parties, roll call data for the European Parliament, a survey of MEPs,
European Election Study data, interest group data, Reuters’ reports, and
two expert data sets on national political parties.

The project has been funded by two extraordinary government sources:
a US Department of Education grant for a National Resource Center
in European Studies at the University of North Carolina; and a grant
from the European Union for a North Carolina European Union Center.
This book is truly a transatlantic endeavor, both in funding and in au-
thorship. We wish to thank Ruth Pitts, Associate Director of CES, Carrie
and Lauren Lovelace, for their tireless organizational efforts, and
Erica Edwards, Susan Glover, Heather Mbaye, Moira Nelson, and Sarah
Hutchison for valuable research assistance. Gary Marks wishes to thank
the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung for providing the
time to work on the conclusion. Ian Budge, Hans-Dieter Klingemann,
Paul Taggart, and Sid Tarrow contributed to our debates at various points,
and John Haslam of CUP expertly guided this project into book form.