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0521827795 - European Integration and Political Conflict

Edited by Gary Marks and Marco R. Steenbergen

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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).

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 Frontmatter
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 Frontmatter
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Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>List of tables</i>	ix
<i>List of contributors</i>	xii
<i>Preface</i>	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 KITSCHOLT	

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	

Cambridge University Press
 0521827795 - European Integration and Political Conflict
 Edited by Gary Marks and Marco R. Steenbergen
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

vi	Contents	
6	Does left/right structure party positions on European integration? LIESBET HOOGHE, GARY MARKS, AND CAROLE J. WILSON	120
7	Political competition in the European Parliament: evidence from roll call and survey analyses JACQUES J. A. THOMASSEN, ABDUL G. NOURY, AND ERIK VOETEN	141
8	Contesting Europe? The salience of European integration as a party issue MARCO R. STEENBERGEN AND DAVID J. SCOTT	165
Part III: Groups		
9	Contestation potential of interest groups in the EU: emergence, structure, and political alliances BERNHARD WESSELS	195
10	Contestation in the streets: European protest and the emerging Euro-polity DOUG IMIG	216
11	Conclusion: European integration and political conflict GARY MARKS	235
	<i>References</i>	260
	<i>Index</i>	275

Figures

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

Cambridge University Press

0521827795 - European Integration and Political Conflict

Edited by Gary Marks and Marco R. Steenbergen

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii	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

Tables

1.1	Policy areas included in the survey	<i>page</i> 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

Cambridge University Press

0521827795 - European Integration and Political Conflict

Edited by Gary Marks and Marco R. Steenbergen

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x	List of tables	
4.7	Direct effects and interactions between ideology and context as determinants of European integration views	85
5.1	Number of political statements (“raw scores”) in the manifestos	98
5.2	Percentage of all the parties’ manifestos dedicated to each issue category	101
5.3	Correlation matrix (Pearson correlation coefficients)	102
5.4	Factor patterns (standardized solution)	104
6.1	Multiple regression analysis for party positioning on European integration	125
6.2	Multiple regression analysis for party positioning on European integration and EU policies	127
7.1	The transnationality of European party groups	146
7.2	Mean and variance of political groups’ positions in the EP (fourth parliament)	149
7.3	Impact of party and nationality on ideal point locations (entries are eta-squared)	151
7.4	Issue dimensions in the European Parliament (factor loadings > 0.4 are in bold)	153
7.5	Mean and variance of party groups on the issue dimensions	155
7.6	Influence of party and nationality on MEP attitudes (entries are eta-squared)	157
8.1	Descriptive statistics	173
8.2	Saliency and the political environment	179
8.3	Saliency and vote-seeking – model without election effects	180
8.4	Saliency and vote-seeking – pooled model with election effects	182
8.5	Saliency and office-seeking – model without election effects	183
8.6	Saliency and office-seeking – pooled model with election effects	184
8.7	Saliency and cohesion-seeking – model without election effects	185
8.8	Saliency and cohesion-seeking – pooled model with election effects	187
8.9	Saliency and party goals in 1999	192
9.1	Anticipation or reaction? Founding of European interest groups	203

Cambridge University Press

0521827795 - European Integration and Political Conflict

Edited by Gary Marks and Marco R. Steenbergen

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

	List of tables	xi
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*
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0521827795 - European Integration and Political Conflict

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

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

Cambridge University Press

0521827795 - European Integration and Political Conflict

Edited by Gary Marks and Marco R. Steenbergen

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv Preface

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 authorship. 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.