

Politicising Europe

Politicising Europe presents the most comprehensive contribution to empirical research on politicisation to date. The study is innovative in both conceptual and empirical terms. Conceptually, the contributors develop and apply a new index and typology of politicisation. Empirically, the volume presents a huge amount of original data, tracing politicisation in a comparative perspective over more than forty years. Focusing on six European countries (Austria, France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK) from the 1970s to the current euro crisis, the book examines conflicts over Europe in election campaigns, street protests and public debates on every major step in the integration process. It shows that European integration has indeed become politicized. However, the patterns and developments differ markedly across countries and arenas, and many of the key hypotheses on the driving forces of change need to be revisited in view of new findings.

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Politicising Europe

Integration and Mass Politics

Edited by

**Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande and
Hanspeter Kriesi**



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PhD in political science from the University of Zurich. In his PhD thesis, he investigated the politicisation of European integration with a special focus on mainstream parties and the multifaceted nature of the issue. During his doctoral studies, he was granted an Emil Boral scholarship and was a visiting scholar at the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB) in 2013/2014.

Preface and acknowledgements

Politicising Europe is the third major volume from a long-term research collaboration between Edgar Grande and Hanspeter Kriesi that started in the early 2000s. It builds on previous work on the political consequences of globalisation and the re-structuring of political conflict in western Europe and takes a closer look at the development of political conflict over European integration. This book is once more based on a large-scale empirical research project that covers six west European countries, several political arenas and more than four decades from the early 1970s to a peak of the euro crisis in 2012. Our shift in emphasis to European integration issues is both for analytical and political reasons. On the one hand, our previous projects have shown that conflicts over European integration have been constitutive for the emergence of a new ‘demarcation-integration’ cleavage in western Europe. Therefore, examining these conflicts in more detail promised important new insights into the political mechanisms that drive the transformation of political conflict. On the other hand, political developments since the mid 2000s have given the impression that the European integration process has been entering a profound political crisis. This became most evident in the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty in two national referendums in France and the Netherlands in 2005 and the following fruitless debates on the future of the ‘European project’. After two decades of intensified integration, which commenced in the mid 1980s with the project to complete the single market and came to an end in the mid 2000s with the accession of twelve new member states, there have been increasing signs that the political foundations of the integration process have been changing fundamentally. The current ‘euro crisis’ has intensified this political predicament even further. In 2015, it seems as if integration euphoria has given way to perennial frustrations, public support has turned into open political resistance and intensified political conflicts have been shaping decision-making on European issues both in supranational institutions and within the European Union’s (EU) member states. Against this background, our study assumes that a focus on the

politicisation of Europe, both as an analytical concept and as a political strategy, is key to an understanding of the acute problems that the European integration project faces today.

While the course of political events in the EU has been rather disappointing in recent years, our research project has again proven the huge potentials of cooperation across countries. Although mainly based at the University of Munich, it was again jointly directed by Edgar Grande and Hanspeter Kriesi, who in the course of the project changed his institutional affiliation from Zurich to Florence, and it included partners at the universities of Umea, Vienna and Zurich. The main responsibility for the project was with the team at the University of Munich, which was composed of Swen Hutter, Alena Kerscher, Daniela Braun and Regina Becker. The Munich team, Swen Hutter in particular, set up the study, coordinated the project and was responsible for collecting the data on Britain, France and Germany. Our partners Martin Dolezal at the University of Vienna, Johan Hellström at the University of Umea and Simon Maag at the University of Zurich were each responsible for the data collection in their countries. Martin Dolezal also contributed substantially to the design of the project. Due to their great commitment and efforts over the last five years, we have been able to collect a unique dataset which provides a new and solid empirical basis for research on the politicisation of European integration.

Our collaborative efforts to collect original data on the politicisation of Europe would not have been possible without the generous support of the German Research Council (DFG), which financed the project from 2010 until 2014. Most of the data collection in Munich, Umea and Vienna was financed by the DFG. In addition, the Swiss part of the project was financed by the Chair in Comparative Politics at the University of Zurich. Furthermore, the Austrian Research Association financed part of the protest coding in Austria, and the Stein Rokkan Chair at the European University Institute in Florence financed the final proofreading of this manuscript. For institutional support during the writing of this book, Edgar Grande is grateful for the hospitality of the WZB Berlin Social Science Center, and Swen Hutter would like to thank the Max Weber Programme and the ERC-POLCON project at the EUI.

We are very thankful to our six co-authors. Their commitment to the project has gone far beyond the contribution of a chapter to an edited volume, and this book (hopefully) reads very much like a monograph written by a single author. Not the least, we are indebted to all our student research assistants, who – together with the research team – went through thousands of newspaper articles and for countless hours coded what is now condensed in a few dozen figures and tables. Our

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We have had the opportunity to present our conceptual ideas and the first results from our research on various occasions, both in our own universities and at conferences and workshops. It is beyond the scope of this Preface to list them all, but we thank all the colleagues who attended these presentations and provided us with their comments and suggestions. For their encouraging feedback on parts of our manuscript, we are especially grateful to Pieter de Wilde, Adrienne Héritier, Sara B. Hobolt, Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Christian Rauh, Aidan Regan, Thomas Risse and Michael Zürn. Furthermore, we thank the anonymous reviewers at Cambridge University Press for their reviews and support. Finally, we would like to thank David Barnes for his careful reading and editing of our final manuscript.