Over the past three decades the effects of globalization and denationalization have created a division between ‘winners’ and ‘losers’ in Western Europe. This study examines the transformation of party political systems in six countries (Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the UK) using opinion surveys, as well as newly collected data on election campaigns. The authors argue that, as a result of structural transformations and the strategic repositioning of political parties, Europe has observed the emergence of a tripolar configuration of political power, comprising the left, the moderate right, and the new populist right. They suggest that, through an emphasis on cultural issues such as mass immigration and resistance to European integration, the traditional focus of political debate – the economy – has been downplayed or reinterpreted in terms of this new political cleavage. This new analysis of Western European politics will interest all students of European politics and political sociology.

Hanspeter Kriesi is Professor for Comparative Politics in the Institute of Political Science at the University of Zurich.

Edgar Grande is Professor for Comparative Politics in the Geschwister-Scholl-Institute for Political Science at the University of Munich.

Romain Lachat is a visiting scholar at the Department of Politics of New York University.

Martin Dolezal is a researcher in the Geschwister-Scholl-Institute for Political Science at the University of Munich.

Simon Bornschier is a researcher in the Institute of Political Science at the University of Zurich.

Timotheos Frey is a researcher in the Institute of Political Science at the University of Zurich.
West European Politics in the Age of Globalization

HANSPETER KRIESI
EDGAR GRANDE
ROMAIN LACHAT
MARTIN DOLEZAL
SIMON BORNSCHIER
TIMOTHEOS FREY
Contents

List of figures xi
List of tables xiii
Preface and acknowledgments xvii

Part I Theory and methods

1 Globalization and its impact on national spaces of competition
HANSPETER KRIE SI, EDGAR GRANDE, ROMAIN LACHAT,
MARTIN DOLEZAL, SIM ON B ORNSCHIER AND
TIMOTHEOS FREY 3
A new structural conflict between ‘winners’ and ‘losers’
of globalization 4
The impact of the new structural conflict on the structure
of the political space 9
The positioning of the parties within the transformed space 14
An overview of the volume 20

2 Contexts of party mobilization
HANSPETER KRIE SI 23
The societal context 24
The relative strength of the traditional cleavages and the new
cleavage 24
Economic context conditions 28
Cultural context conditions 31
The political context 36
The general framework: processes of dealignment and the
established structure of the party systems 38
Institutional opportunity structures: the electoral system
and its consequences 42
The interaction context and the dynamics of adjustment: strategies
of mainstream parties 45
Conclusion 49
### 3 The design of the study: the distinguishing characteristics of our approach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MARTIN DOLEZAL</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selection of countries and elections</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two sides of party competition: data collection and analysis</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve issue categories</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of the demand side</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of the supply side</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Part II Country studies

#### 4 France: the model case of party system transformation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIMON BORNSCHEIER</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context conditions</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional cleavages and dealignment in the party system</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic context conditions</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural context conditions</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political context conditions</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of the demand side: voters’ political potentials</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of the supply side: structures of competition in the party system</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5 Austria: transformation driven by an established party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MARTIN DOLEZAL</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social-economic and political context conditions</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative strength of traditional cleavages</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic context conditions</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural context conditions</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political context conditions</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of the demand side: voters’ attitudes and issue-priorities</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of the supply side: the parties’ programmatic offer</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 6 Switzerland: another case of transformation driven by an established party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ROMAIN LACHAT</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional cleavages</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contents

Economic context conditions 134
Cultural context conditions 136
The political context 138
Analysis of the demand side: the electoral potential for a new cleavage 143
Analysis of the supply side: the articulation of the integration–demarcation cleavage 148
Conclusion 152

7 The Netherlands: a challenge that was slow in coming
HANSPETER KRIESI AND TIMOTHEOS FREY 154
Introduction 154
Social and economic context conditions 155
The relative strength of traditional cleavages 155
Economic context conditions 156
Cultural context conditions 160
Political context conditions 161
The new right-wing populist challenge 163
Analysis of the demand side: the voters’ political potentials 165
Analysis of the supply side: the parties’ programmatic offer 172
Conclusion 181

8 The United Kingdom: moving parties in a stable configuration
HANSPETER KRIESI AND TIMOTHEOS FREY 183
Introduction 183
Social and economic context conditions 185
The relative strength of traditional cleavages 185
Economic context conditions 187
Cultural context conditions 189
Political context conditions 191
Dealignment and realignment 191
Difficulties for new challengers 193
Transformation of major parties 194
Analysis of the demand side: the voters’ political potentials 197
Analysis of the supply side: the parties’ programmatic offer 202
Conclusion 206

9 Germany: the dog that didn’t bark
MARTIN DOLEZAL 208
Introduction 208
Social-economic and cultural context conditions 209
Relative strength of traditional cleavages 209
Contents

viii

Economic context conditions 211
Cultural context conditions 212
Political context conditions 214
Dealignment 214
Institutional structure 216
Organizational capacity and leadership quality of the new challengers 217
Strategies of mainstream parties 218
Analysis of the demand side: voters’ attitudes and issue priorities 220
Analysis of the supply side: the parties’ programmatic offer 226
Conclusion 232

Part III Comparative analyses 235

10 Demand side: dealignment and realignment of the structural political potentials
ROMAIN LACHAT AND MARTIN DOLEZAL 237
Introduction 237
The structure of voters’ attitudes 238
The relationship between economic and cultural issues 240
Winners and losers of globalization 243
The configuration of partisan groups 251
The structural basis of the new divide 257
Conclusion 264

11 Supply side: the positioning of the political parties in a restructuring space
ROMAIN LACHAT AND HANSPETER KRIESE 267
Introduction 267
The structure of the political space 269
The transformation of the basic dimensions of the space 269
The degree of integration of the two dimensions 271
The configuration of party positions 274
‘Tripolarity’ 274
Party families 278
Comparing national party configurations 282
The determinants of parties’ issue-positions 285
Economic issues 286
European integration and immigration 288
Cultural liberalism and law and order 290
Conclusion 294
## Contents

12 The electoral consequences of the integration–demarcation cleavage  
**Romain Lachat**  
Introduction 296  
The issue basis of voting choices 297  
Strategy of analysis 300  
France 301  
Austria 305  
Switzerland 308  
The Netherlands 311  
The United Kingdom 314  
Germany 316  
Conclusion 317

13 Globalizing West European politics: the change of cleavage structures, parties and party systems in comparative perspective  
**Edgar Grande**  
Globalizing West European politics: dimensions of comparative analysis 320  
The transformation of cleavage structures and political spaces 322  
The rise of new parties and party families in Western Europe 328  
The fragmentation and polarization of party systems in Western Europe 335  
Fragmentation 336  
Polarization 338  
Still the age of moderate pluralism? 341  
Conclusion 343

**Appendix A**  
Technical appendix 345  
Introduction 345  
Analysis of the supply side of electoral competition: data collection 345  
Analysis of the demand side: list of datasets used 348  
Operationalization of social-structural variables 349  
Social class 349  
Education 353  
Religion and religiosity 353  
Measuring voters’ issue-positions 353  
Statistical methods 359  
Multidimensional scaling 359
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Measuring the degree of integration of two axes in an MDS configuration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polarization measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weighted Euclidian distance between parties in a multidimensional issue space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Figures

1.1 Expected positioning of party families with respect to the new cleavage  
2.1 Number of new asylum-seekers per year and country  
3.1 The rise of globalization, 1970–2003  
4.1 Demand side of party competition, 1978, 1988, 1995 and 2002 elections (France)  
4.2 Demand side, distances between selected socio-demographic categories (in standard deviations) (France)  
4.3 Supply side of party competition, 1978, 1988, 1995 and 2002 elections (France)  
5.1 Demand side of party competition, 1975, 1994, 1999 and 2002 elections (Austria)  
5.2 Demand side of party competition in Austria, distances between selected socio-demographic categories (in standard deviations) (Austria)  
5.3 Supply side of party competition, 1975, 1994, 1999 and 2002 elections (Austria)  
6.1 Demand side of party competition, 1975, 1995 and 1999 elections (Switzerland)  
6.2 Distances between selected socio-demographic categories (in standard deviations) (Switzerland)  
7.1 Demand side of party competition, 1972, 1994, 1998 and 2002 elections (The Netherlands)  
7.2 Demand side, distances between selected socio-demographic categories (in standard deviations) (The Netherlands)  
7.3 Supply side of party competition, 1972, 1994 and 1998 elections (The Netherlands)  
7.4 Supply side of party competition, 2002 and 2003 elections (The Netherlands)
xii

List of figures

8.1 Level of industrial conflict, days not worked (in million) (United Kingdom) 187
8.2 Demand side of party competition, 1974, 1992, 1997 and 2001 elections (United Kingdom) 199
8.3 Demand side, distances between selected socio-demographic categories (in standard deviations) (United Kingdom) 201
8.4 Supply side of party competition, 1974, 1992, 1997 and 2001 elections (United Kingdom) 203
9.1 Demand side of party competition, 1976, 1994, 1998 and 2002 elections (Germany) 223
9.2 Demand side of party competition, distances between selected socio-demographic categories (in standard deviations) (Germany) 225
9.3 Supply side of party competition, 1976, 1994, 1998 and 2002 elections (Germany) 227
10.1 Strength of traditional and new divides among social groups 244
10.2 Distances between social groups on economic issue-categories 247
10.3 Distances between social groups on cultural issue-categories 247
10.4 Average location of education levels on the economic and cultural dimensions 249
10.5 Average location of social classes on the economic and cultural dimensions 249
10.6 Average location of partisan groups in the political space, 1970s 255
10.7 Average location of partisan groups in the political space, 1990s 256
11.1 Issue-positions and values of the integration indices in Austria, 1999 and France, 1978 271
11.2 Positions of party families in the political space 279
11.3 Positions of parties in the political space 283
13.1 Typology of ideological profiles of political parties 326
13.2 Typology of pluralist party systems 342
A.1 Screeplot of a factor analysis of the issue-categories, Netherlands, 1994 358
A.2 Factor loadings for the preferred solution and for two alternative solutions, Netherlands, 1994 359
A.3 Schematic representation of the distances on which the integration index is based 363
Tables

2.1 Strength of traditional cleavages in the six countries  page 26
2.2 Social and economic indicators  30
2.3 Classification of cultural context conditions  34
2.4 Foreign population  35
2.5 Indicators of dealignment: volatility, party identification and party membership  39
2.6 Indicators of the party system: number of parties, type of democracy and ideological distance  40
2.7 Summary of hypotheses concerning national contexts of party mobilization  50
3.1 Elections  57
3.2 Issue-categories  59
3.3 Surveys used for the demand-side analyses  62
3.4 Issue-categories covered by the surveys  63
3.5 Selected newspapers  68
3.6 Parties according to current membership of party families  69
4.1 Election results and party system features  81
4.2 Demand side of party competition: results of factor analyses after varimax rotation  92
5.1 Election results and party system features  113
5.2 Demand side of party competition: results of factor analyses after varimax rotation  117
6.1 Election results and characteristics of the party system, Switzerland, 1971–2003  140
6.2 Structure of the Swiss political space: analysis of the demand side, 1975–1999: factor loadings after a varimax rotation  144
7.1 Election results and party system features  157
7.2 Demand side of party competition: results of factor analyses after varimax rotation  166
8.1 Election results, House of Commons: shares of votes and numbers of seats  184
8.2 Demand side of party competition: results of factor analyses after varimax rotation 198
9.1 Election results and party system features 215
9.2 Results of factor analyses after varimax rotation 221
10.1 Strength of the association between economic and cultural attitudes 242
10.2 Polarization of partisan groups on the economic and cultural dimensions 252
10.3 Degree of ‘tripolarity’ of the party configuration 253
10.4 Impact of social-structural characteristics on voters’ attitudes towards a restrictive immigration policy 260
10.5 Impact of social-structural characteristics on voters’ attitudes towards European integration 262
10.6 Party family and period: percentages 293
12.1 Likelihood ratio tests of the impact of issue-categories on voting choice, France 302
12.2 Impact of issue-positions on voting probabilities, France 303
12.3 Likelihood ratio tests of the impact of issue-categories on voting choice, Austria 306
12.4 Impact of issue-positions on voting probabilities, Austria 307
12.5 Likelihood ratio tests of the impact of issue-categories on voting choice, Switzerland 309
12.6 Impact of issue-positions on voting probabilities, Switzerland 310
12.7 Likelihood ratio tests of the impact of issue-categories on voting choice, the Netherlands 311
12.8 Impact of issue-positions on voting probabilities, the Netherlands 313
List of tables

12.9 Likelihood ratio tests of the impact of issue-categories on voting choice, the UK 314
12.10 Impact of issue-positions on voting probabilities, the UK 315
12.11 Likelihood ratio tests of the impact of issue-categories on voting choice, Germany 316
12.12 Impact of issue-positions on voting probabilities, Germany 317
13.1 Political and institutional opportunity structures for radical-right parties 334
13.2 Effective number of parties (based on votes at national parliamentary elections) 336
13.3 Party systems and party system change in Western Europe 343
A.1 Days selected for the content analysis, by year and newspaper 347
A.2 List of available indicators (Netherlands 1994, first wave) 355
A.3 List of available indicators (Netherlands 1994, second wave) 355
A.4 Factor loadings for the category cultural liberalism 357
A.5 Factor loadings for the category anti-immigration 357
B.1 Issue positions of French parties in the four campaigns 367
B.2 Issue salience for French parties in the four campaigns 369
B.3 Issue positions of Austrian parties in the four campaigns 371
B.4 Issue salience for Austrian parties in the four campaigns 372
B.5 Issue positions of Swiss parties in the four campaigns 374
B.6 Issue salience for Swiss parties in the four campaigns 376
B.7 Issue positions of Dutch parties in the four campaigns 378
B.8 Issue salience for Dutch parties in the four campaigns 380
B.9 Issue positions of UK parties in the four campaigns 382
B.10 Issue salience for UK parties in the four campaigns 383
B.11 Issue positions of German parties in the four campaigns 384
B.12 Issue salience for German parties in the four campaigns 386
Preface and acknowledgments

This book is the result of a joint project of two teams of political scientists, one at the University of Zurich, the other at the University of Munich. The origins of this project date back to a hot summer afternoon in 2001, when Hanspeter Kriesi gave a presentation of some of his ideas about the impact of globalization on the transformation of Western European party systems before the special research programme (SFB) on ‘Reflexive modernization’ at the Technical University of Munich. The presentation was well received by the small audience of dedicated colleagues who did bear with the heat. Edgar Grande reacted by proposing to set up a joint comparative research project designed to test these largely speculative ideas. Eventually, the project got going in late 2002, with the joint support of the German Research Foundation (SFB 536 – Project C5), and of the Swiss National Science Foundation (1214-68010.02). Martin Dolezal together with several research assistants joined Edgar Grande to form the Munich team, while Simon Bornschier, Timotheos Frey, Romain Lachat and Hanspeter Kriesi constituted the Zurich team.

The two teams closely collaborated from the start, and evenly divided the challenging task of data collection in six selected countries – Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the UK – between them. We assembled data both for the political supply by the parties, and for the political demand by the voters. Unsurprisingly, our decision not to rely on the readily available expert data for the supply side, nor to use the data provided by the Manifesto group, but to create our own data on the basis of an analysis of the public debate during election campaigns in the media, proved to be particularly consequential. We spent long months setting up the database and eventually coding the selected newspaper articles, ads and TV news. Let us add that, for the Dutch data, we got some decisive help from Jan Kleinnijenhuis and his collaborators from the Free University of Amsterdam, who also provided us with the key methodological ideas for how to code the public debate.
during election campaigns. With regard to the demand side, we used the available election surveys from the different countries. To render these surveys comparable across individual elections and across countries, and make them usable for our own purposes was, however, no mean task, given that there are no standardized formats for election studies in the various European countries. As we suspected, and as the reader will, we believe, come to appreciate on becoming familiar with our work, this investment into the data collection paid off handsomely.

As the corpus on which this book is based was shaping up, we started to present our ideas and tentative results, first to our students and colleagues at our own universities and at the SFB, then to colleagues at conferences in Berlin (a WZB conference on ‘political participation and protest mobilization in the age of globalization’), Budapest (3rd ECPR General Conference), Chicago (Midwest Political Science Association), Duke University (workshop on the ‘analysis of political cleavages and party competition’), Mannheim (the working group ‘Wahlen und politische Einstellungen’ of the German Political Science Association), Munich (a workshop explicitly organized on our preliminary results), Paris (a conference on ‘right-wing extremism in Europe’), Philadelphia (American Political Science Association), Rethymnon (a conference on ‘political change and globalization’) and Vienna (Austrian Political Science Association). We also presented some preliminary results to our colleagues at the SFB in Bremen, the Max-Planck-Institute in Cologne, the Cevipof in Paris, and at universities in Amsterdam, Dublin and Grenoble. We would like to thank all those who attended these presentations, and who provided us with comments. They allowed us to elaborate and revise our thinking about how party systems change in an age of globalization, to correct our interpretations of the six cases we are dealing with here, and to improve several aspects of our statistical analyses. Several colleagues also provided us with precious information on the election studies in their respective countries and helped us with the collection of data from newspapers and TV news. In particular, we would like to thank Kees Aarts, Ulrich Beck, Hans-Georg Betz, Lars-Erik Cederman, Tony Coxon, Roland Erne, Franz Fallend, Matthew Gabel, Olivier Grosjean, Niamh Hardiman, Jude Hays, Simon Hug, Achim Hurrelmann, Galen Irwin, Bob Jessop, Herbert Kitschelt, Jan Kleinnijenhuis, Frank Nullmeier, Philip Manow, Pierre Martin, Erik Neveu, Franz-Urban Pappi, Pascal Perrineau, Philip van Praag,
Preface and acknowledgments

Edeltraud Roller, Sabine Saurugger, Yves Schemeil, Kenneth Scheve, Tobias Schulz, Peter Selb and Michael Zürn. We also thank Axel Berger, Simone Debrunner, Fabienne Frei, Swen Hutter, Tina Knoll, Georg Martin, Vanessa Flöge and Bettina Wapf for their research assistance. Finally, we would like to thank the efficient team from Cambridge University Press.