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Hanspeter Kriesi , Edgar Grande , Martin Dolezal , Marc Helbling ,
Dominic Höglinger , Swen Hutter , Bruno Wüest
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Political Conflict in Western Europe

What are the consequences of globalization for the structure of political conflicts in Western Europe? How are political conflicts organized and articulated in the twenty-first century? And how does the transformation of territorial boundaries affect the scope and content of political conflicts? This book sets out to answer these questions by analysing the results of a study of national and European electoral campaigns, protest events and public debates in six West European countries. While the mobilization of the losers in the processes of globalization by new right populist parties is seen to be the driving force of the restructuring of West European politics, the book goes beyond party politics. It attempts to show how the cleavage coalitions that are shaping up under the impact of globalization extend to state actors, interest groups and social movement organizations, and how the new conflicts are framed by the various actors involved.

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Preface and acknowledgments

This book is the second major outcome of an exciting scientific collaboration on the political consequences of globalization that started in the early 2000s. It continues and builds upon the work of *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*, in which we examined the emergence of a new cleavage and the transformation of party systems in six West European countries (Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the UK). In a somewhat different composition, the two teams of political scientists at the universities of Zurich and Munich have extended the analysis of the restructuration of West European politics in the years from 2005 until the end of 2009. The team leaders – Hanspeter Kriesi and Edgar Grande – are still the same. From the original team, Martin Dolezal is also still part of the current set of authors. Marc Helbling, Dominic Höglinger, Swen Hutter, and Bruno Wüest have joined the team for the second phase of the project, on which the analyses we present in this volume are based. For this second phase, we again received generous support from the German Research Foundation (SFB 536 – Project C5), and from the Swiss National Science Foundation (100017–111756).

For the present volume, we collected fresh data on national elections, which we now cover up to and including 2007. In addition, we extended our analysis in three directions: we added European elections to the national elections, we included political protest in our analyses, and we innovated by adding in-depth analyses of three issue-specific debates. These debates cover issues that are related to our key hypothesis that globalization is restructuring the national political space – immigration, European integration, and economic liberalism. Compared to the previous study, we pay less attention to the demand side of politics, and predominantly focus on the supply side – the election campaigns at both the national and the European level, protest events in the protest arena, and the contents of the public debates among the political elites in the period 2004–06.

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Extending our analyses of the restructuration of West European politics under the impact of globalization in this threefold way implied again a major challenge for data collection. We divided the demanding task between our two teams and, as in the first phase of our study, we again got some decisive help from Jan Kleinnijenhuis and his collaborators from the Free University of Amsterdam for the collection of the Dutch data. We essentially relied on content analyses of mass media: we extended and adapted the core-sentence approach we had already used previously for the analysis of public debates; additionally, we conducted a protest event analysis for the study of political mobilization in less conventional channels.

We have presented our ideas and tentative results on several occasions, first to our students and colleagues at our own universities and at the SFB, and then to colleagues at conferences in Berlin (a WZB conference on the politicization of international institutions and a joint conference of SFB 536 and SFB 597 at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences); Brussels (a workshop on ‘cleavage systems’ at the conference of the French-speaking associations of political science, and a session of the Summer School of the ECPR Standing Group, ‘Political Parties in Modern Democracies’); Edinburgh (a workshop on ‘personalization of politics’ at the conference of the Political Studies Association); St Gallen and Geneva (Annual Conferences of the Swiss Political Science Associations); and London (a Policy Network symposium on ‘The Future of European social democracy’). We also presented some preliminary results to our colleagues at the SFB in Bremen, and at the universities of Aarhus, Berlin, Brussels, Budapest, Catania, Florence, the EUI in Florence, Hamburg, Manchester, Osnabrück, Oxford, Princeton, Siena, and Toronto. We would like to thank all those who attended these presentations, and provided us with comments and critique.

We are especially grateful to Silke Adams, Simon Bornschier, Catherine de Vries, Christoph Egle, Cathleen Kantner, Ruud Koopmans, Romain Lachat, Peter Mair, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Franz-Urban Pappi, who have all been willing to provide us with comments on earlier drafts of our manuscript at a workshop that we had organized in Munich in autumn 2009. We extend our special gratitude to two anonymous reviewers of Cambridge University Press, who have taken more than the usual pains to assess our revised manuscripts for the Press. Their comments incited us to completely reorganize and rewrite

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Part III on public debates to make it more concise as well as more focused on key theoretical issues. We would also like to say special thanks to Daniele Albertazzi, Ulrich Beck, Michelle Beyeler, Chris Deschouwer, Tim Frey, Marco Giugni, Christopher Green-Pedersen, Jeffrey S. Kopstein, Stefan Leibfried, Pierre Martin, Duncan McDonnell, James Newell, Frank Nullmeier, Louis W. Pauly, Jonas Pontusson, Thomas Risse, Guido Schweltnuss, Luca Verzichelli, and Michael Zürn, who have in one way or another lent us their support. We are very grateful to the research assistants who helped us during the ambitious task of data collection: Simone Bender, Alexander Drost, Melanie Hartmann, Florian Hiermeier, Alena Kerscher, Angelika Lange, Simon Maag, Silvia Matter, Nadja Mosimann, Arne Scheffler, Hanna Schwenzer, Sonja Stollreiter, Milou van Rooyen, Simone Wasmann, and Anna Katharina Winkler. Last but not least, we would like to thank John Bendix for his very careful editing support.