

## 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).

MARCO R. STEENBERGEN is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. His recent articles include "Measuring Political Deliberation: A Discourse Quality Index," *Comparative European Politics*, 1 (2003): 20-48 (with Andre Bachtiger, Markus Sporndli, and Jiirg Steiner) and "Modelling Multi-level Data Structures," *American Journal of Political Science*, 46 (2002): 218-37 (with Bradford Jones).

*Themes in European Governance*

*Series Editors*

Andrea Fellestad  
Johan P. Olsen

*Editorial Board*

Stefano Bartolini Beate Kohler-Koch Percy Lehning Andrew Moravcsik  
Ulrich Preuss Thomas Risse Fritz W. Scharpf Philip Schlesinger Helen  
Wallace Albert Weale J. H. H. Weiler

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 Borzel *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

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF  
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge, C132 2RU, UK  
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
Ruiz de Alarc6n 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain  
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa  
<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Cambridge University Press, 2004

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without  
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2004

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeface Plantin 10/12 pt. System L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X<sub>2</sub>ε [ΓB]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data  
European Integration and Political Conflict / editors, Gary Marks,  
Marco R. Steenbergen.

p. cm. - (Themes in European Governance)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 82779 5. - ISBN 0 521 53505 0 (pbk.)

1. Pressure groups - European Union countries. 2. Lobbying - European  
Union countries. 3. Political participation - European Union countries.

4. Political parties - European Union countries. 5. European Union  
countries - Politics and government. 6. European Union. I. Marks, Gary,  
1952 - II. Steenbergen, Marco R. III. Series.

JN40.E84.2004  
320.94 - dc21 2003051534

ISBN 0 521 82779 5 hardback

ISBN 0 521 53505 0 paperback

---

The publisher has used its best endeavours to ensure that the URLs for external  
websites referred to in this book are correct and active at the time of going to  
press. However, the publisher has no responsibility for the websites and can make  
no guarantee that a site will remain live or that the content is or will remain  
appropriate.

---

## Contents

---

<i>List of figures</i>	page 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	1
MATTHEW J. GABEL AND CHRISTOPHER J. ANDERSON	3
2 Potential for contestation on European matters at national elections in Europe	3
CEES VAN DER EIJK AND MARK N. FRANKLIN	2
3 Don't rock the boat: expectations, fears, and opposition to EU-level policy-making	5
LEONARD RAY	1
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	

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
<b>Par III: Groups</b>		
t	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 6</i>
0.2	The Hix-Lord model	7
0.3	The regulation model	8
0.4	The Hooghe-Marks model	
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

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
interest group formation:	
empirical values and estimates of "reaction" and "anticipation" hypotheses	204
number of countries' member	
organizations in European umbrella organizations	205
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
and political parties	
at the European level	213
neoliberalism - political positions	
of members of the European Parliament with frequent interest group contact	215
of Western European	
contentious events provoked by EU policies and institutions, 1984-1997	224
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

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

	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