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## 11 Conclusion: European integration and political conflict\*

*Gary Marks*

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. This book originated in the efforts of a group of scholars to investigate the patterns of conflict - dimensions of contestation - that have arisen from European integration. The question that motivates us is a broad one: how does European integration play into the domestic politics of the member states?<sup>1</sup> In this volume, we resolve this abstract question into a more precise and empirical one: to what extent and how are the issues arising from European integration connected to the dimensions of contestation that structure domestic politics? Is European integration assimilated within the major lines of conflict, above all the competition between left and right, or is it unrelated?

Rather than divide Europe by country, each of us examines one kind of group - citizens, national political parties, social movements, interest groups, members of the European Parliament, and European political parties - for the EU as a whole. We engage several kinds of data, including Eurobarometer surveys, party manifestos, expert evaluations of party positions, and elite interviews. We cannot claim to be of a single mind, but we do claim that we arrive at broadly consistent answers to our question. The aim of this chapter is to convey their substantive thrust. That our conclusions are based on analysis of several independent sets of data for diverse national and European actors reinforces, we think, their plausibility.

\*I would like to thank Liesbet Hooghe for inspiration and ideas, and Simon Hix, Herbert Kitschelt, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Fritz Scharpf, Wolfgang Streeck, Bernhard Wessels, and members of the research unit on Institutions and Social Change at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin for perceptive comments on this chapter. I would also like to thank seminar participants at the Technische Universität München and the Max Planck Institute for Social Research in Cologne to whom this chapter was presented.

<sup>1</sup> Our focus is on patterns of contestation (Katz and Wessels 1999; Schmitt and Thomassen 1999), rather than levels of support for European integration.

I propose to set out our findings in steps, beginning, in the next section, at the aggregate level. To what extent does the left/right divide constrain views of European integration in general, across the European Union as a whole? We can answer simply: there is no robust linear relationship. The relationship we find is curvilinear: an inverted U-curve, pronounced for political parties, weak for the general public, created by centrist support for European integration, and opposition from both left and right extremes.

# European Integration And Political Conflict European Integration And Political Conflict

**Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks**



## **European Integration And Political Conflict European Integration And Political Conflict:**

European Integration and Political Conflict Gary Marks,Marco R. Steenbergen,2004-02-12 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 2004 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 comprehensive volume provides an analysis of political conflict in the European Union

The European Union and Border Conflicts Thomas Diez,Mathias Albert,Stephan Stetter,2008-03-27 It is generally assumed that regional integration leads to stability and peace This book is a systematic study of the impact of European integration on the transformation of border conflicts It provides a theoretical framework centred on four pathways of impact and applies them to five cases of border conflicts Cyprus Ireland Greece Turkey Israel Palestine and various conflicts on Russia's border with the EU The contributors suggest that integration and association provide the EU with potentially powerful means to influence border conflicts but that the EU must constantly re adjust its policies depending on the dynamics of each conflict Their findings reveal the conditions upon which the impact of integration rests and challenge the widespread notion that integration is necessarily good for peace This book will appeal to scholars and students of international relations European politics and security studies studying European integration and conflict analysis

The Europeanisation of Conflict Resolutions Boyka Stefanova,2013-07-19 This book is about the EU's role in conflict resolution and reconciliation in Europe Ever since it was implemented as a political project of the post World War II reality in Western Europe European integration has been credited with performing conflict resolution functions It allegedly transformed the long standing adversarial relationship between France and Germany into a strategic partnership Conflict in Western Europe became obsolete The end of the Cold War further reinforced its role as a regional peace project While these evolutionary dynamics are uncontested the deeper meaning of the process its transformative power is still to be elucidated How does European integration restore peace when its equilibrium is broken and conflict or the legacies of enmity persist This book sets out to do exactly that It explores the peace and conflict resolution role of European integration by testing its somewhat vague albeit well established macro political rationale of a peace project in the practical settings of conflicts The analytical lens of that of Europeanization The central argument of the book is that the evolution of the policy mix resources framing influences and political opportunities through which European integration affects conflicts and processes of conflict resolution demonstrates a historical trend through which the EU has become an indispensable factor of conflict resolution It

begins with the pooling together of policy making at the European level for the management of particular sectors early integration in the European Coal and Steel Community through the functioning of core EU policies Northern Ireland to the challenges of enlargement Cyprus and the European perspective for the Western Balkans Kosovo The book will be of value to academics and non expert observers alike with an interest in European integration and peace studies *Politicizing European Integration* Dominic Hoeglenger, 2016-01-26 This book offers a comprehensive treatment of the timely question of the politicization of European integration It shows how this issue s complex linkages with traditional political divides pose a tough challenge to politicians and lead to bitter framing contests about its actual meaning The European Union and Border Conflicts Stetter Stephan Albert Mathias Diez Thomas, 2014-05-14 The Impact of European Integration on West European Politics Luca Carrieri, 2020-10-27 This book analyses emerging trends in the politicisation of EU conflicts in Western Europe between 2006 and 2019 evaluating the transformative effects arising from multiple crises the Euro crisis the migration crisis and the Brexit Referendum It describes how EU issues have been increasingly emphasised and polarised by various political parties both the mainstream pro EU and anti EU protest parties and have been transformed into more meaningful determinants of voting The respective chapters investigate the fluctuations in EU issue entrepreneurship and EU issue voting identifying which party types have been more likely to benefit from their EU issue proximity to voters and assessing the growing politicisation of the EU conflict in both South European and North Western countries This book will be of particular interest to students and scholars of political parties European politics Euroscepticism and voting behaviour

*Politicising Europe* Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande, Hanspeter Kriesi, 2016-04-04 *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 politicised 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 **Understanding Conflicts of Sovereignty in the EU** Nathalie Brack, Ramona Coman, Amandine Crespy, 2021-05-09 This book investigates the multifaceted conflicts of sovereignty in the recent crises in the European Union Although the notion of sovereignty has been central in the contentious debates triggered by the recent crises in the European Union it remains strikingly under researched in political science This book bridges this gap by providing both theoretical reflections and empirical analyses of today s conflicts of sovereignty in the EU More particularly it investigates conflicts between four types of sovereignty First national sovereignty referring to the autonomy of

the Westphalian Nation State to rule on a territory delimited by borders second the supranational sovereignty acquired by the EU in a fragmentary fashion in a number of scattered internal and external policy fields third parliamentary sovereignty understood as the autonomy of parliaments at the regional national and European levels to take part in the decision making process and control the executive in the name of the principles of election and representation fourth popular sovereignty whereby the body politic confers legitimacy to decision makers in a democratic system Through an analysis of the various crises rule of law Brexit migration Eurozone crisis the chapters look at how sovereignty is framed and contested by different types of actors and how the strengthening or the weakening of certain types of sovereignty contribute to shape preferences regarding policies and governance structures in the multi level EU The chapters in this book were originally published as a special issue of the Journal of European Integration

*Core-periphery Relations in the European Union* José Magone, Brigid Laffan, Christian Schweiger, 2016-02-26 Successive Enlargements to the European Union membership have transformed it into an economically politically and culturally heterogeneous body with distinct vulnerabilities in its multi level governance This book analyses core periphery relations to highlight the growing cleavage and potential conflict between the core and peripheral member states of the Union in the face of the devastating consequences of Eurozone crisis Taking a comparative and theoretical approach and using a variety of case studies it examines how the crisis has both exacerbated tensions in centre periphery relations within and outside the Eurozone and how the European Union's economic and political status is declining globally This text will be of key interest to students and scholars of European Union studies European integration political economy public policy and comparative politics

*Europeanization and Conflict Resolution* Bruno Coppieters, 2004 This volume studies the relevance of European integration for conflict settlement and conflict resolution in divided states such as Cyprus or Serbia and Montenegro

**Political Conflict in Western Europe** Hanspeter Kriesi, 2012-07-26 Analyzes the effects of globalization on the restructuring of politics in Western Europe over the past three decades

Europe and the Everyday Elena Glockzin, Stephan Stetter, 2024-10-31 Due to significant processes of transnationalization in the European context a considerable relevance of potential social and political conflicts or disagreements in everyday life linked to Europe or the European Union can be observed Consequently the focus of this book is on the increasingly intertwined European citizens themselves and their everyday experiences with European and EU related issues The individual chapters provide fine tuned perspectives on the connection of social and political European integration processes in the context of the EU and the everyday life of Europeans Overall the book draws attention to both how contestations over Europe and the EU figure in everyday life and on how European integration shapes individual social and political subjectivities and identities This book is intended for scholars and advanced students of European Studies Sociology and Political Science and International Relations

**European Cities** Patrick Le Galès, 2002-08-08 European cities are on the rise and are taking advantage of the opportunities of the European integration and globalization processes But they also face economic changes social inequalities

poverty and a new set of constraints Taking examples through the European Union European Cities explores the impact of the transformation of the nation states on cities and the change of local societies and local governments It argues that new modes of urban governance are emerging and that cities are becoming collective actors within European governance European Cities shows why and how the bulk of European cities still appear to be original forms of compromise aggregation representation of diverse interests and culture Different modes of governance are gradually being structured in most middle size European cities despite processes of social exclusion segregation accompanied by the increased mobility of some citizens Are Europeans going to invent a new form of institutionalized and territorialized capitalism of which medium sized European cities will be one of the pillars and one of the actors Failing that the effects of changing scales could be expressed as profound transformations of the European urban model European Societies Series Series Editor Colin Crouch Very few of the existing sociological texts which compare different European societies on specific topics are accessible to a broad range of scholars and students The European Societies series will help fill this gap in the literature and attempt to answer questions such as Is there really such a thing as a European model of society Do the economic and political integration processes of the European Union also imply convergence in more general aspects of social life like family or religious behaviour What do the societies of Western Europe have in common with those further to the east This series will cover the main social institutions although not every author will cover the full range of European countries As well as surveying existing knowledge in a way that will be useful to students each book will also seek to contribute to our growing knowledge of what remains in many respects a sociologically unknown continent **The Impact of Heterogeneity Costs on the European Integration**

**Crisis** Lisa Lambertz, 2019-07-08 Academic Paper from the year 2017 in the subject Politics Topic European Union grade 8 0 Maastricht University School of Business and Economics course Bachelor Kurs Jahr 3 language English abstract After the first half of the 20th century Europe had already witnessed two world wars which were the result of frequent conflicts among European neighbours At that point in time political leaders such as Konrad Adenauer Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman envision a united and peaceful European Union hereafter called EU European integration begins timid in 1950 with the European Coal and Steel Agreement to permanently consolidate European countries economically and politically In 1957 the Treaty of Rome creates the foundation for the European Economic Community to establish the European Customs Union In 1993 at the time of its third enlargement the European States Community is grown to 12 member states and signs the Maastricht Treaty which leads to the creation of a common currency for most of the European member states Finally the single market with four freedoms of movement of goods services people and money is completed The Differentiated Politicisation of European Governance Pieter de Wilde, Anna Leupold, Henning Schmidtke, 2018-02-05 This book on the differentiated politicisation of European governance provides an overview of research on the growing salience of EU governance polarisation of opinion and expansion of actors and audiences engaged in monitoring and influencing EU affairs

in the national context The contributors empirically map the diversity of these three core components of politicisation across countries time and arenas The chapters develop novel insights into the causes and consequence of this differentiated politicisation of European governance Going beyond the current literature the contributions disaggregate and examine politicisation processes among different sets of actors and on different objects using quantitative and qualitative methods leading to a differentiated picture of politicisation patterns across EU member states and non member states such as Switzerland They highlight the explanatory power of intermediating factors like the institutional surrounding and country specific economic and cultural conditions in addition to the transfer of political authority to the EU as the main driver of politicisation This book was previously published as a special issue of West European Politics Democracy Needs Dispute Cornelia Bruell, Monika Mokre, Markus Pausch, 2009 In 2005 hopes for closer European integration were dealt a potentially fatal blow when French and Dutch voters rejected the proposed new European Union constitution Going beyond the instant analysis of journalists which placed blame for the failed vote on the two nations internal politics Democracy Needs Dispute examines a collection of media accounts of European policy debates to argue that the problem with the EU is its relative lack of vibrant political conflict Democracy Needs Dispute offers both up to date analysis and a rich theoretical understanding of the problems facing further efforts at European integration **European Integration and its Limits** Daniel

Finke, 2024-10-31 Since its legal foundation in 1993 the European Union has been challenged by three concurring developments Its decision making bodies groaned under burgeoning legislative activity and Eastern enlargement was expected to limit law making efficiency At the same time European citizens grew wary of EU politics and increasing integration This book explains how European governments handled these challenges and step by step agreed on significant reforms which led to the signing of the Lisbon Treaty in December 2007 Drawing on unique survey data European Integration and Its Limits provides a solid empirical analysis of the three most important intergovernmental conferences It shows how far voters and political parties have been able to influence European treaty reforms and it scrutinises the mechanisms underlying intergovernmental treaty negotiations in an ever growing Union The book discusses the domestic position formation process as well as the dynamics of intergovernmental bargaining Ultimately it explains European integration from Maastricht to Lisbon **European Public Spheres** Thomas Risse, 2015 This book examines the emergence of and limitations to a common European public sphere and the advantages and problems surrounding this development

Multi-Level Governance and European Integration Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, 2002-05-30 European politics has been reshaped in recent decades by a dual process of centralization and decentralization At the same time that authority in many policy areas has shifted to the supranational level of the European Union so national governments have given subnational regions within countries more say over the lives of their citizens At the forefront of scholars who characterize this dual process as Omulti level governance O Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks argue that its emergence in the second half of the

twentieth century is a watershed in the political development of Europe Hooghe and Marks explain why multi level governance has taken place and how it shapes conflict in national and European political arenas Drawing on a rich body of original research the book is at the same time written in a clear and accessible style for undergraduates and non experts

*Value Politics in the European Union* François Foret, Jana Vargovčíková, 2021-06-17 This book explores what drives value politics and the way in which it redraws political conflict at EU level Based on case studies and analyses of statistical data the book shows what the uses and roles of values have been at EU level over the past decades in both market related policies and in identity cultural and morality policies It challenges the common assumption that the latter is more driven by value conflicts The research shows the intrinsic similarities between all policy areas regarding the agency and limits of values as drivers of change or continuity It argues that European values are a broad and flexible symbolic repertoire instrumentalised to serve as a resource for mobilization legitimation delegitimation the conquest and conservation of power This book will be of key interest to both scholars and students in European studies politics comparative politics public policy political theory sociology and cultural studies as well as appealing to professionals of European affairs within and around the EU institutions



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