

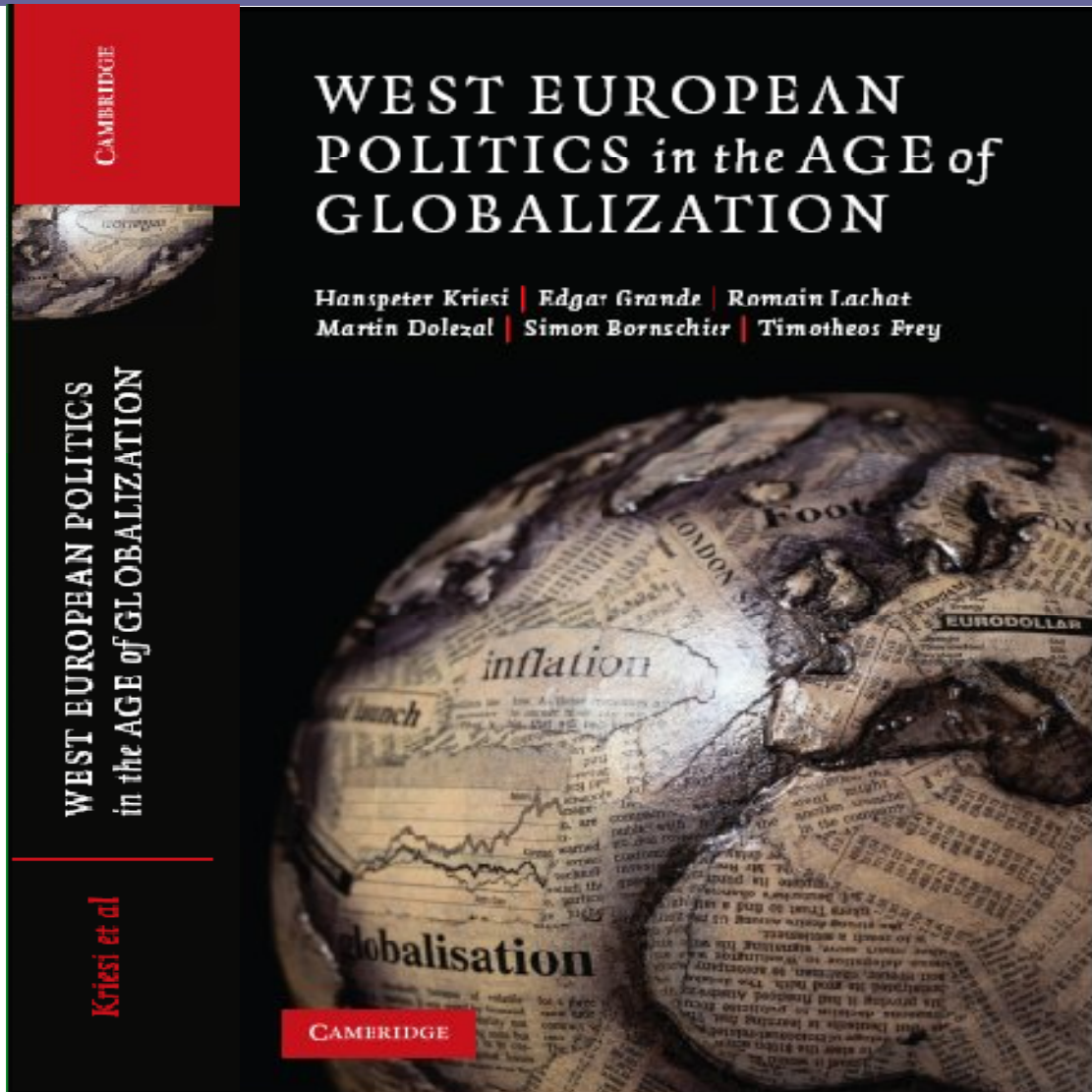


Universität Zürich



Restructuring the National Political Space in Western Europe: The Supply Side of National Electoral Politics

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Point of departure

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- **Rokkanean perspective:**
Globalization/Denationalization/Opening up of national borders: a ‚critical juncture‘
- Formation of **a new cleavage:** globalization winners vs. losers
- Implying **a restructuration** of national politics in Western Europe



Denationalization

Denationalization opens up the borders in various ways, it increases:

- Economic competition: international economic liberalization
- Cultural competition: immigration/cultural diversity
- Political competition: European integration/supra-national institutions

These processes create new groups of ,losers‘ and ,winners‘



Structural potentials for a new cleavage

- **Structural potentials for a new cleavage: a conflict between ,opening and demarcation‘**
 - **,Losers‘**: try to protect themselves by defending the maintenance of the borders
 - **,Winners‘**: try to take advantage of the new opportunities resulting from opening up of the borders
- **Two new political potentials,**
 - very heterogenous
 - difficult to mobilize



The mobilization of the new potentials

Political mobilization of the new potentials

- **Key role of political parties**
- **The driving force:** the parties who articulate the anxieties of the ‚losers‘:
 - parties of the new populist right and/or
 - transformed mainstream liberal or conservative parties
- **cultural anxieties** constitute the common denominator of the ‚losers‘, given the diversity of their economic interests



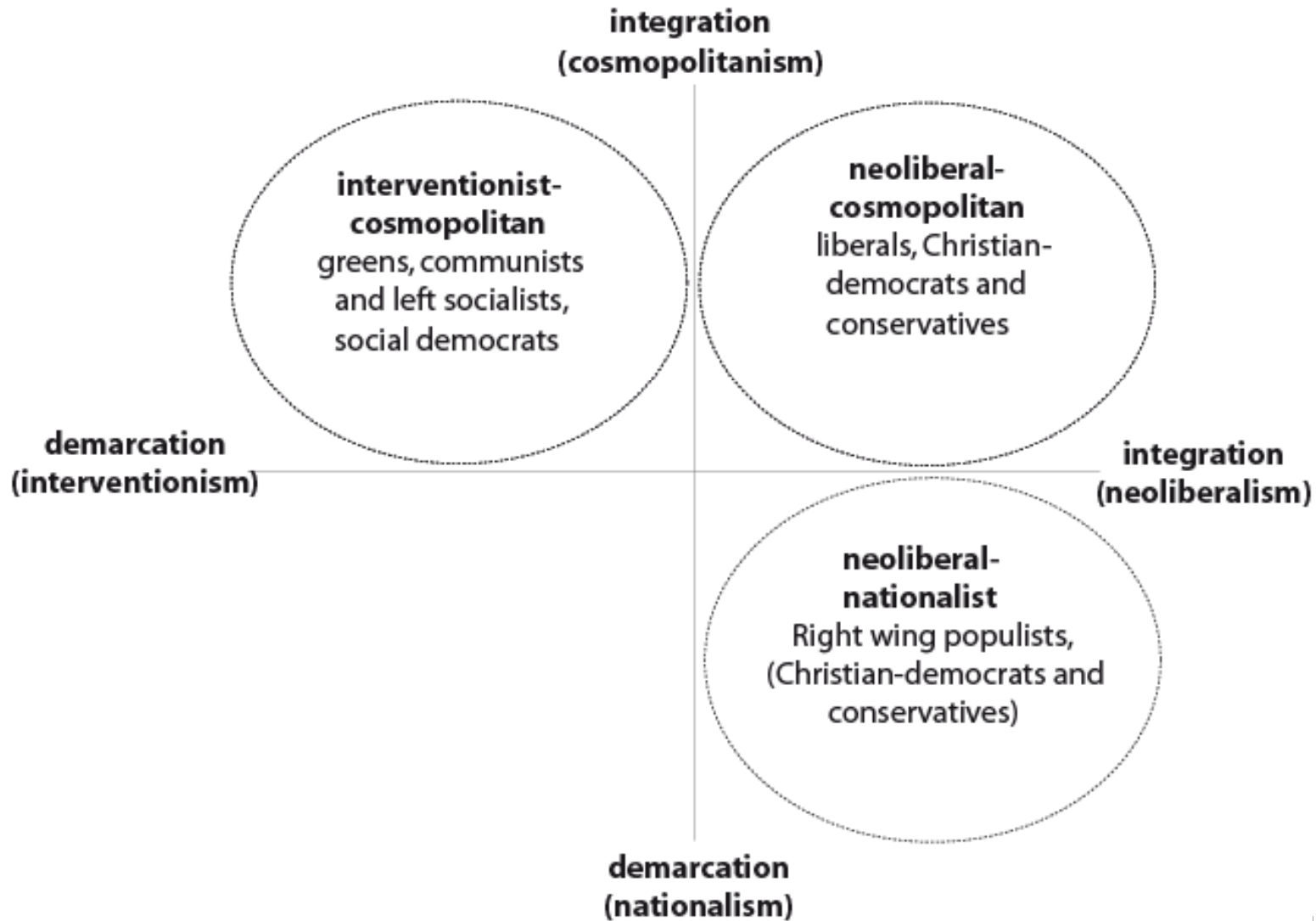
Two dimensions of the political space

The two dimensions: cultural & economic

- **Traditionally:**
 - Cultural dimension: religious/secular
 - Economic dimension: state/market
- **Seventies/eighties:**
 - Cultural dimension: cultural liberalism/traditionalism
 - Economic dimension: state/market
- **Today:**
 - Cultural dimension: cosmopolitanism/nationalism
 - Economic dimension: state interventionism/neoliberalism

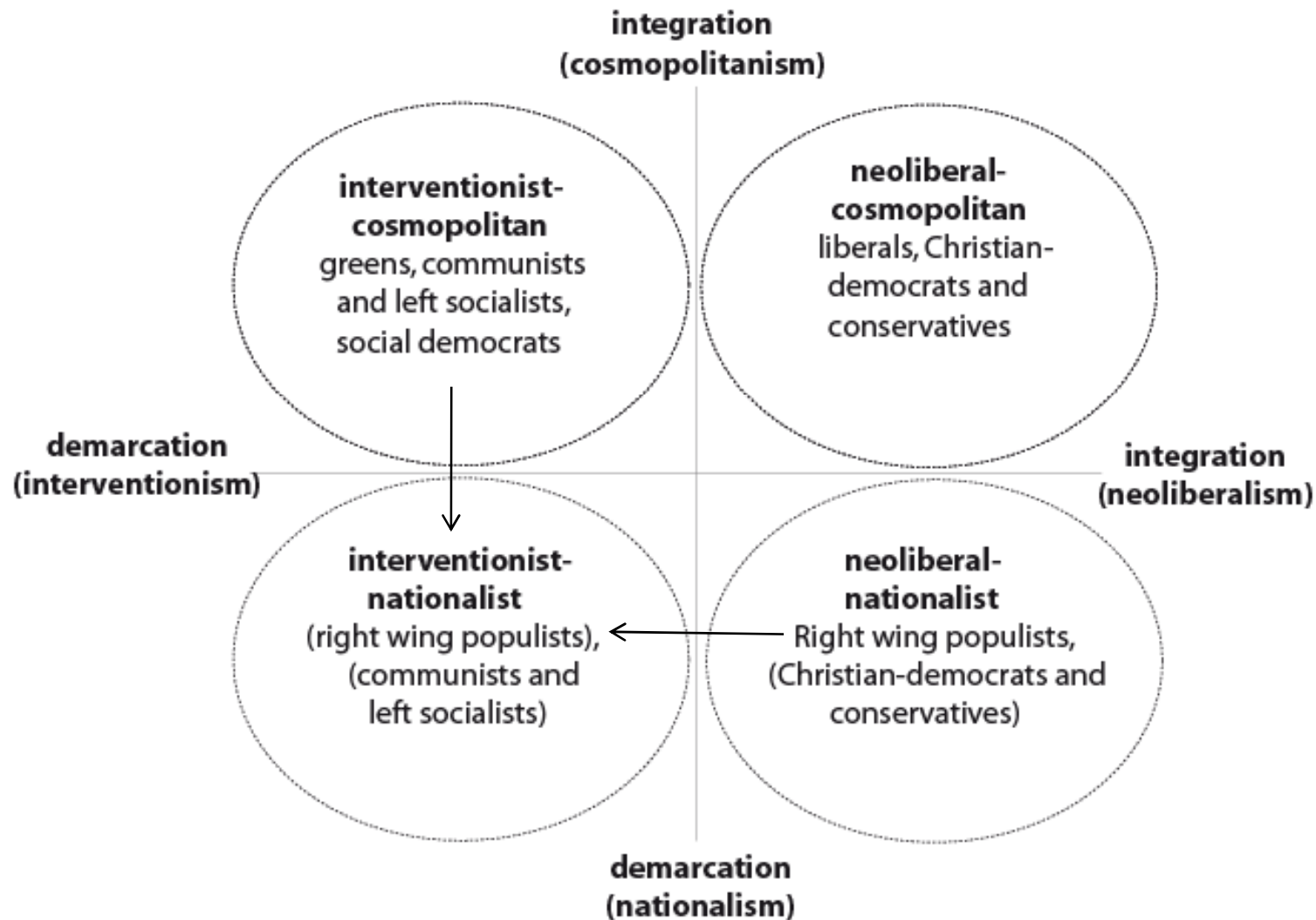


The expected positions





The expected positions





The study

A comparative study

- **Six West European countries: A, CH, D, F, NL, UK**
- **National election campaigns in the media**
 - One election in the 1970s,
 - The elections in the 1990/2000s (until 2007)
- **Measures for**
 - The parties' position on key issues
 - The salience of key issues for the parties



The study

List of issues (all issues are directed)

Economic dimension

- Social welfare
- Budgetary rigour
- Economic liberalism

Cultural dimension

- Cultural liberalism
- European integration
- Anti-immigration
- culture
- Army (armed forces and defence)
- Law and order (domestic security)

Others

- Environmental protection
- Institutional reforms
- Infrastructure



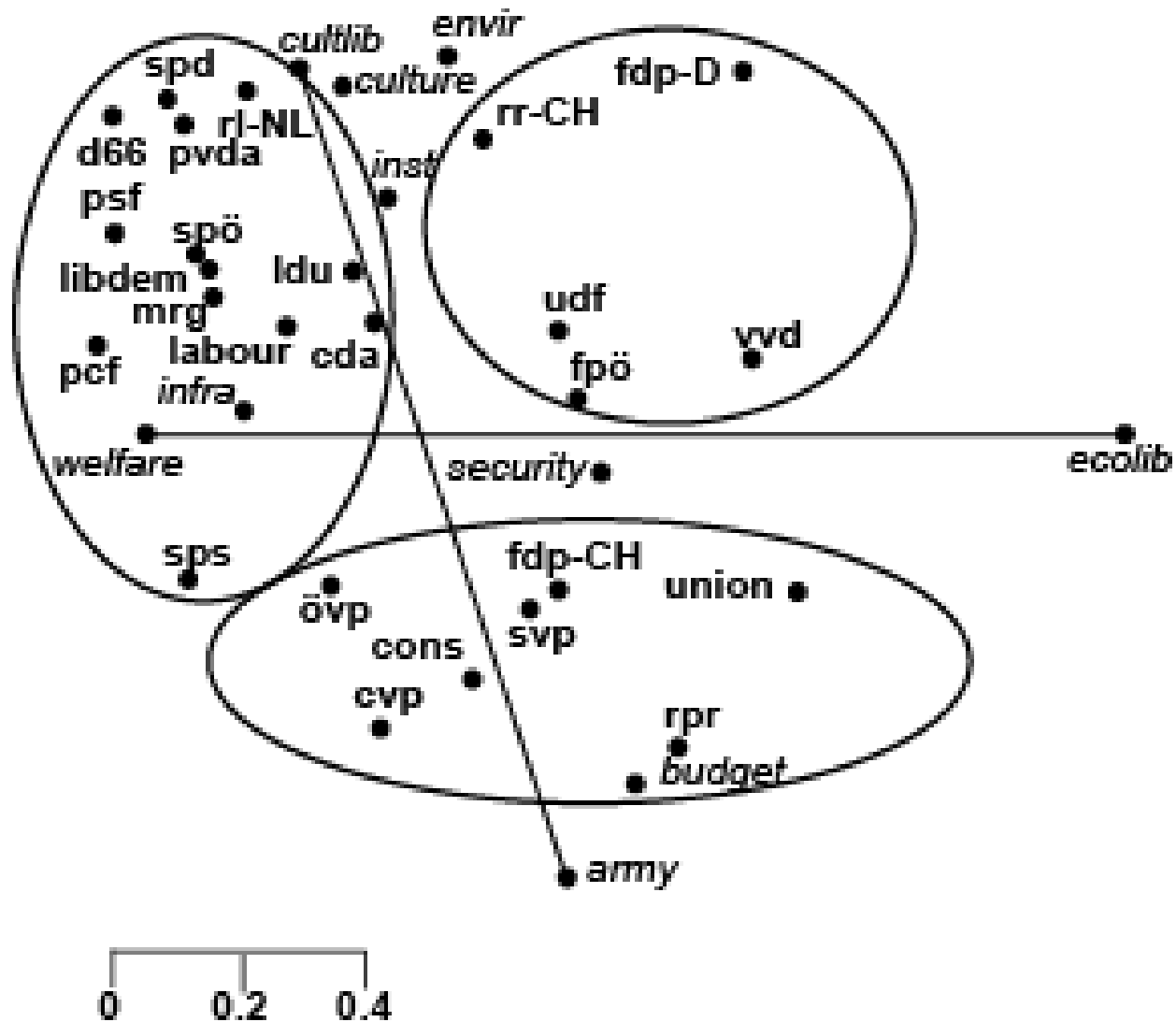
Overall structure

Analysis of the development of the overall structure in all 6 countries taken together

- Based on a weighted MDS procedure (using both information on positions and salience)

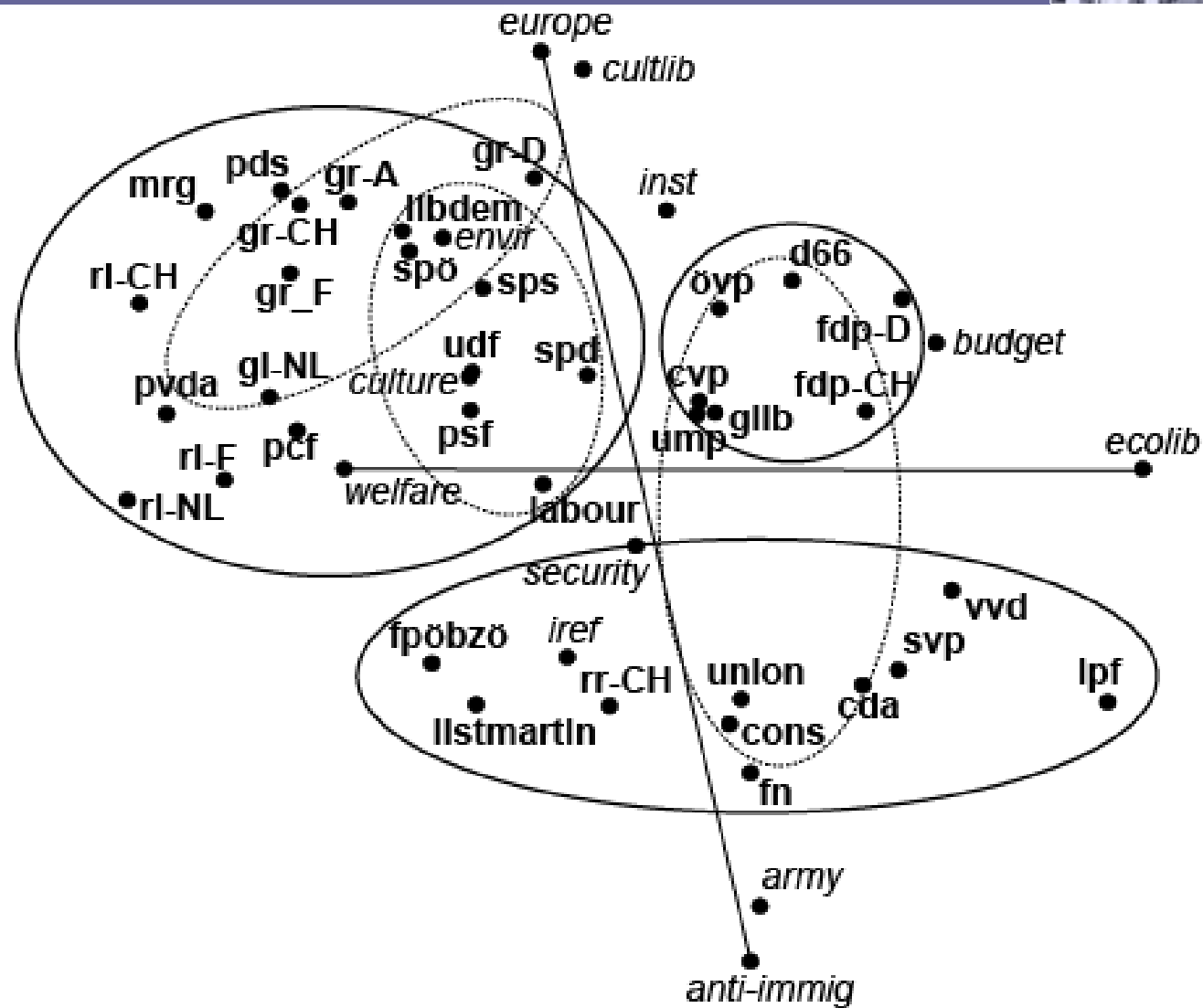


Overall structure: 1970





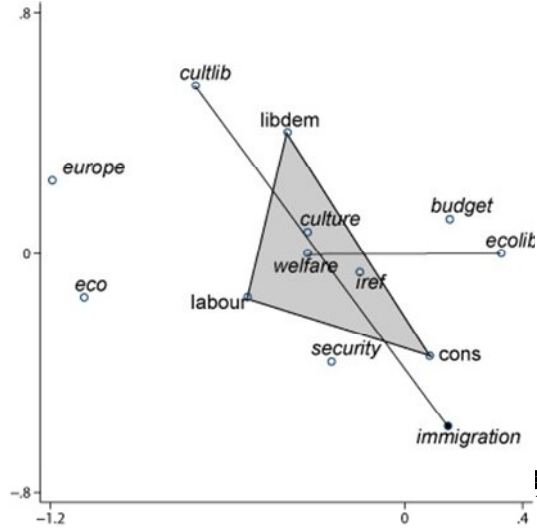
Overall structure: 2000



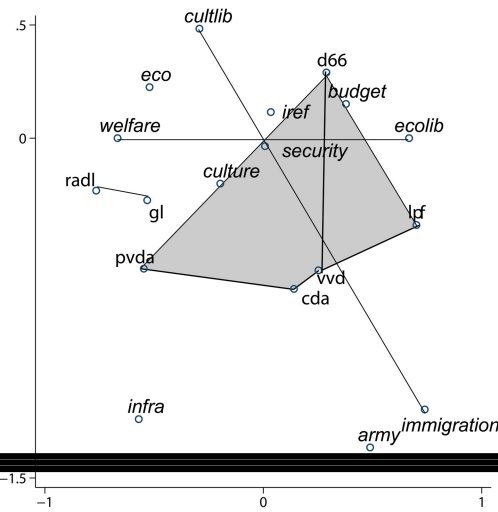


National structural configurations

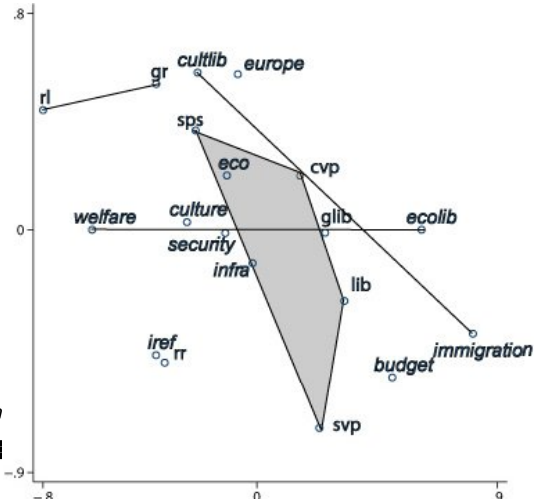
UK



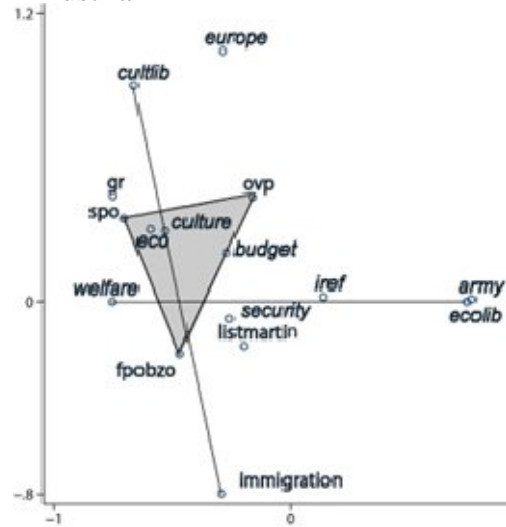
Netherlands



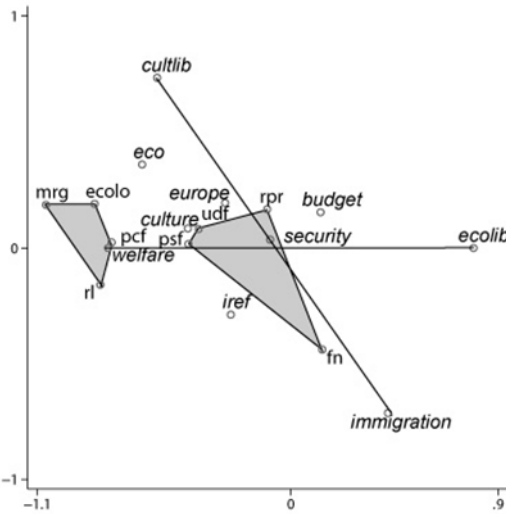
Switzerland



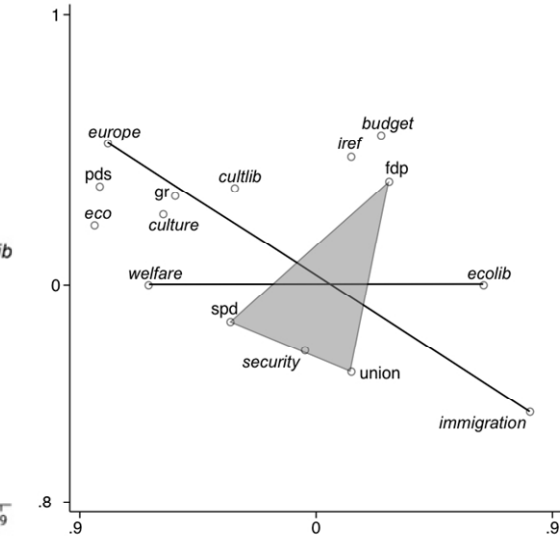
Austria



France



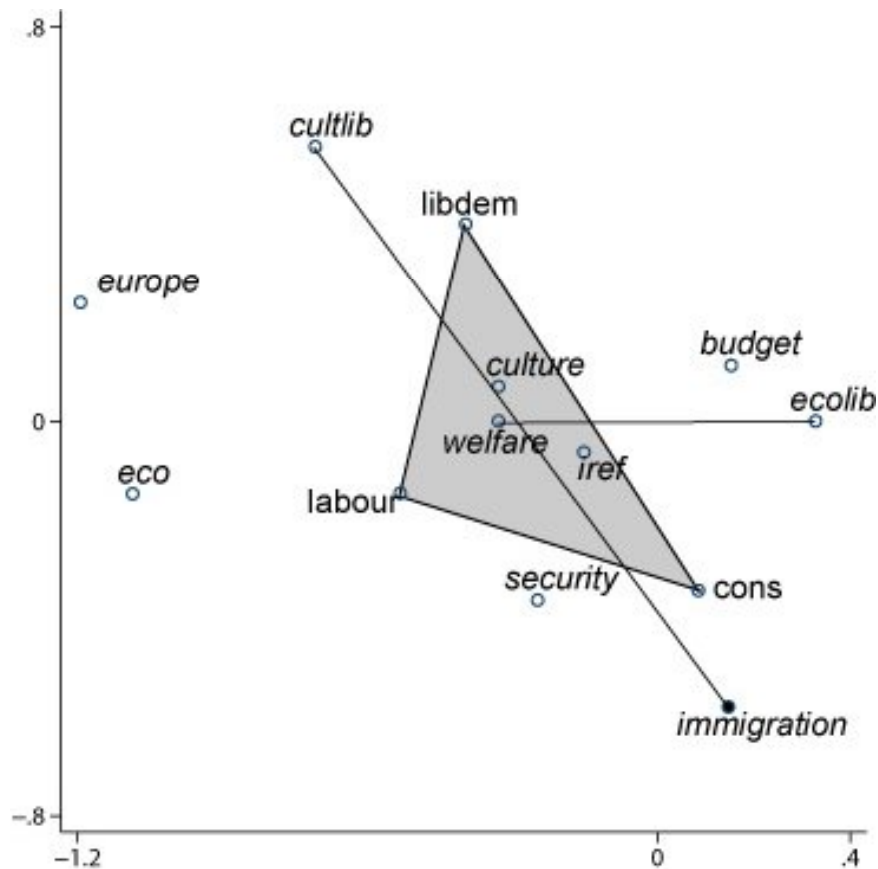
Germany





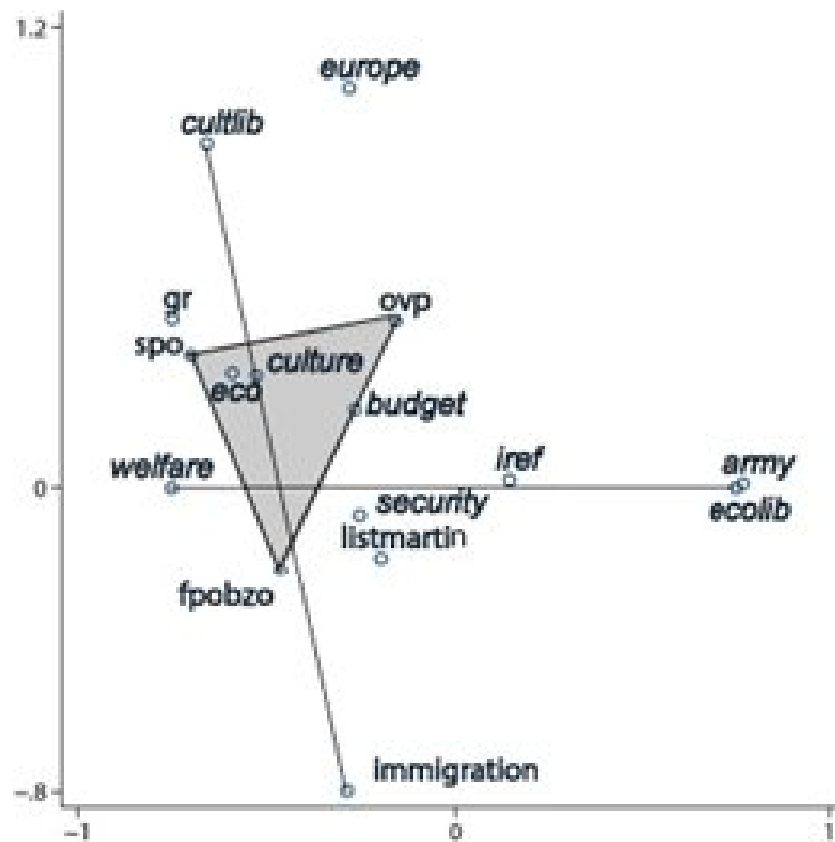
National structural differences

UK: no new challenger, Liberal-democrats take 'Third Way' position



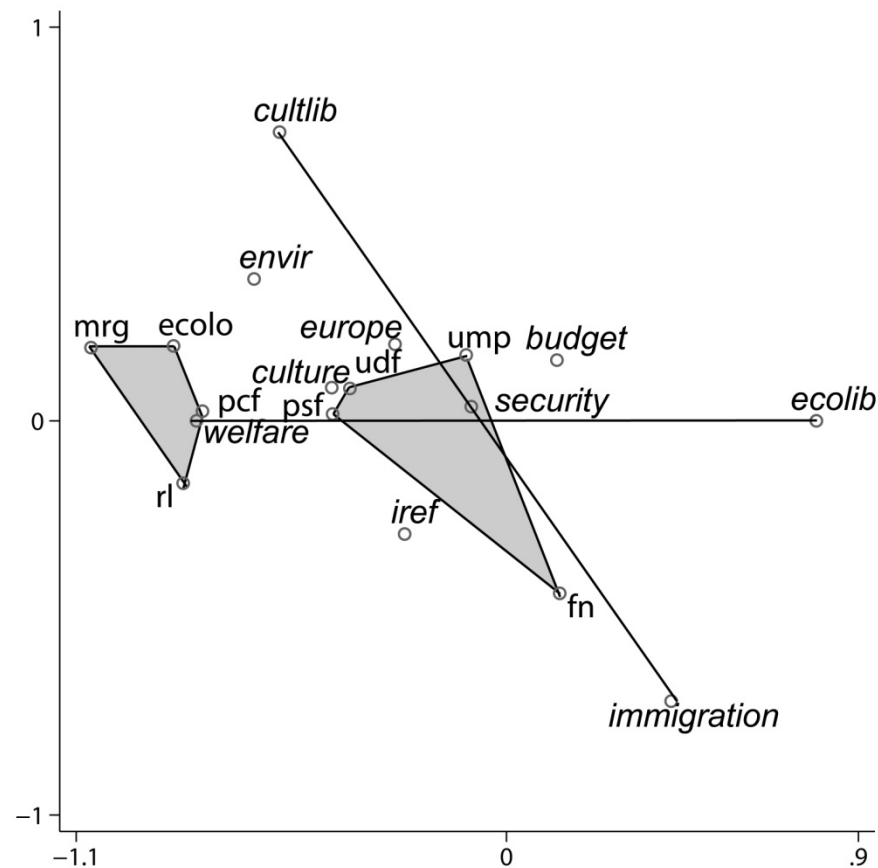
National structural differences

A: transformation of FPÖ, new liberal polar position (ÖVP), shift of populist position



National structural differences

F: new challenger (FN), convergence of large mainstream parties (merger of UPF/RPR), fragmented radical left





Conclusion

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- The national political space is two-dimensional, with an economic and a cultural dimension
- The cultural dimension has been reinterpreted in terms of the new cleavage: cosmopolitan opening vs. nationalist demarcation
- The right is divided on the cultural dimension into a cosmopolitan and a nationalist (conservative/new populist) coalition
- It is the nationalist-neoliberal coalition on the right that defends the globalization losers



Conclusion

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- The new populist right moves into a nationalist-interventionist direction
- The left is increasingly fragmented, although its three components are all in the cosmopolitan-interventionist camp
- The left does not yet show signs of a move in the nationalist-interventionist direction

Conclusion



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Thank you very much for your attention!