

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i>	x
<i>List of tables</i>	<i>xii</i>	
<i>Preface and acknowledgments</i>	<i>xv</i>	

Part I Theory and methods

1	The transformative power of globalization and the structure of political conflict in Western Europe	3
	<i>Edgar Grande and Hanspeter Kriesi</i>	
	Introduction	3
	The theoretical framework: an extended and dynamic concept of cleavage formation	8
	The structural potential of the new political conflicts	12
	The political articulation of the new structural conflicts	16
	<i>Two logics of globalization conflicts</i>	16
	<i>Four cleavage coalitions</i>	20
	Contexts for articulating new political conflicts	23
	<i>The national context</i>	23
	<i>The interplay of national and European contexts</i>	25
	Linking the different arenas: party politics, protest politics, and public debates	27
	Plan of the book	31
2	Exploring the new cleavage across arenas and public debates: design and methods	36
	<i>Martin Dolezal, Swen Hutter, and Bruno Wüest</i>	
	Introduction	36
	Selection of countries and time periods	37
	Data collection: sampling and coding newspaper articles	39
	<i>Selection of newspapers</i>	40
	<i>The core-sentence approach</i>	41
	<i>Coding protest politics</i>	45

Data analysis strategies	49
<i>Categorizing actors and issues</i>	50
<i>Measures: position, salience, and conflict intensity</i>	55
<i>Multidimensional scaling: an empirical response to our critics</i>	58
Summary	60
Appendix 2A An empirical response to our critics	61
 Part II The development of the 'integration–demarcation' cleavage	
3 Participation and party choice: comparing the demand side of the new cleavage across arenas	67
<i>Martin Dolezal and Swen Hutter</i>	
Introduction	67
The structure of the demand space in the 2000s	69
Political participation: explaining turnout and protest participation	73
<i>The impact of socio-structural characteristics on participation</i>	77
<i>The impact of issue positions on participation</i>	79
Party choice in national and European elections	86
Conclusion	93
4 Restructuring the national political space: the supply side of national electoral politics	96
<i>Hanspeter Kriesi</i>	
Introduction	96
The overall structure of the national political space in Western Europe	97
The structure of the national political space in the six countries	103
Positions, salience, and polarization at the system level	108
<i>Positions</i>	108
<i>Salience</i>	109
<i>Polarization</i>	113
Salience and position at the party level	120
Conclusion	123
Appendix 4A Dimensionality of the political space	125
5 Restructuring the European political space: the supply side of European electoral politics	127
<i>Martin Dolezal</i>	
Introduction	127

European elections: from 'second-order' to a battleground of the new cleavage?	129
European election campaigns: definition and relative importance	132
European elections: issue salience, conflict intensity, and the positions of parties	134
Conclusion	149
6 Restructuring protest politics: the terrain of cultural winners	151
<i>Swen Hutter</i>	
Introduction	151
General and country-specific expectations	152
Conflict intensity in the arena of protest politics	155
Issues of protest politics	158
<i>The return of economics in the realm of cultural issues</i>	160
<i>The terrain of cultural winners' positions</i>	163
<i>New cultural and economic issues?</i>	165
<i>The specific issues, seen comparatively</i>	171
The impact of (new) issues on transnationalization and action repertoires	173
Conclusion	177
Appendix 6A Classification of protest issues	179
Appendix 6B Salience of all issues by decade and country in the protest arena	180
7 Congruence, counterweight, or different logics?	182
Comparing electoral and protest politics	182
<i>Swen Hutter</i>	
Introduction	182
Patterns of change: new cultural issues across arenas	183
Three theses on the relationship between electoral and protest politics	189
Different logics at work? Tracing the salience of issue positions across arenas	192
Different logics at work? Political parties in electoral and protest politics	194
The populist radical right as the driving force of change	198
Conclusion	202

Part III Public debates: the articulation of the new cleavage in detail

8	The impact of arenas in public debates over globalization <i>Marc Helbling, Dominic Höglinger, and Bruno Wüest</i>	207
	Introduction	207
	The importance of political arenas	211
	The standing of political actors across arenas	216
	The articulation of the new cleavage in different arenas and debates	220
	Conclusion	225
	Appendix 8A Opposing, ambivalent, and supporting actors in comparison	228
9	Culture versus economy: the framing of public debates over issues related to globalization <i>Dominic Höglinger, Bruno Wüest, and Marc Helbling</i>	229
	Introduction	229
	Opening the 'black boxes' – the multi-faceted structure of the globalization debates	231
	<i>Immigration sub-issues</i>	233
	<i>Economic liberalization sub-issues</i>	234
	<i>European integration sub-issues</i>	235
	Framing the globalization cleavage	237
	<i>The impact of the cultural and the economic logic</i>	239
	<i>The frames preferred by different types of actors</i>	243
	<i>Framing opposition and support of denationalization</i>	249
	Conclusion	251
10	Actor configurations in the public debates on globalization <i>Bruno Wüest, Marc Helbling, and Dominic Höglinger</i>	254
	Introduction	254
	Positions taken by the actors in the debates	254
	Cleavage coalitions and the dimensionality of globalization debates	261
	The coalitions' core beliefs	268
	Conclusion	271
	Part IV Conclusion	
11	Conclusion: how much change can we observe and what does it mean? <i>Edgar Grande</i>	277

The main argument: restructuring political conflict	277
Is there a new cleavage and how stable is it?	279
How relevant are political parties and the electoral arena to organizing the new cleavage?	284
How national is the new cleavage?	287
Political dynamics, competing frames, conflicting cleavage coalitions	292
How does the new cleavage affect the intensity of political conflict?	297
The paradox of globalization conflicts: transformative change and structural stability	299
<i>References</i>	302
<i>Index</i>	343