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Kritzinger, Sylvia; Michalowitz, Irina

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Contact:

Sylvia Kritzinger
☎: +43/1/599 91-176
email: kritzing@ihs.ac.at

Irina Michalowitz
☎: +43/1/599 91-217
email: michalow@ihs.ac.at

Founded in 1963 by two prominent Austrians living in exile – the sociologist Paul F. Lazarsfeld and the economist Oskar Morgenstern – with the financial support from the Ford Foundation, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, and the City of Vienna, the Institute for Advanced Studies (IHS) is the first institution for postgraduate education and research in economics and the social sciences in Austria. The **Political Science Series** presents research done at the Department of Political Science and aims to share "work in progress" before formal publication. It includes papers by the Department's teaching and research staff, visiting professors, graduate students, visiting fellows, and invited participants in seminars, workshops, and conferences. As usual, authors bear full responsibility for the content of their contributions.

Das Institut für Höhere Studien (IHS) wurde im Jahr 1963 von zwei prominenten Exilösterreichern – dem Soziologen Paul F. Lazarsfeld und dem Ökonomen Oskar Morgenstern – mit Hilfe der Ford-Stiftung, des Österreichischen Bundesministeriums für Unterricht und der Stadt Wien gegründet und ist somit die erste nachuniversitäre Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für die Sozial- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften in Österreich. Die **Reihe Politikwissenschaft** bietet Einblick in die Forschungsarbeit der Abteilung für Politikwissenschaft und verfolgt das Ziel, abteilungsinterne Diskussionsbeiträge einer breiteren fachinternen Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen. Die inhaltliche Verantwortung für die veröffentlichten Beiträge liegt bei den Autoren und Autorinnen. Gastbeiträge werden als solche gekennzeichnet.

Abstract

The article seeks to analyse whether a Europeanisation of national parties has taken place amongst the EU-newcomers of 1995 – Austria, Finland and Sweden – studying Euro-manifestos. Europeanisation is measured based on two characteristics: first, salience a party attributes to the European level and second, policy positions a party holds towards European issues. Moreover, we assume that Europeanisation may result in an impact on the traditional national cleavage lines changing the dominant Left-Right dimension. Our results show that Europeanisation in terms of salience has indeed taken place; Europeanisation in terms of policy position change, however, could only be observed in Sweden and Austria. Regarding the cleavage structure, we noticed a reinforcement of the Left-Right divide by the European issue in Sweden and in Finland, while in Austria a new cleavage line could be identified: Green/Alternative/Libertarian versus Traditional/Authoritarian/Nationalism. The Europeanisation process has therefore progressed most strongly in Austria. Overall, we conclude that the European integration process *does* have an influence on national political parties.

Zusammenfassung

Anhand einer Analyse von Parteiprogrammen untersucht der Artikel die Frage, ob eine Europäisierung nationaler Parteien innerhalb der EU-Neumitgliedsstaaten von 1995 – Österreich, Finnland und Schweden – stattgefunden hat. Europäisierung lässt sich anhand von zwei Charakteristika beurteilen: erstens anhand der Bedeutung (Salienz), welche eine Partei der europäischen Ebene beimisst, zweitens anhand der Policy-Positionen, die eine Partei bezüglich europäischer Themen einnimmt. Wir nehmen darüber hinaus an, dass Europäisierung zu einer Veränderung der traditionellen nationalen Konfliktlinien (Cleavages) führen kann, durch die sich die dominante Rechts-Links-Dimension verändert. Unsere Ergebnisse zeigen, dass Europäisierung bezüglich der Salienz in allen drei Staaten stattgefunden hat, bezüglich der Policy-Positionen jedoch lediglich in Schweden und Österreich. Hinsichtlich der Veränderung von Cleavage-Strukturen verzeichnen wir eine Stärkung der Rechts-Links-Kluft durch das Thema Europa in Schweden und in Finnland, während in Österreich eine neue Konfliktlinie identifiziert werden konnte: Grün/Alternativ/Libertär versus Traditionalistisch/Autoritär/Nationalistisch. Der Europäisierungsprozess ist also in Österreich am stärksten fortgeschritten. Insgesamt ist unsere Schlussfolgerung, dass der europäische Integrationsprozess tatsächlich einen Einfluss auf nationale politische Parteien ausübt.

Keywords

Schlagwörter

Europäisierung, Politische Parteien, EU-Neumitgliedsstaaten 1995, Europäische Parteiprogramme, Links-Rechts Dimension

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Introduction

The Europeanisation of parties within the EU member states has become a topic of increasing interest to scholars of European politics. Previous studies looked at the Europeanisation processes of European Union public policies (Cowles et al., 2001; Börzel and Risse, 2003) or at the change of party structures within the European political space (Hix and Lord, 1997; Gabel and Hix, 2002). Only recently has more research been directed at the Europeanisation processes affecting national parties (e.g. Mair, 2000; Binnema, 2003; Ladrech, 2002; Kritzinger, et al. 2004) where two perspectives prevail. The first perspective is the bottom-up one focussing on Europeanisation of parties at the EU-level. The conclusions that have been drawn so far are that a European party system is unlikely to emerge because parties continue to focus on national issues and thereby do not allow their European-level counterparts to gain in importance (Andeweg, 1995; Mair, 2000). The second perspective takes up a top-down approach. It stresses that the issue of Europe is playing an increasing role in national party positions – Europe has enlarged their scope of action and the range of issues they have to address (Kohler-Koch, 1999; see also Mair, 2000). In addition, the European dimension has become part of their positioning on domestic issues (Radaelli, 2000).

This article seeks to add to this research and aims to answer the question whether Europe changes national parties and their positions. In other words: is a Europeanisation of national parties taking place?

We adopt the widely accepted definition of Robert Ladrech (1994) of Europeanisation as a process of reorientation. According to Ladrech, Europeanisation is "an incremental process re-orienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making" (Ladrech, 1994: 69).[1] A crucial aspect of re-orienting positions with regard to Europe is the development of Euro-phobia and Euro-scepticism at the nation state level. Europeanisation in terms of reorientation grasps a change in policy positions within parties, with which a distinctiveness of parties on the EU-issue is achieved. We therefore complement Ladrech's definition with the salience a party attributes to the European issue as a characteristic of Europeanisation of political parties. Salience is a measure to grasp an increased occupation of national parties with the issue of Europe and an increased importance attached to it (e.g. Pennings and Keman, 2002). Hence, Europeanisation is taking place when changes in the

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1   For strong criticism of using the term 'Europeanisation' in such a way, see Binnema (2003). The definition would cover the broad range of literature that has developed on the emergence of European parties at EU level (see Hix and Lord, 1997). However, our interest concentrates on the effects European integration has on parties on the national level.

positioning of parties towards Europe are detectable over time and the issue of Europe gains in importance within national political parties.[2]

Higher salience and position changes resulting in attempts to distinguish each other from the political competitors over the European issue may result in an impact on the traditional national cleavage lines – some scholars have argued that an impact of the issue Europe is visible that results in a change of the dominant Left-Right dimension (e.g. Hix and Lord, 1997; Hooghe and Marks, 1999; Hooghe et al., 2002).

Based on this definition of Europeanisation this article highlights three points.

First, we examine if the issue of Europe has become more important over time. If salience of the European issue increases, parties apparently take Europe seriously and accept it as an important element of their positioning. Salience would then be a factor which indicates Europeanisation.

Second, we ask whether parties change their positions towards Europe, and whether parties disagree upon the European issue. Our assumption is that only in party systems that are divided over policy stances on Europe do these policy positions actually play a major role in electoral campaigns and are hence worth changing in order to distinguish the party from its competitors. We anticipate that whenever parties have to position themselves less strongly in relation to European integration, no changes in party positions along the lines of anti- or pro-European positions can be found. Hence, it is less likely that a Europeanisation in terms of position change has taken place. We will operationalise our measurement of change in national party positions by analysing pro- and anti-European positions of parties. Position change and distinctiveness amongst parties is hence another factor which indicates Europeanisation.

Third, we relate our findings on the degree of Europeanisation to previous research on the role of cleavages in parties' positions towards Europe (see Hix and Lord, 1997; Hooghe et al., 2002). We investigate how parties use Europe in their (electoral) strategy and hence, how the issue of Europe relates to the predominant Left-Right divide. Since voters vote along cleavage lines – in particular, along the Left-Right divide – party systems should be structured accordingly. However, as European integration could challenge the existing dominance of the Left-Right dimension, a new important electoral channel might have opened up (Bartolini, 1999).

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2   Europeanisation is expressed through an increase in the expression of parties connected to the European level as well as through changes with respect to the pro- and anti-Europeanness of party positions.

Through the empirical analysis based on data from the Euro-manifesto group in Mannheim who coded Euro-manifestos of parties released for the European Parliament elections, we seek to transcend the empirical insufficiencies in the literature on the Europeanisation process of national political parties. Next to this dataset, we further use the expert survey conducted by Steenbergen et al. (2004) as well as some data from the Eurobarometer-surveys.

We restrict our analysis to the three European member states that joined the EU in 1995: Austria, Finland and Sweden. Party manifestos on the EP-elections in 1995/96 and 1999 have been used for the analysis. The selection of these states has three reasons. Firstly, due to the joint accession to the EU in 1995, the parties of all three states should feature approximately the same degree of (non-) Europeanisation. Secondly, the 1995 accession states have been largely neglected in the literature. Finally, we expect that parties' disagreement on the European integration process could enhance the Europeanisation process and could thus help to open up a new cleavage amongst parties. In Austria and Sweden, we face quite anti-European parties that receive a substantial amount of votes in elections. As in Finland anti-European parties do not show lots of support in terms of percentage of votes, we anticipate that parties have to position themselves less strongly in relation to European integration and hence, no changes in party positions along the lines of anti- or pro-European positions can be found. This relates to our already mentioned assumption that only in party systems that are divided over stances in Europe are policy positions worth changing in order to distinguish the party from its competitors.

We commence with an overview over general party positions in the three selected countries. In section 3 we introduce the data used. Then, we present our analysis of salience. Next, we look at party position change and the cohesiveness of party systems and single parties on the issue of Europe compared to voters' positions on the basis of Eurobarometer data. In section 5, we examine cleavage lines in connection with the issue of Europe. Finally, in the conclusions we sum up our results with an outlook on future research.

1. The 1995 EU-Newcomers

A brief overview over the party systems of the three states should clarify the assumptions outlined in the introduction. Moreover, it should help in better understanding the results in the following analyses.

The Swedish party system consists of a right bloc with Moderates (MSP), Liberals (FP), the Christian Democrats (KD) and the Center Party (CP) with largely pro-European positions. The MSP and the FP are clearly pro-European parties, whereas the CP and the KD are less decisive in their view of Europe (Jahn and Widfeldt, 1996). The party who dominated Swedish politics for the longest time is part of the left bloc - the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP). The SAP takes a pro-European stand and is considered to have positions close to those of the MSP and the FP with regard to environmental issues. Its EU positions stand in contrast to strongly leftist parties such as the formerly communist Left Party (VP) or the Greens (MPG), who stand for an anti-European position. Overall, the moderate parties of both blocs – MSP, FP, SAP, CP and KD – are positive about the EU membership. However, large intra-party tensions have been indicated within the SAP, the CP and the KD: the majority of their respective supporters have a negative attitude towards the European Union. The EU-negative parties have no problems maintaining their grassroots support: the MPG and the VP are "virtually unified from top to grass roots" (Jahn and Widfeldt, 1996: 420). In terms of cleavages structure, it is argued that Sweden changed from the dominant Left-Right divide to a cleavage between ecology and growth or technology – a development that has been taken up, for instance, by Hooghe et al. (2002), who observe a development towards Green/Alternative/Libertarian (GAL) and Traditional/Authoritarian/Nationalism (TAN). However, scholars also observe that the EU as an issue of politics revitalises the Left-Right dimension (Jahn and Widfeldt, 1996: 419).

Austria's party system was essentially characterised by a continuous governing coalition of the socialist Social Democrat Party of Austria (SPÖ) and the conservative Austrian Peoples' Party (ÖVP) since the mid-1980s. A largely corporatist culture supported the grand coalition. The Greens, the Communists and the Liberals did not account for a powerful opposition. In the mid-1980s, the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) took a turn from a liberal to a populist right-wing party, gained substantial votes and thus gained government power in a coalition with the ÖVP (Fallend, 2002). This coalition even led to EU sanctions against Austria. The FPÖ has largely lost a lot of its power but remains an important actor in the Austrian political system. Also in 1986, the Green-Alternatives entered into the national parliament as a new party in the Austrian political system and helped to shake up the closed negotiation culture maintained by the SPÖ and the ÖVP. The right-wing FPÖ and the left-wing Green party were the only parties with anti-EU positions. The FPÖ had been largely in favour of the EU until 1991/1992 but then changed with a new national strategy adopted by its party chairman Jörg Haider, which turned against European integration. Due to this turn, the pro-European liberal

party (LIF) emerged. It split from the FPÖ in 1993 because the liberal members of the Freedom party did not share the anti-European position (Fallend, 2002). The SPÖ and the ÖVP maintain pro-EU positions. The Austrian population, however, is largely unsatisfied with Austria's EU membership and largely believes that the EU membership has harmed Austria more than its citizens have benefited. Overall, Austria's party positions are strongly linked to the Left-Right dimension.

Finland's party system is largely moderate in its character – no extreme right exists. Moderate right parties are the National Coalition (KOK), the Swedish People's Party (RKP/SFP), the Centre Party (KESK), and the Christian Union (KD), and the left bloc consists of the moderate Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the Left Wing League (VAS). Further parties are the Green League (VIHP) and, of less importance, the *True Finns* – who emerged out of the Rural Party. Both parties are largely supported in rural areas. As in Sweden, pro-European positions are taken by most of the moderate parties of both the left and right. These are, in the case of Finland, the SDP, the KOK and the RKP/SFP. The VIHP, the KD, the VAS and the agrarian KESK stand for anti-European positions (Taggart, 1998). Significant cleavages are the Left-Right divide and a divide between national and international perspectives and interests (Raunio and Wiberg, 2001).

To sum up, the landscape of political parties in Sweden, Finland and Austria can best be sketched along the lines of the Left-Right divide and in Sweden along the development of the so-called 'new politics' dimension or, in a narrower sense, an environmentalist dimension.

2.   Data

Analyses on party positions on European integration have been mainly carried out first, relating to results of expert surveys (e.g. Hooghe et al., 2002; Marks et al., 2002), second, focussing on data from the 'Comparative Manifesto Group' which handle national manifesto data (e.g. Pennings, 2002), or third, based on the coding of manifestos of the party groups of the European Parliament (EP) (e.g. Gabel and Hix, 2002). However, none of the analyses so far have used the manifestos of national parties that have been created especially for the EP-elections. The Euro-manifesto group in Mannheim has created a dataset that focuses on these special manifestos released in the lead up to the European election. The coding scheme is similar to the one of the Comparative Manifesto Group: sixty-nine categories at political levels in seven policy domains (Wüst and Volkens, 2003). As these documents focus on a specific European event – European Parliament elections – we believe that processes of party Europeanisation can be better traced than in documents focussing on national elections.

To use party manifestos as a dataset is common practice (e.g. Ray, 2003; Hooghe and Marks, 1999; Kritzinger et al. 2004; Binder and Wüst, 2004). In our case, the intention is to derive the Europeanisation of parties from the extent to which their treatment of the European factor has gained in salience, and has led to more divergence between party positions. For this intention, the analysis of party programmes appears satisfying because parties will communicate their standpoints concerning Europe in the party programmes.[3] Despite the criticism that party programmes are only read by a minority of politically interested voters, it can be argued that party programmes contain the central ideas the parties stand for, and that the core contents of party programmes are communicated in other ways as well. Hence, they reach the citizens indirectly and can therefore be used to interpret a party's character as well as its change from election to election (Binder and Wüst, 2004).

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3   A criticism that could emerge concerns the ability of party programmes to actually display the party's standpoints in the individual countries selected for analysis. For the case of Finland, Raunio and Wiberg maintain that party programmes and individual campaigns can largely differ, and that European integration issues were of little importance in debates – in particular for the two European elections we chose to analyse: "While parties issued rather detailed election manifestos or European programmes, individual candidates where free to conduct their own campaigns. There was hardly any pressure from the party leadership to force the candidates to follow the agreed party line […]" (Raunio and Wiberg, 2001: 18). However, our goal is to analyse internal changes of parties' occupation with Europe. Raunio and Widberg's argument would therefore even support the analysis of party manifestos. What we cannot do with this data is to take the internal conflicts over Europe into account. We can only measure the overall Europeanisation of the parties and have to leave the analysis of the Europeanisation of individual party members or factions to another study.

For this study we have used the Euro-manifestos from 1995 for Swedish parties and from 1996 for Austrian and Finish parties.[4] The EP-elections took place in different years. Next to this first set of data we also used Euro-manifesto data from 1999.

As Europeanisation will change the relation between parties, we expect parties to have different positions on European policies and institutions, but also on the transfer of decision-making processes, and on the opportunities and constraints that European integration holds for the single parties (Binnema, 2004). Thus, it might not be enough to analyse only whether parties have generally become more pro-European or vice versa, but we have to go more into detail. Therefore, we have created different issue categories from our dataset that gather these more detailed positions as well: 'EU-Institution' to gather parties positions towards EU-institutions, 'EU-Democracy' to grasp whether democracy at the EU-level is regarded as sufficient, 'EU-Policies' to analyse parties' positions towards the different policies handled at the European level, and finally, 'EU-Competence' to study the degree to which parties allow the transfer of decision-making (see Appendix).

In the next step, we use Eurobarometer-survey data in order to establish the connection between voters' EU-positions and the ones parties hold. Finally, the expert survey regarding the Left-Right dimension of party systems from Steenbergen et al. (2004) is used to analyse whether parties behaved according to the Left-Right dimension when focussing on European issues. In the next sections we will present our results.

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4   We are aware of the limits of this method. A stricter test could be carried out with an additional look at national party manifestos. Such an approach would go beyond the scope of an article, however.

3.   Europeanisation through Salience?

In order to analyse whether a Europeanisation process has taken place amongst parties, we observe the salience parties give to the European issue and whether this salience has changed over time. The question that drives us is how much attention parties attribute to Europe. We start with the assumption that if national parties take up the European issue as one of their topics, this can be characterised as a Europeanisation process.

Why should we care about the salience parties attach to the issue of Europe? First, previous research suggests that national parties react to an increasing importance of the European level by incorporating this issue in their national programmes and the party discourse (Ray, 2003). Parties will attribute most attention to issues with which they can gain votes, while neglecting those which could harm them. Salience is thus an indicator of the importance parties attribute to an issue. Second, it is generally believed that European elections are second order elections (Hix and Lord, 1997; Van der Eijk and Franklin, 1996; Marsh, 1998; Reif, 1997) where parties compete over national issues rather than European ones. Hence, an increase in salience towards the EU might also be interpreted as an indication that European elections are taken more seriously by political parties. Higher salience can hence be interpreted as an increase of the European dimension in the respective party's political behaviour.

We examine Europeanisation in terms of salience through issue-saliency, which is the frequency a topic is mentioned. The Euro-manifesto dataset has included variables that count sentences referring to the national level, sentences referring to the European level and finally those referring to the global level. The following graphs show how parties related to the different levels creating quite a surprise as they oppose the general belief about the national bias of European elections.

As we can see from Graph 1, in 1996, in Austria parties refer between 70 and 85 % of their counted sentences to the European level, with the exception of the FPÖ, which has only 50 % and is much more strongly oriented towards the national level. The same pattern can be observed in Sweden with the exception of the VP that also features a national bias (see Graph 3). Hence, it seems as if some of the known Euro-sceptical parties do use the European elections to 'verbalise' criticism, which is focused on and deals with the national level. This argument can however not be generalised as in both countries the Greens have a clear European focus but still are judged as having anti-European positions. In Finland, parties have a clear European focus in their manifestos with the KOK even reaching 95 % of sentences related to the issue of 'Europe', as we can see from Graph 2. The global level is attributed very little salience from all parties across all countries.

Graph 1: Party Salience – Austria 1996
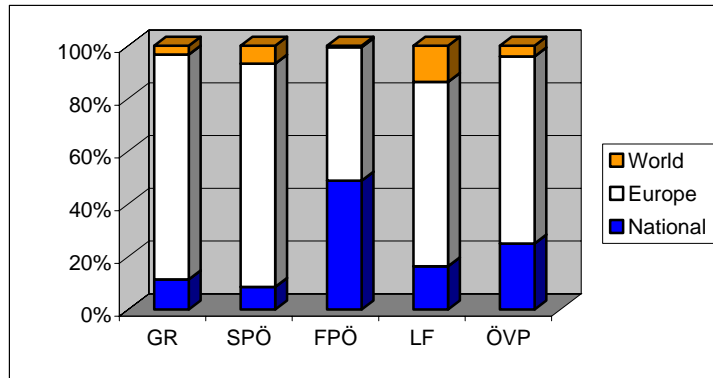
Graph 2: Party Salience – Finland 1996
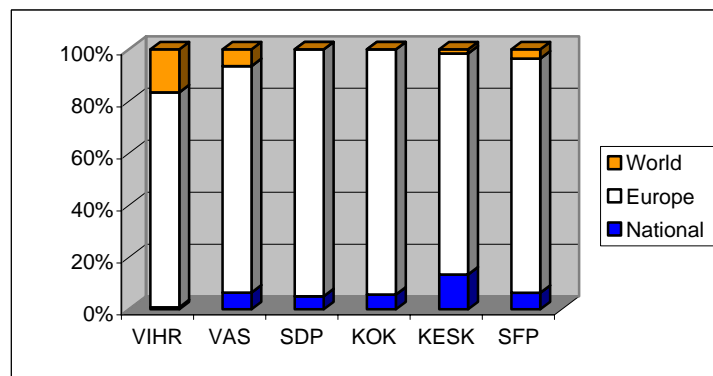
Graph 3: Party Salience – Sweden 1996
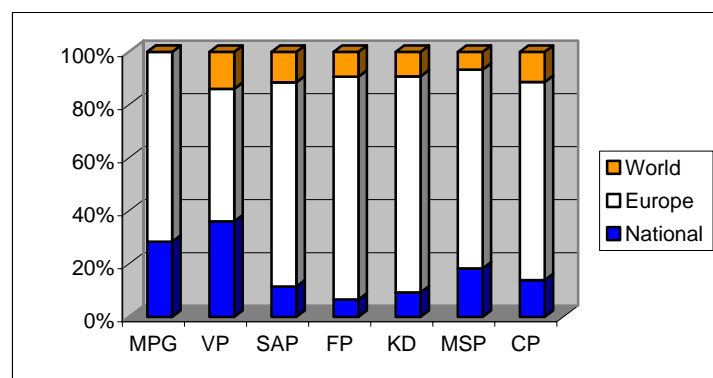
Does salience change over time? We can observe from Graph 4 to 6 that the European topic remains a very salient issue in parties' Euro-manifestos of 1999. In Sweden the salience of

Europe has even increased and the references to the national level have decreased, as we can see from the salience the VP attributes to the EU. In Austria, salience has remained stable; no major changes can be detected. Only the Greens show more references to the global level. Also in Finland, no changes to 1996 can be noticed. However, we would like to highlight the KD, who – even though being anti-European – attributes a large degree of salience to the European level.

Graph 4: Party Salience – Austria 1999
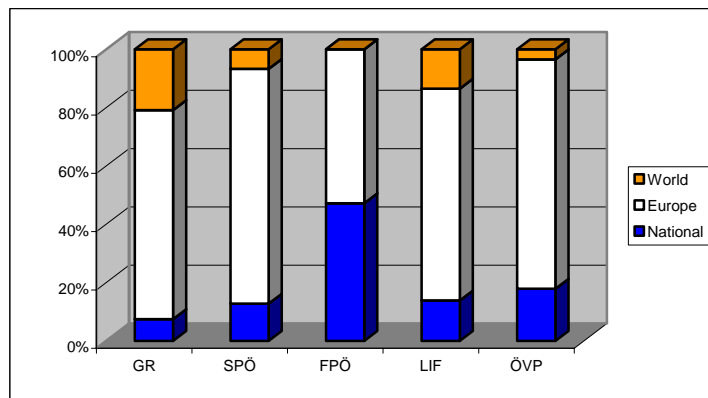
Graph 5: Party Salience – Finland 1999
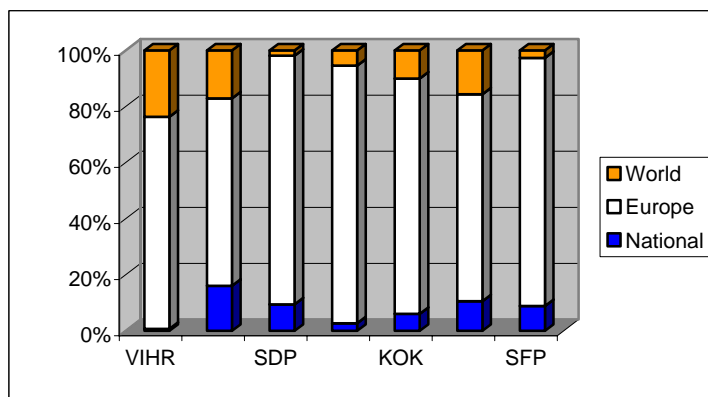
Graph 6: Party Salience – Sweden 1999
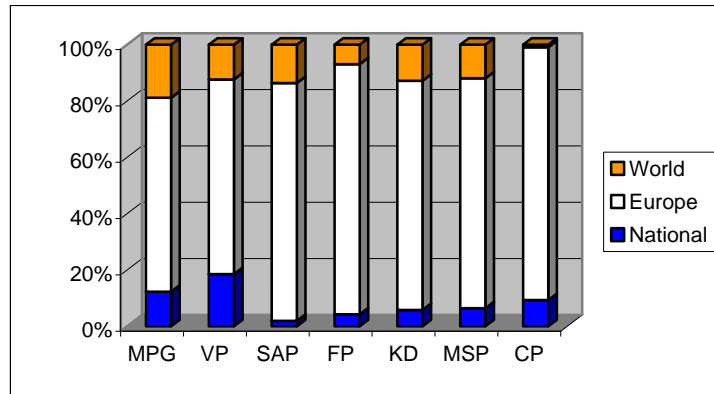
Based on this data we can deduce two conclusions. First, parties clearly focus on the European issue in their Euro-manifestos and thus, feature a high degree of salience of the European level.[5] Moreover, European elections are not 'abused' to sell national issues but clearly focus on the topic the elections are about. A Europeanisation in terms of salience has clearly taken place. Second, amongst the Euro-sceptical parties we can deduce two different kinds of parties: the first one focuses in its manifestos on the national level, hence, using the national level for its Euro-sceptical position. The second one, however, has a clear European focus and hence 'derives' its Euro-scepticism from European issues. This is another indication that Europe is taken seriously and treated as an important factor by political parties.

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5   Kritzinger et al. (2004) have shown that also Italian parties feature higher European salience in their Euro-manifestos which indicates that this might be a general trend across EU member states. However, systematic comparison over all European countries has not yet been made.

4.   Europeanisation through Party Position Change?

Do parties find it necessary to change their party positions towards European integration or do they rather remain static 'European actors'? And does the European issue present a dimension parties disagree upon? The question that drives us is how parties relate to Europe: positively or negatively? We are interested in measuring the influence the EU has on parties' positions.

As the European issue gained in salience it might have also experienced an influence on parties' positions. Parties have a new level to cope with and hence, have to express positions towards it. Taggart, for instance, demonstrated that Euro-scepticism appears to be an instrument of differentiation for peripheral parties (such as the extreme right or left) in a political system from the more established parties (Taggart, 1998). Hence, Europe as a new issue and possibly an issue of party differentiation can force parties to expose their positions towards European integration more clearly. This could lead to changes in positions that in the past have been expressed quite superficially. Changes are interpreted as indications that parties are shaping their EU-positions.

The European level might also represent a new level parties can compete on and show their distinctiveness to the other competitors. Parties have to take on an 'identity' over the European issue. Distinctiveness from other parties helps creating this identity. Mair describes it as a change in "[…] the mechanics of party systems" (2000: 30) referring to a changed interaction of parties in the electoral arena resulting in "[…] modifying the ideological distance separating the relevant parties, or by encouraging the emergence of wholly new European-centred dimensions of competition" (2000: 30). Hence, we assume that Europeanisation is taking place if we can observe changes in party positions and an increasing divergence of pro- and anti-European positions.

In order to establish whether changes in party positions have taken place we looked at the percentage of sentences parties expressed positively towards the European level in their manifestos, subtracting the percentage of sentences that had a negative connotation. The difference gives us the position a party has on the European issue.

Looking at our three cases, we find results which mostly underline our initial assumptions. Whereas in Finland parties show hardly any negative positions towards European integration, in Austria and Sweden parties are much more distinct in their European positions with, on the one hand, Euro-sceptic parties and, on the other hand, quite Euro-friendly ones.

In detail, we can observe for Austria in Figure 1 that in 1996 two Euro-sceptic parties characterised the political landscape. The Greens and the FPÖ held quite negative positions towards the EU. On the other side of the scale, the major parties – SPÖ and ÖVP – had clear positive EU-stances, as well as the LIF.

In 1999, the FPÖ moved even further to the anti-European side, whereas the Greens clearly moved on the positive side of the scale, hence featuring the biggest changes between 1996 and 1999 in the Austrian political landscape (see Figure 2). Four years of EU-membership made the Greens change their minds about the impact of European integration, now clearly being in favour of it. Also the other parties have slightly different positions than three years ago. The SPÖ and ÖVP became a little bit less enthusiastic about the European integration process even though they still feature very clear positive positions. However, the Austrian example shows first, that parties do change EU positions and second, that parties have distinct positions towards the EU. Hence, the EU is a dimension parties do disagree upon. Hence, this can be regarded as an indication that European integration has an impact on parties and is not taken as a secondary issue.[6]

In Sweden the situation is similar to the Austrian one, as Figure 3 shows. We can find Euro-sceptic as well as Euro-friendly parties: The Greens and the VP feature negative positions, while the other five parties from Social Democrats to Centre Party can be characterised as pro-European parties. However, it is necessary to point out a few differences to the Austrian parties. While in Austria the Social Democrats have quite strong positive attitudes towards the EU, the Swedish SAP is much more reluctant in expressing overly positive positions. In general, this conclusion can also be made for the other Swedish parties.[7]

Unlike in Austria where parties' pro-EU positions decreased, parties in Sweden became more enthusiastic about European integration in the course of time, as we can observe from the more pro-European attitudes across the parties on the positive scale (see Figure 4). It seems as if Swedish parties started out much more sceptically at the beginning of EU-membership and turned, only after the first experiences with the EU, into EU-supporters. As in Austria, the Swedish Greens also moved away from their strong anti-European position (from -17.5 to -6.14) even though they still remain negative towards European integration.

Unlike the Swedish and the Austrian parties, Finnish parties do not differ much regarding their European positions looking at Figure 5. Especially in 1996 there is not a single party that can be named 'Euro-sceptical' contradicting the common belief that the VIHR, the VAS and the KESK have anti-European stances. All of them feature positive European positions.
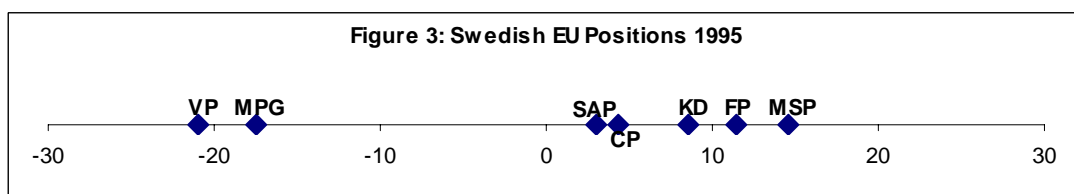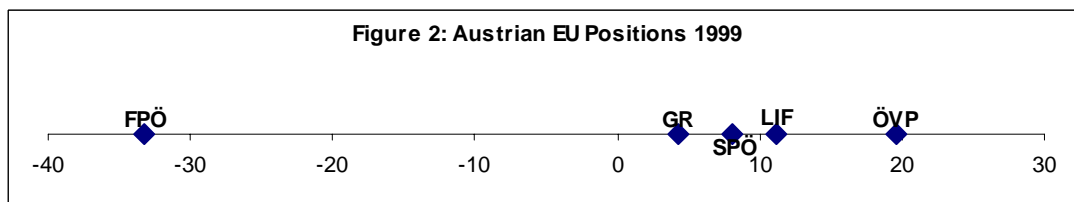
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6   These changes might also be due to the contextual factors such as the 'adaptation' to EU-membership.
7   See for example the KD or the MSP.

The two major parties SDP (21.67) and KOK (21.99) are clearly in favour of European integration.[8]

The situation does not change in 1999, as Figure 6 reveals. All parties represented in 1996 remained positively oriented towards the EU. Almost all of these parties – with the exception of the KOK – became much more Euro-enthusiastic than in 1996. The KESK and the RKP/SFP might represent the most outstanding examples: the KESK's positions changed from 7.87 in 1996 to 23.96 in 1999, the RKP/SFP's one from 16.2 to 31.86.

Nevertheless, we find in the 1999-scale a party which is negatively oriented towards the EU: the KD. The party was not represented in 1996 whereas we cannot make any comparison with this party. However, compared to the anti-EU parties of Austria and Sweden, the negative EU-position of this party is quite modest.

Figure 1: Austrian EU Positions 1996

FPÖ   SPÖ   ÖVP
GR   LIF

-30   -20   -10   0   10   20   30

Figure 2: Austrian EU Positions 1999

FPÖ   GR   LIF   ÖVP
SPÖ

-40   -30   -20   -10   0   10   20   30

Figure 3: Swedish EU Positions 1995

VP MPG   SAP   KD FP MSP
CP

-30   -20   -10   0   10   20   30

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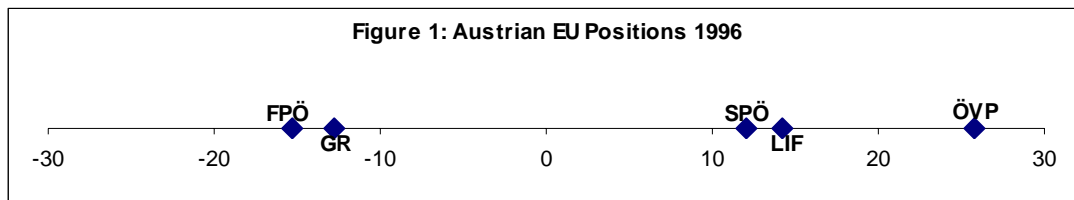
8   Hitherto, parties' EU positions have been measured based on experts' estimates. In our analysis we have used manifesto data to gather EU positions. These two different measures might explain the divergent results.

Figure 4: Swedish EU Positions 1999

VP   MPG   SAP CP   FP   MSP

-30   -20   -10   0   KD 10   20   30

Figure 5: Finish EU Positions 1996

VAS   KESK   RKP   SDP

-30   -20   -10   VIHR 0   10   20 KOK   30

Figure 6: Finish EU Positions 1999

KD   VIHR   KOK   KESK   SDP

-30   -20   -10   0 VAS   10   20   30 RKP
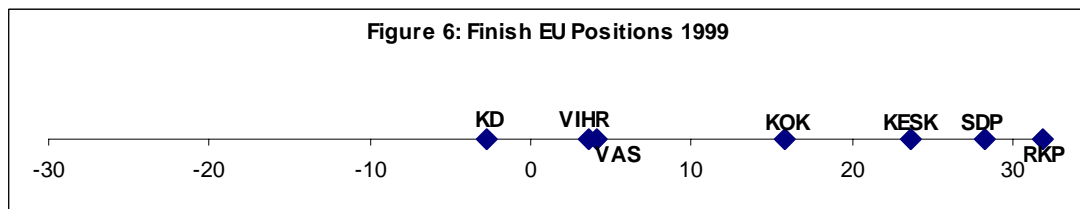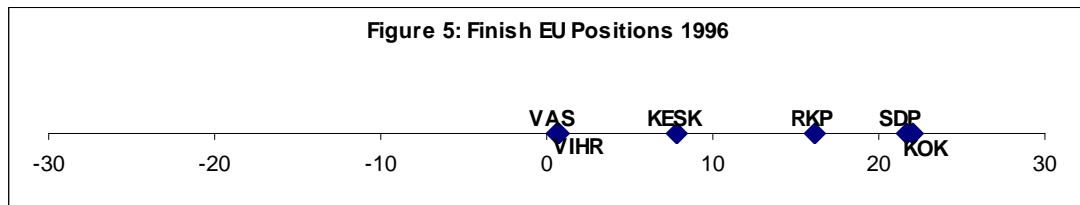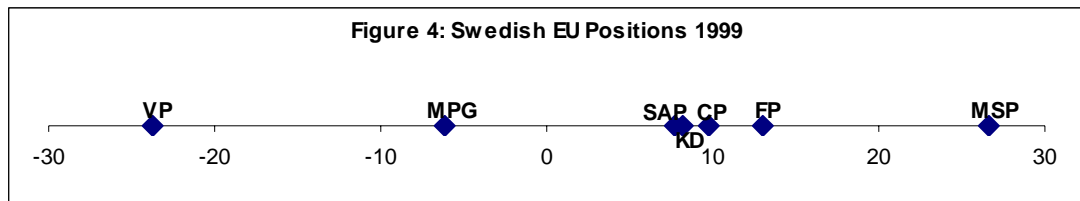
What we can gather from this first analysis is that parties do change their EU-positions – some of them quite substantially. Parties take the European issue seriously and try to find their positions. Based on our definition of Europeanisation moving positions is an indication that parties care about the European issue, find it worthwhile to engage in it and try to adopt positions that reflect their 'true' stances towards Europe also to differentiate themselves from the other competitors. Static and stable positions reflect that the European issue is not regarded as important as an issue that they would need to reflect upon and adapt it. Especially in states which joined the EU only recently a dynamic process can be expected if Europeanisation is taking place. These new states only have to learn to deal with European institutions, the implementation of EU-legislation and the transfer of competences to the European level, which should lead to a dynamic process in the positions of parties towards the EU.[9]

We have conducted a further analysis to understand whether parties behave distinctively or rather cohesively at the European dimension and hence, whether Europeanisation as such is taking place. In order to do so, we have calculated standard deviations for the different issue categories (see Appendix). Standard deviations are regarded as a measure to calculate the cohesiveness of parties regarding particular positions. Small scores indicate cohesive party

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9   The 'socialisation process to Europe' works in both ways. Parties can either become more negative or more positive towards the European integration process.

positions on particular issues, high scores reveal divisions amongst parties (Schmitt and Thomassen, 1999; Pennings, 2002).

We have calculated cohesiveness in two ways: the first one within each country in order to grasp how cohesive the particular party systems are, the second one within the single parties across time. Hence, we monitored whether parties remain stable in their EU-positions or whether a fluctuation could be observed. In the following, we will go into more detail.

Looking at party positions in Table 1, we can observe that the single party systems do differ substantially from each other. Especially when looking at the first two categories referring to the general positive and negative positions towards the EU, we can state that parties do not behave cohesively over the European issue. For Austria, it is remarkable to point out that parties have very distinct positions on the negative aspects of the EU. For Finland, the opposite is the case. There, parties have quite common anti-EU positions but diverge substantially on their pro-EU positions. In Sweden, both positions are characterised as being quite distinct. The results obtained reflect the divergent EU-positions we could observe earlier on. While Finish parties are very moderate in their negative notion of the EU, Swedish and Austrian parties have much more different views on the negative implications of European integration. The situation is quite similar for 1995/96 and 1999.

Table 1: European policy space and the variance of European policy positions (standard deviations): All political parties per country per election year

	Austria		Finland		Sweden	
Issue Category	1996	1999	1996	1999	1995	1999
EU positive	7.7	7.0	8.7	12.6	5.5	9.9
EU negative	12.8	12.7	3.8	2.0	9.9	8.1
EU Institution positive	3.7	4.4	1.9	2.0	1.3	2.3
EU Institution negative	1.3	2.3	1.9	1.3	1.6	1.9
EU Democracy positive	1.9	3.7	4.0	4.0	3.1	2.1
EU Democracy negative	0.6	0.8	0.6	1.3	1.1	0.9
EU Policy positive	5.3	3.7	5.7	4.2	7.2	7.3
EU Policy negative	4.5	1.9	3.3	1.0	5.9	2.9
EU Competence pos.	4.9	4.5	3.2	4.7	3.1	1.6
EU Competence neg.	7.5	4.1	1.8	1.8	5.7	5.7

Let us have a look at the other EU-positions. It is interesting to note that parties have cohesive positions on the EU-institutions regardless of whether they are negative or positive. Also, parties behave cohesively regarding EU-democracy. This is, however, not valid for EU-policies. Parties have distinct positions on EU-policies as well as on EU competences. Once again, Finland shows the highest cohesiveness in the negative categories due to the fact that Euro-sceptical parties are not present in the Finish party system.

Secondly, we analysed whether parties maintained cohesive positions towards the EU or whether they changed their positions between the two elections (see Table 2). We can observe the biggest changes between 1995/96 and 1999 in Austria. There, parties changed their EU-positions quite substantially. The Greens, who moved from a Euro-sceptical to a Euro-friendly party, hence show one of the highest scores, as well as the FPÖ, which moved even more to the anti-EU side. But the other parties also feature quite high scores in the EU-positive and EU-negative categories, hence showing that the EU issue is still a very dynamic issue where parties have not yet found their exact position.

Table 2: European policy space and the variance of European policy positions (standard deviations): each political party over years (1995/96 – 1999)

Issue Category	Austria					Finland							Sweden						
	GR	SPÖ	FPÖ	LIF	ÖVP	VIHR	VAS	SDP	KD	KOK	KESK	RKP	MPG	VP	SAP	FP	KD	MSP	CP
EU positive	6.3	2.2	7.5	2.3	2.6	1.2	2.4	3.5	-	8.3	6.2	9.1	1.1	3.3	1.6	0.7	0.5	9.7	4.4
EU negative	5.7	5.0	5.2	4.4	1.9	3.2	4.9	1.2	-	3.9	5.0	2.0	6.6	1.3	1.8	0.3	0.2	1.3	0.5
EU Institution pos.	2.6	6.7	7.4	3.7	0.4	1.4	0.4	4.6	-	0.7	1.8	3.5	0.7	1.0	1.3	0.1	0.1	5.0	0.4
EU Institution neg.	1.5	4.7	3.7	2.4	2.7	0.6	0.3	1.3	-	0.7	1.5	0.4	3.1	1.8	0.3	0.2	3.5	0.2	0.2
EU Demo pos.	3.0	1.8	3.8	1.5	0.4	4.1	5.5	4.9	-	2.1	5.9	0.4	2.1	2.5	3.7	0.8	0.1	0.4	0.2
EU Demo neg.	0.8	0.0	0.8	0.6	0.0	2.0	0.5	0.0	-	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.2
EU Policy pos.	0.8	0.8	5.7	4.5	1.7	5.5	1.2	2.0	-	1.8	3.3	1.6	2.2	4.4	0.6	2.3	4.1	2.6	4.8
EU Policy neg.	3.2	2.4	3.4	1.1	0.5	3.8	3.9	2.4	-	2.4	7.1	2.2	8.3	2.5	2.8	0.3	0.8	1.7	0.5
EU Comp. pos.	1.4	1.5	1.4	2.9	0.2	1.9	1.7	5.8	-	2.7	1.1	4.7	2.8	3.6	0.6	0.7	0.1	0.4	1.3
EU Comp. neg.	3.1	0.2	4.9	0.2	0.2	0.3	1.4	0.0	-	1.9	1.0	0.6	3.1	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.7

The situation presents itself differently in Finland and Sweden, with a few exceptions. Party positions remain more stable over time. The exceptions in Finland are KESK and RKP who became much more Euro-friendly and KOK who showed more anti-European statements in 1999 than in 1996. The picture is similar in Sweden: quite cohesive party positions over time, with the exceptions of MSP and MPG who both became more Euro-friendly in 1999. Hence, apart from Austrian parties, parties seem to behave quite cohesively, hence softening the earlier argument on the Europeanisation process for some of the Swedish and Finish parties.

Finally, let us have a look at the other categories. Regarding EU-institutions and EU-democracy parties show cohesive positions – apart from the exceptions mentioned earlier. Once again the highest scores can be observed for EU-policies. Parties do not possess cohesive positions when it comes to evaluate them positively or negatively in their manifestos. This might be due to the fact that new members do not yet know the course of action in the EU and the implication of EU-policies on the national level well. A re-positioning is therefore necessary and inevitable. Surprisingly, parties show cohesive positions on EU-competences. It seems as if once a party has opted to be in favour of EU-competences – or vice versa – this is hardly going to be moved.

To sum up, we can state that the European issue is a dimension parties indeed disagree upon – especially in Austria and Sweden. We take these as hints that parties compete over the European issue, as parties refine their positions trying to distinguish themselves clearly from each other. Moreover, for Austrian, some Swedish and Finnish parties we can observe that parties do not remain static actors when it comes to the European issue. Rather, parties do change their positions quite a bit over time, reflecting experiences made with and at the European level. Hence, we can argue that for those cases a Europeanisation process in terms of changes in party positions is clearly taking place, while for the others only a partial Europeanisation process could be detected.
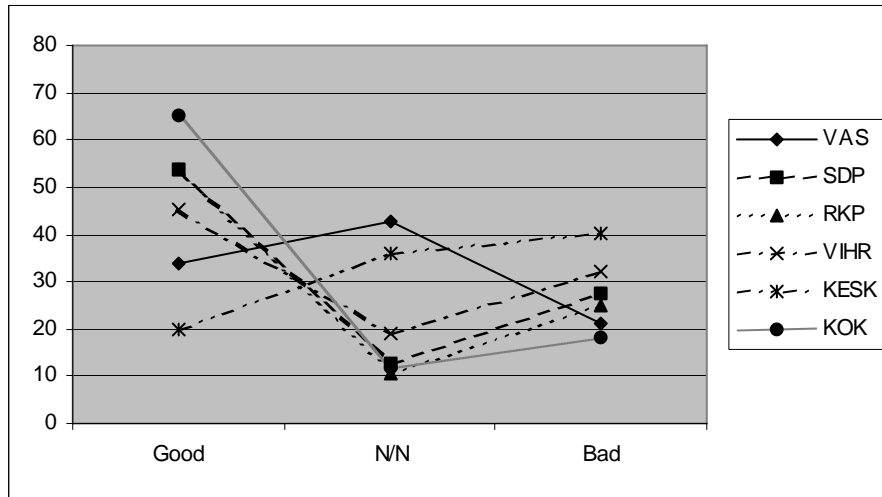
5.   Voters' Positions

After having analysed Europeanisation in terms of salience and position change, we would like to analyse whether the distinctiveness between parties is also followed, or rather, desired by the voters. We will have a look at whether parties represent their voters when holding certain EU-positions, assuming that this would indicate that a Europeanisation process is 'awarded' by their voters.

For it, we have analysed Eurobarometer-surveys in 1996 and 1999. We have observed which voters hold which opinion about EU-membership. The results are illustrated in graphs 7 to 12. In 1996, for Austria we can state that voters' and parties positions correspond: Green voters as well as FPÖ-voters see very few positive things in EU-membership. For the other parties, voters are more balanced: around 35 % of SPÖ and ÖVP-voters evaluate EU-membership as positive, but the other 35 % regard it as negative. Voter and party positions accord in Finland also, with the exception of the VIHR whose voters are much more critical than the party. In Sweden, it is remarkable that most voters – with the exception of MSP and FP voters – do not have any preference on EU-membership. But otherwise, in Sweden party and voters positions are also concordant: VP and MPG-voters being negative, voters of the other parties being more positive. The question arises as to whether such a high correspondence between voters and parties could be expected (e.g. Warwick, 2004; Merrill et al., 2001) or whether these high scores are due to the short membership with voters constrained by parties' EU-positions, as no individual experience is available. Looking at the 1999 results we will shed light on this.
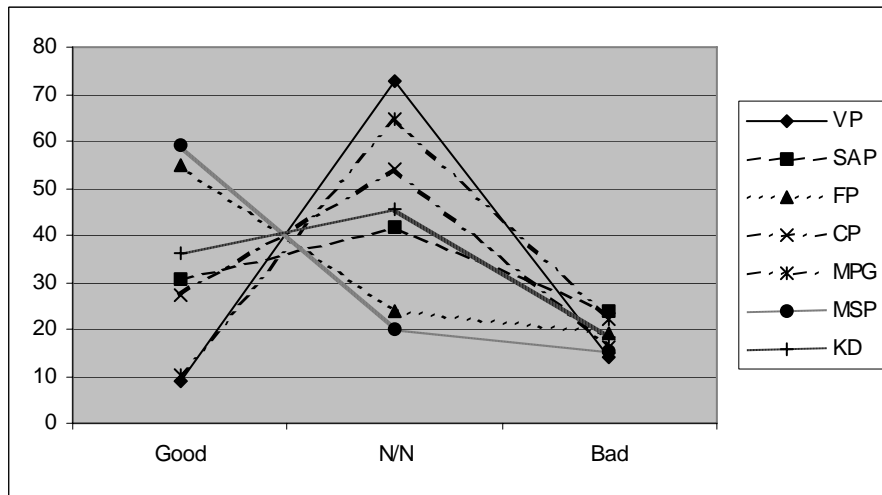
Graph 7: Voters' Position on EU Membership 1996 – Austria
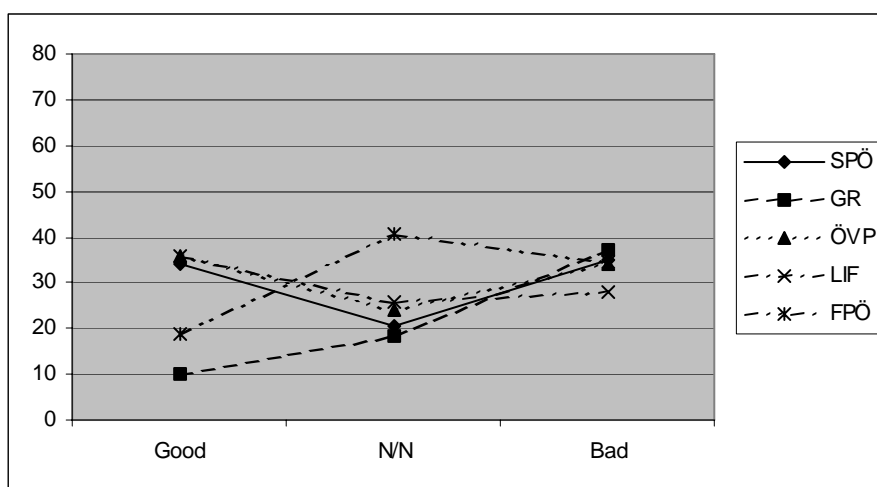
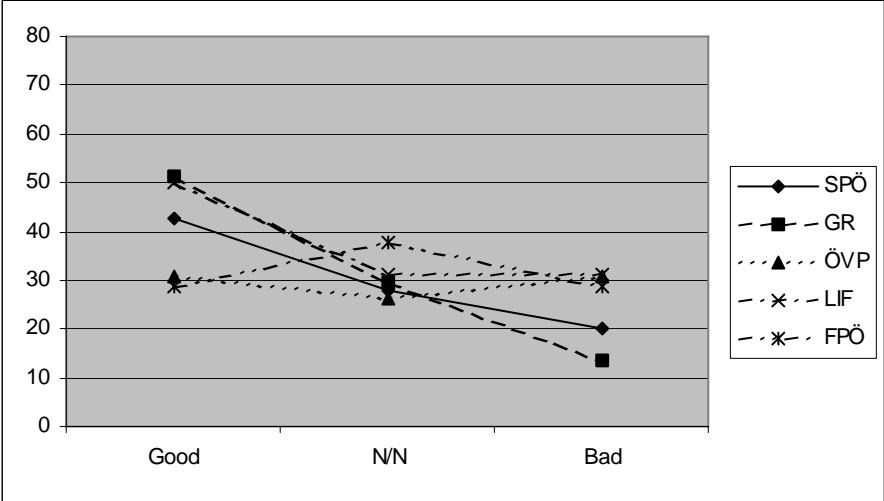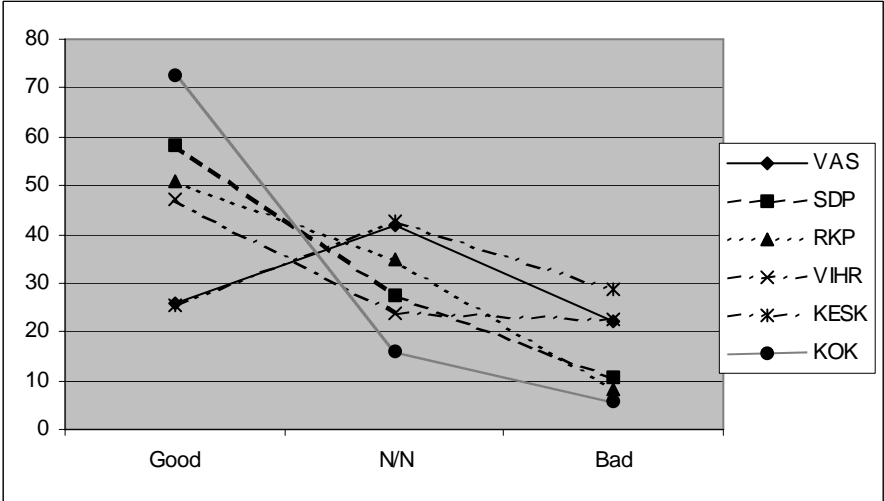**Graph 8: Voters' Position on EU Membership 1996 - Finland**

Graph 9: Voters' Position on EU Membership 1995 - Sweden
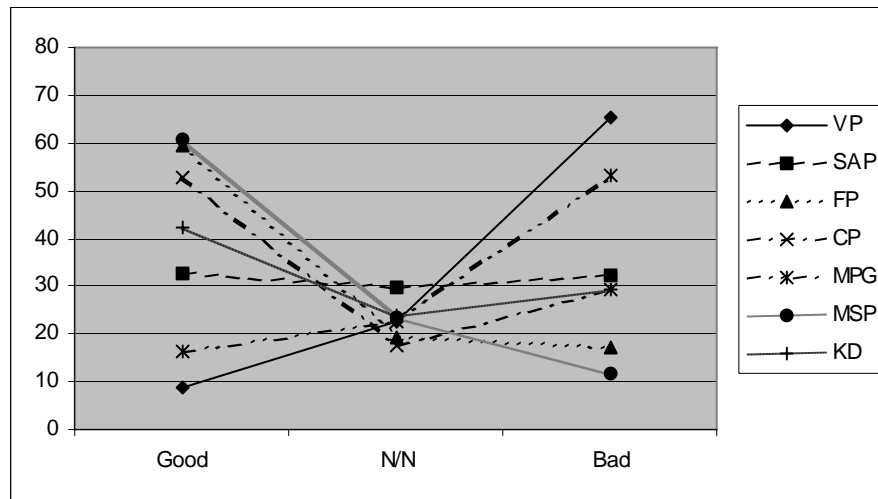
Graph 10: Voters' Position on EU Membership 1999 - Austria

Graph 11: Voters' Position on EU Membership 1999 - Finland

Graph 12: Voters' Position on EU Membership 1999 – Sweden

In 1999 (Graphs 10 to 12), we observe for Austria that Green-voters are much more positive than the party. The same argument works for FPÖ-voters who have less negative attitudes towards the EU than the party. In addition, ÖVP-voters are less enthusiastic about the EU and much more critical towards it. In Finland also, the discrepancy between voters and parties is growing. For instance, VIHR-voters regard EU-membership very positively while the party can be characterised as rather sceptical. The same works for KESK: voters are sceptical towards the EU, however the party holds a very pro-European position. In Sweden the situation is the reverse of that of 1996. While in 1996 a majority of voters did not have any opinion regarding EU-membership, in 1999 this had changed substantially: voters had clear opinions and they corresponded with the parties' EU positions.

This leads us to the following conclusions. A Europeanisation of the voters has not yet taken place, as they do not punish their parties for not following their European positions nor do they follow the position of their party. Moreover, we can conclude that the general distinctiveness of parties on the EU-issues has not yet been recognised by their voters. The need for a new cleavage line along the European dimension is hence not given.[10]

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10   In addition, these results raise the question what this means for the 'democratic' representation in the EP. If in EP-elections citizens vote for parties on grounds other than European, the EP's activities might suffer rightly from a democratic legitimation problem.

6.   Party Europeanisation: Reflecting on Party Cleavages?

Changes could have crucial effects on the further development of a European political space and the role of parties within. Changes would be especially crucial if Europeanisation develops into a new cleavage line of party positioning. Cleavages are defined as a "[…] distinction of opinion along social indicators running consistently through all kinds of policy issues" (Gallagher et al., 2001: 235). The origin of such distinction can be religious, ethnic, occupational or of other social meaning. The groups involved must recognise themselves and act as a collective identity, and they must be represented in their cleavage structure by an organisational entity, such as a union or a party (Gallagher et al., 2001). Voters vote along these cleavage lines – in particular, along the Left-Right divide (e.g. Hooghe et al., 2002; Gallagher et al., 2001; Laver and Budge, 1992; Hix and Lord, 1997). This means that party systems are structured accordingly.[11] Whenever one or in consequence all of the requirements mentioned above for a cleavage change, cleavage structures and thus party systems could change as well (Gallagher et al., 2001). Due to the character of cleavages, the European factor could therefore have an impact on cleavage structures. If the salience of Europe is high in states, and the range of EU positions is wide, the potential for party competition over Europe is high as well.

Hence, we pick up the widely discussed question in the literature (e.g. Hooghe et al., 2002; Gabel and Hix, 2002; Mair, 2000; Hix and Lord, 1997; Steenbergen et al., 2004) of whether parties' EU-positions can be classified according to the Left-Right scheme or whether – as Mair puts it – new fissures can be observed within parties due to the European issue (Mair, 2002: 27) – especially after having detected Europeanisation in terms of salience and party position change. Connected with this question is whether the European issue has caused a new dimension parties can compete about. While the former arguments stress a concordance between the Left-Right position and the EU-position, hence, arguing that the Left-Right dimension 'integrates' the EU-dimension and thus, competition over the EU follows the Left-Right divide and a linear relationship can be observed, the latter argument includes the understanding that the European and the Left-Right dimension are independent of each other, resulting in a new faction parties can compete within.

Two diverging stances have become prominent within this latter argument. The first one argues that EU-positions and Left-Right-positions are completely distinct dimensions where the Left-Right dimension and the European one are orthogonal to each other (Hix and Lord, 1997), the second one stresses that the two dimensions are related ones (Hooghe and Marks, 1999) where the Left-Right dimension works only for a part of European issues

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11 The most influential cleavage line in Western Europe is the left-right divide.

related to redistribution and regulating capitalism, as well as neoliberal economic policies. Next to these two stances, the 'new politics' dimension has lately become important in explaining variations in positions of parties towards Europe. New politics is roughly what Hooghe et al. (2002) mean with their category 'GAL'. They argue that instead of the Left-Right dimension it is rather the traditional/authoritarian/nationalism (TAN) versus the Green/alternative/libertarian (GAL) dimension that explain parties' EU-positions. Parties on the TAN-side feature a rather Euro-sceptical view, while the GAL-pole is moving towards more positive EU-positions. We will analyse which model works best for parties in Austria, Finland and Sweden.

We have plotted the EU-dimension versus the Left-Right dimension. We have taken the Left-Right values from the expert survey conducted by Steenbergen et al. (2004). From Graphs 13 and 14, we can observe that EU-positions in general seem to be characterised by the Left-Right cleavage. We can notice that parties on the left have more Euro-sceptical positions than parties on the right. The exception includes the FPÖ which at the extreme right shows very negative EU-stances.

Graph 13: Left-Right Dimension versus EU-Dimension 1995/96
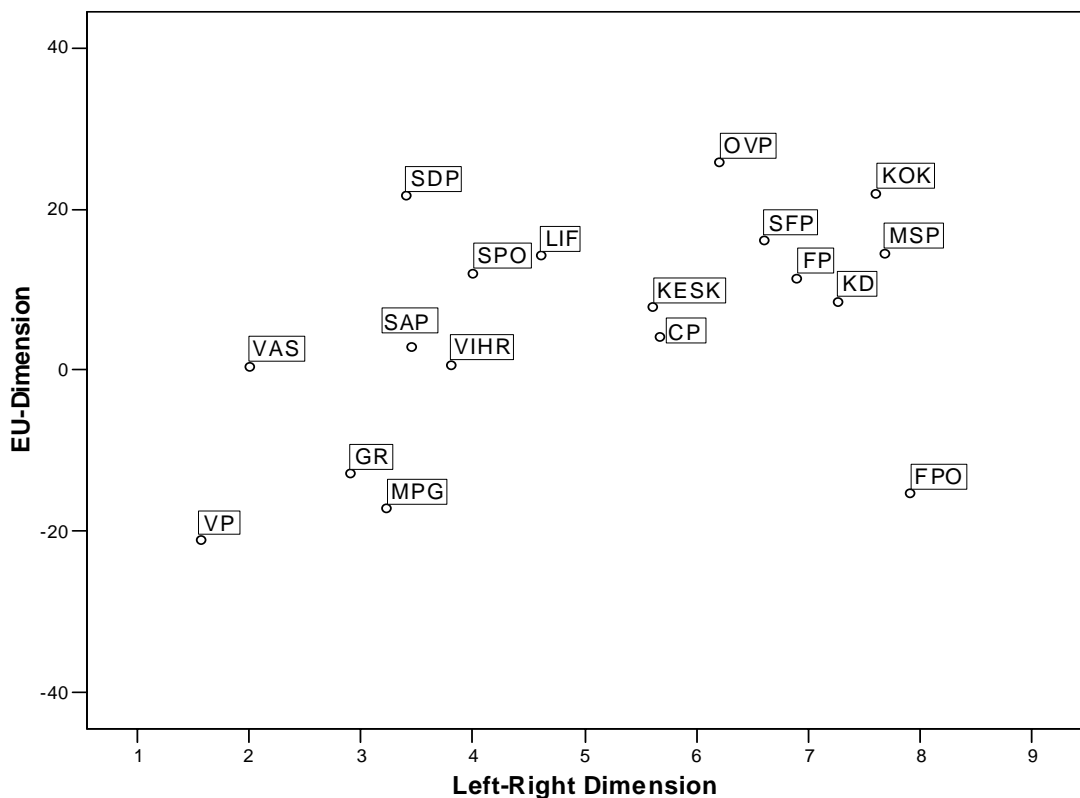
Graph 14: Left-Right Dimension versus EU-Dimension 1999
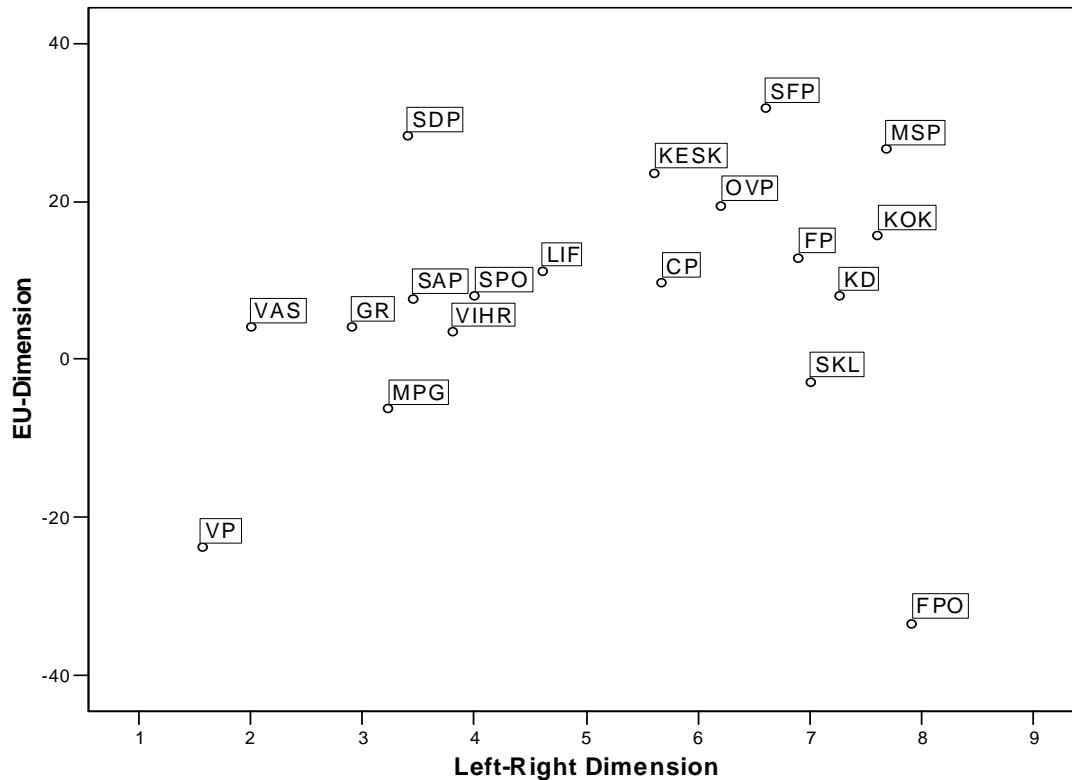
According to these graphs, we can argue that the GAL-TAN model does not work for Sweden and Finland. Parties from the right, such as MSP and KOK, show pro-European positions. Rather, European positions can be explained by the Left-Right dimension: the more we move to the right, the more parties become pro-European. We take these results as an indication that a cleavage based on European factors *per se* has not yet arisen. Europe as an important factor in party competition is not yet available. Rather, European positions seem to be influenced by the Left-Right position of the individual parties. Even though party positions changed indeed, and salience in Europe increased, a Europeanisation in terms of independence of the European issue from the traditional Left-Right scheme cannot be observed.

However, for Austria the GAL-TAN model seems to work. The Greens are moving towards a Europe-friendly position, while the FPÖ moves further into EU-negative stances. Hence, the new politics dimension GAL-TAN seems to have penetrated the traditional Left-Right one rendering the European factor an important one. Austria, experiencing high European salience as well as a wide range in party positions, shows potential for party competition over Europe.

Conclusions

We asked whether Europe changes national parties. We defined such a development as the Europeanisation of national parties, expressed in terms of an increasing salience of the issue of Europe and the change of party positions towards Europe. We adopted a definition of Europeanisation as a process of reorientation (Ladrech 1994), and operationalised it in terms of the development of Eurofriendly and Eurosceptic positions in national party systems, combined with an increased salience of the issue Europe. Hence, we focused on three issues of analysis: the assessment of a change in the salience of the EU-issue, the examination of a change of party positions, and a potential impact of such a change on cleavage lines in the analysed countries.

With a limitation to the 1995 EU newcomers Austria, Finland and Sweden, we used a set of different empirical data. We analysed salience and party position change on the basis of data from Euro-manifestos of parties released for the EP-elections in 1995/96 and 1999, and we used Eurobarometer data in order to relate our findings to voters' positions. The use of different data sets has to be kept in mind when looking at our results.

We expected to find Europeanisation in the analysed three states in terms of increased salience, party position changes, and an impact of the issue Europe on cleavage lines. We can overall conclude that the salience of the issue Europe has indeed increased in all three states. Unlike the expectations of Andeweg (1995) and Mair (2000), who estimate national positions to be predominant, Europe is indeed an important factor in the Euro-manifestos. Euro-sceptic positions also do not exclusively focus on the national level but focus, for a number of parties, on European-level criticism.

Substantial party position changes, however, could only be observed in Sweden and Austria. Positions changed over time, and they were very distinct. We could pinpoint changes in the disagreement of parties over the issue of Europe, and the importance of Europe for the competition between parties.

The assessment of an impact on cleavage lines enabled a certain deduction of interpretations for our findings on salience and party position change. As for the role of Europe for cleavage structures, the Left-Right divide was reinforced by the issue of Europe in Sweden and in Finland. In Austria, the GAL/TAN divide introduced by Hooghe et al. (2002) could be identified as the cleavage line along which parties position their EU standpoints. Along our definition, the Europeanisation process in the member states that entered the EU in 1995 has therefore progressed most strongly in Austria. These findings are also confirmed by our look at voters' preferences. Voters' preferences and party positions on the issue

Europe lacked a sufficiently high match to qualify as a cleavage line represented by parties. Overall, parties' positions on Europe run along the cleavage lines of GAL-TAN or Left-Right, but the issue of Europe does not generate a new cleavage. However, it could be an important factor in explaining why parties move from one cleavage line to another in their positions, as was the case for Austria. Hence, Europe appears to have an influence on national party positions, which is already identifiable after the four years of membership we analysed.

Overall, we have confirmed theoretical approaches and assumptions held in the literature, especially those of Jahn and Widfeldt on the revitalisation of the Left-Right dimension in Sweden and Finland, those of Hooghe et al. (2002) on the importance of the GAL-TAN divide in Austria and more generally, on the increasing importance of the issue of Europe in national party positions. However, our data goes beyond mere confirmation: our findings refine theoretically developed arguments. Especially important is the fact that in our three selected cases, the issue of Europe plays an important role in the allegedly second-order EP-elections. Accordingly, national parties at least deal increasingly with the issue Europe in EP elections, and they appear to not only interpret these elections as a pretest for national elections, but as a clearly European event, for which they produce positions on European politics. The importance of Europe is hence perhaps stronger than generally anticipated. Our data was limited to three countries and to party manifestos of two elections as well as to Euro-manifestos only. Future research will therefore have to shed more light on this, but the presented findings can be used as good indicators.

Appendix

Coding Frame

EU-Institutions - Positive
2-305 Political Authority
2-306 Competences of EP
2-308 Competences of European
       Commission
2-310 Competences of Council
2-312 Competences of Court of Justice
2-314 Competences of Other EU-Institution
2-3141 European Central Bank

EU-Institutions - Negative
2-303 Executive and administrative efficiency
2-307 Competences of EP
2-309 Competences of European
       Commission
2-311 Competences of Council
2-313 Competences of Court of Justice
2-315 Competences of Other EU-Institution
2-3151 European Central Bank

EU-Democracy - Positive
2-202 Democracy in Europe
2-203 Constitutionalism in Europe
2-3111 Majority Voting in the Council

EU-Democracy - Negative
2-2021 Lack of Democracy in Europe
2-204 Constitutionalism in Europe
2-3101 Unanimity in the Council

EU-Policy - Positive
2-104 Military in Europe
2-2011 Freedom
2-2012 Human Rights
2-4041 EU Structural Funds
2-4084 Single Market
2-4086 European Monetary Union
2-607 Multiculturism
2-7031 Agriculture and Farmers

EU-Policy - Negative
2-105 Military in Europe
2-4085 Single Market
2-4087 European Monetary Union
2-6011 Immigration
2-6021 European Way of Life
2-608 Multiculturism
2-7032 Agriculture and Farmers

EU-Competences - Positive
1-108 EU versus nation state
2-108 Deepening of Europe
3-108 EU versus global dimension
2-302 Centralization
2-3021 Transfer of Competences

EU-Competences - Negative
1-110 EU versus nation state
2-110 No deepening of Europe
3-110 EU versus global dimension
2-301 Decentralization
2-3011 No transfer of competences
2-318 Complexity of the EU Political System
x-413 Nationalization

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