



**Department of Social and Political Sciences**  
*2<sup>nd</sup> term Foundation Seminar*  
*Winter 2019*

## **Migration crises and democratic politics in Europe**

*James Dennison, Andrew Geddes and Hanspeter Kriesi*

**Tuesdays 9:00 AM-11:00 AM, Badia Seminar Room 4**

Registration with Maureen Lechleitner (Maureen.Lechleitner@EUI.eu)

### **Description**

This seminar is a collaborative effort of James Dennison and Andrew Geddes from the Migration Policy Center of the Robert-Schumann-Center, and Hanspeter Kriesi from the Department of Social and Political Sciences. The goal is to gain a better understanding of the increasingly resonant interplay between migration and democratic politics in Europe today, with a focus on the ‘migration crisis’ and electoral outcomes since then. We start by asking about the causes of migration and about its effects in the receiving countries. We then focus on the political consequences from the perspectives of public policy, party politics, and public opinion. In terms of policy, we look at policy at the national and the European level. In terms of public opinion, we ask how the migration crisis has affected public opinion and what kind of individuals and which countries have been affected most. As for politics, we focus on the rise of the radical right and the transformation of the cleavage structure underlying this rise, as well as on the reciprocal effects of policy and politics in general and the effect of the radical right on politics and policy in particular. Finally, we zoom in on a special case – Brexit.

The students are expected to submit three 500-word response papers to the readings for a given session and post that paper on the course website by noon on the day before class at the latest. These response papers are fundamental for the holding of a good discussion of the materials, as is a thorough reading of the assigned texts.

Writing a term paper is encouraged. Those who wish to write a term paper should submit it to me by email and in paper copy, with a cc to Maureen Lechleitner.

## Sessions, topics and readings

### 1. Causes of migration (Andrew) (January 8)

- Geddes, Andrew and Peter Scholten 2016. *The politics of migration and immigration in Europe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Sage. Chapter 1: Analysing the Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe (pp. 1-21)
- Zolberg, Aristide 1989. The next waves: migration theory for a changing world, *International Migration Review*, 23: 3, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/019791838902300302>
- Metcalfe-Hough, V. 2015. 'The migration crisis? Facts, challenges and possible solutions' ODI policy brief. <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9913.pdf>
- Docquier, F., G. Peri and I. Ruysen 2014. The Cross-country Determinants of Potential and Actual Migration, *International Migration Review*, 48: S37-S99, <https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12137>.
- R. Black et al. 2011. The effects of environmental change on human migration, *Global Environmental Change*, 21: 1 <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0959378011001531>

### 2. Effects of migration (Andrew) (January 15)

- Messina, Anthony M. 2014. Securitizing immigration in the age of terror, *World Politics* 66, 3: 530-59.
- Lauren McLaren. 2012. The cultural divide in Europe: Migration, multiculturalism and political trust, *World Politics*, 64: 2, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/world-politics/article/cultural-divide-in-europe-migration-multiculturalism-and-political-trust/A7724450E3D1698BDD6D5A14915F5A9A>
- Koopmans, Ruud 2013. Multiculturalism and immigration. A contested field in cross-national comparison, *Annual Review of Sociology* 39: 147-69. <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev-soc-071312-145630>
- Koopmans, Ruud and Ines Michalowski 2017. Why do states extend rights to immigrants? Institutional settings and historical legacies across 44 countries worldwide, *Comparative Political Studies* 50, 1: 41-74.

- Joppke, Christian. 2017. Civic integration in Western Europe: three debates, *West European Politics*, 40: 6, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402382.2017.1303252>

### 3. Policy: national level (Andrew) (January 22)

- Schain, Martin 2009. The state strikes back: immigration policy in the European Union, *European Journal of International Law* 20, 1: 93-109
- Helbling, Marc and Dorina Kalkum (2017): Migration Policy Trends in OECD Countries, *Journal of European Public Policy* (online first). [Link](#).
- Helbling, Marc, Liv Bjerre, Friederike Römer and Malisa Zobel (2017): Measuring Immigration Policies: The IMPIC Database, *European Political Science* 16(1): 79-98.
- Helbling, Marc and David Leblang (2018): Controlling immigration? How regulations affect migration flows, *European Journal of Political Research*, online first
- Betts, Alexander and Paul Collier 2017. *Refugee. Rethinking refugee policy in a changing world*, Oxford U Press (Chapter 9)
- Lutz, Philipp 2018. The partisan politics of immigration: Between politicization and globalization, Paper prepared for the Political Behaviour Colloquium, Florence: EUI.

### 4. Policy: EU-level (Andrew) (January 29)

- Boswell, Christina and Andrew Geddes 2011. *Migration and mobility in the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (Chapters 1-3, 7, 10: pp. 21-75, 150-175, 225-234)
- Geddes, Andrew and Peter Scholten 2016. *The politics of migration and immigration in Europe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Sage (Chapter 7: Towards common EU migration and asylum policies? pp. 144-172)
- Geddes, Andrew 2018. The politics of European Union Migration Governance, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, doi: 10.1111/jcms.12763
- Hadj-Abdou, Leila 2016. The Europeanization of immigration policies, pp. 105-119 in *An Anthology of Migration and Social Transformation*, edited by Anna Amelina, Kenneth Horwath and Bruno Meeus, Springer.
- Guiraudon, Virginie. 2018. The 2015 refugee crisis was not a turning point: explaining policy inertia in EU border control, *European Political Science Review*, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-017-0123-x>

- Pallister-Wilkins, Polly. 2016. Interrogating the Mediterranean ‘Migration Crisis’, *Mediterranean Politics*, 21:2, 311-315, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2016.1145826>
- Albahari, M. 2015. ‘Europe’s refugee crisis’. *Anthropology Today*, 31(5):1-2
- Genschel, Philipp and Markus Jachtenfuchs 2018. From market integration to core state powers: the Eurozone crisis, the refugee crisis and European integration, *JCMS* 56, 1: 178-196.

## 5. Public opinion I (James) (February 5)

### Why do individuals and countries vary in their attitudes to immigration?

- Hainmueller, Jens and Daniel J. Hopkins 2014. Public attitudes toward immigration, *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 225-49.
- Davidov, Eldad, and Bart Meuleman. 2012. Explaining attitudes towards immigration policies in European countries: The role of human values. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies* 38:757–775.
- Berg, Justin Allen (2015) [‘Explaining Attitudes toward Immigrants and Immigration Policy: A Review of the Theoretical Literature’](#) *Sociology Compass*, 9(1): 23-34
- Alesina, A. and Fuchs-Schündeln, N. 2007. Good-Bye Lenin (or Not?): The Effect of Communism on People's Preferences. *The American Economic Review*, 97(4):1507-1528, [https://www.jstor.org/stable/30034104?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/30034104?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)
- Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, Seth Green and Donald P. Green. 2017. The Contact Hypothesis Re-evaluated. *Behavioural Public Policy*.

## 6. Public Opinion II (James) (February 12)

### What explains cross-time variation in attitudes to migration? (How) has the ‘migration crisis’ affected public attitudes to immigration?

- Hangartner, D., Dinas, E., Marbach, M., Matakos, K., Xefteris, D. 2017. Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile? [Stanford-Zurich Immigration Policy Lab Working Paper No. 17-02](#)
- Bansak, K., Hainmueller, J. and Hangartner, D. 2016. How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers. *Science* <http://science.sciencemag.org/content/early/2016/09/22/science.aag2147>

- Czymara, C. and Schmidt-Catran, A.W. 2017. Refugees Unwelcome? Changes in Public Acceptance of Immigrants and Refugees in Germany in the Course of Europe's 'Immigration Crisis'. *European Sociological Review*, 33(6):735-751
- Van Prooijen, J-W, Krouwel, A. P. M, Emmer, J. 2017. Ideological Responses to the EU Refugee Crisis: the Left, the Right and the Extremes. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 9(2):143-150
- Kaufmann, E., Matthew Goodwin. 2018. The diversity Wave: A meta-analysis of the native-born response to ethnic diversity. *Social Science Research*, 76:120-131.

## 7. Politics: the rise of the radical right (Hanspeter) (February 19)

**What are the factors that contribute to the rise of the radical right? What is the role of immigration for the rise of the radical right? What is the role of political discontent? Are these protest parties? Do these parties express/contribute to the political discontent? What is the role of the strategy of other parties?**

- Van der Brug, Wouter, Meindert Fennema, and Jean Tillie 2005. Why some anti-immigrant parties fail and others succeed. A two-step model of aggregate electoral support, *Comparative Political Studies* 38, 5: 537-573.
- Kitschelt, Herbert 2007. Growth and Persistence of the radical right in postindustrial democracies: advances and challenges in comparative research, *West European Politics* 30, 5: 1176-1206.
- Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth 2008. What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe? Re-examining grievance mobilization models in seven successful cases, *Comparative Political Studies* 41, 1: 3-23.
- Roodujin, Matthijs, Wouter van der Brug, Sarah L. de Lange 2016. Expressing or fueling discontent? The relationship between populist voting and political discontent, *Electoral Studies* 43: 32-40.
- Dennison, J. and Geddes, A. 2018, online first, A Rising Tide? The Salience of Immigration and the Rise of Anti-Immigration Political Parties in Western Europe. *The Political Quarterly*, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.eui.eu/10.1111/1467-923X.12620>

## 8. Politics: cleavage structures (Hanspeter) (February 26)

**What are the long-term factors that contribute to the rise of these parties and what is the role of the more recent crises for their rise? How do preconditions for their rise vary from one European region to the other?**

- Hooghe, Liesbeth and Gary Marks 2018. Cleavage theory meets Europe's crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the transnational cleavage, *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(1): 109-35.

- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, Tim Frey 2006. Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: six European countries compared, *European Journal of Political Research* 45, 6: 921-957.
- Hutter, Swen and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.) 2018. *European party politics in times of crises. A cross-regional assessment* (forthcoming), Cambridge U Press.
  - Chapter 1: Hanspeter Kriesi and Swen Hutter, Crises and the transformation of the national political space in Europe
  - Chapter 12: Jasmine Lorenzini and Mathilde van Ditmars, The radical populist right in the Great Recession: old and new winning formulas in Austria, France, the Netherlands, and Switzerland
  - Chapter 13: Björn Bremer and Julia Schulte-Cloos, No country for the New Right? Restructuring British and German party politics
  - Chapter 14: Hutter, Swen, Argyrios Altiparmakis, and Guillem Vidal, Diverging Europe: the political consequences of the crises in a comparative perspective

## 9. Politics: the reciprocal relationship of politics and policy, and the effect of the radical right on policies and politics (Hanspeter) (March 5)

**How about the politicization of immigration in Western Europe: has it increased more recently? In which countries? Does the radical right in government influence immigration policy and how does immigration policy influence the vote for the radical right? What happens to the radical right voters once their parties is in government – do they radicalize or moderate? And what is the effect of radical right parties on mainstream parties: do they influence their position on immigration?**

- Grande, Edgar, Tobias Schwarzbözl, and Matthias Fatke 2018. Politicizing immigration in Western Europe, *Journal of European Public Policy*, doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2018.153190.
- Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Marc Helbling 2018. How Immigration Reforms Affect Voting Behavior, *Political Studies* 66, 3: 687-717.
- Akkermann, Tjitske 2012. Comparing radical right parties in government: immigration and integration policies in nine countries (1996-2010), *West European Politics* 35, 3: 511-29.
- Haugsgjerd, A., 2018. Moderation or radicalisation? How executive power affects right-wing populists' satisfaction with democracy, *Electoral Studies* https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2018.09.008.

- Vranceanu, Alina 2017. The impact of contextual factors on party responsiveness regarding immigration issues, *Party Politics*, DOI: 10.1177/135406881778215

## 10. Politics: Brexit (James) (March 12)

### **What caused Brexit? To what extent did migration (and the migration crisis) cause Brexit? Is Brexit part of broader changes affecting Western democracies?**

- Norris, P. and Inglehart, R.F. 2016. Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash. HKS Working Paper No. RWP16-026. [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2818659](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2818659)
- Goodwin MJ and Heath O. 2016. The 2016 referendum, Brexit and the left behind: An aggregate-level analysis of the result. *The Political Quarterly* 87: 323–332.
- Hobolt S.B. 2016. The Brexit vote: A divided nation, a divided continent. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23: 1259–1277.
- Curtice, John 2017. Why Leave won the UK’s EU referendum, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55, Annual Review: 19-37.
- Carl, N., James Dennison, and Geoffrey Evans 2018. European but not European Enough: An Explanation for Brexit, *European Union Politics*
- Evans, Geoffrey, Noah Carl, and James Dennison 2017. The causes and consequences of the UK’s decision to leave the EU, pp. 380-404 in *Europe’s crises*, edited by Manuel Castells et al, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Dennison, James and Andrew Geddes 2018. Brexit and the perils of ‘Europeanized’ migration, *Journal of European Public Policy* 25, 8: 1137-53.